

entstanden wenige hundert Meter nordwestlich von hier, auf der nächsten Kuppe und dem westlich davon gelegenen Gelände, bauliche Anlagen, die – wenigstens zum Teil – wahrscheinlich handwerkliche Betriebe beherbergten und zumindest im Bereich des Grabungsgeländes einem Feuer zum Opfer fielen. Als die früheste Befestigung der Burg bereits durch die Lehmziegelmauer (Periode IV) ersetzt worden war, wurde auf unserem Hügel – gegenüber der mit acht dicht gereihten Bastionen besetzten Schaufront jener Befestigung – eine neue Anlage errichtet: ein von einer Palisade umgebenes Haus, das sich durch seine Größe, seine stabile und exakte Ausführung und durch seine großen Räume auszeichnet. Wir können annehmen, daß sich ein Mann, der der auf der Burg herrschenden Oberschicht angehörte, hier – außerhalb des Mauerrings – ein Anwesen errichten ließ<sup>13</sup>. Auch dieses Haus ist abgebrannt, die Stätte wurde als Grablege für einen vornehmen Toten benutzt. Aus der Art, wie die ganze Grablege mit dem dazugehörigen großen Kreisgraben auf das Gebäude bezogen ist, können wir mit Sicherheit sagen, daß hier eine Bestattung im Hause erfolgte. Daß der Tote der Eigentümer des Hauses war, können wir nur vermuten. Etwa zu der Zeit als unser Hügel 4 aufgeschüttet wurde, werden wohl auch die drei übrigen Hügel der Nekropole entstanden sein. Gegen Ende des 6. und zu Beginn des 5. Jahrhunderts – zur Zeit der Mauer III auf der Heuneburg – dienten die vier Hügel der Burgbevölkerung als Friedhof: die Angehörigen der Oberschicht wurden mit ihrem Goldschmuck und sonstigen reichen Beigaben im Hügel 1 beigesetzt, diejenigen der einfacheren Bevölkerung in den Hügeln 2–4.

<sup>13</sup> Ob ein erst vor wenigen Jahren festgestellter flacher Wall, der die nach Nordosten vorspringende Spitze der Kuppe abriegelt, zu einer der Gebäude-Anlagen gehört, muß noch geklärt werden.

## A Bronze Mount of the La Tène Period from Kelheim, Lower Bavaria

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The subject of this tribute to an old and much-prized friend I owe to the generosity of Werner Krämer, who would otherwise and beyond doubt far more ably have published it himself. It is a small bronze mount, found in 1937 at Kelheim on the Danube during the building of a house on the 'Mitterfeld' meadow<sup>1</sup>. The former guardian of the Kelheim Museum, Apotheker Scheffbeck, observed a pit whose filling contained objects of the La Tène period. In addition to our piece (*Taf. 20, 1*) it yielded a purple glass ringbead inlaid with yellow revolving ribbons (Schraubenfäden), a socketed iron chisel and sherds of graphite-clay pottery with combed decoration, together with fragments of undecorated ware. The find occurred within and towards the eastern end of the famous oppidum whose walls extend along the heights of the Michelsberg above Kelheim and contain areas of costean pits, known in German as Schürfruben-

<sup>1</sup> The find is mentioned briefly, without illustrations, in Bayer. Vorgeschichtsbl. 15, 1938, 94.



felder, which bear witness to open-cast iron mining in La Tène and in Mediaeval times<sup>2</sup>.

Our mount (*Taf. 20, 1*; Inv. Nr. 529 of the Kelheim Museum) is made of sheet bronze and was originally rectangular in shape; it is decorated with repoussé zoomorphic ornament. Its maximum length is 6,1 cm; its breadth approximately 5 cm – I say approximately because part of its right-hand side is now missing. The upper edge is perforated with two small holes and a third may have existed in the now missing right-hand upper corner. No such holes are visible along its only slightly imperfect lower edge. These perforations suggest that it was originally mounted on wood-work (perhaps on a box)<sup>3</sup>. Above the holes, parallel to the upper edge, runs a horizontal rill and traces of another can be seen slightly above the lower side. The surviving left-hand side bears a chased vertical line and the missing one no doubt did also. Within this framework lies the ornament which is also embossed; two confronted S-motifs that terminate below in spirals and above in two horses' heads – in other words a zoomorphic lyre.

The scrolls which form the feet of the lyre widen out at each of their outer ends into a comma-leaf and a slightly smaller comma-leaf is inserted within each scroll, closely clinging to the larger outer one. Both sets of commas are chased, but their inner portions are intentionally hollowed.

P. Jacobsthal has dealt at some length with this motif which he describes as 'two intensely revolving comma-leaves closely clinging together within a circle' and, though he observes that it occurs in many countries and ages, he believes that it was probably discovered independently by the Celts; he gives a number of instances from continental La Tène work. He notes too that in La Tène art of the continent this feature only appears as part of other motifs and is mainly associated (as on our piece) with lyres, although it can appear in other patterns too<sup>4</sup>. A glance at the instances cited and illustrated by him shows that in La Tène art its life was a long one: it is best represented in works of the Early

<sup>2</sup> With regard to the oppidum at Kelheim, see Bayer. Vorgeschichtsfreund 9, 1930, 48 and 24./25. Ber. RGK. 1934/35 (1937) 167 ff. For the iron mining there, see H. Behagel, Germania 24, 1940, 111 ff. It was in the 'Mitterfeld' meadow that the famous Late La Tène grave was discovered (cf. G. v. Merhart, Wiener Prähist. Zeitschr. 27, 1940, 91 fig. 3; W. Krämer, Germania 30, 1952, 332 fig. 2; J. Werner, Bayer. Vorgeschichtsb. 20, 1954, 43f.). I have to thank my friend, Dr. W. Krämer, for supplying me with information concerning the circumstances of the find.

<sup>3</sup> For some examples of bronze mounts of the La Tène period used on woodwork see P. Jacobsthal, Prähist. Zeitschr. 25, 1934, 67f. (probably from Comacchio-Spina, Ferrara); Sir Cyril Fox, The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region (1923) Pl. 18. 4 (Stanfordbury, Bedfordshire); P. Corder and C. F. C. Hawkes, The Antiquaries Journal 20, 1940, 340 Pl. 52 (Elmswell, Yorkshire). For the bronze mounts on the Aylesford bucket and the Marlborough vat, see below p. 138 and notes 29 and 30.

<sup>4</sup> Jacobsthal, Early Celtic Art (1944) (= ECA) Text 78. In addition to the examples cited by Jacobsthal, the reader is referred to the magnificent engraved La Tène design, a work of the Early Style, on a bronze Etruscan beak-flagon (Schnabelkanne) now in the Museum at Besançon (O.-H. Frey, Ann. litt. de l'Université de Besançon 2. Sér. 2, 1. Arch. 2, 1955 Pl. 8) in which this feature plays a prominent part; also to a sherd of a clay bowl found at Hénon, Côtes-du-Nord (Sir R. E. M. Wheeler, Maiden Castle, Dorset. Report of the Research Com. of the Soc. of Antiquaries, London 12 [1943] Pl. 28, 6).



Style, but is not unknown to Waldalgesheim Style whence, along with other patterns, it passed on into the Swiss Sword Style, in which, however, it is rarely met with. As its occurrence in the Swiss Sword Style is of greater chronological significance for us, I cite instances on scabbards found at La Tène. Two of these pieces are now in the Schwab Museum, Biel: T 2773, a fragment on which the ornament is engraved though only partly preserved but which probably consisted of a triskele with a clinging-comma terminals<sup>5</sup>, and T 2766 (*Taf. 21, 1*) where this feature is also incorporated in a triskele, the design, being in false relief<sup>6</sup>. It appears, this time in combination with a raised tendril ornament, on yet another scabbard from La Tène (Musée cantonal d'Archéologie, Neuchâtel, formerly known as the Musée de Préhistoire et d'Archéologie, Inv. Nr. 1168) which is illustrated in P. Vouga, *La Tène*, 1923, Plates II, 1 and VI, 5. In the British Isles the clinging comma pattern appears on objects which are either associated with Late La Tène finds or which belong stylistically to that period<sup>7</sup>.

To return to our plaque – in the angle between the back of the undamaged S-motif and its foot-scroll, a chased triangle has been inserted. Its base which faces outward is more or less straight; its sides are curved, while its inner field is depressed. This feature too is not uncommon in La Tène art and even from the few instances cited in by Jacobsthal, *ECA*, 78f., it will be seen that it appears on works of the Early, the Waldalgesheim and the Plastic Styles. Curve-sided triangles, for instance, are present on the helmet from Canosa, Apulia, in the same position and relationship to embossed lyres as on our piece, though on the helmet the lyres occur as a by-product in the design. The helmet is a work of the Waldalgesheim Style and Jacobsthal dates it late in the fourth century B.C.<sup>8</sup>. It is therefore probably earlier than our mount (see below, 139).

I turn to the heads of the horses on the Kelheim mount – first to describe them. Their foreheads at one point touch; their noses point downward and there is a small depression in the middle of the mount below their mouths. The eyes are in relief and almond-shaped; their lids are suggested by contour lines. The powerful lower jaws are in high relief and might almost be described as hypertrophic, a feature which in Jacobsthal's opinion is more characteristic of dragons<sup>9</sup>. In view of this feature, Jacobsthal, had he known our piece, might have described the heads on it as those of dragons. The mouths are slightly open

<sup>5</sup> Mitt. d. Antiqu. Ges. Zürich. Pfahlbauten 6. Ber. 1866 Pl. 11, 7.

<sup>6</sup> V. Gross, *La Tène un Oppidum helvète* (1886) Pl. 2, 9; P. Vouga, *La Tène* (1923) Pl. 5, 8 and fig. 7f. See also below note 25. – I thank my friend, Herrn Werner Bourquin, Director of the Schwab Museum, for his permission to illustrate this piece.

<sup>7</sup> As on some of the bone trial-pieces from Sliabh na Caillighe (Lough Crew), Irland (*Journal Roy. Soc. Antiqu. of Ireland* 55, 1925, 17 fig. 3, 24; 23, 25; 52, the last a swastika in a circle forming two pairs of clinging commas). See also the examples in the British late 'bossed style', Fox, *A Find of the Early Iron Age from Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey* (1946) pp. viii (the upper strip) 58. 72 and his comments on these pieces, *op. cit.* 21, where other examples are cited; the bronze mount on the wooden bucket from Aylesford, Kent, British Museum, *Guide to Antiquities of the Early Iron Age* (1925) figs. 135 and 136; the bronze mount, probably for a box, from Stanfordsbury, Bedfordshire (above, see note 3).

<sup>8</sup> *ECA*, Text 78. 151 and Pl. 84, 143.

<sup>9</sup> *ECA*, Text 30.



and from the tip of each nose to the junction of nose and brow runs a low-chased line following their contours, which throws the heads into sharper relief. The central curves of the S-motifs' 'bodies' are relatively broad and in rather high relief. This feature is contoured on each of its sides by a lower, narrower chased line.

The two animals are not identical in form. The left-hand horse has a mane that projects until it meets the crest of its fellow's head. There is no mane on the right-hand horse. Moreover the latter's lower jaw is more developed and its upper jaw projects and is slightly hooked. In this it more resembles than does its fellow the noses on the horse-like beasts with hypertrophic jaws that appear on a tripartite carinated urn of Early La Tène form, found probably in the Marne area and illustrated in *Early Celtic Art*, Pl. 208, 410, and also the snouts of the dragon-pair on a clay drinking-cup of similar date from the chariot-grave at La Cheppe, Suippes, Marne<sup>10</sup>. This feature Jacobsthal describes as a 'spiral snout' and regards as Scythian in origin<sup>11</sup>.

Apart from the south of France<sup>12</sup> (and of course on Celtic coins) representations of equines<sup>13</sup> are less frequently met with in early Celtic art than those of birds and mythical beasts. Indeed in some instances it is not clear whether we are concerned with horses or dragon-headed beasts with horses' bodies (see below, 135). However representations of horses, if not exactly plentiful, do occur over most of the La Tène area and over a long stretch of time. For our purpose it is sufficient to single out examples of confronted equines. The animals on the belt-clasps from Kanton Tessin and on a similar piece, also of Swiss origin, found with an Attic vase dating from ca. 400 B. C., in a grave at Ensérune, Hérault, Jacobsthal describes as dragons with horselike bodies<sup>14</sup>. Very horse-like too are the heads of the lyre's terminals on the belt-clasp from Hölzelsau, Unterinntal<sup>15</sup>. From a more peripheric area come the pierced fibula-pendants from

<sup>10</sup> A. Nicaise, 'Les cimetières gaulois dans la Marne', *Bull. de la Soc. d'Anthropologie* 1884, 5. Séance 17. Avril. Pl. 5, 3; ECA, Pl. 210, 411.

<sup>11</sup> ECA, Text 43. This feature is mainly met with on works of the Early Style; for another good example see the fibula from Ostheim (Rhön), ECA, Pl. 159, 315.

<sup>12</sup> F. Benoit, *L'Art primitif Méditerranéen de la Vallée du Rhône* (1955) 29 ff.

<sup>13</sup> I apologize for this pedantic term; I use it here to cover representations not only of members of the horse family but of creatures with horse-like bodies whose heads may be those of dragons.

<sup>14</sup> ECA, Pl. 171, 361; 170, 362 and Text 44 and 144.

<sup>15</sup> *Wiener Prähist. Zeitschr.* 10, 1923 (1924) 28 ff.; Jacobsthal, *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 27, 1941 Pl. 14, a; ECA, Pl. 170, 360; *Münchener Jahrb. d. bildenden Kunst* 3. Folge 6, 1955, 282 (with fig. 5) and 284. For parallels to what Jacobsthal describes as the *Δεσπότης Θηρών* on this piece, cf. Benoit, *L'Héroïsation équestre*. *Ann. d. l. Fac. des Lettres, Aix-en-Provence* N.S. 7 (1954) Pl. 13. The same feature occurs on a belt-clasp from Castaneda, grave 75 (Mus. Chur); the piece is a poor copy of the Hölzelsau Type of clasp. The single equine on the belt-clasp from Lötschental, Kt. Wallis (ECA, Pl. 171, 364; M.-R. Sauter, *Vallesia* 5, 1950, 48), Jacobsthal describes as a 'sea-horse' – the inverted commas are his own. The boneless look of its body may have suggested the term to him. He himself calls attention to the rubberlike bodies of horses in *Celtic Art* (*Journal of Rom. Stud.* 28, 1938, 67). In addition to the horses painted on the ovoid urn from Bétheny, Marne (*Déchelette, Man. d'Arch. celt.* II 3 [1914] fig. 661, 3) a frieze of horses occurs on a painted urn of the same family from Les Barmonts, Cernay-les-Reims (*Assoc. franç. pour l'Avancement des Sciences*,



Vinica (Weinitz), in the former province of Carniola, with their rampant beasts derived from Scythian prototypes, also described by Jacobsthal as dragons (ECA, Text 44), but by G. von Merhart as horses<sup>16</sup>. Of the pieces just cited only the belt-clasp from Hölzelsau really has any resemblance to our mount: for on both we have to do with true zoomorphic lyres. But the Hölzelsau piece is a work of the Early Style and is in all probability considerably earlier. The ornament on the Kelheim mount is more plastic in character, but I should hesitate, because of the naturalistic treatment of the horses' heads, to describe it as a work of the Plastic Style<sup>17</sup>.

The zoomorphic lyre motif has been studied in detail by Jacobsthal, who traces its home to the Near East whence it spread both east and west at various periods<sup>18</sup>. Early examples in La Tène art are the confronted dragons on the clay drinking cup mentioned above (p. 134) from the chariot-grave at La Cheppe and on the fragment of a swingle-tree (Ortscheid) from the chieftains' grave at Dürkheim, Rheinpfalz<sup>19</sup>; the ornament on the former resembles that on the Kelheim mount much more closely, but both pieces are of the Early Style and so probably a good deal earlier than it. During the fourth century B. C. the motif was current in Scythia: for us the most interesting examples are two plaques, one of bronze, the other of silver (*Taf. 20, 4* and *5* from Krasnokutsk, gov. Jekaterinoslav = Dnjepropetrovsk<sup>20</sup>).

The interest for us of these last two pieces lies not only in their relationship to our mount but also to a La Tène motif which, I believe, may well be the immediate ancestor of the horse-headed lyre on the Kelheim piece. I refer to dragon-pair motifs engraved upon certain La Tène sword-sheaths. As I am

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Rouen 1883, II 590 fig. 93) which Déchelette (op. cit. II 3, 1464 note 3) wrongly compares with the confronted dragons on the above-mentioned-drinking cup from La Cheppe. Actually the animals on our mount are more like sea-horses than the beast on the Lötschental clasp, though the resemblance is fortuitous and merely a freak of ornamental form: the sea-horse is a marine creature, not a denizen of the Central European rivers or lakes.

<sup>16</sup> Treasures of Carniola (1934) 33f. and Pl. 19, 102; ECA, Text 44 and Pl. 230, g. Horse protomena in pairs occur in the Vinica cemetery, Treasures of Carniola Pl. 13, 58; 14, 64; 15, 72; 16, 91; 17, 87 and 92, also on pendants for fibulae.

<sup>17</sup> Animal ornament, though not unknown in the Plastic Style, is not very characteristic of it. The horses' heads on the Kelheim mount are more naturalistic than the ox head and the two beasts flanking it on the gold torc from Frasnes-lez-Buissenal, Hainault (Proc. Prehist. Soc. 20, 1954 Pl. 6) and much more so than the weird birds and steers on the mounts from Maloměřice-Brno (Zeitschr. d. Mährischen Mus. N.F. 2, 1942 Pl. 1 and 2; J. Filip, Keltové ve Střední Evropě [1956] Pl. 77-78).

<sup>18</sup> ECA, Text 53ff. As comparanda to the eastern examples mentioned by Jacobsthal may be added an Ordos bronze (Sir Ellis H. Minns, Proc. Brit. Acad. 28, 1942 Pl. 19, 6) and a plaque with winged horses, provenance unstated, illustrated by V. Griessmaier, Sammlung Baron Eduard von der Heydt, Wien (1936) Abb. 14.

<sup>19</sup> L. Lindenschmit, A. u. h. V. 2 (1870) 11 Pl. 2, 3. 8 Beifafel Nr. 11; ECA, Pl. 103, 166 and 104, 166.

<sup>20</sup> Minns, Scythians and Greeks (1913) figs. 56 (silver) and 45, top right (bronze), whence ECA, Pl. 234, d. e and our *Taf. 20, 4* and *5*. The piece from Elizavetinskaja = Stanitsa (ECA, Pl. 230, c), also of the fourth century, may be mentioned here, as it too bears resemblance to the ornament under discussion.



dealing in more detail with this motif in the forthcoming issue of the 40<sup>th</sup> Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission, it may suffice here to say that there are two main areas in which scabbards so decorated are found: East-central and West-central Europe, with their respective centres in Hungary and Switzerland. I know as yet of no sheaths with this ornament in the large intervening area. If, however, our piece is related to the ornament on these, it is conceivable that this present lacuna in their distribution may prove to be fortuitous. These scabbards – I know of twenty-eight examples including those

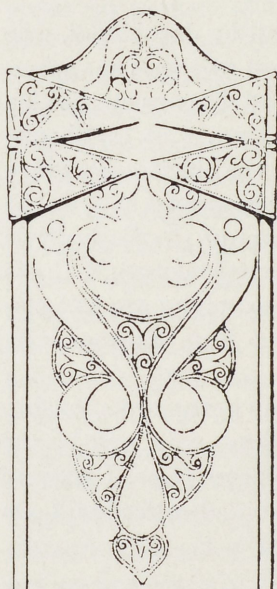


Abb. 1. Detail of ornament on a scabbard from Bács-Bodrogh county (after Jacobsthal, ECA. Pl. 247, b).

with dragon-derived bird-pairs – first appear in grave-finds dating from the transition between Early and Middle La Tène (the subphase La Tène Ic of the Swiss archaeologists) and they continued to be made in the earlier part of the Middle La Tène period. There are actually three main types of these dragon-pairs and it is with the second of them that we are concerned with most, because, unlike Types I and III, Type II takes the form of a dragon-headed lyre (*Taf. 20, 2*). It is the rarest of the three varieties. I only know of three examples: two from west Hungary<sup>21</sup>, one from Yugoslavia (*Abb. 1*)<sup>22</sup>. Unfortunately none of these pieces come from clearly attested closed finds, and the only dating evidence is afforded by the scabbard from Yugoslavia. On this a Type II dragon-pair occurs in combination with Hungarian Sword Style ornament. This sheath is therefore, at earliest, not older than the Early to Middle La Tène transitional phase and may well fall within the Middle La Tène period. But, taking its general resemblance to the other two forms of dragon-pairs into account, Type II is not likely to date from later than the earlier part of the Middle La Tène phase.

As yet then these rare Type II dragon-pairs are only known from East-central Europe. But it is conceivable that their absence in West-central Europe may be accidental: for the design on a scabbard of early Middle La Tène form found at La Tène (*Taf. 20, 3*)<sup>23</sup>, though I would certainly not describe it as a

<sup>21</sup> Talián Dörögd, see ECA, Pl. 70, 121, whence our *Taf. 20, 2*; Csabrendek, L. Márton, A Korai La Tène-Kultura Magyarországon. Arch. Hung. 11 (1933) 51 fig. 11 and Dolgozatok 9/10, 1933/34 Pl. 25, 1; also ECA, Pl. 70, 122. On both these pieces an arc joining the dragons' tails to the back of their heads takes the place of the curved-sided triangle, referred to above 133, on our piece.

<sup>22</sup> Mainzer Zeitschr. 2, 1907, 46 fig. 9, a, whence ECA, Pl. 247, b and our *Abb. 1*. My colleagues at the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, tell me that Jacobsthal is wrong in stating that this piece was found at Mitrovica on Sava: the precise provenance is uncertain, but it came from Bács-Bodrogh county, formerly in Hungary, now in Yugoslavia. Jacobsthal was evidently following the provenance given by Reinecke (Festschr. z. Feier d. fünfzigjährigen Bestehens d. RGZM. 1902, 86).

<sup>23</sup> Pfahlbauten 6. Ber. 1866 Taf. 11, 11. Now in the British Museum, London (Inv. Nr. 67, 7-1, 2).

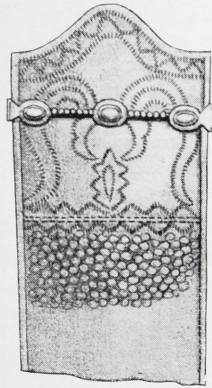




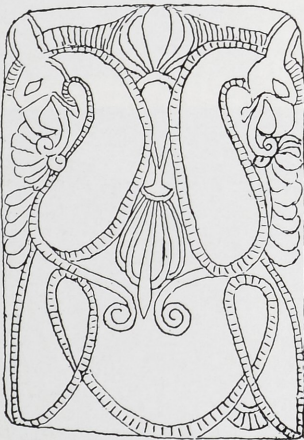
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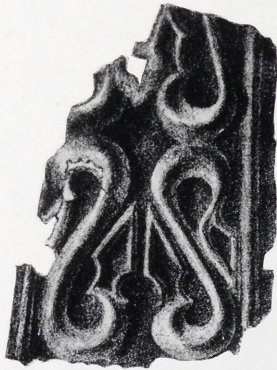
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1 Bronze mount from Kelheim; 2 Ornament on a scabbard from Talián Dörög, Kom. Zala (after Jacobsthal, ECA. Pl. 70, 121); 3 Ornament on a scabbard from La Tène (Brit. Mus. 67,7-1,2; after 6. Pfahlbauber. 1866 Taf. 11,11); 4-5 Bronze and silver mounts from Krasnokutsk, gov. Jekaterinoslav=Dnjepetrovsk (after Jacobsthal, ECA. Pl. 234, d. e).  
1.2 M. 1:1; 3 M. 1:2.

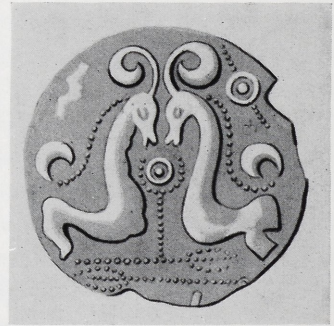




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1 Ornament on a scabbard from La Tène (Schwab Mus. Biel, T 2766); 2 Ornament of sheet bronze from Gurina, Obergailthal, Carinthia (after Meyer, Gurina [1885] Taf. 8,7); 3 Obverse of Celtic Coin found near Amiens (after Evans, *Archaeologia* 52,2, 1890 Taf. 12,4); 4 Bronze mount on the vat from Marlborough, Wilts. (after Fox [1958] Pl. 35,b).

1.2 M. 1:1.



classical instance of our Type II, is clearly more closely related to it than to either of the other types of dragon-pairs. On the other hand, the possibility that the ornament on this scabbard may have been directly inspired from the East Celtic zone should not be altogether overlooked: it might have been engraved, for instance, by an armourer from the Swiss zone who either had travelled in the east or who had seen it upon an eastern Celt visiting the Swiss area.

Sometimes in Types I and II (*Taf. 20, 2*) a complementary palmette is formed by the inner profiles of the two dragons and it should be noted that palmette-like motifs (if not strictly complementary ones) are inserted between the beasts on both the plaques from Krasnokutsk, on one of which the lyre has dragon heads (*Taf. 20, 4*) while on the other the heads look more like those of horses (*Taf. 20, 5*). But I think that it perhaps demands too much of the imagination to read the inner space on our piece as an intentionally-formed complementary palmette<sup>24</sup>; if so, it would be a very odd one, with its short, stumpy central 'leaf'; and, when compared with La Tène palmette forms, it has an unfamiliar look, though its outer 'leaves' approximate in shape to the side-leaves of the honeysuckle palmette, a variant represented in the Early Style of Celtic art (see ECA, Plate 181, 381, b and Plate 188, 385, below, right).

Repoussé ornament in metal was known throughout the La Tène period, from the Auvers gold lid to the plates on the Gundestrup cauldron. Those pieces which stand closest in time and place to our mount need only the mentioned here. Although raised decor appears on a few sword-sheaths from La Tène, I only know of one scabbard with true repoussé ornament from that site: it is the famous sheath decorated with the figures of three deer<sup>25</sup>. True repoussé work is found, though not frequently, in the late Middle and Late La Tène oppidum culture. At Manching, which lies only some 30 kilometres down the Danube from Kelheim, it appears on what is probably a fragment of a helmet's cheek-piece<sup>26</sup>, and on a strip of bronze from the Leisenhartfeld quarter of the oppidum<sup>27</sup>. It also occurs on a bronze mount for a knife or sword-sheath from the

<sup>24</sup> In its shape this feature on our mount somewhat resembles the shape of the inner space between the two goats on a gold Achæmenian bowl perhaps found at Hamadan (Ectabana), Iran, now in a private collection in Switzerland (Illustrated London News, Dec. 27, 1958, 1139 fig. 1).

<sup>25</sup> Mus. cant. d'Arch., Neuchâtel, Inv. Nr. 380. This piece has been frequently illustrated from drawings but reproductions of it from photographs are only given in Gross, La Tène Pl. 1, 1 and 3, 3 and in ECA, Pl. 66, 111. A more accessible illustration, from a drawing, will be found in Déchelette, op. cit. II 3 fig. 463, 5. Decoration in false relief, done with a metal stamp, occurs on the following scabbards from La Tène: Mus. cant. d'Arch., Neuchâtel, Inv. Nr. 1168 (Vouga, op. cit. Pl. 2, 1 and 6, 5); the Schwab Museum, Biel, Inv. Nrs. T 2766 (our *Taf. 21, 1*; see above note 6) and T 2754 (Vouga, op. cit. Pl. 6, 1) with its stamped dragon- or bird-pair. I am less sure if the more delicate raised ornament on another scabbard from La Tène, T 2769 of the Schwab Museum (see Pfahlbauten 2. Ber. 1858 Pl. 3, 4a-b and Vouga, op. cit. Pl. 6,3), was produced by this method; in any case I do not believe that it is repoussé.

<sup>26</sup> Ingolstadt Museum, Inv. Nr. 324.

<sup>27</sup> Ingolstadt Museum, Inv. Nr. 907. An originally rectangular mount (probably also for woodwork) with three embossed human heads from the oppidum, Staré Hradisko (Filip, op. cit. Pl. 125, 12) should here be mentioned. Cf. also J. L. Pič, Le Hradischt de Stradonitz en Bohême (1906) Pl. 14, 28.



same oppidum, now in the Ingolstadt Museum, but only known to me from a photograph.

Still closer to our mount than any of the pieces just mentioned, is the ornament on three strips of sheet bronze from Gurina, Obergailthal, Carinthia (*Taf. 21, 2*). On these are embossed a series of very abstract but none the less zoomorphic lyres. They are placed head to foot. The heads, unlike those on our mount, look away from each other, and end in very sharply pointed 'beaks'; the tails are dagger-shaped and thus look very dragon-like<sup>28</sup>. Nothing is known of the circumstances of the find. Various periods from Hallstatt to Roman times are represented at the site including the Middle and the Late La Tène phases. But it is more than probable, in view both of their technical and stylistic similarities, that these pieces from Gurina are approximately coeval with the Kelheim mount.

If when dealing with representations of confronted horselike creatures I made no mention of those on the Aylesford<sup>29</sup> bucket and the Marlborough vat<sup>30</sup>, the omission was intentional: it is more convenient so speak of them now. Even if I had the necessary detailed knowledge of Celtic numismatics (which I have not) to discuss fruitfully the place of origin and date of these two most puzzling pieces, this would hardly be the place to do so: they require a monograph to themselves. I would merely say here that Sir Arthur Evans, in a remarkable paper published close on seventy years ago<sup>31</sup>, was the first to call attention to the affinities which some of the motifs, chased upon the bronze mounts of these two pieces, bear to motifs found upon certain Celtic coins and it was he who first compared the confronted beasts on the Aylesford bucket with the three deer embossed on the well-known scabbard from La Tène mentioned above, p.137<sup>32</sup>. This sheath, though it bears relatively advanced Middle La Tène features, can hardly be much later than ca.  $\pm$  100 B. C. It is doubtful, though, in view of the form of the Late La Tène fibula<sup>33</sup> found in the Aylesford bucket and also because of the new and lower dating of the Roman bronze vessels associated with it<sup>34</sup>, if the burial took place as early as the phase of the Belgic landtaking; a date in the last half of the first century B. C. is far more probable. Even allowing that the bucket was not new when committed to earth, it is unlikely that it was earlier than the Late La Tène period and I believe that it and the Marlborough vat are roughly contemporary. Among the embossed ornaments found on the last-named piece is a design consisting of what A. Evans and C. Fox describe as two hippocamps or sea-horses confronting each other (*Taf. 21, 4*)<sup>35</sup>. The heads

<sup>28</sup> A. B. Meyer, Gurina im Obergailthal (1885) 45 Pl. 8, 7 from which our *Taf. 21, 2* is taken.

<sup>29</sup> British Museum Guide to Iron Age Antiquities (1925) figs. 135 and 136; Fox, Pattern and Purpose (1958) Pl. 33, a.

<sup>30</sup> Fox, op. cit. Pl. 34, e; 35, b. c. I thank Sir Cyril for allowing me to reproduce his Pl. 35, b.

<sup>31</sup> Evans, 'A Late-Celtic Urn-Field at Aylesford, Kent', *Archaeologia* 52, 2, 1890, 315 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Evans, op. cit. 369 ff.

<sup>33</sup> British Museum Guide to Early Iron Age Antiquities (1925) fig. 138.

<sup>34</sup> Werner, Die Bronzekanne von Kelheim. *Bayer. Vorgeschichtsbl.* 20, 1954, 49.

<sup>35</sup> Evans, op. cit. 373 and Pl. 13, below second from the left (an inexact drawing); cf. also Fox, op. cit. 69.



and forefeet are clearly horse-like, but the rest of the bodies are purely abstract in form. Somewhat similar beasts occur on the obverse of a Celtic coin found in the neighbourhood of Amiens, cited by Evans (*op. cit.* 370 and Pl. 13, 4) as given on our *Taf.* 21, 3.

This leads me to the question of when the Kelheim mount was made. If, as seems more likely than not, it belonged to one of the inhabitants of the town in which it was found, it must date either from the latter part of the Middle La Tène phase or from the Late La Tène period. I have pointed out the ornamental affinities between our piece and the Type II dragon-pairs. These, on evidence stated earlier in this paper (see above 136), which I shall deal with more fully in the forthcoming 40<sup>th</sup>. Bericht of the Römisch-Germanische Kommission, are unlikely to have survived the earlier part of the Middle La Tène phase. As I believe that the ornament on our piece is directly descended from them, I would therefore date the Kelheim mount to the later part of the Middle La Tène period.

It is true that the pit from which our mount came contained objects of Late La Tène date. The glass ring-bead is a case in point. The upper limit of the combed graphite-clay ware is as yet less certain: it may have already been in circulation before the end of the Middle La Tène phase<sup>36</sup>. Whether this is so or not, the find can hardly be regarded as a true closed find; the most one can say is that the pit was not filled in before the Late La Tène period. Any rubbish lying on the ground in its immediate vicinity could have gone into the filling, and with them our broken mount, which on stylistic grounds, is unlikely to have been made later than in the Middle La Tène phase.

The problem of where the Kelheim mount was made is indeed hard to answer and the difficulty is enhanced by the fact that the trade- and other contacts of these oppida are so far-flung, a fact stressed long ago by Déchelette<sup>37</sup>, and in recent times reemphasized by the work of Krämer at Manching<sup>38</sup>. Kelheim, both in view of its iron industry and because, by its position commanding the Danube, it was open to trade and other contacts both from the East and West, can clearly have been no exception.

As yet one can do little more than indicate the possible alternatives for our mount's place of origin. From what has been said it is clear that its ornament reveals details of earlier La Tène ancestry and it is also more than probable that the horse-headed lyre was ultimately inspired from the east: Scythia, and, still further back in time, the Near East. One can argue with some plausibility that it was an import from the East Celtic zone, the direct descendant of – perhaps only a generation younger than – the Type II dragon-pairs. In this connexion it should be noted (though as evidence one can hardly claim it to be conclusive) that Gurina lies in the East Celtic zone.

On the other hand, though still the child of the Type II dragon-pair, our mount might have been made locally, either at Kelheim itself or in a workshop of some oppidum near by. Wherever they were made, the zoomorphosed lyres

<sup>36</sup> Krämer, *Reinecke-Festschrift* (1950) 94.

<sup>37</sup> Déchelette, *Man. d'Arch. Celt.* II 3 (1914) 970, 983f. 1491, 1579 and fig. 404.

<sup>38</sup> Finds significant in this respect come from Krämer's recent excavation at the site and are still to be published. For contacts with the North, see his paper in the *Reinecke-Festschrift* 84ff.



on the pieces from Gurina, along with the more naturalistic ornament on the Kelheim mount, at least suggest that such motifs were still current during the earlier part of the period of the oppidum culture<sup>39</sup>.

There remains a third alternative, that our mount reached Kelheim from the Swiss zone. The design on the scabbard from La Tène (*Taf. 20, 3*) may also well have been inspired by our Type II dragon-pair motif, and, although we saw that there was another possible explanation of its origin (see above, 137), the occurrence of this piece at La Tène could suggest that the present lack of Type II dragon-pairs in West Central Europe was merely a freak of chance. Were this view right, the design on our mount would not be the only instance of ultimately eastern ornament reaching Bavaria by a back-wash from Switzerland, as I endeavoured to show when dealing with the ornithomorphic triskele on the scabbard found in the doctor's grave at München-Obermenzing<sup>40</sup>.

I have touched on the possible regions of origin of the Kelheim mount, and of the three alternatives mentioned the first has at least the advantage of being the simplest solution. Which of these possibilities is the right one, time or chance may one day show.

<sup>39</sup> The ornament on the Marlborough vat (*Taf. 21, 4*) is of no help in determining where the Kelheim mount was made. If Evans (op. cit. 372) is right in regarding the bronze mounts on the vat as Armorican work, Brittany is a long way from Bavaria. Fox, op. cit. 70 ('work of the Veneti?'), is apparently less certain where the vat was made. Is it not perhaps conceivable, in view of the Marlborough-Kelheim analogy, that the work of this presumably western school owed something to influence of Central European descent?

<sup>40</sup> Proc. Prehist. Soc. 21, 1955, 240.

## Endlatènezeitliche Brandgräber aus Kronwinkl in Niederbayern

Von Werner Krämer, Frankfurt a. M.

Der überaus spärliche Bestand an spätkeltischen Grabfunden aus dem vindelikischen Gebiet zwischen Alpen und Donau, der vor einigen Jahren in dieser Zeitschrift vorgelegt werden konnte<sup>1</sup>, ist durch zwei Funde bereichert worden, die ich mit freundlicher Genehmigung des Bayerischen Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege und der Prähistorischen Staatssammlung München hier bekanntgeben darf<sup>2</sup>.

Die Fundstelle liegt in der Gemeindeflur von Kronwinkl westlich der Stadt Landshut am Südufer der Isar (hart nördlich der nach München führenden Bundesstraße 11) auf der Flur „Weißmülleracker!“ (Plannr. 774, Flurkarte NO 18, 15). Als hier 1956 beim Kiesabbau menschliche Skelette beobachtet worden waren, ließ das Landesamt für Denkmalpflege eine Fläche von 120 m Länge und etwa 20 m Breite entlang dem Kiesgrubenrand mit der gebotenen Eile aufdecken. Leider war der Humus zum großen Teil schon vorher durch eine

<sup>1</sup> Germania 30, 1952, 330 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Kurz erwähnt Bayer. Vorgeschichtsbl. 22, 1957, 135 f. Die erste Fundmeldung wird Herrn Ing. H. Neubauer, Landshut, verdankt, der Fundbericht dem Ausgräber, Herrn Präparator W. Titze vom Bayer. Landesamt f. Denkmalpflege.