McDONALD INSTITUTE CONVERSATIONS

Delicate urbanism in context:

Settlement nucleation in pre-Roman Germany

The DAAD Cambridge Symposium

Edited by Simon Stoddart

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with contributions from
Ines Balzer, Manuel Fernández-Götz, Colin Haselgrove, Oliver Nakoinz, Axel G. Posluschny, Gerd Stegmaier, Anthony Snodgrass, Peter Wells, Günther Wieland, Katja Winger and Caroline von Nicolai

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Chapter 6

Burial mounds and settlements: the funerary contribution to urbanism

Ines Balzer (DAI Rome)

Preface – some critical remarks addressed to the archaeological sources

'Urbanism is the study of the characteristic ways of interaction of inhabitants of towns and cities (urban areas) with the built environment. It is a direct component of disciplines such as urban planning (the physical design and management of urban structures) and urban sociology (the study of urban life and culture). […] Urbanism can be understood as place-making and the creation of place identity at a city-wide level. However as early as 1938 Louis Wirth wrote that it is necessary to stop "identify[ing] urbanism with the physical entity of the city", to go "beyond an arbitrary boundary line" and consider how "technological developments in transportation and communication have enormously extended the urban mode of living beyond the confines of the city itself".' [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Urbanism – 01.08.2017]

The sometimes maligned Wikipedia thus addresses in the definition of urbanism very succinctly and effectively, showing its centrality in modern popular life. What is urbanism? Can we use the term also for prehistoric times? When did it start? In the 1980s, *oppida* were seen as the 'first towns northern the Alps' (Collis 1984). In the last decade, the state of research has changed radically and so has the definition of the term urbanism. Meanwhile, the so-called *princely seats* (*Fürstensitze*), namely (and mainly) the *Heuneburg*, are now considered the first towns.

In this paper, I do not intend to give a definition of urbanism or towns, nor to discuss if it is indeed the right way to describe these prehistoric phenomena of the nucleation of population. My task instead is to raise the question of whether funerary traditions reflect trends in settlement. This question can be inverted by asking whether special settlement phenomena were accompanied by particular burial customs.

One of the main problems in prehistoric archaeology is the limitation of the archaeological sample. A key issue is the modern condition of archaeological data, including the degree of preservation and the current state of research: Burial mounds and fortified settlements are usually in a better state if they are situated in woodlands than in agricultural landscapes, whereas flat grave cemeteries are more easily discovered in agricultural and built environments. Burial mounds have often not been excavated completely and consequently to an unsatisfactory level. In addition, especially in the past century, the recovered evidence has not been well documented and evaluated, so dating and linkage to potential settlements are often not possible. In a similar way, earthwork sites, such as fortified settlements on hills, are discovered more easily than agricultural settlement in the lowlands.

The lack of written evidence prevents us from associating settlements with their cemeteries. We cannot establish the cultural practice of the preferred distance from, and the considered need for visual contact with, the parent settlement. In spite of these difficulties, we can make an informed assessment of these associations from the topography, intervisibility, proximity and shared material culture.

A key question remains: how can 'urbanism' – whatever it means – express itself in funerals? Furthermore, do changes in grave goods relate to a changed social stratification, and is this a pre-requisite for 'urban' settlements?

In this paper, I do not intend to resolve this problem. Nevertheless, I will undertake a broad survey from the eighth to first century BC, with a special focus on the outstanding *princely* burials and settlements of the early Iron Age societies in south Germany. It seems that especially at the sixth century BC in Central Europe, specific *Celtic* burials were connected to a phenomenon (Posluschny this volume; Nakoinz this volume) which is

nowadays called *princely*, in the German literature. The *princely* phase is considered a kind of 'pre-urbanism', especially in the case of the *Heuneburg* on the upper Danube (e.g. Krausse et al. 2016). However, first we will examine the beginning of the Hallstatt period.

Eighth to the beginning of the sixth century BC (Ha C/D1): huge tumuli – but where are the settlements?

Only a few burials are known from Hallstatt C in south Germany, where they seem to represent the local élite. These remarkable tombs were normally found under burial mounds no larger than 30 m in diameter. In Germany, the most notable examples are *Wehringen-Hexenbergle* mound 8 (with a dendro-date of 778±5 BC the oldest one. Summarized in: Augstein 2017), *Frankfurt-Stadtwald Eichlehengruppe* Tumulus 1, Tomb 12 (Hessen; see Fischer 1979; Willms 2001), *Otzing* (Lower Bavaria; Classen et al. 2013; Gebhard et al. 2016), *Großeibstadt I and II* (Franconia; Kossack 1970; Wamser 1981) and *Gomadingen-Steingebronn Untere Hart* Tumulus 1 (Baden-Württemberg; Zürn 1987, 124–33, Fig. 223–28). These burials differ from other tombs by the inclusion of a huge number of well-decorated, locally produced, pottery vessels, a knife or sword, bronze vessel(s) and often also a four-wheeled wagon, yoke and snaffle bits. In some cases, the handle of the sword or the knife is worked with a fine inlay of gold (e.g. *Gomadingen*; *Frankfurt*).

In every case, the associated settlement cannot be identified, and might have been a small hilltop settlement or a farmstead in the valley bottom. The remarkable burial mound of *Remseck-Neckarrems Am Schwaikheimer Weg* near Stuttgart could be a deliberate landmark, because it is placed near a bend in the river Rems and possibly near a crossing place (Biel 1980). The grave-goods included eight ceramic objects, an iron sword, a bronze basin with iron handle and a tweezer.

The prominent trend in Ha D1 (*c*. 620 – 580/70 BC) was the construction of huge, isolated burial mounds, sometimes over 100 m in diameter (for dimensions: see Pare 1992). Very well-known examples are the enormous grave mound of the *Magdalenenberg* near Villingen-Schwenningen in the Black Forest (Baden-Württemberg; summarized in Spindler 1999; and more recently covered in Koch and Schmidt 2015), the *Bürgle* of March-Buchheim surviving today to nearly 120 m in diameter (Pare 1992; most recently covered in Koch and Scholz 2015) in the southern Rhine valley (Baden-Württemberg) and the *Hohmichele* (Riek & Hundt 1962) near the *Heuneburg* (Sigmaringen, Baden-Württemberg). Only the *Magdalenenberg* was completely excavated, between 1970 and 1973. The 126 secondary burials, which are arranged concentrically around the central grave chamber (Fig. 6.1), offered a multifaceted insight into a society existing between circa 620 and 580 BC, that seemed to be organized along lines of gender and age (e.g. Müller 1994).

Unfortunately, in the most cases, the central chamber of these tumuli has been robbed in prehistoric times, and even the enormous 8 × 6.5 m. wooden chamber of the *Magdalenenberg* had suffered this fate, although leaving enough evidence to date the well-preserved timbers to 616 BC by dendrochronology. It was an excavation of 1976 at *Kappel* near the Rhine (Baden-Württemberg) in a slighted burial mound of *only* 38 m in diameter, which showed the intact interior of an exceptional Ha D1-grave for the first time. *Kappel* had long been known because of extraordinary objects of gold discovered in the eighteenth century in Tumulus 1. Burial mound 3 was then excavated in 1976 with modern methods, followed up in the laboratory (Dehn et al. 2005). The central wooden chamber measured 3 × 4.2 m. The grave-goods were in an extremely poor state of preservation such that the metal and ceramic objects were reduced to dimensions of a few centimetres, necessitating a painstaking but immensely profitable conservation programme of some 30 years. The final restoration and reconstruction (Fig. 6.2) revealed a 1.10 m high *Kurd type* bronze *situla* which stood in a cauldron (31 cm high and 64 cm in diameter). A drinking horn, three iron knives, a basket and bronze vessels (e.g. nine cists, bowls and a bronze flagon) were deposited in the *situla*. Two large, locally produced, ceramic vessels were placed in the western part of the chamber. A wooden wagon, with four removed wheels and two harness bridles, was positioned at the southern side of the chamber. A neck ring, brooches, two iron spearheads and an iron Hallstatt dagger in a scabbard specified the former position of the skeleton, which had completely disappeared. This funerary set – a dismantled four-wheeled wagon in one part of the grave chamber and tableware sets on the other side – persisted in Central Europe for 100 years, until the end of Ha D3/beginning LT A. The *Kappel* assemblage shows strong contacts with Eastern Bavaria and the southern alpine area, north Italy and perhaps Slovenia (Dehn et al. 2005, 252–8). Once again we do not have any clear idea of the associated settlement. One claimant is the *Münsterberg of Breisach*, but the considerable distance of over 35 km places it at too great a remove from the burial site (see also Dehn et al. 2005, 307). The *Mahlberg*, only 5 km away, has been suggested as a possible *Fürstensitz* (Dehn et al. 2005, 306–8), but any evidence of Iron Age occupation has yet to be detected. The *Magdalenenberg* is often associated with the *Kapf,* a small hillfort which controls the

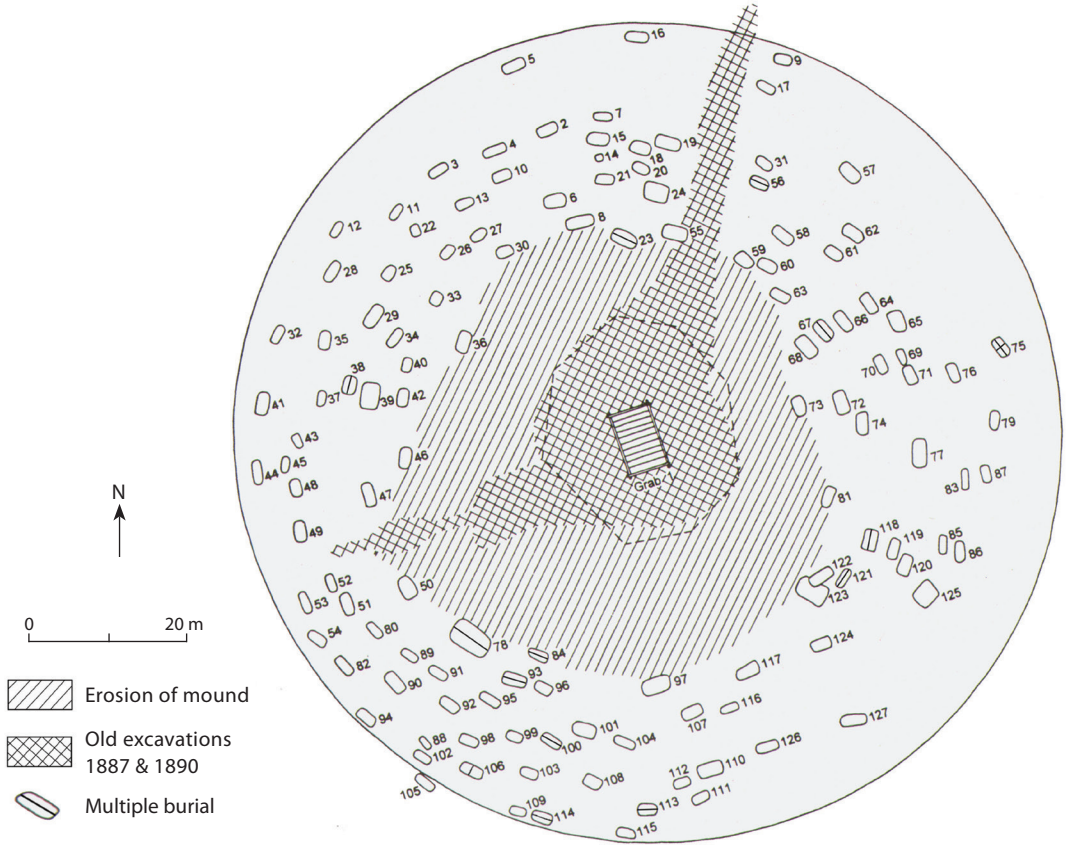


Figure 6.1. Magdalenenberg*: location of the central chamber and the secondary burials (Koch & Scholz 2016, after K. Spindler).*

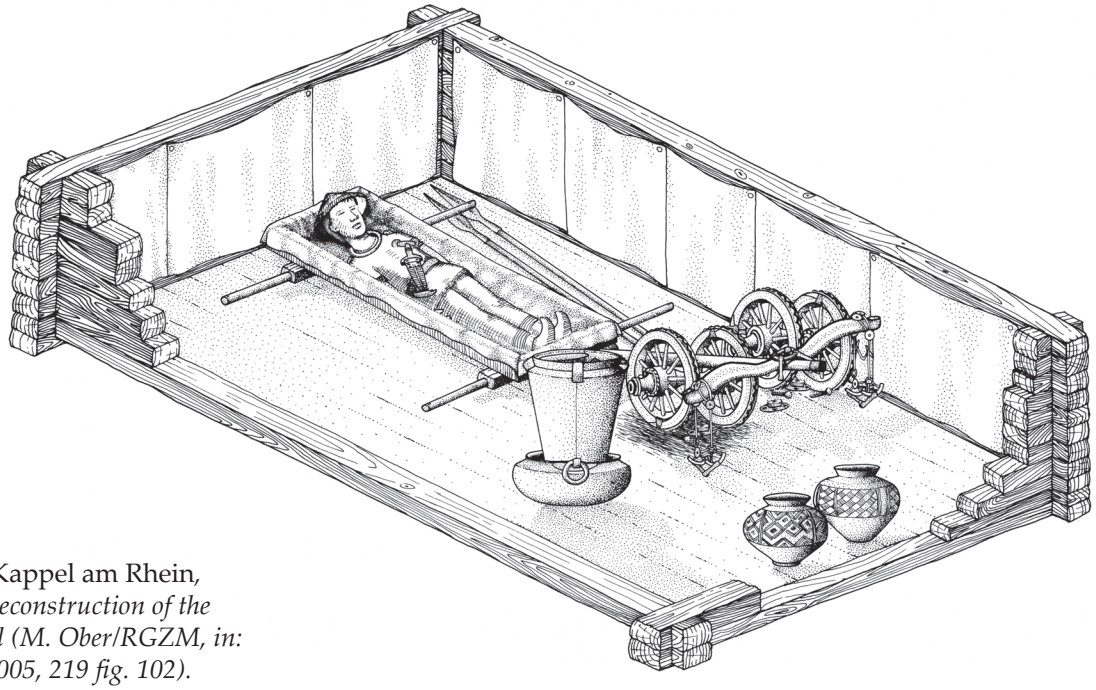


Figure 6.2. Kappel am Rhein*, Tumulus 3: reconstruction of the Ha D1-burial (M. Ober/RGZM, in: Dehn et al. 2005, 219 fig. 102).*

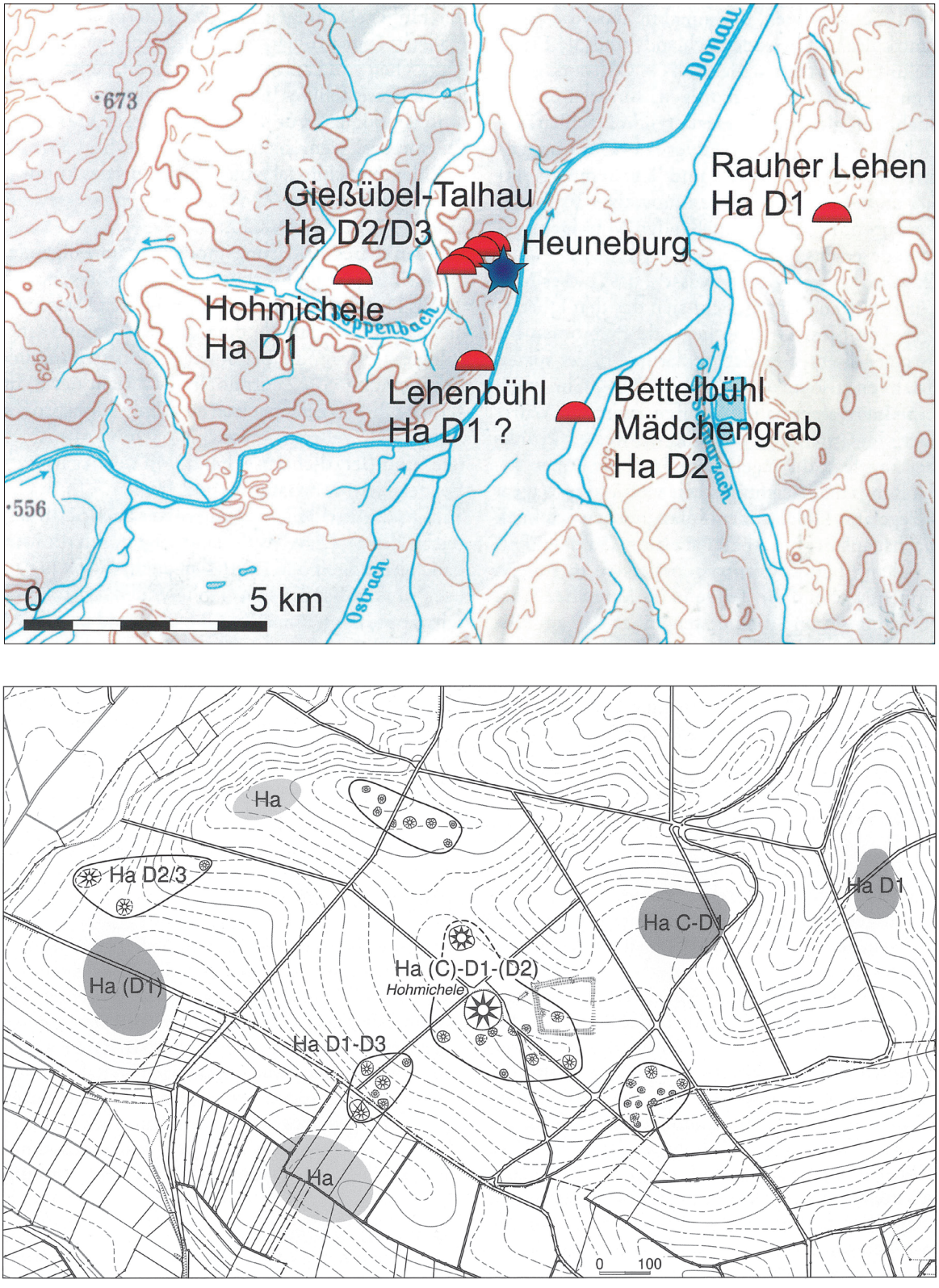


Figure 6.3. *Top: Burial mounds of Ha D1 to Ha D3 in the region of the* Heuneburg *(selection). (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im RP Stuttgart/Krausse 2008, 438 fig. 3). Below: The* Hohmichele *and other burial mounds and traces of settlements nearby (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im RP Stuttgart/Kurz 2007, 167 fig. 94)*

confluence of the rivers Kirnach and Brigach (Hübner 1972. See also: Knopf 2012). A settlement has yet to be detected near *March-Buchheim*.

The only case where a burial mound can be reliably associated with a settlement is the *Hohmichele*. The construction of this enormous burial mound is near *Heuneburg* and the so-called *Außensiedlung* (Kurz 2000), which already showed in Ha D1 the character of a *princely seat*. However, even here the association is not as clear-cut as it seems (Fig. 6.3). It was Siegfried Kurz who pointed out that there were other settlements of Ha D1 in the neighbourhood (Kurz 2007, 161–7 Fig. 94).

Hundersingen Heuneburg (Ldkr. Sigmaringen; Baden-Württemberg): Ha D1

The *Heuneburg* is situated at 605 m above sea level, set about 60 m above the Danube River and offers a wide view even of the Alps. At less than three hectares in size, the main fort is one of the smallest *princely* hillforts. Excavation has taken place regularly since 1950, and shown a total sequence of 23 phases over nine archaeological periods from the Middle Bronze Age to the Middle Ages (summarized in Krausse et al. 2016, especially page 41 fig. 31). For the purposes of the current discussion, the crucial elements of the chronology are that Ha D1 corresponds to *Heuneburg* periods IVa/1 to IVc; Ha D2 to the periods IIIa to IIIb; Ha D3 to the periods Ia to II. Ha D1 is already marked by the famous mudbrick wall, defensive towers and the import of foreign knowledge, showing connections with the south, as well as the first monumental burial mounds: e.g. the *Hohmichele* (Riek & Hundt 1962), located about 3.5 km west of the *Heuneburg*, the *Rauher Lehen* and the recently discovered *Bettelbühl*, with spectacular finds (summarized in Krausse & Ebinger-Rist 2016; see also: http://keltenblock.de/). Some fragments of gold, found on the *Heuneburg* plateau, seem to be similar to those of the graves (Hansen et al. 2015). Intensively populated settlements are known on the fortified *Heuneburg*, at the walled so-called *Heuneburg-Vorburg* and at the *Außensiedlung*, which, at more than 100 ha, is much bigger than the hillfort itself. The *Außensiedlung* was subdivided by a v-shaped ditch and a bank (Fig. 6.4) into separate sections, which have interpreted as representing a community of related people organized according to a segmentary lineage-system. Each section of 1–1.5 hectares comprised homesteads, separated by fences or drainage trenches (Kurz 2010). Kurz identifies a big-man or a chieftain-structure in Ha D1, which might be mirrored in the burials (Fig. 6.5) (Kurz 2009; 2010).

In summary, the monumental burial mounds of Ha C-D1 are *not* necessarily linked to a special type of outstanding settlement, even granted that we have too little knowledge of the settlements themselves and even less of their internal structure. For this reason, the astonishing burials of Ha C-D1 are not a convincing indicator of a kind of urbanism. The only exception where such a case can be made is the *Heuneburg*.

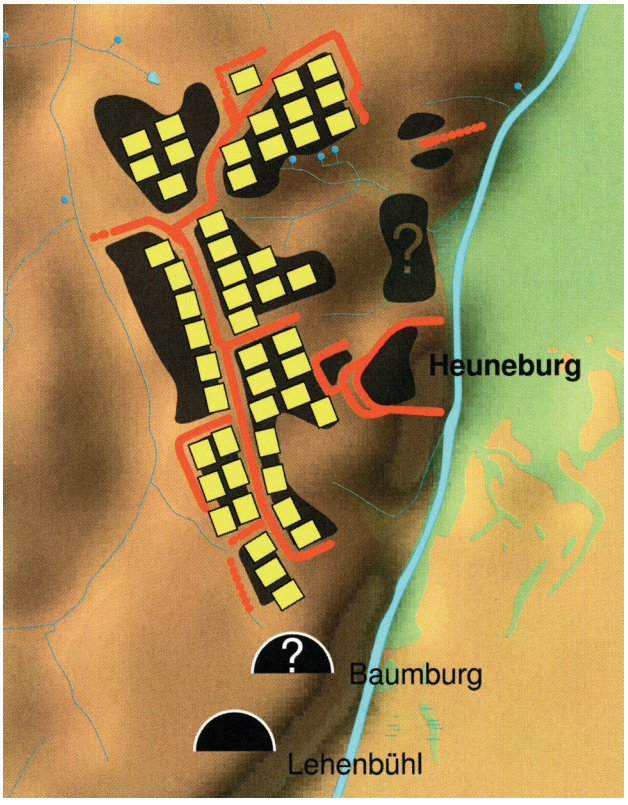
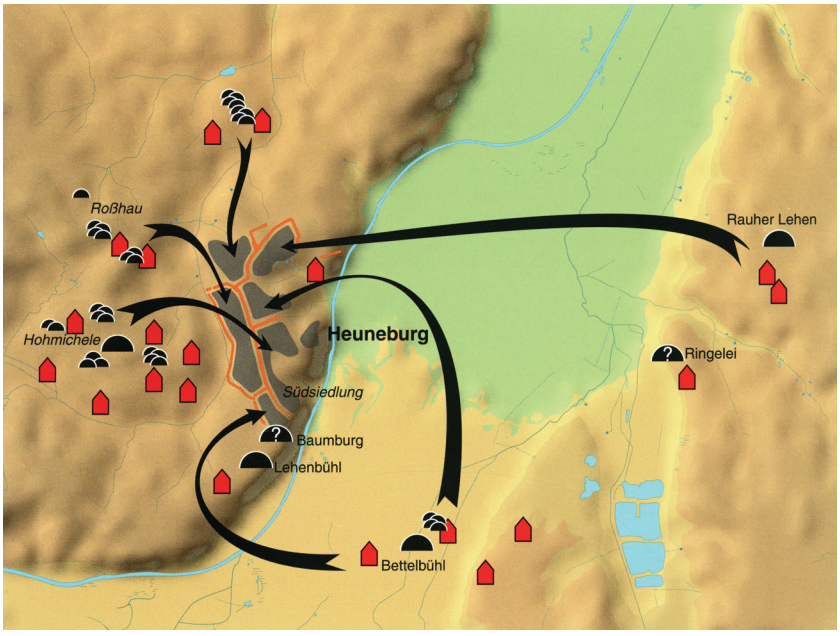


Figure 6.4. *The* Außensiedlung *near the* Heuneburg. *This was a well-structured outer settlement with ditch-bank-systems (in orange). Approximately 50 homesteads (in yellow) are estimated (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im RP Stuttgart/Kurz 2010, 252 fig. 12).*

Princely settlements and burials of the sixth century BC (Ha D2-3): the beginning of urbanism?

It appears easier to connect settlements and tombs at the apogée of the so-called *Fürstensitze*. This relatively small number of settlements was situated in an area of about 500 × 300 km between eastern France in the West and Bohemia in the East (see e.g. Krausse 2008b; Krausse & Beilharz 2010; see also the contributions of Oliver Nakoinz and Axel Posluschny in this volume). They are usually located on hilltops, of three to ten hectares in size, and with a start date in Ha D2 (except for the *Heuneburg* which started in Ha D1) and a zenith at Ha D3. Most of them were abandoned or declined in Early La Tène (see below). The concept *princely*



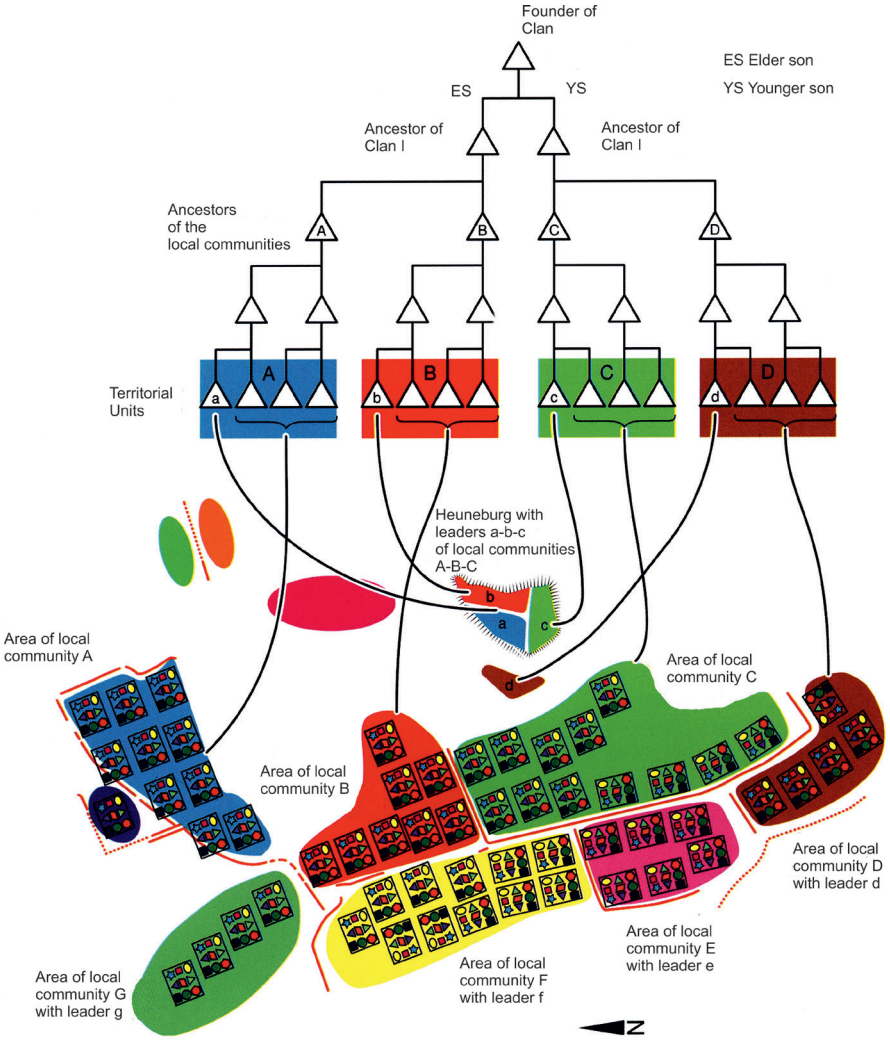


Figure 6.5. *Top: clans were drawn in from peripheral settlements to the* Heuneburg *and* Außensiedlung*, allocated to fortified allotments: following the proposal of S. Kurz (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im RP Stuttgart/Kurz 2009, 152 Fig. 3). Below: The settlement structures of the* Heuneburg *(=hillfort,* Vorburg *and* Außensiedlung*) mapped following the proposal of S. Kurz in the form of a clan chief model (after Marshall Sahlins 1968). According to this interpretation, the* Heuneburg *and* Vorburg *would have been reserved for the four highest clan groups, while the* Außensiedlung *was occupied by lower ranking groups (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im RP Stuttgart/Kurz 2010, 254 fig. 13).*

drew on the work of Wolfgang Kimmig (1969) which developed a model related to settlements, placed in prominent topographic positions, perhaps subdivided into an *acropolis* and a *suburbium*, in the sight of extraordinary tombs under impressive burial mounds. Imports (mostly) from the Mediterranean link the settlements to the tombs. Fragments of Attic pottery and imported wine amphorae were found in these *princely* settlements, whereas items such as metal vessels or ivory objects from furniture and mirrors produced in Magna Graecia and Etruria were generally found in the tombs. Some of the finds were unique (e.g. the Persian (?) glass bowl found in the Ha D3-grave of *Ihringen* near *Breisach* (see below) and the exceptional *krater* of *Vix* (Burgundy/France) from Magna Graecia. These objects give the impression that there must have been strong routes of communication between the regions north and south of the Alps, although the causes and mechanisms are still disputed (see contribution of Oliver Nakoinz in this volume).

One might suspect that it would be easy to make a linkage between outstanding graves and their related settlements, with the aid of imports. In actual fact, this task is much more difficult, since not all so-called *Fürstensitze* are allied with exceptional burials, and not all extraordinary tombs are connected with outstanding hillforts. A number of factors constrain the evidence, including the state of research and the precise topographical location (e.g. *Breisach*). The state of play in Germany is examined in what follows.

The Münsterberg of Breisach (Breisgau-Hochschwarzwald, Baden-Württemberg)

The *Münsterberg* (Fig. 6.6) overlooks the Rhine at about 45 m asl, offering a panorama from where the Vosges can be seen in the west, the Black Forest in the east and south, and the volcanic region of the *Kaiserstuhl* in the east. The 10-hectare basalt plateau has been intensely inhabited until the present day. Excavations have shown several metres of settlement deposit, arranged in a deep tell-like stratigraphy. Almost 250 pits, silos, traces of pithouses and houses from Ha D1 to LT B have been found. At its peak (Ha D3), the whole plateau was occupied (Fig. 6.7: green), starting in the southern half of the hill and retreating back into the same area (Balzer 2009; Balzer 2010;

Figure 6.6. *The* Münsterberg *of* Breisach*, seen from the southeast to the northwest, on the left side the Rhine (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im RP Stuttgart/O.Braasch).*

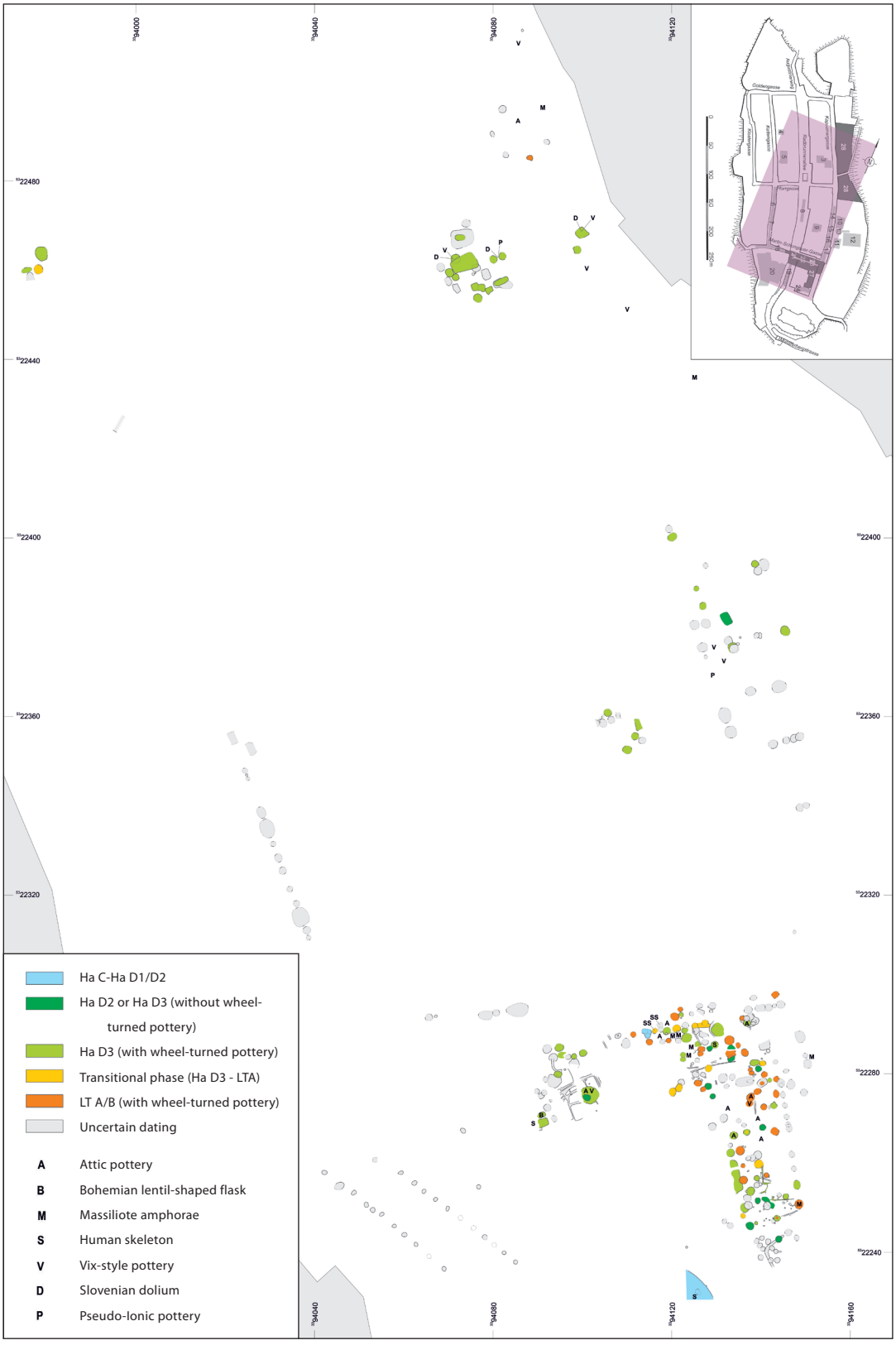


Figure 6.7. *The occupation of the* Münsterberg *in Breisach between Ha D1 and La Tène B (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im RP Stuttgart/Balzer 2009, suppl. 26).*

Bender et al. 1993). In Ha D3, the small hillforts in the neighbourhood were abandoned (Klug-Treppe 2003; Maise 1996), so that the *Münsterberg* became a sort of central place, the only hillfort within 40km. The finds included not only large quantities of high quality local wheel-turned pottery, but also imports such as Massaliote amphorae, Attic vessels dating to Ha D3 and LTA (Balzer 2010).

The main problem is to locate the associated cemetery. The *Münsterberg* is today located on the German eastern side of the Rhine. Before flood management of the Rhine, the *Münsterberg* was invariably an island set within the different historical courses of the Rhine, necessitating the placement of cemeteries outside the flood zone. Some burial grounds are known at a distance of least 6 km on both sides of the Rhine, in what is now Germany and France. Some groups of burial mounds are known at *Ihringen*. Most notably, remarkable burials of Ha D3 and La Tène A were excavated in the years following 1993 at *Ihringen Nachtwaid*. In Tumulus 1, a 30 year-old man was buried with a neck and arm-ring made of gold as well as of other material, serving and drinking utensils (including an Etruscan beaked flagon), and the already mentioned extraordinary thin glass bowl found in the eastern part of the chamber, believed to have been made in Persia (Dehn 1996).

Hundersingen Heuneburg (Ldkr. Sigmaringen; Baden-Württemberg): Ha D2-3

After a huge fire which destroyed the mud-brick wall and the *Außensiedlu*ng in period IVa/2 in the middle of the sixth century BC – at the end of Ha D1 – the *Außensiedlung* was abandoned in Ha D2 and four large burial mounds (*Gießübel-Talhau-Nekropole*) of up to 75 m in diameter (Fig. 6.8) were built in its place.

Figure 6.8. *The* Heuneburg *and the rebuilt* Gießübel-Talhau-Nekropole *(left side on the top) in the LiDaR scan (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im RP Stuttgart/J. Bofinger, Flugzeug, Laser, Sonde, Spaten – Fernerkundung und archäologische Feldforschung am Beispiel der frühkeltischen Fürstensitze. Esslingen: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, 2007, 30).*

Burial mound 4 was constructed and centred over an earlier house of the *Außensiedlung* (Schiek 1985), potentially a grave mound of the family who had been living there. The gravegoods of bronze tableware sets, pieces of wagons and horse harness, belt plates, objects made of amber and gold (Kurz & Schiek 2002) are clear indicators of an élite, whose settlement might be located on the *Heuneburg* or in the *Vorburg*. The *Heuneburg* was itself fortified at the time with a local wall construction and a new type of housing. At the beginning of La Tène A, the entire site seems to have been abandoned. Moreover, the *Heuneburg* and its environment are so complex and inclined to yield fresh information, that the new long-lasting excavation programme (2014–2026) will certainly lead to new data in the immediate future.

Asperg Hohenasperg (Ldkr. Ludwigsburg, Baden-Württemberg)

A totally different situation is observed in the *Hohenasperg* region. The *Hohenasperg* is a large six hectare upland plateau (Fig. 6.9) in the centre of the *Mittleres Neckarland*, just north of Stuttgart. This extremely fertile loess-landscape is bordered by the rivers Enz, Neckar and Glems within a distance of 5 km. The *Hohenasperg* is located at the centre of an unusual area of outstanding burial mounds (Fig. 6.10); several large and rich tumuli of Ha D2 to LT A are known within a radius of 10 km: e.g. *Asperg Kleinaspergle*, *Asperg-Grafenbühl*, *Ditzingen-Schöckingen*, *Ditzingen-Hirschlanden*, *Ludwigsburg-Römerhügel*, *Eberdingen-Hochdorf*, etc. (Biel 1985; Zürn 1970, 1987; summarized in Balzer 2008, 147–9). Their grave goods – including imported furniture with lion feet made of ivory, amber inlays such as carved faces of Sphinxes – indicate close contacts to the Mediterranean. Unfortunately the *Hohenasperg* itself is today overlain by a prison, housed in a substantial Renaissance fortress (see Fig. 6.9) whose construction surely eliminated or built over any Iron Age structures. Sherds collected on the southern and eastern slopes confirm an Iron Age settlement of Ha C/D1 to LT B (Balzer 2010b). However, the *Hohenasperg* is not the only hillfort and settlement in the area. The whole region of the Middle Neckar area was intensively and continuously populated, totalling over 340

Figure 6.9. *The* Hohenasperg *(Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im RP Stuttgart/O. Braasch).*

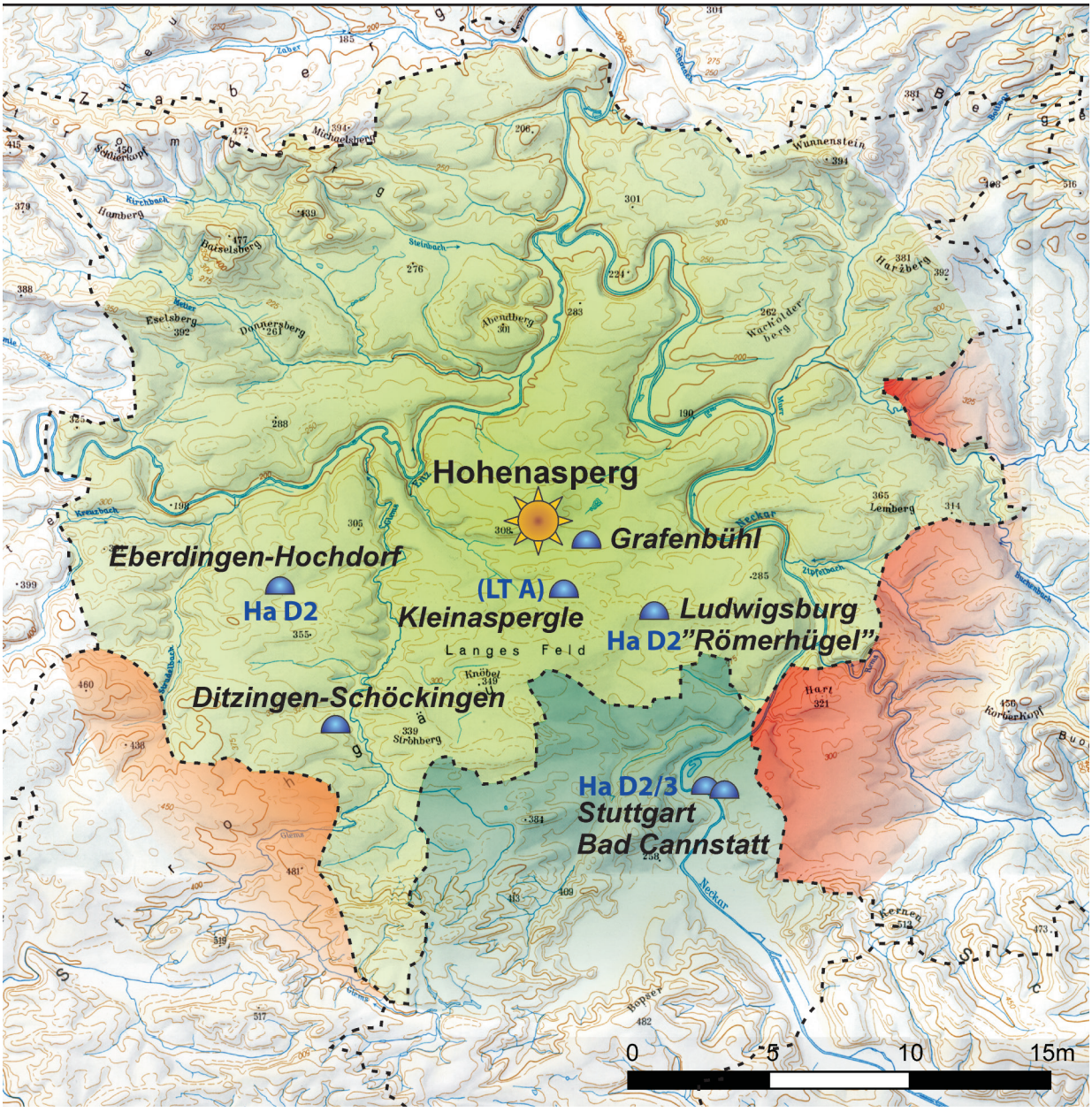


Figure 6.10. *The* Hohenasperg *near Stuttgart:* Princely *tombs (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im RP Stuttgart: C. Nübold/I. Balzer).*

Iron Age settlements within a radius of 15 km from the *Hohenasperg* (Fig. 6.11; Balzer 2008; 2010 b). For these reasons, it cannot be definitively established whether the *Hohenasperg* was the authentic *princely* residence of the people buried in the outstanding grave mounds. What is more certain is that the prosperity of the region was based on trade of iron from the Black Forest (Neuenbürg) via the Enz and salt from the salt sources of Schwäbisch Hall and the region of Heilbronn.

Bopfingen Ipf (Ostalbkreis, Baden-Württemberg)
The impressive *Ipf* near Bopfingen is situated on the western side of the *Nördlinger Ries*, a circular region created by a meteorite impact about 15 million years ago. The 2.4 hectare plateau of the *Ipf* was surrounded by two fortification lines. A complex fortification system with a total of five visible lines (encircling walls 1 and 2, intermediate wall 3, section wall 4, and a lowest wall 5 enclosing a water source: Fig. 6.12) covered a total area of 11.5 hectares. Thanks to new geophysical

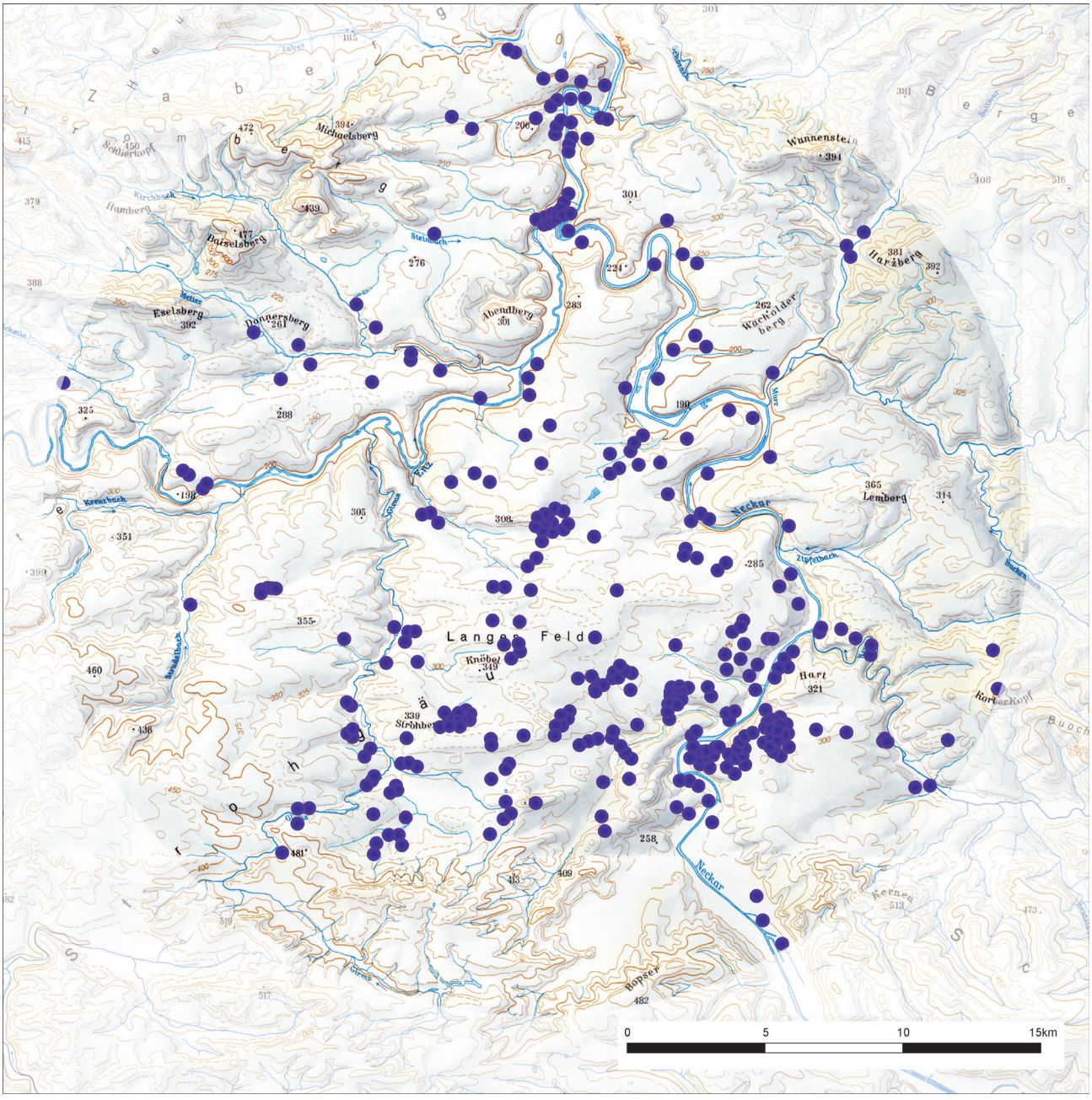


Figure 6.11. *Settlements of the Iron Age (eighth to third century* BC*) in the region of the* Hohenasperg *(Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im RP Stuttgart: C. Nübold/I.Balzer).*

surveys and LiDaR scans, a sixth outer wall has recently been detected, bringing the total enclosed area to about 30 hectares (Krause 2014b, 40). In common with the *Heuneburg*, the *Ipf* is embedded within a complex settlement landscape. Further hillforts and settlements are known. Between the hilltop settlement of *Goldberg* (see cover of the volume) and the *Ipf*, two rectangular enclosures (*Herrenhöfe*) *Bugfeld* and *Zaunäcker* have recently been excavated (Fig. 6.13; see Krause 2015). All of these appear to play a substantial role in the Iron Age, because imports such as Attic pottery and fragments of wine amphorae were also brought to light in the *Herrenhöfe* (summarized in Krause 2014 and 2015; see also Hauser 2014). However there is still a lack of exceptional burials. Two burial mounds were discovered during aerial survey, one with a diameter

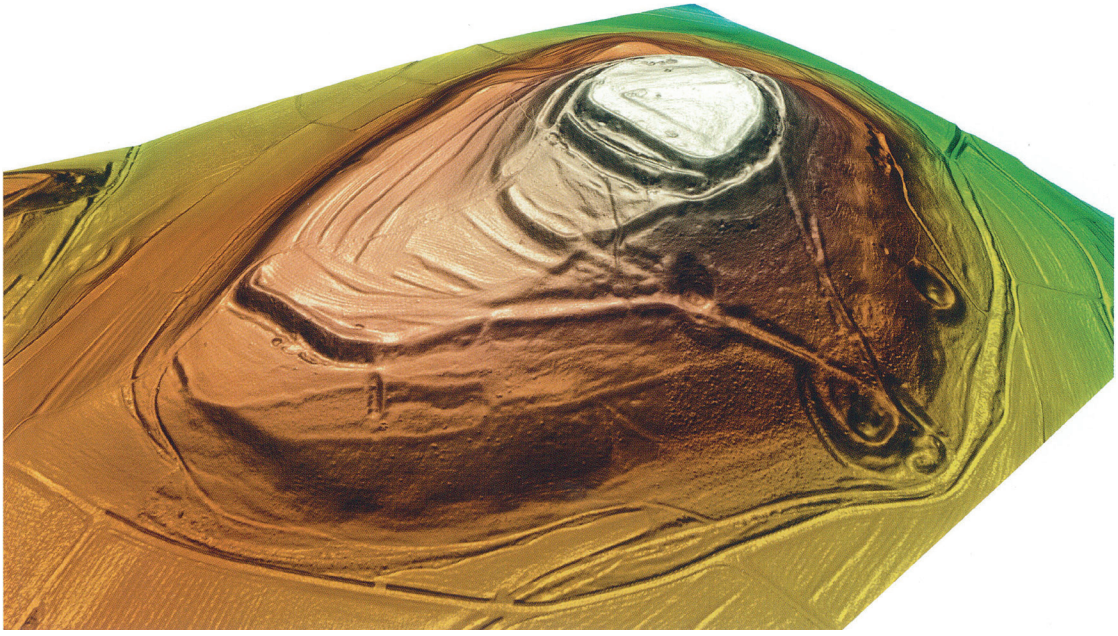


Figure 6.12. *The* Ipf *near* Bopfingen*: digital terrain model with the fortification-system. The outer line of the fortifications includes a water source (on the right; Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im RP Stuttgart: Krause 2015, 81 fig. 50).*

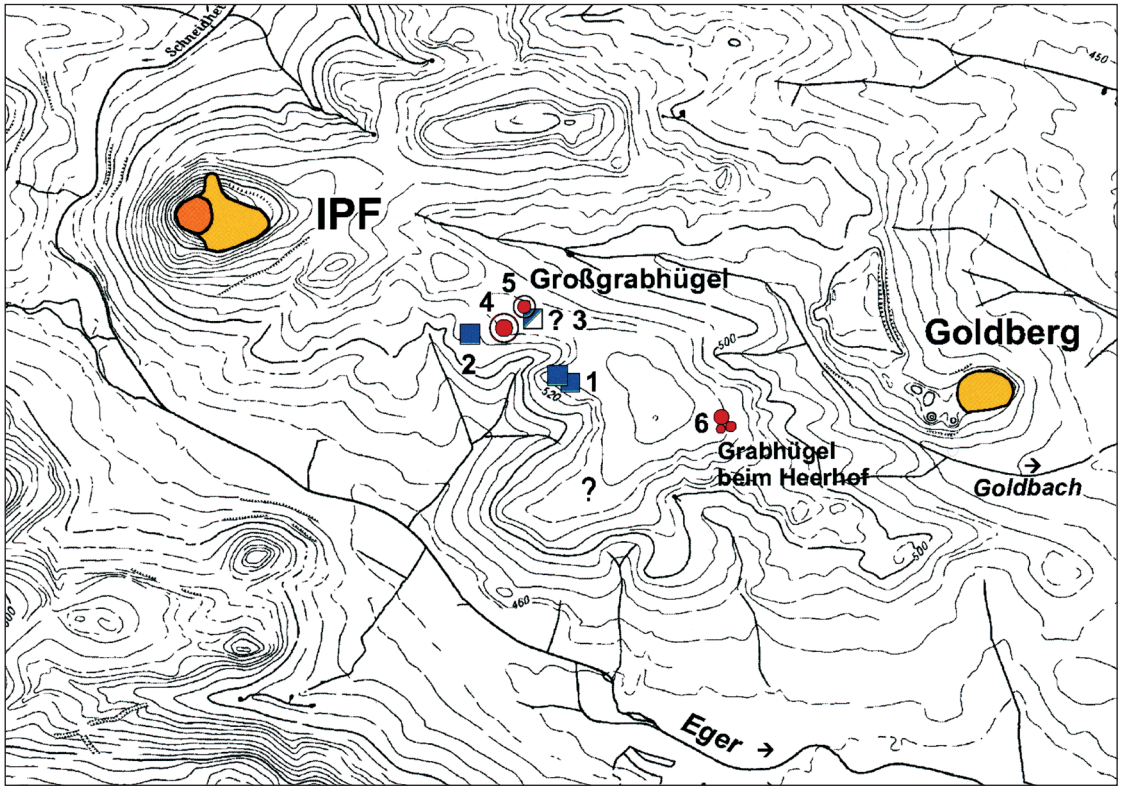


Figure 6.13. *The two hillforts* Ipf *and* Goldberg *(yellow). Between them burial mounds (red) and the so-called* Herrenhöfe *(blue) (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im RP Stuttgart: Krause 2015, 70 fig. 39).*

of at least 64 m. The excavation of the second smaller mound yielded a rich set of indigenous pottery, but of Ha C2/D1 date. An Italic bronze figure found nearby at *Ehringen* might point to a more recent, *princely* burial mound, which was ploughed out.

The *Ipf* is situated on an invisible border between the western and the eastern West-Hallstatt culture, that in Germany means between Baden-Württemberg/ Hessen and Bavaria. The archaeological situation to the east in the Iron Age is completely different. Prominent *Fürstensitze* are replaced by so-called *Herrenhöfe (*or *Rechteckhöfe)*: rectangular enclosures with the character of estates (farmsteads). The *Rechteckhöfe* are enclosed with one to several ditches (distribution map in Schuhmann 2011, 78, fig. 15). *Fürstensitze* in the sense of Kimmig (with contacts to the Mediterranean) are so far unknown.

Niedererlbach (Ldkr. Landshut, Bavaria)
Niedererlbach is situated near Landshut bordering the wetlands of the Isar river. Three *Rechteckhöfe* (here they are called: *Erdwerk*) were discovered in the 1980s, on the hilltop (Fig. 6.14). Only one of them, a rectangular enclosure with three ditches (*Erdwerk I*), was excavated (Müller-Depreux 2005). The interior covering 60 × 60 m was mainly occupied in Ha D, while an outer settlement shows traces of early La Tène (Koch 1991). *Erdwerk II* and *III* are not currently dated. Cemeteries were discovered by aerial photos, 30 m lower down in the wetlands of the Isar, and twenty surviving grave mounds were excavated (Koch 2001, 66–72). Most of these were dated to Ha D1, including some of the most outstanding female burials of South Bavaria. One notable example was grave 1, a female burial that contained a necklace with over 470 amber beads, accompanied by a child with over 200 small glass rings. It is highly probable that these cemeteries belong to the *Erdwerke.* However, it is remarkable that no graves have been discovered from the early La Tène period contemporary with the later phase of the settlement. Can the absence of burial evidence be explained by the level of research or by a different funerary practice? These remain the key questions for later periods as well.

Figure 6.14. Niedererlbach. *In the foreground, the excavation 1990 of a large, unfortunately robbed, wooden chamber of a Hallstatt-burial. In the background, the wooded hill with the Erdwerk I-III (photo: I. Balzer).*

Fifth/fourth century BC: individual burials, hillforts and living places – and a remarkable location: the *Glauberg*

Some of the *Fürstensitze* like the *Münsterberg of Breisach*, the *Ipf* and probably the *Hohenasperg* were also occupied in the early La Tène period; others like the *Heuneburg* were abandoned or reduced in size. Previously undistinguished hillforts appeared or increased in importance. Trading routes, as well as the exploitation of raw materials like iron and salt, seem to have played a significant role by stimulating the foundation or expansion of hillforts. Examples include *Neuenbürg* (Enz, Baden-Württemberg) which was situated in the Black Forest near a substantial iron industry (e.g. Wieland 2016) and *Bad Dürkheim* (Rheinland-Pfalz), where hillforts, lowland settlements and the *princely* burial of a woman are known (e.g. Bardelli et al. 2017). Others examples include the *princely* grave of *Reinheim* (Saarland; Echt 1999), perhaps linked to the hillfort of *Homerich* (Reinhard 2003), the *Heiligenberg* of *Heidelberg* (Ludwig & Marzolff 2008) and the *Burg* near *Walheim* (Balzer 2010a, 222–4), both near the river Neckar which was a trading route for salt. The most conspicuous burials seem to be more individualistic: the feasting set of this period seems to have been designed for one person (the deceased (?)), while the early (Hallstatt) graves appear to have hosted several (up to nine) people.

Imports, such as Attic pottery were not as numerous in the early La Tène period and appear also in lowland settlements such as *Eberdingen-Hochdorf Reps* (Biel 2015). A direct connection between settlements and cemeteries is not easy to establish, even based on southern imports, because these tend to be based on coral inlays and the transformation of Mediterranean floral elements into local imagery. Some Etruscan beaked jugs, were however, often found in ordinary graves.

In the late La Tène A, there is one substantial exception, where a connection between funeral rites and settlement area seems to be absolutely clear cut: the *Glauberg*.

Glauburg-Glauberg (Wetteraukreis, Hessen)

The *Glauberg* is located about 30 km northeast of *Frankfurt am Main*, which means that it is situated on the northern limits of the *Celtic* region. The plateau of the basalt hill covers eight hectares (totalling 20 hectares with the addition of the annexe) and is located 150 m above the valley bottom. It has been occupied since Neolithic times, but the first fortification enclosing the whole plateau is dated to Ha D3 (Baitinger 2010). The fortification, and especially its environs, have been studied intensively in the last two decades by geophysical and LiDaR survey, coring and excavation (most recently Hansen & Pare 2016). The reason for the ongoing research is the discovery of three outstanding graves in two burial mounds, embedded in an extraordinary, still mysterious, ditch-and-bank system (Fig. 6.15: summarized in Baitinger & Herrmann 2014; Balzer 2016).

Burial mound 1, with a ditch of almost 70 m in diameter, was certainly the most impressive monument, while the smaller Tumulus 2 (24 m in diameter), was situated in a more prominent location. Tumulus 1 (Fig. 6.16) contained an empty pit in the centre of the barrow. A male warrior inhumation (*princely* grave 1) was found on the northern side of the mound, while a male warrior cremation (burial 2) was discovered on the southern side. Distinctive grave goods such as two characteristic bronze jugs in *Celtic* art style filled with mead, golden and bronze objects like neck-, arm- and finger-rings, exceptional figurative brooches and belt buckles, richly decorated scabbards, swords and shield, and pieces of a so-called 'leaf crown' make these burials remarkable (Fig. 6.17). The excellent preservation of organic materials such as wood, textiles, leather etc., that are still under study, add new details.

The biggest sensation, however, was brought to light during the excavations in 1996 in one of the trenches of Tumulus 1. A nearly complete, 1.86 m high statue made of sandstone (Fig. 6.17) was found, which portrays the objects from grave 1 as attributes (see also Baitinger & Pinsker 2002). Further fragments indicate three similar statues. Outside Tumulus 1, two parallel 350 m long trenches connect the ditch of the tumulus with the external bank-ditch system. These structures have been interpreted as a 'processional street' orientated on the southern Major Lunar Standstill, which takes place every 18.6 years (Deiss 2008, 282–5), because the earthworks do not respect the local topography. The geophysical and archaeological investigations recognized vast gaps in the bank-ditch system, which could mean either that it is an unfinished fortification or a funeral area. All these facts when taken together, accounting for other burials and skeletons in storage pits and near the ramp systems (Knipper et al. 2014), demonstrate the likely presence of a ritual zone, which belonged to the hillfort and which was integrated (but also divided) by the banks and ditches.

A later perspective (La Tène C and D): early towns – and (proto-)urban cemeteries?

The settlements founded in early La Tène were abandoned in the middle La Tène period; even at the *Glauberg* traces of the middle La Tène period are very rarely detected. From La Tène B, cemeteries

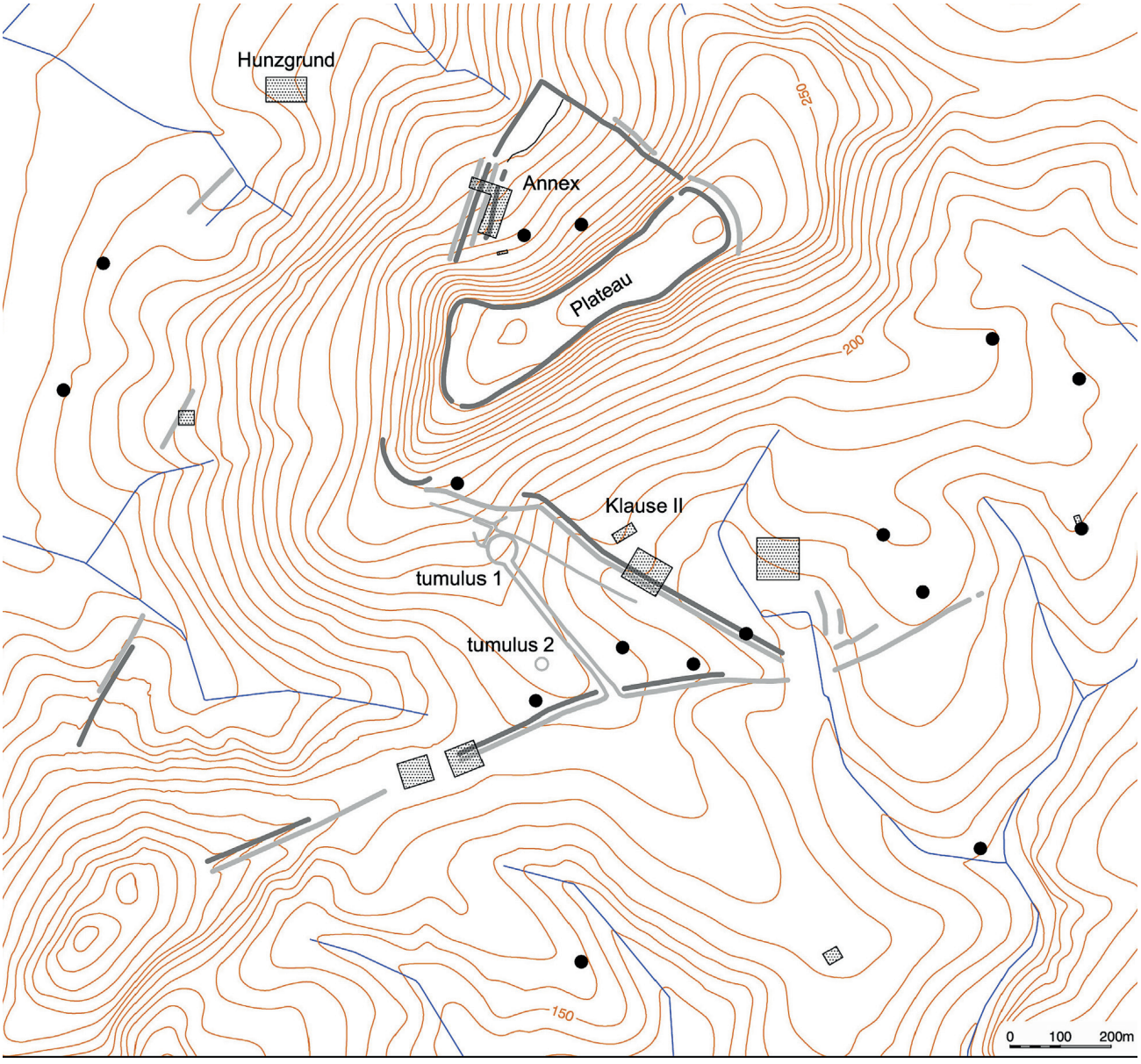


Figure 6.15. Glauburg-Glauberg. *Map of the monuments of the Iron Age visible to the naked eye and in the geophysical survey. Dark grey: bank, light grey: ditch. The excavation areas of the* Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte an der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz *(shaded areas) are shown as well as the surveys (black dots) (V. Grünewald/Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte Universität Mainz).*

with flat graves replaced burial mounds. The setting for the afterworld was achieved entirely by personal possessions. Small cemeteries were created, it seems, exclusively for one family or a household. Good examples are the LT B to C inhumation cemeteries of *Gäufelden-Nebringen* (Ldkr. Böblingen, Baden-Württemberg; Krämer 1964) and *Korntal-Münchingen Lingwiesen* (excavation 1995–1998, Stork 1997), where late La Tène B graves (Fig. 6.18: brown) as well as settlement structures (Fig. 6.18: yellow and orange) were found nearby (Balzer 2010a). 13 cremation graves were discovered (Biel 1974) at the La Tène C cemetery of *Giengen an der Brenz* (Ldkr. Heidenheim, Baden-Württemberg). Cremation became the standard funeral rite in the last two centuries BC, a type of burial that is itself more difficult to detect.

The only prominent grave of the middle La Tène period in the German region is the LT C2

inhumation grave of *Sinsheim-Dühren* (Rhein-Neckar-Kreis, Baden-Württemberg), discovered in 1865. Because of the circumstances of the excavation not all attributes of the supposed woman are known, but they are very elaborate: two mirrors and bronze vessels (imported from Italy?), seven brooches, two of them made in silver, golden finger-rings, beads made of glass and amber, arm-rings made of glass, a *Celtic* silver coin and gaming pieces made of glass (Spohn 2009; Wieland 2009). The context of the grave is remarkable: near or under a rampart of a so-called *Viereckschanze* – a rectangular enclosure of a later La Tène farmstead (Wieland 2006b; and this volume). Once again the intentionality of their association is raised as a question.

As well as the open, unfortified, smaller settlements like *Korntal-Münchingen* (LT B-C1) or bigger villages as for instance in *Breisach-Hochstetten* (LT

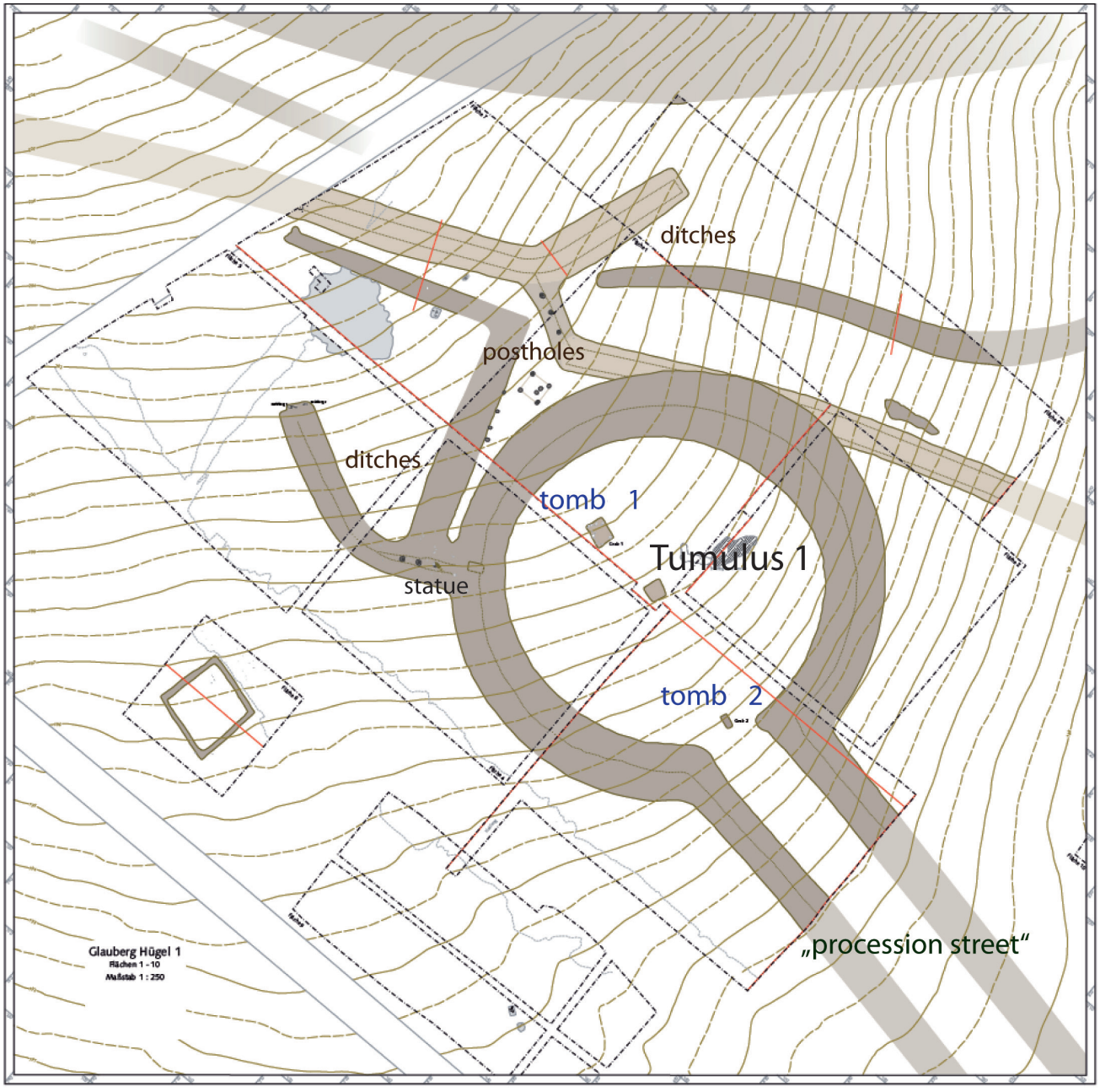


Figure 6.16. Glauburg-Glauberg*: Tumulus 1 and environs (Keltenwelt am Glauberg/Baitinger & Herrmann 2014 with additions of I. Balzer).*

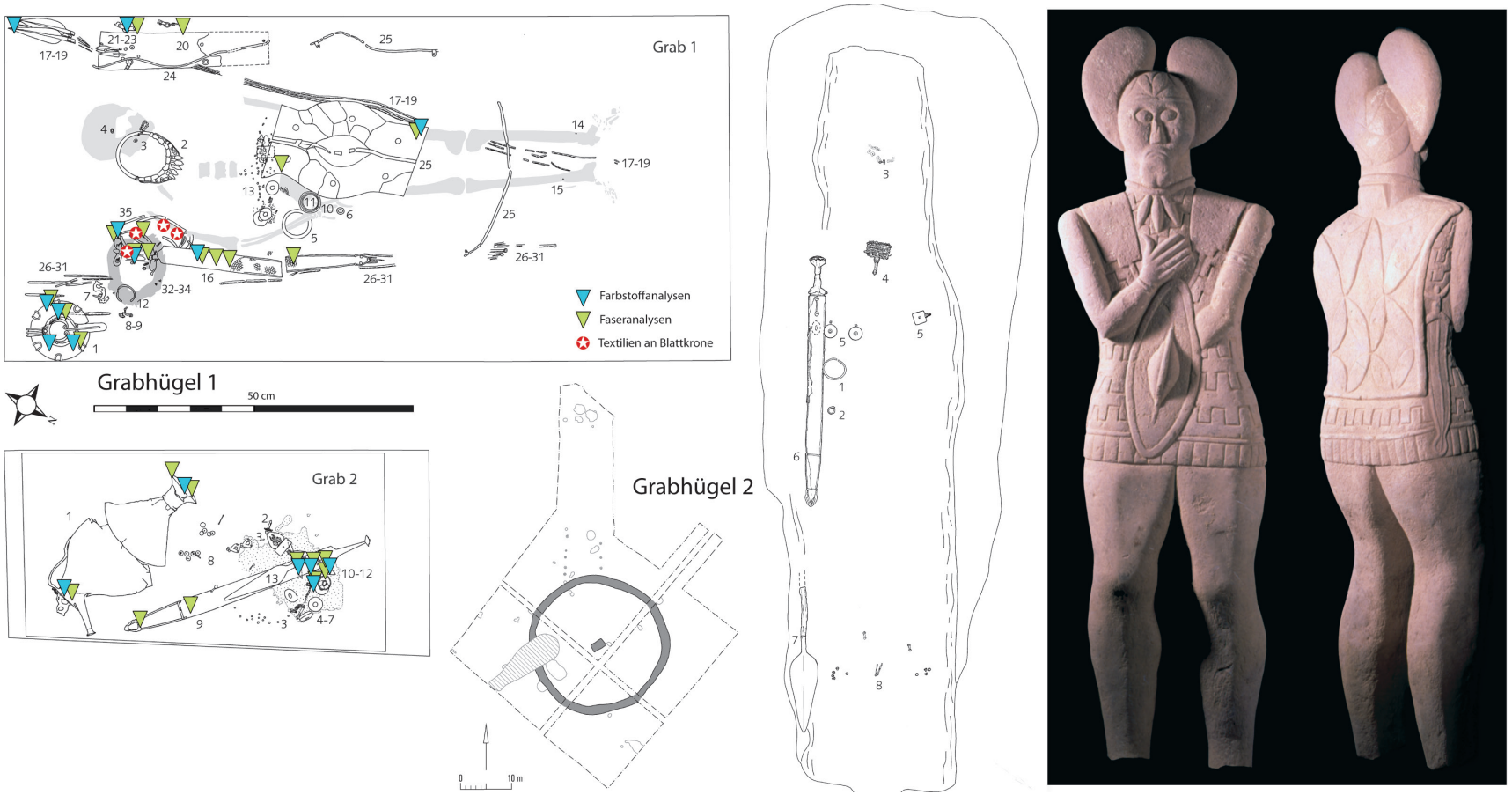


Figure 6.17. Glauburg-Glauberg. *Left: Tombs 1 and 2 of Tumulus 1 (with a mapping of the textile analysis; blue: dye, green: fibre analysis) and Tumulus 2 (centre). Right: the sandstone statue (Left: Balzer/Peek/Vanden Berghe 2014, 3 Abb. 3; centre: Keltenwelt am Glauberg/Baitinger & Herrmann 2014, 30. Foto right: Keltenwelt am Glauberg/U. Seitz-Gray).*

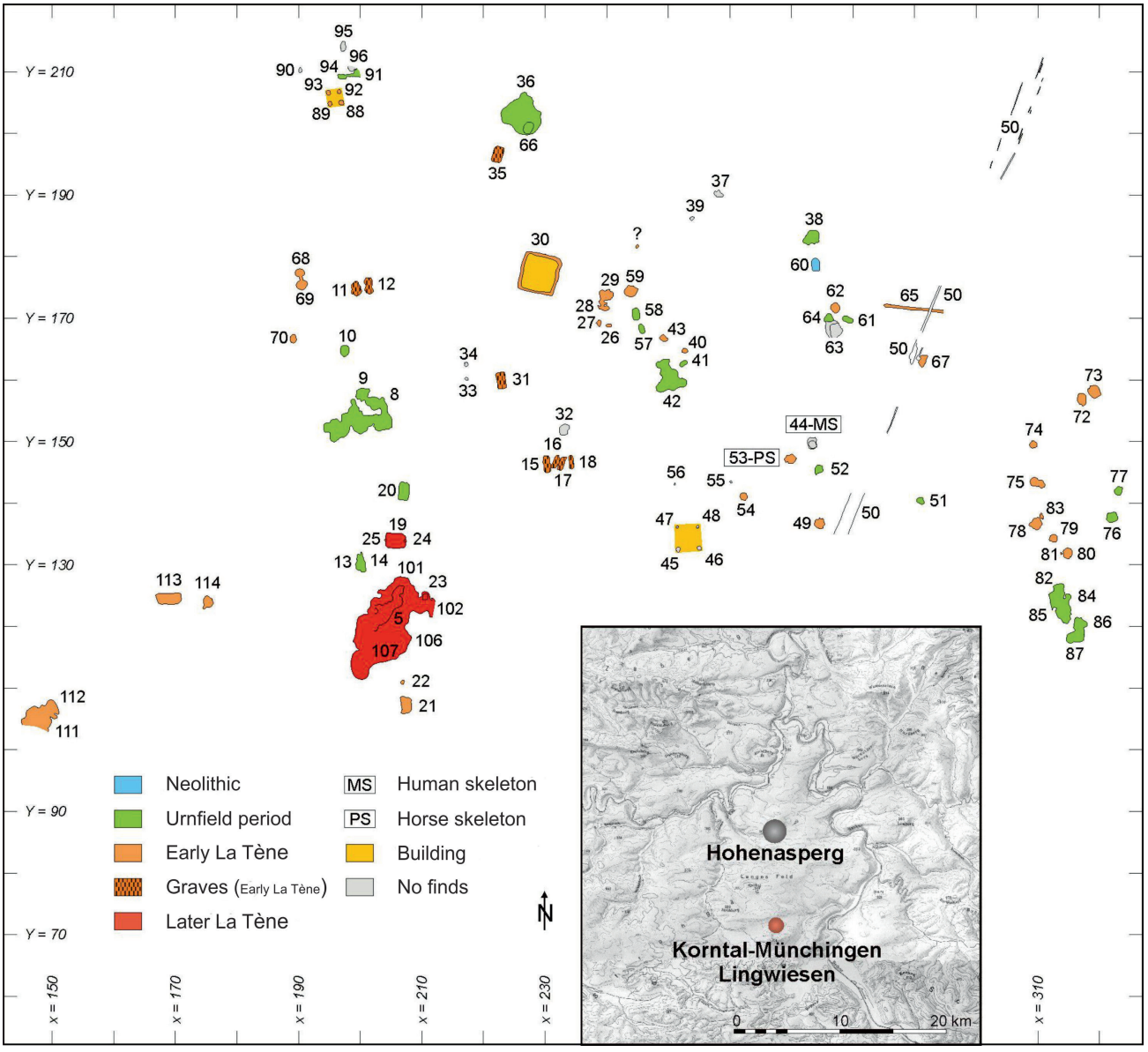


Figure 6.18. Korntal-Münchingen Lingwiesen, *excavation 1995-1998 (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im RP Stuttgart/Balzer 2010b, 221 Abb. 14).*

C2-D1; Stork 2007) and the farmsteads like the *Viereckschanzen*, a new settlement 'category' was now present: the *oppida* (von Nicolai this volume) – defined by John Collis (1984) as the 'earliest towns north of the Alps'. The dimensions of the *oppida* – see e.g. *Manching* (Ldkr. Pfaffenhofen an der Ilm; Bavaria) and the *Heidengraben* (Ldkr. Reutlingen and Stuttgart; Baden-Württemberg) – differ enormously from the size of the *Fürstensitze*: now ranging between 100 and 1700 ha, in comparison with 3 to 10 ha. The biggest of them, the *Heidengraben* and *Manching*, give us an explanation of why cemeteries of LT C and D are hard or impossible to find. At *Manching* (Krämer 1985), the *Hundsrucken* cemetery, with 22 burials, and *Steinbichel* cemetery, with 43 tombs, are known, but disarticulated human remains were also distributed across the settlement. The commingled body parts hint at different funerary practices, perhaps phased cremations (Hahn 1999). No cemeteries of the late La Tène period have yet been discovered at the *Heidengraben*, but, in an area of Hallstatt burial mounds, several places with ashes and animal bones have been located: perhaps they are also traces of alternative burial customs (Stegmaier this volume).

Figure 6.19. Glauburg-Glauberg*: aerial photo of the rebuilt Tumulus 1 and the ditch-system with the so-called processional street (centre). In the background, the densely wooded* Glauberg *with the hill fortification (photo: Keltenwelt am Glauberg/V. Rupp).*

Concluding remarks

To reconstruct prehistoric societies in a successful way it would be very useful to connect living places with cemeteries. However, even with the modern suite of methods – such as landscape archaeology and bioarcheology – this has proved problematic in the Iron Age of Germany.

In the Hallstatt period, the *princely* remains are striking, and it would seem logical that this special type of distinctive fortification should be linked with equally distinctive burials nearby. The state of research of most *Fürstensitze* in central Europe varies considerably, and has changed dramatically in the last two decades. Thanks to the development of non-invasive methods (geophysics and LiDaR), the focus of present research focuses particularly on the landscape. As a result, we know much more about some sites (e.g. the *Heuneburg* and the *Ipf*), but research is still ongoing and the final results are awaited. The in depth social interpretation of Siegfried Kurz about the structures from the *Heuneburg* are still the most effective, but are still at a preliminary stage.

The burial mounds of Hallstatt and the early La Tène period were built in a monumental way; sometimes even with stone walls around the barrow. They were constructed in a manner, which supposes that they were to be conspicuous in prehistoric times: they are integrated within a settlement region so as to act as more than a container for the dead. They could be a landmark, which means the marking of a river passage (*Remseck-Neckarrems*) or a long distance path (*Magdalenenberg*). They could announce a border or hint at a region's ownership, a representation of old and new power, or a symbol of ancestor worship (such as possibly at the *Heuneburg*). This style of burials and their visibility appears to be important, especially in the Hallstatt period. In early La Tène, the grave mounds themselves lost their function as a symbol. However the huge tumuli of the *Glauberg* are an exception in terms of monumentality – but not visibility. The two burial mounds were integrated within the

bank-ditch system in a very uneven landscape, and that is why they were visible *neither* from far away, *nor* from the hillfort and the outer settlements of the *Glauberg* itself!

From La Tène B onwards, the flat graves – inhumations in La Tène B, cremations in La Tène C-D – were not visible from far away. For the La Tène C and D period, it seems a twist of history that our historical sources (mainly Gaius Julius Caesar's *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*) described the places of the living, the names of the towns and *oppida*, and a strong social stratification – but the latter stratification is not overtly reflected in the graves. This is a situation particularly marked in Germany, although differences occur in both France to the West and Bohemia to the East.

We are left with the paradox that while increased urbanism is generally interpreted as increased social stratification, it is accompanied by apparently more equal and simple graves.

Acknowledgements

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