During the 4th century and at the beginning of the 3rd century BC, the Carpathian Basin witnessed an eastward and southward extension of the area inhabited by Celtic communities. Their advance was slow, in successive phases that lasted several generations, and can be noted in the distribution and chronology of the cemeteries from the mentioned area. One result of this colonisation is the appearance of some new communities characterised by the cultural amalgamation of the newcomers with the indigenous populations, which led to the construction of new collective identities. At the same time, the “colonists” established different social, political or economic relationships with different indigenous populations from the Balkans. This article discusses the practices related to the cultural interactions between the aforementioned communities and the ways in which these connections can be identified through the analysis of material culture from the eastern and southern Carpathian Basin, and the northern and north-western Balkans.

**Key words** – Thracians, Illyrians, Celts, Carpathian Basin, northern Balkans, Alexander the Great, La Tène culture, funerary customs.

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2 Some recent studies have shown that a single “theory of colonialism” or “model of colonisation” cannot be drawn (see for example Dietler 2005, 54–5; Gosden 2004). At the same time the “colonisation” cannot be regarded as a simple movement from one territory to another, as it presumes a diverse range of interactions between the “colonists”, having their own personal and group identities and agendas, seeking to impose their own norms, habits and ideology, and the “colonised” who also have specific identities and are either exerting various forms of resistance, or are expressing a degree of openness towards integration into the newly built communal structures (Given 2004; for the eastern Carpathian Basin see Rustoiu 2014; Rustoiu, Berecki 2016). These diverse interactions contribute to the transformation of individual and group identities, leading to the creation of some new ones through cultural “hybridisation” and even through the re-invention of some traditions.
the terms “Thracians”, “Illyrians” and “Celts” have no ethnic meanings (native or modern), being instead used to identify different groups of populations from the north-eastern and north-western Balkans and the Carpathian Basin, which were named in this way by various ancient authors while writing about the respective regions³.

### A short socio-political overview of the regions in question

First, it is important to identify the “actors” involved in this network of cultural exchanges in the 4th–3rd centuries BC. The communities from the northern and north-western Balkans seem to have largely evolved along the traditional lines of the Early Iron Age. Their social hierarchy and the appearance of aristocratic elites having a coherent identity and ideology are mostly visible in funerary contexts. Thus, aristocratic burials contain rich assemblages which were meant to reinforce the social status of the elites within the communities.

In the central and north-western Balkans, tumulus burials containing rich inventories with several goods of Mediterranean origin had already appeared in the 7th–5th centuries BC, illustrating the integration of these local elites into a series of wider social and economic networks.⁴ Similar funerary contexts appeared slightly later in the regions occupied by Thracian populations from the northern and north-eastern Balkans. The deceased (men and women) were interred in structures including funerary chambers which were covered by large mounds. In some cases (Vraca, Sboryanovo, Agighiol, etc.) these constructions also had antechambers (some containing sacrificed horses) or annexes, and were built of stone blocks carved in the Greek technique by Greek masons⁵. The large majority of them were inspired by Macedonian funerary constructions, and the royal cemetery at Vergina is commonly considered to be a suitable analogy.⁶ Sometimes, Mediterranean ornaments and symbols were taken over, adapted and reinterpreted in the local manner. This is the case with the stone caryatids decorating one of the tumuli from Sboryanovo, which imitate Mediterranean prototypes in a “barbarised” style, or with the paintings showing the royal investiture on the walls of some funerary chambers from the same site.⁷ However, there is a significant variation in what concerns the quality of the masonry of the funerary monuments from the region in question. Thus, mostly those built to the north of the Danube (for example at Peretu or Zimnicea⁸) were built much simpler. On the one hand, this variation reflects the different degree of access to the network of social and economic connections established between the local dynasts and the Greek environment, which provided Mediterranean goods and artisans. On the other hand, it points to the existence of an aristocratic hierarchy which was expressed in the funerary practice, among other things.⁹

Regarding the funerary inventories, from a functional point of view they include: a) weapons and military equipment; b) harness fittings; c) jewellery and costume accessories; d) metal (silver or bronze) and ceramic ware. The same categories of goods have also been found in hoards (many accidentally discovered, so some could in fact be funerary inventories belonging to some destroyed burials) or fortified settlements.¹⁰

The figurative art on certain metal artefacts (vessels, helmets, greaves, plaques etc.) or the paintings on the walls of some funerary chambers indicate the existence of a coherent ideological vocabulary which was specific to the aristocracy of the northern Balkans. This visual language combines and reinterprets stylistic and iconographic elements having various origins (Scythian, Achaemenid or Greek) in a specific and original manner.¹¹ The typical iconographic themes consist of male riders usually involved in hunting scenes (of boars, bears or lions), male and female characters in ceremonial chariots, sacrifice scenes, winged female divinities in the mistress of animals pose, hierogamy scenes, fighting beasts, processions of real and fantastic beasts, mythical heroes (for example Herakles) etc.

Accordingly, the entire funerary phenomenon of the 5th–3rd centuries BC from the northern Balkans illustrates a major differentiation between the ordinary members of the communities and the aristocratic elites which dominated the social-political, economic and religious life. These elites also had their own social

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³ For the ancient authors’ perception of various populations from these regions and the construction of ancient “ethnonyms”, see Dziño, Domic Kunic 2012; for prior ethnic identifications, see for example Papazoglu 1978; Szabó 1992.
⁴ See Babić 2002.
⁵ Tsetskhladze 1998.
⁸ Moscalu 1989; Alexandrescu 1980.
Fig. 1. 1) Grave no. 17 from Remetea Mare (after Rustoiu, Ursuşiue 2013);
2) Funerary pottery from the Zimnicea cemetery (after Alexandrescu 1980). Different scales

Ст. 1. 1) Гроб бр. 17, Реметеа Маре (ирема: Rustoiu, Ursuşiie 2013);
2) Гробна грамада, гробље у Зимниче (ирема: Alexandrescu 1980). Различните размери
Fig. 2. 1) Cremation grave no. 10 containing a rectangular timber structure from Fântânele–Dâmbu Popii in Transylvania (after Rustoiu 2008). Similar graves in Central-Eastern Europe: 2) Grave no. 734 from Ludas in Hungary (after Tankó, Tankó 2012); 3) Grave no. 448 from Malé Kosihy in Slovakia (after Bujna 1995)

Сл. 2. 1) Гроб са кремацијом бр. 10 са правугаоном дрвеној конструкцијом, Фантанеле-Дамбу Попи у Трансилванији (према: Rustoiu 2008). Слични гробови у централно-источној Европи: 2) Гроб бр. 734, Лудаш у Мађарској (према: Tankó, Tankó 2012); 3) Гроб бр. 448, Мале Косичи у Словачкој (према: Bujna 1995)
hierarchy, being oriented towards the cultural models of the Odrysian or Macedonian dynasts. In spite of these influences, the aristocracy of the northern Balkans constructed its own ideology which incorporated certain practices of heroisation, illustrated by the iconography and the funerary and commemorative rituals.12

Largely at the same time, many communities from the Carpathian Basin experienced a process of social reconfiguration and cultural hybridisation resulting from the cohabitation of the Celtic “colonists” with some of the local populations13. A series of funerary contexts could offer relevant examples regarding the nature of the interactions between these two main parties. However, the range of these interactions varied significantly from one community to another, so a general model that would be valid for the entire area of the Carpathian Basin cannot be defined14.

Thus, the inclusion of local pottery in certain funerary rituals of the newcomers could suggest that some graves belonged to the locals integrated into the new communities established by the Celtic “colonists”. One good example is the cremation grave no. 17, in a lidded urn from the Remeta Mare cemetery in the Romanian Banat15 (Fig. 1/1). The funerary ritual, as well as the handmade pottery, has analogies in cemeteries from the Lower Danube region, for example at Zimnicea in southern Romania16 (Fig. 1/2). For this reason the grave might be ascribed to an indigenous individual, in spite of the fact that the costume accessories consist of LT items.

Another case, this time coming from the Făntănele–Dâmbu Popii cemetery in Transylvania, offers a very different example. The cremation grave no. 10 contains a rectangular timber structure with two compartments (Fig. 2/1). The ceramic inventory consists exclusively of local handmade vessels17. However, certain elements of the funerary rite and ritual, including the timber structures found in some funerary pits, are also encountered in Late Iron Age cemeteries from the middle Danube region (see, for example, the cemeteries from Malé Kosihy in south-western Slovakia18 (Fig. 2/3) and Ludas in north-eastern Hungary19 (Fig. 2/2). Thus, it can be said that the aforementioned grave from Făntănele more likely belonged to a colonist who was buried according to the funerary customs of his homeland.

In spite of this cultural hybridisation, the elites of these new communities still preserved a specific identity brought over from the newcomers’ homeland, which continued to be expressed through a particular visual code. The use of this code also implied the preservation of certain traditional funerary practices and visual symbols (for example weaponry or costume accessories) associated with the graves of warriors and also of women. For instance, the metal inventories of two graves from the Remeta Mare cemetery in the Romanian Banat – no. 9, containing weapons and no. 8, without weapons – (Fig. 3), point to the Central European origin of the deceased20.

It can, therefore, be said that many cultural features of the regions in question were substantially modified after the arrival of the Celtic groups. The new communities that resulted from the amalgamation of the colonists with the local populations initiated new social contacts with the populations from the northern Balkans. The mechanisms of communication between these communities were complex and implied negotiations and agreements that must have taken various forms, being largely controlled by the respective elites21.

**Forms of distance interactions**

Amongst the mechanisms of communication are direct diplomatic contacts established between the leaders of different communities. These contacts regulated the relationships between these communities and also different aspects related to the pan-regional balance of power during large-scale military campaigns. The movement of armed groups across wide areas implied the crossing of some territories controlled by foreign communities, and frequently required access to supply sources or markets that could provide goods needed for the campaign. When these resources were not obtained through the force of arms, the access had to be regulated on the basis of some negotiated agreements22. In this context, it is relevant that during the major military campaigns of 280–278 BC against

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13 See for instance Džino 2007; Potrebica, Dizdar 2012, 171; Rustoiu 2014.
15 Rustoiu, Ursu þ iu 2013, 326, Fig. 12/1.
16 Alexandrescu 1980.
17 Rustoiu 2008, 77–78, Fig. 35; 2013, 6–7.
18 Bujna 1995.
19 Tankó, Tankó 2012.
20 Medeleþ ms.; Rustoiu 2008, 111, Fig. 56; 2012a, Pl. 8–9; Rustoiu, Egri 2011, 32–33, Fig. 10.
21 See further comments in Rustoiu 2012a.
Fig. 3. Graves no. 9 with weapons (1) and no. 8 without weapons (2) from Remetea Mare (after Medeleț mss)

Сл. 3. Гроб бр. 9 са оружјем (1) и бр. 8 без оружја (2), Ремећа Маре (према: Medeleț mss)
Macedonia and Greece the Celtic expeditionary forces advanced along the Morava and Vardar rivers. However, some settlements and commercial centres along the mentioned route, like the one at Kale–Křeševica did not experience any violent destruction.

This settlement, located in the upper basin of the Južna Morava River, was founded at the end of the 5th century and/or the beginning of the 4th century BC. Its end has been dated to the middle or the first half of the 3rd century BC23, or even to the first decades of the 3rd century BC24. P. Popović has noted that the latest dated coin from this site was issued by Demetrios Poliorketes, thus suggesting an end date of the settlement during the Celtic invasion in Greece, but there are no other arguments in favour of this hypothesis since many other artefacts can be dated later25. Furthermore, none of the coins from Kale Křeševica come from clear stratigraphic contexts. Recently, M. Gustin and P. Kuzman have dated the settlement to the second half of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC, connecting its end with the Celtic invasion. Their dating is exclusively based on numismatic and literary arguments (the few recovered coins cover the period between the reigns of Philip II and Demetrios Poliorketes; the settlement is a Macedonian emporium, so it was predictably a target for the invading Celts etc.), without taking into consideration the chronology of the entire archaeological inventory, which includes numerous Greek ceramic vessels, among other things26.

The settlement at Kale–Křeševica played an important role in the circulation of some Mediterranean products from Macedonia to the north, to the Celtic, indigenous environment of the southern Carpathian Basin and the middle Danube at the end of the 4th century and at the beginning or in the first half of the 3rd century BC. Thus, one cannot exclude the possibility that some social contacts between these communities could have been initiated earlier, in spite of the fact that LT finds seem to be absent from this horizon of the settlement.

Regarding a series of settlements belonging to the same period and located on the Vardar, whose end was dated to the first decades of the 3rd centuries BC, it has been presumed that their destruction was caused by the Celtic invasion in Macedonia and Greece27. Nevertheless, other explanations could also be possible concerning both the final date of the aforementioned settlements and the cause of their abandonment. The supposed destruction of all of these important economic centres along the Morava–Vardar corridor by the contingents led by Brennus and Acichorius would have caused numerous problems regarding supplying the expeditionary forces. Concerning the supposed destruction of some “Hellenised” indigenous settlements28 during the Celtic expeditions in the Balkans and Greece, as has been presumed in the case of Pстирос29 or Seuthopolis30, the analysis of archaeological inventories indicates a later date of their abandonment. This can be ascribed to the middle of the 3rd century BC or even later31. Their abandonment around the middle or in the second half of the 3rd century BC, as in the case of many fortified settlements from the northern Balkans or the north-western Pontic region32, could be more likely related to some important structural changes that affected the social organisation of these communities. The disappearance of these economic and social centres coincides with the cessation of some contemporaneous practices associated with them, for example the aristocratic tumulus burials with funerary chambers which contained spectacular inventories33.

Accordingly, these observations more likely suggest that some agreements might have existed between the leaders of the expeditionary forces and those of the communities encountered alongside this route. These negotiations were always finalised with gift exchanges. Jewellery, luxurious costumes, metal vessels or horses with rich harnesses, sometimes accompanied by their stablemen, were commonly included, according to various ancient authors, in these exchanges (see for instance Xenophon VII.3.26–27 or Livy XLIII.5). The famous gold torque from Gorni Tsibar, decorated in the Vegetal Style and dated to around the middle or the second half of the 4th century BC (Fig. 4/1), was frequently interpreted as part of a gift exchange34.

24 Popović 2007a; 2007b; Popović, Vranic 2013, 309.
26 Gustin, Kuzman 2016, 316, 326–329.
27 Mitrevski 2011 with the bibliography; see also Gustin, Kuzman 2016.
28 For the supposed “Hellenisation” of the indigenous settlements see Vranic 2014.
29 Bouzek 2005.
30 Чурукова 1984, 111; Bouzek 2006, 79 etc.; see the relevant bibliography in Emilov 2010, 77.
31 Regarding Seuthopolis and its final dating, see the comments in Emilov 2010, 75–79.
32 For the chronology of the sites from these regions see further comments in Mândescu 2010.
33 Rustoiu 2002, 66.
34 Теодосиев 2005, 85–86; Emilov 2007, 58 etc.
Vincent Megaw has noted that the origin of this object, found in north-western Bulgaria, must have been Western Europe or Italy. The gold torque from grave no. 2 at Filottrano near Ancona (Fig. 4/2), in a region inhabited by the Senones, is a close analogy.35

Ruth and Vincent Megaw have noted that the Vegetal Style decoration of the piece from Gorni Tsibar is also encountered on ceramic vessels from the Carpathian Basin, for example at Alsópél in Hungary. However, an eastern origin of the torque from the north-western Bulgaria is less likely due to the morphology of the piece, the use of gold and the absence of any other analogy from the region.36 Nevertheless, the Vegetal Style survived in the decorative repertoire of the pottery from the Carpathian Basin until the middle LT period. Amongst the arguments can be listed the beaker from a grave with a helmet, uncovered at Apahida in Transylvania,37 as well as the bi-truncated vessel from a Celtic burial discovered at Moftinu Mic in north-western Romania.38 The latter has an incised and stamped crescent-shaped decoration that is morphologically similar to the one on the ends of the torque from Gorni Tsibar. At the same time, pieces that resemble the artefact in question are less commonly encountered in the Carpathian Basin and are made of bronze.39 Gold was very rarely used in the Carpathian Basin at the beginning of the early LT period, in spite of the rich resources from Transylvania. All these observations argue again for a western European origin, and not an eastern one, of the torque from Gorni Tsibar.

The dating of these artefacts corresponds to the expedition of Alexander the Great to the Danube in 335 BC, which probably reached the mouth of the Olt River. He located a poorly fortified Getic settlement conquered by the Macedonian king at Zimmicea, where a fortified settlement dated to the 4th–3rd centuries BC had already been identified. Along the same line, a similar identification could have been presumed for any other site dated to the same period and located on the lower course of the Argeș River, a hypothesis that was subsequently adopted by numerous researchers.41 Florin Medeleț, also starting from literary sources, but taking into consideration the general historical context of the time of Philip II and Alexander the Great, certain ancient geographic and topographic particularities, and the problems related to the location and extension of the territories belonging to certain communities (like those of the Triballi, Getae, Scordisci etc.), convincingly demonstrated that the army of Alexander the Great reached the Danube near the mouth of the Morava. The island on which the Triballi took refuge is very probably the Ostrovo Island in Serbia, and the Getic fortified settlement was located on the left bank of the Danube in the southern Serbian Banat.42 Alexandru Vulpe rejected this

35 Megaw 2004, 96; see also Megaw, Megaw 2001, 119–120; for the torque from Filottrano see Megaw 1970, 96–97, no. 128.
36 Megaw, Megaw 2001, 119–120.
37 Zirra 1976, 144, Fig. 11/8.
38 Németi 2012, 72–73, Pl. 1–2.
39 See Bujna 2005, 15–16, type BR-A3A-B, fig. 5.
40 Pârvan 1926, 46.
41 Vulpe 1966, 11, 19; 1988, 96; Daicoviciu 1972, 20; Turcu 1979, 22–23 etc.
42 Medeleț 1982; German version in Medeleț 2002.
hypothesis and proposed another location for the campaign, downstream at the Danube’s Iron Gates in Oltenia\textsuperscript{43}. Although the arguments of A. Vulpe are less convincing, they reflect the abandonment of the “traditional” hypothesis placing the Macedonian military actions in northern Bulgaria and the Wallachian Plain. Moreover, Fanula Papazoglu has noted that the locations proposed over time for the region in which Alexander was active along the Danube cover the length of the river between the mouth of the Morava and the Danube Delta. She has opted for a location between the Isker and Timok\textsuperscript{44}. V. Iliescu has also proposed a location of the events and of the island on which the Triballi took refuge, close to the Iron Gates\textsuperscript{45}, an idea that was recently adopted by K. Nawotka. However, the latter author inexplicably locates the crossing of the Danube by Alexander’s army between Svishtov and Zimnicea\textsuperscript{46} (!?). Lastly, one has to note the relevant observations of Dyliana Boteva regarding the route followed by Alexander across the Balkans, also opting for a location of the events in the Iron Gates region\textsuperscript{47}. The most convincing hypothesis is the one formulated by Medele\c{s} as it seems to largely reflect the historical and geographic information provided by ancient literary sources. Nevertheless, the opinions proposing a localisation of the expedition of Alexander the Great downstream at the Iron Gates need further debate, perhaps also taking into consideration archaeological evidence.

On that occasion, alongside the emissaries of local populations seeking to meet the Macedonian king were also those of the Celts from the Adriatic or the Ionian Gulf, identified as the Italic Senones\textsuperscript{48}, with whom Alexander concluded an alliance (Arrian I.4.6–8; Strabo VII.3.8–C 301). Nevertheless, the presence of the torque at Gorni Tsibar on the Danube’s bank could also be a coincidence.

A series of connections established by the communities of the southern Carpathian Basin with the Italic Peninsula in the same period are also illustrated by other discoveries. This is the case of a bronze helmet, probably found together with a rigid necklace also made of bronze, in the surroundings of Hăteş in south-western Transylvania\textsuperscript{49} (Fig. 5/2–3). Similar pieces are known from a series of cemeteries located in the surroundings of Ancona (Fig. 5/1), in a region inhabited by the Senones\textsuperscript{50}.

The presence of such finds in Late Iron Age burials from the southern Carpathian Basin is more likely the result of the occasional individual mobility (for example that of a group of “negotiators”, although other forms of individual mobility could also be taken into consideration), than of some systematic distant contacts. Perhaps the presence of the gold torque at Gorni Tsibar can also be interpreted in the same manner.

The material effect of negotiations finalised with gift exchanges can also sometimes be noted in the opposite direction, from the south to the north. For instance, a “Hellenistic” iron horse bit comes from a destroyed burial uncovered in the cemetery at Ciumești in north-western Romania (Fig. 6/2) first used in the first half of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century BC\textsuperscript{51}. Similar horse bits have been found in graves usually dated to the 5\textsuperscript{th}–4\textsuperscript{th} centuries BC\textsuperscript{52}, but such items also continued to be used later, as the funerary inventory of the Padea–Panaglihurski kolonii type from Viațu in Oltenia (Fig. 6/3) seems to suggest\textsuperscript{53}. From a distribution point of view, one has to note their concentration in eastern Bulgaria\textsuperscript{54} (Fig. 6/1). The presence of this type of harness fitting in the Celtic cemetery from Ciumești in the eastern Carpathian Basin, where other types of horse bits were commonly used during this period\textsuperscript{55}, may suggest that the warlike elites of the respective community had connections with communities from the Balkans. Perhaps horses wearing the harnesses specific to their original land were included among the gifts exchanged with these people living south of the Danube, as part of some unknown agreements.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[44] Papazoglu 1978, 28–35.
\item[45] Iliescu 1990 – non vidi.
\item[46] Nawotka 2010, 97.
\item[48] See, for example, Kruta 2000, 240–241. Other researchers attempted to identify the origin of these “Adriatic” Celts by locating them in northern Italy, Pannonia and/or the Danube Basin, or in the north-western Balkans: Papazoglu 1978, 273–274; Zaninovic 2001; Gustin 2002, 11–13.
\item[49] Rusu 1969, 294; Ferencz 2007, 41–42.
\item[50] Schaaff 1974, 188–189, Fig. 31/2, 32 – distribution map; Schaaff 1988, 317, Fig. 39/3, 40 – distribution map.
\item[51] Bader 1984; Rustoiu 2008, 17; 2012b, 163.
\item[52] Werner 1988, 34–36, type IV.
\item[53] Berciu 1967, 85, 89, Fig. 5/1, 3 and Fig. 7.
\item[54] The horse bit from Ciumești and the one recently discovered in a tumulus burial with a funerary chamber from Malomirovo/ Zlatinitsa (Ager 2011, 122–123, Fig. IV–24a–25) can be added to the repertoire of discoveries and the distribution map published by Werner (1988, 34–36, Pl. 68/B).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Fig. 5. 1) Distribution map of the bronze helmets with mobile trefoil-shaped cheek-pieces (after Schaaff 1974; 1988); 2) Bronze torque from Hațeg (after Rusu 1969); 3) Bronze helmet from Hațeg (after Moreau 1958)

Сл. 5. 1) Карта распроstrаненостi бронзаных шлемов сa пoмiльними щитницами за образy у обyкy троугольника (премa: Schaaff 1974; 1988); 2) Бронзаныe гривны, Hațeg (премa: Rusu 1969); 3) Бронзавшi шлем, Hațeg (премa: Moreau 1958)

Fig. 6. 1) Distribution map of the Werner type IV iron horse bit (adapted and completed after Werner 1988); 2) Iron horse bit from Ciumești (after Bader 1984); 3) Iron horse bit from Viișoara (after Berciu 1967).

Сл. 6. 1) Карта расширения области железных удила Вернер IV (адаптированно и дополнено по Werner 1988); 2) Железные удила, Ciumești (премa: Bader 1984); 3) Железные удила, Viișoara (премa: Berciu 1967)
It should also be noted that from the same cemetery comes the famous funerary inventory containing a helmet and a pair of bronze greaves of Greek origin (Fig. 7/1–2), which must have belonged to a mercenary who fought somewhere in the eastern Mediterranean region\(^56\). Similar Mediterranean connections are also suggested by an iron ladle with a horizontal handle, which was discovered in another warrior grave from the Ciumești cemetery\(^57\) (Fig. 7/3). No analogies made of iron are known for this object, but a similar ladle made of silver was found in a grave from Chmyreva Mogila in the northern Pontic region\(^58\).

Another quite regular modality of creating and maintaining an inter-community social network was to conclude matrimonial alliances. For example, Caesar (\textit{B.G.} I.3; I.18; I.53) provides a series of relevant examples from Late Iron Age Gaul, in which various chieftains sought to conclude such alliances in order to increase their authority and prestige.

Along the same lines, it has already been shown that the Late Iron Age grave from Telești in Oltenia (Fig. 8/3) and grave no. 3 from Remetea Mare in the Romanian Banat (Fig. 8/2) provide archaeological examples of such practices. The inventory of the grave from Telești, including a costume assemblage with metal fittings of the LT type (enamelled bronze belt, brooches and glass beads), indicates that the deceased more likely came from the eastern Carpathian Basin and was buried in the cemetery of a Getic community from Oltenia. On the other hand, the original homeland of the woman from Remetea Mare must have been in the Illyrian or Thracian environment from the south of the Danube, due to the funerary rite of inhumation (in a cremation cemetery) and the presence of certain specific grave goods, like the bronze brooch of the “Thracian” type and the segment of a belt with astragals, which was reused as a pendant. However, she was buried in a Celtic cemetery in Banat\(^59\) (Fig. 8/1).

In both cases, the careful preservation and displaying of the jewellery and costume accessories originating from their homeland indicate that these women enjoyed a privileged status in their adoptive communities, and that their origin was not hidden behind local costumes. At the same time, the non-local funerary rite and ritual indicate that these women must have been accompanied by a “suite” consisting of compatriots, who performed the mortuary ceremonies according to the prescriptions of their old homeland. Accordingly, a

\(^{56}\) Rustoiu 2006; 2008; 2012b, 159–171.  
\(^{57}\) Zirra 1967, 24–28, Fig. 11.  
\(^{58}\) Treister 2010, 11, Fig. 7/5.  
Fig. 8. 1) Geographic location of the funerary discoveries from Remetea Mare and Telești; 2) Grave no. 3 from Remetea Mare; 3) Grave from Telești (all after Rustoiu 2004–2005; 2008 etc.)

Ст. 8. 1) Географска локација гробних налаза, Реметеа Маре и Телешти; 2) Гроб бр. 3, Реметеа Маре; 3) Гроб, Телешти (су претера: Rustoiu 2004–2005; 2008 ид.)
matrimonial alliance must have implied the mobility of a larger number of individuals, even if only during the lifetime of the woman involved in this relationship. This type of mobility allowed the transmission of some specific practices, beliefs and ideologies from one community to another, alongside the circulation of several goods.

Both the individual mobility and the inter-community connections very probably contributed to the increasing interest in certain LT jewellery, for example brooches of the Pestrup type, in the Thracian environment, some of them being very probably manufactured in workshops in the northern Balkans. However, such accessories were integrated into the costume assemblages according to the norms of bodily ornamentation specific to the local communities. For example, the jewellery set from the female grave no. 2/tumulus no. 2 at Seuthopolis contained, alongside two gold Pestrup type brooches, a necklace consisting of bi-truncated or filigree-decorated gold beads of the local type (Fig. 9) and two silver brooches of the “Thracian” type. Furthermore, a similar process has also been noted in the case of Greek jewellery from the Thracian aristocratic environment. According to Milena Tonkova, the consumers from Thrace selected only Greek jewellery that corresponded to the symbolic language developed by the local aristocracy, so the decorative repertoire was different from that encountered in the Greek cities on the Black Sea coast.

Lastly, artisans played an important role in the spread of certain technologies and types of jewellery and costume accessories. They were connected or even subordinated in one way or another to the dominant social group of each community. The latter were the main customers, seeking luxurious goods and also imposing fashion trends, symbolic meanings and even the functional characteristics of different decorative and utilitarian objects. At the same time, the artisans were, in general, a quite mobile social category. Their

60 For the Pestrup type brooches in the northern Balkans see Anastassov 2006, 14, Fig. 4/5, 7 – distribution map; 2011, 229.
61 Similar beads, albeit made of silver, have also been discovered in a grave from Zimnicea, dated to the second half of the 4th century BC (Alexandrescu 1980, 31, no. 50, fig. 50/9–12) and in another grave from the LT cemetery at Remetea Mare in Banat, dated to the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC (Rustoiu 2008, 115, Fig. 57/2). Furthermore, such pieces continued to be manufactured and used at the beginning of the 1st century BC, as their presence in the inventory of the hoard from Kovin in Serbia proves (Ražiški 1961, 23, no. 6, Pl. 1/3; Tasić 1992, Pl. 12/42).
62 Dimitrov, Čičikova 1978, 52–53 apud Anastassov 2011, 234, fig. 23; Đomarađski 1984, Pl. 33; Emilov 2010, 78 also notes that the mentioned brooches, as well as other examples from the region, are elements of some costumes that followed a Hellenistic manner of expressing status and group identity.
64 For the exchange of “desirable goods” amongst these populations see Egri 2014.
spatial mobility was mostly determined by the need to
reach new customers who were able to place orders
and provide raw materials. Also, the artisans systemat-
ically shared specific technological knowledge within
the same family or group of specialists, and this valu-
able information was also transmitted from one gener-
atation to another through sets of specific and carefully
maintained practices.

A series of archaeological discoveries from the
Carpathian Basin and the northern Balkans illustrates
the artisans’ mobility, as well as the related processes
of technological transfer. Some well-known examples
are provided by the hoard from Szárazd–Regőy in
Hungary, consisting of several gold objects (Fig. 10).
Miklós Szabó has noted that the inventory includes
both objects with morphological and technological
similarities in the northern Balkans as early as the
5th–3rd centuries BC (tubular elements with filigree
decoration and some types of beads with analogies, for
example, at Mezek or Novi Pazar) and items manufac-
tured according to the preferences of the continental
Celts, like the wheel-shaped pieces or the beads deco-
rated to resemble human heads65.

Conclusions
Taking into consideration the aforementioned ob-
servations resulting from the analysis of archaeologica-
lar evidence, it can be concluded that at least some of
the communities from the eastern and southern Carpathian
Basin and those from the northern Balkans developed
a complex network of inter-community relationships
that implied different practices and patterns of interac-
tion at various social levels. These relationships influen-
ced the material culture, the technological knowledge
and the symbolic language of each of the involved par-
ties. Among the mechanisms that facilitated these inter-
actions were the negotiations and agreements conclud-
ed between the leaders of various communities, which
were commonly accompanied by gift exchanges
and/or matrimonial alliances.

At the same time, other forms of individual mobili-
ty, for example those practiced by small groups of mer-
cenaries, also played an important role in the transmis-

65 Szabó 1975, 152–155, Fig. 7, Pl. 7–10; 1991, 127, Fig. 1–2;
2006, 114–115, Fig. 20.
sion of some cultural elements from one region to another. However, in many cases foreign elements were reinterpreted and adapted according to the visual and symbolic codes specific to each community. This phenomenon can be noted, for example, in the case of some jewellery sets from the Thracian or the Illyrian environment, which integrated a series of elements of LT origin, or that of some costume assemblages from the Carpathian Basin which incorporated jewellery of southern origin. Lastly, the circulation of such objects and of technological features specific to their manufacturing in different cultural environments were facilitated by the spatial mobility of artisans originating either from the northern Balkans or the LT environment in the Carpathian Basin.

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Током IV и почетком III века пре н.е. Карпатски басен бе- лежи пророцирење области у коjoj су живеле келтске заједни- це – на исток и на запад. Резултат тих населења била је појава неких нових заједница које је карактерисало култур- но стапање досељеника са домаћим становништвом, што је довело до стварања новог идентитета заједница. Истовреме- но, дошао је постојање различите односе (друштвени, политичке, економске итд.) са суседним балканском ста- новништвом. У овом чланку говоримо о пракси у вези с кул- турним интеракцијама поменутих заједница, као и о начинима помоћу којих се ти односи могу идентификовати путем анализе материјалне културе источне и јужне области Кар- патског басена, као и северног и северозападног Балкана.

Ови механизми интеракције међу заједницама омота- ћили су стварање неких сложених друштвених мрежа које је уређивало односе између разних етичких и друштвених група Карпатског басена и северног Балкана. Ту можемо поменути и преговоре и договоре између вођа различитих за- једница, уз размену поклона и склапање бракова. Оптција неких артефаката, попут чувених златних гривни из Горњег Цибара, или ћема са северног Балкана, нађених у балкансkom гробљу у Чумештију, као и неки погребни останци откриве- ни на територији Румуније, могу бити протумачени узима- њем у обзир поменутих механизама. Истовремено, значајну улогу у преносу појединих елемената културе из једне обла- сти у другу имало је кретање појединца. Међутим, туви елементи бивали су реинтерпретирани и прилагођавани у складу с визуелним и симболичким кодом специфичним за сваку заједницу. Овај феномен може се запазити, на при- мер, у случају одређених сетова накита из трачанског или илирског окружења који садржали низ елемената латенског типа, или одеће Карпатског басена са јужномаком накитом. Нај- зад, описај таквих предмета и њихова производња у разли- читим културним срединама омогућени су кретањем и ра- дом појединих занатлија како са севера Балкана, тако и из латенске средине Карпатског басена.