Greek and Italic imports at Early Iron Age Dürrnberg: A study in transalpine communication

By Holger Wendling

For Manfred K. H. Eggert, who made the Iron Age comparable

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Schlagwörter: *Späthallstattzeit / Frühlatènezeit / Kelten / Etrusker / Griechen / mediterrane Importe / Attische Keramik / transalpine Kommunikation / Kulturtransfer / kulturelle Aneignung*
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Transalpine communication – a matter of choice and perspective

Since the Mesolithic, the Alps have not been so much a dividing barrier as they have offered opportunities for intercultural exchange by channeling communication and traffic[1]. To this day, one of the most formative elements of transalpine contacts is the Tauern Corridor which is defined north of the main Alpine ridge by the Salzach and its tributary valleys. The Salzach River flows from the Inneralpen eastwards along the High Tauern Mountains and from here winds northwards towards the foothills of the Alps *(Fig. 1)*. In addition to the excellent topographical situation, a variety of mineral resources played a fundamental role in the development and interregional communication of this region, at least since the early Bronze Age[2]. Copper and – later – iron mining were prime economic factors[3]. An intensification of contacts with the South at the beginning of the Iron Age, in Ha C, culminated during the late Hallstatt and Early La Tène periods[4]. This intensification is directly related to another outstanding source of raw material – salt – which was extracted in the mining districts at Hallstatt (Upper Austria, AT) and Dürrnberg (Salzburg, AT)[5]. The mining on the left side of the Salzach and the distribution of the vital resource led to exorbitant wealth and to a focal position in an ancient 'global' network[6].

In a broader geographical perspective, this Early Iron Age interregional exchange system was reflected in outstanding goods from the Mediterranean region that reached the area north of the Alps. With an apparently minor impact at the Inn-Salzach-region,

[1] Grupe et al. 2017.
[2] Wendling 2021, 14.
[3] Stöllner 2010.
[4] Wendling 2014; Zeller 2002; 2003.
[5] Stöllner 2002c.
[6] Aspöck et al. 2007; Stöllner 2002b; Stöllner et al. 2003; Wendling 2020a; Wendling / Irlinger 2017. – For a more regional overview see Stöllner 1996; 2002a; Stöllner / Oeggl 2015.

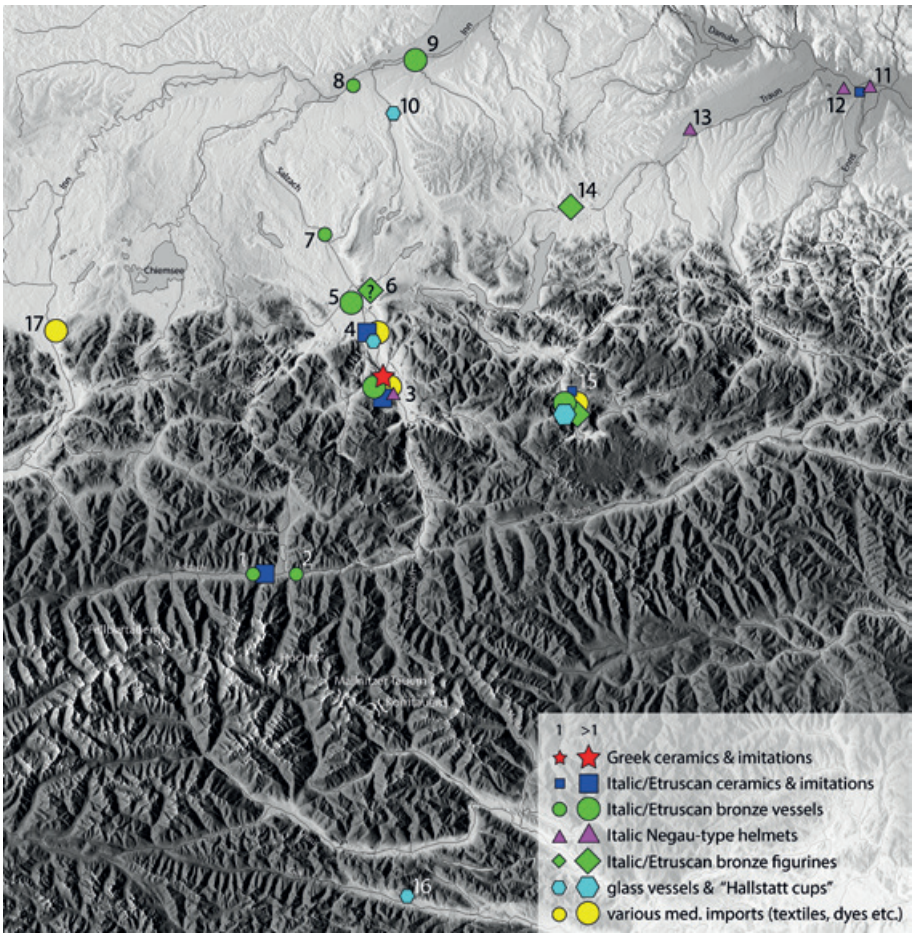

Fig. 1. Objects of Mediterranean and cisalpine origin in Ha C–Lt A/B contexts in the wider Salzach region: 1 Uttendorf im Pinzgau; 2 Bruck an der Großglocknerstraße; 3 Hallein / Hallein-Dürrnberg; 4 Salzburg-Morzg 'Hellbrunner Berg'; 5 Salzburg-Maxglan; 6 Salzburg 'Bürglstein'; 7 Laufen an der Salzach; 8 Braunau am Inn; 9 Mining-Sunzing; 10 Helpfau-Uttendorf; 11 Enns; 12 Asten; 13 Wels; 14 Vöcklabruck; 15 Hallstatt; 16 Dellach im Gailtal 'Gurina'; 17 Nußdorf am Inn.

these so-called 'southern imports' are characteristic elements of the West Hallstatt zone *(Figs 2; 3)*[7]. Whereas some singular finds date to c. 600 BC or even earlier, the major influx of objects started around 540 BC and persisted with varying degrees well into the Early La Tène period[8]. They were transferred to the Iron Age centres north of the Alps, the so-called *'Fürstensitze'* or 'princely seats' via the Rhône-Saône-Doubs route starting at the Greek colony of Massalia which was established around 600 BC[9]. Economic and cultural transmission of the Golasecca culture in the western Alpine and upper Padan region fostered

[7] Egg 2012; Shefton 1995.

[8] Baitinger 2015, 15 fig. 3; 18–19; Krausse et al. 2019; Pape 2000; 2002; Shefton 1989, 216.

[9] Mansel 2015. – Cf. Dietler 2005 for the role of Massalia and adjacent indigenous communities in the transfer of mediterranen material culture. – The complex concept of Late Hallstatt / Early Latène central settlements and sumptuous burials ('*Fürstensitze*' and '*Fürstengräber*') and the interpretative discourse associated with it will not be reviewed again here. See Schier 2010; Wendling 2015.

additional contact with the Italian peninsula[10]. The mechanisms of distribution and the role of the exotic goods in indigenous societies were subject of scholarly controversies and still are of vital importance for chronology and social interpretation of early Iron Age communities in Central Europe[11]. The number and quality of ceramic and metal vessels, and other luxury items like furniture, textiles, raw material (e. g. coral, wood, dyes, etc.), and, above all, wine from Greece or Massalia, from Etruria and other Italian regions support the notion of an infrequent, yet persistent influx of special goods[12].

Certainly, this western transmission does not apply to the *Osthallstattkreis*, where, as a result of geographical and historical peculiarities, distinct contact mechanisms have developed. Due to the limited number and the particular pattern of 'southern imports' in a pan-European perspective, however, the eastern Early Iron Age cultures were sometimes disconnected from the general discussion about contacts and exchange which focussed on the western situation[13]. Furthermore, the origin of imported, 'foreign' goods in the eastern Hallstatt zone draws a heterogeneous picture, in which a zone of Greek-Illyrian influence can be seen in the south-east (Carinthia, Styria, Slovenia, Sulm Valley region), while in the north-west (Upper Austria, Salzburg, SE-Bavaria) Italic-Etruscan impact is evident[14]. However, in this wider region, too, circulation of southern goods via the central and eastern Alpine routes was regarded as a sporadic or rather temporary phenomenon when compared with the western Alpine routes in terms of quality and quantity[15]. This was due not least to the eclectic selection of individual categories of types and materials, which even in the case of more far-reaching interpretations served "only as set pieces in one and the same chain of argument"[16]. In order to counteract such an interpretative limitation, a more holistic perspective on Iron Age cultural contact in the eastern Alpine region addresses three analytical levels with different epistemological value and conceptual background: First, the spatial dimension of contacts between cultures of the Cisalpine Mediterranean world and both intra- and trans-alpine communities is reclassified. This is done primarily through a quantitative reassessment of material traces, i. e. exogenous or 'strange' objects in the context of the eastern Alpine Hallstatt and Early La Tène cultures. The focus on exclusive object categories is thereby substantially expanded to include those objects as 'implicit' signs of communication, which have not yet been consistently integrated into such studies[17]. With a diachronic "cultural-historical perspective" as defined by Nils Müller-Scheeßel, the newly developed data basis serves to define spatial references and communication lines[18].

At the second level, the re-interpretation of object distribution ultimately aims at a better understanding of the underlying mechanisms of communication. Since both quality and quantity of the material manifestation of exchange processes is vital, the role of material culture is explored in a combination of functionalist and socio-phenomenological

[10] Pauli 1971; Schmid-Sikimić 2002a; 2002b, esp. 232–235.

[11] Eggert 1991; 2003; Fischer 1973; Jung 2007a; Kimmig 1983; 1992; 2000; Schweizer 2010; 2015; cf. Baitinger 2013; Wendling 2015.

[12] Eggert 1991, 12; Fischer 1990; Jung 2004; 2007b; Kossack 1982, 105–106; Stöllner 2004.

[13] E. g. Bašta et al. 1989, 471–472; Frey 1969, 84; 86; Shefton 1989, 216–217.

[14] Egg 1996, 67–69.

[15] Certainly, prehistoric transalpine communication had been recognised and investigated quite intensely and for a long time, e. g. Adam et al. 1992; Aigner-Foresti 1992; von Merhart 1969 and various contributions by M. Egg (cf. Baitinger / Schönfelder 2019, XIII–XXII), to name but a few.

[16] Zeitler 1990, 65: "Die einzelnen, nach Verwendungszweck und Entstehungsraum durchaus unterschiedlichen Sachgruppen fungieren dann nur noch als Versatzstücke in jeweils ein und derselben Argumentationskette".

[17] Stöllner 2004.

[18] Müller-Scheessel 2013, 105–109.

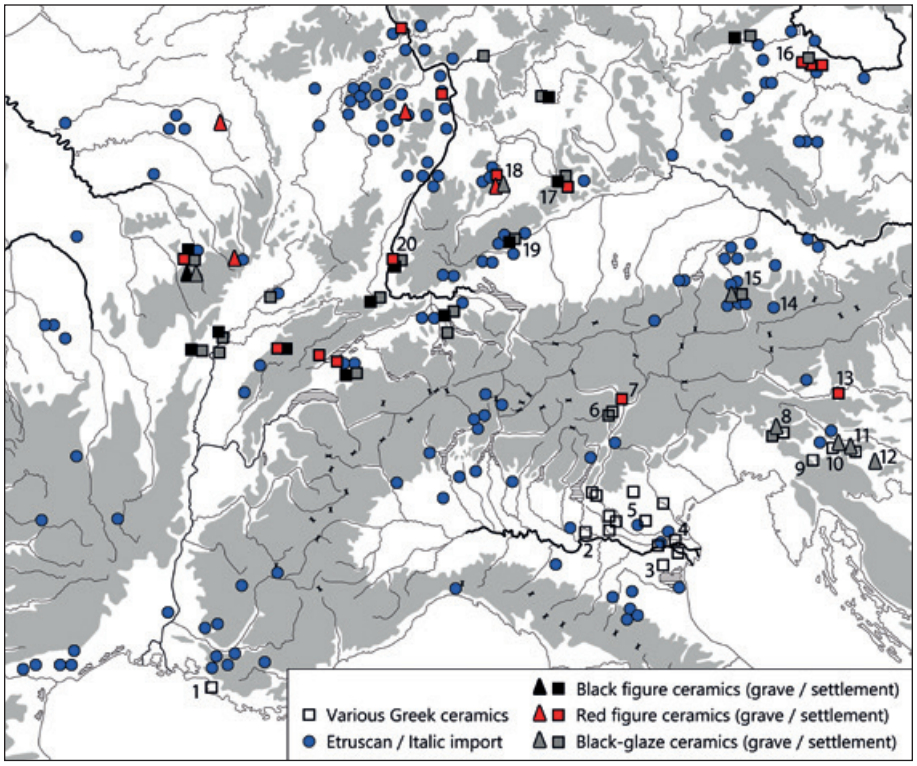

Fig. 2. Distribution of Etruscan / Italic imports and Greek (Attic) pottery in Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène Period cis- and transalpine contexts with sites mentioned in the text: 1 Massalia; 2 Forcello di Bagnolo San Vito; 3 Spina; 4 Adria; 5 Este; 6 Mechel / Sanzeno; 7 Siebeneich; 8 Most na Soči; 9 Cerknica; 10 Magdalenska Gora; 11 Stična; 12 Novo Mesto; 13 Hemmaberg; 14 Hallstatt; 15 Hallein-Dürrnberg; 16 Prague region; 17 Bopfingen 'Ipf'; 18 Asperg / Hochdorf; 19 Heuneburg; 20 Breisach.

approaches[19]. In this sense, intercultural communication is perceived as a comprehensive phenomenon that goes far beyond merely economic constraints and impulses that traditionally served as explanatory models[20]. Marcel Mauss extensively described and analysed the reciprocal character of this materialised sort of communication, "which permeates the whole of economic and social life"[21]. According to this, and in a very fundamental sense, any exchange of material culture is an act of gift-exchange and thus inherently a way of social communication. Thus, exchange – both economic and apparently non-economic – helps to negotiate social relations and includes objects that carry and communicate meaning beyond their actual functional purpose.

Lars Elleström's "medium-centred model of communication"[22] adequately integrates those elements that are crucial for a socio-material approach: "communication is to be understood […] as communication among human minds, and media product refers to the intermediate stage that enables the transfer of cognitive import from one or more producer's mind(s) to one or more perceiver's mind(s). The media product is material –

[19] Müller-Scheessel 2013, 113–122.
[20] Schweizer 2010.
[21] Mauss 1968, esp. 70; Quadflieg 2014; Rössler 2005, 193–196.
[22] Elleström 2017; 2018.

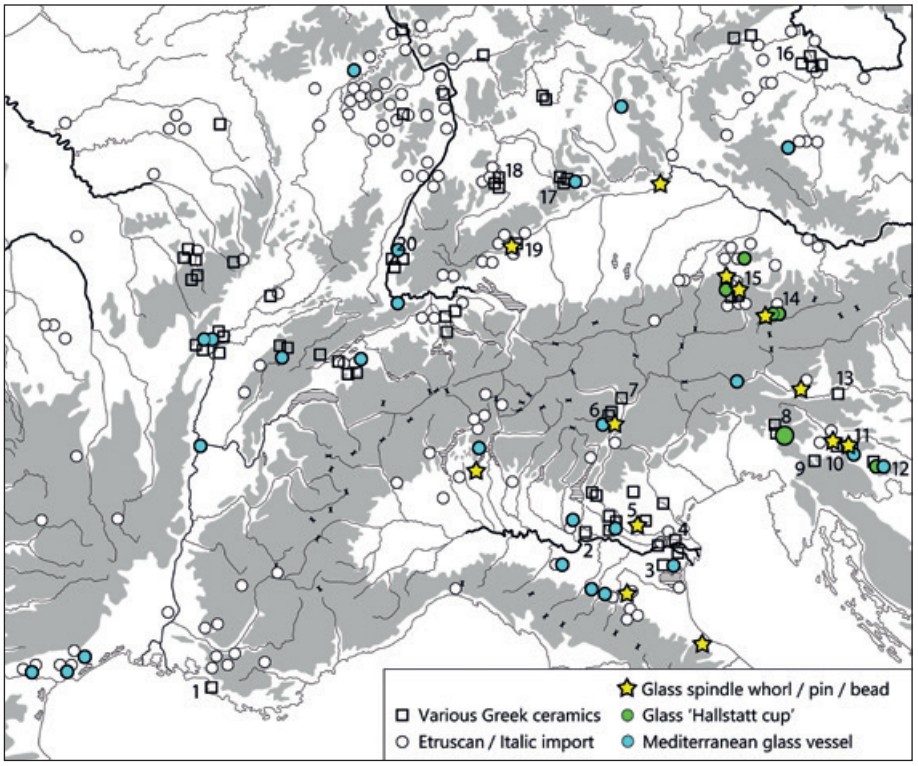

Fig. 3. Distribution of various Etruscan / Italic imports, Greek pottery, and selected glass object categories in Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène Period cis- and transalpine contexts with sites mentioned in the text – for site names and origin of mapping data see *Figure 2*.

a physical entity or process with the capacity of triggering mental reactions through semiosis"[23]. Consequently, this process involves not only individuals but also social entities with a shared repertoire of commmon ideas as participants in communication "capable of holding 'meaning'"[24]. Between these partners, communication implies the transmission of messages in a direct or indirect way through immaterial or material media. The media products thus comprise items as semiotic 'containers of information' that can vary in terms of function and content according to specific cultural milieus and interpretations[25]. In the context of material culture studies, semiotically 'charged' objects of external provenance are of particular importance as they can be easily distinguished as 'strange' both in prehistoric context and modern research[26].

Thus, this broad framework of communication as a means of social interaction integrates a wide range of 'materialised' phenomena and will be discussed according to different categories of imports. In addition to traditional views that saw the circulation of external objects as a reflection of concrete physical (human) mobility, more recent approaches address the socially transformative and creative role of such object relations. Ethnographic studies like Mauss' study on gift-exchange show that objects serve as semiotic transmitters of immaterial information and media of discursive practices both at the level of transcultural communication and in intra-societal interaction[27]. On both levels, objects undergo a

[23] Elleström 2020, 57.
[24] Elleström 2018, 279.
[25] Elleström 2018, 288–289.
[26] Cf. Hahn 1994; Schröder 2014.
[27] Hahn 1994, 201–202; 2003.

Fig. 4. 'Stemless cup'-type Attic *kylix* from Dürrnberg grave no. 44#2 and thin handle fragment of an Attic ceramic cup from Hallein 'Krautgasse'.

change in content, which proves that the direct, unchanged adoption of ideological concepts associated with material culture is not mandatory[28]. Rather, related models like 'cultural appropriation', 'hybridisation' or 'creolisation' emphasise the role of agency and the reciprocal transformative effects of material culture on 'materialised' mental / cognitive concepts, and consequently on social relations[29]. Especially in the case of Iron Age 'southern imports', this overcomes the apparent hierarchical inequality of different cultures on the one hand[30], and, on the other, utilises the epistemological potential of biographies of 'foreign' objects, e. g. in the shaping of identity through alterity[31]. They were embedded in a contextual space of meaning that interdependently connected them with indigenous objects and existing social practices[32].

This broader perspective includes, not least, the increasing spatial focus on east-west relations north of the alpine mountain range, which have been an additional phenomenon to the transfer of 'foreign' material culture since the Hallstatt period[33]. The geographical, temporal, and social dynamics of transalpine cultural interaction will be investigated based on a new find of Attic pottery from the Dürrnberg near Hallein, but also on various other forms of 'foreign' material culture in the Salzach region and beyond.

Greek pottery at Dürrnberg and beyond

As one of the most prominent commodities of 'southern imports' Greek pottery at Dürrnberg was hitherto only attested in one case: a black-glazed *kylix* (stemless cup or Cástulo cup) from grave no. 44#2 is attributed to production at Athens / Attica around

[28] E. g. Krausse 2004.

[29] Jung 2007a; Schreiber 2013; Stockhammer 2012.

[30] Cf. Schumann 2015, 264–266.

[31] Brather 2009; Hahn 1994; Hahn / Weiss 2013; Schweizer 2012.

[32] This concept suggests an 'assemblage' of underlying tangible and intangible relational factors (Schreiber 2020).

[33] Jerem et al. 2010; Wendling 2019.

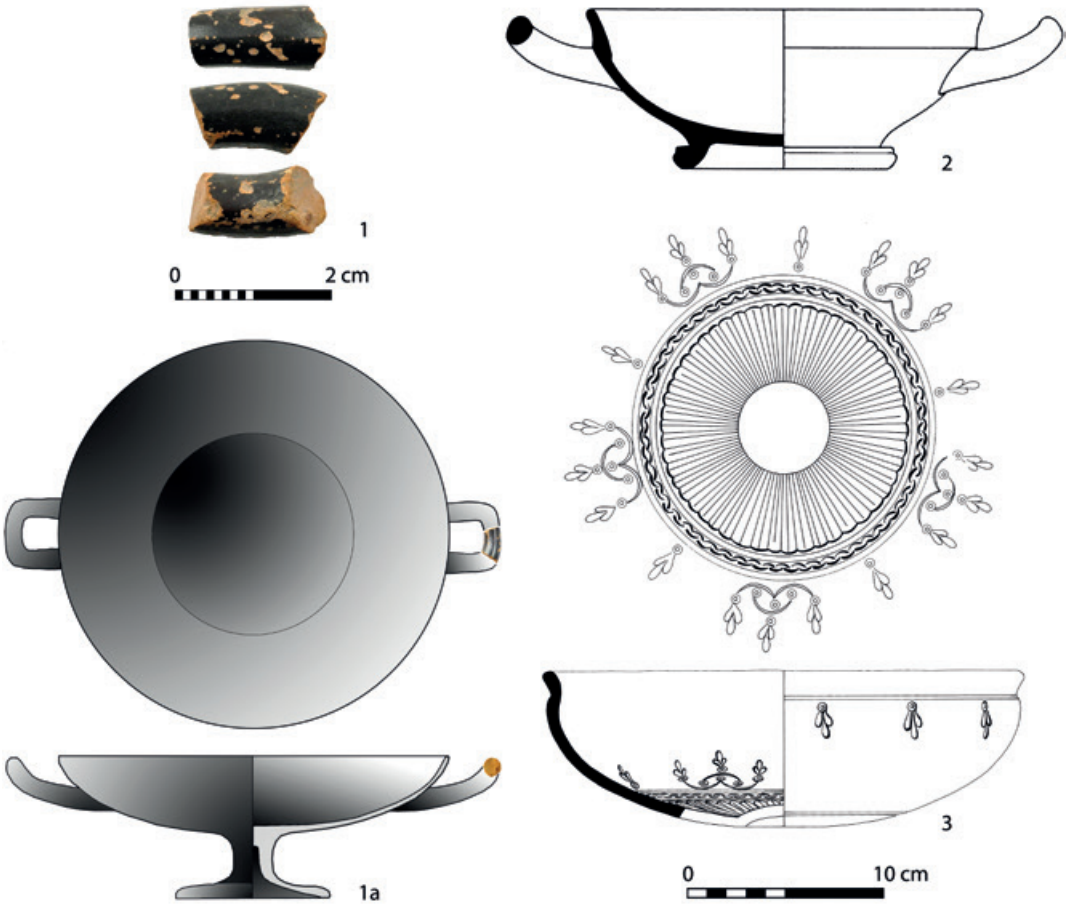

Fig. 5. Original Attic and indigenous stamped pottery from Dürrnberg and Hallein: 1 Handle fragment of an Attic ceramic cup from Hallein 'Krautgasse'. 1a Approximate position of the handle fragment in a black-glaze Attic *kylix* type B (Amsterdam 8208). 2 Attic 'stemless cup'-type *kylix* from Dürrnberg grave no. 44#2. 3 Local Early La Tène stamped bowl from Dürrnberg 'Ramsautal' imitating the decor of Attic black-glazed vessels (Salzburg Museum, inv.-no. ARCH 671-82).

480–450 BC *(Figs 4; 5,2)*[34]. *Kylikes* and *skyphoi* were among the most common forms of Attic pottery that reached Central Europe both in the west and in the east[35]. At the foot of Dürrnberg, a settlement in the river valley served as a river port for the dissemination of salt and the acquisition of exchange goods in a complex system of supply, demand, and redistribution[36]. Although there are no actual features which indicate the structure or layout of this trading or supply settlement, Hallstatt and La Tène period finds indicate a quite intense occupation from the 6th to the 1st century BC *(Fig. 6)*. Some graves further corroborate the importance of the site in the area of the modern town of Hallein and may also indicate a distinct social (and religious?) status of the community with respect to the mining community on top of Dürrnberg.

[34] Keltenmuseum Hallein, inv.-no. AR_1959_0227. – Böhr 1988, 178–184; Pauli 1978, 311–312. – Recently, the temporal span has been extended to the beginning of the 4th century BC (Walsh / Antonaccio 2014, 48–50).

[35] Guggisberg 2011, 164; Hansen 2012, 104.

[36] Penninger 1974. – Stöllner et al. 2003, 180 fig. 37; Wendling 2020a, 401 fig. 24,6.

In a 1983 rescue excavation, some La Tène ceramics were recovered at Hallein, Krautgasse 164 (GP 116/1), in the garden of a former monastery ("Klostergarten") without any association to prehistoric features[37]. A reassessment of the finds from this excavation delivered a late, but all the more spectacular result. Apart from the aforementioned Early La Tène potsherds and a few pieces of medieval and early modern pottery as well as glass fragments, a tiny handle fragment stands out with regard to fabric and surface treatment. The handle is covered with a peculiar black, slightly metallic coating *(Figs 4; 5,1.1a)*. The light reddish or beige clay is very fine and shows no visible temper; only an approx. 1 mm large, roundish red particle at one fracture macroscopically seems to be chamotte or globular iron ore temper. The fragment was reliably assigned to Greek black-glazed pottery according to form and fabric, similar to the *kylix* from grave no. 44#2, but can only vaguely be assigned to a drinking cup, either to a flat and wide *kylix* or to a slightly deeper *skyphos*. Both forms of cups correspond to distinct and fundamentally different drinking habits within the classical Greek *symposion*[38]. Although both types occur frequently in different variants in Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène contexts, it seems unlikely that they fulfilled the same highly specialised functions they had in the elaborately ritualised sequence of the Etruscan banquet (or its specific Greek version) in its highly variable formal and ideational expression[39].

In the Inn-Salzach-region, apart from the new find, the cup from grave no. 44#2 stands out as the only example of Attic pottery. The next find spots of this particular type of ceramics leave a quite extensive empty circle around the Iron Age salt centre: a number of sherds at the central settlement at the Ipf near Bopfingen (Baden-Württemberg, DE) on the eastern Swabian Jura and the fragments from the Marienberg at Würzburg (Bavaria, DE) mark the western and northern sphere *(Fig. 2)*[40]. Towards the north-east, a number of recent discoveries around Prague (CZ) have considerably altered the distribution pattern[41]. These fragments of Attic red-figure or black-glazed cups all originate from Ha D3 or LT A settlements in a rather limited area of distribution. This documents a selective, purposeful appropriation and a 'life-oriented' use, which did not find ideological reflection in grave customs [42]. This in turn, as well as the relative frequency of southern imports in the Prague area, shows a rather continuous influx of such goods also via the Eastern Alps. The lack of evidence in Bavaria could therefore also be due to the avoidance of such objects as grave goods and limited find preservation or unreliable (non-)identification in settlement contexts. Extensive excavations of lowland fortified farmsteads, so-called *Herrenhöfe*, and a re-evaluation of existing inventories in museums and depots could fundamentally change the distribution pattern following the Prague template[43].

South of the Salzach region, the next sites of Greek ceramic import, a *Palmettenschale* at Sanzeno and an Attic potsherd of c. 475–450 BC in Mechel (Trentino, IT) are beyond the main ridge of the Alps[44]. More than 100 sherds of Attic origin, amongst which an early 4th century BC stemless red-figure *kylix* stands out, come from the indigenous sanctuary at

[37] Keltenmuseum Hallein, inv.-no. AR_1983_0019. – Findspot at Stöllner 1996, 98 pl. 51D.

[38] Heinemann 2015, 18–22; Locatelli 2011, 162.

[39] Amann 2018; cf. Krauskopf 2004, 132–133.

[40] Ipf: Böhr 2014; Krause 2015; Krause et al. 2005, 208–223. – Würzburg: Wehgartner / Zöller 1995; Heyse / Feuerhahn 2016.

[41] Bouzek / Dufková 2015; Bouzek et al. 2017; Trefný 2011.

[42] Bouzek et al. 2017, 62–65; Perego 2013, 265; Trefný 2011.

[43] Berg-Hobohm 2002/03; 2010; Schussmann 2019; cf. Irlinger 2002, 183. – Recent discoveries of fragments of a ceramic beaked jug and a golden earring at the *Herrenhof*-site at Eichendorf (Bavaria, DE) indicate the high social status of its inhabitants who may have acquired imported pottery as well (Kreiner 2018, 93–94).

[44] Cavada 1990, 26–27; 34–35 figs 2–3; Guggisberg 2015, 36–37 figs 3; 4.

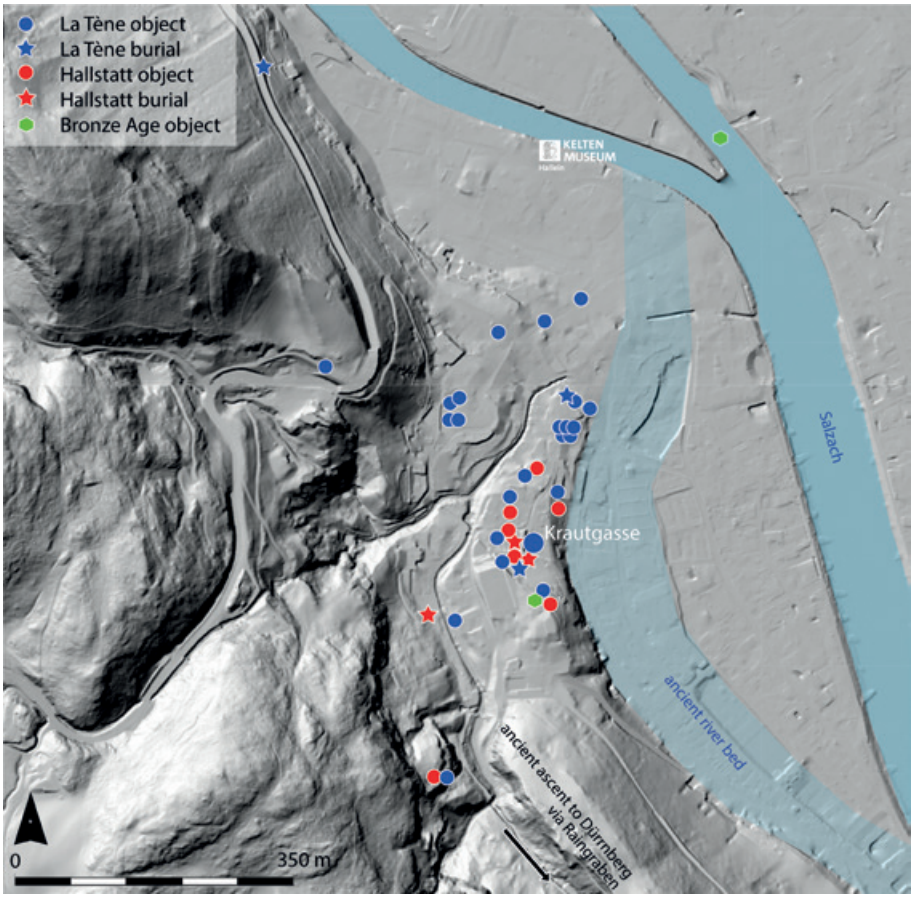

Fig. 6. Distribution of Hallstatt- and La Tène-period finds and features in the Hallein 'valley settlement' or 'port station'. The Attic pottery handle fragment was found at 'Krautgasse'.

Terlan-Siebeneich near Bolzano (South Tyrol, IT)[45]. These sites are situated at the southern end of the important route along the Etsch valley that connects to the Inn via the Brenner Pass *(Fig. 2)*. These imports most likely came from the Adria and were passed on by the northern Italian sites of San Giorgio and Castelrotto (both Verona, IT)[46].

Further east, probably more related to the Salzburg region, at Hemmaberg near Globasnitz a. d. Drau (Carinthia, AT), a small red-figure Attic *stamnos* fragment was recovered on a site with predominantly late antique structures and, like the Hallein fragment, lacks stratification[47]. Beyond Hemmaberg, the next examples of Greek ceramics come from the Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène centres in present-day Slovenia *(Fig. 2)*[48]. At Novo Mesto (Dolenjska, SI), tombs VI/44 and VII/20 contained a *skyphos* and two probably locally procuced *kylikes* with black coating, respectively[49]. Further west, at Most na Soči (Primorska, SI), three *kylikes*, two *skyphoi*, and two *ænochoai* both from Attic and other Greek

[45] Frey 1969, 84 note 420; Marzoli / Wiel Marin 2013, 25–26.

[46] Marzoli / Wiel Marin 2013, 25–26; Wiel Marin 2015. – For an overall distribution of Greek pottery in northern Italy see Pape 2000, figs 14–17, 24–26, 30–31.

[47] Glaser 2003, 69; 71.

[48] Frey 1969, 84 note 420.

[49] Križ 1997, 31–32.

workshops and dating to the late 6th and 5th centuries BC were found in burial and settlement contexts[50]. A *kylix* from grave M 2151 is a local imitation of a Greek model. Between these two sites, at Stična (Dolenjska, SI), a late 7th century BC italo-corinthian *œnochoe* from tumulus 76, a Greek early 5th century BC *kylix* from St. Vid, grave II/7, and a series of Apulian *krateres* indicate close links with *Magna Graecia*[51]. An ensemble of an *œnochoe* and two *kylikes* in tumulus 2, children's grave 37 in nearby Magdalenska Gora 'Preloge' cemetery (Dolenjska, SI) is also attributed to lower Italian workshops[52]. Another *œnochoe* from Cerknica (Notranjska, SI) leads to the increasingly frequent finds of Graeco-Italian pottery in Istria, which are beyond the area dealt with here[53].

Thus, the recent find from Dürrnberg or its dependency at Hallein is only the third archaeological find of Greek pottery in Austria to date. It adds to c. 1100 sherds of Greek pottery from the West and to the comparatively small number of just over 20 fragments from the transalpine Eastern zone[54]. Here, at least, it contributes quite significantly to an understanding of the impacts and mechanisms of transalpine Iron Age contacts. Furthermore, the date of the red-figure or black-glazed ware stresses the increase of imports around the middle of the 5th century BC, at least in the east, whereas in the west, Greek pottery saw its heyday around 500 BC[55].

Besides original finds of Greek ceramics, local copies or imitations show the absorption and integration of foreign stimuli to an even greater extent[56]. At Dürrnberg 'Ramsautal'-settlement, a stamped bowl of local Early La Tène type clearly reveals Mediterranean influences in the choice of motif *(Fig. 5,3)*. It imitates the decor of aniconic Attic black-glazed *kylikes* which, according to examples from the Athenian *agorá*, were produced c. 450 BC[57]. Original Greek examples from the north Italian Etruscan settlements of Forcello di Bagnolo San Vito (Mantova, IT) and Spina (Ferrara, IT) indicate possible sources of transmission[58]. The elaborate stamp decoration with concentric, star-shaped lines, garland and palmette designs served as an impulse for Braubach-style stamp-decorated vessels[59]. Similar, very elaborate patterns can be found in Dobrovíz near Prague (Středočeský kraj, CZ) and could also be traced back to original models from Greece or Etruria. Within the same region, a polychrome imitation of a Greek red-figure cup decorated with a meander and S-hook design was excavated at Pilsen-Roudná (Plzeňský kraj, CZ)[60]. Associated Late Hallstatt pottery displays strong references to the following Early La Tène period. Matrix and temper analyses show that the painted fragment and another bowl foot, which imitates a *kylix*, are made of local clay[61]. The same applies to a bowl painted with a red meandering pattern on the *tondo*, which was found in an Early La Tène pit-house in Chržín (Středočeský kraj, CZ)[62]. Together with other local ceramic forms which apparently

[50] Dular 1982, 235; Dular / Tecco Hvala 2018, 112–114.

[51] Dular 1982, 235; Gabrovec 2006, 156 no. 21 pl. 133,21; 191 no. 89–94 pl. 164A; Teržan 2008, 303–304; Turk / Murgelj 2008.

[52] Dular 1982, 235; Hvala et al. 2004, 132; 183 pl. 33C 1–3.

[53] Müllner 1900, pl. 18,8. – Istria: Mihovilić 2013, 257–277.

[54] Brun / Chaume 2013, 333–335.

[55] Pape 2000, 140; 145; 2002, 416; 419 fig. 29.

[56] A Heuneburg clay mould copied from the handle of an original Etruscan jug for casting a silen's head is a vivid example of the process of imitation (von Hase 2000).

[57] Salzburg Museum, inv.-no. ARCH 671-82. – Böhr 1988, 180–183; Chytráček 2008, 59; Moosleitner 1985, 100; Pauli 1978, 331–332; Stöllner 2002a, 229.

[58] Consonni et al. 2008, 238; 241 fig. 14; Buoite et al. 2017, 63 pl. 32r.

[59] Schwappach 1973; 1977.

[60] Bašta et al. 1989; Bouzek / Dufková 2015, 203.

[61] Trefný et al. 2011.

[62] Chytráček 2008.

Fig. 7. Hallein-Dürrnberg, Ramsautal-settlement. Lids and bodies of Early La Tène period wooden *pyxides* produced on the lathe. – Diam. approx. 10–15 cm.

imitate Etruscan or Greek metal vessels, the specimens from Roudná and Chržín demonstrate the impact of imported Greek and Etruscan ceramics on indigenous communities in West Bohemia. This may be linked to the Salzach region as a major northern Alpine node of cultural dissemination[63].

Another, quite exceptional type of vessel, albeit not ceramic, is documented at Dürrnberg and may be directly related to Greek ceramic models. Wooden *pyxides* and their lids were lathe-turned mainly of local pip or stone fruit woods, whereas the raw material of a walnut *pyxis* is probably of external, northern Italian or upper Adriatic origin *(Fig. 7)*[64]. The shape of the *pyxides* does not mirror domestic ceramic models but Greek archetypes[65]. As no Mediterranean ceramic, alabaster, or glass specimens have yet been attested in Central Europe, import of organic vessels may be assumed, which were either Greek originals or themselves an imitation of those models[66]. Lath-made massive wooden cylinders figure at the Ha D1 'Bettelbühl' burial mound near the Heuneburg (Baden-Württemberg, DE)[67]. Similar in form, they were made from boxwood (gr. *pýxos*, hence the name *pyxis*) which at this time allegedly was not available in the region and thus also suggests import of raw material or finished objects. An Early La Tène wooden bowl with a high foot from Uffing at Staffelsee (Bavaria, DE), also quite delicately made on the lathe, may indicate a local

[63] Bouzek et al. 2017, 65–66; Chytráček 2008, 59; Stöllner 1993, 252; 2002a, 230; Trefný 2008; 2011; Trefný et al. 2011.

[64] Lobisser 2017, 267–272; 426; Küster 2008.

[65] Differently shaped chip boxes at Hallstatt salt mine may also have provided a formal model (Reschreiter 2009). – An Early La Tène iron cylindrical *pyxis* with Braubach-style stamp decoration on the lid from Mainz-Hilbersheim (Rhineland-Palatinate, DE) indicates a long tradition of similar boxes which are frequently found in LT C2/D contexts (Berbüsse 2015).

[66] In contrast, wooden *pyxides* from early Iron Age Scythian burials have been interpreted as local imitations of Greek ceramic originals (Rieth 1941, 94–96).

[67] Krausse / Ebinger-Rist 2018, 53; Krausse et al. 2019.

imitation in wood of a ceramic *kylix*[68]. Its location at the exit of the Inn valley suggests that the model was conveyed via the central Alpine Etsch-Reschen / Brenner-Inn route, the course of which is marked on both sides of the main mountain ridge by points of Mediterranean imports[69].

The distribution of Greek ceramics distinguished here supports the distribution scenario suggested above *(Fig. 2)*: black-figure vessels are limited to the western Alpine area and adjacent regions. From the advanced 5th century BC onwards, red-figure Attic pottery spread beyond their area of distribution, where it continues to be attested, and now also covers the Hunsrück-Eifel-culture, where Etrusco-Italian imports become significant. In the east, individual pieces south of the main Alpine ridge and vessels in the Prague area show the successive intensification of southern relations. This goes hand in hand with the increasing frequency of black-glaze pottery, which reached the north from two distribution zones, the Padana and the region around the upper Sava and Drava rivers. Both zones target the Inn-Salzach area, which, with a clear concentration of a broad spectrum of Etruscan-Italian material culture, operated as a crucial distribution centre, especially for the western Bohemian area.

Mediterranean objects in and around the Eastern Alps

Jewellery and metal vessels

At Dürrnberg, in Ha D2/D3, i. e. in the late 6th and early 5th centuries BC, imports from Etruria and Greece occur in considerable numbers. Earlier signs of distant contact however are quite limited. The Ha D2 male burial in grave no. 74 contained a unique golden earring which is elaborately decorated with serpentine wound wire in filigree technique[70]. A similar earring was found in male burial 13/1889 at Hallstatt *(Fig. 8,1.2)*[71]. Filigree decoration, which is also attested in a Ha D1 burial near the Heuneburg hillfort (dendrochronological date 583 BC), is closely related to contemporary gold jewellery in Etruria[72]. Both at Dürrnberg and the Heuneburg, however, the wire does not show round cross-section characteristic for post-7th century BC Etruscan goldsmith work[73]. This and the scientific analysis of the Dürrnberg gold suggest local production using ubiquitous raw material and targeted technological input from Italy[74]. Etruscan-style jewellery from the 'princely graves' of Kleinklein (Styria, AT) may indicate the route of transmission of this technique[75].

A beaked trefoil jug (Vorlauf's early type 1b) in female burial no. 59 is part of a characteristic category of 5th century BC foreign material culture in Central Europe and an early example of original Etruscan import at Dürrnberg *(Fig. 9,1)*[76]. At least from Ha D2/3, original objects from abroad were imitated in different materials and forms by local craftspeople, as shown by a ceramic jug from grave no. 353 *(Fig. 9,2)*[77]. Eventually, the *Schnabelkannen* or beak-spouted jugs reached their heyday in the Early La Tène period with the

[68] Capelle 1976, 25–26; Kossack 1959, 106–107; Rieth 1941, 88 fig. 4.
[69] Cf. Irlinger 2010.
[70] Pauli 1978, 131; Rabsilber et al. 2017, 115 no. 3.
[71] Mahr 1921, 28–29 pl. 6,89.
[72] Gran-Aymerich / MacIntosh Turfa 2013, 376; Knauss 2015, 52–57; Krausse et al. 2019, 257–258; Krausse / Ebinger-Rist 2018, 89.
[73] Mello et al. 1983; cf. Oddy 1977; Ogden 1991.
[74] Hartmann 1978, 601–602; sample no. 4611.4612.
[75] Gran-Aymerich / MacIntosh Turfa 2013, 376; Egg 2019, 342.
[76] Rabsilber et al. 2017, 46 no. 14. – Vorlauf 1997, esp. 40–41.
[77] Baitinger 2017, 1623–1624; Hell 1930a; Delnef 2003; Krauskopf 1995; Stöllner 2002a, 174–176.

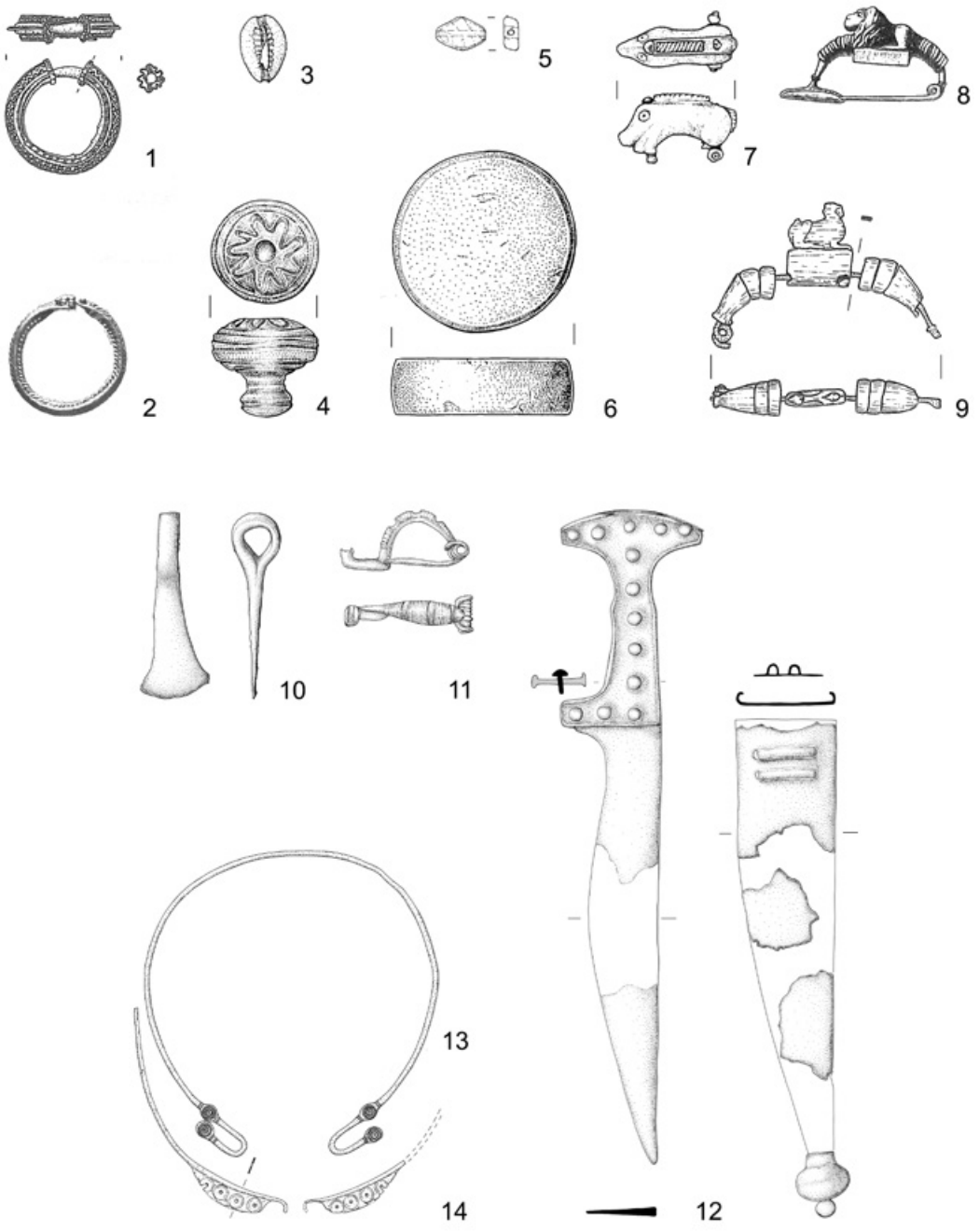

Fig. 8. Selected special finds with a presumed external origin or relating to external models in the wider Inn-Salzach region: 1 Gold filigree earring; Dürrnberg grave 74; Ha D2. 2 Gold filigree earring; Hallstatt grave 13/1889; Ha D. 3 Cowrie shell; Dürrnberg grave 44#2; LT A. 4 Glass spindle whorl; Dürrnberg grave 353; Ha D2/3. 5 Agate pearl; Salzburg 'Bolaring'; Ha D. 6 Bronze disc weight; Salzburg-Morzg 'Hellbrunner Berg'; Ha D. 7 Fibula with boar-shaped amber decoration; Dürrnberg grave 145; LT A. 8 Fibula with lion-shaped bone decoration; Hallstatt grave 557; Ha C2/D. 9 Fibula with lion-shaped amber decoration; Bologna 'Arnoaldi'; Ha C. 10–12 Este culture inventory; Dürrnberg grave 252; Ha D2. 13.14 Neck rings with mutually bent ends; Dürrnberg graves 64A and 'Klammreiskapelle'; LT A. – Scale 1 : 2 (1–9.11); 1 : 4 (10.12–14).

bronze beaked flagon from Dürrnberg grave no. 112 as one of the masterpieces of Early Celtic Art[78]. These peculiar bronze vessels with figurative rim decoration may have been, as Martin Guggisberg suggests, deliberately related to earlier Etruscan examples of the 6th century BC in an attempt to illustrate venerable traditions and claims to power[79].

The deposition of another Etruscan import is related to a dendrochronological dating of the burial chamber of tomb 352 to 464 BC[80]. The Imola-Hundersingen-type basin with embossed rim (variant Imola) is associated with Ha D3 objects and thus constitutes a chronological key issue in the Hallstatt-La Tène transition *(Fig. 9,6)*[81]. The poorly preserved basin belongs to a group of metal vessels that originated in central Italy and is distributed mainly in the western Hallstatt culture[82]. Based on this pattern, basins from the 'princely grave' of Rovna (Strakonice kraj, CZ) and other sites in Bohemia would suggest a transfer from the western Hallstatt zone[83]. However, especially due to the Dürrnberg find, a transfer via the eastern Alpine region has to be considered, whereas the western objects may have been transmitted by the Golasecca culture. The basins with embossed rims produced in central and southern Italy between the 7th and 5th centuries BC represent a peculiar phenomenon of ancient communication according to Erich Kistler. He suggests that they were central elements of an elite network, which were passed on in a "chain of gifts" and were intended to materialise hospitality and alliances[84]. This in turn corroborates Guggisberg's thesis that "Altstücke" reflected a centuries-old object biography and played the role of mnemonic items in the representational and funerary context of a conservative ruling ideology[85]. Based on their (semi-fictional) narrative legacies and 'itineraries', those basins may consequently have symbolised the interregional social and economic intertwining of their temporary owners as members of an interconnected 'cosmopolitan' elite. The vessels thus became a materialised manifestation of social bonds *inter pares*[86]. The relatively few specimens found north of the Alps, however, raise doubts that they were a ubiquitous 'currency' of gift exchange in these transalpine regions, as was suggested by Kistler[87]. Rather, they may have been regarded as just another medium of exotic origin alongside other, foreign or indigenous objects that circulated in a stepwise, yet 'horizontal' reciprocal alliance network. As such, they would have prolonged the Mediterranean system beyond the Alps but without the intercultural dimension of the foreign objects and their original role in the cisalpine societies being unequivocally present in the consciousness of those who used them.

Since the Early La Tène period, those basins with embossed rims were replaced by basins, of which at least the specimens with elaborately decorated rims are genuine Etruscan imports[88]. However, undecorated specimens at least attest to the profound influence of Etruria on indigenous festive culture in the broader sense. Such 'conceptual' imports also occur on the Dürrnberg and its surroundings[89]: The sumptuous waggon grave no. 44#2 with a presumably imitated basin next to the Attic *kylix* thus once again proves to be a depository of remote contacts *(Fig. 9,5)*[90]. A LT A period cremation at Salzburg-Maxglan

[78] Moosleitner 1985; Wendling 2018.
[79] Guggisberg 2004b, 180–181.
[80] Sormaz / Stöllner 2004.
[81] Egg / Zeller 2005, 352–353.
[82] Krausse 1996, 262–269; Baitinger 2017, 1621–1622.
[83] Chytráček et al. 2015, 86; 2018, 289; Krausse 1996, 243 fig. 176.
[84] Kistler 2010, 71; 2014, 184–186.
[85] Guggisberg 2004b.
[86] Guggisberg 2017, 97.
[87] Kistler 2010, 72.
[88] Schönfelder 2001.
[89] Schönfelder 2001, 321 tab. 2,11 (Mining-Sunzing a. Inn); 16 (Dürrnberg, grave no. 44#2); 18 (Salzburg-Maxglan 'Flugfeld', tumulus 13).
[90] Pauli 1978, 348–349; Penninger 1972, 76–80 pl. 47,35.

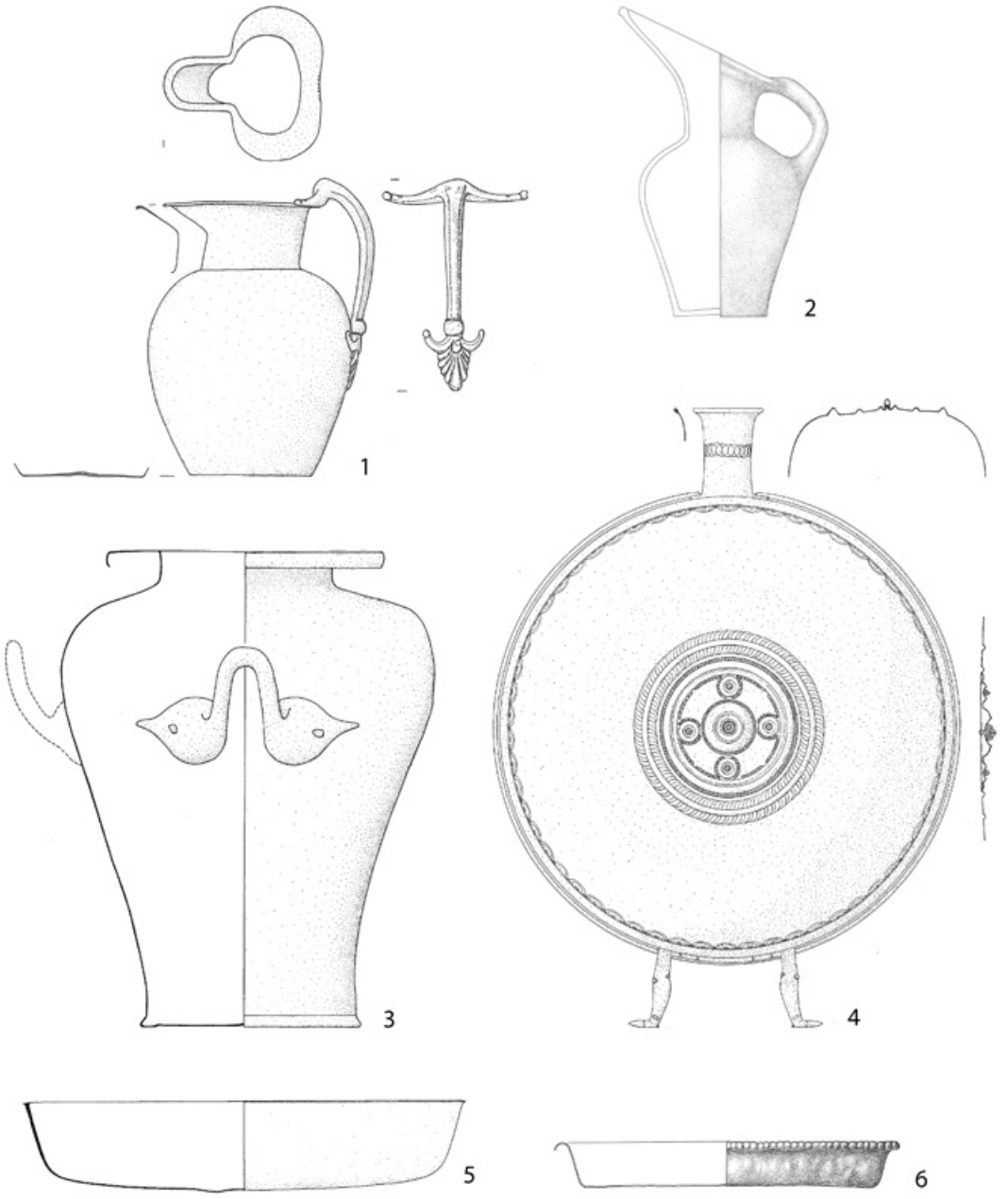

Fig. 9. Original and imitated Etruscan and Italic bronze and ceramic vessels from Hallein-Dürrnberg: 1 Etruscan trefoil beaked flagon; grave 59; Ha D2/3. 2 Local ceramic imitation of an Etruscan beaked flagon; grave 353; Ha D2/3. 3 Etruscan *stamnos*; grave 63; LT A/B. 4 Italic canteen; grave 44#2; LT A. 5 Local imitation of an Italic basin; grave 44#2; LT A. 6 Italic Hundersingen-type basin with embossed rim; grave 352; Ha D3. – Scale 1 : 6.

contained a set of two basins with straight and flanged rim, which probably also represent local imitations of Etruscan originals *(Fig. 10,5.6)*[91]. Italian provenance is confirmed for two basins from Mining-Sunzing am Inn, which were associated with an Etruscan beaked

[91] Hell 1930b.

flagon *(Fig. 10,2–4)*[92]. However, such a combination of vessels for serving and collecting liquids does neither allow for inferring the prehistoric function nor for deducing the adoption or modification of Etruscan customs. It is therefore impossible to know whether basins (and jugs) in transalpine societies were a coherent set of drinking and eating utensils, a free interpretation of elitist consumption, or paraphernalia of purification ceremonies[93].

Beyond the basins, established transalpine contacts intensified in LT A with an Etruscan *stamnos* of Shefton's 'Dürrnberg-group VIII' being deposited in Dürrnberg grave no. 63 *(Fig. 9,3)*. This sub-type is particularly common in central Italy and *Picenum*, and two specimens from Spina and one *stamnos* at Bologna (IT) indicate the upper Italian node of transmission to Dürrnberg[94]. A detail of the bronze vessel, which today is veiled due to a hasty restoration, may be significant for the cultural influence of its region of origin. The *stamnos* had been deposited as a burial object with only a single preserved handle. It is unclear whether this manipulation was a deliberate creation of a venerable object history in an aristocratic ideology of legitimation of power or was intended to convey other religious beliefs[95]. The custom of separating handles from grave vessels may have found its way into the funerary ritual at Dürrnberg from Italy, where it has been common practice since the Villanovan period[96]. This manipulation would have fitted in with common Central European customs, in which grave goods were deliberately destroyed or were placed as individual ceramic fragments[97]. In this sense, we can draw on the communication model explained above: The encoded information in a materialised action is not understood here as a static practice but as a dynamic concept. The 'cognitive import' in both communication partners retains its basic similarity, but in the 'perceiver's mind' (i. e. the perceiving cultural community) undergoes a transformation adapted to given patterns[98].

Also originating in the later Bronze Age, the deposition of objects in a wet environment is rooted in local traditions[99]. At Laufen (Salzach) (Bavaria, DE), some 40 kilometres north of Dürrnberg *(Fig. 10,7)*, an Etruscan *situla* with two handles was recovered from the Salzach River[100]. It quite instructively illustrates frequent contacts along the major transalpine passageway, whereas an identical vessel from the La Tène cemetery at Mannersdorf in Lower Austria reflects the distribution along the south-eastern Alpine border[101].

Further down the Salzach, at its confluent with the Inn River, a handle of a bronze Etruscan beaked flagon and the aforementioned ensemble consisting of a bronze beaked flagon and two Etruscan basins were found at Braunau am Inn and Mining-Sunzing am Inn (Upper Austria, AT), respectively *(Fig. 10,1–4)*[102]. This regional distribution indicates the course of circulation of Etruscan goods in the 6th and 5th centuries BC *(Fig. 1)*. Obviously, Dürrnberg was not the unrestricted endpoint of trade or a magnet for luxury goods but played a far more complex role in the transmission and dissemination of material culture and ideas.

[92] Stöllner 1996, 55 pl. 30.

[93] Schönfelder 2001, 333.

[94] Moosleitner et al. 1974, 25–26 pl. 121C,9. – Shefton 1988, 116–117; 149–152; Stöllner 2002a, 153. – At Basse-Yutz (Moselle, FR), a *stamnos* is associated with a pair of elaborate bronze beaked flagons similar to the one from Dürrnberg (Megaw / Megaw 1990).

[95] Guggisberg 2004b, 187–189.

[96] Guggisberg 2004b, 185 with note 46.

[97] Repka 2018; Augstein 2019. – For Early La Tène single ceramic fragments as grave goods in the Inn-Salzach-region see Pauli 1978, 290; Stöllner 2002a, 167; Wendling 2021, 12–13.

[98] Elleström 2017, 46–47.

[99] Höglinger 2003.

[100] Heger 1973; Stöllner 2002a, 153–154.

[101] Ramsl 2011, 42 no. 15; 155.

[102] Pauli 1974, 116–119; Ruprechtsberger 1982, 28; Stöllner 2002a, 152; Vorlauf 1997, 71 no. 166 (Braunau a. Inn); 72–73 no. 168 (Sunzing a. Inn).

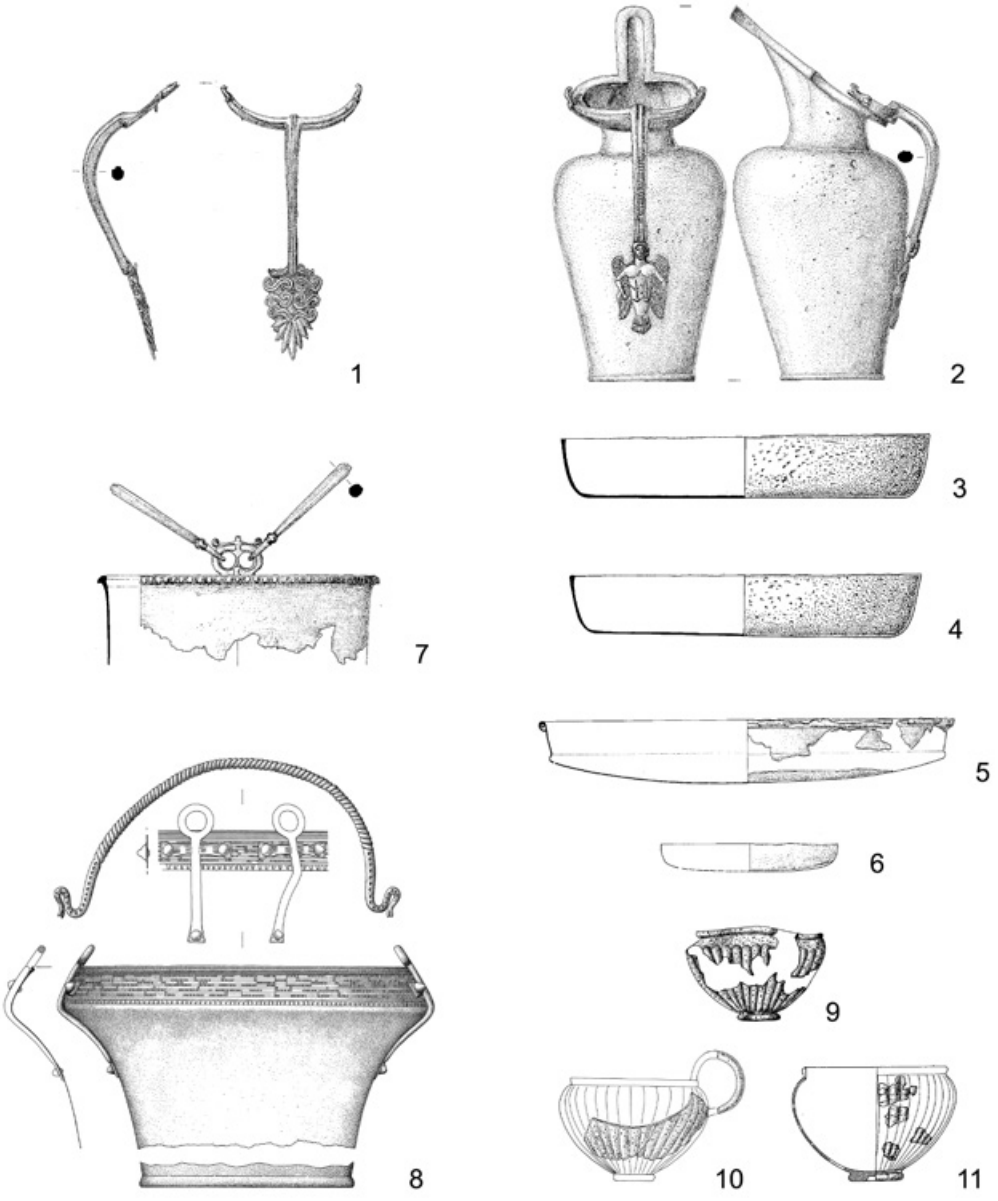

Fig. 10. Original and imitated Etruscan and Italic bronze and glass vessels from the wider Salzach region: 1 Handle of a 5th century BC Etruscan beaked flagon from Braunau / Inn. 2–4 5th century BC Etruscan beaked flagon and two bronze basins from Mining-Sunzing. 5–6 LT A local imitations of Etruscan or Italic basins from Salzburg-Maxglan, mound 13. 7 5th/4th century BC Etruscan *situla* with double handle from Salzach near Laufen. 8 Ha C north Italic *situla* with cross handle attachments *(Kreuzattaschen)* from Bruck an der Großglocknerstraße. 9–11 6th/5th century BC glass 'Hallstatt cups' from Hallstatt grave 733, Salzburg-Maxglan 'Hellbrunner Berg', and Helpfau-Uttendorf, mound 4. – Scale 1 : 6 (1–8); 1 : 4 (9–11).

Etruscan figurines and Classicist exotica

The historical classification of some Greek and Etruscan finds from the Salzburg region, which came to light in 19th century excavations and are nowadays dispersed across several museum collections, is unclear. They apparently originate from the surroundings of a

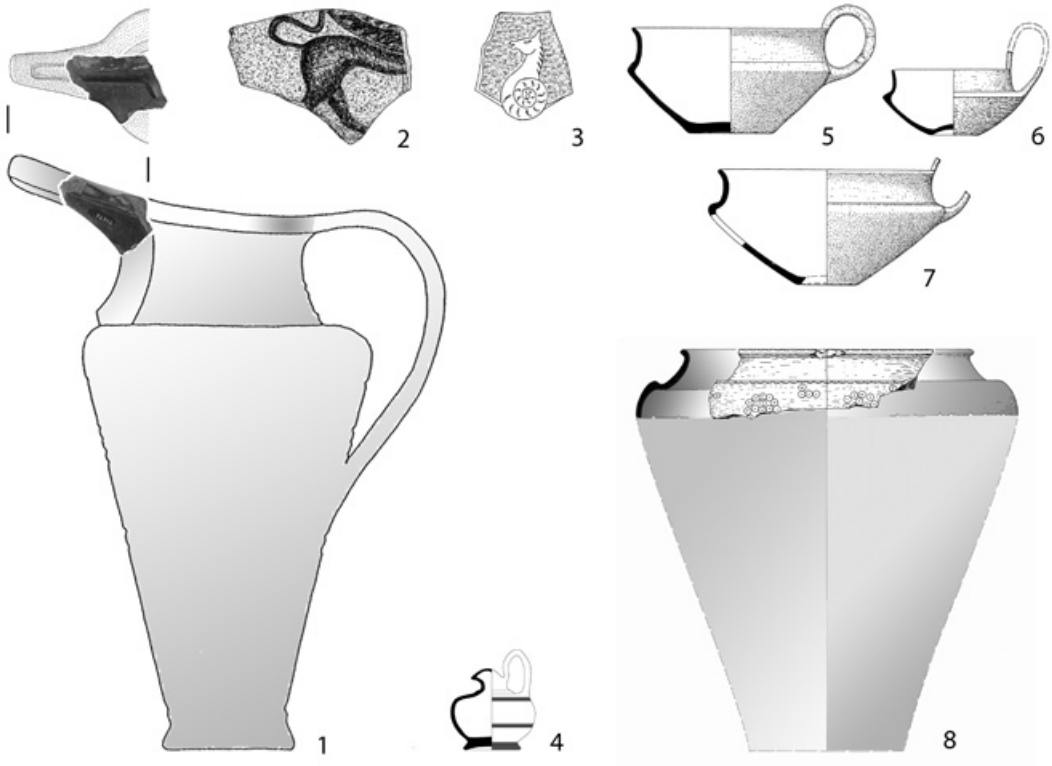

Fig. 11. Imported pottery in the central and eastern Alpine region: 1 6th century BC Etruscan *bucchero* beaked flagon from Hallstatt. 2 7th–5th century BC *bucchero pesante* from Enns. 3 5th/4th century BC *bucchero* vessel fragment from Stans near Schwaz. 4 6th/5th century BC Corinthian *ænochoe* allegedly from Salzburg 'Bürglstein'. 5–7 Ha C2/D1 Este-culture cups from Uttendorf. 8 Ha D1 Este-culture *situla* with bronze nail ornaments from Uttendorf. – Scale 1 : 6 (1.4–8); 1 : 4 (2.3).

necropolis of the Roman *municipium Claudium Iuvavum*, i. e. ancient Salzburg. A small trefoil or globular *ænochoe* was produced towards the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 5th century BC in Corinth *(Fig. 11,4)*[103]. Provenance inconsistencies and an interplay of intrinsic chronological and functional arguments suggest a 'tourist souvenir' from the period of modern enthusiasm for antiquity rather than a genuine Iron Age mediterranean import[104].

The same applies to other prehistoric finds reported from this Roman cemetery at Salzburg: several Italian 7th–6th century BC fibulae (Navicella-type etc.) would be part of an early horizon of cisalpine material culture which is quite substantially attested at Hallstatt, for example[105]. In the immediate area, corresponding features occur at a large Ha C/D cemetery at Salzburg-Maxglan or at a monumental tumulus at Salzburg-Taxham 'Bolaring', where the dating and provenance are sufficiently certain. Both burial sites certainly provide material from beyond the Alps, from which an agate bead of the Bolaring burial

[103] Salzburg Museum, inv.-no. ARCH 3172A. – Huber 2018, 122–123.

[104] Gebauer 2015, 105–111; Huber 2018, 123. – Some reputed Hellenistic 'Megarian' cups from Wels (Upper Austria, AT) were disclosed as modern entries in excavations or museum collections (Noll 1975, 362).

[105] The Bürglstein-finds belong to the collection of the *Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München*, inv.-nos NI 587.589–591.594.595.3893a.3895.4122.4296. – Ruprechtsberger 1982, 27.

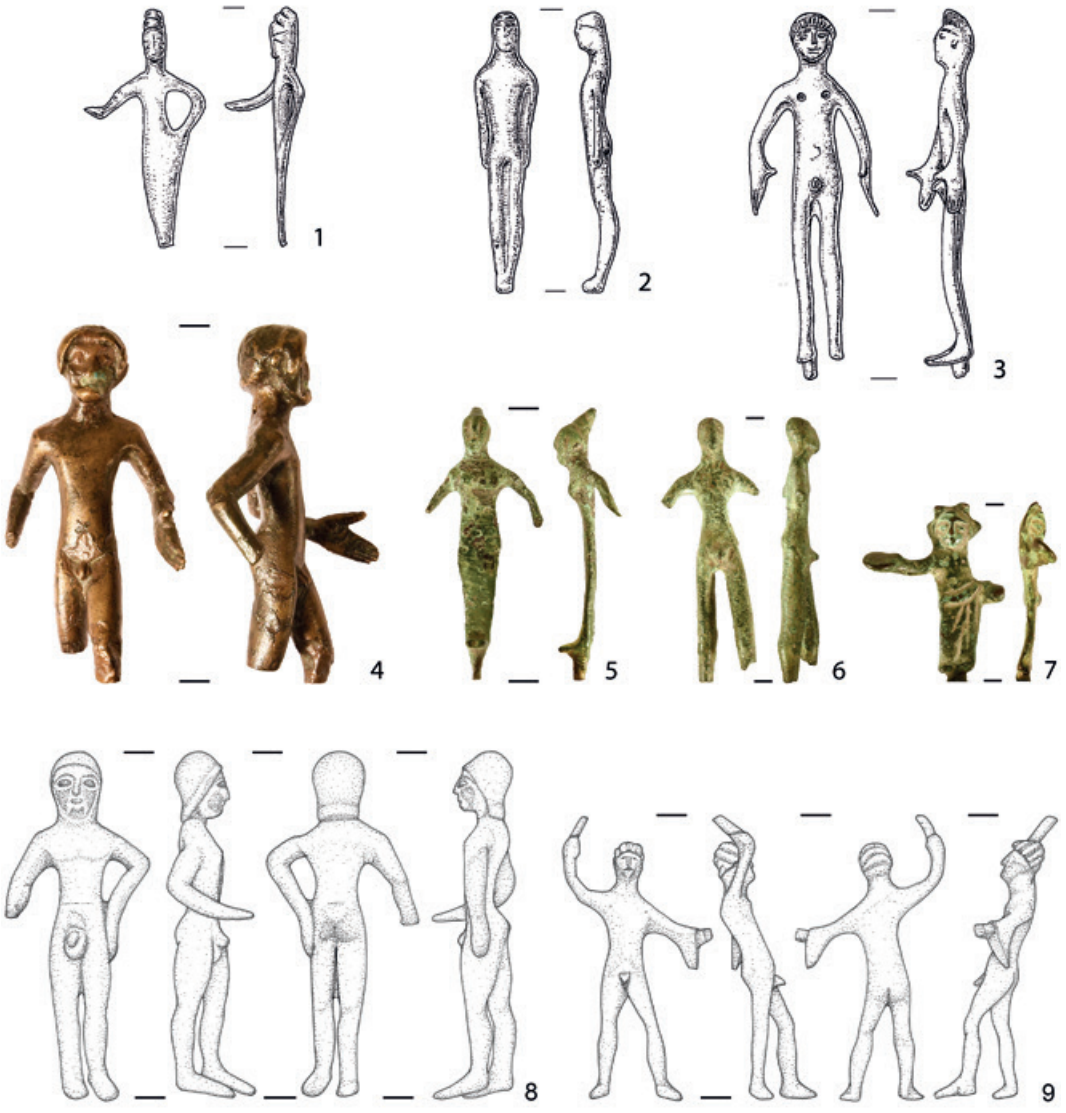

Fig. 12. Etruscan / Italic 6th–3rd century BC anthropomorphic bronze figurines: 1–3 Vöcklabruck; 4–7 Salzburg 'Bürglstein'; 8.9 Hallstatt. – Scale 1 : 2.

mound sticks out *(Fig. 8,5)*. Although agate is found in Bohemia or the Palatinate, an origin from Greece or Asia Minor is considered for the Carnelian banded semi-precious stone[106]. A basin with embossed rim and horizontal handles from the same context is badly preserved and only conditionally attributed to a type of vessels with high foot. As a characteristic feature of the East Hallstatt Zone, the vessels are frequent at Hallstatt burials in Ha C but continue to be in use until Ha D1/2[107].

An Italian provenance may be assumed for some small bronze figurines which were also allegedly found at Salzburg 'Bürglstein' *(Fig. 12,4–7)*. They depict a man and a woman and

[106] Moosleitner 1982, 481.

[107] Moosleitner 1982, 482–483; Krausse 1996, 289–290.

date to the 6th century BC and the 6th/5th century BC, respectively[108]. A bronze figurine of a protruding or dancing naked (and bearded?) *kouros* wearing a head ring and a statuette of a *togatus* pouring a libation from a bowl are attributed to the 6th and 3rd centuries BC, respectively[109]. According to the other objects found on Dürrnberg, in Hallein, or Laufen, an original prehistoric deposit of those finds from 'Bürglstein' cannot *a priori* be ruled out. However, the circumstances of the find and the history of the pieces are so obscure that a concise attribution is impossible. The unusual 'special finds' may have been added to the inventory secondarily in order to increase their modern sales value[110].

Nevertheless, several Etruscan or Italic figurines from Hallstatt and Vöcklabruck (Upper Austria, AT; *Fig. 12,1–3.8.9*) may support an import during the Hallstatt and Early Latène periods for the Salzburg specimens[111]. Furthermore, they narrow the meshes of the network and illustrate eastward ties to the Danube along the northern edge of the Alps. A statuette from the Carinthian 'Zollfeld' indicates a possible transmitter role of south-eastern Alpine cultures for this class of objects[112]. If the origin and dating of the figurines, laid down in small groups, were certain, they could of course also be associated with the statuette votive offerings in the Upper Italian sanctuaries at Este (Padua, IT) or Lagole at Calalzo di Cadore (Belluno, IT)[113]. However, it seems doubtful whether religious references and ideas from there were also directly implemented north of the Alps. It is precisely in this religious context that the "cognitive import" of materialised communication media is destined to process, transform, and integrate 'meaning' into an existing ideological environment[114].

Etruscan fine ware and commodities

The Etruscan origin and secured prehistoric date are assumed for a fragment of 7th to 5th century BC *bucchero pesante* from Enns in Upper Austria (AT; *Fig. 11,2*) in the context of a Roman military camp[115]. At the nearby confluence of the Enns and Danube rivers, there is also a peculiar concentration of central Italian imports. Three Negau-type helmets from Enns, Asten, and allegedly from Wels mark the area as a focus of interregional communication *(Fig. 1)*[116]. A transmission via the eastern Alps is beyond question, although it remains open whether it followed the Salzach or the Enns at the end.

[108] *Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München*, inv.-no. NI 637.640 (Richardson 1983, 330; Kore V 3 Series C Group 6B no. 11).

[109] *Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München*, inv.-no. NI 638.680. – Fleischer 1967, no. 211; Richardson 1983, 162 (Kouros III 3 Series C Group 4 no. 10); Ruprechtsberger 1982, pl. XI fig. 10. – An early 5th century BC bronze statuette of a dancer was recovered at Wallerstein-Ehringen (Bavaria, DE) near the Ipf hillfort. As part of an Etrusco-Campanian bronze vessel it may have been acquired via the centres of the western Hallstatt zone but also via an eastern route (Krause et al. 2005, 232–232).

[110] Cf. Naso 2017, 81. – The prehistoric finds from the 'Bürglstein' cemetery (LBA/EIA bronze pin and fibula, LT C glass bracelet, LT D silver coin) exclude the late Hallstatt and Early La Tène periods (Kovacsovics 2002; Stöllner 1996, 144–145).

[111] Fleischer 1967, no. 163a.216a (Hallstatt); no. 209.210.227 (Vöcklabruck); Ruprechtsberger 1982, 29; Stöllner 1996, pl. 36C,13; 2002a, 156–157.

[112] Fleischer 1967, no. 212; cf. Aigner-Foresti 1980. – The circumstances of discovery of those items, however, usually suggest critical restraint.

[113] Chieco Bianchi 2002; Fogolari / Gambacurta 2001.

[114] Elleström 2017.

[115] Ruprechtsberger 1982, 26: "Since it is unlikely that a soldier of the 2nd Italian Legion stationed in Lauriacum possessed a pottery vessel more than 600 years old, there is only one explanation for the find: It arrived as merchandise from Etruria to the place of its discovery" (translated by Holger Wendling).

[116] Egg 1986a, 43 fig. 17 no. 169.170.258.

A fragment of a *bucchero* beaked flagon from Hallstatt could trace this route of Etruscan imports in the 6th century BC, with the salt mining site as a central transit point for many other Italian or upper Adriatic goods *(Fig. 11,1)*[117]. However, an alleged *bucchero* fragment from *Burgberg* of Stans near Schwaz (Tyrol, AT) indicates another, rather central Alpine route along the Inn: a dark grey, porous vessel fragment decorated with a plastic sea serpent found in the Early La Tène period house V was identified by the excavator as an Etruscan-Italian import *(Fig. 11,3)*[118].

Other Etrusco-Villanovan and later objects like helmets, firedogs, meat hooks, etc. represent local imitations of Etruscan originals or can only be indirectly linked to cisalpine Italy. However, they illustrate intensive contacts across the eastern Alpine ridge as early as the 8th and 7th century BC[119]. A Ha D firedog from Hellbrunner Berg marks the integration of such external stimuli into the indigenous material culture[120]. Furthermore, it conveys the much more sustainable adoption of novel table and eating customs, which, according to less elaborate wooden skewers from Dürrnberg, were widely accepted and appreciated[121]. A multitude of Etruscan objects, e. g. at Stična, Novo Mesto, or Kleinklein, mark the south-eastern Alpine region and *Caput Adriae* as a relais area where transalpine influx started *(Fig. 2)*[122].

Glass vessels and exotic raw materials

Isolated original Mediterranean or Middle Eastern glass vessels may have been transferred via Etruria and northern Adriatic nodes of contact *(Fig. 3)*. Whereas the unique Achaemenid glass bowl from Breisach-Ihringen (Baden-Württemberg, DE) may have taken the western, Rhône-Saône route together with the Greek pottery found on the Upper Rhine, a small fragment of a Rhodian *aryballos* from Strakonice (Jihočeský kraj, CZ) could well have reached the north along the Etsch-valley or the Tauern-Salzach passage[123]. Its association with Ha D2/3 period pottery confirms a deposition towards the end of the 6th century BC or in the first half of the 5th century BC, soon after the start of production about 550/500 BC. Whether a Hallstatt period glass vessel came to Ehrenbürg near Forchheim (Bavaria, DE) along the west or east passage or other intermediate routes must remain open[124]. The latter is indicated by similar fragments from Nonsberg near Bolzano (Bolzano, IT), which shows the central Alpine passageway via Etsch, Brenner or Reschen Pass, and Inn valley as an alternative route[125]. This route is substantiated by the *bucchero* fragment from Stans and could have started in the Etruscan town of Forcello di Bagnolo

[117] Barth 2019. – A *bucchero* fragment from the hillfort Alter Gleisberg near Bürgel (Thuringia, DE) is one of the rare finds of early Mediterranean imports in central Germany (Simon 1999; Baitinger 2017, 1618); however, its original provenance is contested (Naso 2017, 86 note 22).

[118] Prinz zur Lippe 1960, 63 no. 215 fig. 25.

[119] Adam et al. 1992; Aigner-Foresti 1992, 158; Baitinger 2017, 1610–1618. – Wagon fittings (so-called *Winkeltüllen*) as part of two-wheeled chariots were an original Etruscan invention and subsequently adopted for four-wheeled wagons in the western Hallstatt zone in Ha C/D. This implies a gradual appropriation of the notion of high-status vehicles against the background of Bronze Age traditions. Their distribution marks the central Alpine Etsch-Brenner-Inn-route as a major communication line (Egg 1986b, 206–211; 210 fig. 8; 1987, 94–98).

[120] Moosleitner 1979, 68.

[121] Lobisser 2017, 100–108; 295–297.

[122] Aigner-Foresti 1992, 158–159.

[123] Ihringen: Kistler 2010. – Strakonice: Michalek 1992.

[124] Zeitler 1990.

[125] Hauser / Schönfelder 2014, 436–437; cf. Lang 2002.

San Vito, where five fragments of small glass *balsamaria* alone were found in a rather limited excavation area[126]. However, a fragment from Gurina near Dellach in Carinthia (AT) precisely points to the Tauern Passes that connect to the upper reaches of the Salzach[127]. An *amphoriskos* and another small blue glass vessel from Stična, among many other indications, may confirm this corridor as a route also for this special type of objects[128]. The (closed) glass vessels were certainly not only passed on because of their colourfulness and purely aesthetic effect but rather appreciated for their contents, i. e. perfume, scented oil, etc.[129].

Widely distributed exotic commodities in transalpine Europe, amber, coral, and other less common materials like ivory illustrate the small-meshed interconnectedness of an intercultural network. At Kinding-Ilbling (Bavaria, DE), north of the Danube, an original import of a Picenian sword with an ivory hilt is documented in Ha C2[130]. At the same time, ivory was used as inlay of some very rare Ha C mushroom-shaped hilts of Mindelheim-type swords in Hallstatt[131]. In the west, an ivory sword pommel was found at Deißlingen, tumulus 5 (Baden-Württemberg, DE), and ready-made carved ivory sculpture and furniture inlays are attested at the sumptuous late Hallstatt tomb of Grafenbühl at the foot of Hohenasperg (Baden-Württemberg, DE)[132]. This peculiar depiction of an ivory sphinx with an amber face and analogous amber-ivory plaques from Belmonte Piceno (Fermo, IT) but also countless amber objects from the Dürrnberg graves illustrate the import and export of raw materials and finished products to and from Italy[133]. The quantity and size of the ring beads and necklaces mark the Dürrnberg as one of the central intermediate exchange and processing centres of Baltic amber[134]. As such, it probably played a significant role in the transfer of raw materials to the North Adriatic settlement of Verucchio and other Etruscan and Picenian centres, which had specialised in amber carving since the 8th century BC[135]. From here, re-importation of amber sculptures into the Hallstatt cultures may have taken place. Again, small amber sculptures from Kleinklein and Novo Mesto indicate the way, which this re-import may have taken[136]. The 5th century BC fibula decoration in the form of an amber boar from Dürrnberg grave no. 145 *(Fig. 8,7)* continues a tradition of animal-shaped amber sculptures, which had been established since the 6th century BC in the Picenic centre of Belmonte Piceno or at Bologna with amber animals featuring similar googly eyes[137]. However, figuratively decorated fibula bows go back to even older models, which were already developed in amber or ivory in northern Italy (e. g. Bologna 'Arnoaldi', Bologna, IT) in the 8th and early 7th century BC *(Fig. 8,9)*[138]. They show a strong influence of Etruscan orientalising art, which thus again appears as an important, albeit indirect, source of inspiration both in the *Picenum*, at Este, at the

[126] Rapi 2007, 213–215.
[127] Zeitler 1990, 65.
[128] Gabrovec 2006, 74; 181 pl. 55,98-3 pl. 153.
[129] Stöllner 2004, 148–149.
[130] Hanemann 2019.
[131] Kromer 1959, pl. 101.223 (grave 507) pl. 108.223 (grave 573) pl. 127 (grave 697) pl. 182 (grave 910).
[132] Grafenbühl: Fischer 1990. – Deißlingen: Oeftiger 1984, 55–56 fig. 16,1a.b. – Archaic *klinai* with amber and ivory inlays: Naso 2007.
[133] Weidig 2017, 18–22; 2019. – However, the extreme rarity of ivory speaks against a greater importance of this exotic material (Stöllner 2004, 143). In turn, this undoubtedly increased its symbolic value.
[134] Chytráček / Michálek 2016; Chytráček et al. 2017; Wendling 2023.
[135] Adam 2012, 3; Nava 2011, 46–48; Weidig 2013; 2019.
[136] Egg / Kramer 2005, 18 fig. 13; 2013, 153–155; Križ 1997, 37; 40.
[137] Weidig 2017, 18–21; 2019, 42–43; Nava / Salerno 2007, 153–156; cf. Naso 2019, 404–407. – Dürrnberg grave no. 145: Tiefengraber / Wiltschke-Schrotta 2012, 177 no. 26.
[138] Glunz 1997, 74–76 map 13.

southeastern Alpine Dolenjska group and beyond the Alps. As a model to the Dürrnberg amber boar, besides the Bologna specimens, small Ha C/D sculptures of lions or sphinxes made of bone as fibula decorations are found in Hallstatt *(Fig. 8,8)*[139]. Persistent LT A connections to *Picenum* are reflected by two neck rings with mutually bent ends from Dürrnberg graves *(Fig. 8,13.14)*[140]. While Pauli doubted the existence of those ties to the western Adriatic coast, a reassessment of similar finds from the cemetery of Belmonte Piceno of the Piceno IV B phase (520–470 BC) can now dispel these doubts[141].

Coral was a broadly appreciated means of social distinction and representation of wealth both in the western and in the eastern sphere of the Hallstatt Culture[142]. At Dürrnberg, it is frequently used as an inlay of bronze and gold jewellery in Ha D2/3 and LT A/B. While in the west, according to Pliny's accounts in the 1st century AD, *corallium rubrum* was obtained from the deposits in the Gulf of Lion and the Tyrrhenian Sea, the origin of the raw material and its distribution is much less clear in the east[143]. Here, the material from the same sources may have been transferred to the Inn-Salzach area and beyond via the Western and Central Alps (Golasecca culture)[144]. A large depot of raw coral rods dating to the end of the 6th century BC at the settlement of Forcello di Bagnolo San Vito indicates a possible node of Etruscan transmission[145]. However, coral may also have been transferred via the Tauern Passes by the Este culture, where it is attested from the second half of the 7th century BC. It is less frequent in Etruria, in burial context at least[146]. Finally, it cannot be excluded that the material there originated from Adriatic coral reefs[147]. A strong reference to the Adriatic Sea may be illustrated by one of the rare Hallstatt and Early La Tène examples of a cowrie shell from Dürrnberg grave no. 44#2 which may indeed come from the eastern Mediterranean area or beyond *(Fig. 8,3)*[148]. Bronze and amber imitations of cowrie shells on either side of the Adriatic could trace the path taken by this unique feature in a grave so ostentatiously conveying the notion of feasting in an environment of social and military power[149].

'Invisible imports': Wine, textiles, and other consumer goods

Of course, the appropriation of material culture and customs in this "social space of [supra-regional; my addition] culture of conviviality and banqueting"[150] is illustrated not only by the vessels as paraphernalia of drinking and feasting but by the central means of consumption – Mediterranean wine. Even if Wolfgang Kimmig's assumption that the Mediterranean drinking vessels are pure 'extra freight' of the commercially organised wine import is outdated today, 'Massaliotic' transport amphorae in the Western Hallstatt zone represent a special element of Mediterranean contacts along the Rhône[151]. As recent analyses show, wine was not the only content of the containers, whose origin also multiplied[152].

[139] Glunz 1997, pl. 27, 2.3.
[140] Dürrnberg grave no. 64A and 'Klammreiskapelle' (Pauli 1978, 135–136).
[141] Pauli 1978, 136; Weidig 2017, 86–89.
[142] Fürst 2014.
[143] Plin. nat. 32, 11; Fürst 2014, 52–53.
[144] Schmid-Sikimić 2002b, 217–232.
[145] Quirino 2011, 388.
[146] Fürst 2014, 47–48.
[147] Fürst 2015; Schmid-Sikimić 2000, 219; Schrickel / Bente 2013, 5–7.
[148] Moosleitner et al. 1974, pl. 43,10; Schönfelder 2001, 318–321 fig. 6.7 tab. 1.
[149] Grahek 2004, fig. 42. – However, Scythian finds of cowrie shells may well indicate a sporadic influx from the Eurasian steppe cultures in the 7th–6th centuries BC (Bruyako 2007).
[150] Kistler 2010, 73 ("im sozialen Raum der [intermediterranen] Geselligkeits- und Bankettkultur").
[151] Kimmig 1962/63, 98 f.; 1983, 35 f.
[152] Maggetti 2014; Sacchetti 2016; Hansen 2012, 105.

In the eastern sphere, however, only one single fragment of a northern Greek transport amphora is currently reported at Prague-Pitkovice (CZ)[153]. Similar to the import of Italian wine into the Eastern Celtic region in the late La Tène period, the early Iron Age wine import may have used other means of transport (barrels, wineskins)[154]. Numerous Greek amphora sherds in the Etruscan settlement of Forcello di Bagnolo San Vito, which served as a multifunctional economic hub, may indicate consumption beyond personal needs[155]. As a reloading station, wine could have been decanted there and transported via the central Alps with caravans of pack animals to the northern edge of the Alps. Of course, the major wine-trading centres at Adria or Spina would also have been integrated into this distribution network and more directly linked the eastern Alpine corridor[156].

Hence, the rare evidence of wine and original import vessels does not indicate a general 'lack of demand' or even 'negative attitude' and 'low willingness' to engage in trade on the part of transalpine consumers[157]. Scientific residue analyses of imported ceramics and imitations of imported vessels from the Heuneburg, Vix-Mont Lassois (Côte-d'Or, FR), and other western Late Hallstatt / Early La Tène centres indicate grape wine and other fermented beverages but also reveal the diversity and mixture of different ingredients[158]. This and an apparent multi-functional use of indigenous and external drinking vessels in the West Hallstatt Zone suggest a complex interplay and appropriation of both external and local material culture, food, and customs. Other culinary habits typical of Mediterranean wine consumption and preparation, such as the shredding of spices, were apparently deliberately not integrated into northern Alpine culinary arts, according to archaeological sources. The distribution of the graters used for this purpose clearly ends south of the Alps, although sieves for filtering additives were commonly used in transalpine societies[159].

Residues of a resinous liquid from the LT A canteen from grave no. 44#2 show that grape wine was also consumed at Dürrnberg *(Fig. 9,4)*[160]. On the other hand, a ceramic bottle from grave no. 6 provided evidence of probably fermented soft fruit juice[161]. The (funeral) consumption of alcohol and other liquids, which is well attested by numerous ceramic and metal vessels in almost 400 Dürrnberg graves is a matter of future research. Early La Tène grave no. 44#2 shows a vibrant mixture of local feasting traditions and foreign stimuli with a differentiated spectrum of grave goods covering the sphere of feasting and collective consumption[162]. These include the aforementioned black-glazed *kylix,* canteen flasc and Etruscan basin, and a wooden bronze-fitted jug, a huge bronze bucket as well as other prestigious items like weaponry, gold, amber, and bronze jewellery, and, as a symbol of prominent social rank, a two-wheeled chariot.

Apart from wine as the socially and religiously meaningful delicacy *par excellence*, evidence of other exotic foods or spices is extremely rare. On Dürrnberg, due to the exceptional preservation in the salt mine, aniseed *(Pimpinella anisum)* has been detected in worker's excrements[163]. Beyond the proof of contact with the Mediterranean region of origin

[153] Trefný / Polišenský 2014. – A Greek amphora from early 6th century BC in south-eastern Poland (Chotyniec) is related to Greek-Scythian contacts along the Eastern Carpathians, which started in the Black Sea region (Czopek et al. 2021).

[154] For Manching as the easternmost late Iron Age findspot of Italian and Graeco-Italic amphorae see Lyding Will 1987.

[155] de Marinis 1986c; 2007a; 2010, 104–105; 112–114; Consonni et al. 2008, 225–235.

[156] Sciortino 2012.

[157] Stöllner 2004, 145; cf. Reinecke 1930, 150.

[158] Rageot et al. 2019a; 2019b; different contributions in Stockhammer / Fries-Knoblach 2018; 2019.

[159] Kistler 2014, 191–193.

[160] Specht 1972.

[161] Pauli 1978, 81.

[162] Pauli 1984; Penninger 1972, 76–80.

[163] Stöllner et al. 2003, 149; Stöllner 2004, 147.

of the anise plant, the consumption of such an exclusive spice by a person employed in the mine naturally raises questions about the social and economic conditions in the salt metropolis[164].

With certain reservations, the consumption of walnuts *(Juglans regia)* may be inferred for the Dürrnberg from the "DNA-based evidence of the presence of walnut" in Hallstatt *faeces*[165]. Although no other 'southern fruits' have been preserved in the Dürrnberg salt mines, they contain a multitude of organic finds that are generally considered an 'invisible' part of reciprocal transalpine exchange: Textiles, weaving threads and dyes were certainly highly appreciated as southern imports around 500 BC. Unfortunately, the dating of two threads of Chinese silk from Dürrnberg is too uncertain to prove indirect contacts with the Far East[166]. At least, a mediation by early Iron Age steppe cultures of such precious materials may be possible: Scythians who used silk fabrics for grave furnishings in the sumptuous tombs of their regions of origin were present in eastern Central Europe[167]. Dyes which have highlighted individual threads of local Dürrnberg fabric in bright red originate from arid regions of the Mediterranean[168]. The dye obtained from the scale insect *Kermes vermilio* L. living on the Kermes oak (*Quercus coccifera* L.) certainly was a highly valued, prestigious commodity due to its colour effect. The exotic red substance, which, for example, also coloured the shroud of the Hochdorf 'prince' or textiles from Hallstatt, probably played an important role in the social representation of late Hallstatt elites both as a sign of 'cosmopolitan' contacts and as a symbolic colour *per se*[169]. Thus, textiles and colour served as ostentatious visual markers of the economic and political power of its wearer.

Finally, the 'consumer goods' also include the fairly 'disguised' influx of new animal breeds as an early Iron Age import of its own kind: The first reliable evidence of the domestic fowl dates from the end of the Urnfield Period and, despite its general rarity, is increasing in the Late Hallstatt Period[170]. On Dürrnberg, parts of *Gallus gallus f. domestica* may have served as food offerings in graves nos 68, 118, and 132[171]. These depositions and rare iconographic evidence of roosters (and hens?) at Hallstatt, for example, on a Ha D1 belt plaque (grave 669) or on earlier Ha C bronze wide-rimmed bowls (e. g. grave 607) and a *Rippenziste*, underline the high symbolic content of the exotic feathered creature[172]. These contexts suggest that the birds originally were used in cultic context (e. g. ceremonial cockfighting) and conveyed socio-religious prestige rather than being of particular agricultural or food value. The exact path of spread of the domestic fowl, which could have been brought to the west by the Phoenicians and the Greek, is still disputed. In Greece, chicken bones are confirmed since the 8th century BC[173]. On the Apennine Peninsula, an early representation as a vessel from Viterbo (Viterbo, IT) is attributed to the 7th century BC, while first sporadic faunal remains also date to the century before[174]. During the 6th and 5th centuries BC Etruscan *bucchero* and bronze depictions of roosters which may have

[164] Wendling 2020a, 401–402.
[165] Maixner et al. 2021, 6.
[166] Stöllner et al. 2003, 152; Stöllner 2004, 148.
[167] Fialko / Boltryk 2013; Hellmuth 2014; 2019.
[168] Stöllner 2004, 148.
[169] Banck-Burgess 1999, 85–89; Grömer 2016, 39. – The colour 'red' as a symbol in Meller et al. 2013.
[170] Kyselý 2010, 10–11; Neumaier 1996; Perry-Gal et al. 2015, 9849–9850; Stadler 2010, 122–123; Stöllner 2004, 147; 150 list 1.
[171] Abd el Karem 2017, 698–702; Rabsilber et al. 2017, 73.
[172] Schibler et al. 1999, 131. – Hallstatt: Kromer 1959, pl. 99,3 (plate, grave 507); pl. 152,1a–c (belt plaque, grave 669); Prüssing 1991, no. 288–290.305.314 (bronze vessels, different graves).
[173] Kyselý 2010, 11; Perry-Gal et al. 2015, 9850.
[174] de Grossi Mazzorin 2005, 352–353; Pallottino 1992, 148 no. 204.

communicated apotropaic or other symbolic beliefs became more frequent[175]. Distribution patterns of early chicken remains in the West Hallstatt zone show that an import from the east to Central Europe, perhaps via the Balkans, may have taken place[176]. The concentration of rooster pendants on the north-eastern Adriatic Sea around 550–500 BC, which clearly go back to Greek models, also traces this presumed spread of living birds. Artistic or symbolic inspiration and direct import may have taken place along the western Balkans or directly via the Greek Adriatic trade[177]. However, the Italian records and their dating do not contradict an Etruscan mediation, which could have taken its way to Central Europe via the central or eastern Alps.

The variability of external object categories documented in the Eastern Alps reveals a sporadic, very selective and functionally differentiated integration and appropriation of material culture. Rare finds, however, suggest increasingly regulated contacts in the late 6th and early 5th century BC Salzach region, although they are hardly compatible with the enhanced commercialisation of Mediterranean trade since the 7th century BC[178]. Nevertheless, a disc-shaped bronze weight from Hellbrunner Berg may represent one of the rare points of contact between the two exchange spheres: a socially operating aristocratic appropriation of exclusive, singular goods in the north and a profit-oriented trade in commercial goods in the south *(Fig. 8,6)*. At c. 295 g, the transalpine weight does not match any common Mediterranean weight system of the time but coincides with a plausibly reconstructed mean standard at 290 g[179]. The Corinthian *mina* at 291 g gives a vague concordance, which in turn establishes a hypothetical connection to the Adriatic Sea, where the Greek mother *polis* was active in colonisation[180].

A fine balance beam from the Ha D/LT A settlement of Hochdorf (Baden-Württemberg, DE) belongs to the same functional category but is certainly not an import from Greece[181]. However, the item provides an indirect correlation with the eastern and central Alpine region with lead isotope analysis indicating 'Austrian' copper as raw material. The production in the vicinity of the deposits along the Salzach or Inn rivers remains hypothetical[182]. A southern French coin and a finger ring inscribed in a southern Alpine font from Nußdorf am Inn (Bavaria, DE), which is only three days' walk away from Dürrnberg, were probably also prestigious individual objects rather than signs of intensified and standardised trade contacts[183]. A Massaliotic obol from Dürrnberg, which was minted between 350 and 220 BC in the Phocaean colony, falls out of the chronological scope discussed here[184]. It is likely to be an early sign of more recent trade contacts in the formative economic phase of Late La Tène large settlements and oppida.

Complex lines of communication

In 1993, Ludwig Pauli outlined routes of trade and exchange in much detail and was eager to develop a diachronic pattern of early Iron Age transalpine communication[185]. This pattern traced a gradual shift of the connecting routes from west to east: In Ha D1 the 'simple'

[175] Gebauer 2015, 178.
[176] Schibler et al. 1999, 132.
[177] Dörrer 2006.
[178] Schweizer 2010, 49–50; Sassatelli 2011, 107–108.
[179] Maggiani 2001; Rahmstorf / Pare 2007, 277.
[180] Moosleitner 1979, 68–69.
[181] Biel 2015, 76–78.
[182] Biel 2015, 78.
[183] Hauser 2012, 88; cf. Schweizer 2010, 48–50.
[184] Schachinger / Wendling 2019, 178; 196 no. 31; Stöllner / Tadic 1998.
[185] Pauli 1993, 162–169.

route was a reflex to the foundation of the Phocaean colony of Massalia along the rivers to the north and finally connected to the Heuneburg by land between the Rhine and Danube. In Ha D2 the transport network in the West Hallstatt zone branched out; the western 'river route' was now joined for the first time by a transit through the western Alps, which conveyed impulses from northern Italy via the Golasecca culture. The growing importance of the contacts to the Po region and the Este culture in Ha D3, which continue to the west over the Western Alps, is reflected in the Salzach-Tauern passage as a new connection across the Eastern Alps. Only in LT A the western Central Alps are integrated into the network, but the Heuneburg as a hinge between West and East breaks away. This leads to a lasting increase in the importance of the Dürrnberg, which connects the newly emerging Early La Tène cultural centre around Prague to the Mediterranean world via a route which in the Middle Ages became known as the "Goldener Steig" (i. e. "Golden Path") *(Fig. 2)*[186]. Mainly based on the distribution of more 'conventional' finds, the latter passage has since been differentiated and supplemented by additional micro-regional pathways[187].

Pauli's general model was frequently contested for several reasons. As a uni-evolutionary model, it proceeds from simple lines to a complex network and thus does not unequivocally allow for regression or restructuring. Since then, several successful attempts have been made to fill the conspicuous gap between the early and long-lasting West Alpine routes and the Tauern-Salzach passage[188]. Based on recent distribution analyses, new routes in the central Alpine region have been identified and verified, although sometimes the exclusion of other routes has somewhat exceeded the interpretative and materially supported goal[189]. Even further east of the Tauern route, beyond the mountain belt of the Alps, an important transport route finally opened up the Hungarian lowlands and eastern Central Europe along the northern Balkans[190].

According to persistent inherent flaws in differential dating, the criticism of Pauli's all too schematic temporal structure possibly falls short. Yet, his network seems to be considerably focussed on preliminary Central European archaeological phases and does not sufficiently acknowledge supra-phase change and short-term patterns[191]. Correspondingly, it does not account for different actors in the network, although it was Pauli himself who certainly integrated other, more modest commodities of regional and interregional exchange[192].

In addition, the regional level, which exhibits a variety of earlier imports from the Italian peninsula, is largely obscured by the extensive focus on Dürrnberg and on exceptional individual pieces of foreign origin. In Pauli's model, Dürrnberg as an independent player only enters the stage in Ha D3 when seemingly the first original southern imports occur in graves and settlements[193]. However, what may hold true for the salt centre itself does not unanimously account for the wider region which actively participated in transalpine communication at least from Ha C[194]. As several sites show, the main communication route across the Tauern Passes and along the Salzach Valley was a regularly used passageway connecting the upper Adriatic Sea and the Po Valley with the northern Alpine foothills.

[186] Pauli 1974; Schönfelder 2001, 310–311.
[187] Chytráček 2002; Irlinger 2017.
[188] See, e. g., Hauser 2012; Irlinger 2010; Kirchmayr 2019; Schmid-Sikimić 2002a; cf. Kimmig 1983, 38–40.
[189] Hauser 2014, 221.
[190] Stegmann-Raitár 2002.
[191] For an alternative approach see Pape 2000. – For dating issues and the problem of 'antiquities' and 'late deposition' see Baitinger 2015, 14–16; Guggisberg 2004b.
[192] Pauli 1993, 165; cf. Irlinger 2017, 263–265; Kimmig 1983, 41–43.
[193] Pauli 1993, 165–166.
[194] Cf. Baitinger 2015, 18.

Although the actual significance of the Tauern Passes before the later La Tène Period has been questioned[195], linearly ordered sites on both sides of the main Alpine ridge represent a hardly deniable indication of an older prehistoric ascent[196]. The exact location of the main crossing remains open – if there ever was such a narrowing of routes. Possible sites are the Hochtor, and the Mallnitzer Tauern, which have been crossed at least since the 2nd century BC, or other crossings like Felbertauern or Korntauern which have not yet been verified as prehistoric passes *(Fig. 1)*[197].

This system of permanent transalpine communication is illustrated by finds from an elaborate Ha C find complex in Bruck im Pinzgau including a *situla* with *Kreuzattaschen* handles *(Fig. 10,8)*. Corresponding finds at Frög and Tscherberg in the Jaun Valley (Carinthia, AT) mark the connection to the *Caput Adriae*[198]. A three-knobbed fibula in Bruck in turn creates a direct link to this area and the eastern Hallstatt Dolenjska cultural group. As indicated by weapons, pottery, and jewellery from Stična, this group was at the junction between southern and central Italian-Etruscan regions and the Este culture on the one hand and eastern Alpine centres such as Kleinklein or Hallstatt on the other since the 8th century BC[199]. Ha C1 bronze bowl cups *(Beckentassen)* from grave no. 400 at Salzburg-Maxglan and Uttendorf im Pinzgau, grave no. 4 (Salzburg, AT), document ties to the Venetian Plain[200]. Dürrnberg graves no. 59 and 68, however, show that these bowls continued to be in use until the end of the Hallstatt period, i. e. in the first half of the 5th century BC[201].

Also, in Ha C/D1, indigenous pottery is associated with characteristic Venetian ceramics of the Este culture at the Uttendorf cemetery *(Fig. 11,5–8)*. Single-handled cups and a *situla* with bronze nail ornaments correspond to 8th and 7th century BC vessels from Padua and Este[202]. Two horse-shaped fibulae from Uttendorf grave no. 56 which certainly represent Ha C1/2 imports from the Padana region underline those ties to upper Italy[203]. Other rather early examples of fibulae, e. g. Drago-type brooches, were found at Dürrnberg[204]. A double-horned fibula corresponds to Mansfeld's S2-Drago-type originating in the Venetian Este culture[205]. It represents the earliest Dürrnberg occupation in Ha D1/2, which in turn relates to late burials of Uttendorf or the most recent, Ha D phase of the Bischofshofen 'Pestfriedhof' cemetery[206]. At Bischofshofen, a copper mining centre about 30 kilometres south of Dürrnberg, different variants of Ha C double-loop bow fibulae again show long-lasting relationships with the area between the rivers Sava and Kupa, in today's Slovenia, but also with the Este culture and Central and Upper Italy[207].

Other items from the Salzach-Inn-region show persistent relations to areas immediately south of the main Alpine ridge, which probably served as mediators of Mediterranean objects. For example, a so-called Hallstatt cup from Hellbrunner Berg near Salzburg, two

[195] Hauser 2014, 221.
[196] Harl 2014, 131–169.
[197] Lippert 1993; Lippert / Dembski 2000; 2013; Pauli 1981; Winckler 2012, 143–150.
[198] Hell 1964; Prüssing 1991, 71–75; esp. 72 no. 257. – Hell's original interpretation of the Bruck feature as a cremation is now being contested in favour of a burnt deposition (G. Tomedi, pers. communication).
[199] Egg 1996, 74–75; Glunz 1997, 20–24 map 1; Ogrin 1998; Teržan 2008, 301; 309.
[200] Moosleitner 1992, 33; 42–43; Schäfer 2019, 200–201.
[201] Rabsilber et al. 2017, 77 no. 22.
[202] Fogolari 1988, 69–70; Moosleitner 1992, 38–40.
[203] Metzner-Nebelsick 2007, 713–714.
[204] Moosleitner et al. 1974, pl. 184B,1.2; Parzinger 1989, 109–110; Stöllner 2002a, 55; Wendling 2014, 12–13.
[205] Dehn et al. 2005, 35–45; 40 no. 40; Glunz 1997, 79–84 map 15.
[206] Lippert / Stadler 2009, 31; 108.
[207] Lippert / Stadler 2009, 24–29.

specimens from Hallstatt, and a cup at Helpfau-Uttendorf (Upper Austria, AT) suggest that fragile glass vessels were highly appreciated among the Late Hallstatt elite in and around the salt centres *(Fig. 10,9–11)*[208]. A concentration of six specimens in the Slovenian Iron Age centre of Most na Soči indicates a possible place of production and a significant transfer of technology from Etruscan or Upper Italian glass workshops *(Fig. 3)*[209]. Both material and technology gave the glass cups the same 'exotic' value as was associated with the original glass vessels from the eastern Mediterranean[210].

The same factors may have caused a particular appreciation for other glass objects, which could be easily integrated functionally and symbolically into existing cultural and ideological concepts. Glass spindle whorls from Dürrnberg *(Fig. 8,4)* and Hallstatt and a glass rod from Hellbrunner Berg correlate with some exceptionally furnished Ha D2/3 female burials, e. g. at Ilmendorf (Bavaria, DE) on the ancient course of the Danube[211]. The distribution of the glass whorls suggests an origin from the Este culture and a transfer via the Etsch-Inn-route or the Tauern-Salzach-route with related whorls, glass beads, or rods from Sanzeno (Trentino, IT), Frög (Carinthia, AT), Magdalenska Gora, and Stična, grave 98 (SI) *(Fig. 3)*[212]. The ubiquitous furnishing of the deceased women with gold, amber, and coral jewellery and the ideological dimension of the ceremonial spindles indicate the social and ritual role of 'noble ladies' on both sides of the Alps[213]. It also reflects very clearly the model of media-centred communication explained in the beginning. It occurs between (social) "spheres that are able to process 'meaning'[214]". This ability is all the more pronounced the more similar the basic concepts of this "cognitive import" in its broad sense are. Despite a probable shift in meaning, the basic information contained in the "media product" (i. e. the transmitted object) is mutually understood by both parties. In this respect, the adoption and integration of customs and ideas was facilitated by a transalpine network of hospitality and communication which was – in a very general sense – based on shared values and beliefs. This network, with Dürrnberg as a step in this 'ideological chain', integrated gender-specific concepts from Etruria and Greece, and extended as far as the West Hallstatt Zone, where a similar Ha D1 glass whorl was found in the Bettelbühl burial mound near the Heuneburg[215].

Further relations between the Salzburg region and the Heuneburg are attested by eponymous fibulae with a vessel-shaped terminal decoration and variants which frequently figure in Dürrnberg Ha D2/3 female burials, e. g. grave no. 353[216]. The jewellery (or rather its owners), including finds at Farchant and Wattenham near Chiemsee (Bavaria, DE), may have reached the east along a path running parallel to the northern edge of the Alps in

[208] Egg 1985, 339 fig. 11,2; 342–344; Haevernick 1958; Moosleitner 1979, 69–70; Stöllner 2002a, 155–156.

[209] Dular / Tecco Hvala 2018, 119–122.

[210] Dular / Tecco Hvala 2018, 122; Stöllner 2002a, 156; cf. Kistler 2010, 70–73.

[211] Cf. Stöllner 2002a, 51; Wendling 2019, 184–185.

[212] Endrizzi / Marzatico 1997, 464 no. 636; Gabrovec 2006, 74 no. 4 pl. 55,98-4; Wendling 2019, 186 fig. 10. – Further West, Como 'Albate', tomb X contains four glass beads with yellow vitrified inlays (de Marinis 2016, 41 fig. 15,58). A broad overview of the Italic finds is provided by Koch 2011.

[213] Koch 2012; Metzner-Nebelsick 2009.

[214] Elleström 2017, 43–46.

[215] Amann 2000, 26–29; 56–60; 79; Krausse / Ebinger-Rist 2018, 73–78; Metzner-Nebelsick 2009, 253–254; cf. Pauli 1978, 269–273.

[216] Chaume / Ney 2015. – Dürrnberg: Rabsilber et al. 2017, 309 no. 3 (grave no. 130#1); 352 no. 14 (grave no. 138#2); 400 no. 4 (grave no. 249); 507 no. 10 (grave no. 353).

Fig. 13. Puch bei Hallein-Urstein, grave 12. Ha D vessel in the style of 'white-ground pottery' with geometric decoration in red and graphite coating. – H. 40,5 cm.

Ha D and LT A[217]. Similar patterns can be traced in the late Hallstatt period inventory of Hellbrunner Berg. The white-ground pottery at this hillfort and at the adjacent cemetery of Puch 'Urstein' technically corresponds to a ware produced at the upper Danube *(Fig. 13)*[218]. The distribution indicates a local production that may have been stimulated by models from the west. The distribution of amber decorated fibulae, which originate from upper and central Italy and Slovenia, confirms these bonds[219]. Two unique examples from Bettelbühl near the Heuneburg as well as several pieces from Bischofshofen, Uttendorf, Dürrnberg and Hallstatt trace the connection across the eastern Alps as early as Ha D1[220]. Other types of fibulae, e. g. *Fußzier*-type brooches with a diagonal cross-pattern, further illustrate this multi-stage relation with *foci* in the west on the one hand, and specimen at Wattenham, Hellbrunner Berg, and Gazzo Veronese near Verona (Verona, IT) on the other

[217] Chaume / Ney 2015, 65 fig. 2.

[218] Hell 1950; Rabsilber 2014, 45–46; Stöllner 2002a, 229–231.

[219] Dular / Tecco Hvala 2018, 111; von Eles Masi 1986, 144–147; Saldalamacchia 2022.

[220] Bischofshofen 'Pestfriedhof': Lippert / Stadler 2009, 24 pl. 93 Grab 353,19 pl. 96 Grab 354,10. – Uttendorf: Moosleitner 1992, 23–24 fig. 19, 7; 38–39. – Dürrnberg: Lavelle / Stöllner 2019, 46–47 no. 9.10. – Heuneburg: Krausse / Ebinger-Rist 2018, 50–51.

hand[221]. The sumptuous Ha D2/3 female graves already mentioned, but also contemporary elite male burials, demonstrate this mediating function of the Salzach region for the circulation of material and immaterial culture. While jewellery and vessels in those burials are signs of intensive contact between Dürrnberg and both the west and south, the Hallstatt daggers in the male graves confirm close ties to the West Hallstatt zone. The mixing of apparently external and local, eastern Alpine weaponry (hatchets) may indicate the cultural appropriation of western Hallstatt impulses (or *vice versa*)[222]. In contrast, the female elite equipment, which is perceived as 'foreign', may suggest an actual, personal origin from a neighbouring but very similar cultural environment.

The overall diachronic view shows that the hinge function of the Dürrnberg between the cultures around the *Caput Adriae* on the one hand and the distinct communication with the West Hallstatt zone on the other hand was significantly intensified in Ha D3 but was based on long established ties[223]. Recent analyses suggest that this transverse 'sub-Alpine trail' flourished in the 8th/7th century BC[224] but was continuously used until the 5th century BC, as the aforementioned distributions indicate. The path ran parallel to the northern edge of the Alps from the Salzach valley westwards to the Iller and thus connected to the upper Danube. Several central Alpine exchange routes crossed in its course, forming a tight network of east-west and north-south connections[225]. The adjoining transalpine communication, which was aimed at the Po Valley, operated via the central Alpine passes or the western Alpine route and the Golasecca area. However, the numerous indications of intensive contacts with the Este culture that have existed since Ha C suggest that since that time a transfer of objects and ideas took place towards the Salzach route and into the northern Alpine foreland and beyond[226].

In the following Early La Tène period, the intensive influences from the West seem to diminish at first. This may be related to the relatively sudden decline of many central sites in the West Hallstatt zone of which only a few, such as Hohenasperg, Breisach 'Münsterberg', or Ipf at Bopfingen (Baden-Württemberg, DE), adapt to the new cultural trends[227]. Remarkably, it is precisely in these places that a continuation of relations with the Adriatic region is emerging, which could have used the Dürrnberg as a relay station for contacts further north and west. Characteristic ceramic Slovenian-type *situlae* and similar ceramic buckets have been found in Dürrnberg graves, at Heuneburg, Ipf, and in Breisach[228]. Although the vessels are probably of local origin and vary in size, material, and colour, their general similarity connects far-flung regions during the Hallstatt-La Tène transition. Despite this continuing relationship, Hellbrunner Berg and Dürrnberg on the eastern periphery of the former West Hallstatt zone trace the overall development: While Hellbrunner Berg was abandoned, the salt centre was facing an enormous economic rise. The Dürrnberg was able to build on traditionally close cultural ties with the Este Culture and the *Caput Adriae* to become a 'salt metropolis', and thus probably acted as a considerable

[221] Hauser 2012, 90; Weidinger 2009, 302 fig. 7; 303 fig. 8.

[222] Lavelle / Stöllner 2019, 245; Stöllner 2002a, 126–129.

[223] Wendling 2019; 2020b.

[224] Lang / Käser 2019; Stöllner 2002a, 231 fig. 105.

[225] Krausse et al. 2019, 261; Frey 2004.

[226] Mineral analysis of pottery from Bischofshofen 'Pestfriedhof' which has been linked to clay resources in the northern Alpine foothills around Salzburg and in southern Bavaria indicates a regional transfer of objects (Lippert / Stadler 2009, 205).

[227] Balzer 2009; 2010a.

[228] Balzer 2009, 84–86; 2010b, 30–32; Kimmig 1983, 69. – Dürrnberg: Wendling / Wiltschke-Schrotta 2015, 43.

source of inspiration for the Early La Tène culture of Central Europe[229]. This assumption is supported by an increase in imports of Piceno-Adriatic bronze vessels in the Early La Tène period, which seems to have given important impulses to the new art and culture of Central Europe. As Otto-Herman Frey supposed, this intensification is based on much older Adriatic-Western Hallstatt contacts[230] but could just as well rest on those eastern alpine communication routes and contact mechanisms described above.

Archaeological evidence of 'foreigners' among the population of the mining settlement on Dürrnberg, who certainly played an important role in the dissemination of material culture and ideas, is problematic[231]. Some associated objects in burial context could vaguely speak for an external origin of the buried individuals, e. g. in grave no. 252 *(Fig. 8,10–12)*. These personal relationships may underline persistent ties to the Adriatic Este culture or the broader region around the *Caput Adriae*[232]. Other elements of material culture have added to the 'cosmopolitan' picture of Dürrnberg: since the Early La Tène period, central Alpine Fritzens-Sanzeno ceramics increasingly figure in graves and settlements. In addition to the presence of people from the Inner Alps, here a new, southbound orientation after the dominant link with the western Hallstatt culture is plausible[233].

Against this background, Pauli's unilinear and temporally focussed interpretation needs not be dismissed, but rather supplemented: based on far older Iron Age communication flows, the distribution of southern goods indicates that the Dürrnberg, at the latest since Ha D3, as a junction, brought together two transalpine routes *(Figs 2; 3)*. From the southwest, objects from Upper Italy reached the Inn and Salzach via the Adige, and from the south-eastern Alpine, Carnic-Slovenian region, the Tauern passes were used[234]. The economic centres of Hallstatt and later Dürrnberg dominated the onward routes to the foothills of the Alps and beyond.

Appropriation in historical perspective

In order to fully understand the mechanisms and consequences of Greek and Etruscan contacts with the transalpine regions in eastern central Europe, it is necessary to draw a holistic picture of imports considering multiple categories – those from Greece, Etruria, and other Italian regions as well as material elements of middle-range contacts on either side of the Alps[235]. These may include items that have been part of a transalpine exchange network in large numbers for a long time. In contrast, the southern imports *sensu stricto* were not necessarily part of a permanent and regular exchange system but retained their special cultural position and social value according to their obvious foreign origin, hence their rarity, and by exuding a particular 'exotic' aura[236]. The social value of those 'strange' objects is encapsulated in a specific aesthetic and semantic appearance, which ostentatiously evokes their role as both extra- and intrasocietal media of distinction. In this way, initially rare and unfamiliar objects may have been increasingly incorporated into the inner-social discourse

[229] Cf. Egg et al. 2009, 98–100; Pauli 1978, 457–460.

[230] Frey 2004, 58–59; Adam 2012.

[231] An Hallstatt example in Dörrer 2002.

[232] Grave no. 252 (Zeller 2002, 198–199); grave no. 377 (Moser 2009).

[233] Zeller 1992.

[234] In a narrative about the transport of offerings of the 'Hyperboreans' to Delos with the mediation of the Scythians and neighbouring peoples, Herodotus (Hdt. IV 33,1–3) explicitly describes the route across the Adriatic and thus via an eastern Alpine passage, i. e. the double-track route described here, whose central crossing was the Tauern.

[235] Cf. Ulf 2014a.

[236] Hahn 1994; cf. Schumann 2015, 253.

in a process of 'de-alienation'[237]. As a consequence, this qualitative change of individual objects may have developed into a quantitative demand for ever more numerous imported goods. Either way, peculiar 'alien' items and their alterity fostered intra-societal self-perception and self-identification of Iron Age elites and had a highly identity-forming effect which extraculturally may have defined own or foreign ethnicity[238].

Ethnographic analogies show quite convincingly that the original assumption that the objects of value attest direct alliances between Mediterranean 'nobles' and their 'barbaric', yet equal counterparts does not adequately explain the archaeological record[239]. Furthermore, in the Eastern Alps, the quantity and quality of southern imports rather indicate that the supposedly purely economic traffic of 'common goods' also had some influence on the creation and dynamics of social bonds between providers and recipients[240]. However, to what extent those everyday items were pure fashion trends or contributed and perpetuated intra-social differentiation, or even created some sort of (ethnic) identity is unclear. According to the aforementioned elitist appropriation of foreign objects, the latter, at least, may be ruled out[241].

The transfer of singular *keimélia* in particular was subject to numerous restrictions and fundamentally permeated and shaped by social relations – as much as in turn material culture transformed those very social relations[242]. On the widespread down-the-line journey of those peculiar items, even a branch off into one of the side valleys of the main route could mean a slight change in cultural environment and meaning. Thus, the *keimélia*, passed on as gifts to guests, to confirm alliances or to make obligatory counter-gifts, went through various separate regions and cultural areas united in an appreciation of exotic curiosities and their special object biographies. In this respect, conscious manipulation and traces of use may have increased the ideological object value by illustrating a (true or fictional) travel story which was attributed to the pieces as evidence of previous owners[243].

In an initial phase of contact, individual objects were incorporated into existing cultural practices due to their obvious functional background or according to their 'compatibility' with predisposed local patterns of use[244]. Ethnography holds countless examples of such cultural appropriation of armour, weaponry, or dress, which sometimes very vividly describe the reuse of 'foreign' things in the same, but also in a completely different context, yet always in a familiar, indigenous way[245]. They offer significant analogies for the use and appropriation of, for example, the ivory-hilted sword from Kinding-Ilbling as individual symbols of prestige for prominent men[246].

[237] Panagiotopoulos 2012 critically assesses 'alterity' and stresses the gradual 'de-alienization' of external objects.

[238] Eggert 1991, 26; cf. Eggert / Stoessel 2014; Schröder 2014; Walsh 2014. – Note S. Brather's (2009, 4) explicit reference to the fact that in prehistoric context "ethnic identity is elite identity".

[239] Original argument by Fischer 1973 and Zürn 1970 ('diplomatic gifts' and 'memorabilia'); cf. Shefton 1989, 218–219.

[240] E. g. Mauss 1968, 66.

[241] Brather 2009, 4.

[242] Eggert 1991, 20–25; Kistler 2010, 71–72; 85. – For the transformative character of material culture as object *and* subject of social relations see Schreiber (2018, 108–109), who denotes materiality as a "dynamic articulation or configuration of the world".

[243] Hahn / Weiss 2013, 2; Kistler 2010, 70.

[244] Panagiotopoulos 2012, 56.

[245] Eggert 1991, 15; Brun 1987, 161; 163.

[246] As a prestigious type of armour, inner- and southern-Alpine Negau-type helmets often occur in Hallstatt and La Tène contexts beyond the eastern Alps, and at Dürrnberg and Hallstatt (Irlinger 2002, 185).

Those singular objects, but also more or less 'mundane' items like bronze and ceramic vessels may have consolidated rather small-scale political and economic alliances as individual prestige goods and representative banquet tableware, passed on in stages. Certainly, these ethnographic observations have far-reaching consequences for the situation at Dürrnberg, too, which as a supplier of the most necessary raw material probably already performed a developed form of exchange. However, its economic contacts were probably also determined by subliminal social guidelines: At different levels and topographical scales, different actors were involved and sealed their socio-economic communication within the framework of a cross-cultural exchange of gifts[247]. Mutual commitment and the participation of 'trade experts' and 'contact specialists' may have had an effect here, as is known from sub-recent ethnographic examples[248].

This system of mutual obligation through reciprocal gift exchange, embedded into a broader network of economic (and social) exchange, did not end at Dürrnberg. Indeed, it further operated within the indigenous cultural environment and spread Mediterranean imports towards the north and in return also conveyed goods in the opposite direction. In this respect, Dürrnberg is more of an economic and particularly social negotiator than a magnet for exclusive long-distance trade goods. Following this holistic view, a very different pattern is visible compared to that with only the few Attic potsherds dispersed across the wider eastern Alpine zone. What becomes evident is another, eastern zone of communication which is similar and certainly connected to the *Westhallstattkreis* but also shows significant individual features.

Intense transalpine communication started during the 8th and 7th centuries BC, whereas the 'special items' suggest an intensification or rather modification of contacts around 500–480 BC, that is, towards the end of the Hallstatt period[249]. This influx of material culture and ideas, however sporadic, remained unbroken and even increased into the following La Tène period, when it may have considerably enhanced latent, yet inexorable dynamics in art, religion, and social structure[250]. Increasing numbers of common goods like cisalpine types of fibulae on ordinary settlement sites illustrate the fundamental impact in broad areas of culture and life[251]. This development may be ascribed at least in part to historical events and processes both in the western Mediterranean and the Adriatic with a focus on the Po plain: from c. 650–550 BC Greek expansion approached the northern Adriatic with the establishment of an *emporion* in the Venetian settlement of Adria towards 530 BC[252]. Because of wider political developments, the Etruscans established the port of Spina around 540 BC. With a Greek *emporion* founded there in c. 510 BC, it became the centre of Greek and Etruscan wine trade in the Adriatic[253]. From c. 520 BC onwards, the upper Adriatic Sea is under Etruscan dominance. After their defeat at the Battle of Kyme in 474 BC, the Etruscans are forced to focus on the Adriatic trade[254].

This short historical outline supports the apparent post-500 BC intensification of 'Adriatic contacts' of those communities north of the Alps which could revert to long-established

[247] Eggert 1991, 21; 2003, 188–191. – For relevant factors in a comprehensive model of cultural contact involving different "stages of […] transmission, from producer to transmitter and recipient" see Ulf 2014b, 515–517.

[248] Eggert 1991, 22–25.

[249] Metzner-Nebelsick 2017.

[250] Egg et al. 2009, 98–100.

[251] Irlinger 2002, 185. – Also in the ethnographic record, the exchange of exclusive objects is clearly separated from the 'common' exchange of functional, everyday items (e. g. Mauss 1968, 55–56; 66).

[252] Beaumont 1936; Bonomi et al. 2020; Cabanes 2008, 174; Hansen / Nielsen 2004, no. 75.

[253] Bentz 2015, 272–273; Bonomi 1988, 67; Cabanes 2008, 174; Mistireki / Zamboni 2020.

[254] Bentz 2015, 272; Pape 2000, 145; 2002, 420; Pauli 1993, 162.

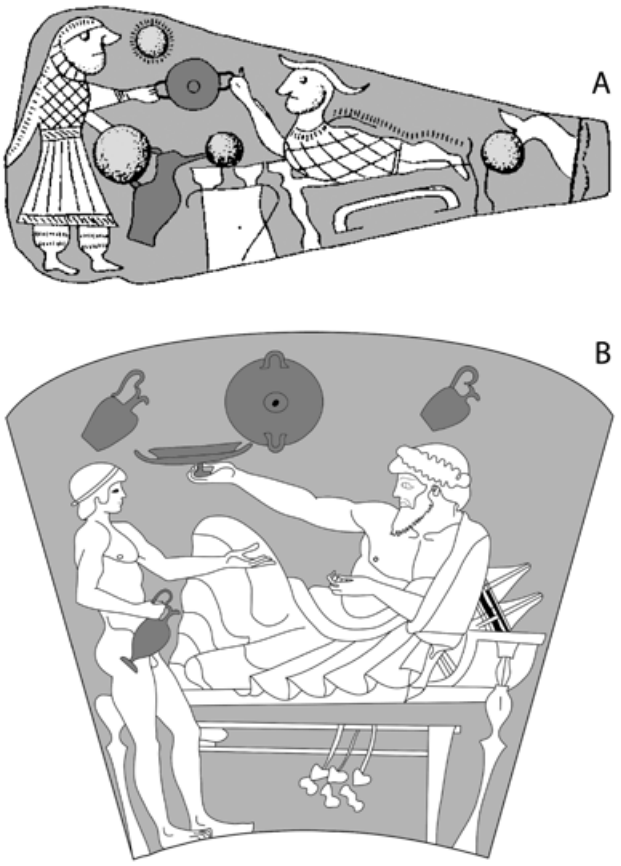

Fig. 14. Festive attendance of drinks: A In the Este-culture with beaked flagon and double-handled drinking bowl *(kylix?)* on a modified belt hook from Este 'Carceri', grave 48. B In Greece with *kylikes* and *œnochoai* in a Late Archaic–Early Classical banquet scene on an Attic red-figure *kylix* by Douris. – Not to scale.

bonds. It becomes clear that the Este region together with the Etruscan foundations at Spina and the colony of Adria gave major impulses to the eastern Alps with the latter being considered as the starting point for trade along the Adige[255]. In addition, sumptuous Etruscan graves from Spina and other Este sites vividly illustrate this source of material culture for transalpine distribution[256]. This certainly included Attic red-figure ceramics, which reached a peak in import at Adria, Spina, and Bologna in the 2nd quarter of the 5th century BC[257]. Among countless other indicators, recent studies on the spread of Graeco-Italian imported pottery throw light on the infiltration of material culture via the intermediate stations in the Este culture and in the southeast Alpine region. The examples in the Este culture and their gradual decline further afield show that the drinking vessels were not exported in large numbers but rather passed on as 'special commodities' according to the down-the-line exchange model[258]. Furthermore, the spread of certain vessel shapes and

[255] Marzoli / Wiel Marin 2013, 26.
[256] Arias 1994; Baitinger 2017, 1629; Locatelli 2011.
[257] Bonomi 1988; Pape 2002, 419; Wiel Marin 2005, 59 pl. 7.

styles of decoration indicates individual preference, conscious decision-making and varying modes of incorporation of imported goods by regional Este communities[259]. In the immediate vicinity of Adria and Spina, this may have involved the adoption of specific drinking customs, as may be shown on the peculiar 'banquet scene' with *kylix* and beaked flagon on the 'situla art' belt plaque of Carceri near Este[260]. Admittedly, the craftsman could also have created an imitation of a black or red figure painting on his own, thereby indicating an indigenous understanding of art and materials *(Fig. 14)*.

In this interregional network, Dürrnberg (and earlier Hellbrunner Berg and certainly Hallstatt) played a focal role as a transmitter of stimuli and passed on material culture together with ideas, and mental concepts – in multiple directions. Although the flow of goods to the south is difficult to prove archaeologically due to the special character of possible commodities (textiles, furs, etc.), Hallstatt culture fibulae illuminate the reciprocal exchange with Italy, where colonies, *emporia*, and Etruscan foundations like Forcello di Bagnolo San Vito obviously played a prominent role in cross-cultural contact across the central and eastern Alps[261]. Amber may have played a prominent role in this complex system of mutual commitment and multi-directional negotiation[262].

Singular Mediterranean items may well have stimulated the transmission of ideas and cultural concepts but also served as objects of intra-societal discourse[263]. In this respect, variability of import categories (bronze, glass and ceramic vessels, textiles, 'special items', etc.) and their temporal differentiation may well reflect differences in meaning and use of imported objects, materials, or vessel forms[264]. This difference applies both to the original cultures and to the transalpine societies, which mostly integrated items and goods into their cultural milieu according to their proper needs and long-established customs[265].

Exclusive objects are an extreme example of such a deliberate reinterpretation of content. Those items may have conveyed a singular, symbolic or semiotic value, which neglected any functional purpose. Ulrich Veit has argued for an interpretation of those strange objects in Iron Age sumptuous graves as ritual paraphernalia. Due to their rarity and apparent futility they were ritually transformed and integrated in a sacred sphrere that was dominated by elite members as "representatives of the invisible or numinous"[266]. In this way, 'foreign' things were embedded in a religious context and attributed with a new complex of meanings.

Another purposeful transformation of the appropriated material culture in terms of content and ideas has recently been described as a process of 'hybridisation', which merges original content with new attributions[267]. The integration (and material and immaterial transformation) of drinking vessels and related customs into an existing culture of communal feasting and hospitality is a good example of such practice[268]. This process of

[258] Frey 1969, pl. 36–39; Wiel Marin 2015. – For the model in general see Renfrew 1977.

[259] Wiel Marin 2015; cf. Walsh / Antonaccio 2014, 60–61. – This selective choice ultimately reflects the underlying Etruscan approach to choose and integrate foreign drinking vessels into an adapted 'Greek-style' *symposion* (Adam 1995).

[260] Frey 1969, 83–86; Perego 2013, 265–266.

[261] de Marinis 1986b; 2007b; 2010.

[262] Kossack 1982, 102–104. – For a similar ethnographic example see Eggert 1991, 18–20.

[263] Schreiber 2013, 80.

[264] Guggisberg 2004b, 175. – On the social role of, for example, (imported and indigenous) bronze vessels in the Hallstatt culture, which varies over time and region, see Schumann 2015, 253–254.

[265] Baitinger 2015, 21; Jung 2007a, 220–222; Perego 2013, 265. – For a short overview on the general concept of 'cultural appropriation' see Hahn 2014, 101–103; Schreiber 2013.

[266] Veit 2005, 33–34.

[267] Stockhammer 2012.

[268] Schreiber 2019.

appropriation, transformation and re-conceptualisation becomes visible in the archaeological record, but leaves a number of unanswered questions, e. g. about the actors themselves and associated human-object relationships[269].

Studies on Iron Age cultural transfer have shown that the changing quantities and distribution patterns of southern imports *sensu stricto* were not only due to political or structural changes in the 'donor cultures'. Rather, they reflect preferences and a targeted selection of the 'receiving' and transforming Hallstatt and La Tène cultures, as has been observed in other zones of direct contact between Greek and local people[270]. An example of the negative eclecticism of such cultural elements, which has a lasting effect especially in the area of food customs, is the aforementioned northern Alpine rejection of graters for adding ground spices to wine[271]. In addition, Martin Guggisberg has demonstrated a rather preferiential choice of material culture according to intended social effect by describing the significant quantitative change in the import of (Greek) *krateres* and (Etruscan) *stamnoi* in Ha D and LT A respectively[272]. This change was by no means due to an exact imitation of drinking habits in Greek and / or Etruscan banquets or *symposia*, which themselves differ in the specific composition and use of the vessel sets involved[273]. The temporal and functional variation is rather linked to changing forms of representation of elitist lifestyles in the indigenous societies. The *krater* was used as a medium of representation of an intercultural elite community in a generally accepted reciprocal system of hospitality. In this respect, the earliest imports were not so much acquired according to a generally accepted, 'proper' functionality in their original cultural context, that is, as part of a *symposion* but as an ostentatious sign of *grandeur* as directly mirrored by their size[274]. In contrast, the Etruscan *stamnoi* (and buckets), which increasingly occured from 450 BC onwards, were given an altogether new function: they served the internal display of economic, political, and probably also military power in a transitional society marked by competitive pressure.

On Dürrnberg, this competitive environment is illustrated by weaponry and chariots in graves of the earliest La Tène horizon, richly furnished with exclusive goods, among others the *stamnos* and *kylix* from grave no. 44#2 or the magnificent bronze beaked jug from wagon grave no. 112[275]. In this respect, the significant increase in Etrusco-Italian imports and their imitations at Dürrnberg was also an ostentatious display of the local elite, which is hardly coincidental with the social, cultural, and religious transformation of the Early La Tène period. In a certain sense – this is also shown by supra-regional distribution patterns – quality is virtually outnumbered by quantity. It is symptomatic that the southern impulses were not imitated directly but fell on fertile ground that had already been prepared before. The new character, intensity, and adaptation of southern imports were therefore less a precondition than a consequence of fundamental cultural changes of indigenous communities north of the Alps which had begun earlier. While persistently referring to local traditions or customs, these societies manipulated, transformed, and reinterpreted exotic items to display new positions of power. The dynamics of cultural appropriation of foreign goods in the Eastern Alpine Iron Age and beyond thus operated both as a stimulating and exacerbating factor in a changing social environment.

[269] Schreiber 2019, 39–40.

[270] Walsh 2013; Walsh / Antonaccio 2014, 60–61.

[271] Kistler 2014, 191–193.

[272] Guggisberg 2017.

[273] Adam 1995, 111–112.

[274] Guggisberg 2009; 2011; 2017, 97–98; Schweizer 2015, 218. – The 'proper' use of foreign goods (or customs) in an extracultural context is dealt with through the aspect of 'incorporation' in the context of cultural appropriation. In a dynamic process, 'instructions for action' are culturally negotiated and have a socially structuring effect (Schreiber 2013, 80).

[275] Pauli 1984.

Results: space, objects, and concepts

The re-evaluation of material culture transferred across the Eastern Alps during the Early Iron Age has produced interrelated results: The systematic recording of those exclusive objects that can be recognised as 'foreign' in transalpine milieus shows that their number is far higher than previously perceived.

Diachronic analysis shows that well before the significantly intensified use of the Tauern corridor in Ha D3 as postulated by Ludwig Pauli, there was a sporadic but regular influx of goods from south of the Alps. The situation thus largely corresponds to the West Hallstatt 'southern import', but has a quite distinct quality due to long-established communication across the Alpine valleys. This includes close and long-lasting relations of the wider Salzach region to the Adriatic and to Upper Italy. Moreover, the reassessment reveals that the transversal links between the Salzach and the West Hallstatt core area were significantly more intensive and by no means one-sided. As early as Ha D1, impulses seem to have spread to the north-west from Hallstatt, Hellbrunner Berg, and the emerging salt mining centre on Dürrnberg. As a relay station for contacts to the Adriatic and the Balkans, the region naturally also passed on important material (e. g. amber) and immaterial influences in the opposite direction.

In addition to revised temporal and functional issues, it became evident that the frequent focus on single categories of imported objects in earlier approaches obscured a much broader repertoire of material culture. The varied spectrum of types indicates a conscious decision of rejection or acceptance and deliberate appropriation of certain object genres, especially on the part of the northern Alpine recipients. The import and use of exclusive drinking vessels or the adoption of socio-ritual markers such as glass spindle whorls did not imply a one-to-one conversion of prefabricated meaning. Rather, with reference to a "medium-centred communication model", meaning can be understood as a "cognitive import" that is adapted and transformed on both sides in a reciprocal process. Despite similarities in those underlying mental concepts which are 'materialised' in the exchanged objects, their functional and ideological, i. e. semiotic content was considerably modified[276]. This could go as far as completely reconceptualising the object, which could, for example, be embedded in an entirely different, preconfigured religious context[277].

Based on ethnographic evidence, the exchange mechanisms involved can be understood as a combination of down-the-line exchanges within a broad network. In the course of the multi-linear circulation of 'foreign' objects their integrated (ascribed) meanings changed in the course of their respective biographies and 'itineraries'. In analogy to contemporary Mediterranean modes of elite network communication, common concepts such as gift exchange played a fundamental role in negotiating social, political, and economic bonds and alliances. These alliances were based on the fundamental principle of gift and counter-gift in an obligation that binds the exchange partners to each other. In the ethnographic record as described by Mauss, this commitment can go as far as forging a kind of kinship 'clan connection' between the partners in exchange[278]. Both in barter and profit-oriented (commodity) exchange, even if only unilateral, the sealing of contacts by 'social' tributes and gifts was crucial[279]. By providing access and establishing contacts, these items were therefore not 'incidental' to regular, institutionalised barter, but a fundamental prerequisite in the exchange process, even of more 'mundane' objects such as fashion accessories[280].

[276] Ellesström 2018, 288.
[277] Veit 2005.
[278] Mauss 1968, 67–68; cf. Rössler 2005, 195.
[279] Eggert 1991; 2003.
[280] Cf. Mauss 1968, 55 f. 66.

In this context, the singular and exclusive objects themselves never had a purely economic value in the recipient communities. Rather, they served as media of social discourse, especially in the competition between elite groups or individuals. This applies in terms of the changing quality and quantity of those objects: initially, in the Early Hallstatt period, they satisfied an individual desire for prestige as unique 'strange' items, such as the Kinding-Ilbling sword or rare imported bronze vessels, e. g. at Salzburg-Maxglan, Bruck and Uttendorf im Pinzgau[281]. With increasing contacts, the access of those elite circles to objects that could be used to increase prestige grew, and their social function now developed into status indicators[282]. Accumulations of exclusive objects did not represent a value in themselves, but could be invested in such actions and social measures that promised an increase in status[283]. Here too, however, they were integrated into existing, yet changing social concepts, as is particularly evident in the paraphernalia of collective feasting and alcohol consumption as a display of hospitable generosity[284]. These social acts aimed at a visualisation of status, which since Ha D utilised exclusive 'foreign' objects, such as Este-culture ceramics, exquisite glass vessels or Etruscan bronze vessels. Eventually, in the Early La Tène period, Greek black-glazed ceramics and Etruscan vessels were distributed northwards via the Este culture and the *Caput Adriae* in even greater numbers, and frequently occur in Dürrnberg burials. While economic interests may be assumed on the part of the southern Alpine contact partners, social competition among the elite was still and increasingly important in the transalpine societies in LT A/B. In an apparently heterarchical system of elite competition[285], material culture was deliberately and consciously appropriated and sometimes radically transformed, as shown by the wooden pyxides, which reproduced Greek-Etruscan ceramics according to local preferences and tastes. The 'Early Celtic' beaked and tubular jugs, which only vaguely refer to original Etruscan models, are a culmination of such transformative action. All the more they continued to serve as ostentatious media of shared social practices and customs.

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[281] This could well be consistent with the ethnosociological model of Big Men societies put forward by M. K. H. Eggert (2007, 262; 287 f.) and U. Veit (2000, 557–559) as an explanation for the social structure of the late Hallstatt period.

[282] Schumann 2015, 23–42; esp. 35–36.

[283] Schier 2010, 381.

[284] Schier 2010, 393.

[285] Cf. Moore / González-Álvarez 2021.

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Abstract: Greek and Italic Imports at Early Iron Age Dürrnberg: A study in transalpine communication

The identification of a handle fragment of 5th century BC Attic black-glazed pottery from the foot of the Dürrnberg 'salt metropolis' near Hallein (Austria) offers an opportunity to reassess Early Iron Age transalpine communication. Imports from Greece and Italy are present in the Eastern Alpine region and beyond in supposedly smaller numbers than in the Western Hallstatt region. However, a survey of those outstanding pieces, and especially of many more 'ordinary' examples of foreign material culture, proves the intensity of Mediterranean-Central European relations already since the Early Iron Age. The spectrum of finds also shows once again the diachronic significance of the 'Tauern-Salzach-Passage', which connected the *Caput Adriae* with the regions of the Northern Alpine foothills. Dürrnberg and nearby Hellbrunner Berg had an important relay function in the 6th and 5th century BC, which guaranteed a reciprocal exchange of goods up to the western Hallstatt region. In a gradual distribution of objects in the context of economic-social gift exchange and cultural appropriation, the 'southern import' had a fundamental effect in social transformation.

Zusammenfassung: Griechische und italische Importe am früheisenzeitlichen Dürrnberg: Eine Studie zur transalpinen Kommunikation

Die Identifikation eines Henkelfragmentes Attischer Schwarzfirnisware aus dem 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. vom Fuße der ‚Salzmetropole' auf dem Dürrnberg bei Hallein (Österreich) gibt Anlass zu einer Neubewertung der transalpinen Kommunikation der frühen Eisenzeit. Importe aus Griechenland und Italien liegen im Ostalpenraum und darüber hinaus in vermeintlich geringerer Zahl als im Westhallstattkreis vor. Eine Übersicht solch herausragender Stücke, insbesondere einer großen Zahl weiterer, ‚gewöhnlicher' fremder materieller Kultur belegt jedoch die Intensität mittelmeerisch-zentraleuropäischer Beziehungen bereits seit der älteren Eisenzeit. Das entsprechende Fundspektrum zeigt ferner einmal mehr die diachrone Bedeutung der ‚Tauern-Salzach-Passage', die das *Caput Adriae* mit den Regionen des Alpenvorlandes verband. Der Dürrnberg und der benachbarte Hellbrunner Berg hatten dabei im 6./5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. eine wichtige Relaisfunktion inne, die einen reziproken Güteraustausch bis in den Westhallstattkreis gewährleistete. In einer etappenweisen Weitergabe von Objekten im Rahmen ökonomisch-sozialen Gabentauschs und kultureller Aneignung entfaltete der ‚Südimport' dabei eine grundlegende sozialtransformative Wirkung.

Résumé : Importations grecques et italiques au début de l'âge du Fer à Dürrnberg : Une étude sur la communication transalpine

L'identification d'un fragment de poignée en vernis noir attique du 5e siècle avant J.-C. au pied de la « métropole saline » sur le Dürrnberg près de Hallein (Autriche) donne lieu à une réévaluation de la communication transalpine du début de l'âge du Fer. Les importations en provenance de Grèce et d'Italie sont présentes dans la région des Alpes orientales et au-delà, en nombre supposé inférieur à celui de la région occidentale de Hallstatt. Cependant, un aperçu de ces pièces exceptionnelles, et notamment d'un grand nombre d'autres objets 'ordinaires' de la culture matérielle étrangère, prouve l'intensité des relations entre la Méditerranée et l'Europe centrale depuis le début de l'âge du Fer. Le spectre des découvertes montre également une fois de plus l'importance diachronique du « passage Tauern-Salzach », qui reliait le *Caput Adriae* aux régions des contreforts alpins. Le Dürrnberg et le Hellbrunner Berg toute proche avaient une importante fonction de relais aux 6e et 5e siècles avant J.-C., ce qui garantissait un échange réciproque d'objets jusqu'à la région Hallstatt occidentale. « L'import du sud » a eu un effet transformateur social fondamental en transférant progressivement des objets dans le cadre d'un échange économico-social de dons et d'une appropriation culturelle.

Address of the author:

Holger Wendling
Archäologische Staatssammlung
Lerchenfeldstraße 2
DE–80538 München
holger.wendling@archaeologie.bayern

Salzburg Museum – Fachbereich Archäologie
Keltenmuseum Hallein – Dürrnbergforschung
Alpenstraße 75
AT–5020 Salzburg
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0295-0248

References of figures:
Fig. 1: H. Wendling; base map: www.maps-for-free.com. – *Fig. 2:* H. Wendling supplemented after Bouzek et al. 2017, 58 fig. 10; Hansen 2012, 100 fig. 3; Hauser / Schönfelder 2014, 437 fig. 2; Kimmig 1983; Pape 2000; Vorlauf 1997, 139 fig. 19. – Base map: *Tübinger Karte*, H. J. Frey. – *Fig. 3:* H. Wendling. – *Fig. 4:* Keltenmuseum Hallein; photo: C. Kossmann. – *Fig. 5:* Salzburg Museum and Keltenmuseum Hallein; photos and graphics: H. Wendling. – *Fig. 6:* graphics: H. Wendling; base map: SAGIS. – *Fig. 7:* Keltenmuseum Hallein; photo: W. Lobisser. – *Fig. 8:* drawing: 1.3–7.10.11 Keltenmuseum Hallein and Salzburg Museum; 2 Mahr 1921, pl. 6,89; 8.9 Glunz 1997, pl. 27,2.8. – *Fig. 9:* drawings: Dürrnbergforschung, Keltenmuseum Hallein. – *Fig. 10:* drawings: 1–7.10.11 Stöllner 1996, pls 30,1–3; 31A,1; 31C,3; 64E,1; 84,168; 140B, 1.2; 8 Prüssing 1991, pl. 67,257; 9 Kromer 1959, pl. 149,3. – *Fig. 11:* drawings: 1 after Barth 2019, 292–293 fig. 1.2; 2 Ruprechtsberger 1982, 26 fig. 1; 3 after Prinz zur Lippe 1960, 63 fig. 254; 4 L. Huber; 5–8 Salzburg Museum. – *Fig. 12:* drawings and photos: 1–3 Stöllner 1996, pl. 36C,13; 4–7 L. Huber, courtesy of *Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, München;* 8–9 I. Ruttner, courtesy of *OÖ Landes-Kultur GmbH*, inv.-no. A-2035; A-3533. – *Fig. 13:* Salzburg Museum, inv.-no. ARCH 507-2002; photo: R. Poschacher. – *Fig. 14:* A after Frey 1969; B V. Altmann-Wendling after British Museum, inv.-no. 1843,1103.15.