The Heuneburg and the Early Iron Age Princely Seats:
First Towns North of the Alps

Dirk Krausse, Manuel Fernández-Götz, Leif Hansen and Inga Kretschmer

With further contributions from:
Christiane Schmid-Merkl, Roberto Tarpini, Elisabeth Stephan, Manfred Rösch, Elske Fischer, Gerd Stegmaier, Bettina Arnold, Matthew L. Murray, Frieder Klein, Nicole Ebinger-Rist, Guntram Gassmann, Günther Wieland and Hans-Peter Sticka
Cover: The southeast corner of the hilltop plateau with reconstructed mudbrick wall and house in the open air Museum (Photo above: M. Friemelt); amber finds from the Bettelbühl grave (Photo below: Y. Mühleis). Design: Y. Stahl

Back-cover: Early La Tène fibula from the Danube below the Heuneburg (Photo: Y. Mühleis)

IMPRESSUM

© Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart

© Archaeolingua Publishing House

Word processing, layout and production:
Archeolingua Publishing House, Budapest
Print: Aduprint
Printed in Hungary
ISBN 978-963-9911-84-0
Budapest 2016
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Preface</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1. Exploring the Heuneburg: From Antiquarianism to Digital Archaeology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>A Privileged Natural Setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>The First Mention of the Heuneburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>The Discovery of the ‘Princely’ Graves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Early Trenches on the Hilltop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>The Excavation of the Hohmichele Tumulus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>1950-1979: The Age of the Systematic Hilltop Excavations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Expanding Views: From the Hilltop to the Wider Landscape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Preserving &amp; Presenting the Heuneburg: From Farmland to Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Info Box 1: The Museological Presentation of the Heuneburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>2. The Heuneburg before the Iron Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>The Earliest Traces of Settlement on the Heuneburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>The Bronze Age Fortification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Traces of Bronze Age Settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>The Heuneburg Region during the Bronze Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>3. The Rise of the Fürstensitz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>New Settlement, Old Traditions?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>A Major Enterprise: The Construction of the Mudbrick Wall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Mediterranean-Inspired Architecture in the Heart of Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Living and Working at the Heuneburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Info Box 2: An Early Iron Age Goldsmith Workshop at the Heuneburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Info Box 3: Faunal Remains at the Heuneburg and its Rural Environs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Info Box 4: Environment, Land Use and Nutrition at the Heuneburg According to Botanical Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>The Fortifications of the Lower Town: A First Rate Demonstration of Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Info Box 5: Offerings and Ritual – On the Deposition of a Human Skull beneath a Hearth in the Heuneburg Outer Settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>The Monumental Gateway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>An Enormous Agglomeration: The Outer Settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>The Heuneburg: First City North of the Alps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Info Box 6: The Heuneburg – A Centre of Pottery Production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>4. Destruction and Restructuring: The Heuneburg after the Mudbrick Wall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>The Great Fire and its Consequences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>The Erection of the Monumental Houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Intensification of Settlement in the Lower Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Buried above the Remains of the Outer Settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Greek Drinking Vessels on the Heuneburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Info Box 7: Greek Pottery North of the Alps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>A Phase of Craft Experimentation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Heuneburg and the Early Iron Age Princely Seats: First Towns North of the Alps

108 On the End of the Late Hallstatt Heuneburg

111 INFO Box 8: Puzzling Structures on the East Terrace

113 5. Monuments for the Ancestors. Burial Mounds in the Focus of the Heuneburg

113 The Aristocratic Tumuli in the Immediate Surroundings

117 The Hohmichele ‘Speckhau’ Necropolis

121 INFO Box 9: Two Hallstatt Burial Mounds in the Hohmichele Group in the ‘Speckhau’

128 INFO Box 10: The Tumulus groups of ‘Satzet’

130 The Burial Mounds in the Danube Plain

132 INFO Box 11: The Princess’ Grave from Bettelbühl

135 Cemeteries as Places of Power and Memory

139 6. Early Iron Age Hillforts in the Environment of the Heuneburg

140 Alte Burg

148 Große Heuneburg

152 Ennetacher Berg

153 Bussen

155 INFO Box 12: Late Iron Age Viereckschanzen

157 7. Urbanisation Processes in Early Iron Age Europe: The Heuneburg in the Macro-regional Context

157 The Age of the ‘Princely Seats’

161 INFO Box 13: Proto-Industrial Iron Production in the Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène Periods

168 Hallstatt Urban experiences in Gaul: Mont Lassois and Bourges

169 INFO Box 14: Paramount Elites and Gender Studies in Iron Age Europe

175 Fürstensitze on the Middle Neckar and at the Nördlinger Ries: Hohenasperg and Ipf

176 INFO Box 15: Early Iron Age Gold

178 INFO Box 16: The Earliest Evidence for Beer in Central Europe

181 Central Places on the Upper Rhine and in the Swiss Plateau: Breisach, Britzgyberg, Uetliberg and Châtillon-sur-Glâne

183 Centralisation and Ancestor Worship: The Glauberg

184 Eastern Centres of Power between Upper Franconia and Bohemia: Ehrenbürg, Závist and Vladař

186 An Early Urban Phenomenon

188 From Centralisation to Decentralisation

191 Bibliography
List of Contributors

Main Authors

Prof Dr Dirk L. Krausse
Landesamt für Denkmalpflege
im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart
Berliner Straße 12
73728 Esslingen
Germany
dirk.krausse@rps.bwl.de

Dr Leif Hansen
Landesamt für Denkmalpflege
im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart
Berliner Straße 12
73728 Esslingen
Germany
leif.hansen@rps.bwl.de

Dr Manuel Fernández-Götz
School of History, Classics and Archaeology
University of Edinburgh
William Robertson Wing
Old Medical School, Teviot Place
Edinburgh EH8 9AG
United Kingdom
M.Fernandez-Gotz@ed.ac.uk

Dr Inga Kretschmer
Landesamt für Denkmalpflege
im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart
Berliner Straße 12
73728 Esslingen
Germany
inga.kretschmer@rps.bwl.de

Further Contributors

Dr. Roberto Tarpini
Landesamt für Denkmalpflege
im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart
Berliner Straße 12
73728 Esslingen
Germany
roberto.tarpini@rps.bwl.de

Dr Christiane Schmid-Merkl
Freilichtmuseum Heuneburg
Heuneburg 1-2
88518 Hundersingen
Germany
christiane_schmid@web.de

Dr Elisabeth Stephan
Landesamt für Denkmalpflege
im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart
Dienstsitz Konstanz
Stromeyersdorffstraße 3
78462 Konstanz
Germany
elisabeth.stephan@rps.bwl.de

Prof Dr Manfred Rösch
Landesamt für Denkmalpflege
im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart
Dienstsitz Gaienhofen-Hemmenhofen
Fischersteig 9
78343 Gaienhofen-Hemmenhofen
Germany
manfred.roesch@rps.bwl.de
The Heuneburg on the Upper Danube is one of the best-studied sites of the European Iron Age. Research has been carried out on the rich Hallstatt period burials from its environs since the late 19th century, while modern excavations in the settlement have been conducted almost continually since 1950 – apart from short breaks. In spite of this long tradition of research, the excavations and surveys continue to produce new surprises; the fieldwork of the last two decades in particular, with its sensational results, has radically changed the traditional picture of this Early Iron Age centre of power. Modern research methods such as dendrochronology, isotope analysis, geomagnetic surveys, LIDAR images, digital documentation, 3D laser scanning or the employment of drones for photography lead more and more to new results and insights.

Between the end of the 7th and the middle of the 5th centuries BC the Heuneburg was one of the most important centres of settlement, economy and power in the entire European Iron Age, one that had far-reaching connections to places as distant as Etruria and the Greek colonies. As we argue in this book, the settlement can be classified as the ‘first city north of the Alps’. The volume has two main, interconnected aims: to provide the first synthesis in English on the archaeology of the Heuneburg and its surroundings; and to set the development of this important Early Iron Age central place into the broader context of the centralisation and urbanisation processes of the Late Hallstatt period. The subtitle of the volume was deliberately chosen as a direct reference to John Collis’s fundamental book Oppida: Earliest Towns North of the Alps (1984). In this way we want to challenge the traditional assumption that the first urban centres of Temperate Europe were the oppida of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. If this idea could still be maintained at the time of the publication of Collis’s volume, the new research of the last two decades has shown that the first wave of urbanisation already took place 400 years earlier, represented by the Fürstensitze (‘princely seats’) of the 6th and 5th centuries BC. In what follows we will combine the detailed analysis of the Heuneburg with a general overview of other contemporary sites and broader reflections on the political, social and economic characteristics of Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène communities. Cities are an integral feature of our modern, early 21st century societies, and by exploring the origins of the urban phenomenon we hope to contribute to a better understanding of one of the key developments of human civilisation.

This volume has been funded by the Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart (State Office for Cultural Heritage Baden-Württemberg). Passages of the text were recently published in German (Dirk Krausse, Inga Kretschmer, Leif Hansen, Manuel Fernández-Götz, Die Heuneburg – keltischer Fürstensitz an der oberen Donau. Führer zu archäologischen Denkmälern in Baden-Württemberg 28 [Stuttgart 2015]) and translated by David Wigg-Wolf into English. For his unselfish editorial work on the enlarged English version I wish to express our gratitude to Manuel Fernández-Götz.

Esslingen am Neckar, 28th July 2016

Dirk Krausse