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MEDITERRANEAN IMPORTS. REAL INFLUENCE ON THE CIVILIZATION OF THE CELTIC CENTRAL EUROPE DURING THE 6TH-5TH CENTURY BC OR ONLY A DIFFUSION OF EXOGENOUS ARTEFACTS?

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Abstract: The article presents several thoughts on the relationships between Central Europe during the Early Iron Age and the Mediterranean area on the example of four selected criteria. The article focuses on the problems of urbanism and centralisation, Greek symposion and its hypothetical reflection in the Transalpine Central Europe, adoption of some forms of the material culture and finally on the problems connected to the wall paintings in the funeral contexts. The article presents the conclusion that the influence of the Mediterranean world on most substantial aspects of the contemporary life in Central Europe is perceptible only in some categories, whereas the overall influence of the Mediterranean area on the indigenous Central European communities during the Early Iron Age is marginal.

Keywords: influence, Mediterranean, Central Europe, Early Iron Age

INTRODUCTION

The exogenous artefacts of Mediterranean provenance have been registered in various Central European archaeological contexts of the Early Iron Age since the decades. Their occurrence is regarded mainly from the two points of the view: firstly as an evidence of the interregional contacts between various regions of the Transalpine Central Europe and the Mediterranean, secondly as a typical material culture connected with Central European princely elite, identifying this elite in its residences as well as in the graves.

The presence of the Mediterranean movable culture in the mentioned contexts evoked many times an imagination of a substantial influence of this culture on various aspects of the life in Late Hallstatt/Early La Tène Central Europe. Sometimes it is supposed, that the Greeks and the Etruscans or other Mediterranean ethnicities have influenced this region in so significant way, that it was even brought to imitate the substantial phenomena or features characteristic for the developed civilizations. Such comparisons sometimes seem to be inadequately exaggerated and may lead to incomprehension of the real mutual relationships of these civilizations. Concurrently, similar interpretations may cause a deformation of our imagination about individual aspects of the Celtic everyday culture.

In an attempt to reveal a real nature of the relationships between the Transalpine population and the Mediterranean region, I would like to present in this article several thoughts on the selected aspects of mutual ties, which have in the archaeology of these relations a particular significance. Some of these aspects of extraordinary relevance are followed into a somewhat later period, exceeding the end of the Early Iron Age into the 4th century BC.

Since the Late Hallstatt/Early La Tène Central Europe is, apart from the constructions of the fortifications, characteristic mostly by non-use of the stone in its architecture, the first chapter aims to study the hypothetical links to Mediterranean, just in this area and in early forms of urbanism. The second chapter focuses on the role of the imported Attic pottery in the Central European society, including the hypothetical import of the ideas in the form of the imitation of the Greek symposia by Central European Celts. The contribution further focuses on the problems of Mediterranean inspiration in the milieu of the craftsmen's manufacturing processes such as the pottery production. Finally, the attention is paid to some aspects of the burial customs in the Mediterranean, such as the funeral wall paintings, and the reason for the absence of their equivalent in Central European world.

ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM

The urbanisation processes in the Early Iron Age Central Europe have been long time approached and comprehended by the comparison with the advanced Mediterranean area (cf. for ex. Kolb 1984) and also as a result of the Mediterranean stimuli or one of the forms of the mutual contacts (cf. for ex. Kimmig 1983). Such approach seems to be very logical in the mirror of the knowledge of particular forms of the contacts between Mediterranean south and the "Barbarian north", as evidenced by the finds of various types of "movable" material culture. However, it is obvious that the level of urbanisation, even the definition of the urbanisation itself, cannot be judged from such comparative simple linear view as made by "diffusionists" interpreting the "Barbarian" urbanisation as an imitation or emulation of the southern Mediterranean processes. On the contrary,

it is more likely that we may consider “different image” of several types of urbanizations depending on the different environments etc. (cf. Collis 1984; Collis 2016, 265–266; cf. also Fernandez-Götz 2017, 106–107; Fernandez-Götz 2018, 118–119 with other bibliography).

Moreover, the Greek Antiquity settlements show a variety of the urban forms (cf. Preston, Owen 2009), where the use of only one term (a town) is highly insufficient. Making the comparison of these settlements with Central European settlement units, it is thus substantial to realize with what kind of the Mediterranean settlement forms will we work in such comparison, taking into account that “the full marble look” of the majority of the Antiquity towns is a result of the Hellenistic period or Late Antiquity, not of the period of the 6th–5th centuries BC, which is approximately equal to Central European Early Iron Age. An useful feat is in this respect the article of K. Winger (2017) comparing crucial aspects of Heuneburg and Athens in the 6th century BC. Although the article contains also some imprecisions and inaccuracies¹, it is necessary to appreciate the courage of the author to emphasize that the Athens of the 6th century BC and for example the Hellenistic or Roman Athens are two completely different matters. In this sense, the article is a very useful subject for those who consider the Mediterranean zone to be the compact world of rich and wealthy people living in shiny marble houses.

Leaving aside the general features of urbanisation process, I would like to focus in this part on two components, connected closely with the urbanisation in the Mediterranean sense and their presence or absence in the process of the urbanisation in Central Europe during the period of 6th–4th century BC, namely the stone non fortification architecture and the rectangular planning of the cities.

Use of the stone in Central European architecture during the mentioned period is rather rare than frequent. Excluding the use of the stone for the construction of the fortification walls, which is in no case the invention of that period, but has much longer tradition, the stone architecture is mostly connected to the acropoleis of the significant central places of the Hallstatt and Early La Tène period.

The long term excavations of the acropolis of Heuneburg in Baden-Württemberg (Fig. 1:1) has brought magnificent results in the form of famous mud brick fortification wall on the

¹ The “urban features” of Athens were in this article somewhat reduced. For example: Athens have not only one “municipal centre” with the principal features of urbanisation – an Acropolis, but also second one – Agora, where several stone buildings were present already in the 6th century (cf. <http://www.ancientathens3d.com/>). The same for Acropolis: Peisistratos’ earlier temple of Athena was no way first monumental building in Acropolis, it was the Hekatompedon. So before Persian wars the Acropolis hosted two great temples. Taking into account the mentioned and other discrepancies, the comparison of Heuneburg and Athens seems after all somewhat problematic. One may argue that some of mentioned buildings in Athens appeared slightly later than the settlement characterized by the mudbrick wall in Heuneburg. In this case it is possible to remind for example Smyrna in Ionia, which was around 600 BC already fully constituted town, with the fortification wall and regularly established built-up area. Similarly to Heuneburg’s disadvantage sounds the conclusion of H. Baitinger, making the “general” comparison of Heuneburg and Selinus in Sicily in the time of Heuneburg’s mudbrick wall (cf. Baitinger 2013, 253–257).

stone base, which was connected with a possible inspiration in the various regions of the Mediterranean (Kimmig 1969; Kimmig 1983; Gersbach 1995, 91–93; Brosseder *et al.* 2003, 69–70; Hansen *et al.* 2020, 115). As showed by N. Burkhardt or U. Hailer (Burkhardt 2010; Hailer 2010, 23–26; Krausse *et al.* 2019, 250), the Heuneburg mud-brick wall on the stone base could have found suitable models for example in Smyrna (Fig. 4:1) or in the Phoinikian architecture in Sicily (Fig. 4:2).

The excavations of Heuneburg’s suburbium revealed the existence of developed settlement including various craftsmen and other economic activities adjacent to the acropolis (Kurz 2000; Kurz 2008a; Kurz 2008b; Dubreucq 2017, Fig. 4, 15). Mediterranean inspiration is supposed also in case of the monumental gate, excavated in 2005 (Kurz 2008b; Krausse *et al.* 2019, 250–251).

In recent years, another really significant uncovering was realized in Alte Burg near Heuneburg (Kurz 2008a, 178–181; Krausse *et al.* 2019, 251–254). The extensive application of the stone architecture, probably in a gathering or cultic site intended for surrounding communities has in Central European milieu no comparison and is connected again with the Mediterranean inspiration (Fig. 1:2). Considering that such construction activity indicate also a particular ability of the social organisation in order to achieve the finishing of such undertaking, it is clear that the society, which realised such work must have been also well organised and controled by the mighty individuals or elite. The presupposition of the existence of such elite is after all well evidenced by many tumuli monuments with rich burials in many places in the vicinity of Heuneburg.

The authors of the last summary of the related problems mention also other recent uncoverings in Heuneburg, indicating that the relationships of the mud-brick wall to the Mediterranean area are not here in any case the isolated phenomenon (Krause *et al.* 2019, 254–255). It is the find of the rectangular worked sandstone block, the plan of one house in the suburb (Kurz 2000, 46–54; Kurz, Schiek 2002, 94) with similar features as the Etruscan palaces in Murlo or Aquarossa (Vergier 2008) or wooden architecture in Forcello/Bagnolo S. Vito (Quirino 2013).

Another example with the unusual form of the architecture was excavated several years ago in Mont Lassois (Mötsch *et al.* 2008, 16–18). The apsidal buildings (Fig. 2) were not constructed of stone but of a timber, but their untypical plan, unique in the West Hallstatt area, was also connected with the hypothetical influence from the Mediterranean world (Chaume *et al.* 2004, 26–30; Müller *et al.* 2005, 7–9; Mötsch *et al.* 2008, 18).

The same may be said for the stone architecture in the acropoleis of the Bohemian hillfort of Závist (Drda, Rybová 2008, Fig. 82; 93). The podium buildings falling into a 3rd settlement horizon of the local settlement (Lt A) are in the Bohemian milieu of the relevant age absolutely untypical (Fig. 3:1). The authors of the excavations compared the situation in the acropolis with the plans of some Mediterranean temenoi (Motyková *et al.* 1978, Fig. 2, 4. The podium buildings were also compared to the Etruscan architecture (Bouzek 1992, 366). Nevertheless, they may be well compared with the stone architecture of the Rhetian area (cf. e.g. Rittatore Vonwiller, Fogolari 1975, 150; Dal Ri 1992, Fig. 7) or with specific kinds of stone architecture

in the inner Alpine area, such as the altars of the type Runger Egg (Putzer 2011) or altar building in Farchant (Lang 2002; Metzner-Nebelsick 2012, Abb. 14).

Also some recent uncoverings in the North Bohemian area, for example in the hillfort of Rubín (Fig. 3:2), which represents the site with the densest concentration of the Gola-secca finds in Bohemia, indicate that the use of the stone in the spatial organisation of the acropolis of the hillfort, was originally much frequented as contemplated before (Trefný, Peksa, in preparation).

However, the use of the stone itself, need not be an automatic reason to link some structure with the south. This was the case of the Bohemian hillfort of Minice, where the stone paving of the acropolis, including the remnants of one wall of the superficial structure, were in the past also interpreted as an evidence of the contacts with the Mediterranean. But recent research indicated that there was no evidence for such conclusion (Trefný, Slabina 2015).

Nevertheless, the principal cases, as mentioned above, clearly proved that several sites or their particular parts find analogies in the Mediterranean milieu. However, it seems that the inspiration by the Mediterranean models is mostly restricted to significant parts of acropoleis or such parts of the settlements which demonstrate the power, prestige and identity of mighty ruler/rulers. However, the legitimate question is: Have these inspirations by the Mediterranean area been applied in Central Europe also in another aspects of urbanism, as for example in the rectangular planning of the settlements intended for other social classes of contemporary population, etc? The answer is no. We may logically ask, does exist at all any Barbarian entity during the studied period (6th–4th century BC), which realized such process? Of course yes, including the Celtic speaking Mediterranean population. Let's mention for example the settlement von Lattara in southern France near Montpellier (Fig. 5:1). The local population of Celtic origin under strong Etruscan influence lived here already in the 6th century BC in the fortified city within the rectangular network of the houses (cf. for ex. Garcia 2010, 52–53).

Also the Iberian population of the Early Iron Age reached a noteworthy state of urbanisation. Let us mention for all the city of Ullastret (Fig. 5:2), where its inhabitants lived in the rectangularly planned city. The area settled since the 6th to the 2nd century BC, reached its highest point of consolidation in the 4th century BC (De Prado 2010; Codina *et al.* 2017). The city was organised within the mighty stone fortification with towers and bastions in the area of ca 15 hectares. Rectangular houses were grouped in insulae and divided by the principal streets in approximately rectangular network (cf. for ex. Codina *et al.* 2017).

Another example leads us to the 4th century BC to the environs of one ethnicity of “Barbarian nature”, being in the close contacts with Mediterranean world and demonstrating in its milieu not only the aspects of the power, prestige and luxury, but also signs of developed housing and town planning – the Thracians. Here I want to emphasize the astounding example of the Thracian town of Seuthopolis in today's Bulgaria (Fig. 6:1), founded by Seuthes III in the second half of the 4th century BC (cf. for ex. Dimitrov 1960; Dimitrov, Chichikova 1978;

Chichikova, Dimitrov 2016; Domaradzki 1998, 39–43; Popov 2002, 122–134; Nankov 2008). Although the space between the fortifications made of stones, bricks and timber was intended for the royal residence and aristocratic families, while the common population was settled out of the fortifications of the Seuthes' town, this fortified area was organized in rectangular insulae similarly to the Hipodamean model.

The Thracians in the connection with the stone architecture are evidenced even earlier in the multi-ethnic settlement of Vetren, unified by some with the emporion Pistiros but strongly doubted by G. Tsatskheladze (2019, 13–24), where the stone architecture exists already in the 5th century BC (Fig. 6:2). As for other “Thracian experience” with various forms of the stone architecture of the 5th–4th century BC, for example the sites of Kabyle (Velkov 1982), Sborjanovo (Stoyanov 2002; Stojanov *et al.* 2010) or Vasil Levski (Kisjov 2007; Kisjov 2009) and others may be mentioned.

How reached the Thracians and other indigenous communities the ability to participate in organization of such towns? Originally they were also used to live in the houses made of posts, wood and daub as the Central European population. Yes, it is obvious that the housing in the stone and brick dwellings in Seuthopolis was not intended for everyone, but for the king and a group of his aristocratic officials and their families. But despite that, isn't it a great difference compared for example to Heuneburg?

Why we do not observe parallel phenomena in contemporary Central Europe? Was the decisive factor the geographical nearness of the developed Mediterranean civilization compared to the greater distance of these civilizations from Central Europe? Such explanation seems to be a valid elucidation of the problem, but is not most likely right. The direct distance between the Heuneburg and Etruscan Kainua near Bologna with its application of the Hypodamean rectangular town planning already during the late 6th century BC is ca 440 kilometers, what is approximately equal to a distance of the Thracian settlements and centres in the mainland Greece or in the Black sea littoral area. Thus the distance of similar Etruscan urban centres from Central European area, including for ex. also newly discovered settlement in Gonfienti near Firenze (Poggesi *et al.* 2005), will not be so insuperable obstacle, to make the transfer of the “knowledge” of the developed urban planning northwards impossible. This is confirmed not only by the well known general picture of various forms of the interregional contacts between the Apennine peninsula and Central Europe but also by the presence of the Celts in the Italian milieu, long before their “historic invasion” in the beginning of the 4th century. Let us remind for example the burial of Avile Katakina in Orvieto's Cannicella necropolis from the period of ca 500 BC (Cencioli 2016, 32) or the dedication inscription of Ahal Trutitis on the fabulous bronze sculpture of Mars of Todi (Urbanová, Blažek 2009, 153; Cencioli 2016, 32).

Was the reason of the absence of the developed urban planning in Central Europe the focus of the local population only on the prestige of their chieftains, expressed only by the building conception of the places connected to elite (such as Heuneburg) and ignoring the common settlements?

Was the reason of this absence the lack of suitable building materials as for ex. stone? Or was it the lack of needed working experience for realizing the advanced stone constructions? Or was it their respect to the tradition which was tied only to the construction of traditional wooden/daub features? Or was it something else?

Although being not able to answer this question, it may be concluded that the “Mediterranean components” in the process of Central European urbanization or rather centralization during the period of 6th–5th century BC are marginal or, from the point of the view of the locals, elective in those terms that they have chosen from the Mediterranean only such features or achievements that were somehow attractive or significant for them. The Celts are in this optionality a little similar for example to Scythians. Their aristocracy was also surrounded by the Mediterranean highly valuable material culture (cf. Fless 2002), however, without having any substantial impact in greater extent on the culture of their settlements and housing.

CELTS AND THE IMITATION OF THE GREEK SYMPOSION

Another phenomenon, an example of the social behaviour, which is sometimes linked to the Mediterranean is represented by so called “Celtic symposia”, or more precisely, by an imitation of the Greek symposia (Fig. 7) by the Late Hallstatt/Early La Tène population, including the typical symposiastic game – *kottabos*.

It is a fact that one of the most significant importation of the Greek provenance in the West Hallstatt zone during the Early Iron Age is represented by the black figured and red figured pottery. It is found in the sumptuous graves of the mighty chieftains, in the hillforts having the function of Central places, in the significant plain settlements, in the princely courts and finally also in flat settlements objects of a standard character (cf. for ex. Wehgartner ed. 1995; Shefton 2000; Trefný 2011; Hansen 2012; Trefný *et al.* 2012).

The imports of the Attic figured pottery in the north of the Alps are typical for the second half of the 6th until the 5th century BC, a period equal to the Late Hallstatt to Early La Tène phase. A principal zones for the importation of the Attic ware were Massilia and Spina in the Po plain. The individual imports were spread from these points to various regions of Central Europe and also to other regions.

Many disputations were made about the value of the Attic pottery in the environs of Central European communities (cf. Boardman 1988; Gill, Vickers 1990, 2–4; Gill 1991; Fless 2002, 12–13; Trefný 2011, 283–290). Considering that the price of this sort was not totally low even in Athens-place of its production (Johnston 1979, 161; Gill, Vickers 1990, 3), then it is logical that the overall price of the product in Central European milieu must have been higher because of the cost needed for maritime and also land transport. For this purpose the Attic pottery, one of the most important evidence of the ability to transfer such fragile goods over the Alpine passes, may be considered to be the importation of higher value, what is confirmed also by the occurrence of specific craftsmen’s interventions into the look of the imported vases, as for example the reparation

of the stemless cup attributed to Amphitrite painter from the grave of Kleinaspergle, made by golden leaflets in a “Celtic” style (Böhr 1988). Second case of similar process is represented by the recent find of the Attic black figured *oinochoe* in the sumptuous wagon grave of Lavau in Eastern France (Dubuis *et al.* 2015a; Dubuis *et al.* 2015b; Dubuis, Millet 2017). Here the high value of the vase was increased by the application of the golden and silver decoration fittings on its rim and foot, probably somewhere “outside of the Mediterranean world”.

One of the most significant examples of the Mediterranean import is in the north of the Alps represented by the influx of the Mediterranean wine, distinguished in the archaeological contexts by the finds of the transport amphorae (cf. for ex. Sacchetti-Sourisseau 2013). A few years ago a toe of the North Aegean transport amphora, including several body sherds, was found in the significant settlement zone from the Early Iron Age in the southern suburb of Prague, documenting the range of the Mediterranean import of the Greek vine until to an area of Central Bohemia—one of the most northerly region with the evidence of the Greek vine influx (Trefný, Polišenský 2014a).

The combination of the imports of the symposiastic vessels, such as the cups and craters, including the fact that the Greek vine was imported to the Transalpine area, opened the way to the supposition, that Central European population has consumed Mediterranean vine, using the symposiastic vessels. From this point it was already not a long way to an imagination of the Celtic symposion, or Celtic drinking feasts, imitating the Greek symposia (cf. Bouloumié 1988; Bašta *et al.* 1989, 475; Shefton 1989, 217; Krausse 1993; Smrž, Bouzek 1994, 581; Smrž 1996, 87–88, 93; Krausse 2003; Chytráček, Metlička 2004, 127; Krausse 2004). So, in these interpretations, the Celtic drinking feasts are becoming an important example of the imports of the ideas in the area of the social behaviour.

However, there occur some discrepancies showing, that such linear linking of two absolutely different culture contexts growing from different backgrounds by the imagination of the adoption of the Greek symposion by the population of Central Europe may be very far from the reality. First doubts follow already from the information of the historical Antiquity sources, as noticed already by many authors (cf. for ex. Arnold 1999, 72–76). These well known sources as for example Athenaeus (IV, 36, 152), rewriting the information of Poseidonius, further Diodorus (V, 26), Livy (V, 33), Anacreon of Teos (Bouzek *et al.* 2007) and others, clearly attest, that the Celts or generally Barbarians were very fond of any alcoholic beverages, including wine. However, these sources also distinctly describe the different character of the Celtic/Barbarian drinking feasts. These differences reside in the kind of an alcoholic beverage, in the used vessels, in the position of the symposiasts during the feasting, in the famous Diodorus’ description (V, 26, 2–3) of the stupor or maniacal madness of the drunken Barbarians, of course in the different way how the beverages are served and others. Thus, even if there are no doubts about the significant role of the alcoholic beverages in the Celtic milieu (cf. Dietler 1995; Dietler 1990; Enright 1996), the information of the historic Antiquity authors may put the imagination of the feasting Celts in the Greek manner into substantial doubts.

Nevertheless, disproportions appear also in an archaeological contexts (cf. Trefný 2011, 293–294). The Greek symposion utilizes a codified set of vessels. Primary role is played of course by kylikes-drinking cups. Another significant role is assigned to craters-mixing vessels. Both these types are in “Barbarian” contexts well represented, the craters for example from La Bastida de les Alcuses, Sévaz-Tudinges, Châtillon-sur-Glâne, Heuneburg, Ipf, Marienberg, Ütliberg, Mont Lassois or Münsterberg (Kimmig, Gersbach 1971, Taf. 9; Wehgartner /Hrsg./ 1995; Böhr 2000, Abb. 8–10, 17; Pape 2000, 109; Fless 2002, Taf. 29–30; Böhr 2005, Abb. 22; Kaenel 2005, 54). However, sometimes the use of the craters has nothing to do with the symposiastic activities, as showed by example from Heuneburg, where the crater was used probably for storing purposes (cf. Shefton 2000, 30, note 31). Furthermore, the craters may be somewhere used as burial urns. The examples of such use are known for instance from Pyrenean peninsula or generally from the Mediterranean (cf. Cataldi 2001, 101–102; Domínguez, Sánchez 2001, 442, 457; Fless 2002, 96–101). These situations represent a clear evidence that the emergence of craters need not automatically mean an indication of symposion.

Taking into account the above mentioned problematic features, many authors admitted that the question of the hypothetical imitation of the Greek symposia by Central European population must be refused or at least left opened (Dietler 1992, 406; Shefton 2000, 30, note 31; Fless 2002, 96–101; Böhr 2005, 222; Trefný 2008, 125; Trefný 2011, 294). Such conclusions of course do not deny the possibility of the drinking feasts organized in Central European milieu, as also attested or indicated for example by the iconography of the Situla art (Magdalenska Gora, Vače, Kuffarn, Providence). Nevertheless, it is more likely that these feasts were organized according to the domestic traditions in concordance with local customs and imaginations (cf. Arnold 1999).

The last sentences seem to be more than confirmed by the results of very meritorious project BEFIM, studying by the organic residue analyses the contents of the Greek imported or locally manufactured drinking vessels found in Mont Lassois and Heuneburg. The results showed, that the vessels were used for consumption of the wine but also many other commodities or beverages, including the beer (Rageot *et al.* 2019; Rageot *et al.* 2019). I hope that these very promising results from the two mentioned most prominent central places of Central European Early Iron Age will be complemented by interesting data also from the relevant analyses of the “Bohemian Attic pottery” from Prague-Pitkovice and Prague-Jiviny, including the remnants of the only one “Bohemian” North Aegean transport amphora, which are now in progress (Trefný *et al.*, in preparation).

EXAMPLES OF THE ADOPTION OF PARTICULAR TYPES OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE

There are two specific areas in the material culture, where the adoption of the Mediterranean models or principles is doubtless, namely monumental sculpture and the production of specific sorts of vessels in the Transalpine area.

The statues, stelai and anthropomorphic pillars which were produced in Baden-Württemberg, Rhineland-Palatinate, Hesse and eastern France during the 6th to 3rd century BC were of important significance in funerary cult and representation (Kimmig 1987; Stary 1997; Bonenfant, Guillaumet 1998; Rassehofer 1998; Frey 2000; Baitinger, Pinsker ed. 2002; Huth 2003; Megaw 2003; various authors 2003; Arcelin, Congès ed. 2004; Löhlein 2006; Gruat, Garcia eds. 2013). The imagination of use of the sculptures as prestige objects near burials or sanctuaries connected to local leaders during the Early Iron Age is considered to be derived from the Italic culture of Picenum and corresponds also by the similar function of the stone sculpture in archaic Greece.

Stylistic resemblances, the position of the figure's arms and depiction of weapons or jewellery is very characteristic for the so called “Warrior of Capestrano” – representation of the local king (prov. L'Aquila/Italy) from the mid 6th century BC (for ex. Basile 1993; Die Picener 2000; Calderini *et al.* 2007) as well as for the “Warrior of Hirschlanden” (Beeser 1983) one of the most known example of the early stone sculpture in Central Europe. The same features are typical for the statue of the “Glaubergfürst” in Hesse. In this case it is possible to assume, that the statue represents a depiction of a real historic person, since in the tumulus next to the statue a burial was found with exactly the same objects as shown on the statue (Baitinger, Pinsker 2002). Similar phenomenon reflects one of two sculptures found in the sanctuary of Vix (Chaume, Reinhard 2003; Chaume, Reinhard 2011, Fig. 9–10). It represents for sure the “princess of Vix”, whose nearby burial mound contained amongst other luxurious items also a 1,64 m high bronze crater which was made in a Greek Southern Italy.

Except of the monumental sculpture, we register also another typical example of material culture, where the influences from the south seem to be indisputable – Central European imitations of several kinds of vessels of Mediterranean origin (Fig. 8–9). The import of the ideas is well known and documented in case of the Late Hallstatt/Early La Tène clay beaked flagons, which may be derived from the “Celtic” bronze beaked flagons or from Etruscan ones, as known from example from Dürrenberg (Penninger 1972, pl. 58A:1; Moosleitner *et al.* 1974, fig. 8A:2, pls. 136D:1; 145A: 8; 151A: 9; 168A: 4), Mont Lassois (Mötsch *et al.* 2008, fig.14), Hallstatt (Baitinger, Pinsker 2002, 309), Castaneda (Primas 1970, pl. 31A:1), Sien (Celtis 1991, 161), Ehrenbürg (Abels 1992), Tuněchody (Trefný *et al.* 2012) and from other sites (Fig. 9:12–14). Heuneburg (Fig. 9:4–5) yielded in the past the local imitations of so called Siana cups (Kimmig 1983, Abb. 59: 1–2; Pape 2000, 97–98). Central European researchers enriched the knowledge of the imitated kinds by the introduction of the locally produced imitations of the Greek red-figured pottery (Fig. 8), known from the settlements of Pilsen-Roudná and Chržín (Trefný *et al.* 2011). The analytic research revealed also the same manufacturing procedure (Fig. 8:3) in the composition of the circular meander-like decoration of these imitated kylikes as on Greek models (Trefný *et al.* 2011, Fig. 8). Other Bohemian sites yielded the finds (Fig. 9:6–7, 9) which were interpreted as the shape imitations of some types of Greek *kylikes* (Trefný, Polišenský 2014b, fig. 26:4–5) or imitations of the specific parts of the vessels such as the thumb supports on the handles (Fig.

9:10), typical for some kinds of the Greek pottery (Trefný 2011, fig. 6:9). Also the existence of the incised or stamped circular motives on Early La Tène Central European pottery might originate as a result of the inspiration by the relevant decoration on Greek Black glazed pottery, as considered by some scholars (Chytráček 2007, 480; Trefný 2011, 298).

As evident from the abovementioned, the examples of the Late Hallstatt/Early La Tène monumental sculpture and the pottery manufacture represent two categories of material culture, where a particular openness to the Mediterranean influence may be very easily registered. The explanation of such openness seems to be not complicated. We already stated above a special affinity of the Late Hallstatt/Early La Tène population in Central Europe with the phenomena, enabling the demonstration of a specific power, exclusivity and prestige of the mighty individuals. The monumental sculpture is directly such phenomenon. There is therefore no wonder, that the adoption of this feature has been in the Celtic society facilitated by a particular need of everything that might have contributed to the expression of the ruler's singularity.

The pottery is somewhat different case. We already reminded fact (cf. *supra*) that the imported Attic pottery must have represented in Central Europe an object of a higher non standard value. We know from contemporary life a particular social phenomenon, when the inaccessibility of some products, for any reasons, is solved by their imitation. Such explanation seems to fit also for the situation of the imitations of the Greek pottery. This pottery which was in its technical quality and in its attractive look quite incomparable with any sort of the local ware must have stimulated an effort to gain it. The imitation of such product seems to be a suitable solution to have something what was otherwise reserved only for the elite.

THE MURALS IN THE SOUTH AND THEIR ABSENCE IN THE NORTH OF THE ALPS

The construction of the burial mounds with grave chambers is widely spread phenomenon typical for many historical periods in the whole Eurasia (cf. Henry, Kelp eds. 2016). Their typical part is the grave chamber, hosting not only the body of the deceased but also the markers of his/her (their) social status – the burial gifts. The higher social status of the deceased is in Central Europe as well as in the Mediterranean or adjacent regions expressed by the sumptuous luxurious items clearly indicating who was buried in the chamber. Just for example the presence of the burial chariots or waggons in the chamber, emerging in Central Europe as well as in many sites of the Mediterranean (Karageorghis 1967–1974; Pare 1989, fig. 11; Pare 1992, fig. 33–35; Bedini 2000) is a collective feature and marker of the prestige and role of the buried person. Except of many other collective markers typical for both regions, as for example the use of the textile for wrapping the deceased or any other specific items from the burial inventory, there exists one, which was typical for many regions in the Mediterranean, but completely ignored in the Transalpine area – mural or wall paintings in the grave chambers.

One may argue that the use of the murals in the Transalpine burial chambers was impossible, since they were made of

wood. Nevertheless, such explanation would be far from truth. The building techniques, using the combination of a wood and the daub plaster on the wooden walls are in Central Europe well known since the Neolithic period. Thus we know also the examples of the application of the painting on the daub wall of the prehistoric dwellings, for Iron age for instance in Dietfurt-Deponiegelände, Lkr. Neumarkt/Opf (Wacker 2015). In the same way it is of course possible to treat the walls of the grave chamber made of wooden boards or beams with a layer of the daub or plaster on which the painting may be then applied. We know the examples of the use of the combination of the wooden ceilings made of posts, treated because of isolation, by a layer of the soil, from the Late Hallstatt hillfort of Minice in Central Bohemia (Trefný, Slabina 2015, obr. 13:13,19). Moreover, as we will see below, the paintings may be applied directly on the wood.

The influence in the form of the adoption of the murals from the Greek world in the burial architecture is again well known in the Thracian milieu. The earliest painted tombs were realized in the 4th century (cf. for ex. Venedikov, Gerasimov 1975; Valeva 2015) and they may serve very well as an evidence, that an inspiration of the Barbarian people by the Mediterranean area is possible also in such aspects as the painted chamber decoration.

As for other examples – Lucanians, native Italic tribe in southern Italy, which have continued in Paestum after their takeover of the city with the burying in the painted tombs (cf. Pontrandolfo, Rouveret 1992; Cipriani *et al.* 2004). The examples of such tombs, dated to the 4th centuries BC, are represented for example by the tombs No. 47 A or 53 in the necropolis of Andriuolo, the tomb No. 4 in the necropolis of Vanullo or tomb No. 1/1990 in the necropolis of Arcioni. The motives of these murals are represented by traditional fighting, cultic or funeral scenes.

Another example is represented by the Iberian site of Tos Pelat (Burriel Alberich, Mata Parreño 2013), settled between the 6th and the beginning of the 4th century BC. The traces of paintings do not come in this case from the funeral structure but from the house, nevertheless, they may be also understood as an attempt of the indigenous people to use the painting in more sophisticated way, than only on the pottery. Excavations of the mentioned house made of stone revealed that its walls were painted (Roldán García *et al.* 2005) by the blue and the red colour. By these colours geometric linear motives were made, placed on the white leveling layer. The analyses also revealed that the producers of these colours used a similar pigment as a sculptors, producing the polychromed Iberian sculptures. This unique example in the Iberian milieu evidences, that the Iberians could have at least in a small extent experimented with use of the murals.

The use of the painted tombs under great tumuli in the Bosporean area in the Northern Black sea region is well known. This is the case of for example the Kurgan I in Vasyurinskaya gora (Vlasova 2004) or Bolshaya Bliznitsa kurgan (Vinogradov 2018). Since this area was settled by the mixed Graeco-Scythian population, it cannot be thus excluded, that also the Scythians came to the contact with the phenomenon of the use of the murals in the grave chambers.

Fascinating example of that, how approximately the “Celtic murals” could have looked if they would be ever in

the Transalpine zone realized, is shown by paintings on the walls of the grave chamber under the tumulus uncovered in Tatarli in southern Frygia (Fig. 10) and dated to the period around 470 BC (Summerer 2007; Summerer 2010; Summerer, von Kienlin 2010). This complex is also very significant for the possible objection in that sense, that the Central European constructors of significant funeral monuments could not have applied the murals since their grave chambers are made of wood and the application of murals on the wood is impossible. The paintings in Tatarli were applied directly on the wooden walls of the chamber, without any stucco layer. The proper chamber consists of the beams, with flattened internal side on which the painting was applied. The exterior of the chamber was covered by the stone. The ceiling had a saddle shape and was made also of the beams. The paintings depicted various mythological animals, dancing warriors, and probably struggles of Persians and Scythians.

The Frygians used usually the wall paintings in the stone grave chambers and also houses (cf. for ex. Mellink 1980; Summerer 2016). The uniqueness of this art of painting from Tatarli resides in the fact, that the using of their traditional way of construction of the grave chambers from the timber was for them no obstacle to apply the painting, which was normally reserved for the stone structures. Such application of wall paintings would be for sure possible also in Central Europe, nevertheless, the wall paintings were not adopted by local population.

Several examples of the application of the murals in the environs of various ethnics show the possibility of the adoption of this sort of the art in the environs, where they were firstly untypical and then adopted as a result of the inspiration from the areas where the use of murals was more common. Nevertheless, Late Hallstatt/Early La Tène Central Europe has remained untouched by this phenomenon. The explanation by the distance from the communities where the murals were common seems to be not sufficient. Let us remind again the Celtic presence in Italy, where they could have come in touch with the Etruscan habit of extensive application of murals, which commenced here already since ca 700 BC as shown by Tomba dei leoni ruggenti in Veio (Boitani 2010).

The answer for the question “why they did not adopt the murals” may reside in the similar reasons as in case of the urbanism issues. Maybe they have had no need for an adoption of such kind of the decoration in their imagination of the burial ceremonies or customs, because of the different tradition. Maybe they were not able to overcome the technical difficulties. Maybe such way of decoration did not correspond to their imagination of right furnishing of the burial space. Maybe they solved this problem by the use of the textiles, carpets or mats. In every case the use of the murals in the burial contexts remained for Central Europe a never opened chapter.

CONCLUSION

Particular forms of the Mediterranean influence on several aspects of Central European culture of the Early Iron Age are well known. These cultural interactions and exchanges have led some authors to the idea that the Late Hallstatt/Early

La Tène civilization as a whole was in many crucial features substantially influenced by the Mediterranean area and its developed cultural entities.

For the purpose of investigation of mentioned problem, we focused in this article on several important criteria, such as adoption of particular social phenomena, role of the stone architecture and urban planning in the process of centralisation, some manufacturing techniques and technologies and finally (non)application of developed art forms in particular contexts. These phenomena have been selected, since their hypotetic adoption/refusal or the specific approach to them in the Transalpine area may reveal most suitably the nature of the real “Mediterranean influence” in the Central European world, similarly as in case of the relationships between other indigenous people and the developed Mediterranean civilizations.

Should we thus evaluate the influence of the Mediterranean area on the Transalpine Central Europe during the Early Iron Age according to the mentioned criteria, this influence may be characterized as partial or elective, whereas the overall impact of the Mediterranean on the population of Central Europe during the 6th–5th centuries BC may be described as marginal. The question put in the title of this contribution may be thus answered in the same sense.

Celtic rulers have yearned for the Mediterranean luxury and the prestigious and valuable artefacts for the purpose of consolidation of their position and status in their local communities. Nevertheless, the “higher aspects” of the Greek, Etruscan and other Mediterranean civilizations were not brought in their focus. Some kind of sometimes supposed “cultivation” of Central European population through the contacts with the Mediterranean is thus out of any question.

Nevertheless, it must be emphasised that presented conclusions concern only the relationships with the Mediterranean, which represents only one component of Central European interregional contacts. The Late Hallstatt/Early La Tène culture of Central Europe is noteworthy in many other aspects and was enriched also by the contacts with other parts of the contemporary world. Moreover this culture and the culture of Mediterranean are grown from completely different backgrounds, defined by the different geography, character of the landscape, identity and cultural tradition. The imagination that the Celts should have accepted all principal features of the Mediterranean culture to their social and behavioral structure is thus also odd. The different nature of both cultural complexes is perfectly expressed by the laughing Brennus during the sack of Delphi in 279 BC, after he saw that the Greeks worshipped gods depicted in the human form (Diodorus 22, 9, 4). It is interesting that similar ironic comments on the Greek religion are not completely rare. We hear them also from Josephus Flavius, a Jewish-Roman historian, which wonders in the same way, defending the Jewish antiquities and also the Jewish religion (Josephus Flavius 33, 240–35). Taking into account these opinions considering the Greeks to be naive in their religious imaginations, it cannot be completely excluded that the turning down of other “Mediterranean” achievements is not a sign of a simplicity but on the contrary a manifestation of the specific and authentic culture.

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Fig. 1. 1. Heuneburg in the Upper Danube area. Reconstruction of the acropolis and suburb (author Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden Württemberg). 2. Alte Burg in the Upper Danube Area. Reconstruction of the rally site from the Hallstatt period (author Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Baden Württemberg)



Fig. 2. Mont Lassois. Plan of the built up area in the acropolis of the hillfort (after Chaume, Dedet 2019)

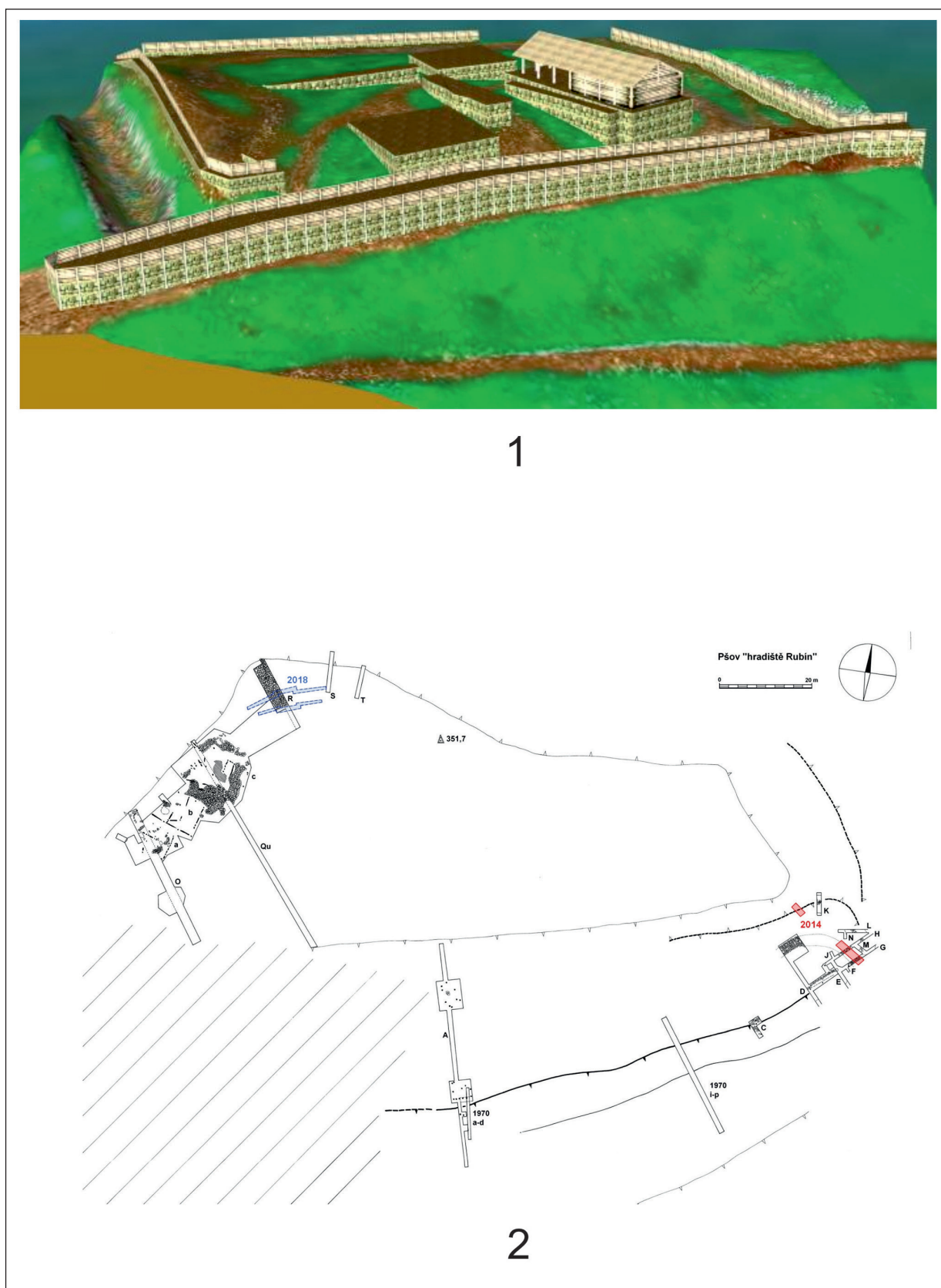


Fig. 3. 1. Reconstruction of the ritual precinct from the Early La Tène period in the acropolis of the hillfort Závist in central Bohemia (reconstruction J. Křivánek and P. Slavík). 2. Hillfort Rubin – central point of the Early Iron Age in Northwestern Bohemia. The excavations of Helmut Preidel in 30's (black), modern excavations in 2014 (red) and 2018 (blue) (after Trefný *et al.*, in preparation)

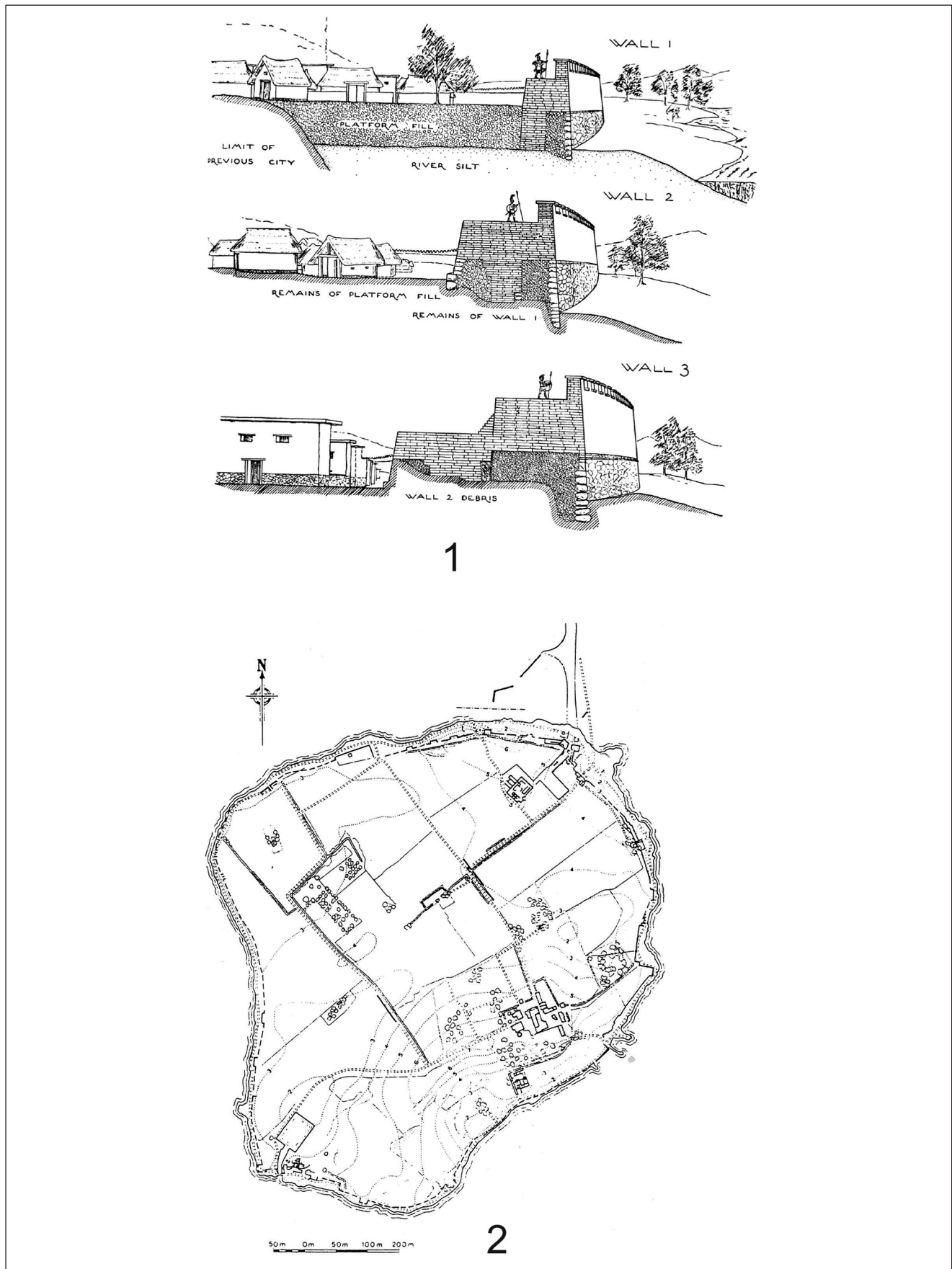


Fig. 4. 1. Smyrna. Reconstruction of the evolution of the municipal fortification in three phases (after Burckhardt 2010). 2. Plan of the Phonician settlement of the Motya in the Western Sicilly (after Hailer 2010)

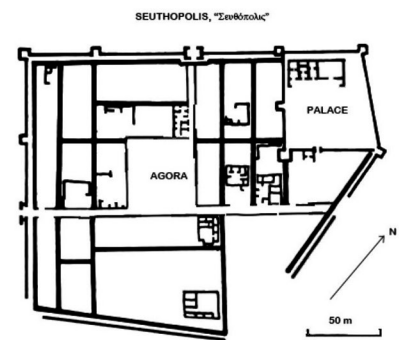
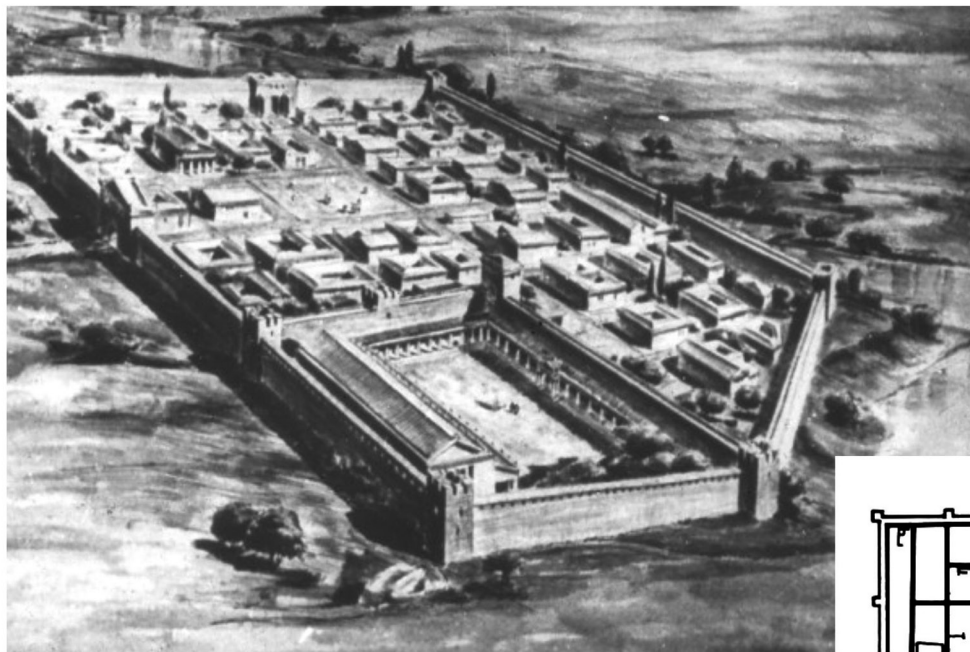


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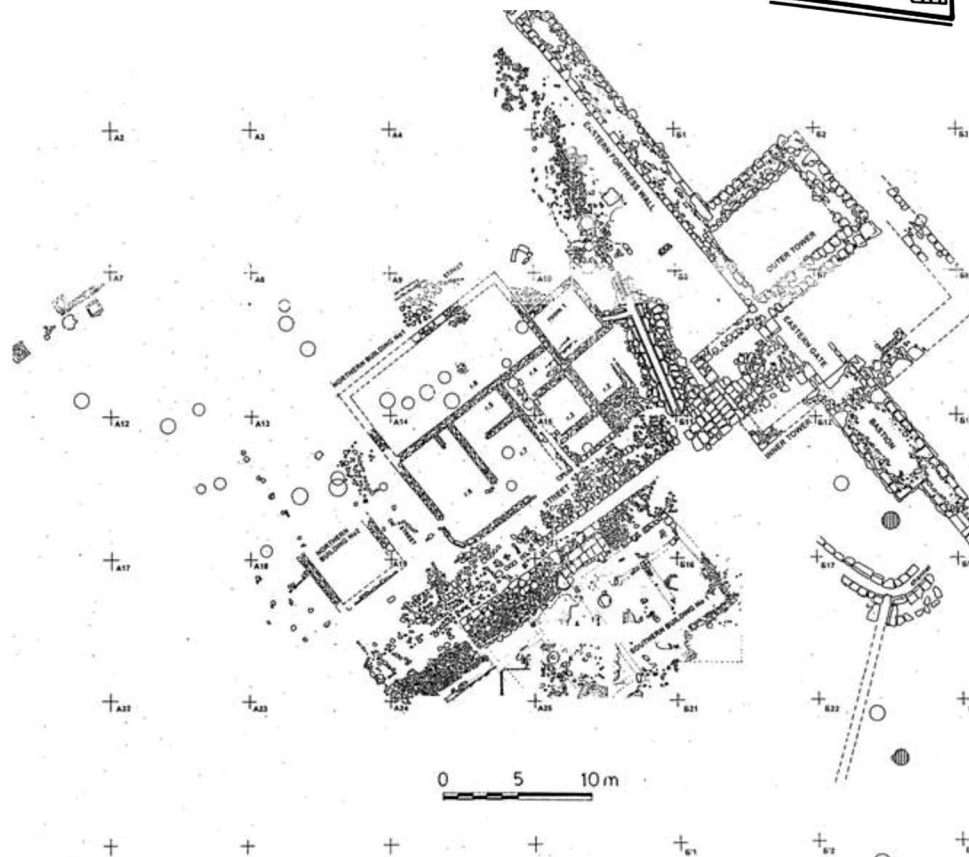


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Fig. 5. 1. Reconstruction of the city of Lattara (aquarelle J. C. Golvin). 2. Reconstruction of the municipal settlement of Ullastret (after Codinaet al. 2017)



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Fig. 6. 1. Reconstruction of Thracian city of Seuthopolis (drawing Tilev Architects). 2. Plan of the fortification, gate and adjacent area in Pistiros, Bulgaria (after Bouzek *et al.* 2010)



Fig. 7. Attic bell krater of Nikias Painter (ca 420 BC) with the depiction of symposium (photo Marie-Lan Nguyen)

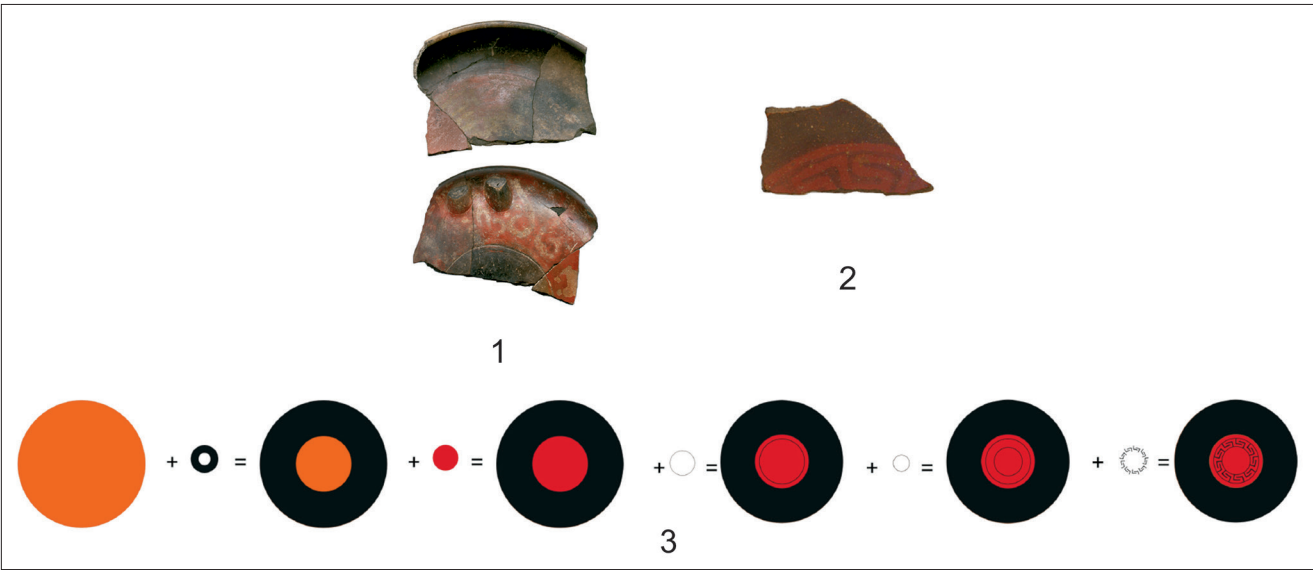


Fig. 8. Imitation of the Attic pottery from the Late Hallstatt settlements in Bohemia. 1. Pilsen-Roudná, 2. Chržín, 3. Individual steps of the formation of the round meander band in the medallion of the cup from Chržín (after Trefný *et al.* 2011)

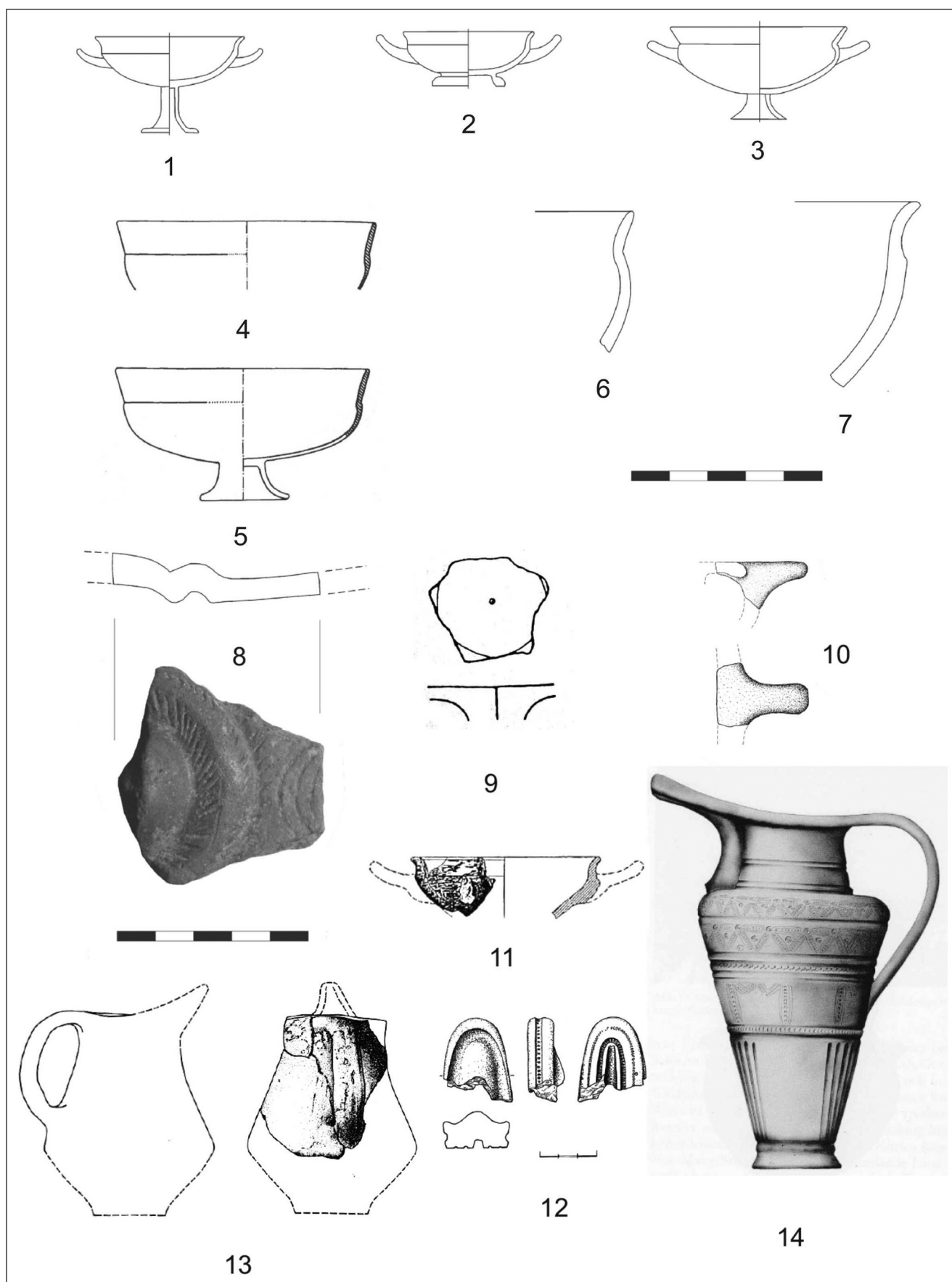


Fig. 9. Some types of the Greek cups (1-3), imitations of the Greek pottery and specific parts of the Greek vessels (4-7, 9-11), example of rouletting in Celtic milieu (8), clay imitations of the Celtic bronze beaked flagons (12-14). 4-5. Heuneburg, 6-8. Prague-Pitkovice, 9. Pilsen-Roudná, 10. Dobrovíz, 11, 13. Závist, 12. Tuněchody, 14. Ehrenbürg (after Trefný 2020, amended)



Fig. 10. The painted decoration and its reconstruction from the wooden grave chamber of the tumulus in Tatarli, Turkey (after Summerer 2010)



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