

CELTO - PONTICA. CONNECTIONS OF THE CELTS FROM TRANSYLVANIA WITH THE BLACK SEA

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Cuvinte cheie: *Transilvania, Marea Neagră, greci, celți, comerț, ceramică greacă, veselă de bronz, mărgelile din sticlă, schimb de daruri, mobilitate individuală, mercenari, alianță prin căsătorie.*

Abstract: *The article discusses the connections between the Celts from Transylvania and the Black Sea in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. These connections are suggested by the presence in Transylvania of a series of ceramic and metal vessels coming from Greek Pontic manufacturing centres, and of several jewellerys (amphora-shaped and "Janus"-like glass beads) having similar origins. Starting from the analysis of these artefacts, some interpretative models regarding the nature and the factors involved in the development of such distant contacts are suggested. The Greek „imports” from Transylvania are not the results of a regular commerce. Moreover, indigenous communities from the east of the Carpathians played an important intermediating role. At the same time, individual mobility (manifested through matrimonial alliances between different communities, craftsmen movements, amongst them metallurgists who played an important role, mercenary activities in the Hellenistic world etc) also contributed to the circulation of certain Greek products, thus supporting the exchange of technological knowledge, ideologies, customs, symbols etc.*

Rezumat: *În lucrarea de față sunt analizate conexiunile dintre celții din Transilvania și zona Mării Negre în sec. IV-III a. Chr. Aceste conexiuni sunt reflectate de prezența în Transilvania a unor vase ceramice și metalice provenite din atelierele grecești pontice, precum și a unor piese de podoabă (mărgelile de sticlă în formă de amforă și mărgelile de sticlă de tip „Janiform”) având aceeași origine. Pe baza analizării artefactelor respective, sunt schițate o serie de direcții de interpretare cu privire la natura și mecanismele de manifestare ale acestor contacte la distanță. „Importurile” grecești din*

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Transilvania nu au pătruns în regiunea respectivă în urma unui comerț regulat. În intermedierea acestor schimburi, un rol important l-au avut comunitățile locale aflate la răsărit de Munții Carpați. De asemenea, mobilitatea individuală (manifestată prin perfectarea unor alianțe matrimoniale între comunități diferite, prin circulația unor meșteri, dintre care metalurgii au ocupat un loc important, prin activitatea unor mercenari în mediul elenistic etc.) a contribuit la rîndul ei la vehicularea unor produse grecești și a asigurat în același timp circulația și transferul de tehnologii, ideologii, comportamente, simboluri etc.

Amongst the scientific contributions of the regretted Mihai Irimia can be mentioned those regarding the cultural connections between the Greeks from the shores of the Pontus Euxinus and different indigenous communities from the close vicinity or from far regions. The present analysis will bring into discussion, from the same perspective, a series of connections between the Celts from Transylvania and the Black Sea during the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, taking into consideration several archaeological artefacts discovered in the inner Carpathians region. At the same time, the aim is to propose some interpretative models regarding the nature and the mechanisms through which such distant contacts were established¹.

Several decades ago Vlad Zirra noted the sporadic presence of some Greek „imported” artefacts (mainly ceramic vessels) in the Celtic environment from Transylvania, presuming that they must have come from the western Greek Pontic colonies². The same specialist observed the appearance of some metal objects (mainly brooches) of La Tène type in the Greek environment close to the Black Sea, again illustrating the existence of certain contacts between these two cultural spaces³. In time the number of finds increased and together with a re-evaluation of the older discoveries may support a comprehensive discussion of these aspects.

The analysis of the distribution area of Greek metal and ceramic vessels discovered in the Carpathian Basin is relevant for the identification of certain routes connecting the two mentioned cultural areas (Fig. 1). Some vessels are mentioned in the southern part of the Carpathian Basin, but also northwards along the Danube and up to south-western Slovakia. In a grave from the cemetery at Pečine, in Serbia, it was discovered a ceramic oenochoe dated to the end of the 4th century BC⁴. A bronze situla and a phiala come from the grave no. 22 from Belgrade-Karaburma (Fig. 2/3, 7). The situla has been dated to the end of the 4th and beginning of the 3rd century BC⁵, whereas the phiala belongs to the first half

¹ The documentation for this article has been mainly done during a research stage carried between 10 May and 5 June 2011 in the library of Römisch-Germanische Kommission at Frankfurt/Main, at the invitation of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. I would also like to warmly thank Dr. Susanne Sievers for her kind support.

² ZIRRA 1975.

³ ZIRRA 1979.

⁴ PAROVIĆ-PEŠIKAN 1993, 1243, fig. 1/4, 3/23.

⁵ TELEAGĂ 2008, 263, 449.

of the 4th century BC⁶. Still, the entire funerary inventory dates the grave more likely in the 3rd decade of the 3rd century BC (La Tène B2b)⁷, which means that the bronze vessels were used during a longer period. Another bronze situla was recovered from the Danube close to Budapest (probably a votive deposit)⁸ (Fig. 2/8), whereas a bronze kantharos was included in the funerary inventory of a grave from the cemetery at Szob⁹ (Fig. 2/5), in the same region. Lastly, also from a funerary context, at Hurbanovo in Slovakia, comes a lekytos-arybalos¹⁰. All these vessels, dated in the second half of the 4th century BC, illustrate the existence of certain early contacts with the Mediterranean. The route on which these contacts were established, followed the Morava River, a commercial and transport way connecting the Scordiscian territories with Macedonia and Greece. It has been already noted that Macedonia played a significant role in the distribution of Greek products towards the middle Danube basin at the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC¹¹. Their circulation was facilitated by a series of Greek commercial centres situated along the mentioned route. Recent archaeological investigations at Kale-Krševica, in the upper basin of southern Morava (Južna Morava), uncovered an important Greek emporium which functioned between the end of the 5th/beginning of the 4th century and the middle of the 3rd century BC¹². The imposing civilian buildings and the inventory reveal the existence of a rich manufacturing activity and of intensive commercial exchanges. The large number of Hellenistic pottery and local imitations¹³ discovered at Kale-Krševica suggests that this emporium supplied several communities along the Danube and in neighbouring areas with ceramic products and other goods.

The distribution pattern of the imported vessels and their origins indicate the existence of other routes coming from the north of the Black Sea. The finds from the upper Tisza valley point to some occasional connections with Greek centres from the northern Black Sea coast through the passes of northern Carpathians. Amongst them can be mentioned a bronze kantharos (Fig. 2/6) from Szabolcs (Hungary)¹⁴, dated in the last quarter of the 4th century BC¹⁵ and a stamped

⁶ TELEAGĂ 2008, 452.

⁷ The funerary inventory also includes a brooch with flattened knobs, a sword with the chape-end developed from those belonging to the Hatvan-Boldog – Silivaş type (Kósd C type – PETRES, SZABÓ 1986, 266-267, fig. 13, 15) and a sword chain belonging to a type which has been dated by Rapin after the events corresponding to the Great Expedition in the Balkans from 280 – 278 BC (RAPIN 1995, 287-288, fig. 10/E2). For an earlier dating of the grave see BLEČIĆ KAVUR, KAVUR 2010.

⁸ ROLLEY 2002, 48, fig. 11; TELEAGĂ 2008, 449, no. 995.

⁹ HORVÁTH 1945, 60-62, fig. 1/1; KRUTA, SZABÓ 1982, 59, n. 25; SZABÓ 2006, 106, fig. 10/B.

¹⁰ KRUTA, SZABÓ 1982, 59, n. 25; SZABÓ 2006, 104-106, fig. 10/C.

¹¹ ROLLEY 2002, 49.

¹² POPOVIĆ 2005; 2006.

¹³ KRSTIĆ 2005; ANTIĆ – BABIĆ 2005.

¹⁴ KRUTA, SZABÓ 1982, 59-61, n. 25; SZABÓ 2006, 106, fig. 10/A; TELEAGĂ 2008, 452, no. 1012.

¹⁵ TELEAGĂ 2008, 268, 452; a close analogy coming from the deposit of vessels discovered at Votonosi, dated in the 3rd quarter of the 4th century BC: VOCOTOPOULOU

amphora handle of Chersonesos (Fig. 2/1) from the settlement at Berveni (Satu Mare County), dated in the second half of the 3rd century BC¹⁶. Another discovery is an iron ladle with horizontal handle coming from the cemetery at Ciumești¹⁷. Such contacts probably continued those following the same routes during the end of the First Iron Age, when the elites of the Vekerzug Culture communities consumed certain Greek luxury goods. Amongst these early imports are the hydria from Artand¹⁸ and the one from Dobroselie (former Bene) in Trans-Carpathian Ukraine¹⁹. On the same northern route probably came, at the end of the First Iron Age, new ceramic technologies, like the potter's wheel used for typical Vekerzug vessels²⁰.

Lastly, Greek vessels are also attested in Transylvania in the cemeteries from Aiud-Parc (a fragmentary krater dated in the 3rd century BC)²¹, Bratei-Ațel (a lekytos dated in the second half of the 3rd century BC)²², Cepari (a kantharos and other unidentified ceramic fragments dated in the first half of the 3rd century BC – Fig. 2/4)²³ and Șeica Mică (fragments of skyphoi found both in the settlement and in the cemetery, probably dating from the second half of the 3rd century BC)²⁴. From Mărtinești (Harghita County) in eastern Transylvania, probably from an archaeological context which can be ascribed to an indigenous community, come some fragments of a bronze situla dated towards the end of the 4th century BC²⁵. The geographic distribution suggests that the vessels arrived in Transylvania from Moldavia. The indigenous communities from eastern Transylvania, having social and cultural structures similar to those from Moldavia, must have been the mediators of these occasional exchanges²⁶.

As concerning the functionality of Greek vessels discovered in the Carpathian Basin, some significant differences can be noted – the imported vessels having a single handle predominate in Transylvania and the Tisza region, while kantharoi are rarely found. This pattern can be explained by the local preference for single-handled beakers as drinking vessels, whereas pre-Celtic populations from the Scordiscian area and Transdanubia used mainly vessels with two handles, the so-called Illyrian-Pannonian kantharoi²⁷.

1975, 767-768, no. 19, fig. 28.

¹⁶ NÉMETI 1986, 73-74, 76; for the presence of Greek amphorae in the „Barbarian” environment from the north-western Black Sea coast see further MATEEVICI 2007.

¹⁷ ZIRRA 1967, 28, no. XII, fig. 11/12.

¹⁸ TELEAGĂ 2008, 443.

¹⁹ POPOVICH 1995-1996, 86-87, pl. 13. TELEAGĂ 2008, 256-257, no. 2, Karte 45, wrongly localizes Bene (nowadays Dobroselie in Trans-Carpathian Ukraine) in Transdanubia. More than that, probably the vessel, which arrived in the Museum of Cluj at the beginning of the 20th century, was found in a funerary context (see POPOVICH 1995-1996, 86).

²⁰ ROMSAUER 1991, 364-366.

²¹ CRIȘAN 1974, 78, pl. I/5; FERENCZ 2007, 38, pl. XIII/1.

²² ZIRRA 1975, 52, pl. IB/5; RUSTOIU 2008a, 51, fig. 19/2.

²³ CRIȘAN 1966, 57-58, 59, fig. 25/1, 17; TELEAGĂ 2008, 415, no. 724.

²⁴ ZIRRA 1975, 52, pl. IB/1-3.

²⁵ TELEAGĂ 2008, 447, no. 986.

²⁶ See RUSTOIU 2008a, 80-86.

²⁷ See further the analysis of the mechanisms through which Greek kantharoi were

The Greek vessels are not the exclusive finds of Pontic origin in the Celtic environment from Transylvania. Several other artefacts confirm the presence of a wide range of products, which bring into discussion a series of questions concerning the mechanisms of distribution in the mentioned area.

The grave no. 79/1973 from the Celtic cemetery at Fântânele – Dealul Popii²⁸, belonging to a woman, contains a rich set of jewellery, an iron knife with a curved blade (Fig. 3/30) and two handmade ceramic vessels (a truncated bowl and a beaker – Fig. 3/31-32). The jewellery consist of three bronze bracelets (a pair and another of a different type – Fig. 3/27-29), two finger rings, one made of silver (Fig. 3/24) and another of bronze (Fig. 3/20), two bronze earrings (Fig. 3/18-19), six iron brooches poorly preserved and which could not be restored (very probably belonging to three pairs), a bronze Paukenfibel (Fig. 3/25) and a „Thracian” brooch also made of bronze (Fig. 3/26). The jewellery set also includes a necklace consisting of five ceramic beads (Fig. 3/1), two light green glass beads (Fig. 3/10-11), four blue glass beads having different shapes and dimensions (Fig. 3/6, 12, 14-15), seven beads made of bronze wire or sheet (Fig. 3/2-5, 7-9), a bronze pendant (Fig. 3/17), an amber bead (Fig. 3/16) and an amphora-shaped bead made of yellowish translucent glass (Fig. 3/13). Two simple bronze loops (Fig. 3/21-22) and another made of iron (Fig. 3/23) perhaps belong to the same necklace, or were used as clothing accessories.

The jewellery set is typical of the La Tène environment, although including some southern elements: the „Thracian” brooch and the amphora-shaped bead. According to the typology of the „Thracian” brooches, made by V. V. Zirra (who wrongly includes the brooch from Fântânele in the Ic sub-variant)²⁹, the mentioned artefact belong to the IIIb sub-variant, dated in the first half of the 3rd century BC. The remaining jewellery suggests a narrower dating of the grave towards the beginning of the 3rd century BC.

As concerning the amphora-shaped bead, similar pieces were produced by Greek workshops from the Mediterranean and the Black Sea regions in the 5th and 4th centuries and up to the beginning of the 3rd century BC³⁰. In the eastern Celtic environment such beads arrived following different routes. P. Popović has identified the distribution of amphora-shaped beads in the western part of the Balkans and in the Central European Celtic environment, whereas the list of discoveries has been later enlarged by M. Schönfelder³¹. These finds come from manufacturing centres in the Adriatic region, Greece and Macedonia³². The workshops from the Black Sea region supplied populations from north-eastern, northern and western areas (including the Lower Danube region), as the distribution of these beads is suggesting³³ (Fig. 4). From a chronological point of

taken over, transformed and incorporated in the Celtic Danubian environment in RUSTOIU, EGRI 2010a and RUSTOIU, EGRI 2011.

²⁸ RUSTOIU 2008b.

²⁹ ZIRRA 1996-1998, 38.

³⁰ MEDUNA 1970, 231, 235; VENCLOVÁ 1990, 59.

³¹ SCHÖNFELDER 2007, 308-309, 318-321 (Fundliste 1), fig. 2.

³² See RUSTOIU 2008a, 52-56.

³³ ALEKSEEVA 1975, 15; ALEKSEEVA 1978, type 193g; PUKLINA 2010, 487, 493, pl. 370/Re-49, 50, 52; SMIRNOV 1958, 288, 291, fig. 10/3; GRAKOV 1962, 74, fig. 6/10b;

view, amphora-shaped beads from the Lower Danube region were first used in the second half of the 4th century BC, some of them remaining in use during the first half of the following century. At Zimnicea³⁴, Bertești de Jos and Chișcani³⁵ such finds come from graves dated to the second half of the 4th century BC, while the remaining pieces were recovered from settlements still functioning in the first half of the following century (Pietroasele – Gruiu Dării³⁶, Radovanu³⁷). Thus, the amphora-shaped bead from the cemetery at Fântânele (Bistrița-Năsăud County) seems to be more likely a product of a Pontic workshop than that of a Mediterranean one, due to its geographic location.

The amphora-shaped beads went out of fashion and use when the production of Greek workshops ceased, so they were not being used anymore further inland. On the other hand, a different fate had the glass beads shaped as a double or triple human mask (Fig. 5). Such beads have a cylindrical shape, being made of glass paste displaying various shades of blue. The opposed human masks (which also generated their second, „Janus”-like appellative) usually have different colours (white on one side, yellowish or more rarely greenish on the other side), again underlining the idea of opposed, contrasting principles³⁸. Although these beads display a rather unitary morphology, two basic variants can be identified, one including taller and slender pieces, and another consisting of shorter and slightly wider examples³⁹.

The origin, evolution and distribution of the beads with human mask are known today due to a series of studies focusing on such discoveries⁴⁰. In general it is considered that the beads with human mask were produced by Phoenician workshops from eastern Mediterranean and Carthage. The concentration of such pieces in the northern Pontic area suggests a migration of certain workshops in this region and perhaps the presence of some Phoenician craftsmen in the Greek centres from the Black Sea coast⁴¹. The Pontic workshops supplied both the Greek cities from the region and the „Barbarian” communities living westward of the Black Sea, an argument being the distribution of these beads in South-Eastern and Central Europe⁴². Still, the distribution patterns and the chronology of the beads with human mask point to a variety of cultural manifestations from a region to

MOŠKOVA 1963, 45, pl. 31/30-31; ONAJKO 1966, no. 281, pl. 24/5; PETRENKO 1967, 34, fig. 23/16; STOLBA 2009, 122-123, 125.

³⁴ ALEXANDRESCU 1980, 39-40, fig. 52/6. The mentioned grave also includes brooches of Thracian type (ALEXANDRESCU 1980, fig. 45/8-9) which are dated to the second half of the 4th century BC; see ZIRRA 1996-1980, IB1 type, fig. 2/13.

³⁵ SÎRBU 1983, 12-13, 29, fig. 5/8.

³⁶ DUPOI, SÎRBU 2001, 39, fig. 64/16.

³⁷ MORINTZ, ȘERBĂNESCU 1985, fig. 4/6a.

³⁸ For the technique of manufacturing see KARWOWSKI 2005, 166-167.

³⁹ KARWOWSKI 2005, 166.

⁴⁰ HAEVERNICK 1977-1981; VENCLOVÁ 1983; BALEN-LETUNIĆ 1990; ALMÁSSY 1993; HELLEBRANDT 1999, 88-90; KARWOWSKI 2005; RUSTOIU 2008c; TELEAGĂ 2008, 286-289; MĂNDESCU 2010, 365-373 etc.

⁴¹ See for example BOUZEK 2000.

⁴² KARWOWSKI 2005, 169, list 4, Fig. 8 – distribution map. Additional discoveries, older or more recent, does not modify the general distribution patterns of the beads with human mask in various cultural environments.

another (Fig. 5).

From the distribution point of view, the beads with a double or triple human mask are encountered in four distinct cultural areas. They include (1) the Greek Pontic environment, (2) the territory between the Balkans and the Carpathians inhabited by the Getae, (3) the Celtic area in the Carpathian Basin and (4) the Illyrian areas in the north-western Balkans. Similar pieces rarely reached distant territories in northern Europe, for example a bead has been found at Domaniowice in Lower Silesia, in a grave belonging to the Jastorf Culture⁴³, while another piece is known from the upper basin of the San River (southern Poland, northward of the Carpathians), an area in which a small La Tène group maintained connections across the mountains with the Celts from the upper Tisza valley⁴⁴.

The finds from the Greek environment on the Black Sea coast have been dated in the second half or towards the end of the 4th century BC and the beginning of the following century⁴⁵. Similar pieces from the regions inhabited by Getae, between the Carpathians and the Balkans, come from settlements and funerary contexts dated in the same period⁴⁶. There is no evidence for discoveries coming from archaeological contexts dated after the middle of the 3rd century BC, which means that in this area such beads arrived right after the beginning of their manufacturing in the northern Pontic workshops and ceased to be used not much later after the end of this production (Fig. 5).

On the other hands the situation from the Central European Celtic environment is different. First beads with human mask were imported in the Carpathian Basin as early as the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 3rd century BC (Fig. 5). A piece coming from a grave belonging to the first horizon of the cemetery at Pișcolt, associated with a Paukenfibel amongst other artefacts⁴⁷, sustains this idea. Still, the majority of the beads discovered in Transylvania, the Tisza basin and on the middle Danube come from funerary contexts or settlements dated in the middle La Tène (second half of the 3rd century BC)⁴⁸. In these situations the hypothesis of their importation from the northern Greek Pontic environment cannot be sustained because in the mentioned area this production ceased several decades earlier. The large number of beads in the Carpathian Basin, their use during a longer period and their concentration in the Tisza region and on the middle Danube suggest a more likely production of a local workshop. M. Karwowski⁴⁹ recently demonstrated that the beginning of the production of glass jewellery in Central Europe (the output consisting of a series

⁴³ WOŹNIAK 1996, 166, fig. 3/4.

⁴⁴ OLEZKI 2005, 148, fig. 3/1.

⁴⁵ ALEKSEEVA 1982, 34, type 459; PREDA, BÂRLĂDEANU 1979, 98-99, 104.

⁴⁶ DREMSIZOVA-NELČINOVA 1970; ALEXANDRESCU 1980, 28-29; SÎRBU *et alii*, 1996, 63-64 etc.

⁴⁷ NÉMETI 1988, 58-61, Fig. 10.

⁴⁸ See KARWOWSKI 2005 with further bibliography. Also see RUSTOIU 2008a, 58, table 7; RUSTOIU 2008c; TELEAGĂ 2008, 286-289.

⁴⁹ KARWOWSKI 2005. For the beginning of the production of glass objects in the Celtic environment and the location of certain workshops see also VENCLOVÁ 1990, 142-143.

of bracelets and beads) can be dated at the beginning of the middle La Tène, and that the workshop (or workshops) was located in the middle Danube area, perhaps in south-western Slovakia. Perhaps these workshops also produced beads with human mask, copying earlier artefacts of northern Pontic origin in a period in which the Greek production of similar pieces already ceased.

Therefore in the Carpathian Basin the bifrons images were present during a longer period. Nevertheless the glass beads with a double human face belong to a persistent traditional repertoire of images in the Celtic Central European area⁵⁰. This is the main reason behind their use and their probable manufacturing in local workshops long time after the cessation of a similar production in the northern Greek Pontic area, where were such beads initially from.

The products of the Greek workshops from the Black Sea area discovered in the Celtic environment from Transylvania raise some questions concerning the ways and the mechanisms of distribution from the Pontic cities towards the communities from the inner Carpathian region.

It has to be noted that both the ceramic and the metal vessels are less numerous. Their distribution points to certain communication routes towards Transylvania, but the existence of a regular and constant commerce between the Greeks from the Black Sea coast and Celtic communities cannot be sustained. At the same time, the coins issued by Pontic cities are nearly absent⁵¹. The situation to the east of the Carpathians was another matter. The scale of wine imports is revealed by the large quantity of amphorae uncovered in archaeological excavations. To these finds can be added several ceramic vessels (often belonging to tableware „sets”) and others made of metal discovered in fortified and rural settlements, as well as in graves⁵². Such finds point to a constant flow of products coming from the Greek centres on the Black Sea coast or from the eastern Mediterranean. The intense commerce is also revealed by the large number of Greek coins, amongst which those issued by Histria are predominating⁵³. Taking into consideration all these marked differences it has to be presumed that similar goods must have used other means to arrive in Transylvania.

Amongst them could have been a series of raids carried by warlike groups against some Greek cities on the Pontic coast, the participants bringing back home such objects. The well-known decree honouring Protogenes attests one such raid against Olbia at the end of the 3rd century BC, when the northern Pontic city was attacked by Galatians and Sciri⁵⁴, if the Celts mentioned in inscription were not mistaken for the Bastarni⁵⁵. Anyway, such events seem to be less frequent close to

⁵⁰ See RUSTOIU 2008a, 61-62 with further bibliography and a comprehensive discussion regarding these aspects, and a wider discussion in RUSTOIU, EGRI 2010a, 231-233; 2011, 85-90.

⁵¹ TORBÁGY 1991, 45-49.

⁵² TORBÁGY 1991, 48, fig. 4; MATEEVICI 2007, 65-104, 261-274; TELEAGĂ 2008, *passim*.

⁵³ BÎRLIBA 1990, 43-51, pl. 2; TORBÁGY 1991, 48, fig. 4.

⁵⁴ PIPPIDI 1967, 39, 73, 100.

⁵⁵ BABEŞ 1993, 169-170; 2006, 125-126; RUSCU 2002, 323, n. 1. In this context some ceramic fragments recovered from the „lower city” (the NGS sector) of Olbia have to be mentioned, being recently identified as Thracian (GAVRILJUK 2010, 134, catalogue K 130-132, pl. 269), although they more likely belong to the Poienesti-Lukaševka Culture (see EGRI 2011).

the Black Sea, as they are missing from Greek written sources, unlike the pressure put by various local rulers upon some Pontic cities⁵⁶. On the other hand the activities of some Celtic mercenaries from the Carpathian Basin must have played a role in the circulation of such goods. They were often involved in the frequent military conflicts between Hellenistic rulers and at least some of them managed to return home at the end of their „contracts“, bringing back various more or less exotic items⁵⁷.

Very probably, many Greek goods arrived in Transylvania through a series of contacts established between Celtic communities and some populations living outside the Carpathians. The mediators of such connections could have been the indigenous communities from eastern Transylvania or from Maramureş. These regions were not affected by Celtic colonization at the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC, so local communities evolved in a similar manner to those from outside the Carpathians. The settlements from Solotvino (Slatina) and Bila Čerkva (Biserica Albă), situated on the right bank of the Tisza River, in Trans-Carpathian Ukraine, were fortified with earthen walls and palisades. The elements of fortification and habitation, as well as the ceramic inventories of these settlements (dated in the 4th – 3rd centuries BC) have analogies in „Thracian“ settlements eastward of the Carpathians, dated in the same period. They were radically different from the rural settlements typical of the La Tène environment from the Carpathian Basin, having different functional and structural characteristics⁵⁸. At the same time, a rural settlement and a cremation cemetery (also dated in the 4th – 3rd centuries BC)⁵⁹ showing characteristics similar to a series of archaeological sites in Moldavia⁶⁰ have been recently investigated at Olteni (Covasna County), in eastern Transylvania.

Amongst the forms of contact between closer or more distant communities are also diplomatic agreements and alliances. The exchange of gifts was part of such agreements, for example horses with complete harness, luxury vessels (like Greek ceramic or metal vessels), jewellery, rich costumes and other clothing accessories were often offered. This practice is frequently mentioned by ancient authors, like Xenophon (VI, 3, 26-27) or Titus Livius (XLIII, 5). The amphora-shaped glass bead and the „Thracian“ brooch included in the jewellery set worn by the deceased from Fântânele – Dealul Popii, previously mentioned, might have arrived in Transylvania as part of such exchanges.

In other situations some Greek objects might have circulated as personal belongings of some mobile individuals. For example, the agreements between different communities were sometimes sanctioned by matrimonial alliances. Sometimes these practices can be identified archaeologically⁶¹. It has been recently

⁵⁶ See RUSCU 2002, 292-295.

⁵⁷ The well-known grave with a helmet from the cemetery at Ciumeşti (Satu Mare County), also containing a pair of Greek greaves, belonged to a mercenary (see RUSTOIU 2006; 2008a, 13-63).

⁵⁸ RUSTOIU 2002a, 57-61; 2002b, 46-56; 2005, 11-14.

⁵⁹ SÎRBU, CAVRUC, BUZEA 2006; 2008.

⁶⁰ RUSTOIU 2008a, 80-86.

⁶¹ ARNOLD 2005.

argued that a grave belonging to a woman and containing an inventory typical of the Central European La Tène, discovered at Telești, in Oltenia, may point to a possible matrimonial alliance between a Celtic community from the Carpathian Basin and a Getic one from the south of the mountains. In a similar way, an inhumation burial from the La Tène cemetery at Remetea Mare (Timiș County) suggests, through its inventory and the funerary rite and ritual, a matrimonial alliance between an indigenous community from the south of the Danube and a Celtic community from Banat⁶². The presence of such graves in „foreign” cultural environments raises some questions regarding their interpretation. In these cases the deceased were buried with a specific costume and following the rite and ritual characteristic of their areas of origin. The careful preservation of specific elements of costume and adornment point to a privileged status of the deceased within their adoptive communities, as their origin was not hidden under local costumes. At the same time, the funerals followed strict prescriptions which could have been performed only by other people (a suite), familiar with the traditional customs of their old homeland, and who accompanied the brides. As a consequence a matrimonial alliance implied, even if only temporary during the life of the women involved in these agreements, the movement of a larger number of individuals. Their resettling facilitated not only the circulation of various goods from a place to another, but also the transmission of certain habits, beliefs and ideologies between different communities.

Within the same context of individual mobility it has to be noted the activity of several craftsmen outside their community of origin. For example, in the cemetery at Fântânele-Dealul Popii it was discovered a grave belonging to a metal craftsman whose origin, according to the elements of funerary rite and ritual, was very probably outside the Carpathians⁶³. The inventory includes a handmade open lamp, having analogies in the northern Pontic area⁶⁴ (Fig. 2/9). The activity of some similar craftsmen coming from the east of the Carpathians, or even from the Greek Pontic environment, in Transylvania is also reiterated by the discovery at Angheluș (Covasna County), in an indigenous settlement, of a sandstone mould used for casting bronze (?) amphora-shaped pendants⁶⁵ (Fig. 2/10), identical with those from the Hellenistic area. The craftsmen's mobility is also visible in the opposite direction, from Transylvania to the east of the Carpathians. At Oniceni (Neamț County)⁶⁶ and Negri (Bacău County)⁶⁷ were discovered deposits of iron rods used as raw material by blacksmiths. The deposit from Negri also contains sword chains belonging to a type specific to the Celtic La Tène C1 period, which may suggest that at least some of the iron rods were destined to manufacturing swords of La Tène type. From the typological point of view, the finds from Moldavia have analogies in areas inhabited by Celtic or Germanic communities from Central and Western

⁶² RUSTOIU 2004-2005; 2008a, 126-134; 2008b, 28-29.

⁶³ RUSTOIU 2009, 10-11.

⁶⁴ RUSTOIU 2009, 11, fig. 2/5; RUSTOIU, EGRI 2010b; HANNESTAD 2007, 142, fig. 4.

⁶⁵ SZÉKELY 1976, 232-233, fig. 3/1; CRIȘAN 2000, 20, 134, pl. 73/4.

⁶⁶ TEODOR 1983; BABEȘ 1993, 53.

⁶⁷ ANTONESCU 1968; BABEȘ 1993, 53, fig. 31.

Europe⁶⁸. As a consequence they might have come from the Carpathian Basin to the east of the mountains as raw material for some local workshops. Chronologically these two deposits belong to a period predating the beginning of the Poienеști-Lukaševka Culture. The manufacturing of La Tène weaponry eastwards of the Carpathians may suggest that before the colonization of the Bastarni in Central Moldavia the region was visited by some Celtic groups coming from nearby western territories. Nevertheless the mobility of these craftsmen facilitated the circulation of various goods, but also the technological transfers from a region to another, thus contributing to an „invisible” exchange of knowledge, habits and ideologies, as in other cases in which various individuals travelled across wide areas.

By summarising the above-mentioned observations a series of conclusions can be advanced concerning the nature of the contacts between the Celts from Transylvania and various communities from the Black Sea coast. At the same time the mechanisms through which these connections were established and maintained, can be identified.

The Greek products did not arrive in Transylvania due to a regular commerce, but are more likely the results of some occasional exchanges. The latter were very probably intermediated by populations from the east of the Carpathians, mostly from Moldavia. More than that, the indigenous communities from eastern Transylvania and Maramureș having nearly similar social and cultural structures to those living eastward of the Carpathians played a role in the establishing of these connections across the mountains.

The circulation of such goods was also facilitated by various factors. Amongst them can be listed the occasional military raids against the Greek cities or the activity of some mercenaries in the Hellenistic world from eastern Mediterranean. Still, a rather important role must have played the direct relationships between certain Celtic and „Thracian” (Getic) communities, the latter intermediating the circulation of several goods coming from Greek workshops. The diplomatic contacts accompanied by gift exchanges or matrimonial alliances between Celtic and indigenous communities were concrete means through which some goods could have travelled from a place to another. To these practices other forms of individual mobility can be added, for example the movement of various metal workers and other craftsmen. The individual or group mobility facilitated the transfer of technologies, but also of ideas, customs, symbols, ideologies etc.

The Greek products were not taken over „mechanically”, but were selected, adapted and transformed according to the needs and customs of the Celtic communities from Transylvania. For example, the Greek tableware is mainly represented by drinking vessels. A preference for single-handled vessels is clearly visible, given that the beakers were the most popular forms in the Celtic environment from Transylvania. The Greek jewellery or those coming from the indigenous environment outside the Carpathians were adapted to the La Tène costume. For example the amphora-shaped bead and the „Thracian” brooch from

⁶⁸ PLEINER 2006, 23-37.

the female grave at Fântânele-Dealul Popii were integrated into a jewellery set assembled according to the local tradition. Lastly, the beads with a double human mask were rapidly integrated into the decorative repertoire from the Carpathian Basin and were later copied by local workshops long time after the cessation of their production in the Greek workshops and the abandonment of their use by the nearby communities outside the Carpathians. Their popularity very probably derived from the particular significance of such images in the Celtic environment, in which this iconography was part of a long lasting tradition.

Therefore the relationships of the Celts from Transylvania with the Greeks from the Black Sea coast, even if they were less regular and direct, but filtered through the communities living outside the Carpathians, generated a series of *sonadjene na porduču Like*, *Vjesnik arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 23 (1990), 41-54.

BIRLIBA 1990 – V. Mpecific cultural practices and forms which combined Hellenistic elements with those belonging to the Continental tradition. These Celtic – Pontic relationships contributed, together with other factors, to the construction of a particular La Tène culture in the Carpathian Basin.

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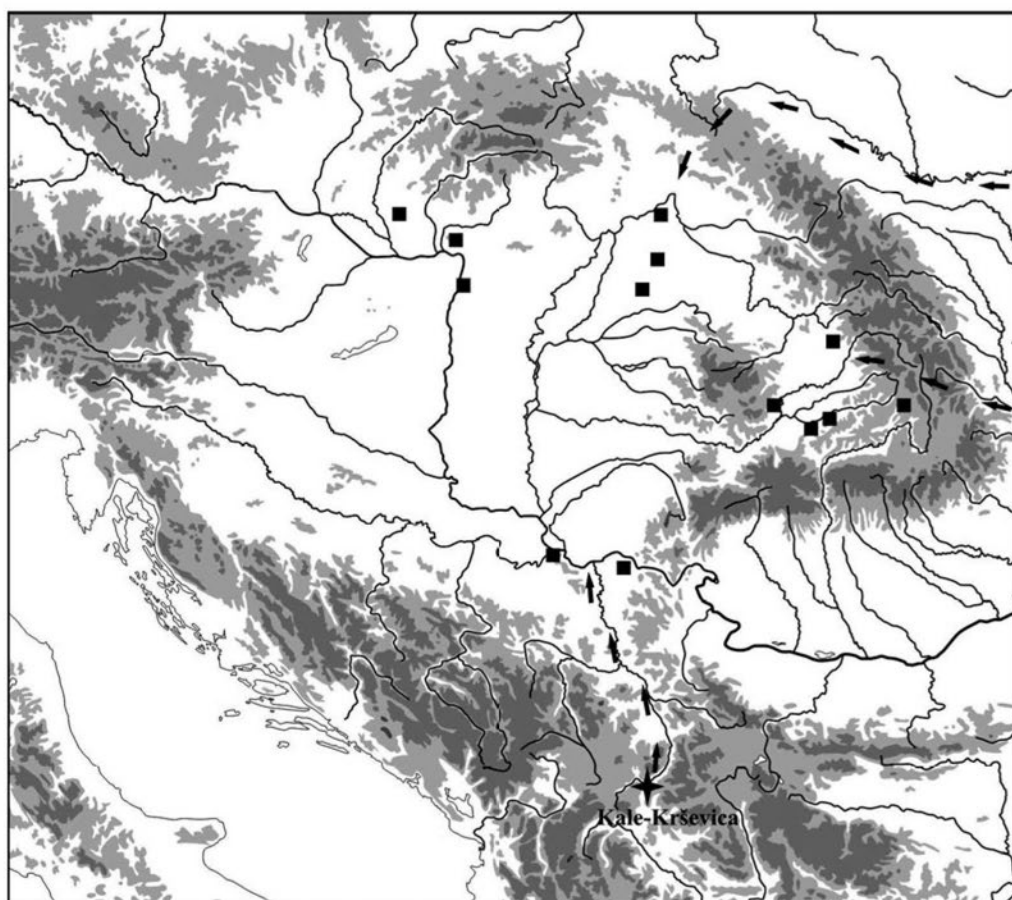


Fig. 1 - Distribution map of Greek vessels in the Carpathian Basin and routes of circulation.

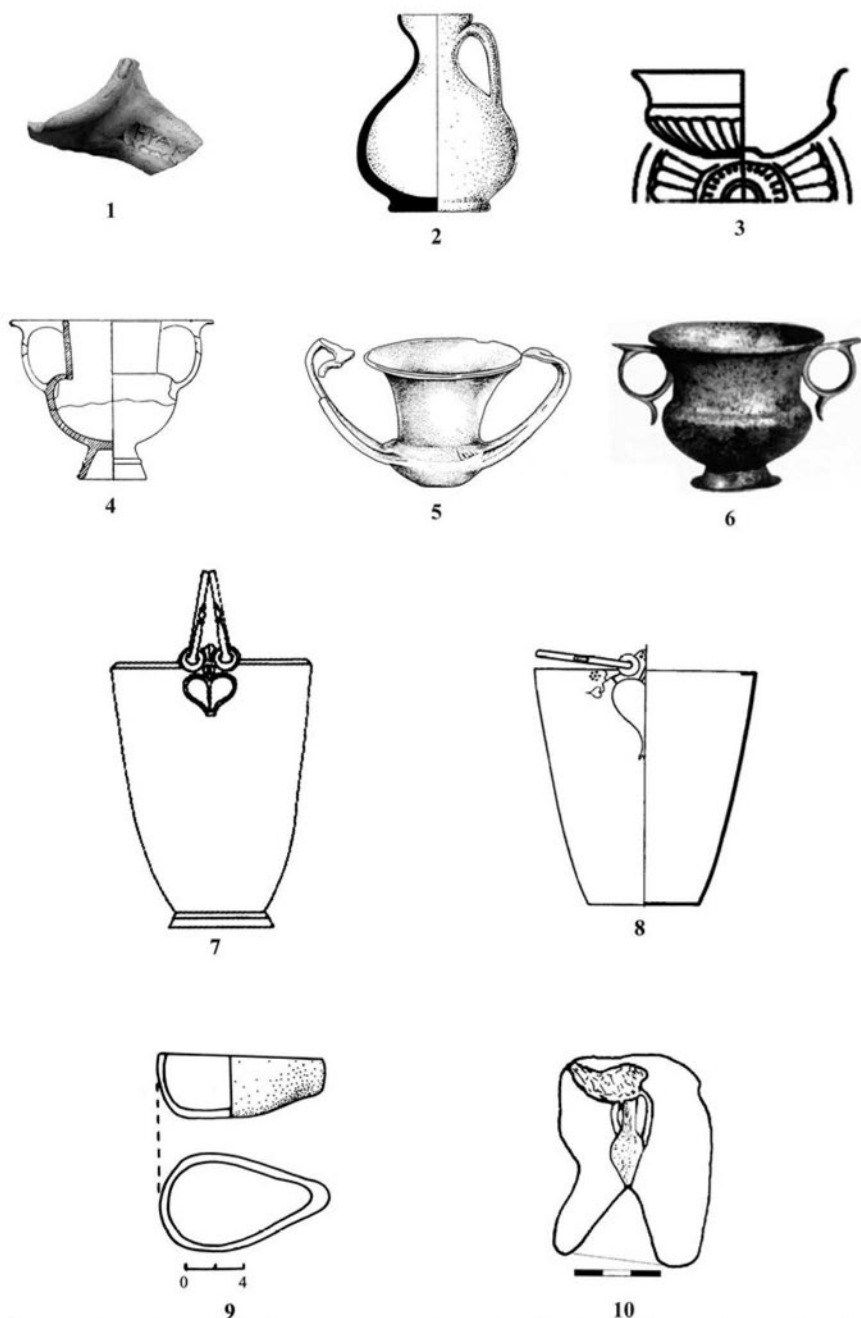


Fig. 2 - Greek vessels in the Carpathian Basin (1-8), lamp from Fântânele (9) and sandstone mould from Angheluș (10). 1. Berveni; 2. Bratei-Ațel; 3, 7. Belgrade-Karaburma; 4. Cepari; 5. Szob; 6. Szabolcs; 8. Budapest-Danube; 9. Fântânele; 10. Angheluș (1-2, 4, 9 – ceramic; 3, 5-8 – bronze; 10 – sandstone. (1-8 after RUSTOIU, EGRI 2010a, with bibliography; 9 after RUSTOIU 2009; 10 after CRIȘAN 2000). Different scales.

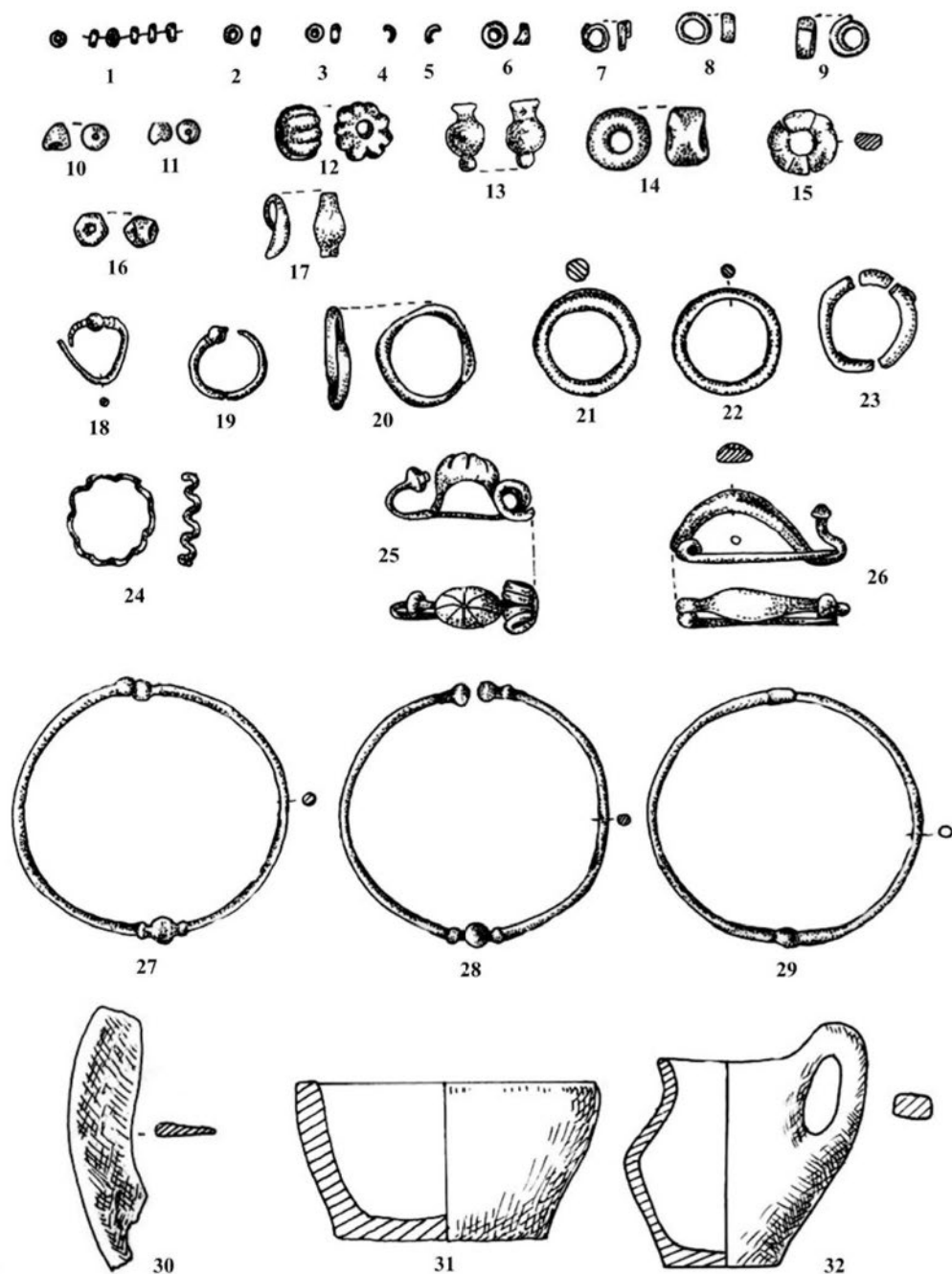


Fig. 3 - Grave no. 79/1973 from the cemetery at Fântânele-Dealul Popii.
 1 – ceramic; 2-5, 7-9, 17-22, 25-29 – bronze; 6, 10-15 – glass; 16 – amber; 23, 30 – iron;
 24 – silver. 1 – 29 Scale 1:1; 30 – 32 Scale 1:2 (after RUSTOIU 2008b).

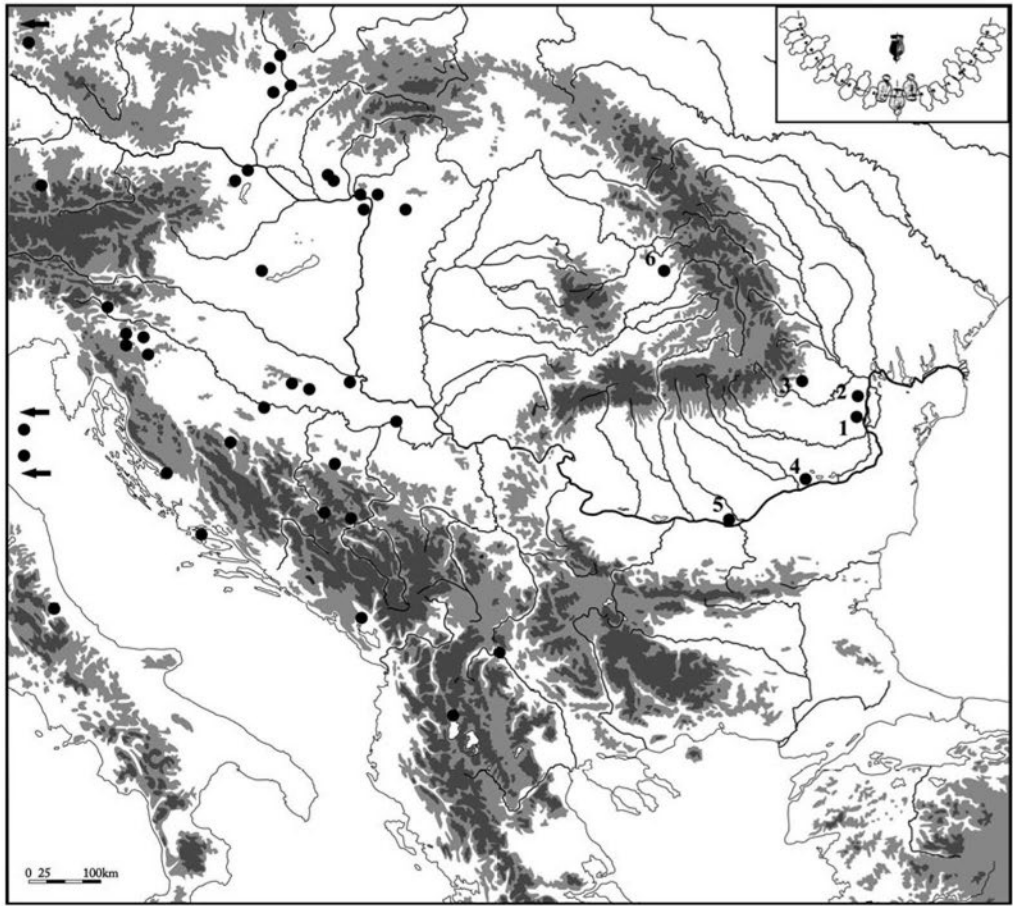


Fig. 4- Distribution map of the amphora-shaped glass beads (after RUSTOIU 2008a). 1-Bertești de Jos; 2-Chișcani; 3-Pietroasele-Gruieu Dării; 4-Radovanu; 5-Zimnicea; 6-Fântânele-Dealul Popii.



a

	350 – 300 BC	300 – 275/250 BC	250 – 175 BC
Greek western and northern Pontic environment			
Olbia			
Callatis			
Thracian environment between the Carpathians and the Balkans			
Bunești			
Greaca			
Pietroasele			
Zimnicea			
Kjolmen			
Celtic environment in the Carpathian Basin			
Pișcolt			
Fântânele-Livadă			
Ațel-Bratei			
Mezőnyárád			
Vác			
Maňa			

b

Fig. 5 – a. Distribution map of the glass beads with human mask (after Karwowski 2005 with additions); b. the chronology of the beads in different cultural environment.