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A Little Bit of History Reconstructed

New Evidence on the Provenance of the Abentheuer Carnyxes and Their Historical Context

In 1874, the Provinzialmuseum Bonn – nowadays Landesmuseum – acquired three objects, which had supposedly been discovered in the village of Abentheuer or the Abentheurerhütte (Lkr. Birkenfeld). The latter is situated on the southern slopes of the Hochwald, about half way between the modern German towns of Birkenfeld (Lkr. Birkenfeld) and Nonnweiler (Lkr. Sankt Wendel). Being part of the Hunsrück highlands, the Hochwald mountain ridge ranges from the Saar in the west all the way to the area north of the upper Nahe in the east. Abentheuer is still situated in what seems to be one of the most remote parts of this rugged highland landscape.

The Abentheuer finds, currently on display at the Landesmuseum Bonn, have only recently been identified as fragments of carnyx¹ (Fig. 1). In 1976, Alfred Haffner had presented them as relics of an Early La Tène princely tomb in his work on the western part of the Hunsrück-Eifel-Culture, although he already doubted this attribution,

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¹ Hunter 2009, 75; 77; 79 s.; Hunter, in press; Zawadzka/Hornung, in press.

which itself was clearly influenced by Paul Jacobsthal². A recent re-interpretation of these finds only followed the 2004 discovery of the impressive Tintignac hoard (Dép. Corrèze, France)³. At Tintignac, a total of three hundred objects belonging to seven different carnyces had been buried during the decommissioning of a Gaulish sanctuary⁴. Besides fragments of tubes and a mouthpiece, these featured bells in the shape of a crested boar's or serpent's head and five leaf-shaped ears, one of which was still soldered to a head and can thus be recognised as an integral part of the instrument. These ears closely resemble two of the objects from Abentheuer, a relatively well-preserved large left ear and a fragmentary right one. These were complemented by a segment of tube, which is now partly lost. Extensive restoration has complicated the interpretation of these objects in various ways, but the shapes and sizes of both ears, technological differences as well as the use of diverging alloys seem to speak in favour of an attribution to two separate instruments. It remains uncertain though, if this indicates a secondary repair in which parts of another instrument were re-used, or if the Abentheuer find does indeed represent a deposit of multiple carnyces⁵. The latter is the case at Tintignac, Mandeuire (Dép. Doubs, France), and also at Sanzeno (Prov. Trento, Italy)⁶ and can possibly be considered more likely.

Following a recent removal of earlier restorations⁷, the curving left ear has a length of 408 millimetres, is 166 millimetres wide and was made from a single flat sheet of bronze, with a central channel following the ear's curve and continuing at the base as fastening cylinder. It now lacks its tip, part of its tubular fixing and channel as well as one margin. The right ear is preserved to a height of only 200 millimetres and a width of 128 millimetres with the remaining fragments all coming from near the base. Only two non-joining pieces of a slightly tapering tube segment survive, whereas a sleeve junction fitted over the narrower end was lost since initial publication. Again, the tube is made from bronze sheet, bent into a circle with a diameter between 20 and 26 millimetres⁸. Haffner recorded a total length of 225 millimetres; in his time the tube was still intact. He first published the ears as a possible wagon fitting from some princely tomb, thus following Paul Jacobsthal⁹, but at the same time expressed serious doubts about this attribution¹⁰. Unfortunately, it is not possible to establish a precise dating for the Abentheuer finds without archaeological context. Large ears, as presented here, are known from the late third century until the late first century B.C.¹¹

² Haffner 1976, 33; 171 s. – Jacobsthal 1944, 182 no. 154B, was the first to associate the Abentheuer finds with a wagon.

³ Aside from the Abentheuer example the discovery of the Tintignac hoard has also allowed for the identification of carnyx finds from La Tène (Kt. Neuchâtel, CH), Sanzeno (Trento, I), perhaps also Manching (Lkr. Pfaffenhofen an der Ilm, D) and Staré Hradisko (okr. Prostějov, CZ); tube fragments were recognised from Leisach (Tyrol, A). Hunter 2001; Hunter 2009; Hunter, in press; Roncador 2009, 553 s. figs. 6–8; Roncador/Melini 2010; Roncador 2014; Roncador et al. 2014; Krämer 1985, 26; 97–99 pl. 37; 110; Gleirscher 2014.

⁴ Maniquet 2008 a–b; Maniquet 2009 a–c; Maniquet et al. 2011.

⁵ Hunter, in press; Becker/Joachim 2016; Zawadzka/Hornung, in press.

⁶ Maniquet 2008 a–b; Maniquet 2009 a–c; Maniquet et al. 2011; Barral 2009; Barral/Jaccotey/Pichot 2007; Roncador 2009, 553 s. figs. 6–8; Roncador/Melini 2010; Roncador 2014; Roncador et al. 2014; Hunter, in press.

⁷ This restored state is still depicted by Haffner 1976, pl. 129, 3.

⁸ For a much more detailed description, see Hunter, in press.

⁹ Jacobsthal 1944, 182 no. 154B.

¹⁰ Haffner 1976, 33; 171 s. He alternatively suggests that the ears might have been part of some standard or helmet ornament, although he offers no explanation for the tube.

¹¹ Hunter, in press.

¹² Braun 1991, 385.

¹³ For a detailed history of the Abentheuer village, see Böcking 1961.

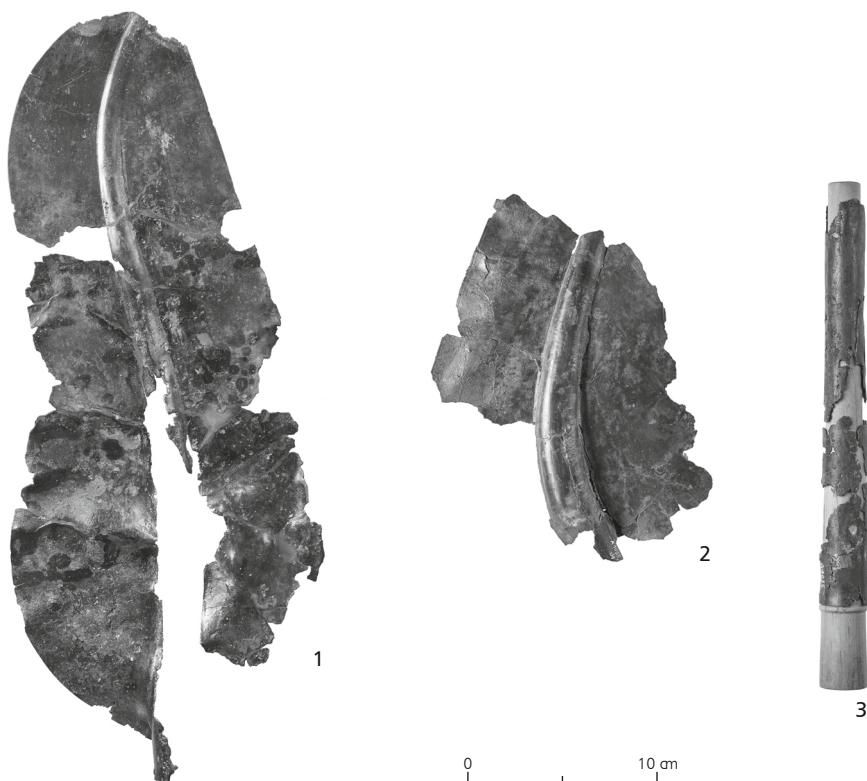


Fig. 1 The Abentheuer carnyses in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn. Quarter size.

Re-considering Abentheuer as alleged find-location

In the inventory of the Landesmuseum Bonn, the carnyses are registered as originating from a grave at Abentheurerhütte, formerly one of the largest ironworks in the Hochwald highlands. Once a flourishing centre of industrial activity, most of the buildings are now in ruins, but part of this industrial estate's former glory reflects in its name being transferred to the modern village of Abentheuer. Today the abandoned ironworks still form an integral part of this small village situated on the southern slope of the Hochwald mountain ridge. Its former manor house was preserved throughout the centuries.

The village of Abentheuer lies within a rather steep and narrow valley, which in no way fits the characteristic topography of Iron Age and Roman settlement sites in the Hochwald area. On the contrary, settlement activity here seems to be linked directly to the existence of the ironworks, which date back to at least the late fifteenth century¹². These were built on the shores of the Traunbach, a small river liable to flooding and with an extremely strong current, which was needed to drive the ironworks waterwheels and thus decisive for the choice of its location. The village continuously grew as workers moved to live near this prosperous industry, although a settlement would hardly have existed before the sixteenth century¹³. Modern Abentheuer consists of two formerly separate villages, with the one in the direct vicinity of the ironworks, called Abentheuer or Abentheurerhütte, first mentioned in the late sixteenth century; the other, called Leyen, was situated further downstream in the less steep part of the val-

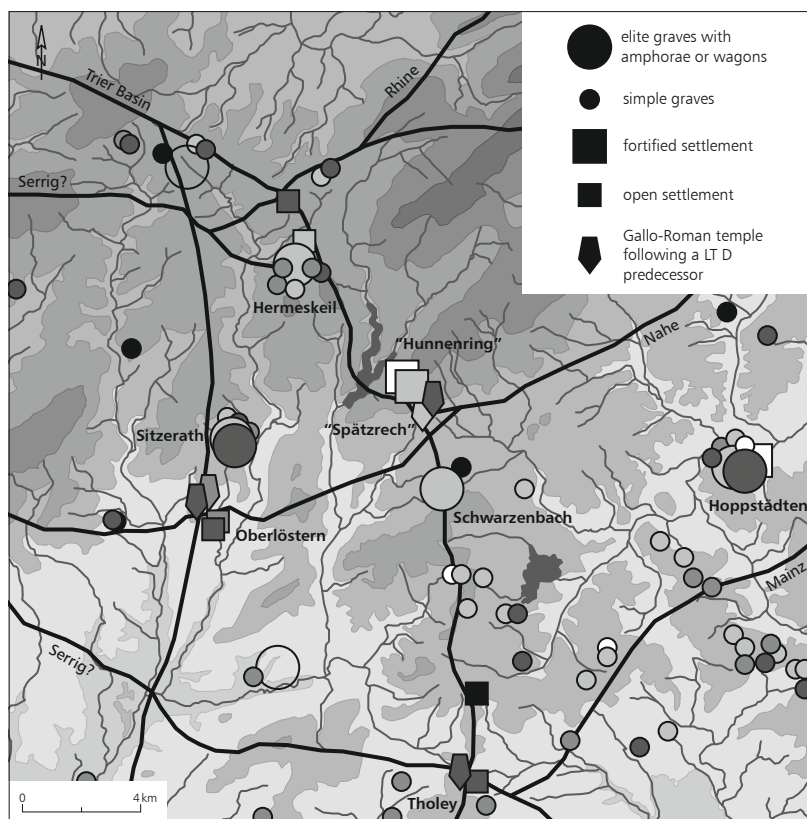


Fig. 2 Late La Tène sites in the vicinity of the Hunnenring oppidum against the backdrop of the reconstructed Roman road network.

– White symbols: La Tène C2/D1a; light grey symbols: La Tène D1b/D2a; dark grey symbols: La Tène D2b; black symbols: Gallo-Roman horizon; open symbols: dating uncertain.

ley and dates back to the Middle Ages. Both villages only during the twentieth century grew to become one. At least until the eighteenth and by all probability still in the nineteenth century separate names existed. Thus, the given find location Abentheurerhütte in the nineteenth century would have referred to the ironworks themselves or their immediate surroundings. Given the extreme topography of the Traunbach valley, it is highly unlikely that the carnices were discovered anywhere near. Indeed, there are no finds whatsoever dating to the Late La Tène period known from the direct vicinity of Abentheuer. The nearest Iron Age sites have been discovered at a distance of some three kilometres (Fig. 2); even in the Roman period the steep and rugged hills of the Hochwald mountain ridge were only sparsely populated and there are hardly any finds at all from the entire area between the modern towns of Nonnweiler and Birkenfeld¹⁴ (Fig. 3). It is thus very unlikely that an Iron Age or Gallo-Roman site of some importance would have existed anywhere near Abentheuer.

For that very same reason, doubts about this attribution of the finds were already raised by Haffner¹⁵. He pointed out that the Bonn inventory contains a note telling that the Abentheuer finds were purchased in 1874 from a local antiquarian named Dr. Cuny Bouvier, but no information on how the latter came into their possession. Bouvier

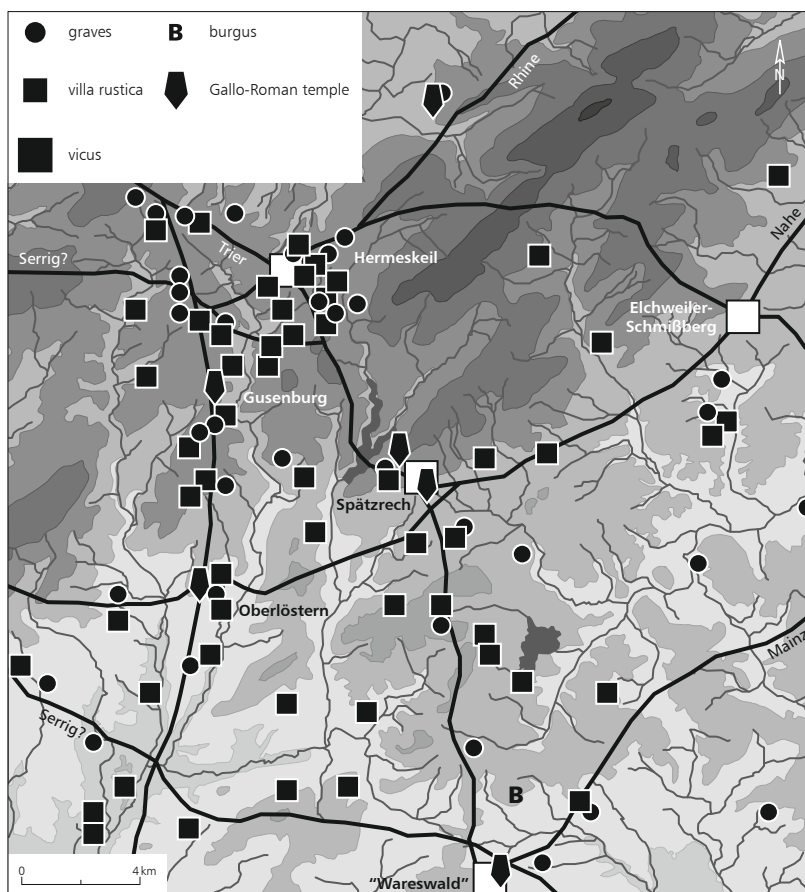
¹⁴ Although it is quite probable that this situation to some degree reflects a lack of systematic research in the area, the local topography and infrastructure still seem to speak against major

settlement activity in pre- and protohistoric times.

¹⁵ Haffner 1976, 171 s.

¹⁶ Haffner 1976, 171.

Fig. 3 Roman sites in the Hochwald area against the backdrop of the re-constructed Roman road network. White symbols: vici.



was a member of the Verein von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande centred in Bonn. The same goes for Gustav Adolph Böcking, who was, at that very time, owner of the Abentheuerhütte. It is therefore quite likely, that Böcking himself gave the Abentheuer carnyces to Bouvier or was at least involved in their acquisition as intermediary¹⁶. But when Herbert W. Böcking, a direct descendant of Gustav Adolph Böcking, attempted to research the original find context in 1968 there was no further information available. No one in the village had ever heard about any archaeological finds unearthed there¹⁷. This indeed seems odd considering the fact that grave finds from the Iron Age or Early Roman period would certainly have raised people's attention in a small village like Abentheuer. Thus, the supposed origin of the finds may be called into question once more.

But not only the provenance of the Abentheuer carnyces needs to be subject to discussion; the same also goes for their interpretation as grave goods, which was originally inspired by their identification as wagon-fittings. This alleged association with a

¹⁷ In a letter to Dr. Reinhard Schindler at the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, Herbert W. Böcking was the first to note that the information in the Bonn inventory regarding the prove-

nance of the Abentheuer finds in all probability is wrong. His correspondence with Schindler is archived in the Ortsakte at the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier.

grave is already doubted by Wolfgang Kimmig¹⁸. Recently Alfred Haffner and Martin Schönfelder pointed out to us in personal communication that, in contrast to Haffner's original opinion, a provenance from some Late Iron Age sanctuary has to be considered highly likely. This can indeed be concluded from several parallel finds, which have now been identified. None of the carnyces known so far seem to come from typical burial contexts, and an association with a grave would indeed be highly surprising for any such emblematic object, whose function was obviously connected with groups rather than individuals¹⁹. What is more, all examples known so far were found in ritual deposits, and were incomplete and intentionally rendered unplayable. The Gaulish carnyces were unearthed in sanctuaries continuing into Roman times²⁰, but such sites are only known in this western part of the La Tène culture²¹. Elsewhere carnyces come from off-site deposits, often in wet places, or settlement finds like Sanzeno, Manching and Staré Hradisko which do not suggest a domestic context though²². This is illustrated by the Sanzeno find, which comes from a building with a supposed cult role, as well as Manching, where parts of the carnyx or boar standard were buried in a wooden container together with human and animal remains. The latter strongly suggests a deposit rather than a regular burial.

This new evidence therefore left us with the question of whether it is actually possible to reconstruct the original context of the Abentheuer finds despite the incompleteness of any background information. Abentheuer is situated in the territory of the Treveri, whose *civitas* was later part of the province of Gallia Belgica. Several Late Iron Age sanctuaries and places of assembly have been identified here in recent years²³. All of them formed the core of important settlements, with socio-economic as well as religious central functions²⁴. It would therefore come as no surprise if the Abentheuer finds were originally discovered in some Treveran sanctuary. These Iron Age central places were quite regularly transformed into Gallo-Roman temples from the first century A. D. onwards, at least in the western part of the tribe's territory. Unfortunately, the visibility of the buildings often made them subject to systematic plundering particularly from the nineteenth century onwards and even in the more recent past. Some examples for Late Iron Age and Early Roman sanctuaries are actually known from the Hochwald region too. But before considering potential candidates for the burial of a carnyx, it first seems necessary to understand how the Abentheuer finds were originally acquired and if they are indeed likely to come from that area.

A first trace. The Böcking family at Abentheuer as collectors of antiques

In order to trace the history of the Abentheuer carnyces we need to return to this remote Hochwald village and the Böcking family who owned the Abentheuerhütte at the time when these finds came into the possession of the Provinzialmuseum Bonn. The

¹⁸ Kimmig 1977, 81.

¹⁹ See Hunter, in press, for a more detailed discussion of find circumstances.

²⁰ Maniquet 2004/2005; Maniquet 2008 a–b; Maniquet 2009 a–c; Maniquet et al. 2011; Barral 2007; Barral 2009; Barral et al. 2007.

²¹ Venclová 1998, 209–221 fig. 115.

²² Roncador 2009, 553 s. figs. 6–8; Roncador/Melini 2010; Roncador 2014; Roncador et al. 2014; Krämer 1985; Hunter, in press.

²³ Metzler/Gaeng/Méniel 2016; Krausse 2006, 178 fig. 78; 203–211; Nickel/Thoma/Wigg-Wolf 2008; Thoma 2000, 450; Nickel 2012, 295; Hornung 2016 a, 99–102.

Böckings had quite some reputation as collectors of antiques, which goes back to a certain Heinrich Böcking. In 1809, he married Charlotte Henriette Stumm, the daughter of an industrial family from the Hunsrück area who were the owners of the Abentheurerhütte at that time. That way the ironworks eventually came into the possession of the Böcking family in the late eighteen-thirties²⁵ who owned them right until production ceased in 1875. Heinrich fathered four children, three of them sons (Heinrich Rudolph, Gustav Adolph and Carl Eduard)²⁶. Being an amateur archaeologist, he conducted excavations at the Gallo-Roman settlement on Mont Hérappel near Cocheren – at that time part of Germany, now département Moselle, France – and later in the Roman cemetery on the nearby Kohlberg between 1827 and 1829 and thereby acquired a large collection of antiques. This was enriched by finds from several other Roman sites like Trier, Tholey (Lkr. Sankt Wendel), Köln, Bonn, Bad Kreuznach, Wiesbaden, and the inventory of the Early La Tène princely tombs at Besseringen (Lkr. Merzig-Wadern) and Schwarzenbach (Gde. Nonnweiler, Lkr. St. Wendel). The Saar department, original home of the family, was thus a particular focus of Böcking's activity as a collector. Being politically active with respect to its reintegration into Prussia, he was an intimate at court in Berlin and even gave some of his antiques to the crown prince, the later Frederick William IV of Prussia, as a gift. In 1858, Böcking eventually decided to sell his collection to the Antiquarium der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin²⁷. With a handwritten inventory drawn up in 1859 the Böcking'sche Sammlung (Böcking Collection) was then on display to the public and remained intact until 1868 when it was split up between several museums in Berlin²⁸. After leaving his home in Saarbrücken in 1858, Heinrich Böcking spent his final years in Bonn where he died in 1862 after suffering a stroke. His connection with the Bonner Verein von Alterthumsfreunden also accounts for his son Gustav Adolph's membership in that society. Gustav Adolph, who inherited the ironworks at Abentheuer and even became mayor of the village, seems to have shared his father's passion for antiques. He must have been somehow involved in the transfer of the Abentheuer carnyces to Bonn.

After the dissolution of the renowned Böcking Collection in 1858, there are basically two alternatives with regards to the actual form of Gustav Adolph's involvement in this matter. The fragments of carnyx could have been overlooked or left behind when his father's antiques were sold, or else they were acquired at some later date. That this is indeed possible might be indicated by an Etruscan bronze strainer which was given to the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier in 1962 by Kurt Böcking, grandson of

²⁴ Fernández-Götz 2014, 149–153; Hornung 2016 a, 171–173; Metzler/Gaeng/Méniel 2016, 395–401. Even in medieval times the development of a market is main precondition for any secondary process of centralization and urbanization and always closely connected with religious functions.

²⁵ Brandt 1996; Petto 1969/70.

²⁶ For a detailed outline of Heinrich Böcking's life and his passion for antiques, see Hoffmann 1998 a.

²⁷ Since the inventory lacks the first name of the collection's former owner it has mistakenly

been attributed to Gustav Adolph Böcking by Hoffmann 1995, 39 s. However, being born in 1812 Gustav was only fifteen years old when the excavation at Mont Hérappel started. A correct account is given by Hoffmann 1998 a, 235–237.

²⁸ A part of the collection (six objects) was then transferred to the Kunstgewerbemuseum Berlin, another five hundred objects went to the Sammlung Nordischer Alterthümer, the latter eventually becoming part of the Vorgeschichtliche Abteilung of the new Völkerkundemuseum Berlin in 1886. – Hoffmann 1998 b; Hoffmann 1998 a, 237–242.

Gustav Adolph Böcking. This find supposedly came from one of the Schwarzenbach princely tombs although the rest of the inventory from these graves was sold to Berlin in 1858 with the entire collection²⁹. Unfortunately, there is no final proof to support or reject an allocation to this supposed find location. But there were other objects, too, that must have been left behind or were acquired at some later date and then became part of several local collections³⁰. Therefore, a provenance from one of the sites represented in the Böcking Collection has indeed to be taken into account for the carnyses as well. If we consider a possible provenance from some Late Iron Age sanctuary, this seems to leave us with only one option, because the vast majority of finds in the collection originates from graves and therefore only the Hérapel is left as possible find location³¹. The Roman settlement occupying the plateau of Mont Hérapel includes a Gallo-Roman sanctuary, which also produced Iron Age finds, especially coins, and can thus be regarded a serious contender for a Late La Tène centre right on the northern edge of the Mediomatrican territory³². On the other hand, the extreme remoteness of this location, a lack of Iron Age settlement remains on the Hérapel, as well as the fact that such a provenance would mean the carnyses were indeed left behind when the rest of the Böcking collection was sold, might speak in favour of a different scheme for reconstructing the provenance of the Abentheuer finds.

Far more probable from our point of view is the idea that Gustav Adolph Böcking, who shared his father's love of antiques and even wrote a scientific report on the Schwarzenbach princely tombs³³, also continued in his footsteps with respect to securing local archaeological finds from the Iron Age and Roman period by giving them to the public. To transfer them into the collection of an important society like the Bonner

²⁹ Haffner 1976, 201; Nortmann 2006, 235–238. According to Alfred Haffner remains of soil on this find supported this supposed provenance. An attribution to tomb II, also favored by Hans Nortmann, needs to be considered uncertain though.

³⁰ Kolling 1968, 14, mentions that the rest of the Heinrich Böcking Collection was given to the Landesmuseum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte Saarbrücken by his granddaughter, indicating that some objects did indeed stay behind. An axe given to the Birkenfeld Gymnasium is listed in Westdt. Zeitschr. 10, 1891, 404.

³¹ The finds from Tholey represented in the Böcking collection seem to have come from graves rather than the Roman vicus Wareswald. The same seems to be the case with any other site mentioned in the inventory. This is quite logical, too, since collectors were preferring well-preserved grave-finds to the rather fragmentary settlement waste. For identical reasons, Böcking seems to have shifted his attention from the Hérapel to the nearby cemetery on the Kohlberg in the first place. It might even be due to this preference for grave-goods typical for private collectors at the time, that the Abentheuer carnyses were originally attributed to a grave by Bouvier.

³² Fichtl 2002, 323 s.; Georges-Leroy 1997, 69 s.; Hornung 2016 a, 382. The Mount Hérapel is overlooking the valley of the Rosselle, a confluence of the Saar.

³³ Böcking 1927.

³⁴ Although the Hunnenring's status as one of the Treveran oppida has been challenged on various occasions because of its very limited surface area, this can certainly not be the case with respect to its function as a main centre of trade and as a socio-political focus in the area. Quite naturally, a first grade centre in some remote highland region cannot be compared to the infrastructurally favoured large Treveran oppida such as the Titelberg (Kt. Esch-sur-Alzette, L) or the Martberg near Pommern (Lkr. Cochem-Zell). See Hornung 2016 a, 102–104, whereas Nortmann 2008/2009, 22, does not include the Hunnenring in his list of Treveran oppida. He assumes that size is an important condition for the development of a proto-urban character in any settlement. Usually the lower size limit for an oppidum is set between fifteen and twenty hectares, although this area always relates to the interior of the fortifications (18,5 hectares in the case of the Hunnenring), not the size of the actual settlement, which usually is smaller. See Fichtl 2004, 62; Fichtl 2005, 16.

Verein certainly was a way to do so. In that case, a possible local provenance of the Abentheuer finds needs indeed to be discussed further. This can only be managed against the backdrop of a wider archaeological view on the Hochwald area, with particular focus on the existence of central places and sanctuaries.

Archaeological evidence for the provenance of the carnyces

Reconstructing the Late La Tène and Early Roman settlement system of the Hochwald region is not an easy undertaking, because our picture is biased by recent land-use and uncontrolled plundering of sites. Still, after eleven years of intensive archaeological research with particular focus on chronology and hierarchies between different settlement sites a synthetic view seems possible, which might even allow for a connection with historical events, in particular Caesar's conquest of Gaul.

The Hochwald area in the Late La Tène and Early Roman period. During the late second and first half of the first century B.C. the so-called Hunnenring oppidum³⁴ near Otzenhausen (Lkr. Sankt Wendel) featured a prominent position in Late La Tène settlement structures of the Hochwald region. In La Tène D1b, sometime between 120 and 100 B.C., the building of an impressive fortification on the Dollberg mountain ridge indicates a time of social consolidation in the region, which in La Tène B2/C had been only sparsely populated. Protected by a murus gallicus of the Ehrang type with an additional ditch on its more vulnerable northern side, the oppidum clearly marked a statement of power and status almost from its very beginnings. Settlement activity was at first constricted to a very small area on the most prominent part of the hilltop (Fig. 4). It was only during the first half of the first century B.C., that the Hunnenring

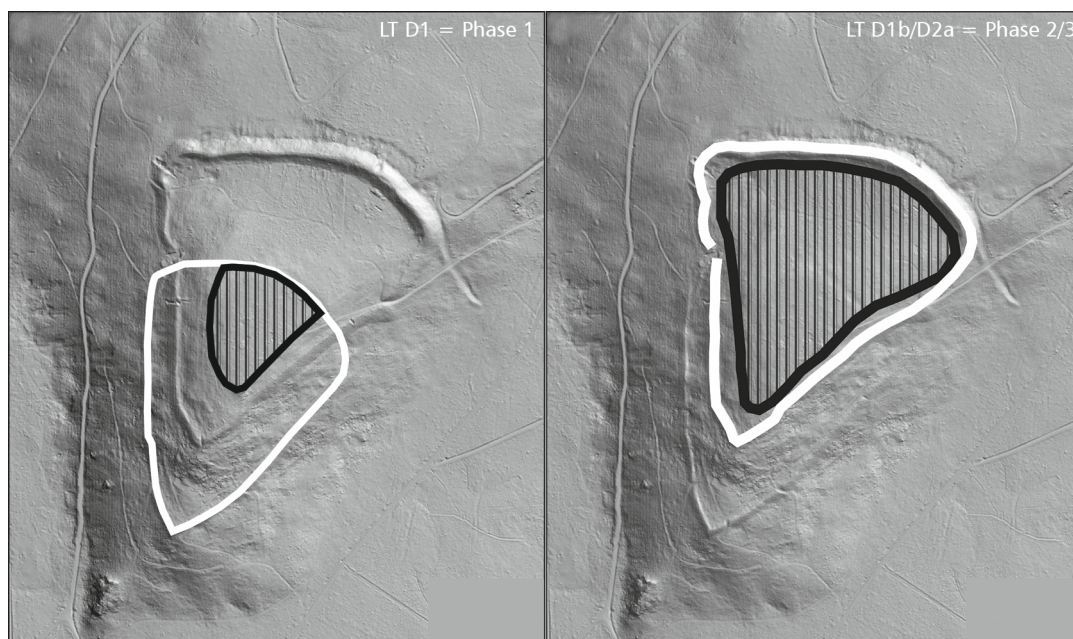


Fig. 4 Development of the oppidum Hunnenring. White: course of the fortifications; black: area with traces of settlement activity.

gradually became a central place in the true sense of the meaning. Its walls were rebuilt and shifted slightly towards the north in order to provide more suitable space for settlement activity than the often-steep terrain encircled by the older fortification. By about 80 B.C., building structures covered a surface of up to nine hectares and thus almost the whole interior of the oppidum. Population density had risen significantly. The Hunnenring had also gradually acquired more complex socio-economic central functions³⁵. The existence of a Late La Tène sanctuary on the most prominent part of the hilltop seems highly likely. Late Iron Age ritual deposits of weapons, jewellery and wheel-models were unearthed in the immediate vicinity of a small Roman temple from the second and third centuries A. D., believed to follow the tradition of an Iron Age predecessor³⁶. By about 80 B.C., a massive fortification of the Fécamp type, even nowadays preserved to a height of ten metres, was built to secure access from the adjacent mountain ridge to the northeast whereas the smaller fortifications along the sides of the Dollberg were once more a *murus gallicus* of the Ehrang type³⁷.

From a chronological point of view, the youngest phase of settlement activity can be connected with finds of pottery dating to La Tène D2a, whereas in La Tène D2b there are no clear indications of any further occupation³⁸. The coin series from the oppidum is pointing towards the same direction. Treveran potins (Scheers 199–201) as well as quinarii (Scheers 54 and 55) and an eye-stater (Scheers 30/V) seem to be the youngest issues discovered in settlement contexts³⁹. A single Hirtius bronze (Scheers 162 I), minted in the late fifties or forties B.C.⁴⁰, comes from a well enclosed in the younger line of defences and is not necessarily connected with the settlement itself. Therefore it seems quite likely that the oppidum was abandoned sometime around the middle of the first century B.C. There are as yet no traces of destruction, but indications that another site nearby inherited some of the Hunnenring's central functions⁴¹.

When it comes to reconstructing the Late La Tène settlement system in the oppidum's vicinity it is not yet possible to draw final conclusions. The distribution of grave-finds with imported amphorae in the wider area seems to show several clusters of activity at rather regular distances from each other⁴². It is remarkable that one of these graves comes from Schwarzenbach and was found at a distance of only three kilometres from the Hunnenring. It was discovered during building activities right next to the two well-

³⁵ For a more detailed outline of this complex development sketched on the basis of recent excavations, see Hornung 2016 a, 23–104; Hornung 2016 b.

³⁶ Hornung 2016 a, 99–102; Wiegert 2002, 77; 106 s.; 142–149; Fritsch 2010 a, 44.

³⁷ Hornung 2016 a, 53–55; Brengel 2016.

³⁸ Hornung 2016 a, 60–62.

³⁹ Hornung 2016 b, 22 s. 31 s. 35–39; Hornung 2016 a, 89 s.; Wiegert 2002, 181–183. – For photos of recent coin finds, see Fritsch 2010 a, 48 s.

⁴⁰ Gilles 1993, 50 Nr. 49, 2; Scheers 2005, 77.

⁴¹ Hornung 2014.

⁴² Hornung 2016 a, 90–95.

⁴³ Haffner 1976, 200–204.

⁴⁴ Handles and rim of this amphora were missing. See a report by Johannes Schönwald dated to May 20th, 1996 in the Ortsakte Schwarzenbach

of the Denkmalpflege des Saarlandes. As oppose to that, an earlier report by Prof. Dr. Alfons Kolling mentions »stinking contents« of the vessel, which possibly means that when the amphora was deposited in the tomb it was still filled with wine. Apparently, there were calcined bones associated with this find. The amphora is discussed for example by Böhme 1999, 57; Part II, 134 no. 161; Metzler et al. 1991, 128 fig. 96.

⁴⁵ Böhme 1999, Part II, 114 s. fig. 97.

⁴⁶ See for example Gleser/Fritsch 2015 and Gleser/Fritsch 2016 for new finds from Nonnweiler-Bierfeld (Lkr. Sankt Wendel).

⁴⁷ See Dehn 1951, 23 for a first tomb discovered in 1930 and Fritsch 2010 a, 64–67 for an overview of the latest research.

⁴⁸ Fritsch 2010 b.



Fig. 5 The Hermeskeil fortress, the neighbouring Late Iron Age settlement and the Roman vicus on the opposite side of the valley. Marked in red are the courses of the most important ancient roads. Red dots: location of the supposed Iron Age and Roman sanctuaries in both settlements. (A) vicus, (B) Late Iron Age settlement, (C) military camp.

known princely tombs preserved in the original Böcking Collection, both dating to the late fifth or early fourth century B.C.⁴³ The only surviving grave-good from the Late La Tène tomb is an imported amphora, which was apparently accompanied by other vessels as well as calcined bones⁴⁴ and must have been deposited in a wooden chamber. However, there was no regular excavation carried out, which leaves us limited possibility for further interpretation. All other contemporary tombs in the area clearly contained amphorae in secondary use (e. g. as urns like in tomb 1 at Sitzerath, Gde. Nonnweiler, Lkr. Sankt Wendel⁴⁵) or even small parts of amphorae as a symbolical *pars pro toto*⁴⁶. A supposed hierarchy between these tombs cannot be clearly established due to the often insufficient state of research. However, in this context, results from latest surveys in the vicinity of Hermeskeil, six kilometres northwest of the Hunnenring, provide first insights into a Late La Tène settlement system which seems to have been far more complex than previously expected.

Following the discovery of a large cemetery dating from La Tène C2/D1 to the fourth century A. D.⁴⁷, located just east of the modern town of Hermeskeil and featuring a La Tène D2 warrior's grave with weapons and parts of an imported amphora⁴⁸, several campaigns of field walking also produced a marked concentration of sherds of

Dressel 1 type amphorae some eight hundred meters to the north⁴⁹. In the same area, larger quantities of La Tène D pottery were observed, too, with these finds mainly dating to La Tène D2 and usually showing traces of secondary burning. During geophysical prospection, it quickly became clear that these surface finds indicate the existence of a settlement covering an area of up to five hectares and occupying a shallow terrace adjacent to a small river, the Rotbach (Fig. 5). A large concentration of pits can mostly be connected to the posts of wooden buildings, which in the core of the settlement area tended to be aligned in regular rows. The only rectangular structure visible in magnetometry marks the remains of a wooden building. The latter occupies the very top of the ridge and correlates with a concentration of Roman finds on the surface. Since no other finds later than La Tène D2 were discovered elsewhere in the settlement area, these might indicate the existence of a small Roman sanctuary right at the heart of the former Iron Age settlement rather than a Roman villa or building of some other type. Again, a wheel-model as a typical votive deposit discovered here might suggest some Late La Tène predecessor of this sanctuary⁵⁰. Although it is not yet possible to draw further conclusions without actual excavations at this newly discovered site, its basic development seems to follow along the same lines as the Hunnenring oppidum itself. Both sites indicate a major change in settlement structures sometime around the middle of the first century B.C. with new centres evolving towards the end of La Tène D2.

In the case of Hermeskeil, settlement activity seems to have shifted some eight hundred meters towards the west (Fig. 5), possibly in connection with the abandonment of this Late La Tène village. On the opposite side of the valley, another concentration of stray finds was recorded during prospections, covering a surface of more than fifteen hectares. Roman houses featuring cellars clearly visible in magnetometry and a large bathhouse were aligned along the course of an ancient road, the supposed east-west connection between Rhine and Moselle. This Roman vicus⁵¹ developed in a very prominent position on top of a shallow ridge⁵², but further down the hill concentrations of pits indicated once more the existence of wooden buildings in the south-western part of the settlement. Remarkably enough, most finds of Late La Tène pottery and coins were recorded in that very same area. Therefore, it seems quite likely that the settlement was originally founded along the hillside and later shifted slightly towards the top of the hill. When it comes to dating this early settlement activity, the coin finds are of particular interest. Several potins of the Leuci and Sequani as well as Treveran quinarii indicate a dating to La Tène D2 at the latest. The pottery finds have not produced a

⁴⁹ Hornung 2016 a, 132.

⁵⁰ See Hornung 2009, 112–114 for thoughts on the interpretation of these wheel-models.

⁵¹ The term ›vicus‹ is not used to indicate the settlement's legal status but, following the German tradition of research, in a more abstract way in order to distinguish secondary centres from other forms of settlement. This needs to be stressed because the state of research does not allow for further conclusions on legal status in any of these settlements anyway.

⁵² A manuscript by Philip Schmitt dated to 1855 first mentions a Roman vicus, but recent discoveries of Roman finds from this site during building works were interpreted as remains of a villa rustica. See the Ortsakte Hermeskeil at the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier. Wackenroder 1936, 158; Eiden 1970, 39–41.

⁵³ Jung 2015; Lang 2018; Hornung 2018.

⁵⁴ Lang et al. 2015; Lang 2018.

⁵⁵ Roymans/Habermehl 2011; Haselgrove 1995; Ferdière et al. 2010; Ferdière 2013; Krause 2006, 335.

date earlier than La Tène D2 so far. A marked concentration of coins and potential votive deposits (such as a lead miniature axe and a bronze astragal) recorded on the settlement's northern periphery speak in favour of the existence of a Roman sanctuary right on top of the hill, which again seems to go back to the Late Iron Age considering a concentration of Late La Tène coins discovered there.

Remarkably enough, the La Tène D2 period and Gallo-Roman horizon potentially mark a break in the development of rural settlements in the area as well. Small hamlets then started functioning as subordinate centres of a third category in the Hochwald region and indicate an ongoing process of centralization. One of these sites, a settlement near Oberlöstern (Lkr. Merzig-Wadern), has only recently been subject to prospection and excavations⁵³ (Fig. 6). Again, magnetometry allows us to distinguish several clusters of wooden post-buildings. Test-trenching has produced a rather large quantity of pottery finds all dating to La Tène D2 and the Early Roman period as well as remains of textile production and potentially even metalworking. The settlement then shifted to a prominent hilltop towards the end of the first century A. D. when an unusually large Roman villa (considering the poor economic basis of the Hochwald area) was built⁵⁴. It overlooked a courtyard of slightly irregular plan with at least seven subordinate buildings aligned along its sides. The Celtic social system with a leading family ruling over several dependent groups seems to have taken architectural form here⁵⁵. Their elevated economic status may be derived from the possible production of querns and building



Fig. 6 The Late La Tène and Early Roman settlement, the villa rustica and the sanctuary near Oberlöstern. Outlined in red and white are the buildings detected during prospections on the first two sites. Many other pits are visible in the magnetometry image of the Late Iron Age and Early Roman settlement. (a) Villa Rustica, (b) Gallo-Roman sanctuary, (c) Roman cemetery, (d) Late La Tène and Early Roman settlement, (e) Quarries.

materials in a nearby quarry⁵⁶; a Roman temple 14,7 meters by 16,3 meters in size on a prominent hilltop next to the villa indicates central functions for a local community potentially inhabiting several farmsteads spread out across the wider area⁵⁷. Stray finds point to the development of this sanctuary from Late La Tène roots.

Another small Roman vicus or hamlet is likely to have existed at Elchweiler-Schmißberg (Lkr. Birkenfeld), although so far only one of its supposed cemeteries has been partly investigated archaeologically⁵⁸. Nothing is therefore known on details of settlement development apart from the fact that the graves date to both the Late Iron Age and the Roman period. A nearby sanctuary was probably situated in a topographically prominent position on the edge of the vicus, but judging by its size it will hardly have surpassed local importance. So there is nothing to speak in favour of Elchweiler-Schmißberg as being the locality where the Abentheuer carnices were originally discovered. Since the Böcking family seems to have focused their archaeological activity primarily on the Saar department, any such provenance can be considered highly unlikely.

When it comes to basic settlement structures and particularly the existence of cult centres, remarkable continuities from La Tène D2 into the Roman period can thus be observed throughout the entire Hochwald region at all levels of local settlement hierarchies. In the case of the Hunnenring these continuities have taken a different form because the small aedicula inside the fortifications can hardly have been a true successor to the former socio-economic centre in the heart of the Late La Tène oppidum with respect to the complexity of its function⁵⁹. Instead, its central functions seem to have been transferred to another site located at the foot of the Dollberg mountain ridge. At a distance of only 1,3 kilometres from the Hunnenring, in the Schwarzenbach parish (↳Auf dem Spätzrech↳), a large Gallo-Roman temple complex was unearthed during excavations by the Staatliches Konservatoramt, now Denkmalpflege des Saarlandes in 1984/85 (Fig. 7). A stone-built temple 22,8 by 21 meters in size, dedicated mainly to Mars Cnabetius, inside a 110 by 70 meter enclosure seems to have been preceded by a wooden building dating back to the first century A. D.⁶⁰ Once more, activity potentially goes back even further than that although it is not yet possible to connect any archaeological features with the oldest horizon of finds. The character of the site at that early stage thus needs to be discussed further. At any rate, a large number of pottery sherds⁶¹ dating to La Tène D2a indicates that the Spätzrech must have played an important role from at least the middle of the first century B.C. onwards⁶². This is further supported by a coin series again starting with Treveran quinarii (Scheers 54 and 55)⁶³. These emissions were minted in La Tène D1b and La Tène D2a respectively but circulation continued during the second half of the first century B.C.⁶⁴ It can hardly be

⁵⁶ Kronz/Hornung 2010.

⁵⁷ Recktenwald 2005. A similar situation might be expected for the temple at Gusenburg (Lkr. Trier-Saarburg), some four kilometers southwest of Hermeskeil and six kilometers north of Oberlöstern. Ghetta 2008, 302; Eiden 1970, 47–49; 61; Wackenroder 1936, 135 s.

⁵⁸ Haffner et al. 2000; Gilles 1986; Goethert 1990.

⁵⁹ Hornung 2016 a, 99–102.

⁶⁰ Burger 2012; Burger 2016; Miron 2000; Schuler 2000, 152–163.

⁶¹ Pottery dating to La Tène D2 even amounts to as much as 47 percent of all pottery finds there, which might be due to the fact that the La Tène D2b pottery tradition survived until at least the late first or early second century A. D. in this area. Burger 2016, 156–160.

⁶² Hornung 2016 a, 127 s.

⁶³ Burger 2016, 184 s.

⁶⁴ Loscheider 1998, 108–113; 116; 199.

⁶⁵ Lang 2016; Hornung et al. 2012.

⁶⁶ Hornung 2016 a, 115–125; 127 s.



Fig. 7 The Roman sanctuary ›Auf dem Spätzrech‹ near Schwarzenbach and its adjacent vicus with archaeologically documented features.

considered a coincidence that activity at Schwarzenbach started at about the time when the nearby oppidum was abandoned.

Recent prospections and excavations have shown traces of a small Roman vicus with evidence of metalworking as well as pottery production surrounding the sanctuary, both covering a total surface of about eight hectares⁶⁵. Due to massive erosion even the foundations of the buildings are badly preserved, making it difficult to determine structural details of the settlement. A row of houses with adjacent porticus seems to run parallel to the southern wall of the temple complex on the opposite side of a former road. Other buildings set at almost right angles from this first alignment probably mark the course of a second one. When it comes to the question of when exactly settlement activity started, isolated finds from the first half of the first century A. D. indicate that this may have been as early as the Augustan or Tiberian period. Still, not even some post-built structures belonging to an early phase of the vicus can be securely dated to that time. Thus, if we conclude that the oldest finds from the area of the Roman temple reflect an early period of activity on the ground of the later sanctuary rather than being settlement remains, this leaves us with a significant break in local settlement development. After the nearby oppidum had been abandoned, it took fifty to one hundred years until a surprisingly small Roman vicus developed in the vicinity of a remarkably large Gallo-Roman temple⁶⁶.

This is best explained by the fact that the enormous temple complex reflects some of the neighbouring oppidum's former central functions, and the development of a

settlement has then to be considered a secondary process⁶⁷. The same correlation between function and structure can be observed for the Iron Age sanctuaries inside other Treveran oppida on quite a regular basis. Traditionally these were not only ritual centres but also places of assembly and centres of trade as well as political focal points⁶⁸. That is why their size somehow reflects their relative importance and status within a tribal territory the latter being indicated by the size of the Roman temples succeeding them.

The temple at Schwarzenbach (22,8 by 21 meters with a cella of 15,5 by 14,3 meters) within its temenos of 0,77 hectares is one of the largest Gallo-Roman temples in the entire Treveran territory. It can best be compared to the temple at the vicus of Dalheim (Kt. Remich, Luxembourg, 25 by 18 meters)⁶⁹ or temple II at Wederath-Belginum (Lkr. Bernkastel-Wittlich, 20 by 18 meters)⁷⁰, although both do not quite reach the dimensions of the Schwarzenbach sanctuary. Even the temple of Mars at the vicus of Wareswald (Theley, Gde. Tholey, Lkr. Sankt Wendel) is still slightly smaller than the one at Schwarzenbach, featuring a cella of 11,6 by 14,2 meters surrounded by an ambulatory of 19,5 by 22,8 meters⁷¹.

All three examples were situated at major Roman vici with at least Dalheim and Belginum potentially possessing central functions on pagus level within the Treveran civitas. The latter seem to be reflected in a combination of several sanctuaries (three in Belginum, two in Dalheim, and possibly three in Theley) rather than the existence of one outstanding cult building. Still, it is quite remarkable that very few sanctuaries, all of them located at the Treveran capital Augusta Treverorum, actually surpass the size of the Schwarzenbach temple. This goes for the monumental temple of Mars at the Irminenwingert near Trier, with a cella of 25 by 13 meters and an ambulatory of 32 by 28 meters, as well as the sanctuary in the Altbachtal, where several of the temples reach dimensions comparable to or even surpassing those of the building at Schwarzenbach⁷². Both complexes seem to have functioned as cult centres on a civitas level. It is yet unclear if they developed from Late Iron Age roots as can be observed quite regularly for sanctuaries in traditional central places or if their genesis was linked directly to the rise of the Augustan foundation Augusta Treverorum. All the sanctuaries of subordinate centres are much smaller.

The impressive temenos at Schwarzenbach is equalled or surpassed only by that of temple I at Wederath-Belginum (120 by 70 meters), the one at Neunhäuser Wald (118

⁶⁷ Hornung 2014, 194 s.

⁶⁸ For latest research on the public centre / sanctuary on the Titelberg, see Metzler/Gaeng/Méniel 2016, 301–393. From a general point of view, see also Fernández-Götz 2014.

⁶⁹ Ghetta 2008, 289 s.

⁷⁰ Cordie-Hackenberg 2000, 412–418; Cordie 2015.

⁷¹ Henz 2016, 185.

⁷² Gose 1955; Gose 1972; Scheid 1995; Ghetta 2008, 82–96; 99–102.

⁷³ Binsfeld 1976, 39–44; Krausse 2006, 211 fig. 78; Ghetta 2008, 332 s. 339–342.

⁷⁴ Nickel/Thoma/Wigg-Wolf 2008.

⁷⁵ See Hornung 2018 for a more detailed analysis of the local road network.

⁷⁶ The same goes for the Roman vicus at Theley (Gem. Tholey, Lkr. Sankt Wendel) some twenty kilometres to the south. See Terrex 2002 and Henz 2016 for an overview of latest research.

⁷⁷ Isolated finds of tesserae discovered by one of the local farmers indicate mosaic floors in this bathhouse or some other building nearby.

⁷⁸ For an overview of the major Roman roads in the area, see Hagen 1931; Bernhard 1990, 106; 111 fig. 57–58; Glaser 1994, 58 map 7.

⁷⁹ Hornung 2016 a, 125–127.

⁸⁰ Lang 2016, 306–308.

⁸¹ Hornung 2014, 195; Hornung 2016 a, 127 s.

by 88 meters) or the one inside the Wallendorf oppidum (100 by 70 meters)⁷³. Even the important temple complex inside the Martberg oppidum has a much smaller surface area and features several more modest cult buildings⁷⁴. Thus the Spätzrech sanctuary can clearly be regarded as reflecting the oppidum Hunnenring's former socio-political function as one of the major Treveran central places, although the latter's rather remote location did indeed lead to economical disadvantages compared with other oppida. Its dimensions illustrate quite clearly the temple's important function in the construction of local identities, and it seems imperative to enquire into possible reasons for this outstanding role.

In this context, we need to consider the region's infrastructure in order to explain economic hierarchies between different Roman settlements in the area⁷⁵, because the vicus at Hermeskeil was obviously far more prosperous than the one at Schwarzenbach⁷⁶. This is reflected directly in the size and structure of the settlement during the imperial period. Whereas the Spätzrech vicus features a settlement area of no more than seven hectares in addition to the sanctuary of 0,77 hectares, and as yet nothing points towards the existence of other public buildings, the Hermeskeil settlement is about twice its size with a large bathhouse⁷⁷ and other potentially public stone buildings.

This relative importance and wealth is due to the fact that Hermeskeil developed at the crossing of two major roads. One was the ancient east-west connection between the Roman centres along the Rhine and the Mosel valley⁷⁸. The second road led north towards Trier, south in the direction of the vicus Wareswald at Theley (Gde. Tholey, Lkr. Sankt Wendel) and further on to Strasbourg. It was controlled by the Hunnenring oppidum, which overlooked a crossing of the Prims before the road led on to Hermeskeil and further north⁷⁹ (Fig. 8). Although its line is uncertain, it seems quite probable that the temple at Schwarzenbach and its surrounding vicus developed along the same track⁸⁰. Therefore, the former oppidum's socio-political and economic centre seems to have been moved to a place more prominent from an infrastructural point of view. This happened at about the same time the Hunnenring was abandoned⁸¹. But parallel to the rise of new Roman towns along the Rhine, the above mentioned east-west connection which favoured the Hermeskeil vicus will have grown in economic importance. Obviously, this did not affect the status of Schwarzenbach as the direct successor to the Hunnenring and focus of local identity as well as its inherited central function for

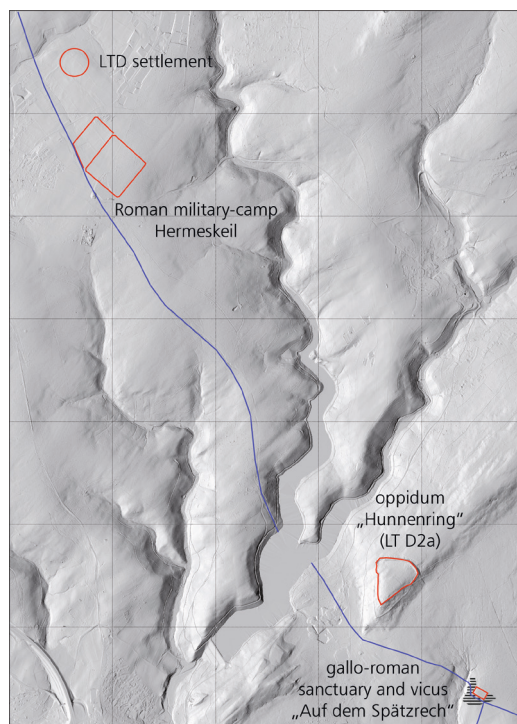


Fig. 8 Archaeological sites mentioned in the text and reconstructed course of the Iron Age road connecting the Roman military camp at Hermeskeil and the oppidum Hunnenring near Otzenhausen.

the Hochwald region. The large temple there in a way commemorated socio-political orders established during the Late La Tène period throughout the entire Roman era. Furthermore, the effects of this infrastructural change only became visible from the first century A. D. onwards and therefore seem to be of little importance with respect to the provenance of the Abentheuer carnayces discussed here.

When asking for a reason why the Spätzrech sanctuary developed some time in La Tène D2 while the nearby oppidum was abandoned, two major schemes need to be considered. Economic change seems to be a first important factor determining location and dislocation of settlements. Indeed, there are several prominent examples throughout Eastern Gaul where sanctuaries founded in La Tène D2 later functioned as focus for the development of a new settlement in their vicinity. This was the case for example at Boviollles where the oppidum's population gradually moved to the newly founded town of Nasium in Early Roman times for obvious infrastructural reasons. At the heart of this settlement in the Ornain valley a large sanctuary lies on the Plateau de Mazerioie⁸² whose beginnings date back to La Tène D2. In contrast to Hunnenring and Spätzrech this dislocation of settlement activity seems to have been a continuous process without any break in development. The same goes for Autun in the territory of the Aedui. At a distance of some twenty-seven kilometres from the oppidum Bibracte, a new economic centre, situated in the vicinity of the so-called temple of Janus, evolved around a potential harbour or transshipment point in the Arroux valley⁸³ some time in La Tène D2. Favoured by infrastructure, its growing importance as a centre of trade eventually seems to have led to the foundation of Augustodunum on the opposite side of the river in Augustan times, which then drew Bibracte's population to move to the Roman town, the latter becoming successor to the oppidum as capital of the Aedui. Again, this process must have been a continuous development rather than a rupture of whatever kind. Therefore, another alternative explanation for the rather singular development at the Hunnenring needs to be taken into account.

On a prominent hilltop in direct view, only about five kilometres northwest of the oppidum and along the same ancient road leading north towards the Trier basin, a late-Republican military camp was unearthed in the vicinity of Hermeskeil⁸⁴ (Fig. 9). Protected by a simple ditch and bank system, the fortress consisted of a main camp about 19,5 hectares in size and an adjacent annex of another 11,2 hectares. Its interior was clear of any stone or wooden buildings. Only the distribution of ovens helps us reconstruct the rows of tents that accommodated the soldiers. There is clear evidence that the camp was in use over several weeks or even months; thus it has to be considered as relic of an active campaign rather than a mere marching camp. The finds mainly consist of sherds of Iron Age pottery and imported wine-amphorae but also feature some coins and many Roman hobnails, all supporting a date around the middle of the first century B. C. When trying to narrow this dating down to a single military campaign against the Treveri, fragments of querns are of particular interest. Their provenance helps us reconstruct where the Roman troops were moving before they arrived in the area, suggesting

⁸² See Dechezleprêtre 2008, 97; Dechezleprêtre/Toussaint/Bonaventure 2011; Manisse 2011.

⁸³ For a short outline of this development, see Dhennequin/Guillaumet/Miklos 2008; Labaune/Meylan 2011. In favour of a port on the Arroux river: Rebourg 1998, 158; Goudineau 2002, 10.

⁸⁴ For results of the latest research, see Hornung 2012 a-b; Hornung 2014, 195–199; Hornung 2016 a, 129–164; Hornung 2017; Fritsch 2011; Fritsch 2010 a, 60–63.

⁸⁵ Hornung/Gluhak/Kronz 2015; Hornung 2016 a, 152–154; 160–162; Hornung et al. 2018.

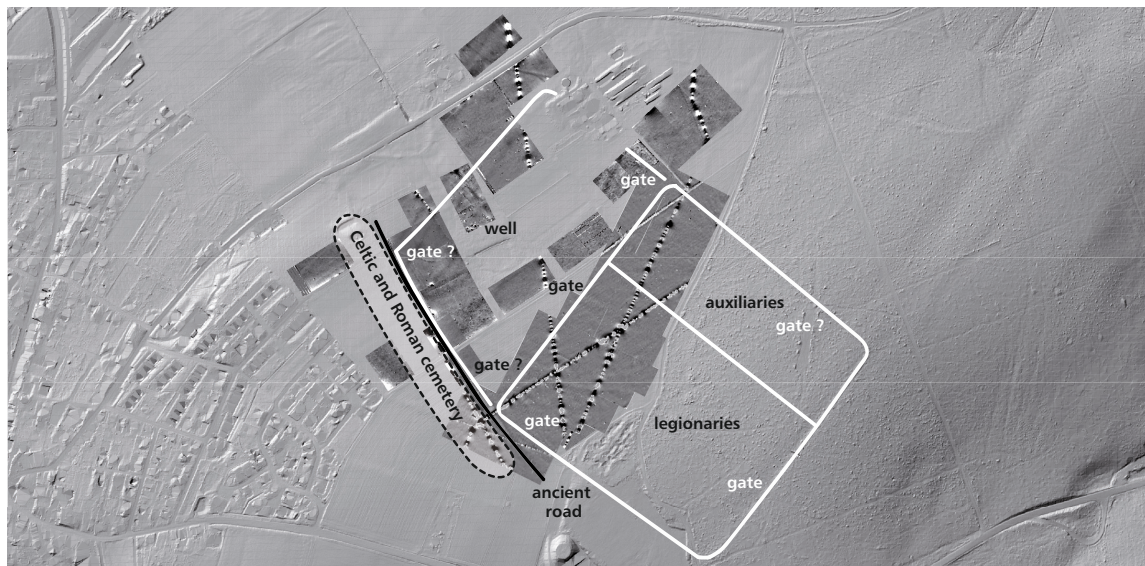


Fig. 9 The Caesarian military camp at Hermeskeil.

strongly that the Hermeskeil camp is connected with the final campaign of Caesar's legate Titus Labienus against the Treveri in 51 B.C.⁸⁵ The question arises whether local discontinuities in settlement development as described above can be explained by military conflicts in the Hochwald area. At any rate, the Hunnenring oppidum seems to have played a part in the historical events of the Battle for Gaul described by Julius Caesar and later by his general Aulus Hirtius.

When looking at the development of all Treveran oppida, quite remarkably only the Titelberg in the far west seems to profit from the Roman conquest⁸⁶ (Fig. 10). Not only is there evidence for the stationing of Roman soldiers but also for the existence of an important post of trade inside the oppidum, which had been founded even before the Gallic War and reached its heyday after the conquest⁸⁷. In contrast, all other Treveran oppida except perhaps Kastel-Staadt were given up around the middle of the first century B.C. or suffered a major economic decline, such as the Martberg (Pommern, Lkr. Cochem-Zell) or Wallendorf (Eifelkr. Bitburg-Prüm)⁸⁸. This could well be an indirect reflection of the political situation mentioned by Caesar when he tells of a pro-Roman faction of the Treveri lead by Cingetorix as opposed to an anti-Roman party under Indutiomarus. Although the latter was killed by the troops of Labienus, this political divide seems to have gone deeper, and other leaders followed in Indutiomarus' footsteps⁸⁹. At any rate, it is far more plausible to locate the territory of the pro-Roman party in the west, simply because this area was profiting from trade-relations with Rome⁹⁰. In contrast to the other Treveran oppida, only the Titelberg seems to have been

⁸⁶ Metzler 1995; Hornung 2016 a, 177–180.

⁸⁷ Metzler/Gaeng 2009, 519–528.

⁸⁸ Hornung 2016 a, 189–191; Krausse 2006, 204; Wigg 2000, 485–487 fig. 6; Kaczynski 2010, 120; Nickel 2012, 327 s.; Nickel 2011; Helfert 2013.

⁸⁹ Caes. Gall. 5, 2–4; 6, 7–8.

⁹⁰ Hornung 2016 a, 270–274.

infrastructurally favoured by its more direct connection to the economic networks of Central Gaul. On the other hand, it appears logical that those Treveran pagi not directly profiting from economic relations took a less favourable view of the Roman occupation. If this assumption is correct, the Hunnenring and Spätzrech were potentially home to a pagus rebelling against the conquest. Discontinuities in local settlement developments might then be explained as a direct result of this crisis⁹¹. Being a proven scene of military conflict in the late-Republican period, the Hochwald area can certainly be considered a serious contender for the deposition of war trumpets from an archaeological point of view.

Where to bury a carnyx in the Hochwald region. Considering that a ritual context (off-site deposits, sanctuaries, cult context in settlements) is regularly observed for those carnyx finds with information on their archaeological background, and the evidence presented for the existence of Late La Tène cult centres in the Hochwald region, a provenance from some Late Iron Age or Gallo-Roman sanctuary is indeed most probable for the Abentheuer finds as well⁹². If we also take into account the emblematic character of a carnyx, which was used by a group of people, it seems imperative that its ritual disposal would have had to take place at a sanctuary with central functions for the same larger community⁹³. This idea is most prominently supported by the find from Mandeuere, second most important centre in the territory of the Sequani. Central functions of the Iron Age and Gallo-Roman sanctuary, dedicated to Bellona and Mars and situated on the southern fringes of this large settlement certainly surpassed local importance⁹⁴. Much the same goes for Tintignac, where seven carnyces were unearthed as part of a ritual deposit at a site that later seems to have become the most important Gallo-Roman sanctuary of the Lemovices, being situated along a major road connecting the Narbonensis and Aremorica⁹⁵. In both cases, an association with aspects of warfare is visible by their combination with offensive weapons and / or helmets in these ritual deposits. The same is the case at La Tène, Sanzeno, and possibly at Kappel (Lkr. Biberach), too⁹⁶.

Looking at the Hochwald area, the Hunnenring can be considered the only contender for a first-grade centre throughout the first half of the first century B.C. Furthermore, the oppidum seems to have played a key role in Treveran resistance against Roman rule. With at least some of its central functions transferred to the Spätzrech sanctuary at about the time of the conquest, there can hardly be any doubt about this site's prominent position within the region's socio-political structures from that time on⁹⁷. From a symbolical point of view both locations would have been first choice for the ritual disposal of a carnyx as symbol of warfare on a tribal or at least pagus level, both being

⁹¹ Hornung 2016 a, 162–164.

⁹² For topographical reasons, a lake or river votive deposit can be considered unlikely in the Hochwald region.

⁹³ See Hunter, in press, and Maniquet et al. 2011, 107–109 with particular focus on the function of carnyces.

⁹⁴ Joly/Barral 2008, 221–225.

⁹⁵ Maniquet 2004/2005, 204; Maniquet 2009 b, 207 s.

⁹⁶ Hunter 2009; Hunter, in press; Roncador 2009; Fischer 1959; Fischer 1981, 300; Božič 1997.

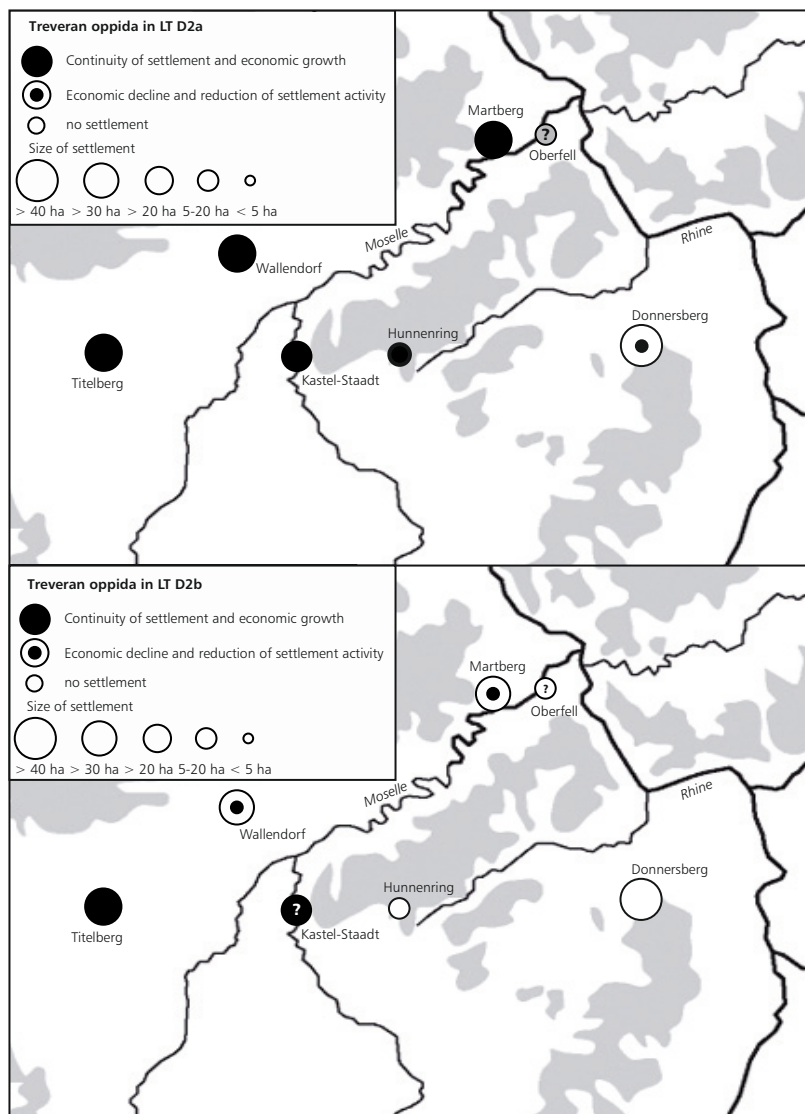
⁹⁷ Hornung 2016 a, 110 s. 114.

⁹⁸ Burger 2016, 183 s. – Votive deposits of weapons are quite regularly found in Treveran sanctuaries.

⁹⁹ Maniquet 2009 b, 215 s.; Maniquet et al. 2011, 109. – The war-trumpets might well be significantly older though.

¹⁰⁰ Barral 2009, 188; Joly/Barral 2008, 222 s.

Fig. 10 Economic development of the Treveran oppida.



main centres of cult in the Hochwald region and having produced votive deposits of weapons, too⁹⁸. For the same reasons it seems plausible to rule out the large number of smaller sanctuaries active from La Tène D2 onwards.

When it comes to narrowing down the most likely provenance of the carnyses from Abentheuer the dating of parallel finds from Gaul might give another clue. Of course this refers to the dating of the burial of the carnyses rather than the objects themselves. But unfortunately, only at Tintignac do they actually come from stratified deposits. Here the deposition of the carnyses can be narrowed down to the second half of the first century B.C. at the latest, and might have taken place in the context of a closing rite at a time of religious change⁹⁹. The same has been suggested for Mandeuere, but in this case, there is no stratigraphy to support this idea¹⁰⁰. Although it is certainly dangerous to derive any rules from only few examples, it seems worthwhile at least to point out that the Sequani as well as the Lemovices were opponents of Julius Caesar in 52 B.C.

and suffered a final defeat when the revolt led by Vercingetorix came to an end¹⁰¹. The Treveri, not being involved in the Gaulish rebellion, were defeated by Labienus only one year later¹⁰², and remarkably enough a camp from that very campaign lies at a distance of only about six kilometres from the Spätzrech, along the same major road. Even if this will hardly suffice to prove a direct connection with these historical events, the ritual deposition of carnyces might well have been connected with a particular defeat or a military re-organization under Roman rule. The aftermath of Caesar's campaigns in Gaul can certainly be considered as such a significant break in military traditions, although unfortunately not as the only possible motivation for the deposition of war-trumpets. In interpreting the Abentheuer carnyces we also need to consider that only about twenty years after the conquest yet another Treveran revolt was suppressed by Marcus Nonius Gallus in 30/29 B.C.¹⁰³, whose statue base in Isernia even featured a carnycx, commemorating his Treveran campaigns¹⁰⁴.

At any rate, considering the chronology of the Hunnenring oppidum, which was abandoned around the middle of the first century B.C., and the sanctuary on the Spätzrech with sufficient proof for large-scale activity in La Tène D2, it seems probable that the Abentheuer carnyces were originally discovered at Schwarzenbach. It might not be a coincidence that the impressive temple there was dedicated mainly to Mars Cnabetius, a god of warfare but also of healing and fertility, with some importance on pagus-level¹⁰⁵, because the same connection with Mars can be observed at Tintignac and probably Mandeure, too¹⁰⁶. So, from an archaeological point of view, the Spätzrech site can clearly be considered as first contender for the deposition site of war-trumpets in the entire region. Nonetheless, this suggestion remains hypothetical without historical proof to support the theory developed purely from an archaeologist's perspective.

Historical evidence. Böcking revisited

In order to test this hypothesis, a second line of investigation attempted to reconstruct how archaeological finds from Schwarzenbach might have come into the possession of Gustav Adolph Böcking. This ended up proving even more fruitful than originally expected.

The Böckings' connection with the village of Schwarzenbach. There are plenty of historical documents underlining a strong business connection between the Böcking family and the inhabitants of the Schwarzenbach village, which like Abentheuer became part of the Fürstentum Birkenfeld from 1817 onwards. The Böckings were running one of the largest ore mines in the Hochwald region only five hundred meters from that village. Situated in the Erzkaul district northwest of Schwarzenbach, these mines provided ore-supplies which had to be transported to the Abentheuer ironworks over about eight kilometres. Concessions at Schwarzenbach were first granted to the Stumm family as

¹⁰¹ Caes. Gall. 7, 75, 3; 7, 88, 4.

¹⁰² Caes. Gall. 8, 25; 8, 45, 1. In this case, this cannot be seen as a final defeat, due to new revolts in 30/29 B.C. and A. D. 21, both of which ended in favour of Rome.

¹⁰³ Cassius Dio 51, 20.

¹⁰⁴ Hunter, in press, no. B2.1.

¹⁰⁵ Mars Cnabetius has to be considered as interpretatio romana of a native Treveran god, cf. Burger 2016, 175–183 fig. 18; Fernández-Götz 2014, 174 s. fig. 6.18.

¹⁰⁶ Maniquet 2009 a, 61; Barral 2007, 394.

former owners of the ironworks and then, up until 1854, renewed for the Böckings¹⁰⁷. The mine was then closed down due to complaints from the Schwarzenbach mayor against the owners of the ironworks. Nevertheless, this strong connection between the Böckings and the people from Schwarzenbach once more seems to speak in favour of the Spätzrech site as prime contender for the provenance of the Abentheuer finds, because it might have opened the door for a business venture of a different kind.

The most prominent example of this rather archaeologically focused business enterprise of some local peasants is the assemblages from both princely tombs of the Early La Tène period. Those were unearthed right next to the modern village of Schwarzenbach and became part of the famous Böcking Collection of antiquities¹⁰⁸. The first of the tombs was originally discovered in 1849 by a local farmer named Adam Conrad. Its inventory was subsequently sold to the Böckings¹⁰⁹, which motivated the search for more antiquities in Schwarzenbach¹¹⁰. Adam Conrad's connection with that family might even have been a direct one because some of the local farmers worked in the nearby ore-mine on a day-to-day basis¹¹¹. The people from Schwarzenbach were thus not only acquainted with the Böcking family, but also knew about Heinrich's fondness for antiquities. Selling him archaeological finds might have made an additional earning for the farmers¹¹².

Another member of the Conrad family from Schwarzenbach, a certain Jakob Conrad, father of Adam Conrad¹¹³, appears in the mining registry (Bergregister) of 1816 as one of the ore-diggers in the Schwarzenbach mine, which at that time was still in the hands of the Stumm family. His production rate amounts to less than half or even one third of the usual rate¹¹⁴, so it is quite likely that he was working there on a part-time basis besides probably being a farmer as well. The church register mentions quarryman as his main profession, but this relates to him working in the nearby quarries, which were producing building material¹¹⁵. Thus, he had several jobs at the same time, which was in no way exceptional for farmers during the nineteenth century. The same might have been the case with Adam Conrad, although there are no documents that actually prove he was working at the Schwarzenbach mine. Still, personal connections between ore-diggers as well as their relations and the wealthy Böcking family are potentially another important factor in understanding how at least some of the Abentheuer antiquities

¹⁰⁷ Schwer 2011, 89–97. – Concessions at Schwarzenbach reach back to 1767, cf. Braun 1991, 75–79.

¹⁰⁸ The golden ornament from the Schwarzenbach drinking horn was even worn as a tiara by one of the Böcking ladies at some reception in Berlin. See a letter by Alfred Keil mentioning this occasion, which is kept in the Ortsakte Schwarzenbach at the Saarland antiquities department.

¹⁰⁹ Böcking 1927, 38. – The finds seem to have come into the possession of Oberbergrat Böcking, father of Heinrich Böcking, first and were later passed on to his son.

¹¹⁰ Haffner 1976, 200 s. refers to an account given by Gustav Adolph Böcking.

¹¹¹ Braun 1991, 64. This is particularly so in the case of Abentheuer, where mining registry (Bergregister) and mining accounting (Bergrechnungen) actually prove that most of

the workers in the mines were farmers. Unfortunately, no documents have survived from the time in question.

¹¹² The same seems to have been the case with finds of fossils from the ore mines. See Weiss 1869–1872, 8 s. 40; 60; 72; 83; 115.

¹¹³ This can be concluded from the Schwarzenbach church register. ›Jakob Conrad‹ mentioned in the mining registry has to be identical with ›Johann Jakob Conrad‹ listed there, who was born in 1780. The only other Jakob Conrad mentioned in the church register for that particular period was born in 1810 and is actually another son of Johann Jakob. He is obviously much too young to be identified as the person from the 1816 Bergregister, cf. Petto 1985, 44 s.

¹¹⁴ Schwer 2011, 91.

¹¹⁵ Petto 1985, 44.

were acquired in the first place. In all probability, these personal relations would have been strong even after the Böcking Collection had been given to the Berlin museum and the Schwarzenbach mine had closed down.

At the time when the carnyses were sold to Bouvier, Gustav Adolph Böcking had followed his father Heinrich's footsteps and obviously took a keen interest in history and archaeology himself. Since he does not seem to have assembled an archaeological collection of his own, he certainly might have helped to secure finds from the Hochwald area for the public, if he came to know about any such thing. Alternatively, we can consider his monetary interests as a possible background for the transfer of the Abentheuer carnyses to Bonn. These were sold in 1874, only one year before the Abentheuer ironworks had to be closed down. The decline of the local iron industry was certainly connected with major economic losses for their proprietors, and the eighteen-seventies were a time of dire need in Gustav Adolph Böcking's house. This shortage of financial means might even have been motivation for him to sell antiquities, possibly acquired some time before, in order to make extra money. Therefore, we need to find out how these were discovered and acquired to see if any direct connection between the Abentheuer carnyses and the Spätzrech site can be established¹¹⁶. At any rate, the Spätzrech was already well known as an important Roman site during Gustav Adolph's time and had produced several recorded finds to be discussed in the following chapter.

On archaeological societies and peasants – the Spätzrech connection. The Spätzrech site has a research history, which dates back well into the first half of the nineteenth century¹¹⁷. These early records cannot always be clearly ascribed to Schwarzenbach though. In 1836, a local priest named Kisgen noted the discovery of a copper plate with inscription back in 1806, which was supposedly unearthed inside or near the Hunnenring oppidum and later melted down in Nonnweiler. Another handwritten note by Upmann dates to 1845 and is quoted by Heinrich Baldes and Gustav Behrens in 1914. It connects this inscription as well as a bronze statuette of Diana with a presumed »Roman fortress« southeast of the oppidum – this obviously means the Spätzrech, which was at first mistaken as a site of military character¹¹⁸. Findings during the 1984/85 excavation of the temple also underline that the Roman layers had been disturbed on several

¹¹⁶ See Schuler 2000, 152–163.

¹¹⁷ This seems to be in contrast to the Hunnenring oppidum where early research concentrated on aspects of topography as well as structure and on mapping the defences. Registered excavations started in 1883 and were conducted by Felix Hettner. There are no finds from the oppidum that can be securely attributed to earlier activities. See Wiegert 1997, 27–52; Wiegert 2002, 19 s., for an overview of its early research history.

¹¹⁸ Baldes/Behrens 1914, 7; 110; Wiegert 1997, 32; 38; Miron 2000, 406. – The statuette had formerly been ascribed to the Hunnenring. Steininger 1845, 195 s.; Hettner 1903, 86 s.; Menzel 1966, 30 no. 63 pl. 29. – This association of the Spätzrech site with some Roman fortress might have been due to the large temenos wall of the temple possibly being mistaken as a kind of fortification.

¹¹⁹ Burger 2016, 12.

¹²⁰ Baldes/Behrens 1914, 110. – The Sankt Wendeler Altertumsverein was founded in 1836 and acquired a collection of antiquities which was handed over to the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier in 1878.

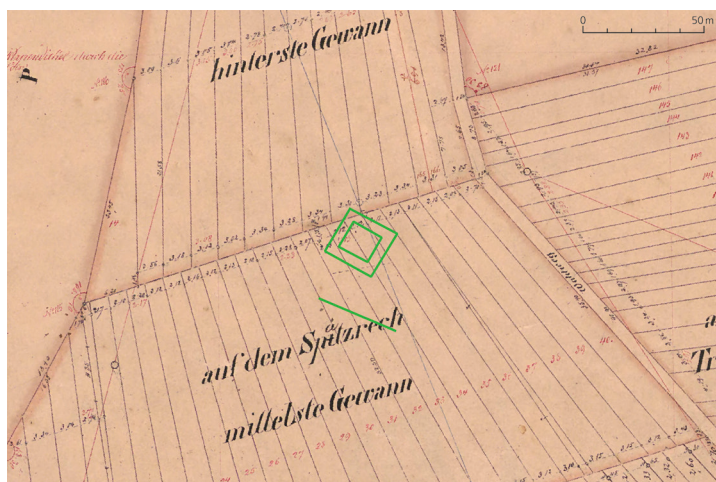
¹²¹ Local associations of Heinrich Böcking can be derived from Back 1894, 13, though.

¹²² Hornung/Kronz 2010, 258 s.

¹²³ There is a note mentioning their emigration in the church-register, see Petto 1985, 45. – His earnings from selling the finds from the princely tombs might even have helped him to pay for the fare.

¹²⁴ This is also mentioned in a letter from Alfred Keil, which is preserved in the Ortsakte Schwarzenbach at the Denkmalpflege des Saarlandes.

Abb. 11 Excerpt from the Flurkarte Bann Schwarzenbach and exact location of the Gallo-Roman temple.



occasions, just as would be expected as a direct result of the temple's pillaging during the nineteenth century¹¹⁹. The Sankt Wendeler Altertumsverein or at least one of its members was also involved in this early examination of the site because the Verein received coins and other antiques from the Spätzrech as gifts¹²⁰. This underlines once more that the Spätzrech site would indeed have been a major focus of archaeological activity long before the Abentheuer carnyces were sold to Bouvier. However, there is no evidence of any direct connection between the Verein von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande (Bonn), which eventually came into possession of these finds in 1874, and the Altertumsverein at Sankt Wendel. Although living in the Hochwald region Gustav Adolph Böcking was a member of the Bonner Verein rather than of the local one at Sankt Wendel¹²¹, following his father Heinrich. There is nothing to suggest that the Abentheuer finds could have originated from the activities of the Sankt Wendeler Verein at the Spätzrech site.

That is why a chance discovery by one of the local farmers has to be considered far more probable and would indeed explain why the carnyces were given to the Böcking family or to Bouvier in the first place. The entire Hochwald region went through a major economic depression during the second half of the nineteenth century, following the gradual decline of the local iron industry. The latter was caused by a shortage of charcoal and the invention of new technologies enabling the ironworks along the Saar to produce much more efficiently¹²². As a result, farmers lost the opportunity to earn extra money in the ore-mines and once more depended on the poor yield from their fields, while some were even forced to move away from the Hochwald area. Events seem to have hit the Conrad family hard too, because Adam Conrad, discoverer of the first Schwarzenbach princely tomb in 1849, decided to emigrate to America¹²³ with his wife and children in 1856. Remarkably enough, this happened only two years after the Schwarzenbach ore-mine was closed down and he thereby lost prospects of an extra income in a time of need. The latter could even have been a tangible reason for his decision to start a new life. In this time of crisis, when depression was weighing heavily on the Hochwald, it would hardly be a surprise if farmers took a chance to earn extra money and started pillaging archaeological sites or at least selling chance discoveries of antiquities to anyone interested in them¹²⁴. The example of Adam Conrad would have demonstrated quite clearly that there was good money to be made

from such a scheme. The famous Schwarzenbach gold rush following the discovery of the two princely tombs and leading to the destruction of many archaeological sites while hunting for treasures was indeed expression of such events. Therefore, a supposed provenance of the carnyses from Schwarzenbach would fit quite perfectly with the historical background.

Additional evidence supports this idea. When the cadastral land register, the so-called Grundsteuermutterrolle or Liegenschaftskataster, was first drawn-up in 1839, the »mittelste Gewann Auf dem Spaetzrech«, where the Roman vicus and Gallo-Roman sanctuary are located, was divided into a total of twenty-one plots of arable land. Eleven of the twenty-one landowners named there are indeed known to come from families with one or several members registered as workers in the Schwarzenbach ore-mine¹²⁵. One of them, Jacob Schaefer, owner of plot 23, could even be identical with an ore-digger at Schwarzenbach, listed in the Bergregister between 1832 and 1836. Unfortunately, there were two persons named Jacob in the family and they cannot be distinguished from these documents. What is more, plot 23 lies at some distance from the Roman sanctuary in the vicus area and is clearly not the most likely find-spot for the carnyses, which probably had been deposited in or at least near the temple.

Therefore, it seems helpful to bring archaeological record and historical map (Urkarte) together in a GIS image (Fig. 11). The Gallo-Roman temple was built in the northern part of plots 32 to 35 with only plots 33 and 34 actually cutting across the centre of the building. When looking at the cadastral land register, one owner's name immediately attracts attention here: Michel Conrad, brother of the same Adam Conrad who discovered the first Schwarzenbach princely tomb¹²⁶. Michel is named as the owner of plot 33, which crosses the western half of the temple's cella. In that very same area, disturbances of the Roman layers were observed during excavation in 1984/85, which support some unrecorded archaeological activity¹²⁷. Although this can hardly be considered as final proof, it does leave us with a rather plausible scenario and helps to pin down the most likely provenance of the Abentheuer carnyses. Just like his brother Adam, Michel too could have discovered antiques while working his fields or even systematically digging a known archaeological site. And it is more than likely that he would have sold these finds to the Böckings, particularly when taking into account his brother's success in making money from the material from the Schwarzenbach princely tomb.

¹²⁵ Flurbuch von dem Banne von Schwarzenbach, Auf dem Spaetzrech, mittlere Gewann. Connected with the Böckings are the Schaefer family (plot 20: Katharina Schaefer, plot 23: Jacob Schaefer [the younger], plot 29: Johann Schaefer [the younger], plot 32: Johann Schaefer, plot 36: Mathias Schaefer), the Haupenthal family (plot 22: Theobald Haupenthal), the Schneider family (plot 24: Maria Schneider), the Schoen family (plot 30: Wendel Schoen), the Wilhelm family (plot 31: Hans Wilhelm), and the Soßon family (plot 39: Jacob Soßon). There is no information concerning any changes of ownership between 1839 and 1874. – The ore-diggers at Schwarzenbach are listed in the Bergregister. This list is not complete though, because only documents from 1816–1838 have survived. See Schwer 2011, 91–97.

¹²⁶ Petto 1985, 46.

¹²⁷ Burger 2016, 148 s. pl. 4–5.

¹²⁸ Unfortunately, it was not possible to confirm this theory by looking at a number of smaller metal finds from the Spätzrech temple. These are stored in the archives of the Denkmalpflege des Saarlands and were not incorporated in an extensive study on the site, see Burger 2016. There are many fragments of sheet bronze and a ring, which might have been part of a carnyx tube or served a completely different purpose altogether. A valid proof for the attribution of any of these finds to the Abentheuer carnyses can only be obtained by systematic analyses and comparison with results from the finds in the LMB.

Conclusion

Considering the provenance and dating of similar finds, the Late Iron Age and Roman settlement history of the Hochwald region, as well as recent research on central structures and different historical sources, all evidence allows us to reconstruct a rather plausible scenario with regards to the history of the Abentheuer carynxes. The Gallo-Roman sanctuary Auf dem Spätzrech near Schwarzenbach is most likely the place where the carynx fragments now in the Landesmuseum Bonn were originally buried as votive deposits¹²⁸. Bearing in mind that a Caesarian military camp was discovered at a distance of only six kilometres from the sanctuary of Mars Cnabetius on the Spätzrech, even a connection with historical events is possible. The existence of a camp from an active Roman campaign makes the Hochwald area the very location where the Treveran resistance against the Roman conquest culminated at the very end of Caesar's Battle for Gaul in 51 B.C. Unfortunately, it will never be possible to receive final proof of a burial of the Abentheuer carynxes in the aftermath of these events and there are certainly alternative explanations, but at least this dating would be consistent with that of parallel finds from Gaul.

A recent history of the Abentheuer carynxes can be drawn up from several historical sources. The most plausible scenario seems that the local farmer Michel Conrad came across these finds while working his field Auf dem Spätzrech or even systematically digging there in search of antiques. Since his brother Adam had successfully sold the assemblage from the first Schwarzenbach tomb to the Böcking family from Abentheuer, Michel could have done the same with this new find originating from an archaeological site already well known at the time. Whether Gustav Adolph Böcking did indeed purchase the carynxes before re-selling them, as might be indicated by their supposed find location Abentheurerhütte, or only functioned as mediator in this business is of no real consequence in the end. At any rate, these events would in all probability have taken place after Heinrich Böcking's collection of antiquities had been transferred to Berlin in 1858. Thus, the carynxes must have been discovered sometime between 1858 and 1874, when they were bought by Bouvier for the Bonner Verein.

Although it will certainly never be possible to provide final proof for the provenance of the Abentheuer carynxes from the temple of Mars Cnabetius at Schwarzenbach, Auf dem Spätzrech, the above scenario accounts for all the facts we need to consider. The remarkable story behind these finds shows quite clearly that it is always worthwhile to deal in detail with the history of unprovenanced archaeological material. And although it will hardly ever be possible to uncover the entire truth, even parts of it are just enough to get a glimpse of a formerly unknown chapter of local history and to restore a plausible context to a major Late Iron Age find.

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Resümee. Im Landesmuseum Bonn befinden sich drei Objekte mit der Fundortangabe Abentheuer beziehungsweise Abentheurerhütte, welche erst jüngst als Fragmente vermutlich zweier Carnyces angesprochen wurden. Die 1874 von Dr. Cuny Bouvier angekauften Funde stammen mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit aus einer Deponierung. Als ihr Fundort konnte der gallorömische Kultbezirk ›Auf dem Spätzrech‹ bei Schwarzenbach (Gde. Nonnweiler, Lkr. St. Wendel) wahrscheinlich gemacht werden, dessen Wurzeln in die Stufe La Tène D2 zurückreichen. Die Carnyces dürften von Michel Conrad, einem der Parzelleneigentümer im Bereich dieses Heiligtums entdeckt und an die als Antikensammler bekannte Industriellenfamilie Böcking aus Abentheuer verkauft worden sein. Dies geschah in einer Zeit wirtschaftlicher Depression, als viele Familien der Region am Rande des Existenzminimums lebten und die Bauern auf Einkünfte jeglicher Art dringend angewiesen waren.

Résumé. Le Landesmuseum de Bonn conserve trois objets provenant de Abentheuer, ou de l'Abentheurerhütte, qui ont été identifiés récemment comme les fragments probables de deux carnyx. Ils relèvent selon toute vraisemblance d'un dépôt acheté en 1874 par le Dr. Cuny Bouvier. Ce dépôt proviendrait du sanctuaire gallo-romain ›Auf dem Spätzrech‹ près de Schwarzenbach (municipalité Nonnweiler, district St. Wendel, région Sarre), qui remonte à La Tène D2. Les fragments de carnyx auraient été découverts par Michel Conrad, propriétaire de parcelles sur le site du sanctuaire. Il les aurait ensuite vendus à la famille Böcking, de Abentheuer, une famille d'industriels connue pour sa collection d'antiquités. Cette transaction se fit à un moment de dépression économique, obligeant nombre de familles paysannes, au bord de la misère, à vendre tout type de bien pour subsister.

Streszczenie. W Landesmuseum Bonn znajdują się trzy zabytki pochodzące z Abentheuer, ewentualnie Abentheurerhütte, które niedawno określone zostały jako fragmenty dwóch karnyksów. Przedmioty te zostały zakupione w 1874 roku przez dr Cuny Bouvier, najprawdopodobniej wchodziły w skład depozytu kultowego. Z dużym prawdopodobieństwem można przyjąć, że znaleziono je w gallo-rzymskim ośrodku kultowym ›Auf dem Spätzrech‹ przy Schwarzenbach (gmina Nonnweiler, powiat St. Wendel), którego korzenie sięgają fazy La Tène D2. Karnyksy mogły być znalezione przez Michela Conrada, właściciela parceli w obrębie tej świątyni i sprzedane rodzinie Böcking z Abentheuer, znanej z kolekcjonerstwa starożytności. Miało to miejsce w czasach gospodarczego kryzysu, gdy wiele rodzin z tego regionu żyło na skraju minimum egzystencji, a rolnicy zdani byli na tego rodzaju dochody.

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Image rights. Fig. 1 LMB (photographer Jürgen Vogel) and Anna Zawadzka. – Fig. 2, 3, 8 and 10 Sabine Hornung, after Hornung 2016 a, 92 fig. 74 (2, with additions); 123 fig. 103 (3, with additions); 189 fig. 157–158 (10). – Fig. 4, 6 and 7 Landesamt für Kataster-, Vermessungs- und Kartenwesen des Saarlandes, graphic Sabine Hornung, after Hornung 2016 a, 68 s. fig. 49–50 (4), graphic Ayla Lang and Sabine Hornung (6), graphic Ayla Lang, cf. Lang 2016, 295 fig. 2; 298 fig. 6 (7). – Fig. 5, 8 and 9 Landesamt für Vermessung und Geobasisinformation Rheinland-Pfalz, graphic Patrick Mertl (5), Sabine Hornung (8, 9). – Fig. 11 Zentrale Außenstelle des Landesamtes für Vermessung, Geoinformation und Landentwicklung, Arbeitsgruppe Landesarchiv, graphic Timo Lang.