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## The Vekerzug and other Eastern cultures in the Czech Republic

### Vekerzugská a jiné východní kultury v České republice

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#### Abstract

Research on the Hallstatt and La Tène Periods in Bohemia and Moravia covers a number of important topics. So far out of the main interest is the increasing quantity of foreign artefacts which generally belong to the Vekerzug culture (or through its spreading objects of other Eastern cultures). The authors of this paper believe that their systematic evaluation is essential for progress in this area of research. The volume of individual artefacts and associated contexts is constantly increasing. This is due to systematic research conducted by archaeological institutions, extensive development-led excavations (construction of highways, expansion of industrial zones, etc.), and detector survey carried out by amateurs, which has been monitored with partial success. Systematic scientific research by specialists, however, still lags behind. This paper attempts to partly fill this gap.

#### Keywords

Early Iron Age, Hallstatt Period, Vekerzug culture, Bohemia and Moravia, 6th to 5th cent. BC, nomads, parasitic way of life

#### Abstrakt

Výzkum doby halštatské a laténské na území Čech a Moravy představuje celou řadu významných témat. Stranou hlavního výzkumného zájmu se nachází stále zvětšující se počet cizorodých předmětů, které můžeme přiřadit vekerzugské kultuře. Autoři tohoto příspěvku věří, že jejich systematické zhodnocení je pro výzkum zásadní. Pokrok přináší jednak systematický výzkum regionálních institucí při archeologických výzkumech (stavba dálnic, rozšiřování průmyslových zón ad.) a také amatérská prospekce, kterou se daří částečně úspěšně monitorovat. Zaostává avšak systematický zájem specialistů. Tento článek se pokouší situaci částečně napravit.

#### Klíčová slova

Starší doba železná, doba halštatská, vekerzugská kultura, Čechy a Morava, 6.-5. stol. př. n. l., nomádi, parazitický způsob života

## 1. Introduction

The Vekerzug and other Eastern cultures is a distinctive cultural element of the Hallstatt Period. This culture significantly affected central Europe during the Hallstatt period, but although it has their heritage in the La Tène Period, scholarly interest in the territorial closest Vekerzug culture does not match its importance. The proposed study seeks to present this syncretic culture according to both its geographical and chronological settings in the Czech Republic. The study also includes an up-to-date catalogue of archaeological sites of the culture, with many of them published for the first time.

## 2. The archaeological framework in Bohemia

Jiří Waldhauser

In Bohemia we know about over 20 triple-edged (and double-edged) bronze arrowheads that belong to the Hallstatt Period (Ha D stage) and to the La Tène Period (A–B1 period) (Fig. 1). These can be matched with arrows and reflective bows. We can say these arrowheads are still quite rare to find in Bohemia. The dating is based on the foreign system of A. I. Melyukova and V. G. Petrenko (34 types) which was specialized for Central Europe by J. *Chochorowski* (1985, 86–94, Abb. 25–27), who identified 41 types of arrowheads. The chronology of triple-edged arrowheads was questioned on principle (*Parzinger – Nekvasil – Barth* 1995, 65) with creation of a new one (*Hellmuth* 2006; *Kozubová* 2009; 2013). Triple-edged arrowheads with a long socket or a tang appeared in the northern part of Central Europe in the late Hallstatt Period, usually from the 6<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. Two other types of triple-edged arrowheads with unstrained socket, or without it, are examples of later shapes

that were appearing until the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and that were common in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries (in Bohemia they are present in the end of the 5<sup>th</sup>, or the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC). It appears there was a trend of shortening length of arrowheads – from elongated shapes to shorter and broader ones; choked sockets changes into unitary shapes. It is not easy to date these arrowheads according to contextual findings because they are only rarely found in enclosed finding sets. It is also possible they got into this sets after a long usage. Four arrowheads belong rather to the late Hallstatt Period (e.g. Karlovice 1–3, Minice-Kralupy nad Vltavou 1); four triple-edged arrowheads belong to the beginning of the early La Tène Period (e.g. Měrunice 1). Some of them are products of later development (e.g. Lhota 1–3, Vrbice 1–2), one arrowhead belongs to the beginning of the La Tène Period stage LT B1 (Tuchomyšl 1). Most of the trilateral arrowheads cannot be dated precisely; in some cases we do not even know an exact shape of them.

The highest percentage of metal arrowheads comes from hillforts (or from high ground sites), fewer from funeral sites, with the remaining arrowheads from lowland settlements. Double-edged arrowheads appear mostly in mound burials with luxurious artifacts, triple-edged arrowheads are from “common” graves. There are no other extraordinary aspects, except for the geographical differences – triple-edged arrowheads usually appear in flat areas of north-western Bohemia, double edged (and other so called Scythian artifacts) are found in the southern half of the Bohemian Basin. In Moravia J. *Nekvasil* described (1993, 367) a presence of “Scythian” material culture as: “scattered in all land, especially in hillforts of the Hallstatt culture people.” The situation is similar in Silesia (*Bukowski* 1977b); while there were extraordinary findings in both lands (Býčí skála Cave, Witazskovo). In the Rheine and Upper Dan-

ube region there were few sporadic findings. The epicenter of Eastern (nomadic) findings in Central Europe is in the area of the Eastern Carpathian Basin with the Vekerzug culture (*Chochorowski 1985; 1998; Kemenzei 2005; 2009; Kozubová 2013*).

Current historical and cultural studies connect triple-edged arrowheads to invasions of Eastern nomads. They were usually labeled as Scythian, along with the invasion of Silesia at the end of the Hallstatt culture (newest: *Chytráček – Danielisová et al. 2010*, 164). Yet, these arrowheads did not have to be made by Scythian people, because in the mixed Vekerzug culture these arrowheads are a local Carpathian product. They were also used in Greek colonies in the Black Sea region and in many places in the Mediterranean, rarely in Central Europe, including famous Heuneburg. Nevertheless, Bohemia can be labeled as an area of sporadic presence of triple-edged arrowheads. We can say it is somehow in the middle between Scythian-nomadic and Greek-Eurasian appearance of them. There is a different situation with double-edged arrowheads, that were found in chieftains' tombs in Hochdorf, Hochmichele, tomb number 6 (51 pcs) and Glauberg (*Sievers – Urban – Ramsl 2012*, 1472–1473). There was a bow with a textile segment in Glauberg. Another example is a decorated part of a quiver that was found in the tomb in Chlum near Zbiroh (which is famous for its Etruscan pot; *Venclová ed. 2008*, pic. 75:9).

Bows, with arrowheads with two and three sides, represent a masculine weapon in the Iron Age. We believe that a bow with arrows might be a top attribute of an elite class of Celts since it was a hunting weapon (*Sievers – Urban – Ramsl 2012*, 1472–1473). The hypothesis of M. *Slabiņa* (2012, 822) specifies a usage of small arrowheads: “Considering their weight, and therefore a low penetration, we can say they were barely weapons. Yet, if you shoot at birds you have

a lower probability of a hit. Therefore, it was not a considerable loss, if you missed and lost this small amount of bronze.” The first discussion of Celts and bows is in Strabo's work (4, 4, 3); Caesar also mentions that Vercingetorix collected bows for a Gallic uprising (7, 31, 4). We can identify the discovery of 600 arrowheads in Alesia and another 700 in Uxelloduna as weapons of Vercingetorix's warriors (*Sievers – Urban – Ramsl 2012*, 1474). Pliny informs about the usage of poisoned arrowheads by Celts during a hunt (25, 5).

The survey of functional marks on arrowheads therefore suggests itself as a valuable source of data. Half of all arrowheads from Bohemia are not damaged. The other half shows a different picture: there are arrowheads with missing tips; deflected; deformed by impact. This suggests these arrowheads were used for shooting. There were some deformed arrowheads in a destruction layer in the early La Tène Period of the Závist (Lhota) site and also in graves in Vrbice 1–2 and Jenišův Újezd 1. Yet, the dating of triple-edged arrowheads is, cited by P. *Drda* and A. *Rybová* (2008, 65), years 510–440 BC, which contrasts with the supposed destruction of the site in the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. There is also no evidence of people being shot by a bow and arrow. Anthropological analysis of graves from Tuchomyšl 1, Vrbice 1–2, and Jenišův Újezd 1 found no traces on bones from arrowheads. We can assume, because of the inventory of graves (triple-edged arrowheads were present in all cases), that buried people were all females. In Tuchomyšl 1 there was a two and one-half year old child; in Jenišův Újezd there was a probable older female. There were not any graves that could be identified as a male burial.

The occurrence of the triple-edged arrowheads we are talking about is limited only to a northwest quadrant from Turnov in the north to Vrbice 1–2 in the west. So far there

have not been any discovered in two thirds of the whole populated area of the Bohemian Basin (west, south and east of the basin), with the exception of the site Sedlec 1. It is hard to tell if it is a coincidence. The other potential imports from the southeast in the centuries around the end of the Hallstatt culture and the beginning of the La Tène culture have been found only rarely. The place of their manufacturing had to be to the east of Bohemia: either in Moravia, in the Vekerzug culture territory in the Carpathian Basin or in north-east European area that stretches to the Ural Mountains. These few imported artifacts are (Venclová ed. 2008, 154–155): bronze snake-like earrings/temple rings (Břežánky 1, Chotýž 1, Kozinec 1, Sedlec 2); iron axes with an eye for a haft (Horoměřice1, Platěnice 1–2, Skalice 1); and iron axe with a bronze poll in a shape of a dragon head (Kaliště–Bezděkov 1).

Possibilities of an interpretation of triple-edged (including trilateral) bronze arrowheads in Bohemia are quite wide. The phenomenon of arrows with bronze arrowheads has its roots in the Barrow culture of the Middle Bronze Age (Jiráň ed. 2008, 115, pic. 68:14) and it continued until the late La Tène Period of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Iron arrowheads appeared at latest in the early La Tène Period, more probably at the end of the Hallstatt Period. It seems that arrows with iron arrowheads could be seen in Bohemia as an attribute of elite social class, because of the important (maybe privileged) role of the hunt. To date there is not an archaeological analysis of the usage of bone arrowheads. Yet, if we take a look at animals hunted during the following periods (e.g. rabbit, which we know from almost every larger discovery of animal bones) we have to admit that the existence of bows had to be much more common than discoveries of metal arrowheads show. The beginning of the usage of triple-edged arrows in Bohemia belongs with no doubt to the late Hallstatt Period. We know

more of them than double-edged. This might be explained by their intensive, and probably long-term, usage from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. We may not exclude a possibility that three triple-edged arrowheads are one of the marks of the destruction layer of the hillfort Závist (Lhota); all buildings in its acropolis, actually. There are also marks of active use of arrowheads. Specifically, these marks are broken tips, deformed shape, or discovery of other fighting equipment nearby (iron spearhead). *In situ* there is evidence of burned place (Drda – Rybová 2008, 65–66). Is it possible to connect the occurrence of triple-edged arrowheads in Závist with the end of the hillfort through a violent action? So far “the end” of Závist (and other hillforts) in a shift of stages LT A–B has not been precisely explained. It has been only connected with a migration of population from Bohemia to northern Italy (Venclová ed. 2008, 158). It is a noticeable fact that triple-edged arrowheads from graves in Vrbice 1–2 and Tuchomyšl I are of the same age. The same is probably true for the arrowhead from Měrunice 1 and many others. The question remains if the occurrence of triple-edged arrows in equipment relates to higher numbers of military artifacts from these (conflicted) periods or if arrowheads even indicate a presence of armed men from the Carpathian Basin. Yet it would be premature to answer this question without any discoveries from the LT A–B stages in Moravia. Related to this topic is a revision of archaeological sites in Silesia where triple-edged arrowheads occurred. The destruction layer of the Wicina hillfort, in which non-ritually buried skeletons were found, belongs to the LT A stage. Nevertheless, it is hard to archaeologically survey this period in Silesia because of its mostly featureless material culture.

The specific group of heterogeneous artifacts in Bohemia consists of shells that have been discovered in a context of the late Hallstatt and La Tène Periods, in both fortified and opened

settlements, as well as in Celtic graves. These shells are usually known by the name “*kauri*”. This topic so far has not been elaborated. It was possible to register at least 20 shells of snails and clams before 2009. These are either completely preserved specimens, sometimes with an added hole, or fragments. Usually there was one piece per site, rarely two pieces (Praha-Vinoř 1–2) and four pieces in one site (Radovesice 2–5). 80% of these shells are *kauri* (*Monetaria moneta*), 10% belongs to difficult to distinguishable species (*Cypraea tigris/pantherica*), and the rest are rare species. Contemporary habitat of the *Cypraeidae* family is, with an exception of three species, in the Indian Ocean and in the Pacific Ocean. Two sub-species live in the Red Sea, 2,500 kilometers from Bohemia. Only three species of *Cypraeidae* lives in the Mediterranean Sea; these species so far have not been identified among archaeological findings. Nevertheless, only 30 of 160 species of *Cypraeidae* have been identified by archaeologists and ethnologists as parts of material cultures of particular communities (Voigt 1952; Pflieger – Pradáč 1981). Shells of *kauri* either had a hole to add them to a neck ring or to a chain, or they were held on an organic string on a neck. In the late Hallstatt and La Tène Periods in Bohemia these shells obviously had a role as apotropaic amulets that served for the protection of their holder. They had these functions in ancient Egypt; in archaic Pacific societies (Pflieger – Pradáč 1981, 7–8); even until recently in south Italy, where specie of *Cypraea pyrum* was supposed to protect from infertility and STDs, and *Lurida lurida* was supposed to protect from tooth pain and bewitchery. All findings from Bohemia that could have been dated belong to stages from Ha D to LT B. It looks like that these customs did not survive to phases of oppidums (LT C2–D1). The occurrence of sea shells chronologically corresponds with the occurrence of glass beads. These beads could be manufactured in Bohemia, yet scholars recently

suggested possibilities of their import from areas around the Mediterranean Sea (Kutner 1995; Venclová ed. 2008). The finding of the *kauri* shell e.g. in Měrunice 3 unambiguously indicates contacts between Bohemian Celts and the ancient Mediterranean civilization. These findings of sea shells are as important for research of contacts of Celtic Bohemia with the Mediterranean as imports of classic pottery wares. Recently there was a monograph about these contacts (Bouzek 2007).

The statement that on the edge of the Hallstatt Period and La Tène Era a significantly evolved Euro-Africa-Asian trade (Čtverák 2005, 611) seems to be exaggerated. Yet, we have to admit that there is, so far, solitary evidence that comes into line with this, because an origin of the shell of *cypraea tigris* from Poříčany seems to be from Somalia. After all, there was recently a finding, a few centuries younger, of Asian silk in remains of an imported Roman vessel from Řepová (Březinová – Poppová-Urbancová 2009); there were also coins from the Seleucid Empire in the site (Waldhauser 2005). The same origin from Syria is seen in a case of the *arryballos* that was found in Strakonice (Michálek 1992). All these facts bring new data that was unthought-of in celtological research until recently; especially about distant (at least 6,000 km) contacts of Bohemia with Africa and Asia. What role the Vekerzug culture had in this remains unanswered for now, but it has to be said that the territory and dating of artifacts of the culture correlate with findings of *kauri* shells.

## Conclusion

Bow with metal arrowheads was not a common part of the material culture of (Celtic) population of the end of the Hallstatt Period and the beginning of the La Tène Period in Bohemia, although double-winglet arrowheads were used

since the Middle Bronze Age. It looks like in the beginning (Ha D – LT A) only the elite class used these arrowheads, while later they become more common. Since the LT C stage only iron arrowheads were manufactured.

If triple-edged arrowheads would be interpreted as an innovation or import of Vekerzug and other Eastern origin than we can conclude these were followed by other items; e.g. snake-like earrings/temple rings, “Eastern” iron axes etc. These artifacts could in this case indicate longer cultural influence that began in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, be the strongest in the 5<sup>th</sup> century and end in the very beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. There are two possible interpretations (Fig. 7):

1. „Scythian” items could be consequential imports from the Eurasian area or imports of the Vekerzug culture.

2. „Scythian” military artifacts are evidence of an invasion of nomadic people. It is possible that these artifacts that came to Silesia, from east to west, and follows the destruction of hillforts, could have reflection in Bohemia, in an area from the Jizera River, through Western-central Bohemia to the Ore Mountains and further to the South.

### 3. The archaeological framework in Moravia

Martin Golec

Why research on the Vekerzug culture (or through its spreading objects of other Eastern cultures)? The existing foreign Vekerzug culture artifacts belong to the Late Hallstatt Period (Ha D2, Ha D3), and the question of the Early La Tène Period (LT A1–2) remains open, when significant cultural changes are expressed in Moravia and other surrounding regions. In subsequent time periods were the gradual building and extinction of different ar-

chaeological structures that generated and influenced historical events unknown to us. We find the essential transformation of the landscape in Moravia in degrees Ha D1 (600–550 BC), Ha D2 (550–500 BC), Ha D3 (500–450 BC), LT A1–2 (450–370 BC) and LT B1 (from 370 BC). Infiltration/invasive artifacts of the Vekerzug culture in Moravia appeared in two of the named stages (Ha D2 and Ha D3; *Golec 2005b*). We believe that the events associated with them greatly affected the course of history. General disregard towards a research of foreign artifacts of the Vekerzug culture in Moravia can be a big mistake. The last synthesis of Moravian prehistory in 1993 – in “Prehistory of Moravia” (*Nekvasil 1993; Čížmář 1993*) – did not significantly form the historical framework. However, numerous works and new research in the neighboring regions allow progress in research. Except the introduction of new artifacts from Moravia, the authors decided for future discussion on the topic, to present the basic structure of time and space artifacts and outline the social role the Vekerzug culture in Moravia. Authors of the paper believe that the resulting symbiosis of two different social systems had a significant effect on the formation of the Early La Tène societies. This opinion has been expressed repeatedly by a number of foreign researchers in the past but the Moravian scientific community does not yet reflect this opinion. Importantly, due to new research, we now have findings of Vekerzug artifacts that are classified in two time stages – Ha D2, Ha D3. It is in this time period (550–450 BC) in the Vekerzug culture that we see a major social transformation of modern archaeological interpretation.

The last summary of so called Scythian militaria (more precisely bronze arrowheads) was created before an advent of metal detectors (*Říhouský 1996*). The amount has risen significantly in the last 20 years of this “detector age”

(Fig. 2–6). The Nekvasil's claim that “these artefacts are scattered all over Moravia” is still valid. We can find them in many regions and today an amount of attention paid to them is the most important thing. The largest part of the Vekerzug and other Eastern cultures artefacts consists of triple-edged arrowheads; there is a smaller portion of trilateral and double-edged arrowheads (Klápa 2006; *in press*). Also the number of snake-like earrings/temple rings is rising. A completely new type of item is a zoomorphic antler artefact in a shape of a beast that was found in a settlement object in Olomouc-Nemilany 1 (Fig. 6:116; Vránová 2013, p. 29–30, pic. 18). It comes from a collection of a bone-carving leavings (maybe from a workshop) from the Late Hallstatt Period object (stage Ha D2). The Vekerzug and other Eastern militaria can be found in lowlands and highlands sites. So far we do not know about any example from a grave. The dating of these artefacts is quite problematic since they are not usually found in countersunk complexes. If there are any exceptions (newly e.g. Olomouc-Nemilany 1, Hulín-Pravčice 1–2) they are from the Late Hallstatt Period stages. So far we do not know them for sure in the Ha D1 stage, in which we know a lot of graves. Therefore stages Ha D2 and Ha D3 represent a chronological framework of an appearance of the Vekerzug and other Eastern cultures artefacts. So far there is no complex that would confirm a dating into the LT A stage or younger.

*The timeless social phenomenon is hillforts.* These had different forms (size, fortification) and formed very different landscape structures (distance from each other, the presence or absence in the region of Moravia). Authors of this paper, in consensus with the general knowledge about societies of the Early Iron Age, consider hillforts as *archaeological manifestations of Hallstatt nobility and their organized societies*. It was a place in the landscape, that “formed

history.” In Ha D2 we find a network of dozens of hillforts with very small area of about one hectare. On and around them we find the oldest Vekerzug and other Eastern cultures findings – especially the so-called “Scythian arrows”. Their occurrence in older contexts is not known. These small refugia were built after period with general absence of any hillforts in Ha C1b – Ha C2. This structure in (Ha D1?) – Ha D2 is very different from the often very large hillforts in Ha B2/3 – Ha C1a. After the raid of the Vekerzug and other Eastern cultures in Ha D2, there are in Ha D3 generally no more known. There was also a general disappearance of nobility, especially their graves, which greatly contrasts with Ha C2 – Ha D1. Another new change occurred in LT A1–2, there was built a completely different landscape structure (Goláňová 2013; *in press*), we know some large hillforts mostly on new locations, are separated by a much larger spacing than in Ha D2, which identifies an entirely new social structure of landscape. „Invisible“ nomadic communities in archaeological contexts do not have to be in conformity with the true measure of the effects of the “course of history”. Generally, Scythians (or “Scythians”) and cooperating ethnicities with them were in contact with the Greeks for a long time, and also with the developed state formations in Asia. Scythian society reached the form of tribal confederations or even early states, while their dominion had a substantial territorial reach. In case of confrontation with Central European Hallstatt cultures had different/lower social structures, so there might be subsequent reaction in the transformation of social relations. We assume that the contact the Vekerzug and other Eastern cultures had with Hallstatt societies in Ha D2 was very destructive, which was caused by nomads attacking centers – small fortified hillforts. On them we find „Scythian militaria“, destructions and fires, accumulation of Hallstatt weapons, and



dead bodies. Long established landscape structure, including business network, was very degraded. It is conceivable that in Ha D2 – Ha D3 occurred in Moravia some form of subordination to Carpathian Vekerzug centers. In Ha D3 there has not been identified any Hallstatt power structure, we do not know fortified hillforts. This situation contrasts diametrically with the Western European Hallstatt, where escalations of expressiveness of nobility and its societies even enter into written history as the Celts. In areas of unstable neighborhoods of not too distant Carpathian Vekerzug center, Hallstatt Moravia shows in comparison with other regions evidently degradation period. Invasive “historical Celts” (if they existed) in LT B1 (from 370 BC) found landscapes in which there already was a new structure of hillforts in LT A1–2 (450–370 BC), that illustrates the recovery of social structures after the degradation in Ha D3. Moravia region finally got out of the influence of the Carpathian Vekerzug culture and starts the way into building early urban agglomerations of “historical Celts”.

## Conclusion

The amount of the Vekerzug culture findings (or through its spreading objects of other Eastern cultures) in Moravia has grown significantly because of metal detector surveying. Although only a fragment of findings is available to a scientific evaluation we can still assume, that processes connected to the Vekerzug culture in stages Ha D2 and Ha D3 were much ampler than we have supposed. The Vekerzug culture artefacts can be found throughout Moravia, in finding contexts that cue a lot. Noticeably they concentrate in small hillforts of the Hallstatt Period cultures, often in ramparts or under supposed stockades in outer parts of fortifications. We cannot explain this context any differently than

as evidence of fighting between native Hallstatt societies and an invasive aggressor. Destruction of hillforts is linked with a disappearance of manifestations of a nobility (we are speaking mainly about graves) in stages Ha D2 (later part = Parzinger 7b/c) and Ha D3 (Parzinger 8). We do not know any Vekerzug culture findings in the chronological stage LT A (Parzinger 9–10). Artefacts of the Vekerzug culture can be found also in lowland settlements. In regions that have been surveyed more recently we recognize these findings in many terrains. This situation probably reflects a possible reality in which we assume a political incorporation of Moravia into an area of power (tribal union) of the Vekerzug culture in the Carpathian Basin.

## 4. The perspective of Cultural Anthropology

Eva Čermáková

From the anthropological perspective, the Vekerzug culture presents a kind of cultural formation rising from the intensive interactions between the mainly sedentary local inhabitants (the Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène cultures in the Czech Republic) and the foreign – nomadic element (the Scythians or the scythoid cultures). The coexistence of sedentary societies (peasants) and nomads has in many cases symbiotic or even parasitical features, due to economical non-autarky of nomads, compensated however with often better battle skills, ensuing from the controlling of the horse power (*Khazanov 1994*).

Traces of mutual influence of both societies are quite invisible in the archaeological record. Nomads are somehow “invisible” because of their mobile way of life, which prevents them from producing (and leaving in the archaeological record) as much material culture as the peasants do (*Čermáková 2008, 7*). The nomads mainly become visible indirectly,

via their often catastrophic impacts noticeable on the “more materialized” companies of the peasants. Besides, it is not just by a chance, that the qualitatively new periods rise very often from the terrain adjusted by nomadic raids transforming, disturbing, or disposing the previous status quo. The role of nomads as a significant factor or catalyst of the history is almost omnipresent in space and time. It is the case of Cimmerians’ raid to middle Europe from the 10<sup>th</sup> century BC strongly decimating the autochthon population, or the case of the late Eneolithic beaker cultures forming a turning point between the old Eneolithic world and the new epoch of the Bronze Age, and, after all, it is also the case of Hungarian raids on Great Moravia, with all its impacts. The accompanying acculturation processes of both cultures are also worth mention. The „mixed“ cultures, such as the Mezöcsát culture, the Slavonic-Avaric culture, or the Vekerzug culture, are the result of the nomadic impact on the hosting (or exploited) peasant society. Although the nomads disappear relatively quickly from the archaeological record, much of their culture survives in the content of succeeding cultures, even if this fact is not always recognized. We suppose that the impact of scythoid cultures (the Vekerzug culture) does not finish with their assimilation or withdrawal, but in many cases continues as a part of the La Tène culture (cf. *Jacobsthal 1944; Guggisberg 1998*). It may be the influence of the Animal style on the mask fibulae, increased popularity of gold, spreading the prominent burial mounds – typical also for nomads (*Bouzek 2005, 88*). The issue of the influences of the nomads on the early La Tène culture is a complex one and worthy of further investigation. The heritage of the „invisible“ nomads in the frame of the early La Tène culture is probably much more significant than we are ready to admit.

## 5. Discussion – The Vekerzug and other Eastern cultures in the Czech Republic

Jiří Waldhauser / Martin Golec

Eva Čermáková

In the catalogue attached to this paper a broad collective of authors presents up to date available findings of the Vekerzug and other Eastern cultures in the Czech Republic. There are 217<sup>1</sup> pieces from Moravia and 62 pieces from Bohemia. Most of the findings (all are collection-registered) were discovered by metal detectors. We cannot make even a broad estimate about the amount of findings that are out of a science reach (1%?). Nevertheless, the amount we register is still a big progress in our knowledge of the topic. For this we have to thank many conscious finders and also to archaeologists that are willing to cooperate with them.

Distribution of the Vekerzug and other Eastern cultures artefacts shows considerable similarities in both regions of Moravia and Bohemia. They appear in two types of sites: 1. highland settlements/hillforts; 2. lowland settlements. They have not been found in any of the Hallstatt Period graves. These findings are from all settled areas of Moravia, but only from particular parts of Bohemia. In Bohemia we only find them in settled flatland areas from eastern and central parts of the region to northwest Bohemia. More hilly areas of western and southern Bohemia have not yet provided these findings or only few. It is not a coincidence that here we are able to observe an obvious continuity of a habitation with some very rich findings, that in other parts of named regions either completely (Moravia) or partially (Bohemia) disappeared.

In the Czech Republic a dating of the Vekerzug and other Eastern cultures findings is based on a chronological frame of a center of the culture. The westernmost part of the center of the culture is today Slovakia (and further

mainly Hungary), where the Vekerzug culture covered former areas of the Kalenderberg culture and other regions. First traces of the Vekerzug culture are dated into the Ha D1 stage (e.g. *Parzinger – Stegmann-Rajtár 1988; Hellmuth 2006; Kozubová 2013*). Yet, the new evaluation of findings from Moravia and Bohemia shows a later dating. The earliest possible dating in the Czech Republic is in the Ha D2 stage. Some studies use this dating as the stage of a first occurrence also for Slovakia (*Romsauer 1996*). The end of the Vekerzug culture took a longer time in Slovakia and it is possible that it survived to the early La Tène Period. In the Czech Republic is the last occurrence of the culture in the Ha D3 stage and in the LT A1–2 stage there is no evidence of it.

As for a typological composition: Bronze double-edged, triple-edged and trilateral arrowheads (along with less common four-sided arrowheads) are the most prevalent type of artefacts. Rarely there have been other items – akinakai (Moravia: Horákov); hammer-axes (Bohemia: Bezděkov-Kaliště 1, Horoměřice 1, Platěnice 1–2, Skalice 1; Moravia: Habrůvka 9–10, Křenov 1); parts of horse gear (Bohemia: Mikulovice 1; Moravia: Habrůvka 11–12); snake-like earrings/temple rings from a variety of metals are more common (Bohemia: Břežánky 1, Chotýš 1, Kozinec 1, Sedlec 2; Moravia: Diváky 1, Držovice 1, Hovorany 1, Ivančice 1, Kostelec na Hané 1–2, Měrovice nad Hanou 1–2 and 4–5, Ostrožská Nová Ves 2, Práče 1, Pustiměř 1, Slatinice 4, Suchohrdly 1, Vranovice 1) and roll-like sleeves („Vorvarka“) (Moravia: Habrůvka 13, Štramberk). So far a unique example of Vekerzug or other Eastern cultures art is a little head of a beast (Achaemenid culture tradition) carved from an antler, from Olomouc-Nemilany 1. This piece has a parallel only on an item from Mikulovice 1 and Libkovice 1. Also, findings of some seashells are probably connected with this culture (20pcs from Bohemia and 3pcs from Moravia). We also

know about 6 examples of pintaderas of this culture that have been found in Moravia (Hulín-Pravčice 1–2, Jamolice 1, Oslavany 2, Polešovice 1 and Vojkovice 1). Rarely there has also been pottery made with a potter's wheel (Moravia: Těšetice 1, Vyškov 1).

Scholars assume that in Moravia and Bohemia there was a symbiotic, or rather a parasitic, way of coexistence. It was enforced by a nomadic ethnic group, which had a partially nomadic way of life, on local societies of Hallstatt cultures. We even assume that flatland regions in Moravia and Bohemia were probably circa one century (550–450 BC) forcibly incorporated into a larger political formation of the Vekerzug culture (*Golec – Čermáková – Fojtík 2016*). There were similar situations in Moravia also in later eras of the Migration Period (the Hunnic Tribal Confederation) and of the Early Medieval Era (the Avar Khaganate and the Old-Hungarians Period).

## 6. The summary of findings in Bohemia

Jiří Waldhauser

1. **Blšany 1** (Louny Co), position: V úpatí Blšanského vrchu (“Slopes of the Blšany hill”); sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification *Mytilus sp.* (by K. Čtyřoký); provenience: probably sunken-floored house; dating: LT A; stored: -; literature: *Pleinerová – Pleiner 1981*, 163, pic. 4:2.
2. **Blšany 2** (Louny Co), position: V úpatí Blšanského vrchu (“Slopes of the Blšany hill”); sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification *Mytilus sp.* (by K. Čtyřoký); provenience: probably sunken-floored house; dating: LT A; stored: -; literature: *Pleinerová – Pleiner 1981*, 163, pic. 4:2.
3. **Břežánky 1** (Teplice Co), position -; bronze (copper) snake-like earring/temple ring

- with a gold (electrum) surface; dimension:-; provenience: -; dating: Ha D; stored: -; literature: *Venclová ed. 2008*, 134, pic. 86:8.
4. **Čáslav 1** (Kutná hora Co), position: hillfort Hrádek; bronze triple-edged arrowhead; provenience: -; storage: -; literature: *Preidel 1934; Bukowski 1977a*, 252.
  5. **Čelákovice 1** (Praha-východ Co), position: -; sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification: *Cypraea moneta* (by -); provenience: sunken-floored house (?), object n. 2; dating: LT A; stored: -; literature: *Venclová 1973*, 629.
  6. **Čížkovice 1** (Litoměřice Co), position: -; sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification *Cypraea moneta* (by P. Sankot); provenience: princely grave(s), attached to a bronze chainlet with 60 links; dating: Ha D2 – LT A; stored: -; literature: *Filip 1956*, 339; *Sankot 2000*, 108.
  7. **Dobrovíz 1** (Praha-západ Co), position: -; sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification *Monetaria moneta* (by J. Hlaváč); provenience: nearby object No. 152; dating: turn of the Early Iron Age and the Late Iron Age; stored: The Archaeological institute of the Czech academy of sciences (AÚ AV ČR) Prague; literature: *Řídký 2007*, 7.
  8. **Doly-Rabouň 1** (Chrudim Co), position: hillfort Žižkovy šance; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 33 mm; max wid 6,5 mm; socket diam 3 mm; provenience: -; dating: -; stored: The Regional Museum in Chrudim; literature: unpublished; provided by: J. Musil.
  9. **Horoměřice 1** (Praha-západ Co), position: -; iron hammer-axe; len 173 mm; provenience: -; stored: The National Museum Prague; literature: *Vokolek 2009*; provided by: V. Čiřtáková.
  10. **Chotýš 1** (Kolín Co), position: -; nearby the village; bronze snake-like earring/temple ring with an electrum surface; diam 18–21 mm, thkns 5 mm; provenience: settlement feature 7; dating: Ha D3 – LT A; stored: The Archaeological institute for the care of the archaeological heritage (ÚAPPŠČ) in Prague; literature: *Beneš – Čiřtáková 2015* (in press).
  11. **Jenišův Újezd 1** (Teplice Co), position: Výsypka Velkodolu Maxim Gorkij (“the Spoil tip of the Great mine Maxim Gorkij”); bronze double-edged arrowhead with an outer socket, broken at the tip; len 16 mm; max wid 10 mm; socket diam 3 mm; provenience: grave 113; dating: LT B2b; stored: The Regional Museum in Teplice; literature: *Waldhauser Hrs. 1978*, 89–90, Taf. 34:9288, 5:4.
  12. **Jirny 1** (Praha-východ Co), position: -; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 32 mm; max wid 7 mm; socket diam 5 mm; provenience: -; dating: -; stored: The National Museum Prague; literature: *Slabina 2012*, 821, pic. 2:1.
  13. **Kaliště-Bezděkov 1** (Klatovy Co), position: -; iron hammer-axe with a bronze poll; len 170 mm; provenience: barrow; dating: Ha D2 – LT A; stored: -; literature: *Bukowski 1977a*, 255, Abb. 6:d; *Šaldová 1978*, 415, 120:8; *Venclová ed. 2008*, 121, pic. 75:4.
  14. **Karlovice 1** (Semily Co), position: Čertova ruka; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 36 mm; max wid 8 mm; socket diam 5 mm; provenience: rockhouse “Nováková pec”; dating: III stage of the Silesia-Platenice culture, Ha D?; stored: The Museum of the Bohemian Paradise in Turnov; literature: *Waldhauser 1979*, 573, pic. 1:1.
  15. **Karlovice 2** (Semily Co), position: Čertova ruka; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 27 mm; max wid 8 mm; socket diam 5 mm; provenience: rockhouse “Nováková pec”; dating: III stage of the Silesia-Platenice culture, Ha D?; stored: The Museum of the Bohemian Paradise in

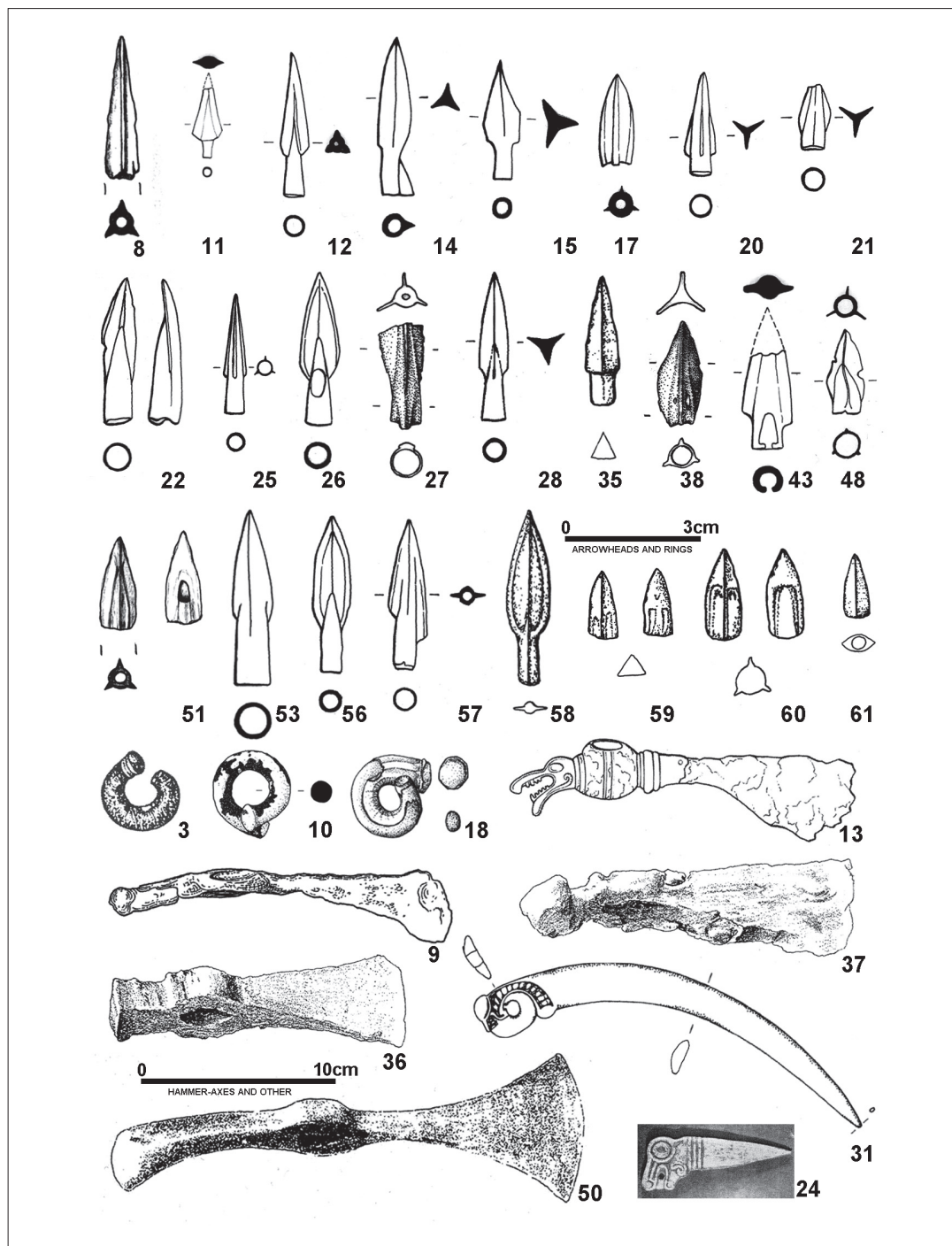
- Turnov; literature: *Waldhauser 1979*, 573, pic. 1:2.
16. **Karlovice 3** (Semily Co), position: rock-house Praděd; sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification *Cypraea sp.* (by -), *Cypraea pantherina* (by J. Hlavač); len 54 mm (circa 25% of the original size); provenience: fourth layer from the top; dating: the Silesia-Platenice culture; stored: The Museum of the Bohemian Paradise in Turnov; literature: *Filip 1947*, 229.
  17. **Kostelní Hlavno 1** (Mladá Boleslav Co), position: nearby the village; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 20 mm; max wid 8 mm; socket diam 5 mm; provenience: stored: The Regional Museum of Praha-východ; literature: unpublished; provided by: J. Waldhauser
  18. **Kozinec 1** (Praha-východ Co), position: Holubí Háj; bronze snake-like earring/temple ring with an electrum surface; diam 19 mm, thkns 4–5 mm; provenience: nearby sunken-floor house; dating: LT A; stored: -; literature: *Stolžová – Šulová 2011*, 349–365, pic. 8:1.
  19. **Krpy 1** (Mladá Boleslav Co), position: -; sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification *Monetaria moneta /L/* (by J. Hlaváč); provenience: found by T. Gajdoš; dating: Ha D-LT A; stored: The Museum of the Mladá Boleslav region; literature: *Waldhauser 2002*, 117, not depicted.
  20. **Lhota 1** (Praha-západ Co), position: hillfort Závist; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 23 mm; max wid 7 mm; socket diam 5 mm; provenience: the D construction, inside a burned layer near a bottom and an edge; dating: third level of LT A; stored: AÚ AV ČR Prague; literature: *Drda – Rybová 2008*, 47, 65–66, pic. 50:2.
  21. **Lhota 2** (Praha-západ Co), position: hillfort Závist; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket, broken at a tip; len 13 mm; max wid 7 mm; socket diam 5 mm; provenience: -; dating: third level of LT A; stored: AÚ AV ČR Prague; literature: *Drda – Rybová 2008*, 47, 65–66, pic. 50:3.
  22. **Lhota 3** (Praha-západ Co), position: hillfort Závist; bronze double-edged arrowhead with an outer socket, deformed tip; len 30 mm; max wid 7 mm; socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; dating: third level of LT A; stored: AÚ AV ČR Prague; literature: *Drda – Rybová 2008*, 47, pic. 50:4.
  23. **Lhota 4** (Praha-západ Co), position: hillfort Závist; sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification *Cypraea* (by -); provenience: -; dating: 450–400 BC; stored: AÚ AV ČR Prague; literature: *Drda – Rybová 1995*, 80.
  24. **Libkovice 1** (Most Co), position: -; bone artefact with a head of a bird of prey; dimensions: -; dating: -; stored: missing; literature: *Preidel 1934*, Taf. 39:5; *Bukowski 1977a*, 255, Abb. 6:c.
  25. **Libkovice 2** (Most Co), position: -; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 26 mm; max wid 5 mm; socket diam 4 mm; provenience: a survey of a road construction; dating: -; stored: The Archaeological institute for the care of the archaeological heritage (ÚAPPSČ) Most; literature: unpublished; provided by: J. Waldhauser.
  26. **Lichoceves 1** (Praha-západ Co), position: Okoř; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 35 mm; max wid 9 mm; socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; dating: -; stored: The National Museum Prague; literature: *Bukowski 1977a*, 253, Abb. 6a.
  27. **Lišice 1** (Hradec Králové Co), position: Na Bílých, parcel No. 326/1; triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket and a tang, broken at a tip; len 24 mm; max wid 10 mm; socket diam 5,5 mm; provenience: founding of J. Skála -; dating: -; stored: The Museum of Eastern Bohemia Hradec

- Králové; literature: unpublished; provided by M. Novák.
28. **Měrunice 1** (Teplice Co), position: hillfort (?) Stříbrník; triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 33 mm; max wid 7 mm; socket diam 5 mm; provenience: object n. 1466 – sunken-floored house, sector 4; dating: Ha D – LT A1; stored: The Regional Museum in Teplice; literature: unpublished; provided by J. Waldhauser.
  29. **Měrunice 2** (Teplice Co), position: hillfort (?) Stříbrník; triple-edged arrowhead; dimensions: -; provenience: object No. 1466 – sunken-floored house, surface layer; dating: Ha D – LT A1; stored: The Regional Museum in Teplice; literature: unpublished; provided by J. Waldhauser.
  30. **Měrunice 3** (Teplice Co), position: hillfort (?) Stříbrník; sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification *Monetaria moneta* /L/ (by J. Hlaváč); provenience: object No. 1791; dating: Ha D – LT A; stored: The Museum of the Mladá Boleslav region; literature: provided by J. Waldhauser.
  31. **Mikulovice 1** (Pardubice Co), position: V Loučkách; part of a horse gear made from bone; len 209 mm; max wid 25 mm; max h 12 mm; provenience: sunken-floored house, object 1889; dating: 500–450 BC; stored: -; literature: *Frolík – Sedláček 2015*, 27–41.
  32. **Milčice 1** (Nymburk Co), position: -; sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification *Cypraea rufa* (by V. Ziegler); provenience: skeletal grave 2/77, part of a neck-ring; dating: LT B1(a); stored: -; literature: *Sedláčková – Waldhauser 1987*, 148, pic. 22:8.
  33. **Minice-Kralupy nad Vltavou 1** (Mělník Co), position: hillfort Minice-Kralupy nad Vltavou IV, V Rusavkách; bronze triple-edged arrowhead; dimensions: -; provenience: -; dating: Ha D; stored: The National Museum Prague; literature: *Chytráček – Danielisová – Trefný – Slabina 2010*, 161–162, Abb. 7:1.
  34. **Myštice 1** (Litoměřice Co), position: Goldberg; bronze trilateral arrowhead; dimensions: -; provenience: cremation; dating: Ha D – LT A (LT A more likely); storage: -; literature: *Preidel 1934*, 216.
  35. **Pěšice 1** (Ústí nad Orlicí Co), position: hillfort SW from the village; bronze trilateral arrowhead with an outer socket; len 29 mm, max wid 7 mm, socket diam 7 mm; provenience: survey by D. Vích and his coworkers; stored: The Regional Museum in Vysoké Mýto; literature: unpublished; provided by: D. Vích.
  36. **Platěnice 1** (Pardubice Co), position: -; iron hammer-axe with gold inlay; len 150 mm; provenience: grave the Silesian-Platěnice culture; stored: The National Museum Prague; literature: *Venclová ed. 2008*, 91, pic. 50:26.
  37. **Platěnice 2** (Pardubice Co), position: -; iron hammer-axe; len 170 mm; provenience: grave the Silesian-Platěnice culture; stored: The National Museum in Prague; literature: *Venclová ed. 2008*, 91, pic. 50:27.
  38. **Plotiště nad Labem 1** (Hradec Králové Co), position: Na Přímských; triple-edged arrowhead; len 21 mm; max wid 9 mm; socket diam 3,5 mm; provenience: found by Š. Čabák; stored: The Museum of Eastern Bohemia Hradec in Králové; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Novák.
  39. **Poříčany 1** (Nymburk Co), position: -; sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification: *Cypraea tigris* (by V. Pflieger); provenience: -; dating: Ha D – LT A; stored: ÚAPPSČ Praha; literature: *Čtverák 1986*, 113.
  40. **Praha-Dejvice 1** (Praha 6 Co), position: -; sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification: probably *Cypraidae/Monetaria monetai* (by J. Hlaváč); provenience: skeletal

- grave; dating: LT B (maybe the Migration period); literature: *Bureš – Waldhauser 2005*, 750, pic. on p. 75.
41. **Praha-Vinoř 1** (Praha 9 Co), position: Kamenný stůl; sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification: *Agathis australis* („*kauri*“) (by: -); provenience: surface collection; dating: Ha D or LT B–D; stored: collection of V. Daněček; literature: *Turek – Daněček – Kostka 1998*, 122, pic. 11:3.
42. **Praha-Vinoř 2** (Praha 9 Co), position Kamenný stůl; sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification: *Monetaria moneta* (L.) (by J. Hlaváč); len 19 mm; provenience: settlement, surface collection; stored: collection of V. Daněček; dating: Ha D – LT (settlement); literature: unpublished; provided by J. Waldhauser.
43. **Radovesice 1** (Teplice Co), position: Výsypka Velkodolu Maxim Gorkij („the spoil tip of the Great mine Maxim Gorkij“); bronze double-edged arrowhead, broken at a tip; len 22 mm; max wid 11 mm; socket diam: 7 mm; provenience: object 136, sunken-floored house; dating: Ha D; stored: The Regional Museum in Teplice; literature: *Waldhauser Hrsg. 1993*, 22, 75, 417, Abb. 196.
44. **Radovesice 2** (Teplice Co), position: Výsypka Velkodolu Maxim Gorkij („the spoil tip of the Great mine Maxim Gorkij“); sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification: *Monetaria moneta* /L/ (by I. Flasar); provenience: sunken-floored house (type 250); dating: Ha D2; stored: The National Museum Prague; literature: *Waldhauser Hrsg. 1993*, 345; *Flasar 1993*, 155, Taf. 1.
45. **Radovesice 3** (Teplice Co), position Výsypka Velkodolu Maxim Gorkij („the spoil tip of the Great mine Maxim Gorkij“); sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification: *Monetaria moneta* /L/ (by I. Flasar); provenience: sunken-floored house (type 250); dating: LT A; stored: The National Museum Prague; literature: *Waldhauser Hrsg. 1993*, 345; *Flasar 1993*, 155, Taf. 1.
46. **Radovesice 4** (Teplice Co), position Výsypka Velkodolu Maxim Gorkij („the spoil tip of the Great mine Maxim Gorkij“); sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification: *Monetaria moneta* /L/ (by I. Flasar); provenience: sunken-floored house (type 250); dating: Ha D2; stored: The National Museum Prague; literature: *Waldhauser Hrsg. 1993*, 345; *Flasar 1993*, 155, Taf. 1.
47. **Radovesice 5** (Teplice Co), position Výsypka Velkodolu Maxim Gorkij („the spoil tip of the Great mine Maxim Gorkij“); sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification: *Monetaria moneta* /L/ (by I. Flasar); provenience: sunken-floored house (type 231); dating LT A; stored: The National Museum Prague; literature: *Waldhauser Hrsg. 1993*, 345; *Flasar 1993*, 155, Taf. 1.
48. **Sedlec 1** (České Budějovice Co), position -; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 19 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: settlement, trench enclosing, found in a bowl; dating: the end of the Hallstatt Period; stored: The Museum of Southern Bohemia in České Budějovice; literature: *Břicháček – Braun – Košnar 1991*, 444.
49. **Sedlec 2** (České Budějovice Co), position -; bronze snake-like earring/temple ring with an electrum surface; diam 20 mm, hgt 16 mm, thkns 6–7 mm; provenience: found by J. Lang; stored: -; literature: *John – Štěpánek 2012*, 244.
50. **Skalice 1** (Tábor Co), position -; iron hammer-axe with a shaft hole; len 240 mm; provenience: barrow, rich grave; dating: Ha D2–3; stored: -; literature: *Bukowski 1977a*, 255, Abb. 6:e; *Venclová ed. 2008*, 23, 121, pic. 75:5.

51. **Topol 1** (Chrudim Co); position: Na Skále (foreground of the Topol hillfort); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 22 mm; max wid 7,5 mm; socket diam 4 mm; provenience: found by V. Dotzauer; stored: The Regional Museum in Chrudim; literature: unpublished; provided by: J. Musil.
52. **Tuchoměřice 1** (Praha-západ Co), position -; sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification: *Cypraea rufa* (by -); provenience: object 7; dating: LT A; stored: The Museum of Central Bohemia in Roztoky u Prahy; literature: *Sankot 2000*, 108.
53. **Tuchomyšl 1** (Ústí nad Labem Co), position -; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 39 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 8 mm; provenience: skeletal grave n. 4; dating: LT B1a-b; stored: The Town Museum of Ústí nad Labem; literature: *Waldhauser 1987*, 155, Taf. 32:8, 44:2; *Koutecký 2004*, pl./pic. 4:3.
54. **Tuchomyšl 2** (Ústí nad Labem Co), position -; sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification: “*kauri*” (by -); provenience: object No. 3; dating: probably Ha D2; literature: *Simbriger 1938*, 18–23; *Koutecký 2004*, 628, 630–631, pl. 4:3, tab. 3, tab. 4:16–29.
55. **Tuněchody 1** (Chrudim Co), position -; sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacological identification: *Monetaria moneta* /L/ (by J. Hlaváč); provenience: sunken-floored house; dating: Ha D2; stored: (temporarily) The Department of Archaeology of the University in Hradec Králové; literature: *Tichý – Dohnálková, H. a I. – Thér 2007*, 19–20.
56. **Vrbice 1** (Rakovník Co), position: Chmelnice, in a direction to Kolečov; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 35 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: (probably) female cremation; dating: LT A2; stored: The Regional Museum in Teplice; literature: *Preidel 1934*; *Budinský 1981*, 88, 90–91, No. 2.
57. **Vrbice 2** (Rakovník Co), position Chmelnice, in a direction to Kolečov; bronze double-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; 34 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: (probably) female cremation; dating: LT A2; stored: The Regional Museum in Teplice; literature: *Preidel 1934*, 127–128, Taf. 39:1–3; *Budinský 1981*, 88, 90–91, n. 2.
58. **Vysoké Mýto 1** (Ústí nad Orlicí Co), position: site Vysoké Mýto 2; bronze double-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 39 mm, max wid 10 mm; socket diam 6 mm; provenience: survey of a settlement by D. Vích; stored: The Regional Museum in Vysoké Mýto; literature: unpublished; provided by: D. Vích.
59. **Vysoké Mýto 2** (Ústí nad Orlicí Co), position: site Vysoké Mýto 2; bronze trilateral arrowhead with an inner socket; len 16 mm, max wid 7 mm; socket diam 7 mm; provenience: survey of a settlement D. Vích; stored: The Regional Museum in Vysoké Mýto; literature: unpublished; provided by: D. Vích.
60. **Vysoké Mýto 3** (Ústí nad Orlicí Co), position: site Vysoké Mýto 2; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 20 mm, max wid 7 mm; socket diam 7 mm; provenience: survey of a settlement D. Vích; stored: The Regional Museum in Vysoké Mýto; literature: unpublished; provided by: D. Vích.
61. **Vysoké Mýto 4** (Ústí nad Orlicí Co), position: site Vysoké Mýto 2; bronze four-lateral arrowhead with an inner socket; len 19 mm, max wid 7 mm; socket diam 6 mm; provenience: survey of a settlement D. Vích; stored: The Regional Museum in Vysoké Mýto; literature: unpublished; provided by: D. Vích.





**Fig. 1.** Vekerzug and other Eastern findings from Bohemia (numbers correspond to the catalog, see above).

**Obr. 1.** Vekerzugské a jiné východní nálezy z Čech (čísla odpovídají katalogu, viz výše).

62. **Želkovice 1** (Beroun Co), position: -; bronze double-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 30 mm, max wid 10 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: barrow, grave with wagon; dating: LT A; stored: The National Museum Prague; literature: *Felcman 1900–1901*, 171, tab. XXI:3.

## 7. The summary of findings in Moravia

Martin Golec

1. **Biskupice 1** (Prostějov Co), position: -; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket and a tang; len 27 mm; max wid 7 mm; socket diam 5 mm; provenience: found by J. Paluřík; dating: -; stored: The Comenius Museum in Přerov; literature: unpublished; provided by: Z. Schenk and O. Klápa.
2. **Blučina 1** (Brno-venkov Co), position: the Cezavy hillfort; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 37 mm; max wid 10 mm; socket diam 3 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: *Říhouský 1996*, 147, Taf. 28:497.
3. **Boršice u Blatnice 1** (Uherské Hradiště Co), position: hillfort Hradištsko (Lipinka); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 36 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
4. **Boršice u Blatnice 2** (Uherské Hradiště Co), position: hillfort Hradištsko (Lipinka); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket and a tang; len 32 mm; max wid 9 mm; socket diam 7 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
5. **Boršice u Blatnice 3** (Uherské Hradiště Co), position: hillfort Hradištsko (Lipinka); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 25 mm, max wid 6 mm; socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; stored: The museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
6. **Brusné 1** (Kroměříž Co), position: castle Křídlo; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 28 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: found on a SW slope under the castle Křídlo; stored: -; literature: unpublished; provided by: E. Čermáková.
7. **Brusné 2** (Kroměříž Co), position: castle Křídlo; bronze double-edged arrowhead with an outer socket and a tang; len 34 mm, max wid 10 mm, socket diam 7 mm; provenience: found on a SW slope under the castle Křídlo; stored: -; literature: unpublished; provided by: E. Čermáková.
8. **Brusné 3** (Kroměříž Co), position: castle Křídlo; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket and a tang; len 35 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: found on a SW slope under the castle Křídlo; stored: -; literature: unpublished; provided by: E. Čermáková.
9. **Diváky 1** (Břeclav Co), position: Nedánov; bronze snake-like earring/temple ring; diam 19 mm, hgh 17 mm; thkns 5 mm; provenience: found by M. Hajný; dating: -; stored: the storage of the Institute of Archaeology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno; literature: unpublished; provided by: B. Komoróczy and T. Merta.
10. **Doubravice 1** (Šumperk Co), position: Kouřilka; triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 23 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm, provenience: found by J. Plaňava; stored: The Regional Museum

- in Šumperk; literature: unpublished; provided by: B. Tomešová.
11. **Doubravice 2** (Šumperk Co); position: Kouřilka; triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 24 mm, max wid 10 mm, socket diam 6 mm, provenience: found by J. Plaňava; stored: The Regional Museum in Šumperk; literature: unpublished; provided by: B. Tomešová.
  12. **Doubravice 3** (Šumperk Co), position: Kouřilka; triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 27 mm, max wid 7 mm, socket diam 5 mm, provenience: found by J. Zapletal; stored: The Regional Museum in Šumperk; literature: unpublished; provided by: J. Zapletal.
  13. **Drahanovice 1** (Olomouc Co), position: -; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 24 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: found by P. Faltýnek; stored: -; literature: unpublished; provided by P. Šín.
  14. **Držovice 1** (Prostějov Co), position: Horka; bronze snake-like earring/temple ring with an electrum (?) surface; diam 21–22 mm, hgh 19 mm; thkns 5–6 mm; provenience: found by R. Skácel; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: unpublished; provided by: P. Fojtík and M. Popelka.
  15. **Držovice 2** (Prostějov Co), position: Horka; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 25 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: found by M. Malý; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: unpublished; provided by: P. Fojtík and M. Popelka.
  16. **Držovice 3** (Prostějov Co), position: Horka; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 22 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: found by T. Jursa; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: unpublished; provided by: P. Fojtík.
  17. **Držovice 4** (Prostějov Co), position: Díly odvrahoviční; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 25 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: found by M. Popelka; stored: (temporarily) ÚAPP Brno; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Popelka.
  18. **Habrůvka 1** (Blansko Co), position: the Býčí skála cave; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 33 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: the survey of a cave sanctuary in Předstín; stored: The Vienna Museum of Natural History; literature: *Nekvasil 1995*, 243–244, Taf. 27:304; summary *Říhouský 1996*, 138, Taf. 28:477.
  19. **Habrůvka 2** (Blansko Co), position: the Býčí skála cave; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 33 mm, max wid 7, socket diam 5 mm; provenience the survey of a cave sanctuary in Předstín; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: *Nekvasil 1995*, 243–244, Taf. 27:306; summary *Říhouský 1996*, 138, Taf. 28:478.
  20. **Habrůvka 3** (Blansko Co), position: the Býčí skála cave; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket, broken near the socket; len 21 mm, max wid 6 mm, socket diam 4 mm; provenience: the survey of a cave sanctuary in Předstín; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: *Nekvasil 1995*, 243–244, Taf. 27:300; summary *Říhouský 1996*, 139, Taf. 28:480.
  21. **Habrůvka 4** (Blansko Co), position: the Býčí skála cave; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket, broken near the socket; len 25 mm, max wid 7 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: the survey of a cave sanctuary in Předstín; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: *Nekvasil 1995*, 243–244, Taf. 27:301; summary *Říhouský 1996*, 139, Taf. 28:481.

22. **Habrůvka 5** (Blansko Co), position: the Býčí skála cave; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket, broken at a tip; len 15 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: the survey of a cave sanctuary in Předsíň; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: *Nekvasil 1995*, 243–244, Taf. 27:299; summary *Říhouský 1996*, 140, Taf. 28:485.
23. **Habrůvka 6** (Blansko Co), position: the Býčí skála cave; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 32 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: the survey of a cave sanctuary in Předsíň; stored: The Vienna Museum of Natural History; literature: *Nekvasil 1995*, 243–244, Taf. 27:305; summary *Říhouský 1996*, 144, Taf. 28:490.
24. **Habrůvka 7** (Blansko Co), position: the Býčí skála cave; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket, broken at the socket; len u tulejky odlomená; len 27 mm, max wid 10 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: the survey of a cave sanctuary in Předsíň; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: *Nekvasil 1995*, 243–244, Taf. 27:303; summary *Říhouský 1996*, 144, Taf. 28:491.
25. **Habrůvka 8** (Blansko Co), position: the Býčí skála cave; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket, broken near the socket; len 27 mm, max wid 11 mm, socket diam 4 mm; provenience: the survey of a cave sanctuary in Předsíň; stored: The Vienna Museum of Natural History; literature: *Nekvasil 1995*, 243–244, Taf. 27:302; summary *Říhouský 1996*, 144, Taf. 28:492.
26. **Habrůvka 9** (Blansko Co), position: the Býčí skála cave; iron hammer-axe; len 157 mm; provenience: the survey of a cave sanctuary in Předsíň; stored: The Vienna Museum of Natural History; literature: *Nekvasil 1995*, 244, Taf. 29:314.
27. **Habrůvka 10** (Blansko Co), position: the Býčí skála cave; iron hammer-axe; len 166 mm; provenience: the survey of a cave sanctuary in Předsíň; stored: The Vienna Museum of Natural History; literature: *Nekvasil 1995*, 244, Taf. 29:315.
28. **Habrůvka 11** (Blansko Co), position: the Býčí skála cave; antler/bone cheek part of a horse gear; len 199 mm; provenience: the survey of a cave sanctuary in Předsíň; stored: The Vienna Museum of Natural History; literature: *Nekvasil 1995*, 244, Taf. 31:327.
29. **Habrůvka 12** (Blansko Co), position: the Býčí skála cave; bronze sleeve in a shape of a beast's paw; len 33, wid 16 mm, hgt 15 mm; provenience: the survey of a cave sanctuary in Předsíň; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: *Nekvasil 1995*, 244, Taf. 31:325.
30. **Habrůvka 13** (Blansko Co), position: the Býčí skála cave; the roll-like sleeve; len cca 30 mm; provenience: the survey of a cave sanctuary in Předsíň; stored: missing; literature: *Skutil 1943*, 81, Abb. 1:7; *Klápa 2016*, 81–82.
31. **Horákov 1<sup>2</sup>** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket and a tang; len 37 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm, provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
32. **Horákov 2** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 28 mm, max wid 7 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.

33. **Horákov 3** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket and a tang; len 25 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
34. **Horákov 4** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 38 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
35. **Horákov 5** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 22 mm, max wid 7 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
36. **Horákov 6** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket and a tang; len 33 mm, max wid 7 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
37. **Horákov 7** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 30 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 7 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
38. **Horákov 8** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 27 mm, max wid 7 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
39. **Horákov 9** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 19 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 4 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
40. **Horákov 10** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 25 mm, max wid 7 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
41. **Horákov 11** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 33 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 7 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
42. **Horákov 12** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket and a tang; len 32 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
43. **Horákov 13** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len

- 30 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
44. **Horákov 14** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket and a tang; len 34 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
45. **Horákov 15** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket and a tang; len 39 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
46. **Horákov 16** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 34 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
47. **Horákov 17** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 34 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
48. **Horákov 18** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 27 mm, max wid 10 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
49. **Horákov 19** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 27 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
50. **Horákov 20** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 27 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
51. **Horákov 21** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 26 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
52. **Horákov 22** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 27 mm, max wid 7 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
53. **Horákov 23** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 22 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.

54. **Horákov 24** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 26 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
55. **Horákov 25** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 23 mm, max wid 7 mm, socket diam 2 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
56. **Horákov 26** (Brno-venkov Co), position: hillfort of Horákov castle (the hillfort that predates the castle); bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 15 mm, max wid 7 mm, socket diam 2 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Ostrožská Lhota; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Dufka and D. Válek.
57. **Hovorany 1** (Hodonín Co), position: Konopiska na Pískách; snake-like earring/temple ring with an electrum surface; len 32 mm, hgt 33 mm, thkns 10 mm; provenience: found by L. Kotásek, stored: The Masaryk Museum in Hodonín; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Popelka
58. **Hrubčice 1** (Prostějov Co), position: Ostrov; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 25 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: found by R. Környei; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: unpublished; provided by: P. Fojtík.
59. **Hrubčice 2** (Prostějov Co), position: Ostrov; bronze snake-like earring/temple ring with an electrum surface; diam 19 mm, hgt 18 mm, thkns 7 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Čižmář, I. Čižmář and P. Fojtík.
60. **Hulín-Pravčice 1** (Kroměříž Co), site Hulín-Pravčice 2, position: Višňovce; the ceramic pintadera with a handle, with three concentric circles; len 42 mm, thkns 42, hgt 53 mm; provenience: emergency excavation, settlement, obj. No. 639; dating: charred wood from the obj. No. 639 was dated to years 2505 ±25 BP (laboratory in Oxford, calibrated); stored: (temporarily) The Archaeological Centre in Olomouc; literature: *Kalábek 2008*, 330; 2012.
61. **Hulín-Pravčice 2** (Kroměříž Co), site Hulín-Pravčice 2, position: Višňovce; (broken) ceramic pintadera without handle with a meander; len 30 mm, thkns 30 mm, hgt 6 mm; provenience: emergency excavation, settlement, sunken-floored house, obj. No. 3817; stored: (temporarily) The Archaeological Centre in Olomouc; literature: *Kalábek 2008*, 330; 2012.
62. **Chornice 1** (Svitavy Co), site Chornice 2c; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 30 mm; max wid 8 mm; socket diam 8 mm; provenience: survey of a polycultural lowland site by D. Vích; stored: The Regional Museum in Vysoké Mýto; literature: unpublished; provided by: D. Vích.
63. **Chvalčov 1** (Kroměříž Co), position: Hostýn; triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket, broken at a tip; len 25 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6; provenience: an excavation of a fortification, burned layer; dating: late Hallstatt Period; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: *Čižmář 1995*, 210, Abb. 1:2; *Parma 2012*, tab. 105:1.
64. **Ivančice 1** (Brno-venkov Co), position: the brick-kiln of Panovský family; bronze snake-like earring/temple ring with silver-coated (?) surface; diam 18–20 mm, hgt 17 mm, thkns

- 6 mm; provenience: Survey of V. Čapek; stored: The Museum of Moravia in Brno; literature: *Skutil 1943*, 81–82, Abb. 1:9.
65. **Ivančice 2** (Brno-venkov Co), position: the brick-kiln of Panovský family; sea gastropod/bivalvia; malacozoological identification: -; literature: *Skutil 1943*, 83.
66. **Ivančice 3** (Brno-venkov Co), position: the brick-kiln of Panovský family; bronze “scythian” arrowhead; rozměry: -; provenience: -; stored: missing; literature: summary *Říhouský 1996*, 148.
67. **Jamolice 1** (Znojmo Co), position: the Čertova hráz hillfort; ceramic circle pin-tadera with a broken handle; len 38 mm; provenience: found on a hillfort; stored: -; literature: unpublished; provided by P. Knotek and J. Kučová.
68. **Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou 1** (Třebíč Co), position: -; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 18 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 4 mm; provenience: found in a settlement; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: summary *Říhouský 1996*, 143, Taf. 28:487.
69. **Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou 2** (Třebíč Co), position: -; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 18 mm, max wid 7 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: found in a settlement; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: summary *Říhouský 1996*, 145, Taf. 28:494.
70. **Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou 3** (Třebíč Co), position: -; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 24 mm, max wid 9, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: found in a settlement; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: summary *Říhouský 1996*, 145, Taf. 28:496.
71. **Jevíčko 1** (Svitavy Co), position: -; bronze arrowhead; provenience: found by M. Kejzlar; stored: -; literature: unpublished; provided by P. Fojtík.
72. **Jevíčko 2** (Svitavy Co), position: -; bronze arrowhead; provenience: found by M. Kejzlar; stored: -; literature: unpublished; provided by P. Fojtík.
73. **Kojetín 1** (Přerov Co), position: Babiny; triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 28 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: found by J. Paluřík; stored: The Komenský Museum in Přerov; literature: unpublished; provided by Z. Schenk.
74. **Kojetín 2** (Přerov Co), position: Babiny; triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 30 mm, max wid 7 mm, socket diam 5–6 mm; provenience: found by J. Paluřík; stored: The Komenský Museum in Přerov; literature: unpublished; provided by Z. Schenk.
75. **Kojetín 3** (Přerov Co), position: Babiny; trilateral arrowhead with an outer socket; len 31 mm, max wid 7 mm, socket diam 7 mm; provenience: found by J. Paluřík; stored: The Komenský Museum in Přerov; literature: unpublished; provided by: Z. Schenk.
76. **Kojetín 4** (Přerov Co), position: Babiny; bronze double-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 21 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: found by M. Šolc in a Platěnice culture settlement; stored: (temporarily) The Archaeological Centre in Olomouc; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Kalábek.
77. **Kojetín 5** (Přerov Co), position: Babiny; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 27 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: found by M. Šolc in a Platěnice culture settlement; stored: (temporarily) The Archaeological Centre in Olomouc; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Kalábek.
78. **Koryčany 1** (Kroměříž Co), position: Debrečín; bronze double-edged arrowhead



- with an outer socket; len 23 mm, max wid 10 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: found by P. Šín on a slope under the Cimburk castle; stored: -; literature: unpublished.
79. **Kostelec na Hané 1** (Prostějov Co), position: Dolní smoluse; bronze snake-like earring/template ring with an electrum (?) surface; diam 18 mm, hgt 18 mm, thkns 5–6 mm; provenience: found by M. Popelka; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Popelka.
80. **Kostelec na Hané 2** (Prostějov Co), position: Trněnka; bronze snake-like earring/template ring; diam 20–22 mm, hgt 14 mm, thkns 5 mm; provenience: found by T. Jursa; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: unpublished; provided by: P. Fojtík.
81. **Kostelec na Hané 3** (Prostějov Co), position: Trněnka; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 20 mm, max wid 9 mm; socket diam 5 mm; provenience: found by M. Popelka; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Popelka.
82. **Křenov 1** (Svitavy Co), position: joining of hollow ways to Pohledy; iron hammer-axe; len 218 mm; provenience: survey of a pre-historical road by D. Vích; stored: The Regional Museum in Vysoké Mýto; literature: unpublished; provided by: D. Vích.
83. **Křenovice 1** (Přerov Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; bronze trilateral arrowhead with an outer socket; len 25 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of the Kroměříž Region; literature: summary *Říhouský 1996*, 140, Taf. 28:484.
84. **Křenovice 2** (Přerov Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 31 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of the Kroměříž Region; literature: summary *Říhouský 1996*, 143, Taf. 28:486.
85. **Křenovice 3** (Přerov Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; bronze trilateral arrowhead with an outer socket; len 29 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: found by J. and M. Kejzlar; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: *Hlava 2002*, 121–122, pic. 1:1.
86. **Křenovice 4** (Přerov Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; bronze trilateral arrowhead with an outer socket; len 33 mm, max wid 10 mm, socket diam 7 mm; provenience: found by J. and M. Kejzlar; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: *Hlava 2002*, 121–122, pic. 1:2.
87. **Křenovice 5** (Přerov Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; bronze trilateral arrowhead with an outer socket; len 32 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: found by J. and M. Kejzlar; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: *Hlava 2002*, 121–122, pic. 1:3.
88. **Křenovice 6** (Přerov Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 27 mm, max wid 10 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: found by J. and M. Kejzlar; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: *Hlava 2002*, 121–122, pic. 1:4.
89. **Křenovice 7** (Přerov Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; bronze double-edged arrowhead with an outer socket and a tang; len 36 mm, max wid 10 mm, socket diam 7 mm; provenience: found by J. and M. Kejzlar; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: *Hlava 2002*, 121–122, pic. 1:5.
90. **Křenovice 8** (Přerov Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; bronze double-edged arrowhead with an outer socket and a tang;

- len 35 mm, max wid 10 mm, socket diam 7 mm; provenience: found by J. and M. Kejzlar; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: *Hlava 2002*, 121–122, pic. 1:6.
91. **Křenovice 9** (Přerov Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; bronze double-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 33 mm, max wid 10 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: found by J. and M. Kejzlar; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: *Hlava 2002*, 121–122, pic. 1:7.
92. **Křenovice 10** (Přerov Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 26 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: found by J. and M. Kejzlar; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov literature: *Hlava 2002*, 121–122, pic. 1:8.
93. **Křenovice 11** (Přerov Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; bronze double-edged arrowhead with an outer socket and a tang; len 33 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: found by Z. and D. Smrž; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: *Hlava 2002*, 121–122, pic. 1:9.
94. **Křenovice 12** (Přerov Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket and a tang; len 39 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: found by Z. and D. Smrž; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: *Hlava 2002*, 121–122, pic. 1:10.
95. **Křenovice 13** (Přerov Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 32 mm, max wid 12 mm, socket diam 7 mm; provenience: found by Z. and D. Smrž; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: *Hlava 2002*, 121–122, pic. 1:11.
96. **Křenovice 14** (Přerov Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; bronze trilateral arrowhead with an outer socket; len 28 mm, max wid 10 mm, socket diam 9x3 mm (deformed); provenience: found by Z. and D. Smrž; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: *Hlava 2002*, 121–122, pic. 1:12.
97. **Křenovice 15** (Přerov Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; bronze trilateral arrowhead with an outer socket; len 31 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 6 mm, provenience: found by Z. and D. Smrž; stored: Muzeum Prostějovska v Prostějově; literature: *Hlava 2002*, 121–122, pic. 1:13.
98. **Křenovice 16** (Přerov Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; trilateral arrowhead with an outer socket; len 27 mm, max wid 11 mm; socket diam 6–7 mm; provenience: found by L. Dokoupil; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: unpublished; provided by: Z. Schenk.
99. **Křenovice 17** (Přerov Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort (opposite hill to Popůvky); bronze trilateral arrowhead with an outer socket; len 33 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 7 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Komenský Museum in Přerov; literature: unpublished; provided by: Z. Schenk a O. Klápa.
100. **Křenovice 18** (Přerov Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort (opposite hill to Popůvky); bronze trilateral arrowhead with an outer socket; len 37 mm, max wid 8 mm; socket diam 6 mm; provenience: survey by Z. Schenk; stored: The Komenský Museum in Přerov; literature: unpublished; provided by: Z. Schenk.
101. **Křenovice 19** (Přerov Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; bronze trilateral arrowhead with an outer socket; len 31 mm, max wid 8 mm; socket diam 8 mm; provenience: survey by Z. Schenk; stored: The Komenský Museum in Přerov; literature: unpublished; provided by: Z. Schenk and O. Klápa.
102. **Křepice 1** (Znojmo Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; bronze triple-edged

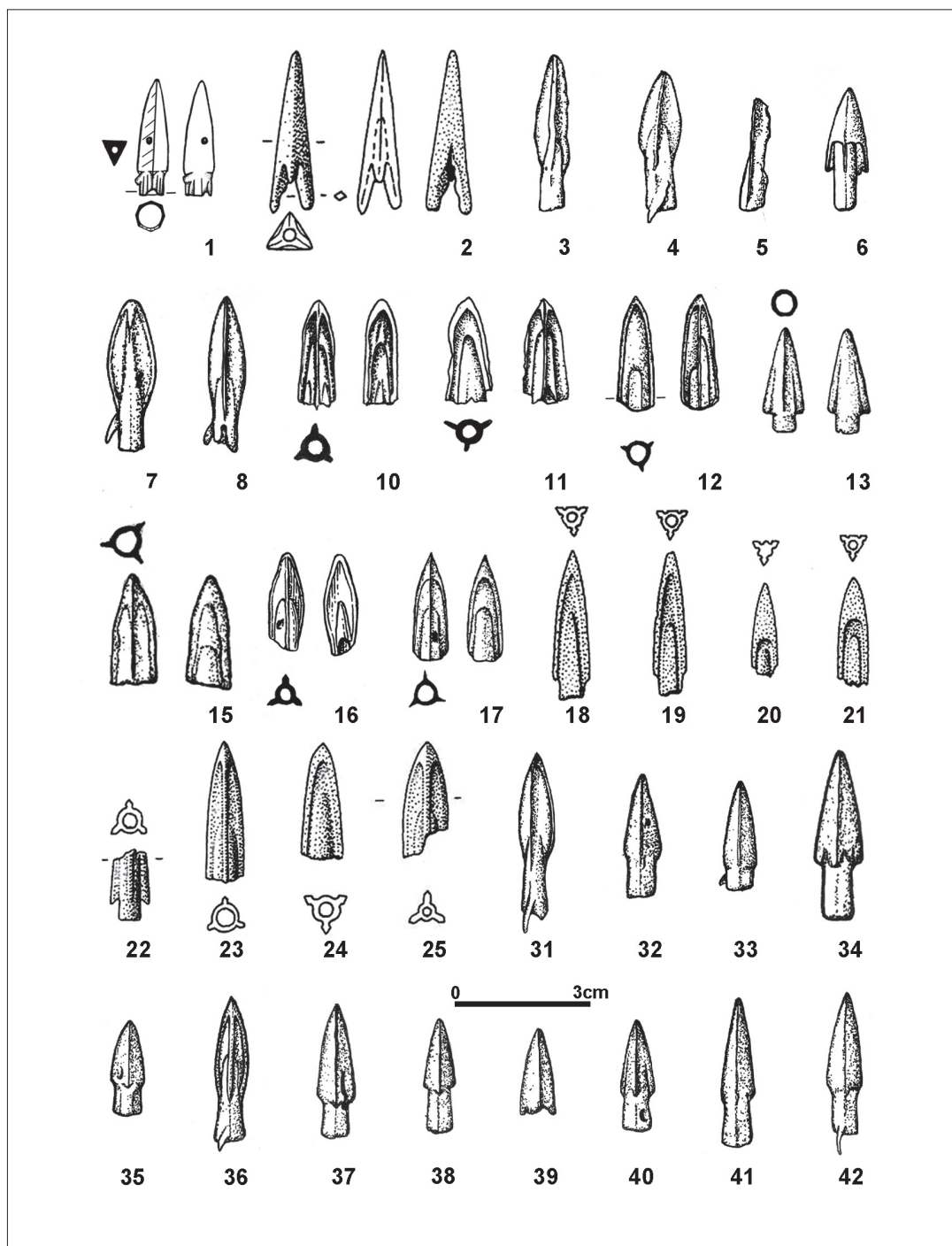
- arrowhead with an outer socket; len 20 mm, max wid 7 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: summary *Říhouský 1996*, 139, Taf. 28:479.
103. **Křepice 2** (Znojmo Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 17 mm, max wid 7 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: summary *Říhouský 1996*, 143, Taf. 28:488.
104. **Křepice 3** (Znojmo Co), position: the Hradisko hillfort; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket, broken near socket; len 18 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: summary *Říhouský 1996*, 144, Taf. 28:489.
105. **Lutotín 1** (Prostějov Co), position: Zadní hony; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 18 mm, max wid 8 mm; socket diam 6 mm; provenience: survey by M. Popelka; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: unpublished; provided by: P. Fojtík.
106. **Lutotín 2** (Prostějov Co), position: Zadní hony; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 38 mm, max wid 8 mm; socket diam 6 mm; provenience: found by J. Kaláb; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Popelka.
107. **Malé Hradisko 1** (Prostějov Co), position: the Staré Hradisko hillfort, bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket trnem, len 33 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: summary *Říhouský 1996*, 138, Taf. 28:473.
108. **Měrovice nad Hanou 1** (Prostějov Co), position: Babiny; bronze snake-like earring/temple ring; diam 18 mm, hgt 17 mm, thkns 5–6 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Čižmář, I. Čižmář and P. Fojtík.
109. **Měrovice nad Hanou 2** (Přerov Co), position: Babiny; bronze snake-like earring/temple ring; diam 18 mm, hgt 17 mm, thkns 5–6 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Čižmář, I. Čižmář and P. Fojtík.
110. **Měrovice nad Hanou 3** (Přerov Co), position: Babiny; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 27 mm, max wid 9 mm; socket diam 5 mm; provenience: found by L. Dokoupil; stored: The Komenský Museum in Přerov; literature: unpublished; provided by: Z. Schenk.
111. **Měrovice nad Hanou 4** (Prostějov Co), position: Babiny; bronze snake-like earring/temple ring with lengthwise rib; diam 17 mm, hgt 13 mm, thkns 5 mm; stored: -; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Čižmář, I. Čižmář and P. Fojtík.
112. **Měrovice nad Hanou 5** (Prostějov Co), position: Babiny; bronze snake-like adversely corded earring/temple ring; diam 15 mm, hgt 13 mm, thkns 4–5 mm; stored: -; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Čižmář, I. Čižmář and P. Fojtík.
113. **Mohelnice 1** (Šumperk Co), position: Mýto; triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 34 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm, provenience: found by V. Flášar; stored The Regional Museum in Šumperk; literature: unpublished; provided by: B. Tomešová.
114. **Mohelnice 2** (Šumperk Co), position: Mýto; triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 22 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5 mm, provenience: found by V. Flášar; stored The Regional Museum in

- Šumperk; literature: unpublished; provided by: B. Tomešová.
115. **Náměšť na Hané 1** (Olomouc Co), position: Za hřbitovem; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 27 mm, max wid 8 mm; socket diam 5 mm; provenience: found by T. Přidal; stored: (temporarily) The Archaeological Centre in Olomouc; literature: unpublished; provided by: P. Fojtík.
116. **Něčice 1** (Kroměříž Co), position: -; bronze trilateral arrowhead with an outer socket and a tang; len 28 mm; max wid 8 mm; socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -, stored: The Museum of southeast Moravia in Zlín; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Daňhel.
117. **Nezamyslice 1** (Prostějov Co), position: -; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 28 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5,5 mm; provenience: -; stored: missing; literature: summary *Říhouský 1996*, 135, Taf. 28:475.
118. **Olomouc-Nemilany 1** (Olomouc Co), Bylinková street; a head of a beast carved from an antler; hgt 50 mm, thkns 44 mm, outer socket diameter 23 mm, inner socket diameter 13 mm; provenience: settlement, obj. No. 30; dating: Ha D2 – 3, the object was absolutely dated (laboratory in Poznan, 2415±30 BP, not calibrated); stored: (temporarily) The Archaeological Centre in Olomouc; literature: *Vránová 2013*, 30, pic. 18.
119. **Olbramovice 1** (Znojmo Co), position: the Leskoun hillfort; bronze “scythian” arrowhead; len 40 mm; provenience: -; stored: missing; literature: summary *Říhouský 1996*, 148.
120. **Oslavany 1** (Brno-venkov Co), position: the Náporky hillfort; bronze trilateral arrowhead; len 28 mm, max wid 10 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; literature: summary *Říhouský 1996*, 144–145, Taf. 28:493.
121. **Oslavany 2** (Brno-venkov Co), position: the Náporky hillfort; ceramic pintadera without a handle with a triangular and meander motifs; len 45 mm, thkns 45 mm, hgt 6 mm; provenience: -; literature: *Skutil 1957*, 120; *Podborský 1970*, Abb. 32:9, Taf. XIX:16; *1974*, Taf. XI:14).
122. **Ostrožská Nová Ves 1** (Uherské Hradiště Co), position: Padělky; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 20 mm, max wid 7 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Moravian Slovakia in Uherské Hradiště; literature: unpublished; provided by: J. Bartík.
123. **Ostrožská Nová Ves 2** (Uherské Hradiště Co), position: Padělky; bronze snake-like earring/temple ring; diam 18 mm, hgt 12 mm; thkns 4 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Moravian Slovakia in Uherské Hradiště; literature: unpublished; provided by: J. Bartík.
124. **Polešovice 1** (Uherské Hradiště), position: Nivy; ceramic pintadera with a swastika; len 50 mm; provenience: excavation, settlement, obj. No. P66–59; dating: Ha D2 – Ha D3; stored: The Museum of Moravian Slovakia in Uherské Hradiště; literature: *Goláňová-Vlasatíková 2005–2006*, 150–152, pic. 2:1a-b.
125. **Polkovice 1** (Přerov Co), position: Ostrov; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 33 mm, max wid 7 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: survey of The Moravian Museum in Brno and the Institute for the Care for Archaeological Heritage in Brno; stored The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: *Čižmář – Čižmářová – Kejzlar – Kolníková 2008*, 127, pic. 4:7.
126. **Polkovice 2** (Přerov Co), position: Ostrov; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 32 mm, max wid 10 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: found by Z. Brázda; stored: The Komenský Museum in Přerov; literature: unpublished; provided by: Z. Schenk.

127. **Práče 1** (Znojmo Co), position: U Prosiměřic, bronze snake-like earring/temple ring with a corded rib with an electrum (?) surface; diam 18 mm, hgt 17 mm; thkns 6–7 mm; provenience: found by V. Ryšavá; stored: The Museum of Southern Moravia in Znojmo; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Popelka and D. Rožnovský.
128. **Prosiměřice 1** (Znojmo Co), position: U Kyjovic; triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 20 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: found by J. Fisher, stored: The Museum of Southern Moravia in Znojmo; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Popelka.
129. **Provodov 1<sup>3</sup>** (Zlín Co), position: hillfort Rýsov, bronze trilateral arrowhead with an outer socket, broken at a socket; len 25 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: found by M. Ručka; stored: the Museum of southeast Moravia in Zlín; provided by J. Langová and O. Klápa.
130. **Provodov 2** (Zlín Co), position: the Rýsov hillfort, bronze trilateral arrowhead with an outer socket, broken at a socket, len 24 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: found by M. Ručka; stored: The Museum of southeast Moravia in Zlín; provided by J. Langová and O. Klápa.
131. **Provodov 3** (Zlín Co), position: the Rýsov hillfort, bronze trilateral arrowhead with an outer socket; len 22 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: found by M. Ručka; stored: The Museum of southeast Moravia in Zlín; provided by J. Langová and O. Klápa.
132. **Pustiměř 1** (Vyškov Co), position: Farské; bronze snake-like earring silver-plated; diam 16–18 mm; hgt 13 mm, thkns 4 mm; provenience: found by Z. Smrž NE from a village nearby a spring; stored -; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. and I. Čižmář and P. Fojtík.
133. **Radslavice 1** (Vyškov Co), position: hillfort Zelená Hora; bronze trilateral arrowhead with an inner socket; len 35 mm, max wid 11 mm, socket diam 8 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Archaeological Institute of the Czech Academy of Science in Brno; literature: *Říhouský 1996*, 138, Taf. 28:476.
134. **Rymice 1** (Kroměříž Co), position: Újezdy; bronze snake-like earring/temple ring; diam 16–17,5 mm, hgt 16 mm, thkns 5 mm; provenience: found by J. Neradilek; stored: The Museum of Southeast Moravia in Zlín; literature: unpublished; provided by: I. Čižmář and P. Fojtík.
135. **Slatinice 1** (Olomouc Co), position: Stráž; bronze arrowhead with an inner socket; len 20 mm, thkns 8 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: found by T. Jursa; stored: (temporarily) The Institute for Care for the Archaeological Heritage Brno; literature: unpublished; provided by P. Fojtík.
136. **Slatinice 2** (Olomouc Co), position: Stráž; bronze arrowhead with an inner socket; len 26 mm, thkns 10 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: found by T. Jursa; stored: (temporarily) The Institute for Care for the Archaeological Heritage Brno; literature: unpublished; provided by P. Fojtík.
137. **Slatinice 3** (Olomouc Co), position: Stráž; malacozoological identification: sea gastropod/bivalvia; provenience: found by M. Burget; stored: (temporarily) The Institute for Care for the Archaeological Heritage Brno; literature: unpublished; provided by P. Fojtík.
138. **Slatinice 4** (Olomouc Co), position: Vrchy; bronze snake-like earring/temple ring, silver-plated; diam 20, hgt 18 mm, thkns 5 mm; provenience: field survey of M. Popelka; stored: (temporarily) stored: The Institute for Care for the Archaeological Heritage Prostějov; literature: unpublished; provided by M. Popelka.

139. **Slatinky 1** (Prostějov Co), position: Močičky; malacozoological identification: sea gastropod/bivalvia; provenience: found by K. Hubáček; malacozoological identification: -; stored: (temporarily) The Institute for Care for the Archaeological Heritage Brno; literature: unpublished; provided by: P. Fojtík.
140. **Služín 1** (Prostějov Co), position: Plachý; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 24 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5–6 mm; provenience: found by T. Jursa; stored: (temporarily) The Institute for a Care for the Archaeological Heritage in Brno (ÚAPP Brno); literature: unpublished; provided by: P. Fojtík.
141. **Služín 2** (Prostějov Co), position: Plachý; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 23 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: found by T. Jursa; stored: (temporarily) ÚAPP Brno (see above); literature: unpublished; provided by: P. Fojtík.
142. **Smržice 1** (Prostějov Co), position: Trávníky u Ostrova; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 22 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: found by R. Környei; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: unpublished; provided by: P. Fojtík.
143. **Smržice 2** (Prostějov Co), position: Trávníky u Ostrova; bronze arrowhead with an inner socket, but without wings; len 18 mm, max wid/socket diam 5 mm; provenience: found by R. Környei; stored: (temporarily) The Institute for Care for the Archaeological Heritage Brno; literature: unpublished; provided by: P. Fojtík.
144. **Smržice 3** (Prostějov Co), position: Trávníky, by a stream; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 28 mm, max wid 10 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: found by M. Popelka; stored: (temporarily) The Institute for Care for the Archaeological Heritage Brno; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Popelka.
145. **Strážnice 1** (Hodonín Co), position: Paterý hony; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 35 mm, max wid 10 mm; socket diam 6 mm; provenience: found by J. Koryčanský in a polycultural lowland settlement; stored: The Masaryk Museum in Hodonín; literature: unpublished; provided by: J. Šmerda.
146. **Suchohrdly 1** (Znojmo Co), over the dam II; bronze snake-like earring/temple ring with a decorated ending with an electrum (?) surface; diam 19–21 mm, hgt 20 mm, thkns 6–7 mm; provenience: survey by R. Bíško; stored: the storage of the Department of Archaeology and Museology of the Masaryk University Brno; literature: *Bíško 2011*, 109, 3:4; *Šabatová 2013*, 30.
147. **Štramberk 1<sup>4</sup>** (Nový Jičín Co), position: the Čertova díra Cave; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 43 mm, max wid 12 mm, socket diam 9 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: summary *Říhouský 1996*, 137, Taf. 28:471.
148. **Štramberk 2** (Nový Jičín Co), position: the Čertova díra Cave; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 38 mm, max wid 10 mm, socket diam 7 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: summary *Říhouský 1996*, 137, Taf. 28:472.
149. **Štramberk 3** (Nový Jičín Co), position: the Čertova díra Cave; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 39 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 8 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: summary *Říhouský 1996*, 140, Taf. 28:482.
150. **Štramberk 4** (Nový Jičín Co), position: the Čertova díra Cave; bronze triple-

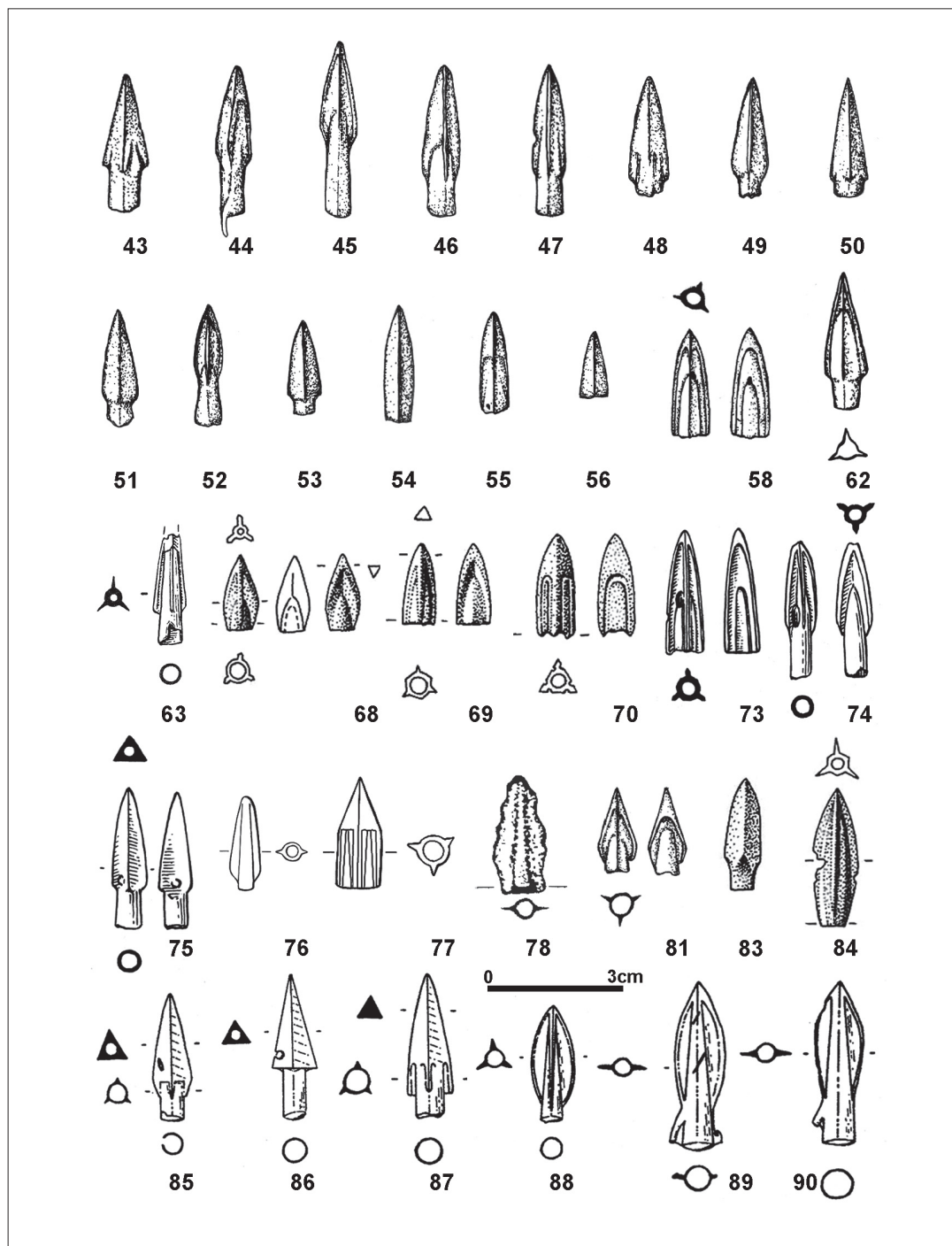
- edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 32 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 6,5 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: summary *Říhouský 1996*, 140, Taf. 28:483.
151. **Štramberk 5** (Nový Jičín Co), position: the Kotouč hillfort; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 42 mm, max wid 10 mm, socket diam 7 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Vienna Museum of Natural History; literature: summary *Říhouský 1996*, 138, Taf. 28:474.
152. **Štramberk 6** (Nový Jičín Co), position: the Kotouč hillfort; bronze trilateral arrowhead with an inner socket; len 20 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 5 mm; provenience: -; stored: The Museum of Silesia in Opava; literature: *Říhouský 1996*, 145, Taf. 28:495.
153. **Těšetice 1** (Znojmo Co), position: Sutny; grey bottle-like vessel (the pottery of the Vekerzug culture influence); max diam 500 mm, hgt 330 mm; provenience: settlement, obj. No. 1640; dating: Ha D2; stored: the storage of the Department of Archaeology and Museology of the Masaryk University Brno; literature: *Golec 2003*, 391:22; *2004*, 429–434, Taf. 1:4.
154. **Věrovany 1** (Olomouc Co), position: Zadní celky; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an inner socket; len 21 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 4 mm; provenience: found by J. Paluřík; stored: The Komenský Museum in Přerov; literature: unpublished; provided by: Z. Schenk and O. Klápa.
155. **Vojkovice 1** (Brno-venkov Co), position: Vojkovické nivy; ceramic pintadera with a handle and a zig-zag motifs; len 43 mm, thkns 31, hgt 25 mm; provenience: burial site, skeletal grave of a female No. 117; dating: Ha D2- early (Parzinger 7a); stored: The Moravian Museum in Brno; literature: *Čížmář 1995*, 210, Abb. 1:1; *Golec 2005a*, 195, tab. 106:8.
156. **Vranovice 1** (Prostějov Co), position: Háj; bronze snake-like earring/temple ring with an electrum surface; diam 19 mm, hgt 18 mm; thkns 6 mm; provenience: found by M. Popelka; stored: The Museum and Gallery in Prostějov; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Popelka.
157. **Vyškov 1** (Vyškov Co), position: -; grey pitcher with a tape handle, made with a potter's wheel; hgt 98 mm; provenience: emergency excavation of the Platěnice culture settlement, obj. No. 1/87; stored: The Institute for Care for the Archaeological Heritage Brno, literature: *Čížmář 1995*, 210, 212, Abb. 2:4.
158. **Zlín-Malenovice 1** (Zlín Co), position: Mezicestí „Lutz“; bronze arrowhead with an inner socket; len 28 mm, max wid 9 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: in a layer in a settlement; stored: (temporarily) The Institute for Care for the Archaeological Heritage Brno; literature: unpublished; provided by: M. Popelka.
159. **Zubří 1** (Vsetín Co), position: Dropávka; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket and a tang; len 40 mm, max wid 8 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; stored: -; literature: unpublished; provided by: E. Čermáková.
160. **Zubří 2** (Vsetín Co), position: Dropávka; bronze triple-edged arrowhead with an outer socket; len 32 mm, max wid 7 mm, socket diam 6 mm; provenience: -; stored: -; literature: unpublished; provided by: E. Čermáková.
161. **Želetice 1** (Hodonín Co), position: Roviny; bronze double-edged arrowhead with an outer socket and a tang, broken at a tip; len 42 mm, max wid 11 mm; socket diam 7 mm; provenience: found by M. Malářová in a polycultural lowland settlement; stored: The Masaryk Museum in Hodonín; literature: unpublished; provided by: J. Šmerda.



**Fig. 2.** Vekerzug and other Eastern findings from Moravia (numbers correspond to the catalog, see above).

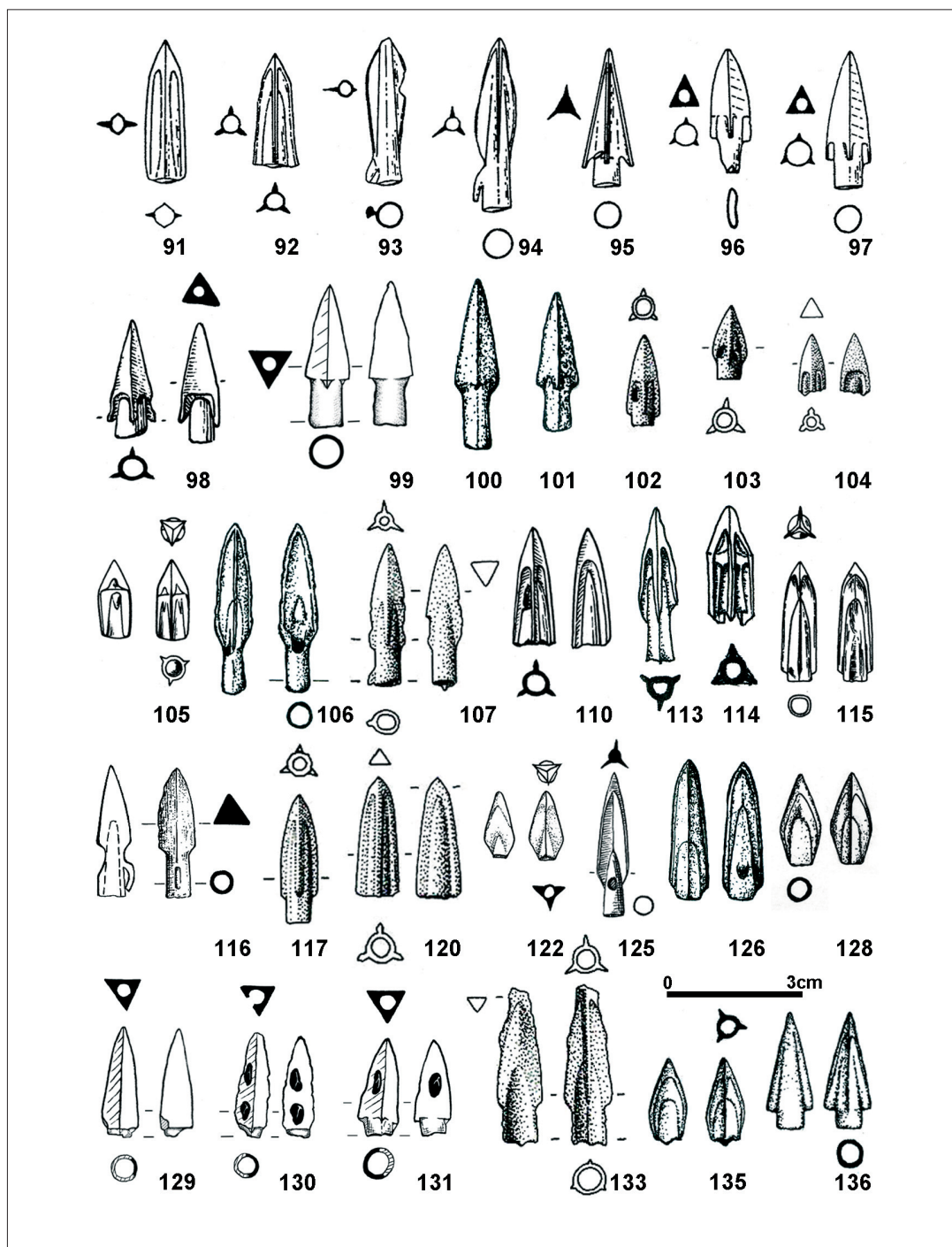
**Obr. 2.** Vekerzugské a jiné východní nálezy z Moravy (čísla odpovídají katalogu, viz výše).





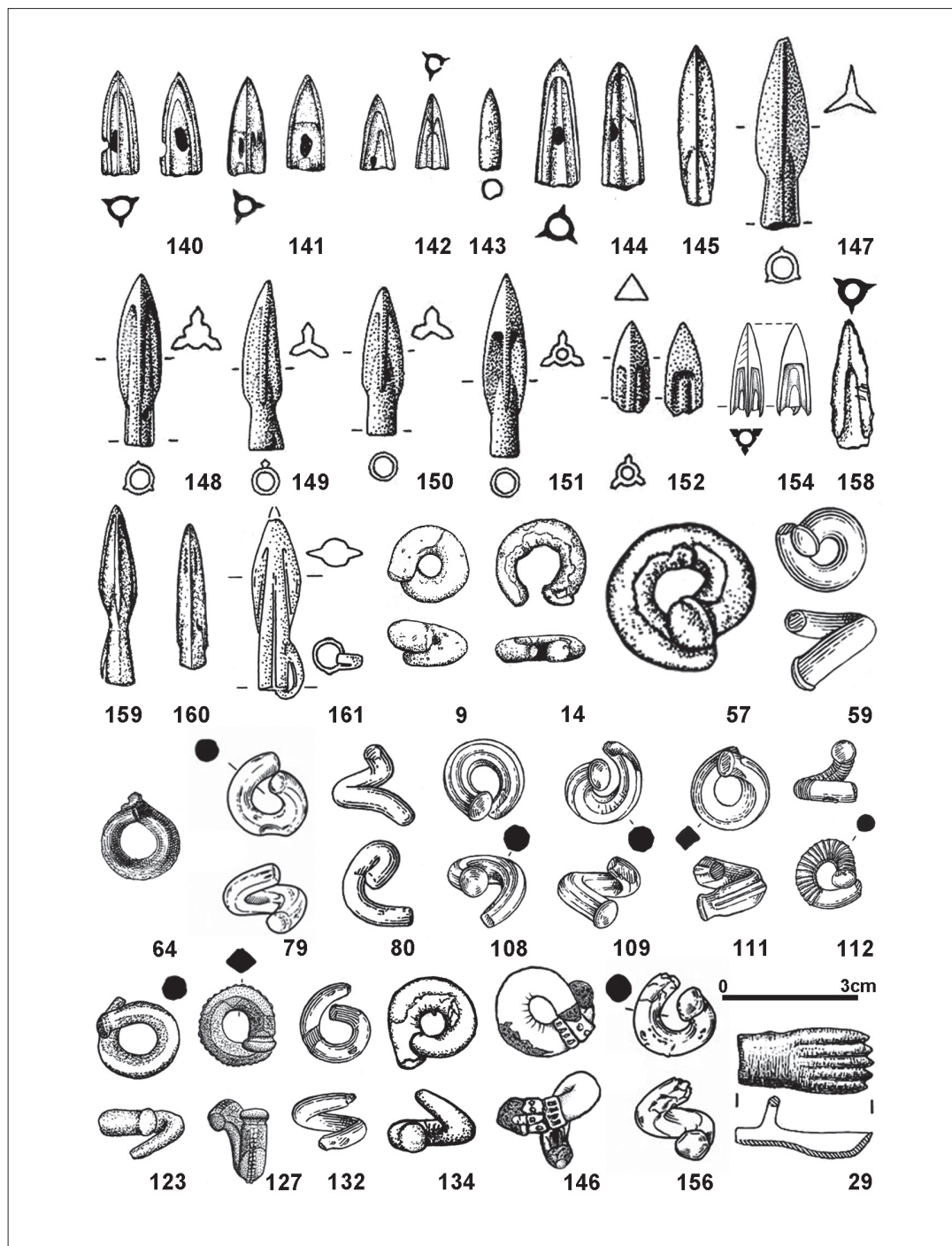
**Fig. 3.** Vekerzug and other Eastern findings from Moravia (numbers correspond to the catalog, see above).

**Obr. 3.** Vekerzugské a jiné východní nálezy z Moravy (čísla odpovídají katalogu, viz výše).



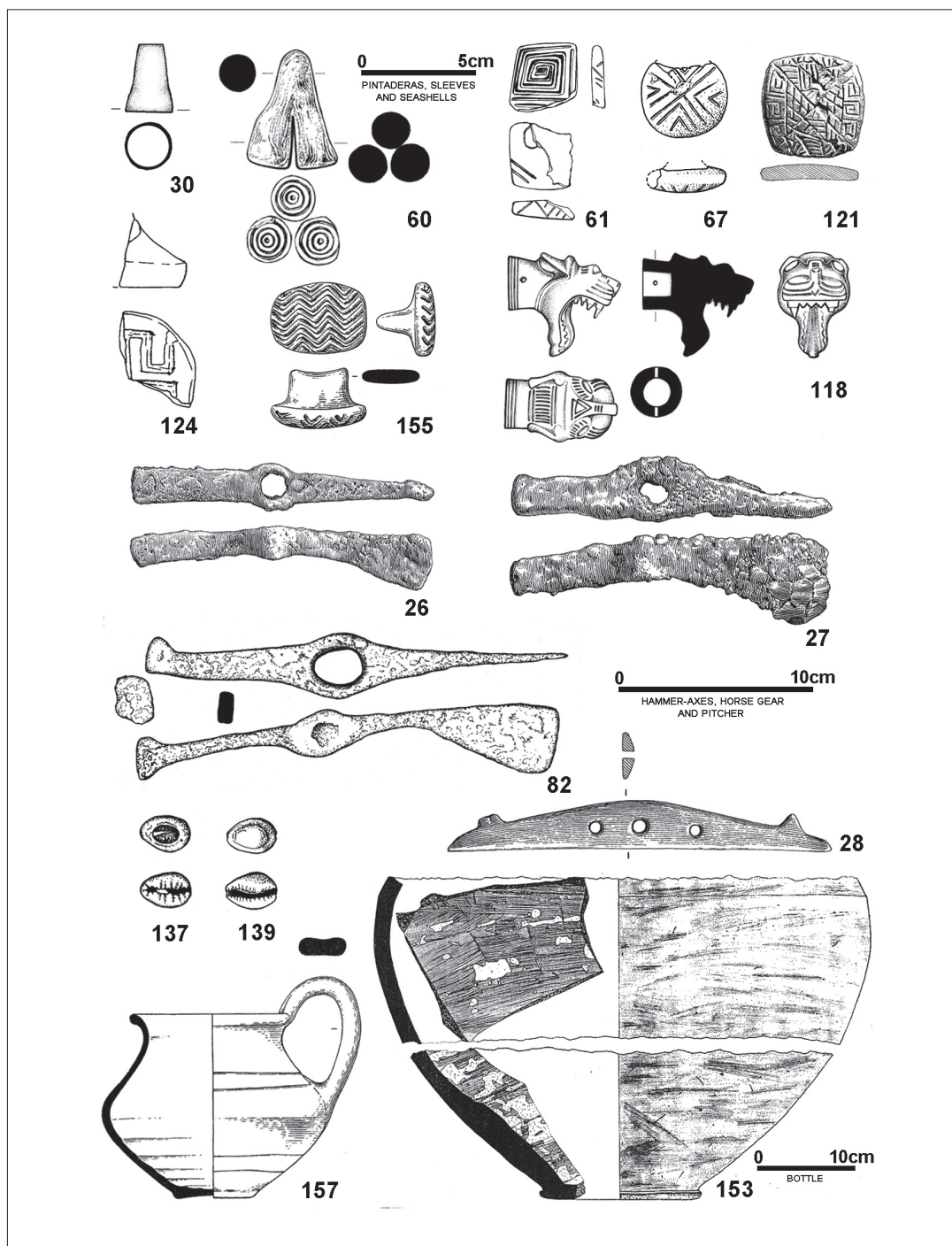
**Fig. 4.** Vekerzug and other Eastern findings from Moravia (numbers correspond to the catalog, see above).

**Obr. 4.** Vekerzugské a jiné východní nálezy z Moravy (čísla odpovídají katalogu, viz výše).



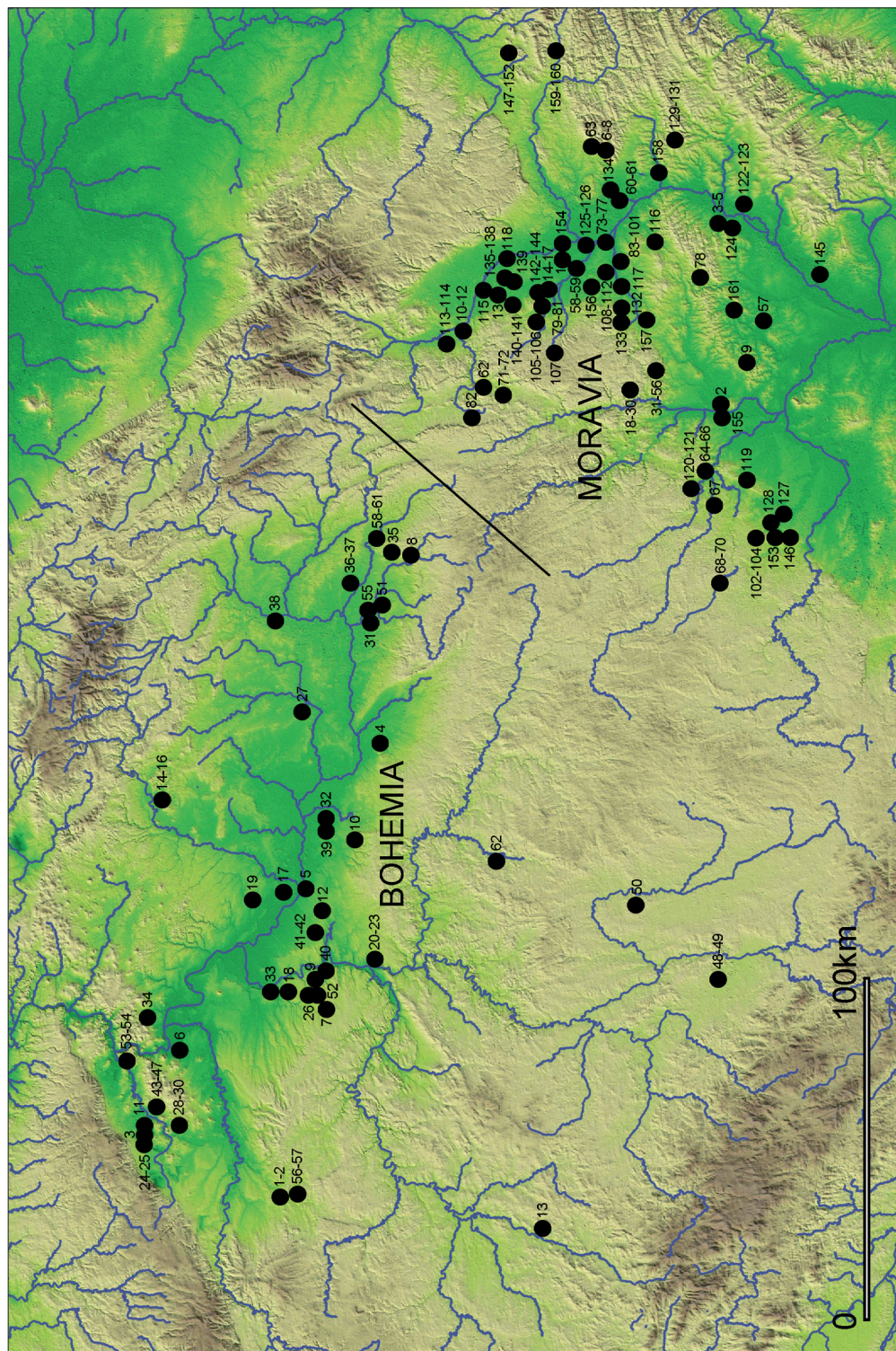
**Fig. 5.** Vekerzug and other Eastern findings from Moravia (numbers correspond to the catalog, see above).

**Obr. 5.** Vekerzugské a jiné východní nálezy z Moravy (čísla odpovídají katalogu, viz výše).



**Fig. 6.** Vekerzug and other Eastern findings from Moravia (numbers correspond to the catalog, see above).

**Obr. 6.** Vekerzugské a jiné východní nálezy z Moravy (čísla odpovídají katalogu, viz výše).



**Fig. 7.** Map of sites of the Vekezug and other Eastern cultures in Bohemia and Moravia (numbers correspond to the catalog, see above).

**Obr. 7.** Mapa lokalit s vekezugskou a jinými východními kulturami z Čech a Moravy (čísla odpovídají katalogu, viz výše).

- 1) Revised findings from Provodov and Štramberk are included.
- 2) 26 bronze arrowheads from the Horákov castle are part of a much larger collections (hundreds of pieces?), that is not available. The founder speaks about 3 or 4 pieces from a close site Staré Zámky in Brno-Líšeň. From this locality also come three iron akinakai dating in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (*Topal – Golec 2017*).
- 3) 43 pieces of bronze arrowheads from Provodov were found in older museum collections shortly before the finish of this article (*Novák in press*). 3 pieces of bronze arrowheads were obtained by archaeological rescue prospecting in the fortification of Rýsov hillfort in October 2017. 49 pieces from Provodov is the largest documented collection of Vekerzug and other Eastern findings in the Czech Republic.
- 4) A revision of findings from Štramberk was published shortly before finish of this article. In total, there are 15 bronze arrowheads and 1 roll-like sleeve („Vorvarka“) (*Janák 2017*).

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## Vekerzugská a jiné východní kultury v České republice

Vekerzugská kultura představuje svébytný kulturní prvek halštatského období. Ačkoliv přítomnost této kultury významně ovlivnila život ve střední Evropě daného období a její dědictví nalézáme i v době laténské, odborný zájem o vekerzugskou kulturu není přiměřený jejímu významu. Následující studie si klade za cíl představit tuto synkretickou kulturu jak z hlediska geografických, tak i chronologických specifik a zároveň přináší aktuální katalog vekerzugských a jiných souvisejících východních nálezů Čech a Moravy, mnohé dosud vůbec poprvé publikovaných.

*Archeologický rámeček v Čechách (J. Waldhauser)* Z Čech je z období Ha D – LT A/B1 známo přes dvacet bronzových šipek, které lze ztotožnit s šípou a reflexním lukem. Dá se říci, že hroty šipek náleží v české kotlině stále ještě k poměrně vzácným nálezům. Jejich datace je na území Čech posuzována pomocí zahraničních systémů A. I. Meljukova a V. G. Petrenko s definovanými 34 typy) a pro střední Evropu ji precizoval J. Chochorowski (1985, 86–94, Abb. 25–27) s 41 typy. Ovšem poté byly dosavadní chronologie trojhrbitých šipek principiálně zpochybněny (Parzinger – Nekvasil – Barth Hrsg. 1995, 65), aniž by byly vypracovány jiné. Procentuelně nejvyšší počet kovových hrotů pochází z hradišť resp. výšinných poloh, méně z funerálního prostředí, zbytek z rovinných sídelních komponent. Středoevropské epicentrum nomádských nálezů zastupuje oblast východu Karpatské kotliny s vekerzugskou kulturou. Z hlediska kulturněhistorického byly trojhrbité šipky tradičně spojovány se vpády východních nomádů, často byly označovány jako „skýtské“, včetně jejich invaze na konci halštatu do Slezska (naposledy např. Chytráček et al. 2010, 164). Výskyt sledovaných trojhrbitých šipek v Čechách je omezen pouze na severozápadní kvadrant od Turnova na severu po Vrbici na západě. Na dvou třech čtvrtinách osídlené plochy české kotliny na jihu, západě a východě nebyly až na jedinou výjimku ze Sedlce dosud zjištěny (obr. 1, 7). Těžko říci, zda tuto okolnost možno považovat za náhodnou. Jiné potencionální jihovýchodní importy ve stoletích okolo přelomu halštatu a laténu z období Ha D – LT

A byly z české kotliny registrovány jenom poskrovnu. Jejich místo výroby muselo ležet minimálně 400 km od teritoria dnešních Čech na území vekerzugské kultury v Karpatské kotlině nebo v přiléhajícím východoevropském prostoru. Počátek užívání trojhrbitých šipek nepochybně spadá do pozdního halštatu. Není možno vyloučit, že tři trojhrbité šipky jsou jedním z markerů zánikového horizontu hradiště Závisti, vlastně všech staveb na akropoli, přičemž nechybí stopy po jejich aktivním použití. Konkrétně se jedná o odlomený hrot nebo nárazem deformovaný tvar, popřípadě o nález dalšího militaria, železného hrotu kopí. In situ nechyběly doklady „spáleníště“ (Drda – Rybová 2008, 65–66). Není možno výskyt trojhrbitých šipek na Závisti spojit se zánikem hradiště, a to při násilné akci? Precizně nebyl způsob „konce“ Závisti (a dalších hradišť) na zlomu LT A/B vysvětlován, pouze spojován s migrací obyvatel z Čech do severní Itálie (Venclová ed. 2008, 158). Pokud by trojhrbité šipky byly interpretovány jako inovace/import východního původu, mohly je doprovázet další předměty, například hadovit náušnice/záušnice, „východní“ železné sekery, „kauri“ mušle atd. V tomto případě by signalizovaly tyto předměty dlouhodobější kulturní ovlivnění počínaje 6., s těžištěm v 5. stol. př. n. l. V interpretaci přicházejí v úvahu dvě možnosti: 1. „Skýtské“ předměty by konsekventně byly výrazem importů euroasijské sféry event. importy vekerzugské kultury, nebo 2. „Skýtská“ militaria jsou doklady invaze nomádského etnika. Není vyloučeno, že tzv. skýtská militaria, směřující do Slezska od východu k západu s doprovázející destrukcí hradišť, mohla najít odraz i na území Čech v prostoru od Pojizeří přes středozápadní Čechy k Podkrušnohoří a dál na jih.

*Archeologický rámeček na Moravě (M. Golec):* Výskyt zcela cizorodých vekerzugských artefaktů zapadá do období pozdního halštatu (Ha D2, Ha D3) a otevřený zůstává úsek časného laténu (LT A1–2), kdy se udávají v oblasti Moravy a dalších okolních regionech značné kulturní proměny. Jelikož jsou infiltrační/invazivní artefakty vekerzugské kultury na Moravě obsaženy hned ve dvou ze jmenovaných stupňů (obr. 2–7), domníváme se, že události s nimi

spojené velmi ovlivnily běh dějin. A tak obecné přehlížení výzkumu cizorodých artefaktů rámce vekerzugské kultury na Moravě může být velkou chybou. V poslední velké syntéze moravského pravěku z roku 1993 – v Pravěkých dějinách Moravy (*Nekvasil 1993*) – historický rámec nijak významně neformovaly. Nadčasovým společenským fenoménem jsou výšinná (opevněná) hradiště. Ta v jednotlivých stupních tvořilavelmi odlišné krajinné struktury (velikost, rozloha, vzdálenost od sebe, přítomnost či absence v regionech Moravy). Autoři ve shodě s obecnými znalostmi o societách doby železné považují hradiště za archeologické projevy působení dobových společenských elit. Šlo o místa v krajíně, kde se „formovaly dějiny“. Nejdříve ve stupni Ha D2 nacházíme hustou síť mnoha desítek halštatských hradišť s velmi malou výměrou cca 1 ha. Na nich a v jejich okolí nacházíme nejstarší vekerzugské nálezy – zejména tzv. „skýtské šipky“. Po ataku vekerzugské a jiných východních kultur na hradiště starší části stupně Ha D2 (Parzinger 7a), pak žádná již v mladší části stupně Ha D2 (Parzinger 7b/c) a dále Ha D3 (Parzinger 8) známá nejsou. Další nová změna nastala ve stupni LT A1-2 (Parzinger 9–10), objevila se opět zcela rozdílná krajinná struktura, evidujeme několik rozlehlejších hradišť většinou na nových lokalitách, mají od sebe mnohem větší rozestup než ta minulá ve stupni Ha D2, což identifikuje zcela novou sociální podobu krajiny (*Goláňová 2013; in press*). Předpokládáme, že první kontakt vekerzugské kultury ve stupni Ha D2 byl pro místní halštatské society značně destruktivní. Dlouhodobě etablovaná sociální struktura krajiny, včetně obchodních sítí, byla velmi rozrušena. Není vyloučeno, že ve stupních Ha D2 – Ha D3 došlo na Moravě k rozvinutí nějaké formy podřízenosti k vnitrokarpatkým vekerzugským centřům. Ve stupni Ha D3 doposud nebyla identifikována žádná halštatská mocenská struktura. Tato situace diametrálně kontrastuje s halštatskou západní Evropou, která naopak zažívá svůj maximální společenský vzestup a dokonce vstup do písemných dějin coby Keltové. V nestabilní sousedské oblasti od ne příliš vzdálených karpatských center halštatská Morava vykazuje ve shodě s jinými

regiony evidentně úpadkové období. Oblast Moravy se definitivně dostala z vlivu/závislosti na karpatské vekerzugské kultuře a započala cestu k vybudování raných městských aglomerací času raných a „historických Keltů“.

*Pohled kulturní antropologie (E. Čermáková):* Z kulturně antropologického hlediska představuje fenomén tzv. vekerzugské kultury další z řady kulturních útvarů, vzniklých na základě intenzivní interakce mezi převážně usazeným místním obyvatelstvem (horákovská a platěnická kultura) a cizím – nomádským elementem (skýtské, respektive skýtoidní kultury). Formy soužití usazených společností (zemědělců) a nomádů nabývají ve většině případů symbiotický, popřípadě až kořistnicko-parazitický model. Tento stav je dán ekonomickou nesamostatností kočovnických skupin, kompenzovaný ovšem nezřídka lepšími válečnickými schopnostmi, podmíněnými dobrým ovládnutím koňské síly (*Khazanov 1994*). Stopy vzájemného působení obou societ je v archeologickém záznamu většinou málo čitelné. Určitá „neviditelnost“ je dána mobilnějším způsobem života nomádů, zanechávajícími po sobě v archeologickém záznamu mnohem méně materiální kultury, než společnosti trvale usazené (*Čermáková 2008, 7*). Nomádi se stávají viditelní spíše nepřímou, skrze často katastrofické následky, které lze pozorovat na „více materializovaných“ společnostech usazených zemědělských společností. Není ostatně náhodou, že kvalitativně nové epochy vyrůstají velice často na terénu připraveném nomádským zásahem, který předtím transformuje, naruší, nebo zcela zlikviduje předchozí status quo. Role nomádů jako zásadních činitelů nebo katalyzátorů dějin je téměř všudypřítomná v prostoru i čase. Ačkoliv se nomádi obvykle poměrně rychle po svém vystoupení ztrácí z archeologického záznamu, mnohé z jejich kultury přžívá dále v rámci kultur následných, ač ne vždy to bývá rozpoznáno. Předpokládáme, že ani vliv skýtoidních kultur (vekerzugská kultura) nekončí jejich asimilací či odchodem z našeho území, ale v mnoha prvcích přžívá v časně laténské kultuře (*Jacobsthal 1944; Guggisberg 1998*).

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