SHARED IDEOLOGIES AND IDENTITY MARKERS IN THE LATE IRON AGE CARPATHIAN BASIN

THE ZOOMORPHIC BROOCHES OF THE 4TH CENTURY BC

Regardless of the period, the costume has been one of the most important means of expressing individual or group identity. By incorporating complex symbolic messages, clothing items and accessories represent channels for communicating information about the status, origin, gender or age of the owner. This also makes it ideal for materializing iconographies linked to certain legends, myths or folk tales¹. During times of social-cultural changes, the costume can mirror the transformations that occur in those societies. Mobility and migration have been seen as a factor for reshaping cultural habits for both newcomers and the indigenous population². The interactions between these groups have often led to the creation of hybrid cultural manifestations, some also visible in costumes³.

During the 4th century BC, the Carpathian Basin witnessed the southeastern spreading of the Central European La Tène culture⁴. In this period, communities had a rural nature where the aristocratic elite maintained close ties with each other involving trading relations and political alliances⁵. These elites often shared similar ideologies and were connected through shared visual codes⁶. On some occasions, such iconographies were meant to be understood and recognized by all members of the community, signalling the status and prestige of the wearer. In other cases, these symbols can be seen as secret knowledge⁷ restricted only to some members within the same or from other communities⁸.

The spreading of these ideologies and iconographies was facilitated by the high degree of individual and group mobility. During this time, craftsmen, free of their overlord were in constant search of new markets and customers, spreading and learning new techniques and artistic fashions⁹. Another cause for the distribution of cultural traits is the mobility of women. Cases of exogamy are quite common in pre- and protohistoric societies and the individuals may relocate to communities distant from their origin ¹⁰. In some cases, the newcomer retains some of the cultural facets specific to the birth community while adopting others from the new homeland ¹¹.

The scope of this paper is to determine the role of a set of brooches in expressing the identity of certain individuals in the 4th century BC Carpathian Basin. Another aspect that will be questioned is the iconography associated with these garments, which finds parallels in both Central European Celtic art and Oriental Thracian or Scythian art, but manifests uniquely in this borderline space between east and west. The starting point of this discussion will be a discovery, recently made in the Freidorf borough, at the outskirts of Timişoara (jud. Timiş/RO), in southwestern modern-day Romania (fig. 1).

THE BROOCH FROM TIMIŞOARA-FREIDORF

The site at Timişoara-Freidorf was known mostly for its discoveries belonging to the 1st millennium AD¹². During 2017, rescue excavations unearthed more than 300 archaeological features belonging mostly to this period. Amongst these, six features were dated to the Late Iron Age. They were settlement structures

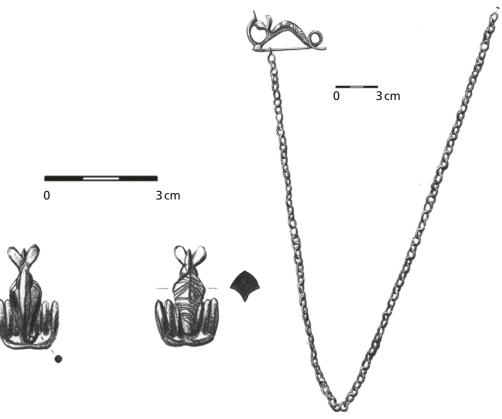
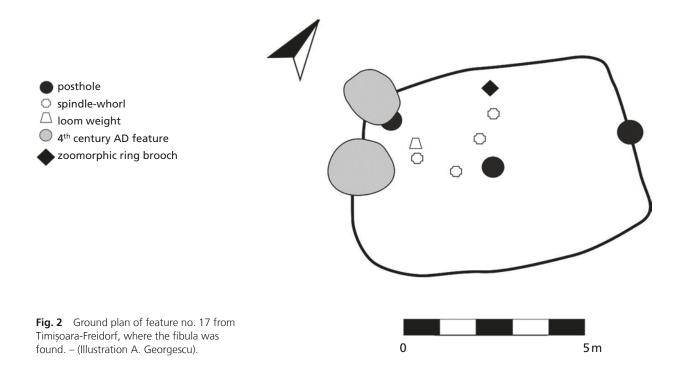




Fig. 1 The zoomorphic fibula from Timişoara-Freidorf. – (Drawings S. Saftu; photo M. Şepeţan).

consisting of sunken or half-sunken dwellings, pits or ancillary buildings. The largest of these, feature no. 17 (fig. 2), was a half-sunken dwelling measuring 46 m². Situated in the proximity of a dried-out stream, the building had an approximate east-west orientation and was neighboured by a smaller ancillary structure. Fragmentary sherds and spindle-whorls were the most numerous objects found in the backfilling, thus making the purpose of the structure difficult to ascribe. On the bottom of the feature, near the northwestern edge of the building, a bronze brooch together with a chain made of the same material was discovered. The



fibula (fig. 1) was 6 cm long and 3 cm high. It had a bilateral spring made out of six coils and its foot was turned towards the arch, ending in a stylized dragon-like animal. The ears of the creature were rounded, just like its upper muzzle. The eyes of the beast were not represented. On the arch, the object was decorated with incisions forming oblique patterns. Wrapped around the spring was the bronze chain, which had a length of 53 cm. One of the middle links as well as the loose end of the chain were put through the pin of the brooch which seemed to be closed at the moment of the abandonment. Although the spring was already broken when the brooch was found, it seems highly likely that it was still functional at the moment of the abandonment and that the damage occurred due to the pressure of the soil placed on top of it. Thus, this makes the fibula the sole functional object discovered inside the feature, raising questions concerning the motive for its disposal.

ZOOMORPHIC RING BROOCHES IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

The zoomorphic ring brooches are garment accessories specific to the eastern La Tène world (**fig. 3**). Mostly found by chance, or in funerary contexts, they were made during the last third of the 4th century BC. M. Szabó was the first to dedicate a study solely to these fibulae ¹³. Based on the finds known at that time, he assumed that they were the product of a Transdanubian workshop. Decades later, U. Binding included them in her study on early La Tène figural brooches ¹⁴. P. Popović and M. Sladić added two new finds to the repertoire, the first coming from the vicinity of Viminacium (Braničevo okr./SRB; **fig. 4, 11**) ¹⁵ and the later from Banjska Stena (Zaječar okr./SRB; **fig. 4, 12**) ¹⁶. The easternmost discovery comes from Veliko Tarnovo (Veliko Tarnovo obl./BG; **fig. 4, 16**), in northeastern Bulgaria ¹⁷. It is a hybrid product combining the zoomorphic motif from the Carpathian Basin with the Thracian style brooch. Two more finds were signalled by A. Rustoiu in a recent study: a pair of zoomorphic brooches from a cremation grave discovered at Timişoara-Cioreni (jud. Timiş/RO; **fig. 4, 14**) and a possible fibula belonging to this type discovered at Fântânele-

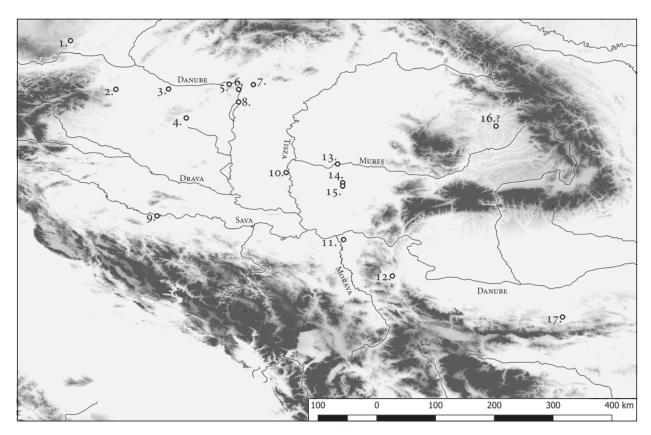


Fig. 3 Map of zoomorphic ring brooches in the Carpathian Basin. Each number corresponds to the locations in list 1. – (Map A. Georgescu after Rustoiu 2012 with additions).

Dâmbu Popii (jud. Bistriţa Năsăud/RO)¹⁸. The brooches found at Cioreni are the only ones having a clear archaeological context in the eastern Carpathian Basin and are also the only ones discovered in a cremation grave. This might indicate that the person buried here came from another region, adopting the funerary rites of her new community. Or, judging from the cluster formed by the finds from Pecica (jud. Arad/RO; fig. 4, 15), Cioreni and Freidorf that these brooches were not strange in this area and perhaps the ideology associated with them transcends ethnic barriers, being found within communities with different beliefs in the afterlife. The piece from Fântânele, if belonging to this type, is the only one somewhat distant from the Danube River. The latest examples come from a teaching document published by D. Božić on academia. edu¹⁹. He adds two more finds, already published, but unused in earlier studies. The first one is a chance find from Matzelsdorf (Bez. Horn/A; fig. 4, 1) in Lower Austria²⁰, while the second one comes from a grave at Adorjan (Severnobanatski okr./SRB; fig. 4, 13), Bačka Region dated to the Avar period²¹. Finally, two of the graves from the recently excavated cemetery at Csepel Island (Budapest/H; fig. 4, 7-8) contained brooches belonging to this type²². In total, there are 23 brooches (excluding the one from Fântânele) known so far, the piece from Freidorf being the only one found in a settlement structure.

The fibulae coming from Sopron (Győr-Moson-Sopron megye/H; fig. 4, 2), Litèr (Veszprém megye/H; fig. 4, 3), Donja Dolina (Gradiška/BIH) grave XLVII (fig. 4, 10), Szentendre (Pest megye/H; fig. 4, 5), Csepel Island grave 160 (fig. 4, 8) and Cioreni suggest that they were meant to be worn in pairs, placed on the shoulders, probably fastening a *peplos* type of clothing. The find from Freidorf, as well as the chance find from Püspökhatvan (Pest megye/H; fig. 4, 6), which had fragments from a chain attached to it²³, support this hypothesis. The costume form Szentendre, Csepel Island grave 160 and Pilismarót (Komárom-Esztergom megye/H)²⁴ had the second zoomorphic brooch replaced with one belonging to a different type, but

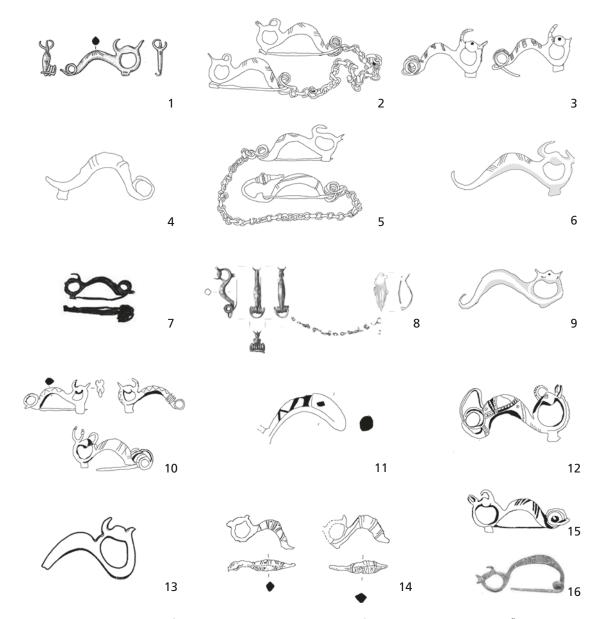


Fig. 4 The zoomorphic ring brooches from the Carpathian Basin: 1 Matzelsdorf. – 2 Sopron. – 3 Litèr. – 4 Győr. – 5 Szentendre. – 6 Püspökhatvan. – 7 Csepel Island grave 222. – 8 Csepel Island grave 160. – 9 unknown provenance. – 10 Donja dolina. – 11 Kostolac. – 12 Banjska Stena. – 13 Adorjan. – 14 Timişoara-Cioreni. – 15 Pecica. – 16 Veliko Tarnovo. – (1 after Maurer 1979, 11; 2-6 redrawn after Binding 1993, pl. 39, 4-9; 7 after Horváth 2016, pl. 4, 1; 8 after Horváth 2019, pl. VII, 1-2; 9 redrawn after Binding 1993, pl. 40, 1; 10-11 redrawn after Popović 1996, figs 4, 10-11. 13; 12, 3; 12 redrawn after Sladić 2002, fig. 3; 13 after Garam 2001, pl. 80, 6; 14 redrawn after Rustoiu 2012, pl. 3, 3-4; 15 redrawn after Binding 1993, pl. 39, 3; 16 after Mircheva 2000-2001, fig. 1).

also decorated in a manner that resembled an animal and maintained the same style of wearing. Such an action confirms the fact that these brooches were only meant to be worn on the shoulders, but also indicates the difficulty of procuring new ones.

Analysing some of the morphological details (arch decorations or the shape of the muzzles and ears) of these fibulae reveals the fact that none of the pieces is identical to another. Such an observation shows that these products were custom-made, using a wax casting mould. It also shows that the main focus was on the zoomorphic symbol and the manner in which they were worn, rather than secondary decorations.

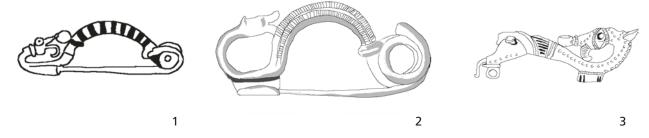


Fig. 5 Dragon-head fibulae from the western La Tène milieu: 1 Mörsingen. – 2 Maschwanden. – 3 Horné Orešany. – (1-2 redrawn after Binding 1993, pl. 38, 1. 4; 3 redrawn after Pieta 2010, fig. 130, 7).

MOBILITY AND CULTURAL INTERACTIONS IN THE LATE IRON AGE CARPATHIAN BASIN

Looking at the distribution map of the fibulae (fig. 3) we can easily notice that they follow the course of the Danube River or its major tributaries. The most distant finds are no further than 150km from the stream. It is, therefore, possible that the spreading of these artefacts was caused by the mobility of individuals or groups of people moving along the Danube. Scientific analysis has shown a high degree of individual and group mobility during the early and middle La Tène period in Central Europe²⁵. Transregional relocation has been observed mostly for the male population, especially warriors, while women seemed to move on a regional scale²⁶. For prehistoric times, where a detailed analysis of the individual mobility could have been made, different levels of female mobility were also noticed 27. In the Carpathian Basin La Tène period, mobility has been deduced mostly from the analysis of the archaeological record²⁸, showing several cases of warriors, craftsmen or women relocating at some point during their life²⁹. It could, therefore, be assumed that the zoomorphic brooches discussed here could have been spread by one or several craftsmen moving along the Danube, or by the owners of these accessories settling in new communities. Although no anthropological analyses have been made on the skeletal remains that were found alongside these fibulae, it has been generally assumed – judging from the grave inventories and style of wear – that they were designed for female owners. Women's costumes containing fasteners worn on the shoulders and connected by a chain are known from ancient Greek sources and vase paintings³⁰. They are also found in numerous early La Tène graves from Central Europe like the ones from Mannersdorf (Bez. Bruck a. d. Leitha/A)³¹, Pottenbrunn (Bez. St. Pölten/A)³² or Dürrnberg (Bez. Hallein/A)³³ all anthropologically demonstrated to belong to women. Therefore, it is more than likely that the zoomorphic brooches discussed here were designed to be worn by women, thus making exogamy one of the potential reasons for the spreading of these items.

GRIFFINS, DRAGONS AND »MASTER OF THE ANIMALS« MOTIFS IN THE EARLY LA TÈNE PERIOD

Although it has been thought that dragons or griffins in early Celtic art are the results of Oriental influence, the lack of evidence for a direct contact has led to the presumption that these symbols made their way to Central Europe through other sources, probably from the Italian Peninsula³⁴. The motif is a popular form of decoration on the early and middle La Tène sword scabbards, being considered as an iconographic code, specific to a distinct group of warriors³⁵. In the Carpathian Basin, such scabbards appear only in the La Tène B2 phase, being latter than the zoomorphic brooches³⁶. The earliest representations of such fan-





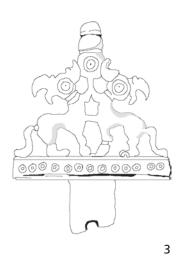


Fig. 6 Examples of the »Master of the Animals« iconography in early Celtic art: 1 Hölzelsau, belt-hook. – 2 Glauberg, *Schnabelkanne*. – 3 Somme-Bionne, belt-hook. – (1-2 after Guggisberg 2010, figs 3. 7; 3 redrawn after Stöllner 2014, fig. 8, 16).

tastic animals appear in Celtic art during the 5th century BC. Sometimes they appear in pairs like in the case of the Cuperly (dép. Marne/F) applique – although L. Olivier suggests that the two griffin heads represent profile views of one animal rather than a two-headed beast³⁷ –, the urn from La Cheppe (dép. Marne/F) or on the open-work belt plaques³⁸. They are also common on early La Tène brooches like the ones found at Maschwanden (Kt. Zürich/CH; fig. 5, 2)³⁹, Mörsingen (Lkr. Reutlingen/D; fig. 5, 1)⁴⁰, or Horné Orešany (okr. Trnava/SK; fig. 5, 3)⁴¹. In some cases, the beasts appear flanking a human character, forming a »Master of the Animals« pose (fig. 6).

This iconography is also of Oriental origin and the way through which it influenced early Celtic art is debated as well⁴². Judging from the style of wear – one dragon on each shoulder flanking the cladded person – we can assume that these brooches were meant to symbolise the same »Master/Mistress of the Animals« iconography⁴³ (**fig. 7**). However, in most cases coming from the Central European Celtic milieu, the gender of the central character seems to be male⁴⁴, being particularly associated with the warrior elite⁴⁵. In the Carpathian Basin, these fibulae are part of the women apparel picturing a *Potnia Theron* iconography that is more specific to the Oriental milieu.

In the Carpathian Basin, dragons or griffins as well as the »Master/Mistress of the Animals« representations are missing in the pre-Celtic horizon. However, they are present in the neighbouring areas, belonging to the Thracian and Scythian populations, with whom the middle Danube communities had numerous contacts. Supernatural beasts with sprouted jaws are frequent on harness equipment found in

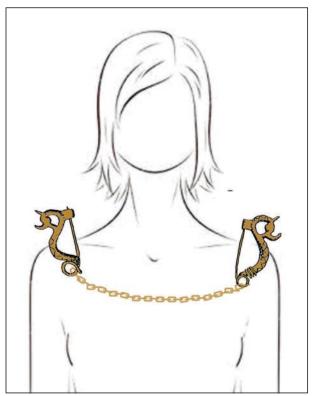


Fig. 7 Hypothetical reconstruction of the style of wear associated with these brooches. – (Illustration A. Georgescu).



Fig. 8 The iconography of the »Mistress of the Animals« in Greek, Thracian and Scythian art: **1** drawing of the »Mistress of the Animals« on the mirror from Kelermes. – **2** jug from the Rogozen hoard. – **3** phalera from Lupu. – **4** disc fasteners connected with a chain with gold plaques showing the *Potnia Theron* iconography discovered at Kamiros. – (1 after Potratz 1963, 122; 2 after Echt 2004, fig. 230a; 3 photo G. Rustoiu at http://europeana.cimec.ro/Poza.asp?k=65F0654D26674795866664CE81918A1B; 4 after Brøns 2014, fig. 4.30).

elite burials or hoards of the 4th century BC in the southern Carpathian area or on helmets like the one from Cucuteni-Băiceni (jud. lași/RO)⁴⁶. However, these creatures are not associated with the *Potnia Theron* iconography and are never found on brooches. Instead, felines facing outwards are more frequently encountered in the Thracian, Scythian and Greek milieu⁴⁷. The iconography of this theme seems to suffer little change in this area from the 7th to the 2nd century BC. The main character, a female, sometimes winged, seems to tame a pair of backward-looking animals which are often interpreted as felines or dogs. Such is the case with the representations on the gold plaques from the 7th-century burial at Kamiros (per. Rodos/GR; fig. 8, 4). They were worn across the chest and attached at the shoulders, drawing attention towards the owner and being worn in a similar way to the brooches analysed in this paper⁴⁸. This image is similar to the one on the gilded silver mirror from Kelermes (Krasnodarskiy Kr./RUS; fig. 8, 1), found in a Scythian kurgan, dated around the same period and attributed to a Greek artisan⁴⁹. Later on, one of the silver cups of the Thracian hoard from Rogozen (Vratsa obl./BG; fig. 8, 2) shows another winged female holding backward-looking animals. This cup is dated to the 4th century BC⁵⁰. Finally, from the Dacian milieu comes a gold

phalera, discovered in Transylvania, at Lupu (jud. Alba/RO; fig. 8, 3), showing a winged female character, with two oversized brooches on the shoulders, holding a pair of wild animals⁵¹. All these similar *Potnia Theron* representations seem to have a common origin in Greek art.

Lastly, we discuss the fibula from Veliko Tarnovo which is an interesting example as it incorporates the La Tène style dragon on a Thracian type fibula. These brooches have a different spring morphology, making the mode of wearing different than the one specific for the La Tène fibulae⁵². It is, therefore, to be assumed that this garment accessory was seen as exotic in the Thracian environment and that it did not hold the same meaning as in the Carpathian Basin. Its spreading could represent the furthest point reached by the craftsman/men who were producing the zoomorphic ring brooches. It could also show his/their way of adapting the products to the local consumers. Another explanation could be the copying by local craftsmen of this motif without knowing its original meaning.

CONCLUSIONS

The zoomorphic brooch from Freidorf, through its context of discovery, brings valuable information about the importance of these objects for the early La Tène communities in the Carpathian Basin. Its state of preservation, contrasting with the finds from the rest of the feature, as well as the way the second end of the chain was put through the pin, might suggest that its abandonment had a symbolic meaning. The loss of the second brooch could mean that the mythical proprieties of these garment accessories were gone. Rendered useless, it was disposed of probably accompanied by some sort of ritual. It was likely that these items were reserved for women of special status judging by the distinct style of wear and the difficulty of procuring. Also, in its original shape, the copper alloy – if well-polished – would have resembled the glitter of gold and, worn with contrasting clothes, they would surely have drawn attention towards the wearer, signalling her social identity.

The entire mythological and symbolic background accompanying them seems to represent the materialization of a common ideology shared by the communities of the Carpathian Basin. Fantastical animals with sprouted jaws are known both in western and eastern European iconographies from the beginning of the Late Iron Age. However, incorporating such symbols into the morphology of brooches is specific for the Central European La Tène environment. Concerning the »Mistress of the Animals« iconography it seems that it is more common in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, while in the early Celtic art of Central Europe, a male character seems to play the central role. This combination of influences resulted in a unique fashion specific only for the Carpathian Basin. The production and distribution of these brooches strictly in this region is another argument for the expression of local traditions and myths through these products under the influences of both western and eastern cultures.

LIST 1: ZOOMORPHIC RING FIBULAE FROM THE CARPATHIAN BASIN (AFTER RUSTOIU 2012, WITH ADDITIONS)

Austria: 1. Matzelsdorf (Maurer 1979). – Hungary: 2. Sopron; 3. Győr; 4. Litèr; 5. Pilismarót; 6. Szentendre; 7. Püspökhatvan; 8. Csepel (Horváth 2016). – Bosnia & Herzegovina: 9. Donja Dolina. – Serbia: 10. Adorjan (Garam 2001); 11. Kostolac; 12. Banjska stena. – Romania: 13. Pecica; 14. Timișoara-Cioreni; 15. Timișoara-Freidorf; 16. Fântânele?. – Bulgaria: 18. Veliko Tarnovo.

Acknowledgements

This work was supported by a grant of Ministry of Research and Innovation, CNCS-UEFISCDI, project no. PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2016-0353, within PNCDI III. I would like to thank Aurel Rustoiu and Martin

Schönfelder for comments and suggestions and Christopher Pare for proof reading.

Notes

- 1) DeMarrais/Castillo/Earl 1996, 16. Wells 2008, 17.
- 2) Burmeister 2016, 46.
- 3) Rustoiu/Ursuțiu 2013, 77
- 4) Rustoiu 2008a. Kruta 2001, 416.
- 5) Buchsenschutz/Gruel/Lejars 2012, 192.
- 6) Rustoiu 2013, 213-214. Ginoux 2012.
- 7) Bradley 2009, 138.
- 8) Bagley/Schumann 2013, 125. Danielsson/Fahlander/Sjöstrand 2012, 3. Wells 2008, 15.
- 9) Egri 2014, 239. Buchsenschutz/Gruel/Lejars 2012, 192.
- 10) Arnold 2005. Casini 2012.
- 11) Lucy 2005, 97.
- 12) Mare et al. 2011, 9-10.
- 13) Szabó 1974.
- 14) Binding 1993, 39-40. 160 type 22 list 25 pls 38, 7-9; 39, 3-9; 40, 1.
- 15) Popović 1996, fig. 12, 3.
- 16) Sladić 2002/2003.
- 17) Mircheva 2000-2001.
- 18) Rustoiu 2012, fig. 2 appendix 2.
- 19 www.academia.edu/17483441/LT_B1_phase_dragon_head_ fibulae_uploaded_29._10._2015_ (13.11.2020).
- 20) Maurer 1979, 11.
- 21) Garam 2001, pl. 80, 6.
- 22) Horváth 2016, 143-144 pls 3, 3; 4, 1.
- 23) Szabó 1974, 72.
- 24) Jerem 2018 [conference presentation].
- 25) Scheeres et al. 2014, 508-509.
- 26) Ibidem 509.
- 27) Frei et al. 2015; 2017.

- 28) Hauschild 2010.
- 29) Rustoiu 2008b. Rustoiu/Ursuţiu 2013. Rustoiu/Berecki 2014
- 30) Brøns 2014, 62-63.
- 31) Ramsl 2011, graves 8, 29, 60, 74, 116 and 124.
- 32) Ramsl 2002, graves 89 and 547.
- 33) Tiefengraber/Wiltschke-Schrotta 2014, Individuums from grave 104; 2012, Individuum 3 from grave 162.
- 34) Megaw/Megaw 2001, 64. Megaw 2005, 42. Megaw/ Megaw 2010. – Pare 2012, 153. – Frey 1995, 163.
- 35) Rustoiu 2013, 213-214. Ginoux 2012.
- 36) Szabo/Petres 1992, 39-40.
- 37) Olivier 2014, 52.
- 38) Stöllner 2014.
- 39) Binding 1993, pl. 38, 1.
- 40) Ibidem pl. 38, 4.
- 41) Pieta 2010, fig. 130, 7.
- 42) Arnold 2010, 196 with references.
- 43) Aurel Rustoiu pers. comment.
- 44 Guggisberg 2010, 226
- 45) It is worth mentioning the presence of this iconography on numerous artefacts from warrior grave 1 at Glauberg (Stöllner 2014, 216).
- 46) Florea 2001.
- 47) Rustoiu/Ferencz 2018, 41 fig. 5, 2-4.
- 48) Brøns 2014, 85 fig. 4, 30.
- 49) Potratz 1963, 122.
- 50) Echt 2004, 199 fig. 230a.
- 51) Rustoiu/Ferencz 2018, 41 fig. 5, 4.
- 52) Spânu 2013, 146.

References

Arnold 2005: B. Arnold, Mobile men, sedentary women? Material culture as a marker of regional and supra-regional interaction in Iron Age Europe. In: H. Dobrzańska / V. Megaw / P. Poleska (eds), Celts on the Margin. Studies in European Cultural Interaction 7th Century BC - 1st Century AD dedicated to Zenon Woźniak (Kraków 2005) 17-26.

2010: B. Arnold, Beast of the Forest and Beasts of the Field: Animal Sacrifice, Hunting Symbolism, and the Master of the Animals in Pre-Roman Iron Age. In: D. B. Countts / B. Arnold (eds), The Master of Animals in Old World Iconography. Archaeolingua 24 (Budapest 2010) 193-210.

Bagley/Schumann 2013: J. Bagley / R. Schumann, Materialized Prestige. Remarks on the Archaeological Research of Social Dis-

- tinction Based on Case Studies of the Late Hallstatt Golden Necklaces and Early La Téne Maskenfibeln. In: R. Karl / J. Leskovar (eds), Interpretierte Eisenzeiten. Fallstudien, Methoden, Theorie. Tagungsbeiträge der 5. Linzer Gespräche zur interpretativen Eisenzeitarchäologie. Studien zur Kulturgeschichte von Oberösterreich 37 (Linz 2013) 123-136.
- Binding 1993: U. Binding, Studien zu den figürlichen Fibeln der Frühlatènezeit. Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 16 (Bonn 1993).
- Bradley 2009: R. Bradley, Image and Audience. Rethinking Prehistoric Art (Oxford 2009).
- Brøns 2014: C. Brøns, Representation and Realities: fibulas and pins in Greek and Near Eastern iconography. In: M. Harlow / M.-L. Nosch (eds), Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress. An Interdisciplinary Anthology. Ancient Textiles Series 19 (Oxford, Philadelphia 2014) 60-94.
- Buchsenschutz/Gruel/Lejars 2012: O. Buchsenschutz / K. Gruel / Th. Lejars, The Golden Age of Celtic Aristocracy in the Fourth and Third Centuries BC. Les Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales 67/2, 2012, 187-215.
- Burmeister 2016: S. Burmeister, Archaeological Research on Migration as a Multidisciplinary Challenge. Medieval Works 4, 2016, 42-64.
- Casini 2012: S. Casini, La practica dell'esogamia nella cultura di Golasecca. In: S. Marchesini (ed.), Matrimoni Misti: Una via per l'integrazione tra i popoli. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Verona-Trento, 2-3 dicembre 2011) (Trento 2012) 65-78.
- Danielsson/Fahlander/Sjöstrand 2012: I.-M. Danielsson / F. Fahlander / Y. Sjöstrand, Imagery beyond representation. In: I.-M. Danielsson / F. Fahlander / Y. Sjöstrand (eds), Encountering Imagery. Materialities, Perceptions, Relations. Stockholm Studies in Archaeology 57 (Stockholm 2012) 1-12.
- DeMarrais/Castillo/Earle 1996: E. DeMarrais/L. J. Castillo/T. Earle, Ideology, Materialization and Power Strategies. Current Anthropology 37/1, 1996, 15-31.
- Echt 2004: R. Echt (ed.), Die Thraker. Das goldene Reich des Orpheus [exhibition catalogue Bonn] (Mainz 2004).
- Egri 2014: M. Egri, Desirable Goods in the Late Iron Age The Cratsman's Perspective. In: S. Berecki (ed.), Iron Age Crafts and Craftsmen in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureş, 10-13 October 2013. Bibliotheca Musei Marisiensis: Seria Archaeologica 7 (Târgu Mureş 2014) 233-248.
- Florea 2001: G. Florea, Dragonul dacic. In: C. Cosma / D. Tamba / A. Rustoiu (eds), Studia Archaeologica et Historica Nicolao Gudea Dicata. Bibliotheca Musei Porolissensis 4 (Zalău 2001) 193-201.
- Frei et al. 2015: K. M. Frei / U. Mannering / K. Kristiansen / M. E. Allentoft / A. S. Wilson / I. Skals / S. Tridico / M. L. Nosch / E. Willerslev / L. Clarke / R. Frei, Tracing the dynamic life story of a Bronze Age Female. Scientific Reports 5, 2015, 10431. DOI: 10.1038/srep10431.
 - 2017: K. M. Frei / C. Villa / M. L. Jørkov / M. E. Allentoft / F. Kaul / P. Ethelberg / S. S. Reiter / A. S. Wilson / M. Taube / J. Olsen / N. Lynnerup / E. Willerslev / K. Kristiansen / R. Frei, A matter of months: High precision migration chronology of a Bronze Age female. PLoS ONE 12/6, 2017, e0178834. DOI: 10.1371/journal. pone.0178834.

- Frey 1995: O.-H. Frey, Some Comments on Swords with Dragon-Pairs. In: B. Raftery (ed.), Sites and Sights of the Iron Age: Essays on fieldwork and museum research presented to Ian Mathieson Stead. Oxbow Monograph 56 (Oxford 1995) 163-176.
- Garam 2001: É. Garam, Funde byzantinischer Herkunft in der Awarenzeit vom Ende des 6. bis zum Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts. Monumenta Avarorum Archaeologica 5 (Budapest 2001).
- Ginoux 2012: N. Ginoux, Images and Visual Codes of Early Celtic Warrior Elites (5th-4th centuries BC). In: Ch. Pare (ed.), Art and communication: Centralization processes in European societies in the 1st millennium BC. RGZM Tagungen 15 (Mainz 2012) 179-190.
- Guggisberg 2010: M. Guggisberg, The Mistress of Animals, the Master of Animals: Two Complementary or Oppositional Religious Concepts in Early Celtic Art. In: D. B. Countts / B. Arnold (eds), The Master of Animals in Old World Iconography. Archaeolingua 24 (Budapest 2010) 223-236.
- Hauschild 2010: M. Hauschild, »Celticised« or »Assimilated«? In Search of Foreign and Indigenous People at the Time of the Celtic Migrations. In: S. Berecki (ed.), Iron Age Communities in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu-Mureş, 9-11 October 2009. Bibliotheca Musei Marisiensis: Seria Archaeologica 2 (Cluj-Napoca 2010) 171-180.
- Horváth 2016: A. Horváth, Problems about the Change of Periods and Rites in the La Tène Cemetery on Csepel Island (Budapest).
 In S. Berecki (ed.), Iron Age Chronology in the Carpathian Basin.
 Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureş,
 8-10 October 2015. Bibliotheca Musei Marisiensis: Seria Archaeologica 12 (Cluj-Napoca 2016) 141-163.
 - 2019: A. Horváth, A preliminary study of a rare fibula type (the so called Altmark fibulae) from the La Tène cemetery of Csepel. Studia Historica Nitriensia 23, 2019, 107-124. DOI: 10.17846/SHN.2019.23.S.107-124.
- Jerem 2018: E. Jerem, The importance of contacts zone in transmitting ideas and goods: a case study about Eastern Alpine area and Danube Valley between the 6th-4th century BC [Conference presentation]. Lost Centuries or Age of Transition. Rethinking Late Hallstatt/Early La Tène Transition, Požega 7th-9th December, 2018.
- Kruta 2001: V. Kruta, Les Celtes. Histoire et dictionnaire des origines à la romanisation et au christianisme (Paris 2001).
- Lucy 2005: S. Lucy, Ethnic and cultural identities. In: M. Dias-Andreu / S. Lucy / S. Babic / D. N. Edwards (eds), The Archaeology of Identity. Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion (London 2005) 86-109.
- Mare et al. 2011: M. Mare / D.Tănase / F. Drașovean / G. El Susi / Sz. Gal, Timișoara-Freidorf. Cercetările arheologice preventive din anul 2006. Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica 52 (Timișoara 2011).
- Maurer 1979: H. Maurer, Sammeln und Sichten. Horner Blätter zur Vorgeschichte 1/2, 1979, 11.
- Megaw 2005: V. Megaw, Early Celtic art without Scythians? A review. In: H. Dobrzańska / V. Megaw / P. Poleska (eds), Celts on the Margin. Studies in European Cultural Interaction 7th Century BC 1st Century AD dedicated to Zenon Woźniak (Kraków 2005) 33-48.
- Megaw/Megaw 2001: R. Megaw / V. Megaw, Celtic Art: From Its Beginnings to the Book of Kells (New York 2001).

- 2010: V. Megaw / R. Megaw, The stamped sherd from Kanín (Central Bohemia): a further essay on early La Tène art style. Archeologicke Rozhledy LXII/2, 2010, 311-325.
- Mircheva 2000-2001: E. Mircheva, A Fibula with Zoomorphic Ring from Veliko Turnovo District. И ЗВЕСТИЯ НА НАРОДНИЯ МУЗЕЙ ВАРНА 236-237/51-52, 2000-2001, 164-170.
- Olivier 2014: L. Olivier, Les codes de représentation visuelle dans l'art celtique ancien. In: Ch. Gosden / S. Crawford / K. Ulmschneider (eds), Celtic Art in Europe. Making Connections. Essays in honour of Vincent Megaw on his 80th birthday (Oxford 2014) 39-55.
- Pare 2012: Ch. Pare, Eastern Relations of Early Celtic Art. In: Ch. Pare (ed.), Art and communication: Centralization processes in European societies in the 1st millennium BC. RGZM – Tagungen 15 (Mainz 2012) 153-178.
- Pieta 2010: K. Pieta, Die keltische Besiedlung der Slowakei. Jüngere Latènezeit. Studia Instituti Archaeologici Nitriensis Academiae Scientiarum Slovacae; Archaeologica Slovaca: Monographiae. Studia 12 (Bratislava 2010).
- Popović 1996: P. Popović, Early La Téne Between Pannonia and the Balkans. Starinar 47, 1996, 105-125.
- Potratz 1963: J. A. H. Potratz, Die Skythen in Südrussland. Ein untergegangenes Volk in Südosteuropa (Basel 1963).
- Ramsl 2002: P. C. Ramsl, Das eisenzeitliche Gräberfeld von Pottenbrunn. Forschungsansätze zu wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen und sozialen Strukturen der latènezeitlichen Bevölkerung des Traisentales, Niederösterreich. Fundberichte aus Österreich A 11 (Wien 2002).
 - 2011: P. C. Ramsl, Das latènezeitliche Gräberfeld von Mannersdorf am Leithagebirge, Flur Reinthal Süd, Niederösterreich. Studien zu Phänomenen der latènezeitlichen Kulturausprägungen. Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission 74 (Wien 2011).
- Rustoiu 2008a: A. Rustoiu, The Beginning of Celtic Colonization Inside the Carpathians. In: H. Pop (ed.), Dacian studies in memoriam Dr. Mircea Rusu (Cluj-Napoca 2008) 33-52.
 - 2008b: A. Rustoiu, Războinici și societate în aria celtică Transil-văneană. Reflecții asupra mormântului cu coif de la Ciumești. Interferențe Etnice și Culturale în Mileniile I a. Chr. I p. Chr. 13 (Cluj-Napoca 2008).
 - 2012: A. Rustoiu, The Celts and Indigenous Populations from the Southern Carpathian Basin. Intercommunity Communication Strategies. In: S. Berecki (ed.), Iron Age Rites and Rituals in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureş, 7-9 October 2011. Bibliotheca Musei Marisiensis: Seria Archaeologica 5 (Cluj-Napoca 2012) 357-390.
 - 2013: A. Rustoiu, Wandering Warriors. The Celtic Grave from »Silivaş« (Transylvania) and its story. Terra Sebus 5, 2013, 211-226.
- Rustoiu/Berecki 2014: A. Rustoiu / S. Berecki, Celtic Elites and Craftsmen: Mobility and Technological Transfer during the Late

- Iron Age in the Eastern and South-Eastern Carpathian Basin. In: S. Berecki (ed.), Iron Age Crafts and Craftsmen in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureş, 10-13 October 2013. Bibliotheca Musei Marisiensis: Seria Archaeologica 7 (Târgu Mureş 2014) 249-278.
- Rustoiu/Ferencz 2018: A. Rustoiu / I. V. Ferencz, Gates to the Otherworld. Jewelry and Garment Accessories of the Celtic Horizon from Isolated Places in Transylvania. Archaeologica Bulgarica XXII/2, 2018, 33-46.
- Rustoiu/Ursuţiu 2013: A. Rustoiu / A. Ursuţiu, Indigenous and Celtic Garment Assemblages in Banat and the Surrounding Areas at the Beginning of the La Tène Period (Observations Regarding the Silver Spiral Earrings). In: I. V. Ferencz / N. C. Rişcuţa / O. Bărbat (eds), Archaeological Small Finds and Their Significance. Proceedings of the Symposion: Costume As An Identity Expression (Cluj-Napoca 2013) 77-88.
- Scheeres et al. 2014: M. Scheeres / C. Knipper / M. Hauschild / M. Schönfelder / W. Siebel / Ch. Pare / K. W. Alt, »Celtic Migrations«: Fact or Fiction? Strontium and oxygen analysis of the Czech cemeteries of Radosevice and Kutná Hora in Bohemia. American Journal of Physical Anthropology 155/4, 2014, 496-512.
- Sladić 2002/2003: М. Sladić, Трагом раних келтских утицаја на простору Тимочке Крајине. Balcanica XXXII-XXXIII, 2002/2003, 37-48.
- Spânu 2013: D. Spânu, Fibule »de tip hibrid«? Materiale şi Cercetări Arheologice IX S. N., 2013, 145-156.
- Stöllner 2014: Th. Stöllner, Mobility and Cultural Change of the Early Celts: La Tène Openwork Belt-Hooks North and South of the Alps. In: Ph. Barral / J.-P. Guillaumet / M.-J. Roulière-Lambert / M. Saracino / D. Vitali (eds), Les Celtes et le Nord de l'Italie. Premier et Second Âges du Fer. Actes du XXXVIe colloque international de l'A.F.E.A.F (Vérone, 17-20 mai 2012). Revue Archéologique de l'Est 36 (Dijon 2014) 211-230.
- Szabó 1974: M. Szabó, Contribution á l'étude de l'art et de la chronologie de La Téne ancienne en Hongrie. Folia Archaeologica XXV, 1974, 71-85.
- Szabó/Petres 1992: M. Szabó / É. F. Petres, Decorated Weapons of the La Tène Iron Age in the Carpathian Basin. Inventaria Praehistorica Hungariae 5 (Budapest 1992).
- Tiefengraber/Wiltschke-Schrotta 2012: G. Tiefengraber / K. Wiltschke-Schrotta, Der Dürrnberg bei Hallein. Die Gräbergruppe Moserfeld-Osthang. Dürrnberg-Forschungen 6 (Rahden/Westf. 2012).
 - 2014: G. Tiefengraber / K. Wiltschcke-Schrotta, Der Dürrnberg bei Hallein. Die Gräbergruppe Hexenwaldfeld. Dürrnberg-Forschungen 7 (Rahden/Westf. 2014).
- Wells 2008: P. S. Wells, Image and Response in Early Europe (London 2008).

Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé / Rezumat

Gemeinsame Ideologien und Identitätssymbole in der späten Eisenzeit im Karpatenbecken. Die zoomorphen Fibeln des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.

In kultureller Hinsicht stellt das 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. eine dynamische Periode im Karpatenbecken dar. Die Ausbreitung der Latènekultur nach Osten trug zu Veränderungen in der sozialen Struktur und zur Schaffung gemischter Gemeinschaften bei, die für die Region spezifische künstlerische Ausdrucksformen hervorbrachten. Die Folgen dieser kulturellen Wechselwirkungen können auch in der zeitspezifischen Tracht beobachtet werden. Die zoomorphe Fibel ist ein Beleg für die Wechselwirkungen zwischen den Neuankömmlingen und den Einheimischen sowie für die Mobilität von Individuen. Ihre Trageweise, wie sie im gesamten Karpatenbecken zu beobachten ist, weist auf gemeinsame Überzeugungen und Ideologien hin, die von den Mitgliedern der Gemeinschaften anerkannt werden. Die Art und Weise, wie die Fibeln die sie tragende Person umrahmt, erinnert an das Motiv der »Herrin der Tiere« – eine Ikonografie, die sowohl im keltischen Milieu Mitteleuropas als auch im östlichen Teil des Kontinents anzutreffen ist und trotzdem unterschiedliche Bedeutungen in den beiden Bereichen besitzt.

Shared Ideologies and Identity Markers in the Late Iron Age Carpathian Basin. The Zoomorphic Brooches of the 4^{th} Century BC

The 4th century BC is characterized by increased cultural dynamics in the Carpathian Basin. The eastward spread of the La Tène culture led to significant social structure modifications and the creation of mixed communities, which in turn spurred the appearance of specific artistic manifestations. The results of these cultural interactions can be noticed in the costumes from this period. The zoomorphic ring brooches are evidence of the interactions between local inhabitants and newcomers, but also show the level of mobility characteristic of this period. Their way of wear, noticeable in the entire Carpathian Basin, indicates shared beliefs and common ideologies acknowledged by the members of the communities. The way in which the brooches conform to the person wearing them reminds us of the »Mistress of the Animals« motif which, although common in both the Celtic environment and South-eastern Europe, seems to have had different meanings in those areas.

Idéologies communes et symboles identitaires au seconde âge du Fer dans le bassin des Carpates. Les fibules zoomorphes au 4e siècle av. J.-C.

Du point de vue culturel, le 4e siècle av. J.-C. est une période dynamique dans le bassin des Carpates. L'expansion de la culture La Tène vers l'est a entrainé des modifications de la structure sociale et l'apparition des communautés mixtes qui ont créé des formes d'expression artistiques spécifiques pour la région. Les résultats de ces interactions culturelles peuvent se retrouver dans les vêtements de l'époque. Les fibules zoomorphes sont un témoin de l'interaction entre les colons et les indigènes, ainsi que du degré de mobilité à cette époque. La manière dont elles étaient portées dans tout le bassin des Carpates suggère un ensemble de croyances et d'idéologies communes, reconnues par les membres des communautés. La disposition des fibules sur le défunt rappelle le motif de la »Maîtresse des animaux«, qui est commun au milieu celtique et au Sud-Est de l'Europe, mais semble avoir une signification différente dans les deux régions.

Traduction: Y. Gautier

Ideologii commune și simboluri identitare în cea de-a doua epocă a fierului din Bazinul Carpatic. Fibulele zoomorfe din secolul al patrulea a. Chr.

Secolul al IV-lea a. Chr. reprezintă o perioadă dinamică din punct de vedere cultural în Bazinul Carpatic. Răspândirea către est a culturii La Tène a contribuit la modificări ale structurii sociale și la crearea unor comunități mixte ce au dat naștere unor manifestări artistice specifice regiunii. Rezultatele acestor interacțiuni culturale se regăsesc și în portul specific perioadei. Fibulele cu inel zoomorf reprezintă o mărturie a interacțiunilor dintre coloniști și indigeni, dar și a mobilității indivizilor. Modul de purtare al acestor podoabe, respectat în întreg arealul de răspândire, sugerează credințe și ideologii comune, recunoscute de către membrii comunităților. Felul în care fibulele încadrează persoana care le poartă amintește de motivul »Stăpânei animalelor«, iconografie care, deși este întâlnită atât în mediul celtic din Europa Centrală, cât și în zona Orientală a continentului, se manifestă în mod diferit în cele două areale.

Schlüsselwörter / Keywords / Mots clés / Cuvinte cheie

Karpatenbecken / Latènezeit / Frauenidentität / die Herrin der Tiere / Drachenkopffibeln Carpathian Basin / La Tène period / female identity / the Mistress of the Animals / dragon-head fibulae Bassin des Carpates / période de La Tène / identité féminine / la Maîtresse des animaux / fibules à tête de dragon Bazinul Carpatic / epoca La Tène / identități feminine / Stăpâna animaleleor / fibule cu cap de dragon

Andrei Georgescu

Muzeul Național al Banatului – Timișoara Str. Piața Huniade nr. 1 RO - 300002 Timișoara andreigva@yahoo.com