

A Study in Urnfield Interpretations in Middle Europe

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The Urnfield cultures of the European Late Bronze Age appear most often as abrupt interruptions in the archaeological record of the various regions they occupy. They are characterised by large cemeteries in which deposit of enurned cremations in flat (ditch) graves is the standard rite, though inhumation and the use of barrows or other alternative grave forms are not unknown among them. The often rich grave offerings consist of fine pottery, and bronzes, of types which show no direct derivation from the inhuming, Tumulus cultures (**Hügelgräberkulturen**) of the foregoing Middle Bronze Age in the regions concerned. In distribution, the Urnfield groups tend to concentrate on areas suited to agriculture, though contrast with a predominantly upland distribution of Tumulus culture has in the past perhaps been overstressed. Finally, though associated settlement has in general been far less studied than the cemeteries, it is to the Urnfield cultures that introduction of hill-forts is ascribed; it would seem, however, that these defences were built during advanced rather than initial phases of Urnfield history.

Urnfield cultures so characterised came to occupy most of the area extending from the fringes of the Alps northward to the Central German mountain ranges and their eastward continuations in the Sudeten mountains, roughly between the Rhineland in the west and the line of the Little Carpathians in the east, which is conveniently expressed by the German term **Mittleuropa**. The map (Fig. 1) shows the regions of Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia chiefly affected, with the main provincial divisions of these, and of surrounding territories relevant

to Urnfield studies. Cultural uniformity over so wide an area is not to be expected; and it is rare that the different regional groups to be distinguished within it are so closely interrelated as to be demonstrably derivative one from another. Yet none can be dissociated from the common pattern of novelty, and in thus far it is justifiable to apply the general term «Urnfield» to all alike.

Of especial interest for European prehistory is the opportunity afforded by this distribution of the Urnfields to establish correlations between groups over widely separated areas. For archaeologists have held that the phasing of development in the different regions is sufficiently uniform, and types of equipment common to a number of the various local groups sufficiently prevalent, to justify adoption of a single chronological framework into which the cultures of all the regions can be fitted. This chronological system, moreover, has extensions beyond Middle Europe, since its phases have been synchronised with the established Montelian divisions of the Nordic Bronze Age of Scandinavia and N. Germany, chiefly on the evidence of bronze types common to both areas. At the same time, some such bronzes, from among the earliest Urnfield groups, in turn link up with the Mediterranean world and its chronology, through an extension of their distributions into Italy, where they occur in the Terremare (Phase IIB) of the north, as well as further south. At the site of Punta del Tonno, at Taranto, a type of flange-hilted dagger, usually named the **Peschieradolch** after the numerous examples at that Terramara site, but found also in early Urnfield contexts north of the Alps, occurs at latest in those layers containing Late Mycenaean pottery, which was manufactured c. 1230-1200 B. C. ¹ Alongside this is the evidence that early Urnfields in Austria acquired the stilted violin-bow type of fibula (also known from these Italian sites), a form less securely dated than the pottery of its Mediterranean homelands, but apparently also best assigned to the final phases of Mycenaean supremacy ². The next firm date derives from the 8 th. century context in C. Italy of the antennae-hilted sword, proper to the final Urnfields of Middle Europe, and is estimated (like the start of Iron Age (Hallstatt) culture following at about 700 B. C.), from historically recorded dating of early Greek colonies, especially Cumae ³.

The fact that the indications for early Urnfields having begun in Middle Europe by the 12th century constitute the last fixed point of absolute chronology for European prehistory north of the Alps for some 400 years

(1) *Not. d. Scavi*, 1900, 464, fig. 21; dating, G. SÄFLUND, in *Dragma N. Nilsson dedicatum*, 1939, 458ff, esp. 483-4; Terremare sites, *idem*, *Le Terremare* (Acta Inst. Sued. Rom., n.º 7), 1939, Tav. 46, 1-5.

(2) Dating, and examples in Tyrol (Mühlau graves I and 11), G. VON MERHART, in *Schumacherfestschrift*, 1930, 116-21, with T. 11; Lower Austria, R. PRITTONI, *Urgeschichte des österreich. Raumes*, 1954, 418-20 (figs.); Terremare, *op. cit.*

Tav. 55; Punta del Tonno, *Not. d. Scavi*, 1900, 441, fig. 10.

(3) *Schild von Steier 5* (Graz, 1955), 25-9. Occasional bronzes which reach Switzerland from, or are shared with, subsequent Italian cultures - eg. arc and *Raupen* fibulae (pre-Villanova and S. Vitale-Benacci I) - cannot from their *Pfahlbau* contexts be fixed at defined points of the Urnfield sequence: *41. Jahrbuch d. Schweiz. Gesell. f. Urgeschichte*, 1949-50, 226, T. XXVIII.

must enhance interest in the relative chronology of Middle European cultures which incorporate the bronzes so datable in Mediterranean terms. For it is through these early Urnfield groups that the chronological implications of such connections are transmitted, both to the Montelian North, and across *Mitteleuropa* in other directions.

For the distribution of Urnfield cultures is of course not limited to the countries of Middle Europe. We shall not here be concerned with the related, but specialized, archaeology of Hungary and northern Yugoslavia to the south, but westward across the Rhine Urnfields came to penetrate, more or less deeply, into France; and later, further groups were to move on to reach N. E. Spain. And while in the Rhineland defined groups of Urnfield type do not extend much to the north of Bonn, Urnfield influences, perceptible in modification of burial rite and pottery style, can be traced downstream to the Rhine mouth and the Low Countries. The strength of these influences may be discerned even across the Channel, in southern England; certainly this area was receiving bronzes from S. W. Germany during early phases of the Urnfields there ⁴.

These peripheral countries have therefore tended to inherit, in the interpretation of their local archaeology, the classification first worked out for the central areas of Urnfield distribution in Middle Europe, to which they seem related, either by migrations, by partial cultural affinities, or by trade. In this way, the archaeology of Late Bronze Age Europe generally has become in large part dependent on the validity of classifications currently propounded in Middle Europe, and of synchronisms accepted between Urnfield phases there and the periods of the Nordic Bronze Age. It would seem expedient, therefore—and perhaps a proper task for an English archaeologist publishing through the courteous hospitality of a Spanish journal—to try to discover the exact import of the terms used in classifying Middle European Urnfield material, in order to learn whether Late Bronze Age material in peripheral countries, like Spain and England, may be suitably incorporated, by their adoption, into a single framework of European chronology.

The following analysis, which makes this attempt, is concerned entirely with the archaeological evidence of the Urnfields. Interpretation has at times been complicated by the theory that this was essentially linked with the Illyrian variant of Indo-European speech. In regions of E. German and W. Poland there are further, distinct groups of Urnfields, generically similar (though not identical) with those of Middle Europe. Named after early discoveries in the Saxon and Prussian Lausitz, these extend also into other parts of Saxony, in Silesia, S. Brandenburg and Posnania (**Posen**). The

(4) France, N. K. SANDARS, *Bronze Age Cultures in France*, 1957; Spain, J. MALUQUER DE MOTES, *Ampurias VII-VIII*, 1945-6, 115-84, with Pls.; Rhineland, M.-E. MARIÉN, *L'Antiquité Class.* 1. XVII (1948), 413ff.; England, J. D. COWEN, *Proc.*

Preh. Soc. XVII, pt. 2, 1951, 195ff.; the strength of Urnfield influences here has previously been exaggerated cf. *Antiquity* IV, 1930, 157-72; *Antiq. Journ.* II, 1922, 27ff.

interpretative classification of these **Lausitz** (or **Lausitzisch**) Urnfields by H. Seger became well-known from his presentation of it in the **Reallexicon** ⁵. According to his ordering, the earliest phase was established already during the Middle Bronze Age, alongside Middle European Tumulus groups. From this dating, and from the apparently abrupt introduction of Urnfields, subsequently, south of the Sudeten and Lausitz mountains, it was concluded that Lausitz peoples must themselves have moved southwards as invaders. Historically, the Illyrians are first recorded ⁶ living midway along the east Adriatic coast; but toponymic evidence relates to them a number of river-names, not only among tributaries of the upper Oder and Vistula (**Weisse**), and in Silesia, but also from Moravia, Bohemia and on into Bavaria, together with occasional S. German place-names. The partial coincidence of this distribution with that of Lausitz and other Urnfields was accepted by some as proof of a single responsible movement (though Urnfields do not extend into the region of the historical Illyrians). The classic exponent of this theory was G. Kossina ⁷, and in consequence of it the terms «Lausitz» and «Illyrian» can often be found (especially in older writings) used interchangeably, or even as synonymous for «Urnfields» in general.

In his recent summary of the linguistic evidence, H. Krahe ⁸ seems to find it plausible that this distribution of Illyrian names should reflect a movement of peoples, at a date towards the end of the 2nd millennium, though he emphasizes the uncertainty inherent in any identification of its speakers with the cultures of prehistoric archaeology. Many archaeologists, however, would now stress the difficulties of any simple theory of migration out of Lausitz regions to account for the spread of the Urnfields of Europe. Recently, for example, V. Milošević ⁹ has drawn attention to the smallness of the supposed parent cemeteries during Seger's initial Lausitz phase, and has questioned the accuracy of dating them relatively earlier than their Middle European analogues. Those Urnfield groups which nonetheless are still ascribed to invasion from Lausitz centres will be further noticed below (p. 226). But since it is more usually maintained that similarities in material are not sufficiently exact to demonstrate such derivation, the common character of Middle European Urnfields is to-day more readily ascribed to a spread of influences (perhaps of a religious nature than to extensive movements of peoples. From the various aqueous metaphors, however, to which writers in the German language frequently resort in order to express the interpretation they have in mind (**Wellen, Strömungen**, etc.) it would appear that much of the mechanism of Urnfield diffusion still remains imperfectly understood. No single origin, or explanation, has yet been agreed which will account for Urnfields as a whole. This paper will therefore concentrate on the classifications, and interrelations, of the various regional groups among them, once these have become established.

(5) Band 7, 1927, 251-6, T. 195-8.

(6) In the 6th century B. C., by Hekataios.

(7) Eg. in *Die Herkunft der Germanen*, 1920.

(8) *Die Sprache der Illyrier*, 1. Teil, *Die Quellen*, 1955.

(9) *Germania* 30, 1952, 318-25.

THE URNFIELDS OF S. GERMANY AND THE TERMINOLOGY OF REINECKE

A study of Urnfields must inevitably begin with consideration of the earliest systematic presentation of them in the writings of P. Reinecke. His principal exposition is found in the *Alterthümer unserer Heidnischen*

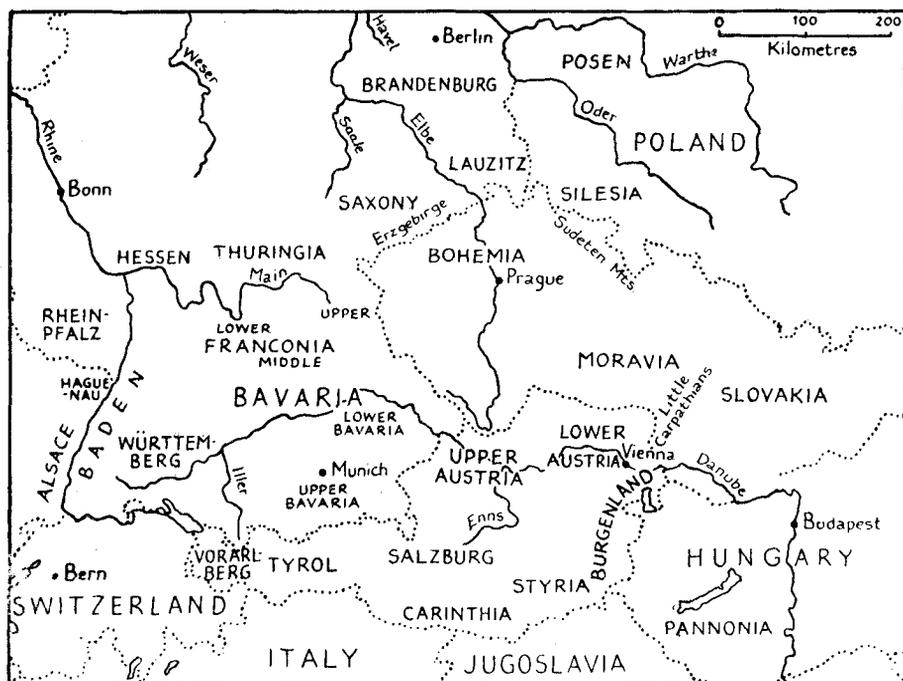


Fig. 1. — *Mitteleuropa* and surrounding provinces.

*Vorzeit*¹⁰, published in 1906. Reinecke worked from the S. German material, which he personally knew, and his system of interpretation is principally divided for it.

In his choice of terminology for his Urnfields classifications, Reinecke was governed by his conviction that the following early Iron Age cultures of Middle Europe exhibited in their pottery traditions an essential derivation from the Urnfields. To express this continuity he used the name of the rich and extensively explored Austrian cemetery of Hallstatt, in the Salzkammergut, not only for the initial and second stages of the Iron Age there represented (**Hallstatt C and D**), but also for the foregoing bronze-using Urnfields, which he likewise subdivided into two phases, named **Hallstatt A** and

(10) Vol. V, published complete in 1911, T. 38, 265-7, T. 43, 231-34 (bronzes), T. 44, 235-47

(pottery and discussion), T. 39, 208-15 (Nordic correlations).

Hallstatt B. This Hallstatt series follows after Reinecke's ordering of the earlier S. German Bronze Age into a stage **A** (Early Bronze Age), with earlier and later stages of the Tumulus (Middle Bronze Age) culture following as **Bronzezeit B** and **C**. Thereupon, according to his interpretation, a final stage, **Bronze D**, marked the Tumulus culture's final phase, already manifesting features of the Urnfields which were to supplant it.

It is this terminology of Reinecke which has passed into general use. For enough of the features which he presented as typical of his groups were sufficiently widespread to be welcomed as a basis for Urnfield classification over an extensive area of Middle Europe and beyond.

Further definition to Reinecke's full Urnfield, Hallstatt **A** and **B** (**Ha A** and **Ha B**), stages has moreover been given by subsequent studies, also devoted to the upper Rhineland and adjacent areas, from which he drew most of his examples. In 1935, E. Vogt¹¹ analysed the finds of the Swiss Lake Dwellings (**Pfahlbauten**) into successive typological phases, best illustrated in the series of knife types. Single-edged knives with a rod-tang (**Griffdorn**) which is terminally pierced or reverted (**umgeschlagen**) to hold a rivet (Fig. 2, 4 and 5), and sometimes with incised decoration on, or parallel to, the curved back, were accepted as **Ha A** (as in Reinecke). But Vogt contrasted these with other of Reinecke's **Ha A** knives on which richer decoration (at least two rows of incised pattern on the blade, or alternatively ribbed ornament) is often combined with a more strongly curved, or offset, blade, and the development of an intermediate section (**Zwischenstück**) separating this from the tang (Fig. 3). A comparable elaboration can be seen in bracelets. These appear to begin as simple (most often penannular) rings, occasionally with restrained incised patterns. The well-known massive, or hollow, bracelets of the Lake Dwellings, often with disc-like ends, and heavily decorated¹², would again seem to be later. Accepting, then, the prevalence of rich decoration as characteristic of more developed bronzes, Vogt assigned incised-headed pins (**Bomben- or Pfahlbaunadeln**, sometimes perforated for inlay) to this horizon (Fig. 3), leaving those with plain spherical head, and adjacent stem ribbing (**Urnfeldernadeln**) as earlier (Fig. 2, 3). The incised decoration (frequently concentric semi-circles) is found repeated on leaf-shaped spearheads and grip-tongue swords, likewise contrasted with plain forms of the previous phase.

Vogt's recognition of two periods represented among **Pfahlbau** bronzes involves a subdivision of the types which Reinecke classified as **Ha A**¹³, but it has become the basis for subsequent classification of Urnfield material. His proposal to use Reinecke's term **Ha B**, redefined, to designate the time of the later bronzes has likewise been generally followed. There is moreover corroborative evidence for regarding this typologically distinguished **Ha B** as a distinct phase, in the contexts of its bronzes. In Switzerland,

(11) *Die spätbronzezeitliche Keramik der Schweiz und ihre Chronologie*. Denkschr. d. Schweiz. Naturf. Gesellschaft, B. LXVI, 1930, 28ff.

(12) Eg. J. DÉCHELETTE, *Manuel d'Arch.* II, 1, 1910, fig. 119, 10.

(3) *Op. cit.*, T. 43.

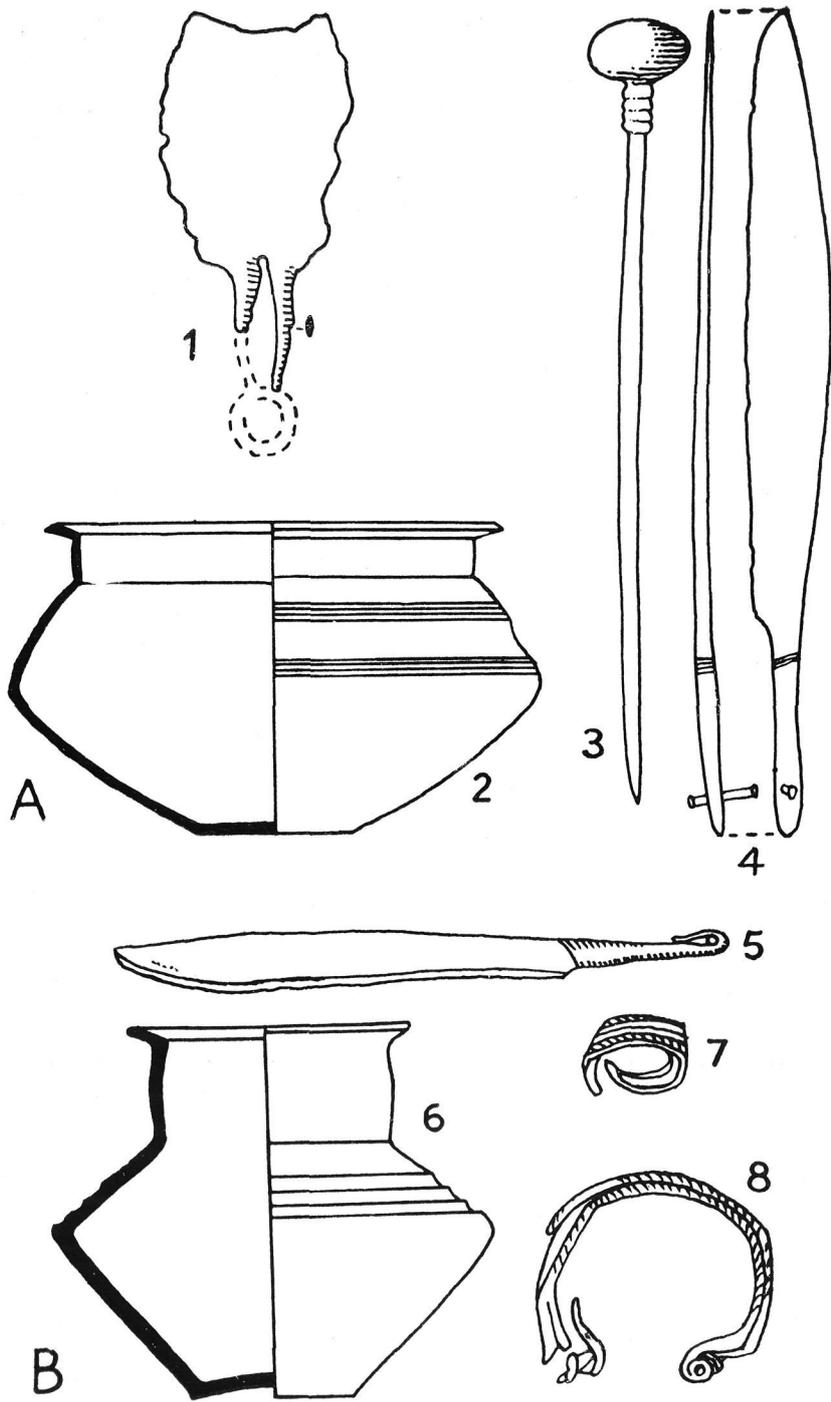


Fig. 2. — *Ha A* grave-groups: *A*, Heidelberg (Baden) inhumation; *B*, Singen (Baden), cremation grave. Pottery 1/4, bronzes 1/2. After Kimmig,

S. W. Germany and E. France, bronzes of (Vogt) Ha A types hardly ever appear in hoards. Decorated Ha B bronzes, however, were frequently so deposited, in conjunction with working tools, of which the end-winged axe is typical.

For the fuller content of the redefined Ha A group there is the evidence of the S. German graves. The definitive study here is W. Kimmig's **Urnenfelder Baden** ¹⁴ Typical Ha A bronzes can be shown, by association, to include crescentic razors with open-work grip (Fig. 2, 1), spearheads, arrowheads, twisted armlets (often of multiple strands—*ibid.*, 8), fingerings (plain and banded—*ibid.*, 7), looped discs, «Urnfield» chains of alternate rings and folded strip, and two-piece fibulas with wavy bow. Moreover, from the closed finds of grave-goods, it is here possible to consider how changes of Urnfield pottery styles should be synchronized with Vogt's phased development of bronzes, which the Lake Dwelling evidence could not demonstrate.

Kimmig discusses the Baden graves in the context of the regional Urnfield groups which they typify; this includes the Swiss **Pfahlbauten** and covers in addition the area from the Rhineland (with parts of E. France) in the west to the eastern border of Württemberg, and from Hessen southward to the Alps. Within it Kimmig distinguishes two ceramic groups, the **Rheinisch-Schweizerisch (RS)** and the **Unterrheinisch-Schwäbisch (UMS)** from their respectively geometrically incised and plastic or fluted decoration ¹⁵. This is the pottery, often with dark and lustrous («metallic») surface, which has been likened, in style and technique, to the fine ceramic traditions of E. German Lausitz Urnfields. It appears in the RS and UMS area with the introduction of the full Urnfield rite of enurned cremation in flat graves. A variety of forms—biconical vases, flaring dishes, dish-shaped lids, and sometimes amphorae and **Doppelkonnus** jars—were deposited in the graves, frequently with the cremation in the urn. Most significant for classification, however, is the commonest form of the urn itself. Characteristic from the start of full Urnfields with Hallstatt A is the large **Zylinderhalsurne**, with bulging biconical body, upright neck, and sharply offset rim. The type of figure 4 B (Ilvesheim), with finger-tipped cordon round the shoulder and rustication of the body beneath, seems confined to the Ha A phase. But other, smaller forms of the Zylinderhalsurne (Fig. 2 B, Singen, shows one of the numerous variants) which carry RS or UMS decoration continue, according to Kimmig, into Ha B (the necks, though usually rimmed, may here be somewhat flaring or oblique instead of upright) ¹⁶. Often there is nothing to distinguish these decorated forms as relatively late, except their associations.

In other forms, too, the pottery separates less readily than do bronzes into Ha A and Ha B types. The angular bowl associated with a **Pfahlbau**

(14) *Röm. - Germ. Forsch.* 14, 1940.

(15) This division was anticipated in Vogt's *West- und Ostgruppe* of 1930.

(16) *Trichterhals - or Kegelhalsurne.*

pin and a corresponding Vogt-B knife in the Heidesheim grave (Fig. 3 17), for example, continues in Ha A ceramic traditions. But with Ha B, a general tendency towards richer bronze deposits (as at Heidesheim) becomes noticeable. Often there is room only for these in the urn; and among the correspondingly rich service of pottery, which must now stand alongside, are forms in which the profile may be softer than the angular outlines of much Ha A ware. These more rounded forms point on to urns with flaring neck, like fig. 4C, which in Switzerland, the Rhineland and E. France may have bichrome decoration of graphite painted on a reddened body. They characterised the Ha B of Reinecke's original definition (**Gündlingen phase**).

This soft-profiled pottery of the final Western Urnfields in turn anticipates

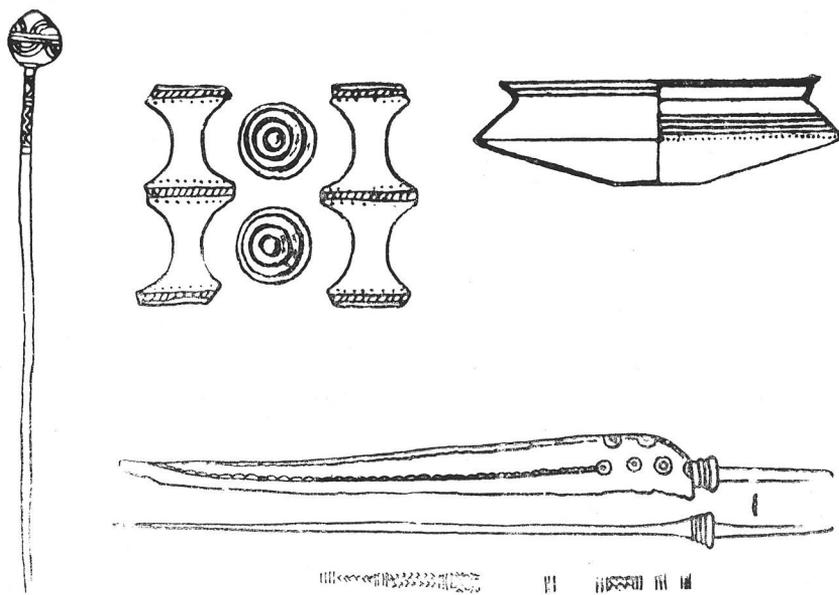


Fig. 3.—Ha B (Vogt) grave at Heidesheim (Rheinpfalz). Bowl 1/4, knife 1/3, others 1/2. After AHV.

features of the following Hallstatt C culture; it is therefore sometimes termed **Bii**. Furthermore, in 1942 Vogt¹⁸ postulated an essential subdivision among his Ha B bronzes, on the basis of a contrast in decoration between incised (**Strichverzierung**) and ribbed (**Rippenstil**). Since incision seems to originate in local Ha A traditions, while ribbing is a novelty, he supposed that rib-decorated bronzes (which include all the solid-hilted, Mörigen, Auvernier, and antennae swords) must at least begin later than incised ones. Subsequently, he has termed the **Rippenstil Bii**, and related it to

(17) The grave also contained a second small pin, ribbed finger-ring, an "Urnfield" chain, and in all 23 discs and 13 (belt) attachments.

(18) *Zeitschr. f. Schweiz. Arch. u. Kunstgeschichte* Bd. 5 Heft 4, 1942, 193ff.

influences which reached the Lake Dwellings from East Alpine regions, or beyond, evidenced in the few examples of «Thrako-Kimmerian» bridle-gear, on which the style occurs; the same movements perhaps also introduced a small-scale use of iron ¹⁹. If the small vase-headed pin (fig. 4 Ca, from Gündligen Barrow A), at times rib-decorated, is to be closely related to these incomings, then this Bii would seem to connect up with the Bii style in pottery, and the reversion to barrow graves associated with it (as at Gündligen). It has been suggested by E. Gersbach ²⁰ that Bii is generally intrusive and should correspond with destruction layers in the Lake Dwellings, a transfer to upland sites by displaced Bi people, and the start of hillforts ²¹.

This subdivision of Vogt-B concludes a survey of the meaning and content of Reinecke's classifications, Ha A and Ha B, as they were originally intended, together with such modifications as have been adopted in current usage to express the results of more recent research. These definitions derive from analysis of material in the parts of S. W. Germany — E. France — Switzerland where RS and UMS pottery is distributed and Vogt/Kimmig Ha A and Ha B bronzes are found in the associations studied by these authors. Ha A and Ha B, then, are terms proper to what may be called the **Western Urnfield** group of Middle European Urnfields.

Interpretation of Middle European Urnfields in general presupposes an understanding of Reinecke's terms because the wider distribution of bronzes typical of his divisions have been readily accepted as a basis of classification beyond the Western Urnfield area. Moreover, since the groups there established follow each other in sequence, the terms have come to serve, not only culturally as names of these, but also chronologically to designate the successive periods during which (among Western Urnfields) they prevailed.

The chronological aspect of Reinecke's system brings us back to the wider synchronisms between Urnfields and the Nordic Bronze Age. And here we must notice a discrepancy between the conclusions of Reinecke and cross datings recently proposed by E. Sprockhoff ²². A particular feature of the Ha A which introduces full Urnfield culture in the Western Urnfields is its clear distinction from the foregoing «Bronze D» (p. 200), to which we shall in the next section return. In his exposition of 1906, Rei-

(19) 40 *Jahrb. d. Schweiz. Gesell. f. Urgeschichte*, 1949/50, 209ff., use of iron, *ibid.*, 214-16; bridle-gear, *ibid.*, 222-3, and GALLUS and HORVATH, *Un peuple cavalier pré-scythique en Hongrie*, Diss. Pannon. S. II, 9, 1939, texte and planches, and *Wiener Präh. Zeitschrift*, 27, 1940, 7-32.

(20) 41 *Jahrb. d. Schweiz. Gesell. f. Urgeschichte*, 1951, 175-91.

(21) Some inconsistency in usage in the lettering and numbering of Urnfield phases should be noted. KIMMIG (*Urnfelder Baden*) accepts Vogt's terminology of 1935 for bronzes, such as those in the Heidesheim grave (fig. 3), which he therefore classifies as Ha B (*ibid.*, 98 for knife, 108-9 for pins and 178 (n.º 41) for grave as a whole). Re-

cently, however, he has proposed (*Rev. Arch. de l'Est et du Centre-Est* t. II, 1951, fasc. 2, 13) a terminological distinction for pottery only at the Gündlingen stage, which he would call *Urnfelder III* (it corresponds to Reinecke's original Ha B), as opposed to his *Urnfelder II* = Ha A. This will involve his terming Vogt-B bronzes (prior to the *Rippenstil*) A2. In other writers, however, this would be understood as a division in Vogt-A bronzes marked by incipient incised decoration, eg. on swords; cf. J. D. COWEN, *Proc. Preh. Soc.* XVII pt. 2, 1951, 204.

(22) *Chronologische Skizze*, in *Reinecke - Festschrift*, Mainz, 1950, 133ff.

necke postulated an essential similarity between this D and events in the Milaveč barrow graves in S. Bohemia. From the Nordic connections of the celebrated wheeled bronze cauldron there, and from distribution of associated bronzes which also spread into northern Europe, he correlated D with Montelius III. The subsequent equations were: Ha A=MIV, Ha B=MV, Ha C (Iron Age)= MVI. Sprockhoff, however, working from N. and E. Ger-

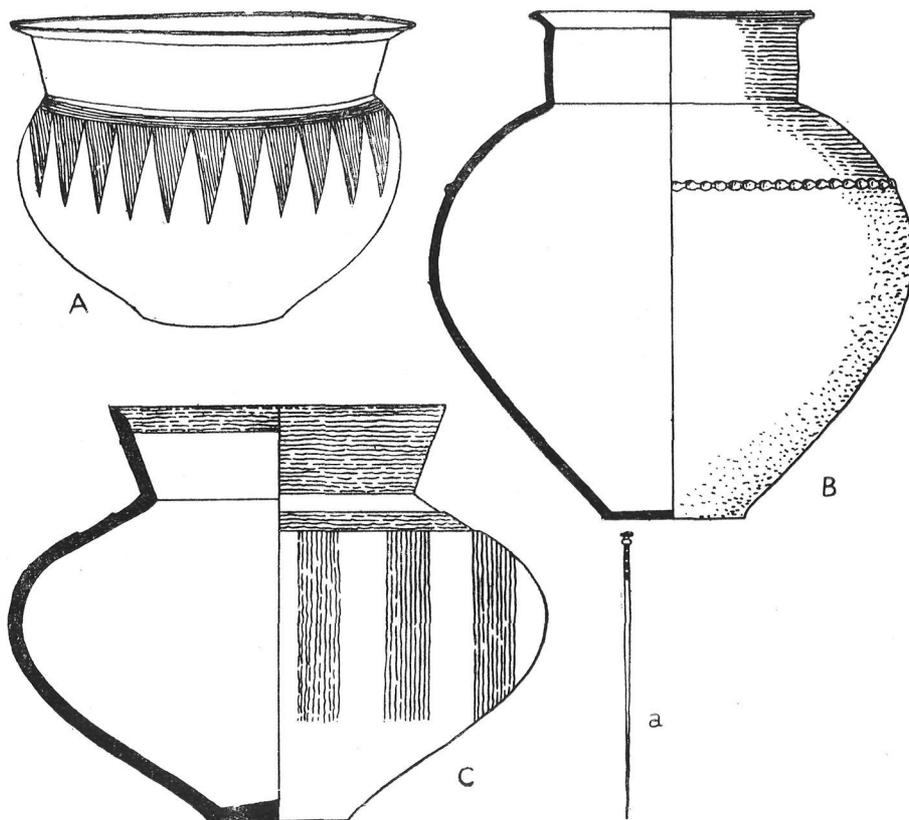


Fig. 4. — Typical “urns” in western Middle Europe: A, “Bronze D” (Waltersberg, Upper Bavaria); B, Ha A (Ilvesheim, Baden); C, Ha B (Gündlingen, Barrow B, Baden, with pin from Barrow A). 1/5. After Naue and Kimmig.

man hoards, where types from the Nordic and Urnfield zones are occasionally associated, now maintains that it is not a D phase, but the establishment of full Urnfields (i. e. Ha A) which is contemporary with MIII, dating at least from the beginning of this Nordic period, if not starting even earlier.

It is the early Urnfields of Middle Europe which connect with the dated sequences of the Mediterranean (p. 196), so that to fix their beginning in terms of Montelian periods would establish a particularly useful horizon in

European prehistory. They have been habitually discussed in terms of the opposition, and sequence, of Reinecke's Bronze D and Ha A. Since Reinecke wrote, there has been no fundamental reordering, either of his, or of Montelius' system. It is therefore puzzling that different authorities, arguing in accordance with these classifications, should be able to arrive at conflicting conclusions, about cross-dating²³. It would perhaps seem that as terminological tools «Bronze D» and «Ha A» are not altogether adequate for an exact appreciation of the period. With this in mind, we must accordingly turn to an examination of the «D» which Reinecke contrasted with «A» in his original system.

THE RIEGSEEGRUPPE AND REINECKE D

According to Reinecke's interpretation, the first manifestations of Urnfield culture on S. German soil are in barrow cemeteries in the Alpine foothills of Upper Bavaria, which he named after a characteristic group near the Riegsee (a small glacial lake south-west of Munich)²⁴. Clearly the **Riegseegruppe**, with its barrows, is not «Urnfield» in the full sense; but the standard rite was cremation, though the burnt bone was simply left on the pyre, covered by the barrow's stone core. The regular deposit of sword and knife contrasts, too, with the axehead and dagger of Tumulus warriors. Reinecke however accepted barrow-building as essentially Middle Bronze. Age in tradition, and so presented Riegsee as a final phase of Tumulus culture (thus **Bronzezeit D**) modified by infiltration of Urnfield elements.

Many of the grave-goods, which were placed (sometimes fire-damaged) alongside the cremated bones, however, at once contrast with Middle Bronze Age types and recall material associated with true Urnfields in other areas. Thus among the pottery, the polished, black, necked vase from Riegsee 26 has vertical channelled decoration (Reifen figura 5, 1); the flaring ends of its handle (**X-Henkel**) are characteristic. A similar (but handle-less) pot from Riegsee 23 combined this decoration with four spaced conical bosses (**Buckeln** - fig. 5, 5). Similarly shaped vases may also be decorated geometrically with incised zigzags or hatched triangles. This last patterning is also found in the related Waltersberg cemetery on a larger vessel (fig. 4 A) which, in its offset brim and distinct set of the neck above the shouldered body is particularly reminiscent of an Urnfield urn form. The **Zylinderhalsurne** with upright neck, however, seems to be represented by only one exceptional pot²⁵ among the restorable pottery. **Kerbschnitt** (chip-carved) pottery of Tumulus type is moreover present, and some would derive the X-handle from similar traditions.

The bronzes of the Riegseegruppe (figuras 5-7) are of particular

(23) As Sprockhoff remarked in noticing other discrepancies in the correlations as early as 1930: "Jeder hat offenbar das richtige Gefühl gehabt, dass er sich damit gegen den Geist verstösst, obwohl er mit den Buchstaben richtig handelt" (*Handelsgeschichte d. germ. Bronzezeit*, 125).

(24) Excavated and published by J. NAUE: *Die Hügelgräber zwischen Ammer- und Staffelsee*, 1887; *Die Bronzezeit Oberbayerns*, 1894.

(25) Riegsee 37: NAUE, *op. cit.*, (1894), T. XL, 1 (with vase-headed pin T. XXXI, 8).

interest, since their distribution, being far wider than that of the pottery, is the principal link with cultures of other areas, both in Urnfield **Mitteleuropa**, and beyond. The two sword types are the solid-hilted **Riegsee** sword (fig. 6, 1) and the grip-tongue (**Griffzunge**) or flange-hilted sword with straight blade (fig. 5, 4), recently named the **Nenzingen** type²⁶. Neither is unrelated to types current in phase C of local Tumulus culture; but each is a distinctive variant of its class. Similarly, single-bladed humped back knives (fig. 6, 2) differ from their Tumulus relatives²⁷. And though forms like conjoined spirals (fig. 7, 5) and possibly the wheel-shaped pendent (ibid. 6) and the dagger (fig. 6, 4) may derive from the Middle Bronze Age, the **Peschiera** dagger (ibid., 3) is a complete novelty²⁸. The single rivet-hole on this **St. Andrä** example is typical; another Upper Bavarian find from **Peiting** (less certainly from a barrow grave)²⁹ is more closely analogous in shoulder and blade form to the Italian example from **Punta del Tonno** (p. 196). Equally new and especially characteristic in the **Riegsee**gruppe are heavily ribbed (**schwergerippte**) penannular bracelets (fig. 7, 2 and 3). Comparable «baroque» ornament is seen on the moulded head of the **Vasenkopf** pin (fig. 6, 6). A plainer form of this, with other bronzes proper to **Riegsee** — spherical-headed pin with stem ribbing (**Kugelkopfnadel**), incised and twisted bracelets, tubular and spiral-wire beads, simple looped discs, and decorated sheet-bronze restored as belt-plates — are also shown on figures 5-7. The pin, fig. 6, 5 (**St. Andrä**), and the belt-hook, fig. 7, 11, are rare here.

From the occasional Tumulus features among this material, as from the rite, **Reinecke** concluded that **Riegsee** was a composite group in which Middle Bronze Age and intrusive Urnfield elements intermingle. At the same time, he noticed that none of its characteristic types is found in association with **Ha A** as he defined it (and as now elaborated by **Vogt** and **Kimmig**), and so deduced that **Bronze D** must be prior to the adoption of a full Urnfield rite in **S. Germany**, introduced later as **Ha A** with more developed equipment.

It is important to notice that the **Bronze D** thus incorporated in **Reinecke's** system is characterised i) by its typical content of pottery and bronze forms now newly introduced, ii) by its composition, with an apparent combination of Middle Bronze Age with Urnfield features, and iii) by its chronological position, before full Urnfields locally and before the types of material associated with these in the **Ha A** of **S. Germany**. At **Riegsee** these three definitive characteristics coincide. But the discussion of subsequent Urnfield interpretation to which we must next proceed is largely concerned with the transference of «**Bronze D**» as a classification to other

(26) *Proc. Preh. Soc.* XVII pt. 2, 1951, 204-6; 36 *Bericht d. Röm.-Germ. Komm.* 1955 (1956), 63-71, 124-8. This sword is the analogue of Typ IIA in the North: **E. SPROCKHOFF**, *Die germanischen Griffzungenschwörter*, 1931.

(27) Eg. the *Oberpfälzische - Gruppe*, **Bayer. Vorgeschichtsbl.** 20, 1954, 113-9.

(28) It is not yet clear whether its flanged hilt should be related to that of the *Griffzungenschwert*.

(29) *AHV*, V, 5, T. 38, 615.

parts of Middle Europe, where the archaeological history of D-types is in fact often distinct.

FREMDKULTUREN AND THE FIRST URNFIELDS

Reinecke's notion that Bronze D was a phase developing out of and following Tumulus Bronze C in S. Germany was criticised in the 1930's by F. Holste³⁰. Holste thought the **Riegseegruppe** was basically intrusive, and that moreover it effected only a circumscribed area in Upper Bavaria. Furthermore, contrasting the distribution of bronzes emanating from here with that of a late Tumulus pin, the **gezackte Nadel** (which nonetheless reflects their «baroque» style in the collar-ribbed stem beneath its inverted conical head)³¹, he thought to show that Riegsee ran parallel with Reinecke C **Hügelgräber**, which concentrated in upland regions like the Schwäbische Alb in Württemberg.

Absence of typical Tumulus C bronzes in the Riegsee area which Holste put forward as further proof of this concurrence was perhaps not altogether conclusive as an argument³². Certainly in his posthumous study, **Die Bronzezeit in Süd- und Westdeutschland** (1953) Holste had come to present Riegsee as an **endbronzezeitlich** incident, beginning only at a late phase of developed (C) Tumulus culture³³. It is there compared with various other manifestations of encroaching Urnfield novelties (including the adoption of cremation) then appearing in other parts of Bavaria between the Alps and the R. Main, as well as further westward at these latitudes, which Holste classified together as **Fremdkulturen** ("foreign cultures").

Already in 1926, G. Kraft³⁴ had drawn attention to pottery in the Palatinate (**Rheinpfalz**), the Hagenau, and in E. France which clearly relates to Urnfield styles, though it is distinct from the Ha A of the region. From its frequent narrow, or light, grooved decoration he called it **leichtgerillte Ware**. East from the Rhine, sporadic pottery finds which are similarly non-Ha A, and yet Urnfield in character, were grouped together by Vogt in 1935³⁵ as **Dixenhausen Ware** after a site in Middle Franconia (**Mittelfranken**); it does not seem to extend east of central Bavaria). There is no uniform assemblage; but characteristic ornament of incised hatched triangles (**Hängende Dreiecke**) or lozenges, or **Buckelornament**, seen together as for example at Immendingen (Württemberg)³⁶, are similar to what was found at Riegsee. So too are the urn-like vase forms, with splaying neck, which also occur undecorated, or with a simple shoulder cordon (as at

(30) Bayer. *Vorgeschichtsb.* 13, 1936, 20-22; *Die Bronzezeit im Nordmainischen Hessen*, 1939, 91-2.

(31) *Präh. Ztschrift.* 1940, 121ff.

(32) The octagonal-hilted sword diagnostic of Bronze C occurs in adjacent parts of Upper Bavaria, if not actually where Naue excavated "zweischen Ammer- und Staffelsee". A further concentration of Riegsee swords in the Slovakian mountains, however, is an argument against local derivation

from Bronze C. There is also a Peshiera dagger mould at Vienna, presumably from a nearby district of the former Austro-Hungarian empire: J. HAMPEL, *Bronzezeit in Ungarn*, 1890, T. II, 5.

(33) Table p. 111.

(34) *Bonner Jahrb.* 131, 1926, 154ff.

(35) *Die Spätbronzezeitliche Keramik der Schweiz*, op. cit., 10.

(36) HOLSTE, op. cit., 1953, T. 24.

Binzen or Merdingen in Baden) ³⁷. The X-handle, and a distinctively low-swung body (hängende Schulter), sometimes emphasized by cordons as at Dixenhausen itself, are other relating features.

A Riegsee sword has long been known in association with incised Dixenhausen ware at Gunzenhausen ³⁸. And now a Nenzingen sword has turned up an over-hanging shoulder jug at Memmelsdorf, near Bamberg

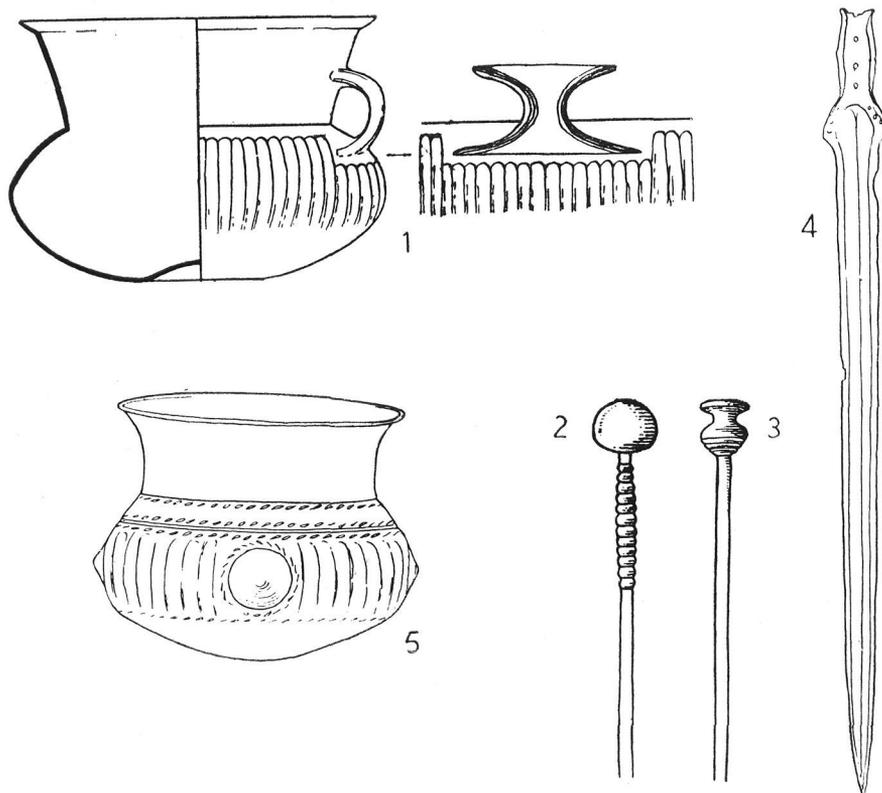


Fig. 5. — Material from Riegsee Barrow 26 (1-3) and Barrow 23 (4 and 5). Pottery 1/4; sword 1/6, pins 1/2. After Naue and Müller-Karpe.

(Grave 1) ³⁹. A clearer picture of the full range of bronzes appropriate to the **Fremdkulturen** has been given in Kimmig's recent summaries of other new finds ⁴⁰, and these confirm associations known earlier from Kraft's publication of the equivalent N. Swiss material ⁴¹. The typical Bronze-D

(37) *Badische Fundberichte*, 17, 1941-47, T. 48 and 49.

(38) J. NAUE, *Die vorrömische Schwerter*, 1903, Album, XLIII, 1-7.

(39) *Germania* 30, 1952, 271-4.

(40) *Badische Fundberichte*, 17 (1941-7) 148-76; 18 (1948-50) 80-95.

(41) *Anz. f. Schweiz. Altertumskunde* XXIX, 1927, 74-90, 137-48.

schwergerippte bracelet (in the form of fig. 7, 3), and lighter variants of this, is well represented; or, as Kraft had noticed, it may be replaced by another heavy penannular form with spiral-twisted (or **falsch tordiert**) body, as 'at Mels ⁴². But in the region north and west of Riegsee, pins with horizontally moulded, or stepped-pyramid, head replace the **Vasenkopfnadel** as the accompaniment of these bracelets (eg. at the Baden sites of Erzingen and Binzen) ⁴³. Even more frequently one finds the **poppy-headed pin (Mohnkopfnadel)**, which has a central, vertically-patterned zone, less often incised on a spherical head (as in the unique «Riegsee» example, fig. 6, 5) than ribbed and on a flattened form. In distribution ⁴⁴ it coincides with the straight-bladed knife with sinuously-flanged tang (**umgelappte Griffzunge**) or with handle-socket and pommel ⁴⁵. Both these **Fremdkulturen** knives, as well as the simpler riveted tang form (as fig. 6, 2) may broaden at the point into a twoedged "nose", a feature which concentrates in this same area ⁴⁶. Distribution of triangular-hafted Rixheim rapiers and daggers (after the style of fig. 6, 4) also closely corresponds ⁴⁷; it was Kraft's suggestion that graves with Rixheim rapiers are the masculine equivalent of poppy-pin burials ⁴⁸.

In the S. W. German-E. French-Swiss area distinguished by these associations of pottery and bronzes cremation burial begins to appear. Binzen (mentioned above for its pyramid-head pin and **tordierte** bracelets) is a full urn grave. Rite, however, is not uniform. In the Inmendingen cemetery (with Dixenhausen ware) are full-length stone-lined graves, containing either skeletons or cremations, while **leichgerillte** pottery in the Rhineland may accompany inhumation or cremation, often still under barrows. (eg. in the Hagenau). It is usual to connect the predominantly novel bronze types of the **Fremdkulturen** (only the Rixheim rapier derives from local Tumulus modes) with incomings, from the east ⁴⁹, which also introduced cremation; though even a full urn grave, like Merdingen near Freiburg, may yet contain Middle Bronze Age **Kerbschnitt** ware ⁵⁰.

Analysis of recent finds, however, confirms that this extended range of «D-type» material, which is comparable with, yet (especially in bronzes) distinguishable from, Riegsee, is regularly exclusive to Western Urnfield Ha A over that culture's distribution area (roughly, westwards from central

(42) *Ibid.*, T. XII.

(43) *Badische Fundberichte* op. cit., (18), T. 20 oben; (17), T. 48.

(44) Fig. 10. The form with this decoration is usually now specifically intended, though Reinecke also called other pins with spherical head (eg. the *Pfahlbaunadel*) "Mohnkopfnadel" — *AHV*, V, 231, 234 (T. 43, 701 and 731).

(45) Fig. 11, the first are sometimes called a *Courtevant* knife after a French grave - where associated with a Rixheim rapier: *Déchelette, Manuel* II, 1, 1910, fig. 144; recent treatment by H. - J. HUNDT, *Germania*, 34, 45-9, with maps.

(46) *Germania*, 34, 1956, Heft 1/2, 46-7, 50-1, with map Abb. 5.

(47) Fig. 12, p. 228.

(48) *Op. cit.*, 1927, 146-7. If 1935 finds from Mengen (Württ.) can be assigned here (an *umgelappte Griffzunge* knife with two-edged "nose" was found close by in 1955), an unsuspected wealth of horsegear belongs to this horizon eg. phalerae and bridle side-pieces. (The Mels site of Zürich-Burgweis produced a small rod with terminal rings (bit) which is matched at Mengen: KRAFT, *op. cit.*, 1927, T. XIII, 4.

(49) Although the typical bronzes also occur across the Alps in the N. Italian Terremare (IIB), Kraft was mistaken to derive them thence.

(50) *Badische Fundberichte* 17, T. 49 C.

Bavaria). Reineck's notion of a phase prior to Ha A, in which culture is not yet uniform and may include Tumulus elements, is thus validated in the west. An occasional mingling in the Rhineland (eg. a *Zylinderhals* urn with a Tumulus dagger at Egisheim, near Colmar) ⁵¹, which Kimmig interprets as evidence of the late arrival of Urnfields this far west, does not modify the impression the D and Ha A are normally distinct and

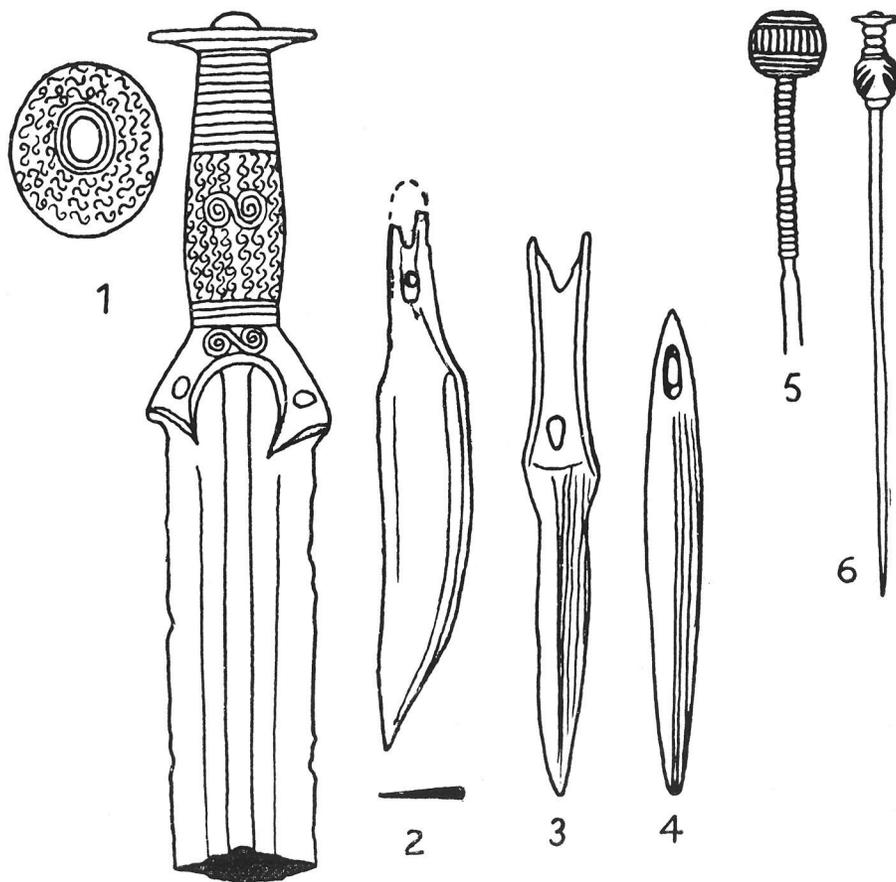


Fig. 6.—"Riegsee" bronzes from St. André (1, 2 and 7 from Barrow 7). 1/2 After Naue.

successive assemblages in this area. Kimmig proposes therefore to call the **Fremdkulturen First Urnfields (UFD I. Urnenfelder I)**, followed by Ha A as **UFD II** and Ha B as **UFD III** ⁵².

The nomenclature of an earlier study of First Urnfield material, namely

(51) *Ibid.*, T. 54.

(52) *Rev. Arch. de l'Est et du Centre-Est*, t. II,

1951, fasc. 2, 13. On the peculiar intention of Kimmig's "Ha B", see p. 204, n. 21.

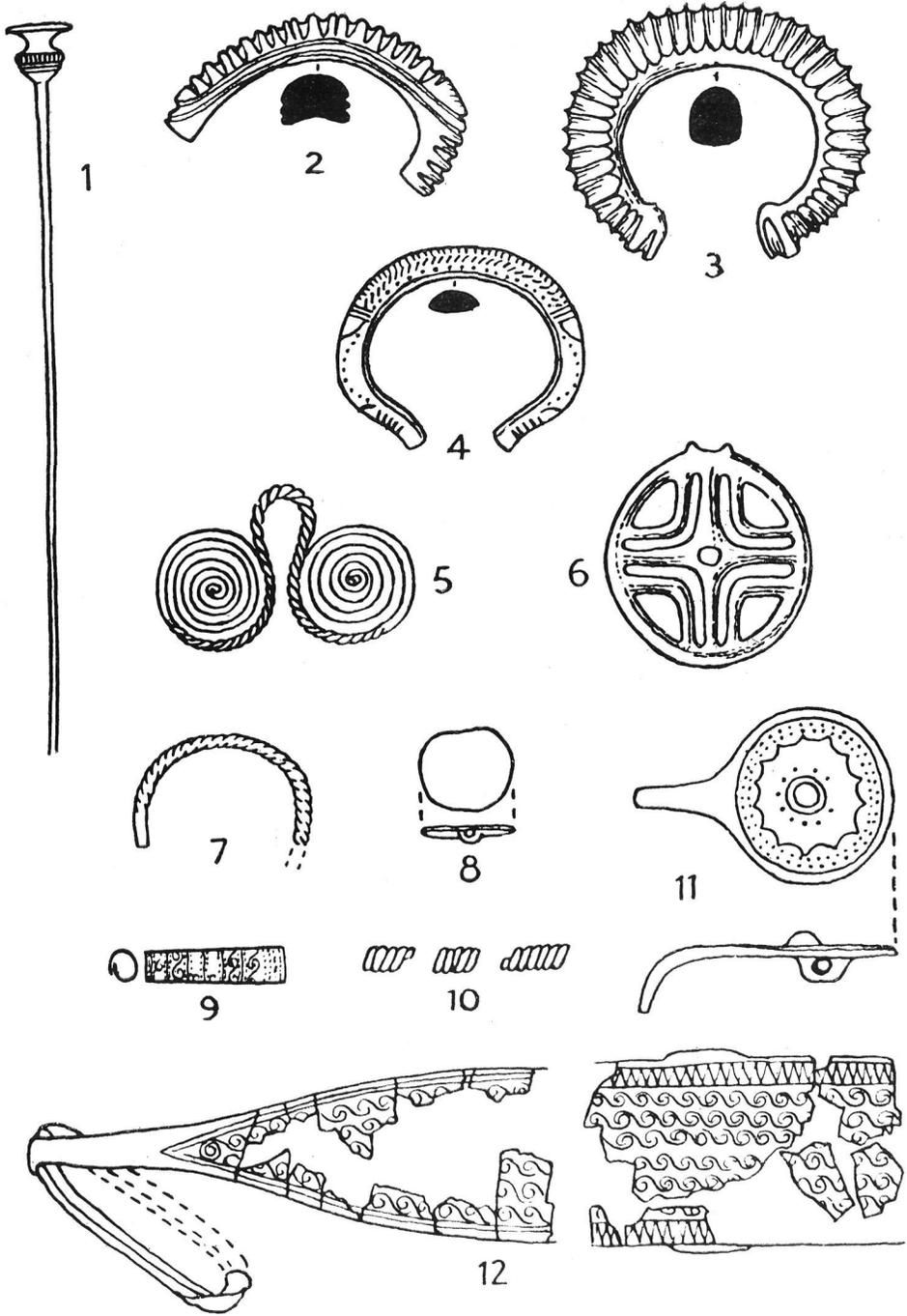


Fig. 7. — "Riegsee" bronzes, from Barrows 8 (1-4, 8-10, 12), 25 (7) and 35 (5-6), and Untereberfing (11).
After Naue and Müller-Karpe.

that of Kraft in N. Switzerland ⁵³, however, has played a part in wider Urnfield interpretation, and must not be passed over. Kraft's **Mels** group of flat graves (perhaps always cremations) contains the poppy-pin, stepped-pyramid pins, the lighter version of Riegsee ribbed bracelets and heavy **tordiert** penannulars, knives with sinuous-flanges or socket-handle and pommel and a «belt-book» (a Zürich-Burgweis). Mels itself had a flored-neck urn-like pot with incised triangle decoration. Alongside, according to Kraft, are Rixheim rapier graves.

Contrasted with Mels as later is the tiny **Oberendingen** group of true Urnfield graves, in which the poppy-pin is absent. Heavy penannular bracelets are for the most part now plain but there is a thinner twisted form with plain ends. A grave at **Binningen** has a geometrically embossed gold plaque, an «Urnfield» chain (p. 202) and knife with sinuous flanges. **Nenzingen** swords are ascribed to this horizon (at **Basel** and **Latringen**). But despite the elongated bladed knife with rod-tang and terminal rivet from a grave at **Belp** ⁵⁴, the **Oberendingen** group is held to be not yet **Ha A**, since in that context (and in the **Pfahlbauten**), the group's **Leitfossil**, a pin with spherical head surmounting five neck ribs (**Nadel Binningen**), is replaced by one devolved to four, or less, ribs (the **Urnenfeldernadel** — (. 200 — called by Kraft **Typ Wollmesheim** 1) ⁵⁴.

Oberendingen therefore, despite the **Zylinderhalsurne** of the name-site, is uneasily classified as "beginning **Ha A**", perhaps also because the low bosses between short vertical grooves on an accessory vessel are more reminiscent of First Urnfield pottery. The association of **D** and **Ha A** in the bronzes and pottery of the **Oberendingen** group however needs to be remembered as exceptional in the area of the **Fremdkulturen** and the Western Urnfields. It is their usually exclusive associations, confirmed in recent studies on First Urnfields and **UFD II** which is relevant when considering the extension of **Reinecke's** terminology to classify Urnfields elsewhere.

AUSTRIAN URNFIELDS: THE HÖTTING CULTURE

As in S. Germany, Urnfield culture in Austria appears abruptly and with new material. Pottery comparable with the embossed and incised **Dixenhausen** wares, however, can be traced only so far as the **Vorarlberg** ⁵⁵. The possibility of cross-dating between the **Fremdkulturen** and regions further east therefore depends on bronzes: for, in contrast, the familiar **Bronze-D schwergerippte** bracelet and humped-back knife with riveted tang (the forms of fig. 7, 3 and fig. 6, 2) are known right across Austria to the **Burgenland**. In western Austrian there are also more particular relations with the **Riegseegruppe**. Thus for example a **Vasenkopfnadel** with girth

(53) *Anz. f. Schweiz. Altertumkunde* XXIX, 1927, 74-90.

(54) Cf. fig. 2, 3.

(55) Eg. at the **Göfis-Heidenburg** cemetery. Aus-

trian sites are most conveniently consulted in **R. PITTIONI**, *Urgeschichte des österreichischen Raumes*, 1954. Here, Abb. 278.

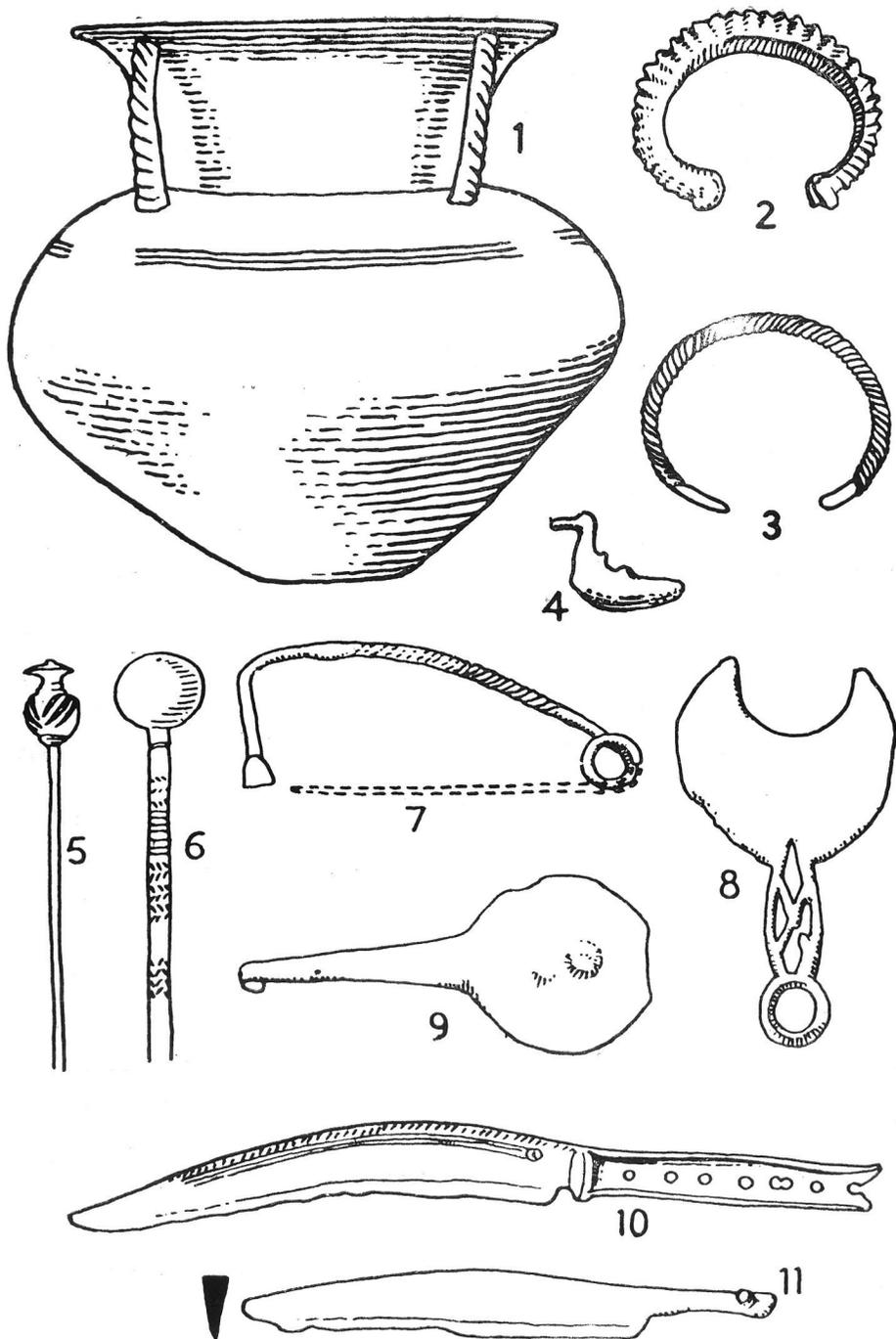


Fig. 8. — Tyrolean Urnfield material, Group II (Wagner). Urn 1/5, bronzes 1/2, except 6-7, 1/1. After Wagner.

nicking (like fig. 7, 1) from Wels on the Danube plain near Linz ⁵⁶ suggests, as does a concentration of Riegsee swords on the lower Inn, fig. 12. p. 228), connections with Upper Bavaria along the Alpine fringes. In context, however, bronzes such as these, and the moulded **Vasenkopfnadeln**, Peschiera daggers, and ribbed bracelets from Upper Austria and Salzburg sharply contrast with Riegsee, both in the associated pottery, and in a full Urnfield rite of enurned cremation. They relate to cemeteries in the Tyrol, usually named after the **Hötting** site at Innsbruck ⁵⁷.

Hötting culture pottery would in Reinecke's terms be classified as Ha A, since the shouldered cylinder-necked urn is a standard form. The accessory vessels of Western Urnfield Ha A are however replaced by frequent round-bodied jugs (Milchkrüge) with high or squatter everted neck, and often decorated with finely incised hatched triangles. Embossed ware is rare, but short vertical grooves ornament the shoulder of vases and bowls.

By analysis of associations K. H. Wagner (**Nördtiroler Urnenfelder** 1943) ⁵⁸ divided Hötting material into three groups. His final Group, **III**, is distinguished by the presence of fluted decoration, the necked vase (**hoher Becker**) and biconical pot (**Doppelkonnus**). Group II is recognised by the almost exclusive associations of these III forms and the zigzag moulded **Vasenkopfnadel**. This pin — thus the **Leitform** of II — is characteristically found with **schwengerippte**, twisted-rod, and lozenge-sectioned penannular bracelets, belt-hooks, and also the stilted, one-piece fibula (as Mühlau 1 and 11) and small duck-shaped bronzes (Mühlau 1, Wilten 86). The associated crescentic razors with openwork grip contrast with the horse-shoe shaped ones of Group III, as do the knives with terminally riveted rod-tang or flanged hilts with Group III's more sinuous blades or developed **Zwischensstück**. Figs. 8 and 9 show these respective Group forms, together with the peculiar "pillar-urn" (**Säulchenurne**) of the Tyrol, which belongs in Group II. Only a handful of graves, with simpler riveted-tang knives, spherical-headed pins, some necked jugs and a belt-hook with large loop behind the disc, are assigned to «Group I», and Wagner himself concedes that this «**Zeitgruppe**» may merely represent cultural elements introduced alongside Group II ⁵⁹.

Wagner pertinently noticed a comparison between his Group II — we may call it **Tyrol II** — and Kraft's Oberendingen group in N. Switzerland. The terminally rivetted knife from Belp ⁶⁰ is exactly matched in the Tyrol II grave, Mühlau 54b ⁶¹, and twisted bracelets with plain ends are another common type. In general style and technique, too, the embossed concentric circles on a gold-covered disc from Mühlau 1 (Tyrol II)

(56) With the zigzag moulded variant, ribbed bracelets and belt-hooks, *ibid.*, Abb. 334, 5.

(57) Pittioni therefore suggested a composite name "Hötting-Morzg", after the Salzburg-Morzg cemetery (which contained, *inter alia*, a Peschiera dagger and fragments of a Riegsee sword: PITTIONI, *op. cit.*, Abb. 314).

(58) *Röm.-Germ. Forsch.* 15.

(59) *Op. cit.*, 65, "ob nicht durch die Einwanderung der Zeitgruppe II einzelne Splitter einer Kultur oder Volksgruppe mitgerissen worden sein können".

(60) *Anz. f. Schweiz. Altertumer*, 1927, T. XIV, 1.

(61) WAGNER, *op. cit.*, T. 14, 8.

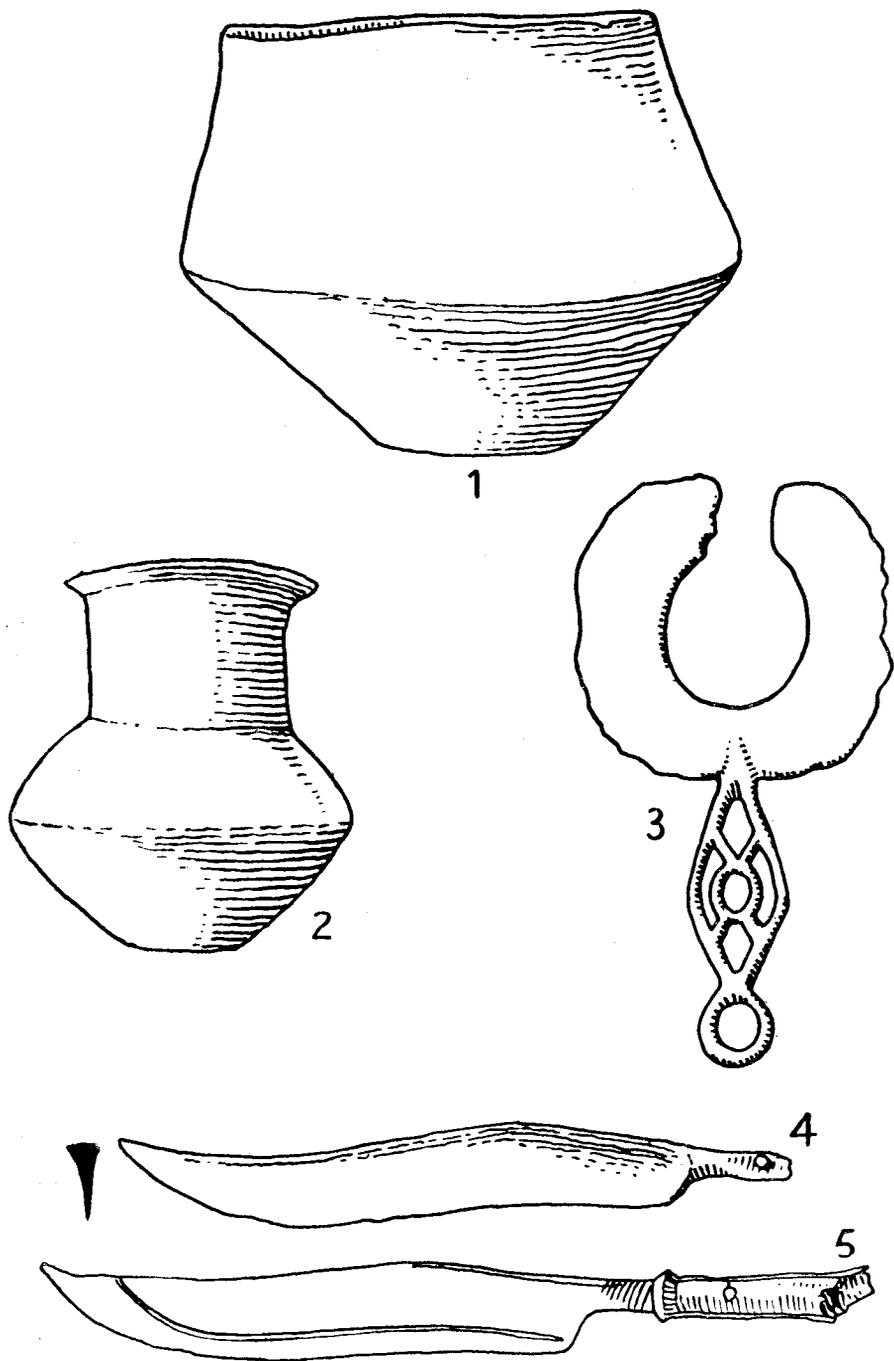


Fig. 9. — Tyrolean Urnfield material, Group III (Wagner) 1 at 1/5, 2-5 at 1/2. After Wagner.

resemble those on the Binningen plaque ⁶². Wagner would appear to consider only his earliest (and somewhat conjectural) Group I as parallel to the **Melsgruppe** of Switzerland and to the **Fremdkulturen**. Classification of Tyrol II in terms Reinecke's system, however, immediately presents difficulties. At Oberendingen it was necessary to adopt the expedient of "early Ha A" (typologically separated from Western Urnfield A by the fifth rib on the neck of the Binningen pin). But to follow this precedent for Tyrol II would mean appropriating the term «Ha A» for a distinct complex, established and held together as a group precisely on a feature—the moulded vase-headed pin — to which the Ha A of classical definition is opposed. Nor is it possible to tell, on direct evidence, whether Tyrol II is in fact earlier than Western Urnfield A in time.

Significantly, however, Wagner could also suggest an approximate equivalence between Tyrol II and III and the Bohemian Urnfield stages called Třebíz-Velvary and Zatec-Jenšovice; and it is in connection with the evidence from this further Urnfields province that the Tyrolean Groups will be best assessed.

AUSTRIAN URNFIELDS: THE BAIERDORF CULTURE

In prehistoric Austria the R. Enns often appears as cultural boundary. East of it, D-type bronzes are introduced with a further distinct group of early Urnfields, centred in Lower Austria and the Burgenland, usually called the **Baierdorf** grup. Here, cremations in flat graves are standard; urn burial is usual (though at Baierdorf itself cremated bone was buried without cover), but a minority of richly furnished graves are full-length **Steinkisten**. Among Baierdorf material are not only the bronzes which are traceable as far west as the **Fremdkulturen** — simple riveted-tang knives, **schwergewippte** bracelets and spherical-headed pins (both with ribbed stem and with incision arranged in a way reminiscent of poppy pins), but also those peculiar to the **Riegsee**gruppe, such as the Riegsee sword and Peschiera dagger — Riegsee's heavy **Vasenkopfnadel** is however replaced by a comparably moulded turban-headed type ⁶³. Particular types not found further west, such as a small crescentic terminal from Unterradl, relate in contrast to S. Bohemian Urnfields ⁶⁴. R. Pittioni, indeed, in his recent *Urgeschichte des österreichischen Raumes* (1954) considers early Urnfields in southern Czechoslovakia belong in the same culture as the Lower Austrian, and proposes a composite name, «Baierdorf-Velatices», Velatices after a type-site in S. Moravia.

To supplement the evidence of graves, D type bronzes in the Baierdorf area also occur in hoards. There are unfortunately few indications to show

(62) *Ibid.*, T. 9, 6; *Anz. f. Schweiz. Altertumskunde*, 1927, T. XIV, 4.

(63) The example from the Attersee (*AHV* V, 5, T. 38, 616) illustrated by Reinecke as evidence of connections between Upper Bavaria and Salz-

burg is better seen as an outlier from Lower Austria; the form is exceptional in further west.

(64) PITTIONI, *op. cit.*, Abb. 306; and at Drhovice (barrow cemetery with cremations), J. BÖHM, *Die Grundlagen der Hallstattperiode in Böhmen*, 1937, Obr. 78,

whether the variety of bronzes therefore classed together as **Baierdorf** by Pittioni subdivides into earlier and later types; but this author thinks the few finds of violin-bow fibulae in Lower Austria must belong to a secondary phase, which he thus tentatively contrasts as **fibelführend** with a primary **fibelfrei** phase. Among his **Baierdorf** burials a grave like **Kirchberg am Wagram**, which contains a **Dreiwulst** sword ⁶⁵, will perhaps likewise be later than the earliest cemeteries, since at **Baierdorf** itself the solid-hilted sword is of the distinct **Riegsee** type. **Baierdorf** hoards include none of the typologically advanced knives with terminally riveted rod-tang (as found in **Hötting** graves); but other bronzes found alongside **D**-type are of forms not known before **Ha A** among **Western Urnfields** — eg. socketed arrowheads with hooked appendix, associated with socketed axes in the **Oggau** grave ⁶⁶. Moreover, in the **Drassburg** founder's hoard ⁶⁷ with simple humped-back knives is the type of sickle (the inner rib from the tang runs out, or into the single dorsal rib, before the point) and flame-shaped spearhead specifically noticed in studies by **Holste** as diagnostic of an eastern **Ha A** ⁶⁸. Another such eastern **A** type at **Drassburg**, the mid winged axe with notched butt, is not attested before **Ha A** of the **Western Urnfields** either; and indeed the practice of depositing hoards at all begins there only at the close of **Vogt/Kimmig A**.

The pottery of the **Baierdorf Urnfields** is a fine dark ware, richly decorated with plastic ornament, primarily with oblique flutings. The **Zylinderhalsurne** and its congeners are standard forms; in addition, there is a wide variety of amphorae, biconical **Doppelkonus** pots, dishes, covers and pedestalled forms, and cups with high handles curved up above the rim.

Judging from pottery and rite, Pittioni classifies the **Baierdorf** group as **Ha A**, where others from the evidence of bronzes have seen something equivalent to **Bronze D**. Starting indeed from the original definitions of **Reinecke**, choice between these supposedly opposed terms can here only be arbitrary. The significance of this apparent dilemma for interpretation of **Middle European Urnfields** in general will be clearer after material in neighbouring regions has been examined.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: POTTERY AND THE LAUSITZ

In his classical exposition of **Bronze D**, **Reinecke** included mention of **Bohemian** graves, notably **Milaveč**, which he considered equivalent to **Riegsee** in date and composition. His synchronisms between early **Urnfield** phases in **Middle Europe** and the **Nordic Bronze Age** were primarily suggested by the occurrence of wheeled bronze cauldrons similar to that from **Milaveč** in **MIII** graves at **Peccatel** (**Mecklenburg**) and **Skallerup**

(65) i. e. with three spaced ribs encircling the grip: PITTIONI, *op. cit.*, Abb. 308.

(66) PITTIONI, *op. cit.*, Abb. 299; cf. in the west **Reutlingen IV**, in *36. Ber. d. Röm.-Germ. Komm.*, 1955 (1956), 67, Abb. 3 A.

(67) PITTIONI, *op. cit.*, Abb. 285-6.

(68) By contrast, when discussing the following 'East Alpine' **B** types, *Präh. Ztschrift* XXVI, 1935, 58-78; further discussion **Bayer**, *Vorgeschichtbl.*, 13, 1936, 1 ff., esp. 10-14 and dated 'reine Stufe Hallstatt A' 17.

(Seeland) ⁶⁹. Such connections and cross-datings are also illustrated in other types of beaten bronze vessel: Reinecke compared the handle fragment of a cup from Milaveč with the form occurring in another Mecklenburg grave, Friedrichsruhe, with a disc-headed pin and heavily ribbed penannular bracelet which closely relate to those in the Riegsee-gruppe. This cup, with rounded body and offset rim above the neck, has since been renamed the «Velatice» cup by V. G. Childe ⁷⁰, after the same Moravian site which Pittioni chose to couple with the Baierdorf group of Urnfields. Fig. 13 (230) shows distribution of this and related bowls (as well as the wheeled cauldrons), illustrating the probable south-eastern production centre which this new name seeks to emphasize ⁷¹.

Since publication of J. Böhm's *Die Grundlagen der Hallstattperiode in Böhmen* in 1937 ⁷², it has been possible to check these cross-datings using the evidence of Bohemian pottery groups among which such bronzes appear, through Böhm's correlation of these with the systematised stages of Lausitz culture, which in turn synchronise with the Montelian North. The well-known divisions of Lausitz Urnfields were worked out by Seger from Silesian material ⁷³. Silesian pottery seems, basically, to be a differential development from the same roots which produced Tumulus ware (eg. the Danube-Sudeten group) to the south. The Urnfield phases of interest here are the early embossed Lausitz ware (**Buckelkeramik**), Seger A in Silesia, and the following fluted ware, Seger B. Subsequent stages of the Late Bronze Age, Seger C and D, lead up to the local Iron Age. The established equations with the North, it may be recalled, are: Seger A = MIII, Seger B = MIV, Seger C = MV and Seger D = MVI.

In his analysis of Bohemian material, Böhm also incorporates an interpretation of bronzes, so that in the names of his Urnfield groups, the appropriate hoard horizon is annexed to an eponymous cemetery.

In E. Bohemia-N. Moravia, and again in N. Bohemia, are cemeteries very similar to Lausitz groups of Silesia and Saxony; Böhm regarded them as a southward intrusion into sparsely populated country through the Glatz or Moravian Gap and (perhaps a little later) along the Elbe. Comparisons seem close enough on either side of the mountains to assign this Czech material to phases of Seger's system. Development of this «Lausitzisch» material divides (after a possible Middle Bronze Age phase) into two main stages: Lláň-Mostkovice and Korunka Jelení-Kostelec in E. Bohemia-N. Moravia, with their N. Bohemian analogues Střekov-Libochovany I and Libochovany II. The earlier pair represent a composite Seger A-B group; the latter pair are pure Seger B.

(69) The twisted handles on the Skallerup and Peccatel cauldrons seem also to link up with Tyrolese *Säulchenurne*.

(70) *Acta Archaeologica* XX, 1949, 257-64.

(71) A find of a dozen cups, with other beaten bronze vessels, at Dresden-Dobritz speaks for manufacture north of the Erz Gebirge also: *Arbs. u.*

Forschber. z. Sächs. Bodendenkmalpflege 1950-51, 135-61.

(72) *Základy Hallstattské periody v Cechách*, Prague, 1937.

(73) *Die Stilentwicklung in der Keramik der schlesischen Urnenfriedhöfen: Schles. Vorzeit*, N. F., 8, 1924, 5-19; and *Reallexicon* (n.º 5).

By contrast, in Central, and in S. and W. Bohemia, Urnfields impinged on settled Tumulus populations, and the development of specialised Urnfield groups in these areas is attributed to interaction with them. Though only a few finds of Böhm's first C. Bohemian phase (Modřany-Lažany) could be representative of an invasive Lausitz, the local **Knovíz** culture which ensues skows far less of Tumulus tradition than does the Urnfield group of S. Bohemia, the **Milaveč** culture, which received its Urnfield elements through Knovíz at second hand. Böhm divided Knovíz into a short, transitional stage, **Třebíz-Velvary**, and the full **Zatec-Jenšovice** stage of the culture into which this develops. The main stages of Milaveč culture, running parallel to these divisions, are **Sváreč-Kostelec**, and **Předenice-Sedlíkovice** (with some traces of «Lausitzisch» in the foregoing **Drhovice-Vrhavěc** phase).

Correspondences, though N. and E. Bohemia and N. Moravia, with Silesia are best appreciated from the following table, which shows also a later phase of Knovíz, **Stítary-Hostomice**, which is not matched in the Milaveč region. The Milaveč cauldron, according to Böhm, belongs towards the end of Sváreč-Kostelec.

	E. Bohemia-N. Moravia	C. Bohemia (Knovíz culture)	S. & W. Bohemia (Milaveč culture)
Segeer A-B	Lláš-Mostkovice	Modřany-Lažany Třebíz-Velvary	Drhovice-Vrhavěc Sváreč-Kostelec.
Segeer B	Korunka Jelení- Kostelec	Zatec-Jenšovice	Předenice- Sedlíkovice
(Segeer C)	Slezská culture	Stítary-Hostomice	—

It is not necessary to describe here fully the rich, often graphite-coated, pottery of full Knovíz culture, or to follow its eventual spread into Franconia. The double, or «storied» (**Etagenurne**) is a peculiar form, and round or carinated handled cups are close to contemporary metal types. Decoration may be incised (often in upright hatched triangles) or finely grooved; bosses are rare, but sometimes rendered as concentric grooved semi-circles. It is important for our purposes to notice only that, following Böhm's ordering, oblique fluting is used as shoulder ornament already in the Třebíz stage of Knovíz ⁷⁴, and that the standard **Zylinderhalsurne** is also established both here and in the equivalent Sváreč stage of Milaveč, with least incipient forms of the **Etagenurne** ⁷⁵.

(74) Böhm, *op. cit.*, Obr. 43, 48.

(75) *Ibid.*, Obr. 45, 82.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: BRONZES AND URNFIELD CLASSIFICATIONS

Among the bronzes of Knovíz and Milaveč cultures those of the Třebíz and Svářeč stages, which include the links with Reinecke's D and Montelius III, are of particular interest. On Holste's authority, the sword in barrow 41 at Svářeč is a Riegsee sword, and a variant occurred at Milaveč itself ⁷⁶. The pins of these stages are those relating to Seger A. with heads multiply-moulded, biconical, or clubs-shaped with horizontal ribbing ⁷⁷.

Bohemia, however, is a territory where D-type bronzes were also deposited in hoards; and in these the «unclassical» associations of D with Ha A, which we have already seen in Austria, are repeated. Thus in the S. Bohemia Holašovice hoard ⁷⁸ a *schwergesrippt* bracelet and a *Vasenkofpnadel* of Riegsee outline are together with socketed spearhead and a Holste A-type sickles (p. 218); such sickles are also in another Svářeč hoard, Béřín ⁷⁹, with the flameshaped spearhead. In classifying, Böhm accepted the presence of D-type bronzes as determinant for his choice of terminology. To make allowance for richer repertory of associated bronzes, however, he proposed that Třebíz-Svářeč be «Dii», with the foregoing stages of Modřany and Drhovice (in which such things as lightly-ribbed penannular bracelets already appear) ⁸⁰ as «Di». This is reminiscent of Wagner's division of a Group II from a Group I in the Tyrol; and indeed in content some Třebíz finds, like the belt-hooks at the namesite and at Zbraslev, near Prague ⁸¹, have other resemblances to this Group II, as Wagner noticed (p. 217). But in attempting to accommodate Bohemian material to Reinecke's classifications in this way, Böhm has had so to modify the definition of «D», in his «Dii», that qualifications quite outweigh the original meaning. Speaking of the Třebíz phase, he writes that «D-forms predominate among the bronzes, alongside the contemporary appearance of older and newer forms» ⁸². This contradicts the basic premise of Reinecke's system, that Bronze D and Ha A types do not overlap, but are distinct both in association and in time, as further analysis of the *Fremdkulturen* and of Vogt/Kimmig A in Western Urnfield territory has confirmed.

In likening Milaveč to Riegsee, Reinecke had also argued from the common use of barrows, which he took to show persistence of Tumulus tradition in both regions. This alone, however, is insufficient proof that it is specifically the Milaveč phase (Svářeč-Kostelec) which runs parallel to Riegsee, since barrows are equally a feature of the following Předenice phase in S. Bohemia (and are not at all prevalent in C. Bohemia, even in

(76) Svářeč, BÖHM, *op. cit.*, Obr. 80. The sword type is exhaustively treated in F. HOLSTE'S *Die Bronzezeitlichen Vollgriffschwerter Bayerns*, 1953; the example in the S. Bohemian Paseka hoard (*ibid.*, 53, 28) is little help for dating, since it there associates with bronzes ranging from the Tumulus to Late Hallstatt times.

(77) BÖHM, *op. cit.*, Obr. 44, and at Milaveč *Spielarten*, *AHV*, V, 207, Abb. 2.

(78) *Ibid.*, Obr. 84.

(79) H. RICHLY, *Die Bronzezeit in Böhmen*, 1894, T. I-II.

(80) BÖHM, *op. cit.*, Obr. 78.

(81) *Ibid.*, Obr. 49 and 50.

(82) *Ibid.*, 259: "im Bronzcinventar ist das Überwiegen der BD Formen gleichzeitig mit dem Ausklingen älteren und dem Auftreten jüngeren Formen".

the Třebíz phase). Since argument from composition does not clearly support a comparison with Riegsee, there remains only the third criterion of the original Riegsee definition, priority to Ha A (p. 207), from which to judge the propriety of a «D» classification for Třebíz Sváreč. While it is true that from relative position Třebíz might be judged a «D» since it is a transitional phase preceding the consolidated Knovíz culture Böhms called Ha A (likewise Sváreč before full Millaveč culture), yet this Jenšovice Knovíz group which follows is so developed a kind of A that Holste has actually claimed it as representative of an eastern Ha B ⁸³.

This reading is of course complementary to the 'classification Holste preferred for bronzes like Třebíz and Sváreč ones as a whole, which we have anticipated in mentioning certain types, such as the mid-winged axe with notched butt. In the Lhota Libenská hoard ⁸⁴ of Böhms's Třebíz phase such an axe occurs with a bronze formed of juxtaposed rings cast together to form a triangle, called in German a **Dreipass**. In publishing such a combination in the Winklsass hoard from the Danube plain in eastern Bavaria, Holste named the whole complex «Ha A» — **reine Stufe Hallstatt A** ⁸⁵ and traced this eastern Ha A from Bavaria, across Austria, to W. Hungary. Its extension into Moravia and Bohemia comprises the sort of material Böhms tried to express in terms of Reinecke's system as a sort of Bronze D.

The Winklsass hoard contains most of the diagnostic forms of this eastern **Holste A** in Middle Europe: the mid-wing axe, single-ribbed socketed sickel (p. 218), a «Hungarian» socketed axe with multiple-V decoration below the collar; the flame shaped spearhead, however, seems not to penetrate quite so far west ⁸⁶, and is replaced by a plain-winged variety. There are also, *inter alia*, a belt-hook, twisted-rod bracelets with plain ends and stouter-sectioned ones with incised basketry decoration, fragments of a beaten bronze vessel, and part of the sheet-bronze bow a two-piece fibula.

If this complex is to be «pure Ha A», some account must be given of the few bronzes associated at Winklsass, which would be differently classified according to Reinecke's definitions. Thus Holste himself comments on two types, the simple humped-back knives with riveted tang, and a pin with ribbing on its short head and on the stem, which he says is a Tumulus (Bronze) C2 form (though here its stem has been bent). In his interpretation he concentrates on the pin, rather leaving aside the D-type knives ⁸⁷. Its presence is explained as the result of juxtaposition — **Nebe-neinander** — of two different peoples, the Tumulus and early Urnfield folk. There was evidence of the same thing, he thought, in other Bavarian boards (north of the Danube), like Stockheim and Mintraching ⁸⁸, where «eastern

(83) In *Der frühhallstattzeitliche Bronzegefäßfund von Ehingen*, 1939, as pointed out by Sprockhoff, *Reinecke Festschrift*, 1950, 138, note 53. Similarly, the comparable Tyrol III material is called "entwickeltes Ha A" by Wagner, *Nordtiroler Urnenfelder*, 1943, 47.

(84) RICHLY, *op. cit.*, T. XVI-VII.

(85) Bayer, *VorgeschichtsbL*, 13, 1936, 17.

(86) The Berin example seems to mark the western extent of its distribution, apart from one example from the Schmidtmühlen hoard near Regensburg.

(87) At this period he was regarding Bronze D as a contemporary alternative of C — see p. 208.

A» bronzes occur with «Bronze Age» sheet-bronze and spiral ornaments. But to utilize this notion of a **Nebeneinander** to account for all D-type bronzes in similar associations, for example in the comparable Bohemian hoards just examined, would be to neglect the regularity with which they appear alongside «Ha A» of eastern type there, not as additional or intrusive features, but as essential components of early Urnfield culture. This persistent combination of «D» and «A» — in German, not a **Nebeneinander** but a **Durcheinander** — is impossible to express in terms of Reinecke's system, which was devised for an area where Urnfield material behaves differently. It is this difference in behaviour which lies at the root of the conflicting proposals for classification of early eastern Urnfields — Holste's «reines A» = Böhm Dii, Pittioni's Ha A with D elements — and of the difficulty of correlating Wagner's Tyrolean stages with areas to the west, where the terms «D» and «A» truly apply. East of limit of the Middle European Western Urnfields there is no «classical» Ha A, holding itself aloof from Bronze D, or First Urnfields. Indeed Urnfield history in this eastern zone follows a different course throughout, as we see, for example, when the Třebíz — Sváreč phase combining D with A in Bohemia is there followed by Jenšovice, introducing bronzes like the end-winged axe and two-ribbed sickle which are to be typical of Holste's East Alpine B (jüngere Urnenfelder) ⁸⁹.

Verbal assimilation of the history of this eastern zone of Middle Europe to events further west, therefore, even when qualified as «eastern» A etc., is not only inadequate to express the combinations of bronzes regularly found, but also likely to lead to false conclusions on chronology. For use of the terms «Bronze D», «Ha A», «Ha B» inevitably suggests comparison with the timing and sequence of groups in the Western Urnfield area (especially since exact starting-points for «eastern» A or B have never been explicitly noticed). The overall difference between Urnfield history in western and eastern zones of Middle Europe was frequently remarked by Holste himself, both for his *ältere* (Ha A) and *jüngere* (Ha B) *phasen*. It does less than justice to his conclusions to continue to force (as sometimes he did himself) the phases of the eastern zone into Reinecke's lettered system; especially, as will be seen, in discussing correlations with the North.

URNFIELD FLUTED WARE (RIEFENWARE) AND NORDIC SYNCHRONISMS

It remains to consider what can be learned from pottery about synchronisms between early eastern and western Urnfields and the Nordic Bronze Age, since the equations Reinecke built up from bronze evidence are now questioned by Sprockhoff.

If Reinecke's Bronze D types are dated to MIII, it might be expected that

(88) *Präh. BI.* 15, 1903, T. 2 (Stockheim); *Germania* 18, 1934, 293 and T. 32 top (Mintraching - the hoard contains a *Dreipass*).

(89) *Präh. Ztschrift.* XXVI, 1935, 58 ff.

Urnfield pottery associated with them in Middle Europe would reflect the Seger A styles of the Lausitz, which is also connected with this Nordic period. In S. W. Germany, the occasional bosses on Fremdkulturen pottery may indeed seem equivalent to Seger A, with Ha A (UMS group) parallel to the change to Seger B (=MIV) fluted ware. These correspondences however are not upheld in Bohemia. The Třebíz stage there contains D-type bronzes but embossed ware is scarce; instead, oblique fluting and concentric semi-circles proper to Seger B are characteristic. If the consequent indirect MIV connections for Třebíz (which runs alongside the phase of the Milaveč cauldron in S. Bohemia) are inconsistent with the classical equation, Reinecke D = MIII, they are even more at variance with Sprockhoff's proposal to date, not Bronze D, but a full Ha A, to MIII times.

The conclusions of a fresh study of Lausitz pottery in Saxony by W. Grünberg⁹⁰ are here relevant. Grünberg found that Seger's classifications can be applied only with modifications to Lausitz groups outside Silesia. In Saxony, after embossed ware corresponding to Seger A, he was able to isolate a new group of pottery which has a significance not previously recognised.

Typically straight-walled in profile (notable forms are biconical **Doppelkegel** and splaying or bipartite cups) and decorated by sharp incisions, often in lines rising radially from the base, this ware has no local precursors in Saxony. In Grünberg's view it originates in the region to the north, on the N. German plain between the rivers Havel and Warthe, to which Sprockhoff had already drawn attention as the home of the two-piece **Spindlersfeld** fibula, peculiar to a small people who had maintained an independence between their Seger A and Montelius III neighbours⁹¹. When suddenly appears in Saxony, straight-walled ware is never found alone, but occurs in some of the embossed ware graves; it does not survive to accompany fluted ware. Grünberg concludes it must intrude for a brief period which, so far as precise judgment is at all possible, should be at the time of the MIII-IV transition.

Likewise in Silesia, straight-walled pottery of the same character appears during the second half of the **Buckelkeramik** period. The same ware, related by characteristic details, such as nicked cordons round the girth of the **Doppelkegel** pot (often an urn) occurs too among the graves of «Lausitz» cemeteries in E. Bohemia (eg. at Lán and along the Elbe in N. Bohemia (eg. at Streckheim). Grünberg's theories on its penetration further south, to Lower Austria, will perhaps not stand up to criticism; but the date of expansion into Saxony from the Spindlersfeld region will be of further interest below.

Discussing the following fluted ware of Saxony, Grünberg achieves a revision of accepted opinion which is of general significance for the inter-

(90) *Die Grabfunde der jüngeren und jüngsten Bronzezeit im Gau Sachsen*, Vorgeschicht. Forsch. 13, Berlin, 1943.

(91) *Marburger Studien*, 1938, 205-33; though to-day Professor Sprockhoff would revise the ascription

tion "zwischen Germanen in Norden und Illyrier in Süden" (p. 219). The Spindlersfeld fibula has a sheet-bronze body, variously oval and with incised or at times embossed ornament, and invariably spiral-wire ends. See fig. 14, p. 235.

pretation of Middle European Urnfields. In Saxony it is not possible to derive the fluted style from local embossed ware. It has always been supposed that there was this continuity in Silesia itself. But although one element typical of the later phase in Saxony, the concentrically grooved semicircle, had developed demonstrably earlier among Seger A in Silesia, a derivation thence will not account for all the features which constitute the marked break in the Saxon grave evidence at this point (especially since the local derivation of a **Riefenstil** (Seger B) in Silesia itself has always been assumed rather than demonstrated).

An indication is given by certain new forms and features which first appear with fluted ware in Saxony, and likewise at the beginning of Silesia's Late Bronze Age, in particular the variety of new pedestalled vessels and details like the peaked outline of rims (**dachfensterförmige Aufsätze**) and obliquely applied cordons, which occur also at Milaveč. The firs are distinct from the Middle Bronze Age pedestalled bowls of Silesia and Bohemia, and though in general certainly deriving from Tumulus traditions, they are not local, even at Milaveč. The occurrence of all these characters in the **Gemeinlebarn** cemetery of the **Baierdorf** group points on to similar appearances in Pannonia, as does too a twisted-handle urn, another contemporary novelty in Saxony. It seems, then, that to explain at least some of what is new at the start of Seger B in Silesia and Saxony (and probably too in Bohemia) intrusion from the south-east must be allowed.

Plastic, grooved decoration, the primary feature of Seger B, was also a tradition of long standing in E. Alpine-Middle Danubian regions, where it goes back to the Baden culture at the beginning of the Bronze Age. It is possible, however, in Grünberg's view that the oblique set of the deep fluting of the Silesian **Riefenstil** could have developed locally out of the vertical grooves of earlier Urnfield pottery, and possibly likewise in Bohemia (perhaps in response to south-eastern influence?). Oblique fluting is also the predominant ornament of Lower Austrian **Baierdorf** Urnfields. Local Tumulus ware, however, though it had grooved and embossed decoration, is not the source of this Urnfield style here either, since it is in fact cut off and replaced by **Baierdorf**, impinging on its territory as a fully formed culture. Pittioni in his 1954 book still maintained the classical theory that this pottery derives from Silesia. But if his assertion that **Baierdorf** represents a rapid migration of Lausitz culture be correct, it would be difficult to account for the absence in Lower Austria, both of the **Buckeln** of Seger A, and of the fluted rendering of them in concentric semi-circles which persists into Seger B. It can now be shown, on the contrary, that some elements of Seger B itself must be southern in origin; and it is unfortunate that no modern presentation of Hungarian Urnfields, with relatively dated divisions, is available to indicate whether, alternatively, **Baierdorf** fluted ware, as well as the influences which reached Silesia and Saxony, might not originate further east.

It is at least clear that the beginning of Seger B ware coupled to MIV in the Nordic sequence is not necessarily a **terminus post quem** for all the fluted Urnfield ware in Middle Europe, as the classical interpretation would

suppose. This synchronism dates only one regional rendering of a generalised **Zeitstil** which may well have flourished earlier south of the Sudeten among Urnfields not derivative from the Lausitz in their pottery.

DISCUSSION AND TENTATIVE CHRONOLOGY

i) Reinecke D and Holste A.

Central to the interpretation of early Urnfields in Middle Europe is the clear distinction between bronzes which fall into Kimmig's First Urnfields

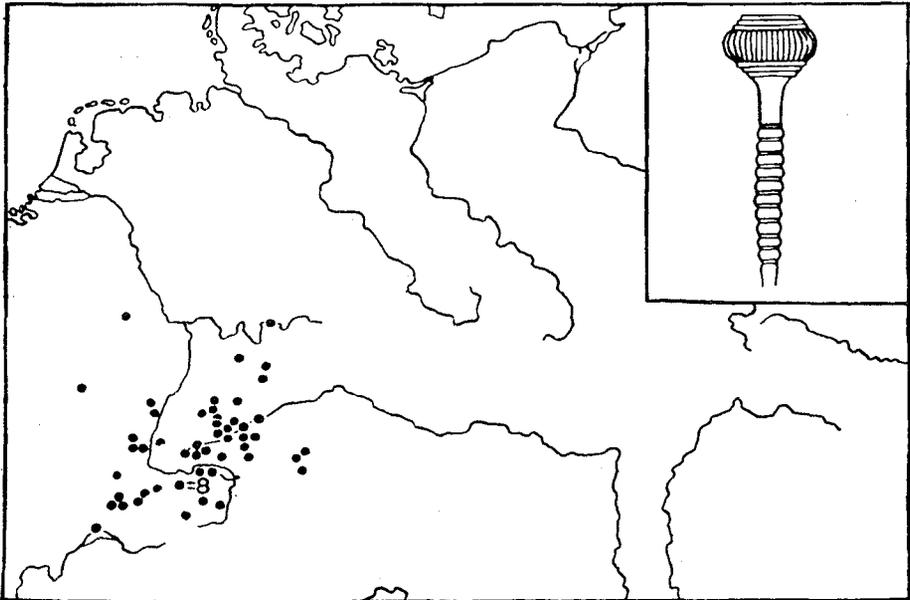


Fig. 10. — Distribution of poppy-headed pins. After Kimmig.

(p. 211) and those associating with the Riegsee sword to the east of them. Figs. 10-12 show the closely similar distributions of three western types, the poppy-pin, the sinuously-flanged knife, and the Rixheim rapier. Kraft pointed out long since ⁹² that the latter is practically exclusive to the Riegsee sword, which it meets approximately on the line of the Württemberg-Bavarian frontier. Typical eastern types frequently associated with the Riegsee sword in S. E. Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria but found only up to this same boundary ⁹³ are the **Vasenkopfnadel** with moulded (zigzag) decoration, the **Kugelkopfnadel** with ribbed stem, and the **Peschiera**

(92) *Anz. f. Schweiz. Altertumskunde* XXIX, 1927, 146.

(93) These are the types also known from the N. Italian Terremare (IIB) - p. 196.

dagger ⁹⁴. Riegsee itself in fact stands on the extreme western limit of the bronze group it serves to typify.

The plausibility of using the «Bronze D» of Riegsee to classify early Urnfield manifestations, for example in S. W. Germany, or to liken Riegsee to the **Fremdkulturen**, has therefore depended on a few types common to both these opposed bronze groups — primarily the simple humped-back

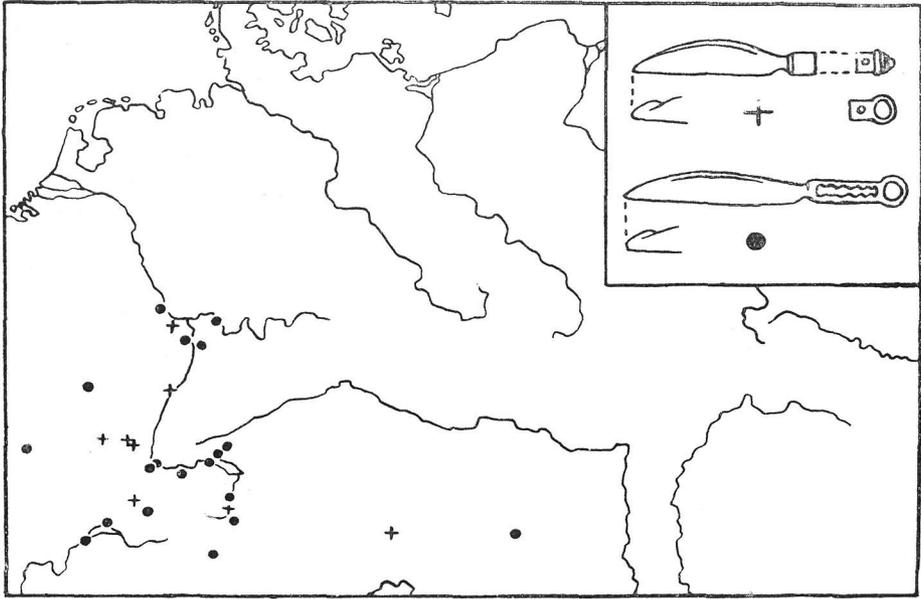


Fig. 11.—Distribution of sinuously-flanged (umgelpappte) and other First Urnfield knives. After Hundt.

knife with riveted tang and the **schwergerippte** bracelet. Through these types, assemblages such as the Mels group became regarded as equally typical of «D», without its being remarked that their characteristic forms were in fact alternative substitutes for those of the original definition. Pottery, indeed, at Mels and among S. W. German **Fremdkulturen** does often seem comparable with what was recovered from the Riegsee group. What is certain, however, is that it was from poppy-pin territory that Reinecke borrowed the idea of the essential priority of Bronze D to Ha A, which he incorporated in his definition. He illustrates his typical Ha A chiefly from the Rhineland; and it is here, among Western Urnfields, that «D» types of the extended definition and their accompanying pottery normally do hold apart from this full Urnfield material, and so must be judged earlier. But to transfer this conclusion to the original Bronze D types found at Riegsee

(94) One of the rare examples of overlap with western types is the Peiting dagger (Bavaria, p. 207) which was found with a rapier: *AHV*, V,

5, T. 38, 614. Distribution of the dagger of course also extends to Scandinavia - p. 235, note 98.

is to assimilate these into the history of what the distribution maps show to be opposed territory; and it is doubtful whether anywhere within the proper area of the Riegsee sword Reinecke would have found an Urnfield group containing types which are Ha A in the west contrasting so sharply with local D types in its associations.

It is even possible that the **Riegseegruppe** itself belongs in the richer

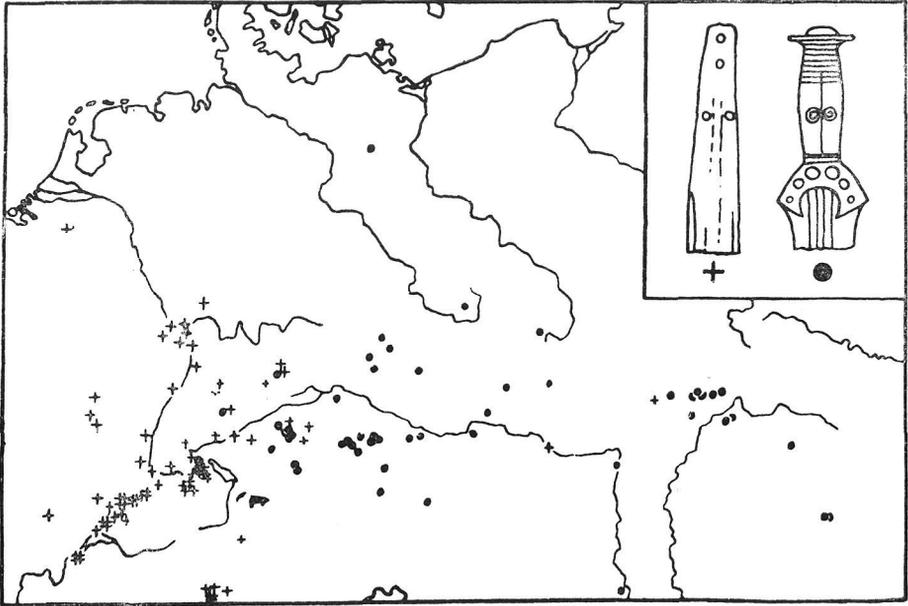


Fig. 12. — Distribution of Rixheim (+) and Riegsee (•) swords. After Holste.

complex called by Holste «eastern Ha A». One of its zigzag moulded *Vasenkopfnadeln* actually occurs in Upper Bavaria in a hoard at Weidachwies with Holste A sickles and mid-winged axe⁹⁵, so that it might be argued that what is presented as characteristic of Riegsee is only grave goods, without the appropriate working-tools. Whether or not this be so, it is clear that D-type bronzes do enter into two different complexes, which are distinguishable not only from the regional contrast in some of their forms, but also from the regular combination of eastern variants into the assemblages forming Holste's Ha A. It is the D-types in western popypin contexts only which fulfil (perhaps better than does Riegsee itself) Reinecke's criterion of «D» as being separable from and prior to Ha A. Thus, if «D» and «A» types occur in differing cultural contexts in different regions, it

(95) *Schumacher Festschrift*, 1930, 54, T. 3 A; the hoard also contains embossed fragments of beaten bronze vessels. The axe was chosen by Holste

a: "normal Hallstatt - A Beil... bezeichnendes Beispiel", *Präh. Ztschrift*, XXVI, 1935, 63.

will be no surprise if their characteristic forms correlate variously, according to region, when we come to date them in terms of the Nordic Bronze Age.

Meantime, a revised appraisal of the N. Swiss Oberendingen group may be suggested. From the full Urnfield rite of the few constituent graves it has been thought to post-date the Mels group, though it must be prior to Vogt-A since its forms are absent from the Pfahlbauten. Consequently, the Swiss evidence has been read to support a «phase» in some way intercalated between **Fremdkulturen** and Western Urnfields (p. 213); and Urnfield groups of other regions — eg. Group II in the Tyrol (p. 215) — have been likened to it. It has however never been explained how exactly the material of this phase relates inside Switzerland to local Urnfield groups in which «D» and «A» features are distinct; and Vogt-A pottery shows that this was not derived by way of Oberendingen. But if the combination of «D» and «A» at Oberendingen is exceptional so far west, its bronzes — rod-tanged knife, twisted bracelet with plain ends, and embossed gold ornaments — are a standard combination in the eastern Ha A of Holste, to which Tyrol II belongs, and where a full Urnfield rite is quite usual. It would therefore seem most economical of hypotheses to suppose that the scatter of graves in N. Switzerland, which cannot easily be accommodated in local classifications, are in fact outliers of some eastern A group, intrusive among the **Fremdkultur-Mels** (from which the sinuously flanged knife at Binningen was obtained). Thus, as an incident outside (yet concurrent with) the main sequence of local Urnfield history, Oberendingen neither requires nor justifies a separate «phase» corresponding to it.

Already during MIII the eastern Urnfields (though not the western **Fremdkulturen**) were participating in trade which followed routes from Hungary, more or less along the line of the Elbe, to the west Baltic coast and the Jutish peninsula, as shown (Fig. 13) in the distribution of Freidrichsruhe cups and the wheeled cauldrons. Such links must also have spread the **schwergerippte** bracelets and variously moulded pins from which Reinecke built up his equation Bronze D = MIII. But as Reinecke formulated his system, as we have seen, by drawing on the cultural history of two really distinct areas, he contrasted Riegsee, as MIII, with Western Urnfield Ha A which he dated as MIV; he could therefore miss the fact, demonstrable from other eastern Urnfield regions and especially from their hoards, that the complex in which D-types are the integral, namely Holste-A, also survives into the period of MIV. In the **Chronologische Skizze** Sprockhoff illustrates this from the Bäk hoard (Holstein) in which typical Nordic IV bronzes are together with a Hungarian type socketed axe with peaked mouth ⁹⁶, which is another characteristic member of the Holste-A flame-shaped spearhead-single rib sickle-mid-winged axe group.

As has been seen (p. 225) there is nothings in the evidence of the fluted pottery among early eastern Urnfields to prevent them from beginning

(96) *Kahnförmig geschwungene Tülle.*

before Seger B and MIV. Likewise all eastern A bronzes (as well as D-types with which they regularly associate) can also be dated to MIII. Sprockhoff shows this from the Elsterwerda hoard (Saxony) which includes single-rib sickles, a multiple-V decorated socketed axe (similar to Winklsass) and the peaked-mouth form (cf. Bäk). Nordic types are absent, but the Lausitz bronzes which take their place indicate a time at the

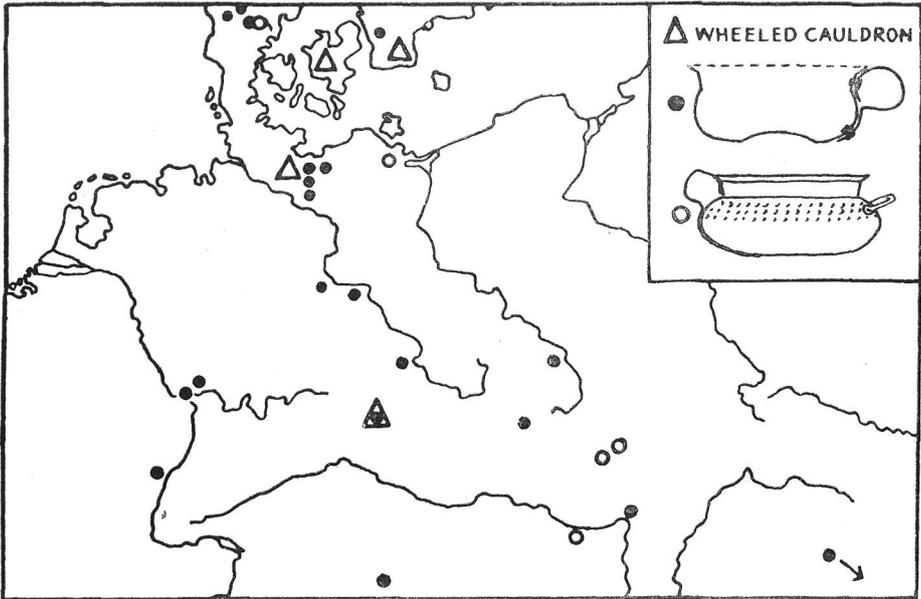


Fig. 13. — Distribution of wheeled cauldrons, Friedrischruhe cups (●) and related bowls (○). After Childe.

transition to MIV, on Sprockhoff's dating. A Silesian hoard, Klein Kreidel, with the same sickle, however, he assigns to true MIII.

These are Sprockhoff's proofs that the earliest Urnfields of Middle Europe south of the Sudeten must have begun in the Nordic MIII period. But it is immediately apparent that his evidence is drawn entirely from the eastern Urnfield zone, i. e. from Holste's *ältere Urnenfelder*. There is no reason at all why his conclusions should involve the start of Western — Vogt/Kimmig — Ha A in a region where «Ha A» forms appear only in associations which sharply contrast with the typical combination of «A» with «D» which we have examined in eastern groups like Třebíz-Svářeč, Tyrol II, Oberendingen, and probably much of Baierdorf. Only one proof of Sprockhoff's specifically related to Western Urnfield A, and this derived from the MIII dating in the Silesian Nieder Hermsdorf hoard of an «Urnfield» chain. But although this form is a component of Vogt/Kimmig A, it is also known among eastern Urnfields — cf. the example in the Oberrenningen grave of Binningen, or in the hoard of Niedenberg (Lower

Franconia) with mid-wing axe, single-ribbed sickle, and spiral-wire beads, spiral ornaments and looped disc as at Riegsee and terminally ringed rod (bit) as at Zürich-Burgweis ⁹⁷.

It is therefore difficult to follow Sprockhoff in dating everything which the present confusing terminology calls «Ha A» to a beginning as early as MIII, since it is surely illicit to transfer the synchronism of Holste-A on to the Vogt-A of a region consistently distinct from the east in its Urnfield history.

ii) Western First Urnfields and Baierdorf.

If early Urnfields characterised by Holste-A bronzes began in MIII, they will be in part contemporary with the **Fremdkulturen** with poppy-pin etc. to the west of them. It must next be asked whether there are previous Urnfield groups in the east possessing only comparably simple bronzes, i. e. before full Holste-A became established? ⁹⁸ For it is perhaps curious, if the **Fremdkulturen** are entirely contemporary with Holste A in its MIII phase, that bronzes in the west should present so consistent a selection from the repertory of their immediate neighbours in the Třebíz-Sváreč and Tyrol II groups.

The evidence is not conclusive; but certain observations may be relevant concerning the earlier material of the Baierdorf group ⁹⁹, the fluted pottery of which is potentially of early date (p. 226). It is noticeable that those bronzes which the western First Urnfields have in common with the more sophisticated repertory of Třebíz-Sváreč and Tyrol II are also known in Baierdorf (**schwergerippte** bracelets and simple riveted tang knives) whereas some of the types particularly characteristic of these Bohemian and Tyrolean groups, and which by contrast appear only without «Bronze D» admixture in the Ha A of the west — rod-tanged knives with terminal rivet and crescentic razors — do not seem to have a place among Baierdorf bronzes. Belt-hooks too are likewise absent from the **Fremdkulturen** and from Baierdorf. It might perhaps be argued that the closer similarity of **Fremdkulturen** to Lower Austria than to their immediate neighbours would be best explained if a Bohemian-Salzburg-Tyrol Holste-A Urnfield bloc had intruded across an earlier east-west bronze continuum. The Baierdorf of this hypothetical earlier phase (Pittioni's **fibelfrei?** — p. 218), though of course quite distinct in pottery, might then correlate with the establishment **Fremdkulturen** in the west, and precede that later phase of itself (Pittioni's **fibelführend?**) parallel with Třebíz-Tyrol II with full Holste-A (with which

(97) Cf. MENGEN, p. 210, note 48 and *Jahrbuch d. Röm.-Germ. Zentralmuseums Mainz*, 1953, (1954), 130, Abb. 4. The Niedernberg hoard is in Würzburg Mus.

(98) Sprockhoff insists that Urnfield influences from Middle Europe were reaching the North from the beginning of MIII (if not earlier), and ins-

tances the possible Peschiera dagger from Hovby (Schonen) as of that date (S. Müller 5).

(99) «Tyrol I» cannot safely be accepted as a stage previous to II (p. 215), while the Modrany-Drhovice phase in Bohemia seems an emanation from Lausitz centres (p. 220).

it shared such bronzes as single-rib sickles, but not for example the rod-tanged knife).

Though this division of Baierdorf is only conjectural, a final piece of evidence may be noted which is not inconsistent with it. On occasion, the sinuous-flanged or socketed knife of the **Fremdkulturen** may develop a two-edged «nose», a feature which distribution ¹⁰⁰ shows to be equally a western invention. Some half dozen examples reached the eastern zone of Middle Europe and of the most easterly in Lower Austria that at Roggen-dorf (on a rivet-tang knife with terminal ring) may have been associated with a Peschiera dagger ¹⁰¹. To the north, five on the line of the Elbe link up with an example from the Baltic coast in Pomerania from Alt-Sammit on a knife with twisted frame handle ¹⁰² and associated with a Nordic Type II grip-tongue sword of MIII. Thus this specialised feature, originating in western Middle Europe, illustrates a time when this region must have participated in connections to the North, connections with — one must say later — the **Fremdkulturen** failed to maintain, as shown by their exclusion from the distribution of Friedrichsruhe cups and (as we shall see) from possession of various «cult» objects and Spindlersfeld fibulae ¹⁰³. Tentatively, these connections could be assigned to a time when the western First Urnfields were linked with Baierdorf, before full Holste-A was established.

iii) Western Urnfield Ha A.

The argument of section i) to dissociate Western Urnfields from the start of eastern Ha A in MIII leaves the beginning of Vogt/Kimmig A to be dated independently in terms of the Nordic sequence. It is known that during at least some of the time when the Riegsee sword (intimately related with eastern A) was prevalent, the typically «Bronze D» Rixheim rapier was concurrent with it among the western First Urnfields which precede Vogt-A. Alone this cannot of course prove that the time so characterised occupied the whole of MIII; but nonetheless such other indications as can be adduced do seem in favour of Reinecke's original conclusion that Ha A in the Vogt/Kimmig sense begins in parallel with MIV in the North.

Demonstration cannot rely on the Nordic datings of bronzes newly introduced into western Middle Europe with Ha A, since many were also current in the distinct assemblages of the eastern zone. Hence it is that exports from the north are of particular significance; and in the eponymous grave of a type of the **Griffzungenschwert** with leaf-shaped blade which J. D.

(100) *Germania* 34, 1956, Heft 1/2, 45-51, map Abb. 5 (mit zweischneidern Spitze).

(101) *Jahrb. d. Zentralkomm.* (Wien) N. F. I. 1903, T. 1, 14; the original is unfortunately not accessible. There are two «nosed» knives at Riegsee and one (on a simple rivet-tanged knife) in an early copper-working deposit near Kitzbühel in

the Kelchalpen, *Mitt. d. Präh. Komm. Wien*, 5, 1947, T. 5, 7-8.

(102) SPROCKHOFF, *Griffzungenschwerter*, 1931, T. 10, 18-19; a similarly handled plain knife occurred in Baierdorf grave 2, with an atypical variant of a Nordic Type I a *Griffzungenschwert*, cf. PRITCHARD, *Urgeschichte*, Abb. 305, right.

(103) Figs. 13-14.

Cowen has fixed early in the local Ha A, Erbenheim (near Wiesbaden), appears a small dome headed stud, datable to MIV ¹⁰⁴. The earliest hoards of the Western Urnfelds, from the close of Ha A, have always been known to date from MIV, as shown by a Nordic MIV tutulus in the Pfeffingen hoard (Württ) ¹⁰⁵. The Erbenheim sword, however, exhibits none of the features from which later divisions of Ha A are typologically recognisable, and so may be assigned to its earliest phase.

Mr. Cowen himself preferred an MIII correlation for these swords, in place of the MIV date for them with the start of western Ha A, which we here argue, on the grounds that pommel-extensions comparable with those on the Erbenheim type were incorporated on to Nordic swords already during MIII ¹⁰³. But in disagreeing with the necessity of his conclusion it may be remembered that, on his interpretation, the Erbenheim sword is not an invention of the Western Urnfelds, but arrives fully formed, probably from the east. From its original homelands, therefore, it is conceivable that the notion of the pommel-extension could have spread to northern Europe before the sword penetrated to S. Germany, at a date which seems to be already MIV. In favour of this later date for Ha A it may also be noted, that the route followed by the Erbenheim sword ¹⁰⁷ between the upper Rhine and Main mouth downstream to Holland as well as westwards to the Seine and to south-east England is not otherwise evidenced for MIII times, when by contrast north-south connections favoured a line along the Elbe, as show by distribution of Friedrichsruhe cups. It is indeed only with the advent of the full, Vogt/Kimmig A, Urnfelds that the west is drawn into inter-regional trade; and this is at the time of the succeeding, Jenšovice, type of bronze cup (below) dated to MIV. The previous exclusion of the Western Urnfield area (except for its fringes approached along the R. Main) is likewise demonstrated by distribution of the Spindlersfeld fibula (p. 234 ÷ fig. 14), and by absence of these and of certain «cult» objects (p. 235) there in contexts prior to Ha A. ¹⁰⁸. On balance of evidence, then, Ha A of the Western Urnfelds may still be dated to MIV. ¹⁰⁹.

(104) Abb. 4 in his study *Eine Einführung in die Geschichte der Bronzenen Griffzungenschwörter in Süddeutschland und den angrenzenden Gebieten*, 36, Ber. d. Röm.-Germ. Komm. 1955 (1956), 52-155; or fig. 3, in the preliminary study, *Proc. Preh. Soc. XVII*, pt. 2, 1951, 195-213. The stud also occurs in Osternierenburg Grave 11, which Sprockhoff instanced in support of his argument that some, at least, of western Ha A runs alongside MIV: *Chronologische Skizze, op. cit.*, 134-5, and *Handelsgeschichte der germanischen Bronzezeit*, 1930, T. 11.

(105) G. BEHRENS, *Die Bronzezeit Süddeutschlands*, Katalogue Mainz, 1916, Abb. 10.

(106) At Spandau (near Berlin) and Bevensen (Hannover): SPROCKHOFF, *Griffzungenschwörter*, 1931, 22 T. 6 and T. 8, 15-18. The argument, COWEN, *op. cit.*, (1951), 207-9.

(107) COWEN, *op. cit.*, (1956), 77, Karte C, or (1951), 197, Map A.

(108) Cf. fig. 14. Thus in Rhine Hessen a Spindlersfeld fibula occurs in a cremation grave at Weinheim with an *Urnensfeldernadel* and triple-strand bracelet: *AHV*, T. 43, 695-97.

(109) Admittedly, argument based on exclusion of the Western Urnfield area from the exchange of bronzes between eastern Urnfelds and the North during MIII runs contrary to another of Mr. Cowen's datings, that of the Nenzingen sword (p. 207) the first grip-tongue sword, with parallel-sided blade: *op. cit.*, (1956), 63-71, (1951) 204-6. This sword is widely distributed in the upper Rhine-Danube regions as well as in Austria, and also to the north along the line of both the Rhine and the Elbe (*op. cit.*, (1956) 69, Karte B; (1951), 205, Map B shows only S. W. German

IV) Later eastern Urnfields (Holste B).

The typological successor to the Freidrichsruhe cup of beaten bronze is the **Kirkendrup** or **Jenšovice** ¹¹⁰ type, which surpasses it in its raised footing and decoration in rows of bosses. Its distribution ¹¹¹ is altogether denser than that of the Friedrichsruhe and further contrasts with it in reaching western Middle Europe, where in S. W. Germany an undecorated, and squatter, variant — the **Fuchsstadt** cup — is particularly prevalent. In Bohemia, the Kirkendrup/Jenšovice cup corresponds with the advance to full Knovíz culture, which is equivalent to Tyrol III Urnfields. In the **Chronologische Shizze**, Sprockhoff shows that at both Jenšovice (near Prague) and at Kirkendrup (on Fünen) as well as at Dahmen (Mecklenburg) and Krenuvky (Moravia), the cup is found associated with a distinctive type of spiral armet, which he dates to a phase of MIV which must follow the persistence of Třebíz-Sváreč Urnfields into that period.

In addition, the three last-named sites, and Jenšovice itself have, each respectively, a developed and specialised form of the Spindlersfeld fibula, which had originated on the N. German plain, apparently some time before the MIII-IV transition (p. 235; fig. 14). Sprockhoff's monograph on this fibula in 1938 ¹¹² assigned these developed variants to a MIV group, which achieved a sporadic distribution over a wide area between Carpathians and the Rhine-Palatinate, in contrast to what he called a MIII group, largely confined to its N. German centre. Subsequent studies, ¹¹³ however, have questioned the possibility of distinguishing MIII from MIV in the regions (outside the true Nordic area, and so dependent for dating on Lausitz bronzes) on which Sprockhoff based this division. While closer definition seems then impossible, it will perhaps be best to consider Spindlersfeld expansion southwards alongside the movement of «straight-walled» pottery (p. 224) at the transition MIII-IV. And if this pottery did not itself reach so far south as Grünberg suggested, the penetration of the fibula into Lower Austria might be in some way reciprocal to the ceramic influences we have seen moving north at this time to be reflected in Seger B Lausitz styles in Saxony and Silesia at the beginning

examples). Its Nordic analogues are of MIII. In support of a similar dating in western Middle Europe, Cowen quotes examples in "Bronze D" contexts; but these are in fact a) from Riegsee, on b) from the Oberendingen group. Certainly the latter (ps. 228), and possibly the former (p. 229), could equally well be MIV, as could Nenzingen swords in related Holste-A hoards in Czechoslovakia. Only from Memmelsdorf, near Bamberg, is there a true *Fremdkultur* example (*op. cit.*, (1956), 65, Abb. 1); and this *Oberfranken* site is sufficiently far north for independent relations with MIII northern Europe - cf. the movement of Friedrichsruhe cups down the Main without touching S. W. Germany. There, by contrast, the Vogt-A graves of Reutlingen IV and XII and the name-site - which we believe to be already MIV - are the earliest known context; and it is most likely that the Nen-

zingen sword was a novelty introduced with, or heralding, the full Western Urnfields. Had a cut-and-thrust sword been known throughout "Bronze D", it would seem a curious alternative to the thrusting Rixheim rapier; especially since this rapier's resolute exclusion of contemporary Riegsee sword (fig. 12) shows the *Fremdkulturen* were not catholic in their sword tastes.

(110) Thus respectively E. SPROCKHOFF, *Handelsgeschichte*, 1930, 57 ff., and Childe, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 1948, 189.

(111) CHILDE, *ibid.*, 190, fig. 8.

(112) *Marburger Studien*, 1938, 205-33; maps T. 98-100.

(113) Eg. W. A. VON BRUNN, *Steinpackungsgräber von Köthen*, Deutsch. Akad. d. Wissenschaft Berlin, Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Bd. 3, 1954, esp. 30-4.

of MIV. In the Baierdorf cemetery of Gemeinlebarn a Spindlersfeld fibula is associated in grave 270 with a stepped conical button, ¹¹⁴ a form fairly common at the site and with links through its distribution to Moravia and Silesia; it occurs in the Silesian Jordansmühl grave which Sprockhoff dates as final MIII (vom Ausgang der Periode III), and a further example from Bäk

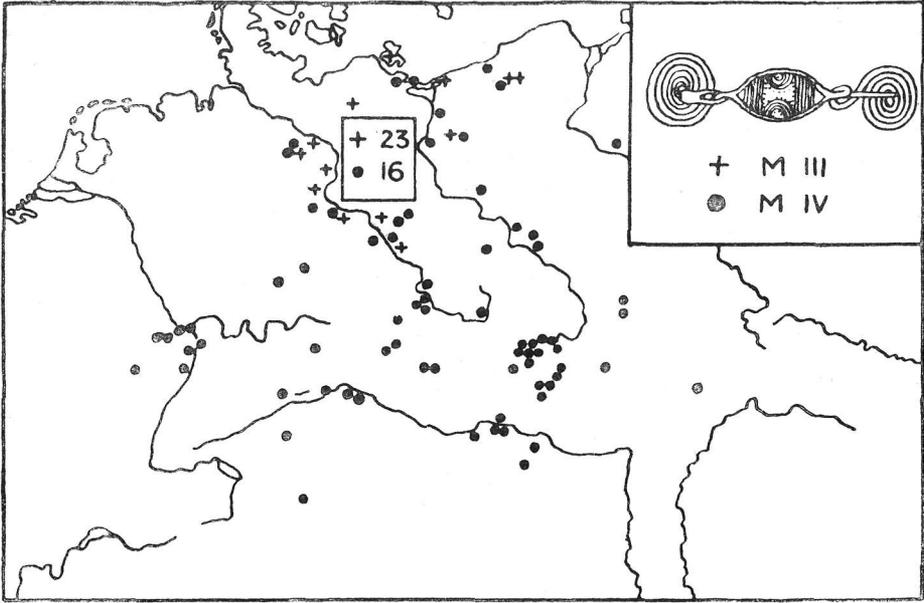


Fig. 14. — Distribution of Spindlersfeld fibulae of MIII and MIV, according to Sprockhoff.

(Holstein) is in the hoard from which he chose to demonstrate the survival of the early eastern Urnfields, among which the button appears, into MIV.

G. Kossack ¹¹⁵ has recently noticed that the distribution of the Spindlersfeld fibula was anticipated by a variety of «cult» objects among, and proper to, early eastern Urnfields (and perhaps relatable to the adoption of the rite?) — little duck-like pendants, pointed-oval or swallow-tail pendants, and the **Dreipass** to which these latter are sometimes attached ¹¹⁶. These are found in MIII of the Nordic Bronze Age (eg. on the Skallerup cauldron), but never in western **Fremdkultur** contexts. Kossack finds that some developments of

(114) J. SZOMBATHY, *Präh. Flachgräber bei Gemeinlebarn*, Röm.-Germ. Forsch. 3, 1929, T. 23, 1-5, 7-11. Grave 270 was not scientifically excavated, but Sprockhoff accepts these pieces as associated.

(115) *Archaeologia Geographica* I, Jrg. 1, H. 1, 1950, 4-8.

(116) Kossack would also equate wheel-shaped

pendents found in early Urnfield contexts - eg. Riegsee fig. 7, 6 - with these objects, in which others have seen a continuation of Tumulus tradition. 'Cult' objects also reached to N. Italian Terremare. One of these, with pointed-oval and swallow-tail pendants, was in the Berlin-Spindlersfeld hoard, SPROCKHOFF, *op. cit.*, (1938), T. 82.

the Spindlersfeld fibula presuppose acquaintance with these «cult» objects, since only where a waist-constricted variant of the attachments is known does the fibula acquire an «hour-glass» pattern of incised decoration.

Sprockhoff has reiterated in the *Skizze* that the Jenšovice horizon, with its specialised variant of the Spindlersfeld pin falls in a later part of MIV, and is separable from the eastern Urnfields contemporary with the fibula's initial spread (with we may assign to the III-IV transition) and the still earlier connections with the North which Kossack has described. At the same time, Sprockhoff drew attention to some inconsistency in classification of the phase of Jenšovice; for Holste, recognising a distinction from what went before, had called it «Ha B», in contrast to his «Ha A»¹¹⁷. All the regional groups among eastern Urnfields corresponding to Jenšovice in Bohemia are not yet worked out (especially it is not clear whether such a phase exists in Austria outside the Tyrol-Salzburg). Once again, however, an extended use of terminology borrowed from Reinecke will not accommodate the variety which appears to exist. Alternatively, Holste contrasted eastern Ha A as *ältere* with (East Alpine) Ha B as *jüngere, Urnenfelder*. But Sprockhoff and others have preferred to see Jenšovice as essentially of the *ältere* (or *früh-hallstattisch*) group, because its material still contains bronzes typologically related to characteristic forms of Holste-A: Sprockhoff quotes the terminally-riveted rod-tang knife from Jenšovice itself, and from another Bohemian site related by the Jenšovice fibula variant, Brozanek, a rod-tanged knife with incised bac» and a horse-shoe razor with openwork grip¹¹⁸. Certainly with the spiral armllet which is so frequent a feature with Jenšovice finds there appears in the Moravian hoard of Duban one the «Hungarian» peaked-socketed axes which occurred in a MIII context at Elsterwerde (p. 230). It therefore would seem that some eastern components of the earliest Holste-A Urnfields are not sensitive to the passage to the Jenšovice horizon. It is a helpful suggestion of Sprockhoff's¹¹⁹ that further study of their persistence alongside the later stages of MIV would help to resolve the largely verbal quarrel about when the «*jüngere*» eastern Urnfields should be said to begin.

In including Jenšovice among the *jüngere Urnenfelder* Holste was governed by the appearance in the hoard itself of certain of the bronzes which he earlier had noted as characteristic of an East Alpine equivalent to Vogt's (western) Ha B¹²⁰. Its chief forms, which are in part typological developments of Holste-A bronzes, are the end-winged axe, sickle with double dorsal rib, and spearhead less profiled in outline than the earlier flame shaped, and with angular junction of wing and socket; knives with offset sinuous blades separated by strong guards from the tang reflect the style of Vogt-B, sometimes also in decoration; typically, the socketed axe is now a slender form, with wing-decoration (*Passauer Beil*). These bronzes are commonly associa-

(117) See p. 222; this is the "B" which showed Böhm's "Dii" to be an inappropriate term.

(118) *Skizze*, T. 22, 1-4, and 138. These forms,

however, are those distinguished as Tyrol III Iron Tyrol II by Wagner, p. 215.

(119) *Skizze*, 138.

(120) *Präh., Ztschrift.* XXVI, 1935, 58 ff.

ted in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bavaria, Lower Austria and Styria (Steiermark), and sometimes occur with Pfahlbau «exports».

To complete a survey of Urnfield chronology we need finally to consider how the various material termed «Ha B» in eastern Middle Europe relates in time to the culturally distinct Ha B of Vogt. Since the significant forms are often mutually exclusive in distribution, the argument will again often rely on crosschecks with the North.

The two-rib sickle is already present at Jenšovice ¹²¹. But that some of Jenšovice-B was contemporary still with Ha A of Vogt is shown by its presence also in Württemberg in the Pfeffingen hoard (p. 233), though axes there are still a strongly-flanged version of mid-wing type. Moreover, a variant of the Fuchstadt cup (corresponding in time to the Jenšovice) appears in one of Kimmig's Ha A graves, at Möhringen ¹²². While it is not possible to determine accurately whether this Ha A which corresponds with the beginning of Jenšovice occupies all the remainder of MIV in the west, it would seem sufficient to account for the very few reflections of Vogt B (i) which reach the North to this period ¹²³ if Bi is considered to develop out of the foregoing western Ha A shortly before the transition MIV-V.

Even less precision seems possible about the date when the full complement of Holste-B bronzes became established among eastern Urnfields (a matter on which Holste in his writings was reticent) ¹²⁴. One can only say that, should the Pfeffingen evidence imply that eastern end-winged axes came into use only after the two-ribbed sickles which at Jenšovice were MIV, nonetheless if all types commonly assigned to Vogt-B, including this axe, were adopted simultaneously in the west, then in the east as well it will have come into use at least as early as the start of Vogt-B at the MIV-V transition, if not somewhat before.

It is clear that full Holste-B was current in MV. In the Silesian hoard of Karmine ¹²⁵, for example, the two-ribbed sickle, «Passau» axe, and often associated «spectacle» fibula are together with Nordic sickles and Lausitz axes of that period. It was moreover the well-attested export of Vogt-B bronzes, also to Nordic MV contexts, from which Sprockhoff in the *Skizze* argued the distinction between Jenšovice-B (- MIV) and western Ha B.

The Hostomice phase which followed Jenšovice in Bohemia was also in existence in MV; its bronzes can be dated, for example, in Thuringian boards ¹²⁶. The evidence of the flat-bottomed beaten bronze cup called after the type-site relates Hostomice to the only Ha B phase (it contains Holste-B

(121) Visible in J. SCHRÁNIL, *Die Vorgeschichte Böhmens und Mährens*, 1928, T. XXX, 15.

(122) KIMMIG, *Urnfelder Baden*, 1940, T. 33 A 14.

(123) Eg. for decoration or forms possibly so derived: E. SPROCKHOFF, *Hortfunde (Periode IV)*, Katal. R.-G. Zentralmus. Mainz, Nr. 12, 1937, T. 2, 49 & T. 3, 14.

(124) Eg. *op. cit.*, (1935), 75 says only "Immer wieder ergaben sich klare Vergleiche zu dem Halls-

tatt-B Horizont" (of Vogt). They cannot always be so late as the time of their deposition at sites instanced by him, eg. in the St. Kanzian cave, near Trieste (with Pfahlbau "exports"), only shortly before the transition to Ha C: *Mitt. d. Präh. Komm. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissenschaften* II, 2 (Wien, 1913), 127-90.

(125) *Präh. Zeitschrift*. XXXIV/V, 1949-50, 87, Abb. 7.

(126) v. BRUNN, *op. cit.*, 66, 71.

bronzes) recognised by Pittioni in Austria, **Typus Stillfried**. The late Urnfield material here, however, is most often found in deposits which must date from the end of its period, when «Thrako-Kimmerian» bridle-gear was encroaching on it, foreshadowing the following Ha C forms of the Iron Age. Consequently, we do not know how much earlier it had begun. In the west, too, there is no evidence to determine how soon after Bi the Bii (p.203) of Vogt supervened, since exports of both styles alike to the North are «MV» without distinction. Reflections of the «Thrako-Kimmerian» incursion were also carried westward to the Swiss **Pfahlbauten**. The **Rippenstil** which ornaments them there might itself represent a similar intrusion, especially if the tiny **Vasenkopfnadel** usually connected with it in fact closely relates to the late deposits of Stillfried material in Lower Austria. In its pottery western Bii (frequently now in barrow graves) also leads into Ha C of the Iron Age, at a date probably before the close of MV ¹²⁸.

V) Conclusion.

The brief summary of the concluding pages has shown that for later phases of the Middle European Urnfields, as for the earlier with which we have primarily been concerned, current terminology is not a precise instrument for describing the variety of groupings and interrelations which research has established. In eastern Middle Europe the later Urnfields which Holste called **jüngere Urnenfelder** appear divisible, even before they were affected by «Thrako-Kimmerian» incomings. They begin in some regions in association with earlier Urnfields types to form a distinct phase, like Jenšovice. None, moreover, of the **jüngere Urnenfelder** phases stands in defined temporal relationship to Vogt-B of the west. Eastern **ältere Urnenfelder** furthermore, alternatively termed «Ha A» by Holste, consist essentially of a combination which overrides the exclusive associations of some of its components in the west, which alone made the original «Ha A» classification meaningful.

A three-fold division of Urnfields in western Middle Europe has been consistently vindicated by newer finds — though material related to poppy-pins (Kimmig's «First Urnfields») is probably more truly representative of the first group, contrasted with Vogt/Kimmig A (UFD II), than was Reinecke's Bronze D (**Rieseegruppe**). It becomes however increasingly clear that events in the Western Urnfield area are not a standard sequence to which all the Urnfields of Middle Europe can be assimilated. In no instance is the cultural distinction between east and west more marked than in Holste's (eastern) A, composed of «Reinecke D» and «Ha A» in combination. In the west, by contrast, First Urnfields with «Bronze D» types hold themselves discrete, and the other elements of eastern Urnfields (such as rod-tangd knives, crescentic razors etc.) appear only with the full Urnfields of the subsequent, Vogt/Kimmig A. Many of the widely distributed bronzes which seem to allow correlations throughout Middle Europe and beyond, therefore, in fact often require different temporal interpreta-

(127) *Sec. p. 204*, with núm. 20.

128) *Proc. Prehist. Soc. XVIII*, Pt. 2, 137.

tion, according to region. For since, for example, «Ha A» knives are not diagnostic of any single culture, but are known from contrasting contexts, their dating will not invariably compare directly with the stages of the western Urnfields, as the use of Reinecke terminology in classification confusingly suggests. The phasing of eastern Urnfields seems rather to intervene between the beginnings of the three-fold division of the west (p. 240).

In cross-dating with the North it is especially important to insist on the distinction between eastern and western Urnfields in Middle Europe. There is no direct argument to support a MIII dating for Vogt/Kimmig A; and it is not cogent to transfer Sprockhoff's conclusion that Holste-A begins in that period to the contrasting Western Urnfields, where those bronzes common to east and west appear in quite different assemblages. It can, in support of a different dating, be argued that during MIII the area of the later Western Urnfields was in fact excluded from interregional exchanges, renewing connections with east and north only when these bronzes reached it subsequently with the start of Vogt/Kimmig A, probably at about the MIII-IV transition.

The independence of the western parts of Middle Europe from the correlations established between the Nordic Bronze Age and eastern Urnfields is particularly relevant for peripheral countries which come under influence from the central Urnfield area, like Spain and England. For the movements which thus affect archaeology west of the Rhine, and to north and south, emanate from the western Urnfield area, and so unfortunately stand in an as yet undefined relation to the absolute dates which occasionally enlighten Urnfield interpretation further east. Originating here, moreover, it is we to establish that the Nordic synchronisms which such connections involve are those proper to western Urnfields, and not those which have been argued for groups, imprecisely labelled with Reinecke classifications, in eastern Middle Europe. Thus when Ha A swords, for example, reach southern England from S. W. Germany, it is not proved that they must synchronize with MIII, a date which concerns only Holste-A.

As a background to his study of grip-tongue swords, Cowen¹²⁹ conveniently summarised the system of Urnfield correlations which is currently propounded:

Bronze D = early MIII

Hallstatt A = second half of MIII (beginning perhaps earlier) to early MIV

Hallstatt B = later MIV to (most of) MV

In conclusion the following chronological table is tentatively suggested as a closer approximation to the complexities of the period.

(129) *Op. cit.*, (1956), 55.

Nordic Bronze Age	S. W. Germany-Switzer- land-E. France	Bohemia	Upper Austria- Tyrol-Salzburg	Lower Austria- Burgenland	
MIII	<i>Fremdkulturen</i> (<i>Poppy pin, Dixenhausen,</i> <i>Leichtgerillte</i>) Oberendingen	Třebíz Svářeč (Holste - A: Bronze D - Ha A)	Tyrol I-II	?fibelfrei Baierdorf ?fibelführend	c. 1200 B. C.
MIV	<i>Vogt-Kimmig Ha A</i> (<i>Pfeffingen</i>)	Jenšovice- Predenice (Holste jüngere Urnenfelder)	Tyrol III	----- Holste E. Alpine B*	
MV	<i>Vogt Ha Bi</i> Hoards, with <i>Vogt Bii</i> Hallstatt C	----- Hostomice (not in S. Bohemia)	----- ----- Hallstatt cemetery	(Stillfried cup) Thrako-Kimmerian Hallstatt C	c. 700 B. C.

Urnfields of western Middle Europe in italics.

* Indicated only in L. Austria while date of inception remains unsettled.