

## THE INVISIBLE EARLY LA TÈNE ELITES IN MORAVIA?

### EVIDENCE FROM A BRONZE FLAGON MOUNT FOUND AT PAVLOV-DĚVÍN (OKR. BŘECLAV/CZ)

Until recently Moravia has been regarded as being on the margins of research into the Early La Tène period in Europe<sup>1</sup>. This may have been due to the lack of spectacular discoveries such as graves furnished with prestige goods. These comprise objects of precious metal, examples of »Early Style« decoration, and their associations with Mediterranean imports. In fact, since the writings of Joseph Déchelette (1927, 420), it is the area of these élite graves which has been regarded as marking the emergence of the La Tène culture while Moravia has often been regarded as outside this distribution (cf. Collis 2010, figs 37. 43; Buchsen-schutz et al. 2015, fig. 3).

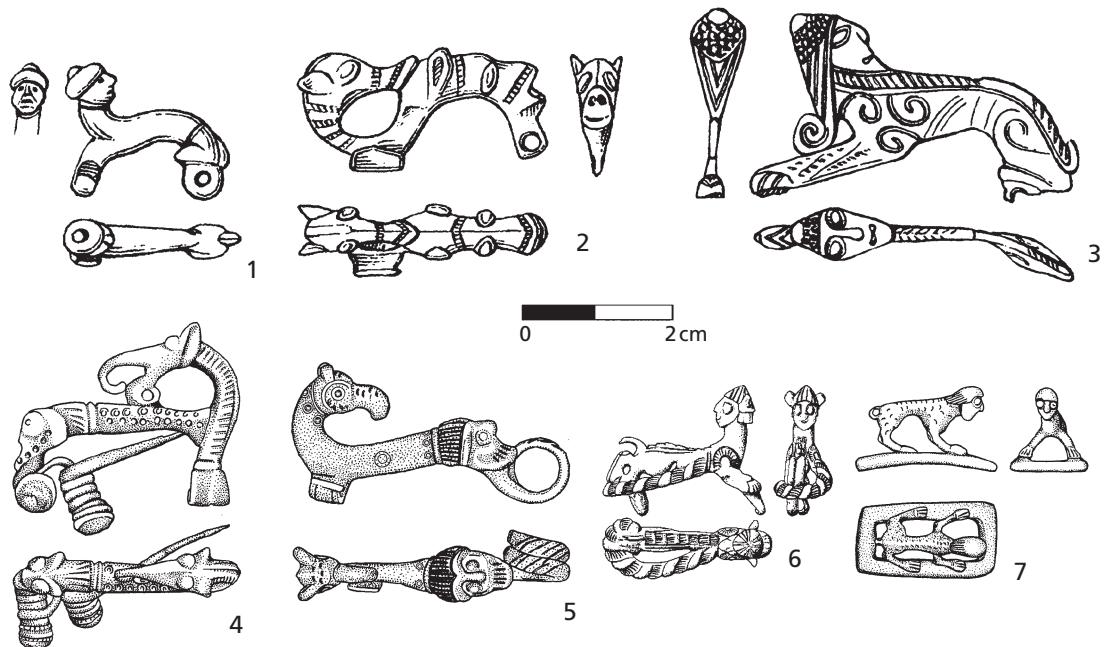
In Bohemia, the greater part of richly furnished Iron Age graves have been discovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> and in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Chytráček et al. 2019, 145-151) though recently prestige goods – first and foremost Mediterranean imports – have been observed in some graves, the latest discoveries include an Etruscan beaked flagon from Ostrov u Stříbra (okr. Tachov/CZ; cf. **fig. 2, 7**) (Kozáková/Trefný/Postránecká 2016; Trefný/Postránecká 2018) and a set of bronze vessels from Rovná (okr. Strakonice/CZ) (Chytráček et al. 2015; 2019). Furthermore, imports in ever greater numbers, particularly Attic pottery, have been found in lowland settlements (for an overview see Trefný 2011).

In Moravia, and for that matter in Slovakia<sup>2</sup>, we still lack evidence of 5<sup>th</sup> century BC élite graves and imported objects, and since in contemporary Moravia there are extremely few indications of Early La Tène graves (Goláňová 2018, 66-71), the only source for studying the society of the period are settlement finds and chance discoveries often without context.

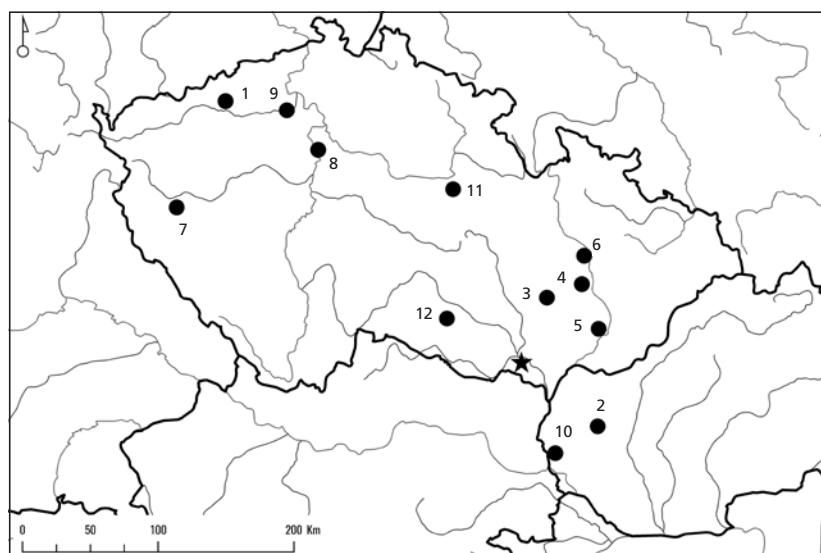
Recently, however, our understanding of various phenomena of the La Tène period in Moravia has been virtually transformed by metal detector finds (for example the discovery of the lowland agglomeration of Němčice nad Hanou [okr. Prostějov/CZ]: Čižmář/Kolníková/Noeske 2008). As far as the Early La Tène period is concerned, of major significance are not only finds of *Maskenfibeln* brooches, virtually unknown beforehand (**fig. 1, 1-3**; Čižmář 2012; Megaw 2014; Goláňová 2018; cf. Binding 1993, nos 453. 458. 465), but also other objects testifying to the higher social standing of some individuals. These include evidence for bronze vessels, most likely flagons, discovered in hill-top settlements, for example at Ježkovice-Černov (okr. Vyškov/CZ; cf. **fig. 2, 3**) and Pavlov-Děvín (okr. Břeclav/CZ)<sup>3</sup>. The former has so far only been briefly published by Jana Čižmářová (2004, 47) who describes it as a fragment of a bronze jug with engraved decoration on the body<sup>4</sup>. The second site has a small bronze figurine found on the summit of the Pavlov-Děvín hill in South Moravia (**fig. 2**; Goláňová/Navrátil 2017). This article aims to set the Pavlov-Děvín find in a broader context and to attempt an overview of finds testifying to the presence in Moravia of local élites in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE BEAST FROM PAVLOV-DĚVÍN

The object is a metal detector find discovered during a survey organised by the Regionální muzeum v Mikulově (Regional Museum in Mikulov) in the Pavlov Hills<sup>5</sup> (Pavlovské vrchy/German: Pollauer Berge). At



**Fig. 1** Bronze figural brooches (1-6) and fitting (7) from Moravia (1-3) and Slovakia (4-7). – **1, 3** Klenovice na Hané (okr. Prostějov/CZ). – **2** Vacenovice (okr. Třebíč/CZ). – **4-7** Horné Orešany (okr. Trnava/SK). – (1-2 after Čižmář 2012, 224 fig. 1, 1, 3; 3 after Megaw 2014, fig. 1.3; 4-5, 7 after Čambal 2016, tab. II, 2-4; 6 after Pieta 2007, fig. 7, 5). – Scale 1:1.



**Fig. 2** Location of the site of Pavlov-Děvín (★) and other selected LT A sites in Bohemia (1. 7-9, 11), Moravia (3-6, 12) and South-west Slovakia (2. 10), mentioned in the article. – **1** Droužkovice. – **2** Horné Orešany. – **3** Ježkovice-Černov. – **4** Klenovice na Hané. – **5** Modrá. – **6** Olomouc-Neředín. – **7** Ostrov u Stříbra. – **8** Přemyšlení. – **9** Radovesice. – **10** Stupava. – **11** Tuněchody. – **12** Vacenovice. – (Map T. Tencer).

the summit of the Děvín hill (554 m a.s.l.), a dominant element of the local landscape (fig. 3) in the cadastral area of Pavlov, an area of 22-26 ha is enclosed by a rampart (fig. 4). We cannot tell, however, whether it is of Iron Age date (Bronze Age material is also present). With the exception of some small trial trenches, Děvín has never been previously excavated and therefore all La Tène period finds<sup>6</sup> discovered so far have been by chance or during metal detector surveys. The only other LT A material from the hill-top plateau is a small assemblage of Early La Tène pottery (fig. 5) (Goláňová/Navrátil 2017, 396 fig. 4, 1-10). The find is deposited at the Regionální muzeum v Mikulově (Regional Museum in Mikulov; inv. no. A 37947); for the find circumstances and the broader context of the site and of the other finds see Goláňová/Navrátil 2017; Goláňová 2018, 54. 168-169. 221 fig. 24, 6.

**Fig. 3** Northern part of the Pavlov Hills – Perná-Kotel (left) and Pavlov-Děvín (right), seen from the Bronze Age hill-fort of Tabulová hora. The black arrow marks the location of the fitting find at the Pavlov-Děvín hill. – (Photo P. Goláňová).



The bronze mount represents a stylized reclining animal with the head turned towards the back (**figs 6-7**). Seen from above, its body is curved following a diameter of 5.5 cm, the length of the figure is 5.3 cm; the width 0.55 cm (0.82 cm at the point of the bulging eye); the height is 3.2 cm.

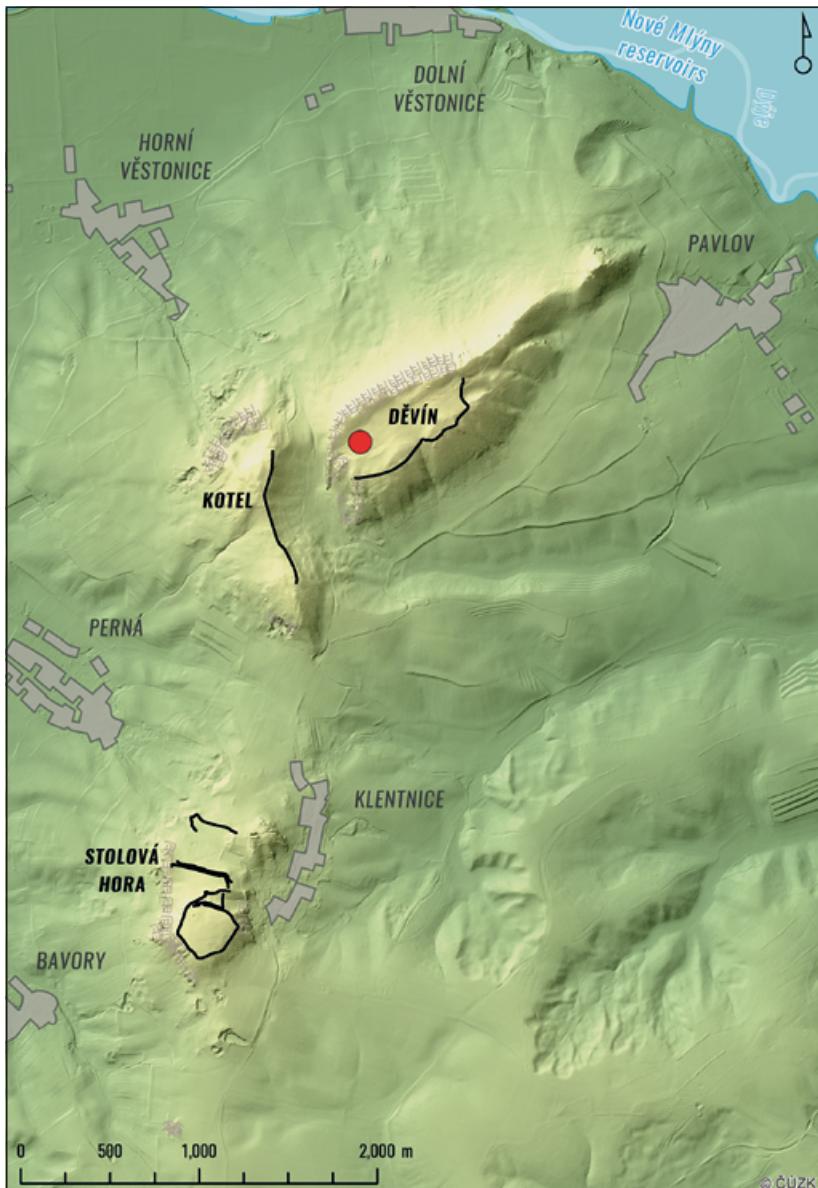
The figure has two sides – a more detailed convex exterior (**fig. 7b**) and a more summarily treated concave side facing the putative vessel's interior (**fig. 7a**). The mount was intended only to be viewed frontally and when seen from above, lacks any substantial relief modelling. Otherwise it is flat and only one of the front legs is depicted; the difference of decoration on both sides might suggest that the single limb represents both forelegs at the same time.

The mouth of the beast is formed by two projections terminating in a spiral ring, the upper one somewhat enlarged. A hatched tendril protruding from the back of the head also winds into a ring. The bulging almond-shaped eyes, underlined by engraved grooves, are made with the same degree of care on both sides of the head as is also the double line between the forehead and the mouth.

The decoration of the body, neck, and front leg differs on both sides. On the outer face, the outline of the body and the front limb are framed by a line, which was probably created during casting. Cabling follows the outline of the neck, front leg, and the back while on the belly this is interrupted by a line of vertical cabling falling from the beast's back downwards and parallel with the rear edge of the object (**fig. 7b**).

The outer surface of the body and neck is decorated with seven concentric punched rings formed of a circle with a central dot, the third, fourth and sixth circle being supplemented by a further concentric circle. The rings are combined with engraved lines forming a »running dog« motif with additional engraved projecting tendrils. On the neck of the animal there are four pairs of fine transversal lines, hardly visible in the side view. The inner surface features only a pair of double engraved diagonal lines while diagonally another double line runs from the back to the chest. Both lines meet on the chest in a double ring with a dimple in the centre. The decoration is completed by two double lines parallel to the edge of the figure (**fig. 7a**).

The leg terminating in a simple paw (i.e. neither a hoof nor a claw) is decorated on its front with seven diagonal lines running from bottom left to top right with, near its termination, two more lines running from top left to bottom right. On the inside, from top left to bottom right, only three diagonal engraved lines are visible, possibly due to the object's state of preservation. A single rivet (length 11 mm, diameter of head 2 mm) is preserved in the animal's front paw(s) which originally must have served to attach the figure to a base. The lower part of the body is partially hollow and its rear part ends in the form of an upside-down »U« with a second rivet.

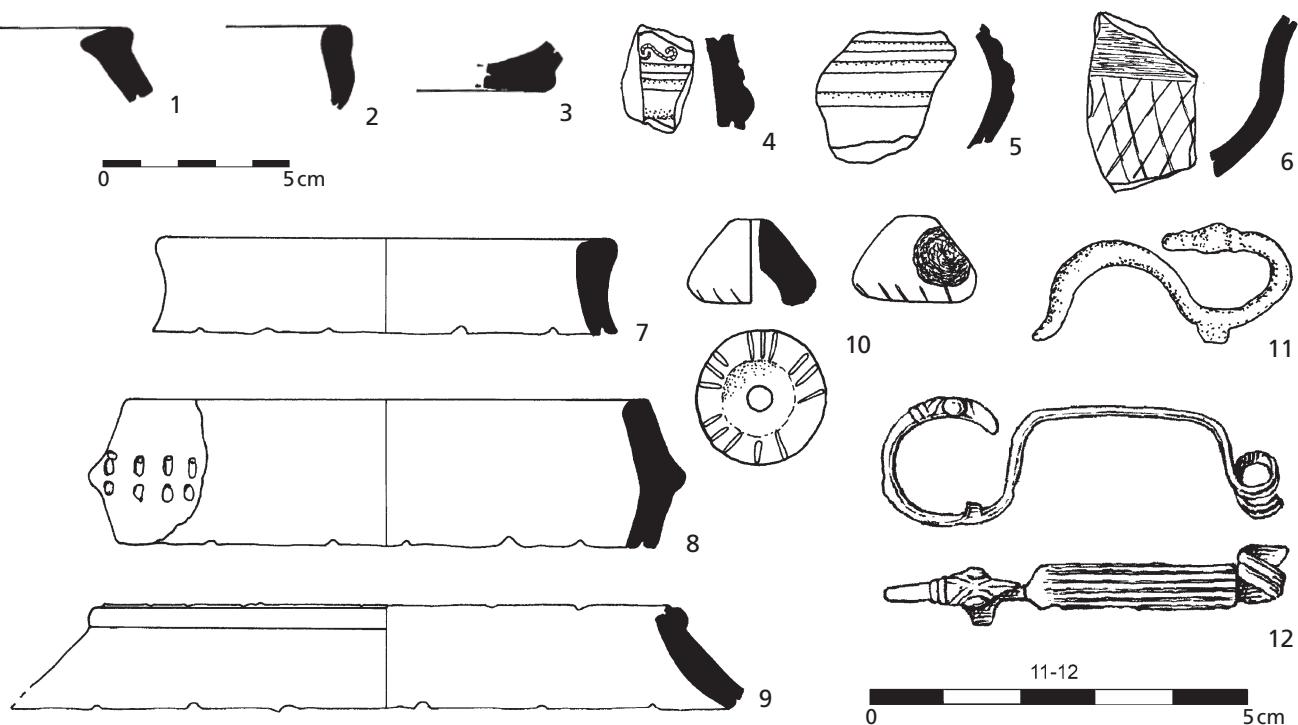


**Fig. 4** The Pavlov Hills – topographical context of the Pavlov-Děvín site with location of the bronze fitting find (●) and the visible traces of fortifications from different periods. – (Layout based on Goláňová/Navrátil 2017, fig. 3 and Navrátil/Bíško/Tencer 2020, fig. 6: T. Tencer).

### STYLISTIC AND FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE PAVLOV-DĚVÍN FIND

The best parallels for this piece can be found among local Early La Tène bronze flagon fittings inspired by imported Etruscan models<sup>7</sup> and mainly produced in the Transalpine area in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. These flagons served as prestige goods whose value was linked to their exclusive character and whose form also played a role as having been taken from the broad range of imported Mediterranean vessels though only beaked flagons were locally imitated in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC while other Mediterranean bronze vessels were locally adapted to the profile of flagons (Frey/Herrmann 1997, 495; Frey 2002a, 184; Frey/Dobiat 2019, 567-568).

The body of the mount from Pavlov-Děvín follows an arc corresponding to a circle with a diameter of 5.5 cm – this is nearly the same as the diameters of the mouths of flagons from the Glauberg (Lkr. Wetterau/D), barrow 1 (burial 1: ca. 7 cm – Bosinski 2018; burial 2: 6 cm – Martins 2002) and Dürrnberg (Bez. Hallein/A) (6 cm × 9 cm: Tiefengraber/Wiltschke-Schrotta 2014, 74. 75 with fig.) which allows one

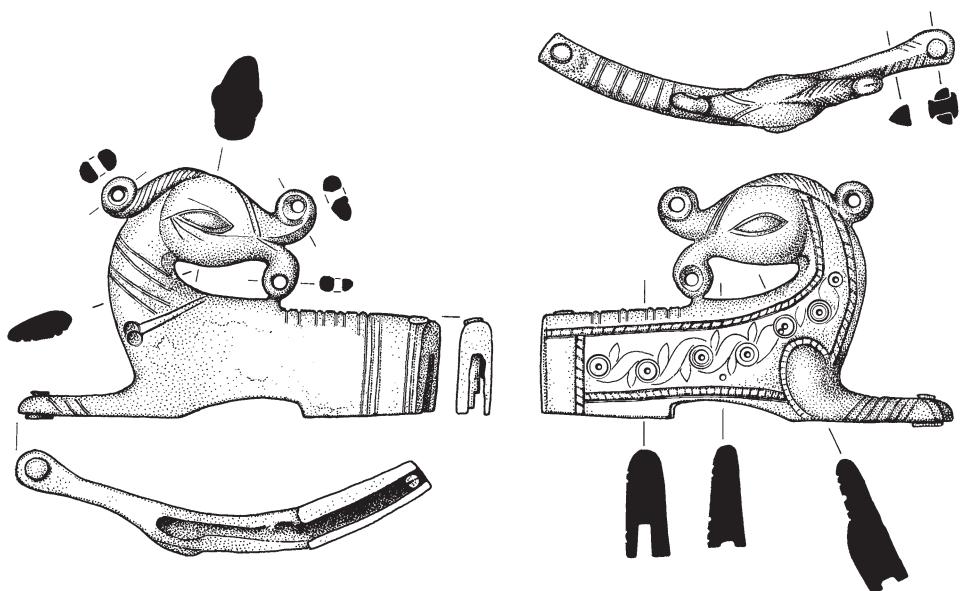


**Fig. 5** Early La Tène finds from Pavlov-Děvín (1-10), Klentnice Soutěska (11) and Perná-Kotel (12). Pottery (1-10) and iron (11-12). – (1-10 after Goláňová/Navrátil 2017, fig. 4, 1-12; 12 after Čížmář 2012, fig. 1, 3). – 1-10 scale 1:2; 11-12 scale 1:1.

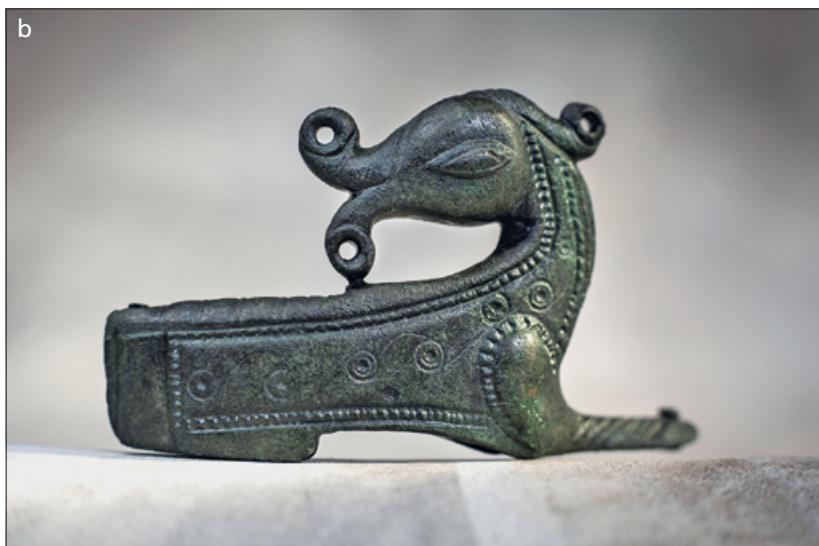
to postulate that the Pavlov-Děvín mount was originally located on the top of a rim of a locally produced beaked flagon. Seven Early La Tène beaked flagons<sup>8</sup> with cast components have been preserved in different parts of Europe: Borsch (Wartburgkreis/D) (Storch 1986), grave 112 at the Dürrnberg (Hundt 1974; Moosleitner 1985; Tiefengraber/Wiltschke-Schrotta 2014; Wendling 2018, 363-364 fig. 3), barrow 1 burial 1 at the Glauberg (Frey/Herrmann 1997; Bosinski 2002), Kleinaspergle (Lkr. Ludwigsburg/D) (Kimmig 1988), Basse-Yutz (dép. Moselle/F) (two pieces: Megaw/Megaw 1990), and the so-called Bonham flagon (Stöllner 2019, 597 no. 51). Only about a half of these are decorated with the terminal figures forming the ends of the handles: Glauberg burial 1 from barrow 1, Dürrnberg, Basse-Yutz (fig. 8, 2-4). Assuming that the handle of what we have considered to be the Pavlov-Děvín flagon bore an identical but opposing terminal figure with a similar decorative arrangement but curving in the opposite direction. Indeed, it can be observed that figures flanking the rim of beaked flagon handles always appear as – more or less – identical pairs of twins.

La Tène flagons with tubular spouts also bear figures in the round, but none however have a pair on the vessel's rim; examples are the flagons from Reinheim (Saar-Pfalz-Kreis/D) (Frey 1992; Echt 1999, 115-117 pls 8. 22), Waldalgesheim (Lkr. Mainz-Bingen/D) (Joachim 1995, 38-53 figs 18. 26; Frey 1995, 159-180; 1996, 102), Glauberg, barrow 1 burial 2 (Martins 2002). The figures on top of these flagons' lids<sup>9</sup> and from Droužkovice (okr. Chomutov/CZ; cf. fig. 2, 1) (Megaw/Megaw 2002) are as a rule curved along the line of the body and not in the horizontal plane.

That the little figure from Pavlov-Děvín was riveted to a base is evident from a rivet preserved in the front paw(s), and another part of the decoration, probably continuing into the handle itself, apparently sat on the animal's back. Since there is no hint of the animal's hind legs, it is quite possible that the design continued onto a part of the body now lost. Considering the way in which the rear and the belly of the beast is depicted, the hind legs may have been attached to the figure from both sides as another part of the fitting including very probably the handle. Such an arrangement would have further strengthened the construc-



**Fig. 6** Pavlov-Děvín. Bronze fitting. – (Drawing after conservation of the find S. Plchová). – Scale 1:1.



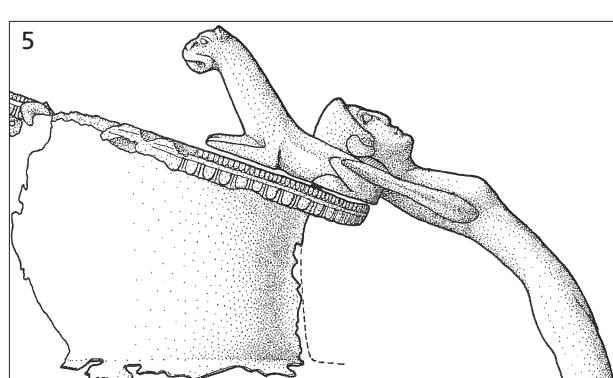
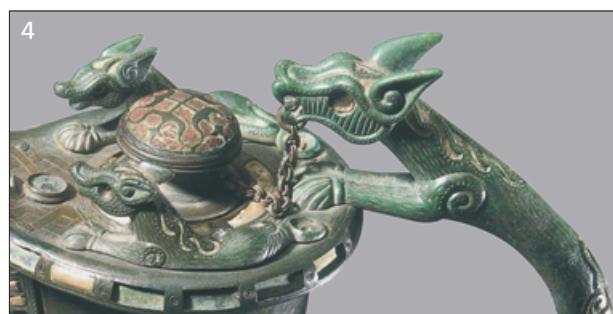
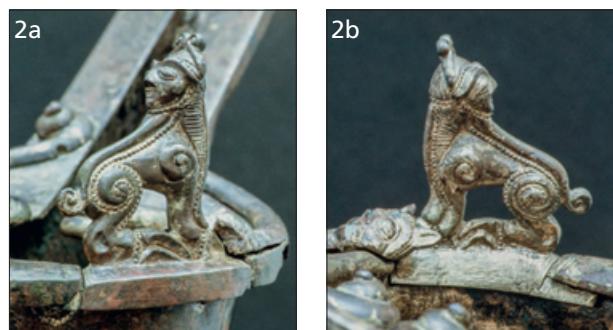
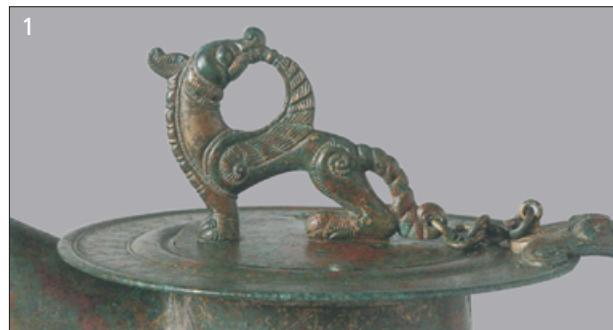
**Fig. 7** Pavlov-Děvín. Bronze fitting: **a** inside surface. – **b** outside surface. – (Photo C. Gaja, courtesy of the Regional Museum in Mikulov).

tion and enhanced the handle's stability while, last but not least, it would have been much easier to produce. However, it should be noted that such a handle type, that is, one with a handle with composite animals, has so far not been observed among La Tène beaked flagons.

The eyelet in the upper portion of the mouth of the Pavlov-Děvín beast might have served for attaching a chain connected with a lid though, no traces of use/wear are visible. Although there are several examples of lids being attached to a chain (Glauberg, barrow 1 burial 2: Martins 2002, 146 figs 104. 107; Basse-Yutz: Megaw/Megaw 1990), these are always attached to the main part of the handle or to its base and in no case is the chain anchored to the upper part of the handle where it curves round the flagon's rim.

The head and the neck of the Pavlov-Děvín figurine is in many respects similar to the creature on the lid from the flagon with a tubular spout from barrow 1 burial 2 at the Glauberg (fig. 8, 1; Frey 2002b, 204: »pferdeartiges Fabeltier«): its upper lip, the head turned backwards, the hatched ear/crest, similar conformation of the neck, cabeling, the shallow relief; the sphinxes from the burial 1 flagon are also flat with the exception of their faces (fig. 8, 2). Moreover, one brooch and the incised decoration on the scabbard from the Glauberg shares many features with the Pavlov-Děvín figurine (barrow 1 burial 1: Baitinger/Pinsker 2002, fig. 243; barrow 1 burial 2: Frey 2014, 16 fig. 14).

Similarly to the depiction of its legs, the curl on the beast's nape may represent a paired feature – horns or ears. It often appears on flagon decoration as with those on the Dürrnberg and elsewhere such as the belt-hook with their »horned headed« sphinxes from Weiskirchen I (Lkr. Merzig-Wadern/D) (Megaw/Megaw 2002, 179).



**Fig. 8** Bronze flagon fittings, produced in Transalpine areas (1-4) and the Italian peninsula (5). – **1** Glauberg, barrow 1 burial 2. – **2a-b** Glauberg, barrow 1 burial 1. – **3** Dürrnberg bei Hallein, grave 112. – **4** Basse-Yutz. – **5** Bad Dürkheim. – (1 after Frey 2014, pl. 7; 2 after Bosinski 2018, figs 28-29; 3 after Frey 1993, fig. 120; 4 after Joy 2015, fig. 40; 5 after Bardelli 2017, fig. 1).

However, the beast on the Pavlov-Děvín fitting has nothing to do with a bird or a sphinx; its head, eye, and neck are most likely equine<sup>10</sup>, while its foreleg resembles those of canines/felines; it features no clear human attributes. Its characteristic trait is the »spiral snout« (curled lips or jaws) with many parallels in La Tène art though rarely in exactly the same form – i. e. with the upper lip curled up and the lower mouthpart curled down. These are commonplace in the Eurasian animal art, and most frequent on depictions of beasts of prey such as wolves, lions and panthers (Pare 2012a, 154-155). The pair of *Fabelwesen* (described as dragons) on the scabbard chape from Hallstatt (Bez. Gmunden/A) also have curled lower snout parts (but their upper parts are not curled up), curls/ears, and lentoid eyes (Egg/Schönfelder 2009, 32 fig. 5). The spiral snout (lower mouthpart) is depicted also in the iron belt-hook from Roseldorf (Bez. Hollabrunn/A) (Frey 2002b, 202 fig. 185) and is often featured in mask-brooches (Binding 1993, 106. 108 figs 49, 9-10. 14; 50, 1-7; Rabsilber/Wendling/Wiltschke-Schrotta 2017, 221. 224 fig. 3; Will 2018, 185-187 figs 9-10; Sankot et al. 2019).

Spiral snouts were discussed by Paul Jacobsthal (1944, 43-46) and more recently by Pare (2012a), who connected them with influence from the Thraco-Scythian »Animal Style«, an idea firmly refuted by Megaw (2005; 2012, 454). As this writer has no desire to account for the genesis of this element in La Tène art, it can be simply stated that in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, depictions of spiral snouts were widespread over almost the entire area of Early La Tène culture<sup>11</sup>.

Beasts often decorate the curved arms of beaked flagon handles which follow the rims of the vessel even in Italy, some of which found their way across the Alps (e.g. Bad Dürkheim/D [Lkr. Bad Dürkheim/D], Schwarzenbach [Lkr. St. Wendel/D]; Weiskirchen II: Bouloumié 1973, 254). The Pavlov-Děvín animal is apparently lying on its belly as are also some beasts of prey on the Etruscan flagons (**fig. 8, 5**; cf. e.g. Worms-Herrnsheim [Lkr. Worms/D], tomb 4a in the Rhineland-Palatinate: Zylmann 2006, 62-63 no. 4a) and unlike the seated *Mischwesen* in Glauberg, barrow 1 burial 1 (or the seated Etruscan felines of Schwarzenbach: Haffner 1976, 203-204 pls 9, 2; 147-149; Weiskirchen I: Haffner 1976, 218 pls 13, 9; 158, 2; 159).

Etruscan beasts of prey are mostly represented looking straight ahead parallel with the spout as they are in the »Celtic world« of Dürrnberg and Basse-Yutz or they turn their heads sideways (Bouloumié 1973, 254; Frey 2004, 60 figs 6-8). On the other hand, in the pieces manufactured in the Transalpine workshops – such as in the flagon from the Glauberg (barrow 1 burial 1) –, the *Mischwesen* turns its head backwards, facing the handle with the human figure and face (see Pabst 2018, 73). A combination of a human figure on the handle and beasts on its extension on the rim of the flagon appears also on Mediterranean products – such as the *kouros/beasts* on the flagon from Bad Dürkheim (**fig. 8, 5**; see Bardelli 2017, 68 fig. 1 pls 17-18 and most recently Stöllner 2019, 599).

The animals turn their heads towards the back/vessels' handle relatively often also on the flagons with tubular spouts (see Glauberg, barrow 1 burial 2; and also the Droužkovice figure) though there are exceptions as is made clear by the flagons from the Dürrnberg and Basse-Yutz or by the figure on top of the lids on the spouted Reinheim and Waldalgesheim flagons. In Early La Tène art, the pair of backwards looking animals combined with a human figure/face is usually associated with a local version of the *despotes theron* motif (Megaw/Megaw 2002, 178-179; Guggisberg 2010; Frey/Dobiat 2019, 563).

At least one of the »sphinxes« on the rim of the flagon from Glauberg, barrow 1 burial 1 (**fig. 8, 2**; see Baitinger/Pinsker 2002, 242 figs 233-236; Frey 2007, fig. 15) was attached in a similar manner as the beast from Pavlov-Děvín: the right-hand sphinx was manufactured separately and riveted to the rest of the handle. However, this was probably not the original intention but a repair made necessary by the poor casting of the handle (Bosinski 2002; 2018, 217-218). Etruscan beaked flagon-handles are mainly cast in a single piece and attached by rivets (Bouloumié 1973, 222; Vorlauf 1997, 130-132 fig. 16); separately cast extensions are exceptional (Weiskirchen I: Haffner 1976, pl. 13, 9). The need for casting flagon handles in separate sections

**Tab. 1** Chemical composition of two samples from the Pavlov-Děvín fitting (analysed by M. Kmošek).

	Cu	Sn	Pb	Fe	Ni	Bi	Co
<b>Sample 1</b>	90.52	4.89	3.91	0.45	0.15	0.05	0.01
<b>Sample 2</b>	91.43	3.95	3.94	0.41	0.15	0.07	0.01

was evidently caused by the difficulty of creating such intricate work in a single piece; in the Basse-Yutz flagons the animals flanking the handle were made individually and attached separately (Megaw/Megaw 1990).

Engraved decoration often appears on both the Etruscan flagons made in Italy (Bouloumié 1973, 261-265) and the La Tène ones of Transalpine origin. Such engraved motifs<sup>12</sup> usually decorate the vessels' bodies or even their spouts (see Glauberg, barrow 1 burial 1: Frey/Herrmann 1997, 509 figs 42. 44; Bosinski 2018, figs 51. 53; Dürrnberg: Moosleitner 1985). Punched ornament on cast figures was much less commonly used (as on the backs of the beasts and small flanking creatures from the Dürrnberg: Moosleitner 1985; Tiefengräber/Wiltschke-Schrotta 2014, 74-75. 255 pl. 5) and even less so in combination with engraved decoration as is the case in the Pavlov-Děvín piece. The »running dog« motif may have been employed in order to create a visual effect of constant movement (Garrow/Gosden 2012, 317). Spiral motifs, as a rule cast into the bronze rather than engraved, could have been employed to create the same impression (Dürrnberg: elbows; Basse-Yutz: shoulders; Borsch; Glauberg, barrow 1 burials 1 and 2: hips); no spiral motif is present in the preserved part of the Pavlov-Děvín figure.

When trying to find the figure's place within the La Tène bestiary, regardless of its peaceful look, one might label it as a griffin (Binding 1993, 108). It is, however, worth noting that like other La Tène and Etruscan griffins it lacks wings (Frey 2002b, 202; Pare 2012a, 170). Indeed, identifying the animal represented by the Pavlov-Děvín figure as belonging to any known scientific species is difficult; rather it fits the mythical category of »Fantasiegeschöpfe/Fabelwesen/Mischwesen« (Frey 2002b, 199) or »fantastic hybrid beasts« (Pare 2012a, 163-164). Paradoxically, one of its closest parallels of the overall shape of the Pavlov-Děvín figure's head, the crest, the curled lips, eye shape, and neck configuration are the fantastic animals depicted on the bucket from Aylesford (Kent/GB) (Stead 1996, 55 figs 7. 58; Megaw/Megaw 2001, 187 figs 314. 316), produced in a completely different context some three or four centuries later (Garrow et al. 2010, 112).

## THE FLAGON FITTING: METAL ANALYSIS

In order to detect the composition of the alloy from which the fitting was produced, a chemical analysis was carried out<sup>13</sup>. The sampling was done by drilling in two spots on the underside (inside the cavity) and the samples were analysed by a hand-held portable Delta Professional X-Ray fluorescence spectrometer.

As expected, the alloy (**tab. 1**) consists prevalently of copper (ca. 91 %) followed by approximately equal proportions of tin and lead (ca. 4 % for both)<sup>14</sup>. The alloy can therefore be classified as leaded tin bronze. The addition of lead was probably intentional with the objective to facilitate the casting process (cf. the higher lead content in the cast parts of the Basse-Yutz flagon as opposed to its hammered sheet metal part: Craddock et al. 1990, 73 tab. 1; Megaw/Megaw 1990, 87).

Etruscan flagons feature only low percentages of lead in the body but in their cast handles its share often rises to over 10 % (Born 1992, 82-83). This is nevertheless not the case with the La Tène cast flagon components (Droužkovice: »tin-rich copper alloy« – Megaw/Megaw 2002, 176; Basse-Yutz: 4.6-4.8 % lead in the handles – Craddock 1990, tab. 1). Only the newly cast segment with which the curved arm of the handle of the Glauberg beaked flagon (from barrow 1 burial 1) was repaired, had a high lead content (Bosinski 2018, 217).

In Bohemia and Moravia, the proportions of lead in bronze objects clearly increased beginning in LT B2 (Frána et al. 1997, 83-93). Artefacts made of tin-lead bronze were occasionally being made already in the Hallstatt period (and sporadically even in the Late/Final Bronze Age), however, in comparison with later periods (LT B-D) tin prevailed over lead in them (John 2016; Kmošek 2019, 48. 52-53). This is also the composition of the cast elements (bows) of the mask brooches from South Bohemia (Sankot et al. 2019, 583 tab. 1). The values obtained from the Pavlov-Děvín flagon fitting demonstrate, that from the point of view of alloy composition, its maker was well rooted in the Transalpine tradition of bronze casting.

### THE PAVLOV-DĚVÍN FIND IN THE CONTEXT OF THE EARLY LA TÈNE PERIOD IN CENTRAL EUROPE

Finds of »Celtic« bronze flagons are known in the western and eastern sphere of the Early La Tène culture, mainly in graves labelled as »princely« (Dürrnberg, Glauberg, Kleinaspergle, Reinheim, Waldalgesheim) or in uncertain contexts (very probably graves: Basse-Yutz, Borsch, the so-called Bonham beaked flagon). Flagons or other metallic vessels (and parts of them) are only rarely found in non-burial contexts – at lowland settlements or hill-forts<sup>15</sup>. In Central Europe this is, for example, the case of the farmstead at Droužkovice (Smrž 1996; Megaw/Megaw 2002). In the case of the Pavlov-Děvín fitting, its burial provenance is – importantly – quite unlikely considering its find-spot on top of a hill.

As it is a metal detector find, the Pavlov-Děvín mount is without association. We can only be sure that it was found within the Pavlov-Děvín hill-fort, a dominant feature of the local landscape (**fig. 3**). Separated only by the valley of Klentnice-Soutěska with a fresh water spring (and also with a LT A-find: **fig. 5, 11**; Goláňová/Navrátil 2017, 398 fig. 4, 11) is another undated fortified hill-top site, Perná-Kotel (okr. Břeclav/CZ), untouched by archaeological excavation, from where an Early La Tène iron brooch is known (**fig. 5, 12**; Čižmář 2012, 225. 229 fig. 2, 9). The peaks of the Pavlov Hills (the hill-top areas of Pavlov-Děvín and Perná-Kotel: **fig. 4**) are visible from a distance and command the routes from the south to the Brno region. The landscape setting of Pavlov-Děvín and Perná-Kotel recall the Early La Tène hill-forts of Vladar-Záhořice (okr. Karlovy Vary/CZ) (Chytráček et al. 2010; 2012), Ehrenbürg (Lkr. Forchheim/D) (Abels 2005; 2010), and the Glauberg (Baitinger 2008). If both Pavlov-Děvín (26 ha) and Perná-Kotel (11 ha) were fortified – and occupied – in LT A, as compared to other hill-top sites they would represent the largest fortified area known in this period from the whole of Moravia, Slovakia, and Lower Austria (Goláňová/Navrátil 2017, 401; Goláňová 2018, 54-58 figs 23. 24, 6).

Unlike the find-spot of the Pavlov-Děvín mount, establishing its origin is more problematic. The flagon from grave 112 on the Dürrnberg is assumed to be of local origin: »Erzeugnis einer hochqualifizierten Werkstätte, die im Dienste der Salzherren tätig war« (Moosleitner 1985, 91). Also, both Glauberg flagons were probably manufactured locally (Frey 2002a, 183). In the case of the Droužkovice fitting, the Megaws have localised its production in the western part of the Early La Tène area, that is from the Middle Rhine to the Salzburg region or possibly in Hesse or Lower Austria. In any case, it is believed to have been produced outside the north-western part of Bohemia where it was found (Megaw/Megaw 2002, 188; 2008, 537) and where as in Moravia, 5<sup>th</sup> century BC settlements are well known (cf. Radovesice [okr. Litoměřice/CZ; cf. **fig. 2, 9**]; Waldhauser et al. 1993) while élite burials are totally absent. However, regardless of the absence of such rich assemblages, could the Pavlov-Děvín flagon fitting have been manufactured in Moravia?

Only a few traces of the working of non-ferrous metals have so far been documented in Moravia, all of which come from lowland settlements (Goláňová 2018, 80-82. 182 fig. 32). A sunken hut with a domed

furnace, open hearth and evidence of metal casting remains was excavated in the cadastral area of Pavlov just 3 km east of the place where the fitting was found (Pavlov-Horní pole: Horálková 1990; Goláňová 2018, 81 figs 9, 5; 32, 10-11. 13). The find of a touchstone in the lowland settlement of Modrá (okr. Uherské Hradiště/CZ), along with fragments of crucibles, moulds for a torque, tools, and amber (Goláňová 2018, 81. 182 fig. 32, 1-6) attest to specialised production and most probably the working of precious metals and imported raw materials being carried out in lowland settlements (for evidence of a similar situation in Bohemia see Chytráček 2007; 2008).

Notwithstanding, we cannot hope to place the Pavlov-Děvín fitting in one of the assumed production areas (see Megaw/Megaw 2010, 195) based exclusively on a stylistic analysis, let alone to hypothesise a »Meister der Schnabelkanne« (Moosleitner 1985, 81). For instance, in the case of the *Maskenfibeln* while there have been attempts to identify what might be termed »schools« or »workshops« there have been made no successful identification of a single producer in each region<sup>16</sup>. We still lack adequate methods for localising with any precision specific workshops of this heterogeneous and relatively numerous group of personal jewellery and for studying the distribution of their products (for example this particular issue is missing from Binding 1993). How can we hope to succeed in this task in the case of the much rarer flagons?

The artisan who manufactured the Pavlov-Děvín fitting apparently had some experience with figural representations, possibly of zoomorphic brooches or *Maskenfibeln* whose production required basically the same production and decoration techniques (cabeling, engraved decoration on cast figures: Megaw/Megaw 2001, figs 103-106. 113; Frey 2002b, 198 figs 177-178) as well as, potentially, the same alloy composition (cf. Sankot et al. 2019). A generation ago Fritz Moosleitner suggested that some brooches may have been made in the same workshop which produced the Dürrnberg beaked flagon (Moosleitner 1985, 72). The Ossarn (Bez. St. Pölten/A) brooch (Megaw/Megaw/Neugebauer 1989, 500-502 fig. 13, 1) with its unusual position of the (crouching) *Mischwesen* is very close to some flagon fittings and suggests its producer's experience with or inspiration from the animals placed on both sides of the flagon rims.

The complicated task in flagon manufacturing was not just the production of figures on the rims but rather the casting of the whole complex shaped handle and particularly the production of the vessel body itself. Since nothing is preserved of the rest of the – presumed – Pavlov-Děvín flagon, it cannot be compared with the production techniques of other vessels (Megaw/Megaw 1990, 89-90; Pabst 2018, 70-71). Complete flagons – no matter how masterful products they are from an artistic point of view – feature numerous technical flaws (Glauberg, barrow 1 burial 1: Frey/Herrmann 1997, 509; Bosinski 2018, 221; Frey/Dobiat 2019, 560; Basse-Yutz<sup>17</sup>: Craddock 1990, 70) or small-scale damage which occurred during their production (Dürrnberg: Hundt 1974, 130; Moosleitner 1985, 44). It follows that craftsmen probably did not produce this vessel type often enough to get the perfect knack of the entire *chaîne opératoire*<sup>18</sup>. And yet, production of beaked flagon imitations is believed to have begun already in the Late Hallstatt period (Heuneburg [Lkr. Sigmaringen/D]: Kimmig/von Vacano 1973).

In comparison with flagons imported from Italy, the La Tène products are just a small percentage – single numbers as opposed to dozens of pieces (Born 1992; Vorlauf 1997; Frey 2002a, 172). While the imported flagons were often buried in Early La Tène graves as part of a set together with bronze basins which were also produced in Etruria (Schönfelder 2001, 322-333 tab. 2), we still do not know of any locally produced basins accompanying La Tène flagons. Only at Reinheim was a La Tène flagon discovered in a rich burial chamber along with two Etruscan basins (Echt 1999, 123-126).

It is difficult to decide whether the local production of beaked flagons was meant to satisfy a demand for imports of the actual thing from Etruria which were for one reason or another not available in specific periods or parts of Europe<sup>19</sup> or whether on the contrary they better fulfilled local needs with their decoration being better matched to the local belief system<sup>20</sup>. From some time in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC the significance and

the skill level of specialist bronze craftsmanship probably increased with the production process itself playing a social role (Garrow/Gosden 2012, 13).

Already in the Hallstatt period imported bronze vessels or their locally produced counterparts are to be found in Western and Central Europe. For example, local bronze cauldrons which appear in many of the Ha D rich graves in South Germany, Switzerland, and Eastern France and occasionally in Bohemia (Rovná – Chytráček et al. 2019, 87 fig. 28, 5) were only in a few cases<sup>21</sup> (e.g. Hochdorf [Lkr. Ludwigsburg/D]; Saint-Colombe, »La Garenne« [dép. Côte-d'Or/F]) substituted by cauldrons imported from the Mediterranean (Dehn/Egg/Lehnert 2005, 141 no. 417). The Transalpine cauldrons, however, were never embellished in locally specific decoration, unlike the situlae and other bronze vessels produced in the eastern part of the Hallstatt culture area in the south-eastern pre-Alps<sup>22</sup>. These were inspired by North Italian vessels including examples of »Situla« art (Frey 2011; Egg/Kramer 2013, 178-181. 447-472 fig. 69; cf. Bondini 2012).

The bronze beaked flagons made in Transalpine Europe were not produced following the same manufacturing techniques of the Etruscan workshops. Most probably they were based on local traditions of metal vessel production; however, our knowledge of workshops involved in such production in Late Hallstatt/Early La Tène Central Europe is extremely limited. In the Hallstatt period, bronze vessels were probably manufactured in the region of Hallstatt and the Dürrnberg (Stöllner 2002, 146; Egg/Kramer 2016, 111. 224). In Moravia, bronze vessels stopped being placed into graves in Ha C2 or Ha D1 at the latest: Bratčice (okr. Brno-venkov/CZ) (Golec/Fojtík 2020, 33. 100. 130); none are documented in the Final Hallstatt Ha D2-3 period graves. Had not some exceptional assemblages survived, such as the extraordinary finds from the cave of Býčí Skála-Habruvka (okr. Blansko/CZ), or the hoards from Náklo (okr. Olomouc/CZ), and Kralice na Hané (okr. Prostějov/CZ)<sup>23</sup>, the Late Hallstatt period (Ha D) would seem to have been a phase in which Moravia was devoid of élites capable of procuring bronze vessels for themselves. In Moravia during LT A this misleading impression appears to have remained unchanged, at least if one relies on the evidence of the grave goods.

## CONCLUSION

The flagon mount – which one may definitely identify this to be – found in the Pavlov Hills, was most probably made for the local Early La Tène period élite comparable with those buried in the »princely« graves found on the Dürrnberg or the Glauberg and as such may be regarded as a typical example of »materialized prestige« (cf. Bagley/Schumann 2013) while the fine metalwork is like an element of high importance within social networks and cultural transformations (Garrow/Gosden 2012, 305-306. 311).

The use of beaked flagons may not have been that exceptional in Moravia as evidenced by a fragment of a pottery spout from Olomouc-Neředín (okr. Olomouc/CZ; cf. fig. 2, 6) (Goláňová 2018, 125-126 fig. 62; cf. another found in Bohemia at Tuněchody [okr. Chrudim/CZ; cf. fig. 2, 11]: Trefný et al. 2012), whether these have been based on Etruscan models or La Tène bronze vessels (Moosleitner 1985, 88). It is true that in Moravia we still lack imports of Mediterranean pottery as compared with the relatively frequent examples which have recently appeared in lowland settlements in Bohemia. There are, however, suggestions that there was an awareness of such imported pottery found in the fragments of local painted vessels – most probably bowls – again from the settlement of Olomouc-Neředín (Goláňová 2018, 143-145 fig. 69). However, this settlement with evidence of local graphite pottery production (Goláňová 2014) and iron smelting (Goláňová/Malý 2017) shows no other signs of the presence of high social strata.

Former studies of Early La Tène society put a major emphasis on burial assemblages, particularly on rich graves and the »Fürstengräber«. The prestige goods found in areas outside the distribution of rich graves are, as a rule, considered imports from »more advanced« regions, i.e. those with élite burials. To illustrate

how easily a rich burial changes the status of its surrounding, one can point out the Glauberg which was only included among the »Fürstensitze« after the discovery of rich graves under barrows (Baitinger/Pinsker 2002). The finds from the hill-fort itself and from its surroundings bear no testimony to an élite presence including the complete absence of Mediterranean imports (Baitinger 2008, 53). On the other hand, the Droužkovice enclosure also produced – apart from figural art – fragments of pottery imported from the Mediterranean and small gold artefacts (Smrž 1996; Megaw/Megaw 2002). Also, it may be noted that other finds of Attic pottery concentrate outside the area of distribution of the rich graves in Western and Southern Bohemia (Trefný 2011, fig. 16).

Regardless of numerous regional disparities, Early La Tène Central Europe shared many common traits, one of them being stylistic expression. In the eastern Early La Tène zone we can thus postulate a connection between »very different centres and widely separated geographical areas of the Glauberg, Dürrnberg and the Traisental« (Megaw/Megaw 2002, 190) to which we can add Bohemia (Chytráček 2019), Moravia, and Western Slovakia (Pieta 2007; 2019; Čambal 2012; 2016) (fig. 1). Apparently, local élites were perfectly capable of providing themselves with prestigious products of bronze working workshops even though these objects were not subsequently buried in rich graves. For these reasons, finds of prestigious objects in this region (no matter where they were produced) should be no surprise. In any case, during the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC the need for prestige goods (for example all the splendid *Maskenfibeln*) helped to boost the specialised bronze industry. This phase came to a sudden end with the far-reaching transformations at the very beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

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### Notes

- 1) For instance, Moravia (unlike neighbouring Bohemia) does not appear in a major project on »Fürstensitze«. Bavaria, however, was included in the general discussion even though as yet the region lacks any known »Fürstensitz« (Krausse/Steffen 2008; Krausse/Beilharz 2010).
- 2) One old find of a bronze beaked flagon handle allegedly comes from Slovakia (Kolník 1982). It is well preserved with, on the cast handle, a human face and a palmette and on its upper part where it branches to follow the curve of the body of the vessel, the handle terminates in human faces with long beards. The provenance of the piece is unknown though both Titus Kolník and later Jan Bouzek assumed that it was a Transalpine product of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC or possibly local to Slovakia itself (Bouzek 2012; Bouzek et al. 2017, 68). Anne-Marie Adam on the other hand considers it to have been produced in Picenum (Adam 2012).
- 3) Although a small figure from Klenovice na Hané (okr. Prostějov/CZ; cf. fig. 2, 4) is thought perhaps to have originally belonged to a bronze vessel (Megaw 2014), it cannot be ruled out that it was not actually the bow of a brooch (fig. 1, 3; Goláňová 2018, 154 fig. 70, 20).
- 4) In the archives of the late Miloš Čižmář there is a drawing of a bronze sheet fragment, possibly from a bronze vessel. I am grateful to Ivan Čižmář for permission to study the drawing. The decoration (hatched triangles and a frieze of vertical S-curves)
- suggests that we are dealing here with the remains of an artefact earlier than the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and very probably that it was not part of a flagon. The existence of another find mentioned by Čižmářová 2004 and based on information from Miloš Čižmář cannot be ruled out; however, this piece is not currently available for study.
- 5) This is a part of the Mikulov highlands (Mikulovská vrchovina) and is included within the Pálava Nature Reserve.
- 6) The Děvín hill has also produced finds dated to LT C-D1. Other traces of human presence in both of these phases come from the valley between Děvín and the nearby Kotel hill (Goláňová/Navrátil 2017).
- 7) Some of the flagons may have been made in Picenum (Adam 2012).
- 8) These were flagons produced in Transalpine Europe and decorated in Early La Tène style (»in der Keltiké hergestellte Bronzekannen«; Frey/Herrmann 1997, 507) but for which there is no indication as to the ethnicity of the producer (or owner).
- 9) The sphinx figure from the hill-fort of Horné Orešany-Slepý vrch (okr. Trnava/SK) (figs 1, 7; 2, 2) may have been part of a flagon lid from a wooden vessel (Čambal 2005) although in the absence of evidence as to its method of attachment it is far from certain.

- 10) When depicted on brooches, horses usually do not turn their heads backwards with the exception of a later brooch from Přemyšlení (okr. Praha-východ/CZ; cf. fig. 2, 8) (Binding 1993, 228 fig. 22, 1 pl. 44, 9).
- 11) France (Pare 2012a, figs 2.6. 2.8), Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Thuringia (Binding 1993), Lower Austria (Roseldorf), but often also in the Salzburg region (Hallstatt: Egg/Schönfelder 2009, 32 fig. 5; Dürrnberg: Binding 1993, 214. 216 figs 5, 4; 7). In Moravia this motif appears on stamped pottery from Modrá (okr. Uherské Hradiště/CZ; cf. fig. 2, 5) (Goláňová 2006, 132 pl. 3, 3; 2018, fig. 67, 4; Venclová 2018, tab. 2 fig. 3, 9) and in south-west Slovakia we find it on a brooch from the Horné Orešany hill-fort (fig. 1, 4: Bazovský 2006).
- 12) Exceptionally, engraved decoration can also include figural motifs (Glauberg, barrow 1 burial 1: Bosinski 2002, 139 fig. 97; Frey/Dobiat 2019, 562), as it does on belt-hooks (e.g. Ossarn [Bez. St. Pölten/A]: Megaw/Megaw/Neugebauer 1989, 492 fig. 8, 1; Stupava [okr. Malacky/SK; cf. fig. 2, 10]: Čambal 2012, 95 fig. 4) or sword scabbards (e.g. Glauberg, barrow 1 burial 1: Frey 2002b, 196 figs 168, 5; 176, 4-5; Hallstatt: Egg/Schönfelder 2009), as well as on pottery vessels (e.g. Matzhausen [Lkr. Neumarkt/Opf/D]: Schwappach 1974, 117-120 pls 11-13) which are also attested in 5<sup>th</sup> century BC Moravia (Goláňová 2012, 240 fig. 2, 3-5).
- 13) Special thanks go to Matěj Kmošek, who did the measurements.
- 14) The results cannot be compared with those obtained by analyses of the corrosion products on the surface of the bronze vessels from Rovná (Chytráček et al. 2019, 129-130) since detailed analyses of both surface and core of the leaded bronze artefacts from the Kappel am Rhein tomb (Lkr. Ortenau/D) featured almost twice as high values of lead on the corroded surface as opposed to the core (Dehn/Egg/Lehnert 2005, 131-132 no. 382; see also Sankot et al. 2019).
- 15) This is also the case of tubular-spouted flagons whether made of bronze or pottery which only rarely appear in settlement contexts (Delhef 2003, 549).
- 16) Some brooches are remarkable for their exquisite workmanship (Schönfelder 2001, 317) which, however, cannot be considered specific to any single zone within the eastern part of the Early La Tène area. The numerous finds of figural brooches from Horné Orešany with their nearest parallels coming from the Dürrnberg (Bazovský 2006; Pieta 2007, 305 figs 7, 1-8; 8; Megaw 2012) most probably testify to their local production and thus prove that high-quality brooches – as well as flagon fittings – could have been manufactured anywhere in the eastern La Tène area.
- 17) There was also the matter of casting the handles of the Basse-Yutz flagons suggesting that the craftsman »was not familiar with the technique of hollow casting« (Craddock 1990, 68).
- 18) Only in the Ticino/CH were Etruscan beaked flagons reproduced on a larger scale (Adam 1993, 364).
- 19) From the Dürrnberg, an Etruscan *Kleeblattkanne* dating to Ha D3 was unearthed from grave 59 in the Eisfeld (Rabsilber/Wendlung/Wiltschke-Schrotta 2017, 45. 46 pl. 15, G59/14) and the famous La Tène example in the chariot grave 112 from the Hexenwандfeld (Tiefengrabere/Wiltschke-Schrotta 2014, 74-76 pls 5-10) dated to early LT B1. The La Tène bronze flagons were, as a rule, more commonly buried in the later phases of LT A or in early LT B.
- 20) This is usually the explanation offered for the »Celtic« engraved decoration found on Etruscan flagons (Bouloumié 1973, 265: »adaptée au goût local«).
- 21) Contrary to Early La Tène evidence in the Hunsrück-Eifel culture area (Frey/Dobiat 2019, 566 fig. 3) where the large quantity of flagon imported from Italy was placed in graves while a single locally produced one was buried only in a later context in the Waldalgesheim grave (Joachim 1995).
- 22) In some regions such as the South Tyrol the production of bronze vessels went on throughout the Hallstatt and into the Early La Tène period (Egg/Kramer 2016, 112-113). It is in this region that a bronze vessel component discovered in the Vladař hill-fort in Bohemia was produced (Chytráček/Metlička 2004, 35. 43-44 fig. 162, 10 pl. 2; Hauser/Schönfelder 2014, 437-440).
- 23) Býčí Skála-Habruška – 12 bronze vessels (or fragments thereof) in the legendary assemblage from a cave (Parzinger/Nekvasil/BARTH 1995, 73-79); Náklo – 9 bronze vessels (Nekvasil/Podborský 1991, 19. 23-25 pls 9. 13-14); Kralice na Hané – 7 bronze vessels besides other things (Šmid 2004; Čizmář/Geislerová 2006, 209 upper fig.; Prichystal/Kos in: Čizmář/Geislerová 2006, 50; Golec/Fojtík 2020, 202 figs 59-60).

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## Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

### Die unsichtbaren Eliten der Frühlatènezeit in Mähren? Die Applike einer Bronzekanne aus Pavlov-Děvín (okr. Břeclav/CZ)

Bis vor Kurzem lag die Frühlatènezeit in Mähren am Rande des Forschungsinteresses zu dieser Phase in Europa. Dies war wahrscheinlich auf das Fehlen attraktiver Funde zurückzuführen, wie z. B. Gräber mit Prestigegütern (Goldobjekte, Ornamente des Early Style, Importe aus dem Mittelmeerraum). Der Artikel ordnet die Bronzefigur der in Pavlov-Děvín (okr. Břeclav/CZ) gefundenen Schnabelkanne in einen breiteren Kontext ein und gibt einen Überblick über die Funde, die die Anwesenheit lokaler Eliten im Mähren des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. belegen. Die besten Parallelen zur Pavlov-Děvín-Figur finden sich unter den bronzenen Kannenbeschlägen, die überwiegend in der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. im transalpinen Raum hergestellt wurden und die von importierten etruskischen Vorbildern inspiriert waren. Der Besitzer des in den Pavlov-Hügeln gefundenen Kannenstücks gehörte höchstwahrscheinlich zu

den Eliten der Frühlatènezeit, vergleichbar mit denjenigen, die in den Fürstengräbern vom Dürrnberg und Glauberg bestattet wurden. Offenbar waren diese lokalen Eliten durchaus in der Lage, sich mit prestigeträchtigen Produkten aus spezialisierten Metall verarbeitenden Werkstätten zu versorgen, auch wenn solche Gegenstände später nicht in Gräbern beigesetzt wurden.

### **The Invisible Early La Tène Elites in Moravia? Evidence from a Bronze Flagon Mount Found at Pavlov-Děvín (Okr. Břeclav/CZ)**

Until recently, the Early La Tène period in Moravia lay at the margins of research interest of this period in Europe. Most probably, this was due to the lack of attractive discoveries, such as graves furnished with prestige goods (gold objects, Early Style decoration, Mediterranean imports). The aim of the article is to evaluate the bronze figure from the beaked flagon found at Pavlov-Děvín (okr. Břeclav/CZ) in a broader context and to make an overview of finds testifying to the presence of local élites in 5<sup>th</sup>-century BC Moravia. The best parallels for the Pavlov-Děvín figure can be found among bronze flagon fittings produced in the Transalpine area mainly in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and inspired by imported Etruscan models. The owner of the flagon part found in the Pavlov Hills was most probably one of the Early La Tène period élite, comparable with those buried in the »princely« graves of Dürrnberg and the Glauberg. Apparently, such local élites were perfectly capable of providing themselves with prestigious products of specialist metal-working workshops, even though subsequently such objects were not buried in graves.

### **Les élites invisibles de la Tène ancienne en Moravie? Applique d'une œnochoé en bronze trouvée à Pavlov-Děvín (okr. Břeclav/CZ)**

Récemment encore, La Tène ancienne de la Moravie n'attirait guère l'attention des spécialistes européens de cette période. Ceci était dû très probablement à l'absence de découvertes attrayantes comme des tombes contenant des objets de prestige (objets en or, décors du Premier style, importations méditerranéennes). L'objectif de cet article est de situer la figurine en bronze de l'œnochoé à bec découverte à Pavlov-Děvín (okr. Břeclav/CZ) dans un plus large contexte et de dresser un aperçu des objets témoignant de la présence d'élites locales en Moravie au 5<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.. Les meilleures comparaisons pour la figurine de Pavlov-Děvín se trouvent parmi des exemplaires d'œnochoés en bronze fabriquées en Transalpine, essentiellement dans la deuxième moitié du 5<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., et inspirées par des modèles étrusques. Le propriétaire de l'œnochoé dont une partie fut trouvée dans les collines de Pavlov était certainement un membre de l'élite de La Tène ancienne tel ceux qui furent enterrés dans les tombes princières de Dürrnberg et de Glauberg. Ces élites locales étaient apparemment tout à fait capables de se procurer des articles de prestige auprès d'ateliers spécialisés dans le travail des métaux, même si, par après, ces objets n'étaient pas enterrés avec le défunt.

Traduction: Y. Gautier

### **Schlüsselwörter / Keywords / Mots clés**

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### **Petra Goláňová**

Masarykova univerzita  
Ústav archeologie a muzeologie  
Arna Nováka 1/1  
CZ - 602 00 Brno  
golanova@phil.muni.cz

