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OLE KLINDT-JENSEN

BRONZEKEDELEN FRA BRÅ



JYSK ARKÆOLOGISK SELSKABS SKRIFTER
BIND III

UNIVERSITETSFORLAGET I AARHUS
1953

THE BRONZE CAULDRON FROM BRÅ

Early Celtic Influences in Denmark

BY

OLE KLINDT-JENSEN

Dr. Phil.

Keeper in the Prehistoric Department

Danish National Museum

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OLE KLINDT-JENSEN

BRONZEKEDELEN FRA BRÅ

Tidlige Keltiske Indflydelser i Danmark

JYSK ARKÆOLOGISK SELSKABS SKRIFTER
BIND III

UNIVERSITETSFORLAGET I AARHUS
1953

JYSK ARKÆOLOGISK SELSKAB

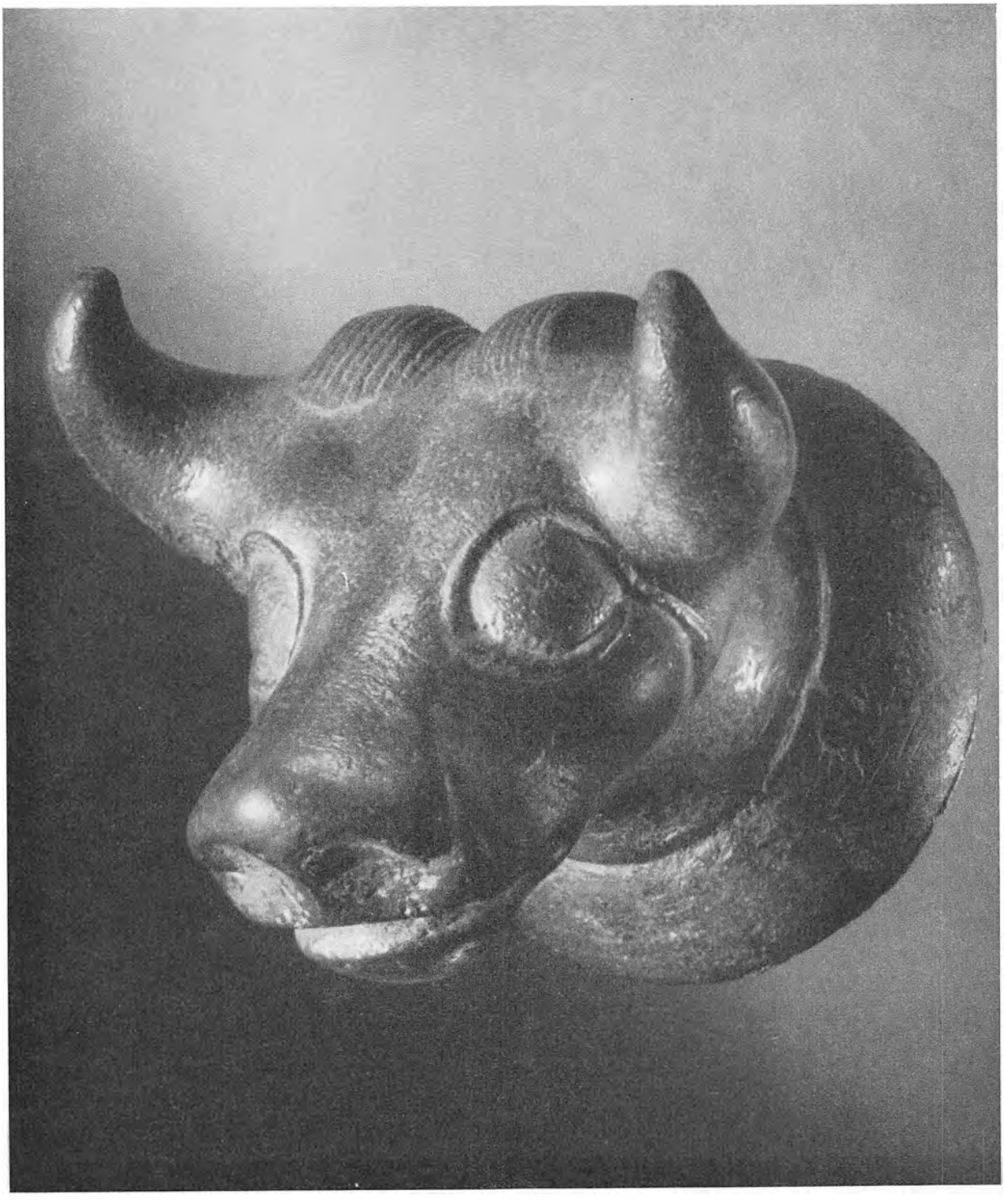
TILEGNER

BORGMESTER SV. UNMACK LARSEN

„BRONZEKEDELEN FRA BRÅ"

PÅ 60-ÅRSDAGEN

23. IX. 1953



Det store oxehovede fra Brå. $^{2}/_{1}$.
The largest bull's head from Brå.

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Ole Klindt-Jensen

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Forord

Igen et storslået keltisk kunstværk fundet i Danmark. I sig selv er den mægtige kedel fra Brå med dyreskulpturer et fængslende arbejde; men gravet op her, fjernt fra sit fremstillingssted, røber den en vigtig forbindelsesvej ned mod kelterne, tilbagelagt forlængst. Sin keltiske oprindelse kan kedelen ikke fornægte. Kelternes egenart og temperament spores i den særprægede kunst og en ornamentik af viltre slyngninger, en indtagende leg med linjer, der skyr ro og balance.

Det blev Bråkedlens gode skæbne, at en kyndig arkæolog hurtigt tilkaldtes til findestedet. Selv om en del af fundet var taget op, lykkedes det dog museumsinspektør Harald Andersen at finde frem til dets nedlægningsmåde. Han har venligt foreslået mig at publicere det vigtige fund og stillet alt sit materiale til rådighed.

Denne publikation var imidlertid ikke blevet til virkelighed uden en betydelig støtte fra Statens almindelige videnskabsfond. Udgivelsen af den danske text har Jysk arkæologisk selskab påtaget sig. Oversættelsen bekostes af Rask-Ørsted-fondet.

Da jeg, få måneder efter Bråfundet var gjort, på Carlsbergfondets bekostning og med orlov bevilliget af undervisningsministeriet foretog en studierejse til en række udenlandske museer, benyttede jeg lejligheden til at studere parallelstof. Jeg blev overalt på det bedste hjulpet af museernes ledere, og føler særlig trang til at nævne følgende, som har stillet materiale til rådighed til denne publikation: Prof. R. Lantier, Musée National St. Germain, Prof. E. Vogt, Nationalmuseet, Zürich, Prof. Bandi, Museet i Bern, Dr. Tihelka, Museet i Brno, Dr. Neustupný og dr. Svoboda, Nationalmuseet, Prag, Dir. Böhm, Det arkæologiske institut, Prag, Dr. Kromer, Naturhistorisches Museum, Wien, hr. K. Waller, Cuxhaven, Dr. Zuffa, Museo civico, Bologna, direktionen for nationalmuseet i Villa Giulia, Rom. Dr. Borchling, Hamburg, Dr. Krämer, München, og Dr. Hingst, Slesvig, har elskværdigt ladet mig læse deres upublicerede afhandlinger. Til alle de nævnte forskere og til undervisningsministeriet, videnskabs-, Rask-Ørsted- og Carlsbergfondet vil jeg gerne rette en dybfølt tak. Endvidere står jeg i taknemmelighedsgæld til direktøren for Nationalmuseet, Prof. Brøndsted og lederen af museets I afdeling, dr. Mathiassen, til redaktøren af Jysk arkæologisk selskabs skrifter, Prof. Glob og til selskabets præsident, borgmester Unmack Larsen. Det er mig en glæde og ære, at Jysk arkæologisk selskab tilegner dette skrift sin højtfortjente førstemand.

OLE KLINDT-JENSEN

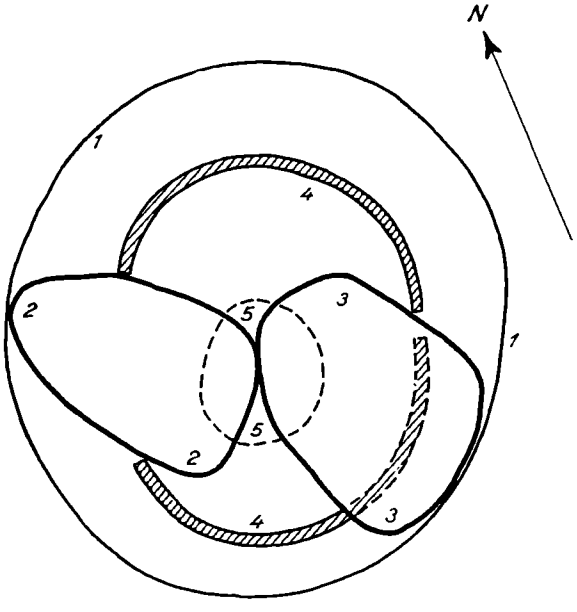

Fig. 1. Brå. Skitse af gruben med de to stens og de første funds placering. 1: grubens rand, 2–3: de to store sten, 4: jernranden, 5: koncentration af fund indenfor punkteret linje.

Sketch of the pit showing the position of the two stones and of the first objects found. 1: the edge of the pit. 2–3: the two boulders. 4: the iron rim. 5: the smaller objects were concentrated within the broken line.

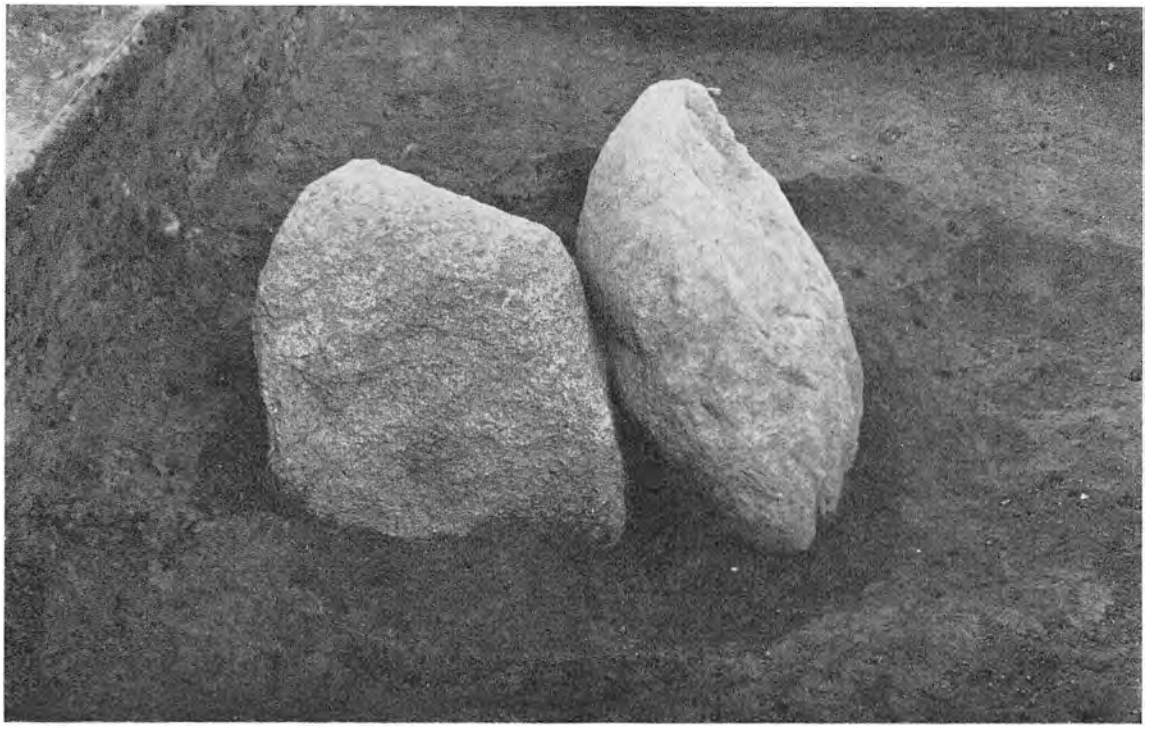

Fig. 2. Brå-gruben ved begyndelsen af den faglige undersøgelse, set fra vest. Det mørke fyldskifte tegner sig tydeligt om de to store sten.

The Brå pit at the commencement of the archeological investigation. The edge of the pit can clearly be seen round the two boulders as a change of soil colour from light to dark.

BRÅFUNDET

I februar 1952 blev der i Brå ved Horsens gjort et overraskende fund af sønderbrudte bronzer og jernringe og af dyreskulpturer. Oprindeligt har de udgjort et mægtigt bronzekar med kunstfærdig udsmykning, mindende om vore keltiske kedler fra Rynkeby (Fyn) og Sophienborg (Sjælland). Ligesom disse har det udadskuende oxehoveder under randen; men udsmykningens stil er anderledes, friskere og mere udtryksfuld.

Desværre fandtes der ingen hjemlige oldsager ved siden af kedeldelene. Af andre genstande forelå blot en svær dølleøxe af jern; men også den er formentlig fremmed.

Selv om der således mangler direkte kontakt mellem kedelen, der straks blev erkendt som keltisk, og dens nordiske miljø, er der mulighed for at udpege det tidspunkt, da den sandsynligvis kom til Danmark. Der kendes andre tidlige importstykker fra kelterne, og der er påvirkning af keltisk ornamentik. Med dette bredere grundlag vil vi tage stilling til Bråkedlen og dens forhold til det forhistoriske Danmark.

Om fundet og den derpå gennemførte undersøgelse i Brå giver museumsinspektør Harald Andersen følgende beretning:

»Den 27. februar 1952 meddelte kaptajn Chr. D. Holmfeld telefonisk til Forhistorisk Museum, Århus, at der samme dags eftermiddag var fundet en bronzekedel på gdr. Søren Påskes mark i Brå syd for Horsens. Den følgende dag besigtigedes fundet, og en udgravning påbegyndtes. Denne fortsattes i de følgende dage og afsluttedes foreløbig den 6. marts. I udgravningen deltog magistrene T. G. Bibby og J. Meldgård.

Fundstedet var en bakke, som – efter hvad



Fig. 3. Brå-grubens nederste del med fundene afdækket, set fra vest. Et oxehovede ses til højre.
The lover part of the Brå pit with the objects uncovered, seen from the west. A bull's head can be seen on the right.

gårdejeren meddeler – fra gammel tid kaldes Ballehøj. Ved markarbejde i efteråret var gårdejeren ganske tæt op ad en markvej stødt på to store og en del mindre sten, og det var under forsøg på at opbryde disse, at fundet blev gjort. Først fjernedes de mindre sten, der var af størrelse fra godt håndstore til hovedstore. Herved og navnlig da man begyndte at tumle med de store sten fremkom nogle flager af bronzeblik og ved at grave videre fremdrog man størstedelen af karret, der åbenbart var nedlagt i sønderbrudt tilstand under stenene. Mellem det fundne var tre bronzetyrehoveder (fig. 7, næstnederste række t. v.) og tre svære hankebeslag af bronze (fig. 7, tredjenederste række) samt 2 sammenbøjede bæreringe af jern og brudstykker af en tredie lignende (fig. 7 øverste række). Endvidere en jernøxe (fig. 12). En svær jernring, som har dannet karrets rand, lå brudt i to stykker, i omtrent vandret plan og delvis ind under stenene (fig. 5). En skitse af findestedet tegnet i samråd med smedemester Mikkelsen, Brå, som var med til at fremdrage fundet, viser jernringens placering i forhold til stenene (fig. 1). Den stiplede cirkel midt i udgravningen, som ses på samme skitse, angiver det sted, hvor flertallet af de vigtigste sager (bl. a. de tre tyrehoveder) lå.

Ved vor ankomst til stedet stod de to store sten oprejst på bunden af det gravede hul. Den ene af stenene – den nordligste – stod vistnok omtrent på oprindelig plads (– efter sigende var den dog drejet lidt). Den sydlige

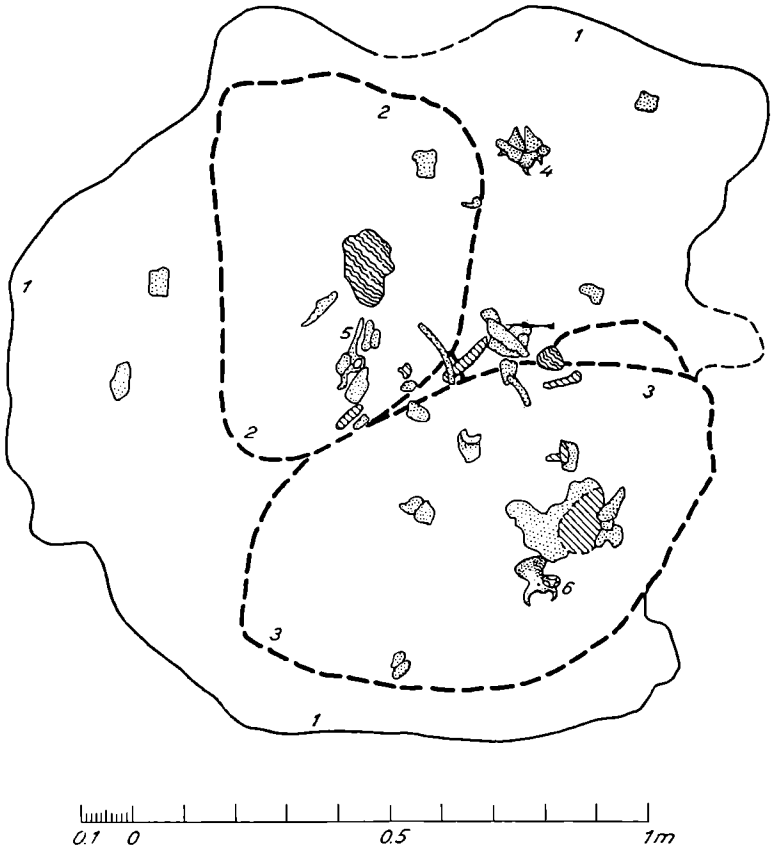

Fig. 4. Plan over Brå-grubens dybeste lag. 1: grubens rand, 2–3: de to store sten, der er forskudt lidt fra oprindelig plads, 4: oxehovede, 5: fuglelignende bronzefigur, 6: oxehovede. Orientering som på fig. 1.
Prikning angiver bronze, skravering jern, bølget udfyldning læderagtigt materiale.

Plan of the lowest level of the Brå pit. 1: the edge of the pit. 2–3: the two boulders which are somewhat out of their original position. 4: a bull's head. 5: the bird-like bronze figure. 6: a bull's head. Dotted surfaces represent bronze, hatched surfaces iron, and wavy surfaces leather.

sten var derimod ganske ude af leje. Den havde oprindelig nærmest ligget på fladen.

Den opgravede jord og den løse jord i hullet blev dels sigtet, dels gennemgravet med små skeer. Herved fremkom en del stumper af bronzeblik. Derpå afsattes et rektangulært udgravningsfelt, hvis længderetning var parallel med den nære markvej.

Under muldlaget fandtes rødgult, sandblandet undergrundsgrus, og da dette var nedskovlet til et niveau lidt over bunden af gårdejerens nedgravning, tegnede den urørte bund af kedelgruben sig som et fyldskifte med gråligt, let spættet grusblandet sand (fig. 2). Denne grube synes i form og størrelse omtrent at have svaret til den af finderne gravede, men var altså en smule dybere end denne. Stenene (de to store og et par mindre) fjernedes, og gruben tømtes, idet oldsagerne (bortset fra ubetydelige stykker) lodes urørt for til slut at fotograferes (fig. 3). Af de frigravede stykker indmåltes og tegnedes kun de vigtigste, jfr. fig. 4. Blandt disse kan nævnes: to tyrehoveder (fig. 7, næstnederste række t. h.), et ejendommeligt langt beslag (fig. 11 øverst) og brudstykker af bæreringe. Bunden af gruben var noget ujævn og uregelmæssig.

Alt tyder på, at kedlen er brudt i stykker før nedlæggelsen. Stykkerne er nedlagt hulter til bulter og stenene (der lå oppe i fylden, ikke på bunden) er anbragt ovenpå«.

Foruden den rige grube, der ikke indeholdt

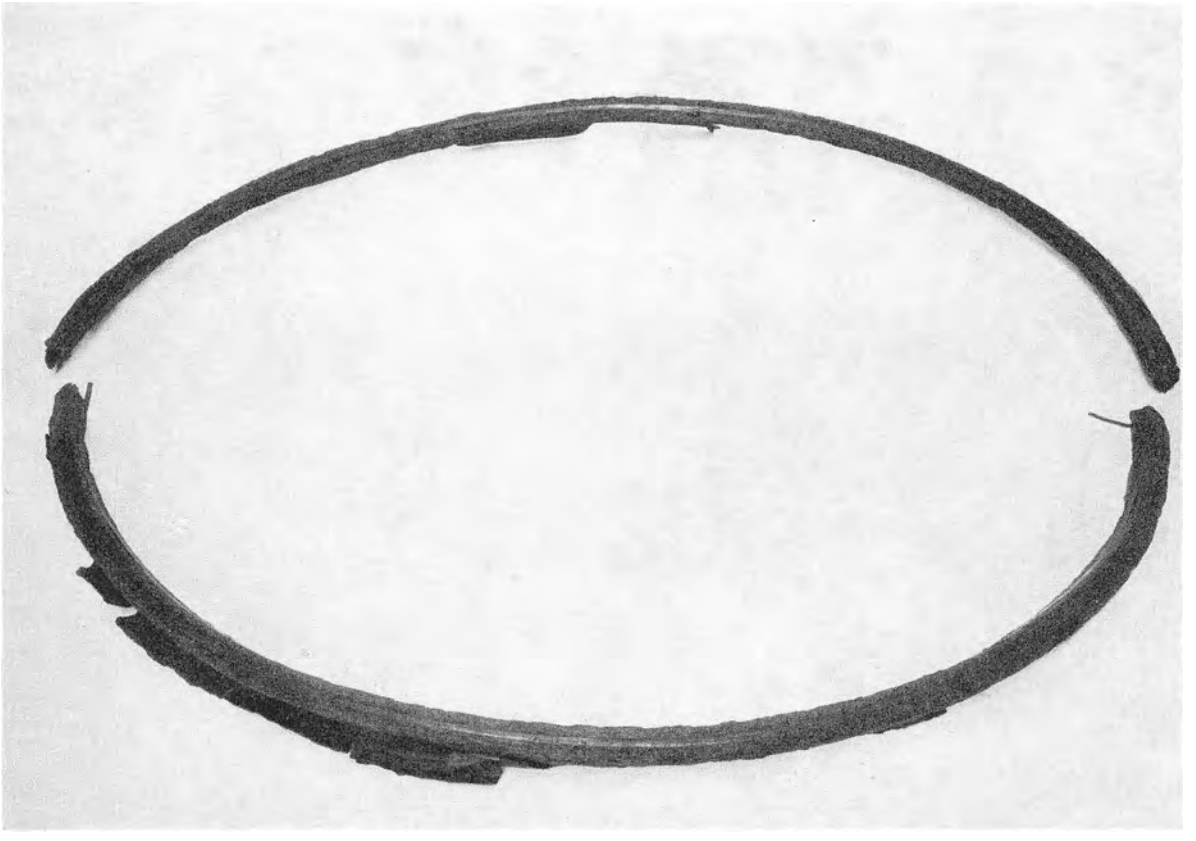

Fig. 5. Bråkedlens jernrand. Ca. 1/7.
The iron rim of the Brå cauldron.



Fig. 6. Detalje af jernranden set ovenfra. 1/1.
Detail of the iron rim viewed from above.

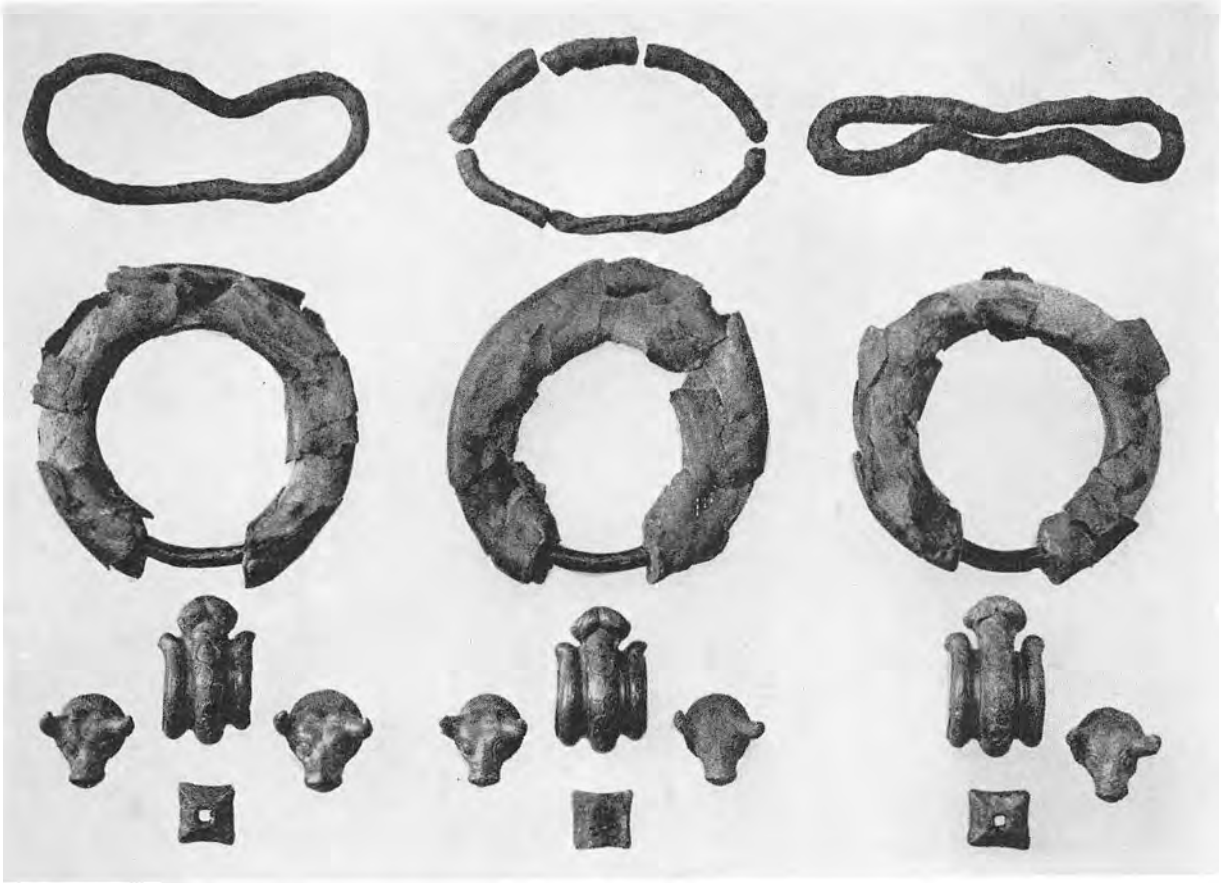

Fig. 7. Fra Bråkedlen: øverst bæreringene af jern, derunder de sammensatte bronzeindfatninger om bæreringene (disse er rekonstrueret), de fem oxehoveder, de tre uglehovedattacher og nederst de tre rektangulære nithoveder af bronze. 1/5.

From the Brå Cauldron: top, the iron ring-handles; beneath, the assembled bronze casings for the ring-handles (the latter reconstructed), the five bulls' heads, the three owls' head attachements; and bottom, the three rectangular bronze rivet-heads.

menneskerester, og som ikke har været en grav, undersøgtes senere på året en del nære gruber; men de havde ingen forbindelse med kedelgruben og stammer rimeligvis fra en senere tid. De fleste af disse anlæg undersøgtes ved en supplerende udgravning efteråret 1952.

Henlæggelsen af kedelen i fuldkommen sønderdelt tilstand og jernøxen var sikkert led i en religiøs ceremoni, men fundet giver os ikke mulighed for at bestemme denne nærmere.

Bråfundet omfatter fra de to afdækninger følgende genstande:

Jernrand af rhombisk tværsnit, 3.4 cm bred og 3.0 cm høj (fig. 5). Den er brudt i to omtrent lige store stykker. Begge er imidlertid drejet lidt ud af form, således at de ikke mødes ved en sammensætning. Diameteren har været 1 m. Randen er ellers ret velbevaret. Som det fremgår af fig. 6 og snittegningen fig. 13, er der øverst indfældet to bronzelister, 5–7 mm brede og 1-2 mm tykke. I den nedadvendte kant ses endnu dele af en indfældet bronzekrave. Løst fandtes 6 stykker bronzeliste, 7.2–12.5 cm lange.

Af *bronzekraven* foreligger størstedelen, men kun i brudstykker, svagt grønirrede. Den er ret svær, ca. 1.5 mm i gennemsnit, og har – som det ses på fig. 9 øverst og i midten samt fig. 13 – 3.5 cm under jernranden en vandret vulst. Kraven er 7-8 cm bred og har 0.4 cm over den nedre afslutning en vandret

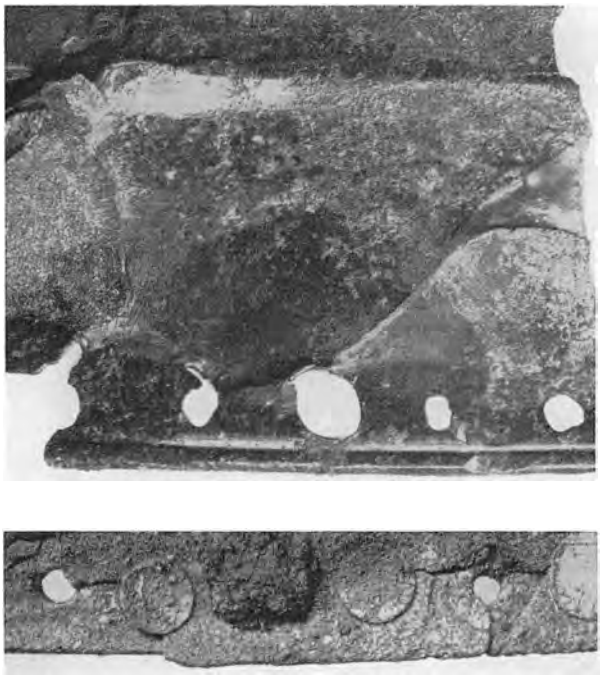

Fig. 8. To detaljer af kraven, den øverste set udefra med aftryk af oxehovedet om det brede nithul, den nederste set indefra med bevaret stykke af nitten i kravens hul. 1/1.

Two details of the collar, the upper viewed from outside with impression of the bull's head around the large rivet-hole; and the lower viewed from within with a fragment of the rivet preserved in the hole in the collar.

skarp fure. Lidt højere, ca. 1 cm over den nedre afslutning, er en ret tæt række huller, gennemsnitlig 0.35 cm i diameter. De er åbenbart hugget gennem pladen og har en indbyrdes afstand af ca. 1.5 cm. 3 steder skifter denne hulrække karakter. Her er to af hullerne betydeligt større med en indbyrdes afstand af 13.5 cm fra hinanden at dømme efter det bedst bevarede fragment (fig. 9 i midten). Gennembrydningerne er uregelmæssigt runde, ca. 0.9 cm i diameter. Et af hullerne udfyldes af en forrustet jernnagle, hvis hovede måler knap 1.5 cm i diameter (fig. 8 nederst). Selve naglen er rektangulær i tværsnit. Dens nøjagtige mål lader sig på grund af rusten ikke angive nøje, men det synes at være ca. 0.6 × 0.9 cm. Omkring de svære naglehuller ses et aftryk af form som cirkelsegment, idet det afskæres af kravens underkant (fig. 8 øverst). Diameteren er af samme størrelse som basis på de nedenfor omtalte oxehoveder, ca. 5 cm. Enkelte gange ses der svage spor af rust, ellers fremtræder cirkelsegmentet som et lidt anderledes irret parti. I kravens overdel, midt mellem hvert af hulparrene, har der været en gennembrydning, hvis størrelse det er vanskeligt at danne sig indtryk af, da det øverste parti af kraven er så uregelmæssigt. Neden under denne gennembrydning er en bred zone af anderledes irret bronze, hvis omrids ikke lader sig nøje bestemme. På det ene af stykkerne (fig. 9 øverst) ses netop her en sammenføjning.

Kraven er øverst indsat i jernranden. Dens to ender, som går lidt forbi hinanden, holdes sammen ved 3 nitter, to omtrent midtpå side om side, den tredje lige nedenunder.

Der foreligger 3 store brudstykker af bronzekraven (de to fig. 9 øverst og midten) og talrige småstykker.

Bæreringene har siddet i *tre svære bronzeattacher*, der er ornamenteret med fuglehovede. Disse attacher er ens. Kun småafvigelser viser, at de ikke er støbt i samme form. Der er imidlertid ingen forskelle i kvalitet, ligesom målene viser, at man har ønsket tre ganske ens udførelser. De er overmåde tunge, 947, 1010 og 1204 gram og har derfor behøvet en solid plads. Attacherne har form nærmest som en solid halvcylinder, hvorfra uglehovedet rager lidt ud i en skarp vinkel mod den forreste afslutning (pl. I og III).

På oversiden er tre svære buede vulster, den midterste størst. De adskilles ved to skarpt afsatte furer. En lignende skarp kant ses på de to vulsters yderside. Den midterste prydes foran af et uglehovede i plastisk stiliseret udførelse med skarptskårne hvælvede øjne og fremhævede øjeposer af halvbueform og krumt næb. Dets to svære hårbundter løber ud i en stiliseret ranke, som snor sig over det meste af midtvulsten (fig. 10). Denne ranke er sindrig, elegant, men den har ingen organisk karakter, således som de frodige klassiske ranker. Den keltiske ranke er et ornament med kugleafslutninger på de mange forgreninger, og dog løber den ud i to bøjede blade, de sidste reminiscenser efter planteorganismen.

Attacherne er 9.8 cm lange, 5.6 cm brede. Fuglehovedet er ca. 4.2 cm bredt, 2.7 cm højt.

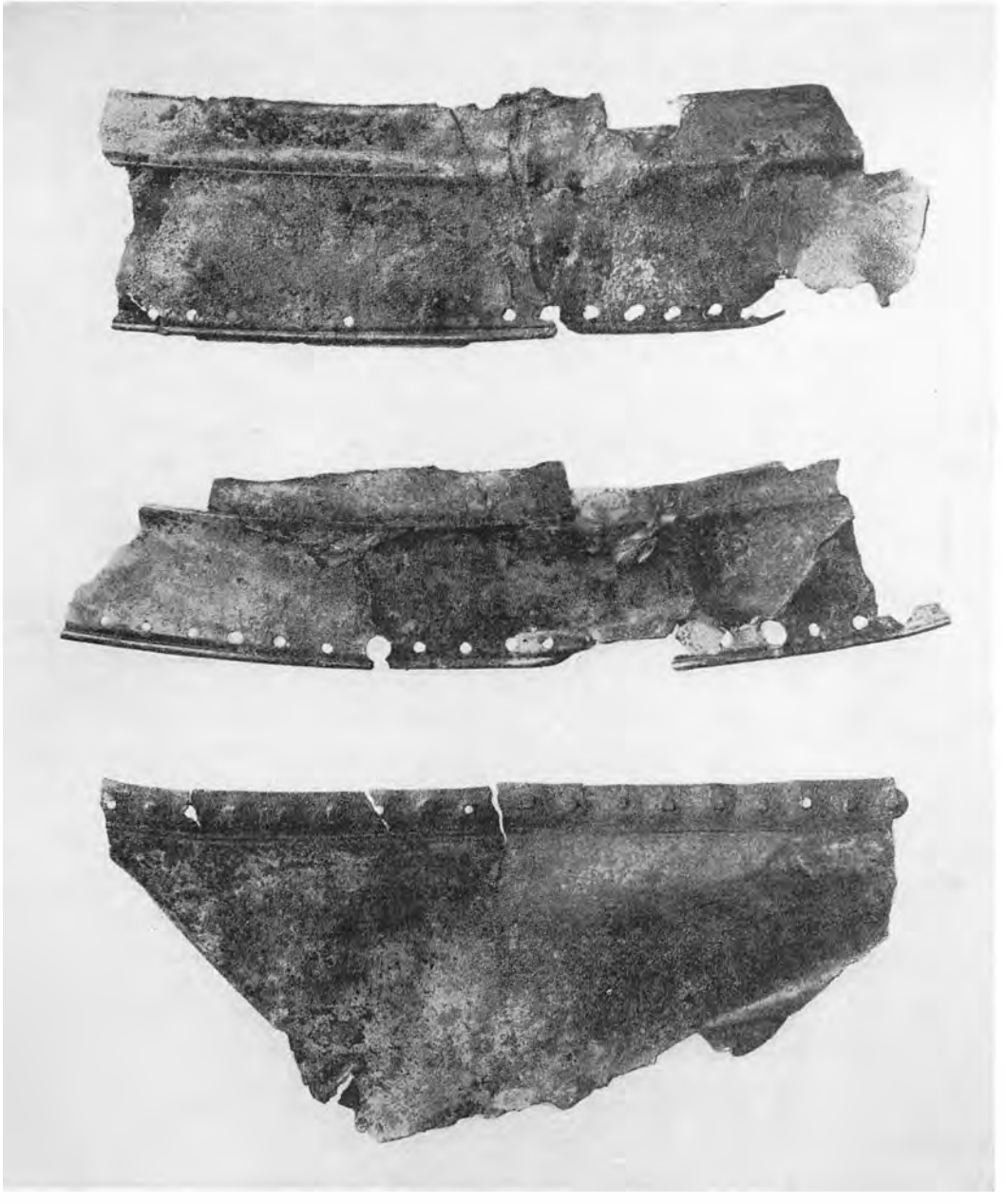

Fig. 9. To brudstykker af kraven og eet af underdelen, alt i bronzeblik. Knap ½.
Two fragments of the collar and one of the lower part, all of bronze sheeting.

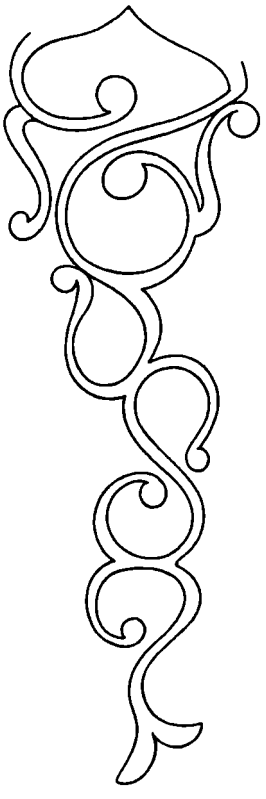

Fig. 10. Ornamentet på uglehovedattacherne, tegnet udbredt. 1/1.

The pattern on the owl's head attachments, drawn at full length.

Indsnittet under dette er 2.6 cm bredt og 2.1 cm højt. Halvbueudskæringen i undersiden er 2.6 cm høj og ca. 1.8 cm bred.

Midt under forreste udløber er indsat en firkantet nu afbrækket jernbolt, som åbenbart har spillet en vigtig rolle ved fastgørelsen af attachen (pl. III og fig. 13).

Tilsyneladende til de tre attacher hører *tre svært støbte bronzeskiver* af firkantet, lav pyramideform og firkantet midthul (fig. 11 nederst). Sidefladerne er svagt konkave. Overside af hullet er rundt for at kunne optage et nithovede; en udfyldning af jern i den ene plades hul viser nittens materiale. Pladerne er udført ved støbning og måler langs siden ca. 4.2–4.3 cm, een side undtagelsesvis 4.0 cm.

I attacherne må de *tre jernringe* have siddet. De er alle stærkt deforme, den ene revet i flere mindre stykker, indtil 15.7 cm lange. De to andre er banket sammen i uregelmæssig aflange former (fig. 7 øverst). De er alle forrustne, gennemsnitlig 1.3–1.7 cm svære, men de rustne partier når op til 2.5 i tykkelse. Om disse jernringe var støbt *hule bronzeringe*, fig. 7 næstøverst. De vexler stærkt i godstykkelse fra 0.4 til 2.5 mm. Først ved sammensætningen af de mange ret små fragmenter er disse ringes funktion blevet klar. Bronzeringene er stærkt forbøjede og iturevne. De har åbenbart haft en omtrentlig diameter på 20 cm og tykkelse på 4 cm og afsluttes til begge sider i en flade med hul til jernbæreringen, der således er fri på et 6–7 cm bredt stykke. Bronzehylsteret er støbt omkring jernringen, og der er endnu rester af en udfyldningsmasse i nogle fragmenters inderside.

Udsmykningen af karret indskrænker sig ikke til attachernes uglehovede. Der foreligger *5 svært støbte oxehoveder af bronze*, de fire næsten ens, det femte noget større og særlig smukt bevaret. Formmæssigt afviger den store og den mindre udførelse af oxehovedet tilsyneladende ubetydeligt, men der er dog bestemte forskelle (jfr. pl. II). Snudepartiet på de mindre oxehoveder rejser sig lidt stejlere end på det store, ligesom næseborene er stiliserede som to brede spiralkurver (pl. II, øverst t. h.). Det store oxehovedes muleparti er i det hele taget mere livagtigt. Hovedet er vægtigt, sluttet. De mindre hoveder virker næsten som kalve ved siden af et fuldt voxent dyr. Der er grund til at anse det store hovede for originalarbejdet, de stilbundne mindre udførelser for efterligninger af dette, men måske drejer det sig blot om to mestres forskellige arbejder.

I mål kan forskellene bestemmes således. Diameter af basis er på det store hovede 5.4 cm, på de mindre ca. 4.8 cm, hovedets længde er 5.8 mod 5.4 cm. Vægtforskellen er betydelig, 577 mod ca. 415 gram.

Oxehovederne med den korte hals går ved en skarp kant over i en jævnt hvælvet basis med konkav underside. De har været fastgjort med en svær nit, som er støbt ind i basis. Nitten er åbenbart rektangulær, men resterne er stærkt forrustede.

Et af de mindre oxehoveder har et udragende stykke bevaret, men ligeledes rustet og ikke fuldstændigt. Ejendommelig nok ses tydelige slidspor på oxehovedernes pande.



Fig. 11. Fuglelignende bronzegenstand og de tre svære nithoveder af bronze, det midterste udfyldt af et stykke nit. $^1/_1$.

The bird-like bronze object and the three massive bronze rivet-heads, the centre one with a portion of the rivet surviving.

Udførelsen af oxehovedet røber en fin fornemmelse af dyrets egenart (jfr. frontispicen). Den er ikke i egentligste forstand en naturtro afbildning, selv om hovedet er livagtigt. Kunstnerens hensigt var snarere at blotte dyrets væsen gennem stiliserede og levende former. Øjnene med det forundrede blide udtryk og de følsomme næsebor fanger straks opmærksomheden, ligesom de fint svungne horn. To lokker ligger i buer slikkent glat over panden, der er fuldendt levende med hvælvede øjenbryn og udhævet pandeben. Næseryggen er skematisk, munden igen levende med en velvillig grimasse. Det er et smukt studie i dyrepsykologi, en helhed uden at detaljer overses. Nakkekrøllerne har fint graverede hår, de hvælvede øjne indrammes med en skarpt fremhævet rand, der forlænges ned under hornene bag det plastiske kindparti.

Underdelen af kedelen er, såvidt det kan ses af de talrige forhøjede fragmenter, banket op af eet stykke og nittet til kraven ved en ret tæt række stifter (fig. 9 nederst), hvis brede hoveder vender indad (fig. 10 nederst). Udad, i kraven, har nitterne været hamret fast og var næppe synlige. Hullerne til nitter er svagt kegleformede. Blikkets tykkelse varierer mellem 0.5 og 1.6 mm, idet de tykkeste fragmenter alle synes at høre hjemme nær nitrækken. Gennemsnitlig er godstykkelsen 0.78 mm. Vægten af samtlige brudstykker fra underdelen andrager 9868 gram.

Næppe til selve kedlen hører en ejendommelig 14.4 cm *lang bronzegenstand*, som man



Fig. 12. Jerndølleøxen. Godt $^2/_3$.
The socketed iron axe.

umiddelbart ville tolke som en fugl (fig. 11 øverst). Det er imidlertid tvivlsomt, om den lange hale og det brede enkle forparti virkelig skal forestille denne dyreart. Genstanden består af en ring, hvis ene ende løber ud i den omtalte, lange hale med 4 vulster, der har afvexlende rifling, den anden ende går over i et fladt udbøjet forparti, der forrest knibes sammen og bøjes op i en lille bue. At dømme efter sammenknibningen kan den fuglelignende genstand være fastgjort til læder eller et lignende bøjeligt materiale. Ringen er 2.9 cm bred i ydre diameter, 0.6 cm svær, med svag kant på siden.

Endelig foreligger en svær *dølleøxe* af jern, 18 cm lang og noget forrustet (fig. 12). Den har kvadratisk dølle med 5.1 cm brede sider, af ca. 1 cm tykt materiale. Æggen svajer ud og er noget buet, dens bredde er 9.9 cm. Sådanne dølleøxer kendes almindeligt på keltisk område (f. ex. P. Vouga, La Tène, 1923, pl. XLIII, 1), men er hidtil i Danmark kun optrådt senere i jernalderen.

Ved udgravningen forekom adskillige flager af skind, ligesom der er aftryk af dette materiale både på bronze- og jernstykker i ir og rust. Et sammenhængende stykke, der kan give en forklaring på materialets tilstedeværelse, er ikke fundet. Muligvis drejer det sig om rester efter en skindpose, hvori metalgenstandene var lagt en overgang.

BRÅKEDELENS FORM

Efter udgravningen sendtes kedeldelene til Nationalmuseets konserveringsanstalt, hvor de blev taget under behandling af konservatorerne Thorvildsen og Brorson-Christensen og assistent Holm. Citaterne nedenfor bringes af konservator Thorvildsens redegørelse, som begyndelsen af dette afsnit i det store og hele bygger på; rekonstruktionstegningerne skyldes konservator Brorson-Christensen. Selv havde jeg lejlighed til at følge arbejdet og deltage i de ikke få drøftelser. Kedelen er jo i oldtiden revet så grundigt i stykker, at det kun efter langvarige tålmodige forsøg lykkedes at sætte fragmenter sammen. Det gælder særlig bronzeringene uden om jernbæreringene, hvis funktion først gradvis blev klaret, og som efter måneders tålmodigt arbejde er rekonstrueret af de mange småstykker.

Kun en del af kedlen er bevaret, som vi skal se. Følgelig blev de stykker, der vigtige for forståelsen af dens form, sammensatte, medens de mange særligt ødelagte og skøre partier er konserveret uden at blive udrettede.

Kedlen bestod af en jernrand med krave

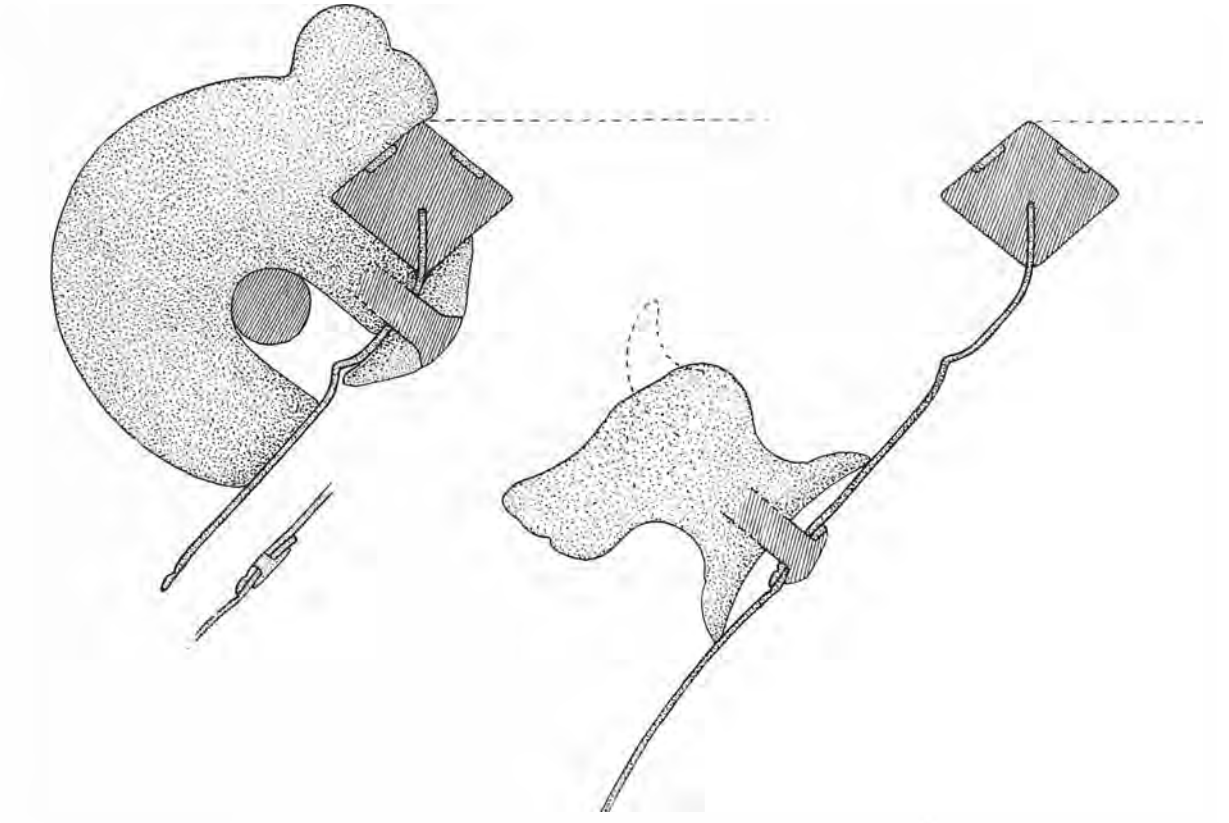

Fig. 13. Rekonstruktion af en attaches og et oxehovedes anbringelse på Bråkedlen. Skravering: jern, prikning: bronze. $^2/_3$.

Reconstruction of an attachment and a bull's head in position on the Brå cauldron. Hatching: iron. Dots: bronze.

af bronzeblik, 3 jernbæreringe, 3 bronzeattacher, 6 (nu kun 5) bronzeoxehoveder samt den store bronzeblikunderdel. Det er let at udfinde jernrandens oprindelige diameter, 1 m, idet de to halvdele foreligger. Endvidere sidder der endnu partier af bronzekraven i, og til den passer løse stykker. Selve vinkelen udefter lader sig, som vi skal se, beregne nøjagtigt ved attachernes anbringelse (fig. 13, pl. V).

Endelig er det muligt at samle så store stykker af underdelen op mod kraven, hvortil den er nittet, at man kan måle karrets største bredde, der har ligget ca. 22 cm under randen og må have udgjort 1.18 m (fig. 14). Går man ud fra, at underdelen har været nogenlunde halvkugleformet, som et kar af så tyndt bronzeblik naturligt vil danne sig, om det bliver fyldt med vædske, har kedelen været ca. 70 cm høj. »Vægtfylden af metallet fra underdelen er målt til 7.17 (oprindelig må den have været 8.5–8.7). Da der foreligger 9868 gr., vil det sige, at kun 1.76m² forefindes, hvilket er bemærkelsesværdigt, da underdelen, såfremt den har været halvkugleformet, må have haft et areal på 2.19 m².

Det kan nævnes, at en halvkugle med nævnte diameter (1.18 m) rummer 430 liter. Har Bråkedlens underdel haft denne form, må hele karret altså have kunnet rummet ca. 600 liter«.

Det følger af sig selv, at en så stor kedel med svær rand af jern ikke kunde hvile på den spinkle bronzeunderdel. Som vi har set, foreligger der 3 svært støbte attacher og dertil hørende bæreringe. Attacherne passer netop til jernranden, idet den skarpe vinkel under uglehovedet svarer til randens udvendige kant (fig. 13). Jernbolten i attachen har da været sat igennem kravens øverste parti og været

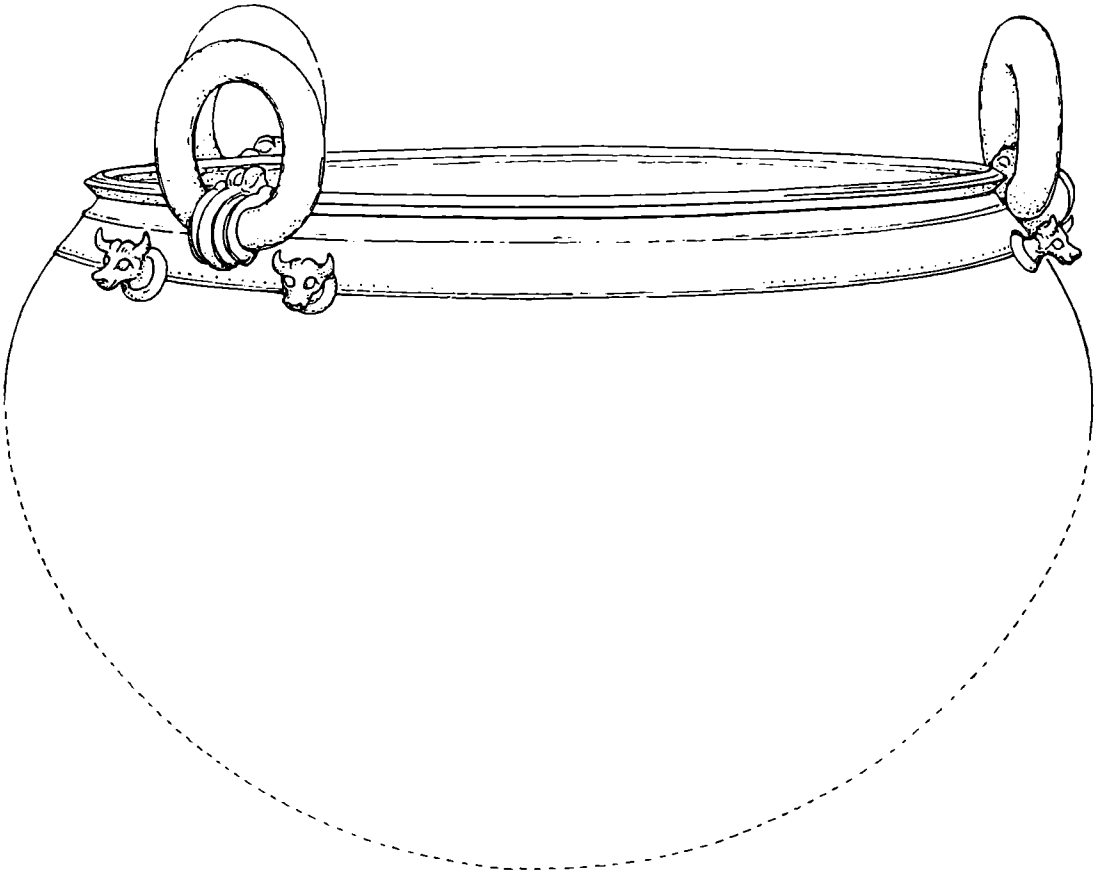

Fig. 14. Rekonstruktion af Bråkedlen. 1/8.
Reconstruction of the Brå cauldron.

afsluttet i en af de firkantede bronzeplader. Bronzepladen, som buer lidt indefter, støtter sig foroven til den solide jernrand. Derimod øver den ikke noget pres på den spinkle krave, idet denne netop har et knæk udefter, hvor bronzepladens rand drejer ud. Alt er nøje afpasset og sikkert gjort.

Gennem den 6–7 cm brede åbning, som fremkommer mellem attachens to ender, er jernbæreringen ført, medens denne iøvrigt omgives af en betydelig tykkere bronzering.

Som vi har set, er der en egenartet irret overflade omtrent svarende til attachens bredde tre steder øverst på bronzekraven, og der ses spor efter gennembrydning ovenover; de sidste er dog vanskelige at bestemme på grund af kravens flossede tilstand. Til hver side nederst på randen er videre spor efter påsatte genstande. Her ses i en afstand af ca. 7 cm til begge sider fra midten af attachens aftryk et sværere naglehul og om det en særpræget irret flade, hvis diameter svarer til oxehovedernes basis. Der kan ikke være tvivl om, at disse hoveder har været anbragt her med en svær jernnit gennem pladen (fig. 13). Dette vilde passe til antallet af hoveder, 3 × 2, dersom vi går ud fra, at et af disse, en pendant til det store, er gået tabt.

Det er vigtigt, at slidsporene på oxehovedernes pande nu får en naturlig forklaring, idet bronzeringene må have hvilet herpå, når de ikke var i funktion.

Vi får da frem en i det store og hele nøjagtig rekonstruktion (fig. 14). Kun underdelen er ikke helt sikker, men da argumenterne for dennes form vanskeligt kan anfægtes – de andre store keltiske kedler har således halvkugleformet nedre parti – er der næppe grund til at tvivle om formen.

Denne karakteristiske type, kedlen med indbuet rand, ringattacher med indadvendte

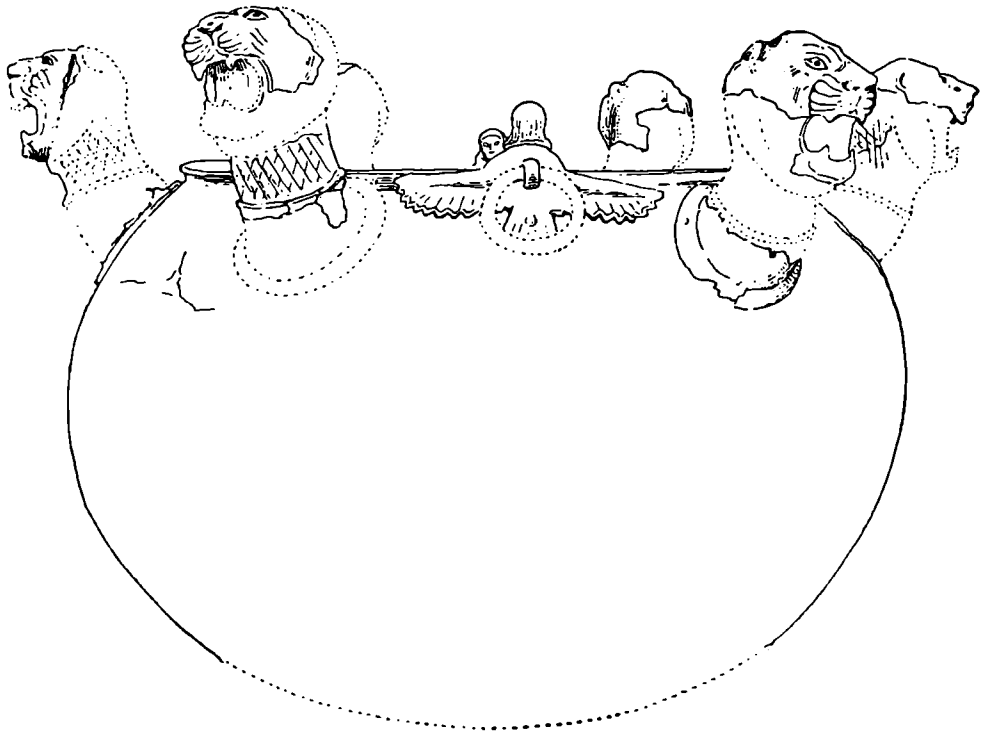

Fig. 15. Rekonstruktion af den ene kedel fra Circolo dei Lebeti. 1/8.
Reconstruction of one of the cauldrons from Circolo dei Lebeti.

fuglehoveder og 6 udadskuende oxehoveder, kan ikke være tilfældigt valgt. Vi kender den fra en række beslægtede store kedler, som via Italien og Grækenland følges til Forasien. Ejendommelig nok er det netop de forasiatiske, som udgør de nøjeste forbilleder. Disse kar er ganske vist betydelig ældre, men så påfaldende lig i udformningen, at der må være intim forbindelse.

Disse forbilleder med udadvendte dyreprotomer og indadskuende dyreattacher repræsenteres i Italien i to vigtige gravfund, den rige Bernardinigrav i Praeneste og Circolo dei Lebeti i Vetulonia[1]). Den sidstnævnte grav, en stenkreds med begravelse i midten, har fået navn efter de karakteristiske bronzekar, af hvilke det ene afbildes fig. 15. Der fandtes ikke færre end 4 kedler, deraf to med udsmykning, 6 løve-, respektive grifhoveder på svungne halse og to attacher af form som vingede væsener med hovedet lige over randen, således at de ser ned i kedlen (på det ikke afbildede eksemplar har de vingede væsner janushoveder). Bernardinigravens kedel har grifhoveder og svarer til Vetuloniagravens to kar.

De etruskiske griffe og løver er rædselsfulde. Åbenbart havde de en skræmmende funktion. Ligeså uhyggelige er dyreprotomerne på en række andre etruskiske og, som vi skal se, græske kedler. Særlig interessante er imidlertid Praeneste- og Vetuloniakarrenes attacher, de indadskuende fabelvæsener med menneskeoverdel, fuglevinger og fuglehale. Denne ejendommelige type møder vi videre i Grækenland og Forasien, særlig i egnene omkring Vansøen[2]). Alle eksemplerne er så ens udførte, at de græsk-etruskiske eksemplarer snarest må antages at være fremstillet i Forasien, hvor de har deres naturlige forudsætninger og miljø.

Sammen med vingede attacher er der i Grækenland, bl. a. i Olympia, fundet grifhoveder, indgående behandlet af Furtwängler og Kunze[3]). Fra Grækenland stammer endvidere tyrehovedet fig. 16. Det hører til i samme miljø og kan uden tvivl anses for et forasiatisk arbejde ved sin nøgterne stive udførelse.



Fig. 16. Forasiatisk oxehovede af bronze fra Heraion ved Argos (NM Athen). $^2/_3$.

Near Eastern bronze bull's head from Heraion near Argos (NM Athens).

Som Bråkedlens oxehoveder må det have siddet under en kedelrand, ikke skrækindjagende som de græske og etruskiske fabeldyr, men dekorativt og med holdning. Til sådanne arbejder har åbenbart hørt attacher af form som flyvende fabelvæsener, som de på kedlen fig. 15.

En beslægtet type er repræsenteret i Nationalmuseet, København, ved et fund fra Kyme, en velbevaret kedel af bronzeblik, hvorpå der sidder to udadvendte tyrehoveder med ring på nakken. Her kombineres attache med tyrehovede. Attacherne har tilmed spredte vinger og fuglehale, en form som ikke blot kendes fra Grækenland, men også Forasien, hvorfra den vel stammer. Vigtige er således paralleler i det nyudgravede Karmir-Blur i Armenien fra o. 700 f. v. t. Herfra er en lignende bronzekedel, men også enkeltfundne attacher[4]).

Det ejendommelige ved de forasiatiske kedler er deres rent dekorative dyrehoveder i lighed med Bråkedlens oxe- og uglehoveder, men i modsætning til grækernes og etruskernes griffe og løver, der rejser hovederne højt over kedelens rand. Det kunde tyde på, at inspirationen er nået direkte frem til kelterne fra Forasien. Kelterne har endvidere foretrukket oxer for de uhyggelige dyr. Oxehoveder kendes dog i tidlig græsk og italisk kunst, bl. a. på trefødder, men de optræder ikke så dominerende som f. eks. griffer. Det er imidlertid vanskeligt at udskyde Grækenland og Italien som mellemled. Med disse kulturer havde kelterne vigtige kontakter, som det bl. a. fremgår af en stor bronzekedel med grifprotomer, fundet i Østfrankrig, snarest et græsk arbejde[5]). Den har ingen attacher eller bæreringe, men hvilede på en solid trefod (hvad der vist gjaldt alle de nævnte kedler, selv om disse også kunde bæres i ringe).

Endelig kendes en del lerkar med svære oxeprotomer fra samme tid, sen Hallstatt. De er ret almindelige i Østrig[6]), men kan være efterligninger af italiske paralleler i ler. Selve Hallstattfundet har flere bronzekar, deriblandt eet med to oxer, der vender indad mod midten, en form som har nøje forbilleder i forasiatisk arbejde[7]).

Selvom vi endnu ikke kan følge en tradition fra Hallstattkedlerne til Bråkedlen, er der dog vidnesbyrd om fremstilling af bronzeblikkedler i ældre og mellemste la Tène, således karret fra Dux, Böhmen, der indeholdt mange fibuler af tidlig la Tèneskema, og kedlerne med jernkrave i la Tène[8]). Kelterne har tidligt kunnet fremstille metalkar og mestrede fuldt ud den fine teknik, som Bråkedlen vidner om.

UDSMYKNINGEN OG TIDLIG KELTISK KUNST

Udsmykningen af Bråkedlen er mere end ornamentik; den er ægte bevidst kunst. Der hviler tungsindig blidhed over oxernes hvælvede øjne og fint kurvede træk, medens uglerne er ligeså fint karakteriserede som barske rovdyr med skarptskårne ansigter og hvast blik.

Vi kender adskillige dyrefremstillinger i keltisk kunst, men få så livfulde. Tidlig keltisk kunst er gerne bundet af en stærk stilisering. I sin begyndelse har den optaget så mange fremmede motiver, at den først gradvis finder sin egen form. Det er ikke vanskeligt at se, at Bråkedlens dyrehoveder udtrykker en frigjort keltisk kunstsans, kunstnerens oplevelse og personlige tolkning af dyrenes væsen.

Keltisk kunst har tidligt fanget arkæologernes interesse, men den har været meget forskelligt bedømt. Dertil er afstanden mellem de keltiske stilarter og vor tids kunstopfattelser ofte for bred. Man har fundet nogle arbejder helt barokke, andre for abstrakte. Der er værker af overgiven keltisk fantasi; men der er også intim og mådeholden kunst som Bråkedlens, en indtagende personlig stil. Først og fremmest bør keltisk kunst dog bedømmes ud fra sine egne forudsætninger for at kunne vurderes rigtigt.

I en vigtig behandling af tidlig keltisk kunst udskiller Jacobsthal faserne tidlig stil, Waldalgesheimstilen, plastisk stil og den ungarske sværdstil[9]). Efter disse følger indtil kelternes politiske underkastelse under romere og germanere en kunst, der her foreslås opkaldt efter tidens betydeligste værk, Gundestrupstilen, selv om det drejer sig om en ret heterogen stil.

Som vi allerede har haft lejlighed til at se, hører Bråkarret ikke hjemme i denne sidste fase, som fra tidlig keltisk kunst fører over til den keltoromerske. Den nye kedel er åbenbart tidligere. Stilistisk hører den hjemme i den plastiske kunst. Selv om der ikke er nøjagtige paralleler i Jacobthals monografi, iagttager vi dog et sikkert slægtskab med de ret få dyrefigurer i stilen.

Hvor afhængige de keltiske kunsthåndværkere end er af fremmede forbilleder, udvikler de allerede i den tidlige stil et afvexlende særpræg i modsætning til den geometriske ensformighed, som vi møder i Hallstattperioden. Udformningen af kunsten skyldes kelterne selv, men de inspirerende motiver lærer de i Norditalien, som en nærmere gennemgang viser[10]). Det er en ejendommelig ornamentik, som ellers er forladt i middelhavslandene, en arkaisk og senarkaisk tradition. Nok lever hallstattornamentiken videre og udvides med fremmedlån; men den nye keltiske stil skabes af et mere levende materiale, palmetter og lotus, halvbuemønstre, sammenflettede buelinjer, forenede lyrer og lignende tildels organiske motiver. Lidt senere optræder astragaler og akanthus, der i Norditalien tages op o. 400 f. v. t.

Tidlig keltisk stil er en personlig udformning af de fremmede motiver, ornamenter, dyr og mennesker. Specifikt keltisk er den ejendommelige »fiskeblære«, en svungen spidsoval med rund udløber. Helt sig selv er stilen i sit helhedspræg, trods de mange lån, som den gradvis frigør sig fra.

Waldalgesheimstilen betyder yderligere selvstændighed. Den optager forholdsvis lidt nyt sydfra, bortset fra nogle særprægede palmetter og stiliserede blomster. Ranken bliver nu kunstnernes letformelige motiv. Den indpasses overalt, snart spinkel, snart capriciøst svulmende leger den hen over fladen. Denne viltre rytme stemmer med kelternes temperament. Kunstnerne uddrager selve linjespillet af de organiske mønstre, ranker, palmetter og blomster, og lader det leve sin egen abstrakte tilværelse.

Fuldt sig selv er tidlig keltisk kunst først i den plastiske stil. Nu bygger den på egne friske iagttagelser. En samtidig fase kendes på en række sværdskeder, særlig fra Ungarn; denne nedstammer direkte fra Waldalgesheimstilen, men er endnu mere sindrig. Som arabesker er mønstrene graveret ind i en virtuos asymmentri. Med Bråkedlen har de imidlertid ingen

forbindelse. Bråkunsten skal jævnføres med plastisk stil, der især træffes på halsringe, svære arm- og ankelringe, fibuler og luntstikker (pl. IX). Medens man tidligere og i den samtidige ungarske sværdstil ornamenterer flader, formes dekorationen nu tredimensionalt; selve genstandens skikkelse ændres med denne udførelse. Keltisk kunstsans finder sig selv i en barok, i spænstige kurver, som svulmer og viger, danner skarpryggede hvirvlende figurer og brydes af knopper. Det er en stil med tilbøjelighed til at forvrænge sine motiver, men den er dybt original, og den kommer fuldt til sin ret i dyreplastiken.

Interessante er nogle plastisk dekorerede bronzer fra en kuppelgrav ved Mezek i Bulgarien, nær den græske grænse[11]). Der var flere begravelser i denne thrakiske grav fra 4.–3. årh. f. v. t., bl. a. rig sydlig import. Formentlig gravlagdes sidste gang en kelter, som bl. a. har fået en vogn med sig. Af de svære beslag mærkes 5 bronzeringe med udløber, den ene med tydelig ansigtsmaske, en ejendommelig bøjet bronzestang med svær skive og to store luntstikker. Dekorationen benytter snildt kombinerede spiralkurver.

Nogen umiddelbar parallel til Bråkarret udgør Mezekbronzerne dog ikke, selv om de er tydeligt beslægtede. Til gengæld er Mezekfundet et kronologisk holdepunkt; vi ved iøvrigt, at keltere netop opholdt sig i denne thrakiske egn o. 275 f. Kr.

Derimod er der fornylig i Mähren gjort et fund, hvis stil ganske svarer til Bråfigurernes. Det stammer fra gravpladsen Malomeřice lige ved Brno, men er desværre ikke optaget sagkyndigt[12]). Gravpladsen, som senere vil blive omtalt, tilhører en sen del af la Tène I. Alt viser hen til, at dette fund er fra samme tid, som det bl. a. fremgår af en fragmenteret koralring, en form som smykker halsringe og fibuler fra denne tidsperiode. Nogle bronzeblikstykker af bl. a. trekantet form med huller til pånitning har vel været beslag til en træspand ell. lign. De dekoreres med drevne enkle motiver, som dog ikke er specielle for denne kulturfase.

Ulige mere interessante er en del bronzebeslag, ens patinerede, og derfor formentlig alle til eet kar, en tudflaske. På fig. 17 forsøges en rekonstruktion af flasken på grundlag af de mange beslag. Nogle dele har haft en bestemt funktion, andre passer i al almindelighed til en rand eller en buet side. Samtlige stykker har huller i runde småskiver til nitter.

Det vigtigste beslag, som bestemt fører tanken hen på tudflasken, ses pl. VI. Det er selve indfatningen til tuden, dannet af to modstillede oxehoveder, og til det nærmeste parti af karsiden. Beslaget er udført i gennembrudt arbejde med skarpryggede svulmende mønstre. Der er ved udformningen først og fremmest taget hensyn til stykkets anvendelse, at omslutte det nederste af tuden; men oxehovederne står alligevel prægnant. Det ene hovede har dristigt svungne horn, der ejendommeligt nok mødes i en rund nitskive. Trækkene er plastisk levende med store hvælvede øjne under rillede øjenbryn. Mulen er fint formet. Hovedet har et lignende tungsindigt udtryk som Bråoxernes.

Det andet oxehovede vises kun partielt, hornene som afsluttes i runde nitplader, panden og de elegant facetterede øjenpartier. Snudepartiet er gennembrudt, men antydes ved to buede (nu fragmenterede) lister, der synes at være samlet i en midtskive.

Slægtskabet mellem Malomeřiceflaskens beslag og Bråkedlens bestyrkes yderligere ved en sælsom griffigur på en svært støbt fod af samme art som Bråoxernes hals og basis (pl. IV). Issen med hårets rilleornamentik har en dyb midtfure som Bråfuglenes. Også griffens øjne afgrænses som på fuglene. De har en rand om de hvælvede øjenæbler og skarpt afsatte øjeposer. Der er ikke tvivl om de to kunstarbejders oprindelse i samme kunstskole.

Griffen er et ret kompliceret fantasifoster. Den har buet svært næb med tydeligt afsat mund, slankt legeme og vistnok en spaltet hale eller en lang nakkeranke med knopper, måske en kombination af begge, som andre fremstillinger viser (vi kommer nedenfor tilbage til sådanne dobbeltvæsner). Det bageste parti er besynderligt formet med et extra nedadvendt fuglehovede, buet næb, stort spaltet øje og skrå nakke. I raffineret udførelse med sin elegant svungne hale er denne grif tudflaskens mest karakteristiske stykke.

Fig. 17 i midten viser en usymmetrisk

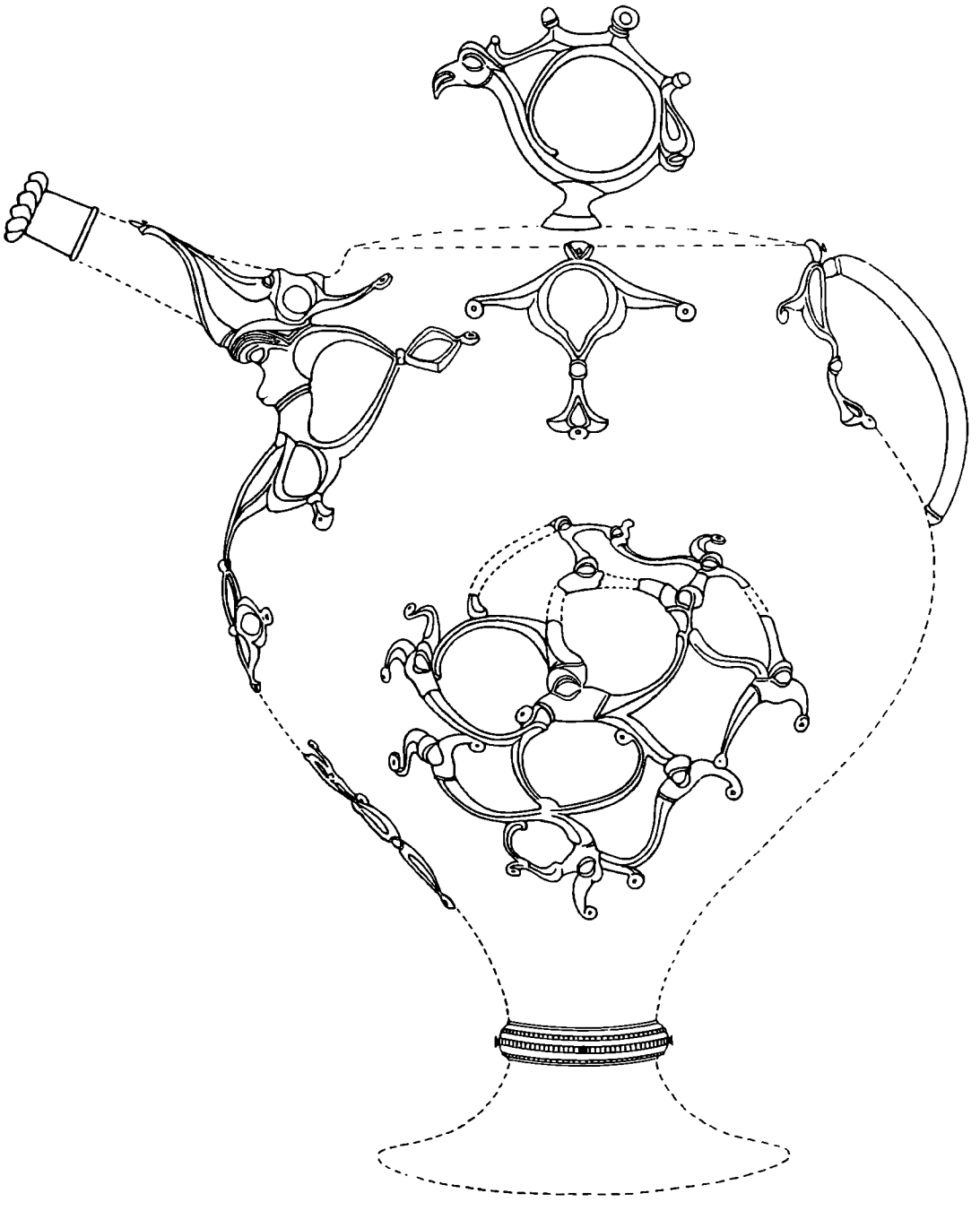

Fig. 17. Rekonstruktion af flasken fra Malomeřice. Godt 1/3.
Reconstruction of the flask from Malomeřice.

bronzeranke med skarp ryg og heri indskudte hoveder. Øjnene med de hævede øjeæbler tager man ikke fejl af, men næb, nakketop og hals ligner hinanden til forvexling. I midten ses dog et nogenlunde tydeligt hovede med hvælvet pande og svær nakketop afsluttet i en knop. Munden vender nedad til venstre og halsen er skråt afsluttet til højre. Kunstneren leger drilagtigt med formerne og skaber sin egen abstrakte dyreverden af de løsrevne dele.

Nært beslægtet er stykket pl. VII e, komponeret af lignende motiver. I et næsten symmetrisk parti sidder midti et øje. Foroven går den buede bronzeranke over i et fantasihovede

med tre udløbere og ligeledes et øje i midten. Hvilken side næbbet vender er vanskeligt at se; nakketoppen går, på afbildningen, lige ned.

Rent geometrisk er de gennembrudte mønstre i stykkerne pl. VII a–b; men også de har keltisk svulmende former som de netop gennemgåede stykker og knoplignende udløbere.

Menneskefremstillinger ses på to stykker. Pl. VII c viser et bronzeblikbeslag, hvis midte er et ansigt med tilsyneladende vemodigt udtryk. Ansigtet er uregelmæssigt med dominerende spidsovale øjne, krum næse og lille hage, panden, med fure i midten, lav, midtpå brudt af øjenbrynsbuer. Indramningen til højre og venstre er helt abstrakt, svulmende udløbere til de runde nitskiver, der igen er forbundet med svungne bronzestykker. Over hele udførelsen er bevidst usymmetri i modsætning til beslægtede fremstillinger i tidligste keltisk stil, som efterligner den etruskiske udformning af »Hathorfrisuren«[13]).

Det andet beslag med menneskemasker er to modstillede hoveder, pl. VII d. Forbindelsen mellem disse er ganske vist brudt, men der synes kun at mangle et ubetydeligt stykke. Dette beslag er symmetrisk bygget op, ligesom hovederne er regelmæssige og ligevægtige. Ud for det ene hovede er ejendommeligt svungne buer, der ender i dyrehoveder og mødes med tilsvarende udløbere fra det andet hovede. Forneden er en trekantet afslutning som på det store tudbeslag.

Til flasken hører også en hul bronzecylinder, der afsluttes i et plastisk hvirvelmønster (jfr. fig. 17). Den har gennemboring til en tværnagle. Endvidere foreligger en todelt bronzering med halvrundt gennemsnit og huller til nagler samt en buet bronzestang, hvis gennemborede ender udvides til nyreform.

Ved en rekonstruktion kan vi gå ud fra, at selve flasken har været af træ (fig. 17). I bronzecylinderen med hvirvelmønsteret, vel tudens afslutning, sidder endnu rester af træ; og der kendes en beslægtet tudflaske af træ fra Norditalien[14]). Om Malomeřiceflaskens tykkelse giver en del bronzenitter god besked. De er gennemsnitlig 1.2 cm lange og viser hen til en ca. 1 cm svær træside.

Det naturlige udgangspunkt er det store beslag om tudens nederste parti. Til randen passer bl. a. beslagene pl. VII a og dobbelthovedet pl. VII d, hvis svungne bagside viser, at de har dækket over en vulst lidt under randen, idet vi går ud fra, at beslagenes øverste stykke er fæstet direkte på mundingen.

Griffen har formentlig siddet som håndtag på låget. En ganske lignende placering har en lille dyreskulptur på tudflasken fra Waldalgesheim[15]). Som hank fra flaskens rand til dens midje passer den buede stang, medens bronzeringen i to sammenhørende stykker formentlig har siddet omkring foden, svarende til vulsten på samtidige lerkar, bl. a. i Malomeřice[16]). De store rankebeslag med dyrehoveder har efter alt at dømme prydet flaskens midtparti.

Beslagene meddeler os således ret nøjagtige oplysninger om karrets udseende, og dette svarer ganske til de keltiske tudflasker i bronze fra tidlig la Tène[17]). Her er tuden anbragt højt oppe, lidt under randen. Typen er en flaske med vulst under randen, højtsiddende skrået opadpegende tud, fyldig overdel, smalnende fod med udvidet standflade, et monstrøst kar der dog kunde hvile uden at få overbalance. De tidlige keltiske metalflasker har mediterrane forbilleder. Det er disse som kelterne i Mähren giver den særprægede udformning, vi lærer at kende i Malomeřicefundet.

Bråkedlens kunst har kun fjernere slægtninge på vestkeltisk område, hvor vi kender provençalsk skulptur særlig godt, takket være et oppidum nær Aix-en-Provence, Entremont, rømmet i en sen del af II årh. f. v. t., formentlig ved romernes erobring af egnene (jfr. s. 30). Karakteristisk blandt de mange stenskulpturer og -relieffer er hugsiddende krigere i fuld udrustning. Men ikke engang rytterstatuer er man veget tilbage for. Relieffer viser ryttere, kvindebuster o. m. m., alt i alt en broget og afvexlende kunst, der dog kun er kendt i hovedtrækkene. Den viser særlig nær afhængighed af Norditalien, men er vidt fjernet fra Brå-Malomeřicestilen. Den provençalske berettende kunst efterlignes af kelterne, såvidt vi endnu kan dømme, først i det sidste århundrede f. v. t., bl. a. på Gundestrupkedelen, der forbinder den gamle kedelform med dramatiske og symbolske relieffer[18]).

Nærmere kommer derimod en del schweizi-

ske fund. Adskillige halsringe (som det noget nordligere exempel pl. IX c) fremviser rankedekoration i plastisk udførelse svarende til Bråfuglenes nakkeranke, fig. 8.

De træffes i slutningen af tidlig la Tène. Men også det bekendte store mosefund fra la Tène, som i hovedsagen hidrører fra mellem la Tène har vigtige paralleller. Således vises øverst pl. X to ornamenterede sværdskeder[19]); den ene har tre heste i livlig bevægelse. Det er gracile, plastisk udførte dyr, hvorfra der mærkeligt nok skyder ranker. Ikke blot er halerne omdannet til lange elegante slyngninger; fra mund og nakke udgår der ranker, størst og flottest på den øverste hest. De nederste hestes bagben er forkrøblede til en art ornament. Stilistisk svarer rankerne, men særlig den øverste hests, til Bråfuglenes, selv om de i udformningen ikke står så nær som halsringenes dekoration.

Den fornemste metalskulptur fra tidlig vestkeltisk kunst er den lille bronzehest fra Guerchy, et forfinet racedyr med slanke lemmer, men med et levende muskelspil. Øjnene er dominerende, spidsovale. Desværre har skulpturen lidt under ligbålets varme. Som Lantier fremhæver, drejer det sig formentlig om et arbejde fra mellem la Tène[20]). Ligheden med de yndefulde heste på la Tèneskeden er påfaldende.

Den samme forfinede dyreopfattelse finder udtryk i en række vestlige metalskulpturer, hvoriblandt i al fald bronzehesten fra Freisen sikkert tilhører tidlig keltisk kunst[21]).

Tungere virker oxehovederne på ringen fra Trichtingen[22]). Den bedømmes til at være fra mellem la Tène, men giver ingen bidrag til forståelsen af vore smagfulde skulpturer fra Brå og Malomerice. Sammen giver disse arbejder et forstærket indtryk af Bråkedlens samhørighed med de mähriske fund snarere end med vestligere arbejder.

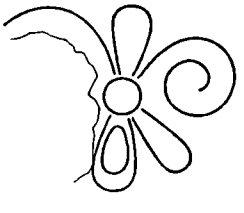

Fig. 18. Palmetlignende figur på oxehovedet fra Roskildeegnen. 1/1.
Pattern resembling a palmette from the bull's head from the Roskilde area.

Før vi forlader Bråkedlens dyreskulpturer kan der være grund til at betragte to danske enkeltfundne bronzeoxehoveder, der i form tydeligt knytter sig til kedlens. Stilmæssigt afviger de imidlertid noget. De stammer ikke fra samme kunstkres som Bråkedlen, men skal utvivlsomt opfattes som fjerne slægtninge. Den ene er sikkert et keltisk arbejde, fundet i et mosedrag ved Roskilde, Sjælland, mellem Karlslunde, Greve og Tune (NMK C 220) (pl. VIII). Hovedet hviler på en kort cylindrisk hals, der er hul. Ved basis måler den 6 cm i diameter. Her er to huller indboret, åbenbart til fastgørelse (på en kedelrand?). Hovedet har stærke korte horn, hvorimellem der er 5 ribber tværs over nakken, de yderste skraverede. På nakken selv, der har lidt nogen overlast, ses en ophøjet palmet i forenklet udførelse (fig. 18). Øjnene er hvælvede, foroven begrænset af tre buelinjer, forneden af en enkelt vulst, der bøjer rundt i enderne. En svajet linje nærmere halsen afsluttes på samme måde i en krølle. Muligt er det en reminiscens fra de velkendte udsvungne øjenbrynsbuer med ombøjning i tidlig keltisk kunst[23]).

Det andet stykke er også et mosefund, fra Store Vildmose i Nordjylland (NMK C 23174) (pl. VIII). Med dets stærke lige horn kan det kun forestille en tyr. Udførelsen er vegere end Bråoxehovederne, uden deres levende plasticitet. Snarere minder det om et hjemligt arbejde fra bronzealderen, Trundholmhesten. Dets hovede adskilles som Trundholmhestens fra halsen i en bred kurve bag pande og hage. Store Vildmosehovedet viser imidlertid på nakken to hævede partier mindende om Bråoxernes to svære lokker, men ganske enkle. Det har endvidere store, nærmest spidsovale øjne, i modsætning til de runde på Trundholmhesten. Slægtskabet forstås vist således, at det nordjydske tyrehovede er et hjemligt arbejde, påvirket af keltisk kunst. Det behøver ikke at være væsentlig yngre end Bråkedlen.

Da Bråkedlen ikke lader sig datere i Danmark, må en tidsmæssig placering af den op-

nås i keltisk kultur. Dens nære slægtning, tudflasken fra Malomeřice, hører efter alt at dømme hjemme i slutningen af tidlig la Tène. Til den samme tid henføres ranken på uglehovedattacherne, der dog kan være lidt senere. Mezekparallelen er vistnok fra 3. årh. Det er i denne fase af plastisk stil, ikke den mindre udprægede i la Tène II, Bråkedlen hører hjemme.

Den knap så udprægede plastiske stil kendes bl. a. fra la Tène selv. Karakteristisk er især spiralmotivet i den keltiske udformning, plastisk svulmende, og det ses almindeligt på en del enkeltfundne halsringe, fibuler og lignende smykker[24]). En fibula med denne ornamentik stammer fra en veldateret grav ved Bologna, i Ceretolo, idet den er fundet sammen med en bronzekande, hvis hank er en gestikulerende mandsfigur i hellenistisk stil, pl. X nederst [25]). Den kan tidsfæstes til o. 200 f. v. t., hvad der også vil gælde de øvrige genstande i fundet, foruden bronzefibulen et par tidlige jernfibuler af mellem la Tèneskemaet, sværd m. m. (fig. 21). Vi behøver ikke at regne med nogen egentlig forsinkelse i handelsforbindelserne mellem Bolognaegnen og det sydlige Italien. De keltiske genstande er utvivlsomt fremstillet på samme tid som kanden og efter nogen brug lagt i jorden med denne.

Et andet vigtigt holdepunkt for den keltiske plastiske spiraldekoration er et skulpturfragment fra Entremont (jfr. s. 28 og 40). En stor mængde skulpturfragmenter og nogenlunde bevarede statuer af sten er her (vel efter plyndring) blevet anvendt som vejbeklædning. Ret længe har de imidlertid ikke tjent dette formål. Der er ingen slidspor, og meget tyder derfor på, at Entremont er blevet forladt kort tid efter denne ødelæggelse. Formentlig står begivenheden i forbindelse med romernes erobring og anlæggelsen af Aquae Sextiae, den nye by på lavlandet, hvor romerne ikke behøvede at frygte en fjendtlig barrikade.

Blandt skulpturfragmenterne er netop en spiraldekoreret ring[26]), der ganske vist er tydet som et søjlestykke, men som snarere forekommer mig at passe til en statues arm. Entremontskulpturerne kan ikke være senere end 2. årh. f. v. t. og stammer formentlig fra midten eller en tidlig del af århundredet.

Bråkedlens kunst er ligesom Malomeřices tilsyneladende lidt ældre, selv om der er tydeligt slægtskab mellem deres motiver og de nævnte spiralmønstre. Halsringene med plastiske ranker omtrent som Bråattacherne hører hjemme i en sen del af tidlig la Tène efter miljøet i gravfundene at dømme (s. 36). Det samme gælder formentlig Malomeřicefundet, som vi har set. Endvidere giver Mezekfundet en tilnærmelsesvis datering af udpræget plastisk stil til o. 275 f. v. t. Adskillige grave med sene fibuler af tidlig la Tèneskemaet, særlig i Böhmen-Mähren, men også i de omgivende egne indeholder bronzeringe o. l. med heftige spiralsnoninger og lignende stærkt bevægede motiver. Nogle af disse bronzefibuler har endog fodknop med plastisk mønster (fig. 20 d)[27]).

Når der i det hele foreligger så rigt et sammenligningsmateriale i de mellemste og østlige keltiske egne, skyldes det delvis de mange velforsynede grave, men sikkert først og fremmest, at plastisk stil har haft en særlig rig udvikling her. Også mod vest kendes en række bronzer i typisk plastisk stil. Selv i England vil man kunne finde paralleler[28]). Men disse fund bringer os ikke nærmere forståelsen af Bråkedlen, der utvivlsomt stammer fra Mellemeuropa, vel netop Mähren.

På s. 31 forsøges en skematisk opstilling af de førromerske keltiske stil- og kulturfaser. De ældste afsnit anføres efter Jacobsthals Early Celtic Art og de nye vigtige udgravningsresultater fra Heuneburg[29]).

Tidlig stil begynder i sidste halvdel af 5. årh. f. v. t. Vi møder den i de rige fyrstegrave ved Rhinens og Elbens øvre løb. Typisk er Rodenbach-, Klein Aspergle og den noget vestligere Somme Bionnegrav. Af daterende sydlig import indeholdt Rodenbach således en etruskisk næbflaske (første halvdel af 5. årh. f. v. t.), en italisk »pilgrimsflaske« (vel o. 500 f. v. t.) og en attisk kantharos (o. 450 f. v. t.). Klein Aspergle fremviser en etruskisk stamnos (anden fjerdedel af 5. årh. f. v. t.) og to attiske drikkebægre (o. 450 f. v. t.). Somme Bionne: en etruskisk næbflaske (første halvdel af 5. årh. f. v. t.) og et attisk

år f. v. t.	kronologisk vigtige fund	keltiske perioder	keltiske stilfaser	historiske begivenheder
450	Rodenbach, Klein Aspergle			
	Somme Bionne	I a	Tidlig stil	
400	Heuneburg I. Lorraine			Rom plyndres (390)
	Montefortino, Filottrano, Waldalgesheim	I b	Waldalgesheim stil	
300	Mezek			Delfi plyndres (279)
		I c	Plastisk	Nederlaget i Talamone (225)
200	Ceretolo			
	Entremont	II	stil	Provence erobres af Rom (124–23)
100				Kimbrernes og teutonernes nederlag (102–01)
	San Bernardo	III	Gundestrupstil	Caesar erobrer Gallien
0				

drikkebæger (o. 420 f. v. t.). Selv om de græske bægre ikke kan kaldes vellykkede frembringelser af den navnkundige attiske keramikvirksomhed, er de overmåde vigtige for dateringen.

Den ældste fase kaldes med rette fyrstegravtiden. Keltisk stil får sit opsving hos stormænd, der kunne tillade sig at erhverve fremmede kostbarheder. I Heuneburg, nær Donaus udspring, undersøges for tiden et af stederne for keltisk stils udformning, et rigt oppidum, hvor der bl. a. var samlet kunsthåndværkere. De ældre lag i Heuneburg tilhører Hallstatt. Med det yngste skifter kulturbilledet. Drejede kar afløser håndgjorte; de tidligste la Tène-fibuler viser sig. Fra dette lag stammer et fragment af et italisk lerkar fra begyndelse af 4. årh. f. v. t.

Den ældste keltiske stil udnytter, som vi har set, arkaiske og senarkaiske motiver fra Italiens retarderede kunst. Kun få mønstre angiver tid; således kan en palmetform på den fornemme Lorrainekande næppe være overtaget før begyndelsen af 4. årh. f. v. t. Den ældste fase tilhører derfor en sen del af 5. og begyndelsen af 4. årh. f. v. t.

Den følgende stil, opkaldt efter Waldalgesheimfundet, er vidt udbredt og kendes bl. a. i veldaterede italiske grave i Montefortino og Filottrano. Disse grave indeholder mange bronzekar fra samme tid som Waldalgesheimgravens tarentinske situla, slutningen af 4. årh. f. v. t. Til den samme tid lader nogle ornamenter i Waldalgesheimstilen sig henføre; de bygger på klassiske 4. årh. mønstre. Fibuler med skiveformet fod og tidlig la Tène-skema er undertiden smukt ornamenteret i Waldalgesheimstil.

Plastisk stil, som vi har haft lejlighed til at betragte med udgangspunkt i dens fornemste arbejde, Bråkedelen, følger nu som kelternes originale og ejendommelige stilart.

TIDLIGE KULTURFORBINDELSER MED KELTERNE

Det er fristende at sætte tilstedeværelsen af så fornemt et arbejde som Bråkedelen i forbindelse med kelternes vidtstrakte vandringer. Det er dog langtfra sikkert, selv om den store expansion for alvor sætter ind i tidlig la Tène.

Den er allerede i gang o. 400 i Italien, Rom plyndres 390 f. v. t. Langt vigtigere end dette eventyrtogt er imidlertid selve besættelsen af de norditalienske egne. Etruskernes støttepunkt nord for Apenninerne, Felsina, bliver den keltiske by Bononia.

I den senere del af tidlig la Tène drager kelterne østpå og når over til Lilleasien. De optræder over hele middelhavsområdet, plyndrer Delfi 279 f. v. t., og de præger ganske kulturudviklingen i Mellem- og Vesteuropa. Mod øst møder de bl. a. nomadefolkene.

Allerede i 3. årh. f. v. t. er kelterne på retur. I Lilleasien tvinger Pergamon de stridslystne erobrere sammen i Galatien 241–28. 225 lider andre keltere et afgørende nederlag i Talamone i Mellemitalien. I løbet af 2. årh. viger kelterne stadig for romersk pres. Den nye stormagt, som bedre end de spredte keltiske stammer forstår at organisere sine erobringer, dominerer nu helt Norditalien og viser det ved at grundlægge Aquileja i nordøst, gennemgangsstedet for videre togter, men også for livlig handel mod nord.

Samtidig vender romerne sig mod Provence, der erobres 124–23 f. v. t. Resten af Gallien underlægges o. midten af første årh. f. v. t.

Imidlertid besætter germanerne fra nord de tilstødende keltiske områder og møder romerne. Vi har ingen historisk tradition om disse erobringer øst for Rhinen, men arkæologiske kilder tyder på landnam så tidligt som Bråkedlens tid. Det store bronzekar kan være bragt herop ved et togt mod syd.

For at tage stilling til dette vigtige problem, kontakten mellem kelterne og Danmark i den tidlige førromerske jernalder, vil det være nødvendigt at udvide grundlaget for denne undersøgelse. Her er særlig en betragtning af de kronologiske forhold af betydning. Det pålideligste grundlag er stratigrafi, og nogle af de keltiske oppida, bl. a. Heuneburg, har klart lagvise aflejringer. Lignende fundforhold kendes ganske nær keltisk kulturområde i det romerske Ventimiglia, Albintimilium[30]).

En anden fremgangsmåde, som med held er anvendt både på keltisk og germansk område siden Vedels grundlæggende publikation af Store Kannikegårdsgravpladsen, Bornholm, er den såkaldte gravpladstopografi. Man har i forhistorisk tid særlig på begrænsede områder som bakkeåse fulgt en bestemt retning for begravelserne. Afsnit efter afsnit af pladsen gengiver derfor kronologiske stadier, hvis tidsfølge lader sig udlæse topografisk. Blandt gravpladser med flere perioder aftegnet topografisk er der særlig grund til at nævne de schweiziske fra Cerinasca d'Arbedo og Münsingen, den mellemtyske i Cammer, Hornbek i Lauenburg og blandt de skandinaviske Horn i Västergötland[31]).

En anden metode til tidsbestemmelse tager som udgangspunkt importgenstandene, der tillige fortæller om datidens forbindelser. Især fremmede sager i daglig brug lader sig med fordel benytte. Pragtstykker kan naturligvis være nedarvede og blive gamle, før de finder hvile i det nye miljø. Dette ses i det centrale keltiske område, men også i Norden, hvor vi kender nogle exempler på tidlige græske og etruskiske kar nedlagt flere århundreder senere i gravene[32]).

Af de daglige genstande er metalsagerne pålideligst til datering, som det bl. a. viser sig i ældre romertid med de mange krydsfund[33]). Nye moder breder sig hurtigt og afspejder sig bl. a. i fibulerne, der derfor særligt lader sig benytte som indikatorer. Lerkarrene, derimod, afspejler først og fremmest hjemlige udviklinger og karakteriserer de mange kulturprovinser i ældre jernalder. Dermed er ikke sagt, at fremmed indflydelse ikke lader sig spore i keramiken, og at denne ikke kan give vigtige bidrag til tidsinddelingen. Men når det drejer sig om sammenlignende kronologiske undersøgelser, vil det være naturligt at gå ud fra vidt udbredte metalsager som fibulerne. Dersom vi kun har et mate-

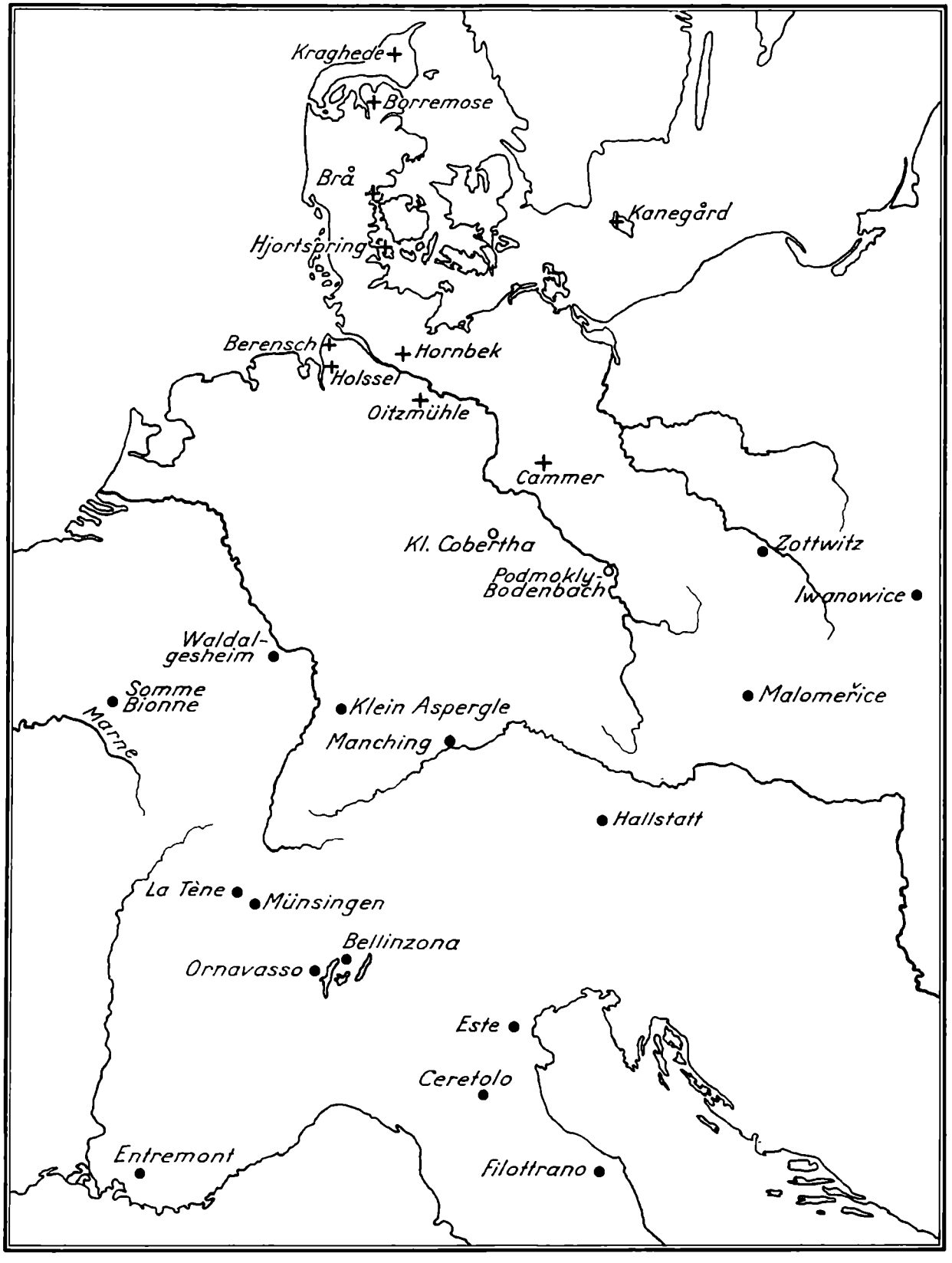

Fig. 19. Kort over vigtige findesteder i tidlig og mellem la Tène.
• keltisk miljø, o keltogermansk miljø, + germansk og nordisk miljø.

Map of the important places of discovery of objects from Early and Middle La Tène.
• Celtic milieu, o Celto-Germanic milieu, + Germanic and Scandinavian milieu.

riale af lerkar, må det til gengæld være fyldigt og alsidigt[34]).

Grundlaget for denne kronologiske undersøgelse vil naturligt være den keltiske inddeling (jfr. s. 31). Den mest findelte er Wiedmer-Sterns og Violliers i Schweiz, der udgår fra det klassiske treperiodesystem. Den har ganske vist ikke fuld gyldighed overalt, men systemet lader sig let forenkle. De vigtigste ledetyper er fibulerne og ringene.

Wiedmer-Sterns og Violliers system svarer til Reineckes ordning af det bayerske og Déchelettes inddeling af det franske materiale med visse modifikationer, således kan Reinecke C jævnføres med Wiedmer-Sterns og Violliers I c og II[35]). På samme måde omfatter Déchelette II i store træk Wiedmer-Sterns og Violliers I c og II.

Der må imidlertid tages hensyn til en del geografiske forskelle og kronologiske forskydninger. Sine steder viser det sig, at en af de nævnte faser ikke har afsat sig påviseligt spor i kulturudviklingen. Dette gælder f. ex. i Nordøstbayern og egnene øst for mellemste og øvre Rhin, hvor den sene del af tidlig la Tène og begyndelsen af mellem la Tène ikke kendes i udpræget form.

På den anden side skal man være varsom med at slutte for vidt på grundlag af tilsyneladende fundtomhed. Man kan f. ex. en overgang have haft en gravskik, der ikke tillod gravgaver. Eller »fundtomhed« kan simpelthen skyldes, at man ikke er stødt på periodens grave. Her har undersøgelsen af Hallstatt givet en gavnlig lære. Oprindelig kendte man blot den berømte gravplads fra tidlig jernalder, som har givet navn til hele tidsafsnittet, og da der tilsyneladende ikke fandtes spor efter la Tène begravelser, er den slutning undertiden draget, at Hallstattminerne blev forladt en tid.

Imidlertid har man fortsat udgravningerne i seneste tid, og nu fremkom ikke blot tidlig la Tène, men også sen la Tène, den første endda nuanceret og typisk[36]). Når gravene fra mellem la Tène endnu mangler, skyldes det åbenbart tilfældighed, og de vil sikkert blive fundet. En standsning af de indbringende miner i ældre jernalder tyder i al fald intet på.

Mærkeligt nok er keltisk sen la Tène ganske knapt repræsenteret i modsætning til de nordligere egnes talrige fund. Man har ment, at folkevandringer udtømte den keltiske befolkning. På samme måde har man villet forklare den tilsyneladende fundtomhed i midten af førromersk jernalder i Skandinavien ved udvandring eller ødelæggende nedbør.

Som udgangspunktet for denne korte oversigt vælges Schweiz med dets mange rige grave[37]). Her er desuden den eneste fuldt undersøgte keltiske gravplads og det vigtige mosefund i la Tène ved Neuchâtelsøen, periodens navngiver.

Medens de døde keltere overalt synes at være begravet fuldt påklædte med fibulerne i klæderne, er de schweiziske grave særlig overdådigt udstyrede. Vi må gå ud fra, enten at der har været flere klædningsstykker end een dragt, eller at de dødes samtlige smykker er givet med i graven. Det sidste er mest sandsynligt, at dømme efter nylige udgravningsresultater[38]). 5–6 fibuler i een grav er ikke ualmindeligt, og der ses op til 21 stykker samlede hos den døde.

Den helt gennemsøgte gravplads Münsingen, Kt. Bern, gav Wiedmer-Stern grundlaget for inddelingen af schweizisk la Tène. Gravpladsen omfatter en stor samling skeletgrave, tidens almindelige gravskik, og nogle få brandpletter. Den dækker en aflang bakke i N–S, med samme orientering som skeletgravene. De ældste grave er lagt i nord, hvorefter man gradvis er rykket mod syd. Ved at udskille grupper topografisk har Wiedmer-Stern bestemt faserne I a–c og II (I b og c gravene ligger dog delvis sammen; og II har han inddelt i en ældre og yngre del, hvad der næppe lader sig opretholde, som Viollier påviser ved at sammenligne med hele det schweiziske materiale).

Længst i syd bliver gravene fattigere, og den sydligste gruppe er simpelthen fundtom. Dette træk er utvivlsomt betydningsfuldt. Wiedmer-Stern, og efter ham Viollier, har nemlig været tilbøjelige til at udelukke en beboelse i la Tène III i Schweiz på grund af de ganske sparsomme fund. Baggrunden og selve årsagen fandt de i den udvandring, som Caesar beskriver. Münsingens fuldtomme grave bør imidlertid tages med i betragtning.

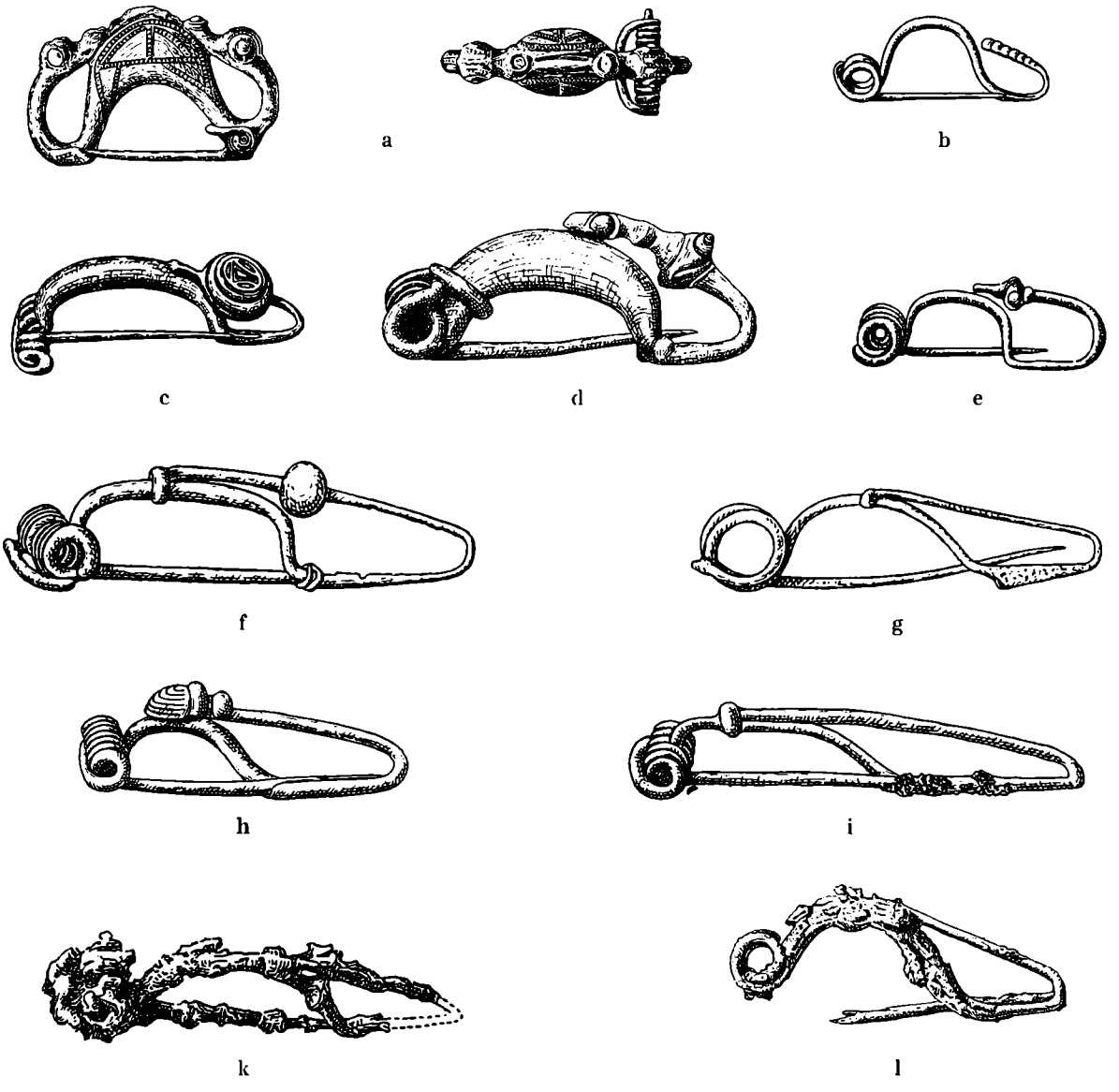

Fig. 20. Fibuler af tidlig og mellem la Tèneskema, a fra Schwabsburg, Rheinhessen, b Münsingen grav 8, c Niederrüti ved Winkel (Schweiz), d Altschreckenstein, Aussig (Böhmen), e Münsingen grav 121, f–g la Tène, h Oitzmühle grav 6, i Oitzmühle grav 23, k Berensch-Waterpohl grav 15, l Kanegård grav C 87. $^{2}/_{3}$.

Fibulae of Early and Middle La Tène pattern, a from Schwabsburg, Rhine/Hessen, b Münsingen grave 8, c Niederrüti near Winkel (Switzerland), d Altschreckenstein, Aussig (Bohemia), e Münsingen grave 121, f–g La Tène, h Oitzmühle grave 6, i Oitzmühle grave 23, k Berensch-Waterpohl grave 15, l Kanegård grave C 87.

Når der er så få vidnesbyrd om la Tène III, står dette snarest i forbindelse med et skifte i gravskikken, idet der åbenbart ikke blev givet gravgaver, i al fald af uforgængelig art, i slutningen af la Tène. En typisk la Tène III horisont kendes i øvrigt fra mosefundet i Port, hvorimod fundene fra gasværket ved Basel utvivlsomt kun repræsenterer et sent stadium af perioden[30]). –

Karakteristisk for periode I a er den keltiske udformning af certosafibulen, som får dobbeltsidet spiral. Den egentlige la Tène I a fibula har svungen bøjle og tilbagebøjet fod, som ikke når helt op til bøjlens højeste parti

og gerne omsluttes af en knop eller bliver lidt sværere mod afslutningen (fig. 20 b). Både hals- og armringe, de sidste undertiden rørformede, er ganske enkle og glatte.

I periode I b har fibulerne ofte flad bøjle dekoreret med ophøjede eller indridsede motiver (bl. a. i Waldalgesheimstil). Der er 2–4 spiralvindinger, hvis forbindelsestråd almindeligvis går udvendigt, sjældnere indvendigt bag bøjlen. Fodens to dele er aldrig parallele, som man ser det i I a, og foden selv når helt op til bøjlens øverste del, ofte afsluttet i en skive, sjældnere i en knop. Skiven dækkes af koral eller emalje (fig. 20 c).

Blandt ringene lægger man særlig mærke til halsringene, der er bøjet rundt, og hvis ender mødes i en cylinder eller i skålformede partier. Fingerringene er enkle som vor tids vielsesringe.

Nogle simple bæltelukker består af en ring med udløber. Remmens ene ende fastgøres til udløberen, den anden knyttes om ringen.

Den tredje fase af tidlig la Tène, I c, karakteriseres af fibuler, hvis tilbagebøjede fod hyppigst afsluttes i en knop, sjældnere i en skive som i I b (fig. 20 e). Foden når stadig op til bøjlens øverste punkt og er enkelte gange fæstet til dette[40]).

Halsringene er stadig almindelige, men forsvinder i slutningen af perioden. De er nu rigere ornamenteret med plastisk udførte motiver og indlægning med emalje på runde udvidelser. Armringene varierer meget lige fra svære, glatte eller plastisk ornamenterede stykker og tunge ringe med halvkugler til spinkle mæanderbøjede smykker og rørformede lette ringe. Fingerringene træffes nu hyppigt, nogle af dem bøjet i karakteristisk knæk.

Bæltelukkerne bliver mere komplicerede med en knop i den ene ende og en bøjle til remmens fastgørelse i den anden.

Det er først og fremmest kvindegravene, der således lader sig findele. Vanskeligere stillet er vi over for mandsgravene, der desuden er fåtallige. Der er i løbet af denne tid ingen væsentlige ændringer af det korte tveæggede sværd med fladt klokkeformet hjalte. I hele den nederste tredjedel snævrer det mod spidsen, og det har gerne midtribbe. Dupskoen er sædvanligvis gennembrudt. Af andre våben ses brede og slanke spydspidser. Når der derimod ikke er fundet metalbeskyttelser over skjoldbulen, står dette sikkert i forbindelse med de ret få våbengrave. Som vi skal se andre steder i det keltiske område, begynder linseformede og rektangulære jernbeslag at vise sig allerede i la Tène I c.

Med la Tène II bliver fibulerne ofte betydeligt længere. Det gælder især foden, som i det såkaldte mellem la Tène skema fæstes til bøjlens øverste parti. En reminiscens fra tidlig la Tène fibulerne er knoppen på den tilbagebøjede fod, men den er forsvundet på flere udførelser (fig. 20 f–g). Fibuler af tidlig la Tène skemaet holder sig endnu, omend aftagende i hyppighed[41]).

Medens metalarmringe bliver sjældnere – halsringe er helt forsvundet – forekommer glasringe nu hyppigt, og gagatarmbånd ses også nogle gange. Fingerringene tilhører stadig den knækkede form, men de kan også være formet som spiraler.

En anden nyhed i la Tène II er metalbæltekæder, enten ret spinkle metalled eller en kombination af ringe og profilerede led. Bælterne afsluttes i nedhængende dupper.

Der optræder endvidere ret store farverige glasperler og bronzenåle med kugleformet eller dobbeltkonisk hovede. Nogle få grave indeholder de første keltiske mønter, guldefterligninger af makedonske kvartstatere fra Filip II[42]).

I våbengravene mærkes det, at sværdene er længere end den foregående periodes type, der dog træffes nogle gange endnu. Den egentlige la Tène II form har nærmest parallele ægge, som først lige ved odden mødes i en stumpvinklet spids. Skeden følger disse særprægede udlinjer. Parerpladen er stærkere svungen end i la Tène I, hvorfor der undertiden er to indsnit i overgangen mellem hæfte og klinge, afpasset efter hjaltet. Skederne kan være nydeligt ornamenteret (pl. X øverst).

I denne periode er der rektangulære jernbeslag over den tenformede skjoldbule; de fæstes med to solide nagler i fløjene (fig. 26 g).

La Tène-fundet omfatter en lang række genstande, som er karakteristiske for la Tène II, og som vi har betragtet i det foregående. De gør således indtryk af at være nedlagt i et

ganske kort tidsrum, formentlig på een gang. De få tidligere og senere genstande kan let være kommet tilfældigt ind på det ret store nedlægningsområde. Omegnen er rig på mose- og bopladsfund fra flere forhistoriske perioder. Det er i store træk lykkedes Vouga at udskille denne bestemte lokalitet, som desværre ikke i sit fulde omfang er fagligt undersøgt. Dette er så meget des vigtigere, som la Tène fundet omfatter en del genstande, der ellers ikke er bevaret fra dette tidsrum. Kedlerne af bronzeblik med jernrand har vi allerede været inde på; men hertil kommer adskillige kulturhistorisk vigtige genstande, en ejendommelig sadel, hestetøj, vogndele, smede- og tømrerværktøj, landbrugsredskaber som leer, segle og løvknive, kort sagt vidnesbyrd om en udviklet materiel kultur.

Selve skikken at nedlægge våben og lignende genstande kendes ikke blot som en isoleret forteelse her i la Tène, men er udøvet i alle la Tèneperioderne. Om den har forbindelse med den nordiske deponering i moser (bl. a. Hjortspringfundet vilde kunne nævnes som parallel), er det endnu for tidligt at udtale sig om. Allerede i nordisk bronzealder kendes bemærkelsesværdige mosehenlæggelser som Trundholmvognen og den yngste bronzealders lurer og ringe m. m.

Syd for Alperne, i Sydschweiz og Norditalien, er der særlige muligheder for en absolut tidsbestemmelse af de tidlige kulturfaser. Her møder kelterne de norditaliske og etruskiske folk, og her erhverver de sig bronzer, lerkar o. m. m., som de får med i gravene. Da der ikke sker væsentlig forsinkelse af handelsvarer i selve Italien, er fundene derfor vigtige.

Bekendtest er de rige gravpladser i Bellinzona, som er publiceret af Ulrich[43]). Desværre er undersøgelserne af gammel dato, og beretningen om gravsammenhæng lidet pålidelige. Nogle gravpladser, som den tidlige Cerinasca d'Arbedo, er bedre oplyste, for så vidt man kender genstandenes findesteder på gravpladsen. Med dette grundlag har E. Vogt udarbejdet en gravpladstopografi og opnået vigtige resultater[44]). Desværre synes Giubiasco, som tilhører det afsnit af la Tène, der særlig interesserer os, ikke at kunne benyttes på denne måde.

En anden bekendt lokalitet er Ornavasso i Val d'Ossola, en af de dybe sydgående dale i Alpernes sydskråning, lige ved det norditaliske søområde. Her har Bianchetti foretaget en omhyggelig undersøgelse i slutningen af forrige århundrede. De vigtige fund er stadig i hans families besiddelse. For nyligt har soprintendenzaen i Torino imidlertid foretaget udgravninger i urørte dele af gravpladsen og opnået supplerende resultater[45]).

Gravpladsen i Ornavasso er et hele. Den fandtes ved anlæggelse af jernbanen fra Simplon, og deltes da tilfældigt af denne i to partier, en ældre del, San Bernado, og en yngre, Persona.

Man har hidtil lagt vægt på møntfundene i gravene. De republikanske har utvivlsomt også en vis vægt, når de som i San Bernardo ikke findes sammen med kejsertidsmønter. Dette er nemlig tilfældet i Persona og i nære gravpladser, hvor der kan være betydelig tidsforskel mellem mønterne i hver grav. De republikanske var længe i kurs. Mønter f. ex. fra 2. årh. f. v. t. meddeler derfor ikke anden datering, end at den grav, de ligger i, er fra 2. årh. eller derefter. Dersom der ingen kejsertidsmønter er desuden, er det sandsynligt, at mønterne er nedlagt mellem 2. årh. f. v. t. og kejsertid. Dateringsmetoden er imidlertid ikke sikker, selv med en nøjagtig bestemmelse af mønterne[46]).

En anden mulighed for datering gives imidtid. Lamboglia har bl. a. ved sine stratigrafiske udgravninger i Albintimilium kunnet opdele den »kampanske« keramik i grupperne A, B og C[47]). Medens godset i A-karrene er livlig rød med metallisk glinsende sort fernis, er B-keramikens farve blegere og fernislaget mattere. C-keramiken, som ikke vedrører os i denne sammenhæng, er grålig med sort til olivengrøn skiftende fernis.

Kar af A-typen dateres ved deres forekomst i de dybeste lag, VIII og VII, i Albintimilium, og de er stadig overvejende i VI B; her – i Sullas tid – viser B-keramiken sig. Den bliver hyppigere i lag VI A, Caesars og triumviratets tid, og i lag V, augustæisk periode. Det er videre bemærkelsesværdigt, at kampansk B-keramik mangler i Entremont (hvor A er repræsenteret i meget stort omfang) ligesom i

Ensérunes ældre lag. Det sidste sted forekommer den kun i senere kontext, bopladslaget fra 1. årh. f. v. t. Endelig viser den sig i de romerske anlæg i Provence, Valentia og Pollentia, m. a. o. et stærkt vidnesbyrd om, at campansk B-keramik først optræder i 1. årh. f. v. t. og væsentlig tilhører dette årh.

Da gravene i San Bernardo, ligesom en række andre norditaliske gravpladser, har mange exempler på en lokal imitation af kampansk B-keramik, der iøvrigt også kendes fra samme lag som den originale i Albintimilium, udgør disse et sikrere grundlag for dateringen end mønterne alene. Det fremgår nu med klarhed, at hovedparten af San Bernardogravene tilhører det første årh. f. v. t. Kun nogle få, der rummer svære fibuler af tidlig la Tèneskema med dyb fure i bøjlen til koralindlægning, kan være ældre. Den nævnte fibulatype kendes fra Schweiz i la Tène II[48]). Personagravene må være endnu yngre, som bl. a. de senere mønter viser.

La Tène I og II grave kendes iøvrigt udbredt over Norditalien. Der udvikles her en række lokalgrupper, som bliver udprægede i la Tène III[49]). Selv Esteområdet, der ellers anses for at være beboet af ikke-keltiske folk, viser en intim tilknytning til keltisk kultur. Hjemlig tradition blandes med keltiske former; hovedindtrykket er imidlertid keltisk. Her ses bl. a. typiske våbengrave med keltiske la Tène II udstyr som båndformet skjoldbule[50]).

Fra Castiglione delle Stiviere ved Gardasøen er den meget rige grav med ejendommelige fugleflasker af utvivlsomt keltisk arbejde. De er behandlet af Jacobsthal og må efter gravgodset iøvrigt tidligst være fra 4. årh. f. v. t.[51]). Nogen absolut pålidelig datering opnås imidlertid ikke af disse kar, hvis rankedekoration minder om Bråfuglenes.

Bolognaegnen og strækningen ned mod Ancona er usædvanlig rig på keltiske grave. Af disse er de velkendte gravpladser i Montefortino og Filottrano smukt daterede ved italiske bronzer fra sen del af 4. årh. f. v. t. De keltiske genstande træder lidt tilbage for denne overvældende rigdom, der røber, hvor let kelterne har afpasset sig efter det nye miljø og dets rige muligheder. Her er imidlertid en del typiske la Tène I sværd og fibuler og usædvanligt smukt formede torques, det karakteristiske keltiske halssmykke.

For os vil de lidt senere grave fra Bolognaegnen være af særlig interesse. Det gælder først og fremmest Ceretolograven, som daterer overgangen mellem la Tène I c og la Tène II. Vi har allerede haft lejlighed til at betragte de to fornemste genstande fra graven, bronzekanden med kløverbladformet munding og kunstnerisk udført hank og fibulen med keltisk spiraldekoration (pl. X). Kanden er nydeligt dekoreret ikke blot med hank af form som en heftigt gestikulerende mand; den ombøjede rand har æggestavornament og forneden over bunden ses fletværk. Hankens hellenistiske figurfremstilling hører hjemme i tiden o. 200 f. v. t. Ved liget i Ceretolograven lå desuden et spidst udløbende tveægget jernsværd med fragmenteret skede (fig. 21 a). Foroven har skeden en enkel bøjle til ophængning. Forneden udvider den sig lidt som en art dupsko. Endvidere fandtes en jernkæde til ophængning af sværdet (fig. 21 b) og en dobbeltring med samme formål (fig. 21 f). Disse genstande er hyppige i la Tène II gravene i Mellem- og Vesteuropa. Det øvrige udstyr udgjordes af 2 ens knive af jern med ringafslutning (fig. 21 e), 2 store jernfibuler af mellem la Tèneskema (fig. 21 c–d), en jernspydspids (fig. 21 g), en enkel saks af fåresakstypen og en glat bronzering, som sad på ligets venstre arm. Jernfibulerne er af tidligste mellem la Tène skema, som viser sig ganske sjældent i la Tène I c. Den tilbagebøjede stærkt svungne fod er fæstet til bøjlens højeste parti. Bronzefibulen med indfuret spiraldekoration på bøjlen er et nydeligt exempel på plastisk stil, som den ses i sin senere beherskede form. Dens skiveformede fod har været dækket af koral eller emalje. Spiralen er ret bred med 8 vindinger ialt.

Forekomsten af fibuler af tidlig og mellem la Tène skema i samme grav ses andre steder i Bolognaegnen, således i Caprara grav XV; og i Arnoaldi er to fibuler med svær bøjle og fri fodknop fundet sammen med bl. a. en svær armring med S-ornamenter og en nydelig lille bronzekop med fletværkornamentik og høj svungen hank[52]).

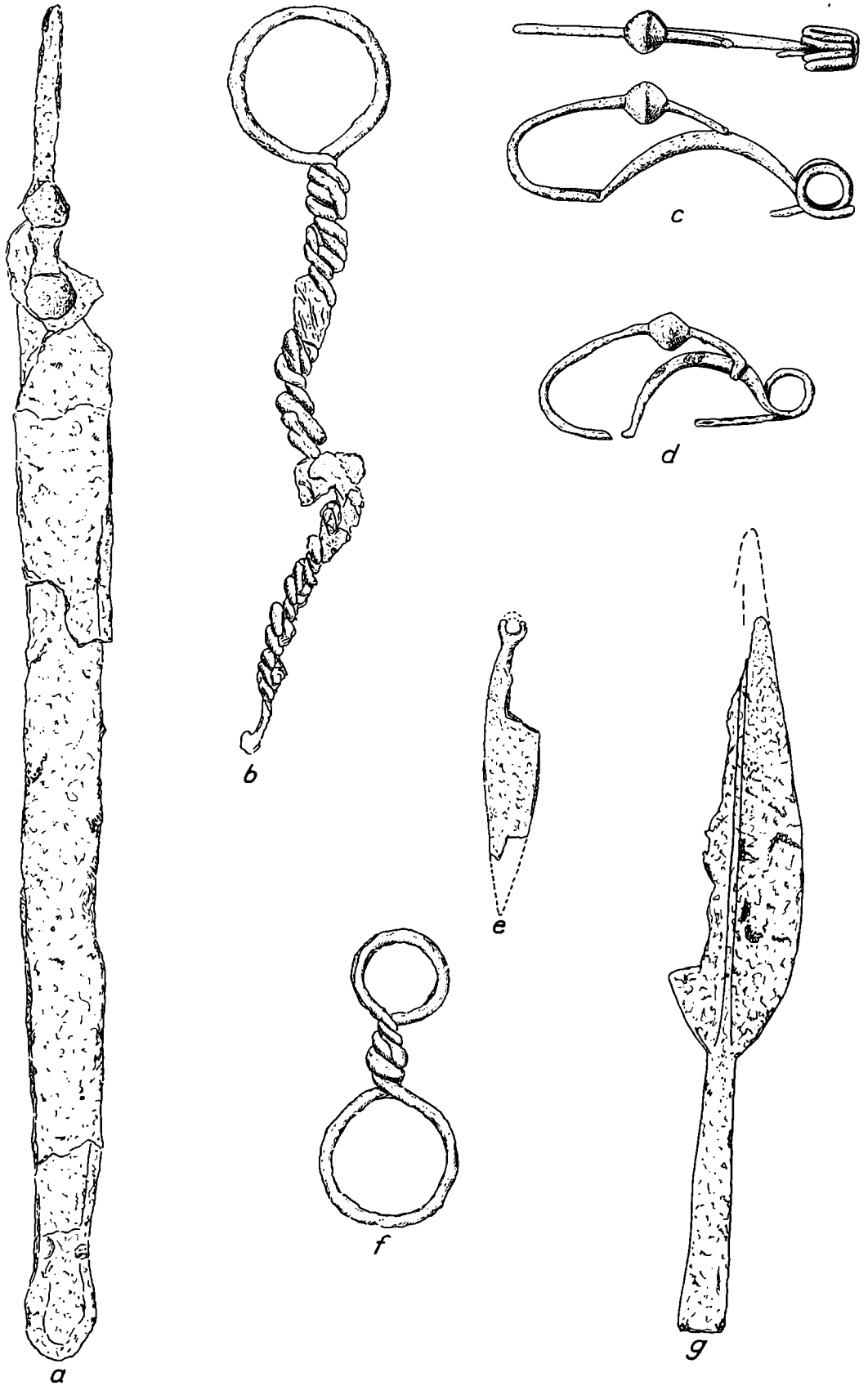

Fig. 21. Fund fra Ceretolograven. a tveægget jernsværd, delvis i skede, b og f jernkæder med ringe til ophængning af sværdet, c–d jernfibuler, e jernkniv, g spydspids af jern. Godt 1/3.

Objets from the Ceretolo grave. a two-edged iron sword, partly within its scabbard, b and f iron chains with rings for suspension of the sword, c–d iron fibulae, e iron knife, g iron spearhead.

Ved siden af Norditalien giver Provence os vigtige holdepunkter for dateringen af den mellemste del af la Tènetiden. Vi har allerede set, hvorledes den ejendommelige kunst i Entremont lader sig tidsfæste. Denne byborg er omgivet af en solid mur af sten, ikke som i nord af sten og bjælkeværk. Inde på området ligger husene solidt byggede efter en regelmæssig plan. Foruden de højst interessante skulpturer er der gjort talrige fund, som bl. a. oplyser om den nære forbindelse med Massilia og med Norditalien. Mange mønter, først og fremmest massiliensiske, kendes fra udgravningerne, den yngste fra tiden lige før romernes erobring af Provence. Foruden den allerede nævnte ring med spiralornamenter ses relieffremstillinger af la Tène II sværd[53]) og af en skjoldbule, desværre meget fragmenteret, af tenform. Den sidste har formentlig haft beslag, men så meget af skjoldet er ikke bevaret, at vi kan danne os indtryk af dette.

En anden vigtig lokalitet er Ensérune. Her er en befæstningsmur og bopladslag. Under det sidste ligger en række grave, som giver bestemte holdepunkter ved importeret keramik og mange gravgaver, bl. a. af keltisk præg[54]).

Endelig er der grund til at nævne et oppidum ved Marseilles, St. Blaise, der er ødelagt og forladt i tiden før 100 f. v. t.[55]).

Det nordlige Frankrig er behandlet udførligt af Déchelette i hans fremragende Manuel d'archéologie II, 3. bind. Kendt er først og fremmest Marnegravpladserne, hvoraf flere omfatter mere end 100 grave, deriblandt nogle for velstående krigere, formentlig høvdinge, der er gravsat med den tohjulede stridsvogn. De rigeste grave, som er fra tidlig la Tène, Somme Bionne og La Gorge-Meillet, indeholder adskillig import som bronzenæbkander. Fra mellem la Tène kendes knap så mange store fund; også her er dog en vogngrav (Nanterre, Seine) med nydeligt gennembrudte bronzebeslag[56]). Marneområdet udmærker sig iøvrigt ved en særpræget profileret keramik, der, som vi skal se, indføres og efterlignes ved den nedre Rhin.

Gravene ved øvre Rhin slutter sig til de schweiziske[57]), og medens mellemste Rhinområde har en rig og afvexlende udvikling, er det anderledes øst for Rhinen, men særlig udpræget i Nordøstbayern[58]). Her mangler hele tiden de særprægede former fra senere del af tidlig la Tène og fra begyndelsen af mellem la Tène. Hvis der derfor kan påvises særlige kontakter fra Danmark til Nordøstbayern, vil det være nødvendigt at behandle de kronologiske forhold med forsigtighed. Som vi skal se, går forbindelserne imidlertid via Elben, og det er derfor ikke nødvendigt at tage særlige hensyn til denne specielle kulturudvikling.

Et fuldt nuanceret billede giver igen det sydlige Tyskland, hvad Reinecke har vist i en række grundlæggende behandlinger[59]). Inddelingen svarer i det store og hele til Wiedmer-Sterns og Violliers i Schweiz og inventaret er omtrent det samme, selv om visse former som den knækkede ring ikke genfindes. I la Tène A (I a), ses endvidere i Bayern en karakteristisk drejet keramik med østlige paralleler, som de karakteristiske linseflasker. Her kendes også den særprægede maske- og dyrehovedfibula, en vidt udbredt form (dog ikke i Schweiz) (fig. 20 a). Reinecke C inddeles af Krämer i en ældre og yngre fase svarende til 1 c og II i Schweiz, således at tidlig la Tène sværd med bred gennembrudt dupsko, svære armringe bestående af halvkugler og nogle tidlig la Tènefibuler[60]) i hovedsagen placeres i den ældre fase, medens sværd af mellem la Tène type og dertil afpasset skede, rektangulære skjoldbuler, metalbælter, glasarmringe og de egentlige mellem la Tènefibuler[61]) henføres til det senere trin. Et vigtigt grundlag for inddelingen er den rige gravplads i Manching. Nær denne ligger det store oppidum, hvis ældste byggeperiode er fra mellem la Tène[62]). Et nyligt publiceret fund fra denne tid omfatter bl. a. genstande af nordlig oprindelse, hvad der naturligvis er af den største kronologiske betydning[63]). Vi skal senere komme ind på disse.

Mod øst går området over i den böhmisk-mähriske kulturprovins, der er meget rig og betydningsfuld[64]). Efter den ældste fase (I a), en hallstattpræget aristokratisk kultur med rig sydlig import, optræder store gravpladser med skeletgrave fra senere la Tène I og la Tène II. Det har været en velstående, men også krigrisk præget befolkning. Hver fjerde

grav indeholder våbenudstyr. Fundene viser iøvrigt hen til et udviklet landbrug, og der kan følges en fremragende håndværkstradition i metal-, lignit-, glas-, koral- og emaljearbejde.

Samtidig med bærerne af den egentlige keltiske kultur har der ejendommeligt nok levet rester efter den tidligere befolkning, som overtager visse karakteristiske smykkeformer, men som arbejder videre med deres egne oprindelige lerkartyper og bibeholder gravskikken fra deres forfædre[65]). Først hen imod la Tènetidens slutning synes de forskellige befolkninger at mødes. Da er gravene, som hidtil har givet det fyldigste materiale, imidlertid blevet sjældne. Til gengæld kendes nu rige oppida.

Blandt de gravpladser, som har særlig betydning for denne undersøgelse, er Langugest i Böhmen og de mähriske Malomeřice og Holubice. Om vide forbindelser giver især Malomeřice god besked. Her ses lerkar af tydeligt Marnepræg og ejendommelige sydøstligt prægede kar. Keltisk kultur bevarer kontakter over vide afstande.

I Østrig viser Kärnten et særpræg med forbindelser til det nordøstlige Italien, især Esteområdet, gennem Alperne[66]). Foruden grave giver oppida som Gurina tydelige vidnesbyrd, bl. a. med dets bronzeblikfremstillinger. Keltisk kultur synes først at sætte sit præg her i mellem la Tène.

Længere mod nord og vest har især to vigtige gravpladser tilknytning til det keltiske kærneområde, Mannersdorf fra tidlig og mellem la Tène og Hallstatt, der viser bebyggelse også fra sen la Tène[67]).

Længere østpå, i Jugoslavien, Slovakiet, Ungarn, Rumænien, Bulgarien og Ukraine, kendes talrige keltiske fund særlig fra den senere del af la Tène I og fra la Tène II[68]). Fra Slovakiet når indflydelser ind i det sydligste Polen, hvor der kendes to typiske grave fra mellem la Tène i Iwanowice[69]).

Kendtest er iøvrigt gravpladserne i Ungarn, hvor der i slutningen af tidlig la Tène udformes en særpræget stil på sværdskederne, en forfinet udvikling af Waldalgesheimstilen. Kelterne er vandret vidt østpå, åbenbart i en senere del af tidlig la Tène, og danner lokalgrupper, som især lader sig afgrænse ved de afvexlende keramikformer.

Den sydlige del af Slesien har efterladt sig et ret betydeligt materiale fra senere del af tidlig la Tène og fra mellem la Tène[70]). I den følgende tid sker tilsyneladende indvandring nordfra, idet gravene i sen la Tène ganske slutter sig til de øvrige germanske i Nordslesien, omend der spores et mærkbart keltisk indslag. Her er iøvrigt i syd typisk la Tène I c gravudstyr med sene fibuler af tidlig la Tèneformen, enkle metalbeslag til skjoldbuler (o. som fig. 26 e), ringe med plastisk dekoration etc.

Længere vestpå boede keltere i det sydlige Mellemtyskland, især i Thüringen[71]). De er trængt frem i la Tène I. Der kendes en del grave med særpræget keramik i drejet arbejde. Denne keramik fortsættes, efter at germanerne også her bliver dominerende. Keltiske håndværkere er åbenbart stadig beskæftigede.

Det er i det hele taget et typisk træk for la Tène II, at der sker betydelige folkeflytninger fra nord mod syd, vest og øst. Vi kender nogle af invasionerne i vest fra romerske kilder. Der opstår en blandingskultur i en bred zone fra det sydlige Polen til Vesttyskland, som bliver af stor betydning for de nordlige stammer. Bedst iagttager vi den keltogermanske kultur om Elbens mellemste løb fra gennembrudet af de böhmiske randbjerge til Sachsen-Thüringen. Men der er også lejlighed til at følge en lignende udvikling mod vest, hvor Hunsrück-Eiffelgruppen viser indslag af Marnekultur og repræsenterer den vestlige grænsezone[72]).

Vigtigt er ikke mindst Elbområdet, fordi kulturelementerne fra syd først og fremmest er passeret ad den vigtige flodvej mod nord, fra Böhmen til Elbmundingen. Nord for det böhmiske kelteområde træffes særlig i Elbgennembrudet og nordvest for dette en ejendommelig kulturprovins, Bodenbach-Podmoklygruppen (det tyske og czekiske stednavn for den vigtige gravplads)[73]). Den er ret kompliceret i sin oprindelse, og selv om den først og fremmest lader sig forstå som en blanding af keltiske og nordlige kulturelementer, indgår der åbenbart også ældre komponenter. Gravformen, urnebegravelse, er ikke noget etnisk holdepunkt, og den kan være tradition fra

ældste jernalder. Karakteristisk for kulturgruppen som helhed er den svære bronzenål med rillet hovede.

Under alle omstændigheder viser fundene et stærkt indslag af keltisk kultur, så dominerende, at det må antages, at kelterne har været virksomme på stedet. Det gælder først og fremmest keramiken, hvoraf en stor del er drejet, fibulerne og ringene. De håndgjorte kar viser nok slægtskab med nordlige kulturgruppers, men en alt for vidtdreven parallelisering bør sikkert undgås[74]).

Det keltiske indslag har ikke mindst kronologisk betydning, idet forbindelsen med keltisk område har været livlig. Der foreligger tilmed rent keltiske importsager, både lerkar og fibuler[75]). De ældste fibulatyper er sene udformninger af la Tène I-skemaet med knop på den tilbagebøjede fod eller med skive. Næppe alle fibulerne af denne udformning behøver dog at være så tidlige. De i eet støbte bronzefibuler af tidlig la Tèneskemaet er således sikkert fra la Tène II[76]). Til samme tid, mellem la Tène, hører også de ældre udformninger af mellem la Tèneskemaet[77]). Det er langstrakte jernfibuler, gerne med knop på bøjlen og på foden. Der er dog mulighed for, at nogle har holdt sig ind i sen la Tène.

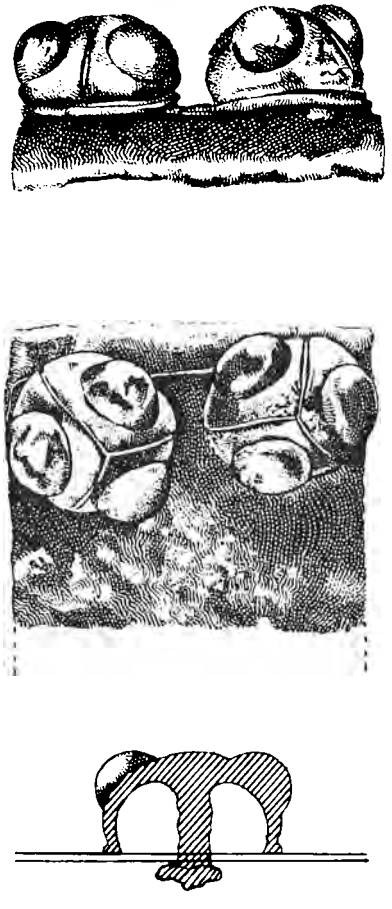

Fig. 22. Bæltebeslag fra Podmokly-Bodenbach (M. Podmokly). 1/1.
Belt fitment from Podmokly-Bodenbach (M. Podmokly).

De drejede kar er nært beslægtede med keramiken i Böhmen, Bayern og Mähren. Der træffes imidlertid en del lokale typer, som bekræfter indtrykket, at hovedparten stammer fra egnen. Særlig fodkarrene udmærker sig ved deres stramme elegante linjer. Dækskålene har buet profil, undertiden med S-svajning og vulst som på de øvrige drejede kar (fig. 24 a).

Ved siden af keltiske importerede ringe med signetender eller bestående af hule halvkugler træffes en ejendommelig form, som vi skal stifte bekendtskab med også nordligere. Den er glat midtpå, men har vulster på de sammenbøjede ender. Meget varierende er endvidere bæltebeslagene, blandt hvilke der er grund til at mærke sig nogle typer med ornamenterede knopper af bronze (fig. 22)[78]), der efterligner keltisk plastisk ornamentik i tidlig la Tène (pl. IX øverst). Selv tilhører de efter miljøet at dømme la Tène II.

I området ved Elbens mellemste løb følges flere af disse træk videre, men de bliver gradvis sjældnere. Det gælder naturligvis især de drejede kar, som synes at forudsætte keltiske håndværkere eller i al fald intim forbindelse med keltisk kultur. Det er derfor nærliggende at tolke de drejede thüringske kar, deriblandt de bekendte fra Klein Cobertha, som vidnesbyrd om keltisk tradition[79]). De træffes iøvrigt spredt nordpå i ganske få exemplarer, ligesom der ses efterligninger af den drejede keramik i håndgjort udførelse, kendelig bl. a. ved de vandrette vulster[80]). De fremmede særegne profiler har åbenbart gjort indtryk på pottemagerne. På samme måde efterlignes fibulerne, både af tidlig og mellem la Tèneskemaet.

Der er med sikkerhed udskilt følgende faser, en ældste med knudearmringe og fugle-

hovedfibuler, åbenbart influeret af ældste la Tène; derpå følger en fase med bl. a. signetafsluttede ringe og tidlig la Tènefibuler svarende til keltisk senere del af tidlig la Tène og la Tène II. I den yngre del af denne fase iagttages bl. a. bæltehager og -kæder som i Bodenbach-Podmoklygruppen[81]). Fibuler af tidlig og af mellem la Tène-skema er på grund af de få daterende sammenhæng vanskelige at tidsfæste nøjagtigt. De knytter sig til Bodenbach-Podmoklygruppen. Imidlertid viser den topografiske gruppering på Cammer gravpladsen, at vi her har at gøre med en ældre fase (der træffes i den nordvestlige del) med tidlig la Tène og ældre mellem la Tène fibuler (de sidste nærmest Kostrzewski A) samt en yngre fase (repræsenteret i den sydøstlige del af gravpladsen) med sene mellem la Tènefibuler og regulære sene la Tènefibuler[82]).

Også i mellemste Elbområde er der bronzefibuler støbt i eet. Selv om de snarest tilhører tidlig la Tèneskemaet, er der vist grund til at placere dem tidsmæssigt lidt senere, i mellem la Tène.

En vigtig smykkeform, som viser afhængigheden af keltisk kultur, er halsringene med sammenbøjede ender af signetform. De er ornamenterede med vulster vexlende med rifling og har ofte en plan inderside[83]). Forbilledet for ringene, der enkelte gange er truffet i Bodenbach-Podmoklygruppen (jfr. ovenfor), er de thüringske fra tidlig la Tène[84]). At dømme efter de samlede fund i Mellemtyskland er fremstillingstiden noget senere her end sydpå, la Tène II[85]).

Længere mod øst, i Oder-Weichselområdet, er materialet til belysning af keltisk påvirkning i tidlig førromersk jernalder mere sporadisk, selv om der bl. a. foreligger fibuler af tidlige typer[86]). Da forbindelsesvejene mod nord til Danmark i særlig grad udgår fra Elben, vil det være mest givende at følge flodens opland mod nord. Her foreligger tilmed en række vel undersøgte gravpladser, hvor det keltiske indslag lader sig påvise med sikkerhed.

Kulturområdet ved Elbens nedre løb er skarpsindigt studeret af Schwantes, der går ud fra en række gravpladser fra ældre førromersk jernalder, før sen la Tène[87]). Inddelingen, som Schwantes fremlægger, er siden blevet fulgt ikke blot inden for den afgrænsede egn, han behandler, Ülzen og Lüneburg i Hannover, men også i naboområderne. Den har utvivlsomt stort set gyldighed i de beslægtede kulturgrupper.

Den ældre førromerske jernalder omfatter ifølge Schwantes følgende trin: Jastorf, med faserne a, b og c, og Ripdorf. Navnene henfører til bekendte findesteder. Kendetegnet for Jastorf a og b er glatte jern- og bronzenåle med bøjning under hovedet, bombenåle (karakteriserede ved en hul bronzekugle som hovede), enkle tungeformede bæltehager, øskenringe, øreringe af skjoldform etc. I Jastorf c har nålene, nu særlig af bronze eller jern med bronzeafslutning, et bredere hovede, og der kan være en lidt skarpere afsat bøjning under dette. Keramiken slutter sig i sine ældste former til bronzealderens men viser i øvrigt tidsadskillende træk, Jastorf a urnen har konkav tynd rand. Jastorf b formen viser tydeligt afsat hals og skarpt udbøjet mundingsrand, der som i a-fasen er ganske tynd. Halsen er gerne lodret og særlig dominerende på den såkaldte Todendorftype. Jastorf c urnen er ofte mere buget (fig. 23 a). Halsen er skrå og går jævnere, undertiden direkte over i bugen. Mundingen bøjer stadig skarpt ud. Den er enten ganske tynd eller gjort tykkere og facetteret[88]).

Jastorf c danner overgangen til Ripdorf, da nålene almindeligvis udføres i svær støbt bronze med kegleformet hovede. Overgangen til bøjningen under hovedet er jævn eller skarpkantet. Endvidere træffes vingenåle og bæltehager med udragende tværstykker, som allerede viser sig i Jastorf c; urnen er bredt buget med skarpt udbøjet rand (fig. 23 b) og facettering i brede flader (fig. 25 c–e).

I Seedorf udføres bronzenålene stadig i svært materiale, krumningen er kantet, gerne ornamenteret og facetteret[89]). Mundingsrandene på lerkarrene er tykke og stærkt facetterede (fig. 25 i). Denne periode svarer til sen la Tène.

Fibulerne og andre genstande viser særlig i Ripdorf, men vist allerede i Jastorf c keltisk indflydelse. I så henseende er gravpladserne Oitzmühle og Klein Hesebeck illustrerende. Her forekommer fibuler dels af tidlig

la Tèneskemaet, dels af mellem la Tèneskema (fig. 20 h–i). De sidste er da gerne langstrakte, idet bøjlen forløber jævnt fra spiral til fod, men også lidt stærkere bøjninger ses. Enkelte gange iagttages profilerede halsringe af typen fra mellemste Elb, hvorfra de formentlig er importeret[90]). Nogen sikkerhed for, at fibulernes tidlig la Tèneskema repræsenterer tidlig la Tènetid har vi naturligvis lige så lidt her som på keltisk og kelto-germansk område. De kan være fra la Tène II.

Mod Schwantes' opfattelse, at de ældste Jastorffaser er isolerede mod keltisk kultur vender Sprockhoff sig i en nylig behandling af lerkarrenes, særlig Todendorfurnernes lighed med de keltiske særprægede linseflasker fra tidlig la Tène[91]). Dette har ganske vist også været påfaldende for Schwantes, som imidlertid så en jævn udvikling fra bronzealderkeramiken. Da der ikke forelå keltisk import i de tidlige Jastorffaser, har Schwantes foretrukket at opfatte former som Todendorfurnen som lokal tradition med tilfældig affinitet til linseflaskerne[92]).

Det nordlige elbområde er forbindelsesledet mellem kontinentet og Jylland, og der er to vigtige overgangsområder, Holsten og Elbmundingens vestbred.

Slesvig-Holstens førromerske fund er i forrige århundrede tilvejebragt ved indsamling og indsending, kun undtagelsesvis ved regulære undersøgelser. Først i den senere tid er der rådet bod på dette forhold ved en række udgravninger, der til gengæld er af stor betydning for ordningen af det danske stof. Omtrent samtidig med Schwantes i Hannover har Knorr i Slesvig og Holsten inddelt materialet i tre perioder, der går parallelt med henholdsvis Jastorf a–b (I), Ripdorf (II) og Seedorf (III)[93]). Nogen Jastorf c-fase har han ikke konstateret, men da grupperingen som nævnt hviler på spredte fund – i modsætning til Schwantes' ret få men sikre gravpladser –, er dette ikke mærkeligt. Periode II kendetegnes af Knorr ved det keltiske indslag svarende til Ripdorf, bortset fra at fibuler af tidlig la Tèneskema ikke er konstateret helt nordpå. I den sidste tid er der gjort to vigtige, men endnu upublicerede undersøgelser, Hingsts over materialet i Østholsten og Vestmecklenborg og frk. Borchlings over den meget store Hornbekgravplads i Lauenborg[94]). Også gravpladsen i Lanze er af kronologisk betydning. Medens den begynder i ældre Jastorf, illustrerer Hornbek udviklingen fra Ripdorf til ældste kejsertid, altså bl. a. det afsnit, som er af speciel interesse i denne sammenhæng. Hornbekgravpladsen viser på samme måde som så mange andre en topografisk fordeling af gravene efter tid. De ældste, som af frk. Borchling betegnes gruppe I a, og paralleliseres med Ripdorf, indeholder typiske exempler på tidlig keltisk indflydelse som en bronzefibula af tidlig la Tèneskema med lang spiral[95]) (omtrent som Oitzmühleexemplaret fig. 20 h, men endnu mere udpræget, måske vidnende om Hallstatttradition), en fibula af det langstrakte mellem la Tèneskema med blødt svungen bøjle (nærmest som fig. 20 i–k) og enkle kuglefibulaer af samme skema.

Særlig vigtig er imidlertid kulturprovinsen på halvøen vest for Elbens munding. Der har åbenbart været intim kyst- og søforbindelse mellem denne egn og Jylland. En datering af faserne ved Elbmundingen er således af særlig vægt for diskussionen af kronologien i Danmark.

De ældre faser af førromersk jernalder går parallelt med Jastorf, men i løbet af Ripdorf får kulturen sit eget præg. Tre gravpladser er særlig belysende for udviklingen: Berensch, Waterpohl og den netop undersøgte i Holssel. Gravene ligger på de karakteristiske grus- og sandbanker, geesten, i nogen afstand fra marsk. I Berensch er gravene ganske lave tuer, under hvis midte der er anbragt et imponerende lerkar med de brændte ben og gravgaver som nåle, fibuler og bæltehager[96]). På de to andre lokaliteter er der urnegrave under flad mark[97]). Alle steder optræder allerede Jastorf c-kar, af hvilke eet, fra Holssel (fig. 23 a og 25 a), indeholder en ejendommelig holstensk nål af tidlig karakter, jernnål med bronzehovede[98]). Et stykke af nålen omsluttes af en række små bronzeringe. Endvidere foreligger fra denne grav en lille remholder (jernled med ring), og hvad der er særlig interessant i denne sammenhæng, en sort dækskål med fint svungen side og en vulst under den udbøjede munding (fig. 24 b). Der kan næppe

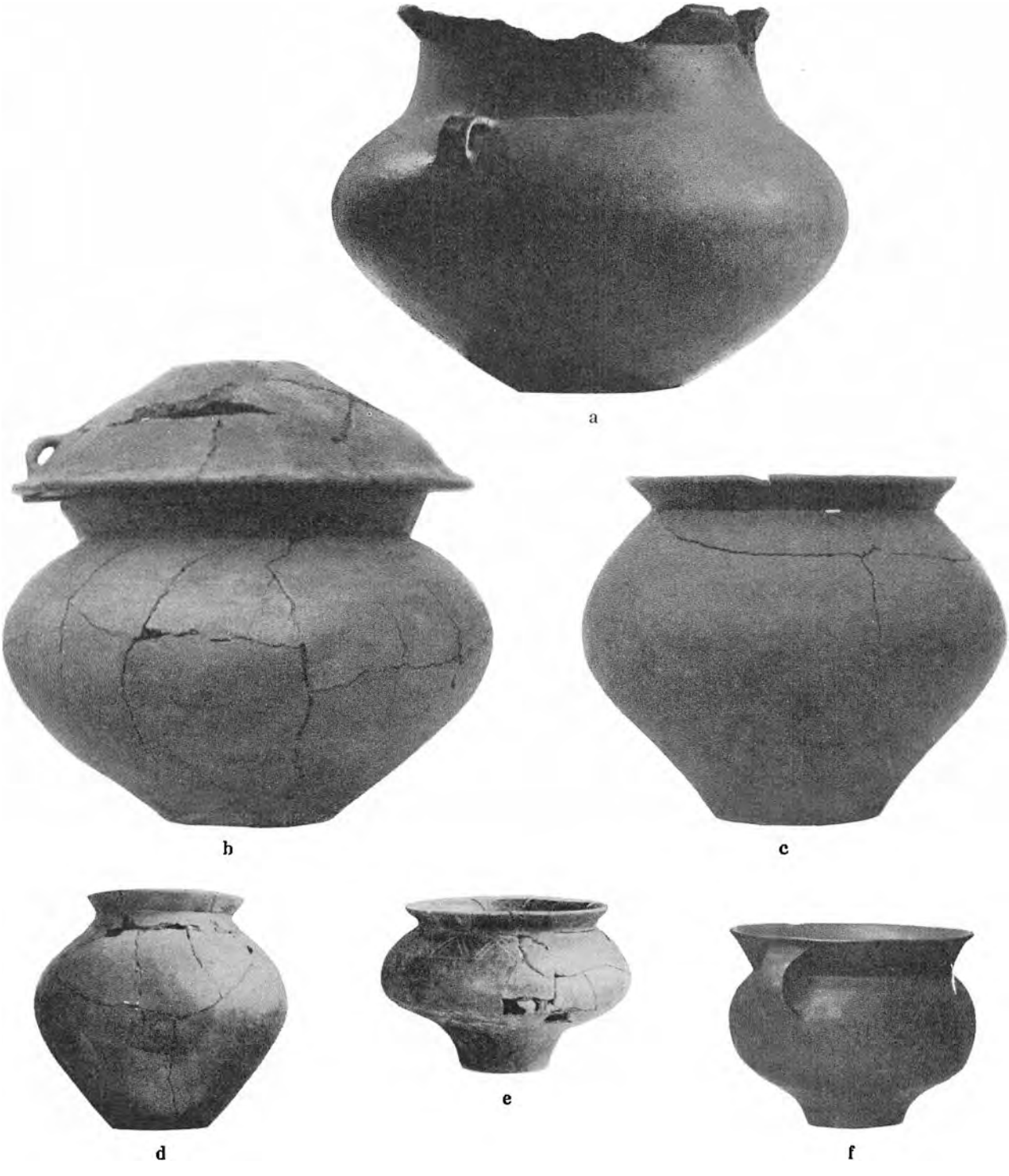

Fig. 23. Lerkar fra (a) Holssel (privateje), fundet sammen med skålen fig. 24 t. h., en holstensk nål etc. (se texten), (b) Holssel (Bremerhaven M. 1115) indeholdende en trekantet bæltehage af jern med udragende tværarme og en remholder i ring, (c) Holssel (Bremerhaven M. 1100) med jernfibula af langstrakt mellem la Tènefibula og to bronzeknopper på bøjlen, (d) Berensch-Waterpohl (Cuxhaven M. 605) indeholdende jernfibulen fig. 20 k, (f) Ulkebøl præstegårdsmose, Als (NMK C 7668). 1/4.

Pottery from (a) Holssel (in private ownership), found together with the bowl in fig. 24 right, a Holstein pin, etc. (see text), (b) Holssel (Bremerhaven M. 1115) containing a triangular belt hook of iron with projecting cross-pieces and a strapholder in a ring, (c) Holssel (Bremerhaven M. 1100) with an iron fibula of extended Middle La Tène type with two bronze knobs on the bow, (d) Berensch-Waterpohl (Cuxhaven M. 605) containing the iron fibula of fig. 20 k, (f) Ulkebøl parsonage peat bog, Als (NMK C 7668).



a b

Fig. 24. Skåle, t. v. fra Křevice grav I, Böhmen, t. h. fra Holssel (jfr. fig. 23 a). 1/4.
Bowls, on left from Křevice grave I, Bohemia; on right from Holssel (cf. fig. 23 a).

være tvivl om, at skålen er præget af drejet keltisk keramik, der i identisk form foreligger fra tidlig og mellem la Tène ved Elbens øvre løb, bl. a. i Bodenbach-Podmoklygruppen (fig. 24 a)[100]). De andre dækskåle viser jævnt buet profil (fig. 23 b).

Ved siden af typiske Ripdorfkar fra gravpladserne Holssel og Waterpohl, som fig. 23 b, med skarpt afsat høj rand og buget side, ses særpræget svungne udlinjer (fig. 23 c). En del urner har endog indtrukket underdel som fig. 23 c, hvad der fører til ganske karakteristiske profiler, letkendelige og tidstypiske. Fundene i disse lerkar, hvoraf de mest udprægede former er de seneste, såvidt det er muligt at danne sig indtryk, er typiske for Ripdorf, langstrakte mellem la Tènefibuler med jævnt svungen bøjle (fig. 20 k), lange bæltehager med udbøjede tværarme etc.

Et karakteristisk træk for denne Ripdorfgruppe er den høje, ret tynde og undertiden buede mundingsrand. Den har indre brede facetter, som gerne går parallelt med udlinjen (fig. 25 e). Karrene er sjældent ornamenterede, og da blot med enkelt mønster, to vandrette linjer, hvorimellem der er udført en zig-zag (fig. 23 e).

Når de meget store urner fra Berensch tilsyneladende afviger fra de mindre i Waterpohl og Holssel, er denne forskel sikkert blot tilfældig. Man har til de forskellige gravformer valgt bestemte lerkartyper ud. Det vilde jo være unaturligt, om man ikke rådede over mange slags brugskar, hvert til sit formål. Metalsagerne i de to gravformer er af ganske samme art, hvorfor der tidsmæssigt ikke vil kunne drages skel.

Keramiken ændrer delvis karakter i Seedorfperioden. Mundingsrandene bliver sværere og kortere, og facetterne er ikke mere parallele med udlinjen (fig. 25 i). Sen la Tènefibuler og fibuler af det senere mellem la Tèneskema afløser tidligere former ligesom andre karakteristiske yngste la Tènetyper viser sig.

Ripdorfkeramiken i Waterpohl og Holssel har nøje sidestykker i Jylland, hvor langt flere former fra denne tid kendes, idet keramiken fortrinsvis stammer fra bopladslag. Til gengæld foreligger ingen daterede metalsager, og gravfundene er fåtallige. Det medfører, at vi næsten udelukkende må placere fundene efter kartyper, og da disse, som vi har set, i højere grad end metalsagerne er lokalt prægede, nu og da viser stærk tradition, vil det være nødvendigt at være forsigtig. I dette tilfælde drejer det sig dog om et meget omfattende materiale, især fra Borremosefæstningens nedre voldgravslag og fra de to Kraghedehuse (100), og det suppleres af en række enkeltfund over hele halvøen ned mod Elbmundingen (fig. 23 f og 25 f); også mod syd foreligger enkelte rigelige parallelfund. Her er særlig grund til at nævne bopladsfundet fra Brandsbøl, Hagenbjerg sogn på Als, som allerede Sophus Müller placerer før sen la Tène[101]). Brandsbølfundet skal jævnføres med Kraghedehusenes inventar; flere af typerne er identiske, og træk som bredt udbøjet mundingsrand (gerne med facettering parallel med udlinjen, fig. 25 g) og båndformede ører indgår netop i karakteristiken af jyske Ripdorftyper.

Selv om denne keramik, der kendes fra Kraghedehusene, Borremoses nedre voldgravslag, Brandsbøl og adskillige enkeltfund, ikke viser keltisk indflydelse, mangler vi dog ikke vidnesbyrd om tidlig keltisk indflydelse i danske fund. En oversigt vil vise, at der har været en overraskende intim forbindelse mellem kelterne og beboerne af Danmark.

Fundstoffet fra ældste jernalder i Jylland

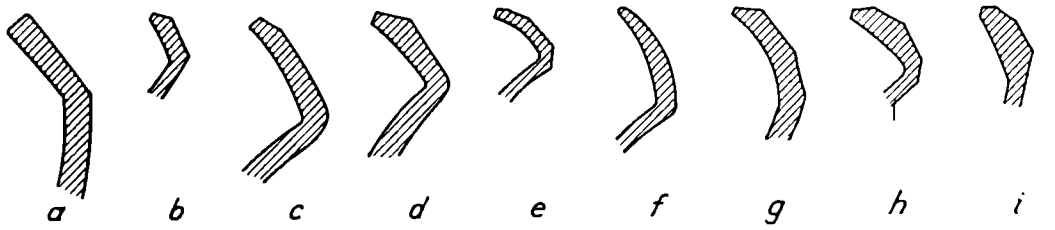

Fig. 25. Randprofiler på lerkar fra (a) Holssel, fig. 23 a; (b) Berensch-Waterpohl, fig. 23 d; (c) Holssel, fig. 23 b; (d) Holssel, fig. 23 c; (e) Berensch-Waterpohl, fig. 23 e; (f) Ulkebøl, fig. 23 f; (g) Kraghede hus II, afb. O. Klindt-Jensen, For. infl., fig. 25 g; (h) Kraghede grav 69, afb. For infl. fig. 36 b; Berensch-Waterpohl (Cuxhaven M. 602), afb. K. Waller, P. Z. 1941–42, Abb. 5.

Rim sections of pottery from (a) Holssel, fig. 23 a; (b) Berensch-Waterpohl, fig. 23 d; (c) Holssel, fig. 23 b; (d) Holssel, fig. 23 c; (e) Berensch-Waterpohl, fig. 23 e; (f) Ulkebøl, fig. 23 f; (g) Kraghede house II, ill. 'For. infl.' fig. 25 g; (h) Kraghede grave 69, ill. 'For. infl.' fig. 36 b; (i) Berensch-Waterpohl (Cuxhaven M. 602), ill. K. Waller, P. Z. 1941–42, Abb. 5.

viser udpræget slægtskab med det holstenske og hannoveranske. Vi kan i store træk benytte Schwantes' inddeling også hos os. Den hviler, som vi har set, i første række på metalsagerne, men lægger også lerkarformerne til grund. Kun at benytte det sidste materiale, som C. J. Becker har foreslået i en række arbejder om perioden, er for ensidigt[102]). Men allerede de tidligste urnegrave i Jylland – og på Fyn – indeholder de karakteristiske former for nåle (bl. a. bombenålen), ringe, bælteudstyr m. m., velkendte i ældre Jastorf (a og b)[103]). Også keramiken viser træk, der dels er beslægtet med de sydlige former, dels med bronzealderens. Vist fra denne periode stammer to enkle efterligninger af Certosafibulen uden spændkraft i bøjlen[104]). Påvirkningen er imidlertid snarere fra tidlig la Tène end fra hallstattmiljø (jfr. s. 35).

Tidligere har man henført det store mosefund fra Hjortspring på Als til denne tidlige fase af førromersk jernalder. Først og fremmest på grund af et lerkar med skarpt udbøjet mundingsrand uden facetter placerer C. J. Becker det i betydeligt senere tid, formentlig 2. årh. f. v. t.[105]). Enkelte lerkar bør imidlertid næppe være afgørende som holdepunkt. Skarpt udbøjede mundingskanter træffes allerede i Jastorf b, og former som Hjortspringkarrets er velkendte i Jastorf c såvel som Ripdorf[106]). Bronzenålen i Hjortspringfundet kan, som Becker fremfører, næppe være fra tidligste Jastorf, men på den anden side behøver den ikke at være så sen som Ripdorf. Nålen har et tydeligt hjørne øverst i bøjningen under hovedet[107]). Det nærmeste sidestykke stammer fra grav 31 i Uldal[108]). Denne nål er endnu mere udpræget kantet, idet begge bøjningens hjørner er skarpt afsat, og hovedet har to adskilte fortykkelser. Urnen i graven har en blød profil og tynd mundingsrand som mange Jastorfurner, men nogen sikker datering vil den ikke kunne give. Endvidere indeholder graven en lille trekantet bæltehage af jern. Bronzenålen fra Hjortspring skulle efter sydlige paralleler kunne være fra Jastorf c, og en sådan tidsfæstelse modbevises ikke af fundet som helhed. En del genstande, deriblandt bæltedupper, forekommer ganske vist i Holsten i senere miljø, uden at der kan udelukkes en mulighed for, at de er tidligere[109]).

Allerede Rosenberg og nu senere med vægt Krämer har peget på, at skjoldbulerne i Hjortspringfundet viser keltisk indflydelse[110]). Det er vigtigt at udfinde, når denne påvirkning er indtrådt. Allerede i tidlig jernalder kendes rektangulære skjolde med buede hjørner og linseformet bule, både i Hallstatttidens Mellemeuropa og Italien. Således er et böhmisk miniatureskjold af denne form ligesom flere afbildninger på italiske situler[111]). Derimod er det formentlig keltiske krigere, som afbildes på to steler i Bologna[112]), mindre på grund af deres skjolde, der har spidsovale buler, end på grund af deres eget udseende. De optræder nøgne og med langt hår.

Ikke engang metalbeslag til midtpartiet af

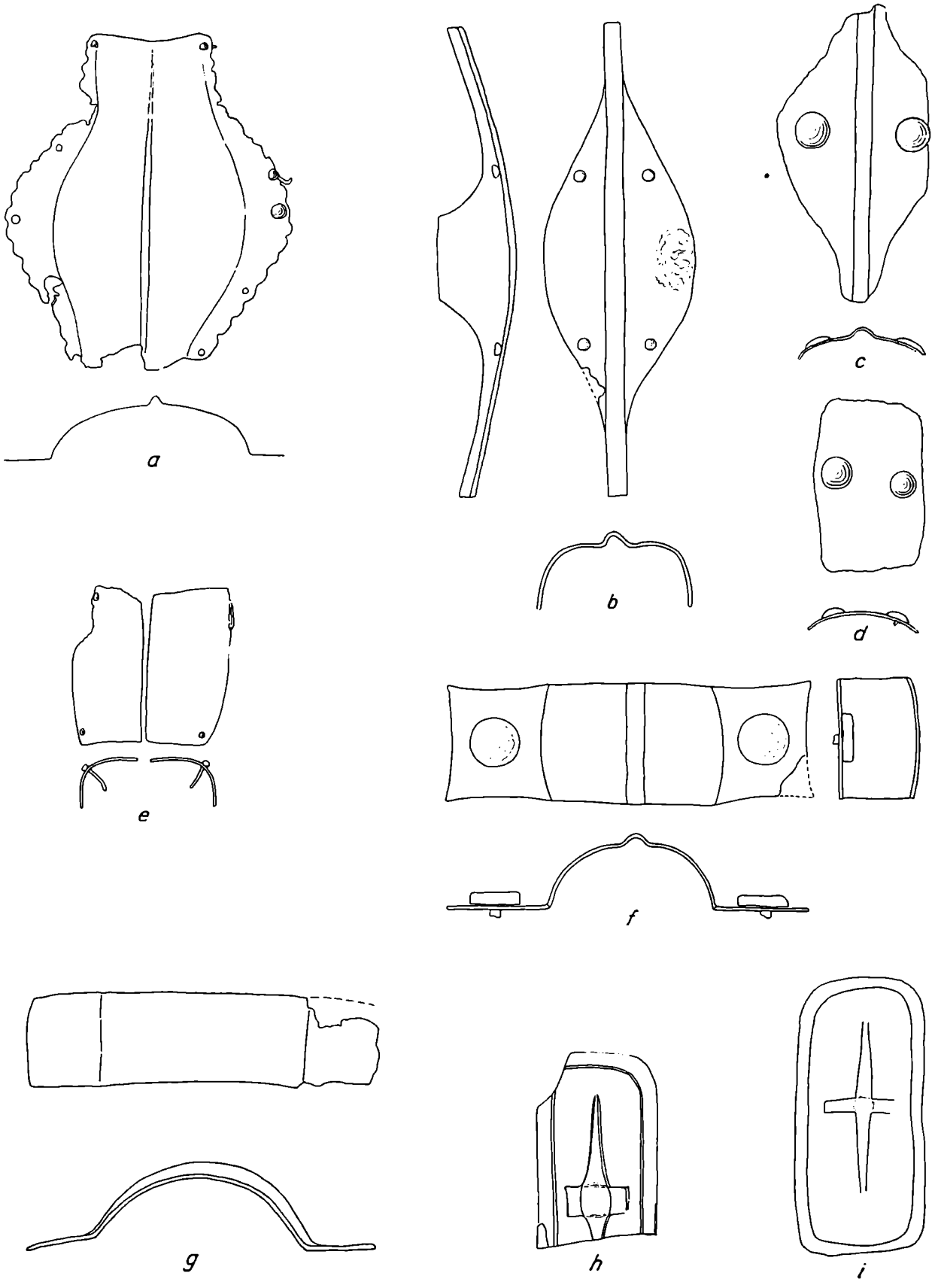

Fig. 26. Skjoldbuler fra (a) Gualdo Tadino grav XII (MN Villa Giulia 44434); (b) Holubice (Brno M. Pa 16/35–104); (c–d) Marne (MN Saint Germain 4844 og 4996); (e) Kis-Köszeg, Ungarn (Naturhist M. Wien 37860); (f) Holubice (Brno M. Pa 2674/38); (g) Mihovo, Krain (Naturhist. M. Wien 52848); (h–i) terrakottagengivelse af skjolde på Cività Alba frisen (M. civico, Bologna). Knap 1/4.

Shield bosses from (a) Gualdo Tadino grave XII (MN Villa Giulia 44434); (b) Holubice (Brno M. Pa 16/35–104); (c–d) Marne (MN Saint Germain 4884 and 4996); (e) Kis-Köszeg, Hungary (Naturhist. M. Vienna 37860); (f) Holubice (Brno M. Pa 2674/38); (g) Mihovo, Krain (Naturhist. M. Vienna 52848); (h–i) terracotta reproductions of shields on the Cività Alba frieze (M. civico, Bologna).

de tenformede buler synes fra først at skyldes kelterne. Vi træffer et typisk exempel i bronze i den rige grav XII i Gualdo Tadino, prov. Perugia (fig. 26 a). Ved sit indhold af et metalbælte, mange lerkar, bronzer, våben etc. kan kammergraven dateres til 4.–3. årh. f. v. t.[113]).

Anderledes forholder det sig dog med bestemte former af metalbeslag på bulens midterste parti. Disse udføres af kelterne altid i jern og træffes allerede i la Tène I c grave. I modsætning til den italiske form fig. 26 a, som fæstes ved nitter i selve skjoldet, er den tidligste keltiske form fastgjort i bulen ved nitter med svære hoveder, og beslaget går ikke ud over bulen. De keltiske beslag er udført i eet, to eller tre stykker, idet den lodrette træstok, som er indskåret i bulen og i skjoldet ovenfor og nedenfor, ofte får sit særlige beslag [114]). Beslagene er hele tiden afpasset efter dette midtparti. Er der tre, dækker det ene midtryggen, de to sidestykkerne, medens enlige beslag har udbuning midt over ryggen. De østkeltiske beslag af denne udformning holdes fast ved fire nitter, anbragt i spidserne af beslaget (cf. fig. 26 b fra Holubice[115]), hvorimod en vestlig type, kendt fra Marne, fæstes ved to svære nitter, een midt i hver side (fig. 26 c)[116]). De rektangulære beslag fig. 26 e er i østkeltisk område sat fast med to par nitter i hjørnerne eller midtover; i vest, kendt i Marneområdet, ses igen fastgørelse med een nit midt på hver halvdel (fig. 26 d)[117]). Dateringen af disse beslag gives af en række grave med sene la Tène I fibuler, tidlig la Tènesværd m. m. – la Tène I c[118]).

Skjoldbulerne i la Tène II er rektangulære, midtpå bøjet over bulen og fæstet i skjoldet med nitter, almindeligvis een i midten af hver fløj (fig. 26 g)[119]). Sjældent ses midtribben ophøjet ned over jernbeslaget (fig. 26 f). Den har nu ikke mere nogen funktion, da fastgørelsen er sikret ved selve det rektangulære beslag.

Denne sidste skjoldform er afbildet gentagne gange af den klassiske kunst, først og fremmest på Cività Alba terrakottafrisen med gallernes rov i Delfi og deres flugt for guderne (fig. 26 h–i). Denne frise dateres til o. 200 f. v. t. og giver derfor et vigtigt fingerpeg



Fig. 27. Træskjold fra Hjortspringfundet, Als. 1/8.
Wooden shield from Hjortspring hoard, Als.

om skjoldbulens fremkomst[120]). Vanskeligere er det at bedømme afbildninger af skjoldbuler som de to berømte fra Pergamon ('den døende galler' og 'galleren dræber sin hustru og sig selv'). Selv om disse fremstillinger er veldaterede og viser skjolde med tenformet bule, er det ikke helt sikkert, om det drejer sig om buler uden beslag eller med jernbeslag som f. ex. fig. 26 a–e[121]). Det er derfor bedst at udelade disse af diskussionen, selv om de ingen naglehoveder viser. Derimod støttes dateringen af rektangulære jernbeslag som fig. 26 f–g afgørende af talrige gravfund, hvori formen optræder. Miljøet er hele tiden la Tène II, undtagelsesvis senere.

Ved at sammenligne disse tidlige skjoldbuler med Hjortspringskjoldene virker det straks påfaldende, at der til hver side midt på Hjortspringtræbulerne er udskåret en tydelig forhøjning, åbenbart imiterende et naglehovede (fig. 27). En sådan antagelse finder sin bekræftelse på et af stykkerne, fig. 28,

hvor der er indstukket to metalnagler med bredt hovede i hver af forhøjningerne. Der kan kun være tænkt på at efterligne den keltiske type som Marnebulen fig. 26 c. De böhmiske, slesiske m. fl. har jo, som vi har set, 4 naglehoveder, fordelt enten øverst og nederst eller midtover.

Der er således grundlag for at parallelisere Hjortspringfundet med keltisk tidlig la Tène (I c), en tidsansættelse, som ikke modstrides af fundets øvrige bestanddele. I øvrigt viser nogle våben som de korte eenæggede sværd og de slanke spydspidser en særpræget udformning, delvis med tradition fra bronzealderen eller ældste jernalder. Andre spydspidser minder om de keltiske, og dertil kommer, at en analyse af jernet, som er anvendt til våbnene, viser, at det kun delvis er af hjemlig oprindelse[122]). Der er tilsyneladende indført renere malm til smedningen. Selv om således Hjortspringfundet gør et stærkt lokalt og traditionspræget indtryk, viser en række enkeltheder tydeligt, at der har været kontakt så vidt sydpå som med kelterne.

Senere end Hjortspringfundet er åbenbart Krogsbøllehenlæggelsen fra Fyn[123]). Også dette mosefund gør et ret ensartet indtryk. Her forekommer blandt de eenæggede hugsværd fragmentet af et tveægget la Tènesværd. Desværre er odden ikke bevaret, men det tilhører vist snarest mellem la Tènetypen. Der er en profileret endedup på grebtungen[124]).

Medens Krogsbøllefundet tilsyneladende skal jævnføres med la Tène II, er Hjortspringfundet vel noget tidligere. For at godtage en keltisk indflydelse så tidligt heroppe, vil det imidlertid være nødvendigt at fremlægge et videre materiale, helst både import og vidnesbyrd om indflydelse.

Allerede Sophus Müller har i sin skarpsindige behandling af den ældre jernalders kunst påvist, at vi har to indførte keltiske halsringe (fig. 29 a–b)[125]). Den ene er udført af en ret spinkel glat bronzestang, hvis sammenbøjede ender afsluttes med signetlignende udvidelser i bronzeblik. Den er fundet i Nordjylland i en mose ved Voldbro, Voer sogn, Vendsyssel (NM K C 13493) og har nøjagtige sidestykker på keltisk område fra sen del af la Tène I [126]).

Den anden ring, fra Bredkær mose, Tingsted sogn på Falster, er robustere med et udtageligt, 9 cm langt stykke og en tredelt knop over det ene brudsted (NM K B 1379) (fig. 29 b).

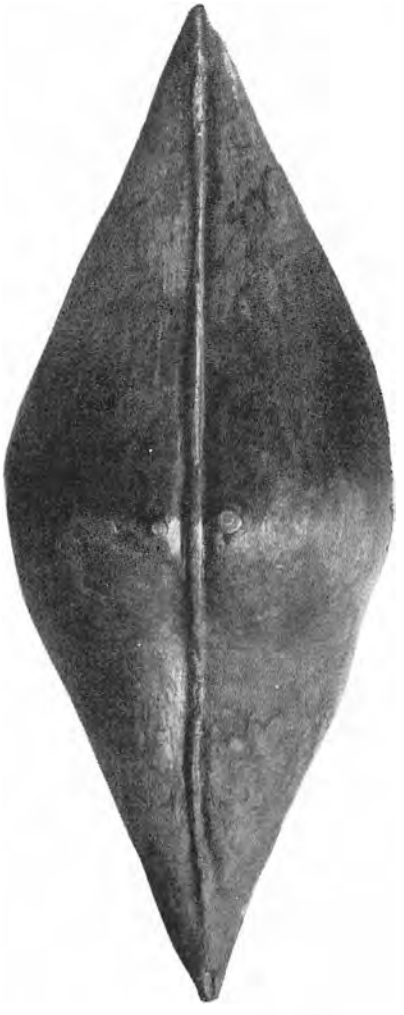

Fig. 28. Træskjoldbule fra Hjortspringfundet, Als. 1/2.
Wooden shield boss from Hjortspring hoard, Als.

Ringen er med korte mellemrum ornamenteret med dobbelt tværrifling. Nogle steder er den dog helt glat, medens den til gengæld er tæt riflet ved den ene side af knoppen. Lignende ringe kendes fra en sen del af tidlig la Tène, muligvis også fra mellem la Tène i det nordlige keltiske område[127].

Der findes endnu en indført halsring, et fragment af et svært støbt smykke, hvis tykke ende på udsiden dekoreres af regelmæssige vulster adskilt ved rifling; dens afslutning har

skålform. Ringen stammer fra Sønderjylland, vist Gram herred (NM K B 5214) (fig. 29 c); men den er utvivlsom udført i det mellemste elbområde, hvor der, som vi har set, kendes identiske stykker. Det drejer sig om den kelto-germanske ringform, som efterligner keltiske 'signetringe' fra Thüringens tidlige la Tène, men som nord for det egentlige keltiske område først er på mode i la Tène II.

Disse importerede keltiske og kelto-germanske ringe er enkeltfund, vel alle fra moser. De tilhører på keltisk område o. samme tid som Bråkedlen, men i Danmark vil de ikke umiddelbart kunne tidsfæstes, så længe vi ikke med bestemthed ved, når denne tidlige import er nået frem. Her hjælpes vi imidlertid af en række andre enkeltfund, bl. a. de såkaldte kuglehalsringe. De er, som allerede Sophus Müller har vist, efterkommere af bronzealderens enklere halsringe[128]). De viser samme lukkemekanisme, to sammenbøjede ender hægtet ind i hinanden. Imidlertid undergår de en særpræget udvikling, især af de svære afslutninger, som fortjener nærmere at følges.

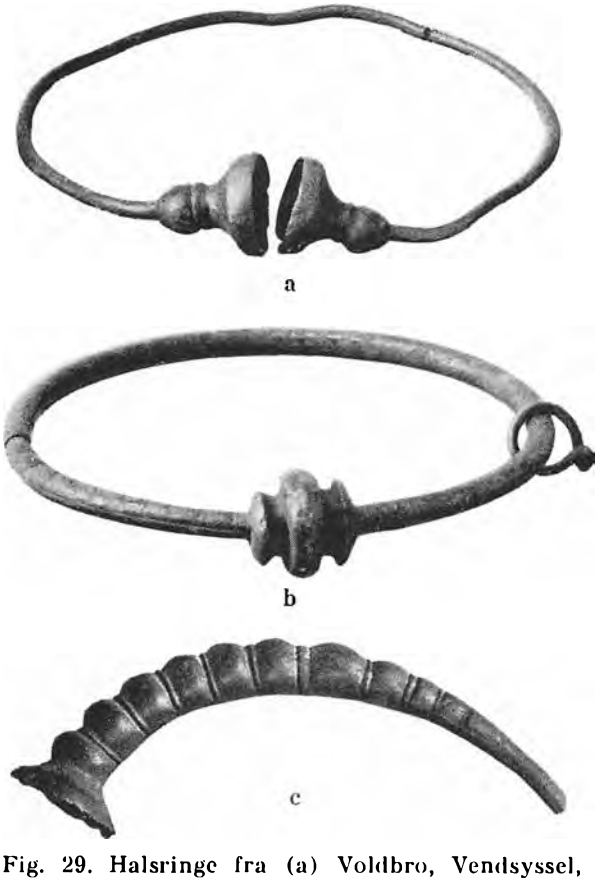

Fig. 29. Halsringe fra (a) Voldbro, Vendsyssel, (b) Bredkær, Falster og (c) Gram h. (?), Sønderjylland. 1/2.

Torques from (a) Voldbro, Vendsyssel, (b) Bredkær, Falster and (c) Gram herred (?), South Jutland.

Den første form, som klart adskiller sig fra bronzealderens, repræsenteres af eet stykke, fra Tømmerup i Vestsjælland (NM K C 8177) (pl. XII a). Det er en båndformet ring, bredest midtover med to flade furer afsluttet af to riflede tværlinjer, nærmest som pl. XI nederst t. v. Ringen er noget medtaget og forsætligt bøjet, måske af finderen, men ornamentiken kan dog skelnes. På det yderste stykke mod kuglerne er to vinkellinjer og cirkelslag. Interessantest er imidlertid de to afslutninger med dobbeltkugle, der er delt ved en skarpt afsat fure. Den ene af disse kugler er fladtrykt, den anden nærmer sig en trekantpyramide. Den sidstnævnte er ornamenteret med plastiske spiraler, som folder sig ud fra de tre spidser og svinger over fra spids til spids. I midten foroven er en trekantet figur med konkave sider og cirkelslag.

Den anden form, pl. XI øverst t. h. og pl. XII b, sammer fra Musse på Lolland (NMK C 8726). Selve ringen, der er gået i to stykker, er dannet af to runde sammensnoede bronzetråde med et spidsovalt og et profileret beslag (i det sidste indgår en kugle og en kort cylinder), muligt reparation af brud. Denne ring afsluttes i to påsatte halvkugler, hvorpå der er tre små kugler og et forenklet triskeleornament, en trekant, hvis sider fortsætter svunget ud.

Der kan ikke være tvivl om, at kuglerne på disse ringe imiterer keltisk plastisk stil. Sikrest er resultatet blevet på pl. XII a, som må have haft umiddelbare forbilleder (som fig. 20 d og pl. IX b). Selve afslutningsknoppen kunde udmærket være udført af en keltisk kunsthåndværker, men ringen passer så godt ind i dansk miljø, at det ikke kan tænkes, at også den skyldes fremmed arbejde.

Ikke mindre illustrerende for kulturforbindelsen er afslutningsknoppen pl. XII b (ringen fra Musse) med de tre knopper og midtmønsteret. Her er det keltiske forbillede (pl. IX a) åbenbart overført via Bodenbach-Podmoklygruppen (jfr. fig. 22). Udførelsen af den

danske ring viser den samme tørre forenkling af det frodige keltiske motiv som Bodenbach-Podmoklygruppens, og fremstillingen er så nært beslægtet med den kelto-germanske kulturs, at den ikke kan bero på tilfældighed, men snarere på en personlig kontakt.

Ringen fra Musse har i øvrigt et enkelt sidestykke i den store gravplads i Horn, Västergötland. Denne ring er utvivlsomt hjemligt arbejde, påvirket fra samme hold[128]). Ringen stammer fra gravpladsens ældre parti, en periode, der af udgraveren henføres til periode 2 eller periode 2-tradition, i modsætning til det andet, senere afsnit, der stammer fra periode 3, sen la Tène. Da forbillederne i Bodenbach-Podmoklygruppen optræder i la Tène II miljø, er der god grund til at regne de skandinaviske exemplarer for samtidige med disse, tilmed da vi har et importeret bæltebeslag med treknopmotivet i en bornholmsk grav, et stykke, som uden tvivl hidrører fra Bodenbach-Podmoklygruppen. Der har under alle omstændigheder været intim forbindelse mellem Danmark og området ved mellemste Elb samt Elbgennembrudet i de böhmiske randbjerge.

Den tredje type repræsenteres af kuglehalsringen pl. XI nederst t. v., pl. XII d, der i sin form slutter sig til Tømmerupringen[130]). Ringen er flad med langsgående riller, perlestav og zig-zag, afsluttet i dobbelte tværbånd og cirkelslag. Stykket mellem tværbånd og kugler smykkes langs kanten med halvbuer. Endvidere ses to bølgebånd, der mødes i en spids vinkel, samt cirkelindslag.

De to påsatte dobbeltkugler består inderst af en flad kugle, yderst af en aflang halvkugle, forbundet i et konkavt stykke. Begge kugler dekoreres med 3 fordybede dobbeltcirkler forbundet med svungne furer.

Også her er der tydeligt nok tale om keltisk præget ornamentik, men den kan være yngre i sit udspring. S-figurer optræder således i la Tène II, men der kan være tale om en udvisket gengivelse af plastiske motiver som på pl. IX b[131]).

Smukkest af *kugleringene* er formen pl. XI nederst t. h., pl. XII c, dannet af et rundt hult rør med regelmæssige kugler ornamenteret *med ophøjet treslyng*. Dette mønster kan være ophøjet med skarp ryg i vilter bevægelse som pl. XII c eller nøgtern regelmæssigt[132]). I de frie felter mellem treslyngenes arme er indgraverede små treslyng og cirkelslag. Selve ringen har på ydersiden en perlestav eller skråstregning og dekoreres ovenpå med tværribber, perlestave, S-figurer, treslyng etc.

Den ophøjede udformning af kuglernes motiver lader endnu ane en afhængighed af plastisk stil hos kelterne. Derimod kendes nogle kuglehalsringe, på hvis endestykker treslynget blot er indridset (pl. XI øverst t. v. og i midten, pl. XII e). Det er her nærliggende at pege på la Tène III-forbilleder i keltisk kunst, mønstre som treslynget på Rynkebykedelens inderplade og på keltiske mønter[133]). Vi kender adskillige skandinaviske exempler, bl. a. fra grave, og altid i sen la Tènemiljø[134]).

Interessantest for os er keltisk kunsts tidligste indflydelse i Danmark. At dømme efter kuglehalsringene sætter en sådan påvirkning ind på et tidspunkt, da kelterne har udformet den plastiske stil. Et vigtigt holdepunkt får vi i nogle enkeltfundne bronzefibuler, af hvilke de vigtigste afbildes fig 30.

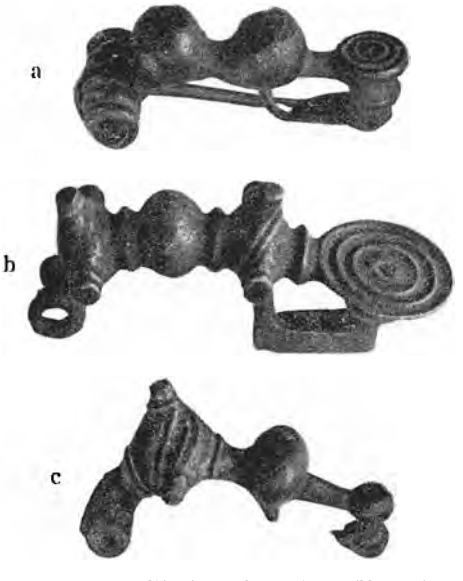

Fig. 30. Bronzefibuler fra (a) Skørpingegnen, Ålborg a. (NMK C 11146), (b) Linderum kær, Ugilt s., Hjørring a. (NMK C 2864), (c) Gram h. (?) (NMK C 5215). 1/1.

Bronze fibulae from (a) Skørping area, Ålborg county (NMK C 11146), (b) Linderum kær, Ugilt parish, Hjørring county (NMK C 2864 (c) Gram herred (?) (NMK C 5215).

Som vi har set, kendes der ingen fibuler af tidlig la Tèneskema i Danmark. Der er fundet stykker af mellem la Tèneskema, enkelte tidlige måske fra mellem la Tène (fig. 20 l). Derimod forekommer svært støbte bronzefibuler af yngste Hallstatttype (fig. 30 a), og et par af disse har i stedet for en eller to runde knopper plastiske spiraler som på kuglehalsringen pl. XII a og den keltiske fibula fig. 20 d[135]). Fibulen fig. 30 b har en afslutningsknop af ganske samme form som Hallstatttypen fig. 30 a, foroven med indfurede cirkler om et midtpunkt. Der kan således næppe være tale om nogen betydelig tidsforskel mellem den let kendelige Hallstattform repræsenteret ved den førstnævnte fibula og de andre to keltisk prægede stykker (fig. 30 b–c). Fjeder og nål på de to fibuler med plastiske spiralmønstre har været af jern, men kun ganske lidt er bevaret.

Forbilledet for det plastiske mønster på de to fibuler fig. 30 b–c er tydeligt keltiske, og der kan vanskeligt tænkes anden forklaring, end at Hallstatt D fibuler må have holdt sig uændret i Danmark gennem den periode, der svarer til la Tène I a og b hos kelterne. Først med den plastiske kunst i la Tène I c tilføres der igen inspiration sydfra. Efter alt at dømme er det i selve denne fase snarere end la Tène II, påvirkningen kommer, idet plastisk stil senere er mindre udpræget. Der synes at have været et brud i forbindelsen mellem kelterne og Danmark i tidligste la Tène eller i det mindste en mærkbar svækkelse af indflydelsen fra syd.



Fig. 31. Forparti til bæltelukke af form som oxehovede (NMK C 6415, uden fundoplysninger). 1/1.

Forepart of a belt clasp shaped like a bull's head (NMK C 6415, no details of discovery).

Særpræget er den ejendommelige dobbelthovedfibula fig. 32. Et oxehovede ses også på det tidlige bæltelukke fig. 31[136]). Fibulen stammer fra egnen ved Århus (NMK C 5970) og røber sin tidlige oprindelse ved de midterste to knopper med riflet tværbånd (cf. fig. 30 a). Oxehovederne kan skyldes keltisk indflydelse. Hornenes dupper er i al fald ornamenteret med et trebuemønster, som allerede Undset har bestemt som keltisk[137]). Hovederne er imidlertid enkle og strengt modellerede; de små runde øjne har intet med keltisk kunsts store hvælvede øjne at gøre.

I forbindelse med den sene tradition af Hallstatt D fibuler kan der være grund til at nævne en gruppe dobbeltkuglefibuler kendetegnet ved et fordybet kors til indlægning af

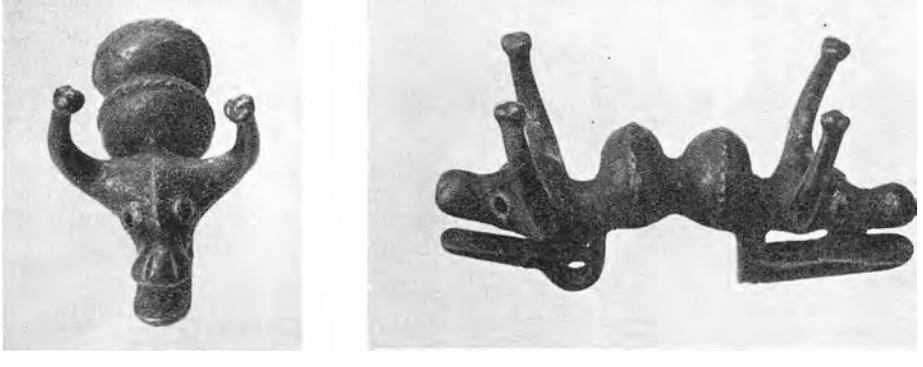

Fig. 32. Bronzefibula fra Århusegnen. 1/1.
Bronze fibula from Århus area.



Fig. 33. Gravfund af bæltedele og fibulafragment fra Rævebakken, Try, Ålborg a. 1/1.

Contents of grave at Rævebakken, Try, Ålborg county: parts of a belt and fragment of a fibula.

emalje i kuglernes overdel. Fremgangsmåden ved emaljeindlægning er identisk med den keltiske[138]), og fibulatypen er utvivlsomt påvirket af keltiske fibuler med knop på bøjle og fod som fig. 20 f, der også nogle gange har kors[139]). Men det er et spørgsmål, om ikke sen Hallstatt tradition har været medbestemmende ved udformningen af fibulerne, som de minder påfaldende om. Fibulerne med indskåret kors er iøvrigt ret sene på germansk område. At dømme efter fundene ved nordlige Elb stammer de fra la Tène III[140]).

En lignende, vistnok sen udvikling af keltiske mellem la Tèneformer er metalbælterne. De er desværre kun undtagelsesvis fundet i daterende miljø. Alle disse bælter stammer



Fig. 34. Bæltedele fra Oplev, Gravlev s., Ålborg a. 1/1.
Parts of a belt from Oplev, Gravlev parish, Ålborg county.

fra Nordjylland. De bedst bevarede er mosefund, og af gravfundene er eet nogenlunde tidsfæstet, idet der i graven med stærkt ildpåvirket gravgods foreligger en meget fragmenteret jernfibula (fig. 33 nederst t. h.). Denne brandgrav, fra Rævebakken i Try, Dronninglund sogn, Hjørring amt, lader sig henføre til senere førromersk tid (Ålborg museum). Fibulen tilhører øjensynligt mellem la Tèneskemaet; men om det er den ældste eller yngre form lader sig ikke vise på grundlag af så lille et brudstykke.

Af gravens øvrige inventar er det muligt at identificere bæltedelene. De består, såvidt man kan dømme, af et vandret bælte af rektangulære buede metalled med høje sidekamme (fig. 33 øverst). Disse forbindes ved stifter gennem en hul cylinder i bronzeleddets ene ende og to korte cylindere i et dertil passende naboled. Hvert led (der er 1 fuldstændigt og 7 fragmenter) er således forsynet med hængsel i hver ende; kun eet af dem afviger ganske. Det er nydeligt gennembrudt i et mønster, som er inspireret af keltisk ornamentik[141]).

Til disse led har været fastgjort en kæde bestående vexelvis af gennemborede dobbeltkugler med profileret forbindelse og af enkle ringe med skarp kant (fig. 33 i midten og t. v.). De har åbenbart udgjort en nedhængende kæde afsluttet i dupper med udløbere af halvmåneform (fig. 33 nederst t. v.). Som nogle få fragmenter af spinkle bronzekæder antyder, har selve ophængningen været kompliceret (fig. 33 i midten t. h.).

Af det øvrige gravgods bemærkes meget forbrændte jernstykker vistnok af en jernkniv.

Før vi ser på de fyldigere mosefundne bronzebælter er der grund til at nævne et gravfund fra Oplev, Gravlev sogn, Ålborg amt (NMK C 12837). Også det er hårdt medtaget, men viser dog sit tydelige særpræg. De rektangulære metalled til selve metalbæltet (der

er mindst 10 stykker) har således særlig høje kamme. Flere forbindes med bronzetråd gennem hængslerne (fig. 34 øverst). Foruden fragmenter af kæden ses to ejendommeligt profilerede led i ret grovt arbejde (fig. 34 nederst t. v.); de udvider sig til rektangulære plader – desværre fragmenterede – med tre gennemboringer hver. Dupperne minder noget om stykket fra Rævebakken, men med fladere afslutning af de to udbøjede ender, som prydes med kugler (fig. 34 nederst t. h.).

Fundets øvrige bestanddele giver ikke holdepunkt for en tidsansættelse[142]); og først med de to mosefundne bælter fra Sønder Skjoldborg i Thy og Kærby på Mors får vi et indblik i anbringelsesmåden[143]). Disse to fund viser desuden, at adskillige stykker i brandgravene er gået tabt ved den stærke hede i ligbålet. Det fuldstændigste sæt stammer fra Sønder Skjoldborg, hvor der optoges to, et større og et mindre bronzebælte. Det største består af rektangulære metalled, der har omsluttet midjen (fig. 35). Som lukke virker dels et gennembrudt led med udragende fuglehovede, dels en ring, hvori fuglehovedkrogen blev haget. En forbindelse mellem de rektangulære bælteled og den nedhængende kæde er ganske vist ikke fundet, men den ses til gengæld på Karbybæltet. Af dette fremgår, at kæden hængte ned fra den ring, krogen fæstedes i.

Det nederste af de nydeligt profilerede kædeled går over i en rektangulær tværplade med tre huller, hvorfra der fører tynde bronzekæder til et lignende led blot med to modstillede tværstykker. I dette nederste led hænger 3 dupper i tynde kæder.

En indgående behandling af Sønder Skjoldborg og Karbykæderne er givet af Sophus Müller; til denne henvises om enkeltheder. Derimod kan der nu peges på bestemtere forudsætninger for bælterne på keltisk område, hvor metalbælter af ringe og dobbeltkugler er kendt særlig i la Tène II. Både i Schweiz og Ungarn træffes de karakteristiske led til 3 småkæder[144]). Særlig de ungarske paralleler er slående og viser som de øvrige keltiske gerne en finere profilering end de danske arbejder.

Vi har endvidere kæder i det mellemliggende område, bl. a. i de mellemste elbegne[145]). Også



Fig. 35. Bronzebælte fra Sdr. Skjoldborg, Thy. 1/3.
Bronze belt from Sdr. Skjoldborg, Thy.

disse udførelser adskiller sig fra den keltiske ved at være lidt grovere. Specielt skandinavisk er derimod kombinationen med rektangulære bælteled. I Skandinavien har man efter alt at dømme optaget den keltiske idé, metalbæltet med nedhængende kæde og dupper og givet den en særpræget udformning[146]). Kelterne lancerer moden i la Tène II. Den samme tid synes at gælde de kelto-germanske udførelser,

hvad der bl. a. fremgår af det samlede fund i Manchingborgen[147]). Der er ikke på forhånd grund til at tro, at nordboerne er kommet væsentlig senere efter, men de har åbenbart bevaret formen ind i sen la Tène[148]).

Også på Bornholm kendes to interessante importfund af metalbæltedele, omend ikke fra det rent keltiske område. De har imidlertid kontakt med keltisk kultur og er derfor betydningsfulde ved at vise tidlige kulturforbindelser. At der var forbindelse med kelterne, i al fald indirekte, vidner den ofte afbildede jernfibula fra Kanegård (brandplet C 87)[149]) om. Den er af det tidlige mellem la Tèneskema med ret stor spiral og blidt svungen bøjle (fig. 20 l). Den tilbagebøjede fod fæstes til bøjlen ved et profileret lille jernbånd. I sig selv er denne fibula, som blev fundet alene i graven, imidlertid ikke beviskraftig til at vise indflydelse fra mellem la Tène.

Det ene importfund, fra Kanegård grav C 31, er en bronzeknap på stilk, fastgjort på et blikunderlag ved en sindrig anordning (fig. 36 b)[150]). Af blikket er kun de nærmeste omgivelser tilbage. Som vi skal se, drejer det sig uden tvivl om et bælte. Knappens stilk har nederst 2 udløbere, som ved små kramper nagles til dette underlag. Knappen er ornamenteret med 3 små kugler, ganske som halsringen pl. XII b (og det keltiske forbillede pl. IX a). I udførelse og stil slutter den sig nær til bælteknapper fra Bodenbach-Podmoklygruppen (jfr. den lidt afvigende udformning fig. 22), at vi tør regne den for import herfra. Da bælteknapperne med treknopornament henføres til la Tène II, er der ikke grund til at anse det bornholmske stykke for senere. Det får således tidsbestemmende virkning for gravens øvrige udstyr.

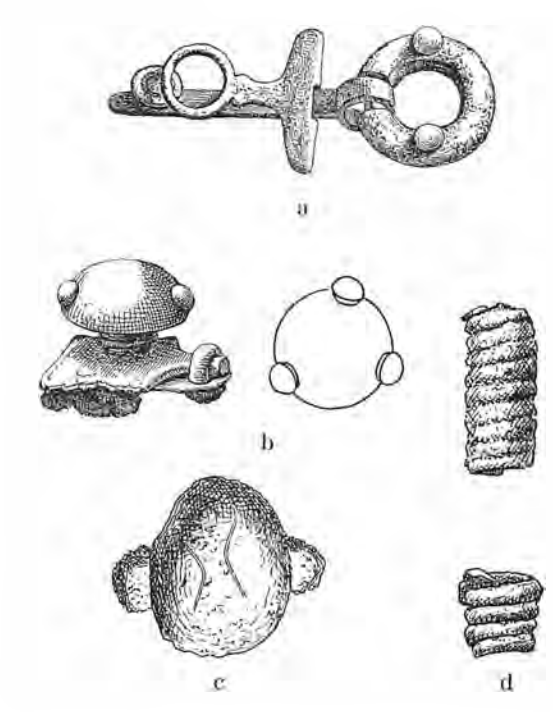

Fig. 36. Gravfundet fra Kanegård brandplet C 31, Bornholm. a bæltelukke, b bælteknop, c fibula og d to af syv spiraler. b 1/1, de øvrige 2/3.

Contents of cremation pit C 31, Kanegård, Bornholm: a beltclasp, b beltbutton, c fibula and d two of the seven coils.

Brandplet C 31 (NMK C 349–52) var heldigvis usædvanlig velforsynet med gravsager. Her forelå for det første en lidt kluntet fibula, hvoraf kun midtstykket var bevaret, en flad, svært støbt halvkugle med to mindre udløbere og foroven ornamenteret med to indridsede buer (fig. 36 c). Som fuldstændige exemplarer viser, har fibulen haft spiral af jern og en buet jernbøjle, der er bevaret inde i bronzehalvkuglen, og som bøjes tilbage mod dette bronzebeslag. Den er en lokal speciel form, som dog har sidestykker uden for øen, særlig på Gotland[151]).

Endvidere foreligger et bæltelukke, enestående på Bornholm, men med adskillige vestlige paralleler (fig. 36 a)[152]). Formen går utvivlsomt tilbage på keltiske bæltelukker, som har lignende konstruktion[153]). Bæltet var fæstet til bronzebøjlen i den udragende ombøjede tværplade. Bæltets anden ende kunde da ved brugen knyttes til ringen.

Endelig foreligger 7 perler af cylindrisk sammenrullet jerntråd (fig. 36 d). De er af vexlende længde – jfr. afbildingen –, hvad der dog muligvis skyldes brud på nogle af stykkerne.

Det ejendommelige bornholmske gravfund med genstande som kun sjældent ellers forekommer på øen tilhører efter alt at dømme en periode, der svarer til la Tène II på keltisk område.

Den samme tid vil man også tillægge det andet importfund, der desværre fremkom uden andre oldsager ved pløjning nær Nylarsker

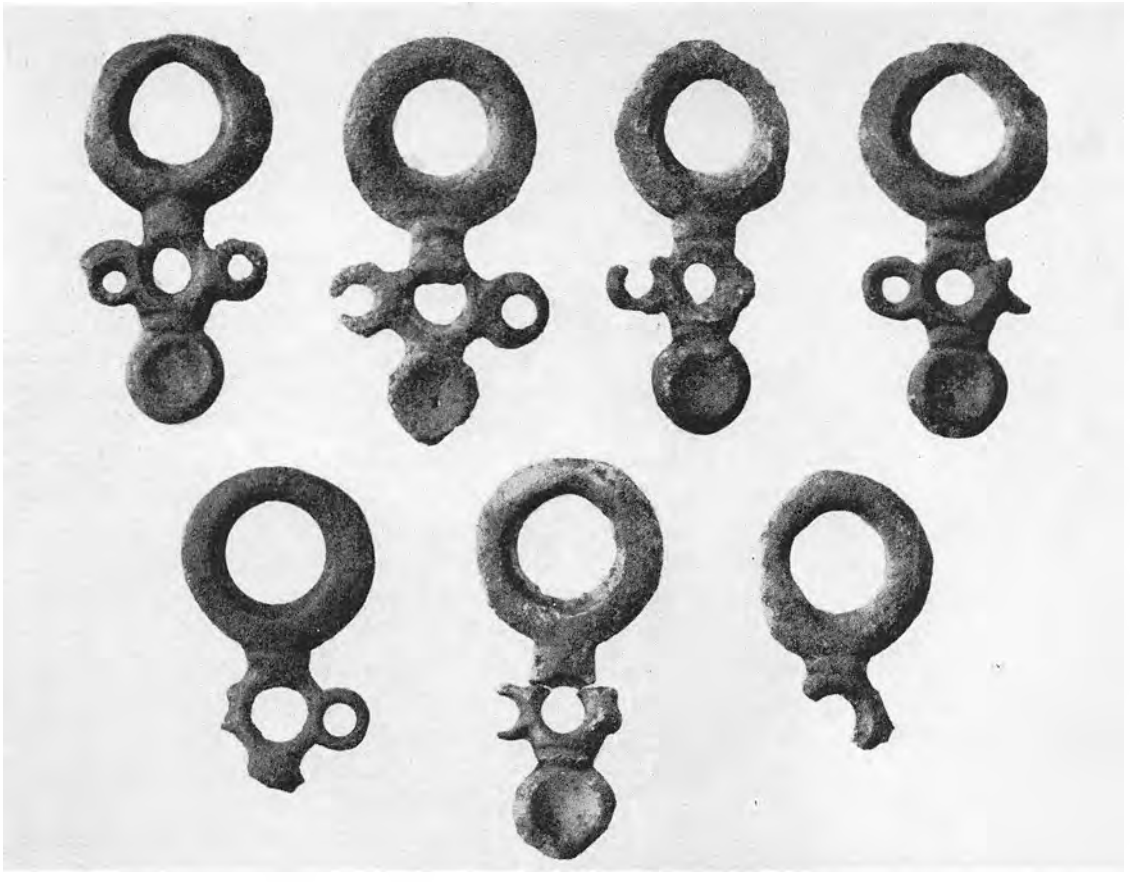

Fig. 37. Bæltebeslag fra Nylarsker, Bornholm. 1/1.
Belt fitment from Nylarsker, Bornholm.

præstegård og indsendes 1841. Det består af 6 ens bæltebeslag af særegen form, en stor flad ring med en udløber, der i midten har et rundt hul, til hver side to mindre ringe og nederst en skive (fig. 37) (NMK 6489). På stykkernes bagside er en lille tværkam med gennemboring. Tværkammen kunde stikkes ind gennem en læderrem og fastgøres bagved med en snor eller lign. i kammens hul.

Der er fire nogenlunde bevarede beslag, eet i to fragmenter og endvidere to mindre brudstykker. Antallet har imidlertid næppe været komplet at dømme efter ganske lignende stykker og endnu nogle ejendommelige bronzer fra det føromtalte sluttede fund i Manchingborgen[154]). Som Krämer, der har behandlet dette vigtige fund, viser, drejer det sig om et fremmed, nordligt indskud i det keltiske miljø. Sammen med en række andre genstande stammer bæltebeslagene fra germansk område, formentlig ved mellemste Elb[155]). Det sluttede fund i Manching dateres til la Tène II, en tidsansættelse som også må gælde det bornholmske bæltesæt.

Et fund, der påtrænger sig interesse blandt repræsentanterne for keltisk tidlig kunst, men som ikke hidtil er blevet placeret i denne sammenhæng, er Mollerupbægrene[156]). De blev fundet allerede i 1856 i Mollerup, Østjylland, da en mand med ploven ramte et stensat gravkammer under en udjævnet høj. I kammeret lå følgende på en flad helle tillige med rester af selve ligbålet: to sølvbægre på fod, ganske ens og ret fragmenterede, og et bronzebæger med rester af en hank, som imidlertid gik itu for finderen. Noget senere fandtes i udkastet jord flere stykker af hanken og et lille bronzebeslag med dyrehovede til en kniv.

Bronzebægeret lader sig lettest placere, men det er til gengæld sværest beskadiget og dets

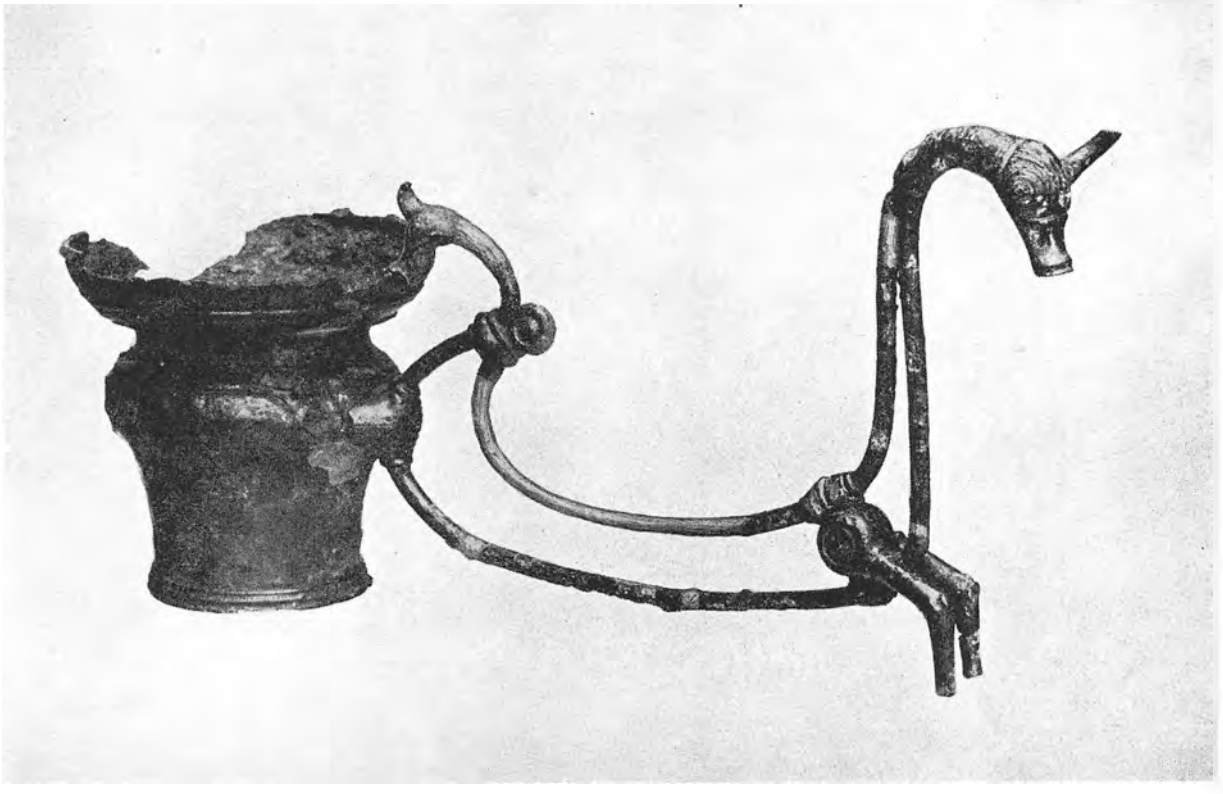

Fig. 38. Mollerupøskoppen restaureret (de lyse partier moderne). 1/2.
Mollerup ladling cup restored (the light portions are modern).

hank vanskelig at rekonstruere. Vigtige er dyrehovederne på hanken (fig. 38), af hvilke det ene med furet mund åbenbart har bidt i bægerets rand (fig. 39). Det har en bagudbøjet nakketop og store hvælvede øjne med fremhævede pupiller. Hovedet er formet på en ejendommelig veg måde, der bringer dyrehovederne på de karakteristiske la Tène I a fibuler i erindring (fig. 20 a). Disse har samme dobbelt udhævede øjne, medens nakketop f. ex. ses på tidlige fremstillinger af dyr som Malomericeflaskens (pl. VII e). Det andet hovede med buede horn, der er afbrækkede, forestiller en oxe. Hele nakkepartiet er ornamenteret med rifler (jfr. fig. 20 a). Det er stiliseret med ret snævert snudeparti og har ligeså lidt som det første noget at gøre med plastisk kunst. Øjne er ikke angivet.

Bronzebægeret har en ejendommelig profil med konvex høj hundingsrand, hvori der ses 3 vandrette vulster (fig. 39). Halsen er konkav, skarpt afsat, og går over i en svungen skulder. Underdelen buer lidt indefter; nederst har den et skraveret ornamentbånd. Bægeret er solidt støbt og efterdrejet. Under bunden er indskåret cirkler om et taphjul.

Lidt under skulderen er pånittet en svær bronzeplade med vandret rifling på midten og en perlerække til hver side. Fra dette stykke udgår en opad- og en nedadrettet bronzestang. Den øverste har en rund udvidelse og blev forbundet med resten af hanken, som en fragmenteret bronzestang viser. Opefter er den uden tvivl afsluttet i hovedet med nakketop.

Et vigtigt stykke er to delvis parallele bøjede bronzestænger (som hanken iøvrigt ornamenterede med perlerække på de to sider). De forbindes ved et led med to drejelige ringe. Fra ringene udgår to bøjede ben, hvis fødder er afbrudt. »Knæene« er antydet ved 3 knopper. Man har oprindelig ment, at disse ben hidrørte fra en menneskefigur; men i keltisk kunst fremstilles dyrenes forben og bagben gerne bøjet midtpå, således at fødderne vender ind-



Fig. 39. De to hoveder fra Mollerup-øsekoppen og beslag til kniv fra Mollerup. 1/1.
The two heads from the ladling vessel and the knife fitment, from Mollerup.

efter. Der er derfor ingen grund til at tvivle om stykkets samhørighed med hanken. Dyrebenenes »knæ« lader sig ikke vende mod bægeret, idet stængerne ikke korresponderer med de fragmenter, som udgår fra attachen. Derimod passer de udmærket i den anden retning, hvorved det ene par stænger går vandret mod bægeret. Fødderne får derved en vigtig funktion, at støtte den åbenbart ret vidtløftige hank. Et bæger med en sådan lang hank har naturligvis behøvet støttepunkter, hvad de adskilte ben sammen med bægerets bund kunde udgøre.

De opadvendte bronzestænger nærmer sig hinanden. Her passer oxehovedet, der sidder på to stænger, netop til.

Om man vil godtage denne rekonstruktion, bliver man stillet over for et sælsomt dobbeltvæsen, hvis lemmer, hoveder og krop virker som hank (fig. 38). Fabeldyret har lang slank krop med hovede i begge ender, seende i hver sin retning, svungne halse og eet par ben.

Dyrehovedernes stil viser hen til tidligste la Tène. Der er imidlertid mulighed for, at arbejdet kan være udført i en egn, hvor denne periode havde en ret lang varighed, f. ex. i nordvestlige områder af keltisk kultur. Der er i det hele taget sandsynlighed for, at Mollerupfundet stammer fra vest. Nogen forbindelse med Bråkedlens og Malomericeflaskens kunst ses i al fald ikke.

Forbilledet for selve bægerformen er ikke vanskelig at udpege. Netop i tidlig la Tène er til Rhinegnene indført et karakteristisk italisk bronzebæger med lignende skarpkantet og svungen profil[157]). Det har imidlertid en nedadbøjet munding, ikke som Mollerupbægeret opbøjet. Hvorfor de keltiske kunsthåndværkere har ladet mundingen få den særegne form kan vanskeligt forklares. Måske har de haft andre forbilleder. Blandt bronzerne i Italien er der således karformer med opbøjet munding, og som omtalt har kelterne netop i fremstillingen af kunstnerisk udsmykkede bronzekar udviklet mesterskab i tidlig keltisk tid. Den ejendommelige hank er derimod en keltisk skabning, muligt med fjerne forfædre, i tidlig italisk kunst, hvor der kendes lignende dobbelthoved-dyr[158]).

Foruden denne enestående genstand, vel snarest en øsekop, fandtes i Mollerup to sølvbægre og en lille parerplade af bronze. Parerpladen er ovenfra set spidsoval med åbning til klingen (fig. 38 c). Dyrehovedet, som vel fulgte klingens bagside synes at være dobbelt[159]).

Sølvbægrene er ens (fig. 40). De består af en nærmest halvkugleformet skål fastgjort til en cylindrisk profileret fod. Denne fragmenterede fod har åbenbart haft en fremtrædende vulst mellem to konkave partier. Forneden udvider foden sig og har oprindeligt måttet udgøre en ret bred standflade. Nu er kun antydning tilbage. Bægrene er fremstillet ved udhamring, som en metalanalyse har godtgjort[160]).

Lige under randen går en særpræget indridset frise, delvis fremhævet med guldbelægning. Under den ombøjede rand ses først en tynd

guldbelagt vulst; derunder er ovale figurer og mellem dem takkede udløbere med dråbeformet afslutning. Udløbernes midtparti har en regelmæssig inddeling i spidse, buede felter, af hvilke de midterste er udfyldt med indprikning.

Sølvbægrene har ikke haft hanke, og de afviger således fra de senere romerske og kelto-romerske drikkebægre[101]). Ornamentiken minder stærkt om den tidlig keltiske, som den kendes bl. a. på indridsede hjelmfriser[102]). Man bemærker den samme teknik, ikke blot i udførelsen af bægre og hjelme, men også i ornamentiken. Felter udfyldes således skiftevis med indprikning. Det almindelige mønster på disse arbejder er palmetten i keltisk udformning. Også Mollerup sølvbægrenes frise er måske en misforstået eller meget omformet palmetrække.

De to sølvbægre har ingen direkte paralleler i Mellem- og Vesteuropa, hvor de må tænkes at være udført; men de tilhører en meget anvendt type drikkebægre. I Grækenland udføres den almindeligt i ler og dekoreres i sortfigur stil; men også exempler i metal er bevaret[103]). Karakteristisk er de to vandrette opadbøjede hanke på bægerets sider. Formen følges videre i Italien, hvor den ses så sent som i 1. årh. f. v. t. i arretinsk terra sigillata, naturligvis uden hanke[104]). Videre optræder typen i sølv i romersk og provinsialromersk kunsthåndværk. Der er således intet i vejen for, at kelterne tidligt har kopieret den klassiske form uden at tage hensyn til hankene.

Skal denne gennemgang af tidlig keltisk indflydelse kort sammenfattes, må det blive, at et afgjort keltisk præg først iagttages i slutningen af tidlig la Tène, I c, netop den periode Bråkedlen tilhører. Plastisk stil efterlignes på danske svære bronzefibuler og -halsringe, former der går tilbage til den ældste jernalder. Samme stilpåvirkning viser oxehovedet fra Store Vildmose (pl. VIII), medens Hjortspringfundets skjoldbuler er præget af de ældste keltiske jernbeslagne skjoldbuler fra la Tène I c.

Sammen med en halsring med signetlignende ender repræsenterer Bråkedlen (og formentlig Mollerupbægrene) den keltiske import fra denne tid. Det er derfor sandsynligt, at Bråkedlen er indført i slutningen af la Tène I, da vi ser tydelig indflydelse fra keltisk kultur.

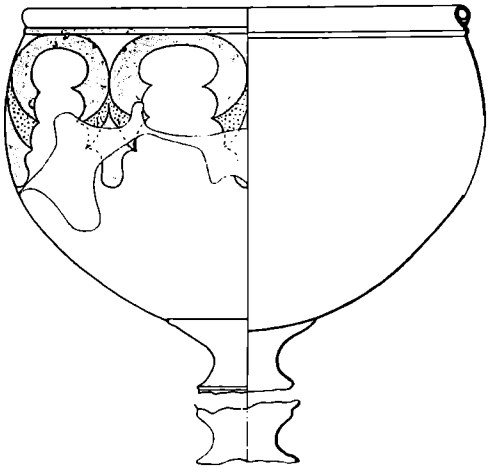

Fig. 40. Det ene sølvbæger fra Mollerup. 2/3.
One of the silver beakers from Mollerup.

I løbet af la Tène II og III forstærkes kontakten mellem kelterne og Danmark. Der er adskillige keltiske og kelto-germanske importsager som halsringe og bæltedele fra la Tène II i Danmark, og der er samtidig indflydelse på halsringe, bronzebælter og fibuler. De sidste former kan dog også være yngre, fra den periode, som først og fremmest præges af kelterne, sen la Tène. Som en fornem exponent for denne tid står den rige vognngrav A 1 i Kraghede[105]). Måske rummede den en høvding, der havde særlige muligheder for at skaffe sig attrået fremmedgods, i al fald viser gravgaverne et betydeligt keltisk indslag lige fra den firhjulede vogn af keltisk arbejde til keltisk prægede genstande som en jernfibula af sent mellem la Tèneskema og lerbægeret med en indprikket jagtscene.

Det er derfor mærkeligt, at vi ikke ser keltisk kunsts begyndelse sikkert afspejlet i de danske fund, der har bevaret nogle af de betydeligste vidnesbyrd om denne kulturs særpræg og originalitet. Til de sene pragtfund som Gundestrupkedlen, Dejbjergvognene og Rynkebykedlen føjer nu Bråkedlen sig som et fornemt exempel på keltisk plastisk kunst og samtidig som et vidnesbyrd om de betydningsfulde tidlige kulturforbindelser mellem kelterne og Danmark.

THE BRONZE CAULDRON FROM BRÅ

Translation by *T. G. Bibby*, M. A.

THE DISCOVERY AT BRÅ

In February 1952 the discovery was made at Brå, near Horsens in East Jutland, of well-preserved bronze animal figures, iron rings, and a quantity of crumpled bronze sheeting. This heap of metal had originally formed an immense bronze cauldron with an iron rim, ring handles and an ornamentation of high artistic merit. It had not been so thoroughly destroyed, however, as to make it impossible to reconstruct its shape, which recalls that of other Celtic cauldrons found in Denmark, at Rynkeby on Funen and at Sophienborg in Zealand. Like these it bears bulls' heads, looking outwards from below the rim; but the style of the decoration is different, fresher and more expressive.

Unfortunately no objects of native origin were found with the cauldron fragments. The only other object found was a massive socketed iron axe; and this too is probably of foreign origin.

Though direct links are thus lacking between the cauldron – which was immediately identified as Celtic – and its Scandinavian environment, it is nevertheless possible to indicate the probable date that it reached Denmark. Other objects imported from the Celts are known, in addition to influences of early Celtic ornamentation traceable on native wares. On this broader foundation we can base our judgement of the Brå cauldron and of its relationship to Denmark's prehistory.

The following account is given by Harald Andersen, Keeper in the Prehistoric Museum, of the discovery and the consequent investigations:

"On 27th February, 1952, Captain C. D. Holmfeld informed the Prehistoric Museum in Århus that a bronze cauldron had been found on the afternoon of that day in a field belonging to Søren Påske, a farmer of Brå, south of Horsens. The next day the discovery was examined and an excavation commenced. This was continued on the following days and temporarily terminated on 6th March. T. G. Bibby, M. A., and Jørgen Meldgård, M. A., took part in the excavation.

The place of discovery was a hill, traditionally – according to the owner of the land – called Ballehøj. In the course of turning the soil the previous autumn the farmer had struck two large boulders and a quantity of smaller stones immediately beside a cart track, and it was in the course of an attempt to remove these boulders that the discovery was made. The smaller stones, ranging in size from a cricket ball to a football, were first removed; and it was while these were being taken up and the men were beginning to tackle the boulders that some pieces of bronze sheeting came to light, and further digging brought to the surface the greater part of the cauldron, which clearly had been deposited in a fragmentary condition under the stones. Among the objects found were three bronze bulls' heads (fig. 7) and three massive bronze handle attachments (fig. 7), in addition to two ring-handles squashed together and fragments of a third of the same type (fig. 7). An iron axe (fig. 12) was also found, and a massive iron ring, which had formed the rim of the cauldron and which lay, broken into two pieces, approximately horizontally and partly under the boulders (fig. 5). A sketch of the place of discovery, made in consultation with Mr. Mikkelsen, the blacksmith of Brå, who had been assisting when the discovery was made, shows the position of the iron ring in relation to the boulders (fig. 1). The dotted line in the centre of the excavation, seen on the same sketch, indicates the area where the majority of the more important objects (including the three bulls' heads) lay.

On our arrival the two boulders stood upright at the bottom of the hole which had been dug. One of them – the northernmost – stood apparently approximately in situ (it was said to have been turned somewhat). The southernmost stone on the other hand was completely out of its original position and had originally lain almost on its side.

The upcast soil and the loose soil in the hole was partly sieved and partly thoroughly dug through with small trowels. This process yielded a number of fragments of bronze sheeting. Thereafter a rectangular excavation area was marked off, with its sides parallel to the nearby cart-track.

Below the layer of worked topsoil a subsoil consisting of reddish-yellow gravel mixed with sand was found. When the excavation area had been dug down to a level a little above the bottom on the hole dug by the farmer the undisturbed bottom of the pit containing the cauldron could be seen as a change of soil character to a greyish, somewhat speckled sand mixed with gravel (fig. 2). This pit appears to have been of approximately the same shape and size as that dug by the discoverers but was somewhat deeper than theirs. The stones (the two boulders and one or two lesser stones) were now removed and the pit emptied with the exception of the objects of bronze which, apart from minute pieces, were left undisturbed for final photographing (fig. 3). Only the most important of the fragments thus revealed were plotted in and drawn in (fig. 4). Among these may be mentioned: two bulls' heads (fig. 7), a remarkable elongated attachment (fig. 11) and fragments of the ring-handles. The bottom of the pit was somewhat uneven and irregular.

Everything points to the cauldron having been broken into fragments before it was deposited. The pieces were placed in the pit in complete disorder and the boulders (which did not lie on the bottom of the pit but higher up in the filling) placed on top."

In addition to this rich pit – which contained no human remains and was not a grave – a number of other pits lying nearby were investigated. They had, however, no connection with the cauldron pit and probably date from a later period. The majority of these features were investigated in the course of a supplementary excavation in the autumn of 1952.

The depositing of the cauldron in fragments and of the iron axe doubtless formed part of a religious ceremony, the form and motive of which we can only guess.

The Brå hoard, as assembled from the two stages of the excavation, comprises the following:

An iron rim of rhombic cross-section, 3.4 cms. in width and 3.0 cms. in height (fig. 5). It was broken into two approximately equal pieces, but both have been bent somewhat out of shape, so that they do not meet when put together. The diameter was originally one metre. This rim is, apart from the breaks, in a good state of preservation. As fig. 6 and the section given in fig. 13 shows, two bronze fillets, 5–7 mms. in width and 1–2 mms. in thickness, were fitted into grooves in the two upper sides, while remnants can still be seen on the lower edge of an inserted bronze collar. Six pieces of the bronze fillet, 7.2–12.5 cms. in length, were found loose.

The greater part of *the bronze collar* survives, though only in fragments and lightly corroded. It is fairly massive, about 1.5 mms. thick on average, and curves slightly outwards, as shown in fig. 9, a and b, and fig. 13. 3.5 cms. below the iron rim the collar possesses an outward-pointing bend, though its general direction remains unchanged. It is 7–8 cms. in width and has a sharp-edged groove 0.4 cms. above the lower edge, while about 1 cm. above this edge there is a quite close-packed row of approximately circular holes, 0.35 cms. in diameter on average; they have clearly been cut in the sheeting and are about 1.5 cms. apart. At three points this row of holes changes character. At these points two of the holes, lying, to judge by the best preserved fragment, 13.5 cms. from each other, are condiderably larger than the rest, being about 0.9 cms. in diameter and irregularly circular. One of the holes held a rusted iron rivet, the head of which measured just under 1.5 cms. in diameter (fig. 8). The rivet shank is of rectangular cross-section; its exact measurements cannot be ascertained on account of the corrosion but they appear to be about 0.6×0.9 cms. Around these larger rivet holes an impression can be seen shaped like a segment of a circle, the circle being cut off short by the lower edge of the collar (fig. 8). The diameter of the impressions is the same as that of the bases of the bulls' heads described below, about 5 cms. In some cases slight signs of rust can be seen, while otherwise the segment is characterized by having a slightly different oxidization surface. Centrally between each of the pairs of holes there has been a perforation in the upper part of the collar, the size of the perforation being difficult to judge, as the upper part of the collar is so irregular. Below this perforation there is a broad band of bronze showing a different degree of oxidization from the remainder, but the boundaries of this band cannot be precisely determined. On one of the pieces (fig. 9a) a join can be seen precisely at this point, in the band mentioned. The collar, it appears, was in one piece fitted at the top into the iron rim, and the two ends, which overlap slightly, were held together by three rivets, two side by side about half way up, and the third just beneath. Three large fragments of the bronze collar (two on fig. 9a–b), and innumerable small pieces survive.

Three massive bronze attachments, ornamented with birds' heads, have held the ring handles. These attachments are identical, though slight variations show that they were not cast in the same mould. There is, however, no difference in their quality, and their measurements show that three completely identical products were desired. They are exceedingly heavy, 947, 1010, and 1204 grammes in weight, and required therefore a solid mounting. The shape of the attachments approximates closely to a solid half-cylinder, from which the birds' heads project slightly at a sharp angle to the front projection (pls. I and III).

On the upper side there are three massive semi-

circular ridges, of which the one in the middle is the largest. They are separated from each other by two broad sharply-cut grooves, while a similar sharp edge is to be seen on the outer side of the two outer ridges. The centre ridge is ornamented at the front with the head of an owl in stylized design in the round, with sharply cut domed eyes, stressed eyebrows of semicircular shape and a hooked beak. Its two massive "locks" continue as a stylized tendril which winds over the greater part of the central ridge (fig. 10). This tendril is elegant and inspired, but it possesses no organic character, such as that which animates the more luxuriant Greco-Roman growths. The Celtic tendril is a design, with spherical terminals to its many side-shoots, though it does terminate in two curved leaves, which recall vegetable organisms.

The attachments are 9.8 cms. long and 5.6 cms. wide. The birds' heads are about 4.2 cms. wide by 2.1 cms. high. The semicircular excision in the lower edge is 2.6 cms. in height and about 1.8 cms. in width.

Under the centre of the foremost projection a rectangular iron bolt, now broken off, had been inserted and clearly played an important role in securing the attachment (pl. III and fig. 13).

Three massive cast bronze plates, of a low four-sided pyramidal shape with a four-sided central hole, apparently belong to the attachments (fig. 11). Their lateral surfaces are slightly concave, while the upper part of the hole is round in order to accommodate a rivet-head, the material of which is revealed by an iron plug in the hole of one the plates. The plates were cast and measure about 4.2–4.3 cms. along the sides, though one side exceptionally measures only 4.0 cms.

The *three iron rings* must have passed through the attachments. They have all been twisted considerably out of shape and one has been broken into several pieces, measuring up to 15.7 cms. in length. The other two have been hammered into irregular oval shapes (fig. 7). They are all rusted, and measure on average 1.3–1.7 cms. in thickness, though the rusted portions may reach a thickness of 2.5 cms. Around these iron rings *hollow bronze rings* had been cast, the thickness of metal in these rings varying considerably, from 0.4 to 2.5 mms. (fig. 7). It was only after fitting together the many tiny fragments of these rings that their function became clear. They were badly bent and broken into pieces, but they had clearly an approximate diameter of 20 cms. and a thickness of 4 cms., terminating at both ends in a flat surface with a hole for the ring-handle, which was thus exposed for a distance of 6–7 cms. These bronze casings were cast around the iron rings and remains of filling material can still be seen on the inner side of some fragments.

The ornamentation of the cauldron was not confined to the owl-heads of the handle-attachments. *Five solid cast bronze bulls' heads* were found, four being almost identical while the fifth is somewhat larger and particularly finely preserved. So far as form is concerned the larger and smaller types of the heads are almost identical, but there are nevertheless definite differences (cf. pl. II). The muzzles of the smaller heads rise a little more steeply than that of the larger, while the nostrils of the former are stylized as two spiral curves (pl. II). The muzzle of the large head is in general more lifelike; the impression it gives is weighty and mature. The lesser heads look almost like those of calves beside that of a fully grown beast. There is reason to view the larger head as an original work, and the smaller stylized models as copies of it – but perhaps it is merely a question of differences in the work of two craftsmen.

The differences can be defined in terms of measurements: the diameter of the base on the large head is 5.4 cms., and on the lesser heads about 4.8 cms.; the length of the heads is 5.8 and 5.4 cms. respectively. The difference in weight is also significant, 577 grammes as against about 415.

The bulls' heads possess a short neck which passes at a sharp angle into an evenly domed base with a concave under side. They were secured in place by means of a fairly massive rivet which has been cast into the base. It was clearly rectangular but the remains are very rusted. One of the smaller heads preserves a projecting portion, but this too is rusted and incomplete.

The modelling of the bulls' heads reveals an excellent understanding of the nature of the animal, cf. the frontispiece. It is not in the full meaning of the term a naturalistic reproduction, even though the head is lifelike. The intention of the artist was rather to reveal the beast's nature by means of living and stylized forms. Attention is at once caught by the eyes, with their mild, astonished expression, the sensitive nostrils and the gracefully curved horns. Two "cow-licks" lie smoothly curled over the forehead, which is exceedingly lifelike with raised eyebrows and a prominent frontal bone. The bridge of the nose is schematic, whereas the mouth again is naturalistic, with a good-tempered grimace. It is a beautiful study in animal psychology, a unity in which details are nevertheless not lost sight of. The curls on the neck have finely engraved hair, the domed eyes are framed with a sharply raised rim, which remarkably enough is continued downwards beneath the horns and behind the moulded cheeks.

The *lower portion of the cauldron,* so far as can be seen from the numerous crumpled fragments, was hammered out of a single sheet of bronze and riveted to the collar by means of a quite close-set row of rivets (see above), the

broad heads of the rivets being on the inside of the cauldron. On the outside, in the collar, the rivets were flattened to some degree by hammering and were probably invisible. The rivet holes are slightly conical. The thickness of the sheeting varies from 0.5 to 1.6 mms., while the thickest fragments all appear to be from near the row of rivets. The average thickness of the metal is 0.78 mms., and the weight of all the fragments from the lower portion totals 9868 grammes.

A remarkable *bronze object, 14.4 cms. long,* which at first sight would be interpreted as a bird, probably does not form part of the actual cauldron. Whether the long tail and the simple broad forepart actually represents a bird is, however, doubtful. The objects consists of a ring, one end of which runs into the long tail mentioned, which bears four ridges, grooved in alternate directions, while the other end runs into a flat outward-bent forepart, pressed together at the front and bent upwards in a little curve. The fact that the forepart is pressed together would suggest that this birdlike object had been attached to leather or to some similar flexible material. The ring has an outer diameter of 2.9 cms., a thickness of 0.6 cms. and a slight ridge along the side.

Finally there is a massive *socketed axe* of iron, 18 cms. long and somewhat corroded. It possesses a rectangular socket, with sides 5.1 cms. wide, formed of metal of about 1 cm. in thickness. The cutting edge is expanded and somewhat curved, with a width of 9.9 cms. Socketed axes of this type are of normal occurrence in Celtic contexts (e. g. P. Vouga, *La Tène,* 1923, pl. XLIII, 1), but has hitherto only been found in Denmark at a later stage of the Iron Age.

The excavation brought to light a number of scraps of leather, while there are impressions of this material in the oxidization both of the iron and of the bronze fragments. However, no piece was found with connections which could provide an explanation of the presence of leather.

THE FORM OF THE BRÅ CAULDRON

When the excavation was completed the portions of the cauldron were sent to the conservation laboratories of the Danish National Museum, and came there under the care of the conservators of the museum, K. Thorvildsen and B. Brorson Christensen, and the assistant, Mr. Holm. The quotations given below are taken from Thorvildsen's report, upon which the beginning of this chapter is in general based; the reconstruction drawings are by Brorson Christensen. The author had the opportunity to follow the work throughout and to take part in the frequent conferences. It appeared that the cauldron had been smashed so thoroughly into fragments at an early date that it was only after prolonged and patient experiment that it was possible to piece the fragments together. This is particularly true of the bronze rings casing the iron ring-handles, the function of which only gradually came to light and which it took months of patient work to reconstruct out of the many small scraps.

As we shall see below, the cauldron has not been preserved in its entirety. Consequently the portions which were most important for an understanding of the form of the vessel were put together, while the numerous pieces which were especially fragile and fragmentary were conserved without being flattened out.

The cauldron consisted originally of an iron rim with a collar of bronze sheeting, three ring handles, three bronze attachments, six (now only five) bronze bulls' heads, and the large lower body of bronze sheeting. It is easy to determine the original diameter of the iron rim, one metre, as the two halves are both present. In addition, portions of the bronze collar are still in position in the rim, while loose pieces can be matched to these. The actual angle of the collar to the rim can, as we shall see, be calculated exactly on placing the attachments in position (fig. 13).

It has, moreover, been possible to put together sufficiently large portions of the lower body, from the part next to the collar to which the body was riveted, to make it possible to measure the greatest width of the cauldron. This was 1.18 metres at about 22 cms. below the rim (fig. 14). If one assumes that the body of the cauldron was approximately hemispherical – the shape which a bowl of such thin bronze sheeting would automatically assume if it were filled with liquid – then the cauldron was about 70 cms. in height. "The specific gravity of the metal of the body has been measured as 7.17 (it must originally have been 8.5–8.7). As the total weight of the surviving body metal is 9868 grammes this means that only 1.76 square metres is present, which is worthy of

note as the body, if it was hemispherical, must have had an area of 2.19 square metres.

It may be mentioned that a hemisphere of the diameter stated (1.18 metres) holds 430 litres. If the Brå cauldron's body was of this shape the whole cauldron must therefore have had a capacity of about 600 litres."

It is obvious that a cauldron of this size, with a heavy iron rim, could not rest on the fragile bronze body. As we have seen there exist three solid-cast attachments with ring-handles to fit. The attachments exactly fit the iron rim, the sharp angle between the owl's head and the front projection corresponding to the outer angle on the rim (fig. 13 and pl. V). The iron bolt contained in the front projection has accordingly passed through the upper part of the collar and terminated in one of the rectangular bronze plates. The bronze plate, which curves slightly inward, is supported at the top by the solid iron rim, while it exerts no pressure on the thin collar, as this bends outwards just at the point where the edge of the bronze plate also turns outwards. Everything has been carefully thought out and accurately constructed.

There is room for the unencased portion of the ring-handle to pass throught the opening between the two projecting ends of the attachment. This unencased portion is 6–7 cms. long, while the remainder of the iron ring is covered by a considerably thicker bronze ring.

As we have seen, there is a difference in the oxidization, over areas approximately corresponding to the width of the attachments, at three points on the upper part of the bronze collar, and traces can also be seen of holes through the metal, though it is difficult to be certain of this owing to the fragmentary state of the collar.

On either side of these points, at the foot of the collar, there are also traces of fitments. Here, at a distance of about 7 cms. on either side of the centre of the impression left by the attachments, there is a larger rivet hole and, around it, a differently oxidized area of a diameter corresponding to that of the base of the bulls' heads. There can be no doubt that these heads were mounted here by means of a massive iron rivet passing through the sheeting (fig. 13). This theory fits the number of heads, three pairs, providing we assume that one of these, a companion piece to the large head, has been lost.

An important point is that the traces of wear on the foreheads of the bulls can now be explained. The bronze rings must have rested here when they were not in use.

We have now reached a point where a reconstruction, accurate in its main essentials, can be postulated (fig. 14). Only the lower part of the body is not quite certain, but as the arguments in favour of the shape suggested cannot be refuted – the other large Celtic cauldrons also possess hemispherical bodies – there is no reason for doubt as to its shape.

This characteristic type, a cauldron with an incurved rim, ring-attachments with birds' heads turned inwards and six bulls' heads facing outwards, cannot have been chosen quite by chance. We recognise in it a relative of a series of large cauldrons which can be traced by way of Italy and Greece to the Near East. Remarkably enough it is actually the Near Eastern specimens which provide the closest prototypes. These cauldrons are, it is true, considerably older but their resemblance in form is so striking that there must be an intimate connection.

The stock prototype, with outward-pointing animal heads and forequarters and inward-pointing animal attachments, is represented in Italy by discoveries from two important burials, the rich Bernardini grave in Praeneste and the Circolo dei Lebeti in Vetulonia[1]). The latter burial, a stone circle with a grave in the centre, received its name from the characteristic bronze vessels found there, of which one is illustrated in fig. 15. No less than four cauldrons were discovered, of which two bore ornamentation, six heads, respectively of lions and griffons, on the S-shaped neck and two attachments in the form of winged creatures with their heads just clear of the rim, so that they look down into the cauldron (on the specimen not illustrated the winged creatures bear Janus-heads). The cauldron from the Bernardini burial bears griffon heads of the Vetulonia type mentioned. These Etruscan griffons and lions are terrible; they clearly were meant to have a deterrent effect. The same horror-inspiring appearance is found in the animal foreparts on other Etruscan cauldrons and, as we shall see, on Greek ones. Peculiar to the cauldrons mentioned are the attachments, the inward-facing fabulous creatures with human head and torso and bird's wings and tail. This remarkable type is not only known from these two lands but also from the Near East, particularly the region about Lake Van[2]). All the specimens are so alike in appearance that it would appear reasonable to regard the Greco-Etruscan specimens as manufactured in the Near East, where they have their natural milieu and conditions for development.

In Greece a number of related griffon heads have been discovered in association with winged attachments, at Olympia and elsewhere; these have been treated of in detail by Furtwängler and Kunze[3]). The bull's head in fig. 16 also comes from Greece. It belongs to the same context and may without doubt be attributed on a basis of its formal sober lines to Asia Minor. Like the bulls' heads of the Brå cauldron it must have been positioned under the rim of a cauldron; it is not

terror-inspiring like the fabulous monsters of Greece and Etruria, but rather decorative and dignified. Attachments in the form of mythical flying figures, as on the cauldron in fig. 15, certainly accompanied such productions.

A related type is represented in the National Museum in Copenhagen by a specimen discovered in Cumae, a well-preserved cauldron of bronze sheeting on which there are two outward-facing bulls' heads with a ring on the necks. Here we see the attachment and the bull's head combined. The attachments possess in addition spread wings and a bird's tail, a combination known not only from Greece but also from the Near East, where it originated. There are in this connection important parallels from the recent excavations at Karmir-Blur in Armenia from about 700 B. C. A similar bronze cauldron, as well as loose attachments, has been found there[4]).

The point to note with the Near Eastern cauldrons is their placid animal heads, like those of the Brå cauldron, in contrast to the terror-inspiring Greek and Etruscan griffons and lions which raise their heads high above the rims of the cauldrons. This would suggest that the inspiration reached the Celts direct from Asia Minor. Certain it is, in any case, that the Celts preferred the placid bulls to the horrible mythical monsters. Bulls' heads are also found in early Greek and Italian art, often on tripods, but they do not dominate to the same extent as, for example, the griffons.

It is, however, probable that the Celtic cauldrons were only indirectly influenced by the Near Eastern ones, by way of Greece and Italy. There exists important evidence of contact by this route. For example, a large bronze cauldron bearing the foreparts of griffons, most probably of Greek workmanship, has been found in Eastern France[5]). It has no fitments for ring-handles but rests instead on a solid tripod (a mode of support which was presumably used with all the cauldrons named, even though they could also be hung up by their rings). This French discovery is from the Late Hallstatt Period, a period which shows considerable evidence of influences from the south and east. Various contemporary pottery vessels also bear massive bulls' heads and forequarters. They are quite common in Austria[6]), but they may be imitations of Italian counterparts in clay. The objects found at Hallstatt itself include several bronze vessels, i. a. one with two bulls, facing inwards towards the centre of the vessels, a type which has close prototypes in Near Eastern productions[7]).

Even though we are still unable to trace a tradition from the Hallstatt cauldrons to that from Brå there is at least evidence of the manufacture of cauldrons of bronze sheeting in Early and Middle La Tène, as for example the cauldron from Dux, which contained so many fibulae of Early La Tène type, and the cauldrons with iron collars from La Tène itself[8]). The Celts were at an early period capable of producing metal vessels of this type and had completely mastered the fine technique to which the Brå cauldron bears witness.

THE ORNAMENTATION IN THE LIGHT OF EARLY CELTIC ART

The ornamentation of the Brå cauldron is more than mere decoration; it is genuine and conscious art. A ponderous good-temper reposes in the convex eyes of the oxen and in the finely curved lines of their muzzles, while the owls are equally well characterized as savage birds of prey with sharp-cut features and a baleful stare.

Several representations of living creatures are known to us in Celtic art, but few as full of life as these. Early Celtic art has a tendency to be fettered by rigid stylization. In its beginnings it adopted so many foreign motifs that it was only gradually that it succeeded in finding its own ways. It is not difficult to perceive in the animal heads of the Brå cauldron a now uninhibited feeling for art among the Celts, a personal experience and interpretation on the part of the artist of the birds and beasts portrayed.

Celtic art captured at an early stage the interest of archeologists but has been very variously evaluated, as a result of the often unbridgeable gulf between the artistic preconceptions of our own day and the art-styles of the Celts. Some works have been judged completely baroque, and others unduly abstract. Admittedly, examples can be found of pure Celtic fantasy; but there also exist works exemplifying an attractive personalised style, like the intimate and restrained art of the Brå cauldron. But the basic essential to a correct evaluation of Celtic art is that it be adjudged in accordance with its own scale of values.

In his important treatise on early Celtic art Jacobsthal distinguishes four phases: the Early Style, the Waldalgesheim Style, the Plastic Style and the Hungarian-Sword Style[9]). Following these phases and preceding the political subordination

of the Celts to the Romans and the Germans there intervenes a phase which, though revealing an exceedingly heterogeneous art, I propose should be intitled the Gundestrup Style, after the most significant work of the period.

We have already had opportunity to see that the Brå cauldron does not belong to this final phase of transition from Early Celtic to Romano-Celtic art. The new cauldron is clearly older, and stylistically belongs to the period of the Plastic Style. Even though there are no exact parallels in Jacobsthal's treatise an undoubted relationship can be observed with the rare animal figures within this stylistic period.

However dependent the Celtic craftsmen may have been on borrowed motifs they nevertheless develop even by the period of the Early Style a variety of expression in typical contrast to the geometrical uniformity which we find in the Hallstatt Period. This artistic development is purely Celtic, but the motifs which inspire it were acquired in Northern Italy, as a closer investigation shows[10]). It is a peculiar range of ornamentation, an Archaic and Late Archaic tradition which had otherwise been abandoned in the Mediterranean lands. The Hallstatt geometric ornamentation admittedly does not completely die out and is even apparently extended in scope as a result of borrowings from outside; but the new Celtic style is based on more living prototypes, on palmettes and lotuses, patterns of crescents and interlacing curves, of connected lyres and of similar more or less organic motifs. Astragals and acanthus, which were adopted as motifs in Northern Italy about 400 B. C., occur on later specimens.

The Early Celtic Style is a personal shaping of the foreign motifs, patterns and representations of men and animals. Peculiarly Celtic are the remarkable "fish-bladders", a pointed oval curving round into a circular tail. Viewed as a whole the style forms an organic unity, despite the number of borrowed details from which it gradually liberates itself.

The Waldalgesheim Style marks still greater independence. It acquires comparatively little new from Southern Europe, apart from some distinctive palmettes and stylized flowers. The tendril now becomes the highly variable motif of the artist. It is introduced everywhere and twines its way, now slender, now broadening capriciously out, playfully over the surface. This wild rhythm is in tune with Celtic temperament. The artists abstract the basic play of line from the organic subjects, the tendrils, palmettes and flowers, and allow this abstraction to work out its own inherent possibilities.

It is first in the Plastic Style that early Celtic art finally achieves complete independence, based on its own observations of life. Contemporaneously with this is another phase, known from a series of sword scabbards, particularly from Hungary; it is directly descended from the Waldalgesheim Style but is even more inventive. The patterns are engraved as arabesques in an inspired asymmetry. They are in no way related, however, to the Brå cauldron, which is to be attributed to the Plastic Style, a style particularly met with on torques, massive armlets and anklets, fibulae and linch-pins (pl. IX). While the former styles, and the contemporary Hungarian-Sword Style, were employed to decorate surfaces, the ornamentation is here three-dimensional, and even the actual shape of the objects decorated is altered as a result of the ornamentation. Celtic artistic feeling achieves self-expression in a baroque, in tight curves which bend and expand, form sharp-ridged scrolls, and break into knobs. It is a style with a tendency to carry its motifs to a degree amounting to perversion, but it is highly original and reaches its full power in the modelling of animals.

Some bronzes with moulded ornamentation from a tholos tomb near Mezek in Bulgaria close to the Greek frontier[11]) are here of interest. Several burials dating from the 4th–3rd Centuries B. C. were made in this Thracian tomb and the burial furniture includes rich imported material from the south. Apparently the last person to be buried there was a Celt, and with him was buried a chariot as well as other goods. Among the massive fitments may be noted five bronze rings with projections, one of which bears a clear face-mask, a remarkable curved bronze rod bearing a massive disc, and two large linch-pins. The ornamentation makes use of ingeniously combined spiral curves.

The Mezek bronzes do not provide any close parallel to the Brå cauldron, even though they are clearly related. On the other hand the Mezek discovery gives a chronological datum point, while we know, moreover, that Celts were living in this part of Thrace about 275 B. C.

A discovery has, however, recently been made in Moravia of objects in a style corresponding exactly to that of the Brå figures. The objects were found in the Malomeřice cemetery near Brno but were unfortunately not excavated by trained archeologists[12]). The cemetery, which will be described later, belongs to a late period of La Tène I. Everything points to this discovery being from the same period, one indication among others being a fragmentary ring of coral, a material often used for decoration on torques and fibulae from this period. Pieces of bronze sheeting some of triangular form with rivet holes, have presumably formed the fittings of a wooden bucket or the like. They are decorated with simple chased motifs which, however, are not peculiar to this cultural phase.

Of considerably greater interest are a number

of bronze fitments with identical patina and therefore presumably all belonging to a single vessel, a spouted flask. An attempt at a reconstruction of the flask on a basis of the numerous fitments is made in fig. 17. Some parts have had a definite function while others would fit anywhere on a rim or a curved side. All the pieces possess rivet holes in small circular discs.

The most important fitment, which definitely directs attention to a spouted flask, is seen in pl. VI. It is the framework of the actual spout, formed of two oppositely placed bulls' heads, and of the nearest portion of the side of the vessel, all carried out in openwork with sharply ridged patterns of swelling curves. The construction of the object has been planned first and foremost in relation to its function of grasping the lower portion of the spout, but the bulls' heads are nevertheless pregnant with artistic feeling. One of the heads bears lively curving horns, meeting, remarkably enough, in a round rivet disc. The features are realistically moulded with large domed eyes under grooved brows. The muzzles are finely shaped and the head has a placid expression similar to that of the Brå bulls.

The other head is only partly shown. The horns, ending in round rivet washers, the forehead, and the refined fluting of the eyebrows can be seen. The muzzle is pierced but its outlines are shown by two curved ridges (now fragmentary) which appear to meet in a central disc.

The relationship between the fittings of the Malomeřice flask and those of the Brå cauldron is further emphasized by a remarkable griffon figure on a solid cast concave-convex foot of the same type as the neck and base of the Brå bulls (pl. IV). The crown of the head, with the grooved ornamentation of the hair, bears a deep central groove like that of the Brå birds, while the eyes of the griffon are delineated in the same way as those of these birds. There is a ridge around the domed eyeballs and in addition sharply defined eye-pouches. We need entertain no doubts that the two specimens originated within the same cultural area and in the same art school.

The griffon is a quite complicated figure of fantasy. It has a massive hooked beak with a clearly defined mouth, a slim body and apparantly either a forked tail or a long crest bearing knobs – perhaps a combination of both ideas, as other representations show (we will revert below to dual creatures of this type). The rear portion is extraordinarily shaped into an extra down-pointing bird's head, with a hooked beak, large eyes divided into two sections and a bent neck. The refined craftsmanship of this griffon with its elegantly curved neck makes it the most outstanding of the ornaments of the spouted flask.

Fig. 17 in the middle shows an asymmetrical bronze tendril with a sharply angled ridge and with heads added here and there. The eyes with their domed eyeballs are not to be mistaken, but the beaks, crests and necks resemble each other to a degree which makes confusion easy. In the middle, however, a fairly distinct head can be seen, with a curved forehead and a massive crest ending in a knob. The mouth turns downwards to the left and the neck terminates obliquely on the right.

The artist plays provokingly with the forms involved and creates his own abstract animal kingdom from the separate portions.

Closely related is the fitment shown on pl. VII, e, which is composed of similar motifs. An eye can be seen in the centre of an almost symmetrical portion, while higher up the curved bronze tendril runs out in a fantastic head with three projecting portions and an eye in the centre. It is difficult to see to which side the beak turns, while, on the reproduction, the crest goes straight downwards.

The openwork patterns shown in pls. VII, a–b are completely geometrical, even though we here see the same swollen Celtic curves as in the objects just described, while here too are knoblike projections in the same style.

Representations of human beings can be seen on two of the pieces. Pl. VII, c shows a fitment of bronze sheeting, in the centre of which there is a face, as it seems with a melancholy expression. The face is irregular, with dominant pointed-oval eyes, a hooked nose and a little chin; the forehead is low, with a groove in the centre, and is interrupted in the centre by the curves of the eyebrows. The projections on the right and on left are completely abstract, generously curved runners terminating in round rivet washers, which in turn are connected by curved bands of bronze. There is a conscious asymmetry over the whole pattern, in contrast to the framed heads of the Early Celtic Style, which were imitations of the Etruscan development of the "Hathor hairstyle"[13]).

The other fitting with human faces represents two oppositely placed heads (pl. VII, d). The connection between these two heads is admittedly broken, but there appears to be only an insignificant fragment missing. This fitment is symmetrically constructed, and the heads likewise are regular and balance one another. From one of the heads run peculiarly curved projections, ending in animal heads, and joining corresponding projections from the other head. At the bottom there is a triangular terminal as on the large spout fitment.

Another of the fittings belonging to the flask is a hollow bronze cylinder terminated in a moulded whorl (cf. fig. 17). It is pierced to take a transverse rivet. In addition there is a bronze ring in two pieces, with a semicircular cross-

section and with holes for rivets, as well as a curved bronze rod, the ends of which are expanded into a kidney shape. It is pierced through these expansions and through the centre.

We may base a reconstruction on the assumption that the actual flask was of wood (fig. 17). Fragments of wood still survive in the bronze cylinder with whorl pattern, which presumably formed the end of the spout, and a related wooden flask is known from Northern Italy[14]). A number of bronze rivets give us a good idea of the thickness of the walls of the Malomeřice flask; they are on average 1.2 cms. long, thus suggesting a thickness for the sides of about 1 cm.

The natural point of commencement is the large fitment around the lower part of the spout. The fitments shown in pl. VII, a and the double head of pl. VII, d fit the rim, their curved backs showing that they covered an expansion just below the rim, if we assume that the upper part of the fitments was attached direct to the rim.

The griffon presumably stood on the lid as a handle; a little animal figure on the spouted flask from Waldalgesheim[16]) has exactly that position. The curved rod fits as a handle running from the rim of the flask to its centre, while the bronze ring, the two portions of which fit together presumably fitted round the foot, corresponding to the ridge on the contemporary pottery, including specimens from Malomeřice[16]). The large tendril fitments with the animal heads would appear on evidence to have decorated the widest part of the flask.

The fitments thus give us quite detailed information concerning the appearance of the vessel, information which is further supported by the Celtic spouted flasks in bronze from Early La Tène[17]). There the spout is placed high up, a little below the rim. When all the evidence is assembled we have a flask with an expansion below the rim, a high-placed spout pointing obliquely upwards, a wide body narrowing towards the foot, but with an expanded base to allow this large vessel to stand without overbalancing.

The nearest predecessors are the Early Celtic metal flasks, which in turn can be traced back to Mediterranean prototypes. The shape found favour in Moravia, where the Malomeřice flask was undoubtedly fashioned, but there it was transferred to wood. The decoration is purely Celtic, an original production of skilled craftsmen.

The art of the Brå cauldron has only distant relatives within the West Celtic zone, where it is the sculpture of Provence which is best known, thanks to an oppidum near Aix-en-Provence, Entremont, which was evacuated late in the Second Century B. C., probably as a result of the Roman conquest of the area (cf. p. 71). Among the many sculptures and reliefs in stone squatting warriors with full equipment are characteristic; but even equestrian statues were produced. The reliefs show riders, busts of women and many other subjects, totalling up to a conglomerate and varied art, still, moreover, only known in outline. It shows a particularly close dependence on Northern Italy, but is far removed from the Brå-Malomeřice style. The Provençal art styles were not, so far as we can judge at the moment, imitated by the northern Celts before the last century B. C., when they appear in a variety of specimens, including the Gundestrup cauldron, which combines the old cauldron shape with dramatic and symbolical reliefs[18]).

A number of Swiss specimens come closer to the Brå cauldron. Various torques (such as the somewhat northern specimen, pl. IX, c) show tendril ornamentation in three-dimensional execution corresponding to the neck tendrils of the Brå birds, fig. 8.

They are met with at the end of Early La Tène. But the large peat-bog hoard from La Tène, which in the main dates from Middle La Tène, provides important parallels. Among these two decorated sword-scabbards[19]) are illustrated on pl. X top; one of them bears three horses in spirited motion. They are graceful moulded animals, and from them, remarkably enough, extend tendrils. Not only are the tails transformed into long elegant curls, but tendrils also issue from the mouths and the necks, being particularly flamboyant on the upper horse. Even the back legs of the lower horses are perverted into a sort of ornamental design. In style the tendrils, particularly those of the upper horse, correspond to those of the Brå birds, even though they are not so close to them in execution as the torque decorations.

The finest piece of metal sculpture from Early West-Celtic art is the little bronze horse from Guerchy, a refined thoroughbred with slim limbs but with a lively display of muscle. The eyes are dominant and pointed oval in shape. Unfortunately the object has suffered damage from the heat of the pyre. As Lantier emphasizes, it is presumably a Middle La Tène piece[20]). The likeness between it and the graceful horses on the La Tène scabbard springs to the eye.

The same refined interpretation of animal form is expressed in a series of western sculptures in metal, among which the bronze horse from Freisen, at least, certainly belongs to Early Celtic art[21]). The silver ring from Trichtingen[22]) with the two oppositely placed bulls' heads shows the same undoubted characteristics though it is more rounded in form. It is adjudged to be from Middle La Tène, but it provides no criteria for the understanding of our tasteful sculptures from Brå and Malomeřice. These works of art in combination rather serve to strengthen the impression of the close links connecting the Brå cauldron with

the Moravian discoveries, rather than with the western schools, apart from the Swiss specimens mentioned.

Before we leave the subject of the animal sculptures of the Brå cauldron there would seem reason to look at two Danish discoveries of stray bronce bulls' heads, which are clearly related to those of the cauldron, though in style they differ to some degree. They do not belong to the same art school as those of the Brå cauldron but should doubtless be regarded as distant relations. One is undoubtedly of Celtic workmanship and was found in a peat bog near Roskilde, in Zealand, between Karlslunde, Greve and Tune (NMK C 220) (pl. VIII, top and centre). The head stands upon a short hollow cylindrical neck which measures 6 cms. in diameter at the base. Here two holes are bored opposite each other, clearly for attachment, perhaps to the rim of a cauldron. The head bears short massive horns between which there are five ridges across the neck, the outer ones being hatched. On the back of the neck, which has been somewhat damaged, there is a raised palmette of simplified form (fig. 18). The eyes are domed and bounded above by three curved lines and below by a single ridge, curled back at the ends. A curved line nearer the neck likewise terminates in a curl. These lines are perhaps a reminiscence of the outcurving eyebrows with curl well-known from early Celtic art[23]).

The other specimen is also from a peat bog, being found in Store Vildmose in North Jutland (NMK C 23174) (pl. VIII centre and bottom). With its massive straight horns it cannot portray anything other than a bull, but the representation is different from, and weaker than, the bulls' heads of Brå, the vital plasticity of which it lacks. Remarkably enough it recalls a native Bronze-Age figure, the horse from Trundholm. As with the Trundholm horse its head is separated from the neck by a broad curve behind the forehead and the jaw. The head from Store Vildmose also has, however at the back of the neck two raised portions recalling the massive locks of the Brå bulls, but quite simple in execution. In addition to the simplified locks it has large eyes which approach a pointed oval in shape, in contrast to the round eyes of the Trundholm horse. The relationship can presumably be explained by the bull's head from North Jutland being of native traditional workmanship, but influenced by Celtic art. It is not necessarily very much later in date than the Brå cauldron.

As it proves impossible to ascribe a date to the Brå cauldron on a basis of Danish parallels its chronological position must be determined against a background of Celtic culture. Its close relative, the spouted flask from Malomeřice, would seem on all the evidence to belong to the end of Early La Tène, and the tendrils on the bird's head attachments can be ascribed to the same period, or perhaps a little later.

In La Tène itself objects ornamented in the Plastic Style, though not of so characteristic a form, are known. Particularly popular at the period of this discovery, Middle La Tène, is the spiral motif in its Celtic interpretation, with flamboyant moulded curves, and it may be seen on a number of stray finds, torques, fibulae and the like[24]). A fibula with this ornamentation comes from a grave near Bologna, in Cerètolo, well dated through being found together with a bronze jug, the handle of which is in the shape of a gesticulating male figure in the Hellenistic Style (pl. X, bottom)[25]). This can be dated to about 200 B. C. and this date must also apply to the other objects found, which consisted – apart from the bronze fibula – of two iron fibulae of early Middle La Tène pattern, a sword and a variety of other objects (fig. 21). We do not need to postulate any considerable timelag in trade connections between the Bologna area and South Italy. The Celtic objects can quite well have been manufactured at the same time as the jug and, after being in use for some time, have been buried together with it.

Another important datum point for the plastic Celtic spiral ornamentation is provided by a fragment of a sculpture from Entremont (cf. pp. 70 and 78). A large number of fragments of sculpture and almost entire statues were on some occasion of violence broken into fragments and used as road metal. They did not, however, lie long in this state; there are no marks of wear and there is therefore good reason to believe that Entremont was abandoned shortly after this act of vandalism. The event should probably be connected with the foundation of Aquae Sextiae, the new city in the plains, where the Romans had no reason to fear hostile siege.

Among the sculpture fragments there is a ring ornamented with just this spiral decoration[26]); it is true that the ring is interpreted as a fragment of a pillar, but it appears to the present author to be capable of better interpretation as the armring of a statue. Only very little of the actual arm survives. The Entremont sculptures cannot be later than the Second Century B. C., and probably belong to the middle or the early part of that century.

The art of the Brå cauldron, like that of Malomeřice, is apparently somewhat older, even though there is a clear relationship between its motifs and the spiral decorations just discussed. Torques with moulded tendrils resembling approximately those of the Brå fitments are found towards the end of Early La Tène, to judge by their placing in the grave series (p. 75). The same appears to be true, as we have seen, of the Ma-

B. C.	Chronologically important discoveries	Celtic periods	Celtic styles	Historical events
450	Rodenbach, Klein Aspergle	I a	Early Style	
	Somme Bionne			
400	Heuneburg I Lorraine			Sack of Rome (390)
	Montefortino, Filottrano, Waldalgesheim	I b	Waldalgesheim Style	
300	Mezek			Sack of Delphi (279)
		I c	Plastic Style	Defeat at Talamone (225)
200	Ceretolo			
	Entremont	II		Roman conquest of Provence (124–23) Defeat of Cimbri and Teutones (102–01)
100	San Bernardo	III	Gundestrup Style	Caesar's conquest of Gaul
0				

lomeřice discovery, while the Mezek discovery gives us an approximate date for the fully Plastic Style of about 275 B. C. A number of graves, particularly in Bohemia and Moravia but also in the neighbouring areas, contain late fibulae of Early La Tène type together with armlets and the like bearing vigorous spiral twists and similar highly mobile motifs. Some of these bronze fibulae possess a terminal knob with a moulded pattern (fig. 20 d)[27]).

That so rich a material for comparison is on the whole available in the central and eastern portions of the Celtic area is doubtless partly due to the number of richly-equipped graves; but on the other hand it can scarcely be doubted that the Plastic Style flourished in an unusually rich degree here. Admittedly a number of bronzes in typical Plastic Style are also known from the west, and parallels can even be found in England[28]). But these discoveries do not bring us closer to an understanding of the Brå cauldron, which clearly originated in Central Europe, most probably in Moravia.

A diagrammatic representation of the phases of Celtic art and culture in the pre-Roman period has been attempted on this page. The earlier portion is based on Jacobthal's "Early Celtic Art" and on the new and important results of the excavations at Heuneburg[29]).

The Early Style commences in the latter half of the 5th Century B. C. We meet it in the rich chieftains' graves on the upper courses of the Rhine and the Elbe. Typical of these are the graves of Rodenbach, Klein Aspergle and – somewhat to the west – Somme Bionne. Of datable imports from the south Rodenbach provides an Etruscan spouted flask (first half of the 5th Century B. C.), an Italian "pilgrim flask" (probably about 500 B. C.) and an Attic kantharos (about 450 B. C.). Klein Aspergle supplies an Etruscan stamnos (second quarter of the 5th Century B. C.) and two Attic drinking cups (about 450 B. C.). Somme Bionne contained an Etruscan spouted flask (first half of the 5th Century B. C.) and an Attic drinking cup (about 420 B. C.). Even though the Greek cups cannot be classed among the more successful products of the well-known Attic ceramic factories they are of inestimable importance for dating.

This earliest phase is rightly called the chieftains' grave period. Celtic art receives its impetus from the aristocracy, who had the facilities for

obtaining foreign luxuries and a rich wine service. At Heuneburg, near the source of the Danube, one of the sites of the early shaping of Celtic art is at the moment being investigated, a rich oppidum to which, among others, craftsmen were attracted. The older strata at Heuneburg belong to Late Hallstatt times, but the cultural picture changes in the latest level; wheel-turned pottery replaces the handmade, and the earliest La Tène fibulae appear. From this layer came a fragment of an Italian pottery vessel from the beginning of the 4th Century B. C.

The earliest Celtic style, as we have seen, employed Archaic and Late Archaic motifs from the retarded art of Italy. Only a few patterns have chronological significance; for example, a type of palmette on the distinguished Lorraine jug can scarcely have been borrowed before the beginning of the 4th Century B. C. The earliest phase therefore belongs to a late period in the 5th and to the beginning of the 4th Centuries B. C.

The style which follows, called after the Waldalgesheim discovery, has a wide spacial extension, being known from well-dated Italian burials at Montefortino and Filottrano among other sites. These burials contained many bronze vessels from the same period as the Tarentine situla from the Waldalgesheim grave, the end of the 4th Century B. C. Some of the ornamental motifs from the Waldalgesheim Style belong to the same period; they are based on Classical patterns of the 4th Century. Fibulae with a disc-shaped foot of Early La Tène pattern are sometimes beautifully decorated in the Waldalgesheim Style.

The Plastic Style, which we have had opportunity to examine in connection with its most distinguished example, the Brå cauldron, now follows as an art style originally and peculiarly Celtic. It has a wide extension, with its centre of gravity towards the east. And it is here that, to judge by all the evidence, this new work of art originated.

EARLY CULTURAL CONNECTIONS WITH THE CELTS

It is tempting to connect the presence in Denmark of such a distinguished work of art as the Brå cauldron with the widespread migrations of the Celts. This is, however, far from certain, even though the large-scale expansion of the Celts does seriously commence in Early La Tène times.

It was already in full swing in Italy by 400 B. C. Rome was sacked in 390. But far more important than this raid was the actual occupation of the North Italian provinces. The Etruscans' strategic focal point north of the Appenines, Felsina, became the Celtic town of Bononia.

In the late part of Early La Tène the Celts move east and reach Asia Minor. They appear throughout the Mediterranean area, plunder Delphi in 279 B. C. and set their stamp on the whole process of culture in West and Central Europe. Among the races they meet to the east are the nomad peoples.

By the 3rd Century B. C. the Celts are already being forced back. In Asia Minor the warlike conquerors are hemmed into Galatia by Pergamon in 241–28. In 225 other Celts suffer a decisive defeat at Talamone in Central Italy. Throughout the 2nd Century the Celts continuously yield ground before the growing pressure of Rome. This new Great Power, understanding better than the scattered Celtic tribes how to consolidate its conquests, now completely dominates North Italy, and proves this by founding Aquileia in the northeast, a transit station for further campaigns but also a centre for lively trade with the north.

At the same time Rome turns against Provence, which was conquered in 124–123 B. C. The rest of Gaul was subdued in the middle of the First Century B. C.

In the meantime the Germans from the north occupy the adjacent Celtic regions and meet the Romans. We possess no historical traditions of these conquests east of the Rhine but the archeological sources suggest expansion as early as the time of the Brå cauldron. This large bronze vessel therefore more probably reached Denmark by peaceful means, or perhaps as the result of a local action. In order to form a judgement on this important problem, of contacts between Denmark and the Celts in the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age, it will be necessary to broaden the basis of the present investigation. An examination of the chronological situation will be of interest at this point.

It is only with the many Roman forts now investigated in West and Central Europe that a finely subdivided scale for dating the non-Roman cultures can be employed; for these cultures have left many traces in the strata of the forts. But important combinations of objects discovered do exist, though more rarely, for the preceding period. Some of the Celtic oppida, for example, including Heuneburg, have stratified deposits.

Similar conditions are found, quite near the Celtic cultural region, in the Roman Ventimiglia, Albintimilium[30]). It goes without saying that a clear stratigraphy provides the soundest basis for a judgement of chronological sequence.

Another method which has been used successfully both in Celtic and in Germanic areas since Vedel laid the foundations of the method with his publication of the cemetery at Store Kannikegård on Bornholm is that of cemetery topography. In prehistoric times, and particularly in restricted areas such as a long hill, a recognisable "direction" of burial was followed. Each section in turn, therefore, of the cemetery reveals a chronological stage, and the chronological sequence can be read off from the topographical sequence. An important confirmation of this method is provided by graves with furniture of various types which can be regarded as contemporaneous in use. These compound discoveries provide a continual check on the evidence of the topography. Among cemeteries illustrating several periods on a topographical basis there is particular reason to name Cerinasca d'Arbedo and Münsingen in Switzerland, Cammer in Central Germany, Hornbek in Lauenburg and, among the Scandinavian examples, Horn in Västergötland[31]).

Still another method of dating is by an evaluation of imported objects, which at the same time reveal contacts between peoples at that time. Foreign objects in daily use can with particular advantage be used for dating, whereas objects of high intrinsic or artistic value may naturally have been in use for a longer period before they reach their new destination in the grave. This is true, as we have seen, of burials in the middle of the Celtic area; even greater possibilities of timelag are, of course, to be reckoned with in North Europe, and here we do find some cases of Early Greek and Etruscan vessels accompanying burials several centuries after the date to which their manufacture belongs.

Among the everyday things found, objects of metal are the most trustworthy for dating, as is seen, for example, in the Roman Period. Objects strongly influenced by fashion, such as fibulae, have therefore long been used as indicators transgressing the frontiers of culture-provinces. Pottery, on the other hand, reflects first and foremost the development of native styles, and therefore characterizes the numerous culture-provinces which can be followed throughout the Iron Age. This does not imply that foreign influences cannot be traced in pottery or that pottery is unable to make important contributions to chronological subdivision. But for the purpose of comparative chronology it would rather be natural to base investigations on objects of metal such as the fibulae. In cases where the material available only consists of pottery it is necessary for this material to be rich and varied, and even so comparisons can only safely be made between closely-related culture-provinces.

The basis of such a chronological investigation must naturally be the Celtic subdivision (cf. p. 72). The most finely subdivided is that of Wiedmer-Stern and Viollier in Switzerland, being based on the classical three-period system. It is true that it is not universally valid, but the system permits of easy simplification. The most important basic types are the fibulae and the rings.

In broad outline Wiedmer-Stern and Viollier's system corresponds to Reinecke's arrangement of the Bavarian material and Déchelette's classification of that from France, the ornaments with moulded decoration of Reinecke B, and the earlier types of Reinecke C being equated with Wiedmer-Stern and Viollier's Ic, and the later types of Reinecke C with II[34]). In the same way Déchelette's II covers broadly Wiedmer-Stern and Viollier's Ic and II.

Attention must, however, be paid to a number of geographical variations and of chronological inconsistencies. In some areas it appears that one of the phases listed has left no discernible trace on cultural development. This is, for example, the case in Northeast Bavaria and the districts east of the Middle and Upper Rhine, where the later portion of Early La Tène and the commencement of Middle La Tène is unknown in any distinctive form[35]).

On the other hand a caution is necessary against drawing too definite conclusions on a basis of an apparent absence of remains. It is possible, for example, that burial customs have, over a period, forbidden the practice of depositing burial gifts; or "absence of remains" may merely mean that the graves of the period in question have not yet been chanced upon. Here the investigations of Hallstatt have given a useful lesson. Originally the only site known here was the famous cemetery from the beginning of the Early Iron Age which has given its name to the whole period. Excavations have, however, been continued in recent years and now not only Early La Tène but Late La Tène have appeared, the former moreover showing the typical nuances[36]). The fact that discoveries dating to Middle La Tène have not yet been made is therefore certainly accidental and there can be no doubt that they will appear. There is, therefore, no evidence for any abandonment of the profitable salt mines during the Early Iron Age.

Remarkably enough, Late La Tène is only sparsely represented in the Celtic area, as opposed to the numerous discoveries in the more northern zones. The conclusion has been drawn that migrations of populations had left the areas uninhabited. Similarly the apparent absence of discoveries in Scandinavia from the middle of the

Pre-Roman Iron Age has been explained by recourse to theories of emigration or of destructive rainfall. But the Brå cauldron now stands centrally athwart the problem, a piece of Celtic workmanship from that very period, a period well-represented in Celtic areas but still only sparsely illustrated by discoveries in Denmark.

Switzerland has been chosen as our point of departure. In addition to its numerous rich graves[37]), it contains the only fully investigated Celtic cemetery, as well as the important discovery from the peat bog at La Tène near the lake of Neuchâtel, which has given the period its name. While the Celts everywhere appear to have been buried fully clothed with fibulae in their clothes, the Swiss Celts were laid to rest with exceptionally rich burial furnishings. We must assume either that they were furnished with more than one suit of clothing, or that all the jewelry belonging to the deceased accompanied the body to the grave. The latter assumption appears, on the basis of recent excavation results[38]), to be the more likely. 5 or 6 fibulae in one grave are not unusual, and cases are known of 21 specimens being found with one body.

The cemetery at Münsingen, Canton Berne, which has been completely investigated, gave Wiedmer-Stern the basis for his classification of the Swiss La Tène culture. The cemetery comprises a large assembly of inhumations, the normal type of burial of the period, and a few cremation patches. It was situated on an elongated hillside running north and south, the same direction as that of the inhumation burials. The earliest graves lie towards the north and were thereafter placed gradually further and further to the south. By dividing the group topographically Wiedmer-Stern has succeeded in distinguishing phases I a – c and II (He also divides II into an earlier and a later phase, but this subdivision would appear difficult to justify, as Viollier shows by means of a comparison with the whole of the Swiss material).

Towards the south the graves become poorer in content and the group in the extreme south is completely bare of relics. This feature is undoubtedly important. Wiedmer-Stern and subsequently Viollier have inclined to the view that La Tène III was completely unrepresented in Switzerland, on the grounds of the extreme rarity of objects from this period; and they see the background and the actual reason for this absence in the emigration described by Caesar. But here the empty graves of Münsingen should be taken into consideration. The scarcity of evidence for La Tène III should rather be seen in connection with a change in burial customs, in accordance with which no burial gifts, or only gifts of a perishable nature, accompanied the bodies in the final phase of La Tène. A typical La Tène III layer was moreover identified in the peat-bog discovery at Port, whereas the objects discovered at the gasworks at Basle undoubtedly represent a later stage of the period[39]).

Period Ia is characterized by the Celtic version of the Certosa fibula, which is given a double-sided spiral. The basic La Tène I fibula has a curved bow and a back-curved foot which does not quite reach up to the highest point of the bow and normally terminates in a knob or is somewhat more massive towards the end (fig. 20b). Both the torques and the armlets, the latter sometimes tubular, are at this period quite undecorated and simple.

In Period I b the fibulae normally possess a flat bow decorated with raised or incised motifs (sometimes in Waldalgesheim Style). There are from two to four spiral turns, the connecting wire normally running outside and behind the bow, more rarely inside and behind. The two parts of the foot are never parallel, as they are in Ia, and the actual foot reaches right up to the top of the bow, frequently terminating in a disc, though more rarely in a knob. The disc is covered with coral or with enamel (fig. 20c).

Among the rings the torques are particularly worthy of attention. They are curved and their ends meet in a cylinder or in thickened bowl-shaped portions. The finger rings are simple, resembling modern wedding rings.

Some simple belt catches consist of a ring with a projection. The one end of the belt was fastened to the projection and the other tied onto the ring.

The third phase of Early La Tène, Ic, is characterized by fibulae with a curved-back foot, most frequently terminating in a knob, more rarely, as in Ib, in a disc (fig. 20e). The foot still extends up as far as the highest point of the bow and is in a few cases attached to this point[40]).

Torques are still common but disappear towards the end of the period. They are now more richly decorated with moulded motifs and with enamel inlay on round expansions. Armlets vary considerably, showing all variations from massive specimens, smooth or with moulded decoration, and heavy rings with hemispherical terminals to slender ornamental rings bent in a meander shape and light tubular bracelets. Finger rings are now commonly met with, some of them bent in a characteristic angle.

Belt catches become more complex, with a knob at one end and a buckle at the other for attaching the belt.

It is in particular the women's graves which provide the opportunity for so fine a subdivision. Men's graves present a much more difficult problem and are moreover few in number. Throughout this period there is no significant change in the quite short two-edged sword with its flat bell-

shaped hilt; it narrows towards the point along the whole of the lower third of the blade and normally possesses a midrib. The scabbard terminal is generally of openwork. Among other weapons broad and slender spearpoints are found. On the other hand the fact that metal reinforcements for the shield boss have not been found is probably to be seen in connection with the comparatively small number of graves containing weapons. As we shall see lenticular and rectangular iron plates for this purpose begin to appear as early as La Tène Ic in other parts of the Celtic area.

With the commencement of La Tène II fibulae become normally considerably longer. This is particularly true of the foot which in the so-called Middle La Tène pattern is connected to the highest point of the bow. A survival from Early La Tène is provided by the knob on the back-bent foot but this disappears in several of the versions (fig. 20 f–g). Fibulae of Early La Tène pattern are still in use, though they are less common than previously[41]).

While armlets of metal are more uncommon – torques have disappeared completely – bracelets of glass now occur commonly and armlets of jet have also in some cases been found. Finger rings still adhere to the angled form, though they may also be spirally shaped.

Another new item in the La Tène II material is provided by metal belt-chains, either quite slender metal links or a combination of rings and grooved connecting links. The belts end in metal pendants.

In addition quite large multicoloured glass beads now occur, as well as bronze pins with spherical or biconical heads. A few graves contain the first Celtic coins, imitations in gold of the Macedonian quarter-staters of Philip II[42]).

The graves containing weapons show that the swords are longer than those typical of the previous period, though the earlier type is still, occasionally met with. The true La Tène II type has almost parallel edges which do not approach each other until just before the tip, when they meet to form an obtuse-angled point. The scabbard conforms to the same outline. The guard is more sharply curved than in La Tène I, and two excisions sometimes can be seen at the top of the blade, fitting the hilt. The scabbards are frequently finely decorated (pl. X).

In this period rectangular iron plates cover the spindle-shaped shield bosses. They are attached by means of two solid rivets in the wings (fig. 26 g).

The discovery at La Tène consists of a large number of objects characteristic of La Tène II, which have been briefly reviewed above. They thus give the impression of having been deposited over a very short space of time, probably on a single occasion. The quite infrequent earlier and later objects may easily have been introduced by chance into the fairly large area of deposition; the neighbourhood is rich in peat-bog hoards and settlement sites from many prehistoric periods. By dint of thorough investigation Vouga has succeeded to a large degree in isolating this particular locality, which unfortunately was not, in all its extent, investigated by trained personnel. This is all the more important as the La Tène discovery includes a number of objects which do not otherwise survive from this period. Cauldrons of bronze sheeting with iron rims have already been described, but in addition objects of importance to the history of arts and crafts have been found, such as a peculiar saddle, harness, parts of carts, blacksmiths' and carpenters' tools, agricultural implements as scythes, sickles and leaf-cutting hooks, in short evidence of a developed material culture.

The actual practice of depositing weapons and similar articles is not a phenomenon peculiar to La Tène, but was practised during all the Celtic La Tène periods. On whether it is connected with the Scandinavian bog deposits (the Hjortspring hoard could, among others, be cited as a parallel) it is still too early to express an opinion. From the Scandinavian Bronze Age remarkable bog deposits such as the Trundholm cart are known, as well as frequent examples from the Late Bronze Age.

South of the Alps, in South Switzerland and North Italy, there are particularly good possibilities for an absolute dating of the early cultural phases. Here the Celts came into contact with the Etruscans and the peoples of North Italy, and here they acquired bronzes, pottery and many other objects which they took with them to the grave. As no significant limelag intervened in the transit of trade goods within Italy itself the discoveries are of considerable importance.

Best known are the rich cemeteries of Bellinzona, published by Ulrich[43]). The investigations are unfortunately of older date and the reports of the graves far from trustworthy. Some cemeteries, such as the early Cerinasca d'Arbedo, are better described, at least to the degree that the locations of discovery of the objects within the cemetery are known. With this as a basis E. Vogt has worked out a cemetery topography and achieved important results[44]). Unfortunately Giubiasco, which belongs to the period of La Tène which is of particular interest for our purposes, does not appear to be capable of being dealt with in the same way.

Another well-known locality is Ornavasso in Val d'Ossola, one of the deep southward-facing valleys on the southern slopes of the Alps, close by the area of the North Italian lakes. Bianchetti carried out a thorough investigation here at the end of the last century, and the important objects

discovered are still in his family's possession. The soprintendenza in Turin has recently carried out excavations in untouched portions of the cemetery which supplement Bianchetti's work[45]).

The cemetery at Ornavasso forms a single whole. It was found in the course of laying the railway from Simplon and was divided by the railway into two arbitrary portions, an earlier, San Bernardo, and a later, Persona.

Considerable weight has in the past been laid on the coins discovered in the graves. The coins of the republic are undoubtedly of some importance, when, as at San Bernardo, they are not found together with coins of the imperial period. This is, however, the case at Persona and in the nearby cemeteries, where the coins found in a single grave often span a considerable period. The republican coins were in circulation for a long time; coins, therefore, of, for example, the 2nd Century B. C. do no more than date the grave in which they occur to the 2nd Century or later. If there are no imperial coins in addition there is a probability that the coins were deposited between the 2nd Century B. C. and the Imperial Period. The possibilities of dating are, however, far from satisfactory, and even though more certain references and identifications of the coins are used the dating of the graves is not thereby rendered more trustworthy[46]).

Another dating possibility does, however, exist. By means of his stratigraphical excavations at Albintimilium Lamboglia has been able to divide the »Campanian« pottery into groups A, B and C[47]). While the clay of the A pottery is a bright red and the glaze black with a metallic sheen the B pottery possesses a lighter colour and a more matt glaze. The C pottery, which does not concern us in the present investigation, is greyish with a glaze which varies from black to olive green.

Vessels of type A are dated by their occurrence in the deepest layers, VIII and VII, in Albintimilium, and they still predominate in layer VI B. Here, at the time of Sulla, the B pottery appears. It become more common in layer VI A, the time of Caesar and the Triumvirate, and in layer V, the Augustan period. It is furthermore worthy of note that the Campanian B pottery is absent at Entremont (where A is represented in very large quantities) as well as in the earlier layers of Ensérune. At the latter site it occurs only in the later context, in the settlement level from the First Century B. C. Finally it appears in the Roman sites in Provence, at Valentia and Pollentia among others, weighty evidence that Campanian B pottery first occurs in the First Century B. C. and in the main belongs to that century.

As the graves at San Bernardo, as well as at a series of other North Italian cemeteries, contain many specimens of a local imitation of Campanian B pottery, an imitation which moreover also has been found in the same level as the original ware at Albintimilium, this pottery provides a more trustworthy basis for dating than the coinage alone. It now appears that the greater part of the San Bernardo burials clearly belong to the First Century B. C. Only a few, which contain massive fibulae of Early La Tène pattern with a deep groove in the bow for coral inlay, may be earlier. This type of fibula is known from Switzerland in La Tène II and is particularly common in the Tessin cemeteries[48]). The graves at Persona must be even later, as is shown, among other factors, by the later coins.

Graves from La Tène I and II have been found dispersed over all North Italy. A number of local groups developed here at an early date and are particularly distinct in La Tène III[49]). Even the district of Este, which is usually considered to have been inhabited by a non-Celtic people, shows an intimate connection with Celtic culture; native traditions are mixed with Celtic types, but the main impression is of a Celtic culture. Typical weapon-burials, for example, are found here containing Celtic La Tène II furnishings such as the band-shaped shield boss[50]).

At Castiglione delle Stiviere, near Lake Garda, an extremely rich grave was found containing the distinctive bird-flasks of undoubted Celtic workmanship. They have been discussed by Jacobsthal and on a basis of the other burial furnishings cannot be earlier than the 4th Century B. C.[51]). It is, however, impossible to establish an absolutely reliable dating for these vessels, whose tendril decorations recall that of the Brå cauldron.

The area of Bologna and the district extending down towards Ancona is unusually rich in Celtic graves. Among them the well-known cemeteries at Montefortino and Filottrano are well dated by means of Italian bronzes of the later part of the 4th Century B. C. (cf. p. 73). There are together with these a number of typical La Tène I swords and fibulae as well as unusually finely shaped torques, the characteristic neck adornment of the Celt.

The somewhat later graves from the Bologna area are of particular interest for our purpose. This applies especially to the Ceretolo grave, which dates the transition from La Tène I to La Tène II. We have already had occasion to view the two finest objects from the grave, the bronze jug with the clover-leaf-shaped lip and the artistically shaped handle, and the fibula with Celtic spiral decoration (pl. X). The jug is ornamented with a handle shaped like a violently gesticulating man, a downbent rim bearing ovular patterns and, lower down, interlaced work. Its Hellenistic representation of the human figure dates it to about 200 B. C. By the side of the body in the Ceretolo grave lay a two-edged iron

sword, narrowing gradually to a point, with a fragmentary scabbard (fig. 21a). The scabbard had at the top a single loop for suspension, while at the bottom it expanded slightly to form a sort of foot. In addition, an iron chain for suspension of the sword was found (fig. 21 b), as well as a double ring used for the same purpose (fig. 21f). These objects are characteristic of La Tène graves in Central and Western Europe. The remaining furniture consisted of two identical iron knives with handles terminating in rings (fig. 21 e), two large iron fibulae of Middle La Tène pattern (fig. 21 c–d), a spear point (fig. 21 g), a single pair of scissors of sheep-shears type, and an undecorated bronze bracelet which was found on the left arm of the body. The iron fibulae are of the earliest Middle La Tène type, a type which is found, though very rarely, in La Tène Ic. The sharply reverse-curved foot is attached to the highest point of the bow. The bronze fibula, with its grooved spiral decoration on the bow, is a beautiful example of the Plastic Style as it appears in its later, moderately restrained, form. Its disc-shaped foot was originally covered with coral or enamel. The spring is fairly wide, with a total of eight twists.

The occurrence of brooches of Early and Middle La Tène pattern in the same grave can be seen at other sites in the Bologna district, for example in Grave XV at Caprara; and at Arnoaldi two fibulae with massive bows and loose foot-knobs were found together with objects including a massive armlet with S-shaped ornamentation and a fine little cup of bronze with interlacing decoration and a high curved handle[52]).

In addition to North Italy, Provence gives us important datum points for the chronology of the central part of the La Tène period. We have already seen how the remarkable art of Entremont can be dated to about the 2. cent. B. C. This fortress town is surrounded by a wall of solid stone, not, as further to the north, of stone and timber. Inside the wall the houses were solidly built and lie in a regular plan. In addition to the exceedingly interesting sculpture numerous discoveries have been made of objects, many of which illustrate the close connection of the town with Massilia and with North Italy. Many coins have been found in the excavations, among them first and foremost Massilian, the latest from the years immediately previous to the Roman conquest of Provence. In addition to the armlet with spiral ornamentation already discussed (p. 71) there are reproductions in relief of the La Tène II sword[53]) and of a spindle-shaped shield boss, unfortunately very fragmentary. This latter had presumably borne a reinforcing plate, but so little of the shield is preserved that it is impossible to form an impression of its type.

Another important site is Ensérune. It comprises a fortification wall and a settlement level, beneath which lie a number of graves whose imported pottery and numerous grave furnishings, many with Early Celtic features, enable definite dates to be established for the cemetery[54]).

Finally an oppidum near Marseilles, St. Blaise, is worthy of mention. It was destroyed and abandoned in the years just previous to 100 B.C.[55]).

Northern France has been thoroughly treated by Déchelette in his excellent *Manuel d'archéologie* II, volume 3. The best known sites are undoubtedly the Marne cemeteries, several of which comprise more than 100 graves including some belonging to prosperous warriors, presumably chieftains, who were buried together with two-wheeled battle chariots. The richest graves, Somme Bionne and La Gorge Meillet, which are from Early La Tène, contained a number of imported objects such as spouted bronze jugs. Scarcely so many rich graves are known from Middle La Tène, though here too a chariot grave is known (Nanterre, Seine), with fine openwork bronze fittings[56]). The area of the Marne is also characterized by a distinctive pottery which, as we shall see, is imported and imitated on the lower Rhine.

The graves along the upper Rhine conform to the Swiss types[57]); the middle reaches of the Rhine show a rich and varied cultural development, but east of the Rhine, and particularly in northeast Bavaria, the picture is different[58]). Here the distinctive types from the later phases of Early La Tène and from the commencement of Middle La Tène are absent. Hence if it is possible to produce proof of particular contacts between Denmark and northeast Bavaria it will be necessary to employ caution in dealing with the question of chronology. As we shall see, however, the connecting links run by way of the Elbe and it is therefore unnecessary to pay particular regard to the special cultural development of this eastern area.

South Germany once more gives a fully detailed picture, as Reinecke has shown in a series of basic treatises[59]). The classification corresponds on the whole to those of Wiedmer-Stern and Viollier in Switzerland, and the objects covered are approximately the same, even though certain types, such as the angled ring, do not appear. Moreover in Bavaria in La Tène A (Ia) a characteristic wheel-turned pottery is found, with straight parallel lines as in the characteristic lenticular flasks. Here too are found the distinctive animal and humanheaded fibulae, a widely distributed type (though not found in Switzerland) (fig. 20 a). Reinecke C is subdivided by Krämer into an earlier and a later phase corresponding to Ic and II in Switzerland, the Early La Tène sword with the broad openwork scabbard foot, together with the massive armlets consisting of

hemispheres and the Early La Tène fibulae, being mainly ascribed to the earlier phase, while the swords of Middle La Tène type and the corresponding scabbards, the rectangular shield bosses, metal belts, glass armlets and the typical Middle La Tène fibulae[61]) are attributed to the later stage. An important foundation for this classification is provided by the rich cemetery at Manching. Near it lies the large oppidum, the earliest period of occupation of which is Middle La Tène[62]). A recently published discovery from this period includes objects of Germanic origin, which are, of course, of the highest chronological importance[63]).

Towards the east the area shades into the cultural province of Bohemia and Moravia, a very rich and important field[64]). After the earliest phase (Ia) an aristocratic culture showing Hallstatt tradition and rich imports from the south, come large cemeteries with inhumation graves from the latter part of La Tène I and from La Tène II. The people here have been prosperous, and, as it seems, warlike – every fourth grave contains sets of weapons. The objects found also provide evidence of a highly developed agriculture, while an excellent tradition of craftsmanship can be followed, expressing itself in work in metal, lignite, glass, coral and enamel.

Contemporary with these bearers of a typical Celtic culture remains of the earlier inhabitants appear, remarkably enough, to have survived adopting certain characteristic types of ornaments but carrying further the development of their own original pottery forms and retaining the burial customs of their forefathers[65]). It is only towards the end of La Tène that the two distinct populations appear to meet. But by then the graves, which previously gave the fullest material, have become rare, though this is compensated for by the appearance of rich oppida.

Among the cemeteries which are of particular importance for the present investigation are those of Langugest in Bohemia and Malomeřice and Holubice in Moravia. Malomeřice in particular provides evidence of widespread connections; here may be seen pottery showing unmistakable Marne influence and other vessels with remarkable southeastern traits. Celtic culture maintained its contacts over huge distances.

In Austria Carinthia provides a distinctive area in contact with northeastern Italy, especially with the Este area, across the Alps[66]). Clear evidence of this contact is provided by the graves, and also by the oppida such as Gurina, with its productions in bronze sheeting. The influence of Celtic culture first shows itself here in Middle La Tène.

Further to the north and west two important cemeteries in particular show a connection with the focal point of Celtic culture: Mannersdorf from Early and Middle La Tène, and Hallstatt, which also shows settlements from Late La Tène[67]).

Further east, in Yugoslavia, Slovakia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria and the Ukraine, numerous Celtic discoveries have been made, particularly from the later phase of La Tène I and from La Tène II[68]). From Slovakia influences penetrate to the extreme south of Poland, where two typical graves from Middle La Tène have been found at Iwanowice[69]).

Best known are the cemeteries in Hungary, where, towards the end of Early La Tène, a distinctive style in sword scabbards developed, a refined evolution of the Waldalgesheim Style. The Celts wandered far towards the east, clearly in the later part of Early La Tène, and formed local groups, the boundaries of which may be determined in particular by the varying forms of pottery.

The southern part of Silesia has preserved quite a large amount of material from the later years of Early La Tène and from Middle La Tène[70]). In the subsequent period immigration from the north appears to intervene, the graves in Late La Tène times conforming precisely to the other Germanic graves of Northern Silesia, although a noticable Celtic influence is traceable. Here, and in the south as well, typical La Tène Ic grave furnishings are found, with late fibulae of La Tène I type, a few metal plates for shield bosses (almost as in fig. 26e), rings with moulded ornamentation, and the like.

Further to the west Celts lived in the southern part of Central Germany, particularly in Thuringia[71]), whither they had penetrated during La Tène I. A number of graves are known containing distinctive wheel-turned pottery. This pottery persists even after the Germani had become dominant here too; Celtic craftsmen have clearly still been employed.

It is in general a typical feature of La Tène II that tribal movements of significance take place from the north towards the south, west and east, the repercussions of which are recorded by Roman writers. A mixed culture thereby arises over a broad zone from Southern Poland to Western Germany which has an important influence on the tribes in the north. This Celto-Germanic culture can best be surveyed along the middle reaches of the Elbe from the break through the border mountains of Bohemia as far as Saxony and Thuringia. But there are also related phenomena towards the west, where the Hunsrück – Eiffel group shows signs of intrusion from the Marne culture and represents the western frontier zone[72]).

The Elbe area is no less important because cultural elements from the south moved northward mainly by way of this important river,

from Bohemia to the mouth of the Elbe. North of the Celtic area of Bohemia, particularly in the area of the break-through of the Elbe and to the northwest, a remarkable cultural province is met with, called the Bodenbach-Podmokly Group (after the German and the Czech forms of the name of the important cemetery[73]). It is quite complex in its origins and, though clearly in the first instance a mixture of Celtic and more northern cultural elements, may well contain older components as well. The grave type, urn burial, does not supply any evidence of racial origins and may be a tradition from the beginnings of the Iron Age. A characteristic of the culture as a whole is the massive bronze pin with a grooved head.

One thing is certain, that the objects found are evidence of a high degree of Celtic cultural influence, an influence so dominant that it must be assumed that the Celts were themselves active in the area. This is true particularly of the pottery, of which a considerable amount is wheel-turned, of the fibulae and of the rings. The handmade pottery shows a relationship with culture groups to the north but it would undoubtedly be dangerous to draw unduly far-reaching parallels here[74]).

The Celtic influence is of importance not least from its chronological aspect, as there was lively intercourse with the Celtic area proper. Pure Celtic imported objects moreover occur, both pottery vessels and fibulae[75]). The earliest fibula types are late developments of the La Tène I pattern bearing a knob or a disc on the back-curved foot. It is not necessary, however, that all fibulae of this construction should be so early in date. The bronze fibulae of Early La Tène type which are cast in one piece are, for example, undoubtedly from La Tène II[76]), while to the same period, Middle La Tène, belong the earlier versions of Middle La Tène pattern[77]). These are long iron fibulae, normally with a knob on the bow or on the foot. The possibility exists, however, that some specimens of this type may have remained in use until Late La Tène times.

The wheel-turned vessels are closely related to the pottery of Bohemia, Bavaria and Moravia, though a number of local types are met with, confirming the impression that the majority of the vessels are of native origin. In particular the vessels with a foot are distinguished by their slender elegant lines. The covering bowls possess a curved profile, sometimes with an S bend and with a swelling like that of the other wheel-turned vessels (fig. 24 a).

In addition to the imported Celtic rings with signet terminals or consisting of hollow hemispheres a remarkable type is met with, a type with which we shall also make acquaintance further to the north. It is undecorated apart from swellings on the ends. The belt fitments too show considerable variation; among them there is reason to direct attention to certain types with ornamented bronze knobs (fig. 22)[78]), which bear imitations of the Celtic Plastic ornamentation of Early La Tène (pl. IX top), though they belong, to judge by the context, to La Tène II.

In the area along the middle reaches of the Elbe many of these features can be followed but they become gradually rarer. This is, naturally, particularly true of the wheel-turned vessels, which appear to presuppose Celtic craftsmen, or at least an intimate intercourse with Celtic culture. It is therefore tempting to interpret the wheel-turned vessels of Thuringia, as the well-known specimens from Klein Cobertha, as evidence of Celtic traditions[79]). They are moreover found further north, dispersed in very small numbers, while handmade imitations of the wheel-turned pottery are also found, being recognisable by features such as the horizontal swellings[80]). The distinctive outlandish profiles have clearly made an impression on the potters. In the same way the fibulae, both of Early and of Middle La Tène type, are also imitated. It is therefore these items in particular which are adduced as a basis for assessing the Celtic influence. The fact that the material available is so uniform is connected with the burial customs, the use of urns with furnishings showing only slight variation, consisting chiefly of fibulae, pins, etc.

The following phases have been identified with some certainty: the earliest, with knotted armlets and birds' head fibulae, influenced by the earliest phases of La Tène; then a phase with material including bracelets with signet terminals and Early La Tène fibulae, corresponding, in the Celtic area, to the later part of Early La Tène and to La Tène II. In the end of this phase the equipment includes belt-clasps and belt-chains of the types found in the Bodenbach-Podmokly Group[81]). Fibulae of Early and Middle La Tène pattern are difficult to date accurately on account of the scarcity of chronologically associated discoveries; they do, however, connect up with those of the Bodenbach-Podmokly Group. Furthermore the topographical grouping of the Cammer cemetery shows that we have here an earlier phase (found in the northwestern part of the cemetery) with Early La Tène and earlier Middle La Tène fibulae (the last-named closest to Kostrzewski A), and a later phase (in the southeast part of the cemetery) with Late Middle La Tène and regular Late La Tène fibulae[82]).

In the area of the middle Elbe, too, we find bronze fibulae cast in one piece. Though they belong most probably to Early La Tène pattern there appears to be reason for placing them somewhat later chronologically, in Middle La Tène.

An important type of ornament, which shows the dependence of this area on Celtic culture, is the torque with signet-shaped terminals. It is

ornamented with swellings alternating with grooves, and is often flat on the inner side[83]). The prototype of this type of torque, occuring among the Bodenbach-Podmokly Group (cf. above) is the Thuringian Early La Tène torque[84]). Judging by the discoveries of associated objects in Central Germany the date of production here is somewhat later than further to the south, in La Tène II[85]).

Further to the east, in the area of the Oder and the Vistula, the material illustrating Celtic influence in the earliest Iron Age is more sporadic, but even so some quantity does exist, including fibulae of early types[86]). As the lines of communication northwards to Denmark start in a marked degree from the Elbe it will be most profitable to follow the hinterland of this river northwards. Moreover it is in this area that a number of finely investigated cemeteries are to be found, in which Celtic influence can be identified with certainty.

The cultural area around the Lower Elbe has been penetratingly studied by Schwantes, who bases his work on a series of cemeteries from the earliest Iron Age, previous to Late La Tène (called Seedorf after an important site)[87]). The classification put forward by Schwantes has since been extended outside the limited area with which he deals, Ülzen and Lüneburg in Hannover, to the neighbouring districts, and it has undoubtedly in its main outlines validity over the related culture groups.

The earliest Iron Age comprises according to Schwantes the following stages: Jastorf, with phases a, b and c, and Ripdorf. The names refer to well-known sites. The types distinctive of Jastorf a and b are smooth pins of iron or bronze with a bend below the head, "bomb"-pins (characterized by a head formed of a hollow bronze ball), simple tongue-shaped belt clasps, lugged rings, shield-shaped earrings, etc. By Jastorf c the pins are normally of bronze, or of iron with bronze terminals, and have a broader head, while the bend below the head may be somewhat more sharply angled. The pottery in its earliest forms agrees closely with that of the Bronze Age but also has features which distinguish the various periods. The Jastorf a urn possesses a thin incurving upper part, whereas the Jastorf b type has a clearly distinguishable neck and a sharply outcurved rim, quite thin as in the a type. The neck is normally vertical and particularly dominating in the so-called Todendorf type. The Jastorf c urn is frequently more curved (fig. 23 a). The neck is slanting and runs more smoothly, sometimes even without transition, into the body. The rim still bends sharply outwards. It is either quite thin or else thickened and fluted[88]).

Jastorf c is the transitional stage to Ripdorf, where the pins are normally manufactured in massive cast bronze with conical heads. The transition to the bend under the head is either smooth or sharply angled. In addition winged pins are met with, and belt clasps with projecting crosspieces which already appear in Jastorf c. The urn is broad in the body with a sharply outcurved rim (fig. 23 b) and with wide bands of fluting (fig. 25 c–e).

In Seedorf the bronze pins are still made in solid metal; the bend is angled, normally ornamented and fluted[89]). The rim of the pottery vessels is thickened and pronouncedly fluted.

The fibulae and other objects reveal Celtic influence, particularly at Ripdorf but apparently also earlier, in Jastorf c. In this connection the cemeteries at Oitzmühle and Klein Hesebeck are illustrative. Here fibulae are found, some of which are of Early La Tène and others of Middle La Tène pattern (fig 20 h–i). The latter, however, are normally of extended shape, the bow running in a gentle curve from the spring to the foot, though specimens are also found with a somewhat more pronounced curvature. Grooved torques of the type from the middle Elbe are very occasionally met with, being presumably imports from that area[90]). Whether Early La Tène pattern of brooches actually represents Early or Middle La Tène date cannot be decided here as in the Celtic and the Celto-Germanic regions. This will only be determined by the discovery of a larger body of objects in association.

Sprockhoff, in a recent work dealing with the resemblance between the vessels of the earliest Jastorf phases, particularly the Todendorf urns, and the distinctive Celtic lenticular flasks from Early La Tène[91]), sets himself against Schwantes' view that these early phases were isolated from Celtic culture. This resemblance was admittedly also obvious to Schwantes, but he saw a regular succession of development from the pottery of the Bronze Age. As no Celtic imports were found in the early Jastorf phases he therefore preferred to interpret types such as the Todendorf urns as the product of local tradition with only a chance affinity to the lenticular flasks[92]).

The area of the northern Elbe forms the link between the continent and Jutland, and between these there are two important transition areas, Holstein and the western side of the mouth of the Elbe. The latter area was intimately connected with Jutland, as in Neolithic and Bronze Age times.

In Schleswig-Holstein objects of Pre-Roman Iron Age were accumulated up to the end of the nineteenth century through the agency of collectors and private donors, and only exceptionally by means of regular investigations. Now, in recent years has this state of affairs been altered, through a series of excavations which – as if to compensate – are of very great importance for classification of the Danish material. At about the same

time as Schwantes for the area further south, Knorr classified the objects found in this area into three periods, I, II and III, which run parallel respectively with Jastorf, Ripdorf and Seedorf[83]). He was not able to identify a Jastorf c phase, but this is hardly remarkable, as the grouping is based, as we have pointed out, on scattered chance finds, in contrast to the limited number of definite cemeteries studied by Schwantes. Period II is characterized, according to Knorr, by the incursion of Celtic influences corresponding to Ripdorf, though with the difference that fibulae of Early La Tène pattern are not reported from the extreme north. Two important but unfortunately unpublished investigations have recently been made, Hingst's investigation of the material in East Holstein and West Mecklenburg, and Miss Borchling's of the extremely large cemetery of Hornbek in Lauenburg[84]). The cemetery at Lanze, too, is of chronological significance. While it begins in Early Jastorf, Hornbek illustrates the course of development from Ripdorf to the beginning of imperial times, in other words just the period which is of special interest to us in the present investigation. The Hornbek cemetery, like so many others, reveals a topographical distribution of the graves according to date. The earliest, called Group 1a by Miss Borchling and by her equated with Ripdorf contain typical objects demonstrating early Celtic influence, such as a bronze fibula of Early La Tène type with a long spring (somewhat like the specimen from Oitzmühle shown in fig. 20h, but even more distinctive perhaps showing Hallstatt tradition), a fibula of the extended Middle La Tène type with a gently curved bow (resembling fig. 20 i–k) and a few ball-fibulae of the same pattern[85]).

Of particular importance is the cultural province comprising the peninsula west of the mouth of the Elbe; between this area and Jutland intimate intercourse by sea has evidently existed. Dating of the phases at the mouth of the Elbe is therefore of especial relevence to Danish chronology.

The earlier phases of the Iron Age run parallel with Jastorf, but in the course of Ripdorf the culture acquires a character of its own. Three cemeteries in particular throw light on this development, those at Berensch and at Waterpohl, and the newly investigated one in Holssel. The graves lie characteristically in sand and gravel banks, the "geest", at some distance from the marshland. At Berensch the graves consist of quite low mounds, in the centre of each of which an imposing pottery vessel has been placed, with the cremated bones and burial furnishings such as pins, belt clasps and fibulae[86]). At the two other localities the burial urns had no mounds[87]). At all three sites vessels as early as Jastorf c occur, one of these, from Holssel, (fig. 23 a, 25 a) containing a remarkable pin of early Holstein type, an iron pin with a bronze head[88]). A portion of the pin is surrounded by a row of small bronze rings. This grave contained in addition a little strap connection (an iron connecting-piece with a ring) and – particularly interesting in this context – a black bowl-lid with finely S-curved sides and with a swelling under the outcurved rim (fig. 24 b). There can hardly be any doubt that the bowl shows the influence of wheel-turned Celtic ware, which occurs in identical form in Early and Middle La Tène on the upper reaches of the Elbe, in the Bodenbach-Podmokly Group and elsewhere (fig. 24 a)[89]). The other bowl-lids in the north have an evenly curved section (fig. 23 b).

Besides the typical Ripdorf vessels, with high, sharply defined rim and with curved sides (such as fig. 23 b), other vessels with distinctly curved sides (fig. 23 c) are met with at the cemeteries of Holssel and Waterpohl. A number of these urns even have a constricted lower portion as in fig. 23 e, which results in characteristic sections, typical of the period and easy to recognise. The objects found in these vessels, of which the most exaggerated types are, as far as can be seen, the latest, are typical of Ripdorf, long Middle La Tène fibulae with evenly curved bows (fig. 20k), long belt claps with outcurved crosspieces, etc.

A characteristic feature of this Ripdorf group of vessels is the high, fairly thin and sometimes curved rim. These rims bear broad inner flutings, normally parallel with the outline (fig. 25 e). The vessels are seldom ornamented and even in the rare cases only with a simple pattern, two horizontal lines with a zigzag between (fig. 23 e).

The apparent differences between the very large urns from Berensch and the smaller ones in Waterpohl and Holssel are doubtless only fortuitous, one particular type of vessel having been chosen for each of the different types of burial. It is natural to suppose that various types of household vessels were available, each designed for its particular purpose. The objects of metal associated with the two types of grave are completely identical, so that no chronological distinction can be drawn.

The pottery changes character to some degree in the Seedorf period. The rim becomes narrower and more massive, and the flutings cease to be parallel with the outline (fig. 25 i). Fibulae of the late La Tène and the later Middle La Tène pattern replace the earlier types, while other objects characteristic of the latest phase of La Tène appear.

The Ripdorf ware from Waterpohl and Holssel possesses close parallels in Jutland, where far more types from that period are known, a result of the pottery coming largely from settlement sites. On the other hand no objects of metal date

the pottery, while known burials are few. The consequence of this is that we are forced to classify objects discovered almost exclusively on a basis of pottery types, and as these, as we have seen, are subject to local influences and sometimes to strong traditions to a much greater degree than objects of metal it will be necessary to employ great caution. In this case, however, there is a very considerable quantity of material available, in particular from the lower ditch level at the Borremose fortification and from the two houses at Kraghede[100]). These can be supplemented by a series of stray finds covering the whole peninsula down towards the mouth of the Elbe (fig. 23 f and 25 f), while a number of rich parallel discoveries have also been made towards the south of the peninsula. There is particular reason to mention in this connection the settlement site of Brandsbøl, in Hagenbjerg parish on the peninsula of Als, which was dated by Sophus Müller to a period previous to Late La Tène[101]). The Brandsbøl discovery must be placed side by side with the material from the Kraghede houses; several of the types are identical, and features such as broad outcurved rims (generally with fluting which then is parallel to the outline, fig. 25 g) and ribbon-shaped handles belong definitely to the characteristics of the Jutland Ripdorf ware.

Even though this pottery, known from the Kraghede houses, the lower ditch level at Borremose, Brandsbøl and various stray finds, does not reveal Celtic contact evidence of early Celtic influence is by no means lacking in Danish discoveries, and a survey will show that there has been surprisingly close connection between the Celts and the inhabitants of Denmark.

The material from the earliest Iron Age found in Jutland shows a high degree of relationship with that from Holstein and Hannover. In broad outline we can use Schwantes' classification here too. As we have seen this concerns itself primarily with objects of metal, but it is also based on the forms of the pottery. To use this latter material alone, as C. J. Becker has suggested in a number of publications on this period, could easily be one-sided[102]). But the earliest urn burials in Jutland – and in Funen – already contain the characteristically shaped pins (including the "bomb"-pin), rings, belt fitments and the like which are well-known in Early Jastorf (a and b)[103]). The pottery too has features some of which show relationship to the southern types and others to those of the Bronze Age. Certainly from this period are two simple imitations of Certosa fibulae without elasticity in the bow[104]). But this influence may more likely have come from a la Tène culture than from a Hallstatt one.

It has been usual in the past to attribute the large hoard from the peat bog at Hjortspring on Als to this early phase of the Pre-Roman Iron Age. C. J. Becker, however, attributes it to a considerably later period, probably the 2nd Century B. C., basing his arguments primarily on a pottery vessel with a sharply outcurved rim without fluting[105]). The argument is interesting, but single pottery vessels should not be decisive. Sharply outcurved rims are met with as early as Early Jastorf (b), and shapes such as that of the Hjortspring vessel are well-known in Jastorf c as well as in Ripdorf[106]). The bronze pin in the Hjortspring hoard can, as Becker points out, hardly be from the earliest Jastorf period, but on the other hand it does not need to be so late as Ripdorf. The pin possesses a sharp angle on the upper part of the bend below the head (which unfortunately was broken off)[107]). The closest parallel comes from Grave 31 in Uldal[108]). This pin is even more distinctly angled, both corners of the bend being sharply defined, while the head similarly has two distinct swellings. The urn in the grave has a gentle curvature and a thin rim like the Jastorf urns, but it cannot provide any definite dating. A little triangular belt clasp of iron was also found. The bronze pin from Hjortspring could easily be as early as Jastorf c, and such a dating would not be contradicted by the remainder of the hoard. A number of objects, including belt pendants, occur in Holstein at late levels, but the possibility of their being earlier is not thereby excluded[109]).

Rosenberg was the first to call attention to the fact that the shield bosses in the Hjortspring hoard show Celtic influence[110]), and this view has also been emphatically expressed by Krämer. It is therefore important to determine when this influence first made itself felt. Rectangular shields with rounded corners and lenticular bosses are already known in the Early Iron Age, both in Central Europe in the Hallstatt Period and in Italy. A Bohemian miniature shield, for example, is of this type, as well as numerous representations on Italian situlae[111]). On the other hand it is presumably Celtic warriors who are pictured on two stelae at Bologna[112]), less because of their shields, which have pointed oval bosses, than on account of their appearance; they are naked and have long hair.

Not even the metal plate to fit the central portion of the spindle-shaped bosses need primarily be attributed to the Celts. We find a typical specimen of bronze, in the rich Grave XII at Gualdo Tadino, in the province of Perugia (fig. 26 a). This chamber tomb can be dated by its contents, consisting of metal belt, numerous pottery vessels, bronzes, etc., to the 4th – 3rd Century B. C.[113]).

Particular shapes of the metal plate on the centre of the boss, however, present a different picture. These are always manufactured of iron by the Celts and are met with as early as La Tène

I c graves. In contrast to the Italian form, fig. 26 a, which is riveted to the shield, the earliest Celtic type is attached to the boss by means of rivets with massive heads, and the plate does not extend beyond the boss. The Celtic plates are made in one or three pieces, the vertical wooden rod which is morticed into the boss and the shield at the top and bottom often having its own plate[114]). The plates are always fitted to this vertical portion; if there are three, one will cover this central ridge and the two others the side-pieces, while the single plates are curved outwards in the centre just over the ridge. The East Celtic plates of this form are attached by means of four rivets, placed in the points of the plate (cf. fig. 26 b from Holubice)[115]), whereas a western type, known from the Marne, is fastened by means of two massive rivets, one in the centre of each side (fig. 26 c)[116]). The rectangular plates, fig. 26 e, are held in the East Celtic region by two pairs of rivets, in the corners or across the centre; in the west, as seen in examples from the Marne area, attachment is once again by means of a single rivet in the centre of each half (fig. 26 d)[117]). A series of graves containing late La Tène I fibulae, Early La Tène swords, etc., gives the date of these plates as La Tène I c[118]).

In La Tène II the shield-boss plates are rectangular, curved in the centre over the boss and fastened to the shield with rivets, normally one in the centre of each half (fig. 26 g)[119]). It is rare to see the raised central ridge running vertically over the iron plate (fig. 26 f). It has no longer any function, as the attachment of the boss is ensured by the plate itself.

This latter form for the shield is represented time and again in Classical art, first and foremost in the terracotta frieze at Civitá Alba showing the sack of Delphi by the Gauls and their flight from the gods (fig. 26 h–i). This frieze dates from about 200 B. C. and gives therefore an important pointer towards the date of occurrence of this shield boss[120]). It is more difficult to judge shield-boss representations such as those on the two famous statues from Pergamon (the "Dying Gaul" and the "Gaul killing his wife and himself"). Although these representations are well dated and show shields with spindle-shaped bosses it is not quite certain whether the statues represent bosses without plates or with iron plates such as fig. 26 a–e[121]). Even though no rivet heads are shown it is best to leave these representations out of consideration. On the other hand the dating of rectangular iron plates such as that shown in fig. 26 f is decisively supported by numerous burials in which the type occurs. The associated context is always Le Tène II, except for rare examples even later.

A comparison of these early shield bosses with those of the Hjortspring shields draws attention immediately to the fact that at the centre of each side of the wooden bosses of the Hjortspring hoard there is a definite raised portion cut out, clearly imitating a rivet head (fig. 27). Such an interpretation is confirmed by one of the specimens, fig. 28, where two metal rivets with wide heads are inserted in each of the raised portions. The idea can only have been to imitate the Celtic type of boss, such as that from the Marne, fig. 26 e. The type from Bohemia, Silesia, etc., possesses, as we have seen, four rivet holes, distributed either in the corners or across the centre.

There exists therefore a basis for drawing a parallel between the Hjortspring hoard and Celtic Early La Tène (Ic), a dating which is not contradicted by the remaining objects in the hoard. Moreover, some of the weapons, such as the short single-edged swords and the slender spearheads, show distinctive forms, partly based on Bronze Age traditions. Other spearheads recall the Celtic types, while a further argument lies in the fact that an analysis of the iron which was employed for the weapons shows that it is only partly of native origin[122]). Apparently purer ores were imported for forging. Therefore though the Hjortspring hoard makes a definite impression of having been influenced by local tradition a number of details do nevertheless show clearly that there had been contacts as far south as the Celts.

The Krogsbølle deposit seems to be later than the Hjortspring hoard[123]). This discovery too, from a peat bog in Funen, gives an impression of unity. Among the single-edged cutting swords a fragment of a two-edged La Tène sword was found. The point had unfortunately disappeared but there were indications that the sword belonged to the Middle La Tène type. There is, for example, a grooved terminal on the hilt[124]).

While the Krogsbølle hoard may be described as parallel to La Tène II the Hjortspring hoard is apparently earlier. But in order to substantiate a theory of Celtic influence in Denmark so early it will be necessary to adduce further evidence, preferably both of the influence on native products and of actual imports.

Sophus Müller was the first to show, in his acute discussion of the art of the Early Iron Age, that we possess two imported Celtic torques (fig. 29 a–b)[125]). The one is fashioned of a quite slender and smooth bronze rod, the ends of which terminate in signet-like expansions of bronze sheeting. It was found in North Jutland in a peat bog near Voldbro, in Voer parish in Vendsyssel (NMK C 13493) and has exact parallels in the Celtic area during the latter part of La Tène I[126]).

The other torque, from Bredkær peat bog, in Tingsted parish on Falster, is more robust, with a removable section 9 cms. long and a tripart knob covering one end of this section. The ring is decorated at short intervals with double cross-

grooves; along some stretches, however, it is completely smooth whereas it is closely grooved to one side of the knob. Similar torques are known from the latter part of Early La Tène, and perhaps also from Middle La Tène in the northern part of the Celtic area[127]).

Still another imported torque is known, a fragment of a solid cast ornament, the broad end of which is decorated on the outside with regular swellings interspersed with grooves; it terminates in a bowl-shaped expansion. The torque comes from South Jutland, probably from Gram Herred (NMK B 5214) (fig. 29 c); but it was undoubtedly manufactured in the area of the Middle Elbe where, as we have seen, identical specimens have been found. It is a Celto-Germanic type of torque, imitating the Celtic "signet-torques" of the Thuringian Early La Tène culture but first coming into fashion in the area north of the Celtic zone proper in La Tène II.

These imported Celtic and Celto-Germanic torques are all stray finds, apparently all from peat bogs. In the Celtic area they are of approximately the same period as the Brå cauldron but they cannot be accurately dated in Denmark, so long as we do not know for certain when these early imports reached the country. Here we are, however, helped by another series of stray finds, including the so-called ball torques. As Sophus Müller pointed out many years ago, these are descendants of the simpler torques of the Bronze Age[128]). They reveal the same clasp mechanism, two hooked ends which engage in each other. They now, however, undergo a distinctive development, particularly of the massive terminals, which it is worth our while to investigate more closely.

The first type which is clearly distinguishable from those of the Bronze Age is represented by a single specimen, from Tømmerup in West Zealand (NKM C 8177) (pl. XII, a). It is a ribbon-shaped ring, broadest in the centre, with two shallow grooves terminating in two hatched cross-lines, closely resembling pl. XI bottom, left. The torque has been somewhat damaged, perhaps by the finder, but the ornamentation can nevertheless be distinguished. On the portion of the ring closest to the balls there are two V-shaped lines and a circular impression. Most interesting, however, are the two terminals bearing double-balls, divided by a sharply defined groove into a flattened sphere and another which tends towards a triangular pyramid in shape. This latter is decorated with raised spirals which run from the three points and swing out from point to point. In the centre at the top there is a triangular figure with concave sides and circular impression.

The second type, pl. X top right and pl. XII b, comes from Musse on Lolland (NMK C 8726). The actual ring, which is broken into two pieces, is formed of two bronze wires twisted together bearing a pointed oval and a moulded fitment (the latter containing, among other features, a sphere and a short cylinder); it is possible that they were introduced in repairing a breakage. This torque terminates in two applied hemispheres, bearing three small balls and a simplified triskele design, a triangle the sides of which are continued into outward curves.

There can be no doubt that the balls on these torques imitate the Plastic Style of the Celts. This is most unmistakeable in the case of pl. XII, a, which must have had immediate prototypes (such as pl. fig. 20 d and pl. IX b). The actual terminal knobs might well have been produced by a Celtic craftsman, but the body of the ring fits the Danish milieu so well that it is impossible to believe that this is of foreign manufacture.

Equally illustrative of a cultural connection is the Musse terminal ball illustrated in pl. XII, b, with its three knobs and its central pattern. Here the Celtic prototype (like pl. IX a) has clearly been transmitted via the Bodenbach–Podmokly Group (cf. fig. 22). The workmanship of the Danish torque shows the same restrained simplification of the ebullient Celtic motif as is found in the work of the Bodenbach–Podmokly Group, while the execution is so closely related to that of the Celto-Germanic culture that it cannot be the result of coincidence.

Although one should be cautious in assuming the activity of Celtic craftsmen so far to the north – they undoubtedly operated along the middle reaches of the Elbe – it is tempting to adopt this explanation. In Late La Tène too there is such close contact, particularly of Vendsyssel but also of the other areas of Denmark, with the Celtic and Celto-Germanic regions, that it is possible to suggest personal intercourse – either consisting of inhabitants of Denmark going south to learn their trade, or of itinerant craftsmen from the south operating in the north.

The torque from Musse has moreover a single parallel in the large cemetery at Horn in Västergötland in Sweden. This torque is undoubtedly of native workmanship, influenced from the same quarter[129]). It comes from the earlier portion of the cementery, ascribed by the excavator to 'Period 2', or to a time influenced by 'Period 2 tradition', in contrast to the other later section which dates from 'Period 3', Late La Tène. As the prototypes in the Bodenbach–Podmokly Group occur in a La Tène II context there are good grounds for considering the Scandinavian specimens to be contemporary with them, more particularly as we possess an imported belt fitment with the triple-knob motif, from a grave on Bornholm, a specimen which undoubtedly comes from the Bodenbach–Podmokly Group. There was in any case an intimate connection between Denmark

and the area of the Middle Elbe and the passage of that river through the border ranges of Bohemia.

Among the objects representing our *third type* is the ball-torque illustrated on pl. XI bottom left, pl. XII d, which in form is connected with the Tømmerup torque[130]). It is flat with longitudinal grooves, rows of beading and zigzags, terminating in a double transverse band and in circular impressions. The torque is decorated with semicircles along the edge between the transverse band and the balls; in addition two undulating bands can be seen, meeting in an acute angle, as well as circular impressions.

The two attached double-balls consist, nearest the ring, of a flattened sphere, and thereafter of an elongated hemisphere, connected by a concave section. Both balls are decorated with three impressed double-circles connected by S-curved grooves.

Here too the ornamentation is clearly a case of Celtic influence but it may well be later in origin than the examples already cited. S-patterns, for example, occur in La Tène II, but it is possible that we have here a blurred reproduction of moulded motifs such as those shown in pl. IX b[131]).

The finest of the *ball-torques* is the type reproduced in pl. XI bottom right, pl. XII c, formed of a round hollow tube bearing regular spheres ornamented *with raised triple curves*. This pattern may be raised in a sharp ridge and in free movement, as in pl. XII c, or it may be restrained and geometrically exact[132]). In the open spaces between the arms of the triple curve smaller versions of the same design and circular impressions are engraved. The actual ring of the torque bears on the outside a row of beading or of oblique lines and is decorated on the upper surface with cross-ridges, beading, S-patterns, triple curves, etc.

The fact that the patterns on the balls are raised betrays a continued dependence on the Plastic Style of the Celts, though some torques are known with terminals on which the triple curve is merely engraved (pl. XI top right and middle, pl. XII e). For this there are obvious prototypes in the Celtic art of La Tène III, designs such as the triple curve on the inner plate of the Rynkeby cauldron and on Celtic coins[133]). Several examples are known in Scandinavia, including some from graves, and these are always in a Late La Tène context[134]).

We are, however, most interested in the earliest traces of the influence of Celtic art in Denmark. To judge by the ball-torques this influence first commenced at a time when the Celts had developed their Plastic Style. We have important supporting evidence in certain stray finds of bronze fibulae, the most important of which are reproduced in fig. 30.

As we have seen, no fibulae of Early La Tène pattern are known in Denmark. Specimens have been found of Middle La Tène type, some perhaps actually dating from Middle La Tène (fig. 20 l). On the other hand massive cast bronze fibulae of the latest Hallstatt type do occur (fig. 30 a), and some few of these bear, instead of one or two round knobs, moulded spirals like that on the ball-torque pl. XII a and on the Celtic fibula fig. 20 d[135]). The fibula in fig. 30 b possesses a terminal knob of exactly the same form as on the Hallstatt type on fig. 30 a with grooved circles round a centre point. There can, therefore, hardly have been any considerable difference in time between the easily recognised Hallstatt form represented by the fibula first named and the other two specimens (fig. 30 b-c). The spring and the pin of the two fibulae with raised spiral patterns were of iron, but only a very little of this survives.

The plastic designs on the two fibulae on fig. 30 b-c are clearly based on Celtic prototypes and it is difficult to imagine any other possible explanation than that Hallstatt D fibulae have remained in use unchanged in Denmark in the period corresponding to La Tène I a and b among the Celts. It is only at the time of the Plastic Style in La Tène I c that inspiration from the south again reaches the country, hardly as late as in La Tène II, as the Plastic Style gradually became weakened. There appears to have been a break in communications between the Celts and Denmark at the beginning of La Tène, or at least a remarkable diminution in influences from the south.

A distinctive specimen is the remarkable doubleheaded fibula on fig. 32. A similar bull's head may be seen on the early belt clasp on fig. 31[136]). The fibula comes from the vicinity of Århus (NMK C 5970) and reveals its early date of origin in the two central knobs with cross-grooved transverse bands (cf. fig. 30 a). One feature bears witness of Celtic influence. The ends of the horns are ornamented with a triple-curve design which Undset was the first to characterize as Celtic[137]). The bulls' heads are, however, simple and rigidly modelled; the small round eyes have nothing in common with the large domed eyes of Celtic art.

In connection with the late survival of Hallstatt D fibulae there is reason to mention a group of double-ball fibulae characterized by a recessed cross in the top of the balls for enamel inlay. The method of inlaying the enamel is identical with the Celtic method[138]), and the fibula type is undoubtedly influenced by Celtic fibulae with a knob on the bow and on the foot as in fig. 20 f, sometimes bearing a cross[139]). But there is also a possibility that Late Hallstatt traditions have had their share in the development of these fibulae, which obviously resemble the Hallstatt types. In the Germanic area the fibulae with incised cross are quite late, and to judge by specimens found

by the northern reaches of the Elbe they belong to La Tène III[140]).

A similar development, also quite late, of Celtic Middle La Tène types is provided by the metal belts. It is unfortunately exceptional for them to be found in dateable contexts. All these belts come from North Jutland, the best preserved being found in peat bogs; however, one of the few found in burials is to some degree dated, as a very fragmentary iron fibula was also found in the grave together with other burial furnishings considerably damaged by fire. This cremation burial, from Rævebakken near Try in Ålborg county, can be attributed to the Pre-Roman period (Ålborg Museum). The fibula appears to belong to the Middle La Tène pattern but whether it is to the earlier or the later versions cannot be determined on a basis of so small a fragment.

Of the remaining inventory of the grave it is possible to identify the parts of the belt. As far as can be deduced they formed part of a horizontal belt of curved rectangular links of metal with high side ridges (fig. 33 top). These are connected by means of pins passing through a perforated cylinder in one end of the bronze link and through two short projections in the other end of the identical next link. There are one complete and seven fragmentary links and each link is thus furnished with a portion of the hinge at each end. Only one link departs completely from this pattern; it has a fine openwork pattern inspired by Celtic ornamentation[141]).

To this link a chain has been attached consisting alternately of perforated double balls joined by a grooved connection and of single rings with a sharply angled edge (fig. 33 middle left). They clearly formed a hanging chain terminating in pendants with crescent-shaped projections (fig. 33 bottom right). A few fragments of slender bronze chains show that there has been a complicated attachment of this chain to the belt (fig. 33 middle right).

Among the other burial furnishings attention may be directed to a piece of iron, very much damaged by fire, which is probably part of an iron knife.

Before we turn to the more complete bronze belts from the peat bogs there is reason to mention a burial from Oplev in Gravlev parish, Ålborg county (NMK C 12837). The objects in this grave too are in a poor state of preservation but they nevertheless show their distinctive features clearly. The rectangular metal links of the actual belt (of which at least 10 links survive) have particularly high side ridges, and many of them are connected with each other by bronze wire passed through the hinges (fig. 34 top). In addition to fragments of the chain there are two remarkable grooved links of quite rough workmanship (fig. 34 bottom left); they broaden out into rectangular flanges – unfortunately fragmentary – each with three perforations. The pendants resemble those of the Rævebakken specimen to some degree but the terminals to the two outturned ends are flatter and decorated with balls (fig. 34 bottom left).

The remaining objects from the burial do not provide any basis for dating[142]); and it is first with the two more complete belts found in peat bogs at Sønder Skjoldborg in Thy and at Karby on Mors that the method of assembling the belts can be fully understood[143]). These two specimens show, moreover, that a number of portions of the belts from the cremation graves must have been destroyed by the fierce heat of the pyre. The most complete set comes from Sønder Skjoldborg where two bronze belts, a larger and a smaller, were recovered. The larger consists of rectangular metal links which were designed to go round the waist (fig. 35). The clasp comprised on the one hand an openwork link with projecting bird's head, and on the other a ring to which the bird's head hook was fastened. No connection between the rectangular belt links and the hanging chain was found, but this portion can be seen on the Karby belt showing that the chain hung down from the ring to which the hook fastened.

The lowest of the finely moulded chain links extends to form a rectangular cross-plate with three holes from which thin bronze chains run to a similar link, though this time with two oppositionally placed cross-plates. From this bottom link hang three pendants in thin chains.

A profound discussion of the Sønder Skjoldborg and Karby chains has been written by Sophus Müller and the reader is referred to this for details. More definite contexts for the belts can, however, now be given within the Celtic area, where metal belts consisting of rings and double-balls are particularly well-known in La Tène II. The characteristic link leading to three small chains is met with both in Switzerland and in Hungary[144]). The Hungarian parallels in particular are striking, and show, like the other Celtic specimens, a finer moulding than the Danish products.

We possess moreover chains from the intervening area, particularly in the region of the Middle Elbe[145]). These specimens too are distinguished from the Celtic by reason of their slightly less refined execution. The combination of these chains with the rectangular belt links, however, is peculiar to Scandinavia. Here, it appears, the Celtic idea of a metal belt with hanging chain and pendants has been adopted and given a distinctive form[146]). The Celts launched the fashion in La Tène II, and the Celto-Germanic versions appear to belong to the same period, as is shown by, among others, the associated objects discovered at the Manching oppidum[147]). There is

no a priori reason to believe that the Scandinavians came into the picture much later, though they have clearly kept up the use of the type into Late La Tène[148]).

On Bornholm two interesting discoveries have been made of imported belt parts of metal. They are not imported from the Celtic area proper, but show nevertheless connection with Celtic culture and are therefore of importance for demonstrating early cultural connections. That there were contact with the Celts, albeit perhaps indirectly, appears to be evidenced by the frequently illustrated iron fibula from Kanegård (cremation patch C 87)[149]). It is of the early Middle La Tène type, with quite a large spring and with a gently curving bow (fig 20 l). The backbent foot is attached to the bow by means of a little moulded iron band. This fibula, however, which was found alone in the grave, is not in itself sufficient evidence to prove influences from Middle La Tène.

The first of the two discoveries of belt parts was also at Kanegård, grave C31. Here was found a bronze button on a stem and fastened to a sheet metal base by an ingenious contrivance (fig. 36 b)[150]). Of the sheet metal only the portion closest to this connection survives, but, as we shall see, there can be no doubt that we have here a belt. The button stem has two extension pieces at the bottom which are riveted to the base sheeting by means of small staples, and the button is ornamented with three small balls, just as on the torque, pl. XII b (and the Celtic basis pl. IX a). Its style and execution are so closely related to those of belt buttons from the Bodenbach-Podmokly Group (cf. the slightly different parallel fig. 22) that we can consider it an import from that area. Belt buttons with triple-knob ornamentation are ascribed to La Tène II and there is no reason to consider the Bornholm specimen as later. It serves therefore to date the remaining contents of the grave.

Cremation pit C 31 (NMK C 349–52) was fortunately unusually rich in grave furniture. First of all there was a clumsy little fibula, of which only the central piece survived, a flattened hemisphere, solid cast with two smaller projections, decorated on the top with two incised curves (fig. 36 c). Complete specimens of the type show that the fibula has had an iron spring and a curved iron bow, which survives inside the bronze hemisphere and which bends back towards the bronze portion. It is a special local type, which nevertheless has parallels outside the island, particularly on Gotland[151]).

There is in addition a belt clasp, unique on Bornholm but with a number of parallels from the west (fig. 36a)[152]). The form is undoubtedly derived from Celtic belt clasps, which have a similar construction[153]). The belt was attached to the bronze loop on the projecting backcurved cross-plate. The other end of the belt could then, when in use, be knotted to the ring .

Finally seven beads of iron wire rolled into cylinders were found (fig. 36 d). They are of various lengths, as shown on the illustration, which may be the result of some of the specimens being broken.

This remarkable burial, containing objects which otherwise only rarely occur on Bornholm, would appear on the evidence to belong to a period corresponding to La Tène II in the Celtic region.

The same date must also be ascribed to the other discovery of imported belt parts, which unfortunately came to light unaccompanied by other objects in the course of ploughing near Nylarsker parsonage and which was sent in to the National Museum in 1841. It consists of six identical belt fitments of a distinctive type, a large flat ring with an extension flange containing in the centre a round hole and with two smaller rings on each side and a disc beneath (fig. 37) (NMK 6489). On the back of the objects there is a little perforated angle-piece. This piece could be stuck through a leather belt and fastened at the back by means of a cord or the like through the hole of the angle-piece.

Four of the fitments are fairly well preserved; another is in two pieces and there are in addition two smaller fragments. The number is, however, hardly complete, to judge by quite similar specimens found together with some remarkable bronzes in the hoard previously mentioned at the Manching oppidum[154]). As Krämer, who has written on this important discovery, shows, there is demonstrable here a foreign import, from the north, in the Celtic milieu. Together with a number of other objects these belt fitments have their origin in the Germanic area, probably along the middle reaches of the Elbe[155]). The complete hoard at Manching is dated to La Tène II, a dating which must also apply to the belt set from Bornholm. –

A discovery which is deserving of the highest interest among the representatives of Early Celtic art, but which has not previously been related thereto, is that of the Mollerup beakers[156]). They were discovered as early as 1856 at Mollerup in East Jutland, when a ploughman struck upon a stone burial chamber beneath a levelled tumulus. Inside the chamber, on a flat slab, lay, together with the remnants of the actual pyre, two silver footed beakers, completely identical and somewhat fragmentary in condition, and a bronze beaker with the remains of a handle, which broke in the hands of the finder. Somewhat later several pieces of the handle and a little bronze fitment with an animal head, from a knife, were found in the upcast earth.

The bronze beaker is the easiest to place, but

on the other hand it is the most heavily damaged and is difficult to reconstruct, particularly the fragments of the handle which has only partly survived. Of importance are the animal heads on the handle (fig. 38), one of which, with a grooved mouth, clearly bit on the rim of the beaker (fig. 39). It has a backward-curving crest and domed eyes with protruding pupils. The head is fashioned in a remarkably indecisive form, which recalls to mind the characteristic fibulae of La Tène Ia (fig. 20 a). These have the same "stepped" protrusion of the eyes, while the crest is seen, for example, in early representations of animals such as those of the Malomeřice flask (pl. VII e). The other head, with curved horns now broken off short, represents a bull. The whole of the neck is ornamented with grooves (cf. fig. 20 a). It is stylized, with a distinctly narrow muzzle, and, like the first described, has no connection with the Plastic Style of art. The eyes are not portrayed.

The bronze beaker has a remarkable section with a high convex rim in which three horizontal swellings can be seen (fig. 39). The neck is concave and sharply distinguished from the S-curved shoulder which it adjoins. The bottom half is curved slightly inwards and at the bottom bears a band of hatching. The beaker has been solid-cast and finished on the lathe. Circles have been incised on the base around a spindle hole.

A little way under the shoulder a massive bronze plate with horizontal grooving in the centre and a row of beading on each side has been attached by means of rivets. From this plate two bronze rods proceed, the one upwards and the other down. The upper rod has a round expansion and, as a fragmentary bronze rod shows, had been connected with the rest of the handle. There is no doubt that its upper end terminated in the crested head.

An important portion comprises two partly parallel curved bronze rods (like the remainder of the handle decorated with a row of beading along the edge). These rods are connected by means of a disc with two revolving rings. From the rings project two curved legs, the feet of which are broken off. The "knees" are marked by three knobs. The opinion was originally held that these legs belonged to a human figure; but in Celtic art the front and back legs of animals are normally represented with a bend in the middle, in such a way that the feet turn inwards. There is therefore no reason to doubt that this portion belongs to the handle. The legs of the animal cannot be turned towards the beaker, as the rods do not correspond to the fragments projecting from the attached plate. On the other hand they fit admirably if turned in the other direction, which results in one pair of rods running horizontally in to the beaker. The feet thereby serve an important function, that of supporting the the handle, which was clearly quite extensive. A beaker with such a long handle naturally required points of support which in this case were provided by the spread legs and by the base of the beaker.

The upward pointing bronze rods approach each other, and here the bull's head with its two rods would fit very well.

If this reconstruction can be accepted we find ourselves with a peculiar double creature, whose limbs, head and body act as a handle. This curious creature has a long slim body with a head at either end looking in opposite directions, a curved neck and a single pair of legs.

The style of the animal heads points to earliest La Tène. There is, however, the possibility that the beaker was fashioned in a region where this period was of long duration, as for example in the northwestern area of Celtic culture. It is on the whole probable that the Mollerup beakers came from the west; there is at least no connection between them and the art of the Brå cauldron and the Malomeřice flask.

The prototype for the actual beaker shape is not difficult to identify. In the very period to which we have attributed the beaker, Early La Tène, a characteristic Italian bronze beaker with a similar sharply angled and S-curved profile was imported into the Rhineland[157]). It possessed, however, a downturned rim, whereas that of the Mollerup beaker is upturned. Several parallels to the form with a high curved handle are known in North Italy. It is difficult to explain why the Celtic craftsmen have given the rim this upturned shape, but it is possible that they had other prototypes to copy from. In any case there are patterns enough among the bronzes in Italy and, as we have mentioned earlier, the Celts achieved mastery in just this field of the manufacture of artistically decorated bronze vessels in Early Celtic times. The remarkable handle, on the other hand, is a Celtic innovation, even though similar double headed beasts are found in early Italian art[158]).

Apart from this unique object, which was probably a ladling vessel, the Mollerup discovery comprised two silver beakers and a little bronze dagger guard. The guard is a pointed oval in shape when seen from above, with a hole for the blade (fig. 39 c). The animal head, which presumably ran along the back of the blade, appears to possess a bird's beak and a crest of approximately the same type as that on the rim of the bronze beaker[159]).

The silver beakers are identical (fig. 40). They consist of an almost hemispherical bowl attached to a grooved cylindrical foot. This fragmentary foot has clearly borne a convex swelling between two concave grooves. Below these the foot

broadens out and originally must have formed a fairly broad stand, of which there is now only a trace left. The beakers were fashioned by chasing, as an analysis of the metal has confirmed[100]).

Immediately under the rim there is a distinctive incised frieze, partly pointed with gold plating. Under the roundbent rim there is first a thin goldplated swelling and beneath this oval patterns alternating with saw-edged projections and drop-shaped terminals. The centre of these projections is regularly divided into pointed curved sections, the middle ones being filled with dots.

These silver beakers have no handles and differ thereby from the later Roman and Celto-Roman drinking vessels[101]). The ornamentation recalls forcibly the Early Celtic type which is known from engraved helmet friezes and elsewhere[102]). The same technique can be seen, not only in the method of manufacture of beakers and helmets but also in the ornamentation, where alternate fields are filled with dots. The normal pattern on these objects is the palmette in its Celtic derivation, and it is possible that the frieze of the Mollerup silver beakers is a misunderstood or highly transformed row of palmettes.

These two silver beakers have no direct parallels in Central or West Europe, where they would appear to have been made. They conform in type to a class of drinking vessels in very common use. In Greece they were produced in ceramic form and decorated in Black-Figure style; but specimens in metal have also survived[103]). A characteristic feature is the two horizontal handles on the sides of the beakers. The type continued in use in Italy where it may be seen as late as the First Century B. C. in Arretine terra sigillata, naturally without handles[104]). The type also occurs in silver in the repertoire of the Roman and Provincial Roman craftsmen. There is thus no reason why the Celts should not at an early date have copied the classical form, disregarding the handles.

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To summarise this survey of early Celtic influence, a definite Celtic touch can first be noted towards the end of Early La Tène, Ic, the very period to which the Brå cauldron belongs. The Plastic Style is imitated on massive Danish bronze fibulae and torques, types which in all other respects trace their ancestry to the earliest Iron Age or the latest periods of the Bronze Age. The shield bosses of the Hjortspring hoard are influenced by the earliest Celtic iron-plated bosses from La Tène Ic.

Together with a torque with signet-like terminals, the Brå cauldron (and probably also the Mollerup beakers) represent the Celtic imports from that period. It is therefore exceedingly probable that the Brå couldron was imported towards the end of La Tène I, the period when we see clear evidence of influences from Celtic culture.

The Jastorf pottery, which in Sprockhoff's opinion imitates Celtic ware from the beginnings of La Tène, has parallels in Denmark. But, even if his working hypothesis is accepted in full, it is nevertheless probable that this influence first made itself felt in Denmark towards the end of La Tène I, for example via the Hunsrück-Eiffel group. As we have seen, the Plastic Style (La Tène Ic) is found directly on objects of Hallstatt tradition, without any influence of the Early Celtic Style or of the Waldalgesheim Style being discernible.

In the course of La Tène II and III the contacts between Denmark and the Celts were strengthened, and even after the Celts lost their political independence they remained a source of cultural inspiration to the peoples of the north during the first two centuries A. D.

A variety of imported articles such as torques and belt sections from Celtic and Celto-Germanic Middle La Tène can be seen in Denmark, as well as the results of contemporary influences on native torques, bronze belts and fibulae. It is possible, however, that the last-named are later, from Late La Tène, the period which par excellence reveals Celtic influence. The rich chariot-burial, Grave A 1 at Kraghede, stands out as a distinguished example of that period's work[105]). It is perhaps the grave of a chieftain who had especially good opportunities to obtain the coveted foreign articles. In any case the grave furniture reveals a considerable Celtic influence, from the four-wheeled chariot of Celtic manufacture to objects showing Celtic features, such as an iron fibula of Late La Tène type and the pottery drinking vessel with a Celtic hunting scene carried out in dotted lines.

It is therefore remarkable that we do not see the beginnings of Celtic art more clearly reflected in the Danish discoveries, which otherwise have provided some of the most important specimens bearing witness to Celtic culture's distinction and originality. Now to the magnificent discoveries of a later period – the Gundestrup cauldron, the Dejbjerg carts and the Rynkeby cauldron – is added the Brå cauldron, the finest example known of Celtic Plastic art, and at the same time evidence of important early connections between the Celts and Denmark.

NOTES

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shaped foot, 2 of Middle La Tène type). Richtingen grave 4 (several of Middle La Tène type, one of Early La Tène type with disc-shaped foot). Darvella grave 16 (one of Middle La Tène type and one of Early La Tène type with a knob on the foot). The present author has had opportunity in the Swiss museums to see these and other discoveries; they are published by Viollier, Sépultures, but with only very brief description of the fibulae.

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62. K. H. Wagner, Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter 16, 1941, 10. W. Krämer, Reinecke Festschrift, 1950, 84.
63. W. Krämer, op. cit., 84.
64. J. Schránil, Die Vorgeschichte Böhmens und Mährens, 1928, 211. B. Dubský, Pravěk jižních čech, 1949, 231. R. v. Weinzierl, Das La Tène Grabfeld von Langugest bei Bilin in Böhmen, 1899. Poulik, Zeitschrift d. mährischen Landesmuseums II, 1942, 49. The work by J. Filip named in note 65.
65. J. Filip, Popelnicová pole a počátky železné doby v čechách, 1936–37, 153.
66. H. Müller-Carpe, Carinthia I, 1951, 594. A. B. Meyer, Gurina im Overgailthal (Kärnten), 1885.
67. Cf. note 36. L. Franz, Materialien zur Urgeschichte Österreichs 2, 1924, 49. R. Pittioni, Materialien zur Urgeschichte Österreichs 5, 1930. A. Mahr, Mitt. der prähistorischen Kommission II, 1937, 307.
68. L. V. Marton, Dolgozatok IX–X, 1933–34, 93. A survey with references is given in the work named in note 69.
69. J. Rosen-Przeworska, Zabytki cellyskie na ziemiach polski, 1939.
70. M. Jahn, Die Kelten in Schlesien, 1931 and Altschlesien 4, 1932, 116. W. Hoffmann, Altschlesien 9, 1940, 10.
71. W. Schulz, Jahresschr. XV, 1927, 60; Jahresschr. XVI, 1928, 99.
72. W. Dehn, Reinecke Festschrift, 1950, 33.
73. W. Mähling, Die Bodenbacher Gruppe, 1944. A. Mirtschin, Germanen in Sachsen, 1933. J. Filip, Památky arch. II, 1932, 25. P. Kropp-Jena, Latènezeitliche Funde an der keltisch-germanischen Völkergrenze, 1911.
74. W. Mähling doubtless goes too far in Die Bodenbacher Gruppe, 135 seq.
75. W. Mähling, op. cit., for example Taf. 24, 5; Taf. 22, 7; Taf. 3, 6.
76. W. Mähling, op. cit., 190.
77. W. Mähling, op. cit., 196.
78. W. Mähling, op. cit., 212. A. Mirtschin, Germanen in Sachsen, 1933, 142. K. H. Jacob, Zur Prähistorie Nordwest-Sachsens, 1911, 204. For the torque with swellings: W. Mähling, op. cit., 202.
79. O. Förtsch, Mitt. aus dem Provinzial-Museum der Provinz Sachsen, 1900, 43.
80. For example, Chr. Albrecht, Jahresschr. XIV, 1926, 99, Abb. 13. Three unpublished wheel-turned vessels of Thuringian type are preserved in the Landesmuseum, Hannover.

81. A survey with references to the literature over the area of the Middle Elbe is given by R. Hachmann in Arch. geogr. 1, 1950, 33.
82. R. Hachmann, op. cit., 37.
83. For example P. Kupka, Jahresschr. 10, 1911, 52. Chr. Albrecht, Jahresschr. XIV, 1926, 100, Abb. 19.
84. W. Schulz, Jahresschr. XV, 1927, 60.
85. R. Hachmann, op. cit., 38.
86. E. Petersen, Vorgeschichtliche Forschungen II, 2, 1929, 99. R. Hachmann, Arch. geogr. 2, 1951, 82. J. Kostrzewski, Prehistorja ziem polskich, 1939, 290 (German edition, 143, Taf. 79, 1).
87. G. Schwantes, Älteste Friedhöfe; a new survey in Reinecke Festschrift, 1950, 119.
88. G. Schwantes, Älteste Friedhöfe, 120, urn 38, Taf. 25, 4, Abb. 26, and p. 140, Taf. 27, 4.
89. G. Schwantes, Älteste Friedhöfe. The latest investigations by H. Hingst are reported by K. Kersten in Vorgeschichte des Kreises Herzugtum Lauenburg, 1951, 86.
90. H. Hahne and H. Gummel, Vorzeitsfunde aus Niedersachsen A, 1925, 19, Taf. 1 g. G. Schwantes, Älteste Friedhöfe, 158, Abb. 15.
91. E. Sprockhoff, Festschrift d. Röm.-Germ. Zentralmuseums Mainz II, 1952, 90.
92. G. Schwantes, Reinecke Festschrift, 1950, 119.
93. F. Knorr, Friedhöfe der älteren Eisenzeit in Schleswig-Holstein, 1910.
94. Cf. K. Kersten, Vorgeschichte des Kreises Herzugtum Lauenburg, 1951, 83.
95. Ill. K. Kersten, op. cit., Abb. 57, 2.
96. K. Waller, Germania 25, 1941, 11.
97. K. Waller, P. Z. XXXII–III, 1941–42, 235. Mr. Waller has kindly allowed the present author to study and make use of the still unpublished material from Holssel. The cemetery in Wingst ('Olymp') is also of significance; see K. Waller, Jahrbuch der Männer vom Morgenstern 32, 1951, 3.
98. Iron pins with bronze heads are not uncommon, particularly in an early context, cf. G. Schwantes, Älteste Friedhöfe, 147, Abb. 20; 158, Abb. 10; 141, Abb. 11–19; 116, Abb. 91.
99. W. Mähling, Die Bodenbacher Gruppe, 1944, 182, Taf. XV, 7–7 a. A. Mirtschin, Die Germanen in Sachsen, 1933, 122.
100. O. Klindt-Jensen, Foreign influences, 53.
101. S. Müller, Jernalderens Kunst, 1933, 34.
102. C. J. Becker puts this viewpoint forward in a number of works dealing with the Pre-Roman Iron Age in Denmark (in 'Trelleborg', 1948, 223 and particularly p. 233; Acta Arch. XIX, 1948, 145 and particularly p. 148; Finsk fornminnesförenings tidskrift LIII, 1951, 29 and particularly p. 30). Theories tending in the same direction put forward by two German writers have been refuted (cf. note 34). As Becker's typological paradigm has been modified to some degree from time to time reference is here restricted to the last-named publication. According to this the Pre-Roman Iron Age is divided into three sections, the last with an earlier and a later phase (period III a and b).

To period III b, the latest phase, are attributed vessels with a thickened fluted rim and with X-shaped handles. The period III a ware is described as follows (C. J. Becker, p. 34): "A characteristic common to all specimens is thin rims (with the exception of certain settlement vessels) and ribbon-shaped handles, sometimes quite narrow. Fluting of the rim is only found on a few of the finer vessels and takes the form of a few broad bands." To period II are attributed vessels with thin rims and ribbon-shaped handles, of forms which Becker considers to be parallels with the Ripdorf ware. Period I covers the well-known vessels from Årre, Uldal, etc., which Neergaard and Sophus Müller were the first to place in this period.

Becker's periods II–III (which are meant to correspond to the Celtic phases of La Tène II–III) do not correspond with those employed by the present author in 'Foreign influences' (cf. Becker, p. 30). But there are certain difficulties in Becker's period division, as the following examples show.

Gørding ware (C. J. Becker, fig. 4–6) is assigned to his period II with parallels in Ripdorf. But in form they actually correspond to the late Jastorf ware (cf. G. Schwantes, Reinecke Festschrift, 1950, Abb. 2–4; Schwantes' original terminology is used by me).

Concerning the Hjortspring pot the reader is referred to p. 83.

The Hoptrup grave, in Haderslev county, belongs, according to Becker, to his period III a (C. J. Becker, 34). Against this view it is possible to put forward a dating based on the objects of metal, a solid cast bronze fibula (probably developed from a Late Hallstatt form) and a considerably damaged fibula apparently of the extended Middle La Tène type (C. J. Becker, fig. 1); the date would rather therefore appear to be La Tène II, and the pottery vessel with characteristic rim fluting as in fig. 25 g does not argue against his view.

The grave from Hinc Mølle on Langeland (Acta Arch. XIX, 1948, 153), the urn of which possesses a thin rim, is attributed by Becker to his period II (p. 41). It contains, however, a fibula with double knobs ornamented with a cross, a type which belongs without any doubt to La Tène III (cf. note

140). A similar vessel was moreover found in Hornbek grave 257 together with a Late La Tène fibula (K. Kersten, Vorgeschichte des Kreises Herzugtum Laneuburg, 1951, Taf. 60, 24). The grave may be from La Tène III, nor does the ribbon-shaped handle of the vessel decisively contradict this view.

The Kraghede graves are attributed by Becker to period III b (C. J. Becker, p. 33) in spite of the fibulae which were found in the graves, one triangular and one of later Middle La Tène pattern, types which otherwise belong to his period III a (C. J. Becker, 34). Concerning the dating of the Kraghede houses, which are also considered by Becker to be earlier than the Kraghede graves, the reader is referred to the text, p. 82. Becker ascribes the Kraghede houses to his period III a, together with North German discoveries such as phase I b of the Hornbek cemetery. It would appear from Miss Borchling's interim publication that the Kraghede houses must be compared with phase I a, and not I b which reveals a stage of development typical of the earliest stage of Late La Tène, with triangular fibulae, fibulae of later Middle La Tène pattern, etc. (Cf. A. Borchling, Arch. geogr. 1, 1950, Abb. 1, p. 52). Hornbek I b clearly corresponds to the stage of the Kraghede graves, La Tène III.

103. C. Neergaard, Aarb. 1892, 209. S. Müller, Jernalderens Kunst, 1933, 30. J. Brøndsted, Danmarks Oldtid III, 1940, 13. E. Albrectsen, Fynske Minder 1952, 83.
104. C. Neergaard, Aarb. 1892, 219, fig. 9. They were found together with two double-spiral fibulae of Late Hallstatt type.
105. Acta Arch. XIX, 1948, 181.
106. Cf. G. Schwantes, Älteste Friedhöfe, 104 and 146.
107. G. Rosenberg, Hjortspringfundet, 1937, 62, no. 600, fig. 33.
108. Grave in NMK (C 20674–76). Ill. C. Neergaard, Fra NM Arb. 1931, 69, fig. 3 left and fig. 1 right rear (the statement that a 'bombpin' was among the objects found, p. 69, is incorrect).
109. A specimen is illustrated in J. Mestorf, Urnenfriedhöfe in Schleswig-Holstein, 1886, Taf. I, 16.
110. G. Rosenberg, Hjortspringfundet, 1937, 98. W. Krämer, P. Z. XXXIV–V, 1949–50, 354.
111. J. Hellich, Obzor arch. II, 1923, 8, obr. 27. Cf. P. Reinecke, W. P. Z. 27, 1940, 68 on the Italian shields.
112. Certainly the case in the stele P. Ducati, Storia di Bologna I, 1928, 284 and 294, fig. 137. The shield is concave.
113. Museo Nazionale, Villa Giulia, 44429–44 (the shield boss bears the number 44434). A broad flat iron handgrip undoubtedly belongs to the shield. Among the contents of the grave was a bronze belt like that of P. Jacobsthal, ECA, pl. 260, 6.
114. G. Rosenberg, Hjortspringfundet, 51, reports on the method of attachment by means of resin, sometimes of wooden plugs. An important related shield, which, however, is not necessarily Celtic although most probably so, was discovered in Egypt (W. Kimmig, Germania 24, 1940, 106). The construction is here clearly to be seen.
115. A. Prohazka, Gallska kultura, 75, tab. XIII, 11, discovered in association with objects including a fibula of Early La Tène pattern with a massive knob on the foot.
116. The shield bosses were excavated together with various other objects in the middle of the 19th century on the instigation of the emperor Napoleon in the area of the Marne.
117. W. Hoffmann, Altschlesien 9, 1940, 14.
118. Cf. notes 115 and 117, and W. Krämer, P. Z. XXXIV–V, 1949–50, 357.
119. For example P. Reinecke, A. u. h. V. V, 1912, Taf. 51, 916 a. D. Viollier, Sépultures, pl. 4, 20–22. Numerous compound discoveries are known from graves.
120. P. J. Riis, Den etruskiske kunst, 1948, 186.
121. Observations made of the statues in the Terme and Kapitol Museums, Rome.
122. E. Høeg, departmental engineer of the Government Testing Laboratory, has undertaken the analysis of some of the spearheads at the request of H. Norling Christensen, keeper at the National Museum. It appeared that the socket had been welded to the point. One of the specimens (A 469) had clearly been manufactured from purer ores than the native peat-ores.
123. C. J. Becker, Acta Arch. XIX, 1948, 166. O. Klindt-Jensen, Foreign influences, 215.
124. The sword shown in G. Behrens, Denkmähler des Wangionengebietes, 1923, 27, Abb. 31, 1, for example possesses such a terminal, as W. Krämer pointed out to the author.
125. S. Müller, Jernalderens Kunst, 1933, 13.
126. For example R. v. Weinzierl, Das la Tène-Grabfeld von Langugest, 1899, 36, fig. 13.
127. In addition to the specimen in P. Kropp-Jena, Latènezeitliche Funde der keltisch-germanischen Völkergrenze, 1911, 82, Abb. 124, which Sophus Müller was the first to direct attention to, there can be adduced rings such as P. Jacobsthal, ECA, no. 70 a (pl. 51).
128. S. Müller, Nordiske Fortidsminder I, 1890, 26; Jernalderens Kunst, 1933, 12.
129. K. E. Sahlström, Gravfältet på Kyrkbacken i Horns socken, Västergötland, 1948, 22, grave 30, fig. 19.

130. In addition to the examples illustrated some fragmentary specimens are known which, however, do not show characteristic ornamentation: NMK C 7470 (no record of discovery) and NMK 2455 from Kjærup fields, Ringsted and Benløse parish, Zealand, found in the course of ploughing.
131. Cf. P. Jacobsthal, ECA, no. 197.
132. NMK. 21489, Egeslevmagle, Sorø county. S. Müller, Jernalderens Kunst, 1933, fig. 12. J. Brøndsted, Danmarks Oldtid III, 1940, fig. 12 d.
133. O. Klindt-Jensen, Foreign influences, figs. 68 b and 74 c.
134. E. Vedel, Bornholms Oldtidsminder og Oldsager, 1886, fig. 178 from Kanegård grave C 133, found together with two fibulae with double knobs ornamented with crosses, etc. C. A. Moberg, Zonengliederungen der vorchristlichen Eisenzeit in Nordeuropa, 1941, 126, note 427.
135. First noticed by S. Müller, who mentions that the fibulae had acquired a Celtic curvature (Jernalderens Kunst, 1933, 24). Cf. the fibula in E. Albrectsen, Fynske Minder 1952, 92, fig. 6 c, and I. Undset, Jernalderens begyndelse i Nord-Europa, 1881, fig. 136.
136. C. Neergaard, Aarb. 1892, 228 and 232, fig. 13. J. Déchelette, Manuel d'arch. II, 3, 1310, fig. 570, 1.
137. Jernalderens begyndelse i Nord-Europa, 1881, 368, cf. 463, 'Tène motif'.
138. J. Filip, Altböhmen und Altmähren 2, 1942, 68. T. J. Arne, Studier tillägnade O. Montelius 19 °/₀ 03 af lärjungar, 1903, 121.
139. J. Rosen-Przeworska, Zabytki celtickie na ziemiach polski, 1939, 25, ryc. 15 top. Chr. Albrecht, Jahresschr. XIV, 1926, 104, Abb. 32.
140. A. Borchling, Arch. geogr. 1, 1950, 50.
141. For example P. Jacobsthal, ECA, pl. 120, no. 196.
142. The discovery was made in the course of drain-digging and was not investigated by trained archeologists. The objects found are, however, all heavily damaged by fire and partly melted into a mass. Among other objects there was a long curved rod with expansions, perhaps a belt hook.
143. S. Müller, Aarb. 1900, 130. C. Engelhardt, Aarb. 1881, 98.
144. J. Wiedmer-Stern, Münsingen, Taf. 22, 3. K. v. Miske, Velem St. Vid, in particular Taf. XLV, 51–63. I. Sellye, Dissertationes Pannonicae II, 8, 1938, pl. XIX, 4. After this section had been drafted an article on the same subject by J. Werner appeared in Kuml 1952, 133.
145. W. Schulz, Jahresschr. XIV, 1926, 122. K. H. Jacob, Zur Prähistorie Nordwest-Sachsens, 1911, Taf. XXIX, 218–20. P. Grimm, Nachrichtenblatt für deutsche Vorzeit 15, 1939, 88, Taf. 22, 1. W. Krämer, Reinecke Festschrift, 1950, 92.
146. Cf. Månadsblad 1903–05, 131.
147. W. Krämer, Reinecke Festschrift, 1950, 91.
148. Cf. the Swedish discovery mentioned in note 146.
149. E. Vedel, Bornholms Oldtidsminder og Oldsager, 1886, fig. 110 (the illustration is not quite correct). Cf. the fibula from Hoptrup mentioned in note 102.
150. E. Vedel, op. cit., fig. 170.
151. O. Almgren and B. Nerman, Die ältere Eisenzeit Gotlands, 1923, Taf. 3, 38–39.
152. A survey is given in C. A. Moberg, Zonengliederungen, 1941, 125.
153. For example P. Jacobsthal, ECA, pl. 168, no. 354.
154. W. Krämer, Reinecke Festschrift, 1950, 85. Taf. 11.
155. For example P. Kupka, Jahresschr. X, 1911, Taf. VII, 86–87. Cf. W. Krämer, op. cit., 90.
156. NMK 15369–71, 15422–23. C. Engelhardt, Nydam Mosefund, 1865, 57.
157. P. Steiner, Schumacher Festschrift, 1930, 166. P. Jacobsthal, ECA, 139, pl. 254 c.
158. P. Jacobsthal, ECA, pl. 237 a top right.
159. Cf. P. Jacobsthal, ECA, no. 279.
160. E. Høeg, Acta Arch. XIX, 1948, 257.
161. A. survey is given by O. Voss in Acta Arch. XIX, 1948, 252.
162. J. Déchelette, Manuel d'arch. II, 3, 1490, figs. 692 and 656.
163. G. M. A. Richter, Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1915, 216, 596. Pauly-Wissowa, R. E., suppl. V, kylix.
164. A. Oxé, Arretinische Reliefgefässe vom Rhein, 1933, Taf. XXXV, 133 and Taf. XXXVI, 136.
165. O. Klindt-Jensen, Foreign influences, 102, 203.

Addenda.

During the printing of this publication I have seen the two interesting studies of Erik Nylén (Fornvännen 1952, p. 211, Kontinentala gotlandsförbindelser under senare förkristen järnålder) and W. Krämer (Germania 30, 1952, p. 330, Das Ende der Mittellatènefriedhöfe und die Grabfunde der Spätlatènezeit in Südbayern). Nylén, too, places our brooch type fig. 36 in the 2. cent. B. C., but by means of another dating method; and Krämer discusses the Münsingen cemetery as in this publication p. 75.

Liste over forlæg til plancher og figurer

Klicheerne skyldes, hvor intet er nævnt, Hammerschmidts klichéfabriker, Århus.
L. L.: fotograf Lennart Larsen, Nationalmuseet, København.

Frontispice, pl. I–III, V: L. L. fot.
Pl. IV, VI–VII: Märiske Museum, Brno, fot.
Pl. VIII: L. L. fot.
Pl. IX: efter P. Jacobsthal, E. C. A., pl. 147, nr. 267; pl. 132, nr. 222; pl. 133, nr. 224.
Pl. X: øverst t. v. og t. h. Landesmuseum Zürich fot. I midten efter F. Keller, VI Pfahlbaubericht, 1866, Taf. XI, 32. Nederst t. v. Museo civico, Bologna, fot. Nederst t. h. tegnet af O. Klindt-Jensen, rentegnet af konstr. E. Carlsen.
Pl. XI–XII: L. L. fot.

Fig. 1: Forlæg tegnet af H. Andersen, rentegnet af F. Carlsen.
Fig. 2–3: H. Andersen fot.
Fig. 4: Som fig. 1.
Fig. 5–9: L. L. fot.
Fig. 10: Tegnet af E. Carlsen.
Fig. 11–12: L. L. fot.
Fig. 13–14: Tegnet af B. Brorson-Christensen.
Fig. 15: Efter I. Falchi og L. Pernier, Notizie degli scavi 1913, p. 431, fig. 8.
Fig. 16: Efter E. Kunze, Reinecke Festschrift, 1950, Taf. 16, 2.
Fig. 17: Tegnet af E. Carlsen efter forlæg af O. Klindt-Jensen (med delvis benyttelse af tegninger v. M. Knapil, Brno).
Fig. 18: Tegnet af E. Carlsen.
Fig. 19: Tegnet af E. Carlsen efter forlæg af O. Klindt-Jensen.
Fig. 20: Tegnet af E. Carlsen efter
(a) A.u.h.V. I, 1858, IV, Taf. 3, 1–2;
(b) R. Beltz, Latènefibeln, Abb. 14 (p. 699);
(c) ASA VI, 1889–91, Taf. XVIII, 5;
(d) W. Mähling, Die Bodenbacher Gruppe, Taf. 37, 1;
(e) J. Wiedmer-Stern, Münsingen, Taf. 13, 1;
(f–g) P. Vouga, La Tène, pl. XX, 24 og 11;
(h–i) G. Schwantes, Älteste Friedhöfe, p. 147, Abb. 12 og 16;
(k) K. Waller, P. Z. XXXII–III, 1942, Abb. 12, 605 a (p. 248);
(l) efter originalen.
Fig. 21: Rentegnet af E. Carlsen efter forlæg af O. Klindt-Jensen.
Fig. 22: Tegning af J. Benda, venligst givet mig af det czekiske arkæologiske institut, Prag.
Fig. 23: Museumsleder K. Waller fot.
Fig. 24: a K. Waller fot. (udlinjen ved O. K.-J.), b efter W. Mähling, Die Bodenbacher Gruppe, Taf. XV, 7; klicheen velvilligt stillet til rådighed af A/S Munksgårds forlag (efter For. infl., fig. 47 d).
Fig. 25: Rentegnet af E. Carlsen efter forlæg af O. Klindt-Jensen.
Fig. 26: Rentegnet af E. Carlsen efter forlæg af (a) O. Klindt-Jensen; (b) dr. Tihelka, Brno; (c–d) M. J. Harmand, St. Germain-en-Laye; (e) O. K.-J.; (f) dr. Tihelka; (g–i) O. K.-J.
Fig. 27: S. Bengtsson fot. Klicheen lånt fra G. Rosenberg, Hjortspringfundet, fig. 29, og velvilligt stillet til rådighed af det Kgl. Nord. Oldskriftselskab.
Fig. 28: L. L. fot.
Fig. 29: a–b S. Bengtsson fot. og c L. L. fot.
Fig. 30–34: L. L. fot.
Fig. 35: Tegnet af prof. M. Petersen, klicheen efter Årb. 1900, p. 134, fig. 1, i midten.
Fig. 36: a–b (nederst) tegnet af prof. M. Petersen, klicheen (fra E. Vedel, B. O., fig. 169–70) velvilligt udlånt af det Kgl. Nord. Oldskriftselskab.
b (øverst) –d tegnet af E. Carlsen.
Fig. 37–39: L. L. fot.
Fig. 40: Tegnet af mag. art. O. Voss, klicheen (Acta Arch. XIX, 1948, p. 256, fig. 43) velvilligt udlånt af A/S Munksgårds forlag.

List of abbreviations

Aarb. (Årb.): Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie.
Acta Arch.: Acta Archaeologica.
ASA: Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde.
A. u. h. V.: Altertümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit.
Fra NMArb.: Fra Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark.
Jahresschr.: Jahresschrift für die Vorgeschichte der sächsisch-thüringischen Länder. Since 1940: Jahresschrift für mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte.
Månadsblad: Kgl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiqvitets Akademiens månadsblad.
NMK: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen (C: Iron Age).
P. Z.: Praehistorische Zeitschrift.

Full version of abbreviated references to literature

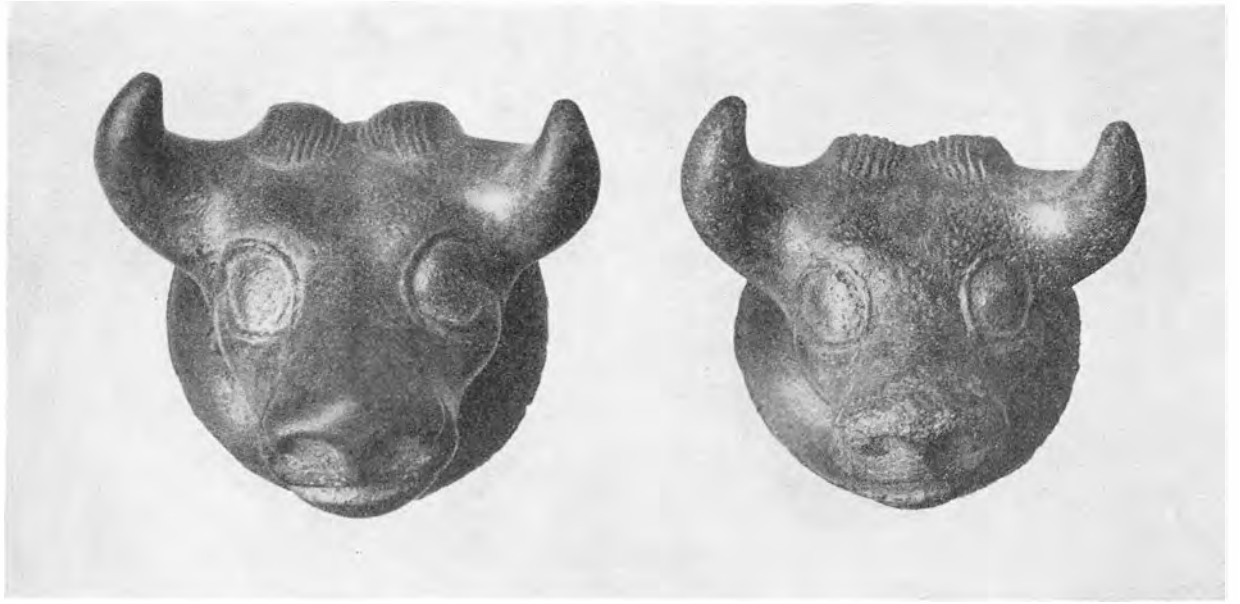
J. Déchelette, Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique, celtique et gallo-romaine.
P. Jacobsthal, Early Celtic Art, 1942.
O. Klindt-Jensen, Foreign Influences in Denmark's Early Iron Age, 1950.
K. H. Marschalleck, Die Chronologie der vorrömischen Eisenzeit im Mittelelbgebiet, 1928.
G. Schwantes, Die ältesten Friedhöfe bei Uelzen und Lüneburg, 1911.
J. Wiedmer-Stern, Das gallische Gräberfeld bei Münsingen, Archiv des historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern XVIII, H. 3, 1908.
D. Viollier, Les sépultures du second âge du fer sur le plateau suisse, 1916.

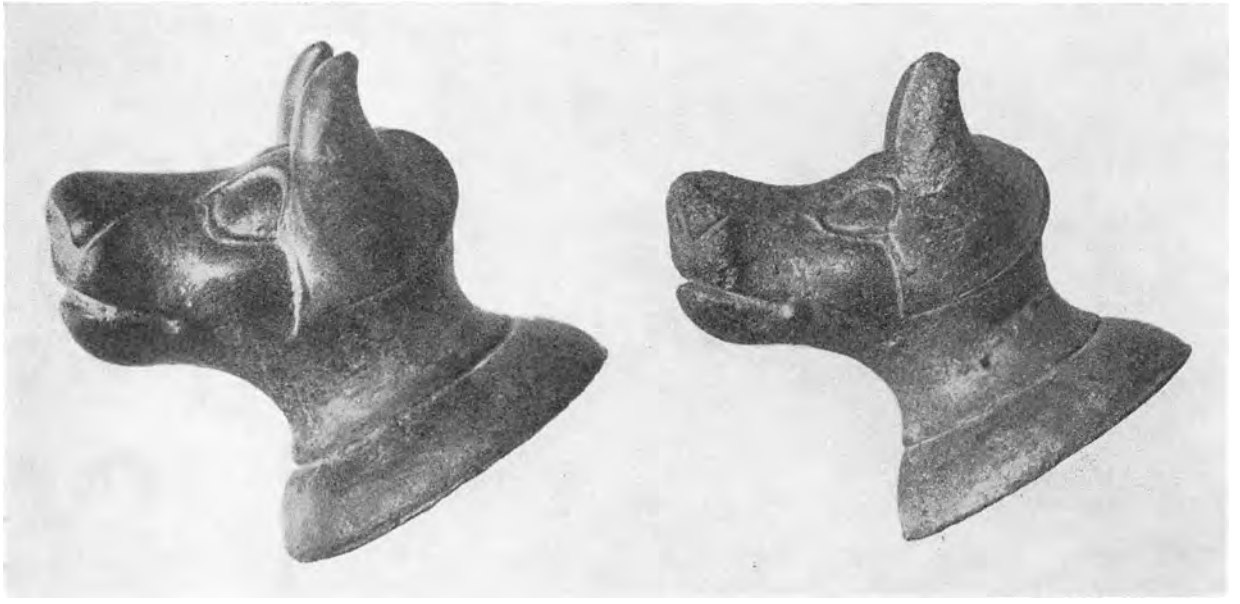
Corrections to „Foreign Influences in Denmark's Early Iron Age"

p. 4, note 13: The Posidonius article is to be found under "Strabo" in Pauly-Wissowa.
p. 8, line 11 from bottom: the ends of the belt hooks are turned in opposite directions.
p. 9, line 13: Characteristic are belt hooks whose ends are turned in the same direction.
p. 20, line 11: Cn. Trebellius Romanus (K. Friis Johansen, Hoby-Fundet, 140).
p. 37, line 20: Fig. 10, not fig. 9.
p. 70, note 240: Abb. 220, not Abb. 20.
p. 133, line 31: "on the two reliefs" should read "on the Baratela relief and the male figures on plates c and g."
p. 199, right, line 9 should read: "V–VI cent. manner (cf. the ephebe from Pompeji – Fr. Poulsen, Den klassiske græske Kunst, 1943, 126, fig. 54 – the original of which may be contemporary with the Polycleitan".



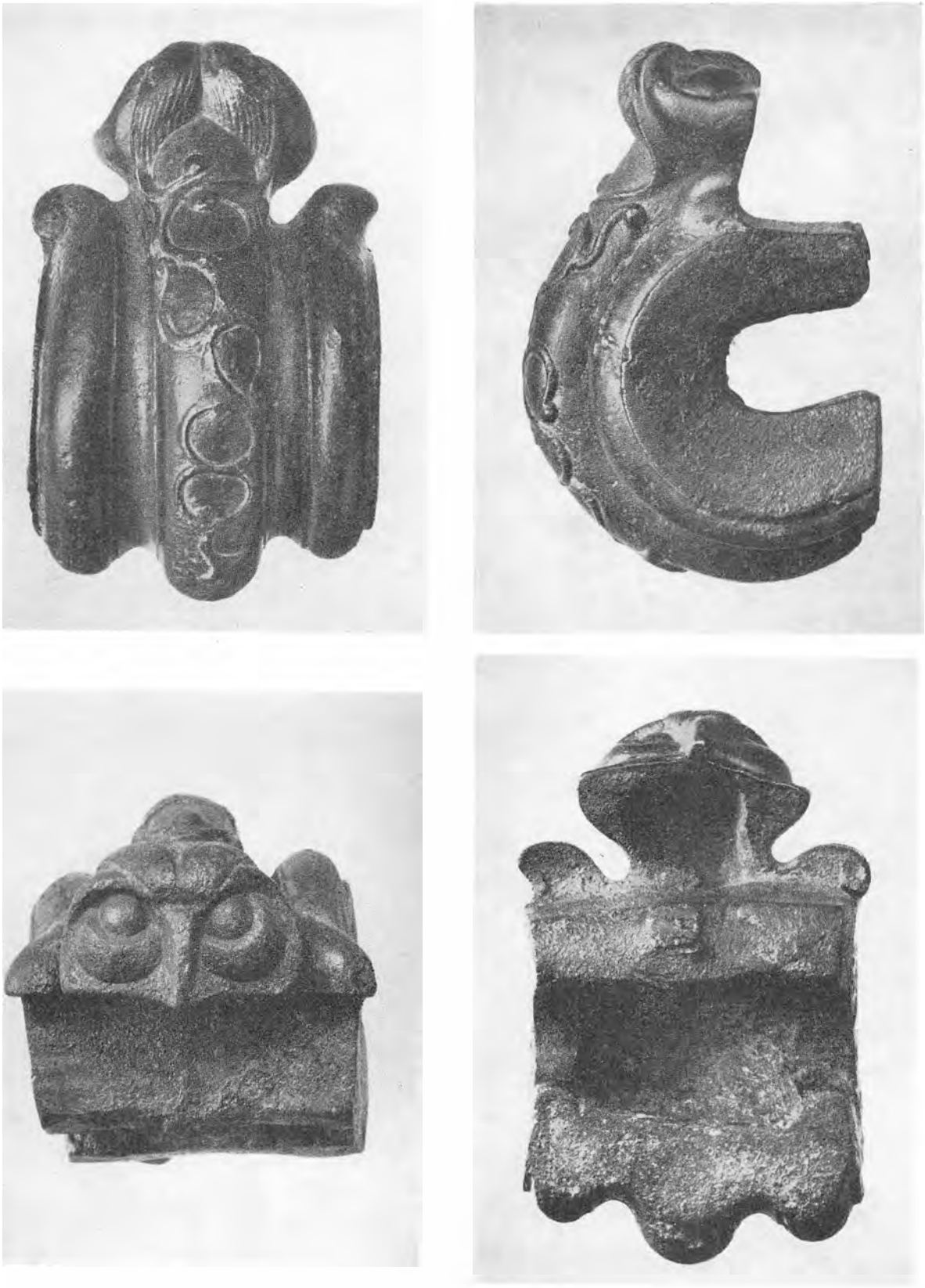
Den ene uglehovede-attache fra Brå. Ca. 2/1.
One of the owl's-head attachments from Brå.



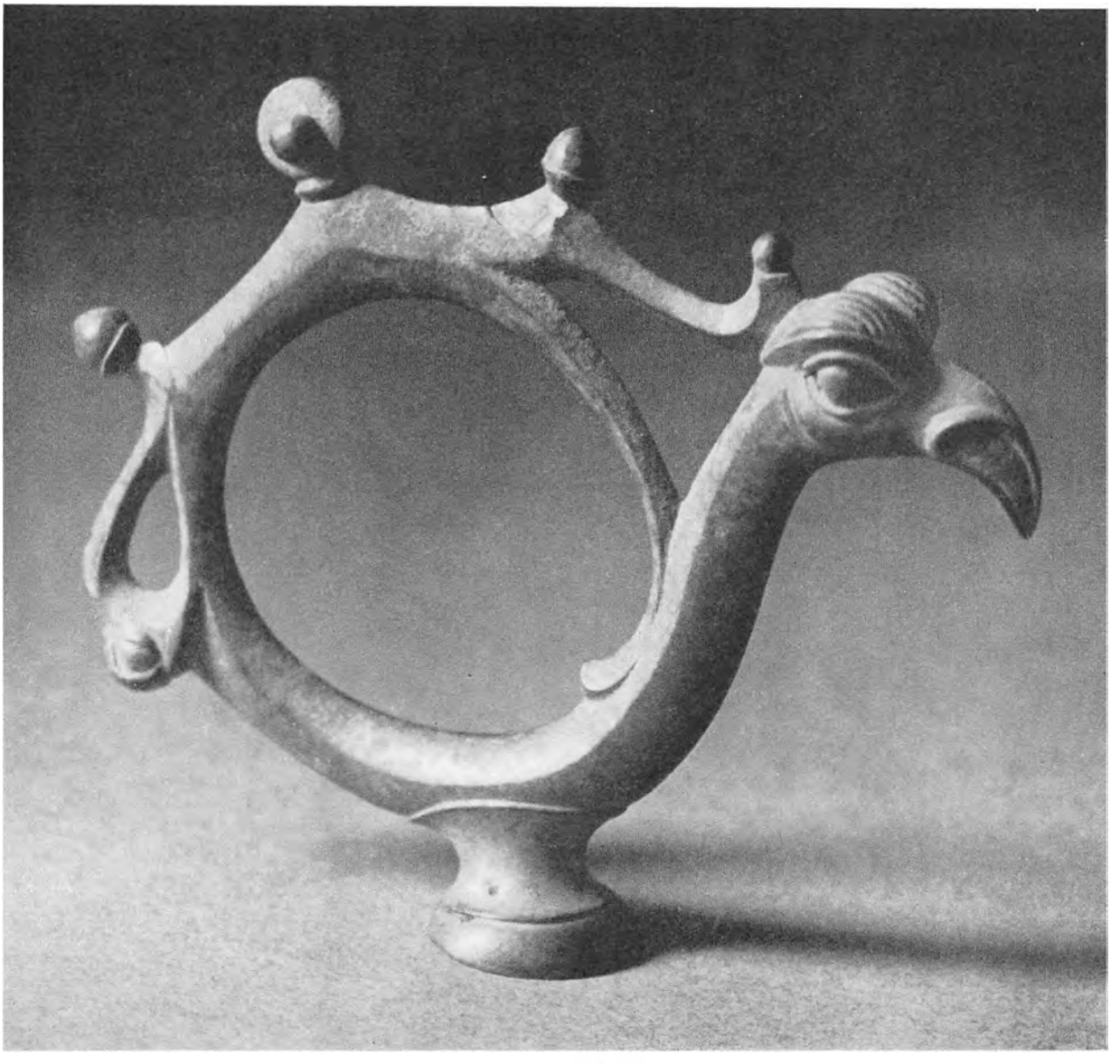




Den store og den lille udførelse af Bråoxehovederne. 1/1.
The larger and the smaller versions of the bulls' heads from Brå.



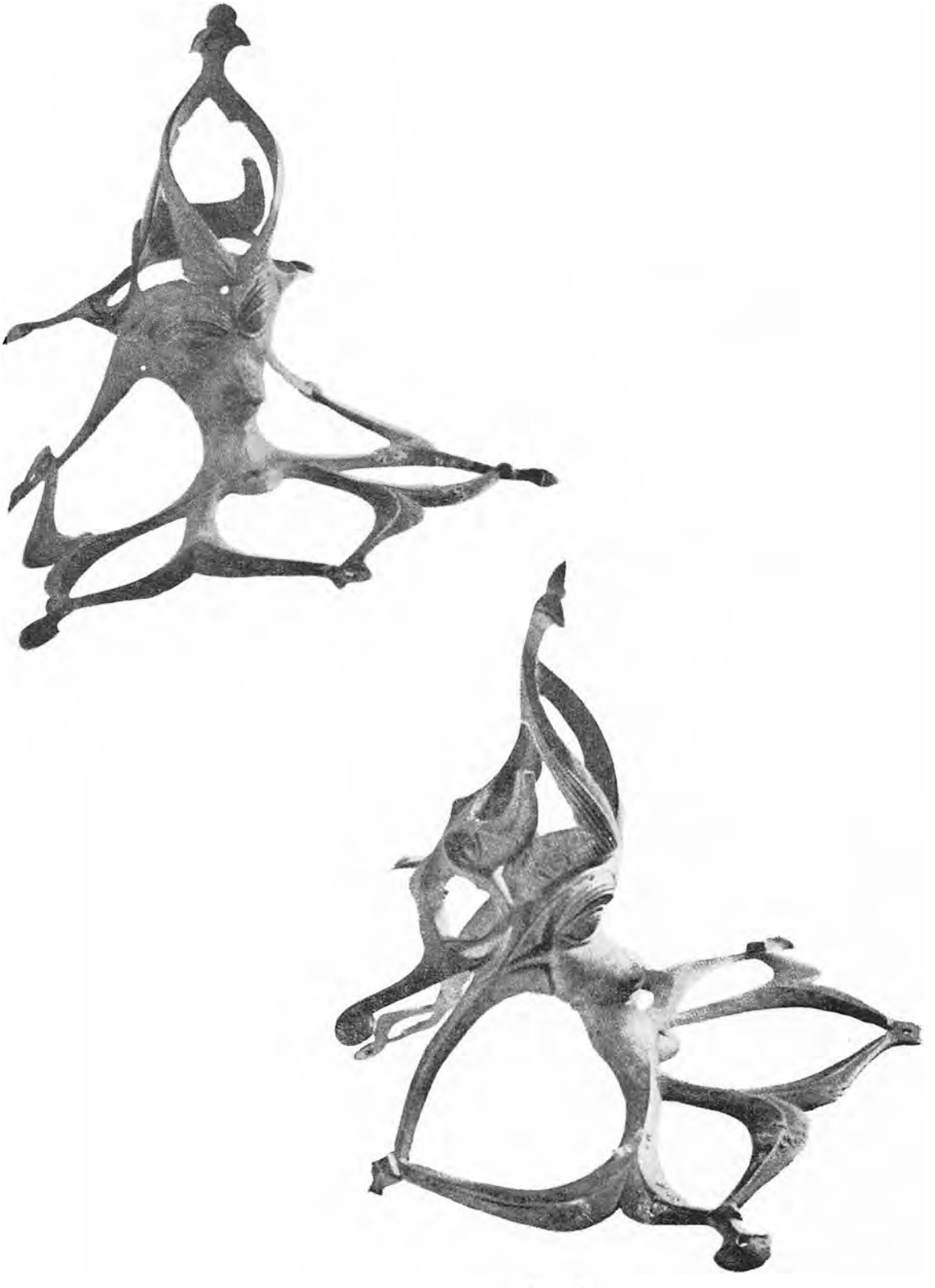
Den ene uglehovede-attache fra Brå. 1/1.
One of the owl's-head attachments from Brå.



Griffen fra Malomeřice. 1¼.
The griffon from Malomeřice.



Sammenføjet parti af Bråkedlens rand, krave og underdel med attache, bærering og to oxehoveder. Assembled portion of rim, collar and body of the Brå cauldron, with attachment, ring-handle and two bulls' heads. 1/2.



Tudbeslag fra Malomeřice. $^{2}/_{3}$.
Spout fitment from Malomeřice.



a



b



c



d



e

Beslag fra Malomeřiceflaskens sider. $^2/_3$.
Fittings from the sides of the Malomeřice flask.





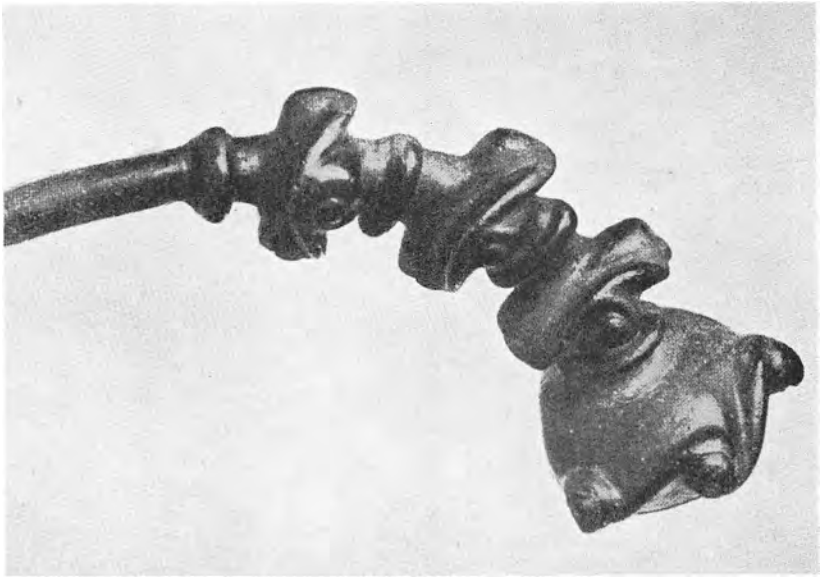




Oxehoveder fra Roskildeegnen (øverst og i midten t. v.), $^2/_3$, og Store Vildmose (i midten t. h. og nederst), $^1/_1$.

Bulls' heads, from the neighbourhood of Roskilde (top and centre left); and from Store Vildmose (centre right and bottom).







Keltisk plastisk ornamentik på bronzearmring fra Kleitham, Bez. a. Erding, Øvrebayern (Prähist. Staatssamml., München) (øverst), bronzehalsringe fra Tombe de Répont, Monthéron, Marne (MN St. Germain) (i midten) og Dammelberg ved Trebur (M. Darmstadt) (nederst).

Celtic plastic ornamentation on a bronze armlet from Kleitham, Bez. a. Erding, Upper Bavaria (Prähist. Staatssamml., Munich) (top); on bronze torques from Tombe de Répont, Monthéron, Marne (MN St. Germain) (centre); and Dammelberg near Trebur (M. Darmstadt) (bottom).



a



b



c



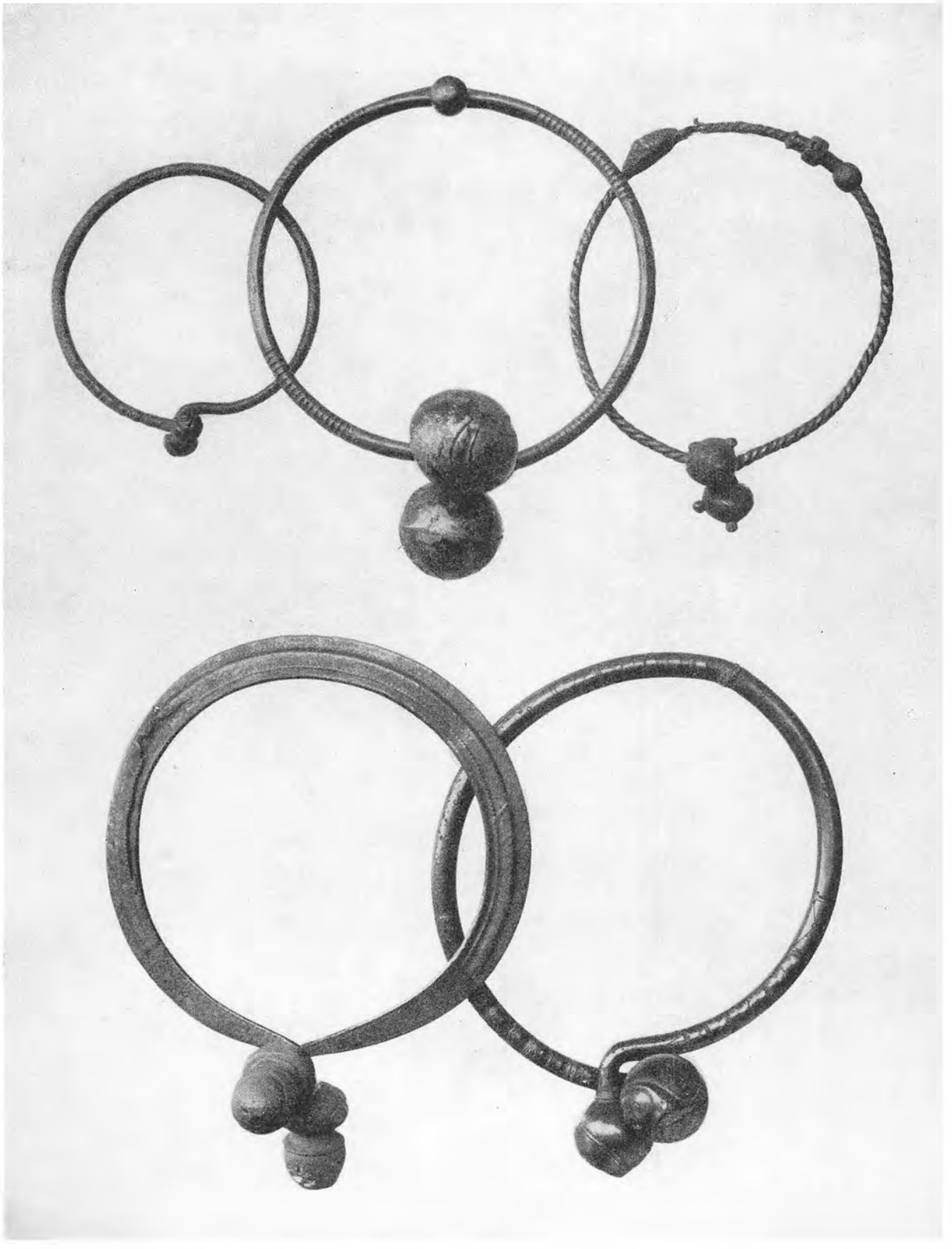
d



e

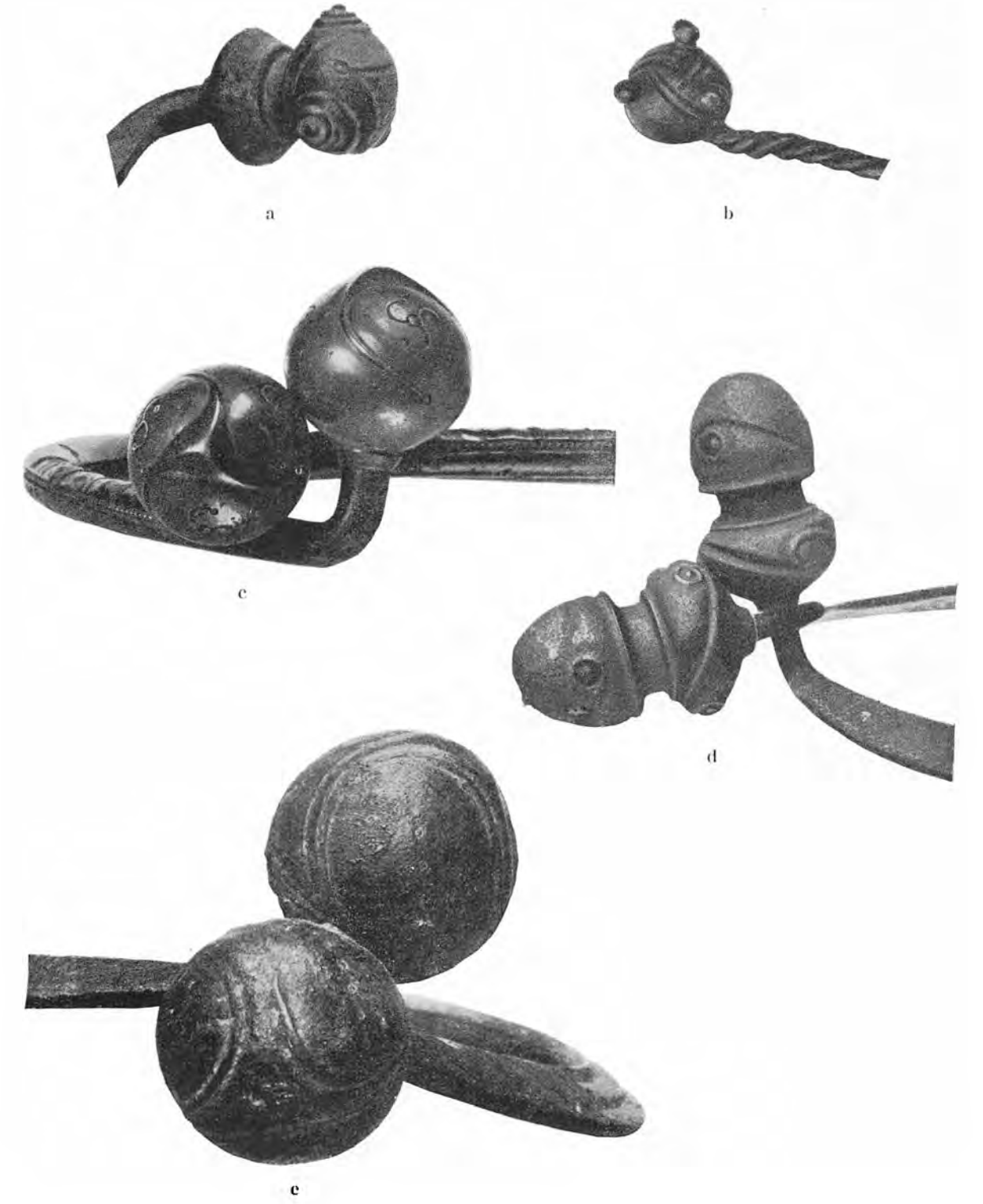
To udsmykkede sværdskeder fra la Tène (øverst t. v. og i midten er samme stykke i M. Neuchâtel) t. h. i M. Biel). ²/₃. Kande fra Ceretolo ved Bologna (nederst t. v.) og fibula med plastiske ornamenter fra Ceretolo (nederst t. h.), sidstnævnte ²/₃ (M. civico, Bologna).

Two ornamented sword scabbards from La Tène (upper left and centre – the same specimen – in Neuchâtel museum, upper right in Biel museum). Jug from Ceretolo near Bologna (bottom left), and fibula with plastic ornamentation from Ceretolo (bottom right) (M. civico, Bologna).



Kuglehalsringe, øverst t. v. vist fra Sydsjælland (NMK C 10061), i midten fra Christiansholm, Klampenborg ved København (NMK C 16799), t. h. fra Musse, Lolland (NMK C 8726), nederst t. v. fra egnen ved Kalundborg, Sjælland (NMK 25835), nederst t. h. Gammelborg, Møen (NMK MCDLXXII). 1/2.

Ball torques, top left probably from South Zealand (NMK C 10061), centre from Christiansholm, Klampenborg near Copenhagen (NMK C 16799), right from Musse, Lolland (NMK C 8726), bottom left from Kalundborg area, Zealand (NMK 25835), bottom right from Gammelborg, Møen (NMK MCDLXXII).



Detaljer af kuglehalsringe. a fra Tømmerup, Holbæk amt (NMK C 8177), b fra Musse, Lolland (NMK C 8726), c fra Gammelborg, Møen (NMK MCDLXXII), d fra egnen ved Kalundborg (NMK 25835), e fra Kundby, Holbæk amt (NMK C 25578). 1/1.

Details of ball torques: a from Tømmerup, Holbæk county (NMK C 8177), b from Musse, Lolland (NMK C 8726), c from Gammelborg, Møen (NMK MCDLXXII), d from Kalundborg area (NMK 25835). e from Kundby, Holbæk country (NMK C 25578).

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