

Bohemia at the End of the La Tène Period: Objects, Materials, Chronology, and Main Development Trends – A Review

Čechy na konci doby laténské:
předměty, materiály, chronologie a hlavní vývojové trendy – zhodnocení

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The aim of this paper is to provide an overview of current knowledge concerning the late La Tène chronology in Bohemia and Moravia during the LT C2–D2 phases (150–0 BC) with an emphasis on developments in the latter stages of the La Tène occupation of the Middle Danube zone (LT D1b – LT D2). During the first century BC, specifically from the 70s and 60s BC onwards, a succession of events caused a rapid chain of reactions that resulted in the abandonment of the oppida and the replacement of the La Tène population in Bohemia by incomers of Germanic origin on the one hand, and a final rapid rise of the La Tène elites in the Middle Danube zone on the other. These processes are accompanied by a distinctive material culture of both local and external origin (Mediterranean and Germanic) and these objects tell us much about the society and its socio-economic strategies, distribution patterns and long-distance communication. The article does not aim to provide an historical account of the events that took place around the second half of the first century BC, such as Caesar's military campaigns against the Helvetians and in Gaul, the supposed participation of the Boii in these events, and the demise of the Celtic occupation of the Bratislava oppidum as a result of the (supposed) devastating incursion by the Dacians under the leadership of Burebista. The objective is to summarise what is known about the chronology of this turbulent period of the first century BC and to offer an archaeological overview of the developments of material culture in the Middle Danube zone.

Late La Tène, chronology, material analysis, metals, glass, oppida, Central Europe

Cílem tohoto příspěvku je zhodnotit současné znalosti o pozdně laténské chronologii v Čechách a na Moravě ve fázích LT C2–D2 (150–0 př. n. l.). Důraz je kladen především na vývoj v posledních fázích laténského osídlení ve střední Evropě (LT D1b – LT D2), tedy zhruba mezi lety 80–30 př. n. l., kdy historické události způsobily odlišný vývoj v Čechách, na Moravě a ve středním Podunají reprezentovaném především oppidem v Bratislavě. Pravděpodobně poměrně rychlý sled dnes neznámých historických událostí vyústil v opuštění oppid v Čechách na jedné straně a vzestup pozdně laténských elit v Podunají na straně druhé. Tyto procesy a události jsou doprovázeny výraznou materiální kulturou domácího i cizího původu (středomořského a germánského), která sděluje mnohé o společnosti, ekonomických vztazích, distribučních strategiích a kontaktech na velké vzdálenosti. Záměrem článku ovšem není diskutovat historické události, jako Caesarovy vojenské výpravy, předpokládaná účast Bojů v těchto událostech a zánik laténského osídlení bratislavského oppida, které se odehrály kolem druhé poloviny prvního století před naším letopočtem. Cílem příspěvku je shrnout, co je a není známo o tomto období z archeologických pramenů a nabídnout ucelený přehled vývoje hmotné kultury ve středním Podunají.

Pozdní doba laténská, chronologie, materiálová analýza, barevné kovy, sklo, oppida, střední Evropa

1. Introduction – a chronological framework of the late La Tène period and the historical development

The late La Tène and the transition into the Roman period is without doubt one of the most complex times in prehistory. Making sense of it requires an understanding of many cultural backgrounds – especially La Tène, Germanic and Mediterranean – and the ability to synchronise a cluster of different development trajectories. The overwhelming problem is the rarity or even complete absence of precise chronological data such as radiocarbon (compare to other regions, cf. *Lanting – van der Plicht 2006*) or dendrochronology from Bohemia and Moravia and there is only a handful of late La Tène dendrochronological dates from the oppida or other sites

west of Bohemia (cf. *van Endert 1987; Pavlinec 1992; Schaich 1998; Tappert 2007, 197; von Nicolai 2009, 260–261; Stöckli 2018*). Currently, new radiocarbon data are being produced under the RAMSES project framework, which will contribute significantly to the refinement of the La Tène chronology in the future.

For the first century BC, the chronological systems of southern Germany (Bavaria), Bohemia and Moravia (*Fischer 1988; Gebhard 1991; 2004; Rieckhoff 1995; 2007; Krämer 1962; Waldhauser 1983*) and the Alpine area (*Demetz 1999; Sedlmayer 2009*) are usually the most relevant. For a comparison, synchronisation with the

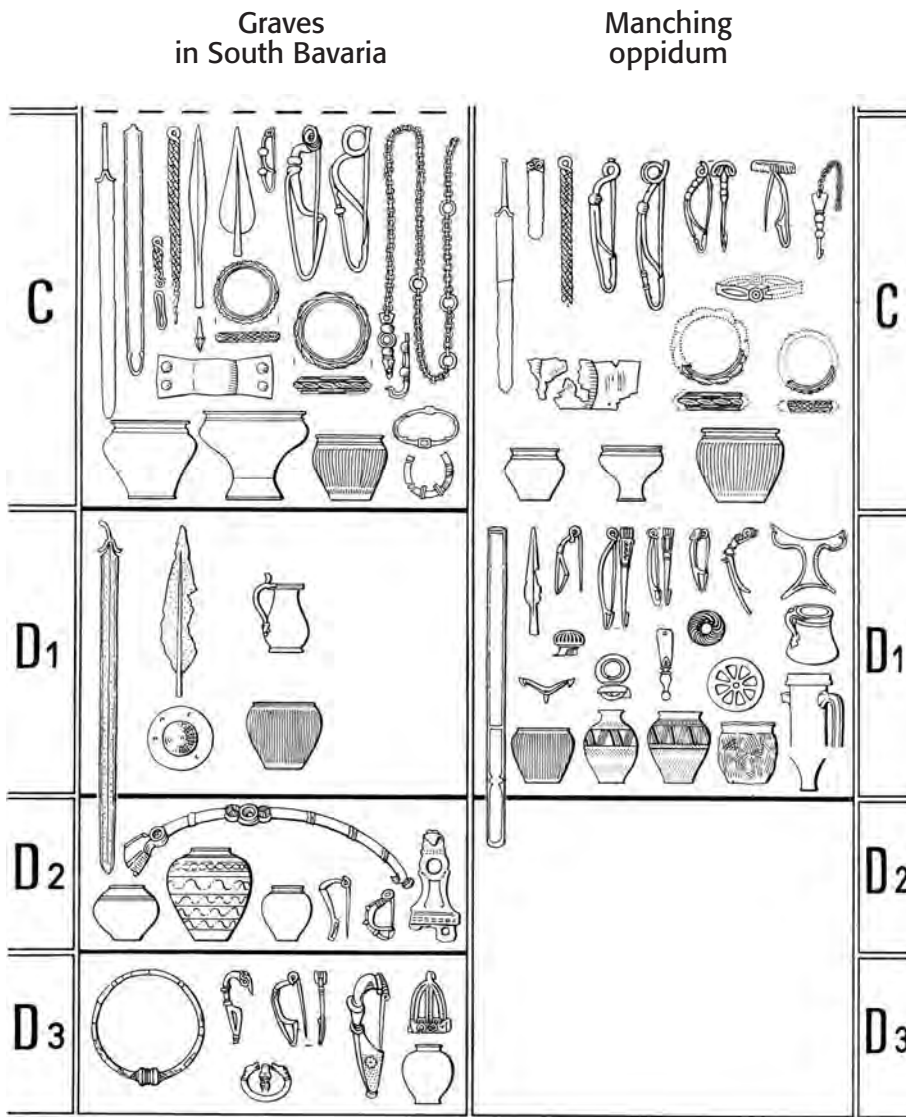


Fig. 1. Chronology of the late La Tène period proposed by Krämer (1962). — **Obr. 1.** Chronologie mladého a pozdního laténu navržená W. Krämerem (1962).

adjacent areas to the north and the southeast is also important. The different late La Tène chronological systems are compared in *Tab. 1*.

The first subdivision of LT D, systematised by Reinecke, was proposed by Krämer in 1962 (Krämer 1962, 307–308, Abb. 1; *Fig. 1*). Krämer proposed a division into LT D1, defined by the Nauheim brooch, and the younger LT D2, represented by the Geschweifte and Beltz J brooches found in 'post-Manching' Bavarian graves at Uttenhofen, Kronwinkl and Traunstein. Those who followed (Fischer 1988; Gebhard 1991; Waldhauser 1983) further divided the LT D1 into LT D1a (Nauheim) and LT D1b (Almgren 65 and the spoon brooch – Schüsselfibel). In Bavaria and Bohemia, LT D1b is understood as the last phase of the 'oppida horizon'; LT D2 is associated with the new Germanic presence (the Großromstedt culture) in the area.

In the Rhineland and the areas generally to the west of Württemberg, another chronological scheme was proposed by Miron (1986; 1991), who based his periodisation on an analysis of the 'east-treverian' burials in the former area of the Hunsrück-Eifel culture. The proposed scheme earmarked the pre-Nauheim phase asso-

ciated with LT D1a, and his horizon of the Nauheim brooch was then defined as LT D1b. In an absolute chronology, he proposed an earlier dating of the LT D1 and LT D2 to 150 BC and 85 BC respectively. This dating was favoured by Rieckhoff (1995; 2018), and Drda and Rybová (Drda – Rybová 1992; 1997), who sought to merge the two systems into one super-regional chronology of the area between Bohemia and the Rhineland. The problem with this approach and an early dating of significant finds (Almgren 65, and especially the Geschweifte Fibeln) have stirred controversy among researchers in the Bavarian-Bohemian areas and this system is now used principally in the traditional Treverian territory, in France, Switzerland and the Rhineland (*Tab. 1*).

There has been little dispute recently regarding the chronological definition of the LT C2 (180–130/120 BC), and LT D1a (130/120–80/70 BC) phases (most recent overview in Kysela 2013). It is the final phase of the La Tène occupation of Central Europe which requires a more detailed discussion, particularly the dating of the end of the period. The liveliest debate has concerned the precise dating of the Geschweifte brooches – and

Leading types of brooches	Bavaria, Württemberg, Austria, Czech Republic	Rhineland, Baden, Switzerland, France	Bratislava	Przeworsk culture	Slovenia	Germany and North of the Alps	This work
	<i>Krämer; Fischer; Gebhard; Sievers; Demetz; Waldhauser</i>	<i>Miron; Metzler; Rieckhoff; Drda; Rybová; Droberjar</i>	<i>Čambal</i>	<i>Dąbrowska</i>	<i>Božič</i>	<i>Völling</i>	
Mötschwil Ornavasso (long spring) Kostrzewski A-C	LT C2	LT C2	LT C2	A1 (end LT C1-C2)	Mokronog IIb		LT C2
SLT schema brooches (e.g. Kostrzewski D/E)	LT D1a	LT D1a	LT D1a	A2 (end LT C2-D1)	Mokronog IIIa		LT D1a
Nauheim		LT D1b	LT D1b				
Almgren 65 Schüsselfibel (Kostrzewski J) Jezerine, Cenisola ...	LT D1b	LT D2a	LT D1b	A2/A3	Mokronog IIIb	Gruppe I	LT D1b
Almgren 65 Schüsselfibel early Geschweifte, Jezerine, Cenisola ...			LT D2a (Biatec)				
Geschweifte fibel, Almgren 238, Alésia, Aucissa, Jezerine, Gorica	LT D2a	LT D2b	LT D2b	A3		Gruppe II (hor. der Geschweiften fibeln)	LT D2/R A (Bohemia – Großmstedt culture) LT D2 (Bratislava, Middle Danube zone)
		Gallo-Roman. hor.					

Tab. 1. Comparative chronological framework of the late La Tène period and the system applied in this work. Based on: Dąbrowska 1988; Božič 1993; Völling 2005; Kysela 2013; Čambal 2019. — **Tab.1.** Srovnávací chronologické vymezení mladé a pozdní doby laténské a systém použitý v této studii. Podle: Dąbrowska 1988; Božič 1993; Völling 2005; Kysela 2013; Čambal 2019.

therefore the end of the oppida from Bavaria to Moravia – as the occurrence of these brooches usually seems to post-date their occupation. Historically, much discussion has focused on the Germanic presence in former La Tène territories, specifically the Marobud and his Marcomanni, and their role in the demise of the oppida. Waldhauser (1983) was the first to question a connection between the end of La Tène and the migration of the Marcomanni to Bohemia. According to Waldhauser's chronological analysis and comparison with the neighbouring regions (where the same debate regarding the dating of the end of Manching was taking place in the 1960s and 1970s; cf. Christlein 1964; Furger – Gunti 1979; Haffner 1979), the oppida ended no later than between 50 BC and the 20s BC, at the end of the phase he defined as LT D1b and separated from LT D1. Similar conclusions were made by researchers around the oppidum of Manching (Sievers 2004). This phase is also defined by the latest brooches in the La Tène settlement contexts – Almgren 65 and the spoon brooch (Schüsselfibel). An important contribution to the chronology of the final phases of the La Tène occupation was provided by the excavation of the Závist oppidum. The most important context that served as a basis for the local chronology, and by extension also for the other oppida, was the stratigraphy of the main gate D (Drda – Rybová 1992; 1997). Drda and Rybová discussed the latest settlement of the oppida in the context of Caesar's campaigns (with the supposed participation of 'local' Boii) in Gaul around 60–58 BC. They rely largely on archaeological evidence, such as the massive earthen ramparts from fortification phase V (associated with the *Fécamp* of Gaul), Almgren 65, Beltz J, Schüsselfibeln and Jezerine brooches, coins, and so on. For Drda and Rybová, LT D2 represents the period defined in absolute

terms between 50 and 30/25 BC, which corresponds to the youngest, namely, the V. horizon of the Závist oppidum, and they leave the LT D1 undivided. Their conclusions have recently been re-evaluated in some detail by Kysela (2013). Some corrections have been made, but the general idea concerning the dating of the last settlement phase is still more or less valid, with the final phase of La Tène in Bohemia and Moravia being LT D1b, and Bratislava LT D2 (Tab. 1). LT D2 remained for the purpose of defining the specific chronological situation at the Bratislava oppidum.

In 2006, a new definition of the transition between the La Tène and Roman periods was suggested by Droberjar, who associated the LT D1b with his LT D2a, using the example of Rhineland periodisation (Miron 1991). The clear merit of Droberjar's contribution lies in the 'look from the other side', that is, an attempt to determine the late La Tène chronology by establishing 'when' the migratory Großmstedt culture (or its Plaňany enclave) was supposed to have first appeared in Bohemia. Droberjar therefore sets the dividing line between the La Tène and Roman periods to 45/40 BC, formally labelled as the LT D2a, the so-called *Celtic La Tène*, the final phase of the La Tène culture (what Waldhauser called the LT D1b), and LT D2b (45/40–10/5 BC), the *non-Celtic La Tène*, the earliest phase of the Plaňany facies of the Großmstedt occupation of Bohemia (Droberjar 2006, 22–23).

Recent research using the abundant archaeological material from the Bratislava oppidum (and La Tène settlement of southwestern Slovakia in general) has resulted in adjustments to the previously established chronologies of the late La Tène period. Current dating of the Bratislava oppidum is based on an adaptation of

Zachar's chronology (Zachar 1981; Pieta – Zachar 1993, 147, 185, 190). The periodisation is divided into two stages: LT D1 represents the older settlement phase (125–58/44 BC), and LT D2 the younger (58/44–20/0 BC). The new research (latest overview cf. Čambal 2019, Tab. 1) breaks with tradition by dividing the LT D1 phase into LT D1a (125/120–100 BC) and LT D1b (100–70/69 or 64/63 BC), (Kovář – Čambal – Budaj 2018, 52), and furthermore divides the subsequent LT D2 (Čambal et al. 2015, 226; Čambal 2019, 125). In Slovakia, LT D1 is represented mainly by the occupation of the Plavecké Podhradie-Pohanská and Smolenice-Molpír sites, with the main chronological marker being the Nauheim brooch. It is suggested that LT D2 can be divided into two phases: LT D2a (70/69–45/44 BC) and LT D2b (45/44–20/0 BC), the former representing the period of the beginning of BIATEC coins production, while the upswing of Bratislava might predate it a little into the phase LT D1b. The dividing line between the two phases is the 'Boian-Dacian conflict', before the year 45/44 BC. LT D2b is the 'post-Burebista' horizon, marked by the decline of the 'Boian' occupation in the Middle Danube zone and the rise of the Noricum influence. Archaeologically, this phase is defined by the Alésia, Jezerine, Gorica, Almgren 238a and Almgren 18 brooches, which in Bohemia are associated already with the Germanic settlement of the Großromstedt culture (the Plaňany group). The end of stage LT D2b for Bratislava remains open, but some imports suggest it continued until the early Augustan period (e.g. Kysela in print; Čambal 2019). In all likelihood, the oppidum continued to exist even after the Dacian conflict, albeit within an altered geo-political situation until around 0 BC/AD. In the Bratislava area (in contrast to Bohemia), the first Germanic settlers arrived only in the second decade of the first century AD and finds suggesting earlier evidence of Germanic settlement are at best sporadic (Čambal – Kovář – Hanuš 2013, 79–84). The Bratislava oppidum horizon thus occupies a special chronological position, contemporary with only the very latest La Tène occupation in Bohemia, Moravia and Lower Austria (the very end of LT D1b), but also contemporary with the beginning of the Roman period in these areas (LT D2 / R A). Henceforth, the 'Bratislava horizon' will therefore be referred to as 'LT D2'. This horizon has been defined according to material typical of the site and is set between the 60s/40s and 20s/0 BC (although opinions differ).

A detailed re-evaluation of the chronological framework of the late La Tène period was proposed by Kysela originally in his PhD thesis (Kysela 2013, 88–133). According to Kysela, the late La Tène period (LT D) began in 130/120 BC, as defined by the earliest occurrence of the Nauheim brooches (120 BC), which are perceived as being indicative of the earlier part of LT D. This phase can be further sub-divided, according to Bavarian and Bohemian tradition, into 'the oppida' phase (LT D1) and 'post-oppida' phase (LT D2). LT D1a, the earlier period of LT D1, is defined by Nauheim brooches, and LT D1b by Almgren 65 and spoon brooches (Schüsselfibeln). The LT D1b phase corresponds to the LT D2a proposed by Droberjar and used by researchers in Slovakia to define the chronological horizon typified by the same Alm-

gren 65 and spoon brooches (Tab. 1). Kysela proposes the 70s BC for the transition between LT D1a and LT D1b. This dating is supposed above all to correspond to the dating of the Almgren 65 brooch (see below). Apart from isolated finds, the following phase of LT D2 – the heyday of Bratislava marked by Almgren 238, Alésia and mainly the Geschweifte brooches – is not evidenced at Bohemian oppida. Here, the LT D2 or 'post-oppida' period is fully associated with the R A (or Eggers A) phase of the upcoming presence of the Großromstedt culture in central and southern Bohemia. The end of the 'oppida phase' and the following LT D2 / R A phase can be placed around the middle of the first century BC to the last third of that century (cf. Tab. 2).

Despite the great number of significant events that took place in the first century BC, the historical account, especially in areas north of the Alps, is sporadic. Many of the cultural groups transform significantly, migrate, or disappear altogether. For instance, in southern Poland, the celto-przeworsk Tyniec group formed (Woźniak 1992) and at the same time (LT D1/D2), in the area of the former Jastorf culture in Saxony Anhalt (after its final 'Seedorf' phase, cf. Döhlert-Albani 2014), new eastern Germanic cultural groups, first the Przeworsk and later the Großromstedt, emerged (Meyer 2013; Peschel 1978, 44–71; 1991; Bemmann 2009). The cultural group, formally labelled the 'Oder-Warthe' (and lately attributed to the mixed local and incoming Przeworsk elements, cf. Meyer 2013), took similar geographical area as the previous Jastorf culture and also expanded to Hessen. Other cultural entities underwent a major transformation: the Przeworsk culture suffered massive depopulation, probably caused by migration from its western region to central Germany ('Mittelgebirgsraum') in phase A2 (according to Przeworsk chronology; end of LT C2–D1a/b according to La Tène chronology; Dąbrowska 1988, 62; Godłowski 1978, 118–122; 1985). This migration affected Bohemia and Moravia much less, although a separate enclave of the Kobyly group in northern Bohemia is attributed to this process (Droberjar 2006, 16–22; 2019). It is likely that this significant process influenced communication on long-distance routes from Bohemia to the North. The Kobyly group is concurrent with the late La Tène in LT D1; the youngest graves at Kobyly (the two known) are dated to the LT D1b (Mähling 1944) or D1/D2 according to Dąbrowska (1988, 62) equivalent to A2/A3 of the Przeworsk culture. Roughly at the same time (LT D1b), or sometime later, a distinctive group called the Südostbayerische Gruppe (SOB-GR), known mainly from burials but also settlements, appeared in Bavaria (Christlein 1982; Rieckhoff 1995; Stöckli 2018). Part of the SOB-GR is a group of distinctive late La Tène graves marked as Uttenhofen-Kronwinkl-Hörgertshausen, originally designated as Traunstein-Uttenhofen-Kron-

LT C2	200/190–130/120
LT D1a	130/120–70s
LT D1b	70s–50/40s
LT D2 / R A	from 60s/40s to 20s/0 BC

Tab. 2. Periodisation of the late La Tène period as proposed in this work. – Tab. 2. Periodizace pozdní doby laténské navržená pro tuto studii.

winkl (Krämer 1968; 1985). According to typical findings (Geschweifte brooches, Beltz J, Voigt A belt hooks), SOB-GR should be posterior to the oppida in Bavaria (and hence Bohemia). Roughly at the same time, or sometime before, the last phase (LT D1b) of the La Tène settlement in Bohemia, Moravia and Bavaria comes to an end. The latest peak of the La Tène settlement is recorded in LT D2 in Bratislava and its surroundings, but western regions are already affected by the massive migration of the Großromsted culture (Peschel 1978; 1991; 2005; Müller 1992; Bemmann 2009), known in the Czech Republic as the Plaňany group (Droberjar 2006). The two regions thus have completely different cultural background during the second half of the first century BC, although the material culture is quite similar especially what concerns metalwork or other objects of prestigious character.

2. Overview of an archaeological record in the first century BC

The late La Tène period chronologies in Central Europe, due to the complete absence of burial evidence in LT C2–D2, are mostly based on settlements where of any use are only those with larger material assemblages. These include the oppida and larger lowland agglomerations. The following overview will discuss the chronologically distinctive finds and other archaeological phenomena, such as fortification techniques, with an emphasis on their significance for the chronology of the LT D1–D2 phase. It presents the state of the art overview of the chronology of the final phases of the La Tène period in Central Europe without much effort to offer a solution to discussed problems which is beyond both the intended scope of the paper and indeed the current abilities of the archaeological record.

2.1. Brooches

The latest types of brooches characteristic of the occupation of the oppida in Bohemia include Almgren 65, Schüsselfibel (Kostrzewski J), Kostrzewski K, and Beltz J (Fig. 2, 3). Their occurrence at the oppida is frequent so they can be considered fairly reliable chronological indicators. Less common but no less important chronological indicators in Bohemia (more typical of the Bratislava oppidum and Oberleisberg) are brooches of the late Nauheim, Almgren 238, Almgren 18, Jezerine, Cenisola, Tierkopffibel, Gorica and Alésia types.

Spoon brooches (Schüsselfibeln) are recorded as having a longer period of occurrence than other late oppida brooches. In early Germanic (mostly grave) assemblages they occur with the Almgren 18, Kostrzewski M and other similarly dated types of early Germanic brooches (Völling 2005, 52). The presence of Schüsselfibeln in these assemblages is usually attributed to the exceptional continuance of a few older types in the chronologically younger environments. However, their proliferation in recent archaeological finds may point to their actually being worn (if not manufactured), meaning a longer period of use, until the late first century BC or early first century AD. Spoon brooches are manufac-

tured in both bronze and iron, although iron is more prevalent and is considered typical of Central Europe (Demetz 1999, 72). Some sites, including Bohemian oppida such as Stradonice, have a high concentration of iron spoon brooches; at Oberleiseberg there are 70 Schüsselfibeln among a total of 179 brooches (Karwowski – Militký 2016, 60). These brooches are found only rarely south of the Danube (Fig. 4: A); a significant concentration in northern Poland is believed to be associated with the northern spread of La Tène culture (Maciałowicz 2015).

Fibulae of type **Almgren 65**, originally from Roman northern Italy (Demetz 1999, 28; Gebhard 1991, 13; Sedlmayer 2009, 118, Abb. 74), are said to have been popular mainly in the LT D1b period with production at its height between 80/60 and 50/40 BC (especially between 60 and 40 BC; Demetz 1999, 48) or between 70/60 and 50/40 BC (Sedlmayer 2009, 178). These brooches, popular during the last LT D1b phase of occupation of the oppida in western part of the Middle Danube region, were widely imitated both in bronze and (especially) in iron (Demetz 1999, 28; Gebhard 1991, 14–15; Sedlmayer 2009, 119; Sievers 2007, 93; Danielisová – Militký 2014), especially in the transalpine regions of Central Europe. In contrast to the spatial distribution of the Schüsselfibeln and other (mostly) iron brooches, Almgren 65 only rarely appears north of Bavaria; the northern limit is generally Bohemia and Moravia (Fig. 4: A).

Other types of late brooches that occur less frequently include **late Nauheim** specimens (Nauheim II.2 – Mokronog type; Božič 1993; 2008; Drda – Rybová 1994; Guštin 1977), **Jezerine** and **Cenisola**, with a possible period of occurrence in Bohemia between the 50s and 30s BC (Droberjar 2006, 12–14). Almgren 65b and 65c, late Nauheim and Schüsselfibeln – the most typical counterparts of Cenisola brooches in graves – are also recorded (Demetz 1999, 64). In territories outside Bohemia, Jezerine has a longer period of occurrence to ca. 10 BC, perhaps to the 30s AD (Demetz 1999, 104). The counterparts most often recorded north of the Alps during the last phases of occupation of the oppida are the earliest Almgren 238, Nauheim II and Schüsselfibeln. The most typical period of occurrence – as evidenced for example in Bratislava (Čambal 2017) and other assemblages – coincides with Augustan brooches such as Almgren 238, Alésia, Tierkopffibel and Gorica.

The **Beltz J** brooch and its sub-variants the Kostrzewski G and Kostrzewski H brooches, is a typical clothing accessory north of the Alps, especially in central Germany and northern Poland (Fig. 4: C; Völling 2005, 97–102, Map 3). In Bohemia they occur in the peripheral groups and exogenous settlements (Podmokly, Kobyly, Lužice) and at the oppida (Stradonice, Závist, Staré Hradisko) and in their surroundings (Rajhrad in Moravia; Čížmář 2018). They are notable for their long period of occurrence spanning from LT C2 to LT D2. They are associated with female apparel as they are found in pairs in graves (Völling 2005, 97). Early versions with a simple high undecorated bow (Kostrzewski H) are considered clear indicators of the existence of incomers in the oppida zone. The decorated variants from LT D1 are considered to be already associated with La Tène

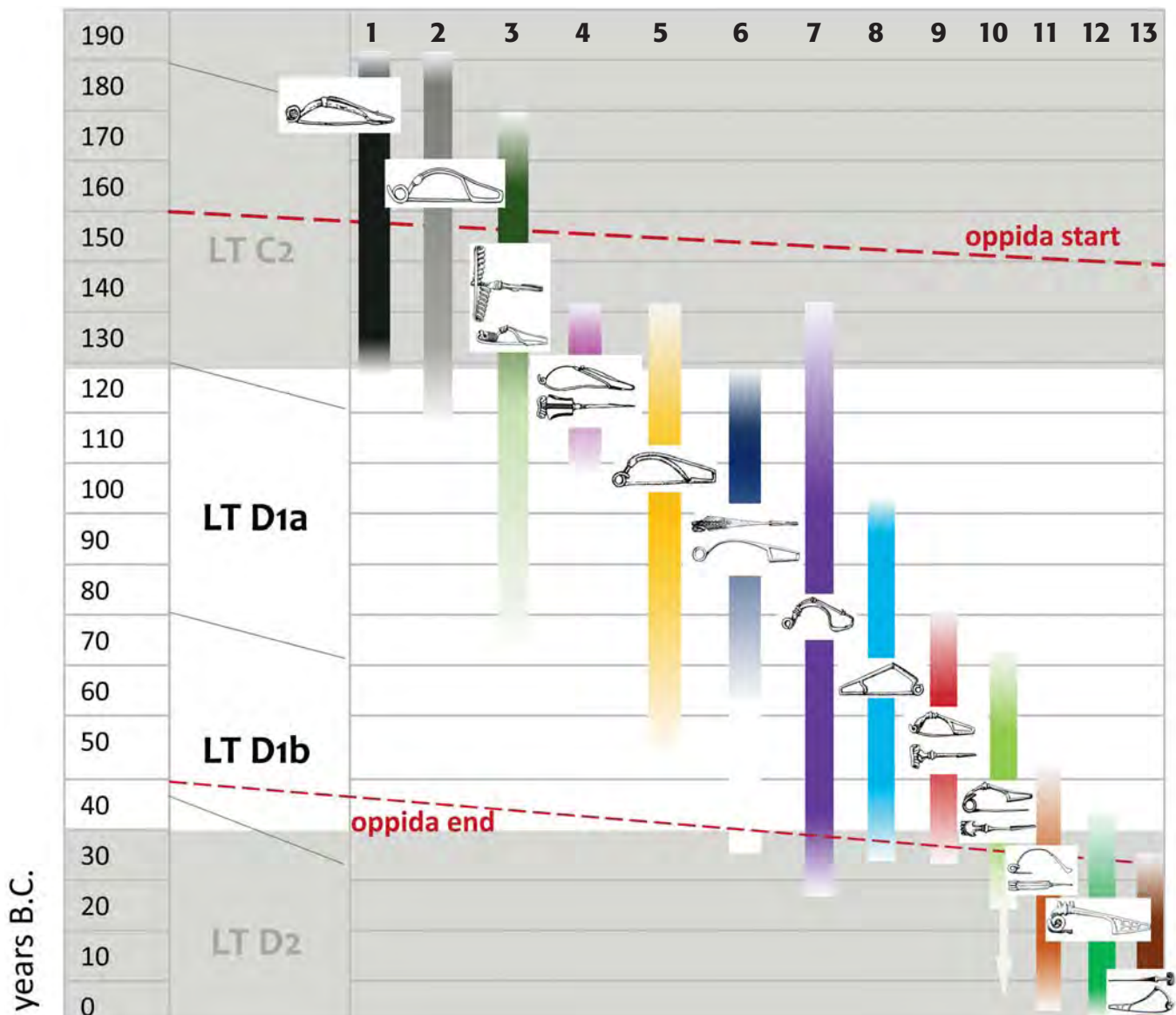


Fig. 2. Relative chronology of the main types of brooch from the oppida period: **1** – Mötschwil (190/180–130 BC); **2** – Kostrzewski A/B (180–130/120 BC); **3** – Ornavasso/crossbow type (180/170–100/70 BC); **4** – shield bow brooch ('Boian type', 140/130–110 BC); **5** – Kostrzewski D/E (140/120–80/50 BC); **6** – Nauheim (120–80/60 BC); **7** – Beltz J (140–50/30 BC); **8** – Kostrzewski K (100–40/30 BC); **9** – Almgren 65 (80/60–40/30 BC); **10** – Spoon brooch (Schüsselfibel, Kostrzewski J, 70/60–30 BC); **11** – Jezerine (50/30–0 BC); **12** – Almgren 238a (50/30–15/0 BC); **13** – Almgren 18 (40/30–10/0 BC). Based on: Bockius – Łuczkiewicz 2004; Čížmář 2012; 2006; Čížmář – Čížmářová – Meduna 2018; Demetz 1999; Drda – Rybová 1994; 1997; Karwowski – Militký 2016; Kysela 2013; Sedlmayer 2009; Striewe 1996; Völling 2005; the author. — **Obr. 2.** Relativní chronologie hlavních typů spon z oppidálního období: **1** – Mötschwil (190/180–130 př. n. l.); **2** – Kostrzewski A/B (180–130/120 př. n. l.); **3** – Ornavasso/samostřilová (180/170–100/70 př. n. l.); **4** – štítková spona „Bojanský typ“, 140/130–110 př. n. l.); **5** – Kostrzewski D/E (140/120–80/50 př. n. l.); **6** – Nauheim (120–80/60 př. n. l.); **7** – Beltz J (140–50/30 př. n. l.); **8** – Kostrzewski K (100–40/30 př. n. l.); **9** – Almgren 65 (80/60–40/30 př. n. l.); **10** – lžičková spona (Schüsselfibel, Kostrzewski J, 70/60–30 př. n. l.); **11** – Jezerine (50/30–0 př. n. l.); **12** – Almgren 238a (50/30–15/0 př. n. l.); **13** – Almgren 18 (40/30–10/0 př. n. l.). Podle: Bockius – Łuczkiewicz 2004; Čížmář 2012; 2006; Čížmář – Čížmářová – Meduna 2018; Demetz 1999; Drda – Rybová 1994; 1997; Karwowski – Militký 2016; Kysela 2013; Sedlmayer 2009; Striewe 1996; Völling 2005; autor.

clothing. They accompany most of the late La Tène types (Völling 2005, Abb. 14) and are therefore less reliable for a precise chronology. At the Straubing-Bajuwarenstraße settlement, dated to LT D1b/D2, a Beltz J brooch was found together with late Nauheim, bronze Schüsselfibel, Kostrzewski K and Almgren 18 brooches (Tappert 2007, 197–198).

A kinked ('geknickte') brooch, the **Kostrzewski K** type, is similarly widespread but with a shorter period of occurrence from LT D1 (mainly LT D1b) to LT D2. This brooch is associated with the migration of the (former)

Oder-Warthe group to the 'Mittlegebirgsraum' and Thuringian forest in LT D1 (Bockius – Łuczkiewicz 2004, 117). The brooch does not follow any of the long-distance communication routes such as the Amber Road but covers a wide area across the northern part of Central Europe (Fig. 4: B); sub-variants are typical of particular areas within that larger distribution (variants 1b and 1c are typical of the Jastorf zone; Bohemia largely contains the variants 1a and 1c; Meyer 2001). In burials, the Kostrzewski K brooch is most often accompanied by types typical of LT C2 / LT D1 (Kostrzewski A–C,

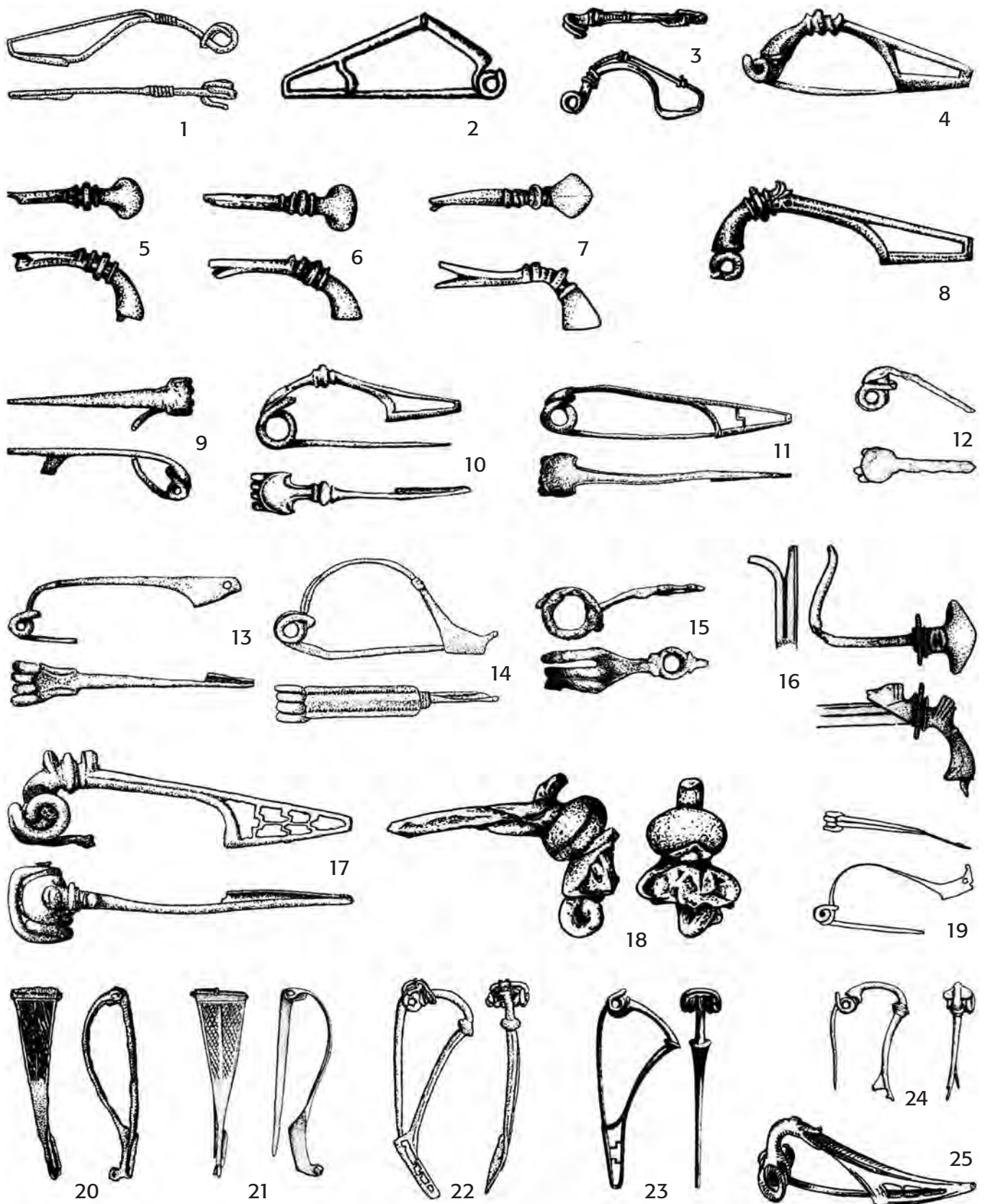


Fig. 3. Brooches characteristic of LT D1b – LT D2 in the Middle Danube area: **1** – Kostrzewski D/E; **2** – Kostrzewski K; **3** – Beltz J; **4–8** – Almgren 65; **9–12** – spoon brooches (Schüsselfibeln); **13** – Nauheim II; **14** – Jezerine; **15** – Cenisola; **16** – silver Almgren 65c; **17** – Almgren 238; **18** – iron Almgren 238; **19** – Gorica; **20–21** – Alésia; **22–24** – Almgren 18; **25** – Tierkopffibel. Without scale. — **Obr. 3.** Spony charakteristické pro stupeň LT D1b – LT D2 ve středodunajské oblasti: **1** – Kostrzewski D/E; **2** – Kostrzewski K; **3** – Beltz J; **4–8** – Almgren 65; **9–12** – lžičkovité spony (Schüsselfibeln); **13** – Nauheim II; **14** – Jezerine; **15** – Cenisola; **16** – silver Almgren 65c; **17** – Almgren 238; **18** – železná Almgren 238; **19** – Gorica; **20–21** – Alésia; **22–24** – Almgren 18; **25** – „Tierkopffibel“ (spona se zvířecí hlavičkou). Bez měřítka.

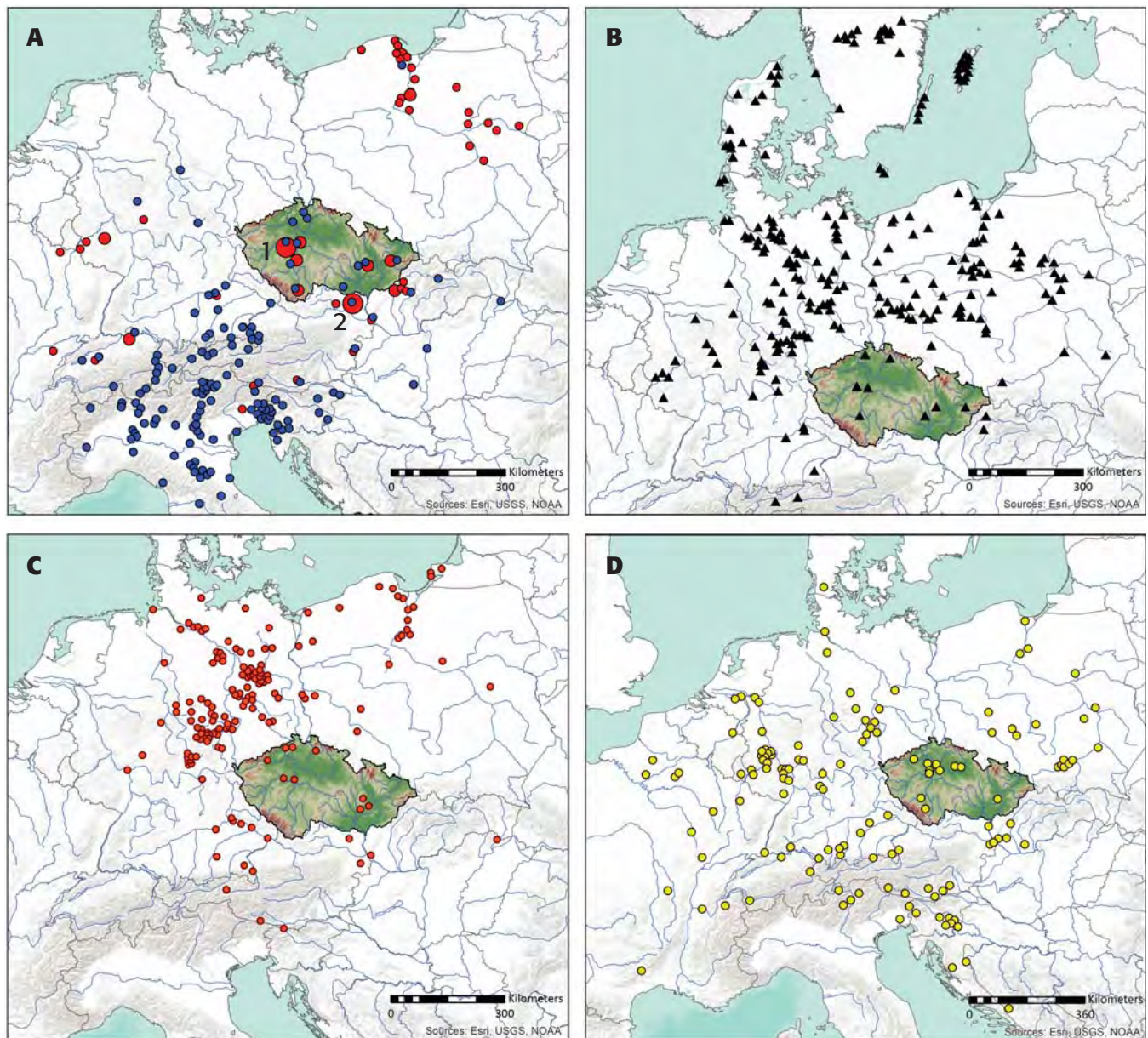


Fig. 4. Distribution of the late La Tène brooches in the wider area of Central Europe. **A:** red – Schüsselfibeln; two large symbols – Stradonice (1) and Oberleiseberg (2); blue – Almgren 65. **B:** black triangles – Kostrzewski K. **C:** orange circles – Beltz J. **D:** yellow circles – Almgren 18 (including sub-variants). Based on: Bockius – Łuckiewicz 2004; Drda – Rybová 1994; Karwowski 2015; Völling 2005; own data. — **Obr. 4.** Rozšíření pozdně laténských spon v širší střední Evropě. **A:** červeně – lžičkovité spony; dva velké symboly – Stradonice (1) a Oberleiseberg (2); modře – Almgren 65. **B:** černé trojúhelníky – Kostrzewski K. **C:** oranžová kolečka – Beltz J. **D:** žlutá kolečka – Almgren 18 (včetně podvariant). Podle: Bockius – Łuckiewicz 2004; Drda – Rybová 1994; Karwowski 2015; Völling 2005; vlastní data.

Beltz J), LT D1a (Kostrzewski D/E), and LT D1b (Almgren 65), and only rarely by types associated with LT D2 (Almgren 18 and Kostrzewski M).

The final years of the oppida in Bohemia and Moravia can be defined symbolically by individual specimens of the **Almgren 65c** and **Almgren 238a** (Demetz 1999, 29, 43, 42–48, Tab. 4–5; Gebhard 1991, Tab. 10: 184; Sedlmayer 2009, 195, 201) types dated to the 50s/40s (at Yverdon-les-Bains, the Almgren 238 brooch comes from the final settlement phase dated to 52 BC, cf. Stöckli 2018, 212) and 30s/20s BC, or to the Augustan and early Tiberian periods respectively (Cambal et al. 2015, 234; Demetz 1999, 46–47; Garbsch 1965, 51; Sedlmayer 2009, 195). The original distribution of bronze

specimens is the Norican region of the eastern Alps (Salzburg, Carinthia and Slovenia; Demetz 1999, 45, Map 7; Sedlmayer 2009, 122). Czech and Moravian bronze and iron finds belong to the variant A 238a (or A 238aa). Here the ‘wings’ behind the knot are still pulled up and not connected; they could be linked typologically to the brooches of the Almgren 65c type with which they are concurrent. From Manching, the latest recorded specimen is typologically between A 65c and A 238a (Demetz 1999, 46). Typologically, variant A 238a is the oldest, placed at the late Republican or early Augustan period. Absolute dating in other locations where the same specimens have been found (such as Stöfling, Gurina, Magdalensberg, Karlstein) ranges from 50/40

to 30/20 BC, more narrowly defined between 40 and 25 BC (Sedlmayer 2009, 125). This dating could indicate the period of the last horizon of (probably already sporadic) activity at the western part of Central European oppida. The rare cases of occurrence at the oppida (Břeň 1964; Danielisová – Militký 2014, Fig. 2b: 28; Meduna 1970a) involve brooches made exclusively from iron: from Třisov (Danielisová – Militký 2014), Stradonice (Břeň 1964, 253, Tab. 17), and Staré Hradisko (Meduna 1970b, Tab. 14: 5, Abb. 8: 10), plus two bronze pieces from Stradonice and one silver Almgren 65c specimen found recently at the Třisov oppidum (Fig. 3: 16; Danielisová – Militký 2014, 49–50, Fig. 2b: 27). The choice of material (iron) and the design (Fig. 3: 18) suggest local production. Other places in Bohemia where the bronze brooches of the same type occur are associated only with sites of the Plaňany group and the items are probably imports from the Middle Danube area (Horník – Jílek 2016). Compared to Bohemia, A 238 brooches are very typical for southwestern Slovakia, in the area of Bratislava and its hinterland (Čambal 2019, 120; Bazovský 2017).

The key issue for the chronology of the end of the La Tène period in Bohemia and Moravia is the occurrence of **Geschweifte (Almgren 18)** brooches as in western part of Central Europe these are associated exclusively with the Germanic occupation of the Großromstedt culture, (Peschel 1978; 1991; 2005; Droberjar 2006; Venclová 1975), and the SOB-GR (Krämer 1962; 1985; Rieckhoff 1995; Fig. 4: D). Spread of Almgren 18 brooches in the Thuringia also marks the end of La Tène burials in the area where the latest graves are equipped with Beltz J and Kostrzewski K brooches (Völling 2005).

Even with the extensive use of metal detectors, the only La Tène site where Almgren 18 brooches are recorded is still the Stradonice oppidum, an exceptional site in every respect. The earliest contexts where **Geschweifte** fibeln are found in the La Tène culture range up to the mid-first century BC; they appear in the La Tène site at Besançon in the phase dated dendrochronologically to between 40 and 30 BC (Pavlinec 1992, 123), in the 40s at Bratislava, and in Altenburg Rheinau, where settlement ends before the final third of the first century BC.

The same applies to other late types of brooch of Roman origin such as **Aucissa**¹ (associated with female clothing from the Augustan to the Flavian period, cf. Sedlmayer 2017) and especially **Alésia**, which was in use chiefly in the second half of the first century BC (Feugère 1985, 304), roughly between the 70s and 15 BC (Demetz 1999, 164). The chronological occurrence of this typically Roman type of brooch varies geographically: the oldest specimens, from the 80s/70s, are Hispanic; in Gaul they are associated with Caesar's campaigns in the 50s; in the Rhine area, they are believed to be in use until 15 BC (Völling 1994). In the area of the eastern Alps, the brooches are thought to have

appeared no sooner than the 40s/30s, again associated with Roman campaigns (Istenič 2005; Istenič – Šmit 2007). It is noteworthy, therefore, that their occurrence in southwestern Slovakia is connected exclusively with La Tène occupation of the Bratislava oppidum and its hinterland where still an intensive occupation after the abandonment of the oppida in Bohemia and Moravia is evidenced by an increasing number of characteristic finds, namely, Almgren 238, Alésia, Jezerine and Tierkopffibeln dated to the second half of the first century BC (Čambal 2017; 2019, 119–120; 2019a; Bazovský 2017). The somewhat 'exaggerated' dimensions of Alésia brooches compared to their original counterparts from northern Italy and the northern Alpine region, and their non-uniform fabrication from both bronze and brass, led to the belief that they were local imitations of Roman originals (Čambal et al. 2015; Čambal 2017; Istenič – Šmit 2007, 145). In Bohemia, apart from the Stradonice oppidum, their distribution is similar to Almgren 18; both these brooches occur exclusively in the Germanic (Plaňany group) environment (such as at the Plaňany settlement of Prague Běchovice where it occurred together with Almgren 18 brooch; cf. Venclová 1975) and therefore post-date the abandonment of the oppida in the territory of Bohemia and Moravia.

It is interesting that according to the archaeological record, Oberleisberg and Bratislava, despite their seemingly concurrent coin production (see below; Karwowski – Militký 2016), have different spectra of brooches. While the Bratislava brooch collection is dominated by the aforementioned LT D2 types, Oberleisberg has a predominance of LT D1b brooches, such as an incredibly high number of iron Schüsselfibeln (Fig. 4: A), apparently produced locally, as well as other types of late La Tène brooches (such as Almgren 65; Karwowski – Militký 2016). By contrast, these brooches are less common in Bratislava where Roman (or Roman imitated) brooches prevail. The difference may be related to chronology: the Bratislava assemblage is possibly younger than the brooches from the other sites and settlements, although both chronological and typological overlaps no doubt existed.

2.2. Belt fittings

Typical LT D1 belt fittings (Fig. 5) include circular belt hooks ('Ringgürtelhaken') with knobs bearing varying levels of decoration, and belt endings – 'Riemenzungen' (Fig. 5: 8) – with a baluster-shaped central element and a rivet hole at the top. Such belt finials, manufactured in both bronze and iron, are typical of the oppida (Stradonice: Píč 1903, Tab. XXIII; Staré Hradisko: Meduna 1961, Tab. 9: 12–17; 1970b, Tab. 7: 1–6; Manching: van Endert 1991, 30–34; Sievers 2010, 21–22, Tab. 38) but continue to be used in the late first century BC and the first century AD (Deimel 1987, 77, 244–249, Tab. 57; Droberjar 1999, 93, Abb. 21). Later belt fittings (also known from the site at Žehuň, cf. Danielisová et al. 2018, 144) are of a slenderer form with finely profiled bulges compared to the more massive and heavier finials of the earlier oppida period.

¹ The rare finds of Aucissa brooches from Bohemia and Slovakia include the sites at Mlékojedy, Nový Bydžov-Chudonice, Staré Hradisko, and Bratislava-Děvín (cf. Droberjar 2006; Čížmář – Čížmářová – Meduna 2018).

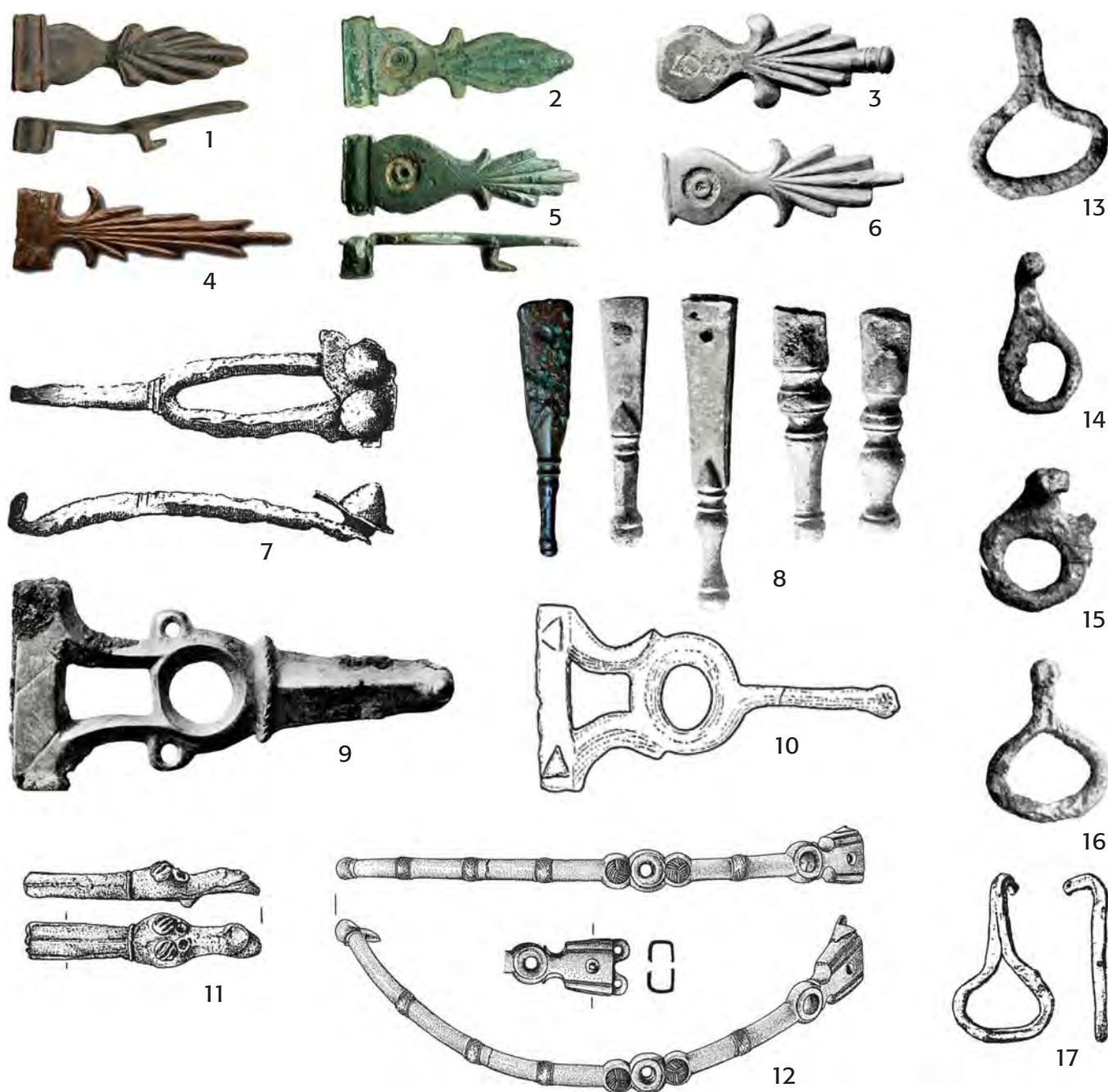


Fig. 5. Belt fittings characteristic of LTD1b – LTD2: **1–6** – palmette-shaped belt hooks; **7** – ‘Sporenförmige’ belt hook (iron); **8** – strap endings; **9–10** – ‘Lochgürtelhaken’; **11** – ‘Stabgürtelhaken’ type Sotin; **12** – ‘Stabgürtelhaken’ type Voigt A; **13–17** – ‘Ringgürtelhaken’/Werner C type. — **Obr. 5.** Opasková kování typická pro stupně LT D1b – LT D2: **1–6** – palmetovité zápony; **7** – „ostruhovité“ zápony (železo); **8** – koncová kování; **9–10** – „Lochgürtelhaken“; **11** – „háková zápona“ typ Sotin; **12** – „háková zápona“ typ Voigt A; **13–17** – kruhové zápony/typ Werner C.

Later circular belt hooks were described by Droberjar and formally labelled as **Werner C** type (Fig. 5: 13–17; Droberjar 2006, 33–36). They are commonly made of iron and are of a very simple circular or triangular shape with a faceted knob or a simple hook. Their spatial distribution (Fig. 6: A) is concentrated north of the Middle Danube and within the area of the SOB-GR south of the Danube. They have been recorded both in the late La Tène (LT D1b) and Germanic (LT D2–R B1) cultural milieu: at settlements in the case of the former (Stradonice, Hrazany, Závist, Třisov, Staré Hradisko,

Liptovská Mara, cf. Meduna 1970a, Abb. 7.; Droberjar 2006, Fig. 13–15, 34–36; Pieta 2019, Fig. 7, 21, 24) and Przeworsk or Plaňany burial grounds in the case of the latter (Kobyly, Třebusice, Sobocisko, Schkopau, Großromstedt, Púchov culture area). Their dating is therefore by definition quite late, that is, late La Tène to Tiberian period.

Palmette-shaped bronze belt hooks (Fig. 5: 1–6), known mostly from the ‘eastern Celtic’ area (which extends from Bohemia and the Middle Danube to Austria, Hungary and Slovenia; cf. Fig. 6: A), are usually dated

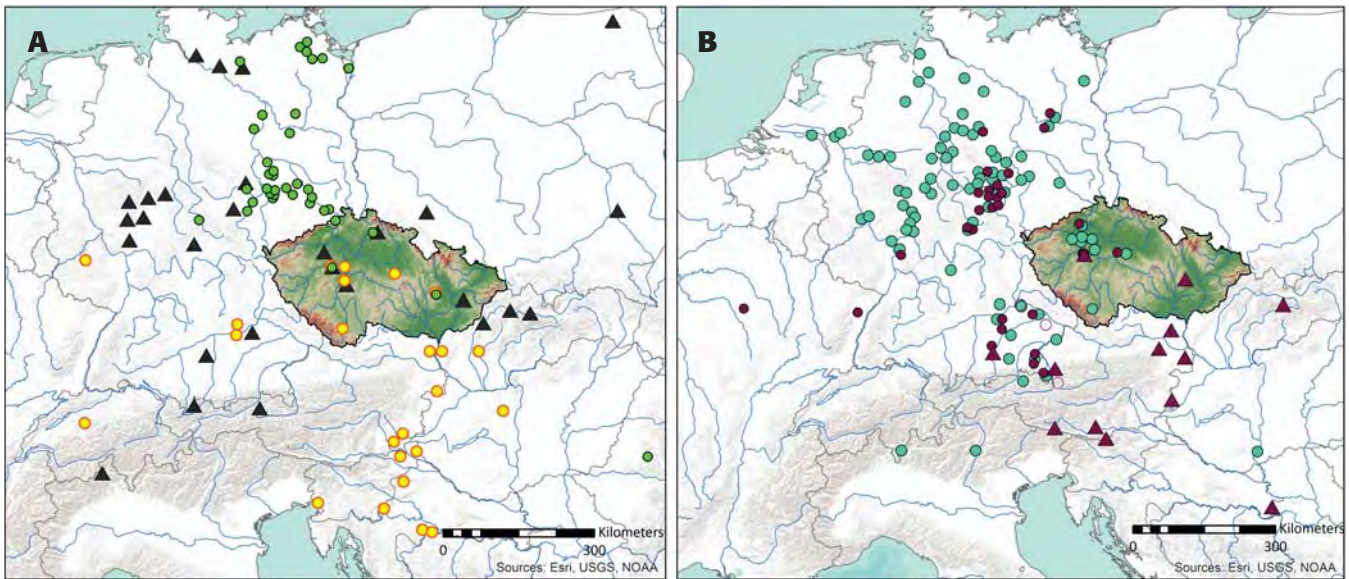


Fig. 6. Spatial distribution of belt fittings characteristic of LT D1b – LT D2. **A:** yellow circles – palmette-shaped belt hooks; black triangles – Werner C; green circles – ‘Sporenförmige’ belt hooks. **B:** violet circles/triangles – ‘Stabgürtelhaken’ (circles – Voigt A/B; triangles – Sotin type); blue circles – ‘Lochgürtelhaken’. Based on: Bockius – Łuczkiwicz 2004; Gleser 2004; Keiling 2007. — **Obr. 6.** Rozšíření opaskových kování charakteristických pro fáze LT D1b – LT D2. **A:** žlutá kolečka – palmetovitě zápony; černé trojúhelníky – typ Werner C; zelená kolečka – ostruhovité zápony. **B:** fialová kolečka/trojúhelníky – hákové zápony (kolečka – typ Voigt A/B; trojúhelníky – typ Sotin); modrá kolečka – „Lochgürtelhaken”. Podle: Bockius – Łuczkiwicz 2004; Gleser 2004; Keiling 2007.

to LT D1b because of their regular co-occurrence with the Almgren 65 brooch (Gleser 2004). They are present at most of the oppida and some late settlements, with strong occupation from LT D1b, such as at Leonberg (Sedlmayer 2009, 183), Oberleiseberg (Sedlmayer 2009, 183), Stradonice (also in iron; Píč 1903, Tab. XIX), Třísov (unpublished finds from prospectations in 2008–2014), Hrazany (the use of a clay mould in the manufacturing process is known from Jansová’s excavations; cf. Jansová 1965, Fig. 12: 6), Bratislava (Čambal 2004; Čambal personal communication), Děvín (Harmadyová 2012), Staré Hradisko (Meduna 1961; 1970b), and Magdalensberg (Gleser 2004, 235).

Iron belt hooks of the simple band form or the more complex ‘sporenförmige’ (spur form) (Fig. 5: 7) are usually associated with the Germanic presence at the oppida (Meduna 1968; Waldhauser 1992a, Abb. 17) in LT D1 as they are commonly found at burial sites of the Kobyly and other Elbe Germanic cultural groups (Fig. 6: A). Other late types, known only rarely at La Tène settlements, are openwork belt hooks, that is, the ‘Lochgürtelhaken’ of Voigt A and Voigt B types (Fig. 5: 9–10). Apart from the Stradonice oppidum, they occur mostly at burial sites of the early Germanic Plaňany group, and also in the area between the Elbe and the Rhine and within the SOB-GR (Fig. 6: B; Bockius – Łuczkiwicz 2004, 17, Map 4). The latest belt type from the late La Tène period is a decorated bronze belt hook, the ‘profilierete Stabgürtelhaken’ of the Voigt A, Voigt B and Sotin type (Fig. 5: 11–12; Bockius – Łuczkiwicz 2004, 9–15). These have been found at the Stradonice oppidum, but also at Staré Hradisko and within the area of Púchov culture at Liptovská Mara. Like the openwork belt hooks, Voigt A and Voigt B types are associated with Germanic areas in Thuringia and Saxony between the Elbe and the Rhine and with the SOB-GR south of the Danube (Fig. 6: B). By contrast, the Sotin

type is concentrated in the eastern area south of the Danube (Bockius – Łuczkiwicz 2004, Map 3) where it can be assumed to have originated (Droberjar 2006, 34). Dating of the ‘Stabgürtelhaken’ is similar to the ‘Lochgürtelhaken’: both occur within the (very) late La Tène contexts, such as the oppida and major settlements and early Germanic burials. At the hillfort of Leonberg, the Voigt A hook occurs together with an openwork belt hook, palmette belt hook and Almgren 65 brooch (Sedlmayer 2009, 183). In the Traunstein grave dated to LT D2, this belt hook occurs with Beltz J brooches (Krämer 1985, Tab. 106); at Uttenhofen grave 2, the Sotin type belt hook is accompanied by the Almgren 18 brooch, while other burials contain openwork belt hooks (Krämer 1985, Tab. 104). Krämer defined the belt hooks and Almgren 18 and Beltz J brooches as typical accessories from the LT D2 phase (Krämer 1962, 306).

2.3. Coins

The chronology of the ‘Celtic’ coinage from the first century BC in Central Europe is based on a recent evaluation of the extensive coin collection from the Stradonice oppidum and the largely destroyed hoards from Podmokly and Stradonice C (Militký 2015). The hoard from Deutsch Jahrndorf (Paulsen 1933) has significance for the relationship between the late Boian coinage of Bohemia and the subsequent production of the Bratislava oppidum.

For the gold Boian issues, the chronologically relevant phases for the first century BC are phases ‘C’ and ‘D’ (based on Castelin 1965, cf. Militký 2015, 48). Staters, 1/3 staters and 1/8 staters of the **shell series** were typical. They can be distinguished from the earlier phase of Boian coinage by their slightly different iconography (Fig. 7) and a gradual decrease in weight.



Fig. 7. Coins typical of LT D1b – LT D2 in the Middle Danube area: **1–6** – Boian coins from the oppidum of Stradonice (1–3: staters; 4: 1/3 stater; 5–6: 1/8 stater); **7–11** – gold staters of the BIATEC type from the Bratislava hoard; **12–13** – silver hexadrachmas of the BIATEC type (with inscription NONNOS and BIATEC); **14** – silver oboli of the Karlstein type; **15** – silver drachmas of the Simmering type. Based on: Militký 2015; Militký's own data; Vrtel 2012. — **Obr. 7.** Mince typické pro fáze LT D1b – LT D2 ve středodunajské oblasti: **1–6** – Bójské ražby z oppida Stradonice (1–3: stater; 4: třetina statéru; 5–6: osmina statéru); **7–11** zlaté stater; **12–13** – stříbrné hexadrachmy typu BIATEC (s nápisy NONNOS a BIATEC); **14** – stříbrné oboly typu Karlstein; **15** – stříbrné drachmy typu Simmering. Podle: Militký 2015; databáze J. Militkého; Vrtel 2012.

The minimums of ca. 7 g for staters and 2.2–2.1 g for 1/3 staters are reached by the end of coin production in LT D1b (Militký 2015, 49). In this period, the third quarter of the first century BC, staters with a stylised hand on the avers and a halfmoon (type C:13a), rays and two bumps on the revers are typical; they are accompanied by a type that carries a shell motif and an arrow (type C:14), a hand, and a ball (type C:15). Unlike the staters, their 1/3 and 1/8 nominals are known chiefly as isolated finds from settlements. Typical 1/3 staters of the shell series include the type with a bump (type B) or a bump, a grain and a wave (type E/VI). Together with the coins of type F/VII, which feature the inscription BIAT, these belong to the youngest coin production in Bohemia, which like the coinage of the Bratislava oppidum is dated between the 60s and 40s of the first century BC. The youngest 1/8 staters of types X–XI (produced at Stradonice) and XII–XIV (produced in Slovakia) feature a triangle with rays and have been documented in the Deutsch Jahrndorf hoard (Militký 2015, 59). The youngest issues of the XIV type feature the inscription BIA (an abbreviation of BIATEC) and are known from the Deutsch Jahrndorf and the Velem-St-Vid oppidum (Militký 2015, 61). Other sites

where late coin types occur, apart from Stradonice, Bratislava and the aforementioned hoards, include Třisov, Trenčianské Bohuslavice, and other sites of the upper Middle Danube.

Regarding material, XRF analysis has shown that gold content in Boian staters and their nominals decreases in the later phases of production (Militký 2015, 49, 54, 59) from 99–94% in LT C2 to 94–85% in LT D1a–b. An admixture of silver was dominant, while copper never exceeded 1%. With the lower percentage of gold, a decrease in weight is also documented. The latest gold staters weigh no more than 6.5 g compared to the original 7.3–7.0 g.

Among the silver oboli from Stradonice, from the younger phase associated with the LT D1b, are those of the **Stradonice/Karlstein type** (Militký 2015, 84), which have a horse on the revers and a blank avers and a significantly bowl-shaped flan. This is a locally minted variant of a widely produced type of Karlstein known also from neighbouring Boian regions (Kellner 1990; Militký 2015) north of the Danube. Their exact chronology has long been a matter of discussion. Dating to the second third of the first century BC is based on their

co-occurrence with other chronologically distinctive material, such as spoon brooches (Schüsselfibeln) from the Oberleiseberg site (Militký 2012; Karwowski – Militký 2016). At the Bratislava oppidum they are assumed to have been minted for the whole period of the local coin production, that is, between the 60s and 40s/30s of the first century BC (Militký 2013, 106–109) even after the end of the BIATEC coins production. They are present at most Bohemian and Moravian oppida (Závist, Hrazany, Trisov, Stradonice, Staré Hradisko) and some of the major settlements (Týnec nad Labem: 20 oboli, cf. Militký – Beneš 2016, 255–258; Žehuň: 12 oboli, cf. Militký 2018, 200; Hradiště u Malovic: 2 oboli, John 2019; and others as yet unpublished) where chronologically they indicate the latest occupational phases. The ratio of the classical type of Stradonice silver oboli (type B) to the Stradonice/Karlstein type (type C) is usually 3:1–2:1, which suggests the declining phase of La Tène settlement in Bohemia and possibly also a shorter production period.

Coin production in phase D is represented by the coinage of the Bratislava oppidum (Fig. 7). Based on coins, we can also assume the contemporaneity of the latest occupation of Stradonice with the height of the Bratislava oppidum and active contact between the two (Militký personal communication). The main evidence for this is the occurrence of the small silver **Simmering** drachmas, which are present at both sites (although produced in Bratislava). The coinage of the Bratislava oppidum is represented by gold staters and silver hexadrachmas of the **BIATEC** type, which were probably in production between the 60s and 40s of the first century BC; some authors propose their dating a decade earlier (Kolníková 2012b; latest evaluation cf. Čambal 2019, 121–123). The BIATEC and Simmering hoard from Devinská Kobyla, which included the Almgren 238 brooch (Čambal 2019, 120), could indicate a longer circulation. The BIATEC hexadrachmas exhibit a fusion of ‘Celtic’ iconography and the Roman republican denarii which inspired them. Latin inscriptions (the most frequent are BIATEC and NONNOS) could represent the names of the patrons responsible for their production. On the contrary, gold staters of the BIATEC type are typologically connected to the Bohemian coin production. Evidence of a connection between the Slovakian coinage and the preceding coin production in the Bohemian oppida represented by Stradonice came with the important find of a hoard in Roman building no. I at Bratislava Castle. The hoard included BIATEC silver hexadrachmas, gold staters with BIATEC and NONNOS inscriptions, and Simmering silver drachmas (Kolníková 2012b, 205–207; Militký 2015, 120; Čambal 2019, 122).

Small oboli of the Karlstein type were part of the same monetary system as evidenced by finds of the clay moulds (Bazovský – Gregor 2009, 131–152; Čambal 2019, 122). It is possible that the Bohemian elites participated in the rise in fortunes of the Bratislava oppidum, but possibly not at the expense of the prosperity of Stradonice (or other) Bohemian oppida (Waldhauser 1983, 335–336). The BIATEC hexadrachmas maintain the same high level of silver (97–95%) during the whole period of production, but the gold staters have not only lost in weight (6.5 g), but have also even lower content

of gold (83.4–92.1%) than the latest gold staters in Bohemia (Čambal 2019, 121). The end of Bratislava coin production was assumed to be before the year 44 BC and a result of the military conflict with the Dacians (latest evaluation cf. Čambal 2019, 123). While it may be true for the BIATEC coins, it is now presumed that the production of the Karlstein oboli continued for some time even after the 40s BC (Čambal 2019, 123).

The end of the coin production and occupation of Oberleiseberg is believed to have happened at the same time as the end of the occupation of the oppida in Bohemia and the Middle Danube zone. Most of the coin types present at Oberleiseberg can be dated more precisely to the second third of the first century BC (LT D1b). These include the gold types of Boii issues, the oboli of the Karlstein type, locally produced didrachmae of the Oberleiseberg type, and Norican coins (Karwowski – Militký 2016, 54). In this context, it is interesting to note that as was the case with brooches (see above), and despite the apparent (at least partial) contemporaneity of the coin production at both sites and the fact that no more than 70 km separates the two, none of the BIATEC hexadrachmas from Bratislava found their way to Oberleiseberg; it seems that despite their similar chronological development, the two sites had no monetary contact whatsoever (Karwowski – Militký 2016, 58). This could suggest a slightly but clearly different chronological development at both sites, where Oberleiseberg was at its height during the LT D1b (as the abundance of spoon-brooches suggests) and Bratislava during LT D2, with its BIATEC coin production that did not reach Oberleiseberg. So, rather than seeking an explanation in the geo-political situation of the Middle Danube zone, that is, in the possible socio-economic differences between the political elites of the two sites, what we could have is a division that could have been chronological, if only slightly.

2.4. Mediterranean Imports

Bronze vessels²

Because of their archaeological longevity, imported bronze vessels and other metal objects (typically mirrors) are unreliable objects for determining chronology. Most of the recorded bronze ware north of the Alps can be safely dated between 120 BC and the Augustan-Tiberian period (Kysela 2013, 152–178; Kysela in print). Among the latest Mediterranean bronze vessels in the La Tène zone, we can list the **Eggers 18** and **19** situlae, **Idria** tankards and simpuli of the type **Castoldi-Feugère** (Droberjar 2006, 14–16, Fig. 2, 3; Kysela 2013, Kysela – Danielisová – Militký 2014; Kysela – Militký 2018). The Eggers situlae have a long period of occurrence from LT D1 to the Early Roman period (R B1). The Idria

² Because Mediterranean imports are the key subject of long-awaited publication of Jan Kysela (in print), I will limit this chapter – with the exception of brass and glass – to a basic overview. For references see the text. For pictures refer to e.g. Droberjar 2006, Fig. 2, 3; Kysela – Danielisová – Militký 2014; Kysela – Militký 2018, Fig. 182; Svobodová 1983.

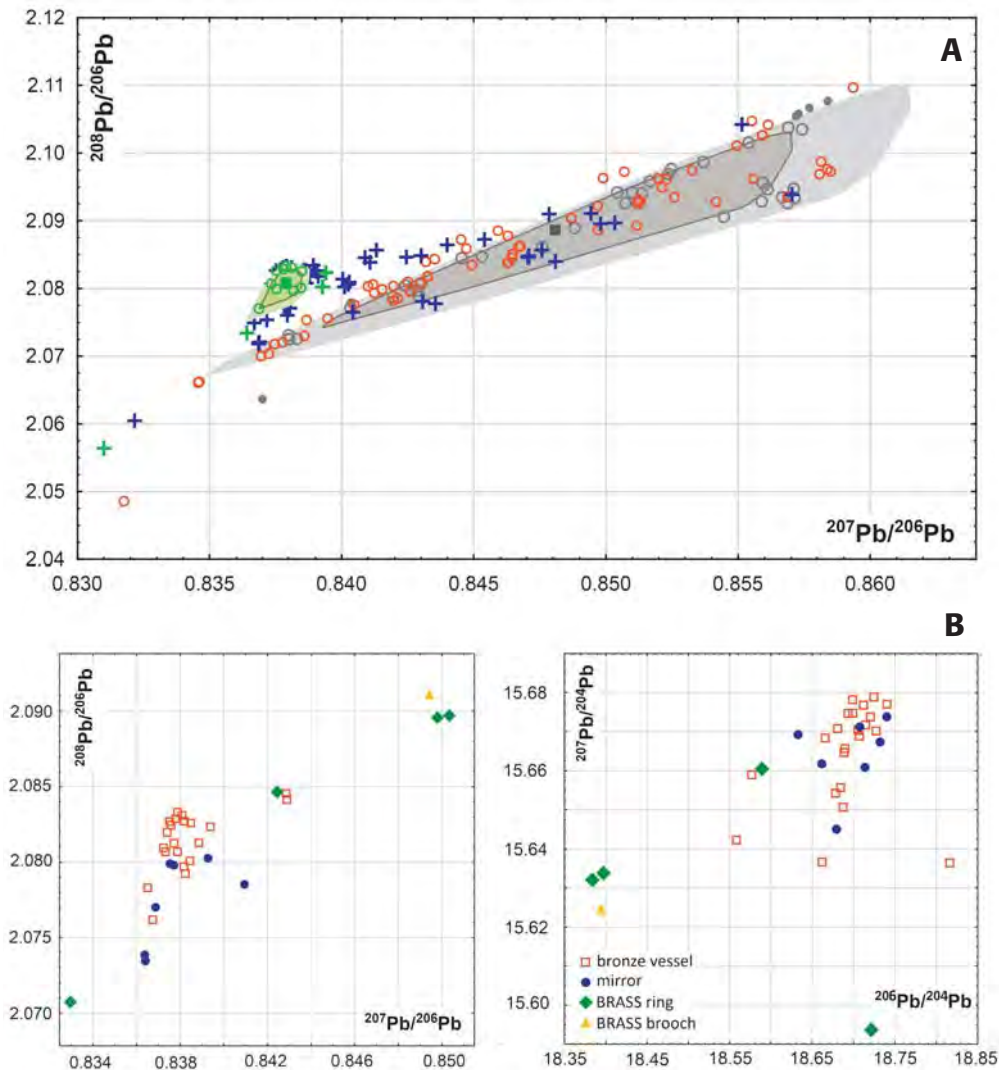


Fig. 8. Position of the Mediterranean bronze imports within the general trends in diversity of resources for the production of copper alloys in the La Tène period. **A:** the 'deflating bag plot' of the lead isotopic values of the metal objects showing the gradual process of uniformisation of resources: grey – 4th century BC, red – 4th–3rd century BC, blue – the oppida (2nd–1st century BC), green – Mediterranean imports (2nd–1st century BC). **B:** lead isotopic ratios of the Mediterranean metal imports at the oppida in Bohemia. Three of the brass objects have clearly different ratios from other categories of metal import. For these the origin of zinc in the Massif Central can be considered. — **Obr. 8.** Pozice mediterán-ních importů v rámci charakteru slitin mědi v době laténské (4.–1. století př. n. l.). **A:** plošný graf izotopů olova kovových předmětů, ukazující postupný proces uniformity zdrojů: šedá – 4. století př. n. l., červená – 4.–3. století př. n. l., modrá – oppida (2.–1. století př. n. l.); zelená – mediterán-ní importy (2.–1. století př. n. l.). **B:** poměry izotopů olova kovových mediterán-ních importů v Čechách. Tři z mosazných předmětů mají jiné hodnoty než ostatní kovo-vého importu. Pro tyto lze uvažovat o původu suroviny v oblasti francouzského Massif Central.

tankards are dated from the end of the second century BC and the first half of the first century BC (Kysela – Danielisová – Miličej 2014, 581). Finally, as well as the Castoldi-Feugère, simpuli of the type Pescate are known from the long period between the second century and the 50s–30s BC (Kysela – Danielisová – Miličej 2014, 579). Parts of three bronze vessels (basins) of Eggers 91/92 type in Bratislava and Děvín have been identified recently and are dated from the early Augustan period onwards and thus extend the estimated end of the occupation of Bratislava to the last quarter of the first century BC (Kvetánová – Kovár 2010; Kysela in print).

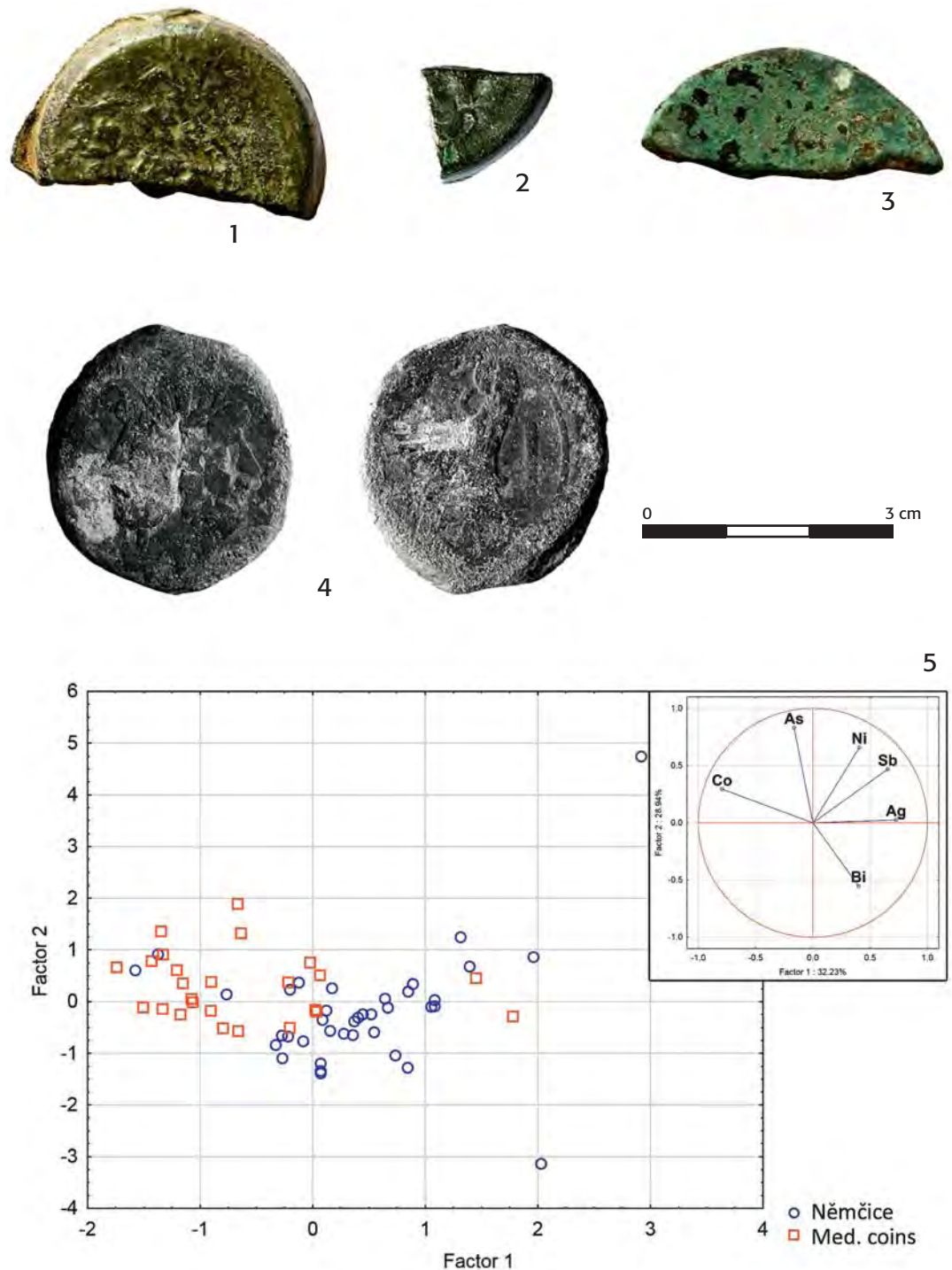
The lead isotopic ratios of the copper-alloy imports from the oppida (Fig. 8: A, B) show their distinctive uniformity especially in comparison with the general trends in the development of the origin of copper alloys in the La Tène period. This in no doubt accounts for the highly organised supply of raw material for the fabrication of imports with Roman origin at the oppida. The lead isotope analyses done so far across Europe are strikingly consistent (Guénette-Beck – Serneels 2010, 294; Schwab 2014, 182–183; Danielisová – Strnad – Mihaljevič 2018, 16). All indicate the origin of lead used in alloys in the area of southeastern Spain, specifically the mines of Almeria, Murcia and especially Carthago

Nova. It is quite probable, in the light of recent findings, that lead ingots from Spain were imported to northern Italy (Trincherini et al. 2009, 15), from where the finished products were transported to the regions beyond the Alps.

Bronze coins

It is interesting to note that most of the imported bronze coins (Fig. 9: 4) of Mediterranean origin pre-date the beginning of the oppida or are concurrent with their earliest phases in the second century BC (LT C1–C2) only (Miličej 2015, 148–153). These were the 'credit coins', whose value was possibly not understood north of the Alps as 'Celtic' coins in Central Europe were made only from precious metals. The original hypothesis, therefore, was that bronze coins, long in circulation, were recycled. However, at Němčice nad Hanou agglomeration, Egyptian Ptolemaic issues (large heavy coins dated between 180–176 BC, cf. Fig. 9: 1–3) were regularly documented as being split into halves or quarters (Kolníková 2012a). Analysis of their chemical composition in comparison with the trace element patterns of the locally produced bronze objects at Němčice (Fig. 9: 5) revealed

Fig. 9. Mediterranean bronze coins from Némčice nad Hanou (**1–3** – issues of Ptolemy IV/VI, 180–176 BC) and Třísov (**4** – republican coin, 147 BC); **5** – comparison of the chemical composition of the Mediterranean coins and locally produced bronze objects in Némčice nad Hanou using Principal component analysis. The analysis has revealed relatively higher contents of Co and As in the coins compare to higher Ag and Sb contents in local copper alloys. Distinctive difference in the chemical composition shows that Mediterranean coins did not constitute part of a local bronze production. 1–3, 5: own data; 4: based on Kysela – Danielisová – Militký 2014. — **Obr. 9.** Mediteránní bronzové mince z Némčic nad Hanou (**1–3** – ražby Ptolemaia IV/VI, 180–176 př. n. l.) a Třísova (**4** – republikánská ražba, 147 př. n. l.); **5** – porovnání chemického složení importovaných mincí a lokálně vyráběných bronzových předmětů z Némčic nad Hanou za pomoci analýzy hlavních component. Analýza ukázala relativně vyšší obsahy kobaltu a arsenu v importovaných mincích v porovnání s relativně vyššími obsahy antimonu a stříbra v lokálních slitinách. Výrazný rozdíl v materiálu ukazuje, že středomořské mince nesloužily patrně jako surovina pro lokální výrobu. 1–3, 5: vlastní data; 4: podle Kysela – Danielisová – Militký 2014.



that imported coins were only rarely used as a source material in local bronze industry. This could signify some sort of value the Mediterranean coins gained in a different socio-economic environment. Though we can reliably assume that they were not used as a material stock for further remelting, their position in a local monetary system is debatable. No case of splitting of bronze coins of Mediterranean origin was documented at the agglomerations or oppida in the late La Tène period. This applies both to the Bohemian and Moravian oppida and to Manching (Zieghaus 2004; Stöckli 2018, 213–214, Abb. 12). However, halved republican ases

(almost 50% of the recorded specimens) are reported from Alesia from 52 BC (Stöckli 2018, 212).

Three bronze ases have been recorded from the Trenčianské Bohuslavice oppidum (Pieta 2008, 114). Their fabrication was dated to 86–83 BC, which corresponds closely to the period of occupation of the site. From Bratislava there is only one known false denarius copying a mint from 56 BC from a context dated to a catastrophic horizon associated with 44–42/41 BC. Local hexadrachmas of the BIATEC type, however, are clearly inspired by Roman republican denarii from 80/71–46 BC (Militký 2015, 121, 152), including the

first inscriptions in the Latin alphabet in the indigenous cultural milieu north of the Alps. There is therefore an apparent link to the Roman republican coins and possibly intensive contact around the middle of the first century BC, which is also suggested by other categories of finds (cf. also *Kysela – Olmer 2014*, 185).

Mirrors

Small mirrors are a typical oppida find. They are typically being found broken down to small fragments that make the reconstruction of their original shape more difficult, though from burial finds (e.g. *Graue 1974*; *Pieta 2019*, Fig. 6–7) we know that they were mostly of circular or (less often) oblong shapes. They were usually furnished by metal or organic handle, but they are rarely preserved together. Their ubiquity and frequency of occurrence in the Transalpine area led to the assumption that they were manufactured locally (*Kysela 2013*, 177; *Pieta 2019*, 273).

Mirrors were fabricated from an alloy typically containing around 30% of tin. This particular composition – the so called white bronze – makes their production more complex in terms of technological skills, however, not something the local foundrymen could not have mastered. Their lead isotopic ratios (*Fig. 8: B*) do not differ from a group of bronze vessels of the Mediterranean origin, but since there is proven contact with Mediterranean workshops working with Spanish lead (*Danielisová – Strnad – Mihaljevič 2018*) we do not have to doubt their local fabrication from (possibly) imported raw materials.

From the chronological point of view, the mirrors represent a typical oppida period find both in northern Italy and Central Europe. Their recorded absence at the lowland agglomerations of the preceding generation – e.g. Němčice nad Hanou, may lead to an assumption that they occur later than in LT C2. Their earlier presence – from the 3rd century BC onwards, is recorded in the Mediterranean (*Kysela 2013*, 177). Finds from the Púchov culture area (*Pieta 2019*, 273–275), where they are present in burials together with Almgren 67, 236 and 238b brooches, show that they were popular until the early Roman period (R B1a).

Brass

It was originally believed that brass had spread to Central Europe no sooner than with early Germanic brooches (the Augenfibeln) in R B1 (around 0 BC/AD), possibly made from Roman coins after the monetary reform of Augustus in 23 BC, which introduced sestericii and dupondii: the amount of zinc in the sestericii matched the zinc content in early Germanic brooches. However, chemical analysis of some of the copper alloy objects from the oppida has shown a significant amount of zinc (Zn \approx 7–23%). The presence of zinc in late La Tène copper alloys is not accidental: it is an intentional alloy, the *aurichalcum* or *orichalcum* (cf. *Craddock 1978*), characterised by its gold-like appearance. Original objects made of *aurichalcum* must have contained 22–28% of zinc. Lower amounts of zinc can be an evidence of mixing with bronze and local recycling of Roman imports.

The occurrence of objects with admixture of zinc in oppida north of the Alps makes them the earliest recipients of brass (*Fig. 10*), which was undoubtedly of Roman origin, although its sporadic use in La Tène cultural area has been documented in several cases in the manufacture of 'Celtic' coins or their fourrées (*Kysela 2016*, 45) from around the time of Caesar's military campaigns around the middle of the first century BC (*Niento 2004*; *Istenič – Šmit 2007*, 145–146; *Kysela – Danielisová – Militký 2014*, 591). Brass was probably most valued for its colour, and the general lack of familiarity with this material north of the Alps made it a good and cheaper substitute for gold (hence also its use in the production of false coins). It is probably not surprising, therefore, that most of the documented brass objects in the La Tène environment are luxury imported rings (*Kysela 2016*), which were thus not in fact quite so luxurious. Archaeometric analysis has so far detected at least 16 brass rings (*Kozáková 2016*; own data) of similar design, (*Kysela 2016*, Pl. 3/1), some produced by casting and some set by glass inlays; in some it appears that the brass part could have been the inlay (or base for a glass inlay) itself. These rings have been documented from several of the major Bohemian settlements (Stradonice, Trísov, Hrazany, and Kolo by Týnec nad Labem). Their manufacture, as described by a recent formal analysis (*Kysela 2016*, 46–47, 56), was rather mediocre not only in the choice of material but also in the execution of images on the low-quality gemstones or glass paste. This all goes to make the brass rings at the oppida only apparently prestigious and shows an interesting aspect of the relationship between the oppida elites and the late Roman republic.

In one case, brass has been used for the manufacture of a brooch found at the Závist oppidum (*Fig. 10: 1*). This is a very late variant of an Almgren 65 type that is believed to be already post-Caesarean (*Demetz 1999*, 38). The Závist specimen is almost identical to a brooch from Slovenia also considered to be a Roman import (*Istenič – Šmit 2007*, 141, Fig. 1).

Earlier Roman brass coin production is associated with Caesar and dated between 46 and 45 BC (*Istenič – Šmit 2007*, 140; *Hanel – Bode 2016*, 168), although brass is believed to have been in regular production in Roman territories from the 60s of the first century BC. All in all, it is apparent that all recorded brass objects are very late in the oppida chronology and should be dated around the middle of the first century BC at the earliest. This would also suggest the latest activity at the oppida in Bohemia, limited though it may have been (however, the large number of rings found at Stradonice may suggest evidence to the contrary), between the 60s and 40s of the first century BC. This may be of help when considering the chronological development of the oppida in the Middle Danube zone. More brass objects are documented in sites still intensively occupied during the latest phase of LT D1b (Stradonice, Trísov) than in those with an earlier decline in occupation (Manching, Staré Hradisko, Závist; *Kysela 2016*, 60). This corresponds fairly closely to the chronological dynamics according to brooches. It is therefore not surprising that most of the brooches that mark the heyday of Bratislava – Almgren 238, Almgren 18, Jezerine, and Tierkopff-

Fig. 10. Brass objects from the late oppida period in Bohemia: **1** – Almgren 65 brooch (Závist); **2–13** – rings (2: Hrazany; 3–4: Tříšov; 5–6: Kolo near Týnec nad Labem; 7–13: Stradonice). 1–4: own data; 5–13: based on Kysela 2016. — **Obr. 10.** Mosazné předměty z pozdních fází českých oppid: **1** – Almgren 65 (Závist); **2–13** – prsteny (2: Hrazany; 3–4: Tříšov; 5–6: Kolo u Týnce nad Labem; 7–13: Stradonice). 1–4: vlastní data; 5–13: podle Kysela 2016.



beln are all in fact made of brass (Čambal pers. communication), as are the brooches of the same typological groups in wider eastern and southeastern Alpine region (Istenič – Šmit 2007) that was under direct Roman influence. Almgren 18 or 238 brooches made of brass in the areas occupied by Germanic cultural groups (Fig. 4: D) also belong to this group. No brass rings were so far recorded in Bratislava (Čambal pers. communication). This might indicate that their presence in the transalpine regions is limited to a short timespan within LT D1b only.

The usual content of zinc in objects produced in Roman territory is around 22–28% plus only a small amount of lead and tin denoting thus the alloy as the ‘pure brass’, i.e. the *aurichalcum* made by the cementation process (Craddock 1978, 10–12). Zinc content in brass rings (where the metal core could have been measured) is always around 20%. In both analysed Almgren 65 brooches (Závist and Slovenia), the alloy also contains around 20% zinc. Bratislava brass brooches were analysed only by measuring the surface corrosion layers (Čambal pers. communication), but we may assume that the original content of zinc was comparable to those from Slovenia where the zinc content is regularly around 20% (Istenič 2005; Istenič – Šmit 2007, Tab. 1). The oldest group of brooches for which brass was used on a general scale is the Alesia type. However, different amounts of zinc in the Alesia brooches measured in various cases (Istenič 2005; Čambal pers. communication) may account for locally produced objects imitating Roman originals (Istenič – Šmit 2007, 145). The most recent findings suggest that brass might have been used in local metalworking as early as in the LT D1; at the Tříšov oppidum, a small faceted bar ingot contained about 13% of zinc. Brasses with zinc content between 10 and 15%, produced by simple dilution process of equal halves of bronze and ‘pure brass’, were favoured by the Romans for their decorative purposes (Craddock 1978, 12) as already in this concentration it gives the alloy its typical golden colour. During the LT D2, the local working of brass from imported ingots is reported from various workshops at the Bratislava oppidum (Vrtel 2012, 171). A complete large (11.9 kg) brass ingot (its zinc content is not known yet, but can be expected above 20%) from Roman building no. II at

Castle Hill was found within an accumulation of other luxury goods including imported glass, precious metals and raw amber (Resutík 2017, 46–47). Within the LT D2 social context, there is no doubt, therefore, that brass was considered a prestigious material.

Another question is the geological origin of the brass alloys imported to the oppida. Unfortunately, no chemical analysis to determine provenance has been conducted on either Caesarean or Augustan coins so far. The lead isotopic ratios of the copper-alloy imports from the Bohemian oppida (Fig. 8: B) show that the brass objects differ from the rest of the alloys, which all have roughly homogeneous values consistent with either a single source or a limited number of sources (Danielisová – Strnad – Mihaljovič 2018, 16; Guénette-Beck – Serneels 2010, 294; Schwab 2014, 182–183). This could suggest different distribution systems for different materials. The only isotopic analysis of the Roman brass ingots from a shipwreck at Aléria (second century AD) off the coast of Corsica suggests an origin in the Cévennes deposits in France (Hanel – Bode 2016, 173–174). These brass ingots have similar ratios to three of the analysed objects from the Bohemian oppida (Fig. 8: B). The origin of (some of) the earlier brass objects from the deposits in Massif Central comes to mind also due to the proximity to the ‘VERCA’ and ‘CAS’ types of brass coins produced by the Arverni tribe around the middle of the first century BC (Niento 2004, Carte 1, 2). It is assumed that Roman objects (specifically brooches) were used as a source material for the fabrication of the brass staters (Niento 2004, 16) whose zinc content does not exceed 15%, however, the origin of brass used for coins was not yet analytically determined. For the origin of zinc in the remaining two brass rings from the Bohemian oppida, and possibly also in the brooches from Bratislava, traditional Mediterranean deposits (Lavriion, Thaisos, Iglesias or southeast Spain) may come to mind, but this would need to be verified through corresponding isotopic ratios.

Glass vessels

Rare cases (Staré Hradisko, Stradonice and Manching, cf. Venclová 2016, 90–92; Venclová et al. 2015; 2018) of

imported **Hellenistic cast monochrome** (Venclová *et al.* 2018) and **mosaic** (Venclová *et al.* 2015) glass vessels (Fig. 11: 11–12) have a long period of occurrence from the second to the first century BC; the latest **opaque blue linear-cut** vessels (e.g. Staré Hradisko) are dated before 50/40 BC (Venclová 2016, 92), which again corresponds to the latest activity at the oppida as documented by other types of material.

Amphorae and terra sigillata

All the existing finds of Mediterranean **amphorae** from Stradonice, Staré Hradisko and especially Bratislava have been evaluated recently (Kysela – Olmer 2014). Previous notions of a western (i.e. Tyrrhenian) origin of the Central European finds of these wine containers was corrected in favour of Adriatic (i.e. Lamboglia 2) types of amphorae. These are dated mostly to the end of the second century to the first half of the first century BC. Unfortunately, the imports are of little use in answering questions about chronology. But sometime between the 60s and 30s of the first century BC, the Lamboglia type transforms into the Dressel 6A type (Kysela – Olmer 2014, 169). This type was identified only rarely among the large assemblage from the Bratislava oppidum along with Dressel 1 or 2–4 types. One specimen from Stradonice was identified as Dressel 1 type, which coincides chronologically with the Lamboglia 2 type (late second half to mid-first century BC). The timespan of the amphorae imports to the Bratislava oppidum was set quite clearly to the period around 40 BC (the transition between Dressel 1 and 2–4 type) or to the 50s–30s of the first century BC (the transition between Lamboglia 2 and Dressel 6A type) and was confirmed by a handful of precisely dated contexts from the Mediterranean area (Kysela – Olmer 2014, 183). This means that most importing to Bratislava from the Mediterranean took place just before or around the time of the military conflict with the Dacians (before 44 BC).

All the Manching amphorae were identified as Dressel 1 type, although some specimens were of Adriatic origin (Kysela 2014, 232). Earlier studies identified the types at Manching as Dressel 1A type, which was succeeded by Dressel 1B type around 80/70 BC. This, and an *ante quem* date of 75 BC for a wreck with only Dressel 1B cargo from Madrague de Giens (Tchernia – Pomey – Hesnard 1978), provided grounds for claiming that imports from the Mediterranean to Manching ceased around this period (although this was not necessarily the case for the ‘other imports’, cf. Sievers 2004, 69). This notion has been challenged more recently, however, on the grounds of a newly evaluated typology of Dressel 1A and 1B (Olmer 2012). This would place the timespan of the amphorae at Manching roughly between 120 and the 40s BC, which corresponds to other types of import.

The ceramic inventory also contains Roman imports of **terra sigillata** (Čambal *et al.* 2015, 231). While the earliest occurrence of the piece of terra sigillata from Vydrlica can be dated to the 40s BC, the fragment from Castle Hill (Bratislava) is no earlier than early Augustan (Vrtel 2012, 179, 186; Kysela *in print*).

2.5. La Tène Glass

The latest ‘Celtic’ glass objects in La Tène in Central Europe are largely bracelets and ring-beads (Fig. 11: 1–10; typological groups cf. Venclová 2016, 95–98). Unfortunately, their chronological sensitivity is rather low. Typologically the latest purple bracelets are thus dated to LT C2/D1–D1 and the late occurrence of cobalt blue glass is also observed regularly (group 16 after Venclová 2016). Morphologically the bracelets have a very simple form of plain rings of an undecorated D-section (group 3a). Their increasing appearance towards the late La Tène in comparison with LT C1–C2 may indicate that they were worn in sets or had a broader recipient’s market. The greater simplicity of manufacture perhaps suggests the latter. The latest glass production at the oppida is much better represented by ring-beads. Besides the recurrent group 23 (mostly cobalt blue, but also purple, colourless, amber or green ring-beads with a yellow or white whirl design), dated to LT C2–D1, only groups 24 (cobalt blue, purple or amber beads with white or yellow dots) and 25 (cobalt blue or purple beads with yellow, purple, white or blue crossing whirls) are dated exclusively to LT D1 (Venclová 2016, 96). It is difficult to determine, however, whether they were still in production during the latest occupational phases of the oppida. In the case of ring-beads, some technological approaches were applied that may lead to the assumption that the old glass was recycled. This was not in all likelihood recycling in the true sense of the word, but rather the ‘practical’ treatment of the material (Venclová 2016, 85). While the (thin) upper layer of the ring-beads was made of higher quality translucent glass, their core was made from heterogeneous layered opaque material using so-called *Überfangtechnik*. This may not have been because of a lack of resources, but a way to satisfy the ever-increasing demand for this popular jewellery (or both).

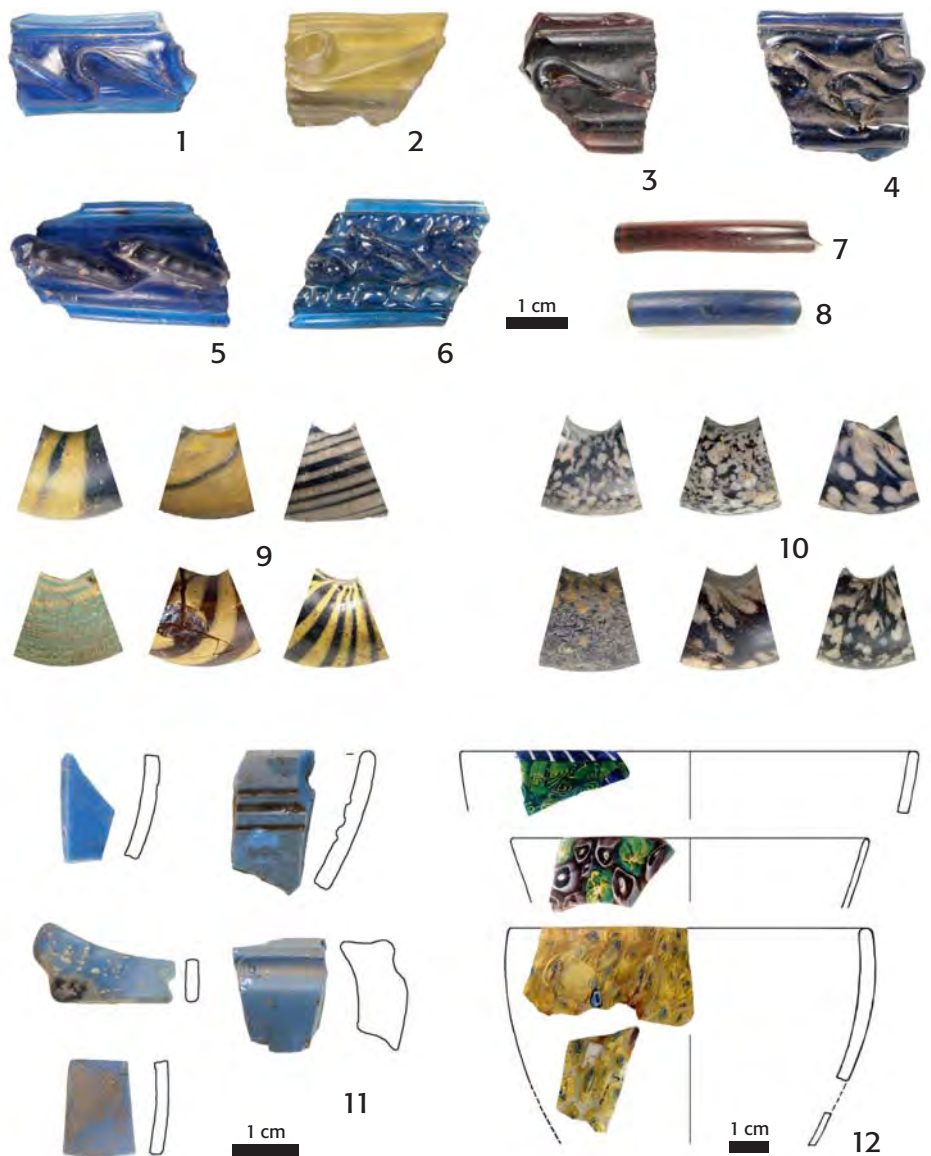
2.6. Ceramics

La Tène ceramics can rarely be dated more precisely than ‘middle’ (LT B–C1) or ‘late’ (LT C2–D) La Tène. Late La Tène ceramic items (Fig. 12) are more recognisable than middle La Tène ceramics because of their distinctive features, such as their black coating, red and white paintwork, grated surface, and rim formations.

Even so, only around 10% of the ceramic assemblage can be dated with any degree of certainty. Ceramics are highly regional in character and not all the significant features necessarily appear in the same territory at the same time.

Traits generally associated with LT C2–D1 include bipartite pots with a strongly curved neck and often a grated surface (Waldhauser 1996, 340–341, Abb. 1; Venclová 1998, 162). Black coating is also typical of this period but is already a feature (albeit a rare one) of LT C1 (Venclová 1998, 152, 158–159, 162, Tab. 15). Another recent element is red and white painting on fine wheel-thrown pottery such as bottles, situlae and cups. In Central Europe, painted pottery is typical of LT D; its origins, however, probably reach back to LT C2 (Maier 1970,

Fig. 11. Glass objects from LT (C2-)D1: **1–6** – bracelets of group Haevernick 16; **7–8** – bracelets of Haevernick group 3a; **9** – ring-beads of Haevernick group 23; **10** – ring-beads of Haevernick group 24; **11** – Hellenistic cast monochrome vessels; **12** – Hellenistic glass mosaic vessels from Staré Hradisko and Stradonice. Based on: Venclová 2016; Venclová et al. 2015. — **Obr. 11.** Skleněné předměty z fáze LT (C2-)D1: **1–6** – náramky Haevernick 16; **7–8** – náramky Haevernick 3a; **9** – kruhové perly skupiny Haevernick 23; **10** – kruhové perly skupiny Haevernick 24; **11** – helénistické lité monochromní nádoby; **12** – helénistické mozaikové sklo ze Starého Hradiska a Stradonic. Podle: Venclová 2016; Venclová et al. 2015.

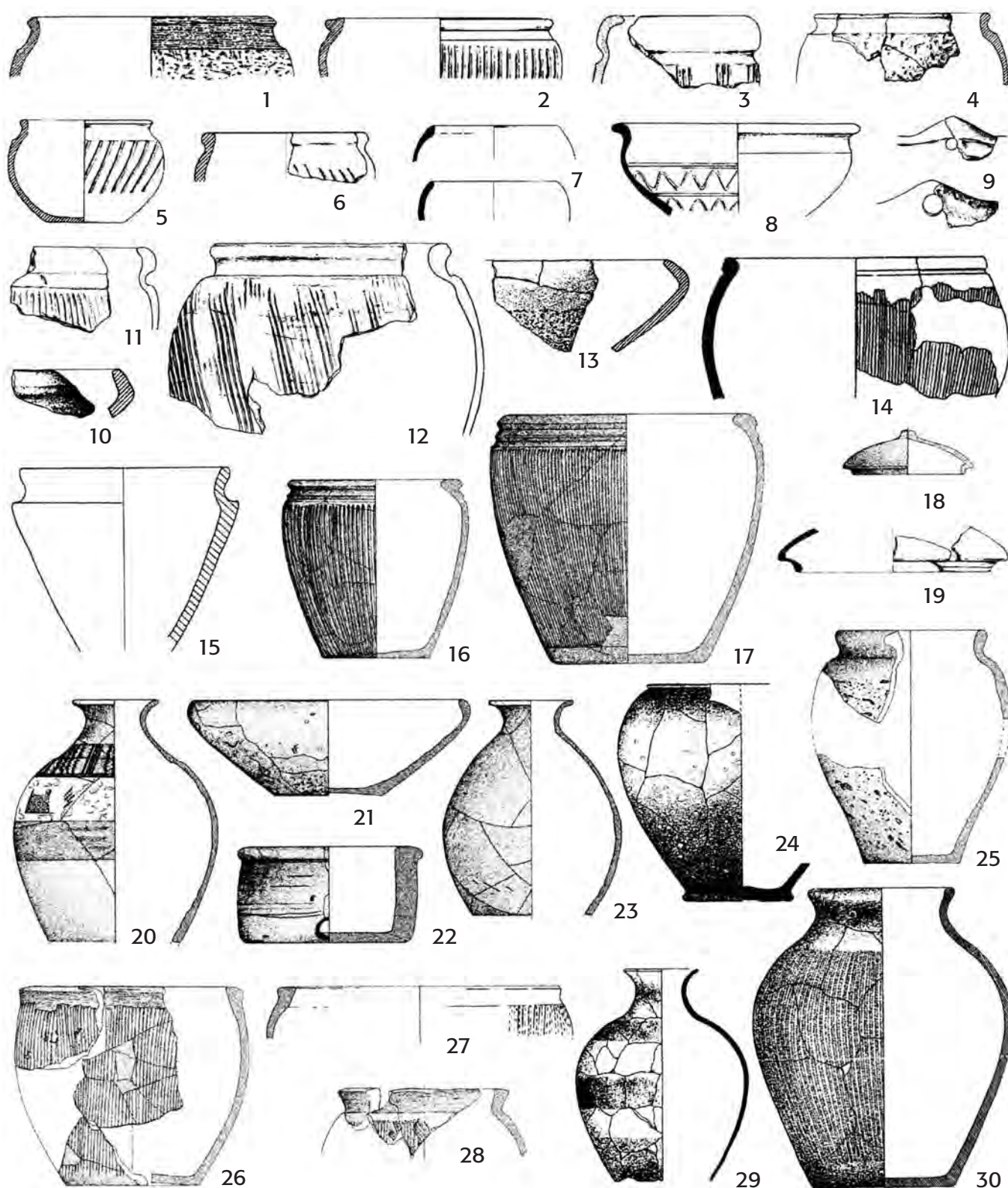


78–144; Cumberpatch 1993, 60–62; Loughton 2005, 156–157). Very fine combing on fine wheel-turned pottery is mentioned as a late (LT D) decoration / surface treatment type by Trebsche (2003).

Vertical combing on **non-graphite coarse ware** is considered typical of very late LT D assemblages (Čižmář 1987, 223). This view is also supported by analysis which shows a gradual decrease in the occurrence of graphite-tempered pottery in some of the late La Tène sites (Venclová 1998, 165; Čižmář 2003, 57; Sievers 2004, 70). ‘De-graphiting’ of the pottery at the very end of the La Tène period is accompanied by a significant simplification of shape, material and decoration. Other possible explanations for the general lack of graphite in pottery, not necessarily based on chronology, include a decrease in the demand for graphite-tempered ware, a lack of access to the raw material, or different distribution systems (further discussed in Danielisová et al. 2018; Waldhauser 1992b; Venclová 2001, 30). In Moravia, the decrease in the graphite content of pottery during LT D1 (the ‘Staré Hradisko horizon’) has been

seen as a typically chronological trait (Čižmář 2018, 125–126) and was described as such by M. Čižmář as early as the 1980s (Čižmář 1987). Items of pottery without graphite admixture also appear in the latest La Tène occupation of Bavaria (Tappert 2007, 198), where the lack of graphite is attributed to difficult economic conditions which may have hampered the transportation of graphite from the Passau area (Sievers 2004, 70; 2007a, 77).

Contexts dated exclusively to LT D1b can assist in establishing the traits characteristic of the ceramics from the end of the La Tène occupation of Central Europe. A sunken dwelling from the site at Křinec (in the district of Poděbrady in central Bohemia) has revealed an assemblage dated by spoon brooch (Schüssselfibel; Sedláčková 1991). The assemblage included bowls with inturned rims (some with a faceted profile), pots with angular profiling, storage vessels with cornice-shaped rims (faceting is considered a very late typological feature, Danielisová 2010, 104–105) and ceramic lids.



In Bratislava, ceramic production reached a peak between LT D1 and LT D2 (between the 60s and 40s of the first century BC). From this period, 12 pottery kilns have so far been excavated (Vrtel 2012, 169; Mangel – Thér 2018). The Bratislava workshops produced high-quality wheel-thrown fine and painted tableware. The largest part of the ceramic inventory consists of situlae

with thickened rims, plastic lines on the vessel necks with typical vertical combing, and in-turned rim bowls. The end of LT D1 and LT D2 are known for Békásmegyér type bowls, cauldron-shaped tripods, drinking vessels, bottles and situlae with a foot from fine wheel-thrown material, the 'Bol Roanne' bowls, and ceramic lids in grey or with red paintwork (Čambal et al. 2015,

Fig. 12. Late La Tène (LT D1–D2) ceramic types from settlements in the Middle Danube area: **1–9** and **19** – Moravian settlements (1 and 4: coarse roughening on pots; 2: vertical combing on graphite pots; 3: sickle shaped rims; 5–6: slanted combing on pots; 7: fine keg-shaped drinking vessels; 8: horizontal wavelet decoration; 9: pot/kettle handles); **10** and **13** – Závist oppidum (bowls with in-turned rims); **11–12** – Horoměřice settlement; **14** – Slepovice settlement (non-graphite pots with vertical combing); **15** – Křinec settlement (pronounced profilation of pots); **16–18, 20–23,** and **25** – Bratislava oppidum (15–16: pots with vertical combing; 18–19: lids; 20: painted ceramic bottle; 21: bowl with in-turned rim; 22: kitchen ware; 23: fine wheel-thrown bottle; 25: rough coarsening on pot possibly imported from Bohemia); **24** and **29–30** – Dub-Javornice settlement (24: fine ware; 29: painted ware; 30: vertical combing); **26–28** – pots with thickened club-shaped rims. Without scale. Based on: Čambal et al. 2015; 2016; Čížmář 2018; Drda – Rybová 1990; Jílek et al. 2013; Sedláčková 1991; Šulová 2006; Zavřel 2006b. — **Obr. 12.** Pozdně laténská (LT D1–D2) keramika ze sídlišť ve středodunajské zóně: **1–9** a **19** – moravská sídliště (1 a 4: hrubé drsnění; 2: svislé hřebenování na grafitových nádobách; 3: srpovitě okraje; 5–6: svislé rýhování na hrncích; 7: jemné soudkovité nádoby; 8: horizontální vlnovky nebo rytá vlnovka; 9: ucha kotlovitých nádob); **10** a **13** – oppidum Závist (misky se zataženým okrajem); **11–12** – sídliště Horoměřice; **14** – sídliště Slepovice (negratitové nádoby s vertikálním hřebenováním); **15** – sídliště Křinec (výrazná profilace nádob); **16–18, 20–23** a **25** – oppidum Bratislava (15–16: hrnce se svislým hřebenováním; 18–19: pokličky; 20: malovaná lahev; 21: miska se zataženým okrajem; 22: kuchyňská keramika; 23: na kruhu točená lahev z jemné keramiky; 25: hrubé drsnění na nádobě pravděpodobně importované z Čech); **24** a **29–30** – sídliště Dub-Javornice (24: jemná keramika; 29: malovaná keramika – lahev; 30: svislé rýhování); **26–28** – nádoby s kyjovitým okrajem. Bez měřítka. Podle: Čambal et al. 2015; 2016; Čížmář 2018; Drda – Rybová 1990; Jílek et al. 2013; Sedláčková 1991; Šulová 2006; Zavřel 2006b.

226–231). Among the painted ware, the bottles with horizontal lines decorated with white or red engobes are the most typical. Significant late ceramic types include situlae or pots with a thickened club-shaped rim (see below). This type is typical of the Bratislava oppidum and its surroundings; it also occurs in Styria and Lower Austria (Čambal et al. 2016).

Late La Tène ceramics – or ceramics ‘made according to La Tène tradition’ – can be defined based on their presence in mixed ceramic assemblages of eastern Germanic (Przeworsk) and central Germanic (Elbe Germanic) pottery, recently described in detail in the Bohemian context by Droberjar (2006, 20–22; 2014) and Beneš – Bursák – Jílek (2017). Sites in Prague-Horoměřice, Slepovice, Lužice-Radovesice group, and sites of the Přeštovice group in southern Bohemia (Zavřel 2016) provide good examples of various ceramic features. Rough material with thickened rims, vertical combing and sometimes horizontal wavelets are typical of this late phase.

In addition to ceramics which possibly come from the Rhine-Weser Germanic cultural circle, late La Tène settlements from Straubing-Bajuwarenstraße and Lehmgrube Mayr dated to LT D1b/D2 feature large storage vessels with simple rims, vertical combing on pots with thickened rims, fine wheel-thrown ware, bowls with in-turned rims, fine combing, and (only rarely) graphite pots (Tappert 2007, 196). Chronological indicators of the settlement at Bajuwarenstraße are brooches of the Gorica, Beltz J, and Kostrzewski K types and a Schlüsselfibel. Almost identical pots as in Straubing have been discovered at the settlement at Horoměřice (Fig. 12: 12) and Hostovice (Mangel – Thér 2017) in central Bohemia dated to the late La Tène / early Roman period (LT D1/D2 – RA; Šulová 2006) where the ceramics produced in the ‘oppida-tradition’ were attributed to post-La Tène pottery makers inspired by the original La Tène production. Unfortunately, no brooches or other significant metal artefacts were discovered at either Horoměřice or Hostovice that would enable a more precise dating, such as was possible at Straubing; the cultural context of the assemblage is also uncertain.

A supposedly very late feature of late La Tène ceramics has been described recently (Čambal et al. 2014; 2016; Čambal 2019, 119). The ‘**thickened club-shaped rims**’ (Fig. 12: 26–28) are best documented in the Middle Danube area and are considered a very late for-

mal element, typical of the LT D1/D2–D2 phase. Some scholars assume a connection with the spread of the Norican kingdom into the region after the withdrawal of the Dacians in the second half of the first century BC. This typological feature has also been identified recently in southern Bohemian ceramic assemblages from the transition period between the late La Tène and the early Roman period (LT D2 / R A; Zavřel 2014). The occurrence of thickened club-shaped rims in the late La Tène / early Roman Age in Central Europe was probably quite common, as indicated by their recent identification in Slepovice (in the district of Pardubice) in assemblages dated to the same period (Jílek et al. 2013, Tab. 66: 6; 77: 2, 4; 92: 1, 11, etc.) and possibly also in the settlement at Žehuň (Danielisová et al. 2018, 157). However, being a simple, non-distinctive element, the thickened club-shaped rims, in other areas than the Danube Region, tend to be identified according to largely subjective criteria rather than precise data.

2.7. Another chronologically sensitive phenomenon: fortification techniques

Recent systematic geophysical prospection in Bohemia (Křivánek – Danielisová – Drda 2013) has uncovered a previously unknown type of fortification that is nonetheless typical in the wider ‘Boian’ territory of the upper Middle Danube (Danielisová 2015, 184–185). The fortification bore the simple earthen ramparts known in northern France and Belgium as *Fécamp* type (Fichtl 2010). However, in Central Europe, the fortification line consisted of multiple (usually three) ramparts which because of the absence of any inner construction survived only in the form of multiple ditches filled by destruction of their ploughed out earthen bodies (Fig. 13). Only the innermost ramparts have survived as they have overlaid the previous *Pfostenschlitzmauern* with a solid stone-and-wood construction. For this reason, the only known complete example of multiple ramparts in the oppida was for a long time that from the České Lhotice oppidum (Danielisová 2010), where it miraculously survived almost intact. From the stratigraphy based on the České Lhotice oppidum, it has become clear that ramparts were being extensively rebuilt during the final occupational phases of the oppida, that is, sometime during the (middle of the) first century BC. The recon-

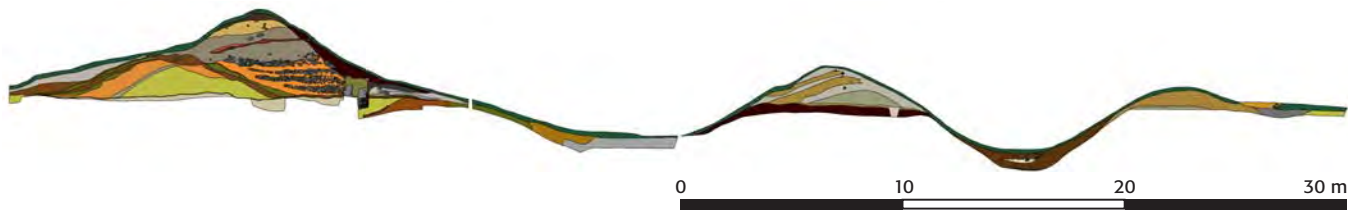


Fig. 13. Multiple earthen ramparts (the innermost covering former phase with a Pfostenschlitzmauer). Based on: Danielisová 2010. — **Obr. 13.** Několikanásobné sypané valy (první – vnitřní překrývající starší fázi Pfostenschlitzmauer). Podle: Danielisová 2010.

struction resulted in a completely new form that – due to its complexity, practicality and short construction time – probably had a military function. From this we may assume that these late rebuildings of the fortification in the latest phases of the occupation of the oppida in Central Europe could have reflected some form of instability in local political conditions.

3. Development trends in the occupation of the 'Boian' zone

3.1. Creating reliable chronologies

The most reliable way to establish the occupational dynamics of settlements is the quantification of common

settlement activities as reflected in pottery fragments and animal bones at precisely (or even roughly) dated settlement contexts. These cases are quite rare, however. Apart from the quantitative overview of settlement material from gate A of the Závist oppidum (Fig. 14; Drda – Rybová 1990) our chronological reasoning is often reduced to an educated guess backed up by 'facts' of varying levels of reliability. When statistics on common settlement activities are not available, the occupational dynamics of settlements can be inferred only from chronologically sensitive objects with defined periods of occurrence. These are usually metal objects such as coins, brooches and belt fittings. Because of the variety of types with comparable periods of occurrence, and their quantity, brooches are usually the most suitable

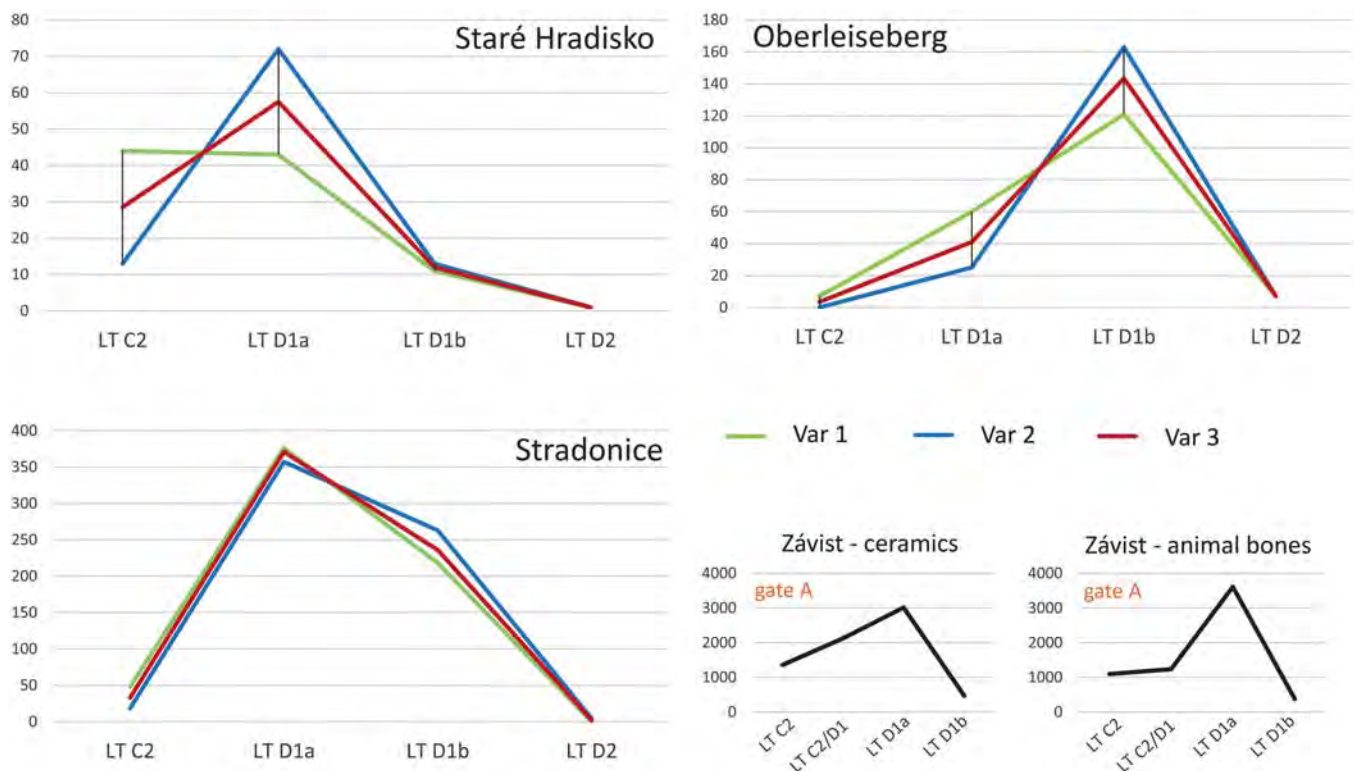


Fig. 14. Comparison of chronological plots when different approaches of assigning brooches to individual chronological phases are applied: **Var 1** – earliest occurrence of a brooch; **Var 2** – latest occurrence of a brooch; **Var 3** – average occurrence of a brooch. Staré Hradisko is an example of a site with greater variability of brooch types; Oberleiseberg and Stradonice are sites with less and very little variability respectively (with respect to a significant number of leading types of brooch) and thus offer more reliable dating. For comparison, chronological dynamics of common settlement material (ceramics, animal bones) from the oppidum of Závist are shown. Based on: Čížmář – Čížmářová – Meduna 2018; Drda – Rybová 1990; 1994; Karwowski – Militký 2012; 2016; own data. — **Obr. 14.** Srovnání chronologických grafů při použití jiných metod datování spon: **Var 1** – nejčasnější zaznamenaný výskyt spon; **Var 2** – nejpozdější zaznamenaný výskyt spon; **Var 3** – průměrné období výskytu spon. Staré Hradisko je zde příkladem lokality s velkou typovou variabilitou spon; Oberleiseberg a Stradonice jsou lokality s malou nebo velmi malou variabilitou (hlavních typů) spon. Pro srovnání jsou uvedeny grafy chronologického vývoje na základě frekvence výskytu běžného sídlištního materiálu (keramika, zvířecí kosti) z oppida Závist. Podle: Čížmář – Čížmářová – Meduna 2018; Drda – Rybová 1990; 1994; Karwowski – Militký 2012; 2016; own data.

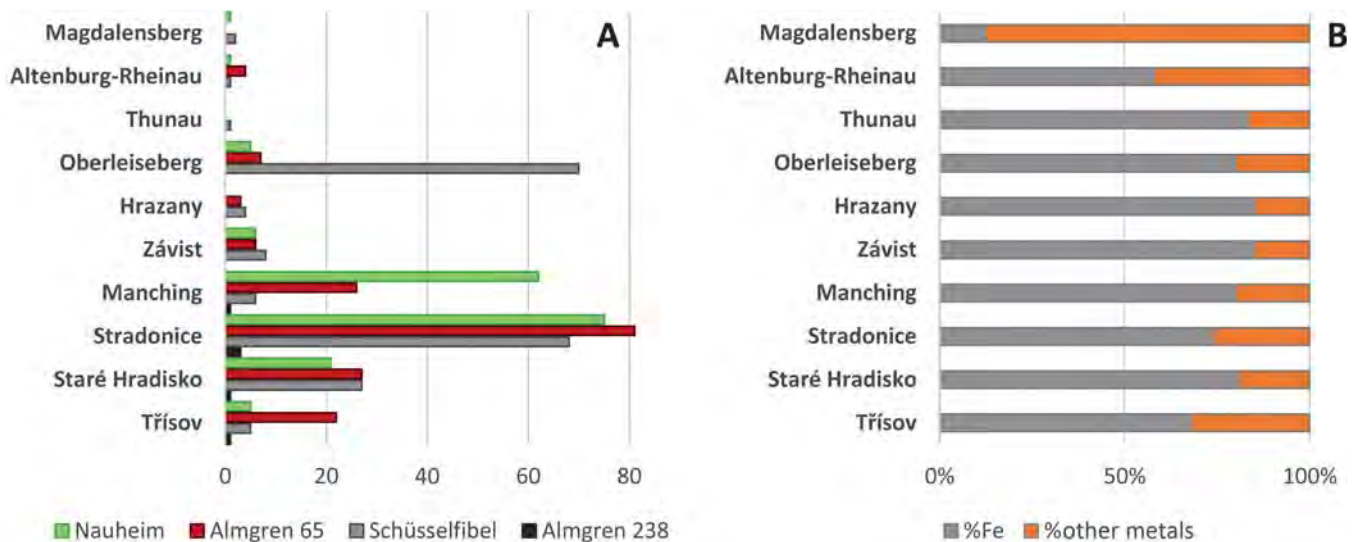


Fig. 15. Late La Tène iron brooches of Central Europe (Nauheim, Almgren 65, Schüsselfibel, Almgren 238) and the proportion of iron brooches to other metals at major late La Tène sites (Třísov data may be skewed by a combination of excavation and metal detector prospection). Based on: Čížmář 1989; 2003; Čížmář – Čížmářová – Meduna 2018; Danielisová – Militký 2014; Drda – Rybová 1990; 1992; 1994; 2001; Fischer 1966; Jansová 1986; 1988; 1992; Karasová 2002; Karwowski 2006; 2015; Karwowski – Militký 2016; Lauber 2012; Motyková – Drda – Rybová 1978; Motyková – Drda – Rybová 1978; Sedlmayer 2009. — **Obř. 15.** Pozdně laténské železné spony ze střední Evropy (Nauheim, Almgren 65, Schüsselfibel, Almgren 238) a srovnání železných spon a spínadel z jiných kovů na velkých laténských sídlištích (data z Třísova mohou být zkreslena použitím detektorů kovů při prospekcii). Podle: Čížmář 1989; 2003; Čížmář – Čížmářová – Meduna 2018; Danielisová – Militký 2014; Drda – Rybová 1990; 1992; 1994; 2001; Fischer 1966; Jansová 1986; 1988; 1992; Karasová 2002; Karwowski 2006; 2015; Karwowski – Militký 2016; Lauber 2012; Motyková – Drda – Rybová 1978; Sedlmayer 2009.

items for a chronological comparison of the occupational dynamics at different sites. However, there are drawbacks to relying solely on metal objects.

First, when excavation is combined with metal detector prospection, some materials, such as iron, can be underrepresented in the data if they are suppressed in the prospection. This can lead to the false assumption that LT D1, in which iron is almost ubiquitous in many forms and commonly used in brooches, contains fewer objects than the middle La Tène period when bronze was more prevalent. However, during the late La Tène period, iron replaced bronze as the material of choice for clothing accessories (especially brooches, but also belt fittings, armrings etc.) and other small objects. The shift seems to occur sometime around the LT C2/D phase. From this time onwards, iron brooches are typical for the late La Tène occupation of major agglomerations (Fig. 15); only a very few specimens have been recorded in the countryside. The use of bronze increases again in the Roman period (generally from the LT D2 / R A).

Secondly, and more importantly, objects such as brooches do not always have the same lifespan. Some were in fashion for a long period (even spanning several phases, e.g. Beltz J, Kostrzewski C, Kostrzewski D/E, Schüsselfibeln), and some for a significantly shorter period (e.g. the 'Boian' brooch, Almgren 65); some were worn in different areas at different times (e.g. Alésia, Almgren 18). Moreover, the relative chronological phases which the brooches represent are not all of the same duration; LT D1b is thought to be shorter (30–40 years) than the previous phase of LT D1a (40–50 years). Also, smaller assemblages with a greater diversity of the brooch types (i.e. fewer leading types with precise dating) cannot be so reliably assigned to a particular

chronological horizon (also discussed recently in Kyselá 2013, 127–131). As a result, comparative charts which depict the occurrence of brooches in different phases of the late La Tène can be misleading (Fig. 14). Nonetheless, when compared with available data from settlement material, the general trends are still quite clear (Fig. 14). We can therefore draw universally valid chronological frameworks using even the limited data available on the occurrence of brooches alone.

3.2. Development trends of the major settlements

In terminology, the 'Boian' zone is roughly co-extensive with the 'Middle Danube' zone (the lowlands north of and along the Danube) and includes the territories of southeastern Bavaria, Bohemia, Moravia, Lower Austria and southwestern Slovakia. During the late La Tène period, there was an established network of both fortified and unfortified major settlements (Fig. 16) which bear evidence of their position within the super-regional economic and socio-political network. While for Bavaria, Bohemia, central Moravia and Slovakia, most major settlements were fortified agglomerations (the oppida), along the Danube and in Lower Austria most were open agglomerations or smaller fortified sites.³ All such settlements were intensively occupied to a greater or lesser degree and are therefore significant sites within this zone in the first century BC.

The general settlement dynamics of the major settlements within the Middle Danube zone is summarised

³ We can agree that the difference between an oppidum and a hillfort is mostly a matter of terminology rather than function.

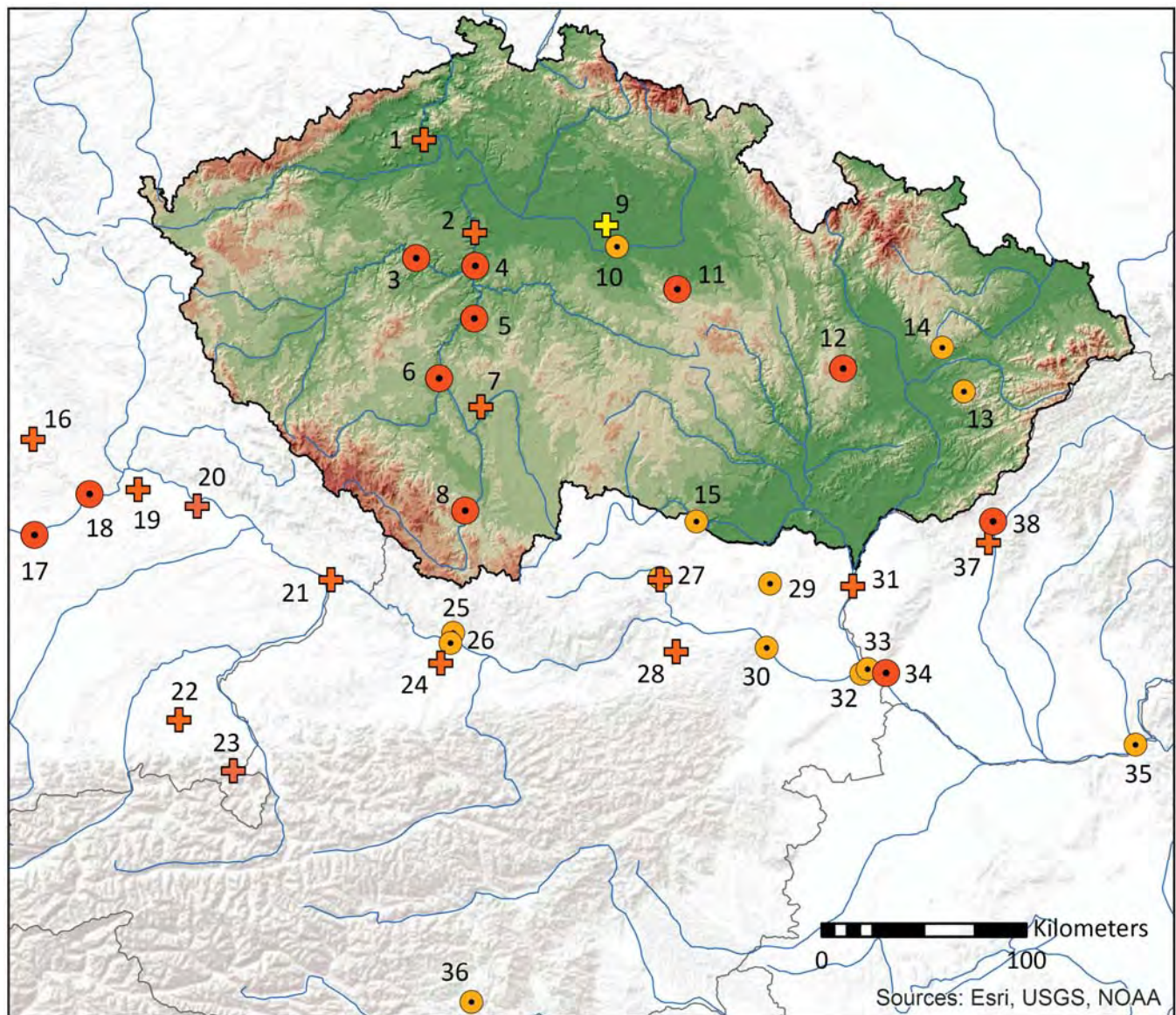


Fig. 16. Major settlements or sites mentioned in the text occupied during LT D1–D2 (i.e. first century BC): 1 – Lovosice; 2 – Prague-Bubeneč; 3 – Stradonice; 4 – Závist; 5 – Hrazany; 6 – Nevězice; 7 – Rataje; 8 – Třisov; 9 – Žehuň; 10 – Kolo by Týnec nad Labem; 11 – České Lhotice; 12 – Staré Hradisko; 13 – Hostýn; 14 – Obírka; 15 – Ostroh by Lukov; 16 – Berching-Pollanten; 17 – Manching; 18 – Kelheim; 19 – Egglfing; 20 – Straubing; 21 – Passau; 22 – Stöffling; 23 – Karlstein; 24 – Neubau; 25 – Gründberg; 26 – Freinberg; 27 – Thunau am Kamp; 28 – Etzersdorf; 29 – Oberleiseberg; 30 – Leopoldsberg; 31 – Drösing; 32 – Braunsberg; 33 – Děvín; 34 – Bratislava; 35 – Estergom; 36 – Magdalensberg; 37 – Čachtice; 38 – Trenčianské Bohuslavice. Circles – oppida (red), smaller fortified settlements (orange); crosses – open agglomerations or larger settlements (Žehuň in yellow). — **Obr. 16.** Významné sídlištní lokality zmíněné v textu a osídlené během LT D1–D2 (tj. během 1. století př. n. l.): 1 – Lovosice; 2 – Praha-Bubeneč; 3 – Stradonice; 4 – Závist; 5 – Hrazany; 6 – Nevězice; 7 – Rataje; 8 – Třisov; 9 – Žehuň; 10 – Kolo u Týnce nad Labem; 11 – České Lhotice; 12 – Staré Hradisko; 13 – Hostýn; 14 – Obírka; 15 – Ostroh u Lukova; 16 – Berching-Pollanten; 17 – Manching; 18 – Kelheim; 19 – Egglfing; 20 – Straubing; 21 – Pasov; 22 – Stöffling; 23 – Karlstein; 24 – Neubau; 25 – Gründberg; 26 – Freinberg; 27 – Thunau am Kamp; 28 – Etzersdorf; 29 – Oberleiseberg; 30 – Leopoldsberg; 31 – Drösing; 32 – Braunsberg; 33 – Děvín; 34 – Bratislava; 35 – Estergom; 36 – Magdalensberg; 37 – Čachtice; 38 – Trenčianské Bohuslavice. Kolečka – oppida (červená), menší opevněné lokality (oranžová); křížky – otevřené aglomerace nebo větší sídliště (žluté Žehuň).

in Fig. 17. From the chronology of finds, it is clear that not all the identified phases are of comparable intensity with respect to material and development of the settlement layout. A good example is the analysis of the settlement development of the Manching oppidum (Wendling 2013).

It is important to note, however, that the statistical occurrence of reliable chronological indicators suggests that the major settlements within the wider territory of the 'Boian' zone exhibit differences in their settlement

dynamics (Fig. 17). Most of the sites in Bohemia and the neighbouring areas peak during the LT D1a (Nauheim and other typical brooches). Some show fairly strong evidence of occupation as early as LT C2 (Manching, Staré Hradisko, Závist) but a sharp decline during LT D1b. Several of the major fortified settlements, however, such as Stradonice and Třisov, show relatively strong occupation during both LT D1a and LT D1b. Closer to the Middle Danube area, two of the analysed sites (Trenčianské Bohuslavice and Oberleiseberg) do not peak

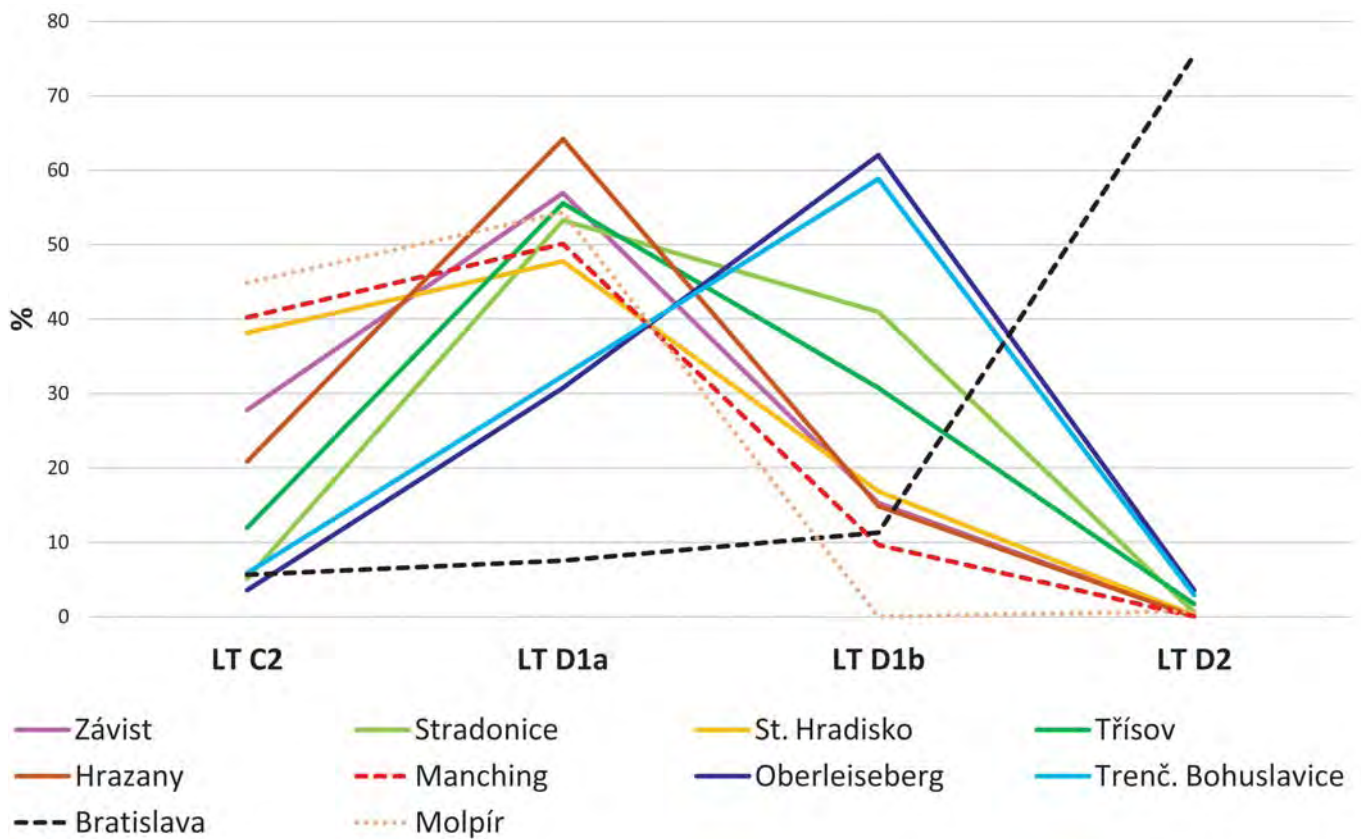


Fig. 17. Comparison of the percentage of chronologically diagnostic brooches of the fortified settlements in particular phases of late La Tène in Central Europe and the Middle Danube area. Only sites with >45 brooches were included. Based on: Bazovský 2003; Čambal et al. 2015; Čambal 2017; Čížmář – Čížmářová – Meduna 2018; Danielisová – Militký 2014; Drda – Rybová 1992; 1994; 1997; 2001; van Endert 1987; Farkaš 2004; Gebhard 1991; Karasová 2002; Karwowski – Militký 2016; Motyková – Drda – Rybová 1978; 1990; Pieta 2008; Sievers – Leicht – Zieghaus 2013; own data. — **Obr. 17.** Srovnání procentuálního podílu chronologicky diagnostických spon z opevněných lokalit ve střední Evropě a středodunajské oblasti v jednotlivých fázích osídlení. Vyobrazena jsou pouze sídliště s více než 45 datovatelnými sponami. Podle: Bazovský 2003; Čambal et al. 2015; Čambal 2017; Čížmář – Čížmářová – Meduna 2018; Danielisová – Militký 2014; Drda – Rybová 1992; 1994; 1997; 2001; van Endert 1987; Farkaš 2004; Gebhard 1991; Karasová 2002; Karwowski – Militký 2016; Motyková – Drda – Rybová 1978; 1990; Pieta 2008; Sievers – Leicht – Zieghaus 2013; vlastní data.

until LT D1b. This is not the case with the Bratislava oppidum, which according to both brooches and coins shows only moderate growth during LT D1b (only a few Schüsselfibeln) but an apparent upswing in the subsequent LT D2.

LT C2

In the Bohemian-Moravian territory, the initial phase, LT C2, is framed typologically by Mötschwil brooches (Gebhard 1991, 87; Márton 2004; Čížmář 2006, 262; Čížmář – Kolníková – Noeske 2008) and earlier types of Kostrzewski brooch – A, B, C (cf. Fig. 2, 3). The Némčice-Roseldorf type of silver oboli and the Athena Alkis type gold stater (Militký personal communication) are both present at the Staré Hradisko oppidum. The occurrence of the Némčice-Roseldorf silver oboli at the oppidum during its oldest occupational phases and at the LT C2 open agglomeration of Némčice nad Hanou suggests these two settlements were to some degree contemporaneous. This period probably lasted no longer than a single generation during the first half of the second century BC. Through a re-evaluation of the stratigraphic situation and typology of brooches in the main gate D at the Závist oppidum, Kysela recently moved the

initial occupation horizon (or, more precisely, the horizon of its first fortification and the beginning of the occupation of the oppida in Bohemia) to the middle of the second century BC (Kysela 2013, 127–131). Most of the oppida in the Middle Danube, including Bratislava (Čambal 2019, 117), are occupied already during the LT C2, however not all with the same intensity. More distinctive fortified settlements in the LT C2 include Manching, Závist, Staré Hradisko, Pohanská, České Lhotice and Molpír. Sites such as Třisov, Stradonice, Trenčianske Bohuslavice and especially Bratislava show only mediocre occupational activities in this phase (Fig. 17).

LT D1a

Somewhere around the shift from LT C2 to LT D1a, some major settlements along the Danube and on the North–South communication route through Moravia experienced a rapid decline in occupation, with the following phase being less intensively occupied than the previous more prosperous period. Namely the fortified sites flourished mainly during the LT D1 (Fig. 17). The LT D1a phase, represented chiefly by Nauheim and Kostrzewski D/E brooches, is typically associated with the peak of the occupation of the oppida; the expansion

of many open agglomerations also took place during this phase. We know from the presence of coinage (Neubau; Moser 2001), imports from the Mediterranean, and evidence of activities such as metalworking that a dense and well-structured network of fortified and unfortified settlements was established along the Danube. In Bohemia, the oppida formed a distinctive pattern along the Vltava River; the Staré Hradisko oppidum and several other hillforts (Fig. 16) were situated on a route northward towards the Baltic from the Moravian Gate. Archaeological evidence suggests that in the major settlements, the population reached its maximum density sometime between ca. 120 and 70 BC, and according to some analyses may have numbered several thousand (Danielisová – Štekerová 2015). Building activity at the oppida was detected both intra and extra muros. Fortifications are rebuilt into more complex and often more massive forms. As a result of extended long-distance contact, settlements become more cosmopolitan, as we see from the greater number of objects from the Mediterranean area, the Germanic north, and other La Tène territories (e.g. Gaul).

LT D1b

During LT D1b, represented mainly by the Almgren 65 brooch and Schüsselfibeln, this established network was still in operation despite the obvious decline of population, or even cessation of some activities, and perhaps, to some degree, also of long-distance trade. Such was the case, for example, with the Manching oppidum, where there may have been problems with the supply of raw materials (Sievers 2004). However, as shown above, many imports from the Mediterranean continued to flow into the Middle Danube zone and the massive rebuilding of ramparts suggests a population of sufficient size and organisational ability to justify undertaking such tasks. Although there is evidence of ongoing specialised local production, the decrease in the population becomes apparent in statistics relating to typical finds (Fig. 16, 17). At Manching (Sievers 2004), Staré Hradisko (Danielisová 2014), and perhaps at other major settlements, a 'dispersal of the building activity' took place which paid less regard to existing settlement layouts and communication networks. In the Middle Danube zone, at the time when activity in the Bohemian oppida was coming to an end, the Bratislava oppidum became the centre of a regional network of settlements (Fig. 16). The continuity in the coinage system suggests a link to the Bohemian elite was possibly behind the rapid rise of the Bratislava oppidum starting after 70/69 BC (Čambal 2019, 122) and especially during LT D2.

LT D2

In LT D2, the oppida in Bohemia are gradually abandoned, except for some isolated activity represented by stray finds of Almgren 65c and 238 brooches. Last to abandon was possibly the oppidum of Stradonice whose last phase of occupation was concurrent with the earliest coin production in Bratislava. Beside that the

significant finds typical of LT D2 are associated exclusively with the Germanic environment of the incoming Plaňany group. The most reliable indicator of the end of agglomerations in the Middle Danube zone is the striking absence of Almgren 18 brooches in the large assemblages at Manching (Sievers 2004, 67), Stradonice (Píč 1903), and Oberleiseberg (Čambal et al. 2015; Karwowski – Militký 2016), beside their absence positively at all the oppida in the western part of the Middle Danube zone. Based on the chronology of amphorae and brooches and dendrochronological dating of the fortifications, some researchers suggest the end of Manching was around 80 BC (Rieckhoff 1995, 186; 2018; Stöckli 2018, 212). However, a re-evaluation of the chronology of finds (cf. above) puts the ending of Manching in accordance with other oppida in Central Europe, that is, sometime around the middle of the first century BC.

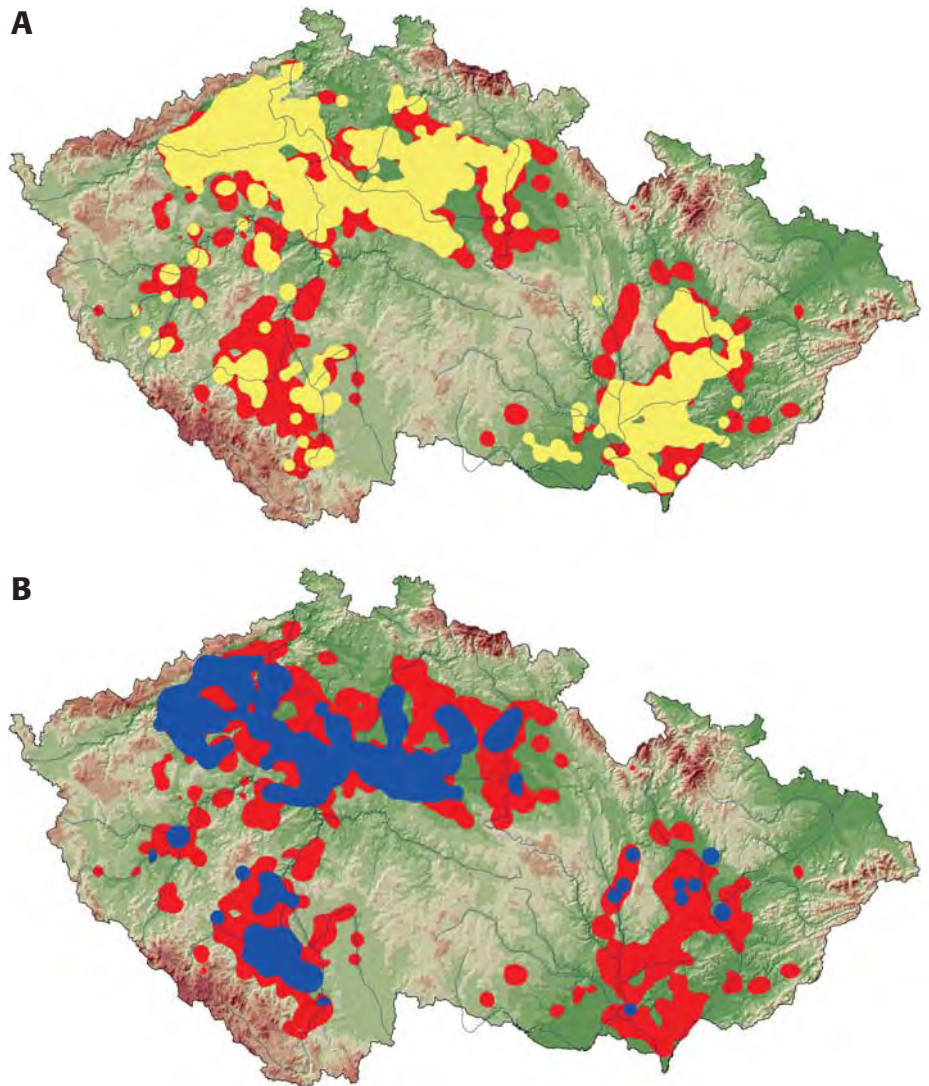
In contrast, LT D2 is the peak horizon of the occupation of Bratislava, as suggested by the presence of Almgren 238, Alésia, Jezerine, Almgren 18, Tierkopffibeln and other types of brooches, and especially its distinctive coin production. This is supported also by recent archaeological findings, where after 70/69 BC a distinctive change of the organisational structure of the oppidum has been observed (Čambal 2019, 122) that included also rapid intensification of the pottery production, metalworking, and production of coins. The end of Bratislava is chronologically formally associated with historical events surrounding the Burebista military campaign against the Middle Danube Boii before 44 BC (Čambal et al. 2015; Karwowski – Militký 2011; Čambal 2019, 124). The occupation of Bratislava or at least some activities recorded there in LT D2 by archaeology are possibly posterior to these events and can be dated to the early years of the Augustan period, i.e. to the last two decades of the first century BC (Čambal 2019, 125).

3.3. What do we know about the late La Tène countryside (LT C2–D2 / R A)?

Does the countryside reflect the same settlement dynamics as the oppida and other major agglomerations? Archaeological evidence suggests that the La Tène occupation reached its maximum density during LT C2–D1, the 'oppida period', that is, after the middle La Tène period (LT B1–C1; Fig. 18). In the late La Tène, we find more settlements in marginal zones (such as higher altitudes; Waldhauser 2001, 125; Mangel – Danielisová 2014) than we do in the middle La Tène. Pollen records (Pokorný 2011) also suggest an increase in the intensity of settlement activity on the margins of the traditional settlement zone.

Some sites, such as Říčany (Venclová 2008) and Loděnice Brook (Venclová 2001), southeast and southwest of Prague respectively (the latter in connection with the development of occupation of the Viereckschanze of Mšecké Žehrovice, cf. Venclová 1998), have been studied in more detail either by systematic surface prospections or analysis of settlement material. The same is true of the Haná region around the Staré Hradisko

Fig. 18. Development of the settlement pattern in the Czech lands from LT B1–C1 to LT C2–D1 (A), and from LT C2–D1 to LT D2 / RA (B). — **Obr. 18.** Vývoj struktury osídlení v Čechách a na Moravě od LT B1–C1 do LT C2–D1 (A) a od LT C2–D1 do LTD2 / RA (B).



oppidum (Čížmář 2018). Here, the archaeological picture becomes more complex and the course of events more easily to determine. Detailed analysis of particular regions and the general settlement structure suggests that:

- (1) the countryside is influenced by the urban centres (in both settlement pattern and material culture);
- (2) the countryside reflects a more traditional way of life, whereas the urban centres tend to acquire a more progressive and cosmopolitan atmosphere and show a greater degree of external elements (as suggested by the presence of foreign elements, both Germanic and Mediterranean).

Trying to establish the chronology of settlements in the countryside is inevitably beset by problems. First among these is the rarity of datable finds such as brooches. This can lead to the false assumption of 'settlements without metals', or, because of an increase in metal detector finds of unknown provenance, to 'metals without settlements'. The second problem is the rarity or even complete absence of precise chronological data such as radiocarbon or dendrochronology from Bohemia and Moravia (there is a handful of dendrochron-

logical dates from *Viereckschanzen* in Germany; most recent overview cf. *Stöckli 2018*, 211). One further problem, when working only with ceramics, is that ceramic chronologies are mostly local and difficult to extrapolate beyond very general trends.

Bearing all the above in mind, we can summarise the late La Tène development in Bohemia and Moravia as follows:

LT C2–D1a (120–80/70 BC)

The LT C2–D1 phase is one of the most intensively occupied periods of Bohemian prehistory. The peak of the oppida period is matched in the occupation of the countryside. However, there are indications of events that brought changes – either rapid or gradual – which had a profound effect on the settlement structure during this period. Analysis of rural La Tène settlements in the regions mentioned above has revealed a continuity of occupation from the middle La Tène (LT B1–C1) to the late La Tène (LT C2–D1). Such is the case, for example, in the Říčany (near Prague) region, where continuity of occupation is attested to by ceramic assemblages at all

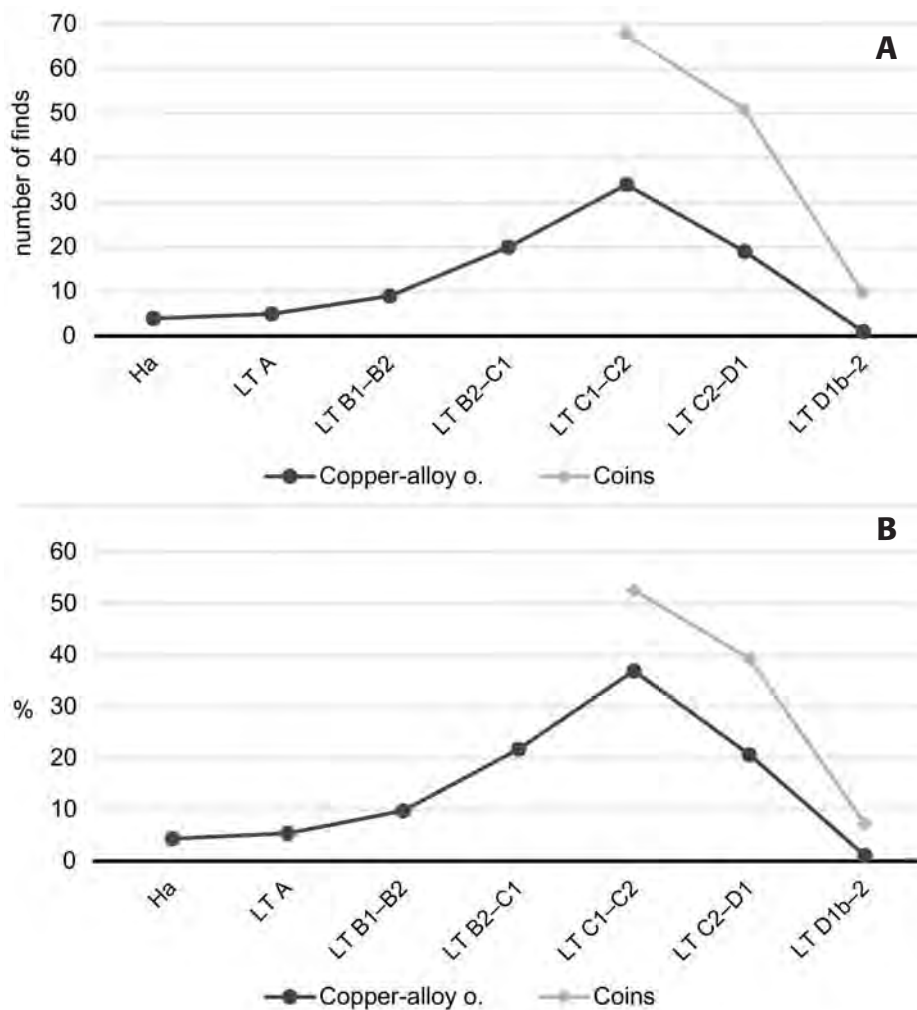


Fig. 19. Occupational dynamics of the Žehuň settlement inferred from the chronologically sensitive finds. Based on: Danielisová et al. 2018. — **Obr. 19.** Vývoj osídlení Žehuně odvozený z výskytu chronologicky citlivých nálezů. Podle: Danielisová et al. 2018.

the settlements so far investigated (Venclová 2008, 177, 185–192). The chronology of small finds showed them to be concentrated during LT C1–2 phase and suggested the possible end of the occupation before LT D1b (Venclová 2008, 180, 193), although there was only ever a small number of finds in this region. A peak during the LT B2–C1 phase followed by a decline in or even absence of occupation around the enclosure during the LT C2–D1 phase was observed in the case of the late La Tène *Viereckschanze* of Mšecké Žehrovice (where it is actually believed that the surrounding settlements ceased to exist because of the founding of the *enclosure* /as a foreign element?/, cf. Venclová 1998, 198–200), and in the whole region of the Loděnický Brook, where there is a clear and significant reduction in activity, both settlement and industrial (Venclová 2001, 205–208). Indications that settlements may rather have peaked during the LT C2 part of the LT C2–D1 phase can be seen at the large and intensively prospected settlement of Žehuň (Danielisová et al. 2018, 160–164) in the eastern part of central Bohemia (Fig. 19). Here, however, the picture may be skewed by the prevalence of iron in the late La Tène, as mentioned above. The number of coins is comparable in LT C2 and LT D1 but decreases in LT D1b.

At the Prague-Bubeneč agglomeration, a hiatus between the LT C2–D1 and the early Roman occupation

of the Plaňany group was detected in the stratigraphy (Bursák – Kacl 2017, 478, 488–489). Rich finds of metals (brooches, weapons, tools) and glass indicate the significance of the site during LT C2–D1. A homestead with a distinctive enclosure was built in LT C2, but there are no traces of it in LT D1. In this later phase, fine wheel-thrown and painted ware, a gold 1/3 stater (Bursák – Miličej 2016), and metalworking activity suggest the continued but perhaps reduced significance of this site. At the Markvartice *Viereckschanze*, the rural settlement which surrounds it and which shows evidence of specialised activities is contemporaneous with the enclosure and was probably occupied at a similar level of intensity during the whole of LT C2–D1 (Jošková 2016, 176–177). These examples of rural settlement dynamics suggest a decline in occupation in some areas, after the period of prosperity associated with LT C1–2.

In the territory of Moravia, the open agglomeration of Němčice nad Hanou ceases to be the regional centre, a shift that is accompanied by other fundamental changes in settlement structure. During LT D1, the lowlands and communication corridors of the major waterways are mostly abandoned in favour of the upland areas closer to the newly founded oppidum of Staré Hradisko (Fig. 20; Čížmář 2018, 152). As in Bohemia, the occurrence of small finds such as coins and brooches (Čížmář 2018, 72, 76) peaks during the

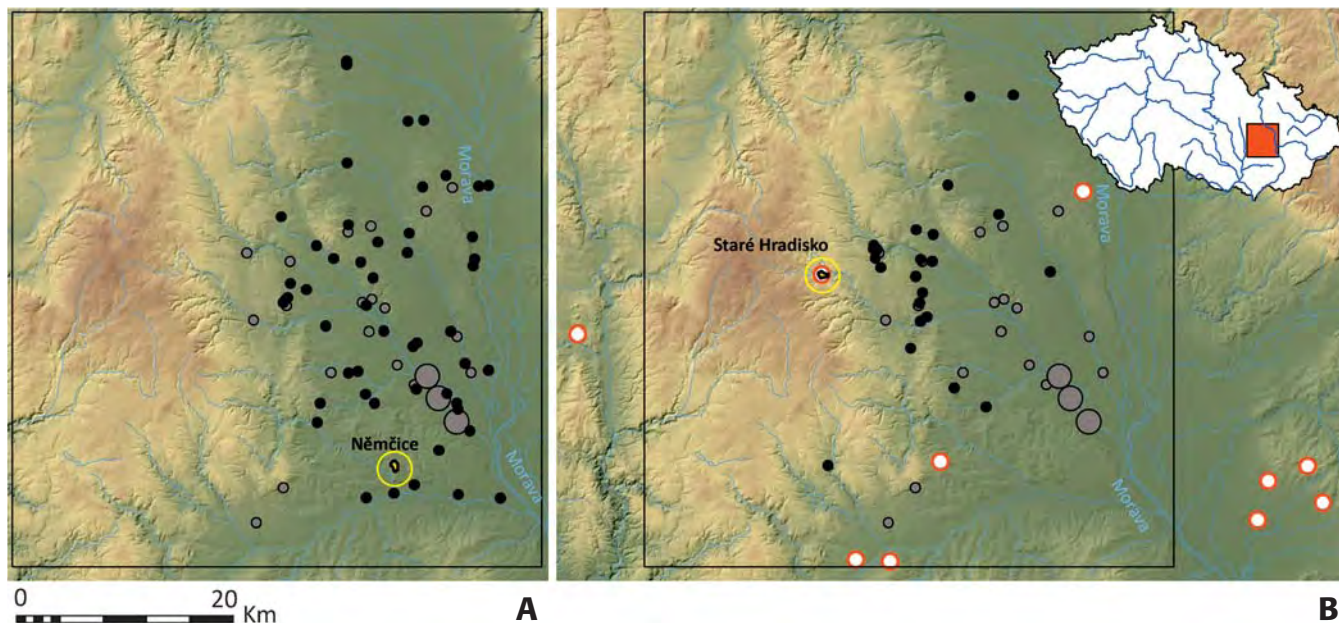


Fig. 20. Change in settlement pattern from LT B2–C2 (A) to LT D1 (B) in the region of Haná, central Moravia: yellow – Němčice nad Hanou (A) and Staré Hradisko (B) as major sites; grey – possibly continuous settlements from middle to late La Tène; black – settlements dated to either of the two phases; red circles – sites with recorded presence of Przeworsk culture; large circles – settlements with evidence of specialised activities; square – La Tène sites recorded in the region of Haná. Based on: Čížmář 2018; Droberjar 2019. — **Obr. 20.** Změna struktury osídlení z LT B2–C2 (A) do LT D1 (B) v regionu Haná na střední Moravě: žlutě – Němčice nad Hanou (A) a Staré Hradisko (B) jako hlavní sídla; šedě – pravděpodobně kontinuální sídliště ze středního do mladého latěnu; černě – lokality datované do jedné ze dvou zmíněných fází; červené kroužky – lokality s evidovanou přítomností przeworské kultury; velké kroužky – sídliště s doklady specializované výroby; oblast vymezená čtvercem – latěnská sídliště evidovaná v oblasti Hané. Podle: Čížmář 2018; Droberjar 2019.

‘Němčice horizon’ (the LT B2–C2 phase); in LT C2–D1, they decrease in the record and their spatial distribution changes to coincide with the shift of settlements to higher altitudes on the eastern slopes of the Drahaný hills closer to the Staré Hradisko oppidum. New hilltop settlements, mostly unfortified, could indicate a preference for elevated locations as places of refuge and as means of controlling communication routes (especially along the ‘Moravian Gate’). The archaeological record suggests roughly half the number of sites in LT D1 compared to LT C1–2. In place of the previously prosperous industrial agglomeration of Němčice, we find much-reduced settlement in LT D1, possibly without specialised production (Čížmář 2018, 147). Most striking is the almost complete evacuation of the Morava River corridor, confirmed not only by the distribution of settlements, but also by the distribution of ‘isolated’ metal detector finds (Čížmář 2018, 72), a traditional North-South long-distance communication route that connected the Mediterranean with the Baltic. It is only the larger and perhaps more populated settlements with the concentration of specialised production in the lowlands west of the Morava River, along the lesser watercourses, which were not abandoned during LT D1 (Fig. 20: A–B).

One possible cause of this geographical shift is the presence of the Przeworsk culture sites in central Moravia during this period (Bořitov, Dolany, Dubany, Držovice, Brodek u Prostějova, Olomouc-Neředín, Količín, Břest, Pravčice, Vyškov etc., cf. Meduna 1968, 56–58; Dąbrowska 1988, 113; Kalábek 2006; Droberjar 2014; 2019, 256–257; Čížmář 2018, 145), which indicates the possible disruption of the traditional movement along the route of the Morava River. Finds of the

possible Germanic origin have been evidenced also at the oppidum of Staré Hradisko (Meduna 1968, 56–58; Droberjar 2019, 253–257). Also, during LT D1, the traditional hillfort culture of Púchov in the northeast retreats from its original spatial extent to the mountainous landscape of northern and northwestern Slovakia (Čížmář 1993; Pieta 2008; 2019).

Certain foreign cultural elements, tentatively associated with the massive migration of Germanic people from the North during the late pre-Roman Iron Age, have been recognised also in Bohemia. One cultural formation in northern Bohemia is thought by some (Droberjar 2006; 2019) to be the result of the secondary streams of mass migration of the Przeworsk culture during its A2–3 (LT D1) phase. Evidence is suggested by isolated finds at the oppida (Stradonice, Hrazany, České Lhotice), and settlements (Lužice, Markvartice, Radovesice, Prague-Bubeneč; Droberjar 2019, 253–257). Rare cremation sites (e.g. Nový Bydžov-Chudonice) are, however, dated to the early Roman period (R A; Jílek 2009; Droberjar 2014).

The Kobyly group (Mähling 1944; Venclová 1973; 1987; Waldhauser – Krásný 2006; Beneš – Bursák – Jílek 2017) represents a combination of eastern Germanic (Przeworsk) or central Germanic and La Tène elements brought together by frequent and long-term social and economic interaction. In the wider territory of northern Europe, characteristic cultural traits such as faceted rims on ceramic vessels and iron belt hooks are known from cremation graves in Bohemia (Mähling 1944); they have also found their way to the oppida where they testify to the otherwise difficult-to-detect presence of ‘foreigners’ at the heart of La Tène culture

(Meduna 1968; Čížmář 1996, 368). The presence of such foreign incomers at the oppida can also be seen in the typical northern material culture, such as iron brooches of the Kostrzewski K type (Völling 2005, Map 6) and Beltz J type (or 'Kostrzewski G' type, cf. Bockius – Luckiewicz 2004; Völling 2005, Maps 3–4), Werner C belt hooks (Droberjar 2006, 34), and the iron spur-type of belt hook (Meduna 1968; Keiling 2007). Brooches, like belts, probably came to the oppida on the northerner's clothing, which might also have been adopted by the La Tène population. Brooches and belt hooks occur together in burials of the Kobyly group (Kostrzewski K and spur type belt hooks, cf. Mähling 1944), in Jastorf burials in central Germany (Müller 1985), and in the SOB-GR in LT D2 (Beltz J and Voigt A and B belt types, cf. Krämer 1962; 1968; 1985; Rieckhoff 1995; Stöckli 2018). It is interesting that while it is widely accepted that northern Italian brooches such as Almgren 65 were inspired by Roman clothing (Jud 2006, 98; Sievers 2007, 93), no such inspiration is attributed to clothing from the North.

The disappearance of the Kobyly group (as suggested by the last known burials) is dated to the following phase, that is, the same period as the demise of the La Tène population in Bohemia at the end of LT D1b. The subsequent and large migration of the Großromstedt culture (the Plaňany group) is believed to be unconnected to this group.

LT D1b (LT D2a) (80/70–50/30 BC)

It is extremely difficult to draw a reliable picture of the territory of Bohemia and Moravia during the final phase of the La Tène occupation. The overview of the material culture given above demonstrates very clearly the complex chronology of certain material categories, such as ceramics. Furthermore, the LT D1b phase was probably shorter than the previous LT D1a phase (when the late La Tène occupation appears to have reached its peak) so, apart from the oppida, did not leave any significant archaeological evidence. The metallic finds from the LT D1b, especially brooches and coins, are visually very distinctive. The underrepresentation of these finds in rural settlements, outside the oppida, may therefore be misleading.

Settlements that continue into – or exist solely in – LT D1b are rare in the archaeological record (Křinec: Sedláčková 1991; Žehuň: Danielisová et al. 2018; Militký 2018; Radovesice: Waldhauser und Arbeitsgruppe 1993; some *Viereckschanzen*: John 2019). Due to unreliability of the ceramics dating, more may be discovered only if more metal objects were to be found in the countryside. The increasing number of metal finds from metal detector prospections makes the evidence from the LT D1b more solid, but the intensity of La Tène occupation is still nowhere near comparable to the previous period. The evidence suggests that in all likelihood the countryside was depopulated in the same manner as the oppida (while still acknowledging the possible drawbacks to this theory, as mentioned above).

The chronology of small finds, especially their scarcity during this phase, may suggest a decline in rural

occupation during the LT D1b in both Bohemia and Moravia. Rare finds of late types of brooches – such as Almgren 65, Schüsselfibeln and (the chronologically more problematic) Beltz J, typical of the latest oppida horizons – are known from the rural settlements of Křinec and Lužice (Schüsselfibel, cf. Sedláčková 1991; Salač 1995), Dětkovice and Rajhrad (Beltz J, cf. Čížmář 2018, 76–77), Bořitov and Plenkovice (Almgren 65, cf. Čížmář 2003, 38), and the hilltop site of Nové Město nad Metují (Schüsselfibel, cf. Bek – Mangel – Vích 2017). The presence of two Schüsselfibeln at the burial site at Tišice and the open settlement of Mlékojedy (Droberjar 2014, 255; Beneš 2017), and within the context of the Przeworsk culture (Dąbrowska – Pozarzycka-Urbańska 1978) and the SOB-GR (Stöckli 2018, Abb. 24), may in fact be attributed rather to the lagging of these types of brooches (i.e. their longer period of occurrence) in the new Germanic environment than to the contemporaneity of these sites with the latest occupation of the oppida. The latest glass objects – the simple 3a, 3b, or 16 type bracelets (Venclová 2016, 101) typical of the oppida – are practically unknown in the countryside. Small silver coins of the Stradonice/Karlstein type are known from the oppida and hillforts (Závist, Stradonice, Třisov, Staré Hradisko, Oberleiseberg, etc.), and from a small number of rural settlements such as Žehuň (Militký 2015, 85; 2018, 200) and the *Viereckschanze* of Hradiště u Malovic (John 2019, Abb. 4). Gold staters and their nominals are known only from hoards such as those at Podmokly and Deutsch Jahrndorf in the Austrian Burgenland (Militký 2015, 45, 48–49). It is interesting to note that in more than one case, late objects such as Karlstein coins and palmette-shaped belt fittings are associated with the *Viereckschanzen* (Hradiště u Malovic, Kučeř, cf. John 2019); a red-painted pottery fragment was found during the prospection of Třebско. Whereas in the neighbouring regions of Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg, the *Viereckschanzen* are one of the main settlement forms, in Bohemia there are still relatively few (Fig: 21). Their chronology corresponds largely to LT C2 to LT D1; the later dating within the first century BC was recorded at Pocking-Hartkirchen, Plattling-Pankhofen, Pfaffenhofen, Holzhausen, Sallach and some others (Schaich 1998; Tappert 2007, 197; Müller 2007; von Nicolai 2009, 260–261).

Interestingly enough, although the easily recognisable foreign cultural groups known from the previous period either retreat (the Kobyly group) or have only a vague presence in this particular phase, it is likely that the eastern Germanic (Przeworsk) presence at the oppida did continue into this period. In rural areas, there is only one example of a cultural group dated to LT D1a–b. The Radovesice-Lužice group (Waldhauser und Arbeitsgruppe 1993; Salač 1995) – or 'Lužice horizon' – in northwestern Bohemia is associated with mixed pottery assemblages which feature late La Tène and Germanic ceramics with sharply faceted rims. The cultural group is regarded as the 'first immigration wave' (ignoring, thereby, the Kobyly group, whose 'immigration status' was not so clear) of the Germanic population sometime during LT D1 (latest overview in Beneš – Bursák – Jílek 2017). The features typical of Radovesice-Lužice pottery (such as faceted rims)

Fig. 21. Network of known *Viereckschanzen* in southern Germany and Bohemia. — **Obr. 21.** Výskyt známých lokalit typu *viereckschanzen* v jižním Německu a v Čechách.

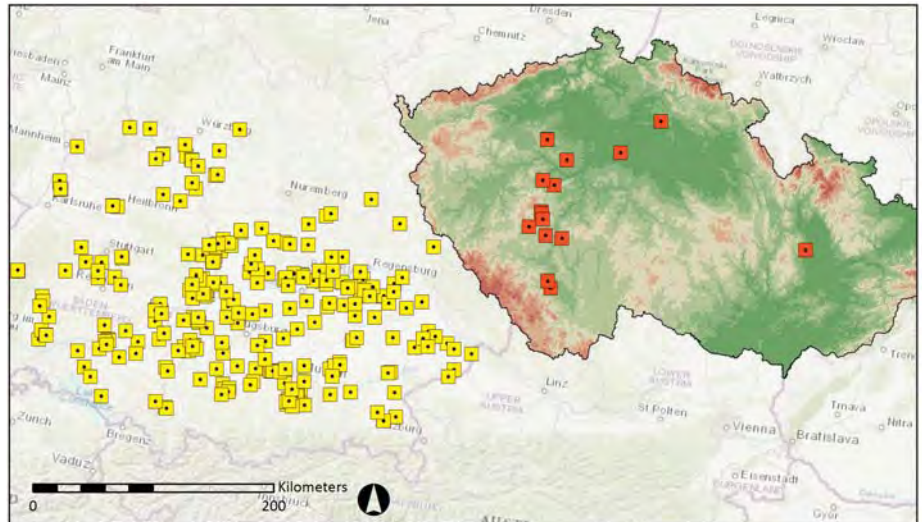
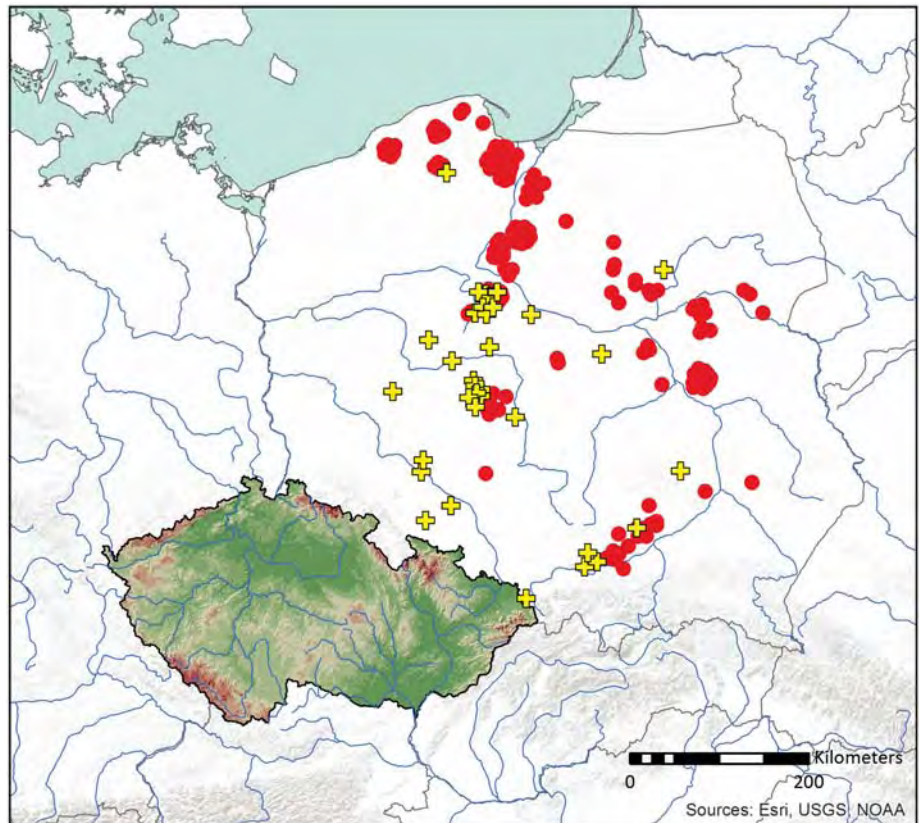


Fig. 22. Late La Tène brooches (red circles) and Boian coins (yellow crosses) in Poland. Based on: Maciałowicz 2015; Rudnicki unpublished. — **Obr. 22.** Pozdně laténské spiny (červená kolečka) a bójské mince (žluté křížky) v oblasti Polska. Podle: Maciałowicz 2015; Rudnicki nepublikováno.



suggest a connection with the Przeworsk culture, the Oder-Warthe or the Gubin groups. Its appearance in Bohemia was probably a result of the expansion of the Przeworsk culture during its A2–A2/A3 phase (roughly equivalent to LT D1a–b), that is contemporaneous with the oppida and the latest burials of the Kobyly group (Droberjar 2006, 22), and prior to the massive migration of the Großromstedt culture to Bohemia in LT D2 / RA (40s–30s of the first century BC). The Radovesice-Lužice group attests to growth in the foreign population (perhaps of Germanic origin) in Bohemia in both the countryside and the oppida, an influx which could have

contributed to the destabilisation of (or at least a change in) the local socio-political conditions.

Changes in the cultural-political environment north of the Bohemian and Moravian territories probably also resulted in the spread of the La Tène culture northwards along the Amber Road, or at least in changes in the way trade (or movement in general) was organised along this important communication route (for a similar idea, cf. Karwowski 2015, 218, 220). Unlike that of the Przeworsk group, however, it was certainly not a massive migration but rather took the form of individual communities occupying isolated enclaves in Mazovia

and Lesser Poland and along the Vistula River (Eastern Pomeria, Kujawy, and eastern Greater Poland). The connection with the earlier migration of the Przeworsk culture is not clear; the finds (especially coins) are distributed in areas previously vacated by the Przeworsk culture or never occupied by it (Kokowski 2003, 77, 97). The increased presence of the La Tène element on the Amber Road in LT D1b is evidenced by a significant increase of characteristic brooches (late Nauheim, Cenisola, Schüsselfibel, Beltz J, Almgren 65, cf. Maciałowicz 2015, 287) in both bronze and iron, and, perhaps more convincingly, of locally produced 'Celtic' gold coins – as evidenced by clay moulds, silver and gold ingots, and local derivatives of the Boian gold mints (Fig. 22; individual groups of coins: 'Malopolska, Śląska, Kaliska and Kujawska', as defined by Rudnicki, usually contain dozens of specimens produced in LT D1–D2; cf. Andratojć – Andratojć 2012; Dymowski – Rudnicki 2012; Rudnicki et al. 2009; Rudnicki 2010; 2012; Rudnicki personal communication). These isolated enclaves are even believed to have been in operation for a short period even after the demise of La Tène culture in Bohemia and Moravia.

Archaeological evidence is sparse, but it is difficult to imagine that in LT D1b, the oppida and other settlements in Bohemia and Moravia were isolated islands in 'an empty sea' or 'a sea gradually flooded by Germanic incomers'. Despite the sparsity of evidence and comparatively short duration, it is likely that a certain proportion of the population remained in the countryside. The first massive wave of Germanic incomers, which completely overtook the previous late La Tène settlements, came no more than a single generation later with the Plaňany group of the Großromstedt culture during the LT D2 phase (40s–30s BC).

LT D2 (R A) (45/40/30–10/5 BC)

During the second half of the first century BC, sometime between the 40s and 10s, as had happened in middle Germany, Mainfranken and Bavaria (Rieckhoff 1995; Zanier 2004a; Peters 2004; Wells 2005; Tappert 2007), the traditional settlement zone along the Elbe and Vltava Rivers experienced the rapid spread of a new culture of Germanic origin. The incoming population of the Großromstedt culture (the Plaňany group, cf. Droberjar 2006) wiped out all the remaining late La Tène settlements. Although the whole process took no more than a single generation, it is unlikely to have happened in the same way across the whole of the Czech lands.

The question remains as to whether the incoming Großromstedt people made any contact with the remnants of the La Tène population; it is an eternal and seemingly unanswerable question. From the archaeological record, we are aware that the Plaňany people often chose the same locations for their settlements as their La Tène predecessors (Fig. 18: B) – it would be much more straightforward to move into residential areas and fields that are still recognisable in the landscape (Salač 1993; Jílek et al. 2013, 103). It is now believed that the fertile zone along the Elbe River was gradually settled by Großromstedt people from central Germany (the principal area of the Großromstedt cul-

ture). Southern Bohemia, on the other hand, would be settled by another wave of Elbe-Germanic immigration, possibly from the Bavarian Danube area (Droberjar 2014, 257). In some areas, we detect (indirect) evidence of contact between these two cultures. Several settlement features in central, eastern and southern Bohemia contain mixed assemblages of Plaňany and La Tène pottery (Zavřel 2004; 2006a; Šulová 2006; Jílek et al. 2013; Jílek – Vokolek – Urbanová 2014; Zavřel 2014; 2016; Beneš – Bursák – Jílek 2017). In central and eastern Bohemia (e.g. Šulová 2006; Jílek et al. 2013), the usual features of La Tène pottery are highly modified, leading to the hypothesis that production techniques were either imitated or barbarised, and that contact was therefore only indirect. In southern Bohemia, however, mixed La Tène and Germanic finds at several Plaňany group settlements of the so called Přešovice group (Zavřel 2016; e.g. Dub Javornice, Zavřel 2006b), which often include whole ceramic vessels, may suggest the continuity of (or partial coexistence with) surviving elements of the La Tène culture. Similar situation is observed also in case of settlements in the southern Bavaria where some sites are assumed to be settled by an incoming Germanic population while others are still being occupied by local communities (Tappert 2007, 199). Both the choice of locations (mostly on the Danube) and the composition of the ceramic assemblages suggests that the new settlers integrated themselves into the still existing society. Apparently, immigrants and (reduced) locals both experienced the decline of the oppida culture together in the second half of the first century BC (Tappert 2007, 199). Several destroyed settlements, such as Lerchenhaid in Straubing and a *Viereckschanze* in Sallach, may account for not-so-very peaceful events around this time (Tappert 2007, 199–200). It is believed that the remnants of the local populations remained in the area till the early Augustan period, some sites (like Sallach or Straubing-Ostenfeld) were in use until the early first century AD (Tappert 2007, 200; Müller 2007).

While Bohemia was being occupied by the Plaňany cultural group, Slovakia retained several flourishing La Tène areas chronologically consistent with LT D2 and which probably account for the latest phase of the indigenous occupation of this part of the Danube zone. Settlements around the acropolis of the Bratislava oppidum – such as Bratislava Old Town, Zlaté Piesky, Vydrice, Senec, Chorvátský and Slovenský Grob etc. (Vrtel 2012, 164–179; Čambal et al. 2015; Čambal 2019, 117) – revealed rich material collections represented by Almgren 18, Alésia, Jezerine and Gorica brooches, Karlstein silver oboli, and very late ceramics, including the oldest evidence of terra sigillata from Vydrice and Bratislava Ventúrska Street (Vrtel 2012, 179, 186), which dates the latest La Tène settlements in southwestern Slovakia to the early Augustan period. The thickened club-shaped rims mentioned above occur regularly at the late La Tène settlements in southwestern Slovakia and Austria, including the Bratislava oppidum, where they are contemporaneous with Gorica, Almgren 18, Feugère 11a, Alésia and other late types of brooches (Čambal et al. 2016; Čambal 2019, 118–119). In Bohemia, however, these brooches are associated only with Germanic sites of the Plaňany group (e.g. Venclová 1975; Droberjar

2006), where, depending on the region, fragments or whole specimens of late La Tène (or La Tène-inspired) pottery could also be found.

Armed conflict with the Dacians before 44 BC might have resulted in the final disappearance of La Tène settlement from Moravia, Austria and Slovakia and the associated cessation of activity along the trade routes. We cannot be completely certain that the decline was final: it probably was not final for sites such as Bratislava and Děvín that became part of the new geo-political system dictated by the kingdom of Noricum (Čambal 2019, 123). Also other sites such as Oberleiseberg remained in operation, albeit in an altered or limited (diminished) form (Karwowski – Militký 2016, 58). The southeast of Moravian and southwest of Slovakian countryside remained practically empty until the first half of the first century AD except for a few sites of the Przeworsk culture. The immigration of the Großmstedt culture, so significant in Bohemia, reached only the westernmost parts of Moravia (the areas of Malá Haná and Lysická sníženina, the sites at Chornice, Sudice and Skalice nad Svitavou, cf. Droberjar 2014, 257); their (rare) presence is now also evidenced in southwestern Slovakia (Čambal – Kovár – Hanuš 2013), together with isolated finds of eastern Germanic (Przeworsk) origin (Pieta 2010, 56–57).

4. Final remarks

The purpose of this article was to draw an overview of the current state of art on the historical development in the first century BC and – on a basis of material culture – to discuss the biggest obstacles that can prevent the creation of a reliable chronology on a supra-regional scale. The first and foremost are the differences in the chronological systems used in different regions owing to specific research traditions. The inconsistency in dating and the definition of the final phase of the La Tène period, i.e. the beginning and division of LT D1 (or LT D2) and possibilities of its absolute dating, persist. This mainly compromises considerations of dating and reasons for the abandonment of the oppida in Central Europe, especially in relation to the situation on the Bratislava oppidum. This caused an incidental overlap of the LT D1b with the LT D2a, which led to a confusion in the chronological systems used. But this is the task mainly for future research.

This work tries to overcome this issue by suggesting its own chronological scheme based on mutual comparison of latest chronological systems of neighbouring areas. It is certain that new chronological systems will be developed in future, possibly different from the one presented in this work. It is therefore important to discuss and explain them thoroughly before drawing any historic or cultural conclusion based on chronology. A suitable and coherent way is basing the analysis on chronologically sensitive objects of material culture (personal accessories, ceramics, or coinage) or other phenomena (building techniques, mobility of objects, imports). Another useful way is including scientific methods to discover trends in the introduction and/or circulation patterns of specific materials, like it was demonstrated on the example of brass.

Beside chronological and material development also the cultural aspects of the historical situation in Bohemia may be unique in comparison with neighbouring areas. The replacement of the late La Tène culture by the incoming Germanic population is one of the rare instances in prehistory of one cultural system rapidly replacing another. Some scholars suggest that late La Tène society was already 'in a state of collapse' even before the arrival of the Germanic tribes. There is a lengthy ongoing debate as to whether the Germanic population took advantage of the previous socio-economic achievements of the La Tène society and hence whether there was some form of contact between the two peoples. The Germanic culture of the early Roman period is usually regarded as 'traditionally prehistoric', in other words simply structured, mostly agrarian (with a very basic form of agriculture) and initially without any profound or archaeologically recognisable social hierarchy.

It has been usual to suggest that the incoming Germanic population used some of these achievements – wheel-thrown pottery, stone rotary querns – and occupied the original La Tène settlement areas for some time (Zavřel 2006b; Droberjar 2008; Salač 2010; Jílek et al. 2013). Evidence at several sites of a mixed material culture led to the hypothesis that several individuals or small communities of La Tène 'craftsmen' survived at Germanic settlements and passed on their technological tradition. The theory has been challenged more recently (Salač 2010) by the suggestion that the underdeveloped Germanic technology never came into contact with 'Celtic' craft industries in Bohemia. But such a belief denies all the evidence of long-term contact between the two societies at the oppida and in certain areas in the countryside for at least the preceding two hundred years. The likelihood is, however, that the Germanic economy and social organisation developed on new territories in Central Europe, independently of the previous La Tène economy. This is especially true of the 'Celtic' monetary economy, which was not taken over by the Germans (they later used Roman currency) or by any of the later societies up until the Early Medieval period.

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English by the author

Souhrn

1. Úvod

Doba laténská a přechod do doby římské jsou bezpochyby jedním z nezáložnějších období prehistorie, zejména co se týče detailní chronologie materiální kultury. Mnoho kulturních okruhů se navzájem mísí a ovlivňují – zejména domácí laténský, ale také germánský a středomořský, tedy římský. Velkým problémem je téměř kompletní absence absolutních dat, např. dendrochronologických (van Endert 1987; Pavlinec 1992; Schaich 1998; Tappert 2007, 197; von Nicolai 2009, 260–261; Stöckli 2018). Co se týče relativní chronologie, pro naše území jsou nejvíce relevantní systémy formulované pro jižní Německo (Bavorsko), Čechy a Moravu (Fischer 1988; Gebhard 1991; 2004; Rieckhoff 1995; Krämer 1962; 2007; Waldhauser 1983) a přítalské oblasti (Demetz 1999; Sedlmayer 2009). Různé chronologické systémy jsou představeny v tab. 1.

První rozdělení stupně LT D bylo navrženo W. Krämerem (1962) na základě nálezů nauheimské spony (LT D1) a spon s prohnutým lučičkem a Beltz J (LT D2), které se nacházely v bavorských hrobech mladších, než je závěr osídlení na oppidu Manching. Následné systémy dělily fázi LT D1 ještě na LT D1a – Nauheim a LT D1b – Almgren 65 a lžičkovitá spona (Fischer 1988; Gebhard 1991; Waldhauser 1983). V Čechách se stupeň LT D1b ztotožňuje se závěrečným osídlením oppid a LT D2 s již germánským osídlením plaňanské skupiny Großromstedtské kultury. Západní, porýnské modely (Miron 1986; 1991; Rieckhoff 1995; 2018; převzaté od Drda – Rybová 1992; 1997), jsou problematické vzhledem k časnějšímu datování spon s prohnutým lučičkem, které neodpovídají vývoji v Čechách a v podunajské oblasti. Chronologii těchto spon je právem věnována pozornost, neboť jejich absence na oppidech jasně značí konec laténského osídlení v Čechách a na Moravě. První, kdo odědil fázi LT D1b konec laténu byl J. Waldhauser (1983). Po něm tak učinili i badatelé v sousedním Bavorsku na základě studia materiální kultury z oppida Manching (Sievers 2004). Důležité závěry přinesly nálezy z oppida Ravist, kdy konec zdejšího osídlení v tzv. horizontu V. (Drda – Rybová 1992; 1997), stejně jako osídlení oppid v Čechách a na Moravě značí spony Almgren 65, lžičkovitá, Beltz J a Jezerine. Na rozdíl od oppid v západní střední Evropě je vývoj ve středním Podunají charakterizován zejména materiální kulturou stupně LT D2, jak byl definován na základě osídlení oppida v Bratislavě (Čambal 2019). Zde reprezentuje LT D1 starší sídelní fázi (125–58/44 př. n. l.) a LT D2 mladší sídelní fázi (58/44–20/0 př. n. l.). LT D1 se dále dělí na LT D1a a LT D1b (Čambal 2019) a následně se dělí i fáze LT D2. Na Slovensku je LT D1 reprezentováno zejména osídlením Pohanské - Plaveckého Podhradí a Smolenic-Molpíru a nauheimskou sponou; mladší LT D2 charakterizuje zejména počátek mincovní produkce hexadrachem typu BIATEC. Přelomem je „bójsko-dácký“ konflikt před rokem 45–44 př. n. l. Období LT D2b je „post-Burebista“ horizontem, který reprezentuje konec laténského osídlení v Podunají a nárůst vlivu z Norického království (dnešní Rakousko). Archeologicky je toto období definováno sponami Alésia, Jezerine, Gorica, Almgren 238a a Almgren 18, které jsou na českém území již zcela spojovány s germánským osídlením plaňanské skupiny. Konec osídlení Bratislavy není dosud uspokojivě vyřešen, ale některé importy naznačují, že mohlo trvat do časné augustovské období (Kysela in print; Čambal 2019). Na rozdíl od Čech, je germánské osídlení Slovenska velmi sporadické (Čambal – Kovár – Hanuš 2013, 79–84). Pro účely tohoto článku a vzhledem k potřebě odlišit počátky římského osídlení Čech a pozdně laténského horizontu v Podunají, bude závěrečný horizont osídlení Bratislavy označován jako LT D2 (60/40–20/0 př. n. l.) a stejný horizont v Čechách a na Moravě je již v literatuře označován jako LT D2 / RA (zejména Droberjar 2006; srov. tab. 2). Stupeň LT D1a v Čechách je datován do let 130/120 př. n. l. (Kysela 2013, 88–133) a je definován hlavně nauheimskou sponou; následný LT D1b by měl začínat kolem 80/70 př. n. l. a charakterizují ho zejména spony Almgren 65 a lžičkovité. LT D1b odpovídá stupni LT D2a (keltský latén), definovanému E. Droberjarem (Droberjar 2006). Následné období LT D2 není na českých lokalitách vůbec spojováno s laténským osídlením, a pokud se vyskytuje na laténských lokalitách (oppida), reprezentuje pouze ojedinělé nálezy (Almgren 238, Alésia, Almgren 18). Zde se již jedná o stupeň LT D2 / RA.

Historické události, jejichž ozvuky mohou být zachyceny v archeologickém obraze Čech, jsou zejména spojovány s masivní migrací przeworské kultury (Dąbrowska 1988, 62; Godtowski 1978, 118–122; 1985), která mohla zanechat stopu v podobě osídlení kobylyské skupiny v severovýchodních Čechách (Droberjar 2006, 16–22; 2019). Přibližně do tohoto období spadá v sousedním Bavorsku tzv. jihobavorská skupina (SOB-GR), která je známa hlavně z pohřebišť, ale poslední dobou i ze sídlišť (Christlein 1982; Rieckhoff 1995; Stöckli 2018). Ta má být mladší než osídlení oppid, ale současná s pozdně laténským osídlením Bratislavy. Je jasné, že mnoho regionů má kompletně jiný historický vývoj, na který reaguje i hmotná kultura. Nicméně součásti oděvu a ostatní, zejména kovové, nálezy sledují zřejmě širší vývojové schéma a mohou být společné i kulturně rozdílným oblastem (jak o tom svědčí jejich výskyt v hrobech SOB-GR a na pozdně laténských sídlištních lokalitách v Podunají).

2. Přehled archeologického vývoje v prvním století př. n. l.

2.1. Spony

Nejmłodšími typy spon jsou Almgren 65, lžičkovitá (Kostrzewski J), Kostrzewski K a Beltz J (obr. 2, 3). Jejich výskyt, zejména na oppidech, je tak častý, že mohou být považovány za spolehlivé chronologické indikátory. Méně častá, ale neméně důležitá jsou spínadla typická později pro Bratislavu a Oberleiseberg (pozdní Nauheim, Almgren 238, Almgren 18, Jezerine, Cenisola, Tierkopffibel, Gorica a Alésia). Lžičkovité spony jsou v ČR častější v železném provedení. Pouze výjimečně se nacházejí jižně od Dunaje (obr. 4: A). Almgren 65 se oproti tomu nacházejí zejména jižně od Dunaje (obr. 4: A) a jsou imitovány v bronzě i železe. Beltz J jsou typické pro germánské oblasti v Polsku a Německu (obr. 4: C) a vyskytují se také na oppidech. Kostrzewski K má zalomený lučiček a kratší dobu výskytu během LT D1 – LT D2. Vyskytuje se ve velké oblasti v severní části střední Evropy (obr. 4: B). Poslední roky existence oppid se dají symbolicky vyznačit sponami Almgren 238 a 65c (Demetz 1999, 29, 43, 42–48, Tab. 4–5; Gebhard 1991, Tab. 10: 184; Sedlmayer 2009, 195, 201), datovanými kolem let 50/40 př. n. l. a také do období 30/20 př. n. l. (Čambal et al. 2015, 234; Demetz 1999, 46–47; Garbsch 1965, 51; Sedlmayer 2009, 195). Poslední exempláře v Čechách jsou téměř výhradně vyrobeny ze železa. Ukazuje to na jejich pravděpodobně lokální produkci. Klíčovým pro chronologii je výskyt spony Almgren 18 (s prohnutým lučičkem), ta je v Čechách spojována výhradně s osídlením plaňanské skupiny (Peschel 1978; 1991; 2005; Droberjar 2006; Venclová 1975) a v Německu se SOB-GR (Krämer 1962; 1985; Rieckhoff 1995; obr. 4: D). V Bratislavě je hlavní období osídlení spojeno se sponami typu Aucissa, Alésia, Almgren 238, Jezerine a Tierkopffibel (Čambal 2017; 2019, 119–120; 2019a; Bazovský 2017). Je zajímavé, že Oberleiseberg a Bratislava mají navzájem odlišné spektrum spon – LT D1b typy v Oberleisebergu a mladší LT D2 typy v Bratislavě.

2.2. Opasky

Typickými spínadly opasků ve stupni LT D1 jsou kruhové zápony a nákončí, které se vyskytují až do 1. století n. l. (Deimel 1987, 77, 244–249, Tab. 57; Droberjar 1999, 93, Abb. 21). Pozdější typy jsou označovány jako **Werner C** (obr. 5: 13–17; Droberjar 2006, 33–36) a bývají vyrobeny ze železa. Jejich rozšíření je typické pro oblast na sever od středního Dunaje (obr. 6: A) a pro oblasti SOB-GR. Jsou datovány od pozdního laténu do tiberiovského období. Palmetovité zápony (obr. 5: 1–6) jsou známy nejvíce z „východokeltské“ oblasti od Čech po Rakousko, Maďarsko a Slovensko (obr. 6: A). Jsou datovány do LT D1b zejména na základě společného výskytu se sponami Almgren 65. Jednoduché železné hákovité zápony jsou spojovány s germánskou přítomností na oppidech (Meduna 1968; Waldhauser 1992a, Abb. 17) v LT D1, stejně tak se vyskytují v hrobech kobylyské skupiny a v labskogermánských kontextech (obr. 6: A). Ostatní typy – tzv. Lochgürtelhaken nebo Voigt A a B (obr. 5: 9–10) se kromě Stradonic vyskytují zejména v hrobech plaňanské skupiny, také v oblastech mezi Rýnem a Labem a v rámci SOB-GR (obr. 6: B). Posledním typem jsou zdobené „Stabgürtelhaken“ typu Voigt A, Voigt B a Sotin typy (obr. 5: 11–12), rozšířené v germánských oblastech a jižně od Dunaje.

2.3. Mince

Zhodnocení chronologického vývoje mincí je založeno na nedávném zpracování kolekce z oppida Stradonice a zničených depotů z Podmokel a ze Stradonic C (Militký 2015). Depot z rakouské lokality Deutsch Jahrndorf (Paulsen 1933) je důležitý vzhledem k propojení bójské produkce v Čechách a produkce v Bratislavě v následujícím období. Pro pozdní mincovnictví v Čechách jsou důležité horizonty C a D *Castelina* (podle *Castelina 1965*; Militký 2015, 48; obr. 7). Oproti starším ražbám mají trochu jinou ikonografii a lehčí váhu. Rentgenfluorescenční analýzy prokázaly snížení ryzosti zlata v mincích z 99–94 % na 94–88 %. Mezi stříbrnými mincemi jsou pro období LT D1b typické oboly typu Stradonice/Karlstein (Militký 2015, 84). Jde o lokální variantu rozšířeného typu Karlstein. Jejich přesná chronologie byla dlouho předmětem diskuzí, ale předpokládá se, že byly produkovány (zejména v Bratislavě) ještě kolem let 40/30 př. n. l. Objevují se na většině českých oppid a také na dalších rovinných lokalitách. Fáze D je spojována především s mincovnictvím na oppidu v Bratislavě. Jde o hexadrachmy typu BIATEC, které byly raženy mezi lety 60 a 40 př. n. l. Poklad z Děvínské Kobylky, který obsahoval i sponu Almgren 238, může znamenat jejich delší oběh (Čambal 2019, 120). Propojení s bójskou produkcí naznačil důležitý depot z římské stavby I. na Bratislavském hradě, který obsahoval stříbrné hexadrachmy typu BIATEC, zlaté statéry s opisem BIATEC a NONNOS a stříbrné drachmy typu Simmering (Kolníková 2012b, 199, 205–207; Militký 2015, 120; Čambal 2019, 122). Drobné oboly typu Karlstein byly součástí stejného mincovního systému. Konec bratislavské mincovní produkce je datován před rok 44 př. n. l., což platí pro BIATEC, ale oboly typu Karlstein mohly být produkovány ještě o něco déle.

2.4. Středomořské importy

Bronz

Bronzové nádoby jsou předmětem detailní publikace chystané Janem Kyselou (Kysela *in print*). Zde je tedy uveden jen základní přehled. Většina bronzového nádobí má velmi dlouhý výskyt a nehodí se tak pro detailní chronologii. Mezi mladé typy patří situly Eggers 18 a 19, Idria pohárky a naběračky Castoldi-Feugère (Droberjar 2006, 14–16, obr. 2, 3; Kysela 2013, Kysela – Danielisová – Militký 2014; Kysela – Militký 2018).

Bronzové mince importované ze Středomoří většinou spadají do období LT C1–C2, tedy staršího, než je doba osídlení oppid. Většina mincí pochází lokality Němčice nad Hanou (obr. 9: 1–3). Podle chemických analýz nebyly recyklovány, i když se nacházely rozseknuté na více kusů (obr. 9: 5). Produzta asy byly nalezeny na oppidu Trenčianské Bohuslavice (Pieta 2008, 114).

Mezi pozdější nálezy patří i zrcadla, i když podle nejnovějších názorů se jedná spíše o lokální produkty než o importy (Kysela 2013, 177; Pieta 2019, 273). Nálezy z prostředí púchovské kultury naznačují, že byly v oblibě i během časně doby římské.

Mosaz

Mosazné předměty, tedy bronzové slitiny s obsahem zinku, patří mezi nedávné nálezy na českých oppidech. Většinou se jedná o mosazné prsteny (obr. 10), které jsou jistě římského původu. Z oppida Závist pochází kromě prstenů také mosazná spona typu Almgren 65 (obr. 10: 1), která je pravděpodobně post-césarovská (Demetz 1999, 38) a je téměř totožná s nálezem ze Slovinska (Istenič – Šmit 2007, 141, Fig. 1). Z římského prostředí se zmiňuje produkce mosazných mincí mezi roky 46 a 45 př. n. l. (Istenič – Šmit 2007, 140; Hanel – Bode 2016, 168), i když mosaz se pravidelně objevuje v římském prostředí od 60. let. To pomáhá také datovat mosazné předměty na oppidech, kde patří mezi nejmladší nálezy svým zařazením do let 60–40 př. n. l. Více nálezů pochází z oppid s mladším osídlením (Stradonice, Trisov). Je zajímavé, že žádný mosazný prsten nepochází z Bratislavy. Zde se naopak vyskytují pravidelně mosazné spony – Alésia, Almgren 238, Jezerine, Tierkopffibel a Almgren 18. Mezi prestižní nálezy patří bezesporu mosazný ingot (11,9 kg), nalezený v římské budově II. na Bratislavském hradě. Otázka původu mosazi je zatím nezodpovězena.

Skleněné nádoby

Velmi zřídka nalezené skleněných nádob pocházejí z několika českých oppid (obr. 11: 11–12). Jedná se o helenistické monochromní a mosaikové sklo (Venclová 2016, 90–92; Venclová *et al.* 2015; 2018). Opakní modré sklo je datováno před roky 50/40 př. n. l. (Venclová 2016, 92).

Keramika (amfory a terra sigillata)

Amfory se nacházejí zejména v Bratislavě. Podle určení J. Kysely (Kysela – Olmer 2014) se jedná především o typy Lamboglia 2, které jsou charakteristické pro adriatickou oblast. V Čechách byly tyto typy nalezeny na oppidech Stradonice a Staré Hradisko. Nálezy amfor typu Lamboglia 2 a Dressel spadají časově před polovinu prvního století př. n. l. Stejně mohou být datovány také amfory nalezené na oppidu Manching, i přes názory o jejich časnějším datování (Sievers 2004, 69). Mezi nálezy importované keramiky patří rovněž terra sigillata pocházející z Bratislavy, která je datovaná do období ne dřívějšího než jsou 40. léta př. n. l. (Čambal *et al.* 2015, 231; Vrtel 2012, 179, 186; Kysela *in print*).

2.5. Laténské sklo

Keltské sklo představují zejména náramky a skleněné prstencové korály. Nedávno byla zhodnocena velká kolekce skla z lokalit Němčice nad Hanou a Starého Hradiska (Venclová 2016). Je nutné zmínit, že chronologická citlivost skleněných artefaktů není příliš velká a většinou se dají datovat pouze na celý stupeň. Mezi nejmladší typy tak patří jednoduché náramky – jednobarevné s D průřezem, které možná byly nošeny v setech. Pozdní skleněná produkce je daleko lépe poznána díky skleněným perlám skupiny 23, 24 a 25. Poslední dvě skupiny jsou datované výlučně do stupně LT D1.

2.6. Keramika

Chronologie keramiky je většinou regionálně omezená, a je proto těžko aplikovatelná na širší geografické oblasti. Určení stáří keramiky je také zřídka kdy detailnější než pouze vyjádření na období – keramika středolátenská a mladolátenská. Nicméně keramika z nejmladšího laténskému období (obr. 12) je lépe rozpoznatelná díky většímu počtu charakteristických znaků. Jsou to většinou ostřejší profily nádob a drsnější povrch (Waldhauser 1996, 340–341, Abb. 1; Venclová 1998, 162). Dále se jedná o černý smolný nátěr a malovanou keramiku obecně. Ve střední Evropě by se měla vyskytovat ve stupni LT D, i když její původ pravděpodobně sahá už do LT C2 (Maier 1970, 78–144; Cumberpatch 1993, 60–62; Loughton 2005, 156–157). Jemné hřebenování je zmiňováno mezi pozdními znaky (Trebsche 2003). Hrubé hřebenování na negrafitových nádobách je také velmi pozdní (Čizmář 1987, 223). To je doprovázeno obecně úbytkem výskytu grafitu (Venclová 1998, 165; Čizmář 2003, 57; Sievers 2004, 70). V Bratislavě byly rozpoznány jako velmi mladé misky typu Békásmegyer, misky typu Roanne a keramické pokličky s červenou malbou, které zpravidla chybí v českých a moravských nálezových kontextech (Čambal *et al.* 2015, 226–231).

Zvláštní skupinu reprezentuje keramika v tzv. laténské tradici, nacházející se v smíšených, laténsko-germánských, kontextech (Droberjar 2006; 2014; Beneš – Bursák – Jílek 2017). Pochází z lokalit Praha-Horoměřice, Slepotic a z nalezišť skupiny Lužice-Radovesice a skupiny Přešovice-Friedenhain v jižních Čechách (Zavřel 2016). Velmi mladé jsou kontexty z Horoměřic a Hostovic (Šulová 2006; Mangel – Thér 2017), které mají analogie z bavorské lokality Straubing – Bajuwarenstraße, kde jsou datovány sponami Gorica, Beltz J, Kostrzewski K a lžičkovitou sponou (Tappert 2007, 196).

Velmi pozdní znak objevující se na keramice byl nedávno diskutován v detailu (Čambal *et al.* 2014; 2016; Čambal 2019, 119). Tzv. kyjovité okraje na hrubé keramice jsou nejlépe rozpoznány ve středolátenská oblastí, kde jsou datovány do LT D1/D2–D2. Objevují se někdy i v českých kontextech mezi pozdním laténem a časnou dobou římskou (Zavřel 2014). Nicméně je to tak obecný a nespecifický znak, že v jiných regionech je jeho přesné rozpoznání obtížné.

2.7. Další chronologický znak – opevnění

Nedávná systematická geofyzikální prospekce na oppidech v Čechách umožnila identifikaci specifického druhu opevnění, kterým

jsou několikanásobné sypané valy (*Křivánek – Danielisová – Drda 2013*). Toto opevnění je typické pro celou středodunajskou oblast (*Danielisová 2015*, 184–185) a je zachováno pouze ve formě příkopů mezi jinak rozoranými valy. Ve své pravděpodobně kompletní formě se dochovalo pouze na oppidu České Lhotice (*obr. 13; Danielisová 2010*). Toto opevnění zřejmě mělo vojenskou funkci.

3. Vývojové trendy v osídlení tzv. bójské zóny

3.1. Otázka spolehlivé chronologie

Nejspolehlivějším indikátorem dynamiky osídlení lokalit v této zóně je statistika vytvořená na základě chronologicky citlivých materiálů. Spony přitom představují spolehlivé kritérium pouze tehdy, když se vyskytují v dostatečném počtu (*obr. 14*). Podobně tomu je pokud z lokalit pochází dostatečné množství železných spon (*obr. 15*), které v pozdním latěnu nahrazují spony z bronzů. Jestliže porovnáme dynamiku výskytu spon s jiným sidelním materiálem, jako jsou keramika a zvířecí kosti, dostaneme podobné trendy (*obr. 14*).

3.2. Vývojové trendy centrálních lokalit

Ve středodunajské zóně zahrnující území Čech, Moravy, jihovýchodního Bavorska, Dolního Rakouska a jihozápadního Slovenska se v pozdním latěnu nacházela komplexní soustava opevněných i otevřených sídlišť (*obr. 16*), která disponují doklady o své pozici v nadregionální ekonomické i politické síti. Zatímco v Bavorsku, Čechách, na Moravě a na Slovensku se jedná především o opevněné lokality, v rakouském Podunají jsou to většinou otevřené aglomerace a menší opevněná sídliště. Z porovnání vývojové dynamiky osídlení sledovaných lokalit (*obr. 17*) je jasné, že ne všechny oblasti mají dynamiku stejnou. Dobrým příkladem je chronologická analýza osídlení oppida Manching (*Wendling 2013*). Většina lokalit má nejsilnější fáze osídlení během stupně LT D1a (nauheimské a ostatní spony), některé vykazují známky hustého osídlení již v předchozí fázi LT C2 (Manching, Staré Hradisko, Závist), ale strmý pád ve stupni LT D1b. Některé lokality, jako Stradonice a Třísos, ovšem ukazují silné osídlení v obdobích LT D1a i LT D1b. Dvě lokality blíže k Podunají (Trenčianské Bohuslavice a Oberleiseberg) nedosahují vrcholu dříve než v LT D1b. Úplnou výjimkou je Bratislava, která ukazuje pouze slabé osídlení ve stupni LT D1b a vrchol během LT D2.

Období LT C2

Toto období je typologicky vymezeno sponami Mötschwil (*Gebhard 1991*, 87; *Márton 2004; Čížmář 2006*, 262; *Čížmář et al. 2008*) a časnějšími typy Kostrzewski – A, B, C (srov. *obr. 2*, 3). Po přehodnocení stratigrafie brány D na oppidu Závist došlo k posunu datování počátků jejího osídlení až k polovině 2. století př. n. l. (*Kyselá 2013*, 127–131). Osídlení Bratislavy je sice registrováno již v tomto období, ale není nijak významné (*Čambal 2019*, 117). Lokality s významným osídlením v tomto stupni jsou Manching, Závist, Staré Hradisko, Pohanská a Molpír. Lokality jako Třísos, Stradonice, Trenčianské Bohuslavice a hlavně Bratislava vykazují v tomto období pouze nevýznamné aktivity (*obr. 17*).

Období LT D1a

Některé lokality kolem jantarové stezky (jako např. Němčice nad Hanou) zaznamenaly v této době výrazný úpadek osídlení, nebo dokonce zánik. Fáze LT D1 je doménou zejména opevněných lokalit – oppid a hradišť, ale také otevřených aglomerací (Neubau). Chronologicky je vymezena výskytem spon Nauheim a Kostrzewski D/E. V Čechách oppida vytvořila typickou územní strukturu podél Vltavy, další propojila obchodní stezky směrem na sever a do adriatické oblasti. Podle výzkumů (*Danielisová – Štekerová 2015*) se vrchol osídlení většiny lokalit nacházel mezi roky 120 a 70 př. n. l.

Období LT D1b

Toto období je reprezentováno zejména sponami Almgren 65 a lžičkovitou. Ačkoliv někde dochází k úbytku osídlení (*obr. 16 a 17*), celková podunajská struktura hlavních sídlišť je stále zachována. Ve středodunajské zóně, kde dochází k úpadku osídlení na většině lokalit, se v tomto období dostává do popředí oppidum v Bratislavě. Zejména chronologie mincovní produkce ukazuje na návaznost na mincovnictví v Čechách a naznačuje, že se na ní mohly podílet odtud přichozí elity.

Období LT D2

Oppida v Čechách jsou většinou opuštěna, až na izolované aktivity reprezentované sponami Almgren 65c a Almgren 238. Poslední osídlení zůstalo pravděpodobně na oppidu ve Stradonicích. Kromě toho se již tato fáze ztotožňuje s osídlením germánské plaňanské skupiny. Nejspolehlivějším indikátorem konce aglomerací v podunajské zóně je výskyt spony Almgren 18, která chybí v kolekcích z oppid Manching, Stradonice a Oberleiseberg. Oproti tomu je tato fáze vrcholem osídlení oppida v Bratislavě. Velká změna v osídlení je pozorována kolem let 70–69 př. n. l., kdy dochází také k nárůstu specializované produkce a produkce mincí. Toto období formálně končí rokem 44 př. n. l., tedy s dávkou invazí Burebisty proti lokální Bójům (*Čambal et al. 2015; Karwowski – Militký 2011; Čambal 2019*, 124). Některé sídlištní aktivity v tomto prostoru ale byly pozorovány i později a jsou datovány do časné augustovského období, tedy do posledních dvou dekád posledního století př. n. l. (*Čambal 2019*, 125).

3.3. Co víme o pozdně latěnském osídlení venkova (LT C2–D2 / R A)?

Archeologické prameny svědčí o tom, že nejvýraznější osídlení spadá do „oppidálního období“, tedy do fáze LT C2–D1 (*obr. 18*). Z tohoto období pochází i doklady osídlení marginálních poloh, např. ve vyšších nadmořských výškách (*Waldhauser 2001*, 125; *Mangel – Danielisová 2014; Pokorný 2011*). Přesná chronologie venkovského osídlení však naráží na problémy s absencí dobře datovatelných nálezů, jako jsou např. spony, nemluvě o chybějících exaktních datech (radiokarbonová a dendrochronologická data). V sousedním Německu mají k dispozici dendrochronologicky datované lokality, např. *viereckschanzen* (*Stöckli 2018*, 211).

Období LT C2–D1a (120–80/70 př. n. l.)

Tato fáze je vrcholem latěnského osídlení Čech a hustota osídlení oppid se odráží i na venkově. Nicméně existují náznaky, že větší a bohatší osídlení spadá do fáze LT C2 spíše než do následné fáze LT D1, a to jak v Čechách (*obr. 19*), tak i na Moravě (*Venclová 2008*, 177, 185–192; *Danielisová et al. 2018*, 160–164; *Bursák – Kacl 2017*, 478, 488–489; *Jošková 2016*, 176–177; *Čížmář 2018*, 152). Na Moravě je navíc alarmující téměř kompletní vysídlení koridoru kolem řeky Moravy, přičemž osídlené zůstávají pouze významnější polohy západně od této komunikace (*Čížmář 2018*, 72; *obr. 20*). Příčinou může být rozptýlené osídlení przeworské kultury na střední Moravě (Bořitov, Dolany, Dubany, Držovice, Brodek u Prostějova, Olomouc-Neředín, Količín, Břest, Pravčice, Vyškov a další; srov. *Meduna 1968*, 56–58; *Dąbrowska 1988*, 113; *Kalábek 2006; Droberjar 2014; 2019*, 256–257; *Čížmář 2018*, 145). Nálezy germánského původu pocházejí také z oppida Staré Hradisko (*Meduna 1968*, 56–58; *Droberjar 2019*, 253–257). Během LT D1 rovněž dochází k opuštění tradičních poloh púchovské kultury na Moravě a k zúžení jejího území pouze na region Slovenska (*Čížmář 1993; Pieta 2008; 2019*). Odrazy germánských pohybů severně od našeho území byly zachyceny také v Čechách. Sekundární projevy masivní migrace przeworské kultury ve fázích A2–3 (LT D1) pravděpodobně zasáhly do severovýchodních Čech v podobě tzv. kobylské skupiny (*Mähling 1944; Venclová 1973; 1987; Waldhauser – Krásný 2006; Beneš – Bursák – Jílek 2017*), která v sobě obsahuje kombinaci przeworských, středoněmeckých a latěnských znaků. Kobylská skupina je známá zejména z hrobů (*Mähling 1944*), ale najdeme ji také na oppidech (*Meduna 1968; Čížmář 1996*, 368) a germánské projevy v tomto stupni lze rozpoznat i na sídlišťích (Lužice, Markvartice, Radovesice, Praha-Bubeneč; *Droberjar 2019*, 253–257). Typickými projevy materiální kultury jsou spony Kostrzewski K, Beltz J, Werner C a ostruhovité zápony (*Völling 2005*, Map 3–4, 6; *Bockius – Luckiewicz 2004; Droberjar 2006*, 34; *Meduna 1968; Keiling 2007*). Tyto předměty dorazily na latěnské lokality pravděpodobně jako součásti kroje/oděvu příchozích z germánské oblasti. Některé z nich byly přejaty domácími obyvatelstvem (např. Beltz J a Kostrzewski K). Vymizení kobylské skupiny se datuje do následné fáze LT D1b, ze které pocházejí nejmladší detekované hroby na našem území.

Období LT D1b (LT D2a) (80/70–50/30 př. n. l.)

Je velmi těžké spolehlivě rekonstruovat obraz laténského osídlení Čech a Moravy v jeho poslední fázi. Fáze LT D1b byla pravděpodobně kratší než fáze předchozí a nepochází z ní velmi mnoho spolehlivě datovatelných nálezů. Proto se zdá, že Čechy a Morava tou dobou již byly téměř vyčistiány a osídlení se koncentrovalo pouze na centrální lokality. Tato představa ale může být mylná. Sídliště, byť zřídka, existují: Křinec (Sedláčková 1991), Žehuň (Danielisová et al. 2018; Militký 2018), Radovesice (Waldhauser und Arbeitsgruppe 1993), některé z *viereckschanzen* (John 2019). Detektorové nálezy z tohoto období přibývají, nicméně je jisté, že se jedná o fázi, kdy všeobecně osídlení zaniká a mizí. Z venkovských sídlišť pocházejí nepočetné nálezy spon typu Almgren 65, lžičkových a Beltz J. Přítomnost lžičkových spon na plaňanském sídlišti v Mlékojedech, v kontextu *przeworské* kultury a v rámci SOB-GR naznačují jejich přežívání do mladšího období. Drobné stříbrné oboly typu Stradonice/Karlstein jsou známy z rurálních sídlišť čím dál častěji především díky detektorové prospekci (Militký 2015, 85; 2018, 200; John 2019, Abb. 4). Zlaté statéry jsou omezeny pouze na depoty a z venkova zatím není doklad o jejich cirkulaci (Militký 2015, 45, 48–49). Nápadně pozdní osídlení se koncentruje zejména na sídliště typu *viereckschanzen*. V sousedním Bavorsku a Bádensku-Württembersku jsou velmi častou formou venkovských lokalit (obr. 21) a existují doklady, že bývají osídleny velmi dlouho, až do počátku doby římské (Schaich 1998; Tappert 2007, 197; Müller 2007; von Nicolai 2009, 260–261).

Germánské osídlení se více projevovalo v předchozí fázi. Výrazné uskupení však představuje skupina Radovesice-Lužice v severozápadních Čechách (Waldhauser und Arbeitsgruppe 1993; Salač 1995), která je někdy označována také jako lužický horizont. Představuje především laténské objekty s výraznou příměsí germánských keramických prvků. Tato kulturní skupina pravděpodobně reprezentuje „první vlnu germánských imigrantů“ na naše území (poslední přehled viz Beneš – Bursák – Jílek 2017). Její kulturní příslušnost se hledá v *przeworské* kultuře, ve skupinách odersko-warthské nebo gubinské. Její přítomnost v Čechách je pravděpodobně zapříčiněna migrací *przeworské* kultury. Jedná se o kulturní vlnu, která předchází masivnímu přílivu *großbromstedtské* kultury do Čech v následujícím období LT D2 / R A (40.–30. léta 1. století př. n. l.).

Změna poměrů se dá sledovat i mimo naše území, kde se zejména kolem uprázdněného koridoru jantarové stezky v pozdním latěnu začínají množit doklady laténské kultury. Nejednalo se zřejmě o souvislé osídlení, ale o rozptýlené enklávy v Mazovsku, Malopolsku a kolem řeky Visly. Na těchto územích dochází k velkému nárůstu počtu nálezů laténských spon (pozdní Nauheim, Cenisola, lžičkovité, Beltz J, Almgren 65; srov. Maciałowicz 2015, 287) v bronzu i v železe a zároveň jsou odtud známy jednoznačné doklady produkce lokálních keltských zlatých mincí (obr. 22), které navazují na bójskou mincovní produkci a jsou raženy v období LT D1–D2 (Andraťočí – Andraťočí 2012; Dymowski – Rudnicki 2012; Rudnicki et al. 2009; Rudnicki 2010; 2012; informace z osobní komunikace). Tyto enklávy patrně zanikly později než laténské osídlení Čech a Moravy.

Ačkoliv jsou archeologické nálezy velmi vzácné, je těžké si představit oppida jako izolované ostrovy v prázdné zemi. Je zřejmé, že alespoň část původní populace stále obývala pozdně laténský venkov. Až teprve v následující fázi se území Čech rychle zaplnilo příchozími germánského původu.

Období LT D2 (R A) (45/40/30–10/5 př. n. l.)

Někdy mezi lety 40 a 10 př. n. l. zaznamenaly tradiční sídelní zóny v Čechách rozšíření nového kulturního elementu, podobně jako tomu bylo ve středním Německu a v Bavorsku (Rieckhoff 1995; Zanier 2004a; Peters 2004; Wells 2005; Tappert 2007). Plaňanská skupina *großbromstedtské* kultury překryla poslední známky laténského osídlení (Droberjar 2006). Tento jev ale pravděpodobně neprobíhal se stejnou dynamikou na celém území Čech. Základní otázkou zůstává, zdali se příchozí germánského původu vůbec dostali do kontaktu s nejmladší laténskou kulturou. Je jisté, že si pro svá sídliště vybírali především tradiční sídelní zónu (obr. 18: B). V současné době se přijímá názor, že území kolem Labe bylo osíd-

leno plaňanskou skupinou původem ze středního Německa. Jižní Čechy oproti tomu měly být zabrány jinou vlnou, která pocházela z území Bavorska (Droberjar 2014, 257). V některých oblastech máme, byť nepřímé, doklady kontaktů s laténským obyvatelstvem. Jsou to především objekty se smíšenou laténskou a plaňanskou keramikou (Zavřel 2004; 2006a; Šulová 2006; Jílek et al. 2013; Jílek – Vokolek – Urbanová 2014; Zavřel 2014; 2016; Beneš – Bursák – Jílek 2017). Ve středních a východních Čechách (Šulová 2006; Jílek et al. 2013) jsou laténské znaky na keramice výrazně modifikovány a svědčí spíše o možné inspiraci, zatímco v jižních Čechách, na lokalitách tzv. přešovické skupiny, se nacházejí celé laténské nádoby, které by mohly svědčit o kulturním kontaktu obou skupin (Zavřel 2006b; 2016). Podobná situace je pozorována na lokalitách v jižním Bavorsku (Tappert 2007, 199), kde se zdá, že germánské imigranti a zbytky laténské populace společně zažili zánik osídlení oppid. Některé lokality navíc nesou stopy násilného zániku a jiné byly využívány až do 1. století n. l. (Tappert 2007, 200; Müller 2007).

Zatímco v Čechách se již nacházela plaňanská skupina, na Slovensku dále kvetlo laténské osídlení, včetně osídlení oppida v Bratislavě, které v této fázi (LT D2) nabylo svého vrcholu. Jedná se pravděpodobně o úplně poslední nezávislé laténské osídlení v podunajské zóně. Sídliště kolem bratislavského oppida – Staré Mesto, Zlaté Piesky, Vydrice, Senec, Chorvátský a Slovenský Grob atd. (Vrtel 2012, 164–179; Čambal et al. 2015; Čambal 2019, 117) – poskytují hojné doklady bohatého a vyspělého osídlení se specializovanou výrobou a sponami typu Almgren 18, Alésia, Jezerine a Gorica, mincemi typu Karlstein, velmi pozdní keramikou (a nejstaršími doklady keramiky typu terra sigillata), které všechny posouvají datování místního osídlení do časné augustovské období. Pravidelně se vyskytují kyjovité okraje na hrubé keramice (Čambal et al. 2016; Čambal 2019, 118–119). Vymizení osídlení je spojováno s vojenským konfliktem s Dáky kolem roku 44 př. n. l. Historické události určitě stály za přerušением pohybu po hlavních komunikačních osách. Nové geopolitické uspořádání bylo diktováno Norickým královstvím. Jihovýchodní Morava a jižní Slovensko zůstaly neosídleny pravděpodobně až do stupně RB1, kromě několika rozptýlených lokalit *przeworské* kultury. Imigrace plaňanské skupiny, tak výrazná v Čechách, se zastavila na západním okraji Moravy (oblasti Malé Hané a Lysické sníženiny, lokality Chornice, Sudice a Skalice nad Svitavou; srov. Droberjar 2014, 257). Sporadická přítomnost této skupiny je nově evidována i na Slovensku (Čambal – Kovár – Hanuš 2013) společně s izolovanými nálezy *przeworské* kultury (Pieta 2010, 56–57).

4. Závěrečné poznámky

Cílem tohoto příspěvku bylo shrnutí známých faktů a informací o konci laténského osídlení střední Evropy. Diskutovány byly i největší překážky k vytvoření spolehlivých nadregionálních chronologií. Největším problémem je přetrvávání regionálních chronologických systémů, kde si jednotlivé fáze neodpovídají. Nejmarkantnější je to především v diskrepanci mezi fázemi LT D1b a LT D2a. To znemožňuje upřesnit konec oppid v Čechách, zejména ve vztahu k osídlení v Bratislavě. Tato práce se pokusila překlenout tyto problémy navržením systému vlastního, který je zde používán. Další systémy budou navrženy jistě i v budoucnosti, je ale velmi důležité, aby byly detailně vysvětleny, než se na jejich základě budou formulovat konkrétní historické nebo kulturní závěry. Schůdnou cestu reprezentuje analýza chronologicky citlivých předmětů materiální kultury a jejich nadregionální komparace. Dalším důležitým krokem je poznání trendů v objevení se a cirkulaci specifických materiálů, jak to bylo ilustrováno na příkladu mosazi.

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