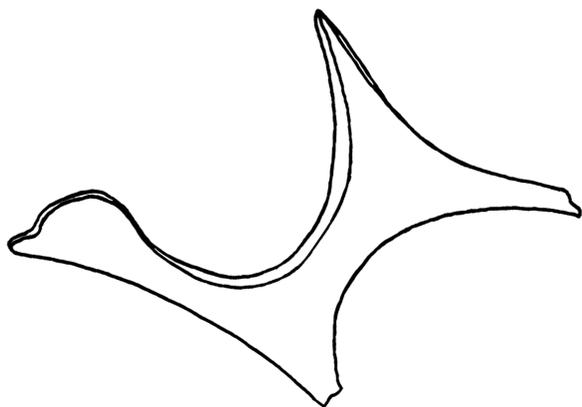


# THINGS AND THOUGHTS

Central Europe and the Mediterranean  
in the 4<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC



Jan Kysela

Since the beginnings of research into the Central European Iron Age, interactions of the region with the Mediterranean played an important role in the interpretation of various archaeological phenomena but also and importantly as narrative elements. However, they rarely became a subject of study in their own right. The present volume investigates the contacts between Central Europe and the Mediterranean in the 4<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC based on the complex analysis and contextualisation of all the available written and more importantly archaeological sources. Not only does it bring new information on the topic itself but it also sheds new light on various aspects of the Central European Late Iron Age archaeology.



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Jan Kysela

Studia Hercynia, monographs 1

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#### Reviewers

Anne-Marie Adam

Natalie Venclová

#### Proofreading

John Collis

Judd Burden

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*Dedicated with infinite gratitude to all those with whom I spoke  
over the last twelve years about things other than archaeology.*



This book is the result of numerous twists and turns of research carried out over the last dozen years. Its core formed part of a PhD. thesis written *en cotutelle* between the universities of Prague and Strasbourg in 2008–2013 under the direction of Anne-Marie Adam and Vladimír Salač. The title of the thesis is irrelevant here – little remained of its final structure, nothing from its original concept. Other studies – earlier, later, and collateral – complemented the text to bring it to the state in which it is now.

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Prague, Glux-en-Glenne  
9<sup>th</sup> August 2020

*But Turgon remembered the city set upon a hill, Tirion the fair with its tower and tree[...B]y the guidance of Ulmo he discovered the hidden vale of Tumladen in the Encircling Mountains, in the midst of which there was a hill of stone[. Thereupon he began] counsels to devise the plan of a city after the manner of Tirion upon Túna, for which his heart yearned in exile.*

J.R.R. Tolkien *The Silmarillion*.

## Reasons for a book

Books should have reasons, though many don't and look happy anyway. This book is about relations between Central Europe and the Mediterranean world in the Middle and Late La Tène period illustrated by Bohemia and – partly counter to my original expectations – there are some reasons for it to exist.

I started working on some aspects of the topic reluctantly, convinced that everything had been done already in such an attractive theme. And yet, after a dozen years' work, I still consider this text rather an intermediate report in this enormously rich field of study. In fact, I soon realised that although references to the Mediterranean were abundant in Central European Iron Age archaeology, the topic has never really been treated as a subject on its own – the material to investigate was plentiful and yet many of its aspects were seriously under-investigated, others lacked proper contextualisation on the Mediterranean side, synthesising statements were not lacking but were often based on partial evidence and sometimes on misunderstandings. For quite some time I relished treating partial aspects of the topic and I will gladly continue doing so in the future, but these small stories do not exist in isolation – some do not make enough sense and some do not make any sense at all until combined with others, and many of them respond in various ways to a single question; but mainly, only exposing the complete totality of the evidence will enable us to relate the overarching story which, after all, exists and is worthy of being told.

My principal reference in what follows is Czech, and more specifically Bohemian, archaeological evidence as well as research and the ways Mediterranean connections have been treated in it. It is not that I consider Bohemian research by itself to be in this respect more prone to analysis or to criticism; it is simply that Bohemia is where I come from, where I am imbedded in research and cultural networks and where I feel most confident to discuss these issues in a complete and the most possible objective manner. If I appear excessively critical at some points, it is not because I consider Bohemian scholars to be in this respect the only wrongdoers in European protohistoric research but because I believe that it is up to Slovak, Austrian, Bavarian or French scholars to be equally reflective of their own research history.

To come back to the actual theme of this study, there are three main domains of evidence to work with: 1) objects of Mediterranean origin in find contexts of transalpine La Tène cul-

ture; 2) local innovations based on Mediterranean models; and 3) the history of research in these matters.

The last point is the right place to begin our discussion. The Mediterranean – the Greek and Roman world – has always been the natural point of reference for the archaeology of the Bronze and Iron Ages in temperate Europe. Mediterranean written sources provided a (no matter how vague and self-centred) narrative framework, in rare cases also suggesting names of peoples and places or hints at events. Finds of transalpine objects in the Mediterranean area or *vice versa* became pivotal points of relative chronologies and of considerations of cultural interaction between the two regions.

According to the formulation repeated *ad nauseam* by many scholars, the Iron Age of Central Europe ‘entered into the light of written sources’. It was seldom added how dim this light was in actual fact and how little able it was to advance our knowledge. As far as the diverse categories of Mediterranean evidence are concerned, it was the information from the written sources that the archaeologists cared most about in the early stages of Bohemian research. It will be shown in detail in the chapter on the historical setting (chapter I.1) that their chief goal was to identify the historical peoples occupying the territory of the Czech lands in the Iron Age. The objects of Mediterranean origin excited them far less. Already Píč in his publication of the oppidum of Stradonice (Píč 1903 – regardless of its flaws one of founding works of the Late La Tène archaeology of Central Europe) was aware of the foreign origin of most categories of objects treated in this text. He, however, rarely referred to them explicitly as ‘Roman’ but rather ‘Roman provincial’, partly because at that time publications of material from Gaul and the eastern Alps (Gurina) were much more available than from actual Mediterranean contexts, partly due to his personal research agenda when he tried to prove by all possible means his argument that Stradonice was the seat of the Germanic ruler Maroboduus with close cultural links to the Roman world and (according to Tacitus *Ann.* II, 62.3) frequented by Roman traders. Mediterranean objects enjoyed less attention from the scholars of the next generation. Some ignored them completely (NIEDERLE 1900; 1909; ŠIMEK 1923; 1934<sup>1</sup>), others (SCHRÁNIL 1928; 1940; BÖHM 1941; FILIP 1948) duly listed the Mediterranean/‘Roman’<sup>2</sup> finds from Stradonice without however exploiting them for more than at most a statement of the site’s involvement in long-distance trade. Discussions of interaction between the transalpine and Mediterranean world usually did not go beyond enumerating Celtic clashes with Greeks and Romans, and recognition of Greek and Roman inspiration in the Celtic coinage. In this atmosphere of general disregard for Mediterranean matters the remarks made by Jaroslav Böhm concerning the similarities between the Late La Tène oppida and Mediterranean towns (BÖHM 1941, 426–449; BÖHM 1946) stand out. Böhm pointed out that while the concept of urban settlements may have come to central Europe as a result of Mediterranean inspiration, ‘this external impulse did not get lost because the indispensable [economic and social] premises for the creation of towns had already been put in place by the Celts themselves’ (BÖHM 1941, 427). Böhm then went on to analyse these premises and never came back to the role of Mediterranean influences which he apparently viewed as completely marginal. Later on (BÖHM 1946, 29, 37–39) he even vehemently argued against the idea of Mediterranean inspiration for the oppida ascribing it to ‘insufficient knowledge of European archaeology, typical of the last century’ (unfortunately without referring to a specific work or scholar).

- 
- 1 Šimek’s silence in this regard is somewhat stunning considering at what length in the same works he discusses bronze vessels of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (ŠIMEK 1923, 59–73).
  - 2 Their precise origin is not a subject of curiosity by these scholars and it often gets blurred by the commonly used unfortunate term ‘antique’.

This state of affairs took a new turn with the work of Jan Filip (1900–1981, professor at Prague University in 1948–1980), almost the only archaeologist of the previous generation also active after WW2. Filip replaced the strictly material-based approach of the pre-war generation with a very particular and rather unfortunate method in which archaeology and a heavily reconstructed (and in some parts quite imaginary) grand historical narrative backed each other's flimsy hypotheses. However, even though largely dependent on Greek and Roman written sources and not averse to stretching their evidence, Filip remained rather restrained – perhaps unimaginative or even disinterested – when it came to assessing the interaction between the two sides of the Alps. Focused primarily on the La Tène Culture itself and viewing pre-Roman Europe basically as an arena of a power struggle between the ethnic blocks of Celts, Germans, and Romans, Filip felt little urge to account in detail for the nature of Roman influence in Central Europe. In passing he mentioned the (in his opinion possible) Mediterranean inspiration of Late La Tène painted pottery (FILIP 1956, 508); he claimed a growing Roman influence on the oppida in their latest phases without specifying on which grounds other than historical conjecture (FILIP 1956, 329–330). In dealing with the actual Roman imports in Stradonice (FILIP 1956, 331) he was happy to come back to Píč's ideas that since the site in his opinion survived down to the period of Maroboduus, the finds testify to the presence of Roman traders at that time.

In a work for the general public, Filip touched for the first time upon the idea of connection between Bohemia and the migration of the Boii from northern Italy to central Europe (FILIP 1960, 61), though not implying any historical or archaeological consequences of this. This narrative scheme, based on a mention by Strabo (v, 1.6) was first introduced by German and Austrian numismatists in the 1930s (PAULSEN 1933, 21–23; PINK 1936, 18–19; PINK 1960, 20–21) and soon after Filip's mention was embraced wholeheartedly in Slovakia by Eva Kolníková (1963). In 1966, Libuše Jansová explicitly invoked the migration of the north Italian Boii to Bohemia as the cause of the foundation of oppida in Bohemia (JANSOVÁ 1970, 329, 335).<sup>3</sup> Shortly before Wolfgang Dehn had published a study comparing formal features of oppida with Mediterranean towns (DEHN 1961; see also DEHN 1977) but Jansová did not refer to it even implicitly and we have seen that Böhm disputed such hypotheses as early as 1941. The idea must have been around though never formulated in print.

These voices remained rather isolated. After Filip's work, major culture historical matters were considered settled and Czechoslovak research of the 1950s–1980s focused more on fieldwork, material studies, and broadly economic issues. The Mediterranean was in no way a theme in the major synthesis of the whole of Bohemian pre- and protohistory from 1978 (PLEINER – RYBOVÁ eds. 1978), apart from an innovative but rather bland and vague statement of 'experience gained by contact with the advanced regions of the Mediterranean' contributing to the development of La Tène civilisation (PLEINER – RYBOVÁ eds. 1978, 590); the only element

3 'Les influences méditerranéennes à propos de l'origine des oppida celtiques et surtout à propos de leur fortifications avec un agger derrière les murs en pierres et avec les portes aux ailes et retour d'équerre avaient été envisagées déjà auparavant par quelques auteurs. Les influences romaines à propos des substructions en pierres sèches des habitats celtiques, surtout à la fin du 1<sup>er</sup> siècle av.n.e. ont été supposées aussi par J. Filip. On ne doit aussi oublier que les Boii, après avoir été repoussés au 2<sup>ème</sup> siècle par les Romains de l'Italie du Nord, auraient pu – comme l'admet J. Filip – trouver une nouvelle patrie sur le territoire de la Bohême où ils sont historiquement attestés au premier siècle av.n.e. Ce fait aurait pu leur faciliter l'adoption d'une façon plus évoluée de bâtir les habitations qu'ils pourraient avoir appris à connaître dans les cités étrusques de leur ancienne patrie, p. ex. Marzabotto, [...]'. Only one year earlier her attitude in this matter was very close to that of, for instance, Böhm (JANSOVÁ 1965, 11–12).

of interest for our study is the already obligatory overview of southern imports from Stradonice brought there 'by trade' (PLEINER – RYBOVÁ eds. 1978, 614, 623). A similar sober tone was characteristic also of the first publications of research into Czech oppida – even those intended for the general public: e.g. BŘEŇ 1966; MOTYKOVÁ – DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1978a; MEDUNA 1980, 164.

Only in the 1980s did some of the key categories of imports start to be published. Apart from the study of the only surviving Stradonice intaglio (ONDŘEJOVÁ 1981), glass imports (vessels and ring ornaments) were published by Natalie Venclová in 1990 in her overview of *Prehistoric Glass in Bohemia* (VENCLOVÁ 1990). The most significant publication in this respect was the overview of 'antique imports' in the last two centuries BC in the MA thesis of Helena Svobodová (1981) published later in two articles focused on bronze vessels (SVOBODOVÁ 1983) and other import categories (SVOBODOVÁ 1985). This study unfortunately suffered from several drawbacks outside the author's control: the limited availability of the actual finds (some unpublished, some inaccessible to study, some kept in Vienna, beyond the reach of Czechoslovak students in the 1980s) and therefore the need to study them mostly on the basis of sometimes inadequate publications; the limited availability of appropriate publications (Svobodová's studies came quite early in the history of research and were to some extent pioneering, though on the flipside there was little bibliography to work with – all the more so in 1980s Czechoslovakia); and finally, under these circumstances, it was difficult if not impossible to take the important step of comparing the Czech facies with imports from other parts of Europe and trying to interpret them. This stage of research was summed up in an article by Jan Bouzek finally dedicated entirely to (the most significant part of) the topic of our study – Bohemian oppida and the Mediterranean (BOUZEK 1989).<sup>4</sup> The text is extremely dense and not always specific but still it is the most concise and clear overview of the rather restricted opinions expressed so far, not deviating from them in any particular way: the oppida do resemble Mediterranean towns (it is not specified whether and in what way they were inspired by them; p. 129); the numerous imports indicating contacts with Italy, presumably via the north Italian Celts since many of these artefacts find analogies in sites like Ornavasso; fibulae on the other hand document shared fashions between both regions (p. 130); there were technological innovations coming from the south including also e.g. rotary querns and the potter's wheel (p. 131); 'writing was probably not limited to Roman traders' whose presence is thus implicitly assumed (p. 131); the migration of the Boii from Italy headed exclusively to the Middle Danube area (p. 132). The upcoming 1990s were to bring a major interpretational upheaval to these sober attitudes.

The idea that the north Italian Boii had a role in the cultural development of Iron Age Bohemia was in the meantime, while hibernating in Bohemia proper, being further developed in Italy and France by Venceslas Kruta (KRUTA 1978, 174;<sup>5</sup> KRUTA 1980b, 199–201; KRUTA 1988, 288;<sup>6</sup>

4 The first version of the paper (BOUZEK 1982) focused specifically on imports abstaining almost completely from interpretations.

5 'On peut se demander dans quelle mesure la diffusion de la nouvelle mode [d'habitation en Europe centrale] n'a pas eu pour principaux agents les groupes boïens qui quittèrent en 191 la Cispadane. Dans le cas où l'hypothèse d'une relation entre ce phénomène et le développement proto-urbain pourrait être confirmée par des arguments moins subtils que ceux dont nous disposons actuellement, les Boïens de Cispadane auraient pu avoir joué un rôle de premier ordre dans l'apparition des oppida transalpines.'

6 'La disfatta dei Boi e il ritorno di una parte almeno dei loro effettivi Oltralpe, è documentata da tutta una serie di indizi di forti e dirette influenze peninsulari che rendono probabile una loro partecipazione attiva allo sviluppo degli oppida, le prime formazioni urbane dei Celti transalpini.'

Kruta In: *Formazione CdM* 1988, 315;<sup>7</sup> KRUTA – MANFREDI 1999, 195–196; KRUTA 2001, 341–343; Kruta In: KRUTA – LIČKA eds. 2001, 68–69; 123; Kruta In: KRUTA – LIČKA – CESSION-LOUPPE eds. 2006, 205–207 and *passim*; KRUTA 2018). Kruta based his hypothesis almost entirely on historical considerations and very confidently asserted, but very selectively documented, ethnic affinity between the populations of southern Bohemia and northern Italy. As to the actual archaeological evidence, he relied mainly on Middle La Tène period artefacts to support his view of an almost constant flow of people and ideas between Italy and Central Europe. Evidence from Bohemian oppida, let alone the Mediterranean objects there, does not form part of his arguments. In this respect he relied on a synthesis of the Bohemian Iron Age published by Petr Drda and Alena Rybová (DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1995; 1998; DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1997, 109–113), whose main points were extremely complementary with Kruta's.

This synthesis is centred on the oppidum of Závist through which the authors, the excavators of the site, view all the major processes and even events of the Bohemian Iron Age. It is here that they bring the newcomers from northern Italy (the authors duly describe this migration as hypothetical but attribute it an indispensable role in the story) to establish here the first oppidum beyond the Alps. This romantic account, bearing excessive similarity e.g. to Tolkien's neomythologies quoted at the head of the chapter, was supported with only some doubtful circumstantial evidence (an unexpectedly high chronology for the foundation of Závist corresponding roughly with the supposed arrival of the newcomers 'in ca 175 BC'). Material proof of this narrative is limited exclusively to a series of local vessels imitating, in the authors' opinion, Mediterranean forms. Apart from a few marginal voices (POLIŠENSKÝ 2003; JANČO 2003), the idea was endorsed especially by Jan Bouzek (BOUZEK 2007, 136, 143–145; BOUZEK 2011a, 146; BOUZEK 2011b, 69; BOUZEK 2011c).

Bold as it is and notwithstanding all the criticism it duly deserves (and which will be exposed below), this hypothesis has been so far the most coherent if not the only comprehensive approach to the issue of Mediterranean connections in the later Iron Age of Bohemia and Central Europe. Over the last few decades, new evidence of Mediterranean contacts have started piling up and new statements and hypotheses in this respect have become more and more common: the discovery of the lowland agglomeration in Némčice nad Hanou with its numerous finds of Greek coins opened a new chapter in assessing contacts in the pre-oppida period (ČIŽMÁŘ – KOLNÍKOVÁ – NOESKE 2008; KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012); the excavations on the Castle Hill of Bratislava (MUSILOVÁ – BARTA – HERUCOVÁ eds. 2014) and more recently in Vienna (ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015; MOSSER – ADLER-WÖLFL 2018) have shed a completely new and unexpected light on the latest stages of the La Tène period about which we previously believed we had a very complete picture based on both archaeological and written sources – neither of them made us anticipate these new discoveries. The remarkably swift development of numismatic research (cf. MILITKÝ 2015a; 2015b; 2018a; 2018b; SMĚLÝ 2017) has shown more vividly than ever before how dynamic, multifaceted and profound the Mediterranean connections were from very early on; new finds of both individual objects (e.g. KYSELA *et al.* 2017) and entire find assemblages (e.g. KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014; ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015) from sites known and unknown before have broadened the available corpus... And yet, not even the finds collected in Stradonice in the 19<sup>th</sup> century have been fully published and properly analysed and contextualised.

7 'L'esperienza urbana che i gruppi celtici acquisirono vivendo per quasi due secoli a contatto con le popolazioni italiche costituì al momento dell'occupazione romana della Cispadana e del conseguente ritorno oltr'Alpe di una parte dei Boi (Strabone V, 1.6), un fattore di primaria importanza per lo sviluppo e la diffusione degli oppida transalpini.'

While the Mediterranean fascination of late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century scholars translated mostly into their reliance on written sources and their painstaking efforts to project these mentions into a passive archaeological reality, in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> and in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, mentions of the Mediterranean role in the Middle La Tène period cultural transformation (e.g. VENCLOVÁ ed. 2008/2013; DANIELISOVÁ 2011) and of long-distance trade between Mediterranean and Central Europe in the Late La Tène period (e.g. SALAČ 2004; VENCLOVÁ ed. 2008/2013, 144; DANIELISOVÁ 2011) have almost imperceptibly become commonplace (though not always a significant factor) of archaeological discussion whether arguing in favour or against it. And yet the explanatory models available to Central European archaeologists who wish to go beyond a mere statement of Mediterranean imports, influence, or simply ‘contacts’, are ultimately those present in their interpretational toolbox since the times of Filip if not Píč: returning Celtic mercenaries (but were the Celts from Central Europe ever involved in such enterprises? Did mercenaries ever return?); the *Heimkehr* of the Italian Boii (corroborated by nothing but wishful thinking); Roman traders in the oppida (a model going back ultimately to the times when Stradonice was believed to be Maroboduus’ seat)... Most importantly, these topics have often been treated in isolation without sufficient concern about their context both in Central Europe and in the Mediterranean. At this point a synthesis of the available – written and archaeological – evidence on what we know about the mutual relations between Central Europe and the Mediterranean in the 4<sup>th</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC may turn out to be useful.

Throughout this quick overview of the history of research, we should realise that a common feature of dealing with Mediterranean evidence in Central Europe has been overstatement and misrepresentation due to overrating narrative and individualised (*événementiel*) aspects of a past reality, as if the Mediterranean evidence was (by virtue of it being Mediterranean?) more able to structure this than the local archaeological data.

In the past, I have expressed critical and polemical opinions about some of these approaches (KYSELA 2009; 2011; 2015a; 2018/2019a). This is not the place to repeat my criticisms, not because I have grown more conciliatory in these respects but because the point of this study is not to engage in polemics with particular interpretations but rather to produce evidence, judge it, and advance hypotheses on the basis of this evidence itself (though it will not prevent me from occasional reference to previously expressed opinions).

It brings us to the question of what this book will actually be about, what will be the main material of this study and how it will be treated. Its main part (chapters II.2 and II.3) will consist of a rather old-fashioned typochronological and contextual study of the corpus of objects of Mediterranean origin discovered in Central European contexts of the 4<sup>th</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC with an emphasis on trying to obtain a full and complete picture. The situation in Bohemia will be set in a broader picture by comparison with two neighbouring regions in Central Europe. The method may seem unsophisticated. I will gladly agree that such positivism should not be the ultimate step in the intellectual development of mankind, but I firmly believe it to be the most adequate approach for this material at this stage of research and somewhat superior to the previous impression-based storytelling.

Some adaptations of the method will be indispensable for the subsequent chapter (II.4) in which I will try to judge, on the basis of several selected examples, the scope and impact of technological innovations of Mediterranean origin on the transalpine world. Both large scale phenomena and individual specific cases will be treated, once again in a broader geographical context.

Throughout this study I want to follow one principle – my ultimate aim is to study past communities (and their mutual relations) as archaeological units. In order to do so, I do not need to know their names. I don’t believe in Celts, I don’t believe in Boii and I don’t care about

them; I care about the inhabitants of Central Europe in the last few centuries BC and about their material remains and it is through their material remains that I want to read their stories. I do not believe that other sources are even partially capable of helping me in this effort and I hope to be able to demonstrate this later on (chapter I.1).

Before finishing, it is important to make some quick comments about how I actually use some of the terms mentioned above. I abstain completely from the word 'Celts' unless its use in the context is justified by the ancient written sources (along the lines of COLLIS 2003/2010; cf. KYSELA 2018/2019a); the term 'La Tène Culture' in my usage is not intended to be (as is sometimes the case) a politically correct whitewash for the concept of 'Celts', i.e. a set of essential traits inherent to an individual or a community. No one was ever born a Latènian... In my view, it is just a simplistic tag for our own means of classification. I do not understand a 'La Tène Culture' or the Mediterranean as monolithic blocks of essential properties, nor as analytical units on their own, or as actors in our studies, but rather as very general settings, a background against which we can project our material, a gauge of what is normal and what is unusual. They are for me mere artificially circumscribed aggregates of material features within a spatial continuum in which two neighbouring cultures (e.g. the La Tène and Italic cultures in northern Italy) may seem closer to each other than the two extreme ends of this single culture (e.g. La Tène in northern Italy and in Britain). We may of course assume that the shared material traits reflect also some shared values and social or economic models but we must assume them to be as dynamic and changeable in time and space as the material features. Both material culture and social strategies are direct products of human societies and therefore they are naturally maintained as long as it is advantageous for these societies, and transformed or replaced when it stops being the case, no matter whether it is for economic reasons or of prestige. These quite basic principles of human agency should be of no surprise to anyone but I find it useful to lay them out. Their principal point is that unlike some previous approaches and in spite of the seemingly bipolar terminology I use (La Tène/Central Europe vs. Mediterranean) we are not going to approach the evidence as a part of a large-scale narrative in which collective actors ('Celts', 'Boii', 'Romans') play out a drama of two civilisations clashing with each other. Europe of the last few centuries BC was, as I will try to demonstrate in what follows, a loose continuum of small self-contained worlds, each defined by, as well as co-defining, the underlying archaeological cultures and geographical areas, each in their own specific way, each with fluid and highly permeable borders; each of these small worlds has its own ways of dealing with elements of single archaeological cultures (that is of living culture of which little remains for us to judge), accepting, rejecting or passing them on to other regions. Our impression of what an entire archaeological culture is depends largely on these dialogues and intersections within the single small worlds and between them.



# I. THE SETTINGS



## 1. The historical setting

### CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE LAST CENTURIES BC

Our knowledge about historical events taking place in Central Europe in the last centuries BC, let alone their actors, is extremely limited, based exclusively on a small number of Greek and Roman written sources, as a rule, of ambiguous interpretation. In what follows we will go through the relevant quotes followed by a brief comment. Particular attention will be devoted to the topic of the Boii who play a key role in the history of research.

The available sources are few (all the relevant quotes are listed in their entirety in Appendix 1) and there have been innumerable attempts at making sense of them and synthesizing them which has resulted in dozens of slightly varying statements of *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*. That is exactly what we will try to avoid doing here, aware of the specificities of the use of written sources in protohistory. The seeming closeness of the Greek and Roman writers to the described events and the comprehensibility of their writings make an *apparence trompeuse* of these text fragments, as solid pieces of information forming part of a single story which we can simply reconstruct by lining up the fragments into chronological order and filling in the blank spaces with our imagination. I will argue that this is the incorrect way of dealing with written sources relating to a protohistorical situation in which, from the very definition of protohistory, the source was written down in a cultural environment different from that described in it. In our specific case, we have to keep in mind that our sources are seldom contemporary with the described events and not contemporary with each other either, thus potentially describing different realities; that these texts, true to the principles of Greek and Roman scholarly writing, are not necessarily independent creations based on a proper research for the facts but rather compilations of earlier texts, a conscious component of a broad Greco-Roman cultural discourse rather than a dialogue with reality; that for the Greeks and Romans the barbarians were interesting primarily as props for their own histories and therefore their literary representations are necessarily selective, if not purposefully formulated from the start.

In our case we are lucky enough to study the interaction between the Mediterranean and the transalpine world and therefore some information written down in the sources (i.e. information concerning these interactions mainly from the Greek/Roman side of this equation) can be of simple and direct use. On the other hand, all the information concerning the transalpine world itself has to be subjected to strict contextualisation in order to understand the author's own sources, his use of the information, as well as his motivations. Only correctly contextualised texts can be used for synthesis. Previous syntheses of the fragmentary evidence consisted often in combining the fragments into a logical order and in case of incongruity between them, choosing one and refuting the other as wrong. For most of these syntheses, the information preserved in the written sources formed the basic building blocks around which a story was constructed. The urge to turn the fragmentary sources into a narrative was so compelling that these constructed hypothetical events filling in the voids soon overshadowed the actual sources and some of the later syntheses do not distinguish the one from the other. This issue is partly due to the lack of adequate training with written sources on the part of

some of the scholars who produced these studies, and partly on the way sources were treated and dealt with.

Most syntheses of central European protohistory so far have in fact been based on a narrative approach centred on actors (mostly ethnic groups) and events. Such an approach was encouraged in the first place by the nature of the Greek and Roman sources operating on exactly these principles, but at the same time it resonated particularly well with the historiographic methods of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century which is when the majority of these studies were written. While in most historical archaeologies including Classical Archaeology in the Mediterranean such narrative event-based approaches have been found insufficient if not misleading over recent decades (BINTLIFF ed. 1991; TRIGGER 2006, 40–79), their use in central European protohistory has rarely been explicitly questioned.<sup>8</sup> It is time to do so. In my opinion, the sources are absolutely inadequate for any event-based reconstruction, and rather than force them into a linear narrative ('a story') illustrated by archaeology they should be (if used at all) on the contrary correctly arranged in time and space ('a picture': VAŠÍČEK 1994, 131–190) providing, no matter how vague and generic, ambient information to the archaeological sources on which our conclusions should be based in the first place.

## THE PLACES

The firm point of Greek and Roman geographical knowledge of Central Europe is the Danube/Istros, though it was probably simply assumed to be somewhere out there rather than precisely located let alone known from personal experience or exploration. The river was known in the Mediterranean at least from the times of Hecataeus and Herodotus and reaching its sources is mentioned by Strabo as one of the feats achieved by Tiberius during his 15 BC Alpine campaign. Other geographical features seem to have a somewhat fluid definition. The Hercynian Forest is considered the principal mountain range in central Europe by Aristotle (*Meteoric* 1, 13), and Caesar (*BG* VI, 24–25) makes it clear that for him the term describes the entire series of ranges from the Black Forest and the Schwäbische Alb through the Bohemian Massif up to the Carpathians. Although other authors may use the term when referring to more specific areas (in the upper reaches of Danube – Strabo IV, 6.8; VII, 1.5; in the heart of Germany or Bohemia – Strabo VII, 1.3, Pliny *NH* IV, 28; the Carpathians – Pliny *NH* IV, 25) that there is no need to doubt that it is this broad definition which should be considered valid *a priori*. No other toponyms are relevant for the following discussion.

## THE ACTORS AND THE EVENTS

When trying to follow the historical drama of Central Europe in the last centuries BC, we already encounter the first problems in the cast of characters. The principal actors of the events described in the sources were in fact (with some rare and late exceptions like Critasirus, Burebista, and Maroboduus) not individuals but various ethnic groups, mostly poorly defined as we shall see below. Mentions of these groups primarily include those indicating their approximate locations and to a much smaller extent those making reference to their deeds; in both cases they are at best vague. At this point it suffices to point out the obvious though sometimes overlooked fact that we cannot imagine these groups as modern nations with clearly defined boundaries and acting as clearly defined units.

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8 Though many scholars dismiss the use of written sources as not providing a sufficient basis worthy of consideration (e.g. VENCLOVÁ 2008/2013, 9–10).

One of the least documented peoples of pre-Roman Central Europe are the Volcae-Tectosages. Mentioned in passing by Caesar (*BG VI*, 24) as occupying (in Caesar's times?) 'the most fruitful parts of Germany around the Hercynian Forest', the Volcae have been frequently assigned a number of roles in southern Germany, northern Bohemia, and Moravia. Apart from sticking a name on an otherwise nameless archaeological group these identifications have basically no interpretational value.

Another ethnonym whose localisation may come in handy in later discussion are the Vindelici. They were not mentioned until the time of Strabo (*IV*, 6.8) and the Tropaeum Alpinum celebrating the 15 BC campaign. Strabo located them explicitly in southern Bavaria citing *Brigantium/Bregenz*, and *Cambodunum/Kempten* as theirs along with other unidentified sites. The origins of Augusta Vindelicorum (present day Augsburg) or at least the Roman presence there belong to the first decades AD (SCHAU 2004). Strabo however also clearly insists on associating the Vindelici with the Alps, even opposing them explicitly to the lowlands into which they make incursions. Present day research associates the Vindelici with the whole of southern Germany on the grounds of written records as well as (and principally) material culture (mainly coinage) differing from that further east. It is worth pointing out however that this material-based identification was reached only well after the identification of the Vindelici with the southern German La Tène culture had been long established on textual grounds.

Much less problematic is the definition of the territory of the Norici, which can be roughly located in the Austrian eastern Alps. The territory of the later Roman province of Noricum up to the course of the Danube is clearly to be understood solely as an administrative extension of a previously more restricted term, analogous to Raetia, and need in no way be a sign of the original extent of Norican territory, nor can we suppose on this basis their expansion northwards as is sometimes the case (cf. the so-called 'Norican phase' in Bratislava: KOLNÍKOVÁ 2014, 125–126, 131).

A key problem for our inquiry is understanding the issue of the Boii. Who, when, where, how... all the principal interrogative pronouns are open to discussion.

The Boii enter history in the famous description of the Celtic invasion of Italy preserved in Livy (*V*, 34–35) and Polybius (*II*, 17). At this point we will leave aside the history of the Boii in Italy (I discuss it in detail in KYSELA 2010a) and will instead note that: 1) the description showing the Celts invading Italy as clearly already established tribes may be to a large extent an *ex post* reconstruction based on the situation as known in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and it is more probable that the ethnic units only formed on Italian soil; the next reference to the Boii only dates to 283 BC (Polyb. *II*, 20.1); 2) the route by which the Boii entered Italy was, according to the written sources, the Poenine Pass, i.e. the route from Gaul like the other Celts involved in the invasion; 3) it is possible that some references to the eastern route preserved in some manuscripts are only due to assimilation to the tradition locating the Boii in Central Europe. Polybius in the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century, though discussing the Italian Boii extensively, does not seem to be aware of their Central European namesakes.

The first documented mention of a people called Boii in Central Europe (both from the point of view of the described events and from that of the moment of their recording) was written down in the first half of the first century BC by Posidonius and was preserved in the writings of Strabo (*VII*, 2.3). The Boii are characterised in this fragment as inhabitants of the Hercynian Forest (see above and Strabo *VII*, 1.3) successfully defending their territory against the invasion of the Cimbri and driving them towards the Danube whence they continued to ravage the Alpine regions in the end to clash with the Romans in 113 BC.

We have good reasons to believe that this is the earliest mention of Central European Boii at all or at least the most authoritative one available in the Augustan period. As a matter of fact,

when Strabo in another place (v, 1.6) comes up with the idea that the Boii occupying the middle Danube area are descendants of the Boii expelled by the Romans from northern Italy in 191 BC, he may be, as convincingly argued by Gerhard Dobesch (1993) only engaging in a learned polemic with the above stated opinion of Posidonius and proposing his own hypothesis based exclusively on the homonymy of the two peoples.

The earliest directly preserved reference to Boii in Central Europe is that by Caesar (*BG* I, 5.4) mentioning 30,000 Boii who joined the Helvetii campaign in 58 BC. Two supplementary pieces of information are provided in this reference: the Boii came from beyond the Rhine before which, having crossed the Danube, they made incursions into the territory of Roman allies the Norici and took part in a siege of Noreia. Although this latter event is not otherwise documented, Gerhard Dobesch (1989–1990; 1993) showed clearly that it must have been familiar to Caesar's readers, so much so that the author could use it in an instrumental way in order to characterise the Boii as a (nother) threat to Roman interests. The exact chronology of these events is unclear due to, among other things, the multiple versions in which it is preserved in the manuscripts (imperfect vs. pluperfect: cf. DOBESCH 1989–1990).

All the other mentions of the Boii date to the Augustan or Imperial period and are either of a vague geographical nature or refer to the demise of the Boii. Strabo mentions the Boii in several incongruous places. In iv, 6.8 they are inhabitants of the lowland adjoining the Alpine foothills and, along with the Helvetii, Sequani, and Germani were victims of Raetian and Vindelican raids. This statement apparently refers to southern Germany and is confirmed by another text further on (Strabo VII, 1.5) apparently based on a later source (reference to Suebi, with a more detailed knowledge of the area including the newly appearing Gabreta Forest). In this text, describing the territory near the sources of the Rhine and Danube, the Geographer's main reference point is a large lake (arguably Bodensee) on to which border the Helvetii, Vindelici and the 'Boii wasteland'. The latter term frequently used in reference to the middle Danube area made some scholars (e.g. ŠIMEK 1930–1953) think that Strabo is confusing here the Bodensee with Lake Balaton; the repeated reference to southern Germany however hints at intention rather than a mistake.

The most frequent and most explicit mentions located the Boii in the middle Danube area, i.e. the region in which we already encountered the Boii hypothetically brought there by Strabo (v, 1.6) from northern Italy. Unlike the former aetiological narrative, the remaining mentions of Boii in this area almost systematically refer to their demise there. The more outspoken passages (Strabo VII, 5.2; VII, 3.11) describe a major defeat of the Boii allied with the Taurisci, and led by a certain Critasirus, by the Dacians commanded by Burebista. In other cases (Strabo VII, 3.2; VII, 5.6; Pliny *NH* III, 146 / III, 27; *De mensuratio provinciarum*, 18) we read simply mentions of the Boii being annihilated, or of the 'Boii wasteland'. Let us note nevertheless that none of these references characterises the presence of the Boii there in any way, neither in terms of territorial extent ('separated from the Dacians' by the river Parisus is the only geographical reference – it is not said however, that Parisus was the border of the Celts, only of the Dacians), nor politically (not a word on the role of the Boii, let alone hegemony in this territory), even less so historically (the only firm point here is the alliance with the Taurisci under Critasirus; it is not even said to which of the two peoples Critasirus belonged).

Apart from references to southern Germany and the Middle Danube area, a third batch of mentions, dated mainly from the late Augustan period onwards, seem to connect the Boii with Bohemia. This is also suggested by the appearance of the toponym Boiohaemum, usually explained as Germanic for 'the home of the Boii' and which we have already come across in one of Strabo's texts (VII, 1.3) as Bujamon, the royal seat of the Marcomanic ruler Maroboduus. It is the history of Maroboduus or the Germanic occupation of the region in general that

these sources are most usually connected with in one way or another. Velleius Paterculus (II, 108–109) describes the preparations for the campaign of Tiberius against Maroboduus in AD 6(?) in a wordy manner (probably overrating it notably: KEHNE 2006). In this text, Maroboduus' Boiohaemum is very precisely delimited as having 'Germany in front and on the left, Pannonia to the right and the Noricans in the rear' while lying 'not further than two hundred miles from the Alpine passes marking the boundaries of Italy'. It was to be attacked from two sides, by Tiberius heading from Carnuntum and by Sentius Saturninus passing through the territory of Chatti and through the Hercynian Forest. Should the target area be roughly equidistant from both departure points, it is to be located in Bohemia or Bavaria.

Tacitus in *Germania* 28 outlines (with explicit reference to Caesar and recalling vaguely also Strabo VII, 1.6–9) the pre-Germanic ethnic situation in the territory 'between Rhine, Main, and the Hercynian Forest' as Helvetii in the west, Boii in the east adding that 'The name Boiemum still survives, marking the old tradition of the place, though the population has changed', defining further the territory from which the Boii had been driven out and which were at his time occupied by the Marcomanni.

The latest indirect reference to the Boii in the Greco-Roman literature is a mention of a 'Boiodurum' by Ptolemy, which can probably be identified with Passau (overview in NIE-MEIER 2003).

These literary references can be further supplemented by epigraphic sources, mostly dated to the first centuries of the Roman Empire.<sup>9</sup> In Győr there is an inscription (CIL IX 5363) mentioning a *civitas boiorum et azaliorum*<sup>10</sup>; the ethnonym 'Boii-' was employed in funerary inscriptions of individuals buried in Carnuntum (CIL III, 869, no. xxvi), in Ebersdorf in lower Austria (CIL III, 4594), and in Rome<sup>11</sup> (CIL VI 3308). Further west, another 'Boii-' is attested in Weißenburg in Bavaria (CIL III, 867, no. xxiv) while a military unit named *numerus exploratorum Boiorum et Tribocorum* is documented by two inscriptions from the *Agri decumates* – Unterallgäu, Bavarian Swabia (CIL XIII 6448), and Murrhardt, Rems-Murr-Kreis, Stuttgart (WIEGELS 1981).

As we can see, the facts we can derive from the written sources are few and in most cases confusing. It is now worth having a quick look at the ways these facts have been treated by scholars over the last few centuries.

## THE READINGS

The earliest modern<sup>12</sup> exegeses of the sources took a relatively restrained approach to the factual basis of the topic (reserving all their manipulative effort to its moral aspects). The highly influential Czech historian and politician František Palacký localised the Boii in the broad area stretching from southern Germany through Bohemia to the Austrian Danube area. After the defeat by the Dacians they withdrew to Bohemia to be absorbed there by the Marcomanni (PALACKÝ 1833; 1848/1936). The Bavarian philologist J. K. Zeuss (1837, 244–248) viewed the situation in the opposite way: the Boii originally occupied the same large area but under

9 With the notable exception of the famous BOIOS graphitto from the oppidum of Manching (KRÄMER 1982, 492–496).

10 L. VOLCATIO Q. F. VEL. PRIMO PRAEF. COH. I. NORICOR. IN PANN. PRAEF. RIPAE DANVVI ET CIVITATIVM DVARVM BOIOR. ET AZALIOR.

11 The *Eques singularis* was likely of Pannonian origin.

12 I leave aside the earliest portion of the research history which I treated in detail elsewhere (KYSÉLA 2012b; 2015a) focusing here only on the last two centuries.

pressure from the Germans (the first of which were the Cimbri, the last the Marcomanni) they were pushed out to the middle Danube area only, gaining new territory there by fighting the Noricans but soon succumbing to the Dacians. Also the early Czech archaeologist J. E. Wocel (1865; 1868) stuck to the sources in a rather uninventive manner: in his opinion the Boii who arrived in Central Europe during the Celtic migration settled in Germany and Bohemia which they left before the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century migrating to Gaul while those in the Middle Danube region arrived there from northern Italy to be crushed by Burebista.

The last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were characterised by the appearance of several complex syntheses of the ethnic situation in pre-Roman and non-Roman Central Europe, first by German philologists and historians, followed later by their Czech counterparts. In these works, the information concerning the Boii was no longer treated in isolation but had to be brought in line with all the other geographical and ethnographical information provided by the sources on other neighbouring peoples and regions. Karl Müllenhoff's explanation is relatively close to that proposed half a century earlier by Zeuss (MÜLLENHOFF 1887, 265–270): the Boii occupied Italy and Central Europe during a single migration in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century but the two groups remained distinct and never interacted any more (MÜLLENHOFF 1887, note in p. 267). Significantly, instead of an original large Boian territory in Central Europe from which different parts were gradually lost, Müllenhoff introduced the notion of the Boii migrating from one zone to the other: by the time of Ariovistus, the Boii had vacated Bohemia and shifted towards the Middle Danube area; all the sources after Caesar know them only there, while north of the Danube their memory is preserved only in the Germanic toponym of Boiohaemum. Similar to Müllenhoff's multi-volume work, a comprehensive article by the philologist Rudolf Much (1893) strove in the first place to synthesize all written sources concerning the Germanic peoples. Much refuted any Boian presence in southern Germany beyond the Danube and introduced the idea that the territory of the Volcae Tectosages is to be located in Moravia. In spite of his urge for holism and obsessively pedantic thoroughness, Much's study failed to address e.g. the presence of Boii in the Danube area, focusing entirely on the replacement of the Boii by the Germans in Bohemia. More importantly much of Much's historical discussion was based on a flawed impressionistic narrative, sometimes circular arguments and shortcuts, not to mention the nation based approach, understandable in the paradigm of the period: e.g. the *agri vacantes* mentioned by Caesar (BG, VI, 23) in an extremely generic discussion of Germanic settlement strategies 'cannot be understood as anything else than Bohemia [by that time deserted by the Boii]' (p. 10, 20), the entire discussion on the Volcae is based on entirely fantastical arguments and guesswork (p. 10–11), the Boii could not have been expelled from Bohemia by the Marcomanni because they had endured the attack of the Cimbri over a century earlier (p. 99–100), etc. In spite of this bizarre logic, some of Much's conclusions remained influential for decades to come. A study by Niese (1898) focused on selected aspects of Celtic history. Niese introduced to Central Europe the notion of the Celts originating in southern Germany, formulated shortly before by Bertrand and Reinach (1894). As part of his discussion in this sense he rejected the Caesarean Volcae as merely a depleted survival of the Segovesan myth. As far as the Boii were concerned, Niese like most earlier scholars opted for a large and static picture: the Boii stretched from southern Germany through Bohemia and Moravia up to the Middle Danube region. He argued vehemently but on inadequate grounds for a very early date (around 60 BC) for their defeat by the Dacians in this entire territory giving rise to the Boian wasteland in Pannonia and ( $\approx$  Much) *agri vacantes* in Bohemia waiting for the Marcomanni to come.

By that time, in Bohemia Josef Ladislav Píč had already formulated his ideas on the issue combining historical and archaeological sources as well as some rather intuitive linguistics. Such

exercises were to become extremely frequent and between the 1900s and the 1950s, Czech and Czechoslovak research produced dozens of such combined studies. In spite of enormous variation in details, they share many points in common and in substance reiterate only a few basic story-lines. Píč formulated his opinions as part of a grand narrative, summarising the entire Bohemian prehistory in terms of interaction between various ‘peoples’ (= archaeological cultures). While treating all the ‘peoples’ with equal diligence, it is the ‘Slavs’ (or explicitly the Czechs) whose story he narrated and whose role in the Bohemian past he strove to define. Píč identified these Slavs with a series of cremation cultures in north and northeast Bohemia invading the territory, in his opinion, in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Based on written sources, Píč associated Bohemia in the Iron Age with the Boii, identified by him with the La Tène flat graves, recognizing the similarity with ‘Celtic burials’ in northern Italy and France, while the oppidum of Stradonice was in his opinion the seat of Marcomanic rule under Marobuduuus and in this sense a sort of cultural island. According to him, both the Boian and the Marcomanic presence were of short duration and mostly political in nature, and both peoples were forced to leave the country by the expanding Slavs – the Boii, following Caesar’s information leaving before 60 BC for Pannonia and towards the Helvetii, the Marcomanni quitting in 25/50 AD (Píč 1890; Píč 1893, x–xiii; Píč 1902; Píč 1908, 44–46).

Píč’s rivals from the younger generation, Lubor Niederle and his colleagues from the ‘University school of thought’ (NIEDERLE 1900; BUCHTELA 1906; BUCHTELA – NIEDERLE 1910) endorsed the idea of a Celtic homeland in southwestern Germany (BERTRAND – REINACH 1894; NIESE 1898) extending it to Bohemia. Realising that there were two entities in the country which can be dated to the Iron Age, Niederle opted for a rather complex solution – the name applied to the country must be derived from the indigenous people, i.e. the Celtic barrow builders of the Early Iron Age in southern Bohemia (following a Bronze Age tradition) rather than the later La Tène period flat grave invaders. These graves were even argued to date as late as the 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century BC or even the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, and were considered to belong either to a non-specific Celtic group (BUCHTELA – NIEDERLE 1910) or even the Marcomanni (BUCHTELA 1906). Also Stradonice was Marcomanic for Niederle and his colleagues as it was for Píč. Though relatively positive about the indigenous barrow builders, the ‘University scholars’ were as dismissive of the historical role of the Marcomanni as Píč was, insisting, like him, on the Slavicity of the northeast cultures, dating their arrival in Bohemia far earlier than that of the Boii, let alone the Marcomanni. Surviving under the rule of both invaders these cultures then became the sole inhabitants of the country after the Boii left for Gaul and the Middle Danube area in 60 BC while the Marcomanni disappeared gradually.

The most extreme versions of these early interpretations were largely repudiated by Niederle’s pupils after the First World War (SCHRÁNIL 1928; 1929; ŠIMEK 1923; BÖHM 1941; but cf. also, HORÁK 1923): Stradonice was reclassified as a Late La Tène oppidum; the cremation cultures in the north were recognised to be in reality a mixture of peoples including, besides the latest Slavs, also the Germans of the Roman Iron Age as well as Bronze and Early Iron Age Lusatian cultures; the Slavicity of these Lusatian cultures was mostly ignored. What remained from the previous interpretations were, however, many small details – often those which need not have originally been more than figures of speech. The focus, now exclusively on the Czech lands, brought about some considerable simplifications; the territory of Boiohaemum or simply the homelands of the Boii were sought primarily in Bohemia or at the most in the immediately adjoining parts of Bavaria, ethnic interpretations seldom discussed populations other than those (potentially) involving the territory of what was then Czechoslovakia. The inter-war generation of Czechoslovak archaeologists settled on the notion that the original

Hallstatt cultures in southern and central Bohemia, and the La Tène flat graves represented two distinct populations, both of Celtic origin and partially overlapping chronologically, based on a still unclear chronology and the common association of Hallstatt and La Tène settlement finds. This was an important point; the idea, inherited from the earlier generation, of the co-existence of an earlier subdued, and an incoming dominant, population.<sup>13</sup> One of these populations was always considered to be the Boii – usually it was the southern Bohemian barrow culture as suggested already by Niederle. The then assumed continuity of this culture until the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC made this idea still relatively plausible. The flat graves were in this case attributed either to the Volcae or a non-specified Celtic tribe. Exceptional in this respect was Josef Schráníl (1928; 1929) who argued correctly that in 113 BC when the written sources mention the Boii for the first time, the archaeologically visible populations are the flat graves (thanks to their late dating) and the oppida. It is not to say that Schráníl was ‘right’ (the search for truth is not our aim here); it is meant to demonstrate that his logical fact-based arguments, still perfectly within the prevailing paradigm of the time, stood no chance against the consensus of the majority. The issue of the end of Celtic presence in Bohemia took a new spin thanks to new knowledge on non-La Tène cultural groups in northern Bohemia, dated from as early as the Middle La Tène period (REINECKE 1915; MÄHLING 1944a; 1944b). ‘Gradual infiltration’ and ‘increasing pressure from the Germans’ beginning in the Middle La Tène period and continuing through the Cimbri, and Ariovistus down to Maroboduus became a *locus communis* in discussions of the reasons for the departure of Boii,<sup>14</sup> which became universally viewed as a long term process beginning in 80s or 60s BC and continuing through to the end of the millennium. Three points of this migration story were widely shared: 1) the Boii left, for Gaul to join the Helvetii and for the Middle Danube region to establish a Boian ‘empire’ there, later destroyed by the Dacians. It was only at this point, and primarily in Czech research that the Bohemian/Bavarian and the Pannonian Boii were presented not as two parallel entities but as the latter being a later offshoot of the former.<sup>15</sup> The idea is primarily based on a combined and adapted reading of some of the written sources (Strabo: ‘the Boii earlier dwelt in the Hercynian Forest’; Caesar: ‘the Boii crossed Danube and besieged Noreia’; Tacitus: ‘the Marcomanni gained their territory in land from which the Boii had been expelled’) to which archaeological evidence was only secondarily added in order to back it up. 2) The notion of an ‘empire’ is consistently present in all the interpretations though not supported by any written or archaeological source other than perhaps Strabo’s statement about their border on the Parisus, believed to be the Tisza. 3) Another important point on which almost all the inter-war scholars insist is the persistence of some of the Celts in Bohemia until the Roman Iron Age as can be assumed from the latinised nature of the earliest Germanic culture – the idea of an incoming dominant population co-existing with the indigenous people persists even though the Slavic card is played only exceptionally.

Curiously enough, this universally agreed upon basic scheme was reached by individual scholars by completely different and sometimes radically differing chains of arguments and proofs: the Boii left for Pannonia no matter if they had occupied the south or the centre of

13 In this context it is worth noting that although the issue of Slavicity was explicitly rejected by some scholars (e.g. SCHRÁNIL 1928), Jan Filip in particular continued to hint at it (FILIP 1936–1937) and later even explicitly reintroduced it into the discussion (FILIP 1946).

14 So much so that, for example Böhm (1941), localising the Boii in southern Bohemia, yet still needing to fit in the narrative of migrant Boii, let the tribe leave their homeland under the pressure of the Volcae from central Bohemia who on their turn were pushed by the Germans...

15 Šimek (1923) assumed an earlier migration from Bohemia concurrently to Italy and to the Middle Danube region, followed by a supplementary migration to the latter region in the 60s–10s BC.

Bohemia; the Celts were under Germanic pressure no matter if it can be demonstrated by a growing or, on the contrary, decreasing occupation of southern Bohemia; the Marcomanni were latinised no matter if they are represented by the later stages of Stradonice or by the Dobřichovice stage of the Roman Iron Age, etc. This seeming consensus was therefore not the result of a ground-breaking understanding of the archaeological picture based on a reinterpretation of the written sources; both kinds of sources remained basically the same and what changed was not a better understanding but a mutual agreement on the ways to read them. This is clear from the fact that radical departures from this general scheme were possible and remained unopposed or could not be argued. For example, in Slovakia, Ondrouch published shortly afterwards an alternative idea localising 'Iron Age Boiohaemum' in the Middle Danube area (ONDROUCH 1959). While this study is far from impeccable in terms of logical discussion and analysis of the sources, it shows to what extent the sources remained devoid of any deeper understanding, and open to any interpretation.

This stage of research was synthesised in the works of Jan Filip (1956; 1960) from an archaeological point of view and Josef Dobiáš (1964) from an historical perspective. Both scholars – two of the last few remaining from their generation – took unexpectedly liberal approaches in the matter. Filip in his study (FILIP 1956) contented himself with summing up (not always precisely) the opinions of other scholars (Boii either in the south or in the centre, migration before 58 BC, a Boian 'empire' on the Danube), while not committing himself excessively; in Filip's approach the Boii did not matter – his narrative was about the Celts, the individual peoples were secondary (KYSELA 2015a). Dobiáš (1964, 24–25, 28–30) took the same approach while demonstrating a particularly whateveristic perspective on details: the Boii were to be identified in the flat burials because they occupied the more attractive part of the land which inherited their name, they nevertheless extended up to Danube as demonstrated by Boian settlements like Třísov and (for some reason) Linz (it is not explained why any of these is 'Boian'). In comparison with his evasive formulations in his academic monograph, Filip showed a more opinionated attitude in his work for the general public (FILIP 1960, 58–62) though camouflaged in hardly intelligible rhetorical twists and turns. He made the reader understand that the Boii are for him the population of the flat burials though insisting on the Celticity of the preceding population and mainly on its survival under the rule of the relatively small group of Boii long into the La Tène period – the conservative south remained untouched by the Boian invasion. He subsequently introduced a new element, extremely important for our inquiry: the Boii expelled by the Romans from northern Italy migrated to the middle Danube area *teste* Strabo and 'it is not excluded also to Bohemia'. In his (from today's perspective extremely low) chronology in which LT B2 and C1 date to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century he could corroborate this assertion by pointing out the similarity of the Middle La Tène culture in Italy and in central Bohemia (contrasting it, however, to the Late Hallstatt culture of southern Bohemia rather than to other Middle La Tène regions of Europe). It was in his opinion from this moment on that the Boii (=LT B2/C1) started to penetrate into southern Bohemia in search of raw materials. The low chronology helped him equally to find archaeological proof for the departure of the Boii from Bohemia to Pannonia in the disappearance of burials in LT C1 Bohemia and their sudden increase in LT B2 and C1 in southern Slovakia. Another proof is the use of shell staters of Bohemian origin in Bratislava (FILIP 1960, 116) as well as the similarity of pottery produced in Bratislava with that made in the Bohemian oppida (JANSOVÁ 1964). Filip certainly can be commended for trying to interlink the so far exclusively historical interpretations with archaeological corroboration and cannot be reproached for introducing in his interpretation the written sources for the Boian migration from northern Italy refuted by all his colleagues; we should realize however, that the way he worked with written sources here changed considerably relative to the

previous research: rather than an analysis of the single sources and of the secondary studies thereof, we are presented with a complete story in which the source, its interpretation, and archaeological material to corroborate them intertwine into a single whole. This is the case of both the work for the general public and for the academic study. These ideas of Filip were the last statement in the matter for several decades. Bohemian archaeologists took them for the norm or rather ignored them focusing on research questions other than historical interpretations (only vague statements can be found e.g. in PLEINER – RYBOVÁ eds. 1978). Filip's book for the general public kept being republished until 1995 without modifications.

It was only in the 1990s and 2000s that historical interpretations, and with them also the written sources, returned as a subject of study. The prime mover of this approach was Venceslas Kruta (1978; 1980a; 2000; 2006; KRUTA 2018; KRUTA – MANFREDI 1999). His views overlap largely with those published by Petr Drda and Alena Rybová (1995; 1998), and by Jan Bouzek (e.g. BOUZEK 2007; 2011a; 2011b; 2011c). Although it was of course necessary to accommodate many modifications mainly in terms of chronology, their scheme remains extremely similar to that presented by Filip or other scholars of his generation. In the opinion of Kruta, Drda, Rybová and Bouzek, Boii were present in Bohemia from the Early Iron/Middle Bronze Age (if not from the Eneolithic: KRUTA 2018, 301), and can be identified with the southern ( $\approx$  Niederle, Šimek) but also central Bohemian ( $\approx$  Böhmi) Hallstatt cultures. Kruta, extremely critical of the idea of a mixed Iron Age population (no more acceptable in today's chronology) has basically the entire population of southern Bohemia leave the country in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century to be replaced by an incoming flat grave population identified by him (and Bouzek, unlike Drda and Rybová) with the Volcae who occupy lowland Bohemia and Moravia. After their defeat in Italy, the Boii retreat to the Middle Danube area while, 'it remains an open question whether some [...] did not proceed to Bohemia' ( $\approx$  Filip; DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1997). Archaeological proof of this idea is looked for in the foundation of oppida in the southern part of Bohemia reputedly reoccupied by the Boii; their spread to the north is not possible due to the pressure from the Volcae ( $\approx$  Böhmi). Reoccupation of southern Bohemia in search for resources ( $\approx$  Filip) is also mentioned although much more difficult to bring into correspondence with the present chronology. Thinning down of the population in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC ( $\approx$  Schráníl, Böhmi, Filip) is now demonstrated on the evidence from the oppida; at this point the Boii partially retreat to the Middle Danube area where they gain a hegemony centred around Bratislava.

Once again, there is essentially nothing wrong about efforts to verify a text-based historical reconstruction with archaeological evidence; in our case one has nevertheless clearly the impression, that it is the story which existed in the first place and to which archaeological proof had to accommodate. It is obvious from the fact that the narrative line is basically identical with that outlined several decades earlier by Jan Filip, regardless of the fact that rather than a source analysis, it was itself only a relatively loose interpretation of the then available source analyses.

It is remarkable how pervasive the story has remained; the majority of present day Czech archaeologists deliberately abstain from historical approaches either ignoring historical interpretations completely or recognizing explicitly the inadequacy of written sources (e.g. VENCLOVÁ ed. 2008/2013, 9–10; SALAČ 2012, 338; MANGEL – DANIELISOVÁ – JÍLEK 2013, 15; cf. KYSELA 2015a, 154–155, fig. 3), but still, some elements of the inherited Boii story may appear, surely subconsciously, in their writings (e.g. the entirely imaginary migration of Boii from Bohemia to Bratislava, albeit reduced to the migration of the elite rather than the entire population: VENCLOVÁ 2008/2013, 10; DANIELISOVÁ 2011, 116, 121).

We can see that over the history of research and in particular in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the syntheses of the written sources became to a certain extent a self-contained doctrine growing

increasingly detached from the sources themselves. The interpretations have leapt from one scientific generation to another not with the advancement of knowledge but with the progressive establishment of a shared and agreed upon narrative. No matter how much these interpretations were propped up with archaeological arguments or how much they were called upon to explain archaeological phenomena, they were not shaped by them. What remained from one generation to another were the single narrative elements; what changed were the archaeological proofs necessary to make the narrative function in the archaeological state of art of the period. Suggestions of one generation became hypotheses in the following one and certainties in the third. Unsubstantiated hypotheses formulated from historical sources and even simple rhetorical means gradually overshadowed the sources themselves up to a point in which the pursuit of their narrative became an end in its own right.

#### A BOTTOM LINE

I have tried to show elsewhere (Kyselá 2012b; 2015a; 2018/2019a) how these narratives were to a certain extent unconsciously shaped by the personal, cultural, not to say political agendas of individual scholars, that they too obviously reflect the scholars' intellectual heritage, their pre-existing positions and dispositions or that they, in other words, formed part of the broader cultural discourse of the period. It is necessary to insist that we are dealing in all cases not with deliberate manipulations but with adaptations of an unconscious nature, always made *in optima fide* on the basis of each researcher's personal and scholarly *habitus*. The fact remains nevertheless that instead of arranging facts to provide us with insights into events in Central Europe in the last centuries BC, the modern syntheses are rather palimpsests of thoughts from different times and places which entrap us in labyrinths of invented stories. This is not the place to undertake a profound discourse analysis of these texts; suffice it to point out the gaping difference between the actual sources and the interpretations constructed on top of them.

For all these reasons I will argue that it is necessary to step back from most historical considerations proposed so far for central European protohistory and to admit the inadequacy of the available sources for any such exercise.

As far as the localisation of the protohistoric populations, namely of the Boii, is concerned, I have previously (Kyselá 2014b; 2018/2019a) endorsed 'maximalist' approaches (Stöckli 1979a, 198; Waldhauser 2001, 13; Collis 2003/2010, 117; Fichtl 2006; Rieckhoff 2009) which do not explain the multiplicity of localisations with invented migrations between them but rather by redefinition of these ethnic groups and by considering how we perceive them. The ubiquity of the Boii in Central Europe could therefore be explained by the fact that rather than a single tribe we may be dealing here with a collective ethnonym at the level of Caesar's Celts, Belgae and Aquitani rather than Aedui or Remi. It is worth realizing moreover that the Boii in the sources constantly give the impression of marking the limits of the writers' knowledge: at first they seem to be at the geographical margin of the world Rome had to deal with, while later they become the horizon of slowly waning memories. Under these circumstances it is not at all impossible that the term Boii was used in the Greco-Roman world only as a generic catch-all label for the central European Celts. If it were so, it is entirely possible that the term acquired this status *per extensionem* from a more specific *Selbstbezeichnung* – after all, the *civitas Boiorum* in Pannonia obviously consisted of people calling themselves Boii; there is however no way of finding out what was the correct use of the term in the actual pre-Roman Central Europe. Whether it was so or not, it is clear that an ethnonym about which we cannot even be sure

what kind of ethnic group it describes is hardly a useful basis for any historical considerations. In the following text, the use of ethnic terms will be systematically avoided; it contributes in no way to our knowledge and only obfuscates our ability to reason on purely archaeological grounds. The word Boii will only be applied to the 'Boian coinage' with full awareness of it being a modern technical term with no significance for a past reality. References in ancient sources to Boii will be understood as broadly relating to Central Europe unless the source explicitly states otherwise, e.g. the clash between them and the Dacians in which the Boii are clearly to be understood as inhabitants of the northwestern edge of the Carpathian Basin.

As far as historical events are concerned, we will ignore the information from Livy about Boii arriving in Italy in the 4<sup>th</sup> (let alone 6<sup>th</sup> century BC) as a mere *ex post* reconstruction. The same is true for Strabo's idea of a reverse migration from Italy to the Middle Danube area, clearly debunked by Dobesch. Likewise, Caesar's reference to the Volcae occupying at an unspecified period an unspecified part of Central Europe is of no value as it is too vague and has no link to any other written or archaeological record. Under these circumstances, the earliest written reference to Central Europe is the campaign of the Cimbri sometime before 113 BC. A victory of the Boii is the only thing we can be sure of; the exact location or the political and social consequences of this encounter are only mere guesswork. Sometime before 58 BC a group of Boii besieged Noreia, probably contrary to Roman interests. Once again, we know nothing else and extending this event to broader political considerations is nothing but storytelling. In 58 BC a group of 30,000 Boii joined the campaign of the Helvetii in Gaul. In the Carpathian Basin at one point the Boii controlled an area up to (or rather not extending beyond) the river Tisza but were defeated and annihilated by the Dacians led by Burebista. This war can be dated to sometime around 46–35 BC (GÖBL 1994; DOBESCH 1994/2001; 1995/2001).

In the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD a community identifying itself with the Boii demonstrably lived in the then Roman Middle Danube area and it makes sense therefore that the most consistent information on the Boii comes from here, but the Boii were clearly remembered or considered to be the original inhabitants of a region including present day Bohemia and probably parts of Bavaria. There is no way of supplementing this flat and static picture with dynamic elements like events and status (formation of the tribe, migration of its parts, mutual dependence between the areas, alleged hegemony in the Middle Danube region); no source provides any help on this matter. No source is earlier than 113 BC and any considerations of events prior to this date, including 'the formation of the Boii in Bohemia in the 5<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> century BC', are mere fantasy.

Most importantly, I will insist that we do not need written sources at all. If their information is vague and ambiguous, let us not hesitate to dismiss it. Archaeological sources provide us with a picture which is rich and complex enough to more than make up for the lack of any written information. Those who miss in this case the kinds of information which only written sources can provide (ethnonyms, events, and persons) are advised to turn to other historical periods. The sources on Central Europe in the last centuries BC can only provide blurred impressions, never clear pictures. They can only be background music to the main role played by archaeology according to the rules of that discipline.

## ROMANS DRAWING CLOSE

Compared with the dearth on information on Central Europe in the period under study, we are somewhat better off as far as the information on the Roman presence in the regions neighbouring Central Europe is concerned (overview e.g. in VEDALDI ISABEZ 1994). The Ro-

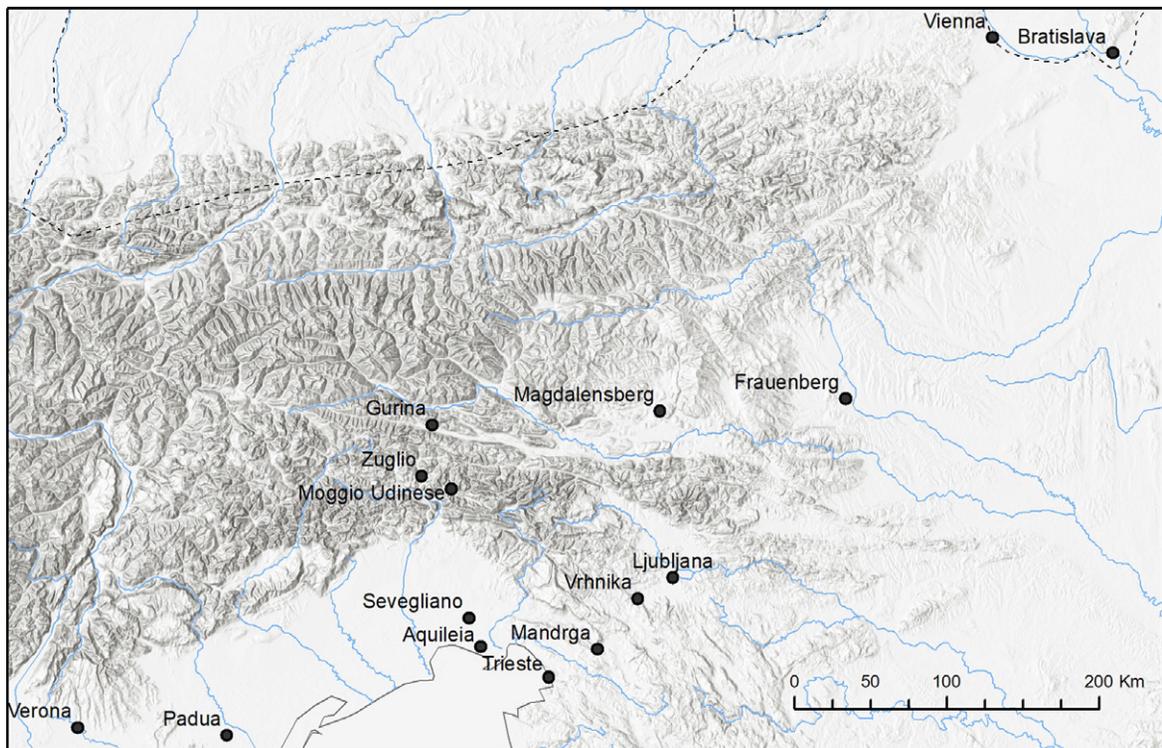
mans conquered northern Italy in the aftermath of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Punic War. By the early 180s BC, they controlled in one way or another the whole of the Po plain; while the regions south of the river were under direct Roman rule with the annexation of large portions of land and the foundation of both Latin and Roman colonies and other centres; Transpadana and Veneto were tied to Rome by a series of alliances (BRIZZI 1987). Transpadane settlements only started acquiring colonial status after the Social War in 91–88 BC, and that only as so-called fictitious colonies, i.e. by the elevation of indigenous settlements to colonial status rather than by new foundation by colonists from central Italy (overview e.g. in DENTI 1990, 31–53).

In this perspective the case of Aquileia, founded as a Latin colony as early as in 181 BC in the farthest northeast corner of the Adriatic, is exceptional. The foundation was preceded by a remarkable series of events in which the site of the future colony was first occupied in 186 BC by a contingent of 12,000 Gauls ‘from beyond the Alps’. The Romans approached them in a resolute though stunningly peaceful way; first the Senate required an explanation from representatives of their nation directly in their homeland (Liv. xxxix, 22.7). A subsequent ‘punitive’ expedition against the newcomers in 183 BC only contented itself with disarming them. The Gauls left after an unsuccessful appeal to the Senate; the transalpine authorities once again sided with Rome in this matter (Liv. xxxix, 54–55). Another failed attempt by Celts to settle in this region is recorded in 179 BC (Liv. xl, 53.5). The insight this series of events gives us into the Roman northeastern policy is extremely valuable and hardly finds an equal among the Roman written sources in this respect. Not only does it allow us to understand what detailed ideas the Romans had about even the most distant parts of the Cisalpine region and about their strategic interests in it, but also it makes clear that even at this extremely early date the Alpine foothills were not the horizon of Roman diplomacy. Both the Romans and the transalpine elites demonstrated an extraordinary degree of mutual understanding and ability to act in concert; what we are observing here is either the moment in which diplomatic relations and mutual policies were being established or possibly even the enactment of previously reached accords.

The foundation of Aquileia followed in 181 BC (Liv. xl, 34). Further reinforcement of the colonial contingent occurred in 169 BC: Liv. xl, 34) and the colony was attached to the rest of the Roman world by the via Postumia in 148 BC and the via Annia in 153/131 BC. It clearly had the purpose of strategically securing the northeastern corner of Italy whether by protecting it from incursions or by laying foundations for further expansions, directed in the first decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century mainly against Istria and Illyria (ŠAŠEL KOS 2013). Throughout this period, the Romans seem to have continued to cultivate good relationships with some local populations. Already in 178 BC we hear about 3,000 Celtic auxiliaries assisting the Romans in a failed campaign against the Istrians (Liv. xli, 1.8). Although no details are given and the Celts could surely come from northern Italy (e.g. Insubrians or Cenomani) it is legitimate to assume that they may be one of the Alpine populations, involved for the first time in the Roman alliance system (ŠAŠEL KOS 1997, 26). When in 171 BC the consul C. Cassius Longinus recklessly led his troops from Aquileia along the Adriatic coast, the Senate responded to the complaint by the Celtic ruler Cinibilius with a high profile investigation and compensation to the impaired (Liv. liii, 5.1–10). Polybius reported on discovery (‘during his lifetime’ = 203–120 BC) of gold mines by the Taurisci in whose exploitation Italians took part at least for a period of time (*apud* Strabo iv, 6.12). In 113 BC the Romans first clashed with Cimbri ‘in the territory of Norici who had friendly relations with the Romans’ (Strab. v, 1.8; *App. Kelt.* 13).

Between 58 and 49 BC, Caesar spent his proconsular years as governor of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum and although he is now much better known today for his activity in Transalpine Gaul in the same period, he spent a considerable amount of time in northern Italy, repeatedly

quartered in Aquileia, held courts and was involved in matters concerning the politics of the northern Adriatic and eastern Alps (VADALDI IASBEZ 2000; ŠAŠEL KOS 2000; SANTANGELO 2016). We have already seen Caesar alluding to the Boian attack on Noreia as a threat to Roman interests (BG I, 5,3) for which we lack the broader context certainly well known to his Roman readers. A decade later, Caesar's troops were assisted by 300 riders sent by the king of Noricum in the war against Pompey (BC I, 18,5); although the latter case may testify to relations on a personal rather than at state level, it clearly makes the case for shared interests of both men and probably of a relationship cultivated between them.



**Fig. 1: East Alpine area in the Late Republican period - sites quoted in the text.**

At least over the last century of the Republican period, the Romans gradually gained a foothold in the part of the eastern Alps adjoining the territory of Aquileia (Fig. 1). Strabo (IV, 6.10) describes the itinerary beginning in the Odra Pass and following to the river Nauportus (today's Ljubljana) and a settlement of the same name. This territory, dominated later by the city of Emona (today's Ljubljana) was considered part of the *ager* of Aquileia and still in the Imperial period it belonged to Italy rather than Pannonia (ŠAŠEL KOS 2013, 195–199). Archaeological sources clearly corroborate these reports; several sites have been excavated in the Odra (today Razdrto) Pass, from which especially Mandrga has produced plentiful finds of Republican date (HORVAT – BAVDEK 2008). The site of Nauportus (today Vrhnika some 20 km upstream from Ljubljana/Emona) has been known for quite some time thanks to its Augustan warehouses (HORVAT 1990; MUŠIČ – HORVAT 2007); a very recent rescue excavation however identified a significant Late Republican horizon on the site, documenting a Roman presence from at least the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (VOJAKOVIĆ – BEKLJANOV ZIDANŠEK – TOŠKAN 2019).

It was the area of Emona which became the bridgehead for Octavian's war in Illyricum in 35–33 BC conquering both the Illyrian and Dalmatian coast and the interior centered on Siscia

(ŠAŠEL KOS 2005; ŠAŠEL KOS 2013, 187–195). This circumstance makes clear the significance of this route for communication of Italy with the Balkans and Pannonia.

The situation is somewhat less clear in a northerly direction, through which the routes to central Europe most probably passed. In immediately pre-Augustan and Augustan periods we can reasonably assume a Roman presence in (and Roman commercial and political interests relying on) the sites forming a communication axis Zuglio (*Forum Iulii*) / Moggio Udinese – Gurina – Magdalensberg. For earlier phases of the Late Iron Age evidence is unclear. In the whole of northern Friuli, Romanisation surely promoted by Aquileia becomes evident from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (VITRI 2001). The examples located in the Pre-Alps are Zuglio in the valley of the Bût and the very recently published Moggio in the valley of Fella (FALESCHINI 2018); both the mentioned rivers are tributaries of the Tagliamento flowing from here to Aquileia. Excavations in the area of the forum of the later Roman town (of Caesarean or Augustan foundation) in Zuglio and in different spots of Moggio identified occupation going back to the middle/end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and including imports of Italian tableware. Continuing upstream of the Bût and having crossed the next Alpine ridge there is the site of Gurina; its recent publication (GAMPER 2015) clearly demonstrates the significance of the site (also in terms of contacts with Roman Italy) but unfortunately some aspects of the author's agenda make full understanding of the site (mainly its chronology) problematic. Other local hillforts feature some, though only relatively meagre, evidence of contacts with Italy prior to the Augustan period (overview in GUGL 2000, 129–139) The most important site in this part of the Alps is without doubt the Magdalensberg further downstream the Gail and Drau/Drava. The site is generally famous for what is plausibly presented as a settlement of Roman/Italian merchants and craftsmen on the slopes of the mountain; the nature of the native (?) occupation on the hilltop and its chronology as well as the date at which the Roman merchants first settled on the slopes has been subject of much debate. The traditional dating of the foundation after the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century is argued in DOLENZ *et al.* 2007; 2009 often with explicit rejection of the low chronology (foundation only in 16/15 BC) proposed by P. Gamper (synthesis in GAMPER 2015). D. Božič (2008) drew attention to the sporadic presence of finds from the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Gamper's late dating of the site is out of the question and contradicts any available evidence. I am more inclined to see the beginning of the occupation in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century though admittedly the evidence is meagre. Whether in the Magdalensberg or elsewhere, there must have been sites in the eastern Alps which were in contact with the Roman world already in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> if not in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century – linking points between sites like Zuglio or Moggio in Italy and Central Europe (the intimacy of these early contacts is made clear by the site of Wien-Rochusmarkt, see below).

The Alps as a whole came under Roman rule as a result of a combined campaign led by Drusus and Tiberius in 15 BC (Strab. VII, 1,5; Horat. *Carm.* IV, 14.14). Among the regions dealt with in this study it is mainly the central Alps with the valleys of the rivers Adige and Inn. We do not have clear information as to how major the Roman impact on southern Germany was at this point. Although the province of Raetia was not established until the Claudian period, the Roman presence was most likely constant from the Augustan period, its exact manifestations are, however, difficult to circumscribe archaeologically (HÜSSEN – IRLINGER – ZANIER eds. 2004; ZANIER 2004).

Similar uncertainties concern the neighbouring regions of Noricum. We do not hear about conquests in this region previously attached to Rome by presumed alliances or elite relationships. When in AD 9, Tiberius concentrated his forces in Carnuntum, ready to launch the offensive against Maroboduus, we cannot be sure whether he was admitted there by the Noricans (or the Boii? There are no hints that Norican rule extended so far north) or whether

the territory had already been in one way or another under Roman control (as suggested e.g. by Kovács 2015). This issue is, nevertheless, unimportant for our needs: the mention lets us note that the Romans obviously had a perfect knowledge of this area and complete freedom of action there including large scale military operations; under these circumstances, the exact administrative status of the region has no significance for us. The more important point, when exactly the Romans gained such a free access to this region – was it in connection with the 15 BC Alpine campaign or earlier? – is not addressed by any source.

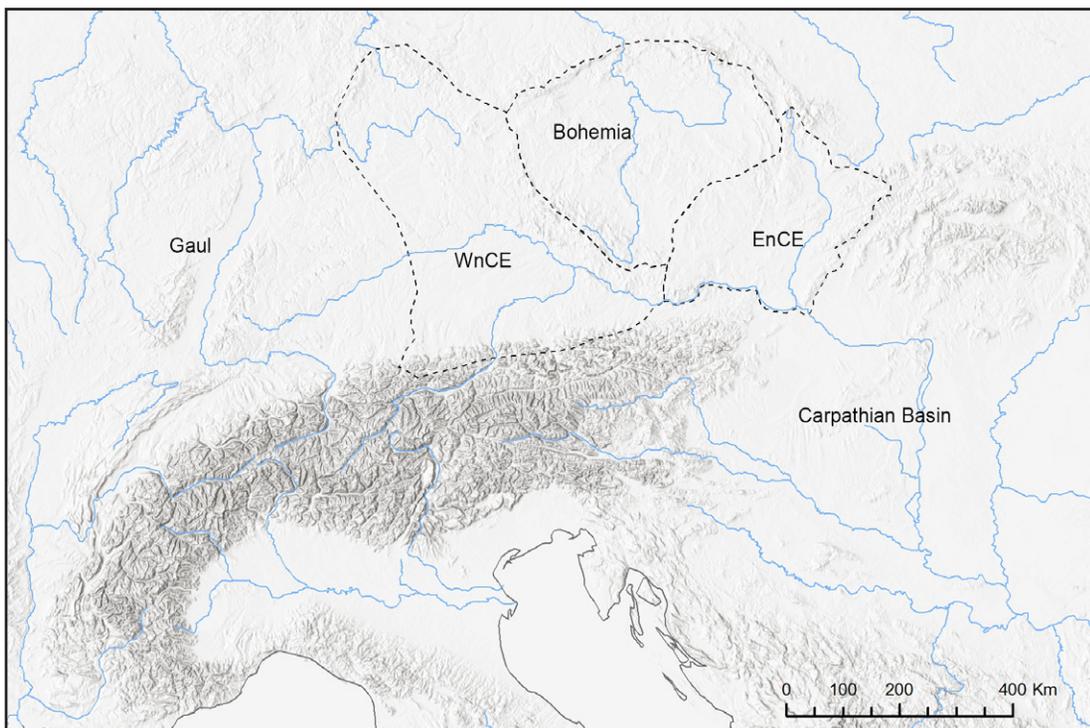
## 2. The geographical and archaeological background

*Bohemia in solo barbarico trans Danubium sita, Germanie porcio est [...] Gelida prorsus regio [...] Plebs toto regno bibula, et ventri dedita, supersticionum obsequax ac avida novitatum [...] Qui paulo excellunt atque inter plebem nobilitatemque medii sunt, audaces, versuti, ingenio vario, lingua precipiti, rapinarum avidi sunt. Et quibus nihil satis esse possit.*

Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *Historia Bohemica*, 1457

### BOHEMIA, 'NARROWER CENTRAL EUROPE', WNCE, ENCE, THE MEDITERRANEAN

The working area of this study (**Fig. 2**) is in the first place Bohemia, conceived as the drainage basin of the Elbe and the Vltava and delimited by the mountains along the present Czech political frontier. The precise definition of the frontier between Bohemia and Moravia need not trouble us here as the La Tène occupation in this frontier area, though extremely significant from many points of view, will not be part of our inquiry.



**Fig. 2: Narrower Central Europe - WnCE, Bohemia, EnCE.**

Bohemia cannot be treated in isolation. The area of the La Tène Culture is large and characterised by high inner connectivity and the phenomena we are going to study manifest themselves in one way or another from Gaul to the Carpathian Basin. Working in detail on such a large scale would however require extreme epistemological precautions due to the enormous micro-diversity within the apparent uniformity of the La Tène Culture and would ultimately be counterproductive to the present aim of the work, i.e. precise contextualisation and understanding of a single region. The studied phenomena will therefore be compared in the first place and in detail with the situation in what we can term ‘Narrower Central Europe’, understood here as roughly the territory stretching along the Danube from Bavaria to the westernmost slopes of the Carpathians. In this zone, Bohemia occupies the central position between two areas which we will term ‘Western’ and ‘Eastern narrower Central Europe’ – WnCE and EnCE.

WnCE, including the territories of present day Bundesland Bayern as well as parts of Upper Austria, Salzburg land, and southern Thuringia, is delimited by the Alpine foothills in the south, the Rhön and Thüringer Wald in the north and an imaginary north-south line at the level of Augsburg in the west. EnCE is understood as the entire drainage area of the river Morava/March down to the course of the Danube thus including Moravia, the Transdanubian part of Lower Austria, and Zahorie in Slovakia. In a northern direction EnCE is delimited by the Eastern Sudetes (Jeseníky) and Beskids between which passes the Moravian gate, a natural corridor connecting Moravia with Silesia, and thus with the drainage basins of the Oder and Wistula heading towards the Baltic Sea. These definitions are of course strictly purpose oriented and therefore easily subject to adaptations: e.g. the sites of Bratislava and Vienna which technically stand immediately beyond the borders of EnCE will naturally be included within it and treated as parts of it.

Neither Bohemia, nor the two comparison regions, are to be understood as political or cultural entities but merely as opportune geographical wholes. The fact that they differ significantly in size (EnCE is 2/3 the size of Bohemia and less than half the size of WnCE) is not important for our needs. The point is that of defining regions which are geographically clearly delimited and individualised, though contiguous and thus potentially mutually inter-communicating. Both comparison regions are moreover ideally located for participation in long distance contacts (both are on a Danube axis) including with the Mediterranean (WnCE is in direct contact with Italy through Alpine passes, EnCE with its corridor-like configuration constitutes the most easy if not the obligatory passage from the Danube valley towards northern Central Europe and is rightfully considered a constant component of the so-called ‘Amber route’<sup>16</sup>). Last but not least, all these regions belong to the La Tène Culture and may thus be regarded as roughly identical in terms of social and economic setting, allowing their direct comparison. It would be impossible to compare Bohemia e.g. with the territories of the Jastorf cultures, although these are also furnished with Mediterranean objects. Bohemia and EnCE are both counted among the territories of the so-called Boian coinage (CASTELIN 1965; MILITKÝ 2011b; 2015b) whereas in WnCE the so-called Vindelician coinage was in use (ZIEGAUS 2010). Although coinage systems of the La Tène period should in no way be perceived as indicators of political unity, implementation of a single coinage system in two regions does neverthe-

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16 I will refrain in this work from (over)using the term of ‘the Amber route’ in which the fully legitimate notion of a natural communication corridor from the northern Adriatic to the Baltic Sea merges, in my opinion, inappropriately with preconceptions and cultural implications of organised long-distance trade based on data from the Roman Imperial period. The ways and modes of communication along potential long distance routes should be the result rather than the premise of the present study.

less suggest a sort of cultural affinity while concurrent use of two different systems by two regions attest even more convincingly their cultural diversity. In this way, we are comparing Bohemia not with two haphazardly selected neighbouring territories but with geographically defined ensembles, each of them probably in a different cultural relationship with Bohemia.

Apart from 'narrower Central Europe' defined above, the study will naturally touch upon evidence from other La Tène territories including 'broader Central Europe' (considered as the area between the course of the Rhine and the Carpathian foothills including the La Tène enclaves in Poland), as well as from more distant regions like Gaul, the Carpathian Basin, and naturally the La Tène territories in northern Italy and the eastern Alps. In these territories the evidence will be sampled in depth depending on the specific research questions rather than analysed in detail.

I intentionally prefer being much more vague when defining the 'South' whose interaction with Bohemia and Central Europe we are about to investigate; finding out which Mediterranean territories in which way participated in the contacts should be one of the results of this study and not its prerequisite. The terminology adopted is correspondingly vague: the ill-defined territorial aggregate to which we will refer interchangeably as 'south' or 'Mediterranean' should be conceived in the broadest possible terms as the regions south of the Alps and around the Mediterranean coast participating in one way or another on the Greco-Roman/Italic culture in its diverse local varieties. The basic geographical and historical logic make it clear, however, that mainly in the later periods of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century BC the point of reference for Central Europe (just as for Gaul: BARBAU 2019) will be mostly northern and central Italy. The Eastern Mediterranean on the other hand is mainly (though not exclusively) relevant for contacts with the Balkans and the Carpathian Basin.

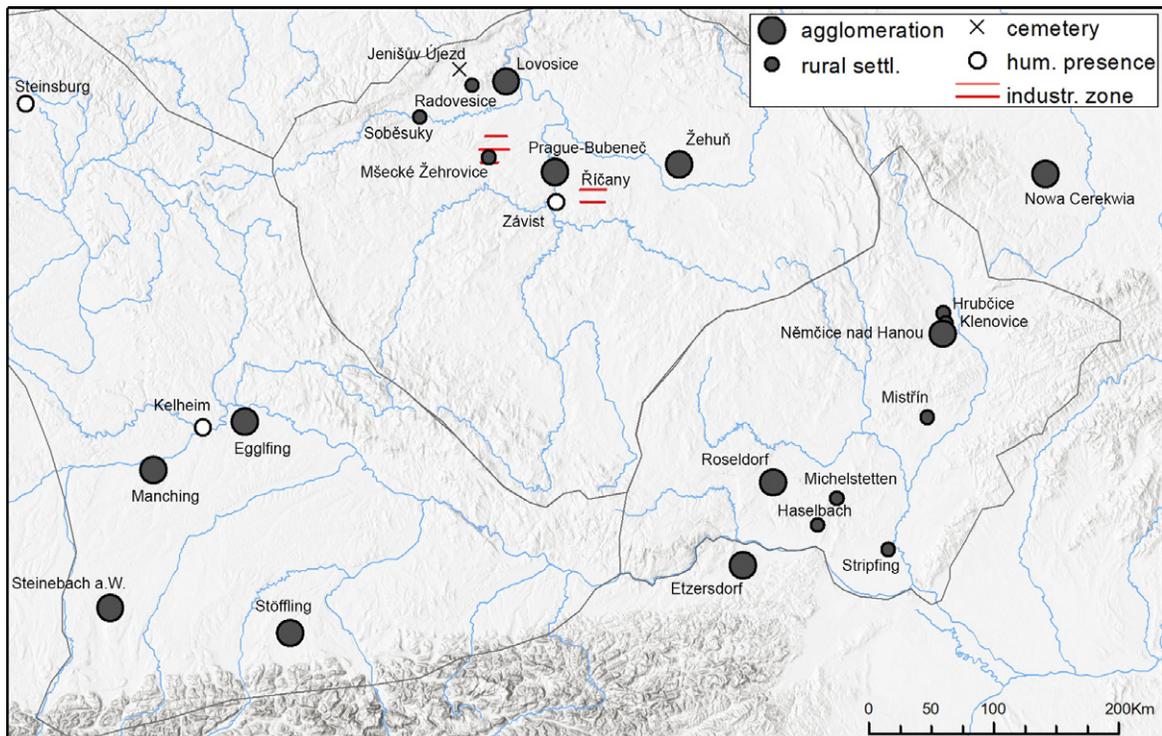
Southern objects in the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC Central Europe are often referred to as 'Roman imports'. I prefer refraining from the use of the word 'Roman'. In my opinion it is not until the last decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and mainly in the Imperial period that the term can be used as a neutral label meaning 'coming from the regions controlled by Rome'; before this date it necessarily carries excessive political implications and preferably it should be replaced with 'Italic' and 'Italian' respectively as cultural and geographical substitutes. On the other hand the term 'Greek', much less relevant in this study, will refer to the Greek world in general including both mainland Greece and Magna Graecia as well as to Hellenised regions such as Thrace. Our aim is that of studying intercultural and interregional interaction and for this reason the presence and traces of La Tène Culture in the Mediterranean region (such as in northern Italy) will not be the subject of our study in themselves, but only as potential or probable mediators of contact.

## BOHEMIA AND CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE LA TÈNE PERIOD

In the whole of narrower Central Europe, the archaeological situation developed along very similar lines from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (for a general overview on Bohemia cf. VENCLOVÁ ed. 2008/2013; MILITKÝ - KYSELA - TISUCKÁ eds. 2018/2019). The universal collapse of the LT A structures in the first decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century was followed by the 'flat cemeteries' in LT B and C1, characterised by a dispersed settlement pattern with no clear signs of settlement hierarchy. Only the regions favourable for agriculture were systematically occupied (such as the Elbe and Ohře lowlands in Bohemia) whereas e.g. south and south-western Bohemia, densely settled in LT A, seems almost depopulated with single cremation burials in earlier tumuli (MICHÁLEK 1985) along with some meagre settlement evidence (MACHULA 2002);

these suggest settlement continuity there albeit on an extremely attenuated level.<sup>17</sup> The vast majority of information on LT B–C1 Bohemia comes from small cemeteries in the central and northern parts of the country (the largest one in Jenišův Újezd with *ca* 138 burials); only a few settlements are known. During LT C1 the burials start tailing off before their complete disappearance first in Bohemia, and later on in Moravia, whereas in Bavaria they persist until LT C2.

The first signs of a re-emerging social and economic complexity can be observed in LT B2 in the so-called ‘industrial zones’, i.e. micro-regions dedicated to the exploitation and processing of locally available raw materials (VENČLOVÁ *et al.* 2001; 2008) followed by hierarchisation of settlement pattern including mid-size settlements with presumably some central functions (e.g. Žehuň in east central Bohemia: DANIELISOVÁ *et al.* 2018; MILITKÝ 2018b), and large agglomerations concentrating production and long distance trade such as Němčice nad Hanou in Moravia (ČIŽMÁŘ – KOLNÍKOVÁ – NOESKE 2008), Roseldorf in Lower Austria (HOLZER *et al.* 2009), and Nowa Cerekwia in Silesia (RUDNICKI 2014), Manching (SIEVERS 2003; WENDLING 2013), Berching Pollanten (SCHÄFER 2010) or Eggfling (UENZE 2007) in Bavaria; no site of this status has so far been definitely identified in Bohemia though Lovosice in the north (SALAČ 1990) or Bubeneč on the northern edge of Prague (BURSÁK – KAČL 2017) probably emerged as major agglomerations in this period. The golden age of these settlements is in LT C1 and especially LT C2 (Fig. 3).



**Fig. 3: Central Europe in the pre-oppida period – principal sites.**

17 Such continuity (e.g. SANKOT 2003) seems more probable than complete abandonment followed by a later recolonization from central Bohemia (e.g. MICHÁLEK 1985; 1995). In fact, the burials deposited in the mounds of earlier (Bronze or Early Iron Age) tumuli carry on the earlier cremation rite in stark contrast to the inhumation graves in central Bohemia; some of them date as early as LT B1 (rather than LT B2 vs. MICHÁLEK 1985, 276–278, 289–290, obr. 3, 10:8, 11:4). A similar case of inconspicuous settlement continuity through LT B and C is also documented in western Bohemia in the Vladař hillfort (POKORNÝ *et al.* 2005).

Over the course of LT C1 therefore the information basis has undergone a substantial transformation: a previous almost complete dependence on burials was replaced by an almost equally total dependence on settlements, leaving numerous points still open to discussion. Our knowledge is extremely lacunary in particular as far as the ways and times of this key transition are concerned. What is clear, this transformation of the archaeological picture reflects a ground-breaking transformation of La Tène Culture communities in social, economic, as well as ritual terms. This phase is characterised by the adoption and generalisation of technological innovations like glass working and of coinage and a monetary economy (e.g. VENCLOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014).

Coinage (**Fig. 4**) became a significant cultural and chronological indicator. While EnCE and Silesia were united as early as LT C1 by a single coinage, uniform in metrics and iconography (MILITKÝ 2015b; 2018/2019; SMĚLÝ 2017), Bohemia<sup>18</sup> adopted the same weight standard and monetary system but struck dozens of different iconographical series within it, issued probably by numerous authorities (MILITKÝ 2018a). In Bavaria, coinage apparently arrived after a slight delay (ZIEGAUS 2010).

In LT C2 we can observe also an increasing human presence in less favourable zones like the southern half of Bohemia. It has traditionally been explained as a scramble for access to local deposits of minerals, most probably of gold.<sup>19</sup> Although the densest human presence is documented in the more lowland regions of Písek, Strakonice, and České Budějovice, occupation ultimately reached less favourable regions such as Český Krumlov or Sušice (the hillfort of Sedlo); there are even traces of (temporary) occupation in the 1,200 m.a.s.l. site of Prášily in the Böhmerwald (ČULÁKOVÁ *et al.* 2012). Still within the eventful phase of LT C2, hillforts start emerging in Bohemia; the recent overview by Kotýnek (2017) lists almost 50 hilltop sites occupied during the Middle and Late La Tène period all over Bohemia. The majority of these are small sites with often only hints of occupation (due to insufficient research rather than to the nature of human presence there in the Iron Age). Sites called ‘oppida’ are only the largest and best researched component of this phenomenon.

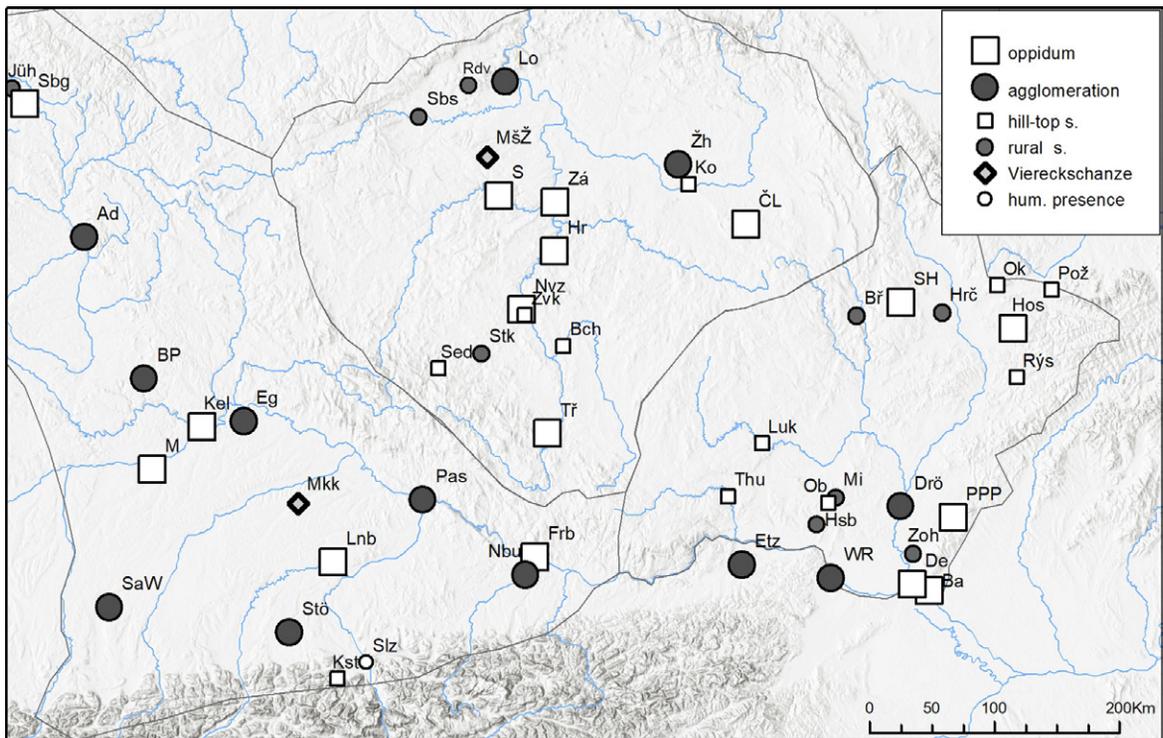
The emergence of oppida marks to a certain extent the end of the previous settlement system based on open agglomerations (**Fig. 5**) – Nowa Cerekwia and Němčice ceased to exist, Roseldorf shrank considerably. It is not yet clear how sudden the transition between the pre-oppida and the oppida period was. In Moravia there seems to be a slight overlap between the coinages of Němčice coming to its end and of the oppidum of Staré Hradisko founded in the same period some tens of kilometres away (SMĚLÝ 2017, 69–71). In Bohemia there is a clear break between the coinages of the pre-oppida and the oppida periods suggesting not only(?) a political diversity but perhaps also a chronological gap between their circulation (MILITKÝ 2017). Further west in Bavaria no such dramatic shifts occurred at this period and Manching persisted and solidified its position as the principal central place; later on in LT D it received a stone rampart, thus formally becoming an oppidum (WENDLING 2013).

18 There are however significant signs that the principle of value and weight standardisation was well known already slightly before this date; two gold beads from LT B2 graves in NW Bohemia already have the weight of 1/3-staters (HOLODŇÁK – MILITKÝ 2014).

19 Identification of Iron Age gold extraction is notoriously problematic as its traces have regularly been obliterated by mining activities in the Middle Ages. The gold-panning site of Modlešovice in southern Bohemia is often cited (MICHÁLEK 1995) though the Iron Age date of these activities is uncertain and could be only medieval; the curious site of Leskovice in the Bohemo-Moravian highlands is also worth mentioning in this context (WALDHAUSER 1987).



Fig. 4: Central European ('Boii') Iron Age coinage. x = not minted. 1/3-stater of the oppida period - Lorbeer collection, lost (after MILITKÝ 2015). Others private collections, photo T. Smělý. Scale 2:1.



**Fig. 5: Central Europe in the oppida period - principal sites.** Ad - Altendorf; Ba - Bratislava; BP - Berching-Pollanten; Bř - Bořitov; ČL - České Lhotice; De - Devín; Drö - Drösing; Eg - Egglfing; Frb - Freinberg; Hos - Hostýn; Hr - Hrazany; Hrc - Hrubčice; Hsb - Haselbach; Jüh - Jüchsen; M - Manching; Mkk - Marklkofen an der Isar; Kel - Kelheim; Ko - Týnec nad Labem-Kolo; Kst - Karlstein; Lnb - Leonberg; Lo - Lovosice; Luk - Lukov; Mi - Michelstetten; MšŽ - Mšecké Žehrovice; Nbu - Neubau bei Linz; Nvz - Nevězice; Ob - Oberleiserberg; Ok - Obírka; Pas - Passau; Pož - Požáha; PPP - Plavecké Podhradie-Pohanská; Rd - Radovesice; Rys - Rýsov; S - Stradonice; SaW - Steinebach am Wörthsee; Sbg - Steinsburg; Sed - Sedlo u Sušice; SH - Staré Hradisko; Stk - Strakonice; Stö - Stöffling; Slz - Salzburg; Thu - Thunau am Kamp; WR - Vienna-Rochusmarkt; Záh - Závist; Zoh - Zohor; Zvk - Zvíkov; Žh - Žehuň.

Though almost all the oppida in Bohemia and Moravia produce traces of LT C2 occupation, it is mainly to LT D1 that the main phase of their occupation dates (**Figs. 7 and 9**). Without a shadow of doubt Stradonice on the river Berounka had the most important role among them. Závist on the southern edge of the Prague basin is located on the crossroads of communication routes in both an east-west direction (from Moravia through the Elbe lowlands and central Bohemia towards Stradonice) and north-south along the Vltava valley. It is along this river that most of the other oppida are located at regular distances: Hrazany, Nevězice, and - interspaced with the small fortified site at Zvíkov - Třisov in the very south. Although this settlement line was presented in the past as a unitary project of gradual colonisation (DRDA - RYBOVÁ 1995; 1997; 1998), there is no proof to it. Southern Bohemia is the region with the densest concentration of Middle to Late Iron Age hilltop sites, such as Zvíkov, Bechyně, and Sedlo in general (KOTÝNEK 2017, 49, obr. 2). Outside this south-western half of the land, small hilltop sites can be found all over NW Bohemia, in the Bohemian karst in the north, and with a small concentration also in eastern Bohemia; however, the only oppidum in the northern half of Bohemia is České Lhotice in the east (DANIELISOVÁ 2010). In EnCE, only one oppidum is known in Moravia proper - Staré Hradisko on its western edge in Dražanská vrchovina (the case of Hostýn is

unclear: PARMA 2014). Numerous hill forts in the northern- and easternmost part of Moravia belong to the (non-La Tène) Púchov Culture (for the Púchov Culture in Moravia see GERŠL in print). Plavecké Podhradie is the only site which can be classified an oppidum in the Small Carpathians in the east. The most prominent hill top site in Lower Austria is the rather small Oberleiserberg (for the hillforts in the region in general KARWOWSKI 2015).

The research focus on the oppida in Bohemia has left us with relatively little information on the lowland open settlements of LT C2–D1. The agglomeration of Lovosice surely survived through this period but little is known about the settlement apart from its approximate extent and chronology (SALAČ 1990). The small hilltop site of Kolo near Týnec nad Labem remains little known (SEDLÁČEK 1981) but a river harbour has recently been excavated at its foot (BENEŠ 2015; MILITKÝ – BENEŠ 2016) providing insight into the complexity of the settlement pattern of this period. As far as simple open settlements are concerned, little information has been systematically published and we are mostly relegated to scanty information from rescue excavations and metal detector finds. The available data lend themselves rather to macroscopic territorial studies (ZAVŘEL 1996; VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2001; 2008; DANIELISOVÁ 2010). Only a few lowland settlements are entirely excavated and published in the region: e.g. Bořitov in Moravia (ČIŽMÁŘ 2003), Michelstetten in Lower Austria (TREBSCH 2010), or in Bohemia Radovesice (WALDHAUSER *et al.* 1993). In some regions, settlements were extensively sampled by surveys or/and excavations and pottery typochronologies were established providing a fair insight into settlement dynamics (Říčany and Loděnice regions: VENCLOVÁ ed. 2000; 2008; NW Bohemia: SALAČ – KUBÁLEK 2015). In Lower Austria with its numerous investigated sites, a complex hierarchy has been convincingly outlined (the large central place of Roseldorf, the middle-sized settlements of Haselbach and Stripfing, small hamlets such as Michelstetten: TREBSCH 2014; 2016). In spite of these advances, we still have difficulties to generalise this picture, to easily distinguish e.g. pre-oppida and oppida period settlements in most of the study territory and thus to understand the transition between these two phases, and to characterise their nature.

Although the settlement structure in the north and south of 1<sup>st</sup> century Bohemia differed considerably due to the presence of oppida in the latter region and their absence in the former, the same coinage (**Fig. 4**) circulated in both of its halves – the so-called ‘shell staters’ and their fractions based on the earlier EnCE coinage of the Athena Alkidemos series (MILITKÝ 2015a; 2015b; 2018/2019). Local varieties of shell stater coinage were used in EnCE and in WnCE the so-called Vindelician coinage circulated in the south while specific local coinages are characteristic of northern Bavaria and Thuringia.

The oppida period came to its end in LT D1b or the very beginning of D2 by which time the oppida were being or had been abandoned; some such as Manching, Staré Hradisko or Závist probably already came to an end in LT D1b while Stradonice and Třísov probably persisted some time into LT D2 (DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014).

This period between LT D1b and D2 is characterised by the sudden rapid rise of the oppidum of Bratislava which stands out in its Roman style masonry architecture (MUSILOVÁ – MINAROVIECH 2014; RESUTÍK – MINAROVIECH 2014; 2017). Another, probably slightly earlier site should be mentioned here, the recently excavated Wien Rochusmarkt/Kundmannngasse which yielded numerous unexpected finds of Italic origin (ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015; MOSSER – ADLER-WÖLFL 2018).

Little is clear about the end of the La Tène period in central Europe. Moravia shows no signs of being occupied between roughly the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the beginnings of the new era, only in the first decades AD the ‘Germanic’ finds start to appear consistently (ZEMAN 2017). In Bohemia, the circumstances of the survival/departure of the La Tène pop-

ulation (at the transition of LT D1 and LT D2) and their mixing/replacement with incoming Germans (first of the Großromstedt, later of the Elbe-Germanic culture) are still subject to debate (DROBERJAR 2006; overview in BENEŠ 2018/2019). The discussions are equally inconclusive but more heated in Bavaria (cf. RIECKHOFF 1995; 2012 and ZANIER 2004).

The distinction between our working areas (Bohemia, EnCE, WnCE) was based exclusively on geographical criteria. Above, we have seen nevertheless, that the each area differs from the other e.g. in terms of settlement pattern or of coinage. In these two respects there appears to have been a large scale cultural affinity if not unity in LT C period EnCE with its widespread Athena Alkidemos coinage and shared settlement model of large open agglomerations. Bohemia in the same period with its numerous small scale coinages (dependent largely on the EnCE model) and no clear central places gives a much more disorderly and decentralised impression. In the oppida period on the other hand, Bohemia appears to have stuck to a single monetary model of the shell type stater regardless of the apparent division of the land in terms of settlement organisation between the south based on the oppida model and the north where open settlement remained the norm.

Jiří Waldhauser (1996) attempted to break LT C2–D1 Bohemia down into a series of regions based on their characteristic pottery production, which, in spite of the author's claims, surely cannot reflect more than the natural variability of material culture. EnCE participated in the oppida period in the Bohemian monetary shell stater model though in its own characteristic way. The oppidum of Bratislava seems to have been a unit completely on its own – rather insular in time and space – which at the very end of the La Tène period further developed the earlier shell stater model combining it with large silver coinage, the hexadrachmas of the Biatec series (MILITKÝ – TORBÁGYI forthcoming).

We have no clues as to whether these material-based groupings do actually reflect a past reality of some kind, nor to what social units these archaeological structures could correspond. In western Europe, in particular in Gaul, territorial issues of Late La Tène archaeology have often been discussed over recent decades based on the notion of *civitates* – i.e. the single peoples, tribes or states as recorded by Caesar (e.g. FICHTL 2004a). This approach goes beyond the antiquarian compulsion for squeezing the written sources in order to identify and localise ancient peoples for the sake of their identification. It tries instead to delimit actual social units which may help us to better understand material culture. It is clear, however, that such a task is impossible without the help of written sources which in our case are, as we have seen above, absolutely insufficient. The comparisons between these historically documented communities and territorial groupings based on material culture in Gaul have shown moreover how difficult, if not impossible, it is to bring them into focus: in terms of pottery a single *civitas* may host several different pottery productions but other ceramic categories may broadly cross the borders of the same *civitas* (BARRAL 2003; BONAVENTURE 2011, 253–263); the same is true of coins (GRUEL 2002).

### 3. Chronological setting

The present study unfolds on numerous stages, combining evidence of an historical and an archaeological nature, and elements from regions using different chronological systems. Synchronicity of specific events and archaeological phenomena was also a key argument of some past interpretations which we are dealing with. Therefore, establishing a solid chronological framework is an indispensable basis of our inquiry and method of analysis.

#### HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY

As has been shown above, ancient sources have preserved little information concerning the history of pre-Roman Transalpine and especially Central Europe. Most of these mentions are moreover so vague that they leave a large margin for interpretation, speculation and manipulation. In order for an historical interpretation to work, the only requirement is proving at least approximate synchronicity of the archaeological context in question with the event we are projecting on to it. In this way historical interpretations and chronology have often been interconnected in a vicious circle in which one allegedly corroborated the other.

The dearth of historical events recorded in pre-Roman Central Europe makes any of them very desirable and endlessly re-usable for historical interpretations, often in various regions. So the campaign of the Cimbri and Teutones has been assumed to have caused the abandonment of Němčice (ČIŽMÁŘ – KOLNÍKOVÁ – NOESKE 2008), the fortification of Manching (SIEVERS 2003), the settlement shift in Basel from the Gasfabrik to the Münsterhügel (RIECKHOFF 1995<sup>20</sup>), the appearance of oppida in the Rhineland (LEIFELD 2007), and even in Gaul. Similarly, the Boii were believed to have arrived in Central Europe from northern Italy and to have brought the knowledge of building oppida to Bohemia (DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1997), as well as importing Greek objects (BENADIK 1981) and imitations of Campanian coins (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012) to western Slovakia. Enough time has been dedicated above to expressing reserves about these historical interpretations. I have naturally no objections to using artefacts from undoubted (!) historically dated contexts (say, Alesia) as benchmarks for protohistoric chronologies; the problems begin when chronologies are based on events supposed to have occurred in the region in question (e.g. the destruction of Manching by the Romans in 15 BC; the abandonment of oppida in Bohemia after the arrival of Germans around AD 0; the genocide of the Boii at the hands of the Dacians after 44 BC).

The most (in)famous of these events include:

191 BC – the defeat of the Boii in northern Italy and their alleged return to Central Europe (cf. chapter I.1).

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20 The author criticised harshly Furger-Gunti's view (FURGER-GUNTI 1979) that the settlement shift can be connected with the migration of the Helvetii, dismissing it as methodically flawed and impermissibly contaminating archaeology with historical interpretations. Nevertheless, she herself integrated the migration of the Helvetii in her discussion, explaining with it the ultimate abandonment of the Münsterhügel. Rieckhoff did not make it clear in what respect her method differs from that proposed by Furger-Gunti.

Before 113 BC the passage of the Cimbri through the territory of the Boii (Strab. VII, 2.2) linked, for example, with the abandonment of NĚmčice nad Hanou and the construction of oppida in Bohemia, etc.

113 BC – the defeat of the Romans by the Cimbri at Noreia (Liv. *Per.* 63; Appian *Kelt.* 13).

113–100 BC – the campaign of the Cimbri and Teutones (Plut. *Marius* XI–XXVII; Caesar *BG* I, 33.3).

Before 58 BC – the Boii besiege Noreia (Caesar *BG* I, 5), sometimes considered the *terminus ante quem* for the end of the oppida in Bohemia (= the abandonment of Bohemia by the Boii).

Before 58 BC – Ariovistus in Gaul (Caesar *BG* I, 31, 43–46). His passage from ‘Germany’ to Gaul is often believed to be reflected in La Tène Central Europe.

58–52 BC – Caesar’s Gallic War.

44–35 BC – Burebista’s extermination of the Danubian Celts (Strab. VII, 3.2, 11; VII, 5.2), traditionally considered the date of the end of the La Tène Culture in the Middle Danube area and the destruction of the oppidum of Bratislava.

35 BC – Octavian conquers Pannonia (Cassius Dio XLIX, 37–38).

15 BC – the Alpine campaign (Cassius Dio LIII–LIX; Tac. *Ann.* I–II), originally believed to be the cause of the abandonment of Manching.

11–9 BC – Drusus’ campaign in Germany (Cassius Dio LIV–LV, Tac. *Ann.* II, 8).

ca 6 BC? – Maroboduus and the Marcomanni occupy Bohemia (Tac. *Germ.* 28, 42).

6 AD – Tiberius’ campaign against Maroboduus (Velleius Paterculus II, 109) – associated in various ways with the oppidum of Bratislava.

Though providing a useful elementary timeline, the utility of these events for chronological interpretation is extremely limited as their relation to any specific region, site or context is purely hypothetical. Therefore, the only archaeological contexts taken into consideration on historical grounds as chronological anchor points will be those directly related to the Romans.

## MEDITERRANEAN IMPORTS

Mediterranean objects imported to Transalpine Europe will be dealt with in much more detail in the following chapter. At this point it is only necessary to make some remarks about their ability to provide information relevant to Transalpine chronology.

In the period and area most likely to provide a basis for cross-dating with our area of study, that is in 3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century Italy; well-dated sites are relatively few. Settlements dated to this period were often also occupied throughout the Imperial and Medieval periods up to the present day and well preserved (and published!) Pre-Roman or Republican phases are as a rule hard to find. It is still in this period (corresponding with the spread of the Roman way of life and death) that burials ceased being furnished with grave-goods from the find categories exported across the Alps. Only a few regions remain of relevance in this respect, mainly Celtic northern Italy (Veronese: SALZANI ed. 1995; 1996; 1998; Lombardy: DE MARINIS 1986; canton Ticino: MARTIN-KILCHER 1998; PERNET – CARLEVARO *et al.* 2006). Late Republican Roman military camps are best known from the Iberian Peninsula (LUIK 1997). Out of these, however, only Numantia (pre-133 BC; LUIK 2002) and Cacères el Viejo (pre-79/72 BC; ULBERT 1984) have been published to any extent. In Gaul, only the siege-works of Alesia (REDDÉ – VON SCHNURBEIN 2001), Gergovie, and Uxellodunum can be unequivocally linked with the Caesarean war whereas the military presence at La Chaussée Tirancourt, the Titelberg, Petriesberg or Hermeskeil are probably one generation more recent (POUX ed. 2008). Extraordinarily valuable for chronological discussion are famously the Augustan camps on the Rhine – Dangstetten (15–9 BC), Oberaden (12/11–9 BC), Haltern (7/5 BC–9/14 AD), etc. Shipwrecks, often loaded with

hundreds of amphorae, as closed contexts *par excellence* have a great theoretical potential for sorting out chronological questions; too often though they become in this respect rather the object of wishful simplifications (as denounced by TCHERNIA 1990 and OLMER 2012).

Another factor to bear in mind is the considerable discrepancy between Italy and Transalpine Europe in terms of the research attention given to the various artefact categories. This is particularly obvious in the case of brooches: the cornerstones of Transalpine chronology, still well studied in northern Italy, are basically ignored south of the Apennines. Yet, the few examples published or displayed in museums<sup>21</sup> often correspond with or at least nicely complement La Tène typologies. Could these brooches, often too quickly and too easily labelled as ‘Celtic’, be in reality the standard element of Roman clothing of the period, lost in a vicious circle of the small number of finds and a lack of research interest? The publication of fibulae from northern Italy by Demetz (1999) is one of the most precious contributions to the topic of Late Iron Age brooches.

Last, but not least, a factor negatively influencing our understanding is the relatively low artefact variability over the last two centuries BC. As in many other respects, the breaking point for Mediterranean chronologies is the Augustan period when basically all categories of objects, from pottery and amphorae, through glyptics and toreutics, to coinage, underwent radical and rather dynamic transformations. In the century or century and a half before that on the other hand the materials seem to have evolved almost imperceptibly. For metal vessels, the term ‘Late Republican forms’ is as all-encompassing as it is chronologically vague.

In the case of amphorae, we may talk about developmental trends rather than strictly defined and chronologically delimited types (OLMER 2012). Following Lamboglia (1955), amphorae of type Dressel 1 attested by hundreds of thousands if not millions in Gaul, are traditionally subdivided depending on the height of the lip into sub-types 1A (<55 mm), 1B (>55 mm), and (less relevant for our needs) 1C. The transition between the types Dressel 1A and 1B is usually placed in the 70s BC, based on the Mandrague de Giens wreck in which the majority of the published amphorae rims oscillate around 55 mm and which at the same time yielded coins minted in the timespan 155–75 BC.<sup>22</sup> Things are however not so simple and clear-cut as they are sometimes presented. Dressel 1 amphorae were in fact produced all along the Tyrrhenian coast in numerous independent workshops and rather than a strict distinction of types 1A, 1B we should envisage a concurrent production of numerous varieties which may, but need not, follow the general trend, and may reflect deliberate choices linked to workshop specificities, marketing strategies and other factors. The general trend of gradual rim lengthening remains in principle valid, but its pace was probably not uniform and anchoring one stage or another of this development to an absolute date may be an illusory task as the typologically earlier forms (‘Dr 1A’) kept being produced albeit in smaller volumes alongside the more developed ones throughout the production period of the type (OLMER 2002; 2012). Even the opportune *Mitfund* of amphorae and coins in a single closed context (such as the Mandrague de Giens wreck) is therefore not a sufficient ground for dogmatic conclusions. A similarly gradual transition is characteristic of the Adriatic

21 E.g. Cosa, *antiquarium*: unpublished to my knowledge. Bolsena: SANTROT – SANTROT 1995, 28, fig. 8:45 (an Almgren 65); Gubbio: MALONE – STODDART eds. 1994, fig. 6:10-2 (a Middle La Tène scheme LT C2 brooch); Rome, the temple of Vesta: PIANA AGOSTINETTI 2006. The situation in southern Italy and Sicily has recently been synthesised by H. Baitinger (2012) whose conclusions go in a direction very similar to ours.

22 The date of the ship’s sinking proposed by the excavators of the wreck is in reality stated as ‘75–30 BC, most probably 60–50 BC’ (TCHERNIA *et al.* 1978, 15–17; other reflections in TCHERNIA 1990). It is on a comparison of the Mandrague rim heights that the Clemency tomb, one of pivotal points of the Rhineland chronology has been dated to the ‘70s–60s’ (METZLER *et al.* 1991); the date was later raised to around 80 BC (e.g. METZLER – GAENG *et al.* 2009, fig. 402).

amphorae: the type Lamboglia 2 was replaced by the type Dressel 6A only by means of different transitional forms spanning two or three decades before the 30s BC.

The black gloss ('Campanian') pottery adheres in its major classes to the same form repertoire throughout the Late Republican period and attempts at defining chronologically sensitive types (e.g. Božič 2008) have proved unconvincing or of only limited regional validity. Decisive changes occurred in Mediterranean pottery only in the 40s BC with the appearance of the first red-slip wares with a new form repertoire which also partially influences the black gloss production.

Chronologically the most promising imported objects are Roman coins, often dated with the precision of a year. As we will see, however, very few Roman coin finds come from reliable contexts, with many deposited and even imported only in later periods (cf. MILITKÝ 2009a; and below). In chapter II.3 we will (in vain) try to gain from Roman coins some information on the nature of Transalpine contacts. At this point, we may nevertheless make a digression into one particular phenomenon significant for chronological considerations. The inventory of Roman coins discovered in Bohemia in credible La Tène contexts (cf. chapter II.3) includes only pieces minted in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the very beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Imports basically come to an end in the 80s BC. A similar situation can be observed in Bavaria (KELLNER 1990; ZIEGAUS 2004) and was already described in the cemetery of Ornavasso where the coin series comes to an end in 82/81 BC, the decades between 70s–30s BC are each represented solely by a single coin and only in the Augustan period does the series regain its consistency (GRAUE 1974, 135–144).

Such a geographically general phenomenon invites discussion concerning the region of the coins' origins rather than in the reception zone. In other words, the absence of Roman coins in Transalpine Europe need not tell us anything about the local ability to acquire them but rather about the ability of these coins to cross the Alps. Between 90 and 35 BC Italy was being torn apart in a series of civil wars culminating in the late 80s (Sulla's dictatorship) and the 40s (the terror of the 2<sup>nd</sup> triumvirate and struggles between the triumvirs themselves). This tense situation is reflected by Italian coin hoards concentrating in 90–75 and 50–40 BC (BACKENDORF 1998, Abb. 10). Hoards from the 70s–60s are almost unheard of and coins from this period are as a rule under-represented in later hoards (e.g. BILIĆ 2012). Apart from the atmosphere of anxiety in a time of crisis this situation reflects also the economic and financial crisis raging in Italy between the Social War and Augustan period with the outcome of a lack of currency.<sup>23</sup>

## CHRONOLOGIES OF THE SECOND IRON AGE IN TEMPERATE EUROPE

*«... se in questo stesso istante io fossi sulla linea del meridiano sarebbe la mezzanotte in punto, ma se guardassi a occidente vedrei la mezzanotte di venerdì e se guardassi a oriente vedrei le mezzanotte di giovedì.»*

Umberto Eco, *L'isola del giorno prima*.

There is no shortage of local or regional Late Iron Age chronologies in Europe; however, things get complicated when we try to establish a single universal scheme valid for the entire territory of the La Tène Culture (from western France to the Carpathian Basin, from northern Italy to southern Poland), let alone for the neighbouring regions relevant for our inquiry (from Portugal to the Crimea, from Tuscany to the Baltic Sea).

23 Instructive in this sense is the wording (or at least the literary representation) of Pompey's letter to the Senate from the Sertorian War of 74 BC in Sallust, *Hist.* II, 82.

The actual definition of chronological phases of the Late La Tène was first undertaken in southern Germany and was based principally on metal small finds. In Gaul on the other hand, the local chronologies were developed mostly on the grounds of settlement pottery. Unlike the Middle La Tène period, Late La Tène burials are available only in some regions (Middle Rhine-Main-Mosel region; northern Italy; Eastern Alps); in some of them the seriation of grave-goods is based more on pottery, in others on metal objects. Yet in all these regions the chronological phases defined on such disparate material are labelled in the same way. The correct approach is, in my opinion, to utilise the universal phase labels exclusively for describing phases defined by universally widespread types of metal artefacts, i.e. mainly (if not exclusively) brooches. Local ceramic chronologies naturally have their validity for the region in which they were constructed and should be even preferred as a means of dating at a local or regional level; they must, however, be distinguished (ideally also in terminology) from the overarching chronology based on metal artefacts, which is the only common denominator for these floating and not necessarily mutually corresponding local chronologies. It seems illogical and unacceptable to claim for local chronologies the universal phase labels or to 'correct' the universal metal chronology by using local ceramic ones.

Current La Tène research has (seemingly) come to a universal agreement on using the Reinecke chronological terminology of *Stufen* (LT B1a, b, B2, C1a, b, C2, D1a, b, D2a, b).<sup>24</sup> This agreement, nevertheless, disguises a profound incongruity in the actual meaning of these dangerously uniform terms. Apart from causes rooted in the history of research this problem is due to the extent of the La Tène world being composed in reality of numerous local (sub-) groups with locally specific means of answering chronological questions. Moreover, the truly universal types of artefacts connecting all of these groups and allowing for cross-dating are in reality much less frequent than we would believe.

The chronology of the Middle La Tène period, based principally on the seriation of grave goods (e.g. HODSON 1968; WALDHAUSER *et al.* 1987; GEBHARD 1989a) has been relatively stable and uncontroversial over the last few decades. Some corrections may be necessary in the future to the absolute chronology due to corrections to the dating of Mediterranean imports (KAVUR – BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2018) but these are details to be discussed when dealing with these objects.

On the contrary, the chronology of the Late La Tène period in Europe has been subject to major polemics. As is generally known, the two systems of Late La Tène chronology currently in use in Europe are what we can call the Bavarian or Eastern and the Rhineland or Western model. Though sharing the terminology of Reinecke they diverge in the meaning of these terms both in a relative and in an absolute sense. In brief,<sup>25</sup> the Bavarian model was developed between the 1960s and the early 1990s, based on evidence from Manching, Basel, and Altenburg-Rheinau, but also Czech oppida (KRÄMER 1962; WALDHAUSER 1983; FISCHER 1988). At first, LT D1, characteristic of the oppida period and accompanied by Nauheim type brooches, was distinguished from LT D2 characterised by *geschweifte Fibeln* which are not found on the oppida of Central Europe. Subsequently, LT D1 was further subdivided into the

24 The validity of the very terms of phase/*Stufe* has been recently questioned by John Collis (2009), criticising its box-like nature and suggesting replacing these notions with the concept of a horizon. There are many valid points in his critique. Nevertheless, we will stick here to the phase-based chronology, first and foremost because in this chapter we are going to deal with the historiography of phase-based chronologies, secondly because in the following ones chronological issues will be only of auxiliary value and not worth further complicating the discussion.

25 For a detailed discussion on the history of research in Late La Tène chronology with special focus on the East-West controversy cf. principally LEIFELD 2007 and BOŽIČ 2008; the chronology down to the mid-1970s is well synthesised in STORK 2007.

Nauheim horizon LT D1a and a later stage LT D1b characterised by the A65 and spoon-bow brooches. In absolute terms, the end of the oppida and thus the transition between LT D1b and LT D2 was set at about 50 BC (CHRISTLEIN 1964; WALDHAUSER 1983); the beginning of the period was dated to roughly 120 BC. The higher Rhineland chronology was developed in the 1990s. First, Miron (1991; 1998), based on the seriation of grave-goods in the Main-Mosel region, defined a 'pre-Nauheim' horizon of Late La Tène brooches claiming for it the label of LT D1a and confusingly renaming the following stages previously established in Bavarian chronology.<sup>26</sup> He also raised the absolute chronology by about a generation by a mere arithmetical recalculation (and without any good archaeological reason) simply in order to make it fit his new system better. His proposal was endorsed and further developed by Jeannot Metzler and Sabine Rieckhoff (METZLER *et al.* 1991; METZLER 1995; METZLER – METZLER-ZENS – MÉNIEL *et al.* 1999; METZLER – GAENG *et al.* 2009; RIECKHOFF 1995). Rieckhoff's work in particular is of interest for us since she tried to combine evidence from Gaul, Bavaria, non-La Tène northern Germany but also Bohemia. In a complex and not entirely logical discussion based on archaeological arguments and historical/narrative constructions she claimed the *geschweifte Fibeln* had appeared and Manching was abandoned (and Bavaria basically depopulated) already by the 80s BC. Her main external argument for such a high date was the chronology of amphorae found in Manching which were re-studied shortly before (cf. LYDING WILL 1987).<sup>27</sup> Over the following quarter century the higher chronology became the norm in the Rhineland and in French-speaking research (KAENEL 2008; BARRAL – FICHTL eds. 2012), though its advocates never managed<sup>28</sup> to defend the system against the numerous criticisms of it as a whole and of its individual components.<sup>29</sup> There is not enough space for a detailed discussion but in conclusion, I do not find convincing arguments for using the high western chronology which I find methodologically flawed in terms of relative chronology<sup>30</sup> and insufficiently grounded as far as absolute dates are concerned.

LT C2, a key phase in the social and economic transformation of Transalpine Europe, is no longer documented by grave finds in Bohemia and Moravia though graves are still relatively

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26 In this system thus the Nauheim brooch horizon became LT D1b, A65 and spoon-bow brooch characterise LT D2a, while the *geschweifte Fibeln* appear with LT D2b.

27 Though as we have seen above, amphorae are not the kind of material fit for fine chronological divisions.

28 RIECKHOFF 2012 is strong on rhetoric but less so on arguments.

29 Cf. e.g. criticism of the Rieckhoff brooch chronology: PESCHEL 1999; BRANDT 2001, 91–92; BOCKIUS – LUCZKIEWICZ 2004; criticism of the 'pre-Nauheim horizon' in the Rhineland: KRAUSSE 2006, 108–118, 130–131; criticism of the idea of depopulation of Bavaria around 80 BC: HÜSSEN – IRLINGER – ZANIER eds. 2004; SCHAICH 1998, 167 with evidence of major constructions in the *Viereckschanzen* of Pocking Hartkirchen in around 50 BC; complex deconstructions: FISCHER 1999; MELLER 1999; LEIFELD 2007; Božič 2008.

30 With the criticism of the idea of a pre-Nauheim phase I do not suggest that the Late La Tène brooches appeared as the fully developed Nauheim type; the simple filiform Late La Tène brooches may indeed pre-date these. I rather question the possibility of defining this as a chronological phase on its own, and even less so the need to allot it an entire quarter century of duration. The simple filiform Late La Tène brooches continue appearing alongside the Nauheim type in its phase if not beyond. The main problem of the 'pre-Nauheim horizon' is its negative definition by the absence of Nauheim brooches which will necessarily end up by dating any simple non-Nauheim Late La Tène brooch to the earliest part of LT D1a and thus with an artificial raising of the dating. For all these reasons I believe that dividing LT D1a into two phases is counter-productive. The Nauheim brooch remains a valid indicator of this phase though not necessarily of its beginning which is marked by appearance of Late La Tène scheme alongside long-lived Middle La Tène brooches.

numerous in Bavaria. This transitional character of LT C2 makes its artefactual definition somewhat problematic as we will see below. The ‘leading fossils’ of LT C2 are certain types of brooches (sharing several characteristics such as a short foot and an external chord), principally the Mötschwil brooch with thickened bow (HODSON 1968; MEDUNA 1970b; MÁRTON 2004). The definition of LT C2 is quite blurry also in absolute terms. Objects characteristic of LT C1 were still in circulation in 229 and 208 BC (cf. La Tène and Wederath: HAFFNER 1979) while the first more or less precisely dated context to produce objects of LT C2 type<sup>31</sup> is Monte Bibele destroyed in ca 190/180 BC. The dating artefacts from these sites are however from disparate categories and none of them belongs to the Mötschwil group of brooches which are decisive for the chronology of Central Europe. The transition LT C1/C2 in ca 200 BC or in the 190s seems plausible, but the vagueness of this definition shows clearly how far we are from being sure what this transition is actually supposed to mean. We are even more clueless as to the inner chronological articulation of this extremely significant but archaeologically elusive phase even though it seems to have lasted for some 60–80 years.

As already said, as far as the Late La Tène period is concerned, I favour the Bavarian chronology not only because in terms of relative chronology the distinction between the ‘oppida’ (LT D1a–b) and ‘post-oppida’ (LT D2) periods describes the situation in Bohemia handily and pertinently. As mentioned above (note 30), I admit the existence of a pre-Nauheim horizon in LT D1, though I refuse to recognize it as a relative-chronological phase on its own; I will be more inclined to believe that once we are able to distinguish a late phase of LT C2 corresponding in many traits to early LT D1 and beginning sometime after the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. The actual Late La Tène period, i.e. LT D began in my opinion in ca 130/120 BC.<sup>32</sup> LT D1 can be further subdivided into two sub-phases: LT D1a accompanied by the Nauheim brooch which however does not necessarily mark its beginning (that is the job of an enclosed catch-piece, no matter on what type of brooch it is present) nor does it naturally disappear with its end.<sup>33</sup> LT D1b is defined by the Almgren 65 and spoon-bow brooches (which again may not have appeared simultaneously). The transition between LT D1a and LT D1b occurred in my opinion in the 70s BC based on the evidence from Treviglio in northern Italy (discussed by DE MARINIS 1986; DEMETZ 1999; BOŽIČ 2008). It is worth pointing out that the excavations of Caesar’s siege-works from 52 BC at Alesia produced a series of Nauheim and three spoon-bow brooches besides, naturally, the Alesia type, this latter lying already on the transition to the following phase (BROUQUIER-REDDÉ – DEYBER – SIEVERS 2001, 297–298, pl. 90: 43–45, 90: 37 and 91: 48, 55–61).

Apart from some isolated and meagre indices, LT D2, defined mainly with the *geschweifte Fibel* (as well as the Alesia, A238, and Jezerine brooches) is not attested in the oppida in Bohemia, Moravia or Bavaria, while it is very well represented in the oppidum of Bratislava where the *geschweifte Fibel* is the best attested type (ČAMBAL *et al.* 2015). Outside our working area the earliest La Tène Culture find contexts of *geschweifte Fibeln* date to around the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC: At Besançon-Parking de la Mairie, they are dated to ‘pre-40 BC’ and 40–30 BC (dates established by dendrochronology; FEUGÈRE 1992). The spread of the *geschweifte Fibeln* in Central Europe (leaving aside its evolution in the area of central Germany) therefore seems

31 Glass bracelets: ORFANELLI – VELLANI 1992, 5, n° 51 and 52.

32 The earliest Nauheim brooches date to post 120 BC (Fellbach-Schmidlen: PLANCK 1980; Lombardy: DE MARINIS 1986, 139, note 150) and the allowance for the pre-Nauheim horizon need not be more than a decade or so, certainly not in Central Europe.

33 E.g. in Besançon (FEUGÈRE 1992), or in the Roman military camp of Lomba do Canho in Arganil, Portugal founded probably during the Caesarean campaigns in the region during his propraetorship (62/61 BC) with potential continuity till the battle of Munda in 45 BC. The finds include two Nauheim brooches (DE CASTRO NUNES 1959) and amphorae classified as of Dr 1B type (FABIÃO 1989).

clearly attested only in the third quarter of the first century; there are no definite finds earlier than the middle of the century. The beginning of LT D2 can therefore be dated around or only shortly before the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Its internal development and its end date are not relevant for our study.

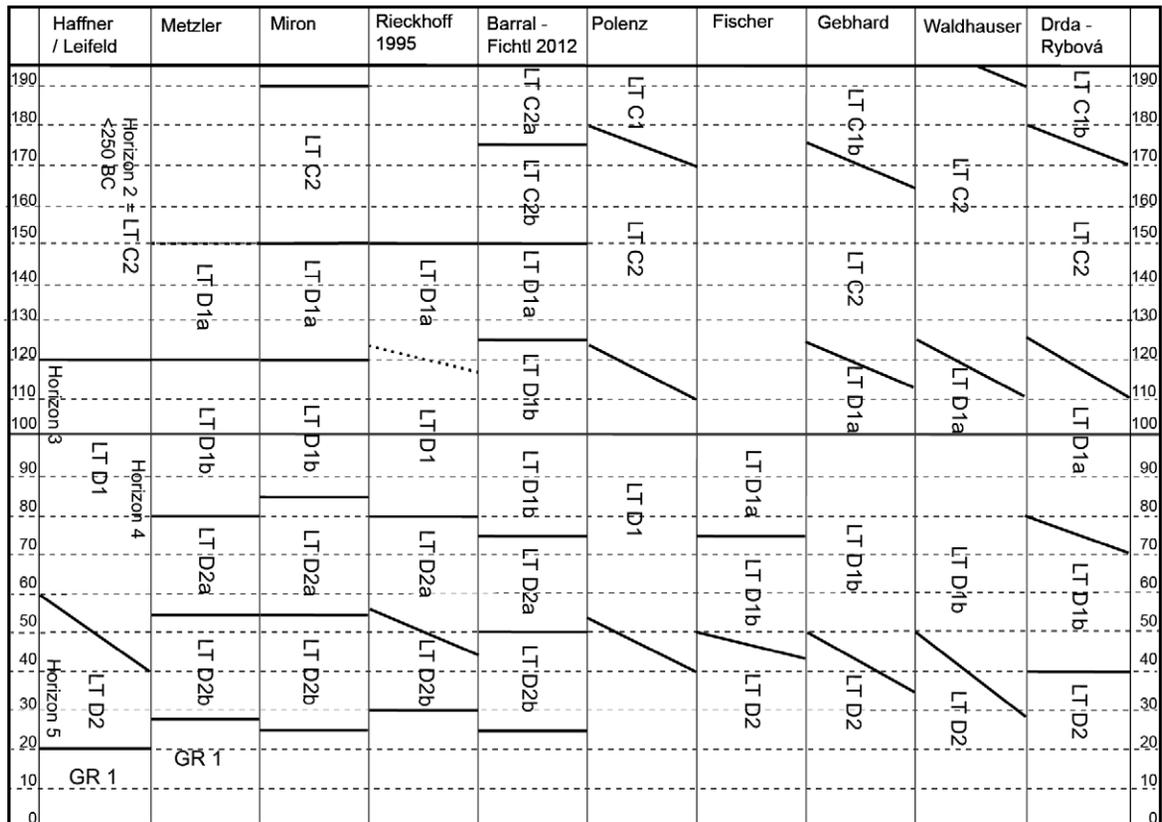


Fig. 6: Chronologies of LT C-LT D after various scholars.

CHRONOLOGIES OF THE MIDDLE AND LATE IRON AGE IN BOHEMIA

For a part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the chronological framework of the La Tène period in Bohemia was Jan Filip's model (FILIP 1956), conceiving chronological phases more as historical epochs and expressing the chronology exclusively in absolute dates (very low ones from the current point of view). In this vision, the phases of flat burials and of the oppida were considered very close if not overlapping. This situation started changing in the 1970s mostly under the influence of scholars trained in the Brno University and adhering to the Reinecke system. Jiří Meduna (1970b) defined the phase LT C2 on the basis of finds from Staré Hradisko. Miloš Čížmář (1970; 1976) proposed a relative chronology for Moravian burials. Both these scholars assumed that the cemeteries came to an end before the beginning of LT C2 within which Staré Hradisko was founded. Another Brno alumnus, Jiří Waldhauser, refined the chronologies of both the flat graves (LT B1-C1b; WALDHAUSER *et al.* 1987) and the oppida periods (WALDHAUSER 1983). In the latter he distinguished earlier and later phases, LT D1a and D1b respectively, and argued for raising the date of the end of the Bohemian oppida from the time of Maroboduus to the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

In the 1980s and 1990s various studies buttressed this chronological scheme with analyses of glass artefacts (VENCLOVÁ 1980; 1981; 1990; VENCLOVÁ – MICHÁLEK 1994; SALAČ – VENCLOVÁ 1990) and of settlement pottery (SALAČ – RULF 1995; VENCLOVÁ ed. 1998; VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2001, 48–50) neither of which unfortunately allowed the construction of a reliable self-contained chronological system. Moreover, dating through natural science methods is rare and not very informative.<sup>34</sup> A fine chronology of the latest La Tène period, pinning these partial chronologies down to an over-reaching supra-regional scheme can, however, only be constructed on the basis of larger assemblages of metal artefacts, principally brooches.

### Závist, Gate D and the chronology of the oppida period

Such a chronology was proposed by Petr Drda and Alena Rybová on the evidence from the excavations of Gate D in the oppidum of Závist (DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1992). In this exceptional context, the scholars distinguished six construction phases accompanied by numerous finds of well datable artefacts and outlined on this basis a chronological scheme which they extended in a second step to the entire site and subsequently to all the oppida in central Bohemia (DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1997). Specifically, they distinguished five construction phases and a pre-fortification phase (**Fig. 7**). The latest phase was built as a large dump rampart accompanied by brooches of types A65 and the spoon-bow type (**Fig. 8**). The preceding four rampart phases were built as *Pfostenschlitzmauern*; each of them lasted according to Drda and Rybová for about 25 years and were accompanied by brooch types Ornavasso, Kostrzewski D/E, Beltz J, Middle La Tène brooches with a roof-shaped bow, Nauheim var. (phase 4); Late La Tène filiform, Ornavasso, Nauheim var. (phase 3); Mötschwil var., Ornavasso, shield-bow brooch, Middle La Tène brooch with a trapezoidal catch-plate (phase 2); Mötschwil (phase 1). The so-called ‘phase zero’, i.e. the earliest phase preceding the construction of the stone wall, is dated by the authors by two arguments: the sum of the durations of the preceding phases (50 BC as the date of site’s demise + 5 × 25 years per rampart phase) and a series of artefacts including an extremely fragmentary Middle La Tène scheme brooch, ‘a fragment of an iron chain-belt’ and a fragment of a black material bracelet ‘which sporadically still appear in the latest LT C1b inhumations’ (DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1997, 335, 340). By this argument they arrived at a date corresponding to the ‘LT C1/LT C2 transition’ of ‘175 BC’<sup>35</sup> (DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1997, 339, 341). They synchronised this scheme with the chronology of Hrazany (DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1992, 339) based on the data published by Jansová (1986; 1988; 1992) and Stradonice<sup>36</sup> (RYBOVÁ – DRDA 1994, 112–132; DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1997) thus obtaining a universal scheme of oppida chronology in central Bohemia.

34 Few C14 dates are available for the period in question (whose greater part moreover falls into the C14 plateau). In Mšecké Žehrovice, six samples from LT C1 and LT C1/C2 transition were dated ‘around 200 BC’ (LANTING 1998). Dendrochronological and C14 dates from various contexts in the hillfort of Vladař (POKORNÝ *et al.* 2005) are most interesting for the history of the site and for some general historical implications but cannot be directly linked with any ‘chronologically interesting’ artefacts.

35 The authors adopted this absolute date from Polenz (1982) though their terminology of the relative chronological phases is that of Metzler and Miron. Neither of these choices is argued or explained.

36 In a 1981 rescue excavation in Stradonice they defined four settlement phases which they synchronised with the collection of Stradonice brooches kept in the National Museum (BŘEŇ 1964).

	Závist		Hrazany		Stradonice		
	brooch type	rampart phase	brooch type	rampart phase	brooch type	rampart phase	
C1/C2		provis.					
LT C2		I		provis.		provis.?	
		II		I			
LT D1a		III				I	
		IV		II			II
		V		?			
LT D1b							

Fig. 7: Chronology of Závist, Hrazany, and Stradonice based on the represented brooches. DRDA - RYBOVÁ 1997.

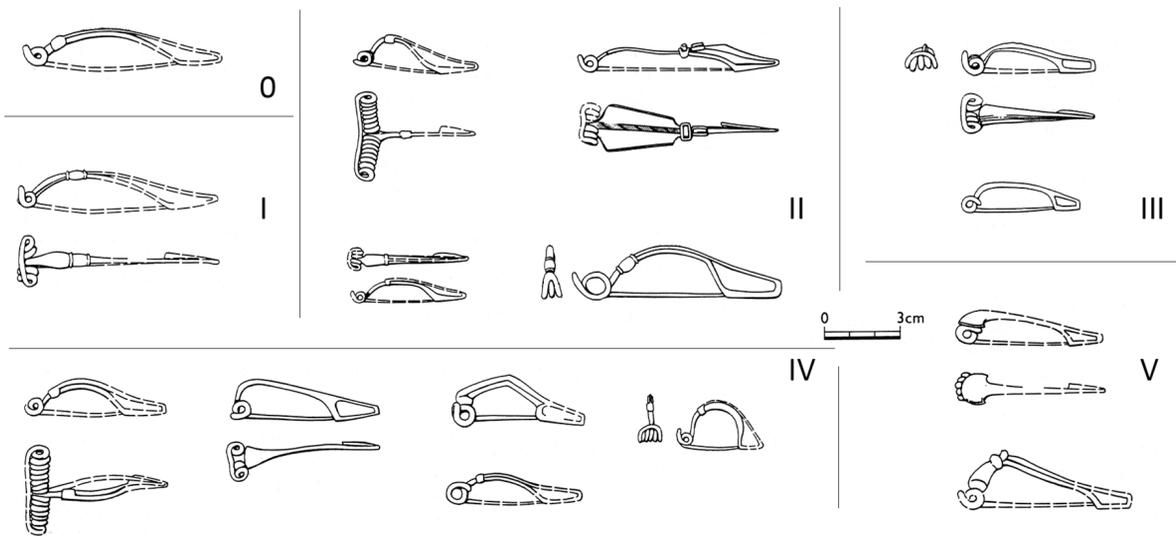


Fig. 8: Závist, gate D, brooches. After DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1992.

In spite of its significance, the study cannot be accepted without some major reservations. The very nature of the find context raises some doubts. In spite of the exemplary stratigraphy and rich finds, the interpretation lacks the precaution necessary in dealing with settlement deposits: the authors did not always differentiate the validity of sealed contexts (e.g. under the destruction of the rampart) from the much more problematic ones such as road deposits; the finds were often treated as if providing a date *ad quem* rather than *ante/post quem*; the classification and suggested date of some of the finds is not always convincing; and last but not least the entire scheme stands on some dubious premises. One them is the fixed duration of the construction phases at 25 years based on (hypothetical) calculations made for Basel, the Staffelberg, Finsterlohr, Manching or Danebury. However, unlike these, the Závist rampart is built as a *Pfostenschlitzmauer* and not a *murus gallicus*, and moreover from a very unstable and easily eroded material (DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1997, 69). The 25 years duration is accredited also to the phases 5 and 3 which ended in violent destructions. In other words, the argument assumes it is the context what endows the finds from it an absolute (!) date rather than the other way round.

The idea of the so-called ‘horizon zero’ also needs some re-consideration. This settlement phase is presented as if it preceded the foundation of the oppidum not only immediately but also causally, as a sort of proto-oppidum phase. No consideration is given to the idea that the traces of human presence may simply result from a pre-oppidum occupation of the site, i.e. a continual (though on a drastically reduced scale) human presence in the LT A site. Such a limited frequentation is documented in LT B1–C for example in Vladař (POKORNÝ *et al.* 2005), Svržno (CHYTRÁČEK – METLIČKA 2004), and clearly also in Závist itself – a LT B1a brooch (JANSOVÁ 1983, 28, obr. 15: 1), (a semi-sunken house?) and graves dated to LT B2–C (MOTKYOVÁ – DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1978a, 102–106), and some LT C vessels (not necessarily characteristic only of ‘the latest’ flat burials as in DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1993, 63, Abb. 8: 2, 9: 1–2).

We will try to revisit the context phase by phase, brooch type after brooch type, keeping in mind the discussion on Late La Tène chronology above.

As in the fifth phase at Závist, spoon-bow brooches and Almgren 65 mark a relatively well defined latest phase at the oppida from Manching (SIEVERS *et al.* 1998) through Bohemia to Moravia. In the Rhineland chronology the introduction of spoon-bow brooches is dated as

early as 80 or 85 BC though without good reasons.<sup>37</sup> They were deposited in the Treviglio tomb after 87 BC, maybe in the 60s (DE MARINIS 1986), or possibly even in the 50s BC (DEMETZ 1999). A fixed point in their chronology is provided by the finds from Alesia (52 BC). In northern Italy the type can be traced down to the (early?) 30s BC (DEMETZ 1999, 71–73). The lifespan of this type can therefore be assigned to the 60s–40s BC. The slightly earlier type Almgren 65 is widespread in Italy and Central Europe; however only very few of the 360 pieces listed by Demetz were found in closed contexts. Demetz dated their introduction to the 80s BC, considering pieces found in Treviglio as already developed varieties. Most in vogue in the 60s–30s the type remained in circulation until the Augustan period.

In the fourth phase we meet the characteristically Central German Middle La Tène scheme brooch with high arch and short-catch piece Beltz J spread throughout Bohemia, Moravia, and southern Germany to the Alps. Associations with other brooch types (VÖLLING 1994, 157–159, Tab. 1) demonstrate the extreme longevity of this type with origins at the end of LT C2, a high incidence in LT D1, and occasional associations with the A18/*geschweifte Fibeln* both in central Germany (VÖLLING 1994) and in post-Manching Bavaria (RIECKHOFF 1995, 54–55, Abb. 48E: 14; TAPPERT 2006, 282–290). Kostrzewski K is another central German type appearing at the transition of LT D1a/D1b and then surviving along with the *geschweifte Fibeln* considered to be their derivatives (VÖLLING 1994, 163–171, Tab. 3; RIECKHOFF 1995, 116–120; BRANDT 2001, 90–91; BOCKIUS – LUCZKIEWICZ 2004). Apart from the oppida in Bohemia it is represented in Manching (GEBHARD 1991, Nr. 201, 873–879) and by as many as 17 examples in Altenburg-Rheinau (MAUTE 1991, 393, Abb. 2: 10; LAUBER 2012). In the Middle Rhineland (LEIFELD 2007, 90–95) they are documented only from LT D1/D2 to LT D2 apparently as non-local pieces.

The destruction horizon of the third phase of Gate D yielded two (allegedly) identical brooches (only one is depicted in DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1992, fig. 21: 7) considered to be local varieties of the Nauheim type. They differ from the ‘originals’ in their material (iron) and in having an external chord and a median rib on the bow. Iron Nauheim brooches with roof-shaped bow have some parallels at Stradonice and Manching (STRIEWE 1996, 88; BŘEŇ 1964, č. 395, 406; GEBHARD 1991, Nr. 841); however the other features do not fit any of the types and varieties defined by Striwe (1996, 148, note 914). Also the Late La Tène iron brooch deposited during the lifetime of the fourth phase of the gate (**Fig. 8**) is hard to classify, the closest, but still approximate parallel, being the filiform brooches (e.g. GEBHARD 1991, 23, Gruppe 25c, 26a). None of these atypical brooches provide a clear chronological indication though LT D1a seems to be the most probable date. The simple filiform Late La Tène brooches date to LT D1.

The Middle La Tène scheme brooches from Gate D were classified (DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1992) after the Kostrzewski (1919) typology although already in 1970s it was largely superseded by a series of detailed studies based on grave associations (POLENZ 1971; BANTELMANN 1972; STÖCKLI 1975; cf. also GEBHARD 1991). After these, Middle La Tène brooches with internal chord (present at Závist in large quantities in phases 4 and 5) do not appear until LT D1. On the other hand, those with a long spring date only vaguely to LT C2 and D1. Most of the Závist Gate D brooches of Middle La Tène scheme cannot be precisely classified because only some of them are published with a drawing. Among them we may point out, for instance, the ‘Kostrzewski B’ from phase 2 (**Fig. 8:II**, bottom right). Its short spring (three coils!), high-arched bow and trapezoidal catch piece make it much more akin to Late La Tène types. Brooches

37 One spoon-bow brooch was published from the Lamadelaine necropolis at the Titelberg (METZLER – METZLER ZENS – MÉNIEL *et al.* 1999, 294). The grave assemblage (one MLT brooch and ten vessels) corresponds to Miron’s LT D1b horizon (= our LT D1a) and for this reason Metzler dates the introduction of spoon-bow brooches to before 80, i.e. the date estimated by Miron as its beginning.

with similar catch pieces are dated to the 'pre-Nauheim LT D1a' (in Rhineland terms) on the Swiss plateau (CURDY – JUD – KAENEL 2012), while at Manching they are assigned to (Bavarian) LT D1a (GEBHARD 1991, 20, Abb. 7, Gruppe 21a). The shield /'Boian' Middle La Tène brooch with flattened front part of the bow concentrate in the 'Boian coinage area' (whence its not entirely fortunate designation in ČIŽMÁŘ – MEDUNA 2012). Apart from Závist, examples are known from Třísov, Stradonice, Staré Hradisko, Loučka, and Egglfing to name a few. This brooch type has only exceptionally been found in closed contexts; in the Kadov hoard, southern Bohemia (MICHÁLEK 1985; MICHÁLEK *et al.* 1999, 77–80, obr. 64, 65) it was associated with a LT D1 glass ring bead (type 24: VENCLOVÁ 1990, 141–142, 263). Two of these brooches come from Jastorf Culture graves in Sadzarzewice with insufficiently diagnostic accompanying finds (JENTSCH 1895, 10) while in Gräffenheinichen in Saxony (gr. 96) they were associated with central German coral brooches (LT C1–D1; GUSTAVS – GUSTAVS 1976; cf. VÖLLING 1994, Tab. 17; BRANDT 2001, 89; BOCKIUS – LUCZKIEWICZ 2004, 23). Significantly, no shield brooches are present in Němčice (ČIŽMÁŘ – MEDUNA 2012; ČIŽMÁŘ – ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ – MEDUNA 2018). Considering how common this fibula type is and in view of the sheer size of the Němčice brooch collection (120 finds) and its chronology (mostly LT C2), the shield brooches are likely to have appeared only after the demise of Němčice, i.e. in late LT C2, and probably lasted until LT D1.

The LT C2 date of Mötschwil type brooches need not be discussed again. However, the brooch found in the 'zero horizon' of Gate D, termed 'Kostrzewski A', is worth a detailed discussion. It was dated on the grounds of this typological classification to the LT C1/C2 transition. This brooch (in reality a 'brooch fragment'<sup>38</sup>) of Middle La Tène scheme is reconstructed as having a low bow with the back-turned foot attached to it along almost its entire length and attached immediately below the spring; the foot is short and triangular. Its classification as Kostrzewski A is based mainly on its symmetrical bow. For Bantelmann, Polenz, Stöckli, and Gebhard, however, the symmetry of the bow is not a chronological criterion. The 'Kostrzewski A' brooch from the 'zero horizon' as it is published corresponds very well with definition of La Tène C2 brooches by Polenz (1971, 34; POLENZ 1978, 188); Stöckli (1975, 32–40) and Gebhard (1991, 20, 82–84) and there is in my opinion no reason to date it to LT C1 or for that matter to the 'transition LT C1/C2'.

Based on these factors, we can reconstruct the chronology of Gate D. The latest (fifth) phase of gate D was built as a dump of earth. This architectural solution was originally believed to be of Gallic inspiration and considered a chronological indicator (assigned to the period around the Gallic War). Fichtl (2010) recently dismissed the idea that dump ramparts can be regarded as a single architectural type and so any chronological considerations based on it are only illusory. The last phase of Závist Gate D is therefore dated only by means of brooches. The LT D1b types associated with this phase date in absolute terms to the 70s/60s–30s BC. No estimate can be made of the lifespan of this phase due to the construction method which differs from the previous ones, and due to its untimely destruction by fire.

The fourth and third phases were accompanied by brooches which are hard to classify or provide only broad dates. The derivatives of the Nauheim type, Kostrzewski D/E and Beltz J types as well as the filiform Late La Tène brooches all date only broadly to LT D1. In Manching and the Rhineland the type Kostrzewski K is considered a marker of an advanced phase of LT D1, though Völling places their introduction to the beginning of the Late La Tène period.

38 The brooch is documented only by a drawing with a major portion reconstructed. Its state of preservation was reportedly poor from the moment of its discovery and it is at present not fit for re-examination. I am grateful to Petr Drda for this information.

There are no LT C2 elements other than the persistent 'Ornavasso' type brooches. These two phases therefore certainly fit within LT D1. The third phase of the rampart perished in flames and we may therefore assume its relatively shorter duration (cf. also the incomparably fewer brooches deposited in the third and fourth phases respectively). Should the fourth phase come to an end in the 70s/60s and considering 50 years as the maximum (even excessive) lifespan for the fourth and third phases combined, the third phase must have started sometime at the very end (last decade?) of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. This date is supported by the Nauheim derivatives in the third phase destruction.

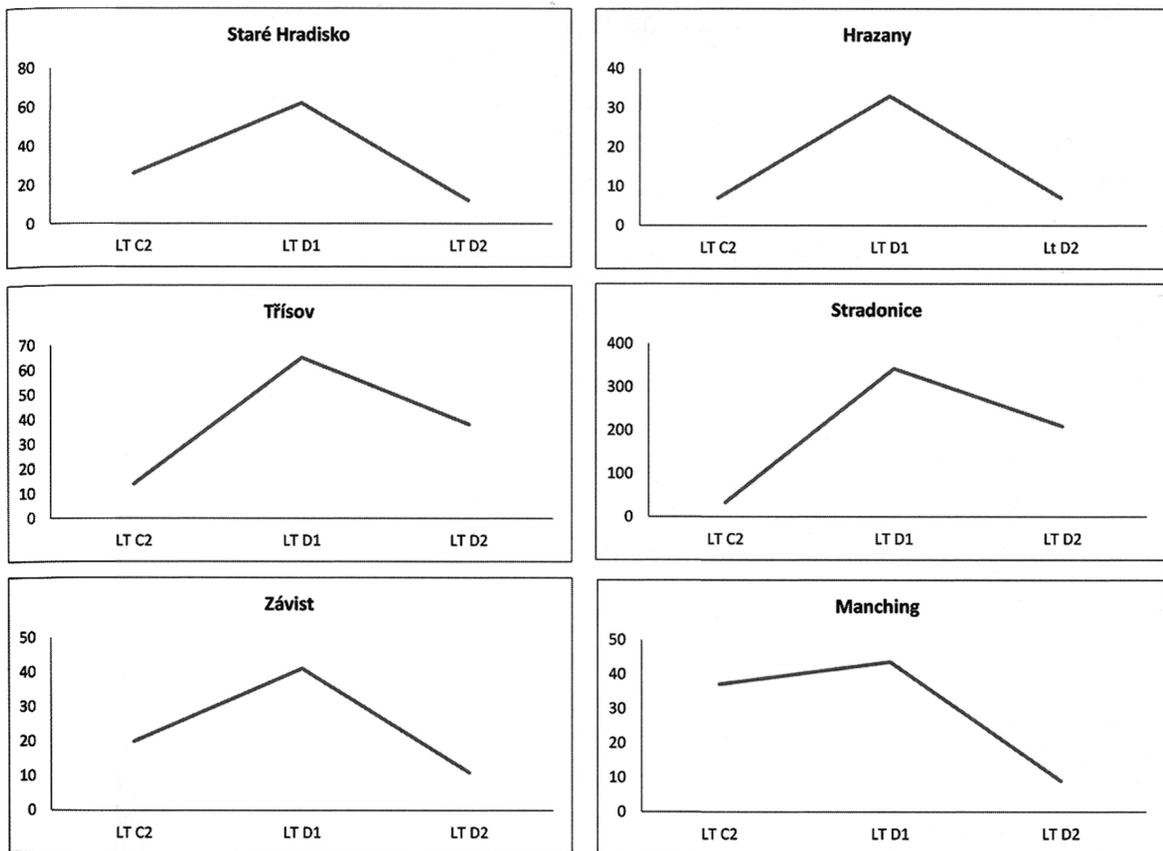
The second phase of the rampart includes a mixture of Middle La Tène brooches. Besides one Mötschwil type and one brooch with a long spring, there are two 'Kostrzewski A's and one 'Kostrzewski B' and, in the destruction, a shield brooch turned into a pendant. The Mötschwil type and Kostrzewski B are considered typical of LT C2, the Middle La Tène scheme brooches with long springs are chronologically irrelevant (they are still present in the fourth phase). As demonstrated above, the 'Kostrzewski B' brooch from this phase fits more readily the LT D than the LT C2 types. The LT C2/D1 or D1a date of shield brooches has been argued above. Given that the Závist example was deposited broken having already been secondarily reutilised, it may already have been deposited within LT D1a. The absence of Late La Tène scheme brooches within this phase need not necessarily exclude a LT D date. The second phase of the Závist rampart thus very probably came to an end in LT D1 while it could have lived through the end of LT C2, in absolute terms between the 130s and 110s BC.

The demise of the first rampart phase is marked by a Mötschwil type brooch similar to the use of the second phase and so LT C2 seems a reasonable date for this entire phase. In view of the chronology proposed for the second phase, it seems improbable that the establishment of the rampart's first phase could date earlier than the 150s BC.

The so-called 'zero horizon' of the oppidum is attested by several artefacts scattered throughout the oppidum, mainly by two Middle La Tène brooches. The piece from the lowest (foundation) phase of Gate D has already been discussed. In the case of an example from Gate N (DRDA - RYBOVÁ 1993, 63, Abb. 8: 2) it is unclear what made the authors consider this brooch a LT C1 example rather than a Kostrzewski D which is extremely common in LT D1 (e.g. Třísov: KARASOVÁ 2002, 230-232, tab. II: 6-7; Stradonice: BŘEŇ 1964, č. 179).

The rampart of Závist was in my opinion constructed during LT C2, around or after the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Some limited evidence shows that the site may have also been occupied before this event, in the pre-oppida period: i.e. LT C2 (the brooch below the rampart), LT B2/C1 (black matter bracelet, pottery), and LT B1 (two graves in the annexe, a pre-Duchcov type brooch in the abandonment of the LT A phase). The nature of this pre-oppidum occupation is unclear and probably also hard to define. It seems, however, that throughout the Iron Age the site was never really abandoned or at least forgotten. If we accept this hypothesis, there is no need to conceive the 'pre-oppidum' phase necessarily as a 'proto-oppidum' phase, i.e. there is no causal link between the oppidum and the previous occupation of the site.

When focusing only on brooch percentages regardless of their stratigraphical position, we may discern the beginnings of the occupation of Závist at the time of the first rampart construction, that is during LT C2, with an occupation peak in LT D1a and a gradual decline and abandonment in LT D1b. In the stratigraphy of Gate D, 18.7% of LT C2 brooches are followed by another 18.7% of LT C2/D1 types, as much as 56.2% of LT D1, and then a mere 6.2% of LT D1b types. A similar situation is attested in the acropolis of the oppidum (DRDA - RYBOVÁ 2001) with 12% of LT C2, 38.9% of LT D1a, 9% of LT D1b and the remaining 38% indeterminable brooch fragments.



**Fig. 9: Chronology of occupation in major oppida in Central Europe based on brooch type ratios. DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, obr. 7. (The authors use the Rhineland terminology, thus their LT D1 = our LT D1a, LT D2 = our LT D1b).**

The same pattern can also be discerned on other Czech oppida (Fig. 9; DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014). LT D1a is always the best represented period; LT C2 is systematically present although in Stradonice and Třisov it is represented by only a few examples. Hrazany and especially Staré Hradisko are relatively richer in these early brooches. In all the studied sites we observe a steep drop in brooches in LT D1b, though occasional LT D2 pieces can be found in Třisov and Stradonice. Manching with its extremely strong (pre-oppidum phase) LT C2 and extremely poor LT D1b corresponds therefore more closely with the occupation dynamics of Staré Hradisko and Závist rather than with Stradonice and Třisov.

The sudden rise of the oppidum of Bratislava into a short-lived regional centre occurred in the period of the spoon-bow brooch and lasted mainly through the period of Almgren 18/ Alesia/ Almgren 238 (ČAMBAL *et al.* 2015). An outline of the absolute chronology is provided by the numismatics as the local silver Biatec coinage imitates Roman denarii from 70/69–46/45 BC (GÖBL 1994; MILITKÝ - TORBÁGYI forthcoming). The bulk of the amphora assemblage from the Bratislava Castle seems to date to roughly the middle or the third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (KYSELA - OLMER 2014). Imported tableware includes black gloss ware, (and single pieces of) pre-sigillata, thin-walled pottery and earliest sigillata, testifying to the settlement continuing into the 30s or early 20s BC. An important role in outlining the Bratislava chronology had always been assigned to the supposed destruction of the oppidum by the Dacians, believed to have occurred sometime between 45 (the latest Roman coin imitated in Bratislava coinage) and 35 BC (by

which date Burebista who was accredited with wiping out Celtic power in the Middle Danube area had already died). Research of the last decade has significantly down-scaled the significance of this event (VRTEL 2015) and some form of continuity beyond the 40s or 30s BC is not excluded.

### The pre-oppida period

The chronology of the Late La Tène period, although subject to lively discussion, is extremely rich in data. The situation is quite the opposite in the misty period leading to the foundation of the oppida. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, the phase LT C1 marks a major change in the evidence base in Bohemia and in Central Europe. Archaeologically detectable burials gradually disappeared over LT C1 while it is only sometime in LT C2 that the oppida came to existence. In spite of our gradually increasing knowledge about the LT C1–C2 agglomerations, no closed contexts enabling artefact seriation are known from this period, and an entire artefact phase consisting of objects no longer represented in the burials but present in the agglomerations or in the (earliest phase?) of the oppida seems to be floating in a void. In this way a ‘gap’ of unknown duration seems to be yawning between these two well studied and well systematized blocks of data of burials on the one hand and of the oppida on the other.

Several agglomerations are known from our working area, but only from Němčice nad Hanou is there enough published evidence to allow a discussion of chronology (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012; VENCLOVÁ 2016; ČIŽMÁŘ – ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ – MEDUNA 2018). The occupation of the site may have begun in LT B2 but the combined chronology of glass ornaments and brooches point to the earliest signs of production activities in LT C1a, a settlement peak in LT C1b and LT C2 with possibly some continuity of human presence, albeit on an extremely reduced scale in LT C2/D1.

Including the floruit and abandonment of Němčice and at the same time the beginning of occupation at Závist as well as at Staré Hradisko, LT C2 becomes a highly event-loaded phase. Archaeological evidence proved insufficient to help us understand the correct order of these events as the Mötschwil brooches characterising the occupation of late Němčice and early Staré Hradisko and Závist do not allow for any finer chronology.<sup>39</sup> In order to try to better understand these issues we will turn to another find category whose study has recently enjoyed a particularly lively development, the coins.

### Numismatic chronology

Coins have already been discussed to some extent but they cannot be omitted here for their utmost importance providing answers to chronological questions. Not only are they extremely numerous but especially, unlike any other artefacts, they create an independent self-contained system with its own inner logic (gradual loss of weight; in some cases debasement of metal purity over time; and the barbarisation of the original Mediterranean iconographic models). Recent advances in the seriation of the Bohemian and Moravian coinage (MILITKÝ 2015a; 2018a; SMĚLÝ 2017) help to describe in detailed their internal development; what we lack however is a synchronisation of numismatic and archaeological chronologies. So far, we are capable of attaching one specific coinage with a broad chronological phase, mainly thanks to key sites. In this way we can clearly distinguish the ‘Němčice’ and ‘Stradonice’ chronological phases (corresponding roughly to settlement peaks at these sites in LT C and LT D1) and even outline a fairly detailed development within them. However, we are unable to tell for example which

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39 We can nonetheless be sure that the repeatedly proposed idea of an abandonment of Němčice and a ‘retreat’ to Staré Hradisko as a reaction to the campaign of the Cimbri has no material justification. In the 110s BC Němčice must have already been abandoned for several decades with some residual population at the best.

stage of the Stradonice coinage corresponds precisely with LT D1a and which with LT D1b. Of particular value therefore are moments of transition from one numismatic phase to another and a comparison of different sites which help us recognise absences. In this way, Smělý (2017, 69) argued that Staré Hradisko came into existence in the years of decline (but still existence) of Němčice nad Hanou though suggesting a considerable chronological gap between the end of Němčice and the beginnings of large-scale coin production in Stradonice (SMĚLÝ 2020). This would correspond with the delay with which Stradonice appeared on the scene according to the brooch chronology. Militký on the other hand considers the coins filling in this gap to have been minted in Stradonice (MILITKÝ 2015a, 168; MILITKÝ 2017, 117–118). What is sure is that there was no significant chronological overlap between Němčice and the Czech oppida but at the most a short symbiosis if not a gap.

At the other end of the oppida period, coinage clearly corroborates the continuity of Stradonice into LT D2 (only vaguely suggested by brooches) and synchronicity of its latest phase (admittedly one of deep crisis) with the rise of Bratislava (MILITKÝ 2015a, 168 ; MILITKÝ – TORBÁGYI forthcoming).

### THE CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK – SOME CONCLUSIONS

The term ‘recent La Tène period’ denotes in our usage the period LT C1/C2–LT D2. The term ‘Late La Tène period’ traditionally describes LT D1–D2. In relative chronology I follow the Bavarian system assigned absolute dates as follows: LT C2 = 200/190–130/120; LT D1a = 130/120–ca 70s; LT D1b = ca 70s–ca 50; LT D2 = from ca 50.

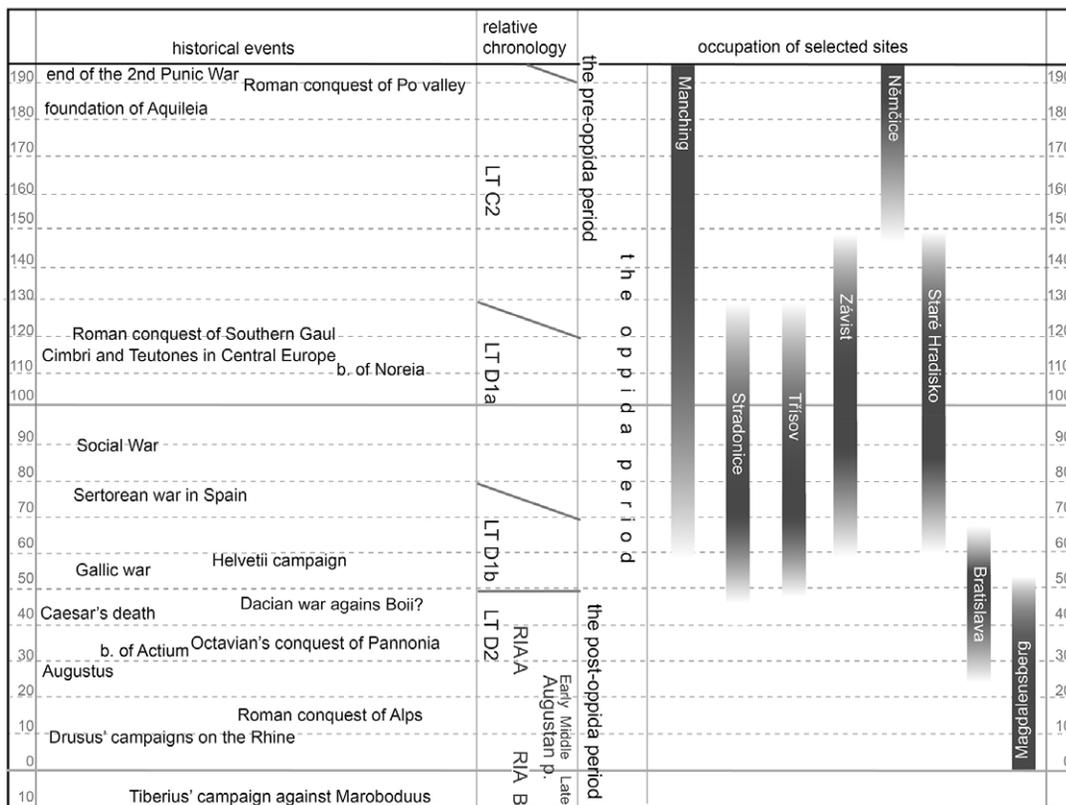


Fig. 10: Chronological overview.

The term 'pre-oppida period' naturally covers the time-span preceding the establishment of the oppida, both the period of flat graves in LT B–C1 and of agglomerations in LT C1b–LT C2. The term 'oppida period' describes in Bohemia (but also in EnCE) the advanced stages of LT C2 and LT D1. The latest phase consistently attested in the oppida throughout our working area is LT D1b. The extremely meagre evidence of LT D2 shows that Stradonice and Třísov may have survived until the beginning of this stage, probably on a much reduced scale. In Bratislava on the contrary LT D2 is the peak period of occupation. In terms of historical chronology, the oppida in Bohemia may have lasted till the time of the Gallic War and it is in these same years that Bratislava rose, lasting to the time of the Triumvirate or perhaps the earliest Augustan period. By that time the oppida in Bohemia and Moravia had long been abandoned and the traces of La Tène Culture were gradually disappearing in the beginning ('Germanic') Roman Iron Age (RIA).



## II. THE THINGS AND THE THOUGHTS



## 1. Introduction

In view of the almost complete absence of written sources, all information on contacts between the Mediterranean and Central Europe is provided by the ‘contact indicators’ as defined by Gilles Pierrevelcin (2009; 2012, 59–66); the same author also presents a solid theoretical framework for the study of long-distance contacts. At this point it is therefore only necessary to point out the features in which the present study will – by virtue of different material – of necessity depart from this framework.

First, the present study is intended as asymmetrical: in most cases, the contacts will be studied in only one direction through the southern indicators in the Transalpine Central European milieu. This asymmetry is largely justified by the aims of the study (we are interested in the local *effects* of the contacts); at the same time, identification of specifically Bohemian finds in the Mediterranean, that is distinguishing them from the bulk of La Tène finds may prove extremely difficult, as will be demonstrated in a short chapter dedicated to that issue at the very end of this section.

The ‘contact indicators’ are divided into two large categories: we are first dealing with the material ‘imports’, i.e. artefacts (chapter II.2) including the somewhat special category of coins (chapter II.3) and subsequently (chapter II.4) with the much less clearly defined spiritual or immaterial imports as defined by Natalie Venclová (2002).

As already explained, Bohemia will be systematically studied in comparison with two neighbouring regions – WnCE and EnCE – in order to properly contextualise the Bohemian results. Although the core of the study will be the Late Iron Age, i.e. oppida period, the much scarcer contacts in the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century will be studied with the due diligence and the two periods will already be differentiated in this analytical chapter.

The basis of the study are the contact indicators, single objects (or fragments of objects) which I strove to collect and document as fully as possible. The analysis will proceed by find categories: metal vessels, ornaments, pottery, etc. The core of the study is formed by already published objects, including those published as contact indicators, regardless if this interpretation is tenable or not. Particular attention will be paid to cases in which the artefacts were published as imports (both material and immaterial) without substantiation and we will be ready at any point to dismiss such dubious artefacts.

Unpublished objects can be included thanks to numerous colleagues who have provided me with valuable information on such pieces, granted me access to various public or private collections where I could identify so far unrecognized objects, and who have given me permission to publish them. I suppose that some published pieces have escaped my attention, in particular those from the ‘bibliographically more distant’ regions like southern Germany or Austria. I hope nevertheless that the corpus presented here, though not necessarily complete, is at least representative of the phenomena I intend to investigate.

The value of the single finds and find categories may vary, and the depth with which they will be dealt will therefore vary accordingly. The length to which the finds or categories will be discussed need not always directly reflect their significance within the mass of imports... I do not mind running this risk.

## THE CORPUS OF THE IMPORTS

The word ‘import’ is intended here as an artefact deposited in a different geographical and cultural environment than the one in which it had been created, in our case therefore objects made in the Mediterranean and found in Central Europe (or more rarely *vice versa*). Moreover, in order for the object to be taken into consideration, its production, transfer, and deposition (or at least two of these) had to occur within the chronological timespan studied here (a condition which is not always met and not always easy to verify). The word ‘import’ is therefore used here in a purely neutral way, without any cultural or economic significance, e.g. that implied by its present-day commercial value (cf. PIERREVELCIN 2012, 35–37 for discussion on modalities of import transfer).

The Mediterranean imports found in the study area are presented in the Catalogue in Appendix II in geographical order (region > site > functional category). Throughout the study, each object is referred to by alphanumerical codes in square brackets consisting of site abbreviation and object number. In order to facilitate the orientation in the Catalogue and to leave space for possible later entries, I tried to avoid continuous numerical lines in the richer assemblages: therefore, in the richest sites like Manching and Stradonice the first number refers to find category (000–199 = bronze vessels; 200–299 = glass vessels; 300–399 = mirrors; 400–499 = jewellery and finger rings; 500–599 = medical, toilet and writing instruments; 600–699 = pottery; 700–799 = amphorae; 800–899 = ecofacts; 900–999 = other).<sup>40</sup> Thus e.g. a code [Zá12] corresponds to artefact number 12 in Závist whereas [S412] refers to artefact number 12 in the category of jewellery and finger rings (400–499) at Stradonice. All abbreviations are explained in detail in the introduction to the Catalogue, Appendix II. Coins (Chapter II:3) are catalogued separately in Appendix III.

As mentioned above, the corpus also includes objects not considered to be actual imports for one reason or another, often those which were incorrectly published as imports in the past. These objects and the reasons for their exclusion from our consideration are discussed within the single import categories in which they (in reality do not) belong. These rejected non-imports are catalogued in Appendix II too, and identified by an ‘x’ within their individual code (e.g. [Sx02] = second disproved object in Stradonice).

Bibliographical references to the individual objects are as a rule relegated to the Catalogue in order not to overload the text itself. For the same reason, authorship of the drawings of the catalogued objects are presented in Credits at the end of the book rather than in the individual captions. For all the used Institution abbreviations cf. the list in pages 331–332.

In the final evaluation of the corpus, in the majority of categories each entry, albeit only a fragment, will be counted as one individual object. In other words, I will not employ any method of quantification. One exception to this rule will be pottery and amphorae on the one hand and mirrors on the other. In both cases the nature of these categories runs the risk of excessively overestimating their importance if counted by a simple number of fragments; therefore pottery, amphorae and mirrors will be quantified using the minimum number of individuals (MNI).

40 Such an approach is adopted (albeit not so rigorously) also in other sites, such as e.g. in Tříssov, where new categories sometime start from the next ten up.

## PROVENANCE OF THE ARTEFACTS

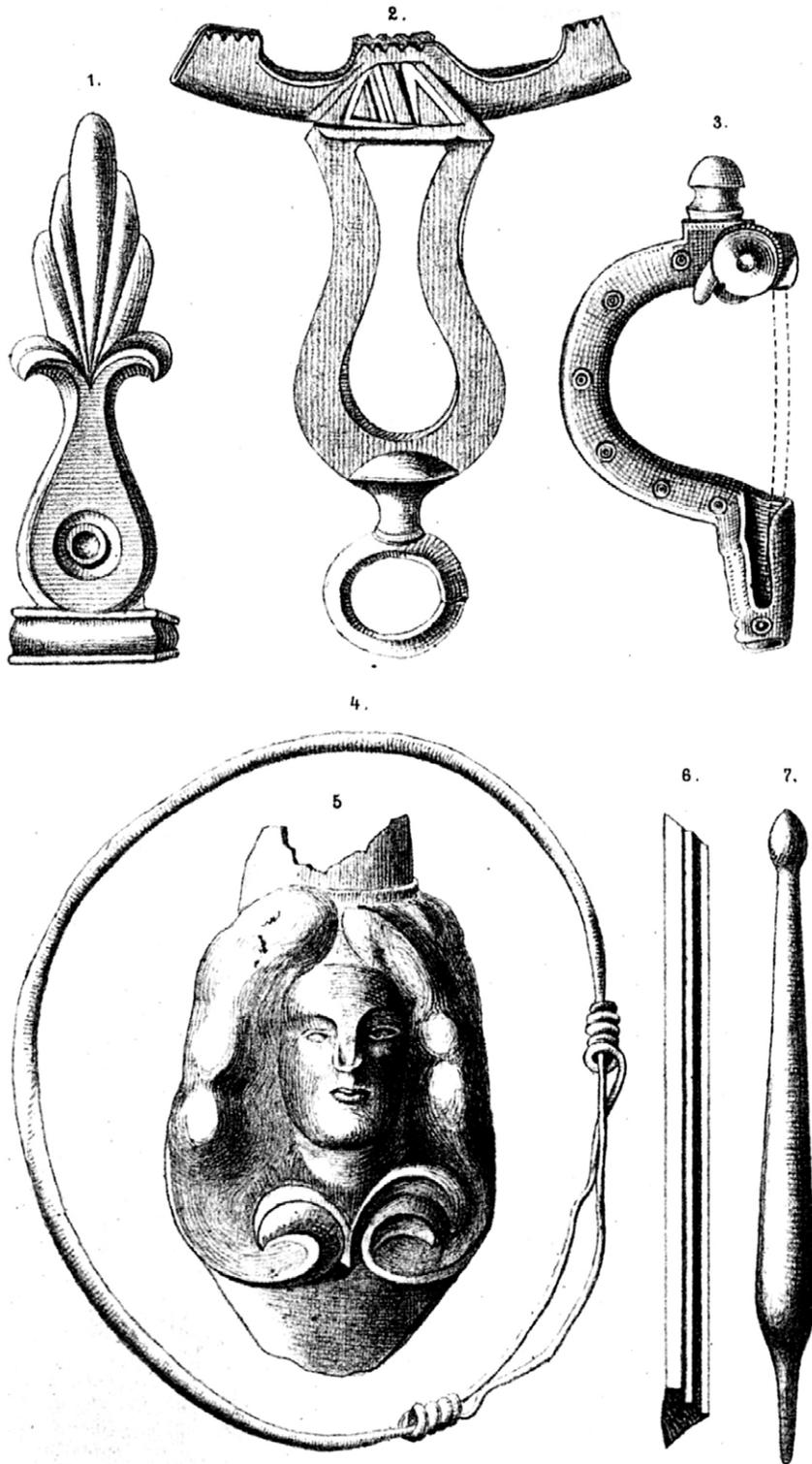
The sites which have yielded artefacts of Mediterranean origin are relatively few. In the Catalogue in Appendix II the overview of artefacts is listed according to site, each of which is introduced by a short paragraph describing the most important aspects of the site itself. At this point, as a preamble to the actual artefact study, it is necessary to present several important facts concerning the ways and circumstances by and under which the collections of these objects were constituted which will help us better understand the sometimes very particular nature of some of these assemblages.

### **Stradonice old collections**

The greater part of the objects with which we will deal in Bohemia are finds and 'finds' from Stradonice. The problems connected with the extremely rich Stradonice collection are generally known (SKLENÁŘ 2015; HLAVA 2015b): the collections were accumulated mostly during the 'gold rush' in 1877 and 1878 when dozens if not hundreds of local inhabitants pillaged the site in order to sell the finds to collectors (**Fig. 11**). The Stradonice collections consist of (tens of?) thousands of artefacts often absolutely extraordinary or unique in a regional if not a European context. However, basically none of these objects has documented find circumstances (controlled excavations on the site – cf. below – have been few and generally unproductive). Even the provenance 'from Stradonice' is often questionable as the earliest Stradonice collections were already contaminated with fakes, and 'Stradonice' became in its time simply a brand name used freely by dealers with antiquities to embellish their merchandise. Each confrontation with artefacts allegedly from Stradonice therefore requires a particularly subtle critical approach. The Stradonice finds are currently dispersed all over Central Europe; there is however a handful of collections which constitute the vast majority of them.

**The Berger collection.** Štěpán Berger (1844–1897) was a lawyer, landowner, and politician who assembled during his lifetime an enormous collection of antiquities from Bohemia and abroad. The largest portion of Berger's collection consisted of finds from Stradonice (less than 10 km as the crow flies from his residence in Svatý Jan pod Skalou). Berger (or his agents) was present on the spot in Stradonice during the 'gold rush', buying antiquities directly from the excavators. He knowingly did not distinguish actual finds from fakes, partly from ignorance, but at least partly as an act of beneficence towards their precarious creators. It is not known to what extent Berger purchased Stradonice antiquities outside the actual excavations from antiquities dealers. It is very probable that should the opportunity have arisen, he would surely have done so. He was certainly an avid buyer of antiquities from many sources as confirmed by other parts of his collection, including e.g. finds from Hallstatt. After Berger's death, the collection was after some negotiations transferred to the National Museum in Prague in 1898; a preliminary catalogue ('taxation list') was created at this occasion though with numerous flaws and imprecisions (HLAVA 2015b). Serious cataloguing of the collection started only in 1913, numbering at that time over 22,000 objects (HLAVA 2015b, 151). It may never have been systematically carried out since some Stradonice finds from the Berger collection were only inventoried in the 2000s.

**The Grosse collection.** In the 1870s, Wilhelm Grosse was a manager of a smelting plant in Nová Huť u Nižbora, and therefore an immediate neighbour of the Stradonice pillagers with the easiest access to them. This is well reflected in his collection. Although much smaller than Berger's (the early 20<sup>th</sup> century inventory lists some 680 items: *Collection Grosse n.d.*), it is composed of obviously selected quality pieces. The collection came to the Vienna Hofmuseum, today the Naturhistorisches Museum Wien.



C. Kuntze del.

W. Osborne: Hradischt bei Stradonic

Fig. 11: Highlights of the Stradonice wild excavations - one of the first published illustrations.  
OSBORNE 1880.

**J.L. Píč** as the keeper of archaeological collections in the National Museum in Prague (NM) conducted two excavation campaigns in Stradonice in 1894 and 1902. He cursorily reported the results of the excavations and presented the finds in his monograph on the site mixed with those from the Berger collection (already in the NM) and with those from the Vienna museum (Píč 1903). He however never got round to cataloguing his own finds, nor has any documentation survived enabling us to identify his finds in the NM Stradonice collection. Many finds from Stradonice are listed in the National Museum catalogue as ‘either Berger collection or Píč excavations’; others lack any provenance (Berger collection or Píč excavations are again the most probable sources).

**The Fürstenberg collection.** During the Stradonice pillaging, the princes of Fürstenberg used the nearby castle of Křivoklát (ca 10 km west of Stradonice) as a residence for over century and a half. Under unclear circumstances they acquired for their ‘castle museum’ a representative collection of ca 2,000 pieces. It has been kept in the Křivoklát castle (now managed by the Czech National Heritage Institute, NPÚ) ever since. With only a few exceptions, the finds were not included by Píč in his monograph.

**The Lorber collection.** The collection of Eduard Lorber (1860–1941), a watch-maker in Kladno (20 km north of Stradonice) came to the National Museum in Prague after the collector’s death. According to the testimony of his heirs ‘Mr. Lorber collected the objects himself; he never bought anything from anyone’.<sup>41</sup> The collection of ca 320 pieces was duly inventoried.

**The Lehmann collection.** Nicolaus Lehmann (1824–1906) was a Prague art dealer and collector of antiquities including prehistoric artefacts (FLEGL 2007). The contemporary publications repeatedly mention Lehmann’s wife Antonia as a direct and active participant in the original scramble for Stradonice finds. The collection disappeared (likely sold), probably already during Lehmann’s life (HLAVA 2012b). It is known only from a series of photographic plates entitled *Monumenta popolorum varia* (quoted here as ‘Lehmann Monumenta’) showing cards to which the artefacts were attached with a wire according to the habits of the period (Fig. 12). Three series of these photographs are preserved in NM, ArÚ Prague, and MMP. Each series varies in the number of photographs and even in the composition of the artefacts on them: some cards were photographed repeatedly with an ever growing number of artefacts; some artefacts were documented on several cards, testifying to a gradual rearrangement of objects on the cards (HLAVA 2012b, 94–97, note 9–10; HLAVA 2015b, 149–150). All this suggests that the collection grew progressively and that the collector documented this growth regularly (but over what timespan?). It definitely shows that Stradonice finds were available over a longer period of time.

Other minor collections include e.g. (among many others) those of **E. Mikš / K. Buchtela** (today partly in NM, partly in the Charles University, Prague) or **R. Forrer** (today in RGZM Mainz: KARASOVÁ – SCHÖNFELDER 2004). Their significance for our study is minimal but they document well on the one hand the dispersion of Stradonice pieces and on the other hand their characteristically rather repetitive composition.

As we have seen, the story of the Stradonice collections is complex. The best criterion to estimate the authenticity of the artefacts’ provenance from Stradonice (relevant in particular in the case of the less common categories in them such as Mediterranean imports) is in my opinion simply their chronology. All the principal collections were constituted directly in the aftermath of the pillaging in 1877–1880. In this period, nothing was known about either the site’s precise chronology (which only became clear in early 1900s and not generally

41 ‘Podle tvrzení dědiců všechny tyto předměty p. Lorber sám sesbíral, od nikoho nic nekupoval’ (SVOBODA 1941; quoted also in HLAVA 2015b).

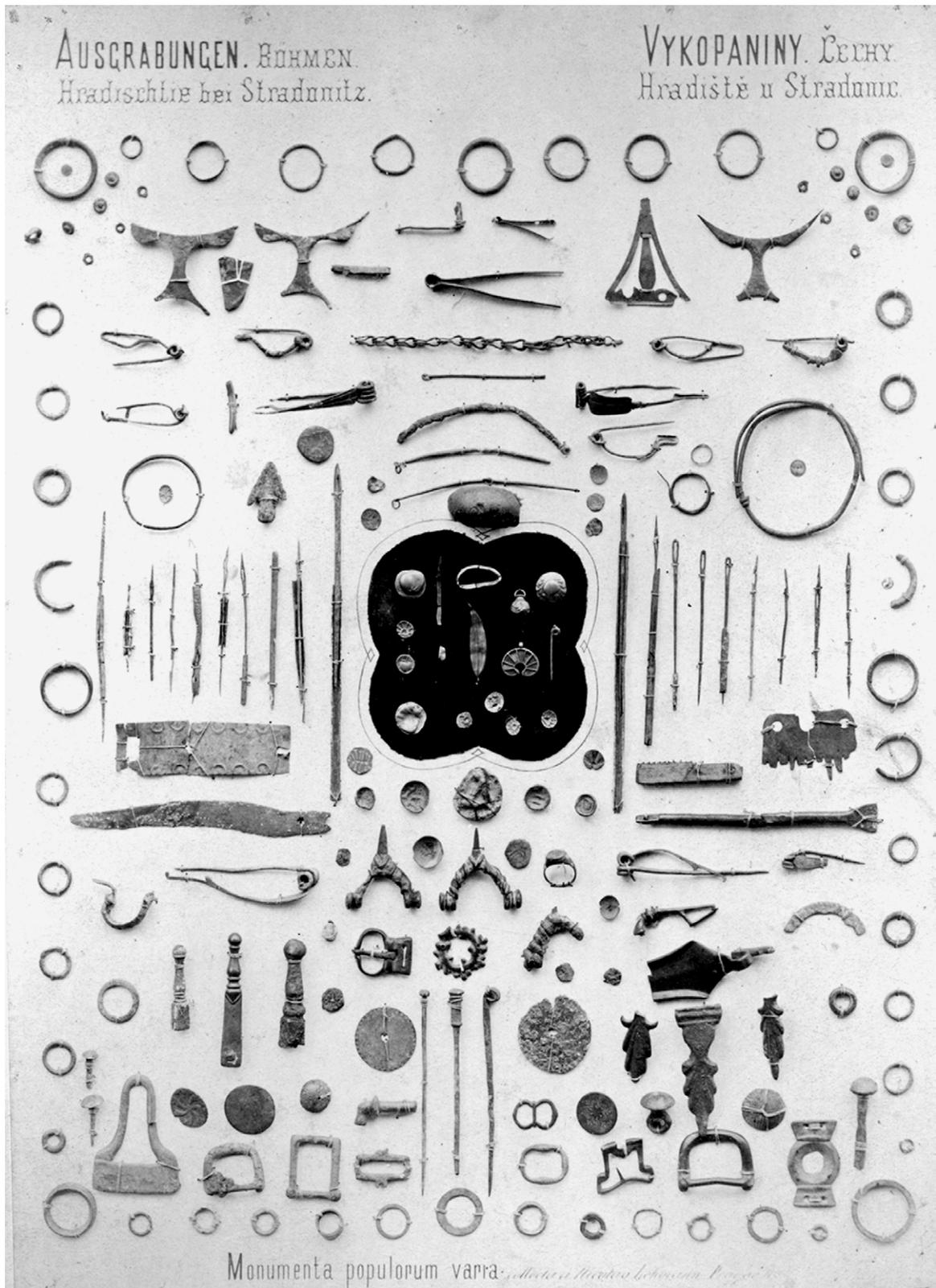


Fig. 12: The Lehmann collection. An example of the photographs documenting the collection.

accepted in Bohemia until the 1920s) or of the chronology and typology of Roman bronze and glass vessels or glyptics, least of all to Prague dealers of antiquities who (taking these two unknowns) would not have been able to distinguish objects fitting the chronology of Stradonice's occupation from those of other periods. Moreover, objects dated to the Roman Republican period must have been far less available in Central Europe than e.g. those of the Imperial period, and therefore also much less likely to be sold with a false provenance from Stradonice. Therefore, I consider authentic those imported objects allegedly provenanced as from Stradonice whose chronology corresponds with the occupation of the site, i.e. 2<sup>nd</sup> and the first half or three quarters of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. We will see that surprisingly only a small part of the objects (dated to Imperial, or more rarely to the Archaic/Classical periods) will have to be excluded on these grounds. The attribution of the remaining objects to Stradonice will never be absolutely certain but in view of the site's in so many respects exceptional character, it can be considered highly likely.

### Excavations

Only a fraction of the corpus was obtained by official professional excavations (overview in HLAVA 2012a). In Bohemia it concerns mainly the finds from Závist (excavations of ArÚ Prague in 1963–1989), some of the finds from Třísov (excavations of the NM in 1958–1982) and a drop in the ocean of the Stradonice finds (excavations by Píč in 1894 and 1902; by Stocký in 1929 and by ArÚ Prague in 1981).

Meaningful find circumstances were documented only in the excavations conducted by Drda and Rybová both in Závist (DRDA – RYBOVÁ 2001) and in Stradonice (RYBOVÁ – DRDA 1994) as well as by Michálek in Strakonice (MICHÁLEK 1990). On the other hand, the documentation of the excavations in Třísov (cf. HLAVA 2008; KYSELA 2011), in Stradonice by Stocký (VENCLOVÁ – VALENTOVÁ 2012), or in Sedlo u Sušice by Dubský (1932) provides information only comparable with a surface survey.

In EnCE and WnCE the majority of finds comes from regular excavations though not always perfectly documented or published. In Staré Hradisko the finds from the early excavations by Lipka and Snětina, carried on, with interruptions, from 1907 till 1925 were duly catalogued and treated but no useful find context information is available. The later excavation on the site by the Archaeological Institute in 1934–1937 (Böhm) and in 1964–1966, 1972–1973, and 1983–1993 (Meduna and Čižmář) were far better documented but not yet published and the contextual information on finds from them is therefore identical with that on the early digs of Lipka and Snětina. Also, in Bratislava, while some city rescue excavations are duly published (e.g. MUSILOVÁ – LESÁK 1996), the investigation on the Castle Hill still await a full evaluation and finds of Mediterranean imports can be variously related to an excavation or an excavation zone rather than to a specific find context (with some significant exceptions such as 'Roman building II': RESUTÍK – MINAROVIECH 2017). Published in more detail are some minor settlements like Bořitov in Moravia, Zohor in Slovakia, or Michelstetten in Austria; with only a handful of imports in regular La Tène settlement features, their evaluation may however bring only limited information. Despite its only preliminary nature, the publication of the recent urban excavations in Vienna is exemplary (ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015; MOSSER – ADLER-WÖLFL 2018).

In this situation of a few insufficiently published excavations or few telling find contexts, we will unfortunately have to disregard contextual information even from sites with a generally high standard of field documentation such as Manching – we have little to compare them with.

### **Metal detector finds**

A part of the finds was obtained by metal detector surveys – both official and private – and are at present kept in both public and private collections.

In metal detector surveys the coordinates of the finds (which are strictly documented in official surveys) is the most precise information available on the context of the objects which are as a rule retrieved from topsoil, having been ploughed out of their original contexts. The information value of the objects discovered during the surveys organised by ARUP and JČM in Třísov in 2007–2013 is in this sense absolutely comparable with (and the intervention was in reality far less destructive than) the excavations of NM on the same site.

Finds from private detector surveys were taken into consideration based on the trustworthiness of the finder as judged by myself or by the colleagues who accepted the finds into public collections.

### **IMPORTS OR LOCAL PRODUCTS?**

In more than one case, the import status of the objects we are going to study is at best conventional and their Mediterranean origin may be or has been subject to discussion. This is notably the case of some bronze vessel types (e.g. sieves and buckets) and of mirrors. The advocates of their local production typically (and to some degree understandably) argue that artefacts of these categories or types are more frequently found in Transalpine Europe than in the Mediterranean region, that these objects are by no means so demanding as to be beyond the skills and technical possibilities of Late La Tène craftsmen, and that some of the Transalpine finds are as a matter of fact of relatively low technological quality, and sometimes even considered to be production rejects (e.g. GUILLAUMET 1977; overview in KARWOWSKI 2017, 266–267).

I will address these issues specifically when dealing with the categories/types in question. At this point I will only outline a few generally valid points; the seeming dearth or even lack of Mediterranean parallels to our objects is the result of a combination of reasons: a lower likelihood of preservation and recovery of artefacts from the Roman Republican period as opposed to the Imperial one (longer, materially richer, and with archaeological deposits often overlying and disturbing those of the earlier Republican phases); the different nature and accessibility of Republican and Late La Tène find contexts; and a lesser interest of Mediterranean scholars in these find categories resulting in them being under published.

As to the technological argument, the Late La Tène period is without any doubt the summit of craft production in Transalpine Europe and the skills and abilities of the craftsmen of this period were surely in most respects fully comparable with those of their Italian counterparts. There is truly no reason why objects like bronze sieves – hammered from a bronze sheet with simple cast attachments – could not have been produced in Transalpine Europe; also bronze mirrors could be a feasible task for them. The situation is more complicated with other vessel forms such as buckets. These objects were certainly worked on the lathe (e.g. WIELOWIEJSKI 1985). Already some 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century bronze vessels (e.g. the basin from Stebno [Stb1]) feature a dimple in the centre of their bottoms testifying to the use of the lathe in some stages of their production; a lathe was certainly systematically used in the Mediterranean toreutic workshops for finishing at least for the entire 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, while from Augustan period on the lathe became the principal device for their very shaping (BÖCKING – GÉROLD – PETROVSZKY 2004).

Usually these doubts cannot be resolved by any stylistic, technological or analytical methods. In these cases, I treat as Mediterranean imports all the objects whose form and function is of clear Mediterranean origin or heritage unless there is a certain proof to the contrary. All the specific cases will be discussed individually.

## 2. The Things – Mediterranean imports in Late Iron Age Central Europe

*“I need something that has shiny scales on its surface, at least on Thursdays or Fridays, with little metal prisms rattling inside it, but not too Gothic. It would be fun if it ran on 220 volts or had gills. It doesn’t need to sing and in fact I would sooner it didn’t speak at all. That is not to say that it couldn’t squawk from time to time, particularly when a green star of monsters is approaching outside the walls.”*

*The shopper nodded knowingly.*

Michal Ajvaz, *The Other City*.

### BRONZE VESSELS

Bronze vessels are the most numerous and most characteristic category of southern imports in Central Europe. They are the principal contact indicator in the Early Iron Age which is not the subject of our study; they are among the very few imports present also in the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC and remain almost symptomatic of the topic of Mediterranean contacts also in the Late Iron Age or oppida period in which they are the best represented category of import.

They have also enjoyed by far the greatest attention of the researchers in the reception area. To limit ourselves only to the latest of the three phases, most significant for our topic, Republican bronze vessels have been the subject of numerous studies, both all-encompassing, and focused on single types (e.g. WILLERS 1907; EGGERS 1951; WERNER 1954; ULBER 1960; BŘEŇ 1975a; WERNER 1978; SVOBODOVÁ 1983; WIELOWIEJSKI 1985; BOLLA 1996; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a; RIECKHOFF 1998; SEDLMAYER 1999; KARASOVÁ 2004; RUSTOIU 2005; DROBERJAR 2006; BOLLA – CASTOLDI 2016; SUEUR 2016; 2018; KARWOWSKI 2017; etc.). Our current state of the art on the subject of typology, production centres, and distribution of these vessels was to a large extent established by the 1990 Lattes conference published in Dijon the following year (FEUGÈRE – ROLLEY eds. 1991). This volume remains the canonic compendium on the matter in spite of some understandable shortcomings and its increasing age. It will also be the main reference for our studies in the following text (objects quoted without further reference are to be looked for in FEUGÈRE – ROLLEY eds. 1991), naturally complemented, updated and corrected when necessary (the finds from Bohemia and Central Europe in general are often misquoted or missing in the volume).

The Campanian origin of Late Republican bronze vessels postulated originally by Willers (1907, 26) based on analogy with the Imperial period has been disproven on the grounds of find concentrations and production tradition. The Late Republican metalwork is now universally believed to be of Etruscan origin (CASTOLDI 1991) and, at least in some cases, of north Italian production (BOLLA 1996, 190).

In their homeland, Mediterranean metal vessels, or at least those regularly exported to Central Europe, fulfilled various and quite specific roles during (ritualised) wine consumption (for which the term *symposion* may, but need not, already be appropriate in the Mediterranean). One question is to what extent the ritual aspects of wine consumption were transferred across the Alps with the wine and the vessels (cf. e.g. RIECKHOFF 1998 and POUX 2004, esp. 229–249 with in many points conflicting opinions). The precise function of each vessel type is not clear even in the Mediterranean and it is also irrelevant for our inquiry. In Transalpine Europe, only

a few finds come from primary contexts which could suggest to what use the vessels were put and although obsequence to Mediterranean wine consumption habits cannot be reasonably assumed in Transalpine Europe in the first place, these few finds hint that the vessels were employed there for practices different from those for which they were originally intended.

#### BRONZE VESSELS IN CENTRAL EUROPE OF THE PRE-OPPIDA PERIOD

Before delving into the voluminous topic of Late Republican bronze vessels, an overview of the much less numerous but more disparate 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century material is necessary.

In Bohemia, this period is represented by a single vessel, a bronze basin from the hoard of Stebno-Nouze [Stb1]. The basin has a rounded bottom, out-turned rim decorated with an egg-and-dart frieze and a single horizontal handle with an attachment depicting a grinning human or monstrous face (Fig. 13).

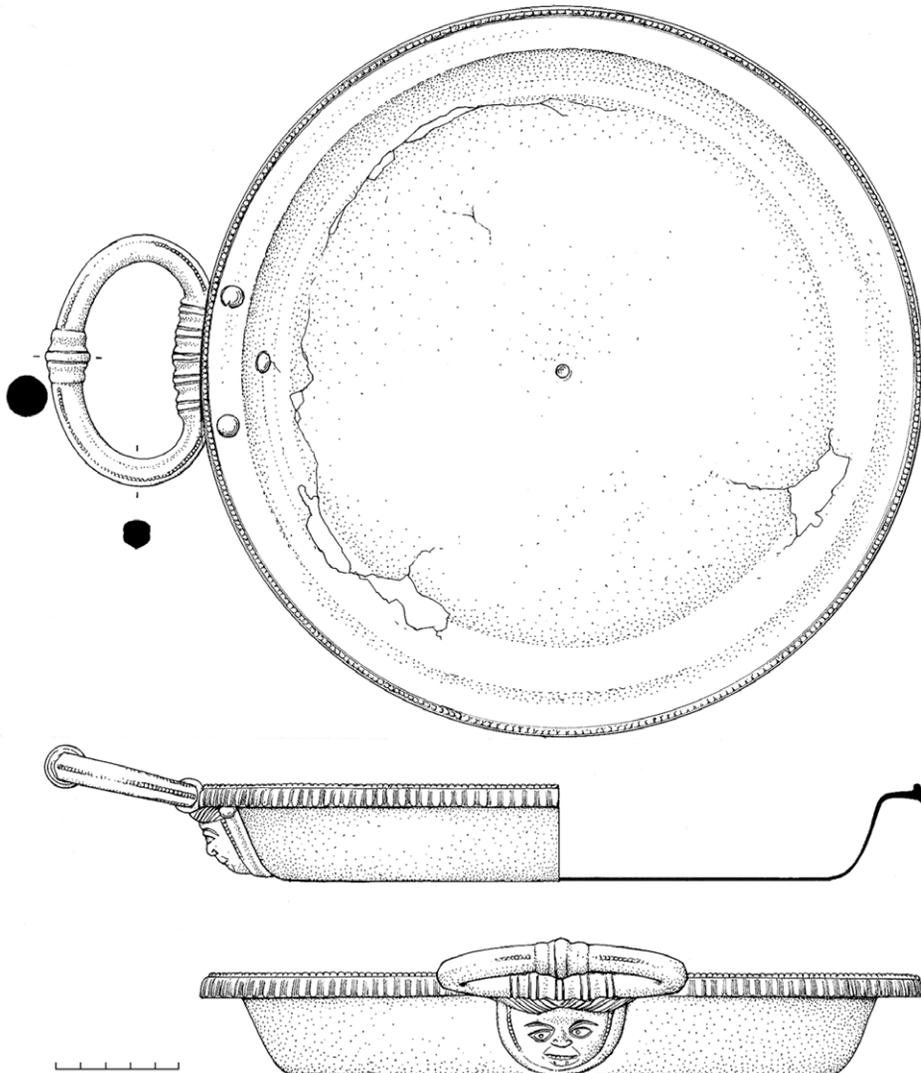


Fig. 13: Stebno-Nouze, Etruscan bronze basin [Stb1].

Basins of this type (misleadingly called *teglie* = baking pans) are relatively common in Hellenistic central Italy (LIEPMANN 1981; CIANFERONI 1992; BINI – CARAMELLA – BUCCIOLI 1995, 163–185; ESPOSITO 2007; 2010). As far as the evidence goes, their relatively large typological variability does not reflect any chronological or regional differences (ESPOSITO 2010, 15–17).<sup>42</sup> A number of such basins have been discovered in closed contexts – most often central Italian elite graves – dated to the last decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. As to their function, the basins most probably originally served for ablutions during feasts.

The decoration on the attachment from Stebno is somewhat unusual representing apparently the face of Gorgo or of one of the unidentified Etruscan demons whose depiction is inspired by that of Gorgo (PASCHIGER 1992, 180–191). In Etruria, representations of Gorgo or *gorgoneion* are relatively common (KRAUSKOPF 1988) and follow the same development as in Greece – from the monstrous *gorgonia* of the Archaic period to the Hellenistic type of ‘beautiful Gorgo’, i.e. the face of a young woman occasionally recognisable at the most for who she is by her snake hair and with a pathetic Hellenistic expression rather than monstrous. The being on the Stebno attachment belongs to the transitional type – lacking any monstrous attributes (e.g. claws) and depicted in a naturalistic way but still grinning with wide open eyes and tongue stuck out. This transitional type is a short-lived phenomenon dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (KRAUSKOPF 1988, 343–344). No matter of what type, a *gorgoneion* is an unusual motif on basin attachments which are (regardless of the basin’s typological variety) most often decorated with a palmette or in some cases with entire animal figures or very rare mythological scenes (for a complete overview cf. KYSELA *et al.* 2017, 82). The only two other instances of *gorgoneion* on a teglia attachment known to me come from Tarquinia-Monterozzi, t. 842/1593 (used between the late 4<sup>th</sup> century and the Augustan period: CAVAGNANO VANONI 1996, 82, fig. 18:163, tav. LVIII: a) and from an unknown site (presumably in southern Etruria), currently kept in the ex-Falcioni collection in the Vatican (CALÌ 2000, 219–220, n° 393).<sup>43</sup> On the Tarquinia piece the *gorgoneion* is of the Archaic (in this case ‘archaising’) variety and of rather poor workmanship. Its connection with the Stebno piece seems rather accidental. The vessel in the Vatican seems to be a much closer parallel but the depiction is not well preserved.

The distribution of these vessels (the lists presented by ESPOSITO 2007; 2010 need to be complemented by finds listed by LIEPMANN 1981 and CIANFERONI 1992) includes Etruria (where they were certainly produced) as well as the Marche and Emilia where they are curiously found in La Tène Culture graves.<sup>44</sup> The northernmost find (?) so far has been an

42 For completeness sake, the *teglia* from Stebno corresponds to the var. B1 after Caramella (BINI – CARAMELLA – BUCCIOLI 1995, 179–181) or Ilb1 after Esposito (2010; or type 20212b after ESPOSITO 2007).

43 Also in the imitations of this vessel shape in pottery a palmette is the prevalent decoration. Cf. black-gloss pottery: MOREL 1981, 396, pl. 195, genre 6300; ‘ceramica argentata’ (tin-coated); the *teglie* produced in Orvieto are only decorated with palmettes while on smaller strainers of the same shape, the attachments bear figural scenes (MICHETTI 2003, 200–202, fig. 24–25, tav. LXXIII–LXXIV); lack of decoration is characteristic of the same shapes in the Volterra production (MICHETTI 2003, 209–211, fig. 26); it is only on Faliscan examples that faces occasionally appear, on the attachments of both *teglie* and strainers beside the customary vegetal motifs: a Silenus face on a teglia from Civita Castellana (MICHETTI 2003, 238, n° 510, tav. CXX), and a female head on a strainer in Rome (MICHETTI 2003, 239, n° 517, fig. 38).

44 Montefortino: BRIZIO 1899, 688, tav. x: 11; Filottrano: BAUMGÄRTEL 1937, 256–259, pl. XXIV: 4–5; Bologna-Benacci, gr. 138 and 953: VITALI 1992, 138, tav. 15: 2, 291, tav. 34: 10; Monte Bibele-Monte Tamburino, gr. 132: VITALI ed. 2003, 421–422, tav. 228: 10.

attachment kept in Trento (MARZATICO 1997, 358–359, tav. 82).<sup>45</sup> No certain Transalpine finds are known to me.<sup>46</sup>

The basin from Stebno-Nouze is remarkable also in its find circumstances: it formed part of a small hoard consisting (apart from the basin) of a set of bronze ornaments and a ceramic bowl, the whole deposited probably sometime in LT B2 or LT C1 in a part of Bohemia which was not inhabited at that time.

During a non-systematic study of the collection of NĚMČICE nad Hanou kept in the Moravian Museum in Brno<sup>47</sup> two objects of Mediterranean origin have been identified, both apparently fragments of a situla: a handle termination with a baluster-shaped finial [NH01] and a cast bronze arched foot with lateral appendices [NH02]. Both these fragments can be convincingly linked with Hellenistic situlae (Fig. 14)

There are two basic forms of bronze situla in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods relevant to our inquiry (Fig. 15A)<sup>48</sup>: the simple bell-shaped buckets with slightly rounded profiles, and spouted situlae in which the handle attachments are decorated, one with a human

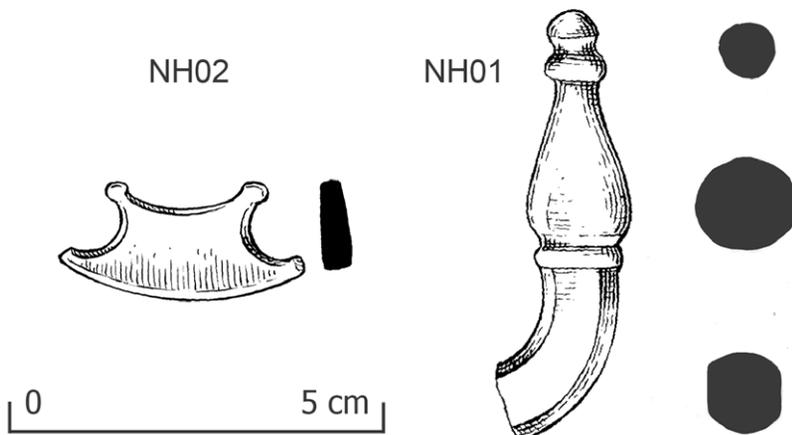


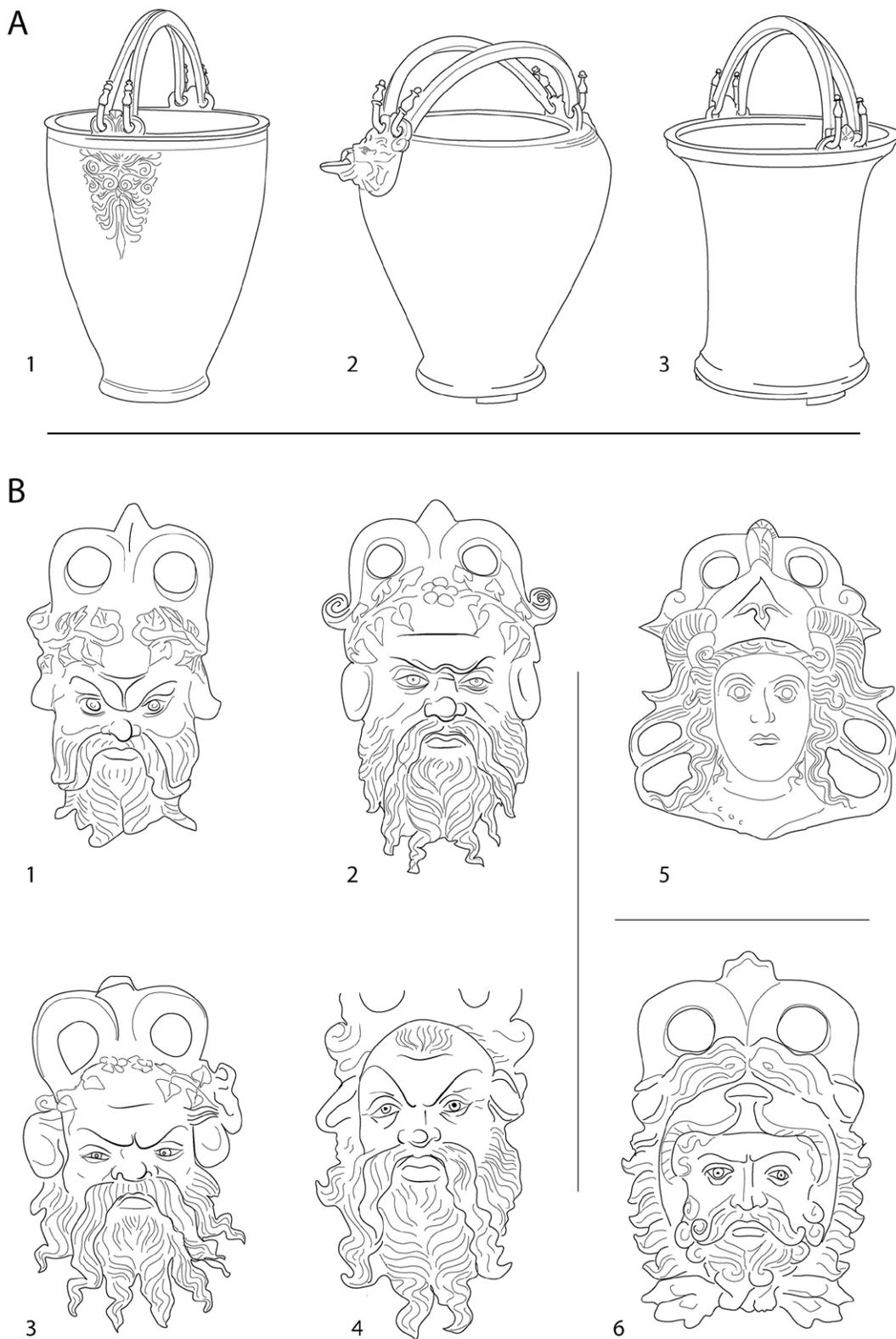
Fig. 14: NĚmčice nad Hanou, fragments of Hellenistic situlae.

45 Marzatico argues for an authentic local discovery although the find circumstances are not recorded.

46 Three dubious handles are recorded: one from the Rodenbach mound in Hessen, one said to be from the Rhineland in the Kestner Museum in Hannover, and one documented only by a drawing from the Hrdina collection in Prague. In the latter case a detailed analysis of the archive documentation leads us to believe that none of the Mediterranean imports from the collection was necessarily a genuine find (KYSELA – HLAVA 2014). The Hannover handle is a very similar case – a collection sold *en bloc* by the collector's heirs with presumable loss and confusion of information. The Rodenbach handle is the only one from a (partially documented) excavation though its find context dates clearly to the 5<sup>th</sup> century with no hints at another later burial at the same place (ENGELS 1972). Liepmann (1981, 17) correctly realised that the style of the palmette on the Rodenbach handle clearly differs from that on other basins and stands closer to the palmettes on 5<sup>th</sup> century jugs. Also, the handle from Trento (cf. above) and one attachment kept in the Falcioni collection (CALIÒ 2000, 221, n° 394) are similar in style. This point certainly needs further research. The Rodenbach handle in any case is not a valid parallel for the Stebno piece.

47 I am deeply grateful to Dr. Jana Čižmářová who granted me access to the unpublished collection and who allowed me to study the finds and to make them public.

48 For more detail cf. KYSELA 2020.



**Fig. 15: Hellenistic situlae. A - principal types. 1 - ovoid situla, 2 - spouted situla, 3 - kalathos. B - spouted situlae. Examples of the decoration of the backside attachments. Drawing, J. Kysela.**

or divine head or bust and the other with a spout shaped like a leonine head.<sup>49</sup> Less important for us are the so-called *kalathoi*, or 'baskets' with concave profiles which continue to be produced in the Hellenistic period. All these types share the same arrangement of handle – double swinging handles held in a pair of spectacle-shaped attachments. On the other hand, only the spouted situlae and the *kalathoi* appear to have been provided with three arched feet soldered on to their base (BARR SHARRAR 2000). These are usually in the shape of an ox-hide with small appendices on the inner pair of stubs. What both principal situla types have in common is a considerable uncertainty about their production area, Macedonia, Etruria, and Tarentum being the usual contenders. In both cases the most probable scenario is that of Macedonian models subsequently partly imitated in (among others) Etruscan workshops (cf. mainly BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2010, 285–307; BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2012 and the discussion below).

The handle end [NH01] with carefully formed flattened sides of the shaft and quite strongly profiled baluster-shaped ends corresponds particularly well with the terminals on situlae of the late Classical and Hellenistic period (discussed in detail below). In the handle terminals of the Late Republican period situlae, the balusters are less strongly profiled and the shafts are rounded in section. Numerous parallels can be cited among Hellenistic situlae of all types, both from Greece and Italy.<sup>50</sup>

In the case of the foot from NĚMČICE nad Hanou [NH02] it is worth noting that its shape with small appendices on the stubs is dissimilar from Late Republican shapes (cf. below<sup>51</sup>) and identical with feet on spouted situlae in bronze and silver (cf. ZIMI 2011, 196, fig. 28)<sup>52</sup> as well as to those present in the remarkable assemblage from Nesactium in Istria discussed below (MIHOVILIĆ 2017, pl. 4: 12, 14). In conclusion it seems that at least one Hellenistic situla, most probably of the spouted type, was present at NĚMČICE nad Hanou.

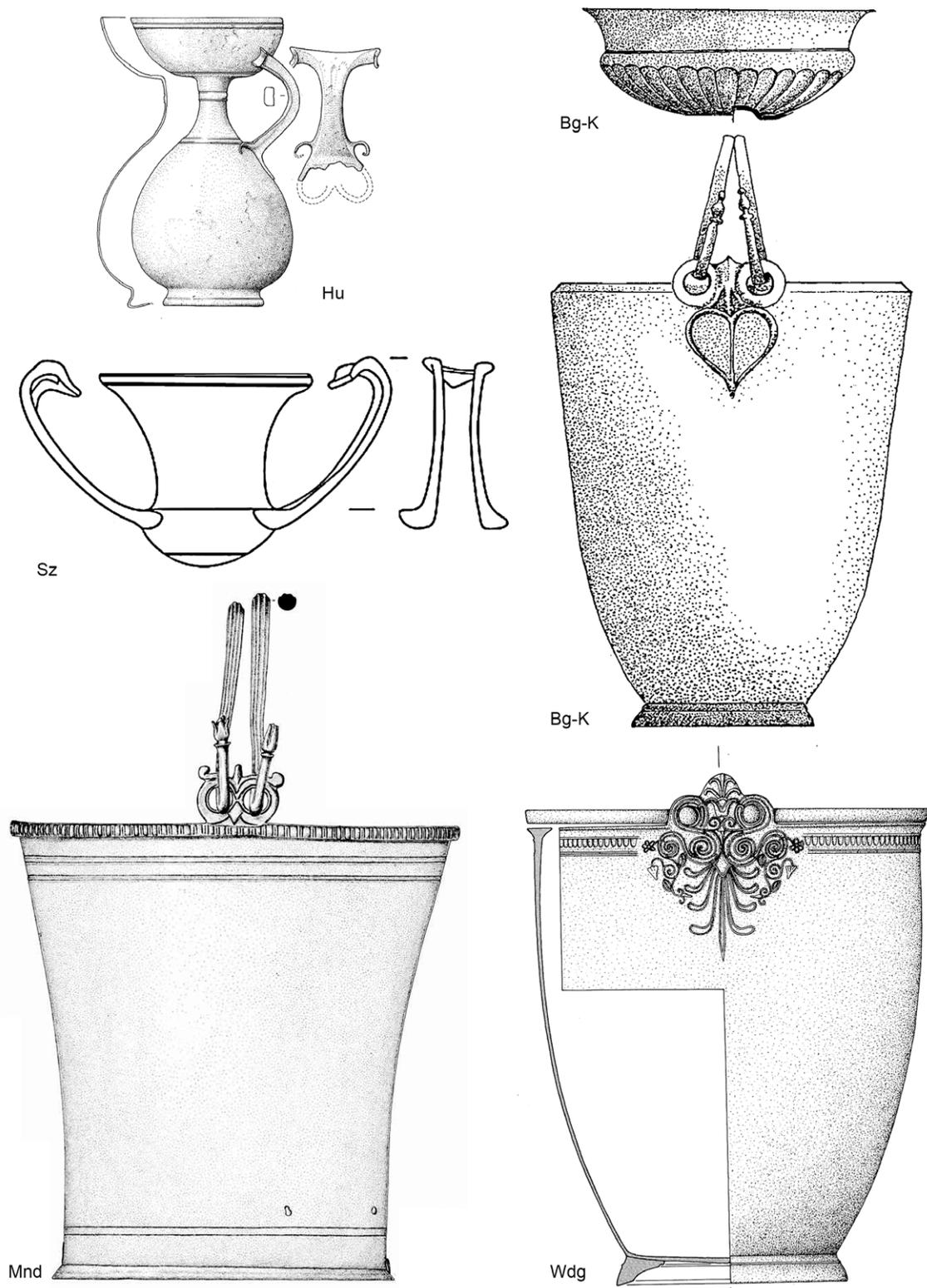
In order to correctly understand or contextualise the finds from NĚMČICE (but also the Stebno basin discussed above), we are obliged to step back, out of the limits of our working area, and have a look at the situation in the whole of broader Central Europe and its neighbouring areas. Only a few vessels can be cited for the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century from the area between the Rhine and the Carpathian Basin, the majority of which are well known and only a short mention will suffice (**Figs. 16, 17**).

49 Bell-shaped situlae = type F after GIULIANI POMES 1957, type A after ZAHLHAAS 1971a; spouted situlae = type C after ZAHLHAAS 1971a.

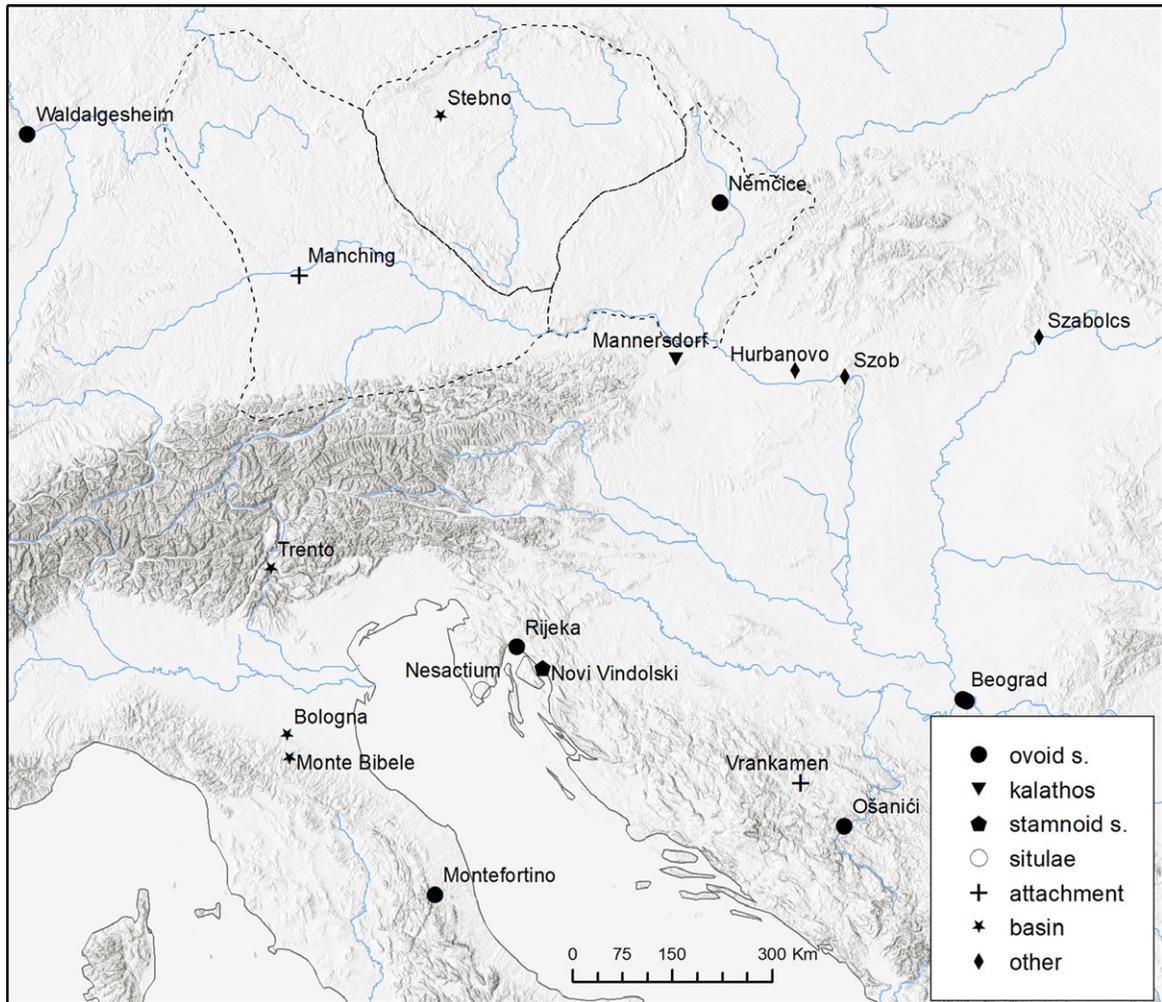
50 As a completely random selection of parallels: e.g. from Populonia (CIANFERONI 1992, spouted situla 15–17, fig. 4–5, bell-shaped situla fig. 8–9), Tuscania, tomba Curunaš II/23 (MORETTI – SGUBINI MORETTI 1983, 101, tav. CI – deposited perhaps in the 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> century BC), Karlsruhe Museum (JURGEIT 1999, spouted situla 327–328, Nr. 537, bell-shaped situla 332–333, Nr. 543), Cetamura del Chianti (DE GRUMMOND ed. 2017, 118, fig. 77), Thrace (SIDERIS 2016, 198–223, nos 78, 81, 84, etc.).

51 One similar foot is present in the Stradonice collection [S051] and one is known from Manching [M027]. Though formally identical with the piece from NĚMČICE, the chronology of Stradonice is naturally much too late for the circulation of this vessel type. If the Stradonice foot actually comes from a Hellenistic situla, it must have reached the site as an antiquity or mere scrap. In the case of the Manching piece, the odds are much higher that it could actually come from a vessel present in the site already in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Considering these uncertainties, both feet will be considered to be of oppida period.

52 No bell-shaped situlae with feet are known to me (their base is either simply flat, or it is shaped into a profiled ring foot; in some cases, it is stabilised with a layer of lead poured into it). However, this may only be due to insufficient evidence (the situlae in general are few and only the upper parts of vessels are sometimes preserved) rather than the actual state of things; I prefer not to be too dogmatic on this point.



**Fig. 16: Hellenistic bronze vessels in Central Europe. Hu - Hurbanovo (BUJNA 2007); Bg-K - Beograd-Karaburma (BLEČIĆ KAVUR - KAVUR 2010); Sz - Szob (TANKÓ 2014); Mnd - Mannersdorf (RAMSL 2011); Wdg - Waldalgesheim (JOACHIM 1995). Not to scale.**



**Fig. 17: Hellenistic bronze vessels in Central Europe and other finds mentioned in the text.**

The only region in which 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century Mediterranean metal vessels appear with some consistency is the Carpathian Basin (cf. a recent overview in REPKA 2015, 110–117). One bronze lekythos was discovered in tomb 18/64 in Hurbanovo, okr. Komárno, SK (BENADÍK 1981; BOUZEK 2002; BUJNA 2007). It belongs to the Talcott type common in Greek contexts from the late 4<sup>th</sup>–first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (for an overview of the type in various materials cf. ZIMI 2011, 46–47). The grave itself contains artefacts of LT B2/C1a date, so there is no serious discrepancy between them. Two bronze drinking vessels were discovered in tombs at Szabolcs (a skyphos with annular handles; SZABÓ 2000/2008, 80, fig. 2) and Szob (a kantharos; SZABÓ 2000/2008, 80, fig. 3; TANKÓ 2014). Parallels to the Szob piece date to third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (e.g. SIDERIS 2016, 266–267). The Szabolcs cup is somewhat uncommon in metal but vessels of the same form in pottery date from the second quarter to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC with some continuation into the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (SPARKES – TALCOTT 1970, 123, fig. 7, nos. 720–721; ROTROFF 1997, 90–91, fig. 10, nos. 102–109, and esp. 114).

In all these cases, the origin of these vessels is unmistakably Greek and they have been commonly connected with the movement of Celtic armies during (and in the aftermath of) the campaign in Thrace and Greece in 280–278 BC (e.g. SZABÓ 2008; REPKA 2015) although in reality they could have arrived and probably did arrive in the Carpathian Basin well before

this date, already at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> or very beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (KAVUR – BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2018).

The single category of bronze vessels documented with some consistency not only in the Carpathian Basin but also further west are situlae, as further confirmed by the finds from Némčice nad Hanou.

On the westernmost fringe of the Carpathian Basin in the necropolis of Mannersdorf am Leithagebirge, a bronze *kalathos* was found in a LT B1b gr. 13 (RAMSL 2011, 155, 199, 249–251 *passim*, Abb. 124/A, Taf. 63). The necropolis spanning the period from LT A to LT B2/C1 with a peak in LT B1 has produced evidence of far-flung long-distance contacts (RAMSL 2011 *passim*; RAMSL 2014) from eastern France (the openwork decoration of the weaponry: GINOUX – RAMSL 2014) to the Carpathian Basin and the Balkans (an omega-shaped double pin of Illyrian origin; an amphoriskos-shaped glass pendant cf. below). Peter Ramsel correctly classified the situla as type D after Giuliani Pomes (1957; cf also PELLEGRIS 2004; MONTANARO 2015, 74–77) and pertinently observed the chronological dissonance between find contexts of this type in Italy (5<sup>th</sup>/early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC) and the Mannersdorf grave (late 4<sup>th</sup> century) in which it was deposited as an *Altstück* ('heirloom'). It does not, however, answer the question in which of the two time horizons the bucket crossed the Alps – was it one of many bronze vessels traded between the Felsinean and LT A cultural areas or was it brought back in the turbulent period following the Celtic invasion of Italy? The easternmost regions of the Early La Tène Culture seem disinterested in the importation of Etruscan vessels (though the picture may be skewed: cf. GOLÁŇOVÁ in print). At the same time, we should keep in mind the high degree of connectivity manifested by the community burying their dead at the Mannersdorf cemetery including contacts with Italy (a zoomorphic brooch and pottery both originating in the Fritzens-Sanzeno Culture of the Trentino-Alto Adige region: RAMSL 2014; RONCADOR 2016, 176–181). For all these reasons, the idea that the Mannersdorf bucket was not a *keimelion* treasured for three generations by Transalpine hoarders but that it arrived in Central Europe only in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, does not seem to be pure fantasy.

Two complete **bell-shaped Hellenistic situlae** are known in the Carpathian Basin, one from grave 22 in the cemetery of Belgrade-Karaburma and one dredged from the Danube in Budapest.<sup>53</sup> Both correspond to Macedonian types of the late 4<sup>th</sup>–early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (BLEČIĆ KAVUR – KAVUR 2010; BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2010 with further references). The Karaburma tomb moreover contained a bronze ribbed phiale; its origin can also be looked for in northern Greece. Based on the analysis of the grave goods the tomb can be dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> century (BLEČIĆ KAVUR – KAVUR 2010) thus predating the Celtic invasion of Greece (and the retreat) with which it has traditionally been connected (e.g. SZABÓ 2008).

At the opposite end of broader Central Europe there is the famous Waldalgesheim situla. Discovered in 1869 in a late LT B1 female princely grave, this bell-shaped bucket has been the subject of numerous studies resulting in somewhat conflicting conclusions about the object's production date and origin (ZAHLHAAS 1971b; SCHIERING 1975; SHEFTON 1985; ROLLEY 1987, overview in JOACHIM 1995, 27; for bell-shaped situlae in general cf. ZIMI 2011, 53–55). Zahlhaas (1971b, 124) believed it to have been made in Tarentum as early as the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (unlike all the other scholars who prefer the 340s–320s). Schiering, apart from lowering the date, questioned the idea of Tarentine production – in his opinion some stylistic imperfections betray a non-Greek, i.e. Italic craftsman. An even more radical departure from Zahlhaas' classification came from Brian Shefton (1985) who pointed out the almost

53 It was wrongly believed to date to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC by Zahlhaas (1971a), followed by others. The correct chronology was instituted by Blečić Kavur (2010).

total lack of evidence in Italy of both finds of this variety of bell-shaped situlae and of some of their characteristic technical traits. Situlae of the same variant (A) are commonly found in the Aegean and Pontic areas; situlae of the related type B were certainly produced there. Also Rolley (1987) pleaded in favour of a Macedonian origin for the Waldalgesheim situla on the basis of comparison with the situlae from Derveni and Vergina. The decisive argument for a broadly eastern (Greek, Macedonian) production of the entire family of ovoid situlae to which the Waldalgesheim piece belongs was finally put forward on the basis of the method of manufacture by B. Barr-Sharrar (2000). An eastern rather than a western origin for the Waldalgesheim bucket seems indisputable; it remains an open question whether it reached Central Europe by way of Italy (cf. a very similar situla in Montefortino: BRIZIO 1899, 774, tav. XI: 8) or through the Balkans and the Carpathian Basin (cf. **Fig. 17**).

Far less known and yet extremely important for our understanding of the phenomenon are the situlae from the eastern Adriatic coast, recently synthesised mainly thanks to Martina Blečić Kavur (2010, 285–307). There are five fragments of bell-shaped situlae corresponding to at least two vessels from a grave in Rijeka (BLEČIĆ-KAVUR 2010, 285, 446–447, tab. 18), two rim fragments, one base, eight handles or their fragments and twelve attachments and a series of feet (about which later) from various contexts in Nesactium (MIHOVIĆ 2017); finally, an entire vessel missing the handles in which a hoard of jeweller's moulds and instruments was found in Ošanići in Herzegovina (MARIĆ 1978; 1995). Based on a fresh look at the entire class of bell-shaped situlae, Blečić Kavur established on good grounds the distinction between Attic, Macedonian, and Etruscan types; she considers the Waldalgesheim situla a Macedonian product in accordance with Rolley, Shefton, and Barr-Sharrar (there are other Macedonian pieces further south on the eastern Adriatic coast) while the pieces from Rijeka, Nesactium, and Ošanići are in her opinion Etruscan. They are securely dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup>–early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC though the piece from Ošanići was buried much later, perhaps sometime in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

A small series of situla attachments from the Adriatic area is unusual in that in these double handle attachments of classical form, i.e. with two flat eyelets flanking a central vertical element, the vertical post terminates with depictions of human heads (**Fig. 18**). Three such anthropomorphic attachments were present in the Nesactium assemblage along with nine plain ones (MIHOVIĆ 2017, 265–266, sl. 8, t. 2: 1–2, 7); another example was found in a coin hoard from Vrankamen in Bosnia (TRUHELKA 1893, 188, fig. 5). Relief decoration of the central vertical post is relatively common in all the situlae no matter if discovered in the Balkans or in Italy; this decoration is however, mostly vegetal rather than anthropomorphic. Entire human or mythological figures first appear in this role in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (JURGEIT 1999; BENEDETTINI ed. 2012, 454, n° 1417) and continue occasionally to re-appear (reduced to mere heads as in the Nesactium and Vrankamen pieces) in the 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, though not necessarily on bronze situlae: cf. an unusual two-handled kettle from a tomb in Orvieto/Bolsena territory in the Castellani collection (MORETTI SGUBINI ed. 2000, 152–153, n° 104.3) or in ceramic imitations of situlae.<sup>54</sup> Although formally close, the eastern Adriatic pieces do not correspond to these in their execution and perhaps we may be dealing here with a group on its own, inspired by the Etruscan pieces but produced somewhere between Etruria and

54 Human heads in this position appear regularly in ceramic imitations of both-bell shaped and spouted situlae, in particular in Orvieto products (MICHETTI 2003, 169–170, nos. 142–144, fig. 9, tav. III–V /bell-shaped situlae with female heads/ and 170–176, figs. 12–14 /spouted situlae with Dioscuri heads/); such figural decoration is not on record in Volterranean products while in the Faliscan area situlae do not seem to have been produced (MICHETTI 2003).

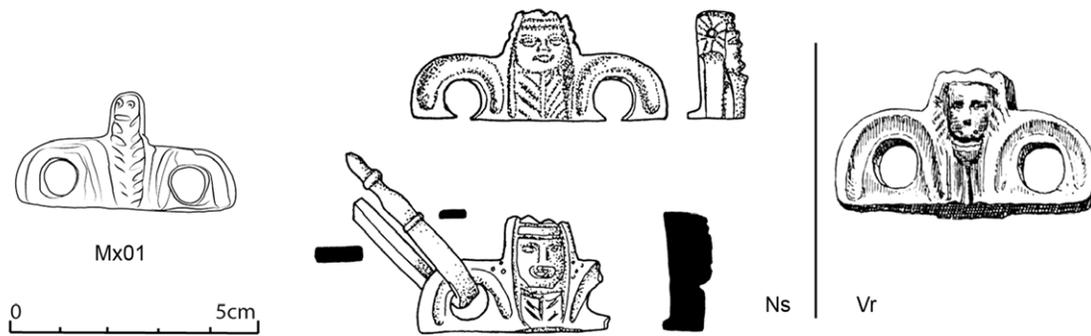
the eastern Adriatic coast. It is not fully excluded that only replacement attachments were produced rather than entire vessels.

The elegant and problematic **spouted situlae** have been the subject of numerous studies (overview in JURGEIT 1999, 328; BINI – CARAMELLA – BUCCIOLI 1995, 127–131, ZIMI 2011, 49–53 and most recently in BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2012); most scholars agree on their chronology (second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC) but no unanimity has been reached as to their production area. The suggestions include Macedonia (e.g. BARR-SHARRAR 1982), Thrace (VENEDIKOV 1977), Etruria (BOUCHER 1973; ADAM 1984, n° 19), and southern Italy, that is Tarentum (ZÄHLHAAS 1971a; CANDELA 1985; JURGEIT 1999, 328). Their wide distribution and common occurrence in both Italy and the Balkans is in my opinion most probably a hint at polyfocal production (at least in Greece/Macedonia and in Etruria) as proposed already by PFROMMER 1990; the same conclusions were reached by M. Blečić Kavur (2012, 161) who considers the majority to have been made in Macedonia though admitting local production of the late examples (down to the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century?) and relatively low quality pieces found in Etruria. No more clear than these vessels' origin is their role in Transalpine contacts. Stephanie Boucher (1973, 85–96) in her first overview of these vessels' distribution in Europe took an excessively optimistic approach considering authentic Transalpine finds to include many kept in European museums without certain provenance. In reality, local provenance cannot be proven for any of the finds listed by Boucher (Waal, Cologne, Lyon). Slightly more, but still not fully, convincing seems the case of a vessel kept in the museum of Bonn (MENZEL 1986, 203–204, Nr. 561). Its provenance from Efferen near Cologne was claimed at its acquisition (LEHNER 1903, 354)<sup>55</sup> without any definite conclusion as to its origin (find? collection?).

In the Adriatic, spouted situlae are represented by finds of handles with their attachments from Novi Vindolski on the northern Liburnian coast (BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2012) and two lion-headed spouts from Nesactium in Istria (MIHOVILIĆ 2017, 266–267). Moreover, Nesactium produced six ox-hide shaped situla feet. To my knowledge, no bell-shaped situlae with feet are documented. In contrast the trio of ox-hide shaped feet is repeatedly documented on spouted situlae and *kalathoi* in both the Balkans and in Etruria.

In summary, the Adriatic coast provides us with an insight into an otherwise unprecedented circulation of bronze vessels in the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, complementing our view which sometimes gets too restricted by focusing on the La Tène Culture area and interactions exclusively between Celts and Greeks or Etruscans. Macedonian and Etruscan situlae circulated concurrently around the coasts of Picenum (Montefortino), Istria (Nesactium), Liburnia (Rijeka, Novi Vindolski), and Dalmatia (Ošanići). The vessels we find here were produced in the same workshops (sometimes of the same types) and at the same time as those from La Tène contexts in Waldalgesheim or Karaburma. We should certainly keep this in mind also when pondering the ways in which such vessels could have arrived in Central Europe. It is not to say that we should automatically discard Celtic migrations as an explanation, but neither should we consider it the only explanation available.

55 'Die römischen Bronzen wurden vermehrt durch eine Statuette der Venus, welche sich das Brustband anlegt, aus Gohr bei Neuss, einen Schlüsselgriff in Gestalt eines Pferdekopfes, mehrere Fibeln und einen Armring aus Bonn, eine sehr gut erhaltene Bronzeappliance mit dem Vorderkörper eines Pegasus aus Lannesdorf bei Muffendorf, den Doppelhenkel eines Bronzeimers mit schön gearbeiteten Mascarons aus Efferen, eine Bronzescheibe mit Minervakopf aus Blankenheim und das Ortband eines Schwertes aus Remagen.' (underlined by j.k.).



**Fig. 18: The attachment [Mx01] and related artefacts from the Adriatic area. Ns - Nesactium (MIHOVIĆ 2017); Vr - Vrankamen (TRUHELKA 1893; not to scale).**

This overview of bronze vessels in Central Europe of the pre-oppida period is however not confined to the imported pieces, and the list must be further supplemented with several objects of probable local production.

The bronzes of the ‘Leisenhartfund’ in Manching included also a bronze piece interpreted (most probably correctly) as a vessel attachment [Mx01] (**Fig. 18**). The D-shaped slab is divided by a vertical median rib into two symmetrical halves with a circular hole in each of them. Its obverse is decorated by crude carvings of grooves around the holes and a herringbone pattern up the rib with what seems to be an extremely schematic human face on its top. Two such pieces must have been soldered opposite each other on the vessel’s flat rim holding two handles. This is an arrangement fully corresponding to that of the Mediterranean situlae described above from late Archaic through to the Hellenistic period; the simple semi-oval shape can in particular be linked with the Hellenistic vessels such as the spouted and bell-shaped situlae just discussed. The Manching attachment corresponds with them also in details such as the notches on the central rib, clearly inspired by the palmettes depicted in this position on some (though not all) of the Mediterranean vessels.<sup>56</sup> Even closer parallels are the attachments from Nesactium and Vrankamen in which the herringbone decoration is combined with the human face on the top. Be that as it may, the Manching attachment can be considered a local (?) imitation of a Mediterranean vessel of the Hellenistic period.

Local production in Manching is however far from excluded; after all, it is precisely the lion heads on the spouted situlae that Rupert Gebhard (1989b) suggested were the models for canine-head spouts found in Manching and Kelheim among other sites.<sup>57</sup> I find this proposal credible<sup>58</sup> though another class seems also possible as the model: the gryphon-head spouts attested in Etruria and Umbria in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (KENT-HILL 1965; JURGEIT 1990; JURGEIT 1999, 410–411, Nr. 677). Choosing one or the other option as the right one is hardly possible and actually pointless. The point is that (Italian?) Hellenistic vessels were available in Central Europe and imitated, indeed adapted, by local

56 E.g. JURGEIT 1999, Nr. 543; the simplified decoration reduced to a vertical line of incised chevrons very similar to the Manching piece can be found e.g. on the situla from tomb 319 in Campovalano in the Abruzzo: D’ERCOLE – MARTELLONE – CESANA 2016, 35, tav. 42: 10.

57 A detailed study of this category is in preparation by the present author (cf. also KYSELA 2020).

58 Let us also recall, that the author suggested a Hellenistic spouted situla to be an inspiration for the Brno-Maloměřice flagon fittings which is a bold and thought-provoking and not at all impossible proposal.

craftsmen. In some cases, this may be the beginning of a larger current characteristic mainly of later periods of LT C2-D, whose main medium are vessels (buckets and bowls) combining bronze fittings on a wooden body. This is however a story on its own which needs to be treated separately.

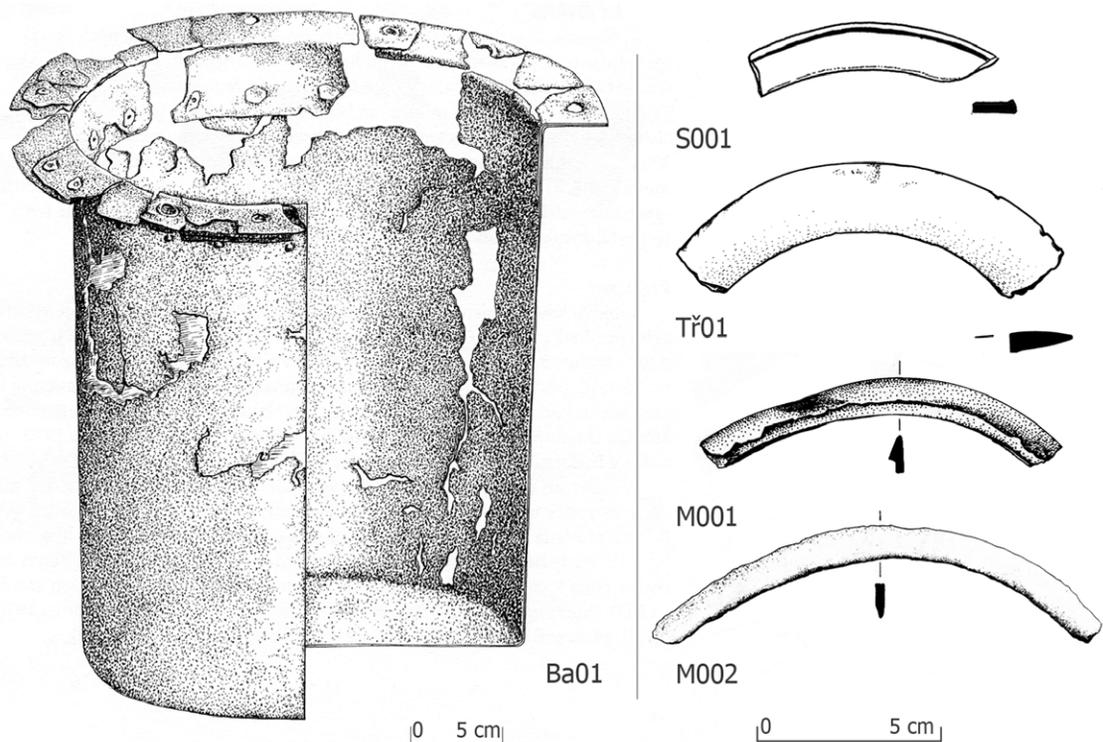
## BRONZE VESSELS OF THE 2<sup>ND</sup>-1<sup>ST</sup> CENTURIES BC

### Buckets

The buckets of the Late Republican period can be divided into two types: cylindrical with horizontal rim (type Eggers 16; Guillaumet in BOLLA *et al.* 1991); and situla-shaped with various forms of handle attachment (Eggers 18-21; BOLLA *et al.* 1991).

**Cylindrical buckets** (Eggers - or simply 'E' - 16) are one of the vessels which have raised some doubts as to the extent of their Mediterranean origin. Even though their distribution fully overlaps with that of other vessel shapes and even though they are also present in northern Italy (e.g. the cemeteries of Ornavasso and Povegliano), J.-P. Guillaumet (1991) argued on grounds of their simple shape and variable production quality that they may have been produced concurrently on both sides of the Alps. Also, Bolla (1996, 186) envisaged their production in northeastern Italy or in the adjoining parts of the Eastern Alps. The chronology of this vessel type within the Republican period cannot be narrowed down - like other vessels it remained in use into the Imperial period.

Based on traces of use Guillaumet proposed that the E16 buckets differ from the other types in their function in that they were used for cooking. No matter if it was the purpose for which they were intended by their original Mediterranean creators, it is clear that this is how situlae of this (and any other) type could have been used in Transalpine Europe.

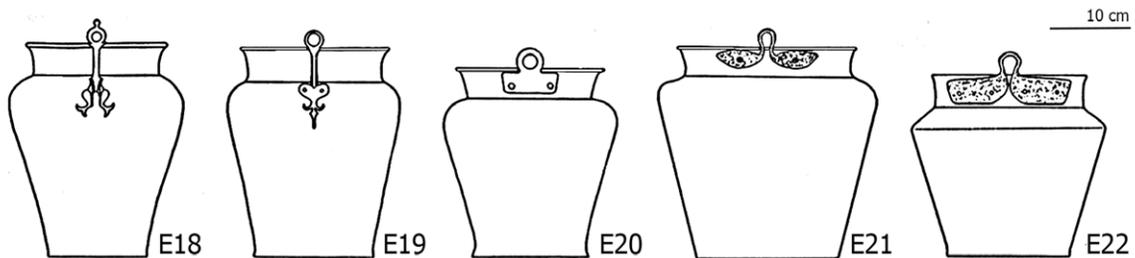


**Fig. 19: Situlae Egger 16, the fragments discovered in Central Europe.**

The E16 buckets are not very common in Transalpine Europe (**Fig. 19**); this may be principally because they lack sufficiently distinctive features to be recognised when fragmented. In Bohemia, one rim fragment was recognised in Třísov [Tř01]; another comparable object from the Stocký excavation in Stradonice [Soo1] was interpreted as a vessel foot, as are identical fragments from Manching [Moo1, Moo2]. I believe the interpretation as E16 rims seems plausible for the fragments even though the diameter of the Stradonice fragment (14 cm) is at the low end of the spectrum attested for this vessel type (12.5–24 cm, mostly 16–21 cm; cf. BOLLA *et al.* 1991, 10).

The low visibility of E16 buckets is clear from the fact that other (recognized and published) finds of this vessel type from the Middle Danube region include only complete vessels: one badly damaged and heavily mended E16 bucket was discovered in the low-land part of the Bratislava oppidum [Bao1]. Outside our study area, other complete examples come from the Kappel hoard (Kappel, Kr. Saugau, Baden-Württemberg; WIELAND 1996, 208, Taf. 5: 1) and as many as seven complete examples were recovered from the graves of the Idrija při Bači cemetery (GUŠTIN 1991, 66–67).

**Ovoid situlae**, types Eggers (E) 18–23, have enjoyed much more scholarly attention (WIELOWIEJSKI 1987; BOLLA 1991a; SELDMAYER 1999, 101–102; KARASOVÁ 2004; BRESTEL 2017, 199–208). They are in fact very well documented thanks to numerous finds of more-or-less complete vessels in cremation graves in Poland, northern Germany, and Bohemia. This circumstance provides a very solid documentation base but does not add to our understanding of these vessel types.



**Fig. 20: Situlae Eggers 18–23, definition of the types after EGGERS 1951.**

All these vessels share the same S-shaped profile with expansion in the top third and a conical neck; three flat cast bronze feet are soldered on to the base. The different types are only distinguished in the form of the attachments in which the handles are held (**Fig. 20**): in E18 they consist of two facing dolphins (EGGERS 1951; WIELOWIEJSKI 1987; BOLLA 1991a; RIECKHOFF 1998; KARWOWSKI 2007a); in E19 they are leaf- or heart-shaped; in E20 the attachment is a simple plain trapezoid; in E22 two iron sheets are connected by a loop to which the handle is attached (BOLLA 1991a). The handles (often not preserved) terminate in stylized bird heads or baluster-shaped elements. It is worth noting that the latter are easily mistaken for baluster-shaped belt-strap finials (HLAVA 2001, 36–38; cf. PÍČ 1903, tab. XIII).

Considering the fact that the single types are distinguished only by the heavy cast parts (often partly or completely missing and potentially reusable), it is questionable what reality (if any) this typological variability actually reflects. The ovoid situlae will be discussed here as a single group.

Their shape (and association with *simpula*: BOLLA 1991b, tab. 1) make it clear that they were used for mixing wine; their Transalpine uses are unknown; the only examples found in

a more or less complete state were used as urns in post-La Tène or non-La Tène graves; in La Tène contexts they are documented only as fragments or exceptionally as hoard containers.

The numerous Transalpine finds surprisingly at first sight found only relatively few Cisalpine parallels – the lists compiled by Margherita Bolla (1991a) for the Lattes/Dijon volume for example feature only four E18 and no E19 buckets in northern Italy as opposed to dozens in Transalpine Europe, so the Italian origin of these vessels is called into question (CASTOLDI 2003, 212; KARWOWSKI 2007a). More recent data however reveal a much more substantial distribution (**Fig. 21**). While there are no certain finds of Eggers 19 situlae in (northern) Italy (BOLLA 1996), situlae E20–22 are sometimes present in La Tène graves (BOLLA 1996, 187), e.g. E20 in Povegliano Veronese t. 225 (BOLLA 2002), E21–22 in Valeggio sul Mincio, t. 4 (SALZANI 1995, 15, tav. IV: 10), Isola Rizza, t. 46 (SALZANI ed. 1998, 32, tav. XXVI: 15b). The type Eggers 18 is represented, in addition to a complete vessel at Ornavasso (GRAUE 1974, 23–24, 244, Taf. 42: 2–3, 45: 7), also by a series of attachments or their fragments e.g. in Verdello, t. 15 (CASTOLDI 2003) or the Lagole sanctuary in the Veneto (Bustia in FOGOLARI – GAMBACURTA 2001, 252–253, n° 404). The latest overview of finds in the Veronese (BOLLA – CASTOLDI 2016) lists 21 examples of situlae ‘a corpo ovoide’ in this region alone. Moreover there are somewhat overlooked finds such as the two situlae discovered in Etruria, in tomba Celini Sepuś (BIANCHI-BANDINELLI 1928, quoted also by BOLLA 1991a).<sup>59</sup> Ovoid situlae are also present in considerable numbers in the territory of present day Romania (RUSOTIU 2005).

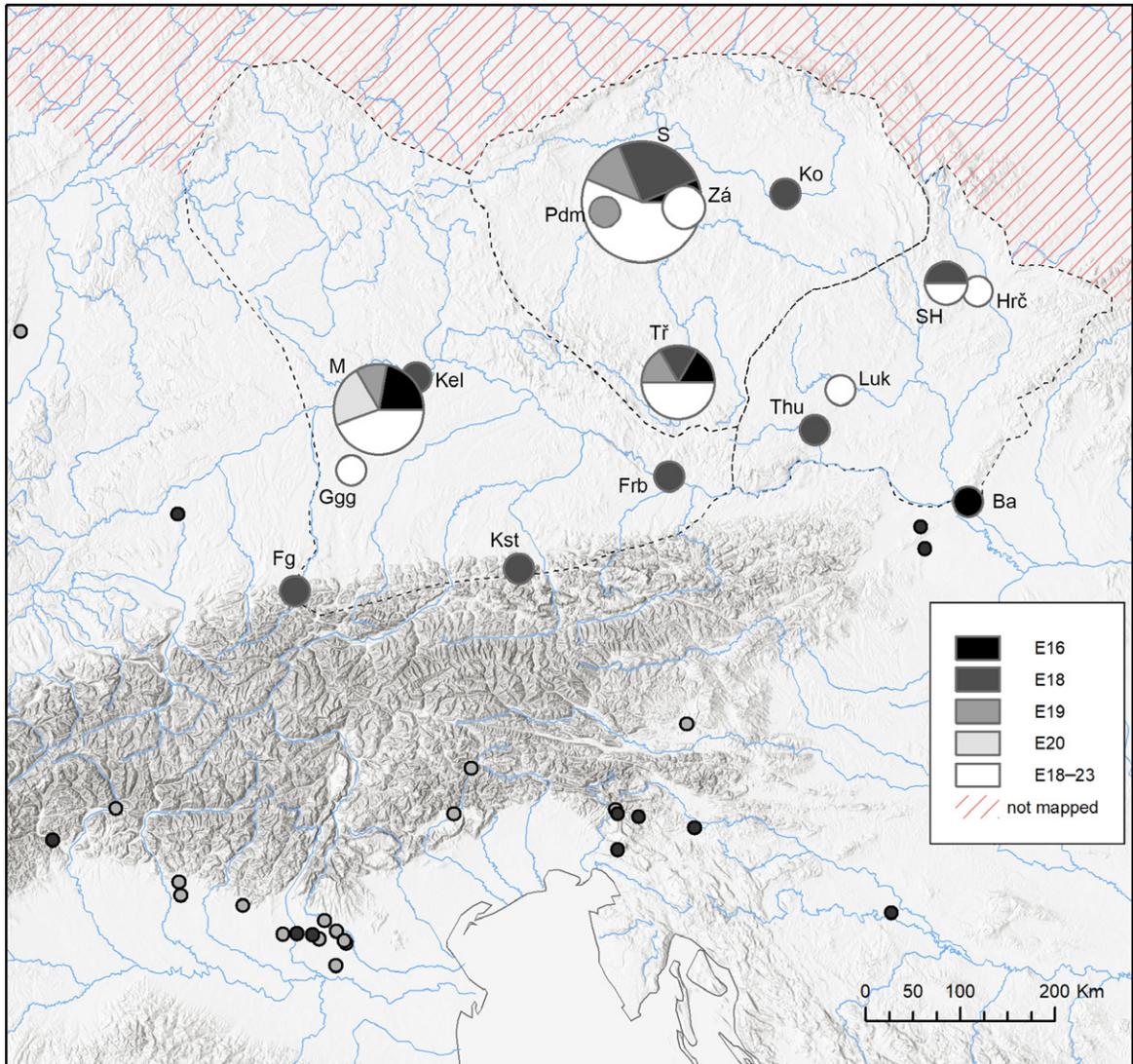
Apart from their distribution, the Italian origin of the vessels is naturally suggested also by their function and shape. The attachments of E19 are identical with those of the Gallarate and Ornavasso-Montefiascone type Etruscan jugs, while the dolphins on E18 could not be more Mediterranean. As already argued their absence in central and southern Italy may be due to taphonomic reasons or to insufficient publication. Still, their concentration in northern Italy suggests local production. Margherita Bolla (1996, 190) regards their production as ‘local (i.e. north Italian) in a broad sense’ and she suggested (BOLLA 1991a, *passim*) a number of workshops. Some of these may have been more peripheral than others but production in northern Italy (Romanised or undergoing Romanisation) does not make these vessels any less Mediterranean (cf. also SEDLMAYER 1999, 101).

Neither Cis- nor Transalpine finds provide detailed information on the vessels’ chronology. The north Italian closed contexts mostly date broadly to LT D or LT D1 while those from northern Central Europe (WIELOWIEJSKI 1987) fit into the corresponding A2 horizon. In Central Europe however, the finds continue to appear (or re-appear) in the B1 phase of the Roman Iron Age – in Bohemia we may mention the E18 and E19 buckets of the ‘Dobřichovice horizon’ (KARASOVÁ 2004, 9–13). For this reason, this study will not include Bohemian finds from uncertain contexts such as the E18 attachment from Dvůr Králové nad Labem (HORNÍK – JÍLEK 2017), Čínov or the complete vessels found under unknown circumstance in Hradec Králové (E19: KARASOVÁ 2004, 70–71, Abb. 7) or dredged from the Elbe in Lysá nad Labem (E18) and Litoměřice (E20) or the accidental find from Hradec Králové (cf. KARASOVÁ 2004, 11, nos. 10, 27, 32) as these may date to either period. It is uncertain whether the presence of situlae with an ovoid body in the Augustan/Tiberian period is evidence of the reutilisation of older vessels

59 A fragmentary 4<sup>th</sup> century (?) stamnoid situla discovered recently in Cetamura di Chianti (DE GRUMMOND ed. 2017, 115–117, fig. 76; SOWDER 2015, 159, fig. 6) with the attachment shaped as Scylla and with the very characteristically pointed eyelet for threading the handle looks like a very convincing typological predecessor for the Eggers 18 situlae. Both cordiform and delphiniform attachments can be found in Etruscan Hellenistic toreutics: e.g. BINI – CARAMELLA – BUCCIOLI 1995, 60, tav. xxv (two dolphins), 50–60, tav. xxxv–xli *passim*.

circulating in Central Europe from the La Tène period (DROBERJAR 2006, 48–49) or of the re-opening of trade and importation of new vessels still being produced in Italy (e.g. RIECKHOFF 1995, 156). Continuity of this situla production into the Augustan period (e.g. BOLLA 1991a) has been suggested on the grounds of their presence in these late graves, thus forming a nice circular argument.

Situlae (fragments) while relatively widespread in Central Europe (Fig. 22–26) are virtually absent in Gaul: still common in the south, their presence in inland Gaul is doubtful (BARBAU 2019, 34),<sup>60</sup> while in the north of Gaul they appear rather late and are represented by late



**Fig. 21: Situlae Eggers 16 and 18–23. The distribution in Central Europe and northern Italy. The finds outside our working area are not quantified.**

<sup>60</sup> Sometimes it is postulated on the grounds of finds of bronze feet (e.g. GUILLAUMET 2009, 152), whose connection with the situlae is, however, not straightforward (cf. below). One probable situla handle fragment comes in my opinion from Feurs (listed by BARBAU 2019, n° 193 as a *simpulum* hook). Can this dearth on situlae in the west be taken as another argument in favour of their north-Italian production?

types (Bargfeld, Östland) not known in Central Europe (SUEUR 2018, 262–267). In Manching there are two complete situlae [M003, M004], one handle [M005], two handle finials [M006, M007], and attachments or their fragments of types E20 [M008] and E19 [M009]. Single E18 attachments or their fragments come from the Forggensee *Brandopferplatz* [Fg01], from the oppida of Kelheim [Kel1] and the Freinberg [Frb1], as well as from the Karlstein [Kst1]. Still in the west but already outside WnCE, the Kappel hoard was deposited in a complete E20 bucket (WIELAND 1996, 208, Taf. 4: 1).



**Fig. 22: Situlae Eggers 18–23, entire vessels.**

In EnCE (**Fig. 24**), there are isolated E18 attachments from Thunau am Kamp [Thu1] and from Staré Hradisko [SHo1] which produced also a handle finial [SHo2]. The rather sumptuous bucket handle recently discovered in Tautendorf in Lower Austria [Tux1] seems more characteristic of the Early Imperial period though a Late La Tène date cannot be excluded (KARWOWSKI 2017, 272–274); considering these incertitudes, the object will not be included in our further analysis. So far unpublished are finds of baluster-shaped handle terminals from the small hill-top site of Lukov-Ostroh [Luk1] and the open settlement of Hrubčice [Hrč1].<sup>61</sup>

In Bohemia (**Fig. 25, 26**), the Stradonice collections include four attachment fragments of type E18 [So02–So05], and two of type E19 [So06, So07], as well as four baluster-shaped handle finials [So09–So12]. The ornithomorph handle finials are represented by two superb examples, which are – stunningly – absolutely identical in dimensions and design including the very fine engraving [So13, So14]; there is a much cruder flattened schematic piece today kept in Vienna [So15] and two other probable fragments [So16, So17].

61 I am grateful to Ivan Čižmář who brought these objects to my attention.

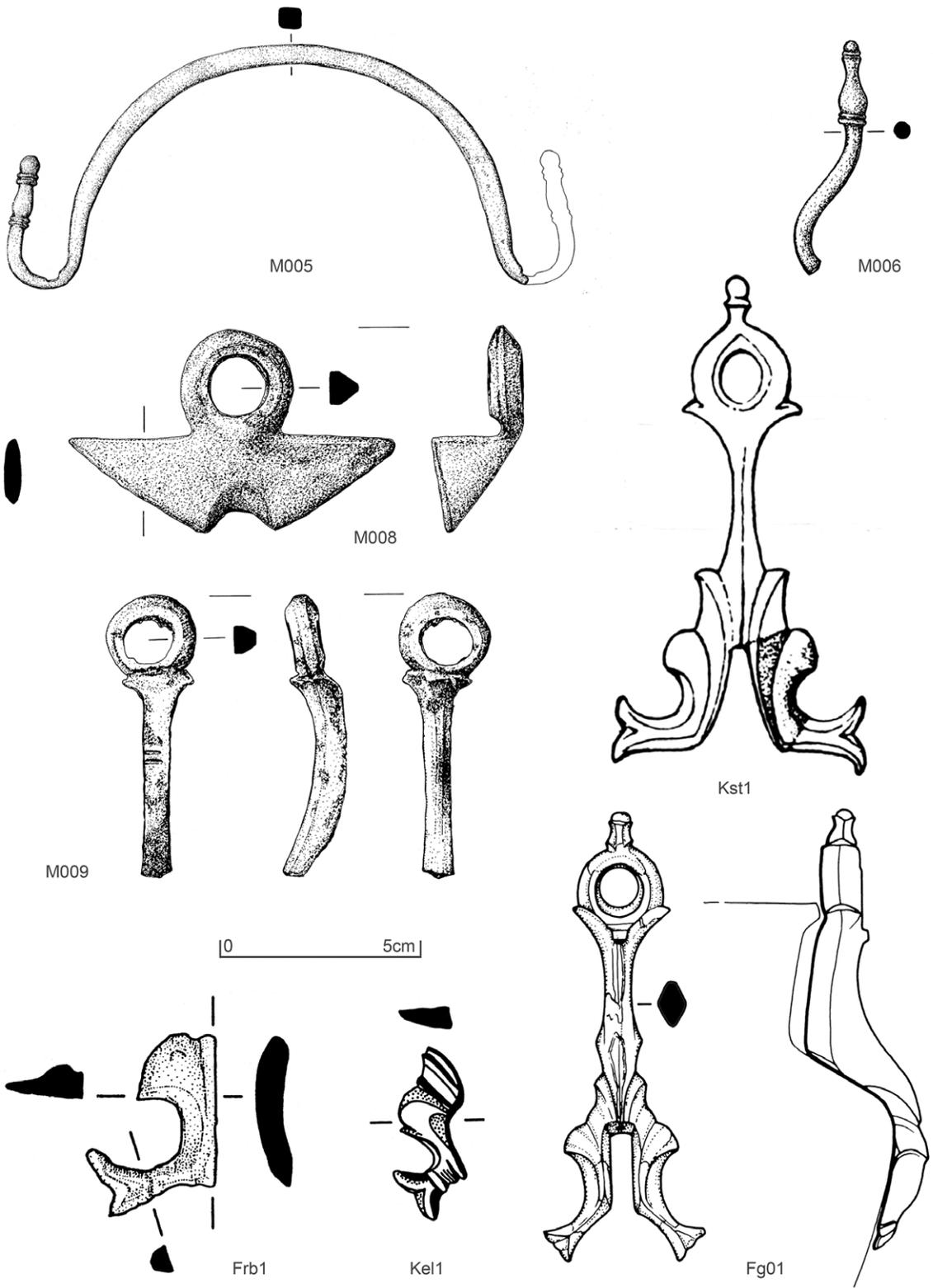


Fig. 23: Situlae Eggers 18–23, the fragments discovered in WnCE.

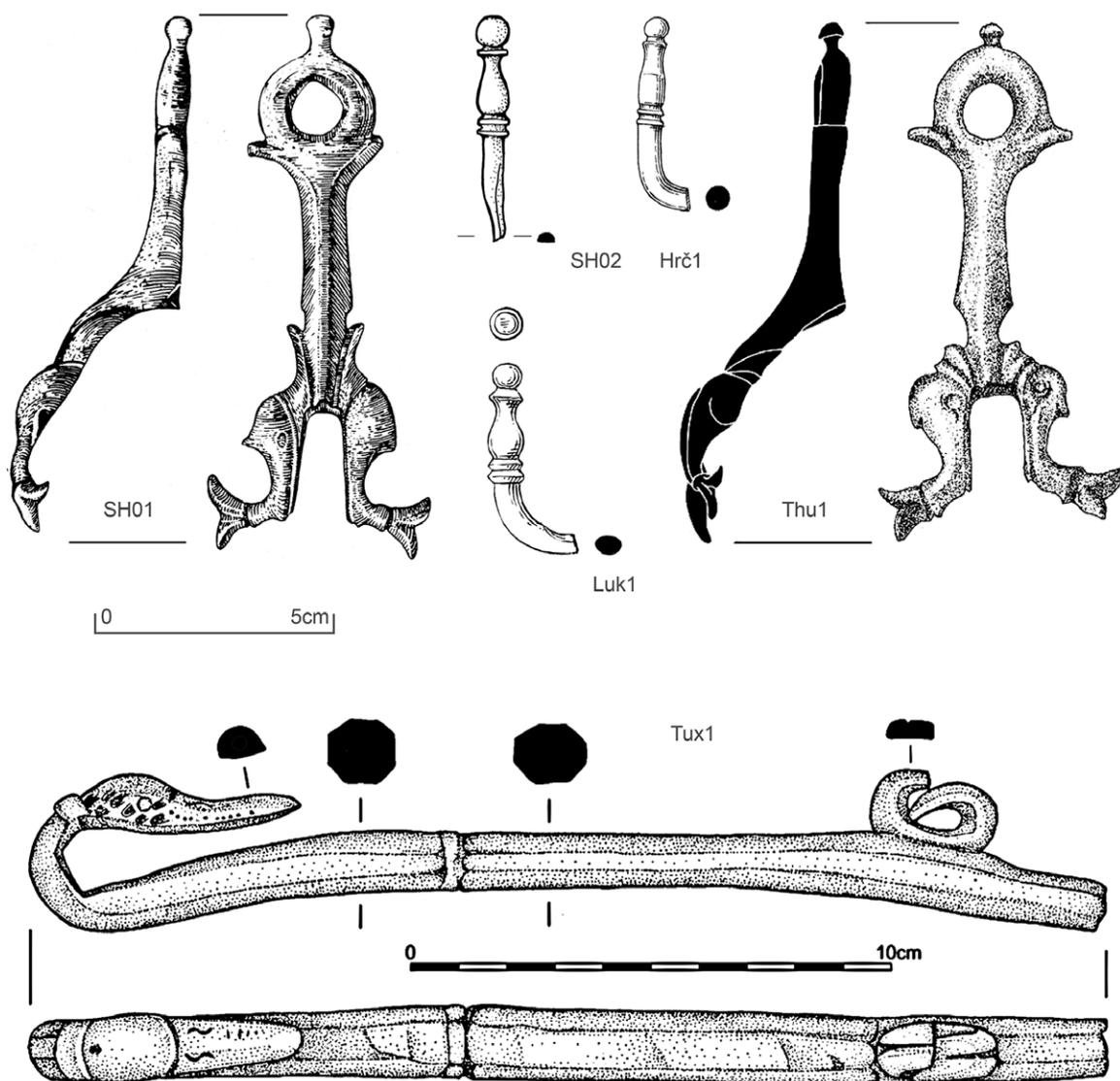


Fig. 24: Situlae Eggers 18–23, the fragments discovered in EnCE.

It is also not improbable that the situla in which the Podmokly hoard was deposited [Pdm1]<sup>62</sup> spent a part of its life in the nearby oppidum of Stradonice. The bucket of which only the rim and the handle are preserved is of type E20 with quite rudimentary ornithomorph handle

62 The NM inventories list one greater part of a situla handle including one of its ornithomorph finials (inv. n° 65133). Although very similar to the handle associated today with the Podmokly situla, it differs slightly from it in its description and considerably in its dimensions. With its 135 mm overall length, the NM handle is shorter than the piece [Pdm1] (187 mm) but at the same time too long to be its missing other half. The object was inventoried already by Vocel († 1871) and therefore its entry in the Museum collections predate the Stradonice pillaging. The object is documented only by a cursory sketch and it has not been located in the Museum reserves, therefore any statement in its regard is even more difficult to make. It is to be considered a stray object without clear provenance and not discussed further.

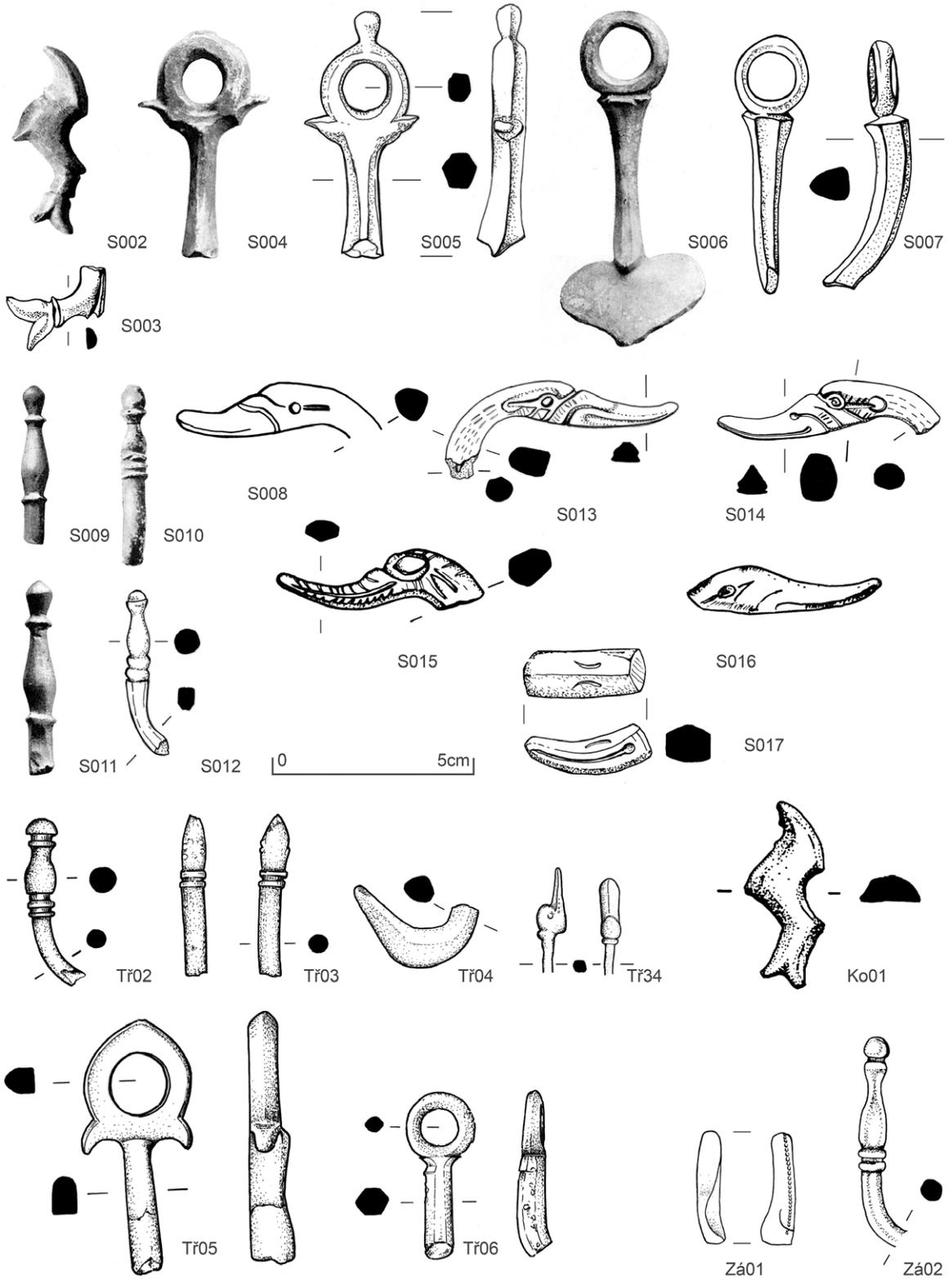
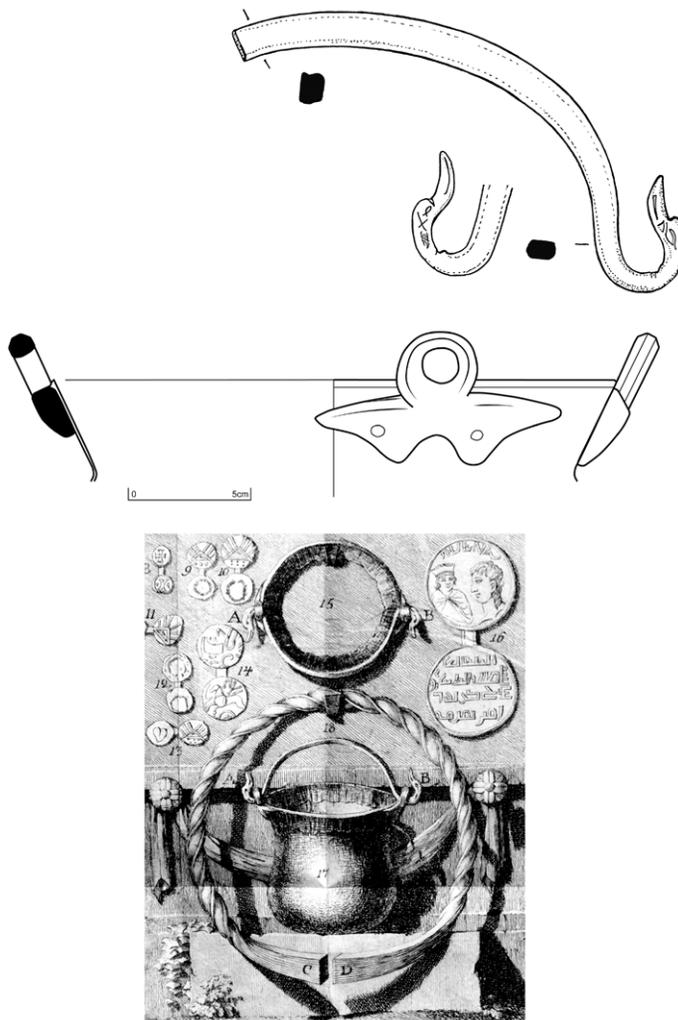


Fig. 25: Situlae Eggers 18–23, the fragments discovered in Bohemia.

finials. Apart from Stradonice, situla fragments are also present in Třisov (one E18 and one E19 attachment eyelets [Tř05, Tř06], one certain (and one possible) baluster-shaped handle finial [Tř02, Tř03<sup>63</sup>] and two ornithomorph ones [Tř04, Tř34], all from the recent metal detector surveys); and from Závist (one baluster-shaped and one fragment of a ornithomorph handle finial from Balda, both in a private collection [Záo1, Záo2]). The last find to mention is the E18 attachment fragment from Kolo near Týnec nad Labem [Koo1] – only the figural part is preserved.



**Fig. 26: The situla from the Podmokly hoard and the engraving of the hoard after VOIGT 1771.**

On the other hand, three bronze vessel feet [So44, So48, So54] are inventoried in the NM with the provenance from Stradonice but also Podmokly. All are of different forms and dimensions and surely do not come from a single vessel (unless it had been mended with haphazardly chosen spare parts). In this case, I consider the double attribution to be a mistake and classify all three as from Stradonice.

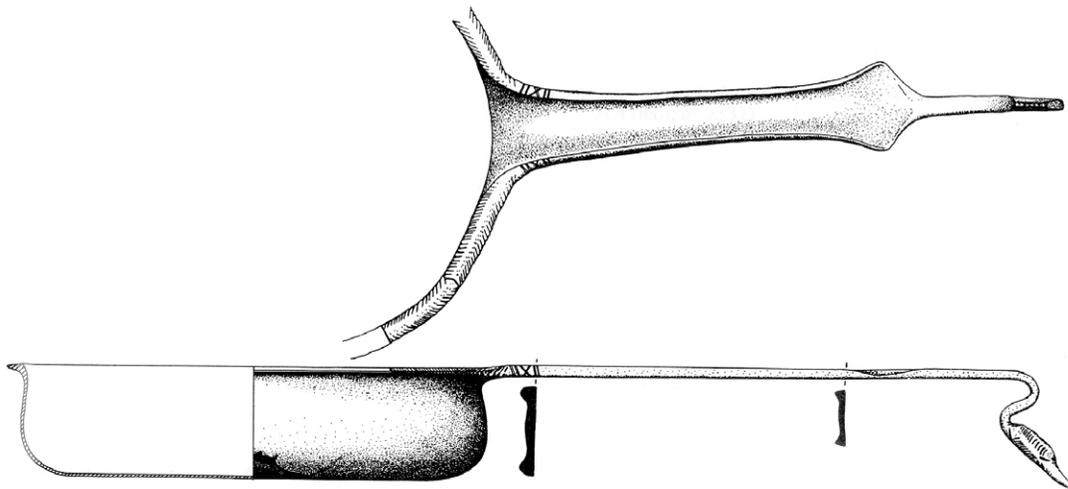
63 In its primary publication we questioned its possible identification as a handle finial due to the extreme length of its shaft (KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 575). Still, no interpretation seems more fitting and the interpretation is possible though with this caveat.

Some doubtful finds moreover have not been taken into account, such as the iron attachment from Stradonice (Píř 1903, tab XIV: 53) which though strongly resembling its counterparts on situlae of type E20 could also be from a locally made wooden bucket.

The issue of bronze vessel feet, some of which may be from situlae, will be discussed separately below.

### Pans

The origins of the bronze pans of the so-called Aylesford type (**Fig. 27**) are in central Italy, mainly in Etruria (CASTOLDI 1991; BOLLA 1994, 16; BINI – CARAMELLA – BUCCIOLI 1995, 187–188, 190; SUEUR 2018, 30–60). The earlier varieties (types Montefortino and Povegliano Scaldasole) which are identical in shape and differ principally only in their proportions (a deeper basin with a shorter handle) date to the 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, while the Aylesford type appeared from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and lasted till the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (FEUGÈRE – DE MARINIS 1991, 100, 104–108). Only the Aylesford type is widespread in Central Europe, while the Montefortino and Povegliano pans are present in northern Italy (FEUGÈRE – DE MARINIS 1991), appearing also in the Balkans.<sup>64</sup> The pans seem to have remained in production until at least the Augustan period (CASTOLDI 2003, 209–210).



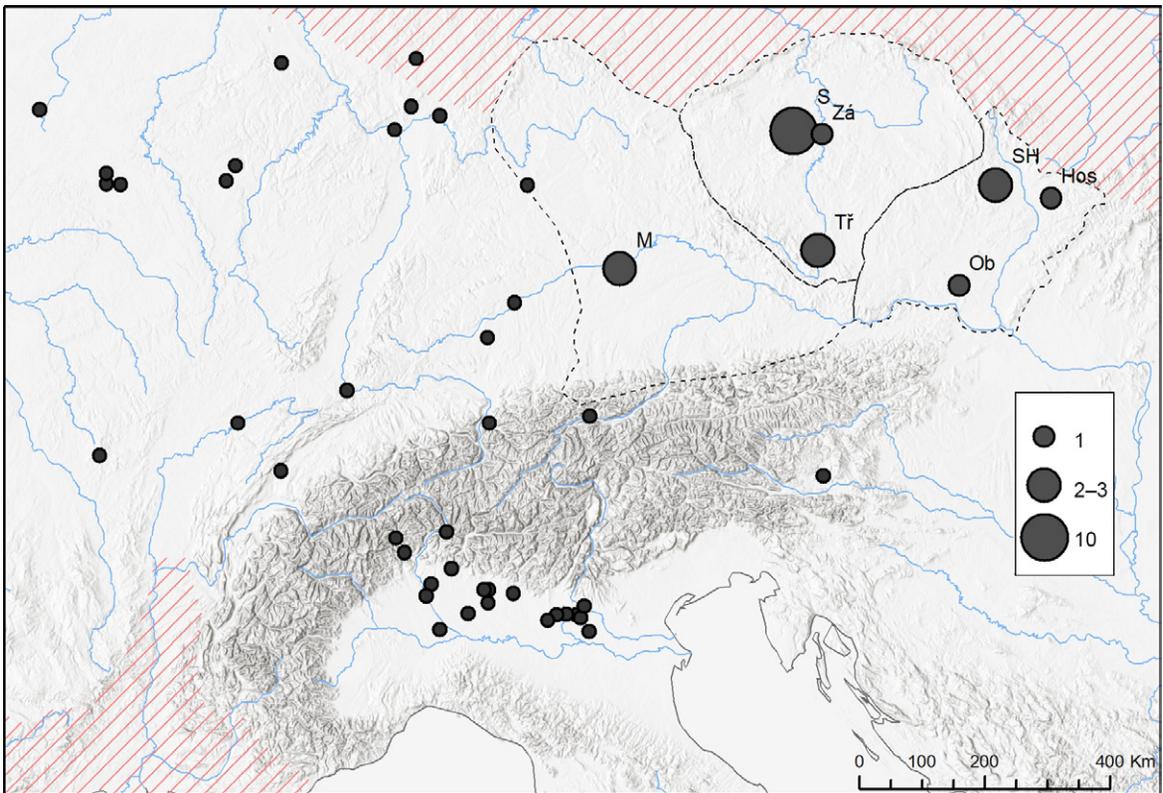
**Fig. 27: Aylesford type pan. FEUGÈRE – DE MARINIS 1991, fig. 11.**

The pans were cast in one piece and finished by hammering. The basin (diameter 14–31 cm) has a round bottom and a characteristic thickened T-shaped rim often decorated by simple incised lines, chevrons and Xs. The handle terminates in a hook embellished with the head of a water bird (no other animals are attested) of various degrees of naturalism or stylisation. A few vessels have their original feet preserved; these are made of lead in the shape of a shell and are soldered on to the bottom, three per vessel (cf. e.g. FURGER-GUNTI, 1979, 68, Abb. 39: 8).

There has been intense discussion about the function of these vessels. Willers (1907) characterised them vaguely as ritual implements; Werner (1954, 66) believed them to have

<sup>64</sup> Represented with at least one example from the enigmatic collective burial in Krajčinovići in western Serbia (POPOVIĆ 1992, 64; ZOTOVIĆ 2007, fig. 5: 1–3 – the proposed date of the tumulus to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD seems too late).

been used for heating wine mixed with water and herbs as did Petrowski (1993, 187) while Caramella (BINI – CAMELLA – BUCCIOLI 1995, 187) regarded them as very down-to-earth cooking vessels. Werner (1978, 8) later reconsidered his original idea as the lead feet exclude the use of the vessel in direct contact with the fire and the vessel's broad open form is little suited for heating liquids. He proposed instead to interpret the pans as parts of a set (basin and jug) for washing hands during feasts, based on a Nuber's (1972) study on the utilisation of such sets (*Kanne und Griffschale*) throughout Antiquity. This hypothesis (with validity for both Italy and the Transalpine world) was generally embraced also by the participants of the Lattes conference (FEUGÈRE – DE MARINIS 1991, 108; BOLLA 1991b; BOLLA 1994, 16–17; cf also SEDLMAYER 1999, 76). Sabine Rieckhoff on the other hand rejected any practical function for these vessels (RIECKHOFF 1998, 511–512) and argued for their use only in a ritual sphere, be it for ablutions or for libations. Without specifying which features make them so suited for libations with their single handle, inward sloping profile and a capacity of three litres...). To finish, Bienert (2007, 71–72) considers the pans to have been used for food preparation (not necessarily over a fire).



**Fig. 28: Distribution of Aylesford type pans in northern Italy, Central Europe and eastern Gaul. The finds outside the working area are not quantified.**

The considerations on the vessel's suitability for one activity or another, nevertheless, only concern their Mediterranean homeland (including northern Italy). The only evidence of use of these vessels in the Transalpine world come from tomb B in Goebange-Nospelt in which a pan was discovered containing pork ribs (METZLER – GAENG 2009, 82, 276–277, fig. 70). The publishers observed on the vessel damage caused by exposure to heat for which they found parallels from elsewhere in the Transalpine world concluding that the pans were commonly used here in this function. The fact that the original lead feet of the Goebange-Nospelt pan

were replaced by more sturdy bronze pieces cannibalized from at least two different bronze jugs clearly shows that the pans were not originally intended for this purpose. In general the evidence from northern Gaul reviewed recently by Quentin Sueur (2018, 45-49) pleads more in favour of a culinary than hygienic use.

The idea of a local i.e. Transalpine production of Aylesford pans has occasionally been suggested (BŘEŇ 1975a, 13; HAMM 1999, 43, pl. xx: 5 and 19) on the grounds of some seemingly half-finished examples (i.e. the duck-head terminals). It is, however, implausible: the duck heads in all sorts of metalwork differ strongly in their degree of stylisation and carefulness of execution; pieces lacking any engraved details are not unknown also in Italy (e.g. FEUGÈRE - DE MARINIS 1991, fig. 13; GALLIAZZO 1979, 196).

Unlike their typological predecessors, Aylesford type pans are widespread (**Fig. 28**) in northern rather than central Italy and very often form part of La Tène grave assemblages (FEUGÈRE - DE MARINIS 1991). In the East Alpine area, finds are known from the Magdalensberg and Gurina (SEDLMAYER 1999, 75-76, Taf. 29: 16). Beyond the Alps, they concentrate in particu-

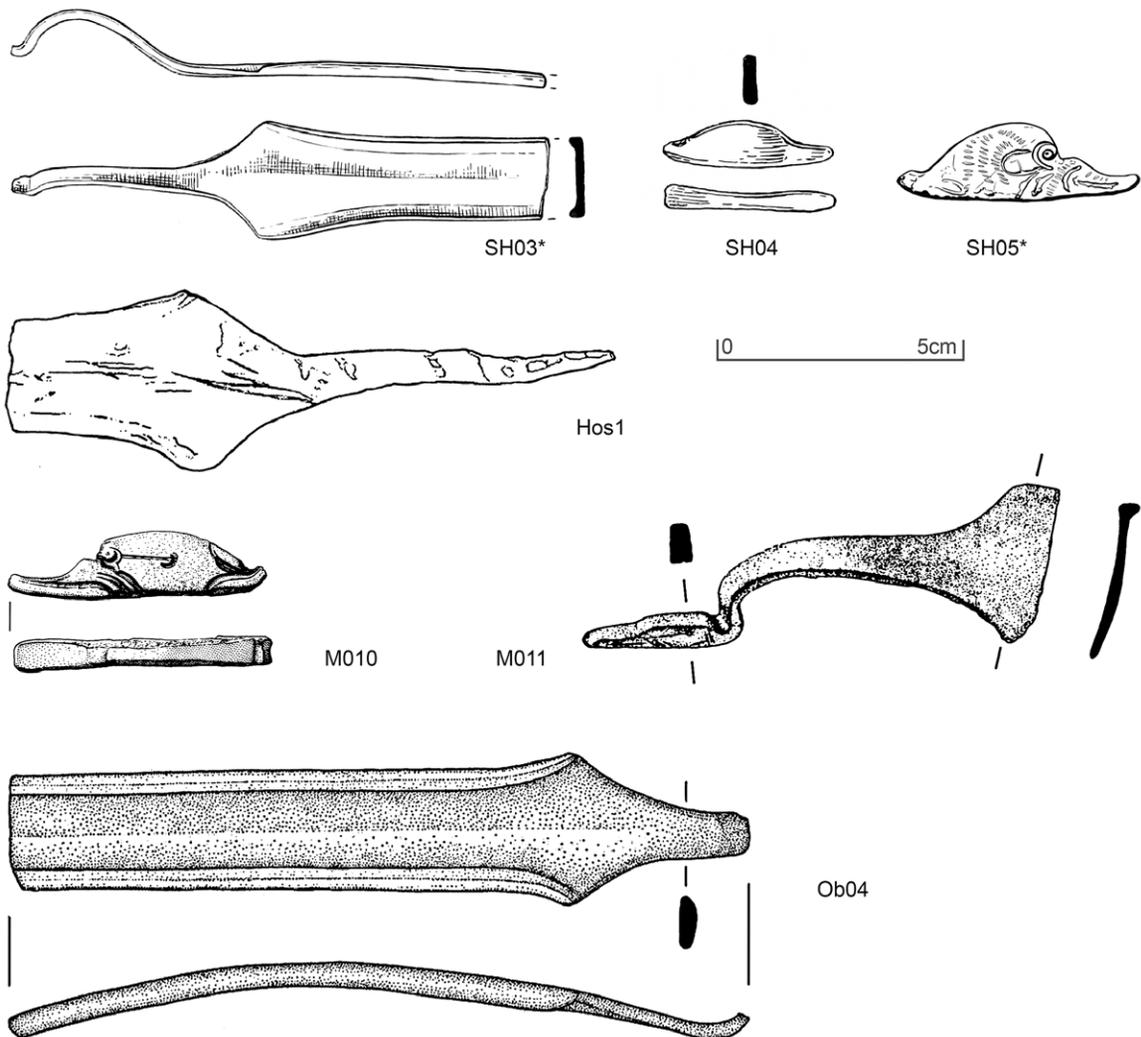


Fig. 29: Aylesford type pans, fragments discovered in WnCE and EnCE. \* = not to scale.

lar in the Rhine-Mosel-Main area and along the course of the Danube (Kappel: FEUGÈRE - DE MARINIS 1991; Ulm: WEHRBERGER - WIELAND 1999; Manching [Mo10-Mo12], Langensteinach in Mittelfranken: DANNHEIMER - GEBHARD eds. 1993, 292, Nr. 141; WAMSER - FLÜGEL - ZIEGAUS eds. 2000, 312, Nr. 3a1). East of Bohemia there is one handle fragment from the Oberleiserberg [Obo4]. Moreover, one fragment of a pan handle comes from Staré Hradisko [SHo3] and one (now lost) from Hostýn [Hos1]. Jana Čižmářová (1996a, 120-121) classified them as fragments of horizontal *simpula*; in my opinion their interpretation as pans is more likely. Also, two duck heads also from Staré Hradisko (one finely engraved, one crude and undecorated) can be identified as pan handle finials [SHo4, SHo5] (Fig. 29).

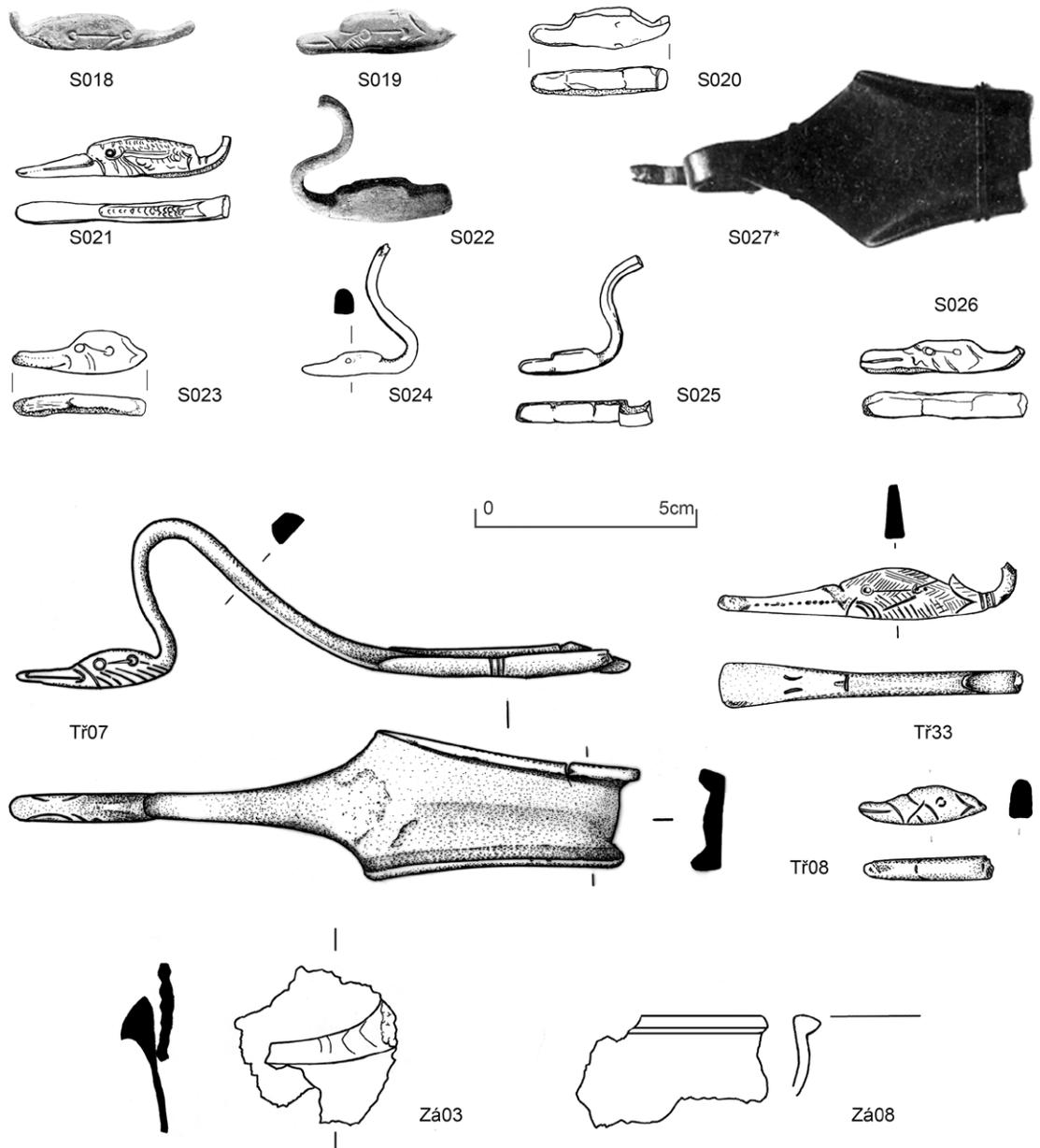


Fig. 30: Aylesford type pans, fragments discovered in Bohemia. \* = not to scale.

Among the numerous duck heads from Stradonice, nine can be attributed to the pans [So18–So26]; one fragment of an Aylesford pan handle from Stradonice is moreover documented from the Lehmann collection [So27]. One almost complete handle was discovered during the excavations in the northern acropolis at Třísov [Třo7] and another duck-head fragment comes from the Třísov detector surveys [Třo8]. One fragment of the body of a bronze vessel from Závist [Záo3] can be associated with a pan due to the characteristic engraved decoration on the thickened rim; in the case of another fragment from the same area this identification is less certain [Záo8] (**Fig. 30**).

During the metal detector surveys of the Třísov oppidum an object was discovered in the form of a water-bird head [Tř33] of extraordinary size (length 67 mm!). The head itself is flattened from the sides and the beak from the top; the neck turns up. The head surface is finished by detailed engraving with extraordinary care and attention. The form of the object with the flattened head and upturned neck is closest to the hook termination on Aylesford pans. The object is nevertheless three times as big as the usual duck heads. Interpreting it as the termination of a bucket handle seems improbable – the neck is turned in the opposite direction; the large beak would require a uselessly large eyelet. In the first publication of the object (KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 585–587) we expressed doubts about it and hesitated to class it among pan handle terminations. This hesitancy turned out to be unnecessary since a duck-head of identical dimensions and execution can be found on a complete (large) pan from grave 92 in the cemetery of Belgrade-Karaburma (TODOROVIĆ 1972, 30, tab. 28).

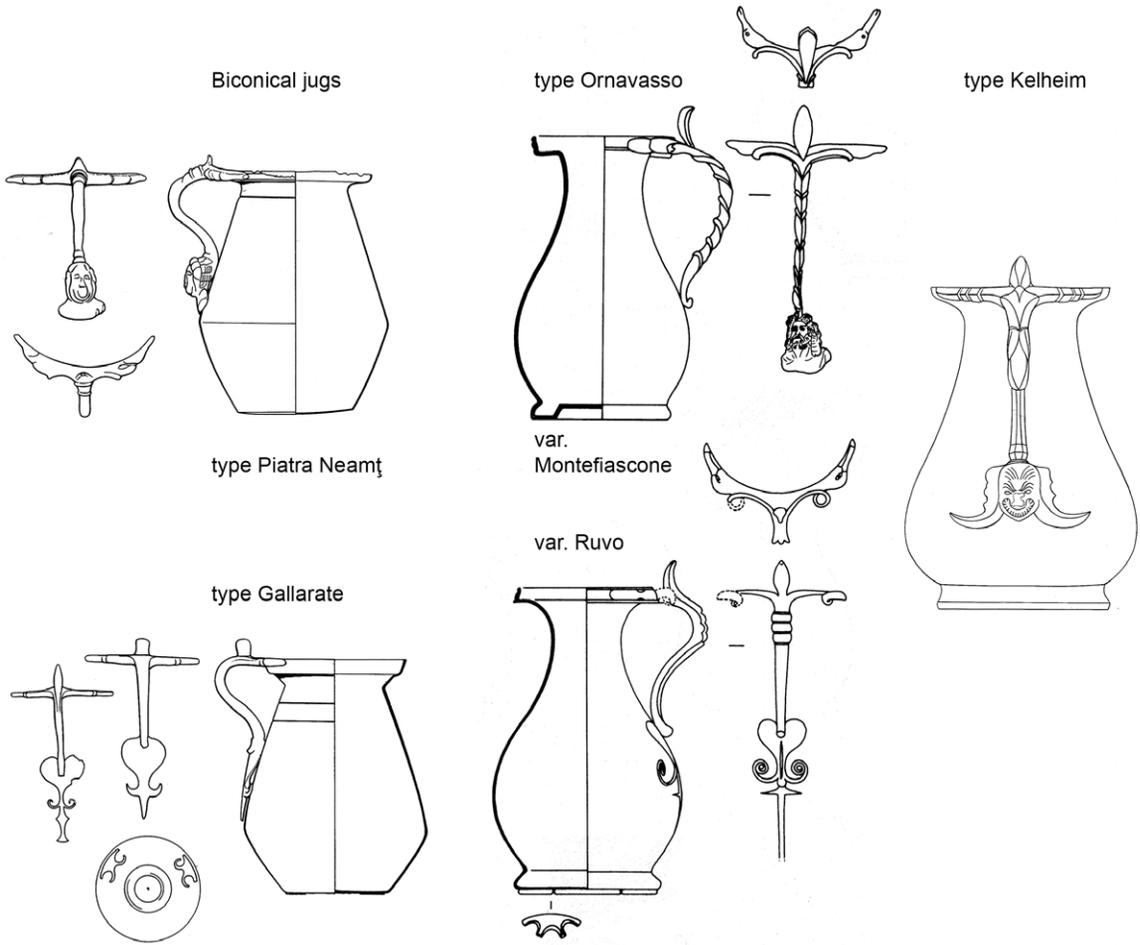
## Jugs

The category of bronze jugs is typologically very varied. The function which most immediately comes to mind is that of serving wine though in the Mediterranean they may have been employed also for ablutions in association with pans or basins.

Over the decades of research, the bronze jugs of the last two centuries BC have been divided into a series of types (**Fig. 31**; comprehensively BOUBE 1991; SUEUR 2018, 68–69).<sup>65</sup> On the grounds of two main typological criteria (the body profile and the form of attachment) the following types have been defined: sharply biconical jugs with heart-shaped (Gallarate type) or male bust (Piatra Neamț type) attachments; S-shaped jugs with a straight rim (Ornavasso type) with the attachment either heart-shaped (the Ornavasso-Montefiascone type) or in the form of a male bust (Ornavasso-Ruvo type); S-shaped jugs with overhanging rim and heart-shaped attachment (Kjaerumgaard type); piriform jugs with a massive handle terminating in an attachment of a grinning male face (Silenus or a New Comedy character) with two pointed protrusions (Kappel-Kelheim type). This typology need not be fully exhaustive<sup>66</sup> but it is more than sufficient for our needs. What all these types have in common are three bronze feet soldered on to their base (they will be dealt with in detail below) and the general shape of the handle with arched branches attached to the rim and a thumb-piece at their crossing with the actual handle.

65 Werner (1954; 1978) differentiated the basic types of Kelheim and Ornavasso, followed by Ulbert (1984) who recognized the Kjaerumgaard type as a later variety of the latter. De Marinis (1975) and Tizzoni (1981) focused on the biconical jugs labelled the Gallarate type. Boubé (1991) finally distinguished a Piatra Neamț type from a Gallarate type and with Montefiascone and Ruvo varieties within the Ornavasso type.

66 These typologies omit e.g. the S-shaped jug with a handle attachment in the form of a female (Medusa?) head between two vertical dolphins, which is widespread in the Mediterranean (e.g. UROZ RODRÍGUEZ 2015, 192, fig. 13; LUIK 2002, Abb. 174: 80; BOLLA – CASTOLDI 2016, 152, n° 7 etc.). The only ‘Celtic’ area they reach is southern Gaul (GIRARD 2010).



**Fig. 31: Late Republican bronze jugs - types present in Central Europe.**

What reality does the complex world of jugs reflect? The Kjaerumgaard type (not attested in Late Iron Age Central Europe and only present in Augustan period contexts) is apparently a late-comer which is not relevant for our study. The Gallarate type jugs seem to have been around from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, developing in Etruria from earlier local forms (BOUBE 1991; CASTOLDI 1991). It is from the 120s BC that jugs of the Gallarate and Piatra Neamț types appear in La Tène graves in northern Italy (BOUBE 1991) and the Kelheim type in various La Tène contexts (BARBAU 2019, 31-32) to be followed by the Ornavasso type probably also of central Italian origin and attested seemingly only in 1<sup>st</sup> century BC contexts (BOUBE 1991, 35 - ‘from the 70s BC’; BOLLA 1994, 23 - ‘first century’).

In the case of the Piatra Neamț type (rare in Italy and with ‘très fruste’ execution of the Jupiter bust on the attachment), Boube suggested ‘local imitation of exported models’. The argument is not very clear (the models would be produced in Italy anyway) and the equation ‘ugly ≠ Italian’ is misleading (many Italian vessels of this period show an equally poor and / or sloppy execution). Boube herself listed (‘only’) eight Italian finds,<sup>67</sup> Bolla and Castoldi (2016, 132) mention three more new finds from northern Italy, and at least three more attachments

67 We may add to them the only recently published piece from the Bonifacio Falconi collection in the Vatican Museum: CALIÒ 2000, 209, n° 376.

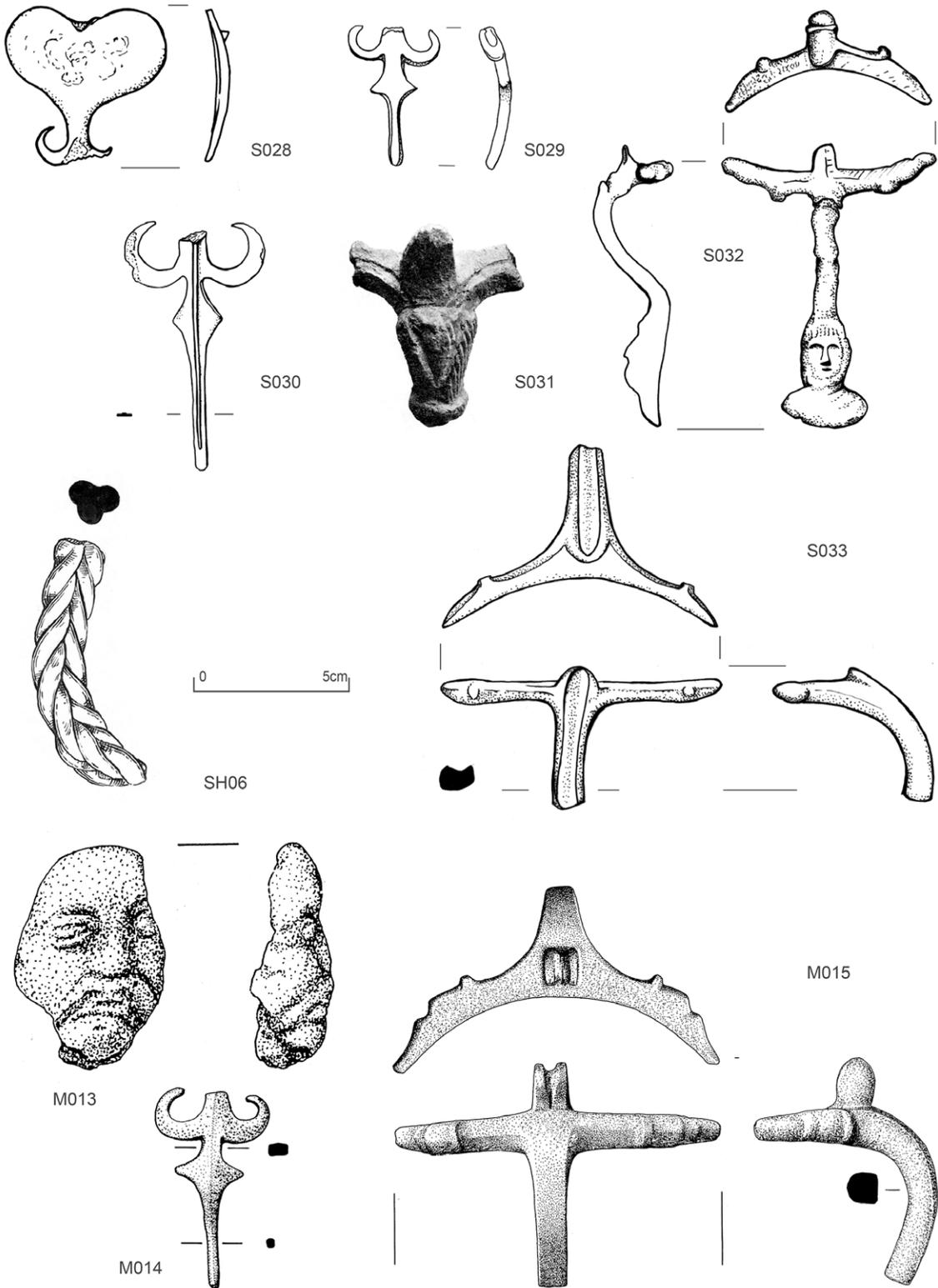


Fig. 32: Bronze jugs - fragments discovered in Central Europe.

may be added from central Italy – unrecognized for what they are, surely due to them being ‘très frustes’ (Gubbio, Umbria: MATTEINI CHIARI ed. 1995, n° 491; Fossombrone/Forum Sempronii, Marche: DE MARINIS G. *et al.* 2001, 103–104, fig. 44; the Gorga collection, probably from Italy: BENEDETTINI ed. 2012, 485–486, n° 1487<sup>68</sup>). The only certain proof of production of biconical jugs outside Italy is a mould for casting wax models discovered in Delos (SIEBERT 1973) and thus pointing potentially to local Italian settlers.

As far as distribution is concerned, all jug types are present in northern Italy. On the other side of the Alps (Figs. 32–34), the Ornavasso type is rare. The Kelheim type jugs on the contrary populated the entire western Europe but are rarer in the east. Widespread in Gaul, beyond the Rhine the Kelheim jugs (BOUBE 1991, 40; RIECKHOFF 1998, 507; SUEUR 2018, 72–74) follow the course of the Danube: Kappel – Biswangen – Manching [M013] – Kelheim [Kel2]. One Kelheim type jug without a handle was discovered in the Reitenbucher Forst near Weißenburg in western Bavaria containing a hoard of 433 gold coins [RbF1]. In the east there are only two doubtful unprovenanced handles in the National Museum in Budapest (SZABÓ 1995, 276–277).

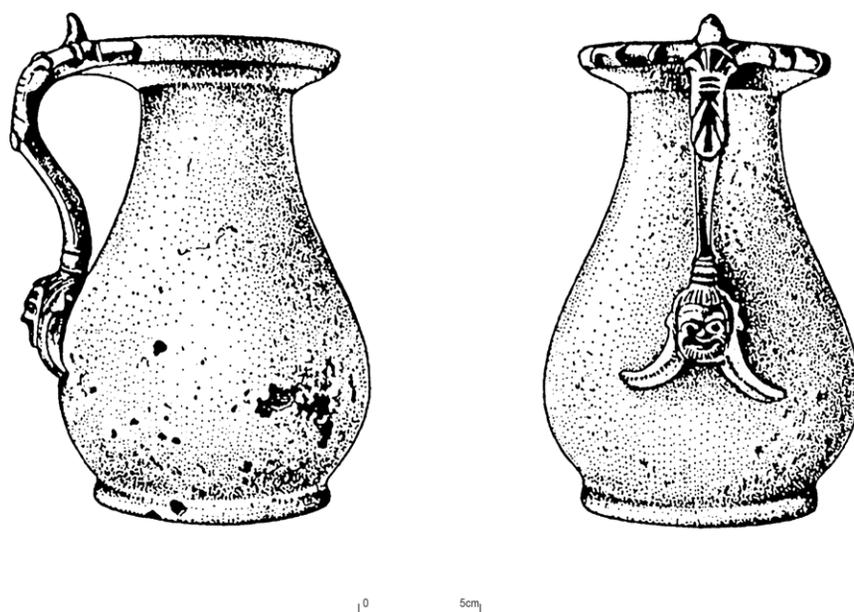


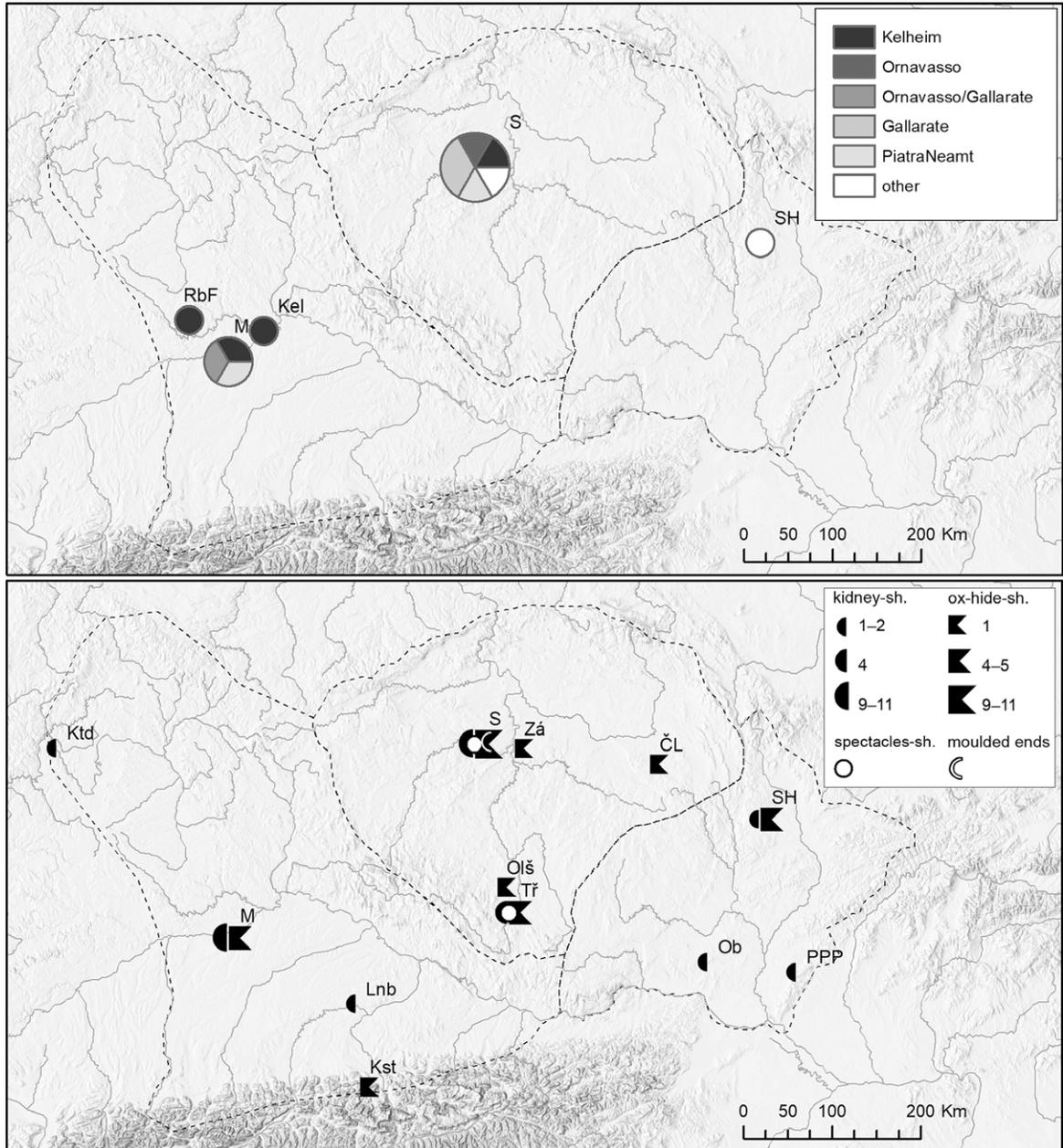
Fig. 33: Kelheim, bronze jug [Kel2].

The bronze feet characteristic of Kelheim jugs (see below) have a broader distribution. In our working area, their finds are documented in Manching [M016–M029], in the Leonberg in southern Bavaria [Lnb1], in Karlstadt in Unterfranken [Ktd1] in the west, and with five items [Obo1, Obo2, PPP1, SHo7, SHo8] still quite numerous in the EnCE though apparently not further east.

Helga Sedlmayer (1999, 115, Taf. 51: 1) mentioned one foot of a ‘Kelheim or Gallarate’ type jug from the Magdalensberg; in reality this form is only characteristic of the latter. Jug handles discovered in the East Alpine area all belong to the Gallarate/Piatra Neamț type (SEDLMAYER 1999, 11, Taf. 1: 1–4). The biconical jugs of these two types are widespread only in coastal regions

68 The same collection contains also an unrecognised appliqué of Ornavasso–Ruvo type (BENEDETTINI ed. 488, n° 1497).

in the west: southern Gaul (GIRARD 2010, 331, five pieces),<sup>69</sup> Spain and even Portugal – FABIÃO 1999). East of Italy, a considerable concentration can be observed along the Danube and in the Carpathian Basin (BELDIMAN 1988; BOUBE 1991; POPOVIĆ 1992, 67–72). No certain finds are documented in inland Gaul<sup>70</sup> or in southern Germany (BOUBE 1991; BARBAU 2019).



**Fig. 34: Distribution of bronze jugs (above) and vessel feet (below) in Central Europe.**

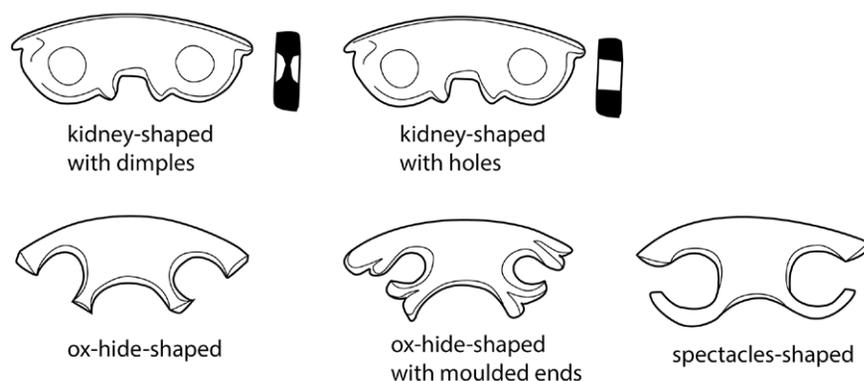
69 Also at least one out of three handle fragments from Toulouse-ZAC Niel seems to be of this type (DEMIERRE 2015, 173, fig. 18: 2) beside handles possibly of Kelheim type and of a mug.

70 BOUBE 1991 listed one attachment from Villeneuve-St.-Germain which is in reality of the Ornavasso type (BARBAU 2015, 72, note 1) and one handle kept in Avenches but without any clear find circumstances.

These two distribution areas intersect between EnCE and Bohemia. In Stradonice there are at least two attachments of the Gallarate type [So28, So29], a probable handle fragment of the Kelheim type [So31], a complete handle of the Piatra Neamț type [So32] as well as an unpublished top part of a jug handle [So33] which cannot be confidently ascribed to any of the types (the attachment is missing).

### Feet

A topic on its own are the bronze feet of the metal vessels which have already been mentioned several times. These heavy cast bronze plates of segmental shape with a thickness of several millimetres were soldered (three per vessel) on to the situla and jug bases. Several forms can be distinguished (**Fig. 35**): kidney-shaped feet with holes or dimples in their lobes; ox-hide feet with stubs protruding from the corners; and an intermediary spectacles-shaped type with open ends, sharing the basic form with the kidney-shaped pieces but with openings in its short sides (rather than a type on its own the latter is perhaps to be understood as a variant of the ox-hide type). The lug terminations in the ox-hide and open end types may be simple or variously configured.



**Fig. 35: Bronze vessel feet - typology and terminology.**

The single foot forms do not correlate with specific vessel forms (e.g. situlae or jugs); it is however worth noting that kidney-shaped feet have so far been documented almost exclusively on Kelheim type jugs (BOUBE 1991, note 32)<sup>71</sup> while the ox-hide shaped ones are characteristic of the Gallarate/Piatra Neamț or Ornavasso types. The issue is much more complicated in the case of situlae in which the feet (and the bottom for that matter) are much less frequently preserved.

<sup>71</sup> The rare exceptions known to me so far come from tomb 7 in the necropolis of Lazisetta-Santa Maria di Zevio (BOLLA - CASTOLDI 2016, fig. 21:3) and from collections in the RGZM in Mainz - two Gallarate type jugs with either kidney-shaped feet or negative imprints thereof. A very elaborate version of the kidney-shaped foot with floral decoration of the stubs is identified in the Beaucaire type situlae, irrelevant for our study (Boube in BOLLA - BOUBE - GUILLAUMET 1991).

It has been argued that a distinction between situla and jug feet may be made on the grounds of their dimensions, situlae being slightly bigger vessels than jugs. Helena Svobodová (1983, 670), assuming that ‘the external side of the foot follows the circumference of the vessel bottom’, made the distinction on the grounds of the bottom diameter and set the discrimination line at a diameter of 108/120 mm. J.-P. Guillaumet (2009, 152) defined situlae<sup>72</sup> feet as longer than 50 mm and heavier than 18 g. This latter proposal is flawed (Kelheim type feet regularly exceed 50 mm, e.g. Agen and Hannogne St. Rémy: BARBAU 2019, 390, 391, pl. 19, no. 189, pl. 18, n° 176; Toulouse: VIDAL 1991, fig. 34, 38). The diameter is not a straightforward criterion either – there is no correlation between the base diameter and the curvature of the feet external edge and, moreover, bottom diameters of bigger jugs may be equal or even larger than those of small situlae. The bottoms of E18–19 situlae from the Bohemian collections is 16–12 cm (KARASOVÁ 2004, *passim*); in jugs of all types in general it is mostly 7–11 cm, but rarely up to 13 cm (BOUBE 1991 *passim*). At the same time, to put the issue the other way round, a large base diameter does not necessarily warrant large feet: e.g. the E18 situla from grave II in the Early Roman Iron Age cemetery of Dobřichov-Piřchora has three ox-hide shaped feet (a mere 38 mm long) with their outsides circumscribing the diameters of 110–120 mm attached to its bottom with a diameter of 152 mm (DROBERJAR 1999, 131, Taf. 3: 1). Last but not least, all these considerations only apply to the ox-hide shaped pieces – not a single kidney-shaped foot has to my knowledge been documented on a situla of any type.<sup>73</sup> To conclude, the information we may gain from vessel feet is relatively limited: in the case of the simple kidney-shaped pieces we may be relatively confident that they come from the Kelheim type jugs; the size plays no role in their case. The ox-hide shaped pieces may be the remains of either any of the other jug types or of the ovoid situlae, the clearly large ones coming possibly from the latter, the particularly tiny ones from the former, while in an absolute majority of cases no clear determination is possible. With these limitations in mind, we can approach the 68 bronze feet in our catalogue (**Figs. 36, 37**, cf. map **Fig. 35**).

Out of the 27 feet preserved or documented in Stradonice eleven are of the kidney-shaped Kelheim type [So34–043], three are spectacles-shaped [So46, So60, So61], and one is only recorded but has not been preserved or illustrated [So45]; the remaining 13 are of the ox-hide shape, four with ornamentally configured stubs [So47–So49, So55], the other plain [So50–So54, So56–So58]. Probably only [So58] is so large as to be attributable to a situla without any doubt, the others may be either from situlae or jugs. One ox-hide foot is present at České Lhotice [ČLo1], and one with open ends at Závist [Záo4]. At Tříssov, the ratio between kidney [Tř14–Tř17] and ox-hide [Tř09–Tř12] shaped feet is 1:1. One spectacles-shaped foot [Tř 13] is remarkable by its extremely small size (L. 21 mm). Although its dimensions are unusual, rare parallels of the same size exist in the Mediterranean (LISIÁK 2010, n° 560, pl. 24). One ox-hide foot [Olš1] was interestingly found at a non-oppidum site, Olšovice, okr. Prachalice, southern Bohemia.<sup>74</sup>

72 He nevertheless fails to account for the fact that the situlae of type E18–20 (to which this distinction should apply in the first place, having been made on the basis of finds from Fontaine St. Pierre in Bibracte) are virtually undocumented in Gaul.

73 I am grateful to Thimo Brestel who confirmed this assumption of mine based on a much more complete sample of ovoid situlae documented by himself.

74 I am grateful to Jan John, University of Southern Bohemia, for information on this unpublished find.

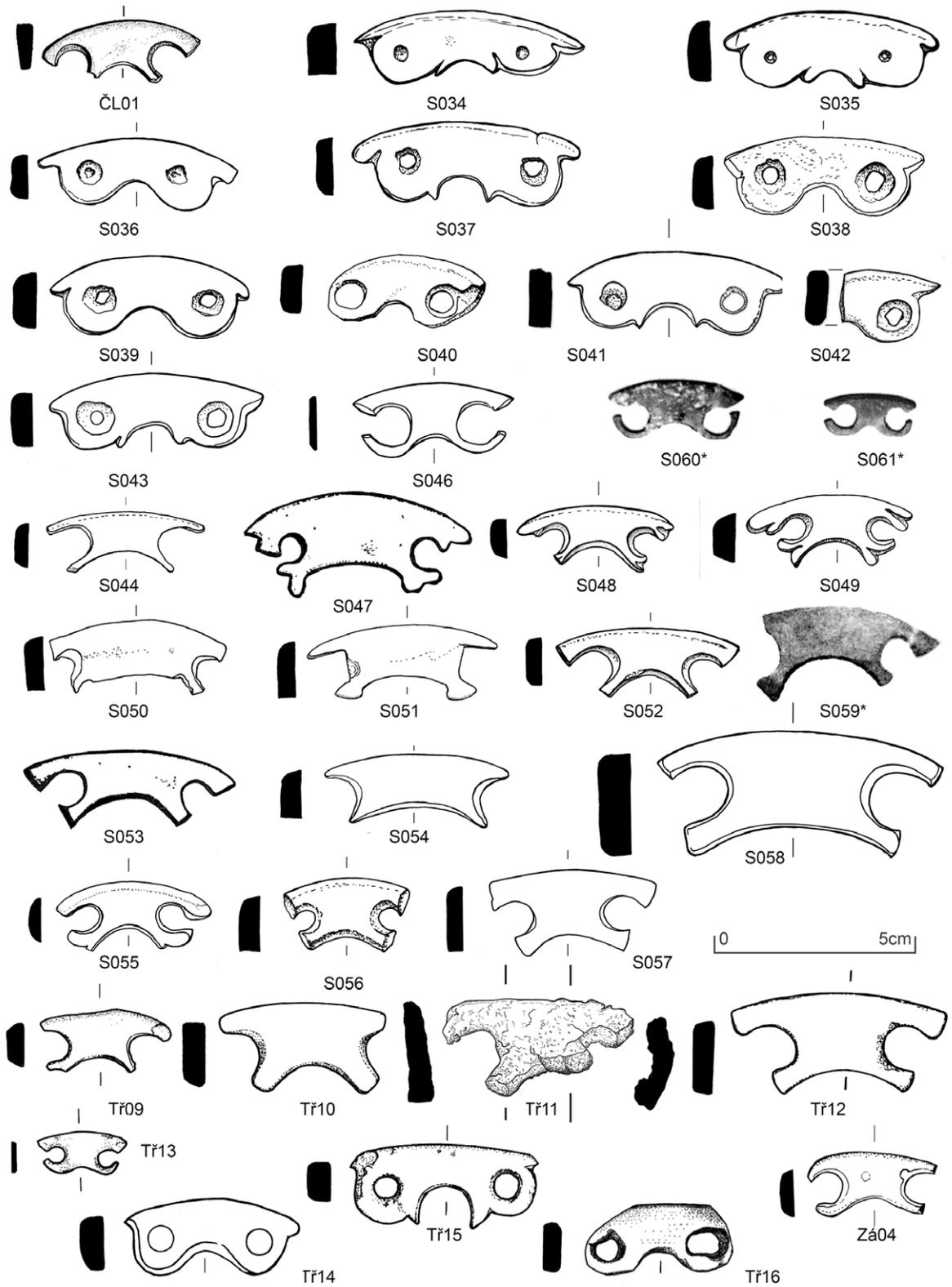


Fig. 36: Bronze vessel feet discovered in Bohemia. \* = not to scale.

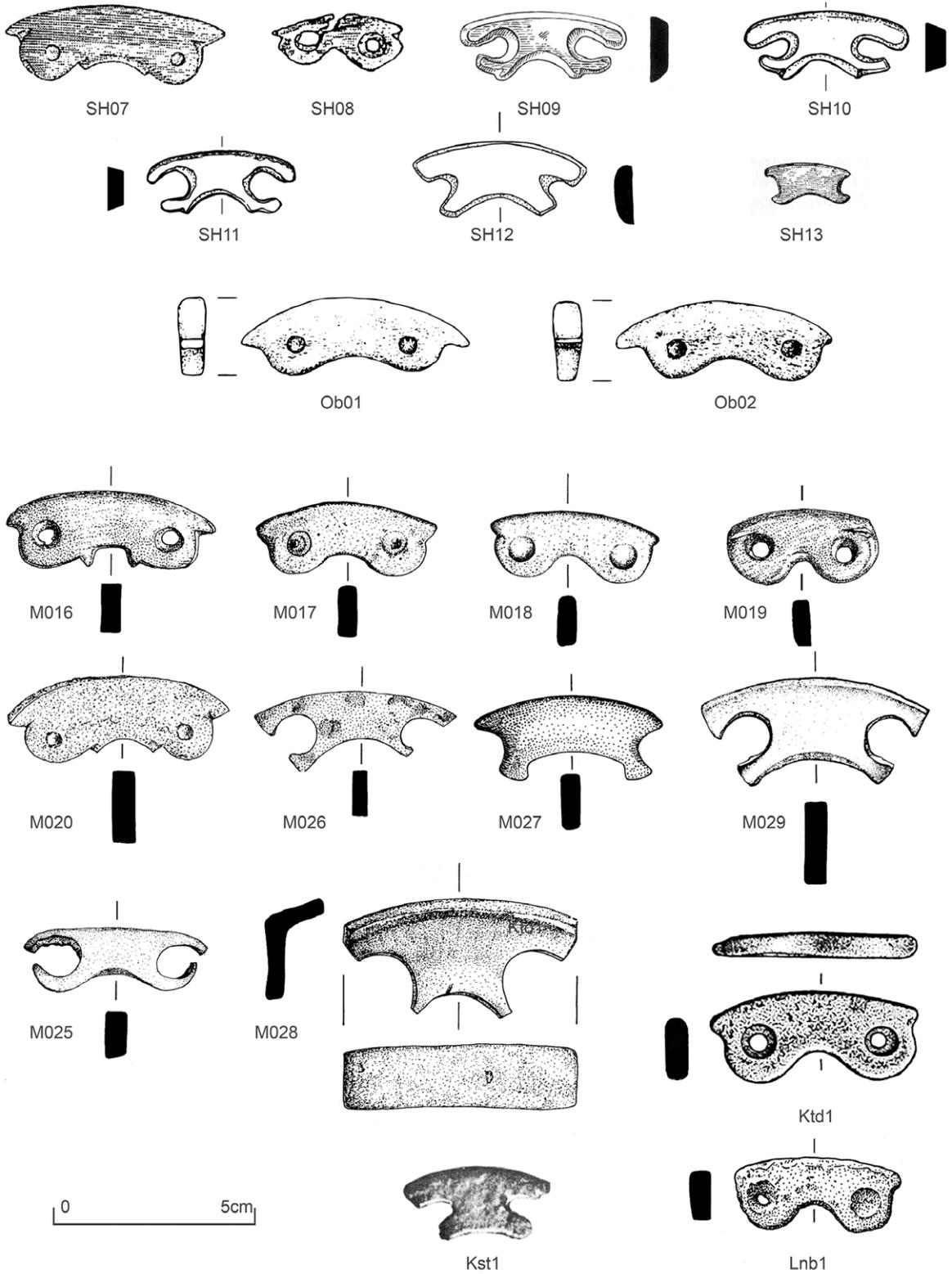


Fig. 37: Bronze vessel feet discovered in EnCE and WnCE.

One already mentioned foot from Třisov [Tř11] merits a digression – the ox-hide-shaped foot was visibly deformed by fire. Although accidental damage cannot be excluded, we may reasonably hypothesise that it had been the subject of intentional recycling (KYSÉLA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 581). Isolated vessel feet were discovered also in the Bibracte workshops (HAMM 2005, 67–68), ready for recycling or for reuse as spare parts, similarly to those secondarily attached to the previously mentioned pan from Goebloge-Nospelt tomb B. One of these was kidney-shaped, two were ox-hide shaped.

The situation in Bohemia is worth comparing with both neighbouring regions: in WnCE feet are represented mostly in Manching [Mo16–Mo29] while the Karlstein [Kst2], Leonberg [Lnb1], and Karlstadt [Ktd1] count one piece each. Out of these, the kidney shape prevails over the ox-hide shape in a ratio of 11:6. In EnCE the situation is not so dramatic: five kidney-shaped feet, two of them from Staré Hradisko [SHo7, SHo8], two from the Oberleiserberg (both of the same form and size, potentially from the same vessel) [Obo1, Obo2], and one from Plavecké Podhradie-Pohanská [PPP1] as opposed to another five in the ox-hide form with variously configured stubs.

The updated distribution of bronze vessel feet in central Europe (**Fig. 35** below) thus does not seem to support my earlier assumptions (KYSÉLA 2014a) about jugs as a supplementary indicators of distribution zones of southern imports.

### Simpula

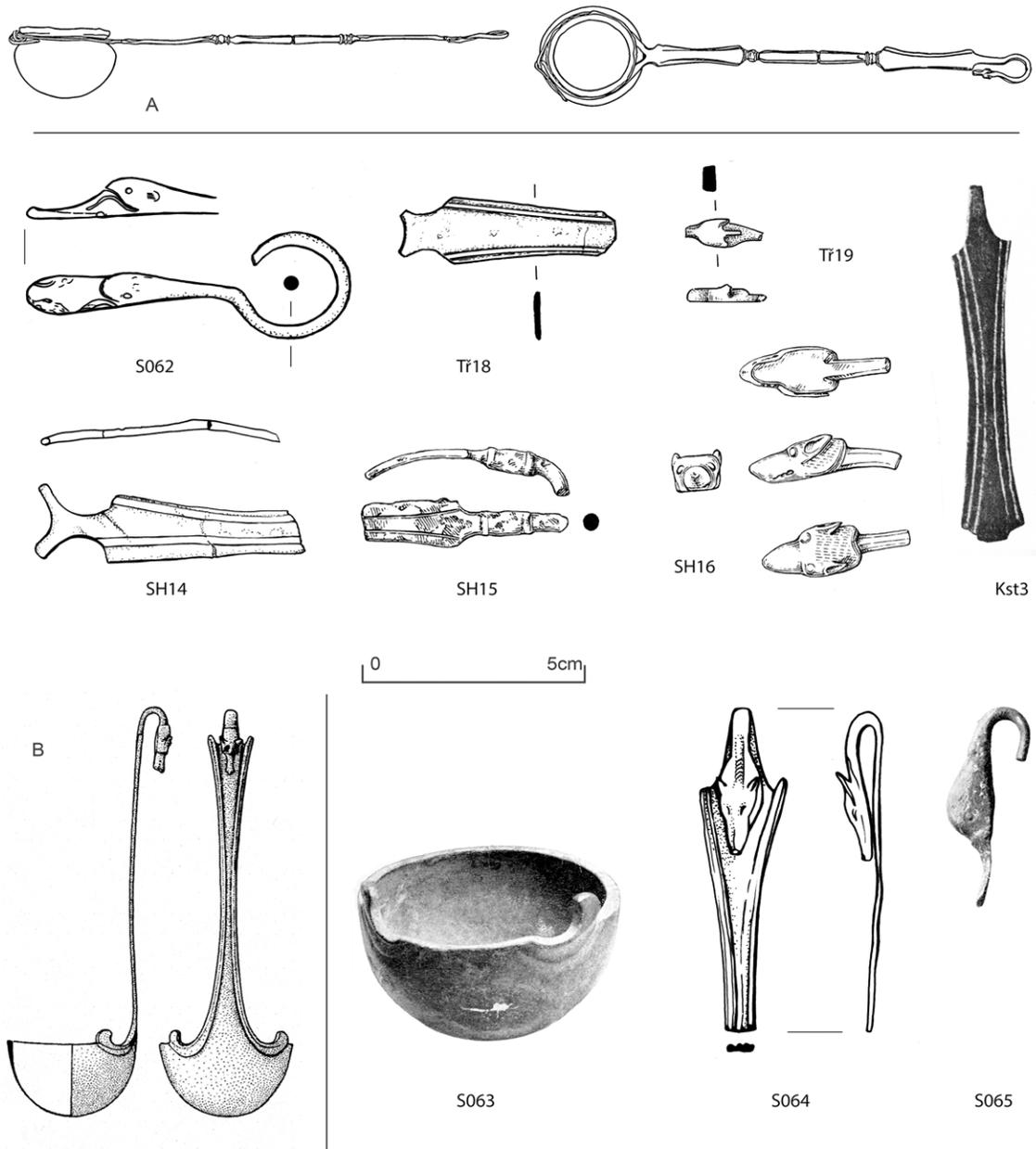
In Republican Italy, there are two basic forms of *simpula* or ladles on a long shaft used for pouring wine from the mixing to the drinking vessels – those with a horizontal shaft and a separate removable bowl (type *Pescate*; **Fig. 38A**) and those with vertical handle integral with the bowl (**Fig. 38B**). In both types the handle terminates in a suspension hook decorated with a bird or canine head.<sup>75</sup> The duck heads from *simpula* can be told apart from those of pans thanks to their flattened curved beaks and the more three-dimensional approach to the depiction. The execution is as a rule much more careful and elegant than in the often quite rushed pans.

The horizontal **Pescate type *simpula*** (Castoldi in CASTOLDI – FEUGÈRE 1991; SUEUR 2018, 174–184) are documented by numerous finds in the most diverse contexts and cultural areas, well reflecting the different forms of Roman cultural impact in the 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century BC: from Roman camps (and native settlements) in Hispania (MANSEL 2004, 20; ERICE LACABE 2007, 198; UROZ RODRIGUEZ 2015, 180–186), through Mediterranean ship-wrecks (present as merchandise or as equipment? GENOVESI *et al.* 2013) up to settlements and sanctuaries in central Italy (Talamone: CIAMPOLTRINI 1994, 375, fig. 4: 1–2; Volterra: Rosselli in CATENI ed. 2007, 219; Cetamura di Chianti: DE GRUMMOND ed. 2017, fig. 81), and burials in central and northern Italy. A recent addition to this list comes from a 1<sup>st</sup> century BC *casa retica* in Vadena/Pfatten-Laimburg, prov. Bolzano (MARZOLI 2012–2013). These various find contexts help establish their chronology to the uselessly long time span of ca 120 BC to the Augusto-Tiberian period.

Finds are much less common in inland Europe. In Gaul they rarely leave the confines of the Roman Province (for which cf. GIRARD 2010, 333–334; DEMIERRE 2015, 173, fig. 19: 5–6), though

75 Both animal species may appear on both ladle types. Their size and style vary considerably independent of the type. Benjamin Girard (2010, 333–334) proposed a classification of the canine heads on vertical *simpula* according to the degree of their naturalism/stylisation into three groups, there is however no hint that this distinction reflects any past reality (e.g. chronological or chorological variety) other than a workshop or even individual idiosyncracies.

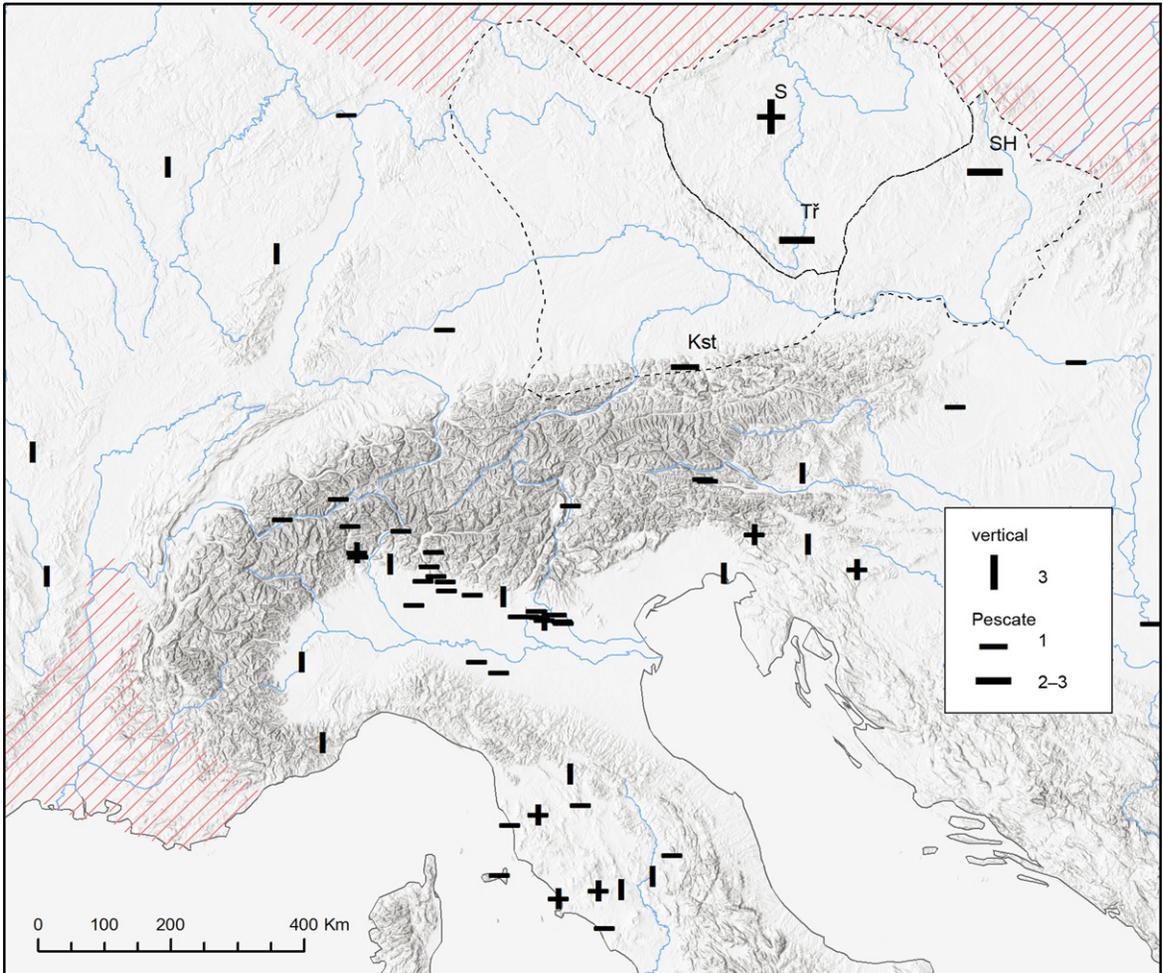
one detached bowl was found at the bottom of the Rhine in Mainz (SUEUR 2018, 176).<sup>76</sup> Two finds are attested in southern Germany (a detached bowl in the Kappel hoard: WIELAND 1996, 209, Taf. 7: 1; one shaft fragment at the Karlstein [Kst3]), and one damaged but complete piece comes from the northern periphery of the La Tène Culture, from a LT D1 cremation grave in Seebergen, Lkr. Gotha in Thüringen (HUCK 1999, 277–278, Abb. 3).



**Fig. 38: Simpula. A - type Pescate (after POPOVIĆ 1992) and fragments discovered in Central Europe. B - vertical type (after GIRARD 2010) and fragments discovered in Central Europe. A and B not to scale.**

<sup>76</sup> A find from Villeneuve-St.-Germain was originally published by Debord (1998, fig. 1: 8) as a pan hook and reinterpreted by Sueur (2018, 176) as probably a Pescate type simpulum hook. I favour the original interpretation in view of the stylisation of the head which is characteristic of pans.

In the eastern part of the La Tène world, Pescate type *simpula* are quite abundant from the East Alpine regions (Gurina: JABLONKA 2001, 167, Taf. 121: 21; Idria pri Bači: GUŠTIN 1991, 66–67), through the Carpathian Basin (15 pieces, eight of them from the Karaburma cemetery alone are listed by POPOVIĆ 1992, 64–66; cf. TODOROVIĆ 1972) up to the territory of present day Romania (RUSTOIU 2005).



**Fig. 39: Distribution of *simpula* in northern Italy and Transalpine Europe. The finds outside the working area are not quantified.**

In the immediate vicinity of Bohemia there are three handle fragments from Staré Hradisko: two flat bars [SH14, SH15] and a very accurately modelled and engraved canine head from a finial hook [SH16].<sup>77</sup> In Bohemia itself, horizontal *simpula* are represented by a handle fragment [Tř18] and a tiny broken-off canine head [Tř19] from Třisov and one hook with a finely

<sup>77</sup> The head by itself cannot be unequivocally ascribed to one *simpulum* type or another. The Pescate type seems the more likely candidate in view of the shape of the shaft which, though bending axially, has a simple circular section and mainly in view of the distribution of both types in central Europe (cf. below).

sculpted duck head from Stradonice [So62].<sup>78</sup> The piece referred to by Werner (1954, E:20, Abb. 4: 8) as Pescate type (here [So64]) belongs in reality to a vertical *simpulum* (see below).

**Vertical *simpula*** (Feugère in CASTOLDI – FEUGÈRE 1991; SUEUR 2018, 174–184) develop from earlier Etruscan ladles (e.g. JURGEIT 1999, 439–447, Nr. 743–747, 750–753) in comparison with which their bowls grew deeper and the hook (previously at right angles) bent towards the handle with which the animal head on it is parallel. This makes them easy to distinguish from Aylesford pans.

Ladles of this form are attested both in bronze and silver<sup>79</sup> with a chronology spanning from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC to the Augustan period.<sup>80</sup>

Vertical *simpula* are relatively widespread in the Mediterranean world and in specific parts of its neighbouring territories: in Italy they concentrate in its northern part (they are reportedly very numerous in the region of Aquileia; BOLLA 1996) mirrored in the East Alpine region (an overview of Slovenian finds: GUŠTIN 1991, 16, 71, Abb. 14: 11; supplemented by new finds from Ljubljana: GASPARI 2014, 99–100, 106, fig. 103b, 110, and one broken off head from the Magdalensberg: DEIMEL 1987, Taf. 17: 5). In Gaul they are relatively numerous in the south (GIRARD 2010, 333–335 lists 72 fragments translating to 46 MNI), but further north they appear only singly in sites of a special status (BARBAU 2019, nos 193–212;<sup>81</sup> SUEUR 2018, 177, fig. 127): Gondole, Bibracte (5 fragments), Fossé des Pandours (2 fragments), Titelberg (3 fragments). No vertical *simpula* or their fragments are known to me from southern Germany or elsewhere in the Middle Danube area.

In surprising contrast to this dearth of finds in the whole of Central Europe, there are as many as three fragments of these in Stradonice: one almost complete handle with a canine head on the hook [So64], one bowl [So63], and one hook terminal in the shape of a duck head [So65].

No other *simpula* types (e.g. types 5 and 6 with a strainer attached to the handle) have been documented in Central Europe. After all, these are as a rule characteristic of the last few decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

### Strainers

The elements of what is conventionally called bronze strainers (GUILLAUMET 1991) are the most common bronze vessel type in Transalpine Europe. As traditionally reconstructed (by Reinecke and Déchelette and passing through Břeň, Christlein, and Guillaumet), the bowl itself

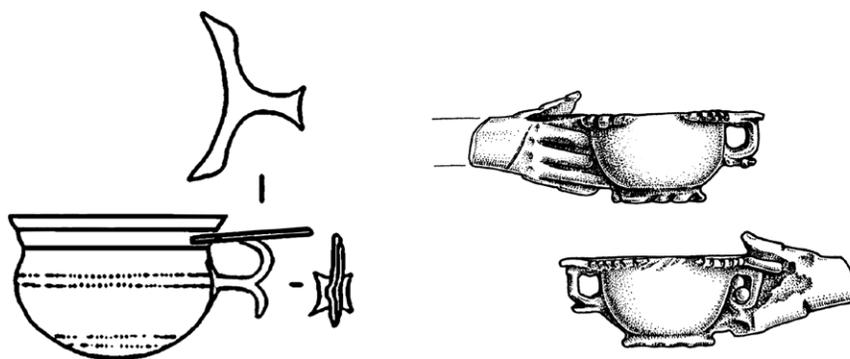
78 The duck head in this piece is unusually large corresponding in its size and shape with a piece from Pompeii (today kept in Berlin) and dated by a stamp F HEL CAT to the Augustan period (Castoldi in CASTOLDI – FEUGÈRE 1991, 66–67, fig. 5, n° 7 with further bibliography; PETROVSZKY 1993, 27, 154, Tf. 17: H.02.01). This of course does not mean that we should consider an Augustan date for the Stradonice piece as well (it has no stamp).

79 Silver examples – Arcisate (now in the British Museum: PIANA AGOSTINETTI – PRIULI 1985); Boscoreale (now in Antiquario Comunale, Rome: TALAMO 1993; GUZZO ed. 2006, 165, n° 216), Tivoli (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: OLIVER 1981, fig. 2 in p. 59); Palmi (Guzzo 1977–1979); Menghíbar (RADDATZ 1969, 94–95, 227, Taf. 24).

80 The statement by Eduard Droberjar (2006, 14) that vertical *simpula* are the latest imported objects datable to the Augustan period is imprecise. This date concerns only some varieties not attested in Central Europe (CASTOLDI – FEUGÈRE 1991) while for those present in Late Iron Age contexts, the Augustan period is only the latest phase of their existence, when probably they were no longer in production.

81 Finds from Feurs and Paule, listed by Clémentine Barbau as *simpula* hooks should in my opinion be classed rather as terminals of a bucket handle and of a pan respectively.

was hemispherical (diameter 7–13 cm) with perforations in geometric or vegetal patterns while the grip is composed of two characteristic parts: a two-arch handle with its ox-hide shaped attachment plate and a Y-shaped thumb piece with two stylized ornithomorph protomes on the front and a swallow-tail shape on the back (**Fig. 40**). The thumb piece was soldered on to the vessel rim above the handle and both elements may also have been joined together as hinted by traces of solder often observed on the downside of the thumb pieces. This configuration, providing a more secure grip and easier handling of the vessel in all directions, is derived from Hellenistic *skyphoi* (**Fig. 40** right; cf. silver pieces SEGALL 1938, 51–52, Taf. 15: 39; PIANA AGOSTINETTI – PRIULI 1985, 187–191, fig. 2; BARATTE 1989; COLIVICCHI 2002, 286–287, fig. 46.5; pottery: MOREL 1981, espèces 3150–3170, 3310–3330) on which the first reconstruction of these handles by Reinecke (1911) was based.



**Fig. 40: Bronze strainer reconstruction. GUILLAUMET 1991, fig. 1: 1, modified after UROZ RODRÍGUEZ 2015, fig. 12. Skyphos held in a hand - fragment of a statuette from Nauportus (after HORVAT 1990).**

Metzler (*et al.* 2016, 242) and Sueur (2018, 130–132) recently pointed out that all three components are never present in any of the (rare) complete pieces: the bowl carries either the handle (Wallendorf, Valeggio sul Mincio, Orbetello) or the thumb piece (Nogara: BOLLA – CASTOLDI 2016, 150; Floheim: GUILLAUMET 1991; Arcisate: PIANA AGOSTINETTI – PRIULI 1985, 192–193, fig. 3: 1) and in none of these cases does the missing piece seem to have ever been present). Already Giulio Ciampoltrni (1994) suggested that a part of the strainers (in his opinion from the later phase of production) lacked the thumb pieces whose function was fulfilled by their large horizontal rim such as those in the strainers from Orbetello (only a single detached thumb piece was preserved along with nine strainers) (CIAMPOLTRINI 1994) and from Idria pri Bači (GUŠTIN 1991, Taf. 20: 5). Metzler went so far as to claim that the two-piece grip was *never* actually used, that the bevelled face of the thumb-piece branches exclude its soldering to the universally vertical profiles of the preserved strainers and that the prevalence of thumb pieces over the handles suggests that they were actually used independently, the thumb pieces even not necessarily on strainers.

This radical statement can be disproven by at least one actual find of a strainer in which all the components are preserved<sup>82</sup> in Libisosa in southern Spain (UROZ RODRÍGUEZ 2015, 186–187, fig. 12, n° 9). As to the much higher number of thumb pieces than handles, it is worth realising that the attachment area of the handles (a square plate) is much more solid than that of thumb pieces (a 1–2 mm thin horizontal line under constant strain) and the thumb pieces are therefore

<sup>82</sup> The bevelled face of the thumb piece sits very comfortably on its diagonally inclined rim.

much more likely to break off. The essence of Metzler's argument is nevertheless fully valid and it is entirely possible that some strainers may have been made with only one of the elements.

As to Metzler's idea that these elements need not necessarily come from strainers, I find it quite reasonable, having already argued in the same vein (KYSÉLA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 582). It is true that none is documented attached to the body other than one that is perforated; the number of these elements found in any functional connection is however very small (half a dozen pieces). In Mediterranean metal ware and pottery, the same arrangement is documented also in drinking cups (*skyphoi*, *kantharoi*) and it is truly remarkable that not a single category of drinking vessels (perhaps with the exception of Istria type mugs) is documented among the metal vessels imported to Transalpine areas. The wide distribution of thumb pieces and handles in Transalpine Europe would make this option ever more suggestive. Throughout this text I refer to these vessels systematically with their conventional label 'strainers'; I think however that, although there is no proof of this, ascribing some of the 'strainer' elements to drinking cups is not an improbable hypothesis. After all, Reinecke (1911) as the first scholar to link both parts together, considered them as parts of cups (*kantharoi*) rather than strainers (cf. also BŘEŇ 1966, 107–109, obr. 27). The interpretation as a strainer was later put forward by Christlein (1963–1964) and the topic was developed in particular by Guillaumet (1977; 1991).

The large formal variability, low production quality and alleged presence of half-finished examples at Bibracte as well as the (then) seeming absence of finds in the Mediterranean and quick disappearance after the Roman conquest of Gaul led Guillaumet (1977, 245) to postulate a local Transalpine production if not origin for these artefacts. This radical statement was later moderated (GUILLAUMET 1991, 93); the idea of Transalpine production of these pieces however lingers on (POUX 2004, 244; KARWOWSKI 2017, 266–267). The seeming absence of these vessels in the Mediterranean can be accounted for. First, this absence is more apparent than real: the strainers or their parts are very numerous in Spain (CHRISTLEIN 1963–1964; ULBERT 1984, 87–89; FABIÃO 1999, 179–183; MANSEL 2004, 25; ERICE LACABE 2007, 199–200; UROZ RODRÍGUEZ 2015, 186–188). In Italy, the artefacts were not unknown in the first place (eight finds listed by GUILLAUMET 1991<sup>83</sup>) and more finds have appeared (or were previously overlooked) both in north Italian Celtic tombs (three pieces from the Veronese alone: BOLLA – CASTOLDI 2016, 150), but more importantly also in peninsular Italy (nine vessels or their fragments from a wreck probably off-shore from Orbetello (CIAMPOLTRINI 1994); a handle at Blanda, Calabria (LA TORRE – MOLLO 2006, 412, tav. CXIX: 15); a minuscule silver thumb piece (possibly from a cup rather than a strainer) in Ancona-Colle Gardetto, t. 1885/II (COLIVICCHI 2002, 252, n° 38.2); an angular thumb piece from an Imperial context in Macerata (SORDA 1971, 407, fig. 13: 1); and especially, one silver strainer is preserved in the Arcisate treasure (PIANA AGOSTINETTI – PRIULI 1985) and two complete cups of silver in the Palmi treasure (GUZZO 1977–1979). More importantly, our distribution maps may be largely skewed by various circumstances. The rarity of finds in north Italian graves may be due to ritual reasons dictating which vessels should be buried with the dead (among which the strainer need not have been a preferred object).<sup>84</sup> Moreover, research into Republican metal vessels is centred in northern Italy (M. Bolla, M. Castoldi, R. C. De Marinis). In the regions south of the Po where bronze vessels did

83 Apart from finds from La Tène or other peripheral contexts (Valeggio sul Mincio, Ornavasso; Castelvenere near Trieste), these included also finds from purely Roman sites: such as the Latin colony of Luni (MERCANDO 1971, 407, fig. 13; FROVA 1973, tav. 135: 5CM2700), Herculaneum, the port of Mondragone in Campania, and Rome itself (all unpublished, quoted by GUILLAUMET 1991).

84 This is after all the case in Gaul as well where strainers are almost systematically present in settlements rather than in tombs (BARBAU 2015, 569–577, ill. 372–373; SUEUR 2018, 128).

not form part of burial assemblages, the researchers may therefore be less likely to recognize their fragments in settlement excavations (e.g. the Blanda handle mentioned above was not identified for what it is in the publication). Last, but not least, as with all kinds of Republican small finds we must not forget how fragmentary our knowledge of pre-Augustan settlements is and how notoriously rare metal finds are in them.

For all these reasons I prefer considering the strainers as mainly Mediterranean products. This does not mean that none of them could have been produced in Transalpine Europe. We are however not able to tell apart the local products from the imported ones; their function has in any case strong Mediterranean connotations, and to recognize their ‘mediterraneity’ seems more correct than refuting it.

The strainers’ chronology extends, as with most bronze vessels, over the entire LT D period down to the Augustan age (for which cf. FINGERLIN 1986, 78, Taf. 207: 2; DESCHLER-ERB ed. 1996, 32, note 161). Sedlmayer (1999, 88) even mentions some pieces from full 1<sup>st</sup> and even 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD contexts. Represented by dozens of examples, the thumb pieces feature a considerable variety of form. Three proposals for their classification have appeared recently independently from each other, all agreeing in the basic trend of development and differing only in details (Fig. 41). Božič<sup>85</sup> recognised a tendency from earlier (LT D1) slender sinuous forms towards later (LT D2b–early Imperial) massive and angular ones. Metzler (*et al.* 2016, 238–242) distinguished two types within Božič’s later form (2: massive but still sinuous, 3: massive and rigid), dating them both to the Augustan period. Also, according to Sueur (2018, 137, 145–146) the development went from the most common type I with its elegant curved shapes, to types II (partially contemporary with the former) and III progressively simplifying it to various degrees of rectilinear schematisation. He further defined a type IV with extremely

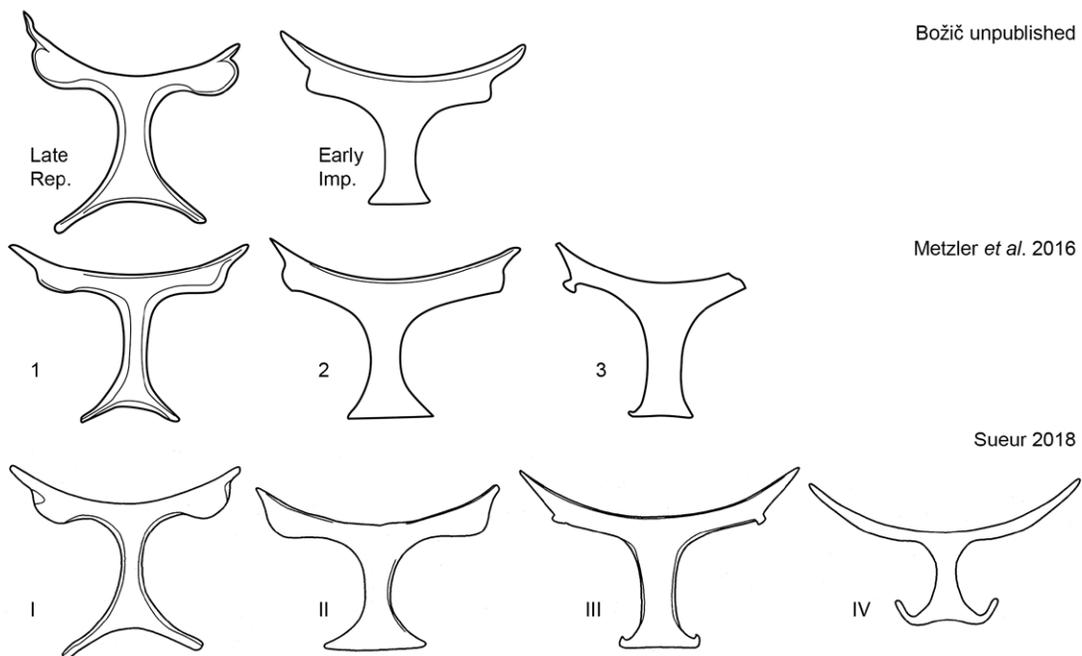


Fig. 41: Strainer thumb pieces. Typology after Božič, Metzler, and Sueur.

85 Lecture in the 2014 conference on the La Tène period in Central Europe in Oberleis-Klement. Cf. also [http://iza.zrc-sazu.si/En/Raz\\_Lt.html#d8](http://iza.zrc-sazu.si/En/Raz_Lt.html#d8).

fine branches still preserving the curves of the first type, in which the bird heads on the frontal element become (almost) completely indistinct. The situation in Central Europe (with La Tène occupation mostly earlier than LT D2a) does not contradict this scheme. Thumb pieces of Sueur's types II/III are absent here; somewhat angular items even closer to type I are documented at Manching [Mo42], as well as at Stradonice [So93, S100, S101] where the presence of LT D2 artefacts is not fully excluded, and in Bratislava [Bao2] where it is expected. Thumb pieces of type IV are evenly represented in small numbers: Manching [Mo41], Stradonice [S102, S103], Třísov [Tř26], Staré Hradisko [SH27]. It is worth pointing out that while Early Imperial chronology of e.g. Metzler's type II is quite probable, an angular shape by itself need not be a chronologically decisive element: for example angular thumb pieces with straight squared of tail parts were present in two silver skyphoi discovered in 1930 in Pradela de Guiães, prov. Tras-os-Montes, Portugal and containing a hoard of 237 Roman Republican coins, the latest of which was minted in 64 BC (RADDATZ 1969, 281, Abb. 35).

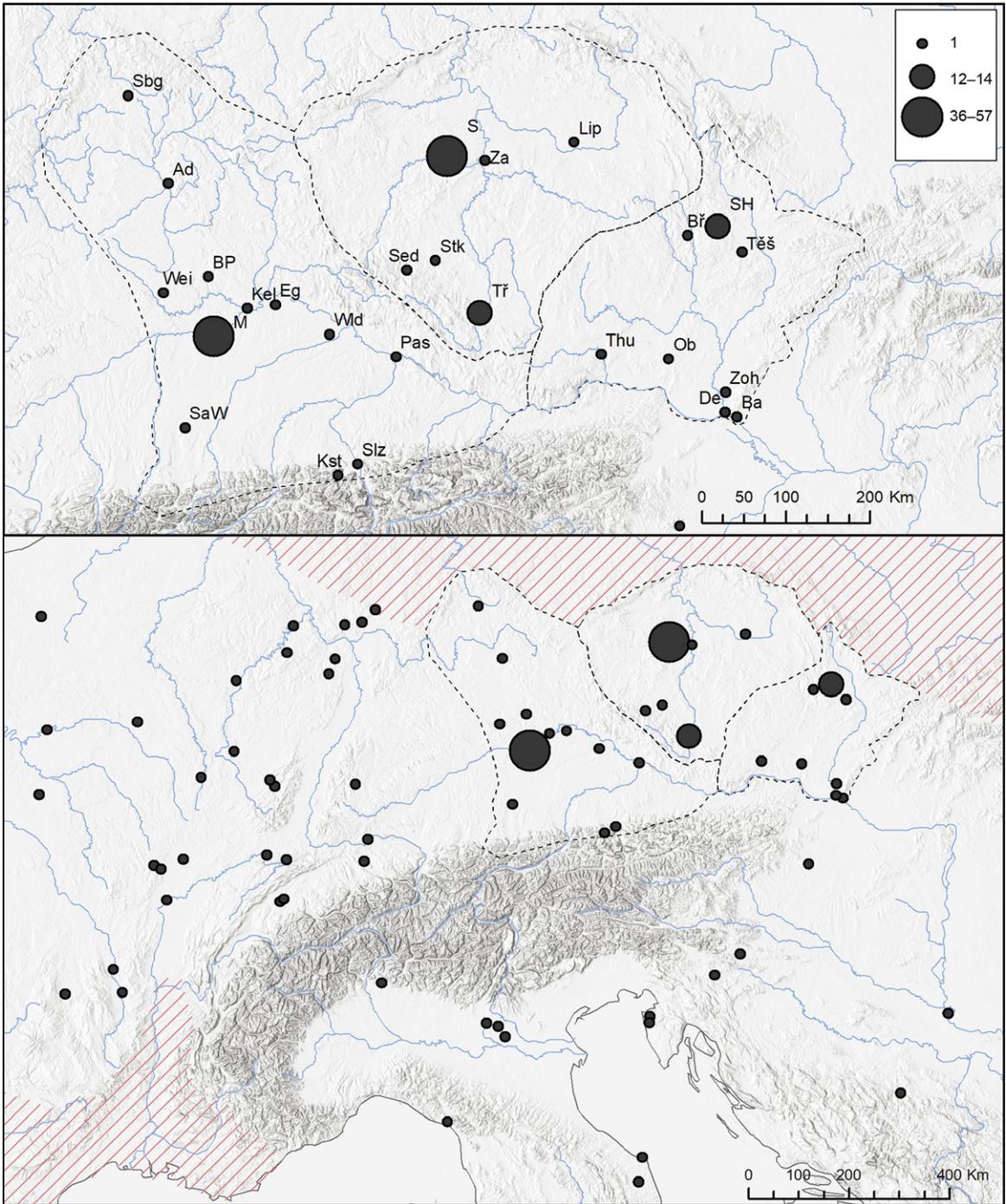
The strainers probably served for filtering wine from ingredients or impurities (pitch conserving the wine and permeating the amphora body, or herbs added to it intentionally before consumption).<sup>86</sup>

The diffusion of strainers in Transalpine Europe largely exceeds that of the amphorae (both were believed to overlap by CHRISTLEIN 1963–1964, 18–19, Abb. 3) and the strainer could thus theoretically be taken as alternative indicators of the wine trade (in areas where wine was transported in other containers?). In reality, it seems quite probable that in the areas where amphorae are missing the strainers were used for filtering less noble (though no less intoxicating) beverages (cf. also POUX 2004, 244).

Strainers are the most widespread metal vessels in the La Tène world (**Fig. 42**). After all, among the six artefacts with which Déchelette (1914, fig. 404) demonstrated the unity of the oppida period material culture, there are two strainer components. They are represented throughout inland Gaul (BARBAU 2019, 31, 170–171; SUEUR 2018, 148–162) as well as in the Carpathian Basin and the Balkans (RUSTOIU 2005, 68–68, fig. 8). In Central Europe they are present both in the east and west. 'Along the Amber route' (**Fig. 43**): Celje, the Magdalensberg (SEDLMAYER 1999, 87), Velem, Bratislava (thumb piece [Bao2]), Devín (handle [Deo1]), Zohor (thumb piece [Zoh1]), the Oberleiserberg (handle [Obo3]), the lowland settlement of Thunau am Kamp (handle [Thu2]), Staré Hradisko (14 fragments – body fragments [SH27, SH28]; thumb pieces [SH17–SH24b], handles [SH25, SH26]), Bořitov (thumb piece [Břo1], body fragment [Břo2]?). In the west (**Figs. 44 and 45**) there is a significant concentration in the area of the Rhine–Main confluence, as well as in WnCE along the course of the Danube in Manching with 36 finds [Mo30–Mo63, Mo70, Mo71], Kelheim (thumb piece [Kel3]), Wallersdorf (body fragment [Wld1]), Eggfing (thumb piece fragment [Ego1]), and Passau (thumb piece [Pas1]); in southern Bavaria and the Alpine foothills in Steinebach am Wörthsee (thumb piece [SaW1]), the Karlstein (a thumb piece and a handle [Kst3, Kst4]); Salzburg (thumb piece [Slz1]); Bruck–Fischhorn (thumb piece [BrF1]); and in northern Bavaria in Altendorf [Ado1, Ado2] and Weißenburg [Wei1].

This large presence is mirrored also in Bohemia where there are 39 thumb pieces [So66a–S103], 15 handles [S104–S113, S120–124], and three body fragments [S114–S116] from Stradonice itself, eight or nine thumb pieces [Tř 23–Tř30, questionable Třx1] and three handles [Tř20–

86 Margherita Bolla (1996, 189) observed complementarity between the distribution areas of simpula on the one hand (northern Italy) and strainers on the other (Gaul and Central Europe), interpreting them as areas of consumption of aromatised and pure wine respectively. But would not the consumers still need a ladle or another instrument in order to transfer the wine into the strainer?



**Fig. 42: Distribution of strainers in Central Europe (above) and Italy and Transalpine Europe (below). Finds outside of the working area are not quantified.**

Tř22] from Třísov, one thumb piece and one handle from Závist [Záo5, Záo6]. Besides these well-known oppida, there is also one thumb piece from the hillfort of Sedlo u Albrechtic [Sed1], another one from a settlement pit in the lowland settlement of Strakonice in southern Bohemia [Stk] and a handle from an open settlement in Lipeč<sup>87</sup> in the Elbe lowlands [Lip1].

87 I am grateful to Zdeněk Beneš (ÚAPPŠČ) for information about this unpublished find.

This unusually rich list features many previously unheard-of places both in Bohemia and outside it. It is obvious that finds of strainers concern not only more sites than other types of imported metalwork but are also most likely to appear in very different and much more varied settlement categories than only oppida, including hill-top sites or simple lowland settlements.

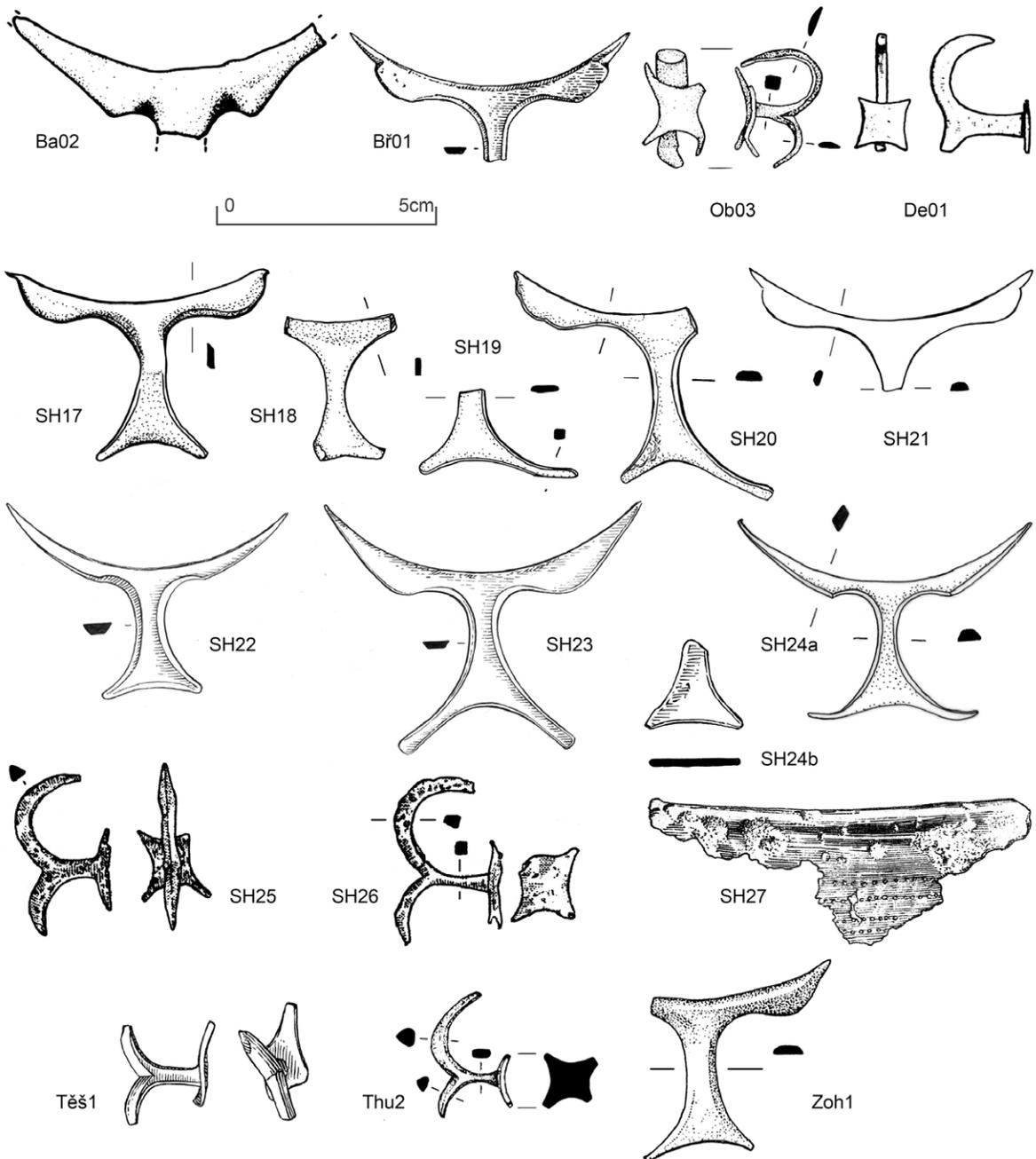


Fig. 43: Strainer fragments discovered in EnCE.

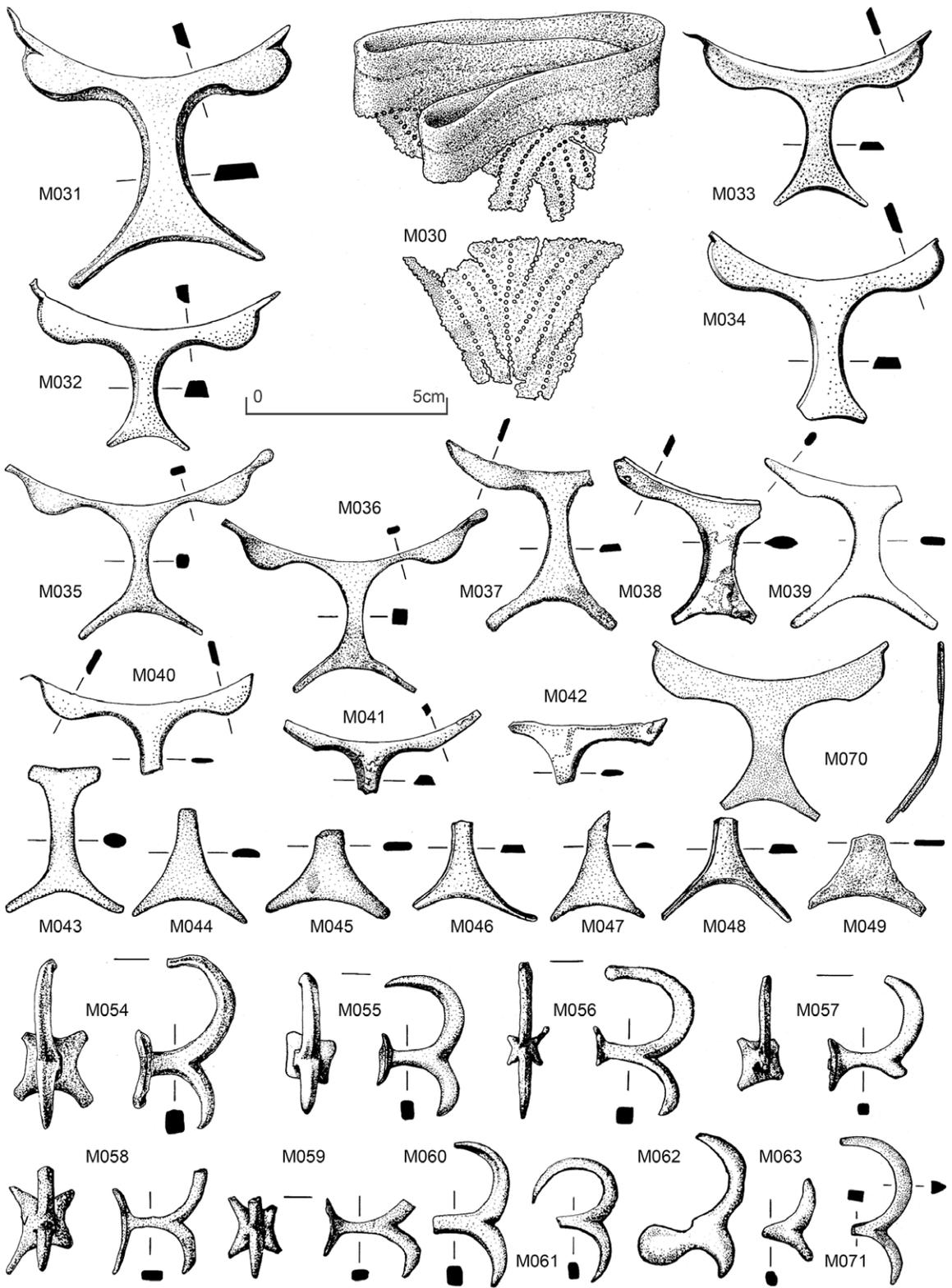


Fig. 44: Strainer fragments discovered in Manching.

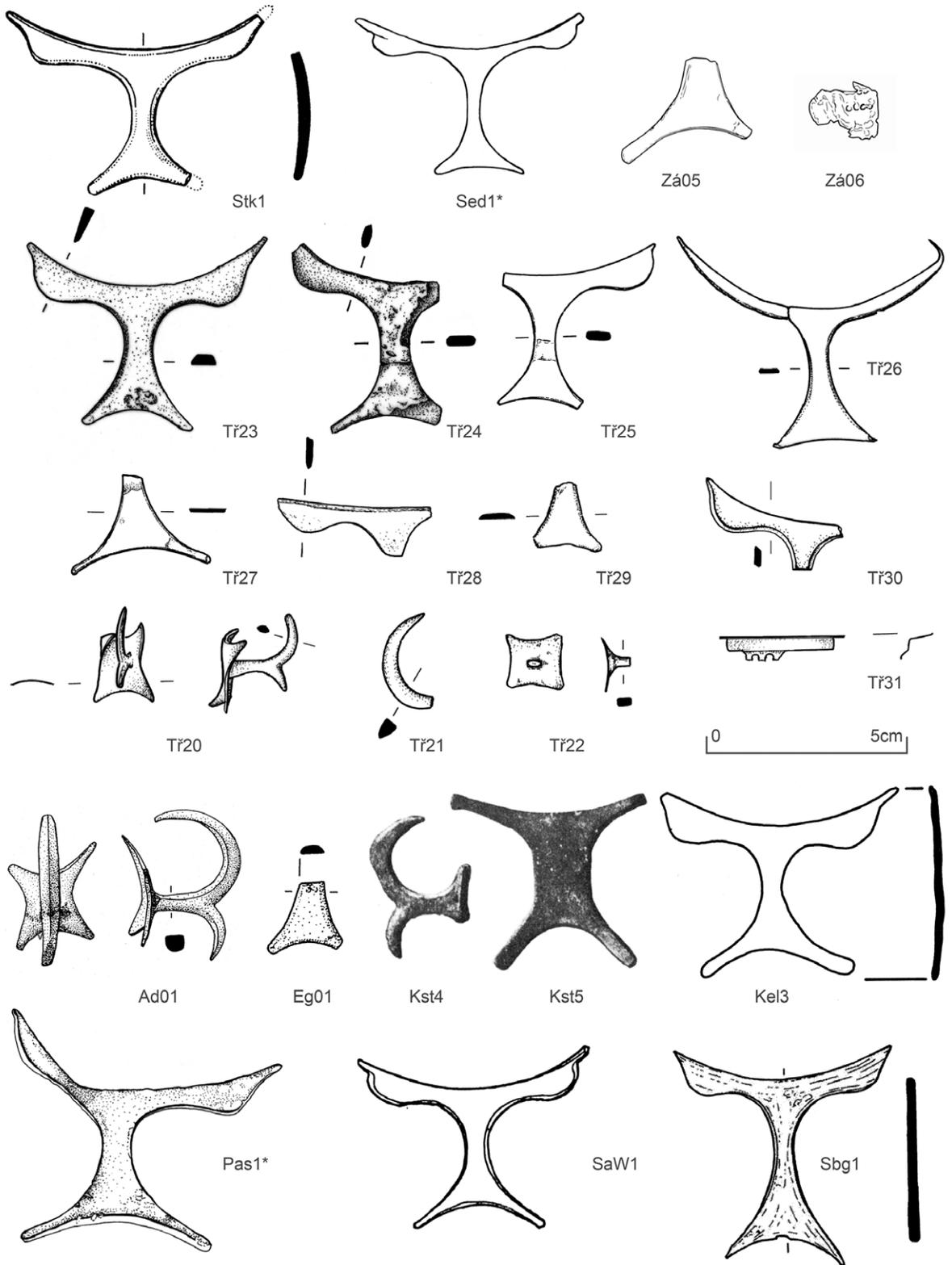


Fig. 45: Strainer fragments discovered in Bohemia and WnCE.

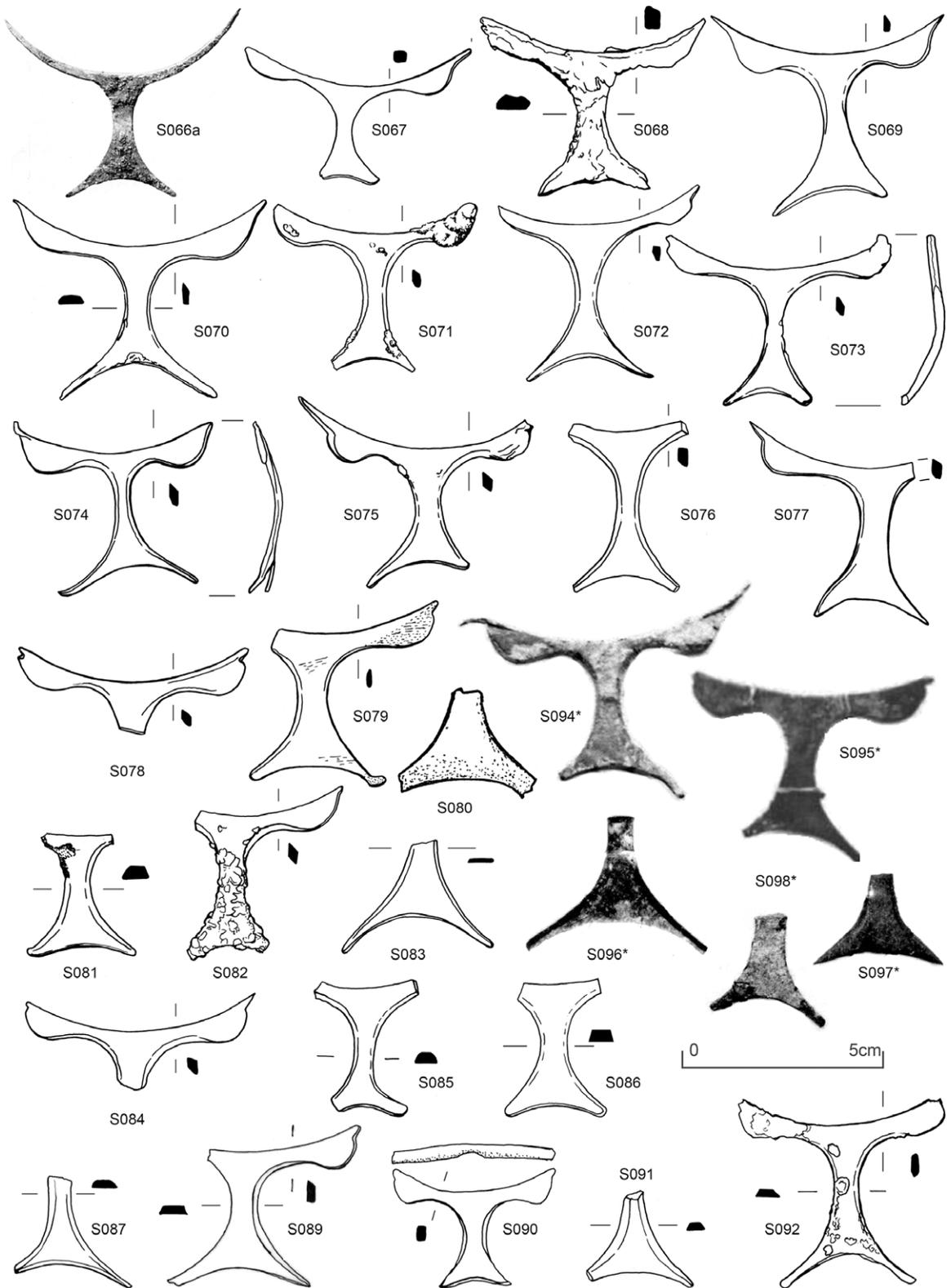


Fig. 46: Strainer fragments discovered in Stradonice. \* = not to scale.

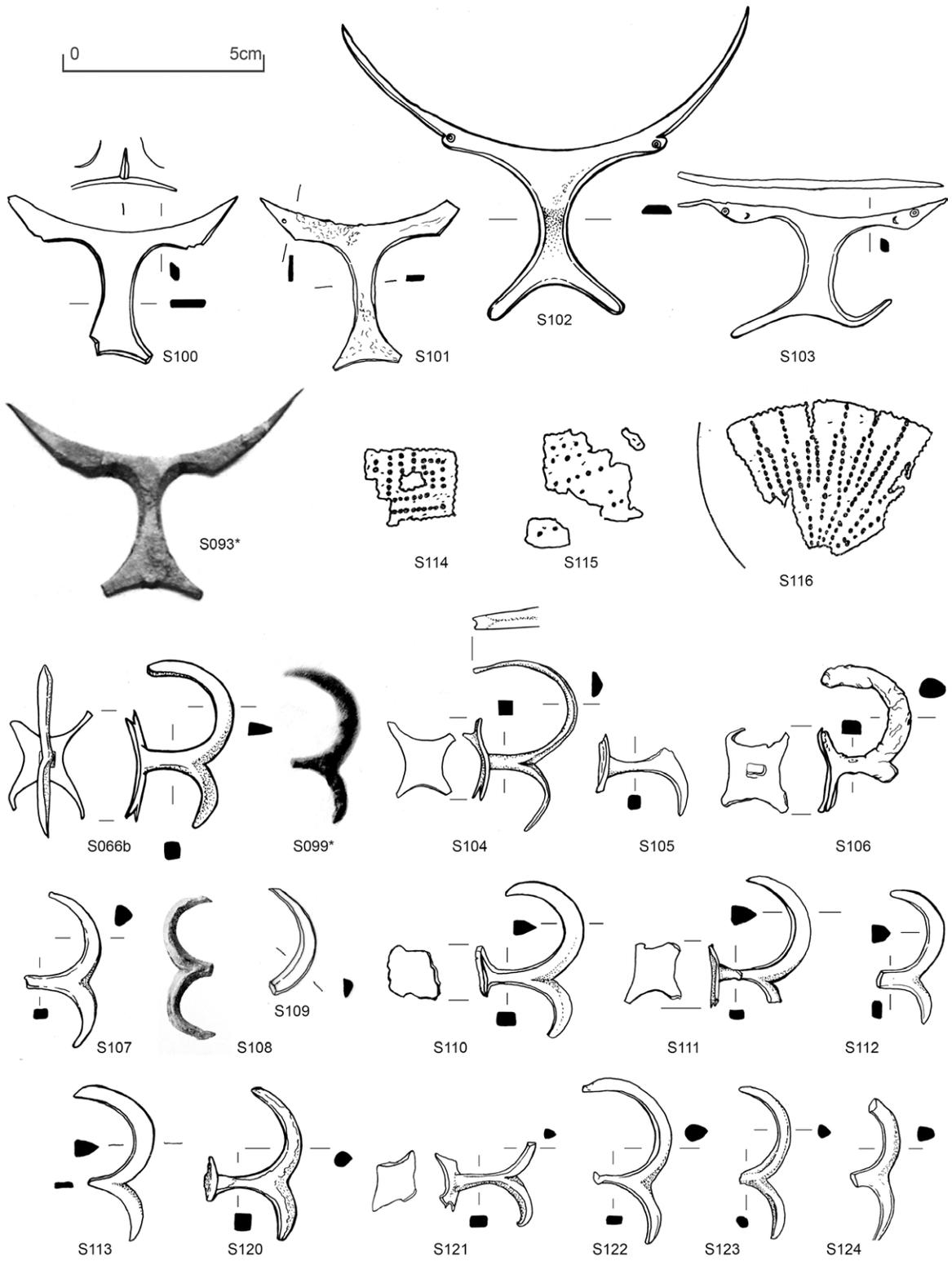


Fig. 47: Strainer fragments discovered in Stradonice. \* = not to scale.

### Mugs

The Idria type mugs are small cylindrical vessels with a concave profile and a single handle similar in shape to those of Gallarate type jugs including the heart-shaped attachment. On the handle-branch intersection there is a characteristic spool-shaped thumb rest (ULBERT 1960; 1984; FEUGÈRE 1991a; FABIÃO 1999; ERICE LACABE 2007, 203). The vessel's function in the Mediterranean world has not been agreed on: Michel Feugère (1991a), on the grounds of their tomb associations, ruled out the most obvious interpretation as drinking vessels; his suggestion that they served hygienic purposes is however not fully convincing. Margherita Bolla (1991b) considered them as part of a wine service. Their resemblance to Etruscan Late Archaic to Late Classical/Early Hellenistic *kyathoi* is obvious (e.g. ESPOSITO 2007, 55-77; JURGEIT 1999, Nr. 693-727). Even if they were not produced to be used for drinking, they could arguably be used for this purpose in barbarian regions like Central Europe.

The chronology of these vessels seems to have been very broad. Their find spots include the LT C2 hoard of Bern Tiefenau (MÜLLER 1990, cit. *apud* BARBAU 2019, 180), LT D1(a) Celtic graves in northern Italy (BOLLA - CASTOLDI 2016), the Sertorean War military camp of Cacères el Viejo (ULBER 1984) and a piece in Delos providing *termini ante quem* of 80 and 69 BC respectively, as well as the hoard of Moldes (FABIÃO 1999) and the military camp of Dangstetten (FINGERLIN 1986, 271), both of the Augustan period. Feugère (1991a) argued that the example from the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC must be residual, but it does not seem to be at all the case of the finds from the Titelberg (METZLER *et al.* 2016, 234-235) nor does it explain the continuity of and transformation of the shape down to the Imperial period as variants of these vessels with a different handle shape are still present in Pompeii in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (FEUGÈRE 1991a, 58).

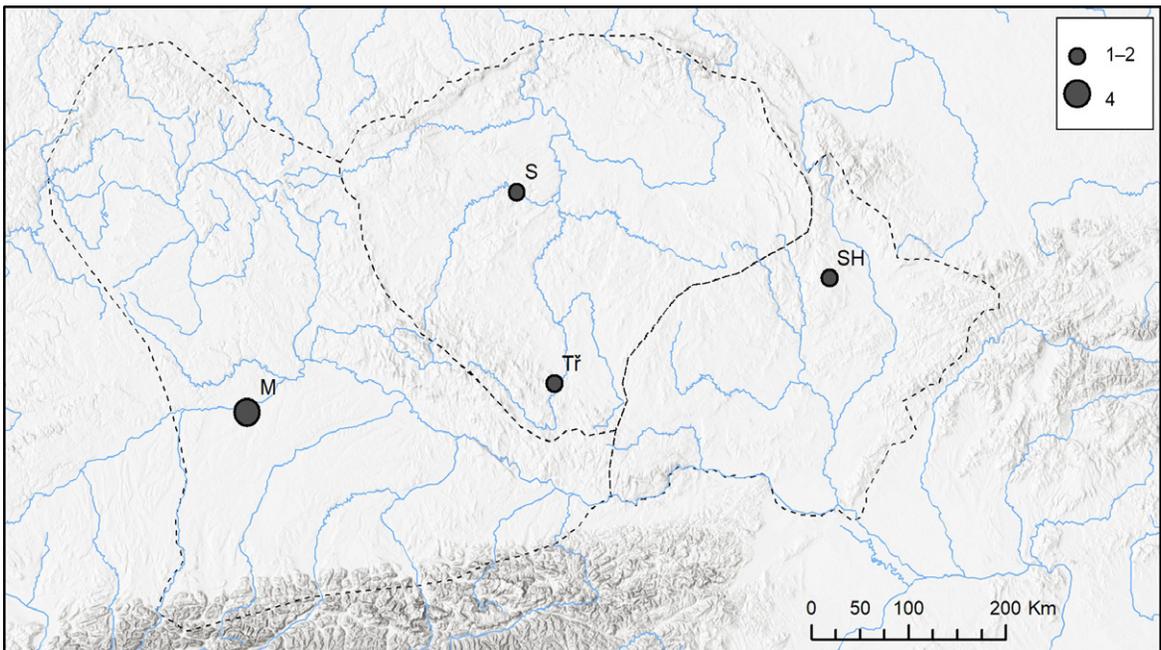


Fig. 48: Distribution of mugs in Italy and Transalpine Europe.

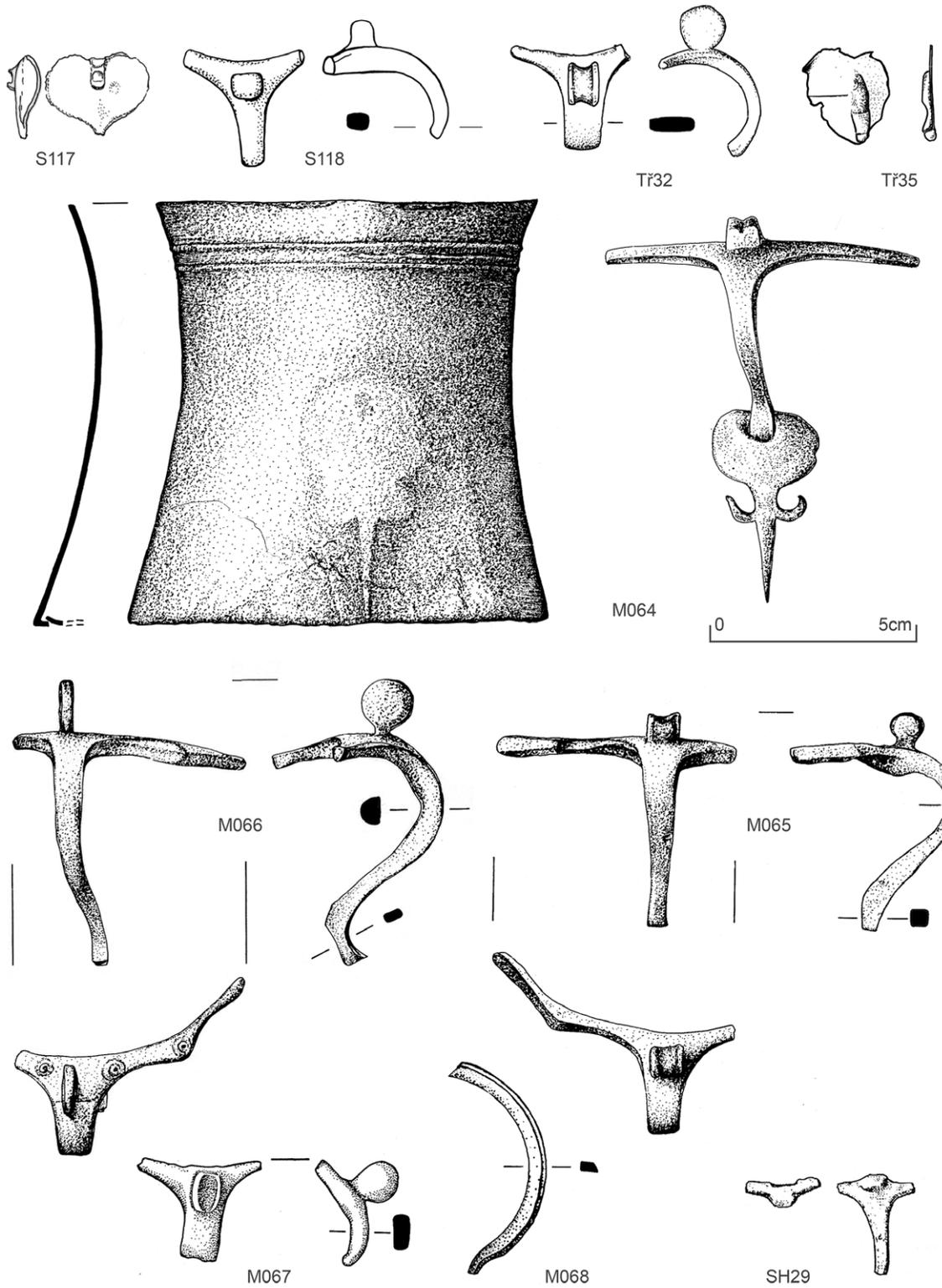


Fig. 49: Mug fragments discovered in Central Europe.

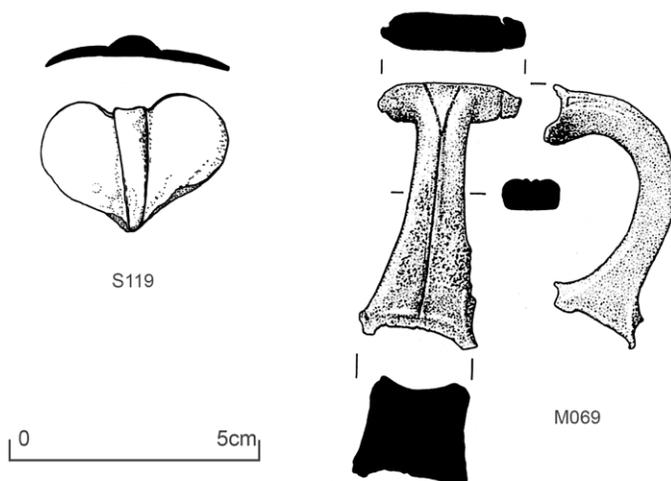
Apart from the usual north Italian graves (e.g. eight pieces mentioned in the Veronese by BOLLA – CASTOLDI 2016, 150–151), Idria mugs are present also in settlements and graves in Etruria (e.g. CRISTOFANI 1975, 26, fig. 19, n° 67); as many as nine pieces were recovered from a wreck in the estuary of Cecina (GENOVESI *et al.* 2013, 82–83 with references to other finds from Etruria); they are numerous in Spain (ERICE LACABE 2007, 203; MANSEL 2004, 23; UROZ RODRÍGUEZ, 2015194–197) and Portugal (FABIÃO 1999) and present also in the already mentioned Delos. Finds come also from the Eastern Alps (the eponymous Idria pri Bači cemetery to begin with, as well as the Magdalensberg) and from Gaul though most finds seem to concentrate there in the south – Barbau (2019, 180) lists four examples of mugs from inland Gaul.

In Central Europe (**Fig. 49**), there is one entire vessel [Mo64] and three or four handle fragments [Mo65–Mo67, Mo68?] from Manching and another one – extremely fragmentary – from Liptovská Mara, outside our working area (PIETA 1996; 2008/2010, obr. 119: 13). In Moravia there is one handle fragment from Staré Hradisko [SH29]; finally, in Bohemia one attachment and one handle from Stradonice [S117, S118] and one handle from Třisov [Tř32] can be mentioned.

### Amphorae

A cordiform attachment with a central rib from Stradonice [S119] originates from an amphora rather than a jug or a situla (**Fig. 50**). Such closed vessels with two symmetrical handles (FEUGÈRE 1991b) had previously been known only from the Mediterranean, apart from Italy (the list by FEUGÈRE 1991b can be supplemented by at least three examples from a wreck off-shore of northern Etruria: GENOVESI *et al.* 2013, 83, fig. 12–15, and three from the Veronese: BOLLA – CASTOLDI 2016, 143, 151, fig. 23a, tav. 4: XVIII/3); there is one in a burial in Agde in southern France (discussed by FEUGÈRE 1991b) and a small series of finds from Spain and Portugal (ERICE LACABE 2007, 197–198; UROZ RODRÍGUEZ 2015, 178–180, fig. 7; and a questionable example from Cabeça de Vaimonte: FABIÃO 1999, 185).

The only other possible bronze amphora fragment from Central Europe is a recent find from Manching [Mo69].<sup>88</sup> The handle rightfully caused some perplexity: though doubtlessly coming from an oppidum period sealed context, and being a Mediterranean bronze vessel



**Fig. 50: Bronze amphorae, fragments discovered in Central Europe.**

<sup>88</sup> Also some handles interpreted here as those of jugs could in reality originate from amphorae, e.g. Mo15.

component, its only parallels can be found in the later 1<sup>st</sup> century AD Pompei (SIEVERS 2013, 228). We may explain this by the rarity of bronze amphorae in Republican Italy – with few published pieces, much can still be unknown to us.<sup>89</sup>

### Basins

A very rare vessel form is the basin with two handles with wine-leaf attachments, type Eggers 94 (BOLLA 1991C; SEDLMAYER 1999, 57; BOLLA – CASTOLDI 2016, 134). These artefacts, dated at latest to the second quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (though probably earlier), seem to concentrate in the southwestern Alpine piedmont; two were present in the Rhône-Saône valley, and one handle was discovered at the Karlstein in Bavaria [Kst6] (**Fig. 51**). Their rarity and exquisite workmanship suggest their foreign provenance even in northern Italy, with the eastern Mediterranean as the possible area of origin.

Basins Eggers 91/92 are known from Gaul (the Titelberg, Rouen, Nijmegen, and the camps of Dangstetten and Haltern: SUEUR 2018, 109, fig. 74), from the Magdalensberg (DEIMEL 1987, 38, Taf. 20: 3–5; SEDLMAYER 1999, 58–59), and from Dacia (RUSTOIU 2005, 79–81). Three fragments were discovered in Bratislava [Ba03<sup>90</sup>, Ba05a, Ba05b] and one in Devín [Deo2] (**Fig. 51**). Dating from the early Augustan period on, these vessels actually exceed our timeframe (for their importance in the Early Roman Iron Age cf. WERNER 1954; KARASOVÁ 2004, 24–26). In Bratislava they obviously mark the site's latest phase. It is worth noting that their find contexts are either not described in detail ([Ba05a, Ba05b]) or are stratigraphically unclear ([Ba03]) and it is therefore not sure if they are to be connected with the oppidum period or with the subsequent occupation of the area.

### Basin foot?

A unique object from Staré Hradisko is kept in the Boskovice collection [SH30]. It is a slightly arched sheet (rounded at one end, pointed at the other) with a disc perpendicular to its convex face (**Fig. 51**). Identical objects (without any information about their provenance) are kept in Museo Guarnacci in Volterra. The elementary structure of the object recalls strongly the feet attached (in their case by means of an ox-hide shaped plate) in threes on the bottoms of basins of Tassinari type S1100, attested by a number of examples in Pompeii (TASSINARI 1993, 93, nos 3483, 7274, 18736, 8184, 1958, 41435). Dragan Božič (2002, 419–421) drew attention to the fact that in the territories of present day Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, and Romania the feet of the S1100 basins appear with regularity as early as LT D1 (cf. also DIZDAR – TONC 2014, 589–590). On the other hand, Rusotiu (2005, 80–81, fig. 24) argued that none of the contexts quoted by Božič provides sure dates earlier than the last third of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, which would be of course in conflict with the chronology of Staré Hradisko.

The Staré Hradisko (and Volterra) pieces differ from all the Tassinari S1100 feet known to me in that the attachment plate lacks the characteristic ox-hide shape; also, the actual disc-shaped foot seems less massive and fully circular rather than flattened on the bottom.

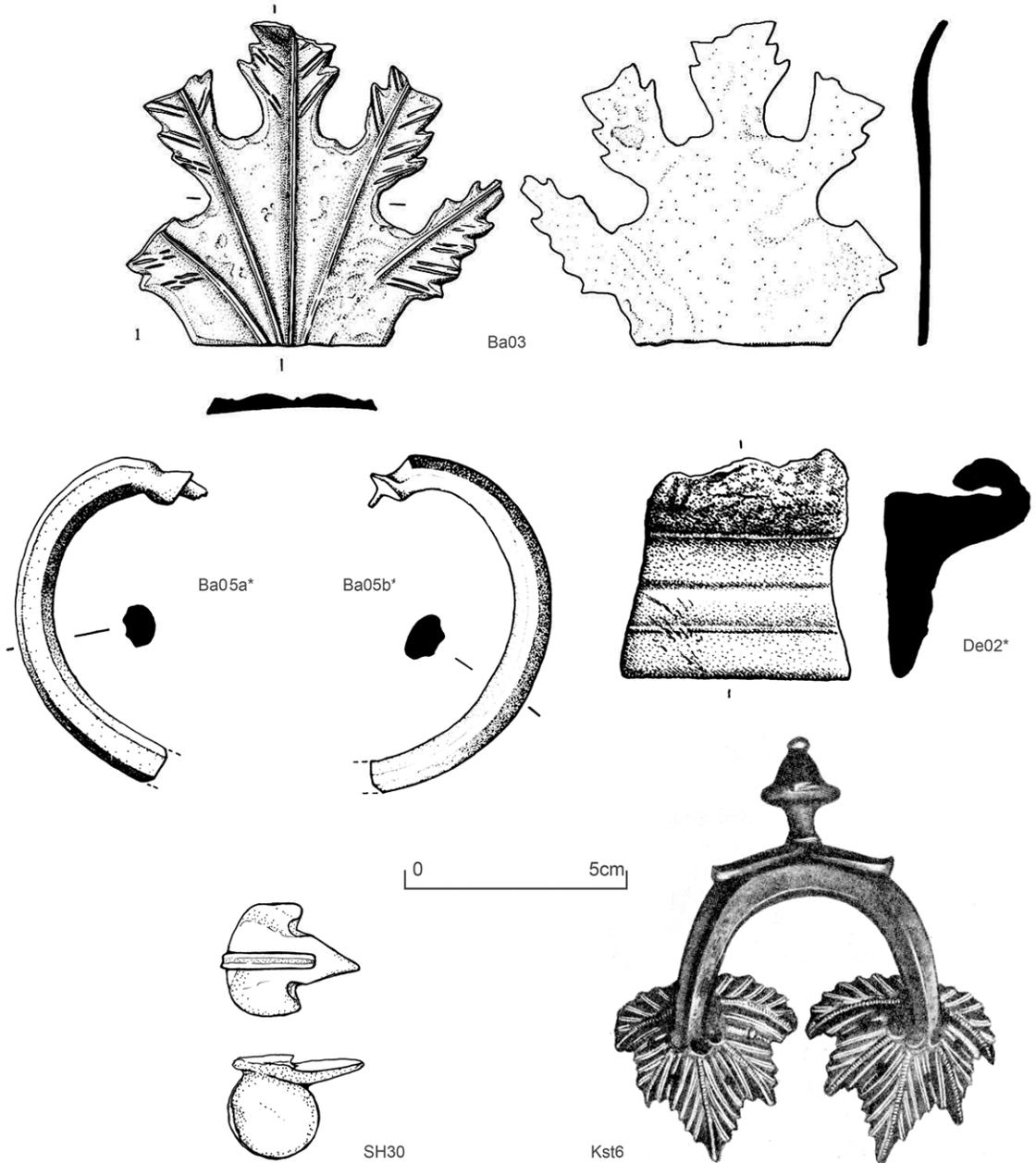
89 At the same time we may point out the similarity with the handles of the Talcott type lekythoi of the pre-oppida period (cf. Hurbanovo above). The date would not be impossible in the case of Manching.

90 The bronze fragment representing a grapevine leaf found in a latest La Tène period context in Bratislava-Vydrice was treated in detail by KVETÁNOVÁ – KOVÁR 2010. Various possible interpretations were proposed including a bronze lamp, mirror, and a statue fragment and a bronze vessel. The interpretation as a fragment of E91/92 seems most probable. An exact parallel is the attachment of a basin from the Guștarița-Sibiu hoard in Romania RUSOTIU 2005, 79, fig. 13: 2.

Regardless of these differences. Their identification as feet of bronze basins seems to me a reasonable proposition.

**Vessel body fragments and undetermined pieces**

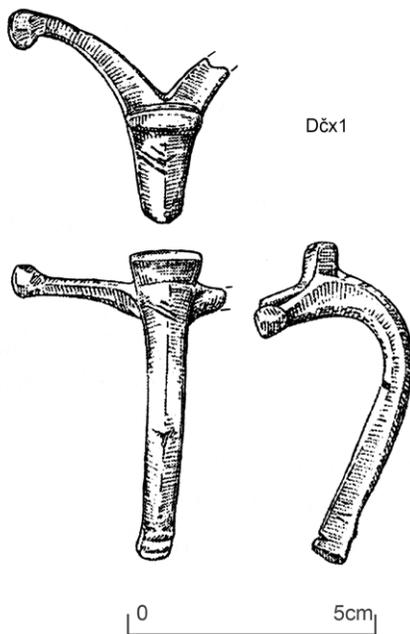
Late La Tène settlements regularly produce large quantities of bronze sheet (impressively demonstrated by KARWOWSKI 2017, fig. 6), some of which may be body fragments of metal vessels. I only include rims and bases with a sufficiently characteristic shape that they can be ascribed to specific vessel shapes. This is basically impossible in the case of body fragments, and only some strainer body fragments and some very characteristic pan rims can be considered.



**Fig. 51: Bronze basins, fragments discovered in Central Europe. \* not to scale.**

### Aryballos handle?

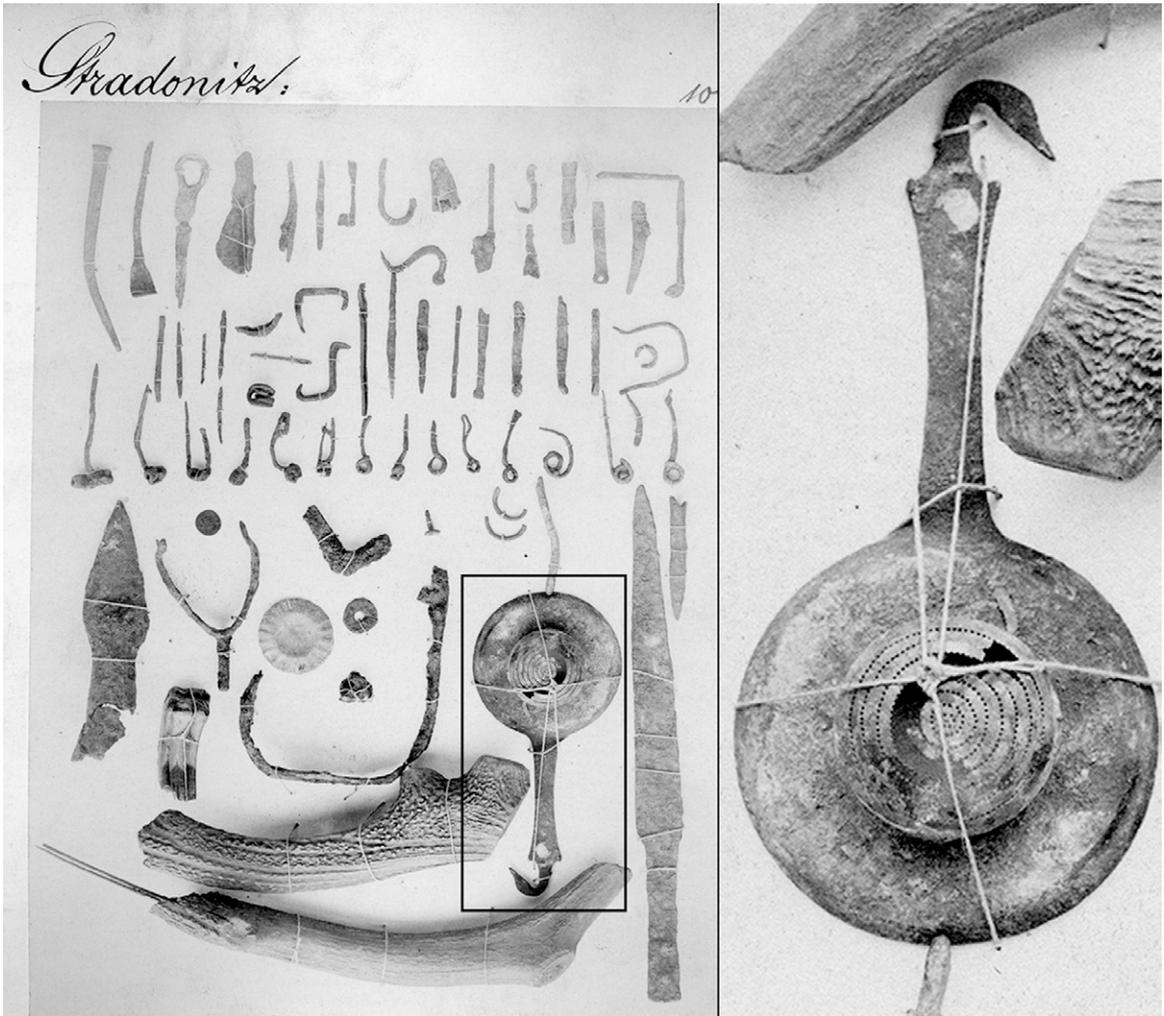
What is apparently a bronze handle [Dčx1] found in Dobročkovice was published by Jana Čižmářová among bronze vessels from Moravia (**Fig. 52**). The Y-shaped bar with out-turned upper branches corresponds with those of late aryballoi based on the Talcott type (**Fig. 57: 2ab**; VASALE 1979; FEUGÈRE 1991a). Very close parallels come e.g. from the wreck sunk near Comacchio in ca 30 BC (BERTI 1990, 97) or from Milan (FEUGÈRE 1991a, fig. 8: 3). The aryballoi are only exceptionally attested in Pre-Roman (Trans)Alpine Europe (Ptuj in Slovenia; Antran, dpt. Vienne, F; the Magdalensberg; DEIMEL 1987, Taf. 106: 8–9). More importantly they are not dated before the Augustan period and for this reason the object has to be excluded from our corpus. It is nevertheless worth further attention, if for no other reason than because Augustan period occupation is currently not attested in Moravia.



**Fig. 52: Dobročkovice, bronze aryballos handle.**

### Shafted strainer

One of the Lehmann photographic plates (**Fig. 53**) unmistakably depicts a shafted strainer [Sx05]. Similar objects are relatively common in Italy from the 6<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. In the Lehmann piece, the actual strainer is a small cup clearly distinguished from the larger bowl; the handle is made from the same piece of metal as the bowl. This is a trait characteristic of the earlier, 5<sup>th</sup> century pieces. In the central Italian products of the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries, the cup is made as a single piece with a continuous profile – either rounded or carinated – and with perforations in its bottom (ESPOSITO 2007, 137–148). In contrast, many close parallels can be found in southern Italy. Strainers with a distinct filter, handle integral with the cup, and with a ornithomorph hook at its end (either axial or turned sideways as in the Lehmann piece) are documented by two dozen examples in Apulia and several others in Sicily and Basilicata and dated mostly to (the second half of) the 5<sup>th</sup>–(first half of the) 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (TARDITI 1996, 48–53, 142–143).

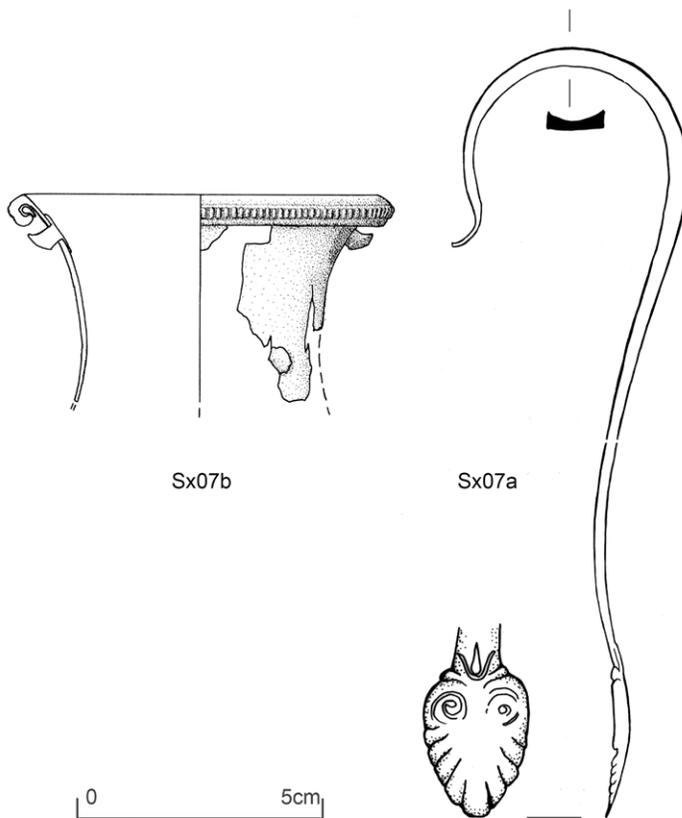


**Fig. 53: Stradonice (?), the Lehmann collection. Bronze shafted strainer [Sxo5]. Unknown scale.**

This (provenance and) chronology obviously contrasts strongly with its possible origin from Stradonice. Moreover, the photographic plate on which the object is depicted, is preserved in only one of the three extant sets of the Lehmann collection and differs from the others for instance in the lack of the pre-printed heading (instead, 'Stradonitz' is written by hand on the top). All this suggests that the plate depicts later entries in the Lehmann collection bought on the antiquities market rather than the *crème de la crème* collected by Mrs. Lehmann directly on the spot in the first weeks of the excavations. It is not even sure that the plate was supposed to be dedicated to Stradonice only, even though the majority of the depicted objects clearly date from Late La Tène period. At any event, the strainer will not be taken into consideration in this study.

### Oenochoai

Among the Stradonice finds in RGZM Mainz originating from the Robert Forrer collection there is also the rim of a bronze jug with concave neck and rolled rim decorated with astragalus [Sxo7b]. On the neck there are two holes for attaching the handle, in one of which there is a rivet. The collections of the National Museum in Prague include an unpublished slender loop-shaped handle with an elongated oval attachment decorated in shallow relief with the combined motif of a palmette on the attachment itself and a lotus bud at its root [Sxo7a] (**Fig. 54**).



**Fig. 54: Stradonice (?), bronze oinochoe rim (Forrer collection) and handle (Berger collection).**

Both objects differ significantly from what is common and normal at Stradonice or in the oppida in general. Karasová and Schönfelder (2004, 233–235) rightly liken the Mainz piece with the 5<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> century Etruscan *olpai* (WEBER 1983, III BEtr b) and a similar classification can be proposed for the handle in Prague. Specifically it corresponds to the handles of bronze oenochoe type ‘ivEtr a’ after Weber (1983, 175–206) dated variously from the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century BC (WEBER 1983, 170–180) or to the third quarter or second half of 5<sup>th</sup> century (JURGEIT 1999, 393–396, Nr. 646–650). These handles were attached to the neck by two rivets similar to the configuration of the Mainz rim (like e.g. JURGEIT 1999, 395–396, Nr. 650). Both fragments might theoretically belong to a single vessel.

There is no way of finding out whether these two fragments were actually found in Central Europe (it is unlikely that they were from Stradonice itself) or whether they were excavated in Italy and only came to Central Europe (to be sold as Stradonice finds) as items of the antiquities trade.<sup>91</sup> Karasová and Schönfelder (2004, 235) observe that vessels of this type are not common in Central Europe; a parallel to the handle nevertheless comes from Súlovo, Slovakia (BOUZEK 2002, Abb. 3:2). In any case, the artefacts cannot be associated with the oppida period occupation of Stradonice.

<sup>91</sup> The origin of the Forrer collection is unknown; as far as the fragment in the National Museum is concerned, no information is available as to which collection it comes from (Berger?).

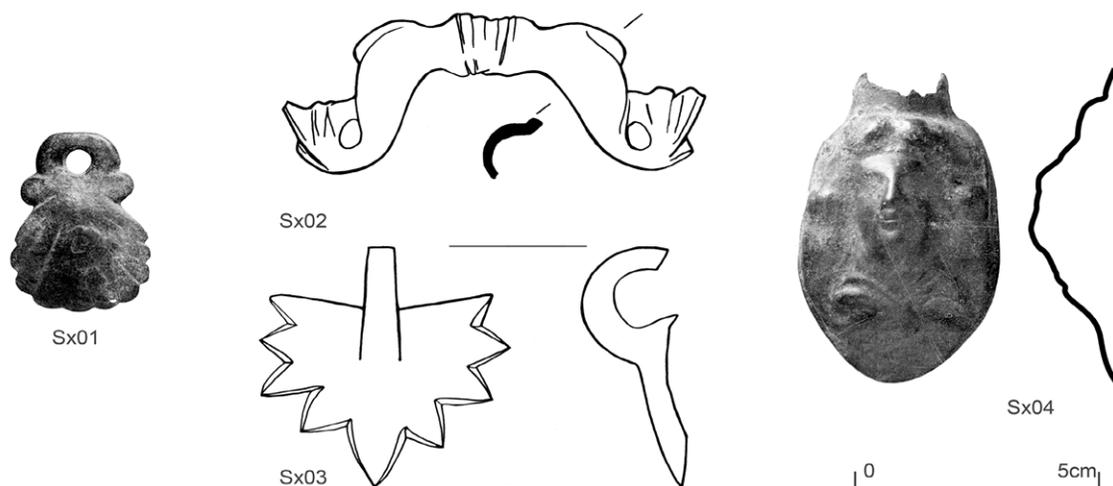
### A shell-shaped attachment

Among the bronze artefacts from Stradonice Píč (1903, tab. xiv: 63) published a bronze shell with an eyelet in the top and probably a rivet in its centre [Sx01] (**Fig. 55**). The object has unfortunately not been traced in the National Museum collections. Both the style and iconography of the object are of clearly Mediterranean heritage. Shell-shaped elements form part of Greek and Etruscan bronze *instrumentum* from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (e.g. BINI – CARAMELLA – BUCCIOLI 1995, *passim*; FEUGÈRE 2011) and linger on into the Imperial period (SEDLMAYER 1999, 47, Taf. 19: 4).

A discrete group of shell-shaped attachments somewhat similar to the Stradonice piece are concentrated in the East Alpine region (Bustia in FOGOLARI – GAMBACURTA 2001, 261, n° 248), the Magdalensberg (DEIMEL 1987, 145, Taf. 21: 6), Grad (Božič in TURK *et al.* 2009). Božič dates the find from Grad (though basically without a reliable context) to the Early Iron Age and all the others with it, although the finds from Lagole and certainly that from the Magdalensberg suggest rather a 1<sup>st</sup> century BC date. An artefact very similar in shape and size was discovered in the Hellenistic bath in Musarna, southern Etruria (BROISE – JOLIVET 2004, 226, fig. 184, n° 674) and likened to lids of bronze lamps (an improbable interpretation for the Stradonice shell with its flat rather than transverse perforation). In the Musarna shell the top part is not preserved. Attachments based on a central motif (human head or bust, leaf, etc.) with a transversal bar and a simple eyelet above and fixed to the vessel body with a rivet are common in the mid-Imperial period (2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century AD) in the E35–36 buckets and in cauldrons (SEDLMAYER 1999, 103–105, Taf. 46: 1–5; BIENERT 2007, 154–156). Although the shell is to my knowledge not attested as one of the depicted motifs, the transversal bar is very suggestive. To conclude, no exact parallel to the object has been identified, and although a date during the Stradonice occupation cannot be ruled out, other possibilities are equally if not more probable. For all these reasons, the object will not be included in the corpus of Mediterranean imports.

### Basin attachment

The bronze plate shaped as a wine leaf with a massive square hook in the top from the Stradonice oppidum [Sx03] (**Fig. 55**) was an attachment soldered on to an Eggers 83 basin dating from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> till the 3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> century AD transition (RADNÓTI 1938, 126; Taf. xxxviii: 3; EGGERS 1951; SELDMAYER 1999, 62–63, Taf. 25: 9; BIENERT 2007, 124–125). Whether it actually comes from Stradonice or not, it has nothing to do with the oppidum occupation.



**Fig. 55: Stradonice (?), artefacts excluded from consideration.**

### Figural boss

The artefact which caught the scholars' attention from the first publications of Stradonice (OSBORNE 1880) is a domed oval boss made of bronze sheet with a vertical band broken off at the top. The oval carries a relief depiction of a human bust [Sxo4]. The oval face (of a female or a youth?) is framed with fluffy but smooth hair, and the clothes are stylized into a symmetrical curl with two folds on the chest (Figs. 11: 5 and 55). The style is based on soft forms with very little detail. The object is covered with a very regular smooth dark patina.

Svobodová (1983, 660, obr. 2: 14) considered the object a jug handle attachment belonging to the Imperial period Eggers 124 jugs (cf. KROPOTKIN 1970, tab 64: 1; cf. also e.g. RADNÓTI 1938, tab. XXXIX–XLIV; SEDLMAYER 1999, 13–33, Tf. 2–7). However, no credible parallel can be found to the Stradonice piece in these vessels. More importantly (a detail Svobodová could not verify on the artefact which was kept in then inaccessible Vienna) the 'attachment' is in reality only a hollow shell which could hardly be attached to anything; the supposed handle is only a U-bent bronze sheet which would make carrying the vessel very uncomfortable.

To sum up, the style of the depiction does not fit with either Roman Republican, or Late La Tène Art; typologically the fragment does not correspond with any common vessel of the period and functionally it would be totally useless. A modern fake (with an enormous investment of labour) would seem to be the most likely explanation. The possibility of a local product of unknown function (and quite possibly of Mediterranean inspiration) cannot be ruled out either.

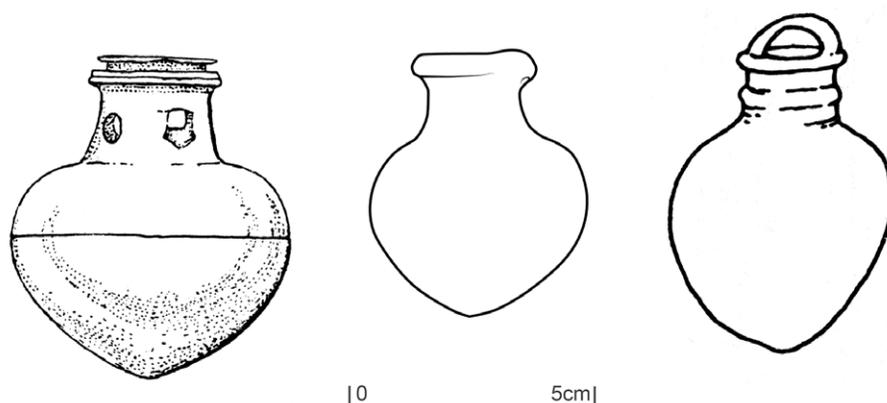
### Cordiform balsamaria

This is a small and very problematic group of bronze containers (?) (Fig. 56). One such artefact was discovered in the Hrazany oppidum in 1962 [Hrx1]; another (so-far unpublished) comes from Devínské Jazero in Záhorie in Slovakia [Djx1].<sup>92</sup> An object (now lost) of similar form was discovered in the eponymous site of the Púchov Culture in Púchovská skala (HOENING – HALAŠA 1903, obr. 25; HOENING – HALAŠA 1905, 137). All these three objects have more or less the same shape with a broadly heart-shaped profile, very slightly conical neck and thickened rim. In the Hrazany piece there is a cylindrical bronze sheet insert in the neck and three holes pass through both it and the neck – two aligned circular ones and a square one at a slightly lower point. The artefact from Devínske jazero has no obvious holes in it. In the piece from Púchovská skala a loop seems to be attached to the rim; however, the rather clumsy drawing does not allow for very conclusive statements.

Although the Mediterranean origin of these objects was not always explicitly stated (e.g. JANSOVÁ 1965, 69) it is implicitly assumed in its function of a perfume bottle which various scholars have unanimously suggested (Hrazany: JANSOVÁ 1965, 69, obr. 24; JANSOVÁ 1992, 50, 149, Taf. 254: 17; DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1998, 163; BOUZEK 2011a, 155; Púchovská skala: HOENING – HALAŠA 1905, 137). This supposition is quite logical; nevertheless, several points need to be mentioned: almost no other perfume or oil vessels are attested among the Mediterranean imports in Central Europe or even in Gaul (BARBAU 2019, 182–183) until the Augustan period and more importantly, these cordiform *balsamaria* have no direct parallels among Mediterranean bronze vessels. At the same time, the very idea of these objects being vessels can be questioned. I have discussed all of these points in detail previously (cf. KYSELA 2014c), and therefore only a short summary is needed here.

Their practical use as *balsamaria* would be hindered by the design of their orifices facilitating their suspension but not the insertion of a stopper (holes passing through the neck in the Hrazany piece; a very unfortunately placed loop in the find from Púchovská skala).

92 Unpublished information by K. Elschek presented in the 2017 La Tène period conference in Trenčianské Teplice. I am grateful to K. Elschek for the permission to publish the find.



**Fig. 56: Cordiform balsamaria from Hrazany, Devínské jazero, and Púchovská skala. The latter not to scale.**

As already mentioned there is a frustrating lack of parallels to the object among contemporary Mediterranean oil vessels (cf. **Fig. 57**)<sup>93</sup> with two significant exceptions: an iron aryballos from Tarentum (**Fig. 57: 6**; COLIVICCHI 2001, E.15; HEMPER 2001, 189) and a similar object from Thasos (GHALI-KAHIL 1954, 244–246, fig. 30). In spite of the closeness of the general shape with a pointed bottom, there are some significant dissimilarities: these aryballoi are low and broad which makes them tilted but extremely stable unlike the Central European pieces; at least in the Tarentum example, the neck is straight which resolves all the closure problems (unlike the Central European pieces, cf. above). Last but not least, the Central European ‘balsamaria’ differ from the Tarentum and Thasos aryballoi, and from all the Mediterranean oil vessels, in one highly significant criterion: their volume.

The volume<sup>94</sup> of the Hrazany vessel is 17 ml (**Fig. 58**) while the Tarentum example can hold an almost sevenfold larger quantity of liquid: 110 ml. The volumes of other Classical, Hellenistic, Republican, and Early Imperial examples range from ca 44 to 500 ml with most values clustering between 60 and 150 ml (cf. KYSELA 2014c for more details). The point of this seemingly pedantic discussion is that the volume of only ca 20 ml prevents the Central European cordiform ‘balsamaria’ from reasonably fulfilling the function of aryballoi. Volumes of ca 20 ml are only characteristic of the smallest unguentaria<sup>95</sup> made as a rule out of pottery

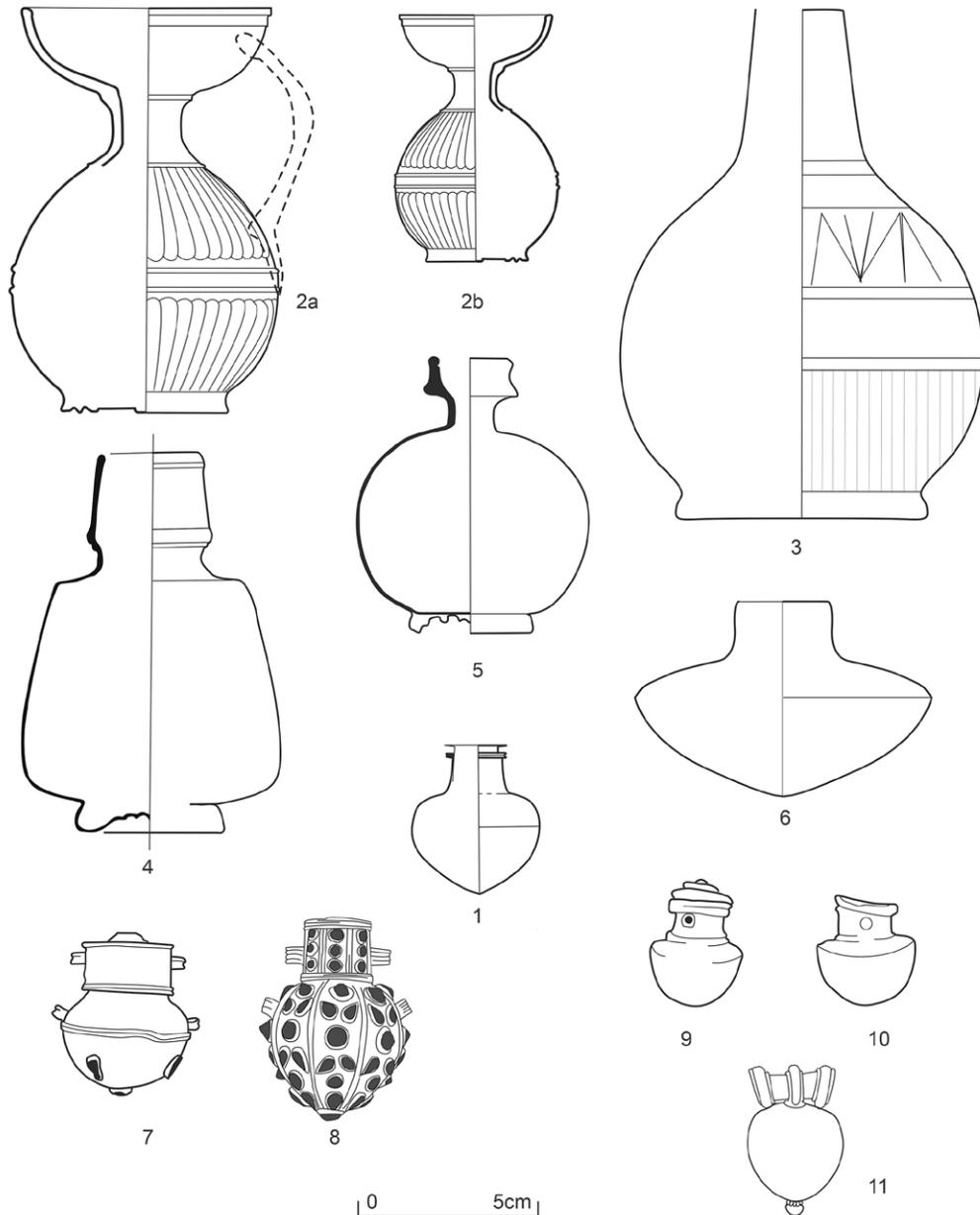
93 Globular aryballoi with a funnel-shaped orifice derived from Greek models of Talcott type, are widespread in Italy only from the Augustan period on (VASSALLE 1979; FEUGÈRE 1991a; Antran : PAUTREAU ed. 1999, 43). In 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> century BC Etruria oil bottles are represented by piriform bottles made of relief bronze sheet of the types Cianferoni 1 and 2 (Cianferoni in: MAGGIANI ed. 1985, 148–152; BINI – CARAMELLA – BUCCIOLI 1995, 211–218, tav. LXXIX). New oil vessel types appeared only in the Augustan period and include globular aryballoi with trochilus-shaped orifice (**Fig. 57: 5**; TASSINARI 1993, type F 1100), and aryballoi with troncoconic body (**Fig. 57: 4**; TASSINARI 1993, type F2120; e.g. a silver aryballos in the Berlin Antikensammlung: HEILMEYER *et al.* 1988, 267, Nr. 6).

94 The vessel volumes were calculated by means of the application ‘Calcul de capacité d’un récipient à partir de son profil’ run by CreA, Université Libre de Bruxelles <http://lisaserver.ulb.ac.be/capacity/> (cf. ENGELS – BAVAY – TSINGARIDA, 2009). The volumes were always measured up to the transition between the shoulder and the neck.

95 According to V. Anderson Stojanović (1987, 117–119) the volumes of ceramic unguentaria from various parts of the Greek world range from 6 to 190 ml, in most cases from 20 to 40 ml. Camilli (1999, 11, fig. 2) observed concentrations of glass unguentaria volumes at 4–6, 8–10, 16, 20–23, 40, 55 and 120 ml, i.e. divisions and multiplications of *kyathos* (45 ml).

(often of a very low quality) or glass and intended for only a very short and rather symbolic use, specifically for funerary purposes (ANDERSON STOJANOVIĆ 1987). For all these reasons, other explanations are needed for this class of objects.

Jan Bouzek (2011c, 523) pointed out some similarities of the Hrazany vessel with perfume bottles (?) attested in Pontic late Hellenistic and early Roman jewellery (e.g. SKALON 1961, 126–140; MORDVINCEVA – TREISTER 2007, I, 51–55, II, 128, Tf. 54, Nr. B26.1, 129, Tf. 55, Nr. b29.1,



**Fig. 57: Mediterranean and Pontic ointment vessels and pendants. 2 - aryballos, type Talcott (2a Milan, 2b Antran); 3 - piriform bottle type Cianferoni 1; 4 - conical aryballos, type Tassinari F2120; 5 - globular aryballos, type Tassinari F1100; 6 - iron flat aryballos, Tarentum; 7-8 - Pontic pendant (Ust' Labinskaya, Kertch); 9-10 - cordiform pendants from the Fleischmann collection; 11. cordiform bulla, Spina.**

150, Tf. 62, Nr. B/1.17, 16, Nr. C/1.19.5.1; SEIPEL ed. 2009, n° 91, 112, 116, 117, 121, 123). Although these parallels are formally rather distant and the Black Sea may be a bit too exotic, the vessel-pendants are worth further exploration. These Pontic pieces are only the last of a long series of such pendants reaching back in the eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans at least to the Mycenaean period.<sup>96</sup> Functionally these objects which can be related to the Etruscan and Italian bullae, closely resemble the 'cordiform balsamaria' including their thickened rim and perforated neck although they are usually made of a thin metallic sheet and are as a rule smaller than their Central European counterparts. The volume of the Central European cordiform balsamaria is slightly higher than that of most pendants (Fig. 58; pendants and bullae correspond to the light gray columns in the graph<sup>97</sup>) but corresponds with that of some lenticular bullae.

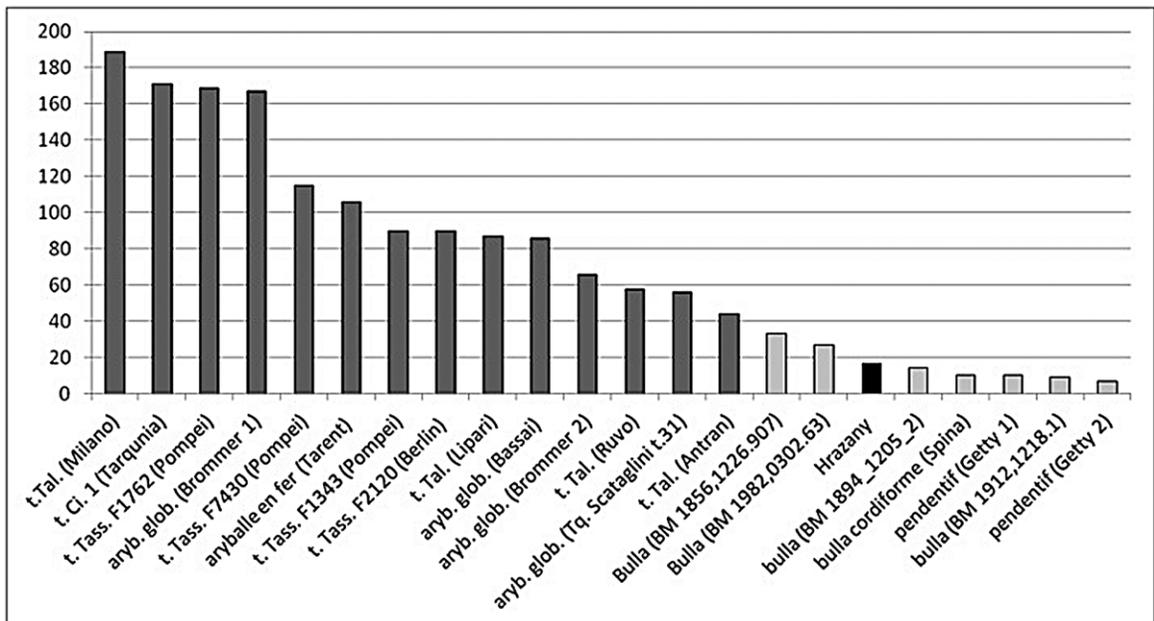


Fig. 58: The volume of [Hrx1] in comparison with other vessels and jewels. Dark gray columns: vessels; light gray columns: jewels. Abbreviations: t. = type; Tal. = Talcott; Ci. = Cianferoni; Tass. = Tassiari; aryb. glob. = globular aryballos; BM = British Museum.

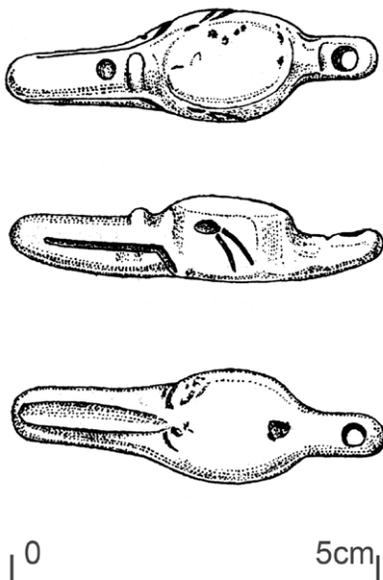
96 In particular in the Balkans but also in the Magna Graecia such cordiform pendants are abundant from the 6<sup>th</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (HIGGINS 1961; AMANDRY 1953, 30; PHILIPP 1981, 366–370, Taf. 25, 82; GUZZO 1993, 222–226; GEORGOULA ed. 1999, 134, n° 35, 162, n° 49; ALVINO 1996, 423, tav. IIB; DESCAMPS-LEQUIME – CHARATZOPOULOU ed. 2011, 158, n° 87; LILIBAKI-AKAMATI *et al.* 2011, 306–313, fig. in p. 314).

97 The examples were chosen e.g. from the collections of the British Museum (MARSHALL 1911) with the necessary information easily accessible in the Museum's on-line database (<http://www.britishmuseum.org> – bullae Reg. N° 1856, 1226.907, 1894, 1205.2, 1912, 1218.1, 1982, 0302.63). Other examples include a gold pendant from Spina (now in the Walters Gallery in Boston, Inv. n° 57.371: BERTI – GUZZO eds. 1996), a late archaic pendant from an unknown find spot in Etruria (today in the Villa Giulia, PROIETTI ed. 1980, fig. 62), and a set of silver pendants from the Fleischmann collection, now the Getty Museum, Malibu (*Coll. Fleischman* 1994, n° 54:I, 120, and 123, fig.: 54: H, G, I). I am grateful to Dr. D. Saunders, Getty Museum, Malibu for detailed information concerning the exact dimensions of these pendants.

In previous studies of the Hrazany piece (KYSELA 2013a; 2014c) I accepted its possible Early Iron Age date (not contradicting the chronology of the site: JANSOVÁ 1983; ČTVERÁK 2002) leaving aside the question whether or not it should be regarded as a Mediterranean import. Now with two more pieces, both of probable Late Iron Age date the situation seems even less clear. The fact remains that there is no object known to me of indisputable Mediterranean origin and dated to the last centuries BC which could be presented as a formal or functional parallel to the 'balsamaria' attested only in a relatively restricted territory in Central Europe. As to the function of these objects, the suggested interpretation as ointment containers seems improbable. The objects cannot be included among the Mediterranean imports to Late Iron Age Central Europe. Notwithstanding this, they definitely merit further attention.

### A silver duck-head pendant from Závist

The silver 'pendant' shaped as a water bird head [Záxi] (**Fig. 59**) was reportedly found in 1947 in the oppidum of Závist, location U Altánu, and subsequently passed to a local amateur archaeologist Milan Žlab who donated it in 1962 to the Municipal Museum of Prague where it has been kept ever since. Norbert Mašek (1964) linked it to the bronze duck heads from Roman vessels of the Late La Tène and Early Roman Iron Age.<sup>98</sup> The silver head thus served as a proof of a chronological (as well as cultural and status) link between the recently excavated Závist oppidum and two prestigious fixed points of Bohemian protohistory – the oppidum of Stradonice and the Early Roman Iron Age graves. While Mašek remained rather vague as far as the function of the object was concerned, subsequent research did not doubt that the head was originally part of a silver vessel, either an Aylesford type pan (SAKAŘ 1968, 61; MOTYKOVÁ – DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1978a, 69; BŘEŇ 1975a, 10, pozn. 16; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 660) or a *simpulum* (DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1998, 162–163). I have commented on the object in two previous papers (KYSELA – PERLÍK – SRBOVÁ 2012; KYSELA 2016c) of which I present here a condensed version.



**Fig. 59: Závist, silver duck head. MOTYKOVÁ – DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1978a.**

<sup>98</sup> The date of the Roman vessels from Stradonice was then considered to be the Early Roman Iron Age rather than the Late La Tène period (FILIP 1952, 143).

The shape and dimensions of the head do not correspond with the duck heads on either pans or ladles: both are as a rule smaller (in pans ca 20–40 mm, in *simpula* ca 40 mm as opposed to the 48 mm of this object); the heads from Aylesford type pans are either completely flat or naturalistic; in *simpula*, naturalistic heads are much preferred and even if stylised they are far from the bulky geometrical modular approach of the Závist piece (cylindrical head, stubby massive beak).

I am not aware of any silver pan with a duck head. Silver *simpula* are on the other hand relatively common (cf. note 79). Depictions of the heads on the silver specimens do not differ from those made of bronze; mostly they are fully naturalistic and of the highest workmanship as can be expected in prestigious objects like Roman silver-ware (for Roman silver-ware in general cf. BIROLI STEFANELLI – MICHELI – PETTINAU 1991 or GUZZO ed. 2006). These fine pieces cannot be compared with the crude Závist head. It is also worth noting that silver vessels (of course rare already in the first place and likely recycled according to different strategies than those made of bronze) are almost completely absent among the Mediterranean imports in Transalpine Europe which have come down to us. While some are present along the southern fringes of the La Tène world<sup>99</sup> they are rare in Gaul<sup>100</sup> and none is known to me from Central Europe including sites like Manching or Stradonice.

Formally and stylistically incoherent with its alleged parallels and present at a site relatively poor in imports, the object raises some serious questions. At this point it is worth mentioning that one year after having donated the silver head, Milan Žlab also brought to the Municipal Museum a supposed palaeolithic ‘Venus’ statuette which was soon recognized as a fake (FRIDRICH – KUKLA 1967). In order to clarify our doubts, a technological study of the object was undertaken by D. Perlík in the Museum of Central Bohemia in Rozotky u Prahy.

The microscopy of the artefact’s surface revealed a very low quality casting with numerous surface irregularities. Also the engraved decoration is very crude. These points testify against a Mediterranean origin for the object: the workmanship in the Greek and Roman world was naturally proportional to the prestige of the material and there was no place for third rank products in silverware.

Measured area	Ag	Cu	Zn	Fe	Au	Pb
upper surface	93.00%	6.91%	0.08%	-	-	-
lower surface	86.55%	13.19%	0.27%	-	-	-
beak	90.03%	9.83%	0.14%	-	-	-
corrosive products	72.29%	26.16%	1.19%	0.36%	-	-

**Fig. 60: Composition of the silver head.**

99 A skyphos from Giubiasco, canton Ticino (PERNET 2006, 170), a skyphos and mastoi from Ornavasso, Lombardy (GRAUE 1974, Taf. 64; MARTIN-KILCHER 1998, 198, 242, Abb. 7, 8), a jug, a laddle, strainer and a hemispherical cup from Arcisate, Lombardy (PIANA AGOSTENETTI – PRIULI 1985).

100 Three drinking vessels from Thorey, Saône-et-Loire (BARATTE 1989); a kantharos from Alesia (BARATTE ed. 1989, 62). Finds from Eze, Alpes Maritimes (BARATTE ed. 1989, 56–60) on the other hand date to the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

Most interesting are the results of the alloy composition analysis (**Fig. 60**). First, the alloy features a low degree of homogeneity. As far as the actual detected elements are concerned, silver is represented by *ca* 90% but any trace of gold and lead was absent in all four measurements which means that whoever produced the head used basically pure silver for the alloy. This is most irregular as at least one – usually both – of these elements always accompanies silver in prehistoric and ancient alloys.<sup>101</sup> Regardless of the precise region and phase, the alloy composition of Iron Age and Greco-Roman silver is always very similar: lead and gold are regularly detected in tenths of a percentage. The total absence of gold and lead traces sets the Závist head clearly apart from any other silver artefact of both the prehistoric and the ancient worlds. The only elements detected other than silver, are copper and zinc, both in roughly equal proportions suggesting that pure silver was alloyed with brass. We will discuss the issue of brass in Transalpine Europe below in chapter II.4; at this point suffice it to say that in the Mediterranean, brass was employed only to a limited extent in the pre-Augustan period and it was not known or more precisely not worked in Late La Tène Central Europe.

To sum up the findings, it is highly improbable that the silver duck head is a local product dating to the Iron Age. Its Mediterranean origin is only suggested by the presence of zinc but is disproved by the flawed workmanship and the alloy lacking any parallel in the ancient world. Although the overall iconography of the object including some important details obviously compare with the ducks on Roman bronze vessels, the stylistic differences are significant. All evidence favours the object being produced in the modern era as an intentional fake. Uncertain find circumstances, the suspect figure of Milan Žlab, proven guilty of producing (under very similar circumstances) another fake requiring significant knowledge and effort are strong indicators. Perfectly pure silver without a trace of gold or lead could easily be modern industrial metal; also the brass with which it was alloyed (lacking any trace of tin) would be much easier to find in the 20<sup>th</sup> century than in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. A heterogeneous alloy would be no surprise in home production. The significant iconographic correspondence with the Roman duck heads is clear – they were intentionally copied – and it is worth noting that the head corresponds more with the side view of the originals while it differs from them in mass; in the early 1960s a faker could only copy the heads published in Píč 1903, which are depicted in side view. The Závist duck-head is a fake produced in 1960s by Milan Žlab and as such will not be further discussed here.

## GLASS VESSELS

In spite of the high level of glass working in the La Tène world, glass vessels did not form part of the local repertoire and were imported from the Mediterranean. The idea that two (allegedly blown) glass vessels from Závist were locally produced (VENČLOVÁ 1984; DRDA – RYBOVÁ 2001, 316) is no longer accepted (Natalie Venčlová – personal communication – revised her earlier evaluation of the artefacts and now considers them to be imports; cf. GEBHARD – FEUGÈRE 1995, note 2).

101 In Central Europe, comparison is only possible with silver coins (MILITKÝ 2009a, tab. 2; MILITKÝ 2015a; 2018a). The Balkan Peninsula is richer in silver artefacts where the Židovar silver hoard was recently subject to alloy composition analysis (ŽIVKOVIĆ *et al.* 2014). In the Mediterranean, data on alloy composition are available for coins and silver vessels (for Hellenistic vessels cf. ZIMI 2011); Roman silver-ware is represented mostly by early and late Imperial pieces: BACHMANN 1993; BARATTE ed. 1989; BARATTE *et al.* 1990; COWELL – LA NIECE – MEEKS 1983; GIARDINO – GIGANTE 1998; GIUMLIA-MAIR 1998; HUGHES – LANG 1986; NIEMEYER 2007.

In the last centuries BC, Mediterranean glass vessels were produced in three different techniques (NENNA 1999; VON SALDERN 2004): pressed from monochrome glass into a mould; fused in the same way but from a number of coloured elements making up a mosaic effect; and, finally, blown. Monochrome moulded glass may be completely opaque or translucent. The translucent moulded glass can be easily distinguished from blown glass by its thick walls, often with visible bubbles trapped inside. Mosaic-glass is a large term covering several different techniques (VENČLOVÁ *et al.* 2015). In *millefiori* glass the final products are fused from segments of a bar made of glass threads of various colours and interspaced with small colourful *tesserae*; a *reticella* glass is characterized by the use of crossing or twisted opaque glass threads trapped inside a transparent glass body; finally the onyx-mosaic glass or ribbon glass resembles and presumably imitates the structure of semiprecious stones such as agate.

Both mosaic and monochrome mould-made glass is represented by open vessel forms, mainly bowls (semi-globular or s-profiled), later also plates or amphoriskoi. The monochrome moulded vessels date to a broad timespan of the 4<sup>th</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC/1<sup>st</sup> century AD. In the mosaic glass, two phases have been distinguished on the basis of three key contexts: an earlier Canosa group named after the South Italian necropolis (late 3<sup>rd</sup>–late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC) characterised by simple semi-globular and conical bowls, and plates; in the *a reticella* vessels (of the same forms) horizontal placement of the threads of single colour are characteristic of this phase. The vessel rims regularly differ from the body in colour and design. In the later Antikythera-Delos horizon (both the Antikythera wreck and the destruction of Delos are dated to the 70s/60s BC) the previous forms were joined by more complex ones including those with a ring-shaped foot and some rare closed shapes. The decoration did not differ greatly; the previously common added rims were often omitted. Both techniques continued to be employed throughout the Augustan period and in the case of the *millefiori* glass down to Late Antiquity. These later products can sometimes be distinguished by a certain extravagancy of the decoration (e.g. in the *a reticella* vessels the threads may be of multiple colours, their interlaces may be placed vertically, etc.); very often, however, such a distinction is not possible. The ribbon glass seems to be a limited group dated principally to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (VENČLOVÁ *et al.* 2015).

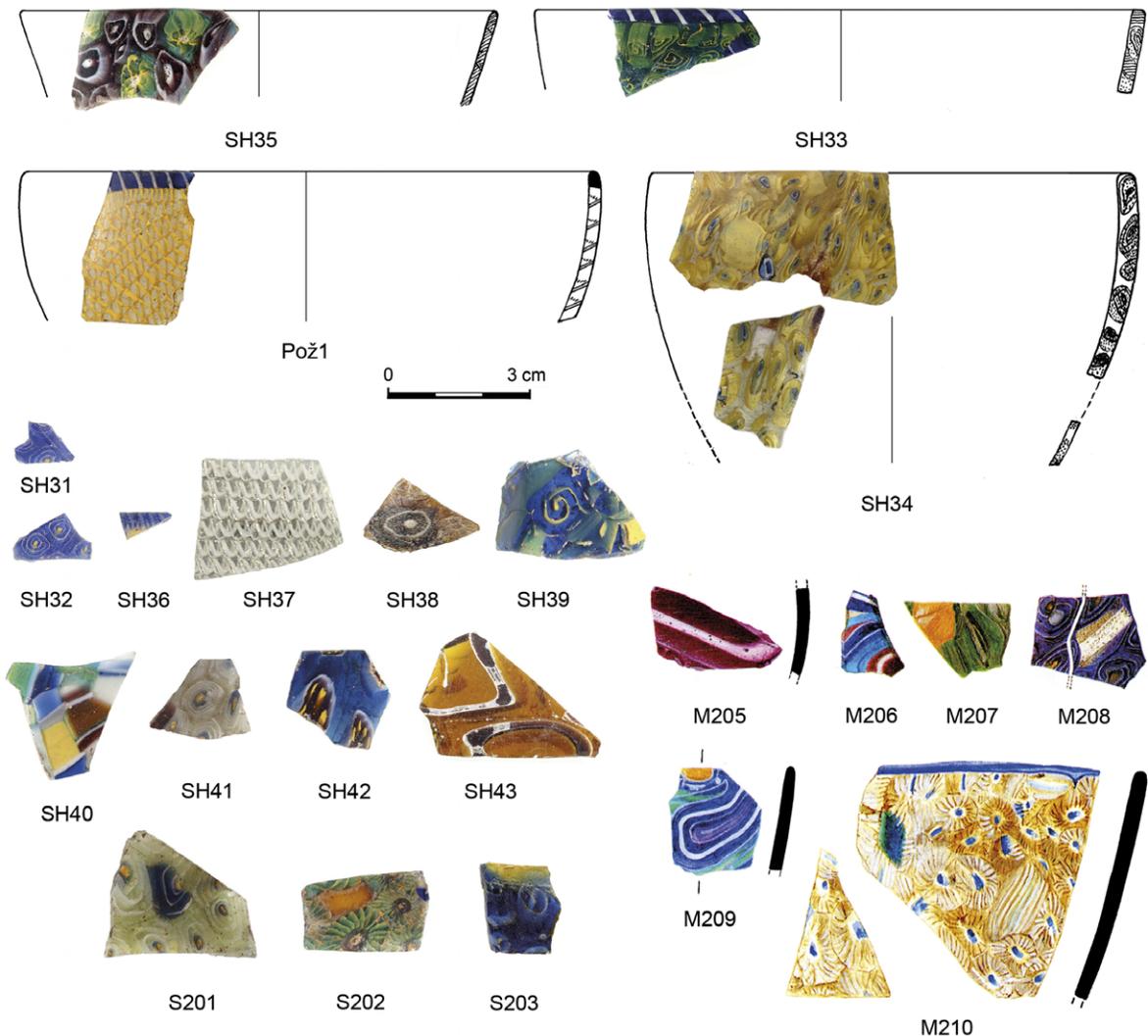
In comparison with the mould-made glass, the blown vessels are translucent with obviously thinner walls. Glass blowing was invented in Palestine probably shortly before the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, it was however only from the Augustan or Tiberian periods that it became really widespread (as well as produced) in Italy (VON SALDERN 2004, 218–223).

All the fragments of glass vessels discovered in Bohemia have been studied by Natalie Venčlová (1990, 159–162; VENČLOVÁ *et al.* 2015). Originally (VENČLOVÁ 1990, 159), three mosaic glass and three monochrome fragments were listed from Stradonice [S201–S203], one cobalt blue body fragment from Třísov [Třx1], one from České Lhotice [ČLx1] and one handle fragment from Lovosice [Lox1]. In the latest overview of Mediterranean glass vessels in Central Europe the author only mentioned the three mosaic vessels from Stradonice (VENČLOVÁ 2016, 87–93, fig. 75–76) – the Lovosice handle has been reinterpreted in the meantime as a necklace spacer (ČIŽMÁŘ – VENČLOVÁ 2012, 177). The fragment from České Lhotice is not preserved (personal communication by Alžběta Danielisová, cf. DANIELISOVÁ – MANGEL 2008, 50; DANIELISOVÁ 2010) and neither it nor the fragments from Třísov are recognized as imports by Venčlová herself; we will not consider them further.

Two vessel bases from Závist mentioned above [Záo9, Záo10] were for some time interpreted as blown (VENČLOVÁ 1984). In reality, this idea was based only on the wall thickness (1–2 mm in one case in which only a very small portion of the body is extant; in the other the body is not preserved at all). Although the norm for moulded vessels is 3–4 mm, thinner pieces are no exception e.g. in 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century Delos, sometimes even in colours identical with those of the

Závist vessels (cf. NENNA 1999 – max. thickness of 2 mm: e.g. C90, C101, C103–106, C120, C130, C163 (opaque blue); C184, C186, C191, C219, C238 (violet); C251, C256, C258; max. thickness of 1 mm: C209; C255). There does not seem to be any reason to exclude these fragments from the counts of monochrome moulded vessels. The La Tène date of these fragments is moreover secured by a solid find context of one of them (the other being found in a secondary deposit: DRDA – RYBOVÁ 2001, 317). An almost identical (albeit slightly larger) base, this time of greenish transparent glass, was discovered in ‘Roman building I’ on the Bratislava Castle Hill. Preserved fragments of the rim make it possible to reconstruct the vessel as a beaker [Bao7].

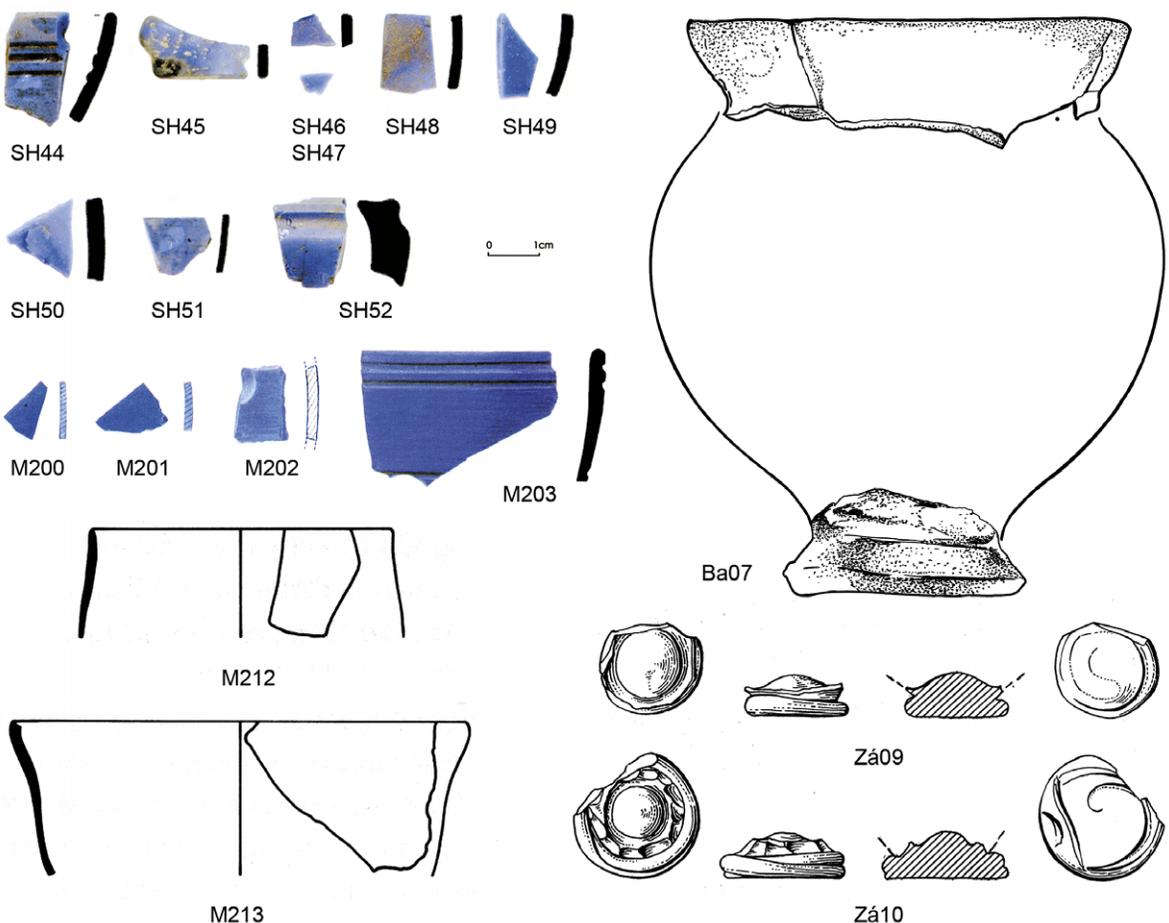
Overall, glass vessels are one of the less well represented import categories. After all, the finds do not seem to be extremely common in Italy either (though much more numerous e.g. in Delos: NENNA 1999). The overview of mosaic glass finds in northern Italy by Giuliana Facchini (2011) lists only 108 vessels or their fragments; the majority is however of Imperial date and for none of them does the author suggest a date earlier than ‘late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC’ (including vessels of reputed south Italian origin such as FACCHINI 2011, cat. nos. 33–34). The reasons for



**Fig. 61: Mosaic glass vessels discovered in Central Europe. © Museum of the Boskovice region, Moravian Museum and Museum of the Nový Jičín region.**

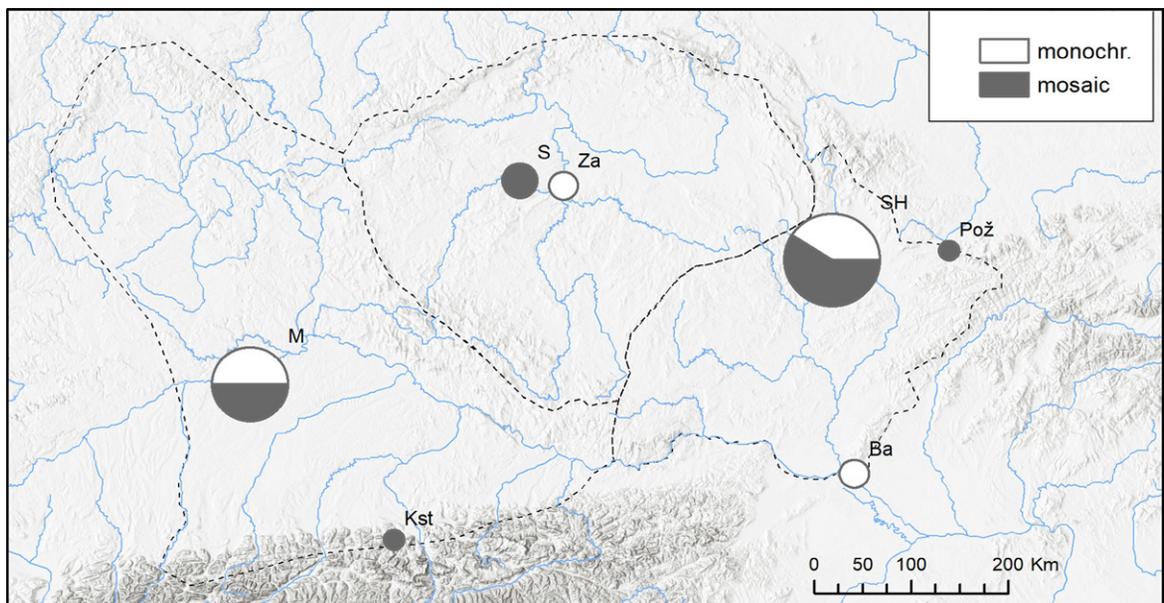
this surprising absence may be – apart from the exclusive nature of glass vessels in this period even in Italy – again the relatively limited knowledge of Republican contexts in Italy and the residuality of fragments of Republican vessels (not always easy to tell apart from the Imperial ones) in contexts of the Imperial period. As a matter of fact, their finds in burials do appear in Hellenistic/Republican Italy (e.g. Ancona: COLIVICCHI 2002, 18.5, 22.9–11, 23.5, 24.3, 26.5, 27.1, 31.6, 51.2; Todi, Duomo, late 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 2<sup>nd</sup> century: GIORGI – MANCONI 2009). This does not in any way diminish their status as exceptional luxurious objects as is clear from the wealth of the burials in which they appear.

In Transalpine Europe, they are represented by relatively few fragments (more often mosaic than monochrome) only in the most prominent sites (for mosaic glass cf. VENCLOVÁ 2016, fig. 75; for an overview of monochrome vessels in Gaul cf. FOY *et al.* 2008; it is also worth pointing out a recent discovery of as many as 19 glass vessel fragments in the centre of Toulouse-ZAC Niel: DEMIERRE 2015, 173, fig. 17: 1–6). In the East Alpine area we can mention only one fragment of a monochrome bowl from Razdrto (LAZAR 2003, 34; HORVAT – BAVDEK 2009, 56 fig. 35). Other finds of moulded glass from the territory of Slovenia all seem to date only to the Early Imperial period (LAZAR 2003, 33–45).



**Fig. 62: Monochrome glass vessels discovered in Central Europe. © Museum of the Boskovice region and Moravian Museum.**

In Central Europe (**Figs. 61–63**) (apart from Bohemia discussed above) find spots of glass vessels include Manching (14 pieces [M200–M211]) and Bratislava (Ba06, Ba07). In this comparison, the three fragments from the otherwise always exceptionally rich Stradonice are almost surprisingly few. More importantly, Moravia stands out in this situation in two respects: the oppidum of Staré Hradisko with its 13 mosaic ([SH31–SH42]: 11 *millefiori*, 1 *a reticella*, 1 ribbon fragments) and 9 monochrome [SH44–SH52] fragments (VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 215–218; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 88–91; VENCLOVÁ – JONÁŠOVÁ – VACULOVÍČ 2017; VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2018) is by far the richest site in Transalpine Europe. In her detailed analysis of the vessels, Natalie Venclová moreover argues that at least some of the local fragments – closer to the Canosa horizon than that of Antikythera-Délos – may belong to a relatively early date, i.e. second century BC rather than the usual transition 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century BC (VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 223; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 90). Another noteworthy aspect of Moravia is the discovery of one fragment of an *a reticella* bowl [Pož1] in the Púchov Culture hillfort of Požaha in the Moravian Gate on the western edge of the Moravian-Silesian Beskydy Mountains (ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2004, 201),<sup>102</sup> i.e. a settlement which shows no signs whatsoever of status comparable with any of the above-mentioned sites.



**Fig. 63: Glass vessels, distribution in Central Europe.**

## MIRRORS

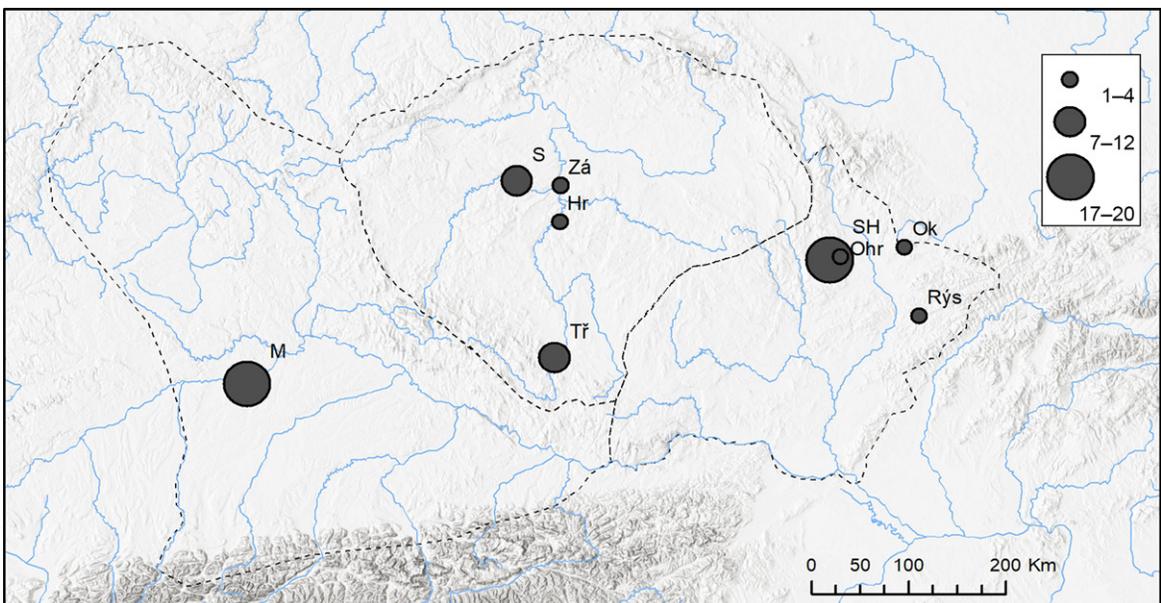
Fragments of simple disc-shaped mirrors, ca 10 cm in diameter, cast from the characteristic ‘heavy’ alloy of silvery colour are rather common finds in the oppida (**Fig. 64**).

In the finds from the Třísov surveys (Kyselá – Danielisová – Militký 2014, 593, tab. 3, obr. 8), the mirror alloys are characterised by a high proportion of tin (45–80%) with correspondingly low representation of copper (52–10%) and a small admixture of lead (0.3–3%, exceptionally 9%). Similar values have been obtained for the mirrors from the oppidum of Altenburg (Penz 2012, 806) and for the Roman mirrors from Augst (W. Stern in Riha 1986, 16–19, tab. 1). All of these

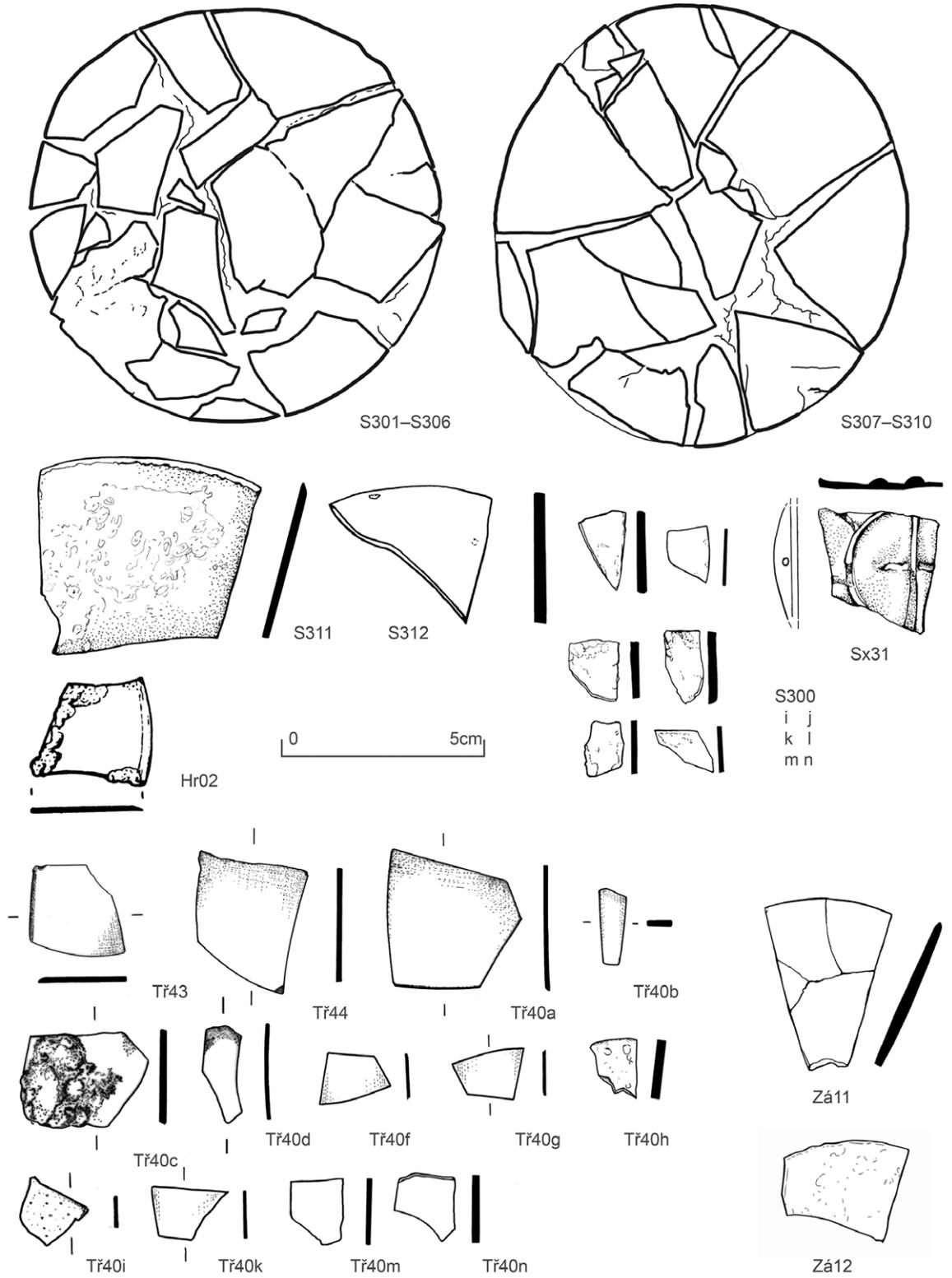
<sup>102</sup> Strictly speaking, Požaha lies ca 1200 m outside our working area, that is in the Oder rather than Morava drainage basin. The *a reticella* sherd is a sufficient reason for breaking our rules.

characteristics not only evoke the mention by Pliny (*NH* xxiii, 45) on mirrors being originally (= in the Republican period) made in Brundisium *stanno et aere mixtis* (indicating in this word order the importance of the individual metals), but also correspond fully with those of Roman period mirrors analysed in detail by Nigel Meeks (1995), and we may conclude that from a technological point of view, all the mirror fragments from our corpus fit the category of high-tin (or less probably tinned low-tin) mirrors of Roman type. Silver plating of the surface (sometimes described in the publications) is never documented by hard evidence and it is most probably to be considered only as a trope, based on a misleading visual impression and reiterated without any evidence.

In Etruria disc mirrors appeared in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, having replaced the previous mirrors cast in one piece with their handle, and they remained in use until the Imperial period (SERRA RIDGEWAY 1996, 289; cf. also LLOYD MORGAN 1981; RIHA 1986; many examples are documented in the Hellenistic and Republican tombs of e.g. Tarentum: HEMPER 2001; ANCONA: COLIVICCHI 2002; Volterra: CRISTOFANI 1975, 28, fig. 19, nos. 76–77). Production of Roman mirrors was an unexpectedly challenging task requiring high precision casting, lathe-work and polishing of the very hard and brittle discs. In principle, it need not have been out of the reach of Transalpine craftsmen, but still – as in the case of metal vessels – production in Mediterranean regions seem more likely in view of the absence of La Tène objects whose production would require the same technical skills. Moreover, in the Transalpine area they are very clearly concentrated on sites of special status such as oppida. Last, but not least, similar to the case of the strainers, there is no obvious clue to distinguish local products (should there be some) from the imported ones. For all these reasons, mirrors are counted among southern imports in the present study. This statement does not solve all the issues concerning the utility of mirrors for us: these brittle artefacts easily recognizable from the tiniest fragment (into which they easily shatter) can get vastly over-represented. For all these reasons, mirrors will not be counted as one unit for each fragment but quantified according to the principle of the minimum number of individuals (MNI): each diagnostic part (in the case of mirrors the edge) is counted as one individual; fragments without the original rim preserved are not taken into account unless no diagnostic fragment can be connected with a context (in our case with a site); in such a case all non-diagnostic fragments are counted as one individual regardless of their actual quantity.



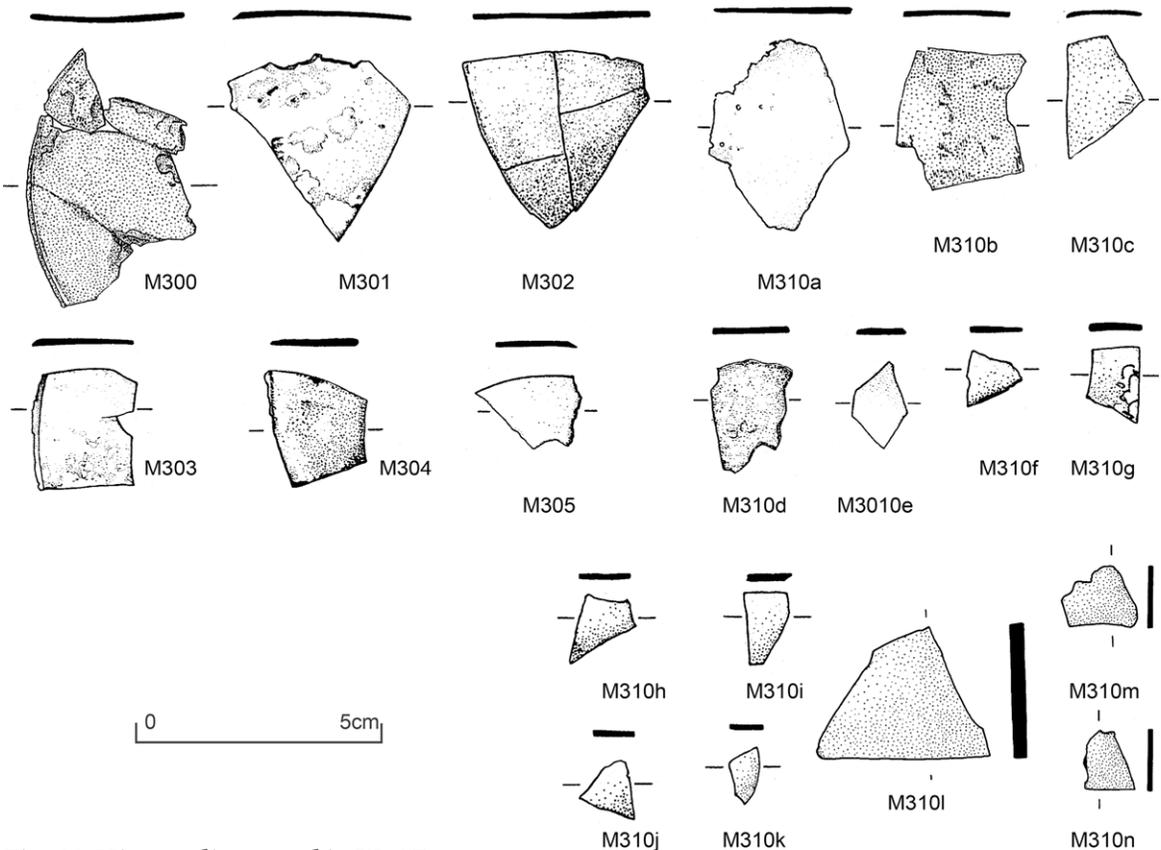
**Fig. 64: Bronze mirrors, distribution in Central Europe.**



**Fig. 65: Mirrors discovered in Bohemia.**

The finds from Stradonice counting all the public and private collections combined include at least<sup>103</sup> 64 mirror fragments [S301-S312, S300a-S300n] corresponding to 12 individuals. In two cases from the National Museum in Prague from the Berger collection ([S301-306] and [S307-S310]) the fragments are recomposed as a jigsaw puzzle into discs glued on to a cardboard base. The single fractures however rarely fit between two neighbouring fragments; the fragment thickness varies as does the nature of the patina on the various fragments; some are bevelled others are plain... Both discs are clearly composed from fragments which have nothing in common apart from being mirrors from Stradonice. Two large mirror fragments (both rims) come from Závist [Zá11, Zá12], one from Hrazany [Hro2], 20 (=7 MNI) from Třisov [Tř40a-Tř40n, Tř44-Tř46] (**Fig. 65**).

In narrower Central Europe, mirrors are present in equally large numbers in Manching (20 pieces corresponding to 5 MNI [M300-M305, M310a-M310n]) (**Fig. 66**). No other find is known to me from WnCE. This may however be only due to the state of publication as mirrors are, in contrast, extremely numerous in EnCE (**Fig. 67**), present not only in the oppidum of Staré Hradisko, but also in a number of small hillforts of both the La Tène and Púchov Cultures: Ohrozim [Ohr1], Loučka-Obírka [Oko1-Oko4], and (a fragmented but complete piece) Rýsov [Rýs1]. The collection from Staré Hradisko itself alone consists of as many as 110 fragments - large small, and minuscule - albeit corresponding to only 17 MNI (diagnostic pieces: [SH53-SH69]; non-diagnostic fragments [SH69a-SH69x]).



**Fig. 66: Mirrors discovered in WnCE.**

103 In some cases (e.g. [S300h]) one inventory number corresponds to a non-specified number of fragments. I was not able to verify their real number in the collections of the NM.

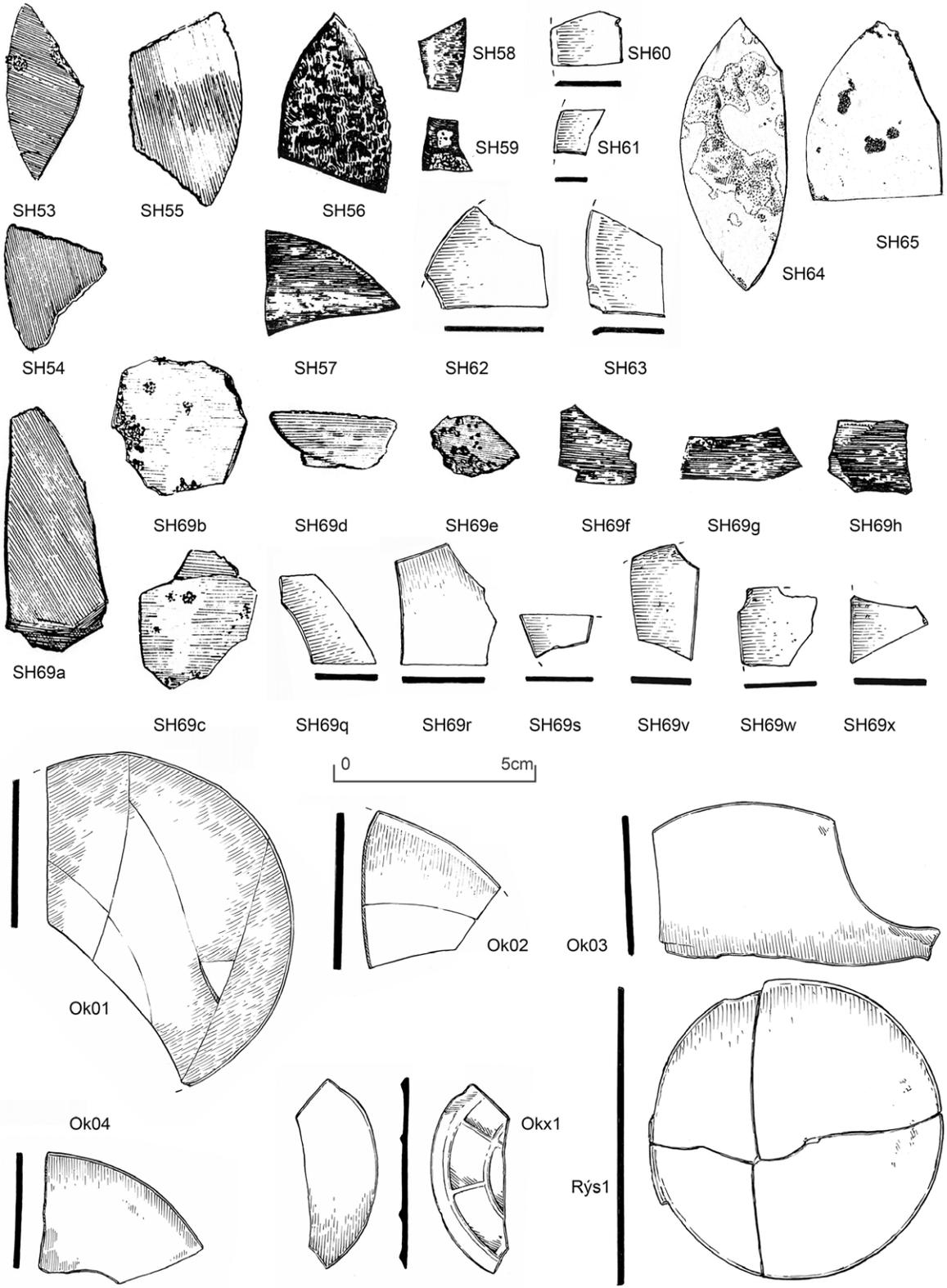


Fig. 67: Mirrors discovered in EnCE.

Mirrors are not unknown at our usual reference point of the Magdalensberg (DEIMEL 1987, 78–81, Taf. 58–62) and while otherwise seemingly not common, many finds may remain unrecognized or unpublished as explained above.

All the mirrors in our corpus whose form can be determined are simple circular plates; rectangular mirrors attested in Italy and e.g. at the Magdalensberg (DEIMEL 1987, Taf. 58–60) are not documented in Central Europe though in some cases straight breaks may be difficult to distinguish from a straight rim. The rims may be bevelled, rounded or squared off. The only decoration is an occasional groove around the rim. This corresponds to the common Mediterranean mirror types (LLOYD MORGAN 1981, 3–20, 30–35; RIHA 1986, 15).

There are numerous fibres of wood preserved in the patina of one of the Třisov fragments [Tř14] which may be remains of its wooden frame (cf. LLOYD MORGAN 1981, 3) or even of a coffer lid (COLIVICCHI 2002, 240, 34: 11) (cf. **Fig. 87** below).

On the back of one of the fragments from Loučka [Okx1] and on a unique mirror fragment from Stradonice [Sx31] a particular arrangement of concentric circles in relief with connecting rays can be observed. In the Stradonice piece, there is moreover a straight central rib pierced by a transverse hole and a groove in the corresponding place in the circular rib. No parallel to this configuration of the mirror back is known to me from the last centuries BC; it is most probable that these mirrors date to the Migration Period (as identified already by ČIŽMÁŘ – SALAŠ 2009; for the so-called ‘Hunnic mirrors’ cf. WERNER 1956, 19–24, Taf. 13: 1, 2, 4, 5, 45: 1–9, 47: 9). Rare artefacts of this date are documented in the Stradonice collections (JIŘÍK 2012).

The mirror handle preserved in the Naturhistorisches Museum in Vienna [Sx30] (**Fig. 11: 2**) raises some questions. It does not correspond in its shape with the mirror handles of either the Hellenistic/Republican or Imperial Periods (*contra* e.g. BOUZEK 1982; cf. SERRA RIDGEWAY 1996, tav. cv: 133; LLOYD MORGAN 1981, 38, fig. 5, 46, fig. 9, 48, fig. 10, 55, fig. 11; DEIMEL 1987, Taf. 64: 2–3; RIHA 1986, 14, Taf. 1: 2, 2: 13, 3: 14–20), nor is any parallel to it available from areas of the La Tène Culture. The handle is in my opinion most likely a local *ad hoc* product.

Certainly not of Mediterranean origin is a series of mirror handles identified by Karol Pieta (1996) and discussed in detail by Dułęba (2018). There is no Mediterranean parallel available for the type and the find distribution in the Middle Danube area clearly disproves the putative ‘Norican’ origin (cf. DANIELISOVÁ *et al.* 2018, 148; DUŁĘBA 2018).

## JEWELLERY

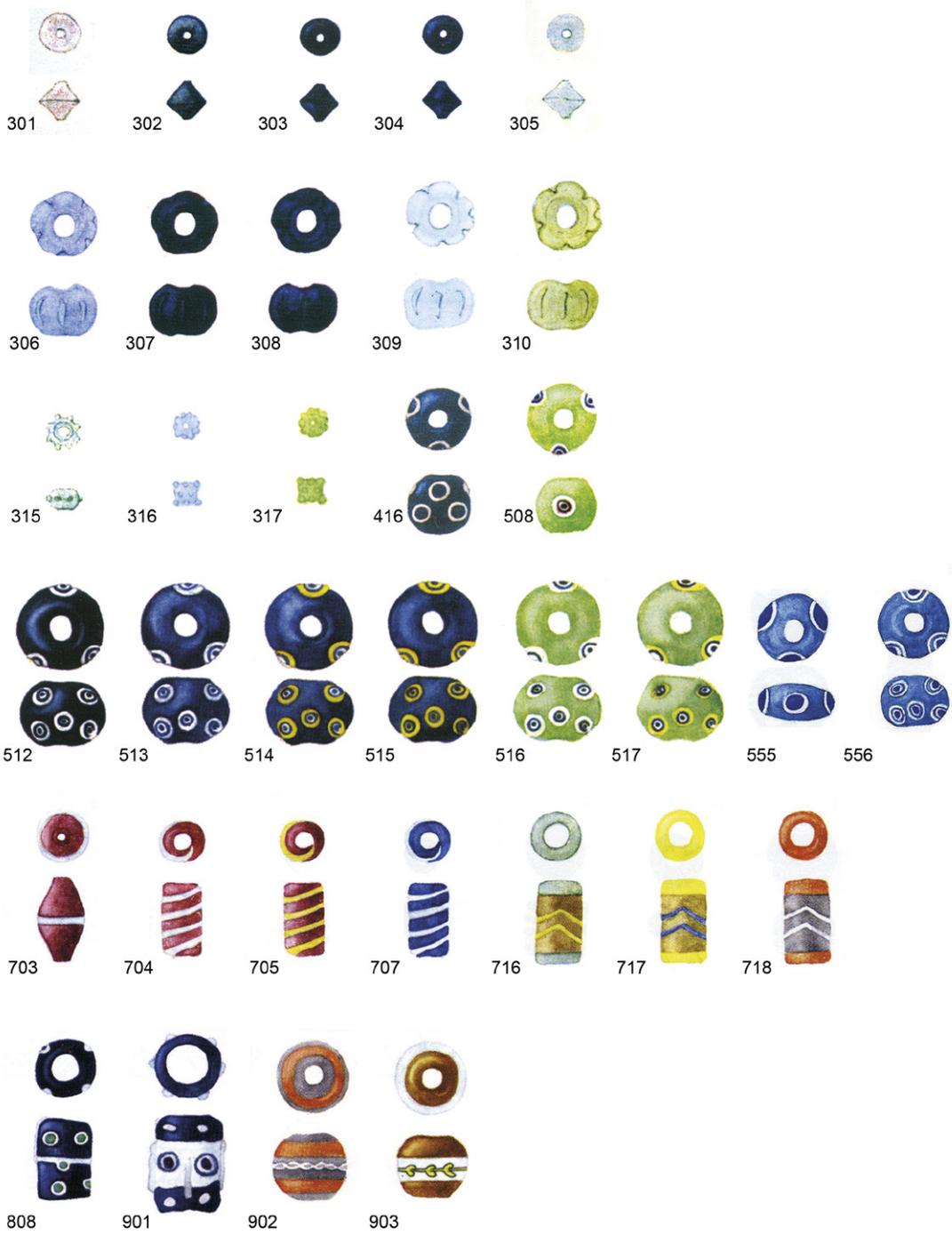
### BEADS

With the significant but rare exception of coral, the beads discussed here are predominantly made of glass. Glass ornaments are among the few find categories of Mediterranean imports also attested regularly in the pre-oppida period.

The fundamental basis for any inquiry concerning glass beads (and other glass ornaments) in our study area are the works of Natalie Venclová (1990; 2016), and Maciej Karwowski (2004). This also includes the question of Mediterranean imports, though this is minor compared to local production.

It is often impossible to demonstrate an undisputed Mediterranean origin of some bead types. They may be well represented in both the Mediterranean and Central Europe but it is exactly their omnipresence which makes any clear statement problematic. This is for instance the case of the eye-beads widespread in Central Europe from the Early Iron Age. Some beads appear to have had quite eventful lives and were being reutilised and worn long after their

manufacture as illustrated for instance by the mask bead fragments from Staré Hradisko or the amphoriskos-shaped bead from Gélert. For this reason I will exclude from further discussion beads found in obviously secondary contexts (e.g. the Hellenistic mosaic bead from a Roman Iron Age pit in Libkovice [Lbx1]) or typological groups with a very long date-range and circulation area which do not provide any clear information, and I will focus on clearly defined bead types common in the Mediterranean but rare in Central Europe (**Fig. 68, 69**).



**Fig. 68: Mediterranean glass bead types represented in Central Europe. After VENCLOVÁ 2016.**

Emblematic for the early phases of Mediterranean contacts are opaque or translucent **amphoriskos-shaped glass beads/pendants**, appearing often in necklaces along with other ornaments. These beads have been the subject of several syntheses or overviews (POPOVIĆ 1997; 2008; SCHÖNFELDER 2008, 307–309, Fundliste 1; RUSTOIU 2015; BLEČIĆ KAVUR – KAVUR 2017) and only a short summary is therefore needed. Amphoriskos-shaped glass beads (a shape present in the Balkans and northern Greece in various materials from the Early Iron Age) appear in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century, and are widespread mainly in the Balkans in the 4<sup>th</sup> and occasionally in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Aurel Rustoiu (2015) analysed their distribution concluding that two main areas can be identified, an eastern one in present day Romania (linked to production in Greek cities on the Black Sea coast) and a western group including subgroups in the Eastern Alps, Middle Danube area, and EnCE as well as – less relevant for us – in the south of the Carpathian Basin (for further observations including also the presence of these beads in Italy, e.g. Monte Bibeles cf. BLEČIĆ KAVUR – KAVUR 2017). In Rustoiu's opinion, the western group was entirely supplied by producers in northern Greece, Macedonia, and the eastern Adriatic coast (the latter suggested by the regular combination of amphoriskos-shaped pendants with branches of coral). The East Alpine group then played a key role in distributing these objects to the Middle Danube area (and presumably also to northern Italy). Equally significant is the observation (RUSTOIU 2015, 370; BLEČIĆ KAVUR – KAVUR 2017, 104–105) that rather than large migrations with historical ramifications or trade (*contra* SCHÖNFELDER 2007; BOUZEK 2017, 143), these beads are exemplary witnesses of small-scale individual movements, gifts or exogamy. The current distribution map may result from their long-time circulation in the receiving region. Their southern origin need not have got lost but was only the departure point of a long relay. This is a highly plausible model also for other bead types.

Branches of raw coral, very often present in necklaces with amphoriskos-shaped pendants leave no doubt as to their origin in the Mediterranean (in this case literally).

In the necklace from Brno-Horní Heršpice the amphoriskos-shaped beads and coral branches were accompanied by **small biconical beads** of colourless glass. Such biconical beads in different colours (types 301–305) are considered of definite Mediterranean origin produced from the 6<sup>th</sup> century and certainly continuing until the 2<sup>nd</sup> (VENČLOVÁ 1990, 58–59; VENČLOVÁ 2015, 144; VENČLOVÁ 2016, 28). Several examples are attested in Bohemia and Moravia mostly from LT B1 graves (Libenice [Lbn1], Libčevce [Lbč1], Brno-Horní Heršpice [BHH1])<sup>104</sup>; two tiny blue beads were collected in Němčice [NH05, NH06] and a late example is also present at Stradonice [S401].<sup>105</sup>

**Ribbed beads** of types 306–310 are somewhat tricky. Ubiquitous in the Mediterranean, most widespread in Transalpine Europe in Ha D2–LT A (VENČLOVÁ 1990, 59–62; VENČLOVÁ 2015, 144–145; VENČLOVÁ 2016, 28) they correspond precisely to the biconical beads discussed above, so they can be regarded as possible imports. For coherence sake, they will not be dealt with as imports in the synthesis, but their presence is nevertheless worth keeping in mind. Finds are attested from LT B graves (Jenišův Újezd), LT C agglomerations (Němčice, Nowa Cerekwia), and from LT C2–D oppida (Třísov, Stradonice) and settlements (Bezdědovice; VENČLOVÁ 1990, 59–60 with references).

The so-called **mask beads**, type Venčlová 901 (VENČLOVÁ 1974; VENČLOVÁ 1990, 96, 120, fig. 12, 17; KARWOWSKI 2005), are of certain Mediterranean origin (with a particularly strong Punic connection) and are widespread in the Pontic region (ALEKSEEVA 1975, 1978, 1982). In the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century they are particularly present in the Carpathian Basin and northern Balkans

104 Others from uncertain find contexts have not been taken in consideration due to their potentially Ha D/LT A date: Tvršice and Žatec area cf. VENČLOVÁ 1990, 58.

105 This may still be an authentic local find considering the production of the type until the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

(KARWOWSKI 2005, 165–167, fig. 8, list 4). The recent overview by Hana Čižmářová (2019) shows a concentration of these beads in Moravia with four finds from small open settlements of the pre-oppida period (surface finds: Biskupice [Bis1], Hrušky [Hrš1], Slavkov [Skv1]; excavation: Mistřín [Mtr1], not counting obviously residual examples from Staré Hradisko [SH70, SH71] and from an Early Medieval tomb in Mušov [Mšx1]. From Lower Austria (still within the confines of EnCE) comes one highly degraded fragment from Roseldorf [Rso1] and another better preserved one from Prellenkirchen, just across the Danube (KARWOWSKI 2010).

Loosely related with the latter are the **‘Noppenperlen’** or cylindrical beads with colourful bosses (types 808–810 after VENCLOVÁ 1990; 2016). An exhaustive overview of their Mediterranean presence mainly in the Early Iron Age is provided by Kunter (1995, 169–215) while the Late Iron Age Transalpine presence was documented by Maciej Karwowski (2006, 65). Examples are known from Thunau am Kamp [Thu3], Staré Hradisko [SH72, SH73], Stradonice [S402] as well as from distant Jüchsen in Thuringia [Jüh1].

The so-called **Adria-type beads** (VENCLOVÁ 1990, 63–64, types 315–317), i.e. small cylindrical beads with numerous protuberances are attested in Stradonice [S403, S404], Závist [Zá13], and the Ptení hoard [Ptn1–Ptn3] but also in Manching [M401–M403], and probably also in Eggfling [Ego2].<sup>106</sup> Further south they are present not only in northern Italy (including the eponymous Adria) but also in the East Alpine area (BOŽIČ 1998, 149, 156; GLOGOVIĆ – MEDUŠIĆ 2007).

According to Natalie Venclová (1990, 102) a Mediterranean origin is probable also for some types of **beads with small eyes** with only a limited distribution (Němčice nad Hanou: type 416 [NH05, NH06], type 555 [NH07]; Stradonice: types 508, 512–517 [S405–S413]; Staré Hradisko types 512, 514, 516, 556 [SH74–SH77]). As mentioned by Venclová (2016, 78) it is difficult to distinguish these types from common Late Hallstatt eye beads, e.g. no such distinction is provided in the overview of K. Kunter (1995).

The violet **spindle-shaped bead** decorated with white thread (type 703; VENCLOVÁ 1990, 88–89; Stradonice, Staré Hradisko), while having some general Mediterranean parallels (VENCLOVÁ 1990, 89), is of unclear origin (VENCLOVÁ 2016, 79).

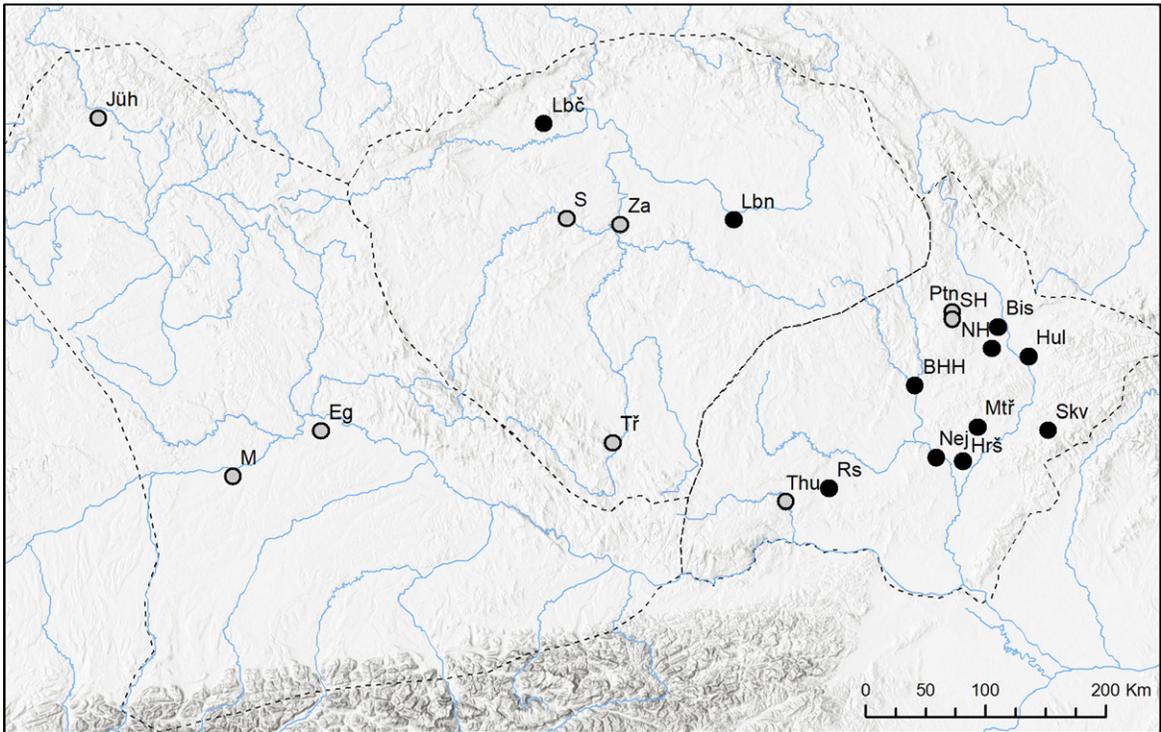
**Cylindrical beads decorated by wound or combed threads** (VENCLOVÁ 1990, 89, 94, types 704–706 and 716–720) are attested by several examples from Stradonice [S408, S414, S415, S417] as well as from Moravia such as a fragment of type 706 from a grave in Nejdek [Nej1], another one of type 720 from Němčice nad Hanou [NH08], and complete examples of type 706 from Staré Hradisko [SH78] and of type 704 from the Ptení hoard<sup>107</sup> [Ptn5]. According to Nenna (1999, 144–145) this group is characteristic of the entire Hellenistic/Republican Mediterranean and cannot be more precisely circumscribed either chronologically or geographically.

A **globular bead with a pair of twisted threads** around its circumference from Třísov [Trš0] obviously harkens back to the *a reticella* technique documented in the Mediterranean in glass vessels from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC onwards (see above). The application of this technique to beads is attested in the Pontic area (ALEKSEEVA 1982, 38, type 418: finds dated to 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC–1<sup>st</sup> century AD). I have not been able to trace any published beads of this type in the western Mediterranean, though at least one similar piece is preserved in the Museum

106 The bead is even closer to the type 18 glass beads with an inner metal tube, after Alekseeva (1978, 32, tab. 26: 58). The chronology of this type is nevertheless obscure and it is therefore not sure whether it can be a valid parallel for the Eggfling piece.

107 Miloš Hlava (2015, 274) realised that another bead of the same form was depicted in the original documentation, it differs however from the present piece in its colour (purple instead of blue). The observation is fully valid, I prefer however keeping only one of these beads – they are never both described in one source and the distinction between them may be due to the different chromatic perception of the various observers.

of Sartène, Corse-du-Sud<sup>108</sup> showing that some (or many?) may have escaped attention or remain unpublished. In any case, the Mediterranean origin of the Třísov bead can be taken for granted, and a provenance from the eastern Mediterranean is not excluded.



**Fig. 69: Distribution of Mediterranean glass beads in central Europe. Black dots - the pre-oppida period; grey dots - the oppida period.**

## FINGER RINGS

Rings – only one of many categories of annular jewellery – were produced and used throughout LT A–LT D in the Transalpine world (WALDHAUSER 1998; BUJNA 2005, 72–81, 91–95). Finger rings of Mediterranean style and production joined them in the last two centuries BC. The Roman finger-rings in the Central European Late La Tène Culture have been treated in detail in a lengthy study (KYSÉLA 2016a) on which this chapter is largely based. The rings were at the same time subject to technological and chemical analysis (KOZÁKOVÁ 2016).

In total, 60 objects can be counted in La Tène Bohemia deserving consideration as rings of Mediterranean origin (**Figs. 70, 71**); eleven of them were excluded from the corpus for different reasons. The largest number comes from Stradonice – 48 preserved<sup>109</sup> pieces in total,

108 A blue bead with a pair of intertwined elicoidal threads in a transparent band. I am grateful for the information to Gwenaël Bertocco (Soprintendenza per i beni e le attività culturali, Valle d'Aosta).

109 The Lorber collection (whence come also the finger rings [S472] and [S471] reportedly included also 'several imprints of ancient cameos', 'several simple rings [...and] gold rings' (SVOBODA 1941, 2). In 1941 during the negotiations about the sale of the collection to the National Museum, these 'cameos' (intaglios?) and the gold rings had already been sold. The 'cameo imprints' mentioned in the report have not been successfully identified in the Museum collections. In spite of the reliability of both the collector and the author of the report, the information cannot be verified in any way (and even less quantified) and the objects therefore cannot be taken into account.



Fig. 70: Finger rings and intaglios discovered in Stradonice. Photographs by J. Kysela and NM Prague, © NM Prague. \*= not to scale.

37 of them retained as authentic imports [S440–S476]; the oppidum of Třísov [Tř51–Tř54] and the annexe of Kolo u Týnce nad Labem [K002–K005] produced four pieces each, followed by two rings in the oppidum of Závist [Zá14, Zá15], one in the oppidum of Hrazany [Hr03], and one in the Holubov hoard [Hol1].

Several objects could be excluded right away from further consideration for different reasons. The most evident case is the ridiculously oversized modern fake [Sx46] produced from an ancient bone and ancient lump of amber (KYSELA 2016a, fig. 2b); another pastiche is probably [S457] which was made from a fragment of an original imported ring. Several rings can be classified as characteristically Roman in their form but they date to periods later than the Late La Tène occupation of the oppidum: [Sx42, Sx43] (cf. MARSHALL 1907, pl. XVI: 570, XXI: 814, 850, XXII: 869; HIGGINS 1961, 191, pl. 63A: Roman from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD on, or modern), [Sx40] (type Marshall E xxiv, Riha 1 var. 7; 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century AD: MARSHALL 1907, XLVIII, n° 526, 531, 532, pl. xv; RIHA 1990, 32, Taf. 6: 97–98). There are no ancient parallels to [Sx41] which is probably modern. Stylistic analysis of [Sx44] (see below) showed that the date of the object need not correspond with the La Tène period occupation of the oppidum<sup>110</sup> and it seems preferable to remove it from further discussion.

A Mediterranean origin may be (and has been) further questioned in the case of the gold ring with an amber gem [S440]. Břeň in his study of the rings (BŘEŇ 1959) excluded its foreign origin, while Jiří Waldhauser (1997) does not seem to have taken it into consideration at all. But following the criteria applied to other rings, there is no reason to doubt it: the form of the ring is Roman and the use of amber in Roman rings coming back to Central Europe, no matter how characteristically Nordic the material is, is repeatedly attested (see below).

The shape of most rings retained in our corpus is basically the same: the shank and bezel are connected through massive shoulders into a continuous unit. This shape corresponds to types 1b, 1c, and 2a (or 1c/2a – the distinction between the types is not always simple) after Guiraud (1989, 78–81) or type 1, var. 2 after Riha (1990, 30). This basic form may vary in the configuration of the shoulders (straight, rounded or concave), of the bezel (rounded oval, long oval, oblong), or in their connection (broad/narrow, high/low) or in small details such as an accentuated rim for the stone setting [S446, S449], or a slight rib along the centre of the shank [K002, S459]. These small variations change nothing on the classification of all these rings as one-piece bezel rings characteristic of Greek and Roman jewellery of the last centuries BC and 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (MARSHALL 1907, XLII, XLVI; HIGGINS 1961, 175, pl. 53F; ZAZOFF 1983, 213, Abb. 54c–f; DEPPERT-LIPPITZ 1985, 239, 294, Abb. 174d). These are the same ring types that appear in La Tène period Gaul (GUIRAUD 1989; BARBAU 2019), in northern Italy (GAGETTI 2000, 331–332), or in Roman republican military camps (Numantia, Renieblas: LUIK 2002, 51–53, Abb. 168).

Six very similar objects [S473–S475, Tř52–Tř54] recall very strongly the Guiraud 1b/c/2a type rings by their general shape and dimensions; however, they lack the shank (only short pointed stubs are present) and any hint of a bezel rim. In spite of some initial hesitation (KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 583) I consider these objects extremely worn remains of finger rings mainly on the grounds that the composition of their alloys corresponds precisely with that of the accepted Roman rings from Stradonice (cf. below and KOZÁKOVÁ 2016, 77).

One of the rings is made of gold sheet [S440], one [K002] of a silver alloy (63% Ag, 21% Sn, 5% Cu). The other rings are made of iron (14 examples) or copper alloys (22 examples). A most interesting finding, ascertained by the alloy analysis, is the regular presence of zinc

110 It is also the only ring from the Mikš/Buchtela collection.

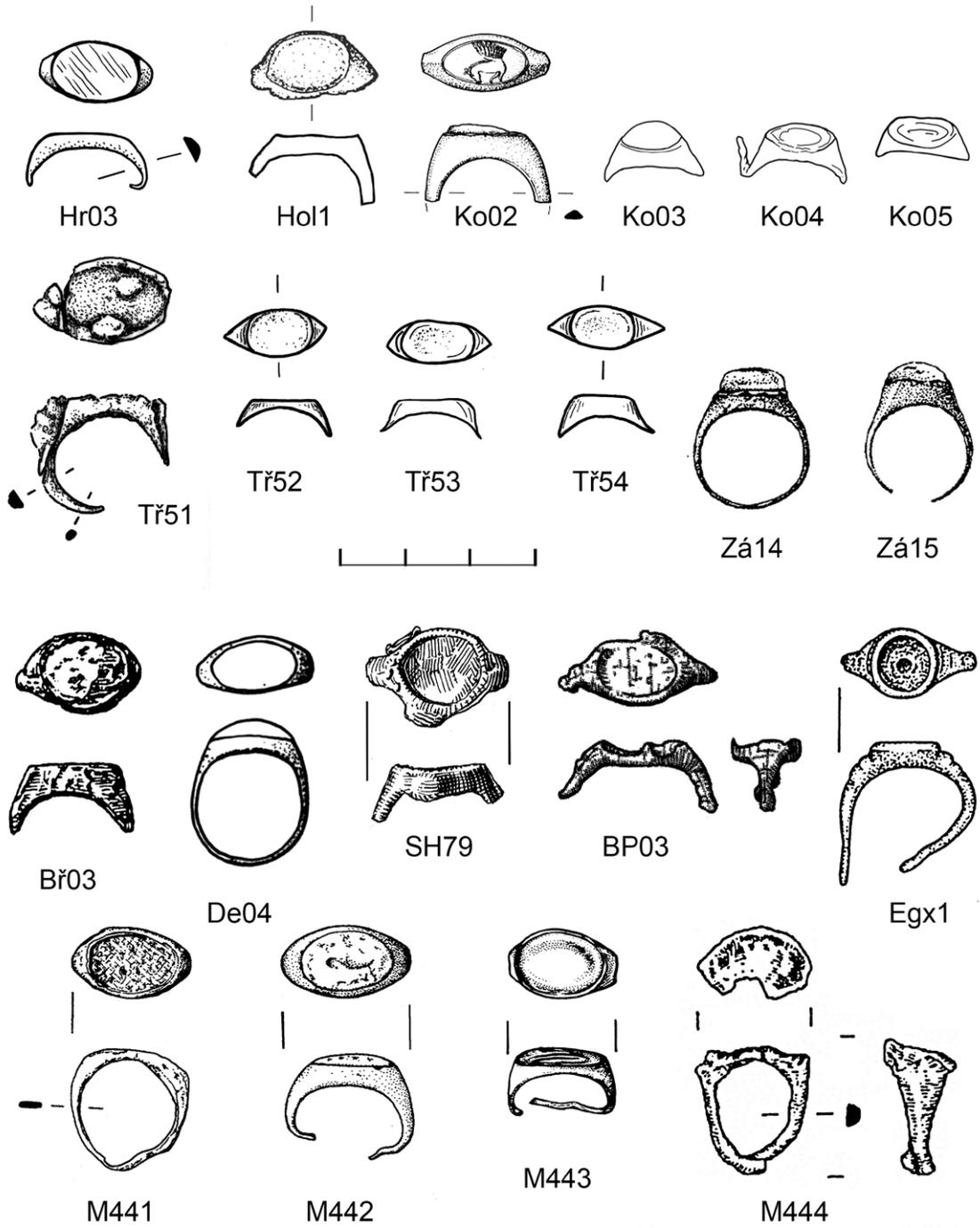


Fig. 71: Finger rings discovered in Central Europe.

in the copper alloys (KOZÁKOVÁ 2016; KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, tab. 3: 53a-c). The absence of brass in La Tène Transalpine Europe has already been mentioned and will be discussed again. The occurrence of zinc in various objects imported from the Mediterranean are rather haphazard and the values low (KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014). The systematic presence of zinc in the rings is a clear sign of its intentional admixture to the alloy most probably with the aim to make it look like gold.

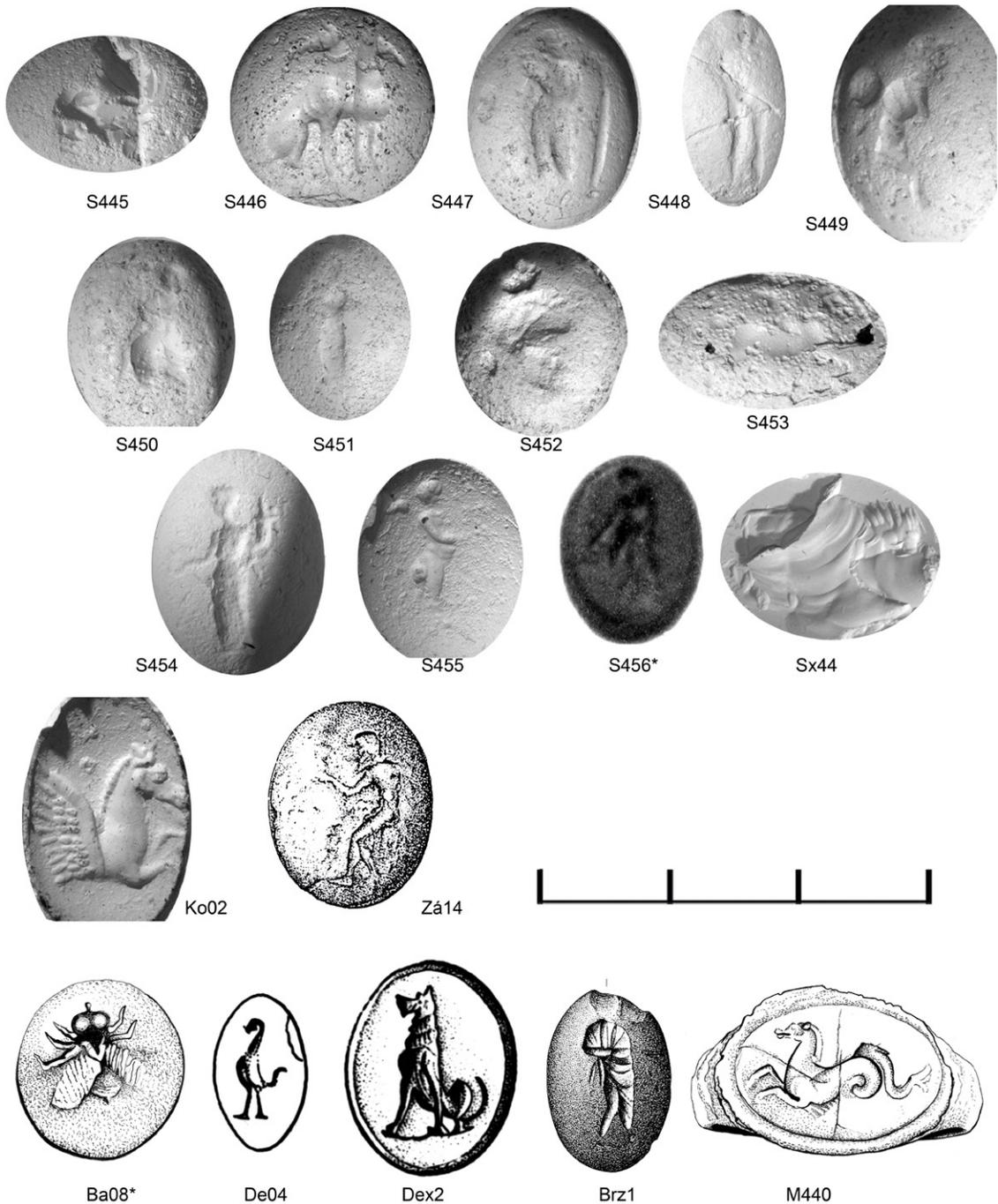
Inlays are preserved or documented in 26 cases in Bohemia; those made of precious stones are mostly isolated, i.e. without the metallic part of the ring. Only one has survived [Sx44], another one [S444], still extant in the 1980s, cannot be found in the NM any more. Both these preserved gems were made of carnelian. In three cases the inlay is made of amber [S440, S448, S459], a material emblematic for contacts in the direction Central Europe-Italy and not *vice versa*. Czech oppida yielded much evidence of amber working and consumption (ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996b; DIVÁK 2013, 144), including decoration of locally made finger rings (PÍČ 1903, tab. VII: 14). However, at least in one case a piece of amber set in a ring certainly made its way from Italy to Central Europe and was worked by an Italian gem carver (see below Manching [M440]) and another such example [S448] should therefore be no surprise.

Mediterranean production is on the contrary sure in the case of rings set with glass-paste inlays underlain with gilded silver leaf. Produced by impression into clay moulds, these glass inlays were a cheap alternative<sup>111</sup> to gems carved in (semi)precious stones (PLANTZOS 1999, 108) not only due to the less costly material but also and mainly due to the far lesser effort and skill needed for their production. This procedure naturally has numerous drawbacks: the moulds progressively wear out, and without sufficient attention only part of the rounded surface may get impressed. These two phenomena are well documented in our corpus in which there are only a few sharp and completely visible images [S445, S446, S454]; even the sufficiently detailed images often have a clear impression on only one side of their convex surface (e.g. [S449, Z414]). In some cases, the images are deprived of any detail ([S450]). Moreover, the surface of some inlays is largely affected by glass corrosion making the images even less visible.

From a material and technological point of view, the rings in Bohemian oppida are of mediocre quality – precious metals are used only twice, once as a thin sheet of gold and once as a poor alloy of silver); the systematically used (and locally unknown!) brass may probably have been employed as ‘similar’; the majority of inlays are cheap, very low quality glass paste, mere baubles. To cut a long story short, the rings imported to Late La Tène Bohemia make a disturbing impression of objects giving a very false appearance of their high value.

In the following study of the images depicted on the gems (cf. **Fig. 72**) I completely abstain from basing any considerations on the iconography of the images. Though not excluding possible local knowledge of some Mediterranean iconographic models, it would be pointless to draw any conclusion from this equation with too many unknowns. Iconography will be used only as an auxiliary means of classification which will rely mainly on stylistic analysis. The principal styles of Italian glyptics of the last few centuries BC and of the beginnings of the new era are well studied. This work will follow the (mutually compatible) classification systems of Marianne Maaskant-Kleibrink (1978) and Hélène Guiraud (1988, 38–59).

111 *Anulare quod vocant, candidum est [...]; fit et ipsum e creta admixtis vitreis gemmis e volgi anulis, inde et anulare dictum.* Plin. NH xxxv, 30 (=48).



**Fig. 72: Intaglios and pastes discovered in Central Europe. S445-S455, Sx44, Koo2 - impressions; others - front view. \* = not to scale.**

The images on the rings from the Závist acropolis have been identified by Iva Ondřejová (DRDA – ONDŘEJOVÁ unpublished), as a depiction of a poorly identifiable mythological scene [Zá14] and of a *cornucopia* [Zá15]. Only a drawing of the gem [Zá14] has been published, not permitting a stylistic judgement; the definite find context nevertheless confirms their deposition in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

The paste example from Kolo u Týnce nad Labem [Koo2] carries an image of a Pegasus protome to the right.<sup>112</sup> Though not common by itself, there are numerous depictions of Pegasus figures, and horse heads/protomes are similarly abundant in the ancient glyptics from its beginnings in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC till the mid Empire.<sup>113</sup> Stylistically the image fits well the late Republican Pellet style of the 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC.

All the other gems and pastes come from the oppidum of Stradonice. The image in the intaglio [S441] was described by Píč (1903, 50–51) as an ‘image of Pallas-Athena, seated, helmeted, holding a tragic mask in her left hand,<sup>114</sup> a butterfly hovering nearby; a nice Greek work’. The basic scheme of a seated female figure with her left arm on a shield and holding an attribute in her extended right hand is characteristic of armed goddesses in general.<sup>115</sup> The attributes described by Píč seem unusual but a series of intaglios very similar to the Stradonice piece in which the goddess actually holds a theatre mask are well documented.<sup>116</sup> The classification of one from Magalas (Hérault, F) to the ‘*style perlé convexe*’ / ‘Campanian and Hellenistic-Roman style’ (GUIRAUD 1988, 41, 96, fig. 6, n° 88) is in agreement with Píč’s opinion based on Furtwängler: ‘south Italian Hellenising work of the late Roman Republic’ (Píč 1903, 52).

The intaglio with a human bust [S442] (**Fig. 73** above) was described by Píč as ‘the bust of a female of plump form<sup>117</sup> and with wavy hair partly held by a headband’. The available parallels enable us to dampen the author’s phantasy: the bust is probably of Dionysus with wine grapes around his head (BOARDMAN 1968a, 31, n° 33; AGDS I/2, 47, Taf. 94, Nr. 822, 87–88, Taf. 119, Nr. 1068–1071; VOLLENWEIDER 1979, 60–63, pl. 25, nos. 56–57, 59). Píč was nevertheless right in his stylistic attribution – the voluminous flamboyance characteristic of the late Republican ‘Campanian’ Hellenising style is clearly visible even in the tiny published photograph.

The image in [S443] (**Fig. 73** above) described by Píč as ‘a crouching naked figure, south Italian work’ is very interesting from an iconographic point of view; it depicts a shackled captive seated on a shield preserving in small format a rare example of Late Republican propagandistic art. It is attested in various iterations<sup>118</sup> all in the various Republican styles of the last two centuries BC.

112 The orientation of the motifs, and the distinction left/right, is described as on the impression rather than on the gem itself.

113 Combined protomes of Pegasus and an eagle: AGDS IV, n° 1117–1118 (1<sup>st</sup> century BC/1<sup>st</sup> century AD); entire figure of a Pegasus; Insular gems: MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK 1978, n° 3–4; Archaic Greece: BOARDMAN 1968b, 145, pl. xxxiv: 507; Roman Republic: FURTWÄNGLER 1900, Taf. XLV: 43–44; SENA CHIESA 1966, 373, tav. LXI, n° 1211–1215; MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK 1978, n° 178; WAGNER – BOARDMAN 2003, 70, n° 529, pl. 71: 529; Imperial period: MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK 1978, n° 1023, 1076; AGDS I/3, Nr. 2326; AGDS IV, 1134–1137; horse protome – late Republic /early Empire: AGDS IV, 1167–1169; Imperial period: AGDS I/3, Nr. 2413.

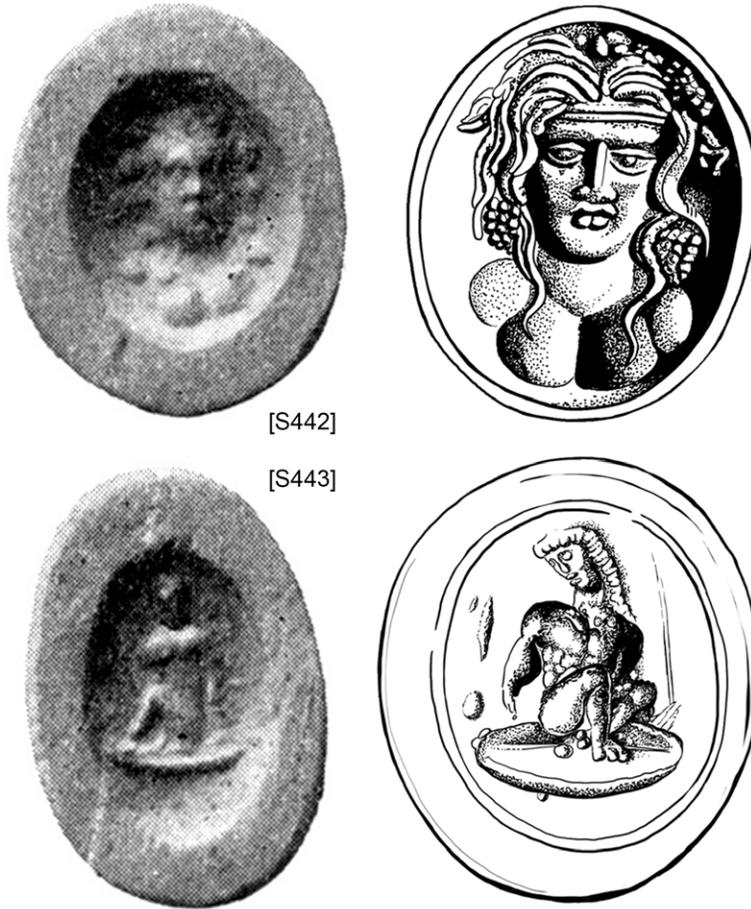
114 In his French translation of the text (Píč 1906), Déchelette replaced ‘tragic mask’ with ‘helmet’ and ‘left’ with ‘right’.

115 AGDS I/3, n°s 3157–1359; RICHTER 1971, n° 109. Cf. FURTWÄNGLER 1900, 267–268 with observations on the origin of the scheme. In the LIMC this type is unfortunately not well documented for Athena/Minerva and the inventory of the depictions of Roma is focused on the Imperial period (DI FILIPPO BALESTRAZZI 1997).

116 St. Petersburg, London, Berlin: FURTWÄNGLER 1900, II 137–138, III 267, Taf. xxvii: 68; Göttingen: AGDS III, 86, Taf. 35, Nr. 81–82; Magalas: GUIRAUD 1988, 96, n° 88, fig. 6, pl. vii.

117 Déchelette censored this observation in his translation.

118 Almost identical is VOLLENWEIDER 1979, 109, n° 108; further AGDS I/2, 158, Taf. 151, Nr. 1592–1595; RICHTER 1971, 22, n° 50; VOLLENWEIDER 1979, 108, n° 107 (*style perlé convexe*). There are also parodies of this motif: HERMARY – CASSIMATIS – VOLLKOMMER 1986, 884–885; BLANC – GURY 1986, 966–967;



**Fig. 73: Intaglios [S442] and [S443] (after Píč 1903) and their iconographic parallels (drawn by P. Kazakova after AGDS I/2).**

The intaglio [S444] (**Fig. 74**) depicting a generic scene of a hound chasing a hare<sup>119</sup> has been attributed to an 'a globolo-like' style of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (ONDŘEJOVÁ 1981) to which little can be added. Very close in style (Kleibrink's Republican blob style) and subject matter is the unfortunately damaged gem in [S445] depicting in the same style a horse rolling on its back. This motif which had already appeared in Archaic Greece,<sup>120</sup> is attested in the Hellenistic period,<sup>121</sup> and became extremely popular in Italian glyptics from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (**Fig. 74**).<sup>122</sup> Another lively observation of animals is the paste example [S446] depicting in

the most common parody is a captive Eros: FURTWÄNGLER 1900, Taf. xxvii: 4–6, XLIX: 27; ZAZOFF 1983, 286, Taf. 80: 3.

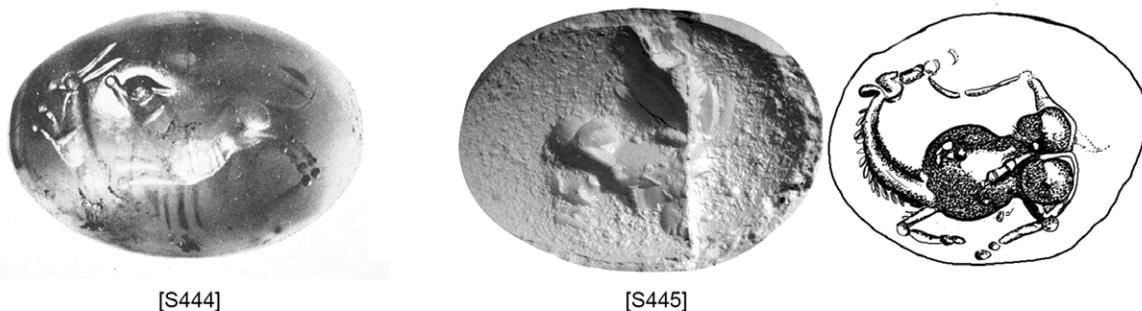
119 More or less close parallels include SENA CHIESA 1966, 353–356, tav. LV–LVI, n° 1079–1084, 1098, 1099; MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK 1978, n° 86–87; AGDS I/2, Taf. 88, Nr. 765–767; AGDS I/3, Nr. 2257; AGDS IV, 63, Taf. 34, Nr. 221; GAGETTI 2000, 331, 332–333, fig. 1: 14a, 15.

120 BOARDMAN 1968b, 116, 118, pl. xxvi, n° 357; xxxiii, n° 503; WAGNER – BOARDMAN 2003, 5, n° 2, pl. 5: 2.

121 Sicily: LIPPOLIS 2008, 181, 188, fig. 9, n° 292; Pula: MIDDLETON 1991, 36–37, n° 10.

122 Cf. FURTWÄNGLER 1900, Taf. xxviii: 76, 78 (Roman Republic), vii: 67, LXIV: 11 (Etruscan); AGDS I/2, 39, Taf. 88, Nr. 762 (3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC), 205, Taf. 174, Nr. 1955–1957; AGDS IV, Nr. 214 with numerous further references.

detail two seated hounds. The style differs from the two previous pieces and although the basic structure remains geometric, the bodies are much more articulated and the depiction more detailed, classifying the image to the Republican ‘Pellet style’. An exact parallel is preserved in the Kestner Museum in Hanover (AGDS IV, 63, Taf. 34, Nr. 222).



**Fig. 74: The intaglio [S444] (after ONDŘEJOVÁ 1981). Impression of [S445] (photo R. Kozáková) and its iconographic parallel (drawn by P. Kazakova after AGDS I/2).**

The motif of the paste example [S447] is hard to make out. It depicts a young man, the S-shaped posture suggesting a possible statuary inspiration. It can be linked with a series of intaglios probably of Italian origin representing divine or heroic males or females leaning against a column and distinguished only by attributes held in their hands or placed on the top of the column (PLANTZOS 1999, 73–76).<sup>123</sup> Unfortunately none of these are preserved in our case. The imprint in the paste makes it hard to decide whether the stone original was carved in one of the Republican ‘Pellet styles’ or in the Augustan ‘*courant classique modelé*’. The bold use of the *bouterolle* drill bit for the column hints rather at the former; the majority of gems with this motif date, after all, to the Republican period (PLANTZOS 1999, 75). The pair of male legs preserved as the only figural element in [S448] unfortunately defies any stylistic and iconographic attribution.

In comparison with the two youths in the last two intaglios, the man depicted in [S449] has much less cannonic features (Fig. 75). His curved back, ruffled hair and beard, protruding ribs, and loin-cloth denote him as a figure of the lowest social standing. Most probably he is a porter, carrying his burden on both ends of a shoulder pole (only the part behind the man’s back is visible due to the flawed impression). The motif of a slave-carrier is attested in several variants in both the Hellenistic/Republican<sup>124</sup> and Imperial glyptics.<sup>125</sup> The model for it is a nice example of the Republican ‘Pellet style’.

123 We may cite from among the numerous parallels (to limit ourselves only to the Republican period) e.g. AGDS III, 84, Taf. 34, Nr. 67; MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK 1978, n° 101.

124 FURTWÄNGLER 1900, Taf. xxviii: 29, 31–33, xxix: 28; AGDS I/2, 69, Taf. 109, Nr. 961; AGDS IV, 466; ZAZOFF 1983, 301, Taf. 89: 2–3. A parody version (a man carrying a single huge grain spike or a monstrous locust): FURTWÄNGLER 1900, 277, 286, Taf. xxviii: 19, xxix: 38–40; AGDS I/2, 68–69, Taf. 109, Nr. 958–960; ZAZOFF 1983, 301, Taf. 70: 6, 89: 4; porter-skeleton: FURTWÄNGLER 1900, Taf. xxix: 50.

125 AGDS I/3, 2348 – 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC/AD; SENA CHIESA 1966, 283–284, tav. xxxviii, n° 755; SENA CHIESA 2002, 22–23, fig. 5.



**Fig. 75: Impression of [S449] and [S450] (photo R. Kozáková) and their iconographic parallels (drawn by P. Kazakova after AGDS IV and FURTWÄNGLER 1900).**

The poorly impressed and largely incomplete scene in [S450] (**Fig. 75**) becomes clear only when compared with complete representations of the same motif: a rampant horse with a rider on its back. The available parallels<sup>126</sup> vary in details (the horseman may or may not wear a helmet or hold a shield, and beckon with his right hand or brandish a spear in it...). Our depiction is closest to those in which the horseman clad in an *exomis* holds a bunch of javelins in his left hand and turns back gesturing with his right arm. This rather frequent motif was studied by Vollenweider (1979, 98–101) who believed its original model to have been a public commemorative statue of the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. The universally Republican styles in which all the different versions are executed corroborate this date (no stylistic conclusions are possible in the case of the Stradonice paste).

The paste [S451] was impressed in a completely worn-out mould making any judgement of the piece impossible; ‘a standing female’ is the most daring interpretation we can propose. Also, the impression of a male head in profile [S452] is unfortunately too indistinct and the surface of the paste is too affected by corrosion to allow any clear identification; a mythological figure, a theatre mask, a symbolic theme or a *gryllos* are all possible readings. Stylistic considerations are equally problematic but the rounded subtle forms are clearly more indicative of Hellenistic/Republican/Augustan than of Imperial styles.

126 FURTWÄNGLER 1900, 284, Taf. IX: 36, XXVII: 31, 33; AGDS I/2, 53, Taf. 98, Nr. 861, 168, Taf. 156, Nr. 1665–1666; RICHTER 1971, 22, n° 49; MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK 1978, 117, n°125; VOLLENWEIDER 1979, 98–101, pl. 37–38, nos. 94, 96, 99; ZAZOFF 1983, 277–278, Taf. 77: 11. All the pieces date to the 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

The seemingly absolutely illegible image in [S453] can be unequivocally identified thanks to parallels (**Fig. 76**): it is a representation of Eros mounted on a lion's back. The most famous version of this theme is the Hellenistic cameo signed by Protarchos today kept in Florence.<sup>127</sup> The state of preservation of the Stradonice piece unfortunately precludes any stylistic considerations.



**Fig. 76: Impression of [S453] (photo R. Kozáková) and its iconographic parallel (drawn by P. Kazakova after ZAZOFF 1983).**

The study of [S454] is much facilitated by the good quality of the impression making clear even fine details; it depicts Tyche holding a phiale in her right hand and a cornucopia in the left.<sup>128</sup> The rendition of fruit in the cornucopia as clear globular objects, the composition and the slight rigidity of the figure suggest its classification to the Republican 'pellet style' rather than the Augustan/Imperial classicising style.

Identification of the paunchy fellow in [S455] is complicated by the careless impression which eliminated all the figural elements around the centre of the image and by bubbles and corrosion on the surface. Possible interpretations include Eros or a Satyr/Silenus. The lost gem [S456] documented in one of the Lehmann collection photo-plates carries a depiction of a standing (male?) figure in a mantle. The photograph is unfortunately not sufficiently detailed to allow a proper iconographic identification or stylistic evaluation.

The surface of the cornelian intaglio [Sx44] is unfortunately extensively damaged and the little that remains gives no basis for any iconographic reflexions. There are however some stylistic elements preserved. The image seems to have been constructed by means of a series of short strokes both forming a line and setting them next to one another. This reliance on short strokes sets the intaglio clearly apart from all the other gemstones studied previously and reminds one of Imperial period glyptic styles (though its beginnings can be traced back to the very late Republican Wheel styles). It is to be excluded from further consideration although its authenticity is surely possible.

With the exception of five illegible images, the majority of the preserved gemstones and glass paste examples have been stylistically evaluated. Almost all of them were made in styles characteristic of Republican Italy, most often in the 'styles *perlés*' of the last two centuries

127 In this cameo (ZAZOFF 1983, Taf. 54: 6/89) Eros is depicted playing a lyre. In other versions of the motif he may be driving the lion with a tiny whip (MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK 1978, n° 1160; 1<sup>st</sup> century AD) or enjoy his ride without any attribute (SENA CHIESA 1966, 338, tav. L, n° 986; AGDS I/2, 101, Taf. 126, Nr. 1173; AGDS I/3, 2288, 3079 – 1<sup>st</sup> century BC; AGDS III, Taf. 32, Nr. 44; cf. also WAGNER – BOARDMAN 2003, 5, n° 228, pl. 37: 228; 1<sup>st</sup> century AD). For Eros mounted on various beasts, cf. HERMARY – CASSIMATIS – VOLLKOMMER 1986, 874–875; BLANC – GURY 1986, 995–998.

128 For the iconographic type cf. VILLARD – RAUSA 1997, 119, 122 with focus on the Hellenistic period; AGDS IV, Nr. 1514 – Imperial period.

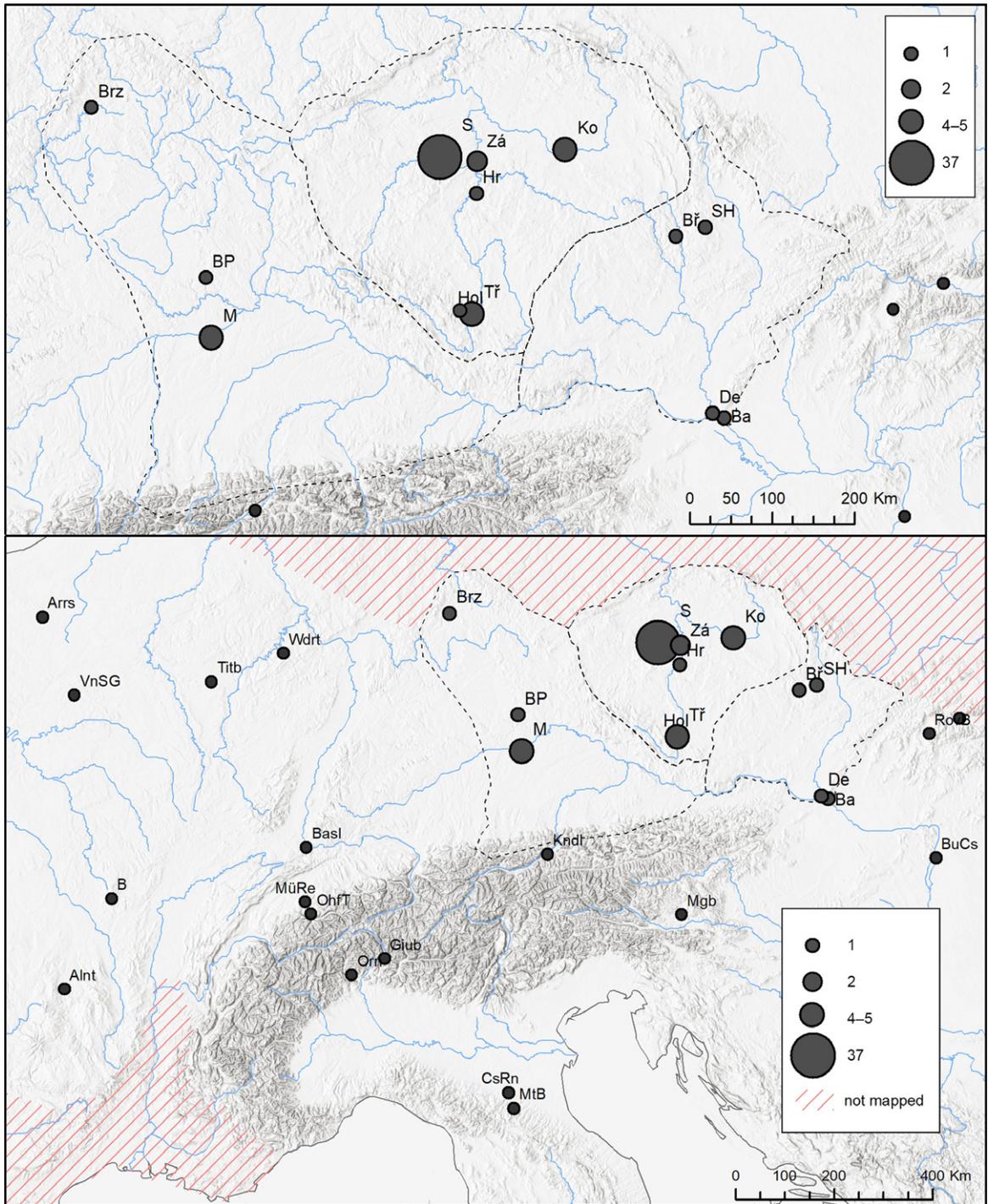
BC. Only two cases belong to the ‘*a-globolo* like’ style running in parallel with the ‘*styles perlés*’ and gradually displaced by them in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Importantly, mainly in the case of Stradonice, with the possible exception of [Sx44] (from a different collection than all the others) Imperial and even Augustan styles are completely absent. The clearly Republican date of all the other intaglios makes us believe that these rings and gems can be truly considered authentic finds from Stradonice.

In EnCE of the oppida period, one iron finger-ring was discovered in the oppidum of Staré Hradisko [SH79], and one made of copper alloy comes from the open lowland settlement of Bořitov [Bř03]. In southwestern Slovakia one intaglio is documented in Bratislava [Ba08] depicting a bee carved in red cornelian. One ring in Devín with a paste gem depicting a water bird [De04] might (but need not) be dated to the Augustan era while a cornelian intaglio from the same site depicting a sitting dog [Dex2] is surely of Imperial date (MIKOVÍNOVÁ-DAŇOVÁ 2009). Several finger-rings were discovered in the Púchov Culture area (PIETA 2008/2010, Taf. 119: 1–3); in these cases, however, a 1<sup>st</sup> century AD date is probable. Only a single comparable ring is documented at the Magdalensberg (DEIMEL 1987, 217, Taf. 46: 14) (cf. map Fig. 77 for all the cited sites).

In the west in WnCE, five finger rings have been discovered in the oppidum of Manching, two made of iron [M441, M444] and one in copper alloy without the preserved inlay [M443], one in copper alloy with an illegible glass paste inlay [M442], and one in iron with an amber inlay engraved with the figure of a hippocamp [M440]. One copper alloy finger ring of a Mediterranean type was found in the agglomeration of Berching-Pollanten [BPO3]<sup>129</sup> and, on the very northern edge of our working area, the pottery production site of Brendlorenzen (Bad Neustadt, Unterfranken) yielded a glass paste inlay with a depiction of a standing male wearing a *himation* [Brz1]. One iron ring without a preserved inlay comes from an unclear find context (burial?) in Kundl (Bez. Kufstein) in the Tyrolean Alps, already outside our working area (LANG 1993, 294, Abb. 6: 5). Two glass paste inlays, surface finds from Poing (Lkr. Ebersberg, Bavaria), one depicting a Pegasus, the other featuring remains of a representation of a female figure, can be dated to the Republican/Hellenistic period (PLATZ-HARSTER 2018, 27). Given the lack of a reliable find context it is however highly possible that the rings were only lost during the time of the Roman occupation of the region.

Seal rings and intaglios occasionally appear already in some flat-grave period burials, most often in those located in the Mediterranean or in the regions with close contact with it: numerous examples from the allegedly Senonian necropoleis (six pieces from Santa Paolina di Filottrano, eight from Montefortino di Arcevia, four from Osimo etc.: MICHELI 2012); three bronze rings with engraved bezels come from Monte Bibele, Monte Tamburino, t. 22, 24, 45 (CHALLET 2008, 66–67, fig. 5). Isolated pieces were found in Casalecchio di Reno, t. 86 (a silver ring with a gold relief insert in the bezel; ORTALLI 1995, 229–231), Zimnicea and Enisala in Romania (REPKA 2015, 102–103, obr. 49B: 3, 5), Budapest-Csepel (t. 222 and 247: three bronze rings with identical intaglios of a standing heron; HORVÁTH 2017, 55–56, fig. 4: 3a–c, 5: 3a–c, 6: 1a–c; cf. *ibidem* for an overview of similar rings in pre- and non-La Tène contexts in the north-western Balkans). Relatively late (LT C1/2–C2) tombs in Switzerland occur in Münsingen-Rain, gr. 180 (HODSON 1968, 40), Bern-Thormannmätteliweg, gr. 8 (STÄHLI 1977, 36, Taf. 18), and Horgen, gr. 2 (BRILL 1981, 176, Abb. 3). Probable local imitations of this ring type are moreover attested in the Carpathian Basin (Maňa – a bronze ring with geometric decoration with five concen-

129 Another piece from the same site (SCHÄFER 2010, 54–56, Nr. 4993) is formally distant from Roman Republican rings and also its find circumstances suggest its probable later date.



**Fig. 77: Distribution of imported rings in Transalpine Europe and other sites mentioned in the text (only rings deposited before mid-1<sup>st</sup> century are mapped in Gaul, Italy is mapped only selectively). Abbreviations: Alnt - Aulnat; Arrs - Arras; B - Bibracte; Basl - Basel; BuCs - Budapest-Csepel; CsRn - Casalecchio sul Reno; Giub - Giubiasco; Kndl - Kundl; MgB - Magdalensberg; MtB - Monte Bible; MüRe - Münsingen Rein; OhfT - Oberhofen am Thunersee; Orn - Ornavasso; Ro - Rovní-Blatnica; Titb - Titelberg; VnSG - Villeneuve Saint Germain; Wdr - Wederath.**

tric circles: REPKA 2015, 102–103, obr. 49A, 48B: 4), as well as in Oberhofen am Thunersee in Switzerland (MEGAW – MEGAW 2001, 178, fig. 294; 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC). During the Late La Tène period, rings with gemstones are relatively frequent on the southern slope of the western Alps (Ornavasso, Giubiasco: GAGETTI 2000; CARLEVARO – PERNET 2006, 115–117), usually found in tombs considered the most prestigious in the necropolis (GAGETTI 2000, 329–331).

Clémentine Barbau in her study of Romanization of non-Mediterranean Gaul based on personal objects documented 72 finger-rings (BARBAU 2019, 34–35, 292–293, 298, 303–305); however, only about a dozen of them were found in contexts pre-dating the Roman Conquest<sup>130</sup> with the earliest ones dated back already to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century (HENIG – COLLIS 1987; redated in MENNESSIER-JOUANNET – DEBERGE eds. 2017). The far more numerous finds from the third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and especially from the Augustan period cannot be reasonably compared with those from Central Europe where the La Tène Culture came to its end shortly after the middle of the century and without the enormous Roman presence characteristic of Gaul. Among the objects deposited before the Caesarean period there are six (fragments of) iron rings, five in copper alloys, and three isolated gems. They were distributed among tombs, open agglomerations, and oppida – one or two objects per site with the notable though not surprising exception of Bibracte with its six occurrences of rings or inlays.

The widespread adoption of signet rings in Gaul after the Roman conquest is considered by Barbau (2019, 292–293, 298, and 303–305) as one of the characteristic signs of cultural transformation in the new era whose principal movers were local elites following the model set in the first place by the Roman military. Rings are famously considered one of the secondary signs of a Roman military presence (POUX 2008, 383–384, 429) as is illustrated for instance by the military camps of Alesia which produced extraordinarily many finds (BROUQUIER-REDDÉ – DEYBER – SIEVERS 2001, 300–301, pl. 93, n° 76–85). Bibracte holds its exceptional role also after the Roman conquest with as many as 19 rings or gems.<sup>131</sup> No other sites apart from Bibracte and Alesia have yielded more than four rings (BARBAU 2019, 224–227 and *passim*).

### Amber ring

Besides the bronze and iron rings treated above, the amber ring from Staré Hradisko stands out [SHx2] (**Fig. 78**). It is a simple though massive ring with a pronounced rib around its circumference. The bezel features a standing nude female figure touching her breast with one hand and her lap with the other. This posture shared with a series of female divinities from

130 Several rings or intaglios have been published in the meantime, not modifying substantially the author's conclusions. Three important additions (two iron ring fragments and an intaglio bearing a depiction of a Pegasus) come from contexts of the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC in Toulouse (DEMIERRE 2015, 176, fig. 17: 8, 19: 11–12). According to Jeannot Metzler (*et al.* 2016, 201) 139 finger rings and intaglios were documented at the Titelberg as of 1997; however, the overwhelming majority are in private collections. The 13 pieces from the excavation of the public space in the oppidum (METZLER *et al.* 2016, 201–202) date mainly to the Gallo-Roman period. In Coirent, three rings and two intaglios have been classified as of Gallo-Roman date as suggested by their find contexts. Although this may be true of most of the rings (Demierre in POUX – DEMIERRE eds. 2015, 147–148, pl. 5: 4–7; their morphology corresponds to both late Republican and early Imperial types; the image on the glass paste of one of them is not reproduced), the stylistic classification of the two cornelian intaglios is not convincing and at least one (of clearly a *globolo*-like style), if not both, may be of Republican date (Brand in POUX – DEMIERRE eds. 2015, 304, pl. 1: 1–2). This changes nothing from the fact that they may have only been deposited in the Imperial period.

131 Not including at least eight others from 19<sup>th</sup> century excavations documented only by their imprints: THIOLLIER 1899 *apud* BARBAU 2010.

Phoenician Astarte, through the Etruscan ‘Turan’ from the Canicella sanctuary at Orvieto, to Praxiteles’ Aphrodite of Knidos (and even up to Botticelli’s Birth of Venus) identifies her clearly as the goddess Venus of the ‘*Pudica*’ type.



**Fig. 78: Staré Hradisko, amber ring with relief figure of Venus, photo by C. Gaja, © Museum Boskovic.**

No precise information is available as to the ring’s find context; it was however donated to the Boskovic museum in 1938 by Karel Snětina, the first excavator of Staré Hradisko who declared its provenance from the oppidum excavation (*Staré Hradisko* 2018, 199). Massive amber (and semi/precious stone) finger rings with figural bezels are characteristic products of the workshops active in Aquileia<sup>132</sup> principally in the Imperial period (SPRINCZ 1957; CALVI 1976; 2005; GAGGETTI 2001, 228). All the scholars who have dealt with the object therefore more or less decisively excluded it from their consideration concerning the oppida period (MEDUNA 1961; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 656–657; *Staré Hradisko* 2018, 199).<sup>133</sup>

The matter is however not so simple; although most of the rings were actually produced between the Augustan period and the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (remaining in use and circulation through the 3<sup>rd</sup> and down to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD (GAGGETTI 2001, 228), a careful analysis of the individual examples by E. Gaggetti (2001, 227) and M. Calvi (2005, 35) identified in some female busts on such rings stylistic features (mostly hairdos) characteristic of a period as early as the 40s BC.<sup>134</sup> Republican period amber working in Aquileia has rarely been taken into consideration probably due to the written sources which put so much emphasis on the massive extent of the amber trade only in the Imperial period (though not explicitly

132 And perhaps in the Middle and Lower Rhine region (cf. GAGGETTI 2001, 278–286).

133 Elisabetta Gaggetti (2001, 282, 407, n° 164bis) included the find in her catalogue without questioning its authenticity. Nevertheless, doing so she relied on incorrect information on the chronology of the oppidum suggesting occupation going on until the Augustan period. Moreover, she seems to base her information exclusively on published and verbal information without having the chance to inspect personally the object itself or at least its image.

134 It is beyond the scope of this study to decide whether these traits mean that the rings in question were produced in the Republican period or that they copied in the Imperial period earlier sculptural portraits as suggested by Calvi.

stating that the amber trade only began at that time). In fact, Maria Calvi was so fixated on the Imperial period that although aware of amber working in Staré Hradisko, she discusses the site as dating to the 'mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC to mid 1<sup>st</sup> century AD' (CALVI 2005, 16). We will briefly discuss the question of amber and its role in the contacts further on; at this point suffice it to say that amber was traded in the Late La Tène period through Central Europe, that some made it to Italy and as we have seen above there is even evidence that some worked amber found its way back to Central Europe.

Aware of all this we have to come back to the ring and ask ourselves if it could not have been produced in the late Republican period. Although in most cases the amber rings discovered in Aquileia can be really dated only to the Imperial period due to their shape or to the stylistic details of the depicted figures, most of Aquileian amber objects were discovered in the 19<sup>th</sup>/early 20<sup>th</sup> century excavations and often lack reliable find contexts and the above-mentioned date of the 40s BC is therefore the earliest certain date for the production of this type of ring. The massive loop of the Staré Hradisko ring with slightly diagonal shoulders fits with the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD types (GUIRAUD 1988, types 2d and 2e). Elisabetta Gaggetti (2001, 222) argues however that the ring shape is not a relevant chronological criterion as amber and precious stones require completely different technological approaches from metal. The minuscule Venus figurine cannot contribute to the chronology by any stylistic hint. Her coiffure with hair combed back and framed along the temples by two thick locks could be considered of Hellenistic origin rather than classified among the complex hairdos of the Imperial period; it does not however automatically mean an early production date as mythological or generic figures were represented with such hairstyles deep into the Imperial period. It is interesting to note, that representations of Venus are extremely rare in these massive amber and stone rings, especially compared with the Erotes or Graces which are among the most common motifs (besides generic female heads and crouching dogs). No figure of Venus has been identified in the entire Aquileia collection which features as many as 144 rings, 80 of which bear figural decoration (CALVI 2005, 29–64)<sup>135</sup> and only three depictions of hers can be found among the 324 examples listed by Gaggetti (2001), none of them being of the discussed *Pudica* type. This is however not an issue we can or should resolve here.

To conclude, the ring said to be from Staré Hradisko stubbornly resists any explanation for its presence on the site; although it may be of relatively early date among the massive amber rings, the earliest pieces within this category only date to the 40s BC, i.e. to a period when the oppidum was most probably already abandoned. We cannot exclude that production started earlier, already in the Late Republican period; this assumption, however, can only be based on circumstantial evidence (amber trade between Central Europe and Aquileia already in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC); the only firm evidence for this hypothesis is the ring from Staré Hradisko itself. No matter how thought provoking, let us dismiss this circular argument at this point and exclude the ring from further consideration.

## GOLD

### A gold filigree disc

In the Berger collection said to be from Stradonice there is a small gold sheet trefoil (**Fig. 79**). It is articulated in two levels, with a flattish trefoil base with three small cup-like inserts (probably once inlaid) between the lobes, and a central globular projection bearing a six-petal

<sup>135</sup> Though GAGGETTI 2001, note 80, describes a probable depiction of Venus Anadyomene. The ring cannot be identified among those published by CALVI 2005.



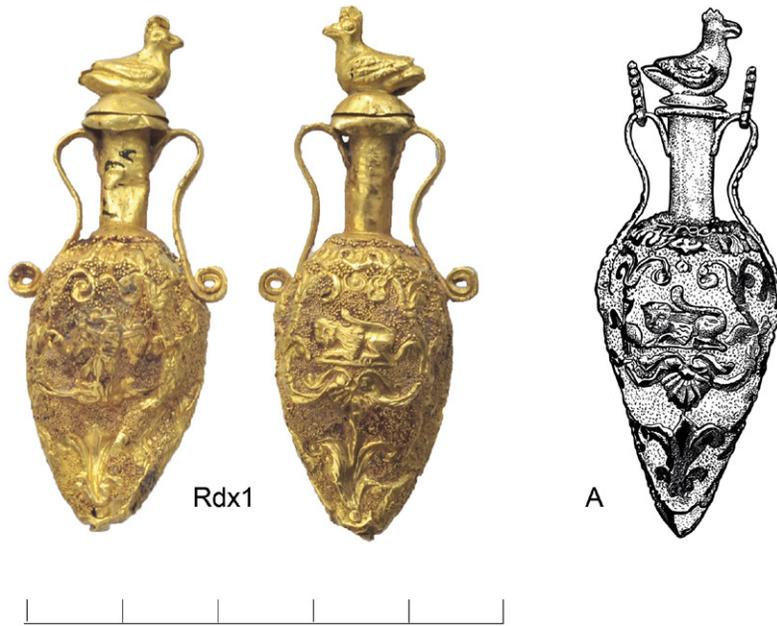
**Fig. 79: Stradonice, gold sew-on filigree trefoil. photo by J. Kysela, © NM Prague.**

filigree rosette with a central element in granulation; each of the three lobes is decorated with a three-petal motif again in smooth filigree; the whole is bordered with a twisted filigree [Sx47]. The tiny object is clearly only a component of a larger ornament, e.g. a pendant of an ear ring or a necklace element. The decorative techniques used (smooth and twisted filigree, circular cups for inserts) corresponds with those used in the Hellenistic/Republican Mediterranean (while at the same time unknown beyond the Alps); still, no satisfactory precise parallels have been found within this broad category (e.g. MARSHAL 1911; SEGALL 1938; BECATTI 1955; HIGGINS 1961; DE JULIIS ed. 1984; PFROMMER 1990; WILLIAMS – OGDEN 1994, etc.). It is principally the trefoil shape which does not seem at all characteristic; although one cannot expect precise parallels within an artefact category so varied and individual as gold jewellery, this absence is still remarkable. The well-balanced combination of smooth and domed, the use of soldering rather than stamping, the reliance on filigree rather than granulation, etc. all suggest affinity with Greek jewellery of the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century (rather than with e.g. Etruscan production). This makes the presence of the trefoil in the Stradonice collections somewhat suspicious. Although it must be born in mind that our knowledge of 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century BC Mediterranean jewellery is much more limited than in the previous two centuries, the fact remains that we have no clue to explain the presence of the object at Stradonice – a Greek 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century ornament seems out of place there; a more appropriate date for the object cannot be reasonably proven. Though with much hesitation, the tiny golden trefoil is to be excluded from our further discussion.

### **Gold amphora-shaped pendant**

A small object in the shape of an amphora [Rdx1], made of gold sheet with the body decorated by relief stamping and covered with granulation in the recessed areas (**Fig. 80**). The stamped decoration depicts on each side a different animal in the middle of scrollwork: a couchant lion on one side, a seated frontal eagle with spread wings on the other. A removable stopper in its smooth neck, adorned with a figure of a bird in the round, suggests that the object may in fact have once actually been used as a receptacle.

The object came to the National Museum in Prague with the Berger collection. The only information about its provenance states ‘Roudnice’ in the inventory made only after Ber-



**Fig. 80: Left: 'Roudnice', gold amphora shaped pendant. Photo by J. Kysela, © NM Prague.**

**Right: Gold amphora pendant from Antikesammlung München, ex-Marx collection, Mainz.**

**Drawing by P. Kazakova after WÜNSCHE – STEINHART 2010.**

ger's death; it is not specified whether it is Roudnice nad Labem or Roudnice near Hradec Králové, nor is there any information concerning its origin (Genuine local find? Acquisition?).

Objects in the shape of an amphora are common in Hellenistic jewellery, principally in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, as earring pendants (DE JULIIS ed. 1984, 134–135; HIGGINS 1961, 166; GUZZO 1993, 223–226; NICOLINI 2001). The 'Roudnice' amphora however, has no provision for suspension and with its height of 43 mm without the lid (with the lid it reaches the overall length of 54 mm) it slightly exceeds the usual dimensions of this kind of ornament<sup>136</sup> even though some pieces of comparable size can be found among earrings: Benaki Museum in Athens, 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> century BC – 65 mm (SEGALL 1938, 45, Taf. 13: 37); the British Museum, allegedly from Damascus, 1<sup>st</sup> century AD – ca 45 mm (MARSHALL 1911, 273–285, pl. LI, nos. 2324–2325); Vulci, 4<sup>th</sup> century BC – ca 45 mm (MARSHALL 1911, 219, pl. xxxviii, n° 1977).

The object has been relatively little studied due to the uncertainties it raises. It was briefly mentioned by Píč (1905, 307, fig. 61) among isolated finds of the Imperial period (though described as 'Greek work'); it was included in the project on gold in Central European prehistory (LEHRBERGER *et al.* 1997), but finally studied in detail only relatively recently by Martin Trefný (2006, 123–124). The author came to no firm conclusions: neither a precise date (Hellenistic or Roman period?) nor the provenance (southern Italy or Thrace) can be claimed with any certainty, though the parallels with Thracian jewellery seem more fitting. This uncertain clas-

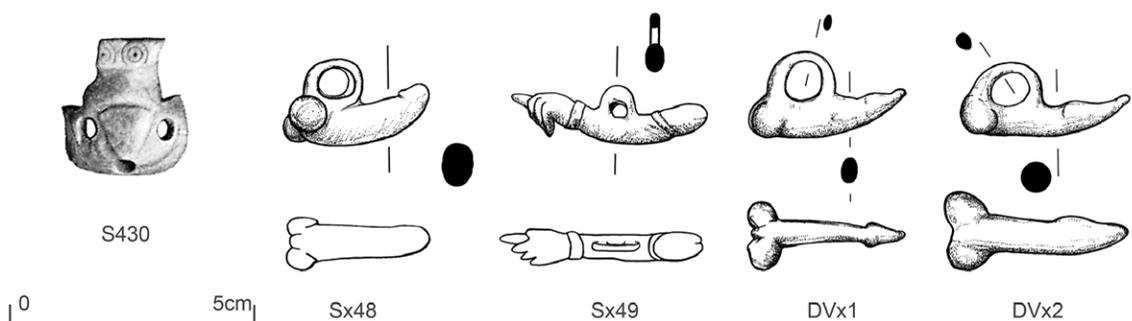
136 Various provenances, allegedly 1<sup>st</sup> century AD: MARSHALL 1911, 273–285, n° 2328 – <30 mm; nos. 2332–2333 – ca 30 mm; nos. 2356–2357 – < 35 mm; Volterra: CRISTOFANI 1975, 25, fig. 18; Ancona: COLIVICCHI 2002, 178, n° 25:3 – 11 mm; Taranto: DE JULIIS ed. 1984, earrings 165–168, n° 80 – 20 mm; n° 81 – 17 mm; n° 82 – 11 mm; Benaki Museum: a pastiche necklace including an amphora-shaped pendant: SEGALL 1938, 76–77, Taf. 24: 90: < 20 mm; Bettona, 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, earrings with amphora-shaped pendants 13 mm high: BECATTI 1955, 199, tav. 108, n° 408.

sification and doubtful provenance would be by themselves sufficient reasons for excluding the object from our discussion.

These reserves are moreover corroborated by another finding: a basically identical object is preserved in the Antikensammlung in Munich! The Munich amphora (**Fig. 80A**; WÜNSCHE – STEINHART 2010, 57) comes from the Ludwig Marx collection from Mainz, acquired by the Antikensammlung in 1918 (WEINZINGER 1918, 60, Taf. 33, Nr. 292; SIEVEKING 1929, 32, Nr. 87). The similarity between the Munich and the Prague pieces is remarkable: the size and shape are the same, the decoration is absolutely identical in all details in both the subject matter and the style. The only obvious differences are some details of the handles: smooth in Prague, ribbed in Munich, with a spiral termination in Prague, but trimmed short in Munich. This is the only point which may make us doubt whether they may be truly considered a pair; in any case there is no doubt that they were made by the same hand. The Munich piece moreover preserves two suspension rings on the handles missing in the Prague amphora. The presence of two identical pieces (potentially forming part of a single ornament – a pair of earrings? A necklace? – or a single set of *parure*) in two roughly contemporary Central European collections of antiquities should make us extremely sceptical about a local provenance for either of the objects. No provenance is stated for the Munich amphora but its publishers classify it as a South Italian 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> century object, which corresponds with other ornaments in the Marx collection demonstrably bought in Southern Italy. Most likely a single ornament obtained by the *tombaroli* sometime in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was brought to Central Europe, divided in pieces and sold off to different customers, one ending up in the hands of Marx, the other in those of Berger.

## PHALLIC PENDANTS

Five artefacts in the corpus are connected by shared iconography in two typological guises (**Fig. 81**): a bone pendant from Stradonice already published by Píř [S430] depicts a schematised male reproductive organ frontally and in ‘relaxed’ state. In the other four (allegedly two from the LT B–C cemetery of Dobrá Voda, okr. Jiřín, NE Bohemia [Dvx1, Dvx2] and two from the Stradonice oppidum [Sx48, Sx49]) the phallus is depicted in profile in an ‘active’ state with a suspension eyelet on the top; in one of these cases [Sx49] the phallus on one side of the eyelet is mirrored by a hand in the *fica* gesture, i.e. closed fist with the thumb stuck through between index and middle finger. All five of these objects correspond to types well known and abundantly documented from the Mediterranean and those from Dobrá Voda were even presented as indicators of contacts with Mediterranean in the Middle La Tène period (KRUTA 1983; WALDHAUSER *et al.* 1987, 85, 87). They have been discussed in detail in KYSELA 2015b.



**Fig. 81: Phallic pendants from Stradonice and Dobrá Voda.**

The Mediterranean depictions of the phallus (HERTER 1938; TROMBETTA 2001) were by no means banal vulgarities but played rather an important role in the Roman spiritual world. Their most important role resided in their function as amulets against curse and bewitching by the evil eye (Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* v, 7; Plin. *NH* VII, 2; xxviii, 4; Vergil. *Bucolica* III, 102–103).

Phallic amulets can be distinguished in several formal groups: frontal depiction in a relaxed state with a transverse bar or a suspension loop at the top; profile depictions in an active state with a suspension loop; depictions of a hand clenched into the *fica* gesture; and combinations of profile phallus and *fica* in a single object (BISHOP 1988; DEL HOYO – HOYS 1996; DESHLER-ERB – BOŽIČ 2002). The earliest phallus/*fica* amulet of which I am aware (a bone bar with a suspension loop transversely drilled through) from Tyre dates as early as the 9<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (SEEDEN 1991, fig. 48). The frontal types are common in the Punic cultural area from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC in naturalistic form and from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century in schematic shapes decorated by drilled circles (FERNÁNDEZ *et al.* 2009, 138–140). They are common in the Greco-Roman world of the last centuries BC, rarely in bronze (SIEBERT 1973, 586, fig. 34, n° 8), but more often in glass (NENNA 1999, 139–140, pl. 53, nos. 152–167 with further references mainly for the eastern Mediterranean) or other materials (mainly for the Pontic area cf. ALEKSEEVA 1975, 47, tabl. 7: 28–30, type 90: faïence, 1<sup>st</sup> century BC/2<sup>nd</sup> century AD; ALEKSEEVA 1982, 32, tabl. 45: 3, type 30: bone). Though relatively rare in regions controlled by the Roman Republic, there are some unquestionable finds of frontal pendants from the wreck of a ship sunk on the coast of the island of Spargi near Sardinia, in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (PALLARÉS SALVADOR 1979, 175, fig. 35) or from the well/sacrificial shaft (?) in Cetamura del Chianti (DE GRUMMOND *ed.* 2017, 154, fig. 134).

The profile types are well documented in the Punic world from the 5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (FERNANDÉZ *et al.* 2009, 138–140) as are the *fica* pendants, by themselves or combined with a phallus (FERNANDÉZ *et al.* 2009, 108–109). These gesturing hands in bone, glass or faïence are widely distributed in the eastern Mediterranean (DEONNA 1938, 359–360, pl. CI: 890; ALEKSEEVA 1975, 47, tabl. 7: 21–27, type 89; ALEKSEEVA 1982, 32, tabl. 45: 11–11, type 28, 29). In the Roman world the bone phallus/*fica* bars occur commonly up to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (MIKLER *et al.* 1997, 20 with further bibliography; COOL 2016, 34–35). In all cases they are nevertheless simple bars with a transverse hole; the testicles are not depicted.

Bronze was only used for phallic pendants during the Imperial period. At this time the frontal depictions had a residual presence in the Augustan period (e.g. in FINGERLIN 1986, cat. n° 545: 12) gradually giving way to the profile types. First, tripartite types became common in the Augustan period with two profile phalli (or a phallus and a *fica*) on either side of a suspension loop and a frontal type on their juncture (Lyon, 20 BC–10 AD: DESBAT – MAZA 2008, 245, fig. 4: 53, 5: 53; Dangstetten, 15–9 BC: FINGERLIN 1998, 106, cat. n° 963: 1, 153, 1155: 2; Haltern, ca 7/5 BC–9/14 AD: MÜLLER 2002, cat. nos. 515–529; Kalkriese: ORTISI 2015, 48) to become common throughout the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (BISHOP 1988, 98, types 6d, 10a–t, fig. 46, 48–49; DESHLER-ERB 1999, 54–55, Taf. 27: 539–550; ORTISI 2015, 48, Abb. 15). The simple depiction of a single phallus with testicles seen in profile appears only occasionally in the Augustan period (COOL 2016, 46–47 presents a silver example from an Augusto-Tiberian context from Pompeii) and it is only from the later 1<sup>st</sup> century and especially in the 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> that they fully replace the earlier complex forms (OLDENSTEIN 1976, 158–160; RIHA 1990, 74, Tf. 31: 720–721; DESHLER-ERB 1996; BOLLA – TABONE 1996, 266–268; BOLLA 1997, 111 with further bibliography).

There is not much good news for our pendants in the above overview. Authenticity seems very probable in the case of the frontal piece [S430] which is very similar for instance to the finds from Spargi described by Dragan Božič who classified it as his type 4 (DESHLER-ERB – BOŽIČ 2002). Similar finds are very rare in the Transalpine La Tène regions; the only parallel known to me is a bone pendant (naturalistic type 1 after Božič) from the (very late) La Tène

levels at Basel-Münsterhügel (DESCHLER-ERB – BOŽIČ 2002; DESCHLER-ERB 2011). Based on associations with writing implements, Božič hypothesised a function of these objects somewhere in this realm. Be that as it may, the original function of the object may have long been forgotten when it reached the oppidum. The interest in it was warranted by its universally recognizable form.

On the contrary, the profile pendants allegedly from Dobrá Voda and Stradonice clearly belong to types which only became common in the Mediterranean a century after the demise of Stradonice and three centuries after the last burial was deposited in Dobrá Voda. No pendants of this type have been discovered in contemporary Mediterranean contexts, not even in military camps in which phallic pendants traditionally abound in the Imperial period (ULBERT 1984; LUIK 2002; POUX 2008). The objects are obviously not authentic finds from the sites but only slipped into the collections by accident or ill intent at a later stage. This would be expected rather than surprising in the case of Stradonice; in that of Dobrá Voda a revision of the documentation in the Museum of Hořice (KYSÉLA 2015b) revealed that the pendants were acquired as a part of an assemblage of doubtful association (some objects may be of Middle La Tène date, others are arguably not).

The topic however does not end here. It is worth noting that pendants in the form of the *fica fist* appeared in Moravia at least from LT C2; six examples are known from oppida, lowland settlements and hoards (ČIŽMÁŘ 2008; 2012, 149, 154–156, obr. 6; HLAVA 2015a, 272). In Bohemia only one piece is attested, not surprisingly from Stradonice<sup>137</sup> (SKLENÁŘ 2015, 70, obr. 48). These pendants do not show any signs of being other than locally produced which makes them even more interesting. We do not know to what extent the original meaning of these objects was maintained (nor why it was them but not the rest of the phallic anti-bewitching arsenal that Transalpine society decided to adopt); at any event it is a curious case of transcultural borrowing.

## MEDICAL AND TOILET INSTRUMENTS

Mediterranean medical instruments are well documented in the Imperial period (e.g. KÜNZL 1983, 15–31; KÜNZL 2002, 1–11; RIHA 1986, 79–80; JACKSON 1990; BLIQUEZ – JACKSON 1994); Republican finds are much less common (e.g. Delos: DEONNA 1938, 221–225, fig. 248–253). The surgical *instrumentaria* usually include scalpels with massive handles and often exchangeable blades, *spatulae* with an olive-shaped back end intended for palpation diagnostics (BLIQUEZ 2003), axe-shaped bone-saws with a short arched blade and polygonal section shaft, needles, tweezers and other highly specialised instruments. Central European Iron Age and Roman Iron Age objects identified in the past as medical instruments have recently been restudied by L. Burešová (2020); the study awaits publication.

One must be wary not to over-interpret these objects. Especially the *spatulae*, i.e. the most common medical instruments of the oppida period, had a wide range of applications even in the Roman world including pharmacy, cosmetics, painting, etc. (KÜNZL 1983, 28; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 653; RIHA 1986, 80). And there is no reason to connect them necessarily with the very specific and predominantly Greco-Roman medical practice (as some writers do; in a particularly exasperating manner e.g. JANČO 2003, 203) for which they were produced in the first place.

The story is very different for the genuine surgical sets which appear in La Tène graves from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century on. The most famous is that of Munich-Obermenzing, gr. 7 ([MOB1, MOB2], LT C2; KRÄMER 1985, 121, Taf. 59; KÜNZL 1991a, 372). There are, however, also other, examples

137 Collections of the Křivoklát Castle, inv. n° KT 576 (2783).

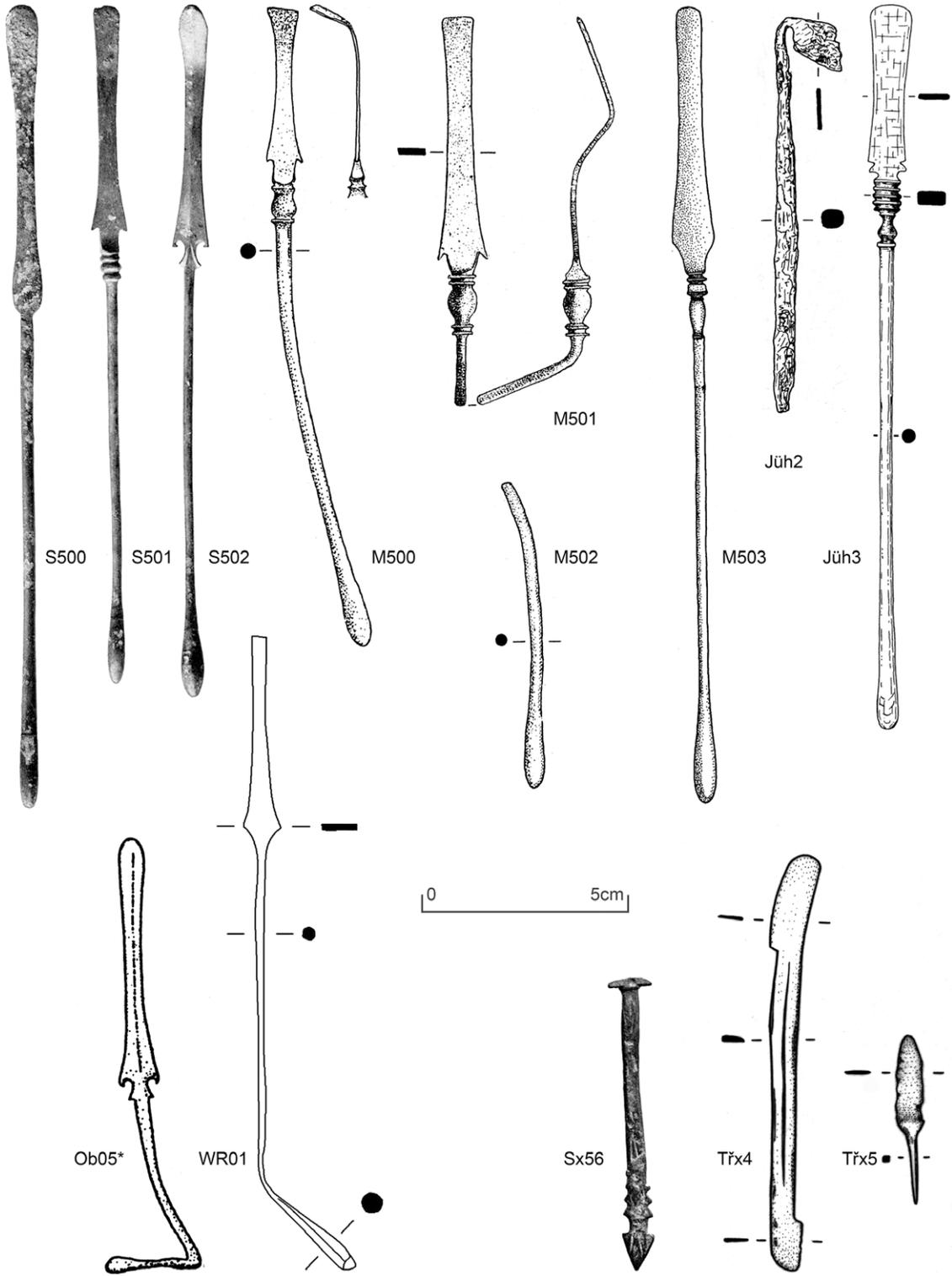
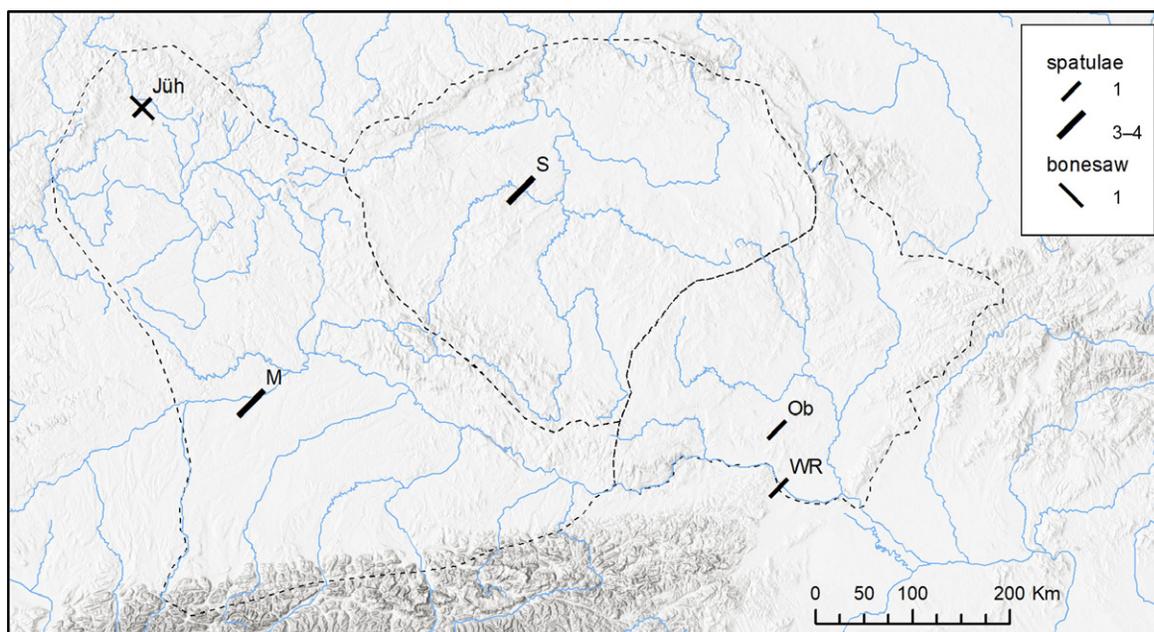


Fig. 82: Medical instruments discovered in the oppidum period Central Europe.



**Fig. 83: Distribution of medical instruments in the oppidum period Central Europe.**

such as Ludas-Varjú Dúlő, gr. 904 etc. (LT C1: SZABÓ – TANKÓ 2012, 47, 150, 152, pl. XXVI: 1–7; for a complete overview cf. MARION – GUILLAUMET 2012, 194–196). Another similar set was found in a hoard in the LT C1–C2 hill-top settlement of Slatina nad Bebravou in western Slovakia, outside our working area (PIETA 2008/2010, pl. F24; for the site cf. PIETA 2018, 107).

None of these early surgical sets include the *spatulae* which only became common in the oppida period (**Fig. 82**). Three are documented in Stradonice [S500–S502], four in Manching [M500–M503], one at the Oberleiserberg [Ob05] and one in Velem Szentvid (MISKE 1908, 58, Taf. XLV: 32, 33). Outside the oppida there is one *spatula* in the lowland settlement of Jüchsen in Thuringia [Jüh3] along with another bone-saw [Jüh2]. To complement these examples from La Tène sites we can also mention a series of *spatulae* from the Magdalensberg (DEIMEL 1987, 102–106, Taf. 96–103; GOSTENČNIK 2002, 168–170, Abb. 4). In Gaul *spatulae* are relatively numerous, certainly appearing already in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and represented with at least ten and potentially another dozen instances pre-dating the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Curiously enough, unlike most other imports they become relatively far less frequent in the Augustan period (BARBAU 2019, 194–196). These figures do not include the impressive assemblage of six *spatulae* recovered in Toulouse-ZAC Niel dated to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (DEMIERRE 2015, 176, fig. 19: 13–19).

To return to Central Europe, another artefact from Stradonice leaves no doubt as to its function as a medical instrument – a *phlebotom* or a bloodletting instrument [Sx56]. The object was identified as such already by Píć (1903, 69) and this identification was recently confirmed (BUREŠOVÁ 2020). It is less certain that the object can actually be considered a Mediterranean import: immediate parallels are not available from contemporary Mediterranean objects and it bears no clearly Mediterranean stylistic traits.

It was obviously under the influence of the genuine finds that in Czech research ‘surgical instruments’ became for some time a common category for artefacts of doubtful interpretation. Jiří Břeň labelled two Třisov finds ‘scalpels’ [Třx4, Třx5]; both are more probably half-finished tools or much less refined instruments (KYSELA 2011, 171–172, obr. 2: 7–8). The same is true of an object found in Hrazany (JANSOVÁ 1992, 65, Tf. 201: 20, dismissed already by DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1998, 163).

Local production of medical or surgical instruments is of course in no way excluded (KÜNZL 1995) and we cannot be sure that the healing practices carried out with these instruments had exclusively Mediterranean roots (KÜNZL 1991b). This issue brings us however far from the topic of this study. Already the imported instruments cannot be considered indicative of the transfer of the activities practiced with them in the Mediterranean. Local instruments testify in the first place to local practice with no clear link to the Mediterranean.

## WRITING INSTRUMENTS AND (MORE OR LESS) RELATED TOPICS

### WRITING

The use of writing as a phenomenon in itself should rather be studied among the invisible imports treated separately later rather than here among the more tangible objects. However, it is not writing on its own that we are studying here. For such a study we almost completely lack adequate data, i.e. actual inscriptions. We will concentrate only on writing instruments which in one way or another hint at Mediterranean contacts.

Writing was certainly not an unknown practice in the Transalpine world. Caesar mentions repeatedly its use in Gaul: e.g. the Helvetii had a full census of those participating in their migration ‘written in Greek script’ (BG I, 29); the druids were not allowed to put their knowledge down in writing ‘though in almost all other matters, in their public and private transactions, they use Greek characters’ (BG VI, 14), etc. However actual finds of inscriptions are rare and in particular in Central Europe our knowledge has grown only negligibly from the first syntheses on the topic (JACOBI 1974b; KRÄMER 1982; for recent syntheses on Bohemia cf. TREFNÝ 2016; VENCLOVÁ 2018/2019).

The first inscriptions in Central Europe are those on the early copies (3<sup>rd</sup> century) of Greek coins. At the same time, however, they clearly show that their producers and users did not understand them and did not care about their meaning since the letters quickly degenerated into pseudo-inscriptions and they in turn to single probably meaningless symbols (RUDNICKI 2013, 50). One genuine coin inscription is a mirrored CVR on the LT D *Rolltier* staters (MILITKÝ 2015a, 46–47) and then a series of inscribed coins from the oppidum of Bratislava (GÖBL 1994; MILITKÝ 2015b, 90–91). In both cases Latin characters were used.

The most convincing inscriptions in our working areas are those demonstrably made by Latin speakers, documented in Bratislava and Wien-Kundmannngasse. The Bratislava inscriptions, exclusively on amphorae (KYSÉLA – OLMER 2014, 178–180, fig. 8) include a single dipinto (‘Æ’) and a series of incomplete and undeciphered graffiti: 1) [O? A? D? Q?] AR Γ (= E? F?); 2) COB[?]; 3) COB / [O?] VII[III?]. Little is clear about the nature of these inscriptions (what is the meaning of the COB repeated twice in identical script? Is the second line of the third graffito to be understood as letters or numerals?). Amphora inscriptions are usually related either to the content of the vessel or, more generally, to the circumstances of the transaction of which the amphora formed part (sender, addressee, quantity of amphorae, dates). It cannot be excluded that, if the inscriptions describe only the first step(s) of down-the-line trade going from, for instance, Aquileia, through Mandrga and Emona or Zuglio and the Magdalensberg up to Vienna and Bratislava, they have in reality nothing to do with Bratislava or Central Europe itself but rather with the first chapters of the story.

Much more relevant from this point of view is a most recent find from Wien-Kundmannngasse where a local graphite-tempered pot was discovered bearing on its shoulder an inscription ‘P[ondo] LXXIII’ (MOSSER – ADLER-WÖFL 2018, 155–156, Taf. 3: 2). No matter what purposes

this pot served and what commodity was stored in it (discussed in detail *ibidem*), most important, as the authors rightly realise, is the fact that the person using this typologically and technologically local pot used Latin script, Latin language, and apparently Roman weight units when inscribing it.

In comparison with these, actual letter graffiti in a purely La Tène cultural milieu in Central Europe are extremely rare (the famous 'BOIOS' in Manching is an unparalleled exception),<sup>138</sup> and, for instance those from Bohemia are almost all doubtful or contested as probable fakes (overview in TREFNÝ 2016; VENCLOVÁ 2018/2019; doubts e.g. in VALENTOVÁ 2013, 66).

In view of the general dearth of inscriptions it is hard to decide whether the script(s) used in Central Europe was Greek, Latin or, for example, Lepontic (KRÄMER 1982) or more than one of these at the same time.

On the other hand, exclusive use of Latin for inscriptions on the Bratislava coinage is hardly surprising if we consider the Roman influence on the site and the fact that the medium of these inscriptions are copies of Roman coins.

## WRITING INSTRUMENTS

In any case writing came to Central Europe from the Mediterranean and what is particularly interesting for our purposes, its use here was accompanied by a set of artefacts or rather artefact types which were also of Mediterranean origin. These are the most convincing proofs of writing in Transalpine Europe in the Late Iron Age.

These Mediterranean writing instruments (discussed in detail by BOŽIČ – FEUGÈRE 2004) included wax tablets, iron spatulae with which wax was spread on the tablets, styli with a pointed writing end and a blunt erasing end (in detail DESCHLER-ERB – GOSTENČNIK 2008); the last artefact class often associated with writing instruments, seal boxes, will be discussed separately below as things are more complex in their case. In the Republican period, the Mediterranean writing *instrumentum* is mostly made of bone while, from the Augustan period on, metal plays an increasingly important role. In spite of the simplicity of most of these instruments, it is possible to distinguish types of styli and seal boxes (less so for the wax tablets) characteristic of the Republican period.

### Styli

Republican styli are as a rule asymmetrically biconical with the thickest part in the place where they were held, tapering from there towards a short writing point while the body itself tapers regularly to an olive-shaped butt end for erasing (DESCHLER-ERB – GOSTENČNIK 2008, 289–293). Kordula Gostenčnik (2005, 46–72) distinguished two principal types and a number of sub-varieties of late Republican and early Imperial styli: her form 1 is characterised by a smooth profile with a gradual transition from one stylus part to the other while in styli of form 2 the point is offset from the body. According to Gostenčnik, the latter form seems to be characteristic of Republican contexts while form 1 became widespread only from the Augustan period. This chronology should however be taken only as roughly indicative: both types overlap chronologically and considering their simplicity and workshop production, there is enormous variation between them which may also bring about overlaps in types. In most cases of Transalpine finds, it is impossible to decide whether these simple bone objects were all brought from the Mediter-

<sup>138</sup> Particularly in comparison e.g. with Bibracte in which dozens if not (by now) hundreds of graffiti are documented from the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, first in the Greek alphabet, to be replaced with Latin in the Augustan period (overview in LAMBERT – LUGINBÜHL 2005).

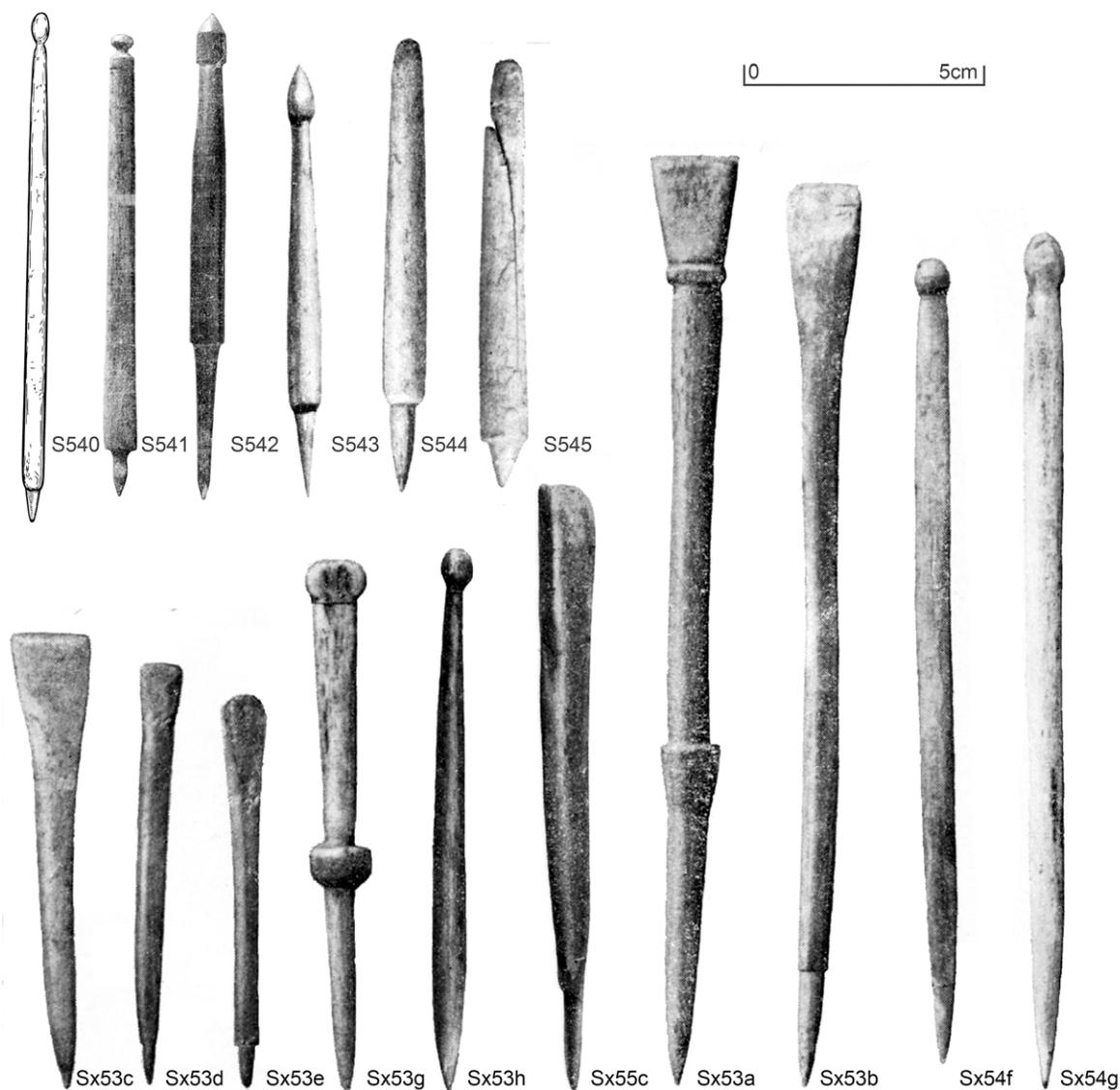
ranean or (at least some) made locally (the latter seems highly probable). It is however necessary to discuss these objects (imported or locally manufactured) not only for their origin but also for their role in the Iron Age and perhaps more importantly, for their role in the history of research.

In Bohemia, the only definite writing instruments were found at Stradonice, though they may be less common than is sometimes assumed. Stradonice yielded numerous pointed bone objects identified in the past as styli, in my opinion incorrectly (**Fig. 84**). The shape of many of these objects ([Sx53a-k; Sx54a-h, Sx55a-c]) is not characteristic of Roman styli (in some cases bordering on useless for any practical purposes); they are usually simple pointed batons without the characteristic biconical shape. This may indicate their local production in the Iron Age but also their local production in the 1870s – bone artefacts were among the earliest and most numerous fake categories produced by the Stradonice treasure hunters (Píč 1903, 82; STOCKÝ unpublished; F. von Hochstetter *cit. apud* SKLENÁŘ 2015, 29–30). Moreover H. Svobodová (1985, 661–662), although aware of all the above caveats, included in her overview of ‘probable imported styli’ from Stradonice basically any pointed bone object published by Píč, including hairpins [Sx54a-h], half-finished awls (?) [Sx55a-c], and highly probable local objects or fakes [Sx53a-k]. Also, the quite convincing object from Staré Hradisko [SHx1] is in reality made of iron and very unwieldy for writing purposes. This predilection for styli by Svobodová was not at all a rare occurrence: Drda and Rybová (1998, 163) claimed to have identified an unfinished stylus in Závist (why not an unfinished hairpin, or an awl or a needle?). A supposed stylus comes from the *Viereckschanze* of Markvartice. In reality it is a simple pointed iron bar with a thickened butt end covered in rust; its interpretation as an awl or another similar instrument is highly probable (cf. JOŠKOVÁ 2016, 134, tab. 30: N159). Similarly, several objects ‘remarkably similar to the Stradonice styli’ from the Rubín Hill (TREFNÝ 2016, 21, obr. 7) can all be considered hair pins. Finally, P. Holodňák (2018/20019, 257, note 47) mentions five unpublished styli of local production from the settlement of Soběsuky.<sup>139</sup> This enthusiasm of mostly Bohemian research for styli is certainly due to their early recognition in Stradonice (and to their multiplication by the Stradonice forgers) and was probably further encouraged by the over-generous definition of these objects by Svobodová. Any of these pointed objects could certainly be used for scribbling signs (and we saw above that such a practice must have been to some extent common in Late Iron Age Central Europe) but there is no hint that they were made for this purpose. If we try to identify among these only the styli whose form is characteristic of the Roman Republican period, one object is present in the Křivoklát collection [S540] and at the most five can be selected among those published by Píč [S541–S545] though the authenticity of all of them can be questioned. Among these accepted styli, [S542] can be classified as Gostenčnik’s form 1, [S541, S543, S544] as form 2, while S540 resembles broken and re-sharpened styli from the Magdalensberg (GOSTENČNIK 2005, Taf. 12: 1–2), Pompeii (COOL 2016, 258–261, nos. 1–11), Sevegliano (without a clear find context: BOURA ed. 2008, 222, O1), Hellenistic and late Republican styli from Tarquinia (COLIVICCHI 2007, 199–202, fig. 48–49), Cetamura del Chianti (DE GRUMMOND ed. 2017, 149–153), Tarentum (DE IULIIS ed. 1989, 490, no. 36), and Ancona (COLIVICCHI 2002, 273, n° 44.9) as well as the 3<sup>rd</sup> (?) century ‘punch’ from Ascoli Satriano (TINÈ BERTOCCHI 1985, 221, n° 2).<sup>140</sup>

Several other objects could be easily used as styli but their shapes clearly show them to be local products or fakes [Sx53b, Sx53i]. The object [Sx53a] strongly resembles Roman styli

139 I was not able to verify this case.

140 It would be wrong to consider them as hairpins: thickening is at the lower end of the shaft (rather than in the upper part as is common in Roman pins (e.g. BIANCHI 1995; DESCHLER-ERB 1998, 152–166, nos. 2148–3102) which would make them very impractical in this function.



**Fig. 84: Stradonice, styli - authentic and fake. Píř 1903.**

of the Imperial period, mostly produced in iron<sup>141</sup> and only rarely in bone (cf. DESCHLER-ERB 1998, 143–144, Nr. 856, Taf. 22). The object with its collar between the shaft and the point and with an offset eraser stand close to Schaltenbrand Olbrecht's (1998) Formgruppen e.g. H40, P52, Q69, dated between the very end of the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Classification as a fake seems more probable than a local stylus.

Styli are relatively uncommon finds (and curiously enough scholars outside Bohemia rarely try to identify random pointed objects as styli). In our working area, styli are present

141 The iron styli of the Roman Imperial period are dealt with in enormous detail by Verena Schaltenbrand Olbrecht (1998). In spite of the wealth of information she provides on the Imperial period, the author leaves open the crucial question at what point (and whether still during the Republican period) does the thin iron stylus with a flat eraser end appear. The earliest mentioned context is Dangstetten (*terminus post quem* 15 BC).

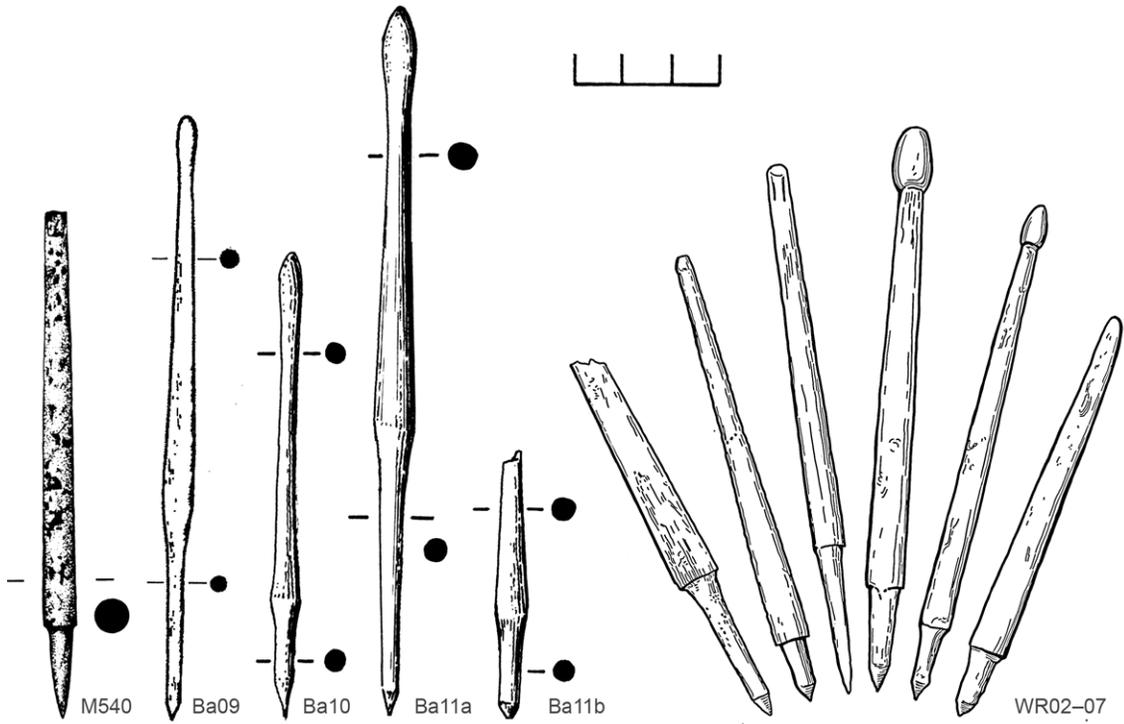


Fig. 85: Styli discovered in Central Europe.

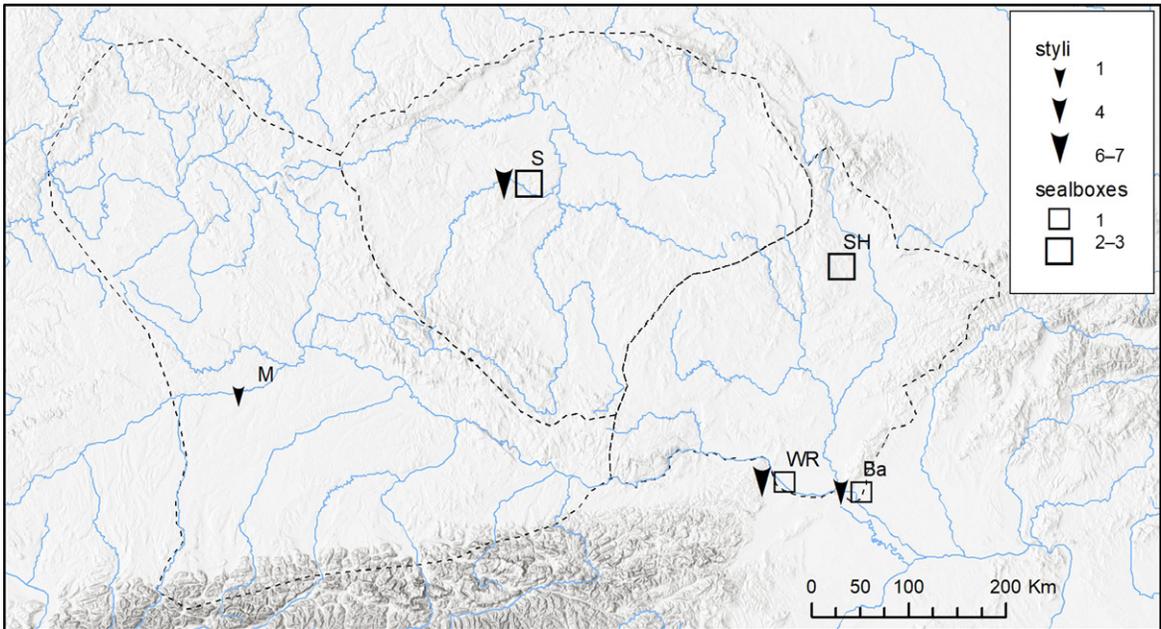


Fig. 86: Distribution of writing instruments in Central Europe.

at Manching [M540], Bratislava [Ba09–Ba11], while as many as six of them have been found in Wien-Rochusmarkt [WRO2–WRO7] and one in Wien-Kundmannngasse [WRO8]. While those in Manching clearly belong to the Republican type 2, the three styli from Bratislava are of type 1; in Vienna, both types are present concurrently in roughly even proportions.

Styli are present in large quantities at the Magdalensberg (GOSTENČNIK 2005, 41–74) – as many as 500 bone and iron styli and unfinished examples have been identified there, and although the majority are dated by their find contexts to the Augustan/Imperial period, Republican forms are widely represented throughout the occupation. The need for writing and scribbling must have been enormous at the Magdalensberg. They can also be found at Gurina, as a rule in the Republican type 2 (GAMPER 2015, 169–170, Taf. 37: 7, 49: 2, 50: 4, 99: 13). In Gaul (BARBAU 2015, 231–234) objects identified (somewhat questionably) as styli already appear by the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (Levroux, Mandeure).<sup>142</sup> Very early, still from the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC are some finds from Toulouse-ZAC Niel (DEMIERRE 2015, 175–176, fig. 19: 1–3).<sup>143</sup> Indisputable (bone) styli appear from the (proto-) Augustan period in sites characterised by a particularly strong Roman presence such as Lyon, Bibracte, the Titelberg, or Basel-Münsterhügel, followed by unquestionable iron styli from the Augustan period on.

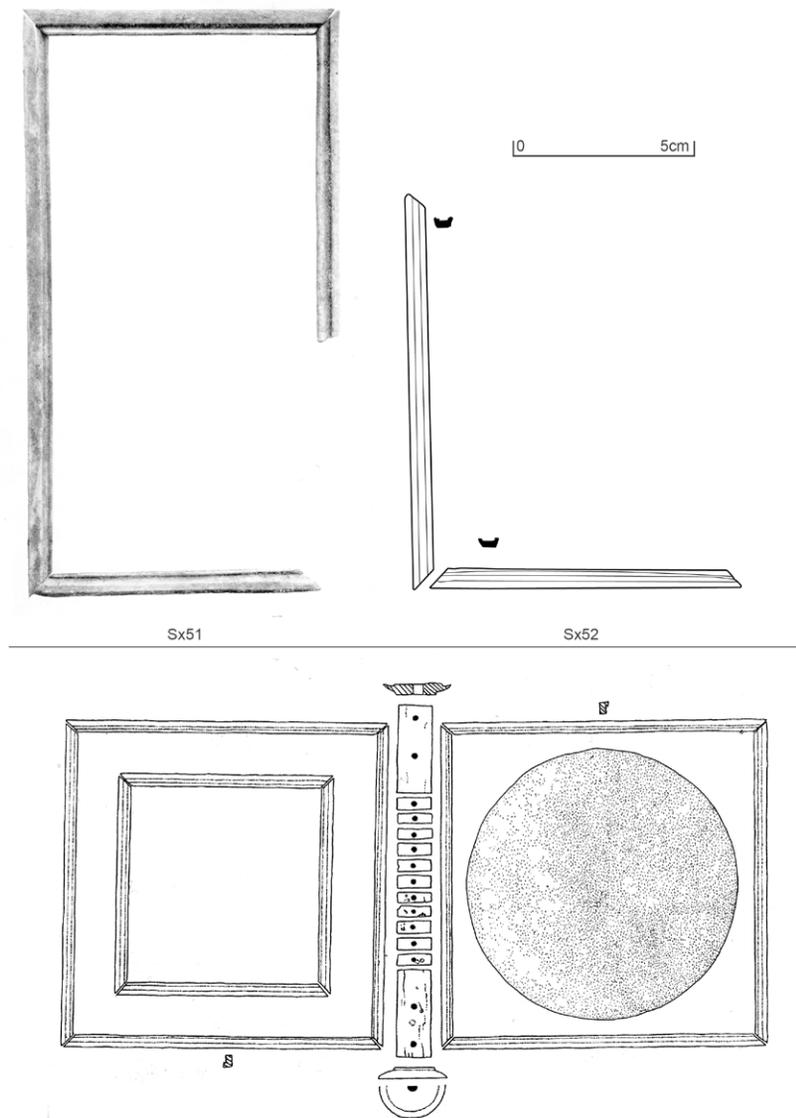
### Wax tablets (or not)

For some reason, the bone frame(s) of wax tablets have always enjoyed the pride of place among the finds from Stradonice. It is almost a pity to state that in reality they have nothing to do with writing and possibly not even with the Mediterranean. One almost complete bone frame is kept in the National Museum along with the short side of another frame [Sx51]. Two more similar frame sides are preserved in the collection of Křivoklát [Sx52]. Measuring 10.6 and 8.7 cm these either come from a single almost square object or from two different frames (**Fig. 87**).

Interpretation of these objects as wax tablet frames appears already in Osborne (1880, 258, Taf. vi: 6; **Fig. 11: 6**) and has never been questioned (e.g. Píč 1903, 82; FILIP 1956, 331; BOUZEK 1989, 131; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 662; KRUTA – LIČKA – CESSION-LOUPPE eds. 2006, 212, n° 33/2). The truth is they do not correspond to actual Mediterranean wax tablets either in shape or (and principally) functional details. All the actual preserved *cerae* are made of a single piece of wood or ivory; the recessed area for spreading wax is made by carving material off rather than by enclosing a slab within a frame (BOŽIČ – FEUGÈRE 2004, 22–25, fig. 15, 20; cf. e.g. Toulouse ZAC Niel: VERRIER 2017, 150, fig. 114; Budapest: BIRO 1994, 52, 104, pl. 203, nos. 556–559; Nîmes: BÉAL 1984, 109, n° 385). The Stradonice frames are very delicate, unlike actual Mediterranean wax tablets and in none of them is the characteristic perforation through which the tablets were bound in volumes preserved. Most importantly, the single parts do not enclose a frame with a slot carved around its circumference, but this slot is in all the documented cases perpendicular to the plane of the frame. A slab inserted into this slot would therefore not be enclosed by the frame to be covered with wax, but would stick out from it to one side (!). This would obviously be hardly conducive to writing. Very clearly, these fragments are not parts of wax tablets but ledges lining wooden boxes of which many other bone components are preserved in various oppida (Stradonice: Píč 1903, tab. XLV: 1–8, 10, 12, 14–15; Manching: JACOBI 1974b, 241–243, Abb.

142 No other iron styli are to my knowledge documented at this date (see the previous footnote). As in Stradonice, it is of course not excluded that these iron objects could be used for scribbling but were certainly locally produced and can be taken as markers of Mediterranean contact only in the broadest possible sense.

143 Identification of other objects from the site as styli (DEMIERRE 2015, fig. 19: 4–9) is in my opinion highly uncertain, though it is a good example of the Stradonice effect.



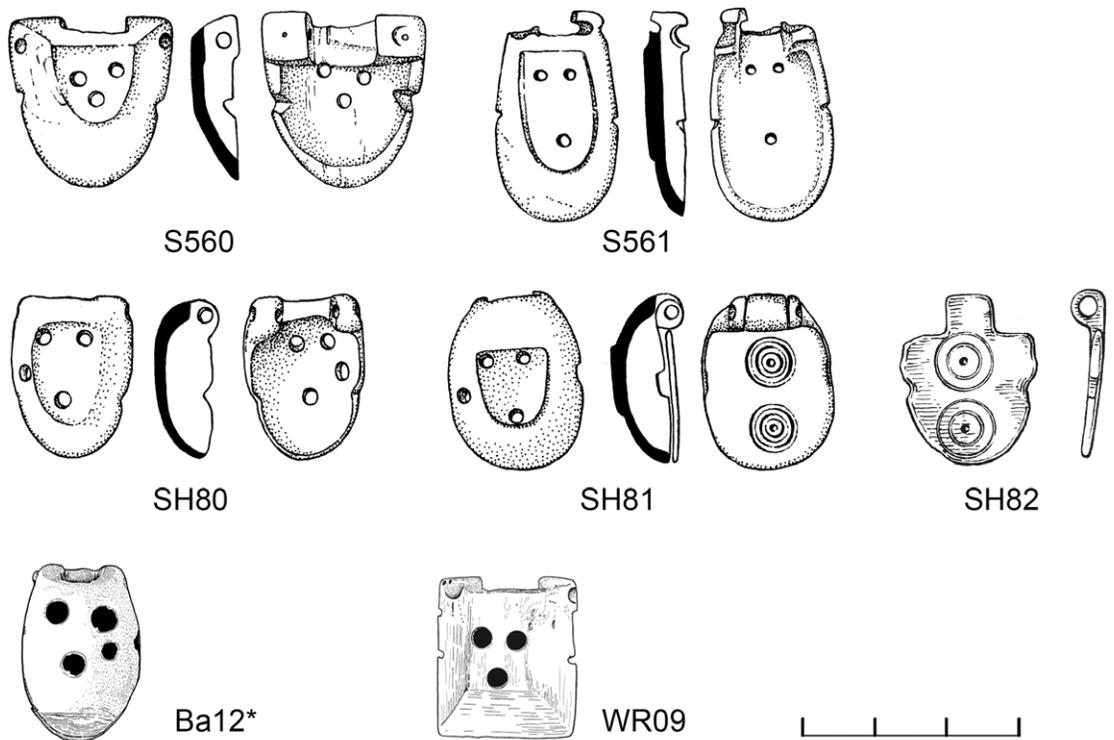
**Fig. 87: Above - Stradonice, bone frames. Below - Ancona, remains of a wooden (?) cosmetic coffret with bone elements and integral mirror, after COLIVICCHI 2002.**

56) and continue to appear throughout the following centuries in Roman provincial contexts (BIRO 1994, fig. 31; DESCHLER-ERB 1998, Taf. 46-50). Very close parallels to the Stradonice bone frames are known from the Mediterranean e.g. from Tarquinia, fondo Scataglini, t. 96 and 153, Tarquinia-Monterozzi t. 5512, all used continually between the late 4<sup>th</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC (SERRA-RIDGEWAY 1996, 117, 182-183, tav. CXCVII: 157; CAVAGNARO VANONI 1996, 260, fig. 80: 212; cf. also CRISTOFANI 1975, 28-31, fig. 21-22, nos. 83-90; CALIÒ 2000, 692-693, n° 1247-1250; COLIVICCHI 2007, 157-161 with further bibliography, esp. n° 321, fig. 37; for rare finds of a complete box cf. CENCIAIOLI 2002, 67; and COLIVICCHI 2002, 240, 34: 11 including a disc mirror integrated into the lid: **Fig. 87** bottom). A date close to the occupation of Stradonice leaves open the question whether the frames from the oppidum cannot actually be of Italian origin. Though it is certainly not excluded, they will be considered local (albeit possibly of Mediterranean inspiration) in view of the simplicity of the form and the enormous evidence for local bone production.

At any event, the last few pages leave us with one incidental conclusion: a considerable number of the bone objects found and presumably produced in Stradonice have more parallels in the Roman than in the La Tène world.

**Seal boxes**

Seal boxes are usually considered a part of the writing *instrumentum*. This assumption may or may not be correct, but in my opinion, they merit a discussion on their own. These curious objects (exhaustively studied by FURGER – WARTMANN – RIHA 2009; cf. also e.g. BOŽIČ 1998, 144–146; LUIK 2002, 66–69) consist of a flat bottom and a domed hinged lid with several cut-outs around its circumference. The object to be sealed was tied with a string and a seal was applied on top of the string. The seal was enclosed in the seal box with the string passing through the cut-outs and protected by the lid from damage. Seal boxes of the Imperial period display a wealth of shapes and decoration; those of the Republican period are much simpler. Only two forms are attested: a simple U-shaped box, and rarer square boxes. They are widespread throughout the entire Mediterranean from Israel, through Greece and Italy to Spain and dated to the whole of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (both groups are treated indiscriminately in FURGER – WARTMANN – RIHA 2009, 49–52, map fig. 25–26, Liste 1a /bone/, 1b /bronze/). Just like styli, seal boxes of the Republican period were usually (though not exclusively) made of bone while, from the Augustan period on, bronze takes over (FURGER – WARTMANN – RIHA 2009, 45; COOL 2016, 261–263). U-shaped boxes are sometimes decorated with incised concentric circles (PALLARÉS SALVADOR 1979, 175, fig. 34) or even relief figural motifs, e.g. the figure of Mercury attested at the same time in the oppida of Altenburg-Rheinau and Corent (FURGER – WARTMANN – RIHA 2009, Abb. 24:1 /Altenburg/, 24:2 /Corent/).



**Fig. 88: Seal boxes discovered in Central Europe.**

Seal boxes discovered in the milieu of the La Tène Culture have provoked some far-reaching interpretations concerning their epistolary use, including some unacceptable musings about ‘diplomatic correspondence’ between Romans and Celts (JANČO 2003). This point needs some clarification. In their Mediterranean homeland, seal boxes were certainly also used for sealing pairs of wax tablets. To this extent, their inclusion among writing *instrumentum* is justified. This was however not their only (and possibly not even their most common) use. In at least two cases when the boxes were discovered in their primary functional context, they did not seal documents but valuables – a purse on the Kalkriese battlefield and a vessel with 2,500 aurei in Roman Trier (FURGER – WARTMANN – RIHA 2009, 22). It is highly probable that they were also at least partly put to the same uses in La Tène Transalpine Europe, i.e. in an area where literacy, though undeniable, was certainly less widespread than a monetary culture. Associating seal boxes automatically with writing is too hasty and over-simplified.

In the Central European La Tène Culture finds of seal boxes are surprisingly common, considering the specificity of the object (Figs. 86, 88). Two U-shaped bone examples were discovered in Stradonice [S560, S561], three made of bronze in Staré Hradisko [SH80–SH82], and another one in Bratislava [Ba12]. A less common square box made of bone was found in the Wien-Rochusmarkt settlement [WRO9]. At most of these sites, seal boxes are genuinely present along with finds of styli although this association does not need to mean much – the sites in question are rich in all categories of Mediterranean imports and contact markers. More significant is the association with finger rings; in the rare cases of sites where seal boxes were discovered but not seal rings (Wien-Rochusmarkt), we may reasonably suppose they were also present.

In the Eastern Alps seal boxes are documented in Ambroževo gradišče and Unec, two hillforts dated to the Late Republican period (BOŽIČ 1998, 145–146, fig. Abb. 6). They are present, not surprisingly, also at the Magdalensberg (a place of assumed mass presence of both documents and valuables), though they are somewhat less numerous than styli: they include one rectangular example made of bone (GOSTENČNIK 2005, 76–77, Taf. 15: 2), and three oval and nine square ones made of bronze (DEIMEL 1987, 53, Taf. 34: 5–14).

In Gaul, in a surprising contrast with their early presence at Staré Hradisko and Stradonice, they only appeared in the third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, i.e. after the Roman conquest (BARBAU 2019, 45–46, 204–206) and are usually connected with the arrival of Roman administration and military (POUX 2008, 394). One earlier instance may come from Toulouse ZAC Niel (DEMIERRE 2015, 176, fig. 19: 10) though this site, in the border zone with the Roman Province and with its presumably high proportion of foreigners including Romans, is liminary in many respects.

## POTTERY

The ceramic imports from the Mediterranean are relatively few in Central Europe (in particular when compared, for instance, with Gaul). This state of things must reflect in the first place the actual past reality. It cannot be ruled out however (and it is to a certain degree probable) that this impression has been further enhanced by a vicious circle of unawareness: local archaeologists, not acquainted with Mediterranean pottery and not expecting to find it, may have mistaken some imported sherds for medieval or modern intrusions (and even discarded them) confirming thus the impression that Mediterranean pottery is absent from Central Europe.

Most ceramic categories dealt with in what follows are only represented by a negligible number of fragments (often only one). In spite of that, they are allotted substantial portions of the text. The reason for that is mainly the need to stress the information potential they provide.

Unlike other find categories, rather than simply counting fragments, pottery and amphorae will be dealt with according to the principle of the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), i.e. the number of the best represented diagnostic parts from the relevant context (in our case from the site). If only body fragments are represented, they are counted as MNI 1, even if they obviously come from different vessels of the same category.

## BLACK GLOSS ('CAMPANIAN') POTTERY

Black gloss pottery<sup>144</sup> (henceforth abbreviated BG)<sup>145</sup> is the most characteristic and most widespread single class of Mediterranean fine pottery throughout the whole second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC (overview e.g. in MOREL 1981; PY 1993a; BRECCIAROLI TABORELLI 2005). The shapes produced are mostly those of table ware (for both eating and drinking) though oil containers were produced as well.

In Italy intense production of BG pottery began in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. It was however, mainly after the Second Punic War and with the rise of Rome to economic hegemony of the Mediterranean that BG pottery, with a form repertoire reduced to a few simple forms and of a relatively low technical quality when compared to previous production, became mass produced and invaded the markets of the (mostly western) Mediterranean. This is the ware traditionally and misleadingly called 'Campanian' (LAMBGLIA 1952; MOREL 1981; BRECCIAROLI TABORELLI 2005). The *terminus technicus* 'Campana' is preferred here to that of 'Campanian ware/pottery' in order to avoid confusions of the ware-label with geographical terms.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC the production of BG pottery on the one hand concentrated in Campania, Latium, northern Etruria, and western Sicily while at the same time following the pace of Roman conquest in the north (Jesi, prov. Ancona: BRECCIAROLI TABORELLI 2000; Modena, Cremona, Piacenza, Milan?: FRONTINI 1985; MOREL 1987; BRECCIAROLI TABORELLI 1988; 2000; SFREDDA 1998; Aquileia: MANDRUZZATO – MASELLI SCOTTI 2003, 379). Sometime in the 40s BC workshops emerged in Lyon (DESBAT – GENIN 1996, 226). By then the first glossy red-slipped wares had appeared in the western Mediterranean. With the spread of *terra sigillata* in the last third of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, the BG wares came to a rather sudden end though, for instance, in the Po valley production continued down to the Tiberian period. The production of BG pottery was in no way centralised and numerous workshops probably supplied pottery on a local, regional and supra-regional level (cf. BRECCIAROLI TABORELLI 2000, 27–28 for a possible model of production in northern Italy).

Lamboglia (1952, 140) defined three principal ('universal') classes of BG pottery. This basic distinction remains in use today in spite of its vagueness: Campana A with a clear red-orange body, sharp fracture and dense, deep black metallic slip; Campana B with a buff to pinkish body, matt to semi-shiny black slip and irregular fracture; and Campana C with a grey body and lustrous black to olive-grey slip. As observed by Lamboglia, each of the three groups comprised a constant and rather limited set of shapes and each was produced in a well-defined region. Campana A is a high quality ware produced mainly in the region of the gulf of Naples (Naples? Ischia?). The actual Campana C is a Sicilian product (Syracuse). Various other grey-core wares were, however, also produced from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century in the Adriatic region and in

144 The gloss or slip ('Firnīs', 'vernīs', 'vernice') of the ware is a partially amorphous, highly sintered slip with relict quartz and high temperature colour pigments. The often-used term 'black glaze' is therefore imprecise, since glaze is a fully amorphous layer; terms 'gloss', or 'slip' are preferable (cf. MAGGETTI *et al.* 1981).

145 This chapter is an updated version of KYSELA – MAGGETTI – SCHNEIDER 2013.

the Po valley (BRECCIAROLI TABORELLI 2000) and from the 1<sup>st</sup> century in southern Gaul (PY 1993b). Moreover, a greyish tint to the core may, of course, be caused by misfiring of any other BG wares (MAGGETTI – GALETTI 1986).

BG pottery is of little help for answering chronological questions (e.g. MOREL 1990). In Gaul some hints of chronology may derive from the relative proportions of Campana A (more common in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century) and Campana B (predominant in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC: VERRIER 2013, 568), single sherds are however not informative: the principal forms remain the same throughout the period of production and only the latest production horizon around, or rather after, the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC is characterised by the appearance of new shapes, shared by BG pottery and the earliest red-slipped wares. Such is the case of some southern Gallic products (DESBAT – GENIN 1996) or of both ‘Fabrikate’ identified on the Magdalensberg. Significantly enough, M. Schindler (1967; 1986) labels them ‘black sigillata’ rather than ‘Campana’. It is also thanks to this introduction of new shapes that Jana Horvat (1995, 30–36; HORVAT – BAVDEK 2009) could distinguish two phases of BG pottery importation to the Eastern Alps.

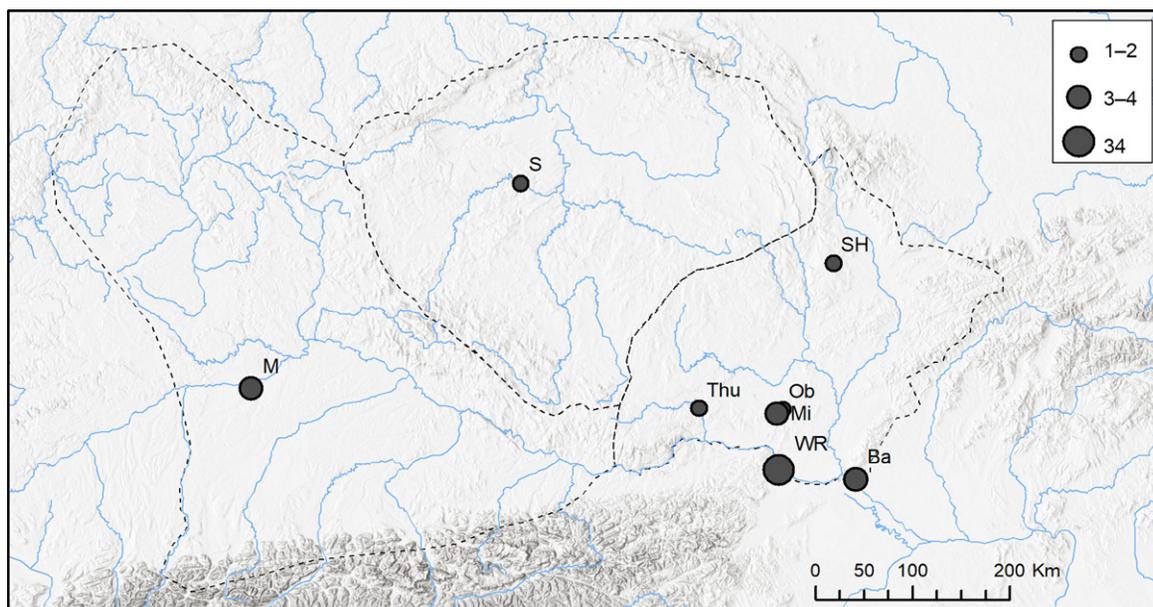
The earliest finds of BG pottery in broader Central Europe are relief vessels from Gurina near Dellach in Carinthia (GUGL 2000, 127, Abb. 39: 14) and Breisach-Hochstetten, Lkr. Breisgau-Hochschwarzwald (STORK 2007, 203–204, 358, Taf. B3: 10, Farbtaf. 3: 1–2). These relief decorated vessels (a production also labelled ‘Calenian’) are dated to ca 250–180 BC (BRECCIAROLI TABORELLI 2005; on the contrary, PEDRONI 2001, 117–139 suggests higher and less probable dates of the 4<sup>th</sup> century to the 220s/190s BC). A BG relief medallion was discovered in an early settlement context in Aquileia (MASELLI SCOTTI – MANDRUZZATO – TIUSSI 2009, 266–268, fig. 28c) providing not only a chronological anchoring point (deposition sometime after the foundation of the colony in 181 BC), but also demonstrating the routes by which ‘Calenian’ pottery could have reached Central Europe. Both finds from Central Europe can be dated thanks to (rare) parallels from central and northern Italy. The fragment from Breisach depicting a quadriga is identical with a patera from tomb 177 in Adria dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and of probable Volterranean origin (SANESI MASTROCINQUE 1982). The patera medallion from Gurina depicting a combat scene finds precise parallels in Cales dated to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (PAGENSTECHE 1909, 52, Nr. 51). These dates concern naturally their production, not necessarily their deposition or their crossing the Alps.

In temperate Europe, the imports of BG pottery are most common in Gaul where they individually penetrated already in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (ADAM 2007, 260; VERRIER 2013, 566); the main vogue, however, came in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and mainly the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Despite the fact that it is represented on each site in only low percentages, the distribution covers rather densely and evenly the whole of the southern half of France (MOREL 1998; COLIN 1998, 72, fig. 28; Verrier in OLMER *et al.* 2013) while towards the north the frequency decreases in terms of the number of both sites and finds. East of Gaul, finds of BG pottery are still relatively common in the Rhineland: e.g. Basel (FURGER-GUNTI 1979, 99; FURGER-GUNTI – BERGER 1980, pl. 19, 425–429; JUD 2007, 112), Altenburg-Rheinau (FISCHER 1975, 319–321; FISCHER 2004, 126–127); Breisach-Hochstetten (two sherds including the relief mentioned above; STORK 2007, 203–205), Breisach-Münsterberg (28 fragments of Campana A, B and C as well as local imitations; WENDLING 2012, 191–194). In Württemberg, Günther Wieland (1996, 166) mentions only two possible finds: the oppidum of Heidengraben, and Heroldingen; in neither case however does he exclude their possible later date.

South of Central Europe, the map produced by S. Demetz (1993, 638, fig. 5, 37) shows a penetration of BG pottery principally through the valleys of Adige and Ticino. However only in Uttendorf and Bürgkogel (Kaprun, Bz. Zell am See) (MOOSLEITNER 1996, 249 fig. 6: 1; HÖGLINGER 2004, 190, 193, fig. 2: 2; 3: 5) do we find BG pottery north of the Alpine crest. The

other northerly instances include Kirchbichl (Kufstein) in the northern Tyrol or Gurina and Teurnia in Carinthia (Gurina: GAMPER 2015, 181–184; for the other sites see: GUGL 2000, 126–127) as well as the already cited Magdalensberg further east. Along the southeastern route leading from Aquileia through Friuli to the Alps the finds of BG pottery are confined to sites with a Roman presence in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century; from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC the distribution is much wider, e.g. Zuglio (DONAT 2001), Moggio (FALESCHINI 2018, 233–235), Mandrga (HORVAT 1995, 29, list 3; DONAT 2009), Nauportus (VOJAKOVIČ – BEKLJANOV ZIDANŠEK – TOŠKAN 2019, 101–103).

In the ‘narrower’ Central Europe, finds become extremely scarce (Figs. 90 and 91, cf. map Fig. 89). In Bavaria, the only site which has produced finds of BG pottery is Manching<sup>146</sup> (a Lamb. 5 platter sherd and body sherd, a Lamb. 28 cup rim, a complete Lamb. 27 bowl, and several body sherds [M600–M603]). The only fragment known so far from Bohemia is a body sherd from Stradonice [S600]. One piece found in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in Staré Hradisko in Moravia, described by its early excavators, is now lost [SH84];<sup>147</sup> Miloš Hlava (personal communication) suggests the fragment with a base documented in early photographs of the Boskovice collection. Its form however does not correspond with any of the classic BG pottery types of the last centuries BC. Another recently rediscovered BG sherd from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century excavations in Staré Hradisko is a most curious object – the foot of a bowl transformed into a spindle whorl [SH83] (Fig. 92).<sup>148</sup> It is a rare case in which we can glimpse the prestigious nature of the imports, given the chance to live a second life after they ceased to fulfil their original function.



**Fig. 89: Black gloss pottery, distribution of finds in Central Europe.**

146 One find of a black gloss plate from Augsburg is not considered here as its find context suggests that it only reached the region with the incoming Romans (BAKKER 1985, 47, Abb. 1). Therefore, the extremely unusual form of the vessel with its thick rim and fluted body need not trouble us here.

147 ‘Nádobka jedna, z níž se zachovalo dno s přilehlou částí stěny z jemné hlíny žluté s nádechem do červena, na zevní straně černě lakovaná, je přímo klasická a import italský’ = ‘A vessel with an adjacent portion of a wall from a finely washed yellow clay with a reddish tinge is right away classical and was imported from Italy’ trad. j.k. (LIPKA – SNĚTINA 1912/1913, 305).

148 I am grateful for this information to Miloš Hlava and Petra Goláňová who identified the object.

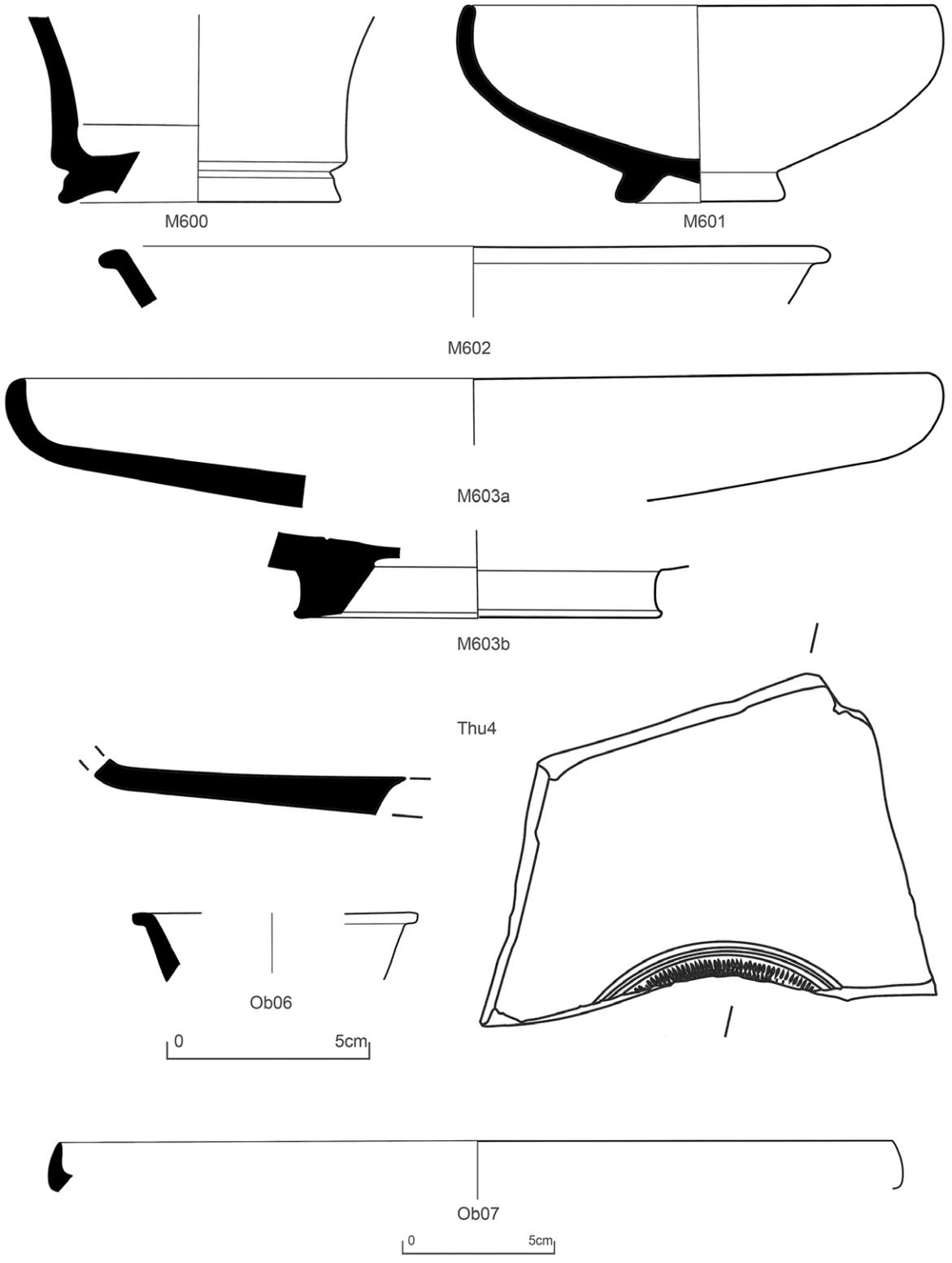
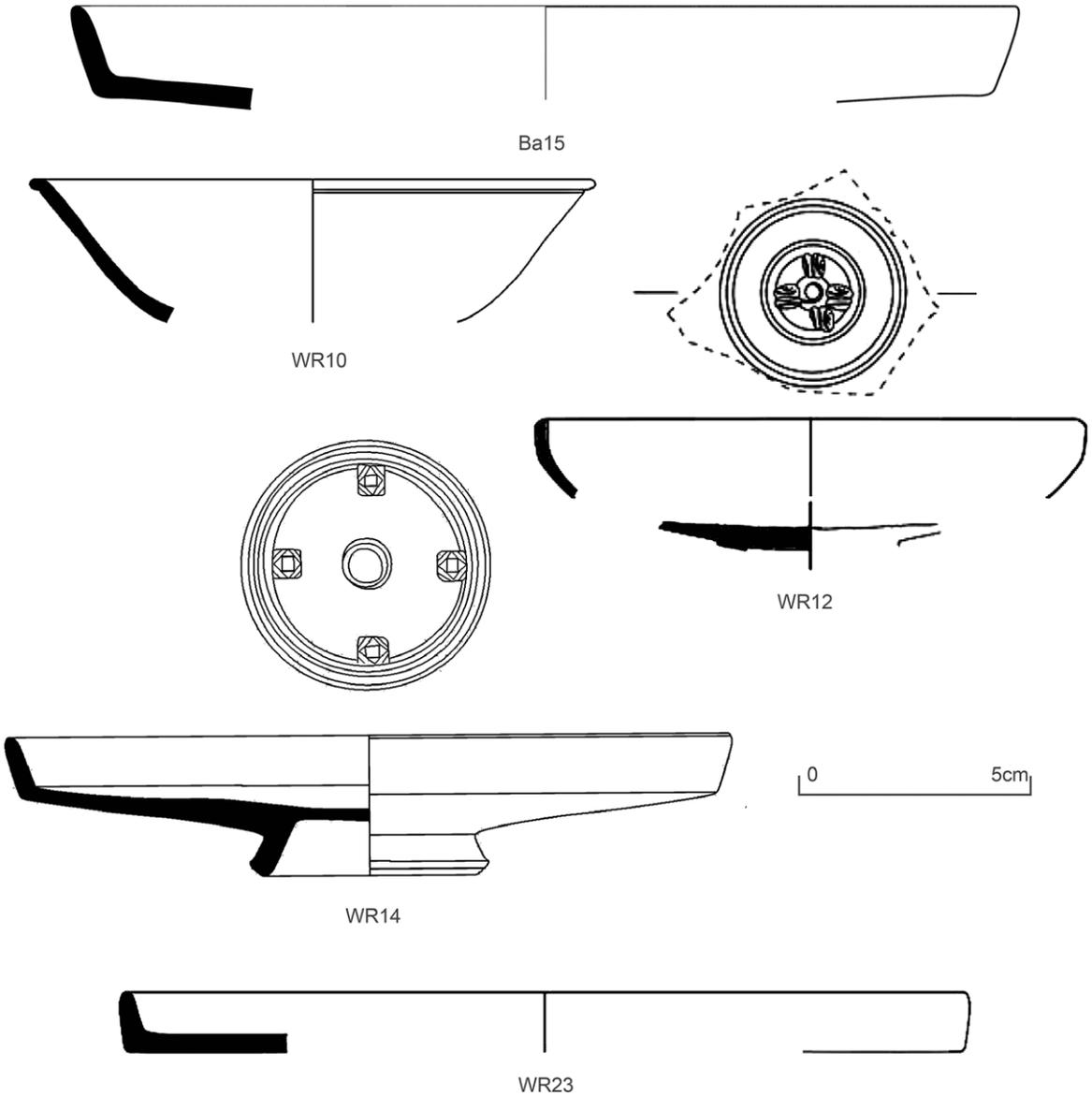


Fig. 90: Black gloss pottery, finds from Central Europe.



**Fig. 91: Black gloss pottery, finds from Central Europe.**

Thanks to recent discoveries, a remarkable concentration of finds has been identified in the northern part of Lower Austria: four fragments have been found at the Oberleiserberg (a Lamb. 28 cup rim [Obo6], a Lamb. 5 plate rim [Obo7]; two body fragments [Obo8, Obo9]), two body fragments in Michelstetten [Mio1, Mio2], another handful (probably from a single Lamb. 5 plate) in Thunau am Kamp [Thu4]. Two other sherds (one of them a Lamb. 7 rim) come from the urban excavations in different parts of Bratislava [Ba14, Ba15], one Lamb. 7 plate rim was unearthed in the Bratislava Castle excavations [Ba13]. Numerous finds are reported from Vienna suggesting at least eleven ceramic individuals: Rochusmarkt (nine Lamb. 7 plates, two cups Lamb. 28 [WR10, WR11, WR14-WR22]) and three in Kundmannngasse (one Lamb. 7 plate, two Lamb. 5 plates [WR12, WR13, WR23]) not counting at least 44 body fragments. The most distant find of a BG sherd in Central Europe so far has been found in Kraków-Cło in Lesser



**Fig. 92: Black gloss pottery spindle whorl [SH83] from Staré Hradisko. Photo J. Kyselá, © Museum of the Boskovice region.**

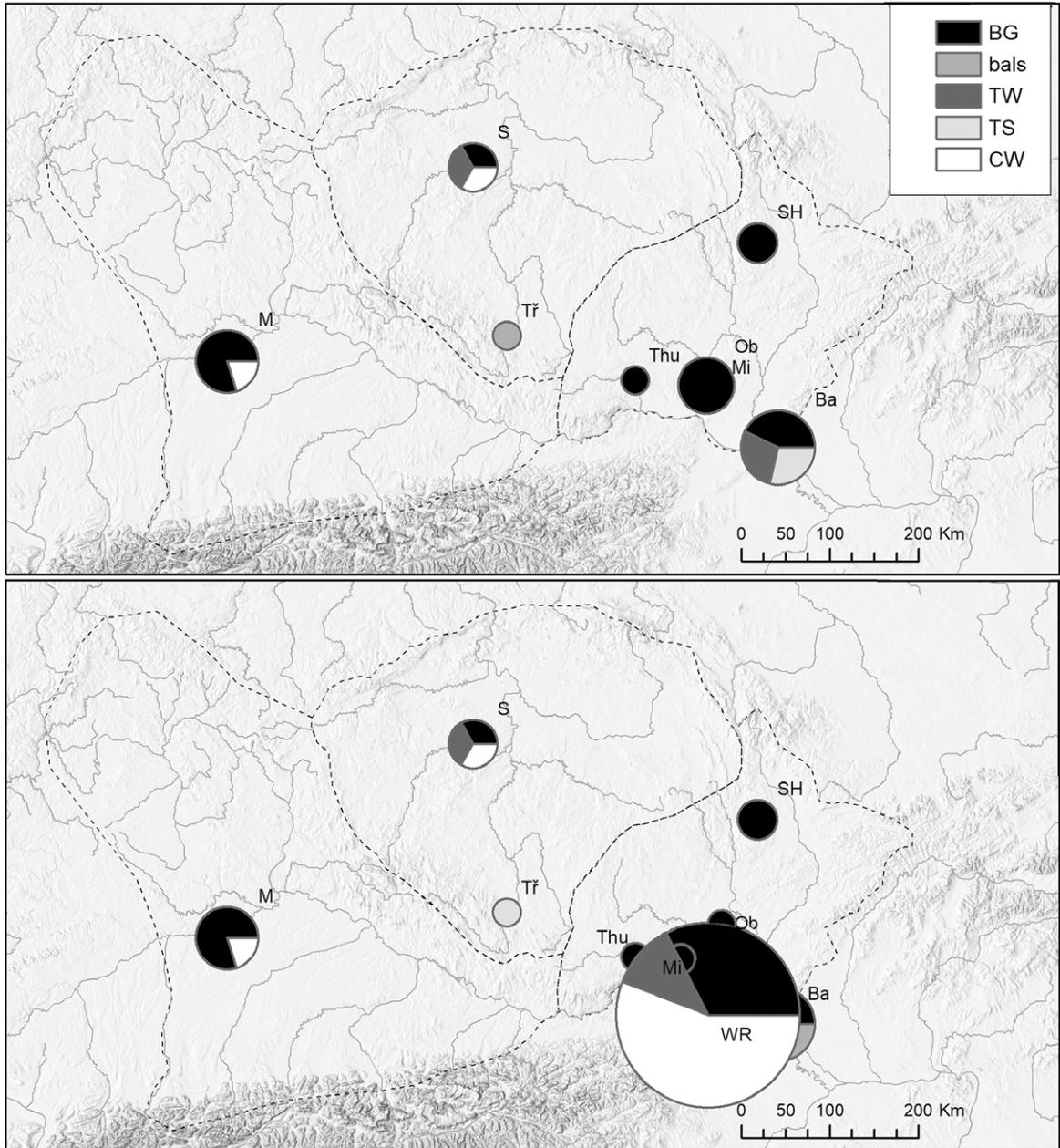
Poland, outside our working area (POLESKA 2006, 61). All the fragments (I did not have occasion to study the last one personally) fit into the general characteristics of the Campana B family from the point of view of both their form and their fabric.

Stöckli (1979a, 195) based on a simple visual analysis considered some of the Manching sherds to be of Campana A, others Arretine and yet others Ligurian, suggesting that Manching was supplied by BG pottery from several directions. Kaenel and Maggetti (1986) analysed the BG pottery from present-day Switzerland concluding that the territory was supplied with Campanian and Gaulish products from the west and north Etruscan and Padan ones from the south (KAENEL – MAGGETTI 1986; MAGGETTI *et al.* 1998; MAGGETTI 2005; MAGGETTI – SERNELS 2006). With the same questions on mind, we subjected the sherds presented here to provenance analyses executed in 2011–2012 by M. Maggetti and G. Schneider (Kyselá – MAGGETTI – SCHNEIDER 2013). This first series was followed in 2016 by analyses by G. Schneider of some sherds discovered in the meantime ([Ba13, Obo8, Obo9]). The analyses followed the same methodology as those published in 2013. The results of these new analyses are about to be published by K. Adler-Wölfl; it can be said that they do not contradict the conclusions of the first series of analyses.

According to the results, the fragment from Stradonice comes from Etruria (no closer localisation is possible although both Volterra and Arezzo are excluded). The fragments from Manching were all made in Caes.<sup>149</sup> That from Thunau am Kamp [Thu4] comes from Arezzo. No other sherd from the central Danubian group was analysed in the first round. One fragment

149 In one case [Mx60] the sherd was deemed not to be of BG pottery, thus confirming doubts based on macroscopic observation (most probably it is a fragment of a modern glazed vessel). Four other Manching fragments probably come from just two vessels as the chemical composition of the two sherds of [M603] and two of [M602] are extremely similar.

from Bratislava was nevertheless considered to be definitely Arretine,<sup>150</sup> the sherds from the Oberleiserberg, and Michelstetten – too small to be analysed by XRF – are very close to it in terms of ceramic core and slip with the exception of [Obo7] which shows visual characteristics of Adriatic wares. Also, Arretine (and ‘definitely not Campanian’) features were observed also in the sherds from Wien-Rochusmarkt (ALDER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, note 53).



**Fig. 93: Distribution of Mediterranean pottery in Central Europe, excluding (above) and including (below) the site of Vienna-Rochusmarkt. BG = black gloss, bals = balsamarium, TW = thin walled, TS = terra sigillata, CW = common ware.**

150 Based on the opinion of S. Scheffenberger-Zabehlicky quoted in VRTEL 2009, 122.

Based on this (admittedly extremely meagre) sample, we may postulate two distribution zones, one reaching from Campania (Cales) through Gaul to Manching, the other centred on northern Etruria (Arezzo) and northern Italy supplying (among other regions) the Eastern Alps and the Middle Danube area. The role of Bohemia in this scheme is not clear; the analysis of the single sherd from Stradonice produced inconclusive results.

The distribution of finds with only a handful and often only a single sherd/vessel per site (Manching MNI 5, Bratislava MNI 3, Oberleiserberg MNI 2 etc.) makes it clear that BG pottery was anything but common in Central Europe. This is in stark contrast with its rather capillary diffusion in Gaul. Logistic difficulties with bringing the fragile vessels across the Alps cannot have been the main cause of this rarity; they did not prevent it from being widespread in modern-day Switzerland and more fragile objects (e.g. glass vessels) were transported as well.

It is not very probable either that BG vessels had an exceptional (material or symbolic) value which limited their accessibility – two sherds come also from the rather inconspicuous site of Michelstetten. The rarity of BG pottery in La Tène Central Europe (and potentially also its uneven distribution there: relatively numerous in EnCE, basically unknown in Bohemia) in contrast to the west is a clear reflexion of very different trade strategies (be it based on demand or on supply) between the two parts of the La Tène world.

#### 'PRE-SIGILLATA' AND EARLY TERRA SIGILLATA

Only the very latest phase of the Central European La Tène culture overlaps with the period of production of Italian red-slipped pottery. Although in some parts of Italy, red-slipped tableware appeared as early as the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (e.g. in Sicily: STONE 1987; overview in GOUDINEAU 1968, 57–68), it only became a widespread phenomenon in the period after the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC. In the key production centre of Arezzo, the first true terra sigillata production begins at ca 30 BC (Conspectus 1990, 6). In Gaul, their import is preceded by presence of red slipped wares (of Italian or local manufacture) appearing at the latest in the 40s BC (DESBAT – GENIN 1996). In their earliest phases these wares are characterised by the mediocre quality of the slip (poor adhesion, chipping away, mottled reddish-brown colour). These products were sometimes labelled 'pre-sigillata' although numerous authors have questioned the utility of this vague catch-all term (cf. already GOUDINEAU 1968, 57–68, 318–322; Conspectus 1990, 4). Around or after 30 BC the *savoir faire* was finally sufficiently mastered and technological perfection attained; from that point on the appropriateness of the label 'terra sigillata' need not be questioned any more (Arezzo: Conspectus 1990, 6).

The forms of these earliest phases of red-slipped wares correspond to those of the latest north Etruscan and Padan Campana B, departing from the Campana B(oid) repertoire: plates and cups are still dominant forms but they grow flatter with higher simple rims (e.g. types Goudineau 1 and 2). The subsequent development of these wares with ever more developed horizontal rims lies beyond the chronological scope of this work.

As already mentioned, the central European La Tène Culture did not survive long enough to see much of this development.

Two examples of the earliest terra sigillata are attested in Bratislava: a plate with a high rim, type Goudineau 1/Conspectus 1.1, was found in the settlement of Vydrice at the foot of the Castle Hill [Ba16]. It is worth noting that the same plate form was imitated in local red-painted pottery (ČAMBAL 2004, 29, tab. XIII: 5, XIV, LVI: 9–12). Another rescue excavation in 3 Ventúrská Street produced an almost complete semi-globular cup [Ba17] of the type Goudineau 21/Conspectus 36.1 dated to the early Augustan period (GOUDINEAU 1968; Conspectus 1990, 114). It is surely no accident that this form was produced only in the Po valley and is represented in the early phases of the Magdalensberg (Conspectus 1990, 114; ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 1998, tab. in p. 194).

THIN-WALLED POTTERY

The vagueness of its labels makes it clear that the so-called thin-walled pottery (*‘ceramica a pareti sottili’*, *‘céramique à parois fines’*, *‘dünnwandige Keramik’*) does not constitute an actual technological category (such as e.g. the black-gloss pottery or *terra sigillata*) but comprises a broad range of wares produced throughout the Roman world from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC through the Imperial period (MARABINI MOEVS 1973; SCHINDLER-KAUDELKA 1975; 1998; 2012; MAYET 1975; RICCI 1981; 1985; GERVASINI 2005). Their shared characteristics include (apart from the eponymous wall thinness: often only 1–3 mm) a single function – drinking (or eating) vessels – and a corresponding repertoire of forms (goblets, beakers, cups and bowls). In the Republican and early Augustan period, the forms include mostly various tall beakers. Their production is widespread and mainly in the Republican period the single regional groups are not always precisely defined: the form repertoire is limited and usually shared by several workshops, and a multitude of wares often identified on a single site defy classification and inter-site (let alone interregional) comparisons based on both visual and analytical criteria (SCHINDLER-KAUDELKA 1975, 30–36; SCHINDLER-KAUDELKA 1998, 392–395).

The production of thin-walled pottery began in the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC in central Italy (Etruria), and later spread to both southern and – for our needs much more relevant – northern Italy. It is in northern Italy in the early (proto-?) Augustan period that the Aco workshops start producing their relief decorated beakers and whence they founded their subsidiaries in Lyon (DESBAT *et al.* 1996).

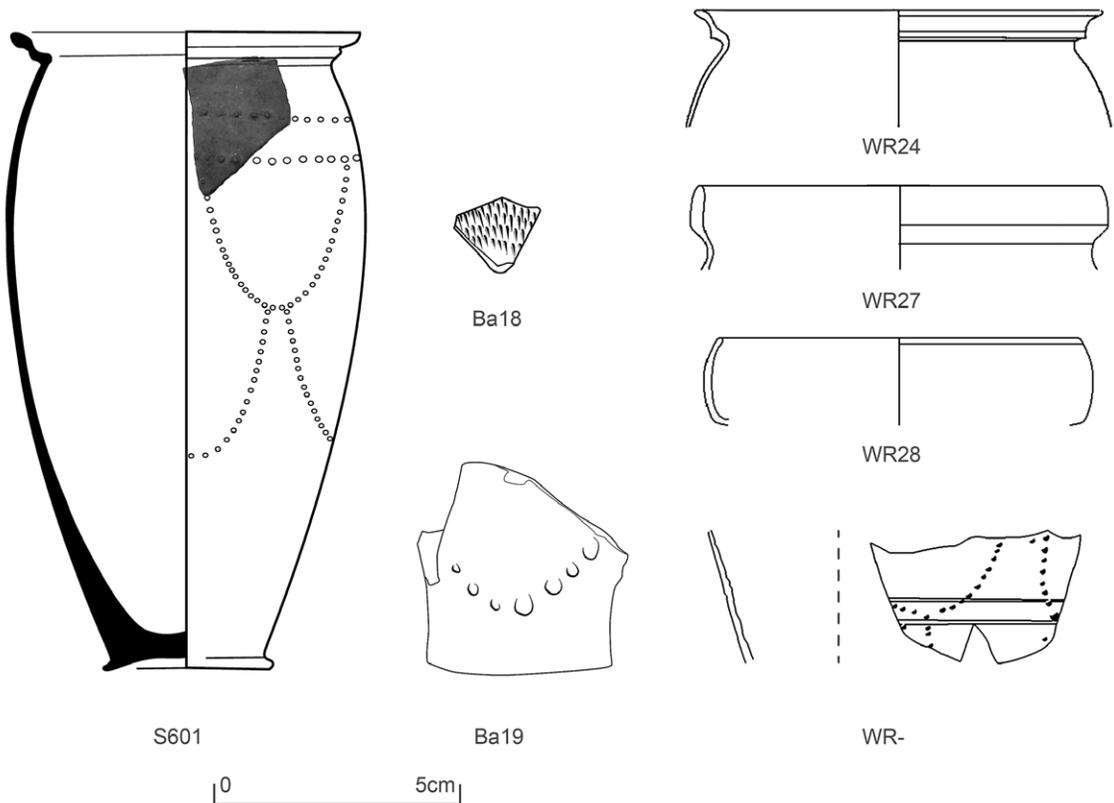


Fig. 94: Thin wall pottery discovered in Central Europe. Photo © NM Prague.

To date few fragments of thin-walled pottery are known from Central Europe (**Fig. 94**, map **Fig. 93**); their rarity may be largely caused by their fragility. Stradonice yielded one body fragment in thin, but coarse and hard-fired brown clay, with two rows of barbotine dots on the surface [S601]. The flat base of a spindle-shaped beaker found in Bratislava-Vydrica bears a similar barbotine decoration [Ba19]. As in the case of BG pottery, these modest finds have recently multiplied by the discoveries in Wien-Rochusmarkt where beakers of the same type and decoration are represented by three rims, two bases and an unspecified number of decorated and undecorated body fragments, giving an MNI of 3 [WR24–WR26].

All of these fragments probably come from spindle-shaped beakers with barbotine decoration of type Marabini 1 (= Mayet I = Schindler-Kaudelka 20 = Ricci I/I; MARABINI MOEVS 1973, 49–53, pl. 1–3, n° 1–24; MAYET 1975, 24–26, 126–127, pl. 1: 1–7; SCHINDLER-KAUDELKA 1975, 54–56, Taf. 5; RICCI 1985, 243–244, tav. LXXVIII: 1–2; SANTROT – SANTROT 1995, 127–128) or its undecorated version Marabini 3. This is the earliest and the most common type of Republican beaker produced in central Italy at least from the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (MAYET 1973, 25). From the middle (RICCI 1985) or third quarter (VEGAS 1990) of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC this beaker type spread throughout the Western Mediterranean (Spain and later southern France: MAYET 1975, 126–127; RICCI 1985, 244; VEGAS 1990; SANTROT – SANTROT 1995, 128). Finds from inland Gaul are not absent, but until the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century are relatively scarce in comparison with BG pottery: Bibracte (e.g. PAUNIER – LUGINBÜHL 2004, 211<sup>151</sup>), Roanne (LAVENDHOMME – GUICHARD 1997, 131, pl. 71: 7), Bourges (a single piece: BOUCHET 2017, 198, fig. 95: 1), Gondole (DEBERGE *et al.* 2009, 97, fig. 41: 89), Gergovie (GUICHARD *et al.* 1994, 302), Boviolles (BONAVENTURE 2011, 50–51, 155–157, fig. 69: 3), etc. This modest distribution does not bear comparison with the contemporary flooding of Gaul with BG pottery.

On the eastern side of northern Italy, local production is suggested, but Central Italian items were certainly imported to Aquileia and other sites in Friuli (DONAT 2009, 102, note 63). Marabini I beakers can be then traced from northern Istria (e.g. Fornače: HORVAT 1995, 28), through the Mandrga Pass (HORVAT – BAVDEK 2009, 68–72; almost 100 fragments are attested in six different fabrics<sup>152</sup>), and Republican layers in Nauportus (VOJAKOVIČ – BEKLJANOV-ZIDANŠEK – TOŠKAN 2019, 102, t. 1: 16–24; 103, t. 5: 65), to the Frauenberg (GROH – SEDLMAYER 2005, 132–133, Taf. 9: 550/1). Festoons of barbotine dots on thin-walls are equally present in Gurina<sup>153</sup> (GAMPER 2015, 188–190, Taf. 7: 17, 40: 6, 174: 7–8). At the Magdalensberg, Marabini 1 beakers already appear in the earliest settlement horizons as the first attested thin-walled pottery form, dated at the site to post 50 BC (SCHINDLER-KAUDELKA 1975; 1998). In the Augustan period the type does not seem to have been in circulation any more (MARABINI MOEVS 1973, 50; SCHINDLER-KAUDELKA 1975, 54).

Two more thin-walled beaker types are attested in the remarkable Wien-Rochusmarkt assemblage: globular beakers with vertical rim, Marabini 4 [WR27], and a high bulging rim probably of a beaker type Marabini 7 [WR28], bringing the total MNI for thin-walled pottery from the site to five. Both these types conform to the distribution of the previous type and with its pre-Augustan chronology (ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 24). At the same time, both of these types are regularly, albeit in smaller numbers, present in the same pre-Augustan

151 Though the goblets are all classified as type Mayet II in the publication, there is little difference between it and Marabini 1 – both are identical and contemporary tall beakers, the only difference being the details of the rim (MAYET 1975, 26–29).

152 Including both fine and coarse ones, fired in both oxidising and reducing atmosphere (HORVAT – BAVDEK 2009, 68). Marabini 3 are the most common types.

153 Depicted but inadequately discussed in the text which focuses on Augustan and Early Imperial classes of thin-walled pottery.

East Alpine sites as types Marabini 1 and 3 (e.g. Mandrga: HORVAT – BAVDEK 2009, 70–72; the Magdalensberg: SCHINDLER-KAUDELKA 1975, 163; SCHINDLER-KAUDELKA 2012, 330).

Considering the dearth on the thin-walled beakers in the west, the sherds from Wien-Rochusmarkt, Bratislava, and ultimately Stradonice are obviously the furthest outliers of the dense concentration in the East Alpine area.

The last sherd to mention is the tiny relief body sherd from the Bratislava Castle excavations [Ba18]. In spite of its small dimensions it can be precisely classified thanks to its characteristic decoration with *Kommaregen* as a fragment of mould-made 'Aco type' beaker. This type of decoration probably derived from earlier barbotine thorns common in the Republican period, the mould-made version is attested only on the 'Aco' type beakers produced in northern Italy from around 25 BC and throughout the Augustan period (RICCI 1985, 227; MASSEROLLI 1996, SCHINDLER-KAUDELKA – SCHNEIDER 1998b; etc.).

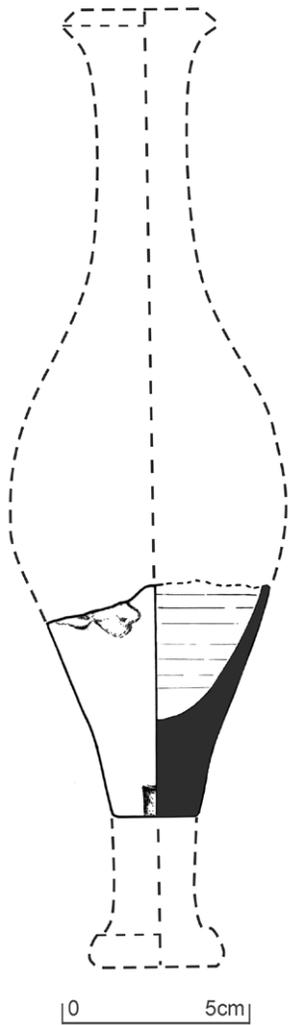
## UNGUENTARIUM

The only fragment of an unguentarium in our corpus [Tř60] comes from the NM excavations in the oppidum of Třisov. Unguentaria are fusiform vessels 5–30 cm (but mostly 8–20 cm) high with a long narrow foot and neck and a bulbous body in the middle (ANDERSON-STOJANOVIĆ 1987; FORTI 1962; CUADRADO 1977–1978; CAMILLI 1999). Vessels of this shape were in use throughout the Mediterranean from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and produced in large numbers on both supra-regional and regional scales. Considering the enormous chronological and geographical spread and the simplicity of the basic shape, we can hardly hope to define a single morphological development for these vessels; any typologies may have at the most a regional validity.

Unguentaria are traditionally considered to have been vessels for oil and other cosmetic substances; the analyses of their contents have however evidenced a broad range of substances including wine, incense, colorants, animal fats, dairy products, spices, etc. (ANDERSON-STOJANOVIĆ 1987, 116; FRÉRE – BODIOU 2010). These results should not be interpreted in a simplistic straightforward way (many of the listed substances could have been components of the scented oils) but it is certain that unguentaria may have been multifunctional vessel usable well beyond their traditional 'cosmetic' and 'ritual' function (i.e. in various pharmaceutical or culinary applications).

This makes it clear that the Třisov unguentarium provides us with only limited information: made somewhere in Mediterranean Europe sometime in the 3<sup>rd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century BC. There are no grounds for further precision; it is however most likely that, like the majority of artefacts treated here, the vessel was made in Italy in the 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century BC. There are nevertheless two reasons for which the Třisov vessel is worthy of attention. First, unguentaria are more than unusual finds in pre-Roman temperate Europe. They arrive in Gaul only with Caesar's armies (POUX 2008, 305) to become widespread in the post-Caesarean period (POUX – ROBIN 2000, 191, 200; ROBIN 1993) and cross the Rhine only in the time of Augustus (FINGERLIN 1986, 52: 27; 176: 54–58; 285: 34; 544: 82). At the Magdalensberg fusiform balsamaria appear in the earliest deposits (SCHINDLER-KAUDELKA 1975, 219–221) dated after the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC; this is however the northernmost point of their distribution and they are not to my knowledge attested in other contemporary East Alpine sites (Mandrga, Gurina etc.).<sup>154</sup> One balsamarium

<sup>154</sup> The find from Uttenberg near Salzburg probably dates to the Augustan period (HÖGLINGER 2004, 188–190, Abb. 2: 4).



**Fig. 95: Unguentarium [Třbo], reconstruction.**

allegedly from Staré Hradisko in the Boskovice collection was described by Meduna (1961, 56). Its bulbous shape is however characteristic of the Augustan period and its unclear find circumstances should warn us that it probably has nothing to do with the oppidum occupation.

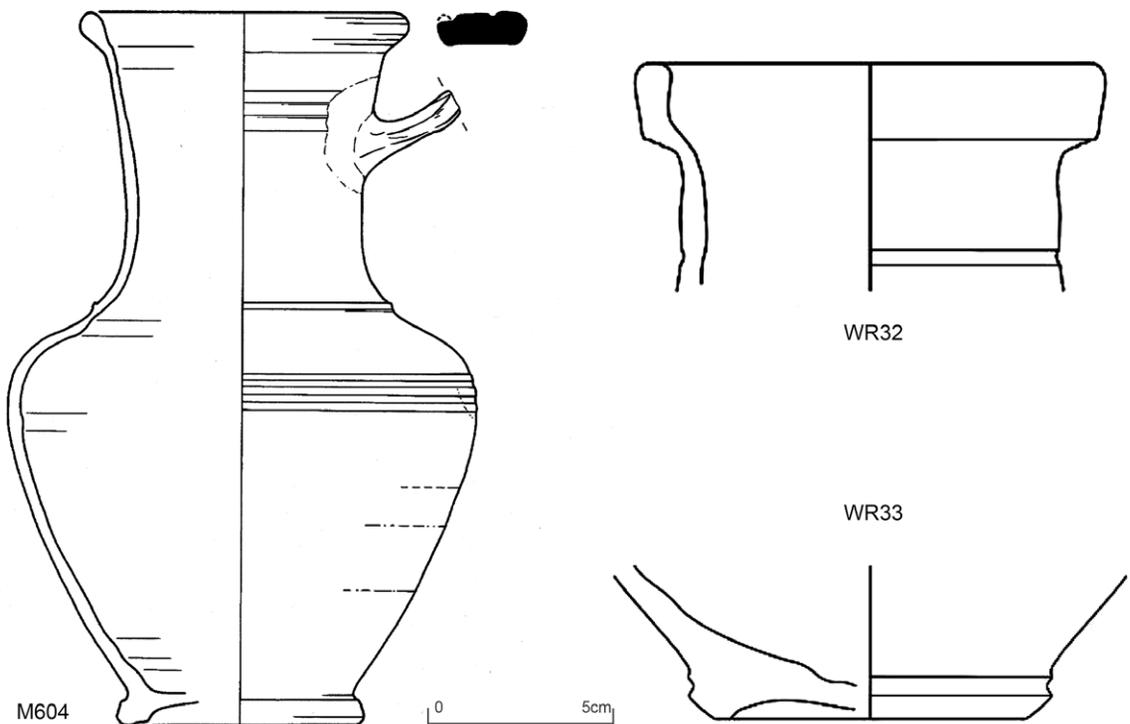
Second, residues of the original contents were preserved in the Třbov vessel. According to the analyses by the Laboratory of molecular spectroscopy of the University of Chemistry and Technology, Prague (NOVOTNÁ – MIŠKOVÁ 2011), the major component detected was animal protein (the best match of its spectrum is with that of animal glue) with a presence of kaolinite and silicates; oil was detected only in small proportions. A correct interpretation of these results (KYSELA 2011, 176–177; KYSELA 2014c, 457) is of course far from simple. The detected substances need not be the remains of the contents with which the vessel crossed the Alps, but may have been put into the vessel only during its second life in the Transalpine world.

#### COMMON WARES – JUGS AND JARS, INTERNAL RED-SLIP PLATES, MORTARIA

Republican common wares (e.g. OLCESE 20034; BATS ed. 1996) are a very broad and relatively little studied category of semi-fine wares fired in oxidising conditions (varying in colour from cream through buff and orange to light red). It is often close to impossible to define the

production area and most common wares cannot be classified more precisely than 'Mediterranean'. The forms of common wares include mainly closed vessels – **jugs** with one or two handles, or jars (*olle*). Already from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC this pottery was exported to the western Mediterranean (BATS 1988, 161–162; PY 1990, 583–588; PY 1993b, 222) and imitated there. As early as the last quarter of 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC these imports or their imitations spread in inland Gaul (Bibracte, Fossé des Pandours, Orléans, Boviolles, Yverdon, etc.: BONAVENTURE 2011, 51–53; LAVENDHOMME – GUICHARD 1997, 132; COLIN 1998, 34, 73–74).

Roman common pottery is plentiful also in the central sites of the Eastern Alps: Mandrga (HORVAT – BAVDEK 2009, 73–74), the Magdalensberg (SCHINDLER-KAUDELKA 1989, 16–19: only north Italian products are attested; imports from central Italy are not documented).

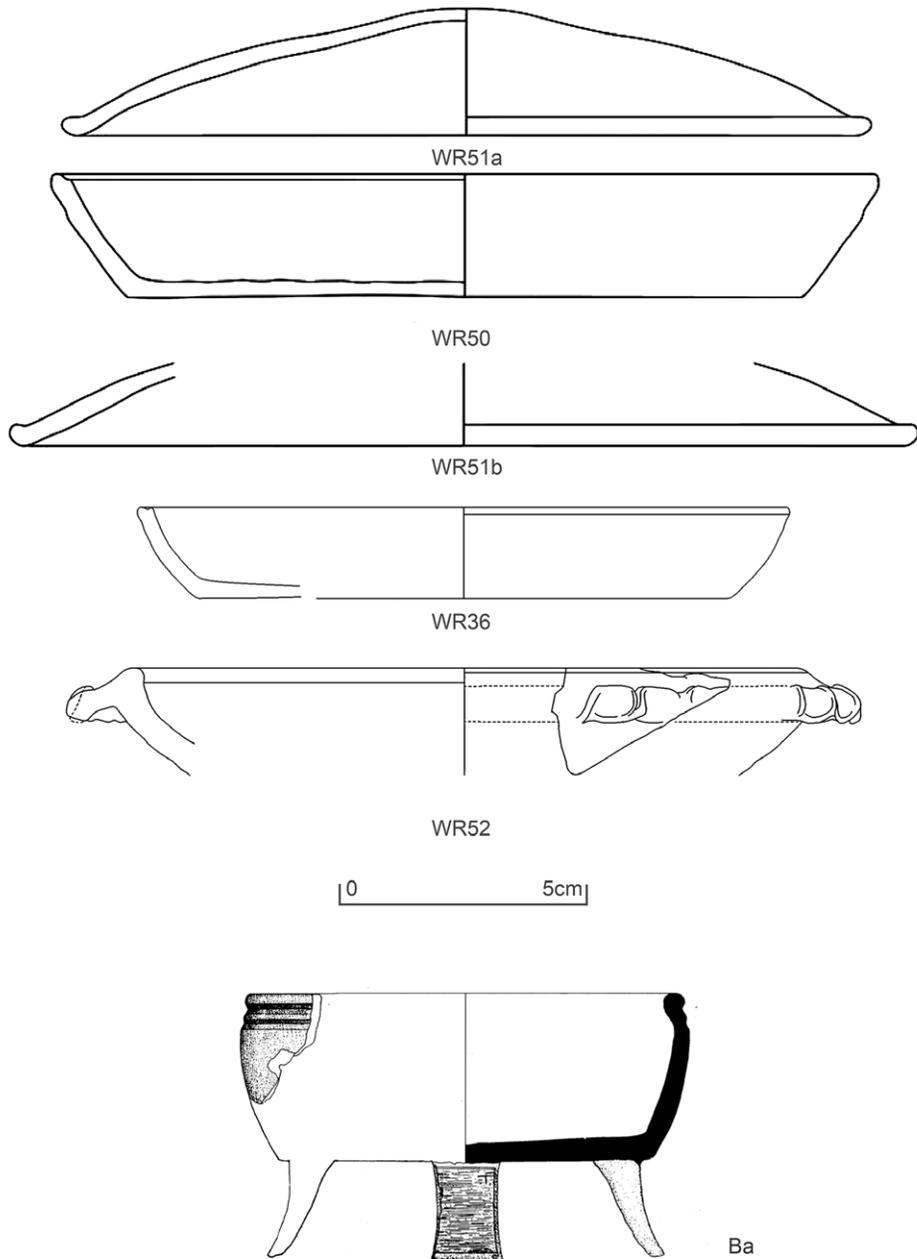


**Fig. 96: Mediterranean common pottery discovered in Central Europe (selection).**

Extremely few similar finds have so far been reported from La Tène Central Europe (**Fig. 96**, map **Fig. 93**). While still rather common in the Rhineland (e.g. Breisach-Münsterberg: WENDLING 2012, 190–191); in Württemberg Wieland (1996, 166, 228, Taf. 24: 3) mentioned only two possible imported common-ware sherds from Glatten-Bopfingen, remarking however that they may actually be of Imperial date. Suspected of being Roman, Medieval or Modern, many similar sherds may have been misclassified or dumped in other sites throughout Central Europe making for their total absence.

Only a single fragment of what may be Italian common ware has been identified in Bohemia – a fragment of a flat base with a body in light buff fine fabric from the oppidum of Stradonice [S602]. The presence of grog and volcanic sand suggests its possible origin in Lazio or Campania. In Manching a complete jug with a single handle and large orifice has been published [M604] with parallels from southern France.

As in so many cases, the above view has been radically changed by the discoveries in Wien-Rochusmarkt (ADLER-WÖLFL - MOSSER 2015). The preliminary excavation report mentions an MNI of at least five vessels (and several dozens of fragments) [WR29-WR31, WR34-WR35] of storage jars with large orifice with parallels from the early levels of the Magdalensberg. We may be sure that vessels of this category were not imported for their intrinsic value - it was their contents that mattered.



**Fig. 97: Mediterranean cooking pottery discovered in Central Europe (selection); Ba - Bratislava, three-legged baking pan (ČAMBAL 2004).**

The Rochusmarkt excavations further produced sherds of several ceramic categories otherwise not attested in Central Europe. **Cooking vessels with internal red-slip** are represented by dozens of fragments corresponding to at least 14 MNI [WR38–WR47] (**Fig. 97**).

This very specific pottery class (also known as Pompeian Red Ware – the term ‘Pompeian’ denoted the red colouring not the origin of the vessels) includes only two basic shapes – flat plates or pans (*patinae*) and corresponding lids. These cooking vessels (*Backplatten*) were made from relatively coarse pottery (which improved the heat-resistant properties of the vessel), and often included volcanic sand; the coating with red slip which made the vessel impermeable, as a rule is only present on the inside of the vessel. Both pans and lids are represented in the Rochusmarkt assemblage. The forms of the pans with their rims either grooved (*orlo bifido*) or thickened and out-turned corresponds, with the Republican types abundantly documented in the Mediterranean (GOUDINEAU 1970; PENA 1990; OLCESE 2003, 86, types 2 and 3).

Throughout the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC pans and lids with internal red slip are well documented in the west including Gaul, both Mediterranean (PY 1993) and inland, where they appear from the second quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century but become widespread only after the Roman conquest (e.g. Bibracte, Yverdon, Boviolles, Besançon: an overview in BONAVENTURE 2011, 57–58; Coirent: POUX – DEMIERRE eds. 2015, 411, pl. 36; Gondole: DEBERGE *et al.* 2009, and the Auvergne generally: MENNESSIER-JOUANNET – DEBERGE eds. 2017). In inland Gaul, they were even locally produced and these local imitations often appeared a long time before actual Italian imports. It seems that in pre-Roman Gaul these plates were not put to their original culinary function but rather used as table ware (BONAVENTURE 2011, 168–169).

Internally red-slipped pans (*ad orlo bifido*) and lids naturally occur in north-east Italy (Friuli in general: DONAT 2009, 121, fig. 5: 21; Aquileia: DOBREVA – RICCATO – TRIVINI BELLINI 2018, 311–312; Sevegliano: BUORA ed. 2008, 110–112; Trieste: Riccobono in: MORSELLI ed. 2007, 83–85, tav. 14: 1–5; Moggio: FALESCHINI 2018, 240, tav. 5: 81–89). In the East Alpine area, they are once again present on sites showing a clear Roman impact or at least higher status: Mandrga (HORVAT – BAVDEK 2009, 76–81), Nauportus (VOJAKOVIČ – BEKLJANOV ZIDANŠEK – TOŠKAN 2019, 102, 103, t. 2: 34–43, 4: 61, 5: 66), Fornače (HORVAT 1995), the Frauenberg (GROH – SEDLMAYER 2005, 224, Tab. 25, not illustrated), and naturally the Magdalensberg with the highest find concentration (SCHINDLER-KAUDELKA 1986). The types represented in these sites correspond fully with those documented in the Rochusmarkt.

In addition, from the Rochusmarkt excavation comes a fragment of a **mortarium** with thickened overhanging rim used for food preparation by grinding [WR52] (**Fig. 97**).<sup>155</sup> Both this procedure and the ceramic shape have a long tradition in Mediterranean societies (OLCESE 2003, 43). The shape of the Rochusmarkt *mortarium* is close to the Latial late Republican type 10 after G. Olcese (2003, 104). Similar *mortaria* are diffused also in northeastern Italy (CASANI – DONAT – MERLATTI 2009) and documented also in areas closer to Wien-Rochusmarkt, such as from the (already repeatedly mentioned) Mandrga Pass (albeit only from Augustan/early Imperial contexts: HORVAT – BAVDEK 2009, 124–125, pl. 50: 7), Nauportus (VOJAKOVIČ – BEKLJANOV ZIDANŠEK – TOŠKAN 2019, 102, t. 4: 60), as well as Gurina (GAMPER 2015, 192–193) and the Magdalensberg.

155 ‘A fragment of a marble mortarium’ was mentioned by Jiří Břeň as a find from the excavations in Stradonice [Sx90]. No such find has been identified in the inventories or the reserves of the National Museum nor could the information be verified in any other way and we therefore do not feel it worth further consideration.

Like the baking pans, *mortaria* testify to more than the importation of an object. These (in no way visually attractive or prestigious) vessels had an extremely specific function intimately linked to the Mediterranean way of life and their arrival in Central Europe would make no sense if they were not used in their original function for which there were no precedents (and probably little understanding) among the local inhabitants.

A similar case is that of the **three-legged baking pans** attested in the oppidum of Bratislava (**Fig. 97: Ba**) in the period LT D1/D2–LT D2 (ČAMBAL 2004, 20, 62, 29, 68, tab. XIV: 7; LXI: 9, 10; LXII: 2) as well as on other sites in Slovakia (Nitrianský Hradok: PIETA 1996, 185), and recognised as of Italian origin many decades ago (ZACHAR 1982, 45, obr. 5C; PIETA 1996). Not only is this ceramic type well documented in northern Italy (Ornavasso: GRAUE 1974, 82, 234–235, Tf. 32: 1, 241, Tf. 41: 5, 252, Tf. 59: 8; Verdello: PERANI 2003, 197, fig. 6: 23, with further bibliography; Trieste: RICCOBONO 2007, 114, tav. 28: 41; MORSELLI ed. 2007, 114, 28: 41) but also in the adjacent Roman influenced Late Republican/Augustan sites in the Eastern Alps (Nauportus-Vrhnika, Augustan period: HORVAT 1990, 228, pl. 8: 4; the Magdalensberg: ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 1997 with reference to other sites in the Eastern Alps; Puch-Urstein, Salzburg-Land: MOOSLEITNER 2004, Abb. 3: 1, among ‘pottery dated between 40/30 BC and the first or second decade AD’; Saalfeld-Biberg, Salzburg-Land: HÖGLINGER 2004, 195, Abb. 6: 2). Three-legged cooking pans of the same types appear in Gaul right at the beginning of Romanisation, a sign of the introduction of an oil-based cuisine (BARRAL 1999, 376).

## AMPHORAE

In Bohemia, amphorae are represented by three rims from Stradonice [S700–S702].<sup>156</sup> Another five fragments (three rims and two handle fragments = MNI 3) have been found in Staré Hradisko [SH85–SH87a, b] (**Fig. 98**) while another alleged find from Moravia from the lowland settlement in Bořitov<sup>157</sup> is in reality a fragment of medieval or modern pottery. An amphora fragment was allegedly found also in Berching-Pollanten [BP04], though I have not had the occasion to verify this find. A very recent discovery is a handful of amphora sherds from the *Viereckschanze* near Marklkofen an der Isar in Bavaria [Mkk1], located between Manching and Bohemia.<sup>158</sup> Much more consistent are two assemblages, from Manching (MNI >36, NR>111<sup>159</sup> [M700–M736], **Fig. 99**) and from Bratislava (MNI 39, NR 995 [Ba20–Ba58], **Fig. 100**). In Wien-Rochusmarkt, a single rim, single handle and single foot make up only one individual [WR53], although, based on the unspecified number of body sherds, Kristina Adler-Wölfl and Martin Mosser (2015, 27) distinguished at least seven different vessels.

The term ‘(transport) amphorae’ as we understand it here, describes two-handled clay containers used for storage and mainly bulk transport of various goods, liquid as well as solid, most typically of wine or oil but also salted fish and other fish products (such as the fish sauce, *garum*), olives, etc. Amphorae were strictly utilitarian objects, mass produced (the cargo of

156 All three come from the Berger collection which gives them quite high credibility.

157 Presented as such in ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2004, 136, but not mentioned in the publication of the site (ČIŽMÁŘ 2003).

158 I am grateful to Caroline von Nicolai for information about this unpublished find.

159 In contrast with the assemblage analysed in detail by Stöckli (1974) and Lyding Will (1987), the finds from 1990s excavations were published only cursorily – an entire amphora is depicted along with a mention of 180 fragments (difficult to quantify) collected in the Altenfeld zone (Gebhard in SIEVERS *et al.* 2013, 633).

each ship consisted of thousands of vessels: OLMER 2003, 194) and intended for a single use. Once used, amphorae could be secondarily employed for draining swampy ground (stacked in each other), as improvised water conduits, or simply as construction material for levelling ground, etc.

In terms of wine (and thus amphora) production, late Republican Italy is divided basically into two zones. On the Tyrrhenian coast (from Campania to Etruria) wine was transported in the amphorae type Dressel 1 (henceforth Dr. 1) while on the Adriatic (Picenum, the entire Po valley and the north-eastern Adriatic<sup>160</sup>) the same role was performed by the amphorae type Lamboglia 2 (Lamb. 2). Both developed during the second half/last third of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (TCHERNIA 1990, 42; BRUNO 1995, 27) from a single common predecessor, the so-called Greco-Italic amphora and remained in concurrent use throughout the third quarter of the first century BC. By that time a new type, Dressel 2-4 derived from Coan prototypes, had appeared on both coasts to replace Dr. 1 completely in the west (the first Dr. 2-4 may have appeared as early as the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC though their boom is linked with the decline of Dr. 1 in the 40s BC; BENQUET – OLMER 2009). In the Adriatic on the other hand Lamb. 2 gradually evolves into new types: Dressel 6A and Dressel 6B (CARRE 1985, 211; CIPRIANO – CARRE 1986, 82–84). The majority of production between the 60s and the 30s BC consists of ‘transitional forms’ whose attribution to this or that type is basically impossible (see below).

In terms of production the Tyrrhenian-Adriatic watershed is further reflected in terms of distribution: while Dr. 1 dominated western markets in Spain and Gaul (FITZPATRICK 1985; POUX 2004, 192–212; OLMER 2003; 2012), Lamb. 2 was mainly widespread in the east (the Adriatic, Aegean, Alexandria). Adriatic amphorae also regularly appear in the west though their presence there is rather negligible in comparison with the millions of Dr. 1s<sup>161</sup> (CIPRIANO – CARRE 1986, 85).

As far as classification is concerned, a basic distinction can be made between the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian amphorae on the grounds of their fabric (to oversimplify a complex issue: coarser and red to orange in Tyrrhenian amphorae; fine, pinkish, and tempered often only with grog in the Adriatic ones). However, since the same amphorae types were produced at the same time by dozens if not hundreds of workshops as much as hundreds of kilometres apart from each other, there is naturally an enormous variation within these relatively vaguely defined characteristics.

In terms of morphology Dr. 1 and Lamb. 2 are relatively similar (the former rather of cigar-shaped profile, the latter rather ovoid); in particular their rims may be virtually identical. In both cases the rims tend to develop from low triangular through straight vertical up to (in the case of the Adriatic types) very high and flaring. As already explained in the chapter on chronology for neither of the types can this development be considered a fine chronological indicator with many potential outliers and exceptions.

The problematic distinction between the alleged types Dressel 1A and 1B have already been discussed in detail above in the chronological chapter. Also in the case of the Lamboglia 2 type (for the type in general cf. CIPRIANO – CARRE 1989; BRUNO 1995, 27–38; TCHERNIA 1986, 53–56),

160 BRUNO 1995; MENCHELLI 2012.

161 In the excavation of *domus* PC1 in Bibracte the ratio between Dr. 1 and Lamb. 2 sherds was 12,684 : 3 (SCHOPFER 2004); in Besançon (‘Parking de la mairie’) it was 23,248 : 5 (LAUBENHEIMER 1992, 18–190, fig.119). In Vienne, Saint-Romain-en-Gal Lamb. 2/Dr. 6 account for a mere 2% of all amphorae as opposed to 63% of Dr 1/Dr2-4 (DESBAT – MARTIN-KILCHER 1989, fig. 2). The easternmost find spot of this western circuit in which an Adriatic amphora was found, is Breisach-Münsterberg with its two rims and one shoulder of Lamb. 2/Dr 6A as opposed to 30 MNI of Dressel 1 (30 rims, 6 shoulders, 3 feet, 14 handles and an unknown number of body sherds; WENDLING 2012, 194–205).

the rims seem to roughly develop from triangular through vertical with a convex external face (the lower edge being either convex, forming in section a pendent 'beak', or on the contrary diagonal, straight or moulded), and vertical (internally offset from the neck) up to very high and straight rims, either vertical or flaring. This latter group is already transitional to the Dr. 6A type. This seeming linearity in development is nevertheless contradicted by stratigraphic and epigraphic evidence – e.g. the amphorae with massive vertical rims certainly existed already in the pre-Sullan period while those with low triangular rim were certainly being deposited after the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century (PESAVENTO MATIONLI ed. 1992; FORTI 2012; STOPPIONI 2012).

The difference between the type Lamb. 2 and the following Dressel 6A (CARRE 1985; CIPRIANO – CARRE 1989, 81–89; PESAVENTO MATTIOLI 1992, 42–43) include: increasing thickness of the walls (up to 3 cm); transformation of the body from ovoid to baggy or pyriform; the shoulders become rounded rather than angular; the collar-shaped rims are high, vertical and usually inclined outwards; the feet are pointed, long, and massive; the arc described by their handles is gradual rather than abrupt; their section is more clearly circular rather than oval. A clear distinction between Lamb. 2 and Dr. 6A is therefore not easy when dealing with fragmentary material. The most characteristic distinction between the two forms is the overall shape of the body while the single features characteristic of Dr. 6A may already be present in the above-mentioned forms transitional between Lamb. 2 and Dr. 6A and only some of them (some shapes of rims for example) may give us more certainty as to their attribution to either of the types. These transitional forms, described on the grounds of completely preserved vessels from wrecks or, more usually, from drainage construction dated roughly to 60–30 BC<sup>162</sup> include pieces whose rims are more or less inclined outwards while the body preserves the basically ovoid shape, or, on the contrary, whose body takes up the baggy form while the rim remains vertical and clearly off-set from the neck. The shoulders may vary from carinated to rounded.

All this information makes it clear that a single amphora sherd has only extremely limited information value. The study of amphorae is most fruitful and brings most information on chronology, provenance, as well as, and mainly, on economy, in cases when large assemblages are available for analysis and mutual comparison (OLMER 2003).

To turn specifically to the amphorae discovered in Central Europe, among the three sherds from Stradonice (**Fig. 98**) two [S700, S701] can be classified as Lamboglia 2 (probably from Picenum or the Po valley) and one [S702] Dr. 1 probably from Cosa.<sup>163</sup> As far as chronology is concerned, the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC is as precise as we can get.

Three rim fragments [SH85–SH87a] and two handles [SH87b] (probably of the same vessels) discovered in Staré Hradisko (**Fig. 98**) can all be confidently classified as Adriatic pieces. In at least two of them the very low triangular rims might suggest rather early dates, still within the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (keeping in mind the reservations expressed above).

Unlike these basically individual finds, Manching and Bratislava both produced actual assemblages of several hundreds of fragments translating into a few dozen of individuals.

The Manching amphorae (**Fig. 99**) have been studied by W. Stöckli (1979a) and E. Lyding Will (1987). Both scholars focused in particular on chronological issues arriving at distinctly different conclusions; while Stöckli dated the most recent amphorae to ca 50 BC, Lyding Will raised the date to the '70s or maybe the 80s' BC. Both however agreed on the provenance of the amphorae, considering them unanimously of the Dressel 1 type originating in Gaul. I briefly studied the fragments kept in the Manching Museum store. The absolute majority of

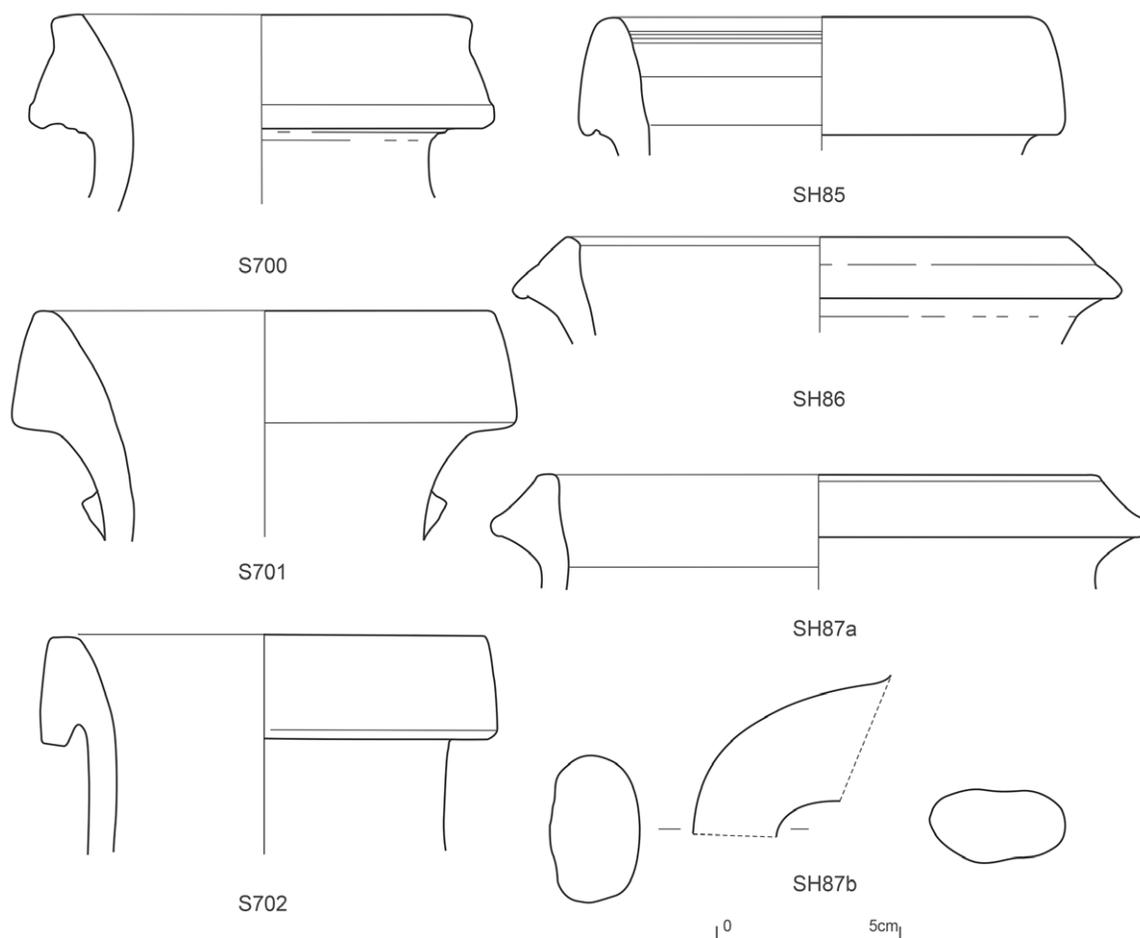
162 Drainage facilities: BRECCIAROLI TABORELLI 1984; BRUNO 1995; PESAVENTO MATTIOLI ed. 1992; STARAC 2008; SCOTTI 1989, 91–93; a wreck cf. VOLPE 1989.

163 Identified by Fabienne Omer.

the pieces kept there are certainly of Tyrrhenian origin though at least one handle fragment (acquisition number 67/102) is undoubtedly Adriatic (KYSELA 2014a).<sup>164</sup>

The vast majority of the Bratislava amphorae were discovered in the recent (2009–2010, 2014) excavations of the Bratislava Castle Hill (**Fig. 100**). Apart from them, amphorae fragments occasionally also appear in the La Tène levels in the lower town, e.g. six body sherds in Mudroňova Street (BAZOVSKÝ 2014, 116), identical in their basic characteristics with the material from the Castle Hill.<sup>165</sup>

A preliminary analysis (KYSELA – OLMER 2014) has been undertaken on the basis of the assemblage from the first phase of the excavation (2009–2014). Subsequently I had the occasion to study yet another part of the material from the 2014 excavation; this study did not



**Fig. 98: Stradonice and Staré Hradisko, amphorae.**

164 I am grateful to Wolfgang David, then director of the Kelten Römer Museum Manching for permission to publish the information.

165 Unfortunately we are obliged to omit from our discussion the finds from the Devín for which we lack contextual data and cannot decide whether the vessel comes from the Iron Age or the Roman period, both of which are represented on the site.

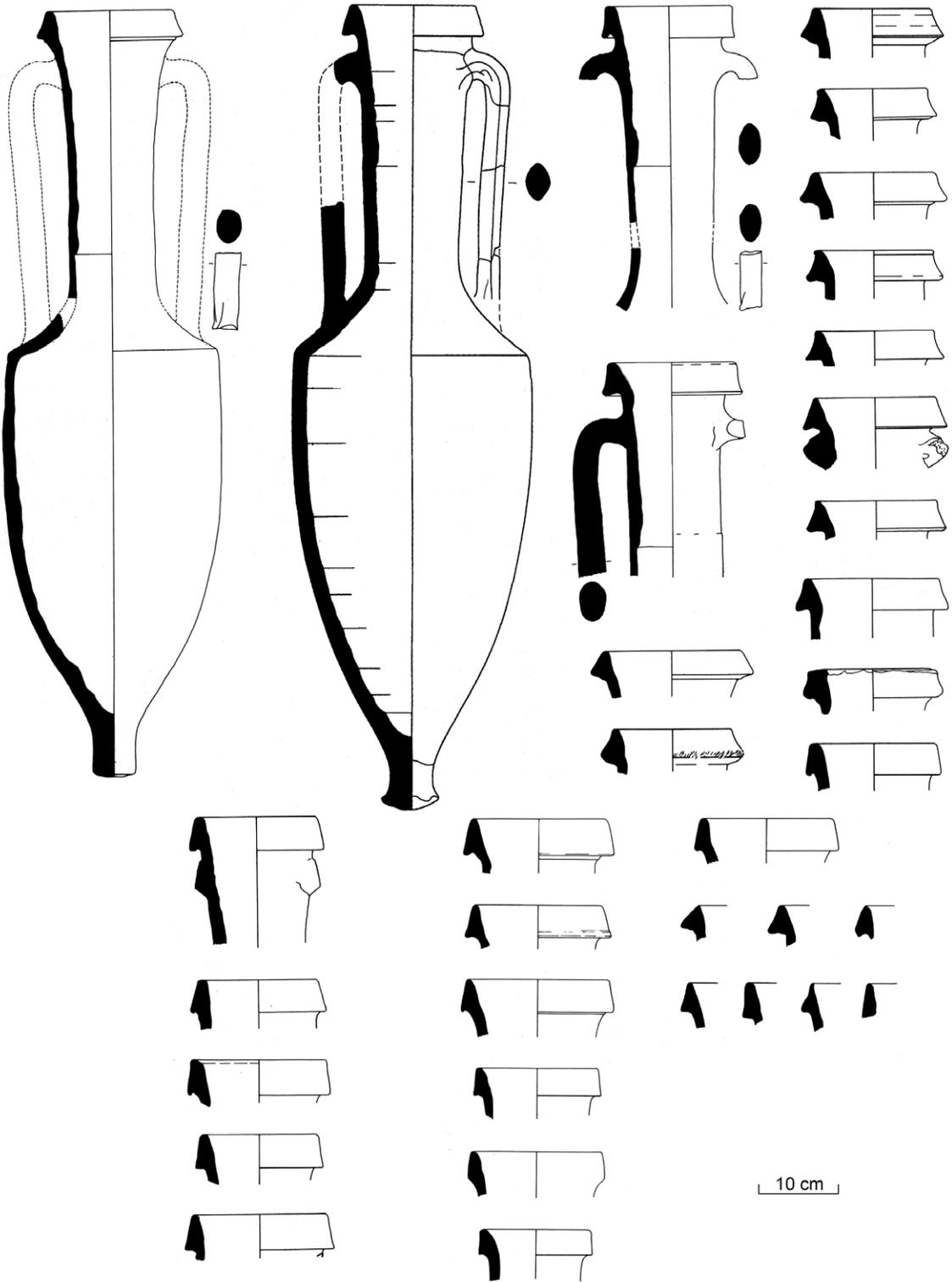
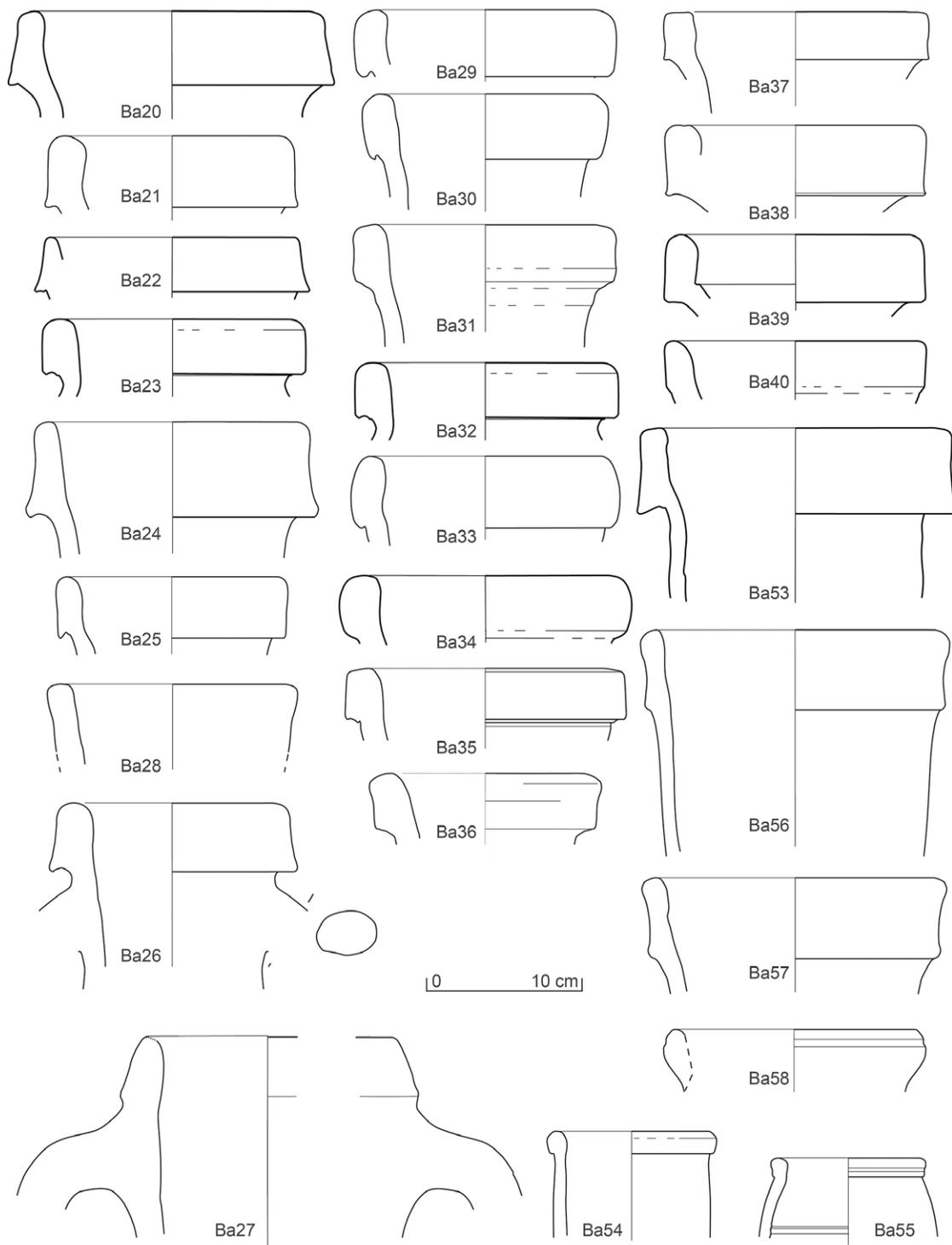


Fig. 99: Manching, amphorae (selection of diagnostic fragments).

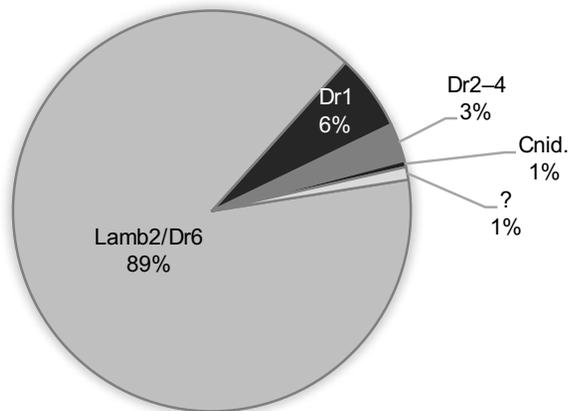


**Fig. 100: Bratislava, amphorae (selection of diagnostic fragments).**

bring any particular novelties and confirmed the views expressed in the preliminary study. Full publication of the amphora material from the Bratislava Castle excavation will only be possible when both the stratigraphy and the finds from the excavation are completely analysed including contexts like building II in which apparently entire amphorae were destroyed in a primary context (RESUTÍK 2014; RESUTÍK – MINAROVIECH 2017). At this point we shall limit ourselves to repeating the conclusions of the preliminary study.

Roughly 900 amphora fragments were studied between 2012 and 2016. These included 39 rims, 22 handles, 12 shoulders, 5 upper and 5 lower handle attachments (some of these included fragments counted above among the rims or shoulders), 5 feet, and 3 lids.

All the sherds studied were preliminarily sorted according to the macroscopic characteristics of their fabric (**Fig. 101**); in a sample of 496 sherds the fabric was subsequently studied under magnification. Both approaches produced very similar results identifying the majority of the fragments as broadly Adriatic though without the possibility of distinguishing between the types (82% in macroscopic analysis/up to 87% in magnified imagery), with a small proportion of Tyrrhenian wares Dressel 1 (6% / 10.5%) or Dressel 2–4 (3% / 1.6%), and a series of indeterminate individuals (9% / 1%).



**Fig. 101: Bratislava, proportions of the represented amphora types.**

Among the amphorae of type Dr. 1, a single rather high vertical rim is preserved as well as some handles. Type Dr. 2–4 is represented by one rim, one shoulder with the lower handle-attachment, one upper handle-attachment and several fragments of handles. Many body sherds could be attributed to Dr. 2–4 on the grounds of their small thickness. Close in shape to Dr. 2–4 though with a bulge on the neck (PANELLA 1986) is a rim [Ba55]. Thanks to these morphological characteristics as well as its fabric, it can be classified as a Cnidian amphora, i.e. one of the Greek/Oriental types which the type Dr. 2–4 imitates. This does not only mean ‘wine brought from afar’ but ‘wine brought from afar because of its extraordinary quality’ as Cnidian wine was particularly appreciated in Antiquity (TCHERNIA 1986, 105).

The Adriatic amphorae which constitute the majority of the assemblage need to be further classified morphologically, mainly in order to understand whether they are to be classified as Lamb. 2 or Dr. 6A. Not a single amphora from the Bratislava collection is fully preserved (though some may be reassembled from fragments in the future, mainly in the case of the vessels from Building II). Therefore, the most reliable criterion to tell the two types apart, i.e. the entire shape of the amphora body, cannot be studied.

Among the 34 Adriatic rims, 27 are sufficiently well preserved to allow a classification and 23 of these belong to the Lamb. 2/Dr. 6A realm. Three of these are triangular, 20 flat and among the latter, the majority are massive and vertical with a groove below; only five rims can be labelled as (slightly) flaring. These features point rather in the direction of Lamboglia 2 (principally the triangular rims and those offset by means of a lower groove) though some Dressel 6A features are present as well (cf. a high, straight and flaring rim [Ba28], [Ba36]), although the documented varieties of Lamb. 2 should be considered very developed.

As far as other diagnostic parts are concerned, among the 10 Bratislava shoulders the carinated Lamb. 2 variety just outnumbers the rounded Dr. 6A shoulders 6 (or 7?):4 (or 3?). Handle sections which should be oval in Lamb. 2 and round in Dr. 6A (CARRE 1985; CIPRIANO – CARRE 1989) is a criterion not easy to recognise in fragments (the shape of handle section may change between the attachments and the middle of the handle; the handles of amphorae published as Lamb. 2 may be round or vice versa: PESAVENTO MATTIOLI ed. 1992, tav. 3: 8, 4: 53, 6: 83, 12: 140); among the 24 preserved Adriatic handles or handle attachments from Bratislava, 8 are oval and 16 rather round. The criterion of gradual (Dr. 6A) vs. abrupt (Lamb. 2) handle curvature is difficult to identify as well, though tentatively we may establish the ratio as 4 or 3:2 in favour of Lamb. 2. The three amphora lids are characteristic of both Lamb. 2 and Dr. 6A and cannot provide us with any useful information.

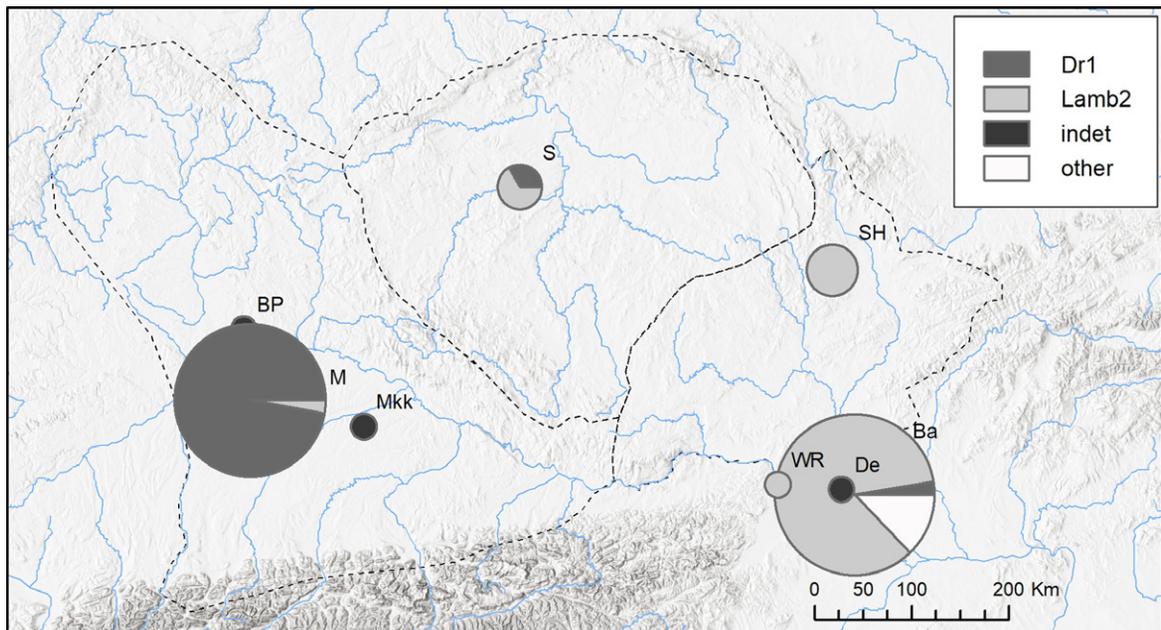
Three or four rims (and possibly one handle fragment [Ba56–Ba58]) surprisingly belong to oil amphorae, namely Brindisi ovoid amphora [Ba56, Ba57] such as those produced in the kiln of Apani (PALAZZO 1989, fig. 2: 11, 3: 14–15) and the Central Adriatic ovoid oil amphora (CIPRIANO – MAZZOCHIN – PASTORE 1991, 164–166) as well as probably the fragment of a bulging rim [Ba58].

These oil containers certainly merit attention as the importation of oil presupposes very specific culinary or other cultural habits such as an oil-based cuisine, a hint of which are the three-legged pans attested in Bratislava (cf. above), illumination by oil lamps, cosmetic or hygienic applications, etc.

The chronology of the assemblage, including at least one Dr. 1 and the Adriatic wares standing on the transition between Lamb. 2 and Dr. 6A, has been discussed extensively elsewhere (KYSELA – OLMER 2014, 182–184). Suffice to say a date around the middle and in the third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC seems most probable. We are however unable to say (and for both chronology and correct interpretation it would be very useful to know) whether the assemblage results from a few events concentrated in time or of repeated supplies over a longer time-span.

The last amphorae fragments unearthed so far in Central Europe came to light in Wien-Rochusmarkt. These fragments too ([WR53]) have been classified as probably of transitional form between Lamb. 2 and Dr. 6A (ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 26).

Although some of the ‘assemblages’ (such as those of Stradonice and Staré Hradisko) are truly minimal, these (re)discoveries of the last decade considerably change our view of the amphora trade in Transalpine Europe. So far, this view was exclusively oriented in a western direction and the only source of amphorae was believed to be Gaul (UENZE 1958, STÖCKLI 1979a, 189–190; FITZPATRICK 1985; 1993; WIELAND 1999; 2002; FICHTL 2002, 173, fig. 1). The finds of Dressel 1 east of the Rhine lined up on a nice Rhine-Danube axis: Basel (FURGER-GUNTI 1979, 90–99; FURGER-GUNTI – BERGER 1980, Taf. 20–30; JUD 2008, 117–122), Altenburg-Rheinau (FISCHER 1975, 319; FISCHER 2004, 127), Heiligkreuztal (WIELAND 1996, 164–166, Kat. Nr. 83–84), Manching (STÖCKLI 1979a; LYDING WILL 1987). Solitary finds of amphorae in Bavaria, Bohemia, and Moravia (Stradonice, Staré Hradisko), were repeatedly published as rims of type Dressel 1 thus completing this picture as the last sparse points in this distribution axis (BOUZEK 1982;



**Fig. 102: Distribution of amphorae in Central Europe.**

DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1998; BUCHSENSCHUTZ 2004). The Adriatic origin of two out of three finds from Stradonice and of all of those from Staré Hradisko makes this picture considerably more diversified. Considering the rarity though presence of Adriatic amphorae in Gaul, the Manching assemblage with its one Adriatic handle could be considered entirely of Gallic origin. In the case of Stradonice and especially Staré Hradisko, however, a completely different, eastern trade route is the only viable explanation.

Such an eastern trade route, or at least its initial part, is after all well documented by finds in the Eastern Alps and in their foothills. Roman influence, commercial and personal presence is documented from at least the middle/late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC by finds of prevalently Greco-Italic/ Lamboglia 2 amphorae lining all the principal river axes entering the Alps: in Tagliamento (the sites of Osoppo, Amaro, Moggio, and Zuglio, as well as in Gurina on the other side of the Monte Croce Carnico Pass), Natisone (amphorae in Gradič near Kobarid), and Timavo leading to the Razdrto Pass with its impressive amphora assemblage from the site of Mandrga whence the route begins towards Nauportus and Emona/Ljubljana, each with further finds of Lamboglia 2 amphorae (HORVAT 1995, 27–28, Abb. 2, Liste 2 in p. 38–39; HORVAT – BAVDEK 2009, 83–93, 140–146; VOJAKOVIČ – BEKLJANOV ZIDANŠEK – TOŠKAN 2019, 102, t. 3: 44–45). Already in inland Slovenia, let alone further north, amphorae finds become rare (BEZECKY 1994, 13–15; HORVAT – BAVDEK 2009, 93). Remarkable concentrations purposely destroyed amphorae appeared nevertheless in the late La Tène levels of the sanctuary on the Frauenberg in Southern Styria (GROH – SEDLMAYER 2005)<sup>166</sup> and naturally they are numerous also on the Magdalensberg, where the relatively few Lamboglia 2 pieces represent the earliest amphorae recovered on the site (BEZECKY 1994, 13–15). Unfortunately, the publication of the Magdalensberg amphorae is somewhat cursory for the Republican period and completely cryptic as far as quantification is concerned: ‘...einige stempellose Dressel 1 und

<sup>166</sup> These vessels were published as Dr. 1 and some fragments of this shape can be found on the site. However among the amphorae from the La Tène phase the majority belongs to Lamboglia 2. I am grateful to E. Schindler Kaudelka for discussion on the topic.

zahlreiche Lamboglia 2 [...]. Das Öl aus Apulien transportierte [man] in Amphoren des Brindisi Typs (Apani III) oder in eierförmigen adriatischen Amphoren' (BEZECKY 1994, 13). Although this account is hardly satisfactory, it is worth noting that this impressionistically outlined amphora *facies* is identical with that of Bratislava described above. It is also worth pointing out that even the exceptional Cnidian amphora among the Bratislava finds has a counterpart at the Magdalensberg in Augustan find contexts, though potentially earlier (as well as much later, in the Imperial period, contexts in Pannonia) (BEZECKY 1993).

To conclude, similar to the Black Gloss pottery, the amphorae suggest clearly (though on a meagre evidence base) the existence of at least two parallel routes supplying Central Europe: one passing from Gaul at least as far as Manching, the other heading from the northwestern Adriatic through or around the Eastern Alps to the Middle Danube region.

Although only a few amphora finds from Central Europe provide evidence of the existence of this eastern route, it is interesting to note that the available sherds attest trade activities already at a relatively very early date (late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC in the case of the amphorae from Staré Hradisko) as well as at the very end of the Iron Age (the assemblage at Bratislava). It is reasonable to imagine that these two chronologically distinguishable moments were not isolated and that contacts continued on a more or less regular basis between them.

A last point to mention: throughout the study of the pottery imported to Central Europe other than amphorae and Black Gloss pottery, we drew extensively on evidence from the East Alpine region while the west only produced comparanda from distant Gaul; the whole of southern Germany but also e.g. the Rhineland were on the other hand relatively little help in this regard.

## POTTERY IMITATIONS

Throughout Iron Age Europe Mediterranean contacts manifest themselves not only in imports but also in various (formal, stylistic, or functional) Transalpine imitations of Mediterranean vessels. In Bohemia this phenomenon is illustrated in a spectacular way for the Early Iron Age by imitations of Attic painted pottery (overview in BOUZEK *et al.* 2017, 60–66). In the Late Iron Age imitating Roman pottery forms is well documented in Gaul (BARRAL 1999; BARRIER 2013; MENNESSIER-JOUANNET – DEBERGE eds. 2017); this is unparalleled in Central Europe. This phenomenon is traceable in the Rhineland, becoming much scarcer and much less evident further east (thus naturally reflecting the distribution of the actual imported pottery). In Late Iron Age Central Europe, imitations of Mediterranean vessel forms are limited to several specific cases; that is why I prefer to present them as a small digression at this point rather than in the chapter on II.4, in which the focus will be on large scale phenomena.

## THE PRE-OPPIDA PERIOD

In some cases, scholars suggested there are already Mediterranean models behind very early, that is LT C, vessels in Central Europe. In none of them can this suggestion be accepted uncritically.

A possible southern inspiration was proposed by Natalie Venclová for a bowl with stamped decoration (VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2008, 66, obr. 31: 1, 42: 1, 2) from a 'LT C1(/C2) or LT C2-D1' settlement pit in Prague-Běchovice (VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2008, 66 obr. 31: 1, 42: 1, 2; VENCLOVÁ ed. 2008/2013, 103 with a LT B2–C1 date). The wheel-thrown S-shaped bowl is completely local in its shape and fabric, and is decorated on the lower part of its outside with a single vertical

line of fan-shaped stamps; three stamps and remains of a fourth are preserved. The analysis of the clay confirmed beyond any doubt the local origin of the vessel and so its only foreign element is the stamped decoration. It should be stressed nevertheless that stamping in vertical strips and on the outside of the vessel is equally atypical of the Mediterranean as it is of La Tène pottery in which stamping, though not at all widespread, is not unknown in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (cf. KYSELA *et al.* 2017, 89).

Tomáš Polišínský and Martin Trefný (2013) suggested that an open vessel from a settlement in Praha-Pitkovice might be a LT C(1?) imitation of a Mediterranean model (**Fig. 103: PP**). The authors claim the models for the shallow stemmed bowl lie in 4<sup>th</sup>–mid 3<sup>rd</sup> century Italy. However their analysis is not convincing in every respect: the pottery assemblage to which the sherd belongs seems to date to the Late rather than Middle La Tène period as the authors themselves admit and possible residuality of earlier elements (which they fail to specify) is hardly sufficient grounds for such a bold proposal as the imitation of Italian pottery in Central Europe. If residual, the sherd could also be of Early La Tène date.

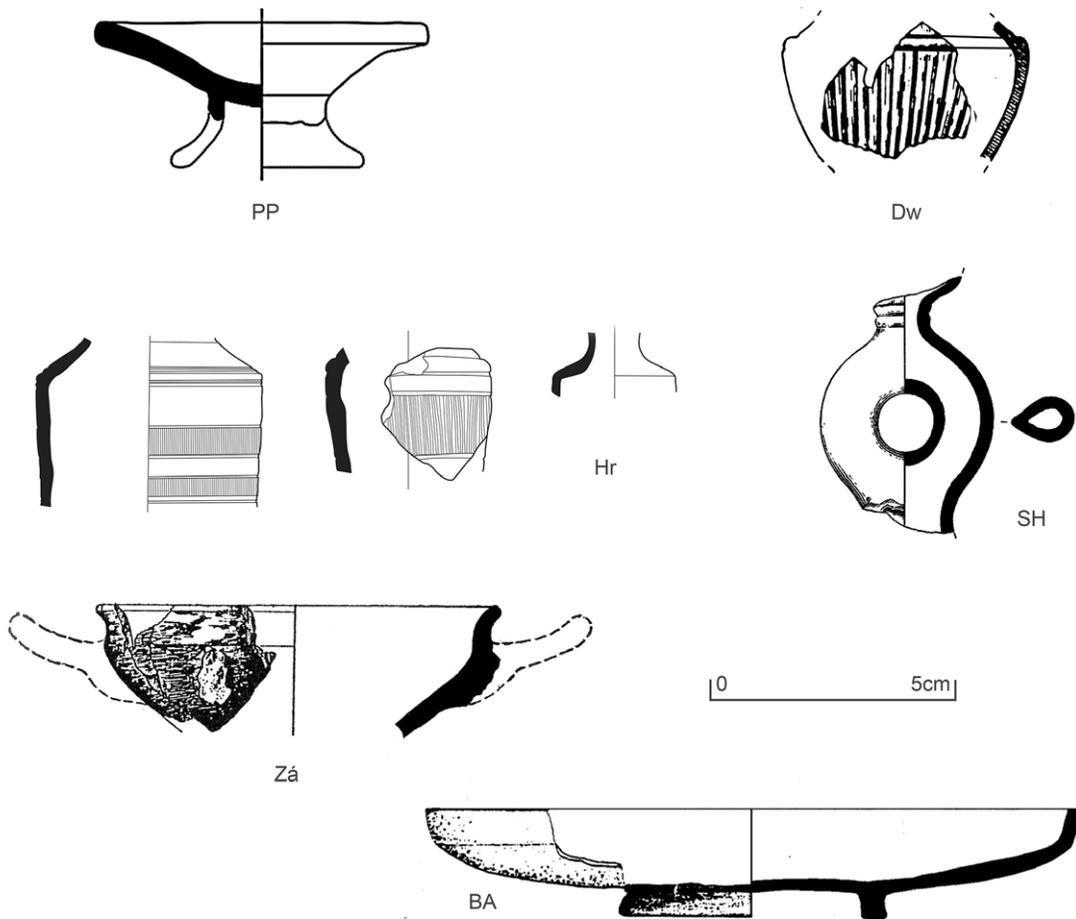
In fact, if we for a moment disregard the find context and analyse only the shape of the vessel, we find no possible Mediterranean models from the 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>167</sup> Stemmed cups or rather plates of this shape are nevertheless common throughout the Italian Iron Age down to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. While Polišínský and Trefný lay much emphasis on the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century examples (citing examples from Tarquinia, Spina, Numana, Monte Bibele), it should be stressed that the form already appears in the 8<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century (e.g. Bologna-Benacci Caprara, t. 37, 38, 42, 48, etc.: TOVOLI 1989, tv. 37–38, 42, 58: 3, 66: 4, 67: 5–7), and in particular is very common in the 6<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century: Veii (RASMUSSEN 1979, 124, pl. 40: 241–242), Piceno IVB–V=520–385 BC (LOLLINI 1976), Baggiovara (MALNATI 1989, II/17, fig. 3: 3), Marzabotto (MATTIOLI 2005), Spina (PATITUCCI UGGERI 1984, form 8a), etc. Should we admit the sherd from Pitkovice is residual (which is the only way to claim its status of an imitation), there is no way to decide whether it imitates a 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> or a 6<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> century model. Considering the relative abundance of definite 5<sup>th</sup> century vessel imitations in Bohemia and the significant Early La Tène occupation in Prague-Pitkovice, an earlier date seems in my opinion more likely.

The entire story may, however, be much simpler: for some reason the authors failed to explain why these fragments cannot simply be a common Late La Tène lid (type 4 after VALENTOVÁ 2013, 57–61). I strongly favour this down-to-earth interpretation.

If in Bohemia there are only two highly questionable cases of LT C vessel forms potentially inspired by Mediterranean pottery, from outside Bohemia the situation is not much better. The only convincing case comes from the northeastern periphery of the La Tène Culture, from a Middle to Late La Tène settlement of Dalewice in Lesser Poland which produced a fragment of a closed (?) vessel (the shoulder and a large part of the body) with broad rounded vertical ribs (**Fig. 103: Dw**; GROMNICKI 1962, 122, ryc. 2d). This is a characteristic surface treatment of 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century Mediterranean pottery (e.g. MOREL 1981, *passim*) while it is very unusual in Central Europe. Also the reconstructed shape of the vessel suggests a foreign influence.

We cannot conclude this chapter without mentioning the well-known group of so-called Balkan kantharoi. At least since the article by Venceslas Kruta and Miklos Szabó (KRUTA – SZABÓ 1982; cf. also SZABÓ 2000), these two-handled drinking vessels have been seen as a clear sign of the Hellenization of the Balkan Celts materialised in the adoption of a characteristically Greek drinking vessel. The distribution of these vessels covers the regions of the Carpathian Basin, though the westernmost outlier has been identified in Střelice in

167 The BG form Lamboglia 4 is not common in Italy itself.



**Fig. 103: Alleged imitations of Mediterranean pottery in Central Europe. PP - Prague Pitkovice; Dw - Dalewice; Hr - Hrazany; Zá - Závist (not to scale); SH - Staré Hradisko; Ba - Bratislava.**

Moravia (ČIŽMÁŘ 1993b, 94-95). A recent paper by Petar Popović (2014) has shown that the story may be somewhat more complex. Although Popović does not explicitly challenge the traditional view, he clearly demonstrates that the kantharoi appeared in the Balkans as early as the Eneolithic and remained a characteristically local and abundantly represented ceramic shape until the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. After all, in Greece the kantharos was the attribute of Dionysus with his Thracian connotations and in iconography it maintained a hint at the exotic and northern barbarian links even after it had long been absorbed into the Greek ceramic repertoire. In short, the kantharos adopted by the Balkan Celts and passed on by them to the Carpathian Basin is a thoroughly local vessel attesting contacts of the incoming bearers of the La Tène Culture with the pre-existing local population. Even though we can distinguish more 'Hellenised' varieties of the kantharoi, this Hellenization already occurred locally before the arrival of the Celts. By this I do not mean to deny contacts of Balkan Celts with the Greeks, only to point out that the processes of cultural contact may have been much more complex (with numerous unexpected actors and interludes) than we would guess at the first sight.

No case of a local imitation of a Mediterranean vessel is known to me from WnCE.

## THE OPPIDA PERIOD

It has already been mentioned above that a series of red-slipped (or red-painted) plates produced in the Bratislava oppidum has been convincingly interpreted as local imitations of early Roman red-slip ware (**Fig. 103: Ba**; ČAMBAL 2004, 29, tab. XIII: 5, XIV, LVI: 9–12). Similar local red-slipped plates have been reported also from the Late La Tène agglomeration in nearby Vienna (ADLER-WÖLFL 2012, 176). Other supposed or suspected imitations of Mediterranean pottery of the oppida period are far less plausible.

A base of a small closed vessel with a ring base and broad vertical ribs or fluting was discovered in Stradonice during the 1929 excavation (KYSELA 2012d). The fragment does not correspond with Bohemian Late La Tène pottery either in its shape or in the fabric. The broad vertical ribs resemble the vessel from Dalewice, bearing strong similarity with the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century Mediterranean vessels. While a vessel of this date might be imitated in Dalewice, it is far less likely in the case of Stradonice. The base with its relatively very coarse clay is certainly not the remains of an originally Black Gloss vessel which happens to have lost its slip, and if it has anything to do with this pottery class, it may be only its formal imitation. The foreign character of the fabric suggests nevertheless that the object was made outside Bohemia. Even if the vessel was actually imitating a Mediterranean vessel (the arguments for which are not as strong as in the case of the Dalewice sherd) the act of this imitation occurred outside Bohemia and the vessel would be only brought there secondarily. Exclusion from further discussion seems advisable.

Mediterranean inspiration was claimed for a small group of closed vessels from the oppidum of Hrazany as well as for a (two-?)handed bowl with an organic black slip from the Závist annexe (**Fig. 103: Z<sub>a</sub>**; DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1997, 111; DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1998, fig. in p. 130; DRDA – RYBOVÁ 2001, 325; BOUZEK 2007, 169, obr. 82; VENCLOVÁ ed. 2008/2013, 103, obr. 63: 12–16; I discussed this topic in more detail in KYSELA 2010b). From a technological point of view the vessels compare with the fine pottery of central Bohemia and it is only their shape that makes them exceptional in this region.

The Závist cup was compared with the black gloss *kylikes* forme 4115 or *espèce* 4100 of Morel (MOREL 1981, 288–293; cf. also BALLAND 1969, 124–150; MONTAGNA-PASQUINUCCI 1972, 361–372, fig. 2: 7, 16). These cups were produced mainly in northern Etruria between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC; they are among the most widespread black-gloss forms of this period, largely represented e.g. in the necropolis of Monte Tamburino on Monte Bibele (PARRINI 2008) and it is one of these cups which left its Italian homeland to be later deposited in the warrior grave of Le Plessis-Gassot (GINOUX 2003, 43–44, fig. 5) and in La Combe-Sala, (Ollon, kanton Vaud, CH; VITALI – KAENEL 2000, 121, fig. 6) as a rare case of a LT B2 pottery import.

The similarity between the F4115 cups and the Závist piece is however somewhat unconvincing: the Závist cup is characterised by a prominent concave rim, offset by a sharp notch while the *espèce* 4100 is explicitly defined as ‘sans carène très marquée [n’ayant] pas de contre-courbe dans le profil de la vasque sinon éventuellement à proximité immédiate du bord’ (MOREL 1981, 288–293). This simple body profile is a common feature of all Mediterranean tableware from the late Classical period onwards (LAMBOGLIA 1952, 188–190; MONTAGNA-PASQUINUCCI 1972, 333–334, fig. 2: 52; for eastern Mediterranean examples, cf. SPARKES – TALCOTT 1970, 93–95, 102–105, 107–108; ROTROFF 1997, 97) producing at most a slight S-shaped rim (Volterra: MOREL 1981, 290 F4115b; Tarentum: LIPPOLIS ed. 1994, 264) hardly comparable with the cup from Závist.

Its profile is on the contrary close to earlier cups of (in Attic terminology) ‘type C with concave rim’ and to some extent the ‘Akro type’ as well as corresponding stemless cups (SPARKES – TALCOTT 1970, 91–96, 101–105). These vessels of Attic origin were widely exported and imitated throughout

the Mediterranean, mainly in the 5<sup>th</sup>-mid 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (types Lamboglia 42A/Morel F 4271a).<sup>168</sup> Only a small group of finely modelled cups with concave rim (documented curiously more often in silver than in pottery) continues down to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century but not much further.<sup>169</sup>

If the Závist cup was really modelled on a Mediterranean vessel (let us not forget that for example the symmetrical second handle is only reconstructed, not actually preserved), the model was much more probably a 5<sup>th</sup> century vessel than a cup from the oppidum or immediately pre-oppidum period.<sup>170</sup> This would be no big surprise considering the significance of Závist in the Early La Tène period and the relatively common Early La Tène period formal imitations of Mediterranean vessels (cf. above).

The closed vessels from Hrazany are also of undoubtedly local manufacture as proven by their technology but also the decoration of fine vertical combing (TREBSCHKE 2003). Once again, it is only the shape that calls for explanation. Their assumed models (DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1997, 111) are the lekythoi Morel F7142 and F4821. Actual finds of these vessels are, however, limited to Sicily and dated to late 4<sup>th</sup>-mid(/late) 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>171</sup> The complete absence of these finds outside this area makes any relation with Late La Tène Bohemia improbable; even more damning is the considerable chronological gap.

Alternative formal parallels – enclosed vessels with a cylindrical body, narrow neck and more or less sharp shoulder – can also be found in areas less distant than in Sicily; what they all have in common however, is their date: as a rule 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> or rarely first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>172</sup> Once again therefore a gap of a century or more exists between the (alleged) model and its (alleged) imitation. If we try to loosen the formal criteria even further in order to find approximate parallels contemporary with the oppida period, what we end up with is basically the concept of a closed vessel... This is a more valuable conclusion than it may sound.

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- 168 Some Italian finds include Bologna (GOVI 1999, 50–53: Attic imports from the early 5<sup>th</sup>-early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC), Chianciano Terme (PAOLUCCI – RASTRELLI eds. 1999, 46, fig. 10: 6: a bucchero imitation, late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC); Gravisca (VALENTINI 1993, 21, 26); Aléria (present in the earliest phase of the cemetery dated to 500–340 BC; it no longer occurs in the second phase: JEHASSE – JEHASSE 1973, 55–56, 96; JEHASSE – JEHASSE 2001, 34–36, 72–73); Falerii Veteres (SCHIPPA 1980: before and around mid-5<sup>th</sup> century BC); Fratte (GRECO – PONTRANDOLFO 1990, 231–244), etc.
- 169 Pottery: Populonia (ROMUALDI – SETTESOLDI eds. 2009, 137–139, fig. 114, 114a); Volterra (MAGGIANI ed. 1985, 179, fig. 245: 3–4, southern Italy: CANOSA 2007, 89–90, fig. 10: 72, tav. XXXIX: 70, 71, XL: 72, 77). Silver: Čmireva mogila, Zaporozhie, Ukraine (PHARMAKOWSKY 1910, 220, Abb. 18; for the date cf. ALEKSEEV 2003, 273–277); bronze: Derveni, tomb B (THEMELIS – TURATZOGLU 1997, 73–74, 194, pin. B 30–31); Volterra (today in the Cinci collection: De Tommaso in CATENI ed. 2007, 154, n° 7), Berlin Antikensammlung (HEILMEYER *et al.* 1988, 177, fig. 13, 3: 3).
- 170 The suggestion by Jan Bouzek (2011b, 72–73) that the vessel imitates rather a Cnidian cup, which would be a more appropriate comparison for the oppida period, falls short of adequately explaining what formal connection exists between the out-turned rim of the Závist vessel and the characteristic carinated enclosed lips of the Cnidian cups (ROTROFF 1997, 233–234, fig. 96, nos. 1576–1579).
- 171 Assoro: MOREL 1966, 232; Butera: ADAMESTEANU 1958, 266, fig. 36, 283, fig. 43; Lilybaeum: BECHTOLD 1999, 78, tav. XIII: 120; Bisi 1971, 686, fig. 35a; Lipara: BERNABÒ BREA – CAVALIER 1991, tav. 1581: 88–91, fig. 249, tav. 2009: 66, fig. 95; Naxos: PELAGATTI *et al.* 1984–1985, 450, fig. 168: 10, 457, fig. 171: 2; Ravanusa: CALDERONE *et al.* 1996, 27–29, tav. XXXVIII: 7, 142, tav. CXXXII: 2.
- 172 Lekythoid unguentaria, type IIIa after FORTI 1962, 149–150, or A23.9, A23.13 and B32.7 after CAMILLI 1999, 30–31, 68, tav. 10–11; 100, tav. 26; cf. e.g. ADAMESTANU 1954, 129; bottle Morel F 7141 (MOREL 1981, 143), lekythoi F5442 after MOREL 1981, 363–364, pl. 170, or F5416–5418, MOREL 1981, 361–362, pl. 168–169; e.g. Numana Sirolo, t. 263 (cf. BERTI – BONOMI – LANDOLFI eds. 1996, 115, n° 25: 02, Populonia: ROMUALDI 1992, 134, fig. 78, etc.). An exceptionally late imitation of lekythoi F5442 comes from Adria and dates to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC: BONOMI – PERETTO – TAMASSIA 1993, 106, fig. 26: 8.

In fact, if the suggested link between the Bohemian ‘imitations’ and their specific Mediterranean ‘models’ seems for all the reasons presented here to be unconvincing, it is not a reason to dismiss completely the idea of Mediterranean inspiration. While the single morphological features of the Hrazany vessel (the narrow neck, the sharp shoulders and first and foremost the small volume) are completely exceptional in Late La Tène pottery, they are all characteristic of Mediterranean pottery. In that case however, we have to change the way we conceive them. Instead of looking for an imitation of form and searching for an exact model, we should think rather of functional inspiration: the vessels reflect a demand for preserving and storing small quantities of (valuable? exotic?) liquids, a function which none of the common Late La Tène vessels could fulfil (we may remember here the balsamarium from Třísov [Tř60]). The need for this new function and as many as three vessels meeting it on a rather peripheral site is a more valuable discovery than identification of the exact Mediterranean vessel which the local ones imitate.

A similar function may have been fulfilled by the annular vessel from Staré Hradisko (**Fig. 103: SH**; ČIŽMÁŘ 2002a, 213, obr. 11; ŽENOŽIČKOVÁ 2011, 72; OSTRÁ 2020). A recent analysis of the chemical composition of the vessel’s fabric via pXRF demonstrated that it differs from the characteristic composition of the rest of the local pottery (OSTRÁ 2020). There is therefore a considerable probability that we are dealing here with an imported piece. The question is, however, where it was imported from. Miloš Čižmář (2002a, 213) presented it as proof of direct contact between the Moravian oppidum and the Mediterranean, based on its similarity with an annular vessel from t. 118 on the Dürrnberg (LT A) for which Ludwig Pauli (1978, 296–297, 531, Taf. 221: 28, 232: 2) quoted numerous parallels from Etruria. It must be kept in mind, however, that all these parallels are considerably earlier even than the Dürrnberg burial, let alone the Moravian oppidum.

In the Mediterranean, similar hollow forms are most characteristic of the Orientalising period and date (depending on the area) from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC; the body may be both vertical and horizontal with the spout either axial or lateral (FRIIS JOHANSEN 1923, 26–28; PAYNE 1931, 88; URE 1946; CARAFA 1995, 82–84, n° 191; BELLELLI 2007, 301–303). After the 6<sup>th</sup> century, annular vessels became exceptional and only a single example is known to me from the Hellenistic period, a horizontal piece from the Athenian agora dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> century (ROTROFF 1997, 183, pl. 87, n° 1197; even Susan Rotroff was perplexed by it, admitting that no Hellenistic parallel was known to her).

Already for this late Greek piece a genetic link with orientalising vessels seems improbable and the idea that a potter from Staré Hradisko could have been inspired by either a Hellenistic or an Orientalising ring-shaped vessel seems hardly tenable. The former are completely sporadic, the latter had been by that time out of circulation for over half a millennium. On the contrary, we can quite reasonably suppose an independent appearance of this curious shape regardless of any external inspiration; circular hollow shapes appear independently of each other throughout Prehistory,<sup>173</sup> the Middle Ages, and the Modern period in Ancient Mediterranean cultures, Pre-Columbian Peru, in Africa, in the Caucasus, but also in early modern glazed potteries in Central Europe. We can hardly envisage a mutual inspiration between the ring-shaped vessel from Staré Hradisko and east Moravian/west Slovak 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century ‘Haban faïenced annular flasks’; there is no reason then to suppose such a link between this vessel and the ring-shaped aryballo of the Orientalizing period or with the Dürrnberg flask. It may simply be an original product of a particularly inspired local potter.

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173 Cf. e.g. the Neolithic Vinča Culture in the Balkans.

## BEASTS AND PLANTS: ECOFACTS AND ARTEFACTS

Also some finds of a non-artefactual nature – plants and animal remains – have been in some instances labelled as markers of contacts between the Mediterranean and Central Europe. I present here a short overview of previously made identifications although my limited expertise in this field prevents me from formulating any clear opinion on these matters. As often, the evidence is incomplete though in this case in a different way and for different reasons than usual – the collection and study of artefacts and ecofacts have each followed completely different paths over the last decades and centuries. We lack for example almost any information on animal bones<sup>174</sup> and know absolutely nothing about plant remains from the most significant site, the oppidum of Stradonice.

Already of 3<sup>rd</sup> century date are two seeds, one of dill and one of cultivated grapes [Rso2, Rso3], from the sanctuary in Roseldorf (CANEPPELE – HEISS – KOHLER-SCHNEIDER 2010). Neither of these plants was and could be cultivated in Central Europe at this time and both must have been brought from the south. Grape pips have also been detected in the latest excavations in Manching; in this case it was however more probably of the wild variety (KÜSTER 2013, 740). The presence of grape pips is equally rare also in the broader context of the Central European Iron Age. In Bohemia, the only find comes from the Hallstatt ‘turban’ anklets from the Zahrádka tumulus in South Bohemia (ŠÁLKOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 107, 121, tab. 7, fig. 8A); it is an absolutely isolated case and obviously an import) before the re-appearance of the domesticated vine in the Early Middle Ages. More consistent evidence for the presence of the vine comes from the Middle Danube area itself i.e. the immediate vicinity of Roseldorf; local vine growing was not entirely convincingly suggested in the case of the Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène period site of Sopron-Krautacker where 10 pips of cultivated and one of wild vine were discovered in various graves (FACSAR – JEREM 1985); a single find of a pip of a cultivated vine from the Late La Tène settlement in Budapest is more plausibly from imported fruit (DÁLNOKI – JACOMET 2004, 14; DÁLNOKI 2009, 149). In the light of these facts, the idea that the seeds from Roseldorf are not remains of a locally grown plant is entirely convincing.<sup>175</sup>

Peške (1993b, 216) identified one metatarsus of a donkey in Závist [Zá16] and some potential donkey teeth there and in Staré Hradisko [SH88]. Donkeys are unknown in Central Europe before the Roman period and should the identification be correct, we might imagine these donkeys as those beasts of burden which transported some of the goods discussed in these pages across the Alps. It is worth pointing out that a donkey metatarsus was discovered in Mormont in Switzerland documenting the presence of these beasts of burden of Mediterranean origin in Gaul as well, as early as the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (MÉNIEL 2018, 9, fig. 9).

In Manching, bones of three lap dogs have been noted: two mandibles of dogs roughly of the appearance and size of a cocker spaniel, and a tibia of a dachshund like creature [Mx80–Mx82]. Boessneck (*et al.* 1971, 82, 90–92) proclaimed them right away as Roman imports due to the striking morphological difference between these beasts and the average local dog. Most archaeo-zoological studies agree that the intentional breeding of dogs and especially the cre-

174 Studies concerned only a small sample of bones from a rescue excavation in the early 1980s (unpublished report by L. Peške in the archive of ARÚ) and the preserved bones from the Stocký excavation in 1929 (R. Kyselý in VALENTOVÁ – VENCLOVÁ eds. 2012). However, thousands of bones were destroyed in the 1870s excavations (SKLENÁŘ 2015, 19).

175 I am grateful to Mária Hajnalová and Petr Kočár for discussion on this topic and for the useful references they provided for me.

ation of short-legged ('brachymel') species such as the dachshund did not occur before the Roman Period when an enormous variability in the canine population occurred, unmatched until recent centuries (DE GROSSI MAZZORIN 1995, 312; DE GROSSI MAZZORIN – TAGLIACOZZO 1997, 437; DE GROSSI MAZZORIN 2001, 77–78; PIRES *et al.* 2018); it has to be mentioned, nevertheless, that clear evidence comes mainly from the Late Roman period whereas earlier phases suffer from a lack of data. On the other hand, in Britain brachymele dogs seem to have already been present in the Late Iron Age (BENNETT – CAMPBELL – TIM 2016, 95), though this period extends up to the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century AD in the British Isles and therefore need not be relevant to our discussion. Though recognising the probable Roman origin of the Manching lap dogs but with no way of verifying it, I prefer to leave the issue open and not include the bones among our study material.

The study of Manching equids did not identify any donkeys or their hybrids; the horses have however been divided into two size groups: while the majority of the equine population had a withers height of ca 120–130 cm as is common in (western) temperate Europe in the Iron Age, a few individuals clearly stood out with a withers height of ca 145 cm (BOESSNECK *et al.* 1971, 30–31). Boessneck argued that these beasts of a clearly different horse breed (due to its stature certainly more prestigious and more demanding) must have been imported from outside, suggesting Italy as the most probable place of origin. This suggestion is not without foundation. First, the importation of large horses into Gaul is indicated by reading between the lines in one of Caesar's asides: 'And, in fact, the Germans do not import for their use draught beasts, in which the Gauls take the keenest delight, procuring them at great expense; but they take their home-bred animals, inferior and ill-favoured' (BG IV, 2. 2).<sup>176</sup> According to many interpreters of this passage, the word 'iumentum' (= draught beasts) should refer to horses considering the following sentences concern exclusively Germanic equestrianism.<sup>177</sup> Second, the stature of some Mediterranean horses of this period is actually very close to that of the Manching mounts: in the Greek world, warhorses seem not to have reached ca 130 cm height at the withers until the Hellenistic and Roman periods when their average stature suddenly grew to ca 140 cm (BLAINEAU 2015). In Italy (DE GROSSI MAZZORIN – RIEDEL – TAGLIACOZZO 1998) horses reach the average height of 133 cm in the Iron Age with considerable regional variation, while in central Italy the average is only about 130 cm; in the Veneto, famous for its horse breeding, horses grew up to over 145 cm with the average of 133.8 cm. As in Greece, in the Roman (Middle/Late Republican to Early Imperial) period the average withers height rises to around 140 cm. This general pan-Mediterranean phenomenon is surely due to a systematic breeding effort if not to the introduction of new horse breeds. Third, continuation of this phenomenon can later also be observed in Gaul where horse (and cattle) stature rose steadily from the Roman conquest, though it has been argued that also there, particularly

176 [2] *Quin etiam iumentis, quibus maxime Galli delectantur quaeque impenso parant pretio, Germani importatis non utuntur, sed quae sunt apud eos nata, parva atque deformia, haec cotidiana exercitatione summi ut sint laboris efficiunt.* [3] *Equestribus proeliis saepe ex equis desiliunt ac pedibus proeliantur, equos eodem remanere vestigio adsue fecerunt, ad quos se celeriter, cum usus est, recipiunt:* [4] *neque eorum moribus turpius quicquam aut inertius habetur quam ephippiis uti.* [5] *Itaque ad quemvis numerum ephippiatorum equitum quamvis pauci adire audent.*

177 [2]...and by regular exercising they render them capable of the utmost exertion. [3] In cavalry combats they often leap from their horses and fight on foot, having trained their horses to remain in the same spot, and retiring rapidly upon them at need; [4] and their tradition regards nothing as more disgraceful or more indolent than the use of saddles. [5] And so, however few in number, they dare approach any party, however large, of saddle-horsemen.

large individuals predating the conquest must have been imports from Italy along the lines of the above Caesar's quote (MÉNIEL 1996).

However, already by the time Boessneck formulated his hypothesis, it was in contradiction with the ideas expressed shortly beforehand by Bököny who identified two principal horse groups present in prehistoric Europe from at least the Bronze Age – on the one hand smaller western European ponies and on the other hand large horses characteristic of the steppes of eastern Europe. Although Bököny's idea of two clear-cut and geographically delimited morphological groups has been proven invalid by further research (cf. the overview centred mainly, but not exclusively, on the Hallstatt period in KMEŤOVÁ 2014, 32–35), it is clear that large horses were individually but rather commonly present in Central Europe concurrently with the usual small beasts throughout the Iron Age (with individuals of up to 150 cm of withers height appearing repeatedly already in the Early Iron Age). This co-existence is attested also in Bohemia (Závist, Mšecké Žehrovice) and Moravia (the marginal Púchov Culture hillfort of Požaha) where large horses appear with approximately the same frequency as in Manching (PEŠKE 1993b, 216, fig. 4; Beech in VENCLOVÁ ed. 1998, 234). The inconclusiveness of the simple morphometric approach has been recently demonstrated by the example of the Swiss LT D1 site of Mormont in which remains of 14 horses, large and small, have been subject to Sr isotope analysis. All but two individuals have been proven to be of local origin, including some large beasts. Of the two outliers, both of which spent their youth somewhere in southwestern Europe including Italy, southern France and the Iberian Peninsula, one was a large horse, the other a normal pony (NUVIALA *et al.* 2014).

There is one more point to make. Even if trade in large horses (or small dogs) did actually occur at one point or another (and Caesar clearly states that it was the case at least in Gaul) then, unless the sender selectively traded only geldings, these animals would naturally spread their characteristics in the local equine/canine population. Is a large foal of an imported large horse still a proof of import? And their third and fourth generation? And how to tell from a single bone? Imports capable of reproduction confront us with epistemological problems rarely encountered in other cases.

We will linger one more moment on the issue of horses, though coming back to artefactual evidence. A topic discussed to a considerable length is that of horse bits. Krämer (1964) and Jacobi (1974a, 182–187) asserted an Italian origin for a series of omega-shaped harness components present, in addition to Manching, also in Grosslangheim in Unterfranken, outside our working area (GEILENBRÜGGE 1994, 90, Taf. 71: 11), or in Staré Hradisko (MEDUNA 1970a, Taf. 21: 1). Both authors quote numerous parallels from Italy, but also Entremont in southern France and Renieblas in Spain in which similar objects form part of both simple snaffle bits and (principally) of curb bits. These complex bits, consisting of a mouth piece, chin piece (curb staff) and two long shanks on whose end reins are attached, transmit the 'aids' (=commands) to the horse with greater leverage and exert more pressure than simple snaffle bits, and were certainly a significant innovation in Central European equestrianism. The actual use of curb bits, without the omega-shaped side pieces, is documented in our study area e.g. in the Bezdědovice hoard in southern Bohemia (MICHÁLEK *et al.* 1999, 43–45). Only in the case of the extremely fine Grosslangheim piece can we assume it to have been produced in Italy rather than copied in the Transalpine area as is the case with the remaining examples.

More importantly, the very origin of curb bits (and omega-shaped pieces) is a matter of discussion. Whereas Krämer and Jacobi considered them Italian, a complete overview of finds from the Balkans by Werner (1988, 81–106) has brought out contemporaneity if not primacy of curb bits in this area (appearing there at least in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC). As in the issue of

the origin of the horses themselves, also in the origin of the horse bits, Italy and the Balkans are in an as yet unresolved competition.

Much of what has been said about curb-bits is also true about spurs. There are some hints at the use of spurs as early as LT A; however, the main wave arrived only in LT D with a clear concentration in (but by no means exclusively) the eastern part of the La Tène world (MÁRTON – GAUTIER 2020). Also, the origins of this innovation may have some eastern connotations since, as suggested by Márton and Gautier, we can observe a gradual spread of spurs from Greece, through Thrace to the Carpathian Basin. That said, in the Late La Tène period, spurs are fully rooted in the local material culture and their possible Mediterranean origin is of little relevance to their users. The only case of a possible import is an eyelet type spur (*Ösensporn*) from Stradonice (Píč 1903, tab. xxxi: 3; identified as of Mediterranean origin by VAN ENDERT 1991, 40) which we will not take into consideration.

There is huge potential in studying cultural contacts based on organic remains. Food, drinks, and prestigious animals as well as beasts of burden must have been among the most common subjects (or means) of supra-regional contacts. However, only in few cases is the currently available evidence convincing enough to include it in our future discussion.

## OTHER

### THE QUESTION OF BRASS AND A NOTE ON BRONZE

We have repeatedly encountered reference to brass and specific hints of its presence (rather than utilisation) in the Late La Tène period. A recent discovery adds a new level to this discussion.

Brass, an alloy of copper and zinc, is practically unknown in Bohemia until the Early Roman Iron Age. Within a large-scale project focused on the composition of copper alloy artefacts throughout Czech prehistory, the presence of zinc has been detected in only four bronze objects dated to LT B–C (two of which are moreover of doubtful classification and potentially not of Iron Age date or Bohemian origin). As a result, the presence of zinc in them must be considered chance rather than intentional (FRÁNA *et al.* 1997, 92–93). The presence of brass in Bohemian prehistory has been summarised by E. Droberjar and J. Frána (2004): although the beginnings of large-scale brass utilisation lies in the Early Roman Iron Age, the authors realised that by that time not enough analyses had been conducted on Late La Tène finds in order to exclude knowledge of brass already in the La Tène period. The evidence gained in the meantime has not brought any convincing proof of the conscious use of brass during the oppida period – quite the contrary (DANIELISOVÁ *et al.* 2017, 90). Zinc has been detected systematically employed (maybe with the intention to deceive the observer) in the Mediterranean finger-rings (see above; cf. KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 591; KOZÁKOVÁ 2016; KYSELA 2016). It was certainly with fraudulent intent that a brass fake Vindelican stater discovered in Stradonice was made (MILITKÝ 2009b, 36, 59, tab. 2: 36). The available evidence therefore suggests that brass was only brought into Late La Tène Central Europe from the Mediterranean and was either completely unknown to the local population or rather the awareness of it was sufficiently limited to enable the informed few to abuse it for their personal profit.

Such considerations have recently been supplemented by a very concrete piece of evidence: the infill of the masonry ‘Roman building II’ on the Bratislava Castle Hill produced, apart from a number of imported and prestige goods, also a complete brass ingot [Ba59] (L. 102 cm,

W. 10.5 cm, weight 11.9 kg) (RESUTÍK 2016, 110–111<sup>178</sup>). In the remarkable assemblage of the infill it was associated with numerous local and imported coins, fragments of imported glass [Ba06] and possibly also metal vessels, a large quantity of wine amphorae, lumps of unworked amber and a piece of the gold leaf. The presence of the brass ingot amongst such a unique accumulation of prestige goods indicative of north-south trade clearly shows the importance of raw materials for elite exchange in general and the role of the exotic brass among these in particular. Moreover, a series of analyses recently conducted by R. Čambal showed that late La Tène brooches in the region of Bratislava were almost systematically produced of brass rather than bronze.<sup>179</sup>

The use to which brass was put or meant to be put in very late Iron Age Bratislava seems to have been very different from the illicit and fraudulent schemes documented in LT D1 Bohemia. In LT D2 and in Bratislava, in contact with the East Alpine area in which brass was being used to some extent by that time (ISTENIČ – ŠMIT 2007) brass probably simply gained the status of a high-tech material and object of elite trade.

There is one more point to make. In the case of the Bratislava brass ingot, there is no doubt about its provenance within the Roman/Italian exchange circuits. We will hypothesise further on (chapter II.3) that trade in raw metals could have taken place from as early as the Němčice horizon. A recent isotope analysis of copper alloy artefacts from the oppidum of Třísov demonstrated the Mediterranean origin of much of the raw metal (DANIELISOVÁ *et al.* 2017); it is not, however, clear whether the metal was imported only in the Late Iron Age or if it had at that point circulated in Central Europe for centuries. Should the former be true, the influx of Mediterranean goods to Central Europe may have been enormous but only a small fraction of it remains visible to us.

## OIL LAMPS

In one of the Lehmann collection photographic plates depicting pottery fragments from Stradonice (Lehmann *Monumenta* 25) a terracotta lamp can be clearly distinguished [S900] (**Fig. 104**). Unslipped, wheel-thrown, with an undecorated concave *discus*, large filling hole and without a handle (or possibly with a small fin-like protuberance on the side where a break can be seen), the lamp can be classified as type H after Ricci (1973, 223–226). In Rome itself, such lamps are securely found in Sullan and Caesarean period contexts (RICCI 1973, 225) while finds e.g. from Delos (BRUNNEAU 1965, 93) suggest its possible introduction there already in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. This lamp type is represented in small quantities among the earliest lamp types from the Magdalensberg (FARKA 1977, 27–29, Nr. 58–64, Taf. 9) with a *terminus ante quem* of the third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. In spite of the somewhat problematic provenance, the characteristics of the object (its date and distribution of the type) fit our rules for inclusion among the Mediterranean imports.

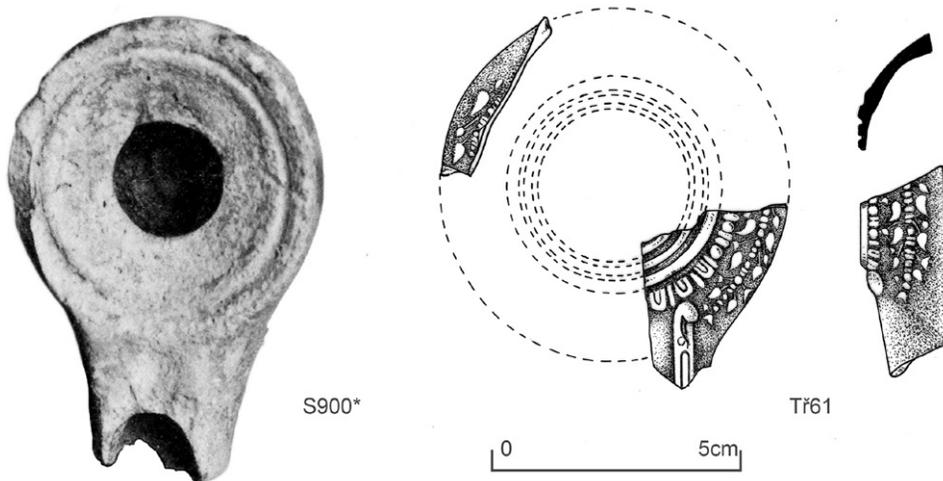
Almost the contrary is true for a fragmentary lamp from Třísov [Tř61] (**Fig. 104**): although the object was discovered in a regular, no matter how far from ideal, excavation, its typology makes the interpretation somewhat challenging. The lamp belongs to type Dressel 1A (after

178 The recent discovery of it actually being made of brass, rather than copper or bronze as previously assumed, was presented by Branislav Resutík at a conference in September 2017 and its publication is forthcoming in the journal *Anodos*. We are grateful to Branislav Resutík and Margaréta Musilová (MUOP Bratislava) for sharing this information with us and for permitting us to publish it.

179 I am grateful to R. Čambal for sharing the results of the as yet unpublished analyses with me.

RICCI 1973, 177–179) or Delos X (BRUNEAU 1965, 77) also labelled ‘delfiniform’ or *ad anitrele*.<sup>180</sup> A fairly recent summary of this lamp type has been published by Daniel Käch (2006, 100–106).

Dressel 1 lamps are one of the earliest mould-made lamps. Three variants were distinguished by Ricci, all of them contemporary with one another (KÄCH 2006, 116): with simple radial decoration (Dressel 1B), and with floral tendrils either naturalistic (Dressel 1) or stylized (Dressel 1A). The Třísov fragments belong to the last mentioned. All the varieties share the fin-like protrusion on one side (whence ‘delfiniform’) and two relief swan heads on the nozzle sides (whence *ad anitrele*).



**Fig. 104: Oil lamps from Třísov and Stradonice.**

The chronology of the type spans from the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century to the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (RICCI 1973; PAVOLINI 1987, 143; PAVOLINI 1990, 104–105; KÄCH 2006, 116–117) which matches the chronology of the site. More problematic is the chorological aspect: the distribution of the Dressel 1A lamps is limited to sites around the coasts of the western Mediterranean with the greatest concentration in Sicily which is also where they were surely produced as is clear from their characteristic clay (KÄCH 2006, 111–115). The site of Monte Iato, prov. Palermo alone yielded around 200 fragments whereas in Morgantina, prov. Enna, a mould for their production was found (RICKMAN FITCH – WYNICK GOLDMAN 1994, 47). The distribution extends to Latium, Etruria, Liguria, southern France, Catalonia, and northern Africa; finds from Delos nicely complement this list of sites and regions symptomatic of Roman 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> century expansion (cf. an overview of find-spots in KYSELA 2011, 176–180, fig. 6). Lamps of this type are on the contrary absent in Milan, Bologna, Aquileia or the Magdalensberg, not to mention the Transalpine regions in which Třísov is an obvious anomaly from all possible points of view.

Oil lamps are by no means common finds in La Tène Europe. Their practical use was hindered in the first place by the limited availability of oil (cf. above Amphorae).<sup>181</sup> No other finds

<sup>180</sup> The lamp has also been incorrectly classed as a *Vogelkopflampe* (SCHÖNFELDER 2004, 15, note 76), i.e. type Dressel 4 characteristic of the Augustan period (RICCI 1973, 205; PAVOLINI 1990, 110; SERRA RIDGWAY 1996, 284; POUX – ROBIN 2000, 194; FINGERLIN 1986, e.g. Taf. 42: 8–9, 108: 6, 150: 6, 211: 65, 484: 29).

<sup>181</sup> Other combustibles could be used such as goose fat, though they would require the pre-heating of the lamp prior to its use (MALAGOLI 2016, 49–51).

are known to me from Central Europe, other than, naturally, from the Magdalensberg where lamps appear immediately from the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century (wheel-thrown lamps, Efesos type, *Tiegellampen*: FARKA 1977, 13-42, 164-165). The examples are slightly more plentiful in the western La Tène area. A black-slipped wheel-thrown lamp was present already in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century grave in Gourgançon, dept. Marne (ROLLEY 1962, 493, fig. 17-18; CHOSSENOT 2004, 458-459, fig. 8). In the oppida period, oil lamps appear from the second quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC: Clemency, the Titelberg, Yverdon-les-Bains, Altenburg-Rheinau, and possibly Villeneuve-St.-Germain (MALAGOLI 2016, 304-307, 361-362; BARBAU 2019, 199-203 both with further references). The quantity of oil lamps increased steadily in the second half of 1<sup>st</sup> century and in the Augustan period with advancing Romanisation, whatever the word is supposed to mean (MALAGOLI 2016; BARBAU 2019). Lamps are also considered one of characteristic markers of the presence of the Roman military (POUX 2008, 429; e.g. FINGERLIN 1986; POUX - ROBIN 2000).

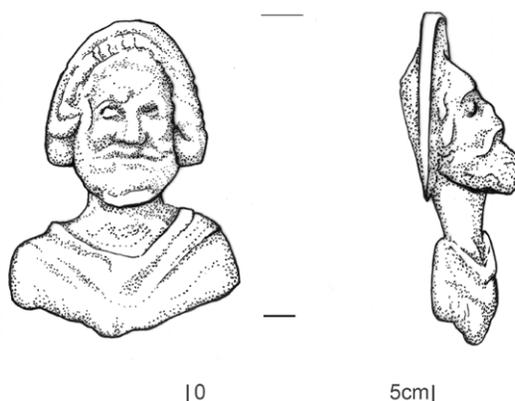
Lamps of type Ricci H are attested only in the aristocratic tomb of Boé, dated to LT D2 (LT D2b in French terminology; SCHÖNFELDER 2002, 46, Abb. 4); the Dressel 1A type is not present in mainland Gaul but only on the coast.

In the first publication of the Trísov lamp (KYSELA 2011, 180), I took a very cautious attitude towards it, in its complete isolation (an atypical import category, outside its normal distribution area). I considered it only an oddity which strayed to Central Europe by a weird coincidence and may have even been imported already in pieces simply as a curious object. The presence of another lamp at Stradonice and an increase in pre-Caesarean lamp finds in Gaul has made me modify the original sceptical view. It is not fully excluded that lamps could have been used in Central Europe to a very limited extent and perhaps only by the elite (cf. also their regular presence in elite burials in the west). Their high status lay not in themselves (cheap clay implements) but in oil which was necessary for their practical use.

Nothing of this changes the fact that the voyage of our lamp to Trísov must have been long and adventurous.

#### FIGURAL ATTACHMENT

A massive attachment from Hrazany [Hro1] in the form of a male bust has all the features of the Pietra Neamț type Jupiter figure (**Fig. 105**), but both its size (i.e. the quantity of metal which went to its production) and especially the quality of workmanship are far greater than is usually the case. It also lacks any hints of a handle; the top of the head from which the handle usually departs, is rounded without any obvious fractures; on the back there is a depression



**Fig. 105: Figural attachment from Hrazany.**

mirroring the face, framed by two vertical ridges. The attachment plate itself on the reverse of the figure's shoulders and chest is relatively flat suggesting that the object to which it was attached had a much larger diameter than normal jugs. I have not been able to identify any adequate functional parallels for the object. Nevertheless, its style fits well with the Republican period and its exclusively Late La Tène find spot leaves no doubt that it is a component of a yet unidentified imported object.

#### STRIGIL SUSPENSION RINGS

From the Stradonice collections comes an arched bronze wire broken at one end and terminating at the other in a punched and incised bipartite square block with an L-shaped hook [S901] (**Fig. 106**). Píč apparently considered the bar to be a bucket handle as can be deduced from its inclusion among similar objects in the photo plate (Píč 1903, tab. xvi: 58). The same interpretation was proposed by Helena Svobodová in her thesis (SVOBODOVÁ 1981) though she did not include it in its publication (SVOBODOVÁ 1983; 1985), probably not convinced of its Mediterranean origin. Another as yet unpublished wire object [Okx2] was discovered during surveys in the small La Tène hillfort of Obírka in the northern part of EnCE. In this case the object is complete but it was bent from its originally circular form into the shape of a wiggly line. Square cut-outs in the terminations allow the ends to overlap while two rivets passing through both ends kept the overlapping terminals fixed. A fragment of a terminal of a similar object comes from Klenovice na Hané in Moravia [KHx1] (**Fig. 106**).

Exact Mediterranean parallels allow us interpret the objects as fragments of rings on which strigils were carried (cf. KYSELA 2012c for the first object). Strigil suspension rings of the last two centuries BC can be divided into several types based on the closure arrangement (**Fig. 106** below; ULBERT 1984, 71–77; LIPPOLIS 2008, 190–191): 1) with simply overlapping ends;<sup>182</sup> 2) with a hook and eyelet, either flat<sup>183</sup> or zoomorphic<sup>184</sup>; 3) with a hinged closing bar;<sup>185</sup> and 4) with two hooks protruding from stylized bird (/snake?) heads<sup>186</sup> which can also be (as in the case of the Stradonice ring) reduced to simple square blocks with punched decoration.<sup>187</sup>

182 Type 2 after Ulbert 1984: Numantia-Renieblas (LUIK 2002, 61–63, 225, Abb. 176 R87); Cáceres el Viejo (ULBERT 1984, 77, 218, Taf. 12, Nr. 72–73).

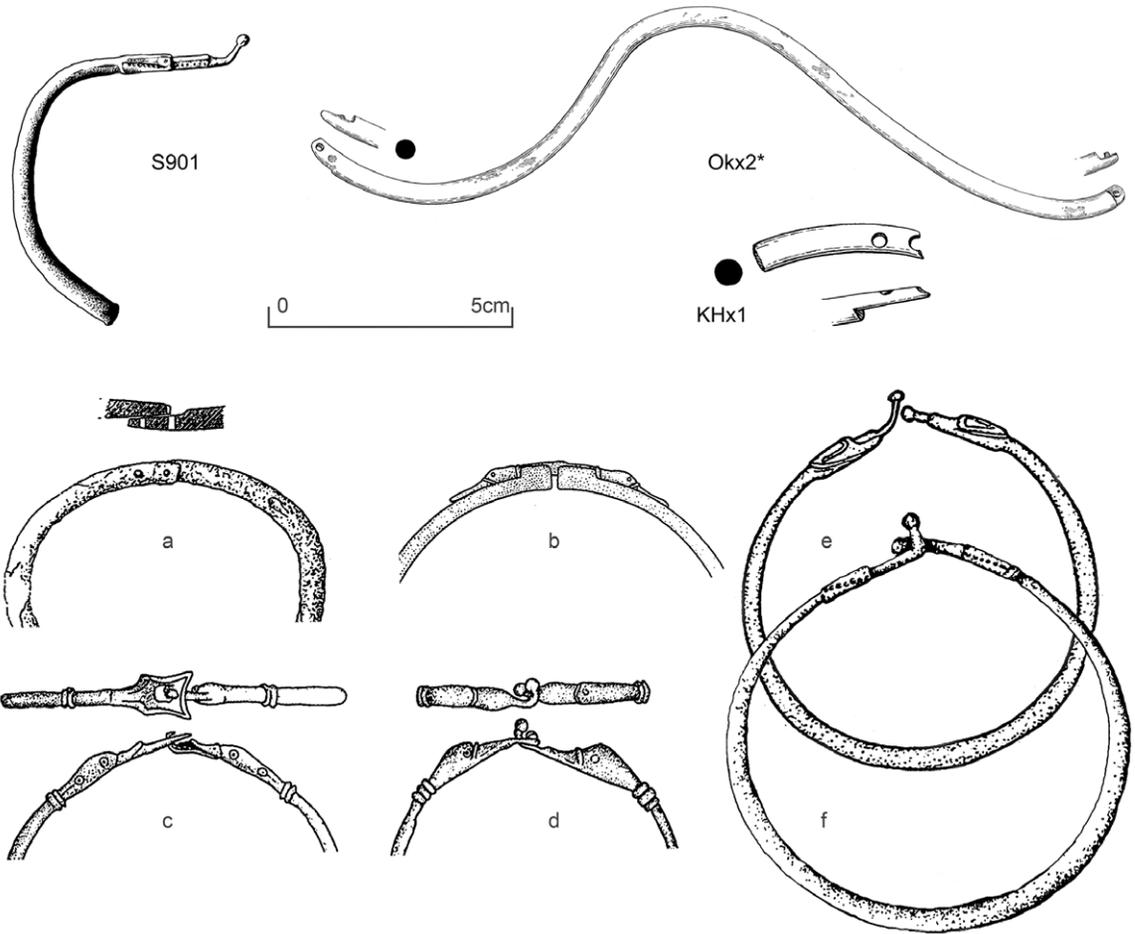
183 Type 1 after ULBERT 1984: Tarentum (DE JULIUS ed. 1984, 510, n° 5); Volterra (CRISTOFANI 1975, 28, fig. 10, n° 75); Castiglioncello, Livorno (GAMBOGI – PALLADINO 1999, 97–98, tav. v); Ornavasso (PIANA AGOSTINETTI 1972, 37, fig. 12: 6); Fornače, Piran, Slovenia (STOKIN 1992, 83, Abb. 5: 5, Taf. 5: 18); one example is currently kept in Frankfurt am Main (KOTERA-FEYER 1993, Abb. 38); Cáceres el Viejo (ULBERT 1984, 71–77, 218, Taf. 12, Nr. 69–71, with references to other pieces from Ibiza and Teruel-Azalia).

184 Ancona: COLIVICCHI 2002, 228, n° 33.9, 325–326, n° 53.8.

185 A female grave near Lake Trasimene, now preserved in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (OLIVER 1981, 54, fig. 3); Boissières, Gard (ULBERT 1984, 77, Anm. 215); Ville-en-Tardenois, Marne (cit. *apud* SCHÖNFELDER 2002, Anm. 284: interpreted as an Early La Tène torc, a highly problematic find); Antikesammlung Berlin (HEILMEYER *et al.* 1988, 267, Nr. 6).

186 Tarquinia (SERRA RIDGWAY 1996, 181, 296, tav. LXXXIII, CXCIV with references to other finds from Tuscany and Italy); Vulci (FALCONI AMORELLI 1987, 48, n° 29, fig. 11, tav. v); Poggio Pinci, Asciano (MANGANI 1983, 49, n° 176, 177).

187 Volterra (CRISTOFANI 1975, 28, fig. 22, n° 71), Castiglioncello (GAMBOGI – PALLADINO 1999, 82, fig. 24, fig. in p. 45), Elba (ZECCHINI 1973, tav. 75), Perugia (FERUGLIO 1977, 113, fig. 77), Ancona (COLIVICCHI 2002, 192 n° 27: 9 with further references, 204, n° 29: 3, 209 n° 30: 6, 256, n° 39: 3, 279, n° 45: 13), Metaponto (DE SIENA 2005, tav. XLII), Tarentum (COLIVICCHI 2001, 109, n° 9: 18, 144, n° 18: 4, 173, n° 29: 8), Ascoli Satriano (TINÈ BERTOCCHI 1985, 216, n° 33 – the proposed date of 210/175 BC seems



**Fig. 106: Strigil suspension rings (?) discovered in Central Europe. a-f - typology of strigil suspension rings after ULBERT 1984.**

The identification of the Stradonice ring with its characteristic terminals seems indisputable. The examples of the variant with animal heads mostly date to the 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC; for the simplified variety the date is limited to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> or the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, perfectly corresponding with the occupation of Stradonice. This is a convincing proof of the object’s authenticity.

Doubts could be justifiably expressed about the ring from Loučka and the fragment from Klenovice. There is no doubt that the objects can be identified with Ulbert’s second type of strigil suspension rings (ULBERT 1984, 71, 77, nos. 72–74) with which they share both the precise technical details and dimensions; however, Ulbert also proposed this functional interpretation exclusively on the grounds of the similarity in size between the riveted and the swan-headed rings and was aware there were only very few parallels to the former, none of them clearly associated with a strigil (Numantia, E; Liquière, Gard, F). The functional identification seems too specific and quite fantastical for such a typologically simple object (discovered moreover on rather low-status sites in Central Europe) while they could represent also e.g. simple bracelets (cf. VAN ENDERT 1991, Nr. 1–9 albeit with a different closure system). For this reason, they will

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to be excessively high); Ampurias? (‘and other sites in Spain’: ULBERT 1984, 75, Anm. 213). Cf. also the examples in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco: CALIÒ 2000, 296–299 with further references.

not be kept in the present catalogue, however, keeping in mind their potential Mediterranean origin or at least parallels.

The strigil is an ancient toilet utensil for scraping off the oil with which bathers anointed their bodies before bathing (KOTERA-FEYER 1993). In the Greek world this practice is linked principally to athletes of whom it becomes one of the most characteristic attributes and symbols. In ancient Italy on the other hand they were also used by women (THUILLIER 1989; JOILVET 2008). At least from the Hellenistic period a set consisting of an oil container and one or more strigils was carried on a single metal suspension ring (e.g. a silver set in Berlin: HEILMEYER *et al.* 1988, 267, Nr. 6).

The use of strigils is naturally linked to a very specific cultural, social but also economic environment (there may be limited understanding of them in a society without a regular access to oil) and it is no surprise that they only appear in Transalpine Europe with the arrival of Roman rule. The first certain find of a strigil in temperate Europe, in the chariot grave in Boé, dates only to the third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (SCHÖNFELDER 2002, 102–105). In the case of several other alleged finds the context is either unknown or problematic so that they cannot be seriously taken into account (SCHÖNFELDER 2002, 88–89, Anm. 284). Schönfelder (2002, 88, Anm. 283) is also critical of a gutter-shaped fragment of iron sheet from Berching-Pollanten (SCHÄFER 2010, 110) which in his opinion cannot be a fragment of a strigil due to its excessive thickness.

It is worth pointing out that an object basically identical with the ring fragment from Stradonice (though the terminal hook is either missing or not preserved) was recently published among the finds from the oppidum of Corent (POUX – DEMIERRE eds. 2015, 141, pl. 2: 1). Matthieu Demierre, though aware of its similarity with strigil rings and without any parallel among La Tène bracelets, preferred classifying it as bracelet.

Thus it seems improbable that a find of a suspension ring at Stradonice (and Corent?), the more so in Obírka, can be taken as a proxy for the presence and proper use of entire toilet utensil sets. It is much more likely that the rings were used for various secondary functions. A number of other looped objects such as keys could be carried around on them; their shape and dimensions (diameter about 8–10 cm) would also make them an *ersatz*-bracelet or arm-ring (suspension rings from Mallorca were interpreted as torcs: ENSEÑAT ENSEÑAT 1981, 112–115). It is not even excluded that it was already in this secondary function that the rings crossed the Alps.

## BOX FITTINGS

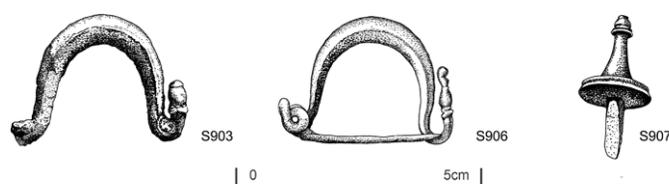
### Omega-shaped handles and decorative nail heads

The Stradonice collection in the National Museum includes at least six movable  $\Omega$ -shaped handles, flat or diamond-shaped in section and with back-turned profiled ends [S902–S905]. Another similar handle [S906] was in my opinion wrongly reconstructed as a brooch (Fig. 107).<sup>188</sup> A bronze cone with concave profile [S907] with moulded base and globular termination is a decorative head of a nail the shaft of which protrudes from its base.

Both omega-shaped handles and conical nail-heads are functionally linked and may thus be treated together. They appear regularly in both Mediterranean and later in the Transalpine

188 Píč (1903, tab. III: 3), Filip (1956, 119, tab. CXXVI: 2) and Břeň (1964, 199, tab. I: 6) all published the object as an unusual type of brooch without being in any way surprised by the complete absence of a catch-plate. I suggested (KYSELA 2012c) that the object is in fact a pastiche made of an omega handle and a brooch fragment. Unfortunately, the object has not been re-identified in the National Museum so this hypothesis could not be verified.

provinces of the Roman Empire from at least the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC till at least the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>189</sup> The omega-shaped handles could be put to numerous uses, most usually as grips of boxes and caskets containing small valuables (*pyxides*, *cistae*, *capsae*: RIHA 2001; THEMELIS – TURATZOGLU 1997, 195, B35, B90) including jewellery, cosmetics, medical instruments (KÜNZL 1983, 93, Abb. 76), or books (FEUGÈRE 2006). Identical handles can also be found on bronze basins (Genova/Sant’Arcangelo type: FEUGÈRE 2011; Eggers type 77–78: EGGERS 1951), balsamaria (BRAUN 2001), collapsible mirrors (e.g. HAYES 1984, 190, n° 321, 193, n° 324) or even helmets (STIEBEL – MAGNESS 2007, 14–15, pl. 11: 3–10). None of these latter objects however overlaps chronologically with Stradonice<sup>190</sup> which makes the casket the most viable hypothesis in the case of our handles. The conical heads on the other hand covered the nails holding such caskets together or simply adorning them (or, e.g. pieces of furniture); they could also serve as grips (BINI – CARAMELLA – BUCCIOLI 1995, 265–266, n° 395, tav. LXXXVIII: 5).



**Fig. 107: Omega-shaped handles (a selection) and decorative nail head from Stradonice.**

- 189 Handles: Sardes (WALDBAUM 1983, 96, pl. 36), Lindos (BLINKENBERG 1931, 746, pl. 151: 3218, 3219), Corinth (DAVIDSON 1952, 131–13, pl. 66, n° 897), Olympia (FURTWÄNGLER 1890, 138, Nr. 865), Olynthos (ROBINSON 1941, 207–221, pl. LVI-LIX), Derveni (THEMELIS – TURATZOGLU 1997, 195, B35, B90), Tarentum (DE JULIIS ed. 1984, H: 355, n° 318, 365–366, n° 336), Oppido Mamertino (COSTAMAGNA – VISONÀ eds. 1999, 363, fig. 375, n° 793, 794), Pompeii (GUZZO ed. 2006, 159, n° 201–204; COOL 2016, 161, 164, fig. 162 n° 442), Flumeri (JOHANNOWSKY 1991, 57–83, fig. 16 top), Tarquinia (BINI – CARAMELLA – BUCCIOLI 1995, 569–575, tav. CXIII, n° 321–334; SERRA RIDGWAY 1996, fig. 315, 49, tav. CXXIII: 66, 91, tav. CXLVI: 65–68, 126, tav. CLXI: 77, 164, tav. CLXXXV: 134–135), Vulci (FALCONI AMORELLI 1987, 53, fig. 13: 12), Gioiella-Chiusi (PONZI BONOMI 1977, 106–107, fig. 77), Ancona (COLIVICCHI 2002, 204, n° 29.4, 228, n° 33.10, 279, n° 45.11, 281, n° 45.18, 312, n° 51.4), Ascoli Satriano, t. 6 (TINÈ BERTOCCHI 1985, 216, n° 29), S. Vittore di Cingoli (MERCANDO 1974, 103, fig. 22, 24: g), Luni (FROVA ed. 1977, 317–318, tav. 177: 4, 6; 178: 5, 12), S. Lorenzo in Pegognaga (MAGGI 1996, 63, tav. XI, n° 12), Cáceres el Viejo (ULBERT 1984, 99–100, 221, Taf. 17, Nr. 103–108), Besançon (middle to late Augustan period; FEUGÈRE 1992, 142, n° 306), Augst (RIHA 2001, *passim*), Haltern (MÜLLER 2002, 64, 208, Taf. 77, Nr. 833), Magdalensberg (DEIMEL 1987, 99–100, Tf. 92–93), Emona (FEUGÈRE 2006, 241, fig. 6). Nail heads: Sardes (WALDBAUM 1983, 64, pl. 18, n° 258–260), Corinth (DAVIDSON 1952, 140–143, pl. 71, n° 1021–1023), Olympia (FURTWÄNGLER 1890, 192, Nr. 1218ff), Olynthos (ROBINSON 1941, 271–276, pl. LXXII–LXXV), Tarentum (DE JULIIS ed. 1984, 464, n° 7, 488, n° 14, 497, n° 16–17), Ascoli Satriano, t. 6 (TINÈ BERTOCCHI 1985, 216, n° 82, 34A), Tarquinia (SERRA RIDGWAY 1996, 294, fig. 321, 55, tav. CXXVII: 55, 181, tav. CXCIV: 119), Ancona (COLIVICCHI 2002, 157, n° 22.19, 173, n° 24.8), Luni (FROVA ed. 1977, 586, tav. 311: 13), Este (Casa di Ricovero, t. 25/1984: BONDINI 2008, 189–190, tav. 110, n° 46), Numantia (LUIK 2002, 192, Abb. 179: 112), Augst (RIHA 2001, *passim*).
- 190 The only other category of 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century BC artefacts employing omega-shaped handles are large bronze basins documented by a dozen of finds (basins or detached handles) in northeastern Gaul in the latter three quarters of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (SUEUR 2018, 104–107, 114–118). The Stradonice handles probably do not belong to these as they differ in the shape of their handles (massive square suspension pieces with back-turned pointed languettes in the Gaulish pieces). The basins were probably produced in the region where their finds concentrate the most (SUEUR 2018, 116).

No decorative nail heads are known to me from pre-Roman temperate Europe and only a few finds can be classified as omega-shaped handles. Three similar pieces come from the oppidum of Villeneuve-St.-Germain (DEBORD 1993, 82, fig. 16: 24–26), one from Cvinger near Stična (GABROVEC 1994, 174, n° 14, pl. 16: 39). A wire with a profiled end from Berching-Pollanten was published as a fragment of an omega handle (SCHÄFER 2010, 118, Abb. 77: 2259), but it is more likely to be a bracelet fragment (cf. VAN ENDERT 1991, Tf. 3, Nr. 26–43). In none of these cases can we be sure that these handles (or the objects of which they formed part) were imported from the south rather than locally made (e.g. for one of the caskets whose production is documented in Stradonice by their numerous bone components and unfinished examples, including the bone frames discussed as ‘not-wax-tablets’). The formal and stylistic variation of these objects is limited and although in some cases a definite local origin can be assumed (e.g. the twisted handle [Sx93]) in most cases the origin is uncertain. We will treat all the probable handles as imports, partly because the decorative nail head tells us clearly that at least one casket made it to Stradonice from the south.

### Handles in the form of two opposing dolphins

Among the unpublished Stradonice finds kept in the National Museum in Prague [Sx02], there is a one-sided figural handle depicting in shallow relief two dolphins facing each other and making up eyelets with their upturned tail fins. The back is hollowed out (**Fig. 55**). It is a handle of a wooden (?) casket documented by numerous finds from the Imperial period (cf. overview e.g. in RIHA 2001, 24–25). No finds of these objects are known from Republican contexts; the object is therefore to be excluded from our study.

## ANTHROPOMORPHIC STATUARY

The Boskovice collection of Staré Hradisko contains a small bronze wing most probably broken off a statuette of a divinity [SH89] (**Fig. 108**). Its compact rounded form is characteristic of representations of Eros/Amor rather than Nike/Victory. The exact find circumstances are not known but the find is finely modelled and carefully shaped, so a date within the Republican period is quite probable. The Magdalensberg has also produced a bronze wing of a very similar shape (DEIMEL 1987, 118, Tf. 4: 2, 8: 1) along with other fragments of small statuary, as did Gurina (GAMPER 2015, 166, Abb. 53: 3, Taf. 35:7); winged creatures were not uncommon in this genre.

In the west, a complete bronze statuette of a female divinity was discovered in a 1<sup>st</sup> century BC context in the small open settlement of Dornach at the foot of the Bavarian Alps [Dor1] (**Fig. 108**). The statuette is remarkable for its quality considering its size; it combines somewhat unconventionally the iconography of Athena/Minerva with bovine horns on her helmet (only attested in an Athena depiction from Pella in Macedonia) and a gesture of libation (rarely seen in representations of Athena but common in votive bronze figurines in the northern part of Italy from Etruria to the Alps; Winghard in IRLINGER – WINGHARD *et al.* 1999). With it was found its original base bearing a dedicatory inscription (MARIO D[donum] D[dedit] L[ibens] M[erito]) in Latin script and formula. Although the name Mario cannot indicate the ethnic origin of its bearer (Latin? Greek? Celtic?) beyond any doubt (Dietz in IRLINGER – WINGHARD *et al.* 1999) this is in my opinion a secondary issue; what is important is that the statuette obviously originated in a Latin/Roman cultural area. Northern Italy seems a very likely area of its origin – not only is it geographically the closest part of the ‘Mediterranean world’, in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, it was also an area of particular cultural dynamism unexpectedly open to influences from the Hellenistic east which the statuette seems to indicate (e.g. DENTI 1990).



**Fig. 108: Anthropomorphic statuary (fragments) from Dornach and Staré Hradisko.**

Other finds of imported bronze statuary come from Slovakia outside our study area – Trenčianské Bohuslavice, fragment of a statuette – a human hand holding a ball, and Nitrianský Hrádok, the hand of a over-life-size statue (PIETA 1996) – and both probably date to the Imperial period.

#### ARMS AND ARMOUR

The written sources famously place great emphasis on the bellicose nature of contacts between the Cis- and Transalpine populations. In the archaeological record, traces of these warlike contacts point almost exclusively in a north-south direction; these are mostly beyond the scope of this work.<sup>191</sup> Mediterranean militaria in Transalpine Europe are far less common, obviously not taking into consideration the latest phase of La Tène Culture when Roman weaponry is adopted as a result of Celts serving in Roman armies (PERNET 2014).

Martin Schönfelder (2007, 311–318) described a group of massive pointed iron spear butts with square section and a globular element linking them to characteristically Greek hoplite spears. The group is, however, very incoherent from both a geographical and a chronological point of view. First and most numerous butt-ends of this type already appear in LT A although the few certain find contexts date to LT B2; their distribution covers eastern France, the Eastern Alps, the German Mittelgebirge, and the Middle Danube region. Significantly for our study, one such butt end was found in Moravia in a LT B2 grave 30 in the cemetery of Holubice-Dílce

<sup>191</sup> For the distribution of La Tène type swords in Italy including their adoption by non-Celtic populations there see DORE 1995; TAGLIAMONTE 2008; LEJARS 2015.

(ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2009, 67, 98, tab. 15: 13) and another one in Kosd, Hungary outside our working area (LT B2, cit. *apud* SCHÖNFELDER 2007). The spear-head accompanying the Holubice piece is impressively long (57 cm) but of a standard La Tène type, and is even decorated with the characteristic relief bosses covering the nails (cf. also the criticism in BARAY 2014, 134–136).

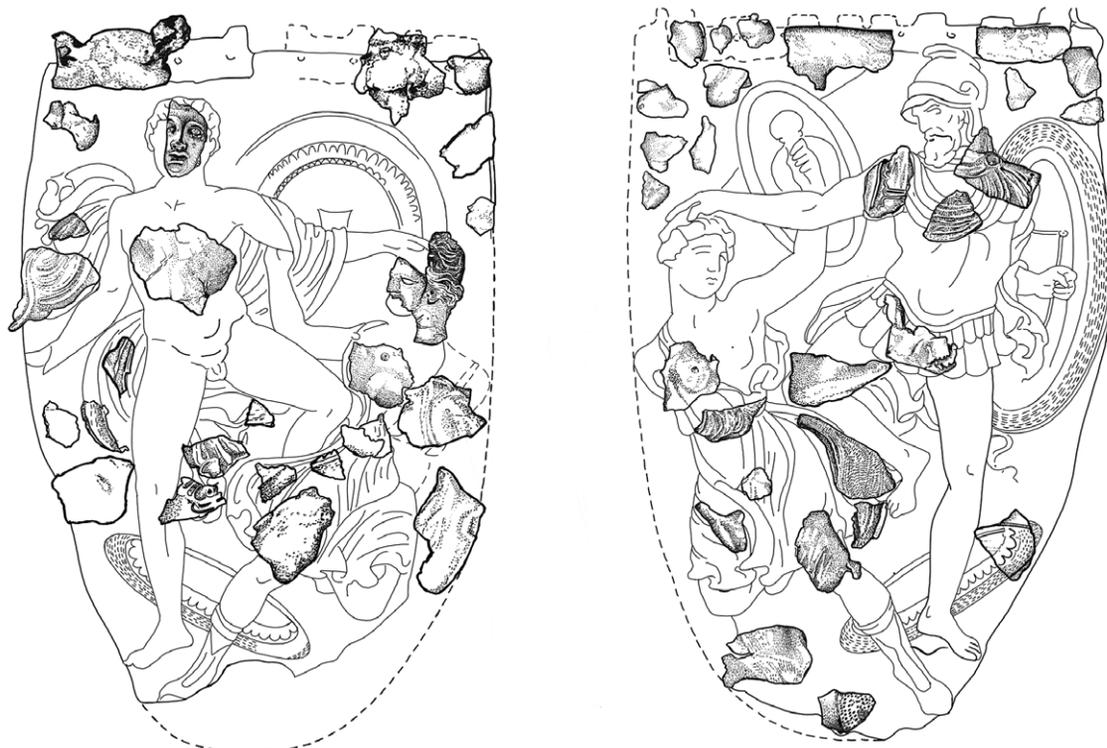
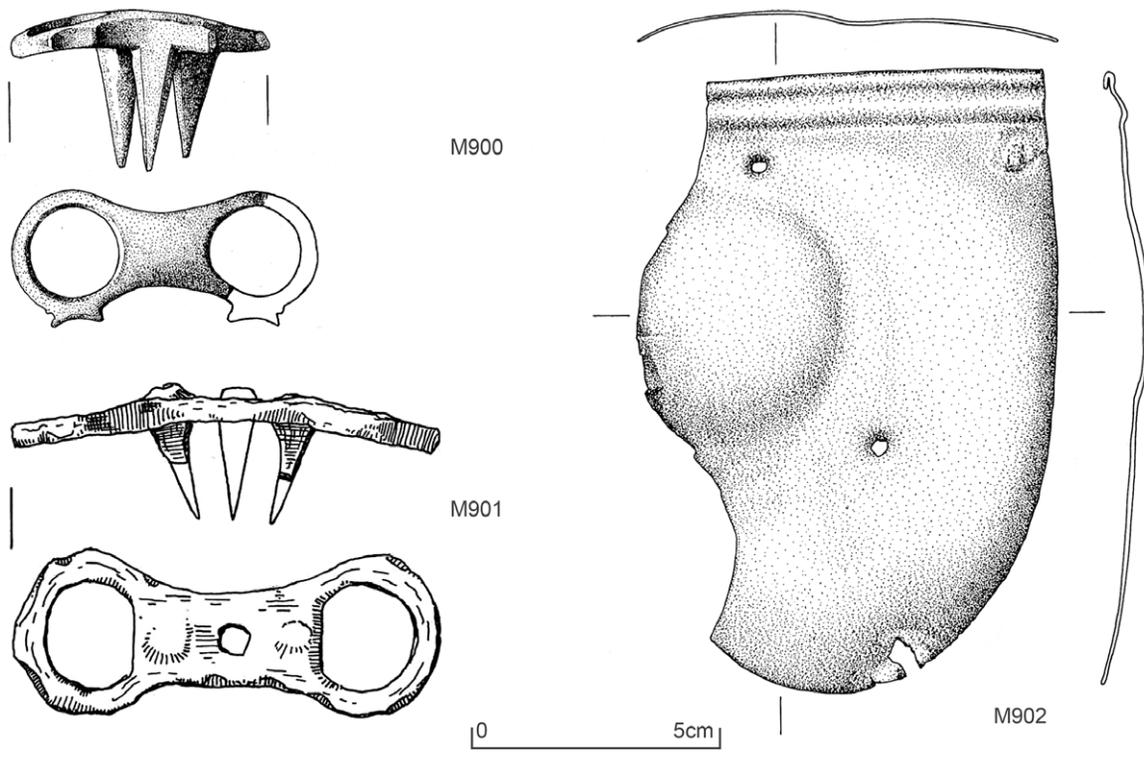
Should the spear butt(s) from Holubice (and Kosd) be considered as contact indicator(s)? Their date in LT B2 makes it very tempting to include them among the few Middle La Tène period imports but some caution is necessary: as said, the spear butts were present in Central Europe (even in Middle Danube area: Wien-Leopoldau, gr. 8) from LT A, and considering moreover the association of the LT B2 pieces with local spear-heads, it is probably too courageous to label them as undisputable imports. Local production inspired by Greek models seems a viable hypothesis though production based on a tradition reaching back to LT A (and potentially based on Greek models of that period) cannot be ruled out. The two spear butts will not be considered as imports but may be kept in mind as potential contact indicators.

A helmet cheek-piece [M902] discovered in the 'A12 deposit' in the Manching oppidum (**Fig. 109**) combines, according to S. Sievers (1994, 595–598; SIEVERS 2010, 35–37, Abb. 41, Taf. 59, Nr. 792), some characteristically Etruscan technical features with traits more common in the La Tène world. Production somewhere in the contact zone between these two cultural areas, i.e. in northern Italy, seems probable, most likely in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

Worth mentioning at this point is the very recent find of armour fragments from a *Brandopferplatz* in Slatina nad Bebravou, northwest Slovakia (**Fig. 109** below; THOMAS 2018; PIETA 2018). The small fragments of figural relief were mixed with local artefacts providing a *terminus post quem* in LT C1b for their deposition. Based on a detailed and well-based analysis, Renate Thomas (2018) reconstructed the fragments as the decoration of cuirass shoulder straps (helmet cheek-pieces are not excluded either in my opinion, although the author ruled this possibility out) depicting an *amazonomacheia*. Thomas proposed the origin of the work to be in Tarentum in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. In comparison with the impeccable stylistic analysis, the proposed very narrative based and too specific interpretation needs, in my opinion, some nuancing: the author suggests the armour was seized by the Celts during the 279 BC expedition to Greece in one of Greek sanctuaries in which it had already been displayed for some time, whence the chronological gap between the dates of its production and deposition. Though not impossible, this explanation is surely only one of many. The pieces could equally well have been seized either by Celtic marauders directly in southern Italy in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC or by any Celtic troops in the armies of the Diadochi, including Pyrrhus, active both in Greece and Italy. The possible mechanisms of acquisition of the pieces and their transfer from Tarentum to the Carpathian slopes are countless and impossible to even guess... the more so if they occurred over an enormous timespan of at least a century.

Although the reliefs do not come directly from our working area, they are very valuable evidence of Mediterranean contacts but also of the difficulties to provide a solid explanation for them.

To return to our actual area of interest, also from Manching come two so-called *anelli gemini cuspidati* or *Stachelringe* [M900, M901], one in bronze, the other in iron (**Fig. 109**). These artefacts consisting of two flat rings with three or four spikes perpendicular to the connection between them (cf. esp. SANNIBALE 1998, 222–253) are well represented in numerous collections with provenances mostly stated as from northern or central Italy though only extremely few come from solid contexts. This has caused considerable doubts as to their chronology and function: three to some degree credible find contexts spread their chronology over an enormous time-span from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (SANNIBALE 1998, 250–253). As far as their function is concerned, two proposals have been put forward (SANNIBALE 1998, 239–246):



**Fig. 109: Above - Mediterranean armament discovered in the study area. Below - the shoulder strap from Slatina nad Bebravou, drawing by P. Kazakova after THOMAS 2018.**

They either served as a drawing or release aide for a bow (fingers through the holes, string pulled by the ‘back’ spike(s), while the nock of the arrow was kept inserted between the ‘front’ spikes; PATRONCINI 1990; JURGEIT 1999, 178–180); or alternatively they are believed to have been parts of horse harness, specifically slobber bars of curb-bits, turned according to need spikes down or, should the horse’s behaviour require it, spikes up into the horse’s chin (JACOBI 1974a; ADAM 1984, 105–106; SANNIBALE 1998). This latter interpretation is as improbable as the other sounds plausible and I gladly consider them to be archery implements. No other *anelli gemelli cuspidati* are known from Central Europe other than those from Manching. In the La Tène Culture area in general I am aware of those from the tomb of Boé (SCHÖNFELDER 2002, 273–275) and Tonovcov Grad (BOŽIČ – TURK 2011, 264).

## FROM NORTH TO SOUTH

Although our intention is to study the contacts unilaterally in order to investigate their effects in Bohemia and Central Europe, it is worth making at least a quick overview of contacts in the opposite direction. In fairness, it would be difficult to go beyond a mere outline – the possibility of recognising a specifically Bohemian or Central European object in the Mediterranean are far lower than the possibility of recognising a generically Mediterranean object in Bohemia or Central Europe. One reason of course is the inverse size proportion of these geographical units; more importantly, however, although La Tène artefacts are not uncommon in the Mediterranean, it is relatively difficult to distinguish within them those of specifically Bohemian, EnCE, and WnCE origin. Typological and stylistic considerations are seldom of any help and studies through analytical methods have not been executed in sufficient quantities or adequately.

Keeping in mind these precautions I will provide here brief overviews of three specific selected topics. First, we will focus on one narrow area within the Mediterranean and try to distinguish specifically Central European or Bohemian elements within the La Tène material culture of the region of Emilia Romagna, i.e. the territories of the north Italian Boii. Then we will shift our attention from a regional to a thematic focus, that of Bohemian Late La Tène coins; finally, we will zoom out to a broader issue of potential goods of Central European origin or provenance in the Mediterranean.

### BOHEMICA AMONG THE ITALIAN BOII?

The only typological class quoted with some persuasiveness are the rings with semi-globular bosses (*Hohlbuckelringe*<sup>192</sup>). A series of rings with full bosses found in Marzabotto have been considered ‘close to pieces from Bohemia and Moravia’ (KRUTA POPPI 1975; FÁBRY 2008). In reality, only one or two out of the seven full boss rings from Marzabotto has a convincingly Czech look while for the other parallels have to be looked for in other La Tène regions including Gaul and mainly the Carpathian Basin; several of them are demonstrably local products (GESCHWIND 2020).

192 The *Hohlbuckelringe* play an important role also in contacts with the eastern Mediterranean, represented there by the famous pair from a well in the sanctuary of Isthmia in Greece (cf. KRÄMER 1961b; the entire discussion concerning this find is summarised by KAVUR – BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2018).

Another bracelet from the same region is worth mentioning: a C-section hollow cast ring from Bologna-Benacci, t. 114 (VITALI 1990, 138, tav. 13: 2). It finds numerous parallels in the territory extending from central and eastern Bohemia through Moravia and the western fringes of the Carpathian Basin.

Still from the Bolognese, a small fragment of a bracelet made of a black rock comes from the infill of a ditch in Casalecchio di Reno (FERRARI – MENGOLI 2005, 47–49, n° 410). The analyses reportedly executed on the fragment<sup>193</sup> unfortunately did not take into consideration the possibility of provenance identification and contented themselves with the hardly conclusive determination of the material as 'lignite' (a term considered inadequate for any of these materials: e.g. VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2001).

This handful of artefacts is not to be dismissed but it has to be kept in mind that they co-exist in northern Italy with artefacts proving links to Gaul or the Carpathian Basin (e.g. RAPIN – SZABÓ – VITALI 1992), showing the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century Emilia as a highly dynamic region and the crossroads of (unspecified) contacts within the whole of the La Tène world rather than a final destination of travellers heading there from Bohemia.

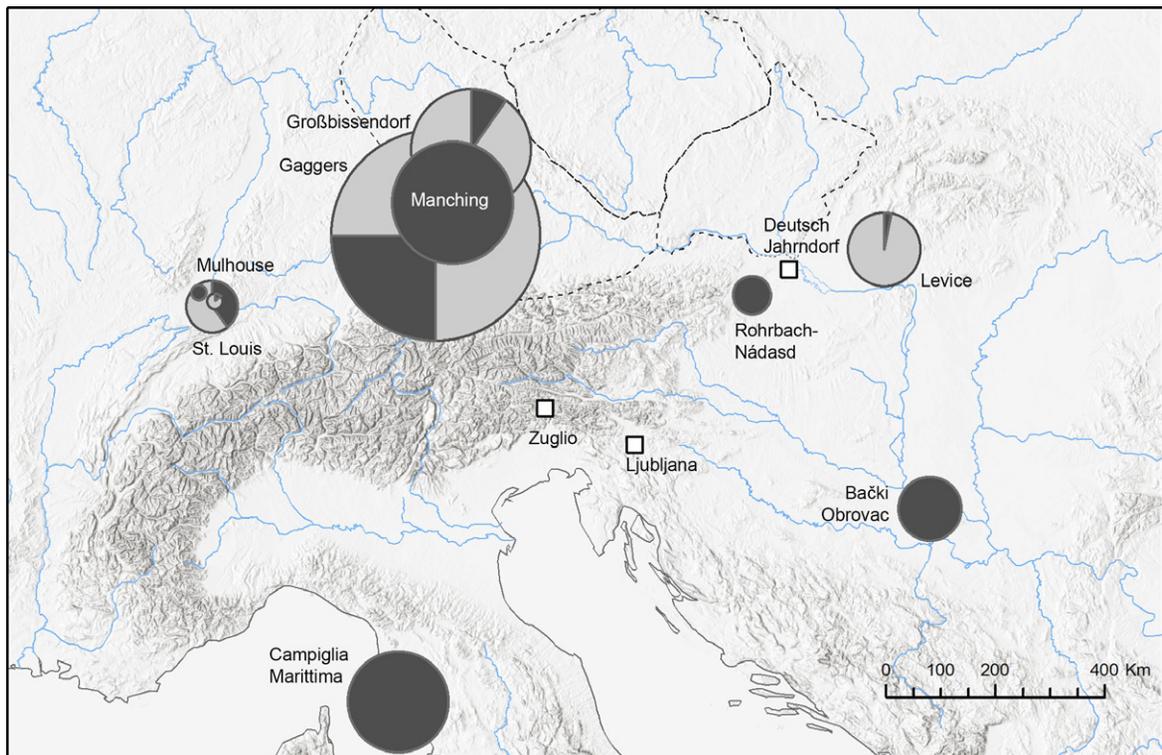
## COINS

The most convincing and most spectacular assemblage of artefacts of Bohemian origin in the Mediterranean world is the hoard of maybe up to 300 gold 1/3-staters (68 are preserved) dated to the oppida period from Campiglia Marittima in the province of Livorno, Tuscany (NEMEŠKALOVÁ JIROUDKOVÁ 1975). The Campiglia Marittima hoard cannot be treated in isolation. It is in fact only one of relatively many cases of homogenous 'Boii' coinage hoards or at least a homogenous 'Boii' coinage component within hoards of other coins (**Fig. 110**; for an overview cf. ZIEGAUS 2013; 2015; MILITKÝ 2015b, 85–86). Closest to the find from Campiglia Marittima, as large assemblages exclusively of 'Boii' coinage, are:

- the hoard from Bački Obrovac in Serbia, consisting of some 122 staters, many of them struck with the same pair of dies, dated probably to the early oppida period with the majority of coins still from the pre-oppida horizon (ZIEGAUS 2013, 495–496);
- the hoard discovered in Manching in 1999 (ZIEGAUS 2013), in which the 433 staters of the oppida period can be divided into 13 groups (A–N); Ziegaus (2013, 432, 450) asserts nevertheless that a considerable part of them could have been struck either (within group A) with few pairs of dies, or (groups B and D) within a short period of time in a single workshop;
- perhaps the hoard from Rohrbach-Nádasd in Austria with at least 43 staters, the majority of them of a single type with some dies identical with those of the Manching hoard (discussed by ZIEGAUS 2013).

In all these cases we observe large volumes of high value gold coinage often struck with only a few pairs of dies; it is clear that these hoards must be the result of large volumes of coinage leaving Bohemia in bulk. Reflections of this practice can be perceived also in the hoards from Grossbissendorf in Bavaria: the 42 Boian staters and 1/3-staters made up only a relatively small percentage of the 384 coins (mostly local *Regenbogenschüsselchen*) in the hoard; also among them there are pieces often sharing at least either obverse or reverse die (ZIEGAUS 1995, 78–83). Similar cases include Gagger in Bavaria and Saint Louis near Basel.

193 I am grateful for the information to dottoressa Paola Desantis, Sovrintendenza archeologica per Emilia Romagna.



**Fig 110: Distribution of hoards including significant quantities of 'Boii' coins in Central Europe. Dark grey - 'Boii' coinage. Light grey - other coinage; white squares - late hoards including coins minted in Bratislava. Bohemia is not mapped.**

This recurrent pattern of large amounts of Boian coins of high denominations (stateres, rarely 1/3-stateres), making up either pure assemblages or more or less large components in hoards and in both cases with homogenous groupings in terms of types and even dies, clearly show that these were not pieces which at one point in time were withdrawn from free circulation and hoarded. Much more likely they left Bohemia as part of bulk packages of gold coins. Some like those from Manching, Campiglia Marittima, or Bački Obrovac remained together, others were partially dismembered over time; at least some of them were nevertheless kept together until their deposition. Bohemian coins already appeared outside Bohemia in the pre-oppida period but only as individual pieces (MILITKÝ 2018a, *passim*). The large hoards of high denominations are only documented in the shell-stater horizon, i.e. in the oppida period; the earliest manifestation of this phenomenon seems to be the Bački Obrovac hoard.

Bernward Ziegaus in his detailed analysis and overall synopsis of these hoards (ZIEGAUS 2013) explained each of them by an individual story presenting specific arguments for the presence of Boian coins in Italy, in Serbia, or in Bavaria. In my opinion we should rather consider these individual cases as varied manifestations of a single phenomenon. The available evidence, its repetitiveness and ubiquity, shows that in the oppida period Bohemian gold coinage was subject to intentional export. This statement in no way diminishes its status as a local currency utilised for all kinds of financial transactions (even the coins from the Manching hoard show some traces of circulation or at least use: ZIEGAUS 2013, 499–503). We may be almost sure, however, that a function which the issuers of the Boii coinage equally had on their minds was that of a commodity and that it is for this reason that throughout the production of this coinage they kept the fineness of the alloy to the highest standards (98–95%)

which were given up only in the latest production period, although, for instance, in southern Germany it declined steadily over the same period (MILITKÝ 2015a, *passim*).

The geographical distribution of these coins helps us understand that we are faced with a large-scale phenomenon in which, for instance, the issuers of these coins in Bohemia may have very likely controlled only the initial phases of their circulation; I think it very probable that the coins discovered in Camiglia Marittima and in St. Louis may have spent some time in Manching (to name only the most probable of several relay stations), and those from Bački Obrovac changed hands repeatedly on their way through Moravia and the Middle Danube region.

Apart from the Campiglia Marittima hoard, the only Boii coins which can be mentioned in northern Italy<sup>194</sup> is a comparatively small lot of one 1/3-stater and six 1/8-staters from a large hoard of predominantly Norican coins discovered in 1762 in Zuglio (CICERI 1958; BUORA 1994). Their origin in Bratislava<sup>195</sup> and association with Norican silver shows that we are dealing with the latest horizon of Boii coinage and a phenomenon different from that described above, and much more akin to the hoards of Deutsch Jahrndorf (MILITKÝ – TORBÁGYI forthcoming) and Ljubljana 1829 (ZIEGAUS 2013, 498).

The picture of the distribution of Bavarian coins is very different: single finds and even small hoards in northern Italy (PAUTASSO 1975;<sup>196</sup> GORINI 1998; BERGONZI 1996), are mirrored by finds of north Italian silver drachmae in Bavaria: cf. below), nicely illustrating repeated and to some extent capillary contacts between both sides of the Alps.

The most distant find of a south German coin, a Vindelican 1/24-stater with an androcephalic horse on the obverse, comes from Butera in Sicily (BOEHRINGER 1991). Both the type and its find context date most probably to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. In its uniqueness, it seems unlikely that it got to its find spot other than by individual transfer.

## AMBER, SLAVES, AND OTHER GHOSTS

The topic of bulk export of gold coins brings up a broader issue, that of the goods of Central European origin traded as a means of exchange with the south. We know close to nothing about these and the often quoted stereotypical list of commodities which could have been subject to this exchange – hides, furs, livestock, bees-wax, and other organic matters which are simply not archaeologically visible – are in my opinion only an admission of this ignorance of ours. Though there may have been a shortage of any of these in Late Republican Italy and the need for such a strategic commodity as bees-wax should not be underestimated, I find it most improbable that the need for most of these goods (e.g. furs) was so dire there that they could not be satisfied by the combined efforts of Italy and its immediately neighbouring (e.g. Alpine) areas so that it was necessary to reach out to inner Central Europe. This list is based on data from the Imperial period in which the Roman borders shifted to the Rhine and Danube.

194 The numismatic collections of the University of Pavia include one 1/3-stater of the amber route corridor coinage, pre-oppida period (ARSLAN 2003; for the type cf. SMĚLÝ 2017, fig. 3: 5; MILITKÝ 2018a, obr. 37: 6; it is impossible to compare it with the drawings published by KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012). We have no information about the coin's provenance and since we are dealing with an antique coin collection, it is extremely likely that it was simply acquired in the European numismatic market. The odds increase when we realise that up until 1859 Pavia along with the rest of Lombardy formed part of the Austrian Empire making the circulation of antiquities between Lombardy and the Middle Danube area even more likely.

195 I am grateful to Jiří Militký for this identification.

196 Already Pautasso in 1975 was aware of at least 22 examples, concentrated moreover only in the Vercelli region.

Before this date, in my opinion, regular exchange of these goods over such large distances would not make sense.

There are two exceptions, two stereotypical goods which merit a short discussion. First there are slaves. The topic of Late Iron Age slavery could be easily dismissed by recourse to the caricatural notes of Caesar (vi, 13.1) mentioning the serf-like status of the entire non-elite population of Gaul or by the Posidonius' statement preserved without any meaningful context by Diodorus (v, 26.3) about a slave worth one amphora of wine. Both are in reality irrelevant here since the former obviously says nothing about slavery as an economic institution (whether as the procurement of a workforce or a specific area of trade) and I would argue that the latter is just an anecdotal account which has no bearing in particular outside the territory of southern Gaul, i.e. not for the actual area of the Transalpine La Tène Culture. The role slavery could have played in the Transalpine society of the La Tène period has been recently stressed by Martin Schönfelder on the basis of archaeological finds, specifically shackles and keys which very probably served for their locking (SCHÖNFELDER 2015). The distribution of these finds covers the whole territory of Late La Tène Europe. To concentrate only on our working area, shackles are documented in Manching, the Steinsburg bei Römhild, and Plavecké Podhradie, as well as by the very recent find from Wien-Rochusmarkt (ADLER-WÖLFL - MOSSER 2015, 29–30, Taf. 3: 3). The small keys (whose use for shackles is only one possibility, though highly probable) are present in Manching, Kelheim, Berching Pollanten, Stradonice, Závist, Hrazany, Třísov, Staré Hradisko, the Oberleiserberg, and again Plavecké Podhradie (SCHÖNFELDER 2015, Tab. 1–3). No matter how impressive these lists may seem and even if we accept them as direct proof of slavery and the slave trade at all these sites, it has to be admitted that we can hardly go further; there is no way of knowing the volume of this trade, the origin of the slaves (debts? war? slave hunts in neighbouring territories?), or the role of the slave trade in the oppida period economy and social relations (cf. the discussion in SCHÖNFELDER 2015, 88). Finally, we will never know whether this hypothetical slave trade served only the local market or whether slaves were a commodity exported to the Mediterranean. Although Roman Italy must have been supplied with tens or hundreds of thousands of slaves resulting from the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> century wars, the hunger for manpower must still have been enormous in the nascent Roman empire and an influx of slaves from Transalpine Europe may have been welcome there. Moreover, La Tène Transalpine Europe with its (if we are to believe Caesar) endemic wars and highly pronounced ethos of personal or group dominance over others would be an ideal trade partner in this respect. The slave trade would provide the local elite not only with a very easily gained material profit from actual sales but at the same time could also strengthen their status and symbolic standing thanks to the participation in activities connected with slave procurement, whether in war or incursions.

Secondly, we must not forget about amber, already mentioned several times in the previous pages. The heyday of amber trading between the Baltic Sea and northern Italy (WIELOWIEJSKI 1980; KOLENDO 1981, 75–95; KOLENDO 1985/1998; 1991/1998) was to come only in the Imperial period, mostly from the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century AD and in my opinion it is only from this moment that the term the 'Amber route', mostly avoided in the present work, starts making historical sense. It is worth pointing out however, that already during the Late La Tène period, we see considerable evidence of trade in amber within Central Europe and some hints of its orientation towards the south. As already mentioned before, amber is represented at almost all the key sites in Central Europe both in the form of artefacts as well as raw lumps and most importantly unfinished products: most conspicuously at Staré Hradisko (ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996b), but also Stradonice (DIVAC 2013, 144), Bratislava (RESUTÍK 2014), Wien-Rochusmarkt (ADLER-

-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 33),<sup>197</sup> and the Magdalensberg (GOSTENČNIK 2007).<sup>198</sup> The impressive stock of some 1,500 kg of raw amber discovered in Wrocław-Partynice (Breslau-Hartlieb) in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century is usually dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (e.g. WIELOWIEJSKI 1980, 19–20 with further bibliography).

In the early to mid-Augustan period (specifically during Agrippa's lifetime, i.e. before 12 BC) Roman geographical knowledge of northern Central Europe seems to be limited to the existence of the Vistula. Jerzy Kolendo convincingly argued that this may suggest that Roman interest in the area was up to this point focused exclusively on the areas of amber origin and routes for its procurement. From an archaeological point of view, Dragan Božič (1998, 146–148, 151–152, fig. 18) demonstrated that as early as the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC amber beads of a shape produced in Staré Hradisko can be found (no matter in how small numbers) in contemporary find contexts in present day Slovenia and in northern Italy. We have already seen above that some finger-rings with amber gemstones (at least one certainly engraved in Italy, cf. [M440]) found their way back to Central Europe.

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197 Interestingly, the 'amber' from the Rochusmarkt has been preliminarily identified as fossil pitch of local origin (Wienerwald, west of Vienna) and not as genuine Baltic amber i.e. succinite (ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 33, note 106).

198 The finds from the Magdalensberg include beads (large and small) and raw lumps. Their find contexts are said to date to the Augustan – early Julio-Claudian period (GOSTENČNIK 2007, 62) which does not exclude the presence of amber at the Magdalensberg in its earlier phases, which are either insufficiently preserved or contested.

### 3. More Things – Mediterranean coins in Late Iron Age Central Europe

A theme on itself, and to a great extent unlike other imports, are finds of Mediterranean coins. This is because first and foremost the coins obviously fulfil different roles than most imported utilitarian objects (no matter if ‘utilitarian’ in a functional or a symbolic sense). The principal function of a coin is ‘to have a value’ and once this requirement is met and unless they are hoarded, the coins can circulate for a much longer period of time than other objects. Therefore, the dates of the Mediterranean coins discovered in Bohemia (i.e. the date of their minting) has little relation to the date of their deposition. Numerous well documented cases show, that Roman Republican coins kept circulating or rather remained part of the living culture down to late stages of the Imperial period; it was so both in the Romanised areas of the Empire and beyond the *limes* in *Barbaricum*. It is neatly illustrated by coin hoards such as that from Libčeves containing ca 100–200 silver denarii, out of which 42 are preserved. Although the most recent of these was minted in 64 BC, the Almgren 147c brooch accompanying the hoard dates its concealment to the middle or second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (MILITKÝ 2009a). We may also mention the hoard (?) from Strážný which contains, besides (bronze) coins of Augustus up to Arcadius/Honorius, also a bronze coin of Ptolemy III (MILITKÝ 2010a/III, 22–24, n° 724).

The coins enjoyed a similar longevity also in Roman contexts. For instance, in the battlefield of Kalkriese (9 AD), hundreds of Augustan and triumviral coins were accompanied by 159 coins minted before the assassination of Caesar; the oldest of them were denarii dated to 194–190, 150, and 140 BC. Republican coins are regularly present also in military camps and civilian settlements in the Roman northern provinces; there are, nevertheless, also extraordinary pieces like the bronze coin of Ptolemy I Soter (323–283 BC) discovered in the fortress of Saalburg, or a Mamertine bronze from Augsburg (cf. NICK 2007 for all the mentioned finds).

The find context is uncertain, unverified or completely unknown for almost all the Greek and Roman Republican coins found in Bohemia. Although their circulation here could be at least hypothetically dated to the La Tène period, most of them are either old discoveries located with the precision of a municipality territory at the best (and often not preserved) or recent finds from private surveys with varying degrees of plausibility.

Therefore, it is not at all sure that the coins investigated here (even though they were struck in the last centuries BC) necessarily circulated in Bohemia in this period, let alone that it was then that they entered the archaeological record – they could have been lost in the Imperial period or even later. The methodologically most correct approach would be, therefore, to exclude from our corpus all the coins lacking a reliable find context. Such a radical measure would however solve any question concerning Mediterranean coins by basically eliminating them from discussion. As a matter of fact, even in the case of coins from some of the most significant sites such as Manching, Němčice, or Stradonice, this provenance is not verified and based purely on faith. Moreover, at least some rare coins with verified find circumstances show beyond any doubt that coins did circulate and were deposited already in the La Tène period (e.g. the Greek coins from official surveys in Němčice and the Roman ones from excavations/surveys in Nitra, Třísov and Manching). In order to overcome these problems, I will consider as potential imports all the Mediterranean coins minted in the studied period unless they were found: 1) on sites dated to the Roman Iron Age (including those where both the La Tène

and Roman periods are present); 2) in hoards containing Augustan and more recent coins; and also 3) coins whose (precise) find circumstances are not known but whose discovery was reported together with coins of the Imperial period. For this reason, I will, for example, not take into account the as of C. Clovius from Litohlavý found under completely obscure circumstance but acquired together with coins of Claudius Gothicus and Constantine II (MILITKÝ 2010a/II, 185), or the denarius of M. Calidius Metellus from Libice nad Cidlinou discovered in 1916 in a settlement whose occupation dates to the Hallstatt period, Roman Iron Age, and Early Middle Ages but not to the La Tène period (MILITKÝ 2010a/II, 233–234). I also exclude from further consideration those instances when the only available information mentions ‘a Greek’ or ‘a Roman Republican’ coin as of no value for our purposes. The complete overview of Greek coins is provided in a catalogue in Appendix III noting if the coin was or was not taken into account in our study. The list is thus most probably far from complete but hopefully at least representative. The coins are presented in the Catalogue in geographical order according to the place of discovery. Roman Republican coins are referenced directly in the text without any ambition for completeness.

## ROMAN COINS

Roman Republican coins are represented in our corpus by 26 certain or possible finds from Bohemia, 14 from Moravia and western Slovakia and 22 from Bavaria; other finds are known from Upper or Lower Austria (less systematically studied and with much higher probability that the coins were only deposited in the Roman period as here and in Bavaria we find ourselves in later Roman territory).

The presence of Roman coins in Central Europe is in no way surprising. The role of northern Italy in Transalpine contacts has been repeatedly pointed out (and will be pointed out again) and it is natural that the most frequent coins in Central Europe are those of the ruling power controlling most of the region through the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC.

The overview of the Roman coins found in Bohemia shows two interesting facts: while the single finds consist almost exclusively of silver coins, those from settlements (Stradonice and Třísov) are in contrast predominantly bronze pieces. In Stradonice, for example, a single Narbonese denarius and one *victoriatus* contrasts with 13 bronze coins (MILITKÝ 2010a; 2015a) while from Třísov there is a single bronze as (KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 587–591). Already in Němčice, the only Roman coins are ases and their sub-denominations (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012) attested also in Ptení (KOLNÍKOVÁ – SMRŽ 2007) and in Nitra (KOLNÍKOVÁ 1963). The situation is different in Manching and Bavaria in general, where seven denarii and their sub-denominations were accompanied by seven ases and their subunits (KELLNER 1990; ZIEGAUS 2004). This over-representation of silver in Manching *vis-à-vis* Bohemian oppida can be caused by later Roman occupation of the area; and yet, bronze is also present there in high numbers. In the east, Roman coins concentrate in particular in Bratislava (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2014; RESUTÍK 2014).

The negligible presence of Roman silver coins in Iron Age Europe is not surprising in itself – it has been believed for a long time (e.g. in MOTYKOVÁ – DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1984a; cf. ZIEGAUS 2004, 54–55; MILITKÝ 2013, 47) that the imported silver coins were utilised principally as raw material for the production of local silver coinage (silver mining and processing is not attested in Iron Age Bohemia and Central Europe in spite of some overoptimistic claims in WALDHAUSER 2003). On the other hand, the significant role of bronze coins – fiduciary and therefore valueless outside the Roman world – calls for explanation. As far as Roman bronzes

are concerned, they could well have been kept by individuals involved in inter-regional contacts with areas under Roman rule, knowing that there is a market for these coins within their reach. This would mean a certain Transalpine recognition of the value of these coins which could purely theoretically make their local monetary function thinkable (i.e. parallel acceptance of the currency of a foreign economically dominant power in the vein of Deutschmarks in 1990s Balkans or US Dollars in most of developing world). I think it impossible, however, that it could have happened on any regular basis and with any general acceptance. The Roman coins are too few to make such considerations plausible and the local monetary economies were too well organised to make any such transactions necessary. This question will be raised again in a detailed analysis in the case of Greek coins.

Silver coins pose similar problems. With the exception of a single piece (and one *fourré*, i.e. silver-plated bronze) from Stradonice, all the Bohemian pieces are chance finds lacking reliable find circumstances. Considering the rarity of silver in definite La Tène contexts, and the long circulation of Republican silver coinage, we may ask if all the silver coins should not be considered as deposited only in the Roman Iron Age. Such an explanation does not fully hold when we realise the chronology of these coins. The most recent Roman Republican coin found in Bohemia whose find context is not that of the Roman Iron Age, dates to 74 BC, followed by others from 79, 80, and 90 BC (a single coin from each of these years); coins from the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC are more numerous. In contrast, the Roman Republican coins from definite Roman Iron Age contexts, i.e. of the Imperial Period, do include some rare individual second century pieces; the majority, nevertheless, belong to the first half of the first century BC.

None of the Roman Republican coins, potentially deposited in the La Tène period, be they silver or bronze, are thus later than 70 BC. Also, the coins from Stradonice all cover the first three quarters of the 2<sup>nd</sup> (if not the late 3<sup>rd</sup>) century; only the most recent of them dates to 118 BC (MILITKÝ 2015a, 152). The situation is similar west of Bohemia. For example, in Bavaria extremely few coins (finds from Manching, Karlstein, and Stöffling) are more recent than 120 BC; only one of them falls into the first century, being minted in 99 BC. From that point on, the earlier Republican coins found in find contexts which are not obviously Roman are the military denarii of Mark Anthony from Roseldorf, Neubau, and Bratislava-Vydrice, whose deposition in the Imperial period is highly probable (cf. e.g. MILITKÝ 2013, 50). The situation is similar also in the territory of Poland where Roman Republican coins do not exceed the date of 120 BC (DYMOWSKI 2014). In summary, in both Bohemia and Central Europe in general, we do not know any Roman Republican coins minted between 80/70 and 30 BC with the exception of those found in Imperial contexts. An explanation would be simple in the case of the bronze coins – no Roman bronzes were produced after 80 BC (CRAWFORD 1974, 596–597). But already the time-span of 128–74 BC is covered both in Bohemia and Bavaria exclusively by silver coins which disappeared after this date. Above (chapter I.3 – chronology) I noted that this date corresponds well with the supposed end of amphora imports to Manching according to Lyding Will and Rieckhoff, and that the cause of this phenomenon, if valid, should be looked for on the Roman side, i.e. in general crisis caused by the civil wars. We may take a step further in this consideration: the tense political situation meant also smaller volumes of coins in circulation (i.e. fewer coins issued in the first place, and at the same time more coins withdrawn from circulation and hoarded: BACKENDORF 1998). Logically then many fewer coins had the chance to make it across the Alps and be deposited here (be it in the La Tène or Roman Period).

As far as the coins with (more or less) reliable La Tène period find contexts are concerned, the majority of the bronzes were struck or cast between 225 and 145 BC; only three of them date to the third quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Roman bronze coinage is thus represented in the oppida by pieces struck predominantly in the pre-oppida period. This situation does

not change considerably in the case of silver coinage. Although the latter concentrate rather around 120 BC (Manching: 134–118/107 BC; Stradonice: 118 BC; Stöfling: 129 and 99 BC; Bratislava: 136 BC), we still remain at the very beginnings of LT D1a. With the exception of a single denarius from Stöfling dated to 99 BC and two pieces from very late contexts in Bratislava dated to 77 and 56 BC (RESUTÍK 2014, 162; MAKOVICKÁ *et al.* 1992), all the rest of the silver coins minted in 118–80 BC are individual unverified finds with an uncertain date of deposition (La Tène or Roman Period?). Basing our considerations purely on finds from verified La Tène period contexts it seems that a first thorough break occurred in the contacts between the Roman and the Transalpine worlds not in 80 BC, but as early as about 120 BC and, although the coins obviously could have been deposited after many decades of circulation – the oppida period is apparently devoid of actually contemporary Roman coin finds. It is completely unclear, whether this lack of finds is caused by chronological reasons (contacts with the Mediterranean occurred or were more intense in the early stages of the oppida period rather than in the later ones) or by pure chance. The sample we can work with is too limited to allow any confident statement on the matter.

## GREEK COINS IN IRON AGE CENTRAL EUROPE

The problems hindering our understanding of the Greek coins in Central Europe are in many ways identical with those concerning their Roman counterparts. As we have seen, Greek pieces also appear in much later contexts which, if we are extremely critical, might make us doubt if they are of any use for our purposes.

The best evidence of the presence of Greek coins in Central Europe as early as the La Tène period comes from the LT C1–C2 agglomeration in Němčice nad Hanou (ČIŽMÁŘ – KOLNÍKOVÁ 2006; ČIŽMÁŘ – KOLNÍKOVÁ – NOESKE 2008; KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012). Over one thousand coins have been published from the site, out of which as many as about 80 had been minted by various Mediterranean authorities of the Hellenistic period.<sup>199</sup> It is also through the Němčice collection that we can best approach the topic of Greek coins in Central Europe in general.<sup>200</sup>

### THE NĚMČICE MERCENARIES

Soon after its discovery, the Mediterranean component of the Němčice coin collection was interpreted in two quite concrete and specific ways. Eva Kolníková (ČIŽMÁŘ – KOLNÍKOVÁ 2006; KOLNÍKOVÁ – SMRŽ 2007; KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012) saw two principal causes behind it: on the one hand the position of Němčice on the ‘Amber route’ and its contacts with the northern Balkans (without making clear whether the foreign coins were the means or the object of these transactions); on the other hand a part of the Němčice assemblage was in Kolníková’s opinion and following her long-held theory (cf. already KOLNÍKOVÁ 1963, abandoned in KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012) brought to the Middle Danube area by the migrant Boii returning from Italy in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

According to the other interpretation presented in the most coherent way by H.-Chr. Noeske (ČIŽMÁŘ – KOLNÍKOVÁ – NOESKE 2008; cf. also e.g. MIELCZAREK 2008), the Němčice

199 The latest overview (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012) lists 1070 coins, 83 of them Mediterranean, 76 Greek. In actuality, the number of coins found in Němčice can be as much as tenfold higher. The vast majority of these pieces are forever lost to research.

200 This chapter is largely based on a previous study: KYSELA 2016b.

assemblage is the reflection of Celtic mercenaries returning from their service in the Mediterranean. Noeske outlined two groups within the Nĕmčice assemblage differing, in his opinion, from each other in terms of chronology and the geographical origin of the coins. His so-called western group (Roman, Italiot, Siceliot, Punic, and Etruscan coins as well as those of Ptolemaic Cyrenaica) covers a period going up to *ca* 200 BC and reflects in his opinion the return of mercenaries from the Second Punic War (218–202 BC). The coins of the eastern group on the other hand range from late 4<sup>th</sup> century to *ca* 170 BC and consist mostly of Ptolemaic pieces minted in Alexandria, including in addition coins of Thrace, Macedonia, Illyria, and Asia Minor. Noeske believes these coins were brought back by the mercenaries returning from the Sixth Syrian War (170–168 BC) in which they fought on the Ptolemaic side.

We may point out several problematic points in this complexly argued and still stunningly straightforward interpretation. The very definitions (geographical as well as chronological) of the two groups raises some doubts: it is not clear why the Ptolemaic issues of Cyrenaica belong to the west while the Alexandrian ones to the east; the majority of the eastern group consists of eleven coins of a single authority (Ptolemy VI, mostly overstrikes of Ptolemy IV pieces) while the rest of the group is extremely heterogeneous – one coin of the Illyrian king Ballaios (260–230 or 195–175 BC), one of Leukon II of Theodosia (240–230 BC), one of Adaios of Thrace (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC), as well as some issues of the Macedonian rulers Philip V (211–197 BC), Philip III Arrhidaios (323–317 BC), and perhaps Alexander III (335–323 BC), and finally also a Thracian posthumous issue in the names of Alexander III and Philip Arrhidaios from the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, which was unknown to Noeske. This mixture makes up a very incoherent assemblage. The most recent phase is represented exclusively by the Alexandrian coins, predated by the Thracian and Macedonian ones by several generations. The inclusion of the Ballaios coin in this more recent eastern group is a possibility rather than a certainty: the chronology of Ballaios coinage remains disputed<sup>201</sup> and their distribution (Ciołek 2011, 77–82) covers both Adriatic shores. Attribution to the (hypothetical) western group seems equally if not more probable.

If the ‘eastern group’ seems in reality to be an incoherent pseudo-assemblage, ‘the western group’ (or more precisely the ‘impression of a western group’) may be in a way actually linked with the Second Punic War, though not necessarily in a direct way. This conflict, in fact, ended up with redrawing the political map of the Western Mediterranean and either eliminating all the monetary authorities other than Rome or relegating them to roles in which their coinage could hardly reach more than local circulation. The absence of western coins in Nĕmčice and their rarity in Transalpine Europe in general is thus logical and not surprising.

All the above are mere observations rather than a serious critique; there is, however, one point in which the Noeske’s approach completely failed to grasp the substance of the issue. The author based his discussion on extensive and well understood Mediterranean evidence (mainly south Italian coin hoards) but he completely omitted other finds of Greek coins in Central Europe. These finds are unexpectedly plentiful and it is in my opinion precisely with the help of these coins that we can best understand the Nĕmčice coin assemblage as well as, in reverse, the Nĕmčice coin assemblage helps us understand the rest of Transalpine finds of Greek coins.

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201 Renata Ciołek (2011, 86–92) rejected the low chronology of the Ballaios coinage (e.g. ŠAŠEL KOS 2007) for which she found neither numismatic nor historical evidence. The rule of this Illyrian sovereign, known only from his coinage, dates in her opinion to *ca* 260–230 BC.

## CENTRAL EUROPE AND NORTH-EASTERN ITALY – COMPARISON AND SOME REFLECTIONS

Understanding the presence of Greek coins in Central Europe requires in my opinion a comparison of the spectra of coin finds in the individual regions of Central Europe. The specificity of this topic will lend itself to, and even requires, a broadening of our perspective and analysing the material on as large a scale as possible in Central Europe as well as in northern Italy which is the immediately neighbouring Mediterranean region.

### The selection criteria and the comparison method

The term ‘Greek coins’ is used very generously here and comprises for our purposes all the coins minted in the Mediterranean by authorities other than Rome and the Celts before roughly the middle or second third of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. We will therefore include in our considerations the coins of Greek *poleis*, Hellenistic empires, but also of Italic peoples and Numidian kings, as well as Punic, Illyrian, or Etruscan issues. On the other hand, the coins minted in Greece in the Imperial period will naturally be omitted for chronological reasons.

The *corpus* is based exclusively on bibliographical research not on autopsy and as far as classification and chronology of the coins is concerned, I am fully dependent on the published information. Errors or inconsistencies in this original information may of course bias the results (as we will see in the case of Punic coins); a complete verification of the data is, nevertheless, difficult in many cases and impossible in others (many of the coins are not preserved).

As in the case of Roman coins, I excluded from our considerations the coins found in the contexts of the Roman Iron Age (in *Barbaricum*) or Roman Imperial period (in the territories controlled by Rome): in Roman settlements, military camps, hoards or simply together with imperial coins.<sup>202</sup> This rule is not followed in northern Italy where the absolute majority of coins are chance finds localised with precision of a *commune* (if not *provincia*) and naturally accompanied by numerous Roman coins.

All the other coins are considered in theory to have been deposited in the Iron Age. This does not mean that all these coins were necessarily deposited in the La Tène period (nor that those excluded due to their Roman contexts were not). The aim here is not to distinguish between the coins which actually crossed the Alps before and after 0 AD (clearly an impossible task), but drawing a simple and objective rule for establishing our working corpus.

The study area can be divided into two large zones: north-eastern Italy and central Europe. North-eastern Italy will be treated for simplicity’s sake as a single geographical unit consisting of the present day regions of Veneto, Trentino, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, and central and eastern Emilia as well as Romagna. Central Europe is conceived in this chapter as the territory between

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202 Loss of information from sites with settlement continuity is a risk worth running though we may point out the curious case of Vienna, 5 Burgring where eight Greek bronze coins are said to have been found during the construction of the Kunsthistorisches Museum (three pieces of Alexander III, another three of Aeolian Kyme, one Seleucid, and one of Ptolemy IV: *FMRÖ* IX, 58, nos 964–966, 973–975, 978). The discovery might be dismissed as a mere curiosity and most probably a lost modern collection, but it takes up a completely different perspective when viewed against recent discoveries in Vienna (ADLER-WÖLFL 2012; ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015). Although the core of the Vienna agglomeration is located some 2 km further east as the crow flies there are LT pottery finds from Burgring as well and while the Hellenistic coins do not match the Late La Tène *facies* of the Rochusmarkt excavation, it should not be surprising to one day hypothetically find out that the Late La Tène agglomeration in Vienna had a Middle La Tène precursor.

the Rhine and the Danube bend,<sup>203</sup> delimited in the north by the extent of the La Tène Culture, and in the south by the Alps. Unfortunately, publications are available only for certain parts of the eastern Alps, we will nevertheless complement the overview by inclusion of the well published territories of Istria and present-day Slovenia, both considered as parts of ‘Central Europe’ in this study.

Within Central Europe, several regions have been distinguished, defined principally by their natural geographical or cultural boundaries (these are not the same Bohemia, WnCE, and EnCE as in the rest of our study): middle Danube/eastern Alpine (= MD/EA) area corresponding to a strip of land covering Slovenia, the eastern Alpine fringes, Lower Austria, western Slovakia, and Moravia; southern Germany (from the Rhine to Upper Austria, from the Alps to the river Main); and Bohemia (the Bohemian Elbe basin).

The recording of coin finds within this large area is quite uneven. The Greek coins in Transalpine Europe have so far received surprisingly little attention in research<sup>204</sup> with the significant exceptions of Mariusz Mielczarek providing a general overview for the entire central-eastern Europe (MIELCZAREK 1989) and Jiří Militký who studied in detail the situation in Bohemia (e.g. MILITKÝ 2010a; MILITKÝ 2013, 43–46; MILITKÝ 2013c). *Corpora* or other general overviews are available in some regions, in others the overall picture has to be reconstructed from single publications and reports, while others still remain completely obscure.<sup>205</sup> The corpus of Greek coins on which the following considerations are based, cannot be regarded as complete in any way;<sup>206</sup> it is, nevertheless, hopefully sufficiently representative for answering our questions.

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- 203 A key region for study of this issue would be the territory of Hungary, Serbia, and Romania, i.e. the contact area between the Celtic coinages and the Mediterranean world (ΤΟΡΒΆΓΥΙ 1991; ПОРОВИЋ 1987; PĀRPĀUTĀ 2006). The state of publication unfortunately did not make it possible to apply to these regions the same criteria as to central Europe and northern Italy.
- 204 The potential of large-scale collection of numismatic material has been recently demonstrated by Alessandro Cavagna’s study of Ptolemaic coins outside Egypt, comprising over 6,000 coins from an area stretching from Ireland to Afghanistan and from Scandinavia to Sudan (CAVAGNA 2015). Although Cavagna’s approach is in actuality contrary to ours – the complete collection of a single type of Greek coins over the entire area of their distribution rather than complete collection of all Greek coins in a specific area – the basic idea of taking a step back and trying to see the larger picture in order to correctly contextualise dispersed and seemingly meaningless finds remains the same. It is only through a combination of these two approaches that we can hope to get a better understanding of the evidence available.
- 205 *Corpora* of Roman coin finds (the series of FMRZ or their like) are available for parts of Germany, Austria, Slovenia, and Croatia, as well as for the Veneto. Finds of Greek coins in Bohemia have been synthesised in monographs by Jiří Militký (2010a; 2013a) and completed by subsequent reports (e.g. MILITKÝ 2010b; 2010c; 2013b; 2013d). A relatively recent overview by Michael Nick (2006) provides information on southern Germany and the Alpine area. In Moravia, there is the monograph on coins from Nĕmčice nad Hanou (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012) and reports of some finds from its surroundings (KOLNÍKOVÁ – SMRŽ 2007; MILITKÝ 2011a; 2012; 2013c) which complement the dated overview by E. Pochitonov (*Nálezy* 1/2). In Slovakia, syntheses are similarly antiquated (ONDROUCH 1964; KOLNÍKOVÁ – HUNKA 1994) and only completed with reports on single finds. The territory of eastern Europe in general is covered by the overview of Mariusz Mielczarek (1989). Things are completely obscure in Hungary whose FMRZ series covers almost exclusively old collections with no information (or certainty) on coin provenance. Apart from published data, I also had the chance to include several unpublished coins (included in the following charts though not described in the Catalogue). I am grateful to Jiří Militký, Giovanni Gorini, and Lorenzo Passera for sharing unpublished data with me.
- 206 Cavagna (2015, 255–256) correctly points out external factors causing the bias in such transregional *corpora*: within his collection of Ptolemaic coins the United Kingdom and Ireland are the best

The corpus established on the basis of the above criteria is presented in the Catalogue in Appendix III and comprises 544 coins, 315 of which were found in northeastern Italy and 229 in Central Europe. Out of these coins, 80% are made of bronze, 18% of silver, 2% of gold, and there are also a few *fourrés*. These 544 coins were minted in the timespan of the 5<sup>th</sup> to 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC in 45 different areas of the Mediterranean by 97 cities or states and/or 51 rulers.

Such a motley collection is hard to deal with; the coins will therefore be divided into ten large groups based on their place of production: Africa (abbreviated 'Afr'); Punic territories ('Pun'); Greek Sicily (= 'GrSic'); southern Italy (= 'SI'); western Mediterranean (= 'WM'); Etruria and central Italy ('Etr'); the Adriatic (= 'Adr'); mainland Greece, the Aegean islands, the western coast of Asia Minor and Thrace: (= 'GrThMa'); the Near East including inland Asia Minor ('Orient'), and the Ptolemaic territories ('Egy').

### The regional spectra

The comparison of regional (and local) coin spectra from the point of view of these large geographical zones of production has brought out several curious findings (**Fig. 111**).

The composition of the Nĕmčice assemblage is to a great extent similar to the spectrum of the assemblage of the entire East Alpine/Middle Danube area to which Nĕmčice belongs geographically. The most significant difference is in the coins of Greece and Numidia (under-represented and absent respectively in Nĕmčice) and in the Punic coins which are on the contrary present in Nĕmčice in much higher numbers than is the case in the rest of the area.

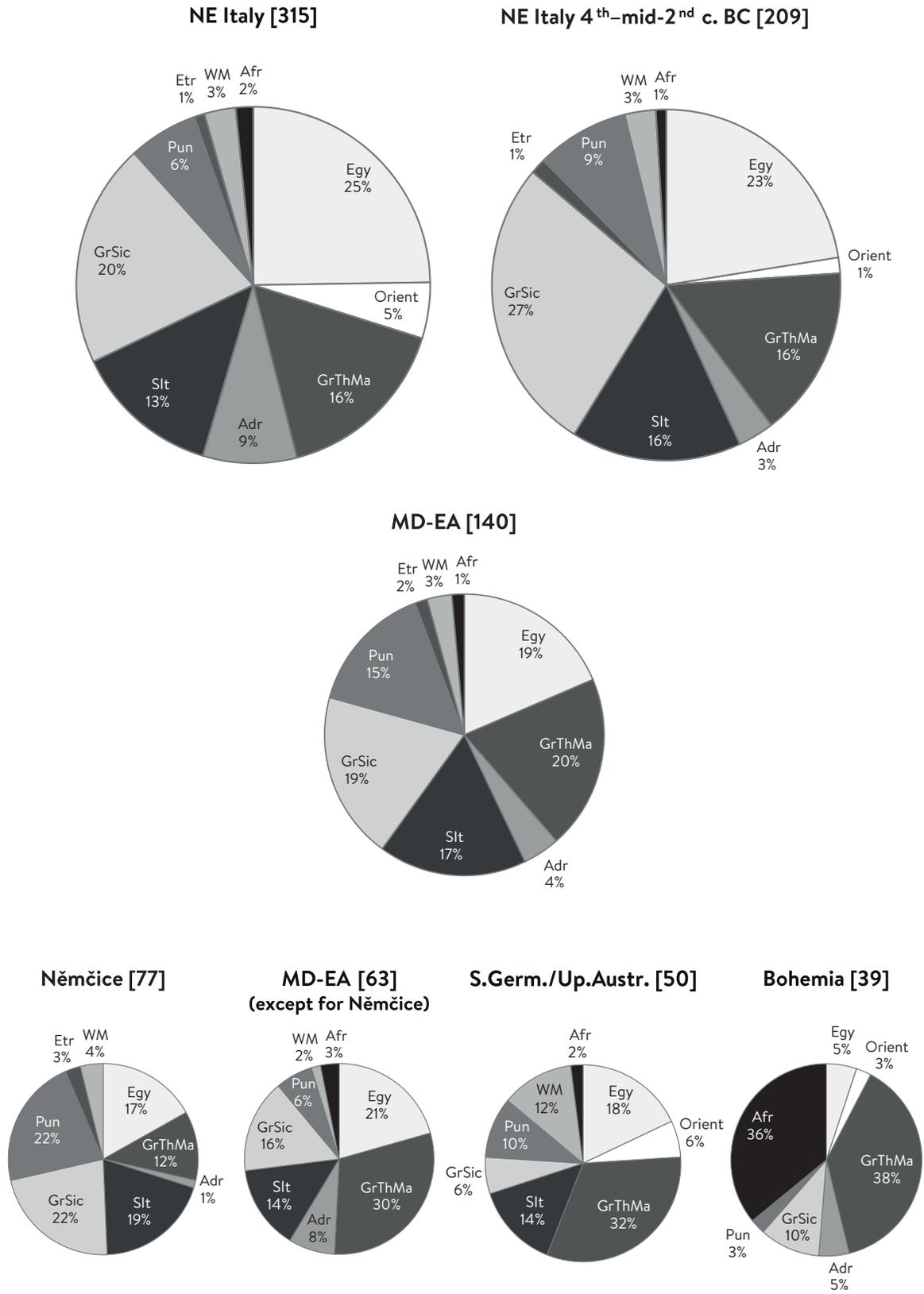
The coin spectrum of NE Italy is very close to that of the EA/MD area. The most significant discrepancies are those of the Punic (9% difference) and Ptolemaic coins (6% difference). These differences disappear if we compare the NE Italian spectrum with the EA/MD area excluding Nĕmčice; in this case on the other hand the proportion of the coins of Greece rises considerably in Central Europe, becoming almost double that of NE Italy. In all the other groups, the difference is 4–5% at most.

The NE Italian facies is to a certain extent comparable also with that of southern Germany. The comparison between the latter and that of the EA/MD area shows that some variations may be caused by simple geographical factors – e.g. southern Germany lacks Adriatic coins while in contrast Massaliote coins are unknown further east. In comparison with the other areas, southern Germany is characterised by a higher representation of coins of mainland Greece and smaller quantities of those from Sicily; remarkably there are the relatively numerous Oriental pieces. These variations may be, nevertheless, caused by the smaller size of the southern German assemblage (50 coins in comparison with 140 from EA/MD and 315 from NE Italy) in which each coin can change the proportions more significantly than in larger collections.

The so far rather uniform picture changes radically in Bohemia. The assemblage is once again rather small (39 coins); almost three quarters of it consists of coins of mainland Greece and Numidia. In comparison with the other studied areas, the occurrence of Ptolemaic, Punic, Adriatic, and Oriental coins is rather sporadic, the coins of Magna Graecia are completely absent, while the 10% of Siceliot coins mostly have quite murky find circumstances. We

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represented non-Mediterranean area, featuring 317 coins and following the territories of present day Turkey (2,814), Greece (1,509), and Italy (607 pieces). The figures for the British Isles remain very high even when we subtract the 222 coins from a single hoard. Rather than a privileged role for Britain in trade with Egypt, the explanation is of course in the specific British metal detector legislation. Rather than an over-representation of Britain we should therefore talk about an under-representation of the other regions theoretically richer in finds. More importantly, this case makes clear that the phenomena we are observing in a relatively limited area of central Europe very probably form part of a larger story playing out in the entirety of transalpine Europe.



**Fig. 111: The facies of Greek coin finds in various parts of Central Europe and in NE Italy.**

should also mention that many of the Bohemian finds come from a single site, the oppidum of Stradonice (all the Numidian coins but one, a 4<sup>th</sup> century BC bronze minted in Aetolian Kyme, a drachma of Apollonia in Illyria and a bronze of Hieron II of Syracuse). The peak of the occupation of Stradonice between the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC suggests that these coins must have been deposited at least several decades after those found in Nĕmčice. Some of the Stradonice pieces (e.g. the bronzes of Kyme and Syracuse) would fit nicely into the Nĕmčice collection; the Numidian bronzes on the other hand have no analogy in Nĕmčice.

### Three chronological horizons

These considerations imply that many of the discrepancies between the regional/local *facies* may be caused by chronological reasons. The relative under-representation of coins of Greece proper and Macedonia in the Nĕmčice collection is well explained by the observation that other Greek, Macedonian, and Thracian coins in the rest of the EA/MD area and elsewhere in the studied regions date to the 4<sup>th</sup>–early 3<sup>rd</sup> or on the contrary to the 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC; the majority of the coins found in Nĕmčice were struck between the first half/mid-3<sup>rd</sup> and mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, a date corresponding with the general chronology of the site. Also the absence of Numidian coins in Nĕmčice while these are represented in huge quantities in Stradonice and present in other Late La Tène contexts (Manching, the Oberleiserberg, the Mazin type hoards) suggests that the widespread dissemination of these coins in Central Europe must have occurred only in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, i.e. after the abandonment of Nĕmčice.

We may tentatively distinguish three chronological horizons for the influx of Greek coins into central Europe:

1) The earliest horizon is represented mainly by coins minted in mainland Greece and Macedonia in the 4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. These are evenly distributed throughout Central Europe but are relatively rare in northern Italy.

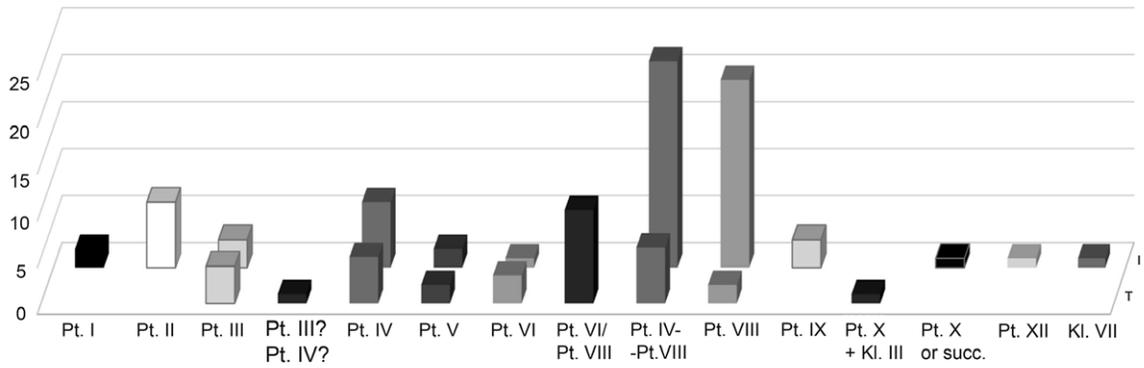
2) The Nĕmčice horizon consists of a varied mixture of Siceliot, Italiot, Ptolemaic, Punic and other coins dated predominantly to the 3<sup>rd</sup>–first half of 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC. This horizon is characterised by significant similarities to the find spectra of NE Italy, EA/MD area, and southern Germany, while Bohemia seems to have participated only completely marginally. It is hard to say if the coins of Ptolemy VIII are to be classed in this or the following horizon: the long life and reign of this monarch (including repeated enthronements and deposals) covered the last two thirds of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. The coins of the following Ptolemids are exceptional anywhere in the study area.

3) The most recent chronological horizon consists mostly of Numidian coins; the only other major group are the Adriatic coins. Oriental coins appear occasionally, mostly from Asia Minor, and several coins come from the cities of Greece proper (Athens, Thasos, Rhodes), Thrace, and (by this time already Roman) Macedonia. Also, in this phase we can observe a certain correspondence between the spectra of northern Italy and central Europe with the significant exception of Numidian pieces, which are only anecdotally attested in Italy while extremely plentiful in the western Balkans and in western Europe (FISCHER 1978; VISONÀ 2013; 2014).

### Regional spectra - the cities and authorities

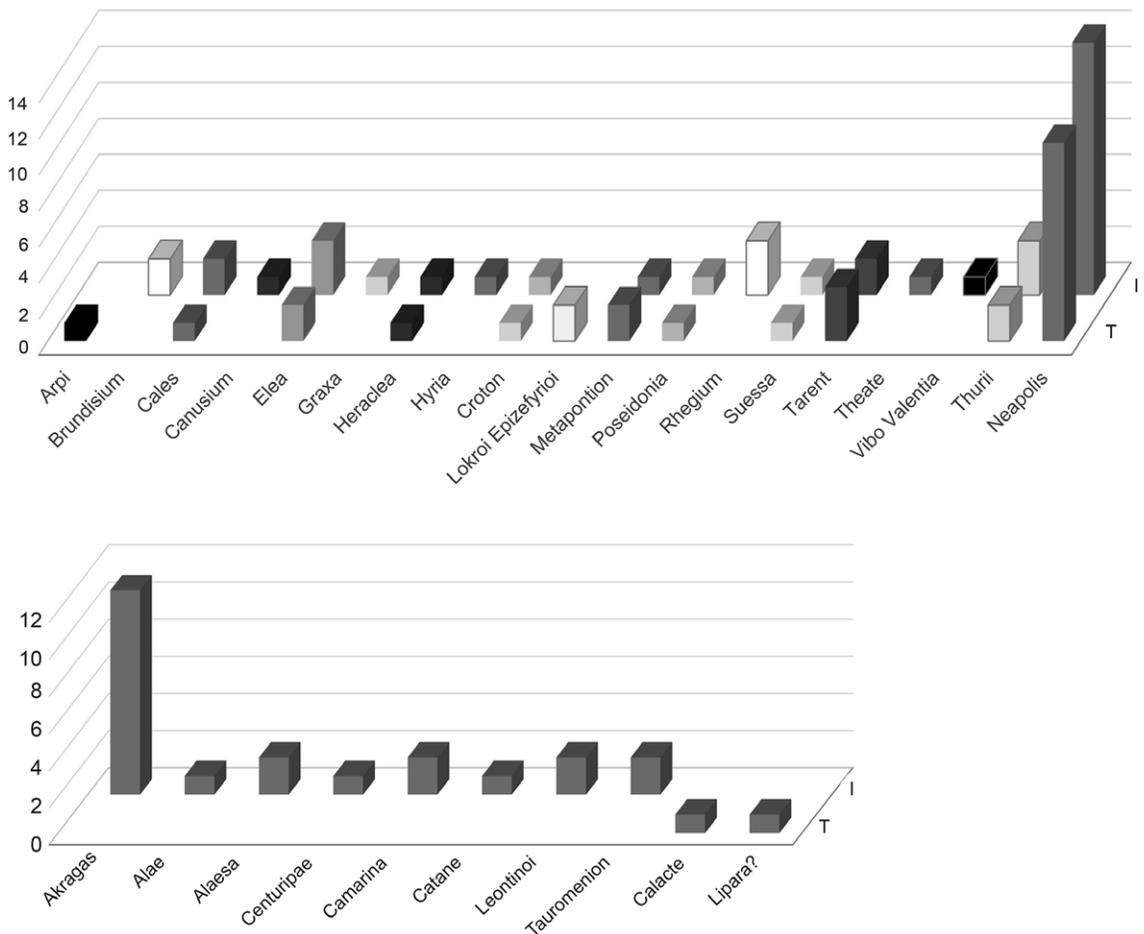
The remarkable extent to which North Italian and Central European coin spectra correlate in terms of the broad area of their origin is worth analysing in more detail on the level of the single issuing cities or rulers.

In the case of Ptolemaic coins (**Fig. 112**) Italy and Central Europe (for which cf. MILITKÝ 2013c) follow the same path beginning with Ptolemy III (Ptolemy I and II are attested basically only in Italy). The coins of Ptolemy III–V are documented by several pieces on both sides of the



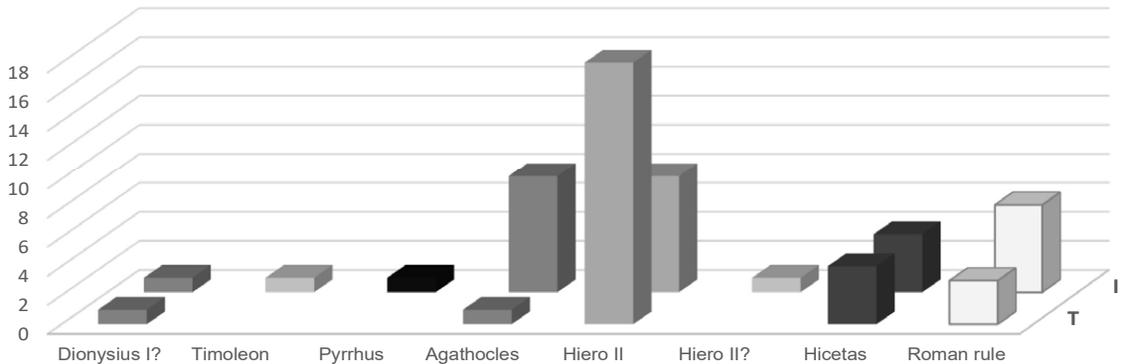
**Fig. 112: Comparison of Ptolemaic coins in NE Italy (I) and Transalpine Europe (T).**

Alps followed by a massive increase during the reigns of Ptolemy VI (180/176–164/163–145 BC) and Ptolemy VIII (169–163/144–116 BC). It is worth recalling that the latter two rulers were in fact brothers engaged in a long lasting mutual conflict and repeatedly replacing each other on the throne, with the aid of Rome (closely linked to the Lagids already from the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC on).



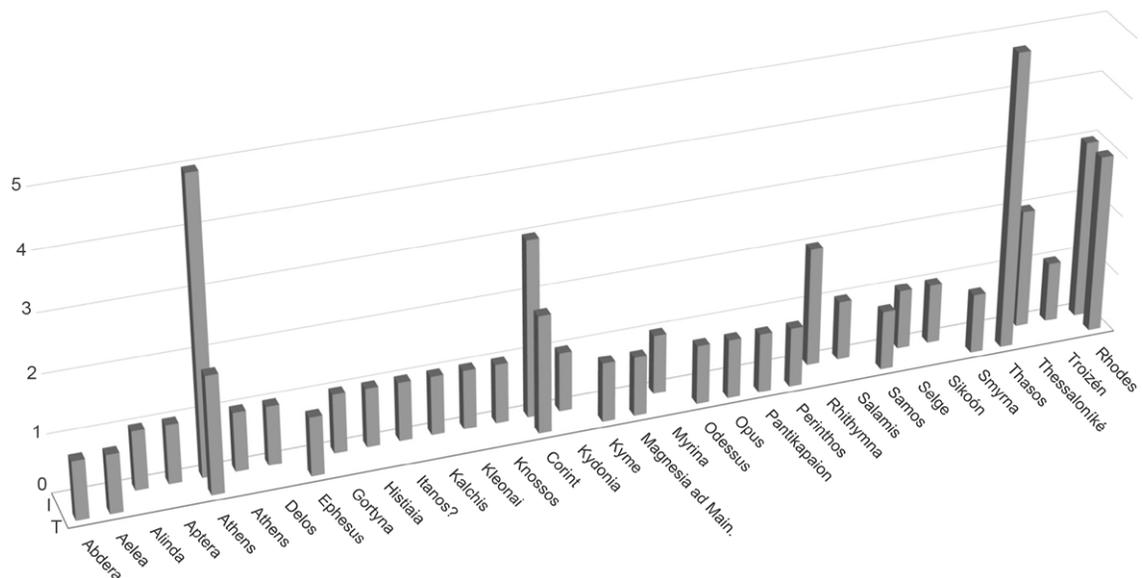
**Fig. 113: Comparison of Italiot and Siciliot coins in NE Italy (I) and Transalpine Europe (T).**

The Italiot and Siceliot cities (**Fig. 113**) are often represented by only single examples in the collection. However, in cases where there are at least two of them, they are evenly distributed on both sides of the Alps. In this way, Italy and central Europe correspond with each other in representation and even the proportions of the coins of Naples, Tarentum, Thurii, and Veleia. Only Rhegion and mainly Akragas are represented by relatively numerous coins (three and eleven respectively) found in northern Italy without any equivalents in central Europe.



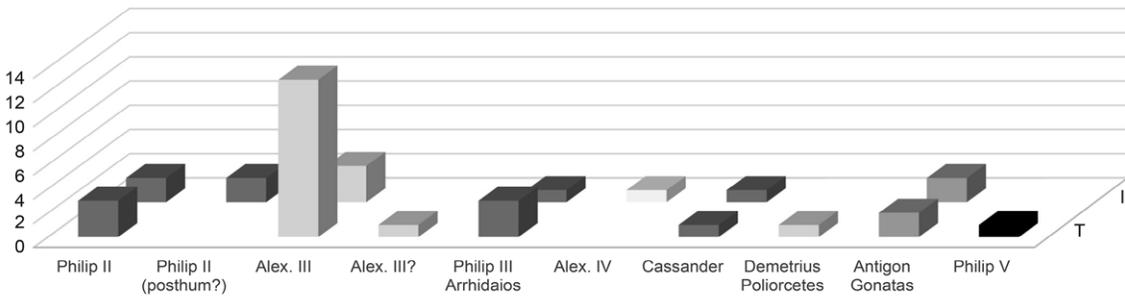
**Fig. 114: Comparison of Syracusan coins in NE Italy (I) and Transalpine Europe (T).**

The extraordinary role of Syracuse among the Siceliot cities is reflected also by its coin finds in the north (**Fig. 114**). Syracuse is one of the best represented cities and the majority of its coin finds are those issued by Hieron II (269–215 BC). Hieron’s coins are represented on both sides of the Alps, unusually with finds by one third more numerous in central Europe than in north-eastern Italy. The only other coins represented in both areas are those of Hiketas (289/288–279/278 BC) and those minted in Syracuse under the authority of Rome. Other Syracusan coins are rather few and present in north-eastern Italy rather than in central Europe.



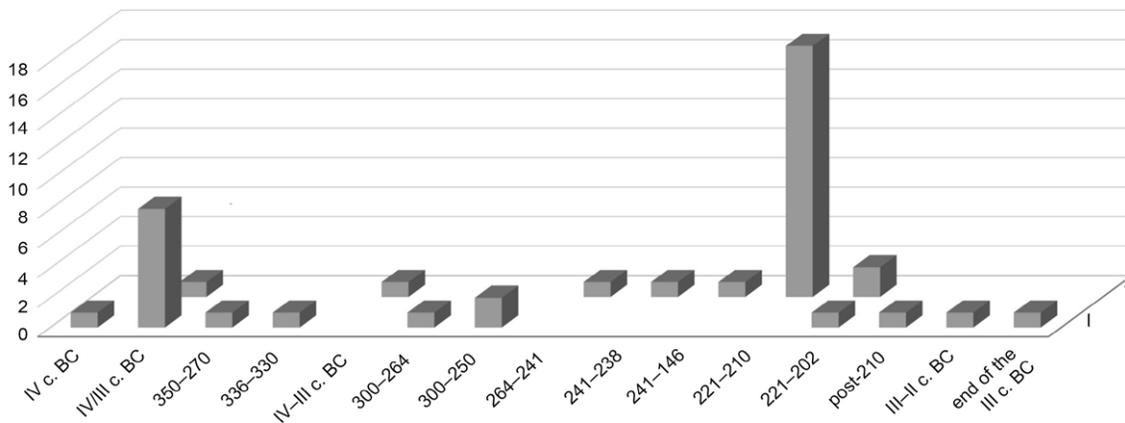
**Fig. 115: Comparison of coins of the Greek mainland and western Asia Minor in NE Italy (I) and Transalpine Europe (T).**

Similarly to the Italiot *poleis*, the cities of Greece proper (**Fig. 115**) are usually represented each by a single coin; multiple finds from a single city are rare but are again regularly distributed between Italy and Transalpine Europe. This is the case of the politically and economically most significant cities of Hellenistic Greece, such as Athens, Corinth, and Rhodes. The coins of Thasos are worth attention because they are represented by numerous examples in Central Europe but by none in northern Italy; absence in northern Italy of coins of this north Aegean (substantially Thracian) island becomes clearer in the context of the distribution of Macedonian coins.



**Fig. 116: Comparison of Macedonian coins in NE Italy (I) and Transalpine Europe (T).**

The coins minted by the kings of Macedonia (**Fig. 116**) are the first case of an essential discrepancy between cis- and transalpine facies. In northern Italy, these coins are substantially scarcer than in central Europe, represented by fewer finds issued by smaller variety of authorities. In comparison with 26 coins found in central Europe, north-eastern Italy yielded only 11, five of which come from a single find-spot, Cortaccia/Kurtasch in Alto Adige;<sup>207</sup> the remaining include four coins of Philip II (two of which probably posthumous), one of Alexander, and one of Antigon. In contrast, central Europe produced coins of all the Macedonian rulers from Philip II to Antigon as well as by Philip V. Alexander III himself is represented by 16 or 17 pieces.<sup>208</sup>



**Fig. 117: Comparison of Punic coins in NE Italy (I) and Transalpine Europe (T).**

207 Here are we not misled by the present day political geography and should we consider the Tyrolean find-spot as belonging to Central Europe rather than Italy?

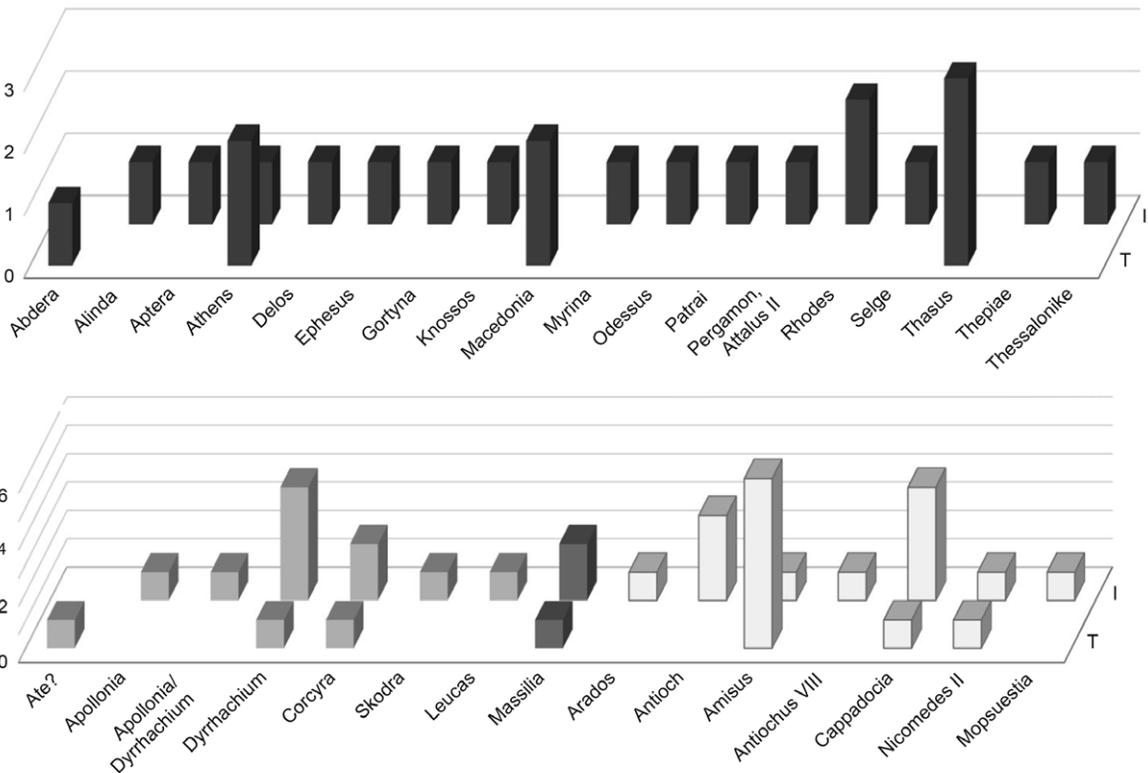
208 Some of these are, however, not preserved and it is not impossible that some of them may have been local imitations (type Athena Niké) rather than original Macedonian mints. It is also impossible

Another case of disparity between the north Italian and central European coin assemblages is that of the Punic coins (**Fig. 117**). While the central European finds are with few exceptions dated to the times of the First and mainly the Second Punic wars, the dateable north Italian finds mostly predate these events. In reality, this difference is only apparent. The relatively numerous Punic coins from northern Italy are dated only very broadly to ‘4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup>’, ‘3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup>’, or late ‘3<sup>rd</sup>’ century BC, whereas the central European finds were classified in a bolder way to precise dates. In reality, both classifications may and very probably do overlap.

**The ‘oppida period’**

The tendencies described above apply mostly to the first two chronological horizons of Greek coin influx into central Europe, in particular to the better represented second one: more than half of all the studied coins were minted in the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup>-first half of 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (the second horizon), 18% date to the 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century BC (first horizon), 11% percent can be dated to 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries spanning both first horizons.

The situation changes in many respects if we focus on the most recent coins, struck between the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> and mid-/last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (**Fig. 118**); these make up only 16% of all the studied pieces (another 4% can be only dated very broadly to the 3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century BC). We



**Fig. 118: Greek coins discovered in Transalpine Europe (T) and northeast Italy (I) - 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. Dark grey - Greece and Anatolian coast; light grey - the Adriatic coast; medium grey - western Mediterranean; white - inland Asia Minor and Syria.**

to decide which of the authentic Mediterranean coins were struck during Alexander’s lifetime and which are posthumous.

can omit the Ptolemaic coins (after Ptolemy VIII their influx comes to a sudden and almost total halt in both NE Italy and Central Europe). The disappearance of Punic, Siceliot, and Italiot coins is no big surprise as these political entities had by that time lost their independence or all significance at the expense of Rome. As already mentioned, several times, Numidian coins enter the scene in this period in relatively large numbers covering large areas of Europe. The only actually Greek coins still arriving (though in limited quantities) in both the studied areas are those of Greece proper, as well as the Adriatic and – newcomers in the scene – Oriental ones. Unlike the very incoherent Greek group, there is a nice correspondence between both areas in the Adriatic issues (Corcyra, Dyrrhacium, Apollonia). The sudden appearance of Oriental coins can probably be connected with the beginning of a Roman presence in Asia Minor first and the Near East later (let us note that the returnees from the 6<sup>th</sup> Syrian war suggested by Noeske failed to bring any Oriental coins to Nĕmčice or Central Europe). Not only Oriental coins appear at this point simultaneously both in NE Italy and Central Europe but there is a remarkable correspondence between the finds from both these regions. One coin of Nicomedes II of Bythynia was found in Santorso (Veneto) and another one in Dalkingen (Baden-Württemberg); one coin minted in Amisus under Mithridates VI comes from Feltre (Veneto) and an alleged hoard of six such pieces was discovered in Vaihingen (again Baden-Württemberg). This overview of Oriental coins may be completed with a supposedly Seleucid 3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century bronze coin recovered from the Late La Tène<sup>209</sup> settlement Řepov in central Bohemia. The only potential irregularity in this late Oriental horizon is a tetradrachm of Ariarathos IV of Cappadocia found in the oppidum of the Staffelberg in northern Bavaria. The coin dated to the late 3<sup>rd</sup>/early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC could have theoretically already been deposited before the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC in view of the site's unbroken occupation from LT A through to LT D when its occupation peaked. A hoard of Cappadocian coins of the first half of 1<sup>st</sup> century BC is known from Meolo in Veneto.

The mediatory role of northern Italy still seems highly probable in this case; the distribution of coins of this last horizon nevertheless features an obvious concentration of Oriental coins in the western part of Central Europe.

### **An African digression**

The case of Punic and Numidian coins requires a slight digression from our working area. We have seen in the previous pages that both are relatively well represented and, coming from the same broad geographical area and representing two successive chronological horizons, they almost give the impression of Numidian coins replacing their Punic counterparts. This impression is further strengthened by their co-occurrence in various contexts and regions outside our working area.

Among these the most conspicuous are the so-called Mazin type hoards. These often huge accumulations of bronze coins but also raw bronze were hoarded along the Dalmatian coast and inland during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (MIRNIK 1981; 1987). The bronze coinage deposited in these hoards consists mostly of Punic and Numidian coins, supplemented by much less numerous Sicilian and Ptolemaic pieces. Association of 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC Punic coins (characteristic of our second chronological horizon in central Europe) in closed contexts with Numidian coinage (belonging in central Europe to the later 'oppida period' horizon) shows first and foremost that in the Adriatic, Punic coinage kept living its own life for a long time after the end of the Hannibalic war. This cannot be ignored when considering the role of Punic and Greek coinage in general in central Europe. Second, the quantities of Numidian coinage in the Mazin type

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209 Though the Roman Iron Age is also represented in the site.

hoards but also the numerous single finds elsewhere in the Japodic region show that their presence in Central Europe is only a part of a larger picture and that the central European finds cannot be understood in isolation.

As a matter of fact, even taking into account the Mazin type hoards, the focus is still too narrow to explain satisfactorily the movements of Punic and Numidian coinage in Europe. Another considerable concentration can be found in Gaul, both on the southern coast and surprisingly in the territory of Gallia Belgica, and even in southern Britain (FISCHER 1978; PARGNY – CELAURO 2013; MANFREDI 2013).

Paolo Visonà recently produced an extremely useful inventory of Numidian coin finds all across the Mediterranean and transalpine Europe (VISONÀ 2013; 2014). He most correctly dismissed some event-based explanations and even though his own interpretation of the phenomenon is based on sound considerations, it is very narrowly focused on the Adriatic coast. In my opinion, the evidence suggests that Numidian coins form part of a larger story which we can only understand better if we combine the evidence of both Punic and Numidian coins over their entire distribution area (at least in temperate Europe) and production period. This is however a task for a future study.

#### SEVERAL CERTAINTIES AND INTERMEDIATE REFLECTIONS

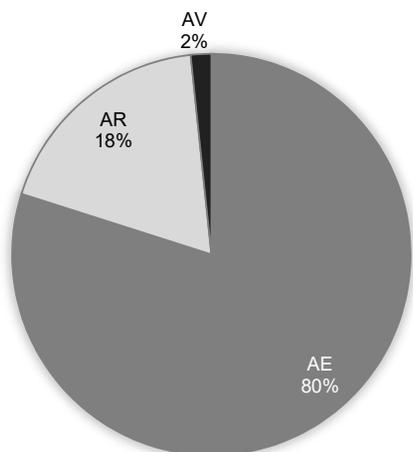
- 1) The majority of the Greek coins found in central Europe have their counterparts in NE Italy in terms of both typology and of the percentage of their representation.
- 2) Indices such as the scarcity of Macedonian and the absence of Numidian coins in northern Italy as opposed to the situation on the other side of the Alps and, on the contrary, the very good correspondence between both regions in the (mid-)3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC supports the idea of three chronological horizons of the Greek coins' influx into Central Europe: the 'Macedonian', 'Němčice' and 'the oppida' periods' horizons. In the second of these, Italy played the role of the principal if not the only intermediary through which these coins entered Central Europe.
- 3) Among the coins of the second chronological horizon, the best correlations between the two regions can be seen in the coinage of the Ptolemids (from the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> but mainly in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC), of Hieron II of Syracuse and (e.g.) of Naples (mid-4<sup>th</sup>-late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC) or Rhodes. The correspondence between the two areas is least obvious in the case of Macedonian coins and doubtful in that of the Punic ones. These arguments compromise seriously the interpretations of mercenaries returning from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Punic War as the vehicle through which the coins of the Němčice horizon reached Central Europe. The best correspondences are documented with the coinages of Roman allies while the Celtic mercenaries (no mention of their origin in central Europe is ever made in the written sources) served exclusively in Hannibal's army.
- 4) The correspondence between the regional facies of NE Italy, southern Germany and EA/MD area is so significant that I find it improbable that they could have come into existence independently from each other, through direct individual contacts between central Europe and the Mediterranean in which northern Italy played only the role of a stop-over for mercenaries returning from Sicily or Egypt. Much more probably, the transalpine *facies* of the second and partly also of the third chronological horizon came into existence as a result of contact of the Danubian zone with northern Italy and/or NW Balkans. The coins were being carried across the Alps not randomly and individually but intentionally and more or less in bulk (though hardly on a single occasion). This must have happened already when the characteristic local facies had come into existence in NE Italy.

- 5) My point is not to discredit completely the idea of mercenaries bearing coins or other partially event-based explanations. They maintain their validity mainly for the first 'Macedonian' horizon (cf. MILITKÝ 2013; 2013a) and must be taken into account in further attempts to better understand the role of Punic coins. In general, however, the role of individual and event-based aspects on the overall explanation should be considered rather marginal.
- 6) Ancient historiography comes in much more useful in understanding the events and processes which may have directed the movement of these coins in the Mediterranean and which brought them to NE Italy / NW Balkans as the departure points of their journey across the Alps. Also in this case we should be wary not to imagine the coins being set in motion simply by one war or another; each group could have been governed by specific factors: the Punic wars or rather their repercussions in the case of the Punic coins, the friendly relations between Rome and Egypt for the Ptolemaic issues, Roman control over the East in the case of the Oriental pieces, and simply local commerce in the case of Adriatic coins.
- 7) The regular distribution of the coins beyond the Alps and in the north of the Balkan peninsula (cf. the Mazin type hoards) is in my opinion due to secondary movement of these pieces in the Transalpine area. This movement could have been of long duration (see the coins of Hieron not only in Nĕmčice and Roseldorf but also in much later Stradonice and Devín). This movement must not be mistaken with coin circulation, but it still presupposes in my opinion a function for these coins beyond the Alps.

#### THE FUNCTION OF GREEK COINS BEYOND THE ALPS: SEVERAL HYPOTHESES

Doubts about the monetary function of these coins in Italy and in the Transalpine area stem from the simple fact that the absolute majority of them are made of bronze (**Fig. 119**); of all the coins studied here bronze makes up as much as 80%, while 18% are made of silver and 2% of gold. As in many other respects, the ratios between the metals are almost identical in all the studied areas. In Italy gold coins are almost absent while bronze and silver are represented in the ratio 79 : 21, in central Europe 80% of bronze is complemented by 4% of gold and 16% of silver.

There is no question about the meaning of gold and silver coins; both in Italy and beyond the Alps they were simply units of precious metal, whether used in transactions by them-



**Fig. 119: Greek coins in NE Italy and Transalpine Europe: proportion of coin metals.**

selves or conceived as raw material for recasting. Recent finds of gold coins of Alexander III clearly prove that these coins reached central Europe from very early times (MILITKÝ 2012; 2013b; 2013c).

The majority of early gold but also many silver coins are of Macedonian origin. This is quite understandable considering the role of Macedonian models in establishing the local coinage (cf. below and e.g. MILITKÝ 2015b). It is more significant which regions are *not* represented by coins in precious metals. One more comparison between NE Italian and central European finds spectra, limited this time only to gold and silver coinage (Fig. 120), shows substantial differences. While the Macedonian silver and gold coins are represented by almost twice as many pieces in central Europe than in Italy (21 : 11), other issuing areas are virtually or completely absent on the Transalpine side. Also, in the best represented coinage from Greece proper, there is little correspondence between the two regions: the dominant Thraco-Macedonian facies characteristic of central Europe corresponds with the motley north Italian one only in the coins of Athens and Corinth.

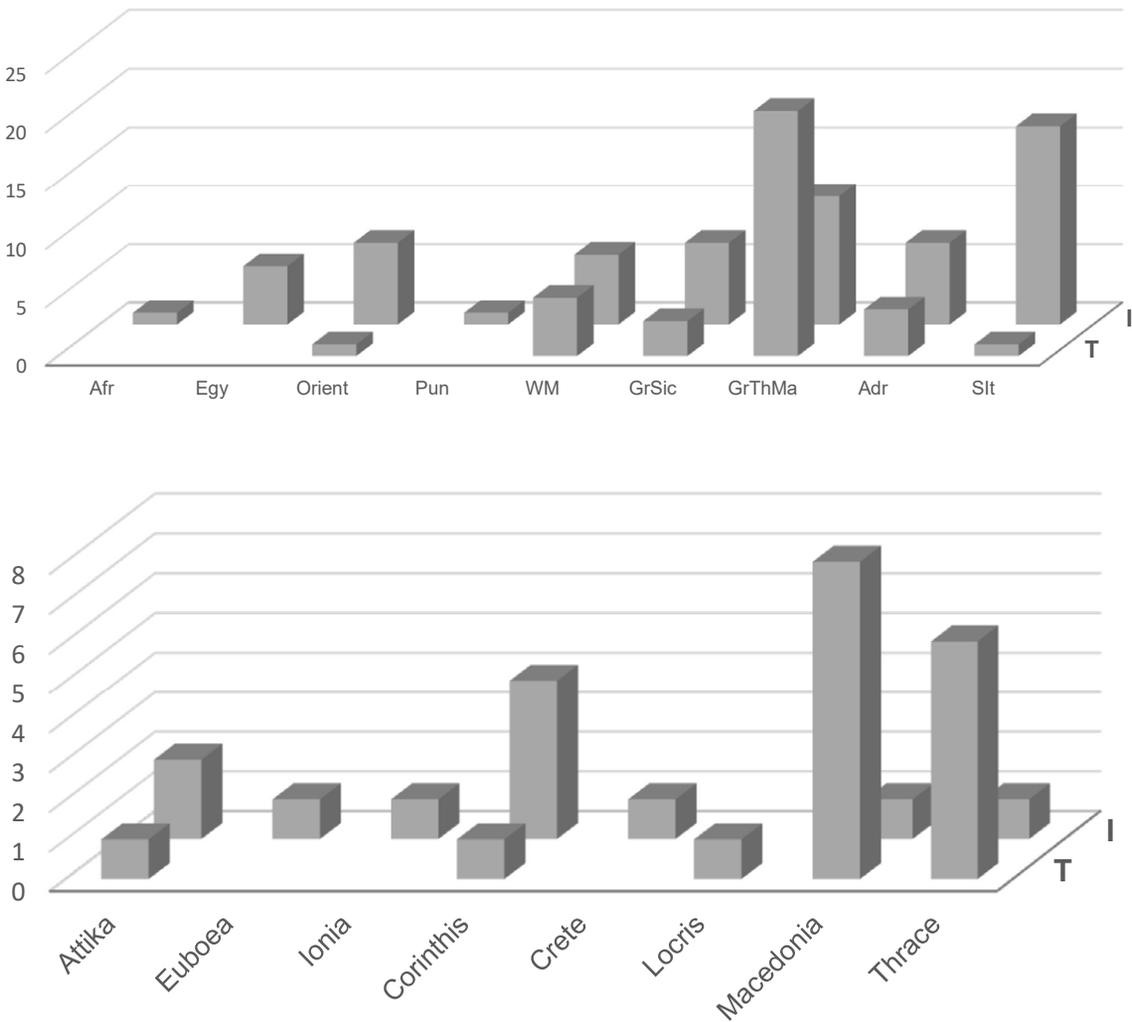


Fig. 120: Above - Comparison of gold and silver Greek coins in NE Italy (I) and Transalpine Europe (T). Below - Comparison of gold and silver coins from mainland Greece and Asia Minor in NE Italy (I) and Transalpine Europe (T).

The Němčice horizon does not seem to manifest itself in central Europe (unlike in Italy) by finds of gold and silver pieces, and the bulk of the imported coinage consists of bronze pieces, whose monetary value only applied in their home territory outside which (in northern Italy, let alone in central Europe) they became nothing but somewhat funny pieces of metal.

Still they need not have been completely worthless (cf. e.g. PICARD 1998). Bronze coins are explicitly mentioned e.g. within the 'humanitarian aid' sent in 224 BC by Ptolemy III to the Rhodians affected by an earthquake (Polyb. v, 89). The example of the Mazin type hoards mentioned above (MIRNIK 1981; BERTOL – FARAC 2012) clearly shows that (albeit in distant and culturally different areas), bronze coins were systematically collected and hoarded (along with scrap raw bronze). It is still unclear whether the Mazin type hoards should be interpreted as caches of raw material for further production or whether the bronze was hoarded because of its value. We must not forget, in fact, that although bronze is used for production of 'worthless' fiduciary coins, it is still metal with a certain intrinsic value. Raw bronze (*aes rude*) is believed to have been the earliest form of expressing value by the Italic nations, and e.g. by Celts in the Po valley as Charon's obol down to the Late La Tène period (BERGONZI – PIANA-AGOSTINETTI 1987). The monetary system of some Italic nations (including Rome herself) was based exclusively on bronze (*aes signatum*) down to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (CATTANI 1987; NERI 2004). In practical terms: by simply adding up the weight of all the Mediterranean bronze coins found in Němčice itself we arrive at 810 g of bronze. Most of this weight is made up by the huge Ptolemaic bronzes weighing as much as 50 g each; even two normal coins would, however, produce enough material for a chain-belt link or any other of the locally produced bronze trinkets (ČIŽMÁŘ – KOLNÍKOVÁ 2006; ČIŽMÁŘ – KOLNÍKOVÁ – NOESKE 2008). The question, whether bronze was for the Cis- and Transalpine Celts only material or whether it had also some value is rather academic: bronze must have been to a certain extent valuable material.

The idea that Greek bronze coins may have been imported as a source of bronze (cf. already MILITKÝ 2013, 43) does not rely on actual evidence; it is clear, nevertheless, that the cultural and economic transformations occurring in the Transalpine world in LT B2–C1 required a significant increase of raw materials of all kinds, bronze most of all. In the case of glass, we may be sure that the material came exclusively from the Mediterranean (VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2009) and we may hypothesise that bronze ingots or scrap bronze may have travelled along the same route.

This hypothesis is naturally contradicted by the virtual absence of other imported bronze objects of clearly Mediterranean origin in central Europe in the 3<sup>rd</sup>–early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. A possible explanation would be these coins arriving via the NW Balkans rather than NE Italy – virtually the same facies is found in both zones. In that case one would be surprised not to find in central Europe hoards similar to those of the Mazin type, but we need not stretch that analogy too far.

The idea of coins as a source of raw material can be developed also in another direction. We need not doubt that gold and silver coinage imported to central Europe was re-cast into local coins (MOTYKOVÁ – DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1984a; FRÖHLICH 2012). We might also expect that bronze coins crossed the Alps as intruders in assemblages of gold or silver coins and started their Transalpine life when recognised for what they were and sorted out while the coins of precious metals were recast under strict control.

We cannot leave without comment the idea of mercenaries as the main bearers of coins to central Europe (leaving aside for now the not unimportant question of whether any mercenaries actually went to the Mediterranean from Central Europe). The soldiers of Hellenistic armies (LAUNEY 1950/1987, 735–764, 753–763) – mercenaries or not – were paid two sorts of wages: *misthos*, the actual salary paid in silver (4–8 obols a day = 200–400 drachmas per year)

or directly in gold (Polyaenus IV, 6). The bronze coins found in central Europe can therefore have nothing to do with *misthos*. Apart from *misthos* paid at the end of service, the mercenaries were also given the so-called *sitos*, i.e. means necessary for their everyday existence. Though preferably given to them directly as vital goods, the commanders could also (in order to get rid of the complicated logistics) pass the responsibility for these supplies to private hands and give the mercenaries money (roughly three obols or their equivalent in bronze a day; TAGLIAMONTE 1994, 160–163). In this way barbarian mercenaries obviously could have become familiarised with the concept of fiduciary coinage. A different question is, why they would take hundreds of these coins (and only the coins, given the dearth of other imports!) with them back to central Europe. Though intelligence is not a quality most usually associated with mercenaries, they must have understood that their home societies had hardly developed economies based on fiduciary coinage while they were away in Mediterranean lands and that their coins were going to be useless in their homeland.

Noeske (ČIŽMÁŘ – KOLNÍKOVÁ – NOESKE 2008, 687) explains this paradox by a legitimate suggestion that the Greek coins were actually brought to Němčice by the returning mercenaries in order to be dedicated in a hypothetical sanctuary. Although the excavations of the sanctuaries of nearby Roseldorf did not produce any obvious examples of coin dedications (at least none are mentioned in the reports: HOLZER 2009; DEMBSKI 2009) this may be caused by the diversity of cults exercised in Němčice and in Roseldorf. A hint at the presence of a sanctuary in Němčice lies, in Noeske's opinion, in the numerous small bronze animal and human statuettes. The presence of statuary in the Němčice horizon settlements is far from clearly explained and a cultic function is not excluded (GOLÁŇOVÁ – KYSELA 2019); association of coins and small figural bronzes would liken Němčice clearly with the contemporary Venetic sanctuaries such as Este Baratella, Villa di Villa (MAIOLI – MASTROCINQUE 1992), San Pietro Montagnon (DAMMER 1986) or Lagole (FOGOLARI – GAMBACURTA 2001). Significantly for our topic, the few known find contexts of Greek coins in northern Italy are often sanctuaries (e.g. GORINI 1995, 94). It also makes sense – dedicating to a divinity was the best thing one could do with these nice little and otherwise quite useless objects.

Should we admit, nevertheless, that the Greek coins found in Němčice were votive offerings dedicated in a hypothetical local sanctuary, we recognise their actual function, no matter how symbolic and we may presuppose a demand for them in order to satisfy the need to fulfil this function. The mercenaries become unnecessary at this point or they may have been just one of many means of coin transmission. The important thing is not the means but rather the reasons and in my opinion these have to be looked for in the function of the coins in central Europe.

A coin is one of two things: a given amount of metal and an image confirming it. We have spoken above about metal but a brief mention must be made also about the images. The peak of the site of Němčice and also of the 'Němčice horizon' of Greek coin influx to central Europe dates to a very particular moment in the history of Transalpine Europe – a moment of transformation of society, transformation of the economy requiring raw materials but also a transformation of La Tène Art, which is discovering at this moment a sudden interest in imagery. It is the moment of transition between the enigmatic and polyvalent abstract and elitist art of the Early and Middle La Tène periods on the one hand and of the straightforward, iconic and to a certain extent democratic art of the oppida period on the other (KYSELA 2018/2019b, 151–153).

The Greek coins bear very evocative and strong images which must have made the objects of extraordinary interest for their Transalpine observers. No matter in what way these coins crossed the Alps, the local society was at its most receptive in its cultural development to

appreciate them as bearers of iconographic message. This may be just a guess without much material support (few reliable contexts, mostly not telling much; total absence of Greek coins in graves; with a single exception<sup>210</sup> none of the studied coins was pierced to be worn on the neck as was common later in the Roman Iron Age).<sup>211</sup> One object proves clearly, nevertheless, that the inhabitants of the Middle La Tène Transalpine area were not indifferent to Greek coins as an iconographic medium – it is the faïence disc from Jenišův Újezd, gr. 138 (CASTELIN 1978; VENCLOVÁ 1978; VENCLOVÁ 1991, 110, 263) imitating probably mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century Romano-Campanian silver coins. The object makes clear that coins were objects of interest, that they were possessed and, if not available, imitated in materials other than metal. At the same time, its material – faïence – is not at all characteristic of transalpine workshops and it is very likely an import from outside Central Europe (VENCLOVÁ 1978; 1991).

#### TO SUM UP

Based on a corpus which is certainly not complete and assembled through some admittedly courageous premises, we can suggest some conclusions.

- 1) The influx of Greek coins into central Europe can be divided into three chronological horizons the first of which (in the 4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC) may have been to a great extent due to a direct contact with the eastern Mediterranean and Greece proper while in the middle ('Němčice') and late ('oppida period') the mediatory role of Italy comes to the fore.
- 2) The coins of the first and third horizon penetrated in a capillary way the entire central Europe, in both cases probably from several directions. In the Němčice horizon on the other hand the 'Amber route corridor' is extraordinarily well represented while in southern Germany the coins of this horizon are much rarer and in Bohemia almost absent.
- 3) The majority of Greek coins in central Europe (that is mostly the coins of the second and third horizon) reflect the contacts of central Europe with northern Italy or the NW Balkans and there is no need to imagine contacts between central Europe and the areas where these coins were issued. The contacts through which the coins crossed the Alps need not have started at an extremely early date – the foundation of Aquileia in 181 BC is not out of place as the starting point of the second horizon, even though many of these coins predate it by many decades.
- 4) The comparison and remarkable mutual correspondence of the individual regional spectra make any explanation based on specific historical events (e.g. Punic, Syrian or other wars) unlikely, let alone individual activities (such as the return of Celtic mercenaries); the idea of migrations of the Boii after their defeat by the Romans is completely out of place. As usual, event-based explanations fail to account for the full complexity of the material record when analysed in detail while a processual approach proves much more suitable.

210 A *fourré* of a drachma of Apollonia in Illyria from Stradonice, today in the Fürstenberg collection in Křivoklát castle (MILITKÝ 2015, n° 2441).

211 This practice was in general very uncommon before the beginning of the Christian era and only became common in the middle Imperial period. The few perforated coins from La Tène areas universally feature a hole in their centre rather than near the edge and therefore were intended for fixing to a solid surface rather than for suspension (DOYEN 2013).

- 5) The diffusion of Mediterranean coins into central Europe suggests a function for them there though we cannot be sure what that function was. The various ideas presented here – raw bronze, intruders in hoards of silver or gold coins, local interest in the coins' iconography – need not be mutually exclusive; they remain nevertheless only suggestions awaiting further confirmation or refutation.
- 6) There is a huge potential in the study of Greek coins in temperate Europe. However, in order to fully exploit it, we need to see as broad a picture as possible, combining transalpine and Mediterranean evidence and searching for long term processes rather than trying to pin them to historical events. There is not enough space here for such a daring exercise: this chapter must be understood only as a preliminary sketch for a study to be undertaken in the future (hopefully by a scholar more competent for the task).

## 4. The Thoughts

The categories of visible and invisible, and material and immaterial imports (after VENCLOVÁ 2002, 74–75) partly overlapped in the previous text. We have touched upon the immaterial aspects of our topic e.g. in the case of coinage, technological changes like the presence of brass, or individual details like one-off distant imitations of Mediterranean vessels.

In this section we will focus on other cases of spiritual or immaterial imports, albeit studied through their material manifestations. The approach will naturally differ substantially from that employed in the study of the imports. As in the former case, we will of course try to understand to what extent the assumption of Mediterranean influence is justified and what kind of contacts it actually refers to. There is on the other hand no correct quantification method to measure the Mediterranean impact from this evidence and no way to assess it in an, even seemingly, objective way. Although the adoption and spread of foreign technologies, behaviour, and approaches is obviously evidence of much deeper external influence than just the acquisition of a foreign object, it is at the same time true that through the process of their adoption, these foreign behaviours stop being foreign. And the more advantageous they are, the more indispensable they become, the more they become embedded into the everyday reality of the receiving society the less relevant their foreign origin grows.

The study of invisible immaterial imports therefore must not, or at least ought not, content itself with stating the foreign origin of a studied element but should try to follow the process and dynamics of its adoption, however out of our reach this objective may often be. We must naturally focus on the initial moments of the innovation, including the actual circumstances of its adoption (When? Where? Through which mediation? In a single place or contemporaneously at several places within the receiving society?) and on the beginnings of its spread. Once an innovation becomes commonplace, we need not worry any more.

In the following, the emphasis will be on cases pointed out in the past as examples of Mediterranean influence. The point is not that of exhaustively covering all such suggestions; I will rather concentrate on the most obvious or most frequently cited examples, believing that a thorough analysis of them may provide more reliable grounds for further reflexion rather than a laborious verification (or rather falsification) of each and every marginal and extravagant proposal.

### TECHNOLOGIES

#### BRONZE TECHNOLOGY

According to a suggestion by Pavel Sankot (in FRÁNA *et al.* 1997, 93; SANKOT 2002, 96) southern inspiration transformed bronze casting technology. In his opinion, beginning in LT B2 (once again a pre-oppida period phenomenon), bronze alloys became characterised by a higher content of lead, intentionally added to them for technological reasons, a practice which has its clear antecedents in the Mediterranean. Both of these facts are true: alloying bronze with lead in order to facilitate casting is a common Mediterranean practice, and a sudden surge in leaded bronze during LT B2 and C1 has been confirmed by new large-scale analyses currently

under way (Bohemia: personal communication A. Danielisová; Moravia: KMOŠEK 2020). What is missing is a clear causal link between these two phenomena. Although the assumption of a southern derivation of the technology sounds fully logical,<sup>212</sup> for the moment there is no obvious way to prove it.

## ROTARY QUERNS

The introduction of rotary querns was another 3<sup>rd</sup> century innovation with far-reaching social consequences (for Bohemia cf. WALDHAUSER 1981, 211) which is sometimes accredited to Mediterranean influence (BOUZEK 1990, 131; VENCLOVÁ ed. 2008/2013, 78). We should point out however, that this statement is true only if ‘Mediterranean’ is understood more broadly than we may have got used to in the previous pages. The earliest rotary querns are attested in the western Phoenician areas in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC and appear with some regularity in northwestern Spain and in Britain in the 5<sup>th</sup> century (WEFERS 2012, 87–90); in southern France they were apparently present in the 4<sup>th</sup> century (REILLE 2000). There is some evidence of the possible adoption of rotary querns in the Early La Tène in southern Germany as early as the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (WEFERS 2012, 90–91), while they were indisputably present in some areas from the 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century, only to become commonplace from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century on. However, the dynamics and mechanisms of their spread in the Transalpine area between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC are still insufficiently understood – the querns appear in various regions and at various moments without an obvious connection between them which can be translated into a clear process of diffusion. As a result, it seems that the idea of rotary grinding was known in the Transalpine area at least from the Early La Tène period, it is unclear, however, to what extent its spread beginning in LT C period may be due to these Early La Tène foci and to what extent it was reintroduced from the south during the Celtic migrations (WEFERS 2012, 90–93). It is important to stress that if the latter was the case, the ‘south’ would have to mean ‘southwestern France and northwestern Spain’, not Greece or Italy with which we usually associate this term.

As a matter of fact, in both Italy and Greece, which have so far been the main, if not the only regions representing ‘the Mediterranean’ for us, rotary querns do not appear until relatively late. In Italy they are vaguely discussed for ‘the 2<sup>nd</sup> to 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC’ though without much direct evidence (DAL RI 1996; DONNER – CARZOLI 1996), and even as late as the 1<sup>st</sup> century in Greece (RUNNELS 1990). This may perhaps partly be due to the state of knowledge; it is nevertheless interesting to note that in the settlement of Monte Bibebe, only hand and saddle querns are documented while rotary querns are completely unknown (MORRONE 1999). In this respect the Cispadan Boii surely lagged behind their Transalpine cousins (Boii or not).

## POTTERY PRODUCTION

The appearance and spread of advanced types of pottery kilns, namely the two-chamber vertical kiln, is another phenomenon often linked with Mediterranean influence. The topic has recently been exhaustively treated in an exemplary way in the detailed study by Tomáš Mangel and Richard Thér (2018), including the history of research, and a careful evaluation of all available evidence on a European scale. The two-chamber vertical kiln appears in LT B–C1 in the Carpathian Basin whence they apparently spread within the same period to more northwestern areas including Moravia, Bohemia, southern Poland, and southern Saxony. Only

212 Though it is worth pointing out that on the Atlantic coast the addition of lead starts in the Late Bronze Age (BROWN – BLIN-STOYLE 1959). I am grateful to John Collis for this reference.

in a second stage in LT C2–D1 do the vertical two-chamber kilns spread westwards to southern Germany and the Main-Rhine region where they intersect with the distribution of kilns with double entrance spreading in the same period from the west. As to the actual origin of the two-chamber vertical kiln, the authors convincingly link this technical innovation with inspiration either from mainland Greece or from the Black Sea littoral; on the other hand, this kiln type seems unknown in northern Italy at this period (MANGEL – THÉR 2018, 176–186).

The adoption of the potter's wheel seemingly forms part of the same technological package leading to standardisation and to a certain degree to the industrialisation of pottery manufacturing in the later La Tène period after a phase of purely household production during the Middle La Tène period. However, the exact nature of this adoption is much more complex to follow than in the previous case. The first appearance of the potter's wheel in Central Europe is suggested for La Tène fine wares, followed by its much broader use in LT C2–D. Thér, Mangel, and Gregor (2015) focused on the dynamics of the use of the potter's wheel in a case study from the Chrudim district in eastern Bohemia, concluding that what changed between LT A and LT C2 was not only the product line (fine pottery only, replaced with all-round production), the increase of production volume, and of clientele (the entire society instead of a narrow elite), but also some basic working procedures such as a change from a clockwise to a counter clockwise direction of throwing. This suggests a substantial change in technological tradition. Unfortunately, our knowledge about the situation in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries is insufficient due to the lack of settlement contexts (let alone production facilities) of this period. We do not know to what degree the findings from the Chrudim district can be generalised and applied to the whole of Bohemia or central Europe; in any case there is no clear evidence that this technological change occurred due to influence from the Mediterranean.

## GLASS WORKING

La Tène glass-working, thriving in central Europe from the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century onwards (VENCLOVÁ 1990; GEBHARD 1989a; KARWOWSKI 2004; VENCLOVÁ 2016; ROLLAND 2017), was largely indebted to Mediterranean influences. The Mediterranean influence seems rather limited from a formal point of view since the most characteristic La Tène glass ornaments – glass bracelets and ring beads – have no counterparts in the Mediterranean, other than those which can be directly connected with manifestations of the La Tène Culture there.

Glass bracelets are widespread in Italy mainly in the northern parts occupied by the Celts and in the neighbouring regions (VELLANI 1995). The vast majority of glass ornament types present in northern Italy correspond chronologically with the development of their counterparts beyond the Alps. In the history of research there has been one significant exception to this statement: the glass bracelets of type Montefortino / Haevernick 1 have often been considered the earliest type of glass bracelets, produced in Italy as early as in the late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and thus potentially the early model for the entire Transalpine production (VENCLOVÁ 1990, 131–132).<sup>213</sup> This topic was nevertheless complicated by the unreliable find contexts of these bracelets (including and beginning with the eponymous grave 30bis in the necropolis of Montefortino whose dating proposals oscillated between 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> century BC). A reinvestigation of this group by Roberto Tarpini (2007) confirmed the high chronology at least in some cases (five specimens from the necropolis of Spina), pointing out

213 On the other hand, the seemingly very high dates of some of the finds of Italian bracelets of Haevernick's group 8 (VENCLOVÁ 1990, 132) can be dismissed based on a reconsideration of the find contexts (VELLANI 1995, 17).

at the same time the poor typological definition of this group and difficulties of attributing to it the Transalpine finds (Dürrenberg, Mistřín, Maňa – all probably dated only to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century). The origin of La Tène glass bracelets would thus be assigned to the 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century in the northern Adriatic in which (on both shores) all the reliable finds seem to concentrate, but interestingly enough rarely in La Tène Culture contexts (cf. list in TARPINI 2007). The issue of the problematic classification of type 1 bracelets was recently pointed out also by Joëlle Rolland (2017, 173–179) who insisted on distinguishing the transparent bangles (the actual type 1) from those with a yellow insert. The latter are in her opinion a specific technological group characteristic of southern Germany, the Upper Rhine, and possibly the Eastern Alps with a secondary distribution in other regions including northern Italy (ROLLAND 2017, 344, fig. 129). The actual bracelets or rings of type 1/Montefortino on the other hand derive from smaller rings of transparent glass, appearing as early as LT A in northeastern France and the Rhineland and used mostly as torc pendants though a rare bracelet is present in the LT A grave in Reinheim. At least some of the Italian finds (e.g. those from Spina) maintained the original small size while others (e.g. that from Montefortino) grew to a diameter permitting their use as a bangle. Therefore, although the earliest types of glass bracelets appear sporadically in northern Italy in LT B, it need not have been there that this idea first occurred and it was certainly not there that the necessary technology developed (ROLLAND 2017, 173–179, 382–383).

While the technology for glass bracelet production could have been known in Transalpine Europe from the late 5<sup>th</sup> century and occasionally used through the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century, at the very beginnings of LT C1 or mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century it expanded into large-scale production (VENCLOVÁ 1990, 131; GEBHARD 1989a, 128; KARWOWSKI 2012; ROLLAND 2017). A key region in this adoption seems to have been the Middle Danube area (it may not be an accident that two out of three central European finds of Montefortino type bracelets were unearthed in precisely this area) where the most intense and most coherent activity seems to have occurred in the earliest period of glass working. Originally (LT C1a) confined to the territory of EnCE, and northwest of the Carpathian Basin, in a second step (LT C1b) the glass production spread further west to Bohemia, and in particular to southern Germany and the upper Rhine (VENCLOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2104; VENCLOVÁ 2016; ROLLAND 2017, 365, fig. 131). According to this scheme, the merit of the Middle Danube region would not be that of simply hosting a technological innovation but rather that of providing favourable conditions for its development; these may have included an appreciation of the producers (translated in practical terms into a demand for their products giving them the liberty for innovation) as well as the availability of the raw materials. This is an important point at which the Mediterranean comes back into play.

The Transalpine glassworkers were, in fact, fully dependent on the Mediterranean in terms of raw glass acquisition. The composition analyses of La Tène glass throughout its production from LT C1 to LT D have so far attested its very uniform character, universally corresponding to the natron glass produced exclusively in the eastern Mediterranean. Natron, used as the indispensable flux in primary smelting of raw glass, was possibly only available in Egypt and distributed among its neighbouring regions (VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2009; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 107–109; ROLLAND 2017; *contra* KARWOWSKI 2004, 81; KARWOWSKI 2012, 244–245). The analyses also revealed a clear difference in the chemical composition of two chronologically defined groups of glass (reversing the ratio of the oxides of Zirconium and Strontium cf. already KARWOWSKI 2012, 247–249) suggesting a shift of sources from Egypt to Syro-Palestine sometime on the transition between LT C1 and LT C2 (VENCLOVÁ – JONÁŠOVÁ – VACULOVÍČ 2017, 77; ROLLAND 2017, 50–51, 77–109, 117–118). Joëlle Rolland (2017, 154–155) reasonably searched the cause of this transition in the political and economic disarray occurring in Ptolemaic Egypt during the regency for the child king Ptolemy V, including the defeat in the Fifth Syrian War (202–195 BC)

and the Egyptian Revolt. Whatever the actual cause, we may be sure that it was an internal issue of the supply side and beyond the reach of the receiving La Tène communities.

Direct evidence of the Mediterranean origin of raw glass is provided also by a series of wrecks carrying from dozens to hundreds of kilograms of raw glass: Su Pallosu (Oristano, Sardinia, 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, ca 20 kg of glass: SALVI 2006), Sanguinaires A (Ajaccio, Corsica; late 3<sup>rd</sup> to early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, the cargo was estimated to be about one ton of raw glass: CIBECCHINI *et al.* 2012), Lequin 2 (Porquerolles, Var, F; general overview in ROLLAND 2017, 31, 62; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 118). The location of all the wrecks providing this random but highly impressive sample shows that the ships were obviously heading for Gaul. There must have been numerous other ships with the same cargo before and after that.

Findings of raw glass have been reported from two dozen La Tène sites though Natalie Venclová in her last discussion of the issue (VENCLOVÁ 2016, 109–110) argues that in only four of these sites has the protohistoric date of these finds confirmed by composition analysis – these sites include Hengistbury Head (irrelevant for our purposes), Manching [M950], Stradonice [S950], Staré Hradisko [SH90], and Němčice nad Hanou [NH90].<sup>214</sup> Other finds (also from sites such as Mšec or Třísov) are doubtful or have been identified as of post-Iron Age date. We do not have any hints as to how the eastern part of the La Tène world was supplied with this commodity. It was arguably not through Gaul considering the delay in glass production in the necessarily intermediary regions of Bavaria and Bohemia, if not in Gaul itself. The volume of early production in the Middle Danube region and the Carpathian Basin may not have been fully comparable with that of late LT C1 or LT C2 Gaul, to which the Sanguinaires A ship was bound when it sank with its ton of raw glass aboard (cf. ROLLAND 2017, 365–369, fig. 131–132), but still, tens if not hundreds of kilograms of raw glass must have reached the Middle Danube region (obviously inaccessible to any seaborne trade) in one way or another by land routes; we may never know whether it was through Italy or the Balkans.

## COINAGE

As early as the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, the central European La Tène Culture communities obviously understood the concept and functions of coinage and were able to successfully emulate them in their own production of a small series of high value gold coins serving probably a limited range of purposes including large payments, the setting of values and possibly some prestige activities. By the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the same communities had adopted a complex seven-denomination bimetallic monetary system of the so-called Athena Alkidemos (AA) coinage and launched large-scale coin production, achieving probably over an extremely short period of time a complete monetarisation of their society (MILITKÝ 2015b; 2018a; SMĚLÝ 2017). This holds true of the entire area of the so-called ‘Boii’ coinage in Bohemia, Moravia, Lower Austria, and southern Poland. This coinage is based on Macedonian models both in terms of weight standards and iconography (MILITKÝ 2015c; 2018a; SMĚLÝ 2017). Macedonian models are also the basis of the neighbouring ‘Vindelican’ coinage in Bavaria (ZIEGAUS 2010) which was, however, supplemented with a quinar, a denomination originating in Rome and shared also with some coinages of eastern Gaul.

The Macedonian character of the Boii coinage was clearly set already in its earliest phase with the Nike staters imitating the issues of Alexander the Great, and this continued through

214 Due to the specific nature of raw glass, it is listed in the Catalogue simply in terms of presence (i.e. a single Catalogue entry) for the needs of the final statistics without any attempts at quantification.

the rest of the pre-oppida period in the Athena Alkidemos coinage of the Amber route corridor and, at least from the point of view of weight standard, also in Bohemian local issues; the coinage of the oppida period in this entire territory still consistently built on the same principles; the sole foreign element in it was the localised introduction of the Biatic type tetradrachms in its very latest phase. The adoption of, and consistent adherence to, the 'world standard' set by the stater of, or in the name of, Alexander the Great makes perfect sense in view of the chronology of this adoption, reasonably dated to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (MILITKÝ 2018a, 22–23). It is also consistent with the general south-easterly orientation of EnCE and eastern central Europe in general in this period as suggested by numerous other indices.

And yet, in spite of these very clear logical facts, an almost religious conviction stubbornly persisted among some central European scholars that the origins of the Boii coinage are somehow to be linked with the north Italian Boii (PINK 1936, 16–19; KOLNÍKOVÁ 1963; HILDEBRANDT 2001, 18; Kolníková in ČIŽMÁŘ – KOLNÍKOVÁ – NOESKE 2008, 668; PIETA 2008/2010, 251; KOLNÍKOVÁ 2009, 12). This idea following a purely historical narrative hypothesis could have been legitimate at the time it was first formulated by Pink, at a point in the history of research when nothing was known about coin circulation in northern Italy and when the chronology of the Boii coinage was believed by today's standards to have been extremely late. Most present-day researchers never adopted this idea (MILITKÝ 2015a, 42; RUDNICKI 2013; 2015; FRÖHLICH 2016; SMĚLÝ 2017) while others abandoned it (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012<sup>215</sup>). Still a few points can be added to this unified rejection.

The universal coinage of pre-Roman northern Italy is a rather simple system consisting basically of two silver denominations: obols, and the so-called Po valley drachmas (*dramme padane*); there are also extremely rare half-obols and didrachmas, documented by only single specimens (PAUTASSO 1966; GORINI 2014). These imitate the early Massilian heavy drachmas with a variously barbarized head of Artemis on the obverse and a standing lion on the reverse, sometimes completed with an inscription or pseudo-inscription. Their weights shift from 3.4/3.3 g in the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century, through 2.6–2 g in the late 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> century, down to ca 1–0.5 g in the 1<sup>st</sup> century. Pautasso's early attempts to link the issues with each and every Celtic (and Ligurian and Venetic) tribe mentioned by the written sources have been recently debunked by Gorini (2014) who explains their large typological variety with a natural development of coin dies within a relatively limited number of coin series, most of which are in his opinion to be localized north of the Po – it was only the Insubri, Cenomani, the Veneti, and some Ligurians who struck them, but not e.g. the Boii. Finds of *dramme padane* are rare north of the Alps and only documented as far as I am aware from WnCE and from the Alps (e.g. Kelheim: PAULI 1993, 56, Taf. 137: 5; Dölsach, Wattens, the Karlstein, Schwarzach: quoted by SCHACHINGER 2017, 60; KELLNER 1990, Nr. 2243–2248) while there are no finds in Bohemia nor further east, i.e. in the area of the Boii coinage.

The key element for arguing a Cisalpine influence on central European coinage are silver drachmas, believed to be the models for the Athena Alkidemos coinage by the proponents of a north Italian origin. These coins combine the obverse motif of a female head with, on the reverse, a standing figure with a raised shield and spear, clearly derived from the archaising depictions of Athena Alkidemos (or rather Promachos) common in Hellenistic coinage. According to Pink (1936, 16–19), the precise model for this reverse motif were the coins of Philip V of Macedon (238–179 BC) while the obverse was inspired by the head of Minerva/Bellona from

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215 Eva Kolníková – a long-time supporter of this theory (cf. KOLNÍKOVÁ 1963) – abandoned it in her latest works (KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 15; KOLNÍKOVÁ 2015, 258–260) in favour of a Macedonian origin for the AA coinage.

Romano-Campanian coinage. Pink explained the marriage of the two incongruous motifs in a single coin by a (hypothetical) historical narrative construction: the images from coinage of two enemies as inexorable as Rome and Philip V could in his opinion meet only in the coinage of Rome's enemy and Philip's ally, the Cisalpine Boii.

Basically every point of this suggestion is wrong. There was nothing linking up the north Italian Boii with Philip V of Macedon other than the generic status of enemies of Rome. The 215 BC alliance between Philip and Hannibal (Polyb. VII, 9) theoretically included also subjects, tributaries and allies of both rulers, including the Celts in northern Italy (specifically cited in Polyb. VII, 9. 6–7); in reality Philip concentrated all his activity in the subsequent war on Greece and Illyricum, neither intervening in Italy nor demonstrating any interest in the opposite coast of the Adriatic (CLEMENTE 1990, 84–85) while in Italy the Celts famously principally played the role of cannon fodder in service for the Carthaginians. As far as material evidence is concerned, we have seen above that Macedonian coins are extremely rare in northern Italy; none is documented in Emilia controlled by the Boii; no coin of Philip's is known from the rest of northern Italy and the latest Macedonian piece from the region was on its very northern margin in Cortaccia in the Upper Adige/Süd Tirol; it was struck by Antigone Gonatas at least one generation before the Hannibalic alliance. Under these circumstances it seems hardly credible that the north Italian Boii (probably not striking their own coins (GORINI 2014) but occupying a region with a clearly established coinage based on a Massilian model) would out of the blue adopt a coin type based partly on the coinage of their enemies and partly on a coinage which was in fact unknown to them.

Unlike the gold coins, Italian models have been claimed for silver denominations of the Amber route corridor coinage. The main series of drachmas, half-drachmas and obols with a diademed head on the obverse and a prancing horse with a star and lily on the reverse is believed to be based on south Italian or Sicelot issues. In particular the motif of a prancing horse with a star finds some close parallels in the coinage of Arpi in Apulia, Syracuse and other Sicilian mints as well as in Campanian mints (overview in FRÖHLICH 2016). Only in rare cases is there also a matching obverse image of a beardless male head (e.g. in the Roman didrachma from a Campanian mint (Sydenham 4); bronzes of Apulian Salapia, which are too late to be models for central European coinage (SNG Copenhagen 684) and there is no parallel for the lily under the horse, regularly present in the Boii coinage. If we relax the strictness of our criteria, the possible parallels extend to Punic (e.g. ALEXANDROPOULOS 2007, n° 15–17), Thessalian, Tarentine, Macedonian, Cyrenaican (e.g. BMC 343–346; SNG Copenhagen 1273–1274) and other issues. The horses from Apulian, Sicilian or (Romano-)Campanian coinage (all of these regions are regularly represented among the Greek coins imported to the middle Danube area, cf. chapter II.3) are formally closest to the Boii silver coinage obverses; it should be noted, however, that in this case the situation is hardly comparable with the systematic adoption of Macedonian models for the gold denominations. Moreover, the similarity is very vague and south Italian models of silver coinage served rather as a loose visual inspiration integrated into the system set by the Macedonian standard. For my part I do not see the need to look for models outside the Macedonian coinage which inspired the gold series. Exact parallels for the male head are available among the small silver and bronze coinage of both Philip and Alexander, all bearing horses on the reverse. Some of these may differ from the Danubian issues in also depicting the horseman (mostly silver pieces, less often on bronze pieces) and carrying the inscription (ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ or ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ) in place of the star, but more importantly featuring different symbols between the horse's legs, some of which seem direct models for the characteristic lyre found in the amber route corridor coinage (e.g. SNG Copenhagen, Macedonia II, 570, 573–574, 595, 606; SNG Prague Macedonia, 220).

Some Italian influence can be observed in the marginal groups of Minerva – horse protome/Athena Alkidemos/sitting figure discussed in detail above. This series, certainly minted in western Slovakia sometime in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (MILITKÝ 2015a, 42; FRÖHLICH 2016), clearly began as a direct imitation of Romano-Campanian models in its type A (Minerva – horse protome drachmas). This type is also characterised by the highest average weight of the entire series exceeding 4.1 g (FRÖHLICH 2016, tab. 1), which corresponds with the earliest drachmas of the amber route corridor coinage (SMĚLÝ 2017, graph 9) which is obviously aligned with the Macedonian weight standard rather than with the weight of Romano-Campanian coinage which was oscillating in the same period around 3.6–3.1 g. In its later development this coin series strengthened this Macedonian aspect by replacing the reverse image of the horse protome with the much more local/Macedonian motif of Athena Alkidemos on the drachmas and a sitting figure inspired by Athena Nikephoros from Lysimachus' coinage (FRÖHLICH 2016).

While the Amber route corridor coinage seems almost fully dependent on Macedonian models, the situation was more complex in Bohemia. The numerous local issues, though all following the same Macedonian/EnCE weight standard, range enormously in their iconography and only in few cases have their likely models been identified (for a complete overview of Bohemian local issues cf. MILITKÝ 2018). Apart from rather marginal local variants of the Athena Alkidemos group (types II:06, II:17–20; II:30 after MILITKÝ 2018) and silver obols with a horse, both derived secondarily from the Amber route coinage rather than independently from the Macedonian models (MILITKÝ 2018a, 72–76, 89–90); the iconography of Bohemian local issues seems to be to a far greater extent than in other Celtic coinages based on motifs rooted in a local La Tène visual or narrative world; in other cases the models are believed rather to be of Gallic origin (MILITKÝ 2018a, *passim*).

A few types of Bohemian local issues can nevertheless at least tentatively be linked with Mediterranean models. The reverse image of a gryphon (rather than harpy) in 1/4-staters type II:11 (MILITKÝ 2018a, 67, 132) is a motif relatively common in the Circumpontic area (e.g. SNG BM Black Sea 864); the unusual winged human on the obverse of type II:07 finds parallels in some coinages of western Asia Minor (Caria: CNG 60, 788.2; SNG Helsinki 811–812), albeit mostly pre-dating the period of our interest by a considerable margin. Such suggestions may sound daring and out of place until we realize that the best fitting parallel to the image of a kneeling warrior on the reverses of gold staters of the series II:25 and II:34 (Fig. 121) are the Achaemenid *dareikoi* e.g. BMC 67 (SMĚLÝ in print).<sup>216</sup> In the case of silver coins with an androcephalic quadruped on the reverse (MILITKÝ 2018, II:13) a possible parallel might be didrachmas from Naples with a pacing androcephalic bull crowned by Nike in flight (SNG Copenhagen Italy, 386–460 in different variations). Worth noting here is that, with the exception of the last case, there is a clear preference for eastern rather than western Mediterranean models, corresponding well with the spectrum of imported Mediterranean coins in Bohemia (cf. above). Of course, in none of these cases can the identification be accepted with too much certainty; they should be regarded as possible rather than certain. This does not affect the apparent absence of western models for Bohemian local issues.

The Boii coinage, both in Bohemia and EnCE, clearly depended on Mediterranean models in its early stages. At least by the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century it was firmly established in central Europe and formed an important role in local social and economic structures. By this time, its Mediterranean origins may still have been remembered but were irrelevant for any

216 Cf. also the bow motif on the obverse (e.g. MILITKÝ 2018a, II:25.1/2) with the Herculean motifs on Alexander's coinage (SNG Copenhagen 653–655 /AV/, 1034–1063 /SE/).



**Fig. 121: Left - Bohemian local issues, 1/3-stater of the series Militký (2018a) II:25; Right - Bohemia, obol of type Militký (2015) A-01a. Private collections, photo T. Smělý. Scale 2:1.**

local monetary practice. This is almost symbolically expressed by the gradual barbarisation and finally, in some cases, the abandonment of the original Mediterranean iconography. In some rare cases the Mediterranean aspect of the coinage seems partially revived, e.g. in the remarkable obols of type A Stradonice / Žehuň circulating in Bohemia at the beginning of the oppida period (**Fig. 121**), in which the extraordinarily high image quality (its exact models have not yet been identified) have prompted suggestions about a southern origin for the die engravers (MILITKÝ 2015a, 252–255, nos. 257–266; MILITKÝ 2018b, 197–198, fig. 10, nos. 79–84). This hypothesis is difficult to confirm even though it is not at all excluded. It remains nevertheless an isolated case, a drop in the ocean of extremely local monetary practice.

A highly significant turning point is the introduction of the Biatic type coinage in Bratislava in the latest La Tène period. Denomination wise, these hexadrachmas belong to the Pannonian sphere of large silver coins; their iconography is however based on Roman denarii, a trait underlined by the use of the Latin alphabet (GÖBL 1994; MILITKÝ 2015b, 90; MILITKÝ – TORBÁGYI forthcoming), thus confirming the very close links between the Bratislava oppidum and the Roman world.

## EVERYDAY PRACTICES

The issue of writing has been discussed above and we need not come back to it. Other practices, not necessarily so culturally ground-breaking can be mentioned along the same lines. These include the use of signet rings, possibly some medical or cosmetic practices as suggested by finds of spatulae and other medical instruments, exceptionally illumination by oil lamps, adoption of Italian types of brooches in the oppida period, or bone-working following Italian models. The last point brings us to another widespread practice to discuss.

### DICE AND GAMING PIECES

Bone dice in the shape of elongated flattened slabs (HLAVA 2011; KARWOWSKI 2016) are attested in Stradonice by dozens if not hundreds: finished pieces, half-finished, and fakes. It is precisely these dice that were famously the most faked artefacts as was already extensively reported at the time of the first discoveries in Stradonice. Furthermore, three cubic dice are attested from Stradonice; two are documented (but not preserved) in the inventories of the Jíra (HLAVA 2011) and Forrer (KARASOVÁ – SCHÖNFELDER 2004, 222, Abb. 2) collections, while one kept in the Křivoklát collection (inv. n° KT 2969) is an obvious fake.

Both dice forms as well as gambling with them in themselves ultimately come down to Mediterranean models<sup>217</sup> and are therefore worth our attention. However, for obvious reasons dice cannot be considered Mediterranean imports: the cubic ones of which a single (fake) example is preserved, are too suspicious while the elongated ones were obviously mass produced *in loco*. Elongated dice and evidence of their local production are widespread in central Europe from very early on. The settlement finds come from sites like Manching, Roseldorf, and Nĕmčice nad Hanou but also small rural settlements; the earliest grave find from Haugsdorf-Jetzelsdorf/Peigarten may date as early as LT B (overview in KARWOWSKI 2016).

Whether actually adopted in the Early La Tène period as suggested by the Peigarten grave whose date is not entirely certain, or only in the Middle La Tène period when they become widespread, the dice are proof of contact with the Mediterranean in a specific sphere of gambling or more broadly entertainment which requires little cultural preparedness from the receiving society: an understanding of elementary counting operations and basic human instincts such as greed are sufficient prerequisites. Nevertheless, this practice could reach the full level of its characteristically destructive attraction only in sufficiently monetarised societies. That may be why it came to its floruit only from LT C2 onwards. Before (but also concurrently during) this stage, dice may have served other purposes as well such as fortune telling.

Finally, it is worth realizing that dice were not the only Mediterranean game devices which crossed the Alps. A series of gaming pieces made of marble and coloured glass documented in Gaul were surely brought there from central or northern Italy, where they are attested in the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC (DILIBERTO – LEJARS 2011; 2013).

#### A 'KULTBÄUMCHEN'

An extraordinary and well known object is the golden model tree discovered in Manching in 1984 and discussed in detail by Ferdinand Maier (MAIER 1990; 1998; SIEVERS 2003, 34–37; CASTOLDI 2014, 60). Maier dated the find to the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and stressed the very close links between the Manching tree and the metallic (gold-plated or leaf gold) wreaths of the Hellenistic world, in particularly with those produced in Tarentum between the late 4<sup>th</sup> and the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, although realizing there are some indisputably La Tène traits in the artefact.

Maier's conclusions were complemented by a recent study by Marina Castoldi on metal model plants in the Mediterranean, predominantly Greek, world (CASTOLDI 2014). In a meticulous gleaning of the fragmentary and scattered textual and archaeological evidence Castoldi demonstrated how common metal plants were in the ancient Mediterranean, not only as the ubiquitous wreaths but also as actual life-size plants. Most commonly they appear as votives or cult paraphernalia in sanctuaries: a bronze oak in Dodona, laurels in various sanctuaries of Apollo in Asia Minor and especially Magna Graecia, occasionally even palm trees (CASTOLDI 2014, 29–60). Golden trees, though obviously rare, are occasionally mentioned in detailed inventories of Greek sanctuaries: a golden olive tree in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC in Oropos in Attica, a grape vine from the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC at Delos (CASTOLDI 2014, 60). Metallic trees are however also documented in private (though often palatial) settings, the

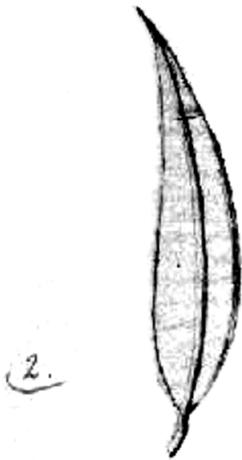
217 Elongated dice: e.g. Bologna-Arnoaldi, t. 1885/1, 1885/4 (VITALI 1992, 113, tav. 6: 10, 116, tav. 7: 10). Cubic dice: attested from the Archaic period (e.g. HAMPE *et al.* 1971, 31–32, Taf. 34: 53), Bologna, La Tène period (VITALI 1992, 293, tav. 38: 22); Late Hellenistic Ancona: COLIVICCHI 2002, e.g. 139, n° 18: 6 and *passim*. In general for the Po valley throughout the Iron Age: SCHÄDLER 2019; the Magdalensberg: GOSTENČNIK 2005, 191–196, Taf. 40–42.

earliest example of which is the golden plane-tree and vine adorning the Achaemenid court already at the time of Darius (522–486 BC) and surely surviving at least into the immediately post-Alexander period (Herodotus VII, 27; Diod. Sic. XIX, 48. 6–7; Athenaeus XII, 51. 4–5).

Fortunately, we need not decide what the precise function of the Manching golden tree was. What is important, it was not imported from the south but locally made; it was commissioned by someone aware of the existence and significance of the Mediterranean metallic trees and manufactured by procedures only practiced at that period in the Mediterranean.

A small detail that should not pass unobserved; the shape of the leaves suggests that the plant may have been meant to depict ivy (SIEVERS 2003, 35). Whether we accept this proposal (with its potential Dionysiac subtexts) or not, the golden tree documents a profound and intimate link between the Mediterranean and at least some of the inhabitants of Manching such as we rarely if ever encounter in other cases in central Europe.

Most interestingly, the Lehmann collection of Stradonice finds included a gold-sheet leaf, documented not only in the photographic plates but explicitly mentioned and also depicted in the diaries of Moritz Lüssner, one of the most reliable direct witnesses of the Stradonice discoveries (quoted and illustrated in SKLENÁŘ 2015, 69, obr. 45: 2) (Fig. 122. Cf. also Fig. 12 centre).



**Fig. 122: Gold leaf once kept in the Lehmann collection. Drawing by M. Lüssner after SKLENÁŘ 2015. Not to scale.**

Its shape recalls that of a willow (or olive?) leaf. It does not therefore seem impossible that another golden tree once stood in Stradonice as it did in Manching. The at least partly contemporary presence of such unique artefacts in two of the most significant sites of the period can hardly be accidental, and the chronology of the sites would suggest the primacy of Manching over Stradonice (unlike Manching, Stradonice was not occupied in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century when the Manching tree was made) but this is as far as the available evidence can take us.

## ARCHITECTURE – THE CASE OF BRATISLAVA

Assumptions of Mediterranean influence on Transalpine architecture of the oppida period (architecture of the previous periods remains little known) were overall few, vague, and unsubstantiated. For example, Libuše Jansová (1970) quoted the so-called *case retiche* of the Fritzens-Sanzeno culture as an analogy and potential inspiration for the houses built on the artificial terraces on the slopes of the Hrazany oppidum, although the two share no substantial

formal traits other than the use of rubble masonry. Mediterranean models of oppida fortification are equally questionable (cf. below).<sup>218</sup>

A case on its own, once again defying to a certain extent the distinction between visible and invisible imports, is that of the masonry constructions on the Bratislava Castle Hill. The 2008–2014 rescue excavation identified a series of structures built with Roman construction techniques, present in all the (few) places on the hilltop not disturbed by later activities (Fig. 123; BARTA *et al.* 2011; MUSILOVÁ – BARTA – HERUCOVÁ eds. 2014; MUSILOVÁ *et al.* 2016).

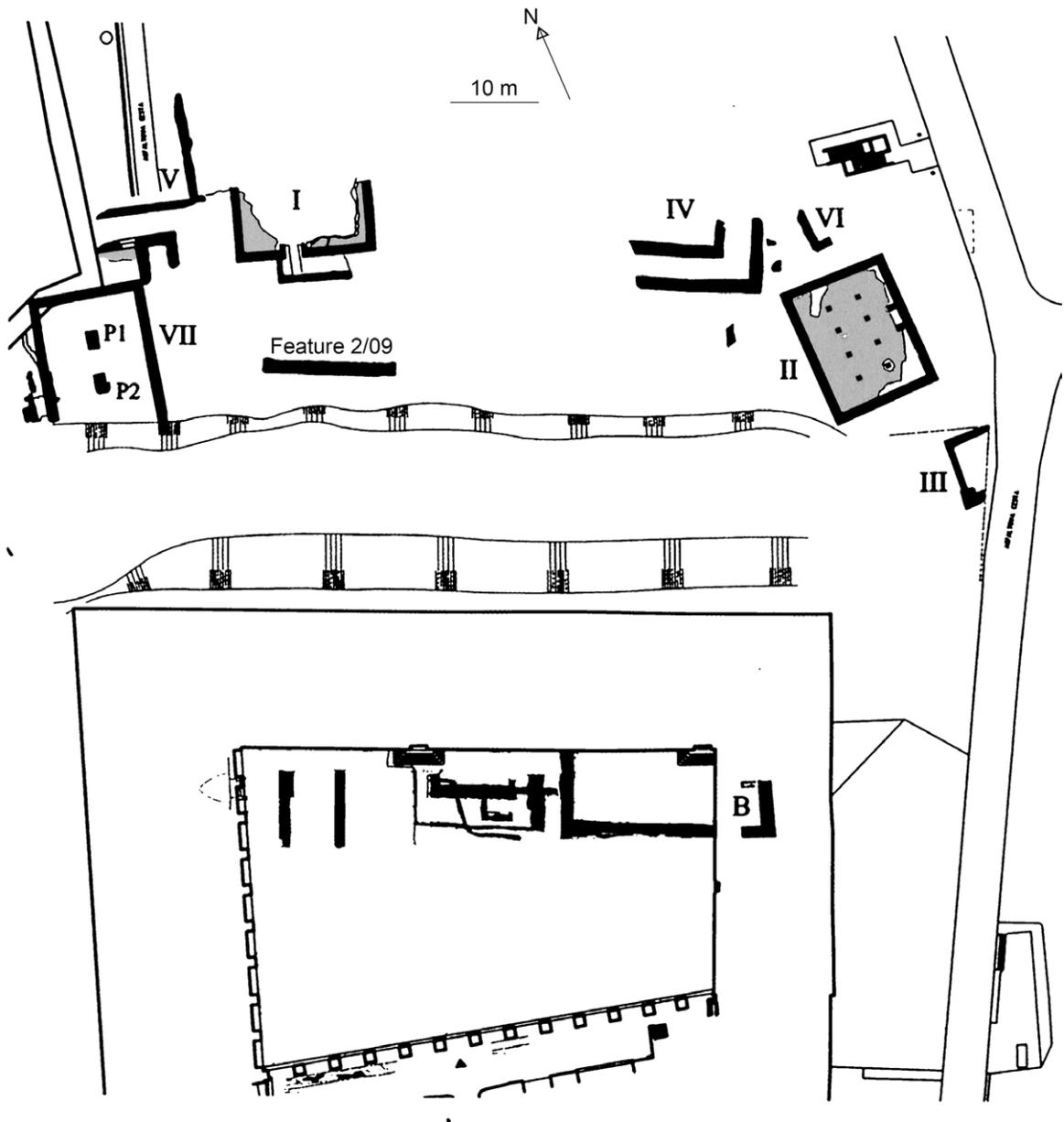
It is important to realize that also the presumed oppidum gate, excavated in the late 1960s in the Academia Istropolitana in the lower town, was apparently built in the same construction technique and could well have been part of the same project. Unfortunately, the available documentation of the gate excavation does not permit any more precise statement (NOVOTNÝ 1979; 1996). Constructions using rubble masonry without mortar have also been identified in the latest settlement horizon in Bratislava-Vydrice at the foot of the Castle Hill (KOVÁR – HANUŠ 2012, 182–183, fig. 287–288), suggesting that stone architecture on the Castle Hill provided a model that was also imitated in other zones of the oppidum, albeit in less prestigious materials.

To return to the ‘acropolis’, of these better preserved constructions, four are sufficiently complete to allow discussion of the buildings’ plan and structure, three of them on the northern terrace of the castle (labelled ‘Rímská stavba’ = ‘Roman building’ I, III, and VII) and one in the castle’s inner courtyard. Little can be said so far about building VII; the latest to be excavated; as yet only a small-scale plan has been published. The preserved layout is that of a large rectangular hall divided into two naves by a line of massive square masonry pillars (two of which survive).

Of Building I (MUSILOVÁ – MINAROVIECH 2014), the southern perimeter wall with a doorway is preserved with parts of the floor and a sort of entrance corridor adjacent to the external wall. The dimensions of the preserved part of the walls is 14.5 × 7.5 m with the entrance corridor 7.9 m long. The walls are built of *opus incertum* with stone blocks on the corners while the floor of both the corridor and the room is in *opus signinum*. The thickness of the walls and fragments of apparently collapsed floor in the backfill suggest that the building had two storeys. The walls were probably painted as evidenced by fragments of coloured plaster (including finds of Egyptian blue). No fragments of roof tiles have been found.

Building II is the only one of the Bratislava structures of which the entire ground plan is preserved (RESUTÍK – MINAROVIECH 2014; 2017). The 90 cm thick external walls in *opus incertum* make up a rectangle 16.3 × 14.3 m with an entrance in the eastern side. This space was articulated in three naves by two rows of four columns of which stone plinths are preserved. The floor is in *opus signinum* and more *opus signinum* fragments in the fill of the structure prove that the columns, most likely of wood, supported an upper storey. The *opus signinum* on the upper floor sports decoration in lines of white *tesserae* and rosettes of red and black *tesserae*. As in Structure I, roof tiles were absent though small fragments of painted plaster were present.

218 The issue of Mediterranean influence on the architecture of the Late Iron Age (mostly, though not exclusively, in Gaul) has been exhaustively treated in a conference ‘Les modèles italiens dans l’architecture des II<sup>e</sup> et I<sup>er</sup> siècles avant notre ère en Gaule et dans les régions voisines’, held in Toulouse in 2013. Unfortunately, its proceedings (GUICHARD – VAGINAY eds. 2019) published in late 2019 could not be taken into consideration here.



**Fig. 123: The Bratislava castle - overall plan of the 2008–2014 MUOP and MUOP & Via Magna excavation. MUSILOVÁ - MINAROVIECH 2014.**

The largest structure discovered in the Bratislava Castle is 'Structure I' in the castle courtyard (**Fig. 123: B**). The walls, again made of *opus incertum*, delimited a space of approximately 23.5 × at least 9 meters (further north, the walls are damaged); the wall thickness was double that of Structures I and II, that is 180 cm. The floor was once again made in *opus signinum*. The structure was badly damaged; the walls were mostly traced only as robber trenches and only a few patches of the floor are preserved in the interior. Still, we can argue that the entire area was actually a single large hall as is clear from the decoration in the *opus signinum* – a border of interlaced meander-swastikas delimiting a band scattered with rosettes (VRTEL *et al.* 2014).

The Bratislava structures can be studied from a number of different points of view, each of which should be treated separately: construction techniques, planimetry, and function.

As far as construction techniques are concerned, there is no doubt as to their entirely Roman character. The walls of all the structures are built in *opus caementicium* with the *caementa* being stone rubble of relatively large dimensions. *Opus incertum* is obviously a standard Roman Republican construction technique used mainly in the 3<sup>rd</sup>–early 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC but appearing occasionally down to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (ADAM 1999, 127–129). A certain crude character of its execution need not be a sign of incompetence or barbarised technical skills, but rather of concession to technical and logistic constraints in the foreign environment.

The same holds true for the most striking feature of the Bratislava constructions; in spite of their highly representative character, they do not seem to have been roofed with terracotta tiles even though the three and six feet thick walls would surely be sufficiently solid to support their weight. The grand architectural project necessarily involved some extremely demanding collateral logistic tasks unprecedented in central Europe, such as, for example, the burning of an enormous quantity of lime. The production of roof tiles would have been an operation whose complexity would by far surpass any other task in the construction, and churning out enough of them to cover all the buildings on the Castle Hill could have literally taken years. It may have been for this reason that shingles or even thatch were probably the solution even in the most prestigious of the Bratislava buildings. This is in strong contrast with the situation in Gaul in which fired clay tiling is among the first Mediterranean elements adopted in local architecture. The earliest proofs of tile roofing in Gaul (overview in CLEMENT 2013, 101–116, fig. 97) comes from the Rhône valley and dates as early as the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century (e.g. Lyon-Rue du Souvenir), in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 1<sup>st</sup> centuries; clay roof tiles slowly spread to central Gaul (e.g. Coirent, Gondole) and from the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century (i.e. in the Caesar's time) they became commonplace (e.g. in the basilica-like building in Bibracte). It is interesting to note that until that point, terracotta tiles only covered buildings made of wood and mudbricks, sometimes on rubble footings (indispensable in order to support the weight) and sometimes with plastered and painted walls; floors in *opus signinum*, though present, are relatively rare. Already from the earliest phases the tiles were produced locally, though perhaps initially (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> – early 1<sup>st</sup> century) in a single workshop (CLEMENT 2013, 101–102). This makes sense in a region in which there is relatively widespread knowledge and demand for such prestigious merchandise, no matter that they were obviously limited to a specific group of customers. In the case of Bratislava this last statement can be turned upside down: apart from the logistical problems, the absence of terracotta tiles in Bratislava can be explained also by the insular and self-contained nature of the site lacking a competitor in prestige.

One feature of the Bratislava buildings dispels any doubts as to the degree to which persons of Mediterranean origin were involved in their construction, the basically universal use of *opus signinum* floors. Not only does their technology faithfully correspond to later Vitruvian instructions (Vitruvius VII, 1) and compare well with their Italian counterparts, but also the decoration exactly matches the patterns documented in Italy, Gaul, and elsewhere in the Mediterranean (for *opus signinum* in general cf. VASALE 2006). The different decoration motifs present in Bratislava include simple diamond-shaped tesserae (VASALE 2006, 48–49: 4<sup>th</sup> century BC to the Augustan period); rosettes (VASALE 2006, 49: examples from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the late 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC); and a meander-swastika border (VASALE 2006, 50: from the 3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> century onwards). Some comparable examples include Aquileia (white swastika meander border, late 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century BC: MEDRI 2000, 270, fig. 5); Forlimpopoli/*Forum Popilii* (4+1 tesserae rosettes, end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC; CECCAGLIA 2010, 316–317, nos. 34:2–34:3); Este (swastika-meander border with rosettes in a central field, second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC: DONDERER 1986, 137, Nr. 1,

Taf. 46); Padua (a linear rosette laid out in a central field delimited by a swastika meander: DONDERER 1986, 168–169, Nr. 7, Taf. 54); Zuglio (4+1 tesserae rosettes filling a field delimited by a chessboard pattern frame); Calvatone/*Bedriacum* – Casa dei signini (swastika-meanders as a border but a more complex net pattern in the main field, Augustan period: GRASSI 2001, 416, fig. 4); Brescia (an identical motif, 1<sup>st</sup> century AD: DONDERER 1986, 106, Nr. 3, Brescia 19, Taf. 34); Cornebarrieu, Haute Garonne, F (swastikas/meanders as borders in a bath dated before the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC: VIERS – VEYSSIÈRE 2012, 118–122).

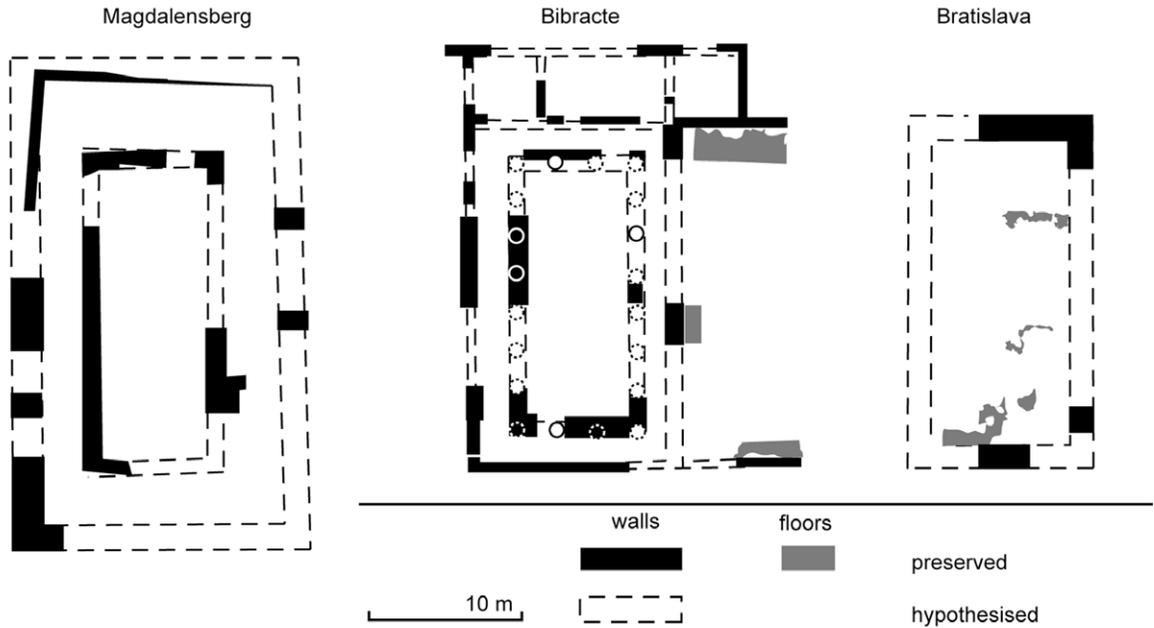
The Mediterranean impression is completed in Bratislava by fragments of painted plaster including Egyptian blue (Vitruvius VII, 7.11) which in spite of its exotic name was already produced in Italy in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and perhaps even in the eastern Alps (HECK 2004). Little can be said from a stylistic point of view given the extremely fragmentary nature of the remains but from a technical point of view the execution of the Bratislava paintings is of excellent quality, comparable with that of the floors.<sup>219</sup> In fairness, plastered walls would be more than expected in buildings in whose walls and floors so much effort was invested as those on the Bratislava Castle Hill; already in the Republican period wall paintings can be considered a sort of ‘standard luxury’ in northern Italy (for a quick overview of wall paintings mainly in the first Pompeian style in northern Italy cf. e.g. MURGIA 2017, 4–7) with some appearing even in places in Gaul, showing early signs of the adoption of Mediterranean architectural models (e.g. Lyon, Rue de souvenir: LE BOT-HELLY 2003).

If there was no reason to question the Mediterranean nature of the Bratislava structures from the point of view of their construction techniques, the story is somewhat more complicated when we turn our attention to their layout. The ground plans of structures II and VII (and, should the reconstruction be correct, also structure I) with their large halls articulated by rows of pillars or columns are distant from any canonical plan of a Roman or Italian house and hardly find any parallel in central or northern Italy (cf. overview in GROS 2001, 30–92; VERZÁR-BASS ed. 2001); they resemble more a sort of petrified version of Late La Tène timber structures (FICHTL 2018; DANIELISOVÁ – KYSELA – KŘIVÁNEK 2018). Margaréta Musilová rightly drew attention to formal similarities between the buildings in Bratislava and those on the Magdalensberg, it should be realised however, that the (also somewhat similar) earliest buildings in e.g. Zuglio and Moggio) are characterised by much less sophisticated building techniques and less generous ground plans. More examples can be added from the north-eastern periphery of modern day Italy, principally from the Alpine area (Castelraimondo). The proposed interpretation of structures I and II as elite habitations and potentially for storage of traded goods (the two are naturally not mutually exclusive – quite the opposite) seems more than justified.

The large hall in the castle courtyard is different in many respects. The ground plan of the building shares many similarities with a well-established Roman building type, the *basilica*. Calling the structure ‘a basilica’ would be too provocative, and therefore let us do so (with only a small caveat). By using the term ‘basilica’ I do not suggest the building’s function which in a Mediterranean setting is usually understood as a multi-functional public structure dedicated to trade, civic activities, and the administration of justice (for an overview of basilicas cf. NÜNNERICH-ASMUS 1994; LACKNER 2008, 266–270); the term is for me merely a shorthand for a ‘basilica-like structure’. I do not apologise for such a gross over-simplification since the exact meanings and applications of the term ‘basilica’ have been subject to some controversy both in the Mediterranean and in the Transalpine world. In fact, the ‘basilica-like structure’ from Bratislava is far from the only such building in pre-/proto-Roman temperate Europe.

219 I am grateful to Nicolas Delferriere (Université de Bourgogne) for kindly sharing his opinion with me.

Two buildings, very similar to the Bratislava structure in dimensions, design and (in the case of one of them) controversial interpretation, can be found at the Magdalensberg and at Bibracte (**Fig. 124**).



**Fig. 124: The basilika-like buildings of Magdalensberg, Bibracte, and Bratislava in comparison.**

The Magdalensberg basilica is the least problematic of them. It is a  $30 \times 17$  m structure with a  $21 \times 9$  m stylobate (i.e. an inner foundation for a columned gallery). After the building's demise, the walls and floor were almost entirely removed but in the few places where their remains were preserved, they show that the walls were built of stone rubble in a cement matrix supported by a dense grid of wooden posts anchored in the ground; the outer walls were 1.8 m thick, the stylobate wall about 1 m thick. Only patches of the lowermost levels survived consisting mostly of layers of mortar or clay conglomerate (*Mörtel-* or *Lehmestrich*) on a pebble base. The basilica formed part of a large-scale project together with a forum and *tabernae*, the first urban form of the settlement of Roman/ Italian trades- and crafts-people (PICCOTTINI 1986; ALZINGER 1985). Its construction dates to the initial phases of the Roman settlement on the Magdalensberg in the 50s/40s BC and it remained in use until the mid-Augustan period when it was replaced by a new basilica (for the chronology cf. ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 1986).

The reconstruction of the Bratislava building as a basilika-like structure is of course to some extent conjectural – it is based on the dimensions and thickness of the perimeter wall as well as the assumption of the hall being a single open space as suggested by the continuity of the decorative pattern in its *opus signinum* floor; on the other hand, we have no traces of columns or of a stylobate on which the columns would have to be placed. The need to stretch the overall width to more than 9 meters would, however, make some kind of inner support useful. It is also worth pointing out how close the dimensions of the Bratislava 'basilica' ( $23.5 \times >9$  m) are to those of the one in Bibracte ( $24 \times 14$  m). By this I do not suggest any genetic link between the two buildings but rather the possibility of a common solution to a similar problem.

The Bibracte basilica has been the subject of considerable controversy. The structure excavated between the 1990s and the early 2000s in the Pâturage du Couvent is a 24 × 14 m large rectangle with a stylobate for a gallery of 8 × 4 columns, of which some fragments have survived, and presumably facing a large court (SZABO – TIMÁR – SZABO 2007). In contrast to the credible reconstruction, its interpretation is more questionable. The building dated to the period of the very initial Romanisation in ca 50–20 BC has been interpreted by its excavators as a civic basilica in the full sense of the term. The numerous weak points of this very straightforward hypothesis were criticised in detail by J.-Y. Marc (2011). According to him, the Bibracte building is too small to be effectively used as a basilica<sup>220</sup> but more importantly, the presence of a basilica would in Marc's opinion necessarily presuppose the adoption of a specifically Roman or civic form of social organisation by the local community.<sup>221</sup> For these reasons Marc opted for a much more likely interpretation of the structure as a private building (obviously belonging to a topmost elite inhabitant), as also suggested by its replacement with a private atrium house after its destruction. Such large private halls are not unknown even in Roman architectural terminology and are classifiable as an *oecus* (*Aegyptius*) or a 'private basilica' as mentioned by Vitruvius (VI, 5.2, VI, 3.9).

A search for such private basilicas in Italy itself has been mostly unfruitful, the potential candidates being mostly doubtful, peripheral, or much later than the Vitruvian remark, let alone our structures of Caesarean or triumviral date (GROS 2004). This is however not a reason to doubt their existence; Pierre Gros correctly stressed the inadequacy of available evidence. What is useful to realise is the status of the term basilica, apparently shifting between the categories of public and private (perceived in a very different way by the Romans than by ourselves: RUSSEL 2015). After all, the very origins of the building type (as well as obviously its name) are in a private building (most probably the private dining halls of Ptolemaic palaces) which only on Italian soil acquired its final shape and an eminently public function (WILSON 2005). The public basilicae played a crucial role in perpetuating in their names the private glory of the builder and his family (RUSSEL 2015) while private basilicae had important functions in the public activities of their owner, whether it was in feasting with his peers, in trade, or for political purposes such as receiving his clients.

At this point we have to come back to Bibracte and Bratislava. J.-Y. Marc was surely right to reject the idea of a civic basilica in immediately post-conquest Gaul; he may, however, have fallen into the same trap of applying Roman (architectural and social) categories to non-Roman areas. The owner could have known what the terms 'private basilica' or 'Egyptian oikos' meant and could have demanded a building corresponding to this definition. They could, however, also have simply demanded to build the kind of building that traditionally personified the status of the Gallic aristocracy using prestigious high-tech materials, as if the Bibracte basilica were only a petrification of the large houses of e.g. Batilly (cf. FICHTL 2018). It was only

220 Of Italian examples, it is closest in its dimensions to the basilica in the small mountain centre of Iulium Carnicum dated to the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (VITRI 2001) and it exceeds the very early (3<sup>rd</sup> century) small 18.4 × 11.7 m probable basilica structure in Ostia (LACKNER 2008, 136, fig. in page 267).

221 This opinion may seem somewhat extreme. In my view, there is no particular reason to consider the basilica functional only in a Roman civic milieu. Basilicae were multi-functional spaces, a sort of 'bad weather fora', hosting probably first and foremost various trade activities; government was on the other hand administered in dedicated structures (*comitia* and *curiae*) and it was probably not until the Imperial period that the basilica became a regular venue of tribunals; the fact that the tribunes of the plebs seemingly had their office in one particular basilica need not be extended to other magistracies (cf. discussion in LACKNER 2008, 269–270).

in the second stage that showing off Roman building techniques was followed also by the adoption of a Roman style house layout and thus space management. The interpretation of this 'non-basilica' would thus depend entirely on the interpretation of large Gaulish houses. This function need not have been just one and the same for all of the relatively numerous buildings; Stephan Fichtl proposes a range of possible interpretations encompassing agricultural, residential and public/representational purposes (for prestige aspects of Gaulish elite architecture cf. also ADAM 2018, 6–8). Their regular presence in the elite enclosures and the remarkable resources and effort invested in their construction plead strongly in favour of the last two which are surely not mutually exclusive; in Gaul, as in Rome, large elite houses must have been from their definition semi-public rather than private. This public aspect of the structures would naturally have nothing to do with the unlikely 'citizen' character of local communities – it could play out completely according to local rather than Roman social rules.

Bratislava and Bibracte tend to merge into a single explanation in the preceding lines; it is not necessarily correct. While it is much more likely that an Aeduan aristocrat could have formulated his order as a 'private basilica', in Bratislava the odds are surely higher in favour of the scenario of a local building type in Roman style. It is also suggested by the non-canonical plans of other local houses. In the case of the Magdalensberg basilica we need not doubt its basilica functions, and we may conjecture (without the possibility of ever finding out) whether it was the model for the structure on the Bratislava Castle Hill.

## THE ORIGIN OF OPPIDA

The question, to what extent the emergence of oppida in central Europe was inspired from the Mediterranean is the elephant in the room of research in Transalpine relations in the Late Iron Age. As already hinted in the Introduction, the idea that the emergence and floruit of oppida<sup>222</sup> in Transalpine Europe was due to an impulse from the Mediterranean has a long tradition in the history of research and has been reflected in one way or another by numerous scholars.<sup>223</sup> The idea in itself is not illogical considering the pre-eminence of cities in the settlement landscape of the ancient Mediterranean which inspired Transalpine peoples in other respects. Apart from such considerations, however, there have always been very few arguments to support these hypotheses. The evidence invoked by V. Kruta is at the best circumstantial, and based on hypothetical narrative constructions whose various aspects have been tested in several places in the previous pages with little success. There is extremely little evidence on the nature of the settlements of the north Italian Celts and what there is does not suggest any significant degree of urbanisation (VITALI 1996; 2004; KYSELA 2009; 2010); as Kruta's arguments are broadly culture-historical rather than strictly archaeological, it is unclear what other Mediterranean models we should be looking for and what features they should share with the Transalpine agglomerations. O.-H. Frey (1984; 1988) argued in favour of a genetic link between the oppida and Italian towns mainly on the grounds of 1) the *agger* type of rampart, and 2) the absence of towers which are

222 Over recent decades it has become clear that the emergence of the oppida was preceded throughout Transalpine Europe by agglomerations, concentrating various specialised activities. Surprisingly, a Mediterranean origin was never claimed for these settlements but only for the hilltop fortified oppida.

223 WERNER 1938/1979; BÖHM 1946, 37–38; DEHN 1961; KRUTA 1978, 174; 1980, 199–200; 1988, 288; KRUTA – LIČKA eds. 2001, 123; KRUTA – LIČKA – CESSON-LOUPPE eds. 2006, 205–206; FREY 1984; 1988; BOUZEK 1989, 129; 2007, 136, 143–145; ČIŽMÁŘ 1993a; DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1997, 109–114; 1998, 127–132; PERONI 2000; RIECKHOFF – BIEL 2001, 247–249; POLIŠENSKÝ 2003; SIEVERS 2003; GNESOTTO 2006.

characteristic of contemporary Greek fortifications but absent in Etruria;<sup>224</sup> he also realized that in oppida just like in the Etruscan cities the ramparts encircle much larger areas than was actually occupied. On the other hand, the hypothesis has been criticised by numerous scholars either refuting a Mediterranean role in the creation of oppida, or pointing out the absence of any reasonable evidence for it, and with no need for such a missionary intervention on the part of Transalpine societies (e.g. COLLIS 1995, 78; VITALI 1996, 340; BUCHSENSCHUTZ 2000; KAENEL 2006; FICHTL 2004b; 2005; KYSELA 2012a; SALAČ 2012, 338).

To focus on the formal aspects pointed out by Frey: just like those of the oppida, the walls of Etruscan and Italic cities (*Città murata* 2008; MILLER 1998; QIULICI – QUILICI-GIGLI eds. 2000) are indeed simple. They mostly encircle the entire plateau on which the city is built running along contour lines and following the configuration of the terrain. The rampart as a rule consists of a stone wall reinforced on the inside with a massive earth embankment (*agger*: QUILICI 1994). The stone wall itself is made of simple rubble in the earlier periods (Veii: BOITANI 2008) while the majority of 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century walls are made up of two stone faces filled in with rubble (e.g. Tarquinia: BARATTI – CATALDI – MORDEGLIA 2008; Vulci: SGUBINI – MORETTI 2008). Neither in Italy nor in central Europe is the *agger* an architectural choice; first and foremost, it is an indispensable structural element backing and strengthening the actual wall. Its value is in being the simplest, no matter how laborious, way of stabilising a stone wall of sufficient height while providing no other architectural or strategic advantage (FONTAINE 1990, 374). In Italy, the *agger* is mostly a simple rubble and earth structure leaning against the rear of the wall without any inner structure<sup>225</sup> (FONTAINE 1990; 2008; MILLER 1998; OAKLEY 1995). In contrast, timber-framed banks were already present in Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène fortifications throughout Europe (for Bohemia cf. MOTYKOVÁ – DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1984b, 368–371). There is no reason why the Late La Tène builders should have reached out to the Mediterranean for technological knowledge which had clear local roots. Although there is no sign of ramparts being employed between the early 4<sup>th</sup> and mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century, the old fortifications built in this way were still standing, and – e.g. in Závist – some of the oppida timber-framed ramparts were built directly on top of them.

A similar case can be made for the pincer gate, very common both in Italy and in the oppida. This gate type was widespread in early Italian fortifications (BRANDS 1988, 16–29), though from the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC on it was being replaced or developed by other, more sophisticated types based on the same principle (gates with an inner courtyard; projecting bastions, etc.). As in the case of the *agger*, the pincer gate is a logical solution widespread in numerous areas and periods (including Early La Tène Europe) and thus hardly requiring an outside inspiration. In Bohemia alone, pincer gates can be recognized in the Early La Tène hillforts of Sedlo u Albrechtic, Podšely, Starý Plzenec or Svržno (CHYTRÁČEK – METLIČKA 2004, 136–139, 236, 242, 247–253); even the pincer-type principal gate (D) in the oppidum of Závist was built on top of an Early La Tène gate with bastions working on the same principle (MOTYKOVÁ – DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1984b, 371–372).

Just like in the oppida, the ramparts of Etruscan and Italic towns are quite uninventive and unsophisticated (FONTAINE 2008, 212–217). They are simple linear walls of considerable length

224 The question is therefore not, whether the oppida were inspired by Mediterranean or not but only where this inspiration came from.

225 Neither internal wood nor stone constructions are usually attested though they are discussed in written sources (Varro, *Lingua Latina* v, 24); their absence may be due to the state of research. I am aware of only two cases of embankments with an inner wooden framework in pre-Roman Italy, in Spina (MALNATI – SASSATELLI 2008) and Forcello di Bagnolo San Vito (HUMMLER – CARVER 1988), both in the 5<sup>th</sup> century Po valley. In both sites the embankment or levee lacks the stone facing and protected the sites from floods rather than from sieges.

in which the only elements of active defence are the gates. There are almost no towers or bastions, not even wall indentations; postern and sally ports are rare. Such features appear only in the latest Italian pre-Roman fortifications (beginning in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC), as a response to the advanced siege warfare emerging in Italy at this period (PULICNELLI 2010). It is in this concept of an adequate reaction to specific ways of waging war that we have to read fortifications, rather than in terms of their simple formal similarity. The mutual resemblance between Italian ramparts on the one hand and those of Late La Tène Europe on the other is not caused by the derivation of the latter from the former but by the simple fact that both responded to the same needs, i.e. to similarly unsophisticated archaic ways of warfare and siege (cf. KYSELA 2015c).

Though the oppida and their defences provide convenient grounds for formal comparison, such an approach is too obviously divorced from reality. Oppida were only one of many components of complex settlement systems consisting also of open agglomerations, farms, enclosed households, and small hilltop settlements; more importantly, they were an artefact produced and utilised by a particular human society and it is from this point of view that their origin should be studied. Nonetheless, when discussing settlements as a social product rather than a material fact, Mediterranean archaeology becomes a welcome inspiration. Over recent decades, the topics of urbanisation, and of the origin, emergence and development of towns have been a subject repeatedly and vigorously discussed in both Greek and Italian archaeology (e.g. MÜLLER-KARPE 1962; *Formazione Lazio* 1980; DE POLIGNAC 1984; MORRIS 1987; ROSSI ed. 1988; PERONI 1996; DAAMGAARD ANDERSEN *et al.* eds. 1997; PACCIARELLI 2000; REDDÉ *et al.* eds. 2003; LAFON – MARC – SARTRE 2003; *Dinamiche di sviluppo* 2005; OSBORNE – CUNLIFFE eds. 2005; RIVA 2010). Significantly, what most of these studies understand as a ‘city’ is not the actual agglomeration, but rather the political and social unit and rather than about cities we are therefore talking here about (city) states, *poleis*. After all, the notion of a city being ‘people rather than houses’ is a common theme of ancient written sources (e.g. Thuc. II, 77.7; Cicero *Ad Atticum* VIII, 11.3; Paus. x, 4. 1–2). Consequently, Mediterranean archaeologists (curiously) often study the issue of city formation on the grounds of burial evidence (e.g. MÜLLER-KARPE 1962, 61–62; MORRIS 1987; PERONI 1996; PACCIARELLI 2000; 2010) while settlement evidence plays rather an auxiliary role (PERONI – DI GENNARO 1986). Though the creation of the actual settlement agglomeration surely has its significance (sometimes it is considered the ‘proto-urban threshold’, e.g. in 9<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century BC Etruria), the actual ‘urban’ stage in the opinion of most scholars was reached in the 7<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century when the cities were equipped with amenities such as road paving and sewers testifying to a community if not public projects, and most significantly with the appearance of central urban temples which is a clear sign of the emergence of community identities (cf. for the Greek world DE POLIGNAC 1984).

Apart from polis communities centred on a city (‘city states’), another form of social integration is well documented in the Italic world (CRISTOFANI 1978, 88–102), namely ‘territorial states’ e.g. in Samnium (LA REGINA 1989; LLOYD 1995; TAGLIAMONTE 1996; RAININI 2000; GIAMPAOLA 2000), Umbria (MALONE – STODDARD eds. 1994; DENCH 1995; BRADLEY 2000), but probably also in the territories of the north Italian Celts, mainly the Boii (Cato *apud* Plin. *NH* III, 116; Polyb. II, 17. 9–12; Livy XXXIV, 22; PEYRE 1992; VITALI 1996; 2004; SCHULZE-FORSTER 1998; KYSELA 2010a). These societies were organised into clans (*pagi*) and tribes (*populi*) forming a nation (*nomen*) with dispersed hierarchically undistinguished settlements (*vicatim* or *kata komas*) and central functions often exercised by sanctuaries. True urban centres appeared only after integration of these regions into the Roman world (LA REGINA 1989; FAUSTOFERRI – LLOYD 1998). Traditionally looked down upon as underdeveloped (Aristotle *Politics* II, 2.1261) these societies have received fuller appreciation in the last few decades with a better understanding of their adaptation to specific territorial conditions.

The shaping of this particular settlement structure along with a profound transformation of local society in Samnium was analysed in detail by Gianluca Tagliamonte (1996, 128–136). According to him, the motor for these transformations was war which reinforced social cohesion and self-definition *vis-à-vis* others, and prompted the integration of warriors into fellowships, active locally or as mercenaries abroad, and constituted local and regional identities. Rural sanctuaries were natural meeting points for representatives of the various dispersed communities.

As already pointed out by Collis (1995; 2012), settlement systems of Late Iron Age Transalpine Europe are in many respects akin to the settlement models of pre-Roman Samnium or Umbria. The social model described by Caesar in Late La Tène period Gaul is that of ‘tribal states – *civitates* – based on a territorial rather than a centralising principle and led by an oligarchic nobility controlling production and trade, and pursuing their political goals by interacting within a complex net of kinship, client, and ‘feudal’ relations (FICHTL 2004a; DOBESCH 2004, 27–28; COLLIS 2012). The roots of these political formations most probably go back to the Middle La Tène period (FICHTL 2004a). The most comprehensive model of social development in this crucial period was put forward by Stéphane Marion (2007; 2014) based on evidence from north-eastern France. Between LT B2 and C1 Marion observed a transformation of the burial rite with a certain democratisation of grave goods. The original emphasis on warrior burials diminished from LT C1 along with the appearance of rural sanctuaries like Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Gournay-sur-Arronde suggesting a shift of certain aspects of self-representation from the private to the public sphere. In Marion’s opinion, war was the prime mover of social integration, the catalyst of economic rationalisation, the impetus for more efficient territory management. These processes going hand in hand with demographic growth and social differentiation ultimately forced the appearance of agglomerations (e.g. Bobigny in the case of the Île-de-France). This scheme not only accounts for the emergence of the *equites* whose polycephalic authority over their *civitates* was described a few generations later by Caesar but also corresponds with the social dynamics reconstructed in Samnium (TAGLIAMONTE 1996, 128–136). Marion’s scheme though developed for France can, with the necessary modifications and caveats, be applied also to other regions of the La Tène world including Central Europe. The transformations of material culture, economic strategies, and settlement pattern there are roughly the same as in the Île-de-France (cf. industrial zones, ‘colonisation’ of previously vacant territories like southern Bohemia, etc.: VENCLOVÁ 2001; 2009; VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2008; SCHÄFER 2002; 2010; SALAČ 2011). The establishment of political authority can be unequivocally deduced from the strictly controlled coin production: Smělý (2017) argues on numismatic grounds in favour of the existence of full-fledged state formation in the entire territory of EnCE in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. The evidence from Gaul (and from Samnium) demonstrates the crucial role of sanctuaries in this process (MARION 2014; BARRAL – NOUVEL 2012; FERNÁNDEZ-GÖTZ 2012) and it is worth noting that also in the earliest agglomerations in central Europe sanctuaries seem to have been of utmost importance (Manching: WENDLING 2013; WENDLING – WINGER 2014; Roseldorf: HOLZER 2014). In Central Europe unlike in Gaul we are not able to reconstruct the extent of these political entities, to draw political boundaries, and thus to understand the relations between the specific sites, but this is not a topic which should matter at this point.

What is important, the phenomena we observe in Central Europe are essentially identical in their material manifestations with those which in western Europe led to the appearance of early states. The transformation of the settlement pattern with the appearance of new settlement categories – agglomerations first and oppida afterwards – is a constant symptom of these social developments and can be understood as their natural product with no need

for external inspiration, no matter if their establishment was dictated by practical needs or if there were other elements at play, e.g. prestige as recently convincingly argued by Moore and Ponroy (2014). Prestige and immaterial, seemingly irrational, reasons behind the foundation of oppida merit a special place in this discussion. As realised already by Woolf (1993), one of the functions which communities building them endow in their fortifications (i.e. one of the few forms of monumental architecture present and recognisable in prehistoric Europe) is to display their potency and their very existence. Apart from practical reasons which need not be doubted, a significant point is that of the legitimisation of power through reference to earlier (in our case Early Iron Age) monumental constructions.

Instances in which an oppidum comes to existence through fortification of a previously open agglomeration are rare (Manching, Besançon?, Chateaufort?). More commonly we observe a sparse ill-defined human presence in the future oppida (Závist, Stradonice, Hrazany?, České Lhotice, Plavecké Podhradie, Velem, the Donnersberg, Bibracte?). Very often – and frequently in the earliest oppida in central Europe – the oppida were founded in the location of an Early Iron Age settlement: Ha/LT A hillforts: Závist, the Steinsburg (PESCHEL 2005), the Staffelberg (ABELS 1987/1988), Corent (MILCENT *et al.* 2014); Bourges (AUGIER – KRAUSZ 2012); Ha /LT A occupation: Hrazany (JANSOVÁ 1982; ČTVERÁK 2002); Staré Hradisko (DANIELISOVÁ 2014), Bibracte (GUILLAUMET 2003); tumuli: Manching (WENDLING 2013, 463–466), České Lhotice (DANIELISOVÁ 2010). In some cases, a continuous human presence can be hypothesised in these hillforts from the Early to the Late La Tène period, with a reduction and change in character in LT B and C: Vladař, Závist?, the Steinsburg, Staffelberg, Donnersberg, Martberg, Dünsberg, Milsenburg, etc. To focus on Bohemia, its southern half is a region in which the hillforts always played a highly important role (CHYTRÁČEK – METLIČKA 2004; JOHN 2003). The appearance of oppida here is only another, not the first and not the last, chapter of this long tradition.

The oppida may differ from Early La Tène hillforts, but so did 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century society from that of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. Therefore, in my opinion, oppida were a fully organic and functional component of the Late La Tène settlement landscape though operating more within the rationality of that period rather than ours.



### III. CONCLUSION



## WHAT, WHEN, WHERE...

We have gone through the evidence (in a perhaps not always completely congruous way) and the time has come to try and make some sense of the chronologically, territorially, and thematically scattered data. We will begin with some basic statistics of the imports (numbers of objects per phases, regions and artefact categories) before moving on to synthesise these findings with the results of studies on coins and invisible imports.

	bronze vessels	jewel- lery	medical instru- ments	ecofacts	other	sum
<b>Bohemia</b>	1	2				<b>3</b>
<b>hoard</b>	1					<b>1</b>
Stebno-Nouze	1					<b>1</b>
<b>cemetery</b>		1				<b>1</b>
Libenice		1				<b>1</b>
<b>unknown</b>		1				<b>1</b>
Libčeves		1				<b>1</b>
<b>EnCE</b>	2	14		2	1	<b>19</b>
<b>agglomeration</b>	2	6			1	<b>9</b>
Němčice nad Hanou	2	6			1	<b>9</b>
<b>sanctuary</b>		1		2		<b>3</b>
Roseldorf		1		2		<b>3</b>
<b>rural settlement</b>		2				<b>2</b>
Biskupice		1				<b>1</b>
Mistrín		1				<b>1</b>
<b>cemetery</b>		1				<b>1</b>
Brno-Horní Heršpice		1				<b>1</b>
<b>chance find</b>		3				<b>3</b>
Hrušky		1				<b>1</b>
Hulín		1				<b>1</b>
Slavkov		1				<b>1</b>
<b>unknown</b>		1				<b>1</b>
Nejdek		1				<b>1</b>
<b>WnCE</b>			2		1	<b>3</b>
<b>agglomeration</b>					1	<b>1</b>
Manching					1	<b>1</b>
<b>cemetery</b>			2			<b>2</b>
München-Obermenzing			2			<b>2</b>
<b>Sum</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>25</b>

Fig. 125a: Mediterranean imports in the pre-oppida period Central Europe. Overview per site and category type.



	bronze vessels	glass vessels	mirrors	jewel- lery	finger rings	med. instr.	wr. instr.	pottery	amph.	eco- facts	other	sum
<b>hoard</b>				<b>5</b>								<b>5</b>
Ptení				5								5
<b>chance find</b>	<b>2</b>											<b>2</b>
Hrubčice	1											1
Těšice	1											1
<b>WnCE</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>199</b>
<b>oppidum</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>170</b>
Manching	70	14	20	4	4	4	1	5	35	1	3	161
Leonberg	4											4
Kelheim	3											3
Freinberg	1											1
Steinsburg	1											1
<b>hill-top site</b>	<b>6</b>											<b>6</b>
Karlstein	6											6
<b>agglomeration</b>	<b>7</b>			<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>				<b>1</b>			<b>10</b>
Berching-Pollanten	2				1				1			4
Egglfing	1			1								2
Altendorf	2											2
Passau	1											1
Steinebach	1											1
<b>sanctuary</b>	<b>1</b>											<b>1</b>
Forggensee	1											1
<b>rural settlement</b>				<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>					<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>
Dornach											1	1
Jüchsen				1		2						3
Brendlorenzen					1							1
<b>hoard</b>	<b>2</b>											<b>2</b>
Gaggers	1											1
Reitenbucher Forst	1											1
<b>unknown</b>	<b>4</b>											<b>4</b>
Karlstadt	1											1
Salzburg	1											1
Wallersdorf	1											1
Weißenburg	1											1
<b>viereckschanze</b>									<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>
Marklkofen									1			1
<b>Sum</b>	<b>329</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>745</b>

Fig. 125b: Mediterranean imports in the oppida period Central Europe. Overview per site and category type.

Overall, 770 artefacts have been classified as Mediterranean imports in our working area of narrower Central Europe (**Fig. 125**). Out of these, 25 artefacts date to the pre-oppida period, i.e. 4<sup>th</sup>–mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (three in Bohemia, three in WnCE, and as many as 19 in EnCE). The rest, i.e. 745 objects reached Central Europe in the century between the middle/second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the middle/third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. These consist of 301 objects in Bohemia, 245 in EnCE and 199 in WnCE. Within the oppida period we may further distinguish a very late horizon of Roman impact manifested in the oppida of Bratislava and Devín which are in all probability basically mutually exclusive with the other sites from a chronological point of view. The site of Wien-Rochusmarkt/Kundmannngasse on the other hand dates, in my opinion, at least partially to a slightly earlier horizon and is contemporary with the late phases of sites like Stradonice, Staré Hradisko, and Manching). Should we set Bratislava and Devín with their 66 imported objects apart, the number of oppida period imports in EnCE drops to 179, becoming closer to the total of WnCE.

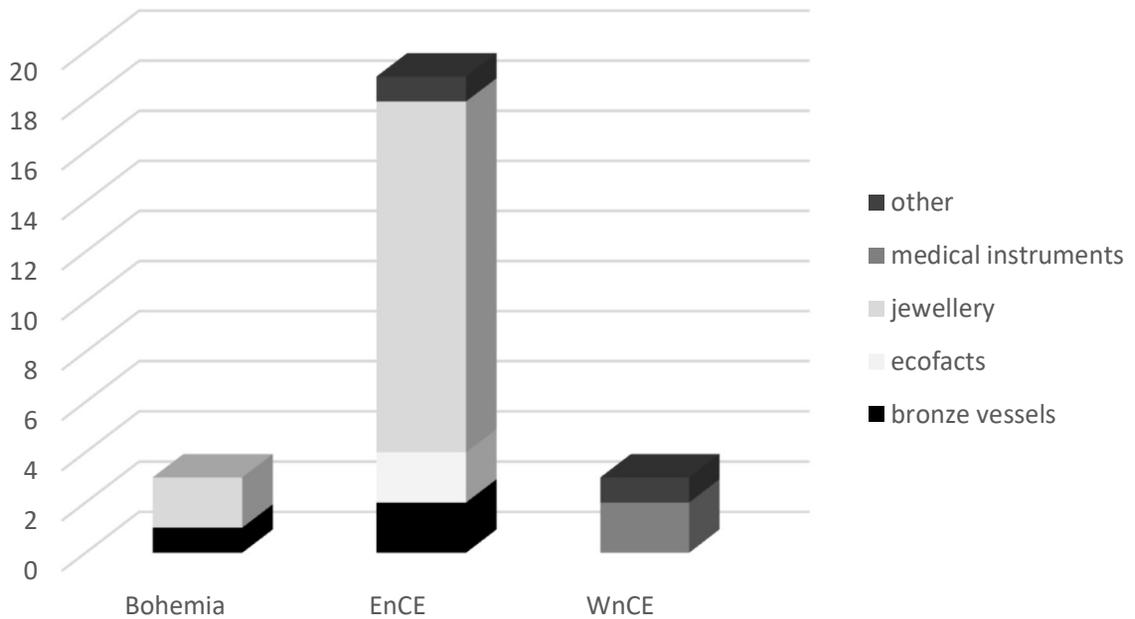
#### THE PRE-OPPIDA PERIOD

The majority of imports of the pre-oppida period are glass beads. Their under-representation in WnCE may be partly due to the fact that unlike this region for which the only available find overviews are those of Manching (GEBHARD 1989) and later Eggfing (UENZE 2000; 2005), the glass ornaments in the eastern parts of our study region have been under the constant watchful and proactive control of Natalie Venclová, Maciej Karwowski, and most recently Hana Čižmářová. These inconspicuous beads are moreover less likely to be presented in summaries or preliminary excavation publications, unlike bronze vessels or finger rings. Still, it is interesting to note that even the types of glass beads identified as Mediterranean imports in EnCE and Bohemia hardly ever appear in WnCE. The explanation may indeed lie in the distinction between east and west, though not necessarily on a purely material level. The identifications of Mediterranean bead types by Natalie Venclová and Maciej Karwowski largely depend on the classification of beads in the northern Black Sea region by E. M. Alekseeva (1975/1978/1982). No comparable comprehensive study is as yet available for Italy and the western Mediterranean (the collection of data by Th. E. Haevernick focuses mainly on the Early Iron Age). If there are specifically Italian types of glass bead (theoretically more likely to appear in WnCE than in EnCE) we are simply unable to identify them. Even so the contrast is enormous even between EnCE with 15 or 17<sup>226</sup> glass beads and Bohemia with a mere two, by themselves, pretty uninspiring, items.

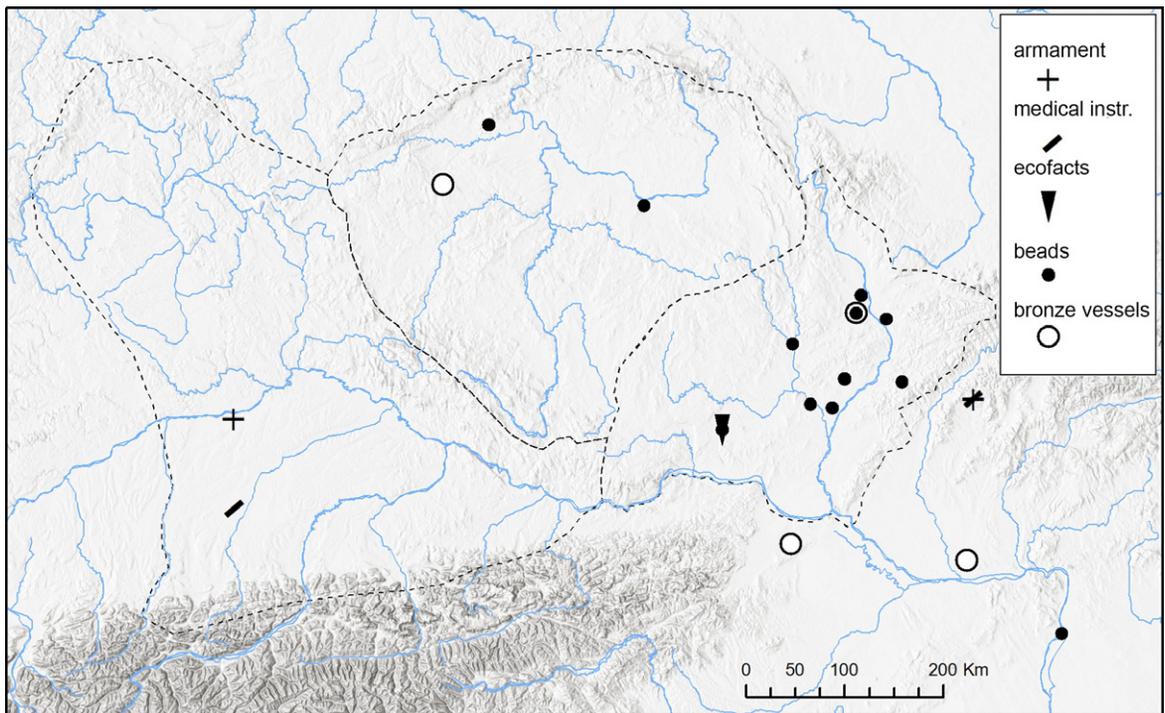
When dealing with more obvious imports (**Figs. 126, 127**), we struggle to find at least some coherence in the very motley contact indicators of the pre-oppida period: the two seeds from Roseldorf are unique curiosities, not only in the context of our study. The bronze vessels (or fragments thereof) from Stebno-Nouze and Němčice nad Hanou, the surgical instruments from Munich-Obermenzing, and the helmet cheek-piece from Manching all find some counterparts elsewhere in the Transalpine world (cf. Mannersdorf, Waldalgesheim, Hurbanovo, etc. for bronze vessels; Slatina nad Bebravou for, remarkably, both the medical instruments and the armour fragment). In reality, however, these objects have little in common in terms of their chronology and provenance: an Etruscan Hellenistic vessel from Stebno, and an Etruscan Late Archaic one from Mannersdorf, Greek/Macedonian vessels in Waldalgesheim, Němčice, Hurbanovo, etc.; an Italian cheek-piece from Manching as opposed to possibly a Tarentine armour strap fitting from Slatina...

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226 Two of them are residual finds from the oppidum of Staré Hradisko.



**Fig. 126: Distributions of the import categories in the study regions in the pre-oppida period.**



**Fig. 127: Distribution of Mediterranean imports of the pre-oppida period in Central Europe.**

We can attempt to break down this complex picture in chronological and spatial terms (**Fig. 128**). The earliest items in the list are the situlae from Mannersdorf and Waldalgesheim, whose deposition surely occurred already within the late 4<sup>th</sup> century. There is a considerably larger and relatively coherent group of objects, mainly metal-ware, whose deposition can be

dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The latest horizon of the pre-oppida period, corresponding with LT C2 and composed of sets of surgical instruments, possibly a helmet cheek-piece and a far-flung sherd, is on the other hand quite unimpressive.

The situation gets particularly complicated if we search for a geographical pattern, both in terms of the origin and the deposition of the objects. Most of the early bronze vessels were probably produced in Greece and Macedonia. It is true of the majority of those discov-

	artefact	chronology of production	chronology of deposition	region of origin	region of discovery	parallels
<b>Mannersdorf</b>	br. vessel	LT A	LT B1	northern Italy	MDA	-
<b>Waldalgesheim</b>	br. vessel	LT B	LT B1	Macedonia	Rhineland	Istria, Liburnia, Carpathian Basin
						Picenum
	coins			Greece		
<b>Stebno</b>	br. vessel	LT B2	LT B2-C1	Etruria	Bohemia	-
<b>Hurbanovo</b>	br. vessel	LT B	LT B2/C1-C1	Greece	CB	-
<b>Szob</b>	br. vessel	LT B2/C1	LT C1	Greece	CB	Szabolcs
<b>Szabolcs</b>	br. vessel	LT B2-C1		Greece	CB	Szob
<b>Manching</b>	Kultbäumchen technology	LT C1		local	local	Tarentum?
						Macedonia?
<b>Slatina nad Bebravou</b>	armour shoulder strap	LT B2-C1	LT C1b	South Italy?	CB fringe	-
<b>Roseldorf</b>	seeds	-	LT C1?	?		-
<b>Němčice</b>	br. vessel	LT B-C1	LT C1(a-C2?)	Macedonia?	MDA	Istria, Liburnia
						imit. at Manching
	coins			Italy		Istria, Liburnia
<b>Slatina nad Bebravou</b>	surgical instruments	?	LT C1-C2	?	CB fringe	Munich Obermenzing
<b>Munich Obermenzing</b>	surgical instrument	?	LT C2	?	Bavaria	Slatina nad Bebravou
<b>Manching</b>	helmet cheek piece	LT B2-C?	LT C2-D	Italy	Bavaria	-
<b>Breisach-Hochstetten</b>	pottery	LT C1	LT C1-C2	Italy	Rhineland	Gurina

**Fig. 128: Overview of imports of the pre-oppida period in broader Central Europe excluding glass beads (in chronological order). CB = Carpathian Basin; MDA = Middle Danube Area; light grey = West; dark grey = East.**

ered in the Carpathian Basin or on its margins but also of the Waldalgesheim outlier, and it corresponds nicely with the Greco-Macedonian bias of the earliest horizon of coin imports in Central Europe dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> or the beginnings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. On the other hand, the few vessels of Italian origin include the unique basin from Stebno and the antique bucket buried in Mannersdorf.

An imaginary boundary between east and west (i.e. Greece and Italy in terms of production, the Carpathian Basin and the Middle Danube region as opposed to Germany and Bohemia in terms of distribution) is contradicted by the Macedonian situla in Waldalgesheim and the Etruscan one in Mannersdorf as well as by the Tarentine armour strap fitting found in Slatina nad Bebravou. While the former two are both of a very early date, the latter on the contrary was buried a century after them and at least three generations after the deposition of the Macedonian vessels in Karaburma, Hurbanovo, Szob, and perhaps Nĕmčice nad Hanou.<sup>227</sup> A similar vessel was probably present (because imitated) in Manching though here the provenance of the model obviously cannot even be guessed. Still in Manching, the extraordinary case of the golden 'Kultbäumchen' (worth mentioning here though we will discuss technological innovation separately later on) is equivocal too; Maier presented fully credible analogies from Tarentum but we can see that similar artefacts are to be found throughout the Greek world.

This chaotic picture is not very conducive to presenting any clear-cut patterns. It can be accounted for by two – to a great extent complementary – explanations. The first and simpler one is that this randomness actually reflects the original state of things in the dynamic and highly interconnected Middle La Tène period in which each of the listed artefacts probably arrived at its final destination via an individual, long, complex, eventful, and anything but linear journey. For the other explanation we may recall the surprisingly numerous examples of situlae belonging to this early phase and of both Etruscan and Greek origin in the Adriatic (Montefortino, Rijeka, Osanici, Novi Vindolski, and particularly Nesactium) proving a crucial intermediary role for the (upper) Adriatic area for contacts between Italy and the Carpathian Basin in the earlier stages of the pre-oppida period (as confirmed also by other evidence: KAVUR – BLEČIĆ KAVUR 2014; BLEČIĆ KAVUR – KAVUR 2017). Under these circumstances I find it very probable that at least some of the Italian objects discovered in Central Europe could have arrived there by the roundabout route of an Adriatic intermediary and the dynamic hub of the Carpathian Basin. The Mannersdorf *kalathos* may seem too early (in terms of its burial, leaving aside its even earlier production) for such an interpretation but let us not forget that Mannersdorf also produced one find of a characteristic central Adriatic double pin (RAMSL 2009). A journey through the Adriatic and the Carpathian Basin would surely be a very probable explanation for the peregrination of the Slatina nad Bebravou cuirass fitting. Most importantly, it was without a shadow of doubt the upper and middle Adriatic which played – together with northern Italy – a key role in the circulation of Greek coins of the second horizon of their distribution, dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> and first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. As I argued above, it was surely in this area that the characteristic *facies* mixing mainly Ptolemaic, Syracusan, and Punic coins had occurred before the coins crossed the Alps, probably sometime in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. A better understanding of the nature of interaction between the Adriatic coast, the Mediterranean and central Europe in the 4<sup>th</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC remains a most important task for future research.

Between the early 3<sup>rd</sup> and the early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, the original centre of gravity of Mediterranean contacts with Central Europe seems to have shifted slightly from the eastern Mediterranean (Greece, Macedonia) and the Carpathian Basin towards the western Mediterranean

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227 The chronology of this surface find cannot be stated with any precision.

and Italy, the role of the upper Adriatic in mediating these contacts and of the Middle Danube area in receiving them remained nevertheless the same. It is in the Middle Danube area that the most dynamic local development occurred around the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, its principal manifestations being the emergence of settlement agglomerations, the adoption of coinage and a thriving glass production. In these respects, this area looks east or southeast rather than southwest; the adopted coinage is based on Macedonian models. In terms of glass working the Middle Danube area forms an integral part of a production zone centred on the northern part of the Carpathian Basin (VENČLOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014).

Further west the same phenomena set in with a slight delay and at first in a less impressive way. In Bavaria a single autonomous coinage had emerged probably in later LT C1 after a long term exposure to monetary influence from the west (ZIEGAUS 2010), while Bohemia replicated the Moravian monetary model in numerous variations (MILITKÝ 2018a). In both regions, Macedonian coinage is the model not only in terms of weight standard (which can be explained by practical considerations) but also (in most cases) from an iconographic point of view. It need not always be the case in Bohemia with its wide array of issues, each with their individual images; not all of these can be linked with specific Mediterranean models, but when it is the case, even where the links can only be tentatively suggested, these are almost always Greek rather than western. This correlates well with what we observe in Bohemia in terms of imported coins in which pieces from Greece, Macedonia, and Thrace outnumbered the Italian, Punic, or Ptolemaic pieces common elsewhere. Bavaria stuck to Macedonian models notwithstanding its Italian inclinations which mainly becomes obvious in the following period and which are suggested by such remarkable instances of individual mobility as the presence *in loco* of an artisan trained in Tarentine (?) gold-working techniques or of the early Bavarian gold coin discovered in Sicily.

We will return to the somewhat elusive pre-oppida period evidence in the following chapter. For the moment let us pass on to the following phase.

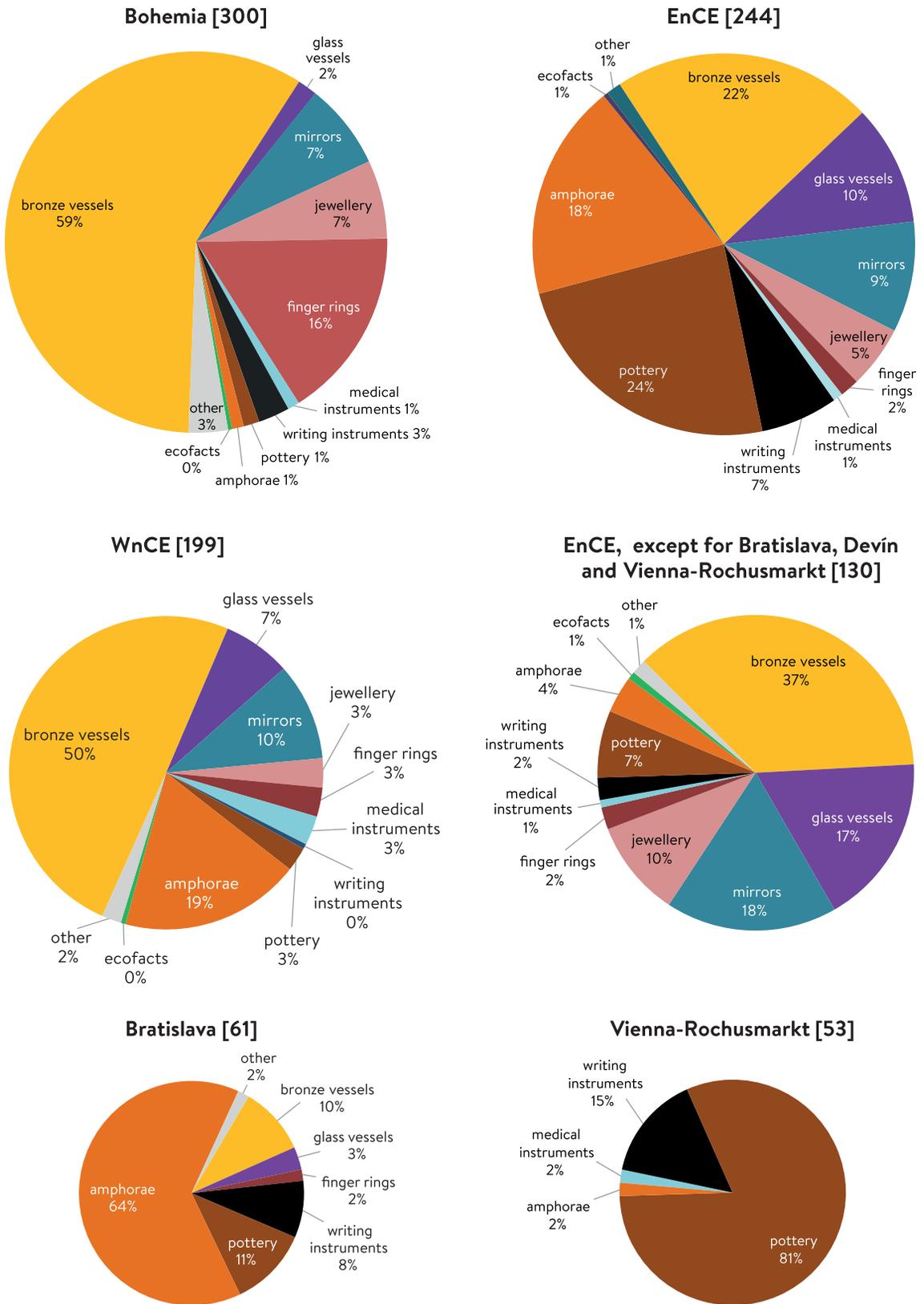
## THE OPPIDA PERIOD

In chapter II.2 we saw that Mediterranean imports in central Europe of the oppida period consisted of a rather limited range of well-defined artefact categories represented by the same artefact types. This is in stark contrast with what we have just seen in the case of the preceding centuries and is similar to the situation in other parts of Late La Tène Europe, especially with Gaul (OLMER *et al.* 2013; BARBAU 2019). There too imports start appearing consistently only from the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century; this is true of both the amphorae which make up the huge majority of them but also of bronze vessels and other artefact types better documented in Central Europe.

### The categories

The numerical discrepancies between the individual Central European regions in this period (Bohemia 301; WnCE 199; EnCE 179) are caused partly by factors due to research history. In all of them, however, the same import categories are represented (**Fig. 129**).

At first sight the proportions between these categories differ quite strongly; there are nevertheless some corrections to be done in order to make the data mutually comparable. In EnCE, it will often be necessary to set aside Bratislava and Devín for chronological reasons; in some cases the same should be done with Vienna. We will have cause to argue in detail that the site differs in many respects from the norm in Late La Tène transalpine Europe and has to be studied separately which will be done in what follows.



**Fig. 129: Mediterranean imports in Central Europe in the oppida period. Representation of import categories in the individual study regions and in selected sites.**

In all the regions, the best represented category are the bronze vessels amounting to 59% in Bohemia, 37% in EnCE and 50% in WnCE. The second best represented categories vary significantly. Curiously, in each region the second category reaches *ca* 20% while in the two neighbouring ones they are represented by (often quite low) single digits. In Bohemia it is finger rings with 16%, as opposed to 2% (corresponding to two objects) in EnCE, and 3% (six objects) in WnCE. In WnCE, 19% of amphorae are mirrored by only 1% (three objects) in Bohemia, and 4% (4 objects, MNI 3) in EnCE (not forgetting that Bratislava, Vienna, and Devín do not count here; if we include them, their share will be 18% and will end up third in the list after pottery with 24% and bronze vessels reduced to 22%). On the other hand the second best represented category in EnCE are glass vessels<sup>228</sup> with as much as 17% (25 fragments) which in WnCE reach 7% (14 fragments) and in Bohemia a mere 2% (6 pieces). Somewhat larger percentages are reached by jewellery (the problem concerning glass beads which we have already discussed remains valid in this period as well): 7% in Bohemia, 10% in EnCE, but only 3% in WnCE. Pottery is represented by 7% in EnCE (but it would be 24% including Vienna and Bratislava and as much as 28% including only the contemporary Vienna), while in WnCE it reaches 3% and in Bohemia it sinks to a mere 1%. The other categories including writing instruments, medical instruments, ecofacts, and the catch-all category of 'others' oscillate between 4 and 1% in all the regions. Significantly enough, even the least represented categories are never totally missing in any of the three regions.

In WnCE the distribution of the single categories seems more balanced than in Bohemia and EnCE, but the general impression of bronze vessels followed by one or two categories in the second rank and then by a range of 'the rest' is valid universally in all the regions.

The differences between these regions are surely at least partly due to the original situation and we will analyse them in due course; before doing so it is, however, worth comparing this relatively coherent picture with the sites we excluded in the first place – Bratislava and Vienna.<sup>229</sup> Bratislava with its 59 objects/MNI includes many of the previously discussed categories albeit some (jewellery, mirrors, medical instruments, ecofacts) are missing while others are represented in unparalleled proportions: a large quantity of amphorae (66%) is followed by pottery (12%; 7 MNI), and only then by bronze vessels with a mere 8% (5 items), and writing instruments with 7% (4 artefacts). Glass vessels, finger rings, and 'other' with 3–2% each correspond to a single or a couple of artefacts. The difference between Bratislava on the one hand and WnCE, Bohemia, and the rest of EnCE on the other is obvious, but still may be partly due to the small number of objects and special conditions under which evidence has to be extracted from rescue excavations in a city centre. No such excuses can be reasonably made in the case of Vienna; the settlement zone revealed by the Stadtarchäologie excavations have brought to light a range of imports consisting of 81% of pottery (including baking pans, common wares and *mortaria* not represented at any other site), 2% MNI of amphorae, and 15% (= 8 objects) of writing instruments, i.e. an artefactual assemblage with no counterpart in contemporary Central Europe. The practices carried out there (and the community carrying them out) must have clearly differed from what was the norm in both Central Europe in general and also in the somewhat special Bratislava.

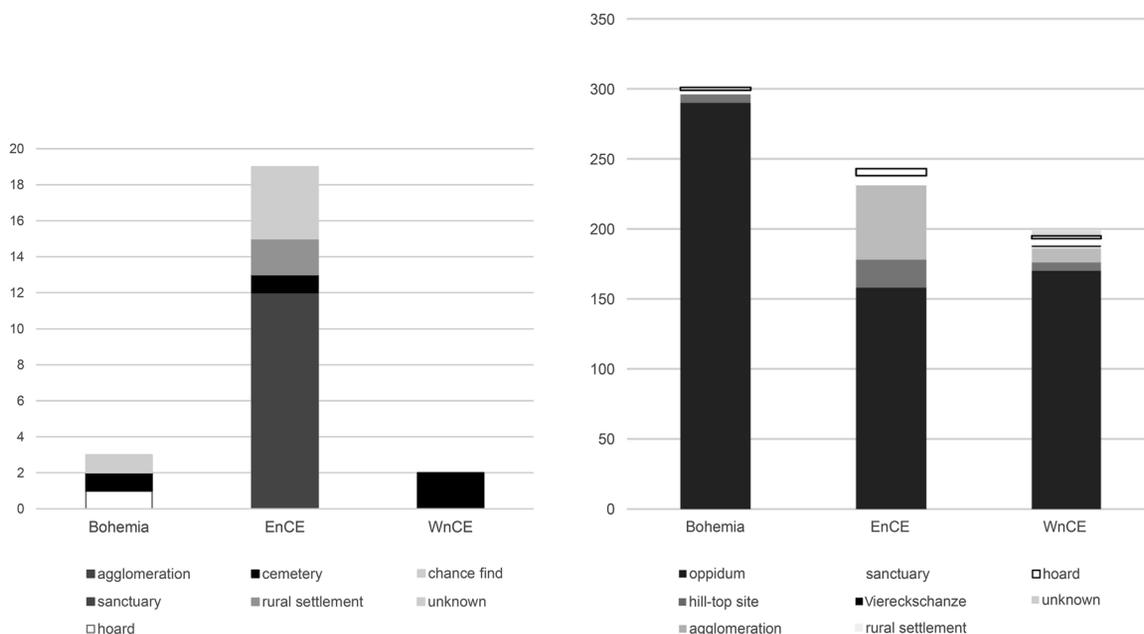
228 I disregard here the mirrors (18%) whose import status is questionable and whose representation in the sites is more than any other category subject to external factors (research history and our quantification method).

229 We will refrain from involving Devín to our discussion due to the uncertainty as to how much of it actually dates to the Augustan period, which would further complicate our inquiry without the possibility of answering these questions adequately.

**The sites**

A comparison of our study regions from the point of view of types of sites in which the imports have been discovered is worth attention (Fig. 130).

In the **pre-oppida period**, EnCE stands out in this respect (Fig. 125a, 130). In comparison with Bohemia and WnCE with exclusively burial or hoard/sanctuary finds, over half of the finds in EnCE came from the agglomerations of Němčice nad Hanou and Roseldorf, while eight objects (40%) were other settlement or surface finds – from settlements lacking oppida period occupation (we disregard here two residual beads from Staré Hradisko). Two finds from burials only complemented this rich picture.



**Fig. 130: Types of sites having yielded Mediterranean imports of the pre-oppida (left) and oppida (right) period.**

This situation changed in the **oppida period** during which the absolute majority of finds come from oppida followed by smaller hill-top settlements, open agglomerations and simple open settlements/surface finds (Fig. 125b, 130). Hoards are also represented by a limited number of finds in all the studied regions. What varies significantly are the proportions: oppida are represented by 96% in Bohemia, 85% in WnCE and 83% in EnCE.<sup>230</sup>

The smaller hilltop sites (2% in Bohemia, 2% in WnCE, 10% in EnCE) are a somewhat tricky category; the only site which we can attribute to it in WnCE is the Karlstein.<sup>231</sup> Although it seems to be well represented in EnCE with as much as 10% of the finds, it is worth recalling

230 That is, if we exclude the sites in Vienna which, as argued above, clearly differ from the normal archaeological picture of the region and it is not clear what kind of settlement category the site represents (it should be most likely listed as an agglomeration); including the 21% made up by finds from Vienna, the share from oppida on the EnCE pattern would drop to 64%.

231 It is however not at all sure which of the finds listed by Reinecke (1911) come from lowland and which from hill-top sites. Reinecke gives no clues to identify his ‘La Tène Wohnstätte I-VIII’.

that in the southern part of this region, true oppida are unknown and possibly replaced there by sites like the Oberleiserberg and maybe Lukov-Ostrov. At the same time, some of the listed small hill-top sites from EnCE are those of the Púchov and not the La Tène Culture. Last but not least we listed Thunau am Kamp for the sake of simplicity as a single 'hill-top' site though two out of the three imports there come from the lowland settlement at the foot of the hill. The same is true of Kolo u Týnce nad Labem, only one of two 'small hill-top sites' in Bohemia which it is necessary to discuss here along with the peripheral Sedlo. These issues of precise definition need not be absolutely insisted on – the point here is that of emphasising the diversity of settlement types.

As far as agglomerations and even sizeable open settlements are concerned, knowledge of them is very limited in Bohemia and it is no surprise that no import can be named from such a site unless we count here the annexe of Kolo mentioned above. Similarly in EnCE, the Middle La Tène agglomerations seem to have disappeared after LT C2. In WnCE on the other hand, although Manching is already to be regarded as an oppidum at this stage, the sites with imports which could be classified as agglomerations or to some extent central lowland (open?) settlements are quite numerous and include Berching Pollanten, Altendorf, and Eggfing, as well as probably Passau. Brendlorenzen, though of limited size, is interesting for its concentration of production activities.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature is the presence of imports in simple open settlements: In WnCE, there are a dozen such sites including e.g. the small and seemingly peripheric Jüchsen with three imports, six other sites can be named from EnCE including Bořitov with as many as four finds and Michelstetten with two. In Bohemia on the other hand, only three open settlements of the oppida period have produced finds of southern imports. In these small open settlements, imports are represented in much the same way as in the agglomerations – they produced fragments of bronze vessels, usually strainers (Strakonice, Lipec, Wallersdorf, Weißenburg, Bořitov, Zohor, etc.), but also jugs (Olšovice), finger rings (Bořitov), pottery (Michelstetten), glass beads (Altendorf), and even a bronze statuette of Minerva (Dornach). Particularly remarkable here is Bořitov which, excavated in its entirety, produced finds of several categories of imports.

This overview makes it clear that the assumed differences of status between agglomerations and small open settlements is not always reflected by either the quantity or the quality of imported objects; some agglomerations have produced no imported finds at all (Neubau near Linz; Žehuň; Lovosice) or only the most mundane of them (strainer components in Eggfing, Steinebach, and Passau; a ring and somewhat questionable bronze vessel fragments in Berching-Pollanten). Equally under-represented are *Viereckschanzen* in which the only imports discovered within our working area are the amphora sherds in Marklkofen. If agglomerations are traditionally considered to be the hubs of trade networks and *Viereckschanzen* the seats of elites, imports would be more than expected in both of these settlement types. Either we are wrong in considering imports to be prestige objects brought by long distance trade (and so we ought to change our preconceptions), or our knowledge of both settlement types is distorted in one way or another.

The presence of imports in ritual contexts, hoards (?) and sanctuaries, is rather anecdotal.

The presence of Mediterranean imports is however, as has already been said, clearly most characteristic of the oppida. Even more importantly, the imports are not evenly spread among all the sites of this type but in each region they concentrate in a single oppidum while the others lag behind it considerably; in Bohemia 73% of imports come from Stradonice, 17% from Třísov, followed by Závist with mere 5%. Hrazany and České Lhotice with only 1% of finds each

come only after the peripheral Kolo discussed above with a 2% share. Similarly, in WnCE we are dealing with 81% finds from Manching, while Kelheim, Leonberg, and the Steinsburg all contribute only 1–2%. In EnCE, Staré Hradisko and Bratislava are chronologically mutually exclusive. Excluding Bratislava and Devín from the statistics, Staré Hradisko accounts for 50% of imports; moreover, excluding the culturally insular Vienna, the share of Staré Hradisko rises to 71%, while the contemporary Pohanská and Hostýn reach only 1%. The 7% share of the Oberleiserberg makes it the second best represented site in EnCE though strictly speaking it is not an oppidum.

This situation may be to some extent due to the history of research: the richest sites are those discovered earliest and subject to the most intensive fieldwork, be it clandestine as in Stradonice, a combination of amateur and official as at Staré Hradisko, or official as at Manching or Třísov. In the latter site for instance, the number of imports grew three-fold after the systematic metal detector surveys (KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014). At the same time it is worth realising that the long-term excavations at Třísov already produced more imported finds than the excavations in Závist did (16 as opposed to 10) although Závist was excavated for the same time span (28 excavation seasons in both cases) and with much greater intensity.

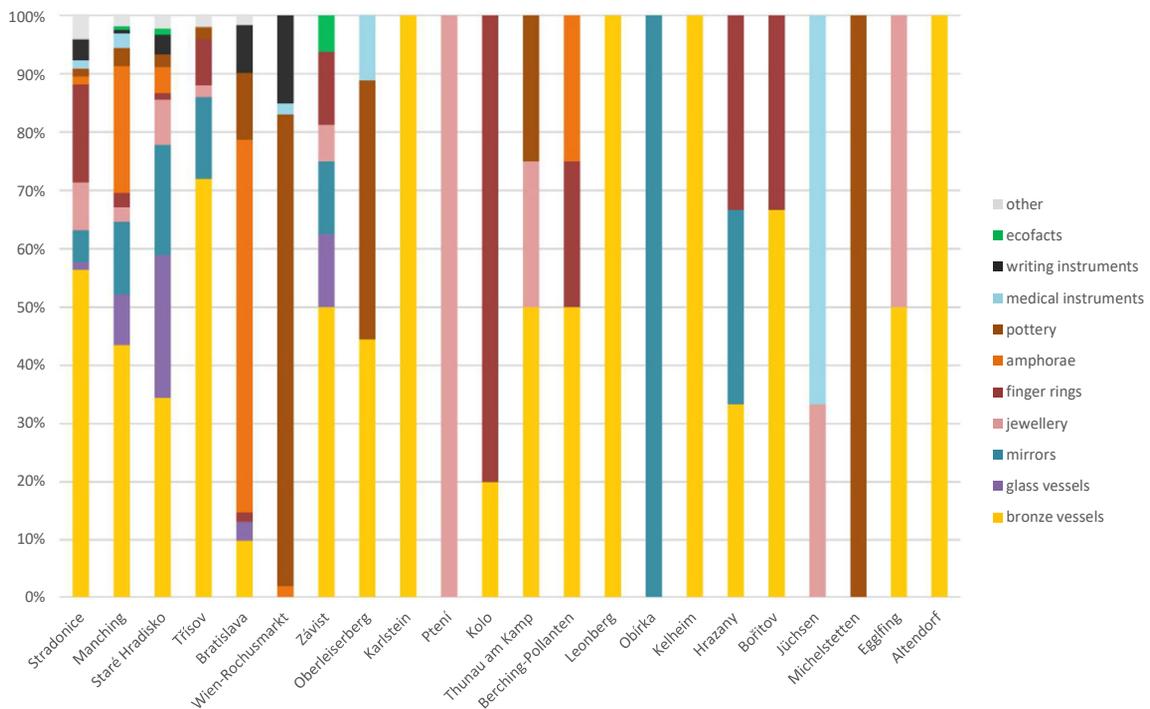
It is worth comparing this picture with the data available for Gaul (BARBAU 2019, 207–220). There too oppida are by far the principal recipients of Mediterranean imports followed by the significantly less represented open agglomerations and some limited presence of hill-top sites and rural settlements (not distinguishing between simple farms and higher status enclosed sites). The slight discrepancies between the two regions (a higher representation of small hill-top sites than agglomerations in Central Europe and inversely in Gaul) can be explained by different research histories but the general picture is basically the same including the principal role of oppida, clearly a secondary position for agglomerations and a very low visibility of *Viereckschanzen* or their equivalents, though in Gaul these categories are well represented by amphora and imported pottery finds not listed by Barbau. One significant component of the Gaulish statistics, funerary contexts, are unavailable in Central Europe although in Gaul imports appear in them mostly from the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC on, i.e. in a period no longer represented in our study area. Curiously, the frequent presence of Kelheim type jugs in Gaulish burials (BARBAU 2019, 214) may find its reflection also in the only (possible) burial find from Central Europe, that of the eponymous Kelheim burial (albeit not in association with a Aylesford type pan as is common in Gaul).<sup>232</sup> Though we can detect certain similarities between Central Europe and Gaul in terms of sites with finds of imported *instrumentum*, things change radically when we take into account quantities (Gaul lags considerably behind Central Europe in the period under study), chronology (most – non ceramic – imports arrive in Gaul only after the conquest), and principally if we broaden our scope to include imports of amphorae and pottery as well; in this respect Gaul totally overshadows Central Europe. We will return to Gaul when discussing the single find categories.

### Patterns

What is equally important to realise is the degree of ‘completeness’ of the general pattern, i.e. how many of the eleven observed categories are present/absent on the individual sites (**Fig. 131**). From this perspective, the most complete is the pattern of Manching in which all the categories are represented, followed by Stradonice (ecofacts are lacking which is not surpris-

<sup>232</sup> It should be kept in mind however that the interpretation of the Kelheim find as a burial, though not excluded, is to a large extent conjectural (PAULI 1993, 53).

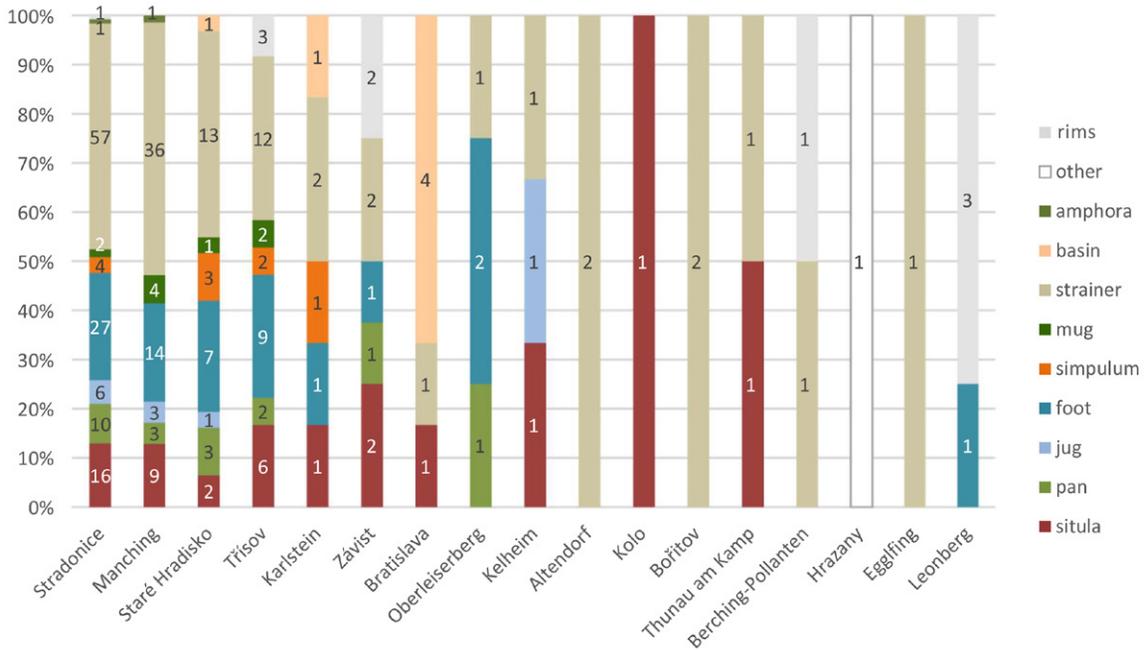
ing given the date and nature of most excavations in the site), and Staré Hradisko (lacking medical implements), then Třisov (with no medical and writing instruments, amphorae, and ecofacts), Bratislava (lacking, unlike all the other sites, jewellery other than finger-rings and mirrors, as well as the more usual medical instruments and ecofacts), and finally Závist (without medical and writing instruments, amphorae, pottery, and ecofacts, and with seldom more than one or two representatives of each of the categories). All the other sites are characterised by the presence of only one to four categories. In some cases it may be caused by the history and nature of their research (e.g. the Karlstein in which mostly eye-catching metallic artefacts were collected); in others by the nature of the sites itself (the Ptení hoard containing only jewellery, both local and imported; and Vienna, in every respect differing from all the other sites). Yet other sites are characterised by the presence of only a few fragments of bronze vessels or mirrors, a bead or a pottery sherd; there is no better explanation than the site's limited significance.



**Fig. 131: Proportional representation of Mediterranean imports in selected sites of the oppida period.**

We obtain the same results when focusing on the classes of the best represented category of imports: bronze vessels (**Fig. 132**). The most numerous forms are situlae and strainers along with possibly jugs (often depending on the correct interpretation of the bronze feet). Strainers are by far the most widespread form – present in the greatest numbers in the better furnished sites and also the only vessel type appearing regularly in lowland open settlements. Situlae and jugs characterise mainly central sites, be it oppida or smaller hillforts (the Oberleiserberg) and their annexes (Thunau, Kolo); occasional finds or their fragments come, however, also from small open settlements (Hrubčice, Olšovice) and entire vessels are sometimes present in hoards (in which they play the role of a container rather than of a hoarded object itself – Podmokly, Reitenbacher Forst, Gagger, and also e.g. Attersee and Kappel outside our working

area). Pans seem to be limited only to oppida or other central sites (e.g. the Oberleiserberg) though distributed among them with a certain generosity (present even in otherwise poor sites such as Hostýn). On the other hand, the distribution of mugs is restricted to Stradonice, Staré Hradisko, Třísov, and Manching similar to *simpula* which are however missing even in Manching while present (surprisingly) at the Karlstein instead. Amphorae are represented by a mere two possible examples at Stradonice and Manching (both of uncertain attribution). Finds of basins are questionable (Staré Hradisko), chronologically incongruous with the majority of the represented sites (E91/92 in Bratislava and Devín), or simply absolutely irregular (the Karlstein with the outlandish type E94). To sum up, out of the ten principal vessel shapes, Stradonice, Manching, and Staré Hradisko arrive at six or seven, followed by Třísov with six (the bronze feet are probably from jugs). Compared to Závist with four vessel forms, the Třísov assemblage (much more numerous with 32 objects as opposed to 6) is clearly more prestigious: the ordinary *situlae*, pans, strainers, and a probable jug in Závist all have their counterparts in Třísov, joined also by the much less common mug and two *simpulum* fragments. Unexpectedly opulent is the assemblage from the Karlstein with remnants of five vessel forms including a horizontal *simpulum* and a unique bronze basin handle.

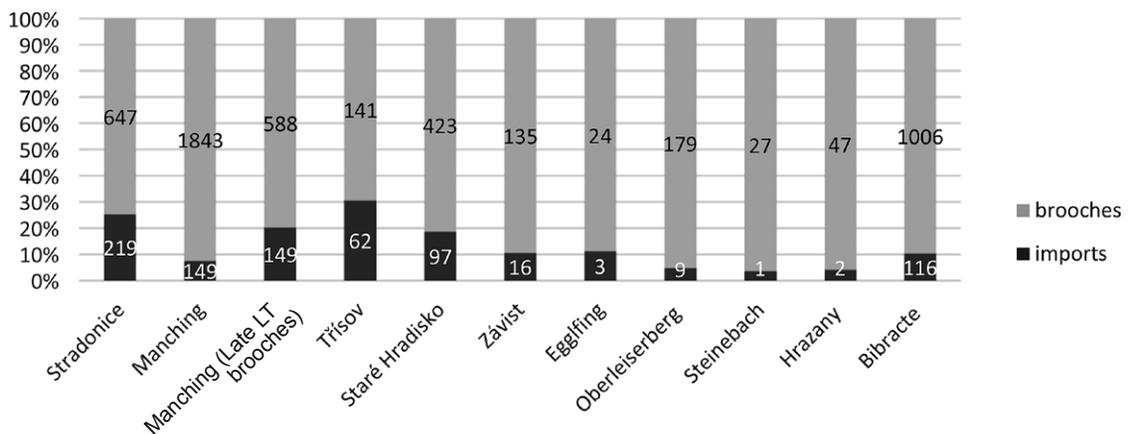


**Fig. 132: Proportional representation of types of metallic vessels in selected sites of the oppida period.**

Both the criteria of quantity and completeness entitle us to categorise the oppida from the point of view of import representation into those which are affected by Mediterranean imports only marginally, and those few which seem to have been the hubs of the contacts which brought these objects to central Europe. It is no big surprise that these are the same sites which are extraordinary in most other respects: Stradonice, Manching, and Staré Hradisko, i.e. remarkably one site for each of our regions. This pre-eminent role of Staré Hradisko in EnCE seems to have been taken over later (possibly already after the site's demise) by Bratislava. The many specific points of the Bratislava archaeological record (an import *facies* based on amphorae, pottery,

and styli; the Roman style architecture; the specific Biatic coinage) all make us believe that we are here in a reality very different from that of the Manching-Stradonice-Staré Hradisko horizon. As for Třísov and to a much smaller degree Závist, they seem to reflect on a smaller scale the situation observed in Stradonice. In the east a similar role may have been played by the Oberleiserberg, while in the west our knowledge is obscured by the poor understanding of the apparently extraordinary Karlstein and insufficient exploration of Leonberg.

A fair objection to these observations could be the repeatedly mentioned different history of research. In order to overcome this obstacle, we may try to compare several sites relatively, looking at the ratio between the number of imports and the number of finds of brooches, i.e. a find category always at least as carefully documented as the imports (**Fig. 133**). The sites showing the best results in this comparison are again Stradonice, Třísov, and Staré Hradisko as well as Manching in which the figures are biased due to over-representation of the pre-oppidum period brooches as is clear from a(n admittedly strong) modification focusing only on Late La Tène types. This comparison even broadens the gap between the top sites (including Třísov) and those with a smaller incidence of Mediterranean imports (including in this perspective Závist and the Oberleiserberg). It is however intended only as broadly illustrative, not in any way analytical.

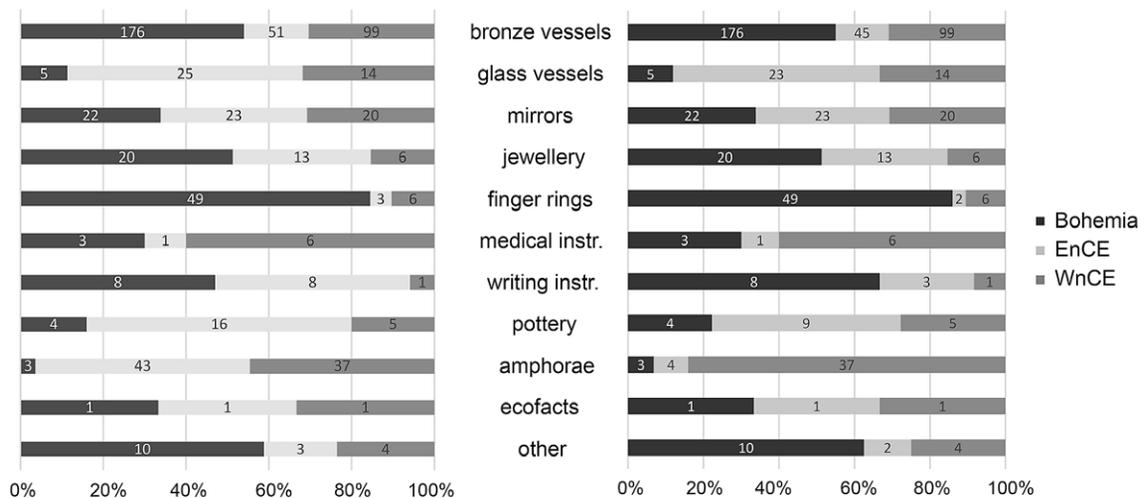


**Fig. 133: Ratio between Mediterranean imports and brooches in selected sites of the oppida period. The Oberleiserberg after KARWOWSKI - MILITKÝ 2016; Staré Hradisko, brooches after ČIŽMÁŘ - ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ - MEDUNA 2018; only classifiable individuals were included in the statistics. Bibracte: brooches after BACKHAUS 2016; imports after BARBAU 2019, imported pottery and amphorae not taken into consideration.**

In conclusion, even though of all our study regions Mediterranean imports are represented in the highest numbers in Bohemia, their presence there is also the most restricted, limited basically to just a few oppida. This is in contrast with both neighbouring regions in which there is a much higher number and typological diversity of sites concerned with southern imports. In other words, while in WnCE and EnCE imports reached in one way or another quite a broad range of consumers; in Bohemia it would be, with slight exaggeration, more precise to speak about 'Mediterranean imports in Stradonice and Třísov' than 'in Bohemia'. Much of this may result from the repeatedly mentioned history of research; throughout 20<sup>th</sup> century Bohemian research concentrated excessively on the oppida and to some extent ignored other settlement types; only five years ago we knew nothing about the sites of Olšovice and Lipec, or

the annexe of Kolo, which all significantly assimilate Bohemia to both neighbouring regions. But this is the situation we are now able to describe.

With these considerations in mind we may further explore the differences between the regions focusing once again on the varying representation of categories in them, this time in mutual ratios between them. We will pay attention only to some of them, leaving aside the more dubious ecofacts (history of research) or medical and writing instruments.<sup>233</sup> In many respects, the *facies* of WnCE and EnCE are closer to each other than to Bohemia. In Bohemia, it is completely dominated by bronze vessels and finger rings. These figures are turned upside down with three other categories added: the massive presence of glass vessels in EnCE and their fair representation in WnCE finds almost no counterpart in Bohemia. In terms of amphorae, EnCE and WnCE are identical and clearly different from Bohemia if we count all finds. If on the other hand we exclude Bratislava and compare only what is contemporary, the proportions change inversely: Bohemia and EnCE with almost no finds shrink in comparison to WnCE. Last but not least there is pottery, not absent but completely marginal (4 sherds) in Bohemia while twice as common in WnCE (7 sherds/vessels) and relatively widespread in EnCE with nine fragments from (this is perhaps the most remarkable factor) four different sites (as opposed to Bohemia with two sites and Bavaria with one), all this not even counting Bratislava, let alone Vienna.



**Fig. 134: Mediterranean imports in Central Europe in the oppida period. Proportional representation of import categories between the regions. Left - excluding Vienna and Devín; Right - excluding Vienna, Devín, and Bratislava.**

It is important to realise that amphorae, glass vessels, and pottery are among the very few import categories which enable us to propose a chronology finer than ‘late 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century BC’; in all these categories we observed that the finds from Staré Hradisko are represented by relatively early types, dated probably to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. The amphorae from Manching on the other hand surely continued into the 1<sup>st</sup> century – it is not important here if

<sup>233</sup> The prevalence or ‘writing instruments’ in Bohemia may be due to our acceptance of even doubtful styli; in WnCE writing instruments are almost absent while in EnCE they are represented by many seal boxes which need not fit this exact functional classification; only in Bratislava and Vienna – both treated separately – do we find some definite styli.

they stopped around 80 BC or continued further into the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century. The pieces from Stradonice are not sufficiently homogenous (as are those from Staré Hradisko) or numerous (as those from Manching) to allow any statement; those from Bratislava on the other hand only date to the middle or the third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century.

The absence of amphorae in Central Europe is traditionally explained by logistic issues – it would make sense that it was easier to transport amphorae from Gaul along the Danube to Manching than across the mountains to Bohemia and across or around the Alps to Moravia. It is certainly true that in some (e.g. rescue) excavations amphorae may have passed for modern pottery or roof tiles and been discarded; however I find that improbable in many of the cases we are dealing with here: the diggers of Stradonice collected all they found (including amphorae, three of which are extant in the Berger collection) and collectors bought all they offered them (including fakes); the excavators of Staré Hradisko (whether in the 1900s, 1930s or 1960–1990s) would certainly not dump a diagnostic part of an amphora, considering that four of them survive in different collections. Some body sherds may well have been lost, but should the amphorae have originally been as numerous on the site as, say, in Manching, in my opinion more of them would have survived.

There may be another explanation for the rarity of amphorae contemporary with the Manching assemblage in EnCE: Strabo (v, 1.8), presumably based on Posidonius, explicitly states that 'Aquileia [...] is the trading city with the nations of Illyrians who dwell round the Danube. They come there to procure merchandise arriving from the sea; some load wine in wooden casks into their wagons as they do with oil, and others exchange slaves, cattle, and hides.'<sup>234</sup> I am generally sceptical about the idea that wine would be transported in amphorae up to a point (e.g. Manching) from which it would continue in another container (e.g. DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1995/1998): amphorae were containers meant to be used for transport. They may be on the heavy side but with their 50–60 kg not heavier than a quern; they are solid and perfectly wieldy; last but not least a sealed amphora is a clear mark of its content (POUX 2004, 202–205). Strabo's statement confirms nevertheless that wine was being loaded into casks already in Italy, presumably based on sufficient local experience (knowledge of wooden barrels is documented in the eastern Alps already from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC: GAGNEAUX 2003). Should this be the case it is fully thinkable that while Bavaria<sup>235</sup> was supplied with wine in amphorae from Gaul in which barrels are not known (POUX 2004, 199–205), it travelled along the eastern route in the same quantities in casks only occasionally supplemented with an amphora. And yet, amphorae did appear later in Bratislava in equal numbers as in Manching. What may have changed in the meantime are the circumstances and perhaps the actors.

Conspicuously different from one region to another is also distribution of Mediterranean pottery. Already excluding Bratislava and Vienna, EnCE ranks first with nine finds, followed by WnCE with five while Bohemia amounts to four fragments. All of these numbers are of

234 ἀνεῖται δ' ἐμπόριον τοῖς τε Ἐνετοῖς καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἔθνεσι: κομίζουσι δ' οὔτοι μὲν τὰ ἐκ θαλάττης, καὶ οἶνον ἐπὶ ξυλίνων πίθων ἀρμαμάξαις ἀναθέντες καὶ ἔλαιον, ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἀνδράποδα καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ δέρματα. The translation presented here based on the French translation by H. Lassere (published in *Les belles lettres*, Paris 1967) corresponds in my opinion better to the Greek original than the English translation by Hamilton: 'Some deal in marine merchandise, and carry in waggons wine in wooden casks and oil, and others exchange slaves, cattle, and hides.'

235 It is nevertheless worth pointing out that it is still in Manching that presence of barrels (made moreover of non-local fir wood) is attested (KÜSTER 1992, 452–453). There is no way of proving whether the casks made its way to Manching from Aquileia and whether it contained wine, though neither can be excluded (KÜSTER 1992; 2013).

course ridiculously low in comparison with Gaul but that is not the point here. A more valid objection could be that any single new discovery may change them significantly and that, as so many times, the difference may be due to a different history of research in each region: systematic research in Manching as opposed to clandestine or amateur digs in Stradonice and Staré Hradisko, only later followed by much more limited scientific excavations. But already Píř had occasion to encounter black-gloss pottery in Bibracte and Lipka and Snětina even believed they had identified one (and only one) black-gloss fragment in their excavations [SH84]. Like amphorae I believe that the chance that a BG pottery fragment would be discarded in regular excavations in Czech oppida, be it at the start or in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, is relatively low; the risk is higher with thin-walled pottery and common wares. Should we accept the current distribution picture as a valid reflection of the original state of things, the three regions represent three very different models: in WnCE the relatively numerous fragments of the most prestigious black-gloss pottery concentrate on one single site; in Bohemia, a poor sample of one sherd per a ceramic class is shared by the two richest sites; in EnCE on the other hand finds are evenly spread between several sites of all levels of prestige. This situation will be further enhanced if we also include Bratislava (with several black-gloss plates, a thin-walled beaker, and some later classes) and notably Vienna in which the ceramic assemblages are of a completely different scale and composition than anywhere else in the studied area.

This impression moreover resonates well with other evidence. We could have realised that in the pre-oppida period, the position of Bohemia was utterly peripheral: a minimal representation of imports (both objects and coins) giving rather the impression of stray pieces, mainly in contrast with EnCE and no clear signs of such an active involvement in Mediterranean matters as in the case of WnCE. Bohemian local coinages are mostly chaotic reflections of the well-established monetary system in EnCE. At the outset of the oppida period, the new Bohemian unitary coinage suddenly expanded over the entire land and also Moravia, and a few Bohemian oppida rose to become the principal recipients of southern imports. And yet, in all these cases the situation in EnCE and to a lesser degree in WnCE is much more balanced than the extreme swings which characterise Bohemia. In the oppida period the imports seem to have been still much more 'at home' in EnCE and WnCE, even though less numerous, than in Bohemia where they are shrouded by a much higher degree of exclusivity.

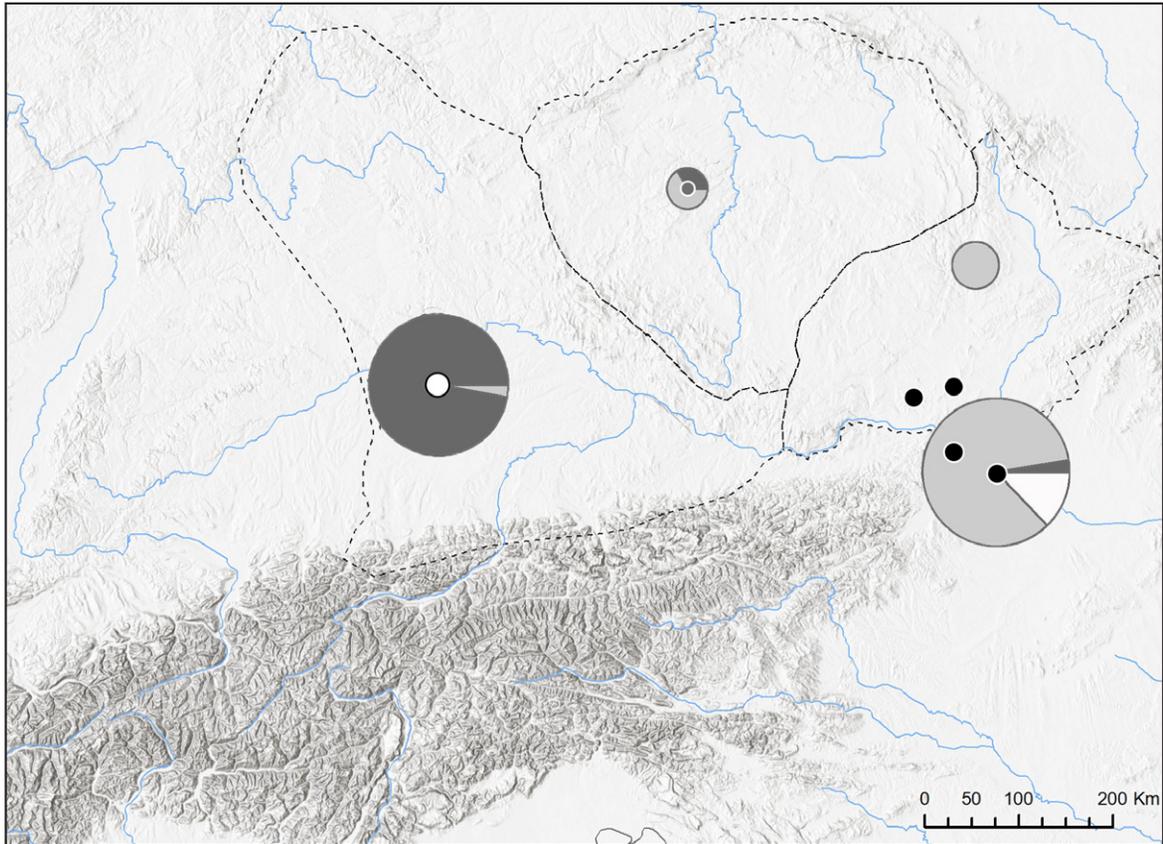
As if with the emergence of oppida, imports started flooding into Bohemia in much higher numbers but the country never became more than a logical extension of distribution circuits rooted in the neighbouring regions, more, and for a much longer period, exposed to the (mediating) influence of northern Italy than the outlying and naturally secluded Bohemia. The highest number of imports registered here result from a combination of the extraordinary status of Stradonice and the (un)fortunate circumstances of its discovery.

### East and West

Having mentioned distribution circuits in the previous paragraph, it is worth recalling that based on the evidence of black-gloss pottery and amphorae we have outlined two concurrent distribution zones of Mediterranean imports in Central Europe (**Fig. 135**) – a western one stretching from Gaul to Bavaria; and an eastern one,<sup>236</sup> skirting the Eastern Alps and encompassing the Middle Danube area. This eastern route is further illustrated by pottery imports: thin-walled beakers, common ware, baking pans, and *mortaria* all mark the routes from Aqi-

236 Sometimes referred to as the Amber Route, a term I have intentionally avoided due to its vagueness and its doubtful appropriateness in relation to the Iron Age.

leia, through the sites in present day Carinthia or Slovenia, to the Magdalensberg and further on up to the Middle Danube region (Vienna, Bratislava), only exceptionally appearing as far as Stradonice.<sup>237</sup> A clear contrast between east and west can be observed in the category of glass ornaments (common in Moravia and diminishing further west) though we have already seen that much of that may be due to the history of research.



**Fig. 135: Distribution zones of Mediterranean imports in central Europe based on finds of amphorae and pottery. Amphorae (charts): dark grey - Dressel 1, light grey - Lamboglia 2 / Dressel 6A, white - Dressel 2-4. BG pottery (dots): black - Arezzo, white - Caes, grey - undetermined.**

To come back to these distribution zones and what they actually tell us, we must not understand them as actual strictly defined entities, e.g. zones of trade monopoly of some kind; nor must we imagine a clearly defined impervious boundary between them, either. On the contrary the objects characteristic of one of these zones do appear in the other (a Lamboglia 2 amphora in Manching, a Dressel 1 in Bratislava) and this permeability may have been the norm rather than an exception considering how few are the object categories which uphold this scheme. Finally we must not exclude other contact routes, notably through the central Alps (the regions of the Fritzens-Sanzeno Culture) suggested by long-standing contacts between this region and both sides of the Alps (KRÄMER 1961a; IRLINGER 2002; RONCADOR 2016; reaching even as far as Bohemia: SANKOT 2002, 96), and underlined by finds of Bavarian coins

<sup>237</sup> The original assumption that bronze jugs and their feet show a similar distribution pattern (KYSELA 2014a) has not been corroborated by a more detailed analysis *infra*.

in northern Italy and *vice versa*. Some finds of bronze vessels in the Adige–Inn strip (MARZOLI 2012–2013) show that local exchange practices also included goods which directly concern us.

These two distribution zones simply mean that southern goods arrived in Central Europe from two distinct directions, one involving in the first place EnCE, the other WnCE. The position of Bohemia in this scheme is somewhat murky; the small quantities of amphorae include both Adriatic and Tyrrhenian types; the single BG sherd from Stradonice proved to be of uncertain Etruscan origin, leaving both options possible; both types of bronze jugs are represented. Based on these criteria, it is in Bohemia or less specifically somewhere between WnCE and EnCE that the two zones intersect. From this point of view, Bohemia plays the geographically logical role of a marginal or second-in-line region participating in southern contacts through the mediation of both its neighbours. This is so far only a geographical statement; we will enquire further on the similarities and differences between these zones from the point of view of their reception of southern goods.

In comparison with the previous period, the finds of Greek coins of the oppida period are much less telling. Many coins of the previous phase may have remained in movement (to avoid the word ‘circulation’) as documented in Stradonice by coins issued by Hieron II in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and by Kyme in Aiolia in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. The only clearly recurrent region remaining from those of the previous period is the Adriatic, showing that the mediating role of this region most likely continued. A significant new element are the Numidian coins appearing with some 13 examples in Stradonice and possibly also in Žalov. Unfortunately, we cannot hope that these coins will help us understand anything – they are widespread at the same time in the Adriatic and in Gaul and with one piece at Manching and at the Oberleiserberg, Stradonice lies in the middle of a perfectly symmetrical distribution map and find spots of Numidian coins, so there is an equally possible connection from both directions.

The last point worth making is to compare the situation in Central Europe with Gaul, which is easily done thanks to the recent valuable study of this region by Clémentine Barbau (2015; 2019). Her investigation focused on basically the same types of artefacts as ours, excluding amphorae, pottery, and glass vessels (none of them particularly numerous in Central Europe) but on the contrary taking into consideration some types of brooches; despite these differences we will directly compare the corpora without excessive corrections to them. More importantly, Barbau’s working area and time-frame both significantly exceed ours: her lower chronological limit is in the late Augustan period and ‘Gaul’ is delimited by the Rhine and the Schwarzwald and includes the Swiss plateau (but of course not the territory of Roman Provincia). It covers an area of some 560,000 km<sup>2</sup> which is more than four times larger than our narrower Central Europe.

When we try to make a comparison between Gaul and Central Europe focussing only on the categories shared in common between Barbau’s and our study and on the time-frame relevant for comparison with Central Europe (LT C2 – LT D2a/Gaul/ = LT D1b/central Europe/), the original Gaulish corpus of 757 objects shrinks to a mere 125 items. Even if we add objects of uncertain date and so potentially pre-dating the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century, the score is no higher than 225 artefacts, i.e. only 41% of the 546 artefacts corresponding to the same criteria<sup>238</sup> in (four times smaller) Central Europe! We have no clues for understanding these surprisingly small figures in a region which was at the same time so richly furnished with amphorae and pottery.

The number of Mediterranean objects then increased steadily in Gaul from the Caesarean and through the Augustan period. It is equally surprising that it was only in this post-conquest

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238 Identical time-frame, exclusion of amphorae, pottery, glass vessels, and ecofacts.

period of Romanisation that some artefact types relatively common in Central Europe appeared in Gaul in some quantities: e.g. styli and seal boxes, finger-rings, and even mirrors (ubiquitous in Central Europe) are represented in the pre-conquest period only by single items per chronological phase.

The basic rhythm and patterns of import influx are nevertheless roughly comparable with the situation in Central Europe (BARBAU 2019, 234–255): after some timid appearance of metal-ware and a finger-ring in agglomerations mostly dated to the first three quarters of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, they became relatively common from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century mostly in prominent oppida which presumably played a central role in trade, such as Bibracte, Besançon, and Fossé des Pandours, though agglomerations (e.g. Basel-Gasfabrik) continue to play a role and there are some objects from rural settlements; this situation further intensifies in the second quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century. Overall, the situation is not dissimilar to that observed mainly in EnCE, and to a lesser extent in WnCE.

## WHO, HOW, WHY...

### THE PRE-OPPIDA PERIOD – MERCENARIES AND CRAFTSMEN (?)

The traditional explanations of long-distance contact in the Middle La Tène period are migrations. Two mechanisms of these migrations are usually mentioned: either large movements of entire populations (e.g. the Boii moving to Italy or retreating back to central Europe; ‘the Celts’ gathering in the Carpathian Basin to invade Greece and withdrawing after their defeat; Volcae-Tectosages roaming between southern Gaul and Delphi; etc.); or small but no less mono-directional groups of mercenaries heading from transalpine Europe to service in Hellenistic armies or returning back. Both of these explanations are first and foremost projections of the image of Celts mediated by Greek and Roman written sources which, as has been repeatedly pointed out, are often loaded with simplifications, stereotypes, and other distortions of the truth. Both of these schemes must naturally have been based on a partial reality: Greek and Roman authors did not invent Celtic migrations or mercenaries and I am not going to rule them out as possible models of contacts between the Mediterranean and Central Europe; the point for us is rather to understand what significance should be attributed to these phenomena and what alternatives there could have been, suggested by archaeology rather than the written sources (for the written sources including their detailed analysis cf. mainly TOMASCHITZ 2002).

I certainly do not have the ambition to present here an overarching theory of Celtic migrations and it is not even indispensable for our purposes. Suffice to say that I am naturally sceptical about the idea of migrations of entire ethnic groups from point A to point B; this scheme was inherited from aetiological accounts characteristic of Greek and Roman historiographic discourse in which it played the role of domesticating the unknown through describing (or inventing) its origins. The very idea of a spread of a La Tène Culture corresponding with the expansion of an ethnic group (the Celts) or its pre-established subunits (‘Celtic tribes’) is flawed as has been repeatedly argued (e.g. COLLIS 2003/2010). What was being spread was a cultural and ideological model. Its original bearers may have been ethnically akin to each other and may have shared a similar language (which or whose variations could have become a *lingua franca* in this new world) but it must have been the attractive cultural model which made for the enormous spread of archaeological phenomena we observe – it was not only people who travelled and conquered, it must have also been an inclusive ideology which enabled others to become part of this flow. ‘Celtic migrations’ were therefore in my opinion not linear

movements of solid existing ethnic blocs but on the contrary, occasions of dissolving previous bounds and renegotiating both personal and collective identities in which individuals and small groups moved in all directions and ethnicities transformed or were re-established on the move or after the final resettlement. It is in this key that I want to read the Celtic invasion in Italy, the Carpathian Basin, or finally Greece. All this is meant to say that it is pointless in my opinion to search for the point of origin whence these migrations started because there was hardly ever just one.

The topic of Celtic mercenaries in the ancient world (for the phenomenon of ancient mercenaries in general cf. LAUNEY 1950/1987; TAGLIAMONTE 1994; for the Celts specifically also PÉRE-NOGUÈS 2007) has recently been treated in enormous detail by Luc Baray (e.g. BARAY 2014; 2017a; 2017b, etc.). In an analysis of both the written sources and archaeological evidence Baray adopts an extremely sober evidence-based attitude, deconstructing efficiently the ramshackle superstructures of narratives built upon meagre evidence by generations of researchers and providing in the purified and masterly synthesised sources a new basis for further consideration. To begin with, Baray refutes the simple notion of ‘mercenaries’ and carefully distinguishes several ways in which Celts served in Hellenistic armies including mercenaries, auxiliary and allied forces. Clearly, in these latter instances their elites had a full understanding of the workings of the Hellenistic world and preferred being treated as the peers of Hellenistic rulers rather than as wild beasts from afar... What is important for our purposes, the sources hardly ever provide information about the exact geographical origin of the Celtic mercenaries, and when they do so, it is never Central Europe. Information on places of recruitment are equally rare and even when places like Ancona and Genoa can be logically assumed in the western Mediterranean, we have no clue as to whether they served only for a local population or whether the would-be mercenaries travelled there for thousands of miles from all over Europe. The only, at least approximate information, we have or may suppose in my opinion (and partly *contra* BARAY 2017a) about the origin of Celtic mercenaries in the west concerns the territory of Gaul – either the Transalpine (Rhône valley in Polyb. II, 19.1; II, 21.3–6; II, 22.1–23.2; III, 41.9; Liv. XXVII, 36.2, 39.6) or the Cisalpine (Liv. XXVIII, 46.11; XXIX, 5). Nothing is known about those in the east – they could have come from Italy or the Carpathian Basin, but many could have been also the Galatians from Asia Minor and even just *kleruchoi* of distant Celtic descent (while likely fully Hellenised) obligated to the monarch with military service in exchange for a hereditary plot of land, as was the case in Ptolemaic Egypt (BARAY 2017a, 313–345).

The written sources provide no evidence that any individual of central European origin ever served as a mercenary in a Greek, Carthaginian, or any other Mediterranean army, nor that any of these mercenaries ever came back there; the only *nostoi* we read about are those, somewhat inglorious, of the defeated soon-to-become Scordisci and Volcae (Pomp. Trog. *apud* Iust. xxxii, 3, 6–8; cf. TOMASCHITZ 2002, 130–134). The gradual shift of service from ‘mercenary’ to ‘auxiliary’ and ‘ally’ testifies to an increasing integration of Celtic warlords and their soldiers into the Hellenistic world which suggests their permanent residence there or at most on its margins.

These nihilistic statements are not meant to deny contact between the Mediterranean world and Central Europe but to point out how misleading it may be to link our finds with a handful of historical dates and two key words (migration and mercenaries). As we have seen in previous chapters, many finds previously pinned down to one historical event or another permit much freer interpretations: the Karaburma bucket and amphoriskos-shaped beads may have arrived in the Balkans or Central Europe a generation or two before the Celts set off to Delphi; the Balkan kantharoi are a ceramic shape characteristic in the first place

of the Carpathian Basin, not of Greece; Greek coins arguably reached Central Europe not in the purses of returning mercenaries but in bulk traded from northern Italy or the northern Adriatic decades after the wars in question ended... The contacts between the Greek and Roman worlds and central Europe were obviously much more complex and multifaceted than written sources allow us to understand, so why should we blind ourselves by the only two models which these reductive viewpoints offer?

Most importantly, what does archaeological evidence tell us about contacts between central Europe and the Mediterranean between the 4<sup>th</sup> and mid-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC when introduced into this framework? The actual imported objects in our hands are extremely few. The first of them appear (outside our working area) as early as the late 4<sup>th</sup> century (Waldalgesheim, Mannersdorf) and things grew more visible during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century when imported objects were joined by significant technological and ideological innovations and transformations. The significance of the Carpathian Basin in these processes is obvious from the leading role played by EnCE while WnCE and Bohemia lag behind. Innovations by far exceed the imports here: the introduction of the first coinage occurred in late LT B2 (MILITKÝ 2018a) although there is evidence of an understanding of its underlying principles as early as in LT B2a (HOLODŇÁK – MILITKÝ 2014; MILITKÝ 2018a, 23–26). A highly developed monetary system and the rapid monetarisation of society occurred in EnCE certainly by LT C1. This early introduction of coinage (one of the earliest cases in La Tène Europe along with the central Balkans: POPOVIĆ 1987) is clear evidence of an understanding of and need for coinage as an economic instrument. This suggests personal experience with its inner workings in the Mediterranean world. Mercenary service is one of the possible explanations but, as we have seen, not the only one. After all, we have little evidence of Celtic mercenaries in the Greek east at such an early date while contacts are definitely documented in the Carpathian Basin from the early 3<sup>rd</sup> if not the late 4<sup>th</sup> century.

In the same time-span of LT B2–C1 we observe the introduction of other innovations possibly in metallurgy and probably in pottery kilns. In LT C1 the production of glass blossomed, though we have no idea whence exactly and through what paths the raw material came. In our working area, these innovations are only part of larger phenomena concerning the entire Carpathian Basin. Other innovations on the other hand (the spread of the potter's wheel, rotary querns, etc.) seem to go back to the Early La Tène period and had therefore no need for Mediterranean inspiration; through the turbulent 4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> century they may not have been forgotten and could be brought to full fruition in the favourable conditions offered by the 3<sup>rd</sup> century stabilisation.

In the context of the predominantly eastern direction of LT B2/C1 contacts, an Italian artefact discovered in Bohemia such as the Etruscan basin from Stebno is somewhat surprising but no more so than the Felsinean bucket which was buried a couple of generations earlier at Mannersdorf. Theoretically we could imagine that it travelled to Bohemia through the Adriatic and the middle Danube region, but some direct (though perhaps modest) connection with Italy could have possibly been via Bavaria as discussed above on the evidence of Raetian artefacts and a Bavarian coin discovered in Sicily. All of these finds date to LT C(1), a period not excluded for the deposition of the Stebno hoard.

The role of Italy may have intensified in early LT C2 in the east as well – it was probably in early LT C2 that most of the Greek coins of the characteristic Nĕmčice facies reached the middle Danube area, possibly via the upper Adriatic. It makes sense in the historical context of the period: At the very beginning of LT C2 in the 190s Rome conquered Cispadana. Shortly afterwards (186 BC) (Trans?)Alpine Celts settled in the *Venetorum angulus* while Romans (instead of wiping them out with force) negotiated their departure to their homeland, establishing thus (if not developing pre-existing) diplomatic relations with the east Alpine area.

## THE OPPIDA PERIOD – TRADE AND (?) MEDITERRANEANISATION

**What?**

The emergence of oppida (or the transformations of which the emergence of oppida was a symptom) changed the transalpine world considerably. In Bohemia (and not only there) we can observe substantial shifts in settlement strategies with the occupation of entire new regions and the creation of new types of sites. From a broadly culture-historical point of view, it is worth recalling that Bohemia appears to have risen in this period to some kind of unprecedented regional dominance not only because of the densest concentration of large fortified sites but more importantly because the entire country was now united under a single coinage which moreover served as a model for neighbouring regions, especially EnCE whose previous dominance seems to have been eclipsed in favour of Bohemia after the disappearance of Němčice nad Hanou.

The principal technological innovations of potentially Mediterranean origin all seem to have been, by this time, firmly rooted in the local transalpine milieu. Having been around from at least LT C1, there may still have been some memory of their foreign origin; it was however completely irrelevant at this point. The only innovation clearly manifesting itself in this period is the adoption of writing – it will be discussed below in the proper context along with some other cases. The major innovation of this period which was with some consistency blamed on southern influence is the emergence of large hill-top fortified sites along with the entire economic system which enabled their existence. As we have seen, however, by the time the oppida emerged, these economic preconditions had been in place in Central Europe for at least a century while the oppida themselves have no credible Mediterranean antecedents and their origins have to be sought in local traditions and local needs.

Even though the once crucial question of a Mediterranean origin for the oppida seems completely irrelevant from a modern point of view, the fact remains that in the later 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, a Mediterranean presence in Central Europe became increasingly tangible and it is worth investigating what forms it took and what effects it had on the local environment.

From the viewpoint of indicators of contact with the Mediterranean, we observe in this period an enormous increase of imported objects. They reach all the three studied regions in numbers and proportions which may vary from region to region but are roughly comparable in all of them. Most importantly, unlike in the previous period, the imports feature a high degree of standardisation in terms of the categories and types represented. This picture in my opinion suggests that in the oppida period we are dealing with contacts which 1) are standardised; 2) take place on a large scale (the *facies* we encounter in all the regions of Central Europe can be found also further to the west and east with only a few modifications); and 3) are to some extent regular (it would be hardly credible that such a widespread repetitiveness could have resulted from a single or a small number of events). In other words, the majority of our corpus can be confidently considered to have resulted from to some extent regularised trade or exchange rather than from individual or otherwise one-off kinds of contact like a migration.

As to chronology, there is usually no way to refine the dates beyond ‘the second half/last decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup>–first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC’. There are relatively few telling find contexts: In Manching, one fragment of an opaque blue glass vessel [M201] comes from a pit containing ‘LT C2 pottery’. In Závist, the finger rings [Zá15] and [Zá16], and the strainer thumb piece [Zá05] come from contexts of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> settlement phase corresponding to LT D1a–b. The strainer wall [Zá06] is dated to LT C2 but its provenance from road stratification makes this date somewhat uncertain. Finally, the finger-ring [Bř03] was discovered in Bořitov in a *Grubenhau*s whose fill is dated by C14 to 2045±35 BP corresponding to LT D1a. The individual

find categories are not very helpful either and usually do not provide any more specific dates. One exception might be pottery and the amphorae. Fully aware of the repeatedly stressed issue of amphorae chronology we can assert that Staré Hradisko was probably supplied with them already in the last decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and that they kept arriving at Manching at least until the first quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century (and possibly well beyond that date). The remarkable site in Vienna-Rochusmarkt was occupied between the second and third quarters of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, partly overlapping with Bratislava where the imports (again amphorae and pottery) cover the time-span of the (60s/?)50s-30s(/20s?) BC.

These few anchoring points are evenly distributed throughout the entire oppida period. The influx of these objects was apparently continuous with possible fluctuations depending on specific regions, sites, and circumstances. It is conspicuous that the two oppida in Bohemia best furnished with imports, Stradonice and Třísov, are those with a relatively strong LT D1b phase and even signs of continuity into LT D2a in contrast to Závist and Hrazany, both occupied mostly in LT D1a and both quite poor in imports. Before concluding on these grounds that the imports reached Bohemia only in LT D1b, we must realise that Manching and Staré Hradisko, the best represented sites outside Bohemia through which the objects heading to Bohemia probably passed, produced only comparatively meagre evidence of occupation later than LT D1a/b.

### How?

Above we have discussed at length the geographical issues – the directions whence the goods arrived and their distribution among the individual sites, the key oppida, one per region, through which the trade must have passed in the first place and the sites of their secondary/tertiary distribution. Now we need to try to understand what realities of living culture this archaeological picture reflects. In the case of Stradonice, Manching, and Staré Hradisko there is no doubt that their pre-eminent role in contacts with the south is just another aspect of their economic and to some extent their probable political centrality in each of the regions. All these sites are equally unrivalled in terms of other criteria such as the number of coin finds, and the evidence of coin production (e.g. MILITKÝ 2015a), their contacts with other regions of (not only) the La Tène world (e.g. PIERREVELCIN 2012, *passim* and 228), and the concentration of crafts, etc. The diminishing representation of imports from the first (Stradonice, Manching, Staré Hradisko) through to the second rank (Závist, Kolo, the Oberleiserberg) down to marginal sites with their single digit representation may suggest that either the key and secondary/tertiary sites had different purchasing power in what was basically a free market, or on the contrary that the distribution depended on some kind of inter-site hierarchy, i.e. the key sites were the principal recipients of imported goods redistributing them further down the line.

In order to be able to pronounce on this matter, we would need to have some idea about the nature and extent of political or societal units in Late La Tène central Europe, which is sadly not the case. I will gladly admit that in Late Iron Age central Europe, early states akin to the Caesar's Gaulish *civitates* must have existed, some probably as early as the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. In comparison with Gaul, however, we have insufficient knowledge (or I have insufficient confidence) to enable us to draw even approximate boundaries and use them as analytical units of any kind. Therefore, we cannot be sure for instance whether the situation in which we distinguish two remarkably rich sites in Bohemia, Stradonice and Třísov, is to be translated into two separate territorial units of which the two oppida are the centres and therefore recipients of prestige goods and/or ports of trade; or a single unit in which Třísov is subordinate to Stradonice; or if it is simply the result of a natural geographical situation in which the two oppida best furnished with southern imports are those nearest to their sources, Bavaria, or the Danube valley as the intermediaries to the south.

Talking about trade, it is important to recall our discussion concerning the hoards of Bohemian gold coins. From the onset of the oppida period or rather from the onset of the oppida period coinage we observe large amounts of minted gold leaving Bohemia in bulk. Hoards of Bohemian coinage appeared both east and west of Bohemia, and it is perhaps worthy of note that the earliest of them (Bački Obrovac) comes from the Carpathian Basin while those of the full oppida period, with the single exception of Rohrbach, concentrate in the west (from Bavaria to the upper Rhine and Tuscany) as if following the shift of importance from the middle Danube region to Bohemia. It is only before or around the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century with the shift of power centre to Bratislava that the hoards return to the middle Danube area (Deutsch Jahrndorf). These hoards help us best understand the sudden rise of Bohemia and the aggressive involvement of this previously peripheral area into interregional contacts.

It is of course no novel idea to make a causal link between the occupation of the southern part of Bohemia, the extraction of gold, the development of long-distance trade, and the emergence of the oppida (e.g. FILIP 1956, 324), but it is worth recalling. The evidence is only circumstantial: the synchronous occupation of gold-bearing though agriculturally less productive regions (e.g. WALDHAUSER 1991; HLÁSEK – MAŠLOVÁ – KŘIVÁNEK 2018, 228–229); the cultural transformation of Bohemia and the sudden change of its coinage (MILITKÝ 2015b; 2018a); and at roughly the same time a large dispersion of this coinage often in impressive assemblages to neighbouring regions. Still I find it sufficiently convincing as a model to subscribe to. The hoards let us understand that it was most probably gold which enabled Bohemia to participate seriously in inter-regional trade including with the Mediterranean. The hoards also let us understand that it was through the mediation of other regions that this trade took place. The dispersion of Bohemian gold in southern Germany and its intermingling with the local coinage shows that it was here that the exchange took place. The next step, across the Alps to/from Italy was already an affair of southern German or Italian traders.

### Who?

The issue, to what extent Italian traders took part in trade in transalpine Europe, has been subject to some discussions among ancient historians and archaeologists (overview e.g. SALAČ 2004). These discussions naturally primarily concern Gaul in which the direct presence of Romans is assumed based on the countless amphora sherds and several references by Caesar (BG I, 39; II, 15; IV, 2–3, 20–21; VII, 3, 42) and Cicero (*Pro Fonteio* 11<sup>239</sup>). A direct Roman commercial presence in Gaul has been critically approached by Matthieu Poux (2004, 10–12, 207–211) who insisted on downscaling the maximalist visions; in his opinion, Roman merchants may have become widespread in all parts of Gaul only in the times of the Gallic War while beforehand their presence could have been limited to several selected points, not improperly labelled *emporia* (e.g. Toulouse). In any case, it was not the merchants who dictated the rules of the game; the interaction between them and their principal trade partners, the local elites, must have taken place on equal terms and much of the trade was certainly in Gaulish hands.

In Central Europe, with considerably fewer imports and almost no written sources, the hope of unveiling traces of Roman merchants are even smaller. There is no doubt that the absolute majority of long-distance trade including that with southern goods was run by locals by means of down-the-line exchange rather than large transcontinental caravans (SALAČ 2004). The extremely high connectivity is one of the defining traits of the oppida culture and there is no reason to see factors behind it other than local interpersonal, cultural and trade networks.

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239 Though cf. comments in p. 234.

We may hardly suppose Roman participation (let alone a decisive role) in trade from Gaul to Bavaria if we correctly have doubts about the role Romans played in Gaul itself. The key role of Manching in the contacts between Gaul and central Europe has been well established (PIERREVELCIN 2012, 228) and we can argue that some Mediterranean imports in Manching (certainly the amphorae and BG pottery, though we may be less certain about the metal-ware which could have come directly across the Alps) are in actual fact further indicators of these contacts with Gaul rather than with Mediterranean itself.

Neither in Manching nor elsewhere on the sites of the classic oppida culture can we identify any finds which could be interpreted as direct proof of the presence of people of Italian origin other than merchandise or the local adaptation of an idea of southern origin; donkey remains at Staré Hradisko and Závist could be a vague hint that at least some living creatures made it all the way from Italy to Central Europe, though there is admittedly a significant difference between an Italian donkey and an Italian merchant.

In Aquileia, there is a remarkable inscription engraved on a grave stele (third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC) of a certain ‘C. Licinius C. L. Pilomusus, merkator transalpinus’ (MASELLI SCOTTI 1994; NONNIS 2007, 377–378).<sup>240</sup> Should the vocabulary of the Aquileian freedmen (or stonemason) be as precise as that of Cicero (FEUVRIER-PRÉVOTAT 1981) we are dealing here not with a *negotiator*, i.e. an entrepreneur and lobbyist organising large-scale trade along with exercising Roman political interests in a foreign country, but with a *mercator*, i.e. a tradesman ‘buying in order to sell’, potentially even personally accompanying his merchandise. The snag here is, however, not the meaning of ‘merkator’ but rather that of ‘transalpinus’: the ‘Galli transalpini’ discussed by Livy still in connection with Aquileia probably came from somewhere in the eastern Alps and it is entirely possible that Gaius Licinius Pilomusus ran his business not on the Baltic coast or in Bratislava but in the Magdalensberg, Nauportus, or Mandrga, in all of which the actual presence of Aquileians is assumed on the ground of epigraphical (NONNIS 2007, 380–382), historical and archaeological evidence.

One rare account of Italians directly involved in the Alpine (rather than the Transalpine) area in the period of interest is preserved by Strabo (IV, 6.12) citing Polybius (XXXIV, 10.10–14): during Polybius’ lifetime (i.e. before 118, possibly before 129 BC) an extremely rich gold mine is said to have been discovered ‘in the region of Tauriscan Norici’. As ‘certain Italians aid[ed] the barbarians in working [the mines], in the space of two months the value of gold was diminished throughout the whole of Italy by one third. The Taurisci on discovering this drove out their fellow-labourers, and only sold the gold themselves.’ The expression ‘Tauriscan Norici’ is somewhat confusing but leaves no doubt that the events took place somewhere between present-day Slovenia and the southeastern Alps.<sup>241</sup> It is apparently this region which marks the mental horizon for the Romans in the third quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and in which they obviously enjoyed no authority. Things probably changed soon after; in 129 BC C. Sempronius Tuditanus carried out a campaign against the Carni and Taurisci and in 113 BC Romans were facing the Cimbri near Noreia... But after this date we have no written records about the presence and activities of Romans or Italians, traders or other, in the region.

Any doubts about the presence of persons of Italian origin in Central Europe have been dispelled by the discoveries in Bratislava and Vienna in the last decade. It is through the lens of

240 C. Licinio C. l. || Pilomuso, || merkatori Trans||alpino || C. Licinius Andero || l(ibertus) vivos fecit sibi || et patrono. Loc(us) || p(edum) q(uadratorum) XVI.

241 The curious synchronicity between this discovery and the beginning of the large-scale gold exploiting and minting in Bohemia is therefore purely accidental.

these relatively late, geographically rather marginal, and culturally insular sites that we can best approach the rest of our working area.

The interpretation of the site of **Vienna-Rochusmarkt/Kundmanngasse** is in my opinion relatively easy. The import *facies* consists predominantly of pottery, including categories not documented elsewhere in the region (mainly functionally specialised vessels such as baking pans and *mortaria*); amphorae are relatively rare, especially in comparison with Bratislava (a single quantifiable ceramic individual and perhaps not more than seven vessels all together), while seven styli are again the highest score for this category anywhere in Central Europe; one seal-box and a medical instrument complement the *facies* which clearly served very different users than anywhere else, people cooking and eating in a Roman way, diligently writing, sealing (no matter if documents or valuables), and only moderately consuming wine. This picture is eloquently complemented by finds of amber (or an amber-like substance) both raw and in different stages of working, by a Latin inscription on a local pot, and a shackle chain. This settlement did not exist in isolation; it lies on the outskirts of a considerable concentration of other La Tène settlement finds covering several dozens of hectares (ADLER-WÖLFL 2012; ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 35–36, Abb. 16). At the same time, apart from the clearly foreign elements in the artefactual assemblage, the settlement features all the characteristics of a normal La Tène site including its *Grubenhäuser*-based architecture and common local pottery.

There is in my opinion no other possible explanation of this remarkable assemblage than that proposed by the excavators of the site (ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 38): a settlement of merchants from northeast Italy or, by this time already Romanised, eastern Alps as suggested by the similarities of ceramic assemblages between Vienna and sites like Mandrga, which we had the occasion to note above. Although little specific is known about the La Tène settlement in Vienna due to the fact that all evidence comes from rescue excavations in the core of a metropolis, its surface area alone (at least 25 ha if not twice the size) suggests that we are here dealing with a major agglomeration (ADLER-WÖLFL 2012, 169–172, fig. 1). The fact that out of all these sites the characteristic *facies* was encountered in Rochusmarkt for the first time clearly testifies to its status of a culturally isolated site even in the context of its immediate surroundings; the term *emporion* (ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 38), i.e. a merchant settlement in a culturally foreign milieu, is completely appropriate here. Such settlements were a common phenomenon in the ancient world and repeatedly documented during the late Roman Republic both textually (GRASSL 2004) and archaeologically. Their position on the fringes of major local sites (most likely an outlet for their goods but also under at least the nominal protection of the local authorities) and a mixed material culture is a shared trait (cf. pre-colonial Bologna: ORTALLI 2004; Toulouse?: GORGUES 2013; the Magdalensberg).

Archaeological evidence from the site shows that the local inhabitants maintained contacts not only with their surrounding Middle Danube La Tène milieu but also with territories of northern Central Europe (Przeworsk Culture pottery) and of the Carpathian Basin (a sickle-shaped knife). There is unfortunately no way of telling whether it was the local residents themselves who travelled to these distant regions or whether they only collected goods brought from there to Vienna. In any case, all the (stereo)typical elements of north-south and south-north trade are present or clearly hinted at: wine, (pseudo)amber, and slaves...

True to the principles followed through this book I will abstain from considerations on how this settlement fitted into the frame of the grand history of the Danubian Boii and their defeat by Burebista (let alone of the campaign of Tiberius against Maroboduus). Suffice it to say that the settlement fits into the time-span of the second to third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and could have lasted for several decades around the middle of the century, being thus

contemporary with last phases of the Bavarian, Bohemian, and Moravian oppida as well as the rise of the nearby Bratislava.

In **Bratislava**, the archaeological picture is very different. The import categories correspond with those noted in Vienna (amphorae, pottery, writing instruments, complemented here with bronze vessels and a rare intaglio from a finger ring) but their proportions are basically the inverse: modest quantities of pottery (including imported and imitated table-ware as well as imitated tripod pans, while *mortaria*, jugs, and baking pans are absent) as opposed to amphorae represented by dozens of individuals and hundreds of fragments. Though the effort to cook and eat ‘*all’italiana*’ is clearly present (cf. also the presence of oil amphorae) it was clearly secondary to the consumption of wine (much less culturally specific or, rather, much easier to adapt to pre-existing local cultural patterns of voluntary intoxication, similar to the situation in Gaul: cf. POUX 2004). The rarity of amphorae/wine in Vienna as opposed to their frequency in Bratislava clearly reflects the distinction between them being stored merchandise at the former, and imported and consumed goods at the latter. It is of course beyond our abilities to understand whether the amphorae reached Bratislava by way of Vienna-Rochusmarkt, though it cannot at all be excluded.

That it was not Romans or other Italians who enjoyed these southern goods in Bratislava is clear once again from comparison with Vienna; it was clearly not impossible to procure the full array of Italian cooking and table wares for whoever desired it in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century middle Danube area and yet the residents of Bratislava showed only limited interest in it in comparison with the otherwise much less lavish Viennese *emporoi*.

This lavishness finds its best expression in the Roman style architecture on the Bratislava Castle Hill. Unprecedented and unparalleled in transalpine Europe in the extent, effort, and technical quality of execution, these buildings clearly show a powerful clientele desirous to show off their extraordinary status, their material wealth, and personal connections with whoever was able to provide them with such prestigious constructions (a very different story from that narrated by the modest *Grubenhäuser* in Vienna). In Bratislava we are therefore clearly dealing with local elites; although to a considerable extent aware of the different possibilities in which Italian culture might contribute to the manifestation of their status, their essential mind-set remains firmly rooted in a local milieu. This is best expressed by the vague cultural definition of their exuberant architecture; regardless of their high-tech building materials and top quality construction techniques, both on a par with their Italian counterparts, the layouts (and by extension the social functions) of the houses have little to do with Italian architecture. Likewise, these lavish constructions in *caementicium*, floors in *opus signinum*, and painted walls were covered by roofing in shingles or thatch rather than roof-tiles. The superficiality of such an approach is almost amusing.

As there is no doubt that it was the local elites who were the consumers of this pseudo-*romanitas* in Bratislava, there is also no doubt that people of Italian origin were heavily involved here. The construction must have taken years to accomplish and although the *main d’oeuvre* could have been to some extent trained locals, at least a small team of specialised craftsmen – architects, painters – must have overseen it all the time. At least the occasional presence of Italian merchants living a mere 60 km upstream in Vienna is almost certain.

Not only was Bratislava well known to Romans but the evidence in my opinion shows that (regardless of the doubtless financial capacities of the Bratislava elites) the contacts went well beyond mere commercial interests. I have argued elsewhere (KYSÉLA – OLMER 2014) that especially the extensive investment at the behest of local elites is best comprehensible with the approval if not the command of the Roman authorities governing northern Italy in this period (which incidentally included leading figures of the late Roman Republic: Caesar,

Marc Antony, Asinius Pollio, Octavian), and that it can be understood as establishing personal relations and alliances in the extremely strategic region of the *Porta Hungarica*. It would be fully understandable within the context of increasing Roman involvement in the territory of the Carpathian Basin, which is expressed by Caesar's interest when he had himself 'allotted' Cisalpine Gaul and *Illyricum* as his original proconsular provinces in 59 BC (only later and rather by accident extended also to Transalpine Gaul: GOUDINEAU 1994/2007, 230–234). When he decided to set out for Gaul for the first time, all three of his legions were standing ready at Aquileia (BG I, 10); twice during the Gallic War he took time to police Illyricum (BG II, 35; V, 1); in 49 BC the Noricans responded immediately (we do not know to what extent eagerly) to his call for troops against Pompey; after gaining full power in Rome in 45/44 BC he immediately planned an eastern campaign to the Balkans, only carried out by Octavian in 35 BC as his first action after securing his position in the west by the defeat of Sextus Pompeius in 36 BC and as a sort of training before the final clash with Antony a few years later. We do not know, and it is not the ambition of this book to understand, what exact form this Roman interest in Bratislava took, how it changed over time, and whether it was lessened by the Dacian expansion or by other circumstances. The most likely chronology of the amphorae and of the buildings show that the contacts began already around or after the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century while finds of early Augustan objects suggest that some interactions could have been going on until as late as the 20s BC. There is little to no evidence suggesting continuity till the middle or late Augustan period, let alone a connection with Tiberius' campaign in AD 6. Comparison with the artefactual assemblage of Devín, a site much better suited to play a role in these later events, is particularly instructive in this respect.

In comparison with Vienna and Bratislava, the situation in **WnCE, EnCE, and Bohemia** is clearly very different. Pottery is only present in some numbers in the Middle Danube area itself, i.e. in the immediate vicinity of Vienna and Bratislava. A category often linked with the actual presence of people of Italian origin – merchants, military, or administrative personnel depending on the context – are styli and seal boxes and we indeed encountered both of them in relatively high numbers in Vienna (7 styli, 1 seal box) and in Bratislava (3 styli, 1 seal box). Both styli and seal-boxes appear in Central Europe earlier than in Gaul and are relatively common: one stylus in Manching, three seal boxes in Staré Hradisko, two seal boxes and perhaps five or six styli in Stradonice. And yet, although all these objects are clear signs of the adoption and exercise of a practice of Mediterranean origin, we know that this practice was used in Central Europe by speakers of both Latin (Vienna) and of local languages (e.g. Manching 'Boios'). In Stradonice many 'styli' were disproved as fakes, but even in the case of the accepted ones (and there must have been some in the first place, otherwise they would not have been faked) we cannot exclude (and may even suppose) their local production. To cut a long story short, the inhabitants of central Europe did write and their economic and social relations (coin production, long-distance trade) were sufficiently complex to encourage and oblige them to do so. They did use instruments copied from the Roman world but there is no need to relegate this activity to hypothetical Romans. The same is true of seal boxes, only their use is even more universal; instead of an initiation into the mystery of writing their application requires just a string, a lump of wax, concern for one's fortune... and possibly, though not necessarily, a signet ring which was the only necessarily Roman element in this formula. We have no clues as to why these elements did not appear in Gaul at an equally early date; the local elites surely had the same need for administration (whence styli) and no greater willingness to share their valuables and documents (whence seal-boxes) than those in central Europe. The presence of writing instruments in Central Europe cannot be taken as an undeniable proxy for the presence of Romans; nevertheless, it does not make them less interesting – quite the contrary.

We may finally try to identify persons of Mediterranean origin, or less ambitiously to get a more detailed insight into the ways of consumption of southern imports, through the few objects which are outside the box of the regular pattern of imports and therefore can be theoretically linked with personal possessions rather than trade. A few such artefacts can be found in the category of ‘others’, namely oil lamps, strigil suspension ring(s?), and *Stachelringe* all of which find little justification in the midst of La Tène culture.

Strigil suspension rings are the least likely game-changers here. Already in the case of the fragment from Stradonice I doubted whether it had actually crossed the Alps in the first place along with strigils or simply as a handily closable ring useful for various practical applications (KYSELA 2012c). With now two more potential pieces of this kind from far less central places than the Stradonice oppidum ([Okx2], [KHx1]), we may be almost sure that the latter was the case. While strigils are surely much more fragile and much less recognisable than the suspension rings, the fact remains that while new rings keep appearing, we still do not know of any convincing strigils either in Central, or in the entire Transalpine Europe.

Oil lamps are objects of supreme practical significance which is reflected in their relatively early and common presence in Gaul with a dozen pieces already in the pre-conquest period (BARBAU 2019, 220, 231). Constraints to their diffusion are practical (accessibility of oil or finding another suitable fuel) rather than cultural.

The case of the *Stachelringe* is interesting. Should we accept their function as archery implements, they would be not only foreign objects but would testify to a particular style of archery linked probably with a particular kind of a bow (very probably shorter and/or stronger than usual). This is too complex a combination of circumstances to make the appearance of two of them in Manching purely accidental. It is therefore probable to assume in Manching the presence of at least two archers trained and armed in the Mediterranean. Though we cannot be sure whether this occurred in the oppida period or before and we cannot be sure either whether these archers arrived from afar or if they were locals who adopted new arms and skills abroad.

To conclude, direct personal contact between Mediterranean and central Europe is positively documented in the final stages of the La Tène period (from LT D1b onwards) in sites like Vienna and Bratislava. Even in these cases it is not sure whether these sites were more than the furthest outposts of Roman trade and other activities. Before this date, evidence of the physical presence of Romans/Italians in central Europe is very meagre and rather hypothetical. It surely does not mean that they were not there: I find it possible that there was a relatively regular contact in both directions at least between the two Alpine foothills, from northern Italy to Bavaria or the middle Danube area and *vice versa*, although there is little evidence of it. I am somewhat more sceptical as to the extent to which this direct contact concerned also the more outlying parts of Central Europe such as Bohemia and Moravia.

### Why?

More important – and even more difficult – is to understand what were the functions of Mediterranean objects in Central Europe, and what were the effects and significance of Mediterranean contacts there. We have seen above that both the quantities and the rhythms of diffusion of Italian objects in Central Europe differ from the situation in Gaul. Moreover, while in Gaul the commercial influx of Italian objects continued seamlessly into their massive spread with the Roman armies and a Roman way of life after the conquest, and the ways of acceptance of Roman objects can thus be studied as a process of Romanisation (BARBAU 2019), in Central Europe there was no Roman conquest and the commercial contacts with the south were cut short there exactly at the time when Roman armies were conquering Gaul. We are therefore

certainly not going to talk *a priori* either about Romanisation, or about any other ‘-isation’. The main aim we should strive to reach is to understand what kind of process (which ‘-isation’) it is we are actually observing here.

In order to do so we will concentrate on the best documented categories of artefacts – bronze and glass vessels, finger rings, and mirrors. Our ability to understand the function and significance of these objects in the local environment is seriously impaired by the insufficiently clear find circumstances. The objects can be in most cases related only to a site or a zone within a site without a relationship to specific structures (Stradonice, Třisov, Staré Hradisko) and even when more specific information is available (Manching, Závist, and in some cases Staré Hradisko), the objects often come from rather non-descript settlement pits and layers. This is by itself not worthless information but it provides a poor basis for analysis of any kind. The detailed mapping of imported finds from the metal detector surveys in Třisov (KYSĚLA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 549, fig. 9) has shown that the objects were found throughout the entire oppidum with the highest density directly proportional simply to the density of metallic finds in general. Even focusing on the single import categories, they seem evenly spread everywhere rather than making up any particular concentrations.

This picture would at first sight suggest universal availability of these goods to all inhabitants of the oppidum but there are many caveats to this impression which, if true, would risk to further undermine the status of these objects as (in one way or another) prestige goods. We have seen that there is a clear site hierarchy in terms of accessibility to specific kinds of imports. It would be absurd if such a hierarchy was not valid within the sites themselves. The reason for this ubiquity of imports may be the fact that we are dealing with metal waste in secondary/tertiary deposition, potentially as scrap intended for recasting as we suggested elsewhere based on [Tř11] bearing traces of exposure to heath (KYSĚLA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 600). It is worth noting that [Lnb1–Lnb4], [Kel1, Kel3], and [Deo1, Deo3] were discovered in metal workshops obviously ready for recycling. The analyses of the complete assemblage of bronzes from the Třisov prospections showed that although the analysed imports differed from local products in terms of alloy composition (a fact that could have been corrected by metal refining), the Pb isotope analyses showed a significant percentage of metals of Mediterranean origin (DANIELISOVÁ *et al.* 2017). Recycling of imports is entirely possible, though we of course must not and need not take this idea to extremes and imagine that the objects were already imported as scrap metal, nor relegate the key oppida from privileged trade and consumption sites to mere bronze foundries draining scrap bronze from other sites. Such extreme positions would completely invalidate all our considerations so far. Recycling likely took place on the sites where the imports were originally used.

There are few imports in what could be considered their functional contexts and this function is never primary; these concern mainly cases when metal vessels were used as containers of coin hoards e.g. in Podmokly, or Reiterbacher Forst, or their appearance in the extremely rare (or rather potential) burials such as in Kelheim. These specific cases suggest the original association of metal vessels with an elite social milieu which is of course in no way surprising considering the simple value of bronze vessels and their regular elite connotations in La Tène burials in northern Italy (BOLLA – CASTOLDI 2016) and Gaul (SUEUR 2016; 2018) as well as later among the Germans (e.g. DROBERJAR 1999; 2006). This is about as much as we are able to tell about the function of metal (and equally glass) vessels – impressive, exotic objects beyond the technological skills of local producers and probably first and foremost prestigious items.

There is no reason to imagine that there was any local effort to replicate the Mediterranean ways of using these vessels in feasting. Already in Gaul wine was subject to local drinking habits (POUX 2004) and in Bratislava, fully exposed to Roman influence, we can observe clear

selectivity in imported and used Mediterranean pottery. In Stradonice and Staré Hradisko, let alone in Závist or Kolo, any idea of the originally intended role of the vessel had probably disappeared: pans could have been used for cooking (as in Goebblange Nospelt) and situlae and simpula for serving beer or mead, if not stew. Unlike in Gaul (POUX 2004) we have no hints as to what transformations the use of these vessels underwent; although it is clear that one of principal points in possessing such objects was their ostentatious use in public and possibly to some extent ritualised festivities, the idea of a ‘Celtic symposium’ (RIECKHOF 1998) is in my opinion misleading.

‘Prestige’ remains the central key word also in case of finger-rings. Their practical application for sealing (which was clearly practiced in Central Europe as documented by finds of seal boxes) cannot be denied. There must however also be other reasons behind their impressive concentration in Bohemia combined with the much less impressive low quality, for the most part made of similar and glass. It is interesting to realise that other regions of Central Europe show much greater restraint in this respect – rings are much fewer and more often than of brass they are made of iron, a material common for higher quality pieces in Italy (GAGGETTI 2000). This large demand for low quality items, characteristic of Bohemia, suggests a broad (and multifaceted) local purchasing power and a demand for ‘making an elite impression’.

In the domain of cheap trinkets, the next most popular categories to be mentioned along with brass rings are mirrors and glass beads. This trio makes up a not insignificant proportion of imports in all the regions studied (though twice as large in Bohemia than elsewhere) evoking unflattering comparisons with colonial trade in 19<sup>th</sup> century Africa.

Medical instruments may have slightly more serious implications but it is important to note that in the oppida period we are mostly dealing with simple spatulae which could have been used for a broad range of activities, certainly not only for medicine practice, while the more sophisticated instruments such as bone saws and retractors which we encounter twice in the pre-oppida period appear only in a single case. More importantly, they (as well as the *phlebotom* from Stradonice) could have been used and even produced locally to be put into use in local healing practices.

In comparison with the much larger Gaul, in Central Europe the number of artefacts is surprisingly high. By contrast, there are extremely few objects indicating changes in cultural practices rather than superficial indulging in the realm of the prestigious, exotic, and different: styli, seal boxes (and finger rings if actually used for sealing), the extremely rare oil lamps. All the objects whose spread announces Romanisation in post-conquest Gaul remain rare or absent.

The predilection for an Italian appearance does not stop at the level of imports: the Italian A65 and spoon-bow brooches are keenly adopted and locally produced in Central Europe, creating in this sense a costume *koiné* stretching from Bohemia to Tuscany if not Calabria; bronze belt hooks of local production are consistently decorated with a motif based on (though not always fully resembling) the Mediterranean palmette (WERNER 1962–1963); in order to avert threat caused by evil-eye, amulets were locally produced based on the Mediterranean model of a hand clenched in the *fica* gesture adopting with it (consciously or not) a complex structure of Mediterranean superstitions; elements from coffers found in Stradonice match their Italian counterparts and we cannot tell if they were imported or locally produced (the enormous extent of local bone-working pleads in favour of the latter); in Hrazany the urge is felt for some reason to produce a few bottles – neither fully La Tène nor convincingly Italian.

Here indeed we are observing a certain predilection for Mediterranean models of which the inhabitants of Central Europe seem to have had certain knowledge. But still this assimilation of Italian models is strictly selective, superficial in some cases, unsophisticated in others,

and first and foremost rarely ever have a profound impact on local practices. This seemingly deprecatory statement is in reality tribute to the transalpine societies. By the Late La Tène period they managed to develop a complex culture on their own which was so coherent and self-reliant that the 'high' Mediterranean cultures – even though they became closer to the transalpine world thanks to the intensified communication – had little to offer to it. This is clear in particular in comparison with the Middle La Tène period in which Central Europe owed much to the Mediterranean, for the idea of coinage, for example.

These processes were likely the side effect of intensified inter-regional trade within Europe (Central, Trans- or peri-Alpine) in which the Mediterranean component was only one of many which contributed to the creation of the specific (material) culture of the oppida period. The foci of these processes were clearly the oppida, more specifically a small number of oppida including Manching, Staré Hradisko, and Stradonice. Each of these sites represents a different region in which, as we could see, the Mediterranean contacts manifested themselves in a slightly different way. The situation, as we observed it, seems to suggest that Bohemia, whose sudden surge on to Central European scene may be accredited to the large-scale extraction and concerted export of gold, was the most avid purchaser of Mediterranean goods but at the same time their least sophisticated user. Future research will show to what extent this impression holds up in reality. The key issue here will be broadening our knowledge of sites other than oppida and, an essential point for any discussions concerning the Late La Tène period in Bohemia and Central Europe, a precise understanding of the oppidum of Stradonice which turns out to be exceptional in every respect, no matter from which point of view it is studied.

## WHAT'S NEXT?

I set out to write the story of relations between Central Europe and the Mediterranean with the intention to accord the written sources the place they deserve (and not an inch more) with the premise that there is much the Greeks and Romans did not write, either because they did not know or because they did not care, and what they wrote has the right to be wrong or not concern what we are interested in. Time and time again we saw that archaeological evidence when called upon in order to illustrate the few written accounts concerning the transalpine Europe, fail to do so: some Greek objects in the Carpathian Basin pre-date the Celtic invasion of Greece; there is still no archaeological evidence of Boii migrating from Italy to central Europe; still no undeniable trace of Celtic mercenaries, etc.). On the contrary, some properties of contact indicators in Central Europe make us realise that though they may reflect some historical processes going on in the Mediterranean world, these have nothing to do with the interaction between the Mediterranean and Central Europe (raw glass recipes indicate a shift of resources from Egypt to the Middle East reflecting the internal problems of the Ptolemaic empire; Greek coins in Central Europe demonstrate trade with northeastern Italy rather than the return of mercenaries; a dearth of 1<sup>st</sup> century Roman coins is a result of political turmoil in Italy). Although the Mediterranean and the Transalpine worlds were interacting intensively, they were two largely independent realities and there was a much smaller causal link between the events in one and their manifestations in the other, than many wish. I decided therefore to base myself primarily on the image provided by the archaeological sources. The final result may be less romantic than some previous contributions to this theme, but the picture has proved to be richer and more multifaceted than I could have hoped at the start. Many of its aspects still remain open to study.

Surprisingly, there are numerous open questions on the Mediterranean side of our inquiry – far too often we were obliged to lament an insufficient state of knowledge or state of publication. It is naturally only after we get a fuller understanding of the ways in which our Mediterranean imports lived their lives in their homeland that we can ask them to help us with issues of chronology, trade circuits or even their transalpine imitations. Rectifying this point in its entirety may be out of our reach but the field to work on here is huge and every bit of it counts.

In dealing with both the pre-oppida and oppida periods we realise that while studying contacts between the Greco-Roman cultures of the Mediterranean and the La Tène Culture of Central Europe, the most valuable or innovative information can often be found in regions which formally speaking form part of neither of these cultural areas: in the non-La Tène cultures of the Carpathian Basin, in the Adriatic, or in Spain. For any future research it is indispensable to forget about cultural labels and to consider the past reality simply in terms of chronological frameworks and geographical logic.

Rather than being a fringe amusement with fancy objects of limited information value, the study of contacts between the Mediterranean and Central Europe in the Late Iron Age reveals not only information about the ways in which things and thoughts travelled between both regions but, most surprisingly, perhaps even more information on the situation in Central Europe and in its immediate surroundings. To sum up, there is still a lot of work to be done.

## Appendix I – written sources

Aristotle, *Meteorics* I, 13

From Pyrene (this is a mountain towards the west in Celtice) there flow the Istrus and the Tartessus. The latter flows outside the pillars, while the Istrus flows through all Europe into the Euxine. Most of the remaining rivers flow northwards from the Hercynian mountains, which are the greatest in height and extent about that region. In the extreme north, beyond furthest Scythia, are the mountains called Rhipae. The stories about their size are altogether too fabulous: however, they say that the most and (after the Istrus) the greatest rivers flow from them.

Polybius II, 17

These plains [of northern Italy] were anciently inhabited by Etruscans [...]. Their chief intercourse was with the Celts, because they occupied the adjoining districts; who, envying the beauty of their lands, seized some slight pretext to gather a great host and expel the Etruscans from the valley of the Padus, which they at once took possession of themselves. First, the country near the source of the Padus was occupied by the Laevi and Lebecii; after them the Insubres settled in the country, the largest tribe of all; and next them, along the bank of the river, the Cenomani. But the district along the shore of the Adriatic was held by another very ancient tribe called Venēti, in customs and dress nearly allied to Celts, but using quite a different language, about whom the tragic poets have written a great many wonderful tales. South of the Padus, in the Apennine district, first beginning from the west, the Ananes, and next them the Boii settled. Next them, on the

\πλήν ταῦτά γε τὰ πεδία τὸ παλαιὸν ἐνέμοντο Τυρρηνοὶ [...] οἷς ἐπιμιγνύμενοι κατὰ τὴν παράθεσιν Κελτοὶ καὶ περὶ τὸ κάλλος τῆς χώρας ὀφθαλμιάσαντες, ἐκ μικρᾶς προφάσεως μεγάλη στρατιᾶ παραδόξως ἐπελθόντες ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν Πάδου χώρας Τυρρηνοὺς καὶ κατέσχον αὐτοὶ τὰ πεδία. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς τοῦ Πάδου κείμενα Λάοι καὶ Λεβέκιοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ἴνσοβρες κατώκησαν, ὃ μέγιστον ἔθνος ἦν αὐτῶν: ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν Γουομόνιοι. τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδριανὴν ἤδη προσήκοντα γένος ἄλλο πάνυ παλαιὸν διακατέσχεν: προσαγορεύονται δ' Οὐένετοι, τοῖς μὲν ἔθεσι καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ βραχεῖ διαφέροντες Κελτῶν, γλώττῃ δ' ἄλλοιᾶ χρώμενοι. περὶ ὧν οἱ τραγωδιογράφοι πολὺν τινα πεποιήνται λόγον καὶ πολλὴν διατέθεινται τερατεῖαν. τὰ δὲ πέραν τοῦ Πάδου τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀπεννίνον πρῶτοι μὲν Ἄναρες, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Βοῖοι κατώκησαν: ἐξῆς δὲ τούτων ὡς πρὸς τὸν Ἀδριανὴν Λίγγωνες, τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα πρὸς

coast of the Adriatic, the Lingones; and south of these, still on the sea-coast, the Senones. These are the most important tribes that took possession of this part of the country.

Caesar, *BG I*, 5.4

They persuaded the Rauraci, and the Tulingi, and the Latobrigi, their neighbours, to adopt the same plan, and after burning down their towns and villages, to set out with them: and they admit to their party and unite to themselves as confederates the Boii, who had dwelt on the other side of the Rhine, and had crossed over into the Norican territory, and assaulted Noreia.

Caesar, *BG VI*, 24–25

24. [2] Accordingly the Volcae Tectosages seized on those parts of Germany which are the most fruitful [and lie] around the Hercynian Forest, (which, I perceive, was known by report to Eratosthenes and some other Greeks, and which they call Orcynia), and settled there. Which nation to this time retains its position in those settlements, and has a very high character for justice and military merit; now also they continue in the same scarcity, indigence, hardihood, as the Germans, and use the same food and dress; but their proximity to the Province and knowledge of commodities from countries beyond the sea supplies to the Gauls many things tending to luxury as well as civilization. Accustomed by degrees to be overmatched and worsted in many engagements, they do not even compare themselves to the Germans in prowess. 25. The breadth of this Hercynian Forest, which has been referred to above, is to a quick traveller, a journey of nine days. For it cannot be otherwise computed, nor are they acquainted with the measures of roads. It begins at the frontiers of the Helvetii, Nemetes, and Rauraci, and extends in a right line along the river Danube to the territories of the Daci and the Anartes; it bends thence to the left in a different direction from the river, and owing to its extent touches the confines of many nations; nor is there any person belonging to this part of Germany who says that he either has gone to the extremity of that forest, though he had advanced a journey of sixty days, or has heard in what place it begins.

θαλάττη Σήνωνες. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανέστατα τῶν κατασχόντων τοὺς προειρημένους τόπους ἔθνων ταῦθ' ὑπῆρχεν.

Persuadent Rauracis et Tulingis et Latobrigis finitimis, uti eodem usi consilio oppidis suis vicisque exustis una cum iis proficiscantur, Boiosque, qui trans Rhenum incoluerant et in agrum Noricum transierant Noreiamque oppugnabant, receptos ad se socios sibi adsciscunt.

24. [2] Itaque ea quae fertilissima Germaniae sunt loca circum Hercyniam silvam, quam Eratostheni et quibusdam Graecis fama notam esse video, quam illi Orcyniam appellant, Volcae Tectosages occupaverunt atque ibi consederunt; [3] quae gens ad hoc tempus his sedibus sese continet summamque habet iustitiae et bellicae laudis opinionem. [4] Nunc quod in eadem inopia, egestate, patientia qua Germani permanent, eodem victu et cultu corporis utuntur; Gallis autem provinciarum propinquitas et transmarinarum rerum notitia multa ad copiam atque usum largitur, [6] paulatim adsuefacti superari multisque victi proeliis ne se quidem ipsi cum illis virtute comparant. 25. Huius Hercyniae silvae, quae supra demonstrata est, latitudo novem dierum iter expedito patet: non enim aliter finiri potest, neque mensuras itinerum noverunt. [2] Oritur ab Helvetiorum et Nemetum et Rauracorum finibus rectaque fluminis Danubi regione pertinet ad fines Dacorum et Anartium; [3] hinc se flectit sinistrorsus diversis ab flumine regionibus multarumque gentium fines propter magnitudinem adtingit; [4] neque quisquam est huius Germaniae, qui se aut adisse ad initium eius silvae dicat, cum dierum iter LX processerit, aut, quo ex loco oriatur, acceperit.

## Caesar BC, I.18

Caesar resolved to employ the three first days [of the siege of Sulmona in winter/spring 49 BC] in strongly fortifying his camp, in procuring corn from the neighbouring towns, and waiting the arrival of the rest of his forces. During this space, the eighth legion joined him, with two and twenty cohorts of new levies from Gaul, and about three hundred horse from the king of Noricum.

## Liv. v, 34–35

34. Concerning the migration of the Gauls into Italy we are told as follows: while Tarquinius Priscus reigned at Rome, the Celts, who make up one of the three divisions of Gaul, were under the domination of the Bituriges, and this tribe supplied the Celtic nation with a king. [2] Ambigatus was then the man, and his talents, together with his own and general good fortune, had brought him great distinction; for Gaul under his sway grew so rich in corn and so populous, that it seemed hardly possible to govern so great a multitude. [3] The king, who was now an old man and wished to relieve his kingdom of a burdensome throng, announced that he meant to send Bellovesus and Segovesus, his sister's sons, two enterprising young men, to find such homes as the gods might assign to them by augury; [4] and promised them that they should head as large a number of emigrants as they themselves desired, so that no tribe might be able to prevent their settlement. Whereupon to Segovesus were by lot assigned the Hercynian highlands; but to Bellovesus the gods proposed a far pleasanter road, into Italy. [5] Taking out with him the surplus population of his tribes, the Bituriges, Arverni, Senones, Haedui, Ambarri, Carnutes, and Aulerci, he marched with vast numbers of infantry and cavalry into the country of the Tricastini. [...] [9] They themselves crossed the Alps through the Taurine passes and the pass of the Duria; routed the Etruscans in battle not far from the river Ticinus, and learning that they were encamped in what was called the country of the Insubres, who bore the same name as an Haeduan canton, they regarded it as a place of good omen, and founded a city there which they called Mediolanium.

35. Presently another band, consisting of Cenomani led by Etiovius, followed in the tracks

Caesar primis diebus castra magnis operibus munire et ex finitimis municipiis frumentum comportare reliquasque copias exspectare instituit. [5] eo triduo legio viii ad eum venit cohortesque ex novis Galliae dilectibus xxii equitesque ab rege Norico circiter ccc. quorum adventu altera castra ad alteram oppidi partem ponit; his castris Curionem praefecit.

34. de transitu in Italiam Gallorum haec accepimus: Prisco Tarquinio Romae regnante Celtarum, quae pars Galliae tertia est, penes Bituriges summa imperii fuit; ii regem Celtico dabant. [2] Ambigatus is fuit, virtute fortunaque cum suatum publica praepollens, quod in imperio eius Gallia adeo frugum hominumque fertilis fuit ut abundans multitudo vix regi videretur posse. [3] hic magno natu ipse iam exonerare praegravante turba regnum cupiens, Bellovesum ac Segovesum, sororis filios, impigros iuvenes, missurum se esse in quas di dedissent auguriis sedes ostendit: quantum ipsi vellent numerum hominum excirent, [4] ne qua gens arcere advenientes posset. tum Segoveso sortibus dati Hercynei saltus; Belloveso haud paulo laetiozem in Italiam viam dii dabant. [5] is quod eius ex populis abundabat, Bituriges Arvernos Senones Haeduos Ambarros Carnutes Aulercos excivit. profectus ingentibus peditum equitumque copiis in Tricastinos venit. [9] [...] Galli [...] per Taurinos saltus saltumque Duriae Alpes transcenderunt; fuisque acie Tuscis haud procul Ticino flumine, cum in quo consederant agrum Insubrium appellari audissent, cognominem Insubribus, pago Haeduorum, ibi omen sequentes loci condidere urbem; Mediolanium appellarunt.

35. [...] poenino deinde Boii Lingonesque transgressi cum iam inter Padum atque Alpes omnia tenerentur, Pado ratibus traiecto non Etruscos modo sed etiam Umbros agro pellunt; intra Appenninum tamen sese tenuere. [3] tum Senones, recentissimi advenarum, ab Utente flumine usque ad Aesim fines habuere.

of the earlier emigrants; and having, with the approval of Bellovesus, crossed the Alps by the same pass, established themselves where the cities of Brixia and Verona are now. [2] After these the Libui came and settled, and the Salluvii — taking up their abode hard by the ancient tribe of the Laevi Ligures, about the river Ticinus. Then, over the Poenine Pass, came the Boii and Lingones, who finding everything taken up between the Po and the Alps, crossed the Po on rafts, and drove out not only the Etruscans, but also the Umbrians from their lands; nevertheless, they kept on the further side of the Apennines. [3] Then the Senones, the latest to come, had their holdings from the river Utens all the way to the Aesis.

Strab. iv, 6.8

Beyond, both the eastern parts of the mountains, and those likewise inclining to the south, are possessed by the Rhæti and Vindelici, who adjoin the Helvetii and Boii, and press upon their plains. The Rhæti extend as far as Italy above Verona and Como. [...] These people extend also as far as the districts through which the Rhine flows. The Lepontii and Camuni are of their nation. The Vindelici and Norici possess, for the most part, the opposite side of the mountains together with the Breuni and Genauni, who form part of the Illyrians. All these people were continually making incursions both into the neighbouring parts of Italy, and into [the countries] of the Helvetii, the Sequani, the Boii, and the Germani.

Strab. iv, 6.12

Polybius tells us that in his time the gold mines were so rich about Aquileia, but particularly in the countries of the Taurisci Norici, that if you dug but two feet below the surface you found gold, and that the diggings [generally] were not deeper than fifteen feet. In some instances the gold was found pure in lumps about the size of a bean or lupin, and which diminished in the fire only about one eighth; and in others, though requiring more fusion, was still very profitable. Certain Italians aiding the barbarians in working [the mines], in the space of two months the value of gold was diminished throughout the whole of Italy by one third. The Taurisci on discovering this drove out their fellow-labourers, and only

εξῆς δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἕω μέρη τῶν ὄρων καὶ τὰ ἐπιστρέφοντα πρὸς νότον Ῥαιτοὶ καὶ Οὐινδολικοὶ κατέχουσι συνάπτοντες Ἐλουηττίοις καὶ Βοίοις; ἐπίκεινται γὰρ τοῖς ἐκείνων πεδίοις. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥαιτοὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἰταλίας καθήκουσι τῆς ὑπὲρ Οὐήρωνος καὶ Κώμου. [...] διατείνουσι δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν χωρίων δι' ὧν ὁ Ῥῆνος φέρεται: τούτου δ' εἰσὶ τοῦ φύλου καὶ Ληπόντιοι καὶ Καμοῦνοι. οἱ δὲ Οὐινδολικοὶ καὶ Νωρικοὶ τὴν ἐκτὸς παρῶρειαν κατέχουσι τὸ πλεόν μετὰ Βρεύνων καὶ Γεναύνων, ἤδη τούτων Ἰλλυριῶν. ἅπαντες δ' οὗτοι καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ γειτονεύοντα μέρη κατέτρεχον αἰεὶ καὶ τῆς Ἐλουηττίων καὶ Σηκοανῶν καὶ Βοίων καὶ Γερμανῶν.

”ετι φησὶ Πολύβιος ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ κατ’ Ἀκυληίαν μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς Ταυρίσκοις τοῖς Νωρικοῖς εὐρεθῆναι χρυσεῖον οὕτως εὐφύες ὥστ’ ἐπὶ δύο πόδας ἀποσύραντι τὴν ἐπιπολῆς γῆν εὐθύς ὀρυκτὸν εὐρίσκεσθαι χρυσόν, τὸ δ’ ὄρυγμα μὴ πλείονων ὑπάρχειν ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα ποδῶν, εἶναι δὲ τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὸν μὲν αὐτόθεν καθαρὸν κυάμου μέγεθος ἢ θέρμου, τοῦ ὀγδόου μέρους μόνον ἀφεψηθέντος, τὸν δὲ δεῖσθαι μὲν χωνείας πλείονος σφόδρα δὲ λυσιτελοῦς. συνεργασαμένων δὲ τοῖς βαρβάρους τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἐν διμήνῳ, παραχρῆμα τὸ [p. 286] χρυσίον εὐωνότερον γενέσθαι τῷ τρίτῳ μέρει καθ’ ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, αἰσθομένους δὲ τοὺς Ταυρίσκους μονοπωλεῖν ἐκβαλόντας τοὺς

sold the gold themselves. Now, however, the Romans possess all the gold mines.

Strab. v, 1.6

Formerly, as we have said, the district next to this river [Po] was chiefly inhabited by Kelts. The principal nations of these Kelts were the Boii, the Insubri, and the Senones and Gæsataë, who in one of their incursions took possession of Rome. The Romans afterwards entirely extirpated these latter, and expelled the Boii from their country, who then migrated to the land about the Danube, where they dwelt with the Taurisci, and warred against the Dacians until the whole nation was destroyed; and they left to the surrounding tribes this sheep-pasturing district of Illyria.

Strab. vii, 1.3, 6–12

[3]...between the Rhine and the river Elbe... [6] the whole country rises towards the south, and forms a ridge of mountains near the Alps, which extends eastward as though it were a continuation of the Alps and some have even so described it, as well on account of its position as because it produces the same system of vegetation; nevertheless, the altitude of this ridge in no part equals that of the Alps. Here is situated the Hercynian Wood, [7] and the tribes of the Suevi, [8] some of whom inhabit the forest, as do likewise some of the Quadi. [9] Among these latter people is situated Bujemum, the royal city of Marobodus, whither he has assembled many strangers and many of the Marcomanni, a kindred nation with his own. This Marobodus, from a private station, raised himself to the administration of affairs after his return from Rome. For he went to that city while a youth, and was patronized by Augustus. After he came home, he acquired the sovereignty of his country, and added to the people I have enumerated, the Luji, [10] a powerful nation, and the Zumi, [11] and the Gutones [12] and Mugilonas and Sibini, besides the Semnones, another considerable tribe of the Suevi. As I have previously stated, a portion of the Suevi dwells within the forest, while another portion occupies the territory beyond, on the frontiers of the Getæ; wherefore the nation of the Suevi is the most considerable, as it extends from the Rhine as far as the Elbe, and even a part of them,

συνεργαζομένους. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἅπαντα τὰ χρυσεῖα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐστί.

τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖον, ὡσπερ ἔφην, ὑπὸ Κελτῶν περιωκεῖτο τῶν πλείστων ὁ ποταμός. μέγιστα δ' ἦν τῶν Κελτῶν ἔθνη Βόιοι καὶ Ἴνσουβροι καὶ οἱ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ποτὲ ἐξ ἐφόδου καταλαβόντες Σένονες μετὰ Γαισατῶν. τούτους μὲν οὖν ἐξέφθειραν ὕστερον τελέως Ῥωμαῖοι, τοὺς δὲ Βοῖους ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τῶν τόπων. μεταστάντες δ' εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἴστρον τόπους μετὰ Ταυρίσκων ὤκουον πολεμοῦντες πρὸς Δακοὺς, ἕως ἀπώλοντο πανεθνεί: τὴν δὲ χώραν οὔσαν τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος μηλόβοτον τοῖς περιουκοῦσι κατέλιπον.

[3]...μεταξὺ τοῦ Ῥήνου καὶ τοῦ Ἄλβιος ποταμοῦ... [6] ἡ χώρα πρὸς νότον καὶ συνεχῆ ταῖς Ἄλπεσι ποιεῖ ῥάχιν τινα πρὸς ἕω τεταμένην, ὡς ἂν μέρος οὔσαν τῶν Ἄλπεων: καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπεφάνησαν τινες οὕτως διὰ τε τὴν λεχθεῖσαν θέσιν καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ὕλην ἐκφέρειν: οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτό γε ὕψος ἀνίσχει τὰ ταύτη ὄρη. ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶν ὁ Ἐρκύνιος δρυμὸς [7] καὶ τὰ τῶν Σοήβων ἔθνη, [... 9] τὰ μὲν οἰκοῦντα ἐντὸς τοῦ δρυμοῦ, ἐν οἷς ἐστί καὶ τὸ Βουίαιμον τὸ τοῦ Μαροβόδου βασιλείου, εἰς δὲ ἐκεῖνος τόπον ἄλλους τε μετανέστησε πλείους καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς ἑαυτῷ Μαρκομμάνους. ἐπέστη γὰρ τοῖς πράγμασιν οὗτος ἐξ ἰδιώτου μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐπάνοδον: νέος γὰρ ἦν ἐνθάδε καὶ εὐεργετεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ἐδυνάστευσε καὶ κατεκτήσατο πρὸς οἷς εἶπον Λουγίους τε, [10] μέγα ἔθνος, καὶ Ζούμους [11] καὶ Γούτωνας [12] καὶ Μουγίλωνας καὶ Σιβίνους καὶ τῶν Σοήβων αὐτῶν μέγα ἔθνος, Σέμνωνας. πλήν τὰ γε τῶν Σοήβων, ὡς ἔφην, ἔθνη τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς οἰκεῖ, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς τοῦ δρυμοῦ, ὁμορα τοῖς Γέταις. μέγιστον μὲν οὖν τὸ τῶν Σοήβων ἔθνος: διήκει γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥήνου μέχρι τοῦ Ἄλβιος: μέρος δέ τι αὐτῶν καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἄλβιος νέμεται, καθάπερ Ἐρμόνδοροι καὶ Λαγκόβαρδοι: νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τελέως εἰς τὴν περαιάν οὔτοι γε ἐκπεπτῶκασιν φεύγοντες. κοινὸν δ' ἐστὶν ἅπασιν τοῖς ταύτη τὸ περὶ τὰς μεταναστάσεις εὐμαρὲς διὰ τὴν λιτότητα τοῦ βίου καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ γεωργεῖν μηδὲ θησαυρίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐν καλυβίοις οἰκεῖν ἐφήμερον ἔχουσι παρασκευὴν: τροφή δ' ἀπὸ τῶν θρεμμάτων ἢ πλείστη καθάπερ

as the Hermonduri and the Langobardi, inhabit the country beyond the Elbe; but at the present time these tribes, having been defeated, have retired entirely beyond the Elbe.

τοῖς νομάσιν, ὥστ' ἐκείνους μιμούμενοι τὰ οἰκεῖα ταῖς ἀρμαμάξαις ἐπάραντες ὅπη ἂν δόξη τρέπονται μετὰ τῶν βοσκημάτων. ἄλλα δ' ἐνδεέστερά ἐστιν ἔθνη Γερμανικά Χηροῦσκοί τε καὶ Χάττοι καὶ Γαμαβρίουιοι καὶ Χαττουάριοι: πρὸς δὲ τῷ ὠκεανῷ Σούγαμβροί τε καὶ Χαῦβοι καὶ Βρούκτεροι καὶ Κίμβροι Καῦκοί τε καὶ Καοῦλκοι καὶ Καμφιανοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους. ἐπὶ ταῦτὰ δὲ τῷ Ἀμασίᾳ φέρονται Βίσουργίς τε καὶ Λουπίας ποταμός, διέχων Ῥήνου περὶ ἑξακοσίους σταδίους, ῥέων διὰ Βρουκτέρων τῶν ἐλαττόνων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σάλας ποταμός, οὗ μεταξὺ καὶ τοῦ Ῥήνου πολεμῶν καὶ κατορθῶν Δροῦσος ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Γερμανικός. ἐχειρώσατο δ' οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐθνῶν τὰ πλεῖστα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ νήσους, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Βυρχανίς, ἣν ἐκ πολιορκίας εἶλε.

Strab. VII, 1.5

The Hercynian Forest is extremely dense, and overgrown with very large trees, covering an immense circuit of country, fortified by nature. In the midst of it is situated the region well suited for habitation, of which we have spoken. Near this forest are the sources of the Danube and the Rhine, and the lake situated between these, together with the marshes formed by the Rhine. The circuit of the lake is more than 3003 stadia, and the distance across about 200. In this lake is an island which served Tiberius as an arsenal, in the naval war with the Vindelici. This lake is south of the sources of the Danube and the Hercynian Forest, so that in passing from Keltica to the forest, one has first to cross the lake, then the Danube, and afterwards by a more passable country, and over elevated plains, you approach the forest. Tiberius had proceeded only a day's journey from the lake when he saw the sources of the Ister.

The territory of the Rhæti borders some portion of this lake, but the greater part of the shores belongs to the Helvetii and Vindelici and the desert of the Boii. The nations as far as the Pannonians, but more especially the Helvetii and Vindelici, inhabit high table lands. The Rhæti and the Norici, verging towards Italy, extend over the very summits of the Alps; the former confining the Insubri, the latter the Carni, and the districts about Aquileia. There is likewise another great forest, named Gabreta, on this side the territory of the Suevi, while beyond them lies the Hercynian Wood, which also is in their possession.

ὁ δὲ Ἐρκύνιος δρυμὸς πυκνότερός τε ἐστὶ καὶ μεγαλόδενδρος ἐν χωρίοις ἐρυμνοῖς κύκλον περιλαμβάνων μέγαν, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἴδρυται χώρα καλῶς οἰκεῖσθαι δυναμένη, περὶ ἧς εἰρήκαμεν. ἔστι δὲ πλησίον αὐτῆς ἢ τε τοῦ Ἰστρου πηγῆ καὶ ἢ τοῦ Ῥήνου καὶ ἢ μεταξὺ ἀμφοῖν λίμνη καὶ τὰ ἔλλαττα ἐκ τοῦ Ῥήνου διαχεόμενα. ἔστι δ' ἡ λίμνη τὴν μὲν περίμετρον σταδίων πλειόνων ἢ πεντακοσίων, διάγραμμα δὲ ἐγγὺς διακοσίων. ἔχει δὲ καὶ νήσον, ἣν ἐχρήσατο ὀρμητηρίῳ Τιβέριος ναυμαχῶν πρὸς Ὀυινδολικούς. νοτιωτέρα δ' ἐστὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἰστρου πηγῶν καὶ αὕτη, ὥστ' ἀνάγκη τῷ ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐρκύνιον δρυμὸν ἰόντι πρῶτον μὲν διαπερᾶσαι τὴν λίμνην, ἔπειτα τὸν Ἰστρον, εἴτ' ἤδη δι' εὐπετεστέρων χωρίων ἐπὶ τὸν δρυμὸν τὰς προβάσεις ποιεῖσθαι δι' ὄροπεδίων. ἡμερήσιον δ' ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης προελθὼν ὁδὸν Τιβέριος εἶδε τὰς τοῦ Ἰστρου πηγὰς.

προσάπτονται δὲ τῆς λίμνης ἐπ' ὀλίγον μὲν οἱ Ῥαιτοί, τὸ δὲ πλεόν Ἐλουήττιοι καὶ Ὀυινδολικοί... καὶ ἡ Βοίων ἐρημία. μέχρι Παννονίων πάντες, τὸ πλεόν δ' Ἐλουήττιοι καὶ Ὀυινδολικοί, οἰκοῦσιν ὄροπέδια. Ῥαιτοὶ δὲ καὶ Νωρικοὶ μέχρι τῶν Ἀλπειῶν ὑπερβολῶν ἀνίσχουσι καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περινεύουσιν, οἱ μὲν Ἰνσούβροις συνάπτοντες οἱ δὲ Κάρνοις καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἀκυληίαν χωρίοις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη ὕλη μεγάλη Γαβρητα ἐπὶ τὰδε τῶν Σοήβων, ἐπέκεινα δ' ὁ Ἐρκύνιος δρυμὸς: ἔχεται δὲ κακκεῖνος ὑπ' αὐτῶν.

## Strab. VII, 2.3

[Posidonius] likewise tells us that the Boii formerly inhabited the Hercynian Forest, and that the Cimbri, having made an incursion into those parts, were repulsed by them, and driven towards the Danube, and the country occupied by the Scordisci, a Galatic tribe, and from thence to the Tauristæ, or Taurisci, a people likewise of Galatic origin, and farther to the Helvetii, who were at that time a rich and peaceful people; but, perceiving that the wealth of these freebooters far exceeded their own, the Helvetii, and more especially the Tigureni and the Toygeni, associated themselves with their expeditions. But both the Cimbri and their auxiliaries were vanquished by the Romans, the one part when they crossed the Alps and came down upon Italy, the others on the other side of the Alps.

## Strab. VII, 3.2

for at this day, all these nations, as well as the Bastarnæ, are mixed with the Thracians, more especially with those beyond the Danube, and some even with the Thracians on this side the Danube; also amongst these are the Keltic tribes of the Boii, Scordisci, and Taurisci.

## Strab. VII, 3,11

Bœrebistas, one of the Getæ, having taken the command of his tribe, reanimated the men who were disheartened by frequent wars, and raised them to such a degree of training, sobriety, and a habit of obedience to orders, that he established a powerful dominion within a few years, and brought most of the neighbouring states into subjection to the Getæ. He at length became formidable even to the Romans, fearlessly crossing the Danube, and laying waste Thrace as far as Macedonia and Illyria; he also subdued the Kelts who live among the Thracians and Illyrians, and thoroughly annihilated the Boii who were subject to Critasirus and the Taurisci.

## Strab. VII, 5. 1-2

1. [...] I shall first describe Illyria, which approaches close to the Danube, and to the Alps which lie

[Ποσειδώνιος] φησὶ δὲ καὶ Βοίους τὸν Ἐρκύνιον δρυμὸν οἰκεῖν πρότερον, τοὺς δὲ Κίμβρους ὀρμήσαντας ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ἀποκρουσθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν Βοίων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον καὶ τοὺς Σκορδίσκους Γαλάτας καταβῆναι, εἴτ' ἐπὶ Τευρίστας καὶ Ταυρίσκους, καὶ τούτους Γαλάτας, εἴτ' ἐπὶ Ἐλουηττίους, πολυχρύσους μὲν ἄνδρας εἰρηναίους δέ: ὀρῶντας δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῶν ληστηρίων πλοῦτον ὑπερβάλλοντα τοῦ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς Ἐλουηττίους ἐπαρθῆναι, μάλιστα δ' αὐτῶν Τιγυρίνους τε καὶ Τωυγένους, ὥστε καὶ συνεξορμηῆσαι. πάντες μέντοι κατελύθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Κίμβροι καὶ οἱ συναράμενοι τούτοις, οἱ μὲν ὑπερβαλόντες τὰς Ἄλπεις εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἱ δ' ἔξω τῶν Ἄλπεων.

καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἀναμέμικται ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη τοῖς Θραξί καὶ τὰ Βασταρνικά, μᾶλλον μὲν τοῖς ἐκτὸς Ἰστρού, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐντός. τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὰ Κελτικά, οἳ τε Βόιοι καὶ Σκορδίσκοι καὶ Ταυρίσκοι.

Βοιρεβίστας ἀνὴρ Γέτης, ἐπιστὰς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπιστάσιαν, ἀνέλαβε κεκακωμένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ συχνῶν πολέμων καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπῆρεν ἀσκήσει καὶ νήψει καὶ τῷ προσέχειν τοῖς προστάγμασιν, ὥστ' ὀλίγων ἐτῶν μεγάλην ἀρχὴν κατεστήσατο καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων τοὺς πλείστους ὑπέταξε τοῖς Γέταις: ἤδη δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις φοβερός ἦν, διαβαίνων ἀδεῶς τὸν Ἰστρον καὶ τὴν Θράκην λεηλατῶν μέχρι Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, τοὺς τε Κελτοὺς τοὺς ἀναμεμιγμένους τοῖς τε Θραξί καὶ τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐξεπόρθησε, Βοίους δὲ καὶ ἄρδην ἠφάνισε τοὺς ὑπὸ Κριτασίρω καὶ Ταυρίσκους.

1. [...] λέγωμεν δὴ τὰ Ἰλλυρικά πρῶτα συνάπτοντα τῷ τε Ἰστροῦ καὶ ταῖς Ἄλπεσιν, αἱ κεῖνται μεταξὺ

between Italy and Germany, taking their commencement from the lake in the territory of the Vindelici, Rhæti, and Helvetii. 2. The Daci depopulated a part of this country in their wars with the Boii and Taurisci, Keltic tribes whose chief was Critasirus. The Daci claimed the country, although it was separated from them by the river Parisus, which flows from the mountains to the Danube, near the Galatæ Scordisci, a people who lived intermixed with the Illyrian and the Thracian tribes. The Illyrians were destroyed by the Daci, while the Scordisci were frequently their allies.

Strab. VII, 5.6

People formerly very powerful are extinct, or were reduced to the lowest condition, as the Boii and Scordisci among the Galatæ; the Autariatæ, Ardæi, and Dardanii among the Illyrians; and the Triballi among the Thracians. They first declined in consequence of disputes amongst themselves, but were finally prostrated by wars with the Macedonians and Romans.

Velleius Paterculus II, 108-109

108. [1] Nothing remained to be conquered in Germany except the people of the Marcomanni, which, leaving its settlements at the summons of its leader Maroboduus, had retired into the interior and now dwelt in the plains surrounded by the Hercynian forest. [...] 109. [...] 3] He was also to be feared on this account, that, having Germany at the left and in front of his settlements, Pannonia on the right, and Noricum in the rear of them, he was dreaded by all as one who might at any moment descend upon all. [4] Nor did he permit Italy to be free from concern as regards his growing power, since the summits of the Alps which mark her boundary were not more than two hundred miles distant from his boundary line. [5] Such was the man and such the region that Tiberius Caesar resolved to attack from opposite directions in the course of the coming year. Sentius Saturninus had instructions to lead his legions through the country of the Catti into Boiohaemum, for that is the name of the region occupied by Maroboduus, cutting a passage through the Hercynian forest which bounded the region, while from Carnuntum, the

τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Γερμανίας, ἀρξάμεναι ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς κατὰ τοὺς Ὀυινδολικοὺς καὶ Ῥαιτοὺς καὶ Ἐλουηττίους. 2. μέρος μὲν δὴ τι τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἠρήμωσαν οἱ Δακοὶ καταπολεμήσαντες Βοίους καὶ Ταυρίσκους, ἔθνη Κελτικά τὰ ὑπὸ Κριτασίρω, φάσκοντες εἶναι τὴν χώραν σφετέραν, καίπερ ποταμοῦ διείργοντος τοῦ Παρίσου, ῥέοντος ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον κατὰ τοὺς Σκορδίσκους καλουμένους Γαλάτας· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τοῖς Ἰλλυρικοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ τοῖς Θρακίοις ἀναμιξέωσαν· ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν οἱ Δακοὶ κατέλυσαν, τούτοις δὲ καὶ συμμαχοῖς ἐχρήσαντο πολλάκις.

οἱ γὰρ πλεῖστον δυνάμενοι πρότερον τελέως ἔταπεινώθησαν καὶ ἐξέλιπον, Γαλατῶν μὲν Βοῖοι καὶ Σκορδίσται, Ἰλλυριῶν δὲ Αὐταριαῖται καὶ Ἀρδιαῖοι καὶ Δαρδάνιοι, Θρακῶν δὲ Τριβαλλοί, ὑπ' ἀλλήλων μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὕστερον δ' ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐκπολεμούμενοι.

108. Nihil erat iam in Germania, quod vinci posset, praeter gentem Marcomannorum, quae Maroboduus duce excita sedibus suis atque in interiora refugiens incinctos Hercynia silva campos incolebat. [...] 109. [...] 3] eratque etiam eo timendus, quod cum Germaniam ad laevam et in fronte, Pannoniam ad dextram, a tergo sedium suarum haberet Noricos, tamquam in omnes semper venturus ab omnibus timebatur. [4] Nec securam incrementi sui patiebatur esse Italiam, quippe cum a summis Alpium iugis, quae finem Italiae terminant, initium eius finium haud multo plus ducentis milibus passuum abesset. [5] Hunc virum et hanc regionem proximo anno diversis e partibus Ti. Caesar adgredi statuit. Sentio Saturnino mandatum, ut per Cattos excisis continentibus Hercyniae silvis legiones Boiohaemum (id regioni, quam incolebat Maroboduus, nomen est) duceret, ipse a Carnunto, qui locus Norici regni proximus ab hac parte erat, exercitum, qui in Illyrico merebat, ducere in Marcomannos orsus est.

nearest point of Noricum in this direction, he himself undertook to lead against the Marcomanni the army which was serving in Illyricum.

Plin. *NH* III, 146

In the rear of the Carni and the Iapydes, along the course of the great river Ister, the Rhæti touch upon the Norici: their towns are Virunum, Celeia, Teurnia, Aguntum, Vianiomina, Claudia, and Flavium Solvense. Adjoining to the Norici is Lake Peiso, and the deserts of the Boii; they are however now inhabited by the people of Sabaria, a colony of the now deified emperor Claudius, and the town of Scarabantia Julia.

Plin. *NH* IV, 25 = 30

[...] various races have occupied the adjacent shores [i.e. of the Black sea]; at one spot the Getæ, by the Romans called Daci; at another the Sarmatæ, by the Greeks called Sauromatæ, and the Hamaxobii or Aorsi, a branch of them; then again the base-born Scythians and descendants of slaves, or else the Troglodytæ; and then, after them, the Alani and the Rhoxalani. The higher parts again, between the Danube and the Hercynian Forest, as far as the winter quarters of Pannonia at Carnuntum, and the borders of the Germans, are occupied by the Sarmatian lazyges, who inhabit the level country and the plains, while the Daci, whom they have driven as far as the river Pathissus, inhabit the mountain and forest ranges. On leaving the river Marus, whether it is that or the Duria, that separates them from the Suevi and the kingdom of Vannius, the Basternæ, and, after them, other tribes of the Germans occupy the opposite sides. Agrippa considers the whole of this region, from the Ister to the ocean, to be 2100 miles in length, and 4400 miles in breadth to the river Vistula in the deserts of Sarmatia. The name "Scythian" has extended, in every direction, even to the Sarmatæ and the Germans; but this ancient appellation is now only given to those who dwell beyond those nations, and live unknown to nearly all the rest of the world.

A tergo Carnorum et Iapudum, qua se fert magnus Hister, Raetis iunguntur Norici. oppida eorum Virunum, Celeia, Teurnia, Aguntum, Iuvanum, omnia Claudia, Flavium Solvense. Noricis iunguntur lacus Pelso, deserta Boiorum; iam tamen colonia Divi Claudii Savaria et oppido Scarabantia Julia habitantur.

[...] varie tamen littori adposita tenuere, alias Getæ, Daci Romanis dicti, alias Sarmatæ, Graecis Sauromatæ, eorumque Hamaxobii aut Aorsi, alias Scythæ degeneres et a servis orti aut Troglodytæ, mox Alani et Rhoxolani; superiora autem inter Danuvium et Hercynium saltum usque ad Pannonica hiberna Carnunti Germanorumque ibi confinium, campos et plana Iazyges Sarmatæ, montes vero et saltus pulsati ab iis Daci ad Pathissum amnem, a Maro, sive duria est a Suebis regnoque Vanniano dirimens eos, aversa Basternæ tenent alique inde Germani. Agrippa totum eum tractum ab histro ad oceanum bis ad decies centenum milium passuum in longitudinem, quattuor milibus minus [cccc] in latitudinem, ad flumen Vistlam a desertis Sarmatiae prodidit. Scytharum nomen usquequaque transiit in sarmatas atque germanos. nec aliis prisca illa duravit appellatio quam qui extremi gentium harum, ignoti prope ceteris mortalibus, degunt.

Plin *NH* IV, 28 = 40

The Greek writers and some of our own countrymen have stated the coast of Germany to be 2500 miles in extent, while Agrippa, comprising Rhætia and Noricum in his estimate, makes the length to be 6862 miles, and the breadth 1483. The breadth of Rhætia alone however very nearly exceeds that number of miles, and indeed we ought to state that it was only subjugated at about the period of the death of that general; while as for Germany, the whole of it was not thoroughly known to us for many years after his time. If I may be allowed to form a conjecture, the margin of the coast will be found to be not far short of the estimate of the Greek writers, while the distance in a straight line will nearly correspond with that mentioned by Agrippa. [...] The more famous rivers that flow into the ocean are the Guttalus, the Vistillus or Vistula, the Albis, the Visurgis, the Amisius, the Rhine, and the Mosa. In the interior is the long extent of the Hercynian range, which in grandeur is inferior to none.

Tacitus, *Germania* 28

That highest authority, the great Julius, informs us that Gaul was once more powerful than Germany. Consequently we may believe that Gauls even crossed over into Germany. For what a trifling obstacle would a river be to the various tribes, as they grew in strength and wished to possess in exchange settlements which were still open to all, and not partitioned among powerful monarchies! Accordingly the country between the Hercynian forest and the rivers Rhine and Moenus, and that which lies beyond, was occupied respectively by the Helvetii and Boii, both tribes of Gaul. The name Boiemum still survives, marking the old tradition of the place, though the population has been changed.

Tacitus, *Germania* 42

The Narisci border on the Hermunduri, and then follow the Marcomanni and Quadi. The Marcomanni stand first in strength and renown, and their very territory, from which the Boii were driven in a former age, was won by valour. Nor are the Narisci and Quadi inferior to them. This I may call the frontier of Germany, so far as it is completed by the Danube.

graeci et quidam nostri [xxv] oram germaniae tradiderunt, agrippa cum raetia et norico longitudinem [dcxxxvi], latitudinem [ccxlviii], raetiae prope unius maiore latitudine, sane circa excessum eius subactae; nam germania multis postea annis nec tota percognita est. si coniectare permittitur, haut multum ora deerit graecorum opinioni et longitudini ab agrippa proditae. [...] amnes clari in oceanum defluunt guthalus, visculus sive vistla, albis, visurgis, amisis, rhenus, mosa. introrsus vero nullo inferius nobilitate hercynium iugum praetenditur. in rheno autem ipso, prope [c] in longitudinem, nobilissima batavorum insula et cannenefatium et aliae frisorum, chaucorum, frisiavonum, sturiorum, marsaciorum, quae sternuntur inter helinium ac flevum. ita appellantur ostia, in quae effusus rhenus a septentrione in lacus, ab occidente in amnem mosam se spargit, medio inter haec ore modicum nomini suo custodiens alveum.

Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus auctorum divus Iulius tradit; eoque credibile est etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos: quantum enim amnis obstabat quo minus, ut quaeque gens evaluerat, occuparet permutaretque sedes promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas? Igitur inter Hercyniam silvam Rhenumque et Moenum amnes Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, Gallica utraque gens, tenuere. Manet adhuc Boihaemi nomen significatque loci veterem memoriam quamvis mutatis cultoribus.

Iuxta Hermunduros Naristi ac deinde Marcomani et Quadi agunt. Praecipua Marcomanorum gloria viresque, atque ipsa etiam sedes pulsus olim Boiis virtute parta. Nec Naristi Quadive degenerant. Eaque Germaniae velut frons est, quatenus Danuvio peragitur.

Tacitus, *Ann.* II, 62.3

While Germanicus was spending the summer in visits to several provinces, Drusus gained no little glory by sowing discord among the Germans and urging them to complete the destruction of the now broken power of Maroboduus. Among the Gotones was a youth of noble birth, Catualda by name, who had formerly been driven into exile by the might of Maroboduus, and who now, when the king's fortunes were declining, ventured on revenge. He entered the territory of the Marcomanni with a strong force, and, having corruptly won over the nobles to join him, burst into the palace and into an adjacent fortress. There he found the long-accumulated plunder of the Suevi and camp followers and traders from our provinces who had been attracted to an enemy's land, each from their various homes, first by the freedom of commerce, next by the desire of amassing wealth, finally by forgetfulness of their fatherland.

App. *Kelt.* 13

A numerous band of the Teutones bent on plunder invaded the territory of Noricum. The Roman consul, Papirius Carbo, fearing lest they should make an incursion into Italy, occupied the Alps at a place where the pass is narrowest. As they made no attempt in this direction he attacked them, complaining that they had invaded the people of Noricum, who were foreign friends of the Romans. It was the practice of the Romans to make foreign friends of any people for whom they wanted to intervene on the score of friendship, without being obliged to defend them as allies.

*De mensuratio provinciarum*, 18

Illyricum and Pannonia are delimited from the east by the river Drinus, from the west by deserted lands, once inhabited by Boii and Carni, from the North by the river Danube.

Dum ea aestas Germanico pluris per provincias transigitur, haud leve decus Drusus quaesivit inliciens Germanos ad discordias utque fracto iam Maroboduo usque in exitium insisteretur. erat inter Gotones nobilis iuvenis nomine Catualda, profugus olim vi Marobodui et tunc dubiis rebus eius ultionem ausus. is valida manu finis Marcomanorum ingreditur corruptisque primoribus ad societatem inrumpit regiam castellumque iuxta situm. veteres illic Sueborum praedae et nostris e provinciis lixae ac negotiatores reperti quos ius commercii, dein cupido augendi pecuniam, postremo oblivio patriae suis quemque ab sedibus hostilem in agrum transtulerat.

ὅτι τῶν Τευτόνων μοῖρα ληστεύουσα πολύανδρος ἔς τὴν γῆν τῶν Νωρικῶν ἐσέβαλε, καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων ὑπατος Παπίριος Κάρβων δέσας μὴ ἔς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλοιεν, ἐφήδρευε τοῖς Ἀλπείοις, ἧ̄ μάλιστα ἔστιν ἡ διάβασις στενωτάτη. οὐκ ἐπιχειροῦντων δ' ἐκείνων αὐτὸς ἐπέβαινε αὐτοῖς, αἰτιώμενος ἔς Νωρικούς ἐσβαλεῖν, Ῥωμαίων ξένους ὄντας: ἐποιοῦντο δ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ξένους, οἷς ἐδίδοσαν μὲν εἶναι φίλοις, ἀνάγκη δ' οὐκ ἐπῆν ὡς φίλοις ἐπαμύνειν.

Illyricum et Pannonia ab oriente flumine Drino ab occidete dessertis in quibus habitant Boii et Carni, a septentrione flumine Danubio.



## Appendix II - Catalogue

The Catalogue is organised according to the individual sites arranged in alphabetical order within each study region: Bohemia is followed by EnCE and WnCE. Each site is introduced by a brief note providing the basic information and bibliography; neither pretends to be exhaustive in any way and the reader is encouraged to follow the references to gain a fuller insight.

The finds are listed by the ID numbers for each site: first actual imports, then items which were not taken into account. As already explained in chapter 2, the IDs are meant to label the objects, not to count them. For Stradonice and Manching the IDs are structured based on find categories (000–199 = bronze vessels, 200–299 glass vessels, 300–399 mirrors, etc.) but also in Třísov and Staré Hradisko it seemed (and in hindsight proved) useful to start some new categories at the next ‘0’ leaving some numbers free for possible additions (which were turning up literally until the last moment).

### A note on the abbreviations used in the Catalogue

**T/D:** typological classification, more detailed description, note on the object’s preservation.

**M:** material: AE = copper alloy; Fe = Iron; Au = gold; Ag = silver.

**D:** dimensions in millimetres: L, H, W, Th, Diam. = original dimensions; l, h, w, th, diam. = preserved dimensions.

**Ch:** chronology: only pre-oppida and oppida periods are normally distinguished, a finer chronology is mentioned only in exceptional cases. BA = Bronze Age, EIA = Early Iron Age, RIA = Roman Iron Age.

**P:** provenance or find circumstances (provided only in the detail necessary for the needs of the present study).

**L:** current location including Inv. n° if available from the bibliography.

**B:** bibliography: the bibliography is intentionally selective with the stress on primary publications and works where the artefacts are discussed in detail, whence further references can be obtained.

### Abbreviations of institutions

ArStSm München = Archäologische Staatssammlung München; also applies to the earlier Prähistorische Staatssammlung München

ArÚ Praha/Brno = Institute of Archaeology of the Czech (oslovak) Academy of Sciences, Prague / Brno; also applies to the Státní Archeologický Ústav before 1952

JČM = Jihočeské Muzeum (Museum of Southern Bohemia), České Budějovice

MAMUZ = Landessammlungen Niederösterreich, Bereich Ur- und Frühgeschichte in Asparn an der Zaya

MHMP = Museum hlavního města Prahy (Municipal Museum of Prague); also applies to Městské Museum Pražské before 1918

MÚOP = Mestský ústav ochrany pamiatok, Bratislava (Bratislava Municipal Institute of Monument Protection)

Mus. + toponym = local or municipal museum

Mus. Weimar = Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte, Landesamt für archäologische Denkmalpflege, Weimar

MV = Museum Vindobonense, Vienna

MZM = Moravské zemské museum (Moravian Museum), Brno

NHM = Naturhistorisches Museum, Wien; also applies to the Hofmuseum Wien before 1919

NM = Národní Muzeum (National Museum), Prague

NPÚ = Národní památkový ústav (National Heritage Institute), Prague

SAV = Slovenská akadémia ved, Archeologický ústav, Nitra (Slovak Academy of Sciences, Archaeological Institute, Nitra)

SNM = Slovenské Národné múzeum, Archeologické múzeum (Slovak National Museum, Archaeological Museum), Bratislava

ÚAPP Brno / ÚAPPSČ = Ústav archeologické památkové péče, Brno / Středočeský kraj (Institute of Archaeological Heritage Protection – Brno / Central Bohemia)

UniWien = Institut für Urgeschichte und Historische Archäologie, Universität Wien

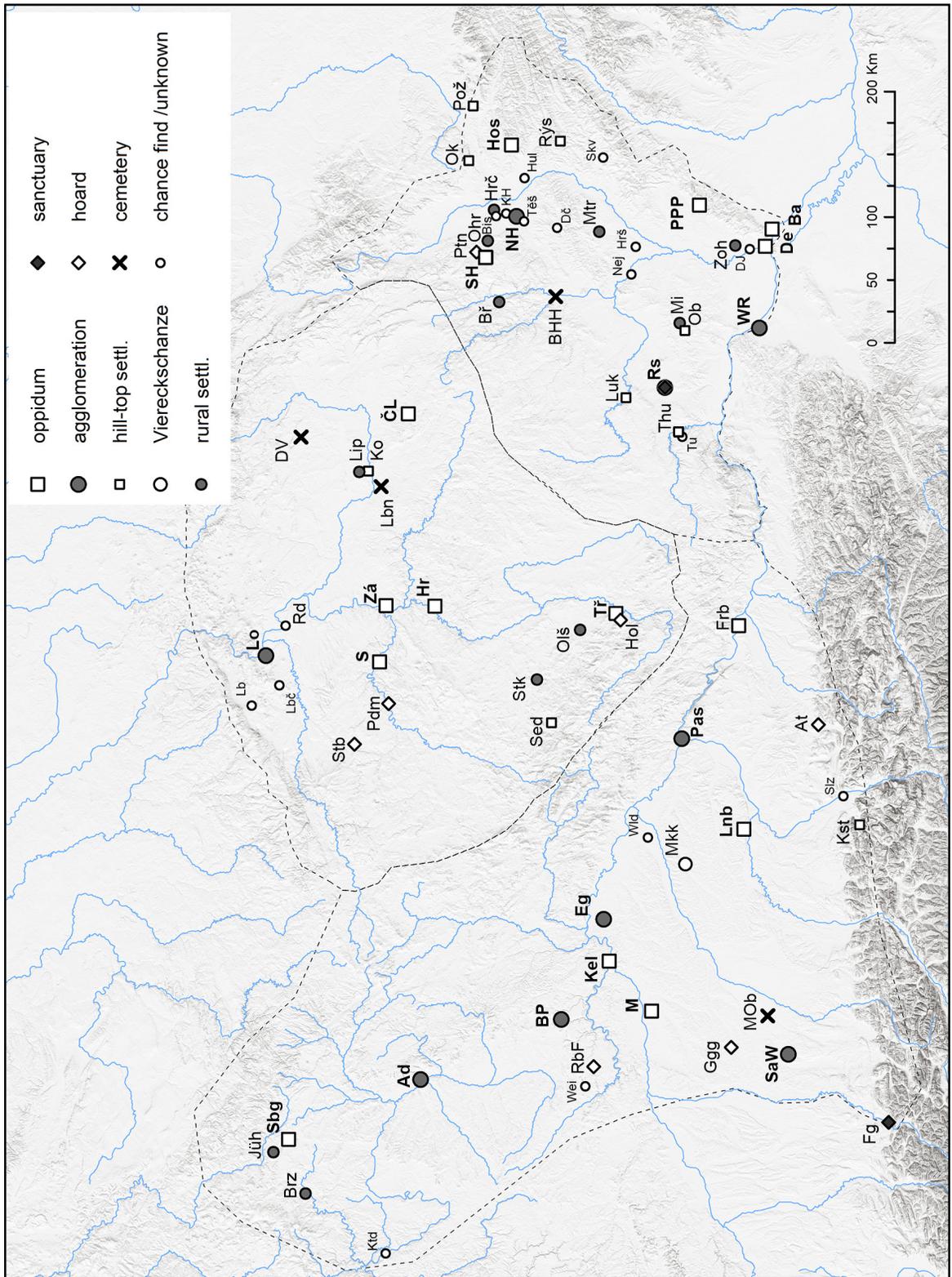


Fig. 136: Sites included in the Catalogue.

## Bohemia

**České Lhotice**, okr. Chrudim, Pardubický kraj, CZ

The only oppidum in eastern Bohemia (and the only Bohemian oppidum outside their concentration in the SW) was excavated by the ArÚ Prague (M. Princ) in the 1970s and 1980s. The oppidum located on a promontory in a river meander consists of the main area (23 ha) protected by massive triple rampart and an annexe (8 ha). The principal features of all (Bohemian) oppida – occupation organised in separate enclosures, craft production, etc. – are present here albeit the relatively baseline nature of the artefacts resembles Hrazany rather than Stradonice. Dated to LT C2–D1. Of note is the presence of Hallstatt period tumuli on the Acropolis. DANIELISOVÁ 2010.

**ČLo1** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** ca 35 × 15. **Ch:** opp; **P:** ArÚ excavation 1975. S slope of the acropolis, Grubenhau labelled as a ‘smithy’ though probably a simple dwelling (DANIELISOVÁ 2010, 62); **L:** Mus. Chrudim. **B:** PRINC 1981, obr. 3: 1; DANIELISOVÁ 2010, 65, P 4: 3, 18: 3.

**ČLx1** fragment of a moulded monochrome glass vessel (not depicted)

**T/D:** cobalt blue; dubious attribution; **M:** glass. **Ch:** post-opp/modern?; **L:** Mus. Chrudim. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 162.

**Dobrá voda**, Hořice, okr. Jičín, Královéhradecký kraj, CZ

A flat cemetery in which 35 graves (LT B1b–C1a) were uncovered (and others destroyed without documentation) in 1887–1904 during the extraction of clay for brick manufacturing. Though under constant control of (semi-) professional archaeologists (F. Pokorný, L. Domečka) who directly assisted in the excavation of numerous graves, some of the finds were taken (sold?) to the Hořice Museum by locals with some demonstrably dubious cases. Holodňák – Waldhauser in: WALDHAUSER *et al.* 1987, 67–88, Taf. 1–8.

**DVx1** phallic pendant (Fig. 81)

**T/D:** depicted in profile, with a suspension eyelet at the proximal end; **M:** AE; **D:** 36 × 16. **Ch:** post-opp; **P:** unknown find circumstances; **L:** Mus. Hořice, Inv. n° 13964. **B:** FILIP 1956, 340; KRUTA 1983, note 59; Holodňák in: WALDHAUSER *et al.* 1987, 85, 88, Tf. 7: 9; KYSELA 2015b.

**DVx2** phallic pendant (Fig. 81)

**T/D:** depicted in profile, with a suspension eyelet at the proximal end; **M:** AE; **D:** 32 × 14. **Ch:** post-opp; **P:** unknown find circumstances; **L:** Mus. Hořice, Inv. n° 13963. **B:** FILIP 1956, 340, tab. LXVIII: 6; KRUTA 1983, note 59; Holodňák in: WALDHAUSER *et al.* 1987, 88, Tf. 7: 9; KYSELA 2015b.

**Holubov**, okr. Český Krumlov, Jihočeský kraj, CZ

A small hoard discovered in 2013 some 1500 m W of the oppidum of Třísov. Apart from the finger ring it consists of one *Knotenring*, three simple small rings (2 AE and 1 Fe), and a lump of raw silver. JOHN – HOUFKOVÁ 2014.

**Hol1** iron finger ring (Fig. 71)

**T/D:** the gemstone is not preserved; **M:** Fe; **D:** 12 × 9. **Ch:** opp; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° Z 76/2014. **B:** JOHN – HOUFKOVÁ 2014, 183, n° 4, obr. 3: 4; KYSELA 2016a, 36, pl. 3/1: H1.

**Hrazany**, Radíč, okr. Příbram, Středočeský kraj, CZ

A 40 ha oppidum perched on a promontory above a ford across the Vltava. The entire settlement area consisting of two peaks, Doubí and Červenka, a saddle between them and two annexes, one in SW and one in NE, is enclosed by a rampart with a double fortification line blocking access from the SW annexe to Doubí. Large scale excavation of ArÚ Prague took place between 1951 and 1963 (L. Jansová) concentrating on the ramparts and settlement (enclosed homesteads) in the interior (Červenka slopes and the central saddle); the excavations were published in their entirety. Apart from Late LT (LT C2–D1b) there is also significant Ha D occupation in the site. JANSOVÁ 1986; 1988; 1992; ČTVERÁK 2002.

**Hro1** massive attachment in the form of a male bust (Fig. 105)

**T/D:** square peg on the back; **M:** AE; **D:** 62 × 45, Th 13–19. **Ch:** opp; **L:** private coll. **B:** unpublished.

**Hro2** rim fragment of a disc mirror (Fig. 65)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** ca 26 × 30 × 2, Diam. ca 100. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Gate A area, 1951, pit 1/51 in section 15/51; **L:** Mus. Příbram, Inv. n° (acc. n° 99/52). **B:** JANSOVÁ 1986, 120, Taf. 36:1.

**Hro3** finger-ring fragment (Fig. 71)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** l 18, Bezel 13 × 9. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (NM/ArÚ) 16 October 2015 on the slopes of the hillfort; **L:** ArÚ Praha. **B:** unpublished.

**Hrx1** cordiform pendant (Fig. 56)

**T/D:** hollow pendant with cordiform body made of two soldered parts, short cylindrical neck with a thickened rim and a sheet metal insert in the neck; there are three holes passing through the neck and the insert; **M:** AE; **D:** H 42. **Ch:** uncertain; **P:** 1962, southern part of Grubenhau 21/62 cut by a medieval track; **L:** Mus. Příbram, Inv. n° 32808. **B:** JANSOVÁ 1965, 69, obr. 24; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 672, obr. 6: 20; JANSOVÁ 1990, 50, 149, Tf. 254: 17; DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1995, 156; 1998, 163; KYSELA 2014c, 459–464.

**Kolo**, Týnec nad Labem, okr. Kolín, Středočeský kraj, CZ

The small hillfort of Kolo (9 ha), perched some 25 m above the northern bank of the Elbe has been known since the 1930s. Limited excavation of the rampart and interior in the mid-1970s (though without particularly spectacular results) confirmed the assumed Late LT date. In 2014 and 2016 the riverbank at the SW foothill of the fort (1.3 ha) was subject to a rescue excavation of ÚAPPSC (Z. Beneš) combined with an intensive metal detector survey. The intervention revealed dense occupation interpreted reasonably as the river port of the hillfort. The excavation and survey produced among others plentiful finds of coins and prestige objects. The coins discovered on the site date to LT D1, possibly down to LT D2. SEDLÁČEK 1981; BENEŠ 2015; MILITKÝ – BENEŠ 2016.

**Koo1** dolphin-shaped attachment fr. (Fig. 25)

**T/D:** situla E18; dolphin figurine, left one from the pair;  
**M:** AE; **D:** ca 40 × 17. **Ch:** opp; **P:** ÚAPPSČ rescue excavation 2014; **L:** ÚAPPSČ. **B:** BENEŠ 2020. The information was kindly provided by Zdeněk Beneš.

**Koo2** silver finger ring with a glass paste gemstone depicting a Pegasus (Fig. 70, 72)

**T/D:** slight longitudinal rib on the shank; lower part of the shank is missing; **M:** Ag and glass; **D:** l 20, W 10, paste 12 × 8. **Ch:** opp; **P:** ÚAPPSČ rescue excavation 2014; **L:** ÚAPPSČ. **B:** BENEŠ 2015, 248, obr. 3; KYSELA 2016a, 36, 45, 47, pl. 3/1: K1, 3/2: K1; KOZÁKOVÁ 2016, 71; BENEŠ 2020.

**Koo3** finger ring fr. (Fig. 71)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** l 16, W 8, bezel 10 × 8. **Ch:** opp; **P:** ÚAPPSČ rescue excavation 2014; **L:** ÚAPPSČ. **B:** KYSELA 2016a, 37, pl. 3/1: K2; BENEŠ 2020.

**Koo4** finger ring fr. (Fig. 71)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** l 16, bezel 12 × 8. **Ch:** opp; **P:** ÚAPPSČ rescue excavation 2014; **L:** ÚAPPSČ. **B:** KYSELA 2016a, 37, pl. 3/1: K3; BENEŠ 2020.

**Koo5** finger ring fr. (Fig. 71)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** l 15, bezel 9 × 7. **Ch:** opp; **P:** ÚAPPSČ rescue excavation 2014; **L:** ÚAPPSČ. **B:** KYSELA 2016a, 37, pl. 3/1: K4; BENEŠ 2020.

**Libčeves**, okr. Louny, Ústecký kraj, CZ

Old collections, no clear evidence on provenance.

**Lbč1** two biconical beads – blue green and blue (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 302 and 303; **M:** glass; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** pre-opp; **L:** Mus. Teplice, Inv. n° 52380. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 58–62, 267.

**Libenice**, okr. Kolín, Středočeský kraj, CZ

A richly furnished isolated female grave dated to LT B1 was located in roughly the centre of an oblong enclosure ca 80 × 20 m (ESE–WNW) delimited by a ditch. At its ESE end, there was a large pit dug out in the Neolithic with a roughly shaped gneiss block in the centre. Neolithic, BA, and RIA features were present in the same area as well as pottery fragments dating from the Neolithic to the Middle Ages. Little is clear about the date of orthostat (Neolithic to BA) and the enclosure (post Eneolithic, possibly EIA), and even less about their interaction with each other and with the female burial. Possible interpretations include a sanctuary (enclosure) intentionally established in an area of previous cult activities (menhir) with a ‘priestess’ burial in the centre as well as accidental association of features with no mutual link. DRDA – CHYTRÁČEK 1999.

**Lbn1** a pair of biconical white beads (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 301; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 8. **Ch:** pre-opp; **P:** female burial; **L:** NM. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 58–62, 267.

**Libkovice**, okr. Most, Ústecký kraj, CZ**Lbx1** a barrel-shaped mosaic bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 903, a *reticella*; **M:** glass. **Ch:** pre-opp; **P:** uncertain find circumstances, potentially deposited only in the Roman Iron Age; **L:** Mus. Teplice, Inv. n° K8067. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 97, pl. 24: 13, typ 903.

**Lipec**, okr. Kolín, Středočeský kraj, CZ

Late LT and Early RIA open settlement documented by field walking and surface surveys. Unpublished.

**Lip1** strainer handle (not depicted)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 46, H 18. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ÚAPPSČ; **B:** unpublished – the information was kindly provided by Zdeněk Beneš (ÚAPPSČ).

**Lovosice**, okr. Litoměřice, Ústecký kraj, CZ

Large unfortified agglomeration (‘35–60 ha’) on the bank of the Elbe with a remarkable concentration of craft activities (series of pottery kilns; large-scale quern production nearby). The occupation peak probably dates to LT C2–D but the agglomeration may have already existed earlier. In the surroundings there are some ten cemeteries with up to 50 burials. Investigated by a series of rescue excavations, so far only preliminarily published. SALAČ 1990; 2000.

**Lox1** ‘glass vessel handle’ (not depicted)

**T/D:** necklace spacer; **M:** glass; **D:** l 27, w 16.5–18.5. **Ch:** pre-opp; **P:** rescue excavation in Resslerova st., 1981 (V. Salač), feature n°7/81; **L:** ArÚ Praha. **B:** VENCLOVÁ – SALAČ 1990, 641–642, obr. 2:7; VENCLOVÁ 1990, 162.

**Olšovice**, okr. Prachatice, Jihočeský kraj, CZ

Late LT rural settlement investigated by geophysics and surface survey (JČU). Unpublished.

**Olš1** ox-hide vessel foot (not depicted)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** l 40. **Ch:** opp. **B:** unpublished, the information was kindly provided by Jan John (JČU).

**Podmokly**, okr. Rokycany, Plzeňský kraj, CZ

A hoard of gold coins deposited in a bronze situla was discovered in 1771. The vast majority of the 4,211 coins weighing 28 kg was immediately melted down. The few remaining pieces cover the entire time-span of the Bohemian oppida period coin production including some relatively late coins. The bronze vessel has been kept in the nearby Křivoklát Castle ever since. VOIGT 1771; MILITKÝ 2018/2019, 273–276.

**Pdm1** bronze situla (Fig. 26)

**T/D:** complete situla, E20; the preserved parts include the rim, two attachments, and the greater part of the handle; **M:** AE; **D:** rim Diam. 230/220; rim H 45, attachment 101 × 63; handle l 187;. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° sine. **B:** BOLLA – BOUBE – GUILLAUMET 1991, note 21; WALDHAUSER 2001, 392.

**Roudnice** (nad Labem?, okr. Litoměřice, Ústecký kraj), CZ

In the Berger coll. inventory the provenance is stated as 'Roudnice'. The most probable candidate – Roudnice nad Labem – lies in the Elbe lowlands densely settled throughout prehistory including the La Tène period but also the Roman Iron Age.

**Rdx1** miniature gold amphora (**Fig. 80**)

**T/D:** –cf. the text; **M:** Au; **D:** total H 54, H without the lid 43. **Ch:** pre-opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-229014. **B:** TREFNÝ 2006 with previous bibliography.

**Sedlo u Sušice**, Albrechtice, okr. Klatovy, Plzeňský kraj, CZ

A small hillfort (2.9 ha) which even though located in a marginal area and at an extreme altitude (900 m.a.s.l) visually controls a large portion of S Bohemia including some gold-bearing areas in its immediate vicinity. The site was most intensively inhabited during Ha D-LT A (which is when the rampart was built) to be reoccupied in LT D1. The first excavation was by B. Dubský (1930–1932) who unearthed two *Grubenhäuser*, followed by L. Franz/C. Streit in 1934 and J. Břeň in 1953–1955. DUBSKÝ 1932, 102–104; DUBSKÝ 1949, 325–332; KOTÝNEK 2017, 29–30.

**Sed1** strainer thumb piece (**Fig. 45**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 1930, Dubský excavation; from an alleged *Grubenhäuser*, associated with Late LT pottery; **L:** M. Sušice?. **B:** DUBSKÝ 1932, 104, obr. 42:7; DUBSKÝ 1949, 330–331, obr. 41: 1.

**Stebno-Nouze**, Stebno-Kryry, okr. Louny, Ústecký kraj, CZ

A hoard containing one bronze and one ceramic vessel, and a series of personal ornaments was discovered on a hill outside the La Tène period settlement area. KYSELA *et al.* 2017.

**Stb1** bronze single-handled basin with a Gorgo face on the attachment (**Fig. 13**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** Diam. 295, H 45, handle 102 × 66, attachment W 66. **Ch:** pre-opp; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-598980. **B:** KYSELA *et al.* 2017, 79–84, obr. 4–5; KYSELA 2018/2019c, 135, fig. 73a–b.

**Stradonice** = Hradiště u Stradonic, Nižbor, okr. Beroun, Středočeský kraj, CZ

A large oppidum on the southern bank of the river Berounka heading from Central Bohemia to the SW. The site became famous during uncontrolled excavations in the late 1870s when several private collections of Stradonice artefacts (often thousands of pieces) were established (Berger, Grosse, Lehmann, Lorber, Mikš). Small scale excavations were carried out by J.L. Píč (1894, 1902), A. Stocký (1929), and by K. Motyková, A. Rybová, and P. Drda (1981) who investigated a several hundred meters long cut through the oppidum during a gas-pipeline construction. The site was also recently subject to large scale geophysical survey. It is mainly this intervention

(combined with the results of the 1981 excavation) that provides us with some information of the site itself. A total area of 90 ha was fortified, probably in two successive stages. The site was densely built-up and the urban structure was organised in enclosures along the principal roads. The acropolis features a series of aligned rectangular buildings. SKLENÁŘ 2015 (the history of research until 1903); Píč 1903; VENCLOVÁ – VALENTOVÁ 2012; RYBOVÁ – DRDA 1994; KŘIVÁNEK – DANIELISOVÁ – DRDA 2013.

**Soo1** rim of a cylindrical situla (**Fig. 19**)

**T/D:** E16, fr.; **M:** AE; **D:** l 65, Th 2.5–3.5, rim Diam. 140. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 1929, A. Stocký excavation; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-587394. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘ 2012, 64, obr. 105: 587394.

**Soo2** dolphin-shaped attachment, fr. (**Fig. 25**)

**T/D:** situla, E18; fr. of a dolphin figure (left figure from the pair); **M:** AE; **D:** L 46; **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81697. **B:** Píč 1903, 72, tab. XXI: 16; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 656, 656–658, obr. 1: 6.

**Soo3** dolphin-shaped attachment, fr. (**Fig. 25**)

**T/D:** situla, E18; fr. of a dolphin figure, head missing (left figure from the pair); **M:** AE; **D:** l 25. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81698. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 656, 656–658, obr. 1: 3.

**Soo4** attachment shank and eyelet (**Fig. 25**)

**T/D:** situla, E18; **M:** AE; **D:** l 55. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81695. **B:** Píč 1903, 71–72, tab. XXI: 10; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 656, 656–658, obr. 1: 2.

**Soo5** attachment eyelet (**Fig. 25**)

**T/D:** situla, E18; **M:** AE; **D:** l 60, W 28. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT 689 / 2611. **B:** unpublished.

**Soo6** heart-shaped attachment with its shank and eyelet (**Fig. 25**)

**T/D:** situla, E19; **M:** AE; **D:** L 80. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81693. **B:** Píč 1903, 71–72, tab. XXI: 17; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 658, obr. 1: 10.

**Soo7** attachment shank and eyelet (**Fig. 25**)

**T/D:** situla, E19; **M:** AE; **D:** l 71. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81694. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 658, obr. 1: 7.

**Soo8** ornithomorph finial of a situla handle (**Fig. 25**)

**T/D:** situla; handle hook, fr., naturalistically rendered; **M:** AE; **D:** l 50, head W 11, shaft L 8. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM, Inv. n° 5042. **B:** unpublished.

**Soo9** baluster-shaped finial of a situla handle (**Fig. 25**)

**T/D:** situla; **M:** AE; **D:** ca 38. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections'; **L:** not located. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. XXIII: 24.

**Soo10** baluster-shaped finial of a situla handle (**Fig. 25**)

**T/D:** situla; **M:** AE; **D:** ca 44. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections'; **L:** not located. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. XXIII: 12.

**Soo11** baluster-shaped finial of a situla handle (**Fig. 25**)

**T/D:** situla; **M:** AE; **D:** ca 47. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections'; **L:** not located. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. XXIV: 29.

**S012** baluster-shaped finial of a situla handle (**Fig. 25**)  
**T/D:** situla; **M:** AE; **D:** l 41, Diam. baluster 6. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT 196 / 1847. **B:** unpublished.

**S013** ornithomorph finial of a situla handle (**Fig. 25**)  
**T/D:** situla; very detailed and accurate casting and engraving; the object is identical in size, shape, and engraved details with [S014]; **M:** AE; **D:** l 59. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT 687 / 2781. **B:** unpublished.

**S014** ornithomorph finial of a situla handle (**Fig. 25**)  
**T/D:** situla; very detailed and accurate casting and engraving; the object is identical in size, shape, and engraved details with [S013]; **M:** AE; **D:** l 54, head W 9, H 11, shaft Diam. 7. **Ch:** opp; **L:** private coll. **B:** unpublished.

**S015** ornithomorph finial of a situla handle (**Fig. 25**)  
**T/D:** situla; simplified shape (rectangular in section), the head is scarcely structured with schematical engraving; **M:** AE; **D:** l 55. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM, Inv. n° 5041. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. xv: 6; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, obr. 2:3.

**S016** ornithomorph finial of a situla handle, fr. (**Fig. 25**)  
**T/D:** situla; **M:** AE; **D:** l 48. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections or Píč excavations'; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-65134. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 658-659, obr. 2: 1.

**S017** ornithomorph finial of a situla handle, fr. (**Fig. 25**)  
**T/D:** situla; only a fragment of the bird hook is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** l 30, W 11. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections or Píč excavation'; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-201819. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. XIII: 14.

**S018** ornithomorph finial of a pan handle (**Fig. 30**)  
**T/D:** pan; schematic representation; **M:** AE; **D:** l ca 42. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105718. **B:** Píč 1903, xx: 2; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 660, obr. 2: 5.

**S019** ornithomorph finial of a pan handle (**Fig. 30**)  
**T/D:** pan; schematic representation; **M:** AE; **D:** l ca 36; **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105717?. **B:** Píč 1903, xx: 3; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 660, obr. 2: 6.

**S020** ornithomorph finial of a pan handle (**Fig. 30**)  
**T/D:** pan; crude execution without details; **M:** AE; **D:** l 31. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105719. **B:** Píč 1903, xx: 5; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 660, obr. 2: 11.

**S021** ornithomorph finial of a pan handle (**Fig. 30**)  
**T/D:** pan; naturalistic representation with detailed engraving; **M:** AE; **D:** l 49. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105714. **B:** Píč 1903, xx: 11; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 660, obr. 2: 4.

**S022** ornithomorph finial of a pan handle (**Fig. 30**)  
**T/D:** pan; finial including a portion of the hook; crude execution without details; **M:** AE; **D:** head l ca 36, H 28. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105712. **B:** Píč 1903, xx: 19; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 660, obr. 2: 12.

**S023** ornithomorph finial of a pan handle (**Fig. 30**)  
**T/D:** pan, naturalistic rendition; **M:** AE; **D:** l 30. **Ch:** opp;

**P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105716. **B:** Píč 1903, xx: 4; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 660, obr. 2: 10.

**S024** ornithomorph finial of a pan handle (**Fig. 30**)  
**T/D:** pan; small and schematic; **M:** AE; **D:** head l 25. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections or Píč excavations'; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-201815. **B:** unpublished.

**S025** ornithomorph finial of a pan handle (**Fig. 30**)  
**T/D:** pan; small and schematic; **M:** AE; **D:** head l 24. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105713. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 660 (mentioned).

**S026** ornithomorph finial of a pan handle (**Fig. 30**)  
**T/D:** pan; schematic rendition; **M:** AE; **D:** l 36. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105715. **B:** unpublished.

**S027** ornithomorph finial of a pan handle (**Fig. 30**)  
**T/D:** pan; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lehmann coll.; **L:** not preserved. **B:** Lehmann *Monumenta* NM 06= MMP 8 top left corner.

**S028** heart-shaped attachment fr. (**Fig. 32**)  
**T/D:** jug, Gallarate type; **M:** AE; **D:** 40 × 40. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM, Inv. n° 5147. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. xxv: 13; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 658, obr. 1: 12.

**S029** fr. of a tongue-shaped attachment with lateral arches (**Fig. 32**)  
**T/D:** jug, type Gallarate; **M:** AE; **D:** l 33. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105711. **B:** Píč 1903, 71-72, tab. XXI: 12; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 658, obr. 1: 4.

**S030** fr. of a tongue-shaped attachment with lateral arches (**Fig. 32**)  
**T/D:** jug, type Ornavasso?; **M:** AE; **D:** l 85. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections'; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-201821. **B:** Píč 1903, XXI: 11; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 658, obr. 1: 5.

**S031** jug handle fr. (**Fig. 32**)  
**T/D:** jug, type Kelheim; **M:** AE; **D:** l 43. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81700. **B:** Píč 1903, XXI: 9; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 659, obr. 2: 9.

**S032** jug handle with its lower attachment in the shape of a male bust (**Fig. 32**)  
**T/D:** jug, type Piatra Neamț; **M:** AE; **D:** L 68, W 50. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-225963. **B:** Píč 1903, XXI: 19; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 659, obr. 2: 8.

**S033** upper part of a jug handle (**Fig. 32**)  
**T/D:** jug, type unknown; **M:** AE; **D:** l 35, W 68. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81699. **B:** unpublished.

**S034** kidney-shaped vessel foot with dimples (**Fig. 36**)  
**T/D:** -, **M:** AE; **D:** L 56, W 16, Th. 7; **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81684. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, obr. 6: 1.

**S035** kidney-shaped vessel foot with dimples (**Fig. 36**)  
**T/D:** -, **M:** AE; **D:** L 52, W 19, Th 5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81681. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, obr. 6: 2.

**S036** kidney-shaped vessel foot with dimples (**Fig. 36**)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 48, W 17, Th 4. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81683. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, obr. 6: 3.

**So37** kidney-shaped vessel foot with holes (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 55, W 20, Th 4. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81678. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, obr. 6: 4.

**So38** kidney-shaped vessel foot with holes (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 49, W 18, Th 5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81679. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, obr. 6: 5.

**So39** kidney-shaped vessel foot with holes (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 48, W 19, Th 5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81677. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, n° 7.

**So40** kidney-shaped vessel foot with holes (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** damaged: the short ends are ground round; **M:** AE; **D:** L 43. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81680. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, n° 8.

**So41** kidney-shaped vessel foot with holes (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 52, W 19, Th 5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT 676 / 2710. **B:** unpublished.

**So42** kidney-shaped vessel foot with holes, fr. (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 24, W 12, Th 5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT 677 / 2707. **B:** unpublished.

**So43** kidney-shaped vessel foot with holes (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** 52 × 18 × 5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM, Inv. n° 5151. **B:** unpublished.

**So44** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** 38 × 15 × 4. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections' (the provenance is also listed as Podmokly); **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-65136. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, obr. 6:11.

**So45** kidney-shaped vessel foot with dimples (not depicted)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 60. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81682. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, n° 3.

**So46** spectacles-shaped vessel foot (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** 39 × 18 × 2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM, Inv. n° 5150. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. xxv: 19; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, obr. 6: 12.

**So47** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot with modelled ends (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 55. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81688. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, obr. 6: 13.

**So48** small ox-hide-shaped vessel foot with modelled ends (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** 38 × 15 × 5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections' (the provenance is also listed as 'Podmokly'); **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-65137. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, obr. 6: 15.

**So49** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot with modelled ends (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** 41 × 17 × 5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81690. **B:** unpublished.

**So50** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 43. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81692. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, obr. 6: 6.

**So51** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot with angular ends (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** 46 × 17 × 4. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81691. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, obr. 6: 7.

**So52** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** 45 × 17 × 4. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81689. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, obr. 6: 8.

**So53** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 51. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81685. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, obr. 6: 9.

**So54** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** 45 × 17 × 5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections' (the provenance is also listed as 'Podmokly'); **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-65135. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, obr. 6: 10.

**So55** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot with modelled ends (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** 37 × 17 × 2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81686. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, obr. 6: 14.

**So56** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** 30 × 16 × 5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81687. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, n° 17.

**So57** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** 41 × 20 × 4. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM, Inv. n° 5248. **B:** unpublished.

**So58** massive ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** 70 × 31 × 8. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM, Inv. n° 5149. **B:** unpublished.

**So59** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lehmann coll.; **L:** not preserved. **B:** Lehmann *Monumenta* NM 05 centre left.

**So60** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lehmann coll.; **L:** not preserved. **B:** Lehmann *Monumenta* ARUP 05 = NM 15 top centre right.

**So61** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lehmann coll.; **L:** not preserved. **B:** Lehmann *Monumenta* NM 06 = MMP 8 top left corner left = NM 04 centre left.

**So62** ornithomorph simpulum finial (Fig. 38)

**T/D:** simpulum, type Pescate; **M:** AE; **D:** L 71. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections or Píč excavations'; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-201818. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. XIII: 24.

**So63** ladle bowl (Fig. 38)

**T/D:** simpulum, vertical type; **M:** AE; **D:** h 32, Diam. 54. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105654 (not localised). **B:** Píč 1903, xxii: 21; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664: 2: 15.

**So64** handle fr. with finial in the shape of canine head (Fig. 38)

**T/D:** simpulum, vertical type; **M:** AE; **D:** l 74, W 19, head L 22. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM, Inv. n° 5040. **B:** Píč 1903, xxv: 1; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 662, obr. 2: 16.

**So65** ornithomorph simpulum finial (Fig. 38)

**T/D:** simpulum, vertical type; **M:** AE; **D:** l ca 45. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105721. **B:** Píč 1903, xx: 14; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 658, obr. 2: 2.

**So66a** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 31 × 68. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81349. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 3: 1; Píč 1903, xxxiii: 31.

**So66b** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 46 × 39. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM, Inv. n° 5019. **B:** unpublished.

**So67** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 23 × 55. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81342. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. xxxiii:32; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 3: 11.

**So68** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 32 × 56. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81343. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 3: 7.

**So69** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 32 × 56. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81344. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664.

**So70** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 28 × 60. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81345. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 3: 8.

**So71** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 30 × 49. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81346. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 3: 9.

**So72** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 32 × 50. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81347. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 3: 10.

**So73** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 30 × 29. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81348. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 4:1.

**So74** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 29 × 47. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81348a. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 4: 2.

**So75** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** L 64. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105632. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 4: 3.

**So76** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** both frontal ends broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** 35 × 28. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81350. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 4: 7.

**So77** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** right head broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** 32 × 40. **Ch:** opp; **P:**

Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81351. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 4: 6.

**So78** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** only the frontal part is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** 13 × 55. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81352. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 4: 5.

**So79** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** the left head is broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** 32 × 42. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81353. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 4: 8.

**So80** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** only remains of the tail part are preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** 21 × 32. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81354. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 4: 13.

**So81** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** both heads are broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** 27 × 17. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81355. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 4: 9.

**So82** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** the left head and both tail ends are broken off, thick patina; **M:** AE; **D:** 32 × 37. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81356. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 4: 10.

**So83** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** only the tail part is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** l 24, W 36. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81357. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 4: 11.

**So84** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** only the frontal part is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** 16 × 56. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81358. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 4: 12.

**So85** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** only the central part is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** 29 × 26. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81359. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 5: 1.

**So86** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** both heads and both tail ends are broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** 32 × 25. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lorber coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-80224. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 5: 2.

**So87** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** only the tail part is preserved, the left tail is broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** 27 × 27. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lorber coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-80225. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 5: 5.

**So88** strainer thumb piece (not depicted)

**T/D:** entry in the NM database, not identified; **M:** AE; **D:** L 57. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105633. **B:** unpublished.

**So89** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** the left head is broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** L 39, w 44. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT 678. **B:** unpublished.

**So90** small strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** 30 × 40. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT 679. **B:** unpublished.

**S091** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** tail part; **M:** AE; **D:** 19 × 25. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT 680. **B:** unpublished.

**S092** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** heavy surface corrosion; **M:** AE; **D:** 42 × 50. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT 682. **B:** unpublished.

**S093** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lehmann coll.; **L:** not preserved. **B:** Lehmann *Monumenta* NM 06 = MMP 8 top right corner left = ARUP 13 second in the second row.

**S094** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lehmann coll.; **L:** not preserved. **B:** Lehmann *Monumenta* NM 06 = MMP 8 top right corner right = ARUP 13 right top.

**S095** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** one tail is missing; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lehmann coll.; **L:** not preserved. **B:** Lehmann *Monumenta* NM 13, first in the second line.

**S096** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** tail end; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lehmann coll.; **L:** not preserved. **B:** Lehmann *Monumenta* ARUP 05 = NM 15 top right = NM 08 top left.

**S097** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** tail end; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lehmann coll.; **L:** not preserved. **B:** Lehmann *Monumenta* ARUP 05 = NM 15 top right = NM 08 centre left.

**S098** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 46)

**T/D:** tail end; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lehmann coll.; **L:** not preserved. **B:** Lehmann *Monumenta* NM 08 centre left.

**S099** strainer handle, fr. (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** the attachment plate is missing; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lehmann coll.; **L:** not preserved. **B:** Lehmann *Monumenta* NM 08 top left.

**S100** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** angular shape; **M:** AE; **D:** 56 × 42. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lorber coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-80223. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 4: 4.

**S101** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** angular shape; **M:** AE; **D:** 42 × 47. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT 681. **B:** unpublished.

**S102** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** unusually large frontal part corresponding to half of the rim circumference; **M:** AE; **D:** L. 74, W. 99, Diam. 100. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM, Inv. n° 5018. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 5: 4.

**S103** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** rather slim variant, eyes are engraved on the frontal part; **M:** AE; **D:** 25 × 65. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81341. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 5: 3.

**S104** strainer handle (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** 42 × 25. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections', donation by J. Burde; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-65033. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 666, obr. 5: 14; Píč 1903, tab. xx: 17.

**S105** strainer handle (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** upper spur missing; **M:** AE; **D:** L 21, h 17. **Ch:** opp; **L:** private coll. **B:** unpublished.

**S106** strainer handle (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** the upper spur is missing; **M:** AE; **D:** H 36, W 23, plate 17 × 21. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections or Píč excavations'; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-201814. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. xx: 6; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 666, obr. 5: 15.

**S107** strainer handle (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** the attachment plate is not preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** H 38, w 19. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections'; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105882. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. xx: 23; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 666, obr. 5: 13.

**S108** strainer handle (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** the attachment plate is not preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** H 35, w 12. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections'; **L:** not identified. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. xx: 24.

**S109** strainer handle, fr. (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** fr. of a handle spur; **M:** AE; **D:** h 26. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT 232. **B:** unpublished.

**S110** strainer handle (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** H 39, W 26, plate max. 9 × 13. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT 684. **B:** unpublished.

**S111** strainer handle (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** the lower spur is missing; **M:** AE; **D:** h 31, W 24, plate 14 × 15. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT 683. **B:** unpublished.

**S112** strainer handle, fr. (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** the attachment plate is missing; **M:** AE; **D:** H 34, w 16. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT 685 / 2708. **B:** unpublished.

**S113** strainer handle, fr. (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** the attachment plate and stem are missing; **M:** AE; **D:** H 39, w 19. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT 686. **B:** unpublished.

See also **S120-124**

**S114** strainer wall, fr. (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** perforations arranged in radial lines; **M:** AE; **D:** ca 42 × 38. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81706. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 3: 1.

**S115** strainer wall, fr. (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** three small fr., perforations arranged in parallel lines; **M:** AE; **D:** l max. 20. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81705. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 3: 2.

**S116** strainer wall, fr. (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** a square fr. perforations arranged in a meander-shaped line; **M:** AE; **D:** l 33. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81704. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 3: 3.

**S117** heart-shaped attachment with a small portion of the handle (Fig. 49)

**T/D:** mug, type Idria; **M:** AE; **D:** l 20. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81696. **B:** Píč 1903, xxii: 19; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 662, obr. 1: 9.

**S118** handle fr. (Fig. 49)

**T/D:** mug, type Idria; **M:** AE; **D:** l 34, w 29. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81701. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 662, obr. 1: 11.

**S119** heart-shaped attachment with a central rib (Fig. 50)

**T/D:** amphora (?); **M:** AE; **D:** ca 40 × 30. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105710. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 658, obr. 1: 8.

**S120** strainer handle (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** the attachment plate is damaged; **M:** AE; **D:** H 36, L 23. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105879. **B:** unpublished.

**S121** strainer handle (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** the upper spur is broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** h 20, L 22; attachment plate 10 × 12; **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105880. **B:** unpublished.

**S122** strainer handle (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** the attachment plate is missing; **M:** AE; **D:** H 41, l 18. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105881. **B:** unpublished.

**S123** strainer handle (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** the attachment plate is missing; **M:** AE; **D:** H 36, l 14. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105883. **B:** unpublished.

**S124** strainer handle (Fig. 47)

**T/D:** the attachment plate is missing, the upper spur is broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** h 34, l 13. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105884. **B:** unpublished.

**S201** millefiori glass, wall fr. (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** greenish translucent glass, white spirals with blue and yellow centres + one blue tessera; **M:** glass; **D:** 29 × 24, wall Th 3. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-363d. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 159, 304, pl. 45: 4,75: 3; VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 218, fig. 3: 14.

**S202** millefiori glass, wall fr. (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** yellowish translucent glass with flowers made of green-yellow petals with yellow-blue centres; one yellow and one blue tessera between them; **M:** glass; **D:** 25 × 15, wall Th 2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-402d. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 159, 305, pl. 45: 2, 75: 1; VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 218, fig. 3: 15.

**S203** millefiori glass, wall fr. (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** blue and white swirls with a yellow tessera; **M:** glass; **D:** 17 × 14. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM, Inv. n° W5559. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 159, 312, pl. 58: 3; VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 218, fig. 3: 16.

**S300** fragments of AE mirrors without the original rim preserved. All **M:** AE, **Ch:** opp. (not depicted)

**L:** NM. **S300a D:** 26 × 19, Th 1.5. **P:** A. Stocký excavation; **L:** Inv. n° H1-587268. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘ 2012, 72; KYSELA 2012d, 75. **S300b D:** l 43. **P:** Kořenský coll. ceded by the Smíchov public school; **L:** Inv. n° H1-14771. **B:** unpublished. **S300c D:** 40.3 × 34.5. **P:** Lorber coll.; **L:** Inv. n° H1-80301. **B:** unpublished. **S300d D:** 25.4 × 15. **P:** Lorber coll.; **L:** Inv. n° H1-80302. **B:** unpublished. **S300e D:** 20.6 × 18. **P:** Lorber coll.; **L:** Inv. n° H1-80303. **B:** unpublished. **S300f D:** l 41. **P:** 'Berger coll.'; **L:** Inv. n° H1-105616. **B:** unpublished. **S300h** several fragments; **D:** l of the biggest fr. 61. **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** Inv. n° H1-105876. **B:** unpublished. **L:** Private coll. (Fig. 65) **B:** Unpublished. **S300i D:** 13 × 11 × 1. **S300j D:** 19 × 12 × 2. **S300k D:** 14 × 12 × 1.8. **S300l D:** 18 × 9 × 2. **S300m D:** 13 × 10 × 1. **S300n D:** 16 × 7 × 1.

**S301–S306** a pasticcio disc mirror composed of 23 fragments of various pieces (Fig. 65)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105652. **B:** unpublished.

**S301** – rim fr. **D:** 32 × 14. **S302** – rim fr. **D:** 24 × 13. **S303** – rim fr. **D:** 47 × 25. **S304** rim fr. **D:** 29 × 19. **S305** rim fr. **D:** 29 × 20. **S306** rim fr. **D:** 18 × 17. + 17 fr. without the original rim.

**S307–S310** a pasticcio disc mirror composed of 17 fragments of various pieces (Fig. 65)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105653. **B:** unpublished.

**S307** – rim fr., three joining fr.; **D:** 43 × 42. **S308** – rim fr. **D:** 40 × 35. **S309** – rim fr. **D:** 35 × 39. **S310** – rim fr. **D:** 48 × 31. + 13 fr. without the original rim.

**S311** disc mirror rim fr. (Fig. 65)

**T/D:** bevelled rim; **M:** AE; **D:** 51 × 45, Th 2, Diam. ca 150?. **Ch:** opp; **L:** private coll. **B:** unpublished.

**S312** disc mirror rim fr. (Fig. 65)

**T/D:** square rim; **M:** AE; **D:** 28 × 27, Th 1.8, Diam. ca 70. **Ch:** opp; **L:** private coll. **B:** unpublished.

**S401** biconical translucent dark blue bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 304; **M:** glass; **D:** 8 × 5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lorber coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-80078. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 58–62, 293, pl. 41: 13.

**S402** blue cylindrical bead with bosses (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 808; white line around the circumference + 8 eyes, one of which is preserved; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 13, L 17. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM, Inv. n° 5550. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 95, 311, pl. 56: 22.

**S403** colourless cylindrical bead with prunts, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 115, Adria type; colourless with greenish tint; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 7.5, l 4.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM, Inv. n° 5556. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 63, pl. 56: 27.

**S404** light blue cylindrical bead with prunts (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 316 Adria type; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 5, L 6. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM, Inv. n° 5533/10. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 63, pl. 56: 7.

**S405** light green bead with stratified eyes (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 508; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 3,5, L 6,5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° sine. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 69.

**S406** cobalt blue bead with stratified eyes (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 512; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 11, L 7–9. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° 1381. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 70, 305, pl. 49: 12.

**S407** dark blue bead with stratified eyes (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 513; **M:** glass; **D:** 21 × 16 × 11. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lorber coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-80070. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 70, 293, pl. 41: 7, 74: 7.

**S408** dark blue bead with stratified eyes (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 514; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 11, L 9. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° 1388. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 70, 306, pl. 49: 15.

**S409** dark blue bead with stratified eyes (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 515; **M:** glass; **D:** 12 × 8. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-80692. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 70, 298, pl. 42: 18, 74: 9.

**S410** light green bead with stratified eyes (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 516; **M:** glass; **D:** 12 × 7. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-80687. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 70, 298, pl. 42: 11.

**S411** light green bead with stratified eyes (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 516; **M:** glass; **D:** 10,5 × 9. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-80691. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 70, 298, pl. 42: 17.

**S412** light green bead with stratified eyes (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 517; **M:** glass; **D:** 20 × 16 × 11,5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-80693. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 70, 298, pl. 42: 19, 74: 8.

**S413** light green bead with stratified eyes (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 517; **M:** glass; **D:** 18 × 18 × 10. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-80694. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 70, 298, pl. 42: 20, 74: 6.

**S414** light brown cylindrical bead with red thread (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 717; **M:** glass; **D:** H 23,5, Diam. 11,5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM, Inv. n° 5551/1. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 94, 311.

**S415** cylindrical violet bead with white thread, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 704; **M:** glass; **D:** l 13,5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-80697. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 298, pl. 42: 14.

**S416** cylindrical bead with green coating and white

thread (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 716; **M:** glass; **D:** L 23, Diam. 9. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-80696. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 94, 298.

**S417** black cylindrical bead decorated with white thread (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 718; **M:** glass; **D:** L 23. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Mikš/Buchtela coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-26318. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 298, pl. 41: 2.

**S430** phallic amulet (Fig. 81)

**T/D:** Božič typ 4, complete; **M:** bone; **D:** ca 28 × 26. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections'; **L:** NM, Inv. n° not identified. **B:** Píč 1903, XLV: 35; DESCHLER-ERB – BOŽIČ 2002, 39; KYSELA 2015b, 96, obr. 7.

**S440** golden ring with amber inlay (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** –; **M:** Au + amber; **D:** 23,5 × 28. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-509273. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. VII: 4; KYSELA 2016a, 37, 43–45, pl. 3/1, S5.

**S441** cornelian intaglio with a depiction of a seated armed goddess, fr. (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** upper half of an oval gemstone; the carving depicts a seated female figure to the right (i.e. to the left in the impression); **M:** Cornelian?; **D:** W 16, l 15. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections'; **L:** NM?, not preserved. **B:** Píč 1903, 51–52, obr. 5: 1, tab. VII: 47; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 657; KYSELA 2016a, 37, 48, pl. 3/1, S1.

**S442** oval intaglio depicting a human bust *en face* (Fig. 70, 73)

**T/D:** human bust in a flaboyant style; **M:** dark stone; **D:** ca 17 × 16. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections'; **L:** NM?, not preserved. **B:** Píč 1903, 52, obr. 5:2, tab. VII: 46; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 657; KYSELA 2016a, 37, 48, fig. 3a, pl. 3/1, S2.

**S443** small elongated intaglio depicting a crouching figure (Fig. 70, 73)

**T/D:** crouching naked male figure with hands (tied?) behind his back; **M:** yellow-brown stone; **D:** ca 15 × 9. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections'; **L:** NM?, not preserved. **B:** Píč 1903, 52, obr. 5: 3, tab. VII: 48; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 657; KYSELA 2016a, 37, 48, fig. 3c, pl. 3/1, S3.

**S444** oval intaglio depicting a hound chasing a hare (Fig. 70, 74)

**T/D:** stereometric style, hound running to the right, hare looking back; **M:** cornelian; **D:** 25 × 15. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections'; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-102 (not located). **B:** Píč 1903, 52, obr. 5: 4, tab. VII: 45; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 657; KYSELA 2016a, 37, 49, fig. 4a, pl. 3/1, S4.

**S445** Fe finger ring, paste depicting a horse rolling on its back (Fig. 70, 72, 74)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; amber-coloured paste, cracked, frontal part of the depiction is missing; **M:** Fe + glass; **D:** inner Diam. 16, bezel 17 × 11,5 × 3. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81602. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. VII: 25; KYSELA 2016a, 39, 49–50, fig. 4b, pl. 3/1, 3/2, S18; DIVAC 2013, 114 (incorrectly describing the gemstone material as amber).

**S446** Fe finger ring with high setting for round black

paste depicting two seated hounds (**Fig. 70, 72**)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; greater part of the shank is missing; the depiction is complete and clearly visible; **M:** Fe + glass; **D:** h 23, bezel Diam. 14. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81607. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. VII: 26; KYSELA 2016a, 40, 50, pl. 3/1, 3/2, S23.

**S447** AE finger ring s with yellowish paste depicting a standing youth leaning on a column (**Fig. 70, 72**)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; a male figure standing in an S-curved posture; only partly impressed with the upper and lower part missing; little to no details; **M:** AE + glass; **D:** inner Diam. 13, bezel 9,5×7×4. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81576. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. VII: 18; VENCLOVÁ 1990, 111, pl. 44: 6, 76:1; KYSELA 2016a, 38, 50, pl. 3/1, 3/2, S9.

**S448** Fe finger ring fr. with amber-coloured paste depicting legs of a standing figure (**Fig. 70, 72**)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; the shank is completely missing; the paste is cracked and corroded with the upper part of the depiction (standing naked male?) entirely illegible; **M:** Fe + glass; **D:** l 23, paste 14×10. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81609. **B:** KYSELA 2016a, 39, pl. 3/1, S25.

**S449** AE finger ring with violet paste depicting a porter (**Fig. 70, 72, 75**)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; entire ring; round paste depicting a slim hunchback bearded male figure carrying a burden on a pole; detailed but only partially impressed (the lower and frontal part of the image is missing); **M:** AE + glass; **D:** inner Diam. 15,5, bezel 10,5×9×4,5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81577. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. VII: 23; VENCLOVÁ 1990, 111, 302, pl. 44: 7, 76: 2; KYSELA 2016a, 38, 51, fig. 5a, pl. 3/1, 3/2, S10.

**S450** AE finger ring with a yellowish paste depicting a rider on a rampant horse seen from the back (**Fig. 70, 72, 75**)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; complete ring with deformed shank; small and highly corroded paste, poor impression with only the central part visible (the identification is based on analogies); **M:** AE + glass; **D:** inner Diam. 17, bezel 11×8×2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81578. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. VII: 19; KYSELA 2016a, 38, 52, fig. 5c, pl. 3/1, 3/2, S11; VENCLOVÁ 1990, 302, pl. 44: 8.

**S451** AE finger ring with a yellowish paste depicting a female figure (?) (**Fig. 70, 72**)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; part of the shank is missing; corroded paste with a very poor impression without any visible details; **M:** AE + glass; **D:** l 18,5, bezel 11×9×3. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81580. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. VII:20; VENCLOVÁ 1990, 302, pl. 44:9, 76:3; KYSELA 2016a, 52, pl. 3/1, 3/2, S12.

**S452** AE finger ring fr. with greenish paste depicting a human head (**Fig. 70, 72**)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; the shank is missing; the paste is corroded and damaged with the depiction only partially impressed; **M:** AE + glass; **D:** l 14,5, Bezel 9×7,5×3. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81582. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. VII:27; VENCLOVÁ 1990, 111, 302, pl. 44:4; KYSELA 2016a, 39, 52, pl. 3/1, 3/2, S14.

**S453** Fe finger ring with amber-coloured paste depicting Eros mounted on a lion (**Fig. 70, 72**)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; a small part of the shank is missing; the paste is extremely corroded and partly damaged; the impression is only partial (its lower part is missing) and very shallow with no clear details; **M:** Fe + glass; **D:** inner Diam. 16, Bezel 18×12×4. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81604. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. VII: 32; VENCLOVÁ 1990, 302, pl. 44:14, 76: 2; KYSELA 2016a, 39, 52, pl. 3/1, 3/2, S20.

**S454** AE finger ring with yellowish paste depicting standing Fortuna (**Fig. 70, 72, 76**)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; complete with shank broken at one point; paste surface well preserved; very good quality of the impression: entire figure with fine details visible; **M:** AE + glass; **D:** H 23, inner Diam. 16, bezel 12×9×2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105608. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. VII: 16; VENCLOVÁ 1990, 303, pl. 44: 12, 76:4; KYSELA 2016a, 40, 53, pl. 3/1, 3/2, S26.

**S455** AE finger ring and a detached yellowish paste depicting a standing male figure (**Fig. 70, 72**)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; part of the shank is missing; well preserved surface of the paste but poor impression with parts of the figure missing and a dent complicating the identification (Eros? Silen?); **M:** AE + glass; **D:** inner Diam. 27, paste 13,5×11×4. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105628. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. VII: 15; VENCLOVÁ 1990, 303, pl. 44: 12, 76:4; KYSELA 2016a, 40, 53, pl.3/1, 3/2, S27.

**S456** intaglio (?) depicting a cloaked standing male (?) figure (**Fig. 70, 72**)

**T/D:** -; **M:** stone?; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lehmann coll.; **L:** not preserved. **B:** Lehmann *Monumenta* ARUP 08 = NMO1 in the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> line; KYSELA 2016a, 41, pl. 3/1, SL1.

**S457** AE finger ring fr. with a red gemstone (**Fig. 70**)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; the shank is almost entirely missing (it was still present in Píč's times); the stone was probably added secondarily in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; **M:** AE; **D:** l 17, bezel 9×7×1. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81599. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. VII: 28; KYSELA 2016a, 39, 52, pl. 3/1, 3/2, S16.

**S458** AE finger ring (**Fig. 70**)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; complete; the gemstone is not preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** inner Diam. 17, Bezel 10×8,5×3. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81575. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. VII: 22; KYSELA 2016a, 38, pl.3/1, S8.

**S459** Fe finger ring with a smooth amber gem (**Fig. 70**)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; low shoulder, part of the shank is missing; the amber gem is not carved; **M:** Fe + amber; **D:** l 28, Bezel 18×12,5×2,5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81606. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. VII: 33; DIVAC 2013, 144, tab. 68: 14; KYSELA 2016a, 39-40, 45-46, pl. 3/1, S22.

**S460** Fe finger ring with a greenish paste, illegible image (**Fig. 70**)

**T/D:** complete; **M:** Fe + glass; **D:** inner Diam. 15, gem

9 × 6. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81603. **B:** KYSELA 2016a, 38, pl. 3/1, 3/2 S19.

**S461** Fe finger ring (not depicted)

**T/D:** complete ring with a narrow bezel; the gemstone is missing; **M:** Fe; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM, Inv. n° 3283. **B:** Coll. Grosse, pl. 42:19? (listed but another object is depicted).

**S462** AE finger ring (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** deformed; the gemstone is missing; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM? Not identified. **B:** Coll. Grosse, pl. 29: 10 (the drawing does not correspond with S461); KYSELA 2016a, 41, pl. 3/1: SG1.

**S463** finger ring with a gemstone (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** complete, flat oval gemstone; no carving visible on the gemstone; **M:** AE?; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lehmann coll.; **L:** not preserved. **B:** Lehmann *Monumenta* NM 03 right below the central piece; KYSELA 2016a, 41, pl. 3/1: SL2.

**S464** Fe finger ring with a high bezel (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; the gemstone is not preserved; **M:** Fe; **D:** inner Diam. 17, bezel 15 × 13 × 6. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81601. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. VII: 34; KYSELA 2016a, 39, pl. 3/1, S17.

**S465** Fe finger ring (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b, low bezel; the gemstone is not preserved; a small part of the shank is missing; **M:** Fe; **D:** inner Diam. 20, bezel 19 × 12.5 × 3.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81605. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. VII: 36; KYSELA 2016a, 39, pl. 3/1, S21; DIVAC 2013, 144.

**S466** Fe finger ring fr. (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** –; **M:** Fe; **D:** l 16, W 12. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 1981 rescue excavation, pit n° 116 (a workshop) dated to the last, i.e. 4<sup>th</sup> settlement phase; **L:** ArÚ Praha. **B:** RYBOVÁ – DRDA 1994, 106–108, fig. 34: 11; KYSELA 2016a, 40, pl. 3/1, S28.

**S467** Fe finger ring (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b, a part of the shank is missing, the gemstone is not preserved; **M:** Fe; **D:** inner Diam. 16, bezel 13 × 11 × 4. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81608. **B:** KYSELA 2016a, 40, pl. 3/1: S24.

**S468** Fe finger ring (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** entire ring, the gemstone is missing; **M:** Fe; **D:** inner Diam. 21, 19 × 12 × 2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT 172. **B:** KYSELA 2016a, 40, pl. 3/1: S29.

**S469** AE finger ring (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; part of the shank is missing, the gemstone is not preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** l 13, Bezel 10 × 7 × 2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81581. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. VII: 30; KYSELA 2016a, 38, pl. 3/1: S13.

**S470** AE finger ring fr. (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; the shank is entirely missing, no frame for the gemstone is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** l 14, 9 × 7.5 × 3. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81583. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. VII: 31; KYSELA 2016a, 39, pl. 3/1, S15.

**S471** AE finger ring fr. (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b, most of the shank is missing, no remains of the gemstone frame; **M:** AE; **D:** l 17.5, bezel 13.5 × 9 × 3. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lorber coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-80265. **B:** KYSELA 2016a, 38, pl. 3/1: S7.

**S472** AE finger ring (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** entire but deformed, the gem is not preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** inner Diam. 15, bezel 9 × 7 × 2.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lorber coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-80264. **B:** KYSELA 2016a, 38, pl. 3/1, 4/1, S6.

**S473** AE finger ring fr. (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** extremely worn – the shank is missing, all edges are rounded; **M:** AE; **D:** l 15, bezel 10 × 8. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT 176. **B:** KYSELA 2016a, 41, pl. 3/1 S30.

**S474** AE finger ring fr. (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** worn – only the bezel is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** l 13.5, bezel 11 × 8. **Ch:** opp; **L:** private coll. **B:** unpublished.

**S475** AE finger ring fr. (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** worn – only the bezel is preserved, slightly raised bezel rims; **M:** AE; **D:** l 14, bezel 11 × 7. **Ch:** opp; **L:** private coll. **B:** unpublished.

**S476** finger ring? (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; probably a ring with raised bezel rims; **M:** Fe? (depicted among iron objects); **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lehmann coll.; **L:** not preserved. **B:** Lehmann *Monumenta* NM 09 = MMP 01 = ARUP 15, in the middle of the first line; KYSELA 2016a, 41, pl. 3/1: SL3.

**S500** spatula (Fig. 82)

**T/D:** complete; **M:** AE; **D:** L 170. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81459. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. XXIV: 10; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 653, obr. 1: 1.

**S501** spatula (Fig. 82)

**T/D:** complete; **M:** AE; **D:** L 150. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81460. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. XXIV: 9; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 653, obr. 1: 2.

**S502** spatula (Fig. 82)

**T/D:** complete; **M:** AE; **D:** L 145. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81461. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. XXIV: 11; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 653, obr. 1: 3.

**S540** stylus (Fig. 84)

**T/D:** complete; **M:** bone; **D:** L 123. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT 771 = 3269. **B:** unpublished.

**S541** stylus (Fig. 84)

**T/D:** a globular element at the blunt end, possibly a local product; **M:** bone; **D:** L 94. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM, not identified. **B:** Píč 1903, XLIII: 1; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 661, obr. 3: 2.

**S542** stylus (Fig. 84)

**T/D:** complete, a pointed cylindrical element at the blunt end, possibly a local product; **M:** bone; **D:** L 98. **Ch:** opp;

**P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM, not identified. **B:** Píč 1903, XLIII: 4; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 661, 3: 3.

**S543 stylus (Fig. 84)**

**T/D:** pointed globular element at the blunt end; **M:** bone; **D:** L 88. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections'; **L:** NM? not identified. **B:** Píč 1903, XLVII: 31; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 661 3:14.

**S544 stylus (Fig. 84)**

**T/D:** incomplete? The blunt end may be broken off and rounded; **M:** bone; **D:** L 93. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections'; **L:** NM? not identified. **B:** Píč 1903, XLVII: 25; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 3: 15.

**S545 stylus fragment? (Fig. 84)**

**T/D:** -; **M:** bone; **D:** l 88. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections'; **L:** NM? Not identified. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. XLVI: 43.

**S560 seal box, fr. (Fig. 88)**

**T/D:** U-shaped; **M:** bone; **D:** 22 × 24 × 7. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections'; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-325. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. XLV: 36; ČIŽMÁŘ 1990, 597, Abb. 1: 1.

**S561 seal box, fr. (Fig. 88)**

**T/D:** U-shaped; **M:** bone; **D:** 22 × 17 × 9. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections'; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-322. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. XLV: 33; ČIŽMÁŘ 1990, 597, Abb 1: 2.

**S600 black gloss vessel wall, fr. (not depicted)**

**T/D:** fine ceramic body, beige-pinkish (Munsell 7.5YR 6/4) no visible inclusions; deep black matt slip, chipping off; **M:** clay; **D:** 31 × 34. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 1929, A. Stocký excavation, lot x; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-125833. **B:** KYSELA 2012d, 74, fig. 64, 110, n° 125833; KYSELA - MAGGETTI - SCHNEIDER 2013, 222-223, 229, 230, fig. 4: 7.

**S601 thin-walled goblet, fr. (Fig. 94)**

**T/D:** Marabini 1; hint at an out-turned rim along its upper edge; decorated with two horizontal lines of barbotine dots and presumably a festoon of which one dot remains; reddish brown hard fired clay with numerous admixtures of very fine sand; **M:** clay; **D:** 27 × 19 × 2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lorber coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-80012. **B:** KYSELA 2013b, 66-67, tab. 50.

**S602 common-ware base, fr. (not depicted)**

**T/D:** flat base of a closed (?) vessel; light cream colour, dusty surface, relatively soft firing, tempered with occasional grog and frequent/very frequent black sand; **M:** clay; **D:** 39 × 32. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 1929, A. Stocký excavation, Grubenhau IV; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-587052. **B:** KYSELA 2012d, 74.

**S700 amphora rim, fr. (Fig. 98)**

**T/D:** Lamboglia 2; a massive overhung rim and a part of the neck; light beige pinkish ceramic body, soft firing with powdery surface; frequent large (0.5-5 mm) grog grains, rare white sand; **M:** clay; **D:** rim H 38, rim Diam. 156, overall 111 × 71. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-509259. **B:** KYSELA 2013b, 67-68, tab. 51; KYSELA 2014a, 230, obr. 1: 3.

**S701 amphora rim, fr. (Fig. 98)**

**T/D:** Lamboglia 2; triangular rim with a part of the wall

and edge of one upper handle attachment; light ochre-reddish ceramic body with very rare small (>0.1 mm) black grains and rare extremely small (>0.01 mm) white sand; **M:** clay; **D:** rim H 43, rim Diam. 162, total h 82. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105598. **B:** JANSOVÁ 1962, 334; WALDHAUSER 1983, 333-334, obr. 1; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 664, obr. 2: 12; KYSELA 2014a, 230, obr. 1: 1.

**S702 amphora rim fr. (Fig. 98)**

**T/D:** Dressel 1; triangular rim with massive square upper edge; coarse sandy brick red ceramic body, rare flakes of gold mica; **M:** clay; **D:** rim H 41, rim Diam. 150, total h 66. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105599. **B:** JANSOVÁ 1962, 334; WALDHAUSER 1983, 333-334, obr. 1; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 664, obr. 2: 11; KYSELA 2014a, 230, obr. 1: 2.

**S900 oil lamp, clay wheel-thrown (Fig. 104)**

**T/D:** Ricci H, damaged nozzle; **M:** clay; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lehmann coll.; **L:** not preserved. **B:** Lehmann *Monumenta* NM 28, bottom right.

**S901 strigil suspension ring, fr. (Fig. 106)**

**T/D:** roughly half is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** l ca 52. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections'; **L:** NM? not identified. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. XIV: 58; KYSELA 2012c, 339-342, Abb. 1: 1; KYSELA 2014c, 458-459, fig. 2.

**S902 omega-shaped coffer handle (not depicted)**

**T/D:** grooved flat body with baluster-shaped ends; **M:** AE; **D:** L 75, H 40. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81702. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. XIV: 52.

**S903 omega-shaped coffer handle (Fig. 107)**

**T/D:** one baluster is broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** l 36, H 28. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections or Píč excavations'; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-201816. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. XIV: 65; KYSELA 2012c, 342-343, Abb. 2: 2.

**S904 omega-shaped coffer handle (not depicted)**

**T/D:** complete, finials are not profiled; **M:** AE; **D:** W 66, H 50. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Buchtela/Mikš coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-26311. **B:** unpublished.

**S905 omega-shaped coffer handle (not depicted)**

**T/D:** lozenge bar section; one finial is not preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** l 85, H 43. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections or Píč excavations'; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-201822. **B:** unpublished.

**S906 omega-shaped coffer handle secondarily 'reconstructed' as a brooch (Fig. 107)**

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** ca 35 × 30?. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-141369. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. III: 3; BŘEŇ 1964, 198-199, tab. I: 6; KYSELA 2012c, 343, Abb. 2: 2.

**S907 decorative nail head (Fig. 107)**

**T/D:** the nail shaft is broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** L (excluding the remains of the nail) ca 17, W ca 16. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'old collections'; **L:** NHM? Not located. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. xxv: 15; KYSELA 2012c, 343, Abb. 2: 3.

**S950 raw glass (not depicted)**

Listed in VENCLOVÁ 2016, 109.

**Sx01** AE shell-shaped attachment (Fig. 55)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** L ca 40. **Ch:** unclear; **P:** ‘old collections’; **L:** NM?, not identified. **B:** Píč 1903, tab. xiv: 63.

**Sx02** Handle in the shape of two antithetic dolphins (Fig. 55)

**T/D:** complete; **M:** AE; **D:** 85 × 34. **Ch:** post-opp; **P:** ‘old collections’; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-16713. **B:** unpublished.

**Sx03** Vine-leaf-shaped attachment with a massive square hook (Fig. 55)

**T/D:** Eggers 83; **M:** AE; **D:** attachment 50 × 39, incl. hook 50 × 53 × 20. **Ch:** post-opp; **P:** old collections, ‘bought in 1905’; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-65101. **B:** SVOBODOVÁ 1982.

**Sx04** Oval hollow shell with relief depiction of a human bust (Figs. 11, 55)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** W 42, h 70, wall Th 1–2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM, Inv. n° 5036. **B:** OSBORNE 1880, 27, Taf. vi: 5; Píč 1903, xxv: 14; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 660, 2: 14.

**Sx05** shafted strainer (Fig. 53)

**T/D:** strainer holes arranged in concentric circles; a single shaft terminating in a lateral hook with a bird-head finial; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** pre-opp; **P:** Lehmann coll.; **L:** unknown. **B:** Lehmann *Monumenta* NM 13 (10).

**Sx06** bronze vessel rim, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** impossible to classify; **M:** AE; **D:** h 29, Diam. 180. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT 2957 = 2732. **B:** unpublished.

**Sx07a** oinochoe handle (Fig. 54)

**T/D:** complete handle; **M:** AE; **D:** L 151, attachment 30 × 21. **Ch:** pre-opp; **P:** ‘old collections’; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-201823. **B:** unpublished.

**Sx07b** oinochoe rim (Fig. 54)

**T/D:** complete handle; **M:** AE; **D:** rim Diam. 76, h 40. **Ch:** pre-opp; **P:** Forrer collection; **L:** RGZM Mainz, Inv. n° O.10378. **B:** KARASOVÁ – SCHÖNFELDER 2004, 221, Abb. 5.

**Sx30** Mirror handle (Fig. 11)

**T/D:** open-work handle for a disc-shaped mirror with a suspension ring; in the photograph in Píč 1903 a part of the disk is present, only the handle is still preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** L 79, W 56. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Grosse coll.; **L:** NHM. **B:** OSBORNE 1880, 27, Taf. vi: 2; Píč 1903, tab. xxviii: 11; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 654, obr. 1: 4.

**Sx31** bronze disc mirror with ribs on the back, fr (Fig. 65)

**T/D:** the ribs on the back create a circular/radial pattern, the median rib thickens into a ridge with a transverse hole; **M:** AE; **D:** 29 × 27, Th 1.5, Th in ribs 2.5, 5.6. **Ch:** post-opp; **L:** private coll. **B:** unpublished.

**Sx40** AE finger ring with a large amber gemstone (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** Guiraud 3a–c; **M:** AE; **D:** l 23, Diam. 19, bezel 17 × 13. **Ch:** post-opp; **P:** ‘Berger coll. or Píč excavation’; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-212676. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. vii: 12; KYSELA 2016a, 42–43, pl. 3/1, Sx4.

**Sx41** AE finger ring with a small green gemstone (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** modern; **M:** AE; **D:** inner Diam. 18, bezel 7 × 6. **Ch:** post-opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81579. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. vii: 24; KYSELA 2016a, 43 pl. 3/1, Sx1.

**Sx42** AE finger ring with three sockets for gemstones (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** Guiraud 4d or modern; **M:** AE; **D:** inner Diam. 16, W 6.5. **Ch:** post-opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105609. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. vii: 37; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 656, obr. 1: 7; KYSELA 2016a, 42–43, pl. 3/1, Sx3.

**Sx43** AE finger ring with three sockets for gemstones/pearls (Fig. 70)

**T/D:** Guiraud 4d or modern; in the photograph in Píč 1903 a pearl is set in the central socket, today it is detached; **M:** AE; **D:** l 18, W 7, pearl Diam. 10. **Ch:** post-opp or modern; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-81600. **B:** Píč 1903, 51, tab. vii: 21; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 656, obr. 1: 6; KYSELA 2016a, 42–43, pl. 3/1, Sx2.

**Sx44** Fe finger ring fragment with remains of a cornelian intaglio (Fig. 70, 72)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; **M:** Fe + cornelian; **D:** l 26, Bezel 20 × 15. **Ch:** unclear: post-opp?; **P:** Mikš/Buchtela coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-26422. **B:** KYSELA 2016a, 41, pl. 3/1, S21.

**Sx45** ‘cameos’ (not depicted)

**T/D:** a mention of ‘several imprints of ancient cameos’ (= intaglios?); **M:** unknown; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** unknown; **P:** Lorber coll.; **L:** not preserved. **B:** KYSELA 2016a, 41.

**Sx46** bone and amber ‘ring’ (not depicted)

**T/D:** fake; **M:** bone + amber; **D:** inner Diam. 34. **Ch:** modern; **P:** Fürstenberg coll.; **L:** NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, Inv. n° KT-1705. **B:** KYSELA 2016a, 42, fig. 2b, Sx5.

**Sx47** Au sew-on filigree trefoil (Fig. 79)

**T/D:** –; **M:** Au; **D:** Diam. 8. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll.; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-508293. **B:** Píč 1903, vii: 11; BŘEŇ 1959, 211–215; tab. vii: 8; BOUZEK 1982, 199; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 662.

**Sx48** Phallic pendant (Fig. 81)

**T/D:** depicted from profile, with a suspension eyelet at the proximal end; **M:** AE; **D:** L 30. **Ch:** post-opp; **P:** ‘unclear whether from old collections or Píč excavation’; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-201625. **B:** KYSELA 2015b, 91, obr. 1: 3.

**Sx49** Phallic pendant (Fig. 81)

**T/D:** two-part phallus-fica pendant with a suspension ring at the junction of the two parts; **M:** AE; **D:** L 41. **Ch:** post-opp; **P:** ‘unclear whether from old collections or Píč excavation’; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-201624. **B:** KYSELA 2015b, 91, obr. 1: 4.

**Sx51** Elements of bone frames (Figs. 11, 87)

**T/D:** coffer components; **M:** bone; **D:** L 151, 98, 82, 76, and 75. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Berger coll. **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-105636–105640. **B:** Píč 1903, xxii: 3; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 662, obr. 3: 1.

**Sx52** Elements of bone frames (Fig. 87)

**T/D:** coffer components; **M:** bone; **D:** L 109 and 86. **Ch:**

opp; **P**: Fürstenberg coll. **L**: NPÚ, Křivoklát Castle, inv. n° KT 769, 770. **B**: unpublished.

**Sx53a-i** Objects incorrectly identified as styli (Fig. 84)  
**T/D**: local products or modern fakes; **M**: bone. **P**: 'old collections'. **L**: NM, not located. **B**: Píč 1903, tab. XLVI: 2, 5, 16–18, 46, XLVII: 11, 26, 42.

**Sx54a-h** Objects incorrectly identified as styli (Fig. 84)  
**T/D**: hairpins or modern fakes; **M**: bone. **P**: 'old collections'. **L**: NM, not located. **B**: Píč 1903, tab. XLVI: 1, 3, 22, 23, 26, 28–29, XLVII: 26.

**Sx55a-c** Objects incorrectly identified as styli (Fig. 84)  
**T/D**: semi-products or modern fakes; **M**: bone. **P**: 'old collections'. **L**: NM, not located. **B**: Píč 1903, tab. XLVI: 19, 20, XLVII: 11.

**Sx56 phlebotom (?)** (Fig. 82)  
**T/D**: complete; **M**: AE; **D**: L 69. **Ch**: opp; **P**: old collections.; **L**: NM?, not identified. **B**: Píč 1903, tab. XXIV: 12; BUREŠOVÁ 2020, 53–54, obr. 5: 1.

**Sx90** 'marble mortarium, fr.' (not depicted)  
**T/D**: mentioned by Břeň; impossible to verify, implausible identification; **M**: stone; **L**: NM, not identified. **B**: BŘEŇ 1975a.

**Sx91** Cubic dice (not depicted)  
**T/D**: complete; **M**: bone?; **D**: unknown. **Ch**: modern?; **P**: documented in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in J. A. Jíra coll.; **L**: unknown. **B**: HLAVA 2011.

**Sx92** Cubic dice (not depicted)  
**T/D**: complete, dots executed by concentric circles; **M**: bone; **D**: unknown. **Ch**: modern?; **P**: Forrer coll.; **L**: RGZM, Inv. n° O.10388. **B**: KARASOVÁ – SCHÖNFELDER 2005, 222, Abb. 2.

**Sx93** Omega-shaped coffer handle (not depicted)  
**T/D**: twisted shaft; local?; **M**: AE; **D**: L 71. **Ch**: 'opp'; **P**: 'old collections or Píč excavation?'; **L**: NM, Inv. n° H1-201820. **B**: unpublished.

**Strakonice**, okr. Strakonice, Jihočeský kraj, CZ  
A single *Grubenhau* (6 × 3.8 m, depth 1.15 m below the present surface) was identified during field-walking and excavated during a rescue excavation in 1987 (J. Michálek). Other features were excavated in its immediate vicinity in 1990 implying interpretation of the site as an isolated farm/enclosure. Late LT period. MICHÁLEK 1990.

**Stk1** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 45)  
**T/D**: –; **M**: AE; **D**: W 38, L 27. **Ch**: opp; **P**: Feature 1/87, excavation 1987; **L**: Mus. Strakonice, Inv. n° 'A1982-A 20163' (= the entire fill of the feature), the inv. n° of the thumb piece is not specified. **B**: MICHÁLEK 1990, 15–16, obr. 11: 2.

**Třísov**, Holubov, okr. Český Krumlov, Jihočeský kraj, CZ  
A smallish oppidum (26 ha) on a spur above the upper course of Vltava, in a region of significant outcrops of raw graphite and occurrence of gold, on a communica-

tion route to the Linz region. The site was investigated by excavations of the German University in Prague 1936–1937 (L. Franz, C. Streit) and in 1958–1982 by the NM (J. Břeň) as well as by geophysical survey in 2003–2007 (R. Křivánek). In 2007–2013 the site was subject to large scale systematic metal detector surveys of the ArÚ Prague (J. Militký, A. Danielisová). The area of the oppidum is entirely encircled by a rampart, which is doubled on the most easily accessible W side where the main gate is located. Each of the two summits (acropoleis) is fortified with a rampart of its own as is also the small E annexe. Břeň carried out his excavations in the W annexe, around the main gate, on both acropoleis, and along the S edge of the oppidum). His interpretations (N acropolis as religious centre, S acropolis as elite residence etc.) are often questionable and stratigraphy basically non-existent. The metal detector surveys identified the largest density of finds on the slopes of N acropolis and in the W annexe where prestige goods seem to concentrate. The occupation spans LT C2–D1b (/D2?). BŘEŇ 1966; 1975a; KARASOVÁ 2002; HLAVA 2008; KŘIVÁNEK – DANIELISOVÁ – DRDA 2013; DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014; KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014.

**Třo1** cylindrical situla rim (?), fr. (Fig. 19)  
**T/D**: Eggers 16; **M**: AE; **D**: l 113, W 17, Diam 140. **Ch**: opp; **P**: metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 24/4/2010, W annexe; **L**: JČM, Inv. n° A33028. **B**: KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 575, obr. 2: 23.

**Třo2** baluster-shaped finial of a situla handle (Fig. 25)  
**T/D**: E18–23; **M**: AE; **D**: h 40; baluster H 24. **Ch**: opp; **P**: metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM), S slope of N acropolis, sector B, 9/10/2010; **L**: JČM, Inv. n° A33219. **B**: KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 575, obr. 2: 18, 6: 18.

**Třo3** baluster-shaped finial of a situla handle (Fig. 25)  
**T/D**: extremely worn; **M**: AE; **D**: l 38, shaft Diam. 6. **Ch**: opp; **P**: metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 1/10/2011; **L**: JČM, Inv. n° A33212. **B**: KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 575, obr. 2: 20a.

**Třo4** ornithomorph finial of a situla handle (Fig. 25)  
**T/D**: –; **M**: AE; **D**: l 31, L head 28. **Ch**: opp; **P**: metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 30/9/2011; **L**: JČM, Inv. n° A33216. **B**: KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 575, obr. 2: 19.

**Třo5** situla attachment shaft and eyelet, fr. (Fig. 25)  
**T/D**: Eggers 18; **M**: AE; **D**: h 60, eyelet Diam. 22. **Ch**: opp; **P**: metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM), W annexe, 15/4/2011; **L**: JČM, Inv. n° A33211. **B**: KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 575, obr. 2: 21.

**Třo6** situla attachment shaft and eyelet, fr. (Fig. 25)  
**T/D**: situla, E19; **M**: AE; **D**: l 41, eyelet Diam. 17. **Ch**: opp; **P**: metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM), W bailey, 1/4/2012; **L**: JČM, Inv. n° A33185. **B**: KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 575, obr. 2: 22, 6: 22.

**Třo7** pan handle with ornithomorph finial (Fig. 30)  
**T/D**: pan, Aylesford; reinforced ridges with three vertical grooves on one of them; two circular punch marks on the downside; **M**: AE; **D**: l 143, w 34, bird head L 36. **Ch**: opp; **P**: NM excavations, 1971; N acropolis, trench O, layer n°3,

depth ca 40 cm; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-141898. **B:** BŘEŇ 1975a; BŘEŇ 1975b, 124–125; KYSELA 2011, 163–167, obr. 1; KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, obr. 1: 1.

**Tř08** ornithomorph pan handle finial, fr. (**Fig. 30**)

**T/D:** pan; **M:** AE; **D:** l 29, W 5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 8/10/2010, S slope of N acropolis, sector B; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A32480. **B:** KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 578, obr. 2: 24, 5: 24.

**Tř09** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (**Fig. 36**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** L 31; W 15; Th 4, bottom Diam. 90. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 8/10/2010, S slope of acropolis, sector B; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A32483. **B:** KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 581, obr. 3: 32.

**Tř10** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (**Fig. 36**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 41 × 23 × 6. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 10/04/2007; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33069. **B:** KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 571, 581, obr. 3: 29.

**Tř11** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (**Fig. 36**)

**T/D:** traces of exposure to heath; **M:** AE; **D:** 48 × 22 × 9–4. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM), April 2011, terrace n° 10; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33602a. **B:** KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 581, obr. 3: 30, 6: 30.

**Tř12** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (**Fig. 36**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 53 × 19 × 5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey JČM 2013–2016, W annexe, ca 350 m NW of the rampart; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° not mentioned. **B:** JOHN – OUŠKO 2017, 285, obr. 2: 1.

**Tř13** very small spectacles-shaped vessel foot (**Fig. 36**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** L 21, W 10, Th 1.8, bottom Diam. 45. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 7/10/2010, W annexe; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A32835. **B:** KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 581, obr. 3: 33.

**Tř14** kidney-shaped vessel foot with holes (**Fig. 36**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 43 × 18 × 6. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ) 18. 11. 2017, S slope of N acropolis; **L:** JČM. **B:** unpublished.

**Tř15** kidney-shaped vessel foot with holes (**Fig. 36**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 45 × 20 × 5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM), 24/3/2012, W annexe; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33184. **B:** KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 581, obr. 3: 31, 6: 31.

**Tř16** kidney-shaped vessel foot with holes (**Fig. 36**)

**T/D:** the short sides have been irregularly ground recently; **M:** AE; **D:** l 35.4, W 16.5, Th 4. **Ch:** opp; **P:** NM excavation 1955, central part of the oppidum, trench C; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-79571. **B:** BŘEŇ 1956, 11–12; BŘEŇ 1966, 106; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 558, obr. 6: 19; KYSELA 2011, 168–169, obr. 1: 2; KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, obr. 1: 5.

**Tř17** kidney-shaped vessel foot with holes (?) (not depicted)

**T/D:** not described but compared with the piece Píč 1903, tab. XXI: 2; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** excavation of the German University in Prague in 1937; **L:** not preserved. **B:** STREIT 1938, 150; FRANZ 1942, 26; BŘEŇ 1966, 110.

**Tř18** simpulum handle fr. (**Fig. 38**)

**T/D:** simpulum, type Pescate; elongated trapezoidal bar, parallel grooves on the upper face; **M:** AE; **D:** l 48, W 15, Th 2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM), 1/4/2011, S slope of the N acropolis, sector B; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33217. **B:** KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 578–580, obr. 2: 25.

**Tř19** handle hook finial in the shape of a canine head (**Fig. 38**)

**T/D:** simpulum, type Pescate; **M:** AE; **D:** l 17, W 6. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM), 15/4/2011, S slope of the N acropolis; **L:** JČM. **B:** KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 578–580, obr. 2: 26, 5: 26.

**Tř20** strainer handle (**Fig. 45**)

**T/D:** complete; **M:** AE; **D:** attachment plate 21 × 16; handle L 17, H 20. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 24/04/2007, field N of the path; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33080. **B:** KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 581–582, obr. 3: 40, 6: 40.

**Tř21** strainer handle fr. (**Fig. 45**)

**T/D:** fr. of one of the spurs; **M:** AE; **D:** 23 × 13 × 3. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 30/10/2009, field E of the N acropolis; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33202. **B:** KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 581–582, obr. 3: 41.

**Tř22** strainer handle attachment plate (**Fig. 45**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 13 × 13, l. shaft 4. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 1/4/2012, W annexe; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33186. **B:** KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 581–582, obr. 3: 42.

**Tř23** strainer thumb piece (**Fig. 45**)

**T/D:** complete; **M:** AE; **D:** W 60, L 34, Th 3.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** NM excavations 1958; W annexe, trench D, layer n° 2 (20–40 cm below the surface); **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-141896. **B:** BŘEŇ 1966, 79, 106–109, obr. 27, tab. XXV: 6; BŘEŇ 1973, 128; BŘEŇ 1984, 12, obr. 13; HLAVA 2008, 145, 149, obr. 5: 13; KYSELA 2011, 167–168, obr. 1: 3; KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, obr. 1: 2.

**Tř24** strainer thumb piece (**Fig. 45**)

**T/D:** one frontal head and one tail are broken off, the handle is broken in half; **M:** AE; **D:** w 37, l 34. **Ch:** opp; **P:** NM excavations 1968, southern edge of the oppidum, trench A-south, layer n° 8, i.e. 4<sup>th</sup> layer below the so-called pavement; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-141894. **B:** KYSELA 2011, 167–168, obr. 1: 4; KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, obr. 1: 3.

**Tř25** strainer thumb piece (**Fig. 45**)

**T/D:** one head is broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** L 41, w 36, Th 2.5, rim Diam. 90–100. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 8/10/2010, S slope of N acropolis, sector A; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A32754. **B:** KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 581–582, obr. 3: 35, 6: 35.

**Tř26** strainer thumb piece (**Fig. 45**)

**T/D:** complete, frontal branches are very slim and not articulated; **M:** AE; **D:** 53 × 64. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 30/3/2011; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33183. **B:** KYSELA – DANIELISOVÁ – MILITKÝ 2014, 582, obr. 2: 36.

**Tř27** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 45)

**T/D:** tail part; **M:** AE; **D:** l 23, W 34, Th 2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 16/4/2011, S slope of the N acropolis, sector B; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33218. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 582, obr. 3: 37.

**Tř28** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 45)

**T/D:** frontal part with only one branch preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** w 37. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 15/11/2008, field between the N acropolis and the first field baulk; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33204. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 582, obr. 2: 38.

**Tř29** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 45)

**T/D:** remains of the tail part; **M:** AE; **D:** 17 × 16 × 2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 16/4/2011, S slope of the N acropolis; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33207. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 581-582, obr. 3: 39.

**Tř30** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 45)

**T/D:** left branch of the frontal part; **M:** AE; **D:** 34 × 22 × 1.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 18/11/2017, S slope of N acropolis; **L:** JČM. **B:** unpublished.

**Tř31** strainer rim fr. (Fig. 45)

**T/D:** out-turned rim and body of which three perforations remain; **M:** AE (brass); **D:** l 41, rim W 6, rim Diam. 50. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 7/10/2010, S slope of N acropolis, sector B; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A32718. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 582, 591, obr. 3: 34, 6: 34.

**Tř32** mug handle, fr. (Fig. 49)

**T/D:** mug, type Idria, spool-shaped thumb piece at the handle and branch crossing; **M:** AE; **D:** l 25, l including the thumb piece 35, w 28. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 7/10/2010, S slope of the N acropolis, sector B; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A32725. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 580-581, n° 27, obr. 2: 28 (numbering error).

**Tř33** ornithomorph handle hook finial (Fig. 30)

**T/D:** pan? only the head is preserved, exceptionally large dimensions, very detailed decoration; **M:** AE; **D:** l 67, H 13, W 5-10. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 15/4/2011, W annexe; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33209. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 585-587, obr. 4: 54, 5: 54.

**Tř34** ornithomorph finial of a handle? (Fig. 25)

**T/D:** situla?; **M:** AE; **D:** l 25, L head 16. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 20/4/2013, S slope of the N acropolis; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33949. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 575, obr. 2: 20, 5: 20.

**Tř35** vessel rim fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** triangular out-turned ledge on the rim; **M:** AE; **D:** 60 × 23. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 26/4/2007, S slope of the N acropolis; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33083. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 582, obr. 3: 42b.

**Tř36** cordiform mug handle attachment (Fig. 49)

**T/D:** mug, type Idria, damaged; **M:** AE; **D:** l 24, h 22. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 24/10/2010,

S slope of the N acropolis, sector B; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A32975. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 580-581, n° 28, obr. 2: 27 (numbering error).

**Tř40a-o** mirror fragments without the original edge (Fig. 65) **M:** AE; **Ch:** opp.

**Tř40a - D:** 32 × 33, Th 1.4; **P:** NM excavations 1968, S part of the oppidum trench B, lower part of the 'pavement'; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-135883. **B:** HLAVA 2009, obr. 2: 1; KYSELA 2011, 169-170, obr. 2: 4; KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, obr. 1: 9. **Tř40b - D:** 18 × 6, Th 1.6; **P:** NM excavations 1968, S part of the oppidum, trench A, depth 100 cm; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-253016. **B:** HLAVA 2009, obr. 2: 6; KYSELA 2011, 169-170, obr. 2: 5; KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, obr. 1: 10. **Tř40c - D:** 30 × 22, Th 1.6; **P:** NM excavations 1978, S part of the oppidum, trench A, layer n° 9; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-253019. **B:** HLAVA 2009, obr. 2: 4; KYSELA 2011, 169-170, obr. 2: 3; KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, obr. 1: 8. **Tř40d - D:** 23 × 9, Th 1.6. **Ch:** opp; **P:** NM excavations 1977, S part of the oppidum, trench A, layer n° 8 (2<sup>nd</sup> layer under the 'pavement'); **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-253020. **B:** HLAVA 2009, obr. 2: 5; KYSELA 2011, 169-170, obr. 2: 6; KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, obr. 1: 11. **Tř40e - D:** 21 × 11 × 2.6. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 8/10/2010, S slope of the N acropolis, sector B; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A32550. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 583-585, n° 44. **Tř40f - D:** 18 × 12 × 1. **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 16/4/2011, S slope of the N acropolis; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33208. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 583-585, obr. 4: 50. **Tř40g - D:** 21 × 11 × 2.6. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 8/10/2011, S slope of N acropolis; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A32550. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 573, 583-585, n° 44. **Tř40h - D:** 23 × 11 × 1.5. **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 19/4/2013, terrace n° 8; **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 583-585, obr. 4: 45. **Tř40i - D:** 12 × 16. **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 15/11/2008, W annexe (A); **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33203. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 583-585, obr. 4: 48. **Tř40j - D:** 18 × 12 × 1. **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 16/04/2011, S slope of N acropolis; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33208. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 583-585, obr. 4: 50. **Tř40k - D:** 18 × 12 × 1. **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 15/4/2011, S slope of N acropolis; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A32166. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 583-585, obr. 4: 51. **Tř40l - D:** 15 × 10 × 1. **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 15/4/2011, S slope of N acropolis, sector B; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A32199. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 583-585, obr. 4: 52. **Tř40m - D:** 12 × 16 × 1. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 18/11/2017; **L:** JČM. **B:** unpublished. **Tř40n - D:** 15 × 16 × 2. **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) ARUP 18/11/2017, S slope of N acropolis; **L:** JČM. **B:** unpublished.

**Tř41** disc mirror fr. - rim (not depicted)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** 17 × 12 × 1. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) field E of the N acropolis, 2/10/2009; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33205. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 583-585, obr. 4: 47.

**Tř42** disc mirror fr. - rim (not depicted)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** 16 × 10 × 1. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) terrace n° 3; 9/10/2010; **L:** JČM, Inv.

n° A32854. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 583-585, obr. 4: 53.

**Tř43** disc mirror fr. - rim (Fig. 65)

**T/D:** rounded edge; **M:** AE; **D:** 21×22×1,3, Diam. >200. **Ch:** opp; **P:** NM excavations, 1973, S acropolis, Grubenhau on the E terrace, W extension, layer n° 1; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-253017. **B:** HLAVA 2009, 121, obr. 2:2; KYSELA 2011, 169-170, obr. 2: 2; KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, obr. 1: 6.

**Tř44** disc mirror fr. - rim (Fig. 65)

**T/D:** rounded edge; **M:** AE; **D:** 30×26×1,3, Diam. ca 90. **Ch:** opp; **P:** NM excavation, 1977 southern part of the oppidum, trench A, layer n° 7, i.e. 1<sup>st</sup> layer under the so-called paving; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-253018. **B:** HLAVA 2009, obr. 2: 3; KYSELA 2011, 169-170, obr. 2:1; KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, obr. 1: 7.

**Tř45** disc mirror fr. - rim (not depicted)

**T/D:** half-rounded edge; **M:** AE; **D:** 21×20×2, Diam. 140. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 10/4/2007, field with baulks north of the road; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33072. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 583-585, n° 43.

**Tř46** disc mirror rim, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** half-rounded edge; **M:** AE; **D:** 14×9×1,4. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 8/10/2010, S slope of the N acropolis, sector A; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A32490. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 583-585, obr. 4: 46.

**Tř50** a reticella bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 902; scarlet globular bead with a double twisted white thread in black ground around the middle; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 13, H 12. **Ch:** opp; **P:** NM excavations, 1956, central part of the oppidum, the Weiss' field, trench F; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-121001. **B:** BŘEŇ 1966, 119; BŘEŇ 1984, 9, obr. 12; VENCLOVÁ 1990, 96-96, 280, pl. 33: 7; KYSELA 2011, 172-173, obr. 3: 1; KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, obr. 1: 12.

**Tř51** Fe finger ring fr. (Fig. 71)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b, parts of the shank are missing; **M:** Fe; **D:** inner Diam. 17, h 13, bezel 16×13. **Ch:** opp; **P:** NM excavations 1977, S part of the oppidum, trench B, layer n° 7; **L:** NM, acc. n° 9/77-16. **B:** KYSELA 2011, 172-173, obr. 3: 2; KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, tab. 1, obr. 1: 13; KYSELA 2016a, 36, pl. 3/1, T1.

**Tř52** AE finger ring, fr. (Fig. 71)

**T/D:** the shank is completely lost, the edges are worn; **M:** AE; **D:** l 15, bezel 11×8. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM), S slope of the N acropolis, sector A, 16/4/2011; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33213. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 583, obr. 4: 53b; KYSELA 2016a, 36, 44, pl. 3/1, T3.

**Tř53** AE finger ring, fr. (Fig. 71)

**T/D:** the shank is completely lost, the edges are worn; **M:** AE; **D:** l 15, bezel 11×8. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) terrace n° 8; 16/4/2011; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33892. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 583, obr. 4: 53c; KYSELA 2016a, 36, 44, pl. 3/1, T4.

**Tř54** AE finger ring, fr. (Fig. 71)

**T/D:** the shank is completely lost, the edges are worn; **M:** AE; **D:** l 16, bezel 10×7×2,8. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 3/4/2009, field E of the N acropolis; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33129. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 583, obr. 4: 53a, 5: 53a; KYSELA 2016a, 36, 44, pl. 3/1, T2.

**Tř60** commonware balsamarium, fr. (Fig. 95)

**T/D:** roughly half of the base is preserved; pinkish ceramic body with rare small mica flakes; residue of the original content at the base; **M:** clay; **D:** 62×60. **Ch:** opp; **P:** NM excavations 1967, trench 'on the baulk', top layer in the W part of the trench; **L:** NM, acc. n° 7a/67-34. **B:** BŘEŇ 1984, 12 (mentioned); KYSELA 2011, 175-177, obr. 5; KYSELA 2014c, 456-457, fig. 1.

**Tř61** mould made oil lamp, 2 fr. (Fig. 104)

**T/D:** Dressel 1A, relief decoration (leaved bead-and-reel moulding on the body, water bird head at the nozzle root); **M:** clay; **D:** 45×27 and 37×13. Diam. 80-85; **Ch:** opp; **P:** NM excavations 1976; S part of the oppidum, layer n° 6-7; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-135989a, b. **B:** BŘEŇ 1981; DRDA - RYBOVÁ 1998, 186; JANČO 2001, 167, fig 1: 1; KYSELA 2011, 176-180, obr. 6; KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, obr. 1: 16.

**Třx1** strainer thumb piece, fr? (not depicted)

**T/D:** possibly a broken off termination of one of the branches, but the identification is not certain; **M:** AE; **D:** 20×8×2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** metal detector survey (ArÚ, JČM) 15/11/2008, field between the N acropolis and the 1<sup>st</sup> baulk; **L:** JČM, Inv. n° A33206. **B:** KYSELA - DANIELISOVÁ - MILITKÝ 2014, 581-582, obr. 3: 39a.

**Třx2** glass vessel fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** cobalt blue transparent; **M:** glass; **D:** 20×14, Th 1-1.2. **Ch:** post-opp/mod.; **P:** NM excavations, 1956, central part of the oppidum, Weiss' field, trench J, layer n° 3; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-121002. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 281, n° 41, pl. 33: 13; KYSELA 2011, 174-175, obr. 4: 2.

**Třx3** glass vessel fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** wall; **M:** glass; **D:** 12×8. **Ch:** post-opp/mod.; **P:** 1976;?; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-141914. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 281, n° 46, pl. 33: 12; KYSELA 2011, 174-175, obr. 4: 1.

**Třx4** 'AE scalpel' (Fig. 82)

**T/D:** AE unfinished object; **M:** AE; **D:** L 98, W 6. **Ch:** opp; **P:** NM excavations 1978, southern part of the oppidum, trench B, layer n° 8; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-135967. **B:** BŘEŇ 1984, 12; BŘEŇ 1975a; KYSELA 2011, 171-172, obr. 2: 7.

**Třx5** 'AE scalpel' (Fig. 82)

**T/D:** AE unfinished object; **M:** AE; **D:** 40×7×0,6; shaft Diam. 1,7. **Ch:** opp; **P:** NM excavations 1969, W gate, N wing, N part, central stripe, central part, depth 20 cm; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-135960. **B:** interpretation as scalpel by Břeň, unpublished; KYSELA 2011, 171-172, obr. 2: 8.

**Závist**, Lhota, okr. Praha, západ, Středočeský kraj, CZ A large oppidum on the southern edge of the Prague basin and the northernmost of the series of oppida along the Vltava. Extensive excavations of ArÚ Prague in 1963-

1989 (L. Jansová, then K. Motyková, P. Drda, A. Rybová), geophysical survey in 2003–2007 (R. Křivánek), metal detector surveys in 2014–2016 (J. Militký). Reoccupying the area of (a BA and) an EIA hillfort, the oppidum was established in LT C2 (with some scattered human presence in LT B and C1) and remained in use until LT D1b (cf. *infra*). The original area of the top plateau including the separate acropolis, and the immediately adjoining SE slopes were fortified (each with a separate rampart) in LT C2 (establishment of the main gate D); additional lines of defence in LT D1 (lower part of the SW slope with gate A, rampart of the annexe on the plain in front of the oppidum, and the slopes of Šance on the opposite side of valley). The published excavations of Late LT contexts concentrated on gates (D, A, N) and mainly on the acropolis where one entire enclosed farmstead was excavated, a similar settlement organisation was ascertained in the annexe (exc. M. Čižmár). Other excavated areas remain unpublished or only preliminarily presented. MOTYKOVÁ – DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1978a; 1978b; 1990; DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1992; 1993; 1995a; 1995b; 1997; 2001; KŘIVÁNEK – DANIELSOVÁ – DRDA 2013.

**Zá01** ornithomorph finial of a situla handle, fr. (Fig. 25)

**T/D:** only the beak and a portion of the head is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** l 26, W 5, H 8. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Balda, surface find; **L:** private coll. **B:** unpublished.

**Zá02** baluster-shaped finial of a situla handle (Fig. 25)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** l 51. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Balda; **L:** private coll. **B:** unpublished.

**Zá03** bronze vessel rim, fr. (Fig. 30)

**T/D:** pan?, the top part of the rim is decorated with incised chevrons and straight lines; **M:** AE; **D:** 34 × 37, rim Th 10, wall Th 1.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Balda, surface find; **L:** private coll. **B:** unpublished.

**Zá04** ox-hide-shaped bronze vessel foot (Fig. 36)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 31 × 14 × 3. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Balda; **L:** private coll. **B:** unpublished.

**Zá05** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 45)

**T/D:** tail part; **M:** AE; **D:** 32 × 34. **Ch:** opp; **P:** ArÚ excavations, acropolis, *Grubenhau* n° 8, 4<sup>th</sup> phase (LT D); **L:** ArÚ Praha, acc. n° A3702. **B:** DRDA – RYBOVÁ 2001, 317, obr. 18: 3.

**Zá06** strainer wall fr. (Fig. 45)

**T/D:** two radial rows of perforations; **M:** AE; **D:** 13 × 8. **Ch:** opp; **P:** ArÚ excavations, acropolis, road stratification, 2<sup>nd</sup> phase (= LT C2); **L:** ArÚ Praha, Inv. n° unknown. **B:** MOTYKOVÁ – DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1978b, fig. 24: 3; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 3: 4; DRDA – RYBOVÁ 2001, 317, obr. 18: 2.

**Zá07** AE vessel rim, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** Diam. ca 90. **Ch:** opp; **P:** ArÚ excavations, acropolis, N end of the road, without reliable stratigraphy; **L:** ArÚ Prague. **B:** DRDA – RYBOVÁ 2001, 317; MOTYKOVÁ – DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1978b, 289, fig. 14: 13.

**Zá08** AE vessel rim, fr. (Fig. 30)

**T/D:** thickened pointed rim; **M:** AE; **D:** 43 × 25, rim Th 6, wall Th 2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Balda, surface find; **L:** Private coll. **B:** unpublished.

**Zá09** glass vessel base (Fig. 62)

**T/D:** moulded monochrome translucent, purple; foot with flat base and convex interior; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 20, h 8, wall Th 1–1.2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** ArÚ excavation 1965, acropolis, trench 26, sector 6, layer 0–10 cm (supposedly associated with a LT period pit but RIA B2 and Migration period contexts were present in the vicinity); **L:** ArÚ Praha, acc. n° 180/65. **B:** DRDA – RYBOVÁ 2001, 317, obr. 17: 3; VENCLOVÁ 1984, 445.

**Zá10** glass vessel base (Fig. 62)

**T/D:** moulded monochrome base, cobalt blue; fragment; foot with a flat base and convex inner part; the walls are not preserved; **M:** glass; **D:** base Diam. 23.5, foot H 5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 1975, trench 27, sector 6, layer 0–10 cm; **L:** ArÚ Praha, acc. n° 1351/75. **B:** DRDA – RYBOVÁ 2001, 317, obr. 17: 4; VENCLOVÁ 1984, 445–446.

**Zá11** disc mirror fr. – rim (Fig. 65)

**T/D:** four joining fragments, rounded rim; **M:** AE; **D:** 40 × 30 × 2.2, Diam. 100. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Balda, surface find.; **L:** private coll. **B:** unpublished.

**Zá12** disc mirror fr. (Fig. 65)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 30 × 20. **Ch:** opp; **P:** ArÚ excavations, Acropolis, *Grubenhau* 3a, 3<sup>rd</sup> settlement phase; **L:** ArÚ Praha, acc. n° A2765. **B:** DRDA – RYBOVÁ 2001, 316–317, obr. 18: 1.

**Zá13** small glass bead with prunts (not depicted)

**T/D:** type Adria, Venclová 313–315, colour not reported; **M:** glass; **D:** h 4, Diam. 7. **Ch:** opp; **P:** ArÚ excavations, gate A, settlement phase II, feature 8 (LT D1); **L:** ArÚ Praha. **B:** MOTYKOVÁ – DRDA – RYBOVÁ 1990, 348, obr. 37: 1.

**Zá14** AE finger ring with a glass gemstone (Fig. 71, 72)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b, complete; gold foil visible under the paste; depiction on the paste: naked male figure walking to the right, holding an object in his hand; the frontal part of the depiction is missing due to imperfect impression; **M:** AE; **D:** shank inner Diam. 14. **Ch:** opp; **P:** ArÚ excavations, Acropolis; 'wet-sieved from the layer on the floor of the *Grubenhau* 3b'; **L:** ArÚ Praha, acc. n° A2625. **B:** DRDA – RYBOVÁ 2001, 316, obr. 17: 1; DRDA – ONDŘEJOVÁ unpublished; KYSELA 2016a, 35, pl. 3/1, 3/2, Z1.

**Zá15** AE finger ring with a glass gemstone (Fig. 71)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; small part of the shank is missing; depiction on the paste: cornucopia, poor impression with little detail; **M:** AE; **D:** shank Diam. 15. **Ch:** opp; **P:** ArÚ excavations, Acropolis; 'next to the house outline'; **L:** ArÚ Praha, acc. n° A2637. **B:** DRDA – RYBOVÁ 2001, 316, fig. 17: 2; DRDA – ONDŘEJOVÁ unpublished; KYSELA 2016a, 35–36, pl. 3/1, 3/2, Z2.

**Zá16** donkey bones (not depicted)

**T/D:** metatarsus; **M:** bone; **Ch:** opp; **P:** –; **L:** ArÚ Praha. **B:** PEŠKE 1993a, 272; PEŠKE 1993b, 216.

**Záx1** Ag head of a water bird (Fig. 59)

**T/D:** –; **M:** Ag; **D:** l 4.8. **Ch:** modern; **P:** donation of M. Žlab to MMP in 1962, said to have been found in the 'U Altánu' location of Závist; **L:** MHMP, Inv. n° A243.392. **B:** MAŠEK 1964; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 660, obr. 2: 17; KYSELA – PERLÍK – SRBOVÁ 2012.

EnCE

**Biskupice, okr. Prostějov**

LT period settlements were excavated in different parts of the territory of Biskupice in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. MEDUNA 1980b, 19–21.

**Bis1** mask bead, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 901, fr. of the upper part of the bead; **M:** glass. **Ch:** pre-opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 169318. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2019.

**Bořitov-‘Písky’, okr. Blansko, Jihomoravský kraj, CZ**

An open rural settlement excavated in its entirety in 1971–1988. Grubenhäuser and surface structures stretched over ca 1.5 ha (100 × 200 m) with the northern part (including feature 5/75) possibly delimited by an enclosure while in the south (incl. features 1/71 and 2/72) the structures encircle an unbuild area of ca 50 × 20 m. Apart from evidence of basic subsistence economy, the settlement produced traces of iron and bronze working, and possibly of quern production, as well as finds of raw amber. Based on finds and three C14 dates (2055 ± 40 BP; 2045 ± 35 BP; 2100 ± 35 BP) the occupation of the site is dated to LT C2–D1b. ČIŽMÁŘ 2003.

**Břo1** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 43)

**T/D:** only the frontal part is preserved **M:** AE; **D:** W 63, l 22. **Ch:** opp (the find context was dated by C14 analysis to 2055 ± 40 BP); **P:** feature 1/71; **L:** MZM, acc. n° 187/1. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘ 2003, 44, tab. 20:7; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 117, Abb. 1:3.

**Břo2** strainer wall, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** ca 52 × 20. **Ch:** opp; **P:** pit 5/75; **L:** MZM, acc. n° 228/75. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘ 2003, 44, tab. 30:2.

**Břo3** Fe finger ring, fr. (Fig. 71)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b, the shank is largely lost, the bezel is lined with gold foil; **M:** Fe; **D:** l 19.5, bezel 13 × 12 × 5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** pit 2/72, the context is dated by C14 to 2045 ± 35 BP (ČIŽMÁŘ 2003, 107); **L:** MZM, acc. n° 90/72. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘ 2003, 43, 70, tab. 22:4.

**Břx1** ‘amphora fr.’ (not depicted)

**T/D:** in fact early modern pottery; **M:** clay; **D, P:** not reported; **L:** MZM, inv. n° unknown; **Ch:** post-opp/modern. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2004, 136 (mentioned); not discussed in ČIŽMÁŘ 2003.

**Bratislava, Bratislavský kraj, SK**

The oppidum of Bratislava, located on the northern bank of the Danube covers the present day Castle Hill including its slopes and the adjoining area of the Old Town, making up a total area of 98 ha (the surface area of the Castle Hill is 20 ha). Another agglomeration was located ca 500 m further N. While the Castle Hill was encircled by a rampart running along its base, the lowland settlements were probably unfortified as is common in the so-called Zemplín type of hillforts. The agglomeration is documented by a series of small-scale rescue excavations in the city centre. The lower town yielded plentiful evidence of intensive craft production (pottery, metals). The

Castle Hill is, in the second phase of the oppidum’s existence, characterised by a monumental construction project – a series of buildings executed using Roman construction techniques (discussed *infra*). The occupation probably did not start before the advanced stages of LT D1b and only lasted for a few decades. Destruction or at least a serious damage by a Dacian incursion sometime in 44–35 BC is often assumed though the scale (and the very historicity) of this event are subject to debate. The site yielded rare evidence of continuity to the early (but not middle) Augustan period. PIETA – ZACHAR 1993; VRTEL 2012; ČAMBAL *et al.* 2015; MUSILOVÁ *et al.* 2016.

**Ba01** cylindrical situla (Fig. 19)

**T/D:** E16; complete vessel, damaged and heavily restored in antiquity; **M:** AE; **D:** H 28, base Diam. 12. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 1997, MÚOP excavation in Bratislava Main Square n° 8 (the Governor’s Palace); trench 1/96 (4 × 5 m), shaft 7/96; at the depth of 137 cm out of the 5.56 m of total depth; **L:** MÚOP, Inv. n° sine. **B:** RESUTÍK 2007, 111, tab. 8:6; MUSILOVÁ *et al.* eds. 2016, fig. in p. 239.

**Ba02** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 43)

**T/D:** angular; only the front part is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** w 71, l 16. **Ch:** opp; **P:** ‘Bratislava, Old Town’; **L:** –. **B:** PIETA 1996, 187, Abb. 1: 6.

**Ba03** bronze vine leaf (Fig. 51)

**T/D:** basin, E91/92; **M:** AE; **D:** 70 × 84. **Ch:** opp (LT D2); **P:** Bratislava-Vydrlica, rescue excavation 2007–2008 (SAHI), occupation layer pre-dating Early Middle Ages (not a clearly LT context); **L:** not mentioned. **B:** KVETÁNOVÁ – KOVÁR 2010.

**Ba04** ‘AE basin base’, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** E91/92?; **M:** AE. **Ch:** opp (LT D2?); **P:** MÚOP rescue excavation 1980s, Nálepková st. 19–21 (today Panská st. 19). **B:** PIETA 1996, 185, Abb. 1: 9.

**Ba05a** AE basin handle, fr. (Fig. 51)

**T/D:** E91/92; **M:** AE. **Ch:** opp (LT D2); **P:** Castle Hill, E terrace. **B:** PIETA 1996, 185, Abb. 1: 2.

**Ba05b** AE basin handle, fr. (Fig. 51)

**T/D:** E91/92; **M:** AE. **Ch:** opp (LT D2); **P:** Castle Hill, S foothill. **B:** PIETA 1996, 185, Abb. 1: 4.

**Ba06** rim of a ribbed glass bowl (not depicted)

**T/D:** moulded monochrome, translucent cobalt blue with vertical ribs; **M:** glass; **D:** not reported. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Castle Hill, N terrace, MÚOP excavation, Roman building II; **L:** SNM/MÚOP, Inv. n° not reported. **B:** RESUTÍK 2016, 112, fig. in p. 112.

**Ba07** glass goblet, fr. (Fig. 62)

**T/D:** moulded monochrome, greenish transparent; rim, transition to the body, flat base; **M:** glass; **D:** rim Diam. ca 88. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Castle Hill, N terrace; MÚOP excav. 2009, Roman building I, access corridor, destruction layer containing a scattered hoard of gold coins; **L:** SNM-HM, Inv. n° 2016/00039. **B:** MUSILOVÁ 2012; MUSILOVÁ *et al.* 2016, 241.

**Ba08** cornelian intaglio with the depiction of a bee (Fig. 72)

**T/D**: –; **M**: cornelian; **D**: not reported. **Ch**: opp; **P**: MÚOP excavation, Uršulínská st.; **L**: MÚOP, Inv. n° AM 2004/0219. **B**: VRTEL 2012, 177, fig. 276; MUSILOVÁ *et al.* eds. 2016, fig. in p. 238; MUSILOVÁ 2016, fig. in page 71.

**Ba09** stylus (Fig. 85)

**T/D**: Gostenčnik type 1; **M**: bone; **D**: L 122. **Ch**: opp; **P**: Hlavné námestie 7, the Kutschfeld Palace, rescue excavation 1994 (MÚOP), feature n° 14; **L**: acc. n° 27/94, AM00223. **B**: MUSILOVÁ – LESÁK 1996, 102, tab. II: 6; *Celti di Bratislava* 2016, 228, top centre.

**Ba10** stylus (Fig. 85)

**T/D**: Gostenčnik type 1; **M**: bone; **D**: L 98. **Ch**: opp; **P**: MÚOP rescue excavation 1986, Rudnayovo námestie 6; **L**: MÚOP, Inv. n° 10/1986. **B**: PIETA – ZACHAR 1993, 176, obr. 100: 2; MUSILOVÁ – LESÁK 1996, 102, tab. II: 7a; MUSILOVÁ *et al.* eds. 2016, 228, top left.

**Ba11a** stylus (Fig. 85)

**T/D**: Gostenčnik type 1; **M**: bone; **D**: L 156. **Ch**: opp; **P**: not reported. **B**: PIETA – ZACHAR 1993, 176, obr. 100: 3; MUSILOVÁ – LESÁK 1996, 102, tab. II: 7b.

**Ba11b** stylus fragment (Fig. 85)

**T/D**: Gostenčnik type 1; **M**: bone; **D**: L 56. **Ch**: opp; **P**: MÚOP excavation, Panská str. 19. **B**: PIETA – ZACHAR 1993, 176, obr. 100: 1; *Celti di Bratislava* 2016, 228, top left.

**Ba12** seal box (Fig. 88)

**T/D**: U-shaped; complete; **M**: AE; **D**: not reported. **Ch**: opp; **P**: Castle Hill, N terrace; MÚOP excavation, 2009, Roman building I, access corridor, destruction layer containing scattered hoard of gold coins; **L**: SNM-HM, Inv. n° 2016/00039. **B**: MUSILOVÁ *et al.* 2016, 240.

**Ba13** black gloss plate rim, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D**: Lamboglia 7; **M**: clay. **Ch**: opp; **P**: Castle Hill, N terrace; MÚOP and Via magna excav. 2014; **L**: –. **B**: unpublished.

**Ba14** black gloss plate, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D**: Lamboglia 5/7, the actual rim is not preserved; **M**: clay. **Ch**: opp; **P**: Radničná str. 14; MÚOP rescue excavation in 2006, shaft pit 14/06. **B**: VRTEL 2009, 122; KYSELA – MAGGETTI – SCHNEIDER 2013, 224.

**Ba15** black gloss plate rim, fr. (Fig. 91)

**T/D**: Lamboglia 7; **M**: clay; **D**: Diam. ca 200. **Ch**: opp; **P**: MÚOP excavation in the early 1980s, Nálepka st. 19–21 (now Panská st. 19); **L**: Bratislava Municipal Mus., not located. **B**: ZACHAR – REXA 1988; PIETA 1996, 185, Abb. 1: 1; VRTEL 2009, 122; KYSELA – MAGGETTI – SCHNEIDER 2013, 223–224, fig. 3: 13.

**Ba16** red-slip plate rim fr. (not depicted)

**T/D**: Consp. 1.1; **M**: clay; **D**: ca 40 × 47. **Ch**: opp; **P**: Vydrica, SAHI excavation 2007–2008; **L**: SNM. **B**: KOVÁR *et al.* 2014, 102, fig. 8.

**Ba17** a terra sigillata bowl (not depicted)

**T/D**: Goudineau 21/Conspectus 36.1; complete profile, fragmentary; **M**: clay; **D**: not reported. **Ch**: opp; **P**: MÚOP excavation, Ventúrska st. 3; **L**: not reported. **B**: VRTEL 2012, fig. 269.

**Ba18** thin-walled beaker with *Kommaregen* decoration, fr. (Fig. 94)

**T/D**: burnt; **M**: clay; **D**: ca 35 × 28. **Ch**: opp; **P**: Castle Hill, N terrace, MÚOP excavation 2009, castle court, feature n° 134/09; **L**: SNM. **B**: VRTEL *et al.* 2014, 60, fig. 13.

**Ba19** thin-walled beaker base (Fig. 94)

**T/D**: Marabini 1; decorated with festoons of barbotine dots; **M**: clay; **D**: base Diam. ca 42, h 47. **Ch**: opp; **P**: Vydrica, SAHI excavation 2007–2008; **L**: SNM. **B**: KOVÁR *et al.* 2014, 102, fig. 9.

**Ba20–58** – amphora fr. (Fig. 100)

**D**: ca 900 fr. of various types of which only the rims (and other typologically significant parts in the case of the less common classes) are listed below. **M**: clay; **P**: Bratislava Castle Hill, N terrace, 2008–2009, 2014 MÚOP excavations in the Castle. **L**: SNM.

**Ba20–52** amphora rims, fr., **T/D**: Lamb. 2, Lamb. 2/Dr. 6A. **B**: KYSELA – OLMER 2014, 174–178, fig. 3–8. **Ba53** amphora rim and handle, fr., **T/D**: Dr. 1, one rim and one handle. **B**: KYSELA – OLMER 2014, 178, fig. 3: 2, 7: 10. **Ba54** amphora rim, attachments and handle, fr., **T/D**: Dr. 2–4, one rim, one shoulder with lower handle attachment, one upper handle attachment. **B**: KYSELA – OLMER 2014, 176, fig. 4: 14, 6: 2, 7: 8. **Ba55** amphora rim, fr., **T/D**: Cnidian amp. **B**: KYSELA – OLMER 2014, 178, fig. 4: 15. **Ba56–57** amphora rims, fr., **T/D**: Brindisi oil amph. – 2 rims and 1 handle. **B**: KYSELA – OLMER 2014, 178, fig. 5: 7–8, 7: 9. **Ba58** amphora rim, fr., **T/D**: Central Adriatic ovoid amph. **B**: KYSELA – OLMER 2014, 178, fig. 5: 6.

**Ba59** brass ingot (not depicted)

**T/D**: –; **M**: AE – brass; **D**: L 1020, W 105, Weight 11.9 kg. **Ch**: opp; **P**: Castle Hill, N terrace, MÚOP excavation, Roman building II; **L**: SNM. **B**: RESUTÍK 2016; personal communication B. Resutík.

**Brno-Horní Heršpice** ‘Na Františku’, okr. Brno-město, Jihomoravský kraj, CZ

Flat grave cemetery of which four burials dated to LT B1 have been preserved, excavated in 1960–1961 by J. Meduna. ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2011, 79–81.

**BHH1** necklace made of aphoriskos-shaped and biconical beads, and coral branches (not depicted)

**T/D**: –; **M**: glass, coral. **Ch**: pre-opp; **P**: grave 4, a child cremation (with a Münsingen type brooch) deposited along with an adult inhumation; **L**: MZM, Inv. n° 156947 (105.E-2/61). **B**: VENCLOVÁ 1990, 59–62, 267; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2011, 169, tab. 5: 8.

**Devín**, okr. Bratislava, Bratislavský kraj, SK

The rock above the confluence of the Danube with the Morava literally creating together with Heinburg on the opposite bank the *Porta hungarica* was intensively settled from the Eneolithic to the Middle Ages. As a result in terms of both preservation and the research emphasis, the LT period occupation of the 9.5 ha plateau was not the most fortunate chapter of Devín's history. The site was probably fortified in LT D but it is not sure if the rampart was newly built or reutilised. Unlike in Bratisla-

va and elsewhere in the region, the occupation of Devín seems to have continued unbroken into the Augustan and Tiberian periods, probably with the presence of a Roman garrison at this time. This, however, complicates our understanding of local southern imports as it is not always clear, which of them date to Late LT and which to the early Roman period. PIETA 2008/2010.

**Deo1** strainer handle (Fig. 43)

**T/D:** complete; **M:** AE; **D:** L 12, h 28. **Ch:** opp; **P:** S terrace, 1988–1989, metal workshop. **L:** Municipal Mus. Bratislava, Devín Castle. **B:** PIETA 1996, 187, Abb. 3: 8.

**Deo2** basin attachment (Fig. 51)

**T/D:** E91/92; **M:** AE. **Ch:** opp; **P:** -. **B:** PIETA 1996, 189, Abb.1: 3.

**Deo3** AE vessel thumb piece, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** moulded outer edge; **M:** AE; **D:** -. **Ch:** opp?; **P:** S terrace, 1988–1989, metal workshop; **L:** S terrace, 1988–1989, metal workshop. **B:** PIETA 1996, 187–188, Abb. 3: 17.

**Deo4** finger ring with a glass paste inset depicting a water bird (Fig. 71, 72)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; complete; **M:** AE; **D:** 12 × 7. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'from an excavation'; **L:** Municipal Mus. Bratislava, Devín Castle, Inv. n° 6153. **B:** PIETA 1996, 189, Abb. 1: 7; MIKOVÍNOVÁ-DAŇOVÁ 2009, 109–110, Abb. 2.

**Deo5** amphora fragments (not depicted)

**T/D:** 'over 70 fragments of Dressel 1 and Dressel 6 amphorae' (PIETA 1996); not verified personally, the proportion between the Republican and Imperial types is not known; **M:** clay; **Ch:** opp/Imperial period; **L:** Municipal Mus. Bratislava, Devín Castle. **B:** PIETA 1996, 189, Abb. 5–6.

**Dex1** strainer wall (not depicted)

**T/D:** unclear whether imported (Rep. or Imp.?) or local; **M:** AE. **B:** PIETA 1996, 189.

**Dex2** cornelian intaglio depicting a seated dog (Fig. 72)

**T/D:** -; **M:** stone; **D:** 15 × 13 × 3. **Ch:** post-opp (3<sup>rd</sup> century AD); **P:** 1974, during reconstruction of the Renaissance palace façade, 0–50 cm below the surface; **L:** Municipal Mus. Bratislava, Devín Castle, Inv. n° 3967. **B:** PIETA 1996, 187, Abb. 1: 8; MIKOVÍNOVÁ-DAŇOVÁ 2009, 107–108, Abb. 1.

**Devínske Jazero**, Devínska Nová Ves, okr. Bratislava, Bratislavský kraj, SK

A site subject to surface surveys of SAV; occupation of the Middle and Late LT periods, RIA, and Migration period. ELSCHKE 2016; personal communication by K. Elschek.

**DJx1** cordiform pendant (Fig. 56)

**T/D:** entire but damaged on one side; **M:** AE; **D:** H ca. 35, wall Th 0.5–1. **Ch:** opp; **P:** survey 2012–2013; **L:** SAV. **B:** unpublished, information kindly provided by K. Elschek.

**Dobročkovice**, okr. Vyškov, Jihomoravský kraj, CZ  
Late 19<sup>th</sup> / early 20<sup>th</sup> century discoveries of 4 flat inhumations,

various surface finds of LT C/D artefacts including amulets. ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2004, 166–167.

**Dčx1** AE vessel handle (Fig. 52)

**T/D:** complete; unclear classification; **M:** AE; **D:** h ca 65, w ca 45. **Ch:** opp? Post-opp?; **P:** surface find; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° sine. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 117, 122, Abb. 2: 5.

**Hostýn**, Chvalčov, okr. Kroměříž, Zlínský kraj, CZ

A large hillfort (19.8 ha) facing the Moravian Gate is sometimes considered a second Moravian oppidum though David Parma in his latest overview clearly showed that in spite of its Late Iron Age occupation the site lacks evidence of LT ramparts (other than the reutilisation of earlier structures), coin production, craft concentration, and other traits characteristic of the oppida. Parma likens it to other hillforts of the region some of which are attributed to the Púchov Culture. PARMA 2014 with further bibliography.

**Hos1** pan handle, fr. (Fig. 29)

**T/D:** pan, Aylesford; **M:** AE; **D:** l 12.8. **Ch:** opp; **P:** ex-coll. Prošek; **L:** lost. **B:** LUDIKOVSKÝ 1984, 48, Taf. 4: 3; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 120–121, Abb. 3: 2.

**Hrubčice**, okr. Prostějov, Olomoucký kraj, CZ

Large LT C2–D settlement excavated in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; MEDUNA 1980b, 91–98.

**Hrč1** finial of a bronze situla handle (Fig. 24)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** l 40. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 178687. **B:** unpublished.

**Hrušky**, Břeclav, Jihomoravský kraj, CZ

LT occupation is suggested by pottery surface finds. ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2004, 185.

**Hrš1** mask bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 901, the lower part is missing; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 22, l 12.5. **Ch:** pre-opp; **P:** surface find 2016; **L:** ARÚ Brno, 648701-1/16. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2019, n° 2.

**Hulín**, okr. Kroměříž, Zlínský kraj, CZ

Intensive amateur surface surveys of D. Koblinger in 1970s document intensive occupation of the micro-region in the LT period. ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2004, 186–187.

**Hul1** pseudo-mask bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 904; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 20–23, L 5. **Ch:** pre-opp; **P:** Rescue excavation, 2008, cremation burial, feature n° 589; **L:** Archeologické centrum Olomouc, Inv. n° 06/2008-1824-6. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2019, n° 8.

**Klenovice na Hané**, okr. Prostějov, Olomoucký kraj, CZ

An agglomeration or a series of smaller settlements investigated over the recent decades by excavations, field walking, and metal detector surveys. The site(s) was/were occupied from LT C1 and LT C2 to LT D1; in the earlier phase of its existence it probably functioned as a satellite of the nearby central site of Němčice. MEDUNA

1980b; ŠIŠKA 2000; ČIŽMÁŘ *et al.* 2008, 126, 130, obr. 2; ČIŽMÁŘ *et al.* 2009, 145, obr. 4; ČIŽMÁŘ *et al.* 2010, 129, obr. 3.

**KHx1** strigil suspension ring?, fr. (**Fig. 106**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** l. 34, Diam. 5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 177691. **B:** unpublished.

**Lukov**, okr. Znojmo, Jihomoravský kraj, CZ

A small (3 ha) fortified hillfort of Ostroh in a meander of the river Thaya/Dyje. In 2004–2007 the site was subject to three systematic metal detector surveys (M. Čižmář) prompted by information about the site's large scale plundering. The surveys brought out principally Fe artefacts, AE having been largely removed during clandestine surveys. LT D1a–D1b. ČIŽMÁŘ *et al.* 2008, 128–129, obr. 5.

**Luki** baluster-shaped finial of a situla handle (**Fig. 24**)

**T/D:** E18–23; **M:** AE; **D:** h 39, balustre Diam. 7.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** survey 23. 6. 2005; **L:** ÚAPP Brno. **B:** unpublished.

**Michelstetten**-Hintaus, Bez. Mistelbach, Lower Austria, AT

A small (0.4 ha) rural settlement excavated in 1994–1999, occupied from late LT C1 to the beginning of LT D1. Although never comprising more than a handful of settlement units, the settlement structure followed a unitary layout. Apart from basic subsistence and household activities, there are hints at metal working including coin production, etc. TREBSCH 2010.

**Mio1** black gloss vessel, wall fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** –; **M:** clay. **Ch:** opp; **P:** from Grubenhäuser 1487, lower fill; **L:** NÖ Mus. Asparn, Inv. n° V1487/12592. **B:** TREBSCH 2010, 92; KYSELA – MAGGETTI – SCHNEIDER 2013, 223, fig. 4: 12.

**Mio2** black gloss cup – rim, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** Lamboglia 1/8, rim; **M:** clay. **Ch:** opp; **P:** from Grubenhäuser 1487 (the same as the previous item), upper fill (surely not related to the feature's use); **L:** NÖ Mus. Asparn, Inv. n° V1486/12575. **B:** TREBSCH 2010, 92; KYSELA – MAGGETTI – SCHNEIDER 2013, 223, fig. 4: 11.

**Mistřín**, okr. Hodonín, Jihomoravský kraj, CZ

LT settlement excavated at various occasions, most importantly in mid-1960s by ArÚ Brno (K. Ludíkovský), though no more than 5 Grubenhäuser were unearthed. Among the finds – apart from the pottery including the high quality 'type Mistřín' – there are also Mötschwil brooches, zoomorphic statuary and even a hollow knob bracelet. The settlement peak seems to have been in LT C(2). A cemetery excavated nearby in the 1940s (LT B1–C1) is characterised by unusually high number of cremations over inhumations. MEDUNA 1980a, b; HLAVA: Mistřín In: LKA, 1291–1292.

**Mtř1** mask bead, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** complete; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 26, l 18. **Ch:** pre-opp; **P:** settlement, ArÚ Brno excavation, feature 4. **B:** VENCLOVÁ

1990, 96, fig. 12 (for the context cf. VENCLOVÁ 1990, 120, fig. 17).

**Nejdek**, Lednice, okr. Břeclav, Jihomoravský kraj, CZ  
**Nej1** cylindrical bead of dark blue glass with white thread (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 706; **M:** glass. **Ch:** pre-opp; **P:** discovered pre-1902 during extraction of clay along with other LT artefacts. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 89.

**Němčice nad Hanou**, okr. Prostějov, Olomoucký kraj, CZ

An open agglomeration (ca 30 ha) in central Moravia. In 2002, large scale looting of the site prompted systematic field walking and metal detector surveys (M. Čižmář; I. Čižmář) as well as a complete magnetometer survey (R. Křivánek); no excavation has taken place on the site. The settlement seems to have been concentrated into a rectangle (ca 500 × 600 m) around an empty square space in the middle though single features trail out in all directions. Along the W side of the empty space there is a series of square features, possibly enclosures. The finds from the site include coins, bronze and glass artefacts, as well as plentiful evidence of their production, always in extraordinary quantities (e.g. 1,200 coins have been published though the estimate of discovered pieces is well over 10,000). Established in LT B2, Němčice was at its peak in LT C, in particular in LT C2. There is only extremely limited evidence of LT D1 human presence in the site. ČIŽMÁŘ – KOLNÍKOVÁ – NOESKE 2008; KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012; KŘIVÁNEK 2014; VENCLOVÁ 2016; ČIŽMÁŘ – ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ – MEDUNA 2018.

**NHo1** finial of a situla handle (**Fig. 14**)

**T/D:** the shaft is laterally flattened, the baluster tapers very strongly towards the top; **M:** AE; **D:** l 54, shaft Diam. 9 × 9, baluster Diam. 13 × 11. **Ch:** pre-opp; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 176624. **B:** KYSELA 2020.

**NHo2** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (**Fig. 14**)

**T/D:** situla? with small appendices at the ends of the inner stubs; **M:** AE; **D:** 32 × 15 × 4. **Ch:** pre-opp; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 167799. **B:** KYSELA 2020.

**NHo3** biconical bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 303; blue; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 8, H 6. **Ch:** pre-opp; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 176362j. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2015, 144, pl. 5/1; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 28, 176, pl. 25, 5.

**NHo4** biconical bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 303; blue; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 6, H 4.5. **Ch:** pre-opp; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 177176b. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2015, 144, pl. 5/1; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 28, 186, pl. 31, 55.

**NHo5** barrel-shaped bead with two rows of white circles (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 416; cobalt blue; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 18, H 14.5. **Ch:** pre-opp; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 176318. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2015, 145, pl. 5/1; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 29, 173, pl. 23, 49.

**NHo6** barrel-shaped bead with two rows of white circles (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 416, cobalt blue; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 19, H

11. **Ch:** pre-opp; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 177134. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2015, 145, pl. 5/1; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 29, 183, pl. 30, 54.

**NH07** bead with stratified eyes (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 555; turquoise glass with 3–4 blue layered stratified eyes made of white and dark blue glass; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 20, H 9. **Ch:** pre-opp; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 177130. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2015, 145–146, pl. 5/1; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 31, 182, pl. 30, 54.

**NH08** cylindrical bead with combed yellow decoration (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 720; dark blue; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 15, h 13. **Ch:** pre-opp; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 176308. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2015, 146, pl. 5/1; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 32, 118, fig. 98, pl. 23, 49.

**NH90** raw glass (not depicted)

Listed in VENCLOVÁ 2016, 109.

**NHx1** ribbed bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 307; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 9, H 4.5. **Ch:** post-opp?; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 177145. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2015, 144, pl. 5/1; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 28, 183, pl. 30, 45.

**Oberleiserberg**, Ernstbrunn, Bez. Korneuburg, Lower Austria, AT

A small (8 ha) fortified hilltop site excavated at various occasions throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, though attention has not always been dedicated to the LT period which is only one of many chapters of the Oberleiserberg's history. Our knowledge of the site has been largely enhanced by the study of Laab's private collection. The site seems to have been the principal central site of the region between the Thaya and the Danube in the late LT period with far-flung long-distance contacts and local coin production. The occupation started in LT D1a, considerably increased in LT D1b, and ended at the beginning of LT D2. Curiously there seems to have been little to no contact between O. and the nearby Bratislava though the sites must have been contemporary for at least a short period of time. KERN 1996; KARWOWSKI 2007b; 2015, 216–218; KARWOWSKI – MILITKÝ 2016; KERN – KARWOWSKI – MILITKÝ: Oberleis. In *LKA*, 1399–1402.

**Obo1** kidney-shaped vessel foot with dimples (**Fig. 37**)

**T/D:** likely to be from the same vessel as Obo2 (identical in shape and dimensions); **M:** AE; **D:** 54×20×6. **Ch:** opp; **P:** ex-Laab coll.; **L:** MAMUZ, Inv. n° UF-22694.240.1. **B:** KARWOWSKI 2017, 265–267, Abb. 3a.

**Obo2** kidney-shaped vessel foot with dimples (**Fig. 37**)

**T/D:** likely to be from the same vessel as Obo1 (identical in shape and dimensions); **M:** AE; **D:** 57×20×6. **Ch:** opp; **P:** ex-Laab coll.; **L:** MAMUZ, Inv. n° UF-22694.240.1. **B:** KARWOWSKI 2017, 265–267, Abb. 3b.

**Obo3** strainer handle (**Fig. 43**)

**T/D:** complete; **M:** AE; **D:** 25×35, attachment plate 19×23. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface survey, 2016. **B:** KARWOWSKI 2017, 265–267, Abb. 2a.

**Obo4** pan handle fr. (**Fig. 29**)

**T/D:** pan, Aylesford; **M:** AE; **D:** l 181, W 37, Th 4–7. **Ch:**

opp; **P:** first documented in the 1950s with an alleged provenance from the Oberleiserberg; **L:** MAMUZ (ex-Rolletenmuseum, Baden bei Wien, Inv. Nr. 13.685). **B:** WERNER 1954, 80, Abb. 5: 6, Liste C: 22; KARWOWSKI 2007a, 30; KARWOWSKI 2017, 264–265, Abb. 1.

**Obo5** spatula (**Fig. 82**)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P, L:** not reported. **B:** KERN 1996, 388, Abb. 8.

**Obo6** black gloss cup – rim, fr. (**Fig. 90**)

**T/D:** Lamboglia 28; very hard firing and sharp break, greyish brown ceramic body (Munsell 10 YR 5/3), occasional white particles; shiny slip with brownish tinge; **M:** clay; **D:** 24×27, rim Diam. 70. **Ch:** opp; **P:** excavation 2004, Schnitt 72, quadr. 19; **L:** UniWien, Inv. n° 14.489. **B:** KARWOWSKI 2007a, 28, ryc. 4b; KYSELA – MAGGETTI – SCHNEIDER 2013, 223, figs. 3: 10, 4: 10.

**Obo7** black gloss plate, fr. – rim (**Fig. 90**)

**T/D:** Lamboglia 5, hard firing, reddish-pink ceramic body (Munsell 5Y 7/6), rare very small (<0.1 mm) dark particles; thick opaque greyish slip with olive-green tinges; **M:** clay; **D:** Diam. 280. **Ch:** opp; **P:** excavation 2004, Schnitt 72, surface; **L:** UniWien, Inv. n° 23.491. **B:** KARWOWSKI 2007a, 28, ryc. 4a; KYSELA – MAGGETTI – SCHNEIDER 2013, 223, figs. 3: 9, 4: 9.

**Obo8** black gloss vessel wall, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** -; **M:** clay. **Ch:** opp; **L:** UniWien, Inv. n° 766. **B:** unpublished.

**Obo9** black gloss pottery body sherd (not depicted)

**T/D:** -; **M:** clay. **Ch:** opp; **L:** UniWien, Inv. n° 872. **B:** unpublished.

**Obox1** AE strainer base (not depicted)

**T/D:** coarse perforations arranged in triple crossing lines with arches in between; **M:** AE. **B:** KARWOWSKI 2007a, 30, ryc. 11; KARWOWSKI 2017, 268, Abb. 4a.

**Obírka**, Loučka, Lipník nad Bečvou, okr. Přerov, Olomoucký kraj, CZ

A fortified hillfort (9 ha) at the entrance to the Moravian Gate. The site has been investigated only by metal detector survey (ÚAPP Brno, M. Čížmář). ČIŽMÁŘ – SALAŠ 2009.

**Oko1** disc mirror (**Fig. 67**)

**T/D:** half of a disc in six fragments, bevelled rim; **M:** AE; **D:** Diam. 85, w 55, Th 2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** MZM. **B:** unpublished.

**Oko2** disc mirror fr. – rim (**Fig. 67**)

**T/D:** two joining fragments, squared rim; **M:** AE; **D:** 36×35, Th 2.5, Diam. 115. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** MZM. **B:** unpublished.

**Oko3** disc mirror fr. – rim (**Fig. 67**)

**T/D:** rounded rim; **M:** AE; **D:** 68×38, Th 1.6, Diam. 108. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 179720. **B:** unpublished.

**Oko4** disc mirror fr. - rim (Fig. 67)

**T/D:** squared rim; **M:** AE; **D:** 45×30, Th 1.5, Diam. 99. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 179721. **B:** unpublished.

**Okx1** disc mirror fr. (Fig. 67)

**T/D:** radial and circular ribs on the reverse; **M:** AE; **D:** ca 46×18×2. **Ch:** Migration period; **P:** surface find; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° not reported. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘ – SALAŠ 2009, 67, obr. 7: 12.

**Okx2** strigil suspension ring?, fr. (Fig. 106)

**T/D:** with overlapping ends held by two rivets; complete but stretched straight; **M:** AE. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Survey 2004; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 179723. **B:** unpublished.

**Ohrozim**, okr. Prostějov, Olomoucký kraj, CZ

Plentiful evidence of LT settlements has been collected in the surroundings of Ohrozim over the last century by surface surveys and rescue excavations. MEDUNA 1980b, 219–220; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2004, 263–264.

**Ohr1** mirror fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** not reported. **Ch:** opp; **P:** rescue excavation 1994 (ArÚ Brno); a *Grubenhaus* with rich finds in the fill including a Nauheim type brooch; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° not reported. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2004, 263.

**Pohanská-Plavecké Podhradie**, okr. Malacky, Bratislavský kraj, SZ

A hillfort on the W edge of the Small Carpathians. One line of fortification encircles the very summit of the hill while another, double line down the hill protects only the more easily accessible part of the slope; the entire area enclosed by the rampart (built largely on top of an earlier BA fortification) is 49 ha. The site was explored to a limited extent by Pieta (1964) and Paulík (1969–1971) and recently massively pillaged by metal detector users. The excavation produced evidence of large scale iron working. Most characteristic of the site are hoards of iron tools, weapons, and implements and – to a much smaller degree – of ornaments and amulets: 11 hoards have been documented between the excavation and the uncontrolled detectorist activities. The site was occupied in LT C2 and apparently abandoned by LT D1. PAULÍK 1976; PIETA 2008/2010, 112, 194–203.

**PPP1** kidney-shaped vessel foot with holes (not depicted)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE. **Ch:** opp; **L:** SNM. **B:** unpublished; information kindly provided by R. Čambal.

**Požáha**, Jičina, okr. Nový Jičín, Moravskoslezský kraj, CZ

A small hillfort (1 ha) overlooking the southern portion of the Moravian Gate. The site was excavated at various occasions, most importantly by M. Čižmář in 1983–84 and 1987–88. Attributed to the Púchov Culture, the site differs slightly from LT sites in its material culture (pottery) and economy (a large proportion of wild game in the bone assemblages). The site yielded a large quantity of Fe slag and local Fe production is likely. ČIŽMÁŘ 1991; 1996; ČIŽMÁŘ: Jičina. In: LKA, 857–858.

**Pož1** a *reticella* glass bowl fr. - rim (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** a semi-globular bowl; walls of colourless glass with twisted yellow and white threads, added cobalt blue rim with a white twisted thread; **M:** glass; **D:** ca 31×22, rim Diam. 120. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Čižmář excavations; **L:** Mus. Nový Jičín, Inv. n° A4099. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘ 1991, 523; ČIŽMÁŘ 1996, 177, Abb. 3:1; VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 218, fig. 2: 17.

**Ptení**, okr. Prostějov, Olomoucký kraj, CZ

A hoard of several dozen artefacts (58 items at least) was discovered in or before October 1868 in a forest between the villages of Seč and Suchdol. The artefacts were mostly amulets or ornaments of various kinds (knob-rings, spoked wheels, foot-shaped pendants, miniature axes, a *fica* hand, amber discs, and glass beads) characteristic of the Late LT period. The Ptení region was densely settled with a series of small sized Middle and Late LT period settlements. Hoard: ČIŽMÁŘ 2002a; HLAVA 2015a; overview of the region: ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2004, 290–292.

**Ptn1** Adria type bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 316; opaque blue glass, 3×5 prunts; **M:** glass; **D:** L 6, Diam. 6. **Ch:** opp; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-65805. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘ 2002a, 211; HLAVA 2015a, 268, 274.

**Ptn2** Adria type bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 316; opaque blue glass, 3×5 prunts; **M:** glass; **D:** L 6, Diam. 7. **Ch:** opp; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° A66208. **B:** HLAVA 2015a, 268, 274.

**Ptn3** Adria type bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 317; opaque green glass, 3×5 prunts; **M:** glass; **D:** L 6, Diam. 6. **Ch:** opp; **L:** NM, Inv. n° H1-65806. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘ 2002a, 211; HLAVA 2015a, 268, 274.

**Ptn4** Adria type bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 317; opaque green glass, 3×5 prunts; **M:** glass; **D:** L 6, Diam. 7. **Ch:** opp; **L:** MZM, not located. **B:** HLAVA 2015a, 268, 274.

**Ptn5** cylindrical bead with white thread (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 704; there were possibly two such beads, one purple, one dark blue, (HLAVA 2015a, 274; cf. the discussion in note 107); **M:** glass; **Ch:** opp; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° A66207. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 1990, 89; ČIŽMÁŘ 2002a, 203, 211; HLAVA 2015a, 269, 274, obr. 11: 11.

**Roseldorf**, Sitzendorf, Bez. Hollabrunn, Lower Austria, AT

A large agglomeration (ca 40 ha), apparently enclosed at the most by a light palisade. Based on geophysical survey, the settlement seems to have been organised around an empty central space. The NHM excavations concentrated on a series of sanctuaries in the western part of the agglomeration. The site yielded large quantities of coins and other artefacts, the vast majority of which remains unpublished. HOLZER *et al.* 2009; HOLZER 2014.

**Rso1** mask bead, tiny fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 901; **M:** glass; **D:** l 18, Diam. 24. **Ch:** pre-opp; **P:** –; **L:** NHM?, Inv. n° 98126. **B:** HOLZER – KARWOWSKI 2008, 164, Abb. 10.

**Rso2** grape pip (not depicted)

**T/D:** cultivated. **Ch:** pre-opp; **P:** Sanctuary 1, fill of the ditch. **B:** CANEPPELE – HEISS – KOHLER-SCHNEIDER 2010, 16.

**Rso3** dill seed (not depicted)

**T/D:** –; **Ch:** pre-opp; **P:** Sanctuary 1, pit. **B:** CANEPPELE – HEISS – KOHLER-SCHNEIDER 2010.

**Rýsov**, Provodov, okr. Zlín, Zlínský kraj, CZ

A small Púchov Culture hillfort. No excavation has taken place on the site so far and all finds come from surveys – the most famous of them are three hoards of Fe instruments and weaponry dated to the Late La Tène period. Overview in ČIŽMÁŘ – LANGOVÁ – KOHOUBEK 2014.

**Rýs1** disc mirror (Fig. 67)

**T/D:** complete, in 4 fr.; **M:** AE; **D:** Diam. 71–73. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** Mus. Zlín, Inv. n° 2212015. **B:** unpublished.

**Slavkov**, okr. Uherské Hradiště, Zlínský kraj, CZ**Skv1** mask bead fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 901; **M:** glass; **D:** l 11, Diam. 20. **Ch:** pre-opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** Mus. Ostrožská Lhota, Inv. n° sine. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2019, 29.

**Staré Hradisko**, Malé Hradisko, okr. Prostějov, Olomoucký kraj, CZ

Located in the Drahaný highland overlooking the Haná lowland, SH is the only site in Moravia that can be without doubt characterised as a classic oppidum. The rampart encircles 37 ha of an inner area including a large annexe in the W and a small one in the E. The site was excavated by local enthusiasts F. Lipka and K. Snětina (1907–1925), by J. Böhm (State Archaeological Institute, 1934–1937), and J. Meduna and M. Čižmář (ArÚ Brno, 1964–66, 1972–73, 1983–93). Finds have been published entirely for the pre-1960s excavations and selectively for the recent ones (the published categories fortunately include many imports). The specific find contexts are unknown (1907–1925) or largely unpublished (1935–1993). The site was founded in LT C2 and remained active until LT D1b. Apart from involvement in long distance contacts, crafts or coin production characteristic of oppida in general, SH is particularly famous for finds of amber and for evidence of its working. MEDUNA 1961; 1970a; 1970b; ČIŽMÁŘ 2002b; *Staré Hradisko* 2018.

**SHo1** dolphin-shaped situla attachment (Fig. 24)

**T/D:** E18; complete; **M:** AE; **D:** L 107. **Ch:** opp; **P:** unclear whether Lipka and Snětina or Böhm excavation; **L:** Mus. Prostějov, Inv. n° M 268. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, Taf. 3: 1; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 656, obr. 1: 1.

**SHo2** baluster-shaped situla handle finial (Fig. 24)

**T/D:** E18–23; **M:** AE; **D:** l 46. **Ch:** opp; **P:** unclear whether Lipka and Snětina or Böhm excavation; **L:** Mus. Prostějov, Inv. n° M113/14, 028529. **B:** HLAVA 2001, 36–38, obr. 1: 1.

**SHo3** pan handle fr. (Fig. 29)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina

na excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° unknown. **B:** LIPKA – SNĚTINA 1912, tab. VIII: 15; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 662, obr. 2: 13; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 118, Abb. 3: 1.

**SHo4** ornithomorph finial of a pan handle (Fig. 29)

**T/D:** deformed, no engraved decoration; **M:** AE; **D:** l 34. **Ch:** opp; **P:** survey M. Čižmář 2001; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 169299. **B:** unpublished.

**SHo5** ornithomorph finial of a pan handle, fr. (Fig. 29)

**T/D:** Aylesford pan, flat without a broadened beak but finely shaped and with detailed engraving; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **L:** private coll. Brno, Inv. n° 2865. **B:** unpublished.

**SHo6** bronze handle in the form of triple twisted string (Fig. 32)

**T/D:** jug; **M:** AE; **D:** l 60, W 12. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-3348. **B:** unpublished.

**SHo7** kidney-shaped vessel foot with dimples (Fig. 37)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** L ca 54. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations (?); **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-976/66 (not located; ex-MZM, Inv. n° Pa 45/93). **B:** ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 119, Abb. 2: 11.

**SHo8** kidney-shaped vessel foot with holes (Fig. 37)

**T/D:** damaged by a crack on the outside; **M:** AE; **D:** L ca 35. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations (?); **L:** Mus. Boskovice? Inv. n° 602-223/64 (ex-MZM, Inv. n° Pa 43/93), not located. **B:** MEDUNA 1970b, Abb. 7: 10; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 119, Abb. 2: 10.

**SHo9** spectacles-shaped vessel foot (Fig. 37)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 41×17×4.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-3338. **B:** unpublished.

**SH10** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot with moulded endings (Fig. 37)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 40×16×5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** unclear whether from Lipka and Snětina or Böhm excavations; **L:** Mus. Prostějov, Inv. n° M 277/13, 029462. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, Taf. III: 8; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, obr. 6: 17; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 118–119, Abb. 2: 9.

**SH11** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (Fig. 37)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 36×15×4. **Ch:** opp; **P:** unclear whether from Lipka and Snětina or Böhm excavations; **L:** Mus. Prostějov, Inv. n° M 267/2088/6. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, Taf. III: 7; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, obr. 6:18; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 118, Abb. 2: 8.

**SH12** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (Fig. 37)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 42×18×4.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-45. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, Taf. I: 2; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 668, obr. 6: 16; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 118, Abb. 2: 6.

**SH13** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (Fig. 37)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** L ca. 21. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find?; **L:** ÚAPP Brno, Inv. n° sine. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 119, Abb. 2: 7.

**SH14** simpulum handle fr. (Fig. 38)

**T/D:** Pescate type; distal end with the root of the fork for attaching the bowl; **M:** AE; **D:** l 58, W 11, Th 2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-57. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, 5, Taf. 3: 8.

**SH15** simpulum handle fr. (Fig. 38)

**T/D:** Pescate type; a flat bar with longitudinal grooves, terminating in one end with a round cross-section bar; broken at both ends; **M:** AE; **D:** 45 × 10 × 1.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-56. **B:** unpublished.

**SH16** simpulum handle finial in the shape of a canine head (Fig. 38)

**T/D:** Pescate type; relatively large head with a detailed execution, the shaft is circular in section (as in Pescate type) though bent axially below (as in a vertical simpula); **M:** AE; **D:** l 34, W 12. **Ch:** opp; **P:** survey M. Čižmář 2001; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 169269. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2002b, fig. in p. 51, centre left.

**SH17** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 43)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** 80 × 43. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Böhm excavations; **L:** Mus. Prostějov, Inv. n° M143/1578. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, Taf. III: 2; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 5: 9; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 118, Abb. 1: 6.

**SH18** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 43)

**T/D:** both arms and both tails broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** w 26, l 27. **Ch:** opp; **P:** unclear whether from Lipka and Snětina or Böhm excavations; **L:** Mus. Prostějov, Inv. n° M267/2088/3. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, Taf. III: 3; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664-666, obr. 5: 7; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 118, Abb. 1: 7.

**SH19** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 43)

**T/D:** only the tail part is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** l 20, W 37. **Ch:** opp; **P:** unclear whether from Lipka and Snětina or Böhm excavations; **L:** Mus. Prostějov, Inv. n° M 277/19. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, Taf. III: 4; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 666, obr. 5: 11; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 118, Abb. 1: 4.

**SH20** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 43)

**T/D:** right arm and left tail broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** w 41, L 51, Th 2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-47. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, Taf. I: 3; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 665, obr. 5: 8; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 118, Abb. 1: 8.

**SH21** strainer thumb piece fr. (Fig. 43)

**T/D:** only the arms are preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** W 63, l 26, Th 1.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-48. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, Taf. I: 5; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 665, obr. 5: 10; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, Abb. 1: 5.

**SH22** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 43)

**T/D:** complete, narrow arms with angular profile; **M:** AE; **D:** 63 × 43 × 2.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-3336. **B:** unpublished.

**SH23** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 43)

**T/D:** complete; **M:** AE; **D:** 73 × 58 × 2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-3337. **B:** unpublished.

**SH24a** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 43)

**T/D:** complete, narrow arms with angular profile; **M:** AE; **D:** 65 × 44 × 2.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-46. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, Taf. I: 4; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 5: 6; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 117-118, Abb. 1: 9.

**SH24b** strainer thumb piece (not depicted)

**T/D:** very worn fragment of the tail part; **M:** AE. **Ch:** opp; **P:** survey M. Čižmář 2006; **L:** ÚAPP Brno. **B:** unpublished.

**SH25** strainer handle (Fig. 43)

**T/D:** complete; **M:** AE; **D:** H ca 36, W 20. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Čižmář excavations or surface find?; **L:** ÚAPP Brno, Inv. n° 503/83. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 118, Abb. 1: 10.

**SH26** strainer handle (Fig. 43)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** H 37, W 22. **Ch:** opp; **P:** M. Čižmář excavations; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° Pa 43/93 (602-206/64). **B:** MEDUNA 1970b, Abb. 7: 11; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 118, Abb. 1: 11.

**SH27** strainer wall, fr (Fig. 43)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** l 84, h 31. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavation; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-44. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, Taf. I: 1; SVOBODOVÁ 1983, 664, obr. 3: 5; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 117, Abb. 1: 1.

**SH28** strainer wall (not depicted)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations?; **L:** Museum Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-576/65? (ex-MZM, Inv. n° Pa 44/93). **B:** ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 117, Nr. 4.

**SH29** mug handle (Fig. 49)

**T/D:** Idria type; **M:** AE; **D:** h 25, w 19. **Ch:** opp; **P:** M. Čižmář excavations; **L:** ÚAPP Brno, Inv. n° 76/84. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 118, Abb. 3: 3.

**SH30** bronze basin foot (Fig. 51)

**T/D:** basin?; **M:** AE; **D:** plate 30 × 25, foot Diam. 20, Th 3. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-64. **B:** unpublished.

**SH31** millefiori glass vessel wall, fr. (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** the same vessel as SH32?; **M:** glass; **D:** l 28, Th 3. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-2115. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, 55; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 660; VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 215, fig. 3, n°8.

**SH32** millefiori glass vessel wall, fr. (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** white-blue spirals with yellow centre; possibly identical with SH31; **M:** glass; **D:** l 11, Th 2.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Kašpárek coll.; **L:** Mus. Prostějov, Inv. n° 36517 (M265/21). **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, Taf. 12: 8; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 660, obr. 2: 7; VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 215, fig. 3, n° 2; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 88, 216, fig. 73.

**SH33** millefiori glass vessel rim, fr. (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** bowl with straight tapering walls, rim made of intertwined cobalt blue and white threads, body consisting of yellow-green spirals with a blue tessera; **M:** glass; **D:** l 30, Th 3, Diam. 125. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-2109. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, Taf. 50: 9; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 660, obr. 2: 4;

VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 215, fig. 3, n° 8; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 88, 213, fig. 72.

**SH34** millefiori glass bowl rim and wall, fr. (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** 8 fr., rounded body; yellow spirals with blue and white eyes in the centre; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 100, Th 1.5–4. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-2120. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, Taf. 50: 7; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 660, obr. 2:5; VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 215, fig. 2, n° 11.

**SH35** millefiori glass bowl rim, fr. (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** straight tapering walls, rounded rim shaped from the wall itself with no added component, wall made of purple-white circles with a central dot and green-yellow floral motifs; **M:** glass; **D:** l 32, Th 2, Diam. 100. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-2110. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, Taf. 50:8; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 660, obr. 2: 6; VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 215, fig. 2, n° 4; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 88, 213, fig. 72.

**SH36** millefiori glass bowl rim, fr. (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** fr. of a rounded rim made of spirally wound cobalt blue and white threads; in the wall there is a yellow and colourless band; **M:** glass; **D:** l 10, Th 3.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** M. Čižmář excavation, 1984; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 1984/86a (Pa 38/2002). **B:** VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 215, fig. 3, n°1; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 88, 202, fig. 73.

**SH37** a reticella glass vessel wall, fr (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** slightly curved wall; transparent body with a reticella of white and colourless helicoidal threads; **M:** glass; **D:** l 30, Th 1.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-2111. **B:** VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 215, fig. 3, n° 12; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 89, 213, fig. 73.

**SH38** millefiori glass vessel wall, fr (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** white-violet concentric rings and honey brown-white flowers; **M:** glass; **D:** l 22.5, Th 2.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-2112. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2016, 89, 213, fig. 73; VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 218, fig. 3, n° 5.

**SH39** millefiori glass wall, fr. (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** curved wall with yellow-dark green spiral, and turquoise and yellow tesserae; **M:** glass; **D:** l 28, Th 3. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-2113. **B:** VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 215, fig. 3, n° 7; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 89, 213, fig. 73.

**SH40** millefiori glass vessel wall, fr. (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** S-curved wall entirely composed of square tesserae (green, light and dark blue, white, yellow, and brown); **M:** glass; **D:** l 26, Th 1.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-2114. **B:** VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 215, fig. 3, n° 7; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 89, 213, fig. 73.

**SH41** millefiori glass bowl wall fr. (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** curved wall, white and colourless spirals with yellow-blue dots in the centre + a purple tessera; **M:** glass; **D:** l 20, Th 3. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-2118. **B:** VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 218, fig. 3, n° 9; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 89, 213, fig. 73.

**SH42** millefiori glass bowl wall fr. (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** straight wall, yellow and purple floral ornament in a blue field; **M:** glass; **D:** l 19, Th 2.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-2119. **B:** VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 218, fig. 3, n° 10; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 89, 213, fig. 73.

**SH43** ribbon/onyx glass bowl wall fr. (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** curved wall amber glass with white and purple curved lines; **M:** glass; **D:** l 36.5, Th 5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-3475. **B:** VENCLOVÁ *et al.* 2015, 218, fig. 3, n° 13; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 89, 213, fig. 73.

**SH44** blue opaque glass vessel fr. – rim (Fig. 62)

**T/D:** moulded monochrome; a double groove on the inside; **M:** glass; **D:** l 21.5, Th 2.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 2087. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2016, 90, 213, fig. 74.

**SH45** blue opaque glass vessel fr. (Fig. 62)

**T/D:** moulded monochrome; **M:** glass; **D:** l 20, Th 2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** M. Čižmář excavation, 1984; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 58123. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2016, 90, 201, fig. 74.

**SH46** blue opaque glass vessel fr. (Fig. 62)

**T/D:** moulded monochrome, wall; **M:** glass; **D:** l 6. **Ch:** opp; **P:** M. Čižmář excavation, 1984; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 58125c. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2016, 90, 201, fig. 74.

**SH47** blue opaque glass vessel fr. (Fig. 62)

**T/D:** moulded monochrome, wall; **M:** glass; **D:** 8.5×5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** M. Čižmář excavation, 1985; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 1059/85. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2016, 90, 201, fig. 74.

**SH48** blue opaque glass vessel fr. (Fig. 62)

**T/D:** moulded monochrome, wall; **M:** glass; **D:** l 14.5, Th 2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 2085. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2016, 90, 213, fig. 74.

**SH49** blue opaque glass vessel fr. (Fig. 62)

**T/D:** moulded monochrome, wall; **M:** glass; **D:** l 16, Th 2.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 2086. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2016, 90, 213, fig. 74.

**SH50** blue opaque glass vessel fr. (Fig. 62)

**T/D:** moulded monochrome, wall; **M:** glass; **D:** cons. 15×11.5×3. **Ch:** opp; **P:** J. Meduna excavations; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 818/64. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2016, 90, 196, fig. 74.

**SH51** blue opaque glass vessel fr. (Fig. 62)

**T/D:** moulded monochrome, wall; **M:** glass; **D:** l 11, Th 1.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 2089. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2016, 90, 213, fig. 74.

**SH52** blue opaque glass vessel fr. (Fig. 62)

**T/D:** moulded monochrome, wall; **M:** glass; **D:** l 17, Th 6.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 2090. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2016, 90, 213, fig. 74.

**SH53** mirror fr. – rim (Fig. 67)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 44×19. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina / Böhml (?) excavations; **L:** Mus. Prostějov, Inv. n° M264/37. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, 60, 84, 88, 96, Taf. 3: 10.

**SH54** mirror fr. – rim (Fig. 67)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 31×25. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina / Böhlm (?) excavations; **L:** Mus. Prostějov, Inv. n° M144c. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, 60, 84, 88, 96, Taf. 3: 11.

**SH55** mirror fr. – rim (Fig. 67)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 45×26, Diam. ca 90. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina / Böhlm (?) excavations; **L:** Mus. Prostějov, Inv. n° M144a. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, 60, 84, 88, 96, Taf. 3: 16.

**SH56** mirror fr. – rim (Fig. 67)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 45×28. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina / Böhlm (?) excavations; **L:** Mus. Prostějov, Inv. n° M277/8. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, 60, 84, 88, 96, Taf. 4: 1.

**SH57** mirror fr. – rim (Fig. 67)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 37×25. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina / Böhlm (?) excavations; **L:** Mus. Prostějov, Inv. n° M266/2. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, 60, 84, 88, 96, Taf. 4: 2.

**SH58** mirror fr. – rim? (Fig. 67)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 18×12. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina / Böhlm (?) excavations; **L:** Mus. Prostějov, Inv. n° M266/8. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, 60, 84, 88, 96, Taf. 4: 3.

**SH59** mirror fr. – rim (Fig. 67)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 12×12. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina / Böhlm (?) excavations; **L:** Mus. Prostějov, Inv. n° M266/7. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, 60, 84, 88, 96, Taf. 4: 6.

**SH60** mirror fr. – rim? (Fig. 67)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 18×13. **Ch:** opp; **P:** survey M. Čížmář 2006; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° C1-11. **B:** unpublished.

**SH61** mirror fr. – rim? (Fig. 67)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 10×11. **Ch:** opp; **P:** survey, M. Čížmář 2006; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° E4-1. **B:** unpublished.

**SH62** mirror fr. – rim (Fig. 67)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 26×30. **Ch:** opp; **P:** survey, M. Čížmář 2001; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 169282. **B:** unpublished.

**SH63** mirror fr. – rim (Fig. 67)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 25×19. **Ch:** opp; **P:** survey, I. Čížmář 2012; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 169346. **B:** unpublished.

**SH64** disc mirror fr. s – rim (Fig. 67)

**T/D:** two joining fr. corresponding to ca 1/3 of a disc mirror; **M:** AE; **D:** 79×46, Diam. ca 95. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-219,220. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, 11, Taf. 3: 18.

**SH65** disc mirror fr. – rim (Fig. 67)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 37×32, Diam. ca 80. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-221. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, 11, Taf. 3: 17.

**SH66** mirror fr. – rim (not depicted)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 39×36, Diam.?. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-222. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, 11.

**SH67** mirror fr. – rim (not depicted)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 40×26, Diam. ca 80. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka

and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-224. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, 11.

**SH68** mirror fr. – rim (not depicted)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 31×23, Diam. 100. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-229. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, 11.

**SH69** mirror fr. – rim (not depicted)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 27×17, Diam.?. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-230. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, 11.

**SH69a–69k** mirror fragments without preserved rim (Fig. 67)

All **M:** AE; **Ch:** opp.

**P:** Lipka and Snětina / Böhlm (?) excavations; **L:** Mus. Prostějov; **SH69a:** Inv. n° M144/1579d. **D:** 49×25. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, 60, 84, 88, 96, Taf. 3: 9. **SH69b:** Inv. n° M246/36. **D:** 32×34. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, 60, 84, 88, 96, Taf. 3: 12. **SH69c:** Inv. n° M246/35. **D:** 23×14. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, 60, 84, 88, 96, Taf. 3: 13. **SH69d:** Inv. n° M144e. **D:** 31×13. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, 60, 84, 88, 96, Taf. 3: 14. **SH69e:** Inv. n° M144b. **D:** 23×14. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, 60, 84, 88, 96, Taf. 3: 15. **SH69f:** Inv. n° M266/5. **D:** 19×19. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, 60, 84, 88, 96, Taf. 4: 4. **SH69g:** Inv. n° M266/6. **D:** 30×12. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, 60, 84, 88, 96, Taf. 4: 5. **SH69h:** Inv. n° M266/4. **D:** 20×17. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, 60, 84, 88, 96, Taf. 4: 7.

**P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice,

**B:** MEDUNA 1961, 11; **SH69i:** Inv. n° 602-3373, **D:** 48×35. **SH69j:** Inv. n° 602-223, **D:** 40×28. **SH69k:** Inv. n° 602-231, **D:** 29×17. **SH69l:** Inv. n° 602-226, **D:** 30×21. **SH69m:** Inv. n° 602-228, **D:** 29×24. **SH69n:** Inv. n° 602-232, **D:** 29×15. **SH69o:** Inv. n° 602-219 (bis?) – 4 fr., **D:** 22×16, 22×9, 18×10, 16×10. **SH69p:** Inv. n° sine – ca 50 fr., **D:** <20×20. **P:** survey ÚAPP Brno; **L:** MZM, **B:** unpublished; **SH69q:** Inv. n° 169283, **P:** survey M. Čížmář 2001, **D:** 31×15. **SH69r:** 169345, **P:** survey I. Čížmář 2012, **D:** 30×25; **P:** survey ÚAPP Brno; **L:** ÚAPP, **B:** unpublished; **SH69s:** reg. n° 2006-C1; **SH69u:** reg. n° 17-162, **D:** 18×11; **SH69v:** reg. n° 17-182, **D:** 17×28. **SH69w:** reg. n° 17-248, **D:** 19×20. **SH69x:** reg. n° 17-249, **D:** 19×17.

**SH70** mask bead fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 901; upper part; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 23, l 12. **Ch:** pre-opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-1937b; VENCLOVÁ 2016, 209, pl. 73, 89; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2019, 28, obr. 2: 5.

**SH71** mask bead fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 901; upper part; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 20, l 10. **Ch:** pre-opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 1858. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2016, 209, pl. 74, 89; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2019, 28, obr. 2: 7.

**SH72** cylindrical bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 809; opaque light blue bead with a white line on the perimeter, on both sides of this line 4+4 translucent cobalt blue bosses decorated with opaque yellow ring; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 13.5, H 16. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 2261/36. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2016, 80,118, fig. 99.

**SH73** cylindrical bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 810; translucent green glass, a white line on the perimeter, one translucent cobalt blue boss, decorated with with a white ring; **M:** glass; **D:** L 11.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 1995. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2016, 80, 118, fig. 99.

**SH74** barrel-shaped bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 514; translucent cobalt glass with four pairs of blue-white eyes in four layers; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 11.5, H 14.5; **Ch:** opp; **P:** Meduna excavation, 1964; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 2/64 (Pa 43/93). **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2016, 78, 118, fig. 99.

**SH75** barrel-shaped bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 514; opaque dark blue glass with three pairs of yellow-blue eyes and one blue white eye in four layers; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 9, H 7; **Ch:** opp; **P:** Meduna excavation, 1965; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 2861/65. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2016, 79, 118, fig. 64, 99.

**SH76** barrel-shaped bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 516; translucent light green glass with three pairs and one single blue-white eyes in four layers; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 10.5, H 8; **Ch:** opp; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 1992. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2016, 79, 118, fig. 64, 99.

**SH77** barrel-shaped bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 556; translucent blue-green glass with three pairs and one single blue-white eye in four layers; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 10, H 9.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 57810. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2016, 79, 118, fig. 64, 99.

**SH78** high cylindrical bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 706; opaque dark blue glass, white spirally wound line; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 7.5, H 19; **Ch:** opp; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 57802. **B:** VENCLOVÁ 2016, 79, 118, fig. 99.

**SH79** Fe finger ring, fr. (Fig. 71)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; bezel fr., the gemstone is missing; **M:** Fe; **D:** l 21, Bezel 12 × 11. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-261. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, 58, Taf. 16: 7.

**SH80** seal box fr. (Fig. 88)

**T/D:** U-shaped; convex part (the flat lid is lost); **M:** AE; **D:** L 22. **Ch:** opp; **P:** From the coll. of J. Sedláček, headmaster in Malé Hradisko, donated to the Prostějov Mus. in 1936; **L:** Mus. Prostějov, Inv. n° M 112/16. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, Taf. 7: 18; ČIŽMÁŘ 1990, 598, Nr. 4, Abb. 1: 4; ČIŽMÁŘ 2002b, 222, obr. 25: 3.

**SH81** seal box (Fig. 88)

**T/D:** U-shaped, complete, decorated by two concentric circles on the lid; **M:** AE; **D:** L 24. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice. **B:** LIPKA - SNĚTINA 1912, 89, tab. 9: 8; ČIŽMÁŘ 1990, 597, Nr. 3, Abb. 1: 3; *Staré Hradisko* 2018, 187; ČIŽMÁŘ 2002b, 222, obr. 25: 1.

**SH82** seal box lid (Fig. 88)

**T/D:** U-shaped, two engraved tripple concentric circles; **M:** AE; **D:** 19 × 24 × 2. **Ch:** opp; **P:** survey M. Čižmář 2001; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 169281. **B:** ČIŽMÁŘ 2002b, 222, obr. 25: 2.

**SH83** spindle whorl made of a black gloss vessel foot (Fig. 92)

**T/D:** -; **M:** clay; **D:** Diam. 50, h 16. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-2625. **B:** *Staré Hradisko* 2018, fig. in p. 138.

**SH84** black gloss vessel fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** documented only in a verbal description of Lipka and Snětina; **M:** clay; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** not preserved. **B:** LIPKA - SNĚTINA 1912, 305.

**SH85** amphora rim (Fig. 98)

**T/D:** Lamboglia 2; rounded vertical rim, pinkish-cream ceramic body; **M:** clay; **D:** h ca 50, rim H 42, Diam. 10, **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina / Böhm (?) excavations; **L:** Mus. Prostějov, Inv. n° M301. **B:** MEDUNA 1970a, Taf. 46: 4; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 664, obr. 2: 10; KYSELA 2014a, 23, obr. 1: 4.

**SH86** amphora rim (Fig. 98)

**T/D:** Lamboglia 2, short triangular rim; light beige to ochre ceramic body without visible inclusions; **M:** clay; **D:** h ca 40, rim H 22, Diam. 180. **Ch:** opp; **P:** M. Čižmář excavation 1985, *Grubenhau* 1/1985; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 0905-174/8. **B:** KYSELA 2014a, 23, obr. 1: 5.

**SH87a** amphora rim (Fig. 98)

**T/D:** Lamboglia 2, short triangular rim with slightly concave outer face; light beige to ochre ceramic body without visible inclusions; **M:** clay; **D:** h ca 42, rim H 21, Diam. 192. **Ch:** opp; **P:** M. Čižmář excavation, 1985, *Grubenhau* 1/1985; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 0905-174/8. **B:** KYSELA 2014a, 23-24, obr. 1: 6.

**SH87b** amphora handle (Fig. 98)

**T/D:** Lamboglia 2; three handle fragments; ceramic body identical with SH87a, likely the same individual; **M:** clay; **D:** l 58, 52 × 32; l 48, 48 × 28; **Ch:** opp; **P:** M. Čižmář excavation, 1985, *Grubenhau* 1/1985; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 0905-174/8. **B:** KYSELA 2014a, 24, obr. 1: 7-8.

**SH88** donkey teeth (not depicted)

**T/D:** -; **M:** bone; **Ch:** opp; **P:** -; **B:** PEŠKE 1993a, 272; PEŠKE 1993b, 216.

**SH89** AE wing - statuette fr. (Fig. 108)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** 41 × 37. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-42. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, Taf. I: 8; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 656, obr. 1: 8; *Staré Hradisko* 2018, 197.

**SH90** raw glass (not depicted)

Listed in VENCLOVÁ 2016, 109.

**SHx1** iron pointed bar (not depicted)

**T/D:** surely not a stylus; **M:** Fe; **D:** L 125. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** Mus. Boskovice, Inv. n° 602-240. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, Taf. VII: 15; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 661, obr. 3: 12.

**SHx2** amber ring (Fig. 78)

**T/D:** with a depiction in the round of a standing nude female figure; **M:** amber; **D:** 32 × 34. **Ch:** post-opp; **P:** Snětina donation to the Museum in 1938; **L:** Mus. Bosko-

vice, Inv. n° 602-3075. **B:** MEDUNA 1961, 71, Taf. 50: 4; SVOBODOVÁ 1985, 656–657, obr. 1: 5; GAGGETTI 2001, 282, 407, n° 164bis; *Staré Hradisko* 2018, 198–199.

**SHx3** amphora? (not depicted)

**T/D:** insufficiently clear verbal description (Lipka and Snětina); **M:** clay; **D:** unknown; **P:** Lipka and Snětina excavations; **L:** not preserved. **B:** LIPKA – SNĚTINA 1912, 305.

**SHx4** strainer wall (not depicted)

**T/D:** careless irregular arrangement of perforations, likely a local product; **M:** AE; **D:** ca 25 × 23. **Ch:** opp; **P:** M. Čížmář excavations?; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° Pa 39/93 (602-787/34). **B:** ČÍŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a, 117, Abb. 1: 2.

**Tautendorf**, Gars am Kamp, Bez. Horn, Lower Austria, AT

**Tux1** situla handle with a ornithomorph finial and a suspension ring, fr. (**Fig. 24**)

**T/D:** a faceted shaft with smooth suspension ring, a transverse groove and finely modelled and engraved water bird head; ca 3/5 of the handle is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** l 225, Diam. 13. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** Private collection. **B:** KARWOWSKI 2017, 272–274, Abb. 8.

**Těšice**, Prostějov, Olomoucký kraj, CZ

A site documented by surface surveys; the little evidence which is available dates probably to LT C2. ČÍŽMÁŘ *et al.* 2008, 126, obr. 4: 21–25; ČÍŽMÁŘ *et al.* 2010, 129, obr. 5.

**Těš1** strainer handle, fr. (**Fig. 43**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** L 20, h 22, attachment plate 15 × 18. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** MZM, Inv. n° 179577. **B:** unpublished.

**Thunau am Kamp**, Bez. Horn, Lower Austria, AT

The 6 ha hillfort on the Schanzberg above the Danube was excavated in 1965–1990. The preservation of this site is very poor and the – potentially very significant – Iron Age occupation of the site is evidenced only by stray finds without proper context. The date of the site's rampart is not certain either. The chronology of the finds covers the timespan of LT C1b–D1b. On the Danube bank at the foot of the hillfort (some 600 m away) two badly preserved pits with LT period finds were excavated in 2006, yielding rich finds including flan moulds and the imports discussed below. KARWOWSKI 2006; KARWOWSKI 2015, 215–216; SZAMEIT – OBENAU 2009.

**Thu1** dolphin-shaped situla attachment (**Fig. 24**)

**T/D:** situla, E18; complete; **M:** AE; **D:** L 108, W 51, shaft diam. 13 × 10. **Ch:** opp; **P:** hilltop site, Friesinger excavation, 1990; **L:** UniWien, Fund Nr. 35920. **B:** KARWOWSKI 2007a, 29, ryc. 8; KARWOWSKI 2017, 269–271, Abb. 7.

**Thu2** strainer handle (**Fig. 43**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** H 38, L 24, attachment plate 15 × 16. **Ch:** opp; **P:** lowland settlement, excavation M. Obenaus, 2006; **L:** UniWien, Fund Nr. 408. **B:** KARWOWSKI 2017, 266, Abb. 2b; KARWOWSKI 2018, 49, Abb. 7:1.

**Thu3** cylindrical bead with bosses (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 808; dark blue body with white thread around the middle; two rows of three bosses in the extremities; **M:** glass. **Ch:** opp; **P:** hilltop site, Friesinger excavation, 1965–1990, 'Obere Holzweise', trench 233; **L:** UniWien, Fundnr. 35659. **B:** KARWOWSKI 2006, 53, 65–66, Abb. 31, 35.

**Thu4** black gloss plate, 7 fr. (**Fig. 90**)

**T/D:** Lamboglia 5/7, the rim is missing; double rouletted circle in the centre; very fine slightly dusty ceramic body, pinkish (Munsell 7.5); **M:** clay. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Lowland settlement, excavation M. Obenaus 2008; **L:** UniWien, Fnr. 281. **B:** KYSELA – MAGGETTI – SCHNEIDER 2013, 223, fig. 3:8, 4:8; KARWOWSKI 2018, 49–50, Abb. 1: 8, 4: 8.

**Wien-Rochusmarkt / Wien-Kundmannngasse**, Wien, AT

Two blocks of houses were investigated by rescue excavations of the Stadtarchäologie Wien (K. Adler-Wölfl, M. Mosser) in the 3<sup>rd</sup> district of Vienna (ca 300 m S of Danube bank) in 2014/2015 (Rochusmarkt/Rasumofskygasse 29–31) and 2017 (Kundmannngasse 21–27). The two areas, a mere 80 m away from each other (and the LT *Grubenhäuser* excavated in Palais Rasumofsky some 100 m further N), form part of a single settlement, covering an area of 2 ha. However, LT features and finds have also been documented elsewhere in this part of Vienna making a total settlement area of at least 25 ha. Most of the features were damaged by later activities and only wells and deeper pits are preserved in the greater part of the excavated area – the best preserved zone is the NE angle of the Rochusmarkt excavations (ca 0.5 ha) with two *Grubenhäuser*, a well, series of pits and post-holes, a latrine and a 4 m deep shaft. It is mostly, though by no means exclusively, in this shaft that the Roman imports were found. The site as a whole is characterised by an enormous presence of fossil pitch (raw, worked, and semi-worked), visually resembling amber. ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015; MOSSER – ALDER-WÖLFL 2018; for the LT period in Vienna in general cf. ALDER-WÖLFL 2012.

**WRo1** spatula (**Fig. 82**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** l 150. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Wien-Rochusmarkt, well 1288; **L:** MV, Inv. n° 104.779/6. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 29, Taf. 4: 4.

**WRo2–WRo8** styli (**Fig. 85**)

All **M:** Bone, **Ch:** opp; **P:** Wien-Rochusmarkt; **L:** MV, Inv. n° 104.496/9, 104.529/8, 104.665/18, 104.740/38, 104.740/39, 104.757/12. **D:** L 123, 112, l 115, 100, 92, 85; **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 27, Abb. 12.

**P:** Wien-Kundmannngasse; **T/D:** Gostenčnik 2, with a removable eraser end. **L:** MV, Inv. n° 106.729/1. **D:** L 110; **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2018, 155, Taf. 2, Abb. 8.

**WRo9** seal box (**Fig. 88**)

**T/D:** square; **M:** bone; **D:** L 22, W 20, H 6. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Wien-Rochusmarkt; **L:** MV, Inv. n° 104.740/41. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 27, Abb. 13.

**WR10–WR11** Black gloss bowl, fr. (**Fig. 91**)

**T/D:** Lamboglia 28; **M:** clay; **Ch:** opp; **P:** Wien-Rochusmarkt; **L:** MV, **WR10:** Inv. n° 104.728/2. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 24, Taf. 1: 2. **WR11:** Inv. n° 104.684/1. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 24.

**WR12–23** black gloss plate (**Fig. 91**)

**WR 12–13** all **T/D:** Lamboglia 5 rim; **M:** clay; **Ch:** opp; **P:** Wien-Kundmannngasse; **L:** MV.

**WR12:** Inv. n° 106.713/1(– 2?). **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2018, 152, Taf. 1: 2, 1: 3. **WR13:** Inv. n° 106.734/3, –742/3, –725/1. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2018, 152.

**WR14** (**Fig. 91**) **T/D:** Lamboglia 7 fully reconstructed shape, four square stamps in the base; **M:** clay. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Wien-Rochusmarkt; **L:** MV, Inv. n° 104.757/1. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 22, Taf. 1: 1.

**WR15–23** all **T/D:** Lamboglia 7; **M:** clay. **Ch:** opp; **L:** MV. (**Fig. 91**)

**P:** Wien-Rochusmarkt; **WR15:** Inv. n° 104.494/1. **WR16:** Inv. n° 104.542/1. **WR17:** Inv. n° 104.665/1. **WR18:** Inv. n° 104.668/2. **WR19:** Inv. n° 104.697/2. **WR20:** Inv. n° 104.728/3. **WR21:** Inv. n° 104.740/17. **WR22:** Inv. n° 104.760/1; all **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 22. **P:** Wien-Kundmannngasse. **WR23:** MV, Inv. n° 106.710/1, 106.742/1. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2018, 152, Taf. 1: 1.

**WR24–28** thin-walled beaker fr. – rim  
all **T/D:** Marabini I; **M:** clay. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Wien-Rochusmarkt; **L:** MV.

**WR24:** Inv. n° 04.431/1+104.447/2. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 24, Taf. 1: 4. **WR25:** Inv. n° 104.653/1. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 24. **WR26:** Inv. n° 104.709/2. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 24.

**WR27** thin-walled beaker fr. – rim  
**T/D:** Marabini IV; **M:** clay. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Wien-Rochusmarkt; **L:** MV, Inv. n° 104.657/3. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 24, Taf. 1: 5.

**WR28** thin-walled beaker fr. – rim (**Fig. 94**)  
**T/D:** Marabini VII; **M:** clay. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Wien-Rochusmarkt; **L:** MV, Inv. n° 104.494/3. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 24, Taf. 1: 6.

**WR29–WR33** two handled common ware jug (**Fig. 96**)

All **T/D:** –; **M:** clay. **Ch:** opp; **L:** MV.  
**P:** Wien-Rochusmarkt; **WR29:** Inv. n° 104.668/9. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 26, Taf. 2: 1. **WR30:** Inv. n° 104.668/11. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 26. **WR31:** Inv. n° 104.668/10 + 104.787/1?. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 26, Taf. 2: 2.  
**P:** Wien-Kundmannngasse; **WR32:** Inv. n° 106.743/1. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2018, 154, Taf. 1: 8. **WR33:** Inv. n° 106.729/3. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2018, 154, Taf. 1: 9.

**WR34** common ware jar – base (not depicted)

**T/D:** –; **M:** clay; **Ch:** opp; **P:** Wien-Rochusmarkt; **L:** MV, Inv. n° 104.757/4 + 104.507/28. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 26.

**WR35** common ware jug (not depicted)

**T/D:** body with a single handle and narrow neck; **M:** clay. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Wien-Rochusmarkt; **L:** MV, Inv. n° 104.613/2–3. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 26.

**WR36–WR50** internal red-slip cooking-ware baking pan – rim (**Fig. 97**)

All **T/D:** –; **M:** clay; **Ch:** opp; **L:** MV.

**P:** Wien-Rochusmarkt; all **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 25. **WR36:** Inv. n° 104.757/2. **D:** Diam. 260. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 25, Taf. 1:7. **WR37:** Inv. n° 104.657/6. **WR38:** Inv. n° 104.665/6. **WR39:** Inv. n° 104.682/7+104.728/1. **WR40:** Inv. n° 104.707/2+104.740/7. **WR41:** Inv. n° 104.757/2. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 25. **WR42:** Inv. n° 104.781/3, 104.781/4. **WR43:** Inv. n° 104.779/1+104.781/1. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 25, Taf. 1:8. **WR44:** Inv. n° 104.507/18+104.682/5. **WR45:** Inv. n° 104.711/1. **WR46:** Inv. n° 104.779/2. **WR47:** Inv. n° 104.781/2. **WR48:** Inv. n° 104.489/5+104.496/3+104.707/1. **WR49:** Inv. n° 104.507/17+104.664/1.  
**P:** Wien-Kundmannngasse; **WR50:** Inv. n° 106.738/1. **D:** rim Diam. 32.4. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2018, 154, Taf. 1: 5, Abb. 7.

**WR51a–b** internal red-slip cooking-ware baking lid – rim (**Fig. 97**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** clay. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Wien-Kundmannngasse; **L:** MV. **WR51a:** Inv. n° 106.710/2. **WR51b:** Inv. n° 106.738/2. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2018, 154, Taf. 1: 7, Abb. 7.

**WR52** mortarium fr. – rim (**Fig. 97**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** clay. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Wien-Rochusmarkt; **L:** MV, Inv. n° MV 104.728/7. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 26, Taf. 1: 9.

**WR53** amphora rim, handle and toe (not depicted)

**T/D:** Lamboglia 2/Dressel 6A; **M:** clay. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Wien-Rochusmarkt; **L:** MV, Inv. n° 104.613/5+104.645/1. **B:** ADLER-WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015, 26, Taf. 2: 3a, b.

**Zohor**, okr. Malacky, Bratislavský kraj, SK

Ca 5 ha open settlement investigated (field walking, geophysics, metal detector survey, and excavation) by the SAV 1995–2010 (K. Elschek). La Tène period (LT C1–D1) and early RIA are equally represented. ELSCHÉK – KOLNÍKOVÁ 2014.

**Zoh1** strainer thumb piece (**Fig. 43**)

**T/D:** left front arm is broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** w 40, L 32. **Ch:** opp; **L:** SAV, Inv. n° 267/95. **B:** ELSCHÉK – KOLNÍKOVÁ 2014, 369, Abb. 6: 6.

*WnCE*

**Altendorf**, Lkr. Bamberg, Oberfranken, Bavaria, DE  
Large (1000×300 m = ca 20–30 ha?) open settlement and the principal agglomeration known so far from Oberfranken. Limited excavations were carried out in the 1970s and 1990s. Apart from numerous coins there is also a find of a *Buschelquinar* die. The finds date to LT C2–LT D1b. STÖCKLI 1979b; ANONYMOUS 2000; Abels: Altendorf In: LKA, 43.

**Ado1** strainer handle (**Fig. 45**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** W 27, H 35, attachment plate 22×21. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Rescue excavation 'Point II' (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege) 1997, occupation layer, Fundzettelnummer 48362; **L:** ArStSm München. **B:** ANONYMOUS 2000, 101, Abb. 55: 9; SIEGMÜLLER 2005, Abb. 21: 48.

**Ado2** strainer wall, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Rescue excavation ‘Point II’ (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege) 1997, occupation layer, Fundzettelnummer 36353E. **L:** ArStSm München. **B:** SIEGMÜLLER 2005, Abb. 21:47.

**Adx1** ribbed glass bowl (not depicted)

**T/D:** moulded monochrome, probably dated to the Imperial period; **M:** glass. **Ch:** post-opp. **B:** SIEGMÜLLER 2005, Abb. 21: 51.

**Attersee**, Bez. Vöcklabruck, Upper Austria, AT

**Atx1** ‘fragments of AE vessels’ (not depicted)

**T/D:** only a verbal note is preserved, the vessels are not described in more detail and not preserved; verification of the information is impossible; **M:** AE. **Ch:** unknown; **P:** chance find before 1878; **L:** UniWien (ex. Munch coll.), not preserved. **B:** AMBERGER 1927, 206; KURZ 1995, 126, Nr. 46.

**Berching-Pollanten**, Lkr. Neumarkt in der Oberpfalz, Oberpfalz, Bavaria, DE

A large agglomeration (>25 ha) on the Sulz river terrace. Investigated by a series of excavations in the 1980s and 1990s (Nürnberg University, Landesdenkmalamt) in an 800 m long strip. Its S part is characterised by *Grubenhäuser* with large quantities of metal production and processing waste in their fills while in the N part there are remains of post constructions with far fewer finds. With evidence of metals and glass working as well as with almost 100 coins, the site counts among the most significant agglomerations in S Germany. The chronology spans LT C and D1. SCHÄFER 2010; Leicht: Berching In: LKA, 155–156.

**BPo1** AE vessel rim (not depicted)

**T/D:** funnel-shaped rim; **M:** AE; **D:** Diam. ca 100. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Zone 2, ‘Grubebau’ 1, between 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> layer; **L:** Mus. Regensburg, Inv. n°1982/637-2. **B:** SCHÄFER 2010, 117, Abb. 77, n° 152.

**BPo2** AE vessel attachment fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** pointed attachment end; **M:** AE; **D:** l 23. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Zone 2, ‘Grubebau’ 3, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> layer; **L:** Mus. Regensburg, Inv. n°1982/401-1. **B:** SCHÄFER 2010, 117, Abb. 77, n° 714.

**BPo3** Fe finger ring fr. (Fig. 71)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; the shank and the gemstone are not preserved; **M:** Fe; **D:** Bezel (reconstr.) 12 × 10, Inner Diam. <15. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Zone 8, section 132, feature 2, below layer 5; **L:** Mus. Regensburg, Inv. n° 1984/823-3. **B:** SCHÄFER 2010, 54–56, Abb. 39, Nr. 5830.

**BPo4** amphora fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** no further details available; **M:** clay. **Ch:** opp; **P:** zone 4, Befund 86, Schnitt 191 unter Planum 1; **L:** Mus. Regensburg, Inv. n° 1987/785; Fundzettel 54351. **B:** SCHÄFER 2010, note 731 in p. 118.

**BPx1** ‘AE vessel attachment fr.’ (not depicted)

**T/D:** uncertain classification; **M:** AE; **D:** l 15. **Ch:** opp;

**P:** zone 4, Grubebau 10, Planum 2, surface; **L:** Mus. Regensburg, Inv. n° 1983/619-1, 2. **B:** SCHÄFER 2010, 117, Nr. 2998.

**BPx2** ‘AE vessel rim fr.’ (not depicted)

**T/D:** uncertain; **M:** AE; **D:** 22 × 8. **Ch:** opp; **P:** zone 2, Grubebau 3, between Layers 1 and 2, surface; **L:** Mus. Regensburg, Inv. n° 1981/225-2. **B:** SCHÄFER 2010, 117, Abb. 77, Nr. 447.

**BPx3** ‘AE vessel rim fr.’ (not depicted)

**T/D:** uncertain; **M:** AE; **D:** l 18. **Ch:** opp; **P:** zone 5, section 161, between layers 1 and 2, surface; **L:** Mus. Regensburg, Inv. n° 1984/659-52. **B:** SCHÄFER 2010, 117, Abb. 82, Nr. 4756.

**BPx4** Fe finger ring fr. with amber? gemstone (not depicted)

**T/D:** Schäfer excludes the ring from discussion on typological grounds and on the fact that the amber (?) gemstone bears the depiction of a cross; the available documentation does not make it possible to verify these comments; **M:** Fe; **D:** Diam. 19. **Ch:** post-opp?; **P:** uncertain find circumstances; **P:** zone 5, section 162, below layer 1; **L:** Mus. Regensburg, Inv. n° 1985/838-199. **B:** SCHÄFER 2010, 54–56, n° 4993.

**Brendlorenzen**, Bad Neustadt an der Saale, Lkr. Rhön-Grabfeld, Unterfranken, Bavaria, DE

An open settlement (ca. 1.5 ha) featuring the standard array of subsistence activities as well as household and basic specialised production (textile production and iron and bronze working) but first and foremost a remarkable concentration of six pottery kilns. GERLACH 2002; FRITZ 2009, 86–97.

**Brz1** amber-coloured glass paste gemstone depicting a cloaked standing male figure (Fig. 72)

**T/D:** the upper part is broken off; the figure turned to the right is wearing a himation; **M:** glass; **D:** ca 15 × 10. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° E-2009/3. **B:** GERLACH 2002, 68, Abb. 59: 4; FRITZ 2009, 96, Abb. 12.

**Dornach**, Lkr. München, Upper Bavaria, DE

A relatively large open settlement in which the majority of buildings are post-hole structures does not allow a decision on what proportion of the occupation dates to the Late LT and what to the Bronze Age, both of which are present. The clearly LT features concentrate mainly in the 200 × 400 m large N part of the settlement; within the same area there are also nine LT B2–C (1?2) graves; rescue excavation in 1993–1996. IRLINGER – WINGHART *et al.* 1999.

**Dor1** statuette of Minerva (Fig. 108)

**T/D:** figurine of a standing female wearing a peplos with a himation over her left shoulder and around the hips; her chest is covered with ‘feathers’ with a plastic ring in the centre, i.e. (misunderstood?) *aegis*; on her head she is wearing a (misunderstood) Corinthian helmet with high crest and a pair of bovine horns; she holds a pyxis (?) in her left hand and a patera in her right in a libation

gesture; the surface is finely engraved (figure details) and punched (textile structure); the statuette is attached to a spool-shaped base with its lower part broken off and with an inscription on the central part 'MARIO D·D·L·M'; **M:** AE; **D:** h including the base 164, statuette H ca 132. **Ch:** opp; **P:** circular pit 71 (a well?), most likely dating to LT D1; the idea of a ritual/sacrificial function for the pit (*favissa*) put forward in the site's publication is purely hypothetical. **L:** Geschichtlich-heimatkundliche Sammlung Aschheim, Inv. n° 92.93. **B:** IRLINGER – WINGHART 1999, 123–143, Abb. 30–31; IRLINGER 2002a.

**Egglfing**, Köfering, Lkr. Regensburg, Oberpfalz, Bavaria, DE

Open settlement ca 500 × 300 (most finds come from central area of ca 350 × 200 m) on a Danube terrace. The site was investigated only by surface surveys producing, apart from numerous pottery sherds, also finds of metal and glass artefacts including evidence of their local production. The occupation of the site spans the entire La Tène period with most evidence from LT (B2/C)D1. UENZE 2000; 2005; Uenze: Egglfing In: *LKA*, 476–477.

**Ego1** strainer thumb piece, fr. (**Fig. 45**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** l 20. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'Platz 3'; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 2001/415–488 (not specified). **B:** UENZE 2005, 66, Abb. 4: 23.

**Ego2** ribbed glass bead fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 317; Adria type? Green glass, two ribs (out of seven?) transversely articulated in prunts; **M:** glass; **D:** H 13. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'Platz 2'; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 2001/415–488 (not specified). **B:** UENZE 2005, Abb. 5: 35.

**Egxi** finger ring (**Fig. 71**)

**T/D:** complete, circular bezel with a massive gemstone frame, transverse ribs on shoulders; **M:** AE; **D:** Diam. 20. **Ch:** post-opp; **P:** 'Platz 2'; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 2001/415–488 (not specified). **B:** UENZE 2005, 60, Abb. 3: 58.

**Forgensee**, Schwangau, Lkr. Ostallgäu, Schwaben, Bavaria, DE

Brandopferplatz on the lakeshore. Excavated by the Bavarian Academy of Sciences in 1993 (W. Zanier). It consists of two altars (Fundstelle 1 and 2), one of which was established at the beginning of LT D and remained in use until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. The other altar is of Imperial date. Besides the two altars there was a heap of artefacts, mostly metal objects (Fundstelle 3). Pottery is rare but there are very numerous metal objects including personal ornaments, tools, instruments, and weapons. ZANIER 1999; LANG: Schwangau In: *LKA*, 1684–1685.

**Fgo1** dolphin-shaped handle attachment (**Fig. 23**)

**T/D:** E18, complete; **M:** AE; **D:** L 108. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fundstelle 3, collected in 1977; **L:** ArStSm München. **B:** ZANIER 1999, 172, C12.

**Fgxi** oval amber-coloured glass paste depicting a standing human figure? (not depicted)

**T/D:** only partly impressed; Zanier dates the object to

the Early Imperial period without any discussion; but considering the similarity to some of the Stradonic gemstones, a LT date cannot be excluded either. Both of these hypotheses are impossible to verify based on the published drawing; **M:** glass; **D:** 16 × 12 × 3. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Fundstelle VI; **L:** ArStSm München. **B:** ZANIER 1999, 102, Abb. 31: 2.

**Freinberg**, Linz, Upper Austria, AT

Smaller of the two oppida in Linz, the Freinberg (15 ha) is located on a summit on the south bank of the Danube. The 1989–1992 excavations concentrated mainly on the fortifications; human presence *intra muros* is quite poorly documented for the LT period though Urnfield occupation seems numerous. URBAN 1994, Urban: Freinberg In: *LKA*, 570.

**Frb1** dolphin-shaped situla attachment (**Fig. 23**)

**T/D:** E18; a single dolphin figure; **M:** AE; **D:** l 26. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'Schicht, 7a, Lfm 9,1, 15–18 cm below the humus bottom'; **L:** not reported. **B:** URBAN 1994, 142, Abb. 74: 218; SEDLMAYER 1999, 96.

**Gaggers**, Lkr. Dachau, Upper Bavaria, DE

In 1751 a hoard of Au coins was discovered, contained in an AE vessel.

**Ggg1** AE situla (?) base (not depicted)

**T/D:** not described to any detail; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp?; **L:** neither the vessel nor the coins are preserved. **B:** KURZ 1995, 145, Nr. 313.

**Jüchsen**, Lkr. Schmalkalden-Meiningen, Thuringia, DE

An open settlement (1.1 ha excavated out of the estimated total area of 1.5 ha) with considerable evidence of specialised activities (pottery kiln, Fe production, ornament manufacturing). The occupation begins in Ha D2/3 and continues down to LT D1 with an emphasis on this last phase. GRASSELLT 1994.

**Jüh1** white cylindrical bead with bosses (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 808; greenish-white opaque bead entwined with coloured threads around the centre and the ends and with four white-blue bosses at the ends; **M:** glass; **D:** Diam. 17, H 31.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 1976, trench 54; **L:** Mus. Weimar, Inv. n° 476/76. **B:** GRASSELLT 1994, 43, Tf. 17: 26.

**Jüh2** bone saw (**Fig. 82**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** Fe; **D:** l 95. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 1969, trench 20, depth 42 cm; **L:** Mus. Weimar, Inv. n° 2452/69. **B:** GRASSELLT 1994, 44–45, Tf. 13: 18.

**Jüh3** spatula (**Fig. 82**)

**T/D:** complete; **M:** AE; **D:** L 172. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 1972, trench 35; **L:** Mus. Weimar, Inv. n° 401/72. **B:** GRASSELLT 1994, 44–45, Tf. 13: 16.

**Karlstadt**-Karlburg, Lkr. Main-Spessart, Unterfranken, Bavaria, DE

**Ktd1** kidney-shaped vessel foot holes (**Fig. 37**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 45 × 10. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'Flur Krautgarten', the find circumstances are not reported; **L:** Mus. Karlstadt, Inv. n° not reported. **B:** MÖBIUS 1993, 107, Abb. 60: 9.

**Karlstein**, Bad Reichenhall, Lkr. Berchtesgadener Land, Bavaria, DE

The prehistoric occupation covers the peak and the naturally terraced NW slopes of the Karlstein Castle summit. The 1901–1911 excavations identified occupation of BA and EIA date as well as a consistent Late LT occupation manifested by houses built on stone foundations and by rich finds of LT D1–D2 artefacts. It was based on these finds that Reinecke defined the LT D phase. No excavation has taken place in the site since. REINECKE 1911; MENKE 1971.

**Kst1** dolphin-shaped situla attachment, fr. (**Fig. 23**)

**T/D:** E18; complete attachment; **M:** AE; **D:** L ca 60. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'Wohnstätte 3'; **L:** Mus. Karlstein (?). **B:** REINECKE 1911, 365, Abb. 1d (n° 23340); SEDLMAYER 1999, 96, 120.

**Kst2** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (**Fig. 37**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** 37 × 16. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'Wohnstätte 2'; **L:** Mus. Karlstein (?). **B:** REINECKE 1911, 365, Taf. 63, Nr. 1061 (Nr. 23330); SEDLMAYER 1999, 112.

**Kst3** simpulum handle fr. (**Fig. 38**)

**T/D:** type Pescate; **M:** AE; **D:** l 82. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'Wohnstätte 8'; **L:** Mus. Karlstein (?). **B:** REINECKE 1911, 365, Taf. 63, Nr. 1162 (Nr. 23331); SEDLMAYER 1999, 75, 120.

**Kst4** strainer handle (**Fig. 45**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** H 35. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'Wohnstätte 1'; **L:** Mus. Karlstein (?). **B:** REINECKE 1911, 365, Abb. 1a, Nr. 1060 (Nr. 23329); SEDLMAYER 1999, 87, 120, Taf. 63: 1160.

**Kst5** strainer thumb piece (**Fig. 45**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** L 60, W 45. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'Wohnstätte 8'; **L:** Mus. Karlstein (?). **B:** REINECKE 1911, 365, Abb. 1a, Taf. 63: 1159 (Nr. 23328); SEDLMAYER 1999, 87.

**Kst6** basin handle with vine-leaf-shaped attachments (**Fig. 51**)

**T/D:** Eggers 94; complete handle; **M:** AE; **D:** W 92. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 'Wohnstätte 2'; **L:** Mus. Karlstein (?). **B:** REINECKE 1911, 84, Abb. 2, Nr. 23431; SEDLMAYER 1999, 54, 120.

**Kst7** mosaic (ribbon?) glass fragment (not depicted)

**T/D:** 'Splitter einer importierten Glasschale mit bunter Streifendekoration'. **P:** 'Wohnstätte 2'. **B:** REINECKE 1911, 366.

**Kelheim**, Lkr. Kelheim, Lower Bavaria, DE

A sizeable oppidum at the confluence of the Danube and the Altmühl extends over the hills of the Michelsberg and the Hirschberg and over the elongated island of the Mitterfeld at the confluence. Out of the 600 ha of fortified area (the third largest among the Late LT fortifications) the greater part includes a zone of intensive iron extraction and processing on the Michelsberg while only a comparatively small area (the very peak, the bank

of the Altmühl and the Mitterfeld delimited by another fortification line) served as the actual habitation area, having also produced evidence of intensive craft production including coin minting. The Kelheim area seems to have been inhabited from the EIA and there are several LT B and C flat burials documented in the larger zone as well as a Viereckschanze east of the site. The oppidum area seems to have been intensively occupied in LT C2, fortified in LT D1 and abandoned in LT D1b. The site and its surroundings have been periodically investigated by research or rescue excavations since early 1900s (though the first discoveries in the Mitterfeld date back to 1863). PAULI 1993; LEICHT: 'Kelheim' In: *LKA*, 884–886.

**Kel1** dolphin-shape attachment fr. (**Fig. 23**)

**T/D:** situla, E18; **M:** AE; **D:** L 43. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Mitterfeld, excavation 1982, 'Schmelzgrube 20'; **L:** Mus. Kelheim, Inv. n° 82/26–27. **B:** PAULI 1993, 54, 79, 195, Taf. 115: B2.

**Kel2** AE jug (**Fig. 33**)

**T/D:** type Kelheim, complete including the handle; **M:** AE; **D:** H 200, upper Diam. 105. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Mitterfeld 1863; traditionally considered to come from a cremation burial containing also a long sword and a spearhead though the information concerning the find circumstances is confusing; **L:** Museum Landshut, Inv. n° 1847. **B:** WERNER 1954, 43–46, pl. 1–2; WERNER 1978, Liste 1:18; KRÄMER 1985, 136–137, Taf. 70, Nr. 5; PAULI 1993, 53, 188, Abb. 64: 5, Taf. 135: 1.

**Kel3** strainer thumb piece (**Fig. 45**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** L 58, W 47. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Mitterfeld, excavation 1982, 'Schmelzgrube 20'; **L:** Mus. Kelheim, Inv. n° 82/26–27. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 87, note 588; PAULI 1993, 53–54, Taf. 96 A1, 115, B3.

**Leonberg**, Marktl, Lkr. Altötting, Upper Bavaria, DE

A fortified promontory (24 ha) on the northern bank of the Inn, only recently identified as of Iron Age date was investigated by rescue excavations (a cut through the rampart in 1999; an extramural area with a bronze smelting workshop in 2001), geophysical and surface surveys. The occupation begins in LT D with concentration in LT D1b and seems to have continued down to LT D2. PIETSCH 2002; IRLINGER 2003; IRLINGER: 'Leonberg' In: *LKA*, 1150–1151.

**Lnb1** kidney-shaped vessel foot with dimples (**Fig. 37**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** l ca 40. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 2001 rescue excavation outside the fortification, in a pit in AE working area along with other artefacts apparently intended for recasting; **L:** Mus. Leonberg?. **B:** PIETSCH 2002, 74, Abb. 68: 8.

**Lnb2–4** AE vessel rim, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** rims; intentionally fragmented remains of at least three different vessels whose shape and type cannot be determined; **M:** AE; **D:** –. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 2001 rescue excavation outside the fortification, in a pit in the AE working area along with other AE fragments apparently intended for recasting; **L:** Mus. Leonberg?. **B:** IRLINGER 2004, 170, Abb. 5.

**Manching**, Lkr. Pfaffenhofen, Upper Bavaria, DE

A large flatland LT C agglomeration, fortified in LT D (380 ha) situated on the SE bank of the Paar close to its confluence with the Danube. Manching was inhabited at least from LT B (not forgetting local significant EIA sites) as implied by two flat cemeteries. An original settlement nucleus can be observed in the central area of the later oppidum beginning in LT C1. At the same time a sanctuary was established further E and remained in function until the demise of the oppidum. At the transition to LT C2 the settlement expanded and apparently was reorganised according to a unitary planned layout whose orientation is based on that of the central sanctuary. Though shifting twice by a few degrees over the next decades and centuries, the unitary layout characterized Manching down to the end of its existence. LT C2 and LT D1a are phases of the site's major prosperity, highest settlement density and variety in activities and constructions as well as of evidence of long distance contacts. Half-way through this phase Manching – by then doubtlessly the central site in S Germany – was fortified with a 7 km long circular rampart (*murus gallicus*). Throughout the site's existence the basic habitation unit was an enclosed homestead as is the case elsewhere in Central Europe. With the last reorganisation of the oppidum in LT D1b the density and complexity of architecture decreased as did also the complexity of craft production and the last phase of Manching is believed to be one of crisis. Around the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century the occupation of the site was probably reduced to a minimum and nothing remained of its original significance. Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup>/21<sup>st</sup> century the site was subject to a series of rescue excavations (ca 8% of the entire surface was uncovered) mostly carried out by RGK of the DAI. SIEVERS 2003; 2004; ELLER *et al.* 2012; WENDLING 2013; WENDLING – WINGER 2014.

**Moo1** rim of a cylindrical situla? (Fig. 19)

**T/D:** E16; triangular section; **M:** AE; **D:** Diam. 160. **Ch:** opp; **P:** -<sup>242</sup>; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1967/530. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 91, 136, Taf. 30, Nr. 467.

**Moo2** rim of a cylindrical situla? (Fig. 19)

**T/D:** E16; triangular section; **M:** AE. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1967/405. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 91, 136, Taf. 30, Nr. 469.

**Moo3** AE situla (Fig. 22)

**T/D:** E18–23; repaired in antiquity; **M:** AE; **D:** H 288, rim Diam. 285. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 1962 outside the oppidum during gravel extraction N of the Manching train station; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1963/1319. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 79–80, 132, Taf. 23, Nr. 388.

**Moo4** AE situla (Fig. 22)

**T/D:** situla, E20?; complete with attachments missing; **M:** AE; **D:** H 174, rim Diam. 140, base Diam. 115. **Ch:** opp; **P:** In a well (V-1982-a) during a rescue excavation in the

southern oppidum periphery; **L:** –. **B:** SIEVERS 2003, 91, Abb. 98; BRESTEL 2017, 199–211, Abb. 146A, 148.

**Moo5** situla handle with baluster-shaped finials, fr. (Fig. 23)

**T/D:** E18–23; square in section, only one baluster is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** l 188; L (reconstr.) ca 240. **Ch:** opp; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 895. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 81, 133, Tf. 24, Nr. 389.

**Moo6** baluster-shaped situla handle finial (Fig. 23)

**T/D:** E18–23; **M:** AE; **D:** h 58. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1867/491. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 81, 133, Tf. 24, Nr. 395.

**Moo7** (baluster-shaped?) finial of a situla handle, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** mentioned; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt. **B:** RIEDEL 1993, 238.

**Moo8** triangular situla handle attachment (Fig. 23)

**T/D:** E20; **M:** AE; **D:** L 92, H 55. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/1. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 81, 132, Tf. 25, Nr. 396.

**Moo9** situla attachment shank and eyelet (Fig. 23)

**T/D:** E19?; **M:** AE; **D:** h 70. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1956/758. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 81–82, 132, Tf. 25, Nr. 397.

**Moo10** ornithomorph pan handle finial (Fig. 29)

**T/D:** –; naturalistically modelled; **M:** AE; **D:** l 52. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/1735. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 89–90, 132, Taf. 25, Nr. 399.

**Moo11** pan handle including the hook (Fig. 29)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** l ca 100, head L 34. **Ch:** opp; **P:** excavation 1998–1999, Befund 1103-2 g (pit with plentiful metallic finds interpreted as a ritual assemblage rather than a workshop refuse of raw material); **L:** ArStSm München. **B:** SIEVERS *et al.* 2000, 374, Abb. 10: 3; SIEVERS 2003, 91, Abb. 99; SIEVERS *et al.* 2013, 196, Abb. 43: 16.

**Moo12** ornithomorph finial of a pan handle, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** pan; **M:** AE; **D:** –. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt. **B:** RIEDEL 1993, 235.

**Moo13** figural handle attachment fr. (Fig. 32)

**T/D:** jug, Kelheim?; attachment depicting a bearded male face; **M:** AE; **D:** l 27, w 18. **Ch:** opp; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 5738. **B:** WERNER 1954, 48; VAN ENDERT 1991, 84, 122, Taf. 9, Nr. 236.

**Moo14** handle attachment fr. (Fig. 32)

**T/D:** jug, Ornavasso/Gallarate type; flat bar with lateral curved branches; **M:** AE; **D:** h 47. **Ch:** opp; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 5731. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 84–85, 133, Taf. 25, Nr. 402.

**Moo15** jug handle, fr. (Fig. 32)

**T/D:** jug, Piatra Neamț type; both branches with zoomorphic terminations and a portion of the handle, a spool-shaped thumb-rest; **M:** AE; **D:** h 72, w 105, rim Diam.

242 The Manching finds are as a rule published without detailed information on the find context. In the case of those kept in the ArStSm Munich it can be to some extent understood based on the year of its acceptance to the collection.

120. **Ch:** opp; **P** part of the Leisenhart hoard; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° II 9810. **B:** WERNER 1954, 53, Abb. 5:2; ULBERT 1960, 25, 71; VAN ENDERT 1991, Taf. 25, Nr. 403.

**Mo16** kidney-shaped vessel foot with holes (**Fig. 37**)  
**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 51. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1958/470. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 85, 135, Taf. 27, Nr. 438.

**Mo17** kidney-shaped vessel foot with dimples (**Fig. 37**)  
**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 44. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 5732/1. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 85, 135, Taf. 27, Nr. 440.

**Mo18** kidney-shaped vessel foot with dimples (**Fig. 37**)  
**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 41. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/1207. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 85, 135, Taf. 27, Nr. 441.

**Mo19** kidney-shaped vessel foot with dimples (**Fig. 37**)  
**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 39. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1958/133. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 85, 135, Taf. 27, Nr. 442.

**Mo20** kidney-shaped vessel foot with dimples (**Fig. 37**)  
**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 54. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1959/251. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 85, 135, Taf. 27, Nr. 439.

**Mo21** kidney-shaped vessel foot (not depicted)  
**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt. **B:** RIEDEL 1993, 237.

**Mo22** kidney-shaped vessel foot (not depicted)  
**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt. **B:** RIEDEL 1993, 237.

**Mo23** kidney-shaped vessel foot (not depicted)  
**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt. **B:** RIEDEL 1993, 237.

**Mo24** kidney-shaped vessel foot (not depicted)  
**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt. **B:** RIEDEL 1993, 237.

**Mo25** spectacles-shaped vessel foot (**Fig. 37**)  
**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 45. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/1785. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 85, 135, Taf. 27, Nr. 443.

**Mo26** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (**Fig. 37**)  
**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 49. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1963/1024. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 85, 135, Taf. 27, Nr. 445.

**Mo27** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (**Fig. 37**)  
**T/D:** with angled corners and appendices on the inner lugs; **M:** AE; **D:** L 46. **Ch:** opp; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 5732/2. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 85, 135, Taf. 27, Nr. 447.

**Mo28** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (**Fig. 37**)  
**T/D:** massive, with a vertical wall along its outer edge; **M:** AE; **D:** L 57. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1959/293. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 82-83, 135, Tf. 27, Nr. 446.

**Mo29** ox-hide-shaped vessel foot (**Fig. 37**)  
**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 57, W 15. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/1919. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 82-83, 135, Tf. 27, Nr. 444.

**Mo30** strainer wall, fr. (**Fig. 44**)

**T/D:** the entire circumference of the rim and a part of the body is preserved; perforations in radial vertical lines with pairs of diagonal lines towards it; **M:** AE; **D:** 78 × 48, 53 × 40. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Leisenhardt fund; **L:** Mus. für Vor- und Frühgeschichte Berlin, Inv. n° II 9809. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 135, Taf. 27, Nr. 450.

**Mo31** strainer thumb piece (**Fig. 44**)  
**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** W 69. **Ch:** opp; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 892. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 133, Taf. 27, Nr. 409.

**Mo32** strainer thumb piece (**Fig. 44**)  
**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** W 61. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/1123. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 135, Taf. 27, Nr. 410.

**Mo33** strainer thumb piece (**Fig. 44**)  
**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** W 61. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1967/17. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 135, Taf. 27, Nr. 411.

**Mo34** strainer thumb piece (**Fig. 44**)  
**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** W 55. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/2182. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 136, Taf. 27, Nr. 412.

**Mo35** strainer thumb piece (**Fig. 44**)  
**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** W 65. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1961/83. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 136, Taf. 27, Nr. 413.

**Mo36** strainer thumb piece (**Fig. 44**)  
**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** 65 × 42. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1961/83. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 136, Taf. 27, Nr. 414.

**Mo37** strainer thumb piece (**Fig. 44**)  
**T/D:** the right head is broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** W (reconstr.) 53. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1902/31. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 136, Taf. 27, Nr. 415.

**Mo38** strainer thumb piece (**Fig. 44**)  
**T/D:** right head and tail ends broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** L 44, w 35. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/3. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 136, Taf. 27, Nr. 416.

**Mo39** strainer thumb piece (**Fig. 44**)  
**T/D:** one head is broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** w 34, L 41. **Ch:** opp; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 5733a/1. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 136, Taf. 27, Nr. 417.

**Mo40** strainer thumb piece, fr. (**Fig. 44**)  
**T/D:** only the front part is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** W 57. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1967/201. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 136, Taf. 27, Nr. 418.

**Mo41** strainer thumb piece, fr. (**Fig. 44**)  
**T/D:** thin with angular profile, only the front part is preserved, the left head is damaged; **M:** AE; **D:** w 48, l 20. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1967/639. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 136, Taf. 27, Nr. 419.

**Mo42** strainer thumb piece, fr. (**Fig. 44**)  
**T/D:** thin with angular profile; only the front part is preserved, the left head is broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** w 36, l 14. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/1795. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 136, Taf. 27, Nr. 420.

**Mo43** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 44)

**T/D:** both heads are broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** l 36. **Ch:** opp; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 5733 a/2. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 136, Taf. 27, Nr. 421.

**Mo44** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 44)

**T/D:** only the tail part is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** l 27. **Ch:** opp; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 5733 a/3. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 136, Taf. 27, Nr. 422.

**Mo45** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 44)

**T/D:** only the tail part is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** l. 26. **Ch:** opp; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 5733 a/5. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 136, Taf. 27, Nr. 423.

**Mo46** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 44)

**T/D:** only the tail part is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** l 24. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/2320. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 136, Taf. 27, Nr. 424.

**Mo47** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 44)

**T/D:** only the tail part is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** l 27. **Ch:** opp; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 5733 a/4. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 136, Taf. 27, Nr. 425.

**Mo48** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 44)

**T/D:** only the tail part is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** l 25. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/2072. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 136, Taf. 27, Nr. 426.

**Mo49** strainer thumb piece, fr. (Fig. 44)

**T/D:** only the tail part is preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** l 19. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1962/349. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 88, 136, Taf. 27, Nr. 427.

**Mo50** strainer thumb piece, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt. **B:** RIEDEL 1993, 237.

**Mo51** strainer thumb piece, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt. **B:** RIEDEL 1993, 237.

**Mo52** strainer thumb piece, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt. **B:** RIEDEL 1993, 238.

**Mo53** strainer thumb piece, fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt. **B:** RIEDEL 1993, 238.

See **Mo70**

**Mo54** strainer handle (Fig. 44)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 43. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1967/482. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 89, 134, Taf. 27, Nr. 428.

**Mo55** strainer handle (Fig. 44)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 34. **Ch:** opp; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 5733b/1. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 89, 134, Taf. 27, Nr. 429.

**Mo56** strainer handle (Fig. 44)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 38. **Ch:** opp; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 892. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 89, 134, Taf. 27, Nr. 430.

**Mo57** strainer handle (Fig. 44)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** l 29. **Ch:** opp; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 5733b/2. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 89, 134, Taf. 27, Nr. 431.

**Mo58** strainer handle (Fig. 44)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** l 26. **Ch:** opp; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 894. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 89, 134, Taf. 27, Nr. 432.

**Mo59** strainer handle (Fig. 44)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** l 20. **Ch:** opp; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 910. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 89, 134, Taf. 27, Nr. 433.

**Mo60** strainer handle (Fig. 44)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 35. **Ch:** opp; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 5733b/3. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 89, 134, Taf. 27, Nr. 434.

**Mo61** strainer handle (Fig. 44)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** l 30. **Ch:** opp; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 893. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 89, 134, Taf. 27, Nr. 435.

**Mo62** strainer handle (Fig. 44)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** L 35. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/1140. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 89, 134, Taf. 27, Nr. 436.

**Mo63** strainer handle, fr. (Fig. 44)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** l 21. **Ch:** opp; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 5733b/4. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 89, 134, Taf. 27, Nr. 437.

See **Mo71**

**Mo64** mug, complete with its handle (Fig. 49)

**T/D:** Idria type, **M:** AE; **D:** mug H 100, rim Diam. 90, base Diam. 100; handle H 92, handle W 75. **Ch:** opp; **L:** body: Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 1000; handle: Mus. für Vor- und Frühgeschichte Berlin, Inv. n° II 9811. **B:** WERNER 1954, 53, Abb 5: 1; ULBERT 1960; VAN ENDERT 1991, 85–86, 133, Taf. 25, Nr. 400, 401.

**Mo65** mug handle (Fig. 49)

**T/D:** Idria type; missing the lower attachment and a part of the right arm; **M:** AE; **D:** h 51, w 59. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1959/136. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 133, Taf. 26, Nr. 405.

**Mo66** mug handle (Fig. 49)

**T/D:** Idria type; one branch and a portion of the handle is preserved, decoration with two concentric circles at their crossing; **M:** AE; **D:** h 68, w 56. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1958/167. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 86, 133, Taf. 25, Nr. 404.

**Mo67** mug handle fr. (Fig. 49)

**T/D:** Idria type; **M:** AE; **D:** h 23, w 30. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/1440. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 133, Taf. 26, Nr. 406.

**Mo68** mug? handle, fr. (Fig. 49)

**T/D:** Idria type?; **M:** AE; **D:** h 64. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/1778. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 133, Taf. 26, Nr. 407.

**Mo69** vessel handle (Fig. 50)

**T/D:** amphora?; **M:** AE; **D:** H 52. **Ch:** opp; **P:** excavation 1998–1999, 'Befund 1490a'; the pit is believed to be asso-

ciated with burial activities. **B:** SIEVERS *et al.* 2000, 374; SIEVERS 2013, 228, Abb. 56: 7.

**M070** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 44)

**T/D:** complete; **M:** AE; **D:** 58 × 44. **Ch:** opp; **P:** excavations 1984–1987; **L:** ArStSm München?. **B:** SIEVERS 1992, fig. 83: 9.

**M071** strainer handle, fr. (Fig. 44)

**T/D:** the attachment plate is not preserved; **M:** AE; **D:** H 36, w 18. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München?. **B:** SIEVERS 1992, fig. 83: 8.

**M200** blue opaque glass vessel fr. (Fig. 62)

**T/D:** wall; **M:** glass; **D:** 10 × 6; **Ch:** opp; **P:** trench 157, occupation layer; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1962/57. **B:** GEBHARD – FEUGÈRE 1995, 504, Abb. 1. Nr. 1.

**M201** blue opaque glass vessel fr. (Fig. 62)

**T/D:** wall; **M:** glass; **D:** 12 × 9. **Ch:** opp; **P:** trench 161, pit e; associated with LT C2 pottery; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1962/206. **B:** GEBHARD – FEUGÈRE 1995, 504, Abb. 1. Nr. 2.

**M202** blue opaque glass vessel fr (Fig. 62)

**T/D:** wall; **M:** glass; **D:** 19 × 10. **Ch:** opp; **P:** trench 624, pit a; associated with LT 1 pottery; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/126. **B:** GEBHARD – FEUGÈRE 1995, 504, Abb. 1. Nr. 3.

**M203** blue opaque glass vessel fr. - rim (Fig. 62)

**T/D:** semi-globular bowl with a double horizontal groove below the rim and another groove lower on the wall; **M:** glass; **D:** 38 × 26. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Trench 171, Planum 4/5; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1962/410. **B:** GEBHARD – FEUGÈRE 1995, 504, Abb. 1, Nr. 4.

**M204** blue opaque glass vessel fr. - rim (not depicted)

**T/D:** semi-globular bowl; **M:** glass; **D:** 22 × 10, Diam. 120. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Excavation 1996–1997; **L:** ArStSm München. **B:** SIEVERS *et al.* 1998, 642, Abb. 8: 9; SIEVERS *et al.* 2013, 196, Abb. 28: 2.

See **M212–M213**

**M205** ribbon glass fr (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** purple body with a white band; **M:** glass; **D:** 28 × 13. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Schnitt 725, occupation layer; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/1729. **B:** GEBHARD – FEUGÈRE 1995, 505, Abb. 1, Nr. 7.

**M206** ribbon glass fr (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** wall; blue, turquoise, and purple bands with white threads; **M:** glass; **D:** 18 × 11. **Ch:** opp; **P:** between baulk C and trench 171; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1962/395. **B:** GEBHARD – FEUGÈRE 1995, 506, Abb. 1, Nr. 9.

**M207** millefiori glass fr. (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** green and turquoise bands with opaque yellow threads + opaque yellow tesserae; **M:** glass; **D:** 21 × 15. **Ch:** opp; **P:** trench 112, posthole 15; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1959/112. **B:** GEBHARD – FEUGÈRE 1995, 506, Abb. 1. Nr. 10.

**M208** millefiori glass fr (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** blue body with white thread spirals with opaque yellow centres + yellow and white opaque tesserae; two joining fr.; **M:** glass; **D:** 22 × 18. **Ch:** opp; **P:** trench 168, upper portion of the occupation layer; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1962/329. **B:** GEBHARD – FEUGÈRE 1995, 506, Abb. 1, Nr. 11.

**M209** millefiori glass bowl rim, fr (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** bowl with straight walls; turquoise and blue bands with interlaid with opaque white threads + yellow tesserae; **M:** glass; **D:** 18 × 21. **Ch:** opp; **P:** trench 168, upper portion of the culture layer; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1956/476. **B:** GEBHARD – FEUGÈRE 1995, 506, Abb. 1, Nr. 8.

**M210** millefiori glass bowl rim, fr (Fig. 61)

**T/D:** bowl with slightly curved walls; clear translucent glass body with amber-coloured threads arranged in rays around blue central tesserae + stray turquoise tessera; added rim of blue glass; two joining fr; **M:** glass; **D:** 36 × 47, 29 × 22, **Ch:** opp; **P:** trench 20, stray find; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1956/286. **B:** GEBHARD – FEUGÈRE 1995, 506, Abb. 1, Nr. 12.

**M211** millefiori glass fr (not depicted)

**T/D:** wall; purple body with white spiral threads; and white stray tesserae with a median line; **M:** glass; **D:** 50 × 28. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Excavations 1996–1997, N part of the excavated area; **L:** ArStSm München. **B:** SIEVERS *et al.* 1998, 644, Abb. 9: 2; SIEVERS *et al.* 2013, 196, Abb. 62: 2.

**M212** blue opaque glass vessel fr. - rim (Fig. 62)

**T/D:** bowl with inward inclined walls; **M:** glass; **D:** 22 × 16, Diam. 60. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Excavation 1984–1987; **L:** ArStSm München. **B:** SIEVERS 1992, Abb. 83: 12.

**M213** blue opaque glass vessel fr. - rim (Fig. 62)

**T/D:** bowl with outturned walls; **M:** glass; **D:** 37 × 29, Diam. 90. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Excavation 1984–1987; **L:** ArStSm München. **B:** SIEVERS 1992, Abb. 83: 13.

**M300** disc mirror fr. - rim (Fig. 66)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** l 52, Diam. ca 100. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1959/36. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 62–65, 127, Taf. 16, Nr. 307.

**M301** mirror fr. - rim (Fig. 66)

**T/D:** rectangular mirror; **M:** AE; **D:** l 39. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/11. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 62–65, 127, Taf. 16, Nr. 308.

**M302** disc mirror fr. - rim (Fig. 66)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** l 37. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1956/924. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 62–65, 127, Taf. 16, Nr. 309.

**M303** disc mirror fr. (Fig. 66)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** l 24. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/1948. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 62–65, 127, Taf. 16, Nr. 311.

**M304** disc mirror fr. - rim (Fig. 66)

**T/D:** -; **M:** AE; **D:** l 24. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/1965. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 62–65, 127, Taf. 16, Nr. 313.

**M305** disc mirror fr. – rim (Fig. 66)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** l 21. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/105. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 62–65, 127, Taf. 16, Nr. 316.

**M310a–M310m** – mirror fr.-s without the rim preserved (Fig. 66) All **M:** AE, **Ch.** opp.

**P:** excavations before 1984; **L:** ArStSm München; **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 62–65, 127, Taf. 16, Nr. 310, 312, 314, 315, 317–323.

**M310a, D:** l 39. Inv. n° 1974/1910. **M310b, D:** l 29. Inv. n° 1959/104. **M310c, D:** l 25. Inv. n° 1959/292. **M310d, D:** l 23. Inv. n° 1959/164. **M310e, D:** l 17. Inv. n° 1974/1945. **M310f, D:** l 12. Inv. n° 1974/1794. **M310g, D:** l 16. Inv. n° 1974/1944. **M310h, D:** l 14. Inv. n° 1967/644. **M310i, D:** l 15. Inv. n° 1974/185. **M310j, D:** l 12. Inv. n° 1974/1895. **M310k, D:** l 11. Inv. n° 1974/1826.

**P:** excavations 1984–1987; **L:** ArStSm München?; **B:** SIEVERS 1992, 166, Abb. 80: 8–10.

**M310l, D:** 27 × 35 × 2.5. **M310m, D:** 15 × 13 × 2. **M310n, D:** 10 × 12 × 1.

**M400** green melon-shaped bead (not depicted)

**T/D:** elongated bead with beaded rings around both ends and with longitudinal ribbing; **M:** glass; **D:** L. 26.1, Diam. 20.6–21.6. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1959/120. **B:** GEBHARD 1989a, 173, 239, Tf. 46, Nr. 657.

**M401** blue cylindrical bead with prunts (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 316, Adria type, cobalt blue; **M:** glass; **D:** L 6.5, Diam. 1.5; **Ch:** opp; **P:** surface find?; **L:** coll. Kranzow. **B:** GEBHARD 1989a, 174, 240, Tf. 47, Nr. 688.

**M402** blue cylindrical bead with prunts (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 316, Adria type, cobalt blue; **M:** glass; **D:** L 5.8, Diam. 1–1.5. **Ch:** opp; **P:** excavation 1984; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1984/4767 m. **B:** GEBHARD 1989a, 174, 240, Tf. 47, Nr. 689.

**M403** green cylindrical bead with prunts (not depicted)

**T/D:** Venclová 317?, Adria type, dark green; **M:** glass; **D:** L 6, Diam. 0.6–1.4. **h:** opp; **P:** excavation 1984; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1984/5032k. **B:** GEBHARD 1989a, 174, 240, Tf. 47, Nr. 690.

**M440** Fe finger ring with an amber gemstone depicting a hypocamp (Fig. 72)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b, complete; **M:** AE and amber; **D:** 22 × 13 × 21. **Ch:** opp; **P:** excavation 1998–1999; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° Fundzettel 26408. **B:** SIEVERS *et al.* 2000, 372; SIEVERS 2003, 74, Abb. 79, PLATZ-HARSTER 2018, 25.

**M441** Fe ring (Fig. 71)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; complete with the gemstone missing; **M:** Fe; **D:** outer Diam. 18, bezel 16 × 11; **Ch:** opp; **P:** Altenfeld excavation 1996–1999. **B:** SIEVERS 2013, 170, Abb. 5: 9.

**M442** AE ring with an illegible glass gemstone (Fig. 71)

**T/D:** part of the shank is missing; **M:** AE + glass; **D:** outer Diam. 20, Bezel 14 × 9. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Altenfeld excavation 1996–1999. **B:** SIEVERS 2013, 170, Abb. 5:10.

**M443** finger ring fr. (Fig. 71)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b, part of the shank missing and deformed; **M:** AE; **D:** 16 × 8, bezel 14 × 10. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/1344. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 13–14, 116, Tf. 4, Nr. 86.

**M444** Fe ring (Fig. 71)

**T/D:** Guiraud 1b; complete but with the shank deformed and gemstone missing; **M:** Fe; **D:** ca 17 × 20, bezel L 19, w 11; **Ch:** opp; **P:** Südumgehung excavation 1965, pit 195a; **L:** ArStSm München. **B:** LORENZ 2004, Taf. 17: 17.

**M500** spatula (Fig. 82)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** l 152. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1958/240. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 66, 128, Nr. 324, Taf. 17.

**M501** spatula (Fig. 82)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** l 94. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1962/432. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 66, 128, Nr. 325, Taf. 17.

**M502** spatula? (Fig. 82)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** l 67. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1961/26. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 66, 128, Nr. 329, Taf. 17.

**M503** spatula (Fig. 82)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** L 188. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Excavation 1984–1987; **L:** ArStSm München. **B:** SIEVERS 1992, 166, Abb. 80: 7.

**M540** stylus fr. (Fig. 85)

**T/D:** Gostenčnik type 2; **M:** bone; **D:** l 103. **Ch:** opp; **P:** 1972, Grube 755c; **L:** not reported. **B:** JACOBI 1974b, Abb. 1: 2.

**M600** black gloss cup, fr. (Fig. 90)

**T/D:** Lamboglia 2, base; **M:** clay; **D:** base Diam. 70, h ca 50; **Ch:** opp; **P:** Altenfeld, excavation 1996–1997; **L:** ArStSm München. **B:** SIEVERS *et al.* 1998, 637, Abb. 5; SIEVERS *et al.* 2013, 633, Abb. 9: 1; KYSELA – MAGGETTI – SCHNEIDER 2013, 222, fig. 2, n° 6.

**M601** black gloss pottery bowl (Fig. 90)

**T/D:** Lamboglia 27, complete vessel. The ceramic body is ochre; the slip though mostly preserved is worn in relatively large areas. It is rather irregularly black and shiny with bluish tones; **M:** clay; **D:** H 48, Diam. 115. **Ch:** opp; **L:** Kelten Römer Mus. Manching, Inv. n° 1958/ 147, 258. **B:** STÖCKLI 1979a, 194, 255, Nr. 1057, Taf. 78; KYSELA – MAGGETTI – SCHNEIDER 2013, 222, fig. 2, n° 5.

**M602a, M602b** black gloss pottery bowl – rim (a) and wall (b) (Fig. 90)

**T/D:** Lamboglia 28; the ceramic body is compact, relatively soft with very numerous inclusions of black dots and stains, its colour is a) light ochre (Munsell code 10YR 8/3 light yellow orange) and b) light grey (2.5Y 8/2 light grey); deep black matt slip; according to provenance analyses both sherds come from a single vessel which seems possible based on their find context. **M:** clay; **D:** a) 47 × 22, Diam. 180, b) 38 × 37. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Manching Zentralfläche, 1956, section 43w, a) pit 'e', b) depression I; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° a) 1956/692, b) 1956/696. **B:** KRÄMER – SCHUBERT 1970, 96; STÖCKLI 1979a, 194, 255, Taf. 78, Nr. 1056 (a); KYSELA – MAGGETTI – SCHNEIDER 2013, 220–222, fig. 3: 3, 4: 3 and 3: 4. 4: 4.

**M603a, M603b** black gloss pottery plate – rim, 2 fr. (a) and foot (b) (**Fig. 90**)

**T/D:** Lamboglia 5/7; decorated with a roulette wreath around the centre of the inside of the base. The ceramic body is compact, with numerous tiny black dots; a) dull yellow orange (10YR 7/3 to 7.5YR7/3), the slip is thick and cohesive opaque black with occasional brownish shades on the foot. The breaks are sharp and clean; **M:** clay; **D:** a) 80 × 42, Diam. 240, b) 86 × 39, foot Diam. 90. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Manching Südumgehung a) 1965, trench 220, pit b; and trench 224, pit d; b) 1962, trench 175, surface strata; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° a) 1967/226, 1967/241, b) 1963/1027. **B:** STÖCKLI 1979a, 192–194, 255, Taf. 78, Nr. 1054, 1055; KYSELA – MAGGETTI – SCHNEIDER 2013, 219–220, fig. 3: 1, 4: 2 and 3: 2, 4: 3.

**M604** common-ware pottery one-handed jug (**Fig. 96**)

**T/D:** complete vessel; clear buff clay, with a large neck, circular rim and a single handle; **M:** clay; **D:** H 186, rim Diam. 86. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Altenfeld, excavation 1996–1997. **B:** SIEVERS *et al.* 2013, 633, Abb. 9: 2.

**M700–736** amphora rims (**Fig. 99**)

All **T/D:** Dressel 1; **M:** clay; **Ch:** opp; **B:** STÖCKLI 1979a, 120–191; LYDING HILL 1987.

Given that I have not studied the Manching amphorae in any detail, I refer the reader to the works of Stöckli and Lyding Will. The assemblage available to them comprised 35 rims (= 35 MNI), 12 toes, 22 shoulders, and 41 handles. The finds from 1990s excavations are described as ‘extremely numerous’ but in the absence of precise quantification we can only count one individual from these – the one depicted in the report (Gebhard in SIEVERS *et al.* 2013, 633, Abb. 9:3). This raises the MNI of Manching amphorae and the n° of our catalogue entries to 36.

**M800** otolith of *diplodus annularis*, L. (not depicted)

**T/D:** inner ear bone of Annular seabream (*diplodus annularis* L.); **M:** bone; **D:** ridiculously tiny indeed. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Central area of oppidum, excavation 1997. **B:** MANHARD 1998.

**M900** *Stachelring* (**Fig. 109**)

**T/D:** three long protrusions, part of one ring is broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** l 51. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1961/78. **B:** JACOBI 1974a, 192–195, 307, Taf. 53: 818; VAN ENDERT 1991, 74–75, 131, Taf. 22, Nr. 384.

**M901** *Stachelring* (**Fig. 109**)

**T/D:** complete, three thorns; **M:** Fe; **D:** L 85. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1956/613. **B:** JACOBI 1974a, 192–195, 307, Taf. 53: 819.

**M902** helmet cheek-piece (**Fig. 109**)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** L 124, W 85. **Ch:** pre-opp; **P:** ‘hoard A12’ collected in three nearby spots in 1936 somewhere in the centre of the oppidum; it consists of several dozen pieces of LT B2–C weaponry, wagon parts, and a rare personal ornament; **L:** Mus. Ingolstadt, Inv. n° 320. **B:** SIEVERS 2010, 35–37, 72–81, Abb. 17, Taf. 59, Nr. 792.

**M950** raw glass (not depicted)

Listed in VENCLOVÁ 2016, 109.

**Mx01** Attachment of a two-handled vessel (**Fig. 18**)

**T/D:** ‘situla’; D-shaped slab with two holes in the lobes and a central post; decorated with crude carving – grooves around the holes, herring-bone motif up the post and an extremely schematic human face at its top; **M:** AE; **D:** W 40, H 21. **Ch:** opp; **P:** the Leisenhart hoard; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1902/31. **B:** VAN ENDERT 1991, 82, 132, Tf. 25, Nr. 398; KYSELA 2020.

**Mx20** glass vessel rim (not depicted)

**T/D:** bowl? Blown transparent light green glass; **M:** glass. **Ch:** post-opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1959/21. **B:** GEBHARD – FEUGÈRE 1995.

**Mx21** ribbed bowl fr. – rim (not depicted)

**T/D:** light blue translucent glass; **M:** glass. **Ch:** post-opp?; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1974/1801. **B:** GEBHARD – FEUGÈRE 1995.

**Mx50** toilet instrument (not depicted)

**T/D:** moulded bar with a small spoon at one end and a V-shaped blade on the other, a flat straight blade projecting from the middle of the bar; no Mediterranean parallels are known, likely to be a local product; **M:** AE; **D:** L 124. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1967/86. **B:** JACOBI 1974a, 95–97, 292, Taf. 29, Nr. 531.

**Mx51** ‘medical instrument’ (not depicted)

**T/D:** finely moulded bar; discussed as a potential medical instrument but no Mediterranean parallels are attested – probably a local product; **M:** Fe. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München. **B:** SIEVERS 1992, 166, Abb. 80: 6.

**Mx60** ‘black gloss’ pottery handle (not depicted)

**T/D:** curved bar circular in section; the ceramic body is coarse with very frequent siliceous inclusions up to millimetre dimensions, the break is highly irregular, bright brick-orange (7.5YR 7/6 orange), the slip (?) is a thick opaque black with dark brown tinges; **M:** clay; **D:** l 32; **Ch:** modern; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1957/252. **B:** STÖCKLI 1979, 194, 255, Taf. 78, Nr. 1058; KYSELA – MAGGETTI – SCHNEIDER 2013, 222, Abb. 3: 6a, 4: 6a.

**Mx80–81** lap-dog mandibles (not depicted)

**T/D:** –; **M:** bone; **D:** ‘Länge der Backzahnreihe 46 und 46,5 mm’. **Ch:** opp. **B:** BOESSNECK *et al.* 1971, 82, 92.

**Mx82** tibia of a brachymelic dog (not depicted)

**T/D:** –; **M:** bone; **D:**. **Ch:** opp. **B:** BOESSNECK *et al.* 1971, 90–91, 92.

**Mx83** bones of ‘bigger horses’ (not depicted)

**T/D:** not quantified; **M:** bone; **Ch:** opp. **B:** BOESSNECK *et al.* 1971, 30–31.

**Marklkofen an der Isar**, Lkr. Dingolfing-Landau, Bavaria, DE

A *Viereckschanze* discovered and excavated during a rescue intervention in 2017. Information kindly provided by Caroline von Nicolai.

**Mkk1** amphora sherds (not depicted)

No further information is available. **L:** VON NICOLAI in print, mentioned.

**Munich-Obermenzing**, Munich, Bavaria, DE

A flat cemetery with 17 inhumation and cremation burials (and a series of stray finds) partly excavated (G. von Merhart), partly destroyed in 1910–1913. Both studied objects come from Gr. 7 (exc. 1910) including among other things a sword, spearhead, a shield, and a razor. **L:** AsStSm München, Inv. n° 1910/203–204, 206–213, 221 (the entire grave inventory). KRÄMER 1985, 121–123, Taf. 58–61.

**MOB1** retractor (not depicted)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** L 192. **Ch:** pre-opp. **B:** KRÄMER 1985, 121, Taf. 59, Nr. 8.

**MOB2** bone saw (not depicted)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** l 195. **Ch:** pre-opp. **B:** KRÄMER 1985, 121, Taf. 59, Nr. 7.

**Passau**, Lkr. Passau, Lower Bavaria, DE

The Old Town of Passau on a peninsula at the confluence of the Danube, Inn, and Ilz covers a large agglomeration (37 ha) whose occupation dates to LT C2–D1b. So far there is no evidence of fortification. All data come from relatively small-scale rescue excavations. NIEMEIER 2003; 2009, IRLINGER: Passau In: *LKA*, 1449–1450.

**Pas1** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 45)

**T/D:** complete, though bent; **M:** AE; **D:** not reported. **Ch:** opp; **P:** Passau-Neumarkt, rescue excavation in the city centre in 2006–2007, LT period pit; **L:** not reported. **B:** NIEMEIER 2009, 232, Abb. 19.

**Raitenbucher Forst**, Raitenbuch, Lkr. Weißenburg-Gunzenhausen, Bavaria, DE**RbF1** jug (not depicted)

**T/D:** Kelheim type; complete body, handle and feet are missing; **M:** AE; **D:** H 215. **Ch:** opp; **P:** stray find, the jug contained a hoard of 433 gold coins; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1998, 43. **B:** WAMSER – FLÜGEL – ZIEGAUS eds. 2000, 312, Nr. 3c.

**Salzburg**, Salzburg, AT

Several spots of the area covered by the city of Salzburg and its surroundings yielded LT period finds, most significantly the summit of the Rainberg, possibly on the Kapuzinerberg but also the lowland parts, in Kleßheim and Maxglan, surely not to be understood as a single settlement unit. Little to nothing is clear as to actual find contexts of the finds (often old discoveries or in secondary positions). MOOSLEITNER: Salzburg-Rainberg In: *LKA*, 1641.

**Slz1** strainer thumb piece (not depicted)

**T/D:** left arm is broken off; **M:** AE; **D:** L 44. **Ch:** opp; **P:**

discovered in 1883 in Salzburg-Maxglan; **L:** Mus. Carolino Augusteo Salzburg, Inv. n° 3649. **B:** SEDLMAYER 1999, 87, Taf. 34: 9.

**Steinebach am Wörthsee**, Lkr. Starnberg, Bavaria, DE

A large open agglomeration on a small hillock on the lake shore of the Wörthsee; the settlement area is at least ca 25 ha. It was investigated in the early 2000s by surface surveys and small scale excavations. Another settlement area was identified in a very small scale excavation in 1949 ca 2 km to the N. Numerous glass finds and brooches date both settlements to LT C1–C2 while LT D1 is represented only very sporadically testifying either of abandonment early in this phase or of a drastic down-scaling of the occupation. KRÄMER 1959; KAINDL 2010.

**SaW1** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 45)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** W 56. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München. **B:** KRÄMER 1952, 194, Abb. 2b: 8; CHRISTLEIN 1963–1964, 16, Nr. 7; GUILLAUMET 1991, 95, n° 80.

**Steinsburg**, Römhild, Lkr. Hildburghausen, Thuringia, DE

The fortified settlement (intramural area of 65.9 ha) is located on the Kleiner Gleichberg a landscape focal point of southern Thuringia, in a region where the elements of LT Culture meet and mix with those of Middle German Iron Age cultures. The site was already fortified in Ha D2 and the occupation enjoyed its first peak in LT A; the site does not seem to have been abandoned afterwards and traces of human occupation extend through LT B and C down to another occupation peak in LT C2–D1 when it became particularly remarkable for its rich finds of iron tools and implements. There is no evidence of LT D2. PESCHEL 2005; GRASSET: Steinsburg In: *LKA*, 1778–1780.

**Sbg1** strainer thumb piece (Fig. 45)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE; **D:** W 54, L 58. **Ch:** opp; **P:** a disturbed settlement context in the annexe outside the N gate. **B:** PESCHEL 2005, 14, Abb. 4.1.

**Wallersdorf**, Lkr. Dingolfing-Landau, Bavaria, DE**Wld1** strainer wall fr. (not depicted)

**T/D:** –; **M:** AE. **Ch:** opp; **L:** ArStSm München, Inv. n° 1923, 294. **B:** CHRISTLEIN 1963–1964, 16, Nr. 8; GUILLAUMET 1991, 95, n° 81.

**Weißenburg**, Lkr. Weißenburg-Gunzenhausen, Bavaria, DE**We1** strainer handle (not depicted)

**T/D:** mention only; **M:** AE; **D:** unknown. **Ch:** opp. **B:** SCHÄFER 2010, note 730 in p. 118.

## Appendix III - Catalogue of Greek coins

The catalogue is organised according to regions and sites of discovery; the countries and regions of Transalpine Europe in alphabetical order are followed by northeastern Italy. The coins considered for each region are followed by an overview of coins excluded from consideration for various reasons. The provided information is reduced to the absolute minimum necessary for the purposes of the present study.

The single entries are structured as follows:

**Site of discovery**, administrative region

- number of coins if more than one, issuing authority, place of issue (region of issue, broad area of issue), coin metal, denomination (chronology), comment. **P**: provenance. **B**: bibliography.

Categories irrelevant or unavailable for the entry are omitted without further comments, uncertain information may be replaced with a question mark.

Broad areas of issue are those defined in chapter 2.3, i.e. Africa (abbr. Afr), Greek Sicily (Sic), Southern Italy (SIIt), Western Mediterranean (W), the Adriatic (Adr), Greece, the Aegean, Macedonia and Thrace (Gr/Th), Asia Minor and Near East (Or), and Ptolemaic territories (Egy).

The chronology is expressed in Arabic numerals of the years and in Roman numerals for centuries BC. Coin metals: AV = gold, AR = silver, AE = copper alloys.

In most cases the information on provenance is not available; when it is the case, only basic characterisation is provided (settl., hoard, sanctuary, isolated find) unless the information has some relevance for the study.

**Austria***Kärnten***Gurina**, Dellach

- Ptolemy III (Egypt, Egy), AE (246-221). **P:** settl.

**B:** JABLONKA 2001, 182, Nr. 1.

- 5 × Ptolemy IV (Egypt, Egy), AE (221-205). **P:** settl.

**B:** JABLONKA 2001, 182, Nr. 2-5.

- Ptolemy V (Egypt, Egy), AE (205-180). **P:** settl.

**B:** JABLONKA 2001, 182, Nr. 6.

**Niederdorf**, Treffen, Töbring

- Phlius Phlasiæ (Peloponnesus, Gr/Th); AR (370-280).

**P:** isol.; possibly part of a hoard of 29 local tetradrachms and a Roman quinarius (43/42 BC). **B:** FMRÖ II/3, 1989, 6/14 (3)-1.

**Tiffen**, Steindorf

- Ptolemy X and Cleopatra III (Egypt, Egy), AE (117-111).

**P:** isol., found in 1907. **B:** FMRÖ II/3, 1989, 1/9 (1).

*Lower Austria***'Niederösterreich'**

- Carthage (Zeugitana, Pun), AE (221-202). **P:** -. **B:** DEMBSKI 1994, 63-64.

**Bernhardsthal**, Mistelbach

- Massalia (W), AE (late III). **P:** -. **B:** DEMBSKI 1993, 5.

**Oberleiserberg**

- Massinissa et succ. (Numidia and Mauretania, Afr), AE (208-148). **P:** settl. **B:** MILITKÝ 2011a.

**Roseldorf**

- Hiero II, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (274-212). **P:** settl.

**B:** DEMBSKI 2009, 99, Abb. B-28.

*Salzburg***Dürnbreg**

- Massalia (W), AR, obolos (410-385?). **P:** settl. **B:** NICK 2007, II, 7.

*Styria***Graz-Algersdorf**

- Philip III Arrhidaïos, Thessalonica (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (323-317). **B:** SCHACHINGER 2006, 233; FMRÖ online, 14000.

**Arnfels**, Leibnitz

- Roma, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (212). **P:** isol.

**B:** SCHACHINGER 2006, 233; NICK 2007, FMRÖ online 21234.

*Upper Austria***Linz-Neubau**

-? Greece, AE (?). **P:** settl. **B:** NICK 2007, II, 8.

- Ptolemy IV/Ptolemy VIII (Egypt, Egy), AE (170-164).

**P:** settl. **B:** NICK 2007, II, 8.

- Antigonos II Gonatas (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (277-239).

**P:** settl. **B:** NICK 2007, II, 8.

*Upper Austria - excluded***Wels**

- Ptolemy II, Sidon (Egypt, Egy), AR, tetradrachma (256-255). **P:** Imperial period settl. **B:** FMRÖ IV/1 online Ovilavis 1760.

- Aspendos (Pamphylia, Or), AR, tetradrachma (c. 400-300). **P:** Imperial period settl. **B:** FMRÖ IV/1 online Ovilavis 1759.

*Wien***Wien-Landbezirk**

- Corinth (Corinthis, Gr/Th), AE? (299-248). **B:** FMRÖ IX, 1978, 107, Nr. 3523.

*Wien - excluded*

**Wien-Burgring 5**, all **P:** discovered during construction of the present day Kunsthistorisches Museum, within the Imperial period settl.?

- Ptolemy IV (Egypt, Egy), AE (221-204). **B:** FMRÖ IX, 1978, 58, Nr. 978.

- 3 × Kyme (Aeolis, Gr/Th), AE (320-250). **B:** FMRÖ IX, 1978, 58, Nr. 973-975.

- 3 × Alexander III (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (336-323).

**B:** FMRÖ IX, 1978, 57, Nr. 964-966.

- (Syria, Or), AE (223-187). **B:** FMRÖ IX, 1978, 58, Nr. 977.

**Czech Republic***Bohemia***Běříň**, Čenkov, okr. Příbram

- Odessos (Thrace, Gr/Th), AE (late III-II). **P:** isol., 1990s.

**B:** MILITKÝ 2010b, 141-143.

**Brozány**, okr. Mělník

- Magnesia ad Meandrum (Ionia, Gr/Th), AE (350-190).

**P:** Mikš/Buchtela coll. **B:** MILITKÝ 2013, 174, n° 236.

**Červené Pečky**, okr. Kolín

- Cassander (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (306-297). **P:** Late Iron Age settl., 1912. **B:** MILITKÝ 2013, 139, n° 87.

**Dašice** - surroundings, okr. Pardubice, all **P:** hoard, before 1885

- (Greece?, Gr/Th), AE (IV-III). **B:** MILITKÝ 2013, 202, n° 398/2.

- Samos (Ionia, Gr/Th), AE (IV-III). **B:** MILITKÝ 2013, 202, n° 398/4.

- Chersonesos (Thrace, Gr/Th), AE (IV-III). **B:** MILITKÝ 2013, 202, n° 398/2.

- Panormos (Sicily, Pun), AE (IV-III). **B:** MILITKÝ 2013, 202, n° 398/2.

- Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (276-215). **B:** MILITKÝ 2013, 202, n° 398/2.

**Litoměřice**, okr. Litoměřice

- Athens (Attica, Gr/Th), Pb fourrée (186-86). **P:** isol.

**B:** MILITKÝ 2013, 234, n° 550.

**Lubeneč**, okr. Louny

- Ptolemy IV (Egypt, Egy), AE (221-205). **P:** isol. **B:** MILITKÝ 2013c.

**Mlčechvosty**, okr. Mělník

- (Greece, Gr/Th), AE (IV-III). **P:** settl. **B:** MILITKÝ 2013, 175, n° 242.

**Praha-Suchdol**

- Antigonos II Gonatas (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (277-239).

**B:** MILITKÝ 2007.

**Protivín/Vodňany**, surroundings, okr. Písek

- Dionysius I?, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AR, tetradrachma (425-413), unverified, classification according to verbal description. **P:** isol., 1907. **B:** MILITKÝ 2010a, III/16-17, n° 713.

**Ronov nad Doubravou**, okr. Chrudim

- Abdera (Thrace, Gr/Th), AR, tetradrachma (post-148).

**P:** isol. **B:** MILITKÝ 2010a, II/12 n° 389.

**Řepov**, okr. Mladá Boleslav

- Seleucis? (Syria?, Or), AE, serratus (III-I). **P:** LT and RIA settl., found during excavation but without context.

**B:** MILITKÝ 2010a, I/218, n° 253.

**Stradonice**, okr. Beroun

- Apollonia (Illyria, Adr), AR *fourrée*, drachma (200-80).

**P:** settl. **B:** MILITKÝ 2015, 648, n° 2441.

-12 × Massinissa et succ. (Numidia and Mauretania, Afr), AE (208-148). **P:** settl. **B:** MILITKÝ 2015, 650, n° 2444-2454.

- Ptolemy VIII (Cyprus, Egy), AE (145-116). **P:** settl.

**B:** MILITKÝ 2015, 648, n° 2442.

- Kyme (Aeolis, Gr/Th), AE (350-320). **P:** settl. **B:** MILITKÝ 2015, 648, n° 2439.

- Hiero II, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (274-216). **P:** settl.

**B:** MILITKÝ 2015, 648, n° 2440.

**Straškov**, okr. Litoměřice

- Panticapaeum (Bosporus, Gr/Th), AE (IV-III). **P:** Mikš/Buchtela coll. **B:** MILITKÝ 2013, 236, n° 571.

**Svatá Kateřina**, okr. Kutná Hora

- Sicyon (Corinthis, Gr/Th), AR (330-280). **P:** isol. **B:** MILITKÝ 2013b.

**Vodňany**, okr. Strakonice

- Calacte (Sicily, Sic), AE (241-210). **P:** isol. March 1926 in house n° 20 in the city centre. **B:** MILITKÝ 2010a, III/31, n° 736.

**Všeruby**, okr. Plzeň sever

- Philip II (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (359-336). **P:** unknown. **B:** MILITKÝ 2013, 256, n° 679.

**Zlenice**, okr. Benešov

- Dyrrhachium (Illyria, Adr), AR, drachma (200-80/30). **P:** isol. **B:** MILITKÝ 2010c, 144-145.

**Žalov**, okr. Praha západ

- Massinissa et succ. (Numidia and Mauretania, Afr), AE (208-148). **P:** Berger coll., classified after verbal description, not preserved. **B:** MILITKÝ 2013, 195, n° 352.

*Bohemia - excluded*

**Horní Chvatliny**, okr. Kolín; **P:** a hoard? possibly found together with an Agrippa assus (Nemausus, post 12 BC).

- Abdera (Thrace, Gr/Th), AR, drachma (375/373-365/360). **B:** MILITKÝ 2010a, I/116, n° 101.

- (Greece, Gr/Th), AE (II-I). **B:** MILITKÝ 2010a, I/116, n° 101.

**Nebovidy**, okr. Kolín

- Abdera (Thrace, Gr/Th), AR (?). **P:** isol., uncertain, possibly only 'doubled' find from Chvatliny. **B:** MILITKÝ 2010a, I/149, n° 150.

**Obří Hrad - Studenec**, okr. Prachatice

- 4 × Massinissa et succ. (Numidia and Mauretania, Afr), AE (208-148). **P:** highly suspect find circumstances.

**B:** MILITKÝ 2010a, III/24-25, n° 725.

**Opatovice**, okr. Kutná Hora

- Lysimachus (posthum.), Byzantium (Thrace, Gr/Th), AR (323-281). **P:** isol., found in 1875 in association with medieval artefacts, possibly part of a Medieval collection.

**B:** MILITKÝ 2010a, I/200, n° 215.

**Pňov**, okr. Nymburk

- Apollonia (Illyria, Adr), AR, drachma (200-80).

**P:** hoard, in association with a Caracalla coin. **B:** MILITKÝ 2010a, I/244, n° 295.

**Spytice**, okr. Havlíčkův Brod

-? ('Greece', -). **P:** isol., not preserved, not described in detail, possibly a misclassification of a Diocletian coin from the same site. **B:** MILITKÝ 2013, 270, n° 754.

**B:** MILITKÝ 2013, 270, n° 754.

**Vrbčany**, okr. Kolín

- 'Greece' (Greece, Gr/Th), AR (?). **P:** isol., not preserved, unclear. **B:** MILITKÝ 2013, 166, n° 192.

*Moravia***Blížkovice**, okr. Znojmo

- Carthage (Zeugitana, Pun), AE (221-202). **P:** isol.

**B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2007, 437, n° II/1.

**Hrubá Vrbka**, okr. Hodonín

- Ptolemy III or IV (Egypt, Egy), AE (246-204). **P:** LT and RIA settl., MUNI detector survey. **B:** MILITKÝ 2015, 150, mention.

**Hrubčice**, okr. Prostějov

- Carthage (Zeugitana, Pun), AE (264-241). **P:** settl., surface find. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 70, VI/11.

**Jihlava**, okr. Jihlava

- Athens (Attica, Gr/Th), AR, tetradrachma (158/157).

**P:** isol. **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 155, n° 53.

**Němčice nad Hanou**, okr. Prostějov

- 2 × Ptolemy III, Cyrene (Cyrenaica, Egy), AE (246-216).

**P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 63, Nr. 1014-1015.

- the Ptolemids,? (Cyrenaica, Egy), AE (?). **P:** settl. **B:** unpublished.

- Ptolemy VI, Alexandria (Egypt, Egy), AE (180-176).

**P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 60, Nr. 1011.

- Ptolemy VI, Alexandria (Egypt, Egy), AE, halved (180-176). **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 60, Nr. 1012.

- 9 × Ptolemy VI (overstamp)/Ptolemy IV (coin), Alexandria (Egypt, Egy), AE (180-176). **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 60, Nr. 1003-1010, 1013.

- uncertain mint (Etruria, Etr), AE, cast coin (240-225).

**P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 60, Nr. 964a.

- Peithesa (Etruria, Etr), AE (III). **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 60, Nr. 964.

- Leukon II, Theodosia (Bosporus, Gr/Th), AE (240-230).

**P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 58, Nr. 955.

- Rhodes (Caria, Gr/Th), AE (2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of III). **P:** settl.

**B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 58, Nr. 956.

- Alexander III? (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (336-323?).

**P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 58, Nr. 961.

- Philip III Arrhidaios (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AV, stater (323-317). **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 58, Nr. 962.

- Philip V (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (211-197). **P:** settl.

**B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 58, Nr. 959.

- Perinthos (Thrace, Gr/Th), AE ('Alexander III period', 336-323). **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 58, Nr. 957.

- Adaios (Thrace, Gr/Th), AE (III). **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 58, Nr. 960.

- Alexander III-Philip III Arrhidaios, posthumous issue (Thrace, Gr/Th), AR (mid. II). **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 58, Nr. 958.

- (Sicily, Pun), AE (IV-III). **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 60, Nr. 984.

- (Sicily, Pun), AE (IV/III). **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 60, Nr. 985.

- 15 × Carthage (Zeugitana, Pun), AE (221-210). **P:** settl.

**B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 60, Nr. 1016-1030.

- Carthage (Zeugitana, Pun), AE (215-201). **P:** settl. **B:** unpublished.

- Lipara? (Sicily, Sic), AE (before 218). **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 60, Nr. 986.

- 2 × Hicetas, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (288-279). **P:** settl.

**B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 60, Nr. 987-988.

- 14 × Hiero II, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (274-216). **P:** settl.

**B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 60, Nr. 989-1002.

- Hiero II, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (274-216). **P:** settl.

**B:** unpublished.

- Arpi (Apulia, It), AE (III). **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012,

60, Nr. 965.

– 3 × Tarent (Apulia, SIt), AE (281–209). **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 60, Nr. 967–969.

– Tarent (Apulia, SIt), AE (275–200). **P:** settl. **B:** unpublished.

– 2 × Brettii (Bruttium, SIt), AE (?), both halved. **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 60, Nr. 1038–1038a.

– Croton (Bruttium, SIt), AE (420–390). **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 60, Nr. 976.

– Locri Epizephyrii (Bruttium, SIt), AE (208–205). **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 60, Nr. 977.

– 3 × Neapolis (Campania, SIt), AE (270–240), one of them halved. **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 60, Nr. 966, 970–971.

– Neapolis (Campania, SIt), AE, half (250–200?). **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 60, Nr. 973.

– Paestum (Lucania, SIt), AE (218–201). **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 60, Nr. 972.

– Paestum (Lucania, SIt), AE (?). **P:** settl. **B:** unpublished.

– 2 × Thurii (Lucania, SIt), AE (410–286). **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 60, Nr. 974–975.

– 3 × Massalia (W), AE (240–215). **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 63, Nr. 1031–1033.

– Ballaios (Illyria, Adr), AE (195–175? 260–230?). **P:** settl. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 58, Nr. 963.

**Polkovice**, okr. Prostějov

– Hicetas, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (287–279). **P:** settl., surface find. **B:** KOLNÍKOVÁ 2012, 71, XVII/12.

**Pustějov**, okr. Nový Jičín

– Locri Epizephyrii (Bruttium, SIt), AE (350–268). **P:** isol. **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 155, n° 55.

**‘Southern Moravia’**

– Alexander III, Amphipolis (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AV (330–320). **P:** isol. **B:** MILITKÝ 2012, 109.

## Germany

*Baden-Württemberg*

**Altenburg-Rheinau**, Kr. Andelfingen CH/ Lkr. Freiburg DE

– Massalia (W), AE (?). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 77.

**Baden-Baden**, Kr. Karlsruhe

– Ptolemy III (Egypt, Egi), AE (246–221). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 86.

**Biberach-Forbach**, Lkr. Karlsruhe

– Antiochus IV (Syria, Or), AE (175–164). **P:** isol. **B:** NICK 2007, II, 89.

**Brackenheim**, Lkr. Stuttgart

– the Ptolemies (Egypt, Egi),? (?). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 92.

**Dalkingen.Rainau**, Lkr. Stuttgart

– Nicomedes II (Bithynia, Or),? (III–early I). **P:** isol.

**B:** NICK 2007, II, 94.

**Ellwangen**, Jagst, Lkr. Stuttgart

– (Greece,?), AR, didrachma (III). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 105.

**Gamshurst**, Stadt Achern, Kr. Freiburg

– Philip II (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (359–336). **B:** NICK 2007.

**Konstanz**, Kr. Freiburg

– 2 × (Pun), AE (IV–III). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 138.

– (Pun), AE (241–238). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 138.

**Münsingen**, Kr. Tübingen

– Rhodes (Greece, Gr/Th), AR (408–mid-I). **P:** isol.

**B:** NICK 2007, II, 169.

– Suessa (Campania, SIt),? (280–268). **P:** isol. **B:** NICK

2007, II, 169.

**Pfahlheim**, Ellwangen, Kr. Stuttgart

– Alexander III (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AR, stater (336–323). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 184.

**Rottweil**, Kr. Freiburg

– Cales (Campania, SIt), AE (III). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 190.

**Stuttgart-Plieningen**

– Neapolis (Campania, SIt), AE (340–241). **P:** isol. **B:** NICK 2007, II, 201.

**Stuttgart-Plieningen**

– Metapont (Lucania, SIt), AE (post-330). **P:** isol. **B:** NICK 2007, II, 201.

**Talheim**, Kr. Stuttgart

– Ephesus? (Ionia, Gr/Th),? (VI–II). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 201.

– Velia (SIt),? (V–IV). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 201.

**Tuttlingen**, Kr. Freiburg

– Opus (Locris, Gr/Th), AR (400–338). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 206.

**Vaihingen an der Ens**, Kr. Stuttgart

– Mithridates VI (period), Amisos (Pontus, Or), AE (120–63). **P:** hoard of 600 (!) pieces?. **B:** NICK 2007, II, 207.

**Wallbach**, Bad Säckling, Kr. Freiburg

– 5 × Ptolemy IV to Ptolemy VIII (Egypt, Egi), AE (II). **P:** hoard? **B:** NICK 2007, II, 209.

*Baden-Württemberg - excluded*

**Markgröningen**, Kr. Stuttgart

– Alexander III (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AR (IV). **P:** likely a local imitation. **B:** NICK 2007.

**Stuttgart-Botnag**

– Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AR, didrachma (?). **P:** Imperial period. **B:** NICK 2007, II, 201.

*Bavaria*

**Aschaffenburg**

– Philip II? (Macedonia?, Gr/Th), AV (?). **P:** isol. **B:** NICK 2007, II, 82.

**Aubstadt**, Bad Königshofen, Unterfranken

– Massalia (W), AR, obolos (post-400). **P:** settl. **B:** NICK 2007, II, 82.

**‘Bavaria’**

– Massalia (W), AR, obolos (III/II). **P:** isol. **B:** KELLNER 1990.

**Eichenbirkig**, Weischenfeld, Lkr. Bayreuth

– Carthage (Pun), AE (221–210). **P:** cave. **B:** NICK 2007, II, 105.

**Karlstein**, Lkr. Regensburg, Upper Palatinate

– Ptolemy VI (Egypt, Egi), AE (163–145). **P:** settl. **B:** NICK 2007, II, 129.

**Manching**, Lkr. Pfaffenhofen, Upper Bavaria

–? (?), AE (220). **P:** settl. **B:** ZIEGAUS 2004, 62, Nr. 3.

– Massinissa et succ. (Numidia and Mauretania, Afr), AE (208–148). **P:** settl. **B:** KELLNER 1990, n° 799.

– Neapolis (Campania, SIt), AE (250–200). **P:** settl.

**B:** KELLNER 1990, n° 798.

**Sammenheim**, Altmühltal, Mittelfranken

– Alexander III, Amphipolis (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (c. 320). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 192.

**Staffelberg**, Lkr. Lichtenfels, Oberfranken

– Ariarathes IV Eusebes (Cappadocia, Or), AR, drachma (220–163). **P:** settl. **B:** NICK 2007, II, 196.

**Wullenstetten**, Kr. Neu-Ulm, Swabia

– Alexander III? (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AR (Alexander period?). **P:** isol. **B:** NICK 2007, II, 215.

*Bavaria – excluded***Augsburg**

– Mainandros (Bactria, Or), AR (II). **P:** settl., Imperial period. **B:** NICK 2007.

– Prusias (Bithynia, Or), AR (238–138). **P:** settl., Imperial period. **B:** NICK 2007.

– Mamertinoi (SIt), AE (III). **P:** settl., Imperial period.

**B:** NICK 2007.

**Ebermannstadt**

– Ptolemy VI, Paphos (Cyprus, Ege), AE (181–174). **P:** settl., Imperial period. **B:** NICK 2007.

**Kempten, Swabia**

– (Greece), AR (‘409’). **P:** settl., Imperial period – the coin is not preserved and only classified based on the (mis-read?) legend ‘Xenokrates’. **B:** NICK 2007.

**Nußdorf bei Sondermoning, Lkr. Traunstein**

– Auriol (S Gaul/ N Spain, W), AR (470–460). **P:** settl., Hallstatt period context – outside the chronological scope of the present study. **B:** NICK 2007.

**Passau**

– Dyrrhachium (Illyria, Adr), AE (II). **P:** settl., Imperial period? (though LT date is possible). **B:** NICK 2007.

**Ruffenhofen, Wilburgstetten, Mittelfranken**

– Cassander (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (306–297). **P:** settl., Imperial period. **B:** NICK 2007.

*Hessen***Dünsberg, Lkr. Gießen**

– Massalia (W), AR (post-400). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 99.

**Wiesbaden**

– (Sicily, Sic), AE (IV–III). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 212.

– (Sicily, Sic), AE (IV–III). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 212.

– Velia (SIt), AE (after 350). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 212.

*Hessen – excluded***Frankfurt am Main**

– Pella (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (post-168). **P:** Imperial period. **B:** NICK 2007.

– Carthage/Sardinia (, Pun), AE (300–264). **P:** Imperial period. **B:** NICK 2007.

– Massalia (W), AR (400/220). **P:** Imperial period. **B:** NICK 2007.

**Hofheim am Taunus**

– 2 × Emporiae (W), AE (195–27). **P:** Imperial period.

**B:** NICK 2007.

**Saalburg**

– Ptolemy I (Egypt, Ege), AE (323–283). **P:** Roman fort – Imperial period. **B:** NICK 2007.

*Rheinland-Pfalz***Alzey, Lkr. Alzey-Worms**

– Carthage (Pun), AE (241–146). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 78.

**Bad Dürkheim**

– ‘Greece’ (Gr/Th), AR (II–I). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 84.

– Massalia (, W), AR (II–I). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 84.

– Massalia (, W), AR (II–I). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 84.

**Hermersberg, Waldfischbach-Burgalben**

– Alexander III (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AV, stater (‘Nachprägung oder Original?’) (336–323). **B:** NICK 2007, II, 116.

**Linburgerhof, Kr. Rhein-Pfalz**

– Massalia (W), AR (410?–385). **P:** settl.? **B:** NICK 2007, II, 141.

**Martberg, Pommern, Cochem**

– Alexander III (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AR, hemidrachma

(IV). **P:** settl. **B:** NICK 2007, II, 165.

– Alexander III, Amphipolis (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AR, didrachma (IV). **P:** settl. **B:** NICK 2007, II, 165.

– Alexander III, Traelium (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AR, drachma (IV). **P:** settl. **B:** NICK 2007, II, 165.

**Trier**

–? (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AR, tetrobolos (359–335). **P:** settl.

**B:** NICK 2007, II, 203.

– Alexander III (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (335–323). **P:** settl.

**B:** NICK 2007, II, 203.

**Slovenia***Dolenjska***Mihovo-Trnišča, Šentjernej**

– Carthage (Zeugitana, Pun), AE (221–210). **B:** FMRZ SI, V, 2004, 96, 1.

**Sv. Križ pri Kostanjevci - Stari Grad, Podbočje**

– Ptolemy VI, Alexandria (Egypt, Ege), AE (180–145).

**B:** FMRZ SI, IV, 1998, 141, 1.

**Valična Vas - Gradišče, Zagradec**

– Metapont (Lucania, SIt), AE (IV–III). **B:** FMRZ SI, V, 2004, 103, 1.

*Dolenjska/Ljubljana***Ljubljana**

– Massinissa et succ. (Numidia and Mauretania, Afr), AE (208–148). **B:** FMRZ SI, V, 2004, 62/10, 1.

*Koroška***Muta**

– the Ptolemies (Egypt, Ege), AE (284–5). **P:** isol. **B:** FMRZ SI, I 1988, 331/1, 1.

– the Ptolemies (Egypt?, Ege), AE (III–I). **P:** hoard – a few ptolemaic coins; discovered in 1852, not preserved.

**B:** FMRZ SI, I 1988, 331/2, 2ff.

– Bretti (Bruttium, SIt), AE (282–203). **P:** hoard (as above).

**B:** FMRZ SI, I 1988, 331/2, 1.

*Notranjska/Primorsko-Notrjanska***Pivka - Gradišče**

– Korkyra (Illyria, Adr), AE (400–300). **P:** settl. **B:** FMRZ SI, IV, 1998, 44, 1.

**Stari trg pri Ložu - Ulaka, Loška Dolina**

– Mamertinoi (Sicily, Sic), AE (270–220). **P:** lost. **B:** FMRZ SI, V, 2004, 39, 1.

*Primorska***Sermin - Koper**

– Macedonia (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (II–I). **B:** FMRZ SI, III, 1995, 39, 1.

*Štajerska/Podravška***Maribor - Spodnje Radvanje**

– Ptolemy V, Alexandria (Egypt, Ege), AE (204–181).

**P:** isol. **B:** FMRZ SI, II 1988, 396/1.

**Ptuj**

– Ate? (Achaia, Adr), AR (c. 88). **P:** unknown. **B:** FMRZ SI, II 1988, 434/25, 1.

– Agathocles, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (317–289). **P:** before 1865. **B:** FMRZ SI, II 1988, 434/25, 2.

– Hicetas, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (289–287). **P:** before 1865. **B:** FMRZ SI, II 1988, 434/25, 3.

– 4 × Neapolis (Campania, SIt), AE (270–240). **P:** before 1865. **B:** FMRZ SI, II 1988, 434/25, 4–7.

**Rogoznica**

- Greece, Gr/Th, AE (III-1). **B:** FMRZ SI, II 1988, 437, 2.
- Neapolis (Campania, SIt), AE (270-240). **P:** unknown.

**B:** FMRZ SI, II 1988, 437, 1.

*Štajerska/Savinjska***Celje-Savinja**

- Macedonia (Gr/Th), AE (II-1). **B:** FMRZ SI, III, 1995, 165, 1.

**Slovakia****Bratislava-Dúbravka**

- Rhodes (Gr/Th), AR, tetrobol (333-304). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 156, n° 57.

**Bratislava-Vajnory**

- Thassos (Thrace, Gr/Th), AR (post-180). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 156, n° 58.

**Devín**

- Hiero II, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AR, drachma (275-216). **P:** isol., Devínská Kobyla, southern slope. **B:** MINAROVIČOVÁ 1992.
- Heraclaea (Lucania, SIt), AR, diobol (IV). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 156-157, n° 59.

**Farná, Levice**

- Aelea (Aeolis, Gr/Th), AE ('300'). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 157, n° 60.

**Kamenica nad Hronom**

- Ptolemy VIII, Paphos (Egy), AE (127-117). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 157, n° 61/1.
- Demetrius Polioretetes (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (306-285). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 157, n° 61/2.

**Kosihy nad Ipľom, Lučenec**

- Korkyra (Adr), AE (229-48). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 157, n° 62.

**Krpeľany, Martin**

- republic of Epirus, Epirus (Adr), AE (238-168). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 157-158, n° 63.

**Krškany, Nitra**

- Alexander III, Ptolemais (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AR, tetradrachma (335-323). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 158, n° 64.

**Malé Kosihy, Komárno**

- Roma, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (post-212). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 158, n° 65.

**Malé Leváre, Senica**

- Thassos (Thrace, Gr/Th), AR, tetrobol (411-405). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 158, n° 66.

**Mužľa, Nové Zámky**

- Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (before 241). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 158, n° 67.

**Nitrianska Blatnice, Topoľčany**

- the Ptolemies (Egypt, Egy), (?). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 158-159, n° 68.

**Nové Město nad Váhom, Trečín**

- Apollonia (Illyria, Adr), AR, drachma (229-100). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 159, n° 69.

**Plešivec, Rožňava**

- Corinth (Gr/Th), AR, drachma (500-431). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 159, n° 70.

**Púchov**

- Alexander III (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AV (post 323). **P:** isol. **B:** MILITKÝ 2012, 110.

**Reca, Galanta**

- Thassos (Thrace, Gr/Th), AR, tetradrachma (post-180). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 159, n° 71.

**Veľký Bystrec, Dolný Kubín**

- Alexander III (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AR, tetradrachma (335-323). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 160, n° 74/1.
- Philip II (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AR, tetradrachma (356-335). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 160, n° 74/2.
- Thassos (Thrace, Gr/Th), AR, tetradrachma (post-180). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 160, n° 74/3.

**Zálabá, Levice**

- Smyrna (Ionia, Gr/Th), AE (III). **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989, 161, n° 75.

*Slovakia - excluded***Senec, Bratislava Vidiek**

- Naxos (Gr/Th), AE (III-1). **P:** dubious find. **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989.

**Veľká Lomnica, Poprad**

- Alexander III (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AV (335-323). **P:** possibly an imitation. **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989.
- Lysimachus (Thrace, Gr/Th), AV (305-281). **P:** possibly an imitation. **B:** MIELCZAREK 1989.

**Italy***Emília***Castelfranco Emilia**, prov. Modena, all. **P:** hoard.

- Oinias (Acarmania, Adr), AE (late III). **B:** PARENTE 2004.
- Carthage (Sardinia, Pun), AE (IV/III). **B:** PARENTE 2004.
- Carthage (Sicily, Pun), AE (post 210). **B:** PARENTE 2004.
- Carthage (Sicily, Pun), AE (IV/III). **B:** PARENTE 2004.
- Carthage (Sicily, Pun), AE (IV/III). **B:** PARENTE 2004.
- Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (early IV). **B:** PARENTE 200404.
- Agathocles, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (317-289). **B:** PARENTE 2004.
- Hiero II, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (240-215). **B:** PARENTE 2004.
- 2 × oligarchy, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (344-317). **B:** PARENTE 2004.
- Cales (Campania, SIt), AE (post-268). **B:** PARENTE 2004.
- Suessa (Campania, SIt), AE (post-268). **B:** PARENTE 2004.
- Akragas (Sicily, SIt), AE (240-215). **B:** PARENTE 2004.
- Akragas (Sicily, SIt), AE (post-241). **B:** PARENTE 200404.
- Akragas (Sicily, SIt), AE (post-210). **B:** PARENTE 2004.

**Monte Bibele**, prov. Bologna

- 2 × ?? (?), AR, didrachma (?). **P:** hoard, inside a coin cluster. **B:** AMANDRY 2008.
- ?? (?), AR, fraction? (?). **P:** hoard, inside a coin cluster. **B:** AMANDRY 2008.
- Heraclaea (SIt), AR, didrachma (?). **P:** inside a coin cluster. **B:** AMANDRY 2008.
- Neapolis? (Campania, SIt), AR, didrachma (?). **P:** hoard. **B:** AMANDRY 2008.
- Neapolis (Campania, SIt), AR, didrachma (370-340). **P:** hoard. **B:** AMANDRY 2008.
- 6 × Neapolis (Campania, SIt), AR, didrachma (320-300). **P:** hoard. **B:** AMANDRY 2008.
- Neapolis (Campania, SIt), AR, didrachma (270-250). **P:** hoard. **B:** AMANDRY 2008.
- 2 × Neapolis (Campania, SIt), AR, didrachma (?). **P:** hoard. **B:** AMANDRY 2008.
- (Lucania, SIt), AR, didrachma (270-250?). **P:** hoard. **B:** AMANDRY 2008.
- Cales (Campania, SIt), AE (post-268). **P:** Casa 14, US 4. **B:** CAMURRI *et al.* 2004.

## Friuli

**Aquileia**, prov. Udine

- Populonia? (Etruria, Etr), AE (III-mid II). **B:** GORINI 2016.
- 3 × Korkyra (Adr), AE (?). **B:** GORINI 2004.
- Korkyra? (Adr), AE (?). **B:** GORINI 2004, 165.
- Leukas (Acarnania, Adr), AE (post-168). **B:** GORINI 1984.
- Apollonia (Illyria, Adr), AR, drachma (300-200), pierced. **B:** GORINI 1984.
- Dyrrhachium (Illyria, Adr), AE (post 229). **B:** GORINI 2004, 167.
- Ballaios (Illyria, Adr), AE (195-175). **B:** GORINI 1984.
- Juba (Numidia and Mauretania, Afr), AR, drachma (46). **B:** GORINI 1984.
- 2 × Massinissa et succ. (Numidia and Mauretania, Afr), AE (202-148). **B:** GORINI 1984.
- Ptolemy I (Egypt, Egi), AR, tetradrachma (305-283). **B:** GORINI 1984.
- Ptolemy III (Egypt, Egi), AE (246-221). **B:** GORINI 1984.
- Athens (Attica, Gr/Th), AR, drachma (post-392). **B:** GORINI 2004, 165.
- Salamis (Attica, Gr/Th), AE (350-318). **B:** GORINI 2004, 166.
- Athens? (Attica?, Gr/Th), AE (?). **B:** GORINI 2004, 164.
- Rhodes (Caria, Gr/Th), AE (?). **B:** GORINI 2004, 165.
- Histiaea (Euboea, Gr/Th), AR, tetrobolos (313-c. 265). **B:** GORINI 1984.
- Philip II (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (359-336). **B:** GORINI 2004, 167.
- Sicyon (Peloponnesus, Gr/Th), AR, drachma (IV). **B:** GORINI 1984.
- Thessalonica (Thessaly, Gr/Th), AE (?). **B:** GORINI 2004, 164.
- Kos (Caria, Or), AE (210-180). **B:** GORINI 2004, 165.
- ? (Pun), AE (?). **B:** GORINI 2004, 165.
- Carthage (?), Pun), AE (?). **B:** GORINI 2004, 164.
- Akragas (Sicily, Sic), Pb (?). **B:** GORINI 2004, 165.
- Akragas (Sicily, Sic), AR, didrachma (pre-480). **B:** GORINI 1984.
- Akragas (Sicily, Sic), AE, trias (2<sup>nd</sup> half of IV). **B:** GORINI 1984.
- Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AR (?). **B:** GORINI 2004, 164.
- Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (?). **B:** GORINI 2004, 164-165.
- Tauromenium (Sicily, Sic), AE (275-210). **B:** GORINI 2004, 166.
- 'Kainon', Alaesia (Sicily, Sic), AE (early IV). **B:** GORINI 1984.
- 2 × Hicetas, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (289-287). **B:** GORINI 2004, 166.
- Hicetas, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (289-287). **B:** GORINI 2004, 166.
- 2 × Hiero II, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (274-216). **B:** GORINI 2004, 164, 166.
- Roma, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (post-212). **B:** GORINI 2004, 167.
- Timoleon, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AR (345-336). **B:** GORINI 2004, 166.
- Kroton (SIt), AR (?), overstrike of a Syracuse drachma. **B:** GORINI 1987, 229.
- Brundisium (Apulia, SIt), AE (c. 200-89). **B:** GORINI 2004, 166.
- Teate (Apulia, SIt), AE, quadrans? (c. 217). **B:** GORINI 1984.
- Rhegion (Bruttium, SIt), AE, pentonkion (203-89).

**B:** GORINI 1984.

- Rhegion (Bruttium, SIt), AE (?). **B:** GORINI 2004, 165.
- ? (Etruria, W), AE (?). **B:** GORINI 2004, 163.

**Flagogna**, prov. Udine

- Ptolemy IV (Egypt, Egi), AE (221-205). **B:** GORINI 2011b, 27.

**Monfalcone - Rocca**, prov. Gorizia

- Thurii (Lucania, SIt), AE (III). **B:** RMR Friuli/Venezia Giulia III, 143, n° 12/2.

**Paularo - Castello di Duron**, prov. Udine

- Ptolemy VIII (Egypt, Egi), AE (146-127). **B:** BUORA 1989, 155, note 22.

**Sevegliano**, prov. Udine

- the Ptolemies (Egypt, Egi), AE (III/II-I). **B:** GORINI 2011b, 27.

**Villantsantina - Invillino**, prov. Udine

- Hiero II, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (274-216). **B:** BUORA 1989, 153.

**Zuglio**, prov. Udine

- Ptolemy II (Egypt?, Egi), AE (271-246). **B:** DONAT 2001, 60, note 14, tav. 4, fig. 8.
- Bretti (Bruttium, SIt), AE (?). **B:** GORINI 2011, 131, nota 36.

## Romagna

**Ravenna**, prov. Ravenna

- Carthage (Sicily, Pun), AE (IV/III). **P:** excavation in Valle Felici, 1997. **B:** ERCOLANI COCCHI - MORELL - NERI 2004.
- 2 × Carthage (Sicily, Pun), AE (IV/III c.). **P:** Pisignano, via Confine 1998. **B:** ERCOLANI COCCHI - MORELL - NERI 2004.
- Camarina (Sicily, Sic), AE (420-405). **P:** excavation in Valle Felici, 1997. **B:** ERCOLANI COCCHI - MORELL - NERI 2004.
- Centuripe (Sicily, Sic), AE (post-241). **P:** excavation in Valle Felici, 1997. **B:** ERCOLANI COCCHI - MORELL - NERI 2004.
- 2 × Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (post-415). **P:** excavation in Valle Felici, 1997. **B:** ERCOLANI COCCHI - MORELL - NERI 2004.
- Hiero II, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (240-215). **P:** Ficole (Cervia) 1997. **B:** ERCOLANI COCCHI - MORELL - NERI 2004.
- Hiero II, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (240-215). **P:** Pisignano, via Confine 1998. **B:** ERCOLANI COCCHI - MORELL - NERI 2004.
- oligarchy, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (344-317). **P:** Pisignano, via Confine 1998. **B:** ERCOLANI COCCHI - MORELL - NERI 2004.
- Rome, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (post-212). **P:** Pisignano, via Confine 1998. **B:** ERCOLANI COCCHI - MORELL - NERI 2004.
- Rome, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (post-212). **P:** Ficole (Cervia) 1997. **B:** ERCOLANI COCCHI - MORELL - NERI 2004.
- (Samnium/Campania, SIt), AE (270-240). **P:** excavation in Valle Felici, 1997. **B:** ERCOLANI COCCHI - MORELL - NERI 2004.
- Rimini**, prov. Rimini
- Carthage (Sardinia, Pun), AE (300-264). **B:** ERCOLANI COCCHI - MORELL - NERI 2004.
- Tarent (Apulia, SIt), AR, didrachma (281-270). **B:** ERCOLANI COCCHI - MORELL - NERI 2004.
- Neapolis (Campania, SIt), AR, didrachma (326-270).

**B:** ERCOLANI COCCHI – MORELL – NERI 2004.  
 – Neapolis (Campania, Sit), AE (270–250). **B:** ERCOLANI COCCHI – MORELL – NERI 2004.  
 – Hyria (Messapia? Campania?, Sit), AR, drachma (405–400). **B:** ERCOLANI COCCHI – MORELL – NERI 2004.

#### Trentino-AltoAdige

**Borgo Valsugana**, prov. Trento  
 – 2 × Apollonia/Dyrrhachium (Illyria, Adr), AR, drachma (III–I). **B:** GORINI 2004, 147.  
**Cortaccia/Kurtasch**, prov. Bolzano, **P:** hoard? before 1878.  
 – Alexander III (Macedonia, Gr/Th), (336–323). **B:** OGLER 1878, 69.  
 – Alexander IV (Macedonia, Gr/Th), (323–310). **B:** OGLER 1878, 70.  
 – Antigonus II Gonatas (Macedonia, Gr/Th), (277–239). **B:** OGLER 1878, 71.  
 – Cassander (Macedonia, Gr/Th), (306–297). **B:** OGLER 1878, 72.  
 – Philip III Arrhidaios (Macedonia, Gr/Th), (232–317). **B:** OGLER 1878, 73.  
**Doss Trento**, prov. Trento  
 – (Etruria, Etr), AE, uncia (cast) (260–240). **P:** hoard. **B:** GORINI 2016.  
 – Volsinii (Etruria, Etr), AE, sextans (cast) (III–mid.II). **P:** hoard. **B:** GORINI 2016.  
 – Tuder (Umbria, W), AE, sextans (III–mid.II). **P:** hoard. **B:** GORINI 2016.  
**Margreid**, prov. Bolzano  
 – Paestum (Campania, Sit), AE (?). **B:** GORINI 2001.

#### Il Veneto

**Adria - area urbana**, prov. Rovigo  
 – the Ptolemies, Alexandria (Egypt, Egi), AE (post-304–145). **B:** GORINI 2004, 157; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/16 (2)/1.  
 – Akragas (Sicily, Sic), AR, didrachma (V–IV). **P:** Giardino pubblico. **B:** GORINI 2004, 140; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/16 (1)/1.  
**Adria - territorio**, prov. Rovigo  
 – Alexander III, Amphipolis (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AR, tetradrachma (IV). **B:** GORINI 2004, 145; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/20/14.  
 – Ptolemy II, Alexandria (Egypt, Egi), AE (285–246). **B:** GORINI 2004, 155; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/20/16.  
 – Ptolemy IV, Alexandria (Egypt, Egi), AE (221–205). **B:** GORINI 2004, 156; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/17(3b)/1.  
 – Delos (, Gr/Th), AE (308–87). **B:** GORINI 2004, 151; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/18/5.  
 – Athens (Attica, Gr/Th), AR, obolos (479–939). **B:** GORINI 2004, 148; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/20/15.  
 – Athens (Attica, Gr/Th), AE (IV–III). **B:** GORINI 2004, 148; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/18/3.  
 – Corinth (Corinthis, Gr/Th), AR, stater (IV–III). **B:** GORINI 2004, 149; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/17 (3a)/1.  
 – Rhitymna (Crete, Gr/Th), AE (IV–III). **B:** GORINI 2004, 151; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/18/4.  
 – Alexander III, Sardinia (Italia, Gr/Th), AR, drachma (334–320). **B:** GORINI 2004, 145; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/20/13.  
 – Leontinoi (Sicily, Sic), AR, tetradrachma (c.446–422). **B:** GORINI 2004, 141; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/20/10.  
 – Agathocles, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (304–289). **B:** GORINI 2004, 141–142; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/20/11.  
 – Hiero II, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (274–216). **B:** GORINI 2004, 143; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/10/12.

– Tarent (Apulia, Sit), AE (380–345). **B:** GORINI 2004, 138; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/20/7.  
 – Brundisium (Calabria, Sit), AE (245–217). **P:** ‘from a tomb’. **B:** GORINI 2004, 138; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/17 (4) /1.  
 – Neapolis (Campania, Sit), AE (c. 270–250). **B:** GORINI 2004, 137–138; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/19/1.  
 – Metapont (Lucania, Sit), AE (IV–III). **B:** GORINI 2004, 138; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/18/1.  
 – Velia (Lucania, Sit), AR, didrachma (410–390). **B:** GORINI 2004, 139; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/20/9.  
 – Velia (Lucania, Sit), AE (post-350). **B:** GORINI 2004, 139; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/20/9.  
 – Velia (Lucania, Sit), AE (post-350). **B:** GORINI 2004, 139; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/18/2.  
 – Massalia (W), AE (III). **B:** GORINI 2004, 137; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 1/20/6.  
**Albaredo d’Adige**, prov. Verona  
 – (Numidia and Mauretania, Afr), AR, drachma (?). **B:** GORINI 2004.  
**Altichiero**, prov. Padova  
 – Patrai (Achaia, Adr), AE (146–32). **P:** *stips*. **B:** GORINI 2004, 159–160.  
**Altino - territorio**, prov. Venezia  
 – 2 × Ptolemy IV, Alexandria (Egypt, Egi), AE (221–205). **P:** hoard. **B:** GORINI 2004, 161; *RMR VE*, VI/1, 53 (Aa)/1–2.  
 – 2 × Ptolemy IV–VIII, Cyrene (Cyrenaica, Egi), AE (221–140). **P:** hoard. **B:** GORINI 2004, 161; *RMR VE*, VI/1, 53 (Aa)/3–4.  
 – the Ptolemies (Egypt?, Egi), AE (III–I). **B:** GORINI 2004, 157; *RMR VE*, VI/1, 26 (2b)/1.  
**Altino ‘Villa Ziliotto’**, prov. Venezia  
 – Athens (Attica, Gr/Th), AE (II). **B:** GORINI 2004, 149; *RMR VE*, VI/1, 26 (1)/1.  
**Altino**, prov. Venezia  
 – Korkyra (Adr), AE (330–229). **B:** GORINI 2004, 147; *RMR VE*, VI/1, 53 (Ad) /1.  
 – Dyrrhachium (Illyria, Adr), AE (III–I). **P:** NE cemetery, t. 1564. **B:** GORINI 2004, 146; *RMR VE*, VI/1/46 (12b)/1.  
 – Philotas, Dyrrhachium (Illyria, Adr), AE (III–I). **P:** *settl.*, Fornasotti zone, trench 9. **B:** GORINI 2004, 146; *RMR VE*, VI/1, 26 (2a)/1.  
 – Massinissa et succ. (Numidia and Mauretania, Afr), AE (148–118). **B:** GORINI 2004, 158; *RMR VE*, VI/1, 53 (Ad) /4.  
 – Ptolemy VIII (Cyprus, Egi), AE (145–116). **B:** GORINI 2004, 156; *RMR VE*, VI/1, 53 (Ad)/3.  
 – Damion/Daxias, Messene (Messenia, Gr/Th), AE (280–146). **B:** GORINI 2004, 150; *RMR VE*, VI/1, 53 (Ad)/2.  
**Altopiano di Asiago**, prov. Vicenza  
 – Leukas (Acarmania, Adr), AR (c. 400–330). **B:** GORINI 2004, 147; *RMR VE*, IV/2, 37/4 (2) /1.  
 – Cleonae (Argolis, Gr/Th), AE (late IV). **B:** GORINI 2004, 150; *RMR VE*, IV/2, 37/4 (2)/1.  
 – Corinth (Corinthis, Gr/Th), AR (315–310). **B:** GORINI 2004, 149; *RMR VE*, IV/2, 37/4 (2)/1.  
 – Aptaera (Crete, Gr/Th), AE (c. 250–67). **B:** GORINI 2004, 150; *RMR VE*, IV/2, 37/4 (2)/1.  
 – Gorthyna (Crete, Gr/Th), AE (c. 200–67). **B:** GORINI 2004, 151; *RMR VE*, IV/2, 37/4 (2)/1.  
 – Itanos? (Crete, Gr/Th),? (V). **B:** GORINI 2004, 151; *RMR VE*, IV/2, 37/4 (2)/1.  
 – Knossos (Crete, Gr/Th), AE (c. 200–67). **B:** GORINI 2004, 150; *RMR VE*, IV/2, 37/4 (2)/1.  
 – Kydonia (Crete, Gr/Th), AE (late IV). **B:** GORINI 2004, 150; *RMR VE*, IV/2, 37/4 (2)/1.

- Rhitymna (Crete, Gr/Th), AR, hemidrachma (IV).  
**B:** GORINI 2004, 151; *RMR VE*, IV/2, 37/4 (2)/1.
- Odessos (Thrace, Gr/Th), AR, tetradrachma (I).  
**B:** GORINI 2004, 145; *RMR VE*, IV/2/37 (2)/1.
- Arados (Phoenicia, Or), AE (II). **B:** GORINI 2004, 155; *RMR VE*, IV/2, 37/4 (2)/1.
- Leontinoi (Sicily, Sic), AR, tetradrachma (c. 446-422).  
**B:** GORINI 2004, 140-141; *RMR VE*, IV/2, 37/4 (2)/1.
- Tauromenium (Sicily, Sic), AE (358-275). **B:** GORINI 2004, 144; *RMR VE*, IV/2, 37/4 (2) /2.
- Ariano Polesine - S. Basilio**, territorio, prov. Rovigo  
 - Rhegion (Bruttium, Sit), AE (pre-218). **B:** GORINI 2004, 139-140; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 2/9 (3)/2.
- Thurii (Lucania, Sit), AE (IV-III). **B:** GORINI 2004, 139; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 2/4 (3)/1.
- Arten, Monte Aurin**, prov. Belluno  
 - Antiochus VIII (Syria, Or), AR, tetradrachma (121-96).  
**B:** GORINI 2004, 154; *RMR VE*, I/2, 4/4/1.
- Asolo**, prov. Treviso  
 - Agathocles, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (304-289).  
**B:** GORINI 2004, 142; *RMR VE*, II/1, 2/27/1.
- Bolzano Vicentino**, prov. Vicenza  
 - Alexander III, Babylon (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AR, tetradrachma (IV-III). **B:** GORINI 2004, 145; *RMR VE*, IV/1, 7/1/1.
- Ca' Noghera - Fondo Marcello**, prov. Venezia  
 - Roma, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (post-212). **B:** GORINI 2004, 143; *RMR VE*, VI/2, 9/7 (1)/1.
- Campagna Lupia**, prov. Venezia  
 - 2 × ? (?), AE (?), illegible. **P:** isol. **B:** GORINI 2011, 134.
- Dyrrhachium (Illyria, Adr), AE (?). **P:** isol. **B:** GORINI 2011, 134.
- Carthage (Africa, Pun), AE (336-330). **P:** isol. **B:** GORINI 2011, 134.
- 2 × Carthage (Sicily, Pun), AE (300-250). **P:** isol.  
**B:** GORINI 2011, 134.
- Akragas (Sicily, Sic), AE, hexas (406-405). **P:** isol.  
**B:** GORINI 2011, 133.
- Akragas (Sicily, Sic), AE (240-212). **P:** isol. **B:** GORINI 2011, 134.
- Valentia (Bruttium, Sit), AE, semis (II). **P:** isol.  
**B:** GORINI 2011, 134.
- the Ptolemies (Egypt, Egi), AR, tetradrachma (mid. II-mid.I). **P:** Lovia sanctuary. **B:** GORINI 2004, 156; *RMR VE*, VI/3, 1/1/4/1; GORINI 2011, 133.
- Alexander III, Amphipolis (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (325). **B:** GORINI 2004, 145; *RMR VE*, VI/3, 1/2/1.
- Carrubio**, prov. Verona  
 - Ptolemy V (Egypt, Egi), AE (193-181). **P:** isol. **B:** GORINI 2011b, 26.
- Castelfranco Veneto - territorio** (hoard), prov. Treviso.  
 All **P:** hoard; **B:** GORINI 2004, 160.
- Ptolemy I, Alexandria (Egypt, Egi), AE, tetradrachma (fourrée) (c. 305-283). **B:** *RMR VE*, II/1, 9/4 (1a)/1.
- 2 × Ptolemy II, Alexandria (Egypt, Egi), AE (285-246).  
**B:** *RMR VE*, II/1, 9/4 (1a)/2-3.
- Ptolemy III, Alexandria (Egypt, Egi), AE (246-221).  
**B:** *RMR VE*, II/1, 9/4 (1a)/4.
- 2 × Ptolemy IV, Alexandria (Egypt, Egi), AE (221-205).  
**B:** *RMR VE*, II/1, 9/4 (1a)/5-6.
- Ptolemy XII, Alexandria (Egypt, Egi), AE (80-51).  
**B:** *RMR VE*, II/1, 9/4 (1a)/7.
- Castelfranco Veneto - territorio**, prov. Treviso  
 - Troezen (Argolis, Gr/Th), AE (post 322). **B:** GORINI 2004, 150; *RMR VE*, II/1, 9/4 (1b)/10.
- Rhodes (Caria, Gr/Th), AE (166-88). **B:** GORINI 2004, 153; *RMR VE*, II/1, 9/4 (1b)/8.
- Mopsuetia (Cilicia, Or), AE (II-I). **B:** GORINI 2004, 154; *RMR VE*, II/1, 9/4 (1b)/9.
- Carthage (Sicily, Pun), AE (IV/III). **B:** GORINI 2004, 144; *RMR VE*, II/1, 9/4 (1b)/11.
- Cessalto - S. Anastasio** - territorio, prov. Treviso  
 - Carthage (Zeugitana, Pun), AR, hemidrachma (221-202). **B:** GORINI 2004, 157; *RMR VE*, II/2, 1/6 (8)/1.
- Cessalto - S. Anastasio**, fondo Caminotto, prov. Treviso  
 - ? (?), AE ('170'). **P:** ex-Oderzo museum, lost. **B:** GORINI 2004, 158; *RMR VE*, II/2 1/4 (2) /1.
- Cison di Valmarino** - Passo S. Boldo, prov. Treviso  
 - Ptolemy X et succ. (? Egi), AE (II-I). **B:** GORINI 2004, 157; *RMR VE*, II/1, 12/2/1.
- Cison di Valmarino** - Passo S. Boldo, Treviso  
 - the Ptolemies (? Egi), AE (late IV-I). **B:** GORINI 2004, 156; *RMR VE*, II/1, 12/2/1.
- Colfrancui**, fondo Bruniera, prov. Treviso  
 - Thepiea (Aetolia, Adr), AE (146-27). **B:** GORINI 2004, 148; *RMR VE*, II/2, 8/33/1.
- Cologna Veneta**, territorio, prov. Verona, all. **P:** Museo civico Cologna Veneta, 'numerous not provenanced coins, whose majority if not all were probably found during dredging of the Guà river in 1892'.  
 - Alae (Sicily, Sic), AE (c. 340). **B:** *RMR VE*, III/2, 10/19 (5)/1.
- Ptolemy IX (Egypt, Egi), AE (99-89). **B:** GORINI 2011b, 26.
- 'Kainon', Alaesa (Sicily, Sic), AE (?). **B:** GORINI 2004, 140.
- Cordignano - Villa di Villa**, prov. Treviso  
 - Ptolemy VI, Alexandria (Egypt, Egi), AE (180-145).  
**P:** stips. **B:** GORINI 2004, 160; *RMR VE*, II/1, 14/5/1.
- Cornuda - Rocca di Cornuda**, prov. Treviso  
 - Dionysius I?, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (425-367?).  
**B:** GORINI 2004, 141; *RMR VE*, II/1, 15/1/1.
- Crespano di Grappa**, prov. Treviso  
 - Ptolemy II, Alexandria (Egypt, Egi), AE (285-246).  
**P:** Monumento ai caduti. **B:** GORINI 2004, 155; *RMR VE*, II/1, 16/2 (1)/1.
- Este - Motta**, prov. Padua  
 - Ptolemy V (Egypt, Egi), AE (204-180). **P:** isol. **B:** GORINI 2011b, 26.
- Este** (hoard), prov. Padua  
 - 17 × Ptolemy VIII (Cyprus, Egi), AE (145-116). **P:** hoard.  
**B:** GORINI 2004, 162.
- Este**, prov. Padua  
 - Ptolemy II (Egypt, Egi), AE (283-246). **P:** isol. 'near the road to Vicenza'. **B:** GORINI 2011b, 26.
- the Ptolemies (Cyrenaica, Egi), AE (IV). **B:** GORINI 2004, 157.
- Rhodes (Caria, Gr/Th), AE (166-88). **B:** GORINI 2004, 153.
- Thessaonica (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (post-168).  
**B:** GORINI 2004, 146.
- Philip II (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (359-336). **B:** GORINI 2004, 144.
- Alexander I Balas (Syria, Or), AE (150-146). **B:** GORINI 2004, 154.
- Feltre - Piazza de Boni**, prov. Belluno  
 - Pellene (Achaia, Adr), AE (370-280). **B:** GORINI 2004, 150; *RMR VE*, I/2, 3/31/1.
- Katane (Sicily, Sic), AE (III-II). **B:** GORINI 2004, 140; *RMR VE*, I/2, 3/30/1.
- Feltre**, prov. Belluno

- Kalchis (Euboea, Gr/Th), AE (197-146). **B:** GORINI 2004, 148; *RMR VE*, I/2, 12/5.

- Mithridates VI (period), Amisos (Pontus, Or), AE (120-63). **B:** GORINI 2004, 151; *RMR VE*, I/2, 12/6.

- Akragas (Sicily, Sic), AE (338-287). **B:** GORINI 2004, 140; *RMR VE*, I/2, 12/3.

- Graxa (Calabria, Sit), AE, sextans (pre-200). **B:** GORINI 2004, 138; *RMR VE*, I/2, 12/1.

**Fosse (Sant'Anna d'Alfaedo)**, prov. Verona

- 2 × Philip II (posthum?) (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (359-336 or later). **B:** BIONDANI 2007, 79.

**Fusina**, prov. Venezia

- Antiochus I, Sardes (Ionia, Gr/Th), AE (281-261). **P:** 'argini'. **B:** GORINI 2004, 154; *RMR VE*, VI/2, 9/14/4.

- Myrina (Aeolis, Gr/Th), AE (II-1). **P:** 'argini'. **B:** GORINI 2004, 152; *RMR VE*, VI/2, 9/14/2-3.

- Iason, Ephesus (Ionia, Gr/Th), AE (48-27). **P:** 'argini'. **B:** GORINI 2004, 152; *RMR VE*, VI/2, 9/14/4.

- Attalos II, Pergamon (Mysia, Gr/Th), AE (159-138). **P:** 'argini'. **B:** GORINI 2004, 152; *RMR VE*, VI/2, 9/14/1.

**Gazzo Veronese**, territorio, prov. Verona, **P:** Museo archeologico Gazzo Veronese: coin collection made of coins brought to a vicar by local farmers in 1952-1963.

- Pyrrhus, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (278-276). **B:** *RMR VE*, III/2, 13/17(4)/1.

- Roma, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (post-212). **B:** *RMR VE*, III/2, 13/17(4)/2.

**Chioggia** - territorio, prov. Venezia

- Ptolemy III, Alexandria (Egypt, Egi), AE (246-221). **B:** GORINI 2004, 156; *RMR VE*, VI/3, 5/5/1.

- Roma, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (post-212). **B:** GORINI 2004, 143-144; *RMR VE*, VI/3, 16/1/1.

**Legnago**, prov. Verona

- Ptolemy IV (Egypt, Egi), AE (221-205). **P:** isol. **B:** GORINI 2011B, 26.

**Lozzo di Cadore** - Scuole, Belluno

- Mamertinoi (Sicily, Sic), AE (II secolo). **P:** during digging house foundations. **B:** *RMR VE*, I/3, 7/8/1.

**Meolo** - territorio, prov. Venezia

- 4 × Ariobarzanes I (Cappadocia, Or), AR (95-62). **P:** hoard (fondo Peloso). **B:** GORINI 2004, 162; *RMR VE*, VI/2, 5/6/1-4.

- Scodra (Illyria, Adr), AE (post-168). **B:** GORINI 2004, 147. - Carthage (Sicily, Pun), AE (IV-III). **B:** GORINI 2004, 144.

**Monselice**, prov. Padova

- Cleopatra VII (Egypt, Egi), AR, tetradrachma (32-30). **P:** isol. **B:** GORINI 2011B, 26.

- Ptolemy II (Egypt, Egi), AR (283-246). **P:** isol. **B:** GORINI 2011B, 26.

**Monte Altare**, Vittorio Veneto, prov. Treviso

- Massalia (W), AR, obolos (90-49). **P:** sanctuary. **B:** GORINI 2004, 160; GORINI - MASTROCINQUE eds 2005, 174.

**Montebelluna** - Vallone dei Faveri, prov. Treviso

- Ptolemy IV-VIII (Cyprus, Egi), AE (221-140). **P:** hoard. **B:** GORINI 2004, 161; *RMR VE*, II/1, 28/14/17.

- 18 × Ptolemy IV-VIII (Cyrenaica, Egi), AE (221-140). **P:** hoard. **B:** GORINI 2004, 161; *RMR VE*, II/1, 28/14/1-16, 18-19.

**Montebelluna**, prov. Treviso

- Mamertinoi (Sicily, Sic), AE (post-288). **P:** excavation 1957-1958. **B:** GORINI 2004, 141; *RMR VE*, II/1, 28/13/1.

**Oderzo** - Museo civico, prov. Treviso

- Antiochia (Syria, Or), AE (I). **B:** GORINI 2004, 155; *RMR VE*, II/2, 16/1.

**Oderzo - Terme Romane**, prov. Treviso

- Antiochia (Syria, Or), AE (128-123). **B:** GORINI 2004, 154; *RMR VE*, II/2, 8/20/1.

**Oderzo - Via Altinate**, prov. Treviso, all **P:**: hoard

-? (Syria, Or), AE (312-280). **B:** GORINI 2004, 160; *RMR VE*, II/2, 8/22/2.

- Carthage (Zeugitana, Pun), AE (late III). **B:** GORINI 2004, 160; *RMR VE*, II/2, 8/22/3.

- Canusium (Apulia, Sit), AE (late III). **B:** GORINI 2004, 160; *RMR VE*, II/2, 8/22/1.

**Oderzo - Via Altinate**, prov. Treviso

- Antiochia (Syria, Or), AE (I). **P:?** **B:** GORINI 2004, 155; *RMR VE*, II/2, 8/22/4.

**Oderzo, Piazzale Europa**, prov. Treviso

- Korkyra (, Adr), AE (229-48). **B:** GORINI 2004, 147; *RMR VE*, II/2, 8/17/6.

- (Thrace, Gr/Th), AE (301-294). **B:** GORINI 2004, 144; *RMR VE*, II/2, 8/17/7.

- Agathocles, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (304-289).

**B:** GORINI 2004, 142; *RMR VE*, II/2, 8/17/3.

- Hiero II?, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (274-216). **B:** GORINI 2004, 143; *RMR VE*, II/2, 8/17/4.

- 2 × oligarchy, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (345-317).

**B:** GORINI 2004, 141; *RMR VE*, II/2, 8/17/1-2.

- Thurii (Lucania, Sit), AE (c. 300). **B:** GORINI 2004, 139; *RMR VE*, II/2, 8/17/5.

**Oderzo**, prov. Treviso

- Carthage (Zeugitana, Pun), AE (III-II). **B:** GORINI 2004, 157-158; *RMR VE*, II/2, 15/1.

**Oderzo/Motta** - territorio, prov. Treviso

- Athens (Attica, Gr/Th), AE (229-217). **B:** GORINI 2004, 148-149; *RMR VE*, II/2, 14/1.

**Padua**, prov. Padova

- Antigonos II Gonatas (Macedonia, Gr/Th), AE (277-239). **P:** unpublished excavation in Via S. Lucia, 1993.

**B:** GORINI 2004, 145.

- Agathocles, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (304-289). **P:** unpublished excavation in the city centre, 1892. **B:** GORINI 2004, 142.

**Piovene Rocchette** - Chiesa dell'Angello, prov. Vicenza

- Antiochus I (Syria, Or), AR, tetradrachma (175-164). **B:** GORINI 2004, 154; *RMR VE*, IV/2, 19/2/1.

**Rovigo** - Museo Seminario Vescovile, Rovigo

- Corinth (Corinthia, Gr/Th), AR (315-310). **B:** GORINI 2004, 149.

**S. Martino**, prov. Rovigo

- Korkyra (Adr), AE (229-48). **B:** GORINI 2004, 148; *RMR VE*, VII/2, 12/10/1.

**Salgareda**, Campodipietra - fondo Gobbo, prov. Treviso

- Agathocles, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (304-289). **B:** GORINI 2004, 142; *RMR VE*, II/2, 12/5 (3)/1.

**San Bonifacio**, Villanova, prov. Verona

- 'Greece' (?), AE (late IV-III). **B:** *RMR VE*, III/3, 29/2, 233.

**San Sebastiano**, Cologna Veneta, prov. Verona

- Ptolemy IX (Egypt, Egi), AE (115-104/101). **B:** GORINI 2011B, 26.

**Sant'Anna d'Alfaedo** - territorio, prov. Verona

- Hiero II, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (241-216). **B:** *RMR VE*, III/3, 33/8, 282.

**Sant'Anna d'Alfaedo - Cona**, prov. Verona

- Hicetas, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (288-279). **B:** *RMR VE*, III/3, 33/2 (2), 274; GORINI 2004, 142-143.

**Sant'Anna d'Alfaedo - Corrubbio**, prov. Verona

- Hicetas, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (289-287). **B:** RMR VE, III/3, 33/3, 275.

**Santorso**, prov. Vicenza

- Nicomedes II (Bithynia, Or), AR, tetradrachma (149-95). **B:** GORINI 2004, 151-152; RMR VE, IV/2, 25/2(4)/1.

**Trichiana**, prov. Belluno

- Carthage (Zeugitana, Pun), electrum (350-270). **P:** bank of the Limana creek, found together with a Roman denarius dated to 108/107 BC. **B:** RMR VE, I/1, 18/5/1.

**Valle dell'Agno**, prov. Vicenza

- Ptolemy IX (Cyprus, Ege), AE (116-113). **B:** GORINI 2004, 156; RMR VE, IV/1, 45/2 (2)/3.

- Camarina (Sicily, Sic), AE, triens (413-405). **B:** GORINI 2004, 140; RMR VE, IV/1, 45/2 (2)/1.

- Agathocles, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (310-304).

**B:** GORINI 2004, 141; RMR VE, IV/1, 45/2 (2)/2.

**Verona**, prov. Verona

- Alinda (Caria, Gr/Th), AE (II). **P:** Redentore excavations, 1992. **B:** GORINI 2004, 153.

- Agathocles, Syracuse (Sicily, Sic), AE (304-289). **P:** excavation in the city centre, 1967. **B:** GORINI 2004, 142.

**Vicenza - piazza dei Signori**, prov. Vicenza

- Dyrrhachium (Illyria, Adr), AE (III-I). **B:** GORINI 2004, 1146-147; RMR VE, IV/1, 42/30/1.

**Vicenza - territorio**, prov. Vicenza

- Carthage (Sicily, Pun), AE (IV/III). **B:** GORINI 2004, 144; RMR VE, IV/1, 45/3 (2)/1.

**'Vicentino'**

- Apollonia (Illyria, Adr), AR, drachma (II-I). **B:** VISONÀ 2000, 64.

- 2 × Dyrrhachium (Illyria, Adr), AR, drachma (II-I).

**B:** VISONÀ 2000, 65.

- Alexandria (Troas, Adr), AE (III-II). **B:** VISONÀ 2000, 65.

- Selge (Pisidia, Gr/Th), AE (II-I). **B:** VISONÀ 2000, 65-66.

- Thessalian league (Thessaly, Gr/Th), AE (II-I). **B:** VISONÀ 2000, 64.

- Antiochia (Syria, Or), AE (post-49). **B:** VISONÀ 2000, 66.

*Veneto - excluded*

**Cessalto - S. Anastasio**, fondo Caminotto, prov. Treviso

- ? (?), AE ('170'). **P:** ex-Oderzo museum, lost. **B:** GORINI 2004, 158; RMR VE, II/2 1/4 (2) /1.

**Nerversa della Battaglia** - Fratti, prov. Treviso (**P:** hoard, including a Hadrian coin).

- Ptolemy IX (Cyprus, Ege), AE (116-113). **B:** GORINI 2004, 161; RMR VE, II/1, 29/3/3.

- the Ptolemies (?), Ege), AE (late II - early I). **B:** GORINI 2004, 161; RMR VE, II/1, 29/3/4.

## CREDITS FOR DRAWINGS OF THE CATALOGUED ARTEFACTS

M. Černý: Stb1

Z. Beneš: Koo1, Koo2

M. Fábiková: Tř01–Tř10, Tř12, Tř13, Tř15, Tř16, Tř18, Tř19, Tř 20–Tř31, Tř33, Třx4, Tř40a–n, Tř43–Tř44, Tř51, Tř61, Třx5

A. Krechlerová: Hrč1, KHx1, Luki, NHO1, NHO2, Oko1–Oko4, Okx1, Okx2, SH04, SH06, SH09, SH15, SH16, SH22, SH23, SH24b, SH60–SH63, SH69q–SH69x, SH82, SH89, Rýs1, Těš1

P. Kazakova: Bao7 (after MUSILOVÁ 2014), Bao8 (after VRTEL 2012), Bai2 (after MUSILOVÁ *et al.* 2016), Dor1 (after IRLINGER – WINGHARD *et al.* 1999), M440 (after PLATZ–HARSTER 2018), S901, S903, S906, S907 (after Píč 1903), SH05 (after photograph, courtesy I. Čižmář), WR02–07, WR09 (after MOSSER – ADLER–WÖLFL 2018), Záo5, Záo6, Zái2 (after DRDA – RYBOVÁ 2001)

J. Kysela: Bai8 (after VRTEL *et al.* 2014), Bai9 (after KOVÁR *et al.* 2014), Ba20–Ba58, DJx1, [Mx01], Koo3–Koo5, M602–M603, Obo6, Obo7, S301–S310, S601, S700–S702, Sx04, Sx52, Sed1 (after DUBSKÝ 1902), SH85–SH87a, b, Thui, Záo3, Záo8

J. Kysela – P. Kazakova: DVx1, DVx2, Hro1, Hro3, Pdm1, Soo3, Soo5, Soo7, Soo8, So12–So15, So17, So20, So21, So23–So26, So28–So30, So32–So44, So46, So48–So52, So54–So58, So62, So64, So66b, So67–So79, So81–So92, S100–S102, S104–S107, S109–S113, S117–S119, S120–S124, S300j–n, S311, S312, S468, S473–S475, S540, Sx02, Sx03, Sx07a, Sx31, Sx48, Sx49, SH02, SH10–SH12, SH14, SH17–SH21, SH24a, SH30, Tř11, Tř14, Tř34, Tř52–Tř53, Záo1, Záo2, Záo4, Zái1.

R. Kozáková: Photo Koo2, S445–S455.

ADLER–WÖLFL – MOSSER 2015: WR01, WR10, WR12, WR14, WR24, WR27, WR28, WR36, WR52, WR–BRESTEL 2017: MO04

Coll. Grosse: M462

ČIŽMÁŘ 1990: S560, S561, SH80, SH81

ČIŽMÁŘ 2003: Bř01, Bř03

ČIŽMÁŘ 2012a: S001

ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1996a: Dčx1, Hosi, SH01, SH03, SH07, SH08, SH13, SH25–SH27, SH29

DANIELISOVÁ 2010: ČLO1

DRDA – RYBOVÁ 2001: Zái4, Zái5

ELSCHEK – KOLNÍKOVÁ 2014: Zoh1

Gebhard In: SIEVERS *et al.* 2013: M600, M604

GERLACH 2002: Brz1

GRASSELLT 1994: Jüh1, Jüh2

JOHN – HOUFKOVÁ 2014: Hol1

JACOBI 1974a: M900, M901

JACOBI 1974b: M504

JANSOVÁ 1990: Hrx1

KARASOVÁ – SCHÖNFELDER 2004: Sx07b

KARWOWSKI 2017: Obo1–Obo4, Thui, Thu2, Tux1

Kern 1996: Obo5

KRÄMER 1952: SaW1

KVETÁNOVÁ – KOVÁR 2010: Bao3

Lehmann *Monumenta*: So27, So59–So61, So94–So98, S456,

S463, S476, So93, So99, S900

LORENZ 2004: M444

NIEMEIER 2009: Pas1

MEDUNA 1961: SH64, SH65, SH79

MEDUNA 1970a: SH53–SH59, SH69d–h

MÖBIUS 1993: Ktd1

MOSSER – ADLER–WÖLFL 2018: WR23, WR32, WR33,

WR50, WR51a–b

MICHÁLEK 1990: Stk1

MIKOVÍNOVÁ–DAŇOVÁ 2009: Deo4, Dex2

MUSILOVÁ – LESÁK 1996: Bao9–Bai1a

PAULI 1993: Keli, Kelj

PESCHEL 2005: Sbg1

Píč 1903: S002, S004, S006, S009–S011, S018–S019, S022,

S031, S440–S444, S063, S065, S66a, S108, S430, S500–

S502, S541–S545, Sx01, Sx04, Sx51, Sx53a–h, Sx54f–g,

Sx55c, Sx56

PIETSCH 2002: Lnb1

PIETA 1996: Bao2, Bao5a, Bao5b, Bai5, Deo1, Deo2

PIETA – ZACHAR 1993: Bai1b

REINECKE 1911: Kst1–Kst6

RESUTÍK 2007: Bao1

RYBOVÁ – DRDA 1994: S466

SCHÄFER 2010: BPO3

SIEVERS 1992: Mo70, Mo71, M212, M213, M310h–M310n, M504

SIEVERS 2010: M902

SIEVERS 2013: Mo69, Mo11, M441, M442

SIEGMÜLLER 2005: Ado1

SVOBODOVÁ 1983: So16, So47, So53, So80, S114–S116

STÖCKLI 1979a: M601, M700–M735

UENZE 2005: Ego1, Egx1

URBAN 1994: Frb1

VAN ENDERT 1991: Mo01–Mo03, Mo05–Mo06, Mo08–

Mo10, Mo13–Mo28, Mo30–Mo68, Mo70–Mo71, M300–

M305, M310a–g, M443, M501–M503

VENCLOVÁ 1984: Záo9, Zái0

ZANIER 1999: Fg01

## Bibliography

### Note

The Czech letters with accent (háček) č, š, ž, ř, ď, ť, ň are considered to be letters on their own and therefore placed after the non-accented letters c, s, z etc.

References written in the Cyrillic are transliterated in Latin script following the scolarly system.

### Abbreviations

AGDS = *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen*

FMRZ = *Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit*

LIMC = *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*

LKA = Sievers, S. – Urban, O.H. – Ramsel, P. C. eds: *Lexikon zur keltischen Archäologie*. Wien 2012.

RMR Ve / Friuli/Venezia Giulia = *Ritrovamenti monetali di età romana in Veneto / Friuli*

PWRE = Pauly – Wisowa. *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*

SNG = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*

BMC = *British Museum Coinage*

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