

## ARCHAEOLOGICA RESSOVIENSIA

Volume



Rzeszów 2023

ISSN 2084-4409 | DOI: 10.15584/ANARRES





## ARCHAEOLOGICA RESSOVIENSIA

Volume

Rzeszów 2023





WYDAWNICTWO UNIWERSYTETU RZESZOWSKIEGO

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> Graphic design, typesetting DOROTA KOCZĄB

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#### ISSN 2084-4409 DOI:10.15584/anarres

2075

Editor's Address

INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY RZESZÓW UNIVERSITY ul. Moniuszki 10, 35-015 Rzeszów, Poland e-mail: iarch@univ.rzeszow.pl Home page: www.archeologia.rzeszow.pl THE UNIVERSITY OF RZESZÓW PUBLISHING HOUSE ul. prof. S. Pigonia 6, 35-959 Rzeszów, Poland tel. 17 872 13 69, tel./fax 17 872 14 26 Home page: https://wydawnictwo.ur.edu.pl RZESZÓW ARCHEOLOGICAL CENTRE FUND ul. Moniuszki 10, 35-015 Rzeszów, Poland email: froa@froa.pl Home page: www.froa.pl/

First edition, A4 format, 25,50 publishing sheets, 30,75 printing sheets, order no. 114/2023 Printed and binded: The University of Rzeszów Printing House



Volume 18 / Rzeszów 2023 ISSN 2084-4409 DOI: 10.15584/anarres

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Tomasz Bochnak

ORCID: 0000-0002-0327-9575

DOI: 10.15584/anarres.2023.18.16

# (review) Michał Grygiel. Osadnictwo celtyckie w zachodniej Małopolsce. Ze studiów nad grupą tyniecką [Celtic settlements in western Lesser Poland. From studies on the Tyniec group]. Kraków 2022: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 571 pages, 112 figures, 100 plates, 8 tables.

A monograph on the Tyniec group by Michał Grygiel was published in 2022 by the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków [Polish: Polska Akademia Umiejętności]. The book is 571 pages long, with 112 figures in the text and two unnumbered illustrations. The separate illustrative part consists of 6 maps (other maps are included in the text and marked as figures; another map is labelled as table 1), 100 plates and 8 tables. The high editorial level should be emphasized. Most of the drawings are of good or very good quality. The unevenness of the quality of the figures is due to republishing pictures of varying resolution from older sources.

In a complex introduction, the author presented the main thesis of the book, briefly characterized the source base and discussed the history of research on the Tyniec group. The next part (chapter 1) is an attempt to synthesize the issue of "historical Celts" in Europe, with a particular emphasis on the Polish territory. The following chapters of the book constitute a classic triad of scientific studies. Here, we have an extensive presentation of the material, including portable and non-portable sources (chapters 2–5), its synthesis in chronological order (chapters 6–8) and a catalogue. The culmination of the book is an English summary and an illustrative section with English captions included.

The arrangement, where the presentation of sources precedes the synthesis including, among other things, the relative chronology of the Tyniec group, seems to be the most logical. However, the reference to the scheme of the division of the Tyniec group into three development groups (p. 13) used in the works of Zenon Woźniak and Paulina Poleska, even if the author claims that it has a completely local meaning, requires at least an outline of the relative chronology of these groups. Moreover, on p. 77 we again encounter the concepts of the first and second development phases of the Tyniec group, yet without defining the chronology. Later in the book there is a competent section on the chronology of Celtic materials in the sub-Kraków region, but only starting from p. 239. This, to some extent, disturbs the clarity of the argument, albeit not significantly.

Presenting the issues related to the Tyniec group against the European background, the author identifies the Celts (Gauls, Galatians) known from written sources with the people of the archaeological La Téne culture (and other cultures included in this circle, such as Púchov culture). Such an approach contradicts e.g. the comments of John R. Collis, who noted that in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC, ranges of archaeological cultures do not coincide with the territory of tribes identified on the basis of written sources as Celtic people. Moreover, Celtic ethnonyms are to be found in places where neither the presence of historical Celts nor finds of the La Téne culture have been recorded (Collis 2003; 2006; 2017).

Caesar wrote unequivocally that the Veneti (i.e. the people inhabiting Armorica) were not Celts, and he consistently referred to the inhabitants of Britain as Britons, not even once using another ethnonym in relation to them. Other written sources in Antiquity were also silent on the subject. The theory that the ancient inhabitants of Britain were Celts was put forward in 1582 by the Scottish scholar George Buchanan (Collis 1999; 2006, 102–104; 2017, 58). In turn, Zenon Woźniak pointed out that the presence of Celtic toponyms (e.g. *Aliobrix, Arrubium, Noviodunum, vicus Verobrittianus* vel *Vergobrittianus*) in Dobrudja, is not

correlated with the presence of archaeological assemblages associated with Celts (Woźniak 1974, 171). However, the map published on p. 22 (fig. 2) seems to equally include the area settled by Celts/Gauls/Galatians known from written sources and the range of the La Téne culture, as well as places on the western shores of the Black Sea where Celtic ethnonyms occurred. Significantly, Kazimierz Godlowski already pointed out that the use of the term "Celtic culture" as a synonym of "La Téne culture" is inaccurate. That is because outside the frame of the archaeological La Téne culture, there were znaczne odłamy ludów mówiących językami celtyckimi [significant fractions of peoples speaking Celtic languages] (Godłowski 1977, 6). He clearly preferred the term "the La Téne culture", while the term "the Celtic culture" appeared in his works rarely, probably mainly for stylistic reasons. It is noteworthy that even in the chapter on the La Téne culture in Poland, the term "Celtic culture" was hardly used while he discussed Celtic coins, western Celtic territories or celtycka grupa językowa [Celtic language group] (Godłowski 1977, 69-76). A certain tendency to identify the Celts with the people of the La Téne culture was a common phenomenon until the early 21st century. I admit that I myself did not shy away from such an identification, but the last two decades have brought change in this regard (Rieckhoff (ed.) 2006; Rieckhoff 2012).

The book was written in logical and understandable language, the vocabulary is rich, and it is a pleasure to read. The author's erudition is remarkable. One gets the impression that the text was written with considerable confidence. The author only occasionally expresses hesitation in interpreting the data. Hence phrases such as "it cannot be excluded that", "it can be assumed", "one can think", "one can believe", which are frequent among other researchers and are an expression of caution, are rare in Michał Grygiel's work. The author is convinced of the validity of his claims and, as a rule, does not present alternative views or attempt to argue with dissenting opinions. This is particularly vivid in his perception of the definition of the Tyniec group and its chronology.

As is common knowledge, the term "Tyniec group" refers to a syncretic cultural group with characteristics of the La Téne culture and the Przeworsk culture, which developed in the vicinity of Kraków in the last centuries of the BC era. In addition, attention is drawn to the simultaneous presence of characteristic features of the Púchov culture and Dacian elements as well. The issue of the oldest horizon of the La Téne culture in the sub-Kraków region, sometimes referred to as the

"classical" La Téne culture, and its relationship with the Tyniec group, remained (or perhaps still remains) a subject of discussion. Some researchers included the aforementioned horizon in the Tyniec group and by extension it became its first and oldest phase, while others wanted to see that phenomenon separately. However, with the growth of the source base, the opinions of some researchers, such as Zenon Wozniak, on the topic evolved (Bochnak and Dziegielewski 2020, earlier literature there). Michał Grygiel also presented this issue; however, one can debate how accurate his thesis was. The author claims that: Zgodnie z tendencją dominującą w ostatnich publikacjach określa ona [grupa tyniecka – ed. TB] zestaw źródeł odnoszących się do wszystkich form kultury lateńskiej na terenach zachodniej Małopolski [...] [According to the trend prevailing in recent publications, it [the Tyniec group - ed. TB] defines a set of sources related to all forms of the La Téne culture in the areas of western Lesser Poland [...]] (p. 12). Although the author on the exact same page seems to contradict himself by writing: W ostatnim czasie doszło do wieloznaczności w określeniu "grupa tyniecka", gdyż w literaturze obok dominującego, szerokiego ujęcia tej jednostki pojawiły się głosy postulujące konieczność powrotu do jej pierwotnego, wąskiego znaczenia [...] [There has been ambiguity of the term "Tyniec group" as voices have emerged in the literature, alongside the dominant, broad coverage of this phenomenon, advocating the need to return to its original, narrow definition [...]]. As I already pointed out, the aforementioned "ambiguity" has accompanied the definition of the Tyniec group for decades (Bochnak and Dzięgielewski 2020, 101-103). Without further inquiry into this probably unintentional inconsistency, the author must be agreed with about the recent tendency to narrow down the term "Tyniec group". We will encounter such a narrow approach not only in the works of Przemysław Dulęba and Marcin Rudnicki he referred to, but also in the text on the commemorative plaque for the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Nowa Huta branch of the Archaeological Museum in Kraków, in which we can read: Pierwsza grupa [Celtów – ed. TB], wywodząca się zapewne z Moraw, przybyła w rejon Nowej Huty ok. 300 r. p.n.e., osiedlając się m.in. w Wyciążu, Pleszowie i Cle. Kolejne grupy Celtów, przybyłe z południowo-wschodniej Słowacji, dotarły około 100 r. p.n.e. Powstały wówczas nowe osady, m.in. w Krzesławicach i Mogile. Rozpoczął się okres największej prosperity osadnictwa celtyckiego na tym terenie. W II w. p.n.e. zaczęły napływać na tereny podkrakowskie również grupy ludności identyfikowane z kulturą przeworską, integrując się z etnosem celtyckim. Ta specyficzna mozaika określana jest mianem "grupy tynieckiej" [The first group [of Celts – ed. TB], probably originating from Moravia, arrived in the vicinity of Nowa Huta around 300 r. BC and settled, among other places, in Kraków Nowa Huta Wyciąże, Kraków Nowa Huta Pleszów or Kraków Nowa Huta Cło. Subsequent groups of Celts, arriving from southeastern Slovakia, arrived around 100 r. BC. New settlements were established at that time, including Kraków Nowa Huta Krzesławice and Kraków Nowa Huta Mogiła. The period of the greatest prosperity of Celtic settlement in the area began. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, people identified with the Przeworsk culture also began to arrive in the area near Kraków and assimilate with the Celts. This peculiar mosaic of people is known as "the Tyniec group"].

Another problem may have awoken one's curiosity. The author includes into the source base of the Tyniec group not only sites where "pure" materials of the La Téne culture (mostly from the oldest phase of development) were recorded and sites with archaeological materials of a syncretic nature, associated both with the La Téne and the Przeworsk culture (sometimes with elements of the Púchov and the Dacian culture), but also sites attributed specifically to the Przeworsk culture (Bejsce, Kazimierza Wielka district; Kryspinów, Kraków district; Michałowice, Kraków district; Obrażejowice, Proszowice district; Siedlec, Bochnia district).

To date, everyone, including the authors of the publications themselves, agrees that the association with the Przeworsk culture is accurate. Admittedly, in the course of research on those sites some items typical of the La Téne culture were occasionally discovered, but those were referred to as imports, while earthen constructions were considered evidence of southern influence (the groove-type features). The inclusion of the sepulchral sites of the Przeworsk culture in the source base impinges on the picture of material culture and the characteristics of the funerary rites of the Tyniec group presented by Michał Grygiel. The described approach has another important consequence. As already mentioned, the author of the reviewed book considers the Tyniec group as a part of the La Téne cultural circle, treats the terms "La Téne" and "Celtic" as synonyms, and at the same time identifies the Celts known from written sources with the people of the La Téne culture. Consequently, from Michał Grygiel's perspective, the people who buried their dead in the necropolis of the Przeworsk culture at Siedlec or Obrażejowice were Celts.

Obviously, one interpretation of the source material is an indisputable right of every person of science, and, of course, everyone can and even should describe the phenomena in a manner consistent with his own beliefs. Therefore, some researchers consider the Tyniec group to be a group of Przeworsk culture (Kokowski 2004, 38-40). Michał Grygiel, on the other hand, has included the sites undisputedly linked to the Przeworsk culture in the Tyniec group. It is unfortunate that he did not justify such a decision in any way. We also do not find a reference to the remarks of Przemysław Dulęba, who discussed cultural transformations in western Lesser Poland (Duleba 2009; 2014). He claimed there was a settlement hiatus dividing the classical La Téne culture horizon and the youngest stage, comprising syncretic materials of La Téne and Przeworsk cultures, with visible elements of the Púchov and Dacian cultures. In my opinion, the development of science requires not only the presentation of new hypotheses, but also references to the perspective of other researchers.

Concerning the subsequent parts of the book, the extended introduction is followed by an outline containing, as Michał Grygiel stated, wprowadzenie do problematyki historycznych Celtów [an introduction to the problematics of historical Celts]. He decided to include that chapter in the book, because Dzieje Celtów i ich kultury bowiem od dawna nie doczekały się pogłębionego ujęcia w polskim piśmiennictwie [The history of the Celts and their culture for a long time has not been a subject of in-depth analysis in Polish writing]. Here, the publication of Kazimierz Godłowski (Godłowski 1977) was pointed out as the last detailed study. Leaving aside idle deliberations on when a study can be considered either "concise characterization" or "in-depth analysis", I would like to note that the section dedicated to the La Téne culture in Kazimierz Godłowski's textbook is about 50 pages, while in Michał Grygiel's book only 9 pages (larger in format, but enriched with illustrations). However, it should be recalled that 20 years later, in 1998, a book written by Piotr Kaczanowski and Janusz K. Kozłowski was published and contained about 15 pages (with illustrations) of characterization of the La Téne culture. In turn, the 3<sup>rd</sup> volume of the Wielka Historia Świata edited by Aleksander Krawczuk became available in 2005. An analogous chapter on the subject, presented by Piotr Kaczanowski, took up 22 illustrated pages (Kaczanowski and Kozłowski 1998; Krawczuk (ed.) 2005). In my opinion, this chapter is not indispensable in the monograph of the Tyniec group (especially in the English summary), but the author cannot be blamed for his decision to include it. Undoubtedly, it will be a valuable aid to those wishing to learn about the most important issues of the La Téne culture, including students of archaeology.

Understandably, in order to present the problematics of La Téne culture in 9 pages, it is necessary to make far-reaching abbreviations and simplifications. Such a sketch, in essence, will always be an expression of the author's convictions about the hierarchy of importance of particular issues. In that section of the book, as a rule, bibliographic references are given in simplified form, i.e. without page numbers. References to ancient written sources are mostly missing as well. This is unfortunate, because some of the passages described by Michał Grygiel are intriguing, such as the indication that the ancients considered the language of the Celts to be "pagan" (p. 21). By necessity, the discussion of La Téne culture took on a popular science overtone, which contrasts with the highly detailed and erudite deductions presented in the subsequent sections of the reviewed book. In some cases, the statements made in the section dedicated to the Celts in Europe do not fully coincide with the remarks made later in the book. Thus, it is difficult to agree with the claim that the Celts did not know writing and used "imitations of letters" (p. 21). The term "imitations" suggests that the Celts imitated unfamiliar characters, as was the case with European imitations of dirhams, which bear meaningless characters meant to imitate Arabic letters (Rispling 2005). Whereas in the Celtic culture, writing was needed for trade and administration. Its practical use was limited to a relatively small group of people who could read; however, this was the standard in Antiquity. As an example, the "censuses" explicitly mentioned by Caesar as found in the Helvetian camp, can be named. Worth noting are also rather frequent examples of graffiti on pottery. The graffiti was not only present in the form of one or two letters of the Greek or Latin alphabet but also whole words of the Celtic language (Lambert and Luginbühl 2005). The knowledge of writing also seems to be confirmed by discoveries of fragments of writing tablets and styluses (Jacobi 1974). The ability to write down words in the chosen alphabet is also indicated by finds of coins, such as a brass issuance of Vercingetorix or other Central European coin issuances. Michał Grygiel wrote about them further in his work and rightly noted that the legends contain, among other things, the names of the issuers (p. 118). Therefore, in that case there is no "imitation" of letters, but information recorded by means of letters. The same remark applies to the inscription, Korisios [Κορισίος] – stamped on a sword found in Port, Switzerland (Wyss 1956).

Another example of inconsistency are remarks on rectilinear enclosures known as *Viereckschanzen*. Describing the constructions (p. 23), the author un-

equivocally advocated their ritual interpretation, which correlates with the views of, among others, Kazimierz Godłowski (Godłowski 1977). The cultic aspect of the interpretation of the Viereckschanzen was mostly influenced by the publications by Klaus Schwarz, especially on the structures at Holzhausen (Schwarz 1962). In turn Matthew L. Murray, based on the diversity of archaeological material, characterized the Viereckschanzen as places of meeting or cyclical ritual (?) feasts. However, almost from the beginning of studies on Viereckschanzen, researchers also provide others understanding of its functions or usage. This trend has intensified over the past few decades. Nowadays more and more attention is paid to the possibility of Viereckschanzen being headquarters of aristocracy. In addition, it could also serve a social function as a place to hold feasts. Occasionally, items interpreted as objects or structures of cult were discovered within those quadrangular enclosures. Note, however, that they may not have been crucial to the functioning of the establishment. Figurines of saints placed facades niches of modern tenements or small shrines standing in the yards of stand-alone house may serve as a certain analogy here. Their presence cannot prejudge the cultic function of the building. Such a nuanced approach to the interpretation of Viereckschanzen was already presented e.g. by Piotr Kaczanowski 25 years ago (Kaczanowski and Kozłowski 1998). The author of the reviewed book was obviously also familiar with it because on pp. 214 and 216 he cited concepts linking Viereckschanzen with the so-called fermes indigenes of the Gauls. Here one can only argue with the statement that interpretations focused on the sacred sphere were characteristic of German scholars, while those associated with fermes indigenes were typical of French researchers. In fact, a "secular" function for the Viereckschanzen was advocated by Germans as well, e.g. Jórg Biel, Sabine Rieckhoff and Caroline von Nicolai (Biel and Rieckhoff 2001; Rieckhoff 2002; von Nicolai 2006; 2009; 2011). Whereas, French scholars, e.g. Olivier Buchsenschutz in the post-conference volume on the subject edited by Olivier Buchsenschutz and Laurent Olivier, long have supported a cult interpretation of Viereckschanzen (Buchsenschutz 1978; 1989; 1991; Buchsenschutz and Olivier (eds.) 1989).

In a brief characterization of *oppida* Michał Grygiel described them as *centralne ośrodki o charakterze protomiejskim* [*central settlements of proto-urban character*] (p. 22). Such an approach was common until the 1980s, as indicated by the publications to which the author referred. At that time, the prevailing opinion was that the term "city" could refer either to the

Greek poleis and similar Etruscan or Roman settlements, but not to the fortified settlements of Barbaricum. However, the last 25 years of studies on urbanization processes in the La Téne culture provided a number of arguments allowing one to determine oppida as cities (Sievers and Schönfelder (eds.) 2012, earlier literature there; Zamboni et al. (eds.) 2020, earlier literature there). One can also have a minor objection about the map of oppida and the Middle La Téne open settlements in the Middle Danube Basin (fig. 6). It erroneously marks the Gališ-Lovačka site (Zakarpattia Oblast, Ukraine) as an oppidum. No fortifications were found at this site and most of the archaeological material was typical of the period prior to the oppida horizon. The site should be instead included in the group of large open settlements, such as Nowa Cerekwia (Głubczyce district, Poland), Roseldorf (Lower Austria, Austria) or Žehuň (Kolín district, Czechia).

As already mentioned, the following chapters of the book are indeed a very good study presenting the material culture of the Tyniec group. The author recalls analogies with great proficiency and pays attention to small but important details. This demonstrates his excellent understanding of the subject. The subsequent categories are described according to a clear scheme: first, the presentation of a source base, and then its analysis. This arrangement was somewhat interrupted when it came to coins, whose chapter had an elaborate introduction to the issues of Celtic minting. Michał Grygiel, like myself, after Piotr Kaczanowski (Kaczanowski 1996; 1997, 89; Bochnak 2006, 166) included the coin found in Kryspinów in the so-called Cracow type (p. 137). However, he did not refer to the studies of Marcin Rudnicki, who presented an extensive characterization of similar coins, narrowed the criteria of the Cracow type and excluded the find from Kryspinów (Rudnicki 2012). I believe the research of Marcin Rudnicki is essential and does not deserve to be overlooked (it is worth noting that the work of this researcher is known to Grygiel, as it can be found in the bibliography).

The situation was repeated while discussing the fibulae of the A.18 type (pp. 49–52). Michał Grygiel did not refer at all to the hypothesis of Przemysław Harasim, who suggested the possibility of producing that kind of fibulas in the Tyniec group (Harasim 2017, 55). In turn, on pages 61 and 63–65 there is a competent description of the technology of glass-making in the La Téne culture. The author emphasizes that the craftsmen of the La Téne culture based on glass raw material imported from the Middle East. Thus, it can be concluded that the mention about "glass production" (p. 27) by the Celts is simply an expression. On page 183 Michał Grygiel made remarks on bowls of the Roanne type. The author referred to the studies of Paulina Poleska, but the work of Zenon Woźniak should go first (Woźniak 1990, 25–27, 74; Poleska 2006).

The characterization of funerary rites prevailing in the sub-Kraków region in the last centuries BC may also be unsatisfactory (chapter 4, pp. 217–224). On the one hand, as already mentioned, the picture presented by the author is affected by including sites so far commonly associated with the Przeworsk culture in the analysis. On the other hand, Michał Grygiel seems to underestimate the capital importance of the discoveries in Modlniczka (Kraków district), site 2, which he mentioned only in a few sentences. Whereas, thanks to the interpretation of Małgorzata Byrska-Fudali and Marcin M. Przybyła, the materials from the "swamp" in Modlniczka may provide a new perspective and shed some light on funerary rites, not only on the scale of the Tyniec group but also of the La Téne world (Byrska-Fudali and Przybyła 2010; 2012; Bochnak and Skowron 2016).

In the course of his analysis, the author invoked the concepts of "Nowa Huta cluster" and "Kryspinów cluster". Although he did not provide a definition of the mentioned clusters, it seems that it should be obvious to those who have even a vague understanding of the cultural situation of the sub-Kraków region in the last centuries BC. At this point, one may wonder whether distinguishing those clusters is necessary, and the distance that separates them today results from intensive urbanization processes in the centre of Kraków. Single finds, e.g. from the Old Town (including from the Wawel Hill itself), from Kraków Skałka, from Kraków Grzegórzki, from Kraków Górka Narodowa and Kraków Podgórze suggest the whole area located at that time in the floodplain of the Vistula and the Pradnik could have been settled by the population of the Tyniec group. In that case, one should expect an area with different population densities, reaching from Podłęże and Kraków Nowa Huta to Modlniczka and Kryspinów, rather than two separate settlement clusters.

Chapters 6–8 are a study of cultural changes in western Lesser Poland in the last centuries BC. It is basically a model example of a clear and structured scientific narrative. The author presented the oldest finds of the La Téne culture, before moving on to outline the subsequent phases of settlement with La Téne characteristics. The remarks contained herein significantly enrich and organize our state of knowledge on cultural changes in Lesser Poland at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC.

The work was written with great attention to the correctness of language. The sentences were thoughtful and the paragraphs coherent. Spelling errors are rare. Out of the reviewer's duty, one should mention "Violier" (p. 15) in place of its correct spelling: Viollier and successively: "Dacii" (p. 56; Dacji), "Berchin Pollanten" (p. 64; Berching Pollanten), "Buny" and "Ausrtii" (p. 97; Bujny, Austrii), "drahma" (p. 304, drachma), and "Knottenring" which recurs several times (pp. 79, 188, footnote no. 79 on p. 304, fig. 112). Regarding the map (p. 116, fig. 38) depicting the origin of Celtic minting, it is a misfortune that the author did not specify the sources on the basis of which he developed the map. According to the caption, fig. 39: 1 (p. 119) is supposed to depict blacksmithing tools, among them an adze. An adze is not a blacksmith's tool but is used for woodworking. In addition, the only tool visible in the picture with a sleeve does not resemble the aforementioned adze. The copper alloy "purse" in fig. 48 (p. 134) was not depicted at a 1:1 scale (actual measurements  $4.3 \times 3.3$  cm). The list of scabbards with S-shaped motifs was incomplete. Several finds from Czechia, France, and even Poland were missing. Specimens from Korytnica (Jędrzejów district), Pikule (Janów Lubelski district), and Grudziądz-Rządz (Grudziądz district) (Bochnak 2005, earlier literature there) were omitted, as well as a scabbard from the Constanța area on display at the Museum of National History and Archeology [Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie] in Constanța, Romania. The caption to fig. 25 and fig. 28 (finds from Aleksandrowice, Kraków district) stated Naglik niepubl. [Naglik unpublished] - that figure, however, was published by T. Bochnak and the article was listed in the bibliography (Bochnak 2006, fig. 7: 1-7; 8: 5). Moreover, it cannot be overlooked that a brooch with a decorative foot from Kraków-Pleszów, site 17, grave 12/1954, appeared on three separate drawings of varying quality (fig. 96: 4; 105: 4 and 106: 32), while the specimen from Kraków-Pleszów, site 17, grave 1187 was used twice (fig. 105: 2, 2a, 2b and 106: 34).

The described errors do not have much of an effect on the very positive assessment of the reviewed book. It will undoubtedly change our understanding of the Tyniec group. The work of Michał Grygiel now makes the region of western Lesser Poland appear as the best recognized settlement zone of the La Téne culture in Poland.

#### Acknowledgments

The review was translated by Katarzyna Skowron.

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#### **Tomasz Bochnak**

Institute of Archaeology, University of Rzeszów, Moniuszki 10, 35-015 Rzeszów, Poland; e-mail: tbochnak@ur.edu.pl l'AFEAF (Aschaffenburg, 13–16 mai 2010) (= Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 16). Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.

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