

PRINCELY GRAVES – PRINCELY SEATS

the Late Hallstatt period in Central and Western Europe

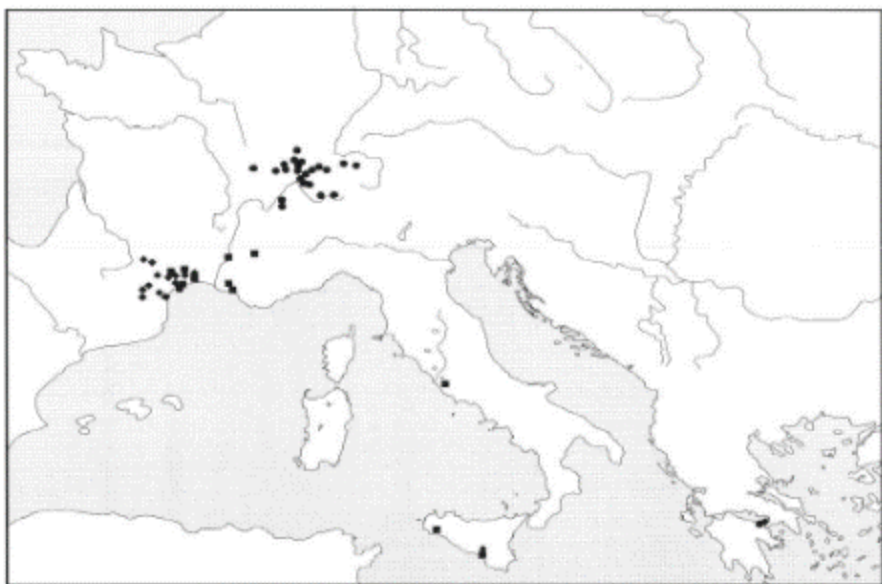
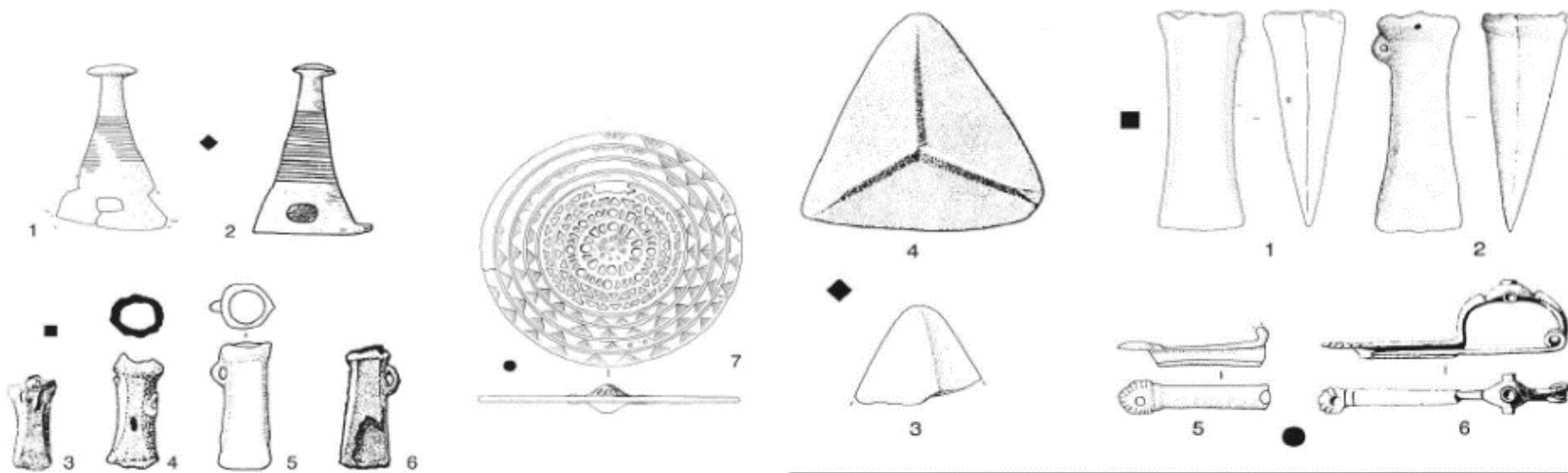


FIG. 3. – Objets gaulois dans les sanctuaires de Méditerranée centrale, comparaisons, répartition : 1, 5. Géla, Bitalemi ; 2. environs de Carcassonne (Aude ; d'après J. Guilaine 1968) ; 3. Sermoneta, Valvisciolo ; 4. Saint-Saturnin, Roque-Courbe (Hérault ; d'après D. Garcia 1987) ; 6. environs de Montpellier (Hérault ; d'après J. Arnal *et alii*, 1967) ; Chaffois (Doubs, d'après P. Bichet et J.-P. Millotte). Échelles : 1-5 : 1/2 ; 6 : 1/4.

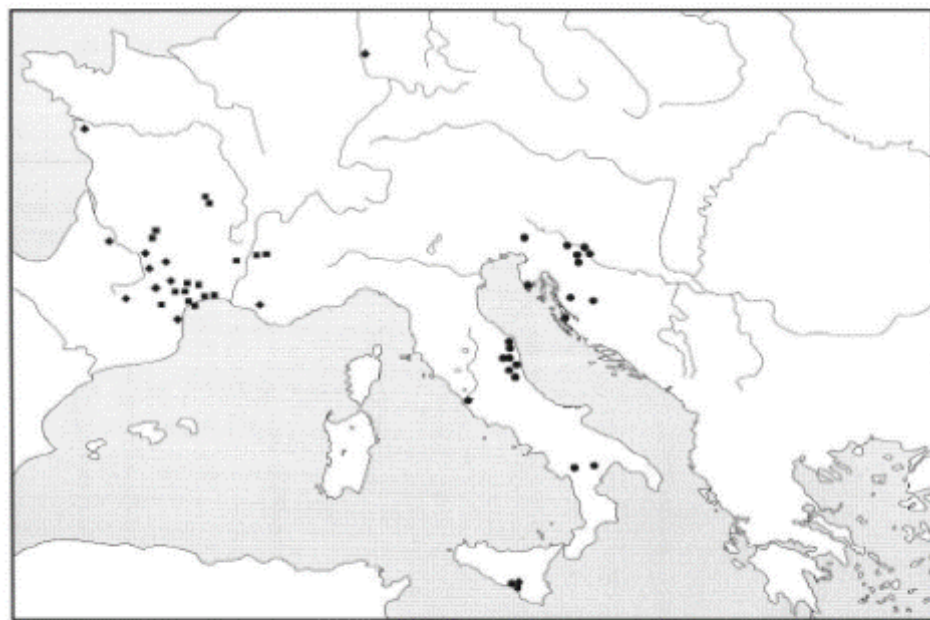


FIG. 4. – Objets gaulois et adriatiques dans les sanctuaires de Méditerranée centrale, comparaisons, répartition : 1, 3, 5. Géla, Bitalemi ; 2. Péret, Bataarès (Hérault ; d'après D. Garcia 1992) ; 4. environs de Carcassonne (Aude ; d'après J. Guilaine 1968 et Chardenoux et Courtois 1979) ; 6. Stična (d'après M. Ogrin 1998). Échelles : 1-2 : 1/3 ; 3-6 : 1/2.

From the VII aC Southern France established systematic contacts with (other) Mediterranean cultures

VII – VI aC – artefacts originating from south and central France in Greek sanctuaries

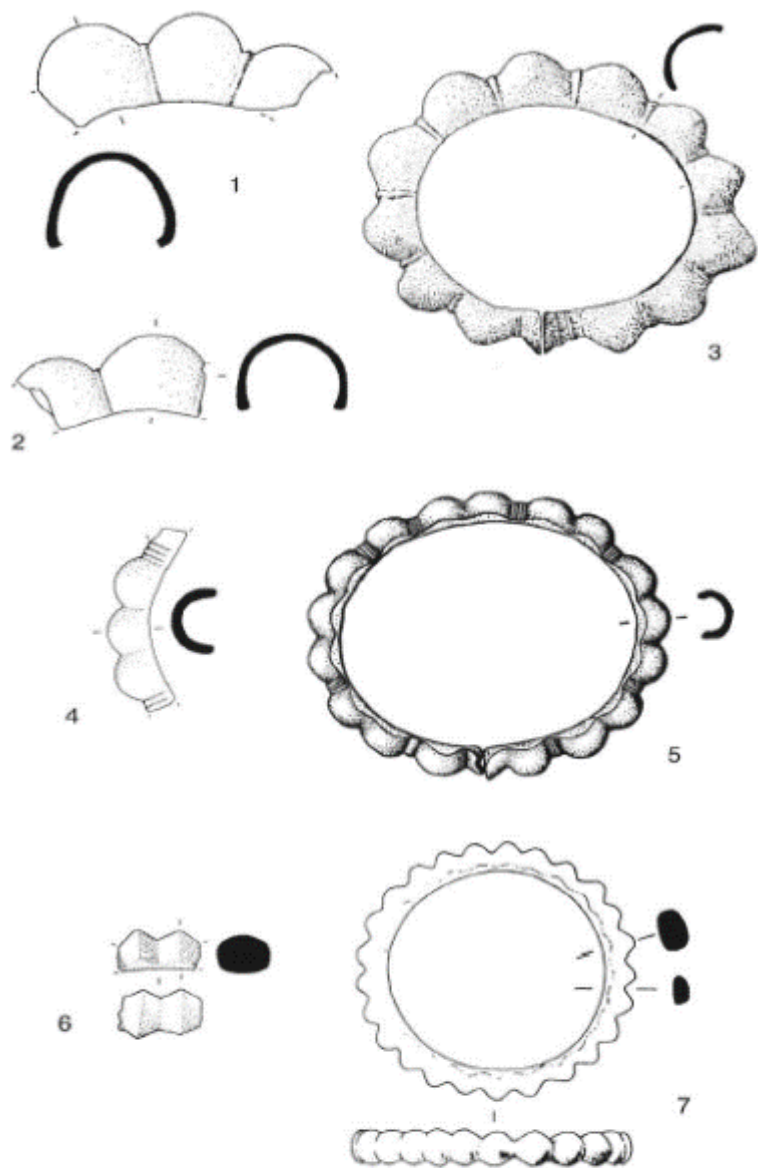


FIG. 7. - Parures annulaires du centre de la France : 1, 2, 4. Géla, Bitalemi ; 3. Antran (Vienne ; d'après J.-P. Pautreau 1991) ; 5. Annay-la-Côte (Yonne ; d'après L. Baray 2002) ; 6. Géla, Carrubazza ; 7. Nivernais (d'après J.-P. Guillaumet et D. Maranski 1998). Échelle : 1/2.

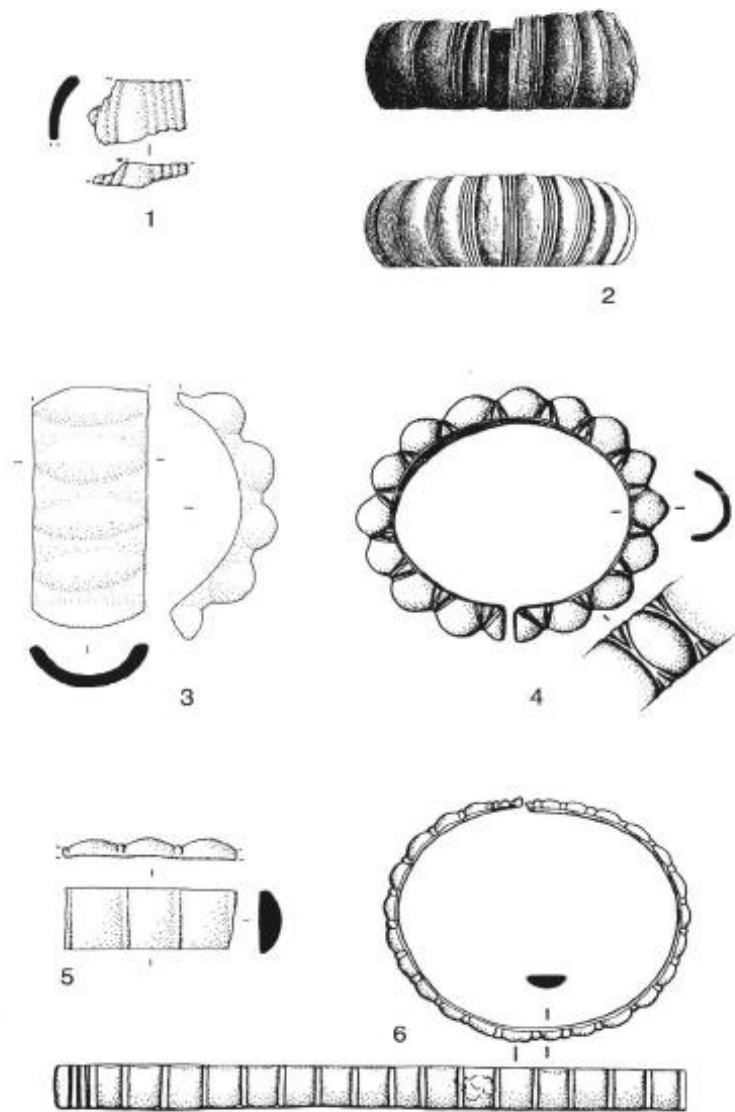


FIG. 8. - Parures annulaires du centre de la France : 1, 3, 5. Géla, Bitalemi ; 2. Minot, tumulus de Banges (Côte-d'Or ; d'après H. Corot) ; 4. Annay-la-Côte (Yonne ; d'après L. Baray 2002) ; 6. Courtesoult (Haute-Saône ; d'après J.-F. Piningre 1996). Échelle : 1/2.

From the VII aC Southern France established systematic contacts with (other) Mediterranean cultures

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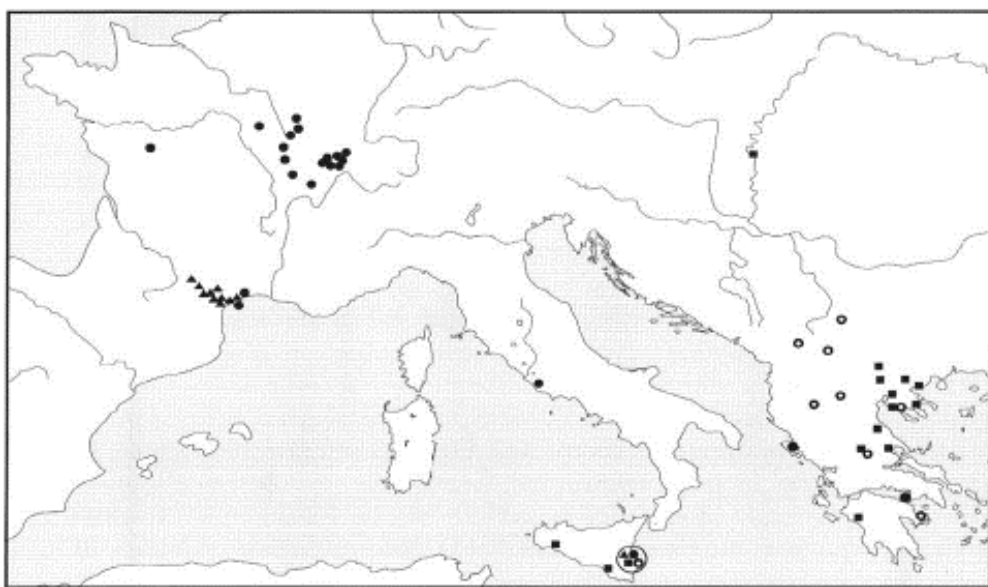


FIG. 14. – Régions de provenance des objets du collier de la tombe 660 de Mégara Hyblaea. Cercles pleins : rouelles bourguignonnes et franc-comtoises ; triangles : boutons coniques languedociens ; cercles vides : rouelle à décor de cercles concentriques des Balkans ; carrés : grandes perles biconiques macédoniennes.

-traditional view would consider 'high' cultures (Greeks, Etruscans) to exploit the ,low' culture's resources by Exchange or force

=> We would expect imports of Gr/Etr objects as counter-value or ,native' objects in Gr sanctuaries to be trophies of war

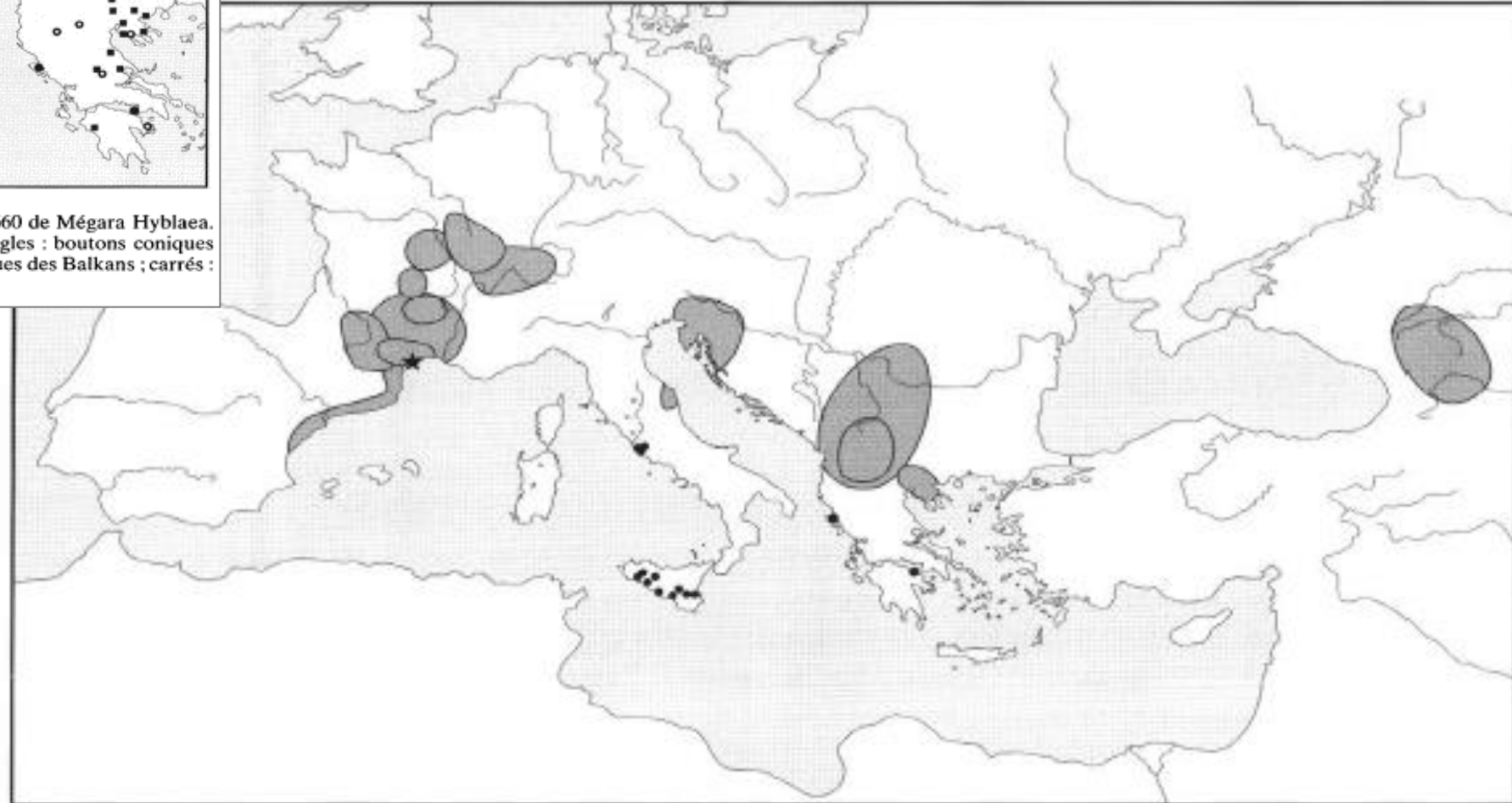


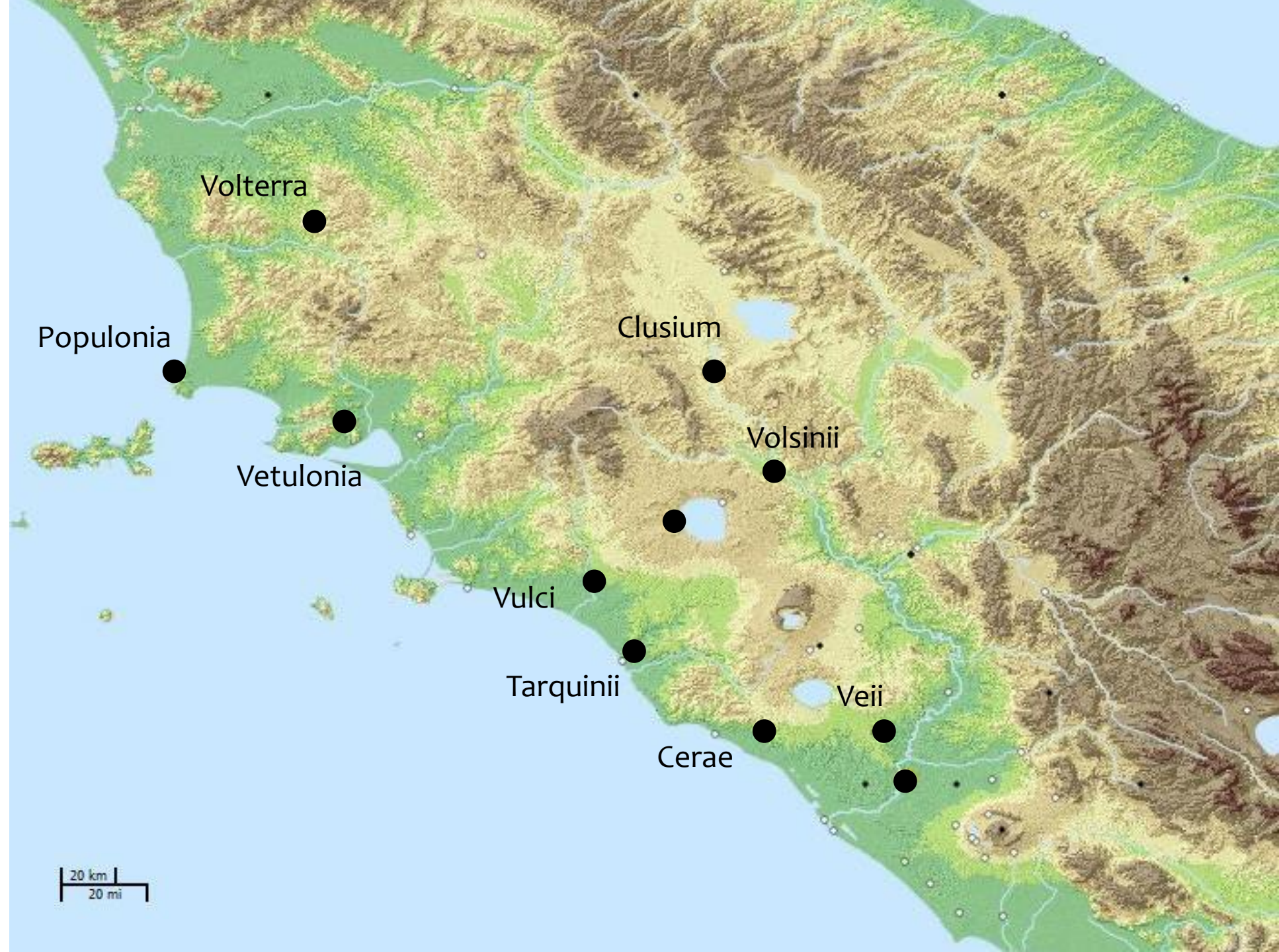
FIG. 11. – Les objets septentrionaux dans les sanctuaires de Sicile, du Latium et de Grèce : régions d'origine et lieux d'arrivée (cercles), étoile : Agde.

=> The systematic presence of female artefacts in the sanctuaries presupposes direct involvement of gaulish women to the Gr religious life

-in the second half of the VII and the VI aC, Etruscan cities have reached a decent economic level and became the principal trade power in the western Mediterranean

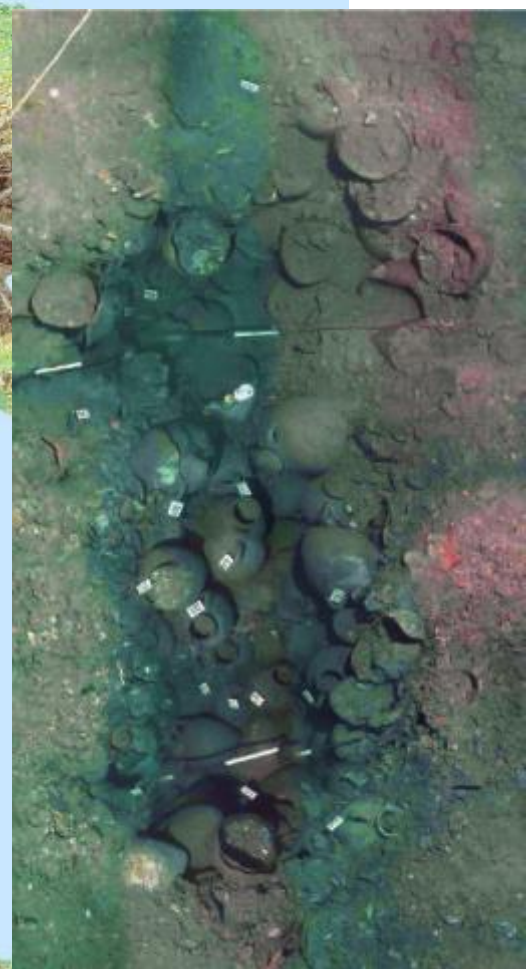
-exporting
-metals
-wine
-pottery
-bronze vessels and instruments

Principal powers are the coastal cities of Cerae, Tarquinia, and Vulci



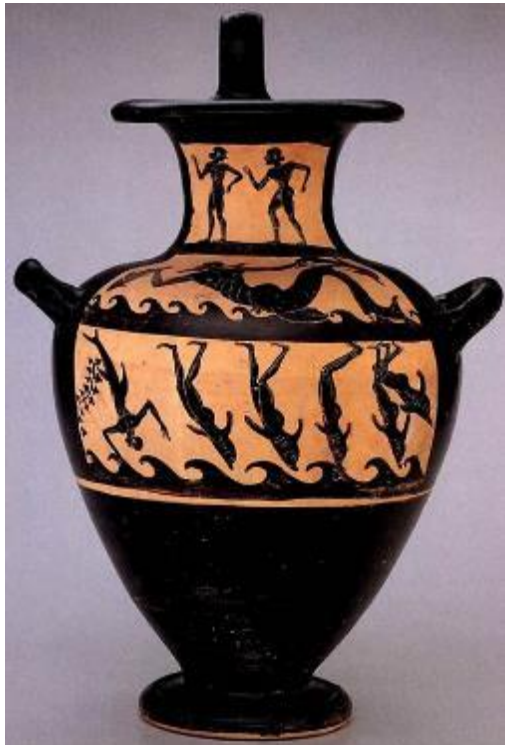


Etruscan wrecks are extremely common along the coast of Ligurian sea and Gulf of Lions in the VII and VI aC



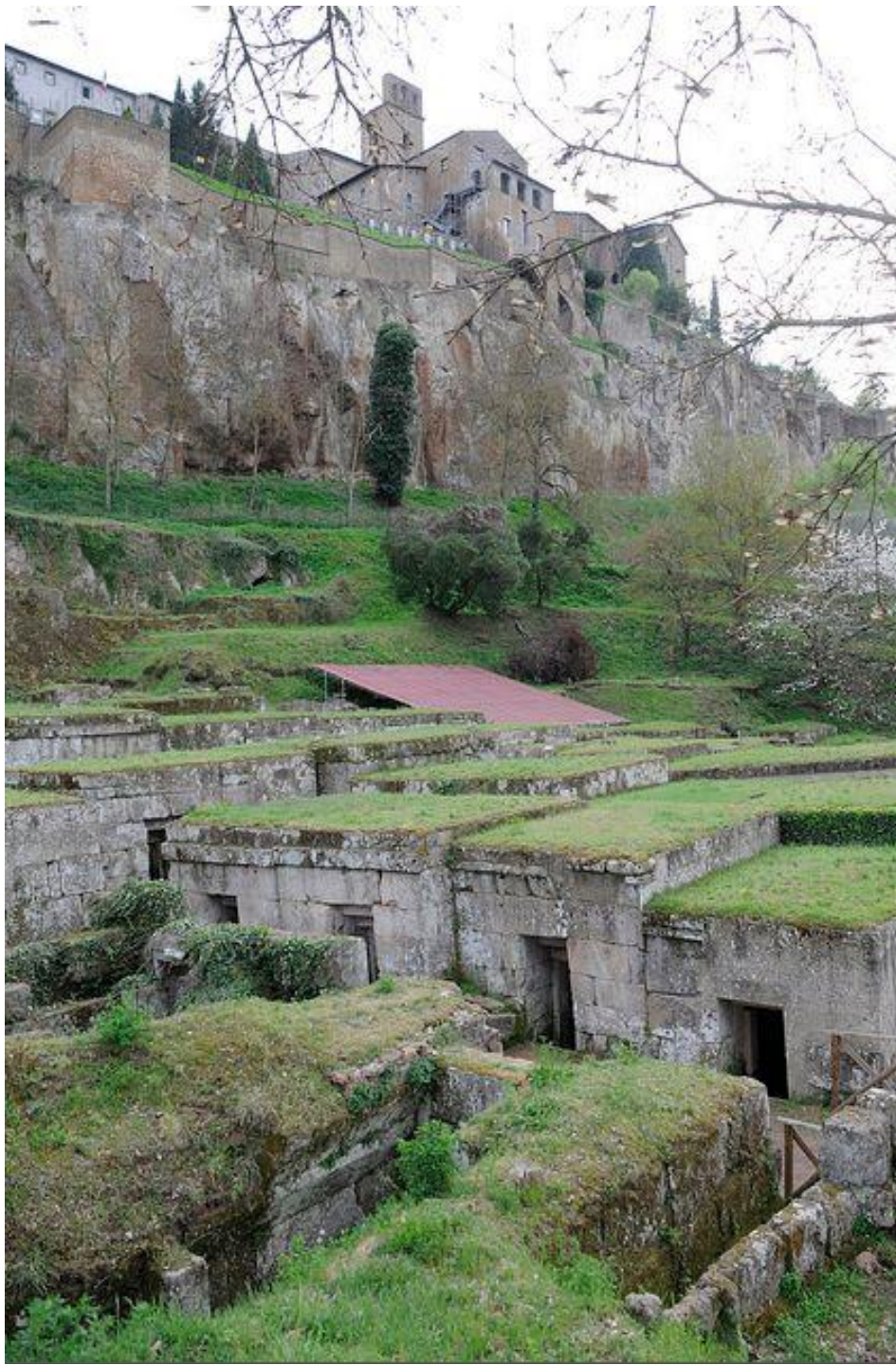


late VI and early V aC
southern Etruria is the principal importer of the best Attic
black and red figured pottery
producer of Etruscan painted pottery and of bronze vessels
(the latter exported to the whole of Mediterranean)

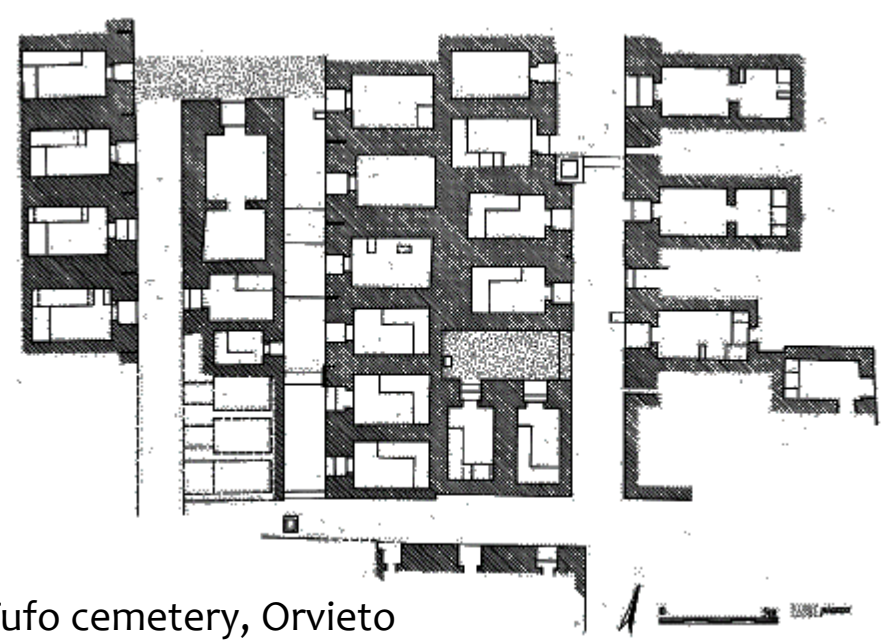


made in Vulci

None of these is Greek



-semidivine princes of the orientalising period have been replaced by oligarchic regimes ran by ruling clans (~ Roman senate) with much more restrained burial presentation



Crocifisso del Tufo cemetery, Orvieto





Massalia

Alalia

Caere

Cumae

Velia

100 km
50 mi

45°20'40.4"N, 10°36'01.7"E (45.3445, 10.6005)

600 aC
– Greek polis of Focea (W
Anatoilia) founds colonies
of **Massalia** in southern
France and **Alalia** in
Corsica with trade on
mind

-rising tensions between
the Greeks and Etruscans
allied to Phoenicians

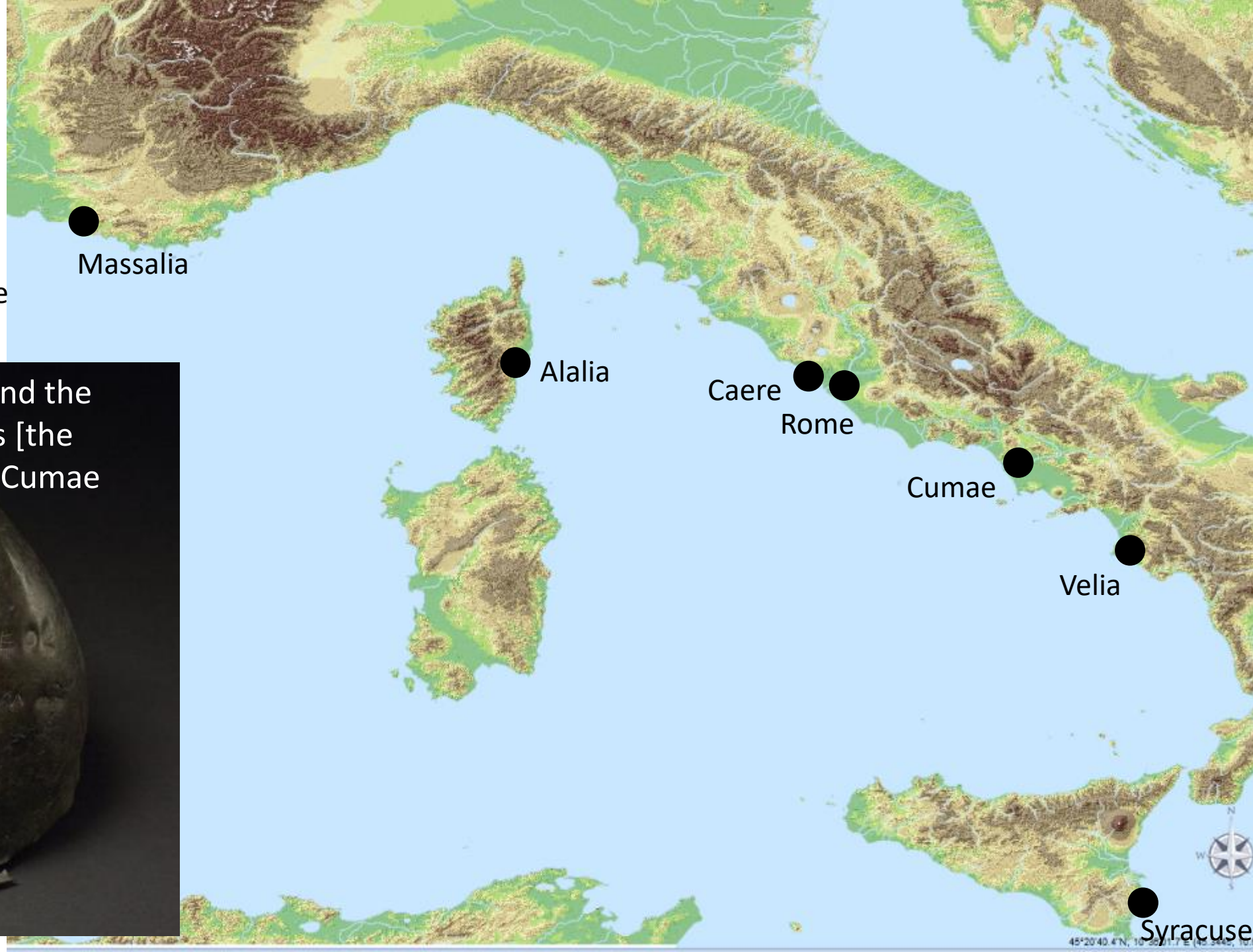
=>
540/535 aC – battle of
Alalia

=> Greeks are obliged to
evacuate Alalia and move
to Elea (Velia)

480 – Syracusans expel the Carthaginians from Sicily

474 – battle of Cumae:
Syracusans beat the Etruscan and Punic fleet and block Etruscan trade in the Tyrrhenian sea and through the Messina strait

Hieron, son of Deinomenes and the Syracusans [dedicate] to Zeus [the spoils] of the Etruscans from Cumae



438–396 aC – Roman war
against and finally
conquest of Veii

⇒ Southern Etruria cut of
its trade outlets and
their flourishing starts
to fade

⇒ New trade occasions
have to be searched
elsewhere => rise of
inner Etruria and of the
Po valley



occupation of the Po valley in VI and V century BC

„Felsinian period“ 530 – 390 BC

-through the VI BC the villanovan culture continues but fades away

ca 530 things start changing with increasing pace from 480s' BC

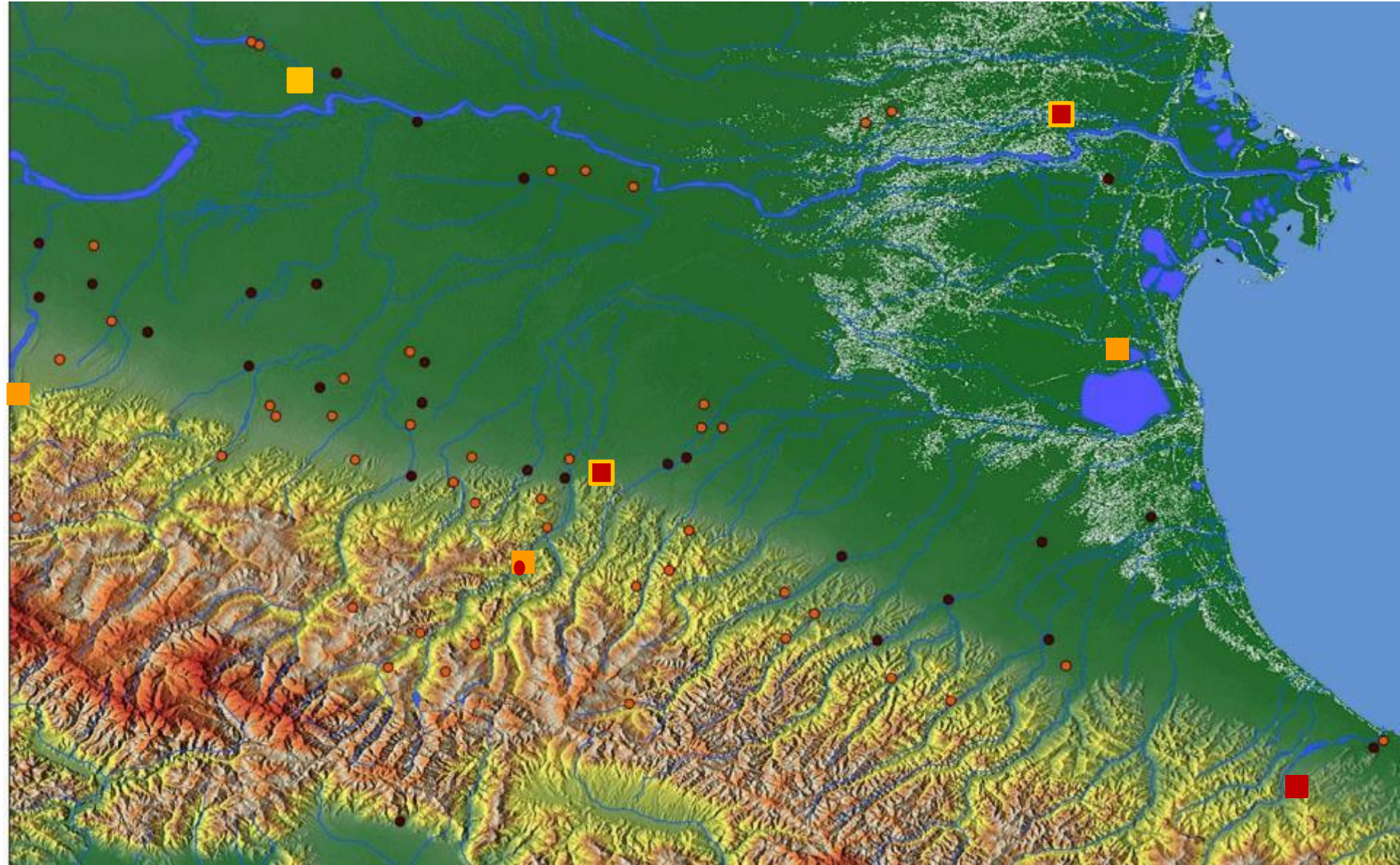
-new settlement structure based on a net of newly founded/refounded towns and dense rural occupation

-new material culture from pottery to bronzes

-new burial rite

-new onomastics (yes there are plenty of inscriptions) suggesting links with inner Etruria – Perugia, Arezzo)

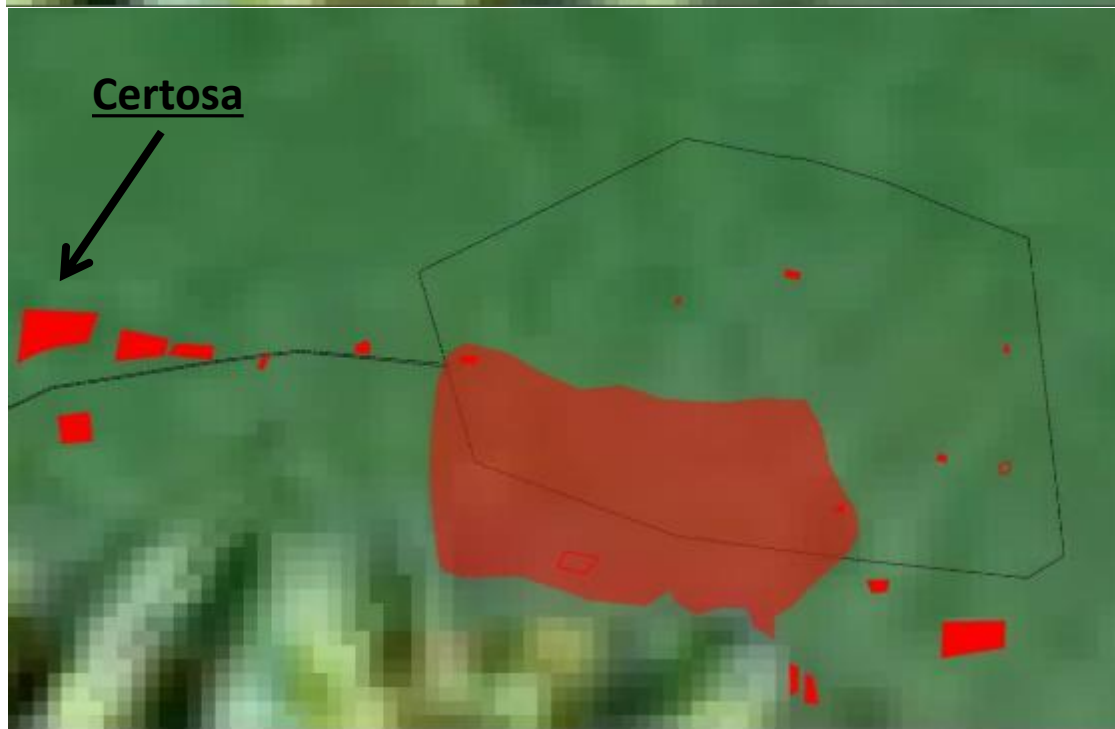
=> Influx of new population and restructuration of Po valley as a result of intentional colonisation

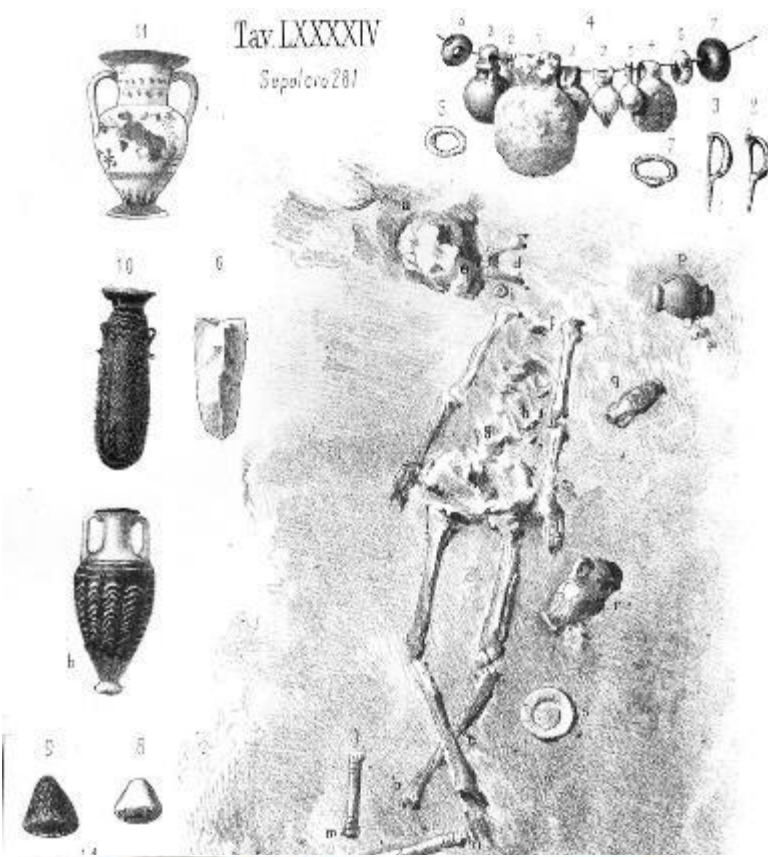


Bologna („Felsina“ in Etruscan)

- occupation shrinks from 200 to 120 hectares
- probably orthogonal street grid

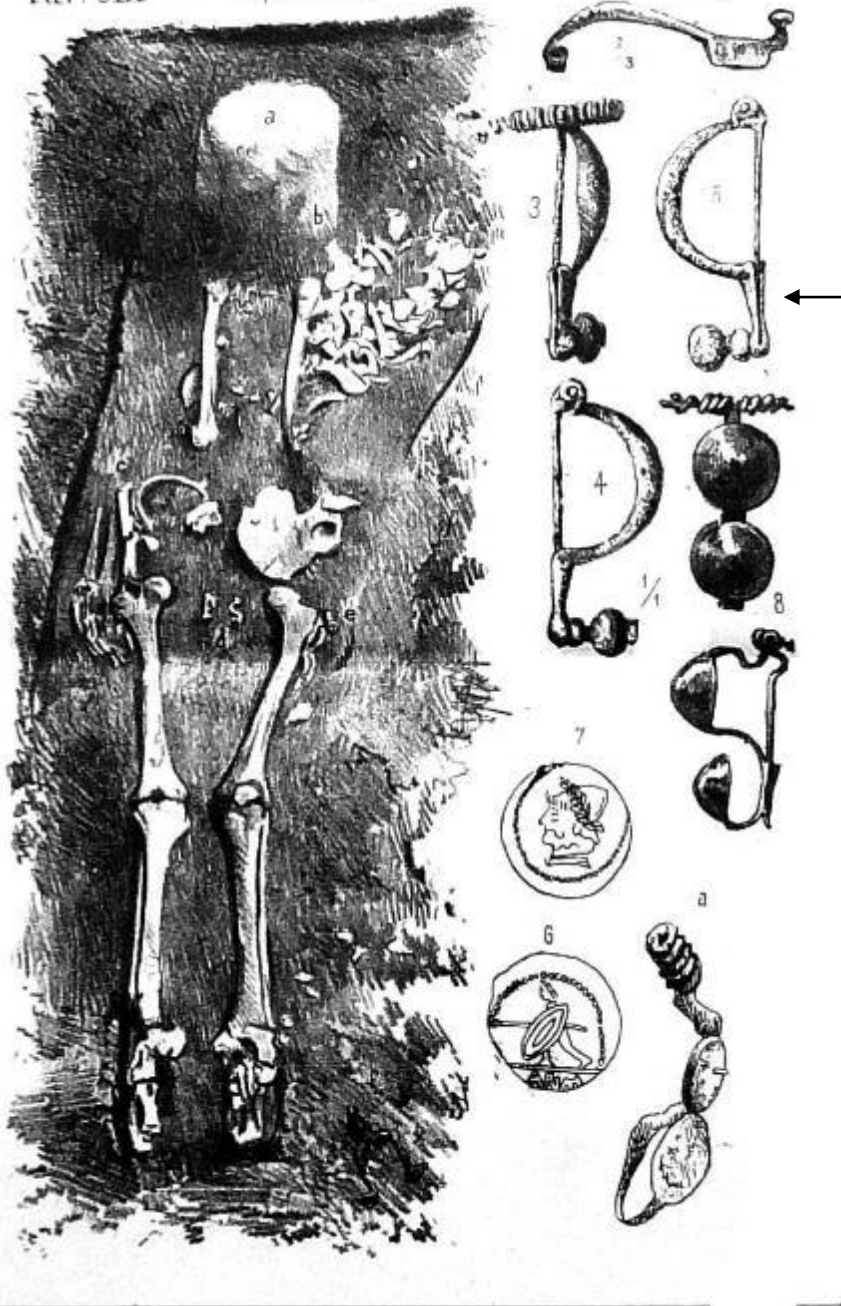
- cemeteries along the road (e.g. the Certosa cemetery)





- burial rite based on feasting ideology
- attic figured pottery, etruscan bronze vessels and instruments
- glass perfume flasks
- jewellery of Mediterranean /Etruscan types





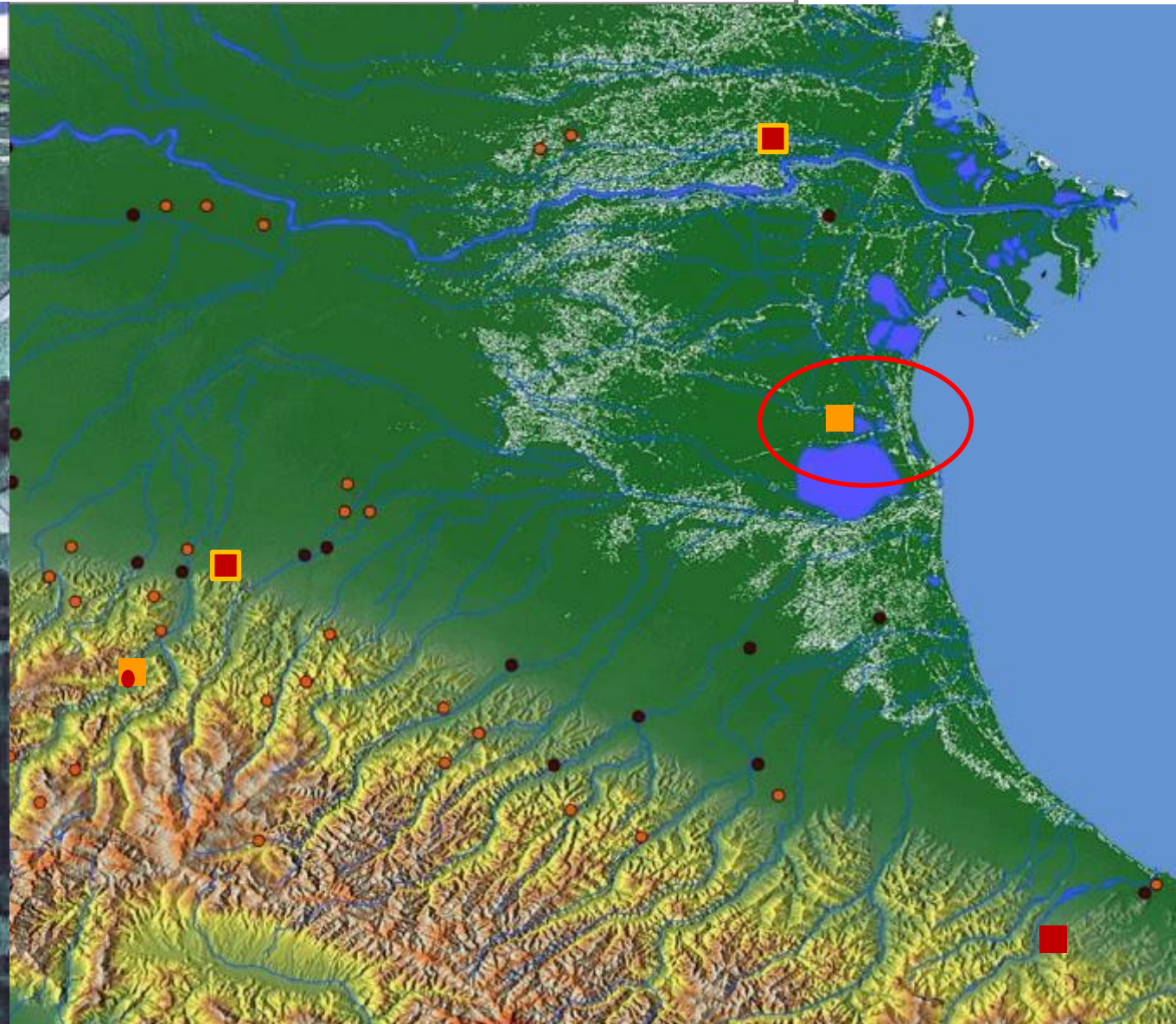
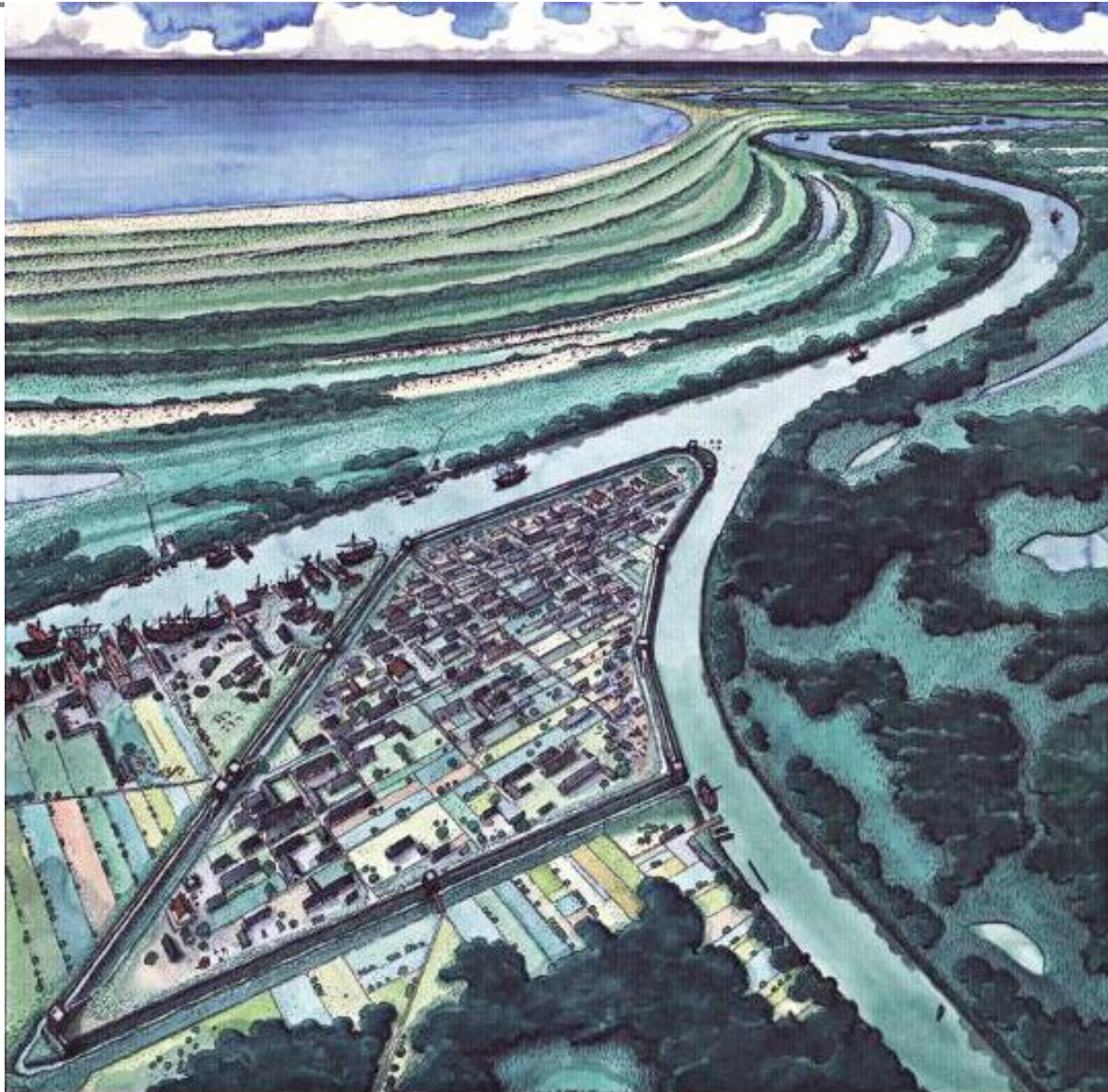
Relatively common presence of brooches of Hallstatt types

Btw. a brooch of „type Certosa“ named after the bolognese cemetery is of Italian origin but will be adopted on the opposite side of the Alps as well and remain in use in the Alpine area until the 1st century BC

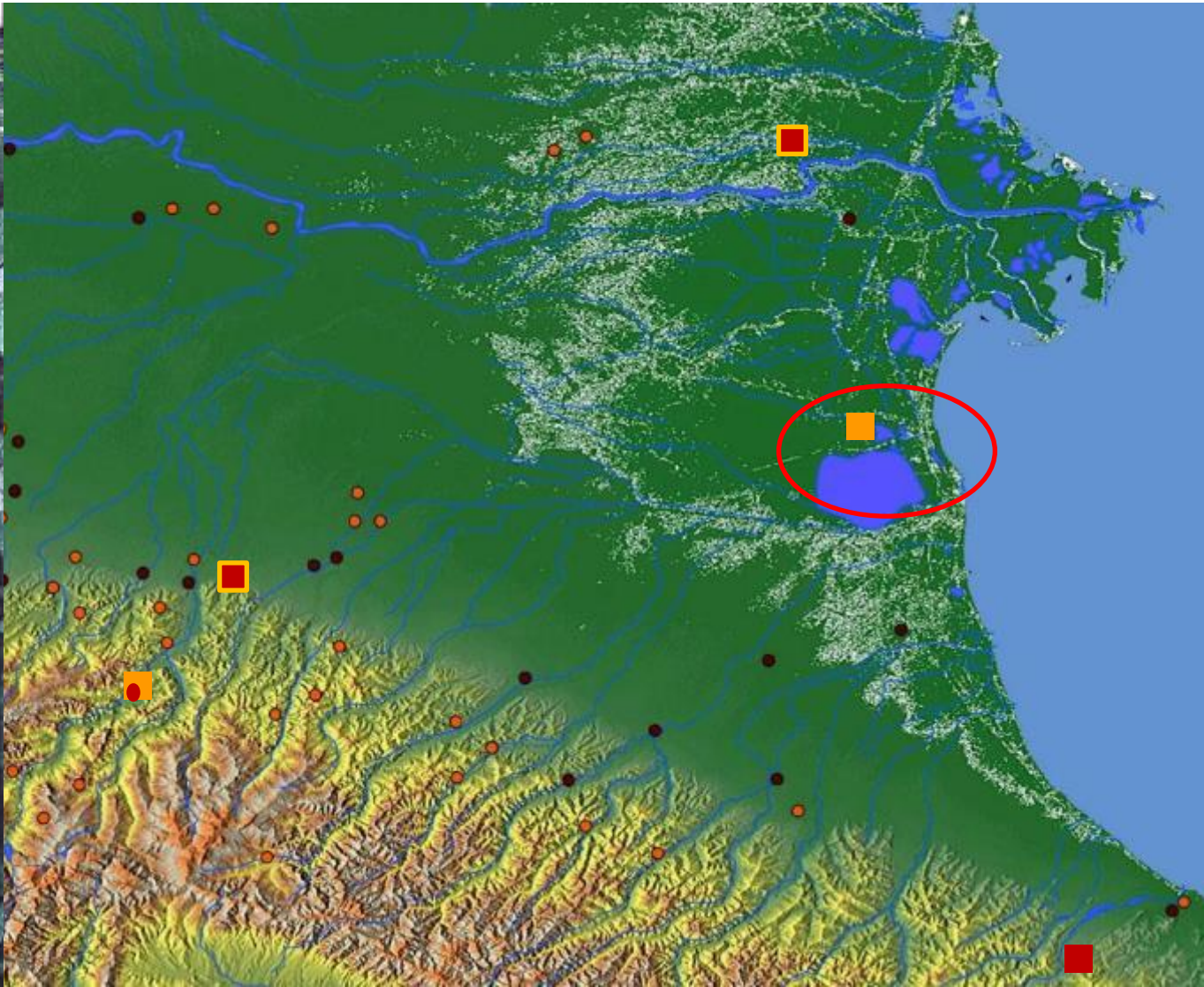
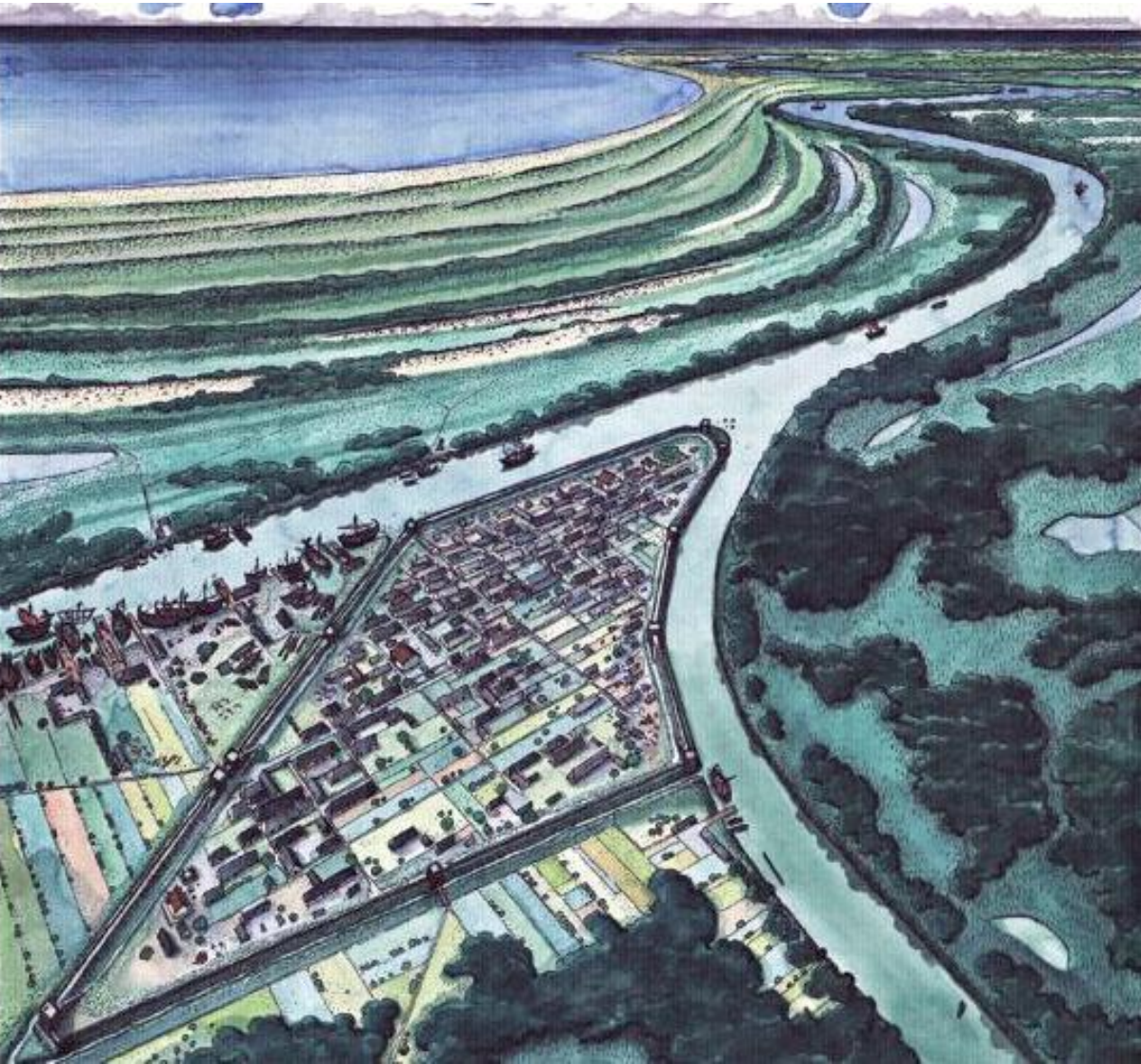
Nowadays, Spina is just a village. in the past however, it was a famous Greek town. In Delphi, they show a treasury of the Spineteans and it is said that they rules the entire sea. In the past the city alegendly lay on the seashore, though now it is 90 stades away from it.

Spina

Strabo, Geogr. V, 1.7

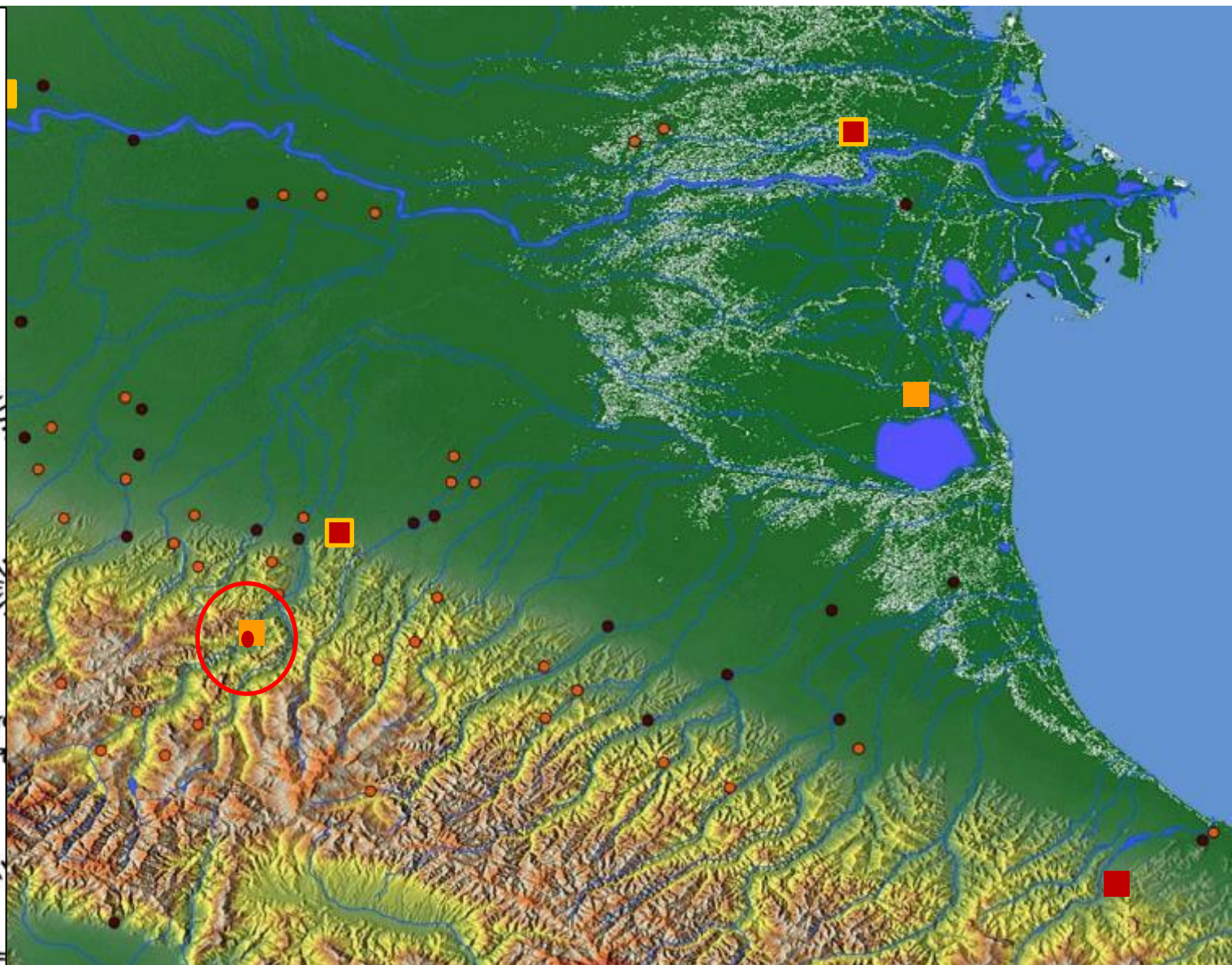
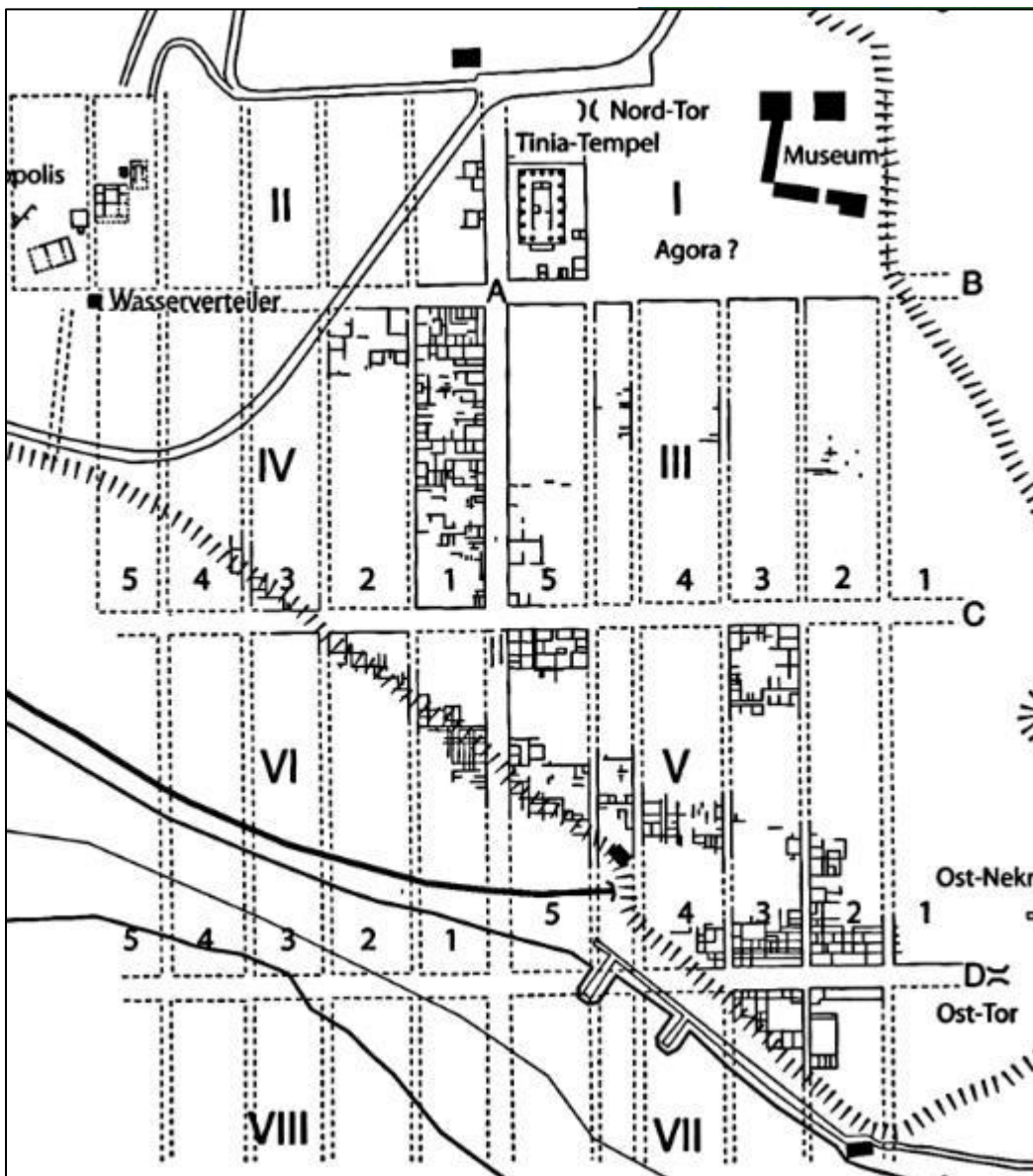


- multinational port of trade (mostly Etruscan and Greek onomastics)
- excavations in both settlement and cemeteries
- attic pottery, Greek wine amphorae, Etruscan bronzes



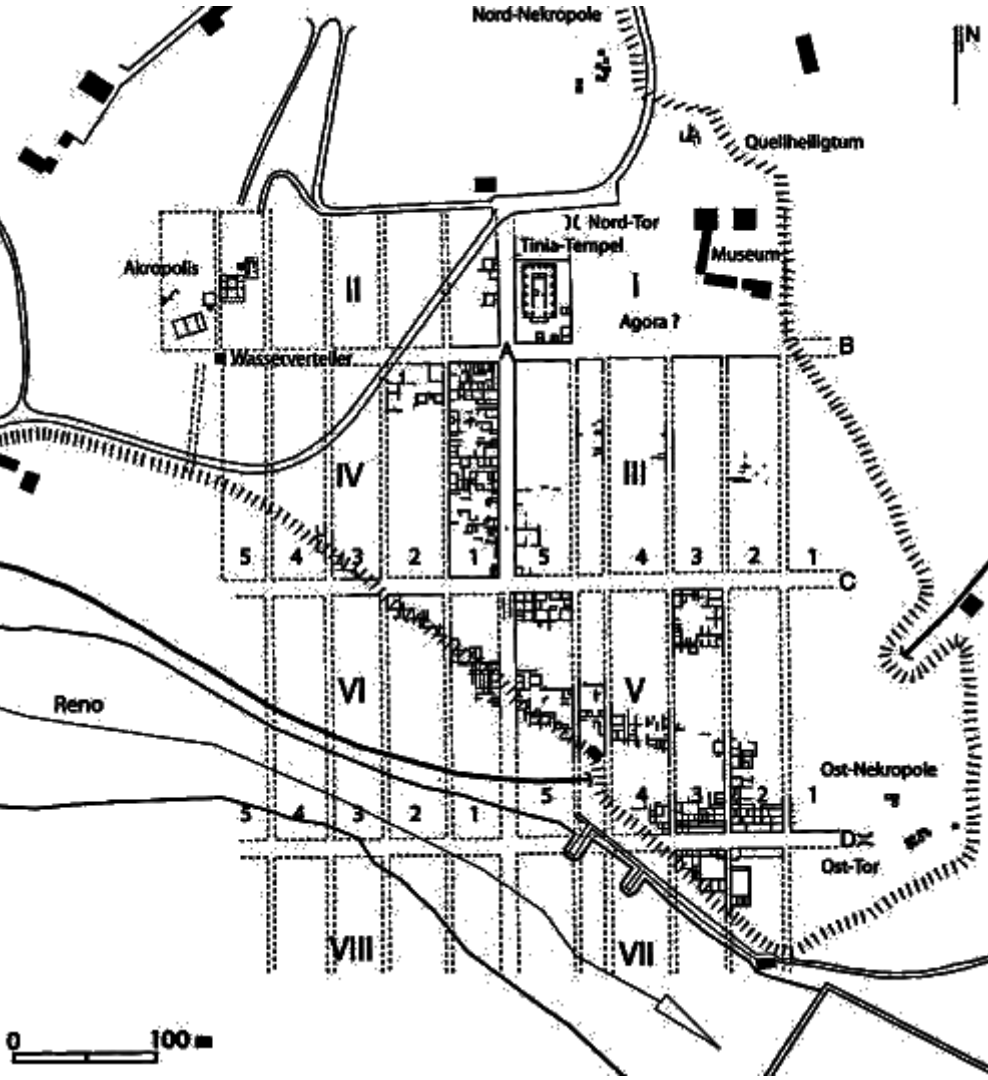
https://www.academia.edu/9327018/Case_di_legno_e_d_argilla._Urbanistica_tecniche_edilizie_e_vita_quotidiana_a_Spina_tra_VI_e_IV_sec._a.C

https://www.academia.edu/1819158/Ausgrabungen_und_Forschungen_in_der_etruskischen_Stadt_Spina_Provinz_Ferrara_2007-2009





-urban unit with orthogonal grid only partly built-up (ready for more to come), series of temples....



-trade hub between Etruria and Po valley (including luxury goods like attic pottery, Etruscan bronze vessels and Greek marble)

-local production of pottery

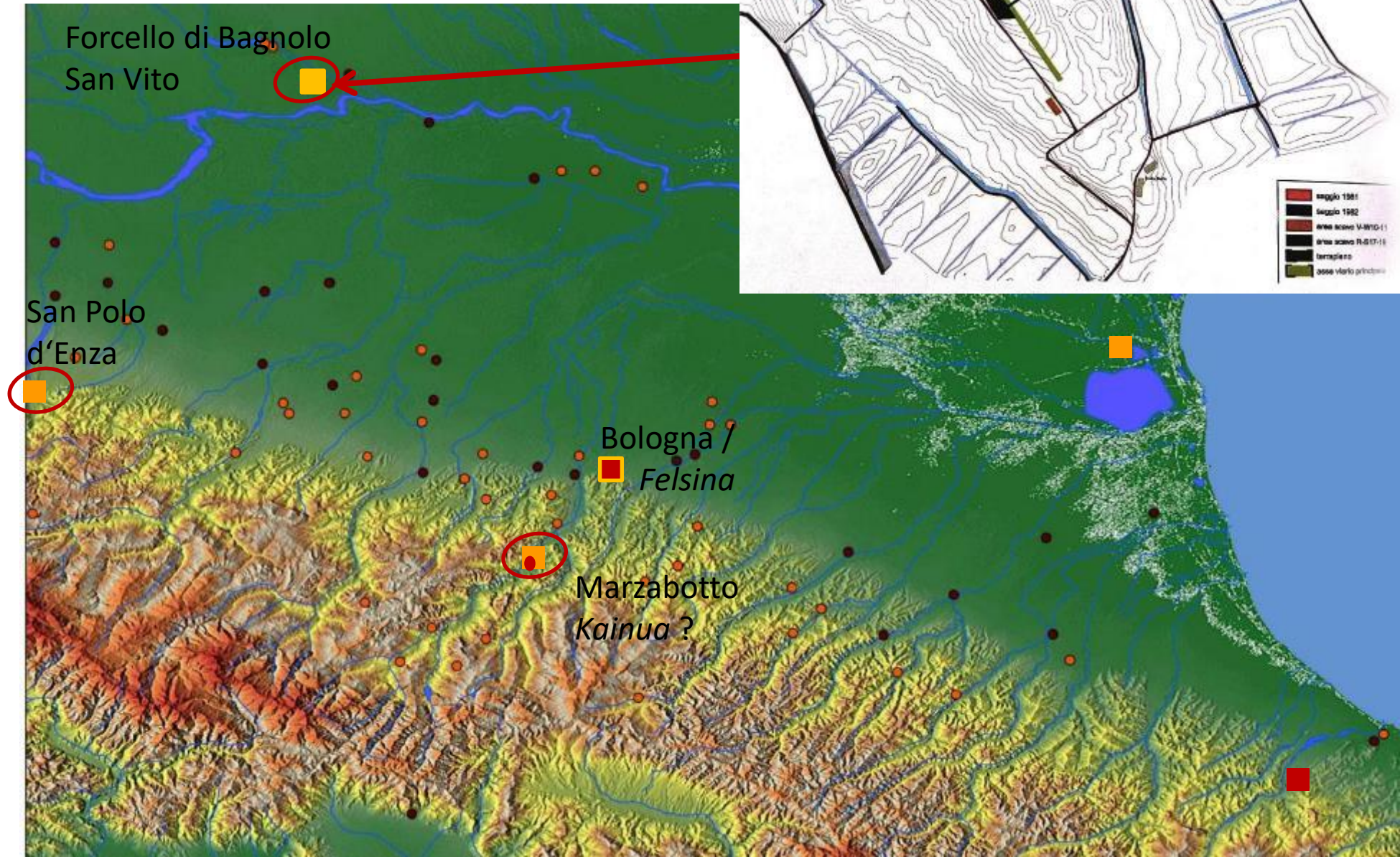
-bronze working

.....



Forcello di Bagnolo San Vito

-a small urban settlement on the way from Emilia to Lombardy



Attic pottery



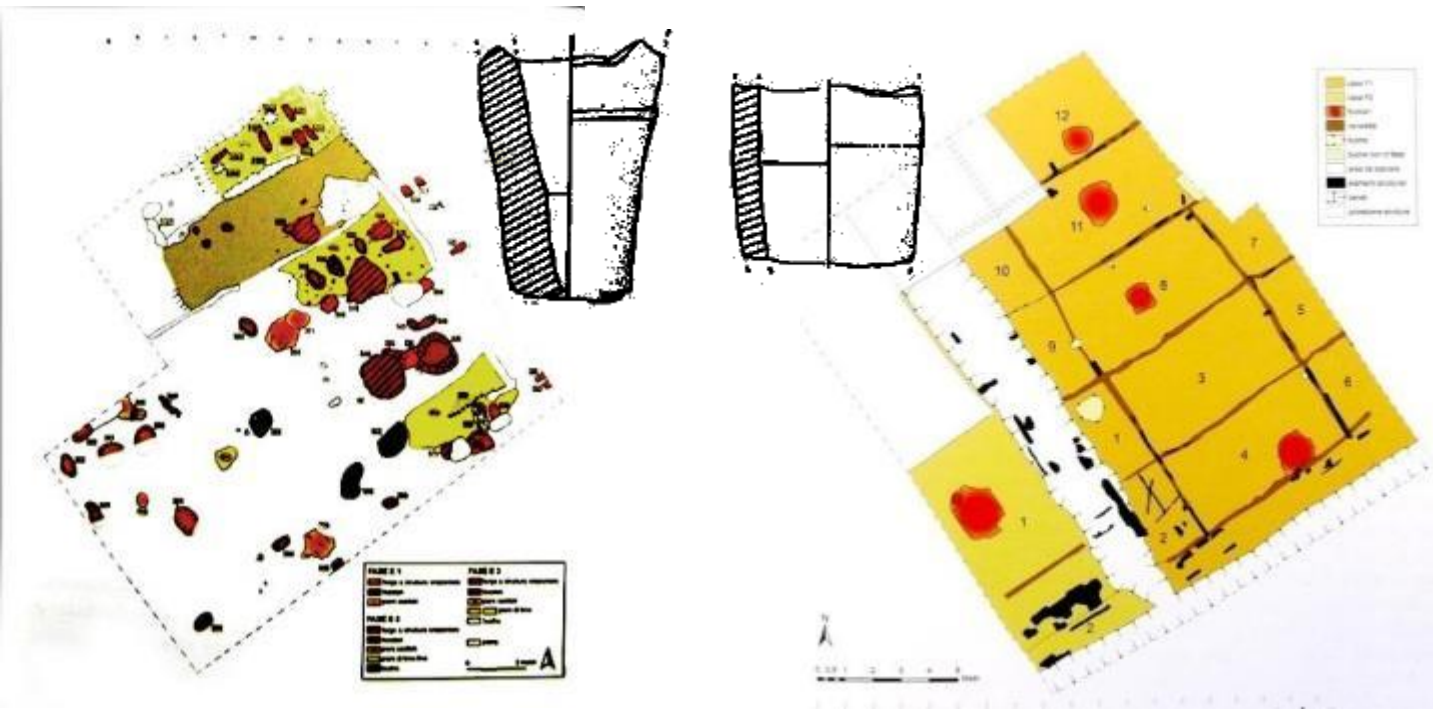
Greek transport amphorae

-thousands of fragments: the greatest assemblage in northern Italy

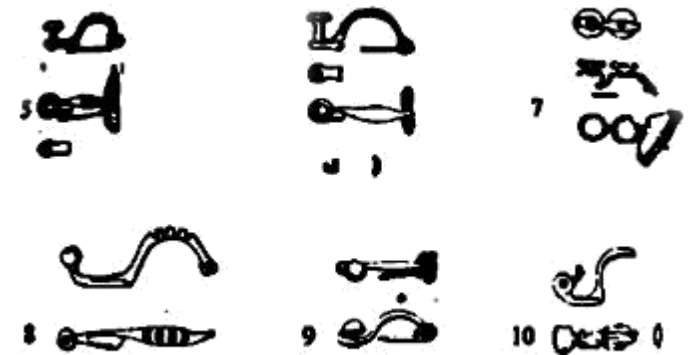
-Thassos, Mendé, Chios, Samos, Milétos, Ionian-Massaliot, Corinthus, Corcyra, Cos...



metallurgy



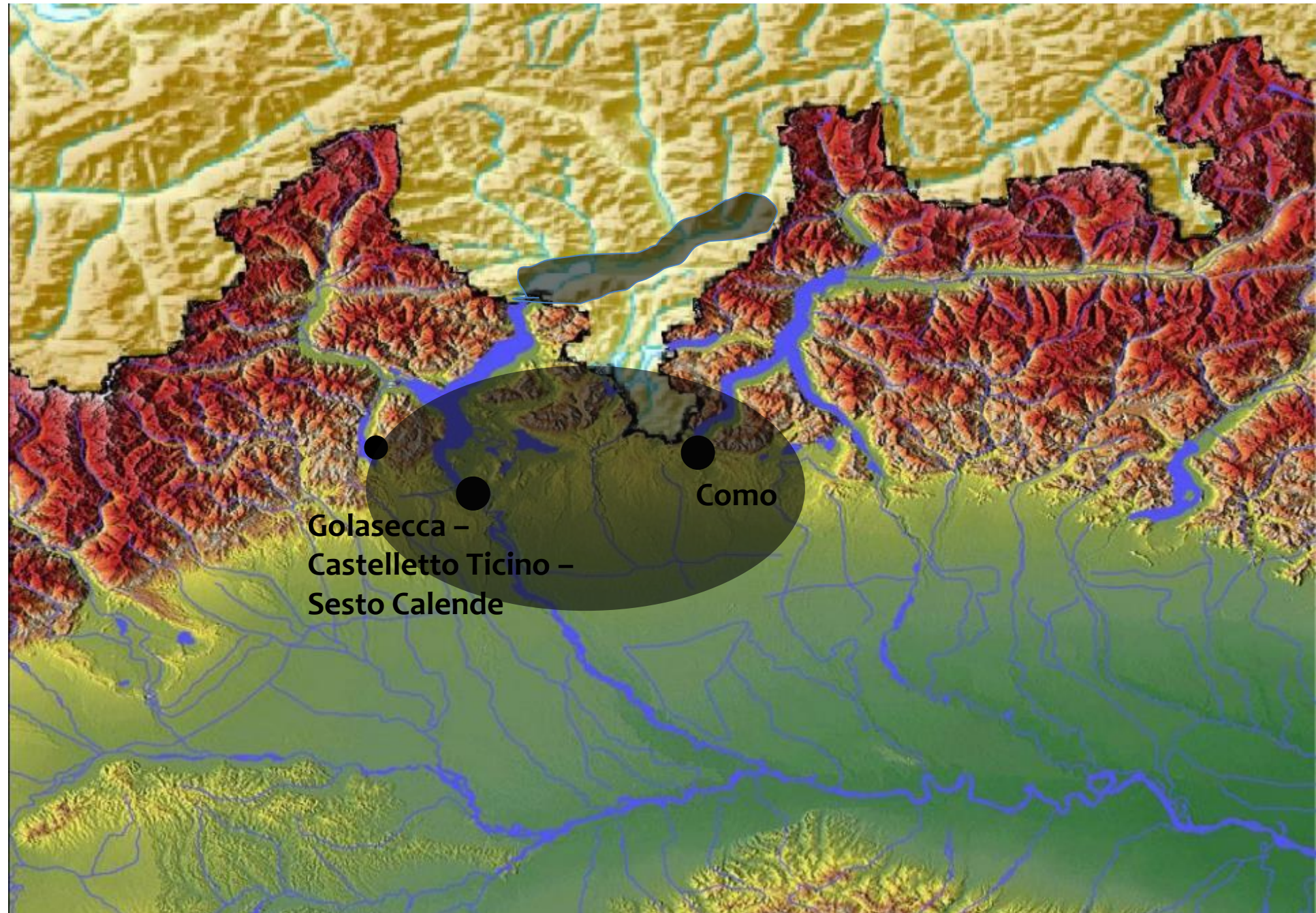
Hallstatt fibulae

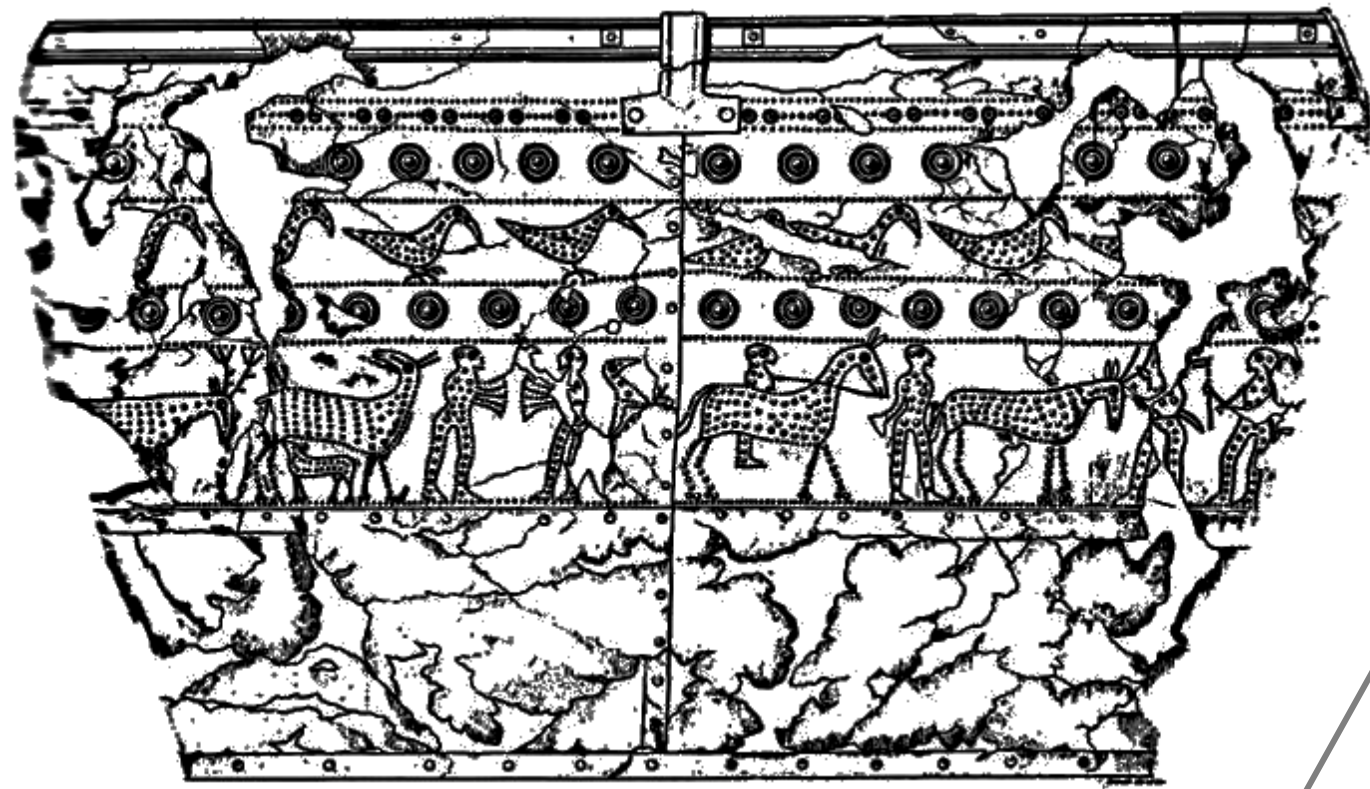


GOLASECCA I B- IIB (VIII-VI stol.)

We left the area here:

-occupation concentrated
on the foothills





-some elements and practices suggesting presence of elites along the lines common elsewhere in Italy



situla from
tomba di guerriero
(Sesto Calende)

- Atestine inspiration,
Transalpine vessel type

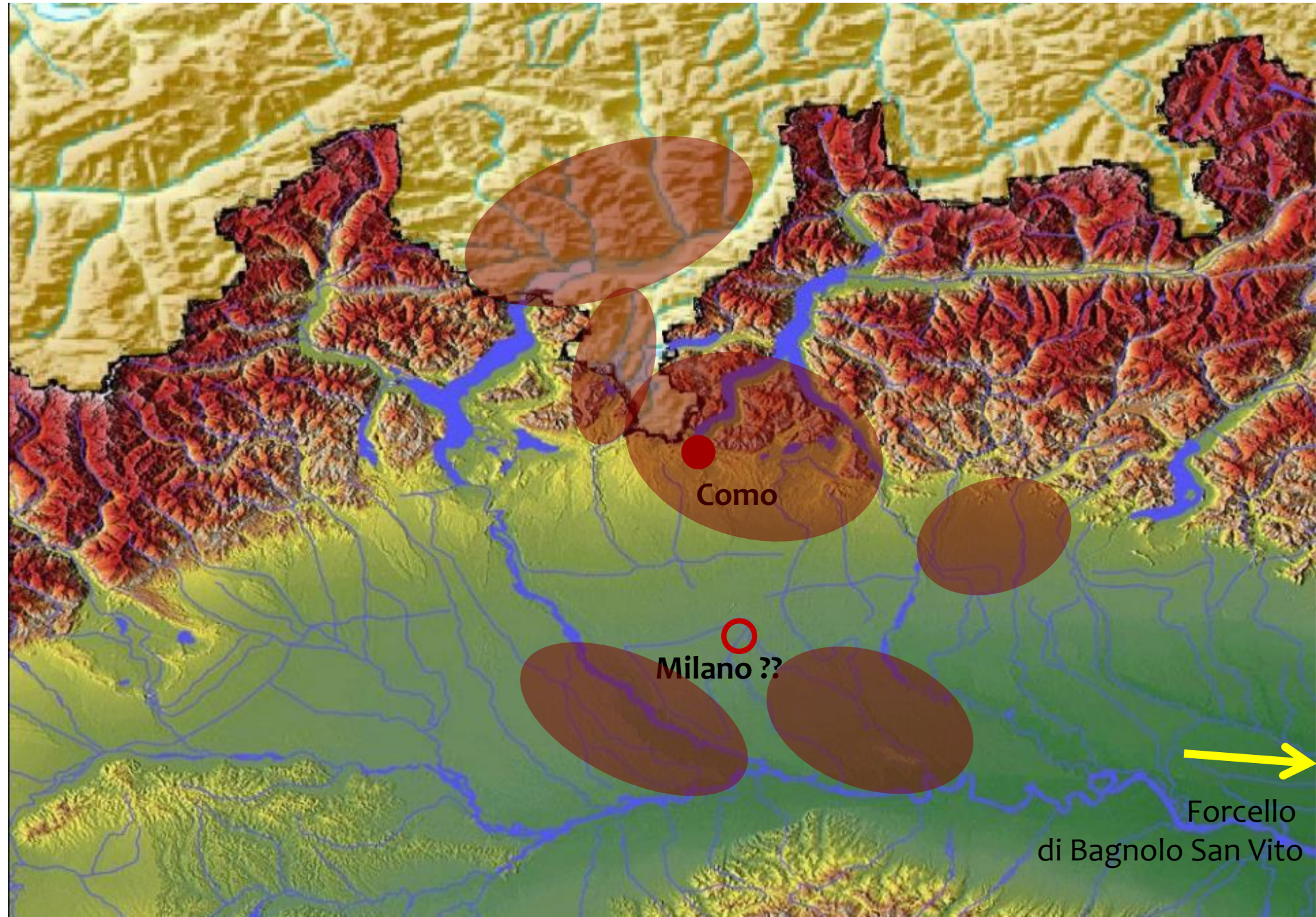
Trezzo d'Adda
-situla decorated
with an animal frieze



GOLASECCA III (V BC)

-in the V BC occupation
spreads to the plains
possibly with foundation
of a new centre in Milan

-getting closer to the
felsinian area?





-the greatest concentration of Etruscan bronze vessels outside Etruria, local production of Rippencisten, situlae etc.



golaseccan bronze objects whose knowledge may come in handy later



← Golasecca brooches →



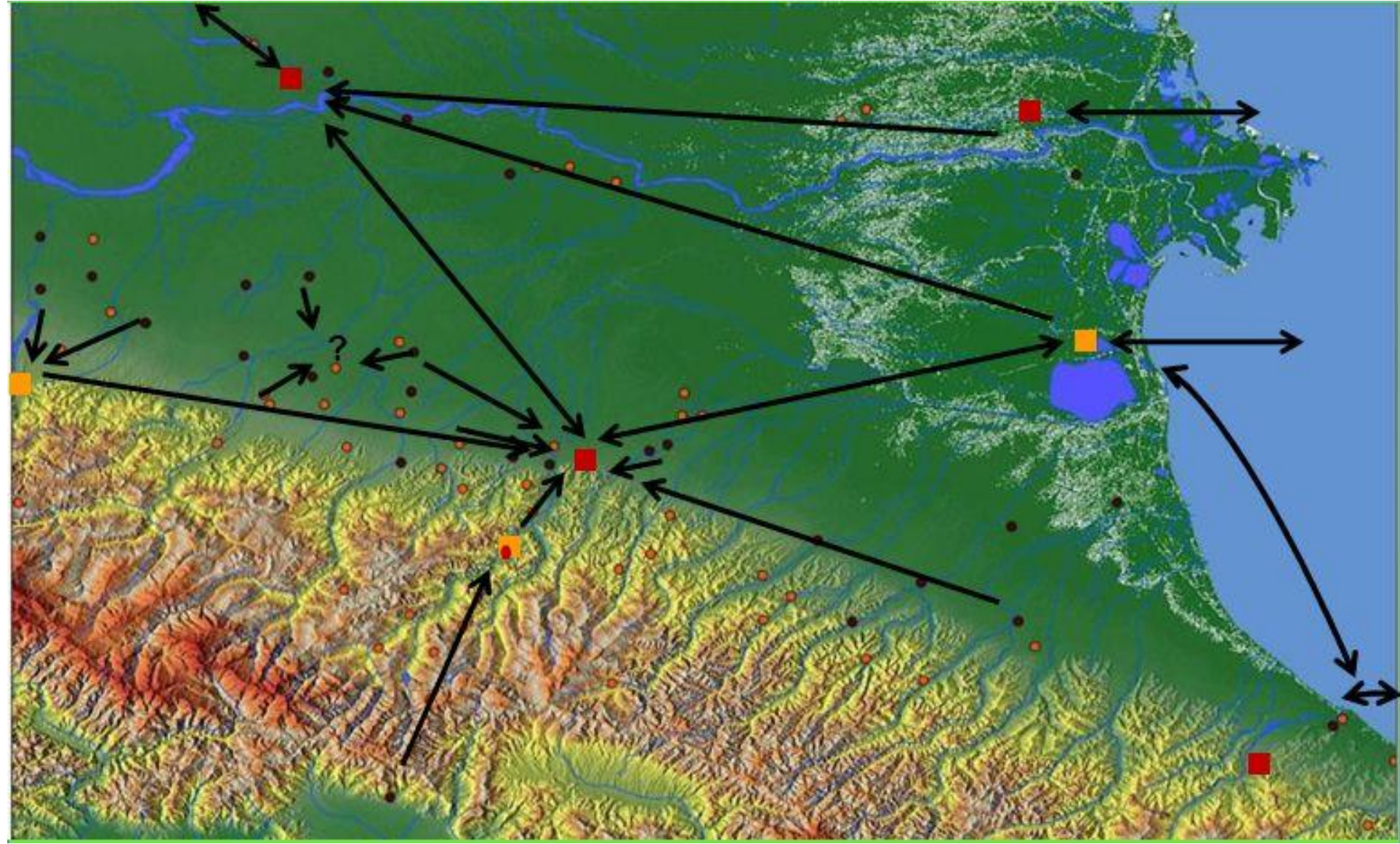
Basket-shaped pendants



coral inlays

⇒ In early V BC, an economic system gets established in the Po valley whereby the region became the organiser of trade between Etruria, Greece and Translpine Europe

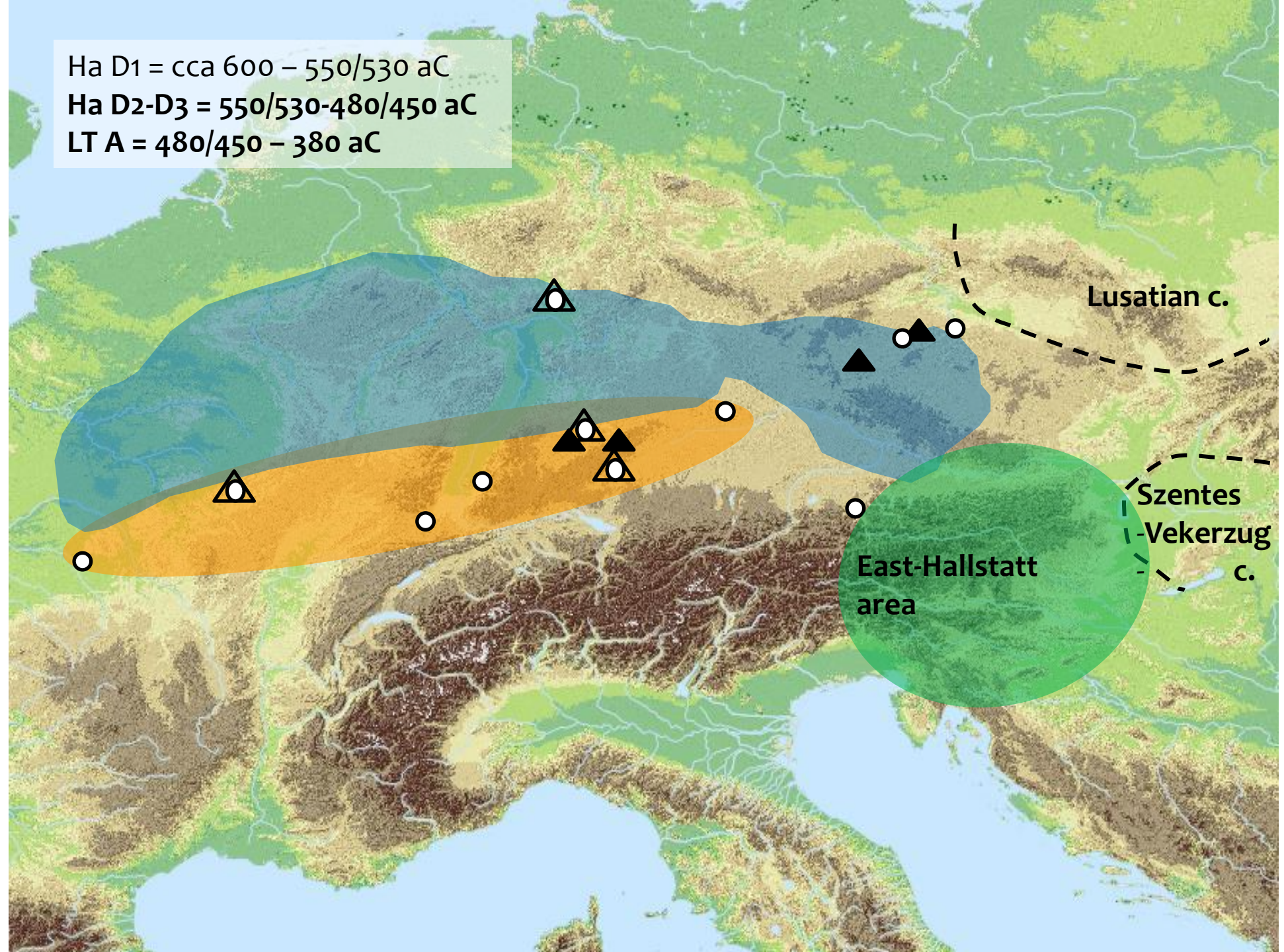
- ⇒ importing metals and metalware from Etruria
- ⇒ systematic colonisation of the rural areas = foodstuffs
- ⇒ metals, foodstuffs (and horses?) traded to Athens (leading wars against Persia and extorting 2/3 of Greece, foe to Syracuse blocking Etruscan trade on the other coast)
- ⇒ Athens supply Greek wine, attic painted pottery and other luxurious products
- ⇒ Translpine Europe invovled through the Golacecca region though Ha/LT fibulae (and thus people wering them?) are present also in Po valley

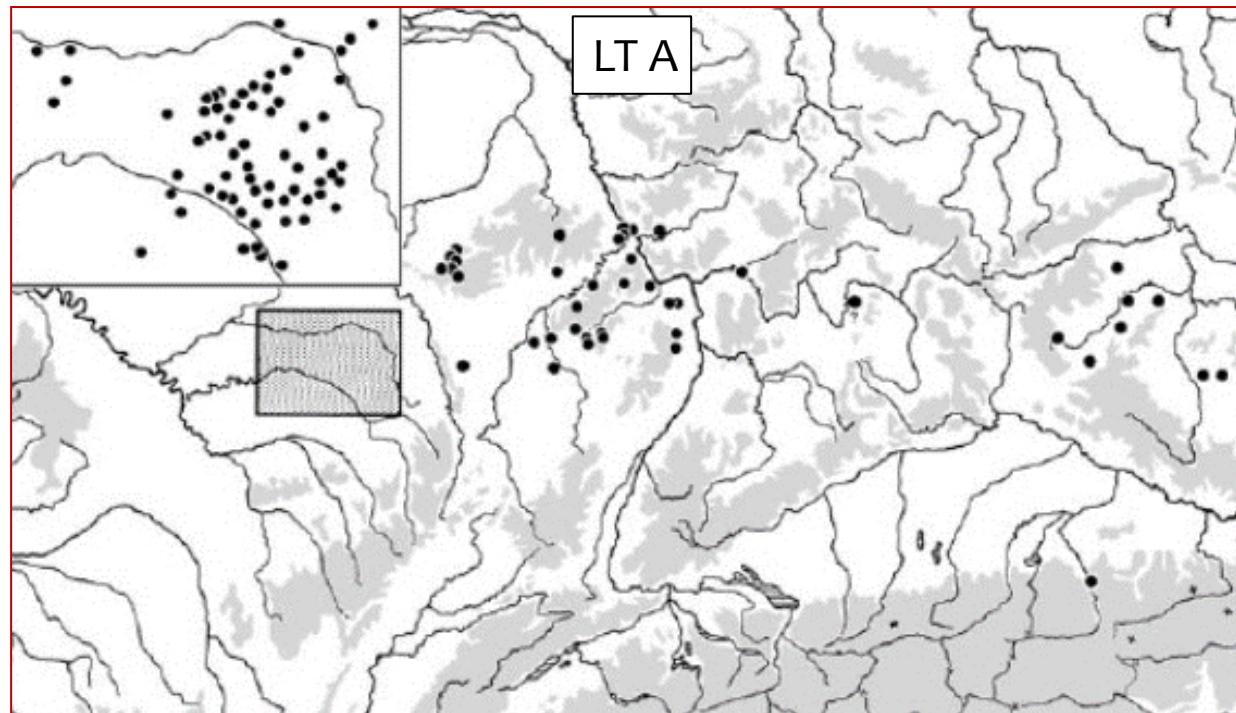
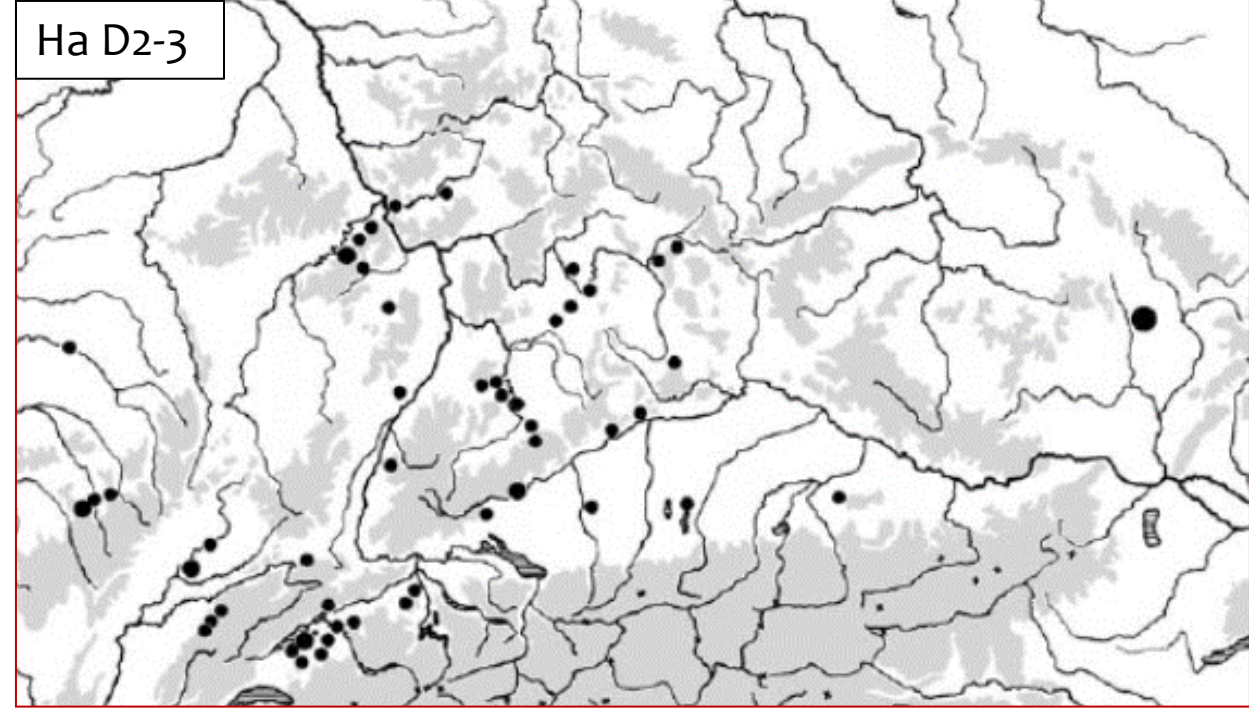
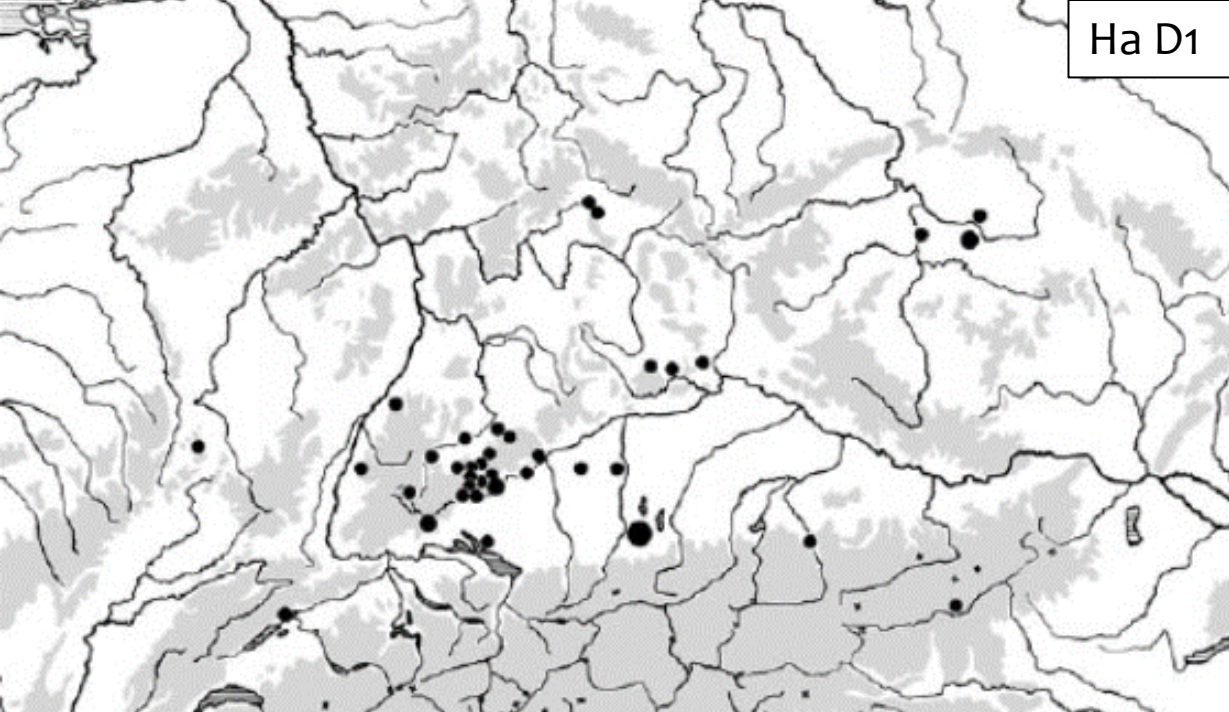


...in the meantime in
Central Europe....

From **Late Hallstatt** (Ha
D2 – D3) to **Early La Tène**
(LT A) period, the area
undergoes some
significant changes of the
archaeological culture and
of the cultural hotspots

Ha D1 = cca 600 – 550/530 aC
Ha D2-D3 = 550/530-480/450 aC
LT A = 480/450 – 380 aC

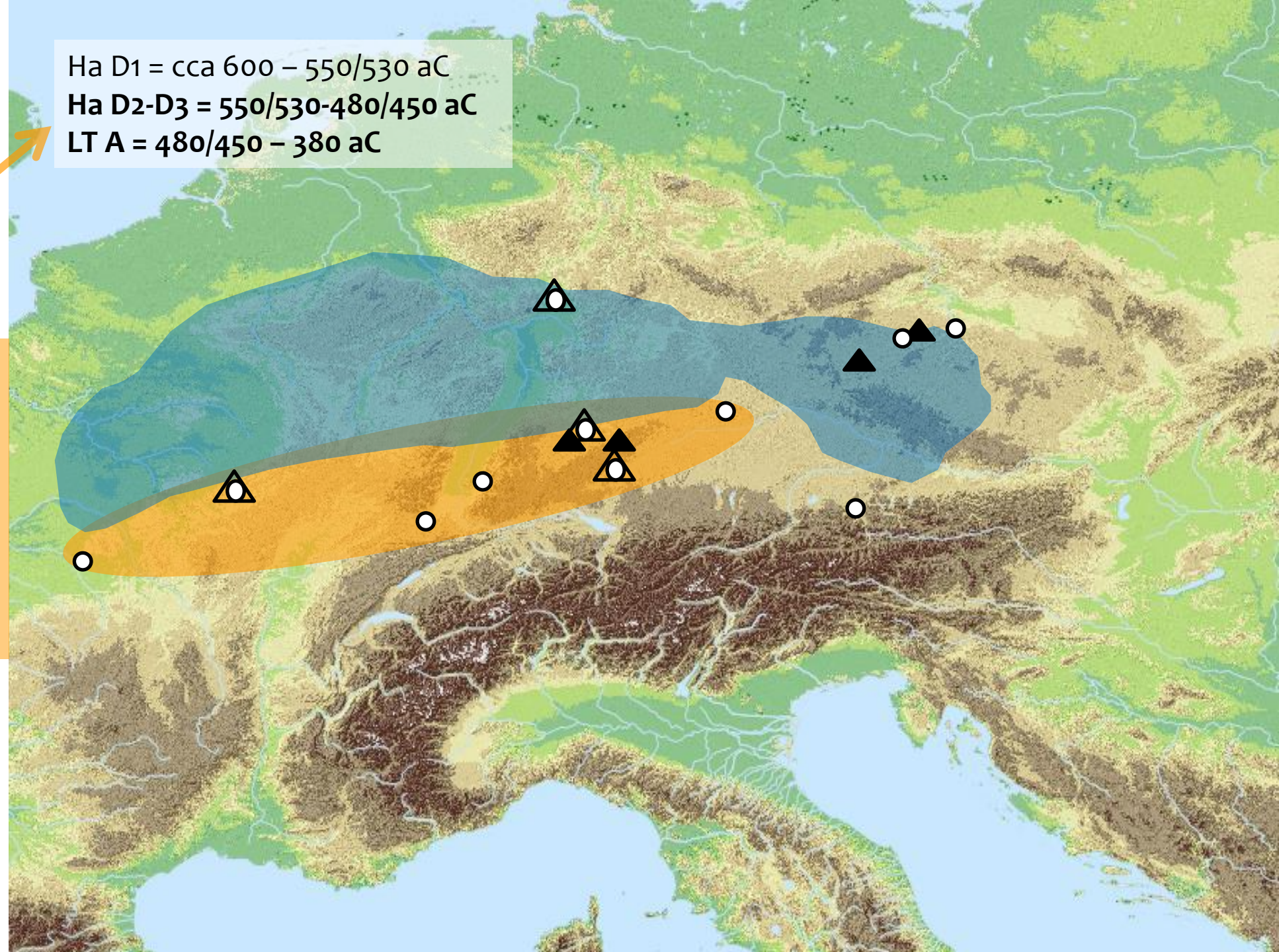




Shifts of wagon/chariot graves
⇒ of elite concentration
⇒ of culture foci
in the Transalpine Europe
through the Early Iron Age

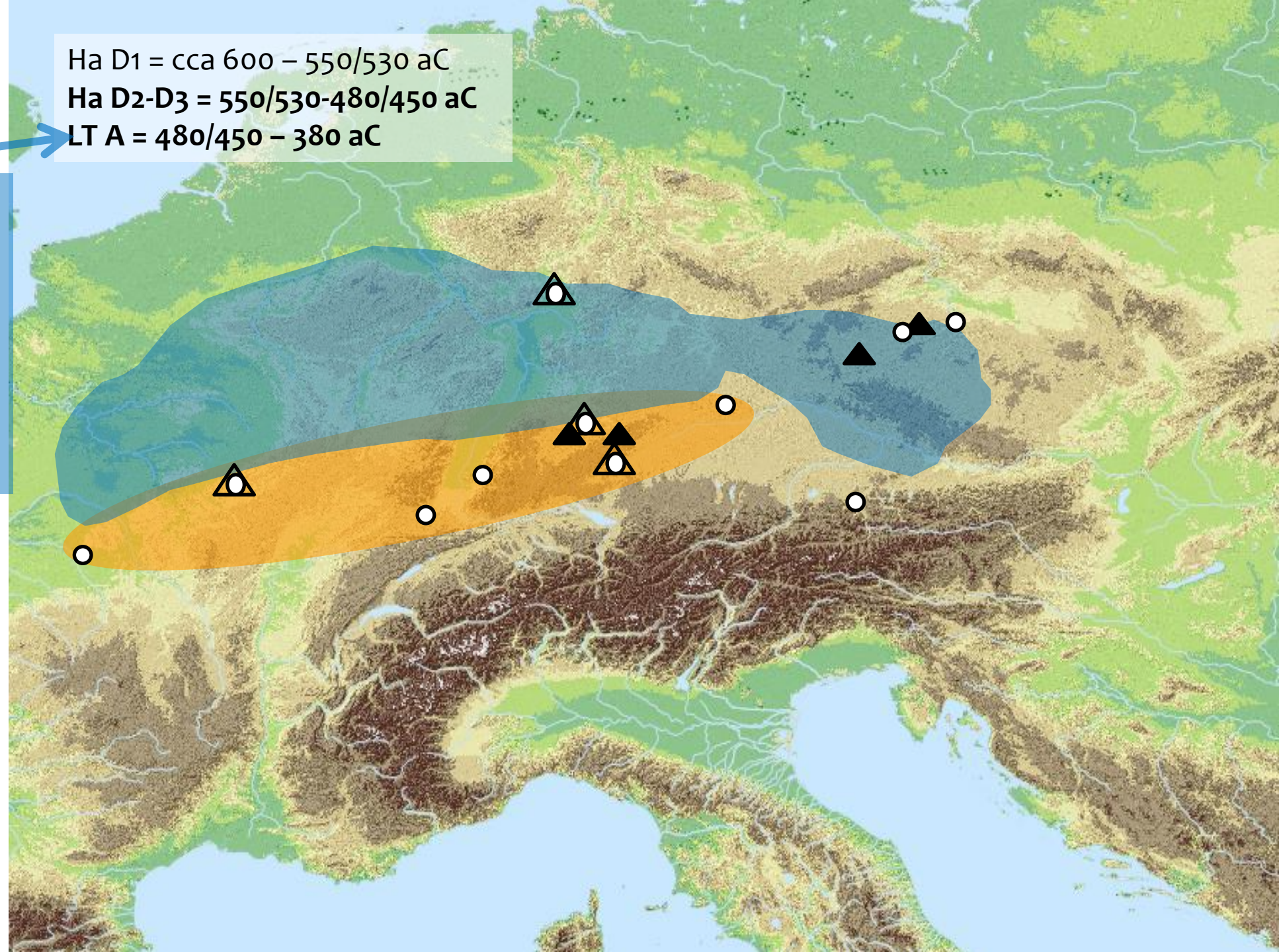
Ha D1 = cca 600 – 550/530 aC
Ha D2-D3 = 550/530-480/450 aC
LT A = 480/450 – 380 aC

- elites of new type – „princes“
- central places – „Fürstensitze“/“princely seats“
- SW Germany



Ha D1 = cca 600 – 550/530 aC
Ha D2-D3 = 550/530-480/450 aC
LT A = 480/450 – 380 aC

-shift to Marne, Mosel, middle Rhine, Main and to Bohemia
-small changes in burial self-representation and in the type of central places
-new art-style – the LaTène art



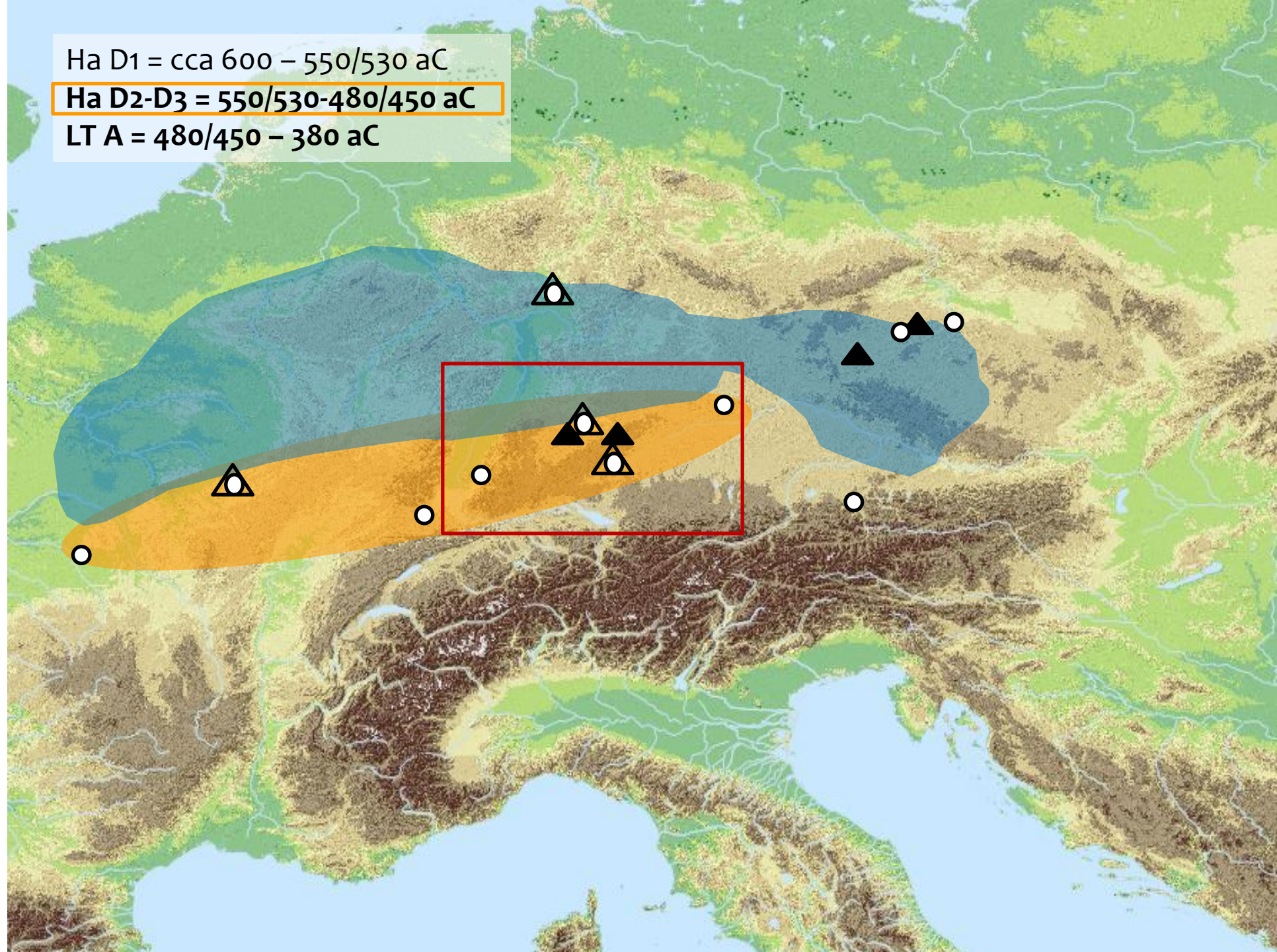
Ha D1 = cca 600 – 550/530 aC

Ha D2-D3 = 550/530-480/450 aC

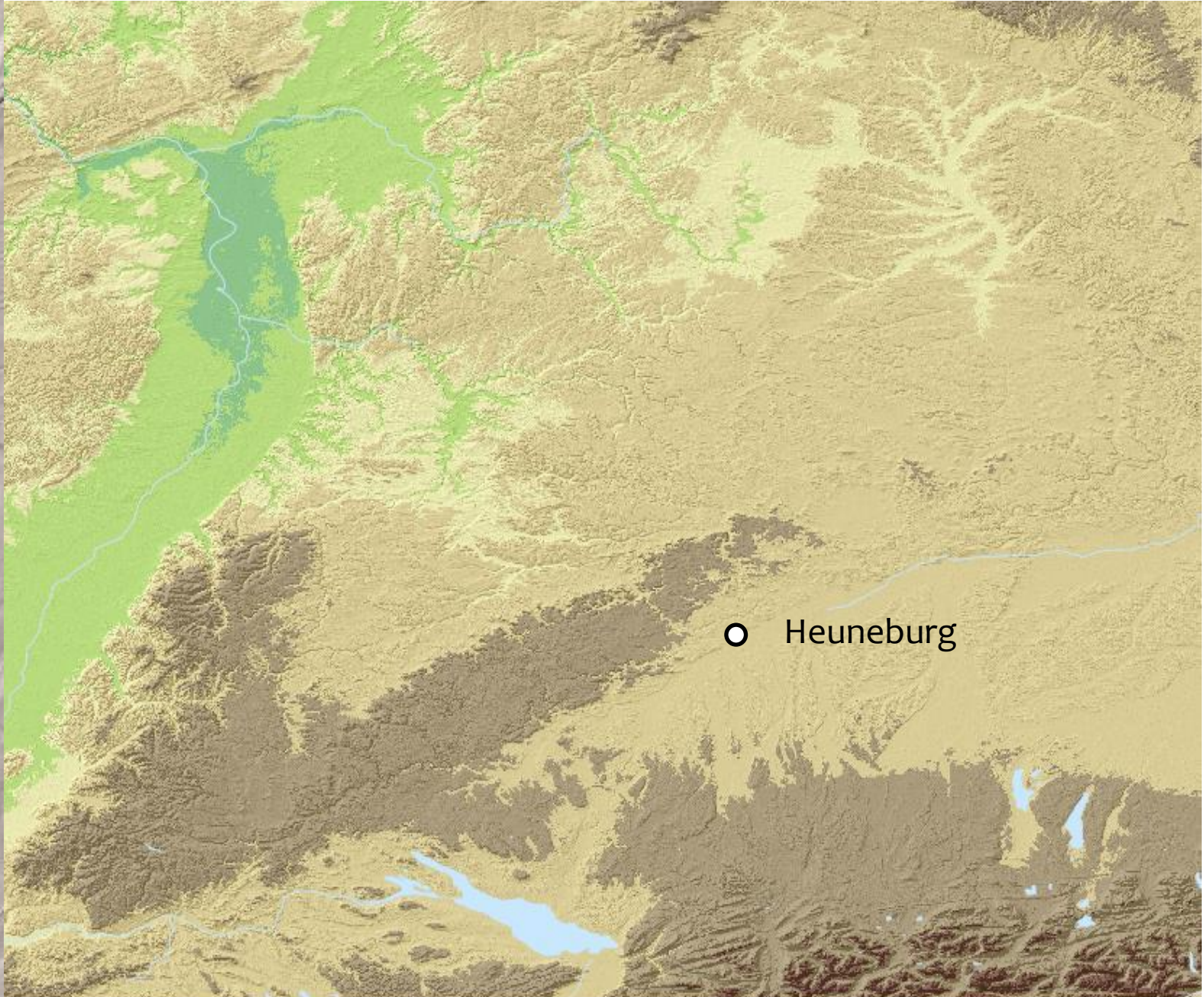
LT A = 480/450 – 380 aC

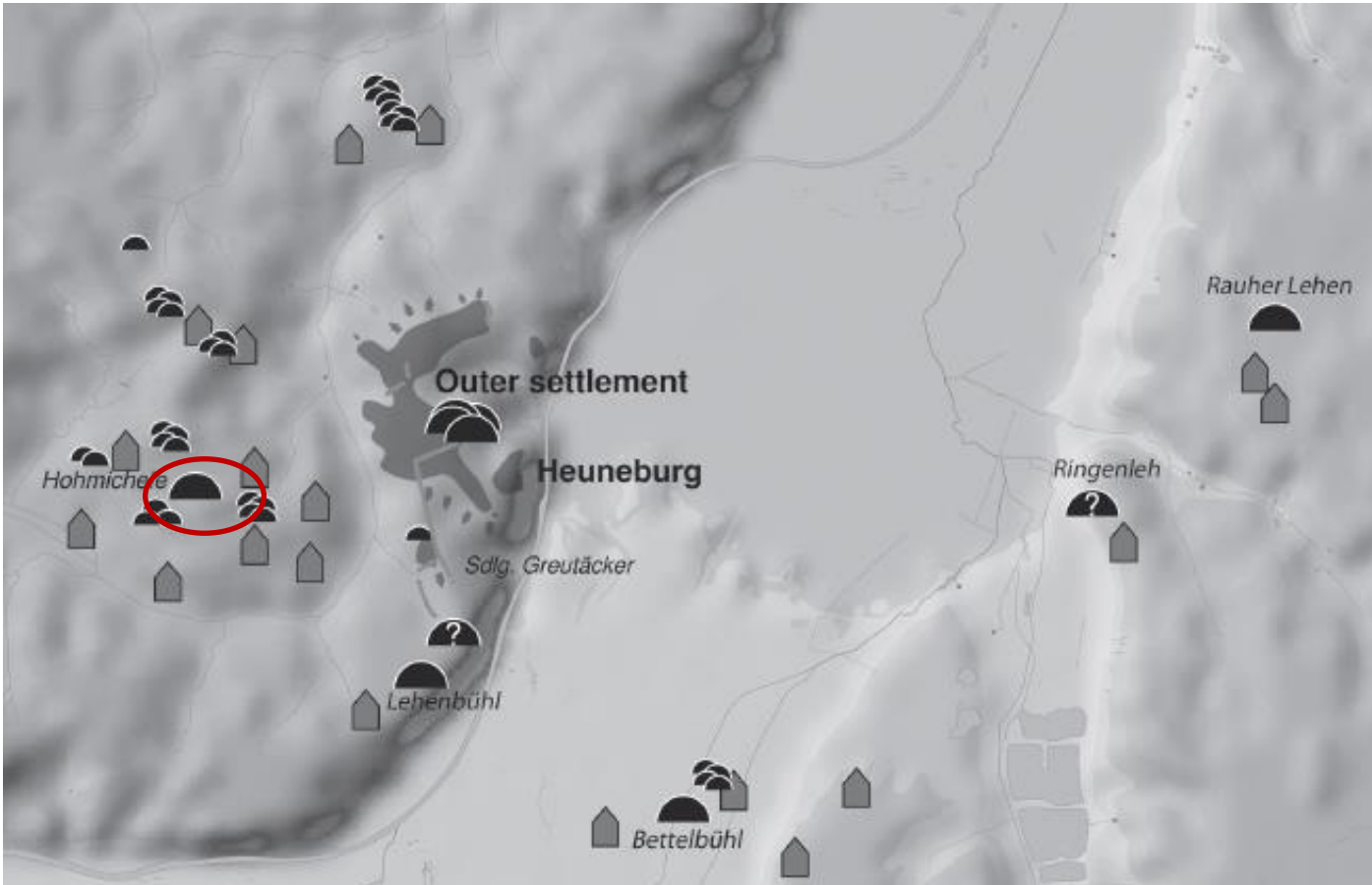
Today it's just late
hallstatt with its focus in
SW Germany

„Princely burials“

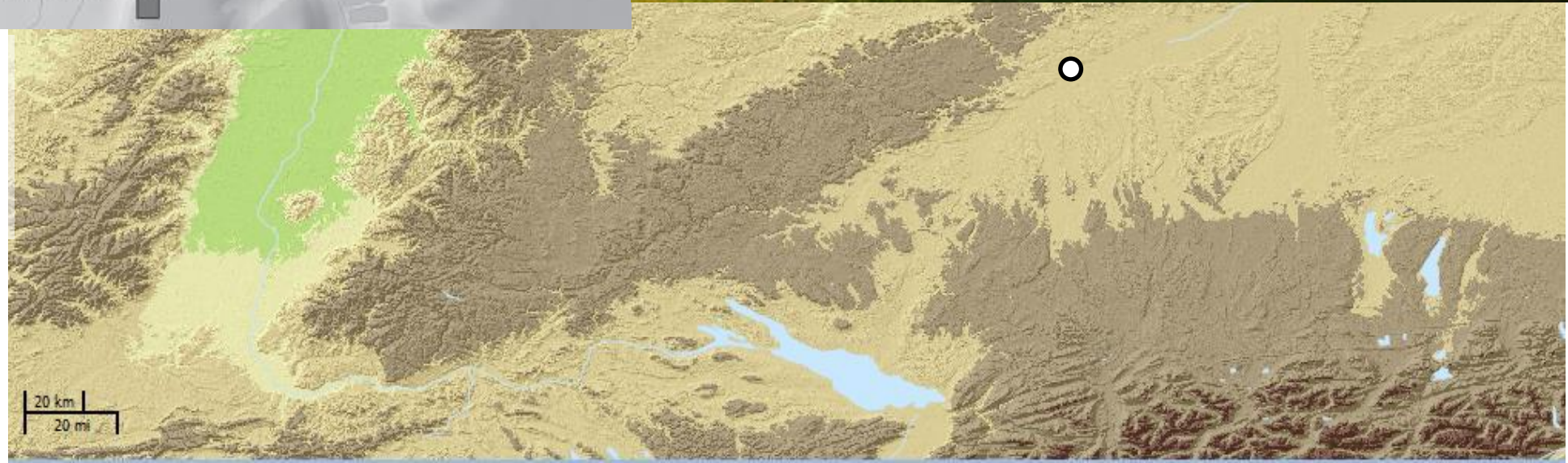


-Heuneburg – a settlement to which we wil return – with a series of burial mounds in the surroundings





Hochmichele
-diameter 80 m, h. 13 m
-robbed
-remains of silk in tomb VI





Bettelbühl
- burial of a 4 y old girl
- cca 520 aC





Kleinaspergle, Hohenasperg in the background



Grafenbühl
-not preserved
-robbed
-dm. 40m
-Ha D3

Kleinaspergle
-robbed
-LT A
et al.





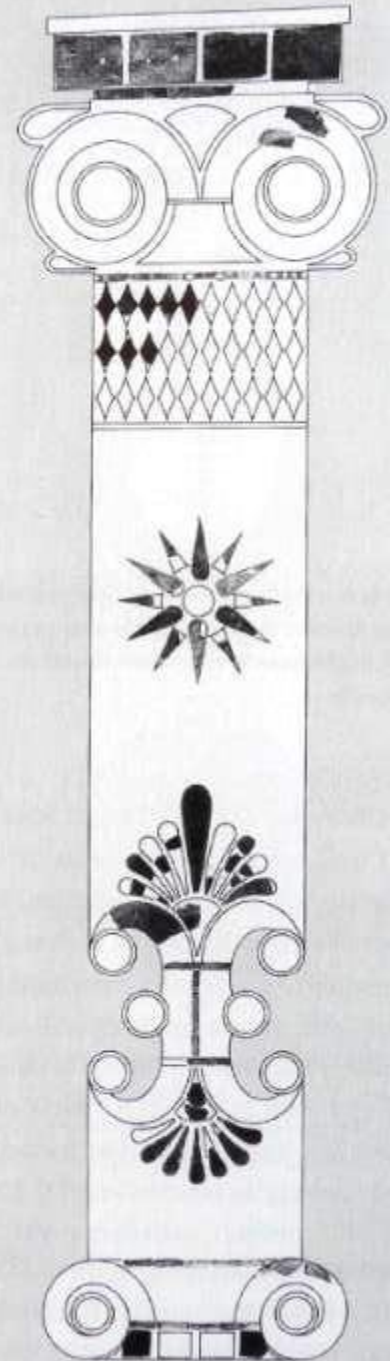
Grafenbühl
(Ha D3)



Ivory finial – closes analogies from Syria (mid/late VII BC)



Ivory sphinx with amber-inlay face (early VI BC)



Ivory inlays of a Greek kline (dining couch) Early VI BC



Etruscan VI BC tripod

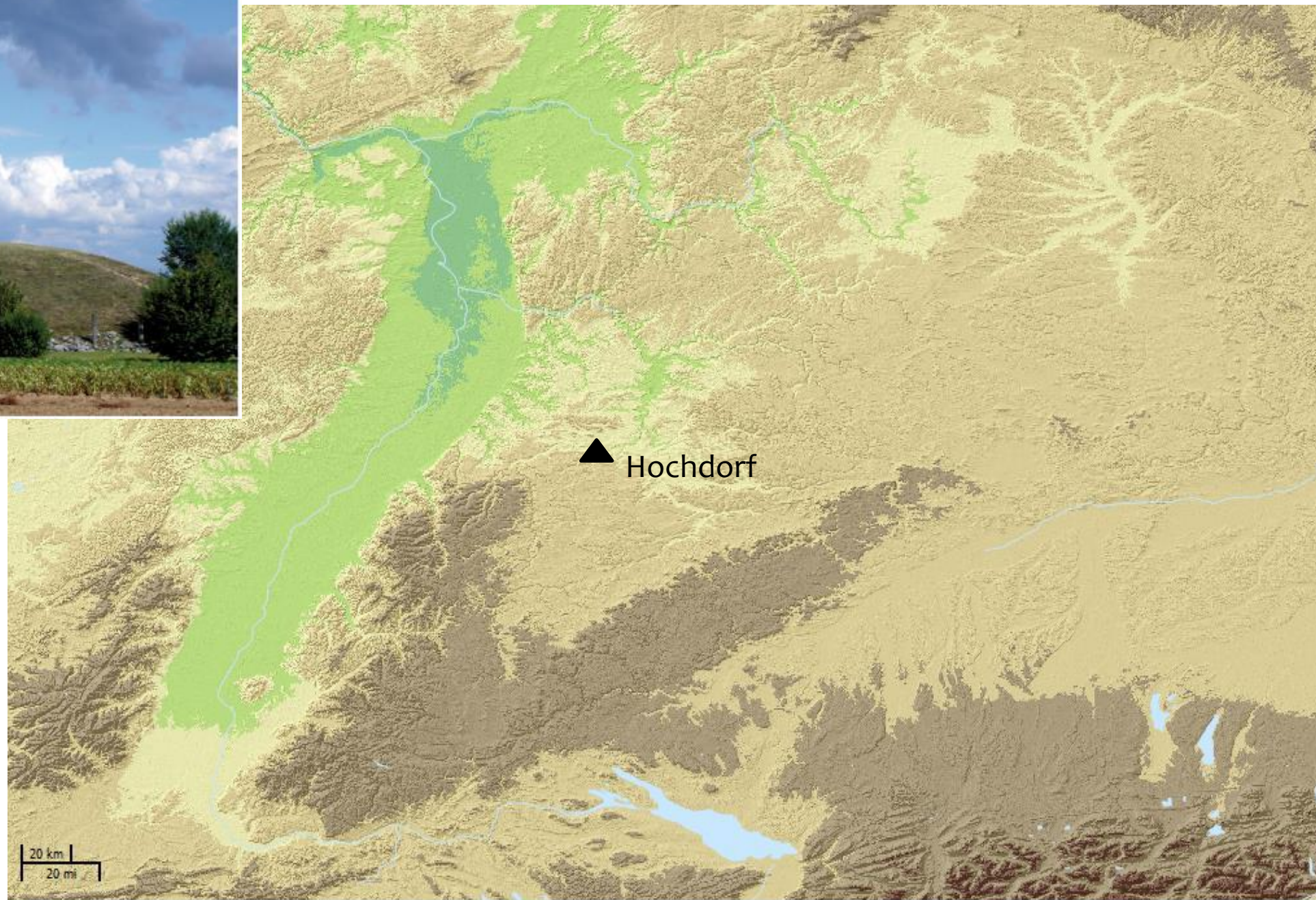


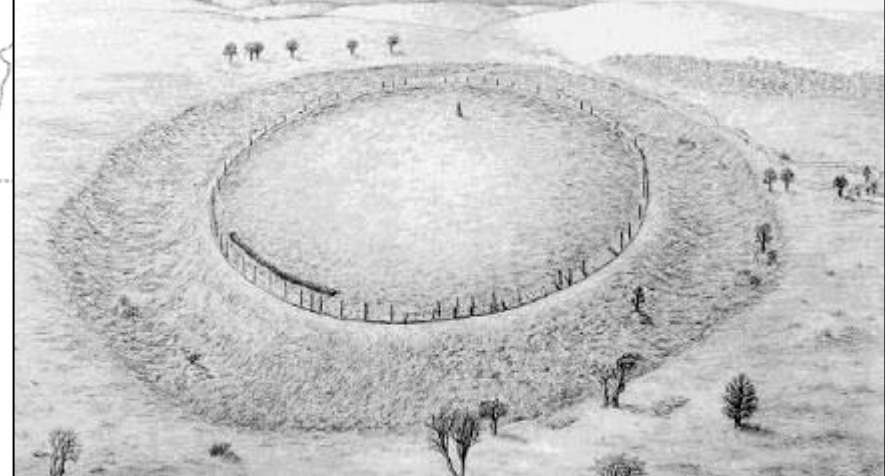
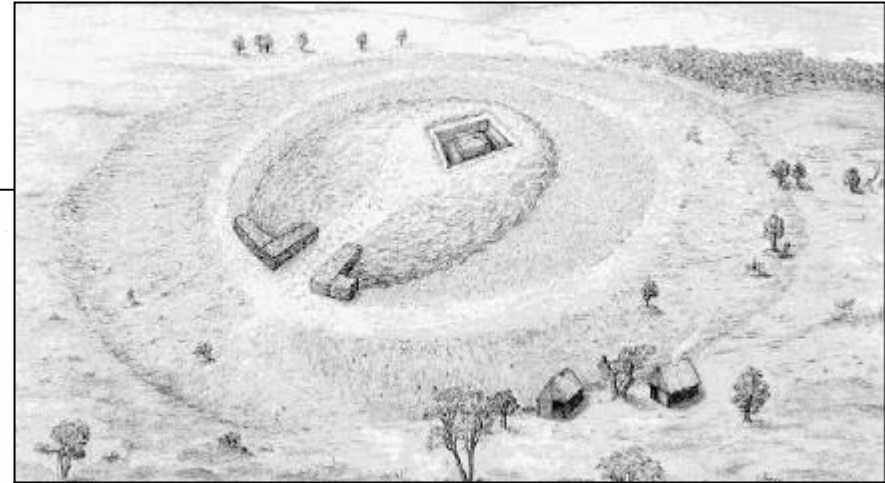
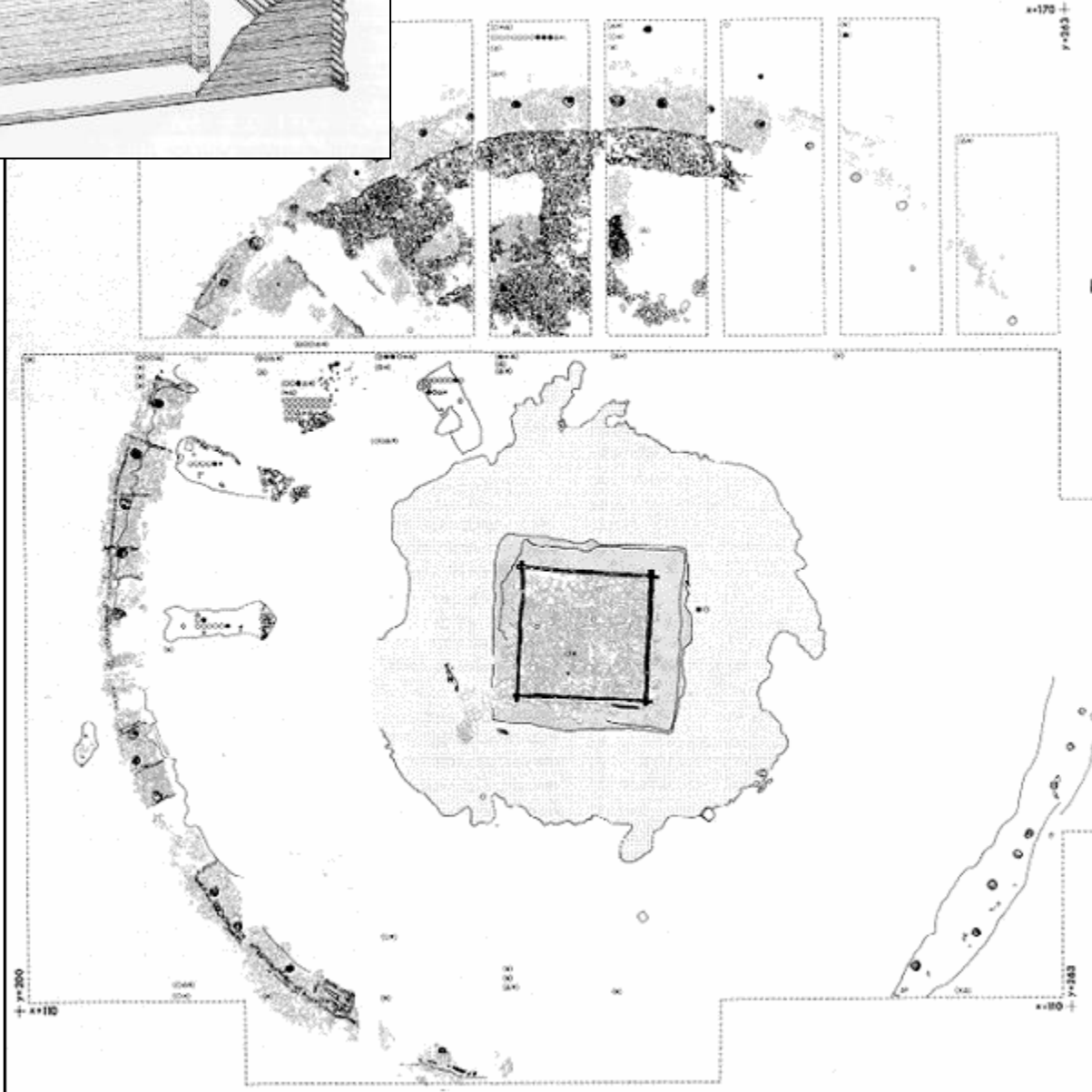
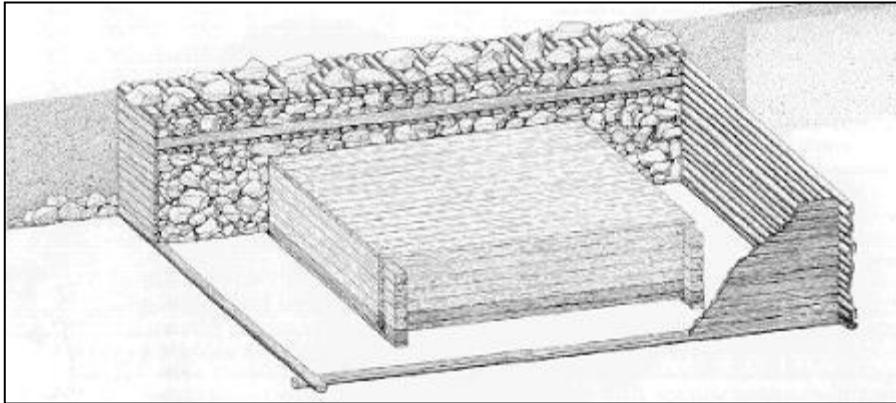


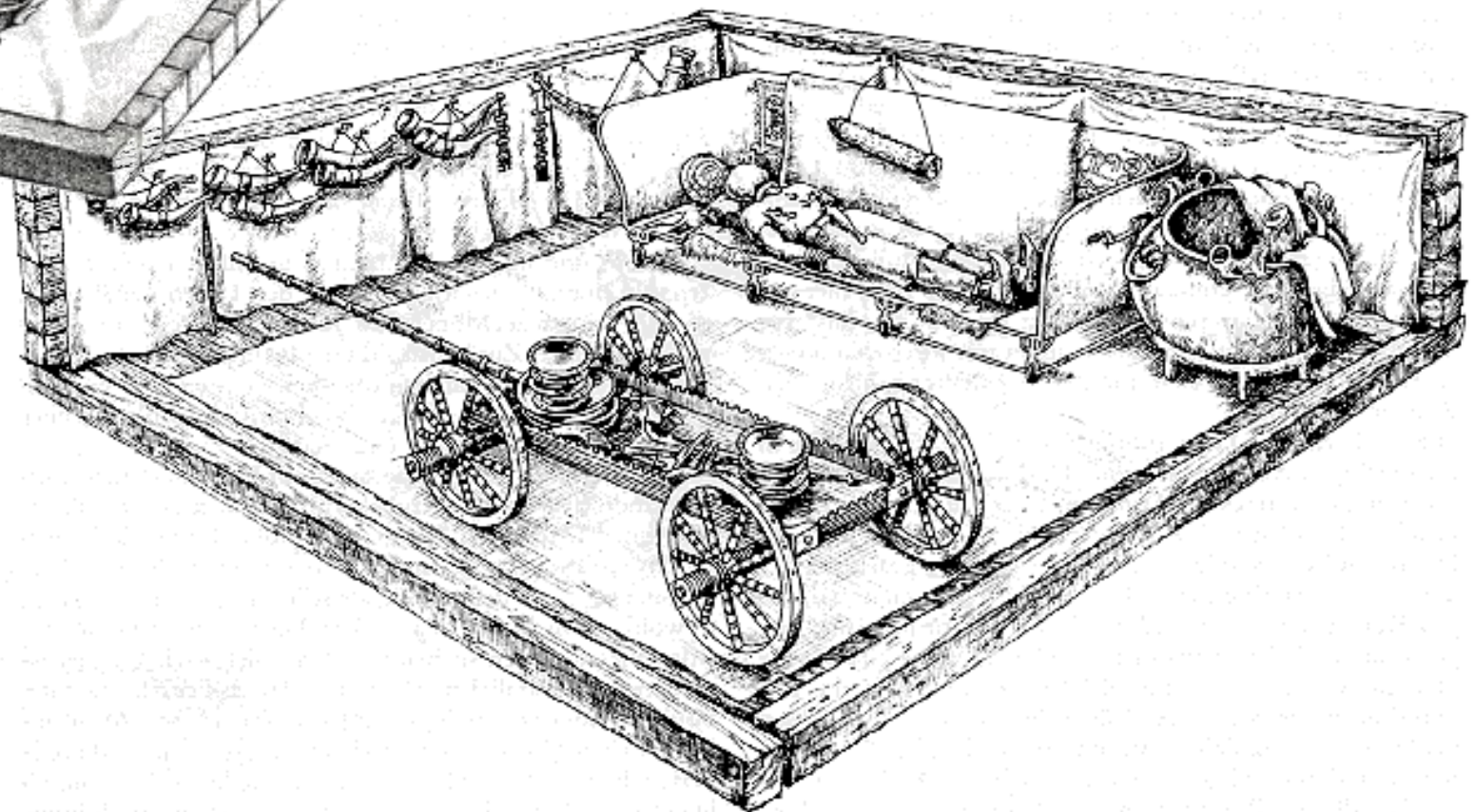
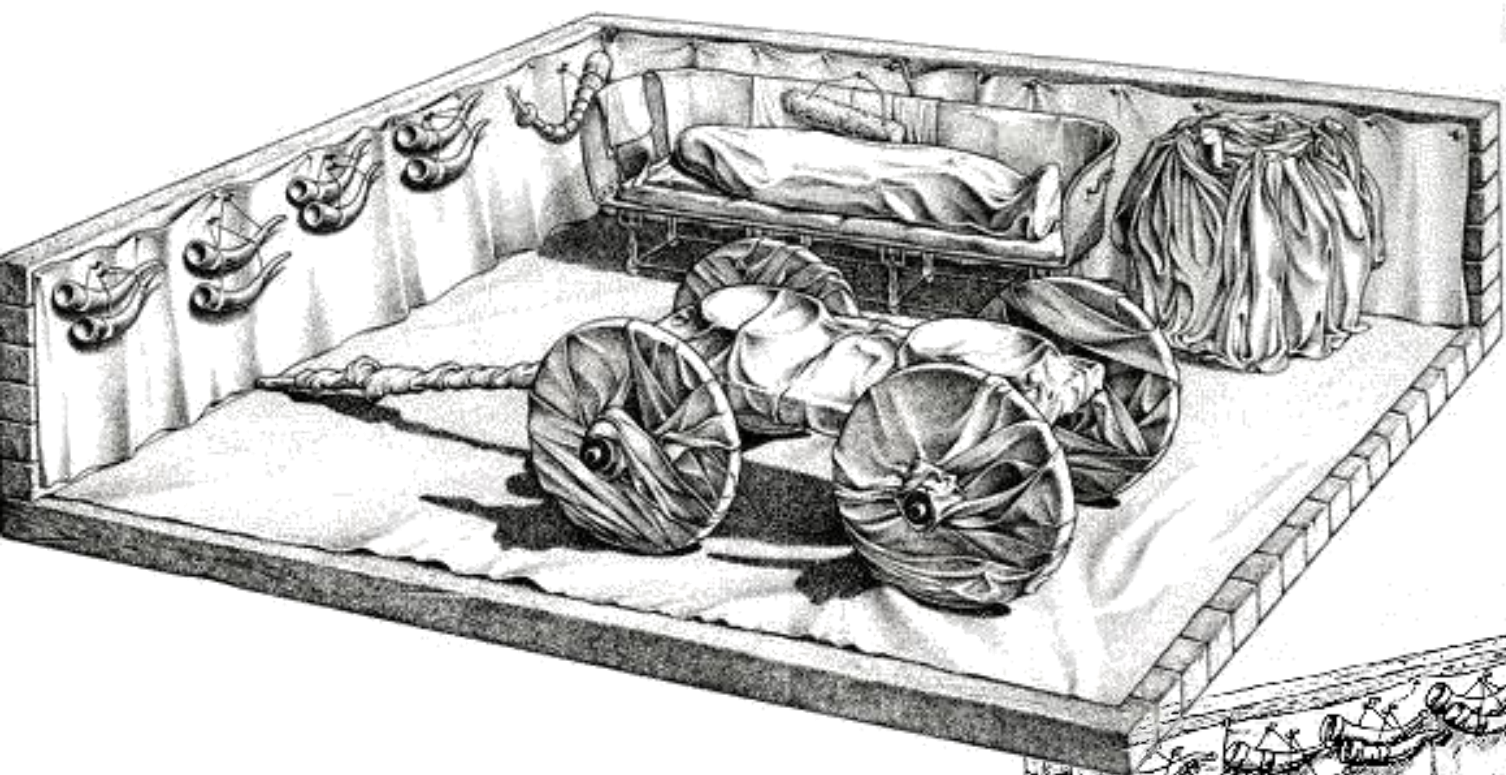
Hochdorf

- Ha D2
-diameter 60 m

-word are useless... just
look







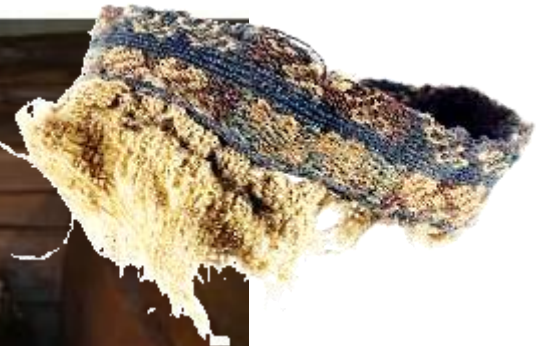




just for reference....









-cauldron of Greek? Etruscan? manufacture
-(one of the lions on the rim is replaced by a locally
manufactured repair lion)



gold plated bronze
h. 80 cm
dm. 104 cm
vol. 500 l
content: mead



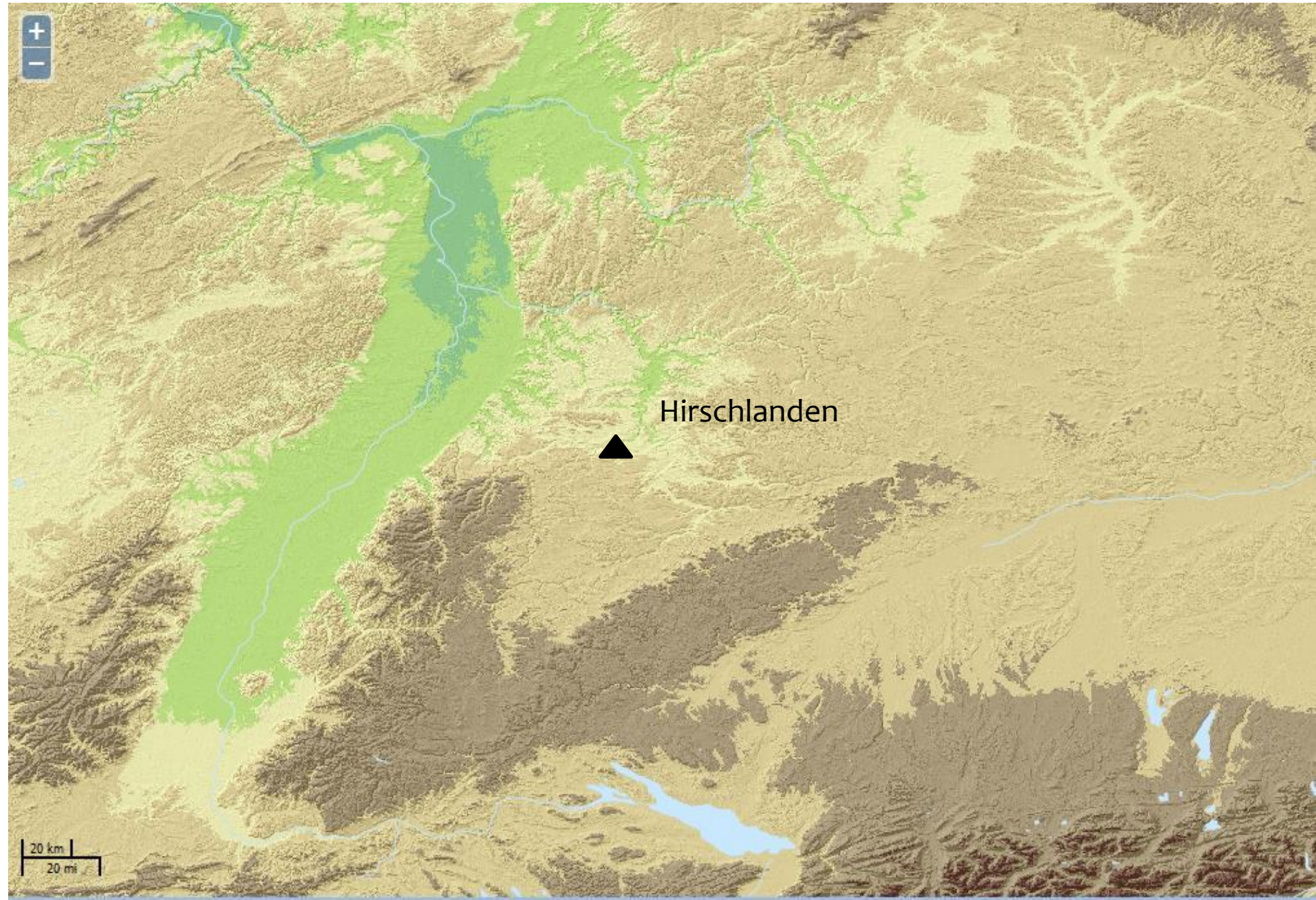


Trezzo d'Adda





-btw having such wheels
also presupposes an even
solid floor



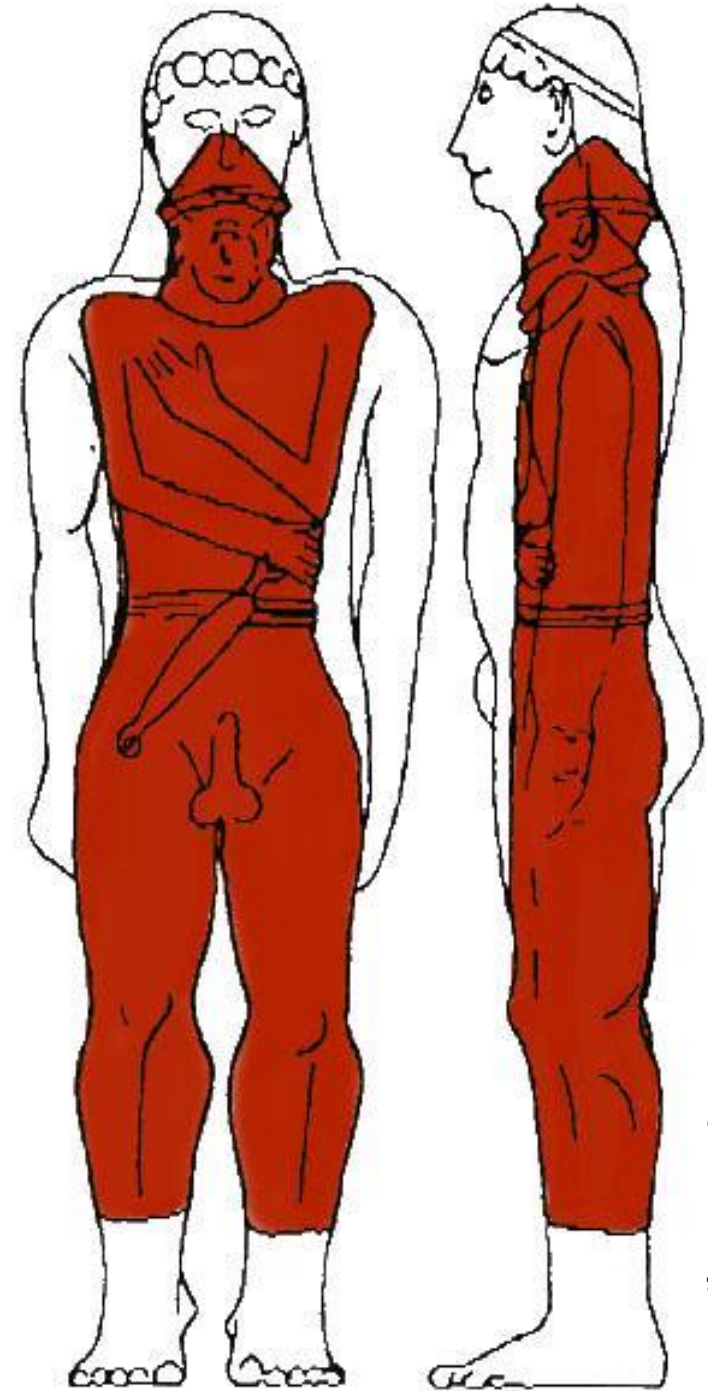
preserved height ca 150 cm



The connection with Hochdorf-like social figures is extremely evident



So unexpected that some early scholars studying the statue refused to believe its local origin presenting it as a reworked Greek kouros statue (even though the stone is local...)



Eibner 1982

-much more convincing link with the Mediterranean is to compare the statue with the Italic monumental sculpture of the orientalising period (surprisingly precise match in form and very probably also in function)



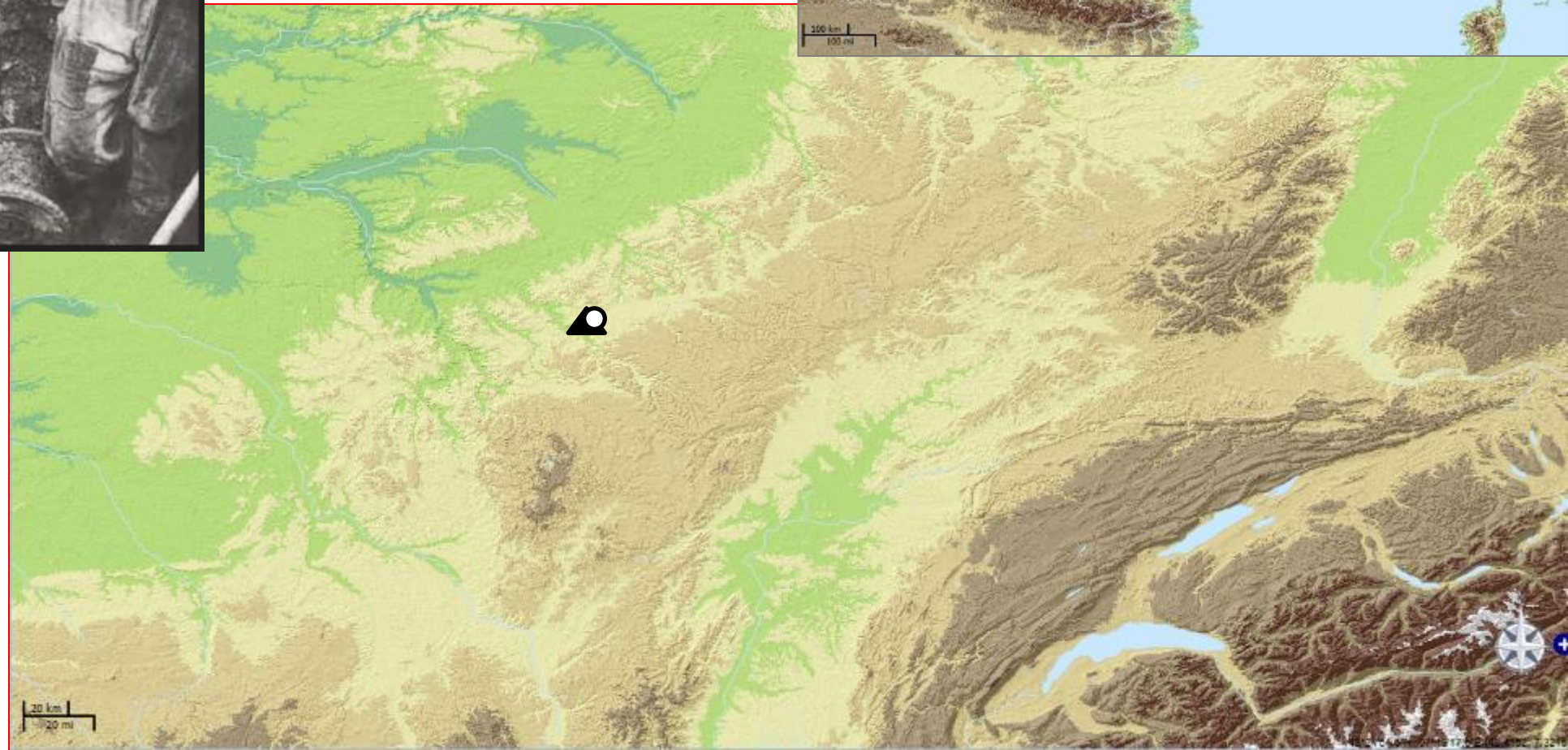


Mt. Lassois – Vix

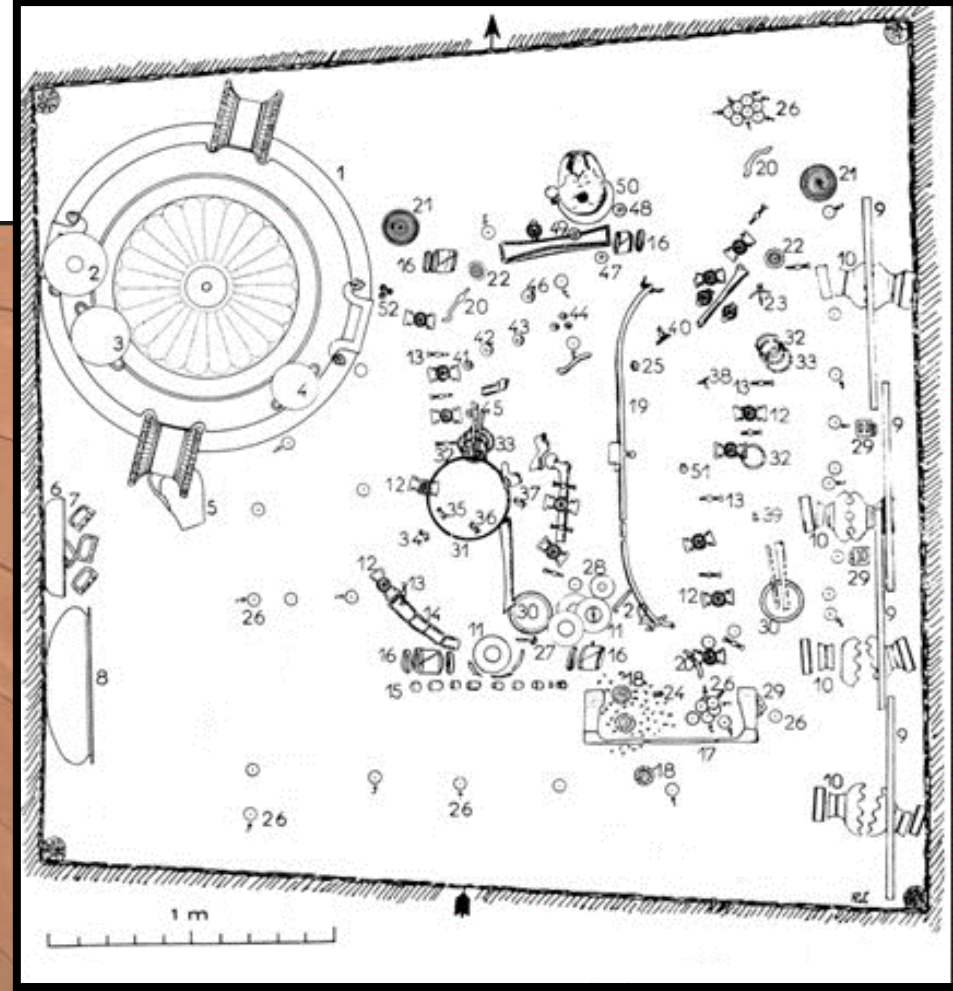
- tumuls 38 m in diameter
- grave chamber 3×3 m
- female burial HaD2/3 (cca 500 aC)
- discovered in 1953
- not robbed (only excavated in an utterly incompetent way)



-only the burial chamber was emptied – nothing was known about the tumulus itself or its surrounding...
Until 2019 when excavation re-started at Vix



<https://www.inrap.fr/nouvelle-fouille-de-la-tombe-de-vix-derniers-resultats-15043>



Golden neck ring (characteristically transalpine object) decorated with filigree (Mediterranean technique) and Pegasus figurines





-ceramic and metallic vessels
universally imported from the
Mediterranean





the Vix Crater

-made in Tarent, S Italy in ca 530 BC

-h. 164 cm

-volume of 1100 litres (impossible to fill fully since the walls would not bear the weight)

-not a common Greek product in this size => probably a specifically commissioned piece, brought from southern Italy to Massilia and then to Vix and assembled only on spot

-some details....

-[and then there are iconological studies proposing that the Gorgo on the crater and the Pegasus on the neck-ring make part of a single iconographic programme, which suggest deep understanding for Greek myths...]

I am not convinced....]



Lavau, dpt. Aube

Something new in the west

2015 discoveries in Lavau



https://www.academia.edu/29216189/Les_contacts_entre_la_M%C3%A9diterran%C3%A9e_archa%C3%AFque_et_le_monde_celtique_le_cas_de_la_tombe_de_Lavau_Aube_.CRAI_2015_III_juillet-octobre_p._1185-1212





Course of the excavation

Golden filigree added to the rim

Emilie



Attic Oinochoe (VI/V BC)

Added silver and gold foot

Silver spoon





- Male buried on a chariot
- Golden neck-ring and two bracelets
- Amber, bronze etc. personal ornaments

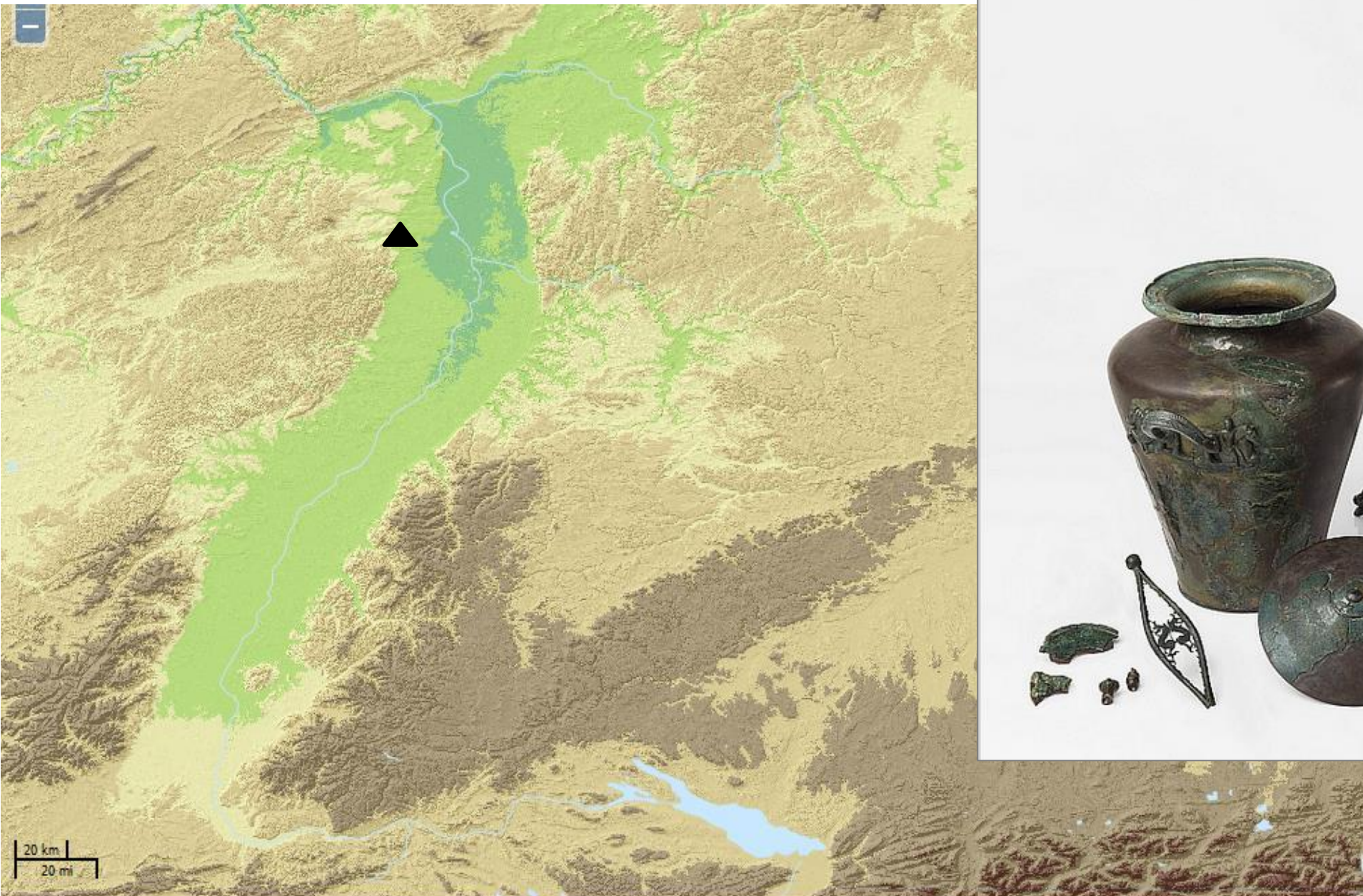


Etruscan? cauldron , cca 300 litres



Bad Dürkheim – female burial, discovered in 1864

LT A – slightly out of our chronological limits but territorially and mainly thematically it fits well our topic



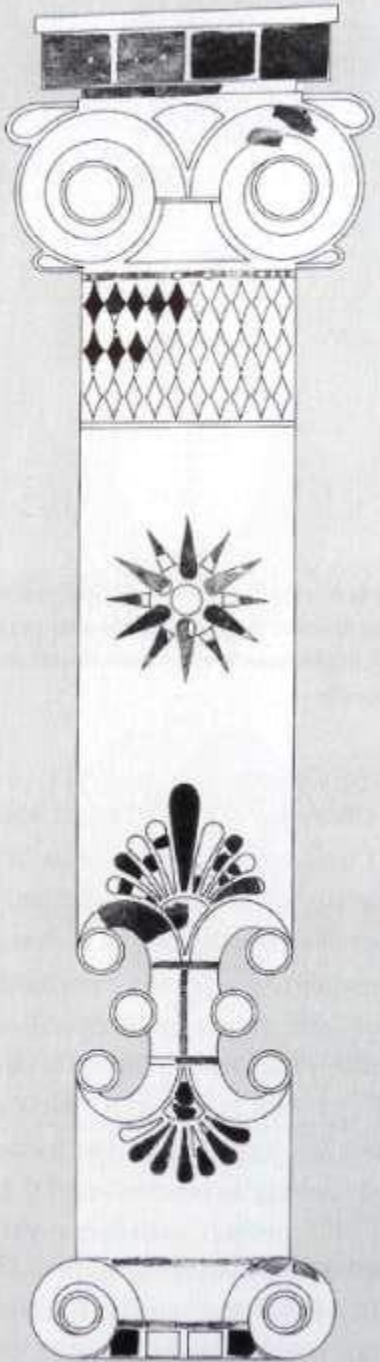
.. in a later V BC grave
But some of the imported
objects date to the
second half of VI BC



„keimelia“

-word taken from Homer – prestige goods hoarded in treasures of aristocratic families for generations and exchanged with their peers in course of rituals serving to create bonds within the elite class

-some of these objects could have crossed the Alps already as antiquities, other may testify of exchange in early VI or VII century for which other contact indicators are rare



=> West Hallstatt princely Ha D burials

-monumental burial architecture

-exotic and prestigious materials (ivory), artefacts (*klinai*, bronze vessels), and life style (*symposium*)

-display of status instead of role (← daggers replace swords)

-hereditary status (← rich children burials)

-heroisation of the dead (=ancestral cult) ← stone statuary

-*keimélia* => roots of this social component in Ha D1?

Phenomena and their manifestations identical with the orientalising period elites in Italy but....

- „delay“ of about one century

- different roots

Late Hallstatt elite seats – „Fürstensitze“

Concept of late Hallstatt princely seat defined by Kimmig to describe the hillforts reappearing in Central Europe in this period

W. Kimmig 1969: Zum Problem späthallstattzeitlicher Adelssitze. In: K.-H.Otto - J.Herrmann (Hrsg.), *Siedlung, Burg und Stadt*. Berlin, 95–113.



Criteria defining a Fürstensitz after Kimmig =

- 1) acropolis + lower town
- 2) presence of imported Mediterranean pottery + local pottery inspired from Mediterranean
- 3) tumuli (Fürstergräber) in vicinity

a problem: these criteria match only a single site – Heuneburg (excavated by Kimmig himself)

In any case: hillforts reappear in central Europe in early VI century, some with evidence of elite presence



○ Heuneburg

We are back!

And btw →

https://www.academia.edu/9006894/Understanding_the_Heuneburg_A_Biographical_Approach_-_Oxbow_Books


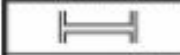




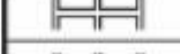
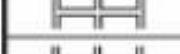


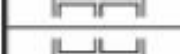


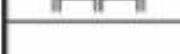













the Burgberg peak (3 ha) + outer settlement

-excavated in the second half of the 20th century

-Ha D1–D3 = cca 600–500/480 aC)



	Humus	Periods Heuneburg stratigraphy	Structural phases	Chronology
		Middle Ages	1	Middle Ages
			2	
			3	
		la 	4	HA D3
		lb/1	5	
		lb/2	6	
		lb/3	7	
		lb/4	8	
		II	9	HA D2
		IIIa 	10	
		IIIb	11	HA D1
		IVa/1 	12	
		IVa/2 	13	
		IVb/1	14	
		IVb/2	15	
		IVb/3	16	
		IVc	17	HA A1
		Va	18	BZ D
		Vb	19	
		VI	20	
		VII	21	
		VIII/1	22	Neol.
		VIII/2	23	
	Old ground surface	IX		



Phase IV cca 600 aC
 =a mudbrick
 fortification wall with 17
 bastions



	Humus	Periods Heuneburg stratigraphy	Structural phases	Chronology
		Middle Ages	1	Middle Ages
			2	
			3	
		la	4	HA D3
		lb/1	5	
		lb/2	6	
		lb/3	7	
		lb/4	8	
		II	9	
		IIIa	10	HA D2
		IIIb	11	
		IVa/1	12	HA D1
		IVa/2	13	
		IVb/1	14	
		IVb/2	15	
		IVb/3	16	
		IVc	17	
		Va	18	HA A1
		Vb	19	BZ D
		VI	20	I
		VII	21	BZ B
		VIII/1	22	
		VIII/2	23	
	Old ground surface	IX		Neol.



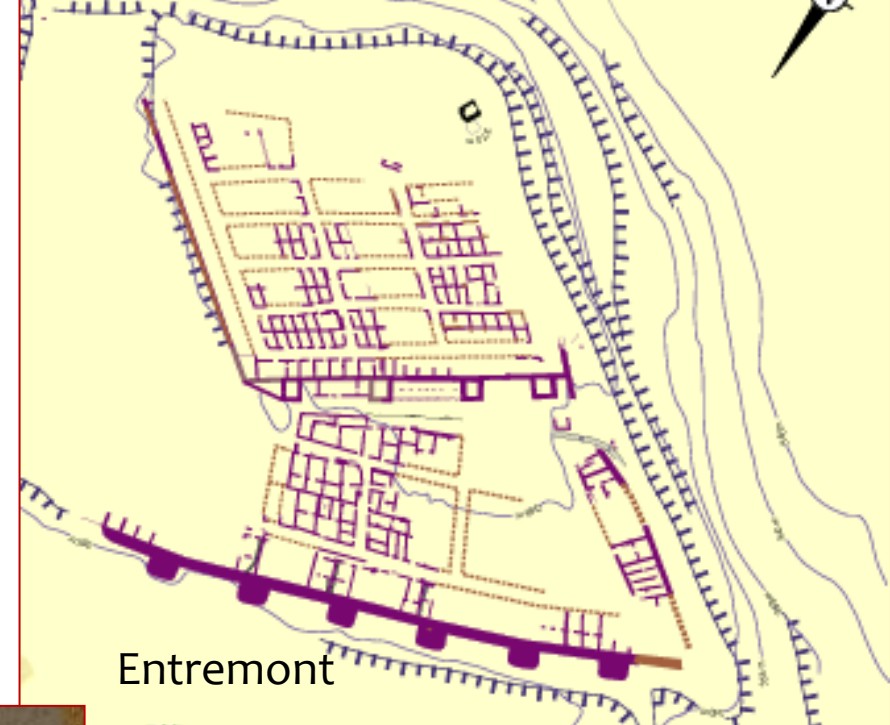
-a gate with inner court of the same phase and the same building technique has been excavated recently



-impressive but neither practical (mudbrick is little suited for local climate) nor effective (the bastions are too closely spaced to function as practical defensive architecture)

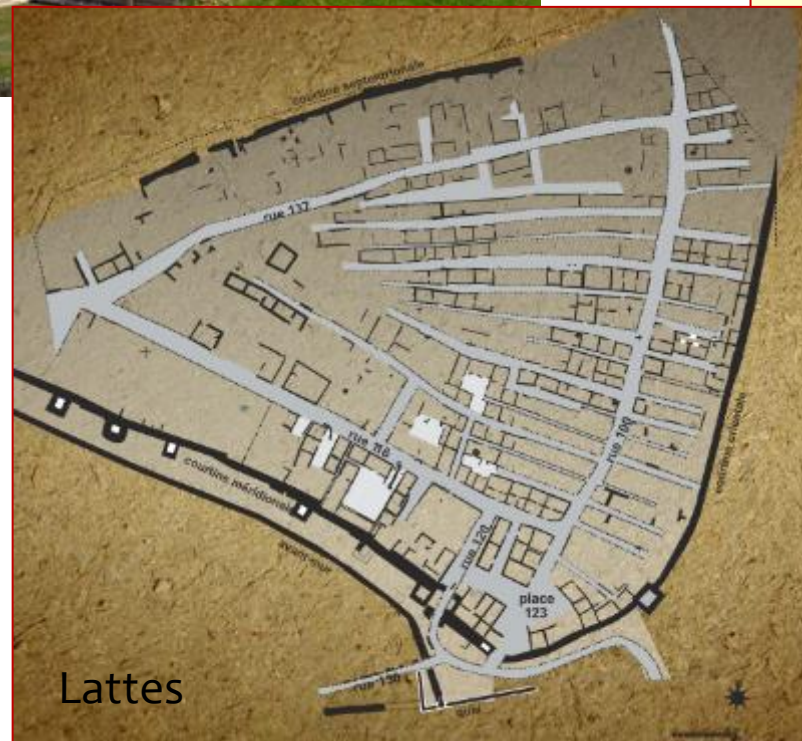
-just for show?



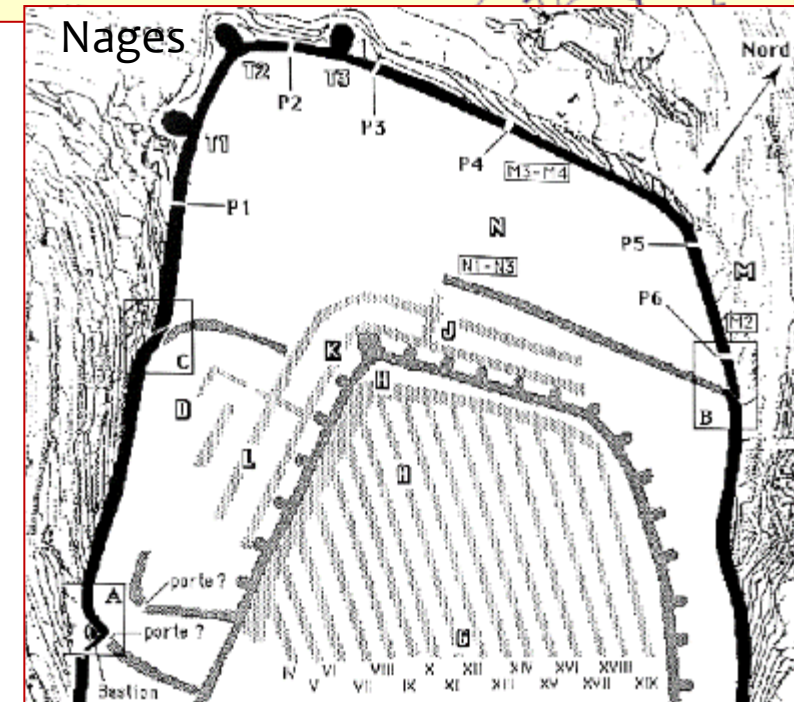


Entremont

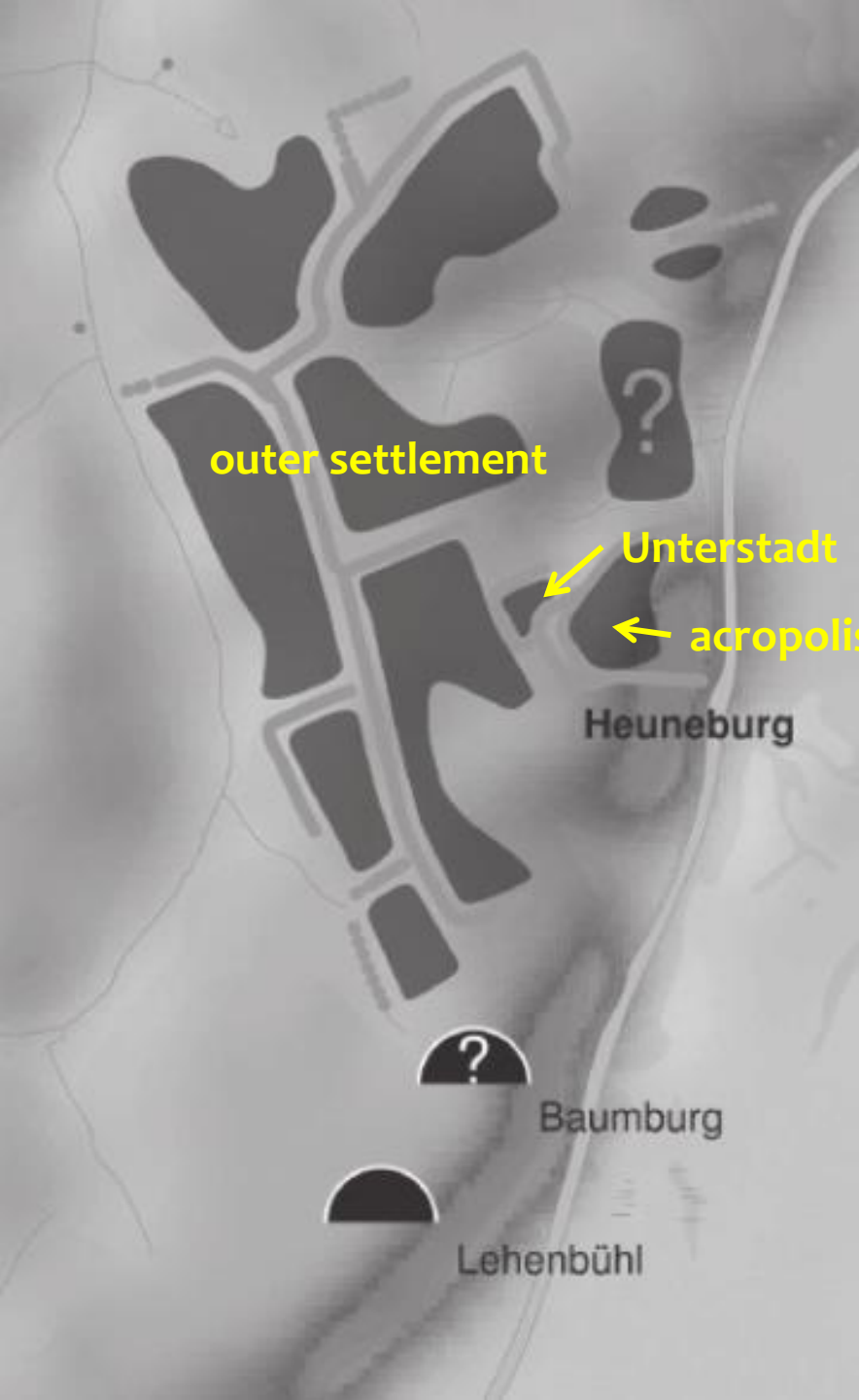
-the closest analogy for the fortification type and technique can be found in southern France



Lattes



Nages



Btw, only in late 20th century it was understood that apart from the excavated acropolis and lower town, there is also an outer settlement of 100 ha!

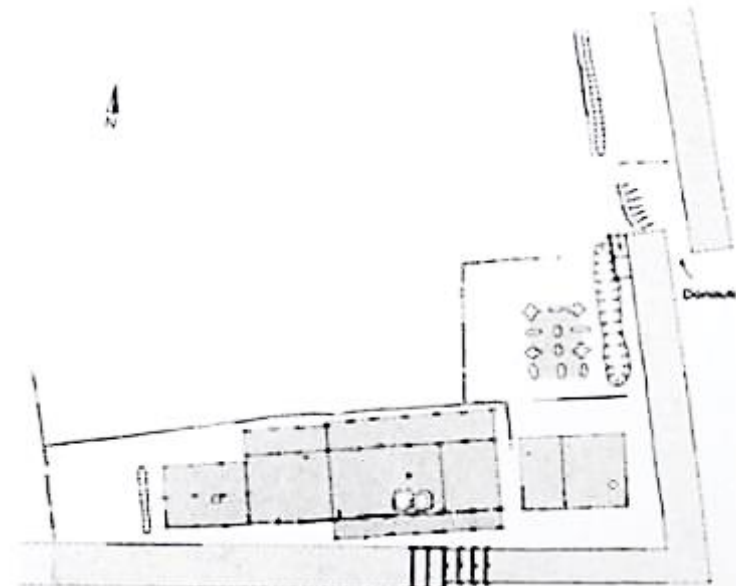
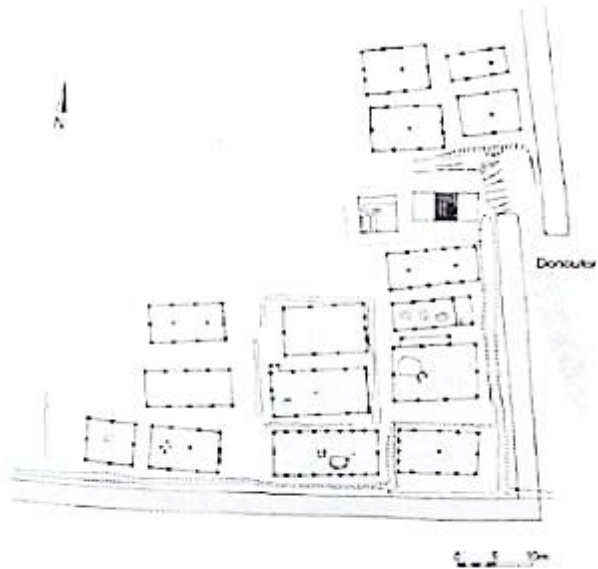
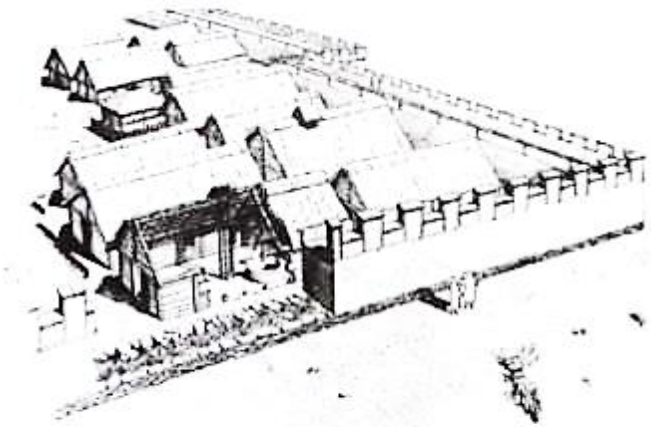
→ up to 5000 inhabitants (?)

- specialised production
- the consumed animals were brought from as far as 60km away
- no Mediterranean imports



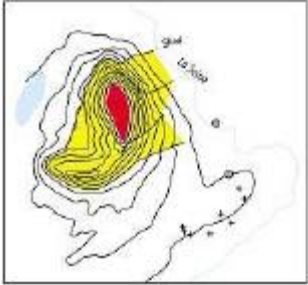
Phase III and II (after 540/530 aC)

- after a destruction the posh fortification was replaced by wood-clay construction, the outer settlement was abandoned
- loosely built up area of the acropolis – „Herrenhäuser“
- it is in these phases that most Mediterranean material imports arrived



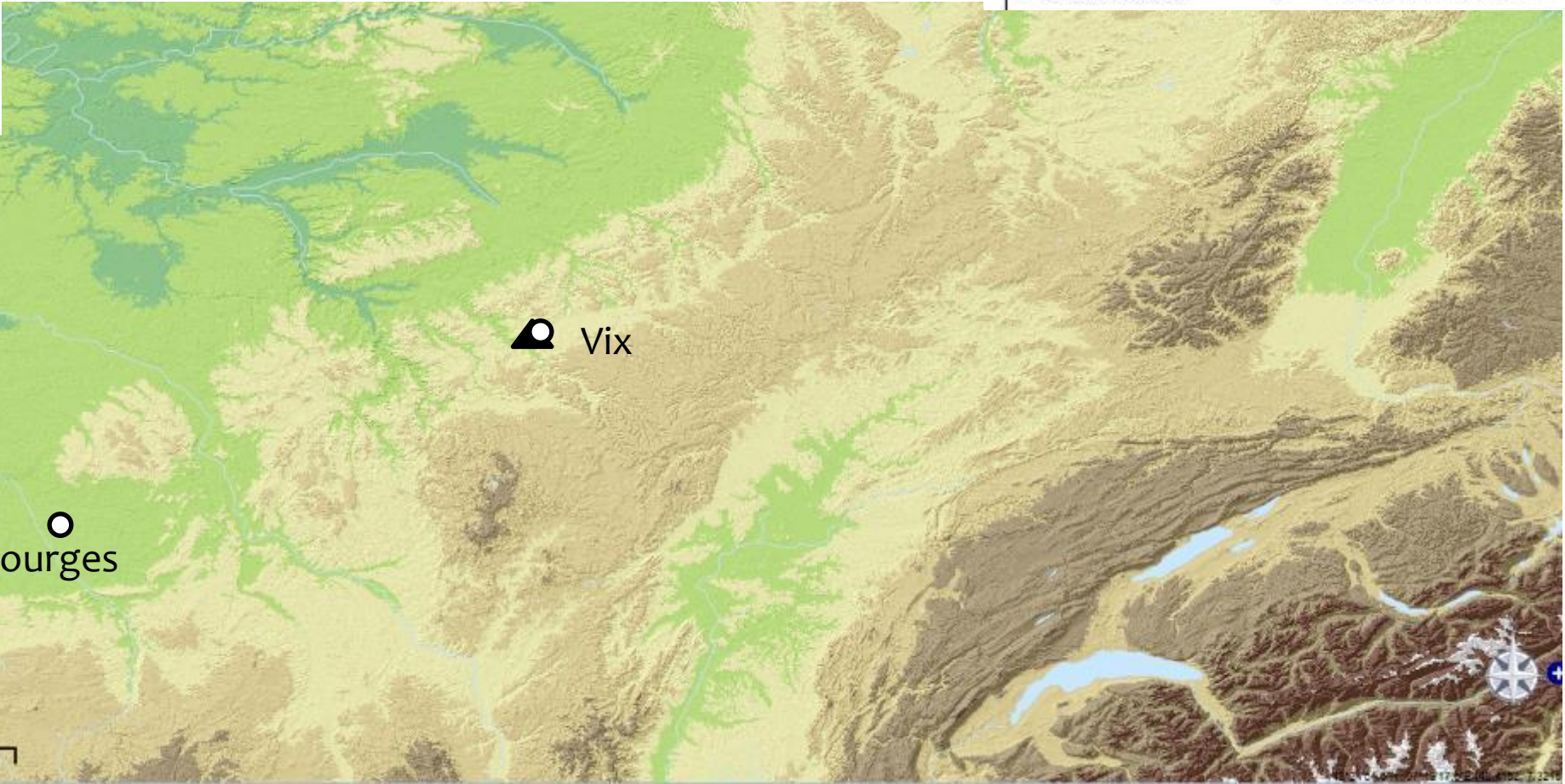
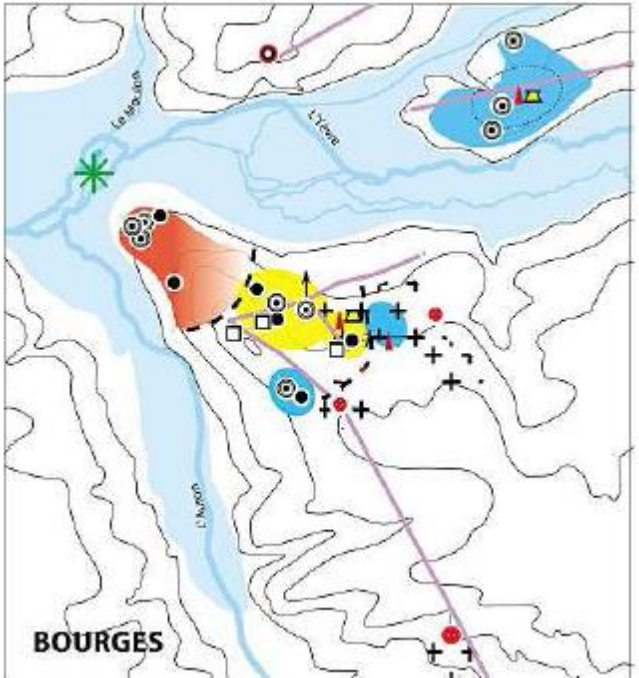
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	IVb/2	15		
		IVb/3	16	
		IVc	17	
		Va	18	HA A1
		Vb	19	BZ D
		VI	20	I
		VII	21	BZ B
		VIII/1	22	Neol.
		VIII/2	23	
	Old ground surface	IX		

- In France, two very different examples of elite residences are represented by Bourges and Mt. Lassois at Vix



VIX

- fouille d'habitat
- + sépulture, zone funéraire
- * lieu de culte
- acropole ou citadelle
- espace enclos
- habitat ouvert
- structure défensive



Hypothèses d'identification et de délimitation

- | | |
|---|--|
|  Acropole / habitat privilégié |  Structure défensive |
|  Habitat à dominante artisanale |  Axe antique |
|  Zone de dépôts rituels |  Zone d'inhumations et/ou nécropole |

Sites et principales catégories de découverte

- | | |
|---|--|
|  Habitat |  Inhumation hors nécropole |
|  Habitat avec importation |  Sépulture privilégiée |
|  Silo |  Grand monument funéraire |
|  Découverte isolée | |

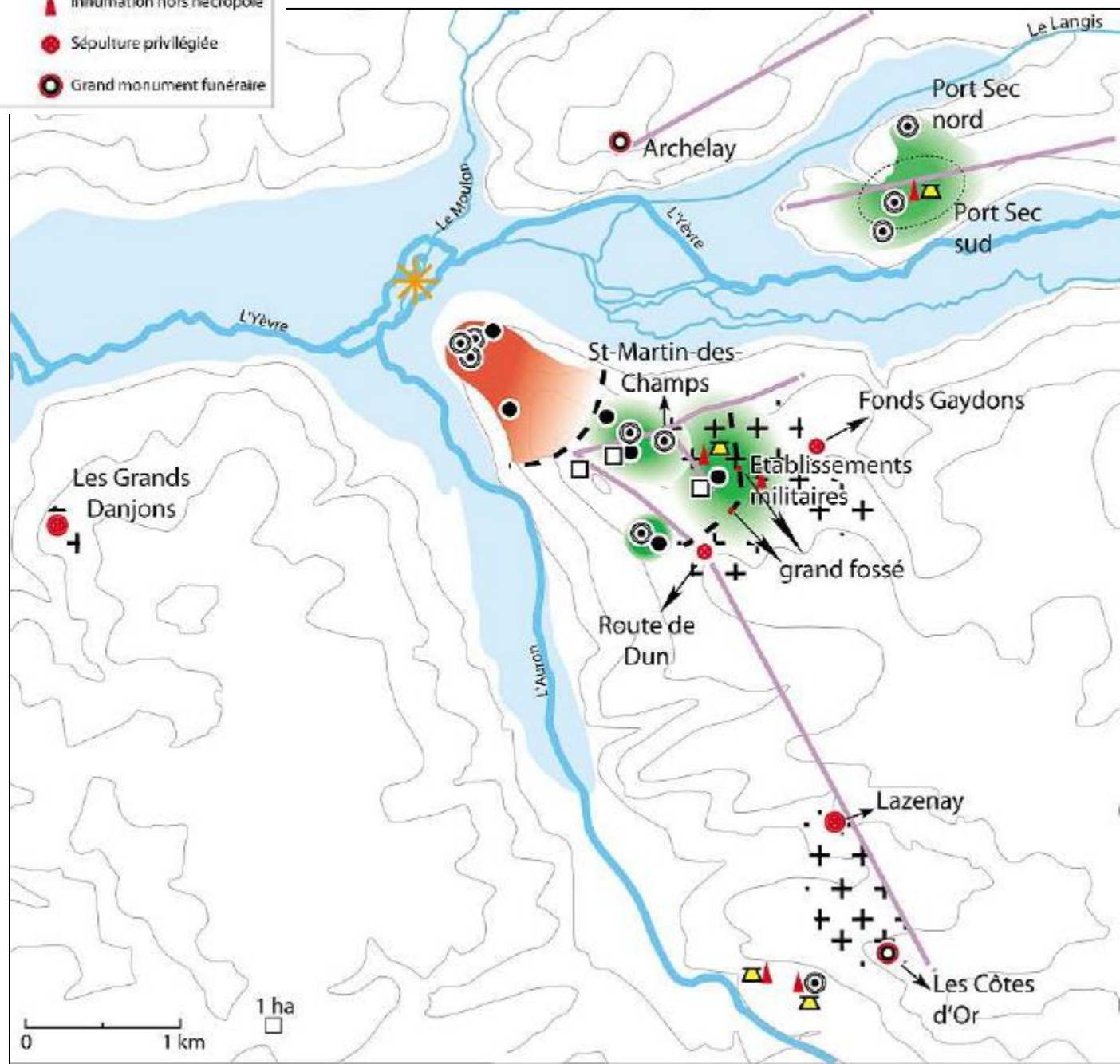
Bourges (Ha D3–LT A1)

-several hundreds of hectares

-large concentration of crafts of all kinds

-Imports (amphorae, BF/RF pottery etc.) present in the entire settlement

-tumuli in the vicinity = elite residing nearby



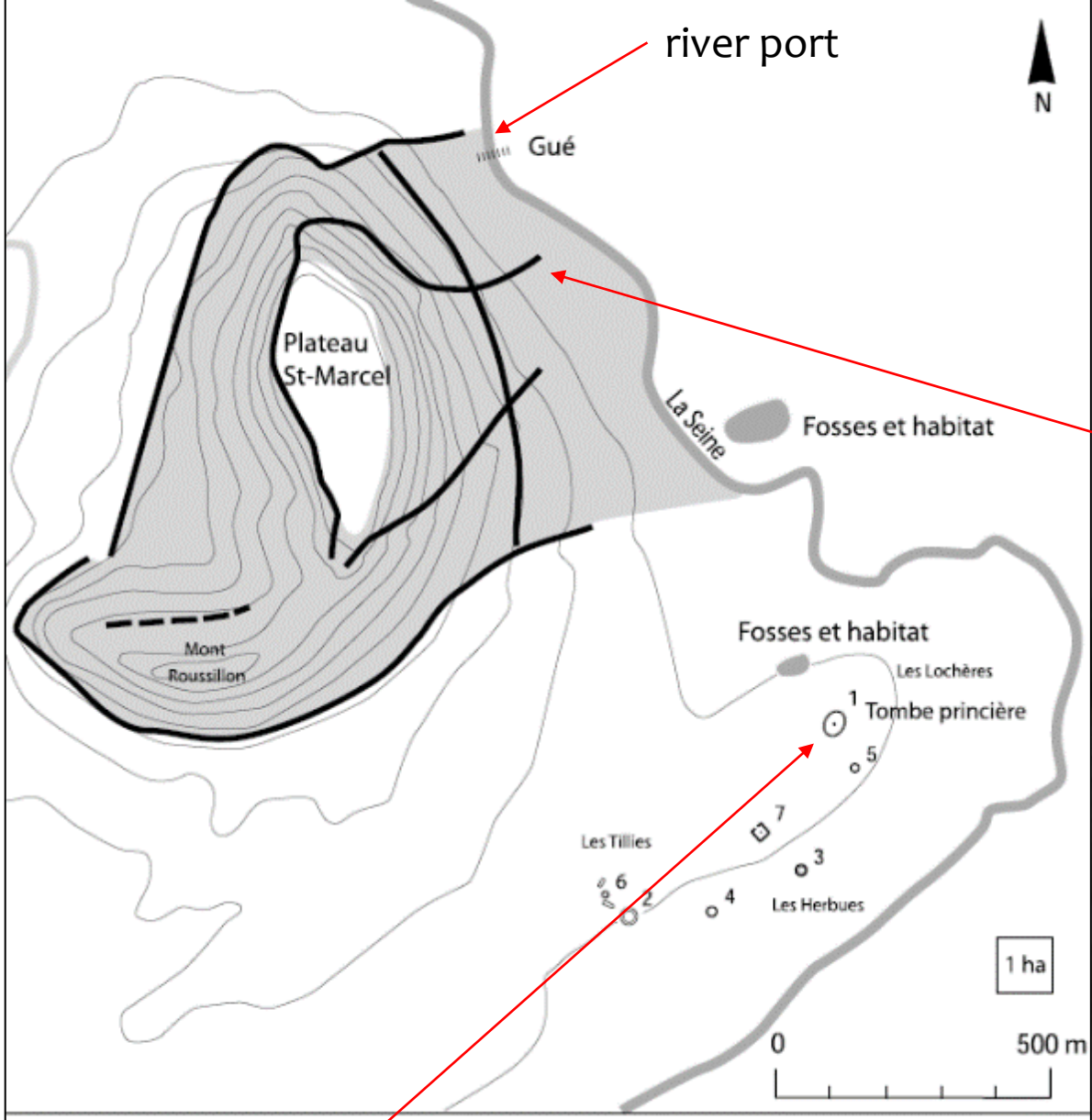
BTW ...

in the I c. BC, Bourges-*Avaricum* will be the capital of Bituriges

And concerning the V/IV c. Livy writes:

34. This is what we have learnt about the arrival of Gauls in Italy: when Tarquinius Priscus ruled in Rome [...] the Bituriges had supreme power over the Celts who inhabit one third of the Gaul. They were giving the Celts their kings. By that time it was Ambigatus, a ruler very powerful for his courage but also for the wealth of himself and that of his community [...]

Liv V, 34-35



river port



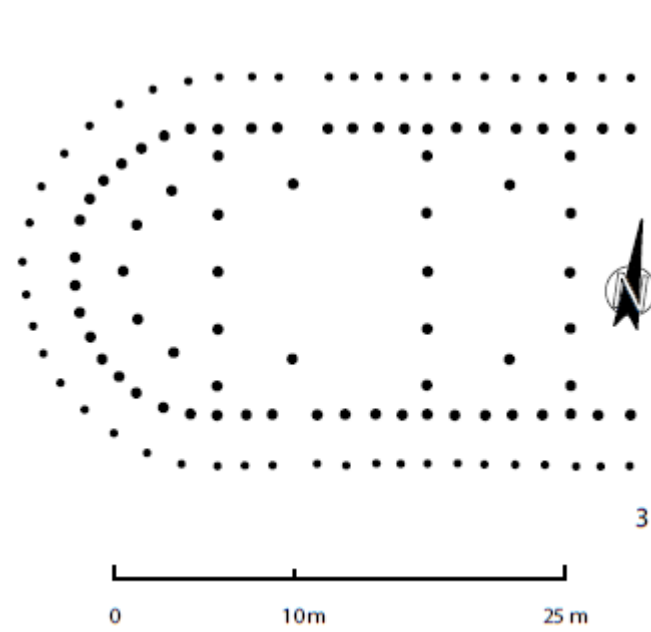
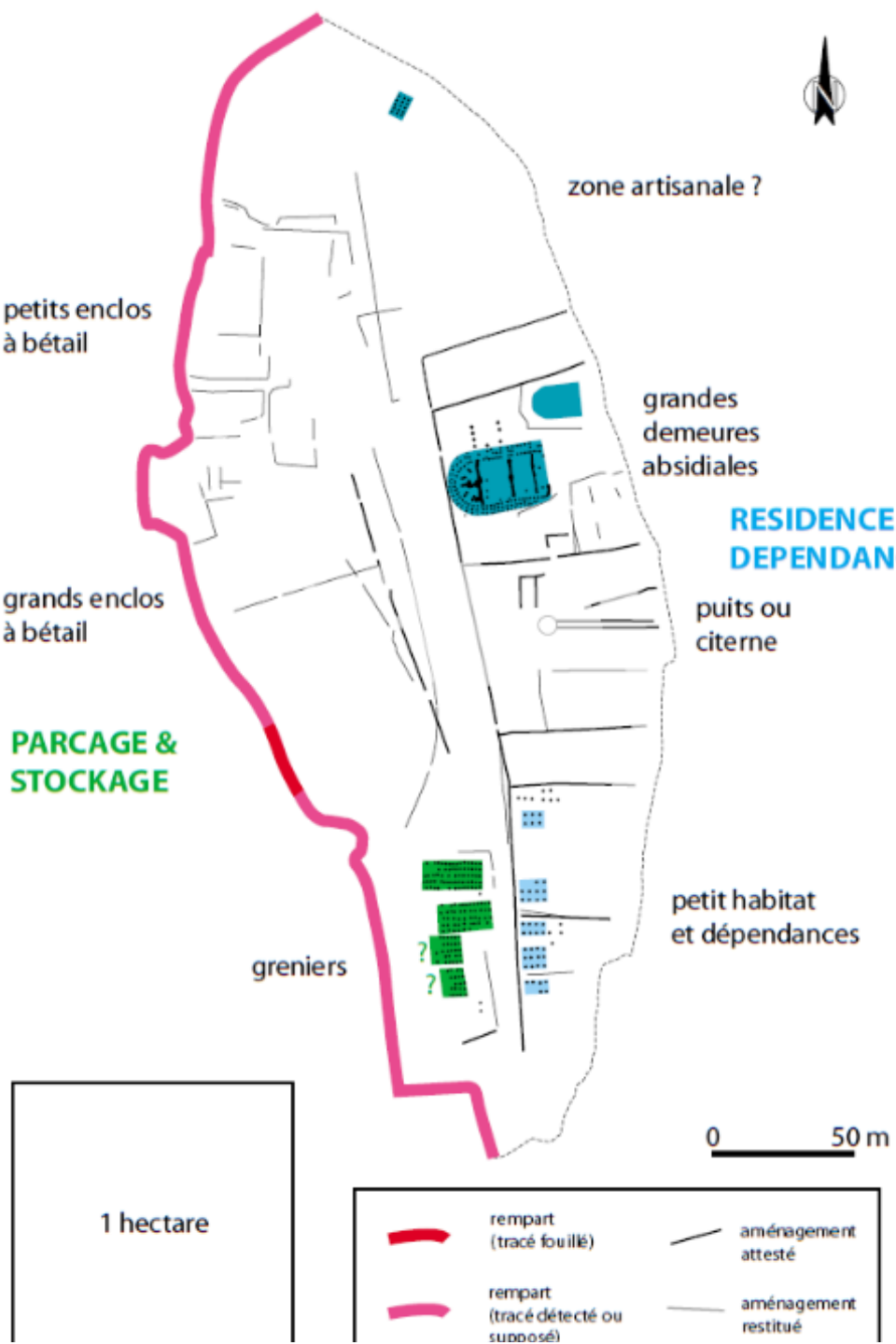
Mt Lassois – Vix

A small hill with massive ramparts

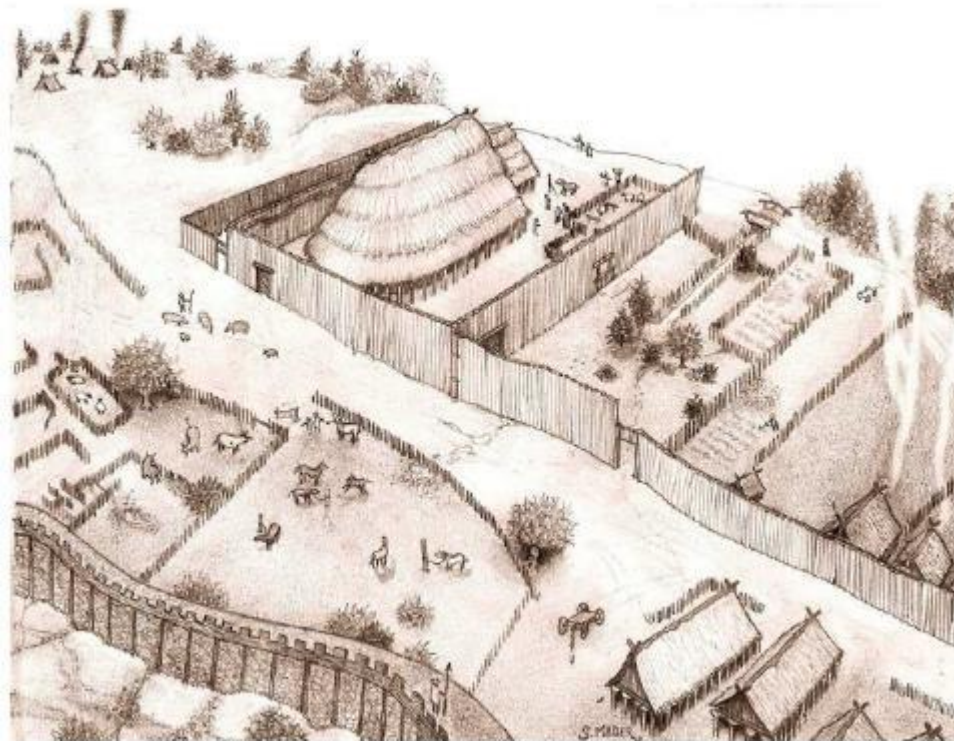
A cut through the ditch somewhere here, at a strategically absolutely useless point



The Vix tomb

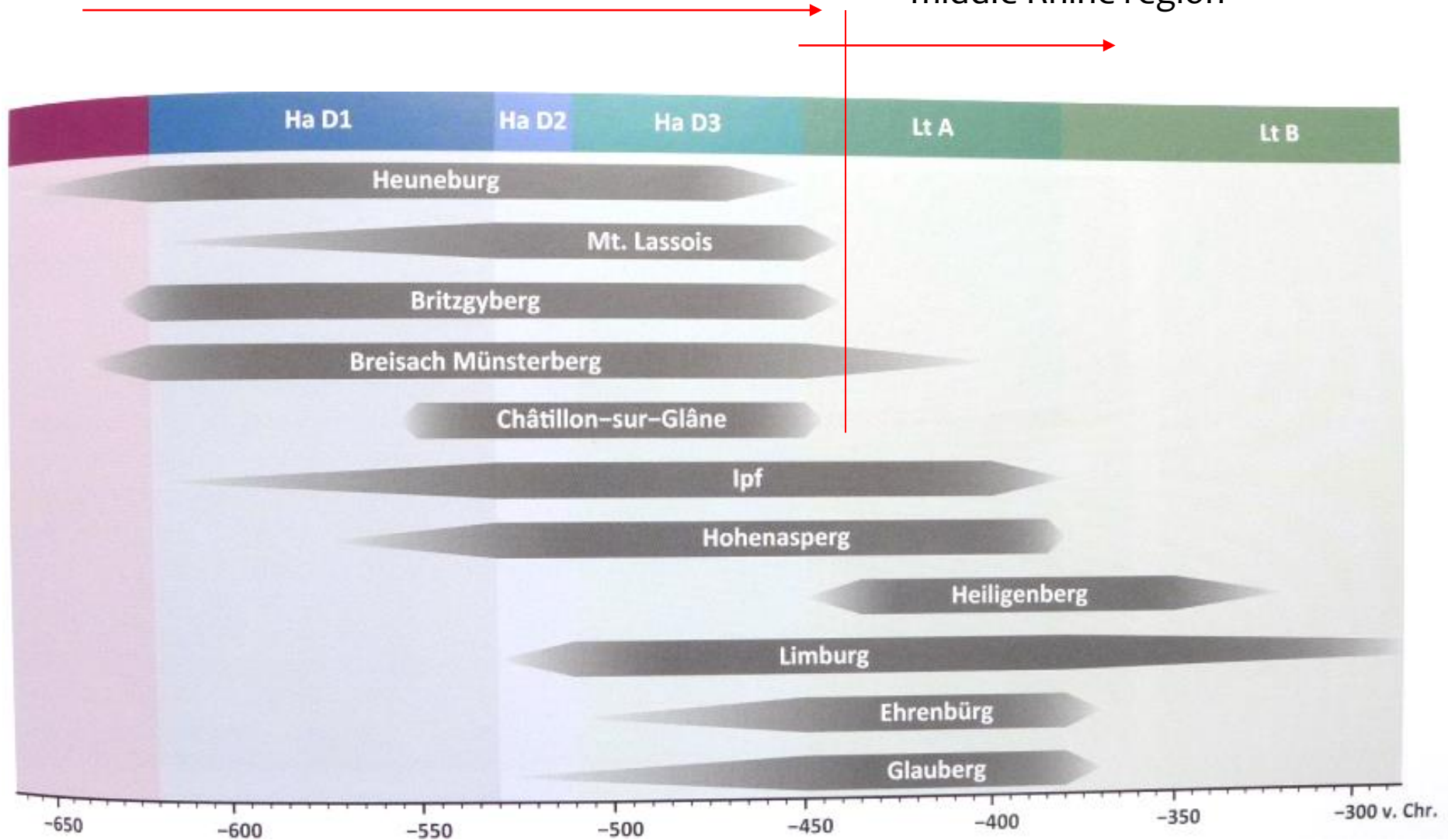


-in contrast to the imposing ramparts, the actual settlement on the plateau is just a large farm with one huge representative residential building and a lot of simple and agricultural structures



The hill-top settlements (princely seats or not) between Southern Germany, Upper Rhine and Eastern France are universally abandoned by mid-V century BC

A series of hill-top settlements start flourishing at the same time in the middle Rhine region



... and what about the Mediterranean?

⇒ two principal breaking points in the Transalpine world correspond with events taking place in the Mediterranean

-ca 600 aC – foundation of Massilia

-ca 540 aC – Etruscan colonisation of the Po valley

Urbanisation (it is doubtful to what extent it can be accredited to Mediterranean influence)

Mediterranean influence on the elites...

- prestige objects and some selected practices
- probably very different social setting