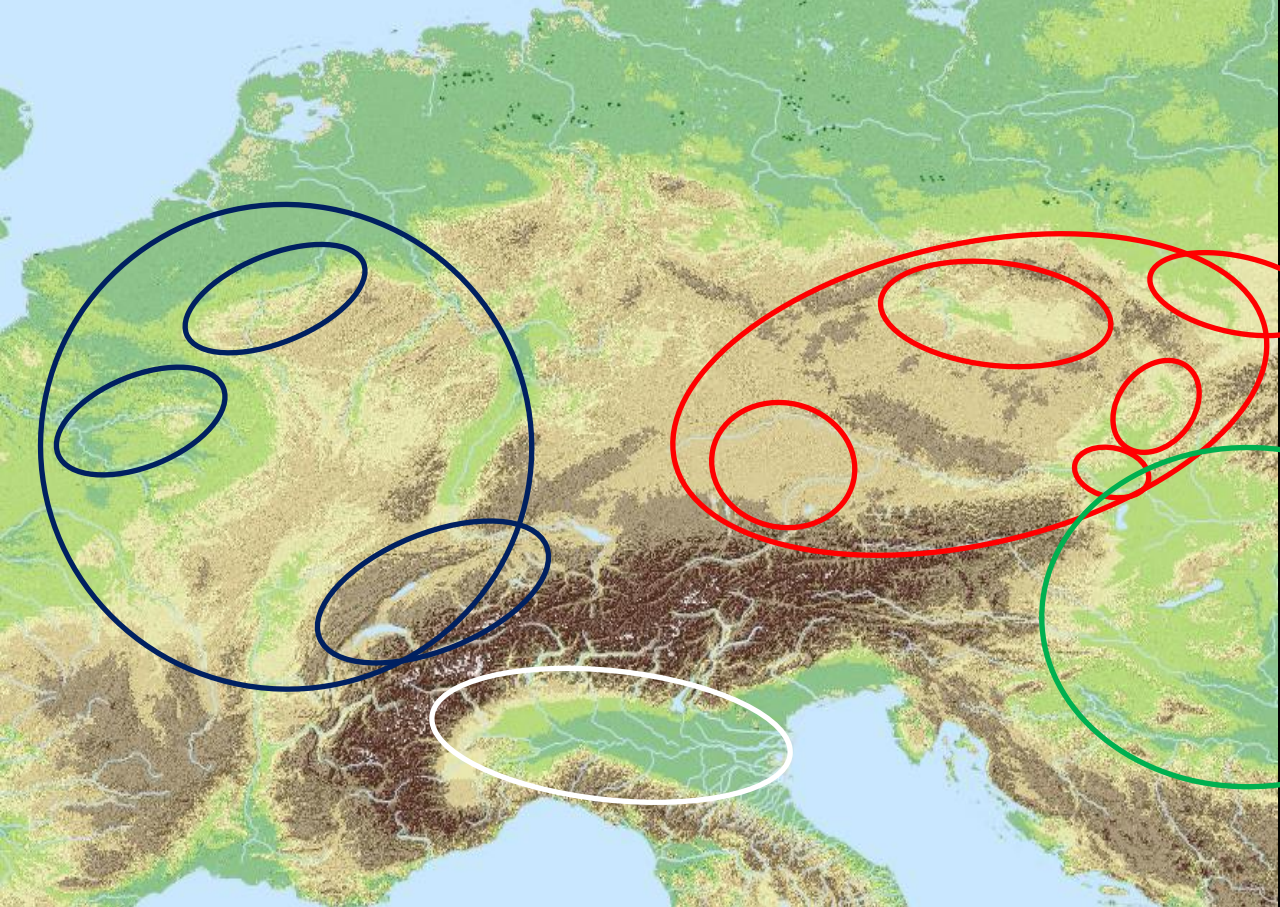
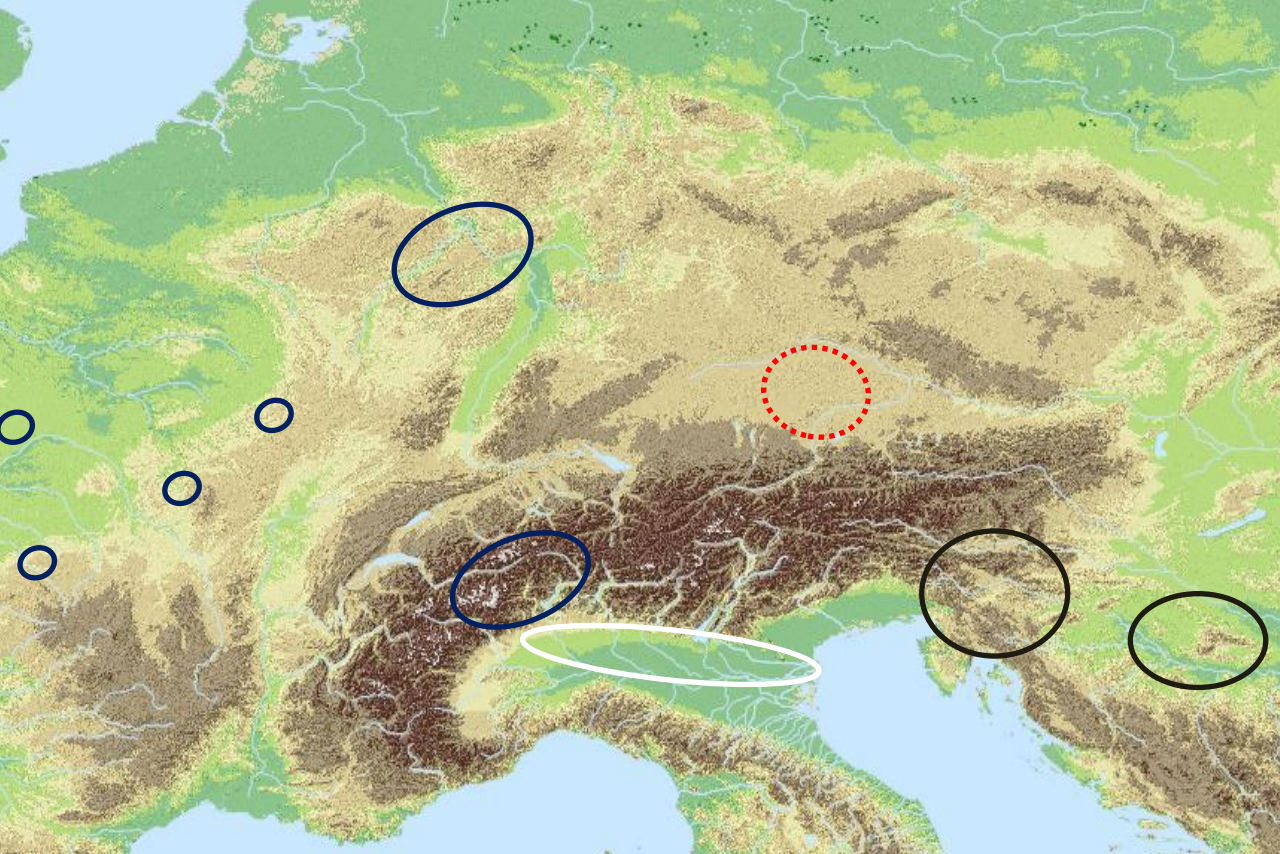


**MEDITERRANEAN AND CENTRAL EUROPE
IN LATE IRON AGE
(LT C₂–LT D)**

LTC1 – archeologically visible burials disappeared in most of Central Europe

⇒ from mid 3rd till 1st c. BC we have no idea what they did with the bodies...

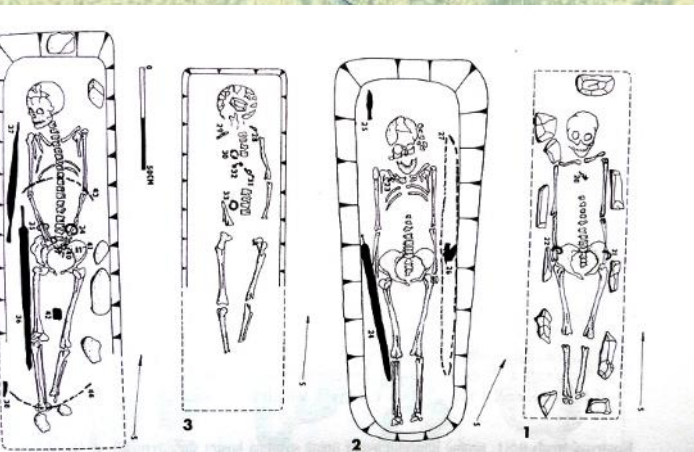
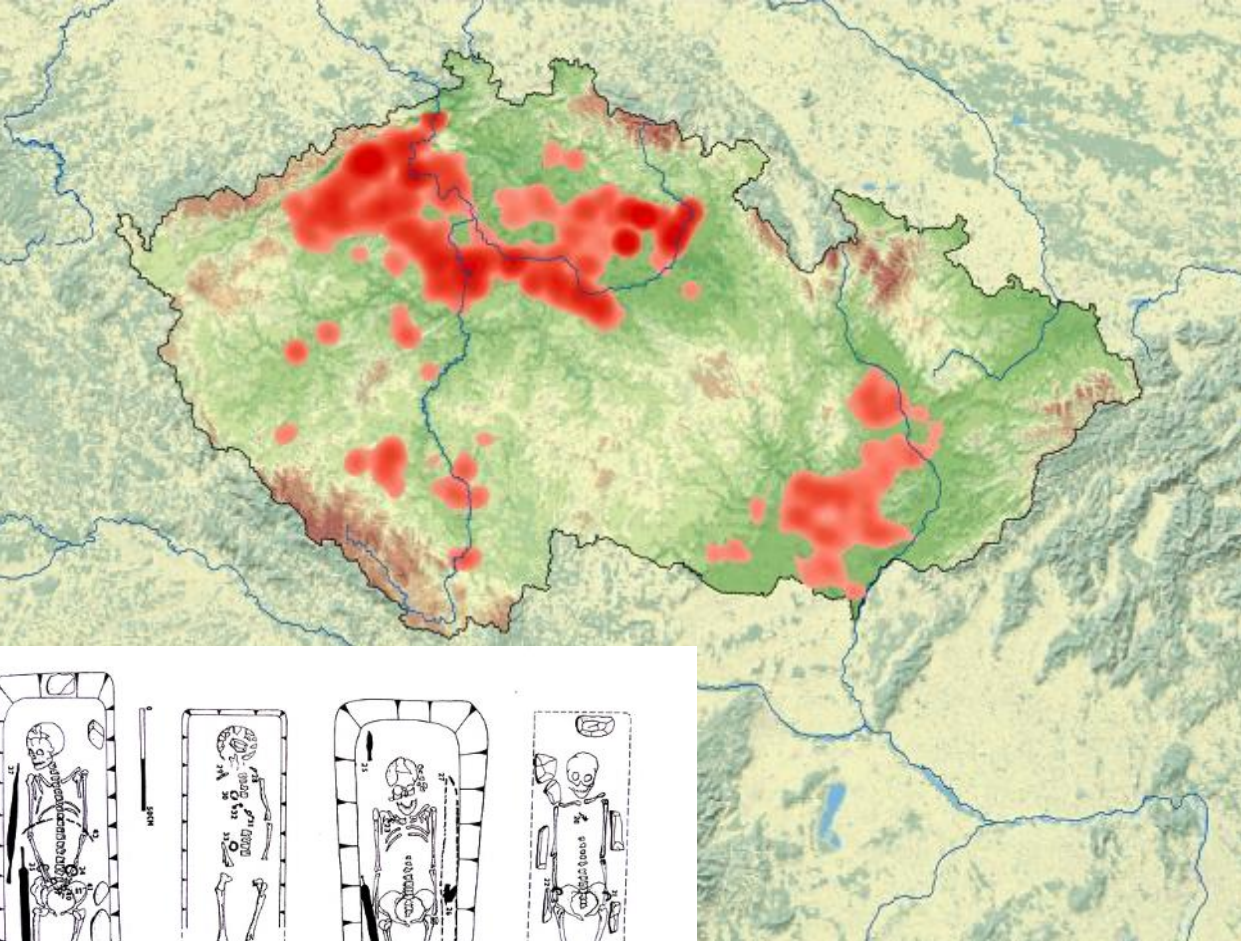


LT B–C1 cemeteries

LT C2–D cemeteries

In LT C2–D (II–I century BC), LT culture stabilized itself in greater part of temperate Europe from the Pyrenes and Atlantic coast to the Carpathians

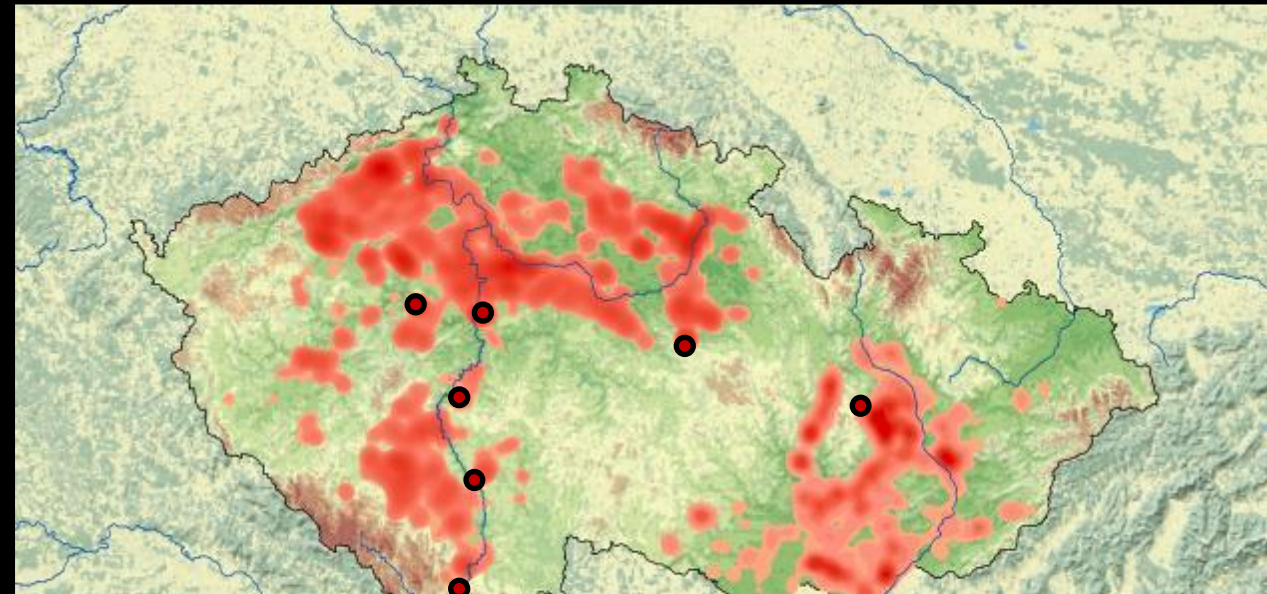




Until late 20th century, European archaeology distinguished...

... a Middle La Tène ,flat grave period‘ (low social complexity, no central settlements, stress on burial evidence)

...and a Late La Tène ,oppida period‘ (appearance of massive fortified central settlements, colonisation of new regions, huge technological and economic surge...).



-the seeming sudden transition and radical change from one of these phases to the other gave rise to hypotheses that it was due to strong cultural impact from the Mediterranean (e.g. Boii migrating from Italy... :~/)

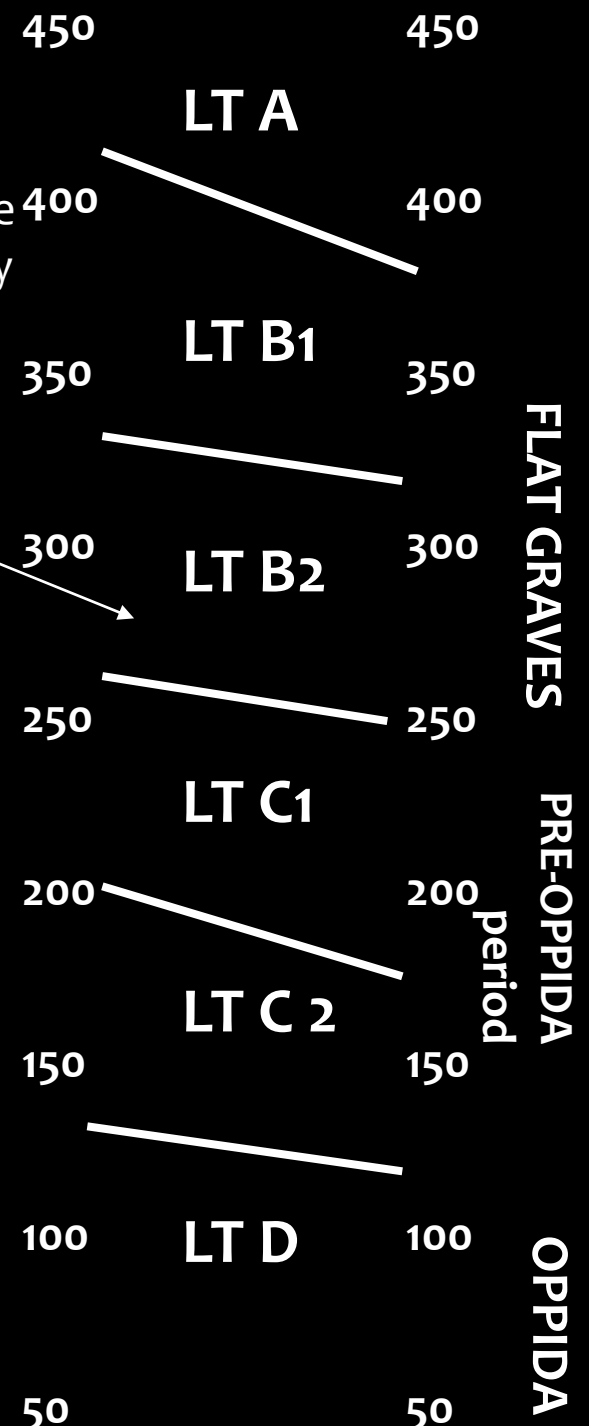
Moreover...

1) written sources clearly talk about massive presence of Celts in the Mediterranean in the III BC

2) some III BC innovations of the period are clearly of Mediterranean origin (coinage), other were declared of Mediterranean origin through circular argument... in some cases it was confirmed by later research (two-chambre pottery kiln certainly came from Greece... but not necessarily re-introduction of potter's wheel), other are only unconfirmed proposals (e.g. change in bronze smelting technology)



Celtic invasion of Greece



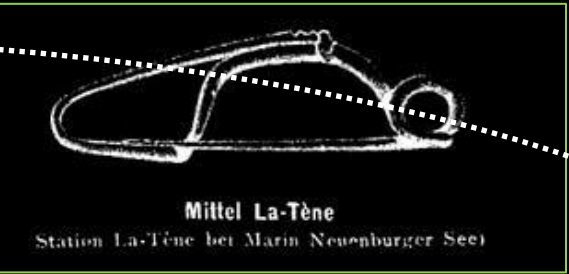
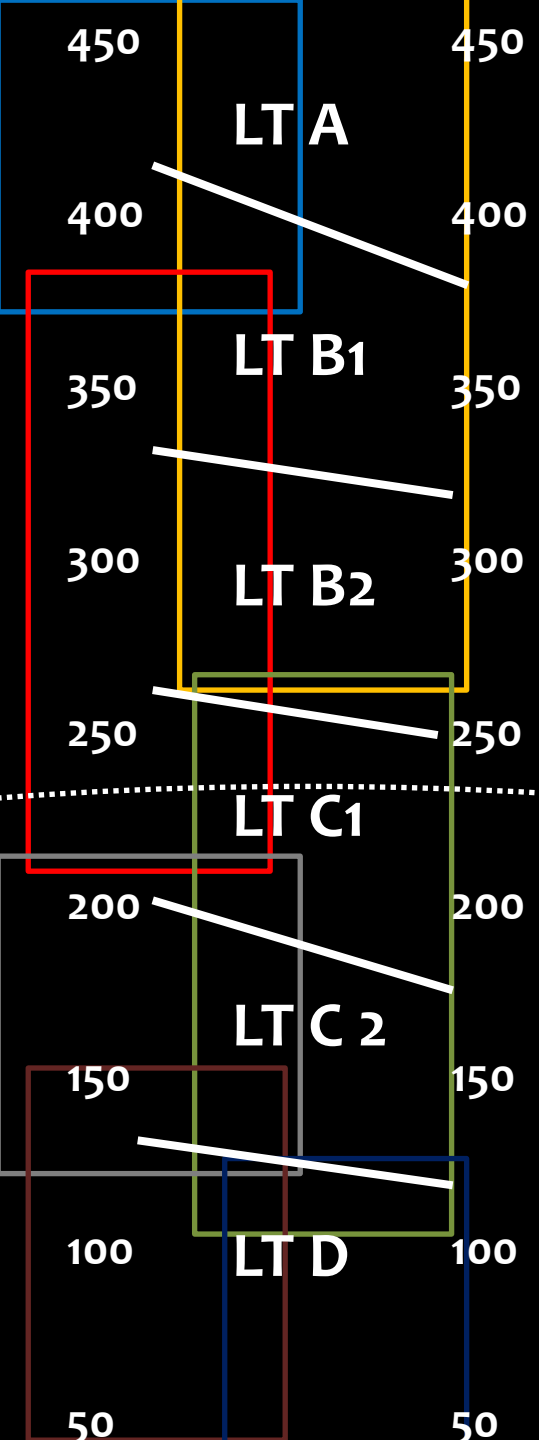
The discoveries of the early 21st century showed that it was all a little more complicated: there was a key transitional phase of ,pre-oppida period' in mid-III-II century BC and the role of Mediterranean on the transformations was not inexistent but not as direct as originally imagined.

-PRINCELY BURIALS
-SOUTHERN IMPORTS

-CELTIC EXPANSION
-FLAT BURIALS

END OF BURIALS
-AGLOMERATIONS
-TECHNOLOGIES AND COINS

-OPPIDA



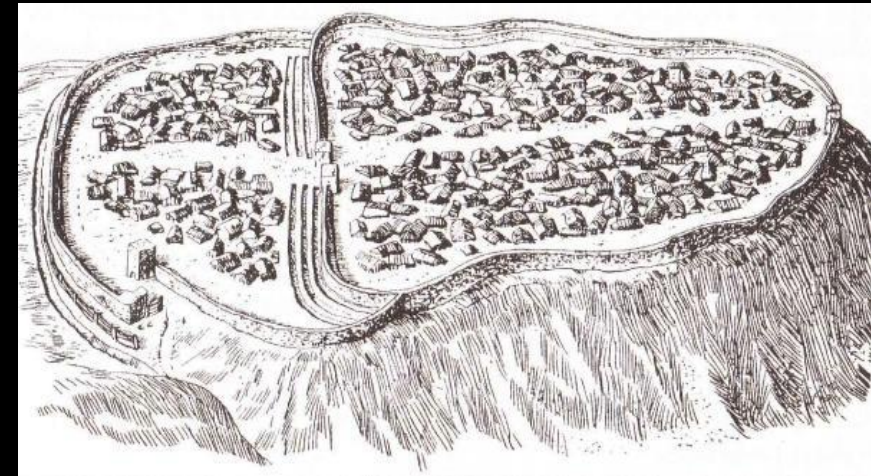
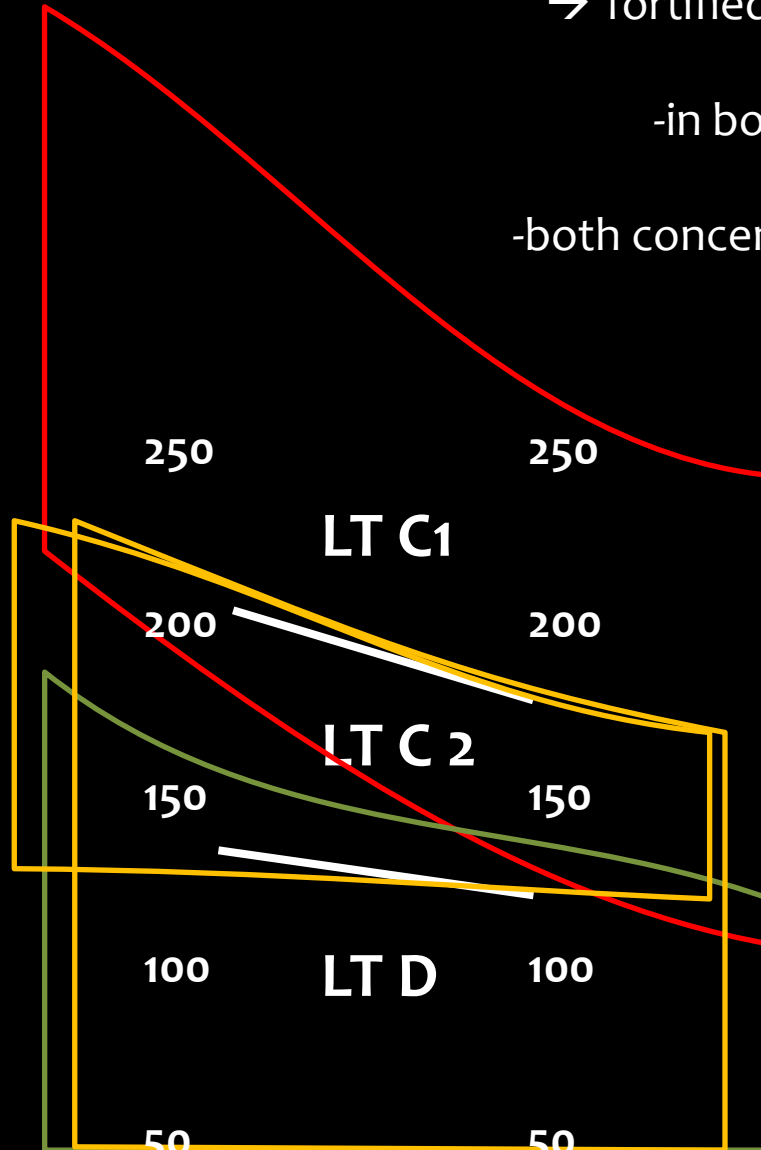
LT C–D is characterised by radical transformation of settlement pattern with sudden reappearance of central settlements

→ unfortified lowland agglomerations in LT C1–C2

→ fortified hilltop settlements („oppida“) in LT C2–D

-in both cases they cover surfaces of dozens (or hundreds of) hectares

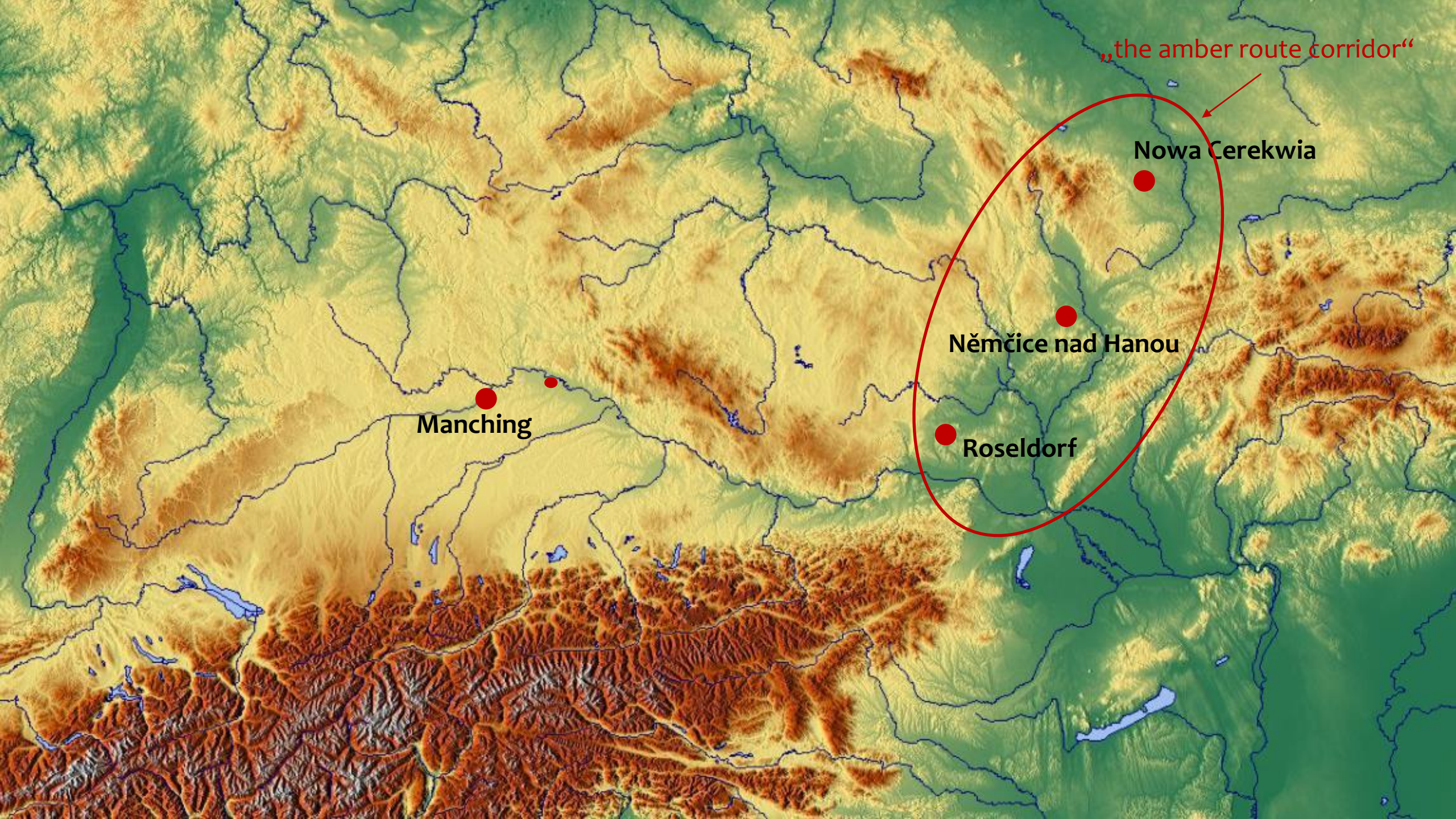
-both concentrated crafts, trade, and central functions



III-I c. BC LT agglomerations in Europe (some of them)

- Principally LT C-C2
- Principally LT C2-D





„the amber route corridor“

Nowa Cerekwia

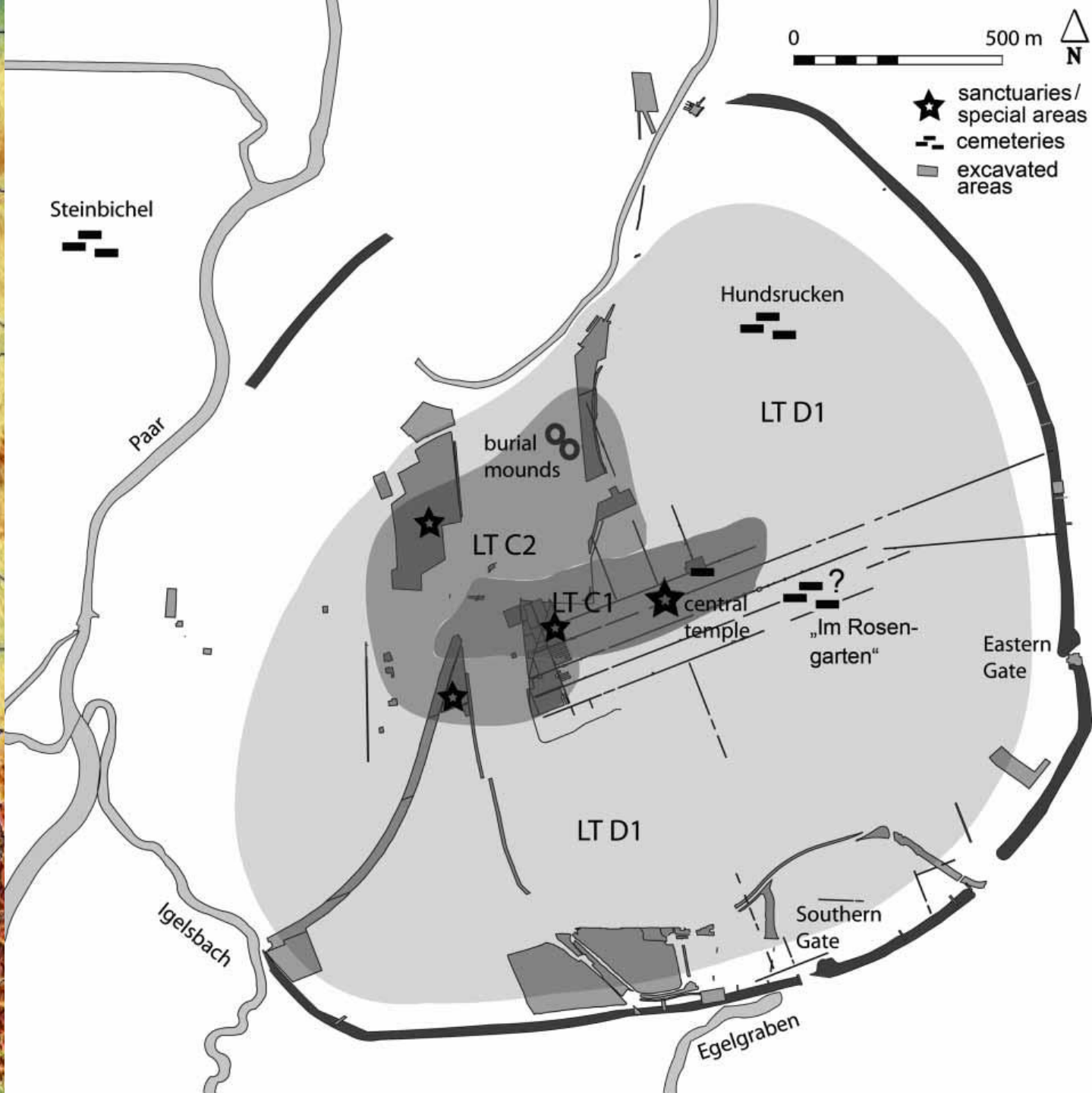
Němčice nad Hanou

Roseldorf

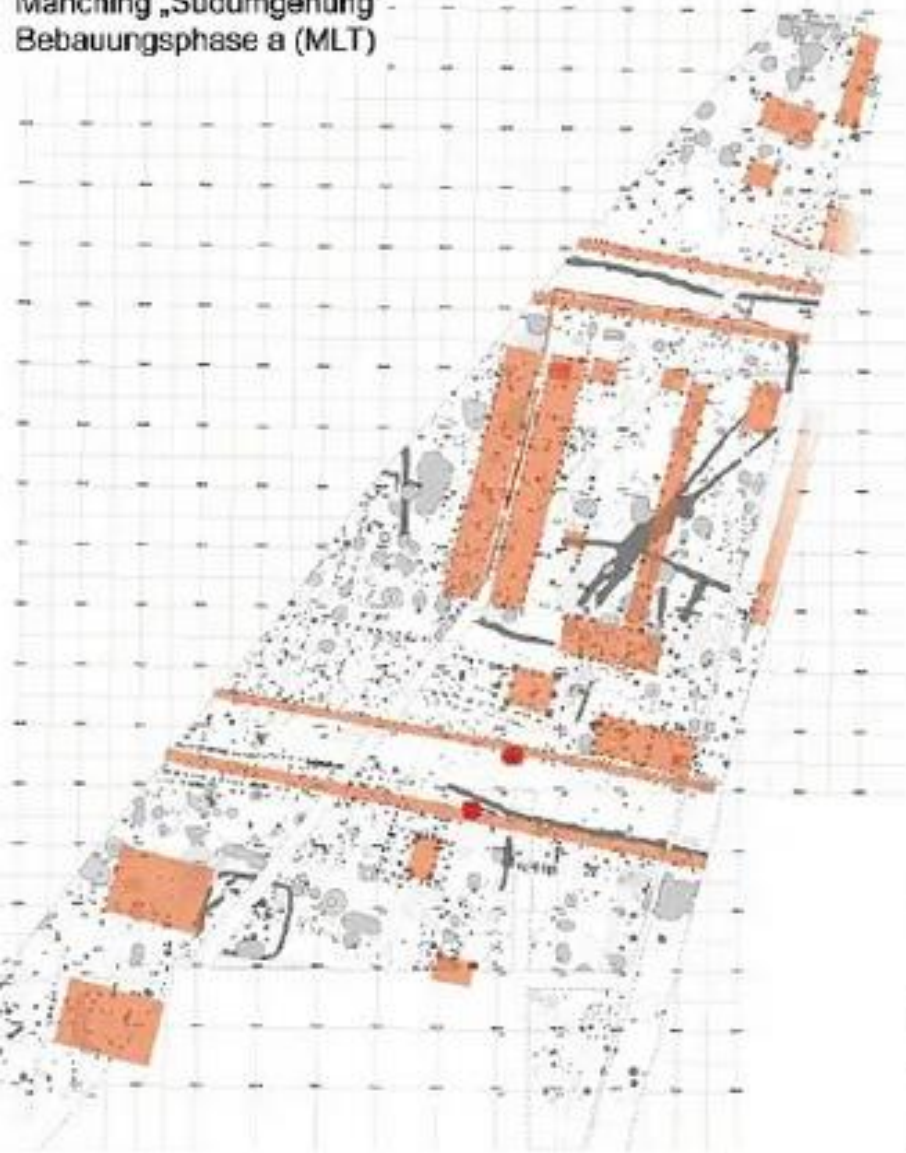
Manching

Manching

-development from a LT C agglomeration to a LT D oppidum (after a rampart was built in II/I BC)



Manching „Südumgehung“ -
Bebauungsphase a (MLT)



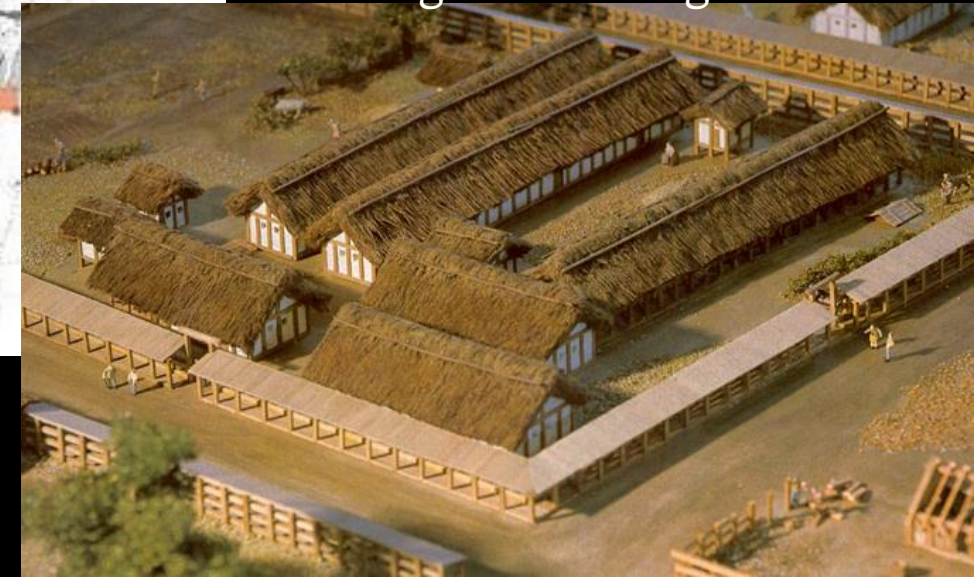
Manching „Südumgehung“ -
Bebauungsphase e (SLT)



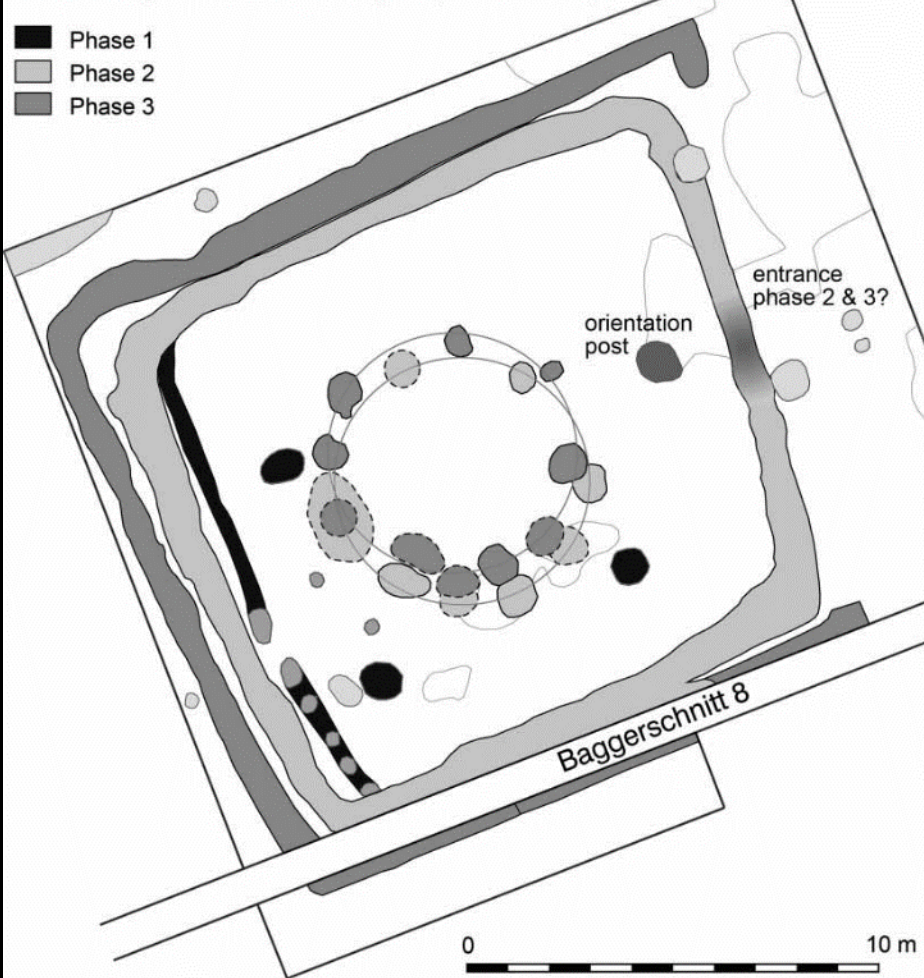
Already in the LT C phase, the inner area of Manching was densely built-up with imposing buildings and a unitary street grid defining the orientation of all buildings

The unitary street/building orientation was maintained throughout Manching's existence.

The orientation was changed several times by a few degrees resulting in rebuilding the entire central part of the settlement according to the new grid.



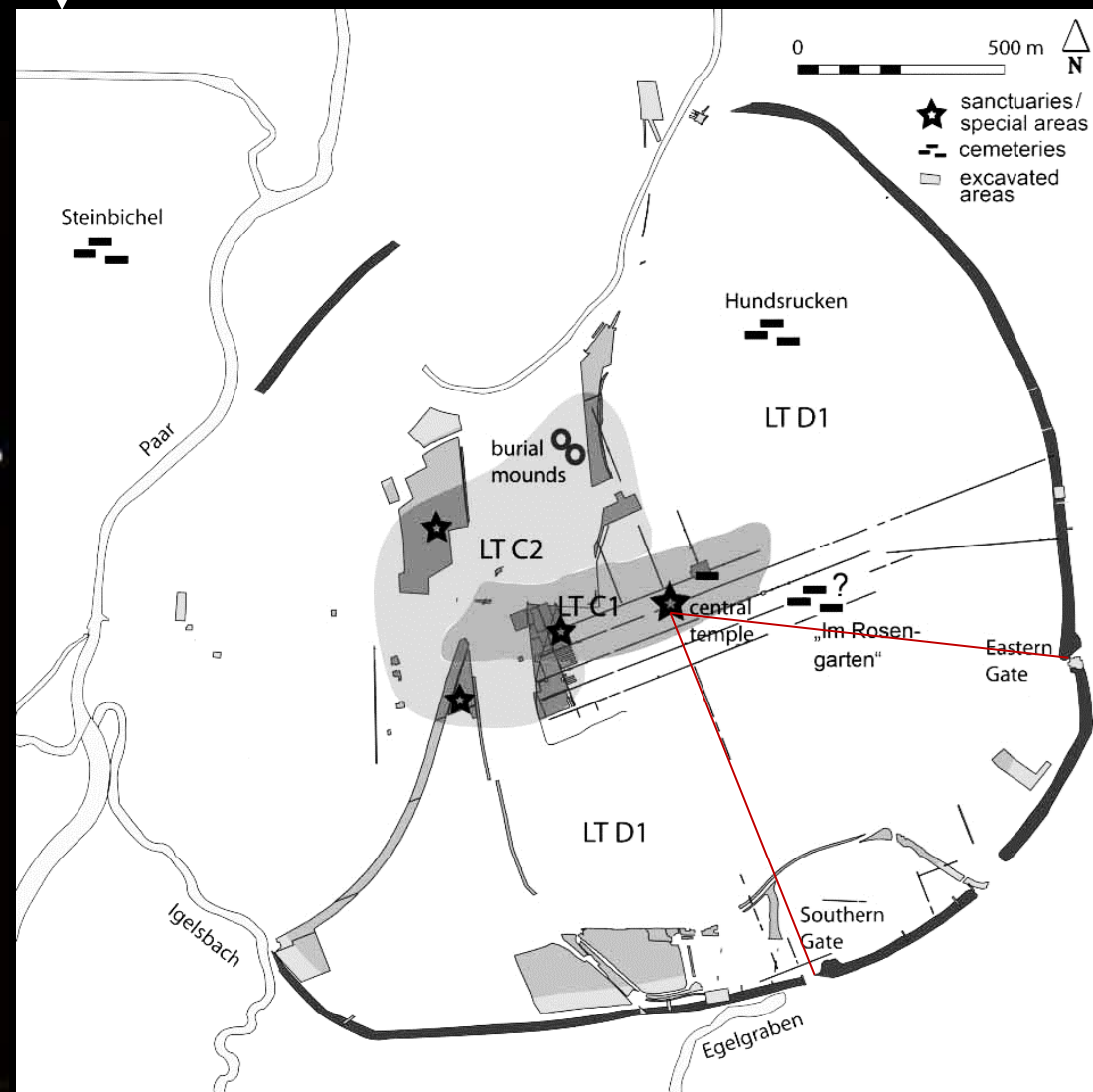
Manching - Central Temple (trench 20)



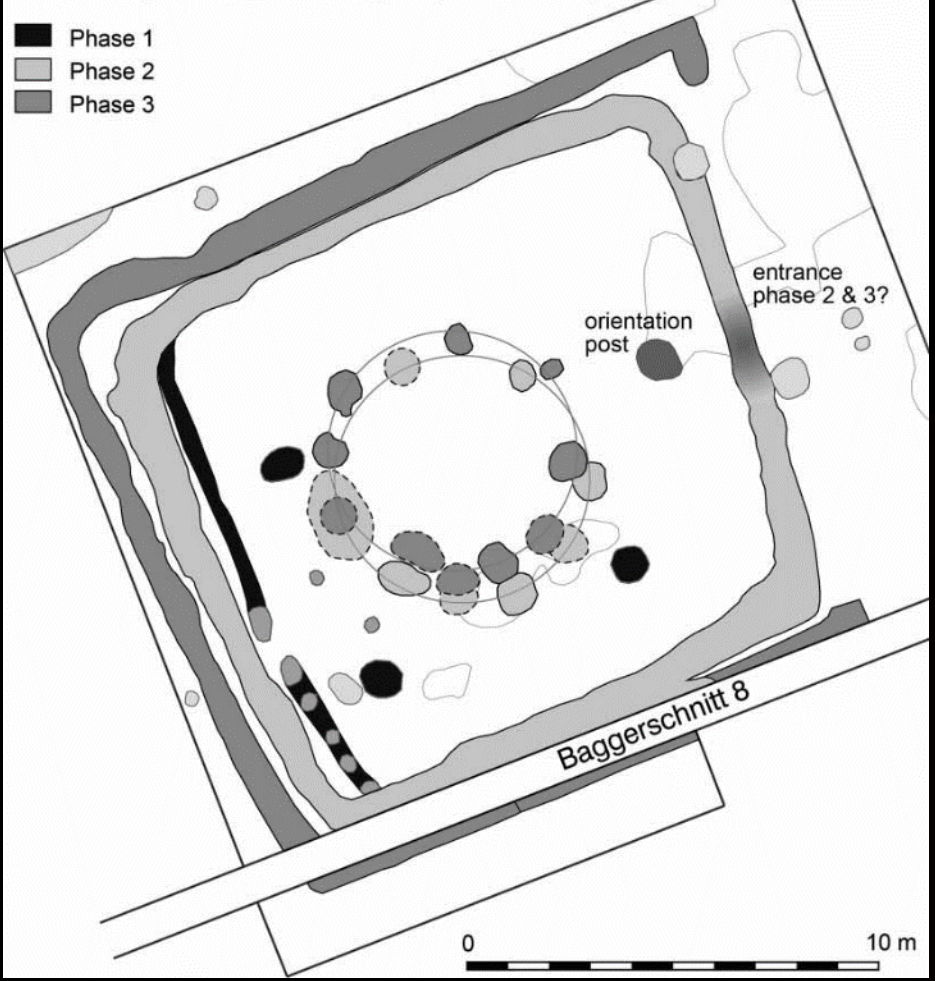
Manching – central sanctuary

-in the centre of the settlement throughout its existence

-the shifts of urban grid correspond with orientation of different phases of the sanctuary (apparently it will also be the reference point for the later planning of the rampart)



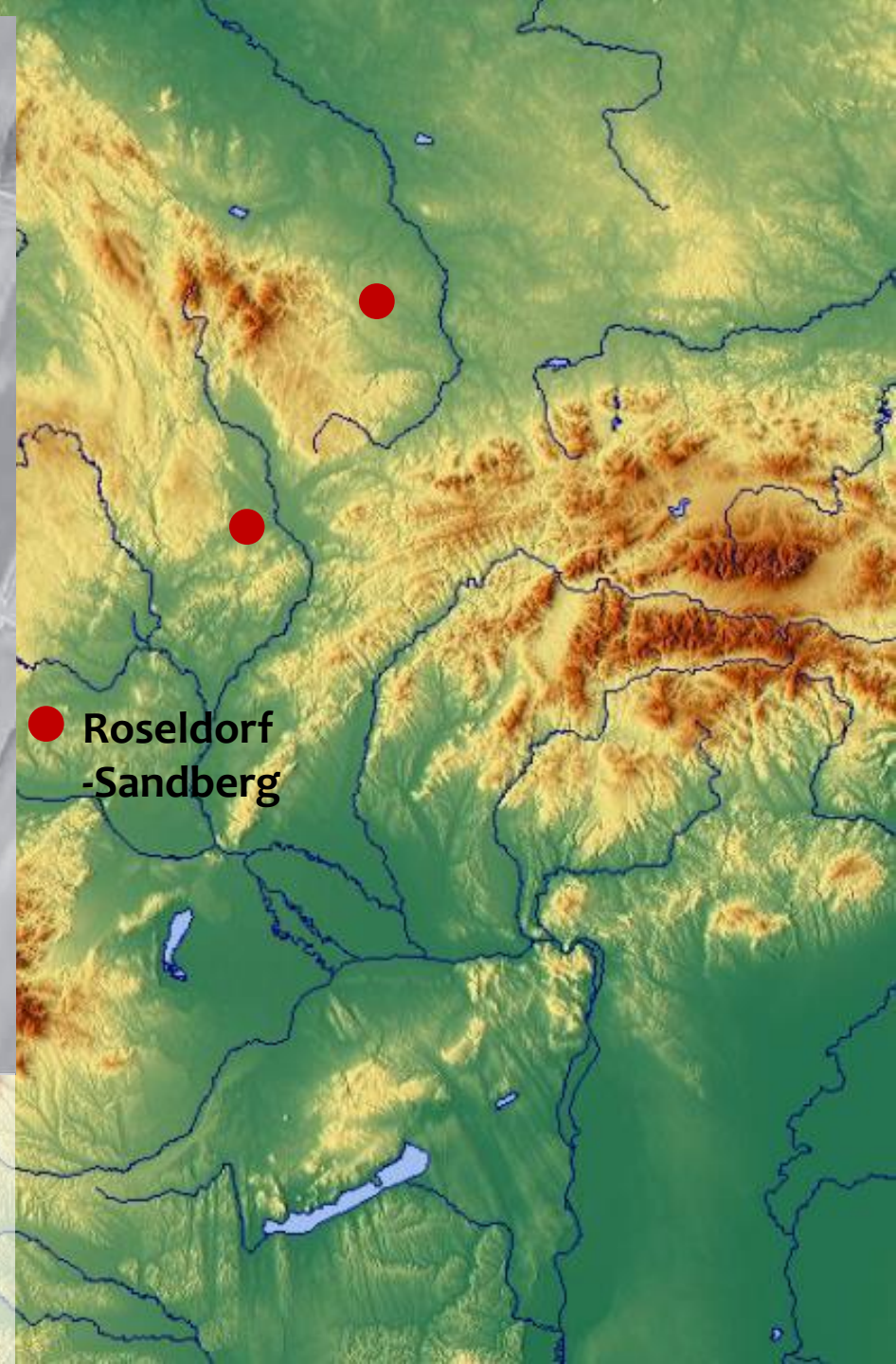
Manching - Central Temple (trench 20)



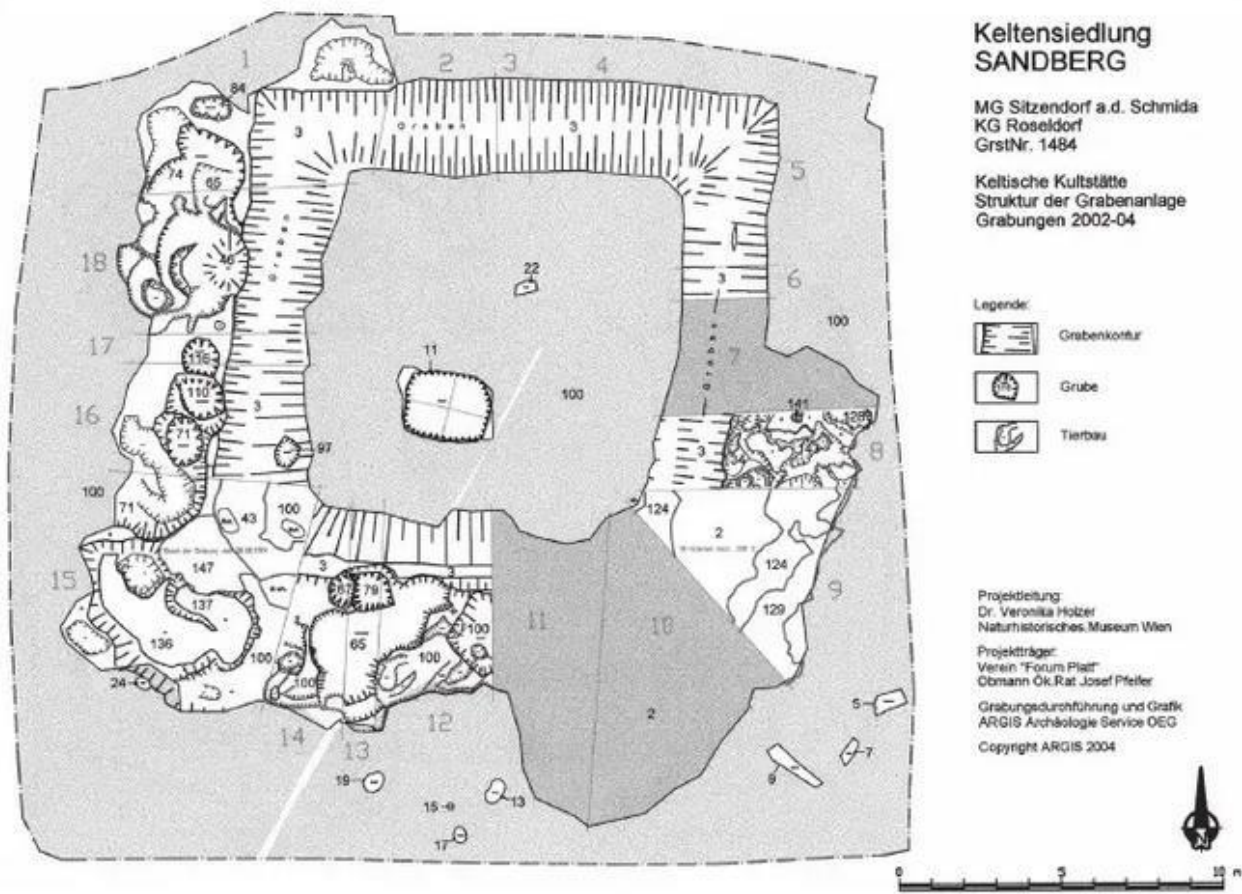
Manching – central sanctuary

- the findspot of a model tree made of sheet gold
- tree models made of metal did appear in Mediterranean sanctuaries
- the technology of making vegetal elements out of sheet gold has direct analogies in the Greek world

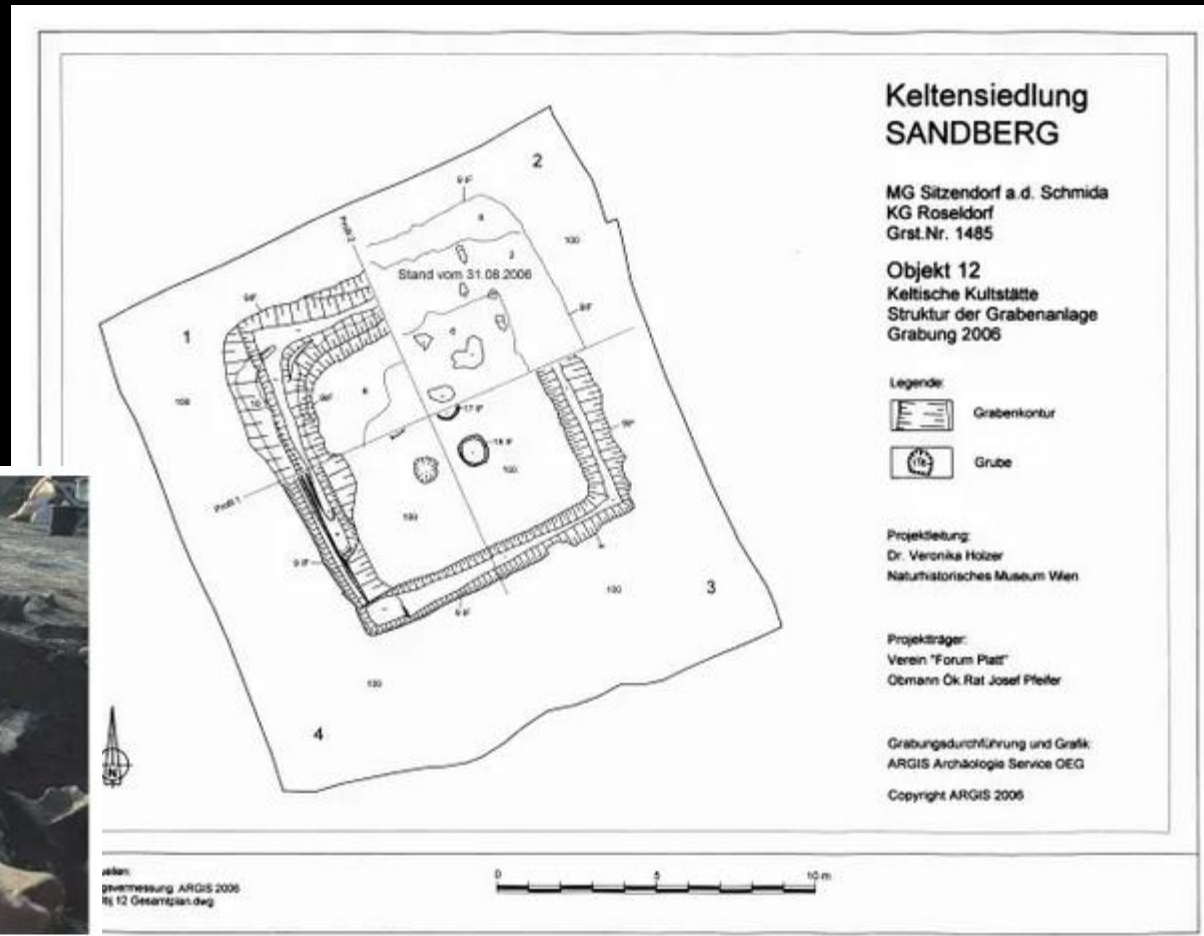




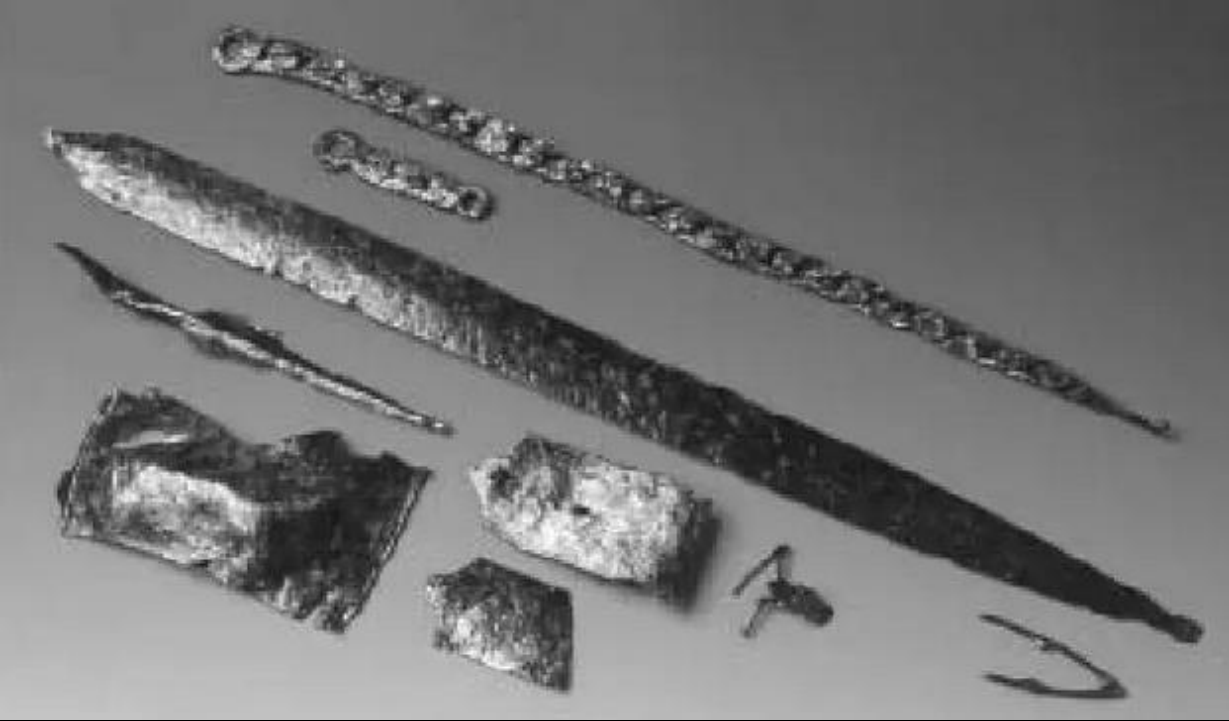
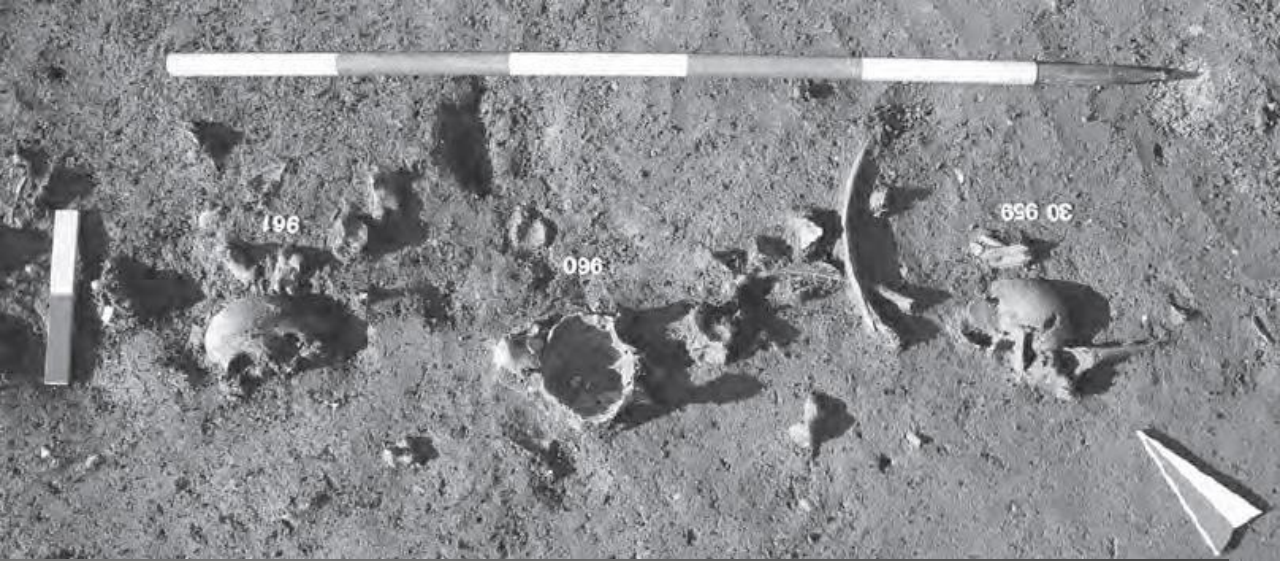
- 40 ha
- LT B2/C1–C2 (probable continuity to LT D is not well defined)
- >1500 coins (officially discovered but unpublished + thousands unofficially discovered coins... also unpublished if you wondered)
- 3 cult areas (which is the only thing that is excavated)



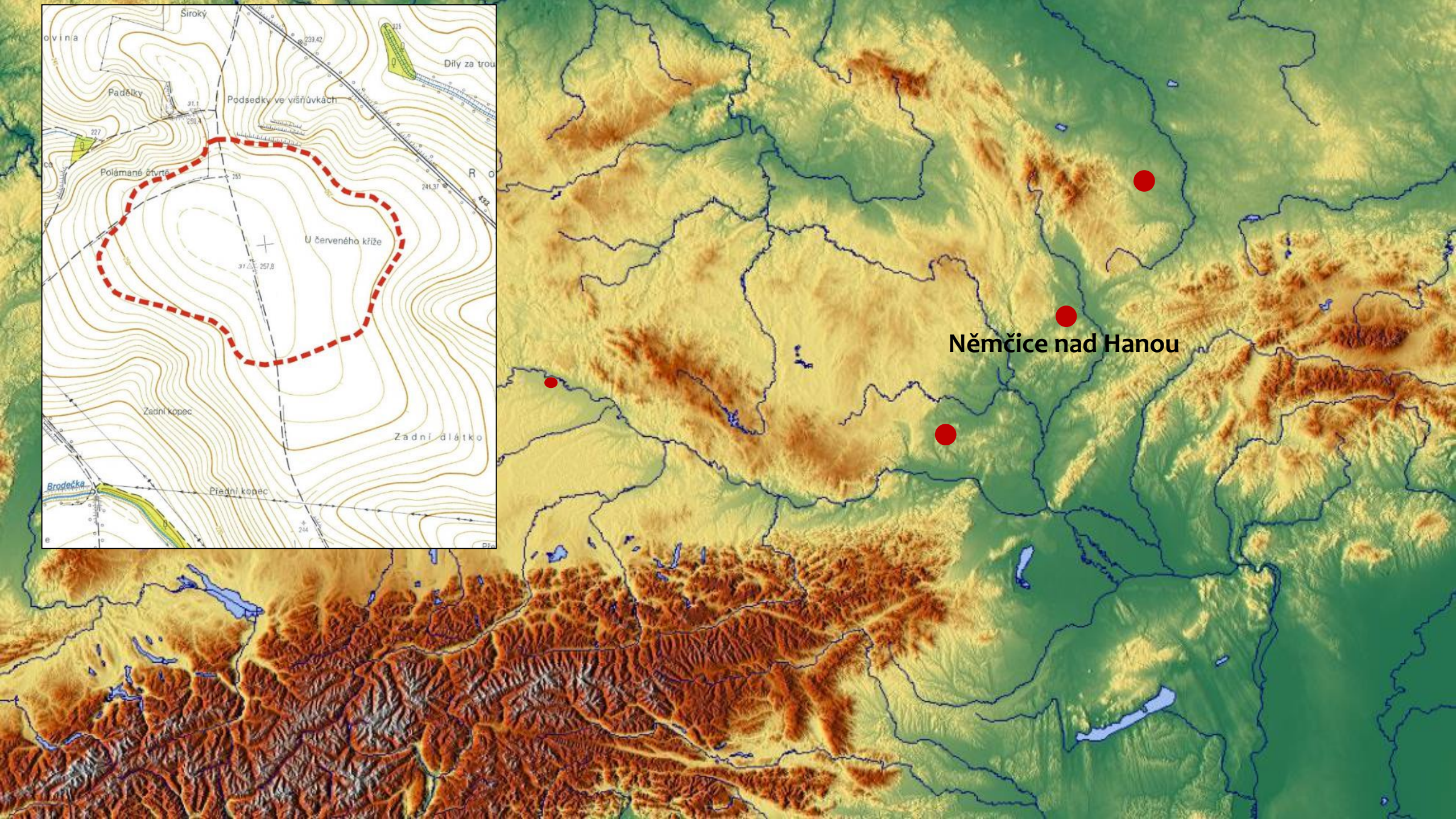
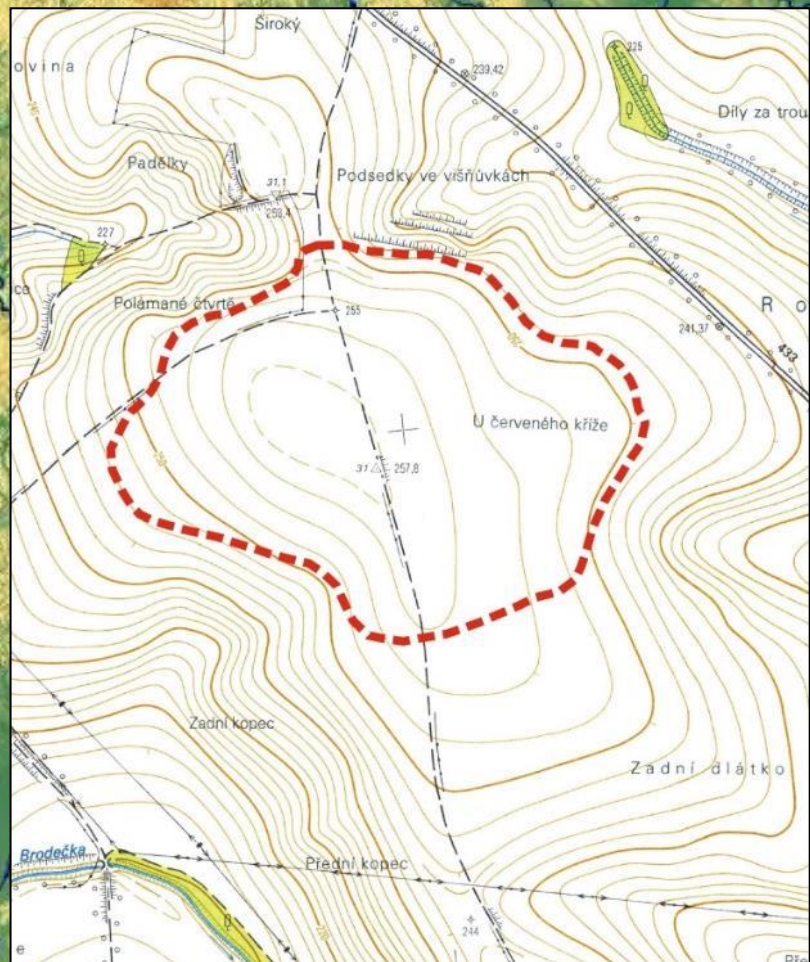
Sanctuaries = square enclosures with ditches around
-remains of collective banquets = places of ritual feasting

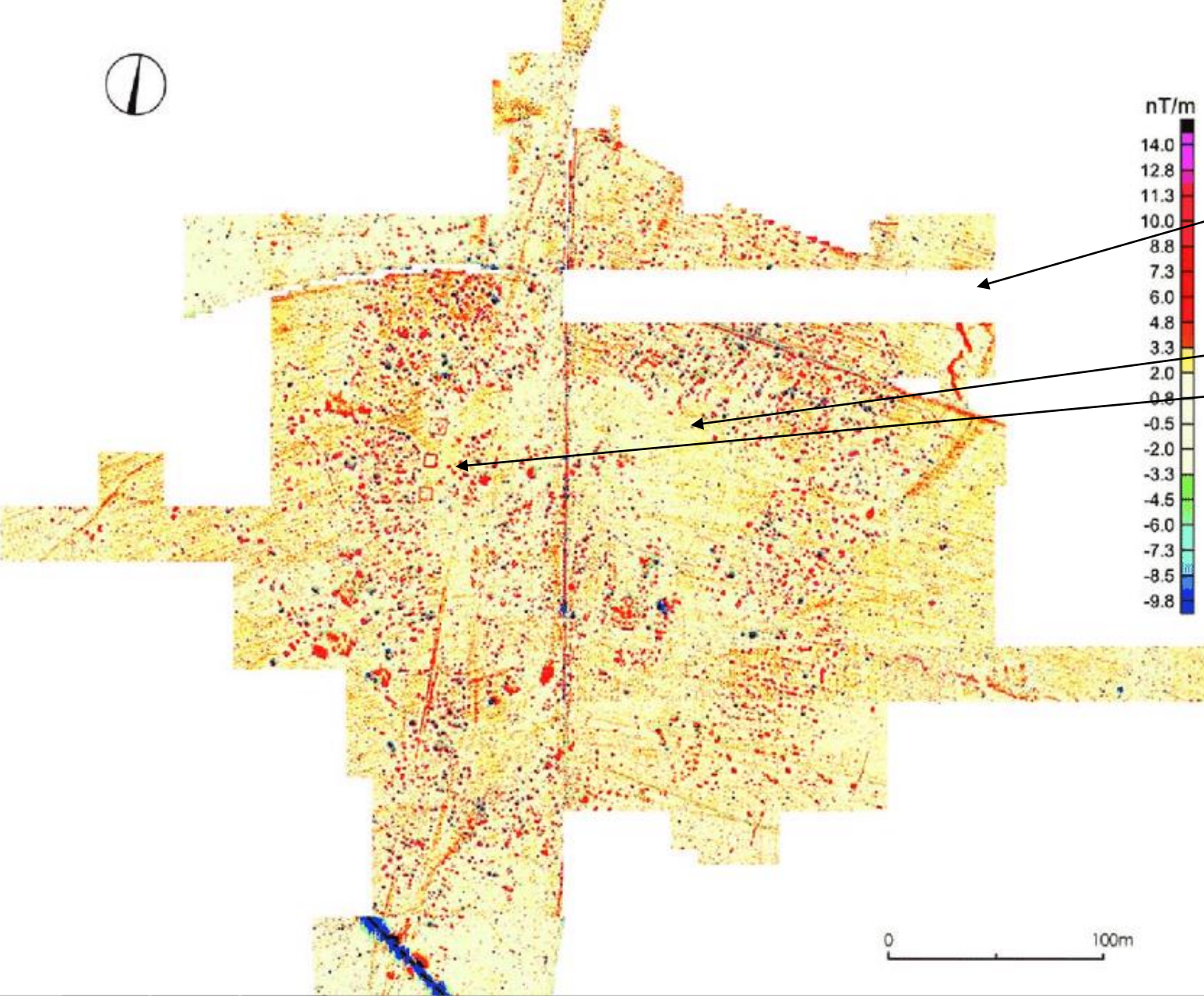


skizzen:
gutmessung ARGIS 2006
Rt 12 Gesamtplan.dwg



-human and horse remains, weaponry and chariot parts
=> Sacrificed spoils of war





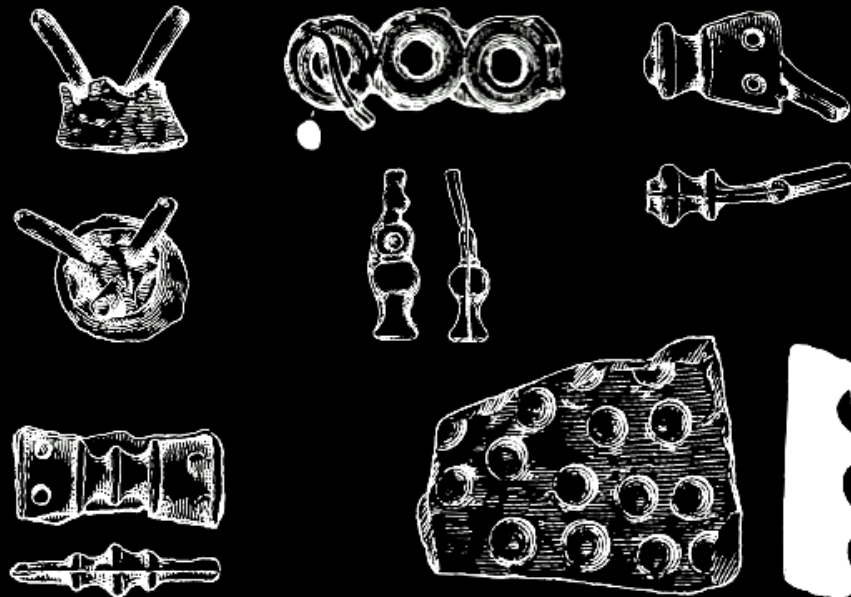
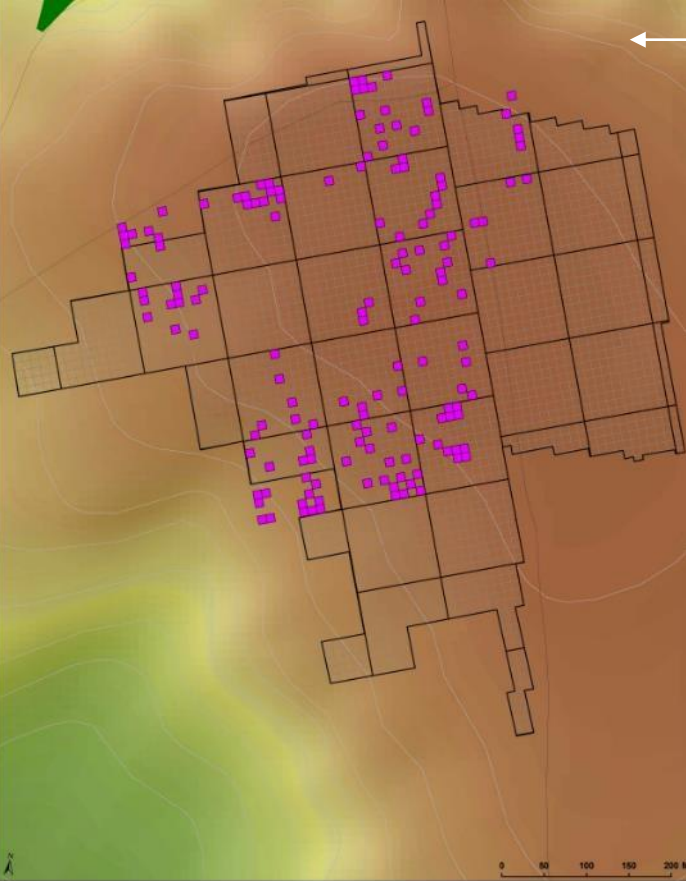
-36 ha

-LT B2/C1–C2 (no LT D continuity)

-geophysics, surface survey (legal and mostly illegal), not a single excavation

-occupation around an open central area
-a series of enclosures (sanctuaries?)
along one side

-1200 published coins (ca 20 000 – 30 000
discovered coins, most of them lost)
(more on them later)

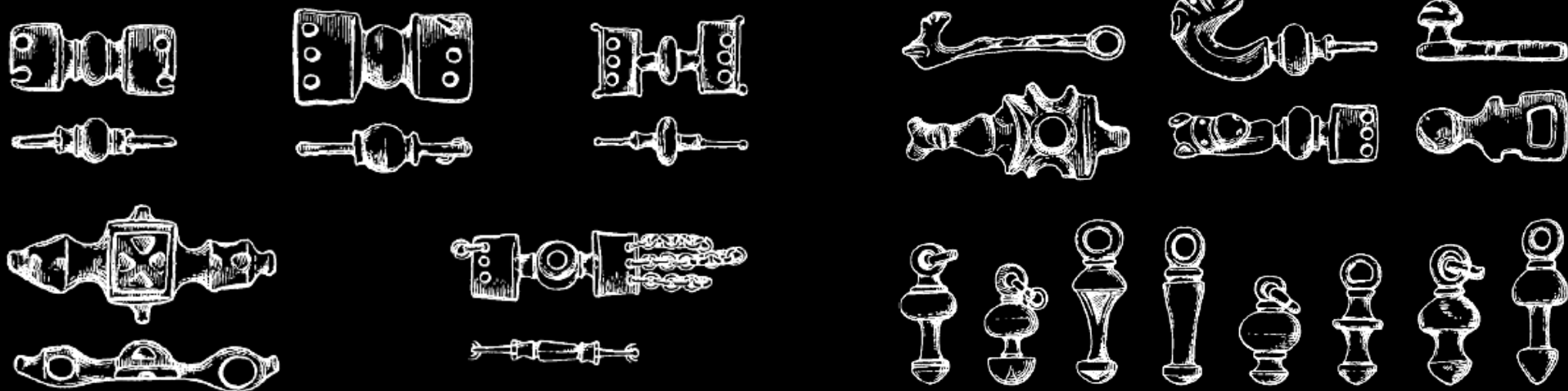


-massive evidence of bronze working all over the settlement

- production waste

-insanely rich collection of bronze artefacts, most of them probably locally produced

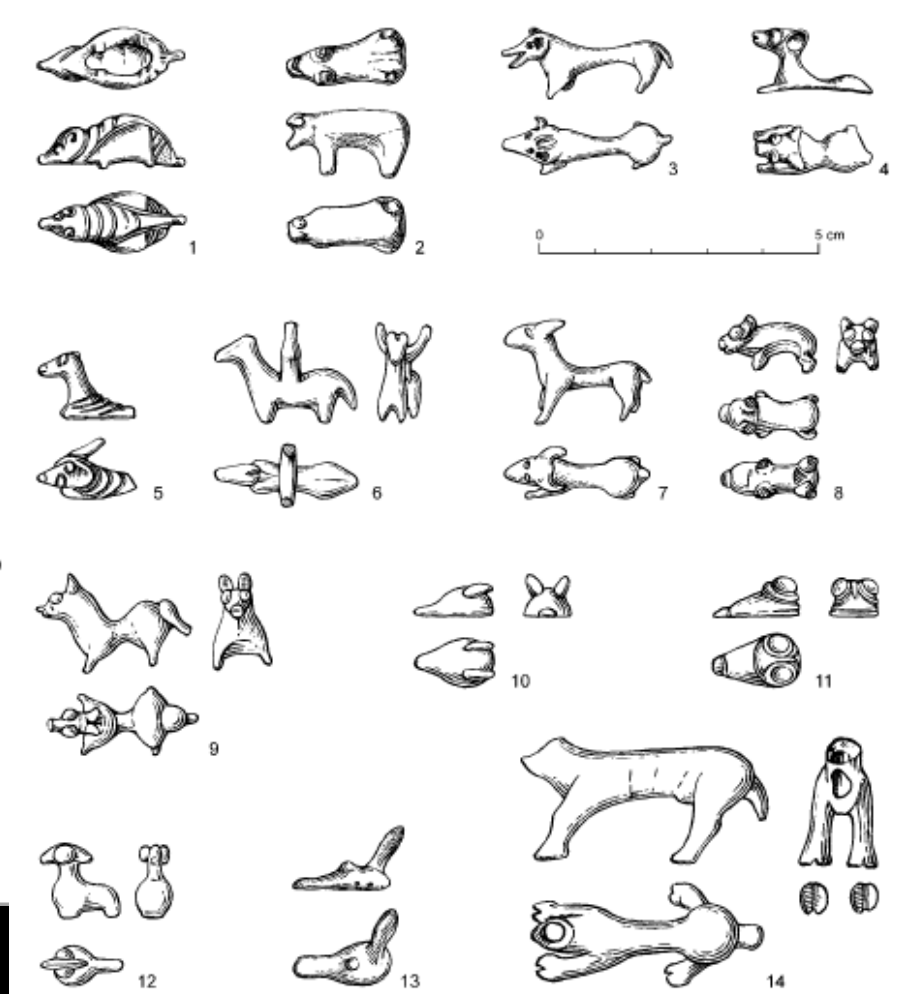
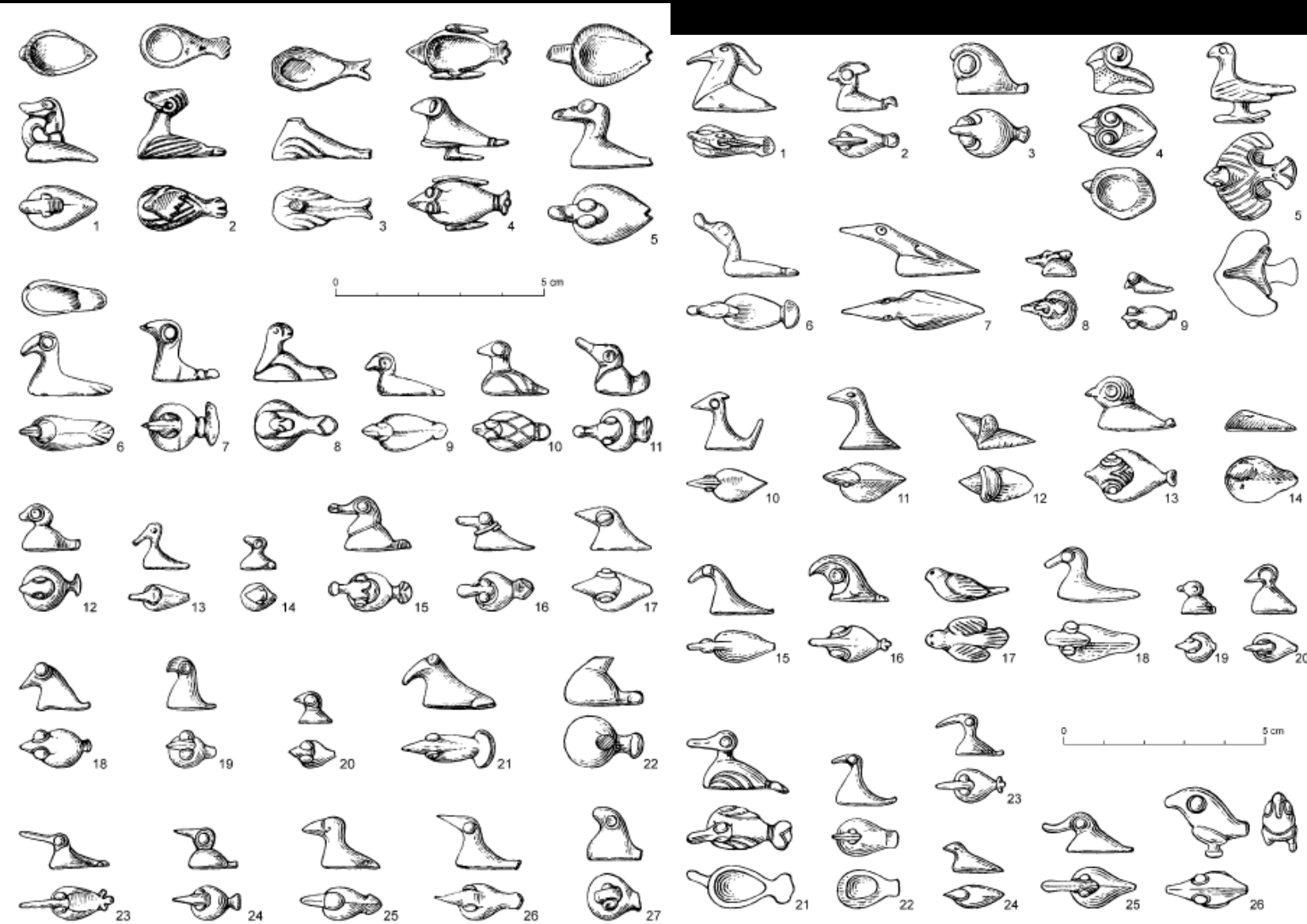
-belt elements.....

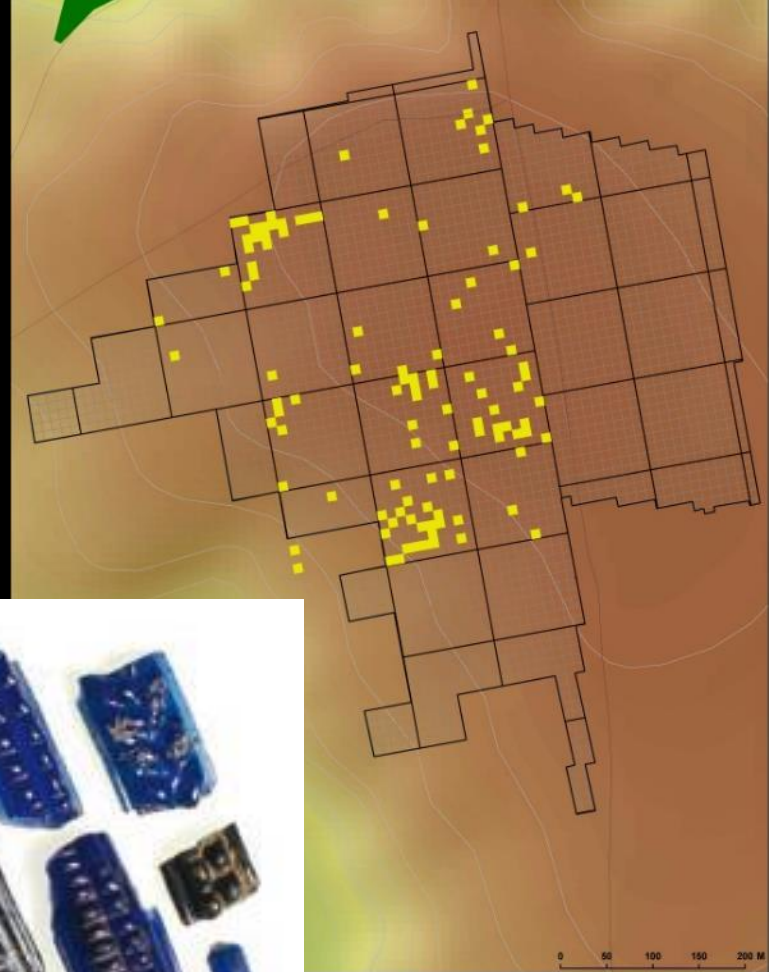
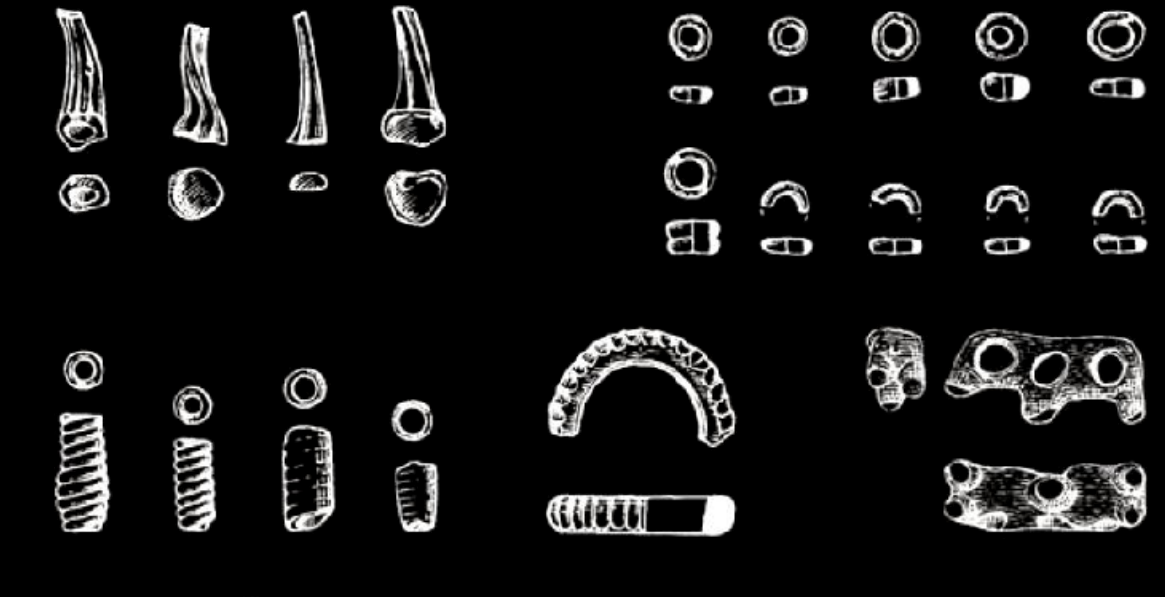


...brooches...

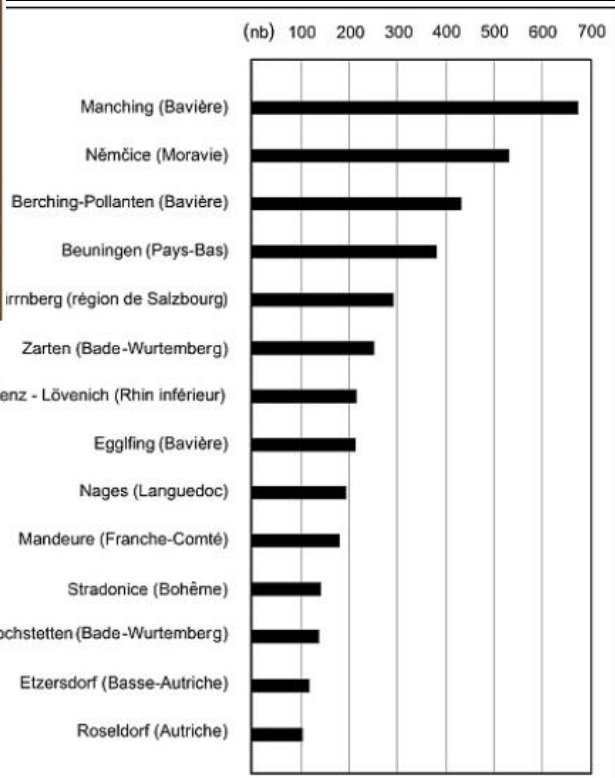


...and animal figurines :-)





- over 500 fragments of glass bracelets which makes Némčice the second richest site in this regard in transalpine Europe
 - numerous finds of raw glass and glass production waste all over the settlement



What's all this fuss about glass?

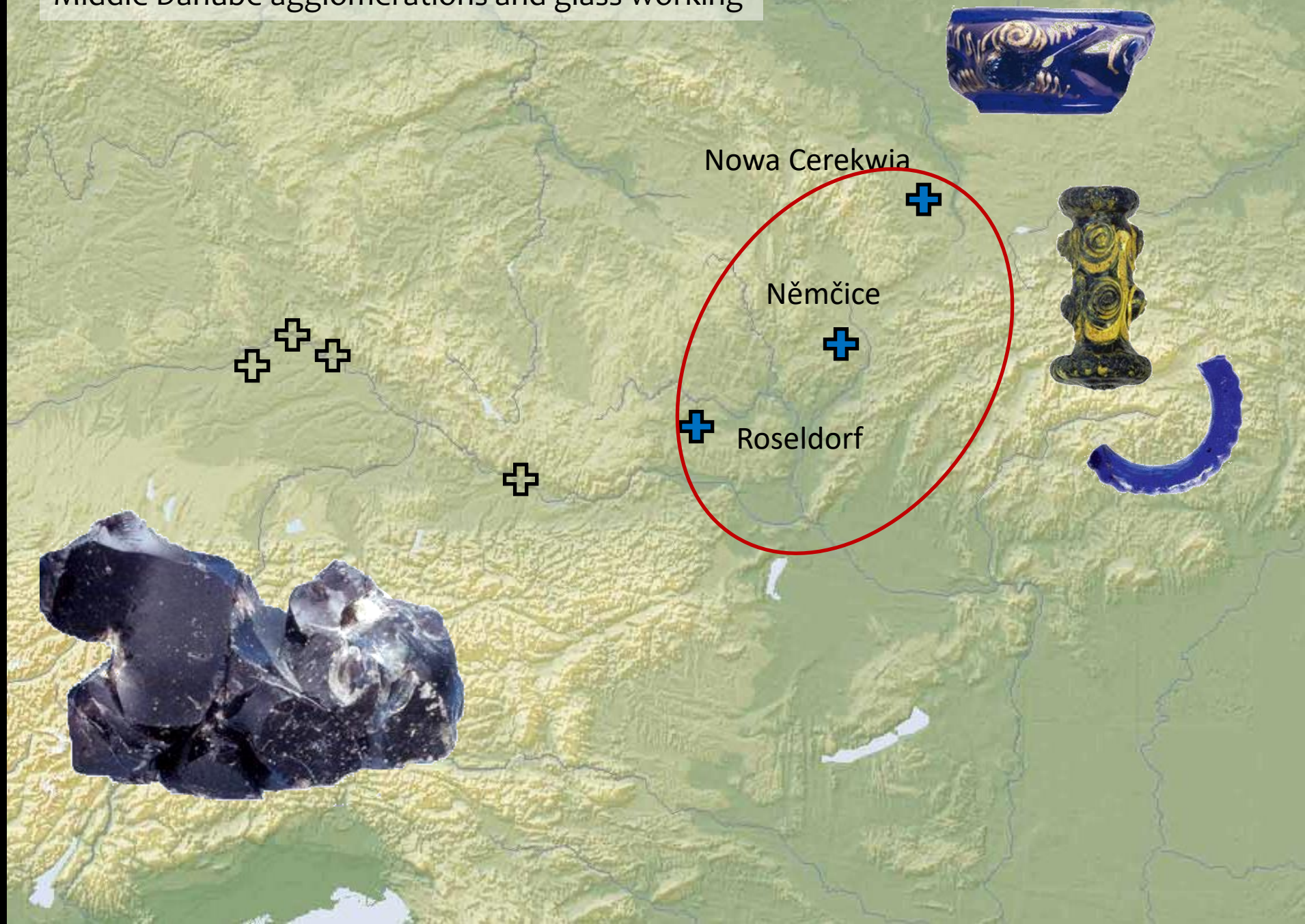
-a characteristic innovation of
LT C1 is production of
ornaments made of colourful
glass – bracelets, beads, finger-
rings

-glass production is
documented in all the LT C
agglomerations

Btw. For anything concerning
LT glass there is Natalie
Venclová in the Institute of
Archaeology in Letenská!

[https://cas-
cz.academia.edu/NatalieVen-
clov%C3%A1](https://cas-cz.academia.edu/NatalieVenclov%C3%A1)

Middle Danube agglomerations and glass working



Seamless glass bracelets are characteristically LT ornament with no formal or technological parallels in the Mediterranean or elsewhere.



13



18



15

12



16

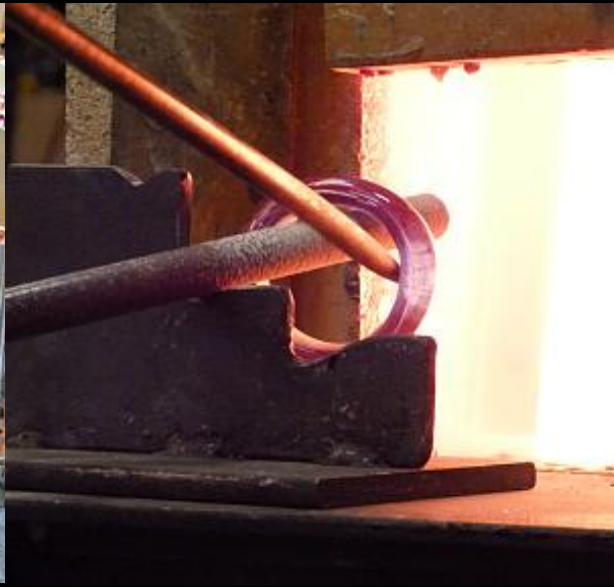


21



22

Their production required mastering complex set of specialised skills which are not useful for anything more reasonable...



Their production required mastering complex set of specialised skills which are not useful for anything more reasonable...



.... So much so that modern glass-workers have not been able to replicate some the bracelet types even after ten years of attempts.

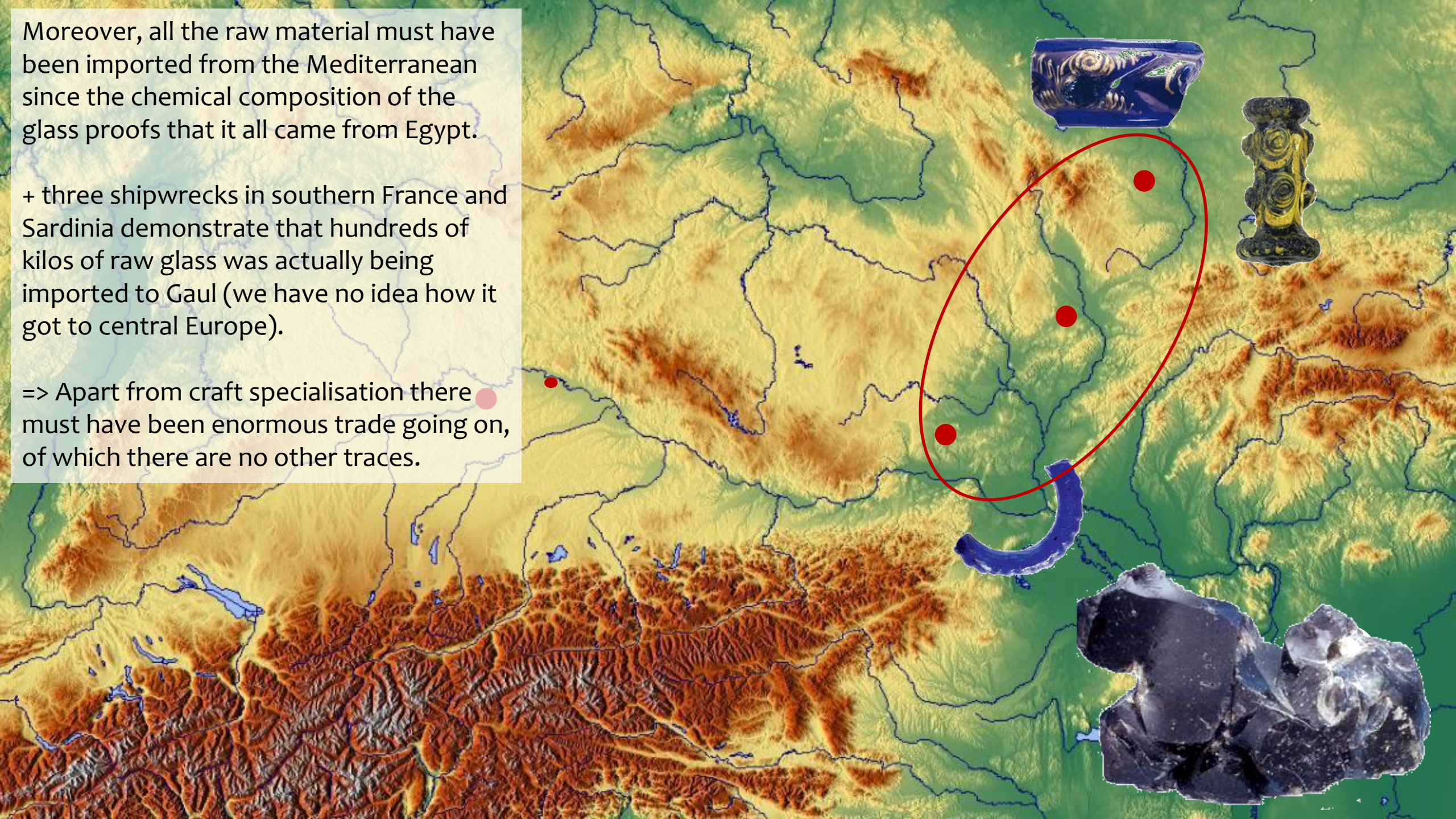
=> LT C society allowed for such an extreme degree of specialisation of individuals who produced objects of symbolic value at the best => there was sufficient subsistence surplus and sufficient demand for the (useless) products

https://www.academia.edu/36697378/Rolland_J._2017_-_Tracing_the_skills_and_identifying_masterpieces_in_Celtic_glass-making_specialization_through_Haevernick_group_15_in_J._Kysela_A._Danielisov%C3%A1_J._Militk%C3%BD_ed._Stories_that_made_the_Iron_Age_Studies_in_the_Iron_Age_Archaeology_dedicated_to_Natalie_Venclov%C3%A1_p.101-109

Moreover, all the raw material must have been imported from the Mediterranean since the chemical composition of the glass proofs that it all came from Egypt.

+ three shipwrecks in southern France and Sardinia demonstrate that hundreds of kilos of raw glass was actually being imported to Gaul (we have no idea how it got to central Europe).

=> Apart from craft specialisation there must have been enormous trade going on, of which there are no other traces.





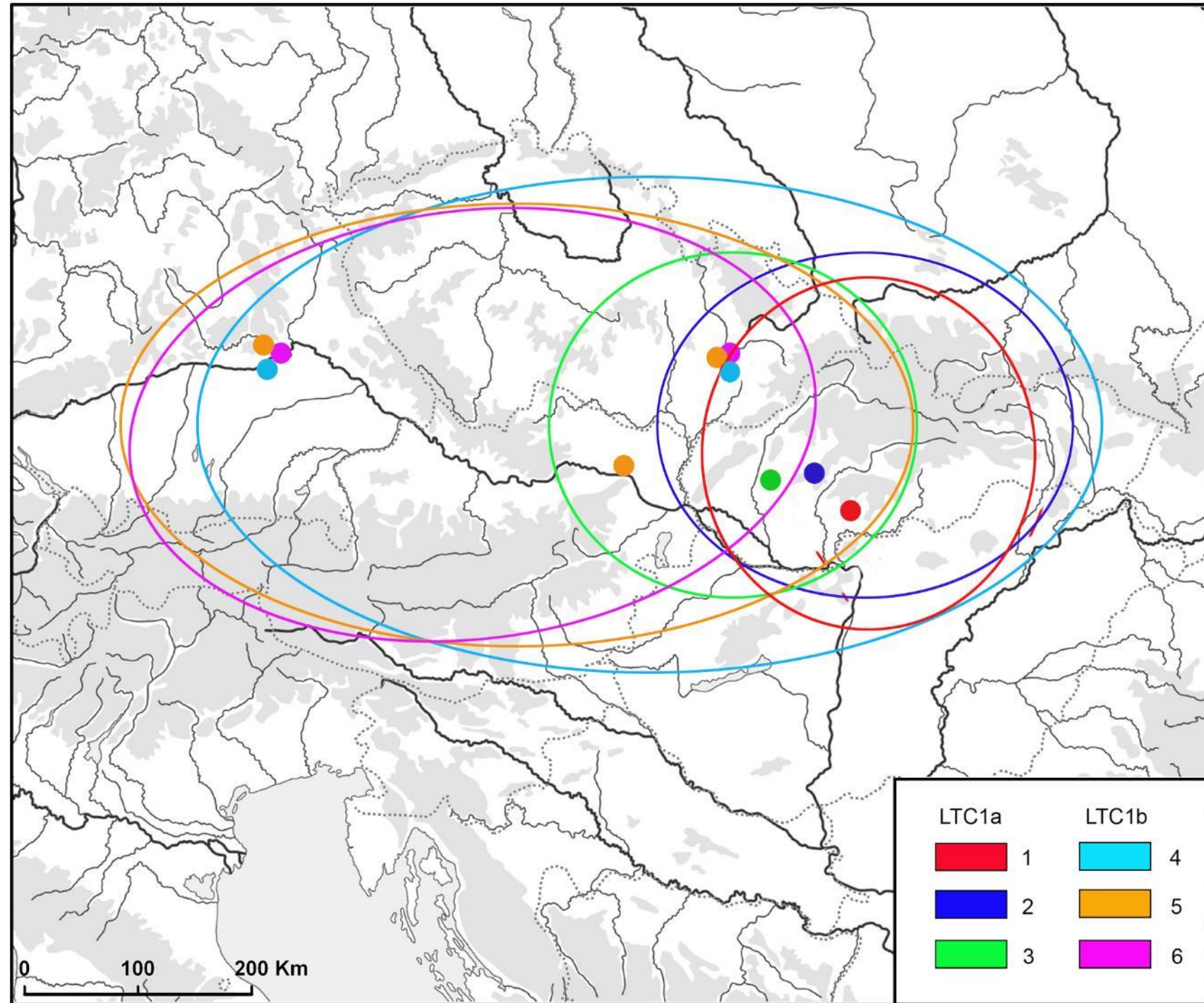
Lequin 2 ●

Sanguinaires A ●
III/II aC – 1 ton of glass

Su Pallosu ●
III/ – 20 kg (?) of glass

The earliest types of glass ornaments concentrated in the Middle Danube region between Moravia, Eastern Austria, Western Slovakia and Northern Hungary

Only in a second phase glass-working spread also to Bavaria, Bohemia and Western Austria



Introduction of coinage in central Europe





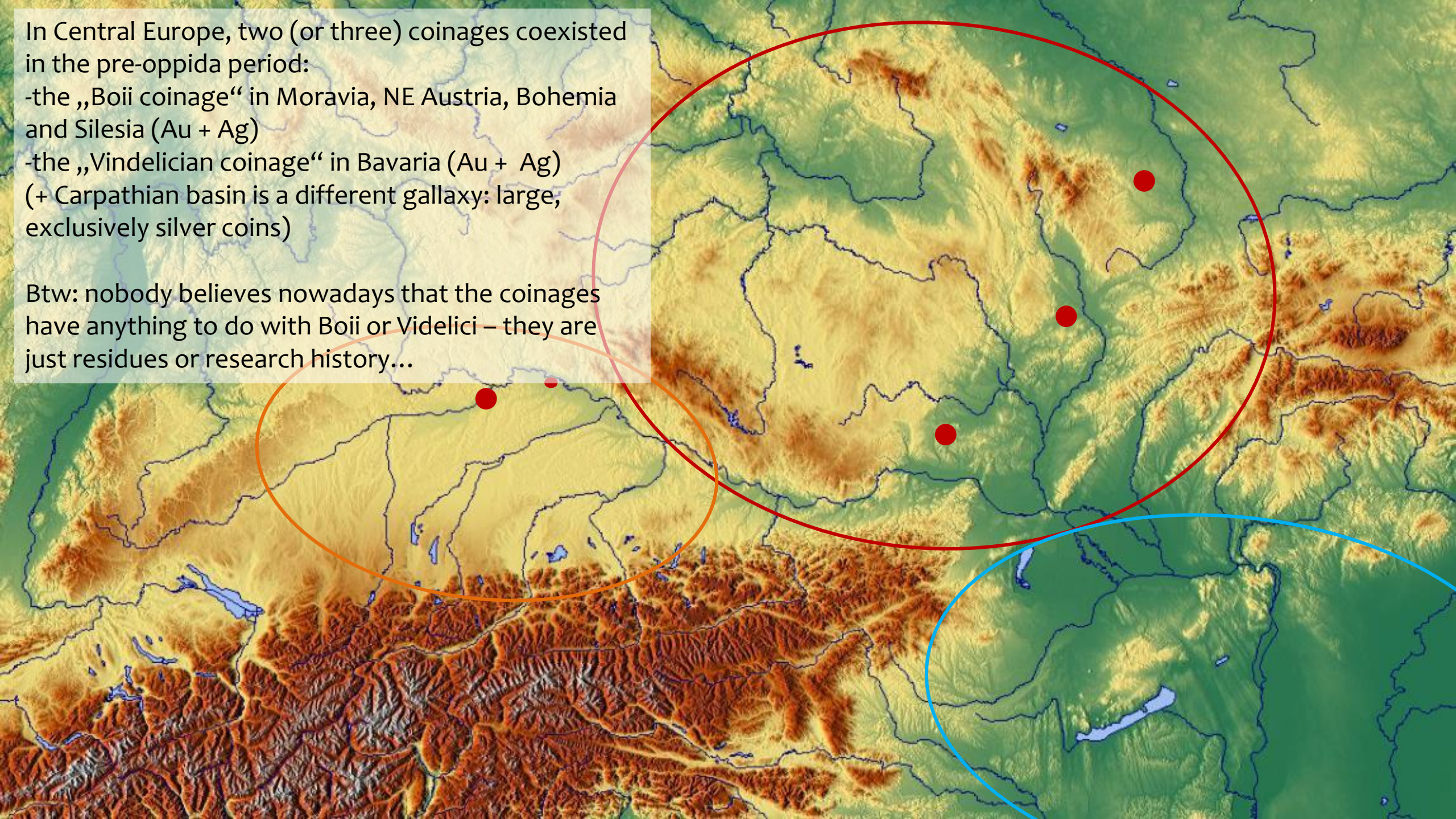
- all coinages of temperate Europe were imitations of different Mediterranean coinages
- as a rule, several coinages of the same region followed the same model (cf. the map)
- silver coinages were represented in a strip from the Carpathian basin through Northern Italy to southern France while gold or bimetallic coinages prevailed in the area going from Slovakia to the Atlantic coast

In Central Europe, two (or three) coinages coexisted in the pre-oppida period:

-the „Boii coinage“ in Moravia, NE Austria, Bohemia and Silesia (Au + Ag)

-the „Vindelician coinage“ in Bavaria (Au + Ag)
(+ Carpathian basin is a different galaxy: large, exclusively silver coins)

Btw: nobody believes nowadays that the coinages have anything to do with Boii or Videlici – they are just residues or research history...



At the latest in early LT C1, two monetary systems clearly emerged, replacing the Athena/Nike staters:

- the Athena Alkidemos coinage in Moravia, Austria and Silesia
- the Bohemian local issues in Bohemia

(Bavaria followed later on)



Athena Alkidemos ← the principal motif was taken over from Macedonian issues of Antigonos Gonatas (post 277 BC) depicting the statue of Athena (not sure that whoever carved the dies understood that the figure was supposed to be a female...)



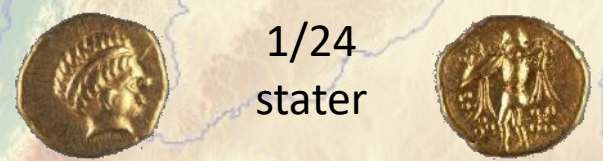
stater



1/3
stater



1/8
stater



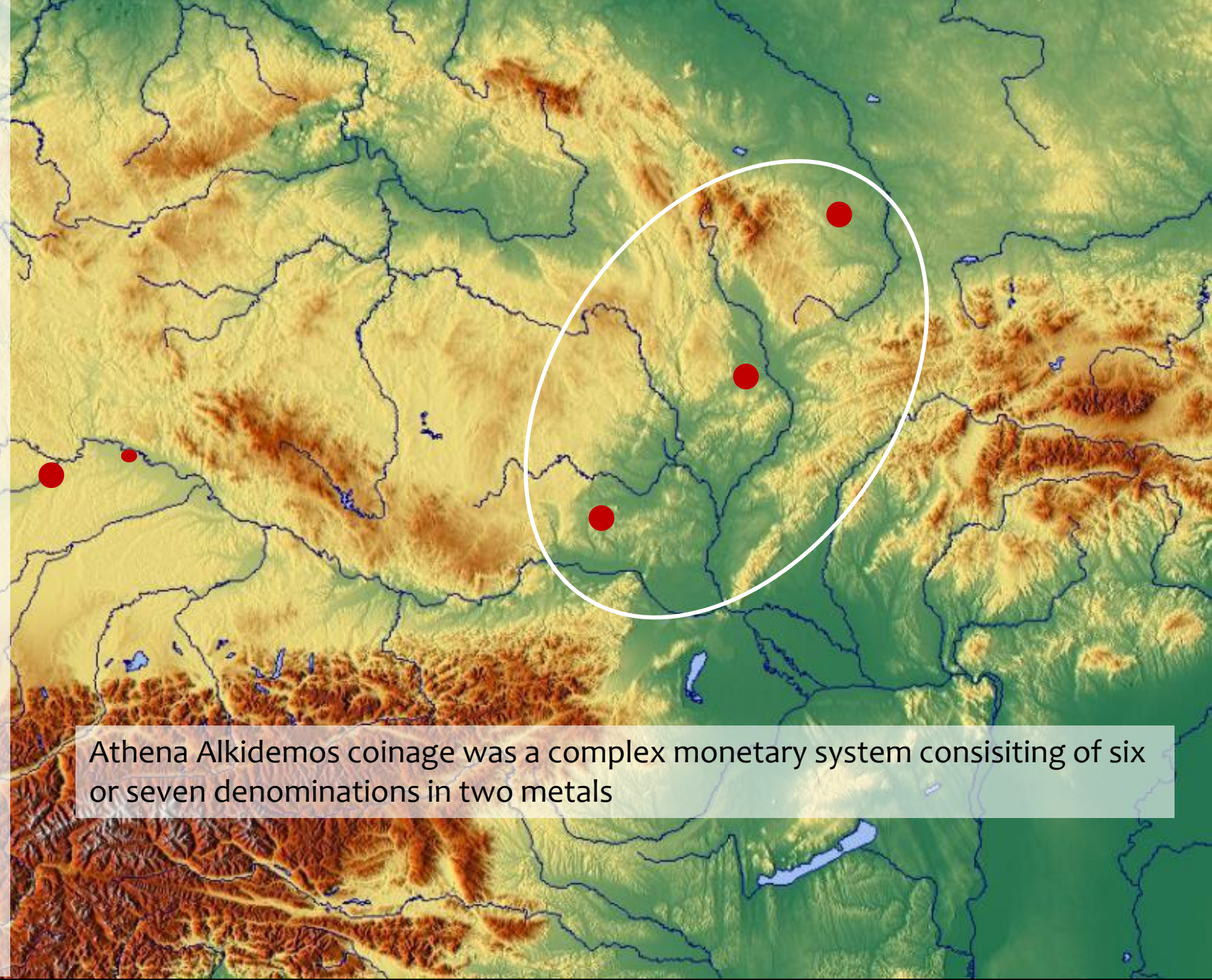
1/24
stater



drachma



obolos



Athena Alkidemos coinage was a complex monetary system consisting of six or seven denominations in two metals



stater



1/3
stater



1/8
stater



1/24
stater



drachma

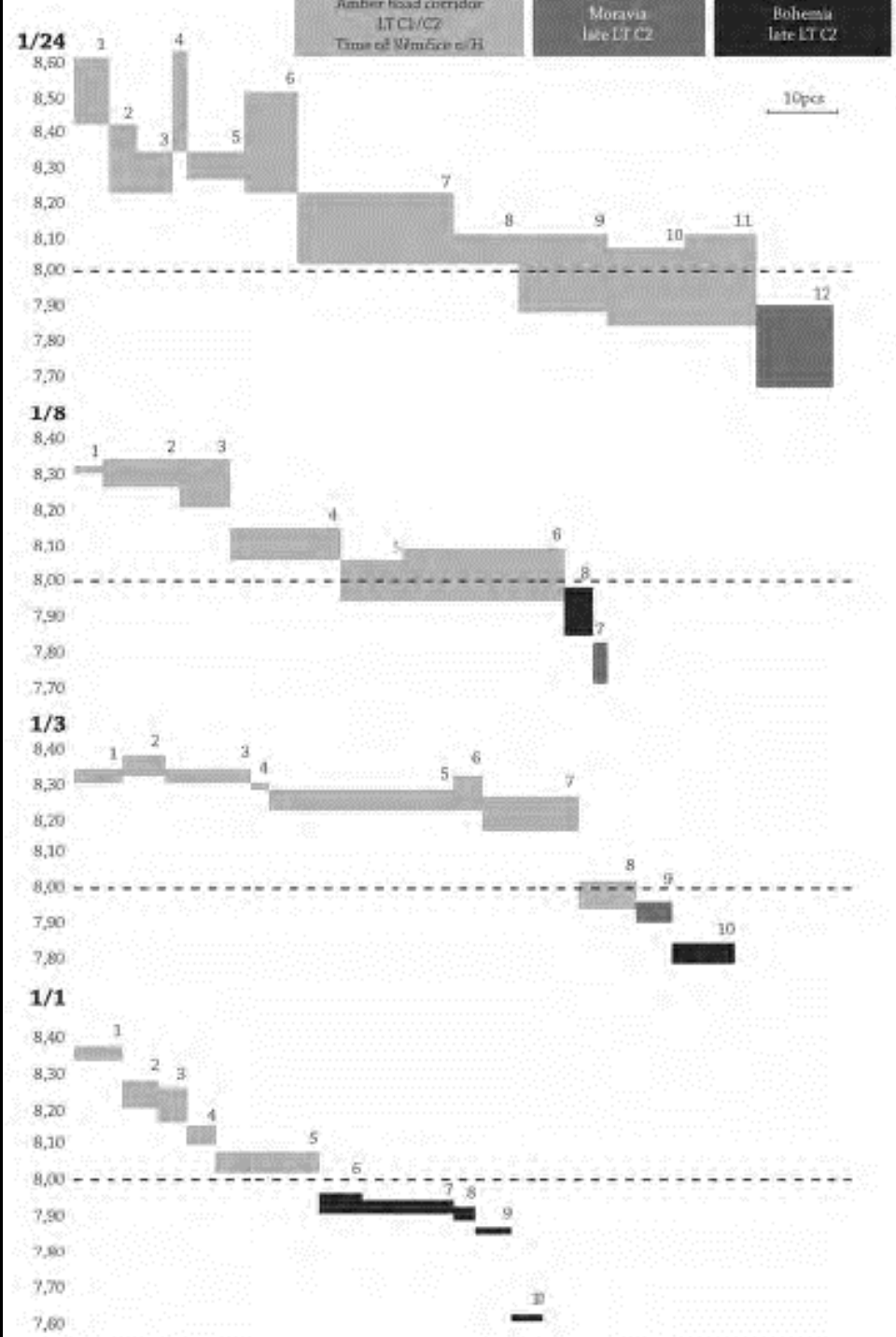


obolos

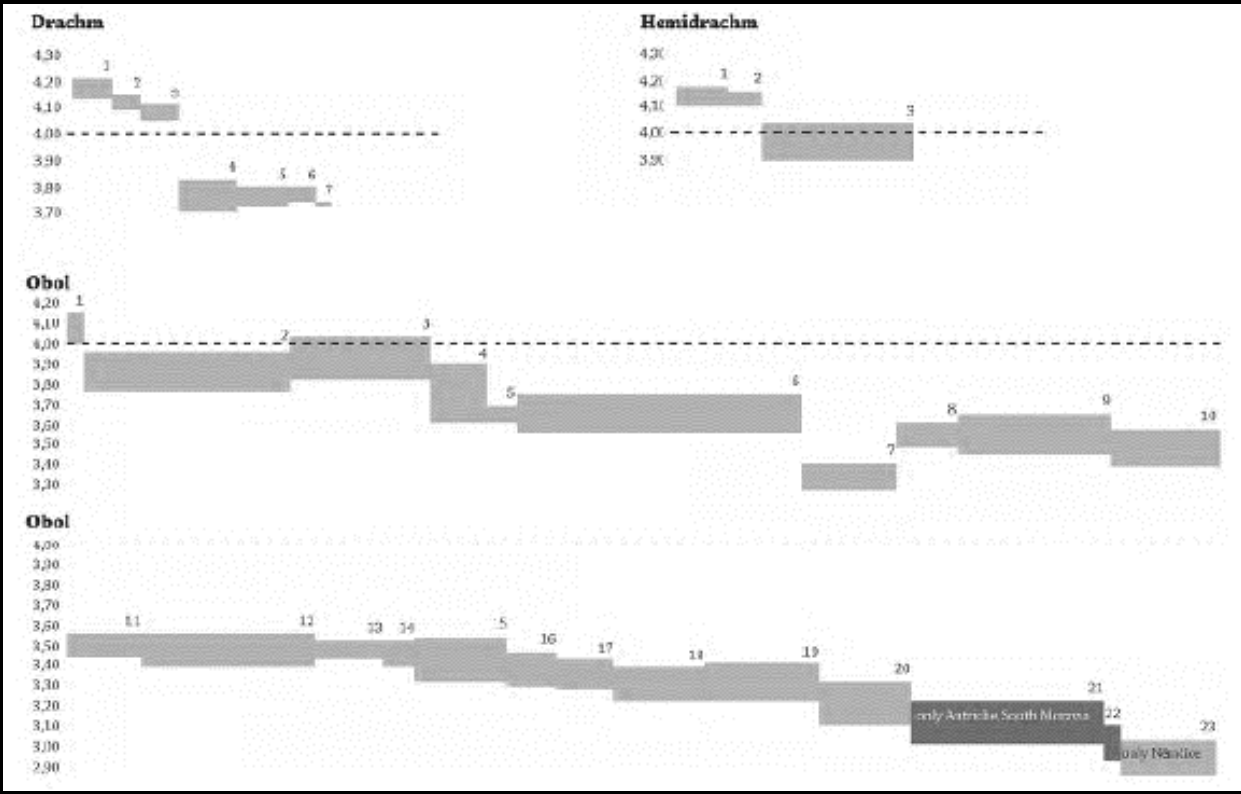


amount in twenty-fourth staters	denominations				pcs. of coins
	1/24	1/8	1/3	1/1	
1	1				1
2	2				2
3		1			1
4	1	1			2
5	2	1			3
6		2			2
7	1	2			3
8			1		1
9	1		1		2
10	2		1		3
11		1	1		2
12	1	1	1		3
13	2	1	1		4
14		2	1		3
15	1	2	1		4
16			2		2
17	1		2		3
18	2		2		4
19		1	2		3
20	1	1	2		4
21	2	1	2		5
22		2	2		4
23	1	2	2		5
24				1	1
					67

The seemingly weird denominations are in reality a mathematically perfect system allowing any sum to be payed with the smallest amount of coins.



-the coins were from the very first moment massively present in all settlements in the area
 -(tens of) thousands of coins were issued slightly losing weight over time => the coins circulate and function entirely as economic tools



There is a lot to say about AA coinage. For whoever is interested, the paper below is very good:
https://studiahercynia.ff.cuni.cz/wp-content/uploads/sites/79/2018/07/Tomas_Smely_40-80.pdf



stater



1/3
stater



1/8
stater



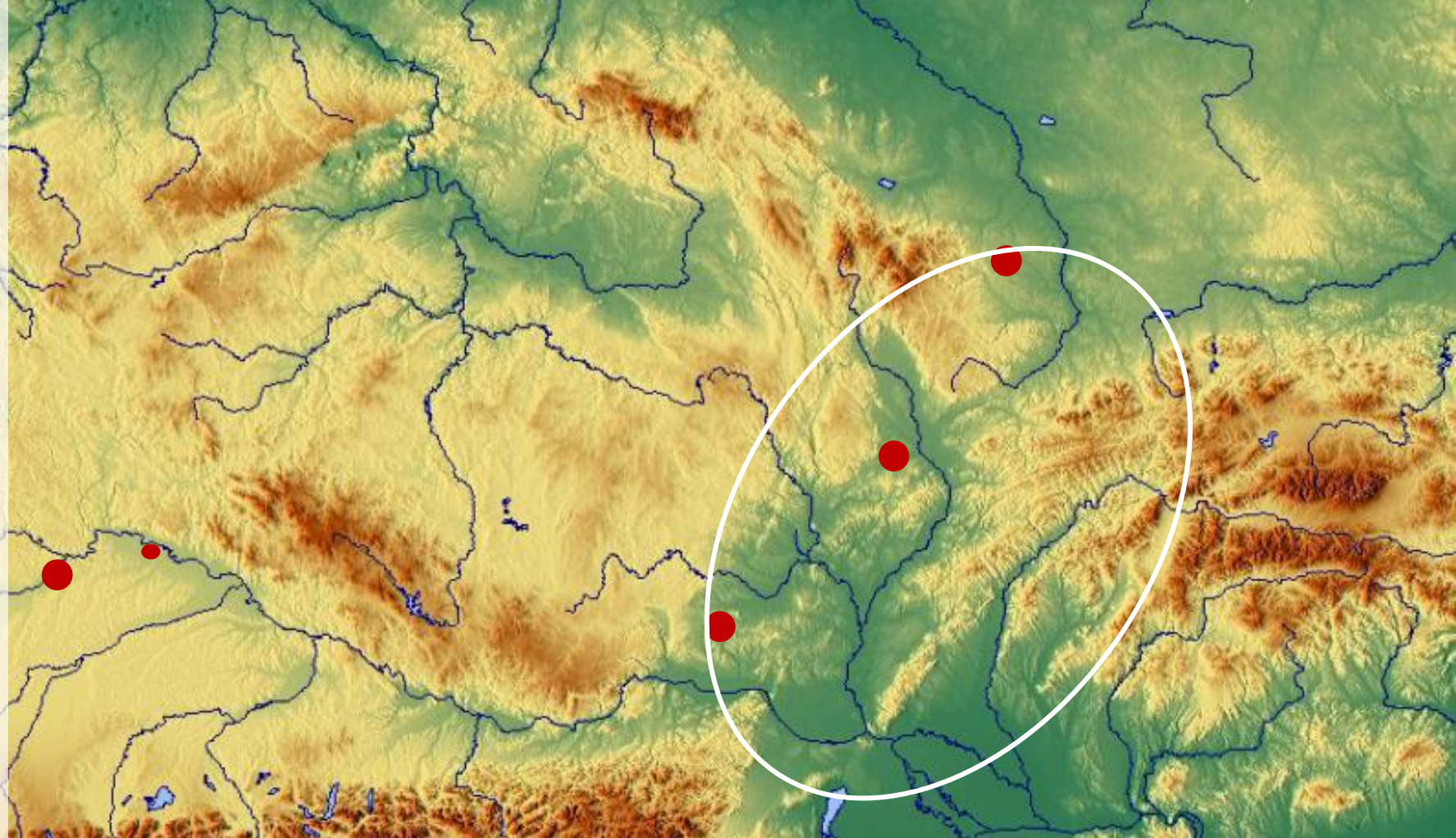
1/24
stater



drachma



obolos



- ⇒ The AA coinage was a unitary system, devised as such and consciously forced upon society which previously had no idea what a coin is... and managed to fully monetise its economy over the course of a single generation.
- ⇒ The system was shared by the entire Amber road area and developed along the same pace in the entire area over several decades.



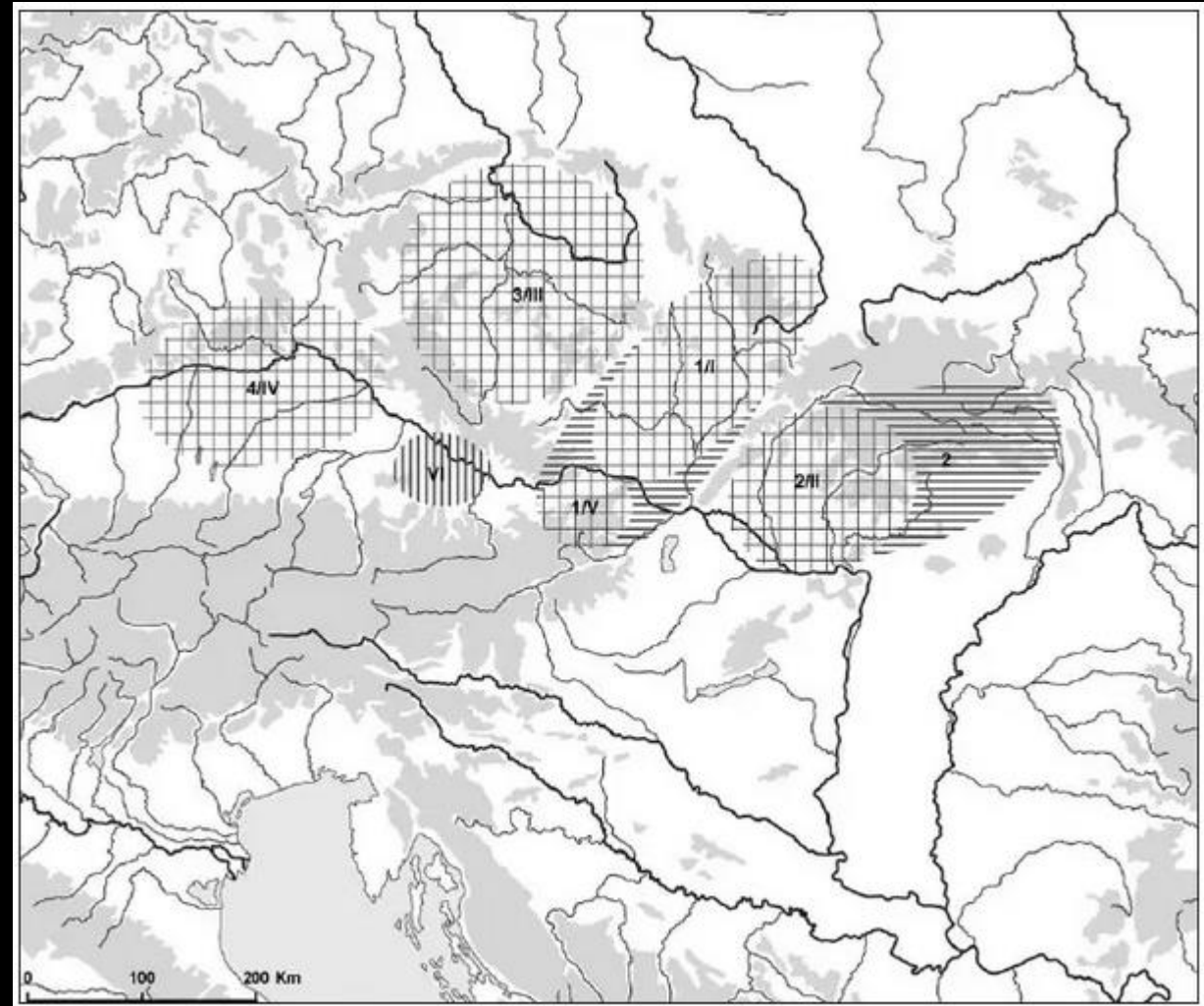
By contrast, Bohemia in the same period was a total mess: the same system, the same denominations but dozens of coin types are documented, rarely the entire denomination series.
=> Numerous petty authorities and marginal significance in comparison with Moravia and Austria

KELTSKÉ
MINCOVNICTVÍ
VE 3. A 2. STOLETÍ
PŘED KRISTEM
V ČECHÁCH

Jiří Milíky



Glass production regions and early coinages overlap representing clear foci of social and cultural development in LT C1.



https://www.academia.edu/10892786/Natalie_Venclov%C3%A1_-_Ji%C5%99%C3%AD_Militk%C3%BD_2014_Glass-making_coinage_and_local_identities_in_the_Middle_Danube_region_in_the_third_and_second_centuries_B.C

IV–III/II century imports in central Europe are few and – having probably arrived by complicated and individual itineraries – do not say much by themselves...

(btw. the imports from Roseldorf are a grape pip and dill seed).





The only category which may help us understand something are coins.



In **Němčice nad Hanou**, there are 76 Mediterranean coins out of the 1070 published pieces

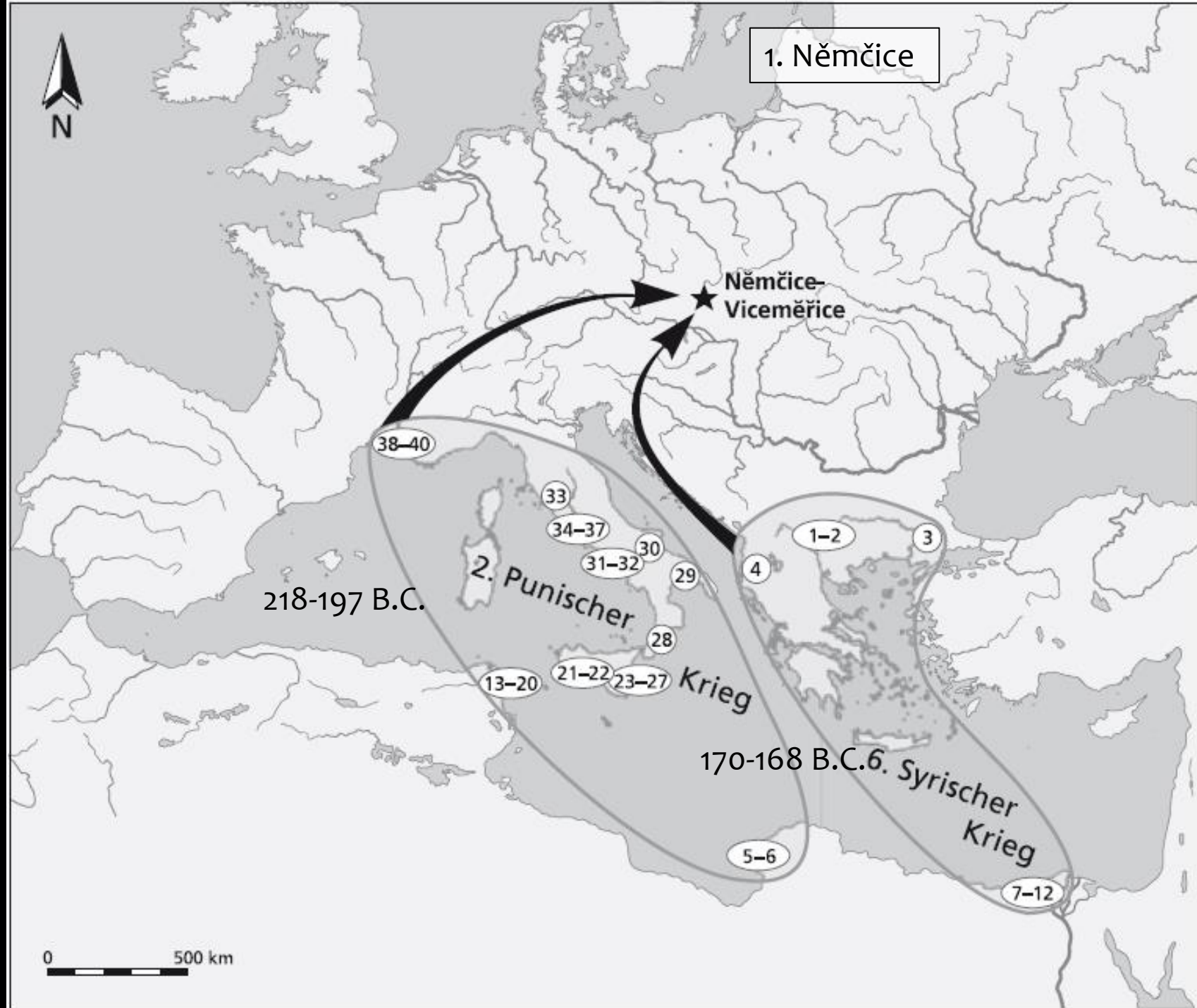


These finds were interpreted by H.Chr. Noeske as coins brought back by mercenaries coming back from the Second Punic War and from the 6th Syrian war

https://www.academia.edu/3618161/%C4%8Ci%C5%BE m%C3%A1%C5%99_M_Koln%C3%ADkov%C3%A1_E_No eske_H-CH_N%C4%9Bm%C4%8Dice- V%C3%ADcem%C4%9B%C5%99ice_ein_neues_Handels - _und_Industriezentrum_der_Latenezeit_in_M%C3%A4hren_Germania_86_2008_655-700

I disagree as I will try to explain...

https://www.academia.edu/35260554/Sitos_chr%C3%A9mata_Chaklos_eikona_K_%C5%99eck%C3%BDm_minc%C3%ADm_ve_st%C5%99edn%C3%AD_Evrop%C4%9B_mlad%C5%A1%C3%AD_doby_%C5%BEelezn%C3%A9_Sitos_khr%C3%A9mata_Khalkos_eikona_On_Greek_coins_in_central_Europe_in_the_Late_Iron_Age_Period_



The principal problem is, that Noeske completely overlooked the (quite numerous) Greek (and akin) coins elsewhere in central Europe

-by the way comparison with northern Italy will come in handy

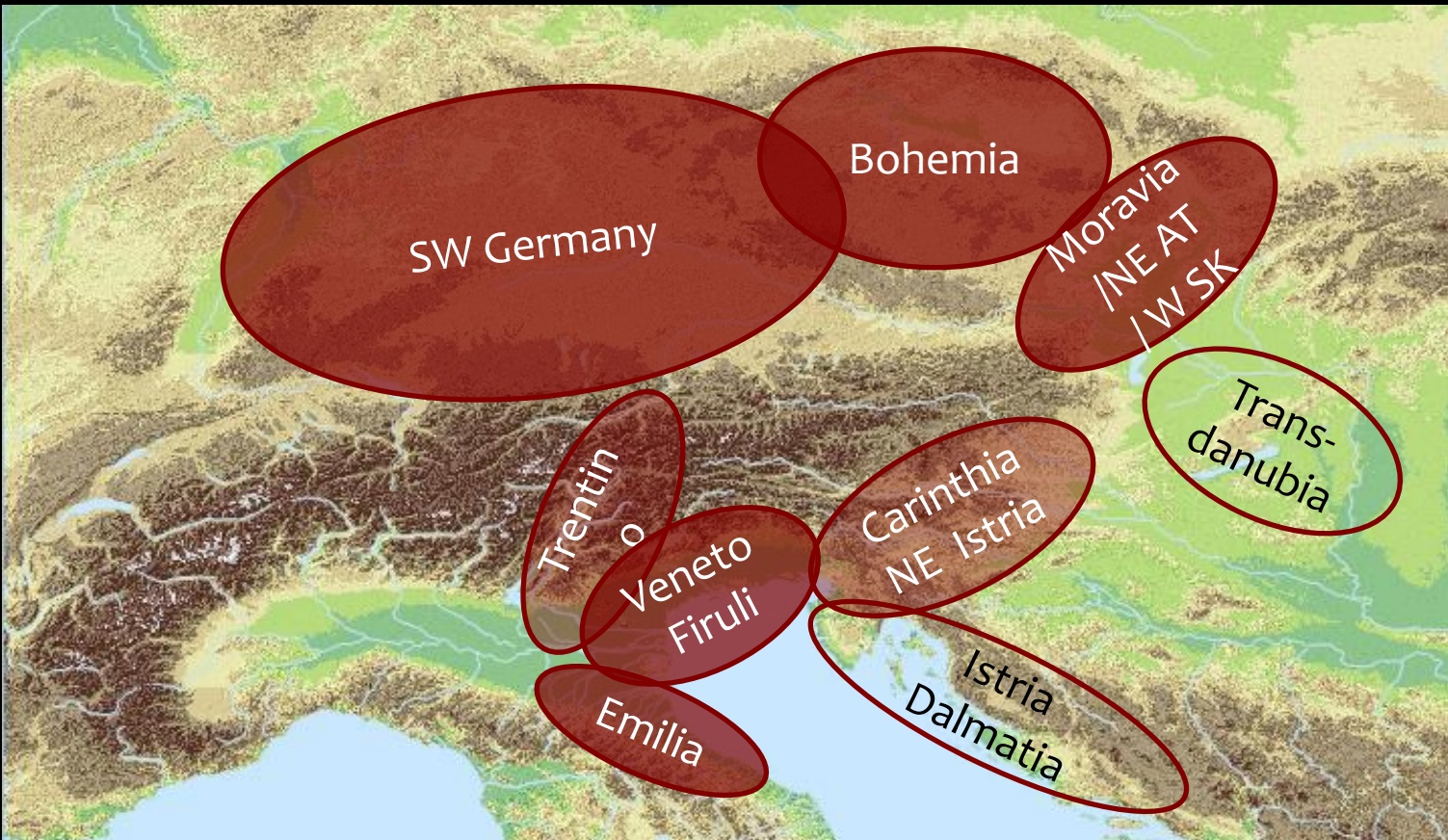


681 coins

45 regions

97 cities

54 sovereigns



(almost) complete data

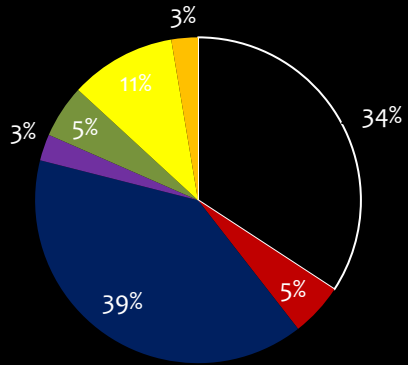
incomplete data
(=> sampled)

insufficient data
(=> excluded)

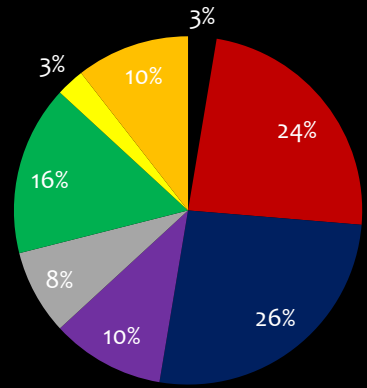
The coins can be distinguished according to their provenance



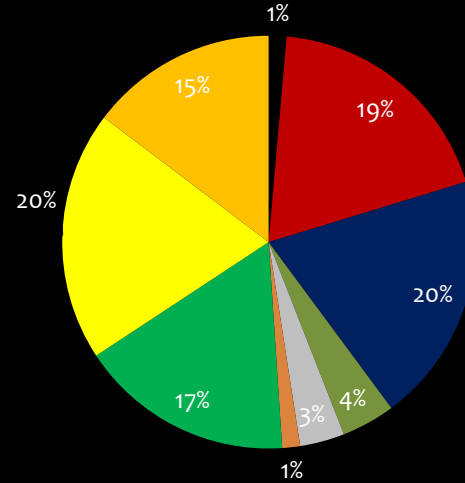
Bohemia [38]



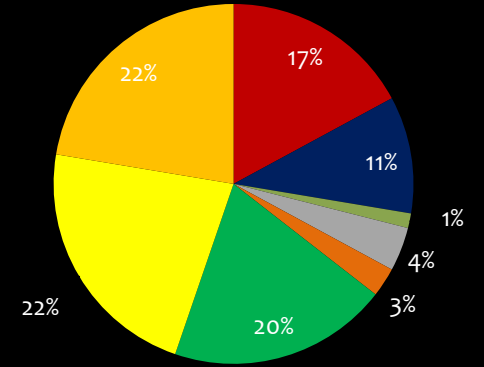
**SE Germany /
Upper Austria [38]**



middle Danube – Eastern Alps [143]



Němčice [76]

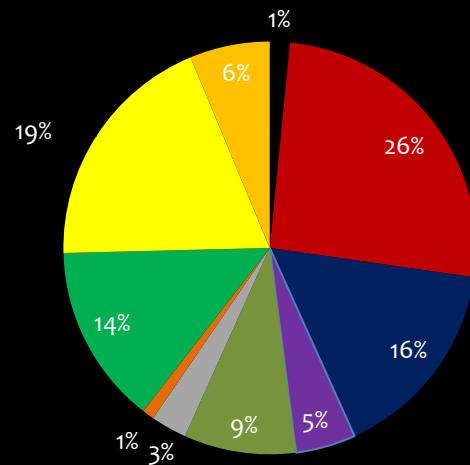


-the coin spectrum of Němčice is clearly very similar to that of the Middle Danube/east Alpine area but also to that of Northern Italy!

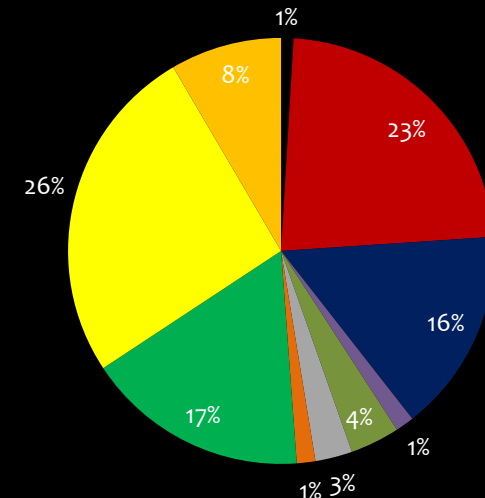
-the differences can be explained by chronological reasons

-southern Germany is still relatively similar to the other areas while Bohemia is completely different

NE Italy [319]



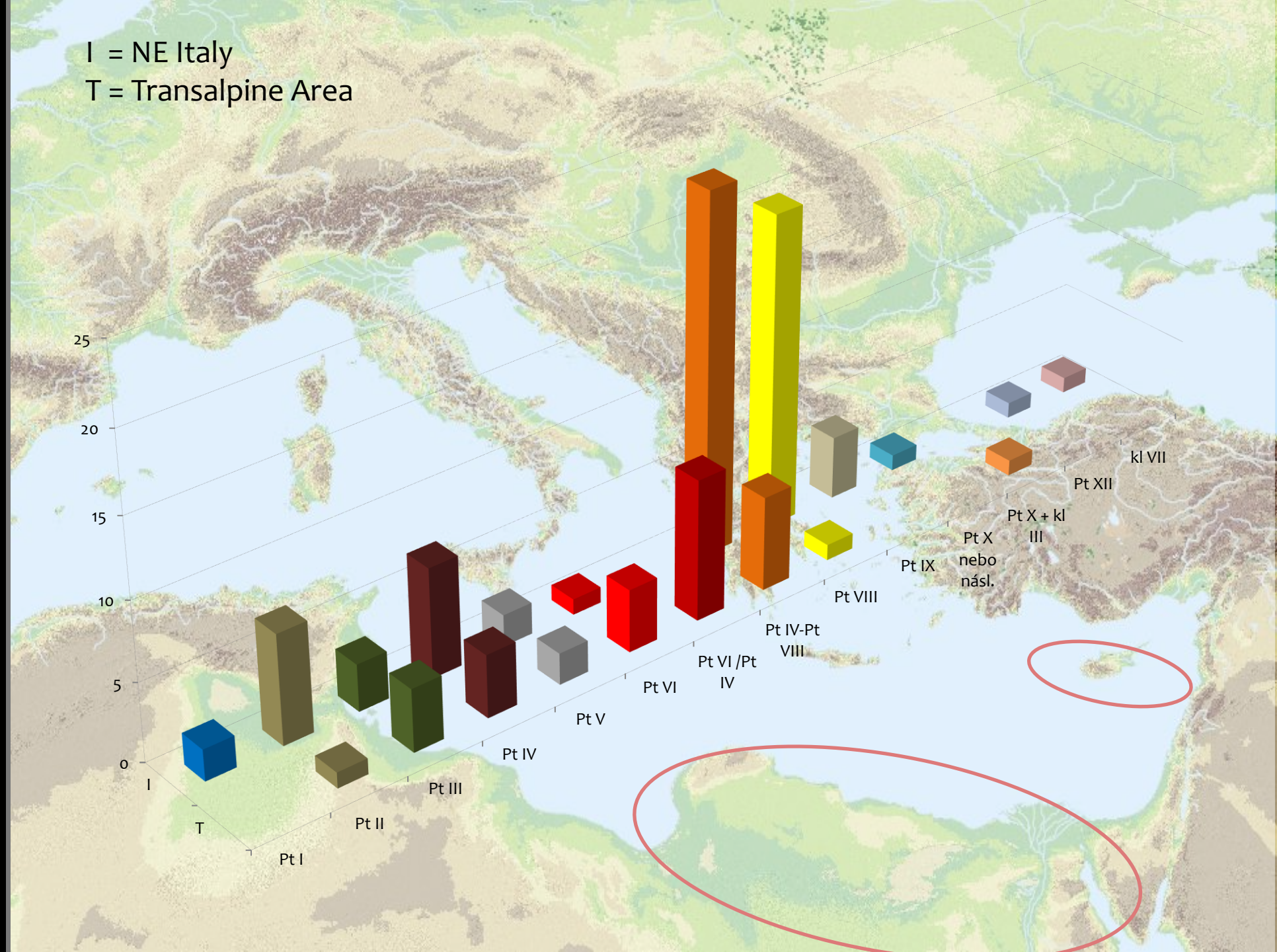
NE Italy (4th–mid 2nd BC) [213]



I = NE Italy
T = Transalpine Area

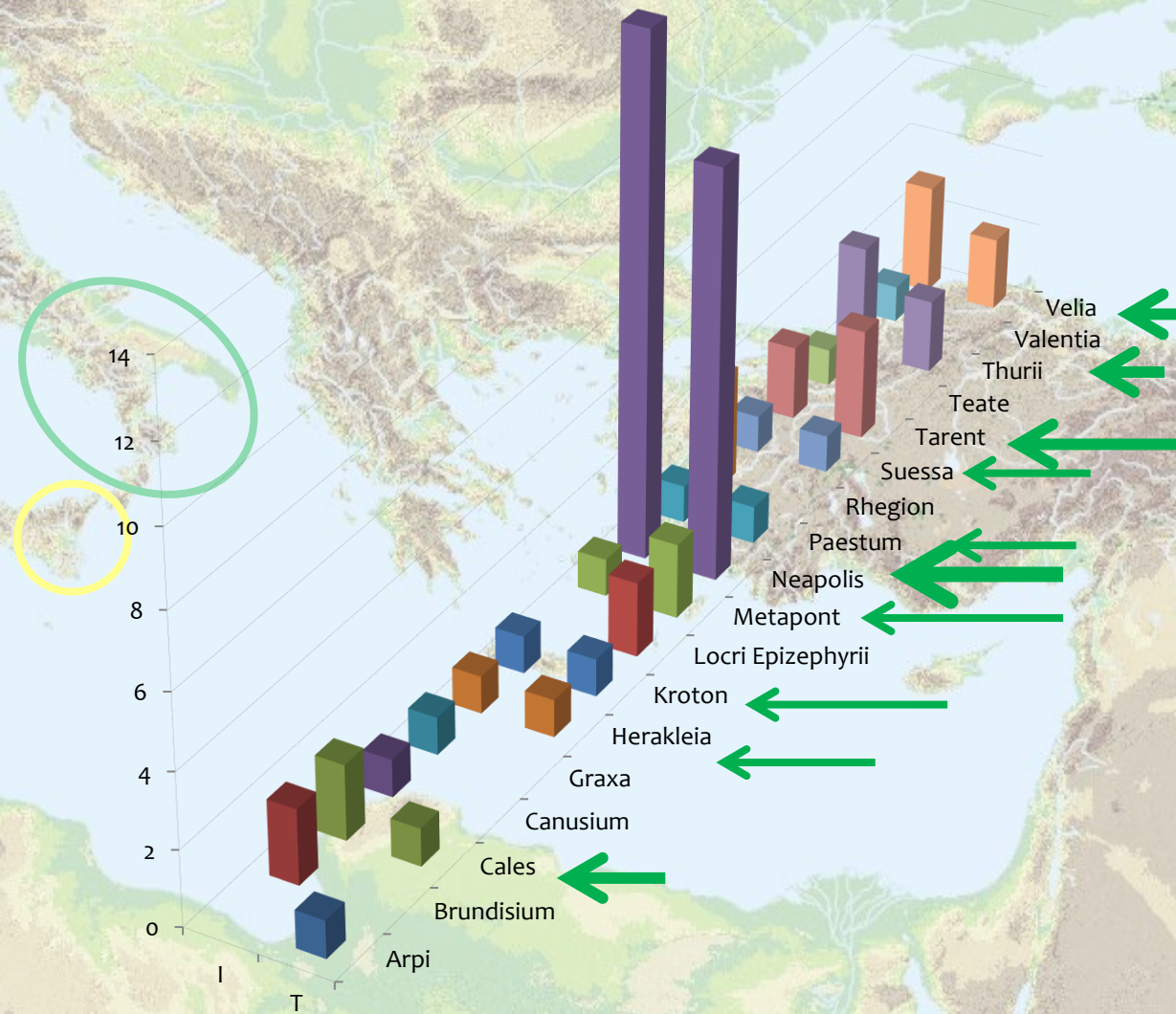
The similarity between central Europe and Italy is reflected also in more detailed comparison of the individual issuers:

-in Ptolemaic coins, the best represented rulers match in both areas....



... as do the better represented cities of Magna Graecia...

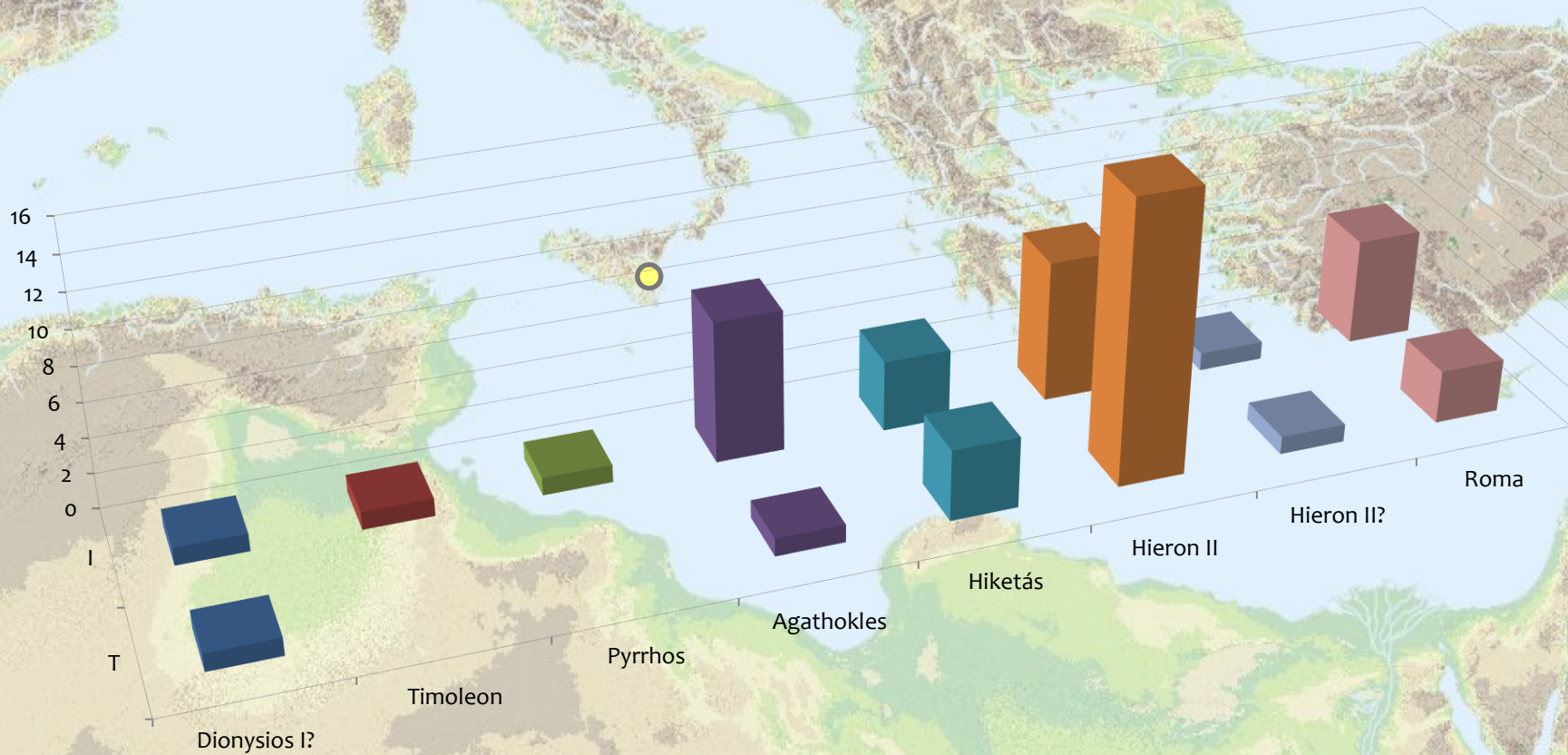
I = NE Italy
T = Transalpine Area



...the individual issuers of
the very numerous
Syracusan coins....

I = NE Italy
T = Transalpine Area

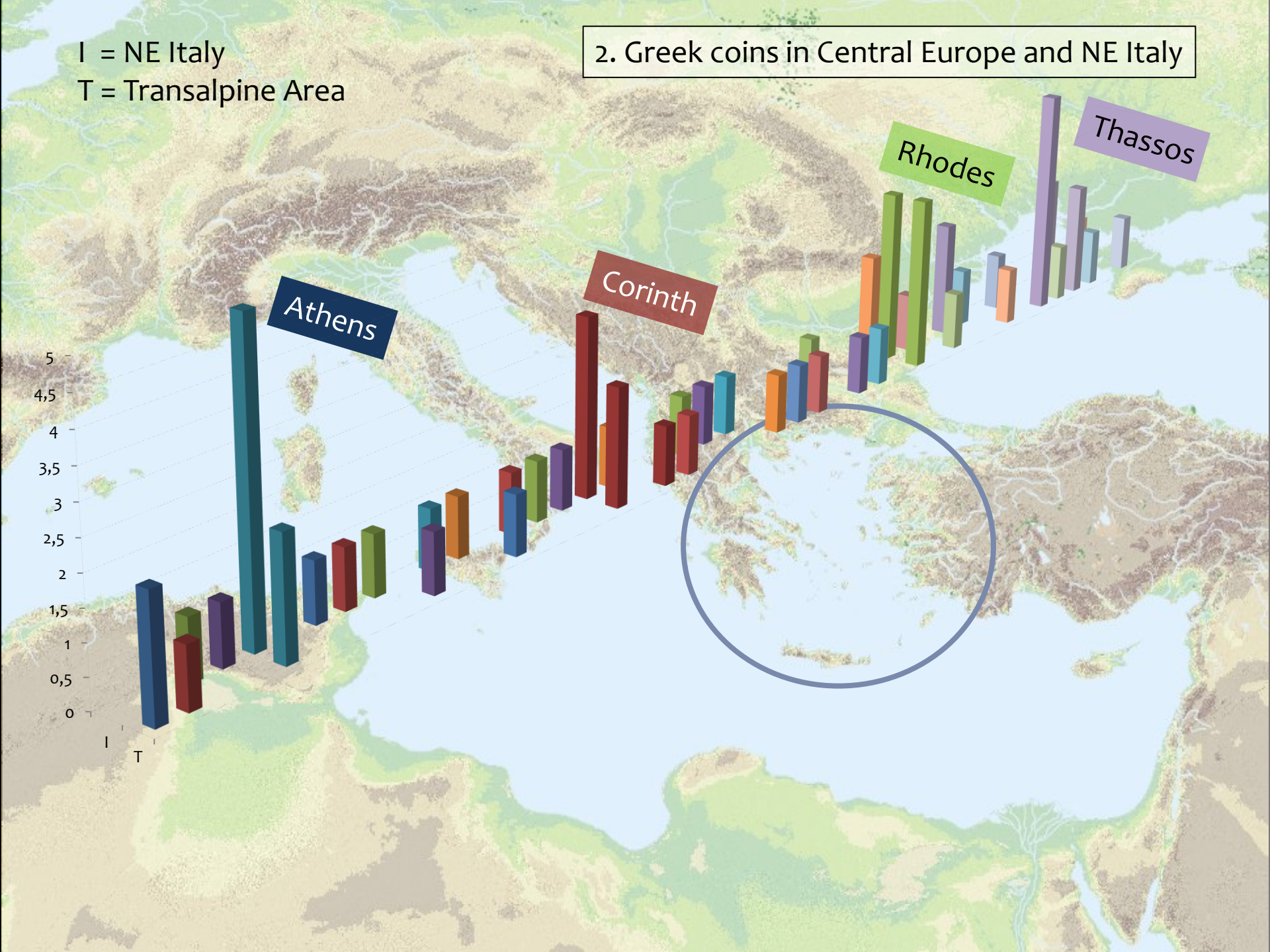
2. Greek coins in Central Europe and NE Italy



...and the few Greek cities that are represented by more than one coin

I = NE Italy
T = Transalpine Area

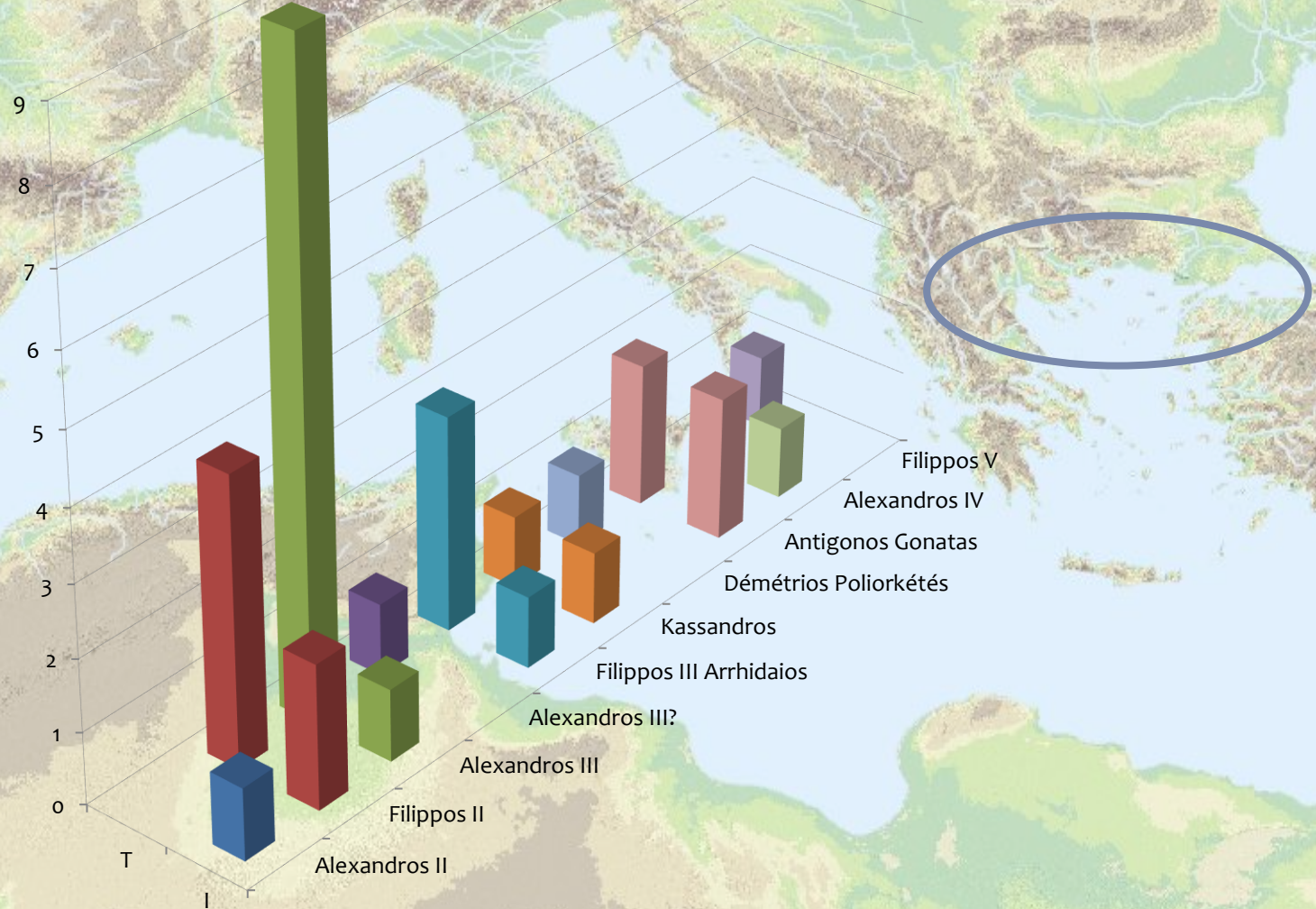
2. Greek coins in Central Europe and NE Italy



The single significant dissonance are Macedonian coins which are much more common in Central Europe than in Italy.

I = NE Italy
T = Transalpine Area

2. Greek coins in Central Europe and NE Italy



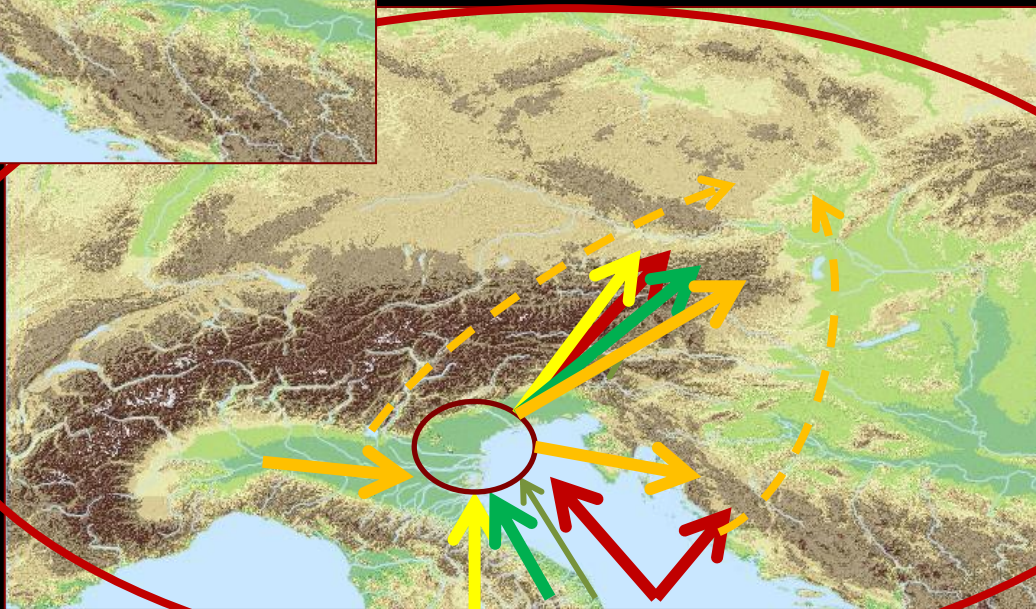


=> The Greek coins probably came to Central Europe in three waves:
 -first, Macedonian coins arrived via the Balkans in late IV / early III century BC (~ Macedonian models of local coinage)
 -then a bunch of different coins from the entire Mediterranean via Italy in III/II century
 -the II-I century wave is not interesting for us now

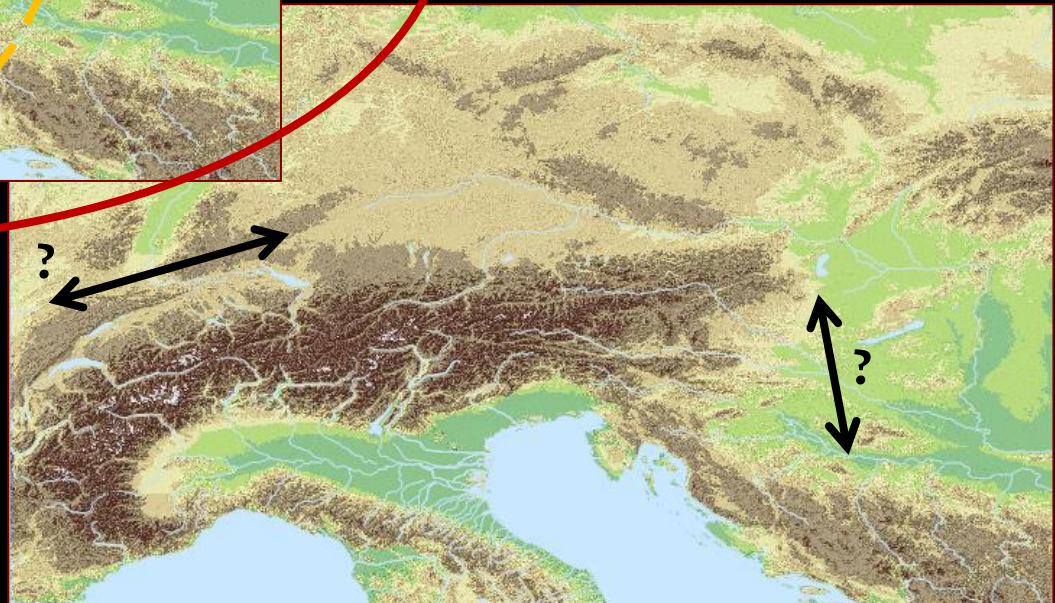
4th c. BC

The coins spectra of the second phase are so similar in Italy and in different parts of central Europe, that the coins most likely crossed the Alps not as single pieces but in bulk.

Sounds weird? What's even weirder, most of them are of bronze, not Ag or Au... why to import bronze?



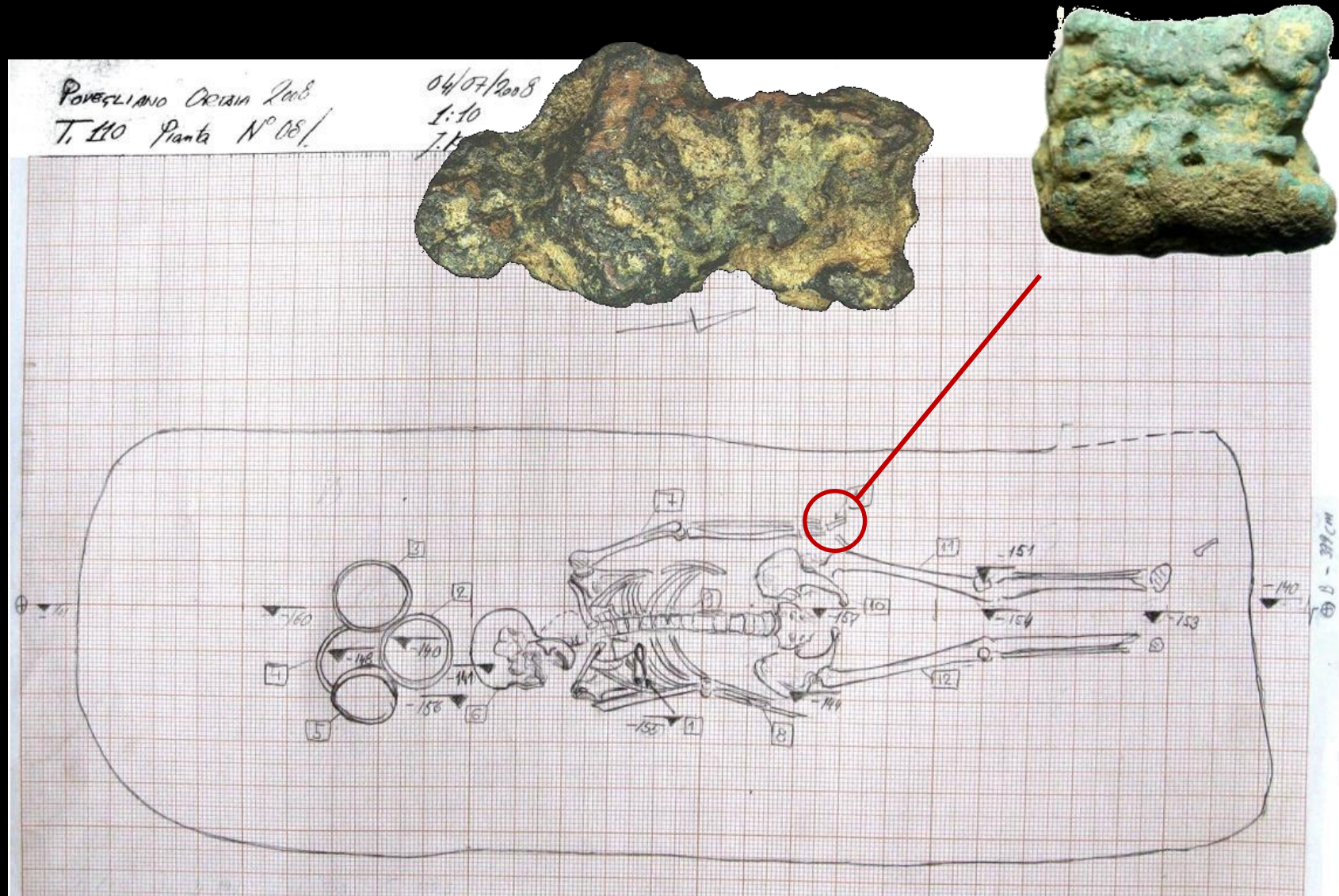
3rd-2nd c. BC



2nd-1st c. BC

Why bronze coins?

- 1) Because bronze is a metal and it has its value anyway?
(the Celts in Northern Italy used bronze as Charon's obolus down to the II-I BC)

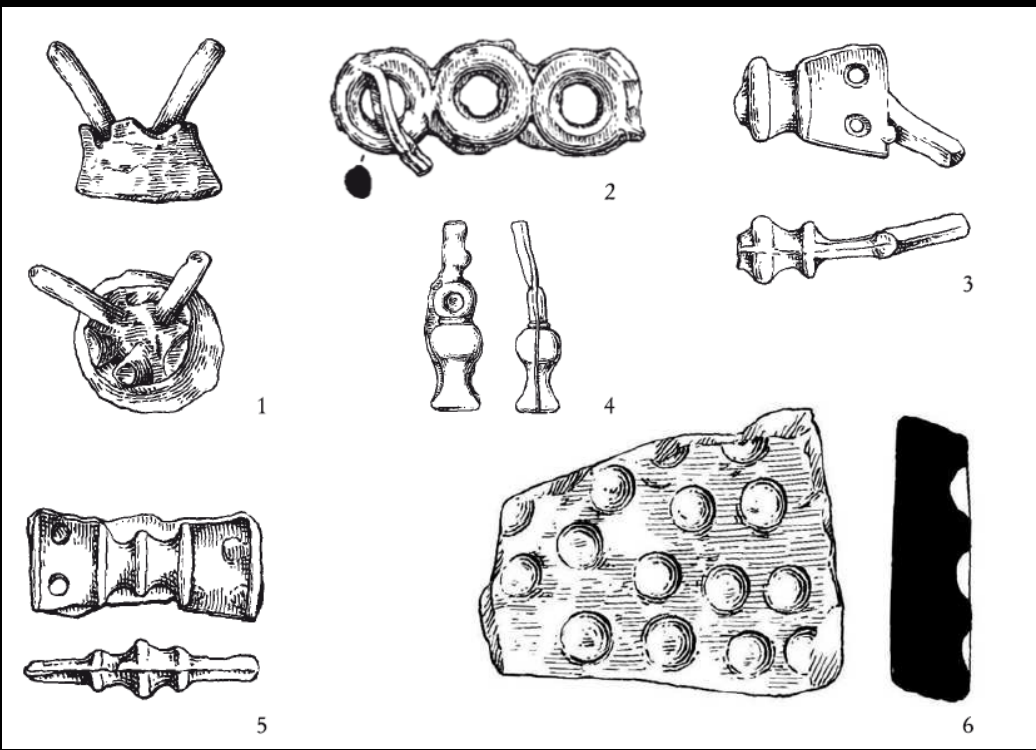


Why bronze coins?

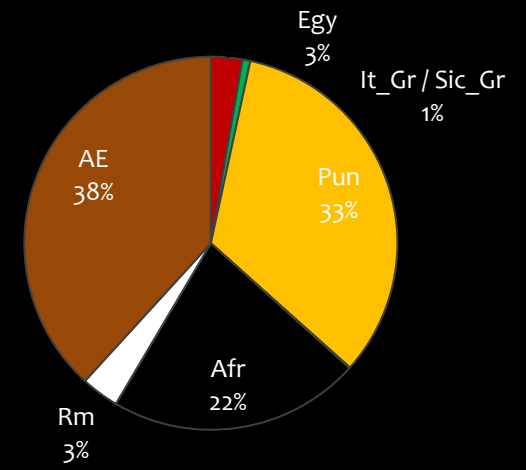
2) Because bronze is a metal and therefore was imported as raw material?

e.g. in Dalmatia, hundreds of bronze coins were hoarded along with raw bronze in the II-I BC

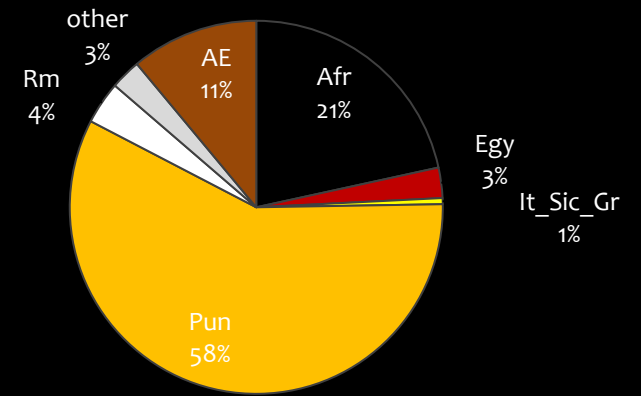
Mdtrrn coins from Nĕmĕice = 810 g of bronze much favoured are the huuuuuuuuuge Ptolemaic pieces



Mazin (1617)



Vrankamen (190)



Why bronze coins?

3) And what if they did not care (only) about the metal but (also) about the image?

-LT C1/C2 was a key period also in LT art which after centuries of abstraction and hidden meanings suddenly found appreciation for images

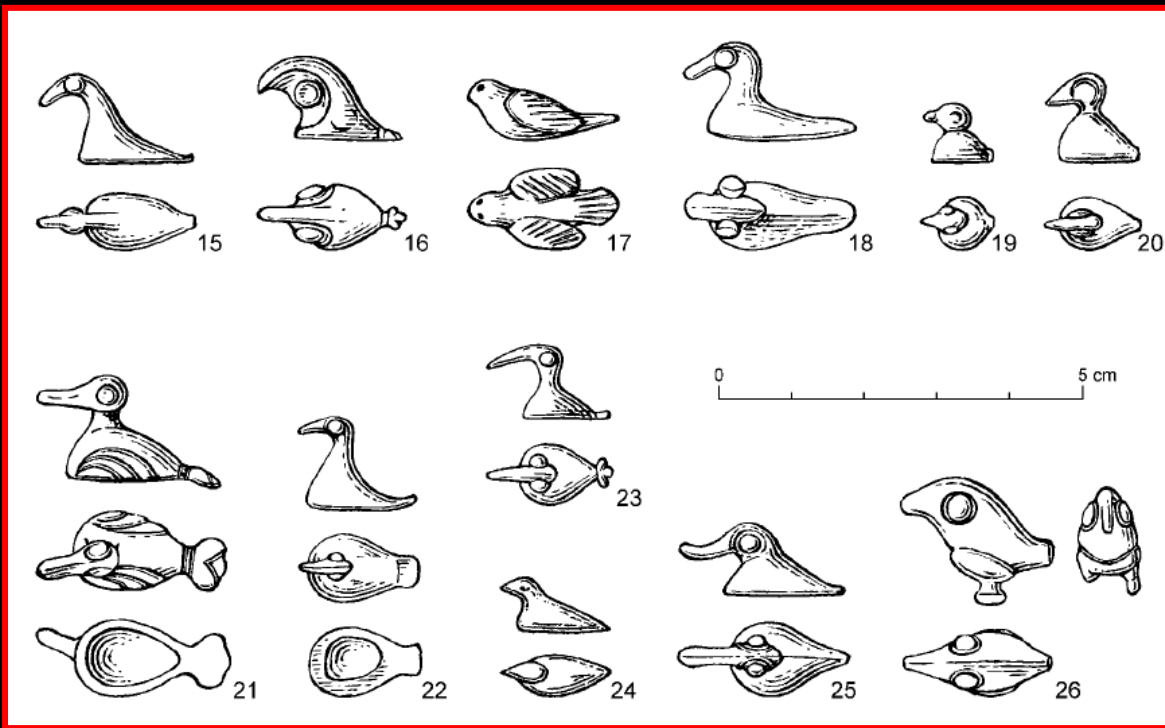


967



1022





Don't forget that the coins come from the same site which produced also an impressive collection of bronze ducks which stand right mid-way the good old LT art and the horrible ends it will take in the II-I BC.

After all, this democratisation of image is another aspect of the LT C social transformations

https://www.academia.edu/39772542/the_Celts_2018_2019_-_La_T%C3%A8ne_Art

p. 151-155





The best example of it is this guy from cca the same period
I don't like him and will tell you nothing more about him :~)

→ the „Němčice horizon“ = a middle out of three chronological horizons of the influx of Greek coins to central Europe

→ the majority (or all) of the coins of the Němčice horizon came to Central Europe through NE Italy

→ there is no proof that the coins movement across the Alps illustrates specific historical events
(no more Boii and no more mercenaries please ...)

→ a new life of the imported coins in the Transalpine area → local movement and a (new?) specific function

THE OPPIDA PERIOD
mid-II–I century BC



Roman occupation of Po valley
foundation of Aquileia

190 BC
181 BC

FACTS

Roman conquest of southern Gaul
the Cimbri and Teutons campaign

122-118 BC
113-102 BC

Boii attack at Noreia
Suebi (Ariovist) invasion of E Gaul
Gallic war

before 58 BC
before 58 BC
58-50 BC

Norican king with Caesar against Pompey
Boii decimated by the Dacians

49 BC
40's BC

conquest of Illyricum and Pannonia by Octavian
Roman conquest of the Alps

35 BC
15 BC

RELEVANT CONJECTURES

-establishing contacts
between Rome and the
eastern Alps and NE Balkans

-establishment of political
links between Rome and
Haedui in Gaul

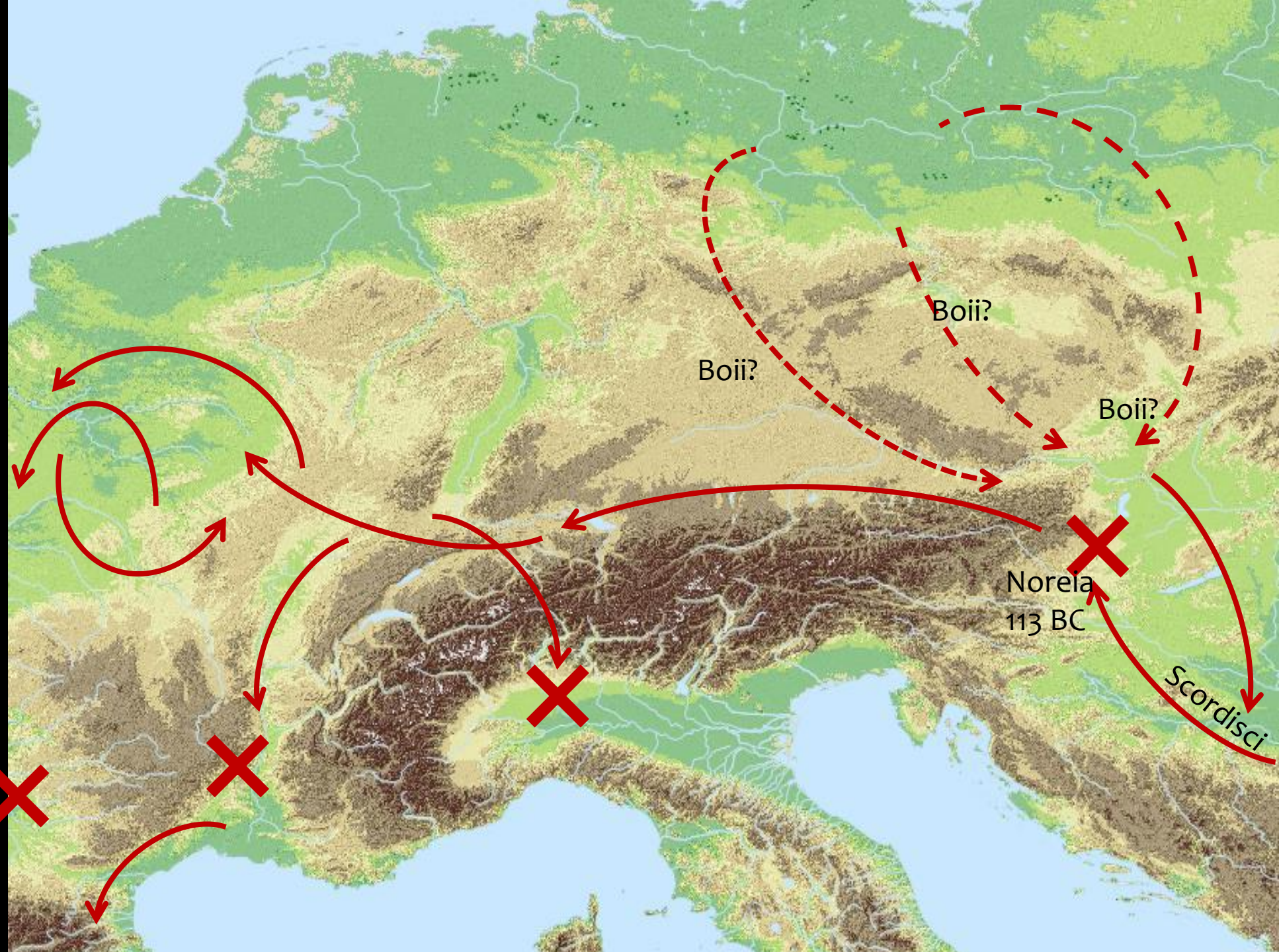
IRELEVANT CONJECTURES

-resettlement of the Boii from
Italy to Bohemia (we have
discussed it sufficiently)

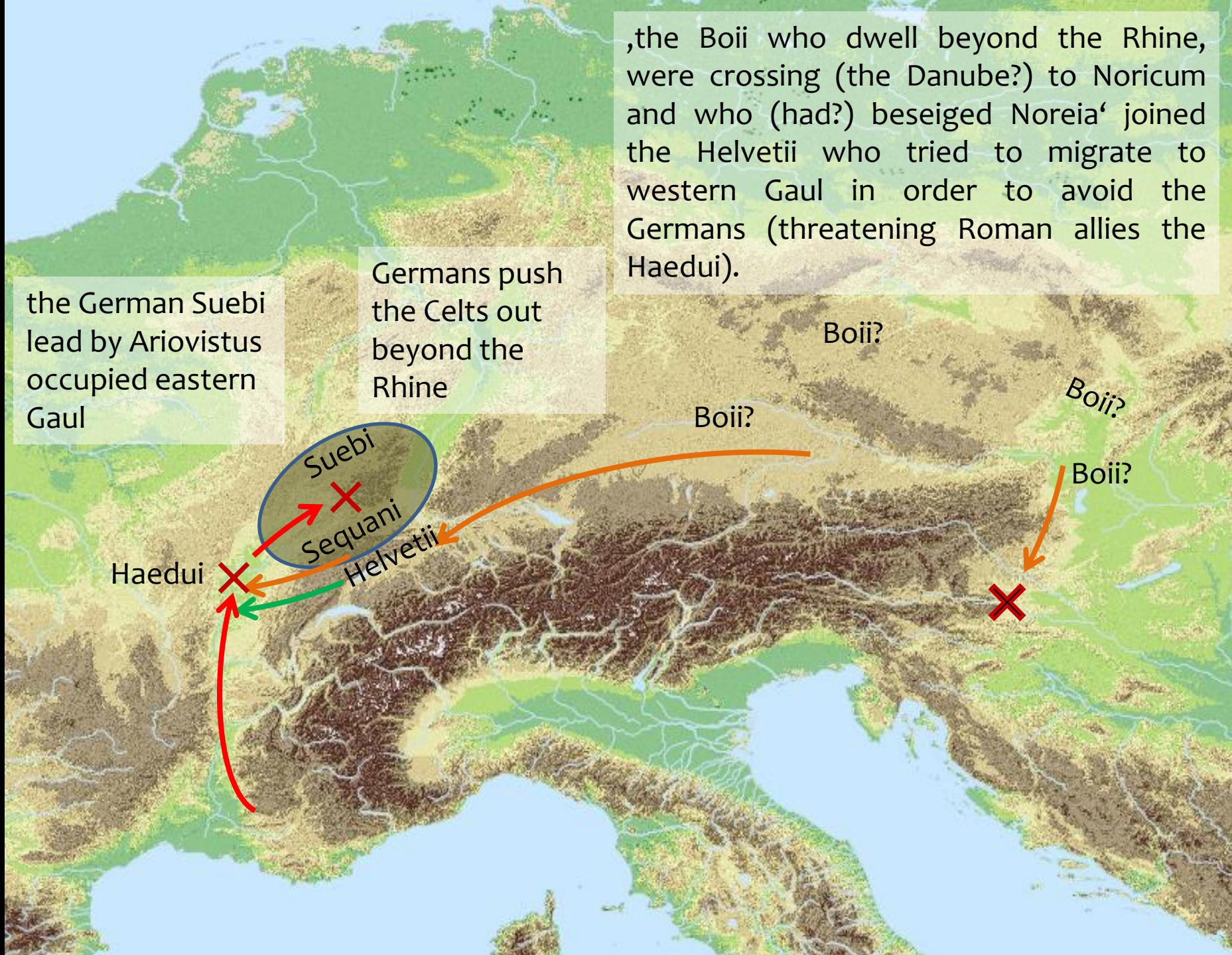
-Any details of whence, where,
when, and why whoever was
moving.

the Cimbri and Teutones

Germanic (?) peoples from
Danemark / N Germany/?
defeated by the Boii in the
„Hercynian forest“ and
driven to the Balkans
113 BC defeating the Romans
at Noreia
→ towards the Helveti and
to Gaul
109, 107, 105 BC – defeating
Romans in Gaul
→ campaign to Spain and
Italy
102, 102 BC – finally defeated
by Gaius Marius in
battles of Aquae Sextiae
and Vercelli



We learn about the events of 58 BC (and slightly before) thanks to the first book of Caesar's *Gallic Wars* (but read it aware of his propagandistic interests)
<https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.02.0001>



,the Boii who dwell beyond the Rhine, were crossing (the Danube?) to Noricum and who (had?) beseiged Noreia' joined the Helvetii who tried to migrate to western Gaul in order to avoid the Germans (threatening Roman allies the Haedui).

the German Suebi lead by Ariovistus occupied eastern Gaul

Germans push the Celts out beyond the Rhine

Suebi
Sequani

Haedui

Helvetii

Boii?

Boii?

Boii?

Boii?

X

X

-Rome was politically fully involved in Gaul (close relations with Haedui but also with Ariovistus!)

-Caesar needed to :

1) justify his deeds with protection of interests of Rome

- protecting Roman allies (Haedui, Norici)

- preventing problems in the Roman sphere of interest (and why not also enlarging it?)

2) Glorify his exploits by conquering the entire Gaul

-constant mentions of tense relations between Celts and Germans = fearmongering recalling the only Germans the Romans had encountered – the Cimbri. By driving the germanic threat from Gaul he made himself a new Marius.

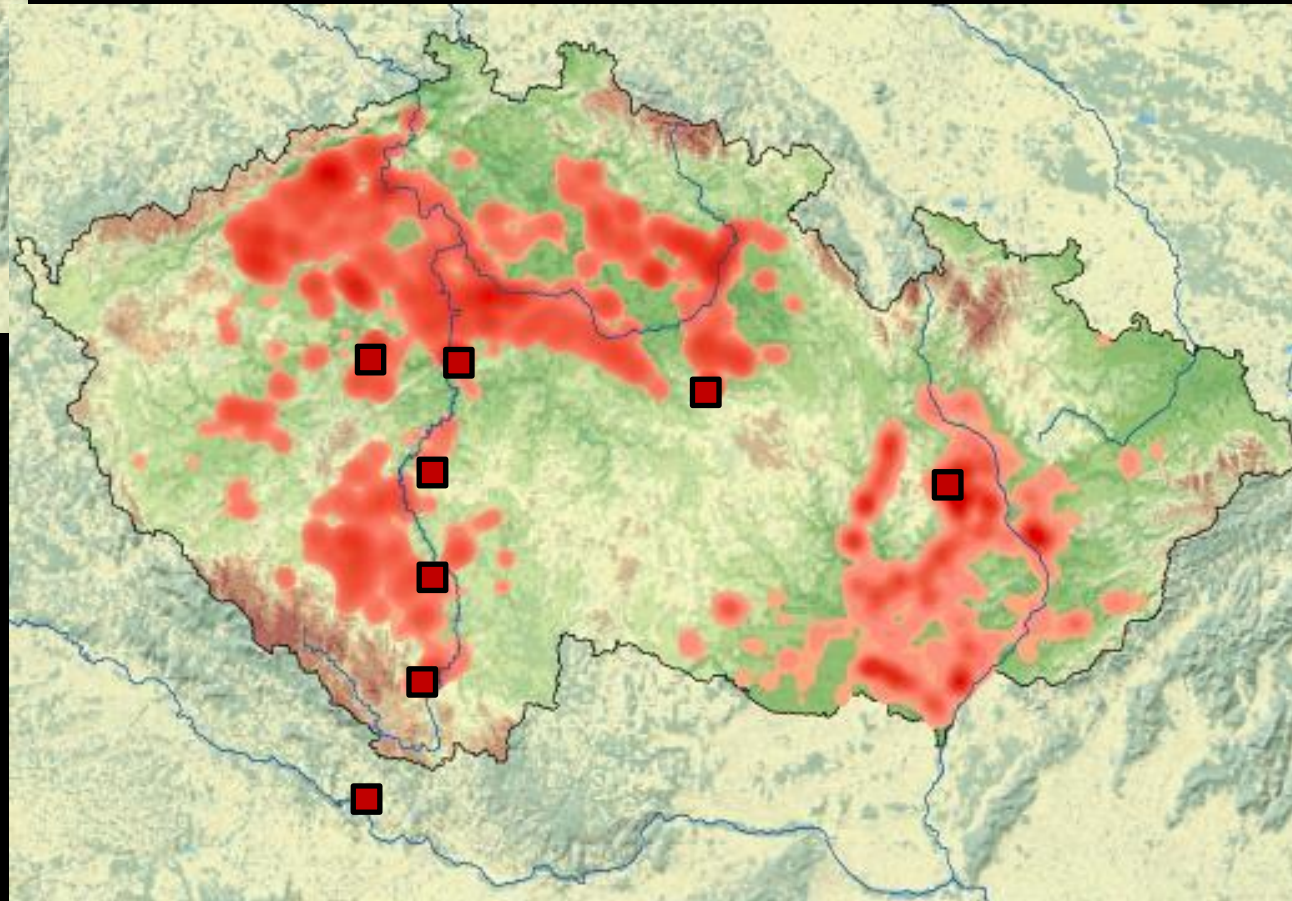
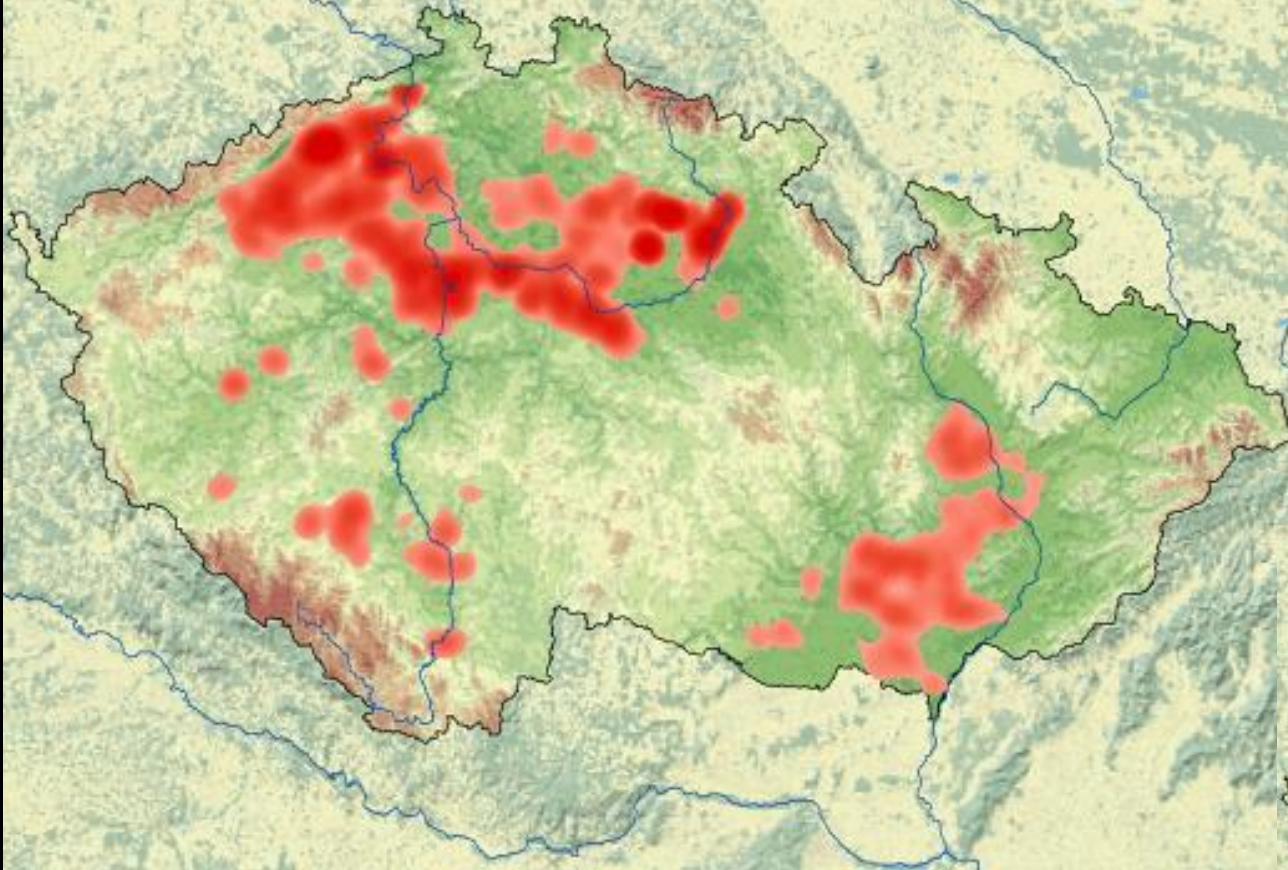
-by contrasting Gaul with the („Germanic“) territories beyond the Rhine he himself defined the Gaul to conquer and did not need to worry about the rest (it is not at all sure, it is even unlikely that a distinction between Gaul and „Germany“ existed beforehand for the Gauls themselves)

-Boii were represented as threat because they (incidentally) endanger Roman interests in Noricum and Gaul, otherwise Caesar doesn't care much about them

=> The Roman sphere of interests involved Gaul and eastern Alps. The Romans were somewhat aware of central Europe but did not care much (yet).

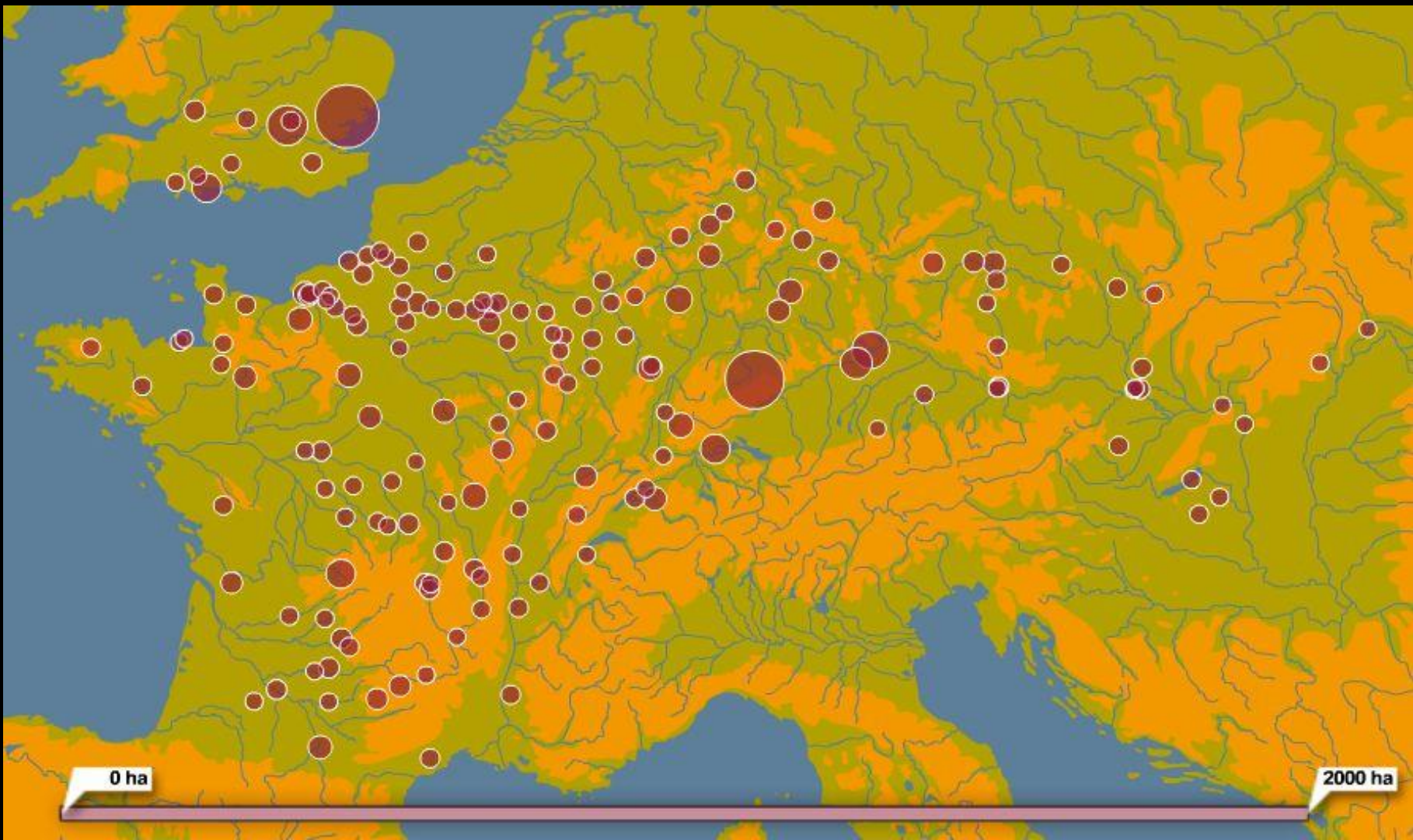
Archaeology of Late La Tène period in Central Europe

- over LT C2, the occupation spread to previously unoccupied territories
- a series of fortified hill-top settlements of entirely new type – oppida – was established (in Bohemia they mostly concentrate in the southern half of the country)



Between LT C2 and LT D2, oppida appeared in most of LT Europe though with a significant variability from region to region in terms of typology, chronology, material culture, etc.

<http://oppida.org/>



HIBRACTE (Saône-et-Loire)	STRADONITZ (Bohême)	MANCHING (Haute-Bavière)	VELEM S ^t VÉŠT (Hongrie)

In early 1900s Joseph Déchelette first realised the striking similarity of material culture between several European fortified sites, defining thus a „civilisation des oppida“.

Currently we tend to see more diversity within the LT Europe than Déchelette but still admit that much of the phenomenon is very similar throughout Europe.



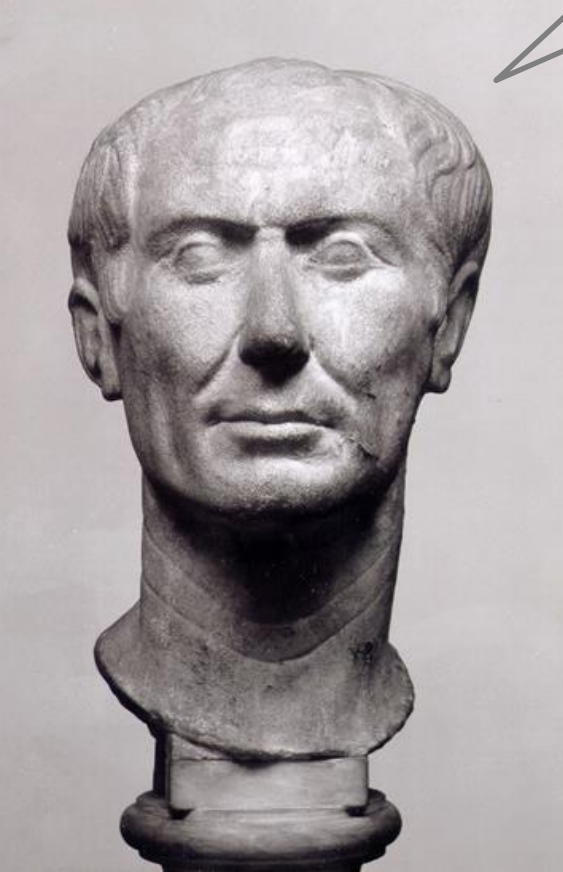
Fig. 404. — Menus objets semblables trouvés dans quatre stations de La Tène III.

Oppida – the problems:
1) definition

Blah blah blah oppida
Blah bla oppidum blah
oppidorum blah blah

-hill-top site
-fortified
-of at least 5/10 /25
/30 hectares
-dated to LT C2-D

-with...
... centrale functions
... concentration of
inhabitants, crafts and
trade
... coin production

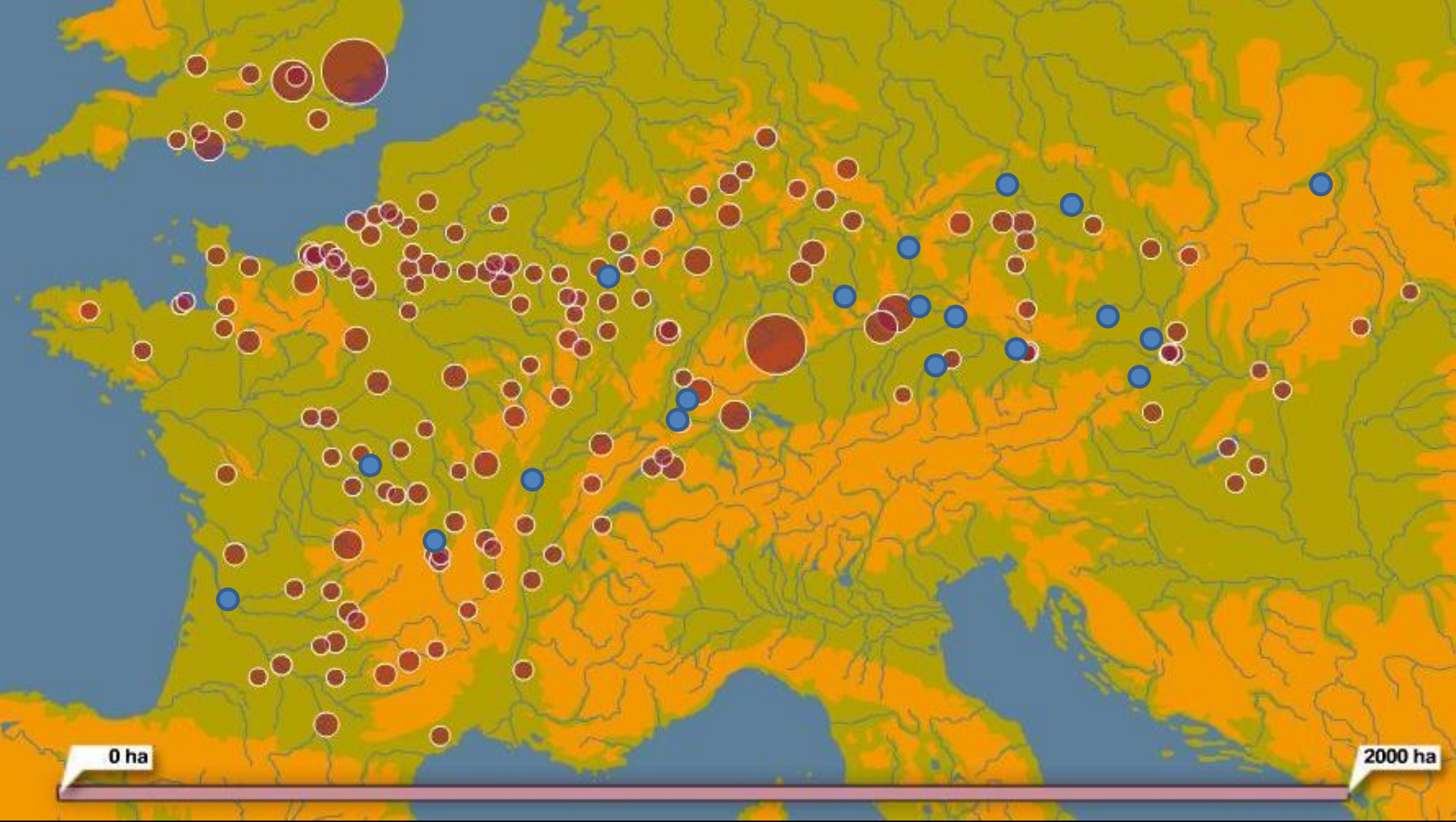


-the word is taken from Caesar meaning simply „town“
-in archaeological usage it became a very specific technical
term whose criteria may vary from region to region (and
from archaeologist to archaeologist)

-not all „archaeological oppida“ correspond with „Caesar’s
oppida“ ... many archaeologists do not realize it (Caesar
doesn’t care)



Oppida – the problems:
2) too much focus
on them



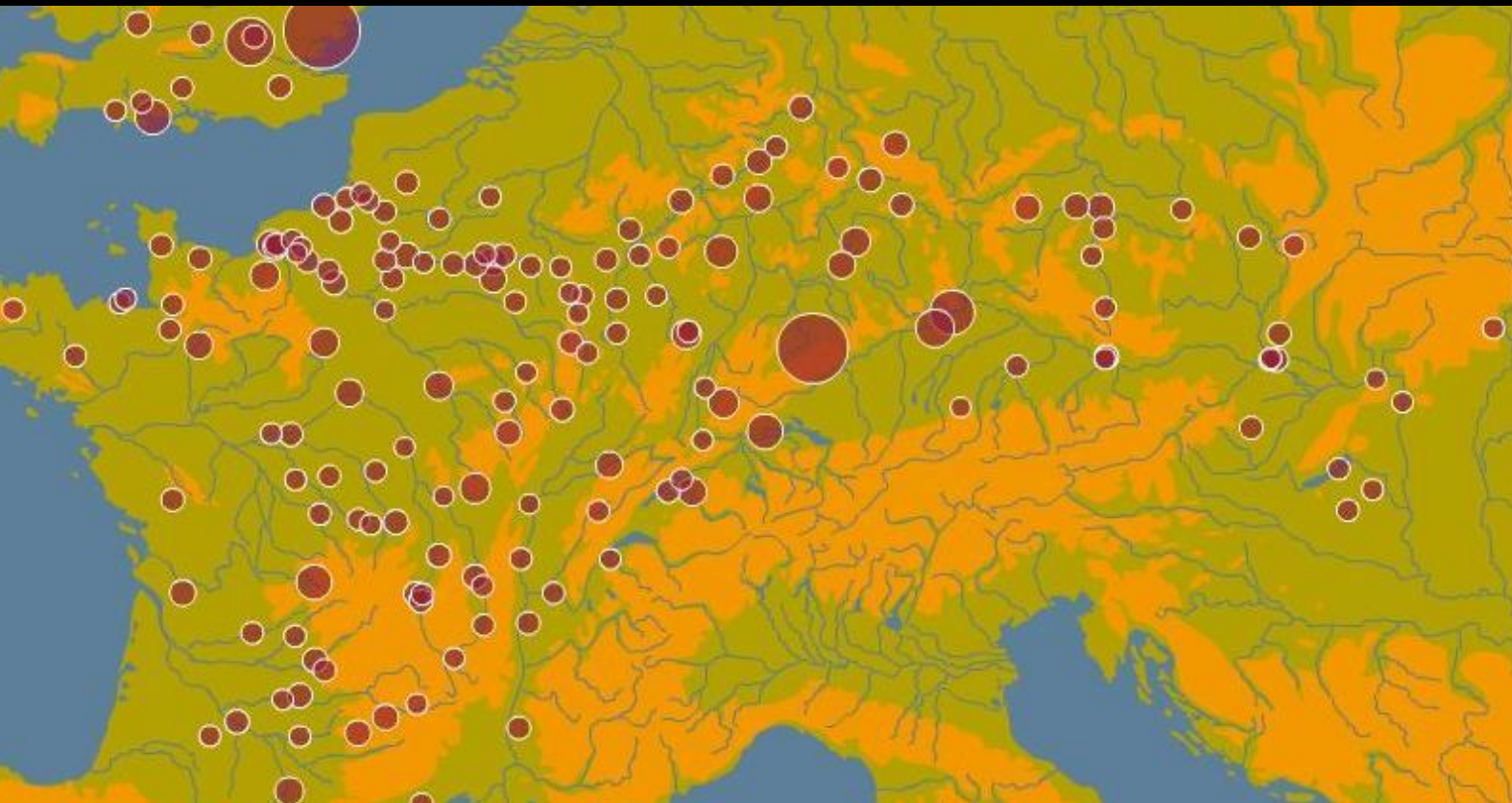
-mainly in the 20th century all research attention was dedicated to the oppida, while other settlement forms were ignored (including agglomerations, some of which could be called „oppida“ by Caesar)

Oppida – the problems:
 3) too diversified to make sense

From region to region the relation between oppida, agglomerations and other sites vary and so probably did their function

		LTC 1	LTC 2	LT D1a	LT D1b	LT D2
southern Bavaria	Manching	A	A	O	O	-
	Kelheim	?	?	O	O	-
	Berching-Pollanten	A	A	A	A	-
	Eggfing	A	A	a	a	-
	Straubing	a	A	A	A	A
	Fentbabschanze	?	?	O	O	-
	Steinebach	A	A	A	A	-
Bohemia	Lovosice	A	A	A	A	-
	Mšec 1	a	a			-
	Mšecké Žehrovice	++	++	+		-
	Závist	+?	O	O	O	-
	Stradonice	+?	+?	O	O	-
	Hrazany		O	O	O	-
	Třísov		O	O	O	-
	České Lhotice		O	O		-

		LTC 1	LTC 2	LT D1a	LT D1b	LT D2a	LT D2b
Berry	Châteaumeillant		A	O	O	O	
	-Levroux les Arènes	A	A				
	-Levroux Tour			O	O	O	
Auvergne	Varennes sur allier	A	A				
	-Aulnat	A	A				
	-Corent			O	O	O	
	-Gergovie					O	
	-Gondole					O	
Central-Eastern. France	-Avallon „Damoiseau“		A	A			
	-Avallon/Aballo				O	O	
	-Bibracte				O	O	O
	-Sources de l'Yonne					A	
	-Chalon – Lux	a	A	A	a		
	-Chalon – St. Rémy					A	
	-Verdun – Le Bourg				a		
	-Verdun – Petit Chauvrot						
	-Mâcon			O	O	O	
	-Varennes-lès-Mâcon			A			
	-Saint-Symphorien			A			
	Besançon	+	a	O	O	O	O
Upper Rhine	-Breisach Hochstetten	A	A	A	A		
	-Breisach Münsterberg					V	
	-Basel Gasfabrik	A	A	A	?		
	-Basel Münsterhügel				?	V	
	-Tarodunum				O		
	-Zarten-Rotacker		A	A			
Thuringia	Gleichberg	+	O	O	O		
	Jüchsen	a?	A?	A?	A?		
Moravia	Němčice	A	A				
	Staré Hradisko			O	O	O	
Middle Danube	Oberleiserberg	V	V	V	V		
	Roseldorf	A	A	a	A		
	Thunau am Kamp		a				
	Bratislava				V	V	
					O	O	

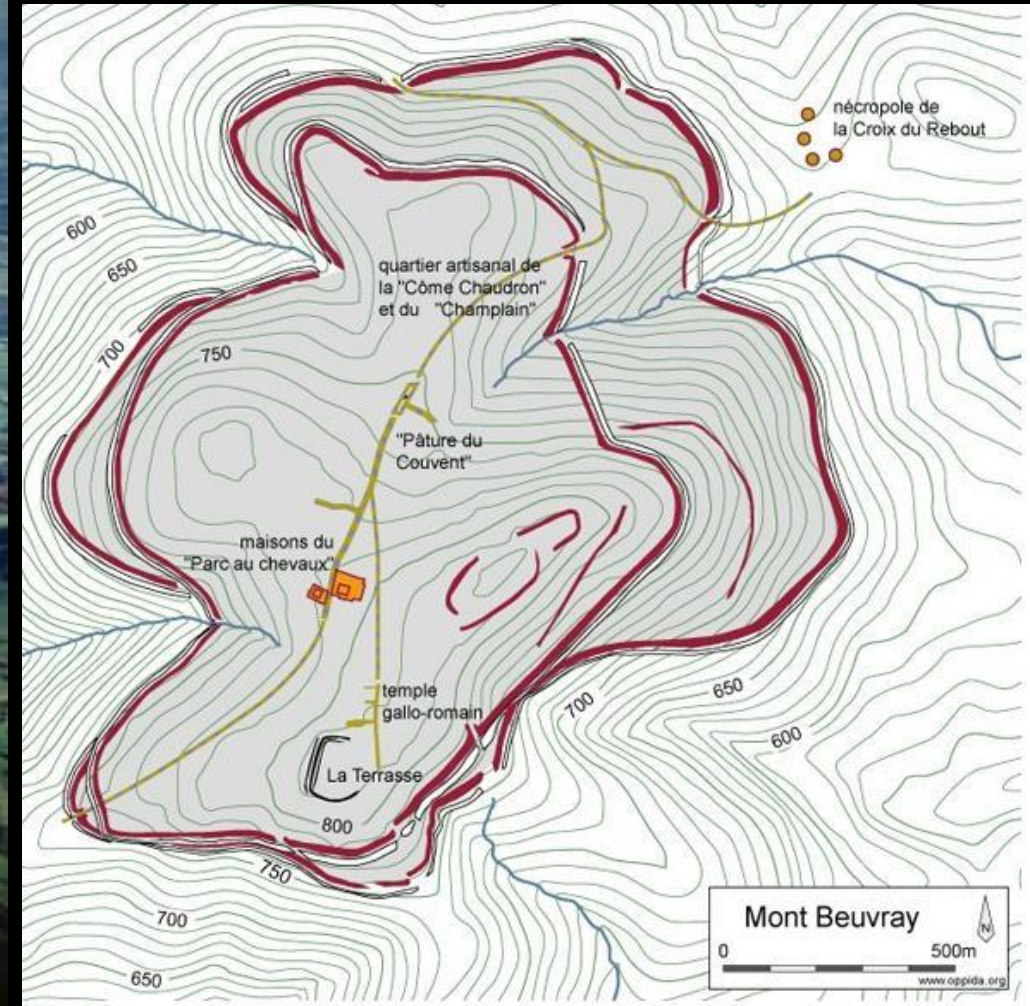


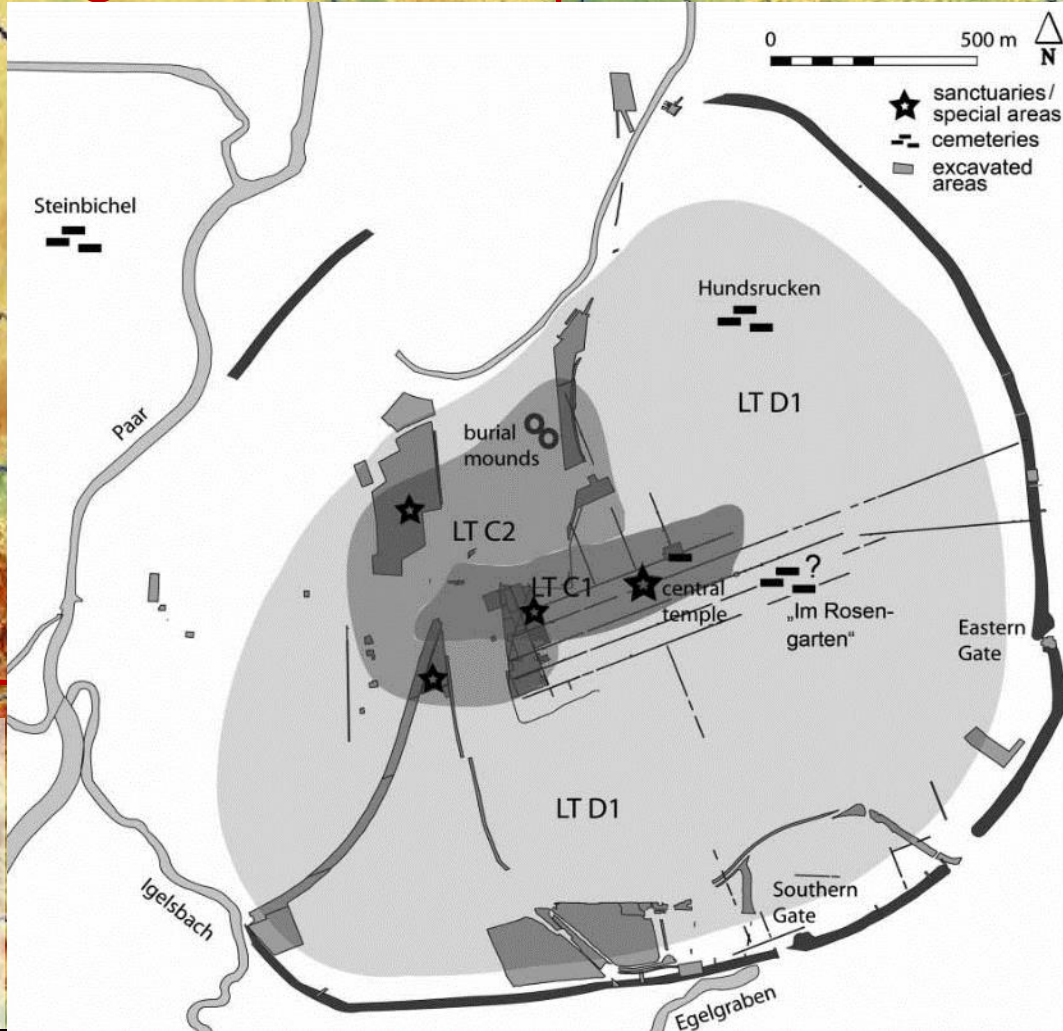
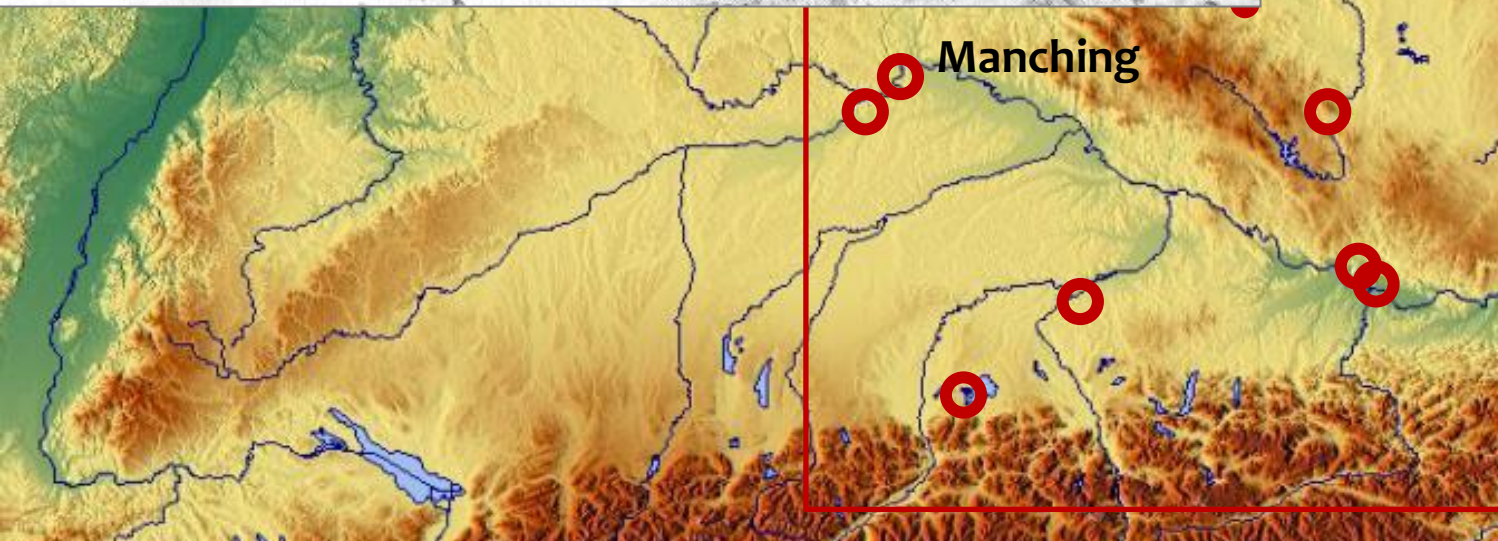
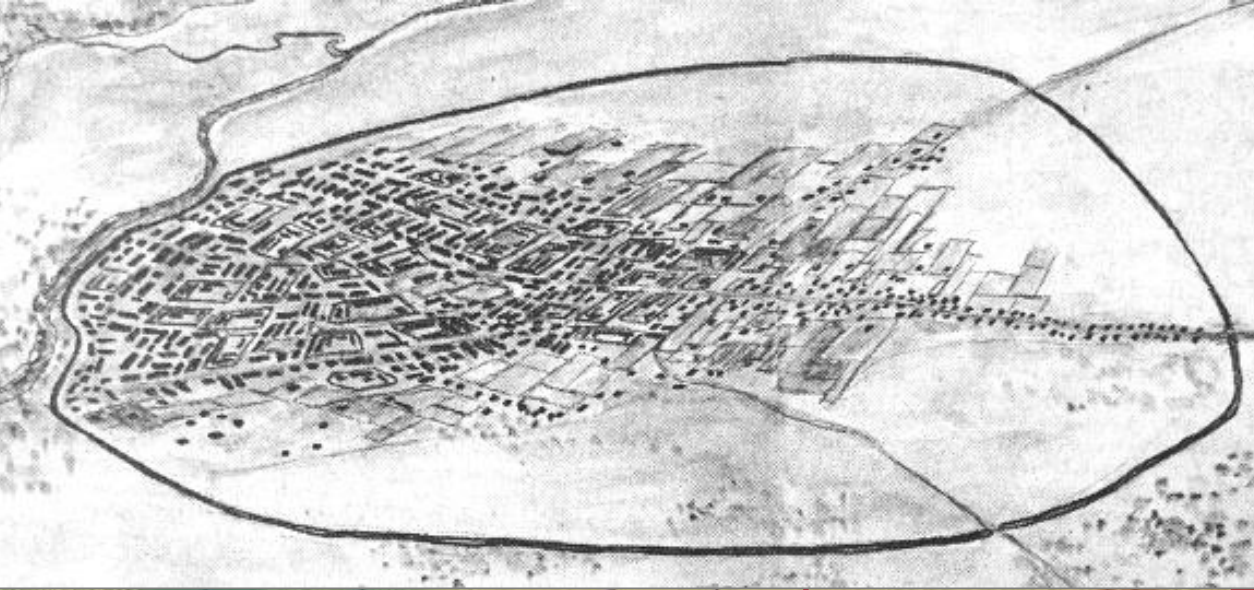
oppidum
Hill-top site
agglomération
occupation



Most oppida were newly founded in quite peripheral areas (For better defensibility? Access to raw materials?)

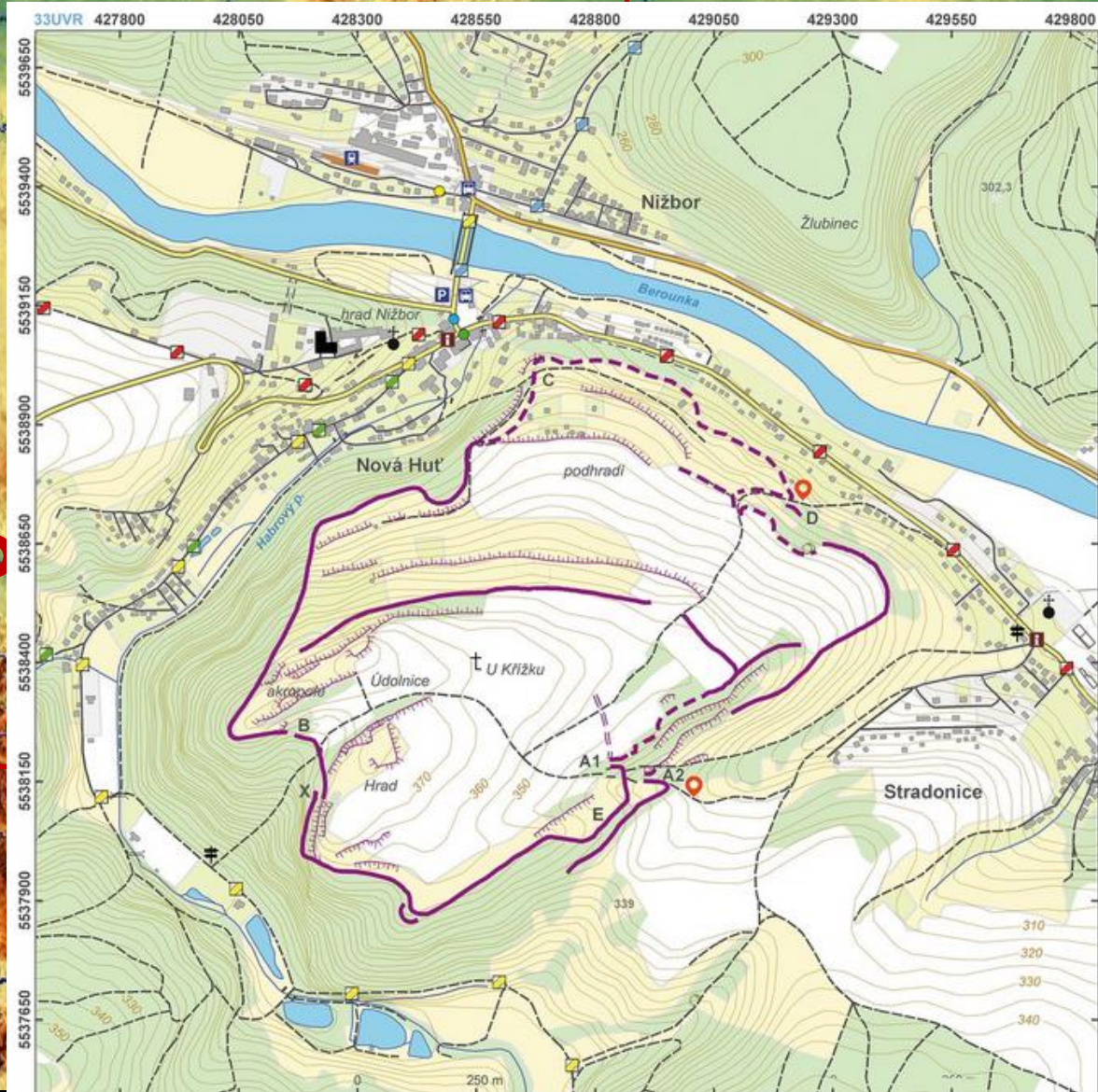
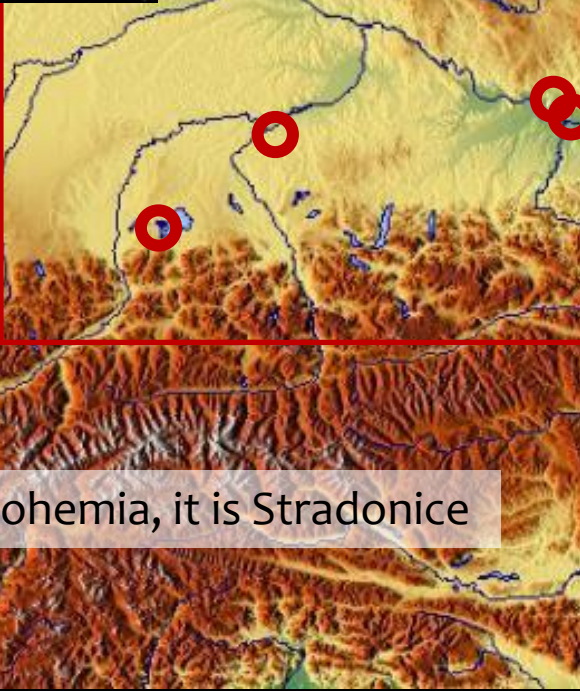
Bibracte – Mont Beuvray near Autun in Burgundy



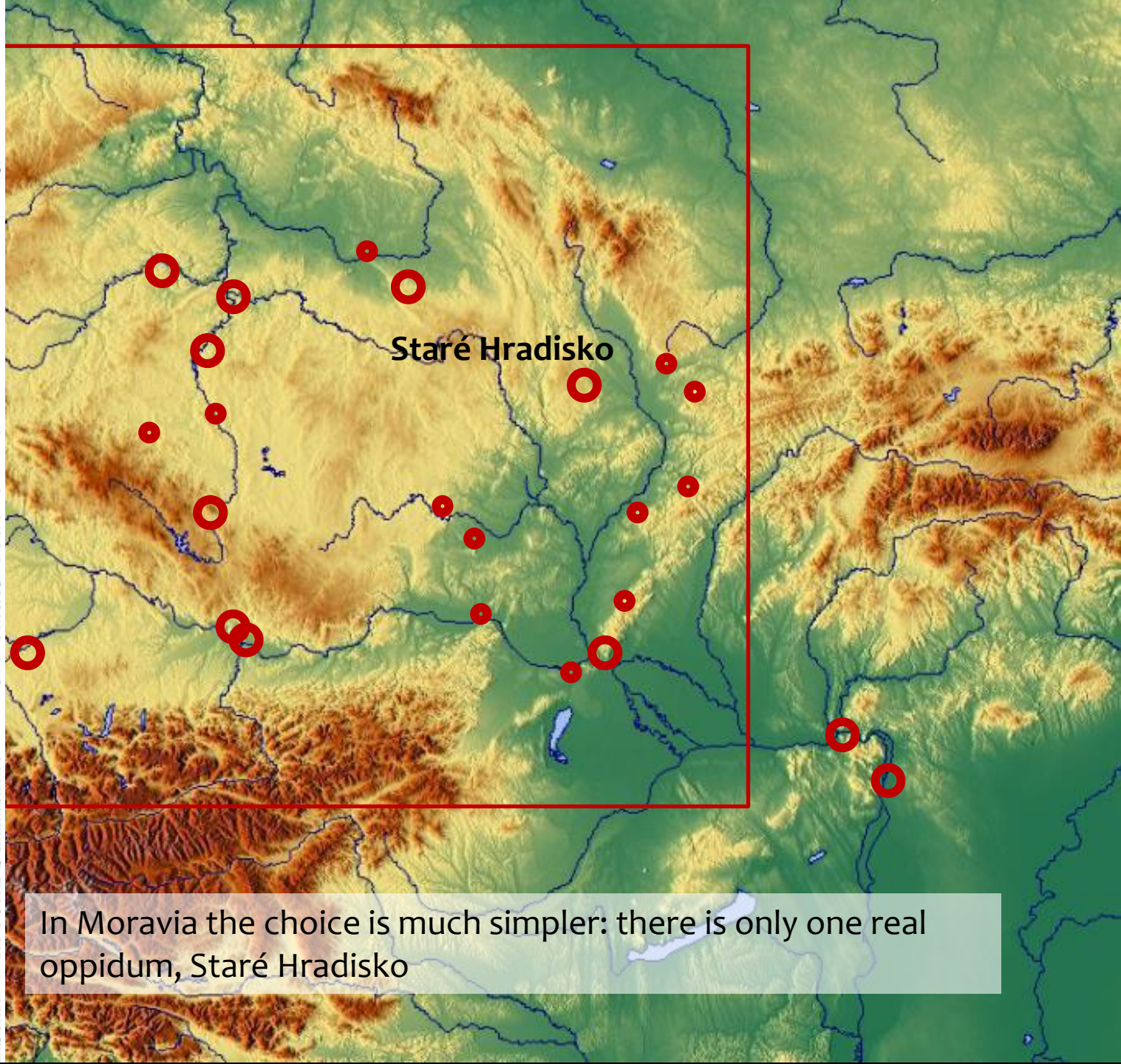
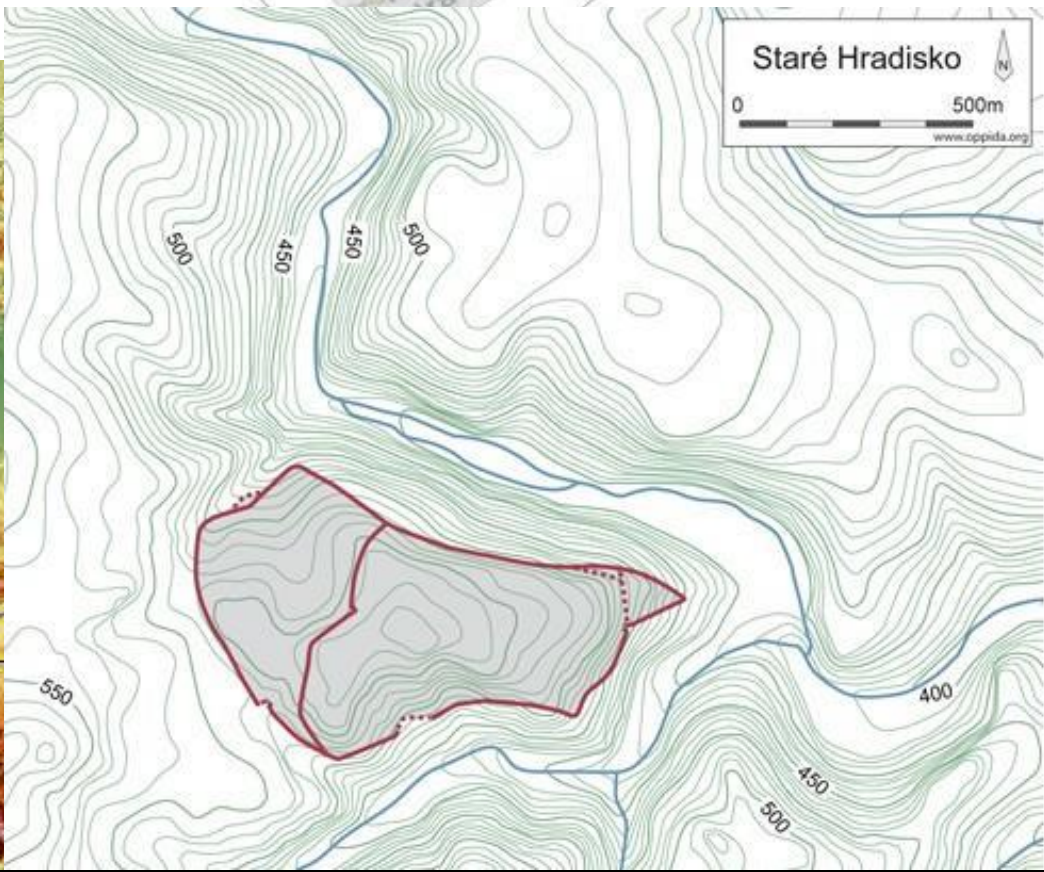
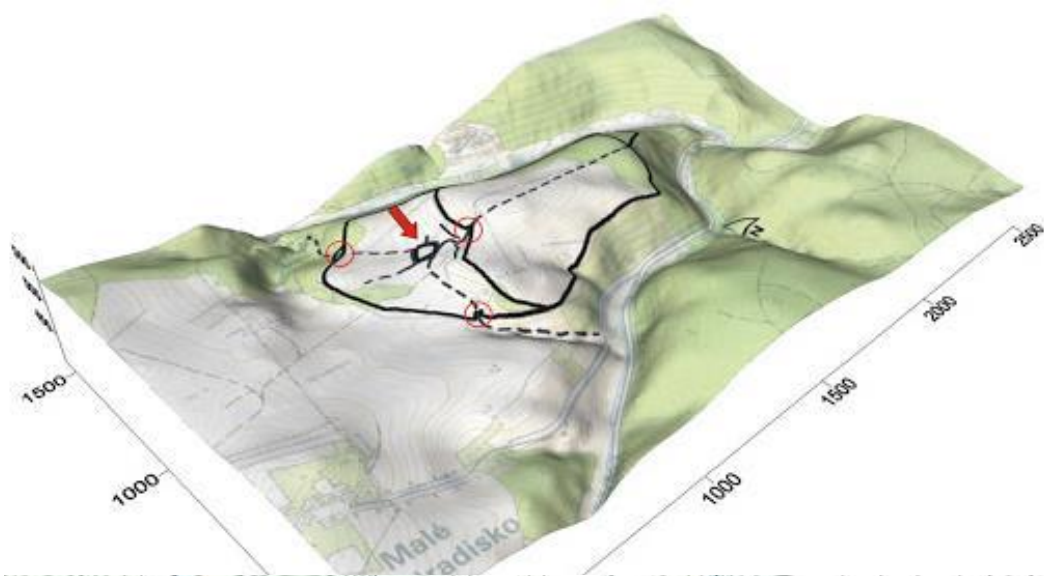


Manching is atypical in most respects (but Manching is always special...)

- located in a fertile lowland
- an earlier agglomeration only secondarily enclosed by a rampart
- much of the enclosed area was left unoccupied... but the latter is a common feature in all oppida



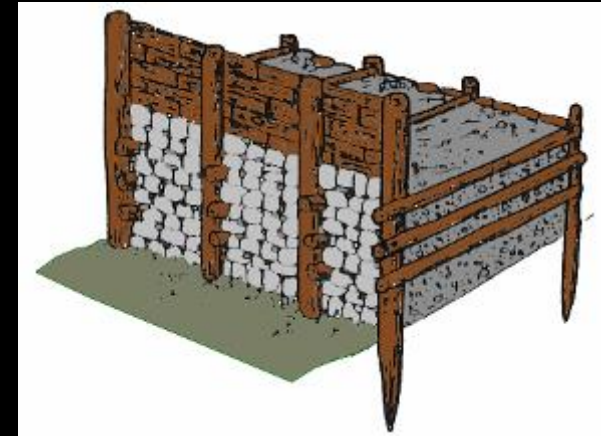
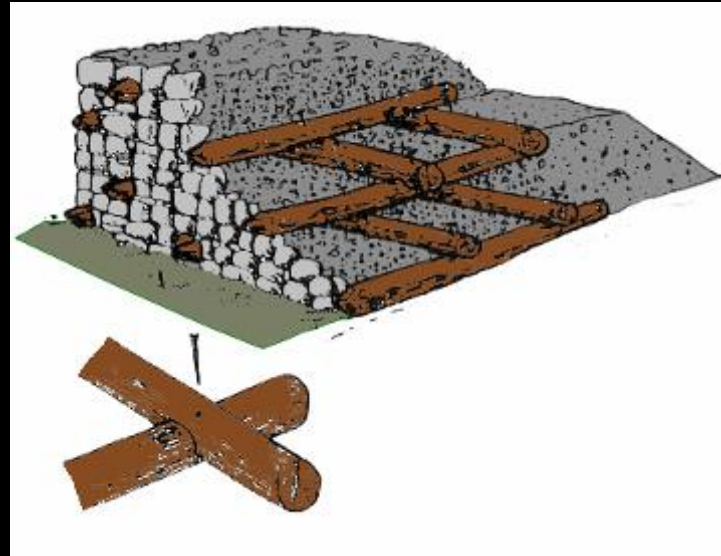
If there is one oppidum to know in Bohemia, it is Stradonice



In Moravia the choice is much simpler: there is only one real oppidum, Staré Hradisko

-oppida ramparts combined
timber and rubble stone in
purely transalpine tradition
with no Mediterranean
analogies or antecedents

(Btw. also from the
urbanistic point of view,
there is no link between
the oppida and
Mediterranean towns)

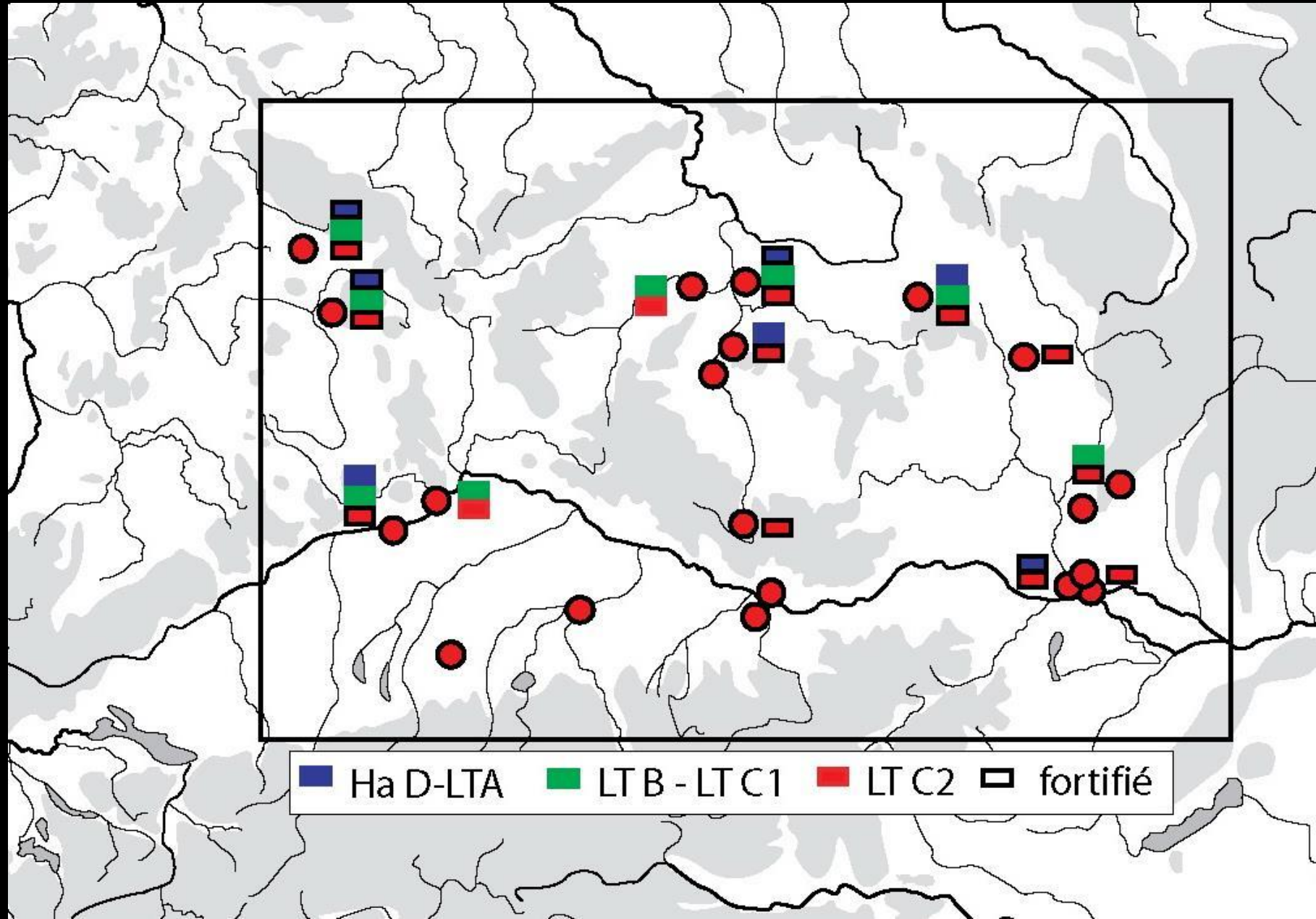


Even though newly founded, the oppida were often located in places of earlier Hallstatt period hillforts, or settlements or with Hallstatt period tumuli.

Often there are traces of LT B or LT C human presence in the site of future oppida.

⇒ New foundations but clearly with link to an earlier occupation, perhaps even with intentional ideological exploitation or the tradition linked with the site.

⇒ All that is to say that no Mediterranean impulse was needed for oppida to be devised.



		LT C1	LT C2	LT D1a	LT D1b	LT D2
southern Bavaria	Manching	A	A	O	O	-
	Kelheim	?	?	O	O	-
	Berching-Pollanten	A	A	A	A	-
	Eggfing	A	A	a	a	-
	Straubing	a	A	A	A	A
	Fentbabschanze	?	?	O	O	-
	Steinebach	A	A	A	A	-
Bohemia	Lovosice	A	A	A	A	-
	Mšec 1	a	a			-
	Mšecké Žehrovice	++	++	+		-
	Závist	+?	O	O	O	-
	Stradonice	+?	+?	O	O	-
	Hrazany		O	O	O	-
	Třísov		O	O	O	-
	České Lhotice		O	O		-

Btw. all the oppida in central Europe appeared already in LT C2 (ca 150 BC) and last until LT D1b (ca 50 BC) which is significantly earlier than in Gaul (both in terms of appearance and abandon)

		LT C1	LT C2	LT D1a	LT D1b	LT D2a	LT D2b
Berry	Châteaumeillant		A	O	O	O	
	-Levroux les Arènes	A	A				
	-Levroux Tour			O	O	O	
Auvergne	Varennes sur allier	A	A				
	-Aulnat	A	A				
	-Corent			O	O	O	
	-Gergovie					O	
	-Gondole					O	
Central-Eastern. France	-Avallon „Damoiseau“		A	A			
	-Avallon/Aballo				O	O	
	-Bibracte			O	O	O	O
	-Sources de l'Yonne					A	
	-Chalon – Lux	a	A	A	a		
	-Chalon – St. Rémy					A	
	-Verdun – Le Bourg				a		
	-Verdun – Petit Chauvrot						
	- Mâcon			O	O	O	
	- Varennes-lès-Mâcon			A			
	-Saint-Symphorien			A			
	Besançon	+	a	O	O	O	O
	Upper Rhine	-Breisach Hochstetten	A	A	A	A	
-Breisach Münsterberg						V	
-Basel Gasfabrik		A	A	A	?		
- Basel Münsterhügel					?	V	
- Tarodunum					O		
-Zarten-Rotacker			A	A			
Thuringia	Gleichberg	+	O	O	O		
	Jüchsen	a?	A?	A?	A?		
Moravia	Němčice	A	A				
	Staré Hradisko		O	O	O		
Middle Danube	Oberleiserberg	V	V	V	V		
	Roseldorf	A	A	a	A		
	Thunau am Kamp		a				
				V	V		
	Bratislava				O	O	

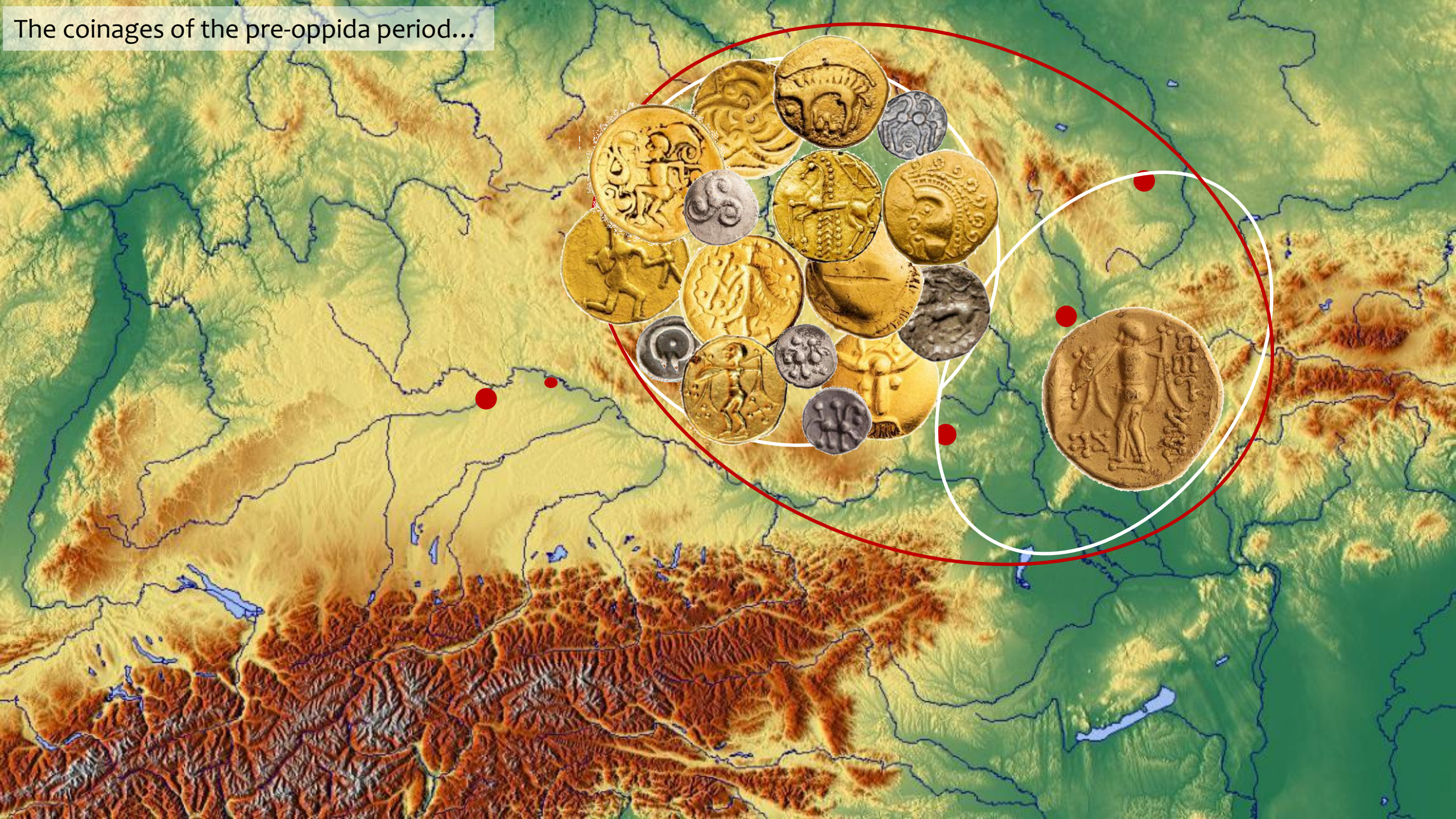
oppidum

Hill-top site

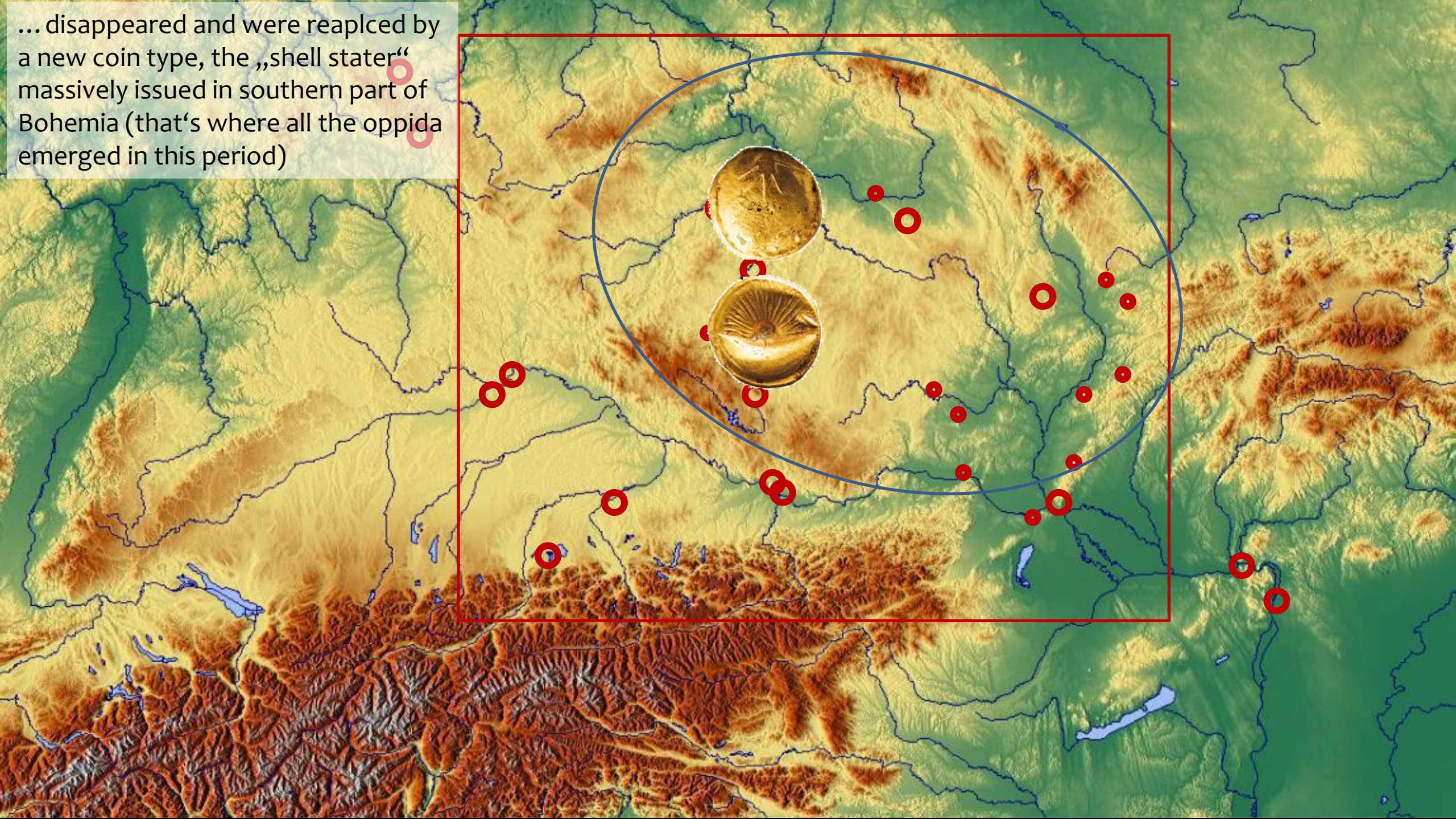
agglomération

occupation

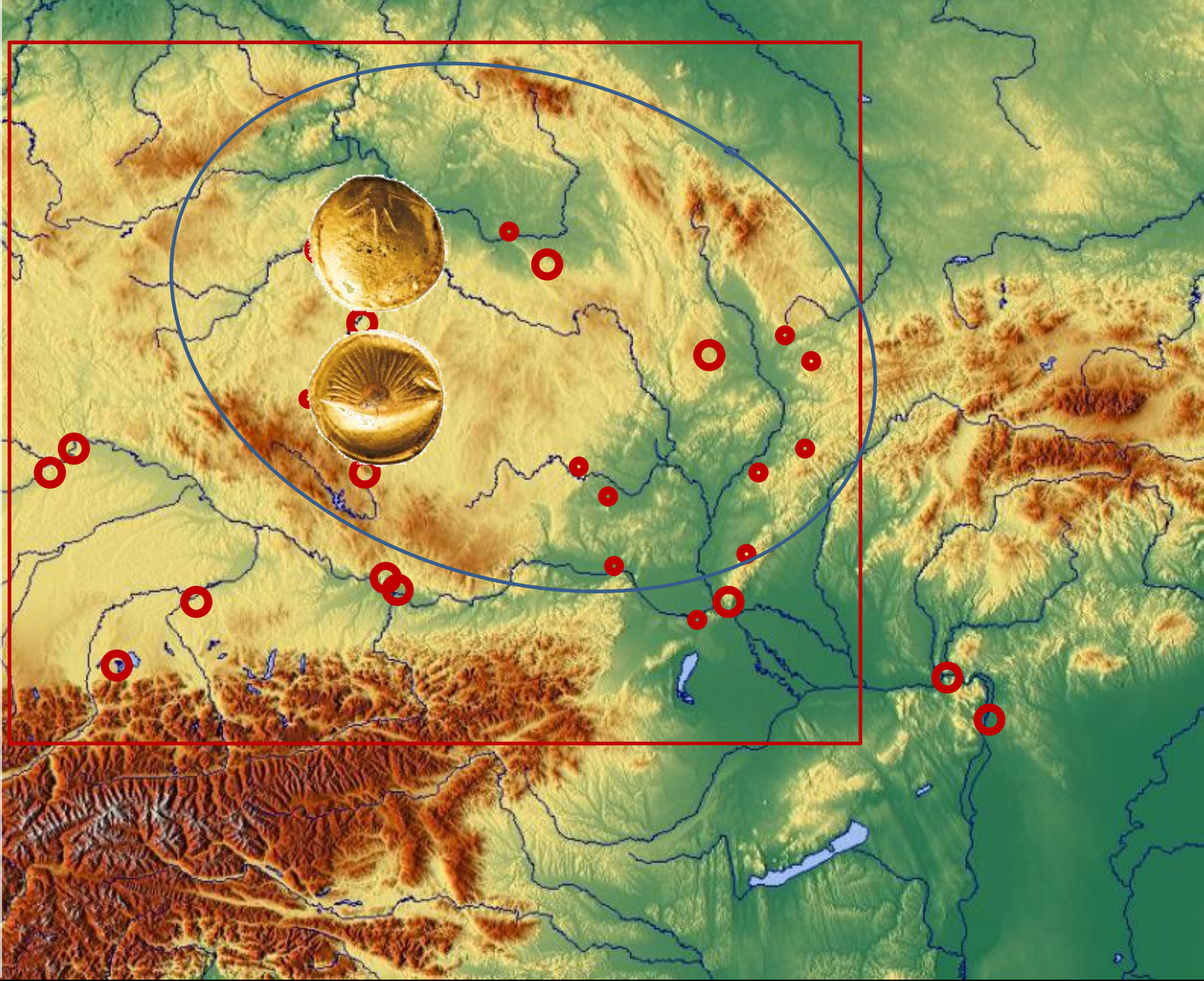
The coinages of the pre-oppida period...



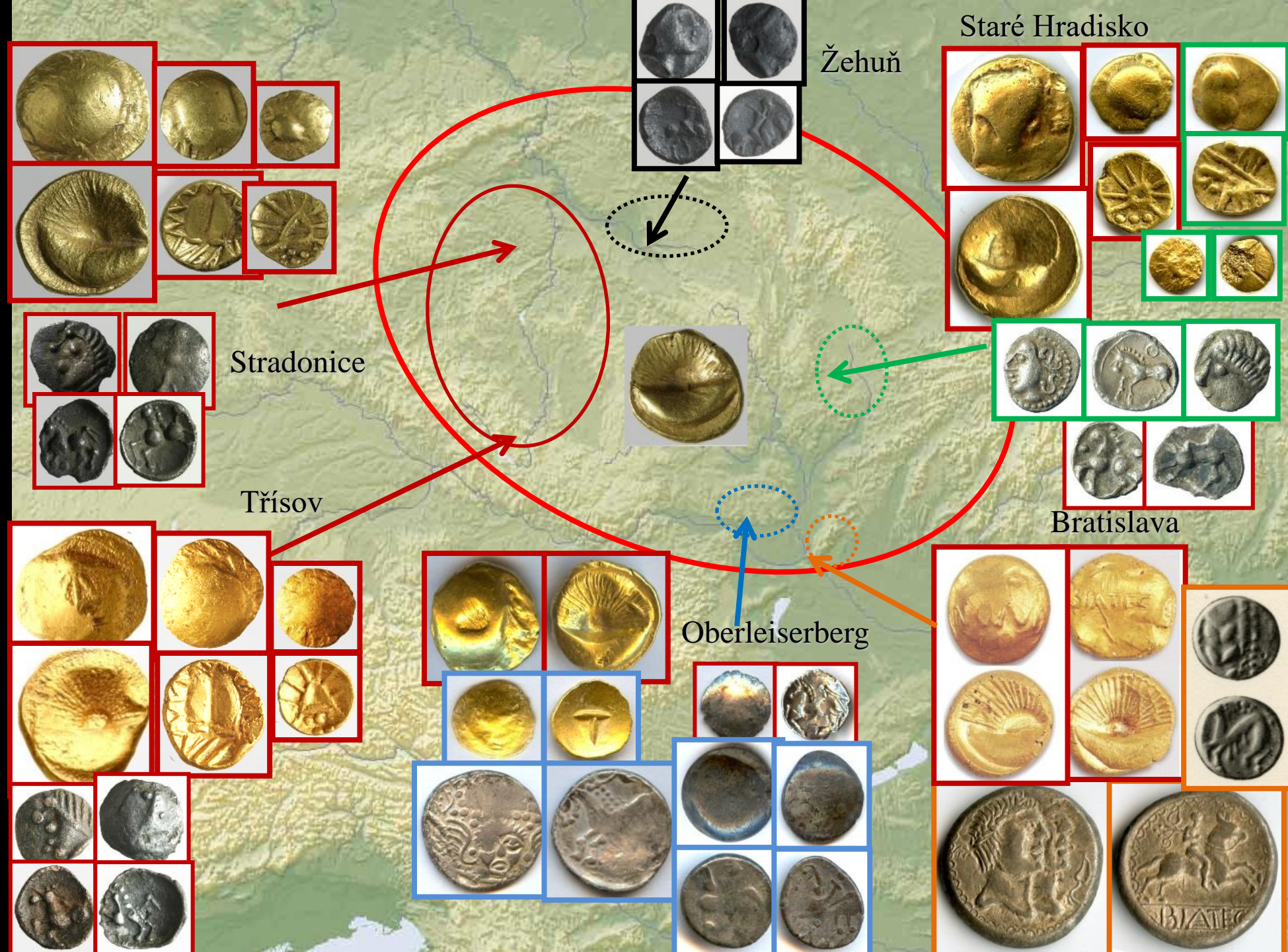
... disappeared and were replaced by a new coin type, the „shell stater“ massively issued in southern part of Bohemia (that's where all the oppida emerged in this period)



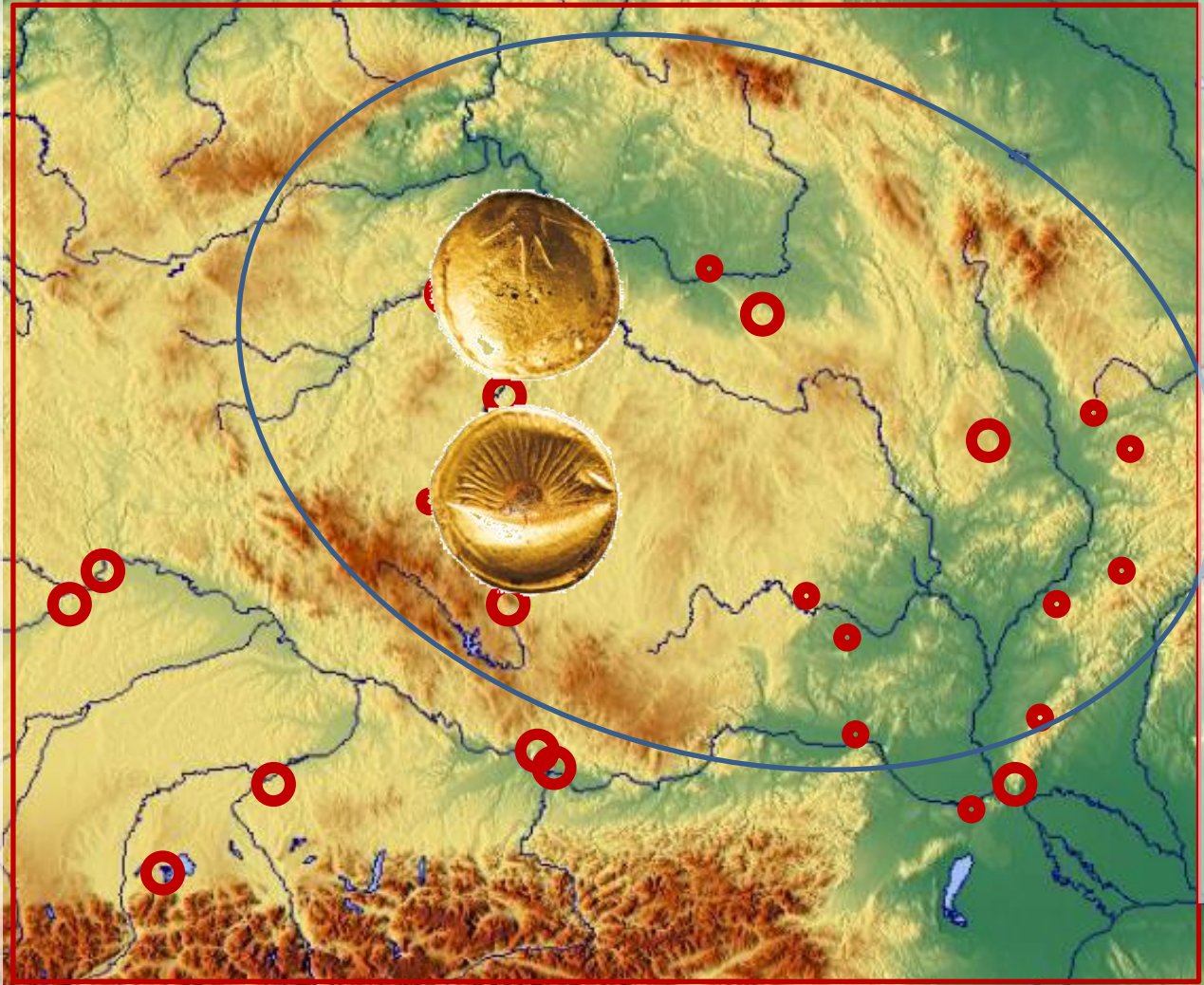
The denomination system was still that of the Athena Alkidemos only with new abstract motifs.



It's the same stuff everywhere....

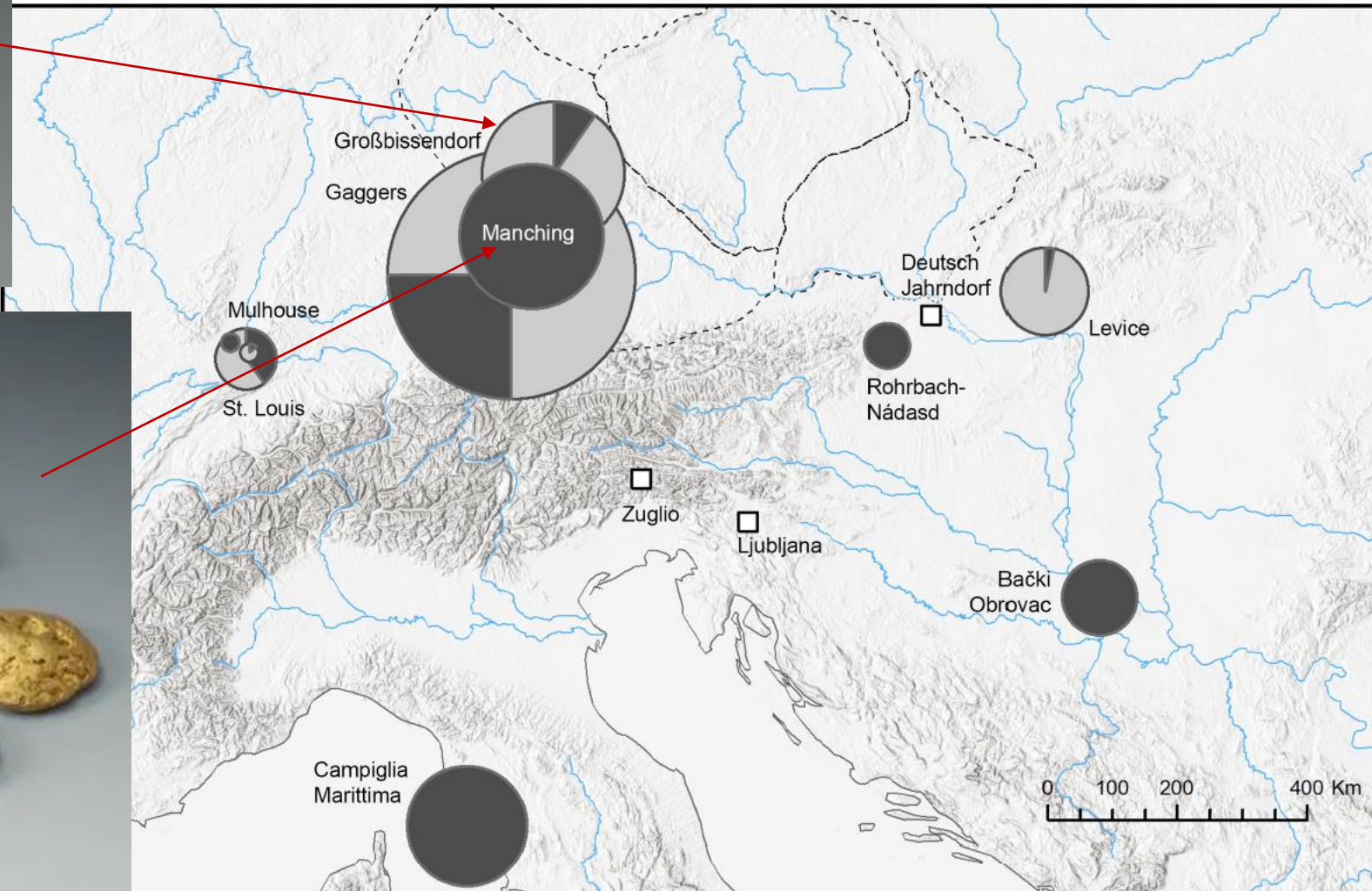


LT C = 8
LT D1 = 7 gr
LT D2 = 6,5 gr
99-95 % Au

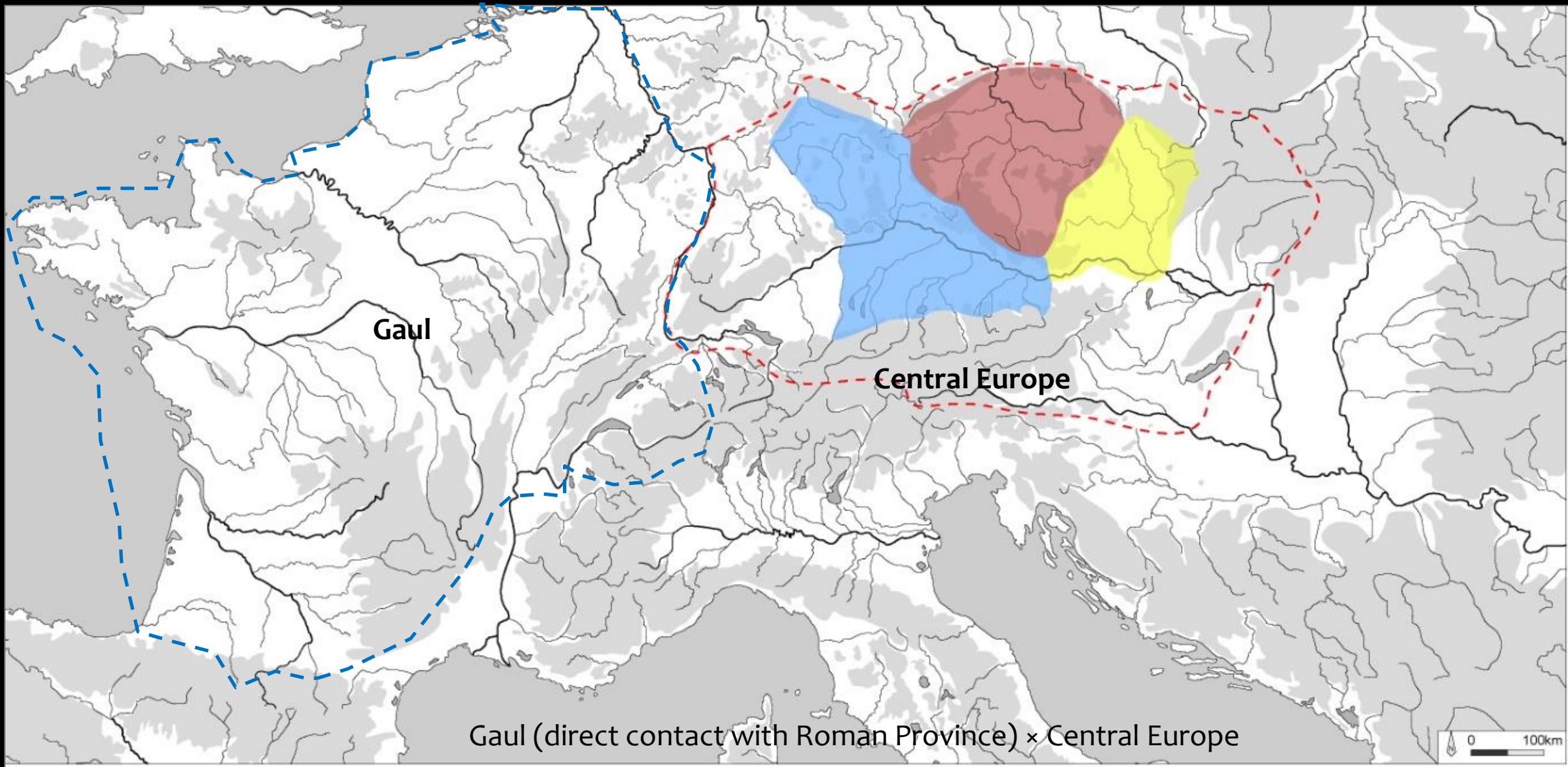


Although the coins progressively lost weight (which is a sign of functioning economy), the purity of gold was kept very high all the time (unlike e.g. Bavarian coinage in which the gold is much less pure).
=> Apart from actual coins, the „shell staters coinage“ may have been also commodity i.e. minted gold meant for export.

This hypothesis is supported by numerous finds of large hoards of Bohemian coins discovered in a vast area from Alsace to Serbia with one even in Tuscany.

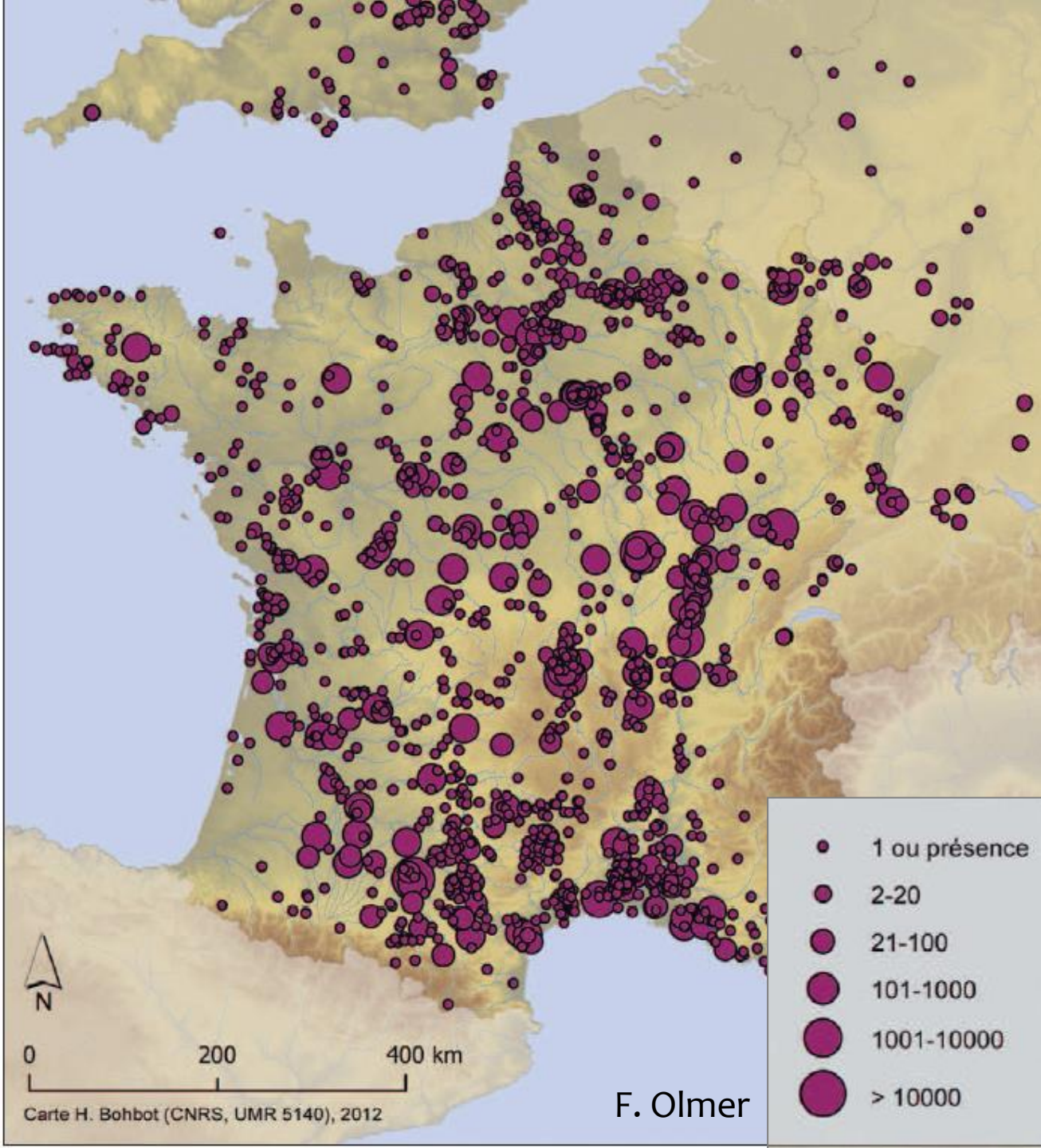


MEDITERRANEAN AND THE TRANSALPINE EUROPE IN THE OPPIDA PERIOD

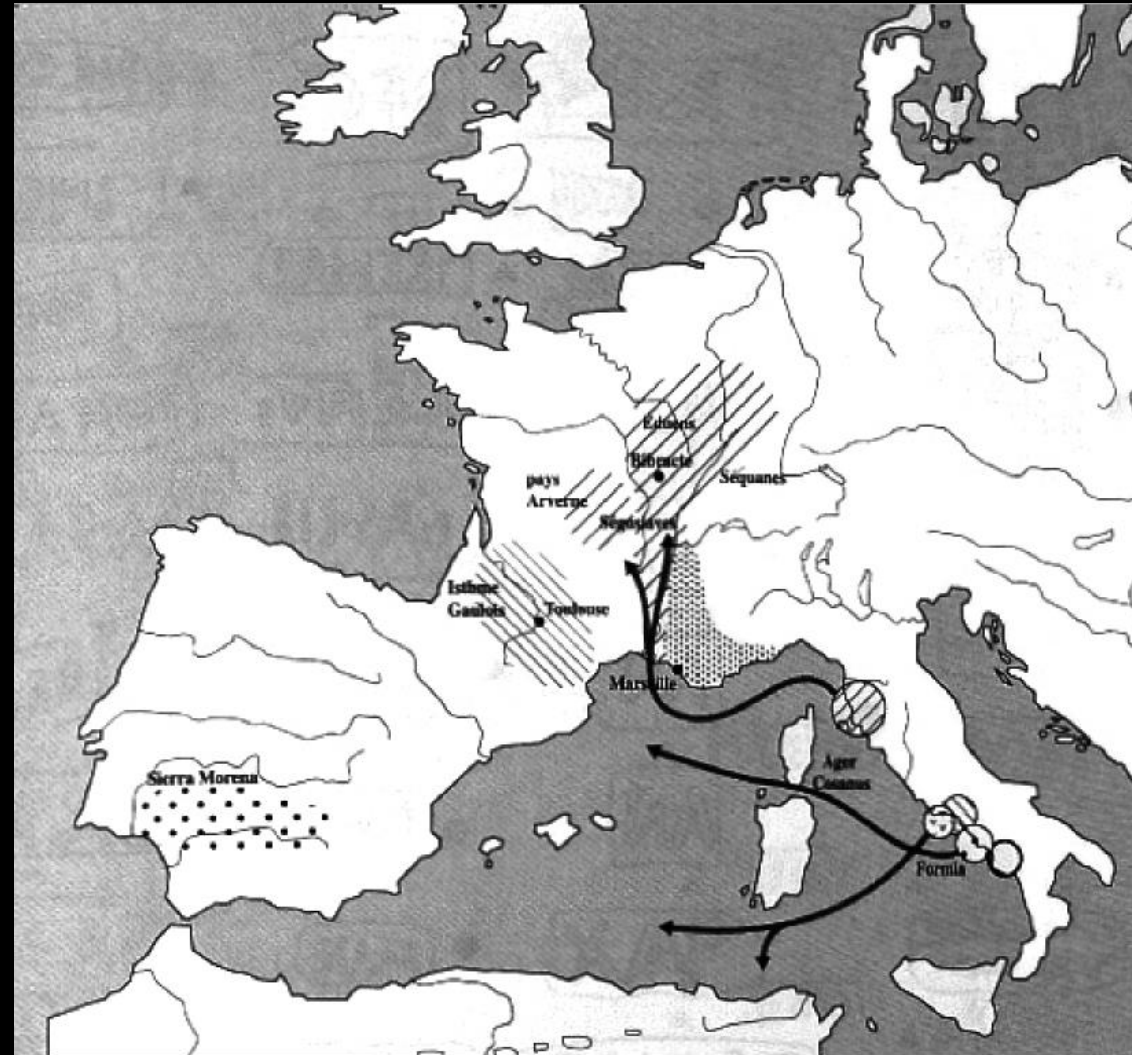


https://www.academia.edu/39772548/the_Celts_2018_2019_-_Bohemia_and_Mediterranean

p. 287–292

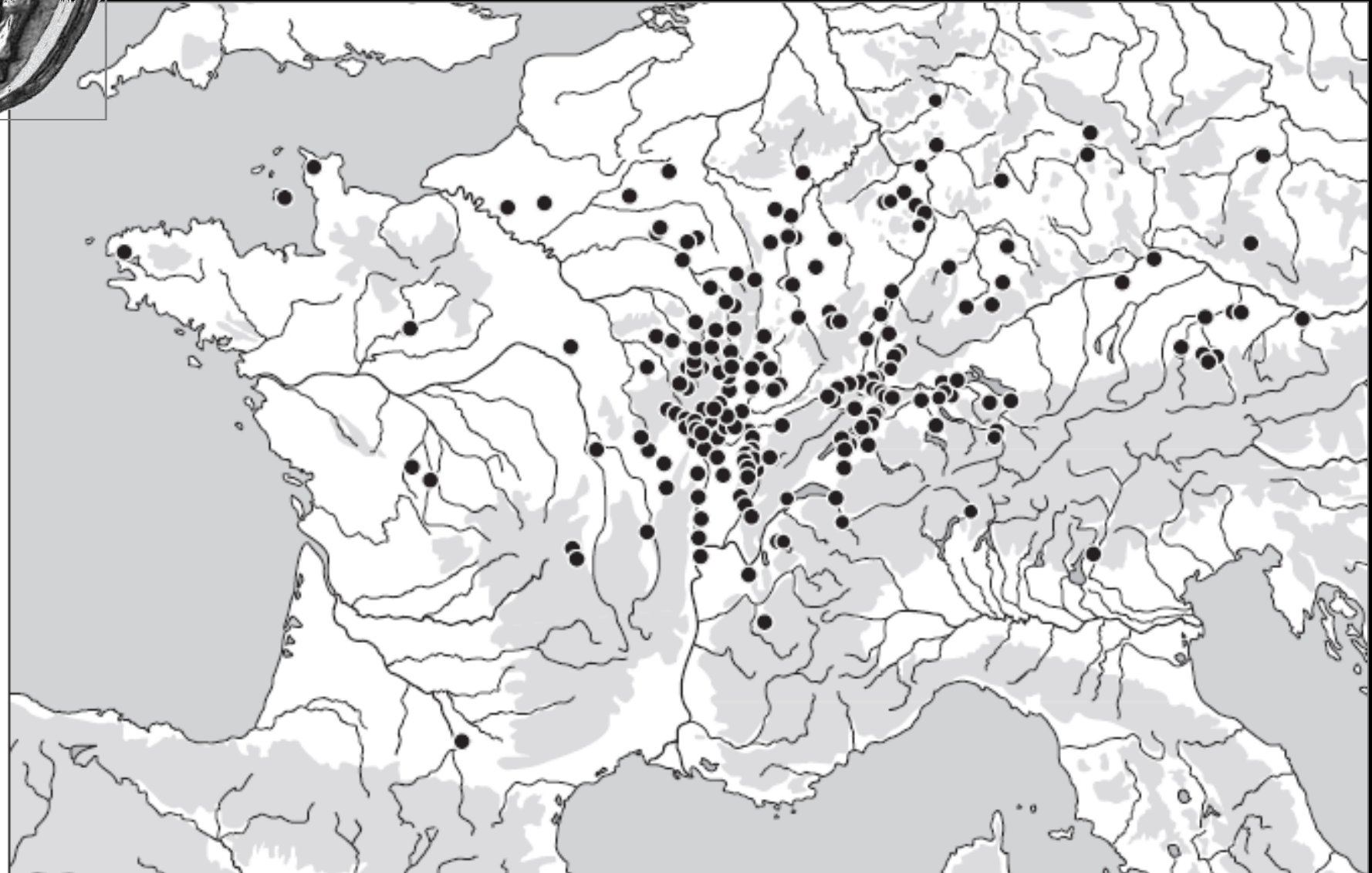


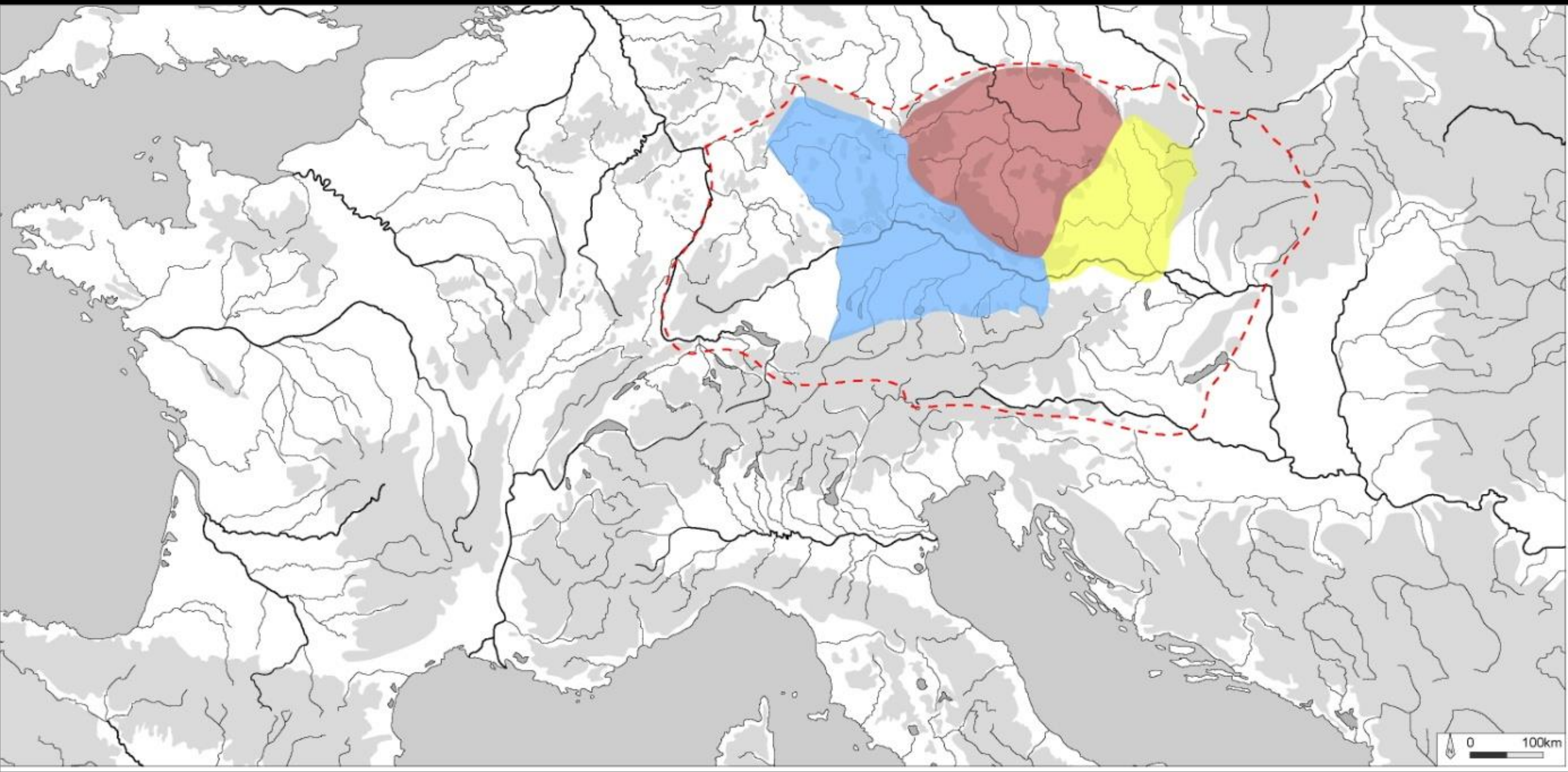
- Gaul was flooded with millions of amphorae
- There is a significant correspondence between specific export and consumption => firmly established trade relations and stable trade going on for many decades
- Among the principal consumption/redistribution areas there is the territory of Haedui – the principal allies of Rome





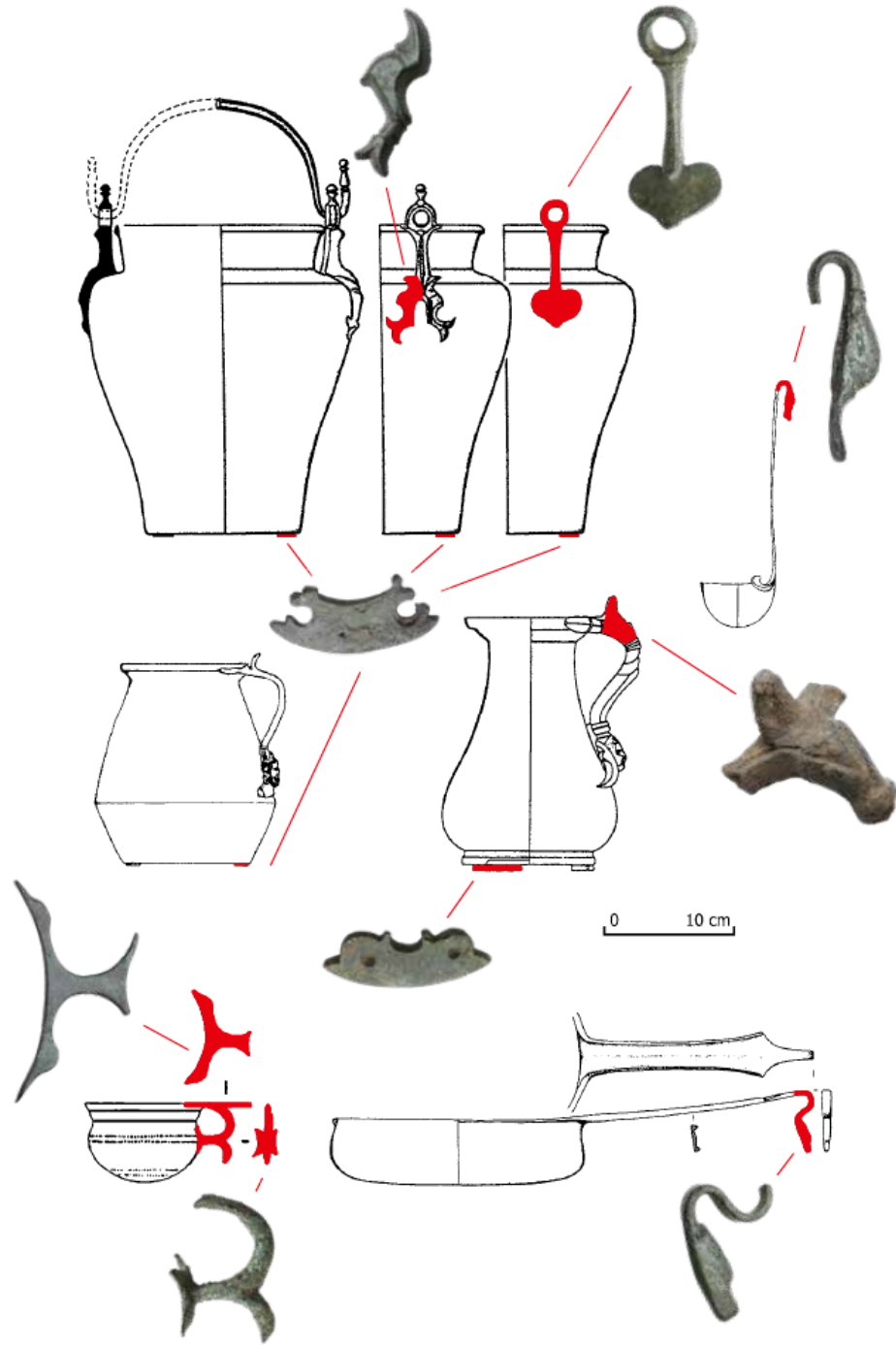
The economic connection of Gaul is the introduction of quinarius coins aligned with Roman coinage and creating thus a „monetary union“ between Rome and Central-Eastern Gaul (= Haedui) in the I century BC



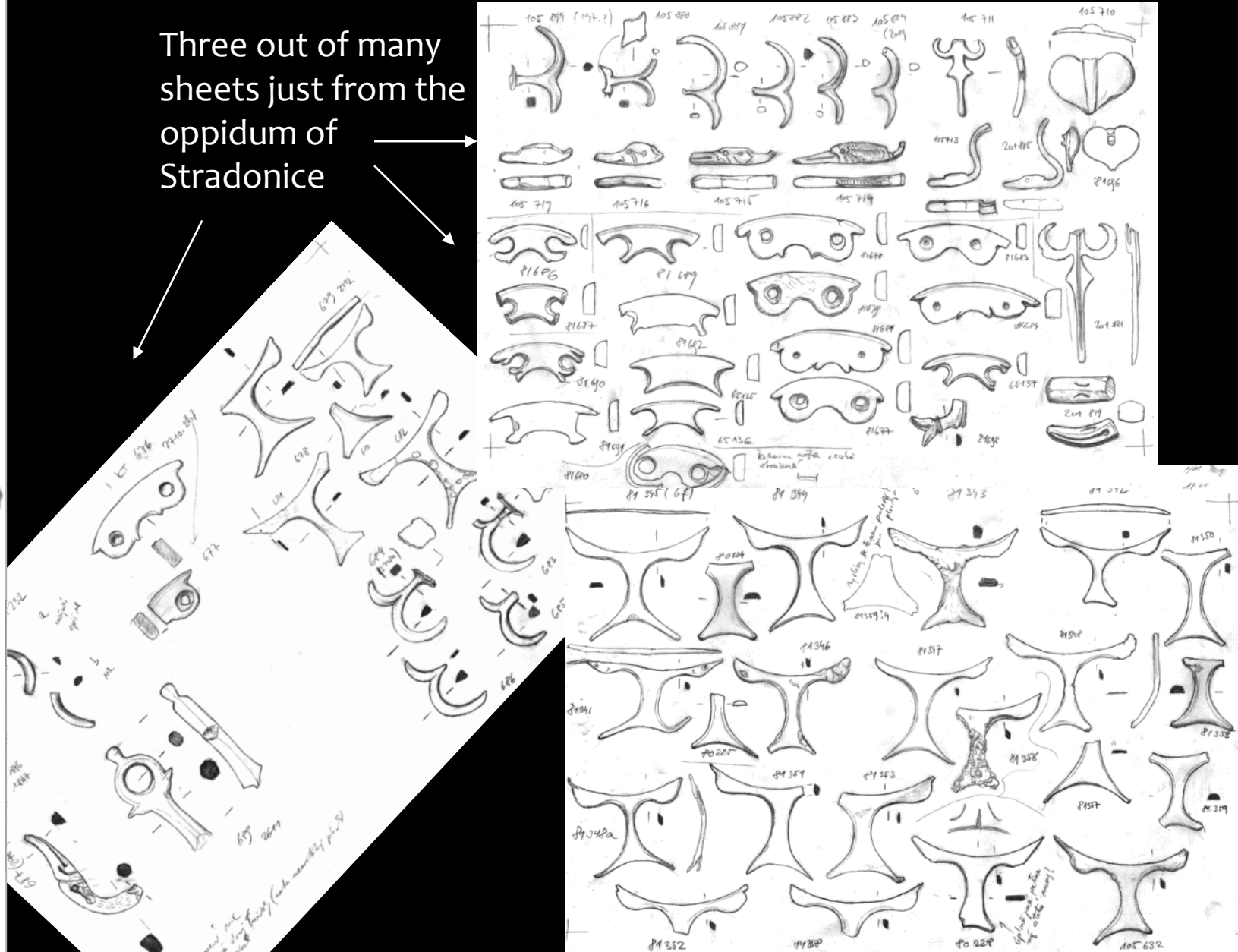


It's all very different in Central Europe in which btw three areas are worth comparing: Bohemia, *Bavaria (=Bavaria, Upper Austria, Southern Thuringia) and *Moravia (= Moravia, Lower Austria, SW Slovakia)

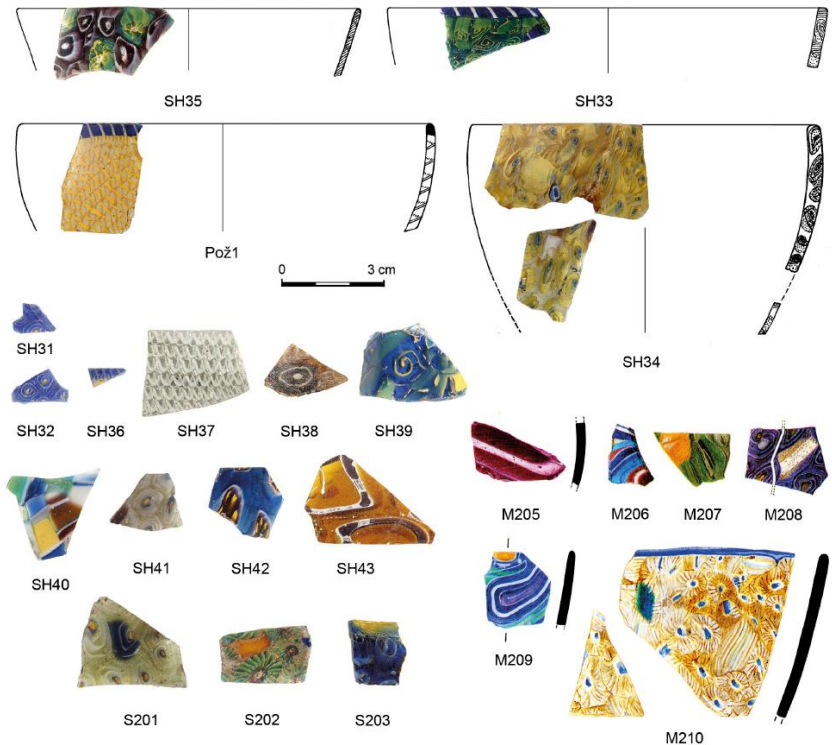
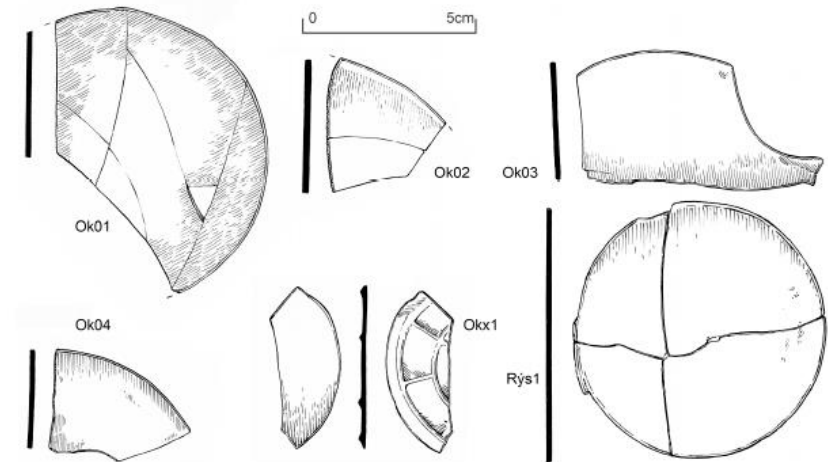
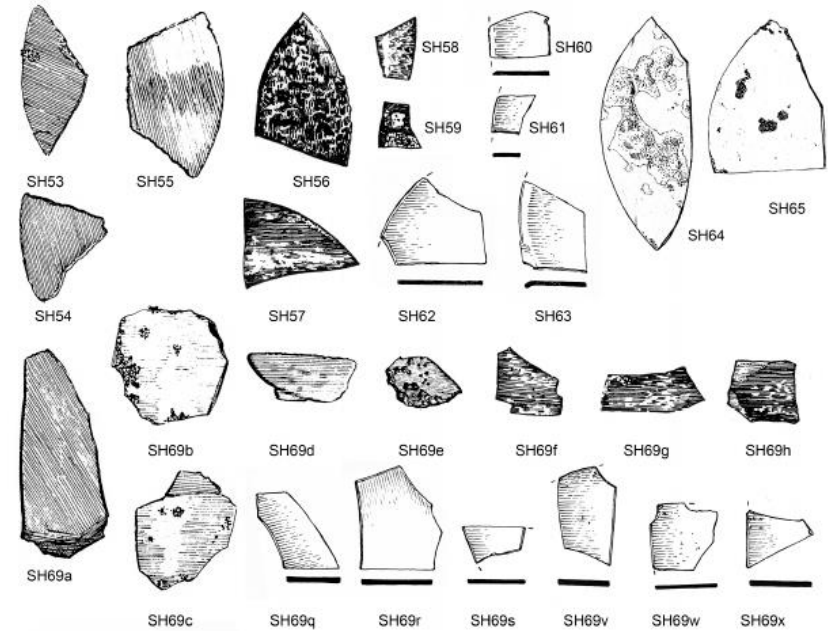
The principal evidence of imported objects are fragments of bronze vessels
... Lots of fragments of bronze vessels

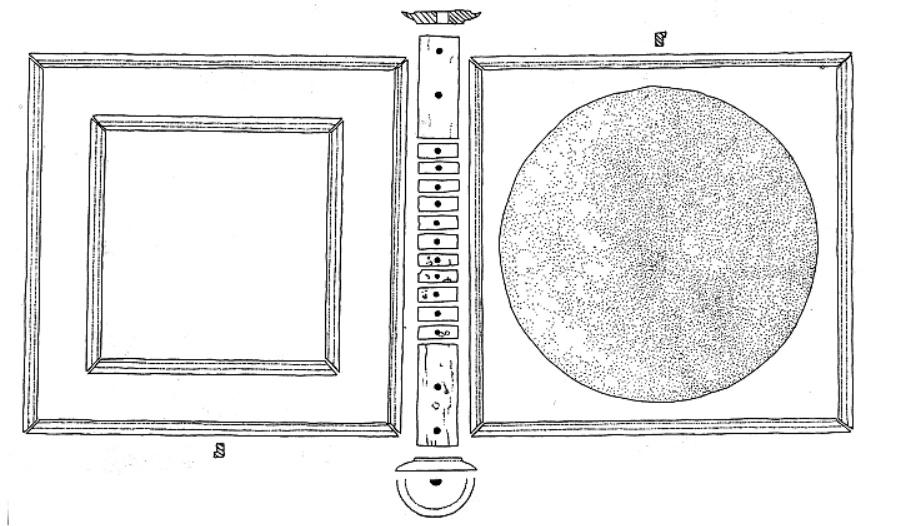
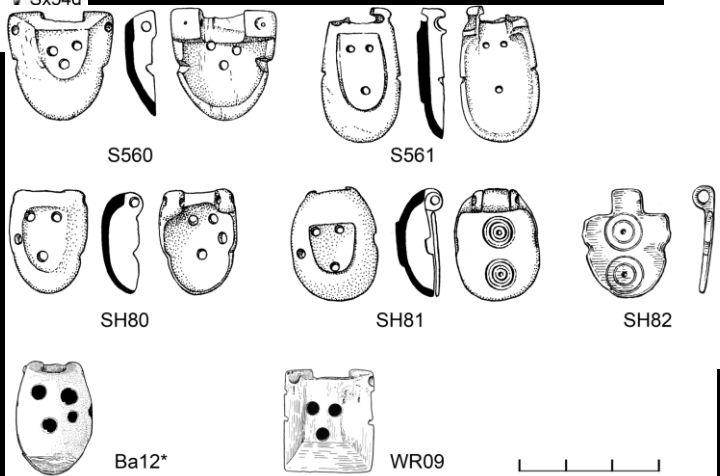
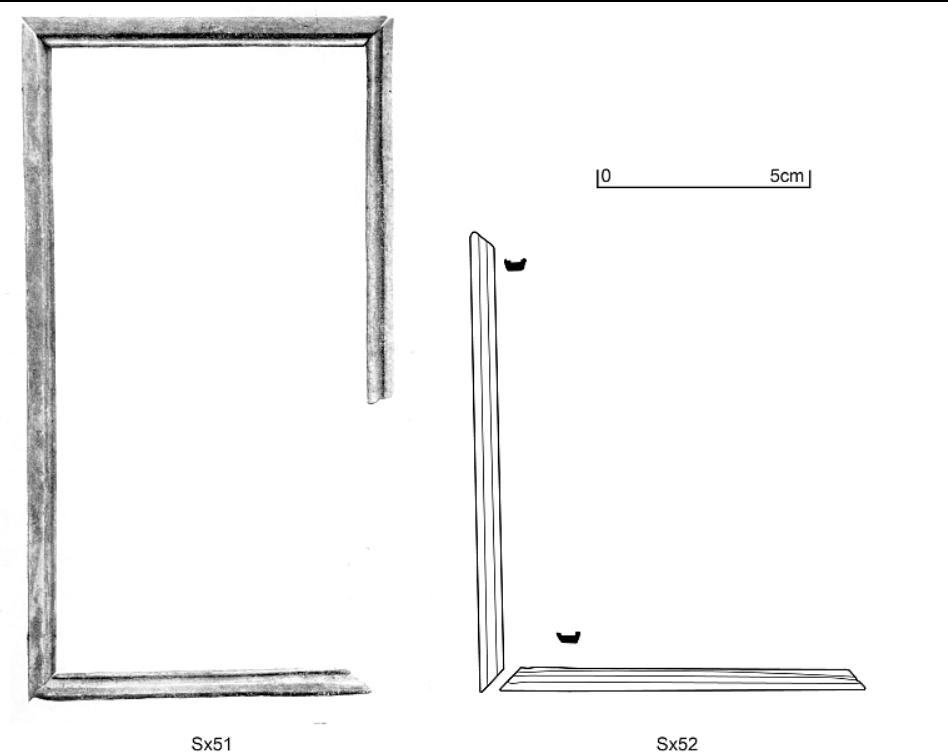
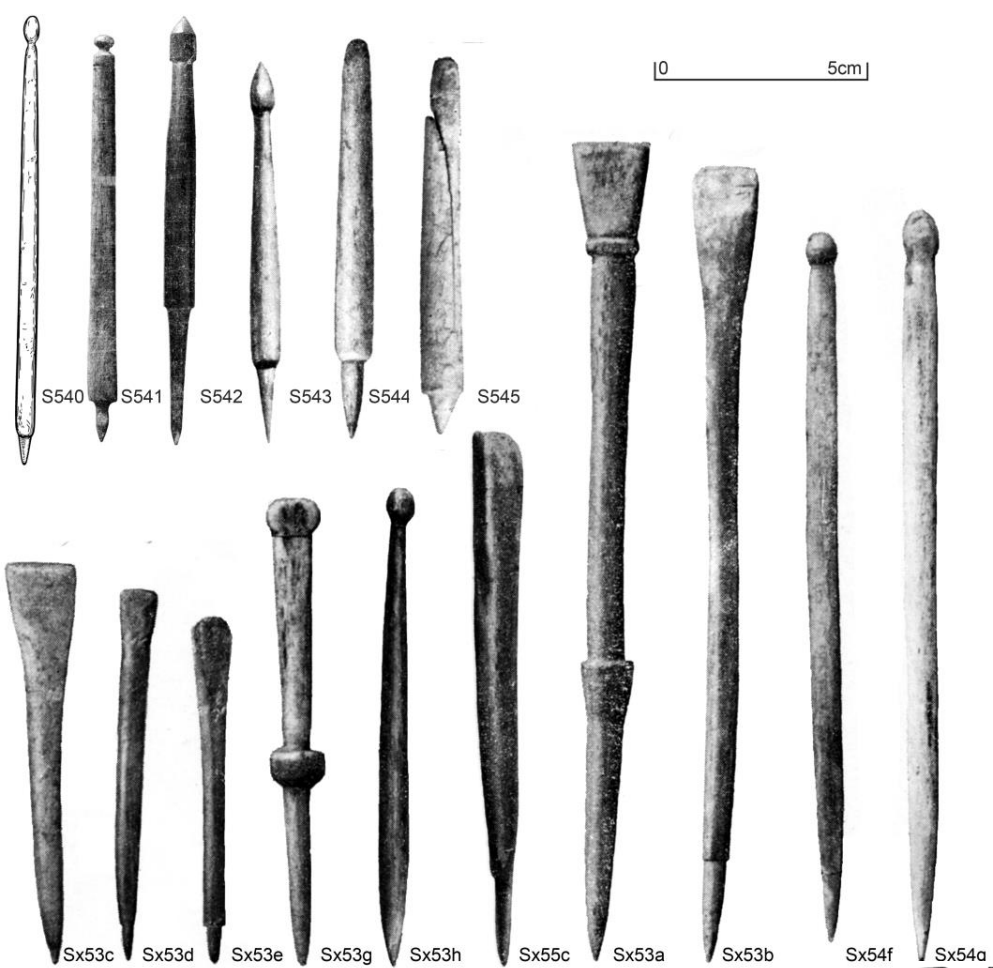


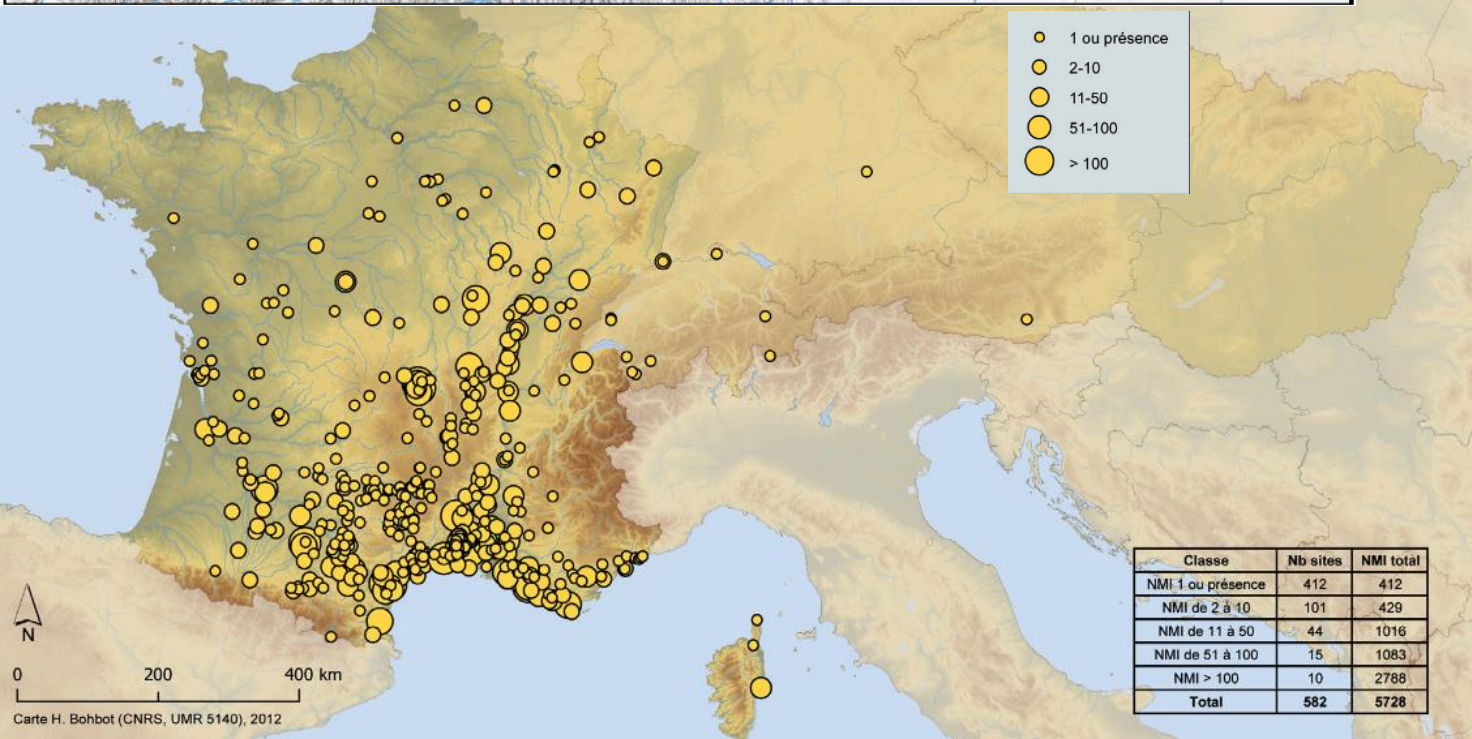
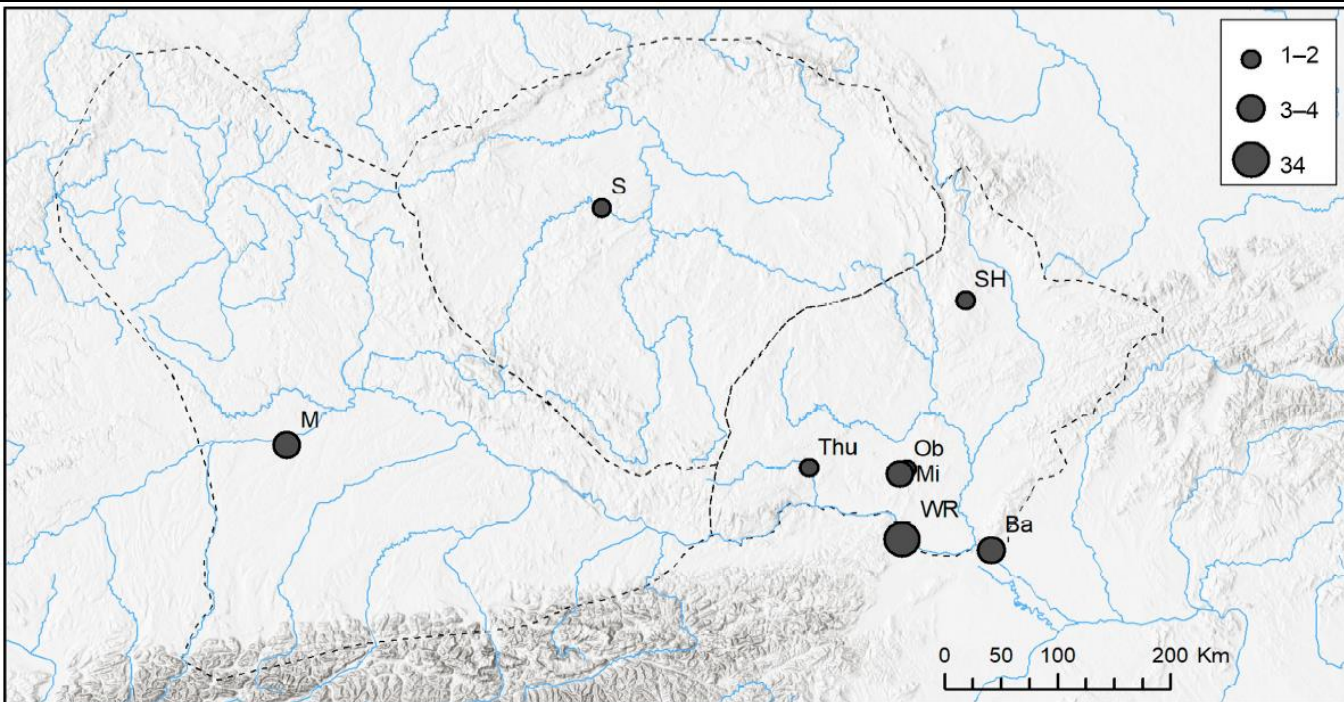
Three out of many sheets just from the oppidum of Stradonice



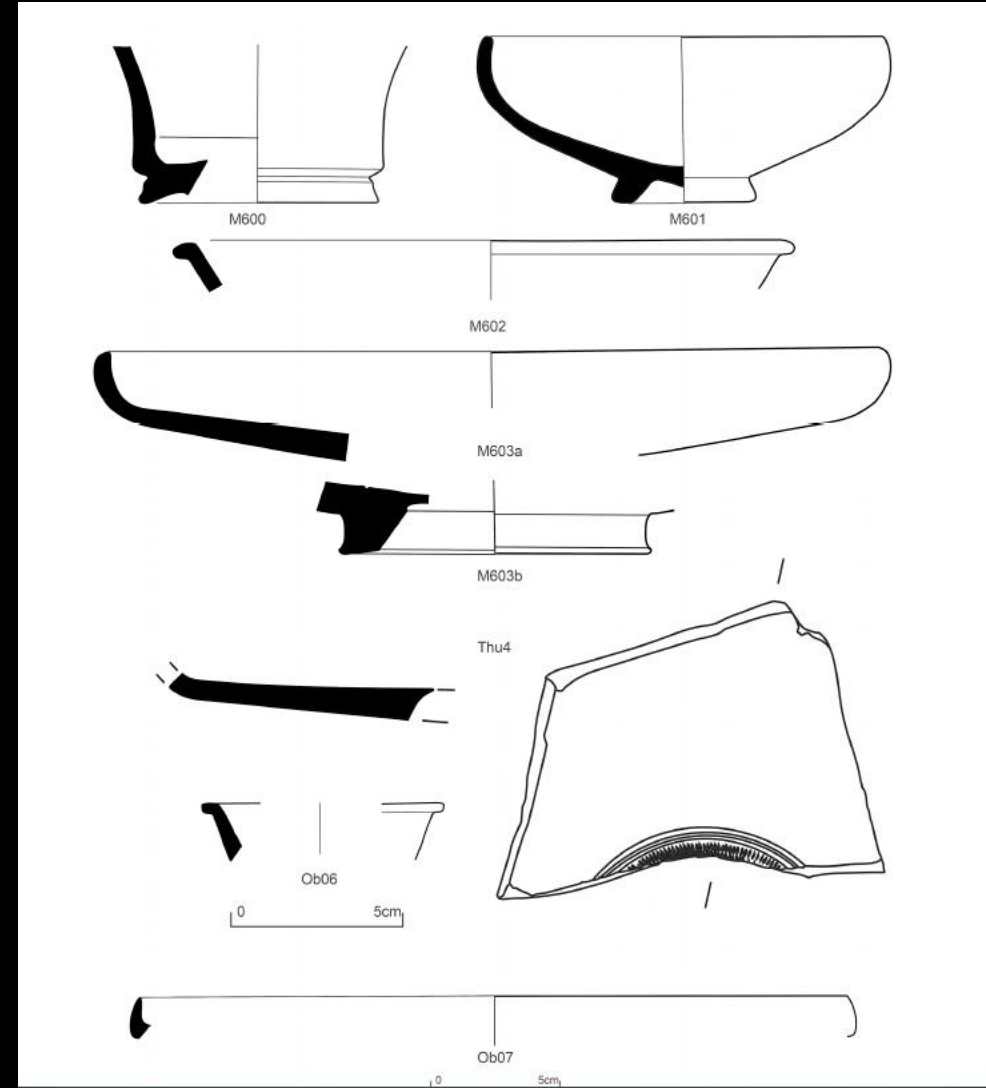
Between genuine luxury
and genuine trash



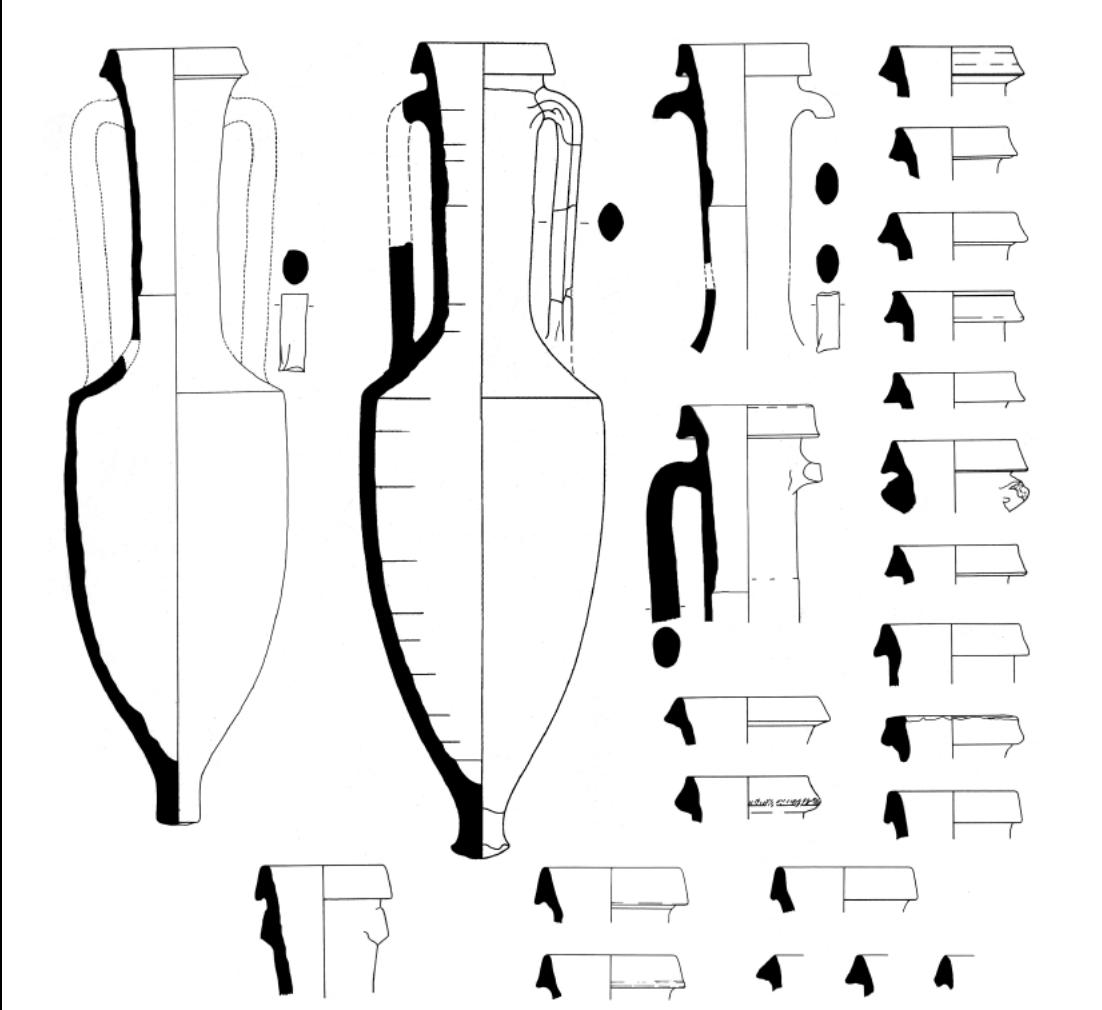


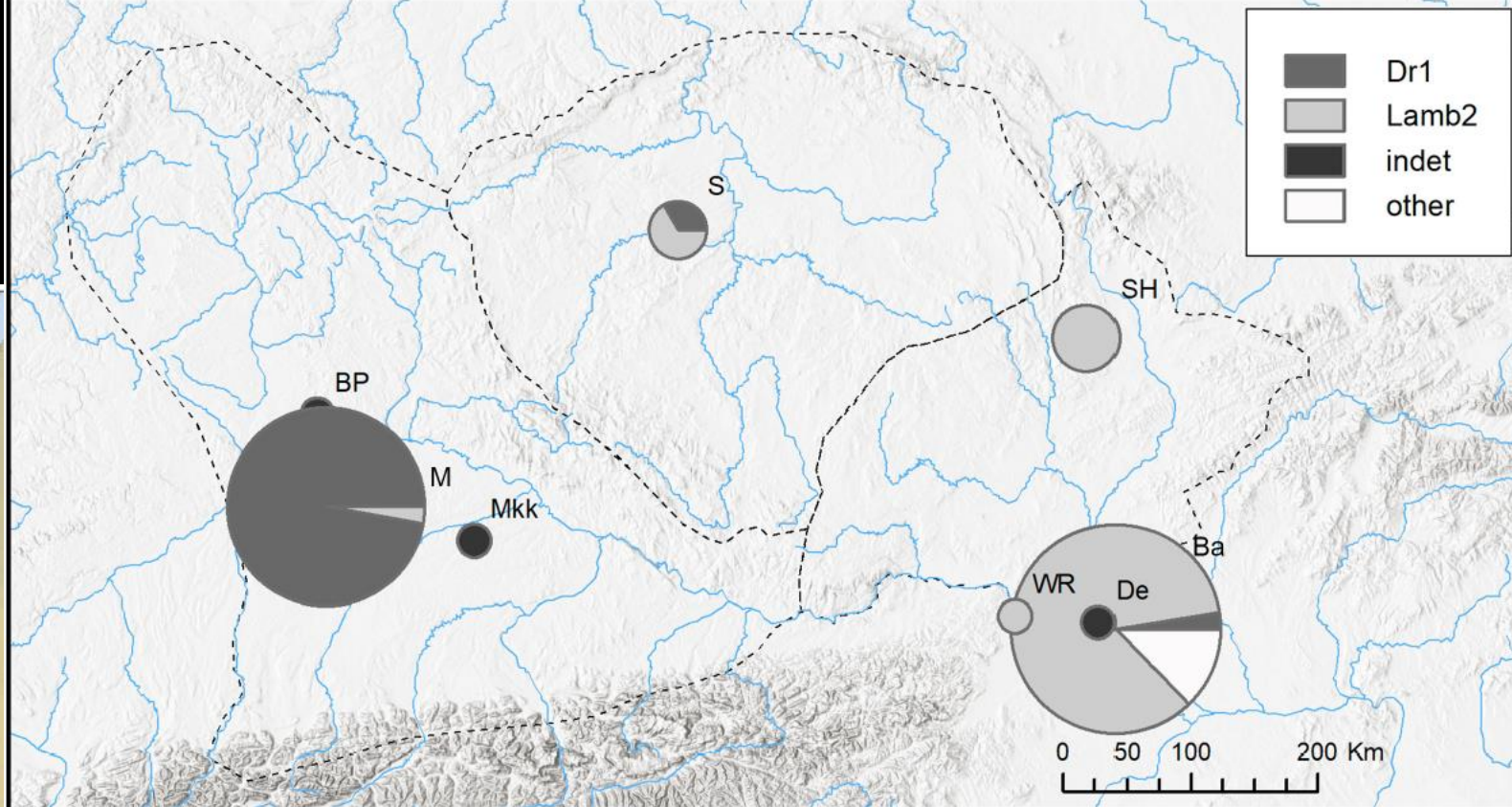
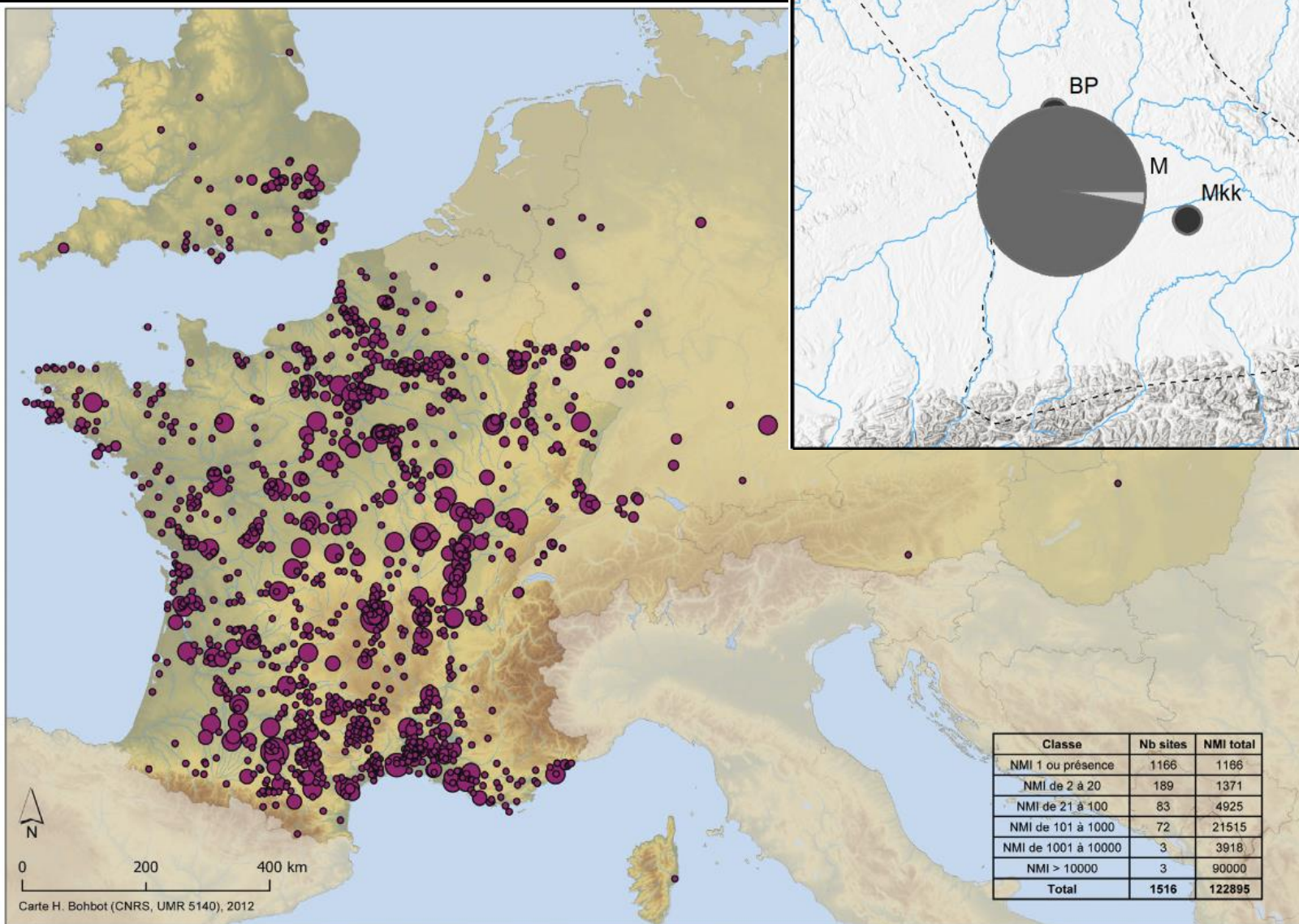


Classe	Nb sites	NMI total
NMI 1 ou présence	412	412
NMI de 2 à 10	101	429
NMI de 11 à 50	44	1016
NMI de 51 à 100	15	1083
NMI > 100	10	2788
Total	582	5728



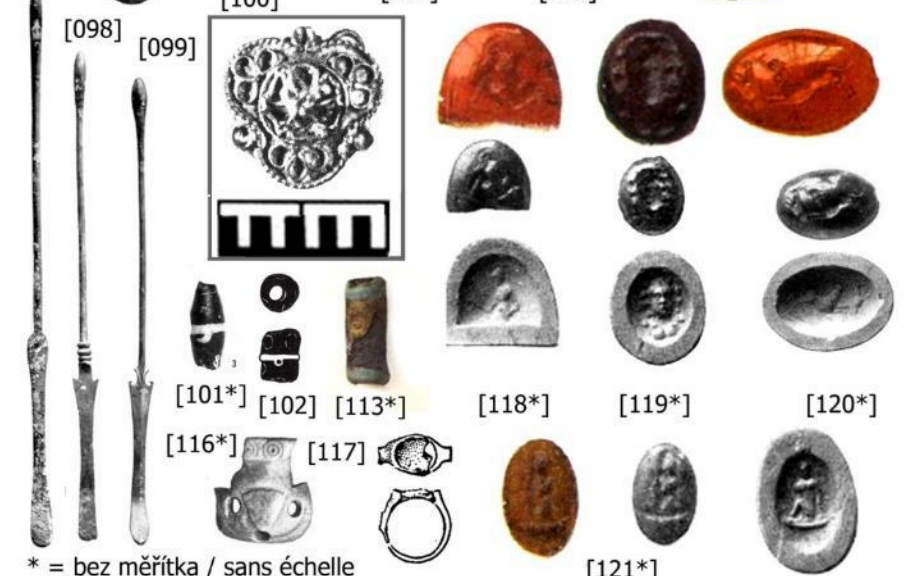
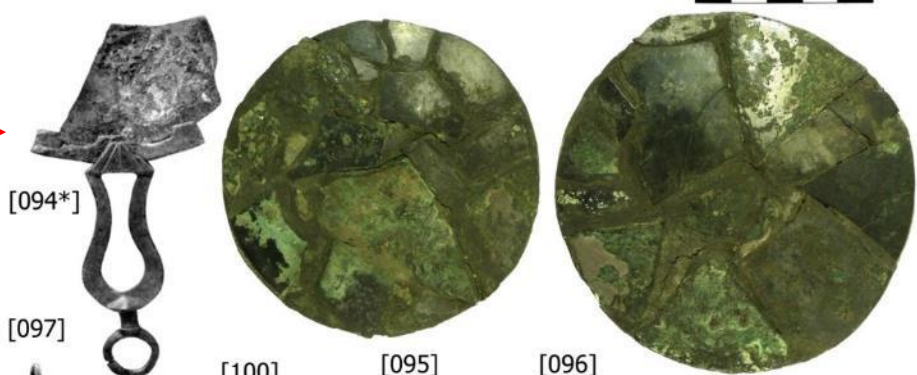
Fotku střepu





Classe	Nb sites	NMI total
NMI 1 ou présence	1166	1166
NMI de 2 à 20	189	1371
NMI de 21 à 100	83	4925
NMI de 101 à 1000	72	21515
NMI de 1001 à 10000	3	3918
NMI > 10000	3	90000
Total	1516	122895

mirrors



Medical instruments

* = bez měřítka / sans échelle



Glass vessels

very few pottery fragments

Writing implements

Finger rings and gemstones



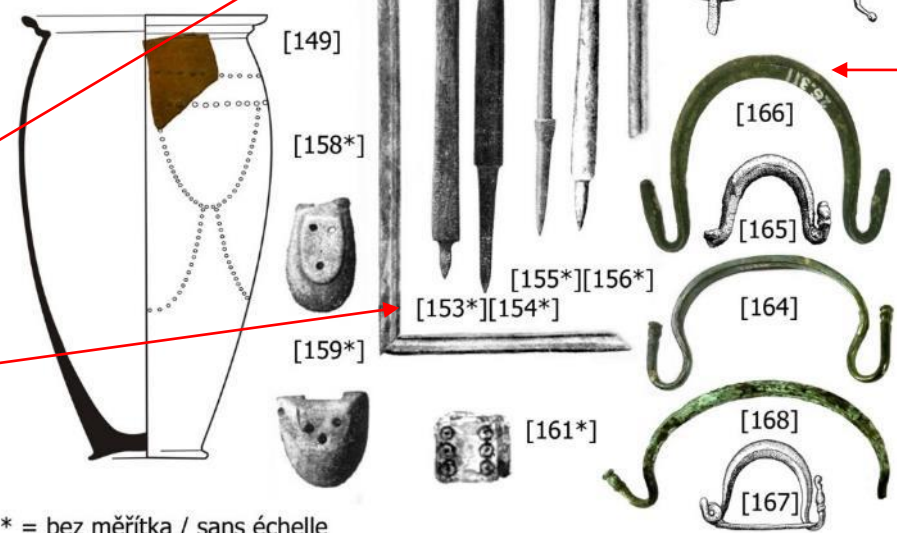
Stradonice



Glass vessels

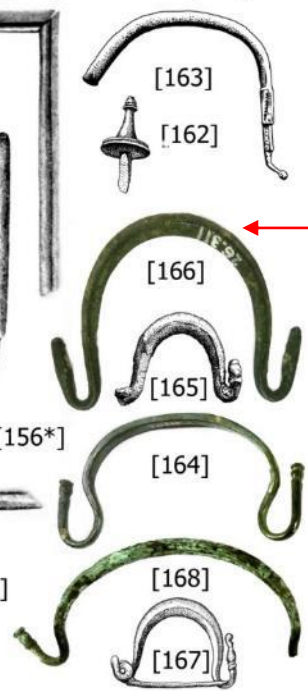
very few pottery fragments

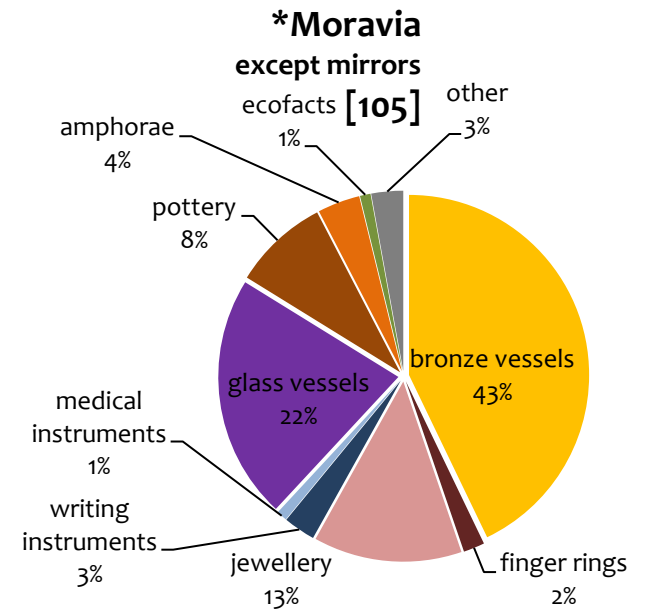
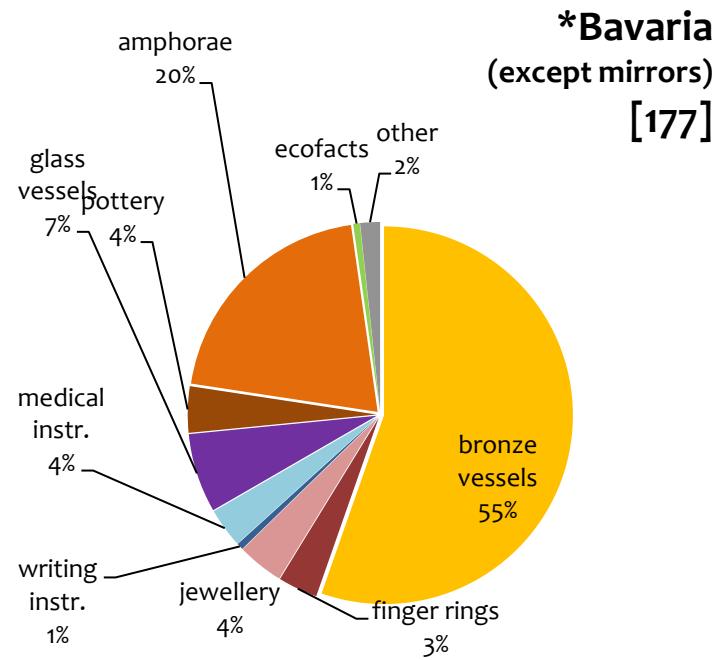
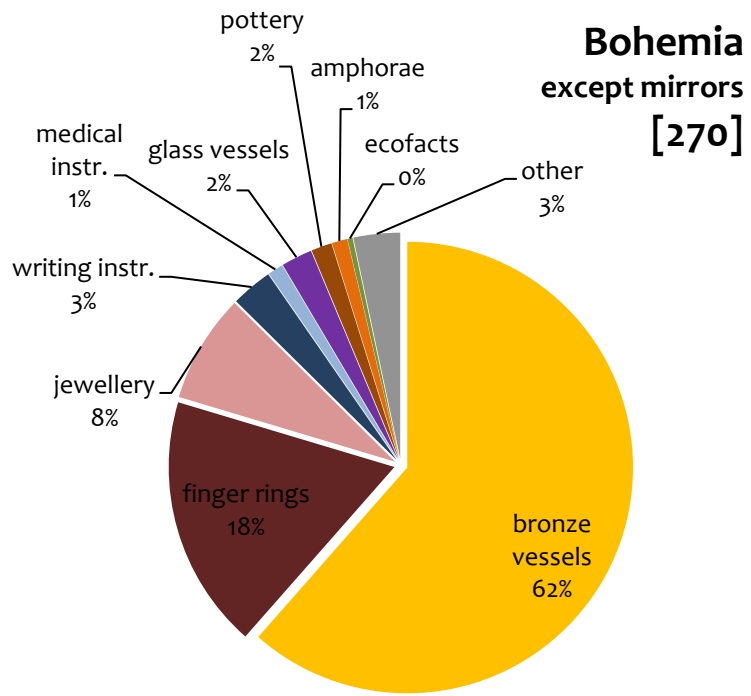
Writing implements



* = bez měřítka / sans échelle

other stuff





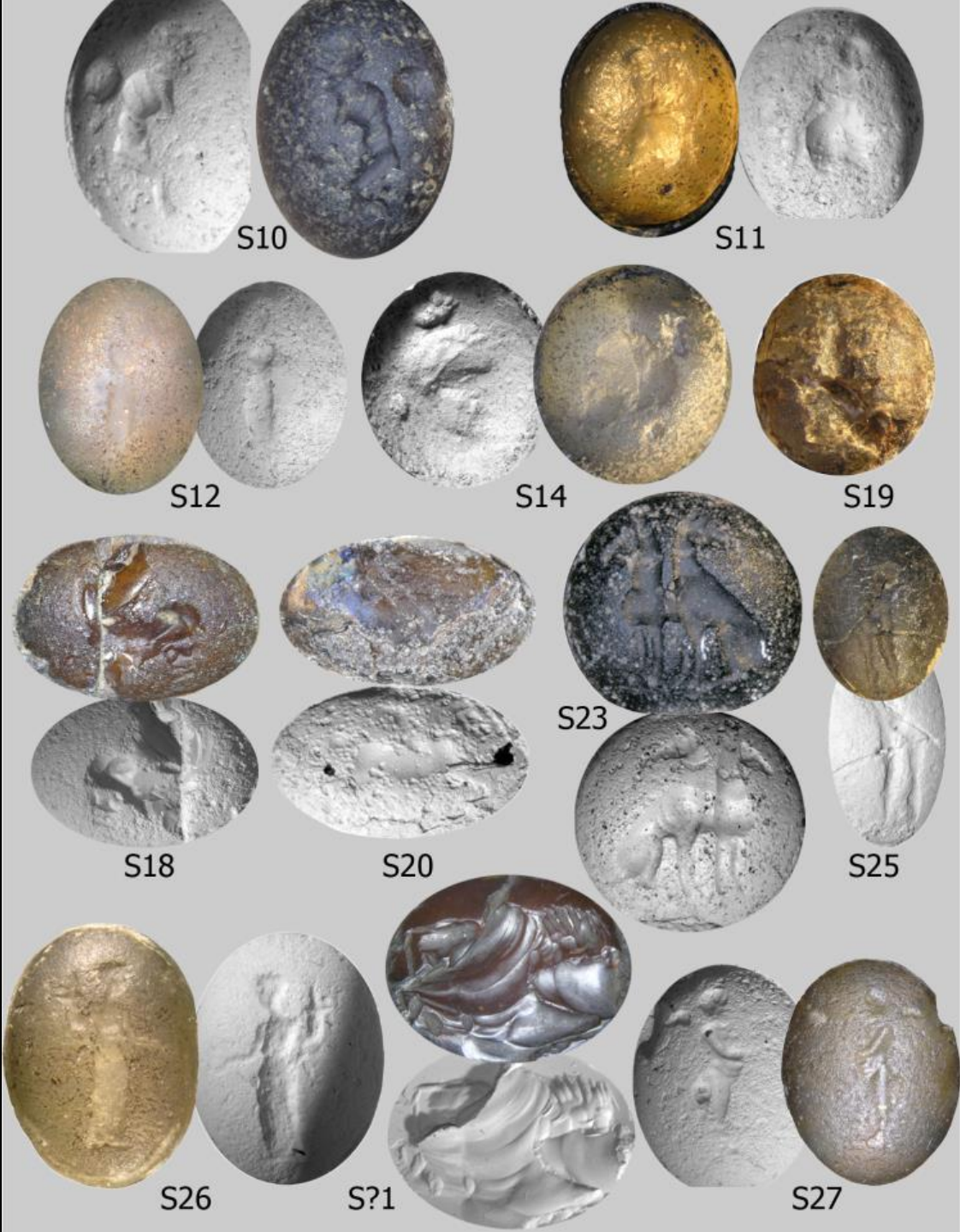
-all regions share the same categories represented by the same object types in roughly the same proportions
 ⇒ Regular trade concerning all the regions

Bohemia is characterised by very numerous finds of imported finger rings with intaglios....

région	site	type de site/ contexte	total	dont pre-cca50 av.J.-C.			dont post-cca50 av. J.-C. ou datation incertaine		
				bagues [dont en or/ argent]	intailles isolées [dont en pierre]	total	bagues [dont en or/ argent]	intailles. isolées [dont en pierre]	total
Bohême	Stradonice	oppidum	35	30 [1]	5 [4]	35	-	-	-
	Závist	oppidum	2	2	-	2	-	-	-
	Kolo	agglomération	4	4 [1]	-	4	-	-	-
	Třisov	oppidum	4	4	-	4	-	-	-
	Holubov	depôt	1	1	-	1	-	-	-
Moravie et Slovaquie occ.	Staré Hradisko	oppidum	1	1	-	1	-	-	-
	Bořitov	agglomération	1	1	-	1	-	-	-
	Bratislava	oppidum	1	-	-	-	-	1 [1]	-
	Devín	oppidum	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
	Manching	oppidum	5	5	-	5	-	-	-
Bavière	Berching Pollanten	agglomération	1	1	-	1	-	-	-
	Brenlorenzen	site productif	1	-	1	1	-	-	-
	Altenburg Rheinau	oppidum	2	-	-	-	2	-	-
haut Rhin	Fossé des Pandours	oppidum	1	-	-	-	-	1 [1]	-
	Bâle Gasfabirk	agglomération	1	-	1	1	-	-	-
	Bâle Münsterhügel	site d'hauteur	1	-	-	-	1	-	1

région	site	type de site/ contexte	total	dont pre-cca50 av.J.-C.			dont post-cca50 av. J.-C. ou datation incertaine		
				bagues [dont en or/ argent]	intailles isolées [dont en pierre]	total	bagues [dont en or/ argent]	intailles. isolées [dont en pierre]	total
Gaulle Celtique (sélection)	Bibracte	oppidum	27	3	3 [2]	6	8	13 [4]	21
	Aulnat	agglomération	1	-	1 [1]	1	-	-	-
	Alésia	camp militaire?	10	-	-	-	10	-	10
	Gondole	oppidum	3	-	-	-	3	-	3
	Corent	sanctuaire	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
	Feurs	agglomération	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
	Mandeure	sanctuaire	2	-	-	-	1	1 [1]	2
	Tittelberg	nécropole	4	1	-	1	3	-	3
	Villeneuve Saint Germain	oppidum	1	1	-	1	-	-	-
Gaulle Belgique (sélection)	Wederath	nécropole	3	1	-	1	2	-	2
	Goebblange Nospelt	nécropole	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
	Arras	camp militaire?	1	-	-	-	1	-	1

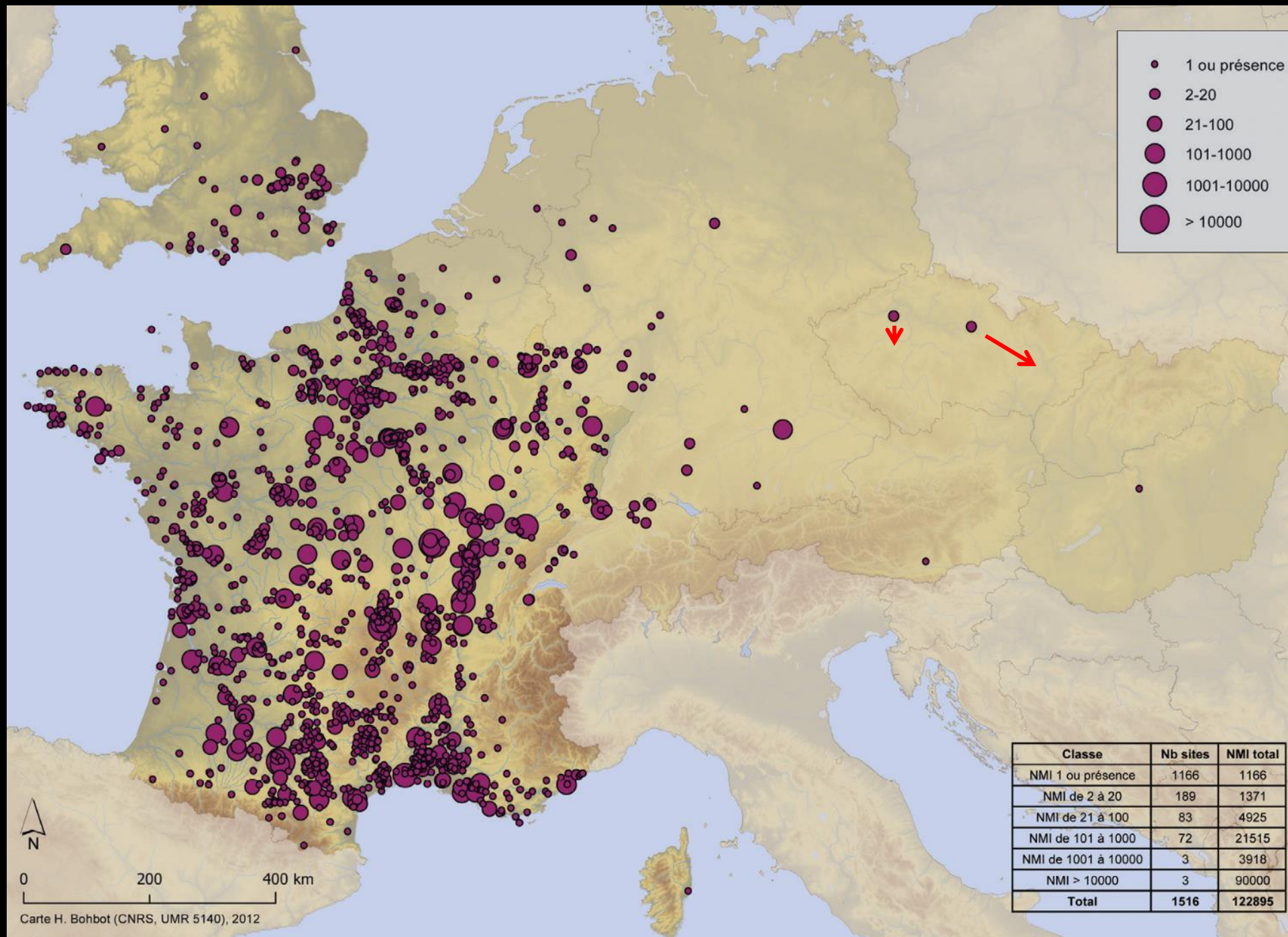




Cat. n°	N° measurements	Fe	Cu	Zn	Sn
S1	3	0,70	84,77	4,45	x
S2	2-side	1,75	58,55	22,95	x
S2	3-bezel	1,53	59,66	6,52	x
S8	7-bezel	0,19	70,22	9,80	x
S8	5-side	0,30	82,50	3,19	x
S9	2-surf.	1,49	61,15	7,71	x
S9	3- frgm	1,50	75,48	11,89	x
S10	4	1,33	63,72	8,42	1,34
S11	2	0,87	75,64	9,63	0,34
S12	2	0,34	77,63	4,90	x
S13	2	0,55	84,37	8,14	0,36
S14	3	0,78	83,67	5,76	0,06
S15	2-side	0,13	92,16	3,49	x
S15	1-bezel	0,39	82,26	4,11	x
S16	2	0,36	85,42	9,05	x
S26	3-surface	1,09	81,38	7,10	0,52
S27	2-side	0,52	85,38	3,36	x

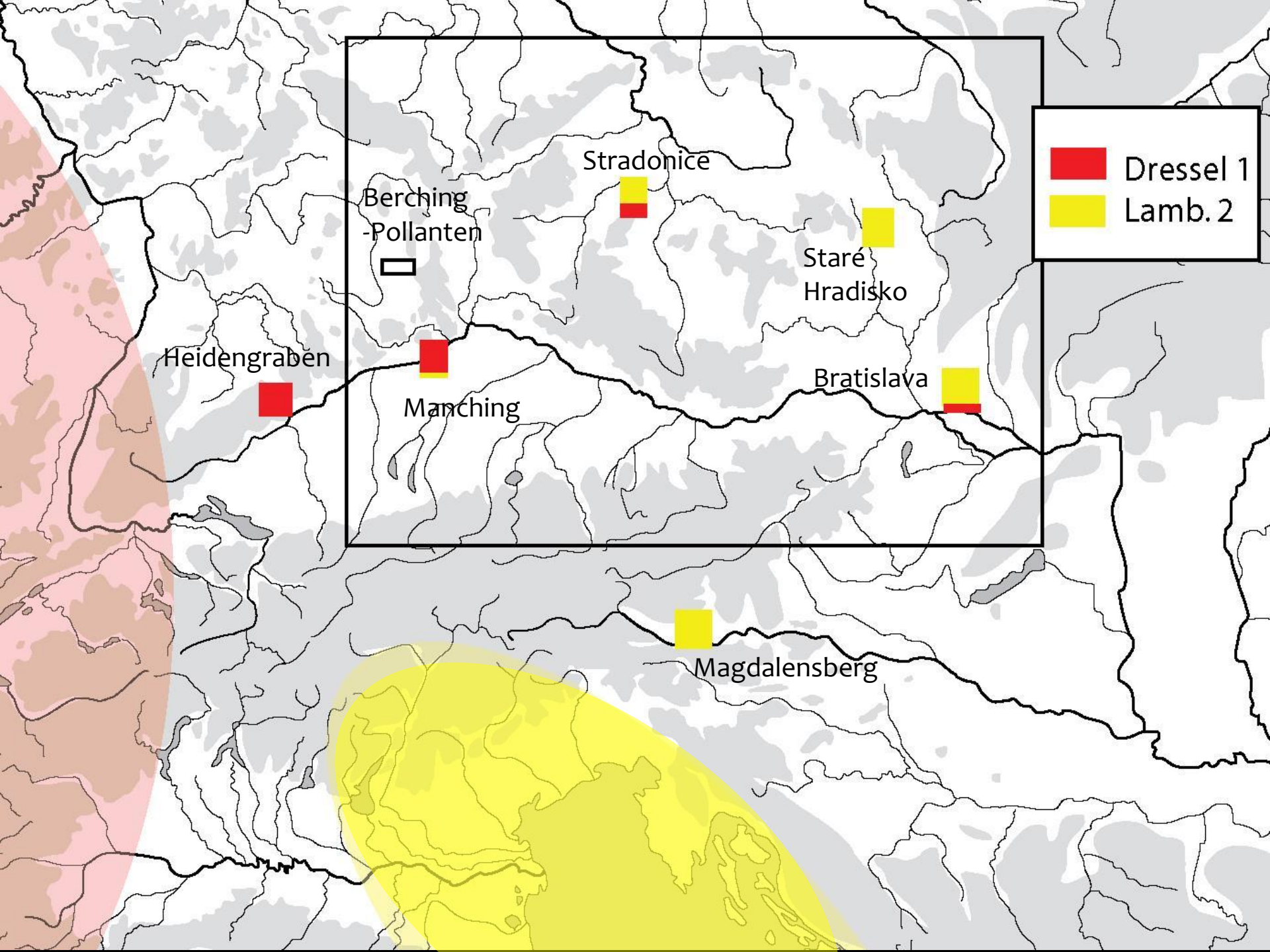
... but in actual fact, the „intaglios“ are in their majority glass paste junk in which the motifs are rarely visible and the copper alloy rings are made of brass (which looks like gold and which was not known in central Europe in the period)

=> Did the Romans sell them junk made of fake gold with crappy fake intaglios? Yes, why not...?

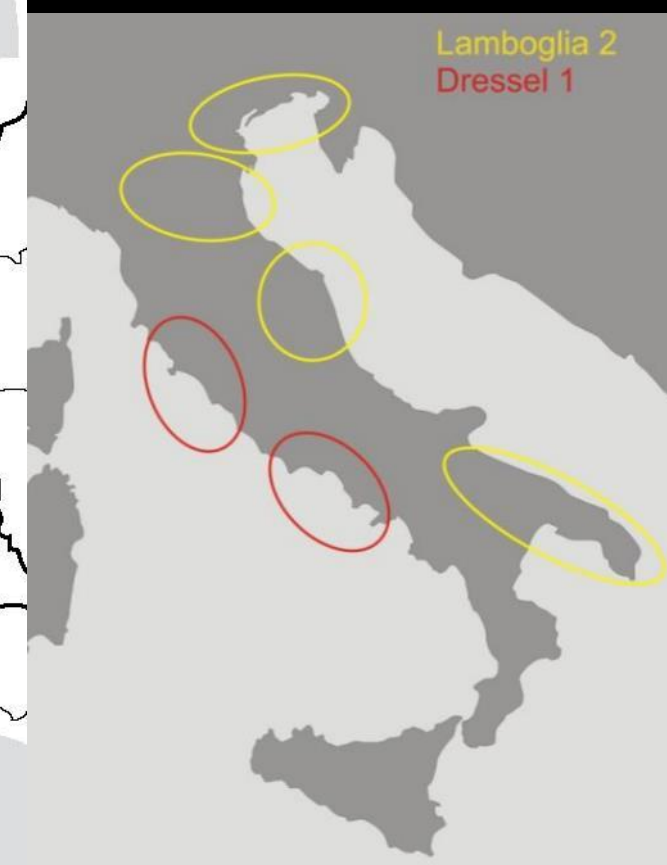


There are extremely few amphorae or pottery in Central Europe...

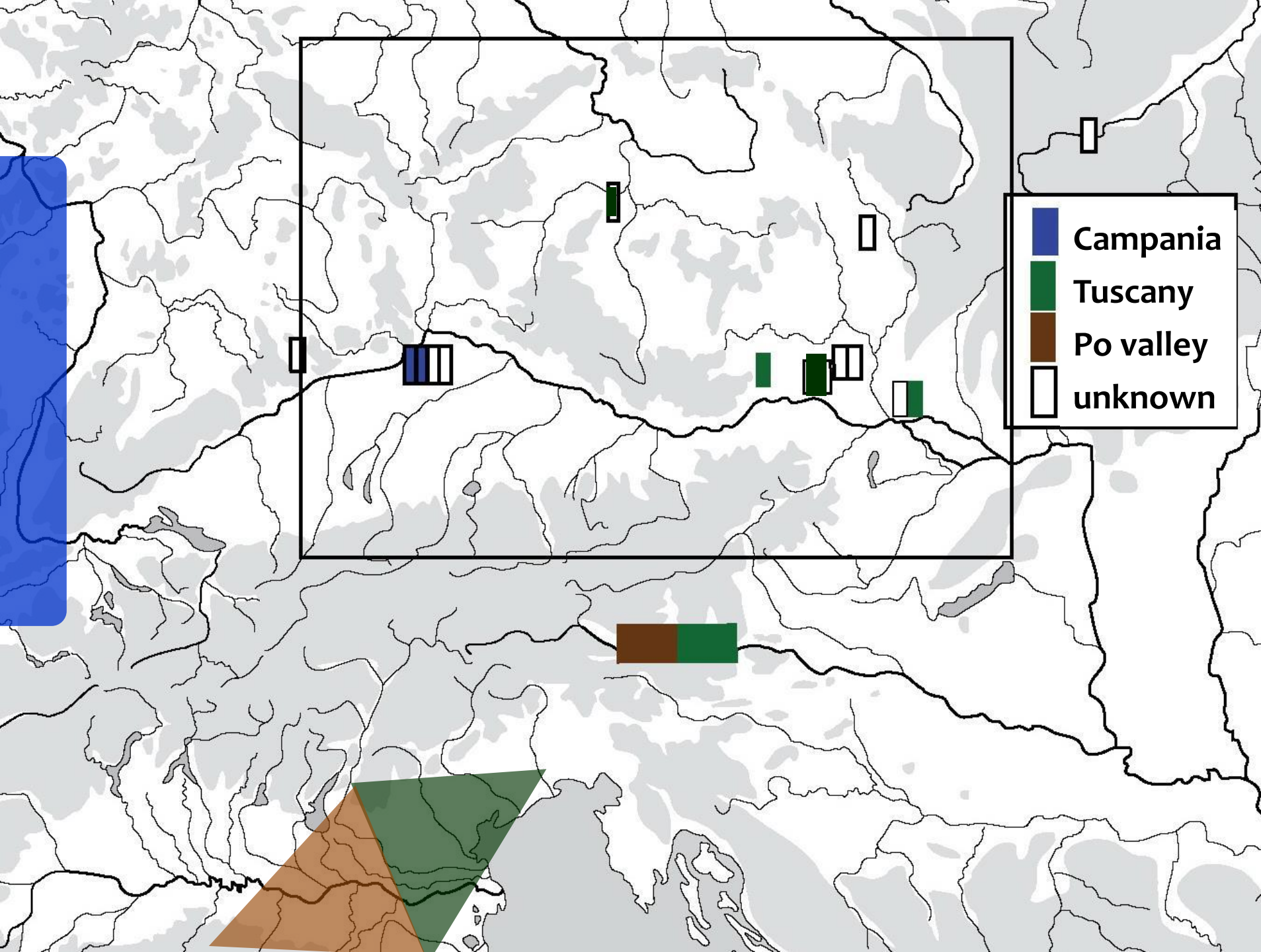
(3 in Stradonice, 3 in Staré Hradisko, ca 35 in Manching... the two points are wrongly placed)



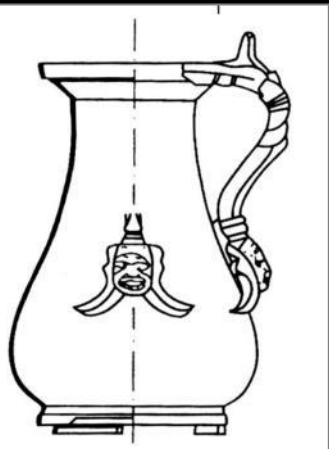
...but their distribution shows something....



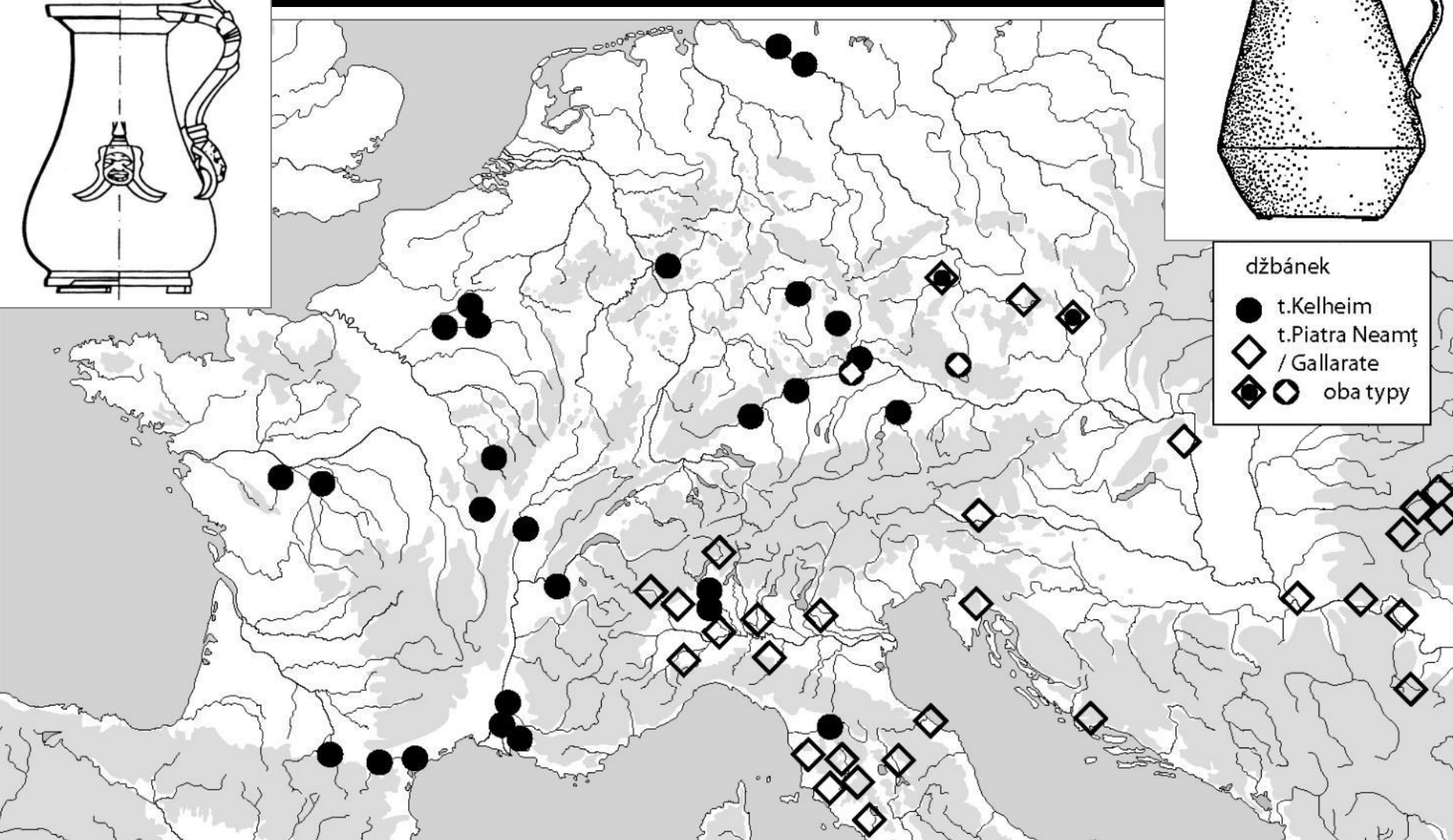
The pattern is strikingly similar in the case of (equally rare) imported black-gloss pottery...

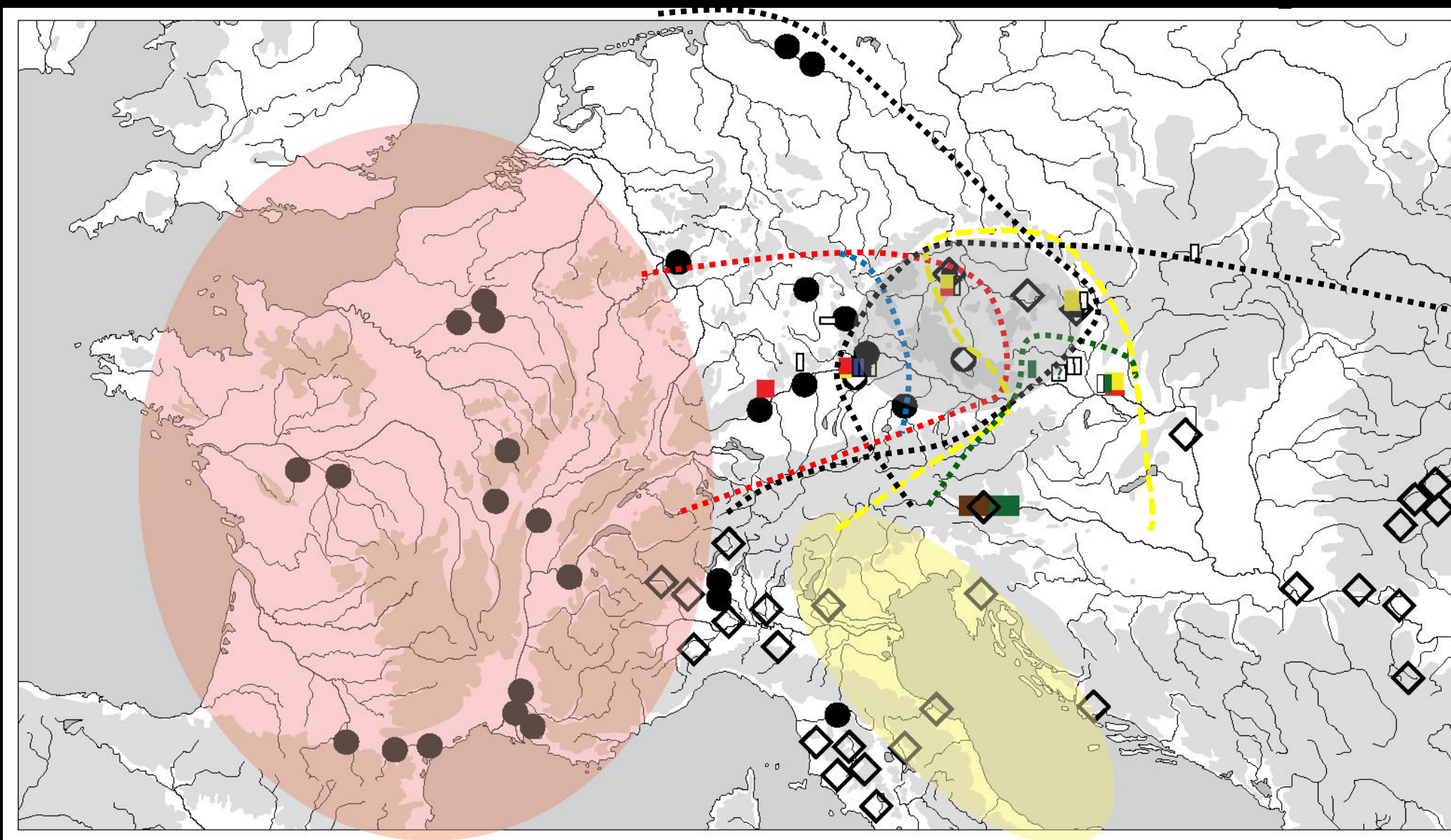


... and bronze jugs...



džbáněk
● t.Kelheim
◊ t.Piatra Neamț / Gallarate
◊◊ oba typy





⇒ Central Europe was apparently in contact with Italy via Gaul and Bavaria or via Eastern Alps and the Middle Danube region

⇒ Bohemia stood in between the two circuits as a passive black hole dependent on the two other regions

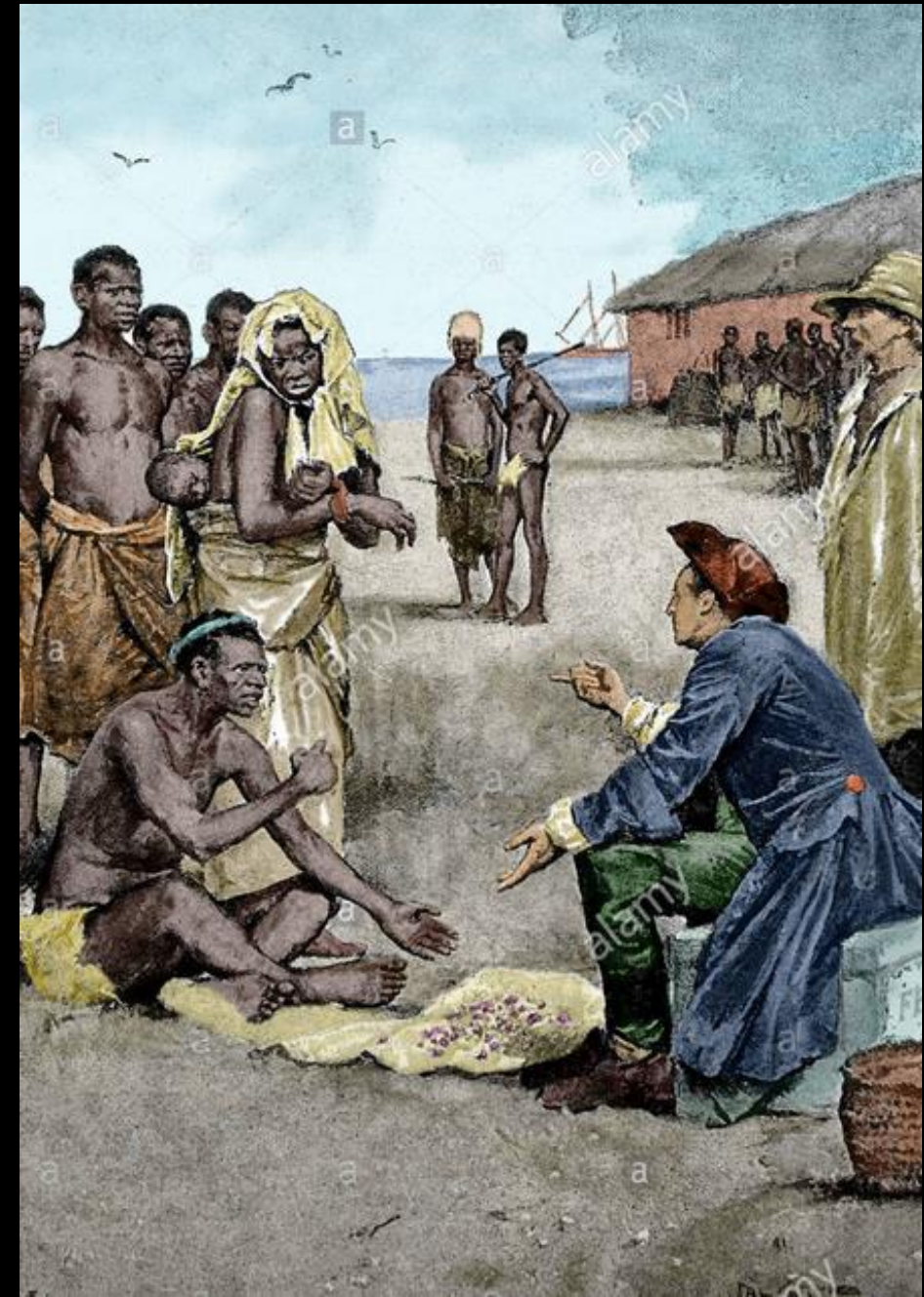
⇒ Bohemia exported huge bulks of high quality gold coinage...

⇒ Bohemia imported some bronze vessels, but also many mirrors, glass beads, and rings made of fake gold... not very flattering analogies come to one's mind....

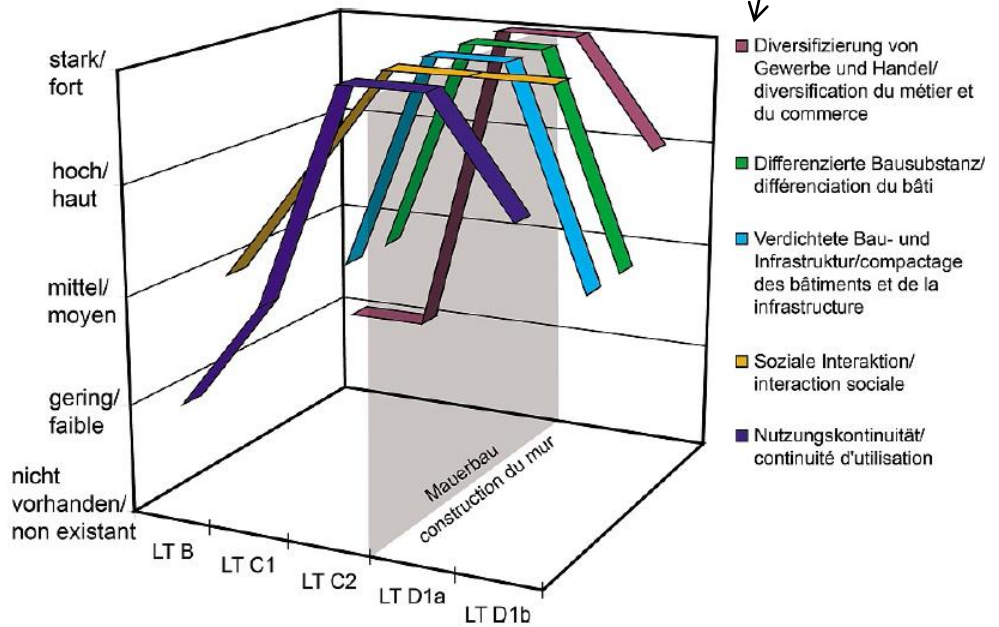
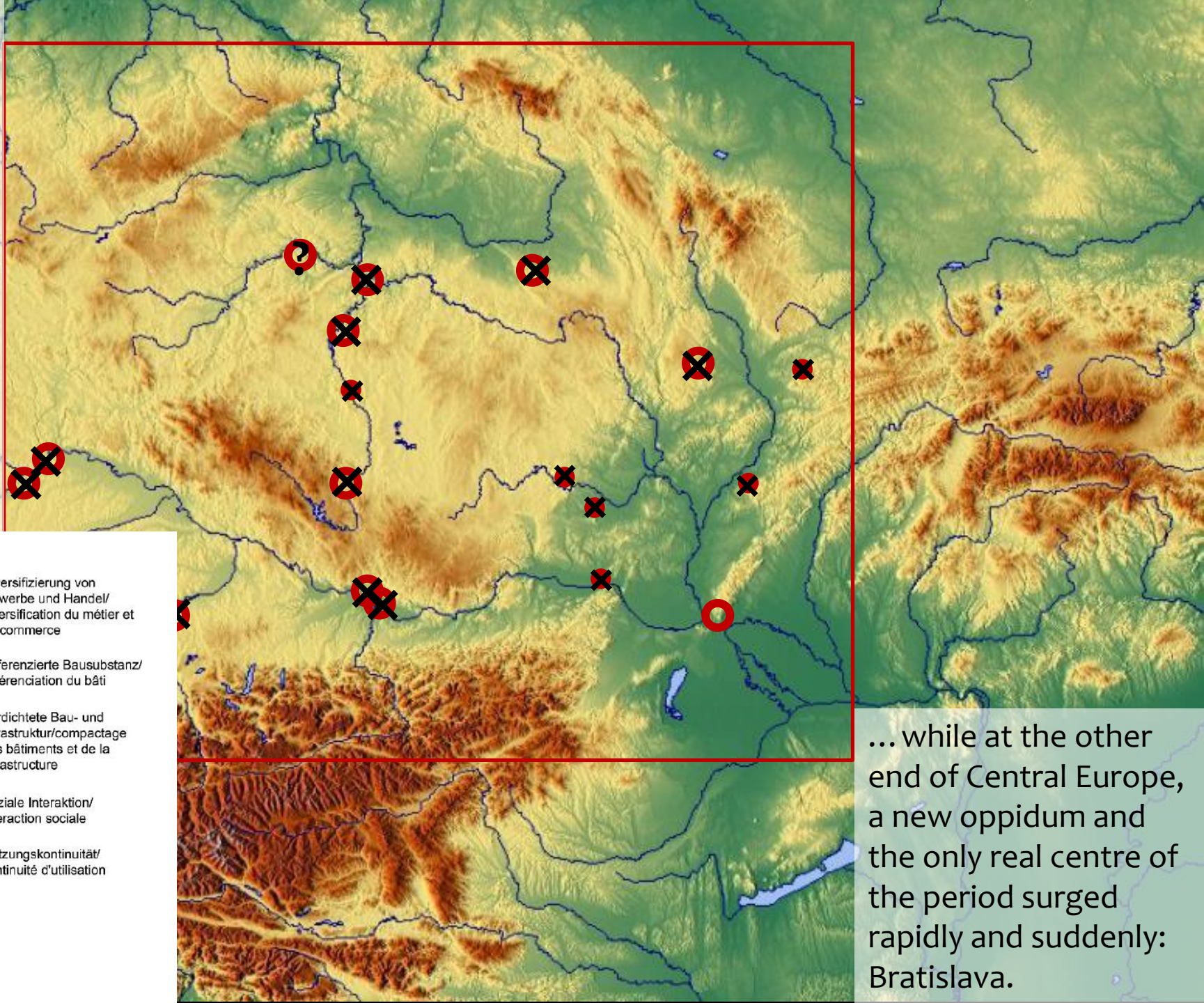
Unlike Bohemia, *Bavaria and *Moravia are better furnished with really luxurious objects (glass vessels) and with e.g. pottery which demonstrates better understanding for Mediterranean ways of life.

Wider distribution of imports in *Bavaria and *Moravia suggests their greater exclusivity in Bohemia where they were accessible only to a few selected central sites.

All imports necessarily came to Bohemia through *Bavaria or *Moravia rather than directly from Italy.



Around the middle of the I century BC, the LT culture in central Europe came to its end. Manching in its latest phases (LT D1b = 2/4 of I BC) showed decline in all the signs of its previous social, economic, and architectural complexity. Most oppida were abandoned (only Stradonice may have survived to the ¾ of I BC but only as a shade of what it was) and LT culture disappeared...

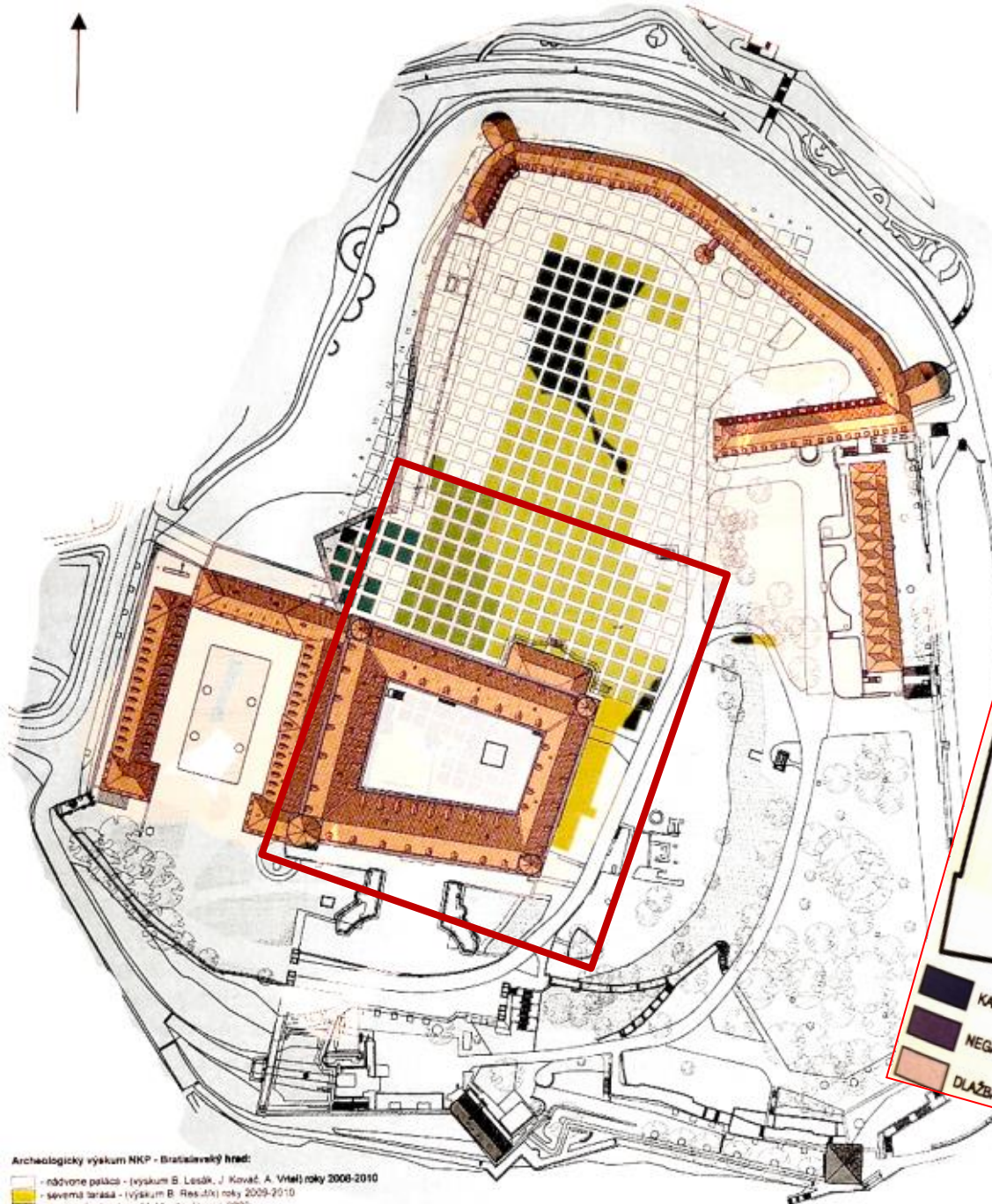


... while at the other end of Central Europe, a new oppidum and the only real centre of the period surged rapidly and suddenly: Bratislava.



The existence of Bratislava oppidum had been known for a long time, most famously thanks to several large hoards of coins combining local version of the „shell staters“ with purely local „Biatec“ tetradrachmas – large silver coins imitating Roman denarii and bearing inscriptions (names?) in Latin characters (e.g. Biatec, Nonnos Bussumarus, Ainatorix etc.)

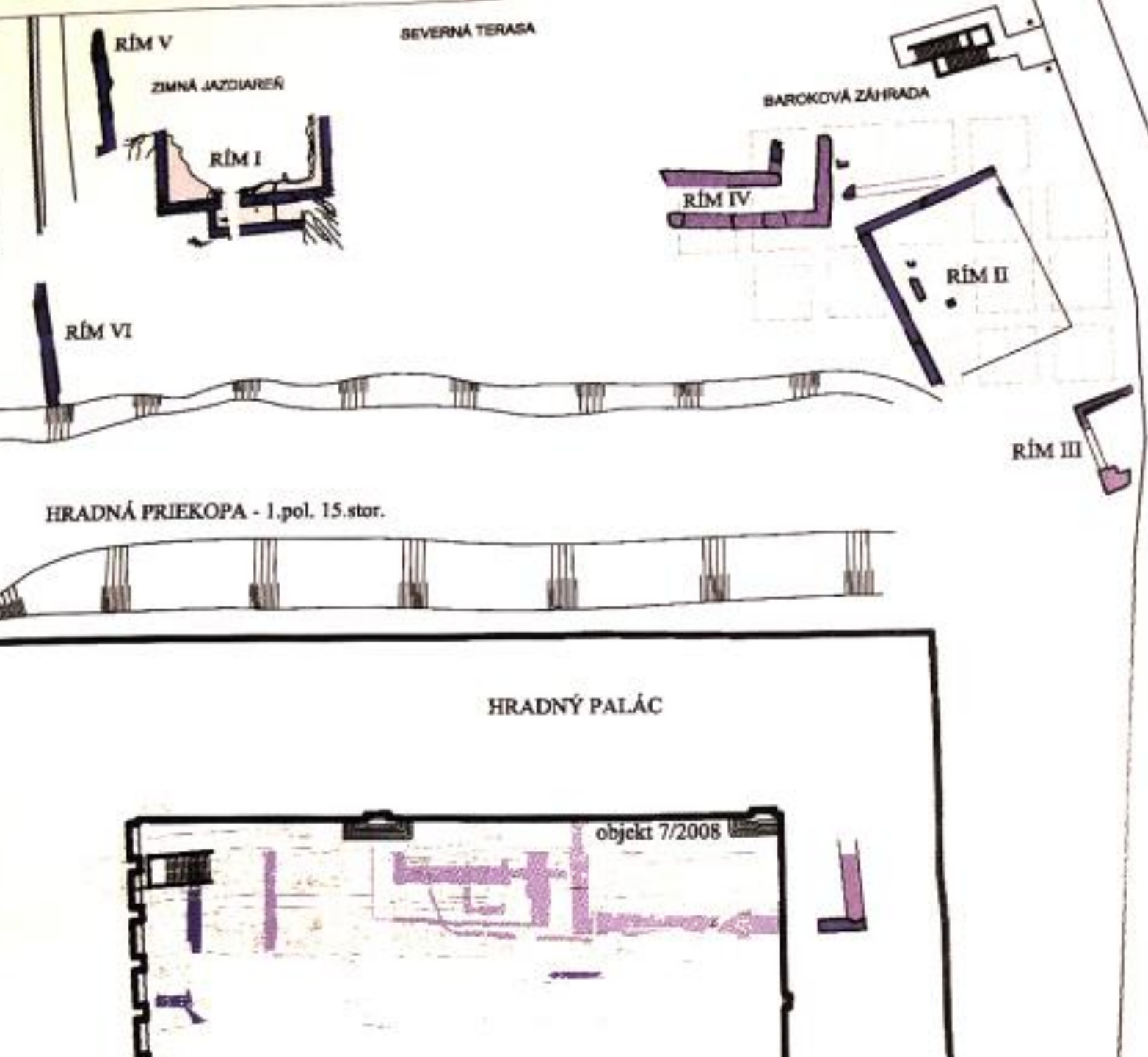




- KAMENNÉ PLNÉ MURIVO - DOBA LATÉNSKA 1/2 pol. 1.stor. pred n.l. - prelom letopočtov
- NEGATÍV MURIVA - DOBA LATÉNSKA 1/2 pol. 1.stor. pred n.l. - prelom letopočtov
- DLAŽBA - DOBA LATÉNSKA 1/2 pol. 1.stor. pred n.l. - prelom letopočtov

Archaologický výskum NKP - Bratislavský hrad:
 - nádvorná paláca - (výskum B. Lesák, J. Kováč, A. Vteli) roky 2008-2010
 - severná terasa - (výskum B. Resáň) roky 2009-2010
 - jazdiareň - (výskum M. Músičková) rok 2009
 - trajačiarica - (výskum M. Músičková) rok 2010
 - depot - (výskum J. Kováč) rok 2009
 - Tenzórium - (výskum M. Havlík) rok 2009

... but then large
 rescue excavations
 in the Bratislava
 castle in 2009–2014
 revealed something
 unexpected....



Wherever LT period levels were preserved, there were remains of structures built in Roman construction techniques:

-walls of *opus incertum* (cement-bound rubble stones)

-floor in *opus signinum* (cement-based conglomerate with ground and polished surface)

-wall paintings (only minuscule fragments are preserved)

-though strangely, there is not a single fragment of rooftiles (I have an explanation... what do you think about it?)

Walls in *opus incertum*

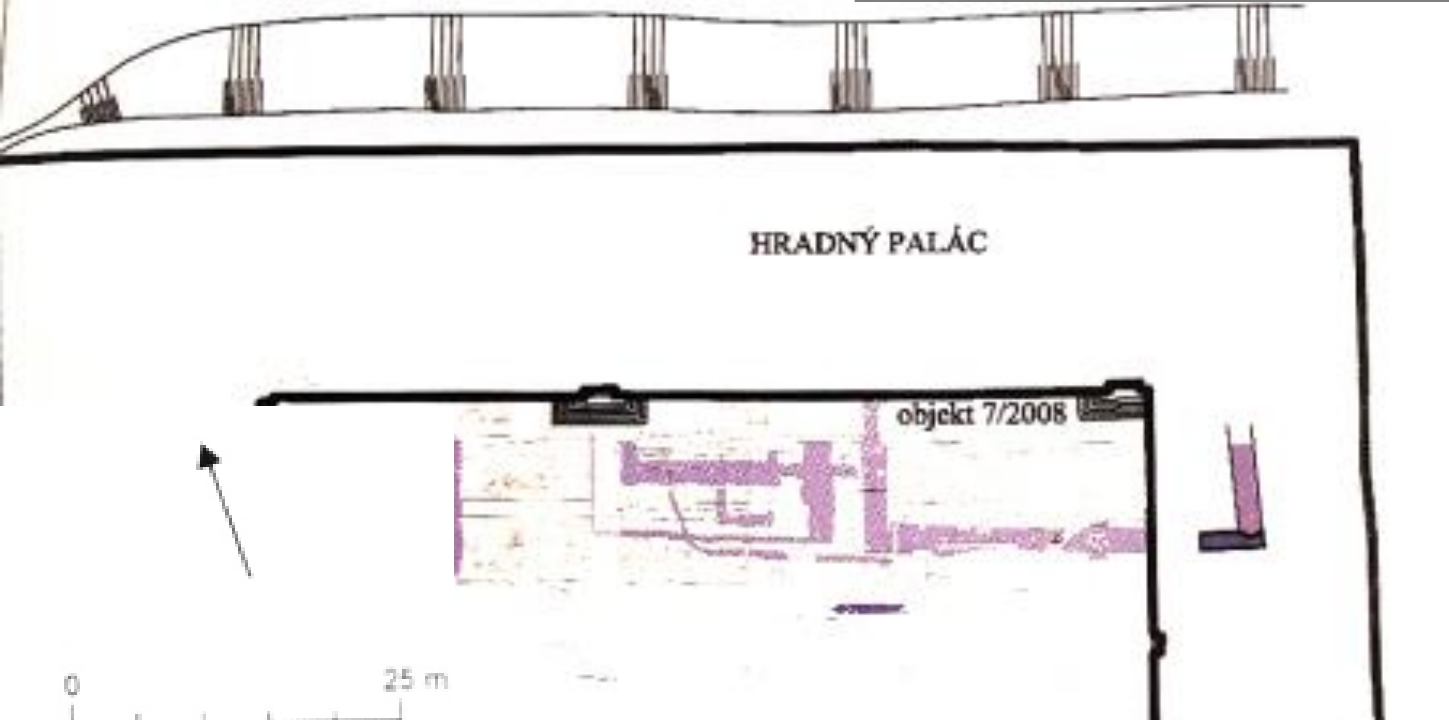
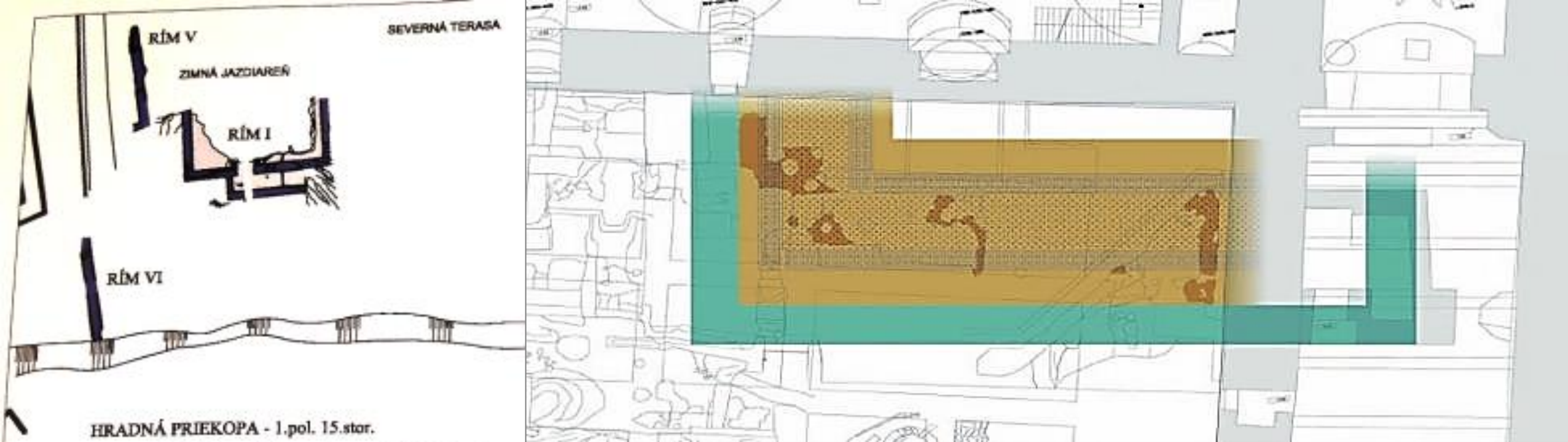


Excavated
Reconstructed



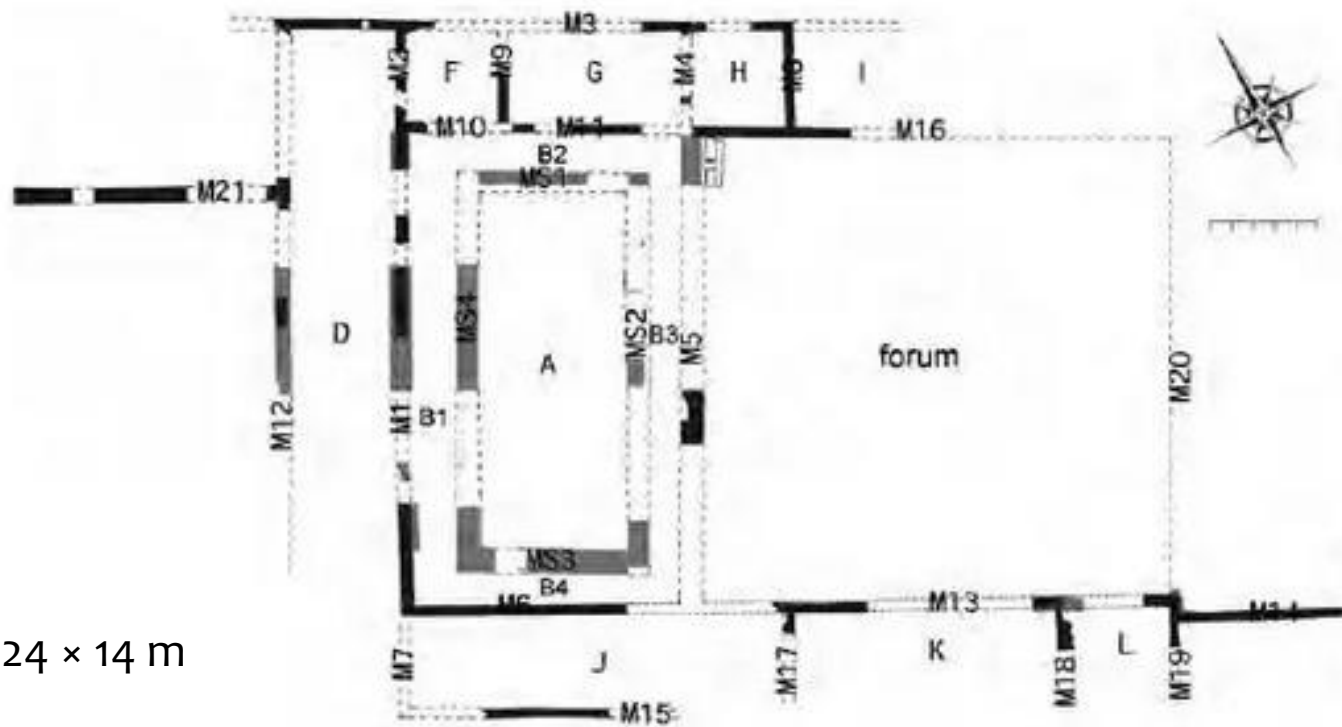
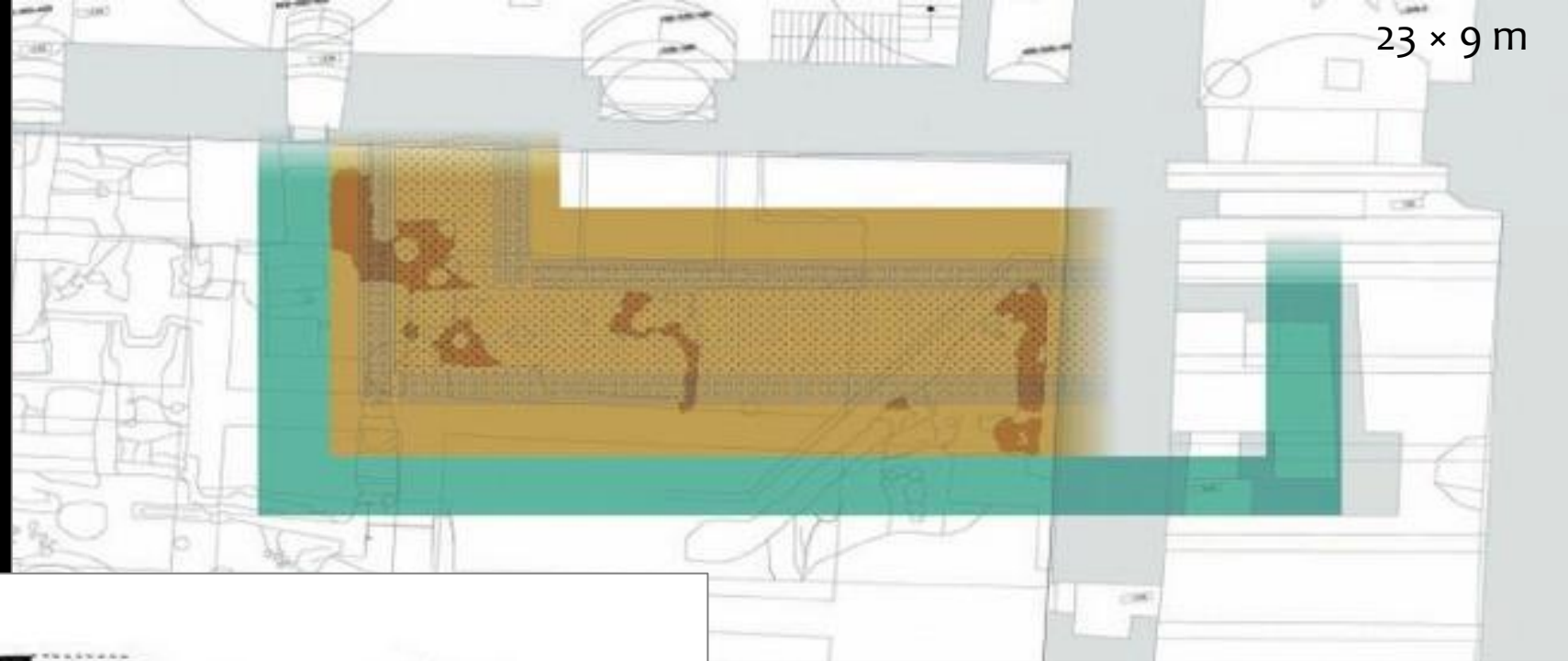
Floors in *opus signinum* – the decoration correspond to floors documented in contemporary Northern Italy





The building on the Castle court is a large 23×9 m structure with twice as thick (= twice as high) walls as the other buildings and based on the preserved floor fragments probably without any inner partition walls => a building extremely similar to Roman basilicas.

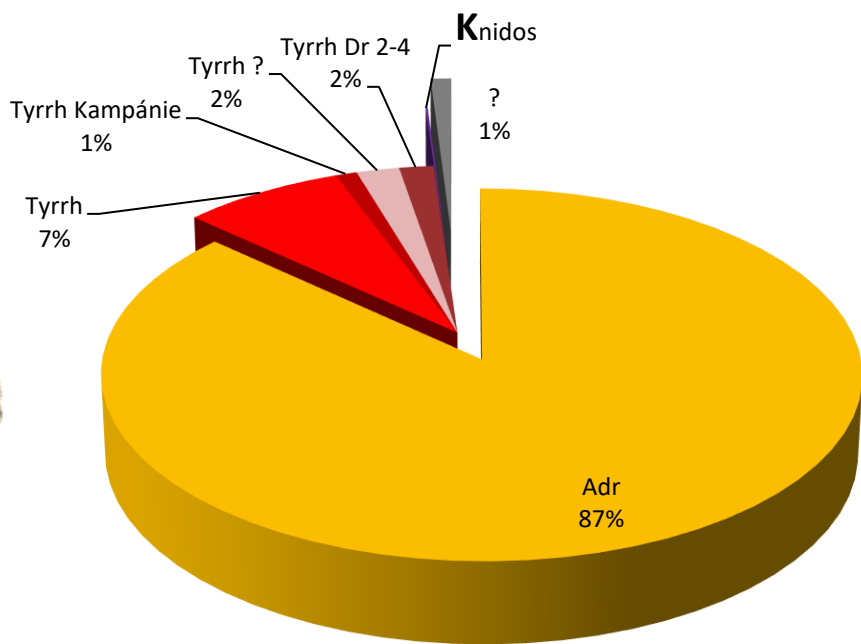
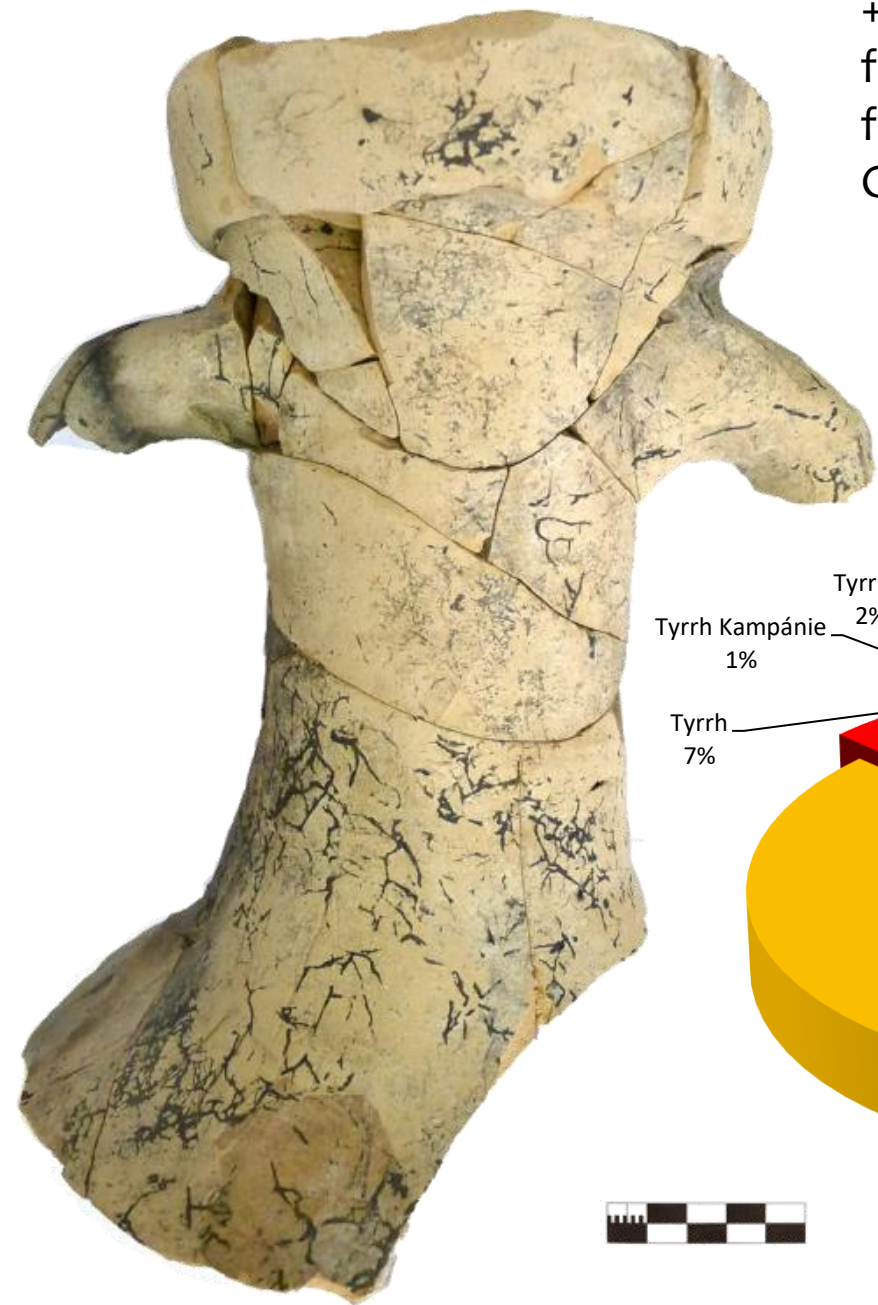
Incidentally, a building of basically identical form and dimensions built in the same period of ca. 50 BC was discovered in Bibracte (i.e. the capital of Haedui repeatedly frequented by Caesar and his troops in exactly this period).



Btw. the fact that they resemble basilicas does not mean that they also had the same functions.

https://www.academia.edu/1347269/Un_exce_s_de_la_romanisation_L_identification_dans_les_villes_gauloise_s_de_monuments_civiques_romains

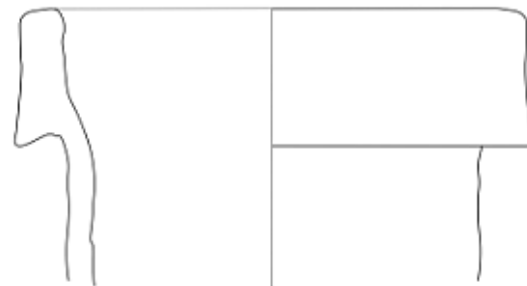
+ there are hundreds of fragments of amphorae (mostly from the Adriatic but also from Greece)



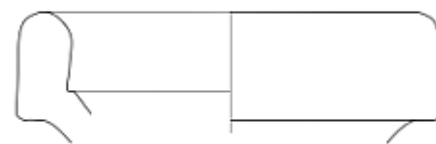
P6/2009 SV čierna hlina



P5/2009 JV s. 65_bd1 s. 65_bd2



s. 63 (Dr1)



s. 76 bd 1



s. 84



s. 76 bd 2



s. 176

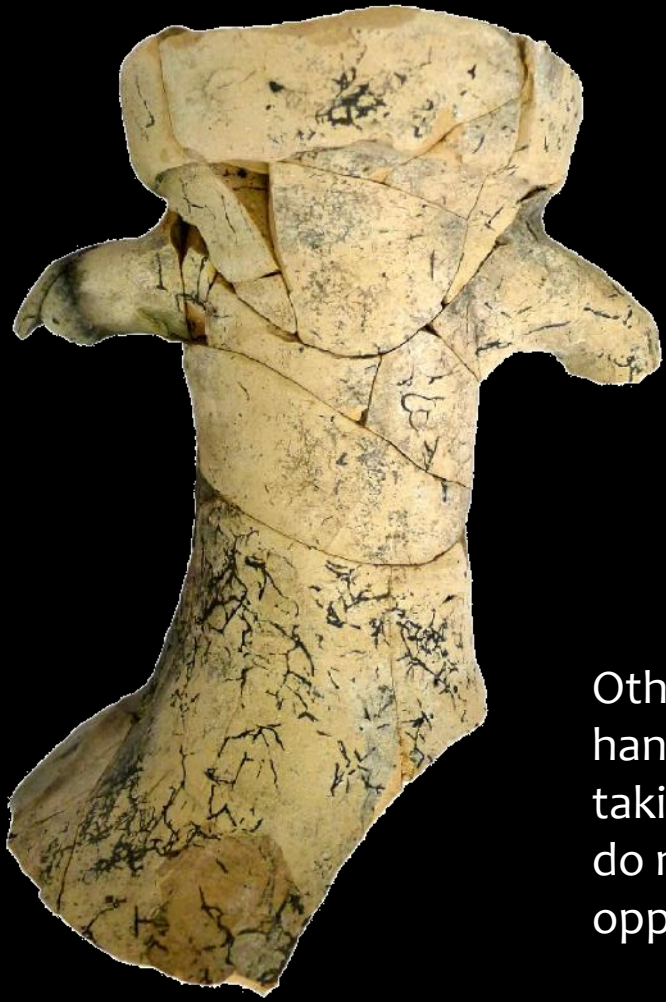


s. 76 bd 3



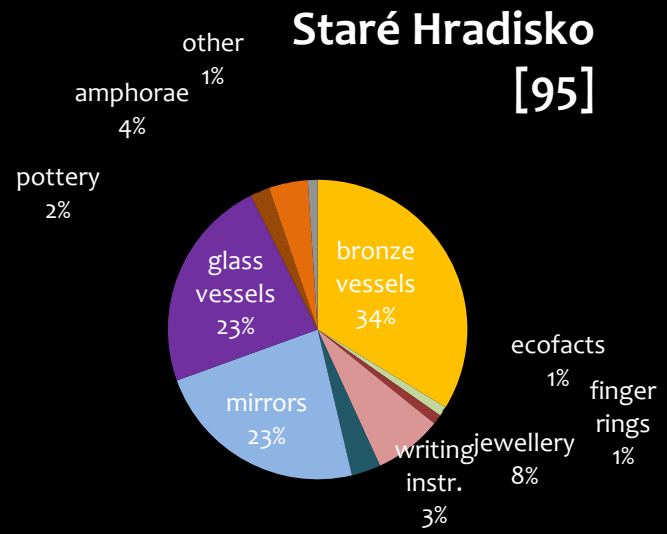
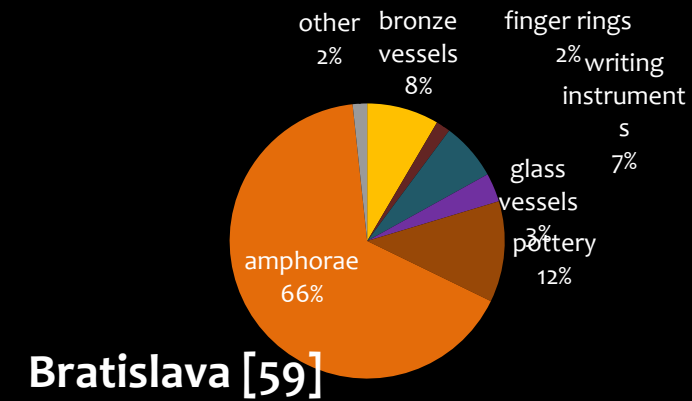
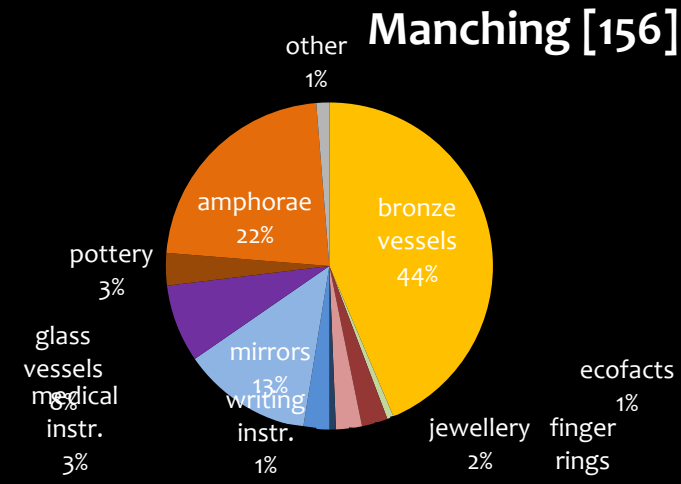
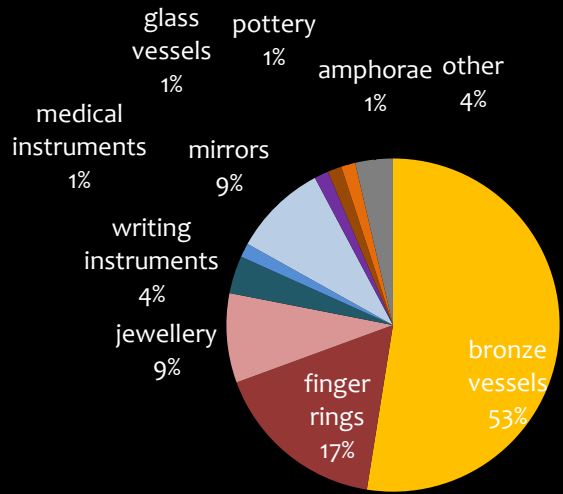
s. 386



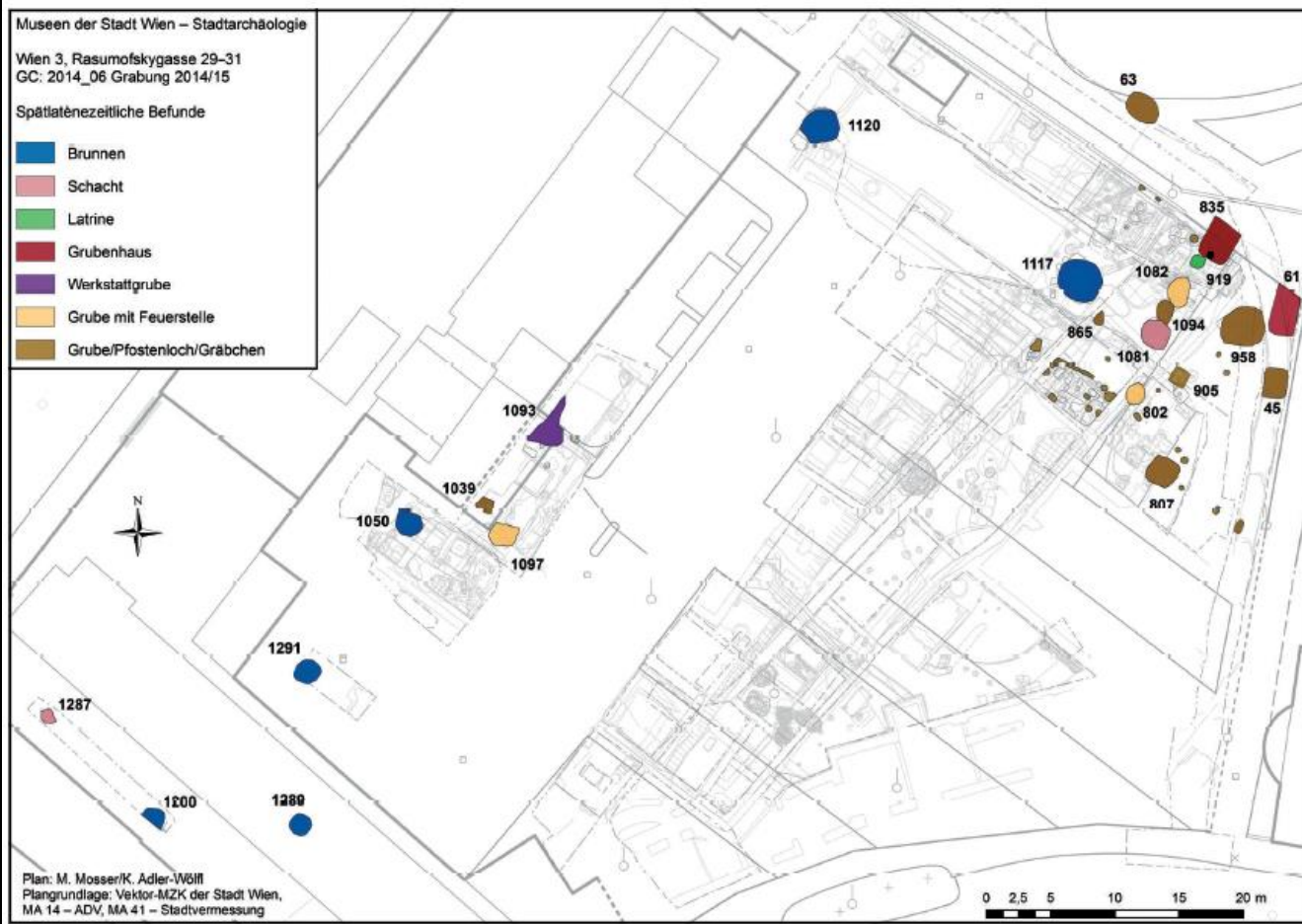


Other imports on the other hand are not that breath-taking... they are there but they do not exceed the norm of an oppidum

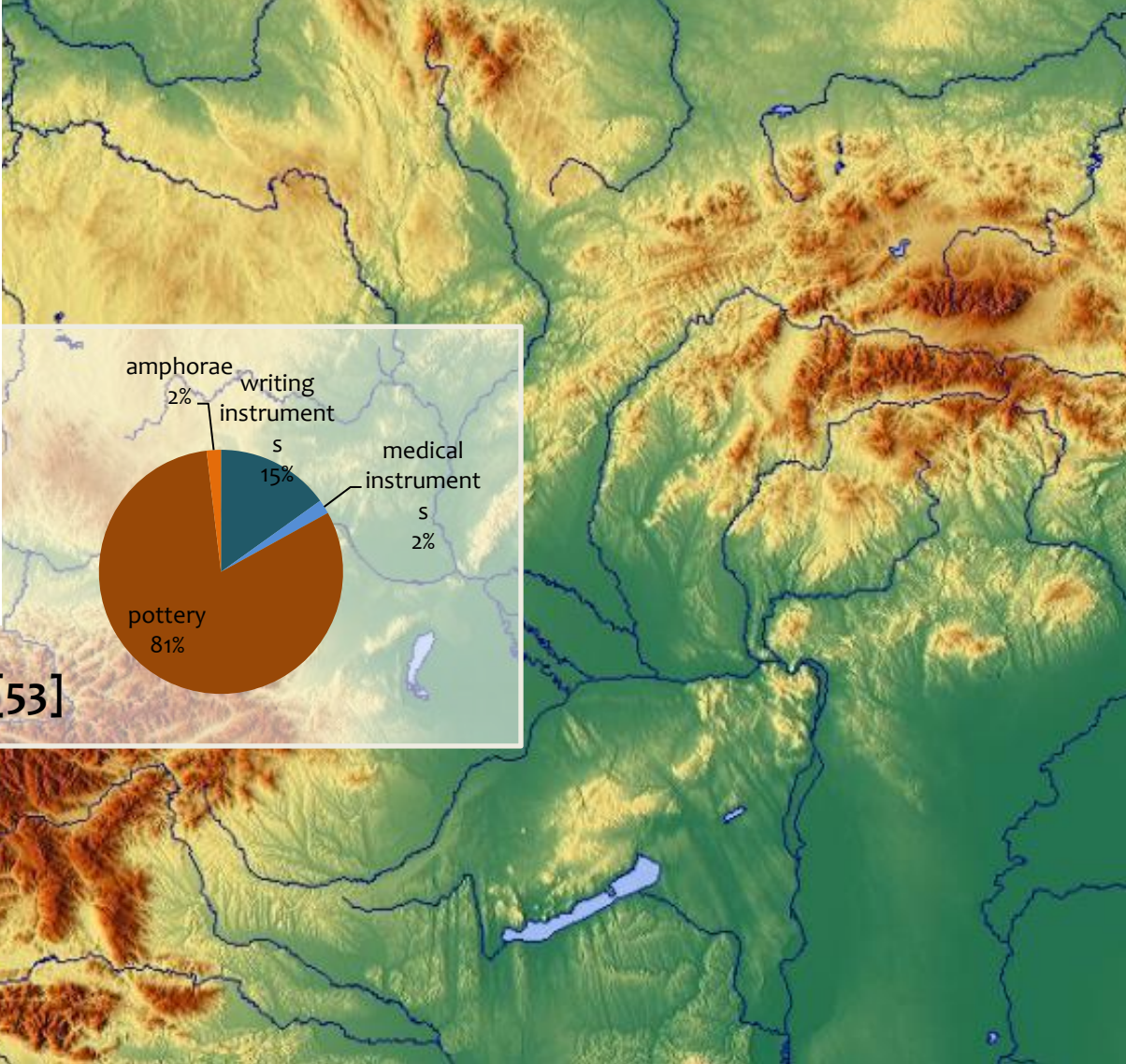




In comparison with the rather similar other large oppida, in Bratislava there are much more numerous amphorae and pottery, other categories are represented in insignificantly low numbers
 => Bratislava is more similar to oppida in Gaul than to those in Central Europe

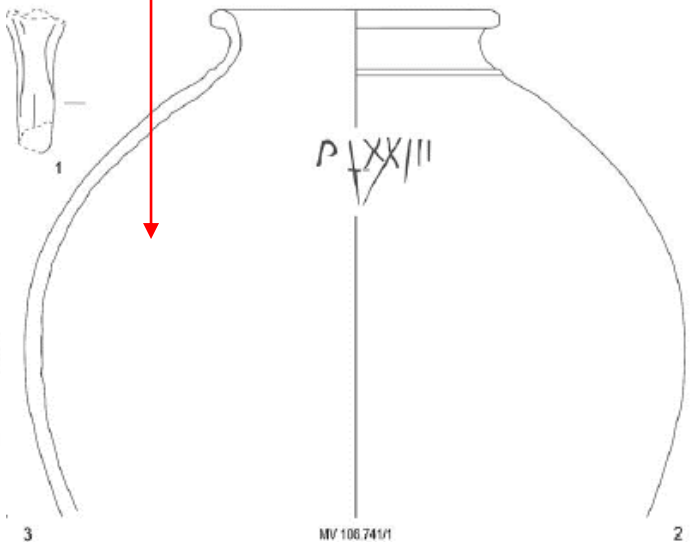
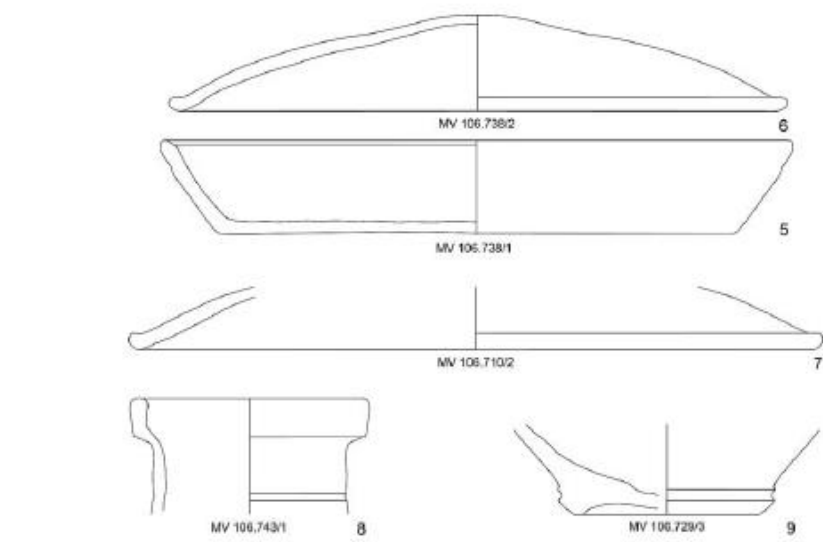
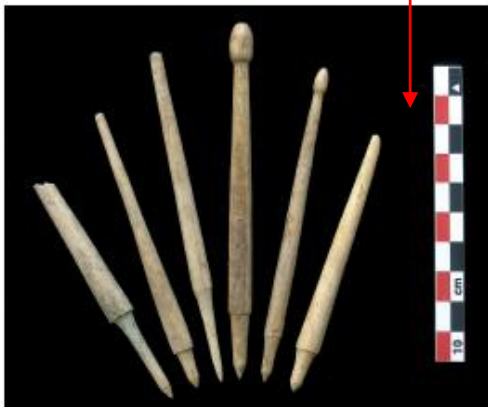
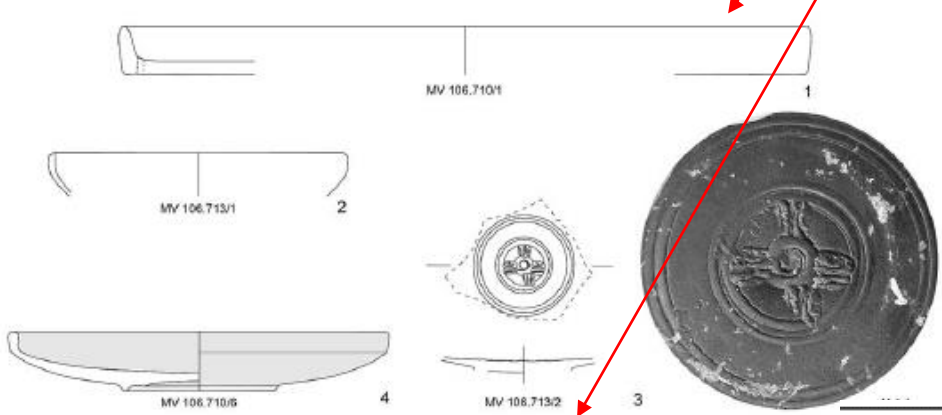
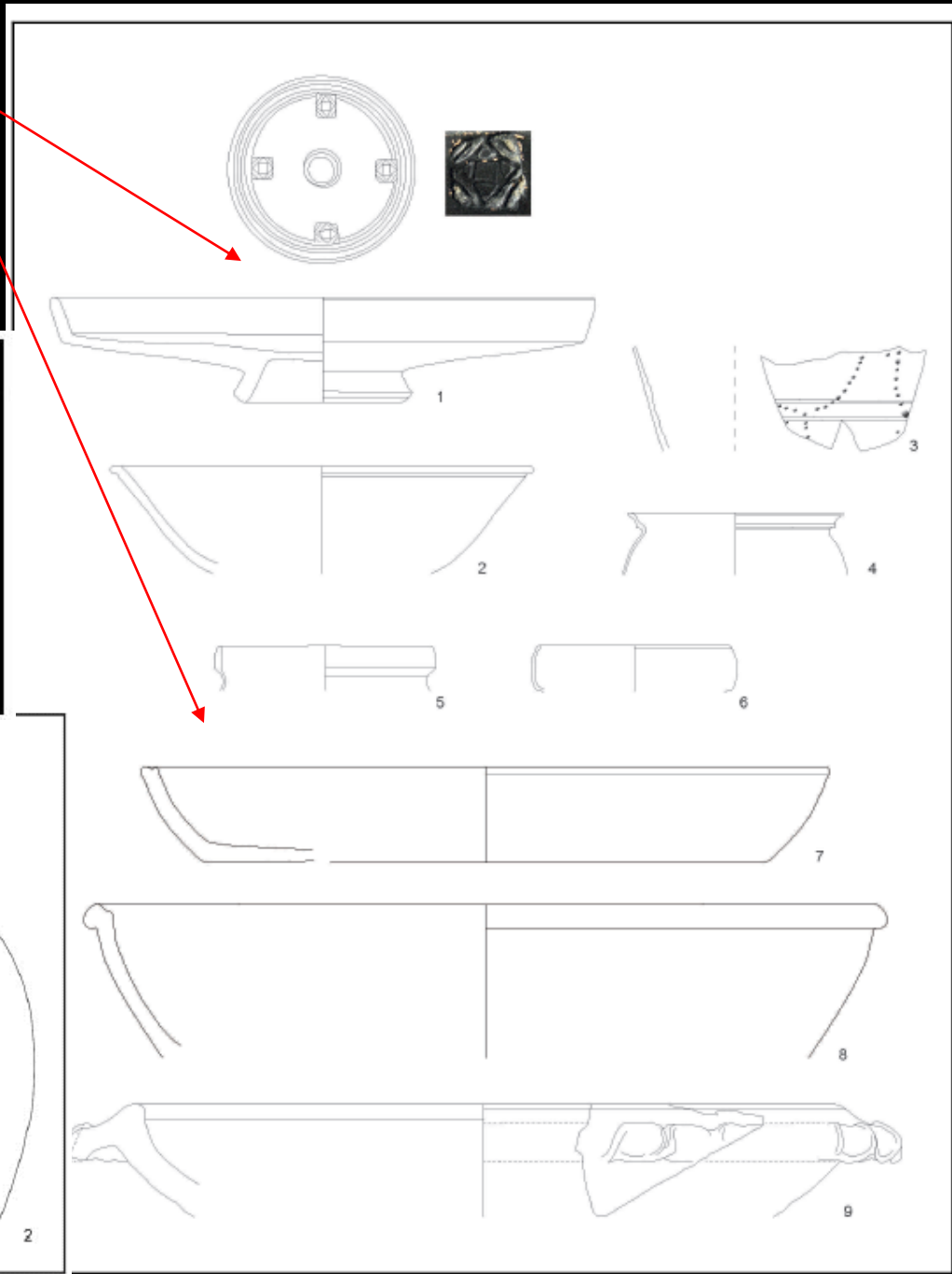


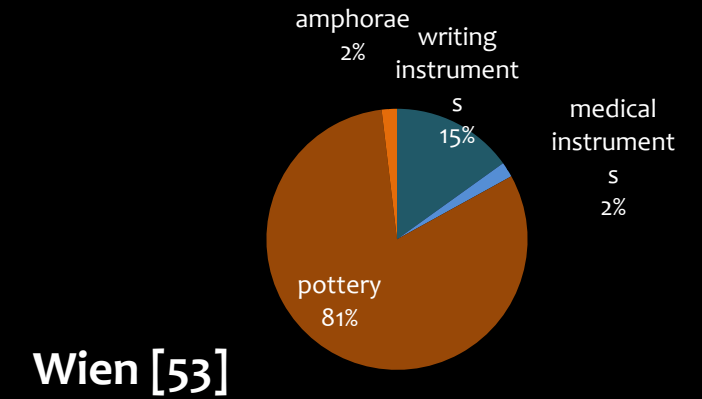
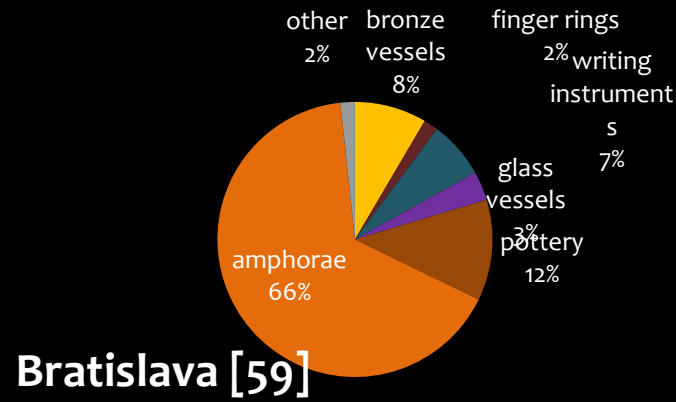
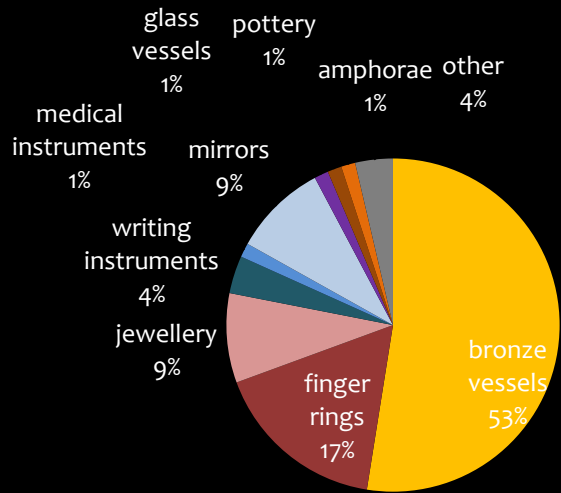
Worth comparison with Bratislava is another site recently discovered in Vienna: Wien-Rochusmarkt. -here a few LT D1b–2 settlement pits produced impressive series of imported pottery and other artefacts.





(pseudo)amber
Roman tableware
Roman cooking pottery
Writing instruments
Local pot with a Latin inscription





=> Stradonice/Manching/SH, Vienna, and Bratislava are three very different stories:

-numerous luxurious or exotic goods in a purely LT milieu

-no significant signs of adoption of Mediterranean way of life: bronze vessels could be used for consumption of beer or mead, writing was common in Gaul in local languages, no other artefacts suggesting more than that Mediterranean was fashionable

-massive import of bulky amphorae, relatively more (but still very few) pottery, some local imitation of Roman tableware but also of cooking vessels

=> More direct access to trade, deeper acquaintance with Mediterranean way of life and some attempts to imitate it but essentially still LT milieu

-very few amphorae (goods) but numerous Roman cooking vessels, lot of writing and writing in Latin => living the Roman way

=> Roman traders?



⇒ What is Bratislava???

-extremely powerful elite issuing a new coinage (modelled on Roman coins and using Latin script)

-unprecedented contact with Italy evidenced by massive import of wine and mainly by the large and extremely numerous buildings which must have been carried out by Italian architects

The only thing we know directly about the area from written sources is that Dacians decimated the Pannonian Celts sometime between 40s and mid 30s BC
The end of Bratislava was often associated with this event... no more.

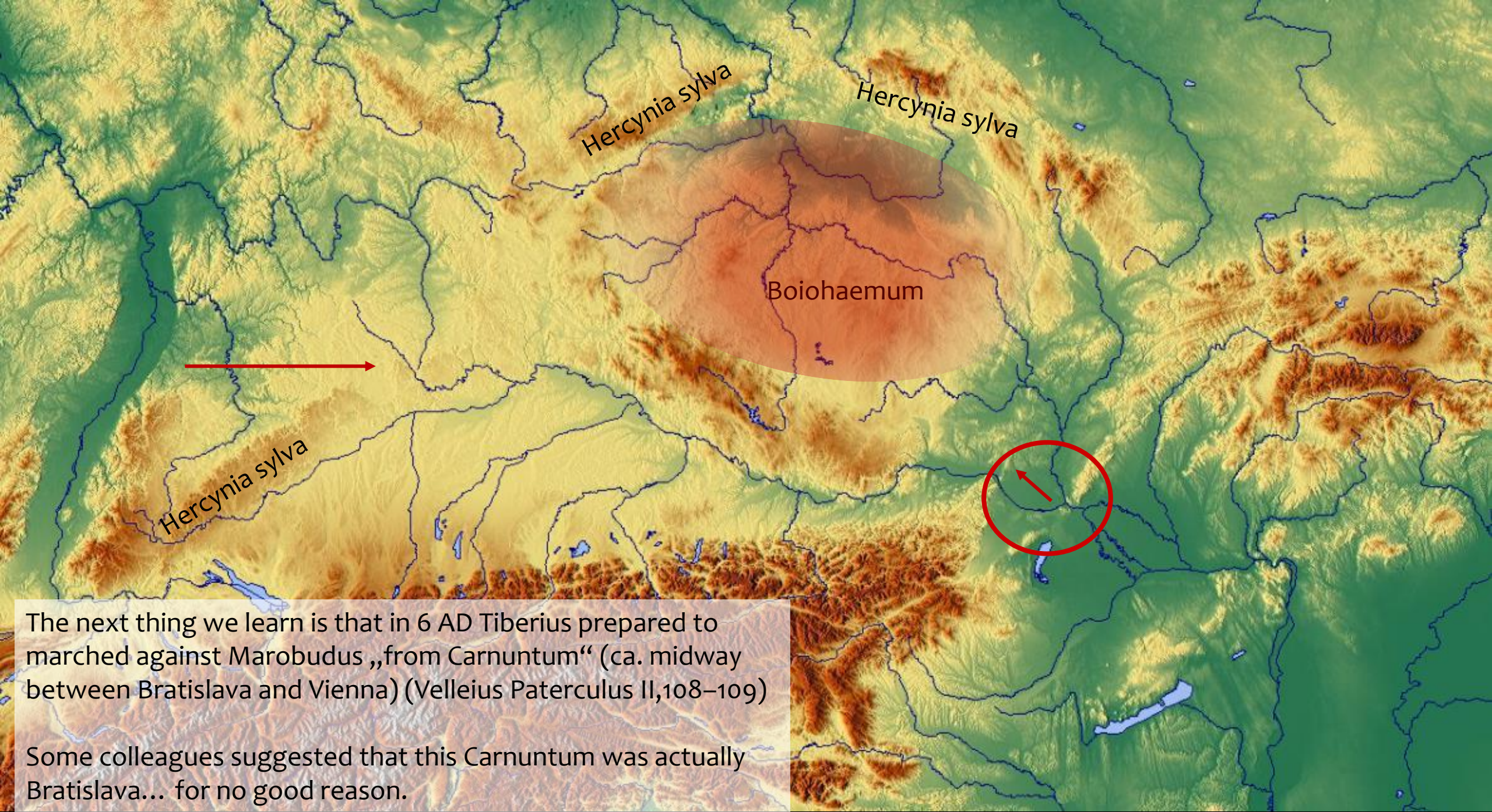


Boii?

Taurisci

Scordisci

Strabo VII, 3, 11; VII, 3, 2; VII, 5, 6



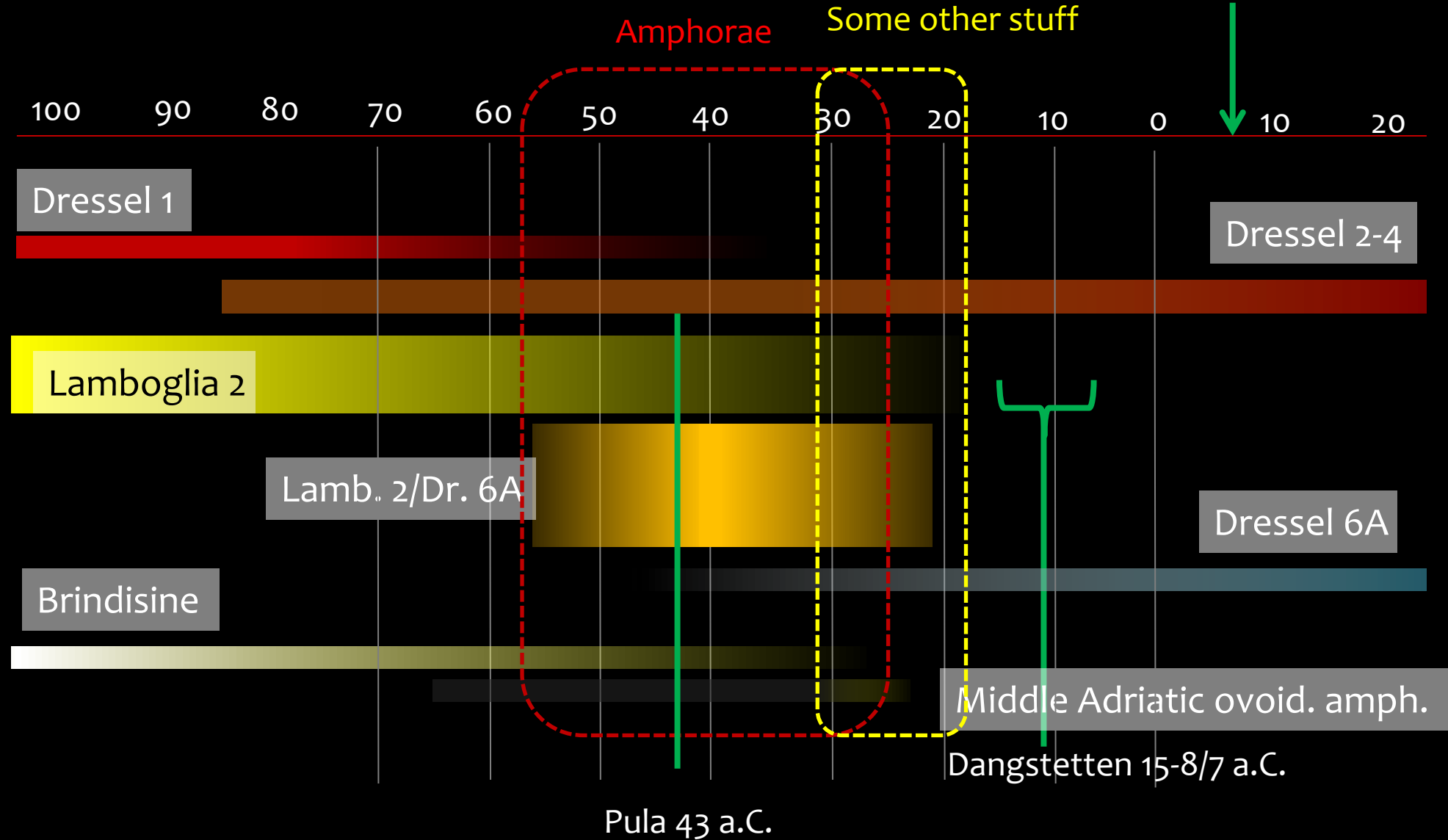
The next thing we learn is that in 6 AD Tiberius prepared to march against Marobudus „from Carnuntum“ (ca. midway between Bratislava and Vienna) (Velleius Paterculus II,108–109)

Some colleagues suggested that this Carnuntum was actually Bratislava... for no good reason.

The Bratislava amphorae date to ca. 50s–30s BC, some other imports suggest that the site could have been occupied at the latest in early 20s BC...

=> Bratislava possibly survived the Dacians but was abandoned long time before Tiberius crossed the Alps

Tiberius' campaign against Marobudus



What we know indirectly about Central Europe of the period

- 59 BC – Caesar received Galia Cisalpina and Illyricum as his proconsular provinces, Galia transalpina was added later after its governor died
- 58 BC – all Caesar's legions stood at Aquileia ready to conquer something though perhaps not Gaul where they ended up later that year
- 49 BC – the Norican king sent troops to help Caesar => personal alliance maintained by Caesar?
- 44 BC – Caesar planned a campaign against the Dacians (= conquest of Carpathian basin)
- 35 BC – first thing Octavian did after gaining control over Italy was conquest of Carpathian basin

- ⇒ supreme interest of Caesar, (Marc Antony, Assinius Polio,) and Octavian for the region and surely need for local allies
- ⇒ Bratislava may be the result of forging alliance in a strategic place of Carpathian basin, attaching them to Rome with prestige gifts.
 - ... the project failed for an unknown reason (Dacians?) and when Roman re-appeared in the region around BC/AD, there was nothing left after Bratislava or the LT culture

