

Moravian amber finds from the La Tène period in the context of the discovery of an amber workshop in the central agglomeration of Němčice (Prostějov District)

Moravské nálezy jantaru v době laténské v kontextu objevu jantarové dílny v Němčicích (okr. Prostějov)

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KEYWORDS

La Tène period – Moravia – Central Europe – amber – amber workshop – raw materials

ABSTRACT

The study presents an assemblage of amber artefacts chronologically classified in the early to final phases of the La Tène period (LT B – LT D) while also discussing the use of amber in the preceding period. Amber occurs relatively sporadically in Moravia in the context of grave finds, at common lowland settlements as well as at hilltop sites. An excavation at the central agglomeration of Němčice uncovered a sunken hut interpreted as an amber workshop and, based on numerous finds of raw amber, finished beads and their preforms, their local production was identified including evidence of various production phases. Along with the Staré Hradisko oppidum, this important discovery represents the second site in Moravia where amber was verifiably processed. For the LT C1 – LT C2 period, Němčice is the only site of this type in Central Europe. The large number of new finds allow us to learn about the way amber was processed into finished products while also expanding the typological range of final amber ornaments.

1. Introduction

Amber was an extremely popular commodity in prehistoric research, through which extensive theories can be developed on the topic of elite representation, the organisation of long-distance trade, and the reconstruction of distribution networks across individual cultural complexes and epochs. The importance of amber objects for their users and the search for goods for which this material was exchanged are also discussed, with the value of a given item (not just amber) certainly being influenced by the distance of the destination from its source. With the increasing amount of published comparative material, advanced analytical methods now make it possible to pinpoint the places from where the raw material comes. The origin of amber and its chemical properties have been studied to a greater or lesser extent by a number of authors (e.g. Beck et al. 1964; Beck 1986; Beck, Bouzek eds. 1993; Palavestra, Krstić 2006; Czajkowski 2009; Caldararo et al. 2013; Tisucká, Ohlidalová 2013; Causey 2019; Bolina et al. 2022 etc.). Compared to previous periods, we have relatively few finds available in Central Europe for the Early to Final La Tène period. However, in the region of central Moravia, Final La Tène workshops are known from the Staré Hradisko oppidum (Prostějov District; Čižmarová 1996), and a new amber workshop from the pre-oppidum horizon at the central agglomeration of Němčice (Čižmář et al. 2024, 274) has also been added, the discovery of which was the main impetus for this article.

2. Brief description of raw amber: origin, significance and history of use

The term amber is used for an amorphous fossilised resin composed primarily of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen. In Europe, the best known Baltic amber (succinite) comes mainly from the Tertiary Eocene (to a lesser extent the Oligocene) and is about 40 million years old (Palavestra, Krstić 2006, 10–17; Ivanova, Kuleff 2009, 23). Although the formation of raw amber is a highly interesting process from a geological and biological point of view, the information provided is of little importance in terms of the context of archaeological amber. On the other hand, we can assume that ignorance of the origin of amber among the population of ancient civilisations may only have heightened the mystery surrounding the material, rendering it all the more magical in their eyes.

An important role was undoubtedly played by the colour, which, along with the degree of translucency, is highly variable in amber – it most often ranges from light yellow to white to reddish brown, and both colour and translucency can be changed by heating the material. Another commonly observed phenomenon in connection with amber is the formation of static electricity

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<https://doi.org/10.47382/pv0662-03>

Received 27 June 2025; received in revised form 24 September 2025.
Available online 10 December 2025.

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Competing interests: The authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

when it is rubbed with certain other materials. Often associated with solar cults, amber also appears under the name ‘sun stones’ in ancient written sources. A number of supernatural properties are attributed to amber, with the most commonly mentioned being its healing ability, support for fertility and protection against spells. According to some authors, the Greek name for amber, *electron*, may mean ‘coming from the sun’; another possibility is that the term comes from *electrum*, an alloy of gold and silver, and its colour. Combined with its good workability and attractive appearance, amber was a valuable commodity and products made from it had a deep symbolic meaning in addition to their aesthetic function (e.g. Palavestra, Krstić 2006, 21–29; Czebreszuk 2011, 29; Bammer, Muss 2014, 22–23; Chytráček et al. 2017, 197; Guštin 2020).

The richest deposits of fossilised resin in Europe lie on the coast of the Baltic Sea in a wide area between present-day Denmark and Latvia. Here we distinguish significant sources of amber in the area of the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea – mainly from the mouth of the Vistula River over the Sambia Peninsula to the Curonian Spit – from those in the western part around the Jutland Peninsula and the northern coast of Germany. While there are also deposits of Sicilian or Romanian amber in Europe, the vast majority of amber from the prehistoric period is associated with the Baltic¹ (Czebreszuk 2003, 164; Palavestra, Krstić 2006, 12–14). Amber occurs occasionally in archaeological finds since the Stone Age, although in the Neolithic period its occurrence was limited to the source area of the raw material and its use can therefore be described as local for the time being. Janusz Czebreszuk dealt in detail with amber’s rise in popularity, the so-called ‘world career of amber’ and the reconstruction of potential trade routes (2003; 2011). According to Czebreszuk, an important condition in the past for the growth in demand for any material was the possibility of its stable supply, i.e. sufficiently rich deposits, while the second basic prerequisite for the development of trade was connection to a long-distance transport network (Czebreszuk 2003, 165–167).

The first cultural complex through which amber products were transported in large quantities outside the area of its occurrence was the Globular Amphora culture in the first half of the 3rd millennium BC. The range of products included discs, tubular/cylindrical beads and beads with a V-shaped perforation. Amber (beads with a V-shaped perforation) first reached the Mediterranean, specifically southern France, as well as Central Europe, in the second half of the 3rd millennium BC through the distribution network of the Bell Beaker culture (Czebreszuk 2003, 177, Fig. 12; 2011, 36–44). In the Únětice culture of the Early Bronze Age, amber beads as parts of necklaces were also found in combination with metal spirals and even shells of marine animals (e.g. Plesl, Beck 1993; Tisucká, Ohlidalová 2013, 27–35).

For the period of the 2nd millennium BC, a popular topic is the distribution of amber to Greece and the Mycenaean cultural sphere, the elites of which were probably the main European buyers of these goods at the time. Interest grew primarily around finds of amber spacers from Wessex in Britain, analogies to which can be found in the inventory of shaft graves of the Mycenaean culture; the search for suitable trade routes is also a related subject (Harding et al. 1974; Harding 1993; Czebreszuk 2011, 51–56; Maran 2013). Janusz Czebreszuk mentions both a sea route through the Mediterranean across the Atlantic, which could have been connected to the tin trade and amber could thus have been a by-product of these expeditions, as well as combined transport by ship through the Mediterranean to the mouth of the Rhône River and then overland to the Rhine basin

and northward. For the central and eastern parts of Europe, goods could have been transported over the Adriatic Sea and further northeast to the Danube through Hungary and Slovakia to the Oder and Vistula basins. Land routes through the Balkans, or a more eastern branch across the Black Sea to the Dnieper basin may have been less popular alternatives (Czebreszuk 2011, ryc. 32). Zbigniew Bukowski studied the course of the *Amber Road*, primarily with regard to its northern part and the finds of amber in Polish territory (Bukowski 2002).

Numerous finds of amber jewellery appear even in the Iron Age, and a very detailed study mapping the occurrence of amber in Central Europe during the Hallstatt period was published by M. Chytráček and his team (Chytráček et al. 2017). The lists of finds above, including the presence of workshops, show that the bearers of the Horákov and Platěnice cultures in Moravia were involved in long-distance amber trade in the earlier phase (Ha C – Ha D1/2). For Central Europe in the 7th and 6th centuries BC, the route along the Eastern Alps through Slovenia and Hungary to the Morava River was probably used, as was the more eastern alternative along the Váh River. Raw amber could have been gradually partially redistributed among trading centres along distribution routes, where it was perhaps processed into local products on an irregular basis. However, the largest pieces probably travelled further south to northern Italy, where they were used to produce artistic objects – carved figurines or as decorative fibula components (Chytráček et al. 2017, 191–194; Causey 2019). Interesting evidence of long-distance maritime contacts is amber objects from sanctuaries in Greece and Asia Minor, especially the collection of several hundred artefacts found in the Temple of Artemis in Ephesus from the 7th century BC (Bammer, Muss 2014).

At the end of the Early Iron Age (Ha D3 – LT A), the Central European section of the long-distance route was probably diverted further west through the territory of Bohemia, from where, in addition to amber, we also record imported goods from the Mediterranean (e.g. the Závist oppidum). Amber was probably then transported further to the southern and south-western Alps and to centres in Dürrenberg and Hallstatt. Moravian finds decreased rapidly during this period, and there is also a lack of a stronger manifestation of the presence of elites in the form of richly furnished graves (Chytráček et al. 2017, 176–177, 195–199). Early La Tène finds are often studied in the context of the end of the Hallstatt period and are discussed in already published or forthcoming studies (Chytráček et al. 2017; Golec Mírová et al. in print), and therefore the following text primarily presents material from the LT B – LT D stages of La Tène period.

3. Amber finds in Moravia in phases LT B1 – LT D1

For the Late Iron Age, the situation in LT B1 – LT D1 changes significantly compared to the previous period. By phase LT B1, one of the main distribution routes probably returned to the Moravian Gate, and although amber ornaments now appear in graves and even at settlements, they represent only a marginal part of the La Tène material culture in Central Europe (Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 314, Fig. 3, 8, 9). Compared to the situation in the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, amber finds had decreased significantly, and workshops for the processing of this material are also quite rare. From this perspective, the discovery of a workshop in Němčice dated to LT C1b – LT C2 appears to be exceptional. Similar to glass, a site with evidence of only raw materials and/or final products cannot be considered a place at which amber was worked into finished products. Both categories were undoubtedly the subject of trade, and only a larger amount of production waste, including unusable fragments and flakes,

semi-finished products or failed pieces, indicates the functioning of a local specialised workshop.

A list of amber finds from Moravia for the La Tène and Roman periods was compiled by M. Čižmář in the 1990s (Čižmář 1997). Filip Korn studied Moravian finds in his master's degree thesis, focusing on an analysis of the raw material and the search for its source (Korn 2022). The Central European region has recently been studied in greater detail by P. Dulęba and J. Markiewicz, who created a previously missing catalogue of finds covering the territory from present-day Switzerland to Hungary and also updated the Moravian data (Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023). Distribution maps for individual time periods show a relatively broad geographical distribution of finds from the flat burial ground period, but their numbers are relatively low and increase only in the Late and Final La Tène period, among other things in connection with trade and specialised crafts conducted in central agglomerations and at oppida. A small number of known amber (and other) artefacts from grave contexts may have been adversely affected by the properties of the raw material, where its surface layers crack as a result of oxidation processes when drying out and form a brittle crust. After its removal, degradation continues, which makes it difficult, among other things, to determine whether the product was shaped using a lathe or not. Another potential factor is the burning of amber during possible cremation burials.

3.1. Represented forms of amber artefacts

The small assemblage of amber products from Moravia includes ring beads, rings, beads, and spacers. Neither pendants in the sense of objects with an eccentrically placed hole nor artefacts with a combination of materials are documented yet in Moravia. The description of the forms was partly inspired by

M. Chytráček's typology for the Early Iron Age (Chytráček et al. 2017, 124–129) and serves as an overview of the Moravian material presented here (Fig. 1). In the future, it would be beneficial to conduct a detailed typological evaluation of La Tène amber jewellery together with contexts for the wider European territory, thus reflecting the full range of amber objects known to date, as was done for the previous period (ibid.). The determination of certain bead shapes, especially those preserved in a fragmentary state, is not unambiguous. A typical example is distinguishing between cylindrical/barrel-shaped forms in the case of artefacts with only a slightly rounded wall or with fragments of loaf-shaped beads, which may also have originally come from spherical, round or barrel-shaped forms. The resulting corrosion layer on objects often renders it impossible to recognise the original shape or to determine whether it is the originally intended shape of the bead or a variant caused by a period fracture covered with a patina.

Beads – narrow central hole, generally smaller diameter

Cylindrical

- **large** – shape in the form of a low wide cylinder/disc, rectangular cross-section, lathe, diameter ca 10–30 mm (also includes specimens with slightly arched walls or slightly conical walls); without a ring around the hole (flat)/with a single-sided ring/with a double-sided ring (Fig. 1: 1)
- **small** – straight side walls (including beads with a rounded edge or in the shape of a slightly truncated cone – Fig. 1: 4)
 - » tall – width less than height (Fig. 1: 2)
 - » low – width greater than height (Fig. 1: 3)

Barrel-shaped – rounded side walls, flat around the hole

- » tall – width less than height (Fig. 1: 5)
- » low – width greater than height (Fig. 1: 6)

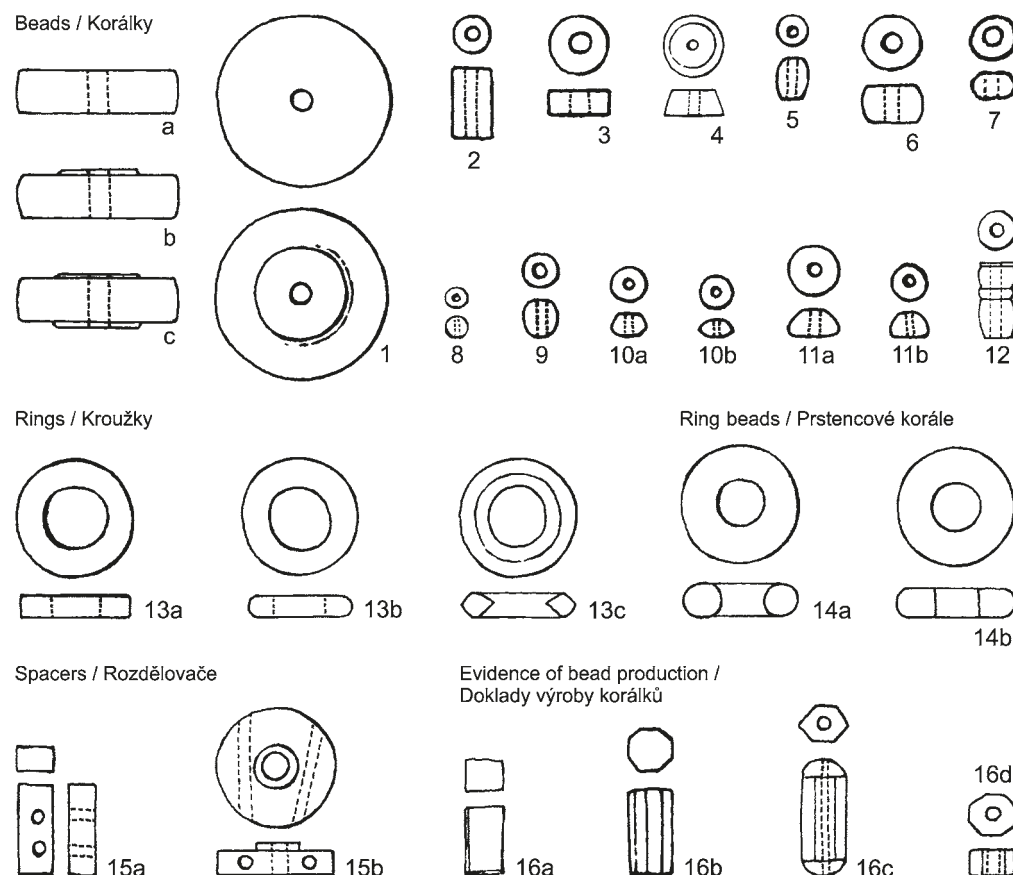


Fig. 1. Types of amber beads from Moravia. Drawing by A. Krechlerová.

Obr. 1. Přehled typů jantarových korálků z Moravy. Kresba A. Krechlerová.

Round – walls rounded to the opening, width greater than height (Fig. 1: 7)

Spherical – walls rounded to the opening, width greater than height (Fig. 1: 8)

Ovoid – walls rounded to the opening, width less than height (Fig. 1: 9)

Biconical – beads with carinated wall (sometimes a slightly rounded to lens-shaped form; Fig. 1: 10a, b)

Loaf-shaped – flat around the opening on one side, either flat or rounded on the other, side walls noticeably arched (it is not certain whether this is always the definitive shape or fragments of round, spherical, or barrel-shaped specimens; Fig. 1: 11a, b)

Profiled (Fig. 1: 12)

Irregular/indeterminable

Rings – noticeably larger than beads, wide central hole with a diameter greater than one-third of the diameter

- » **Discoid** – straight side walls (rectangular cross-section) or with slightly rounded walls (Fig. 1: 13a, b)
- » **Edged** – rhombic to lens-shaped cross-section (Fig. 1: 13c)

Ring beads – massive, circular to oval cross-section or D-shaped cross-section (straight inner walls around the hole), sometimes concave from the edge towards the centre (Fig. 1: 14a, b)

Spacers – multiple small perforations

- » **Prismatic** – usually a cuboid with two holes (Fig. 1: 15a)
- » **Discoid** – formal characteristics identical to large cylindrical beads, a turned low cylinder/disc with multiple small holes perpendicular to the central hole (Fig. 1: 15b)

Evidence of bead production – high prisms 4–8-sided (Fig. 1: 16a, b), perforated high prisms (width less than height; Fig. 1: 16c); perforated low prisms (width greater than height; Fig. 1: 16d), prisms/beads with partially modified walls (various stages of gradual removal of facets)

3.2 Cemeteries

The oldest Moravian grave finds dated to LT B – LT C include amber beads used on necklaces made of a variety of materials. Neck ornaments are generally less common components of grave goods, and in addition to classic metal torcs, these are torcs/necklaces combined with glass beads or pendants, exceptionally with a bead made of sapropelite and/or amber, along with bored coral rods, which represented the greatest possible luxury using exotic raw materials originating from distant regions. Amber was found more often in women's and children's graves, and its magical function was probably intended to protect the most vulnerable members of society (Chytráček et al. 2017, 172). Grave 13/IX from Borotice (Znojmo District) dated to subphase LT B1a contained a torc made of bronze wire, on which various glass beads are strung, supplemented by one sapropelite and one amber artefact of a low cylindrical shape with a diameter of 12 mm; the last mentioned piece has not been preserved (Fig. 2; Čižmář 1997, Abb. 4; Čižmářová, Stuchlík 2014, 479, obr. 9). Based on the condition of the skeletal remains, only the adult age of the individual can be determined in this case, not its sex. Two other Moravian necklaces composed of glass amphora-shaped pendants are known from cremation graves from Brno – Horní Heršpice (grave 4; Brno-City District; Meduna 1970b, 226–227, obr. 4: 5) and Přítluky (grave 1/1953; Břeclav District; Ludíkovský 1962, 78, Abb. 4) and are probably imports from the Carpathian Basin, where they are found more often (see Čižmářová 2022, 185–189). Both necklaces dated to subphase



Fig. 2. Borotice. Necklace with amber bead. Photo after Čižmářová, Stuchlík 2014, obr. 9; drawing after Čižmář 1997, Abb. 1: 4.

Obr. 2. Borotice. Nákrčník s jantarovým korálkem. Foto podle Čižmářová, Stuchlík 2014, obr. 9; kresba podle Čižmář 1997, Abb. 1: 4.

LT B1b originally had one amber bead. In the first case, it was to have been a barrel-shaped specimen that has not survived today (Čižmář 1997, 35), while an irregular (perhaps originally prismatic) bead with a longitudinal hole was strung on the second one (Fig. 3; Čižmářová 2022, Fig. 100).

A mass find of glass and amber beads dated by mask fibulae to the Early La Tène period was discovered a few years ago in a grave/hoard from Pirna and thus testifies to the use of a combination of both raw materials to create a 'special' piece intended for representation (possibly an offering) from the beginning of the Late Iron Age (Kraft et al. 2020, 85, 95–96, Abb. 42–49).

The use of glass and amber together was also recorded in probably later graves of phase LT C1. From Moravia, an example from the unpublished grave H 809 from Rousínov (Vyškov District; see below Fig. 7: 21–24; to the burial site in general Mikulková 2018, 198) and from grave 8 in Jiřkovice (Brno-Country District; Fig. 4; Kos et al. 2020, 197) can be cited. In the second case, monochrome round beads made of blue and yellowish glass were found, which may already be related to the functioning of secondary glass workshops north of the Alps, outside the influence of workshops from the Mediterranean or the Black Sea. Amber was not used in the form of a simple bead on the necklace, as was found in previous cases, but in the form of several cuboid spacers (see below Fig. 7: 16–20). In addition, at least one more complex turned specimen of a low cylindrical shape with one vertical and two horizontal holes has been preserved in fragments (see below Fig. 7: 14); analogues can be found both in the amber workshop from Némčice and in the workshop from Samborowice, where both of the mentioned variants of amber spacers are represented (Dulęba Soida 2023, Fig. 14, 15). A disc-shaped amber spacer was also found in grave 109 in Dürrnberg, along with glass beads, bracelets, and a chain belt (Moosleitner et al. 1974, 74–75, Taf. 172: 1).

Two amber spacers (one partially preserved) probably formed part of a necklace composed again of blue and yellow glass beads from inhumation grave 1 at the Manching-Steinbichl burial ground, also dated to phase LT C1 (Krämer 1985, 76, Taf. 1: 6; 123). Additional rich graves 12, 37 and 39 contained

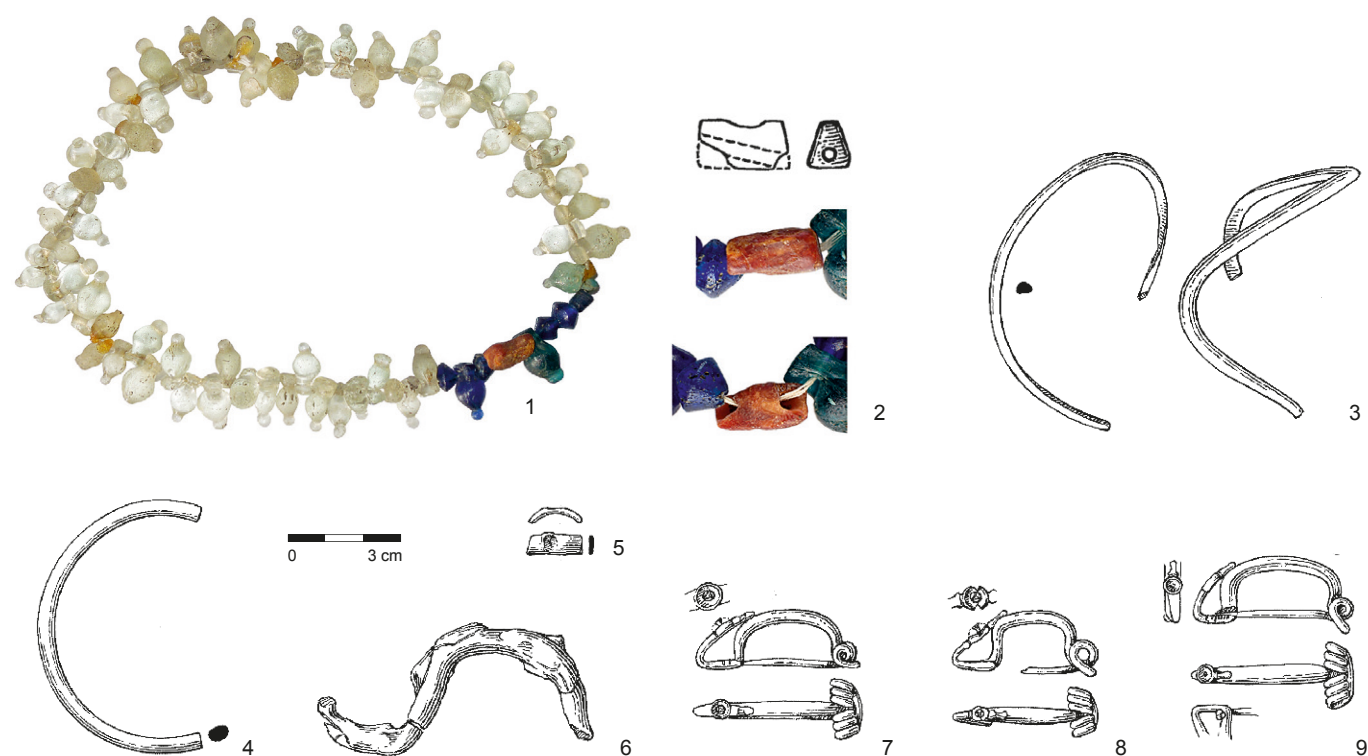


Fig. 3. Přítluky. Inventory of grave 1/1953. Photo by H. Čižmářová, drawing by A. Krechlerová.

Obr. 3. Přítluky. Inventář hrobu 1/1953. Foto H. Čižmářová, kresba A. Krechlerová.

the remains of similar necklaces with added amber beads or the same turned spacer in the shape of a low disc/cylinder, and the simultaneous presence of glass bracelets in all the mentioned contexts is also interesting (Krämer 1985, 78, 88–89, Taf. 12: 2; 23: 5–7; 25: 7, 8). Due to a change in the burial rite and the gradual decrease in graves from the end of the Middle La Tène period, when glass jewellery was only just beginning to be used to a greater extent, it is impossible to compare the potential value of these exotic raw materials.

In addition to necklace spacers and simple beads, we also encounter another category of ornaments at flat cemeteries – rings with a large inner hole and a variety of cross-sections. These objects appear as early as the Hallstatt period, both in square and

round versions (e.g. Chytráček et al. 2017, 126, tab. 4: A4). Due to the overall low number of known finds from Moravia, documented La Tène amber rings are less variable than in the previous period. They were most often placed on the neck or chest area, and in several cases, chains made of small bronze links on which they were hung have also been preserved. A fragment of an amber ring with a rhombic cross-section, together with a chain, is recorded from grave 1/1934 from Šlapanice (Brno-Country District; see below Fig. 7: 25), which is dated to phase LT B2b (Fig. 5; Čižmářová 2011, 156). Another similar find with a chain, this time of a lens-shaped cross-section, was discovered in female inhumation grave K827 in Hustopeče (Břeclav District; Fig. 6; 7: 5; Čižmářová 2019, 147–148). Another, this time more

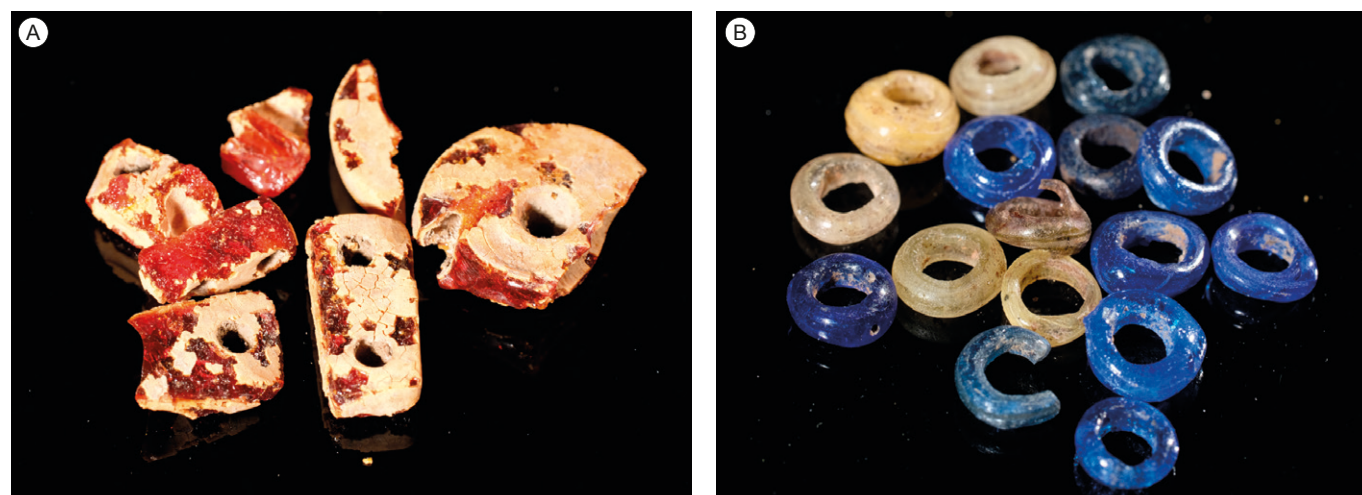


Fig. 4. Jiříkovice. Amber and glass parts of the necklace from Grave 8. Photo by M. Zeman.

Obr. 4. Jiříkovice. Jantarové a skleněné součásti náhrdelníku z hrobu 8. Foto M. Zeman.

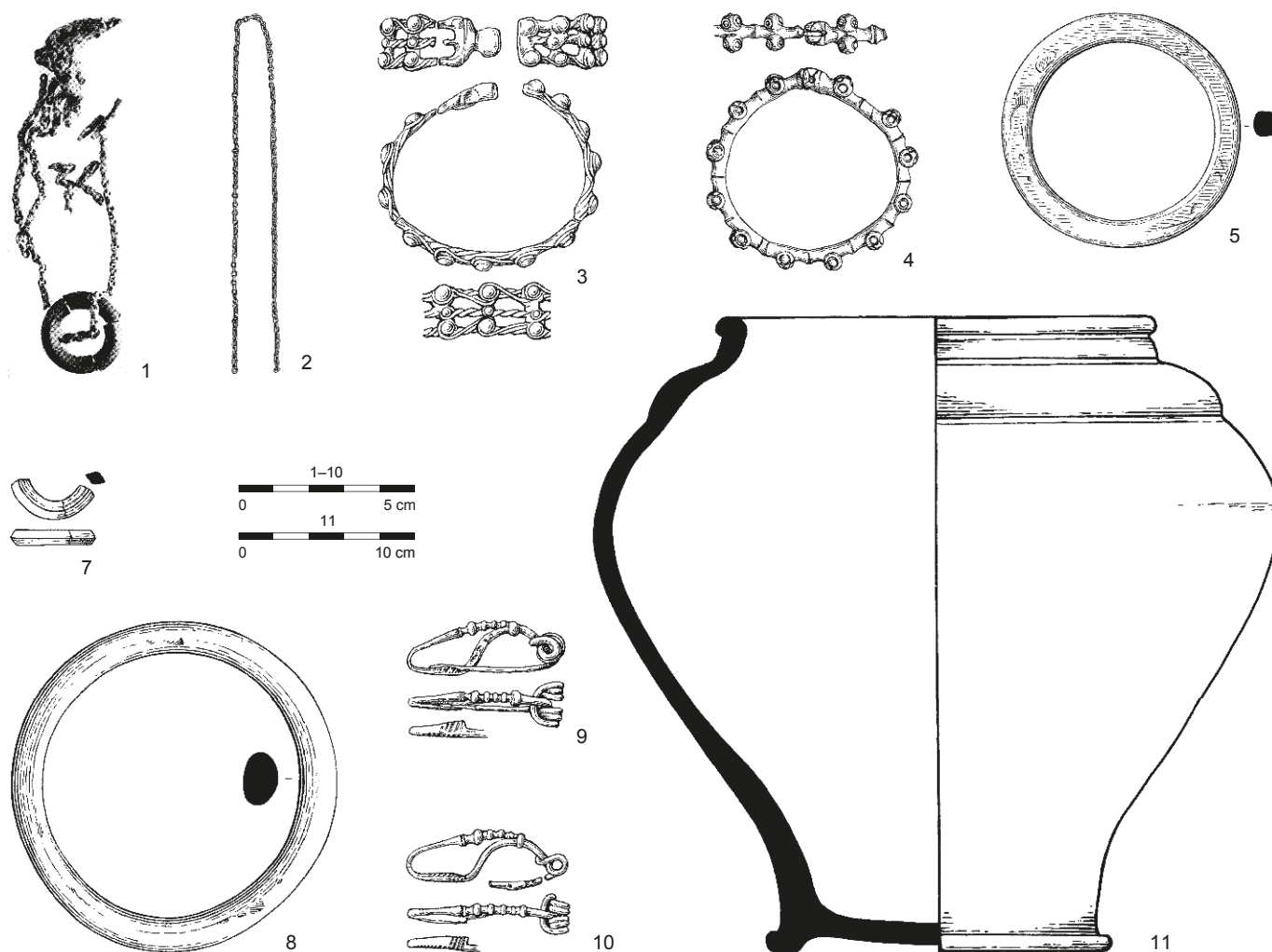


Fig. 5. Šlapanice. Inventory of grave 1/1934. Photo after Čižmářová 2011, tab. 52: 3: 2, drawing by A. Krechlerová.

Obr. 5. Šlapanice. Inventář hrobu 1/1934. Foto podle Čižmářová 2011, tab. 52: 3: 2, kresba A. Krechlerová.

massive, specimen of a flattened D-shaped cross-section with a smaller perforation was found at the same burial ground, probably from children's grave K831, though its location in relation to the skeleton is unclear (Fig. 7: 1; Čižmářová 2019, 149, tab. 9: 8). A similar object is also known from grave 564 in Pavlov (Břeclav District), where it formed part of the grave goods of a roughly 3–4-year-old child (Fig. 7: 4; Čižmářová 2019, 187, tab. 29: 6). The glass objects and amber ring, perhaps from Holasice (Brno-Country District) from the then collection of the Rajhrad Monastery from the beginning of the 20th century and published by J. Skutil could also have been grave finds (Skutil 1940, 356). This amber ring is flat on one side and has a cross-section in the shape of a recumbent letter 'D' (Fig. 7: 3; Čižmář 1997, 35, Abb. 1: 8). The weathered crushed material found in the chest area in grave 25 in Holubice probably also represented the remains of an amber ornament (Procházka 1937, 73). A small piece of amber found in Hrušky (Břeclav District) could possibly also come from a disturbed grave.²

Amber ornaments are part of grave inventories not only in Moravia; they are found in the Carpathian Basin (Slovakia, Hungary, Romania), but also in the west (Bohemia, Baden-Württemberg, Switzerland) – see the latest inventory of sites in Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023. Dominant amber beads strung on a bronze chain or smaller artefacts in combination with glass are

also known from children's and women's graves dated to the entire period of flat burial grounds (LT B1a – LT C1a) at the Münsingen-Rain cemetery (Hodson 1968), and graves from Mannersdorf, Austria (Ramsel 2011), can also be mentioned. Spacers, on the other hand, are more of an exception in graves. In addition to those mentioned above, a large oval artefact from a girl's grave dated to LT B2 – LT C from the Bern-Engehalbinsel site has also been published, but differs stylistically from those of Central Europe (Nüsse 2011, 236–237, Abb. 3; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 316, 330).

3.3 Settlements

The only published find from the flat burial ground period originating from a settlement feature is fragments of raw amber from the Bořitov 'Niva' site (Blansko District; Hlava 1999, 167; Čižmář 2003, 99). Documented from the cultural layer at the settlement dated to LT B – LT C in Olomouc-Nemilany (Olomouc District) is a massive ring bead (Fig. 7: 2; Hrbáčková 2019, 49, obr. 7) and an amber bead/ring from the collections of D. Šiška in Klenovice na Hané (Prostějov District) is also mentioned, where, however, continuous settlement is documented until the Final La Tène period (Šiška 1995, 248). Small fragments of raw amber have also recently been recorded in a settlement feature from the La Tène period at the site of Bochoř (Přerov District; Pospíšilová 2024, 219).

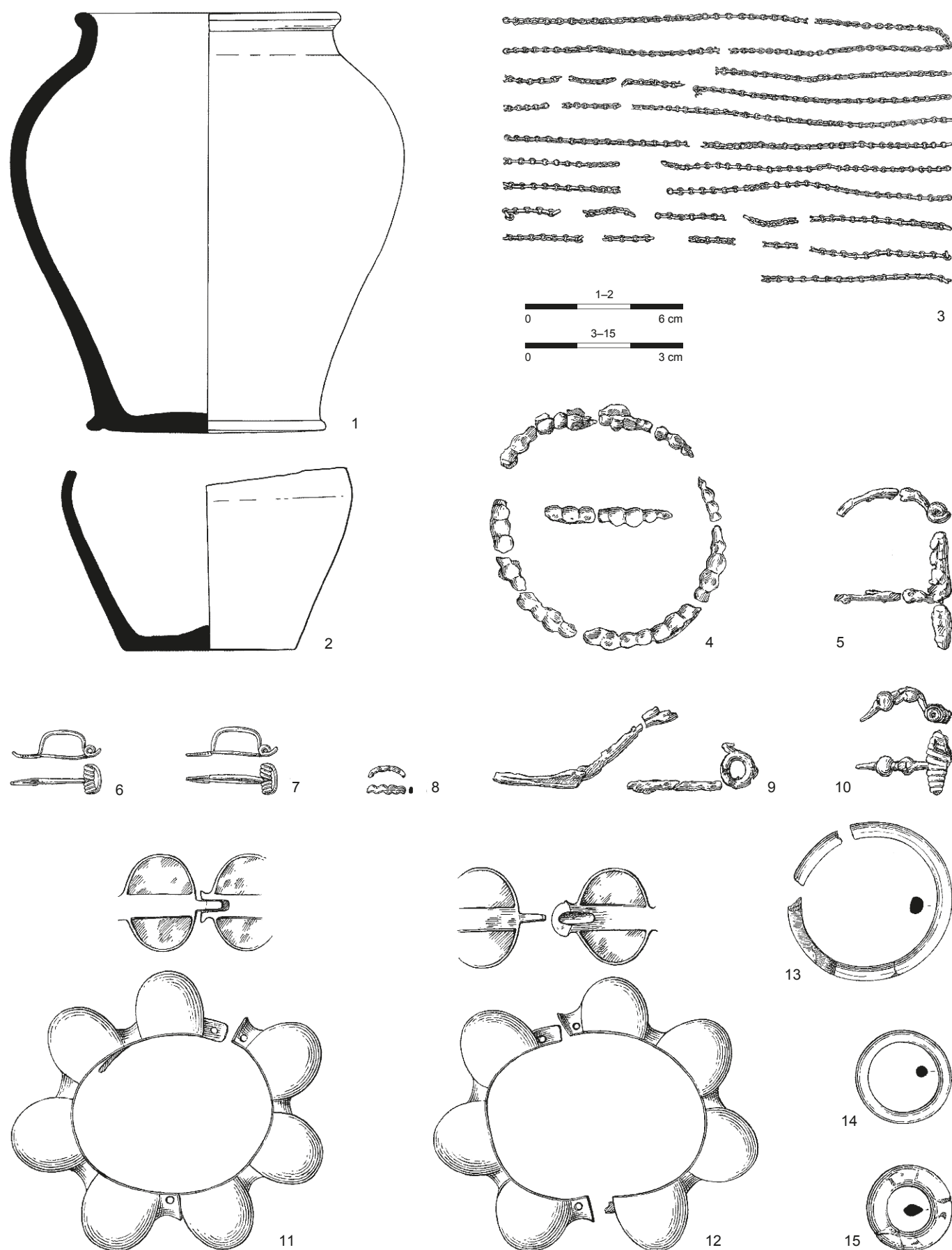


Fig. 6. Hustopeče. Inventory of grave K827. Drawing by A. Krechlerová.

Obr. 6. Hustopeče. Inventář hrobu K827. Kresba A. Krechlerová.

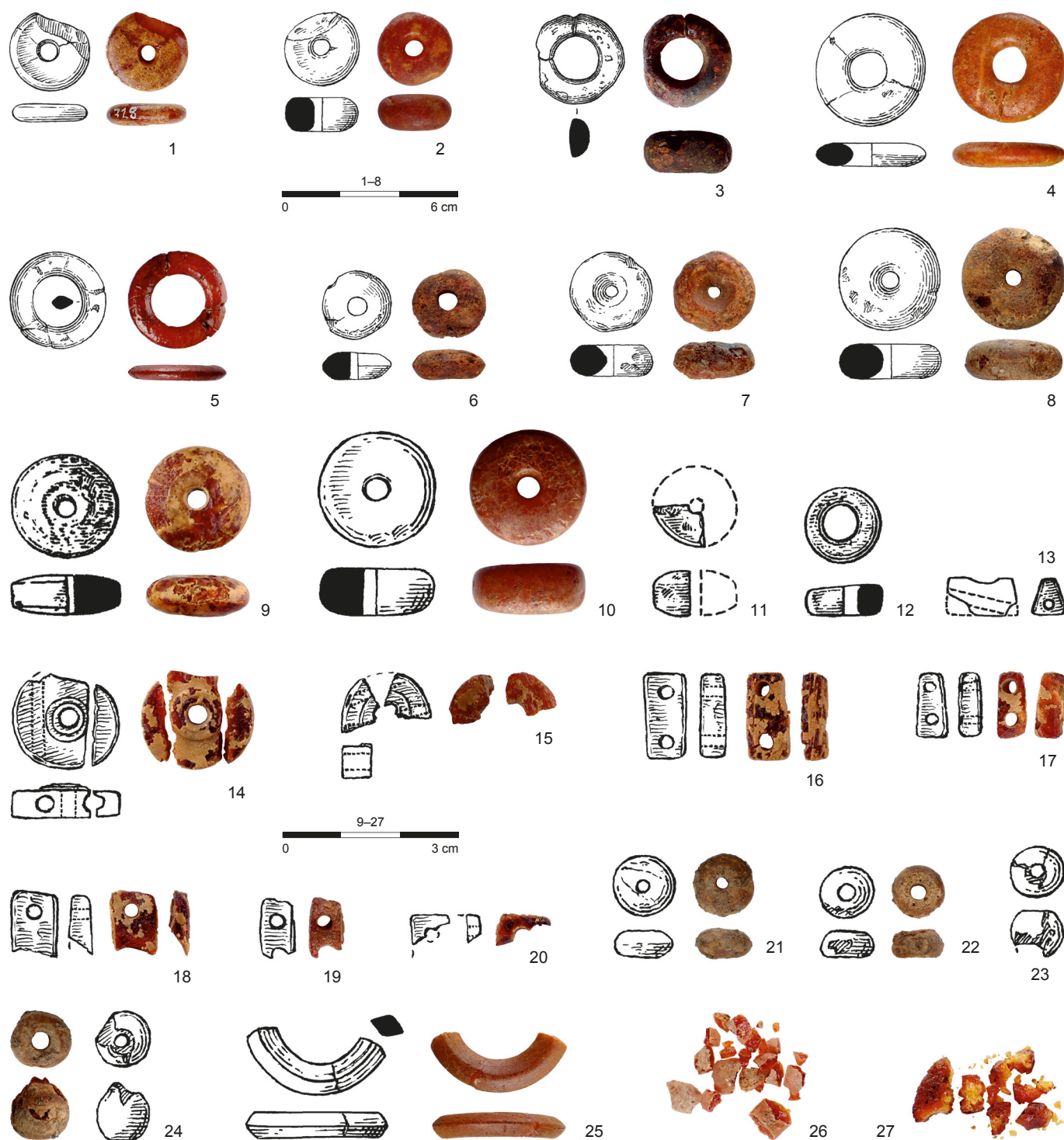


Fig. 7. Amber finds from Moravian sites. Photo by H. Čižmářová, drawing by A. Krechlerová. 1, 5 – Hustopeče; 2 – Olomouc-Nemilany; 3 – Holasice; 4 – Pavlov; 6, 10 – Jičina; 7, 8 – Ptení; 9 – Ohrozim; 11 – Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou; 12 – Borotice; 13 – Přítulky; 14–20 – Jiřkovice; 21–24 – Rousínov; 25 – Šlapanice; 26 – Bořitov ‘Písky’; 27 – Chvalčov.

Obr. 7. Nálezy jantaru z moravských sídlišť a pohřebišť. Foto H. Čižmářová, kresba A. Krechlerová. 1, 5 – Hustopeče; 2 – Olomouc-Nemilany; 3 – Holasice; 4 – Pavlov; 6, 10 – Jičina; 7, 8 – Ptení; 9 – Ohrozim; 11 – Jaroměřice nad Rokytnou; 12 – Borotice; 13 – Přítulky; 14–20 – Jiřkovice; 21–24 – Rousínov; 25 – Šlapanice; 26 – Bořitov ‘Písky’; 27 – Chvalčov.

We already have more evidence from the Late La Tène period; raw amber was discovered in several features at the lowland settlement in Otrokovice (Zlín District; Parma 2007, 333–334, 340) and in a hut at the Bořitov ‘Písky’ site (Blansko District; Fig. 7: 26; Čižmář 2003, 98). A flattened round bead was also found in a relatively rich sunken hut in Ohrozim (Prostějov District; Fig. 7: 9; Čižmář 2015, 445, obr. 5: 5), and a fragment of a bead from Jaroměřice has a slightly barrel-shaped low form

(Fig. 7: 11; Meduna 1980, 106; Čižmář 1997, 41, Abb. 1: 3). A cylindrical bead was to have been part of a collection of material dated to LT C2 – LT D1 from the ‘Nivky’ settlement in Holubice (Šimek 1958, 155; Čižmářová 2004, 180). In addition to the aforementioned finds, amber with an uncertain relationship to La Tène settlement is also mentioned in the literature from Polom in the Přerov District and Pustějov in the Nový Jičín District (Čižmář 1996, 175; 1997, 40; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 329, 332).

Amber is also documented in Moravia at two hilltop Final La Tène settlements. The limited number of small weathered lumps obtained during the cleaning of the area during the excavation of the Chvalčov 'Hostýn' site (Kroměříž District) apparently also included a fragment of one bead (Fig. 7: 27; Čižmář 1997, 41, Abb. 5). Two beads should come from excavations at the Púchov hillfort of 'Požaha' (Jičina cadastral area, Nový Jičín District) in 1983 and 1987 (Fig. 7: 6, 10; Čižmář 1985, 38; 1996, 177, Abb. 3: 2, 3; Čižmář, Vorlíčková 1983; 1987).³

As is evident from the overview above, there is no recorded site with a large amount of amber from common settlement and grave contexts in Moravia, either in the form of raw material or finished products. In this context, central sites in the Prostějov region have an exceptional position, in addition to the already well-known Staré Hradisko oppidum, and more recently also Némčice.

Amber at the Staré Hradisko oppidum is associated with the beginnings of the discovery of the site and its significance (Čižmář et al. 2018, 16). During amateur excavations at the beginning of the 20th century, as well as later systematic excavations, various quantities of amber objects and raw material were collected (Fig. 8; Meduna 1970a, 53–54; Čižmářová 1996). As early as the 1970s, C. W. Beck and his team (Beck et al. 1978) analysed samples obtained during the excavations by J. Böhm (1934–1936) and J. Meduna (1964–1966). These were then

compared with other European sources of fossilised resins, and the result clearly confirmed the Baltic origin of the amber from Staré Hradisko, which is also consistent with the results of new surveys in the work of F. Korn (2022, graph 9). Semi-finished products and failed amber beads are recorded from several features in the area surveyed in the western extramural settlement, primarily from hut 3 investigated in 1984 and hut 1, 2, 5, 6 from 1986. Amber fragments were also found in a ditch investigated in 1985 and, to a lesser extent, during an excavation in the field west of the fortifications, i.e. outside the enclosed area (Čižmářová 1996, Abb. 1). A selection of amber artefacts from the oppidum was published by J. Čižmářová (1996). Evidence of local amber processing includes semi-finished products in the form of polygonal prisms and, mainly, unfinished, already completely or partially drilled small beads and their parts with faceted walls (Čižmářová 1996, Abb. 2). Also noteworthy is a find in the shape of a double disc, which was probably intended for the production of two more massive beads (Čižmářová 1996, Abb. 4: 1). The range of final products includes a large bead with an oval cross-section and slightly smaller, similar-shaped artefacts (Čižmářová 1996, Abb. 4: 6–9). Another category consists of low discoid beads (Čižmářová 1996, Abb. 4: 11–14) and barrel-shaped or cylindrical pieces with rounding at the hole (Čižmářová 1996, Abb. 4: 3, 4; 3: 2, 3). Only a single cylindrical bead has vertical walls with transverse grooves

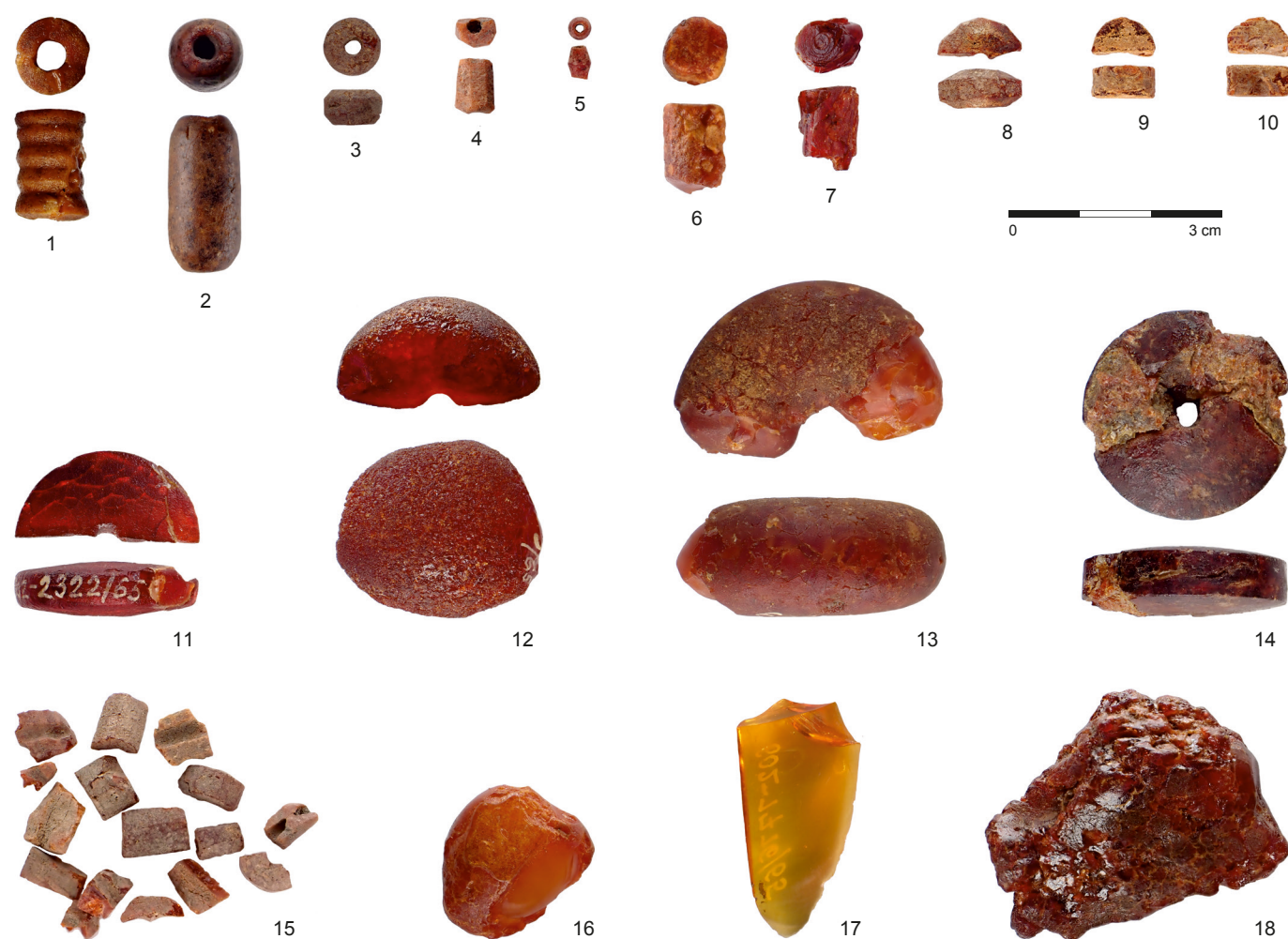


Fig. 8. Staré Hradisko oppidum. Selection of amber finds. Photo by H. Čižmářová.

Obr. 8. Oppidum Staré Hradisko. Výběr nálezů jantaru. Foto H. Čižmářová.

(Čižmářová 1996, Abb. 3: 1). For some small beads with conical, round or perpendicular walls, it is not always clear whether they were to be further modified or represented the final piece. We have no evidence from Staré Hradisko of a turned spacer or a similarly shaped bead with a ring around the hole, as appears at the earlier Némčice.

Only two amber beads are recorded (Čižmářová, H., Čižmářová, J. 2023, 44, Pl. 51: 10, 11) in the assemblage of old surface collections from Némčice (2000–2012), while the new ones (2016–2024) include another bead and a fragment of raw amber. In the extensive collection of finds numbering thousands

of pieces, amber or products made from it have figured only marginally thus far. Only during the excavation of area 1 in 2021 did small pieces of amber begin to appear in the cultural layer above the features and in their fill (features 503, 505, 509, 510, 512, 516). Beads, mostly barrel-shaped or cylindrical, and their parts were found in feature 503 (3 pcs), 505 (1 pc) and 510 (3 pcs) (see below Fig. 15: 1–6, 8). Another fragment of a spacer (see below Fig. 15: 7) comes from the latter pit, while no semi-finished product or other evidence of local amber processing was recorded in the first year of excavation (Čižmář et al. 2024, 285).

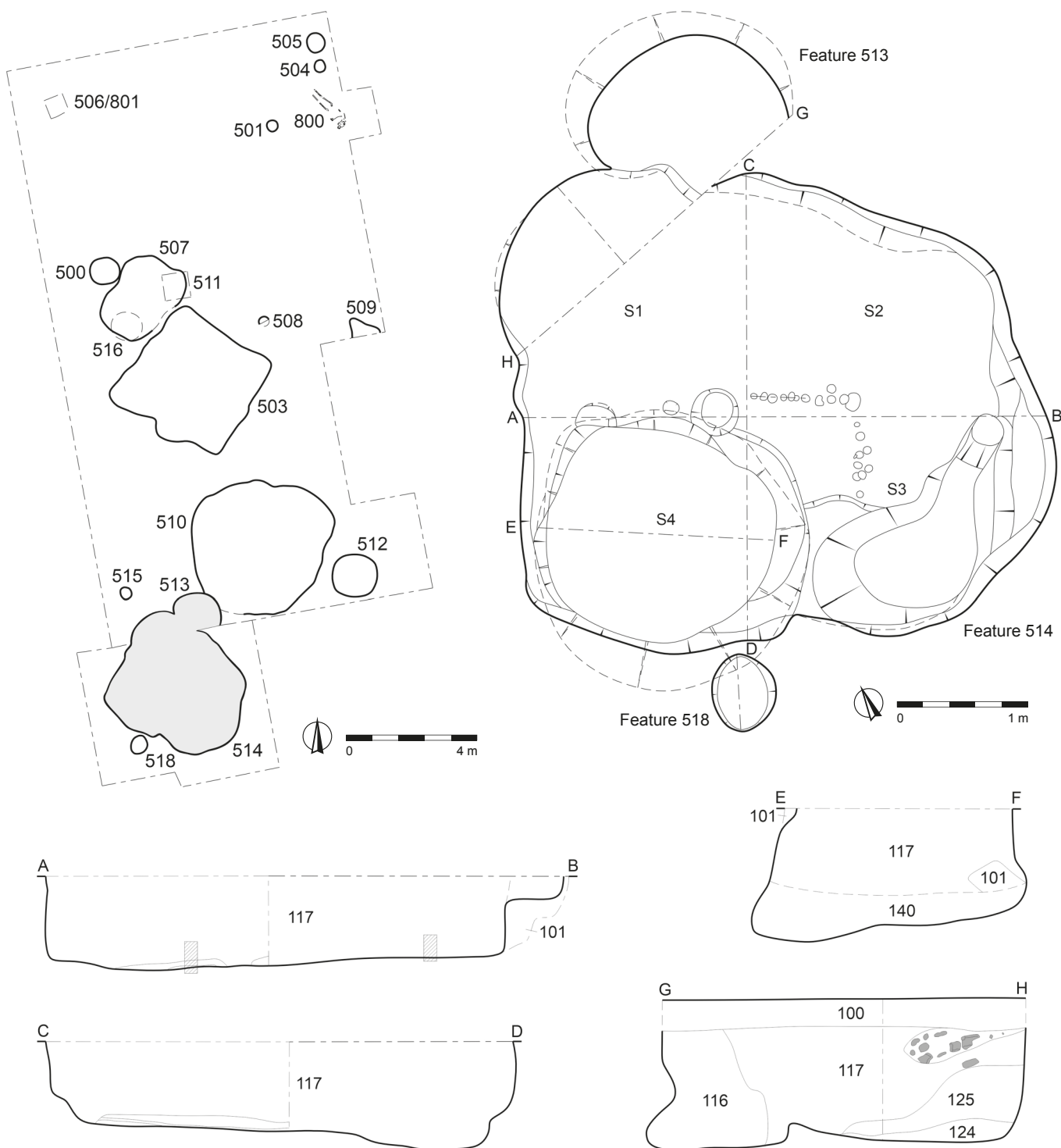


Fig. 9. Némčice. Plan of surveyed area 1 and drawing documentation of feature 514 (amber workshop). Author M. Holemá.

Obř. 9. Némčice. Půdorysný plán zkoumané plochy 1 a kresebná dokumentace objektu 514 (jantarová dílna). Autor M. Holemá.

3.4 Hoards

A special category in terms of find contexts is composed of mass finds. For Moravia, only one case of depositing amber ornaments together with bronze amulets and glass objects can be mentioned, namely the well-known hoard from Ptení (actual location in the Hrochov cadastral area; Prostějov District). A reconstruction of the eventful story of this famous find made as early as 1868 was undertaken in great detail by M. Hlava (2015). Eight specimens have survived from the Ptení hoard, which was divided between the main museums of the time in Vienna, Prague and Brno, but the original number probably reached up to fifteen pieces (Fig. 7: 7, 8; Hlava 2015, 274, obr. 11: 4–7, 14, 15; 12: 3, 4). Analogies to massive ring beads of a circular to slightly oval cross-section (sometimes with a vertical wall inside the opening) can be found in Moravia, especially at the Staré Hradisko oppidum (Prostějov District; Čižmářová 1996, Abb. 7–9) and we also encounter them towards the southeast, where their occurrence is often associated with the long-distance trade route to Italy. One of the most significant finds is a hoard of several dozen amber beads in Celje, Slovenia (Božič 1998, 146–148, Abb. 7–9).

4. Amber workshop in Němčice

Until recently, for the territory of Moravia in the monitored period of LT B1 – LT D1 we had information about only one site clearly associated with amber processing and local production of small amber beads – the Final La Tène oppidum of Staré Hradisko (Čižmářová 1996).

The discovery of the Němčice amber workshop was essentially accidental and beyond the scope of the originally planned excavations. When a small part of feature 514 extending below the southern profile of area 1 was documented during the excavation of the glass workshop in Němčice in 2021 (for more detail, see Čižmář et al. 2024), there was no longer space for its complete investigation on account of time constraints. As such, no one was aware that the investigation was interrupted literally on the verge of a major discovery. The following year, the decision was finally made to return to area 1 and complete the full survey of the sunken hut visible on the geophysical survey plan. The discovery that this was a place where amber was processed in the past was quite surprising, if only because previous surface prospecting and research had recorded very few amber finds. This situation changed in 2022, as the excavation of feature 514 suddenly yielded a large amount of amber raw material, semi-finished and failed beads, and finished products, leaving no doubt about the local operation of an amber workshop.

With an almost square ground plan with rounded corners and a flat, even bottom measuring approximately 4.1 × 3.6 m, the sunken hut was relatively segmented for its size (Fig. 9). The compacted floor layer was located at a depth of 0.7 m and contained large numbers of amber fragments and dust. Postholes for anchoring the supporting structure of the hut were traced along the E-W axis. Another posthole (feature 518) was found on the south side of the feature in its immediate vicinity. The internal division of the space is evidenced by a continuous series of small stake holes with a diameter 3–7 cm arranged at right angles in the approximate centre of the hut in sectors S2 and S3 (Fig. 10C). A (storage/waste?) pit of an unclear purpose was dug into the eastern part of the feature (S4), but based on the inventory and the nature of the fill, it appears to have been contemporary with the amber workshop. The excavation took place gradually in individual sectors (S1–S4) and within them in mechanical layers of ca 20 cm. A soil sample was taken from each sector and layer for wet-sieving, as a result of which even very small fragments of amber were captured.

The inventory of feature 514⁴ recorded parts of two iron fibulae of Middle La Tène construction, with one or more balls dividing the bow. The first has a right-angled bow with a small ball at the point where the foot is connected, but the winding and catch are broken off (Fig. 11: 3). It can be assigned to R. Gebhard's group 13, which occurs mainly in phase LT C1 with a possible overlap into LT C2 (Gebhard 1991, 80). Preserved from the second fibula with a low wire body is part of the bow with a knot and winding of 3 + 3 coils and an external spring cord (Fig. 11: 2). According to Gebhard's typology, it can perhaps be assigned to group 17, which is more broadly dated to phase LT C2 (Gebhard 1991, 81). An older variant of the gold $\frac{1}{8}$ stater of the Athena Alkidemos type dated to phase LT C1 is also important for the chronological classification of the hut (Fig. 11: 1; Kolníková 2012, 16, Abb. 5: 41; 83: 41; Smělý 2017, Fig. 4: 1). Other metal objects include a part of an iron linch pin with an upper part in the form of a crescent with a hole (Fig. 11: 6), whose dating falls within the broader period from LT C1 to LT D1 (Jacobi 1974, 216–221, Abb. 53; Mírová 2019, 97). Other fragments of artefacts such as part of the winding of a fibula, an iron chain, a bronze finger-ring (Fig. 11: 4), a simple bronze wire bracelet (Fig. 11: 5) and small bronze chain links are not chronologically significant. In addition to glass beads, the fill of the amber workshop contained four fragments of glass bracelets, two belonging to group 8b with the beginning of their occurrence at the turn of LT C1a/b and continuing into the Final La Tène period (Fig. 11: 9, 12; Venclová 2016, 49), the others to groups 11a and 11d, whose heyday again falls into LT C1b – LT C2 with an overlap into LT D1 (Fig. 11: 10, 11; Venclová 2016, 50–51, Fig. 80). The chemical composition of the analysed samples from feature 514 also confirms the presence of both older Egyptian and slightly later Levantine glass (Rolland 2025).

In the pottery assemblage (Fig. 12), it is only possible to chronologically classify the part of the situla with stamps in the shape of an inverted C on the shoulder (Fig. 12: 9). This type of decoration is dated to LT B – LT C1. Overall, we can therefore lean towards dating the feature to the transition from LT C1b to LT C2.

The amber assemblage consists primarily of fragments of raw material, with small fragments up to 1 cm in length, small flakes and amber dust/crushed pieces prevailing; a smaller number of medium-sized pieces reach a length of ca 3–5 cm. A significant share was made up of dozens of semi-finished products and small failed beads. Moreover, a number of completely or fragmentarily preserved final products were found, including beads, spacers and a ring, while ring beads are completely absent (Fig. 13; 14). Considering the laboratory analysis of amber artefacts and larger pieces of raw material, it is not statistically relevant to evaluate the total weight of amber obtained from the excavation of feature 514, but it was well under one kilogram. Beyond the standard procedure applied to other features, where two bags were collected – ca 20 l per sector and layer, additional samples were added from the floor and places with the greatest concentration of finds. In addition, the amber began to disintegrate very quickly into fine dust, which was then difficult to separate from the soil. The identification of amber workshops in the Iron Age for the wider European territory is currently being addressed in a study conducted by a team of authors (Golec Mírová et al. in print), where the basic parameters and stages of processing the raw material into the final product using cutting/breaking, scraping, grinding, boring and polishing are determined.



Fig. 10. Němčice. Photos from the excavation of feature 514. Photo by I. Čižmář.

Obr. 10. Němčice. Fotografie z exkavace objektu 514.. Foto I. Čižmář.

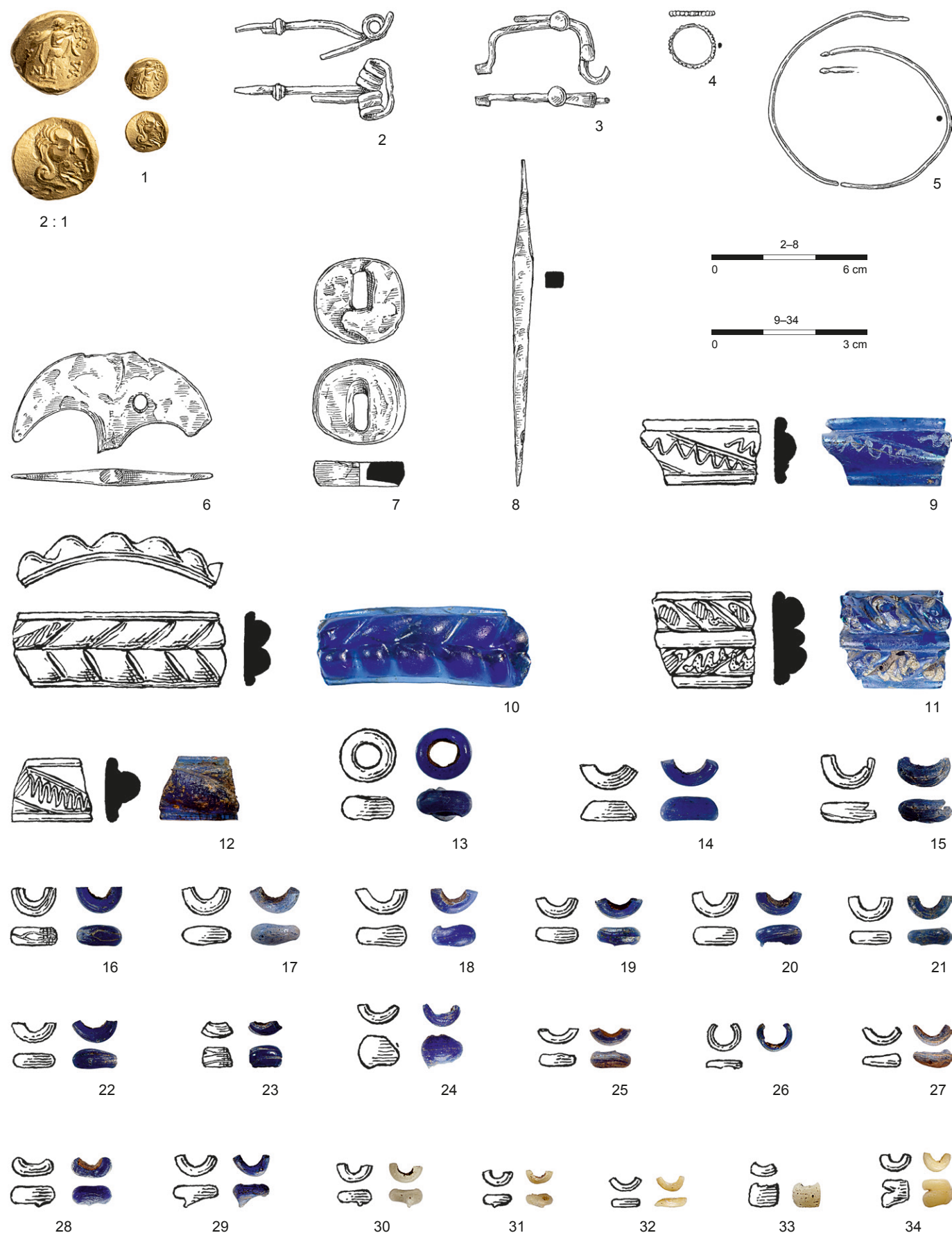


Fig. 11. Némčice. Selection of small finds from feature 514. Photo by ABALON s. r. o., H. Čižmářová, drawing by A. Krechlerová.

Obr. 11. Némčice. Výběr drobných nálezů z objektu 514. Foto ABALON s. r. o., H. Čižmářová, kresba A. Krechlerová.

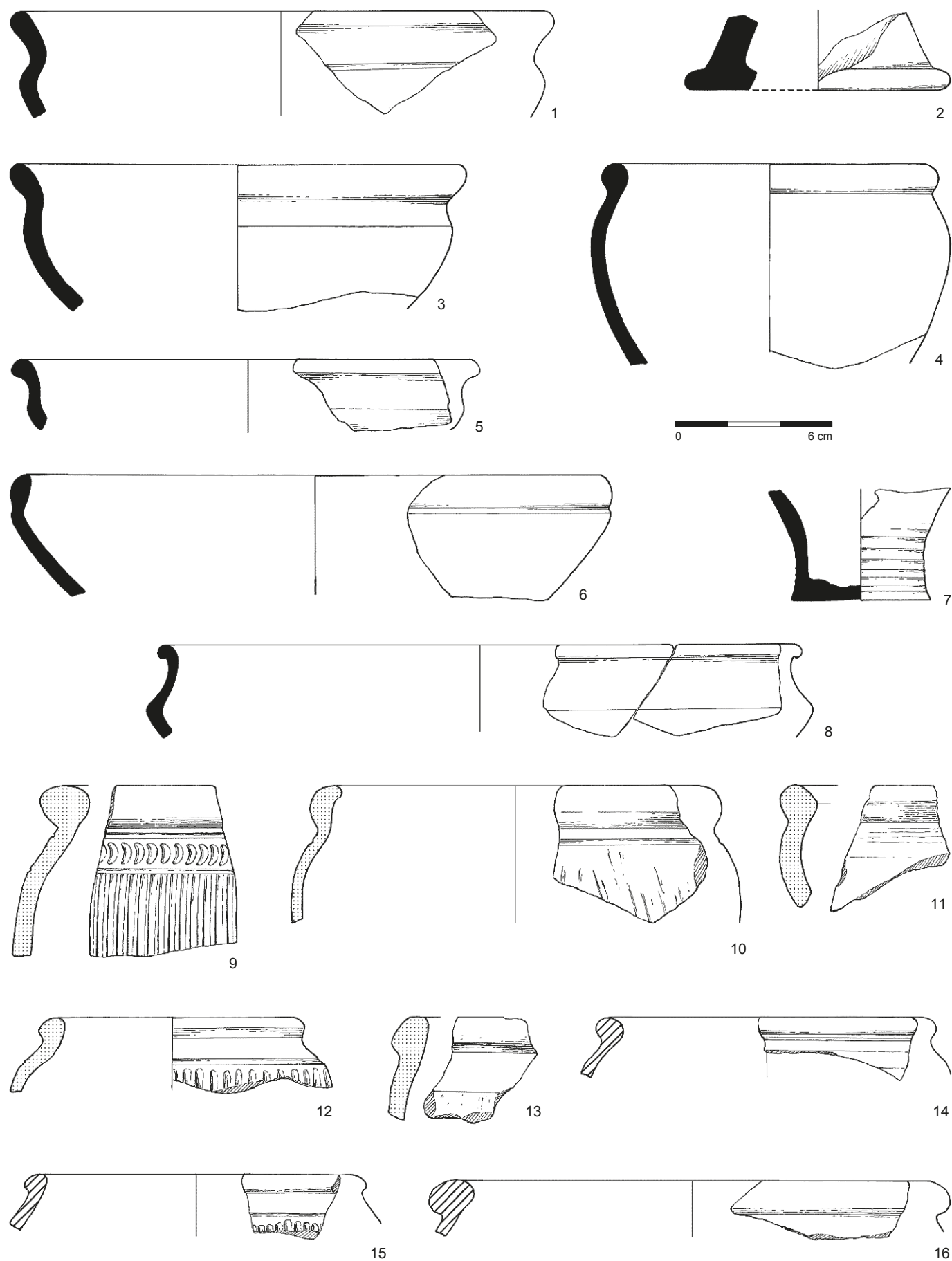


Fig. 12. Němčice. Selection of ceramics from feature 514. Drawing by A. Krechlerová.

Obr. 12. Němčice. Výběr keramiky z objektu 514. Kresba A. Krechlerová.



Fig. 13. Némčice. Selection of amber ornaments from feature 514. Photo by J. Čága.

Obr. 13. Némčice. Výběr jantarových ozdob z objektu 514. Foto J. Čága.



Fig. 14. Némčice. Semi-finished amber beads and raw material from object 514. Photo by J. Čága.

Obr. 14. Némčice. Polotovary jantarových korálků a surovina z objektu 514. Foto J. Čága.

Larger beads, spacers, rings

Beads of smaller dimensions (up to 10 mm in diameter) predominate the collection of amber artefacts from feature 514 from Némčice. In addition to these, we find several turned discoid beads with a low cylindrical body, often with a ring around the hole, whose diameter most often ranges from about 10 to 20 mm; the largest specimen from the entire assemblage has a diameter of 30 mm (Fig. 15: 5). The side walls can be slightly arched or conical, around the hole the beads are smooth or have a slightly raised ring of varying widths on one/both sides. One artefact of this type was also found in feature 503 (Čižmář et al. 2024, obr. 7: 1).

Essentially the same shapes are also associated with spacers, i.e. beads with multiple (usually two) perforations with a diameter of ca 1.5–3 mm drilled perpendicular to the central hole in the area between this hole and the side wall (Fig. 15: 33, 34; 16: 1–3). Fragments of eight pieces of discoid spacers were identified in feature 514, and another fragment comes from feature 510 (Fig. 15: 7; Čižmář et al. 2024, obr. 21: 5). Three similar specimens of different sizes were discovered, together with beads of blue glass and amber, in feature 13 dated to LT C1b – LT C2 in area 17 in Samborowice (Racibórz County, Poland) and perhaps formed part of a single necklace (Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 332; Dulęba,

Soida 2023, 504, 518, Fig. 7: 36–49; 14: 2–14; 15). Two fragments of simple double-perforated blocks, such as those known from Jiříkovice (Brno-Country District), also come from Samborowice, and the inventory from Haselbach contains one atypically profiled artefact and perhaps a fragment of a discoid (?) divider or bead (Trebsche, Fichtl 2016, Abb. 25; Dulęba, Soida 2023, Fig. 14: 5, 6), though these were not recorded in Némčice.

Discoid spacers, finds of which are not especially numerous in the La Tène culture, are commonly dated to phase LT C2 (Čižmář 1994, 604; Danielisová 2010, 100; Dulęba, Soida 2023, 506), although some grave units with which the aforementioned authors worked do not rule out their origin already by the end of phase LT C1. In addition to an amber divider, grave 37 from the Manching-Steinbichl burial ground and grave 109 from Dürrnberg contained bronze chain belts of the Gk-J-AXb type dated by J. Bujna to phase LT C1b (Bujna 2011, tab. 62, obr. 60), and the represented types of glass bracelets of group 6a/2 also have their origin in the same phase, though the main occurrence is tied to a later period (Venclová 2016, Fig. 50). Moreover, the presence of Mötschwil fibulae together with spacers in graves does not necessarily mean dating the units to phase LT C2, e.g. fibulae from graves 37 and 39 from the Manching-Steinbichl site represent a relatively narrow, subtle variant of Mötschwil fibulae based on older wire fibulae of a connected construction and may thus be characteristic of phase LT C2 at the very beginning of their production (for more on the origins and dating of Mötschwil fibulae, Marton 2004). The use of the Jiříkovice grave to determine a more precise chronological position of the discoid spacers is also problematic, since the end of the period of flat burial grounds in Moravia is generally understood to not exceed phase LT C1, and based on the inventory consisting only of monochrome glass beads and amber artefacts, a possible shift in dating to phase LT C2 cannot be supported. Other turned spacers from Bohemia are recorded as one artefact from the oppidum of Česká Lhota (Chrudim District; Danielisová 2010, 100, tab. 3: 12) and one from the Final La Tène settlement in Dolní Břežany (Prague-West District). At the second of these locations, this amber artefact is used as support for dating the entire ceramic assemblage; however, M. Čižmář still suggests some caution in dating due to the possible superposition of artefacts (Čižmář 1994, 604, obr. 2: 2). One artefact was also to have been part of a grave unit found as early as 1865 in Dühren (Baden-Württemberg, Germany; Polenz 1982, 60, Abb. 4: 18). With regard to the dating of feature 514 from Némčice, the beginning of production of La Tène turned spacers can be considered as early as phase LT C1b and continuing in phase LT C2.

The only specimen is a fragment of an apparently turned discoid ring with a diameter of about 20 mm with straight walls, slightly rounded at the opening (Fig. 15: 31). The category of rings is known mainly from graves (see above); one artefact was published from the settlement environment of Samborowice, probably forming part of a necklace (Dulęba, Soida 2023, 502, 518, Fig. 9: 11) and another, e.g. from Haselbach in Lower Austria (Trebsche, Fichtl 2018, 81, Fig. 7).

Small beads and evidence of their production

The craftsman's first step was undoubtedly the selection of a suitable piece of raw amber, from which any crust was removed before being worked. The reconstruction of the operation chain with amber based on experiment was recently described by M. Dienstpieper (Hansen et al. 2024; Golec Mírová et al. in print). However, the surface of the lumps of raw amber from Némčice was in most cases so weathered that it was not possible to subject them to use-wear examination, and prisms with four to eight faces



Fig. 15. Němčice. Selection of amber finds from area 1. 1 – Feature 505; 2–4 – feature 503; 5–8 – feature 510; 9–11, 15–35 – feature 514; 12–14 – topsoil upon feature 514. Photo by H. Čižmářová, drawing by A. Krechlerová.

Obr. 15. Němčice. Výběr jantaru z výzkumu plochy 1. 1 – objekt 505; 2–4 – objekt 503; 5–8 – objekt 510; 9–11, 15–35 – objekt 514; 12–14 – ornice nad objektem 514. Foto H. Čižmářová, kresba A. Krechlerová.



Fig. 16. Némčice. Selection of amber finds from feature 514 (1-74) and 522 (75-76). Photo by H. Čižmářová, drawing by A. Krechlerová.

Obr. 16. Némčice. Výběr jantaru z objektu 514 (1-74) and 522 (75-76). Foto H. Čižmářová, kresba A. Krechlerová.

without perforation can be considered evidence of the roughest phase after primary processing (Fig. 16: 11, 12). This stage of production is also documented from the workshops at the Staré Hradisko oppidum (Čižnářová 1996, Abb. 2: 2–5). The next step was to drill a central hole, or semi-finished products on which the facets had already been removed from the walls were perforated. Given that most cracked beads (most often preserved halves) with an already formed hole have imperfectly worked walls, it can be assumed that the procedure mentioned first may have been more common. There are also finds of semi-finished beads of higher and lower forms with smoothed edges in the upper and lower parts (removal of the edge – a rounded or oblique transition from the hole to the side walls), but still with faceted sides (Fig. 16: 36, 45). While some fragments from the Staré Hradisko oppidum also have unfinished holes, similar specimens were not recorded in Němčice (Čižnářová 1996, Abb. 2: 8–12).

The majority of the assemblage consists of amber beads with a diameter of 5–7 mm, but it is uncertain whether the predominant cylindrical (sometimes with slightly conical walls) shape with smooth side walls and a flat surface around the hole could have been intended as definitive or whether the individual pieces were to be further worked and rounded at the top and bottom edges.

Several very small round to spherical beads with a diameter of ca 5 mm were captured (inv. No. 351739, 740, 741, 351880/1, 351874, 351860), and an ovoid bead (Fig. 16: 27) and four artefacts with a profiled side wall are represented (Fig. 16: 7, 9, 10, 56). Beads of a higher cylindrical shape with a body divided by a rounded rib(s) are relatively rare and only one such specimen is also recorded from the Staré Hradisko oppidum (Čižnářová 1996, Abb. 3: 1).

Feature 514 contained a minimum of completely preserved round beads similar in shape to the widely distributed glass specimens of type 117 (according to Venclová 1990; inv. No. 351830), which were popular in the La Tène period and have analogies, e.g. in Samborovice (Dulęba, Soida 2023, Fig. 9: 12–24). However, a number of small rounded fragments, including loaf-shaped pieces on which the intended shape cannot be distinguished from the patinated fracture, may have come from them (e.g. Fig. 16: 58, 62, 63, 67, 71). Another (completely preserved) round bead is recorded from area 1 (Fig. 15: 12).

The inventory from feature 514 included small barrel-shaped beads of a low variety, the width of which exceeds the height, the side walls are curved and the upper and lower parts around the hole are flat (Fig. 16: 16, 17, 19); another piece is also recorded from feature 510 (Fig. 15: 8). Furthermore, the assemblage contains small biconical beads with a more or less pronounced carination, the walls of which may fracture away from the hole or be smoothly rounded, thus transforming into a lenticular shape (Fig. 16: 34, 44, 46, 47).

5. Amber processing in the Central European context

In the Late Iron Age, the Central European territory was undoubtedly interwoven with a network of trade routes connecting not only the coasts of the Baltic and North seas with the Mediterranean, but also individual centres belonging to the La Tène cultural spheres with each other. It is difficult to comment on the organisation of long-distance trade solely on the basis of the distribution of goods and raw materials, and even when taking into account the geographical character of the landscape, it is sufficient only for formulating a rough idea of what occurred between the 4th and 1st century BC. The spectrum of amber use for the production of objects and jewellery, including artefacts that combined materials, is not as diverse for phases LT B1 – LT D1 as in the Hallstatt period. Amber artefacts and raw material occur over a wide area, but in relatively small quantities and at a limited number of sites (e.g. Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, Fig. 3, 8, 9). If we compare the situation with another imported raw material – glass, about whose distribution we do not know much more, today thanks to various analytical methods we are aware of the approximate area of origin of the raw material and the final location of its archaeological discovery outside this source region. However, even here we do not learn more about the ties of merchants to the ruling social classes, the time requirements, the frequency of deliveries, the original volume and value of the transported goods, the conditions of passage through suitable natural corridors, possible obstacles (e.g. the political situation, river flooding), etc. (e.g. Rolland 2021a; 2021b), and glass jewellery is a relatively common occurrence in the material culture of the La Tène period, unlike amber.

For phases LT B1 – LT B2, we have not yet documented any specialised workshops for processing amber in Central Europe,

Site	Context	Period	Type of find
Bochoř 'Markrabina' (Přerov District)	Lowland settlement	LT C	Raw amber
Borotice 'Nad Dvorem' (Znojmo District)	Inhumation grave 13/IX	LT B1a	Small cylindrical bead
Bořitov 'Niva' (Blansko District)	Lowland settlement	LT B1–C1	Raw amber
Bořitov 'Písky' (Blansko District)	Lowland settlement, feature 1/83	LT C2–D1	Raw amber
Brno – Horní Heršpice 'Na Františku' (Brno-City District)	Cremation grave 4	LT B1b	Piece of barrel-shaped bead
Holasice (Brno-Country District)	Without context, disturbed grave (?)	LT ?	Ring
Holubice 'Dílce' (Vyškov District)	Inhumation grave 25	LT B2	Unspecified
Holubice 'Nivky' (Vyškov District)	Lowland settlement	LT C2–D1 ?	Barrel-shaped bead
Hustopeče 'Šibenky' (Břeclav District)	Inhumation grave K827	LT B2	Ring
Hustopeče 'Šibenky' (Břeclav District)	Inhumation grave K831	LT B2	Large flattened bead
Chvalčov 'Hostýn' (Kroměříž District)	Hilltop settlement	LT D1	Raw amber, piece of bead (?)
Jaroměřice n. R. 'V Ďamách' (Třebíč District)	Lowland settlement	LT D	Bead (pieces)

and we encounter it mainly in the form of jewellery in burial contexts (Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, Fig. 12). The use of the Moravian Gate as a link between Upper Silesia and Lower Austria on one of the branches of the Amber Road is better illustrated by the emergence of central agglomerations such as Nowa Cerekwia (Głubczyce County), Némčice (Prostějov District), Roseldorf (Hollabrun District), as well as medium-sized sites such as Haselbach (Korneuburg District) and Samborowice (Racibórz County; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 324–326; Golec Mírová et al. in print, Fig. 9–11); another option for a long-distance route from Moravia to Poland is through the Jeseníky Mountains (Martínek 2019, 66).

Hut 2 from Nowa Cerekwia is dated to phase LT C1, in which a semi-finished amber artefact with an unfinished hole was found, but this, together with amber beads from other features dated to the entire course of LT B2 – LT C2 does not make the site a certain place for the functioning of a local workshop, however probable it might be (Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 328, 332). A certain role in the distribution of raw materials and their processing was played by feature 8 (site 13) in Samborowice, which is dated to LT C1b – LT C2 (?) (more in Dulęba, Soida 2023, 501, Fig. 5; 7: 1–13) and the same chronological classification is associated with the famous hoard of raw amber weighing 1,300–1,500 kg from the Wrocław-Partynice site (Wrocław County; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2021). The amber workshop (feature 514) at Némčice is also dated to the end of phase LT C1, where raw amber and products made from it were also found in other features dated to LT C1b – LT C2 (Čižmář et al. 2024, 261).

At the end of the La Tène period, the only unambiguous site with evidence of amber processing in Moravia is represented by several features from the Staré Hradisko oppidum (Čižmářová 1996), while in Bohemia it is primarily the Stradonice oppidum (Rybová, Drda 1994, 117). Only a few fragments of beads, including one undrilled artefact, come from the Závist oppidum (Motyková et al. 1978, 285).

For the Final La Tène period, a workshop for the production of beads from fossilised resin from the Rochusmarkt – Vienna 3 site can be mentioned. Most of the beads were cylindrical in shape, similar to those from Némčice, but their dimensions were slightly larger and were mainly in the 10–17 mm range.

Archaeological excavation there has provided evidence of contacts with the Przeworsk culture, but the obtained amber should come from local sources located west of Vienna, not from the Baltics (Adler-Wölfl, Moser 2017, 22, 33–35, Abb. 7). Local and Przeworsk ceramics are also documented from Wangenheim in Thuringia (Gotha District), where amber beads and their semi-finished products are known (Nüsse 2011, Abb. 4; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 333). A smaller amount of raw material together with beads was published from the Bavarian site of Berching-Pollanten (Neumarkt District; Schäfer 2010, 196–197). An iron pointed tool, perhaps related to the processing of amber, also came from this site (Schäfer 2010, Abb. 145), while a similar pointed object of a rectangular cross-section was also found in the fill of hut 514 from Némčice (Fig. 11: 8). Analogous iron and bronze artefacts of various lengths and cross-sections are also found at other sites and it is likely that they could have been widely used as an awl/digger/drill for working with wood, leather, bone or antler (e.g. Manching – Jacobi 1974, 54–55, Taf. 11–12; Klein Gleichberg – Spehr 2021, Abb. 38–42). The likelihood of working with more than one type of material at the same site in the case of amber processing is also supported by the fact that relatively common tools such as knives, points and files could have been used for it. An experiment suggests that polishing could have been performed using wet slate and leather (Hansen et al. 2024).

6. Conclusion

The amount of raw amber and products derived from it in Moravia (Tab. 1) during the La Tène period also corresponds to its presence in other Central European regions (e.g. Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023). Compared to the hoard in Wrocław-Partynice, the volume of amber recovered at most of the mentioned La Tène sites is rather marginal and larger pieces of raw material are rarely found. The product range also includes mainly small beads, pendants in the form of rings are found more often on their own and massive ring beads appear only exceptionally (e.g. Božič 1998, 146–148; Hlava 2015, 274). It is assumed that smaller pieces of raw amber may have been released for local processing at more significant settlements lining existing trade routes (in the form of customs/taxes/exchange/purchase by local residents), while the highest quality and largest pieces were

References	Notes	Inv. No.	Stored in
Pospíšilová 2024, 219	Feature 54A	15/2023-168-20	ACO
Čižmářová, Stuchlík 2014, 479, obr. 9; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 329	Necklace made of bronze wire, glass, sapropelite and amber beads; amber not preserved	00765-26/8	ARÚB
Hlava 1999, 167, 169; Čižmář 2003, 99; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 332		A 540	MRB
Hlava 1999, 167; Čižmář 2003, 98; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 329		Without inv. No.	MZM
Meduna 1970b, 226–227, obr. 4: 5; Čižmářová 2011, 81, tab. 5: 8; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 329	Necklace, beads and pendants made of glass, amber, red coral; amber not preserved	156974	MZM
Skutil 1940, 356; Čižmář 1997, 35, 38, Abb. 1: 8; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 329	Loaf-shaped ring, Ø 31 mm	Without inv. No.	MZM
Čižmářová 2009, 65–66; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 329	Weathered amber in chest area; not preserved	Without inv. No.	MZM
Procházka 1937, 73; Šimek 1958, 155; Čižmářová 2004, 180; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 332	Not found	Without inv. No.	MZM ?
Čižmářová 2019, 147–148, tab. 7: 13; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 329	Bronze chain, necklace area	174719	MZM
Čižmářová 2019, 147–149, tab. 9: 8; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 329		174728	MZM
Čižmář 1997, 41, Abb. 5; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 332	Cleaning the area, year 1988	Without inv. No.	MZM
Ludikovský 1963, 60, Taf. XVII: 10; Meduna 1980, 106; Čižmář 1997, 41 Abb. 1: 3; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 332	Not found	63802	MZM

Site	Context	Period	Type of find
Jičina 'Požaha' (Nový Jičín District)	Hilltop settlement	LT C2–D1	Beads (2 pcs)
Jiříkovice 'Čtvrť pod dráhou' (Brno-Country District)	Cremation grave 8	LT C1?	Spacers
Klenovice na Hané 'Noviny' (Prostějov District)	Lowland settlement	LT B–D	Raw amber, bead
Malé Hradisko 'Staré Hradisko' (Prostějov District)	Oppidum	LT C2–D1	Workshop – raw amber, evidence of production, beads, ring bead
Němčice nad Hanou / Víceměřice 'Zadní dlátka', 'Kratiny' (Prostějov District)	Central agglomeration	LT C1b–C2	Workshop – raw amber, evidence of production, beads, ring, spacers
Ohrozim (Prostějov District)	Lowland settlement	LT C2–D1	Bead
Olomouc-Nemilany Bylinková Street (Olomouc District)	Lowland settlement	LT B–C	Ring bead
Otrokovice 'Chmelín' (Zlín District)	Lowland settlement	LT C2	Raw amber
Pavlov 'Horní pole' (Břeclav District)	Inhumation grave 564	LT B2a	Ring bead
Přítluky 'Obecní pastviny' (Břeclav District)	Cremation grave 1/1953	LT B1b	Bead
Ptení 'Pražský žlíbek' (Prostějov District)	Hoard of amulets	LT D1	Ring beads
Rousínov Slavkovská Street (Vyškov District)	Inhumation grave 809	LT C1	Beads
Šlapanice 'Široká pole' (Brno-Country District)	Inhumation grave 1/1934	LT B2b	Ring

Note: extensive collection has not yet been processed, due to the large number of specimens no inv. numbers are given.

Grey color = grave or probably grave finds.

Abbreviations:

ACO	Archaeological Centre Olomouc
ARÚB	Institute of Archaeology, Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno
MGP	Museum and Gallery in Prostějov
MJMZ	Museum of South East Moravia in Zlín
MRB	Museum of the Boskovice Region
MZM	Moravian Museum
NMW	National Museum Vienna
ÚAPP Brno	Institute of Archaeological Heritage Brno

Tab. 1. List of sites with amber finds from Moravia.

Tab. 1. Seznam lokalit s nálezem jantarů z Moravy.

intended for direct transport to the Mediterranean regions, primarily northern Italy, where they were further processed into final, often highly artistically rendered objects (Chytráček et al. 2017, 176; Golec Mírová et al. in print).

The discovery of an amber workshop dating back to the heyday of the Němčice agglomeration fits into the idea of Němčice as an important supra-regional centre that primarily fulfilled a commercial and production function and played an important role in the settlement structure of the Central European La Tène period. The production of amber beads joined other already documented branches of specialised production, including the minting of gold and silver coins, bronze metallurgy, blacksmithing, and secondary glass processing. Given the size of the site (over 36 ha) compared to the relatively small area investigated thus far, the existence of other production areas where amber, among other things, could have occasionally figured, is not ruled out (and is in fact likely). If we compare the situation with the Staré Hradisko oppidum, it was only through many years of systematic research that we were able to discover the production of amber beads in various parts of the oppidum area (Čižmářová 1996).

Taking into account the absence of graves corresponding to the peak of the Němčice agglomeration and thus the limited possibility of reconstructing the stratification of local society based on the furnishings of buried individuals, it is not possible to determine with certainty the end consumer of locally produced amber ornaments. These could have been both local and foreign members of the elite, or even representatives from the ranks of wealthy merchants. In Němčice, mainly small fragments of raw amber and small beads, including their semi-finished products,

were found, but there are also larger turned artefacts. However, we do not yet have any evidence that the products manufactured here were used to continue long-distance trade.

For now, we can only surely say that production (not only of amber) was controlled by the elites and concentrated mainly in central sites. Unfortunately, there is so little Moravian amber (even in grave contexts) that we cannot say for certain whether it was used exclusively by the elites or was also available to the lower classes of society. We can observe this better in the case of glass, for example, where it is assumed that jewellery was also accessible to the lower social classes (Čižmářová 2022, 225–228). In the case of amber from La Tène period, however, we still have such a small sample that more comprehensive conclusions can only be drawn in the form of imprecise hypotheses.

The possibility of short-term amber processing along trade routes, especially in places with documented Mediterranean imports or their imitations, was already pointed out by M. Chytráček for the Early Iron Age (Chytráček et al. 2017, 195). However, compared to other categories of jewellery and costume accessories, be they predominantly metal or glass, amber is not greatly reflected in the material culture of the La Tène period, and the relatively small number of finds from this period in the Baltic region is also noteworthy (Duleba, Markiewicz 2023, 318, 320). Whether amber jewellery in Němčice was a highly coveted type of good that was regularly produced there or was considered merely an enhancement (with an uncertain awareness of certain magical effects) and a pleasant 'tax' from the location of the site as part of a supraregional distribution chain remains an unresolved question.

References	Notes	Inv. No.	Stored in
Čižmář 1985, 38; 1996, 177, Fig. 3: 2–3; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 332	One piece not found, Púchov culture	Pa 12/2002, 258/87, 288/83	MZM
Kos et al. 2020, 197	Probably necklace made of glass beads and amber	1062/19–36/1	ÚAPP Brno
Šiška 1995, 248, obr. 5: 4	MGP, inv. No. 97532 (peace of bead), 97533–97534 (peaces od raw amber)		
Čižmářová 1996; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 332	finds from excavations of J. Böhm, J. Meduna and M. Čižmář	See note below	MZM, MRB, MGP
Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 332		Pa 40/2022, 41/2022	MZM
Čižmář 2015, 445, obr. 5: 5; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 332		Pa 179/96	MZM
Hrbáčková 2019, 49, obr. 7, tab. XVIII: 4		05/2012-122-596	ACO
Parma 2007, 333–334, 340		75/05-1681/129	MJMZ
Čižmář 1997, 35, 37, Abb. 1: 7; Čižmářová 2019, 187, tab. 29: 6; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 329	chest area, MZM, inv. No. 174470		
Ludikovský 1962, 78, obr. 4; Čižmář 1997, 37, Abb. 1: 2; Čižmářová 2019, 197, tab. 33: 10; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 329	necklace, beads and pendants made of glass and amber	156980	MZM
Meduna 1996, 101–110, obr. 2: 3, 6–11; Hlava 2015, 247–290; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 332		66205–66206 (MZM)	MZM, NM, NMW
Not published	probably necklace, glass and amber beads	A 119751	ÚAPP Brno
Čižmářová 2019, 156, tab. 53: 2–3; Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 329	bronze chain, necklace area	179480	MZM

CRedit authorship contribution statement

Hana Čižmářová: Writing – original draft, Methodology, Investigation, Visualization, Formal analysis.

Ivan Čižmář: Writing – review & editing, Investigation, Supervision, Visualization, Validation, Formal analysis.

Acknowledgements

This work was supported by the Czech Science Foundation project GA21-24234S ‘Central agglomeration Němčice nad Hanou. Interdisciplinary research of the key site of La Tène period in Moravia’.

Notes

- For an analysis of Moravian amber, see Korn 2022; Kučera 2025.
- Unpublished find deposited in the Moravian Museum, inv. No. 172825.
- The collection of finds from the Jičina ‘Požaha’ site includes a larger biconical ring-bead held by the Moravian Museum, which does not match the objects depicted in the publication of M. Čižmář (1985) or with the documentation in the find reports. The bead found in 1987 should have a ‘loaf’ shape and a diameter of 10 mm and therefore does not match the specimen described above.
- For a detailed catalogue of finds, see Čižmář, Čižmářová (eds.) 2025.

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Resumé

Jantar představoval v protohistorickém období velmi oblíbenou komoditu, nicméně jeho využití se v průběhu času proměňovalo v závislosti na konkrétních společnostech. Prvním kulturním komplexem, skrze něhož se dostaly výrobky z jantaru ve velkém mimo oblast jeho výskytu, se stala v první polovině 3. tisíciletí př. Kr. kultura kulovitých amfor, do střední Evropy se jantar poprvé dostal ve druhé polovině 3. tisíciletí př. Kr. prostřednictvím distribuční sítě kultury zvoncovitých pohárů (Czebreszuk 2003, 177, Fig. 12; 2011, 36–44). Postupně se jantar objevuje také v archeologických situacích datovaných do doby bronzové, halštatské až časně laténské (např. Bukowski 2002; Tisucká, Ohlidalová 2013, 27–35; Chytráček et al. 2017).

Studie se zabývá nálezy jantarové suroviny a výrobků z ní v období LT B1 – LT D1. Pro starší až pozdní dobu laténskou máme ve střední Evropě oproti předchozím obdobím k dispozici málo nálezů. Z regionu střední Moravy však pocházejí pozdně laténské dílny z oppida Staré Hradisko (okr. Prostějov; Čižmářová 1996) a nově přibyla také jantarová dílna z předoppidálního horizontu z centrální aglomerace Němčice (Čižmář et al. 2024, 274). Soubor jantarových výrobků z Moravy zahrnuje prstencové korále, kroužky, korálky a rozdělovače. Závěsky ve smyslu předmětů s excentricky umístěným otvorem, ani materiálově kombinované artefakty zde prozatím nebyly doloženy. Deskripce tvarů (obr. 1) byla částečně inspirována typologií použitou M. Chytráčkem pro starší dobu železnou (Chytráček et al. 2017, 124–129).

Na plochých pohřebištích doby laténské se setkáváme s jantarovými korálky jako doplňkem ozdob krku složených z různých materiálů (sklo, mořský korál, sapropelit), případně se vyskytují solitérní kroužky určené k zavěšení pomocí kovového řetízku (např. Ludíkovský 1962, 78; Meduna 1970b, 226–227; Čižmářová, Stuchlík 2014, 479; Čižmářová 2019, 147–148). Ze stejné datovaných sídlišť máme doloženo o poznání méně nálezů a přibývají pak až v mladší a pozdní době laténské (např. Šimek 1958, 155; Čižmář 2003, 98; Parma 2007, 333–334, 340; Čižmář 2015, 445). Jantar je na Moravě doložen i ze dvou výšinných sídlišť pozdní doby laténské – Chvalčova „Hostýna“ (okr. Kroměříž; Čižmář 1997, 41) a púchovského hradiska Jičina „Požaha“ (okr. Nový Jičín; obr. 7: 6, 10; Čižmář 1985, 38; 1996, 177).

Z běžných sídlištních a hrobových kontextů na Moravě není evidováno naleziště s větším množstvím jantaru, ať už ve formě suroviny nebo hotových výrobků. Výjimečné postavení mají v této souvislosti centrální lokality na Prostějovsku, kromě nově objevených Němčic je to především oppidum Staré Hradisko. Výroba jantarových korálků byla na oppidu evidována z několika objektů v prostoru západního předhradí, vedle suroviny byly zaznamenány velké prstencové korále, menší nízké válcovité a soudkovité korálky, ale i nedohotovené výrobky či zmetky (Čižmářová 1996). Zvláštní kategorií tvoří z hlediska nálezových okolností hromadné nálezy, přičemž pro Moravu lze uvést pouze jediný případ uložení jantarových ozdob spolu s bronzovými amulety a skleněnými předměty, a to všeobecně známý depot z Ptení (Hlava 2015).

Při povrchových sběrech probíhajících na centrální aglomeraci Němčice více než 20 let byly získány jednotky kusů jantarové suroviny a výrobků (Čižmářová, H., Čižmářová, J. 2023, 44). Teprve při odkryvech v roce 2021 začaly na povrch vystupovat drobné kusy jantaru, které byly zaznamenány jak v kulturní vrstvě nad objekty, tak v jejich výplni (obr. 15: 1–8), avšak žádný doklad lokálního zpracování jantaru nebyl v prvním roce výzkumu zaznamenán (Čižmář et al. 2024, 285). Teprve v roce 2022 bylo z objektu 514 získáno velké množství jantarové suroviny, polotovarů a zmetků korálků i hotových výrobků, o místním zpracování jantaru tak nebylo pochyb. V inventáři objektu byly evidovány části dvou železných spon středoláténské konstrukce (obr. 11: 2, 3), starší varianta zlaté mince $\frac{1}{8}$ statéru typu Athéna Alkidemos (obr. 11: 1; Kolníková 2012, 16, Abb. 5: 41; 83: 41), část železného zákolníku (obr. 11: 6), fragmenty skleněných náramků skupiny 8b s počátkem výskytu nejdříve na přelomu LT C1a/b (obr. 11: 9, 12; Venclová 2016, 49) a skupin 11a a 11d, jejichž těžiště opět spadá do období LT C1b – LT C2 s přesahem do LT D1 (obr. 11: 10, 11; Venclová 2016, 50–51, Fig. 80). Spolu s doprovodnými nálezy a keramikou byl objekt datován do období LT C1b – LT C2. Soubor jantaru je tvořen primárně zlomky suroviny, přičemž převažují malé fragmenty o délce do 1 cm, drobné úštěpy a jantarový prach/drt; menší množství středně velkých kusů pak dosahuje délky cca 3–5 cm. Značný podíl zaujímaly desítky polotovarů a zmetků drobných korálků, mimo to se podařilo zachytit řadu kompletně či fragmentárně dochovaných finálních výrobků, mezi nimiž jsou korálky, rozdělovače a kroužek, zatímco prstencovité korály zde zcela chybí (obr. 13, 14).

Spektrum využití jantaru pro výrobu předmětů a šperků, včetně materiálově kombinovaných artefaktů, není pro stupně LT B1 – LT D1 natolik pestré jako v halštatském období. Jantarové předměty a surovina se vyskytují na širokém území, avšak v poměrně malém množství a na omezeném počtu lokalit (např. Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, Fig. 3, 8, 9). Pro starší dobu laténskou nemáme ve střední Evropě prozatím doloženou žádnou specializovanou dílnu na zpracování jantaru a setkáváme se s ním převážně v podobě šperků v kontextu pohřebišť. Využití

Moravské brány jako spojnice Horního Slezska a Dolního Rakouska na jedné z větví tzv. Jantarové stezky dokládá lépe až vznik centrálních aglomerací jako Nowa Cerekwia (pow. głębczycki), Němčice (okr. Prostějov), Roseldorf (Bez. Hollabrunn), i středně velkých lokalit jako např. Haselbach (Bez. Korneuburg) či Samborowice (pow. raciborski); jako další možnost dálkové trasy z Moravy do Polska se jeví trasa přes Jeseníky (Martínek 2019, 66).

Jantarová dílna v Němčicích je datována do závěru stupně LT C1, a i zde se surový jantar i výrobky z něj nacházely také v dalších objektech datovaných do rozmezí stupňů LT C1b – LT C2 (Čižmář et al. 2024, 261). V závěru doby laténské představuje pro Moravu jedinou jednoznačnou lokalitu s doklady práce s jantarem několik objektů z oppida Staré Hradisko (Čižmářová 1996), v Čechách je to pak primárně oppidum Stradonice (Rybová, Drda 1994, 117). Jen několik fragmentů korálků včetně jednoho nedovrtaného exempláře pochází také z oppida Závist (Motyková et al. 1978, 285). Pro pozdní dobu laténskou lze zmínit dílnu na výrobu korálků z fosilizované pryskyřice z lokality Rochusmarkt ve Vídni (Adler-Wölfl, Moser 2017, 22, 33–35) a menší množství suroviny spolu s korálky bylo publikováno z bavorské lokality Berching-Pollanten (Lkr. Neumarkt; Schäfer 2010, 196–197). Pochází odtud také železný zahrocený nástroj, který by snad mohl souviset s opracováním jantaru (Schäfer 2010, Abb. 145), přičemž ve výplni chaty 514 z Němčic byl taktéž nalezen podobný hrotitý předmět pravouhlého průřezu (obr. 11: 8). Analogické železné i bronzové artefakty různé délky i průřezu se vyskytují také na dalších lokalitách a je pravděpodobné, že mohly mít jakožto šídlo/rydlo/vrták široké využití pro práci se dřevem, kůží, kostí či parohem (např. Manching – Jacobi 1974, 54–55, Taf. 11, 12; Klein Gleichberg – Spehr 2021, Abb. 38–42). Pravděpodobnost práce s více než jedním druhem materiálu na stejném místě podporuje v případě zpracování jantaru také skutečnost, že k ní mohly být využity poměrně běžné nástroje, jako jsou nože, hroty a pilníky.

Objev jantarové dílny datované do období rozkvětu němčické aglomerace zapadá do představy Němčic jako významného nadregionálního centra, které plnilo především obchodní a výrobní funkci a hrálo důležitou úlohu v sídelní struktuře středoevropské doby laténské. Produkce jantarových korálků se přidala k dalším, již doloženým odvětvím specializované výroby a vzhledem k rozloze lokality v porovnání s doposud poměrně malou prozkoumanou plochou není vyloučena existence dalších výrobních okrsků, kde mohl mimo jiné příležitostně figurovat jantar.

S přihlédnutím k absenci hrobů současných s vrcholem němčické aglomerace a tím omezené možnosti rekonstrukce rozvrstvení zdejší společnosti na základě vybavení pochovaných

jedinců, nelze s jistotou určit koncového spotřebitele lokálně produkovaných jantarových ozdob. Tím mohly být jak místní, tak cizí příslušníci elit, případně i zástupci z řad bohatých obchodníků. V Němčicích byly zachyceny převážně malé zlomky surového jantaru a drobných korálků včetně jejich polotovarů, nechybí však ani rozměrnější soustružené exempláře. Zatím však nedisponujeme doklady, že by zde zhotovené výrobky byly dálkovým obchodem distribuovány dále.

Lze předpokládat, že výroba (nejen jantaru) byla kontrolována elitami a byla koncentrována především na centrálních lokalitách. Bohužel, moravského jantaru (i v hrobových kontextech) je tak málo, že nelze stanovit, zda byl užíván výhradně elitami nebo byl k dispozici i nižším vrstvám společnosti. Lépe to můžeme sledovat např. u skla, kde se předpokládá dostupnost šperků i nižším společenským vrstvám (Čižmářová 2022, 225–228). U jantaru v době laténské však disponujeme stále natolik malým vzorkem, že lze ucelenější závěry stanovit pouze v rovině nepřesných hypotéz.

Na možnost krátkodobého zpracování jantaru podél obchodních tras, zvláště v místech s doloženými středomořskými importy nebo jejich napodobeninami, upozornil již pro starší dobu železnou M. Chytráček (Chytráček et al. 2017, 195). V porovnání s jinými kategoriemi šperků a doplňků kroje se jantar v materiální kultuře doby laténské příliš neodráží a zajímavé je také poměrně malé množství nálezů z této doby v oblasti Pobaltí (Dulęba, Markiewicz 2023, 318, 320). Zda byly jantarové šperky v Němčicích vysoce poptávaným druhem zboží, které se zde pravidelně vyrábělo nebo byly považovány pouze za zpestření (s nejistým povědomím o jistých magických účincích) a příjmem „daň“ z umístění lokality coby součásti nadregionálního distribučního řetězce, zůstává prozatím nevyřešenou otázkou.

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