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in the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age

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On the cover: Beads, ceramics and a fibula
from the Lusatian culture cemetery in Miłosławice (phot. Justyna Baron)

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EWA BUGAJ¹

ETRUSCAN SYSTEMS OF A GOODS EXCHANGE
AND COMMUNICATION ROUTES INCLUDING REGIONS
LOCATED NORTH OF THE ALPS.
OUTLINE OF THE ISSUE

Italy together with inhabiting it communities gained a substantial position within the Mediterranean circle relatively late, in comparison with general cultural and civilisation development of other ancient people in that region, which – just to mention the Aegean civilisation – were areas of highly developed aristocratic centres of authority, and where various influences and routes of a goods exchange intersected. Towards the close of the Bronze Age the existing systems of exchange collapsed or were transformed, *inter alia* due to the decline of the Aegean civilisation. It was not until the first two centuries of the first millennium before Christ that new social and economic models crystallised in Europe, including Italy. A culture described as Villanovan started to develop there from the beginning of the Iron Age. With time its centres transform into Etruscan culture centres, as a result of contacts with Greeks settled in the Naples Bay and intensive internal economic and social development in the second half of 7th cent. BC.² The indigenous Etruscan area is the region between the rivers Arno and Tiber, where a civilisation started to flourish which achieved its peak-period in 7th and 6th cent. (Fig. 1). It was then that Etruscans became in the region of Italy the carriers of developed cultural ideas and formed social structures, urban centres and writing system appeared and the expansion of that population took place northwards – in the valley of the Po river – as well as southwards – towards Campania (Torelli 1986: 52–55) (Fig. 2). Etruscan influence is not limited only to the Apennine Peninsula, but together with Greeks they were leaders in the whole central and western region of the Mediterranean Basin and competed with Phoenicians (von Welck, Stupperich 1996: 16–19).

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² All the phenomena discussed in this article refer to the times before the birth of Christ, therefore in the further part of the text that specification of dates was omitted.



Fig. 1. Etruria region between rivers Arno and Tiber with principal settlements (after Barker, Rasmussen 2000: 15, Fig. 4; drawn by M. Gorączniak)

Etruscans had a significant influence on the European regions, situated north and west of Alps, developing out of direct reach of the high Mediterranean civilisations. As numerous archaeological sources indicate, the Alps did never constitute any obstacle in the contacts between the communities inhabiting the regions on the both sides of the mountains (comp. Pauli 1971, Pearce 1995, Shefton 1995, von Hase 1992). This issue is going to be discussed in my paper, although the problem of those connections with the North and interesting in this connection land long-distance trade contacts and an exchange of goods with Italy has been in recent years repeatedly the subject of various more and less advanced studies, published frequently on the occasion of significant international exhibitions or scientific sessions. From

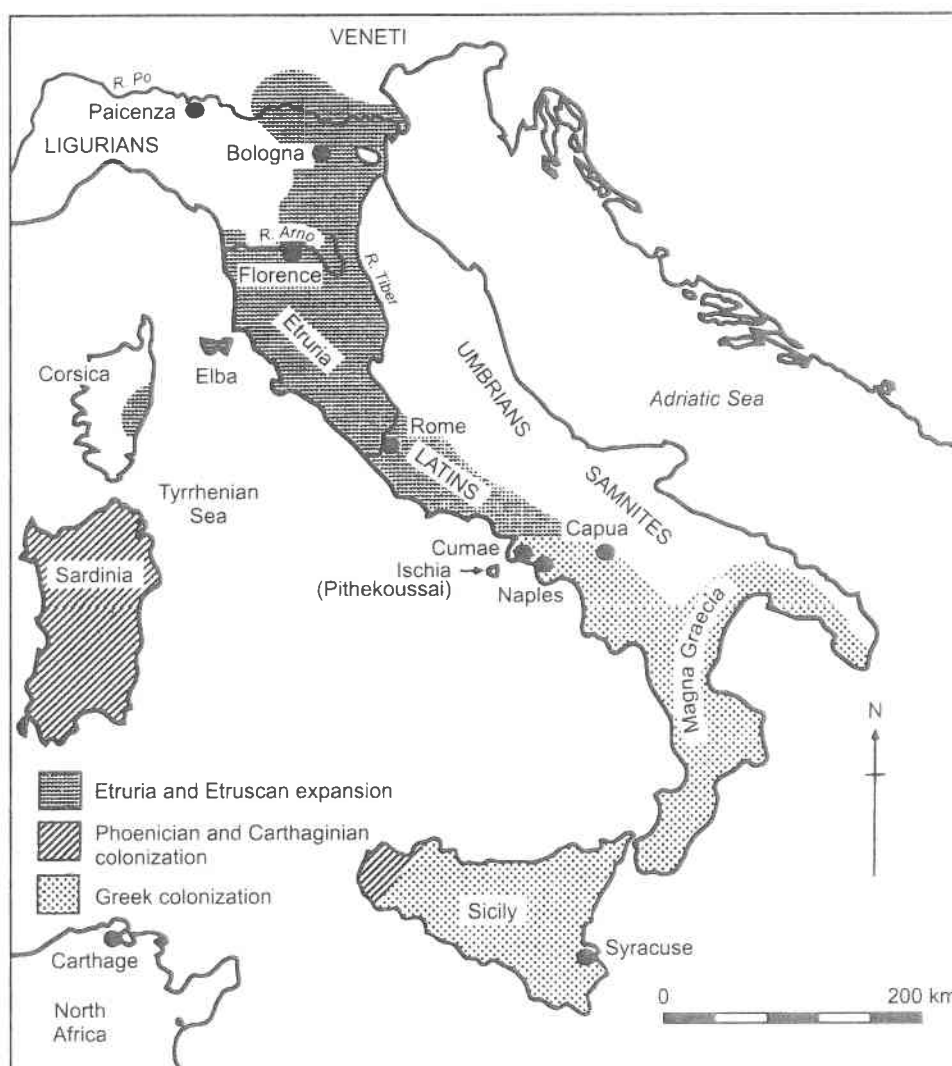


Fig. 2. Etruscan, Greek and Phoenician colonization in Italy and the adjacent regions (after Bonfante 1990: 7, Fig. 1; drawn by M. Gorączniak)

among those I shall mention only four the most essential and comparatively new papers from the 90-ties – *Etrusker nördlich von Etrurien* (ed. Aigner-Foresti) 1992; *Die Etrusker und Europa. Ausstellungskatalog Altes Museum Berlin*, 1993; *Italy in Europe: Economic Relations 700 BC – AD 50* (eds. Swaddling, Walker, Roberts) 1995; and the papers from the session in Regensburg *Archäologische Untersuchungen zu den Beziehungen zwischen Altitalien und der Zone nordwärts der Alpen während der frühen Eisenzeit Alteuropas* (Bartoloni et al.) 1998. The multitude of various archaeological sources connected with this subject the mentioned above rich bibliography causes that within the confines of the proposed concise text that problem, according to the formulation suggested in the subject, is going to be outlined.

Before I pass on to brief description of the contacts with the areas situated north of the Alps, I would like to present a scope of thoughts on the character of the exchange and trade within Etruria and within the area of Mediterranean Sea. It will then allow a comparison of this picture with the one – concerning a long-distance trade exchange with the north of Europe – which is drawn on the basis of archaeological sources. Trade routes used probably most frequently in that Etruscan long-distance trade – both on the land and sea – are often reconstructed in bibliography in the way presented in Fig. 3.

As far as Etruria is concerned, considering variety of goods and products discovered in that region and which undoubtedly were made both locally as well as in a significant number in some other, frequently distant region of the Mediterranean Basin, and considering traces of their spreading, we may state the existence of an exchange – on the local, interregional and long-distance level – within the Etruscan community, while social and economic mechanisms controlling it might have varied (Barker, Rasmussen 2000: 210). Generally, what may be ascribed to the domain of broadly understood economic activity in Etruscan world, and what as a rule is connected with trade and exchange, developed within the confines of several spheres. Above all it was farming and animal breeding, then metallurgy, and then production of various handicraft goods, which with time became significant objects of the growing exchange. The relations among those activity spheres changed significantly during the time of development of the Etruscan culture, what may be traced from the end of the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period which was the close time for Etruria. The influence those various economic activities had also changed the development of social structure. Simplification of that complicated process of changes allows to state that numerous but small villages in Etruria functioning in the end of the Bronze Age developed into large proto-urban settlements of the Villanovan culture which gathered most of the population in particular regions and were situated on hills and steep-sloped plateaus, which finally gave way to urbanised political centres. Those centres had their zenith in the classical period, controlled surrounding regions and were able to impose their will on those villages which were subordinate to them. Transformation from the management based on the collective principles to individual management based on particular families led to emergence of aristocracy, which controlled both production and exchange of goods (Borelli, Targia 2004: 8–9).

Passing on from these general statements concerning economy to a closer analysis we shall note that the exchange on the local level is in Etruria the most difficult to recognise, although it must have been substantial for day-to-day existence of that population. Research proves that large cultural centres, as for example Cerveterii or Populonia were provided with food by small rural households located in their vicinity. One of such few places which were systematically examined by excavations is a household called Podere Tartuchino, located in the valley of the river Albegna (Barker, Rasmussen 2000: 169–170 and Fig. 64). It specialised in production of food for a local authority centre. Among the traces of the goods re-

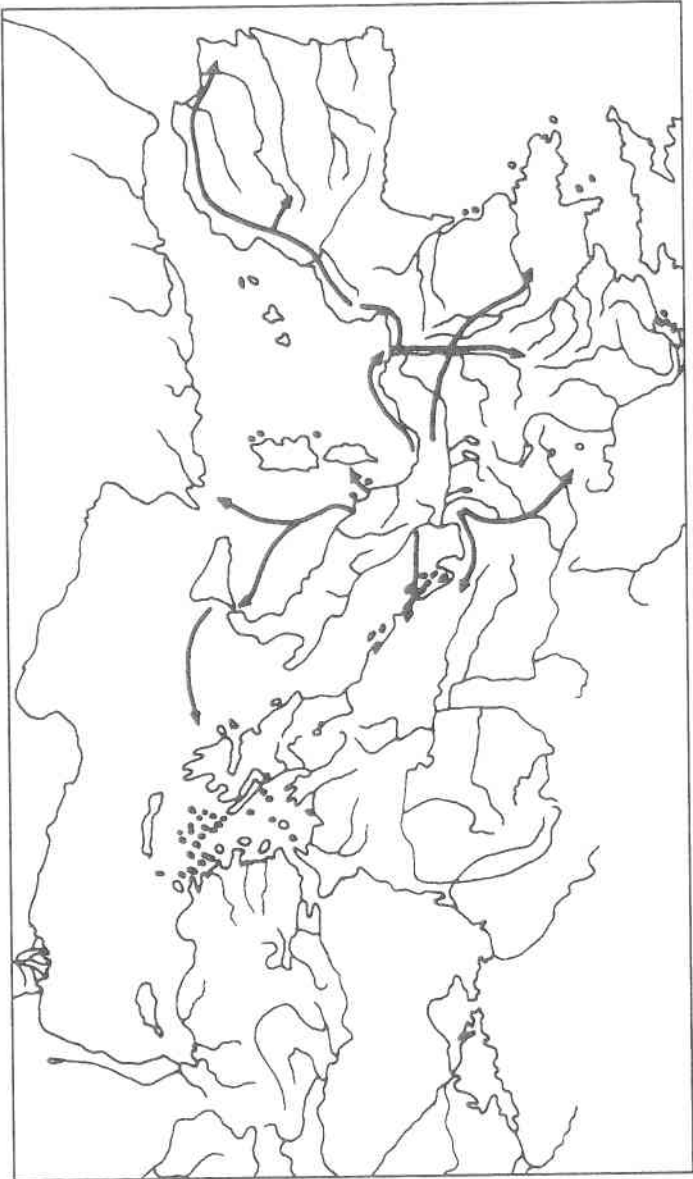


Fig. 3. Etruscan main routes of goods exchange and communication (after Welck von Stupperrich 1996: 19; drawn by M. Gorazdzinski)

ceived by the inhabitants of Podere Tartuchino in exchange for food was *impasto* pottery, large storage pots, iron nails, some stone raw material from the deposit located 15 km away from it, as well as amphorae and other thin-walled ware from the local production centres, such as Saturnia or Donganella (Perkins, Attolini 1992: 129). Therefore we may suppose that most of the local exchange in Etruria consisted in redistribution of goods similar to the one, which is known on the basis of ethnographic sources from various tribal communities where chiefdoms functioned. The local community provided its ruler first of all with food, but also with other goods, and performed towards the ruler certain duties. The local ruler used a part of those goods to maintain his seat and provide for the people working there, including craftsmen, and the rest of the goods was redistributed among the people from that community and among other communities – less dependent or neighbouring ones (so-called: system of clientship), delivering at the same time the surplus of produced goods in a form of gifts. Furthermore, he organised feasts or various festivals, etc. (Barker, Rasmussen 2000: 79–80, 211). It was all on the level of exchange referred to as barter. That principle was binding in Etruria in the Villanovan period and later remained dominant for a long time, because even with a slow introduction of coins into circulation – what was caused by various reasons and is dated from 5th cent. (Tripp 1986: 202–214; Borrelli, Targia 2004: 102–103) – the system of exchanging goods based on social and ritual commitments between various leading clan groups was the most popular (Turfa 1986: 70). However, researchers mention the existence of some other forms of exchange in Etruria. That fact may be supported for example by discovering various bars of metal ore in settlements and in particular graves at cemeteries, as well as in hoards. Initially there were bars of bronze (*oes rude*), but with time also bars of iron ore, so-called *ramo secco*, appeared. They circulated among population from 6th cent. and are considered a form of commodity money (Barker, Rasmussen 2000: 211). It may indicate that besides the exchange of goods resulting from social or ritual commitments, there was in Etruria some incipient system of a market exchange and that goods were accumulated, what may be proved by hoards. Apart from that type of an exchange, conducted by members of higher and influential social classes, in Etruria on a local level existed a system, which was recognized for Aegean and Greek regions and which Halstead calls “social storage of goods” – basically food (Barker, Rasmussen 2000: 211–212). It took place in some distance from centres of authority, and consisted – among others – in the fact that in the rural areas neighbouring groups supported one another with goods in the periods which were difficult for their existence and created another network of mutual obligations (Halstead, O’Shea 1982: 92 f.).

The next level of exchange – regional – is confirmed in Etruria by numerous material sources, among which there are many objects serving practical and farm purposes. They were acquired, as for example usable pottery and other objects, on the way of some form of a commercial exchange carried on with production centres or directly from migrating craftsmen. However, many luxurious and pre-

stigious goods produced in specialised workshops – as for example vases made probably in Vulci by so-called Micali Painter (cf. Brendel 1995: 195–201 and Figs 129–132; Barker, Rasmussen 2000: 213 and Fig. 76) – were spread most likely mainly through a gift exchange between leading clans, which was connected for example with marriages or entering into political or military alliances. The inscriptions discovered on them may prove that a great number of those prestigious objects in Etruria were gifts (Barker, Rasmussen 2000: 212–213).

A highly developed network of long-distance connections between Italy and other regions of contemporary world is documented by both numerous imports discovered in Etruria and many Etruscan products spread on the other territories. That exchange was carried on by sea routes (cf. Fig. 3). It is emphasised that the primary factor determining development of an intense exchange or even trade with Etruria was unusual abundance of mineral deposits in that region, but on the other hand, the finds of imported goods in Etruria were frequently made outside the deposit exploitation area. Among the imports discovered in Etruscan regions Greek products dominate and most of them are recorded within the southern centres of the coastal zone. Researchers indicate that the mentioned exchange was in 8th and 7th centuries probably administered directly from the places like Cerveteri, Tarquinia and Vulci, and later by the ports in those cities. Not only exotic products were imported, but also oils, perfumes and wine (Turfa 1986: 70–71; Barker, Rasmussen 2000: 213–214).

Then among the traces of a long-distance exchange carried on by Etruscans there are first of all *bucchero* pottery, bronze products and amphorae. Outside Italy, the *bucchero* pottery was found in Spain, southern France, on Corsica, Sardinia, in Greece, Turkey, on the coast of the Black Sea, Cyprus and in Syria, as well as on the northern coast of Africa – i.e. in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia (Fig. 4). Etruscan amphorae (Fig. 5) are spread in Spain, southern France, on Sicily and in Greece. Numerous Etruscan bronze products are found in the vast area spreading as far as from the Mediterranean Basin to the regions situated deep into Central Europe (Gras 1998: 90–93; von Hase 1989: 327 f.; 1998: 285 f.; Barker, Rasmussen 2000: 214). Most of the goods, as it was noted before, were transported by sea (cf. Fig. 3). It is believed, however, that Etruscan sea trade was very complex, and also such were mutual relationships between Etruscans, Phoenicians and Greeks, who dominated that trade. The best confirmation of that are shipwrecks with load – as for example the one which sank about in 600 BC near Gigilo Island in the archipelago of Tuscan coast, or another which sank in about 580 off the coast of France, near Cap d'Antibes (Gras 1998: 91–93). Their load consisted first of all of Etruscan products – *bucchero*, amphorae and bronzes – but also, as in the case of the shipwreck from Giglio (which is sometimes called an archaeological evidence picturing complexity of trade interactions experienced by Etruscans) numerous other goods (Spivey 1997: 17). That merchant ship was probably heading from Greece, precisely from Asia Minor, towards Marseille, and sank after stopping in Etruria. Its load contained about 130 amphorae and other Etruscan storage

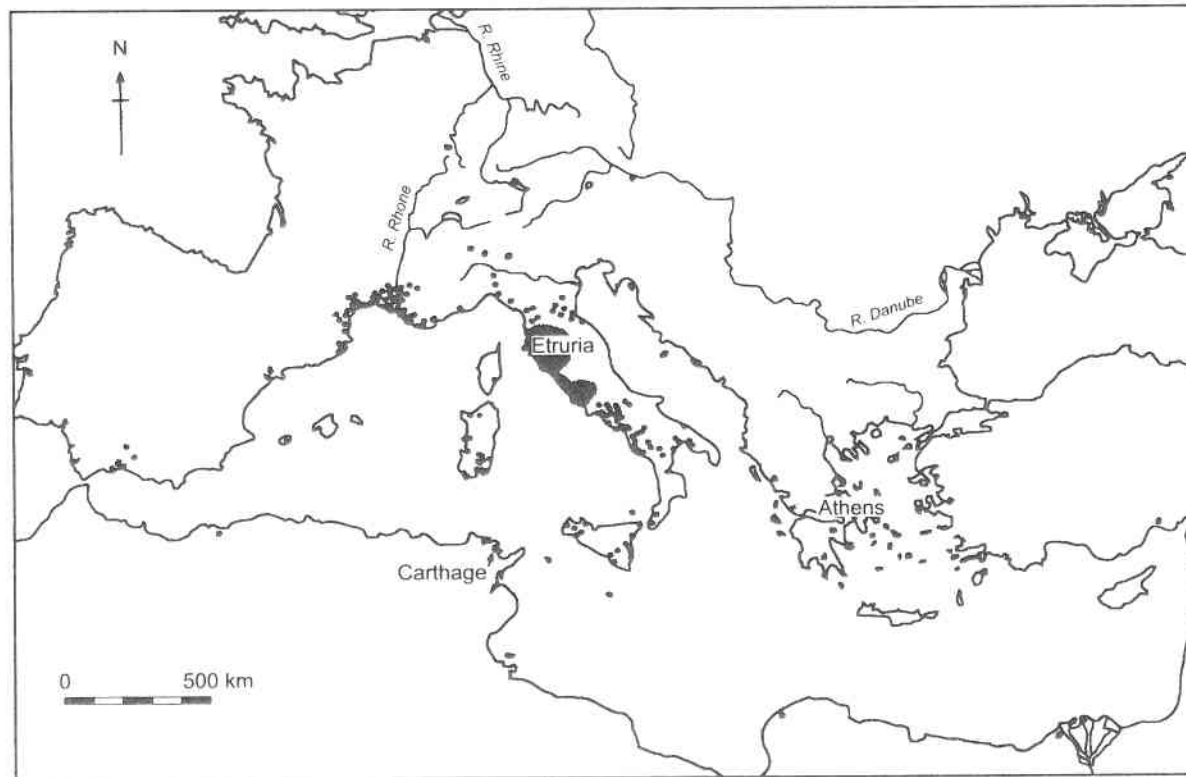


Fig. 4. Distribution of the *bucchero* in Etruria, Mediterranean and beyond (after von Hase 1989: 329; drawn by M. Gorączniak)

pots which were probably originally filled with oil, wine and tar, then some Greek and Phoenician amphorae, and thin-walled ware mainly for oils and perfumes (*aryballoi*), most of them in a Corinthian style, and finally a magnificently ornamented bronze Corinthian helmet (Spivey 1997, Figs 6–10). The rest of the load was metal ore – lead, copper and iron – and metal products such as bronze arrow heads and lead fishing weights (obviously we are not able to ascertain the quantity of organic materials carried by the ship). However, that ship provides also some very important information about flow of ideology which had a great influence on contemporary lifestyle. During exploration of the wreck archaeologists found a tablet used for writing down texts, several musical instruments (flutes), pieces of kline and a silver jug. These might have been the captain's or crew's possessions and prove high social status of the owners, knowledge of writing (which in those times was limited to elites), and made up equipment worth participants of a symposium (Spivey 1997: 17–18). Therefore business contacts were not limited to flow of commodities and raw materials, but most of all allowed flow of various patterns and cultural ideas. As long as contacts with Greeks are concerned (particularly with those from Corinth and Asia Minor), they were exceptionally intensive in 6th and the first half of 5th cent. It is shown by assimilation of Greek customs – scholars note that at that time various games, sports competitions, hunting and luxurious clothing became popular with Etruscan aristocracy. Moreover, not only elements of arms and armour were adopted (e.g.: Corinthian helmets, shields and leg-guards) but also fighting tactics and customs connected with celebrating feasts with a use of identical equipment which appeared in the context of Greek symposiums (Turfa 1986: 72).

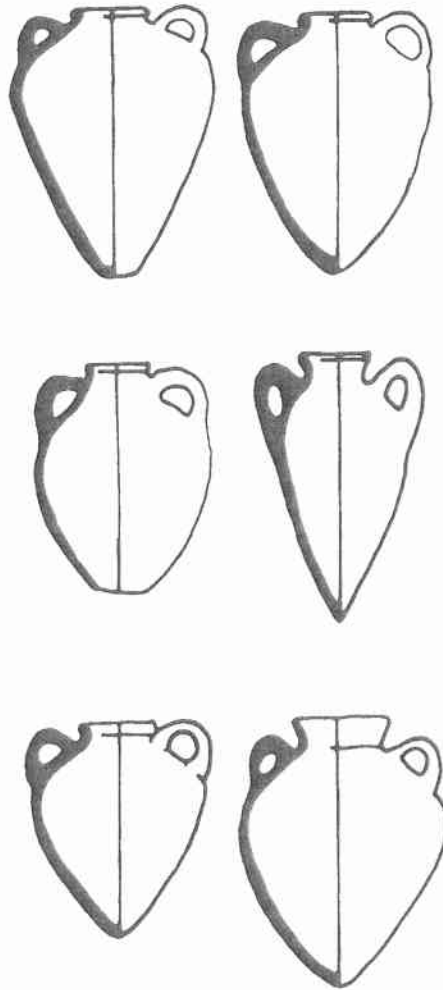


Fig. 5. Types of Etruscan amphorae (after Gras 1998: 93; drawn by M. Gorączniak)

Returning to the complexity of Etruscan sea trade, which was discussed before, it is worth noting, that it not only consisted in carrying on an exchange of various goods from many regions of the Mediterranean Basin. Important was also

the fact, that not only Etruscans traded there, but also Greek and Phoenician merchants, who lived in such Etruscan ports as Gravisca, and ran their business from there. However, as far as very organisation of that trade is concerned, researches allow for whole spectrum of activities, although the majority of them agree, that trade was based either on individual travels or on bigger organised expeditions and was controlled by competing clans (Barker, Rasmussen 2000: 215). A significant role of pirates is not excluded (Turfa 1986: 74–75).

Therefore we may conclude that in very Etruria existed various levels of production, distribution and exchange of goods, which corresponded to the social structures and institutions created within the confines of that community and mostly to aspirations of competing elites. Mineral resources were exploited and processed, and farming was developed in rural areas, what brought wine, oil, wool, pottery, bronze and iron. The fact of possessing and distributing such products was a factor distinguishing that society, and caused that the elites became rich. It was the elites who supported and developed that system, competing for power, influence and prestige both with one another and with other alien communities. Although that economy in Etruria – until the archaic period and even in later times – was based mostly on a direct exchange of goods, it shall be stated that it was highly complex, made up a developed structure and it is impossible to describe it within the confines of any simplified model (Barker, Rasmussen 2000: 215).

Discussing the long-distance exchange between Etruscans and the communities inhabiting the areas located north and west of the Alps we may state, that it was also considerably advanced. However, the sources here are not as abundant as was in the case of those from the Mediterranean Basin. That exchange had a nature of stage trade, based on centralised authority centres – the places of reloading and further distribution of goods (von Hase 1992: 238–239). Archaeological evidence of that exchange come from the Urnfield culture, the Hallstatt culture, and obviously later from the La Tène culture. I believe that it is worth mentioning here again, that the nature of that exchange was important not only because of the economic reasons, searching for resources and new outlets for many products (what obviously took place). To a significant degree it simply was characterised by the feature, what in wider context is often described as cultural contact which brings much deeper results than imports registered by archaeologists – i.e. in the northern areas which were within the reach of Etruscan influence (or through them – the Mediterranean influence) besides the inflow of raw materials and goods or adapting new technologies, there were also changes in ideology, lifestyle and perceiving the world. It particularly took place in the Hallstatt period (Ha), and is visible for us in the remains, through which we try to explore this level of culture defined as symbolic culture.

I would also like to mention that in the discussion on the provenance of the contacts between Etruria and the northern regions often some moot questions arise as to what is “purely Etruscan” and what is just north-Italian or even made out of Italy as a local imitation. It is not always possible to state that unambiguously.

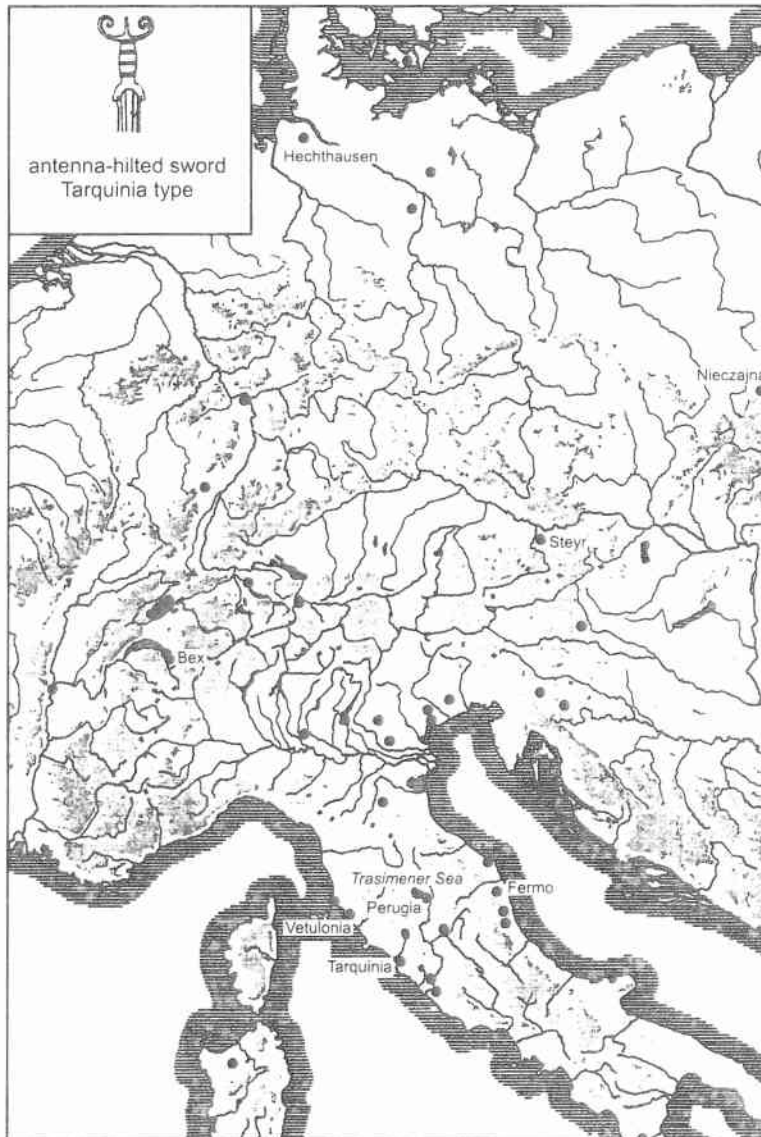


Fig. 6. Distribution of the antenna-hilted swords of Tarquinia type and its variations (after von Hase 1992: 59, Fig. 3)

However, we know that continental exchange of goods deep into Europe took place through various Italian communities inhabiting areas north of Etruscans, which themselves adopted many southern elements and transmitted them further, as well as through very Etruscans, who expanded northwards and settled in the Po valley. The routes were traced out as early as in the declining period of the Bronze Age and led through Alpine passes. Therefore it is reasonable to talk here about the contacts with central and northern Italy, and not only with Etruscans, how they are described in the earlier and more recent literature (Łuka 1959; von Hase 1992).

Archaeological sources prove that those contacts became more intense from the beginning of the Iron Age. It was that the population of Villanovan culture, which was spread north of the Apennines and preceded proper Etruscan population, was very active in this regard. Objects from the Villanovan period – both those from 9th and 8th cent. – started to reach first the Alpine regions, especially eastern, and then we may observe their presence on the areas situated further to the north. They mark the connection links, which are visible also in the later periods. There were first of all luxurious products connected with the ideology of warriors, such as: antenna-hilted swords, crested helmets, harness elements and crescent-shaped razors (Aigner-Foresti 1993: 158, 160, Fig. A, G, H, N; von Hase 1992: 240–242, 245–249, Figs 2–6, 9–11). At the same time in various regions they show many imitations and local variations, as for example swords (comp. Müller-Karpe 1961, Plates 54, 98), but generally their distribution is the evidence of a long-distance exchange, going from central Italy as far as to the Elbe and the Oder and north of those rivers (Fig. 6). It took place in the period, when Hungarian metallurgical centres (which dominated previously – in the Bronze Age) collapsed, and Italian ones appeared, whereas in central Europe new authority centres emerged, having ultra-local political and social organisation and controlled trade routes (Kristiansen 1993: 143 f.).

It would be worth mentioning here the amphorae – bronze urns, which are abundantly represented in central and northern Italy, and known also from central Europe. A particularly spectacular example comes from Gevelingshausen, district of Meschede, from an urn grave (Jockenhövel 1974: 16 f., Plates 1–5, Fig. 2). In the regions situated north of the Alps, that kind of biconical forms were found in a more significant number of places. However, the objects with knobs, an image of sun-boat and figurines of double birds, constitute rather a minority (comp. Jockenhövel 1974, Fig. 7). A bronze vessel from Przesławice (Fig. 7) in the district of Grudziądz, Poland, may be mentioned here as a similar Italian import. Its form and ornamentation indicate that its provenance was central or northern Italy (Gedl 2001: 35, Plates 14.40, 15.10). Similar urn with that kind of decoration was found e.g.: in Veii at the necropolis Quattro Fontanili, in grave AA 1, described as a grave of a wealthy equipped warrior (Jockenhövel 1974, Fig. 4; Egg 1988, Fig. 5; von Hase 1992: 243–245, Figs 7–8).

With time other goods from Etruria reached the Alpine regions, mostly the eastern part of them. There were often luxurious products, as for example single vessels in a form of *askoi* or three-footed pottery. However, the highest inflow of Mediterranean products made by Etruscans or distributed by them into the northern regions, mainly through Bologna, is observed in 7th cent. It was then that the objects appeared known to us mainly from wealthy graves, such as: tableware with animal protomes ornaments, bronze bowls and Etruscan-Corinthian *oinochoe*, three-footed pottery, gold jewellery made with a use of filigree-work, as well as wagons, the remainders of which are found in the form of *Winkel-tülle*. Sporadically, other accessories are found, such as meat forks – *graffione*



Fig. 7. Bronze amphora from Przesławice in Gevelinghausen-Veii-Seddin type (after Gedl 2001, Plate 14,40)

– and with time numerous situlae and jugs (comp. Fig. 8) (Aigner-Foresti 1993: 158–159; 160–161, Fig. B, L, O, S; von Hase 1992: 260–262, Figs 23–26; 1998, Fig. 10). Those products were basically the symbols of prestige, possibly a part of them were remainders of gifts exchanged among aristocracy. They probably served to manifest friendship and were signs of affinity or alliances. Apart from the imports mentioned before, the contacts with the Etruscan culture contributed to adopting new customs, e.g. as long as women clothing is concerned, like the new kinds of fibulae (Navicella and Sanguisga fibulae, bow and boat fibulae) (Aigner-Foresti 1993: 162; von Hase 1992: 250–253, Figs 15, 16; Łuka 1959: 18–27, Figs 11–16). Also the warrior's outfit changed – they started wearing new types of helmets (comp. *Antike Helme* 1988: 222–275). Furthermore, new technologies appeared (e.g. paste preparation in pottery production) and decorative motifs were adopted (e.g. arches and palmettes). Drinking wine was also one of the new customs. That custom was spread among Hallstatt elites due to contacts with the South, and is well proved by the tableware found in rich chieftain tumuli (comp. Fig. 11) (Aigner-Foresti 1993: 162; von Hase 1998, Fig. 11).

We shall also mention the appearance of figural art, including human representations in the culture of Central Europe, which until then was strongly aniconical, and the influence that fact had on the development of artistic ideas among various local communities. We could mention here at least the wagon discovered in Strettweg which had analogies in similar representations discovered in Italy and

other regions of the Mediterranean world (Egg 1996: 14–53, Plates 3–14; Aigner-Foresti 1993, cf. Fig. on pp. 162 and 163), the representations on bronze plates from Kleinklein, as well as the figures from the discovery in Frög in Carinthia (Aigner-Foresti 1980, Plates III–IV; 1993: 162).

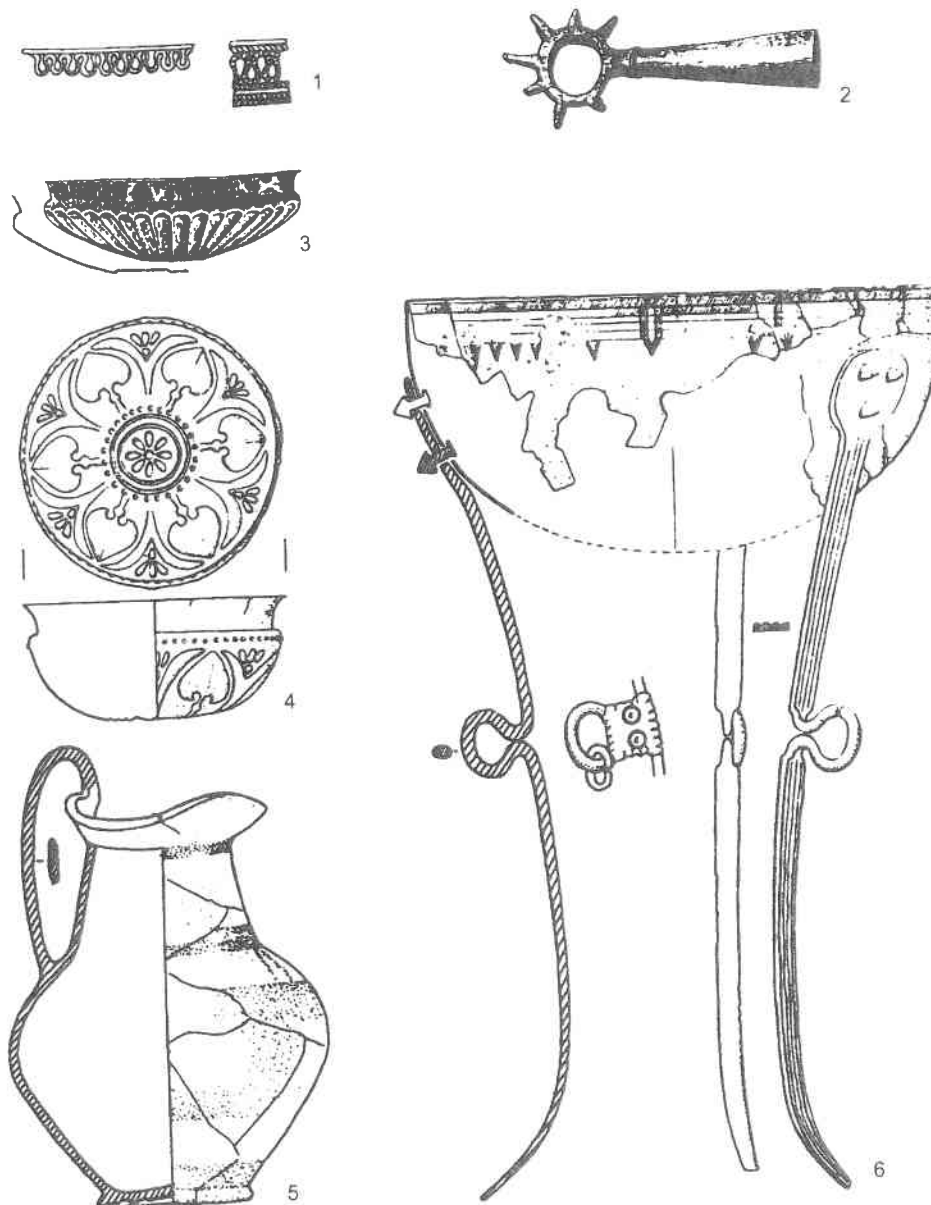


Fig 8. Imports of earlier date from warriors graves and tumuli in the east Hallstatt region
 Finds: 1 – Kürbischhansel, 2 – Radkersburg-Gorina Radgona, 3 – Hallstatt, 4 – Stična-Vrhpolje, 5 – Stična, 6 – Novo mesto-Kandija (after von Hase 1998, 304, Fig. 10; drawn by M. Gorączniak)

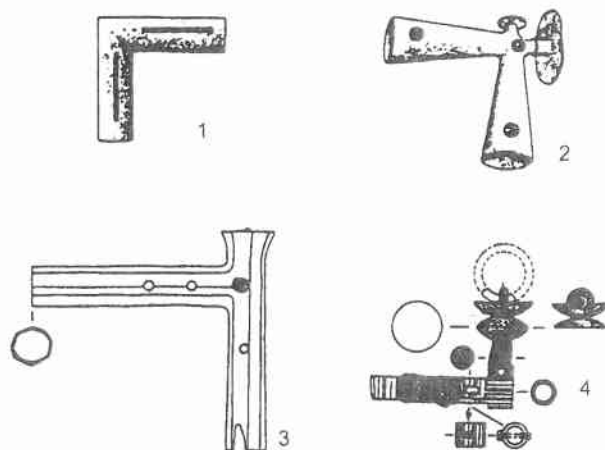


Fig. 9. Bronze wagons' corner-fittings, so-called *Winkeltüllen*

Finds: 1 – Castellina in Chianti, 2 – Flaas, 3 – Birnenstorf, 4 – Ins (after von Hase 1992, Fig. 26C; drawn by M. Gorączniak)

The prime period of the east Hallstatt culture, which started in 7th cent., lasted until 6th cent., when certain set-back in development occurred as well as destabilisation of settlement structures caused mainly by inflow of Scythians into those regions. The next stage would be already marked by Celts, whose contacts with the South became once again intense, and during the time of expansion – direct.

We shall also make some points concerning Etruscan-Italian contacts with the regions situated north of the Alps, which became also exceptionally intense from 7th cent. Due to them, between the Pyrenees and the Alps we may observe dissemination of libation customs, what is evidenced by the finds of various tableware as well as Etruscan vessels *bucchero* and amphorae; although we shall mention, that amphorae and other vessels were especially numerous in the south of today's France – and they probably reached those regions not from the North but as a result of sea trade (Bouloumié 1993: 168–173). Those products precede in those regions inflow of Greek goods, which was very abundant after the year 600, when Phoenicians founded a colony in the place where today lies Marseille. That activated important trade route leading along the Rhône (von Hase 1998, Fig. 7). Etruscan merchants participated undoubtedly in that trade. However, Etruscan, settled in the Po valley and communities inhabiting north-Italian regions more emphasised using Alpine passes as trade routes, which had already functioned for hundreds of years and successfully reached not only western markets but also farther (Aigner-Foresti 1993: 164). Etruscan luxurious products of unique value flowed through those gates north of the Alps – north-west and west. Among them we may find e.g.: parts of tableware, including ribbed bowls (*Rippenschalen*) (comp. Fig. 12), bronze situlae, horizontally ribbed bronze buckets, jugs and some remainders of wagons (*Winkeltülle*) (cf. Figs 9, 10) (Adam *et al.* 1993, Fig. on p. 185; Aigner-Foresti 1993: 164; von Hase 1992: 256–257, Figs 18, 19; 1998, Fig. 5). Another unique and single find of Etruscan provenance is the can of

Phocæan

Fl

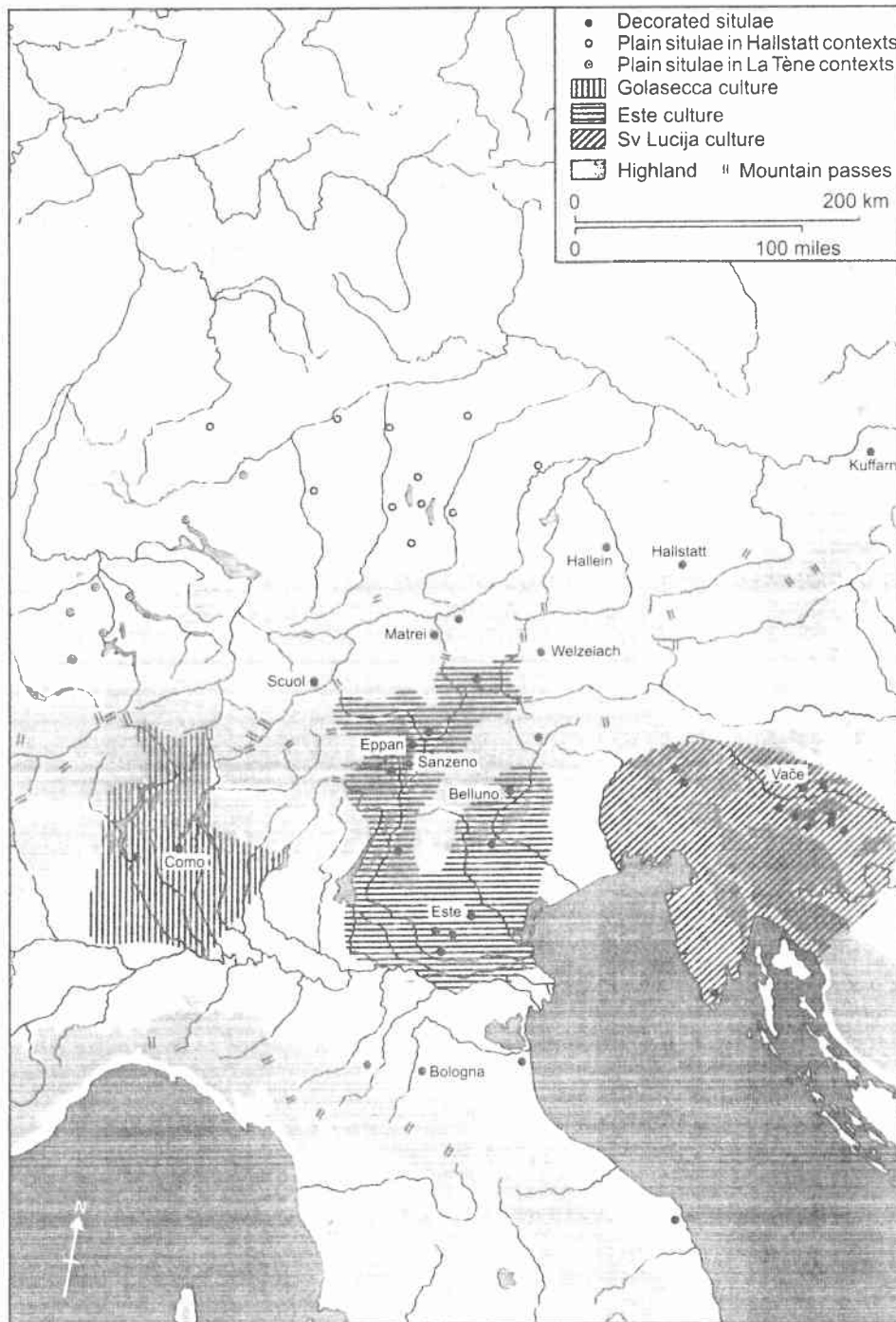


Fig. 10. Bronze situlae in northern Italy. Alpine regions and beyond (after Cunliffe 1997: 303, Fig. 18)

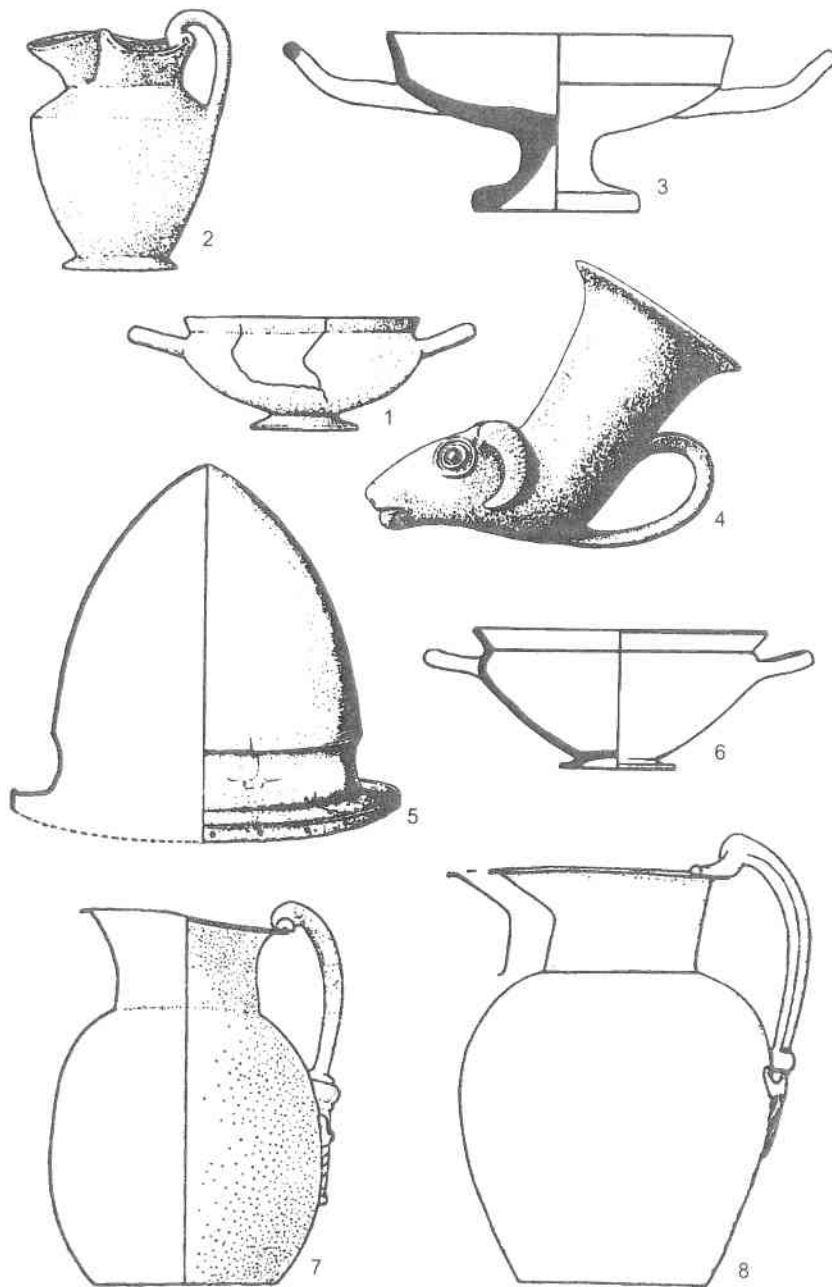


Fig. 11. Imports of later date from tumuli in the east Hallstatt region
 Finds: 1-2 - Magdalenska Gora; 3-5 - Stična; 6-7 - Most na Soči-Santa Lucia; 8 - Hallein, Dürnberg
 (after von Hase 1998: 305, Fig. 11; drawn by M. Gorączniak)

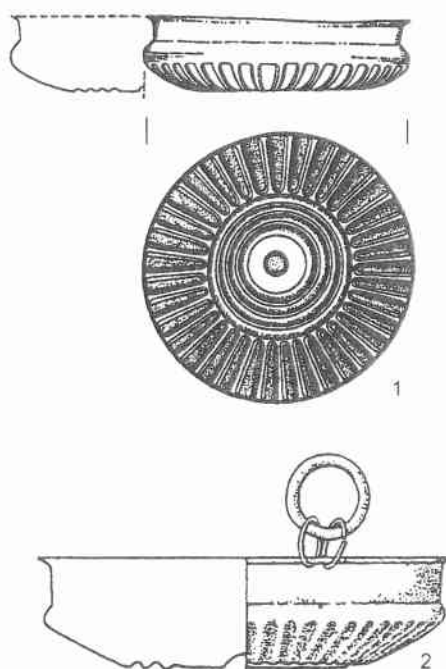


Fig. 12. Bronze ribbed bowls, so-called *Rippenschalen*
 Finds: 1 - Frankfurt/Main, 2 - Appenwihr by Colmar (after von Hase 1992, Fig. 18)

Kastenwald/Appenwihr, which probably had a cult function (Adam *et al.* 1993, Fig. on p. 187; Aigner-Foresti 1993: 164; von Hase 1992: 257–258, Figs 20–21). Some new customs connected with clothes were also adopted under Italian influence, such as the custom of wearing fibulae (Adam *et al.* 1993: 183–184 and Fig. on p. 184). Moreover, new kinds of decorative patterns and representation motifs appeared and craftsmen techniques were developed. It may be observed, that human and animal representations, e.g. on belt plates, replaced older motifs, which had been developing in local tradition for a long time, as for example a motif of water birds (Frey 1998, Fig. 9). Besides that, some other ornaments appear which were made with a use of compass. Furthermore, some new religious customs are also adopted, e.g.: fire dogs and other roasting devices started to appear in graves in HaC phase and clearly refer to Etruscan tradition. Those unique cult items, that graves were equipped with, clearly indicate that elites probably wished to own objects not only luxurious but also a very good quality products from foreign workshops. However, local production of such products is not observed.

In 6th cent. Etruscans developed in northern Italy new social-organisational structures, what was mentioned earlier. That fact must have influenced considerably the regions situated north of the Alps, where we encounter crystallisation of the Celtic community on the Hallstatt foundation. The rich Hallstatt and later Celtic tumuli, equipped with foreign products, prove the best how deep those changes were (Kimming 1992: 281 f.). In the first half of 6th cent. some other changes also

take place under the influence from the South, such as appearance of chieftain's seats (*Fürstensitzen*), which get fortifications in the form mudbrick walls and bastions, as for example Heuneburg (Frey 1998, Fig. 14). Both the Heuneburg walls and the technique of building it copy Mediterranean models. In the younger layers of that site some pottery was found, whose forms were taken from the local repertoire, but paste very clearly refer to *bucchero* pottery. In comparatively short period of time, in the middle of 6th cent., Heuneburg suddenly deteriorated, and although it was rebuilt, that was done with the use of the local principles – so in that case foreign construction principles were not permanently adopted (Aigner-Foresti 1993: 166). On the other hand, some new customs of drinking and feasting appeared and became established. We may draw such a conclusion on the basis of fragments of jugs with beaked flagons (*Schnabelkanne*) made of clay, what indicates that it was believed that wine must be drunk from a special kind of vessels – even made of clay, if the original Etruscan bronze jugs were not available in particular place (although they were common) (Aigner-Foresti 1993, Map and Fig. on p. 166). Fragments of clay jugs for drinking wine were found in Heuneburg and at other chieftain's seats (*Fürstensitzen*) in central and southern Germany and near Salzburg. Italian influences in that time demonstrated also through new way of clothing and decorating clothes – i.e. not only popularisation of fibulae, mentioned by me earlier, but also textiles, clothes cut and footwear. It is confirmed by that kind of rare discoveries, as for example fragments of clothing textiles and footwear from immensely impressive burial in Hochdorf (Biel 1985; Aigner-Foresti 1993: 166).

Finally, stopping at 5th cent., we shall state, that the changes among the communities inhabiting regions north of the Alps proceeded, and it happened both under the influence of contacts with Italy and due to evident changes taking place within the local population.

In my paper I am not going to deal with those items, connected with the Celtic world in the context of southern links, which are very interesting and require a separate and broader discussion. I would only like to mention that *inter alia* more and more intense contacts with Mediterranean regions caused that Celtic communities developed craftsmanship which was highly advanced both technologically and stylistically. Furthermore, despite numerous borrowings, exceptionally diverse forms of local artistic statements were shaped at that time, which are frequently described in the literature as “Celtic art”. However, as long as the exchange with Italy is concerned, the whole system of links from the beginning of the Iron Age, mentioned by me before, collapsed as early as in the beginning of 5th cent. due to expansion of Celts to Italy. Therefore all the contacts with Italian communities gained a completely different nature (Aigner-Foresti 1993: 167).

Summarising that discussion on the Etruscan connections, or rather basically central and northern Italian connections with the regions situated north of the Alps, one shall note that the appearance of the first imports (dated as early as to

the Villanovan period) in central Europe may be stated at the end of the Urnfield period. However, available sources indicate that initially we encounter such materials, which were dispersed, rare and failed to have a significant influence on local products as well as on local communities and relationships between them.

However, we shall not underestimate the value of those single imports, because for the communities living out of Italy they served as sources of patterns of various objects, which with time would become more and more popular. Intense contacts with the south of Europe were developed starting from HaC, and reached their peak in HaD. Their influence on “barbarian communities” was significant and caused real changes in their lifestyle, especially the lifestyle of the elites which emerged at that time.

Those intense contacts were possible thanks to long-distance routes, which may be reconstructed to a certain degree through discoveries. Nevertheless, we know very little about the organisation of trade or even exchange. We may suppose that probably from the beginning of the Hallstatt period the intense nature of trade contacts or simply exchange caused that this trade concentrated in the hands of certain groups and was controlled by them. That resulted in hierarchization of communities and creation of local aristocracy. Emerging of that “chieftain” class we may frequently examine in exceptionally wealthy graves, equipped with luxurious products from the South.

With time that results in changes in social relations, which may be especially observed in HaD period within the west Hallstatt cultural circle. There appeared some local territorial rulers, who controlled particular areas, as well as goods, which were transported through those areas. The rulers became strong, so probably also important for the southern communities because of political reasons. Therefore we may regard them as partners – to a certain degree – in trade and exchange.

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