

**CENTRAL EUROPE AND MEDITERRANEAN
IN THE 4th AND 3rd CENTURIES BC**

THE CELTS IN ITALY



Central Europe

LT B-C archaeology in Central Europe



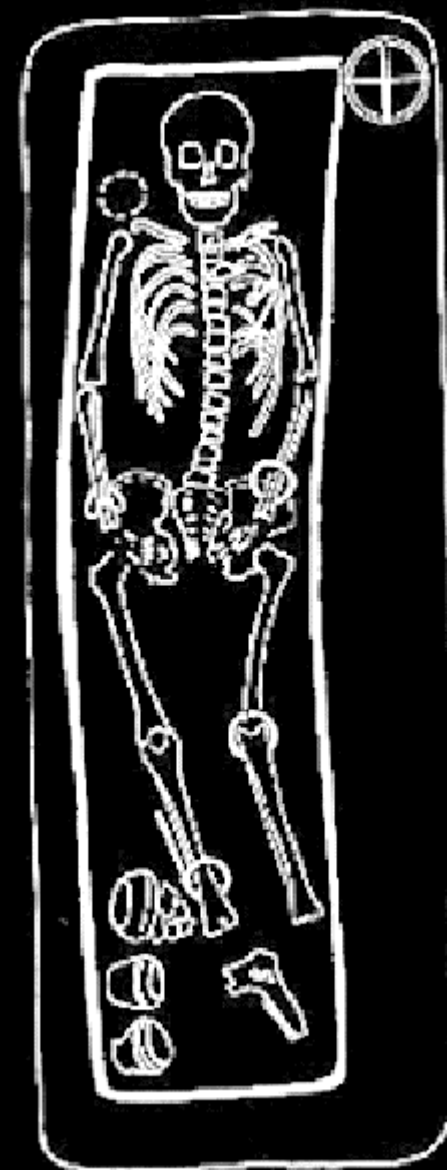
LT B-LT C1 Celtic flat cemeteries

-a lot of LT A stuff is no more...

- depopulation of some regions (southern Bohemia)
- end of the „princely graves“
- no more proofs of interregional exchange
- abandonment of central places
- decline of advanced technologies (wheel-thrown pottery)

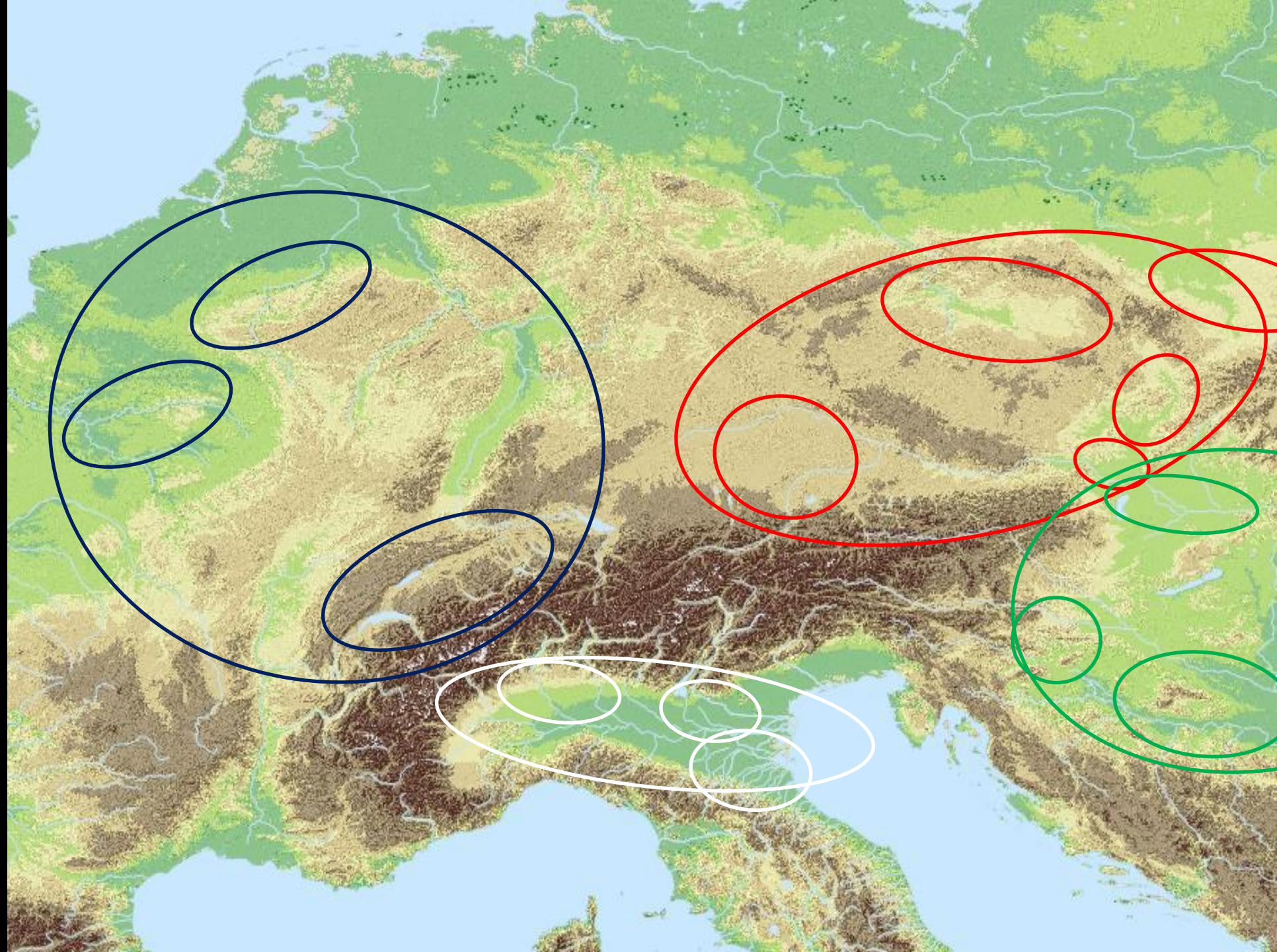
-the new world

- occupation only in the most fertile regions
- the settlements are almost unknown (and those that are known are not that exciting)
- small communities (cemeteries of mostly few dozens individuals)
- flat (= no tumulus) inhumations (cremations are rare and specific to only some regions and periods)
- almost no burial differentiation



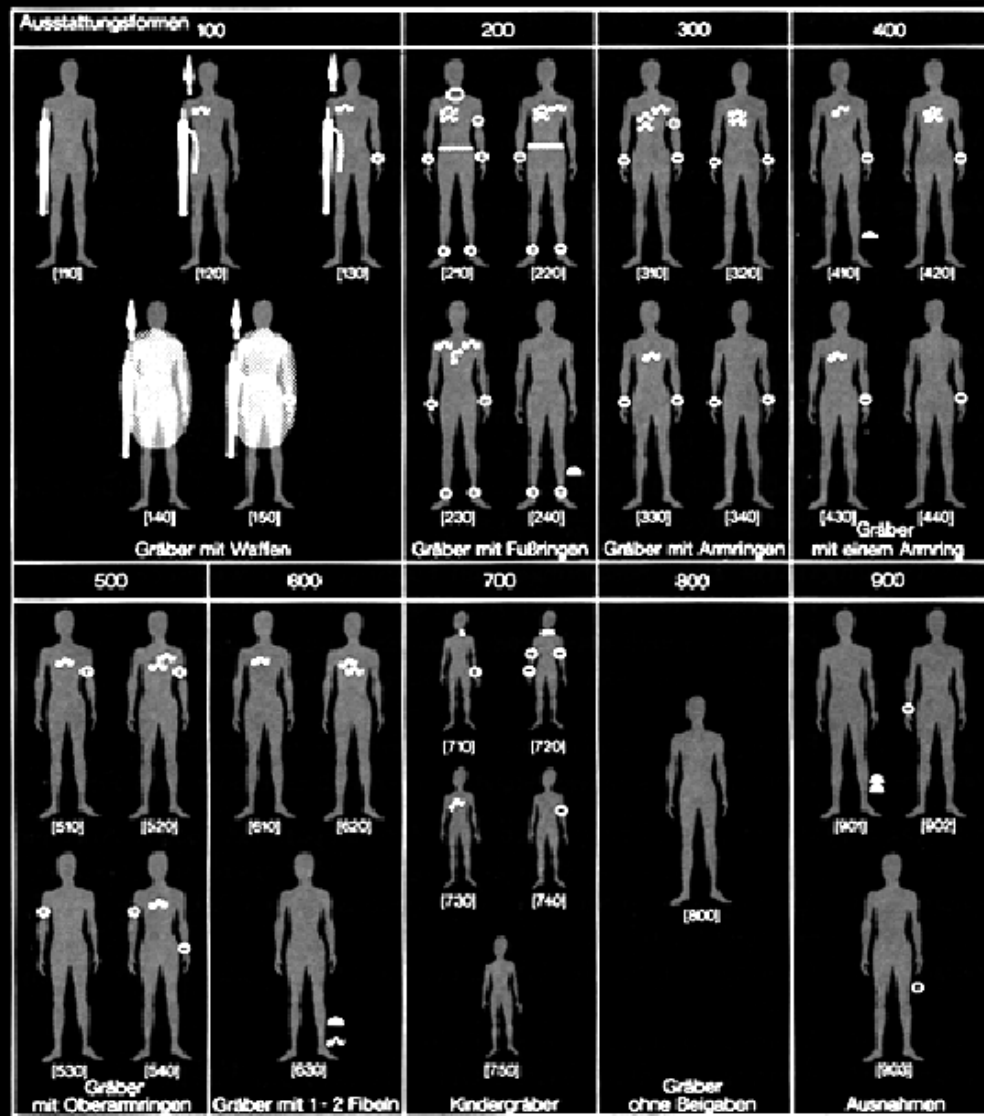
LT B-C archaeology in Central Europe

- Relatively uniform archaeological picture throughout Europe with variations according to broader or narrower geographical areas



-a 1960s/1970s way of treating flat burials is to classify the grave goods into classes of „richness“ and to order them into social classes from „warrior elite“ to serfs“

BUT !!!



Münsingen (Bern)

-with 218 burials the largest LT flat cemetery

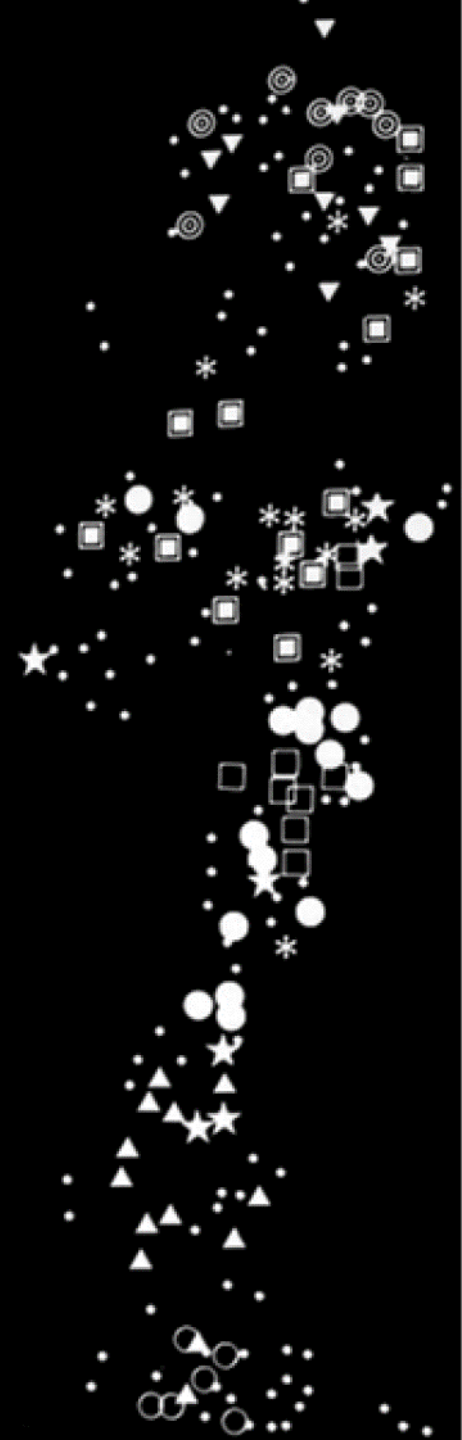
-but spanning LT A-LT C2 (250 years)

It in reality includes 10 generations of a single family (as confirmed by anthropological studies)

=> Variations in the „richness“ of grave goods has nothing to do with the status of the buried

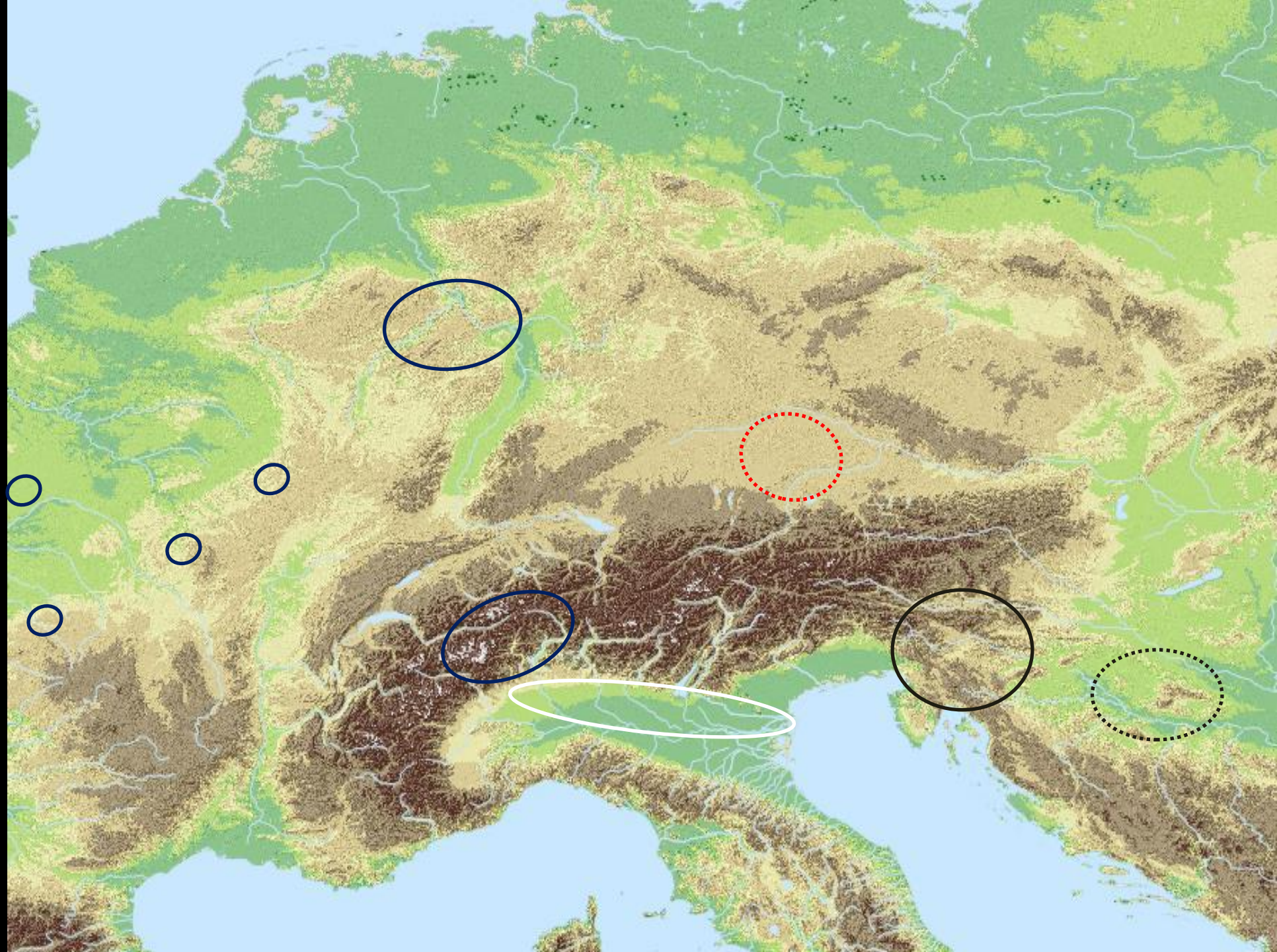
=> Arrangement of grave goods (mainly jewellery) is more relevant to considerations concerning regional costume and regional ritual habits

(but don't exaggerate it either...)

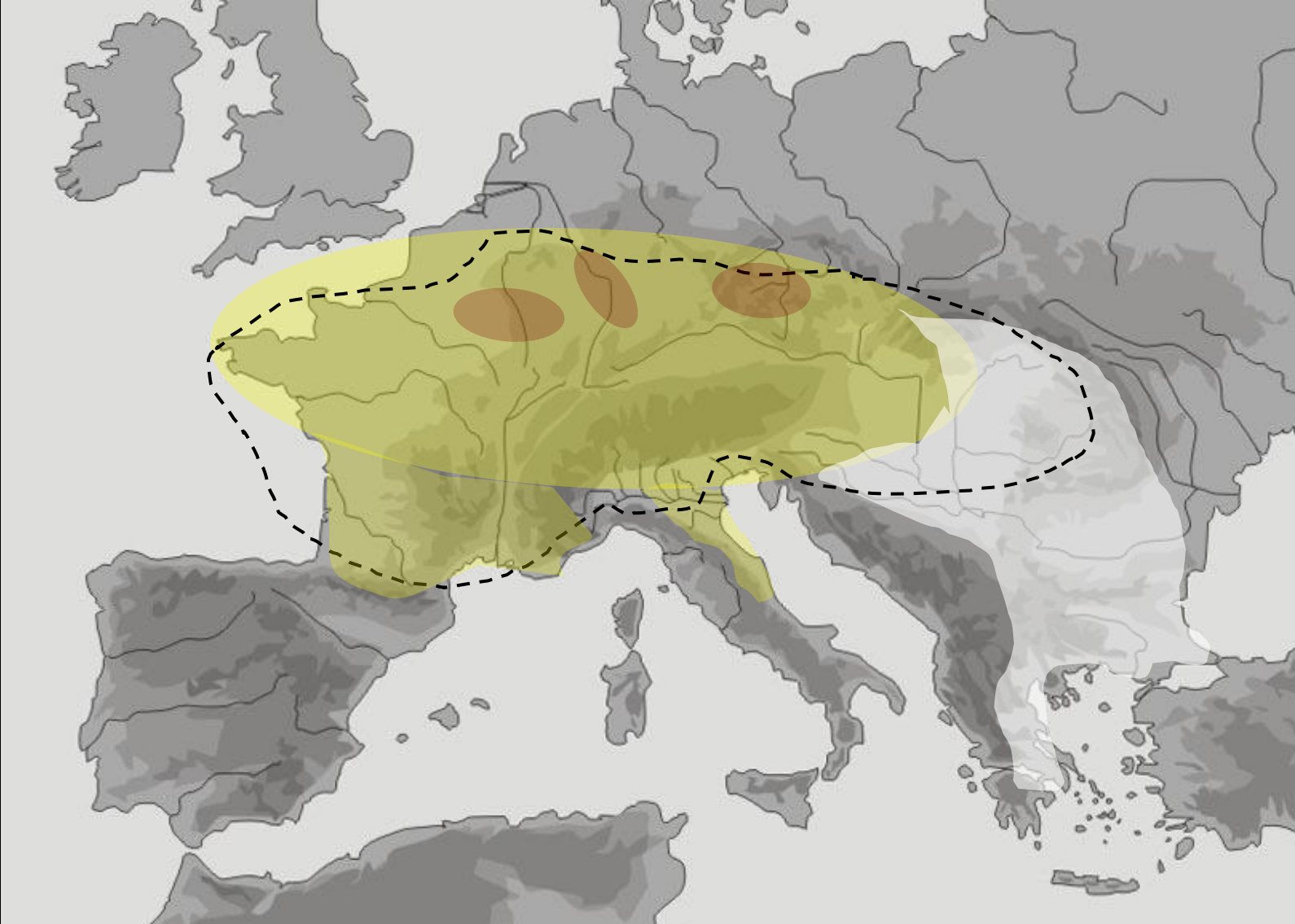


LTC1 – archeologically visible burials disappear in most of transalpine Europe (with the exception of a few regions – Mosel-Rhine region, the Swiss plateau, Eastern Alps, Northern Italy etc.)

⇒ in mid-3rd-1st c. BC we have only vague ideas as to what they did with the bodies...



Between the 5th and the 1st century, the La Tène culture spreads (and shrinks) through most of transalpine Europe



LT Chronology

-objective artefactual chronology is based mainly on the evolution of brooches – the foot (free-standing, attached to the bow or enclosed) distinguishes Early, Middle, and late La Tène period

-the problem is that the artefactual chronology does not correspond with the significant transformations of the rest of archaeological picture (settlement pattern, burial rite, social structure)

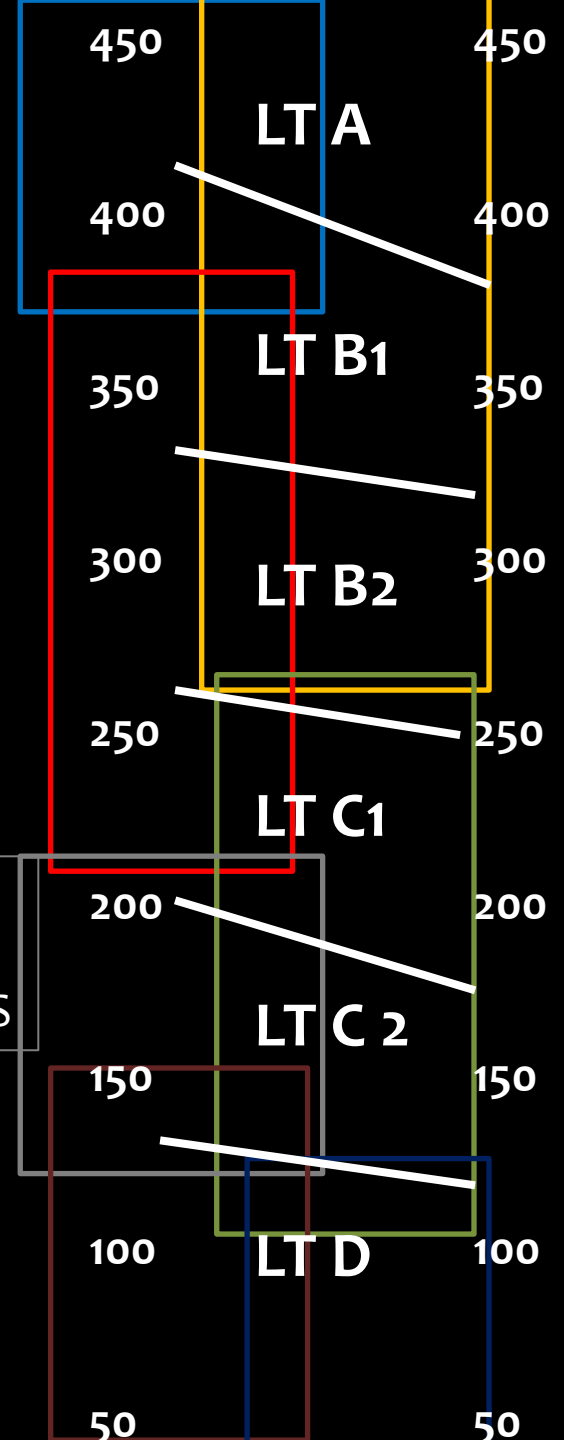
=> The artefactual chronology is valid and objective but only useful for purely chronological discussion

-PRINCELY BURIALS
-SOUTHERN IMPORTS

-CELTIC EXPANSION
-FLAT BURIALS

-END OF BURIALS
-AGLOMERATIONS
-TECHNOLOGIES AND COINS

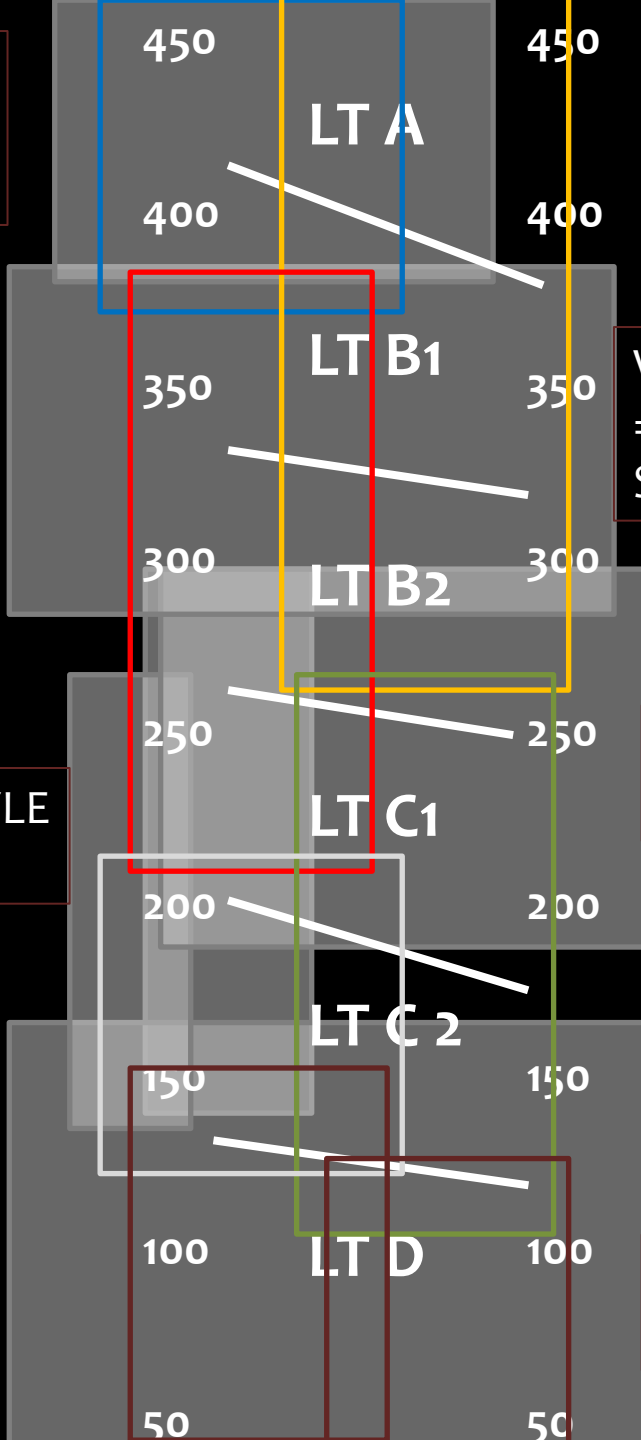
-OPPIDA



LT Chronology

-in order to further complicate things, some scholars use parallel chronologies based on development of LT art (more on it later on) which does not overlap with either the artefactual or the social phases

EARLY STYLE
=
PREMIER STYLE



WALDALGESHEIM STYLE
=
STYLE VÉGÉTAL CONTINU

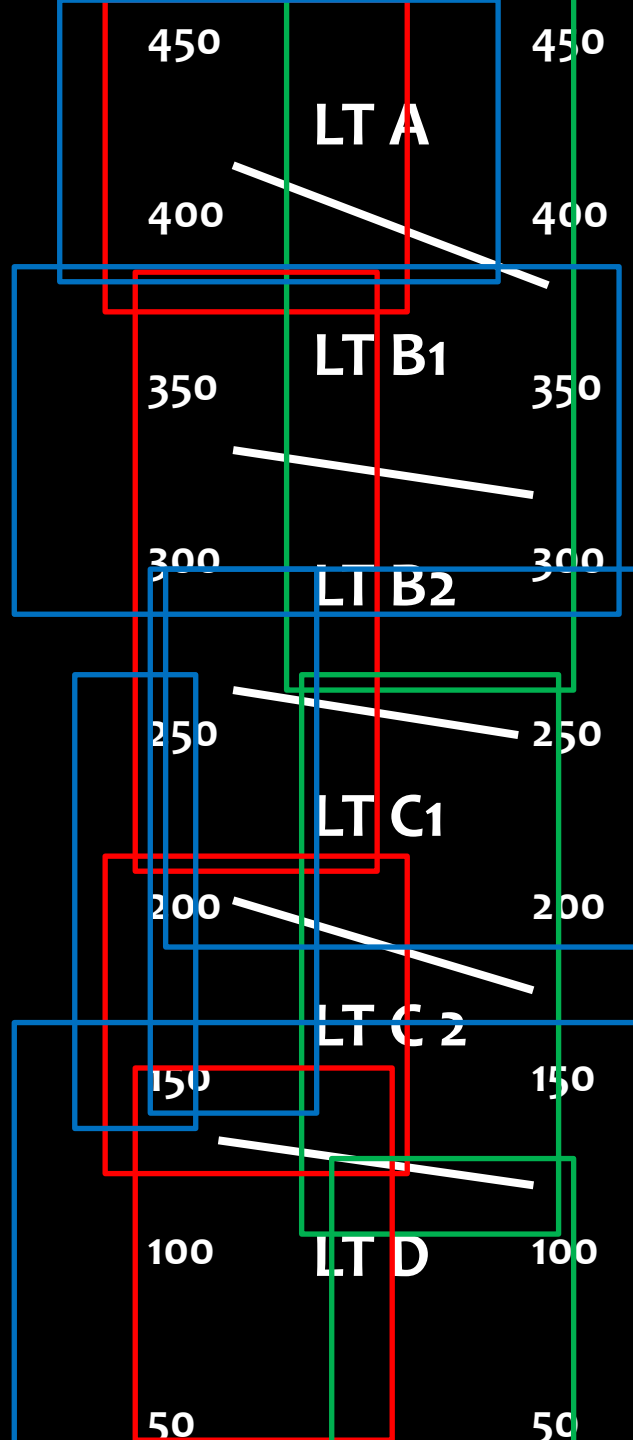
PLASTIC
STYLE

SWORD STYLE

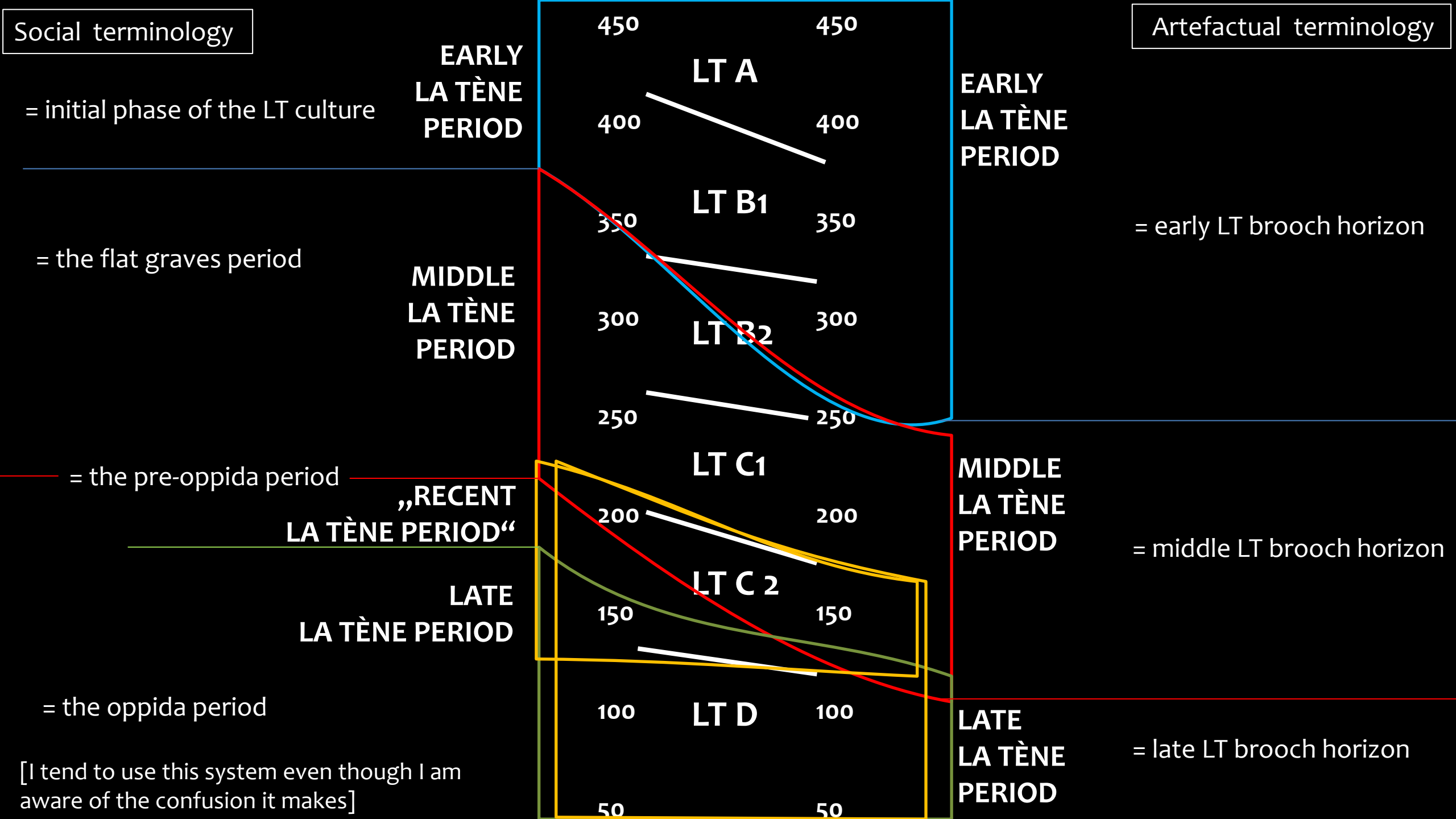
LATE
STYLES

-... and so we are left with three various ways to approach LT chronology (and in each of them, the various scholar of course have very different ideas about the specific dates)

-if we forget about art (which is a fringy amusement of a few archaeologists... like me) there are two sets of meaning of the same terms....



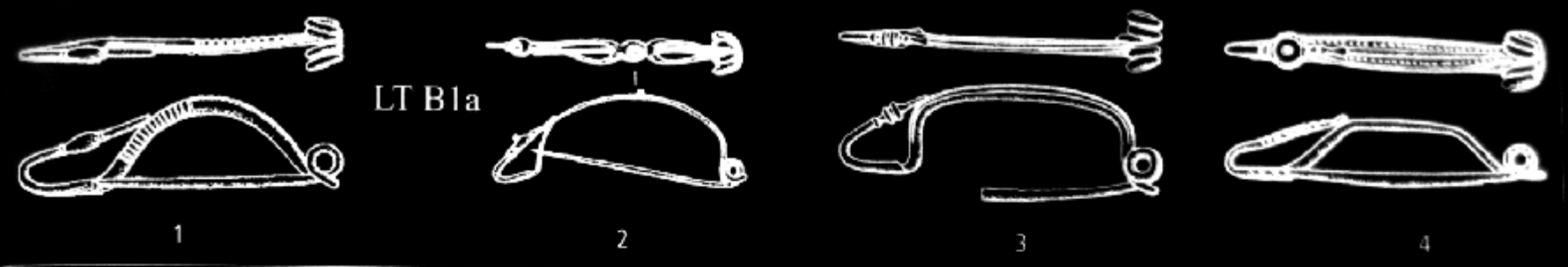
LT Chronology



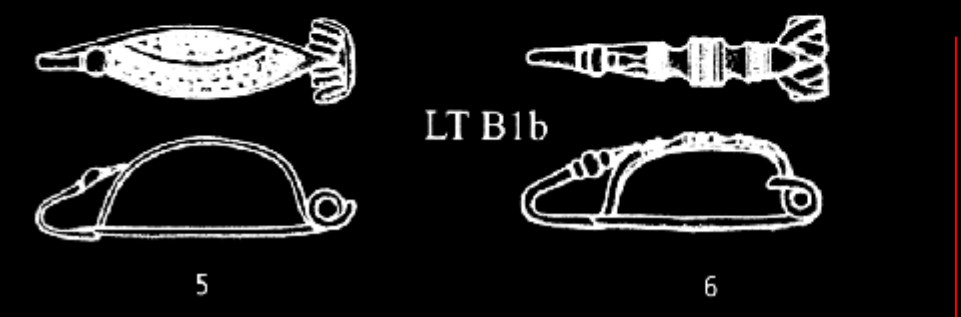
brooches

A quick overview of LT B – C1 artefacts

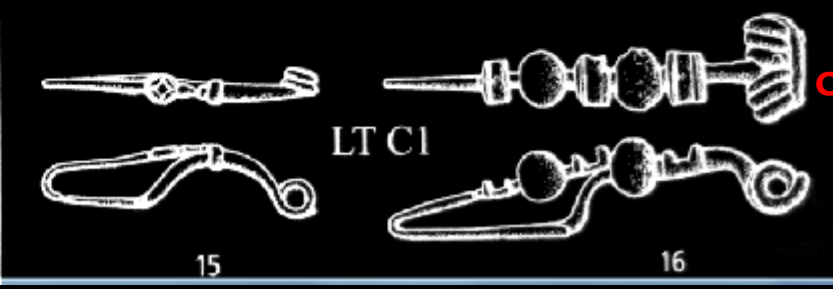
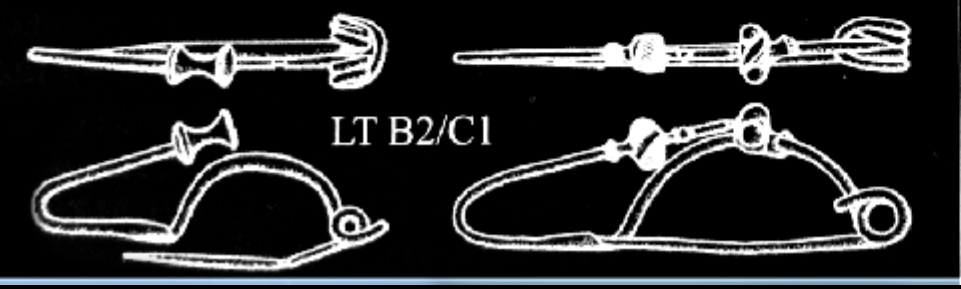
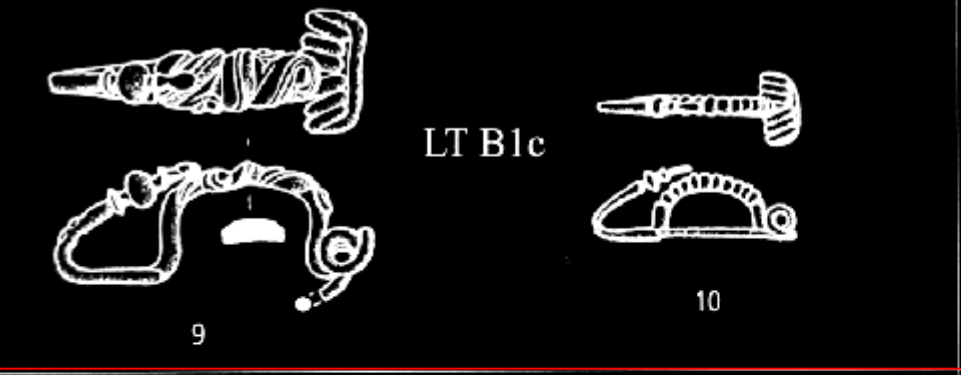
pre-Duchcov



Duchcov

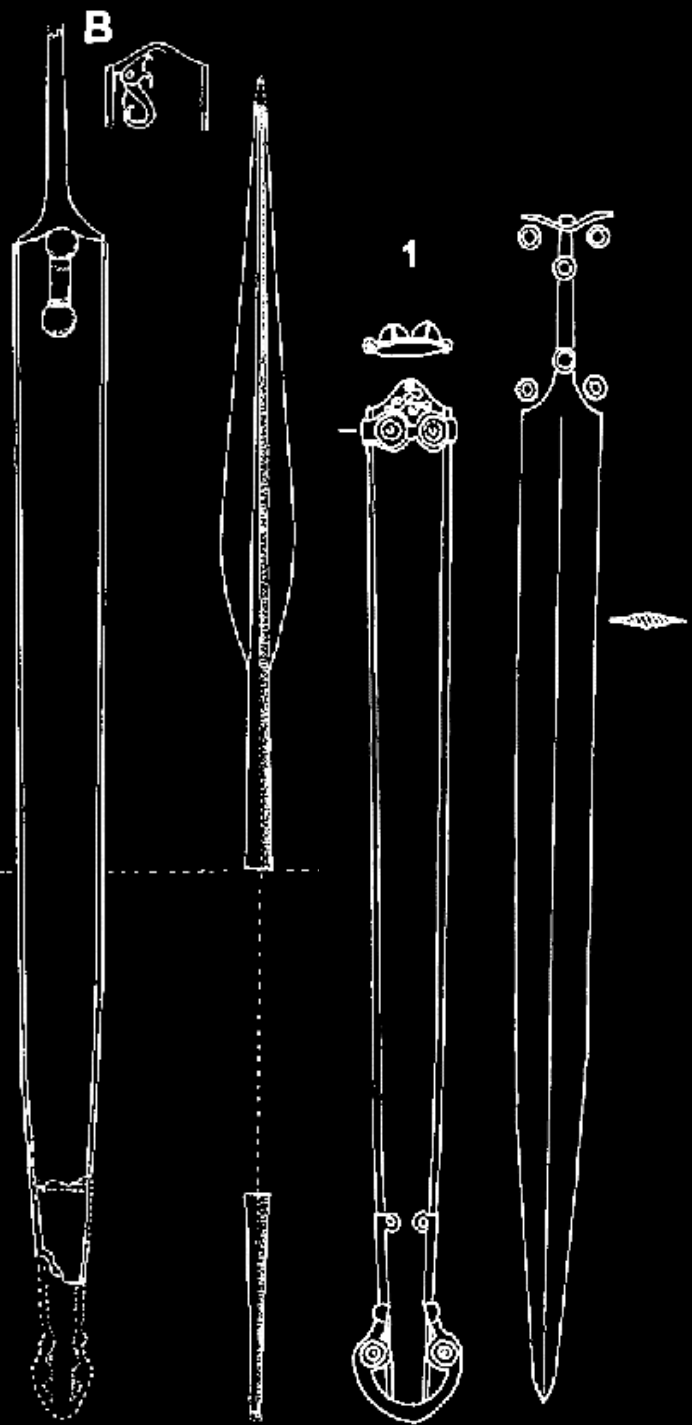


Münsingen



middle LT construction

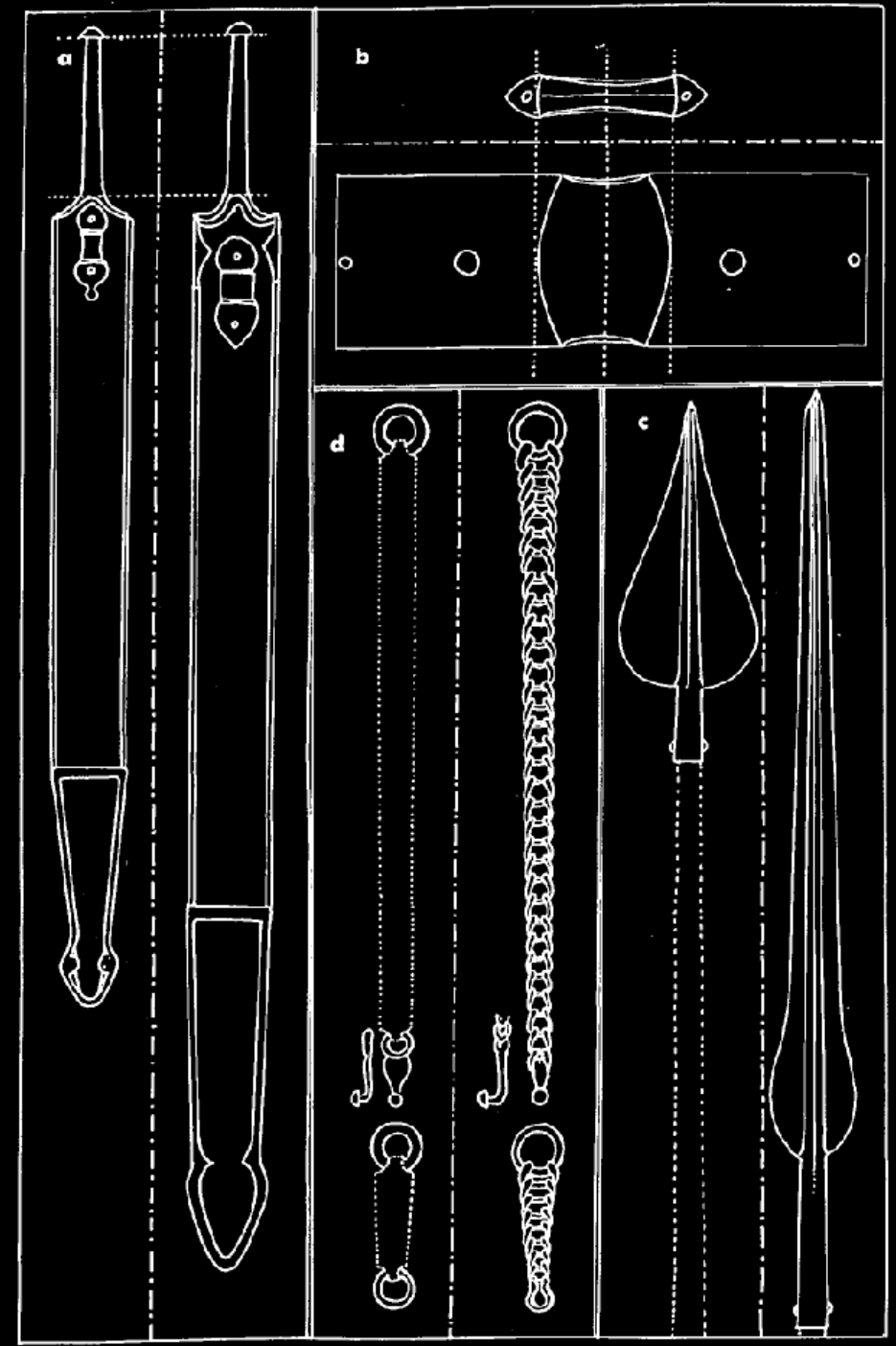
A quick overview of LT B – C1 artefacts



weaponry

Characteristically LT weapon types and weapon sets

- swords in metallic scabbard of precisely defined size categories
- sword suspension systems (ring sets or chain belts)
- spearheads
- shield-bosses



P. JACOBSTAHL (1880–1957)



LA TÈNE
ART
IV – III BC

V. MEGAW
(*1934)



O.-H. FREY (*1929)



V. KRUTA (*1939)



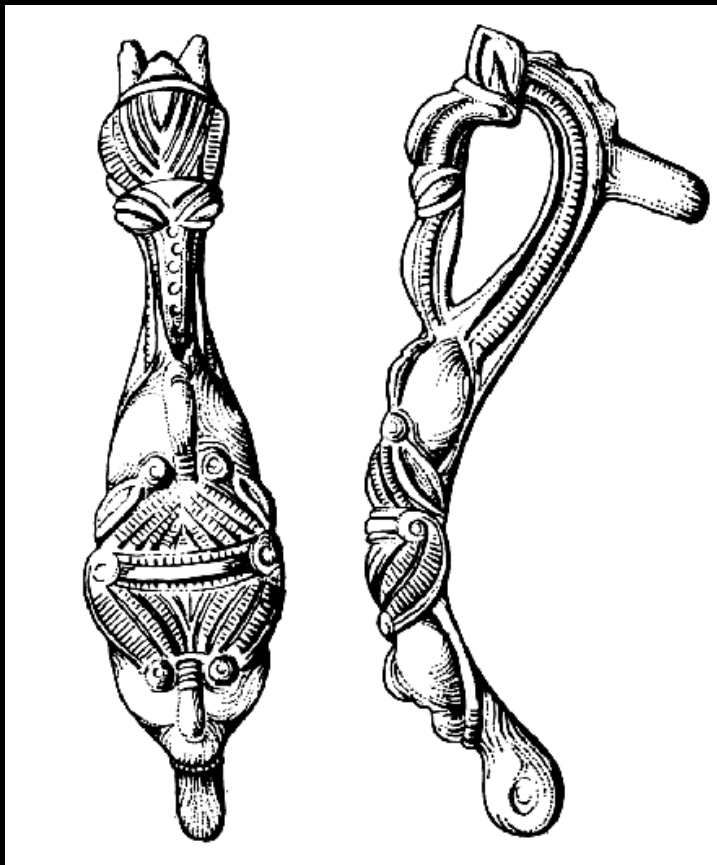
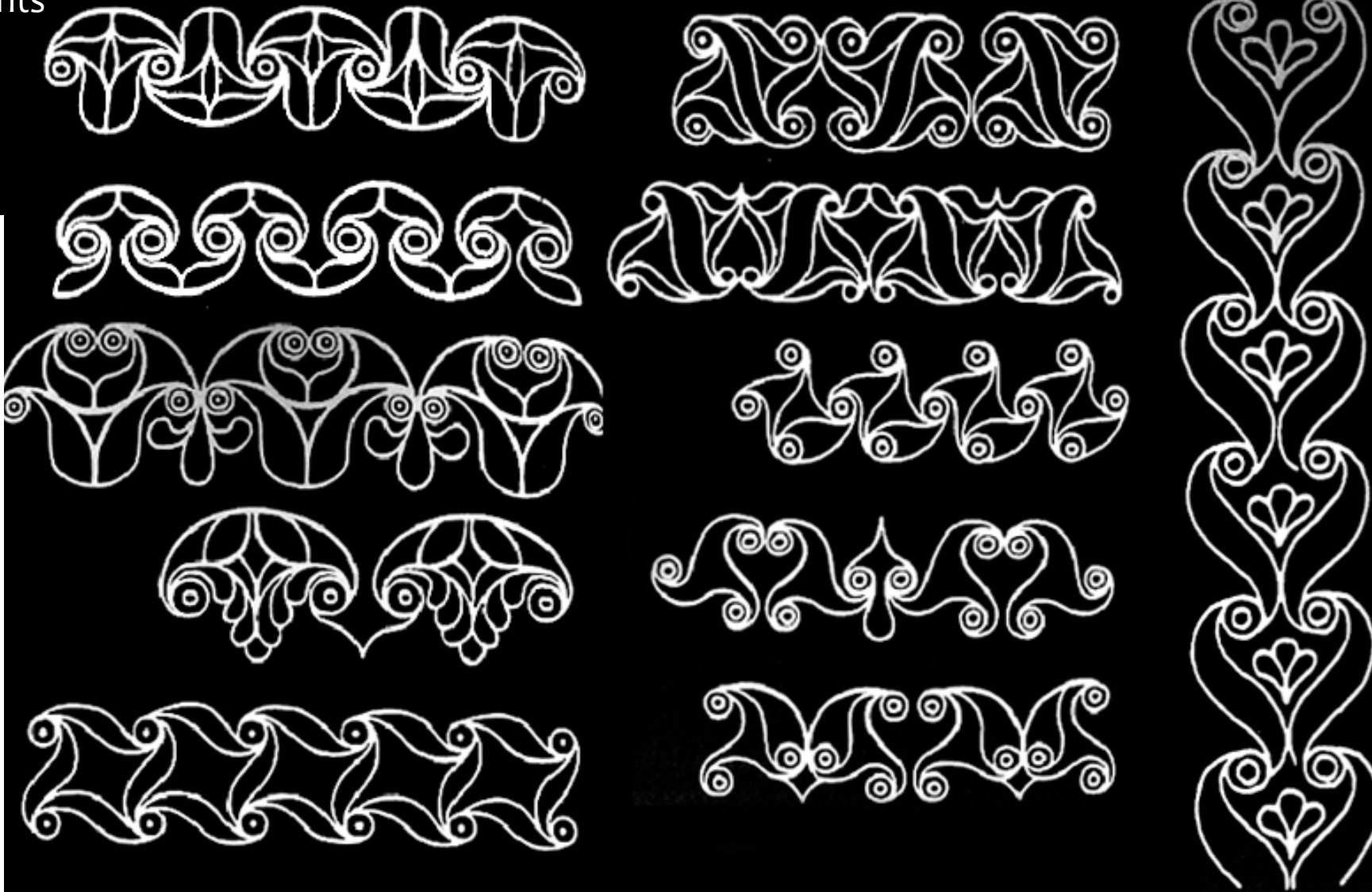
LT art

-La Tène art remains one of the defining traits of the La Tène culture showing that the communities shared not only material culture but also intellectual values and ideologies

-the LT art of the IV–III century develops directly from the V century **Early style** (which we have already seen)

-friezes of chained geometrical elements

-figural features combined in surreal combinations – plurality of views



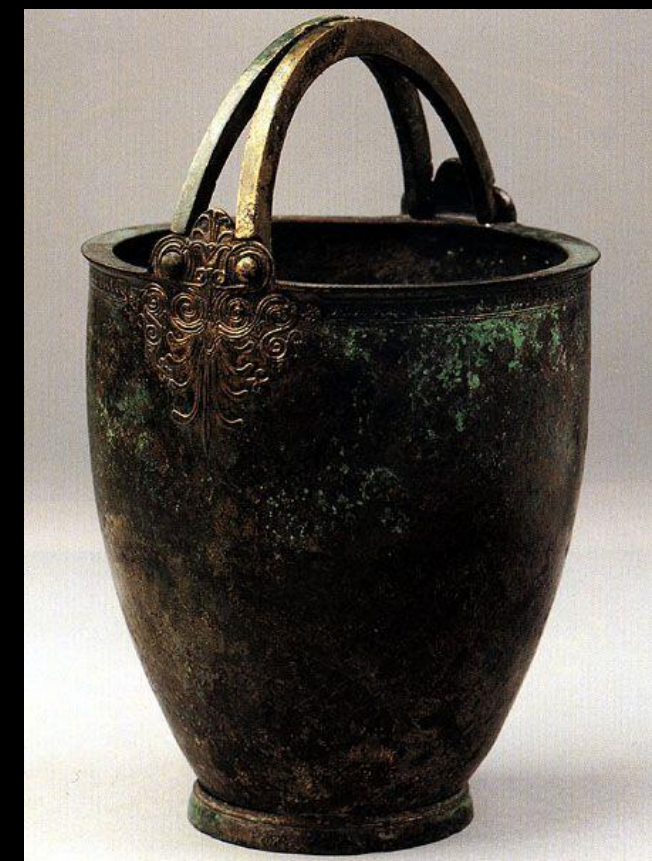
LT art

WALDALGESHEIM

-the last princely burial in the Rhineland
-female burial showing all features of LT A princely graves (imported metal vessel, gold jewellery, a wagon, a keimeilion)... only it dates to late IV century => two or three generations after the last LT A burial



-set of gold jewellery (bracelets and a torc) decorated in an art style called, the Waldalgesheim style' or ,Vegetal style'



-a late IV century Macedonian situla

LT art

-a LT A spouted jug with the body engraved in Early style => Several generations earlier than the burial

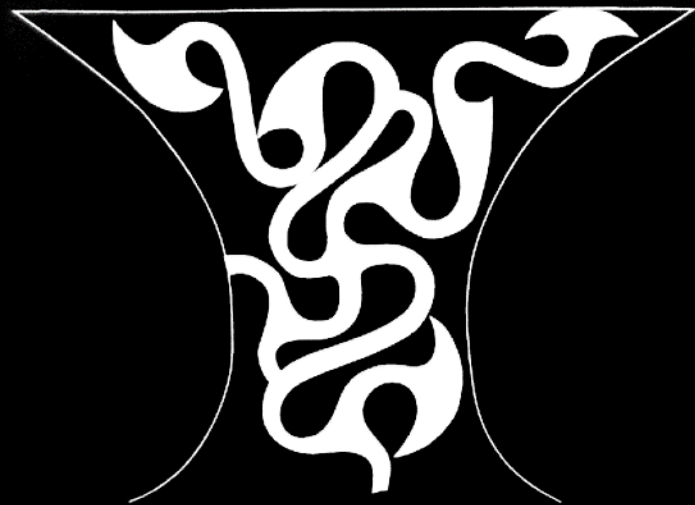




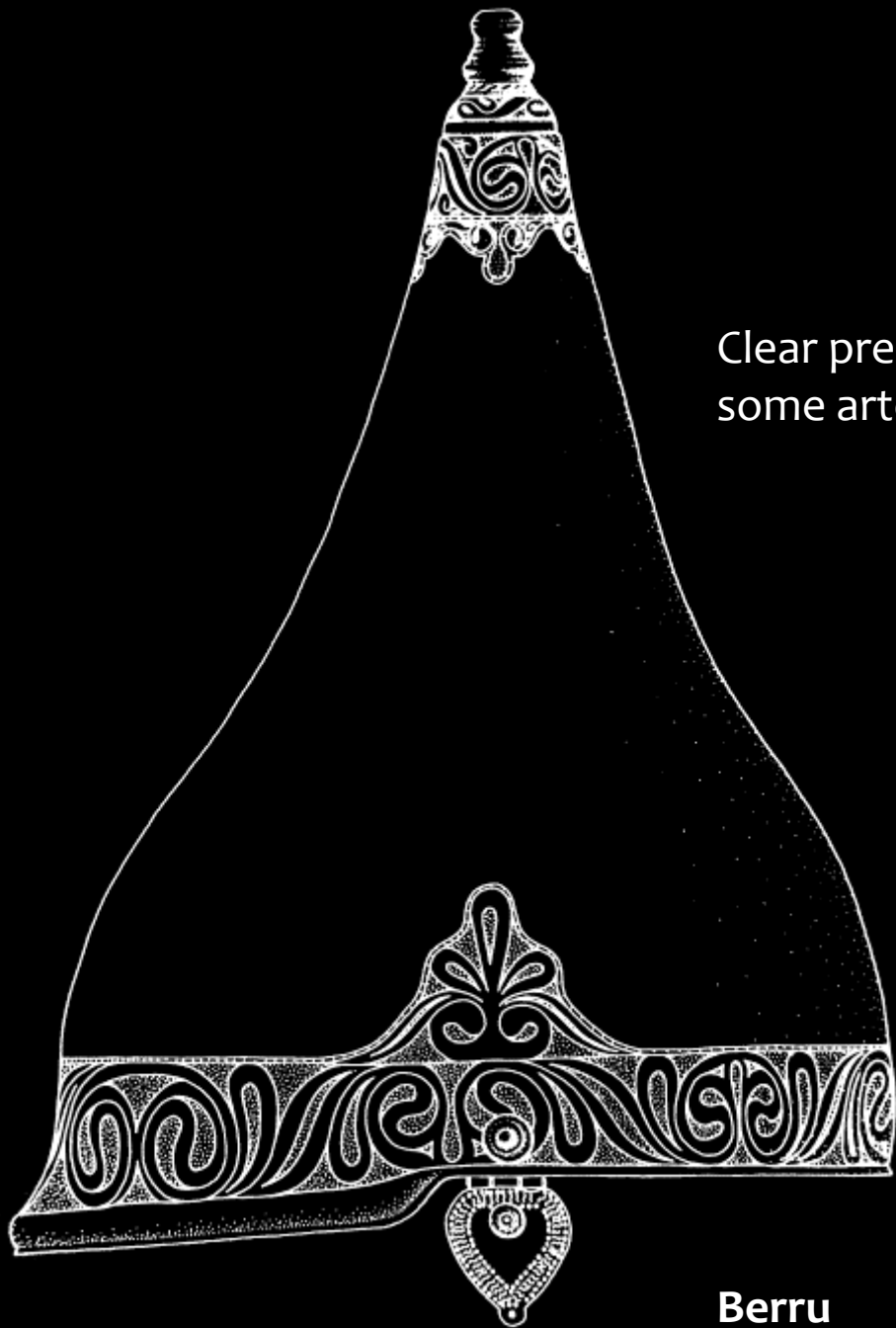
Waldalgesheim style = style végétal continu

-instead of chained elements of the Early style, the friezes are continuous often of vegetal character and with elements like palmettes

-huge vogue of hidden faces (more on them later)



LT art



Clear precursors already on some artefacts dated to LT A

Berru

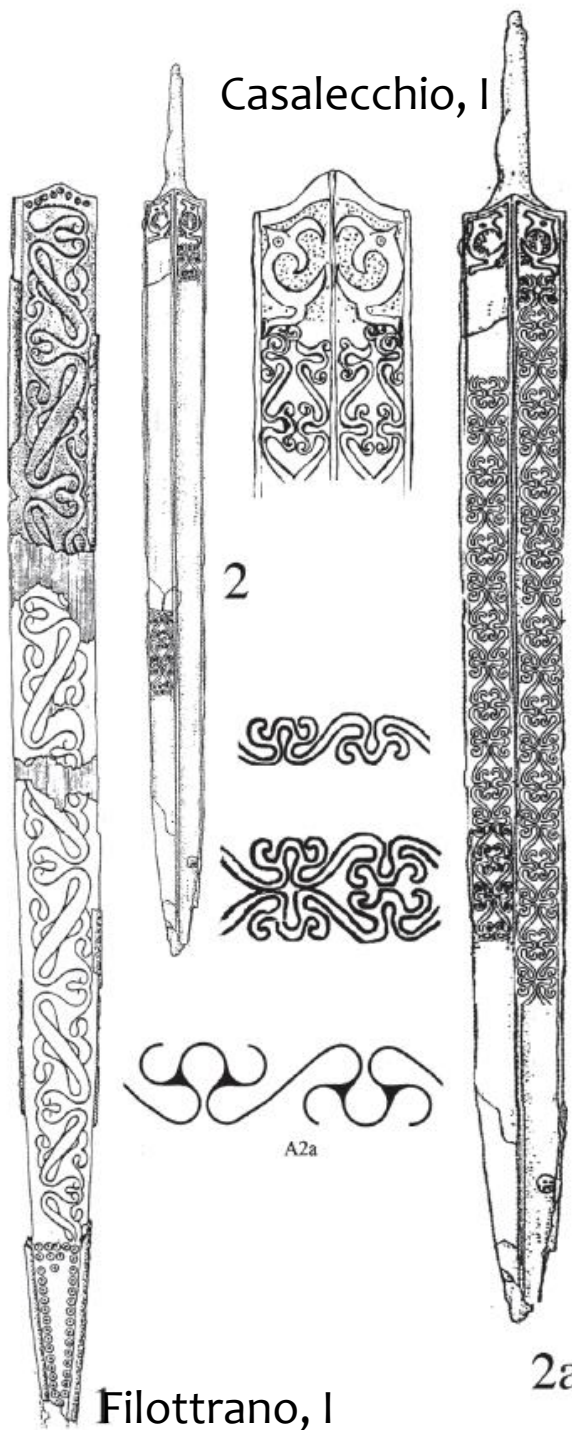


Besançon



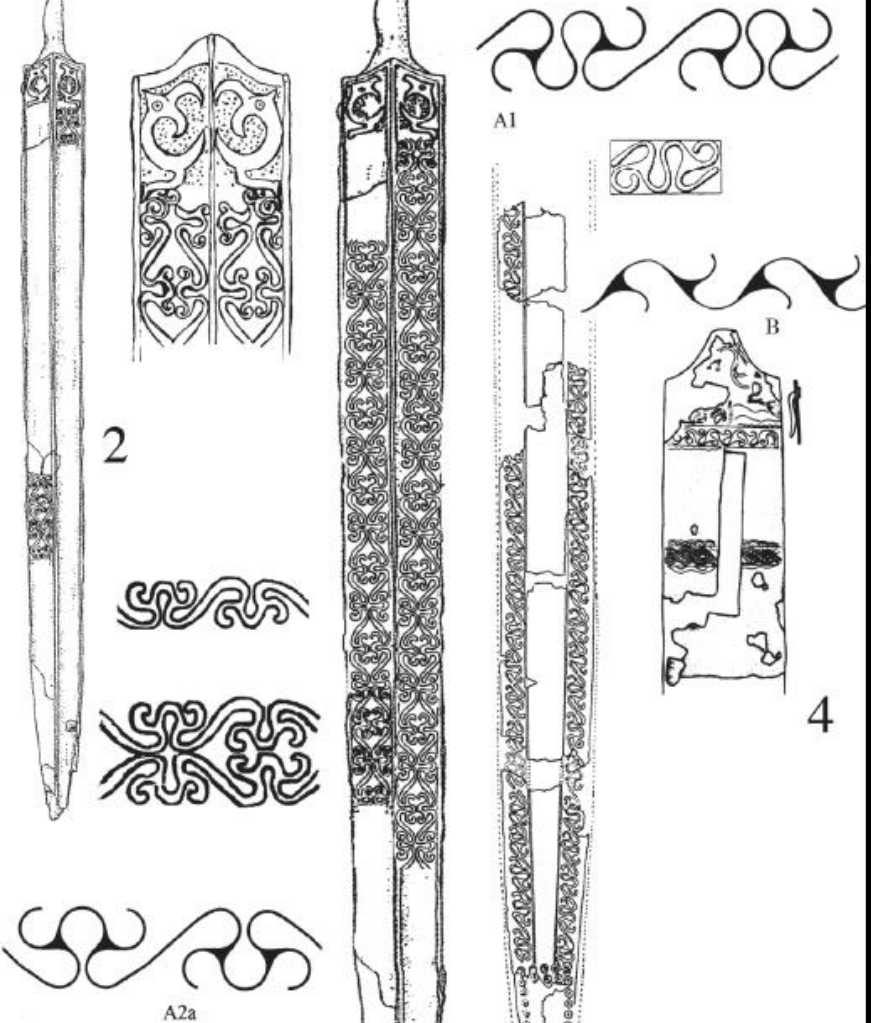


Comacchio, I



Filottrano, I

Casalecchio, I



Moscano di Fabriano, I



Münsingen, CH

Litér, HU

-identical solutions appear from NW France, through the Rhineland to central Italy..
By chance? By imitation? And who imitated whom?



29 Halsring, Bronze. Bussy-le-Château, Frankreich,
4. Jh. v. Chr. (Verger 1989).



30 Armring, Gold (Abb. 278), Waldalgesheim, Deutschland,
um 320 v. Chr. (Verger 1989).



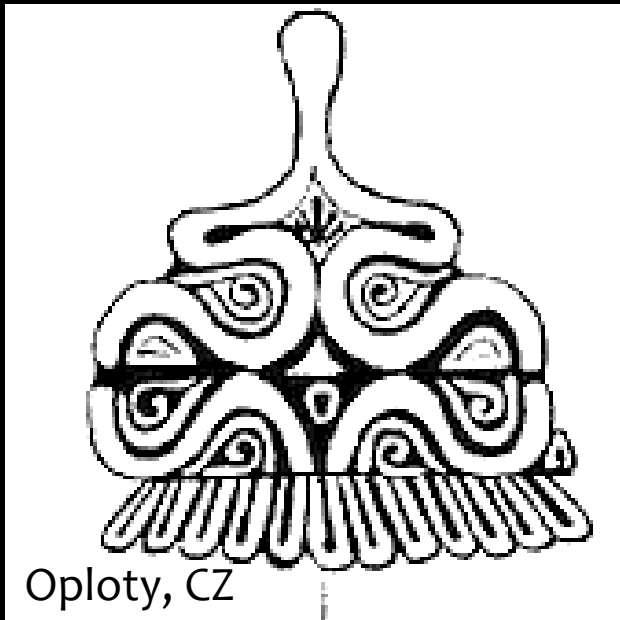
Armring, Bronze. Spiez, Schweiz,
4. Jh. v. Chr. (Müller 1998).



32 Schwertscheide, Bronze, Ausschnitt (Abb. 129).
Filottrano, Italien, um 330 v. Chr. (Verger 1987).



‘Cheshire style’
-the tendrils often include hidden human or monstrous faces of possible mythological and surely apotropaic meaning



Santa Paolina di Filottrano, I

‚Cheshire style‘

The ‚Cheshire style‘ is Jacobsthal’s term derived from the Cheshire cat scene in Alice in Wonderland ...



‚... and I wish you wouldn’t keep appearing and vanishing so suddenly, said Alice. ‚You make one quite giddy.

‚All right,‘ said the cat and this time it vanished quite slowly, beginning with the end of the tail and ending with the grin, which remained some time after the rest of it had gone.

‚Well! I’ve often seen cats without a grin,‘ thought Alice; ‚but I have never seen a grin without a cat! It’s the most curious thing I ever saw in my life!‘

-(visual) polymorphism and semantic plurality and fluidity (cf. mask brooches of LT A a hidden faces of Cheshire style) may have been a very characteristic feature of LT intellectual world

„Brennus, the king of the Gauls, on entering a temple came [...] upon images of stone and wood he laughed at them, to think that men, believing that gods have human form, should set up their images in wood and stone.“

Diod. Sic. XXII, 9.4

Plastic style IV/III–2/2 III BC

-the decorative principle remains the same – based on geometrical forms – but the decoration becomes central rather than linear and grows three-dimensional



LT art

Paris region



„the Disney style“ (after Megaw)
-in the 3rd century, the Plastic style often loses its abstract quality and is applied to representation of creatures or parts thereof
-still, the depictions are always based on the geometrical principles valid from the Early style



Mezek, BG



LT art



Manching, DE

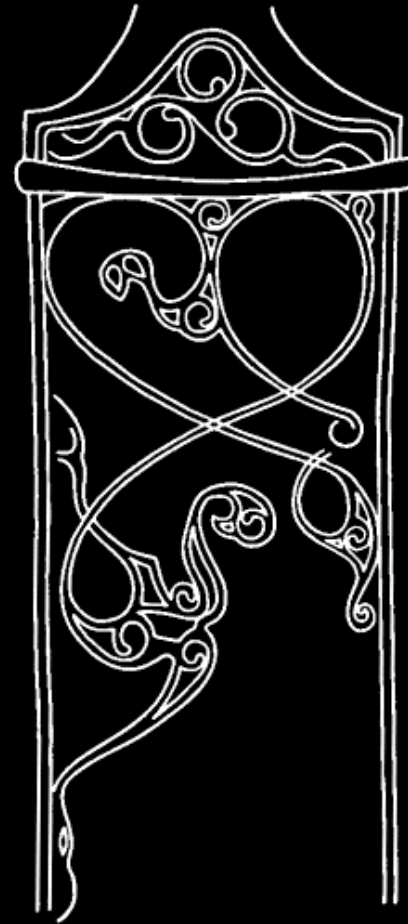
the Swords style (contemporary with the plastic style)

- two-dimensional development of scrollwork instead of the the third dimensions of the plastic style
- central compositions unlike the linearity of the Waldalgesheim linearity
- discovery of asymmetry

-the Swiss sword style



the Hungarian sword style



(Hungaran) sword style



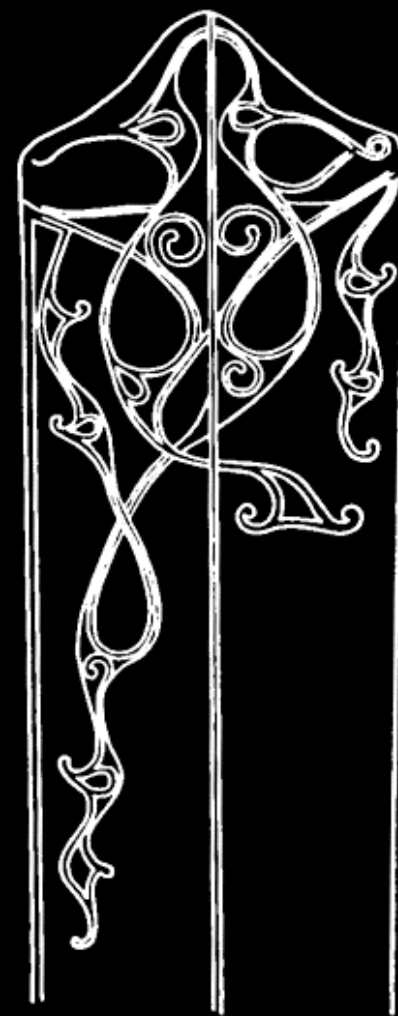
Schwertscheide, Eisen (Abb. 140).
Ölcske, Ungarn, um 250 v. Chr.



Schwertscheide, Eisen.
Tapolca, Ungarn, 3. Jh. v. Chr.



Schwertscheide, Eisen.
Batina, Kroatien, 3. Jh. v. Chr.



Schwertscheide, Eisen.
Dobova, Slowenien, 3. Jh. v. Chr.

CELTIC MIGRATIONS

-throughout the IV and III BC, Greek and Roman sources mention a series of Celtic incursion to Italy, Thrace, Greece, and Asia Minor

-all other Celtic migrations you may hear about (from Gaul to Central Europe, from Greece back to Gaul) are just conjectures, don't care about them





THE CELTS IN ITALY



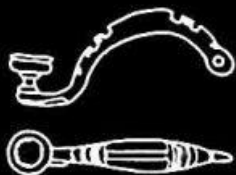
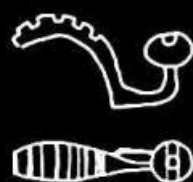
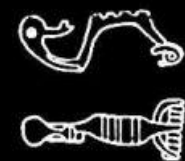
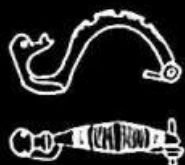
D. Vitali



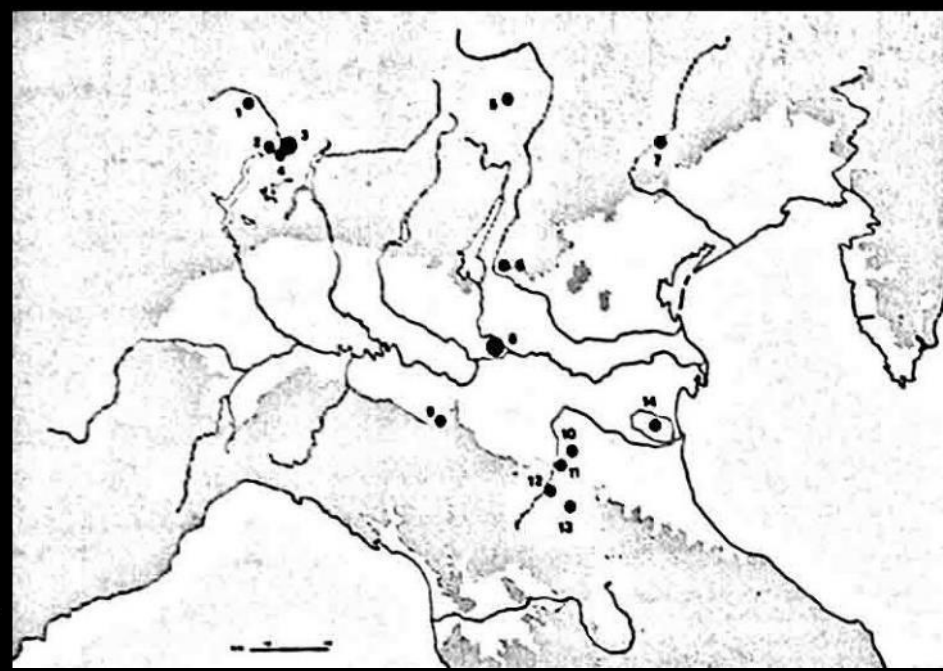
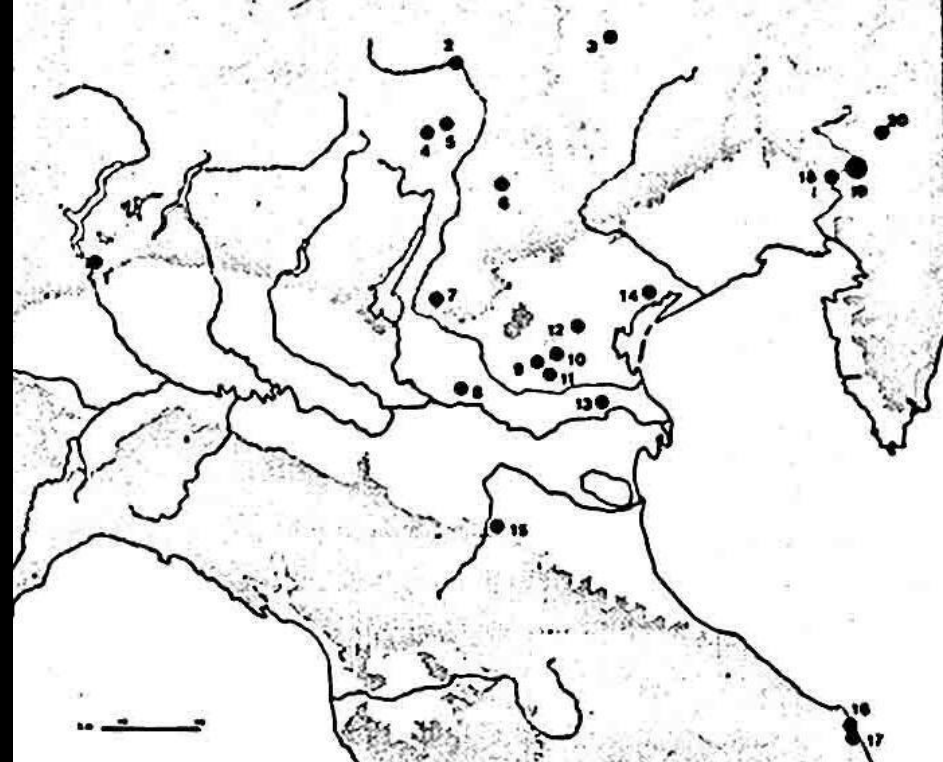
V. Kruta

-systematic presence of Ha and LT A artefacts in northern Italy (which we have seen before) shows pre-existing contacts between Italy and the Transalpine world

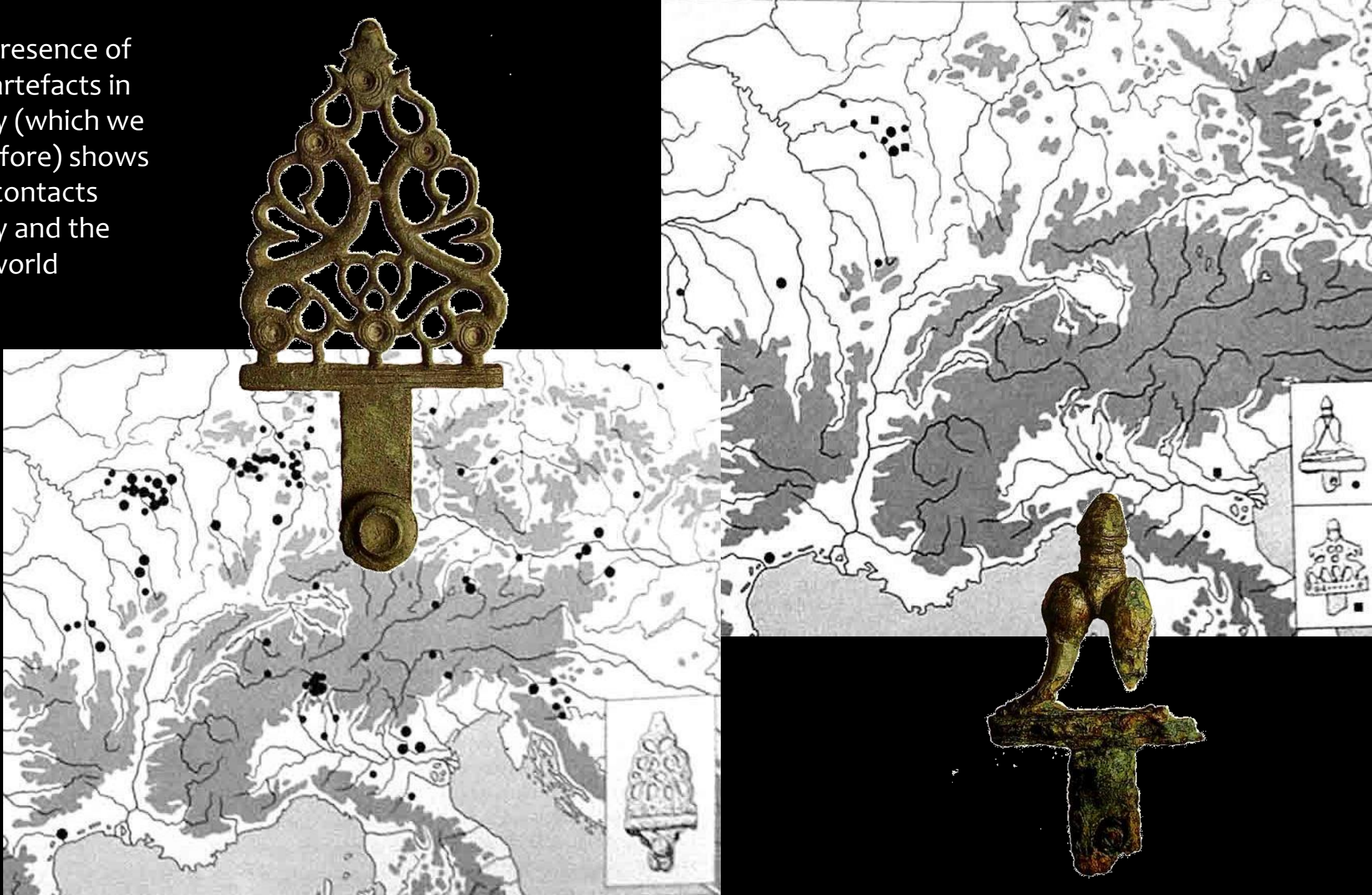
Hallstatt brooches in northern Italy



Ha D3



-systematic presence of Ha and LT A artefacts in northern Italy (which we have seen before) shows pre-existing contacts between Italy and the Transalpine world



Lepontic inscriptions

-series of inscriptions in the territory of the Golasecca culture

-written in script derived from the Etruscan alphabet but in a language akin to ,Celtic‘ languages of Gaul

=> The Golasecca culture was linguistically ,Celtic‘ which is for some people important...
I never understood why....

Vergiate
(VR)
VI-V BC



pelkui : pruiam : teu : karite : isos : kal
ite : palam[
"Deu ha posto (?) la tomba (?) per Belgos ; lo stesso ha eretto la stele"



VAMOGOTSIS BLIALEDU HA POSTO (QUESTA) STELE PER GLI UVLTIAUIO-ARIUO-

uvamoKozis : Plialeθu : uvltiauiopos : ariuonePos : siTeś : TeTu
"Vamogotsis Blialedu ha posto (questa) stele per gli Uvltiauiopos- Ariuone"

Prestino (CO) 480/450 BC



Casteletto Ticino (NO) late VII BC

These plains were anciently inhabited by Etruscans, at the same period as what are called the Phlegraean plains round Capua and Nola; which latter, however, have enjoyed the highest reputation, because they lay in a great many people's way and so got known. In speaking then of the history of the Etruscan Empire, we should not refer to the district occupied by them at the present time, but to these northern plains, and to what they did when they inhabited them. 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. [...] 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 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.

They lived in open villages, and without any permanent buildings. As they made their beds of straw or leaves, and fed on meat, and followed no pursuits but those of war and agriculture, they lived simple lives without being acquainted with any science or art whatever. Each man's property, moreover, consisted in cattle and gold; as they were the only things that could be easily carried with them, when they wandered from place to place, and changed their dwelling as their fancy directed. They made a great point, however, of friendship: for the man who had the largest number of clients or companions in his wanderings, was looked upon as the most formidable and powerful member of the tribe.

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, [...3 t]he 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, [...] 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 [...] They crossed the Alps through the Taurine passes and the pass of the Duria; routed the Etruscans in battle near 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.

Presently another band, consisting of Cenomani led by Etitovius, followed in the tracks of the earlier emigrants; and [... having] crossed the Alps by the same pass, established themselves where the cities of Brixia and Verona are now. [2...]. Then, over the Poenine Pass, came the Boii and Lingones, who finding everything taken up between the Po and the Alps, crossed the Po [...], and drove out not only the Etruscans, but also the Umbrians from their lands [...3] Then the Senones, the latest to come, had their holdings from the river Utens all the way to the Aesis. This was the tribe, I find, which came to Clusium and from thence to Rome, but whether alone or assisted by all the peoples of Cisalpine Gaul, is uncertain.

- ⇒ The incursion of the Celts to Northern Italy is dated to the times of Tarquinius Priscus (ca. 600 BC) but then they talk about the siege of Rome in the IV century
 - ⇒ Some claimed that it is the arrival of the Golasecca people but it is nonsense (the Golasecca region developed continually from the Recent Bronze Age)
 - ⇒ Most probably it shows it how little precise ideas Polybius and Livy had about the events they described

„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“

=> Foundation of Milan is associated with the migrations (which is not precise since there is occupation in Milan already in the 5th century), more interestingly, Celts obviously met Celts in the Golasecca regions.... As they are supposed to...



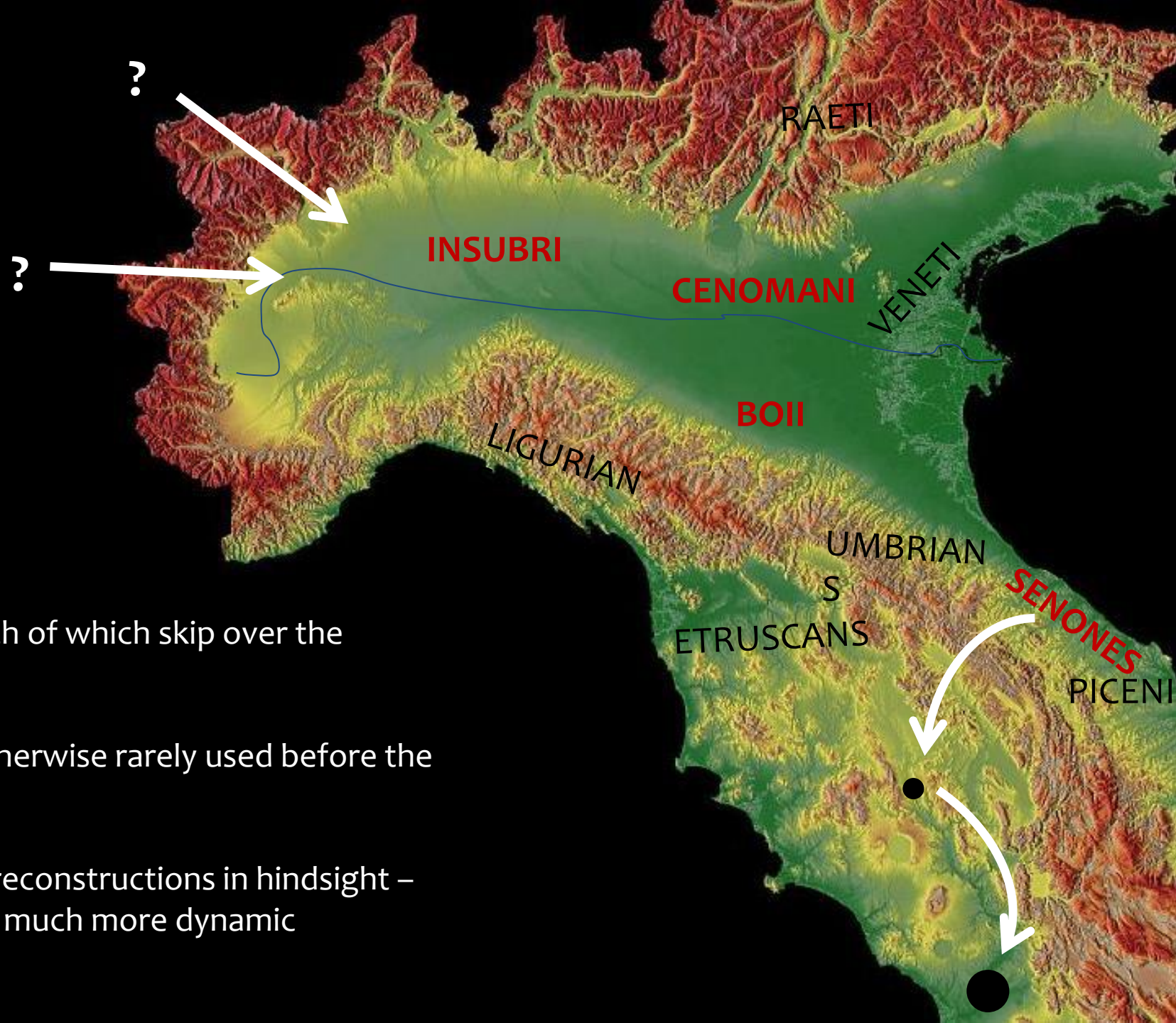
- , [...] they routed the Etruscans in battle near the river Ticinus...'

=> A depiction of a fight between an (Etruscan?) horseman and a foot-soldier with clearly LT weaponry in a 5th/4th century stele (gravestone) in Bologna



Senones, the latest to come, had their holdings from the river Utena all the way to the Aesis. This was the tribe, I find, which came to Clusium and from thence to Rome, but whether alone or assisted by all the peoples of Cisalpine Gaul, is uncertain.

Livy V, 34–35



migration in waves, tribe after tribe, each of which skip over the previous one

In reality, the names of the tribes are otherwise rarely used before the 3rd century

=> the descriptions are probably only a reconstructions in hindsight – the situation in the IV BC may have been much more dynamic



cca 390 (387/386?)

the Senones (or whoever) cross the Apennines to conquer Chusi and Rome

Livius V, 35-49

Diodorus Siculus XIV, 113-114

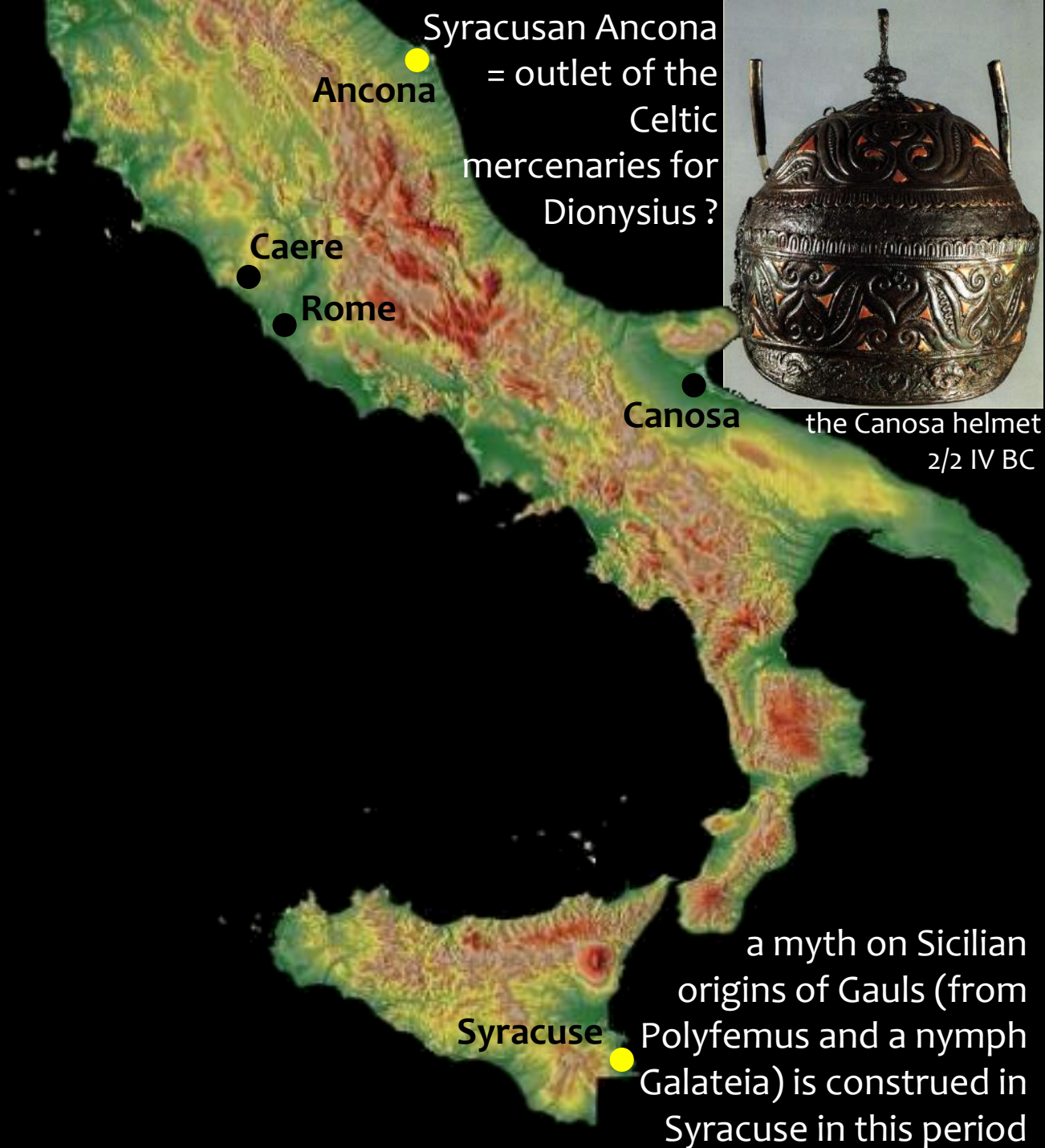
Plutarch, *Camillus*

Polybios II, 18 1-2

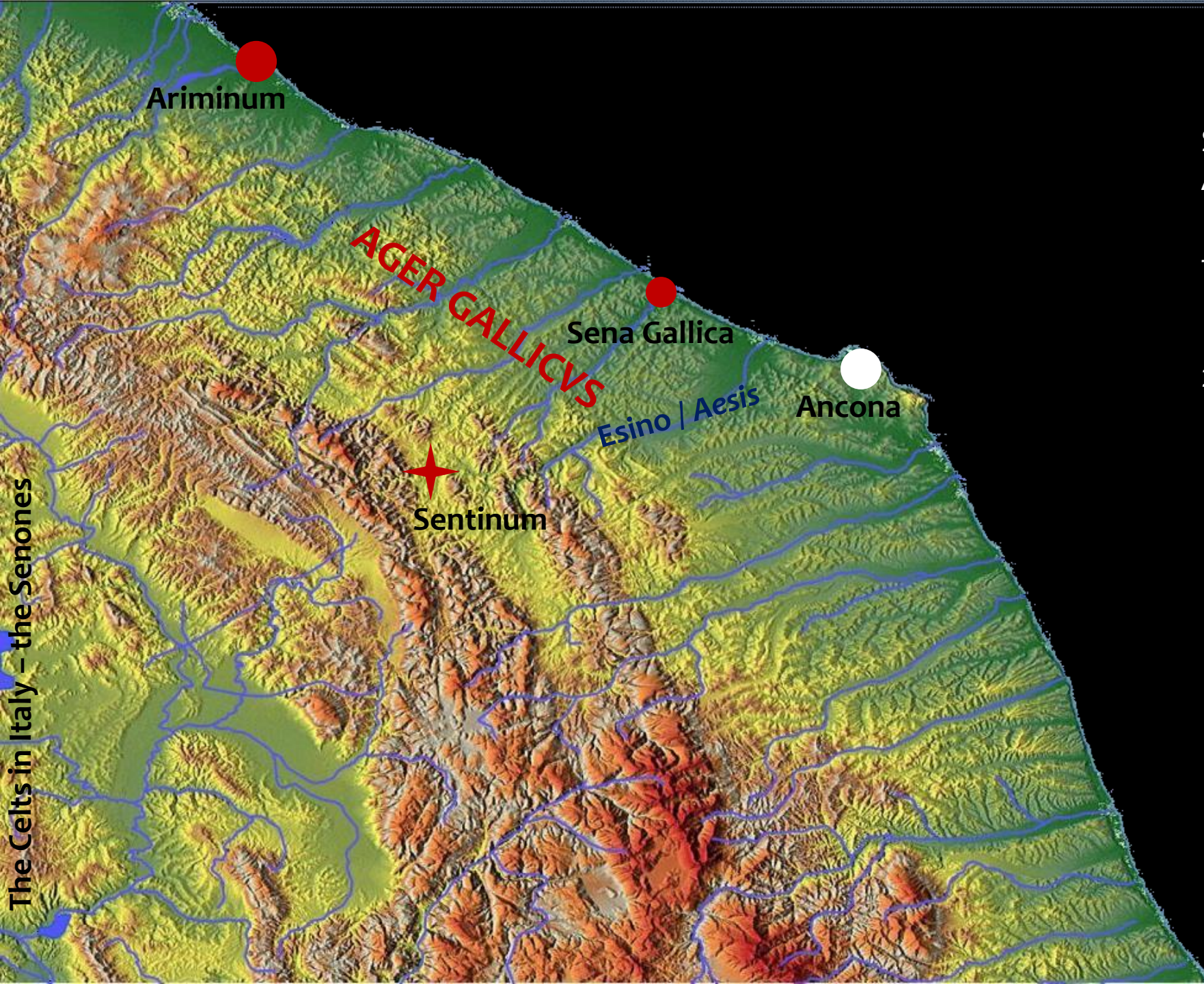
„When [the Syracusan tyrant] Dionysius was waging war [against Reggio in 388], he was joined by the envoys of the Gauls who had plundered Rome several months before that, seeking his friendship and alliance with him.“

M.Iustiniani Iustini Epitoma Historiarum
Philippicarum Pompei Trogi XX, 5

-throughout the 4th century the Celts ravage Italy, possibly in service of the Syracuse – they were very active in southern Italy and regularly attacking the enemies of Syracuse



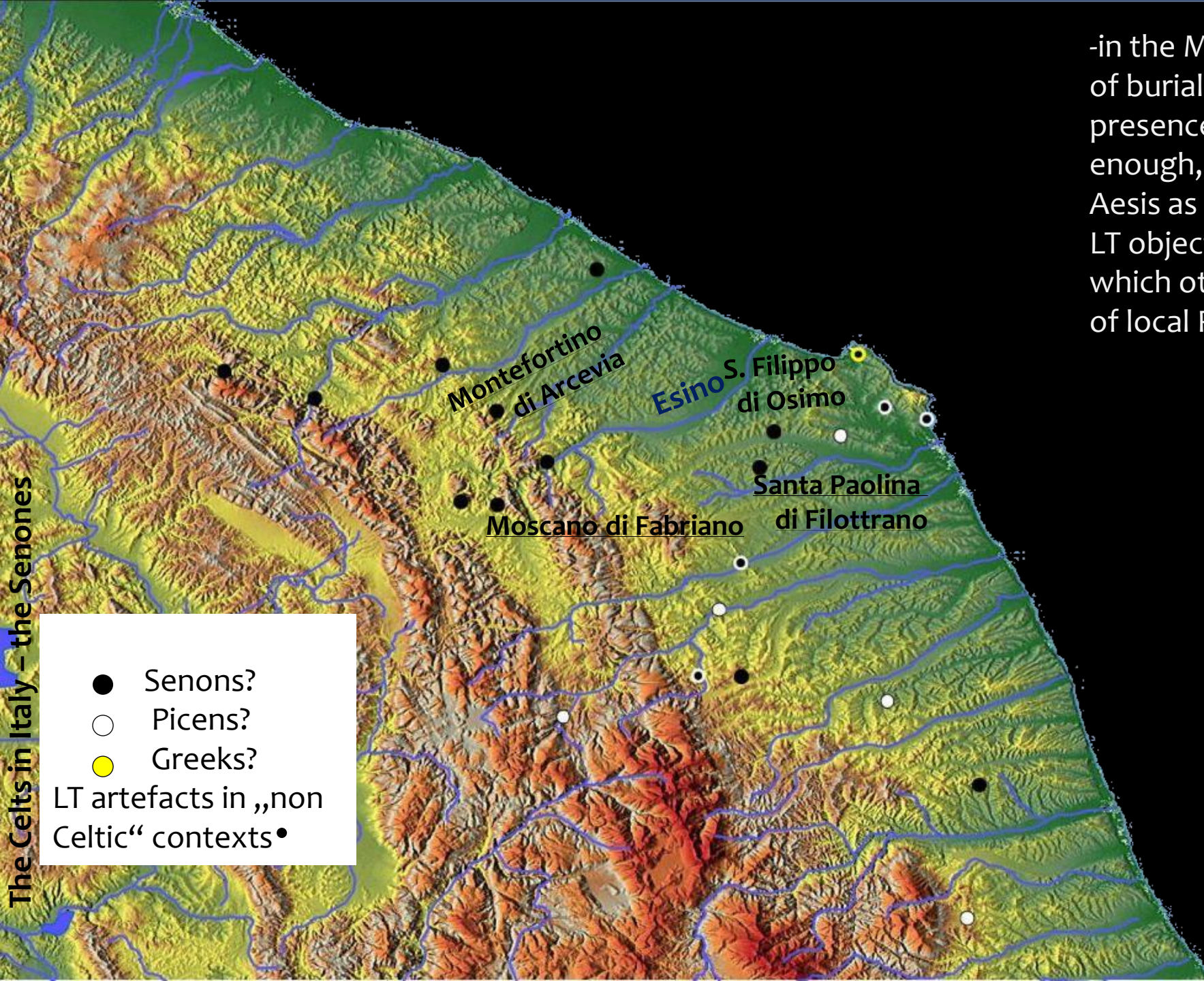
the SENONES



Senones are localised in central Adriatic area north of river Aesis

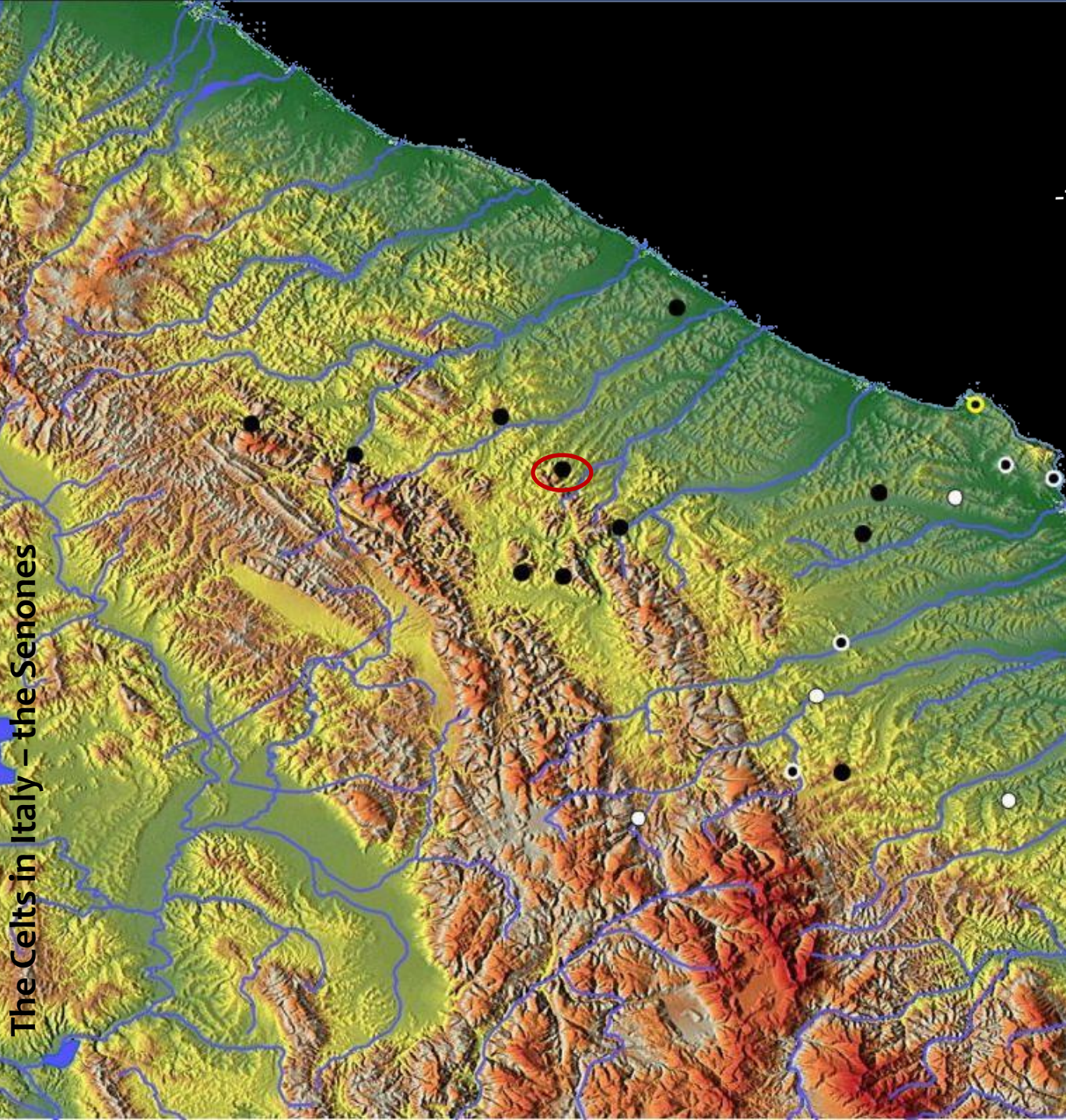
-390/386 – allegedly responsible for the conquest of Rome

283 – Romans enter the Senon territory and (allegedly) exterminate the tribe annexing the *ager gallicus* as part of the Roman *ager publicus*



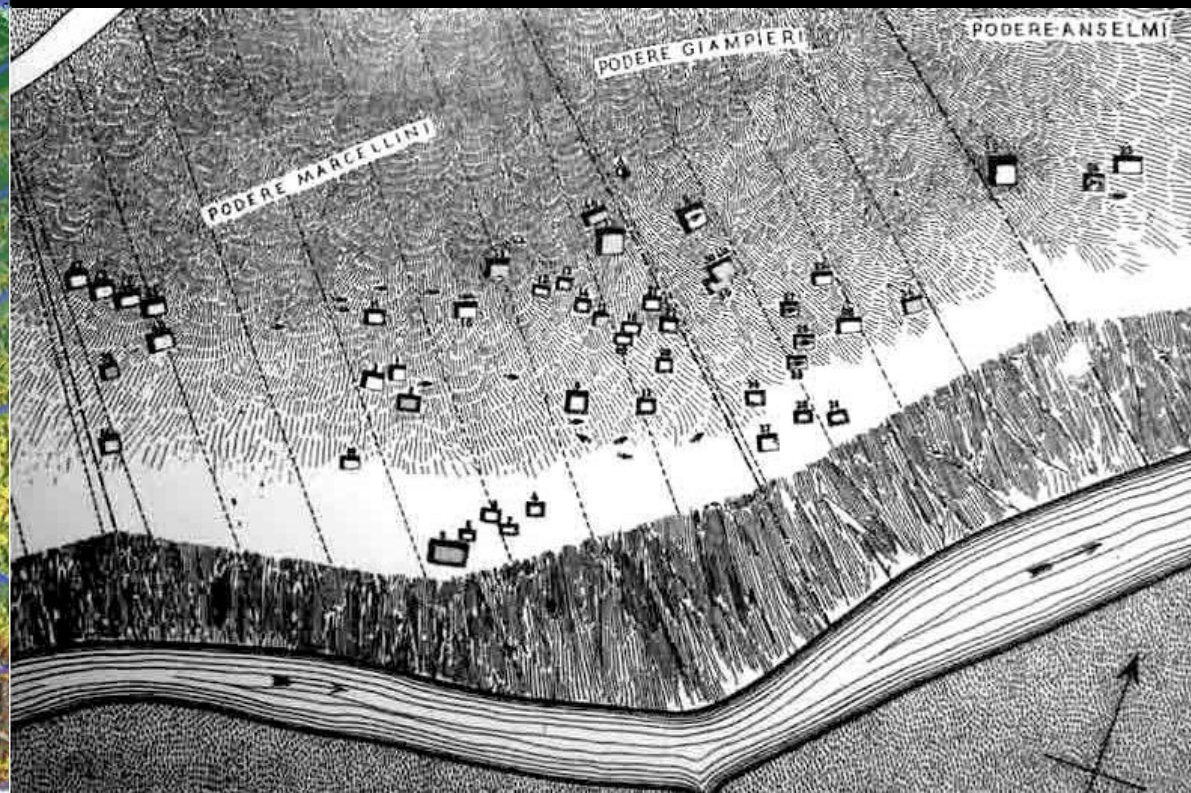
- Senons?
 - Picens?
 - Greeks?
- LT artefacts in „non Celtic“ contexts ●

-in the Middle Adriatic area, there is a series of burials and cemeteries with high presence of La Tène objects... strangely enough, they are as widespread South of Aesis as they are north of it...
LT objects are also very numerous in sites which otherwise have all the characteristics of local Picene culture



Montefortino di Arcevia

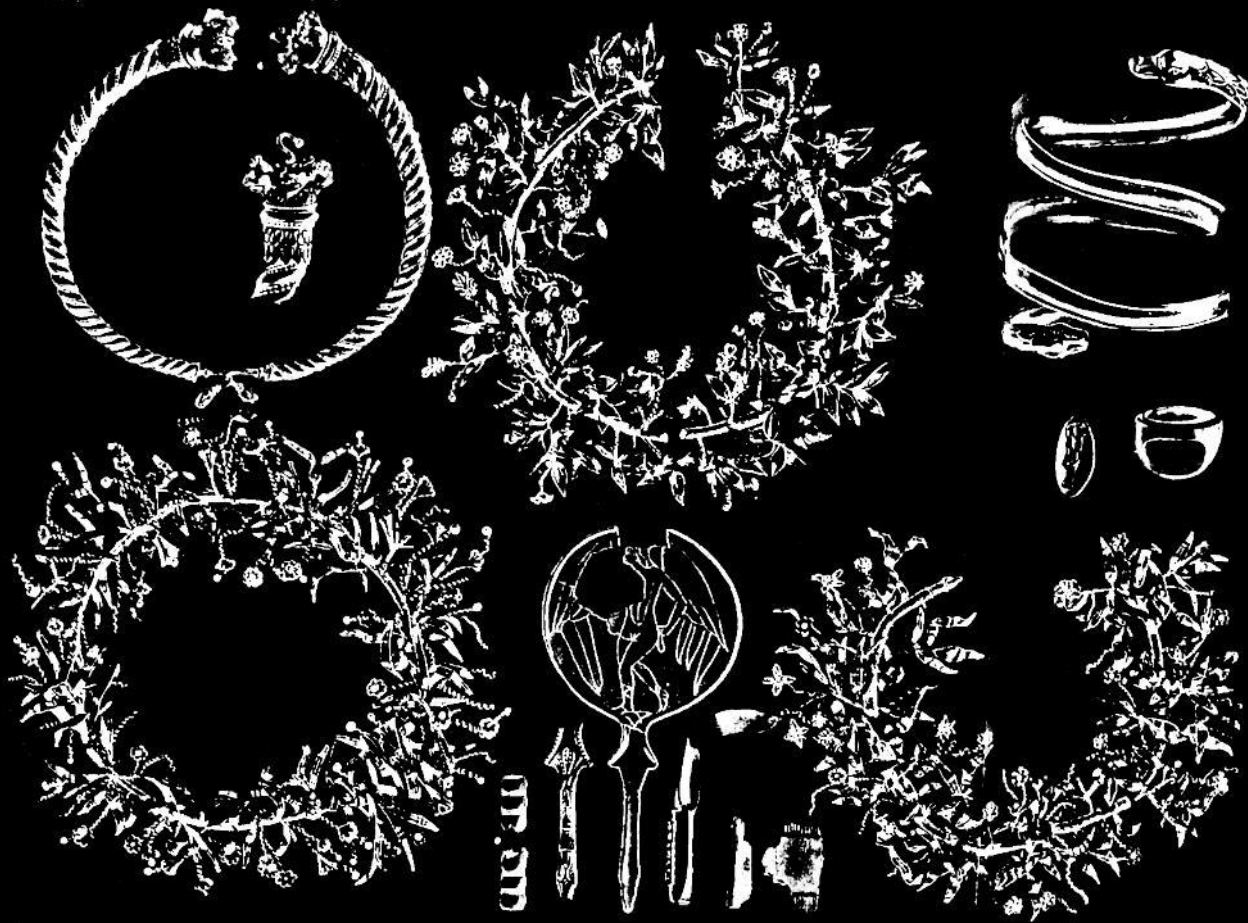
- several dozen inhumations
- traditionally presented as an exemplary Senone cemetery
- one of the few which are actually north of Esino...
- but there are some doubts...





purely Italic grave goods
-metallic vessels, feasting implements
-the only LT elements are the **LT swords**. (present along with Italic javelins and Italic spearheads)
-even the „Montefortino“ type helmets associated with the Celts are in reality of Italic origin)

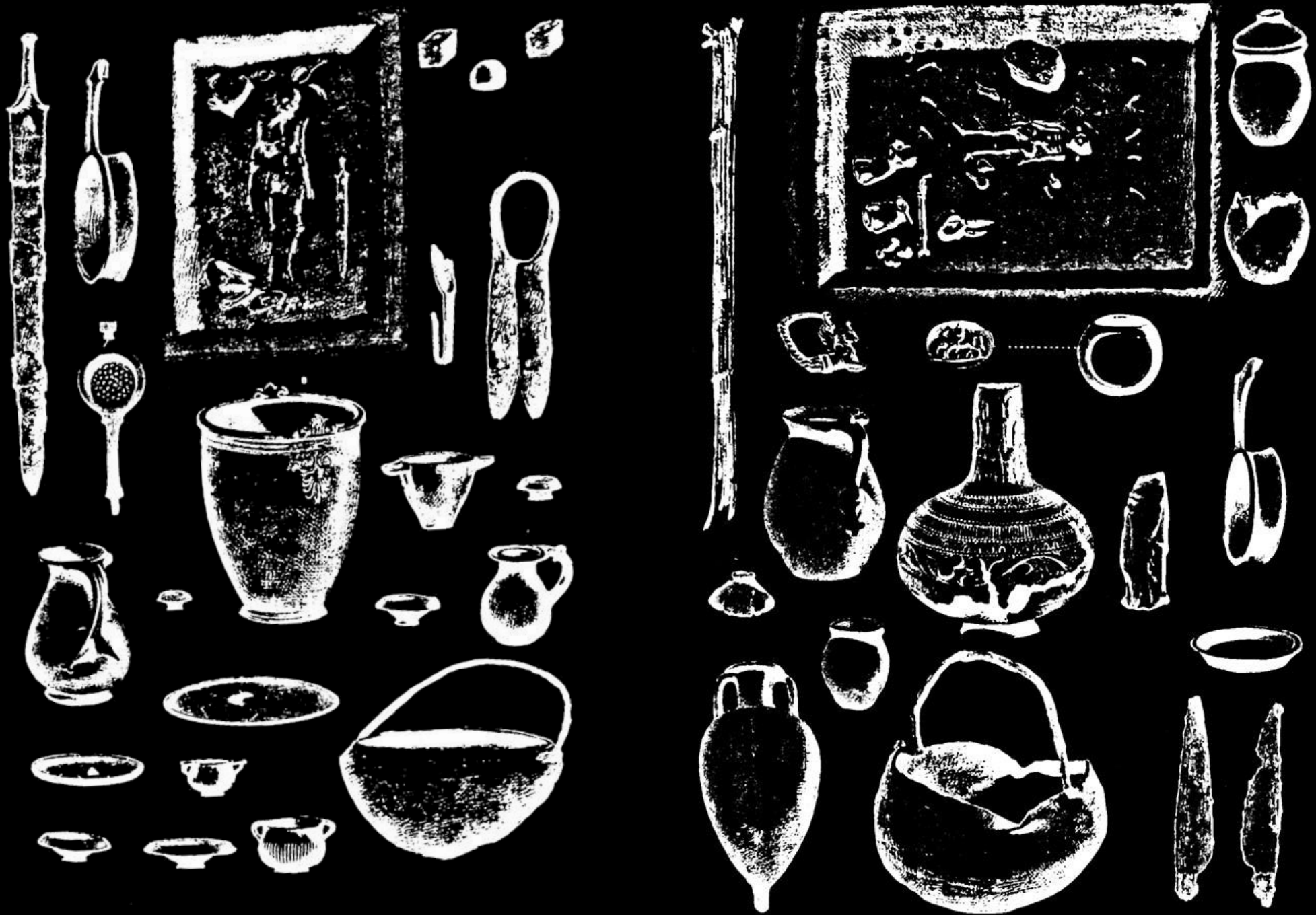




...among the extremely rich Italic jewellery including gold wreath and fingerings with engraved gemstones), there are mere three **LT brooches** (few in comparison with Italic ones), one **wire bracelet** and **two glass bracelets** (btw the earliest ones known... => are they LT?)



These may indeed be the Senones but if they are, there is no way of telling apart the Celts and the Picenes (or other Italics) from archaeology alone



Santa Paolina di Filottrano...

...another Central Adriatic cemetery rich on both Italic and LT archaeology
-including a golden torc and a sword scabbard in the Waldalgesheim style

-the Senones region was long presented as the area where the Waldalgesheim style was created, mainly thanks to the close contact of Celts with Greeks (W. style was believed to be derived from Greek 4th century scrollwork)

-in reality the Filottrano tombs are later (third quarter of the 4th century) than other context with examples of W. style

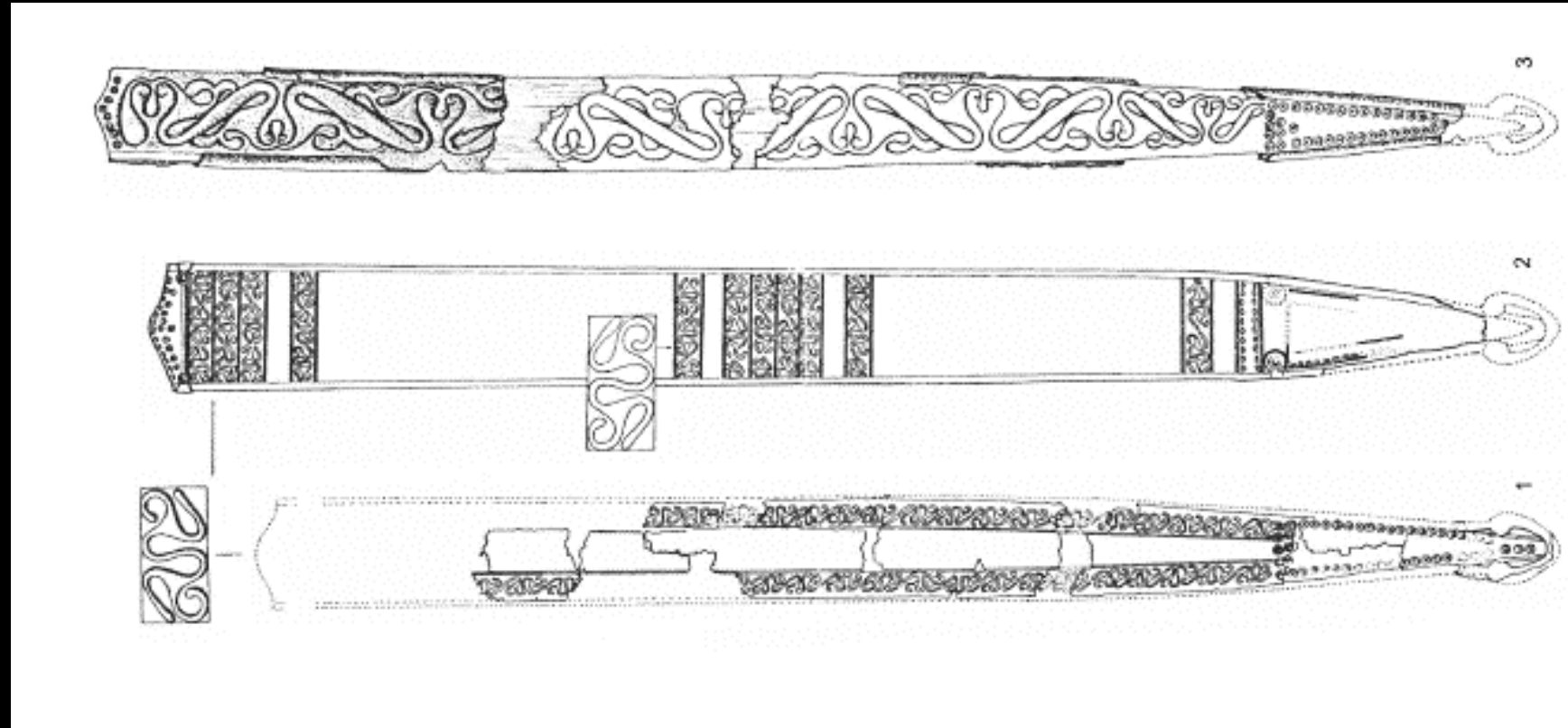


Motifs identical with those on the Filottrano scabbard are documented elsewhere in LT world, e.g. on scabbards of Transalpine type and origin

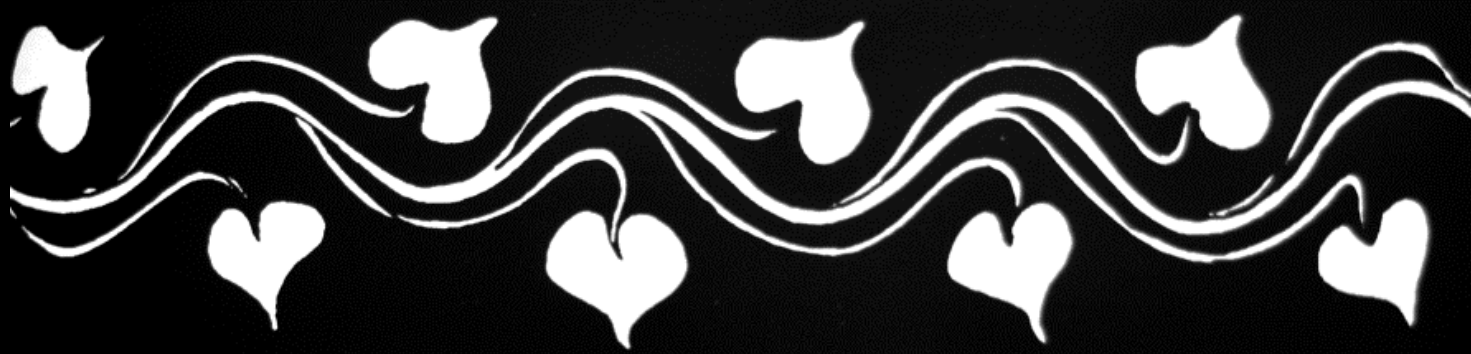
-Santa Paolina di Fabriano

-Epiasis-Rhus

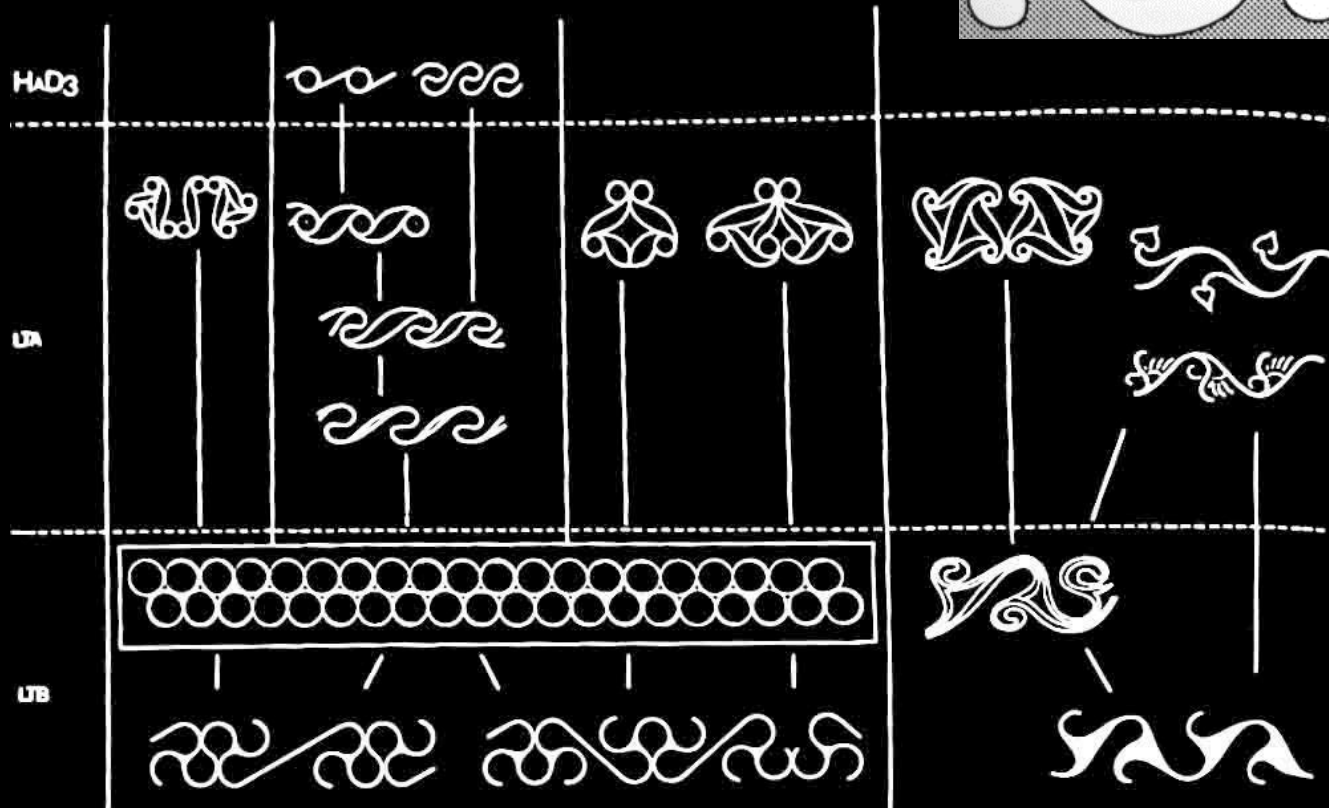
- Moscano di Filottrano



-in reality Waldalgesheim style did not need Greek inspiration – it probably developed continually from Early style (probably in France)



The Celts in Italy – the Senones



creation in the Senon area under the influence of of 4th c. BC Greece and S. Italy?
(V. Kruta)

or local transalpine development from the La Tène Early style of the 5th c. BC?
(S. Verger)

the BOII

-Emilia – Romagna (= frmr Etruscan – Felsinean area)



The Celts in Italy – the Boii

the BOII

Territory

-approximately the present-day provinces of Bologna and Modena

History

283–225 aC – constant wars with Rome

225 aC – beaten at Telamon along with the Insubi

201–191 aC - after 2nd Punic war Rome finally conquered the Po valley and wiped the Boii out



Archaeology

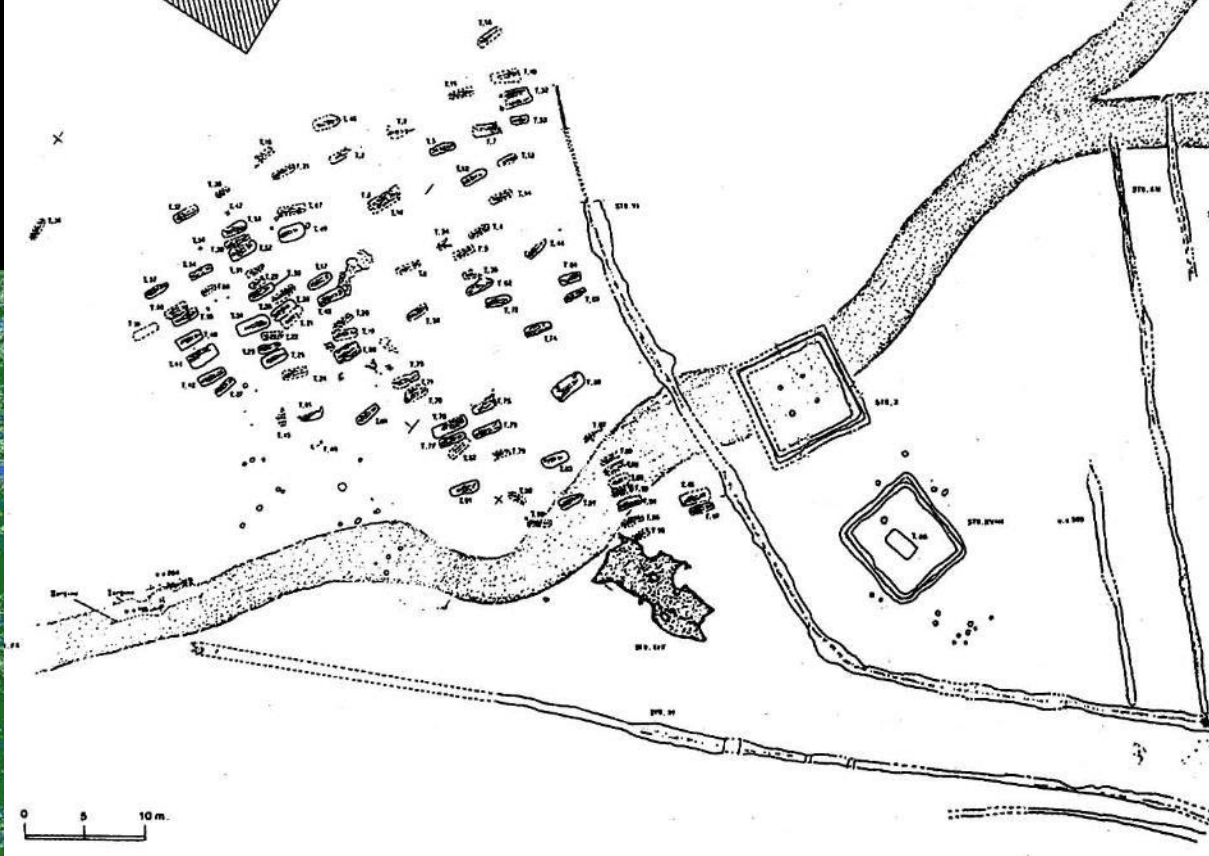
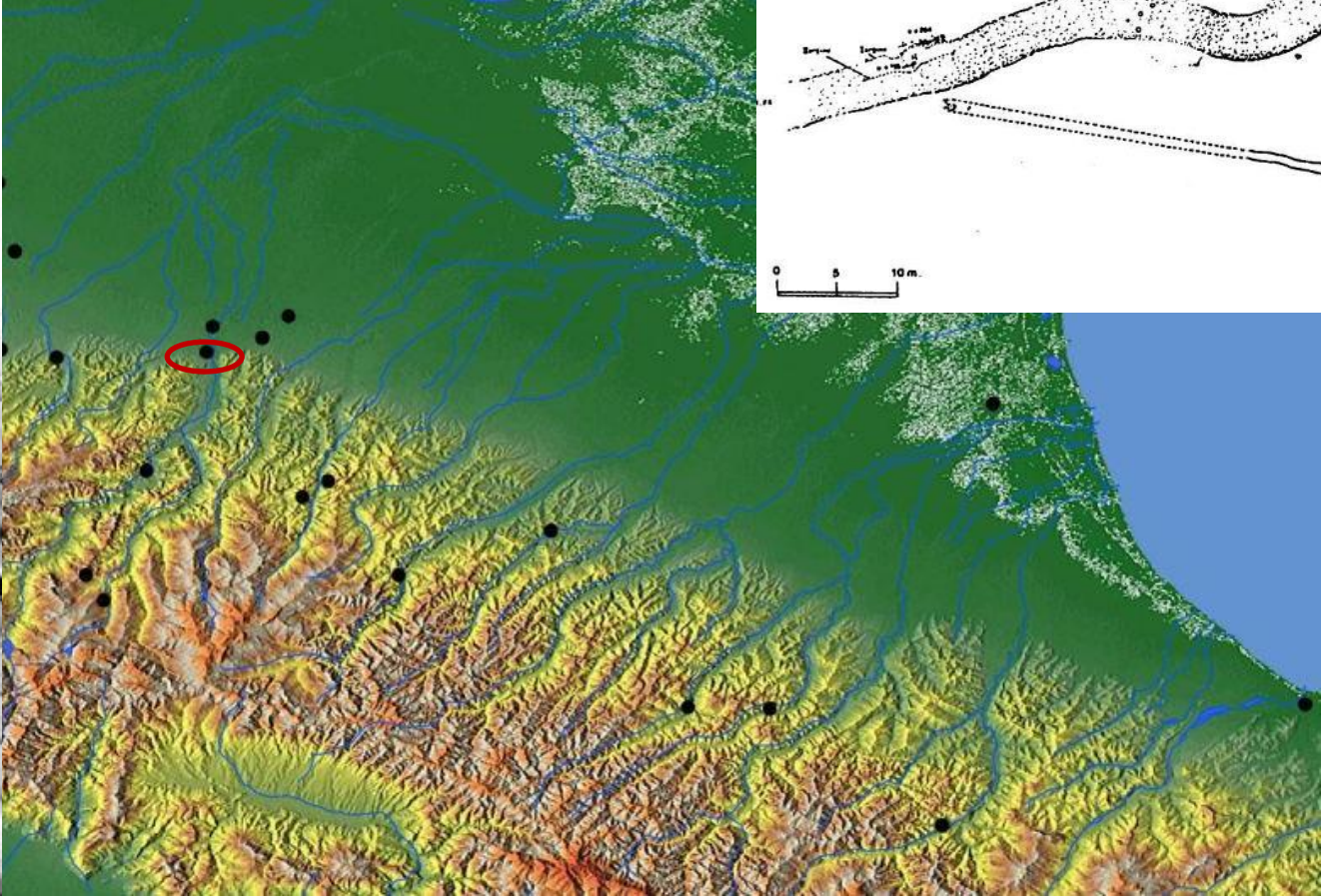
- the dense highly structured settlement pattern of Felsinean period gradually disappeared over the first half of the 4th century
- the majority of minor settlements are abandoned, in larger settlements occupation continues on a scale which is hardly perceptible
- some elements of Felsinean material culture (pottery) carry on till the 3rd century,

Casalecchio di Reno

- an earlier Felsinean settlement is abandoned
- a LT flat cemetery is established on its margin (purely LT burial rite and material culture)



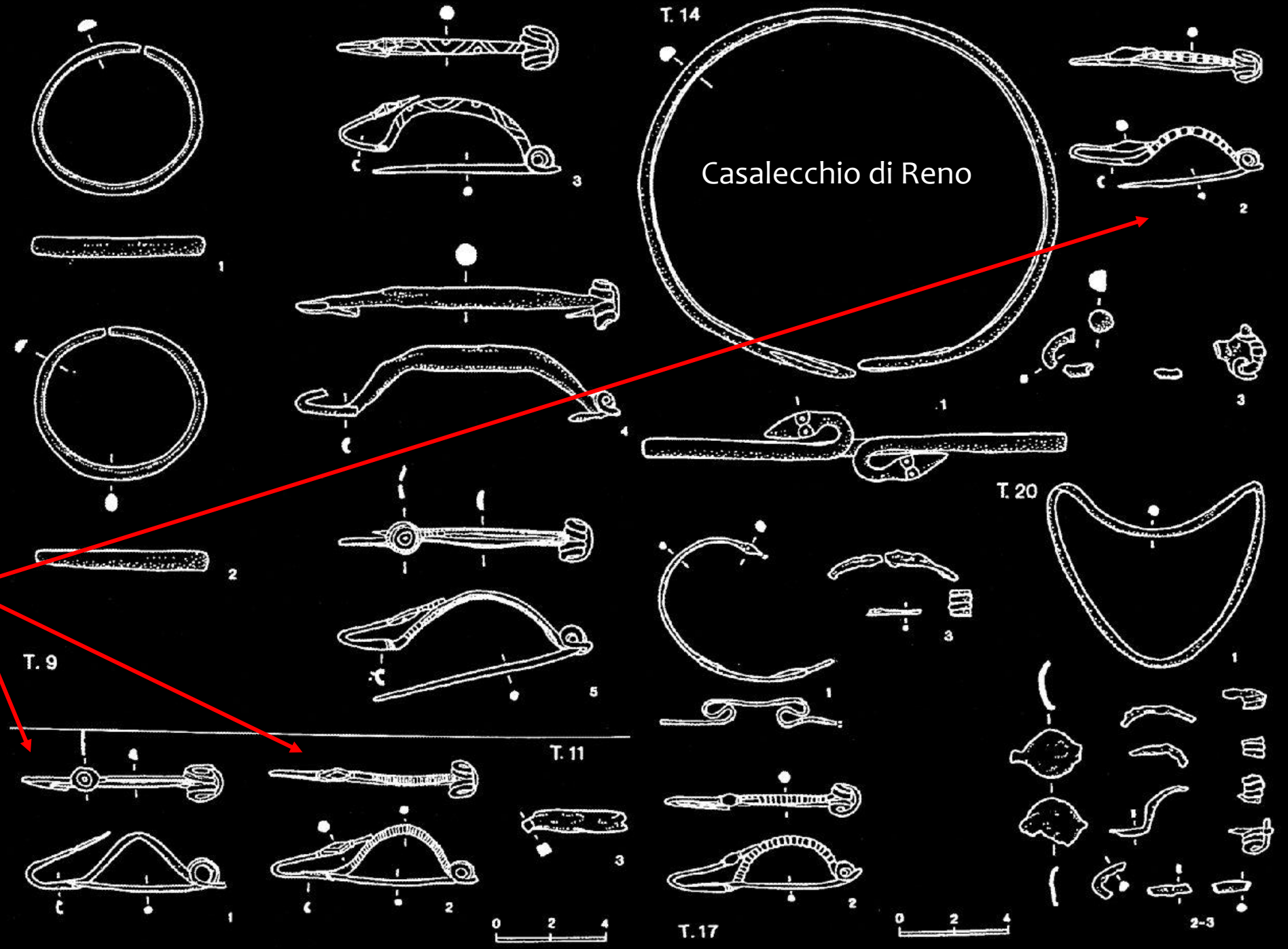
The Celts in Italy – the Boii

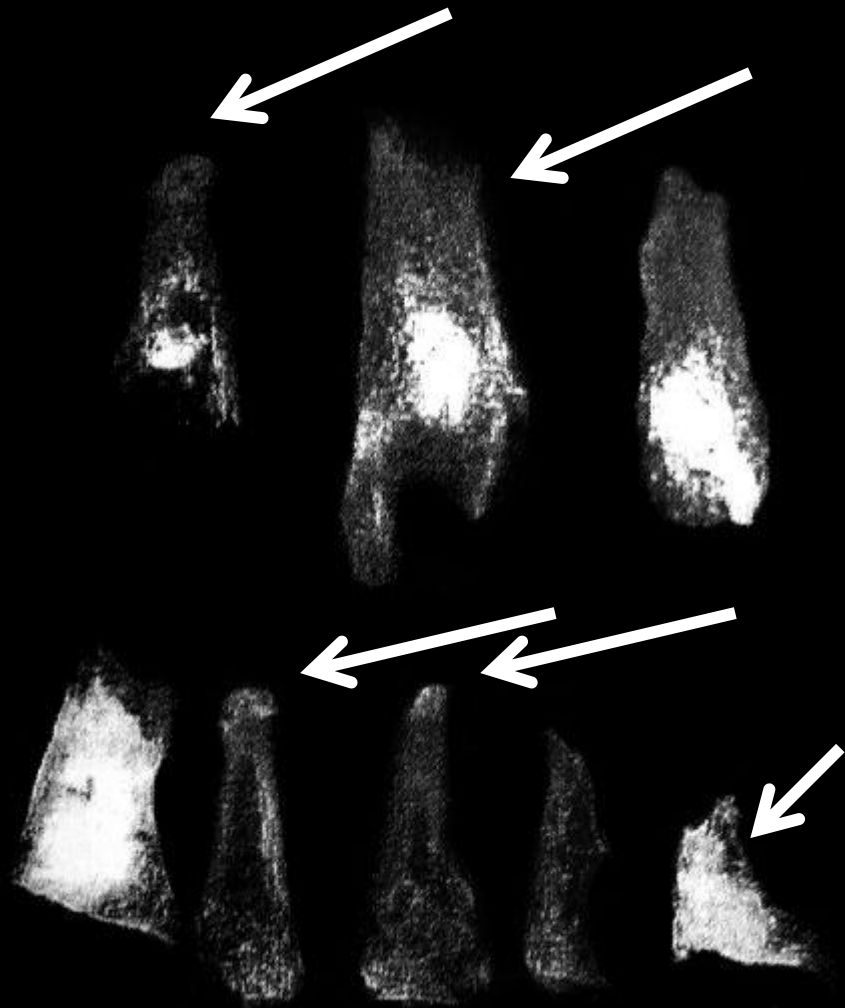
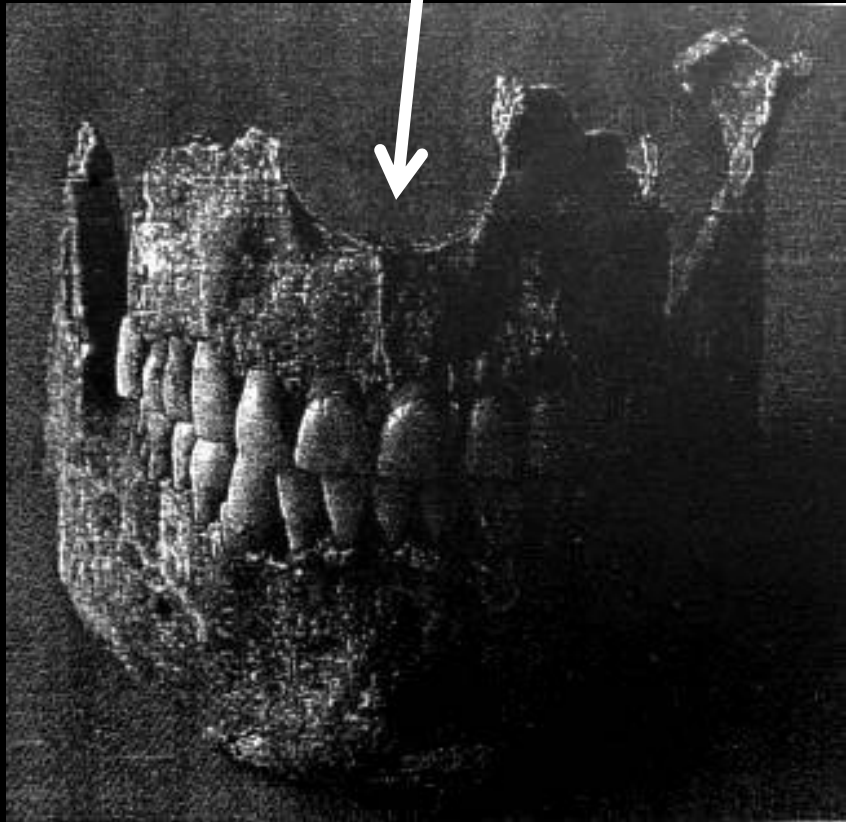


The Celts in Italy – the Boii

-inhumations with only personal equipment

-very early artefacts (LT B1a) show that the community arrived to Italy already in the first half of the 4th century => the first generation of invaders



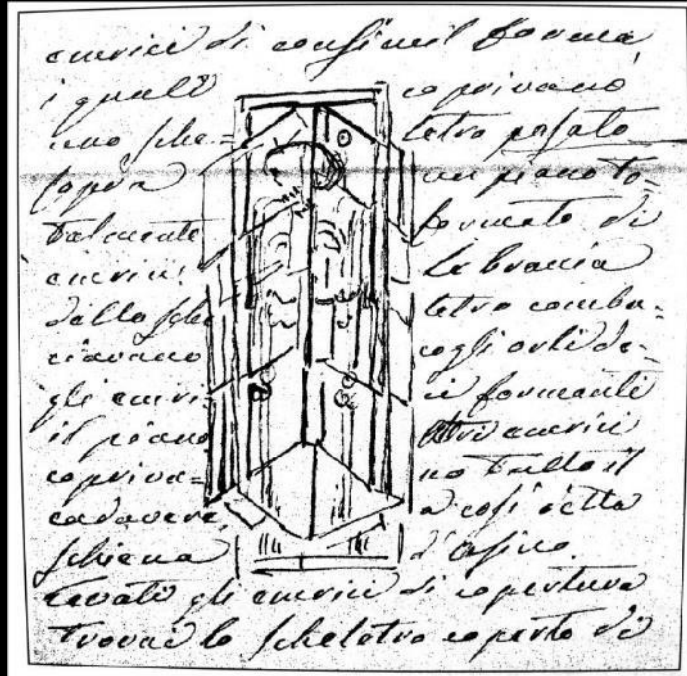


MARZABOTTO

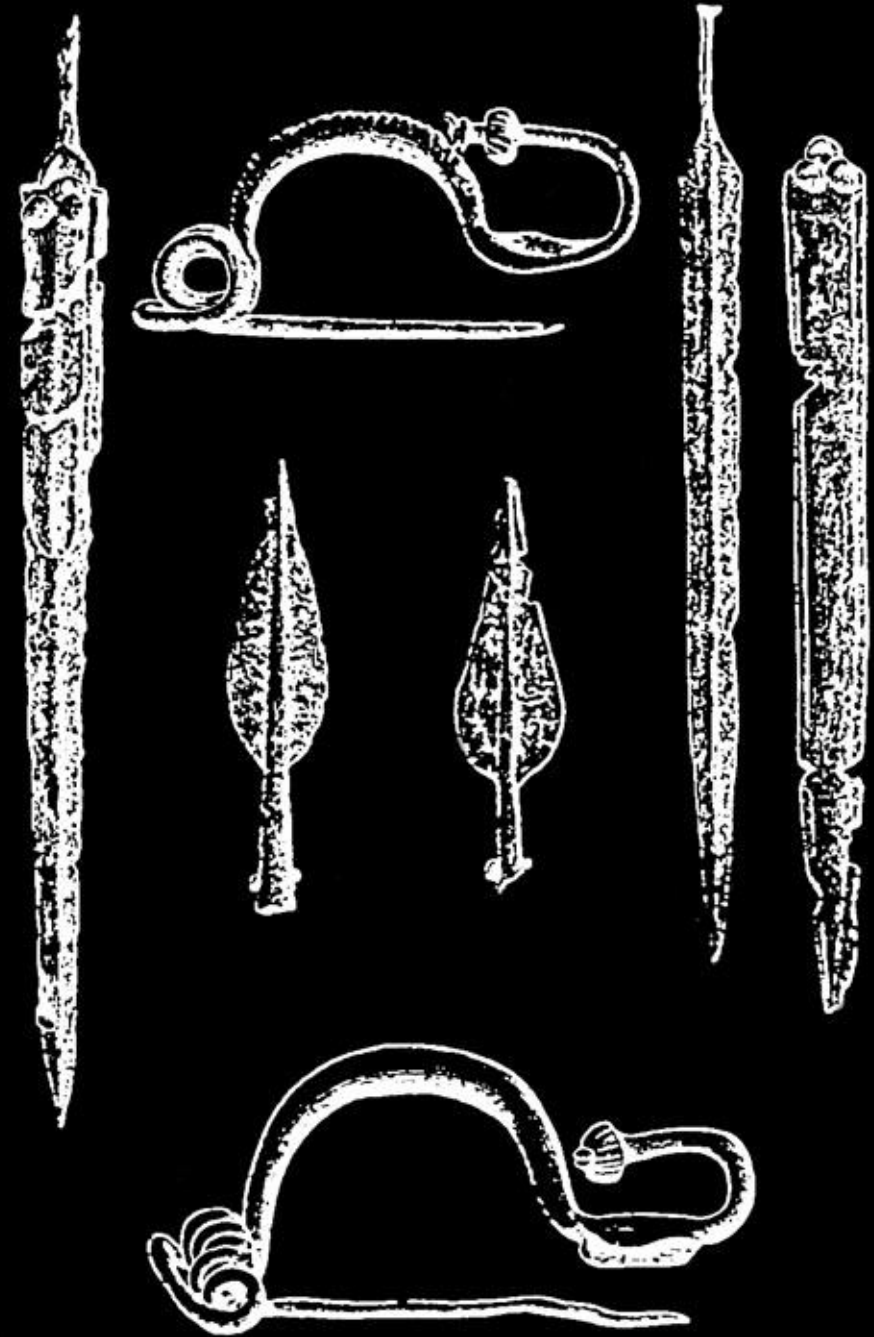
The Etruscan town was abandoned in its original form in the early 4th century

In late 4th and early 3rd century there are traces of human presence – squatting rather than habitation (blue blobs)

Two cemeteries (red blobs) – 18 inhumations with LT grave goods or without furnishing (LT B2–C1)

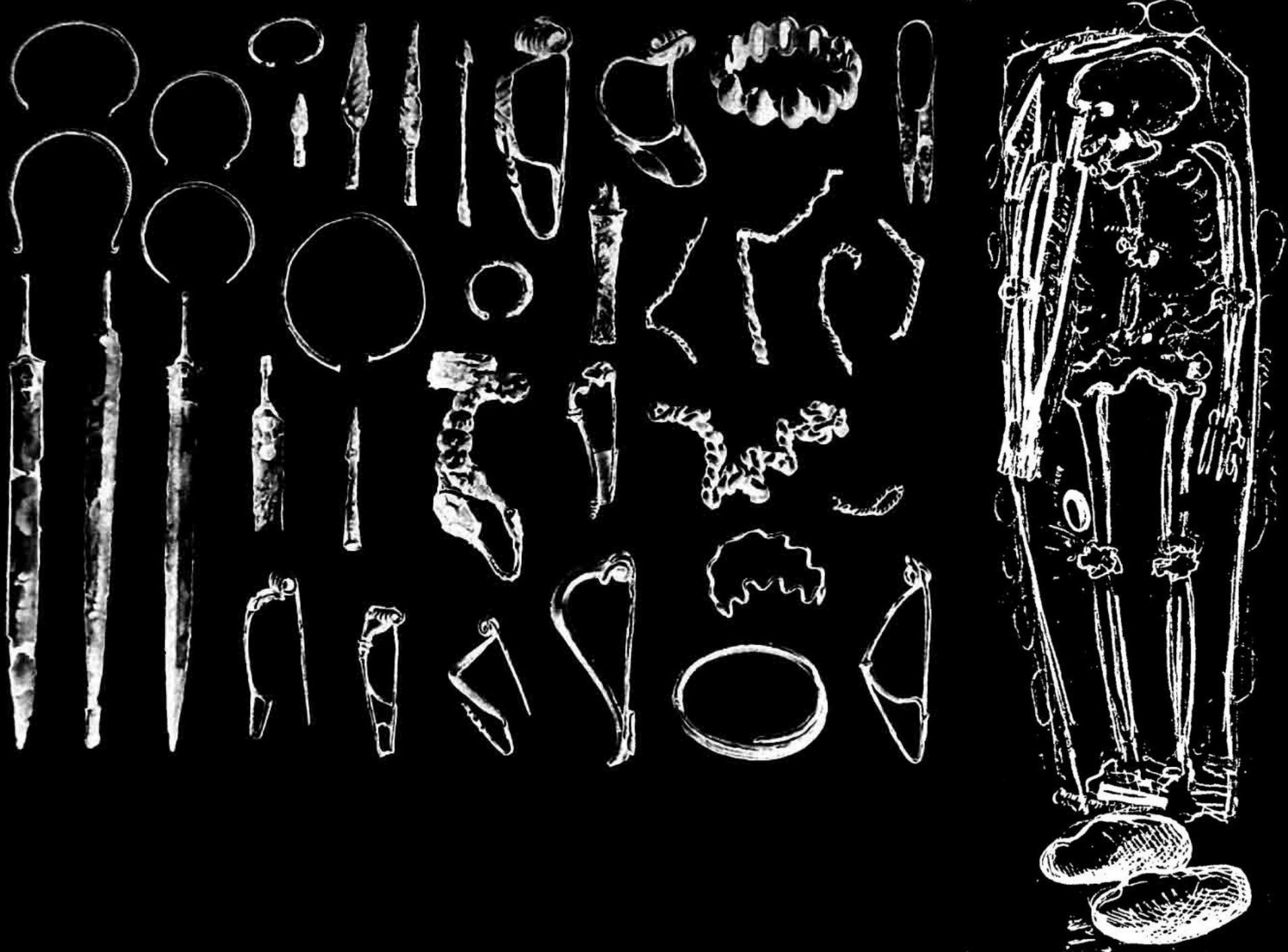


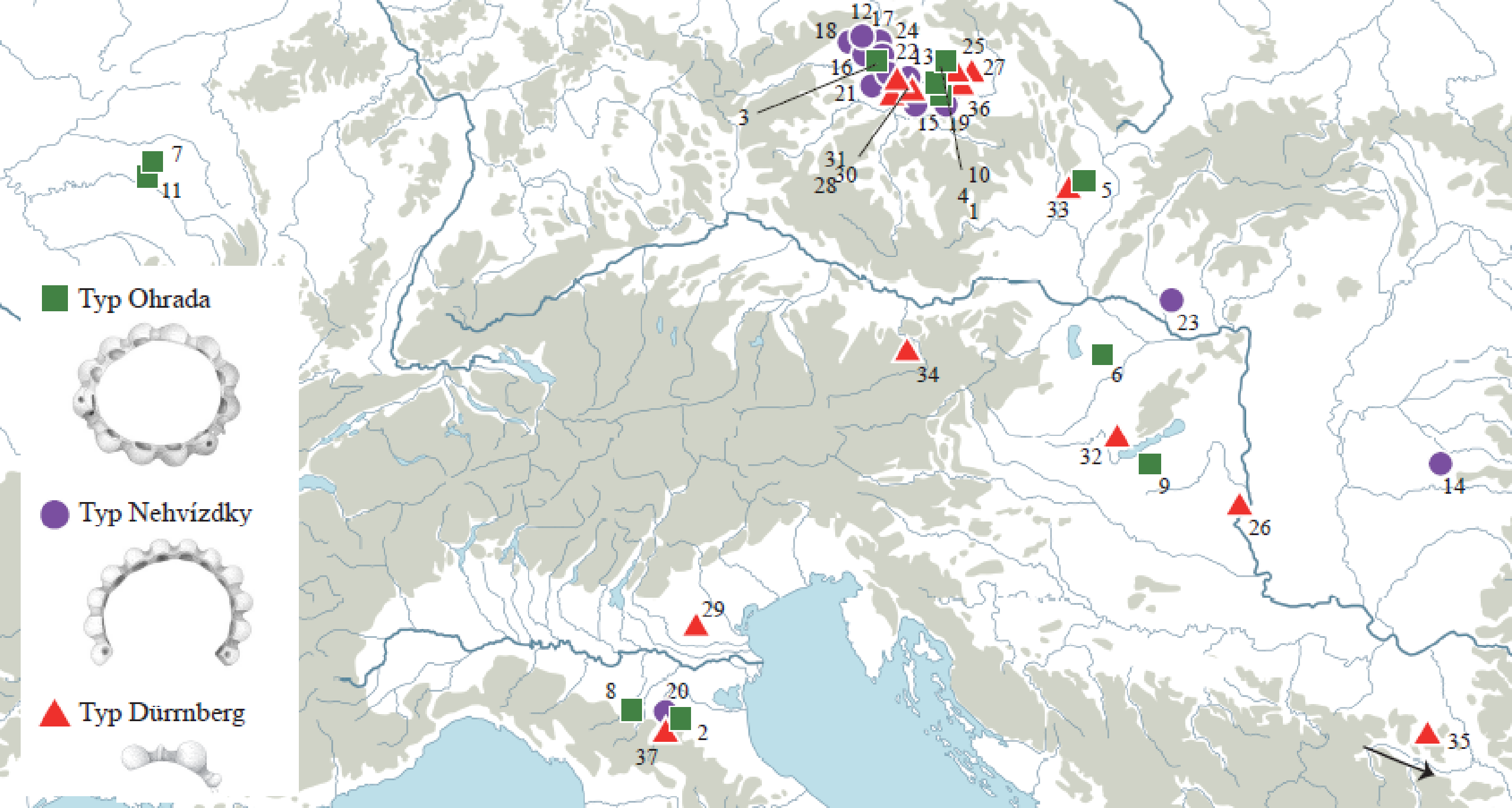
Btw: it was in Marzabotto in 1870 that La Tène artefacts were first associated with the Celts when during a conference excursion Gabriel de Mortillet (keeper of the French Musée des Antiquités Nationales) and Edouard Décor (Swiss prehistorian) recognised the sword and brooch types which they knew from the Marne and La Tène...



Marzabotto

Unfortunately the burials were excavated in the 19th century, the artefact associations are lost and many of the artefacts are not preserved

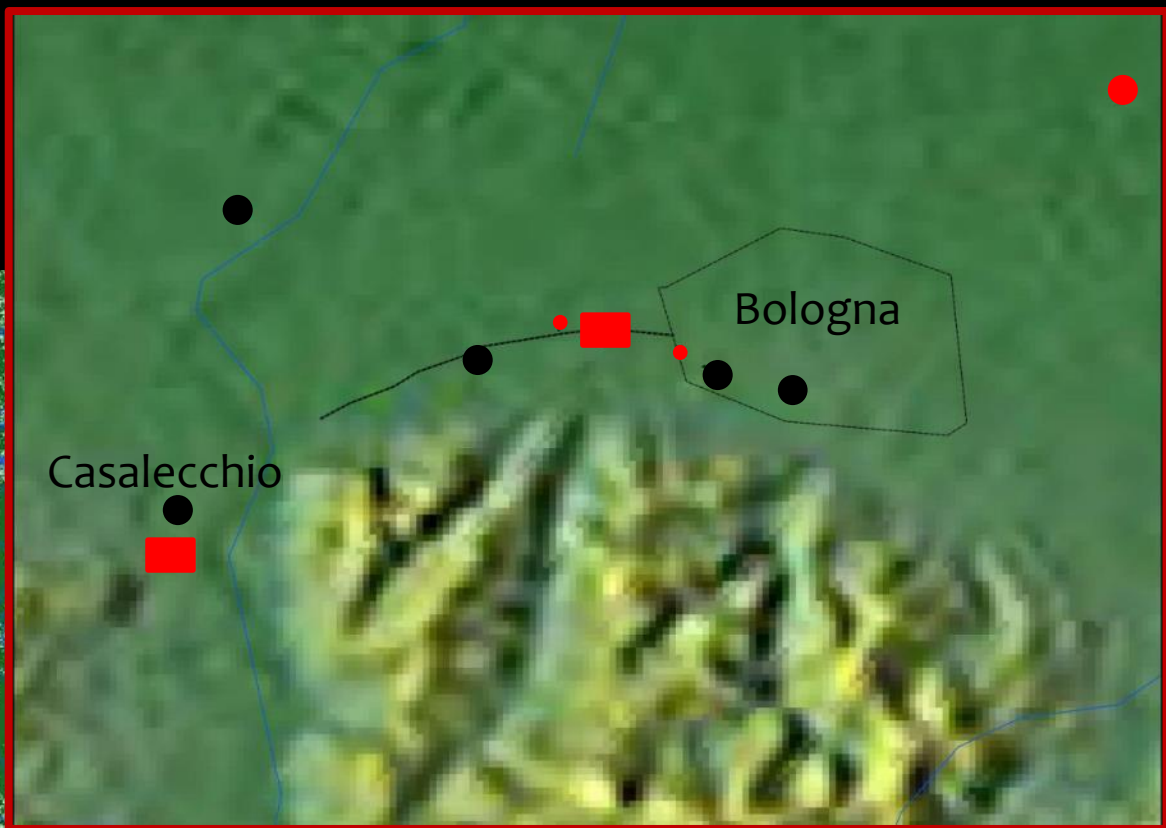
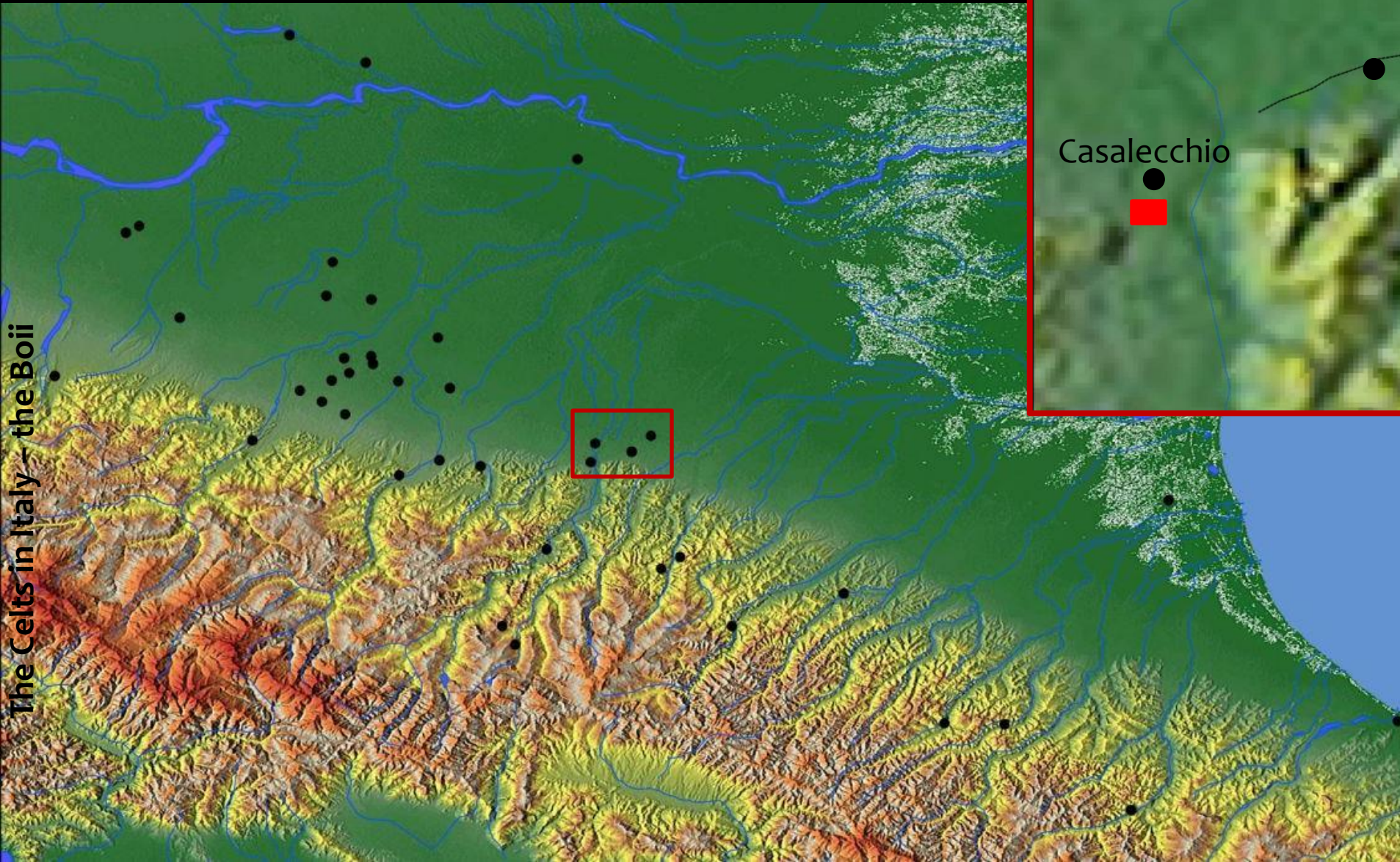




BOLOGNA

- the occupation continues but the situation is very unclear
- the most consistent documentation comes from burials (still in the same Villanovan / Felsinean cemeteries)

The Celts in Italy - the Boii

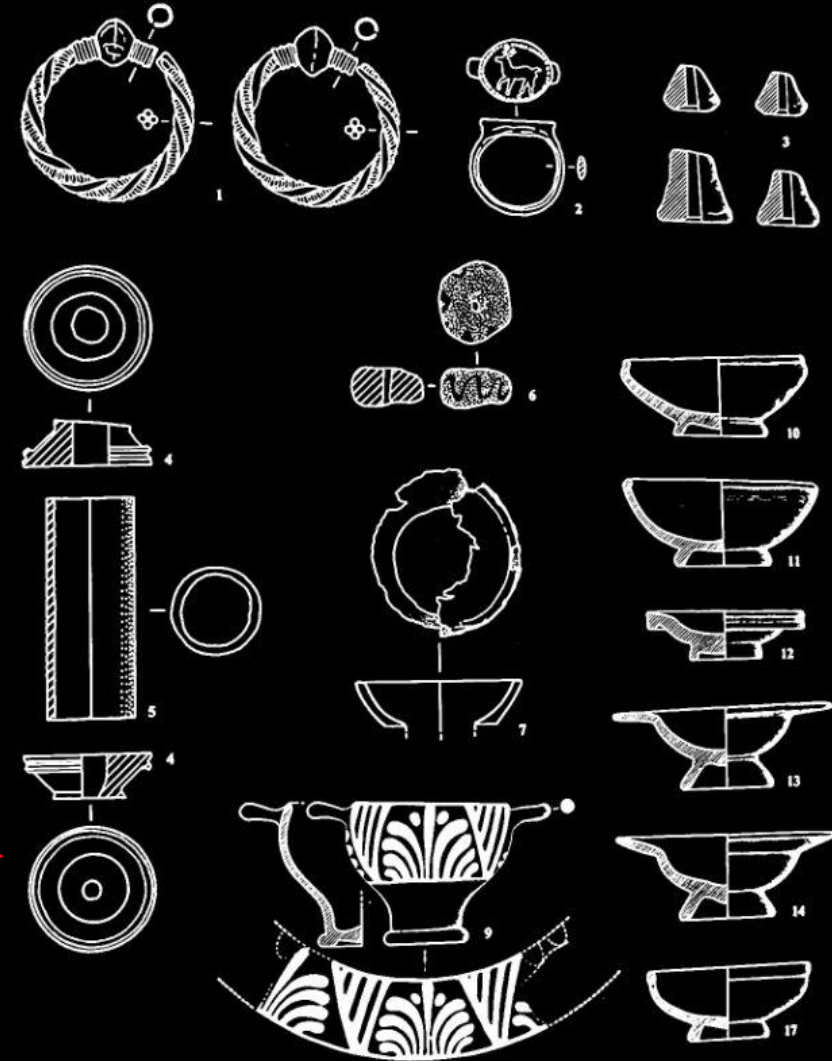
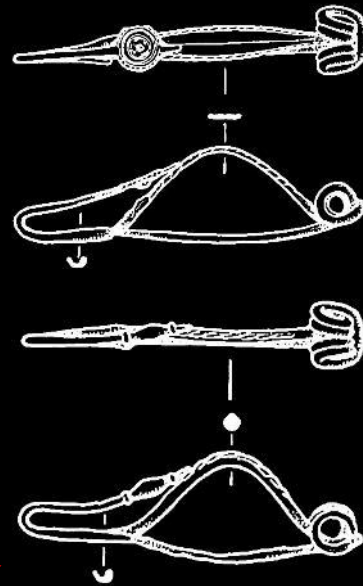


-even though the Celts were supposed to arrive in early 4th century, the Bolognese cemeteries do not show extremely many signs of Celtic presence there for the greater part of the 4th century

-there are two early LT B1a brooches without clear context

-apart from that, no great change in the Felsinean burials neither in burial rite nor in material culture

-all of this while in Casalecchio (5km away) sits a purely LT community

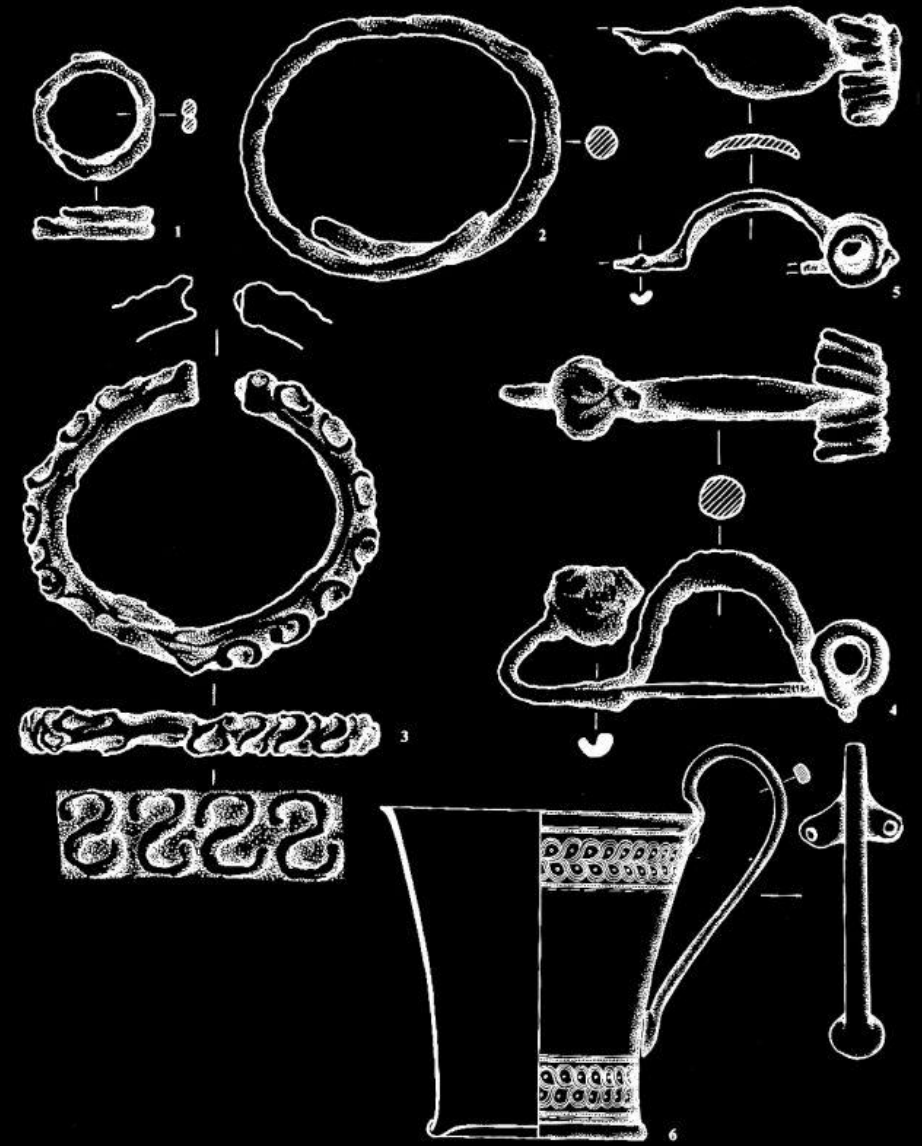


=> The initial relationship between the two communities must have been much more complex than simply high civilisation uprooted by invading barbarians... it was rather parallel existence and – as we will see – mutual assimilation

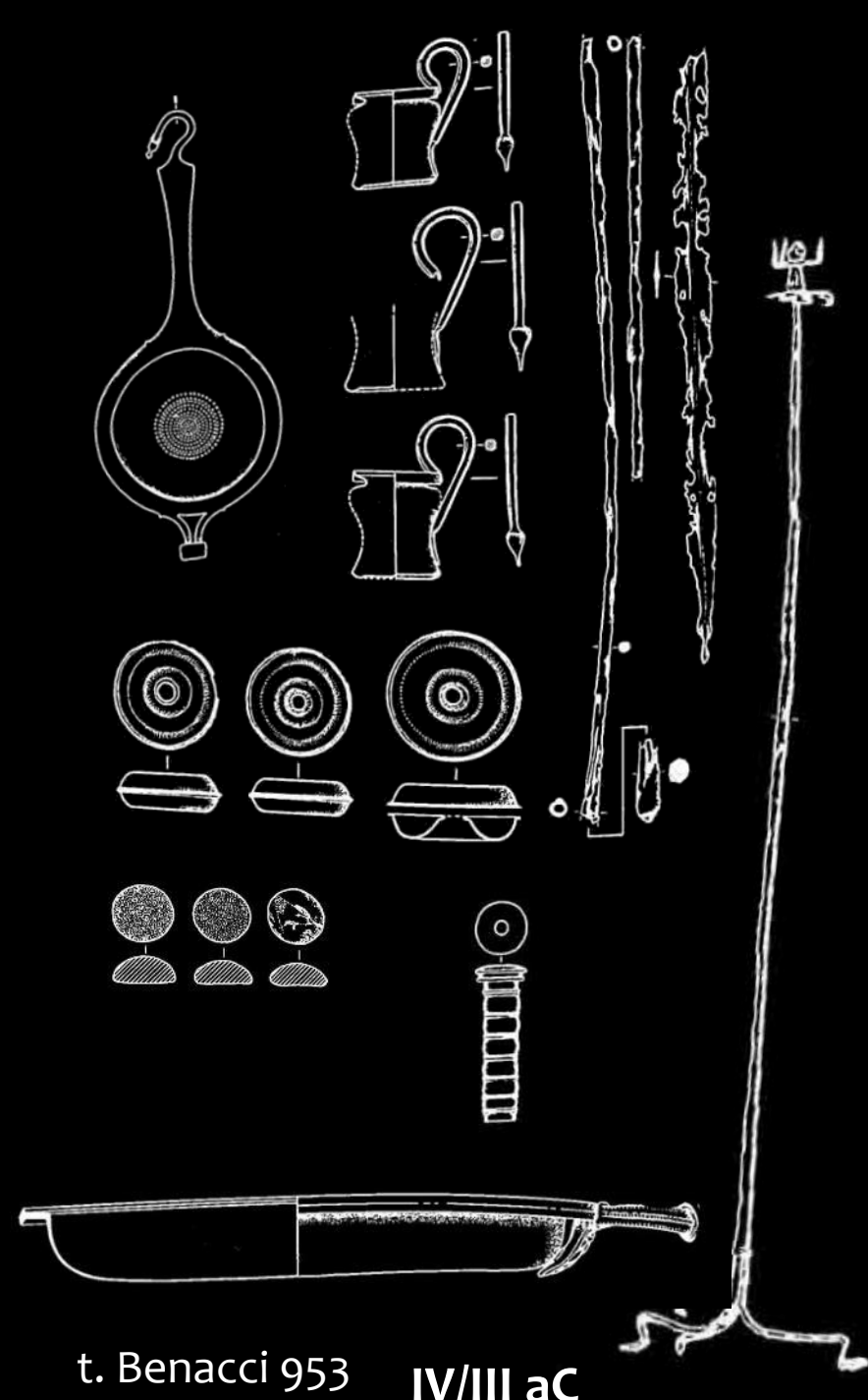
Later in the 4th century, Felsinean and La Tène artefacts and rites begin to mix up

-brooches and weapons are usually in LT tradition, pottery and prestige items are Felsinean/Mediterranean

-on ritual level there is mixing of the LT warrior ideology (no weapons were put in Felsinean graves) with the Felsinean feasting (vessels and board games) and athletic (scrapers) ideology (cf. the next slide)



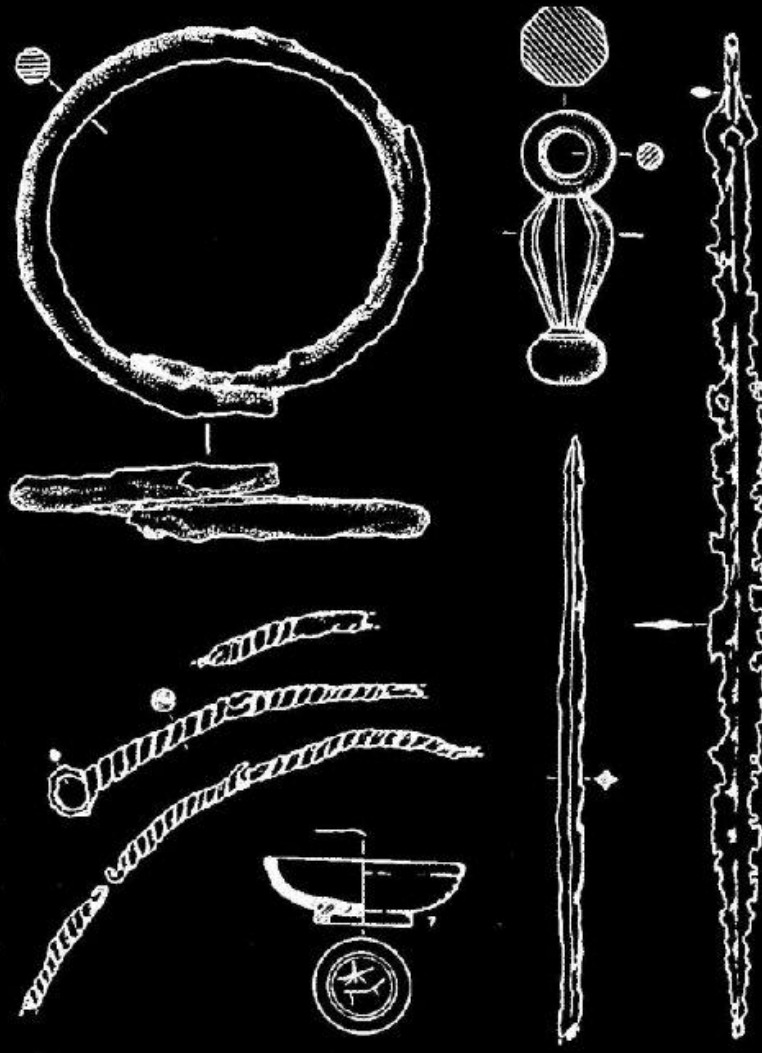
The Celts in Italy – the Boii



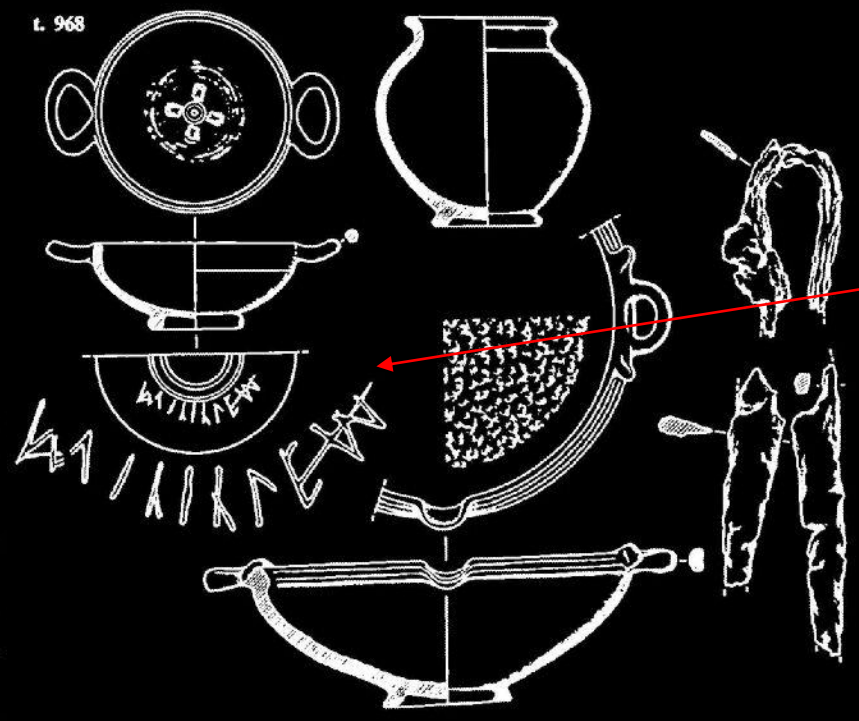
t. Benacci 953

IV/III aC

The Celts in Italy – the Boii



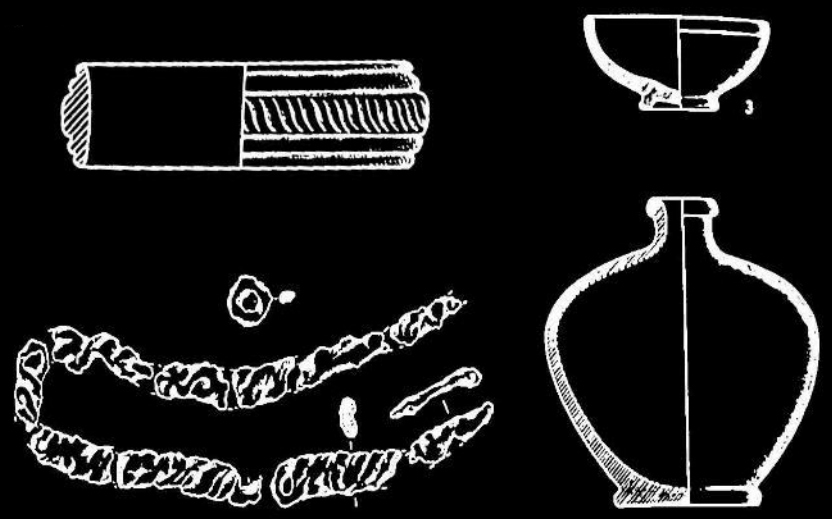
1st half III aC



t. 968

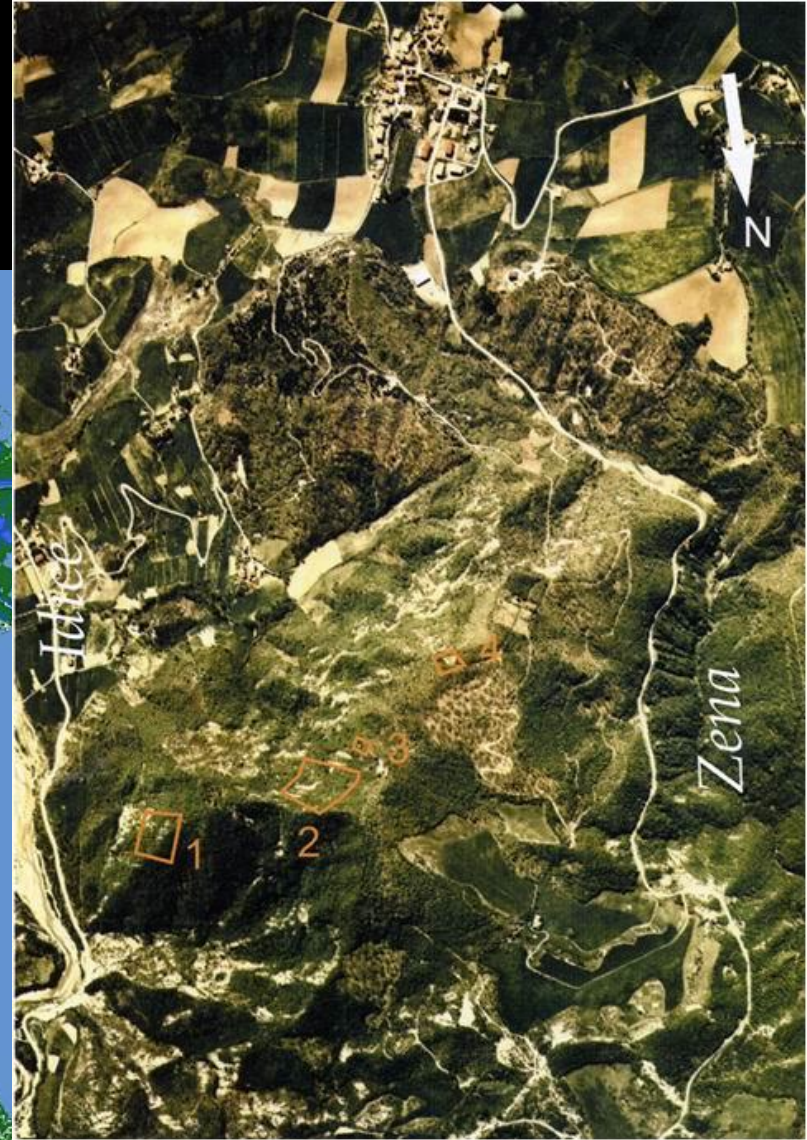
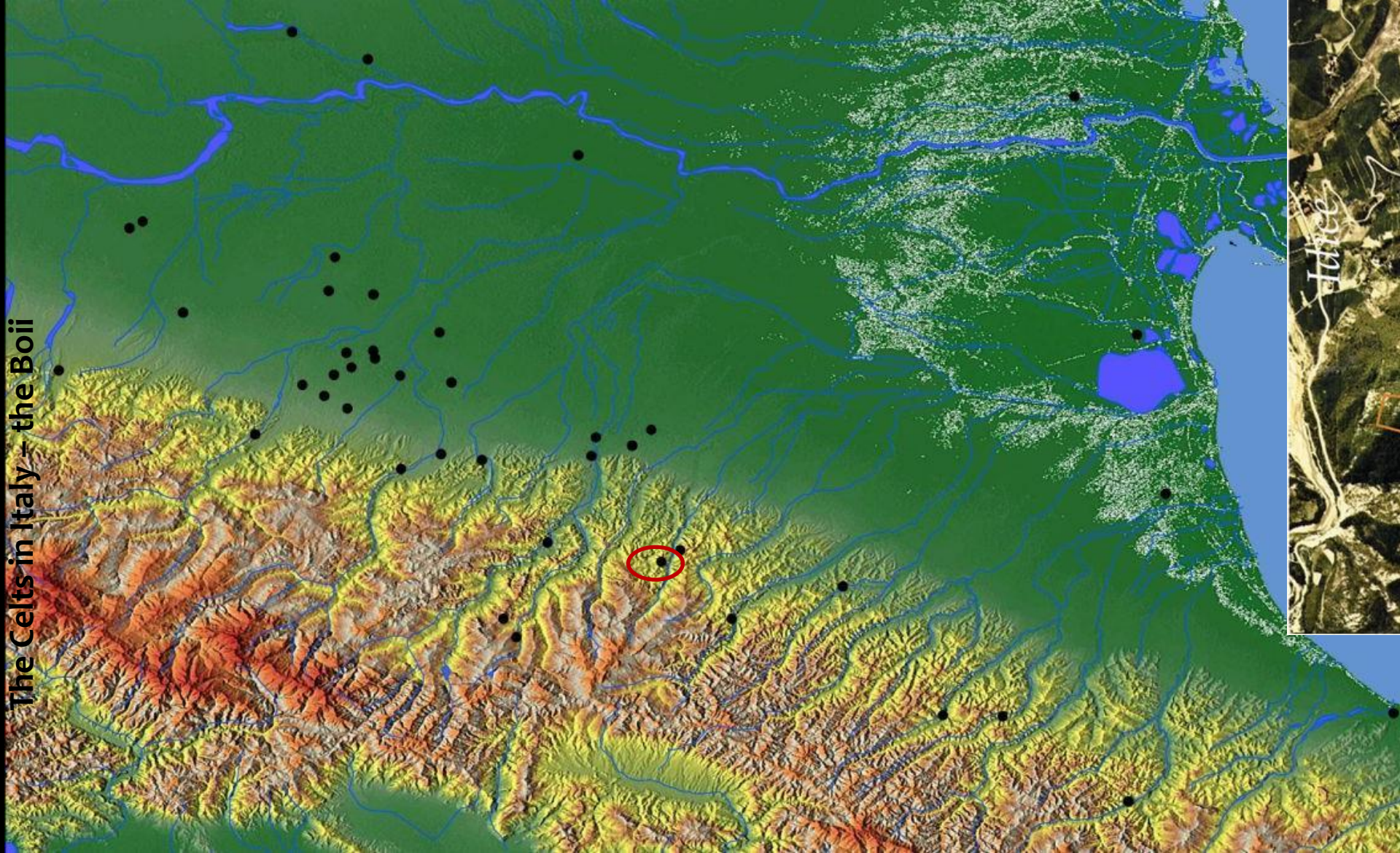
2nd half III aC

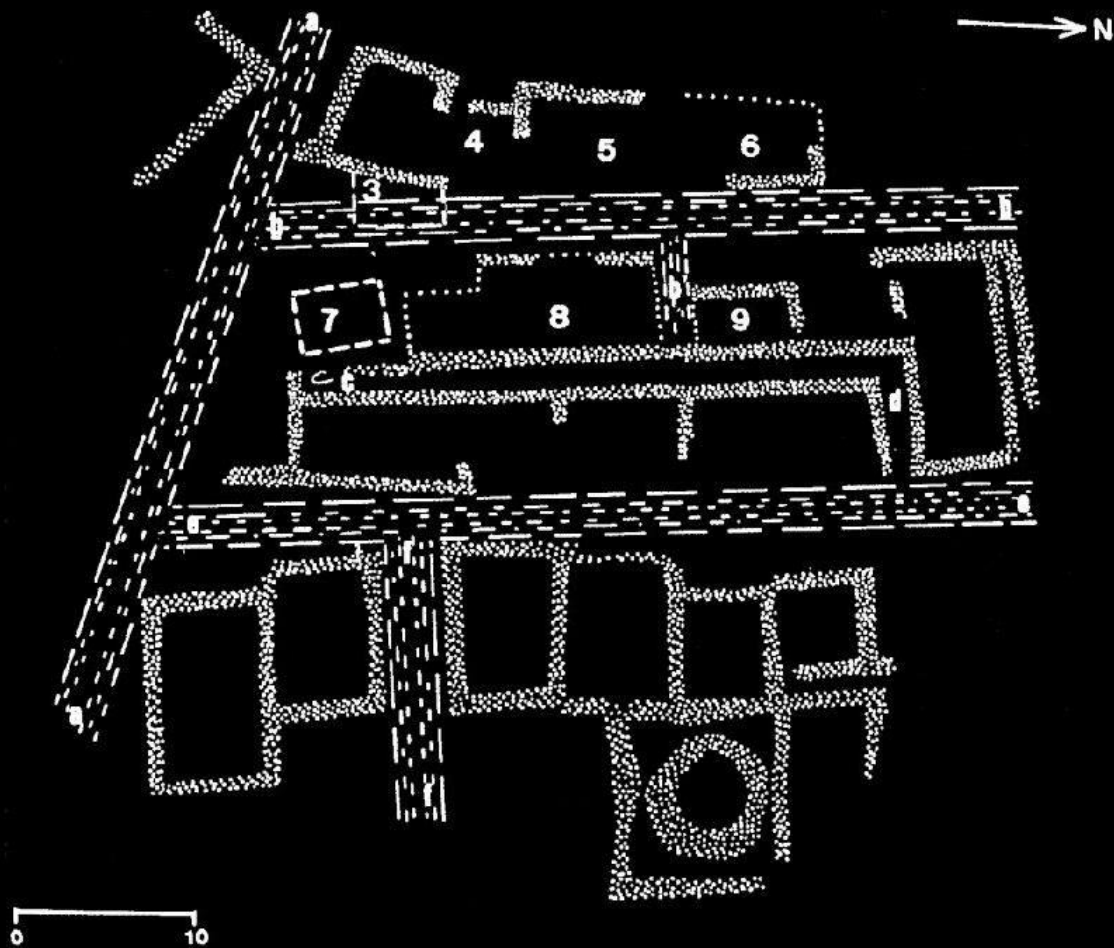
-down to mid-3rd century, the two cultures coexist – people still write in Etruscan in mid-3rd century (-we are sure people were wearing LT brooches and using LT swords but there is no evidence they also spoke ,Celtic‘)



Monte Bibeale

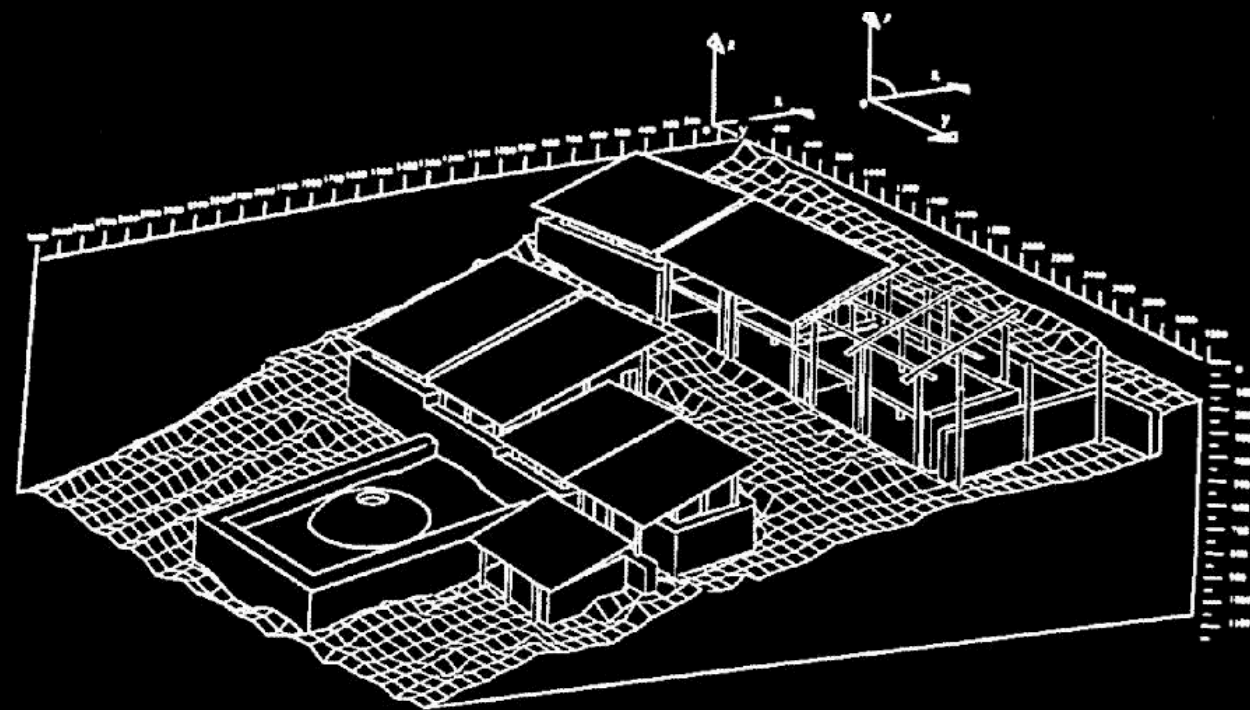
- in the Apennines overlooking the Idice valley
- a small settlement (pianella di monte Savino) and cemetery (Monte Tamburino)



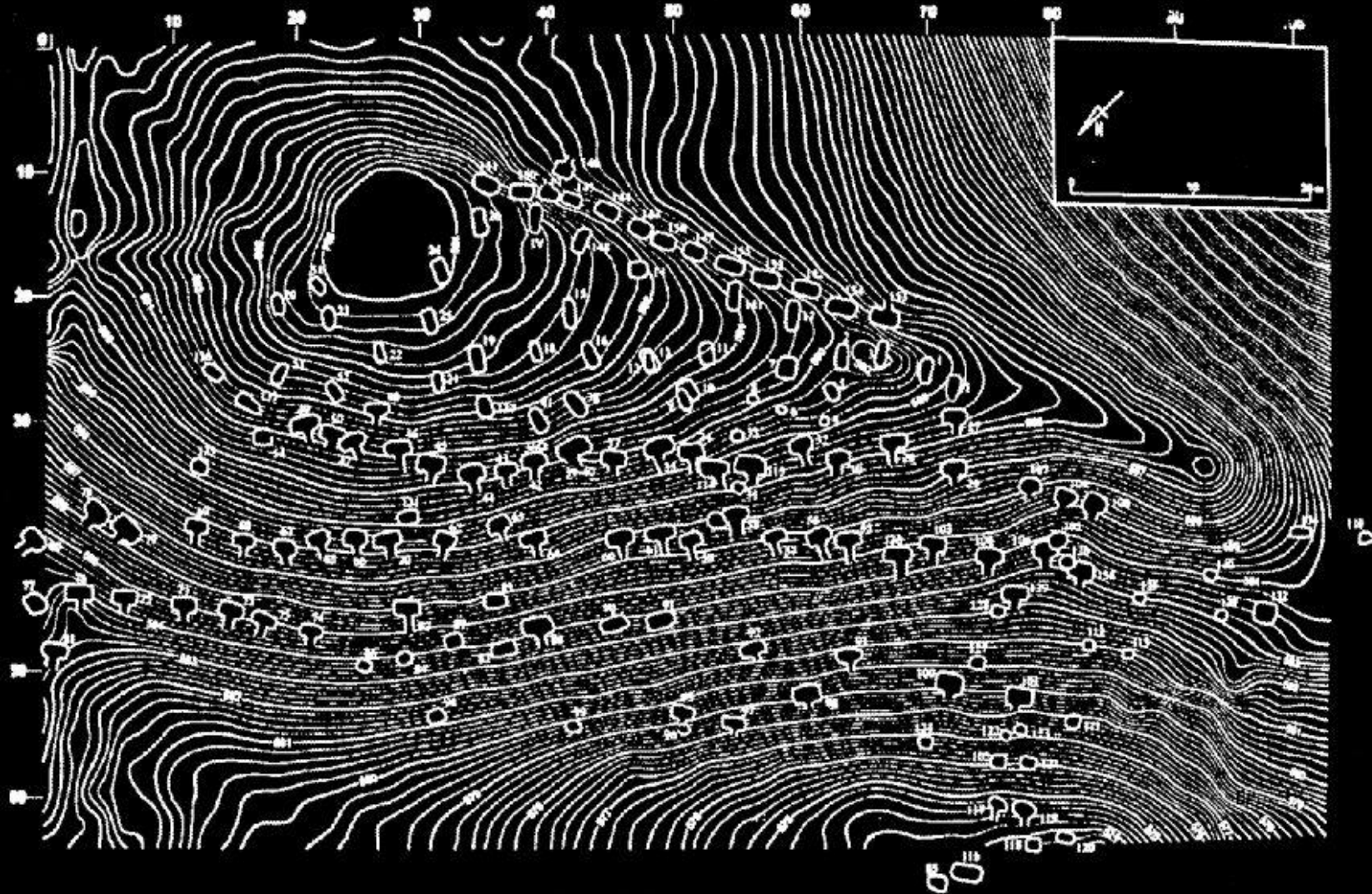


Monte Bibele Settlement at Pianella di Monte Savino

- a dozen houses and a cistern on three terraces... that's all
- founded in late 5th/early 4th c., destroyed by fire in late 3rd/early 2nd c. BC (during the Roman occupation of the territory?)
- throughout the settlement's existence the pottery is in Felsinean tradition

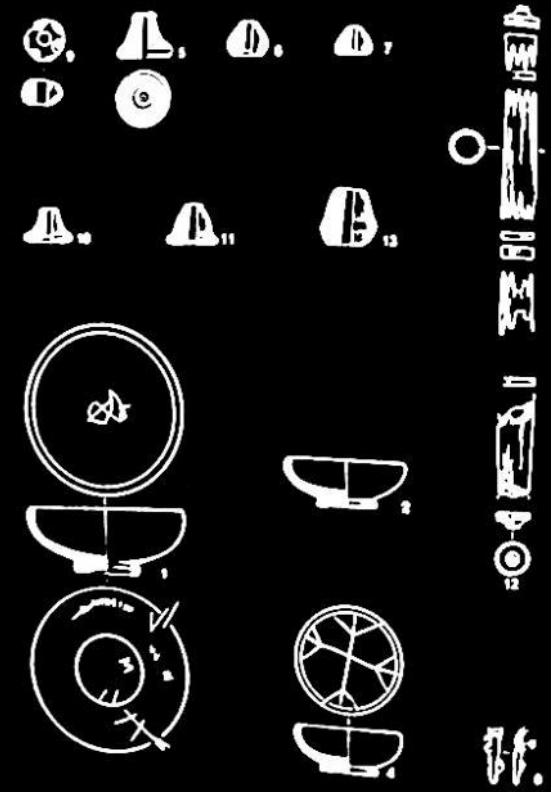


Mt. Bibebe – cemetery at Monte Tamburino
- 165 burials V/IV –mid. III BC

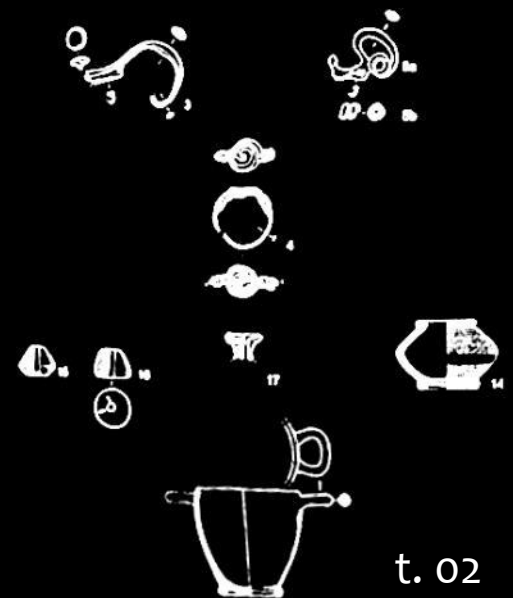




t. 01

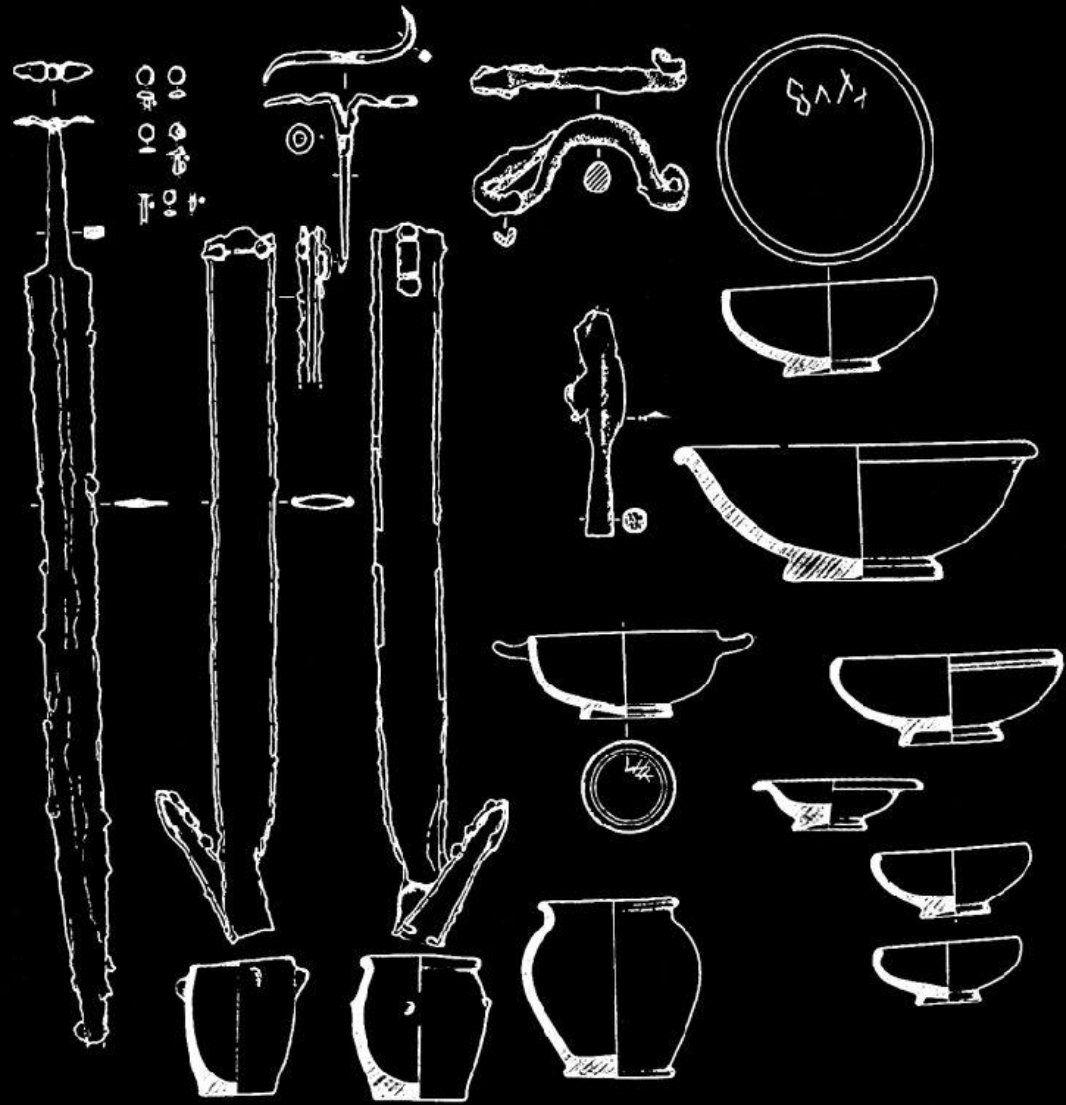


t. 02



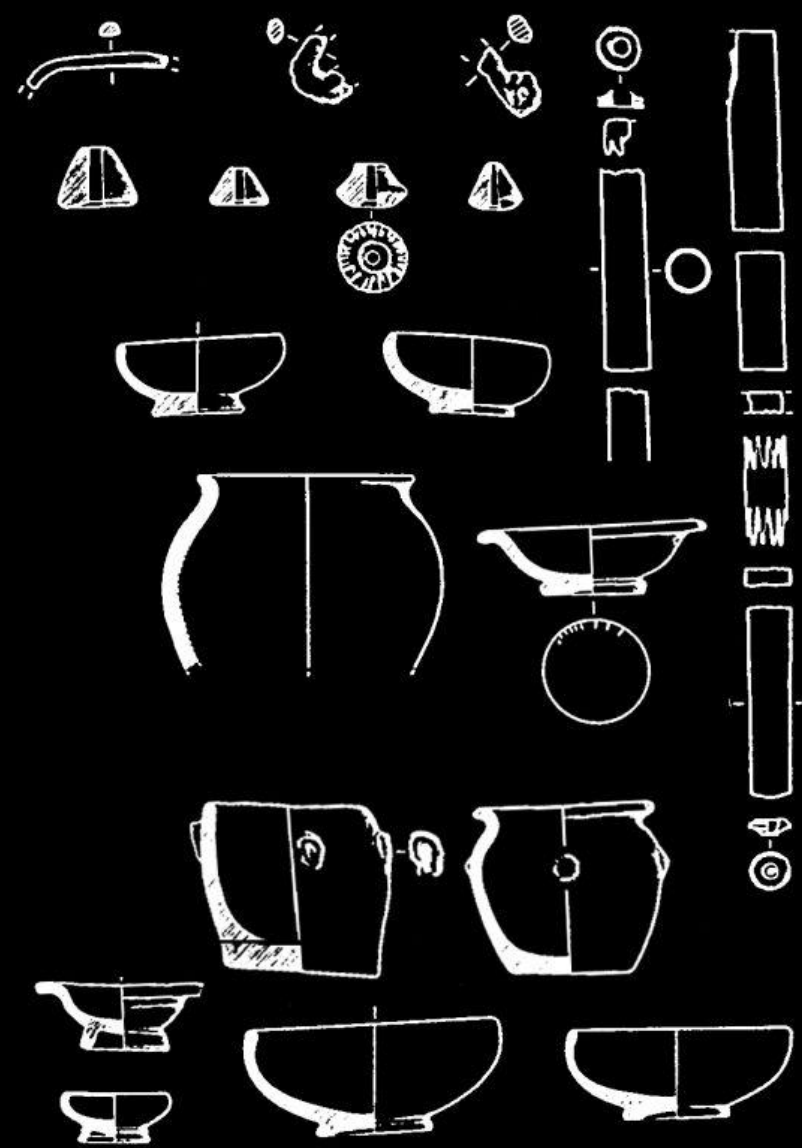
t. 02

-early burials are purely felsinean



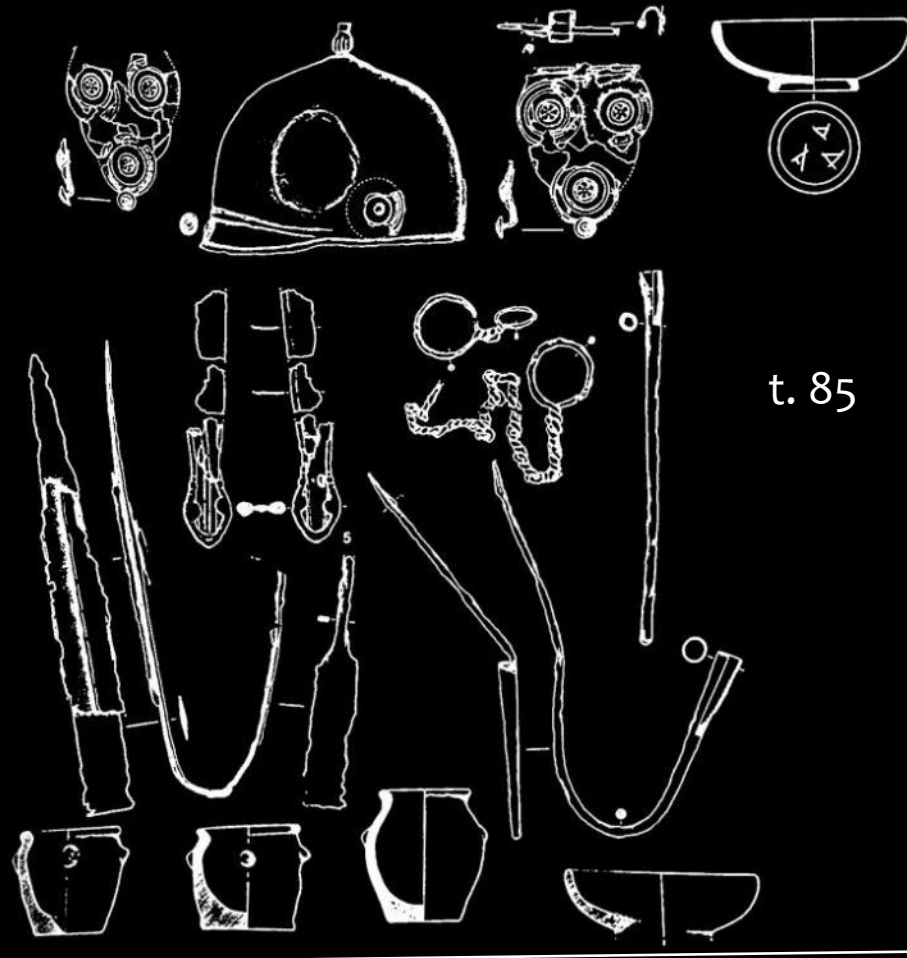
t. 42

t. 43

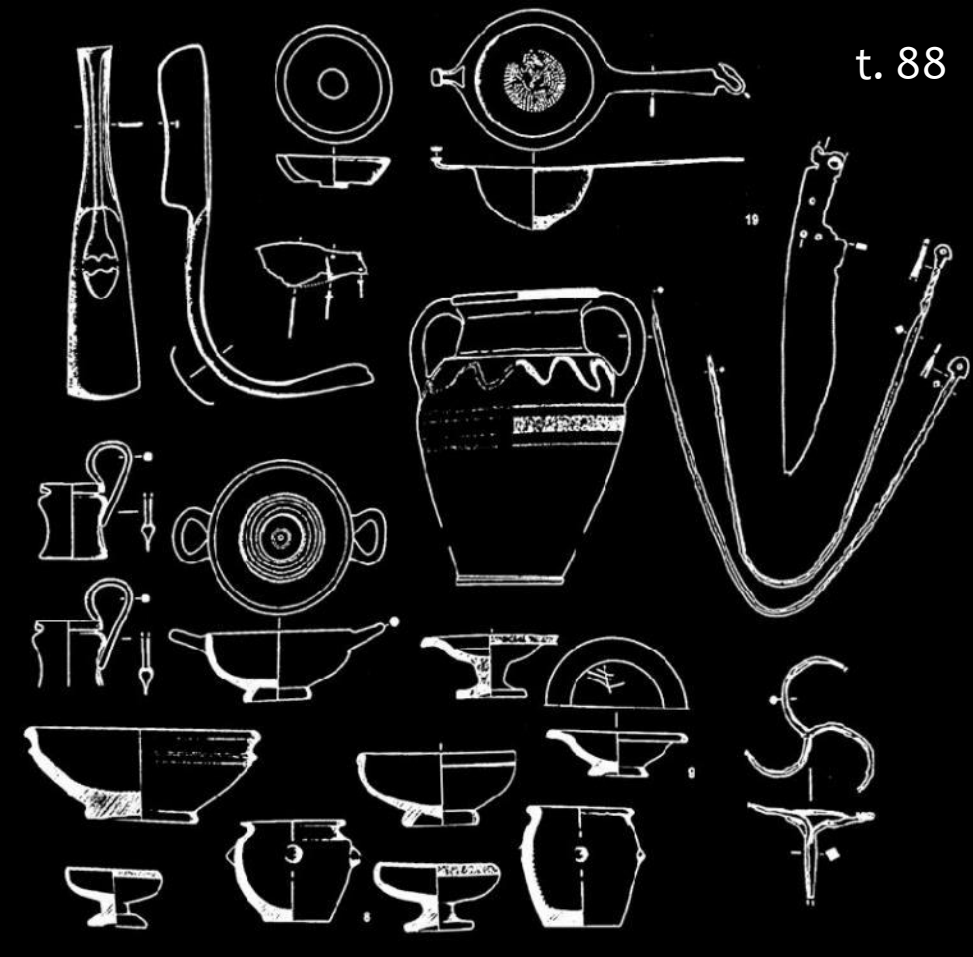


-no substantial change in female graves

-from mid-4th century LT weapons and brooches appear in male graves along with Felsinean pottery
-but in the same graves there are inscriptions of Etruscan male names



t. 85

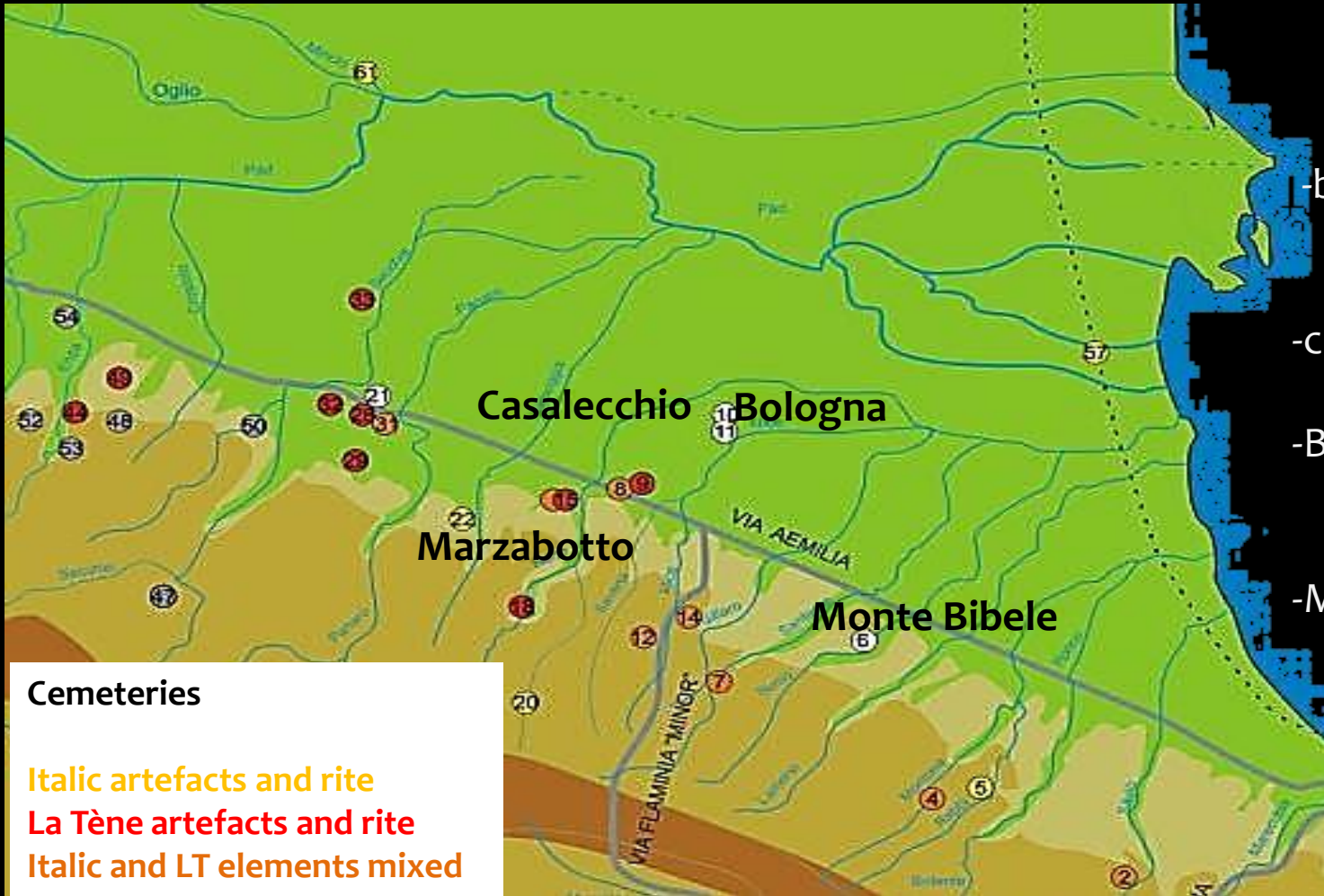


t. 88

-In late 4th and 3rd century male furnishings seemingly become Celtic (weapons) or Etruscan (feasting implements) In reality the distinction between them is based on age: all ,Celts‘ are young to mid-age, all ,Etruscans‘ are over 50.... :~)
 -nothing changed in female graves



t. 100



⇒ In the Boii area the incoming Celts apparently met with the previous populations (Etruscans, Umbrians, Ligurians or whoever)

-both populations lived alongside and culturally (and ethnically?) mingled

-communities like Casalecchio could have been Celtic

-Bologna is described Celtic by the Romans...but archaeology shows Felsinean rite and Etruscan language alive deep into the 3rd century

-Monte Bibele clearly shows that the use of material culture was clearly culture-based, not ethnical

=> there were some Celts and some Etruscans and there is no way to recognize them archaeologically nor to understand, how they defined themselves and if they distinguished Celts, Etruscans and Umbrians

The situation could have been absolutely identical elsewhere in the LT world

https://www.academia.edu/10451295/Il_Celti_dItalia_IV-I_secolo_a.C._tra_identit%C3%A0_e_assimilazioni ← unfortunately, just in French and Italian

https://www.academia.edu/7456580/Probl%C3%A8mes_d_identit%C3%A9s_ethniques_en_Cisalpine_soci%C3%A9t%C3%A9s_multi-ethniques_ou_identit%C3%A9s_multiples

some La Tène elements (mainly brooches and weaponry) became common throughout Italy also in communities, which were in no way Celtic

The ,Celto-Italic‘ helmets of Montefortino type →

They further developed to the standard helmet of Roman legionaries in Middle and Late Republic

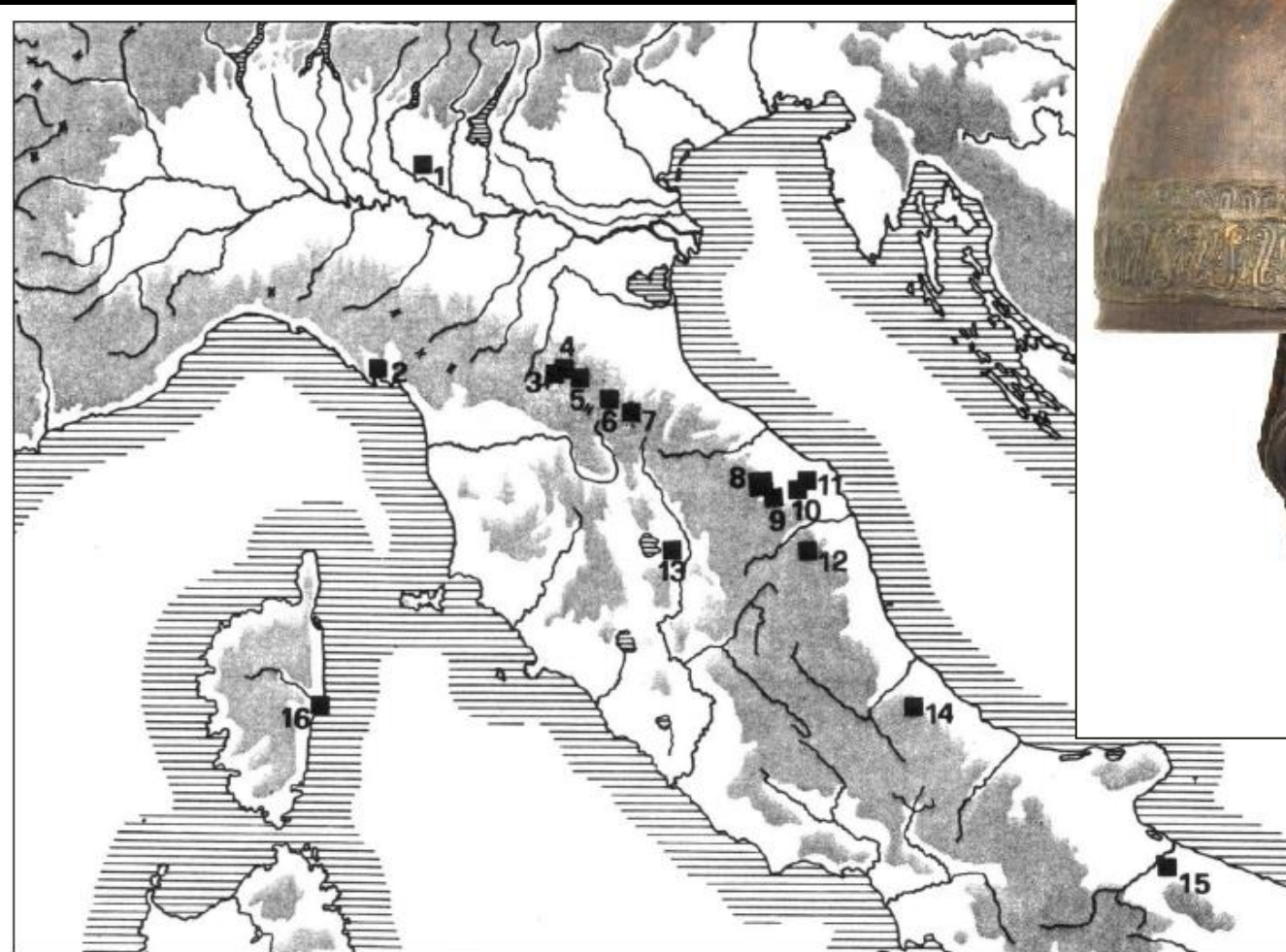


Fig. 6. Casques en fer avec appliques en feuille de bronze (d'après Vitali, 1984).
 1 Gottolengo; 2 Ameglia; 3 Monte Bibele; 4 Monterenzio Vecchio; 5 Castel del Rio;
 6 Rivola di riolo Terme; 7 Rocca San Casciano; 8 Montefortino; 9 Serra San Quirico;
 10 San Paolina di Filottrano; 11 Osimo; 12 San Ginesio; 13 Perugia; 14 Comino;
 15 Canosa di Puglia; 16 Aléria.

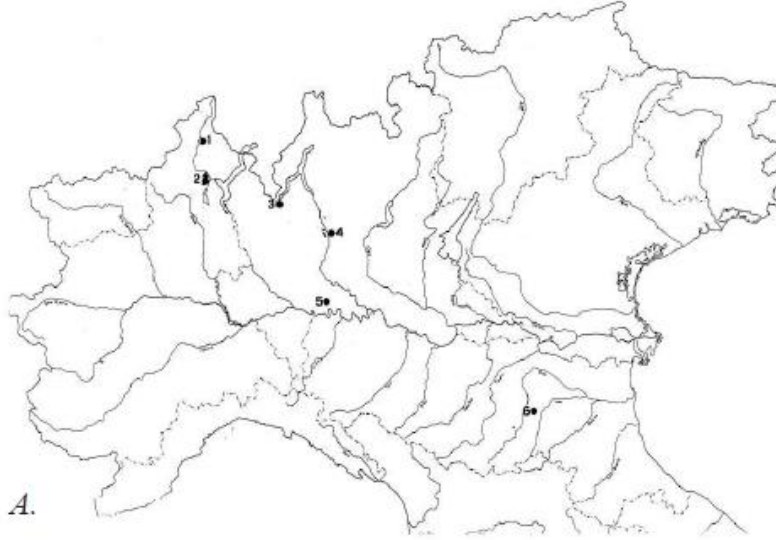
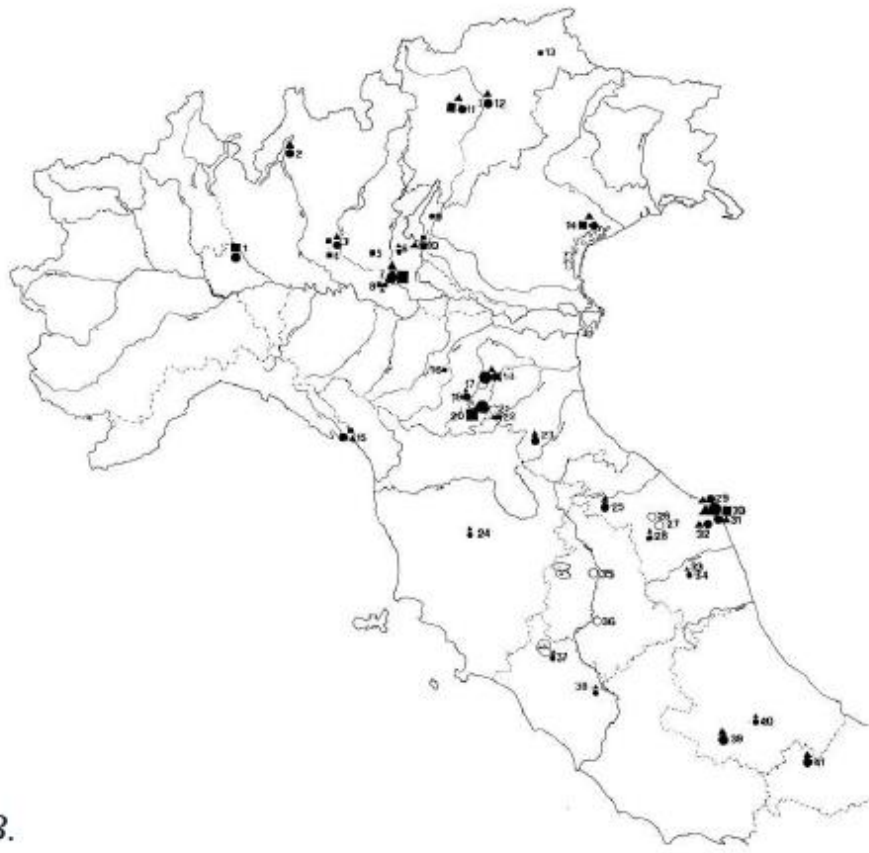


Fig. 1 — LT A. 1. Montecrestese. 2. Gravelona Toce. 3. Como. 4. Brembate Sotto. 5. Miradolo. 6. Bologna



B.

Fig. 2 — LT B. 1. Sforzesca. 2. Varenna. 3. Soncino. 4. Fiesco. 5. Leno. 6. Carpenedolo. 7. Carzaghetto. 8. Piadena. 9. Caprino Veronese. 10. Ponti sul Mincio. 11. Sanzeno. 12. Vadena. 13. San Lorenzo Sebato. 17. Casalecchio. 18. Bologna. 19. Marzabotto. 20. Monte Bibele. 21. Monterenzio Vecchia. 22. Castel del Rio. 23. Rocca S. Casciano. 24. Monteriggioni. 25. Piobbico. 26. Montefortino di Arcevia. 27. Serra San Quirico. 28. Moscano di Fabriano. 29. Ancona. 30. Camerano. 31. Numana. 32. S. Paolina di Filottrano. 33. Cessapalombo. 34. S. Ginesio. 35. Perugia. 36. Todi. 37. Montefiascone. 38. Leprignano. 39. Amplero. 40. Sulmona. 41. Pietrabbondante.

LT swords are commonplace through the peninsula from the 5th to the 1st century

- Legenda
- spade
 - ▲ foderi
 - elementi del sistema di sospensione
 - ▲ ■ un esemplare
 - ▲ ■ da 2 a 5 esemplari
 - ▲ ■ più di 5 esemplari
 - — — consistenza non determinabile
 - — — limiti amministrativi regionali

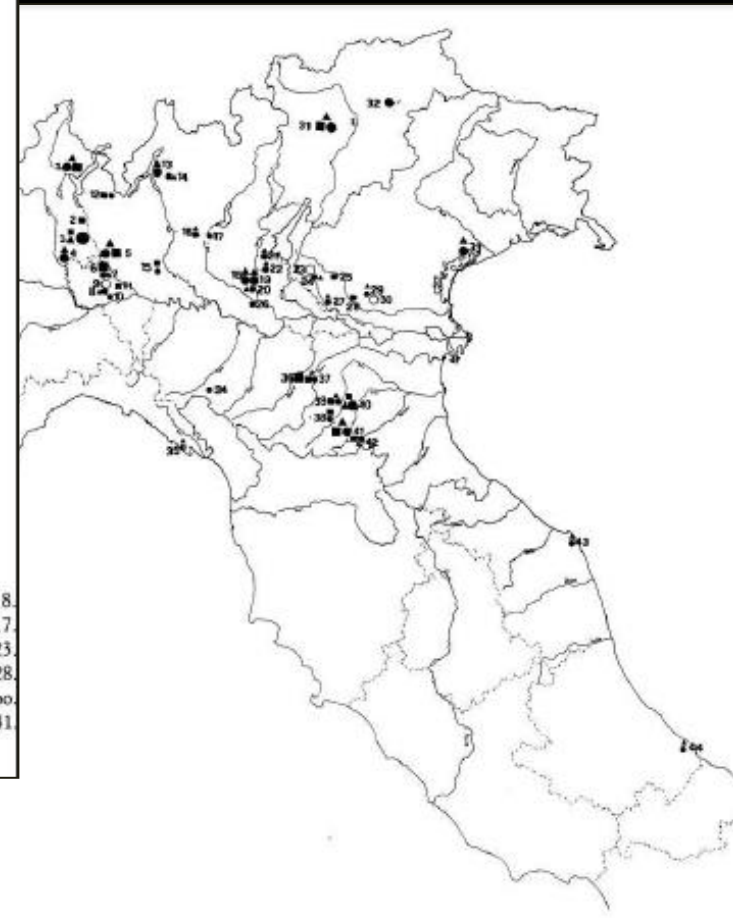


Fig. 3 — LT C. 1. Ornavasso. 2. Marano Ticino. 3. Nosate. 4. Vinzaglio. 5. Magenta. 6. Sforzesca. 7. Gambolò. 8. Belcreda. 9. Valeggio. 10. Garlasco. 11. Scaldasole. 12. Gropello Cairoli. 13. Malnate. 14. Esino. 15. Introbio. 16. Lodi Vecchio. 17. Ghisalba. 18. Cologno. 19. Grottolengo. 20. Remedello Sotto. 21. Lonato. 22. Medole. 23. Povegliano. 24. Vigasio. 25. S. Maria di Zevio. 26. Cavriana. 27. Gazzo Veronese. 28. Torretta di Legnago. 29. Montagnana loc. Gomoria. 30. Megliadino S. Fidenzio. 31. Sanzeno. 32. Col de Flam. 33. Altino. 34. Berceto. 35. Pegazzano. 36. Cognento. 37. Saliceta S. Giuliano. 38. Marzabotto. 39. Ceretolo. 40. Bologna. 41. Monte Bibele. 42. Campo di Valle. 43. S. Maria di Zevio. 44. S. Maria di Zevio. 45. S. Maria di Zevio.

LT swords in Italy (Dore 1995)

The Celts in Italy

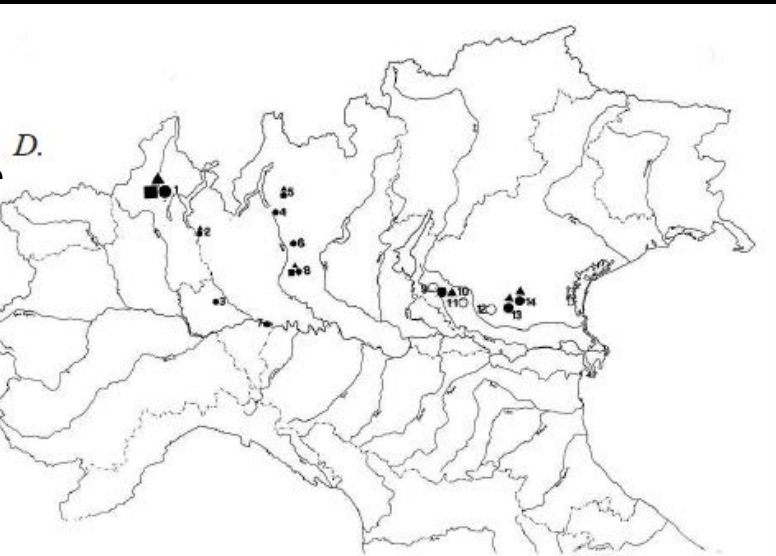
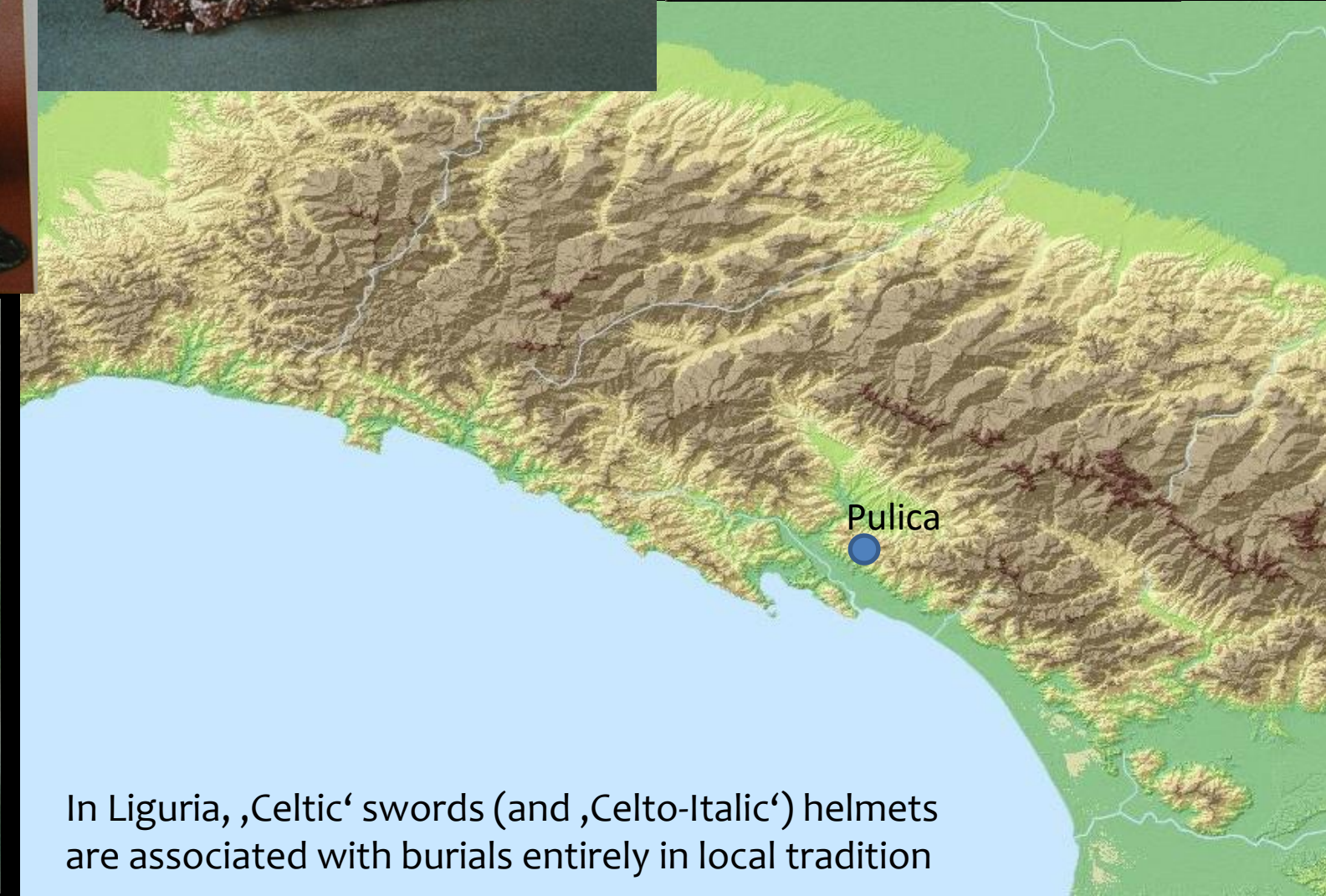
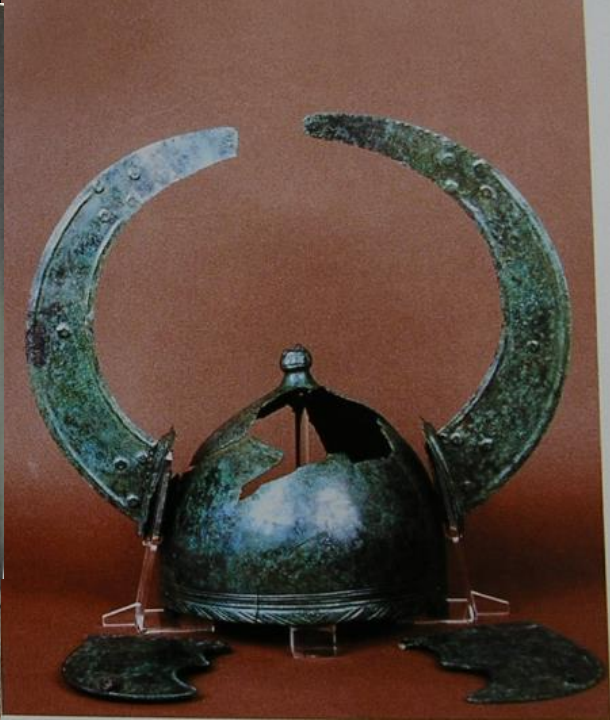


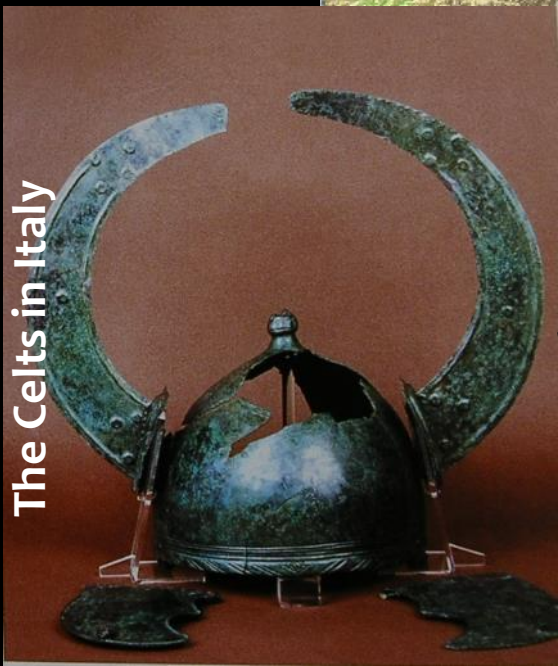
Fig. 4 — LT D. 1. Ornavasso. 2. Somma Lombardo. 3. Gambolò Belcreda. 4. Acquate. 5. Barzio. 6. Mariano al Brembo. 7. Zerbo. 8. Misano di Gera d'Adda. 9. Povegliano. 10. Vigasio. 11. Isola Rizza. 12. Montagnana. 13.



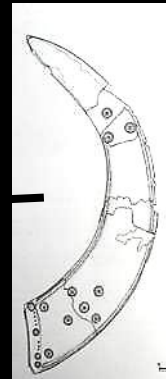
The Celts in Italy

In Liguria, ,Celtic' swords (and ,Celto-Italic') helmets are associated with burials entirely in local tradition

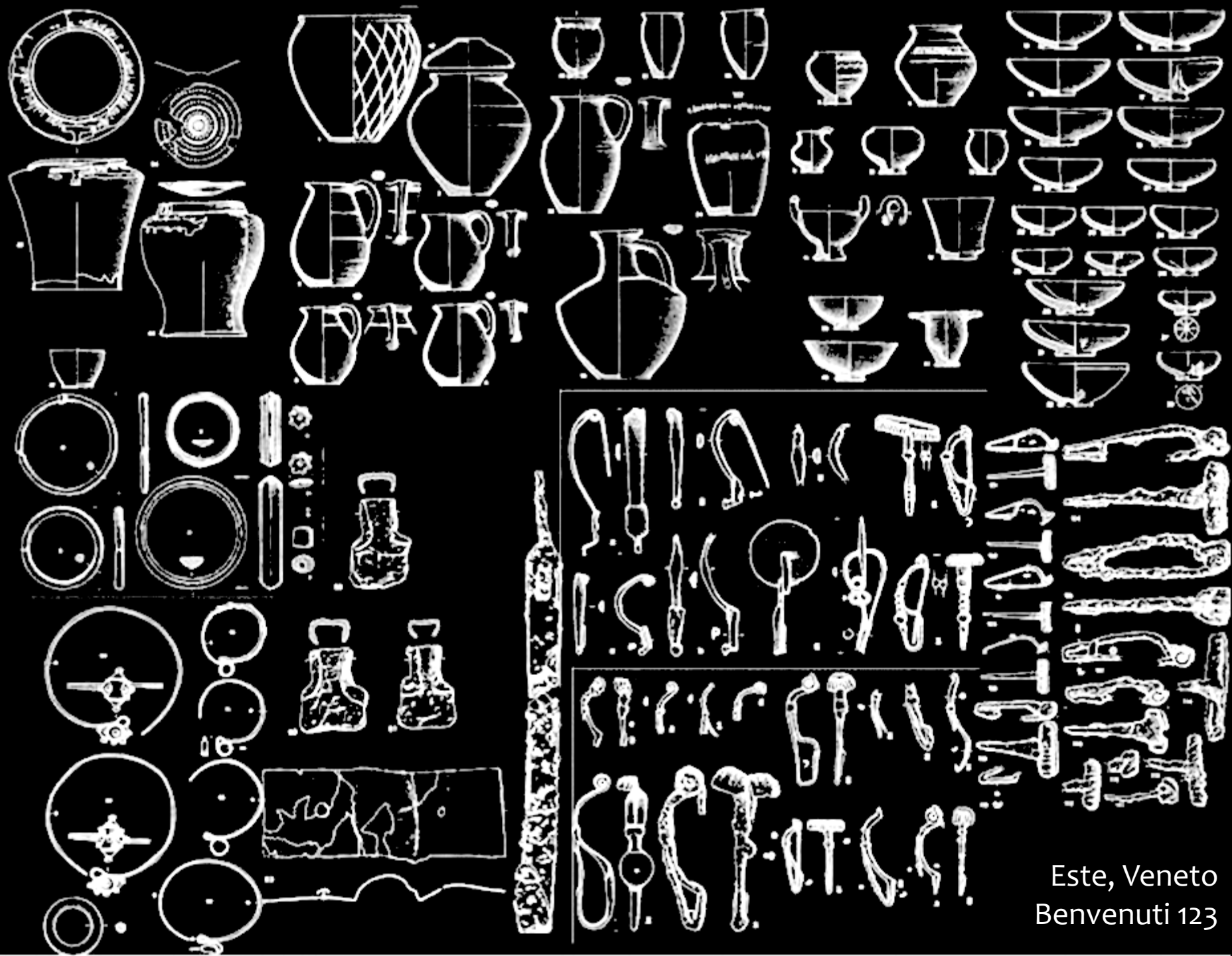
Btw., the horned helmet is a common feature of the Ligurian territory, the only piece outside of it was found in Mt. Bibele which ... who knows to what extent it actually was Celtic



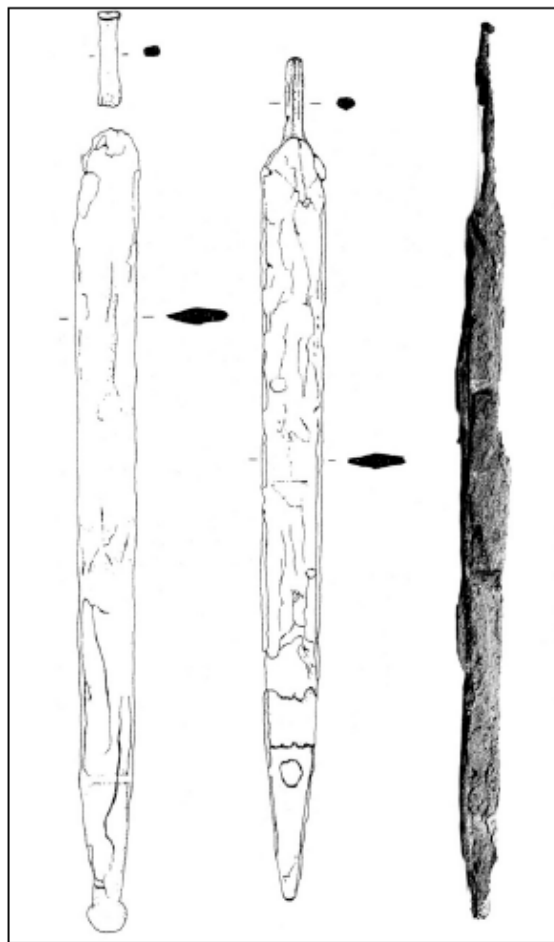
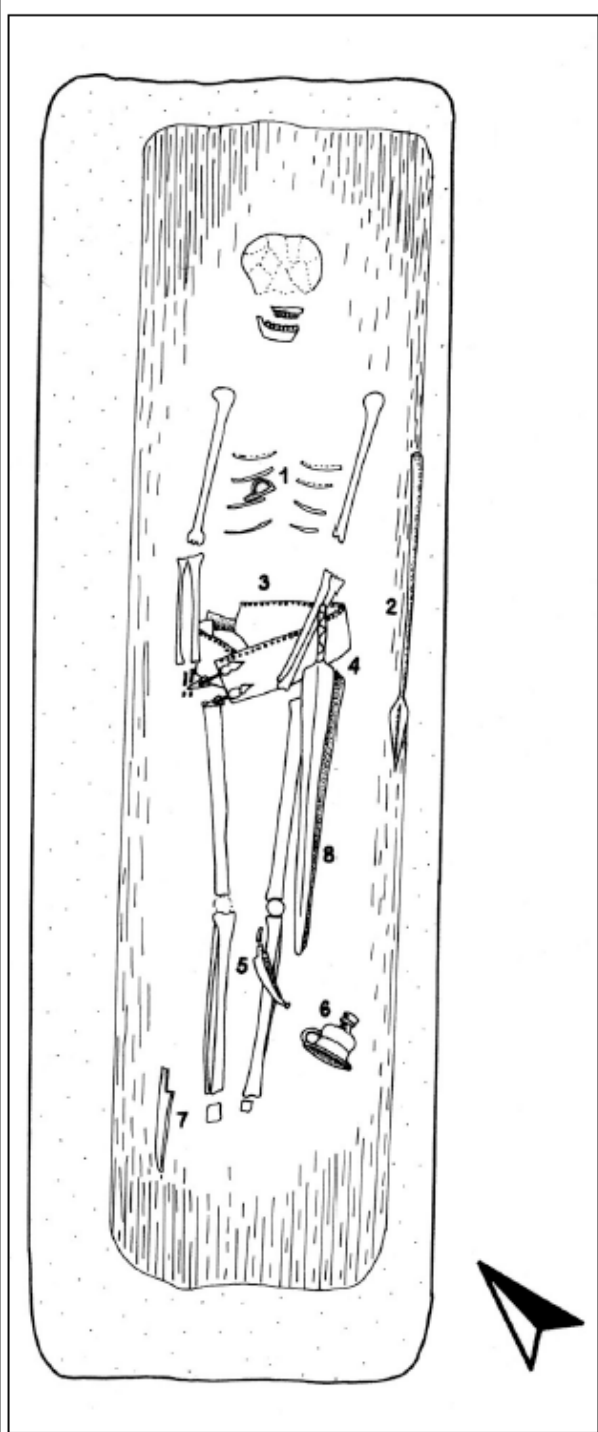
The Celts in Italy



In the Veneto, LT swords and LT brooches were the norm in collective (family) tombs with no other La Tène features and with numerous inscriptions of purely Venetic names



Este, Veneto
Benvenuti 123



In Samnium LT swords are often found in sanctuaries (so theoretically they could be spoils from clashes with Celts) but also in graves, suspended not from the LT sword chain but attached to the characteristically local bronze belt



And they appear also in Etruria, depicted in elite contexts alongside with swords of Greek types...

Cerveteri Tomba dei rilievi



The Celts in Italy

... as well as actually present in settlements

Ghiaccio forte, Etruria

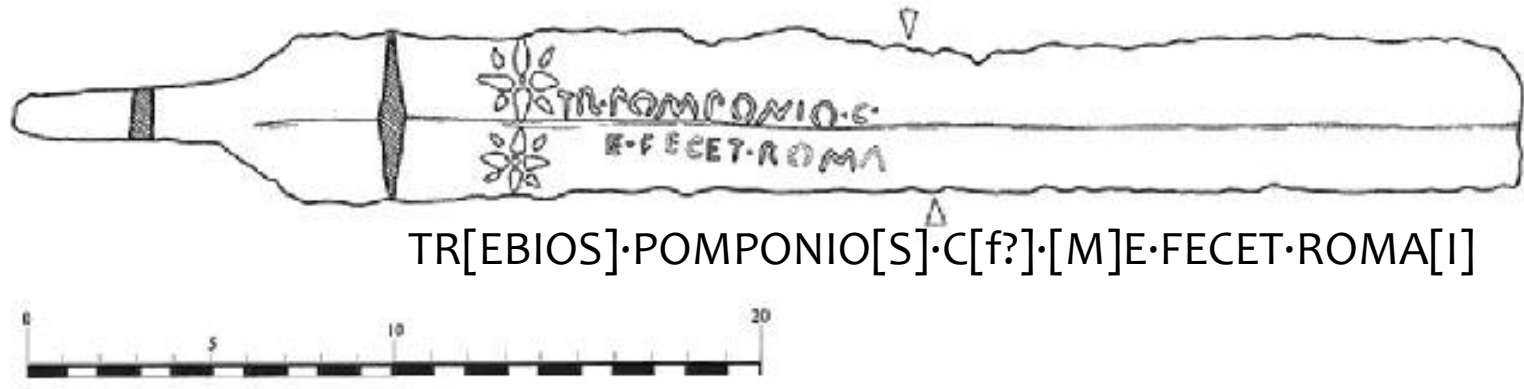


And if someone is still not convinced, there is one from Latium which explicitly says ,made in Rome‘

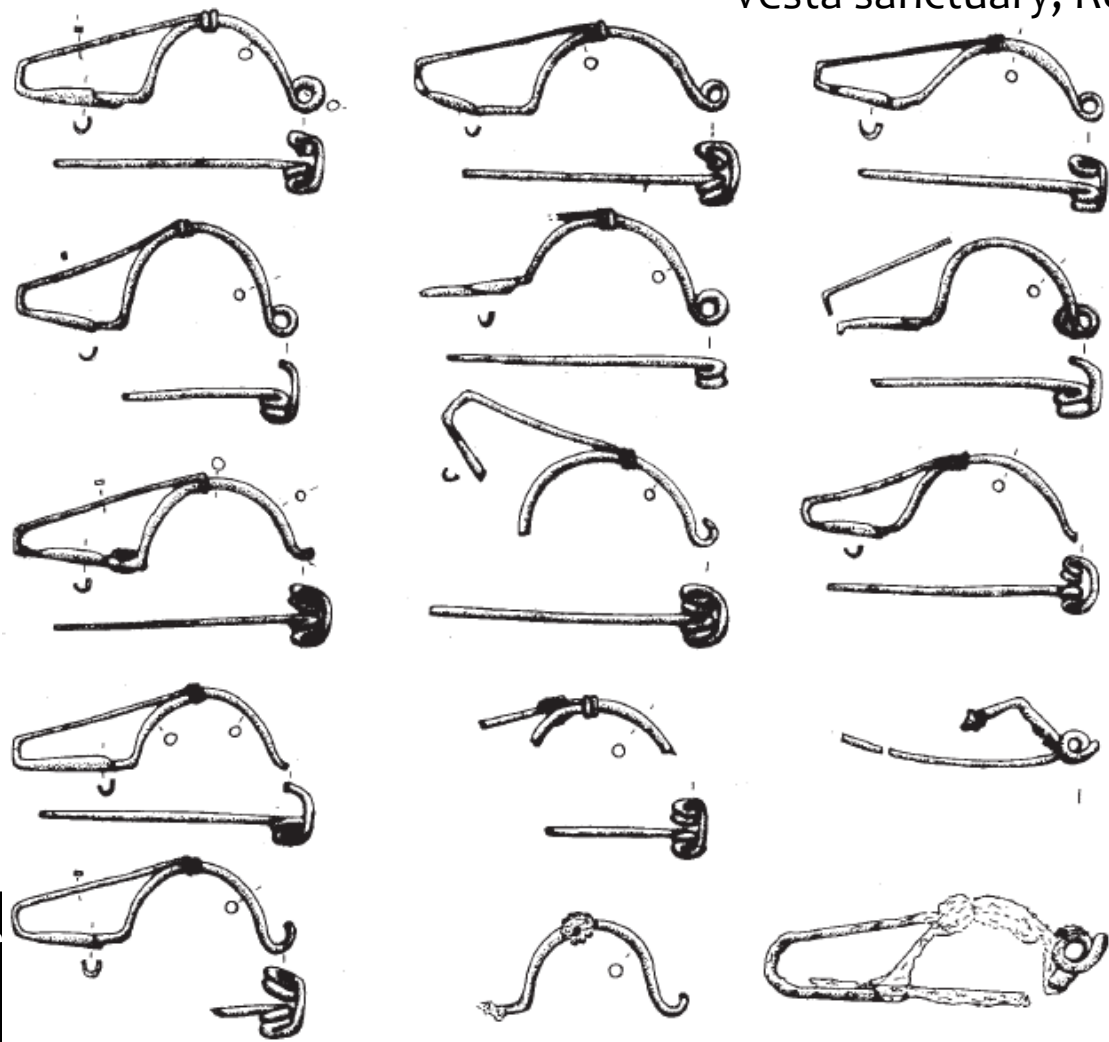
The Celts in Italy



San Vittore , Frosignone



TR[EBIOS]·POMPONIO[S]·C[f?]. [M]E·FECET·ROMA[I]

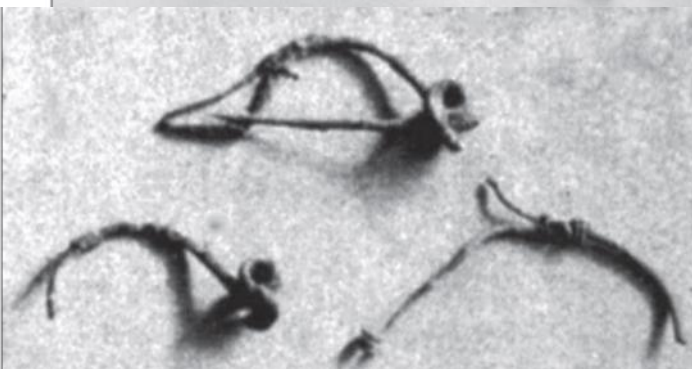
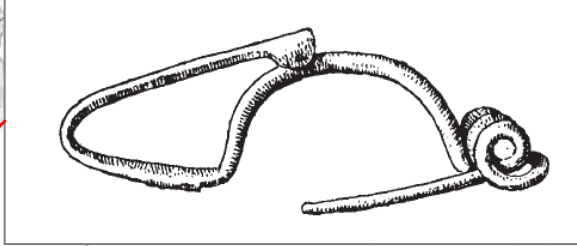
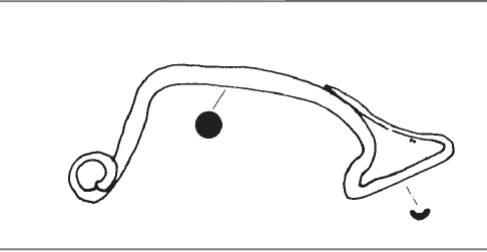
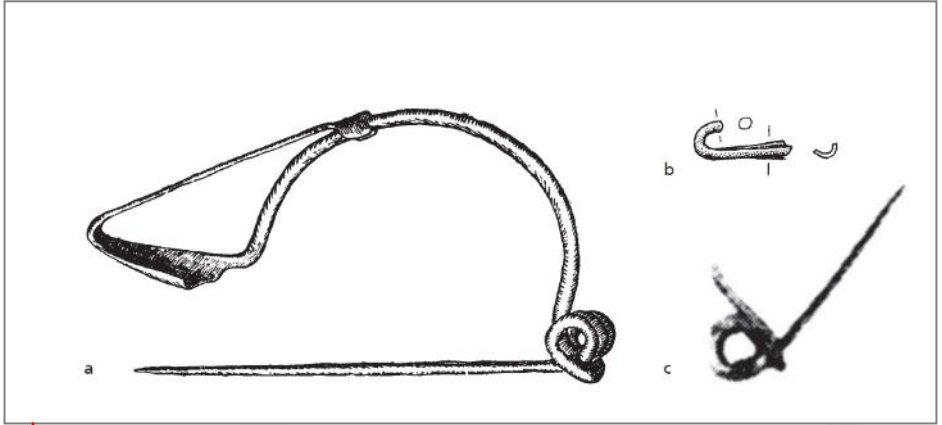
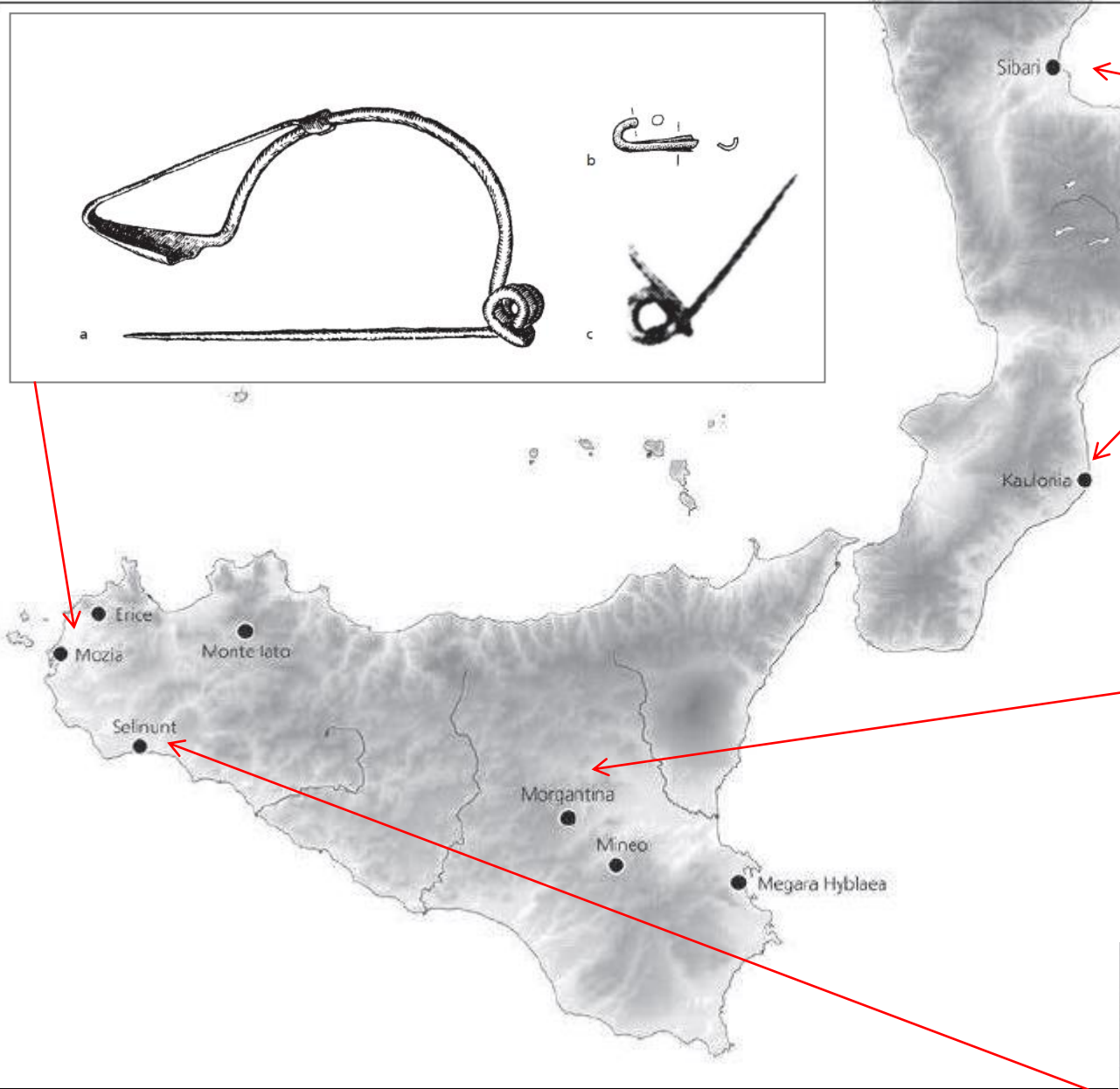


Vesta sanctuary, Rome



Cosa,
Etruria

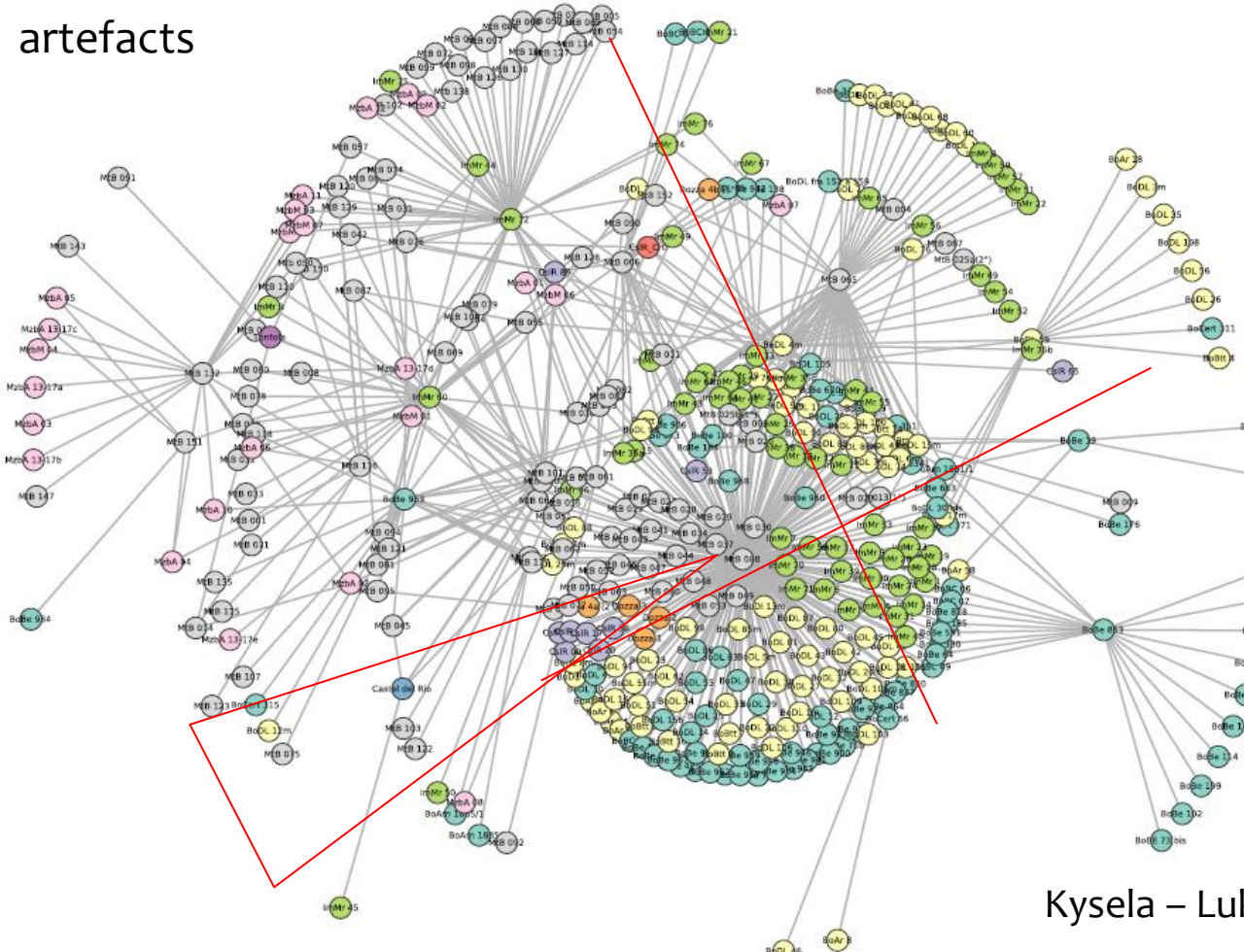
LT type brooches are also common in Italy in the 3rd–1st century BC and often associated with Celts... though not for any good reason. In reality, there are no 'Roman' brooch types of this period and very probably, LT type fibulae were just the normal fasteners of the period with no Celtic connotations



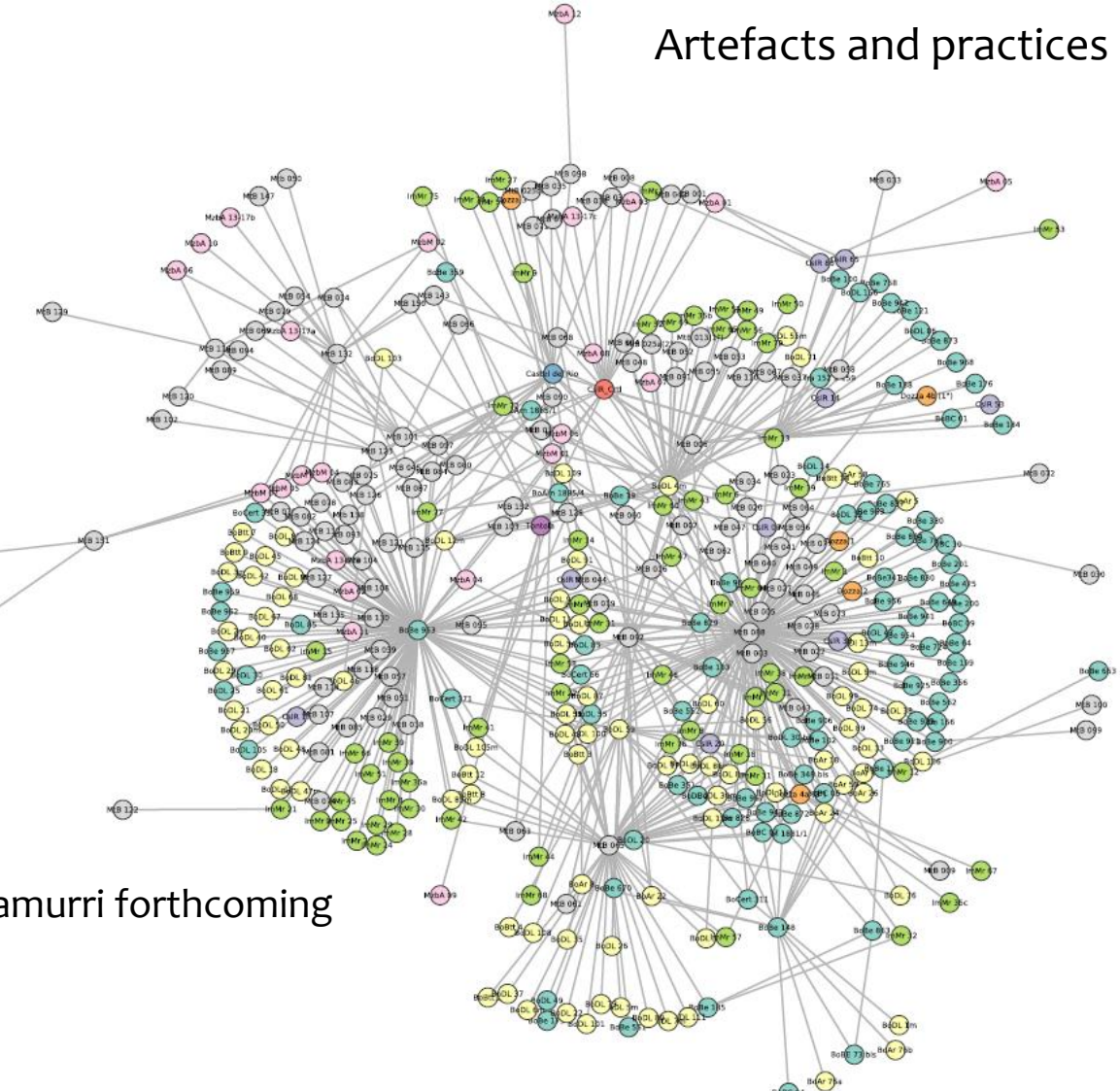
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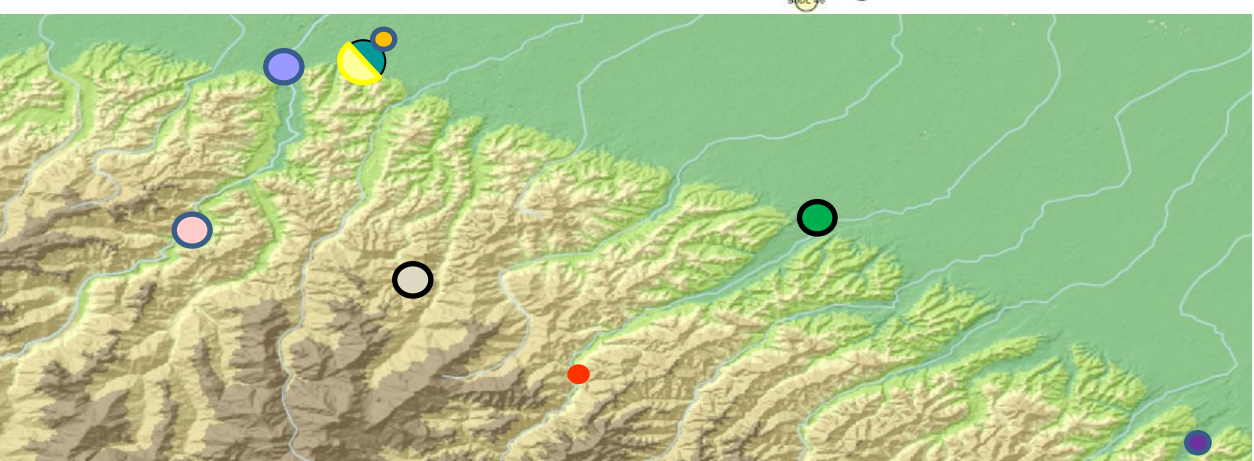
artefacts

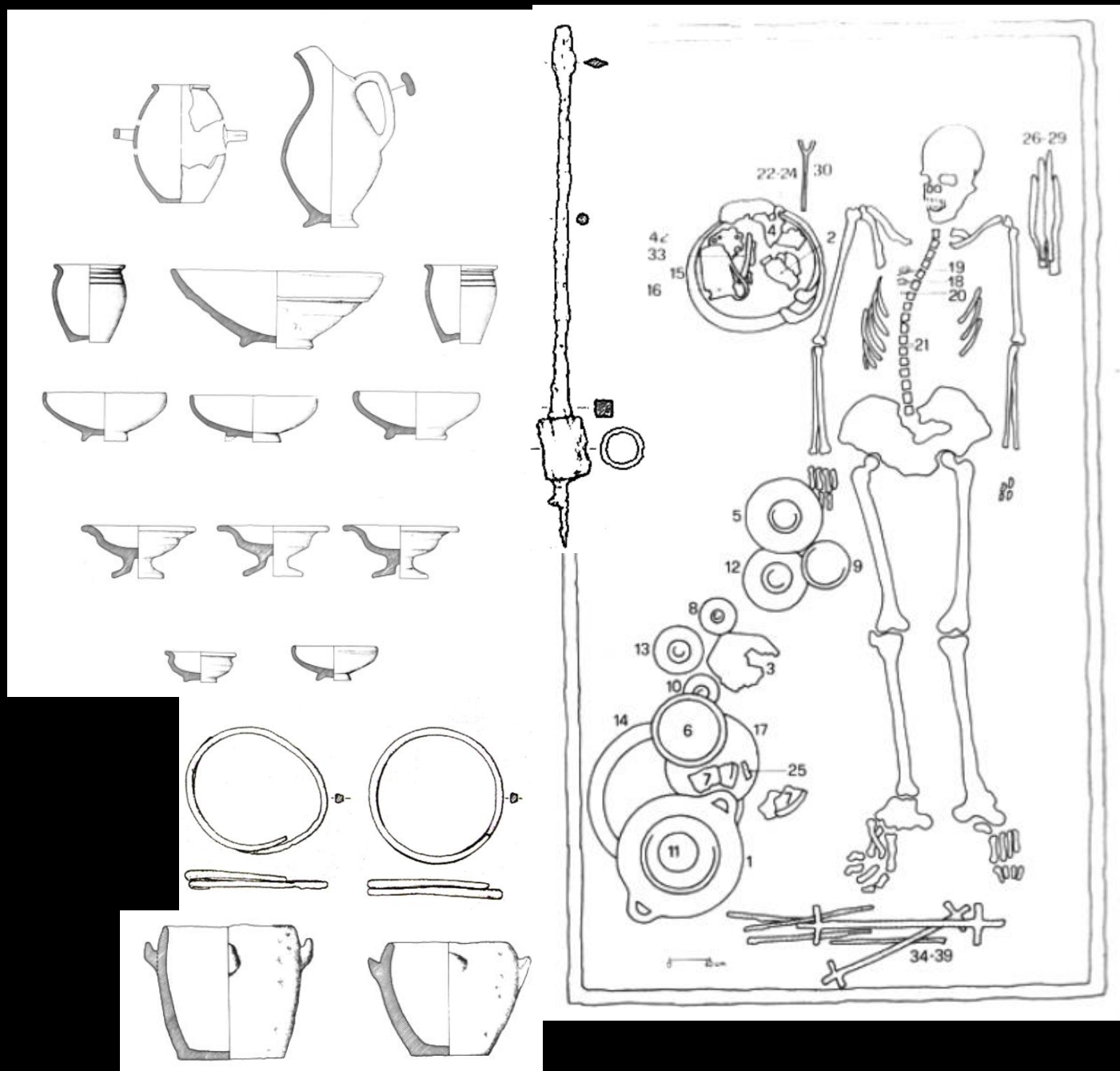


Artefacts and practices



Kysela – Lukas – Camurri forthcoming



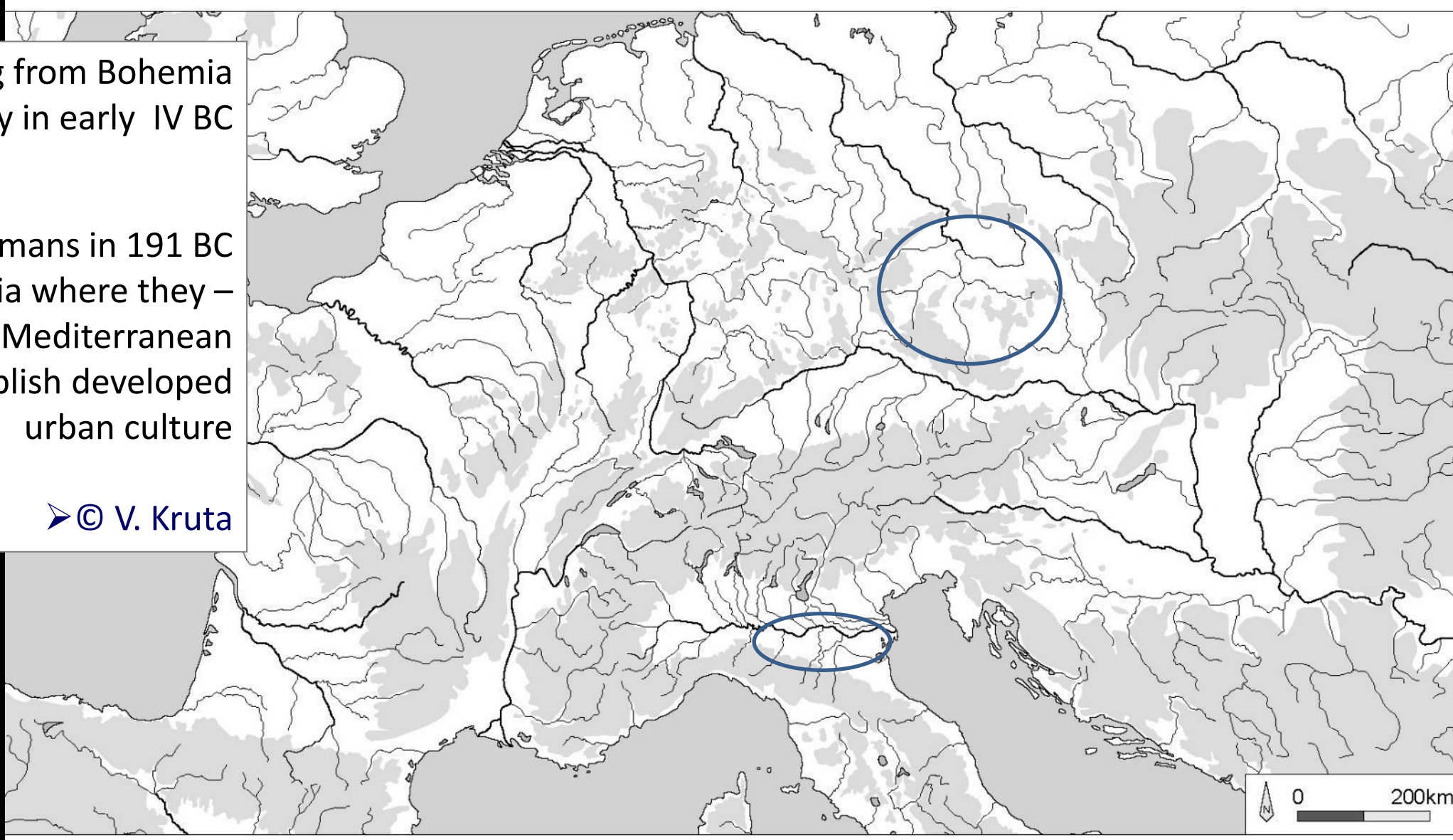


A study a part: the Boii in Italy and the Boii in Central Europe – what do they have in common?

➤ the Boii originating from Bohemia invade Italy in early IV BC

➤ beaten by the Romans in 191 BC they return to Bohemia where they – thanks to their Mediterranean experience – establish developed urban culture

➤ © V. Kruta





34. [...] 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 [...] they crossed the Alps through the Taurine passes and the pass of the Duria [and] routed the Etruscans in battle near 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 [...], and drove out not only the Etruscans, but also the Umbrians from their lands.

Polyb. II, 17.7
These plains were anciently inhabited by Etruscans [...] Their chief intercourse was with the Celts [...] who [...] expelled the Etruscans from the valley of the Padus [...]. First, the country near the source of the Padus was occupied by the Laevi and Lebecii; after them the Insubres [...]; and next them [...] the Cenomani. [...] South of the Padus, in the Apennine district, first [...] the Ananes, and next them the Boii settled.

Strabo (V, 1. 6)

The principal nations of these Kelts [in Italy] were the Boii, the Insubri, and the Senones and Gæsataë [...]. 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.

× Gerhard Dobesch demonstrated that this is Strabo's conjecture based on reconstruction of events from later sources



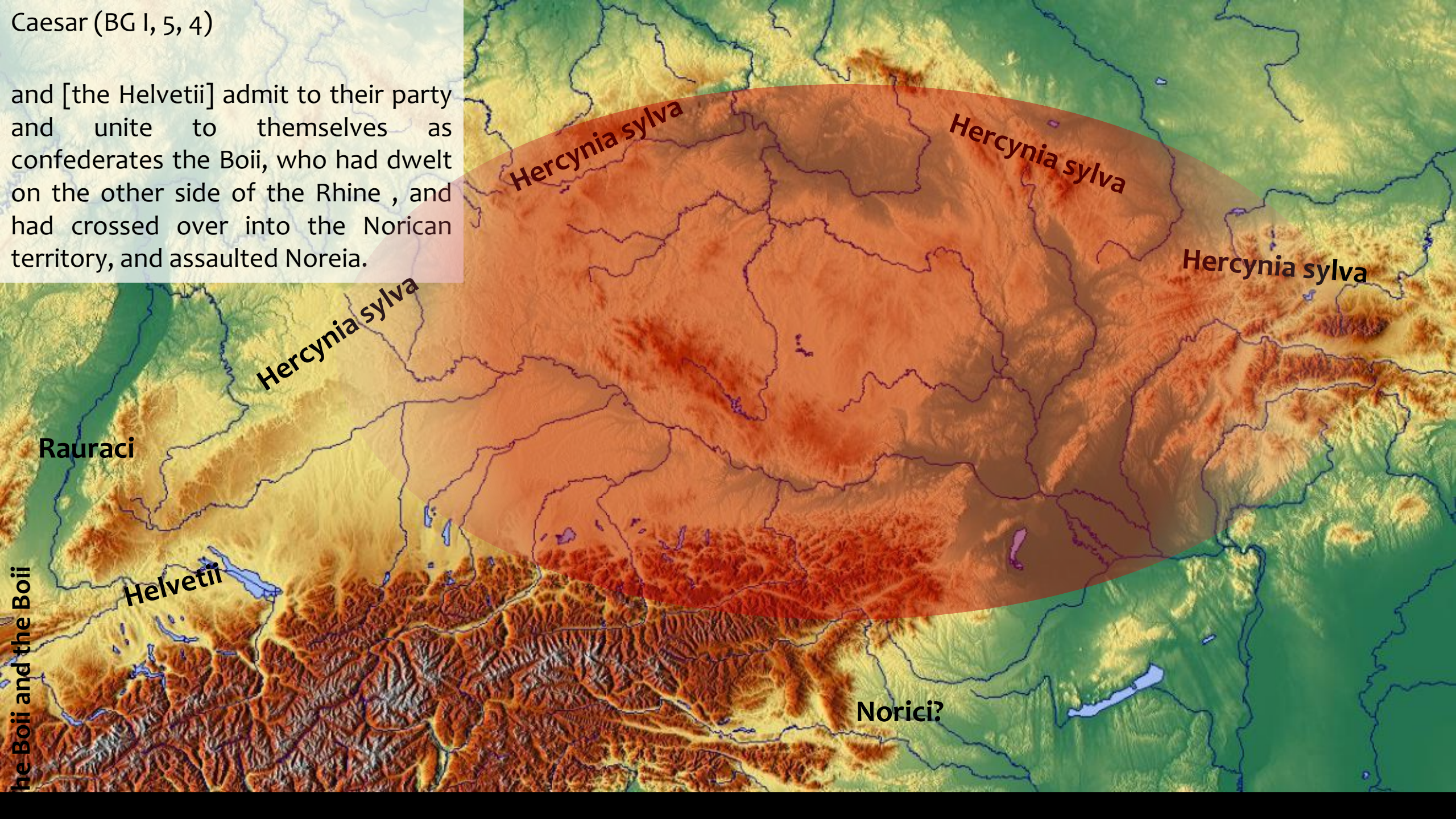
Strabone VII, 2.2

[Poseidonius] goes off to say that in earlier times the Boii dwelt in the Hercynian Forest, and that the Cimbri made a sally against this place, but on being repulsed by the Boii, went down to the Ister and the country of the Scordiscan Galatae, then to the country of the Teuristae and Taurisci (these, too, Galatae), and then to the country of the Helvetii

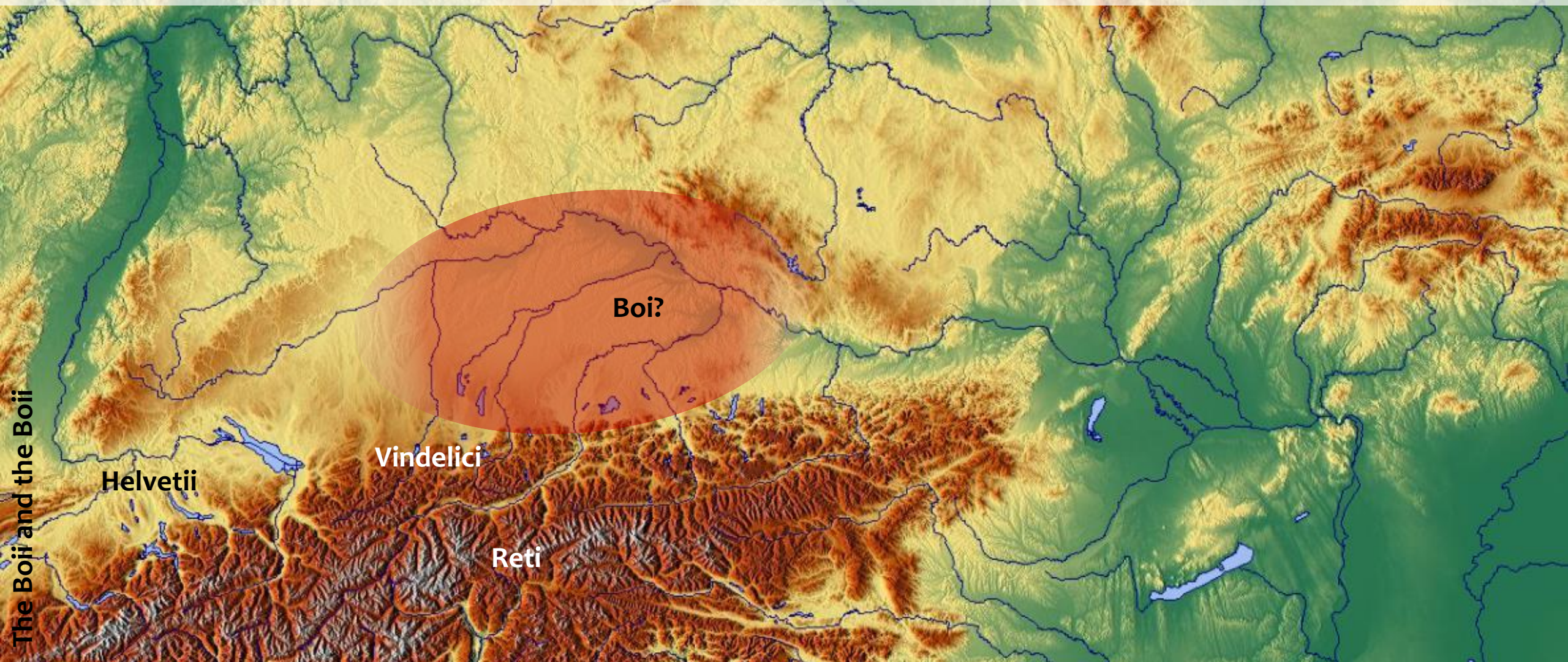


Caesar (BG I, 5, 4)

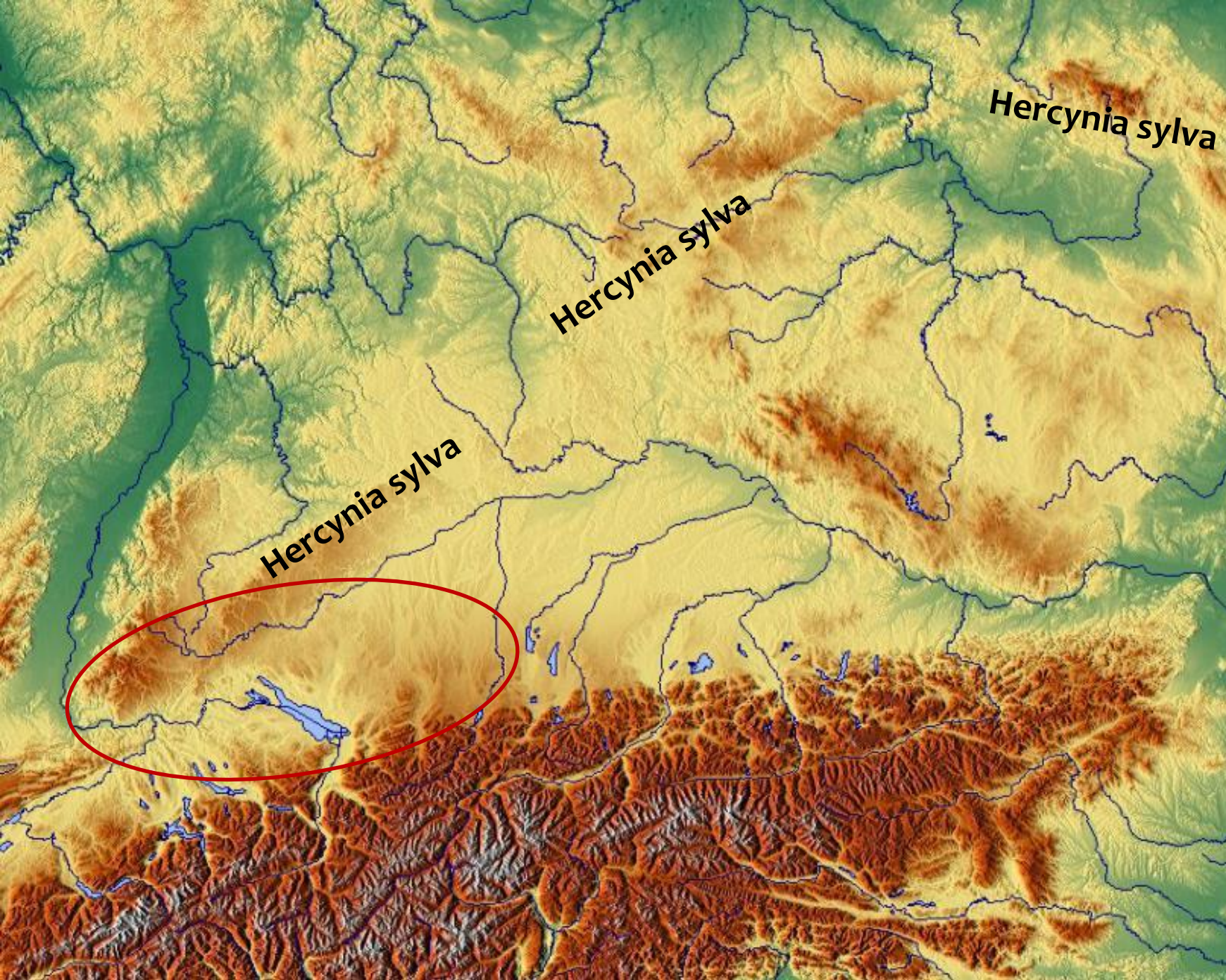
and [the Helvetii] admit to their party and unite to themselves as confederates the Boii, who had dwelt on the other side of the Rhine, and had crossed over into the Norican territory, and assaulted Noreia.



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. [...] 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.

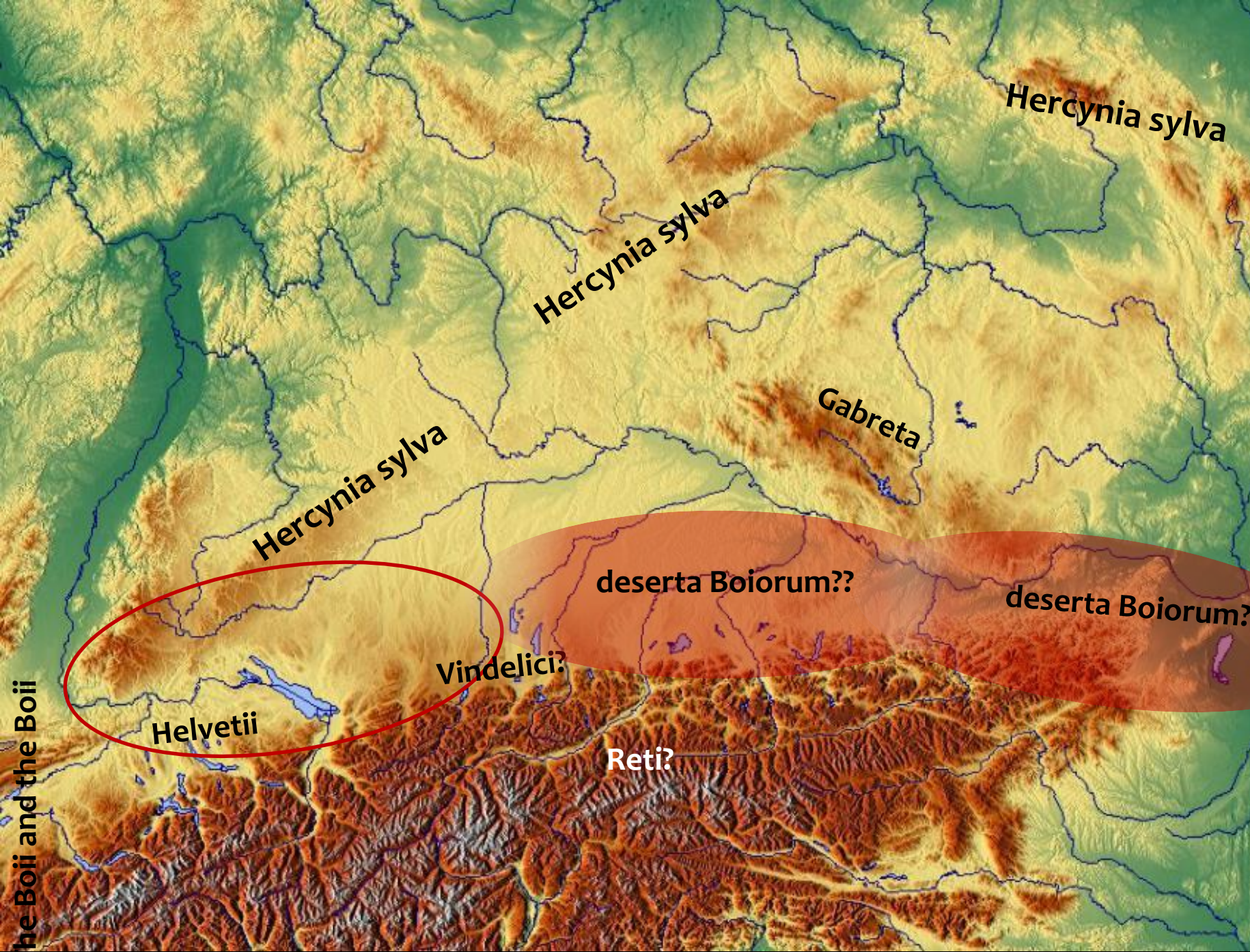


The Boii and the Boii



Strabo VII, 1.5

The Hercynian Forest [...] comprises a large circuit within regions that are fortified by nature; in the center of it, however, lies a country that is capable of affording an excellent livelihood. And near it are the sources of both the Ister and the Rhenus, as also the lake between the two sources, and the marshes into which the Rhenus spreads. [...] There is also an island in the lake which Tiberius used as a base of operations in his naval battle with the Vindelici. This lake is south of the sources of the Ister, as is also the Hercynian Forest, so that necessarily, in going from Celtica to the Hercynian Forest, one first crosses the lake and then the Ister, and from there on advances through more passable regions—plateaus—to the forest. Tiberius had proceeded only a day's journey from the lake when he saw the sources of the Ister.



Strabo VII, 1.5

The country of the Rhaeti adjoins the lake for only a short distance, whereas that of the Helvetii and the Vindelici, and also the desert of the Boii, adjoin the greater part of it. All the peoples as far as the Pannonii, but more especially the Helvetii and the Vindelici, inhabit plateaus. But the countries of the Rhaeti and the Norici extend as far as the passes over the Alps and verge toward Italy, a part thereof bordering on the country of the Insubri and a part on that of the Carni and the legions about Aquileia. And there is also another large forest, Gabreta;⁶ it is on this side of the territory of the Suevi, whereas the Hercynian Forest, which is also held by them, is on the far side.

Strabo VII, 3.11

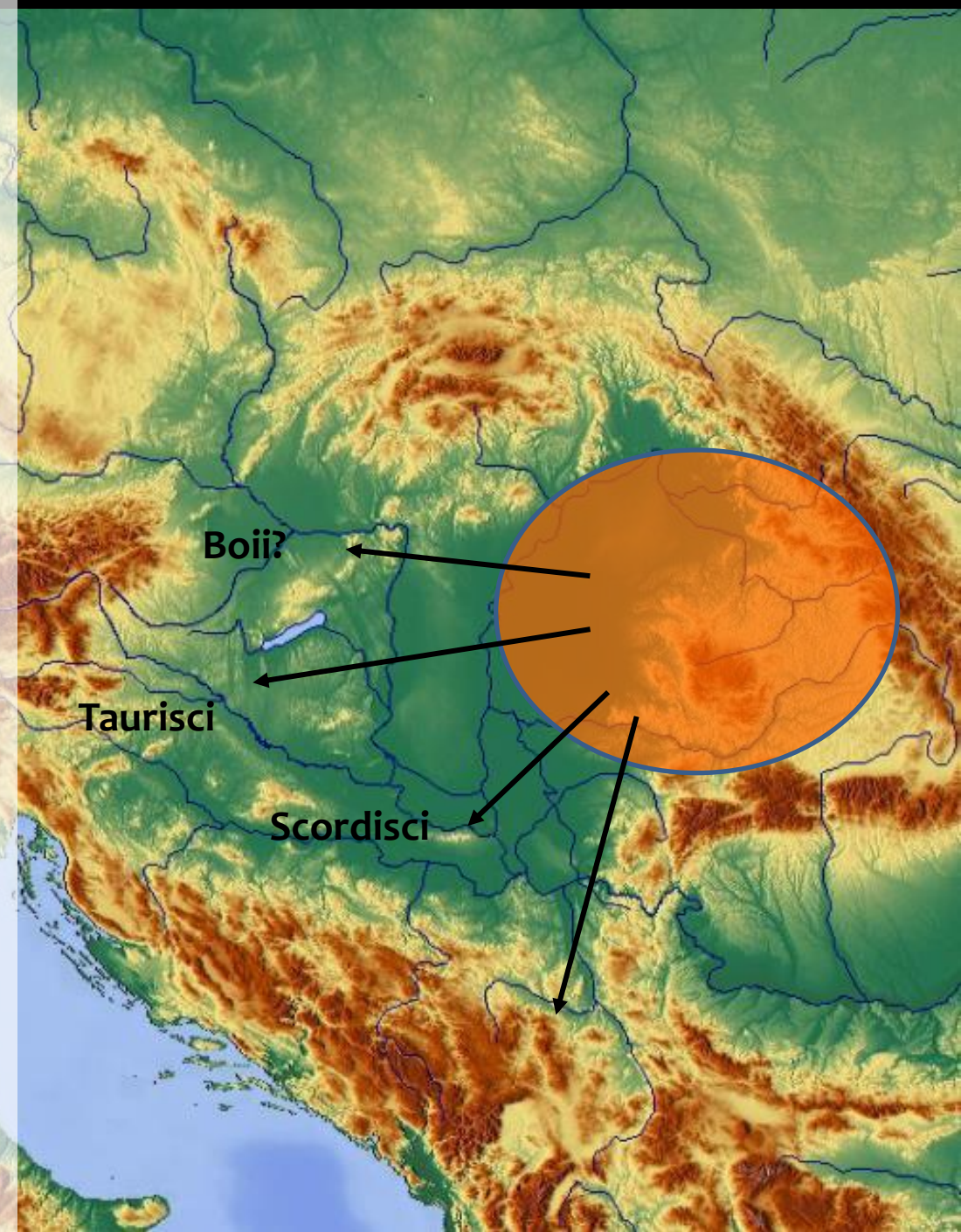
Boerebistas a Getan [...], restored the people, who had been reduced to an evil plight by numerous wars, and raised them to such a height through training, sobriety, and obedience to his commands that within only a few years he had established a great empire and subordinated to the Getae most of the neighboring peoples. And he began to be formidable even to the Romans, because he would cross the Ister with impunity and plunder Thrace as far as Macedonia and the Illyrian country; and he not only laid waste the country of the Celti who were intermingled with the Thracians and the Illyrians, but actually caused the complete disappearance of the Boii who were under the rule of Critasirus, and also of the Taurisci.

VII, 3.2

For at the present time these tribes [...] are mingled with the Thracians. And mingled with them are also the Celtic tribes—the Boii, the Scordisci, and the Taurisci.

VII, 5.6

for those who were most powerful in earlier times were utterly humbled or were obliterated, as, for example, among the Galatae the Boii and the Scordistae [...]; that is, they were reduced in warfare by one another at first and then later by the Macedonians and the Romans.



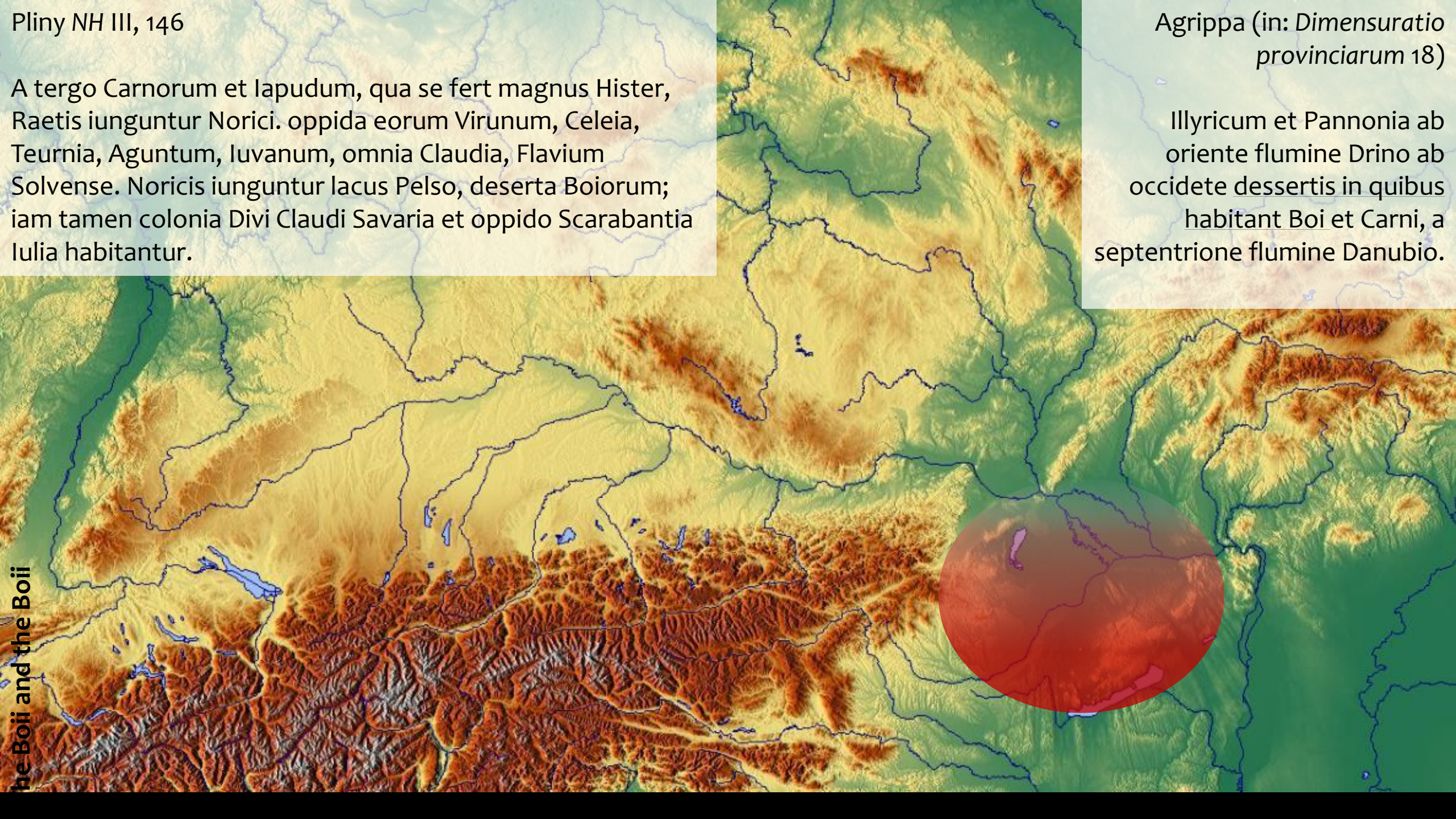
Pliny NH III, 146

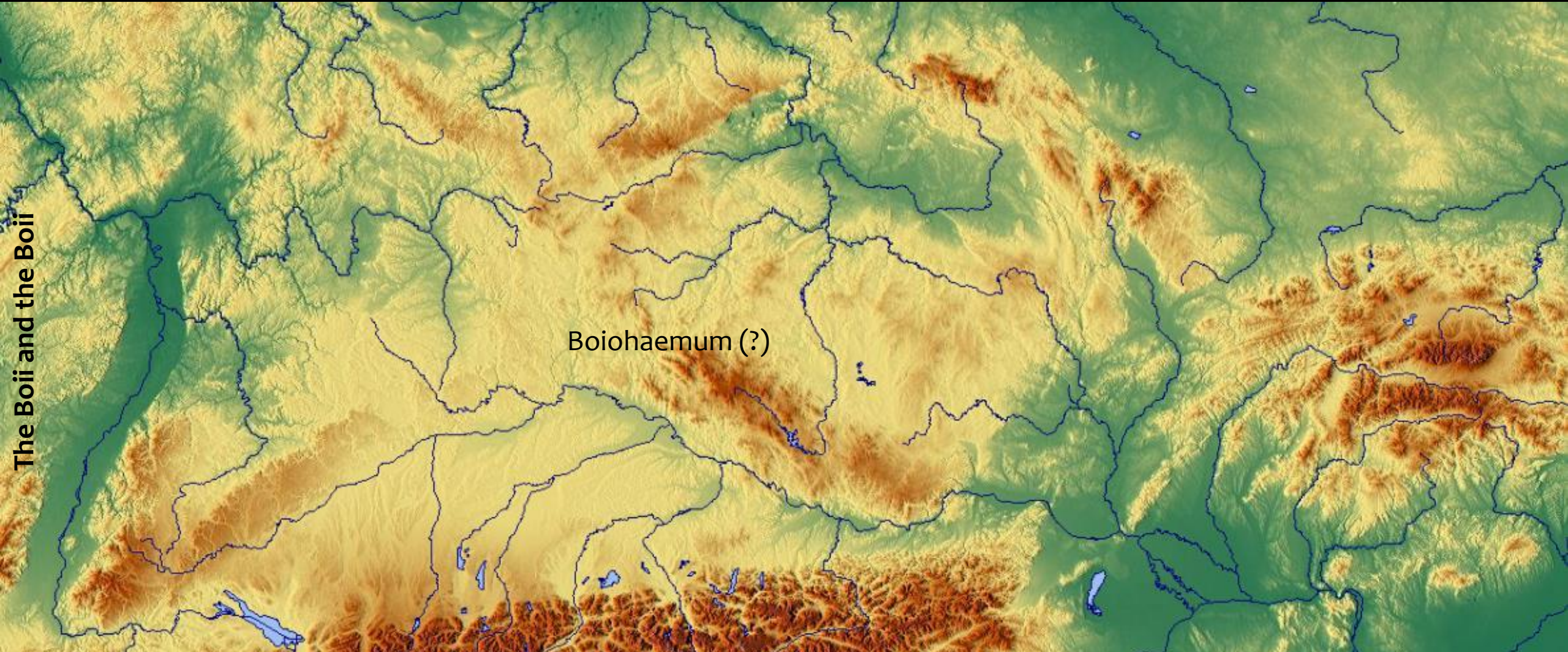
A tergo Carnorum et Iapudum, qua se fert magnus Hister, Raetis iunguntur Norici. oppida eorum Virunum, Celeia, Teurnia, Aguntum, Iuvanum, omnia Claudia, Flavium Solvense. Noricis iunguntur lacus Pelso, deserta Boiorum; iam tamen colonia Divi Claudii Savaria et oppidum Scarabantia Iulia habitantur.

Agrippa (in: *Dimensuratio provinciarum* 18)

Illyricum et Pannonia ab oriente flumine Drino ab occidente dessertis in quibus habitant Boi et Carni, a septentrione flumine Danubio.

the Boii and the Boii





The Boii and the Boii

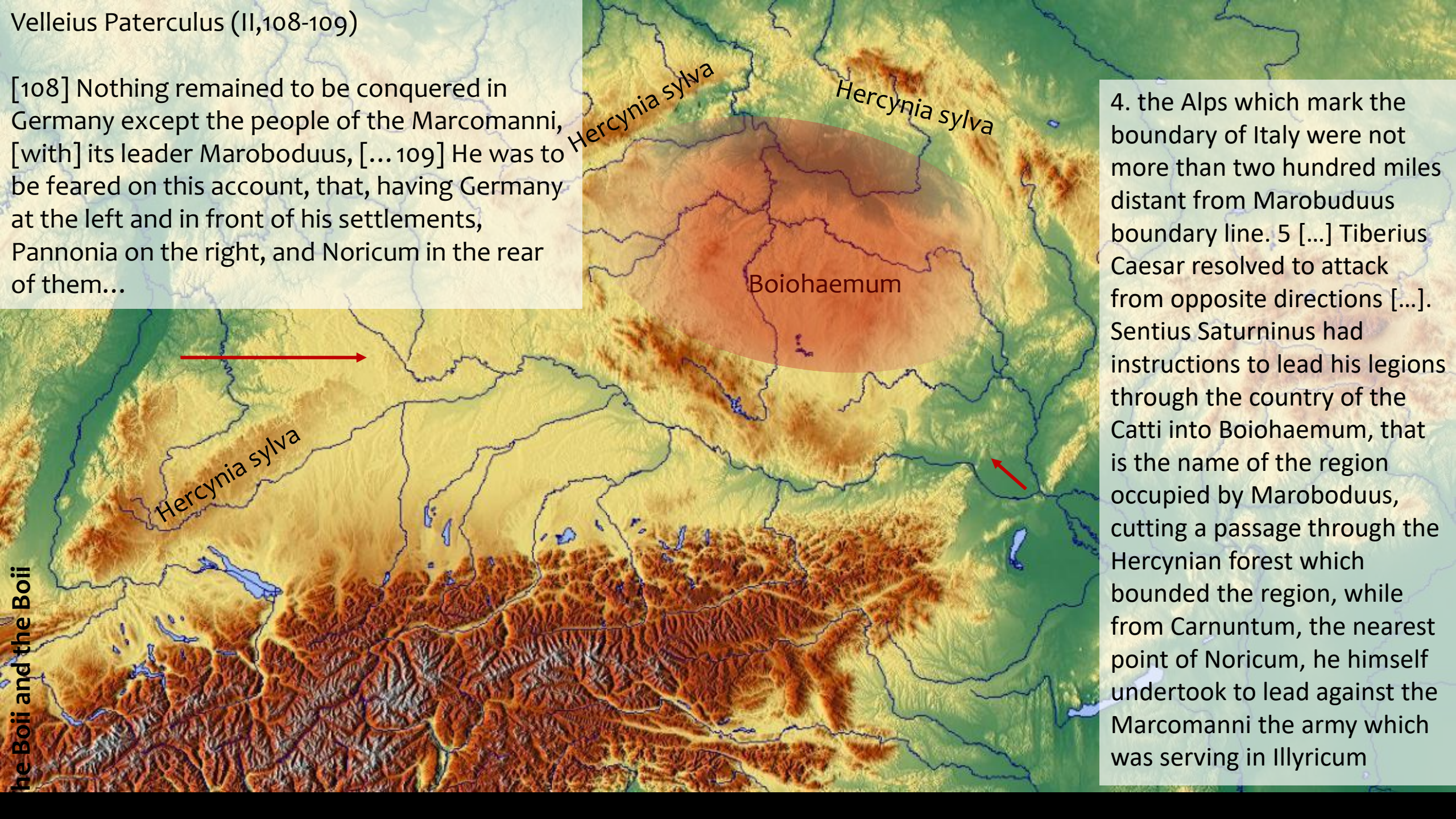
Boiohaemum (?)

Strabo VII, 1, 3

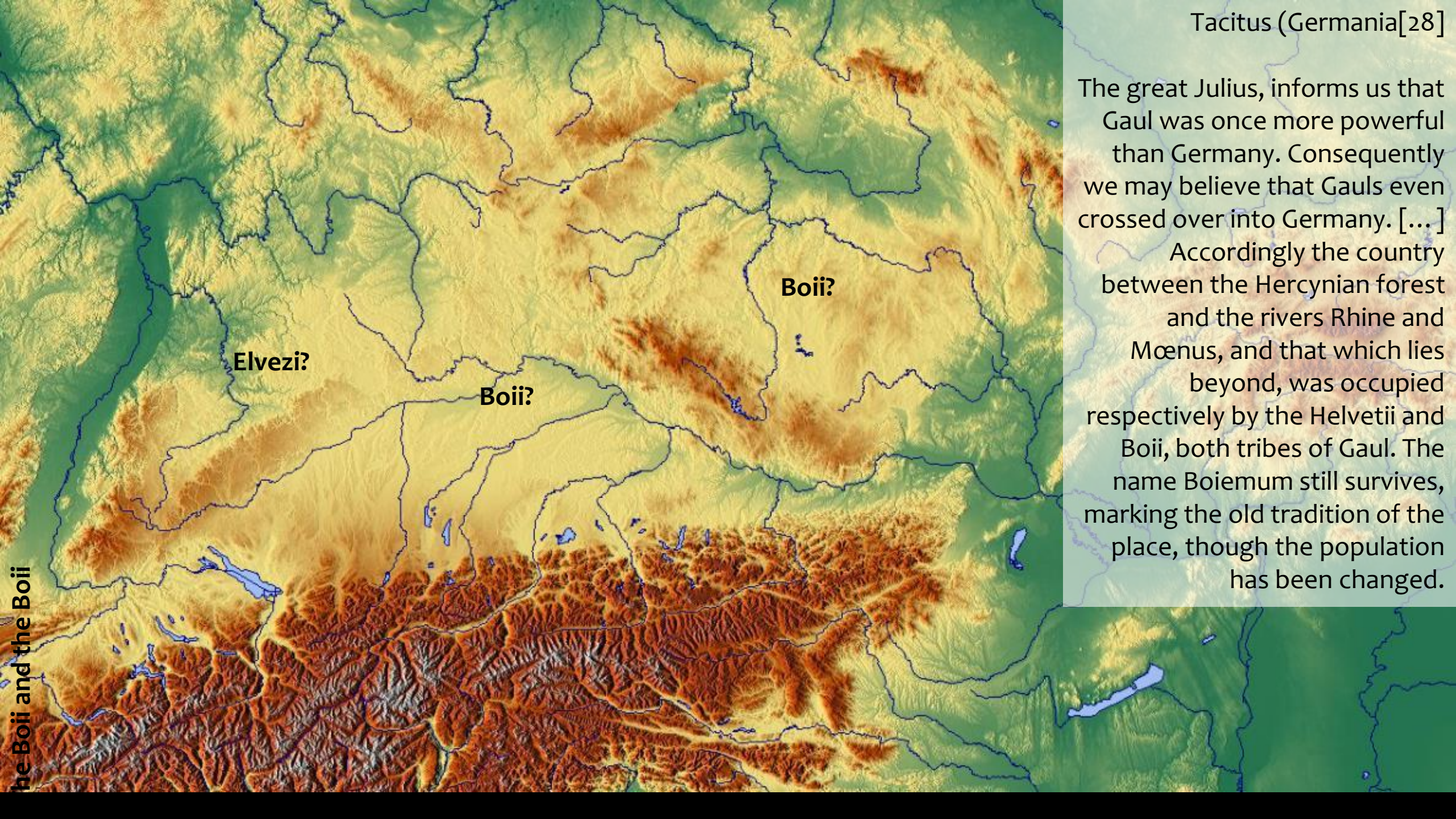
the country is elevated towards the south and forms a mountain chain that connects with the Alps and extends towards the east as though it were a part of the Alps [...] Here, too, is the Hercynian Forest and also the tribes of the Suevi, some of which dwell inside the forest, [and], in whose territory is Boihaemum, the domain of Marabodus, the place whither he caused to migrate [...] several peoples, in particular the Marcomanni, his fellow-tribesmen; after his return from Rome this man [...] was placed in charge of the stateaffairs. for, as a youth he had been at Rome and enjoyed the favor of Augustus...

Velleius Paterculus (II,108-109)

[108] Nothing remained to be conquered in Germany except the people of the Marcomanni, [with] its leader Maroboduus, [... 109] He was 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...



4. the Alps which mark the boundary of Italy were not more than two hundred miles distant from Maroboduus boundary line. 5 [...] Tiberius Caesar resolved to attack from opposite directions [...]. Sentius Saturninus had instructions to lead his legions through the country of the Catti into Boiohaemum, 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 nearest point of Noricum, he himself undertook to lead against the Marcomanni the army which was serving in Illyricum

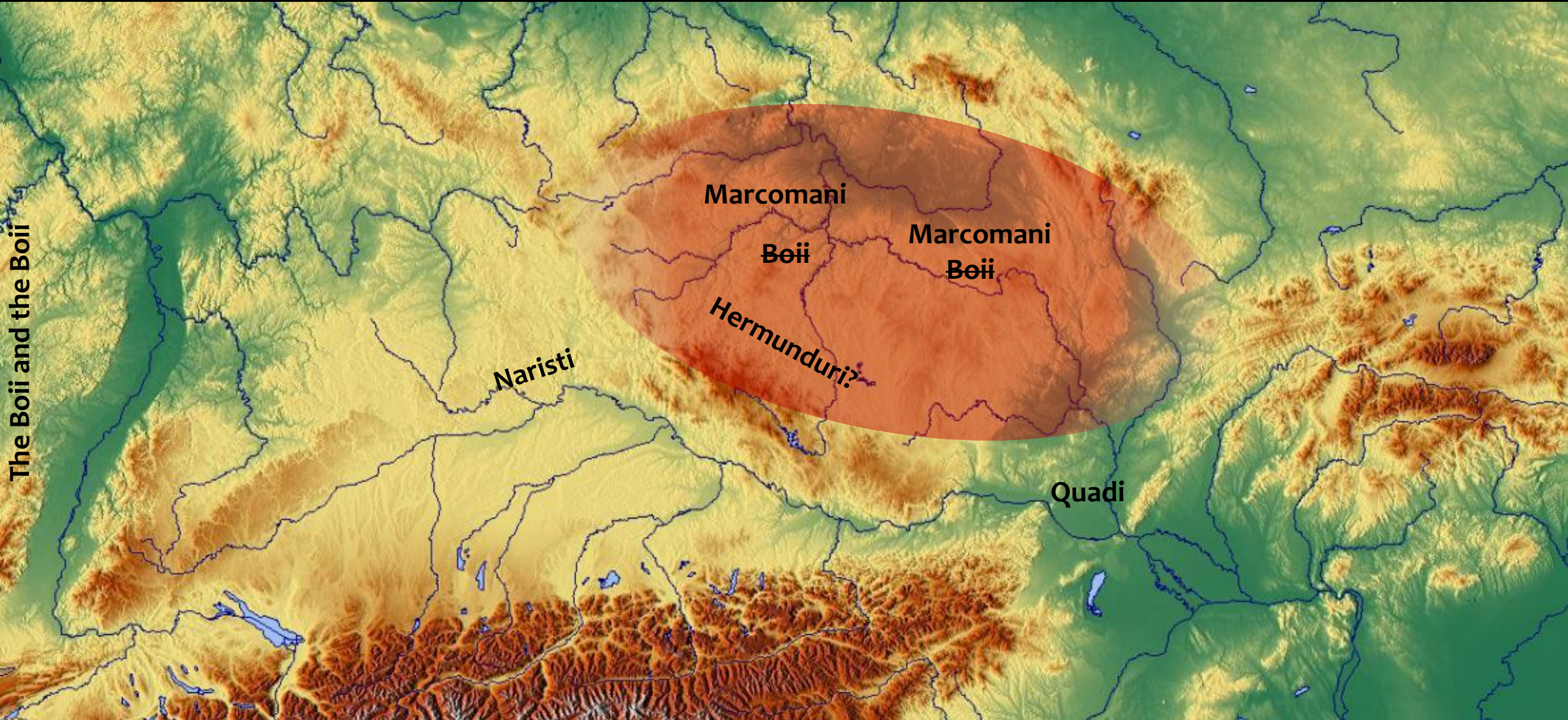


Tacitus (Germania[28]

The great Julius, informs us that Gaul was once more powerful than Germany. Consequently we may believe that Gauls even crossed over into Germany. [...]

Accordingly the country between the Hercynian forest and the rivers Rhine and Mœnus, 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.

he Boii and the Boii



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.

MOGETISSAE
COMATULLI F. BOIO
(CIL III p. 867 nr. XXIV:
Weißenburg)

BOIOS
(Manching)

ARIOMANUS ILLIATI
F(ILIVS) BOI
(CIL III 4594:
Ebersdorf)

L. VOLCATIO Q. F. VEL.
PRIMO PRAEF. COH. I.
NORICOR. IN PANN.
PRAEF. RIPAE DANVVI
ET CIVITATIVM DVARVM
BOIOR[VM] ET
AZALIOR[VM]
(CIL IX 5363: Győr)

[D]EANA E
E[X]PLORATOR[ES]
TRIBOCI ET BOII
[V.S.]L.L.M
(CIL XIII 6448: Benningen)

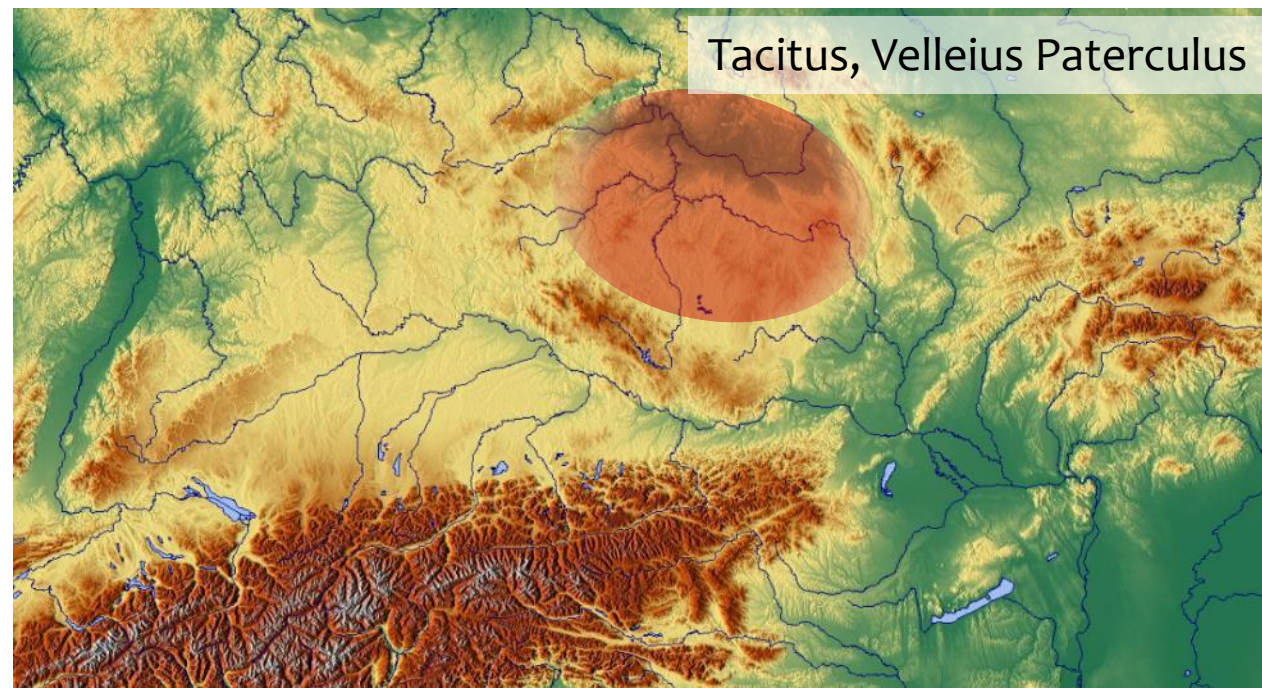
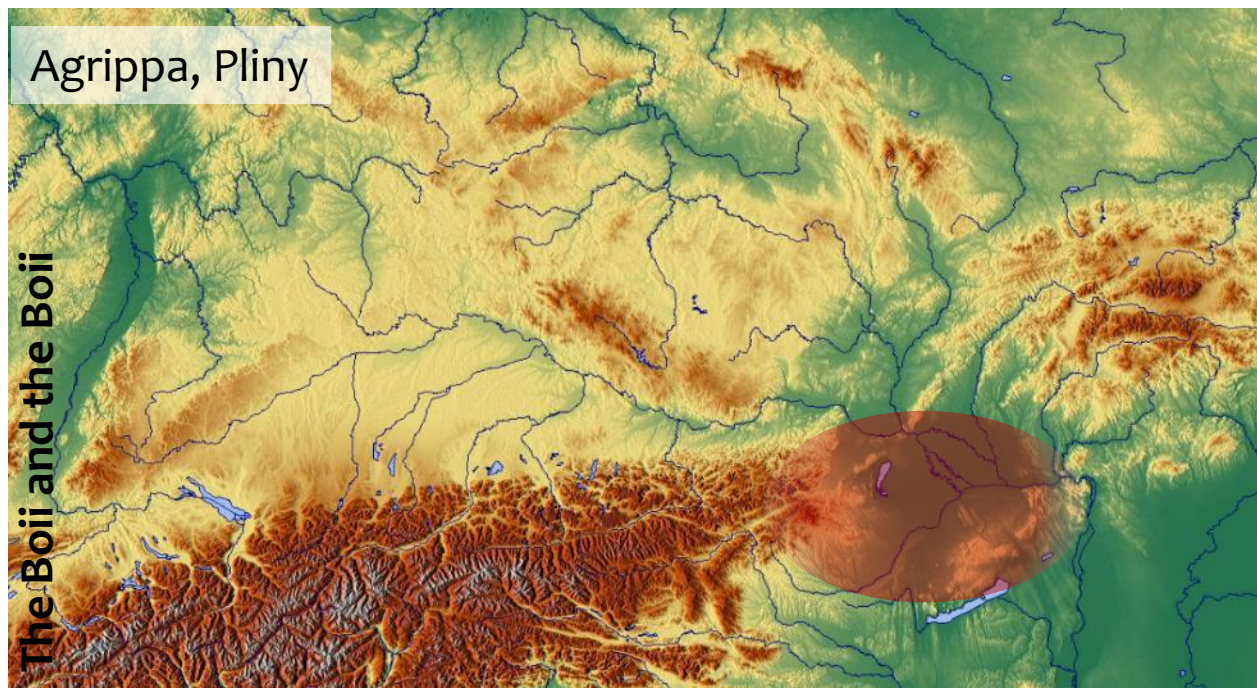
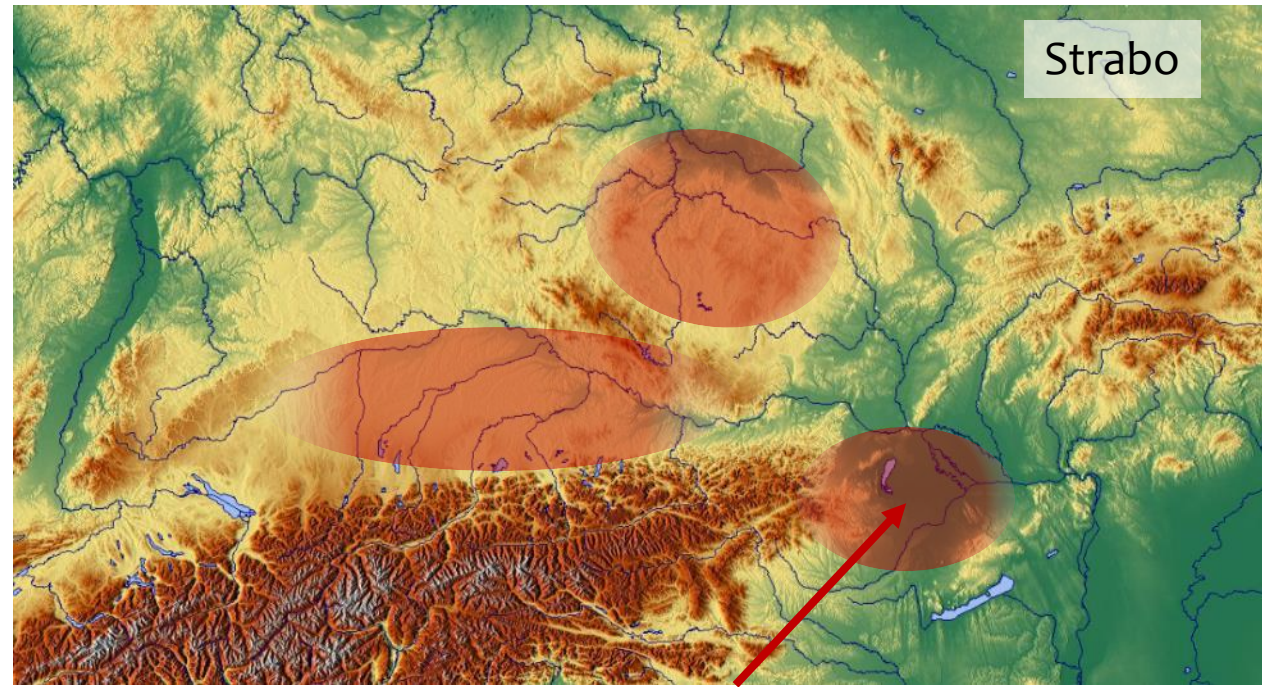
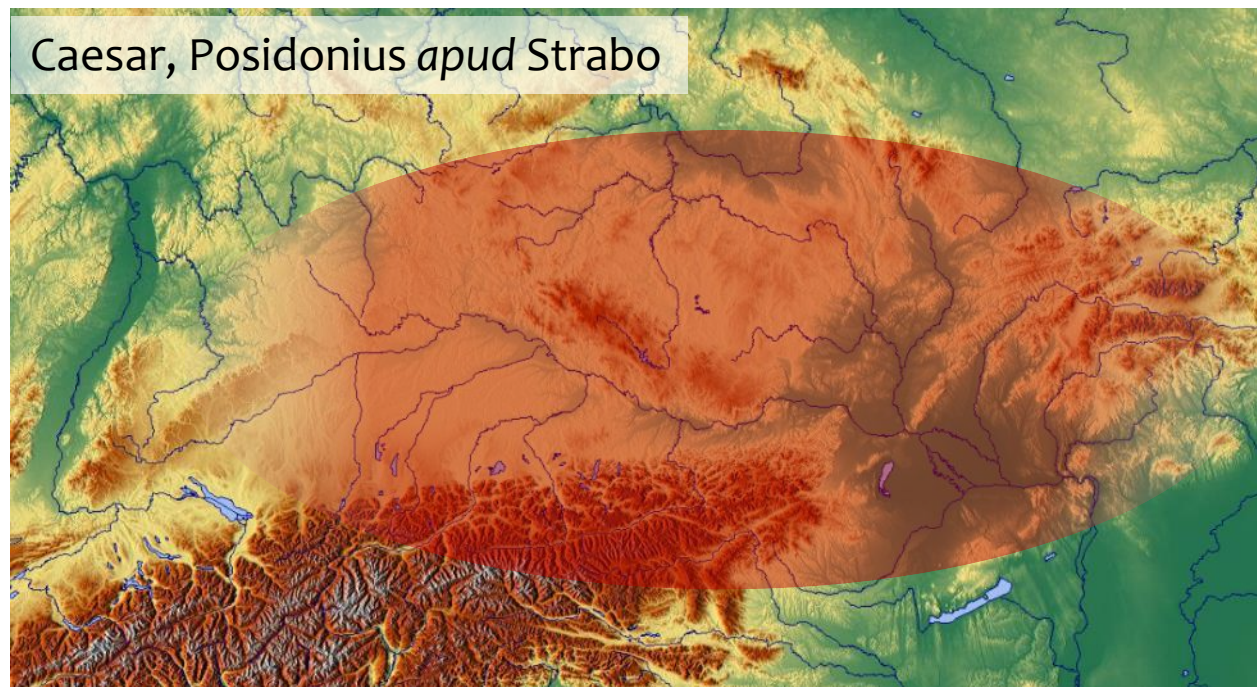
Boiodurum

the Boii and the Boii

D(is) M(anibus) M(arci)
COSS(ioi) NATALI
[centurionis numeri
exploratorum] BOIORUM
ET [trib]OCCORUM...
(Murrhardt)

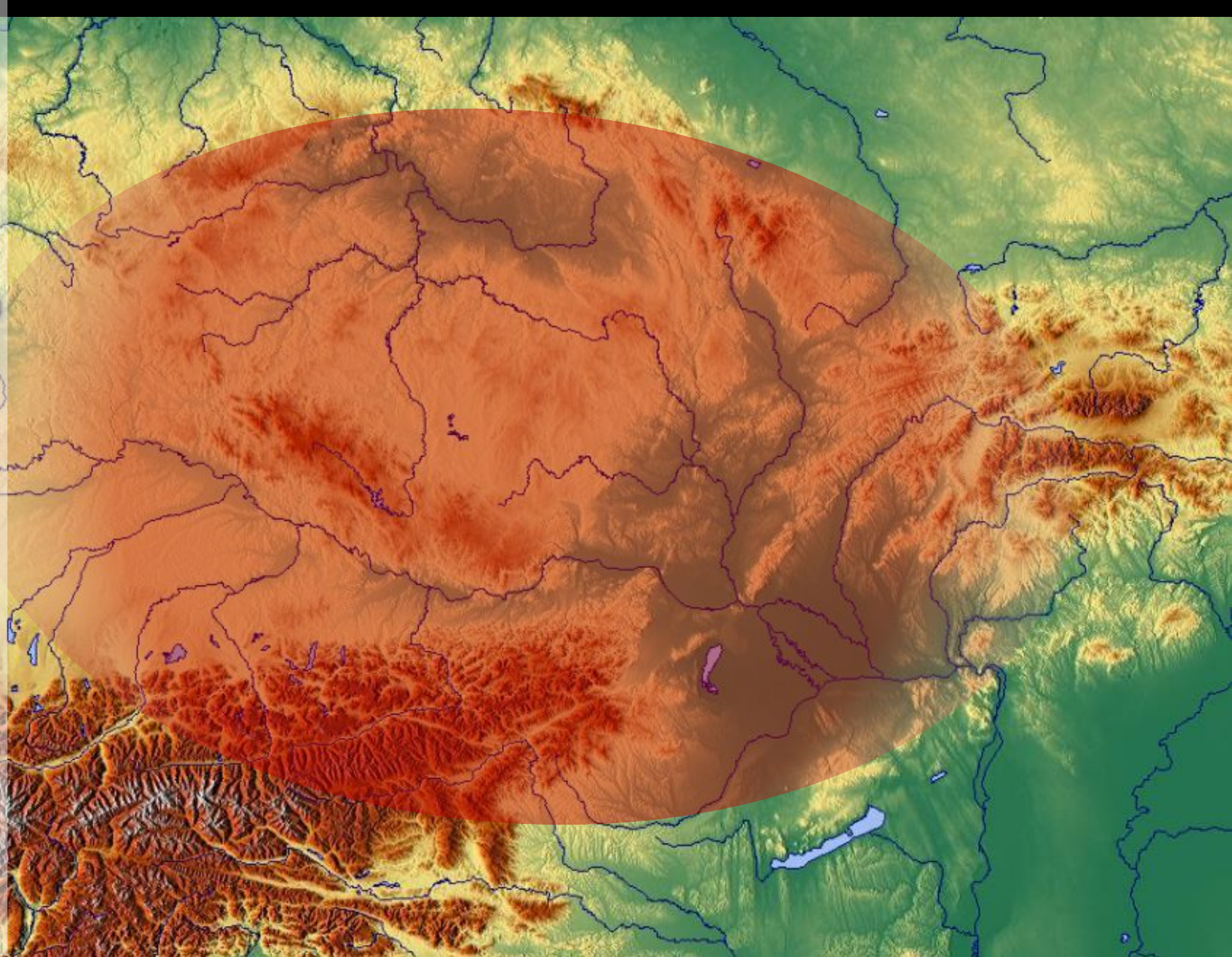
D(IS) M(ANIBUS) ULPI TITI EQ.
SING. AUG. N. TUR(MA)
EMERITI NAT(IONE) BOIUS [...]
ALLECT. EX ALA I THR(ACUM)
EX PANN(ONIA) SUP(ERIORE)
CIL VI 3308, Roma

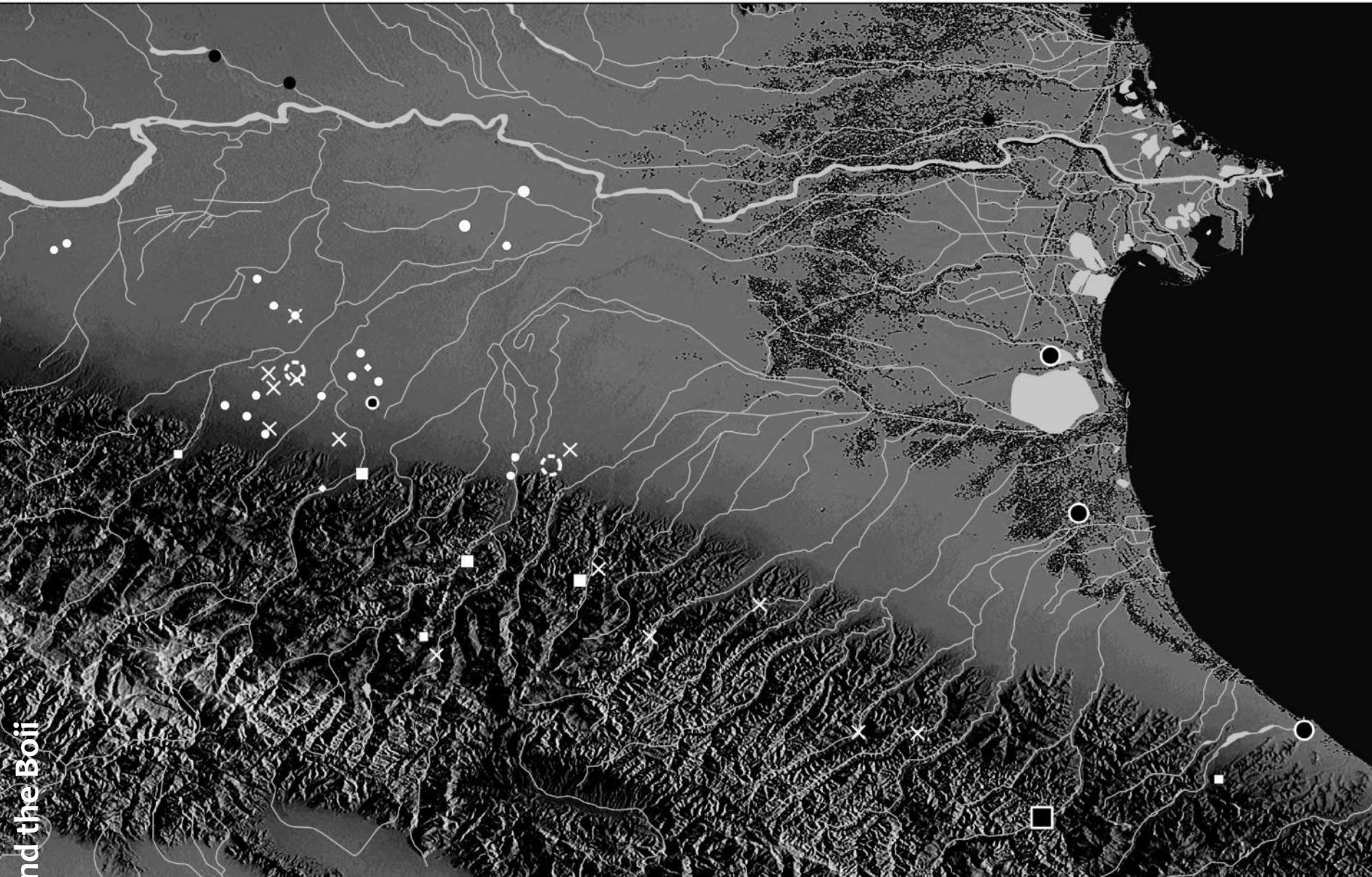
NERTOMARO
IRDUCISSAE F.
BOIO
(CIL III p.869 N°
XXVI: Carnuntum)



Boii in central Europe

- => Is a name from outside – Roman or German
- the only sure location is in the Middle Danube area
- most probably the name was used for various peoples in the whole of central Europe
- Boii arriving to the Middle Danube area from Italy is an invention of Strabo
- there is no mention of Boii in Central Europe before ca. 120/100 BC
- identification of Boii with Bohemia is only the result of historical circumstances in the Roman period and Middle ages





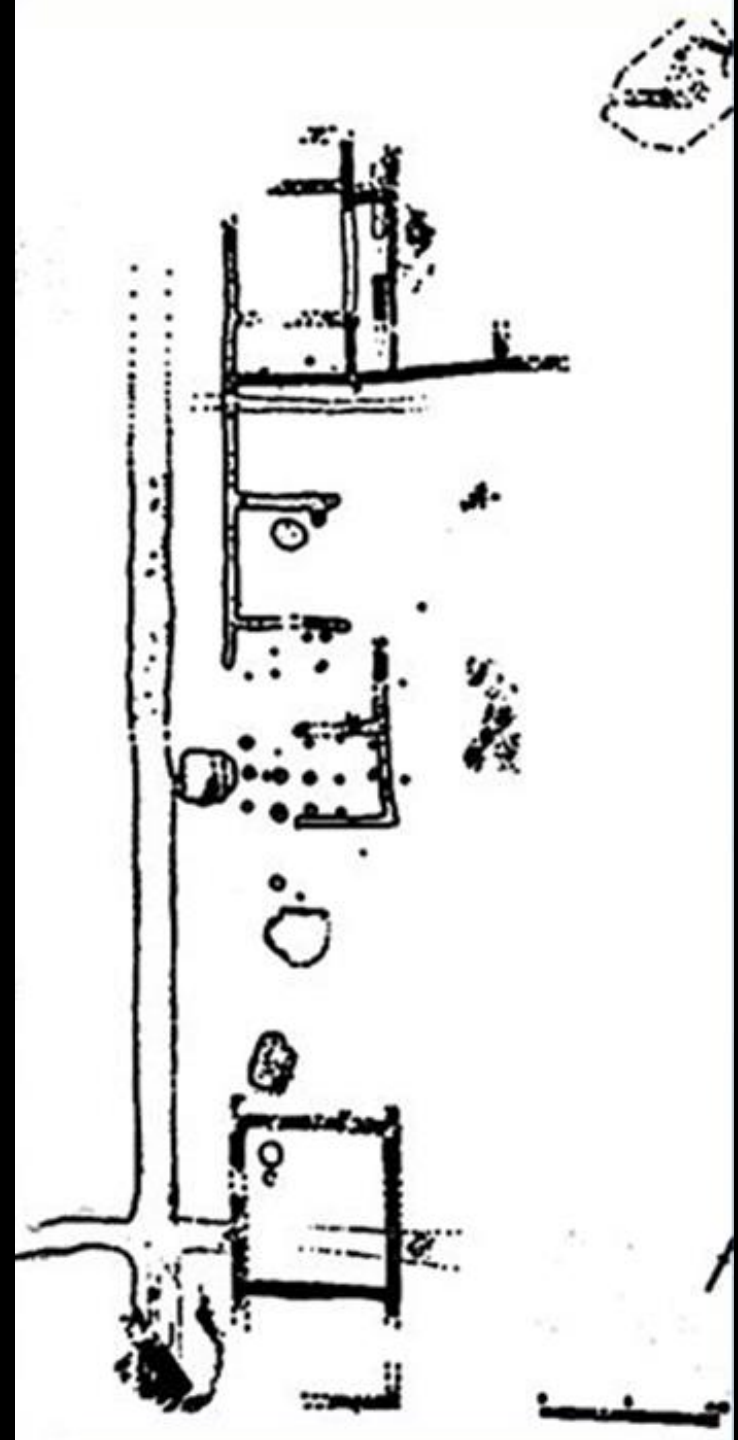
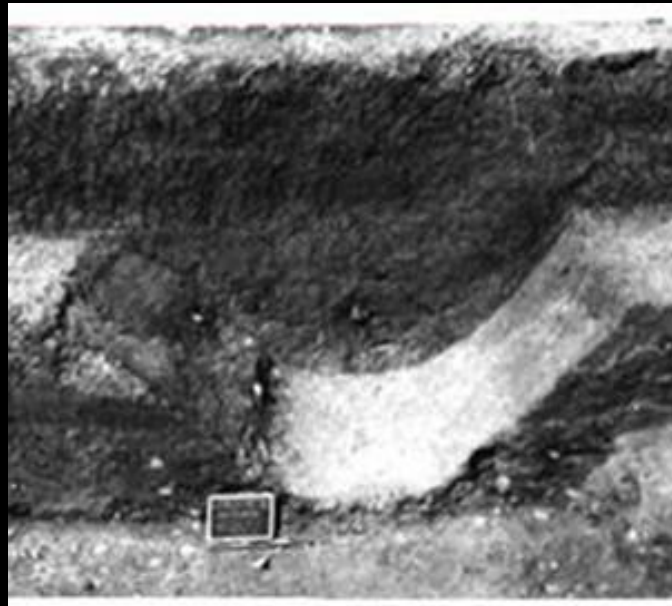
-the settlement structure of the territory of Boii features no particular complexity and no signs of being model for later Central Europe

-the advanced Felsinean settlement structure was in ruins and only passively exploited, not further developed in any way

cemetery	x				●	Etr. / Rm.	□	this is what an oppidum the thing the Boii were supposed to introduce to central Europe (would look like... (there is none...)
lowland setl.	●	>2 ha	2-10 ha	<10 ha	○	fortified		
highland setl.	■	■	■	■	⊙	uncert.		

Casalecchio di Reno (and elsewhere)

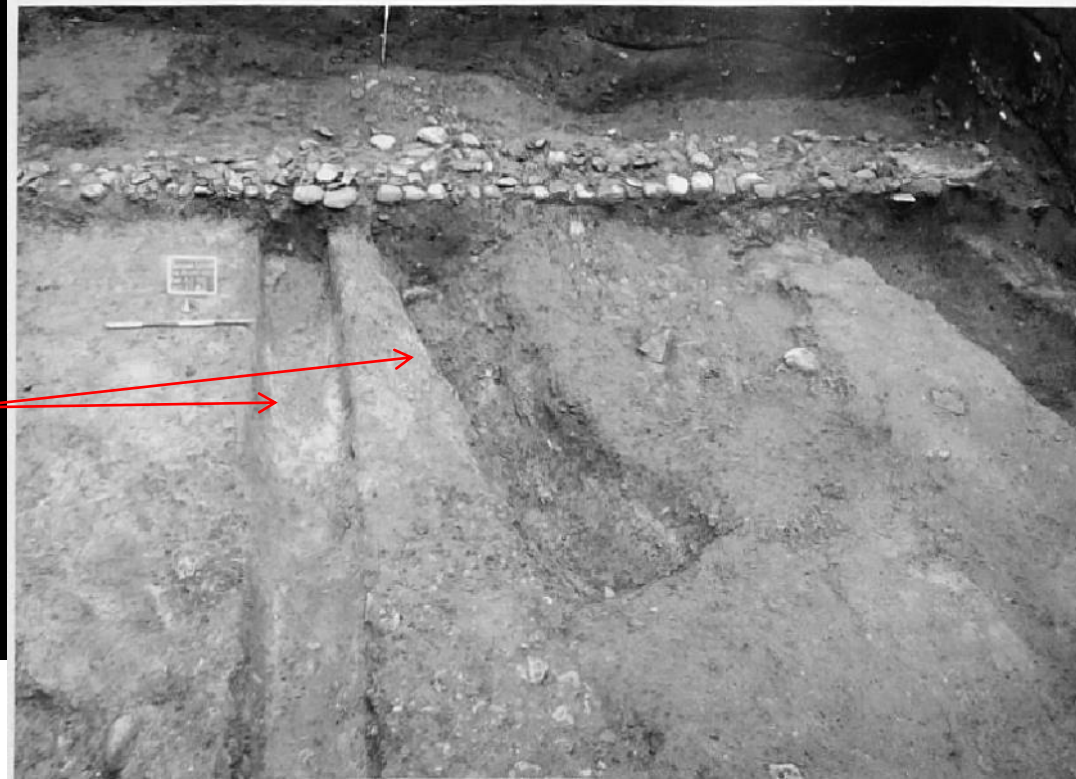
- the Felsinean settlement is abandoned (we have heard this already)
- disused water channels (necessary for well functioning agriculture in the marshy Po valley) gradually silted
- the Celtic (?) community obviously had no abilities or motivation to maintain the complex water management



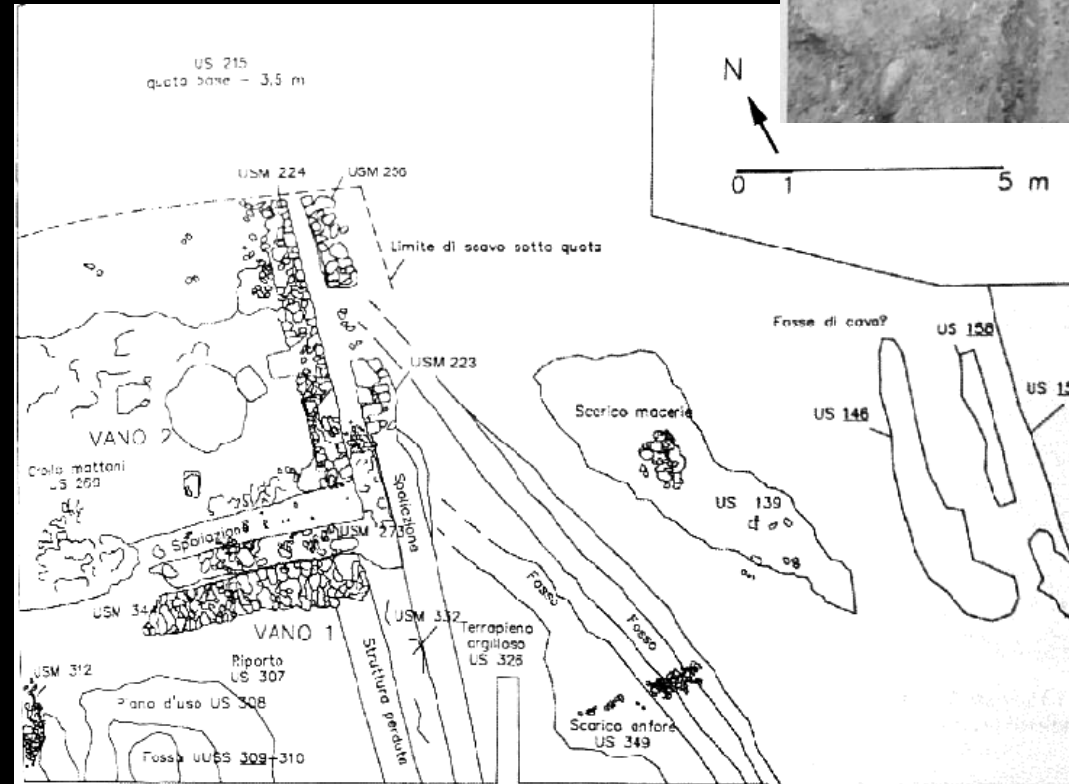
Bologna – viale Aldini

- Felsinean settlement with occupation until the Celtic period
- no clear structures from the Celtic period, only layers with finds
- the only clear activity of this period is dismantling Felsinean stone walls including emptying their foundation trenches

trenches after quarrying out felsinean stone walls



=> The Celtic period was apparently not a phase of flourish and prosperity in the region...:~/



a silted felsinean water chanel



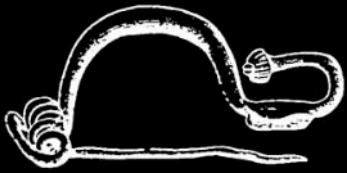


„the Boii invade Italy in cca 400 BC, departing from southern Bohemia which gets depopulated at exactly the same time.“

The Boii and the Boii

-there is no logical connection between the events in Bohemia and the invasion in Italy

-population drop in Bohemia appeared at the end of LT A

-those who invaded Italy were characterised by the LT B1 flat graves which were as foreign in Italy as they were in Bohemia

	SW Bohemia	Central Bohemia	northern Italy
LT A	 <p>densely populated -tumuli, cremations</p> <p>→ depopulation</p>	<p>LT A</p> <p>„invasion“</p>	<p>felsinian culture</p> <p>„invasion“</p>
LT B1	<p>mostly depopulated</p> <p>rare cremations</p>	<p>(pre-)duchcov brooches</p> <p>flat inhumations</p>  	<p>(pre-)duchcov brooches</p> <p>flat inhumations</p>

„the origin of the Italian Boii in SW Bohemia is proven by their biritualism, cremation being characteristic of early LT Bohemia and



-the connection between Bohemia and Emilia-Romagna is sometimes sought in the cremation rite practiced in LT A Bohemia and in LT B–C Emilia BUT!

SW Bohemia

Northern Italy

LT A: -tumuli and cremation
-rare inhumations – significant burials

Biritualism

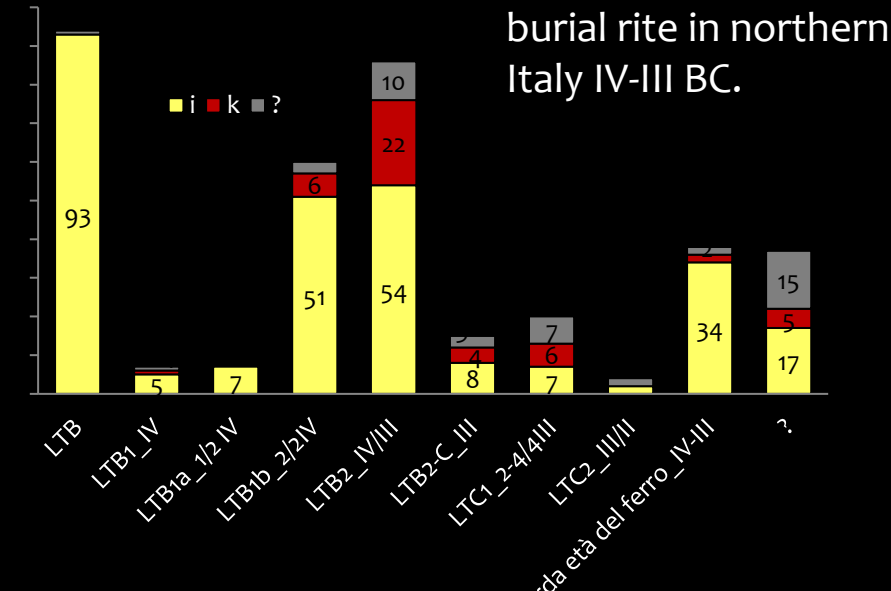
-in Bohemia cremation is the norm, inhumation an elite rite – in Italy it is the contrary

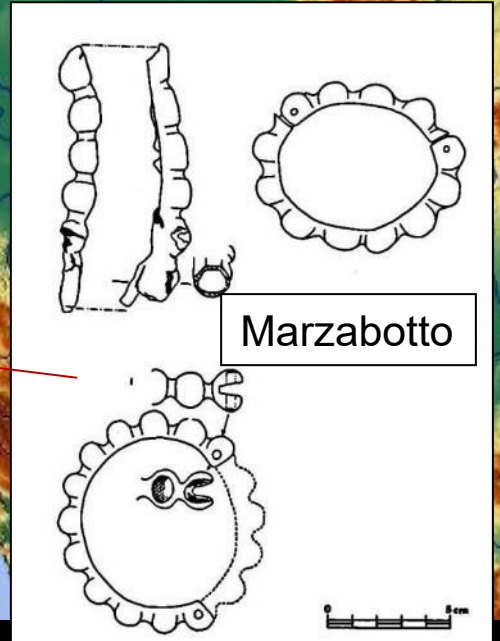
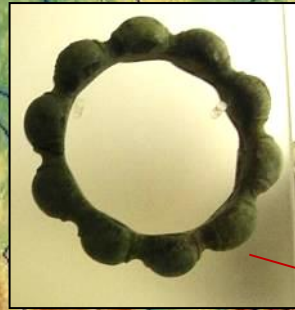
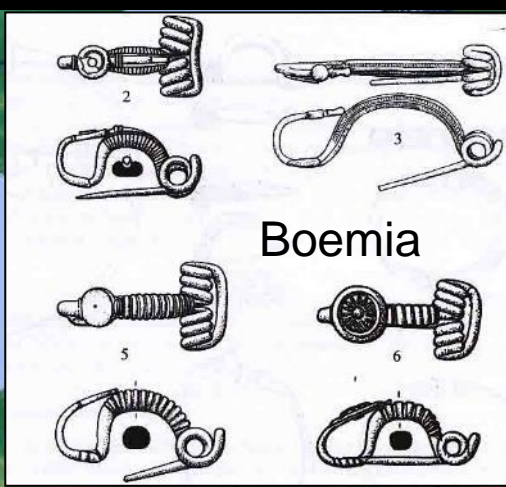
LTB/C: -rare cremations in earlier tumuli

flat cemeteries, from LTB2 on rare cremations (esp. significant burials)

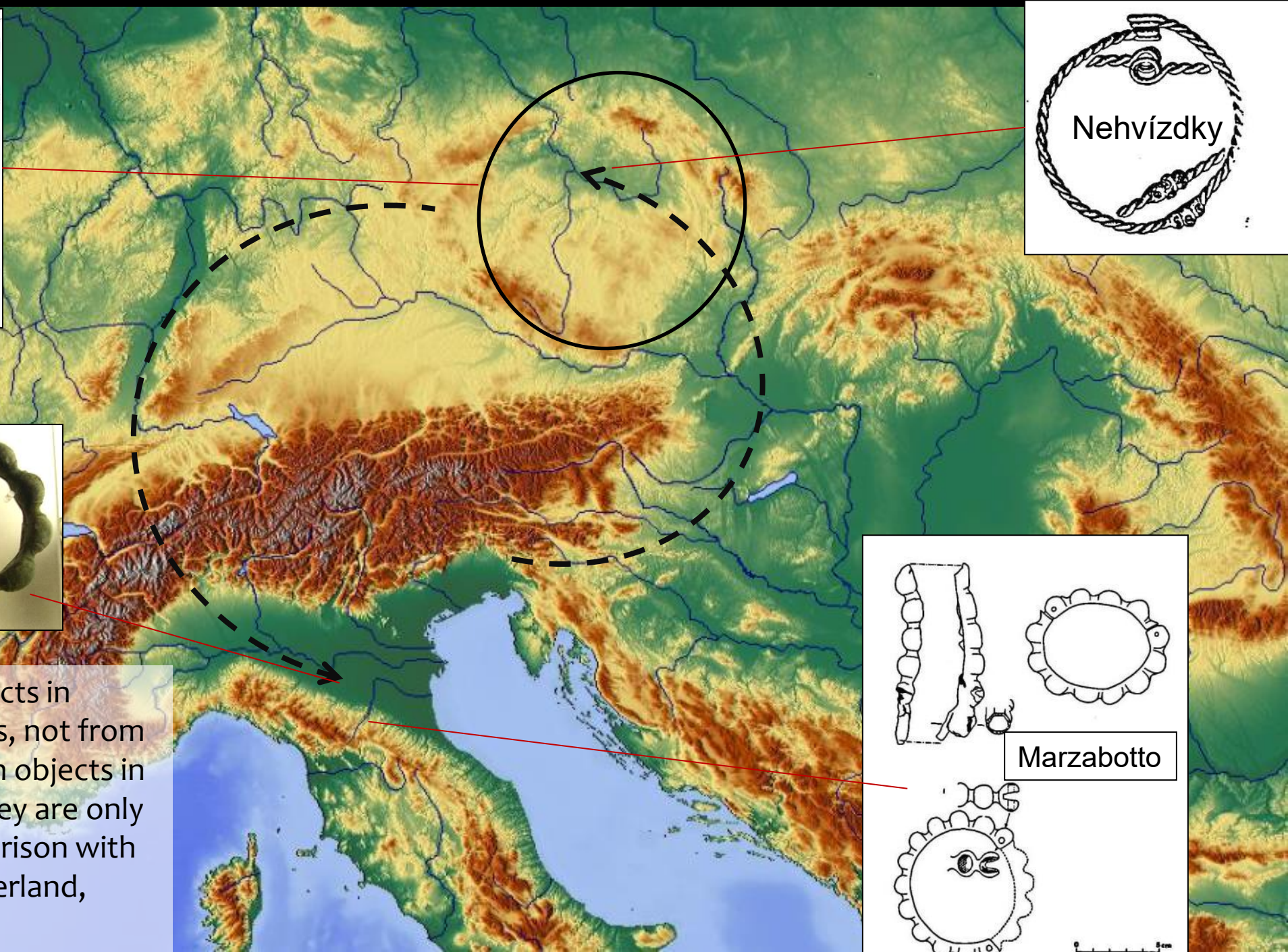
-cremation only became common in Italy in late 4th century

=> no





There are a few Italian objects in Bohemia (but from the Alps, not from Emilia) and a few Bohemian objects in Italy... but in both cases they are only absolute minority in comparison with objects from France, Switzerland, Carpathian basin etc.



... though there is one significant exception in Bohemia (more on it the next time)

https://www.academia.edu/33429082/Ste_bno-Nouze_pozoruhodn%C3%BD_lat%C3%A9nsk%C3%BD_depot_z_Podbo%C5%99anska_Stebno-Nouze_a_remarkabl_e_La_T%C3%A8ne_hoard_from_Western_Bohemia_

The Boil and the Boil

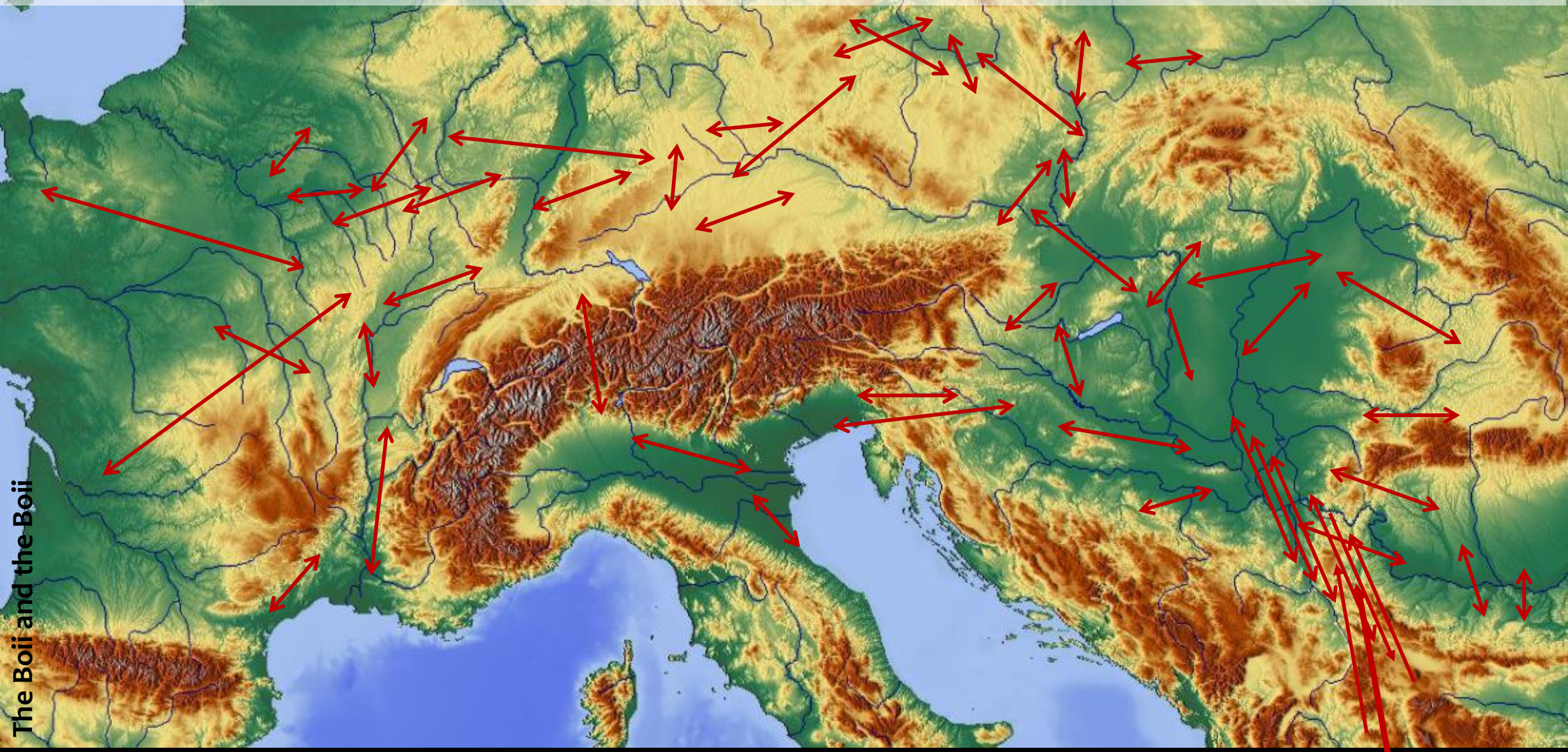


Rather than large movements of entire tribes from one specific place to another...

The Boii and the Boii



... the migrations of this period should be understood as a series of small scale migrations of small groups. Rather than entire social groups changing places, the groups and social position of individuals were being (re-)established during and as a result of these migrations



=>

- 1) There are no signs that Boii were present in Bohemia in the 5th century BC
- 2) There is no evidence – historical or archaeological – that the Boii from Italy and central Europe were identical
- 3) There is no evidence of connection between Bohemia and Italy during the 4th–3rd century
- 4) There was nothing, the Italian Boi learnt in Italy that could benefit Central Europe and help develop local settlement structure or economy (more on it in the last lecture)

