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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUMS FROM TÂRGU MUREŞ

**Editor** SÁNDOR BERECKI

# IRON AGE CONNECTIVITY IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM FROM TÂRGU MUREŞ

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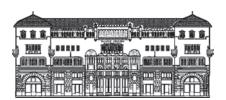
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Front cover: Bronze chain belt from Veţel (photo: I. V. Ferencz)

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## CONNECTED ELITES. MIDDLE LA TÈNE CHARIOTS IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN\*

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Keywords: Celts, Carpathian Basin, chariot, warrior, warfare, elite

At first sight, it might seem that the Late Iron Age chariots from the Carpathian Basin were exhaustively discussed. However, a new approach of the subject is apposite since chariots are (sometimes only briefly) mentioned in publications of materials, also in the meantime new finds appeared, and a need for a comparative analysis of the chariot components or of large scale interpretations of these assemblages exists. As we will show, chariot components placed in funeral assemblages of warriors were meant to symbolize the social identity of the chariot owners, who were high members of the elite. These components reflect connections with chariot makers, who were exceptional craftsmen, responsible for the technological transfer of their knowledge throughout Europe for centuries.

Chariots did not always play an emergent role on the battlefields of European history, they came to the fore only during certain periods. The chariot defined frequently as Celtic (*biga/bigae – esse-dum*) stands close to the Mediterranean type known from Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece, and Etruria (Harbison 1969, 55), and it was adopted in central Italy due to an eastern influence beginning with the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC (Pare 1987, 213, Abb. 13; Chytráček 1988, 45). In Rhineland, this type appeared at the end of the Early Iron Age in the warrior graves, accompanied by spears and knives, and later by swords, too (Chytráček 1988, 45). In the British Islands, the first two-wheeled chariots appeared at the turn of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Cunliffe 1995, 31). Even though wheeled vehicles – four-wheeled wagons – appeared in the Carpathian Basin as early as the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC (Bondár 2012), the first two-wheeled chariots are known from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, after the arrival of the 'Celts' in the area.

Literary sources mentioning chariots refer mostly to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, in some cases however, they report events in retrospect from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Thus, Livy (*Ab Urbe Condita* X.28.8; 30.5) and Polybius (*Historiai* II.28–29) mention the one thousand Gallic chariots of the battle of Sentinum in 295 BC, where the Gallic chariots had a decisive role at the beginning of the fights. Chariots had been used on the flanks in the battle of Telamon in 225 BC and they are mentioned in the battle of Clastidium in 222 BC (PIGGOTT 1952, 87; HARBISON 1969, 45). They were also used in 279 BC during the invasion of the sanctuary of Delphi (PIGGOTT 1952, 87), but more probably for carrying away booty, not as war-chariots (HARBISON 1969, 45). Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* XXXIV.162–163) talks about the silver-like ornamentation of the chariots – "incoctilia" –, while Poseidonios in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC – cited by Strabo (*Geographica* IV.5.2) and Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliotheca Historica* V.29.1) – describes that the two-horse

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chariots were used both for journeys and in battle (Harbison 1969, 46; Schönfelder 2002, 296–297; Szabó 2014, 106). He is the first to describe the usage of chariots in battle by the Celts: after throwing his spear from the chariot, the warrior dismounted to engage in hand-to-hand combat. Florus (*Epitomae de gestis Romanorum* I.18, I.37. I.45) has several short comments, he also described (I.37.5) the silver chariot of Bituitus. The fact that Caesar's work does not mention chariot warriors in Gaul, only in Britain (*De bello Gallico* IV.24, 32, 33; V. 9, 15–17, 19), has an important chronological aspect: most probably because of tactical reasons (Piggott 1952, 88) chariots were not used anymore on the continent in combat in the 1st century BC (Harbison 1969, 46). According to Tacitus (*Agricola* 12.35–36; 36) chariots were still in use on the British Islands in the time of Agricola (1st century AD). One should note, however, that all these authors refer to regions located far away from the Carpathian Basin, and they mention events posterior to the presence of the 'Celts' in the East, therefore they are only indirect sources in the reconstruction of the chariots' significance in Eastern Europe.

According to the classification of P. Harbison (1969, 34) of the graves with chariots, the Carpathian Basin belongs to the eastern group of this funerary custom. Schönfelder (2002, 362) also considers that the areas east of the Alps together with the Carpathian Basin form a special historical unit. Even if the number of funeral and domestic assemblages with chariot components in the Carpathian Basin is low – in France at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century more than 150 Late Iron Age chariot graves were known (Flouest 1984, 61) – they are significant for the understanding of how the warrior identity was perceived in the Eastern 'Celtic' koine.

Some of the finds from the Carpathian Basin, like the ones from Odžaci in Serbia, Mukachevo in Ukraine or Cristuru Secuiesc, Curtuiușeni and Toarcla in Romania as well as Balsa and Hatvan–Boldog in Hungary were first published at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century or in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Others, like the ones from Arnót in Hungary, in the 1970s. A grave with a linchpin from Fântânele–Dâmbu Popii cemetery was published in the last decade, two graves with chariot components are mentioned in Sajópetri, while a further linchpin was discovered by metal detectors few years ago at Gălăoaia in Mureș County. Two other linchpins were found lately among the drawings of the Apahida cemetery.

In the following we will present the middle La Tène chariot discoveries east of the Danube (Fig. 1).

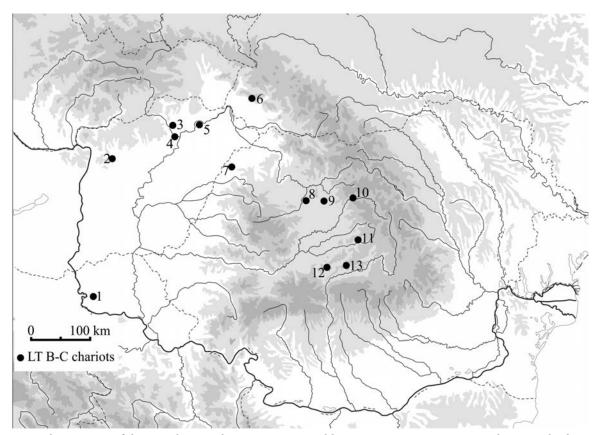


Fig. 1. Chariots east of the Danube: 1. Odžaci; 2. Hatvan–Boldog; 3. Arnót; 4. Sajópetri; 5. Balsa; 6. Mukachevo; 7. Curtuiușeni; 8. Apahida; 9. Fântânele; 10. Gălăoaia; 11. Cristuru Secuiesc; 12. Vurpăr; 13. Toarcla.

At Odžaci (West Bačka District, Serbia) a cremation grave with chariot elements and harness accessories together with a horse skull was discovered in 1902 (Pl. I). From the chariot the fragmentary iron chariot tyres (35 mm wide and 3-4 mm thick) and nave hoop fragments (76 mm wide) were placed in the burial, placed over the horse skull together with a shield boss. The rest of the inventory was found below the horse, around a wheel-thrown urn in which the cremated bones were placed. The grave goods were: two bent swords in scabbard, an iron knife, a shear, five spearheads, an iron bracelet, an iron chisel, and a horse-bit (Roediger 1904; Guštin 1984, 121–127, sl. 3, tab. 5–7). Initially, the grave was dated to LT C2 (Guštin 1984, 126, Taf. 5-7; Schönfelder 2002, 387, Tab. 10) but based on the swords the inventory dates from the LT C1 period (Szabó 2014, 100).

Beginning with the end of the 19th century several Late Iron Age finds were revealed from a settlement and its adjacent cemetery between the localities of Hatvan and Boldog (Heves County, Hungary). Some of them were recovered by B. Pósta, professor at the University in Cluj, delegated to supervise the works at the construction of the railway station in Hatvan (Pósta 1895, 1). Among the incidentally discovered finds, whose place of recovery could not be registered on the site, three, 530 mm, 300 mm and 230 mm long iron fragments (Pl. II/1) from one chariot tyre are known (Pósta 1895, 16, III. t./6; Márton 1934, 121, Taf. LIII).

Most of the graves from the La Tène cemetery from Arnót, in the valley of the Sajó River (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, Hungary), were destroyed during sand quarrying in the 1960s (Pl. II/2-9). Only three graves had been systematically researched. The chariot components - almost all metal elements of a chariot - were found incidentally by workers (K. Végh 1973; Schönfelder 2002, 390): three iron bars which strengthened the axle (240, 210, 165 mm); an iron loop (110 mm long, 10 mm wide, 3 mm thick); two linchpins with mobile ring (140, 173 mm); a Stradonice type joint of felloe (73 mm) ornamented with incisions, four iron nave hoops (diameter: 145, 145, 149, 152 mm, 5 mm thick); three iron elements (280, 320 and 385 mm) used for the suspension of the floor or platform of the chariot; an iron chain (255 mm) made of two segments, one of the segments was twisted and had one iron ring (diameter: 30 mm), the other was eight-shaped with two iron rings (diameter: 54 mm); another similar chain segment has also two iron rings and an orifice (diameter: 9 mm). Some of the harness accessories like the two rein terrets (100 and 103 mm) belonged most probably to the same grave inventory (K.-Végh 1973; 1984, 106-107, Abb. 3-4; Schönfelder 2002, 162-165, 167, 182-183, 196-199, 244, 259, Abb. 91/3; 110/1-2; 120/4-6; 163/1; Tab. 16-17; 40). Initially, the chariot components were dated to the end of the  $2^{nd}$ century BC (K.-Végh 1973; 1984, 106), others (Schönfelder 2002, 369, 390; Rustoiu 2015, tab. 1) dated them generally to LT C (SCHÖNFELDER 2002, 147, Tab. 12 mentions LT C2).

At Sajópetri-Homoki szőlőskertek (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, Hungary), in the LT B2a/B2b cremation grave 2 (Pl. II/10) from the central area of the cemetery, several chariot components were found together with pottery, a Hatvan-Boldog type scabbard and animal offerings. In the LT C1 cremation grave 72, situated somewhat isolated at the western margin of the cemetery, an object from a chariot placed as pars pro toto is mentioned together with the fragments from a shield's rim and an iron fibula (Szabó 2014, 93, 96-101, fig. 11; 13).

The LT C1 cremation grave with chariot tyres from Balsa-Földhordó (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County, Hungary) was one of the two graves unearthed in September 1903 by M. Roska (Pl. III). The inventory of the 1.80 m deep grave consisted of three wheel-thrown vessels (one of them with interesting incised ornament and four bosses specific to the handmade vessels) and some potsherds, a shear, one small and three large knives, a shield boss, four iron nails, a decorated bronze button, a spearhead, and a 0.80 m long scabbard. The two 40 mm wide tyres from the chariot wheel were found placed partially one over the other, indicating that the chariot was dismantled before it was placed into the grave. On the wheels two of the vessels, the animal offering and one of the large knifes were placed, while few boar bones and tusk were also found near the wheels. The human cremated bones were identified near the wheels and the vessels. Between the bones an opened iron ring (necklace or bracelet?), the fragment of another iron ring and two large iron brooches, and somewhat further a bronze brooch were placed (Roska 1915; Pârvan 1926, 636, fig. 360; Hunyadi 1944, 152, 36. kép, 38/4. kép; Harbison 1969, 39, 44; K.-Végh 1984, 105; Schönfelder 2002, 369).

Among the finds from the 19th century from Mukachevo-Galliš-Lovačka (Zakarpattia Oblast, Ukraine), site dated from the LTB2/C1 phase until LT D1 (MIROŠŠAYOVÁ 2012, 1331-1333), three, 90, 95 and 110 mm long iron linchpins can be recognized (Pl. IV/1–3) published as leather-working tools (MIHALIK 1901, 208–210, V. ábra/2–4; Lehoczky 1912, 57–58, XIX. ábra). Three linchpins and two iron loops together with their LT C1 archaeological context from features L–13, L–42 and G–53 were published later (Kobal 1996, 155–156, Abb. 4C, 6B, 10B) based on the manuscript of T. Lehoczky's archaeological notes from 1912 (Pl. IV/4–29). In the present, only these three chariot fittings are preserved in the Uzhhorod State Museum (Kazakevich 2015, 25, fig. 2/3). Most probably one of the linchpins published in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is actually the same as the one published from feature L–13 in the last decade of the same century. Therefore it seems that a number of five linchpins are known from this site.

The paper of M. Roska (1942a), where the finds from Curtuiuşeni–*Égetőhegy* (Bihor County, Romania) were published was entitled in Hungarian: The chariot grave from Curtuiuşeni – as it was mentioned by the author, himself – the finds do not form the inventory of a single grave, since they were donated after their incidental discovery (Pl. V/1–5). The objects related to a chariot are few iron tyre fragments (not illustrated), two 420 mm long iron bars which strengthened the axle, two hinged linchpins specific to the LT C period, and two ring assemblies (Roska 1944, 57–58, fig. 14; Jacobi 1974, 217; Schönfelder 2002, 164, 167, 259, Tab. 16–17; Abb. 163/3–4; Ferencz 1996; Teleaga 2008, 139).

In 2015, the granddaughters of Endre Orosz donated his archaeological collection and field documentations to the Mureş County Museum (Berecki *et al.* 2017). Among the drawings of Orosz of the collected objects from the cemetery from Apahida, located in the Someşul Mic River Valley (Cluj County, Romania) on the 19<sup>th</sup> March 1900 two linchpins (approximately 230 mm), two iron loops (approximately 70 mm), and probably a fragment from a nave hoop can be seen (Pl. V/6–10). The objects could not be identified in the collection and the discoveries from this date are not mentioned in any of the papers dedicated to the cemetery in Apahida (Crişan 1971; Zirra 1976), only the archive drawings of E. Orosz document a possible chariot grave from this site.

The Fântânele– $D\hat{a}mbul$  Popii (Bistriţa-Năsăud County, Romania) site is located in a tributary valley of the Someşul Mare River, a region densely inhabited in the Late Iron Age, with three cemeteries identified in the surroundings of the village. The first graves from the  $D\hat{a}mbul$  Popii site were found by chance in 1961. Then in 1967 eight graves were uncovered, while the excavations of I. H. Crişan, which started two years later unearthed 84 more graves. The 0.75 m deep pit of the cremation grave 49 (Pl. V/11–20) had the dimensions of 2 × 1.35 m and its LT C1 inventory comprised four brooches, a spearhead, an umbo, an iron linchpin, several iron pieces and animal offering placed above the cremated human bones. Except the linchpin the grave goods present traces of burning on the pyre (Rustoiu 2008, 95–97, fig. 46; Rustoiu 2015).

In 2013 at Gălăoaia–*Ciortoş Peak* (Mureş County, Romania), in north-eastern Transylvania, in the Upper Mureş Valley, in a mountainous region atypical for the Transylvanian Celtic habitat, at a superficial depth, a 125 mm long iron linchpin with a plastic style bronze ornament and somewhat further from this a 320 mm long twisted chain formed by ring assemblies were found during metal detecting by I. C. Pop (Pl. VI/4–5). From the same site three iron spear heads – one of them bent and broken – were also brought by the same person to the Mureş County Museum (Pl. VI/1–3). The character of the site situated on a high terrace above the Mureş River can be vaguely defined in this state of the research, it could be a hoarding place but the objects might testify warriors in war or hunting expedition (Berecki 2015, 152).

In Central Transylvania, on the upper course of the Târnava Mare River, on the slopes of a hill, at Cristuru Secuiesc–*Cserépcsűr/Csűrösoldal* (Harghita County, Romania) a LT C1 cremation grave with chariot was discovered on the 24<sup>th</sup> March 1902 (Pl. VI/6–14). The inventory was placed in a trough-shaped vessel with thick walls and it consisted of a fragmentary sword from which the handle and the tip were preserved, an iron spearhead, a horse-shaped chariot ornament made of bronze with incrusted red enamel eyes (regarded knife handle in the early publications), a bronze rivet from the chariot ornamented in the 'conservative plastic style' (Szabó 1989, 23) and with perforated iron needle, four 40 mm wide and 450–500 mm long iron tyre fragments, a bronze ring, the bottom of a large wheel-thrown vessel and a hand-made shallow bowl. At the site, cremated human bones were also observed as well as a vertebra associated to a horse (Roska 1929, 315–322, 83. kép; Nestor 1932, 154; Roska 1933; Márton 1934, 124, Taf. 57; Nestor 1941, 164, n. 2, 181; Roska 1942b, 269, 322. kép; Hunyadi 1944, 50; Roska

1944, 70, 47. kép; Benkő 1992, 183; Ferencz 1996, 61; Ferencz 1997; Schönfelder 2002, 78, 140, 369). It is highly probable that further grave goods were lost.

In the collection of the Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu two bronze nave hoops (outer diameter: 72 and 75 mm, weight: 95 and 123 gram) with two ribs (Pl. VI/15-16) are inventoried as incidental discoveries from Vurpăr (Sibiu County, Romania). The same collection holds other Late Iron Age stray finds from the locality: a La Tène Steckverschluss type bronze bracelet and an iron spearhead (HOREDT 1945, Abb. 4). Since the finds were inventoried in the museum along with hooked sickles from a Ha B1 hoard, they were believed to be Bronze Age artefacts (Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1978, 146, Taf. 249/C4-5). Others questioned the functionality of these objects as nave hoops (SCHÖNFELDER 2002, 370, 396).

From an unknown site in the area of Toarcla village (Braşov County, Romania), in 1885 a chariot grave dated to LT B2b was discovered (Pl. VII). The inventory consisted of a bent sword (411 mm long), scabbard with open chape of Hatvan-Boldog type, a bronze chain necklace with pendant (321 mm long), a button made of bronze and iron (40 mm in diameter), an iron (37 mm in diameter) and two bronze (34 and 63 mm in diameter) rings, the larger with a channel on the outer edge, four nave hoops made of iron and bronze (130 mm in diameter, 6-8 mm thick), a flat, undecorated iron linchpin (122 mm long, 59 gram) and a second iron linchpin with copper strips (97 mm long, 87 gram), two iron loops (100 and 116 mm long, 10 and 18 gram), a horse bit (258 mm long), fragments of the iron tyres (between 49 and 840 mm), a lost spindle whorl, a wheel-thrown vessel, the bottom of a hand-made shallow bowl, and several potsherds (Reinecke 1902, 61, n. 27; Pârvan 1926, 572; Schroller 1928, 90; Nestor 1932, 153, n. 632; Márton 1934, 124, 161; Nestor 1941, 179, 181; Roska 1942b, 128; Roska 1944, 60; Horedt 1945, 189-194, fig. 1-3, 7/3; Harbison 1969, 44; Crişan 1973a, 63-64; Paul 1982; Megaw-Megaw 1995, 144, fig. 72/c-d; Ferencz 1996, 91, pl. 3; Schönfelder 2002, 170, 369, Tab. 18).

A few discoveries from the eastern Carpathian Basin were included erroneously to the category of Late Iron Age chariots finds. Because of the presence of two horse bits in the grave, I. H. Crişan (1964; 1973a; 1973b, 49-51, fig. 4) reasoned that the LT B2b cremation grave 3 of a warrior from Dezmir-Ateliere CFR (Cluj county, Romania) discovered in 1938 (Roska 1942b, 66; Roska 1944, 56, 9-11. kép) was a chariot grave, and he presumed that the 320 mm long iron bar - probably a Brežice type buckle (Guštin 2003) - was some kind of chariot component (V. Zirra 1975; 1981, 135, Abb. 9/4 interpreted the iron bar as a 'Thracian type' horse bit).

The inhumation grave 108 from Pişcolt-Nisipărie (Satu Mare County, Romania) was another one in the inventory of which iron nails and rings were initially interpreted as chariot components (Ferencz 1996, 93). However, based on the close analogies from the Manching cemetery, in Germany, they were reconsidered as iron parts of a coffin or of a kind of funerary furniture (Schönfelder 2002, 194, 370, 395-396).

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Regarding the chronology of the chariots from the Carpathian Basin one must note that the earliest well-dated features with chariot components are the grave 2 in Sajópetri (LT B2a/B2b, one of the earliest graves of the cemetery) and from Toarcla (LT B2b), while those from Odžaci, Arnót, Sajópetri grave 72, Balsa, Mukachevo, Fântânele, Gălăoaia and Cristuru Secuiesc are from the LT C1 period (see Table 1). The number of chariot components from Eastern Europe should be seen also from the perspective of Western European tendencies, where after the high presence of chariot burials from the early La Tène the number of these graves decreases during the middle La Tène and became scarce during the late La Tène (van Endert 1984, 53-54).

The tyre fragments from Hatvan-Boldog might have belonged to a grave with further inventory, yet, due to the circumstances of discovery and the lack of any context or clear association with other grave goods, as it was presumed about the also incidentally discovered horse-bits, the dating to LT B1 (Schönfelder 2002, 369), LT B (Rustoiu 2015, tab. 1) or LT B2b (Szabó 2014, 101) is unsustainable. Since the chronological association of the chariot components from Curtuiuşeni was based on the rest of the inventory, its dating to LT C1 (Harbison 1969, 44; Joachim 1969, 110; Zirra 1971, 207, n. 150; CRIŞAN 1973a, 55; SCHÖNFELDER 2002, 140; 369, Tab. 10; 16) can be questioned. The circumstances of the discovery of the finds from Apahida do not allow a chronological framing, while the bronze nave hoops from Vurpăr were dated to the LT B1 horizon mainly based on the early La Tène bracelet discovered incidentally in the same locality (HINZ 1963, 17; CRIŞAN 1973a, 65; WOŹNIAK 1976, 386; FERENCZ 1996,

East of the Danube wheeled vehicles are also known from the Late La Tène period, like those from the four-wheeled wagon burials in Popești, Radovanu, and Cugir (Ferencz 1996, 101) or the miniature votive deposition from Miercurea Sibiului, feature C522 (NATEA 2016, 75-77, pl. 16; 17). Even if the fourwheeled wagons reappeared during the Central European Late Iron Age 'oppida period' (Schönfelder 2003, 16), based on the funerary practices from Eastern Europe, these finds are rather connected to southern, Thracian customs (Ferencz 1996, 101; Schönfelder 2002, 304), where chariot graves are documented from the 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC (IGNATOV 2007, 47).

Since no complete chariots were researched in the Carpathian Basin, the reconstruction of the vehicle is possible only by a combined analysis of the different parts discovered in different contexts and by their comparison with the Central European finds (Schönfelder 2002), with the iconography of the situlae (Chytráček 1988, fig. 8; Schönfelder 2002, 283, Abb. 179-180) or with numismatic representations (Cunliffe 1995, 31). However, these later ones are chronologically posterior to the Celtic horizon from the Eastern Carpathian Basin (PIGGOTT 1952, 87; SCHÖNFELDER 2002, 290), and the imitations have schematic representations, inappropriate for reconstructions (Schönfelder 2002, 290, 292).

The reconstruction of the Celtic chariots preoccupied scholars starting from the early discoveries of these vehicles. A reconstruction was proposed in 1934 for the chariot from Kärlich (GÜNTHER 1934, fig. 1), which was the primary source for the reconstruction of the chariots from Llyn Cerrig Bach (Fox 1946, fig. 13), re-evaluated and detailed later (STEAD 1965). Architectural representations were also used for the reconstruction of chariots, like the relief depicting the battle of Pergamum (STEAD 1965, 262-263), other times contemporary funeral stelae (Civita Alba, Chiusi, Padua) were interpreted as possible sources (Stead 1965, 264–265; Harbison 1969, 46–47; Harbison 1971, 171–177, pl. XXV; Schönfelder 2002, 288, Abb. 181-182). All these representations and reconstructions testify the simultaneous use of different types of chariots, without any chronological particularities (Schönfelder 2002, 275) regarding their general shape or construction.

Iron tyres that protected the rim of a wooden wheel are known from Odžaci, Hatvan-Boldog, Balsa, Cristuru Secuiesc and Toarcla. The wheels in the Carpathian Basin were 3-4 cm wide. The length of the iron tyres from Hatvan-Boldog was around 1 m, if they would be from a single wheel, then the diameter of a wheel would result in only 0.31 m indicating that further pieces might be missing. The drawing of the grave from Balsa was made based on a photograph unsuitable for publication (Roska 1915, 25), therefore the proportions should be handled with caution, though this is the only source based on which the diameter of the tyres could be estimated. According to the description of the objects, the sword was 0.80 m long and it seems somewhat smaller than the iron tyres, which might have had a diameter around 0.90 m. The four iron tyre fragments from Cristuru Secuiesc have a total length of less than 2 m which, if they came from a single wheel, would give a diameter around 0.60 m. At Toarcla the total length of the iron tyre fragments is between 4 and 4.50 m, giving a diameter of approximately 1.40 m if they were from a single wheel or 0.70 m if they came from two wheels.

The diameter of the wheels from western Europe during the Late Iron Age varied between 0.80 and 1.10 m (Joffroy-Bretz-Mahler 1959, 11; Stead 1984, 31; Cahen-Delhaye 1993, 62; Ritchie 1995, 40; METZLER-GAENG 2008, 33), in the Rhine valley these ranged between 0.80-0.95 m (HAFFNER-JOACHIM 1984, 74), at Kärlich it was 0.70-0.80 m (GÜNTHER 1934, 8), and the ones from Sedlec-Hůrka and Mírkovice in Bohemia were 0.80-0.85 m (Chytráček 1988, 31). Generally, one can conclude that the Late Iron Age tyres were around 0.90-1 m in diameter. The Early Iron Age wheels were somewhat smaller, around 0.70-0.95 m in diameter (SCHÖNFELDER 2002, 136, 138, 277), the 1st century BC chariot from Cugir had wheels of 1 m in diameter (CRIŞAN 1980, 83; SCHÖNFELDER 2002, 140, Tab. 10), while the Irish type from the 1st century BC was much larger (HARBISON 1969, 54; HARBISON 1971, 173–174).

In the case of the tyres from Odžaci, Hatvan-Boldog and Toarcla the perforations of the nails used to fix the iron elements to the wooden wheel could be observed on the iron bars. Other times, like at Arnót, joint of felloes strengthened the wheels (Pl. II/4).

Iron or bronze nave hoops surrounded the central axle piece of the wheel. The ones from Odžaci (Pl. I), Arnót (Pl. II/6) and Apahida (Pl. V/8) were made of iron, the two nave hoops from Vurpăr were

made of bronze (Pl. VI/15-16), while uniquely the four pieces from Toarcla were made of iron covered with bronze plates (Pl. VII/10). The diameter of these nave hoops varied between 72 and 170 mm, similar to those from Western Europe (Joffroy-Bretz-Mahler 1959, 13; Haffner-Joachim 1984, 74; Chytráček 1988, 35; Cahen-Delhaye 1993, 64; Schönfelder 2002, 150–155, Abb. 96).

Usually an iron bar, pointed on one side, like the ones from Arnót (Pl. II/8) and Curtuiușeni (Pl. V/5), strengthened the wooden axle (SCHÖNFELDER 2002, 162, Abb. 100-101, Tab. 16). The three bars from Arnót varied between 165 and 240 mm in length, while the two pieces from Curtuiuşeni were 420 mm long.

Iron or bronze linchpins secured the wheel to the axle, like those from Arnót, Mukachevo, Curtuiușeni, Apahida, Fântânele-Dâmbu Popii, Gălăoaia and Toarcla. It was presumed that in some cases they were made of wood (STEAD 1984, 35). Usually the pin had a knobbed ending and sometimes the pin or the head was pierced. Based on their shape, two major types were defined for the early and middle La Tène period: rectangular and curved linchpins. The first type is dated from LT B to LT C, while curved linchpins are specific mostly for the LT C and the oppida-horizon (JACOBI 1974, 216-221, Abb. 53; Schönfelder 2002, 165–181). The typical LT C (Jacobi 1974, Abb. 53; Schönfelder 2002, 165) hinged linchpins from Curtuiuşeni (Pl. V/3-4) are unique finds east of the Danube.

Two linchpins are known from the inventory of the LT B2b grave in Toarcla (Pl. VII/1-2). One of them was a simple type, made of iron and perforated on the upper part of the pin, under the head. The second one was an iron linchpin with two copper strips on the head, with analogies at Waldalgesheim, Condé-sur-Marne or Brežice grave 6 (Guštin 1984, 131, Tab. 3/1-2; Legendre-Gomez de Soto 1990, 287, fig. 1/1, Taf 39; 40/3; Megaw-Megaw 1995, 140, fig. 72). Morphologically the two linchpins from Apahida seem to be a simple version of the rectangular type (Pl. V/9–10). The linchpin with rectangular head from Gălăoaia had two pierces, one of them with a rivet (Pl. VI/4). A hollowed bronze knob decorated in the plastic style was placed close to the end of the pin.

A curved linchpin with pierced and chained head was found in the cremation grave 49 of a warrior in Fântânele (Pl. V/11). The iron linchpins from Mukachevo are the only ones east of the Danube that come from a settlement features. Міналік (1901) and Lehóczky (1912) published three pieces as leather working tools, while KOBAL (1996) published three linchpins and their archaeological context based on Lehóczky's journal from 1912. One of the linchpins published at the beginning of the 20th century seems to be identical with one published in 1996 from the feature L-13 (see Pl. IV/3 and IV/4). From this feature further objects were also presented in the early publications, while the two features with a linchpin in their inventory were not illustrated nor mentioned. Therefore it seems probable that two of the linchpins from the early publications (Pl. IV/1-2) were not found in an archaeological feature and they were not illustrated by J. KOBAL 1996. One of them (Pl. IV/3-4) is presented in both studies and two linchpins from features L-42 and G-53 (Pl. IV/12, 16) were first published in the same study of J. Kobal. Morphologically four of them are typical middle La Tène curved forms, while the one from G-53 seems to have a rectangular shape (KOBAL 1996, 156). Beside their shape, the inventory of the features also indicate a dating to the middle La Tène (LT C1).

Linchpins with mobile ring, such as the ones from Arnót (Pl. II/3) are rare finds, analogies are known from the LT C grave in Steiermark 1 or from the oppidum in Závist (Schönfelder 2002, 182, Abb. 110, Tab. 24).

The suspension of the chariot's platform was realized with the help of different types of hooks, a bifurcated type was documented at Arnót (Pl. II/9), with analogies in the Rheinland, Austria, and France (Schönfelder 2002, 194-199, Abb. 118-120). The function of the iron loops is not yet welldefined (Schönfelder 2002, 200, Abb. 125) like those from Arnót (Pl. II/2), Mukachevo (Pl. IV/17–18), Apahida (Pl. V/6-7) and Toarcla (Pl. VII/3-4).

Platform elements are not known from the Carpathian Basin. It was presumed that middle and late La Tène chariots had semi-circular (PIGGOTT 1952, 87) or arcaded side-screens (HARBISON 1971, 171). Low platforms were used mostly for races, while the platform of war chariots was somewhat higher (Снутка́čек 1988, 27, fig. 15), about 0.60 m above the ground on the continent and 1 m off the ground in Ireland (Harbison 1969, 55; Harbison 1971, 173). The dimension of platforms varied between  $0.80 \times 0.80$  and  $1.10 \times 1.30$  m (van Endert 1984, 48; Chytráček 1988, 31). Concerning the materials used for the wooden elements, in the case of the chariots from Thrace it could be defined that the axes and the naves were made of ash-tree and maple, the bottom of the baskets from oak, other times black pine was also used (IGNATOV 2007, 58). In some cases the side screens were decorated with ornaments like the above discussed horse-shaped plates with red enamelled eyes (now lost) or bronze buttons with perforated iron pin decorated in the plastic style like the one from Cristuru Secuiesc (Pl. VI/8, 12).

Usually two horses were yoked on the both sides of a wooden pole with the help of leather harnesses and straps, fixed by metal rein terrets. Two stylistically atypical (Schönfelder 2002, 244, Tab. 40) rein terrets were found at Arnót (Pl. II/5). The iron chains like the ones from Arnót (Pl. II/7), Curtuiuşeni (Pl. V/1–2) and Gălăoaia (Pl. VI/5) were considered harness accessories used for the control of the horses (Schönfelder 2002, 259–261, Abb. 163). Analogies are known only from central and western Europe (Manching, Altendorf, Bern/Tiefenau and Léry). Horse-bits were found in the grave from Odžaci (Pl. I), Toarcla (Pl. VII/11) and in L–13 from Mukachevo (Pl. IV/5).

Horse bones were identified in the grave from Odžaci (the skull of a horse) and Cristuru Secuiesc. In this second case the notes mention one horse vertebra but, since this data is based only on the observations of the discoverer, it might be erroneous and the bone might come from a different animal. There is only scarce information about the horses of the 4<sup>th</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC. According to Cassius Dio (LXXVII.12.3) the horses of the Caledonians and Maeatae in Britain were small and swift. Such horses are indicated by the archaeozoological analyses also for the Late Iron Age in western and eastern Europe (Cahen-Delhaye 1993, 69; Hurt 2007, 116; Bindea 2008, 165–167).

The position of the chariot graves in the cemeteries was considered outstanding (Joffroy-Bretz-Mahler 1959, 8). It is the case of grave 2 in Sajópetri, which was the central grave of the enclosure A, while grave 72 from enclosure B is not only on the periphery of its group but also on the easternmost margin of the cemetery (Szabó 2014, 92–95, fig. 12). At Fântânele, grave 49 is situated in the western side of the cemetery, not as dense in graves as the central area, on the other hand it has a somewhat central position among the LT C1 graves (Rustoiu 2016, pl. 6–7).

Chariots were frequently dismantled all over Europe before being placed in graves (HAFFNER–JOACHIM 1984, 77; RITCHIE 1995, 40; IGNATOV 2007, 47). By analyzing the available information, it is certain that in the case of Balsa, Toarcla and Cristuru Secuiesc even if not the entire chariot with pole, yoke and platform, but at least the wheels were placed in the grave. In the first two cases, the iron tyres of both wheels were found, while at Balsa even the ritual of food offering can be reconstructed, with the animal bones and an iron knife placed over the partially overlapping wheels. In several cemeteries from Yorkshire (Garton Slack, Arras, Danes Graves, Beverley) the wheels were taken off the chariot and placed flat on the floor, the deceased was placed on the wheels while additional elements of the chariot, like the yoke and the straps were placed over the body (STEAD 1984, 32). Other times, in Western European chariot burials the wheels were not placed at all in the graves.

In the grave from Odžaci the skull of a horse together with the chariot tyres, the nave hoops, and a shield 'sealed' the 'traditional' cremation grave of a warrior, where the inventory was placed around an urn, which contained the cremated remains (ROEDIGER 1904, 350).

At Balsa, the two wheels were placed on the bottom of the grave, partially one over the other. Two pots were placed on one of the wheels, a part of the animal offering and a large knife were found on the second wheel, while the rest of the inventory was found around the wheels (Pl. III).

According to Lajos Horváth, the pupil, who discovered the cremation grave from Cristuru Secuiesc in 1902, the inventory was placed in a tub-shaped ceramic recipient with thick walls (Roska 1929, 315; Roska 1933, 359). A 2 m long, 0.90 m wide and 0.50 m deep wooden tub with iron hoops was found in the LT D grave from Boé, France (Schönfelder 2002, 78, Abb. 52).

Due to the lack of details concerning the shape, the location or connection of features from Mukachevo, it is hard to interpret the presence of linchpins and iron loops in the settlement features, yet based on the combination of artefacts from the three features (horse-bit, bracelets, chains, casting mould, utensils, spindle whorl, miniature clay wheel, and pottery), their connection to workshops or deliberate hoarding can be also presumed.

At Fântânele, the inventory of the grave 49 was carefully arranged in the pit: the human bones, cloth accessories and animal offering were placed in one side of the grave, while the weapons and the linchpin in the opposite side (Pl. V). Based on the placement and combination of the grave inventory it was presumed that the linchpin had a magical role involved in particular rituals during the funeral ceremony

rather than an object placed pars pro toto (Rustoiu 2015, 75-76), although the two type of actions or manipulations do not exclude each other. Furthermore, theoretically any object placed in a grave could be part of an 'archaeologically invisible' magical ritual. Pars pro toto type of deposition was presumed in the case of the grave 72 from Sajópetri too (Szabó 2014, 100).

As already mentioned, no entire chariot was documented east of the Danube for this period. Moreover, the archaeological context could be reconstructed, when based on descriptions or illustrations it is obvious that the elements of the chariots were placed dismantled in the graves. It was observed that for the LT B-C periods the pars pro toto concept was applied (WALDHAUSER 1977, 64, Abb. 2). This was a symbolic action (JOACHIM 1969, 97; PARE 1992, 123; SCHÖNFELDER 2002, 311), where, in the case of chariot graves, a few, usually small pieces stand for and represent the entire vehicle.

While in France chariots usually are placed in inhumation graves (Dupuis 1940, 63; Joffroy-Bretz-Mahler 1959, 24; Harbison 1969, 36, 40; van Endert 1984, 48, 228, Tab. 3), in Britain (van ENDERT 1986, 210, 274, Tab. 1), Belgium (CAHEN-DELHAYE 1975, 49) or Germany (HARBISON 1969, 37; VAN ENDERT 1986, Tab. 7) a large number of barrows exist with chariots. In the case of the Carpathian Basin all graves with clear information on the funerary rite (Odžaci, Sajópetri graves 2 and 72, Balsa, Fântânele, Cristuru Secuiesc) were cremation burials. In this respect, it is important to highlight that none of the chariot elements or harness accessories from these graves were burned on the pyre.

Despite the fact that several chariot components are stray finds or parts of collections and only a few complexes have more or less clear conditions of discovery, one can observe the similarities in the association of grave goods, where weapons, jewelry, harnesses and utensils are frequently met in the graves. Not counting the incidental discoveries and settlement features and taking into consideration only the seven graves from Odžaci, Sajópetri 2 and 72, Balsa, Fântânele, Cristuru Secuiesc and Toarcla one can conclude that each of the graves contained weapons (Table 1): five graves contained sword or scabbard, in four graves shields were placed, and in other four graves spears were found. Generally, it was observed that chariot graves contain mostly offensive and rarely defensive weapons (Schönfelder 2003, 15). In eastern Europe, spears were always placed together with other weapons in these graves. This panoply confirms the narrations of Diodorus Siculus, Poseidonios and Caesar, the representation of the 3rd century BC stelae from Padua and the numismatic iconography about the chariot warfare of the Celts, who were able to combine chariot combat with javelins and pedestrian warfare with swords (Piggott 1952, 87; Harbison 1971, 171–177, pl. XXV; Cunliffe 1995, 33; Schönfelder 2002, 28, Abb. 181; Hurt 2007, 120). At Odžaci and Balsa all three types of weapons were found and these are the only two graves until now, where the grave inventory included also shears and knives.

In a few cases, during the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC together with the two pulling horses a third one is documented behind the chariot, indicating warriors, who were both chariot and mounted warriors (Frey 1976, 174; Schönfelder 2002, 322; Schönfelder 2003, 16). Saddle horses in chariot graves are also documented for the 1st century BC Dacia (Crişan 1980, 82) and 1st century AD Thrace (Ignatov 2007, 48).

Due to the lack of anthropological analysis and based only on the grave inventories the chariot burials from the Carpathian Basin seem to have belonged to male warriors. In the absence of weapons or based on other grave goods (mostly jewelry) Central and Western European La Tène chariot graves were sometimes interpreted as female or child burials (Harbison 1969, 36; van Endert 1984, 48; Haffner-JOACHIM 1984, 76–77; VAN ENDERT 1986, Tab 1; 3; 5–7; 9; 11; CAHEN-DELHAYE 1993, 60).

Based on the written sources and combined with the iconography of the bronze situlae, M. Schönfelder (2002, 283, Abb. 179-180) separated race chariots, ceremonial chariots, and war chariots. The list should be completed or nuanced with chariots used for travelling or as funeral biers (CHYTRÁČEK 1988, 48-50; CUNLIFEE 1995, 31). Moreover, war chariots could have been used also for hunting. The inventory of the grave, the combination of grave goods or the size of the hypothetically reconstructed eastern Celtic chariot (small and low, therefore fast enough to be used in combat or hunting), indicate that all these vehicles resemble to war chariots. Beginning with the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC the chariots from the continent were considered rather traditional symbols of rank and chariot combat was obsolete, while the cavalry were paramount (Frey 1976, 172–173, 177; HAFFNER-JOACHIM 1984, 77; Chytráček 1988, 48; Cunliffe 1995, 31; Ferencz 1996, 93; Ferencz 1997, 10; Schönfelder 2002, 352–355). However, from Thrace (Ignatov 2007, 48) to Western Europe (Cahen-Delhaye 1993, 68)

Locality	chro- nology	archaeologi- cal feature	chariot parts	har- ness	weap- ons	uten- sils	jewelry	horse
Odžaci (RS)	LT C1	urn crema- tion grave	tyre fragments, nave hoop	horse- bit	shield, 2 swords, 5 spears	shear, knife, chisel		X
Hatvan–Boldog (HU)	LT B-C	incidental discovery	tyre fragments					
Arnót (HU)	LT C1	incidental discovery	bars from the axle, 2 linch-pins, iron loop, joint of felloe, 4 nave hoops, 3 suspensions of the floor, 2 rein terrets, 2 ring assemblies					
Sajópetri- <i>Homoki</i> szőlőskertek grave 2 (HU)	LT B2a/ B2b	cremation grave	?		scabbard			
Sajópetri– <i>Homoki</i> szőlőskertek grave 72 (HU)	LT C1	cremation grave	?		shield			
Balsa- <i>Földhordó</i> (HU) grave 2	LT C1	cremation grave	2 tyres		shield, scab- bard, spear	shears, knives,	fibulae, neck- laces/bracelets	
Mukachevo– Galliš-Lovačka (UA)	LT C1	settlement features	5? linchpins and 2 iron loops	horse bit (L-13)		sickle (G-53), knife (L-42)	bracelet (L-13), bracelet, bead, chain (G-53), chain (L-42)	
Curtuiuşeni– Égetőhegy (RO)	LT C1	incidental discovery	tyre fragments, 2 bars from the axle, 2 hinged linchpins, 2 ring assemblies					
Apahida– <i>Râtul</i> satului (RO)	LT B-C	incidental discovery	2 linchpins, 2 iron loops, nave hoop					
Fântânele– <i>Dâmbu Popii</i> grave 49  (RO)	LT C1	cremation grave	linchpin		shield, spear		four fibulae	
Gălăoaia- <i>Ciortoș</i> (RO)	LT C1	metal detect- ing	linchpin, ring assemblies					
Cristuru Secuiesc- Cserépcsűr/Csúrö- soldal (RO)	LT C1	cremation grave	tyre fragments, chariot orna- ment		sword, spear			X
Vurpăr (RO)	LT B-C	incidental discovery	2 nave hoops					
Toarcla (RO)	LT B2b	grave	4 nave hoops, 2 linchpins, 2 loops, tyre frag- ments, buttons, rings	horse- bit	sword, scabbard		necklace	

Table 1. Chariots east of the Danube.

several chariots found in funeral contexts show traces of repair, which indicates their actual functional use before being placed in the grave.

In conclusion, one can remark that chariots were outstanding products of the Late Iron Age craftsmen all over Europe, with complex cultural, military and religious role in the self-identification of the warrior elite, a distinctive marker displayed during community occasions, and deposited or symbolized in the funeral contexts. As written sources and the archaeological evidence show, the chariot lost its importance in warfare on the continent at the end of the middle La Tène period but it kept its symbolic role, as entire chariots or part of it, or sometimes just single but specific objects were placed in the graves of warriors.

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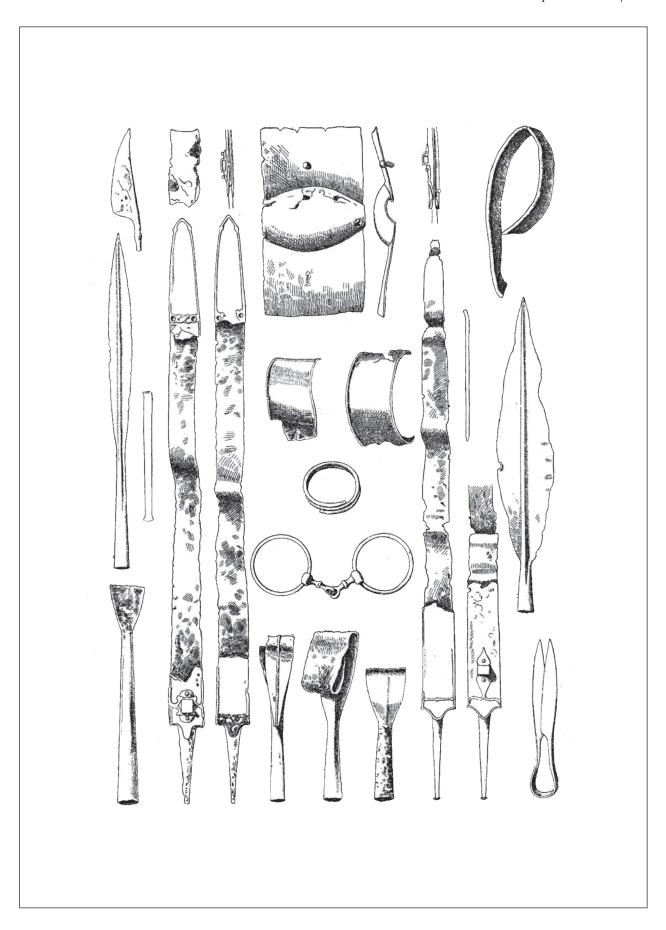


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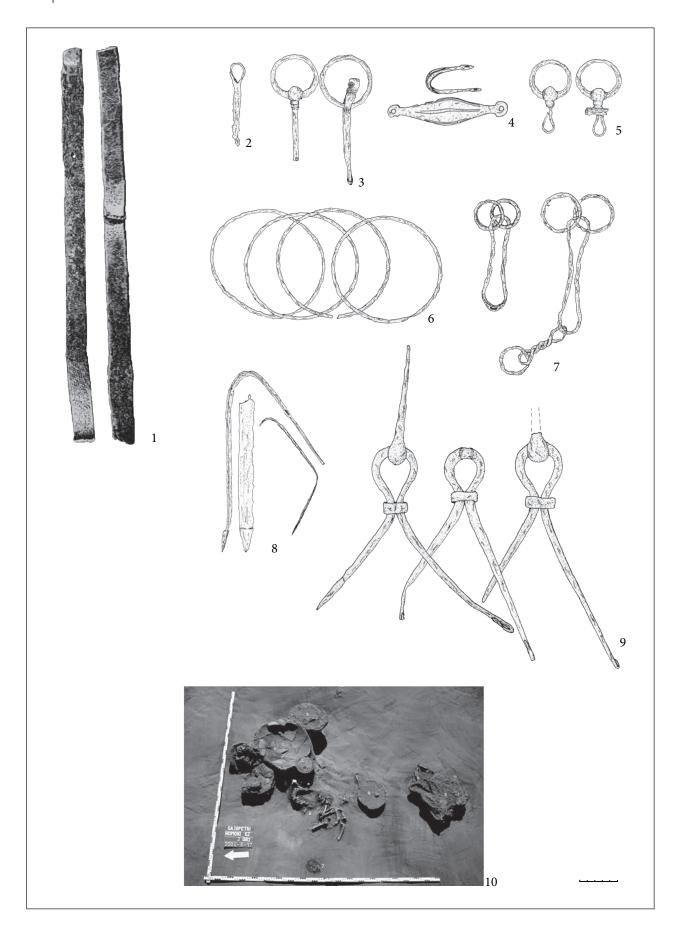


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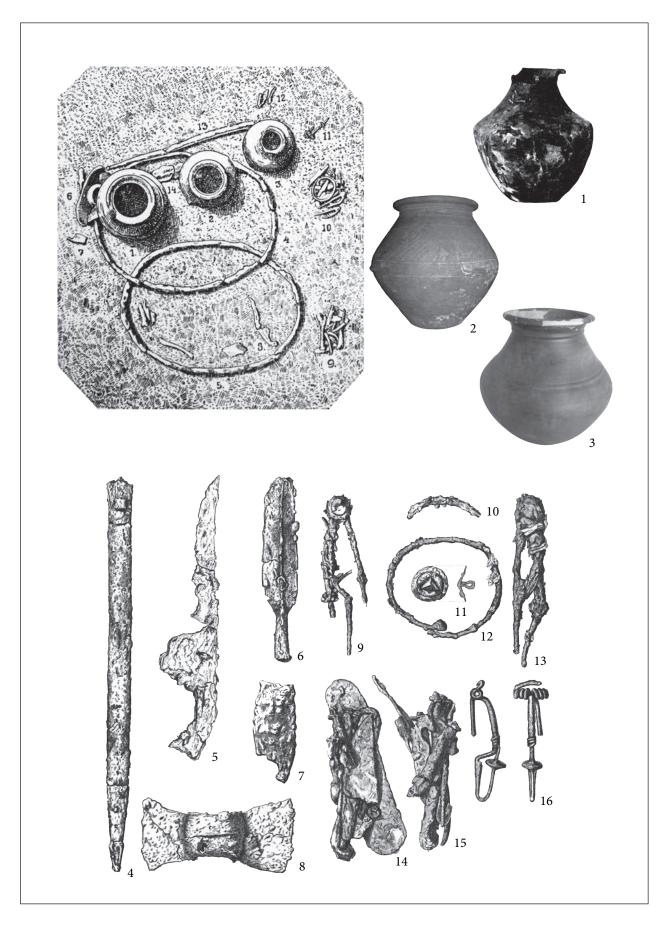


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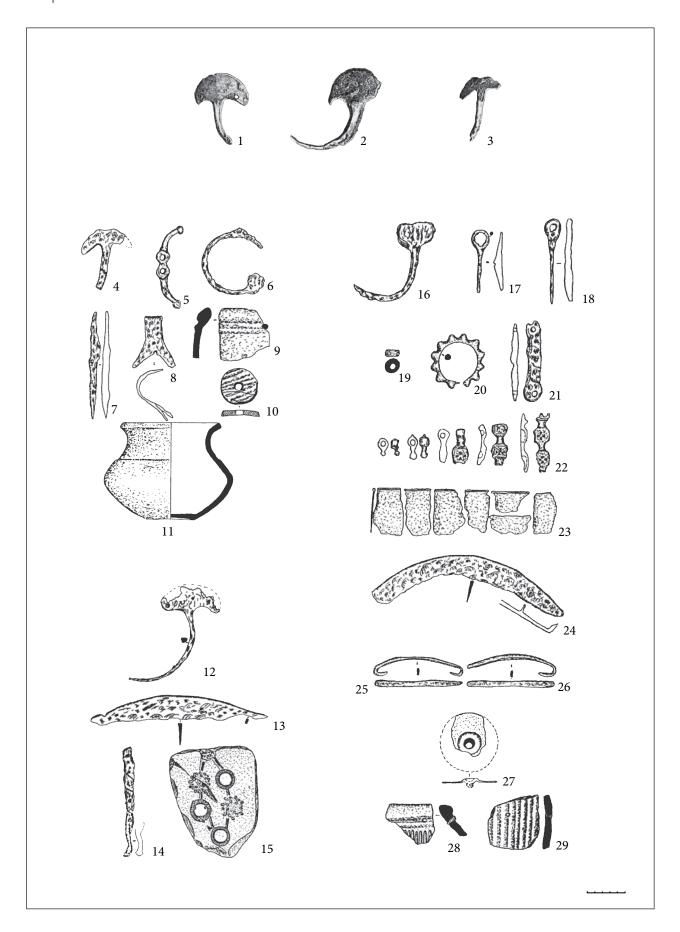


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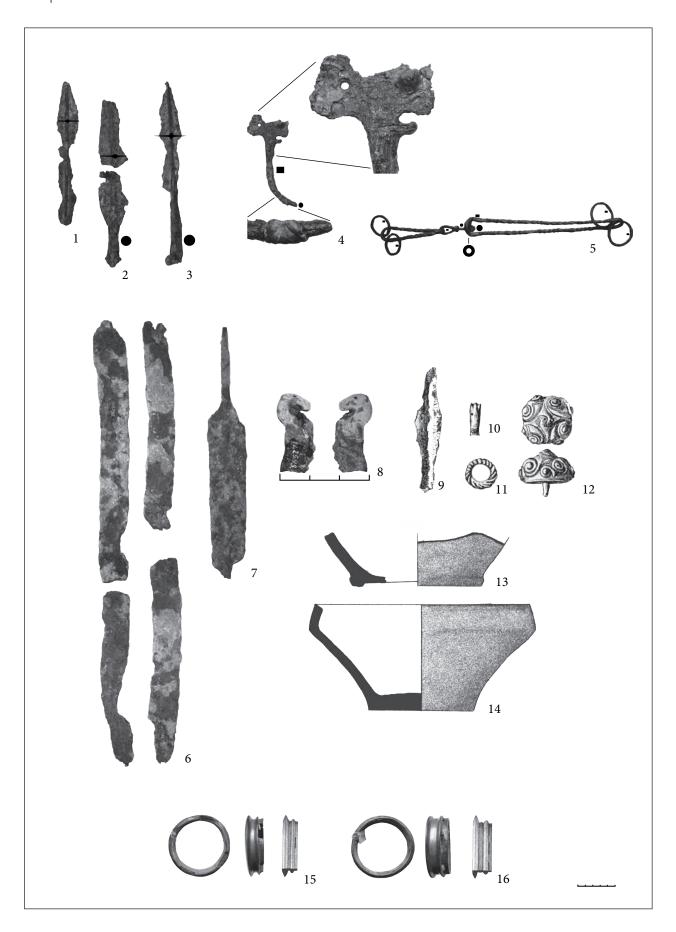


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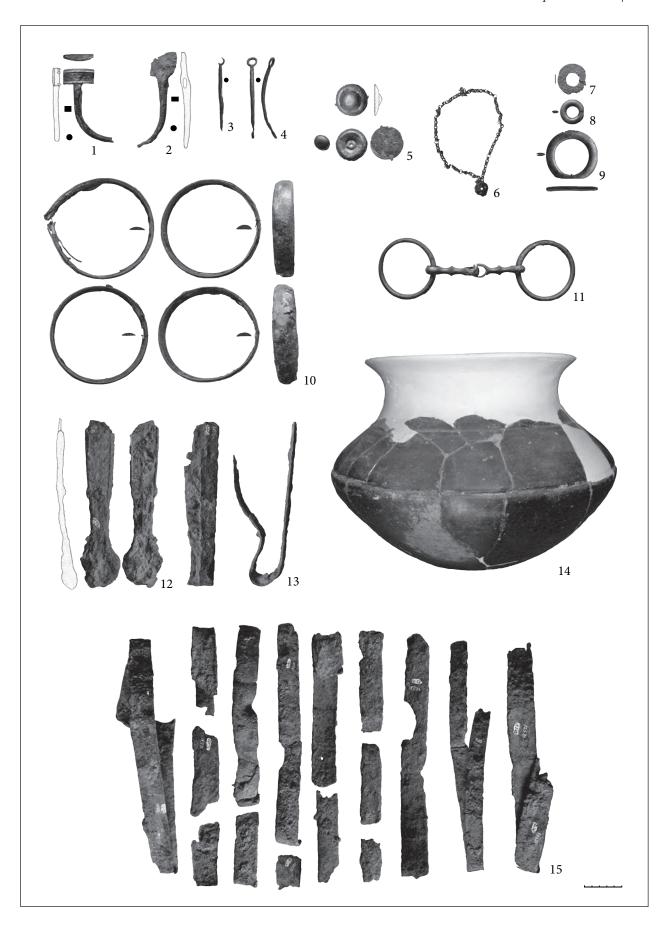


Plate VII. Toarcla.

#### **ABBREVIATIONS**

AAR Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia

Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest

Acta Archaeologica Carpathica, Academia Scientiarum Polona Collegium

Cracoviense, Kraków

ActaMCActa Musei Cibalensis, VinkovciActaMNActa Musei Napocensis, Cluj-NapocaActaMPActa Musei Porolissensis, Zalău

AFGN Archäologische Forschungen zu den Grabungen auf dem Magdalensberg,

Klagenfurt

AIH Régészeti Kutatások Magyarországon / Archaeological Investigation in Hungary,

**Budapest** 

AJPhA American Journal of Physical Anthropology

Alba Regia, Annales Musei Stephani Regis, Székesfehérvár

Anatolian Studies Anatolian Studies, Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara

Annalen Wien Annalen des Naturhistorischen Museums in Wien

Annales HSS Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales

Apulum, Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia

ArchAustrArchaeologia Austriaca, WienArchBulgArchaeologia Bulgarica, SofiaArchČecháchArcheologie ve středních ČecháchArchÉrtArchaeologiai Értesítő, BudapestArchHungArchaeologia Hungarica, Budapest

ArchIug Archaeologia Iugoslavica

ArchKorr Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum

Mainz

ArchRoz Archeologické Rozhledy, Prague

ArchSlov Archaeologia Slovaca Monographiae, Studia, Nitra

ArchSlovC Archaeologia Slovaca Monographiae Communicationes, Nitra

ArchSlovFArchaeologia Slovaca Fontes, BratislavaArhRRArheološki radovi i rasprave, Zagreb

ArhVest Arheološki vestnik (Acta Archaeologica), Inštitut za arheologijo, Lubljana

ASA Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde, Zürich

ASM Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae, Nitra

AVANS Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku

AVJC Archeologické výzkumy v Jižnich Čechách

AVSC Archeologický výskum v severných Čechách

Balcanica Balcanica, Beograd

Banatica, Muzeul de istorie al județului Caraș-Severin, Reșița

BAR British Archaeological Reports, International Series / British Series, Oxford

Bayer Vorgbl Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter, München

BB Bibliotheca Brukenthal, Sibiu

BCŞS Buletinul Cercurilor Ştiinţifice Studenţeşti, Alba Iulia

Beiträge UFM Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas, Weissbach

BerRGK Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission

BJ Bonner Jahrbücher

BMÉ A Bihari Múzeum Évkönyve, Berettyóújfalu

BMM sa Bibliotheca Mysei Marisiensis, Archaeologia, Târgu Mureș / Cluj Napoca

BpRégBudapest Régiségei, BudapestBTBibliotheca Thracologica, București

BUFM Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas CCA Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România

CMM sa Catalogi Musei Marisiensis, series archaeologica, Târgu Mureș / Cluj-Napoca

ComArchHung Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae, Budapest

Crisia, Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea

Dacia (n.s.) Dacia, Recherches et décuvertes archéologiques en Roumanie, I–XII (1924–1948),

București; Nouvelle série (N. S.), Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire anciene,

București

DissArch Dissertationes Archaeologicae ex Instituto Archaeologico Universitatis de

Rolando Eötvös Nominatae

Dissertationes Pannonicae, ex Instituto Numismatico et Archaeologico

Universitatis de Petro Pázmány nominatae Budapestinensis provenientes,

Budapest

DMB Dissertationes et Monographiae Beograd

DolgKolozsvár (Ú. S.) Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, (új sorozat,

2006-), Kolozsvár

DolgSzeged Dolgozatok, Szeged ÉC Études Celtiques, Paris

EJA European Journal of Archaeology
EphemNap Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca

FA Forschungen in Augst

FAB Folia Archaeologica Balkanica, Skopje
 FAH Fontes Archaeologici Hungariae, Budapest
 FAM Fontes Archaeologiae Moravicae, Brno
 FAS Fontes Archaeologiae Slovakiae, Bratislava

Folarch Folia Archeologica, a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Évkönyve, Budapest

FÖ Fundberichte aus Österreich, Wien Germania Germania, Frankfurt am Main

Glasnik ZM Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu

Godišnjak Godišnjak Centra za Balkanološka Ispitivanja Akademije Nauka i Umjetnosti,

Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo

HBA Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie

Historica Carpatica Historica Carpatica, Zborník Východoslovenského múzeá v Košiciach, Kosice

HOMÉA Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve, MiskolcIAISIzvestija na Arheologičeskija Institut Sofia

Instrumentum, Bulletin du Groupe de travail européen sur l'artisanat et les

productions manufacturées dans l'Antiquité

InvArch Inventaria Archaeologica, Bonn

IPH Inventaria Praehistorica Hungariae, Budapest
 JAA Journal of Anthropological Archaeology, Amsterdam
 Jahrbuch OM Jahrbuch des Oberösterreichischen Musealvereines, Linz
 Jahrbuch RGZM Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz

Jahresschrift für Mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte, Deutscher Verlag der

Wissenschaften for the Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte (Halle), Berlin

JAMÉ A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza

JAMT Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory

JAR Journal of Archaeological Research

Journal of Archaeological Science, London JAS *IPMÉ* A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve, Pécs

Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, Cluj Közl Kolozsvár

Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Bonn KVF

MAMonumenta Archaeologica, Acta Praehistorica, Protohistorica et Historica

Instituti Archaeologici Academiae Scientarum Bohemoslovenicae, Praha

MABWMaterialhefte zur Archäologie in Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart

Marisia (V-), Studii și Materiale, Târgu Mureș Marisia Materialia Archaeologica Slovaca, Nitra MAS

MatBV Materialien zur Bayerischen Vorgeschichte, Kallmünz/Opf **MBVF** Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, München

A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Szeged MFMÉ Monographiae Instituti Archaeologici, Zagreb MIA

Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien MittAGW

Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der MittAI

Wissenschaften, Budapest

MittPK Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommision, Vienna

Monographien RGZM Monographien Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz, Mainz a. R

MSVMarburger Studien zur Völkerkunde, Berlin

Marbuger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Marburg **MSVF** 

OJAOxford Journal of Archaeology

Opuscula Archaeologica, Arheološki zavod, Filozofski fakultet u Zagrebu **OpArch** 

Osječki Zbornik, Osijek OZ

Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien ÖAW Ősrégészeti levelek Ősrégészeti levelek / Prehistoric newsletter, Budapest

**PamArch** Památky Archeologické, Praha

PBFPrähistorische Bronzefunde, München, Stuttgart

Pontica, Anuarul Muzeului de Istorie Națională și Arheologie Constanța Pontica

Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society, London PPS Prilozi IAZ Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu

Przegląd Archeologiczny, Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk PrzArch

Praehistorische Zeitschrift, Berlin PZRAERevue Archéologique de l'Est, Dijon Revue archéologique de l'ouest, Rennes RAO

RégFüz Régészeti Füzetek, Budapest

Revista Bistriței, Complexul Județean Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud RevBis

Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Monographien, Bonn / Mainz **RGZM** 

RVMRad vojvođanskih muzeja Studa Archaeologica Brunensia SAB

Sargeția, Buletinul Muzeului județului Hunedoara, Acta Musei Devensis, Deva Sargetia

SBASaarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, Bonn Sborník Prací Filozofické Fakulty Brněnské Univezity Sborník Brno

Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie 1974-), București SCIV(A)

Saalburg Jahrbuch, Berlin SJ

Schriften des Kelten Römer Museums Manching **SKRMM** 

*SlovArch* Slovenská Archeológia, Nitra

Spisy Archeologického Ústavu AV ČR Brno Spisy AUBrno

Schriftenreihe des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier, Main am Rhein SRLT

Starinar, Arheološki institut, Beograd Starinar

Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, series Historia, Cluj-Napoca Studia UBB

Študijné zvesti, Archeologického Ústavu Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, Nitra Študijné zvesti

SzMMA Szolnok Megyei Múzeumi Adattár

Szer Szolnoki Régészeti Tanulmányok / Archaeological Papers of Szolnok

Terra Sebus Terra Sebvs, Acta Mysei Sabesiensis, Sebeş

TGF Trierer Grabungen und Forschungen, Mainz am Rhein Thraco-Dacica Thraco-Dacica, Institutul de Tracologie, București

Tisicum, A Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megyei Múzeumok Évkönyve, Szolnok

UPA Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn

VAMZ Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu

VLVS Veröffentlichen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte in Saale, Berlin

VsP Východoslovenský pravek, Archeologický ústav Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, Nitra

WArch World Archaeology, Oxford, Oxbow

WMBH Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina, Wien Zalai Múzeum Zalai Múzeum, Közlemények Zala megye múzeumaiból, Zalaegerszeg

Zborník SNM Zborník Slovenského Národného Múzea, Bratislava

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