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Martin Golec

The Phenomenon of Býčí Skála Cave

LANDSCAPE, CAVE AND MANKIND

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The Phenomenon of Býčí Skála Cave

Landscape, Cave and Mankind

~

Martin Golec

with guests

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"***Scientists have found in Býčí Skála Cave a massive find of mysteries and secrets. Not prehistoric people, but precisely they have discovered in it this beautiful, incomprehensible and non-scientific purpose.***" (Martin Golec)

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Why is Býčí Skála Cave a Phenomenon?

Heinrich Wankel certainly had no idea in 1872 that he would find in the heart of the Moravian Karst (*Fig. 1*) the richest place of discovery of an epoch, which we are accustomed to calling the Early Iron Age – or Hallstatt Period. Time passed mercilessly, nowhere in Moravia or in other regions of Central Europe, however did anything similar repeat again. Even if we expand the spectrum of our research to the previous and subsequent periods, we do not find a locality with analogous importance. The more than fourteen decades that separate us from the discovery warrant its assessment as something utterly unique, which with the highest probability will never be repeated.

It is very difficult, quite possibly even impossible, to attempt to penetrate the thinking of prehistoric peoples. Despite that, we will need to try using various ways and methods. Nevertheless, it is not possible to expect that the book will offer a definitive answer to the question of why they included precisely this specific cave into their world and moreover in this specific way. They filled it with the dead bodies of people decorated with luxurious jewellery and furnished on their last journey with many items, they even highly likely also produced items from various materials in the same place.

An important circumstance for science is that the fact that these human acts took place in a cave – in a place, which is very stable from a long-term perspective and only seldom changes its appearance. In essence, it is possible to speak of luck, because the *cave*, utilized from the Palaeolithic until today, provides very valuable evidence on a certain segment of the human world. It is formally used like every other building, in this case it is a natural building – *a stone house* (*Fig. 2*). Its position does not change and you can enter it at any time and repeat the activities of people of the distant past. In contrast, the ravages of time have worked distinctly on the wooden and clay houses, which have been irretrievably taken underground and thus made it impossible for people today to look at them or visit them. Such places are quite unique in the landscape.

The goal or dream of archaeology is the restoration of the appearance of the world of people in the past. It is always necessary to keep in mind. It is a very complicated activity, undoubtedly lengthy and always unpredictable result, because the human world is a very complex theme, and not even the lives of people in the past lacked diversity, complexity and inimitable originality. We expect that

Fig. 1: Map of the Czech Republic. Býčí Skála Cave is in Moravia, in the southern part of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands), in the central section of the Moravian Karst (source: M. Golec).

people created a rich social network of relationships, the specific form of which they "imprinted" to a certain degree in the landscape in the form of inhabited places. Between them, a network of routes and paths were spontaneously created, along which people moved and shifted with everything that they had on them or with them. Since a person is a creative individual, he left behind diverse traces in the form of his creations. They are always unevenly distributed in the landscape. In specific places, people spent a lot of time, elsewhere they only passed through. We understandably find the most traces in the places of their habitations. Everything that people created form their entire world and we, who trace their network, must remember that *we uncover again and again a small part of the original entire world*. That is also fully true for Býčí Skála Cave (Bull Rock Cave) and it will never be otherwise.

Every network has its nodes, which can also be labelled with the expression crossroads. People stop at them, change the direction of travel or stay here. It is indisputable that in the case of Býčí Skála Cave we are dealing with a knot, almost a Gordian one. Scientists have been well aware already since the time of Wankel that they are working on a locality of entirely exceptional importance. Still nothing has changed about this often-repeated fact. We only exceptionally encounter the opinion that everything has already been resolved and the definitive purpose of this cave layout found. Although the truly large amount of papers and publications describing the phenomenon of Býčí Skála Cave would without exaggeration fill a quite decent home library, we certainly cannot speak of a definitive interpretation of this noteworthy locality. We have to bear in mind that the appearance of the past world is outlined before us only in indistinct contours and moreover we continuously complement it with new knowledge and constantly transform it. And that is what the crowd of amateur and professional archaeologists deem to be fascinating and beautiful.

A new methodology of archaeology allows us to look at the cave as "a grid of different screens". The goal of the current generation of researchers is to judge not only the individual nodes as was often done in the past but the entire network laid out in the landscape. Precisely Býčí Skála Cave is a very important theme in the examined networks. Its correct evaluation inevitably leads to the assessment of the entire network. The interest focused on this landscape point, however, cannot be an end in itself, it is thus not research of Býčí Skála Cave for Býčí Skála Cave, but one unique part of a much more complex whole. We expect that its role in the world of the people living in the Hallstatt Period had to have been significant. Býčí Skála Cave is a real (pre)historic phenomenon, which cannot be avoided or missed. There is no choice but to enter into it, and then hope that it will leave enriched by new knowledge of the world of prehistoric people.

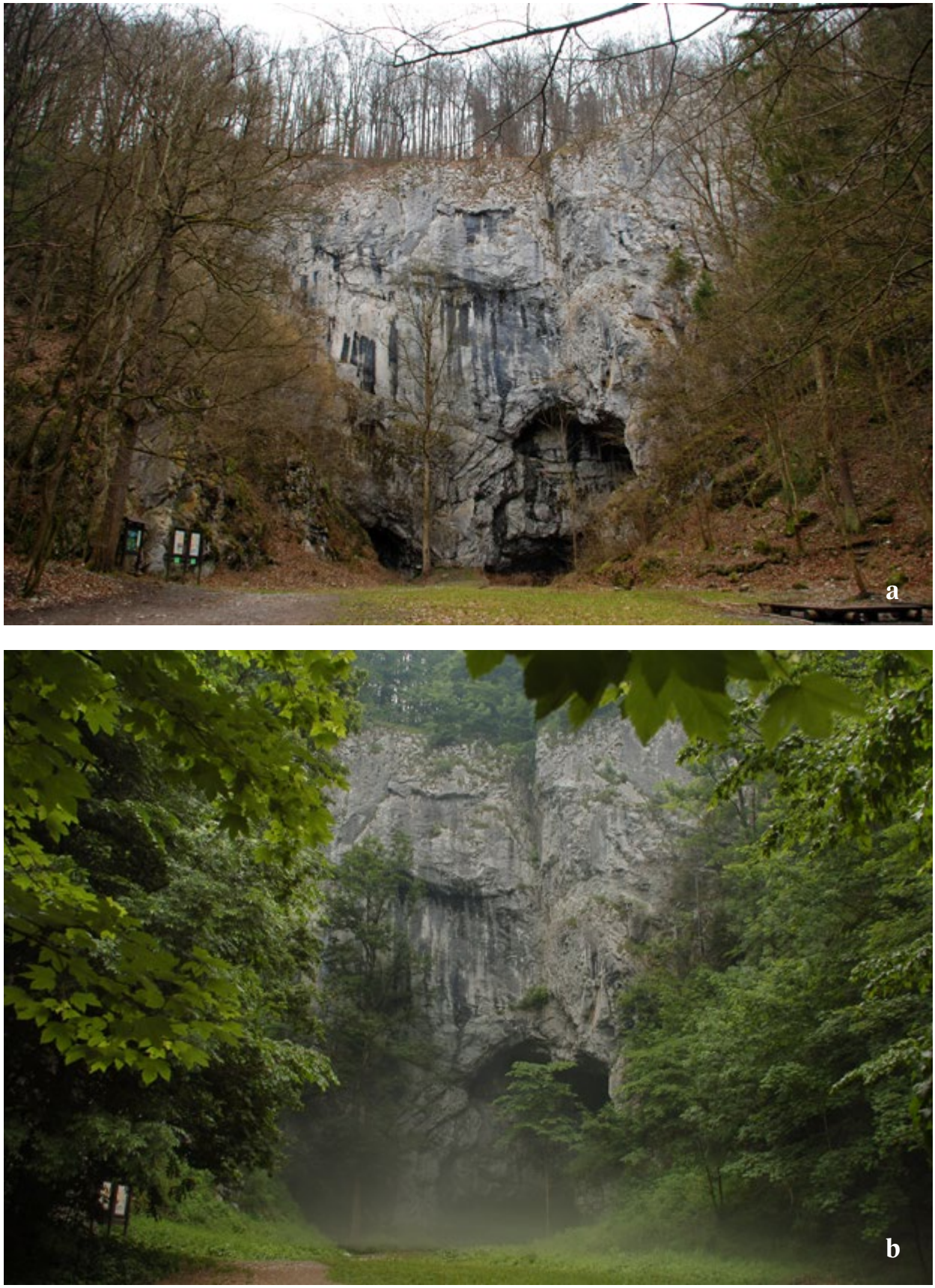


Fig. 2: The annual cycle substantially changes the external appearance of Býčí Skála Cave. The frosty, raw, grey-brown winter (a) transforms through the gates of spring and autumn into a cool, damp grey-green (b) (photograph: a – M. Golec; b – V. Káňa).

How they Examined the Cave

From today's point of view, the approach of the archaeologists of the foundational 19th century can appear to be an unnecessary reminder of an outdated and romantic phase of the emerging science. Pioneers and at their time respected people in Moravian Switzerland and directly in Býčí Skála Cave, such as Heinrich Wankel or Martin Kříž no longer have anything to say to the present. It could seem that in their yellowed articles we can find only unimportant details, which at best complement our more advanced scientific concept. It may be, but it is not possible to put them all in one basket. The mantra of contemporary science is the word *methodology*, hence the necessity to show the surroundings not only that *I examine*, but mainly *how I examine*. And precisely with the grid of this view we can see the faces of the "old men" and their scientific results from a different angle. We find them in the shadow and dark. In the shadow and dark of a cave, where they often and repeatedly went, where they lived and conducted their pioneering work on the almost untouched sediments.

The 20th century moved everything forward and transformed it. Archaeologists gradually stopping going to the cave. Not all of them, but a detailed revision of all of the writers on Býčí Skála Cave clearly shows that this phenomenon peaked at the time of normalization. Some of those, who wrote the most about it,[1] usually had not even visited the cave, or only exceptionally. There were exceptions, certainly, but they were exceptions and not the rule. The impression arose that the cave itself, except the remaining reworked sediments, was no longer the bearer of information on Wankel's original find, and that they can further be judged scientifically without the "crime scene", but the old men dwelt in this cave and in others quite often and it had a fundamental impact on their opinions. This apparently unimportant fact finds an echo in the contemporary methodology of untraditional archaeology.[2]

Polymaths of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries moved between the natural sciences and the humanities, they visited the cave, often on foot. They regularly overcame great distances in open terrain, through which they constantly learned. Even when travelling by horse drawn coach, the observer still has a relatively good contact with the surrounding landscape. Travel by heated bus or air-conditioned car is already quite different. It is indisputably faster and the contact with the surroundings fades into the background here. Hence with the introduction of transport technologies, personal experience of the landscape changed dramatically. It was not exceptional that people slept over in the caves. Former generations did it quite often and commonly saw also other discoverers, who stayed in the caves as well. They included labourers hired directly on their archaeological excavations, various wanderers, craftsmen, such as smiths or tinkers, wandering gypsies, pilgrims, people seeking solitude or rural people, who were caught at night on their way home from the market in town. All of that is a relatively different *recognition of the landscape* than it is today, when almost nobody spontaneously sleeps in caves anymore.

In the last century, scientists were divided into those how visited the underground and knew it from their own experience and those who did not do so. At first, it did not seem that this fact would have any fundamental importance at some point later. Those who regularly stayed in the field were natural scientists – geologists, botanists, zoologists, pedologists, hydrologists, chemists, etc. From the beginning, archaeology in the Moravian Karst was focused on the remnants left by hunters and gatherers, who in their lengthy migrations moved over open terrain. It was always difficult to discover these migrants, and so the caves were good, often the only places for their investigation. A much larger number of finds began to be found in the research of the later agricultural-pastoral post-Palaeolithic population even outside of caves, hence outside the forested and overall deserted landscape of the southern Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). Now, attention was taken away from the caves, indisputably in the faith that they represent common find sites, like every other under the open sky.

However, we already know after a hundred years that the caves at the time of the agricultural-pastoral cultures are not such common find sites and it is not possible to replace the sources coming from them with localities outside of them. After 1989, a renaissance began in the approach and *caves – like other "strange places" – became an irreplaceable element in the landscape.* It is therefore necessary not only to see them but also to examine them with consideration of their specificity.

1 The Nestor (wise elder) of the interest in Hallstatt archaeology of the 20th and 21st centuries became Jindra Nekvasil, who studied it for more than fifty years. He died in 2009.

2 By traditional archaeology positivist approaches are meant here, in which the inductive form of knowledge is dominant. The subject of the study is the find sites, particularly then the moveable monuments, on the contrary the unfound parts from the whole of the human world are outside of our interest, despite the supporters of this method believe that they can know all of the past. The deductive method defines itself against that, which approaches the reconstruction of the past with an interest in the regularity (structure) of the objects in the residential complexes, creates spatial models and moreover works also with as-yet unfound parts (*Neustupný 2010*, 153–154).

Not Only Scientists

In the course of the 20th century, there was an institutionalization of the field of archaeology. It brought much of a good example for the development of the knowledge of the deep preliterary past. The process of the professionalization of the field led the community of university educated archaeologists to the predominant opinion that precisely they are the only ones justified to reconstruct the past. Amateur archaeologists retreated into the background until it completely disappeared. But is it really so? What is the reality around the caves? They are still frequented by spelunkers, for example, who regularly collect valuable facts. Many of them extend even to the cultural essence of which they themselves form. Scientists of the humanities have visited in the caves only rarely over time, incomparably more often visited by contrast by "other enthusiasts". Archaeologists also stood in the cave area only as sporadic guests. Measured with a view to the domesticated population of the caves – spelunkers – even they became rather intruders, who bring an uncommon turbulence to the normal course of things, which did not always have to be to the taste of the "dwellers and owners".[3]

As has already been said, the most common inhabitant of the caves today are spelunkers. They spend a lot of time in them, long segments of their daily, weekly, monthly and annual cycles. And it is necessary to admit that they understand them very well thanks to their setting. Often far better than humanities scholars who by their "subculture" bring a subconscious conviction that they will either not meet anyone in the caves, or some partner for his/her research. The mistake is the truth and their enlightenment can be quite surprising and very pleasing.

The scientist, who comes to the cave, with which some living community is connected symbiotically, sooner or later finds partners in communication, which subsequently leads to a reformation of opinions. In essence, a bilateral interaction then takes place with the milieu, which allows an understanding of the valuable sources. An archaeologist also brings his own new impetuses to the given milieu.

Everyone, who shares in its learning, understands the cave in his way; the scientific view is only a component part of the whole. The observations of people, who entire it repeatedly, in the long term and have had sufficient time for their observation, are very often important. Their findings often differ greatly from the results of the research of academics.

After many years,[4] what is at the root of archaeologists' own interest began to appear on the surface of the welter of information about the cave, namely: *Why do people actually enter them* (*Fig. 3*)*?* In principle, one can argue that everyone entering must have a reason, even if it is just infatuation. There can be a whole spectrum of similar reasons and the social sciences certainly have the tools to handle this work. People usually bring to the cave their usual cultural patterns and the empty uninhabited space of the cave allows that. It is then possible to speak about *the purpose of the cave in the human world*, which is identical with similar purposes of other parts of the human world.

The utilitarian reason for the members of a caving group, hence people, who commonly coexist with caves, is the simple fact: *they are here and we are thus in them.* The claim can be generalized by saying that they are our reality, existing right before our eyes, and thus become a challenge worthy of our response.

Innermost dream of a spelunker is then finding an open cavity, hence a place, which nobody has ever reached before. The offer of the cave to the person and hits reflection is thus one of the essential reasons of human conduct. That knowledge can be generalized also for any other period, where we must seek the reasons for reflection and creation of an original reaction in the human world.

How to Catch a Cave

Cave spaces are specific places in the landscape and therefore it is to approach them in this way. It should be noted that the archaeological community has not seen it precisely in this way for a long time. We encounter a different point of view with natural scientists. The underground cavities are thus seen, they are understood as specific collections of unique facts falling within the framework of a concrete Karst surrounding.[4] The research of the human dimension in the caves by post-Palaeolithic has been outside this blanket view for a long time. It approached it as if towards isolated items, toward places "with finds". Such find sites were even placed on the direct level of other find sites, like those in the open flat terrain at the foot of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands), but this view is not justified and does not reflect the scientific potential of underground cavities in the landscape.

Within the Moravian archaeological community, the concept of *speleo-archaeology* was presented already sixty-five years ago (*Skutil 1950*), which provides such possibilities of an approach, but we find its fulfilment in the Czech Republic only after the revolution in 1989. The

3 One of the strongest social aspects of the relationship of the cave person is the need to own it and protect it from other people.

4 Surprisingly, the state protection of Moravian Karst and specifically Býčí Skála Cave is organized with natural sciences having priority, although the remains of human activity are also a component.

Fig. 3: Natural scientists use photography like this for the presentation of the appearance of the cave. The person serves both as a means of measurement and also enlivens the static moment. However, the social sciences also find a person entering the cave, fulfilling the interaction between him/her and the cave. In his/her world, it represents some specific purpose (photograph: V. Káňa).

interdisciplinary approach of speleology and archaeology methodologically surpassed its time. In the Moravian Karst, it was newly discovered and applied for research of the Holocene, i.e. the post-Palaeolithic cultures, basically after more than fifty years (*Matoušek – Jenč – Peša 2005*). It combines a view of the natural science with the humanities, connecting the cave with the surrounding landscape. The advantage is also to see the cave as a specific item, not exclude any sources and thus collect (in unlimited time) the complete sources for it. The merger of both scientific approaches thus means an active approach in knowledge of both the cave itself and the remnants of human activity in it. For a long time, archaeology itself was interested almost exclusively in the separated component of the collected items and ignored the cave with its surrounding landscape.

Journey Underground, Transformation and the Way Out

Every person, at any time and in any space (landscape) may be confronted with the existence of a cave. The decision, whether to enter the cave, is more or less on that person, or depends on the other people around him/her. If we enter, there is a constant sequence of events, which always has three phases. The person who came from the outside world (from the view of the cave) awaits in the first instance a decision on the accession and then the entry itself. If one enters, one is confronted with a space with specific features, which affects one in various intensities and influences one. The person subsequently comes out and returns usually to one's place of residence. The scientist undergoes a similar process. *The process of scientific recognition is thus similarly in three phases*.

The speleo-archaeological approach should include a similar procedure. The scientist does not enter the cave untouched by the information from his/her predecessors. Especially with Býčí Skála Cave, the amount of information is so extensive that it is perhaps impossible to avoid. As the last crackdown for the uninformed, information tables are prepared in front of the cave (*Fig. 2*), which at the last moment explain at least several basic facts for the completely ignorant individual. Other information can be found without trouble on the internet, but usually the general awareness on the burial of a Hallstatt magnate is so strong with the public that a group of uninformed people almost

Fig. 4: Romantic visitors to the then famous Býčí Skála Cave are captured in the depiction by Adolph Friedrich Kunike from 1832. According to the clothing, they are burghers, who came to Moravian Switzerland from a greater distance. They speak of the caves just before entering their interior. They are already losing their impression of it (lithography: A. F. Kunike).

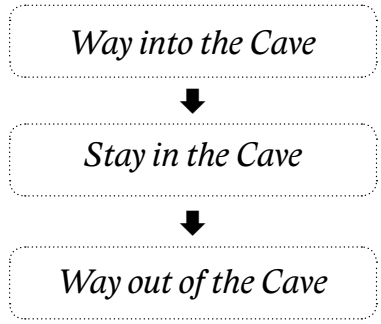
does not appear at the cave. With Czech archaeologists, it is true that it is not possible to go through university education without a future archaeologist acquiring some information on this very well-known cave. The journey to the cave thus is in the spirit of some as-yet non-specific idea created still before the entrance itself. In the recent and also deep past, it could have been similar in prehistoric times. There are places in the landscape, on which they simply speak (*Fig. 4*).[5]

After entry to the cave and the stay in it, there was also always a transformation of the initial schema. It is not about the existence or non-existence of the transformation, but only the level of its intensity. That is always individual. The transformation is given by the existence of a different space, which is very different from the world on the surface. The situation is underlined by the suddenness of the change. The dark, damp and cool space with a strong echo, uncommon sounds and different palette of colours is a place, where time moves at a slower speed, affects everyone (see *Fig. 4*). The length of the stay or type of activity in the case, for instance its being touched during a speleological expedition, have a fundamental effect on the mentioned transformation. As was said, it is individual and we assess it on a broad scale – from "I will never go here" with a claustrophobe to the lifelong live with a fervent spelunker. The scientist is confronted here with a new reality and a detailed study of the collage of natural and cultural facts often changes his opinion fundamentally depending on the intensity of the interest.

Everyone recognizes the intensity of the transformation after exiting the cave semidarkness (*Fig. 5*). The actual process of leaving the cave is begun in the mind a bit in

5 The legends before Wankel first collected in the 1830s are proof of that (*Schmidt 1835*; *Wolny 1837*; *Adámek 1972*, 7–8). The caves are besides the castles the regular epicentres of the traded references of the past.

advance. The positive feelings connected with the return to open space are naturally more intensive, if the stay inside was experienced unpleasantly. Sometimes this element is quite substantial, simply not everyone likes it in a cave. The return to the Earth's surface is a kind of confrontation of the person with usual reality, which is subsequently connected with an unusual perception of commonly unconscious everyday things, such as colours, light, sounds, a thermal shock of various intensity comes, depending on the current season of the year. There is then usually a meeting with other people or their things, left temporarily on the surface. The return to one's place of residence follows. Leaving the cave in the scientific process is also tied to the state, when the already specific underground is sufficiently known and more intense learning occurs in its close and wider vicinity. Since the visit of a cave is always part of a visit of the broader landscape, there is learning about it along – whether on purpose or as a by-product. People always dwelt in the landscape of the Moravian Karst for the past millennium and they have left a number of traces behind.



With the presented methodology, derived from the utilitarian relation of cave–person, it is possible to work further. The desire to know the human reasons for entering a cave and uncovering those transformations can lead us to the very diverse literary production of our ancestors. We find it in unlimited time and in all areas of the world. We therefore do not have to hesitate much in the interpretation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (*Ovidius 1969*) or Cílek's *Orfeus* (Orpheus) (*Cílek 2009*), because it is clear that one of the essential motives of writing was precisely the

Fig. 5: After leaving the cave, a person experiences a significant confrontation with the external space. A phase of transformation occurs. Thanks to the boundary, he/she intensively evaluates the usual light, heat and colour as unusual. An entirely natural reaction is euphoria accompanied by an increased need for communication (photograph: M. Bernat).

intense confrontation of the person with the underground. In both these examples, as well as in countless others, we are confronted with the "simpletons and heroes" who have set out their steps to the underground and returned, altered. These cases are very useful for the study of the basic human relationship to the underground and besides an often factually set production on the underground, they are thanks to their artistic form or presentation of the engaging story also reader-friendly. Here we are not experiencing a natural-science description of a cave untouched by man, but entering into the cultural dimensions of a stone house inhabited by humans over and over again. It depends only on us from how great a distance we view a cave and in which form we will imitate our ancestors and predecessors. Precisely this decision transforms our own (scientific) learning and new interpretational construct.

In the work by Václav Cílek, who regularly visited the underground, his own reasons for entry merge with those of his predecessors, whom he was happy to follow, study and comment. Note that it is recurring imitation of an action but in many specific places. Through the individuality of a particular scientist, a new original look is born. There is no difference between mimicking the actions of the ancestors by a seemingly "primitive" in the Brazilian jungle and a scientist in the Moravian Karst. It is still the identical dimension of human endeavour.

Archaeology and the Landscape

The landscape was, is and will be the setting of human activities. It is for him a *stage*. People live there and fulfil their life. The basic characteristic of all people is the shaping of the life space for themselves and those close to them. This fundamental human feature is timeless and must be remembered also in the context of our story of the cave.

A landscape occupied by people is filled with their social structures (*Neustupný 2010*, 145–146).[7] The interactions of these relations are *networks* (*Hodder 2012*), which have a number of characteristics. All people build an original setting of the networks, and those transform. They are constantly changeable. They contain very stable and highly variable parts. The most important network is the social network; every individual has a mother, father, usually also siblings and relatives. A common component of the social networks are neighbours, the denizens of the village or some broader society. Every person established relations with others, usually people unrelated by blood, friends, but also enemies are in similar proximity. Networks commonly emerge also between groups of people, e.g. families, villages, etc. The human world is interwoven with social networks of human individuals and their groups.

The landscape as a stage is comprised of many parts. Not only those whom we can touch and walk on – soil, rocks, trees, etc., but also the parts that cannot be visited, such as the firmament, but that objectively exist. However, there are also those that cannot be objectively demonstrated, e.g. the mental constructs of the type of that world. From the world thus defined, it is possible physically to move in life only along some of its parts. That is mainly the earth's surface and the underground. In contrast, the sky can be reached only in the mind, through the media, a mediator or under specific circumstances, e.g. after death.

Mankind continually changes the landscape, constantly introduces new cultural elements into it. It transforms its original natural substance into a cultural one. It is precisely this second cultural part that is the main subject of the investigation of archaeology. People spatially divide the landscape. Some parts are heavily transformed, such as the place of residence, in the case of others part of their natural essence is preserved. It does not however mean that this part was not used, e.g. for transport, visits, summer grazing of cattle, hunts and the collection of diverse products or the acquisition of different raw materials. *Complete social networks can spread out in the space of the entire landscape, including those which cannot be reached in the life of people.*

For the archaeologist, the landscape is predominantly a space of living people. Human societies, as was already mentioned, did not and do not inhabit it evenly, *nodes emerge in social networks*. The most frequent type is a house and village with its denizens (*Neustupný 2010*, 150–152).[7] These demonstrate neighbourly relations to one another. People know one another in them. Similarly, also their neighbours from the surrounding villages, but something fundamental distinguishes them from those. We then speak of *societies of other people*. It depends on every specific individual and his village what position they take to others. More distant human residences are inhabited already by unknown people, hence *strangers*. They are those with whom a network has not been established. Contemporary archaeology uses this concept for the basic understanding of the landscape and the people.

The possibility to approach the landscape by the method of *landscape archaeology* is a very important shift in Czech post-revolutionary archaeology (*Gojda 2000*).[8] There is a shift from the dominant preoccupation with small segment of the anticipated whole, i.e. the dominant interest

6 The author uses the term *social landscape*.
7 They are communities their residential complexes or their parts.
8 Evžen Neustupný offers the term *spatial archaeology* (*Neustupný 2010*, 144).

Fig. 6: The photograph from the collection of Karel Absolon captures two routes to Býčí Skála Cave. It is a remodelled wagon route over a hundred years old and was artificially built after 1796. Their aim was to enable entry and exit from the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave in a carriage. In terms of landscape archaeology, it is a materialization of the extended human social network into the cave (source: archive of the MM Brno).

Fig. 7: Absolon's hired labourers at the entry to Býčí Skála Cave during the archaeological research in 1936–1938. On them and around them, there are all sorts of movable artefacts (clothing, shoes, a carbide lamp, a spoon with a small pot, pipe) that accompany people everywhere (source: archive of the MM Brno).

9 The typological approach or the categorization of items (artefacts) according to the formal characteristics (shape, material, etc.).

11 The term item is defined in archaeology as an artefact and its negative (for instance rubbish in production) is an ecofact (*Neustupný* 2010, 45–46).

particularly in human creations – items.[10] The aim of the archaeology of the entire landscape is, however, also to know the very largest artefact, namely the landscape itself, or at least its segments. *It in itself stopped being seen in the scientific conception as an unknown coulisse and became an active stage of human activities.*

The Networks Lead to the Cave

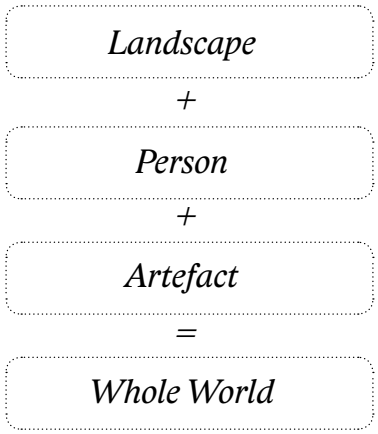
The cave is part of the physically reachable world, but it is not a natural human biotope. Its basic parameters are not entirely welcoming for life. The starting knowledge is the fact that a person always enters it from an external space. That is infinitely better for common residential manifestations of human life. The most common form of the relation cave–person takes place on the basis of a visit. The less we find permanent human residences near a studied cave, the more we ask the question of where the people actually come from. *By entering the cave, people extend (from the position inside the cave) the above-ground social networks also into the underground* (*Fig. 6*). They were and are capable of bringing all of the fundamental human manifestations with themselves, they do not leave "their world with their shoes on the doormat in front of the entrance". Usually however, as a consequence of the limited time spent in the underground, they develop only some part of the diverse palette of their expressions. The short visits mainly do not leave traces. Only the more complex connection of the cave in the life of people leaves more visible traces. The creation of find situations that can be archaeologically studied and interpreted occurred.

People and the Items in the Networks

The everydayness of all people is their symbiosis with artefacts.[11] They are ubiquitous and indispensable. The infinite dichotomous relationship of person–artefact emerges (*Fig. 7*). It is also indisputable that archaeology has dealt with artefacts as its long-term favourite source. After all, it is mainly with their aid that mankind creates its world. Items surround them, accompany them and there is not a place usually where we would not find them. This simple, nevertheless very substantial fact entails the hope that artefacts will helps us in the reconstruction of the outlines of the world of prehistoric peoples, because artefacts accompanied people in the networks of their social structures and have their specific forms – they are only a small movable artefacts carried in one's arms, on one's back or clothing, but they are also immovable ar-

tefacts, which are the routes, including places to stops, rest areas, buildings or possibly entire villages. Artefacts are also often moved from one place to another thanks to people. Forgetting this observation of items can even be labelled as a methodological shortcoming, which was repeated in the case of Býčí Skála Cave. Wankel's fantastic items were often labelled as evidence of the past, many times formally described but without finding out anything more substantial about them. This complaint is particularly true of the pages of their spatial relationships in human networks.

It is a mistake of the archaeologists of the past that the formal description was given all or almost all of the time to the detriment of seeking the people themselves in their inhabited landscape. A new starting point is offered now, the *symmetrical approach* is discussed for example (*Pauknerová 2014*). In a fundamental sense, it balances the relationship of the person to the artefact. Both sides are assessed as equivalent. Whereas ethnologists and anthropologists underestimated items and devoted themselves particularly to spiritual and abstract phenomena of the type kinship or religion, traditional archaeologists did not even seek the person in his spatial contexts through the absorption with artefacts.[12]



Consideration of the term *artefact* brings us to the question of whether the cave itself is not one? The term *cave* was defined above as a stone house. Although it is originally purely a product of nature, its integration into the human world can be understood as its *artefactualization*. The cave was formally used like every other human building. The modelling of its parts gradually took place. It was *humanized*. In it, people performed their usual activities, which we know from other parts of the landscape. It gradually took on various purposes; from a functional standpoint, it is a residential, production, funeral (depositing people) or votive (depositing objects) form. It can also be assumed that its appropriation occurred, it became property, it is similar also in other parts of the landscape.

Networks Across Time

The possibility to investigate human networks in a landscape is dependent on the sources. They have been disappearing from the landscape since the time of the existence of the original living compact culture and the reconstruction of the former whole is thus made very difficult for us, or even impossible. *Besides the landscape (stage), time is thus an essential element of speleo-archaeological interest*. For that work, it becomes the cornerstone. It realizes that time is playing against him.

If we are interested in the basic principles of the entire networks, we cannot start the reconstruction deep in the distinctly fragmented prehistory, which is the case also in Býčí Skála Cave richly represented by the Hallstatt Period. The approach is beneficially reconfigured. It is a more demanding journey, but it leads to clear results. Although our goal is the deeper past, we begin by examining the object of interest already present at the time of our living culture. Then, we proceed towards the past by formally defined periods. This policy conflicts with the interests of speleo-archaeology which is interested in the cave as a whole, nothing all the available resources and does not makes a pre-selection. We can investigate relatively well the spatial definition of the social structures in the vicinity of Býčí Skála Cave in the last few (literary) centuries, when individual visitors have left valuable legacies, such as descriptions of their journeys into the cave. We learn not only about them, who they are, but also where they came from, with whom they entered the cave, what or whom they saw in it, what the surroundings looked like, etc. *The cave is in their variable network behaved very stably, people not only continually knew it but also visited it again and again* (*Fig. 8*).

With the Middle Ages, we enter a period when we do no longer have any local literary sources on Býčí Skála Cave and the surrounding caves and the same is understandably true for the earlier periods. However, it is possible to express a generalizing supposition that principles stated applied even then. The cave was repeatedly integrated in some way to the social networks then, which people brought into it from the outside world.

11 This approach is characteristic for the recently issued monograph on Býčí Skála Cave (*Stloukal – Nekvasil 2015*, 85–141).

Fig. 8: The Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave is captured in the drawing by Bedřich Havránek in 1857. It was another fifteen years until Wankel's research in 1872. Pilgrims and tourists visited it abundantly much earlier than the phenomenal find definitively made it famous. Within landscape archaeology, it is the process of transition from the aboveground to the uninhabited underground (drawing: B. Havránek).

Fig. 9: The Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave in 1924. It is a very valuable photograph, which captures this space before the wartime modifications in 1944–1945. Here, we can see the falling sunrays of the so-called Great Eye into the cave (photograph: R. Czižek, archive of the MM Brno).

By Hertod von Todtenfeld Forever

From the time of the Baroque, when it occurred to the first person to record his observations from Býčí Skála Cave literarily, descriptions of the surrounding landscape also began to appear. The physician from Brno Johann Ferdinand Hertod von Todtenfeld described his visit to this part of Moravian Karst in his book, *Tartaro-Mastix Moraviae* (The Underground Whip of Moravia; *Hertod a Todtenfeld 1669*; *Skutil 1973*). His treatise on illnesses and medicines came out in 1669. Another expedition might have been made by a member of the Cistercian Order Johann Georg Vogt in 1729, if he did not only draw from Hertod von Todtenfeld naturally, he embodied his notes in a work not yet published in print called *Boemia et Moravia subterranean* (Underground Bohemia and Moravia; *Vogt 1729*). Moreover, Vogt also drew a map in which we find for the first time the still unnamed Býčí Skála Cave, called *a cave not far from Vranov*.

The 19th century codified the form of the attitude towards the cave. Observers always came to the specific aim in the Romantic landscape and did not forget to record their observations that captivated them. Although the cave was regularly the aim of an expedition, its separation from the other parts of the landscape did not occur. This approach was repeated by other visitors of many interests and professions. Of the early Moravian scientists of the Romantic Period, there were e.g. Christian Carl André (*1804*) and Carl Josef Jurende (*1809*) or the Slovak national revivalist Jozef Miloslav Hurban (*1841*). They observed the appearance of people, their daily activities and watched the natural beauties. Such a view can be seen as an embryonic stage of several fields of the humanities. Besides ethnography, it is unquestionably history with a view to capture the past.

The decades of the 19th century went forward and for Býčí Skála Cave Wankel's work *Bilder aus der Mährischen Schweiz und ihrer Vergangenheit* (Images from Moravian Switzerland and its Past) from 1882 became indisputably ground-breaking, which enjoys significant popularity to this day among the lovers of Moravian Karst.[12] It even played along with other articles by Wankel an important role in the birth of Moravian archaeology. A current question has arisen today in archaeology of from which period do the items saved in cave clay come. From the perspective of the perception of the landscape as a whole, nevertheless, we find ourselves at the beginning of the journey to specialization on the individual time layers and the role of partial specialists enters. The landscape as a whole started to move into the background. The archaeologists of the last century, particularly its second half, stopped learning about the external spatial relations led by the conviction that they are insignificant for advancement in research. They therefore began to work with Wankel's artefacts almost entirely from the researcher's desk, but Wankel left his

12 The term *Moravian Switzerland* (from the beginning of the 19th century) is the earlier name of Moravian Karst (end of the 19th century).

successors much more than just the simple fact that he had become a pioneer in prehistory. After more than one hundred years, *we return to the complex research of the landscape in a programmatic way* again in the faith that without it we cannot move forward in the research in a more fundamental way.

The interest in the landscape did not drop suddenly. Even in the post-Wankel Period[13] more and more descriptions of Býčí Skála Cave in the context of the surrounding landscape continued to be created (*Kříž 1892*; *Trampler 1897*). Popular Karst guidebooks still described the spatial connections along with the caves, where the individual fields blended. Speleological literary production began to appear much more often, from which archaeological content gradually disappeared (*Kříž – Koudelka 1902*; *Graf 1910*; *Boček 1922*), which we can understand as a sign of the separation of the mentioned fields. In the Inter-war Period archaeologists in many cases stopped visiting Býčí Skála Cave and the surrounding landscape, they worked by the distance method from the researcher's desk. They took Wankel's original facts as sufficient and did not have a need to add new views acquired from the field. That is precisely when the split of the approach in the research occurred. Mainly natural scientists remained in the landscape. If there were archaeologists, then an apparent interest in speleology led them only exceptionally. We can label these exceptions as the pioneers of speleo-archaeology.

In the middle part of the 20th century, we can thus encounter all of the possible approaches to Býčí Skála Cave in relation to the surrounding landscape. One of the archaeologists who stayed in the landscape around Býčí Skála Cave very often and investigated it from various points of view were particularly Karel Absolon and Josef Skutil. With both, we encounter an interdisciplinary approach, which included a very broad collection of sources. Their legacy is important for the contemporary approach of landscape archaeology. Karel Absolon left us a very extensive photographic and map archive, similarly with numerous writings form which we draw valuable connections (*Fig. 9*; *Kostrhun 2014*). The broad collection of data was reflected in his lifelong work on Moravian Karst from 1970 (*Absolon 1970a*; *idem 1970b*), which to this day is a very valuable resource for a number of fields of humanities. The "greatest expert of the natural history and geography of Moravia of his time" Josef Skutil studied and documented the landscape perhaps with an even broader cultural engagement. His scientific legacy counts circa 2250 published works, the contents of which still today await a deeper exploitation (*Skutil 1969*). Both researchers recorded the landscape around Býčí Skála Cave at a time when the traditional way of life there was still fading out (including a patchwork of spontaneous dwelling in caves), which we now encounter either rarely or no longer at all. Usually we learn about it today during our expeditions to remote regions, often outside the European continent.

Thanks to other rich sources, particularly the relicts from iron production, the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) attracted post-Palaeolithic archaeology already in the later period. From the 1960s, research of the Early Medieval workshops was conducted not far from Býčí Skála Cave (*Souchopová 1995*), which the experimental attempts since the 1990s at Stará huť near Josefov (*Merta 2012*) close to Býčí Skála Cave have built on ideologically. Significant interest in the landscape has been expressed there. The search for finds in the forested terrain included numerous attempts at surface prospecting. This principle characterized the acts of archaeology on which research of the landscape of the present builds. An entirely exceptional approach can be seen with the amateur archaeologist Ervín Černý-Křetínský, who over forty years of his activity systematically searched and documented the vast territory of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) with an area of 2000 km^2. Deserted Medieval villages and their components mainly interested him, such as the cultivated land (fields), which can be recognized very well in this area (*Černý 1992*). The mentioned examples confirmed that the presence of scientists in the landscape is inevitable.

In post-Palaeolithic cave archaeology, the approach took a different path. First, it was not popular; systematic research has not been conducted here. If exceptions were found, they were not interest in the external landscape and not even the cave itself. This approach is apparent also with Býčí Skála Cave, which continually attracted people with its Hallstatt collection. The main representative of this approach was Jindra Nekvasil, who was interested in the cave items not the cave itself for forty years from the respectful distance of his Brno study. This fact led to significant interpretation errors.[14] The response to this approach was justified criticism that came not from the circle of the humanities, but natural science, e.g. the geologists Antonín Přichystal and Jaroslav Dvořák, who on the contrary joined the concept of a cultural dimension in an interdisciplinary way (*Dvořák 1994*; *Přichystal – Náplava 1995*). These reactions cane be understood also that the representatives of the non-humanities fields stably go into the landscape and know it from their own experience. Vis-

13 Heinrich Wankel died in 1897.

14 It is his (and his colleagues) absurd concept of the Entrance Hall in the Hallstatt Period as a kind of cave eruption (*Stloukal – Nekvasil 2015*, 140), which is directly dependent on a basic ignorance of the cave.

iting the places of scientific interest provides a complex collection of information, which differs from the concept of "non-contact research". Note that the contemporary scientist of landscapes Václav Cílek, who included Býčí Skála Cave in his concept of landscape (*Cílek 2009*), is a trained geologist. We find a detailed, personal knowledge of the landscape also with the interdisciplinary research of Rudolf Musil, who in his study of the cultural dimension of the given topic starts from geology and palaeontology (*Musil 2010*). In this respect, the Moravian post-Palaeolithic cave archaeology in Moravian Karst has a certain debt to the knowledge of the landscape. We record a response, along with criticism of the current state of the research in the relatively recent period when the need for a different approach to the territory, was brought by a "paratrooper unit from Bohemia", as we could call the change of approach with a certain amount of hyperbole (*Matoušek – Jenč – Peša 2005*). *The interdisciplinary speleo-archaeological approach to the cave is suitable in its conception it combines a balanced interest in the cave (landscape) with the remnants of the cultural activities in it.*

Management of Research

The cave is a place of confrontation par excellence. In it, scientists imitate the activities of people who lived in it before them. The aspect of collectiveness predominates

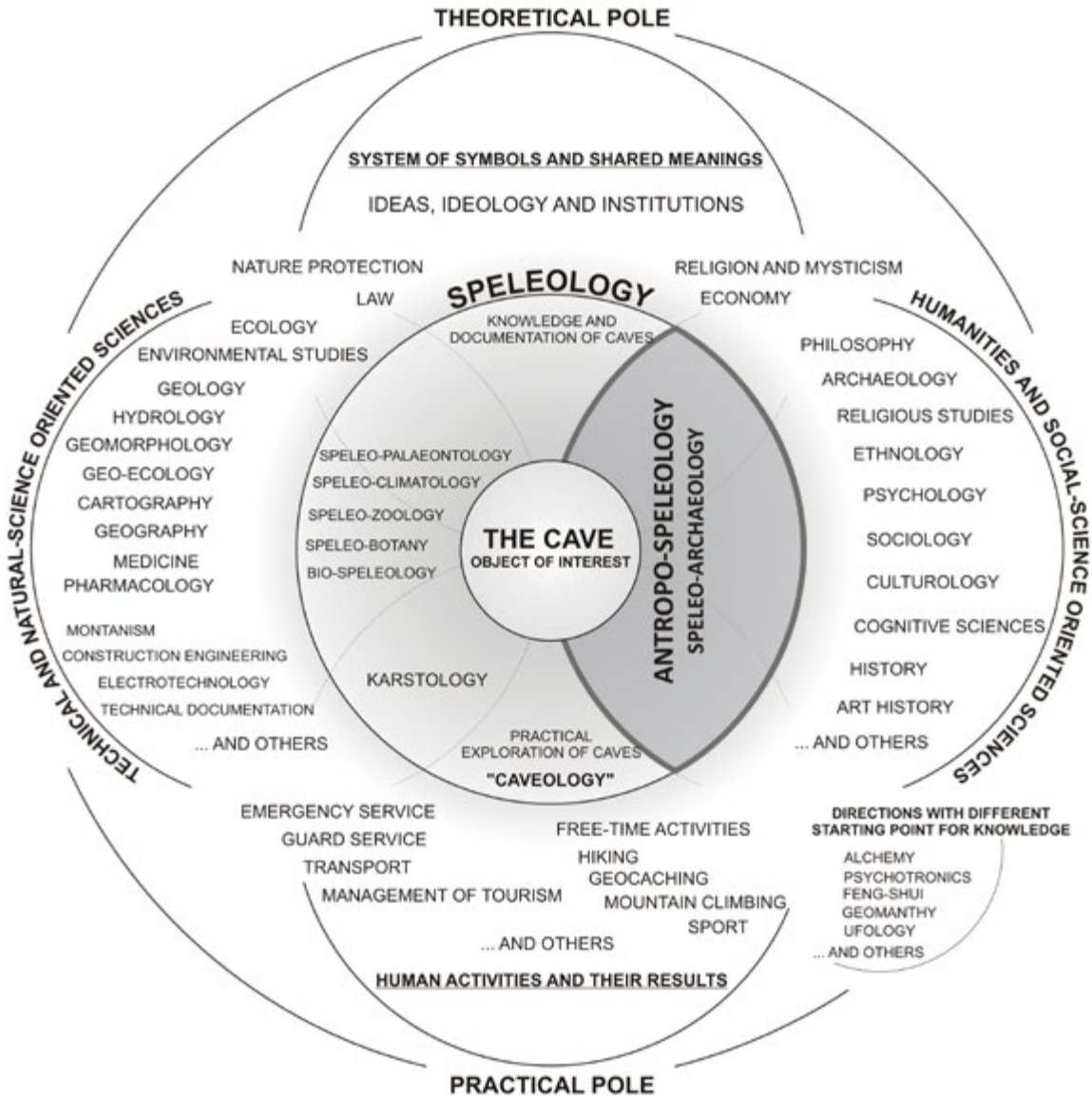


Fig. 10: Schematic categorization of speleo-archaeology (anthropo-speleology) within the other scientific disciplines, including the intersection with other non-scientific approaches to culture (*Laučík 2015*, Fig. 2).

here, most often people group together to visit it, very few attend the cave area alone. The research interdisciplinary teams work similarly. The cave still supports the merging of people in its entrails.

A visit to the cave this encourages *learning about the cave*. Precisely this phenomenon constantly repeats in Býčí Skála Cave. Natural scientists come here, who often connect the factual knowledge of their fields with the knowledge which we include rather to expressions of culture. On the contrary, the representatives of the humanities target this cultural dimension and notice next to it also the natural essence of the examined phenomenon. Everything here is significantly intertwined and projections come from both sides, knowledge and understanding are not the prerogative of scientists. A large number of visitors who approach their learning in an idiosyncratic way and do not seek a scientific view come to Býčí Skála Cave. A suitable example is speleology, which is operated mainly by amateur researchers, nevertheless only a fraction of spelunkers (trained in some scientific field) manifest themselves as scientists with their outputs. That does not, however, mean that such people do not understand caves. There is a whole series of such experts of specific places in the landscape and are bearers of significant knowledge. All of the researchers could be categorized according to formal characteristics. It depends on the which starting points we set. In this case, it is a primary speleo-archaeological view (*Fig. 10*).

We evaluate the basic view of the cultural dimension of the cave. It is not about collecting their natural characteristics of the humanistic disciplines with which they no longer work. It is regularly about a detailed geomorphological or terminological description. The natural-science facts interest us especially when there has been a discovery and reflection of people in the past. As an example, consider e.g. the size (Býčí Skála Cave is a very large cave in Moravian Karst) or type of cave (horizontal not vertical type in terms of the location of the entries; besides that, it is a closed, non-portal cave). We are also interested in the specific characteristics such as luminous phenomena, draught, the existence of sinter (i.e. moonmilk), etc. We recognize that the natural conditions of the cave have led to a particular kind of behaviour.

We notice rather the social structures, which intervene in the cave (networks). Other people with their institutions enter the relationship cave–person. They are the ideological products of people. The awareness of this social purpose is very useful for humanities' research of the cave. A good example is the understanding of the cave in the form of ownership. If we have accessible sources, it was first private and then state property. In both cases, it led to the repeated closure of the previously open cave. It had and has resulted in a change in the possibility of its use by humans. Entrance is now dependent on intermediaries who hold the keys. This role for visitors is played mostly by people who lived near the cave and built a more intimate relationship with the cave space. Gamekeepers were among those here from the nearby Josefov, later spelunkers with their base camp in front of the cave, sometimes scientists themselves and entrusted representatives of the public administration. The cave became an institution with a specific regimen. They even levied in it and today here and there levy a monetary or other nonpecuniary fee as a consideration in return for entry. The cave entered the socio-economic relations. We can evaluate such a cooperative social community as symbiotically associated with caves. This fact has a scientific potential. An unconscious mimicking of the basic method of the use of the caves at some time in the past occurs, including prehistory.

The humanistic approach hence reveals Býčí Skála Cave not only as a significant node in the social networks, but it is much more. It is an archaeological site, where in currently live culture mimicry of human actions that can be scientifically grasped takes place spontaneously. The mentioned fact is that this specific cave along with others in Moravian Karst are exceptional. The speleo-archaeologist can observe societies cohabitating with the cave not only from outside but even from inside (*Malinowski 1922*). *The cave is examined not only as an empty vessel, but in the context of its society-wide importance.*

The speleo-archaeologist becomes the manager of the research of the cultural essence of the cave.

Landscape

What Is the Offer and Answer?

Every person from his birth until his death is confronted with *offers*. Our life consists of responses to stimuli, which are located in our neighbourhood. The reaction is a concrete *answer*. The day, month and year of each person is fulfilled by offers and their answers. They once again become offers. They can take many forms. It can be argued that *there is no effect (response) without cause (offer)*. In addition to the offers resulting directly from people themselves, we have just the landscape and precisely it offers a very varied circle of offers, which in the past people intensely answered or responded to.

In the course of our life, this varied palette of offers fulfils our everydayness. Some situations are common in human life, others unique and they can have great importance. We can see for instance the choice of a partner and starting a family, building a house, etc., this way. Human decision making is conditioned by a number of factors with various degrees of rationality, or irrationality. For archaeology, an awareness of the existence of offers can be beneficial, it then looks at everything in the human world as potential offers, which await in the near future. The everyday reactions to stimuli are usually motivated by a number of factors, from which a coherent cultural pattern is comprised. *Everything takes place in the landscape-stage*. That itself is not static, but on the contrary active. The intensity of human acts increases in places, where people stay; naturally we find many more of them in inhabited parts that in the uninhabited surroundings. The offers tied to the natural essence of the landscape are not entirely constant, but they are often relatively stable – they remain for a long time in their place, also a cave is such a case. If a person runs out of wood for heating (specific offer), the reaction is to go to the forest (where it is offered) and procure wood. If a traveller at some time in the past knocked at the house on Christmas Eve and they opened for him and offered him dinner, the hosts became for him an offer, the traveller was the same for the hosts. Both sides reacted to one another (answered). From an economic perspective, the human world is delimited by the relationship of two sides – demand and supply – considered in that way, the demand is generated form our internal needs (thought, search, decision to purchase) and through the discovered supply of the external world the process is completed by the reaction (response) to it. *Offers and answers thus take place in interactions of human–human or landscape–human*. For the landscape, the offer is again the person.

The successfulness of similar perception of the human world lies in the fact that it helps us better detect the process of the changes on the podium. A change (new fact) is an entirely crucial item of investigation for an archaeologist. We will take for an example two caves – one large, easily accessible and well-known to the public. The second small, difficult to access and we had never heard of it before we "discovered" it in the forest during an accidental wandering. Both caves are a collection of offers naturally, often with an already developed cultural appendix of varying size, set patterns (which offer themselves), and we are confronted with them. With that, a specific reaction occurs or does not; the possible usage of the offer is conditioned by our decision. The reaction could also be ignorance, but in that case a situation is not created which would leave traces that could be investigated by e.g. speleo-archaeology.

Landscapes in Your Backyard

Considering the intensity of the interest in the archaeology of Býčí Skála Cave, it is very surprising that we discover almost nothing of the surrounding landscape. In the interpretations of the Hallstatt situation in the Entrance Hall, this question is heard relatively often, particularly in the sense of "from whence the traders and craftsmen came into the cave", but the answer was usually a relatively unspecific statement that from the south or even vaguer that they came from afar. This situation is totally unsatisfactory. We can only begin to be specifically interested in spatial relationships.

What was very noticeable in the past in the context of the spatial relations to Býčí Skála Cave was the assumption that the people had come into it from (unidentified) very remote areas – e.g. The Balkans, but this perception is hardly tenable in its current form, primarily Býčí Skála Cave was logically part of the closest social structures that formed a spatial unit with it (*Fig. 11*).

The basic definition of the spatial relations to Býčí Skála Cave is the *definition of the relationship of the settled and (temporarily) inhabited landscape*. The intensity of human expressions differs fundamentally. The cave in an unsettled remote forested landscape in the middle of the southern part of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) was about four hours on foot from the southern or western edge of the densely-inhabited lowlands at its foot, seven hours from the eastern edge. The lowlands were settled continually and in the long term already for several millennia, whereas the uplands on the contrary remained unsettled for all of Prehistory until the High Middle Ages. The georelief itself here already created different conditions for settlement structures. It became one of the most important offers. A view of a similar landscape through our knowledge of the following periods is proof for us that there was an evident human response. People did not have to settle the uplands in the long term for a lack of space in the lowlands.

Both landscape types significantly differ from one another by the share of reflection; there are fundamental differences between them. However, another general note is important, namely that *people always knew and resided in the landscape as a whole* (*Fig. 13*). Consideration of the term time during the four seasons is also useful. Thanks to the layout of their settlement areas in the lowlands, people spent much more time there, whereas the uplands were apparently used only occasionally. We suppose that *thanks to the common agricultural-grazing-craft way of life, they did not go very far from their residences in the flatlands for most of the year.*[16] We can observe this model quite well, e.g. in the Early Middle Ages. Only in the High Middle Ages does colonization change the basic setting of the as-yet unsettled (or temporarily inhabited) landscape to a settled one. However, wherever the local people were on this territory, the second type of landscape was always nearby. They either watched it from below or from above and it was only their choice when and how often to cross this visual boundary. *It was always a close landscape beyond the backyard or under the backyard.*

Two Landscapes, One World

In the characteristics of both types of landscape – flatland and upland – the natural "default" for mankind is essential. The main landscape offers (also natural conditions) allow people to develop some specific form of their life. People usually react to some offers of the landscape. Some kind of form of specific interaction thus emerges.

Plain (type A) – The basic characteristics of the plains areas adjacent to the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) is their flatness to slightly rolling nature. The landscape is synoptic, if it is deforested it is possible to see the wider surroundings even from a small terrain undulation or building. If it was forested, a greater overview was provided on the contrary by edge of the hills of the uplands or a raised part of in the foothills. It is easy to walk through such a landscape, there are no natural obstacles here except the occasional water flows. Around the insular Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands), it is possible to head north in two directions. The planes in the Brno District go around the eastern foothills of the Vyškov and Prostějov Districts, on the western foothills of the Kuřim and Boskovice Districts (*Fig. 12*). The average height above sea level fluctuates on the eastern side around 220–250 m and on the back side around 220–280 m. In terms of soil, it is the absolutely most fertile area on the territory of Moravia, we record abundant cover of black and brown soils here (*Fig. 14*; *Kozák ed. 2009*). There can be no doubt of the favourability of settlement on such high-quality soils. The presence of loess under them was another utilized offer for the production of ceramics and building homes. In terms of climate, it is again a location, which changes dramatically in the direction of the uplands (it worsens). The access to water is not a problem; brooks and streams flow through here, often spring from the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). The natural layout ensured people the develop-

16 Transhumantion, i.e. summer grazing of cattle in the forested uplands with cave shelters has not yet been proved but cannot be ruled out. However, also in this case the primary residences are anticipated in the flatlands.

Fig. 11: Geo-relief of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) contrasts with the lowlands at their foothills. Whereas the hilly type of landscape remained uninhabited in the Prehistoric Period and still in the Early Middle Ages, the lowlands were permanently settled (source: J. Martínek and M. Golec).

Fig. 12: Layout of the regions of the Prostějov District, Vyškov District, Brno District, Kuřim District and Boskovice District at the foot of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) (source: J. Martínek and M. Golec).

Fig. 13: Brno captured from the southeast from Špilberk in 1690. In the foreground, slightly undulating plains rise into the hills of the southern edge of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). Behind the town walls, there is the Premonstratensian cloister at Brno-Zábrdovice, which owned the pilgrimage centre and shrine in Křtiny near Býčí Skála Cave (painting: F. von Allen; *Kroupa 2009*, Fig. on page 14).

ment of their residential complexes, parts of which were homes with an adjacent farm, fields and pastures. There also had to be relatively close a sufficient supply of wood, a strategic raw material for building houses, granaries, etc., further heating and varied moveable artefacts. This category also included sources of plants, most often mostly grasses which besides straw were used for the roofing of buildings. Apart from the purposefully cultivated crops, the flatlands provided also forest products in the uncultivated parts, which were certainly utilized (mushrooms, herbs, forest fruits), game was similarly hunted there and cattle grazed. Rivers, brooks and aquifer areas provided fish and

other aquatic animals. It can be assumed that some of these activities mentioned also took place, if necessary, in an area of the adjacent uplands (summer grazing, harvesting crops, hunting, etc.). Besides stone, the plains did not provide any unique source of raw materials, which were further utilized. Except perhaps for iron, which occurs in the uplands, there were copper, tin, salt, graphite and last but not least amber, as well as other goods transported by trade from the distant regions outside Moravia.

Upland (type B) – The Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands), which provides observers a well visible raised horizon, rises distinctly above the area of the lowlands. It's unmistakable. The two landscapes create a strong contrast. The edge of the uplands provides a very good view of the surrounding plains. That changes with the arrival in hilly terrain. Orientation in this terrain depends on the position. A broader view and precise orientation is allowed only by climbing more distinctive elevations, but the majority of the positions do not allow a purview of the larger parts of the landscape. We suppose that until the so-called High Medieval Colonization the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) was continuously forested highlands, which significantly magnified the labyrinthine effect. Today's deforested upland plateau offers a similar view, as in the plains below, but that was not previously possible in the past. The height above sea level varied here from 220–250 m in the Brno, Vyškov and Prostějov Districts and around 280 m in the Kuřim District, the average height above sea level reaches 463 m, the highest point of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) stands out at a height of 735 m. The area is divided by valleys, cut deeply into the massif. For instance, the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave lies at a height of only 310 m, nevertheless the surrounding hill rises over 500 m. This fact conditioned the movement through the landscape. In comparison with the flatlands, the climatic conditions are significantly worse. It reduces the average annual temperature; spring comes later. Thanks to the broken terrain relief, the deep valleys have a much shorter period of sunlight and are damp. Also, the soil conditions are entirely different; black and brown soils do not appear here. Much lower quality soils predominate here: cambisols and in the Moravian Karst rendzinas (*Fig. 14*; *Kozák ed. 2009*). The water resources here are not different from the plains with the significant exception of the Moravian Karst, where water disappears underground by the influence of the Karst processes, so the surface remains very dry. On the contrary, the underground is permanently damp with numerous springs. The upland offers unique raw materials, which indisputably includes iron, which had (as a discovered offer) a fundamental influence on the cultural development of the landscape already from the Early Iron Age. The landscape unsettled in the long term most likely offered a different composition of hunted animals, which were either not in the settled landscape or there were substantially fewer of them (bears, wolves, bisons, etc.). Special offers, which we will deal with below, are the places where urbanization took place in various periods (fortified settlements, castles, cloisters, places of pilgrimage, etc.) and some places that formed a component of a specific karst landscape.

Fig. 14: The soil conditions in the plains at the foot of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) with high-quality black and brown earth were decisive for the settlement of the area (source: J. Martínek and M. Golec).

The basic spatial relationship between landscapes A and B is the concept of wholeness. From the perspective of the existence of people in the landscape from the beginning of the construction of permanent settlements in the Neolithic Period to the Early Middle Ages, we look at settled plains as the primary with their basic units – settlement complexes. The upland was only temporarily used as a complement of the settlement cores – temporarily inhabited, most frequently in the form of variously long visits, transports, collections of crops, pasturing cattle or acquiring raw materials. People returned home to their primary residences in the plain. Essentially, this basic spatial relationship in the landscape also copies the relationship of humanity and the cave, who come to it from the outside world and return after staying in it.

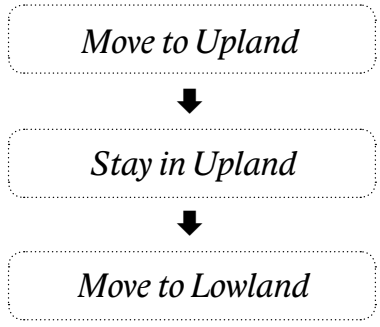


Fig. 15: The photograph from the Interwar Period shows the colonization area in the continuously forested landscape of the southern Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) (photograph: R. Czižek, archive of the MM Brno).

Fig. 16: The insularity of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) in regards to the surrounding densely settled plains always offers suitable reliefs, which people gradually utilized for the construction of high fortified settlements, castles and palaces. They are colonization manifestations of the people from landscape A to landscape B. The topic was dealt with by Miloš Čižmář (*2004*) and Miroslav Plaček (*2002*) (source: J. Martínek and M. Golec).

Colonization of the Upland

Over the course of time, the settled areas of the plains could become and sometimes did become the starting point of the colonization of the unsettled upland. There was the implementation of new forms of the utilization of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). Such conduct interests us and should be explained.

The as-yet inhabited landscape became a settled landscape. The most famous and generally well-known colonization is that of the High Middle Ages from the 13th and 14th centuries, the result of which was the gradual creation of a permanent network of villages (*Černý 1992*). This settlement turnaround is not, however, likely the only case of the colonization of the uplands, but it can be discussed whether there are also earlier cases,[17] because this phenomenon could have happened even much deeper in the past, for instance in the Early Iron Age, the resolution of this brainteaser is lacking so far. In this context, the topic is also bound by the marginalized social phenomena – various forms of the acquisition of territory in the colonized settled space, e.g. ecclesiastical units (diocese, etc.) activated pilgrimage centres here, diverse subcultures fought for space, including tourism, tramping, mountain climbing, spelunking or military units.

Before the general settlement of the upland, people used it as a component (accessory) of their main activities in their primary residences in the plains. *The upland fulfilled the purpose of a visit and transit landscape. It is the most common expression here of the inhabitation of the landscape.* Prior to the Period of the High Middle Ages, we can demonstrate a case captured by research, which indicates the *enclave colonization* of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) (*Fig. 15*). In the Early Middle Ages, there was a development of iron metallurgical workshops between Rudice and Olomučany (*Souchopová 1995*). Their purpose is clear; it is the usage of the offer of iron ores, which were close to their outcrops for iron work and forging. The transport of semi-finished products or already completed products was ensured through the super-communal centre[18] Staré Zámky in Brno-Líšeň, which was located on the edges of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). It is supposed that they were distributed from there to the wider surroundings after further elaboration or in the form of semi-finished products, e.g. the Great Moravian River Morava Basin is discussed. This case is very well demonstrated by the spatial interaction of the people, raw materials and artefacts and the landscapes in question. A similar model could be repeated anytime in the deeper past, e.g. in the Hallstatt Period. It is obvious that over the course of time form the Late Stone Age new and old-new fortififed settlements, later also castles and chateaus concentrated precisely on the edge of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) (*Fig. 16*). A number of similar examples use their positions for communication routes towards the upland. All of these structures can be

17 Jiří Doležel anticipates already earlier colonization of the Early Middle Ages (*Doležel 2014*).

18 The issue of so-called residence complexes, i.e. places where more communities produced and met together – the super-communal component (*Neustupný 2010*, 148; also *idem 2007*).

Fig. 17: View of the municipality of Pozořice on the edge of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands), the fertile plains of the Brno District are in the background. The Liechtenstein family utilized this place from the 17th to 20th centuries as the administrative centre of the Pozořice estate, which was spread on the large acreage of the forested uplands (source: info-centre Pozořice).

seen as landscape centres of their time through which communication passed to both the plain and the upland. The existence of these landscape points is fundamental for the discussion of the appearance and intensity of the possible colonization of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) in the Period from the Late Stone Age (4000 BC) until the Present. They themselves are already the product of colonization, to which their position points.

The colonization of the High Middle Ages, however, is not the last social-spatial expression falling in this category. Also others followed. Although the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) has been continuously inhabited, the parallel interaction of both landscapes has continued even to this day. They have a different form and intensity; they leave different traces in the landscape.

Precisely these later, recent cases are very useful for understanding the landscape relationships. The construction of the Medieval castles Nový Hrad near Adamov, Blansko or Holštejn is indisputably associated with Medieval colonization. However, the *evangelization Medieval and Baroque colonization* is a separate case, which is proved by the construction and subsequent development of the pilgrimage churches in Křtiny and in Vranov near Brno,[19] later also in Sloup and the similar religious adoption in Císařská Cave. The discussed landscape relationship is mirrored here. For instance, the church with a cloister in Křtiny was the act of the Premonstratensian monastery in Brno-Zábrdovice (*Fig. 13*). *Another type of relationship to the upland are the modern aristocratic holdings.* Individual families came to the upland again from outside and built their residences either inside the space, the Salm family in Rájec nad Svitavou, the Liechtenstein family in Adamov or on its edges in Pozořice, Brno-Líšeň, Račice and elsewhere, by which the imitated the landscape model stabilized for millennia then (*Fig. 17*). In some cases, they are older buildings; elsewhere they built on green sites. It is quite possible using these examples to demonstrate for instance the socio-economic relations in the space of the upland, we notice the placement of these centres, e.g. the administration of the forest district used corvée obligations, the owners of them set out on hunts, etc. With the nobility, there also came *industrial colonization*.[20] It utilizes the supply of raw materials, led by iron ore,

19 This topic has to be resolved further. In both cases, it was in the immediate vicinity of the hills Baby and it has not been ruled out that they were pre-Christian (pagan) social-landscape expressions.

20 In the Josefovské and Křtinské Údolí (Valleys) with the Býčí Skála Cave, continual Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque took place including both the construction of economic facilities (ironworks, mills, glassworks, lime kilns, a powder magazine, potash works, mill/saw) and the foundation of new settlements (Adamov, Karlov, Stará huť near Josefov, Josefov).

wood and limestone. The new epoch of Classicism brought further colonization appropriation of the landscape. It is *hiking colonization*, which underwent two phases in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries.[21] At the beginning of the 20th century, *spelunking and sporting (rock-climbing) colonization* begins, *from the middle of that century military.* It is certainly possible to find more case, which however is not important for the demonstration of the spatial relationships of the discussed types of landscape. All of the described cases in various form and intensity prove specific social phenomena on the relationship of primary (settled) and secondary (inhabited) residences.

The presented examples are related with the construction of human residences or some type of infrastructure. In all of the presented modern cases, they are human activities, which are often parallel in time. From this perspective, the *landscape is a multipurpose stage*. Many of these cases are connected in some way also with caves, repeatedly also Býčí Skála Cave discussed here. Some expressions are found on the boundary of inhabitation and settlement, which is the case of the recent visits of spelunkers, tramps and sportspeople. Sometimes, there was the use of the existing infrastructure, sometimes to its construction and also only caves were used. At this point it is possible to give a relatively common practical use of the cave and thus the highlands as a refuge from military attacks and looting. People withdrew from the plains to the upland, and into the forests and caves. Precisely in this case it is not a manifestation of settlement, that purpose was not fulfilled here; it is a transient, even throughout the winter, occupation of the place chosen with the discovered offer.

The Whole World

People take some specific space and spend time in it. They approach the landscape territorially. In the same way that they adopt mobile artefacts, they see also immobile artefacts – parts of the landscape. They mark their territorial property, most often with the help of separation from the surroundings. They fence them, demarcate them, desire to own them, and hinder its theft. This behaviour is natural. By parcelling space, humankind changes the existing cultural order. Places private from the perspective of the

Fig. 18: In 2008, the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave was laid out in the form of a suggestive reconstruction on the site of Wankel's research from 1872. People in the photograph fill the temporarily visited space in the common form. People also did similar things in the past for some specific purpose (photograph: V. Káňa).

community and individuals thus emerge. More extensive territories are similarly understood; they are certainly super-communal points, where cohesive groups clash with others. The most significant are the social rules and formulas affecting the most intensively used spaces.

The basic ideological model of archaeology is the investigation of the landscape in horizontal space. It resolves it from the perspective of the Earth's surface from which it is possible to move in the four cardinal directions. The maps of the landscapes of the past with delimited localities with finds most often presented in publications also correspond to that. The overhead space of the open landscape dominates them, but such a view is not complete and to capture the *entire world* interest in other spaces is necessary. Other parts beyond the Earth's surface are not settled, but they are indisputably inhabited. The problem can be resolved by expanding the horizontal space by its vertical dimension, which people like to consider and act against it. Besides that, we have still another space, for which not even the vertical entirely suffices. They are spaces, which are not precisely identified, a typical example is the next world. Precisely these complement the whole of a significant part of the entire world.

A natural extension of the Earth's surface is the inhabited *underground* – besides other anthropogenic cavities they are caves (*Fig. 18*). They can be physically entered and all of human activities can *de facto* be developed in them like on the surface. However, it in any case is a specific space, which is given by the amount of very different offers in comparison with an open landscape. Specific lighting, temperature, humidity, sound, colour and even time perceptions act on a person. At least a bearable level of convenience is lacking here for voluntary settlement. If one did not have to – or for specific reasons did not want to – one ignored the cave for a

21 It is the Swiss colonization at the beginning of the 19th century, the period ideals were found in the Alpine arcadia and after the creation of Czechoslovakia North American colonization, when Indians, *cowboys and goldminer*s became the models for ramblers (*Čermáková – Golec 2014*).

longer stay and evidently preferred the aboveground parts of the landscape. In terms of the natural setting the caves of Central Europe are essentially removed from the residential parts of the landscape. The culturally more compact Recent Period demonstrates it relatively well. We find in it people with a limited interval of their stay – tourists, spelunkers, tinkers, loggers, Gypsies, hermits, the homeless, poets, painters, photographers, inspectors of the government administration, guides, workers in war factories, refugees from war, lovers, herdsmen, scientists, Catholic pilgrims, etc. In deeper prehistory, it had to be similar to that for the reasons presented. Caves are a very clear interface between two different parts of a coherent world. A person this takes into account within one's natural division of the world. A type of the underground little realized is *water*, which is again a component of specific supplies. It again creates the interface of the normal earthly and alien spaces. A person can move in it but only temporarily. This space can this fulfil a similar role as the underground, but water is also a staple, which is a crucial supply. It is also similar in its endless malleability, dynamic nature and ability to change its essence by mixing.

A very important part of the whole world is the *aboveground* (heavens). By this we mean a space anywhere above the Earth's surface. The sky is for the exception of a small amount at the surface is an entirely different space as a consequence of being unreachable. It cannot be entered, only by sight and thought. The sky provides a view of celestial objects that define the properties of the world. They create the dimension of time, light and heat, provide shapes and colours, sound (thunder), movement (wind), water (rain, hail, snow), fire (lightning bolts, it allows smoke to rise), etc. The result of these permanent offers leads to frequent human testimonies, which are reflected on the surface and underground. Contact between the earth and sky takes place through mediators – media. Light, heat and water come from the sky to the earth, smoke, views and also the thoughts of people travel in the opposite direction. Thanks to its limited offer of unreachability, the aboveground is the ideal space for placing ideological projections. The consequence is the form of religious schemas of human societies. It is precisely from the sky that the interventions of divine beings come to the earth, which evoke a human reaction in the opposite direction. The idea of the centre of the world, in which people live (Tolkien's Middle Earth), is symmetrical, above and below are worlds of other rules, people balance and mediate it. Two types of temples served precisely for that – in caves and on mountain peaks.

Another very important and neglected part of the whole world are those that are not more precisely placed in space. They are somewhere. A typical example is the *next world*. Its placement is often dependent on the above-mentioned

Fig. 19: A view into the Křtiny pilgrimage church (a). The vertical of the Baroque church guides the faithful to the firmament with a materialized fresco projection of the next world (heaven), the objective of this life's journey (b) (source: archive of the MM Brno).

vertical parts of the landscape. People also place the next world both into the physically reachable underground and the physically unreachable heavens (*Fig. 19*). These two directions fall well into the schema of the unspecific. Apparently, an essential role with them is played by their

difference from the use of the earth's surface by people. From the perspective of living human societies, there is an interface here between the settled and inhabited spaces. Gods and other supernatural beings are placed in this or another idea of the projected world of people, like with dead people in their further essence. From the perspective of living people, these spaces are understood as residential oikumena for other beings, not for themselves. For instance, dead people resettle in them. From the view of the next world, the world of the living most likely seems to be residential, but for the dead it is only a living space. For instance, they temporarily move on Celtic Samain (today's All Souls' or Halloween) to visit among the living and then return. However, living people often do not tolerate such conduct, they are afraid and there are various defensive reactions to the dead. The noise and the masques drive the dead again under the earth.

Býčí Skála Cave Model

As was presented above, it is possible to see a cave as a stone house from the perspective of speleo-archaeology. A person lends it by his/her activity a cultural dimension, which awakes in it that cultural dimension making it an artefact. *A person in this uses them for various purposes* (*Neustupný 2010*, 83). We can see them on three levels. It fulfils: *1. a practical function*; *2. a social importance*; *3. a symbolic sense*. The functional aspect is already reflected in the actual use of the stone house. The large underground cavity provided and still provides a person several basic possibilities of application.

The most frequent *practical function* of the cave is one of the forms of inhabitation (not residence), characterized by variously long stays in it. Besides the *variously long visits* in it, we record variously long examples of *inhabitation of the space*, sometimes also connected with *spending the night*. The mentioned examples are dependent on specific situations. Býčí Skála Cave offers in its entrances and side portal temporary shelter for hikers, caught by a summer storm, before they found even a dwelling for a night in the open cave.[22] The purpose of the visit always had some concrete aim and there is a significant amount of such purposes. The spelunker visits the cave to find free unknown cavities; the archaeologist to understand the studied space of the past. Most people do not have a specific aim; they are led to the cave by mere curiosity and the desire to investigate the unknown. The aims can also be spontaneously generated on the basis of the stimuli in the cave itself, which can be the spontaneous photographing of the stalactites, producing sounds because of the echo or sex in darkened corners. The list of similar situations could be long. The built-in infrastructure of the form of stoves from the Middle Ages or a Palaeolithic winter station from the Earlier Stone Age indicate much longer inhabitation. We anticipate longer inhabitation precisely during production activities, which we place here in already several periods. *Production* is another practical function of this space. The so-called forge from the Hallstatt Period is very famous; the so-called oil economy in the WWII similarly forced longer stays. Another function is the burial of the dead, thus *burial grounds*. The last function is the local storage of items that can be interpreted as *votive*.

The underground can be viewed in terms of *social significance*. People most often entered it in groups. This is due perhaps already by the setting of the human subconscious, eliminating thus the potential risk of injury, and the complications connected with it. The individual is at risk for health and life. Most often groups of various sizes enter the cave. They form already on the basis of the fact of the closed nature of the cave and organizing group entries with a guide. Sometimes it is acquaintances that came to the cave as a group formed from the external space (family, hiking expedition, school trips), but sometimes they form spontaneously in front of the cave (open house days). The social importance of this case lies in its use for the meeting of people arriving on foot or by vehicle from various directions to the interior of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). We understand it as a social hub in a two-dimensional space inhabited today by people (*Fig. 20*).

The symbolic sense is very distinctive for the underground Býčí Skála Cave. At any time in the past, the cave could have been interpreted as the entry to another world. The sources indicated several cases immediately. They point to findings of human skeletons demonstrably from the Hallstatt Period; they reveal not only the practical functional purpose of a burial ground, but also reveal symbolic meaning of the place, where people expect departure/removal of the dead to the next world. People could understand the stone house in a more complicated form of cave shrine, which combines several practical functions with their symbolic meaning, as a communication space with the world of the gods. A similar sense here is also offered in the Late Stone Age, from which we have another remarkable evidence of religious behaviour in the cave. The symbolic sense leads our thinking in a vertical direction, linking the area of the living with the dead and

22 This option provided the unlocked entrance hall, which is avoided by recessed doors and that happened only in the mentioned gate and other convenient caves nearby, most often in Kostelík Cave and Jáchymka Cave.

Fig. 20: The traditional May Open House Days at Býčí Skála Cave are a social occasion for many visitors, who come in groups and individually. They are grouped into organized expeditions and are led by cave guides from the ranks of the local spelunkers (photograph: Š. Mátl).

other beings that transcend us (*Neustupný 2010*, 148). The gods usually reside in heaven or on other vertical space, and also in the underground.

Recently, an opinion on fortified settlements as super-communal complexes of the landscape of prehistory has been discussed in the Czech archaeological community (*Neustupný 2010*, 148–149). It pointed to the fact that a number of fortified buildings are so large that they could not fulfil the purpose of militarily defensible refuges. Nevertheless, in terms of the social importance, they could well provide a space for diverse social activities, become a place of conflict. Sometimes they also prove traces of craft production and the deposition of votive objects. They are regularly found near long-distance routes, even at their crossroads. Precisely these parameters can also be discussed for Býčí Skála Cave. An interpretive base arises here, whether it is not an unrecognized *purpose of a super-communal complex* here. The rich collection from the Hallstatt Period also points to this feature.[23] The stone house of the form of a cave shrine provides space to fulfil the practical functions of a multifunctional space, from a societal perspective the importance of a place at the intersection played a role as well as being halfway between the communities of people living on opposite foothills of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). We encounter mimicry of a similar schema in the same area from the Middle Ages also in other cases; already two catholic pilgrimage sites – stone houses – were created here in Křtiny (*Fig. 19*) and Vranov near Brno, where the essence of the social and symbolic meanings is very clear.

23 The ethnographic model derived from the situation of the 19th–21st centuries will be discussed in the Chapter V.

Journey

Concept of Palimpsest

For science, the landscape is a source of many different messages. This potential is revealed by purposeful learning, namely every more intensively. It is not an accident that an ever-greater number of archaeological works work in some way with the term *landscape*. The post-revolutionary tendency of this science to spatial relations is quite evident. Whereas the natural-science fields do not have to experience this turning point, the social sciences have undergone a significant transformation. Besides environmentalists and cartographers, also archaeology has found its way to the investigation of prehistoric and historic landscapes. It ever more looks at the individual localities and places with finds through the point of view of the methods of residential complexes and their parts. A large shift is the connection of the available information from the landscape into integral outputs. Such a view helps to understand processes over a long time, lasting centuries and even entire millennia. An interesting and beneficial concept is one that works with the landscape as if with a parchment, on which a human inscription is repeated found that is eliminated over time intentionally and unintentionally to be covered with a new cultural message. However, sometimes part of the original message is preserved and can be found and studied with purposeful searching in the landscape. Such a view of the landscape, looking at the stage of human events is aptly named after the term of the Medieval bearer of the letter, from which the text was rubbed or scraped and subsequently overwritten with another – *palimpsest* (*Gojda 2000*; *Cílek 2014*). The bearer was very important then; it became a valuable property of the owner. Similarly also the cultural record in the landscape/stage has been preserved here and there and hence has a significant value for archaeology (*Fig. 21*).

We can find palimpsests anywhere and it is only up to show perfectly we get to know the landscape segment, hence how precisely we are able to abstract information from the parchment with records from various periods. The indisputable advantage of this approach the opportunity to set off on trips into nature, where we encounter individual visual relicts of the past, which are prehistoric fortified settlements and burial mounds, Medieval castles, Baroque chateaus, alleys, quarries, wayside shrines, military bunkers, abandoned agricultural cooperatives, or perhaps only recently-relatively abandoned buildings, where the process of archaeologization has already begun. Everything can be observed, walked through and examined and history offers us the unique opportunity to understand everything in the context of the time payers, laid originally on each other, but which we most frequently find distributed around the landscape as we walk through it. After all, trips into the heavily rewritten palimpsests have always made us happy since our school years. I remember excursions to castles and chateaus or to one of the most-famous destinations sought after to this day by tourists for its architecture – Golden Prague, the same is true of dozens of magical towns, townships and villages. Guidebooks and other texts, which present the past to us as a synthesized cultural product, act on these most famous. We have taken a liking to some landscape texts for their value of the unitemporality of the inscription, we can mention the complex of Lednice-Valtice as an example. It depends only on the depth of our knowledge where in the given cases but wherever else, we find in the visited place the many older and later layers, which are not so striking at first glance.

Fig. 21: Some places in the landscape change their form, which evoke different human reactions. The situation in front of Býčí Skála Cave in 1828 is captured by a Liechtenstein Romantic park (a). In the 1950s, it literally vanished; it disappeared from the memory of the people and from the landscape (b) (a – painting: F. Richter, archive of the MG Brno; b – source: archive of ZO ČSS [Basic Organization of the Czech Speleological Society] 6-01 Býčí Skála Cave).

Reef of Human Artefacts

Every landscape anywhere in the world is comprised – as we have presented in the past chapters – of parts. Those take on the most diverse natural and cultural forms. Their interrelationship varies from forest vegetation with a low share of human interventions through the mentioned Hradčany (Castle Town) – where a thousand years of remodelling of the original plateau over the River Vltava symbiotically soars on the cultural coral reef. The natural view is our innate aesthetic perception – "*Look, Marie, it is beautiful*" – the husband is standing in front of Castle Trosky (Ruins), entirely opposite words are heard over the brown-coal ruins of the landscape under the Krušné Hory (Ore Mountains). The view of the scientist, in this case a historian, should be neutral. It is possible to investigate both beautifully tended castles and romantic parks and deserted factory brownfields or even repulsive homeless dens, built into earthen cavities of all types.

There are many time layers from the present to the Neanderthal. Not all have been preserved for us equally in the landscape and not all can be found visually to this day in the landscape. During our excursion, we usually can thus admire only some of them. It is caused by several factors. The most significant is time. Relicts are lost to us going into the past. Everything disintegrated and the remnants came to be under the ground. Here, however, archaeology enters and can find precisely these traces under the ground and return them in various forms to the landscape, after a scientific assessment for instance in the form of information tables on tourist paths. Another reason for the inequality of the representation of the periods is the fact that the time layers have been deposited unequally in the landscape. For instance, we find the Renaissance exclusively in towns, castles and chateaus, we are usually not successful in villages. On the contrary, the preceding Middle Ages or particularly the subsequent Baroque left an incomparably more distinct trace in the landscape. The same is true for the temporally more distant prehistory. There is a number of periods that did not leave a mark visually at all. On the contrary, others are then very strongly represented. If we organize a trip for the Old Germans, we will have a significant problem with organizing an excursion into nature for their traces, but in research of the much earlier Bronze Period we have a large amount of fortified settlements available, which can be visited in the forested terrain on the edges of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands).

Every living society creates structures in the settled landscape. Medieval or modern villages were the main settled points of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). Nevertheless, also the territory between them was inhabited and we can find a lower level of cultural elements there, moreover, usually also their different composition. The observed landscape connections then form a whole. Between the villages, we find mainly routes, wayside shrines, bridges or perhaps abandoned fields (ploughlands) and evidence of mining or the treatment of raw materials. Paradoxically, these parts of the former whole have been preserved in much better condition in a number of cases than those in constantly settled villages, because pressure did not emerge here for their removal and replacement. And so, our old wayside shrine "dangerously licks" the new giant tractor on the united kilometre hide. Similarly, this high-performance agricultural aid arouses much more substantial changes. The old wagon routes beyond the village stop being used thanks to its enormity, because it does not fit in them and so new routes are formed. These old ones are then overgrown and become biological corridors for animals. This fact is noteworthy for a historian, because the concept of palimpsest is still a living and unending process. The

Fig. 22: An accumulation of human artefacts can be found anywhere in the landscape. They form of collage of various periods and practical functions. The southern edge of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) on the hill Hády offers a good view of Brno. The original limestone hill has transformed into a large quarry, which after its abandonment has served for spontaneous epigraphic expressions (photograph: V. Havelka).

Fig. 23: The passage between Suchý Žleb, Vilémovice and the Macocha Abyss in the Interwar Period. The crossroads was purposefully built also by spontaneous routes. The main roads force the spontaneous creation of side branches, which are shifted as needed (source: archive of the MM Brno).

original *landscape elements gradually take on new practical functions*. The castle becomes a museum, the wayside shrine an obstacle and a route a biological corridor.

Individual landscape cultural elements also act *to create the landscape*. They become the offer for those who come to the same place time and again and create new (*Fig. 22*). Such an offer is the city and village, where we build our house, the route by which we move from landscape A to landscape B, or the cave, where architects have left romantic modifications and tourists their cultural messages (graffiti), in the more distant past their fragments and human bodies. The cultural messages usually accumulate in the nodes of the network or at the crossroads of routes. And so we speak of guard castles on suitable routes, fords near shallow waters or inns for travellers. Even archaeologists leave their educational signs (response to demand) where something interesting has been found.

Communication

The most frequent artefact in forested unsettled, inhabited or only sparsely populated landscape is the route. It is a human product, most often spontaneous, in several cases particularly in recent periods purposefully built and maintained (*Fig. 23*). Routes have a clear practical function – *they are communications*. People move along them on foot, or travel along them on various types of transport means from wagons drawn by animals to automobiles. The term *communications* can be understood in many diverse ways and communications were usually also multi-purpose. Especially those are a very important medium of communications for people from distant points in the landscape. They transport not only people but their creations as well – artefacts. On the general level, communications allow the communication of people with people and people with various points in the landscape, the means can even be a cave (*Fig. 24*).

Routes in a Laser Landscape (Jan Martínek)

The remnants in the landscape were not left by people only from time immemorable but already in an organized and spontaneous way. Moreover, they have been preserved for us in the form of terrain disparities primarily in a forest landscape, in which there were not such fundamental terrain modification in later years as there were in the case of agricultural lands. Precisely because of the high degree of forestation of the Czech lands, a great number of relicts of various ages and importance have been preserved to the present. It is not always easy to recognize these structures. In some cases, they can be so indiscernible that we do not register them with only our eyes. Elsewhere they are often covered by a layer of dense vegetation, which does not allow access to the locality (*Fig. 25*). With the advent of new methods of topographical mapping, however, these problems

Fig. 24: The rock promontory of Ostrovské Vintoky near Ostrov at Macocha with entrances to the caves of the Cikánská Cave (left – Gypsy Cave) and S Oky Cave (right – With Eyes Cave). In their close vicinity, there is a route from which hiking paths lead to the caves. Gypsies stopped in them for the possibility of shelter, but also tourists as proved by the rest area built there (source: archive of the MM Brno).

are gradually wiped away, enabling us to determine the genesis of individual objects more accurately.

For the needs of a detailed study of the relief of the landscape and anthropogenic objects contained in it, data from *airborne laser scanning* (ALS) have proved themselves the most as a suitable means. It is a relatively new method of remote sensing of the Earth, with the aid of which it is possible to create 3D models of the earth's surface (*Gojda et al. 2010–12*).

The laser emits a beam to the surface and records its reflection. It thus examines a territory of greater size; it scans in parallel belts, which slightly overlap on the edges. The computer-generated segments then comprise a continuous map of the terrain. The ideal conditions for research are

Fig. 25: The southern Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) have preserved rich relicts of human activity thanks to the forested terrain with a low share of agriculture. Precisely the abundant vegetation hinders the classical aerial examination of the terrain. The problem is overcome by laser imaging, which can filter out the vegetation with the aid of a computer. The picture captures Josefov, all the way to the right is Býčí Skála Cave (source: Central Archive of Land Survey and Cadastre).

in the spring months, when the vegetation is still without foliage and the low growths are completely settled. In the places, where vegetation has foliage all year round, which is in the case of evergreen trees or young dense growth, the sensing is conducted with a higher density of the points, when the airplane flies lower.

In the observation of structures built by people, a point density of 3 to 4 points per 1 m^2 is sufficient. On that setting, most of the observed objects can be recognized, for instance the foundations of buildings, furthermore walls and moats, trenches, mounds, routes, wagon routes, shallow depressions over buried wagon routes, road embankments, ploughed areas, terraces, gaps, mounds of material, mining shapes and heaps, pits, pond dams, gullies, modified riverbeds, etc.

The cloud-recorded points are subsequently converted into the grid form of the *digital model of relief* (DMR), which represents a presentation of the course of the topographic area of the earth's surface. The result does not contain any elements of natural or human origin, which create its covering, such as trees, buildings, bridges, etc. Using special computer tools, the original elevation data can then be visualized in the form of images imitating a plastic relief of the landscape.

In 2011–2014, the ALS method was successfully used in the study of the relief of the landscape in the area of the southern Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) in the wider surroundings of the Býčí Skála Cave. It focused primarily on research of the historical routes (*Martínek et al. 2011–14*). The aim of this project was to map the suitable segments of the network, which ensured the transport connections between the historical areas of Bohemia and Moravia. Precisely thanks to ALS, several tens of thousands of relicts of earlier routes of various ages and lengths were identified

Fig. 26: The municipality Josefov and Býčí Skála Cave in the compilation of the imperial prints of the maps from the Stable Cadastre from 1826. The spontaneous routes used for centuries were complemented at the turn of the 19th century by purposefully planned wagon and hiking paths of the Romantic complex built (source: I. Audy).

in the terrain. With the aid of the large set of data, it was possible to study the relationship of the relicts to the course of the regional and long-distance routes and their possible ties to other related objects such as towns, villages, castles, strongholds, churches, cloisters, etc., which created the facilities for the travellers and also assured oversight of the routes. These structures have mainly been located on strategically important points – on the crossroads of the routes, at fords or at the foothills of the hills on the edges of the old residential areas, where the paths shifted to the higher borderland dense forests. Although it is very difficult to fix the ages of the actual relict of a route, mainly wagon routes, attention was focused on dating their use, determined from the archaeological finds discovered most often with the aid of metal detector prospecting, because in most cases the routes were travelled down for hundreds of years, over which many items were lost on the paths. As the archaeological finds prove, these losses were very often already from prehistory and the usage was thus extended by millennia. Most frequently, they were common objects related to transport, such as horseshoes, spurs, stirrups, etc., furthermore weapons and their components, less often then coins, jewellery and so on (*Martínek a kol. 2013*).

In the area of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands), several hundred historical routes of a superregional or rather long-distance character have been identified (*Martínek – Šlézar 2014*, 110), of which many passed in the immediate vicinity of Býčí Skála Cave (*Fig. 26*). Perhaps the most famous of them is the so-called *Amber Road*, which led from Italy to the Baltic, going around the eastern edge of the Alps to the north towards the Pálava Hill and further along the River Svratka all the way to Modřice near Brno. It crossed the river here and continued towards Líšeň (today's town quarter of Brno-Líšeň), where the main entry was to the area of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). Researchers until no/recently believed that the crucial communication was circumvented through the lowlands – Vyškovská Brána (Gate) and Boskovická Brázda (Furrow). ALS fundamentally alters this ingrained fact. Precisely the upland was abundantly used for transport. The mentioned Líšeň was a significant point in the route already from prehistory, perhaps much more important than was considered, although the path here left the old flatland residential area of South Moravia and rose to more rugged parts of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) (*Fig. 27*). Considering the importance of this place, gradually several

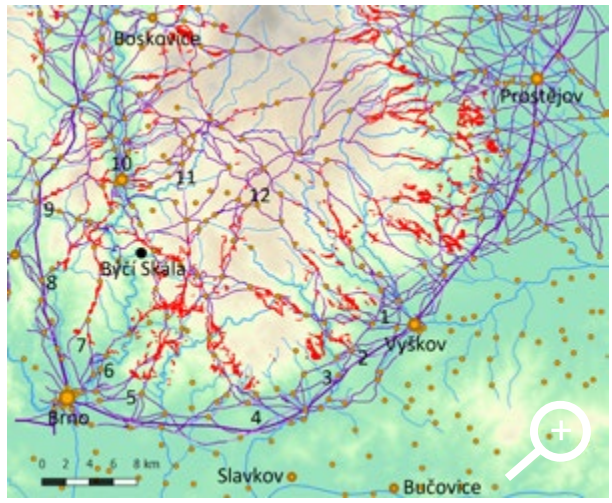
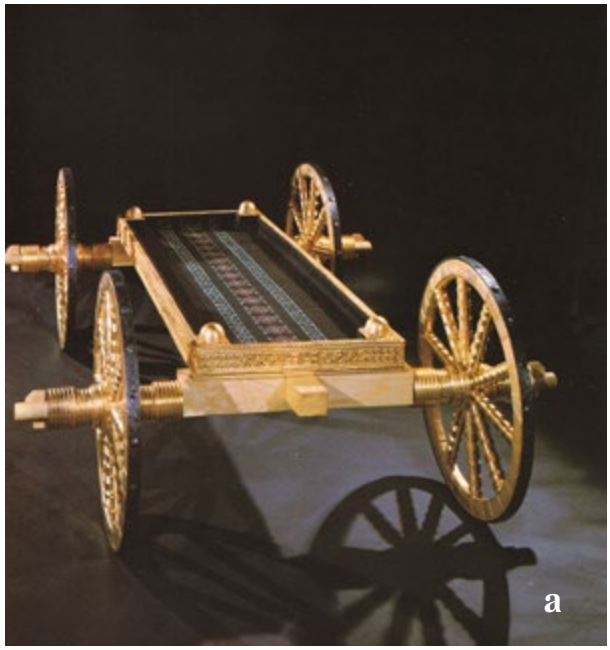


Fig. 27: The result of the laser research demonstrated that the southern Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) is intertwined with a network of long-distance and regional routes. Their uplands passage builds on the surrounding plain parts of the landscape. This network has already a prehistorical origin, it gradually stabilized in the Middle Ages and is partially used practically to this day (source: J. Martínek and M. Golec).

Fig. 28: Býčí Skála Cave was always near the network of routes, which intersected the forested terrain of the southern Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). Routes in the past utilized the plateau above the valleys. If needed, however, they had to overcome the valleys with fords and such a place is precisely at Býčí Skála Cave. Only the modern routes shift to the valley. Photographs from the beginning (a) and middle (b) of the 20th century capture the route in front of this cave (source: a – archive of ZO ČSS 6-01 Býčí Skála Cave; b – photograph: A. Sobol, archive of the MM Brno).

fortified settlements were built in the close proximity of Líšeň, from which it was possible to control this strategically significant point. Further north, the Amber Road continued in two parallel branches from Ochoz near Brno to Bukovina or from Kanice to Jedovnice to join in one path before Rozstání on a short segment, which again branched out in several directions towards the area of the Plumlov and Ptení Districts in the area of Prostějov. One of the main branches also headed towards the locality of Staré Hradisko, which was the site of a significant Celtic oppidum in the Later Iron Age/La Tène, from which mainly finds proving intensive trade with amber come. From the Celtic oppidum, the path led towards the municipality of Ptení and then through Laškov, Vilémov, Hvozdečko and Loštice to Moravičany, where it crossed the River Morava to subsequently continue around Úsov on the Rýmařov, Bruntál and Krnov and to the north to Poland all the way to the Baltic. The second, no-less-important route was the *Pannonian-Elbe Road*, which in the area of today's Hungary roughly followed the River Danube, namely from the Southern Carpathians all the way to the distinctive bend in the large river over Budapest in the area of the Visegrad Mountains. From here the route continued on the southern edge of the Western Carpathians first to Nitra and, in several branches, all the way to Moravia to the areas around Brno. Close to Líšeň, the path crossed with the Amber Road, from whence it continued to Kanice and today's Babice on the Svitava and to the valley of the Křtinský Potok (Stream) to Býčí Skála Cave. The subsequent segment was led around Olomučany and Blansko to Bořitov and then through Svitávka, Letovice, Pohledy, Svitavy and Litomyšl with a continuation in several branches through Bohemia to Saxony, where the route roughly followed the River Elbe. Besides the two main routes mentioned above, also other paths left directly from the area of Býčí Skála Cave, which however had a rather regional character. They were mainly the historic routes passing Býčí Skála Cave to the south on the way to Brno in the area of the Vyškovská Brána (Gate). It has not been ruled out that also these branches had a superregional character at certain times. A similar route for instance could be the historical path from Blansko running around Býčí Skála Cave towards Křtiny with a continuation to Vyškov and through Chřiby and Uherské Hradiště towards Nitra.



Twelve Routes to Býčí Skála Cave

Long-distance routes enter the area of the southern Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) from the surrounding lowlands in nine cases and from the north part of the uplands in three cases. The sum of all the entrance routes is hence twelve. The routes gradually join on the way to the centre of the southern Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands), until they create a transport crossroads at Křtiny, where the Býčí Skála Cave is as well (*Fig. 27*). The entries to the uplands are: 1. Drnovice; 2. Luleč; 3. Tučapy; 4. Pozořice; 5. Líšeň; 6. Obřany; 7. Soběšice; 8. Lelekovice; 9. Lipůvka; 10. Rájec–Blansko; 11. Rudice–Jedovnice; 12. Rozstání. The *Křtiny Crossroad* forms a triangle where the bundle of routes ran to its points. From Vyškov and Prostějov, the paths from the entries 1, 2, 3, 11 and 12 connected; from Brno those from entries 4, 5 and 6 join at Kanice and from Blansko near Olomučany those from entries 7, 8, 9 and 10. Two of these crossroads – Křtiny and Olomučany – are only 4 km and then Kanice

Fig. 29: Býčí Skála Cave at the bottom of Křtinské Údolí (Valley) was stably provided with good transport access. The gorgeous Hallstatt wagons consisting of offerings in the Entrance Hall (a) are also a reflection of this fact. At the end of the 18th century, a Romantic park was built in this part of the valley, which included both Býčí Skála Cave and the nearby caves of Jáchymka and Kostelík (b) in the newly planned transport network (a – *Barth 1987*, Fig. V; b – painting: F. F. Runk 1816, *Oliva et al. 2015*, Fig. II:10).

merely 7 km from Býčí Skála Cave. The presented *transport hub can be understood from the wider perspective as an intersection of one of the main branches of the north-south Moravian Amber Road and west-east Pannonian-Elbe Roads traversing Moravia from Slovakia to Bohemia*.

Cave at a Crossroads

New knowledge of the transport network in southern Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) puts the karst area of the Moravian Karst in an entirely different light. The Křtinské Údolí (Valley) with Býčí Skála Cave in its centre can be seen from a slightly changed point of view. Whereas in the past, it was supposed to be a place lying "lost in nobody's land", today we can understand it as a "cave at a busy crossroad". Long-distance communications commonly traversed the uplands already from the Palaeolithic and then continually in the later periods. The original network shows a distinctive form of stabilization for a very long time from Prehistory to the Modern Period. The change of the usage of the network occurred gradually until the Recent Period, for instance by the construction of a new network of long-distance paths, which are led today by highways. Only in the last centuries did Moravian Karst become a remote corner, intended for relaxation, not for superregional transport.

Caves played a very noticeable role as natural stone houses in this conception of the transport networking of the landscape. Speleo-archaeology should take that into account. *A number of caves were on the route* (*Fig. 28*). If this offer was connected with other human needs, their practical usage ensued. The caves were and are a unique part of the stage of the cultural expressions in the landscape. Due to its specific nature, they are nevertheless rather wells of knowledge than stages that we find here. The routes lead not only through them but *they can be used to enter the cave area* (*Fig. 29*).

Býčí Skála Cave – a large cave "by the route" hence was already in its original naturally shaped form prepared to adopt a person without greater difficulties, his society, whenever in the "cultural time" of Křtinské Údolí (Valley). Now, let's take a look when and in what form that took place.

Accumulation

The Time Periods of Býčí Skála Cave

In which periods did people visit Býčí Skála Cave? This is an entirely fundamental question, and the latest revision substantially changes our view up to now. In the flood of literary sources, scientific vision has always been placed almost exclusively on two periods – Palaeolithic and Hallstatt. The first to recognize the traces of these periods was the pioneer of Moravian archaeology and speleology Heinrich Wankel (1821–1897). This deeply rooted opinion is mistaken, however: we know after a recent revision that the cultural history of the mentioned locality is much, much richer. Years of revision of archaeological sources stored in depositories and published in so far unprocessed written testimonies as well as gathering of the memories of contemporary witnesses of the most recent epochs have resulted in a new view. The evidence from various periods has grown significantly richer, becoming a basis for a time axis covering a very long stretch of time from prehistoric to contemporary periods. Actually, empty places have almost disappeared from the history of this cave (*Oliva et al. 2015*, 115–153).

The achieved result has a distinct impact on the interpretation. The documents of human activities, highly differing in character, are unevenly represented in the individual periods. We can no longer speak about when people knew or even found the cave, but about *the level of use of the permanently reflected (answered) particular place in the landscape*.

The proposed time scheme of Býčí Skála Cave makes use of the basic periodisation of Czech history, taking into account the Moravian specifics. The finds have been classified into periods Býčí Skála (BS) I–XIX (*Fig. 30*) stretching from the Palaeolithic to the Present. BS 0 represents the empty cave modelled by natural processes before the first human visit, viewed through the prism of geology or karstology. In this respect, however, a humanistic scientist looks not only for geomorphological and related detailed terminological description of the cave itself, as is often the case in these situations, but also for the derivation of detailed natural properties of the locality that were or might have been searched for, found and used by humans as qualities suitable for the development of cultural manifestations.

BS I	Palaeolithic	15,000–10,000 BC
BS II	Mesolithic	10,000–5700 BC
BS III	Neolithic	5700–4200 BC
BS IV	Eneolithic	4200–2200 BC
BS V	Bronze Age	2200–800 BC
BS VI	Hallstatt Period	800–450 BC
BS VII	La Tène Period	450–9/6 BC
BS VIII	Roman Period	9/6 BC–375 AD
BS IX	Migration Period	375–568
BS X	Early Middle Ages	568–1250
BS XI	High and Late Middle Ages	1250–1500
BS XII	Renaissance	1500–1620
BS XIII	Baroque	1620–1750
BS XIV	Classicism, Romanticism	1750–1868
BS XV	Austria-Hungary	1868–1918
BS XVI	Interwar Period	1918–1939
BS XVII	WWII Period	1939–1945
BS XVIII	Post-WWII Period, Communist Era	1945–1989
BS XIX	Recent Past	1989–Present

Fig. 30: The periods of the prehistory and history of Moravia and their representation in Býčí Skála Cave and its immediate vicinity (source: M. Golec).

Two-dimensional Situation

The documentation of the finding circumstances of archaeological situations at Býčí Skála Cave in the 19th and 20th centuries was insufficient from the viewpoint of today's scientific norms. Especially the excavations by Heinrich Wankel (*Fig. 31*), who often examined the original finding situations, have been subjected to sharp criticism. This pioneer of Moravian positivist archaeology left us a complex of sources that have been studied by five generations of archaeologists since.[23] Their interpretations include a wide range of views, from critical approaches to those who uncritically accept the original interpretation. The author of this part assumes a critical attitude to them but does not reject them as a whole. On the other hand, he is not of the opinion that Wankel himself falsified the facts. This opinion is based on ungrounded intuitive opinions, one-sided interpretation of the sources and ignorance of a number of them, including the cave itself.[24] On the contrary, a careful analysis of the life of this researcher has shown that he was an honest man. En bloc rejection of Wankel's literary sources is therefore incorrect. They include fundamental facts that must always be kept in mind and critically discussed. As an example, we can mention data from the finding circumstances in the Entrance Hall, which had remained outside the interest of some researchers until recently. Whole human skeletons have been described in the Entrance Hall, with luxury jewellery directly on the skeletons, deposited under the period surface of the cave, stratigraphically situated under a layer of sinter formed still during the prehistory. There are many such fundamental parameters recorded by Wankel, and no evaluation of the valuable assemblage is valuable without them.

Excessive criticism of Wankel appears quite differently in the light of the research by his successors in the first half of the 20th century. Their similarly insufficient documentation and unsystematic approach are evident. This is true of the surveys in the South and North Branch as well as in the Entrance Hall (*Fig. 32*; *Oliva et al. 2015*, 40–48, 61–63). We are significantly missing for instance the documentation of a much later research of the Entrance Hall from 1937–1943, which moreover remained unpublished (*Fig. 31*). Numerous finds have survived in the collections of the Moravian Museum Brno, however, documenting a very rich representation of many periods. Their evaluation forms the basis of a new cultural conception of Býčí Skála Cave.

Stratigraphy, Typology and Archives

Archaeological research in caves depended from its beginnings on finds from the layers that were gradually deposited one above the other thanks to copious sedimentation processes. Thanks to specific natural conditions, dissolved soil with stones penetrates from karst plateaus into underground

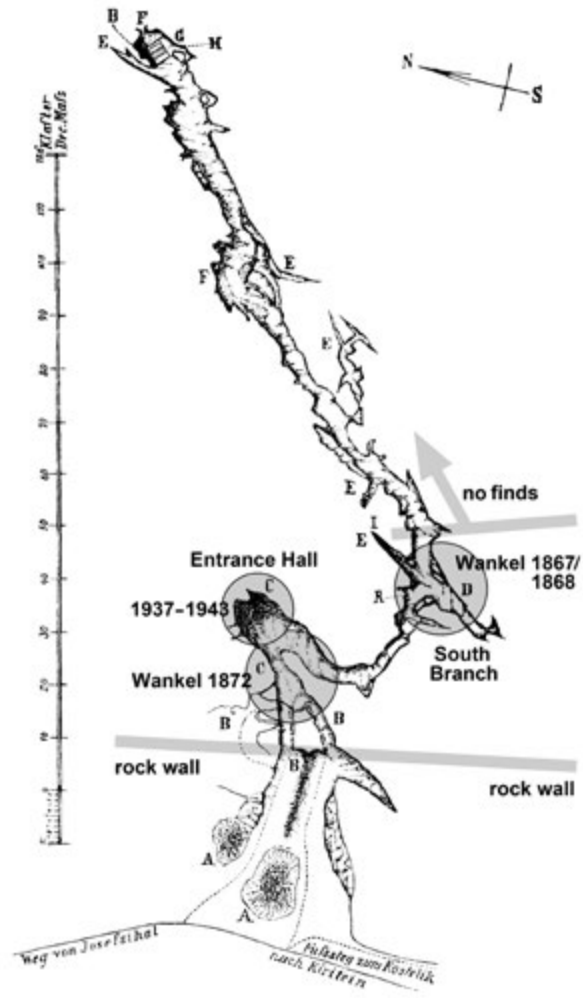


Fig. 31: Maps of Old Býčí Skála Cave from 1871. They mark both positions examined by Wankel: the South Branch (since 1867/1868 many times also by other researchers) and the Entrance Hall (1872 and later, 1937–1943) (source: A. Špaček and M. Golec).

23 Apart from Heinrich Wankel, the first generation includes Martin Kříž, followed by Karel Absolon and František Adámek in the second generation. The third includes Jindra Nekvasil and Milan Stloukal, the fourth above all Antonín Přichystal and Vladimír Podborský and, finally, the fifth is represented by the authors of this book.

24 This attitude is visible in works by Jindra Nekvasil and Milan Stloukal. For instance, the complementation of human skeletons need not be understood as falsification but as an aesthetic completion of the exhibits. Heinrich Wankel became the pioneer of Quaternary palaeontology; for twenty years before entering archaeology, he had commonly reconstructed the skeletons of extinct animals by composition.

Fig. 32: Wankel's original ground plan and profil of the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave from 1882 remains the main source of study of the unique Hallstatt discovery to this day. Explanations in the picture: entrances; Entrance Hall; the path of the cave; coal; burned lime; limestone-cliff; stone pavement; charred post; sacrificial slab; human skeletons; horse skeleton; skeletons of pigs; clay vessels; space of a workshop; large bracelets; stone hammer (*Wankel 1882*, Fig. on page 383).

cavities through fissures and chimneys. People of various periods visited certain places, and under suitable conditions, their traces were deposited and preserved in the layers, earlier ones situated lower and later ones higher. Unless the layers get washed away through the cavities, a vertical *stratigraphy* of layers emerges (*Fig. 33*), which may reach many metres in the Moravian Karst. This parameter has been used for a long time above all by Palaeolithic and Mesolithic archaeology, which studies the remnants left by the hunters and gatherers before the beginning of the Neolithic. The growth of the layers depends on the external climate. If winters bring a large amount of snow that melts in the spring, atmospheric waters are constantly heading from the surface below due to gravity, bringing large volumes of the fill, and the layers grow more quickly. Such processes were dramatic during the glacial periods, as is testified by the accumulated material.

Troubles come in the epochs when tough winters with copious snow abate. A much warmer climate enables lively growth of the forest above the caves, which significantly prevents the washing of material underground. The growth slows or stops. A new age, denoted with a new term, occurred after the withdrawal of the last glacial period. The geological period of the Pleistocene was succeeded by the Holocene. In it, the forms of deposition of human remains changed significantly. The matter at issue is no longer cave soil, but a significant growth of these remains, whose composition started to change rather quickly. Speleo-archaeology can distinguish between finds using formal signs – *typology*. The variedness of artificially made items reliably distinguishes the individual cultures and their artefacts. As the traces gradually ceased to be deposited in layers, stratigraphy is being eclipsed by typology as an important temporal classification tool.

The last natural layer conceals a large number of human traces from various time periods, moreover often mixed up together. The reason is that people like to sunken things, such as buildings, into the earth's surface, and also deposit items and their dead there. The documents of the subsequent periods are being collected and sorted, as the time axis of history enables it. The last mixed layer is below the surface, which has been trodden by people also in recent centuries, and the latest remnants, which can be found anywhere on the surface, are related to the contemporary period. From the viewpoint of the physical cave, this includes the virtual layer, which is studied in a different manner: these are literary traces that can be found separately in archives and libraries outside the cave. We are a part of it, including our living culture that we bring on the soles of our shoes, but we no longer leave traces, because this is now prohibited by the law.

BS 0 Natural Offers of the Cave

A confrontation between the archaeologist and the natural substance of the cave should form an important, if not crucial part of his work. He reacts to it, like any other person does. He observes it, visits it, touches it. He uses his senses – sight, touch, hearing; he can experience it through words or a song, he can even taste it or examine it in his sleep through strange dreams.

An archaeologist who came to Býčí Skála Cave to study cultural facts did not seek out natural facts very much, or dealt only with a selection of them. Is such knowledge important for an archaeologist? It seems so. The reason is that in any historical time, including the present, researchers react to the offers they find. There are many reactions; they may include for instance cultural messages in the form of a coin thrown into a lake or a stone into an abyss. Cultural messages left behind play a similar role: people react to them. An example is a memorial plaque, which invites people to read it or photograph it.

A cave provides many natural offers, which are studied by karstology. A very popular underground phenomenon, admired by many people, is the dripstone decoration. A speleo-archaeologist should also notice its cultural substance, however. Some cases are particularly remarkable. Here and there, dripstones become artefacts – being taken away from their original place and becoming an aesthetic collage on shelves or in rock gardens, or becoming souvenirs, a subject of trade or even an act investigated by the police, as it is evidenced by the rich history of Sloupsko-Šošůvské Caves.

If we wish to get to know a cave in its completeness, we need first of all to recognise the reflected natural offers. The stable space of a cave urges people to repeat similar acts; our present behaviour is identical in the basic features to the behaviour of our predecessors at any time in the past.

The basic characteristics of the underground were formed in very ancient times, before the arrival of first modern people. This is why they can be categorised in the time period BS 0.

Size – the Moravian Karst includes hundreds of caves, most of them very small. Only a few caves are large and spacious, including Býčí Skála Cave, Kůlna Cave, Rytířská Cave, Výpustek Cave or Pekárna Cave, among others. Such underground cavities provide versatile possibilities of use by people. It is no coincidence that it is precisely there that we found most remnants of human activities. Large caves attract great human deeds.

Horizontality/verticality – apart from the size, this is the key parameter of the basic disposition, particularly of its front part. Two types can be singled out: 1. horizontal (*Fig. 34a*); 2. vertical, or shaft-like (*Fig. 34b*). Býčí Skála Cave, an example of a horizontal cave, was entered basically as a normal house is through the door.[25] Contrary to that, vertical caves, which have the form of abysses or fissures, could not be visited and were used for contactless throwing of artefacts or ecofacts. Conspicuous shaft-like caves do not occur much in the Moravian Karst; Macocha Abyss is an exception.

Openness/closeness – we can encounter two variants of entrances into caves. The first of them includes portal open caves, such as Kůlna Cave, Rytířská Cave or Pekárna Cave. Their opposite has the form of caves that provide large spaces behind the entrance(s), but these are concealed behind the rock wall and accessed through a relatively smaller entryway. Býčí Skála Cave is of the latter type (*Fig. 35*). It is probably no coincidence that this kind of cavities served as burial grounds, which is once again the case of Býčí Skála Cave or the nearby Výpustek Cave.

Accessibility from open landscape – easily accessible caves attract frequent visits. On the contrary, poorly accessible ones are visited only occasionally, for instance by people prosecuted during wars or by speleologists today. Býčí Skála Cave is easily accessible from a frequented road and not difficult to reach from the Křtinské Údolí (Valley).

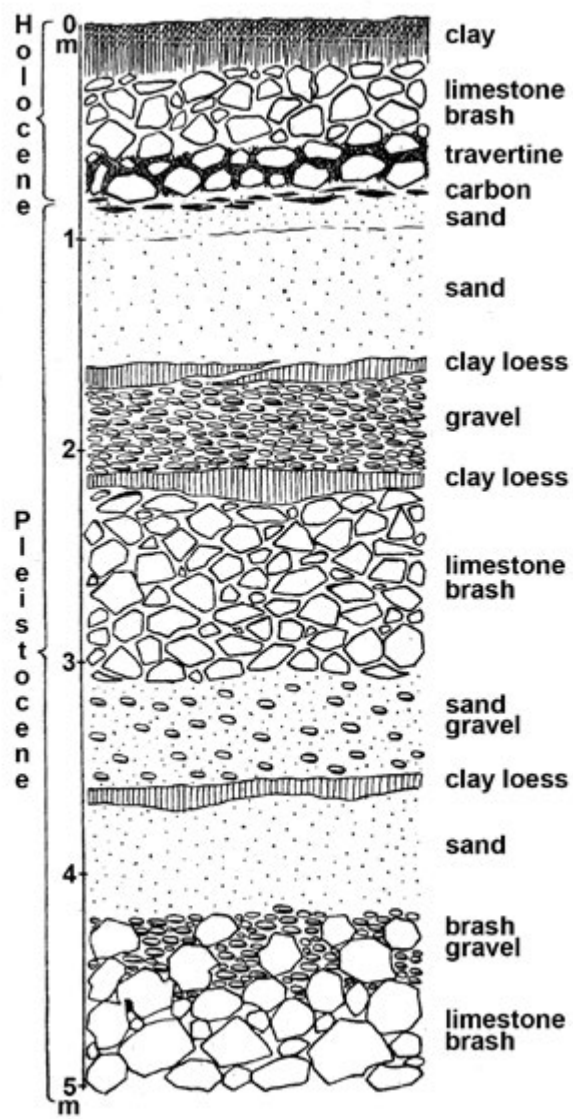


Fig. 33: The interpretation of the sediments of the 5 m high profile from 1937–1943 from the rear part of the Entrance Hall. Remnants of human activity were caught 50–80 cm from the surface, under the "travertine" layer of so-called moonmilk. The situation corresponds to Wankel's first data from 1872 (*Pelíšek 1949*).

25 This fact has not been accepted by researchers. An opinion of a shaft-like cave appears due to one of the entrances (the so-called Large Window), but it is quite mistaken.

Entrances – this parameter was widely discussed by archaeologists already in the past. Býčí Skála Cave has six entrances (*Fig. 35*).[26] The long-term opinion that the cave is poorly accessible does not quite correspond to reality. The cave can be safely visited through several entrances, and even the highest water levels cannot prevent an entry. If the entrance No. 1 was temporarily impassable due to a high-water level, it was replaced (until 1796) by the entrances Nos. 2, 4 and 5. The entrance No. 6 is situated too high in the rock wall. All of them created a good circulation of air in the front part of the cave, and the higher-situated entrances Nos. 2 or 4 could have conducted smoke away due to their position well.

Operating space within – the existence of a large internal space, preferably right behind the entrance, is important for the development of human activities in the cave. Such large spaces can only be offered by a few caves in the Moravian Karst. Old Býčí Skála Cave is one of them; basically, it is a tunnel-shape cave that significantly extends in two places. The first of them is the Entrance Hall right after the entrance, and the second the South/North Branch about 100 m from the entrance No. 1. Both of them were plentifully used (*Fig. 31*).

Operating area outside – an important parameter of the cave is the area in front of it. If people used the cave as a house of stone, they used the area in front of it correspondingly. Býčí Skála Cave is accessible from the bottom of the valley and offered enough space in a flat terrain.

Orientation – Býčí Skála Cave lies on the bottom of the east side of a valley; its rock wall is oriented rather precisely towards the west. Thanks to this parameter, the cave is exposed to the sunshine only in the afternoon. This parameter is connected also with the position of the Moon and the constellations that can be observed in the night from the meadow in front of the cave, particularly above its dominant rock wall.

(In)conspicuousness – another rather important property, often deciding on whether or not the cave is used by humans. In an ordinary case of people going around, they are attracted with its existence and often start to examine it and/or otherwise use it. Contrary to that, there are cases when inconspicuousness was a decisive factor in the selection of a hideout of people fleeing from a danger. For the last time so far, this was frequently the case during WWII.

(Un)safety – caves are generally regarded as unsafe spaces. This discourages some people from entry altogether, while others, tempted by the offer, eliminate the

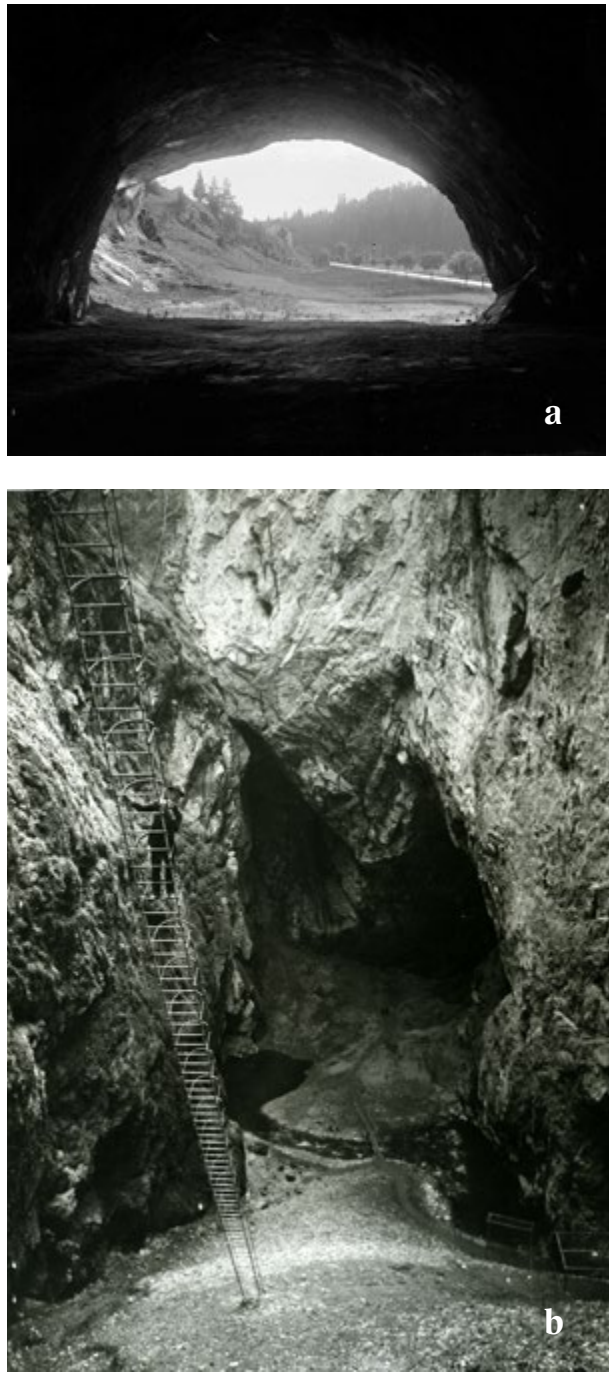


Fig. 34: The large open horizontal portal of the Kůlna Cave (a) and the large open vertical abyss (cave) Macocha (b) (source: archive of the MM Brno).

26 The issue of the entrances has been approached unsatisfactorily in the long term. Repeatedly and without reason, only some of the prospective entrances have been chosen, even in most recent works (*Přichystal – Náplava 1995*, 82–83; *Matoušek – Jenč – Peša 2005*, 177; *Podborský 2006*, 317). Especially the downward shape of the entrance No. 2, the so-called Large Window, leads to a quite mistaken opinion that the Entrance Hall and the subsequent spaces were used as a shaft-like cave or a sacrificial shaft.

unconscious or conscious risk by entering collectively. Numerous deaths have been documented in the Moravian Karst, ranging from accidents and suicides to possible acts of violence. Especially shaft-like caves pose a permanent offer for a premature ending of a human life. The most frequented site in this respect is the Macocha Abyss, which is also dubbed Arms Open for Suicides.

Proximity of a road – caves by a road are usually much more often visited than others that are situated in an inaccessible out-of-the-way slope. Býčí Skála Cave is situated "at hand" from the viewpoint of long-distance routes in the region of the southern Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) as well as of local roads in the area of the Křtinské Údolí (Valley).

Proximity of a settlement – this parameter has a fundamental impact on the quantity of human activities in the cave. In Býčí Skála Cave, it has been confirmed for instance by an analysis of 19th-century tourist graffiti. The cave was also often visited by the inhabitants of nearby Josefov, who acted as guides through the underground for tourists. Other settlements on the foothills of the highlands can be regarded in such a way as well, however, dominated by Brno; many visitors come to the Moravian Karst and to Býčí Skála Cave via this node.

Proximity of another offer – offers in the neighbourhood of a cave may stimulate interest in it even among those who did not plan a visit originally. They may have the form of anything from the natural and cultural setting of the human world. The fire ring and parking area in front of Býčí Skála Cave are well-known and conspicuous. The information boards, the tourist signpost or a put up poster can be regarded in the same way. There used to be a romantic small gazebo above the cave; mountain climbers are attracted by climbing routes, cache seekers come to examine a cache. The same is true of many surrounding nature attractions such as numerous underground water springs, other smaller caves in the neighbourhood, a nearby pond, etc. One is usually impressed by a "package of offers", and the cave is a part of it.

Darkness – there is permanent darkness in the underground. A source of light is necessary. This fact always distinguishes the underground from the areas above the ground. An exception of a sort is the Entrance Hall, where light penetrates. Darkness prevents people without light from entering unlit areas. When entering the underground, light behind one's back provides important psychological safety and a magnetising impression. A four-hour forging experiment that took place in the Entrance Hall in 2007 showed an interesting fact: the forge itself lighted

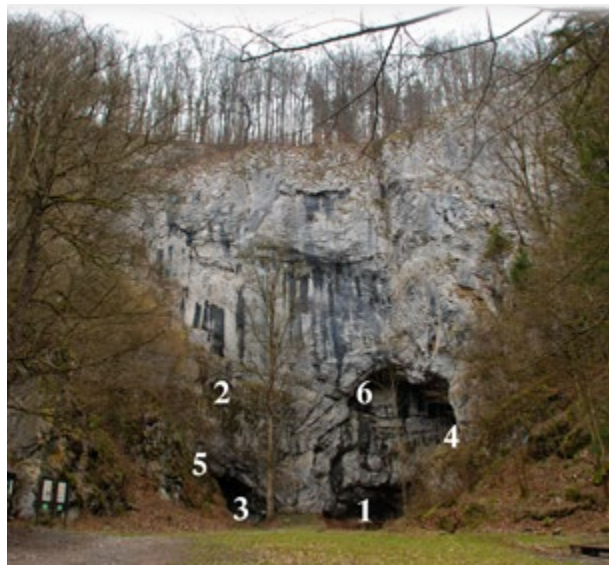


Fig. 35: Six entrances to Býčí Skála Cave. Five of them are natural, although later adjusted by human hands: 1 – Lower Entrance; 2 – Large Window; 3 – Liechtenstein Entrance (from 1796); 4 – Entrance via the Pagan Chimney; 5 – Small Window; 6 – Wall Entrance (source: M. Golec).

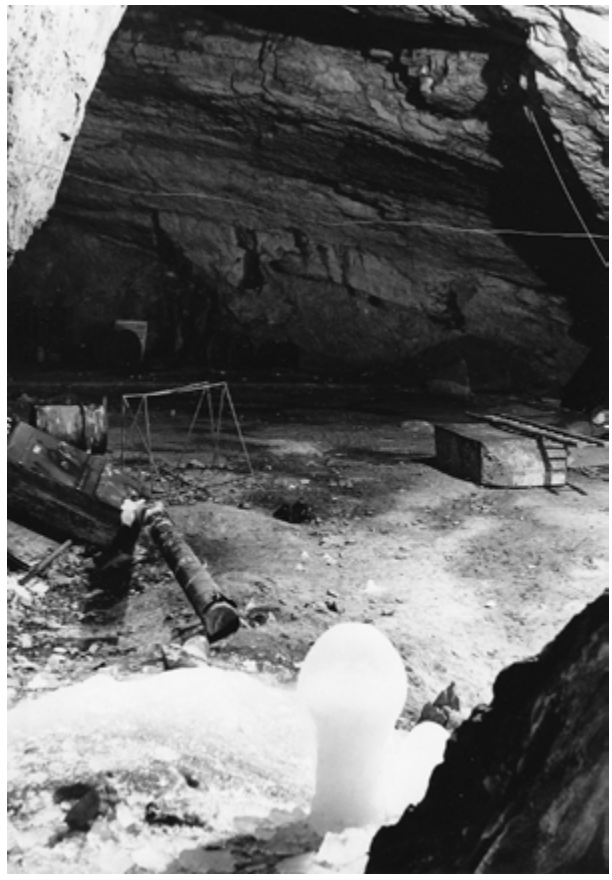


Fig. 36: Thanks to the proximity of the outdoor area, the temperatures in the Entrance Hall drop slightly below zero, creating ice formations from dripping waters that otherwise do not freeze in the massif above it. The situation in the 1980s (photograph: R. Tejkal).

the workplace so much that no other source of light was necessary for the work.

Temperature – people can have the feeling of either coldness or warmth in the underground, depending on the outdoor temperature. While the temperature of the entrance parts of the Entrance Hall changes with the season (*Fig. 36*), the more distant areas of the South/North Branch already have a constant temperature of around 7–8 °C. As an absolute majority of people visit the cave in the summer, they experience a feeling of returning into a warm environment when leaving it. On the contrary, an outdoor temperature of −20 °C forces people to move quickly into the warmth of the cave. It can thus even become a lifesaver in extreme conditions.

Air ventilation– this question must have been very important at Býčí Skála Cave in relation to human activities, and it has been repeatedly mentioned. As we have noted, the position of the entrances caused a considerable airflow in the front part of the cave. It is stimulated by the chimney effect, i.e. the reaction of warm and cold air. Martin Kříž described a considerable draught, which was putting out fire in lamps, in the area of the Entrance Hall in the late 19th century. Fire rings have been found in both mentioned large areas, and it can be presumed that the ventilation was sufficient. This was proved also by the forging experiment (*Fig. 37*), under conditions when no circulation of air was felt. The experiment resulted in a discovery that although the area became very smoky, a stay there was not impossible. The situation would have been more comfortable if the circulation were greater.

Humidity – the cave is a very damp space. One becomes aware of this fact immediately after entering it. The phenomenon remains almost unchanged in the course of the year. Droplets of aerosol, visible by eye, float in the air; breathing out sets them in motion and create whirling effects in front of one's eyes. The cave's humidity has a positive aspect – breathing is easier – besides negative ones: the clothing becomes damp after a longer stay, wood cannot be kept dry and items made of organic matters subsequently become mouldy.

Sound – the underground confronts people with sounds that cannot be heard above the ground. It offers echoes of different strengths that stimulates people to cry out, clap or sing. The acoustic potential of Býčí Skála Cave has been examined, and it can be stated that both large areas often used by people – the Entrance Hall and the South/North Branch – are among the acoustically most favourable places. Cave silence, in the case of dry parts without

Fig. 37: A forging experiment in the area of the so-called Hallstatt forge in the rear part of the Entrance Hall in 2007 (photograph: I. Harna).

Fig. 38: Trampish bands from Brno and their listeners traditionally gather in Býčí Skála Cave, unlocked for them by local speleologists. The photograph depicts their meeting on 8 June 2014. A loose reconstruction of a prehistoric idol resembles a Native American totem pole to the tramps (photograph: I. Pohunková).

dripping water, makes a very good impression as well. In other parts, it is precisely the rhytmic dripping water that causes a very characteristic and unmistakable acoustic background. Running water deeper in the cave makes quite a different impression. It can arouse an impression of the existence of human voices in a person sitting in the dark, but it is only a projection coming into existence in their brain. Býčí Skála Cave has been providing its charismatic and amiable acoustic space for many kinds of alternatively tuned music productions for years (*Fig. 38*).

Availability of water – a permanent presence of water is natural in the underground. We can find it in various forms and in many places. Humans are most often confronted with puddles, pools or small lakes created by dripping water (*Fig. 39*) inside the cave. However, Býčí Skála Cave "faces" dramatic inflows of water during sudden spring thaws, and extreme amounts of water flow into the cave via the Jedovnický Potok (Stream) from Rudické Propadání (Sinkhole) also during exceptional summer storms. The phenomenon occurred in 1832, 1883, 1927 and 1972. Several springs from underground watercourses are situated close to Býčí Skála Cave.

Mud (soil) – cave soil has been used for various human activities in the past, most often for hiding items and burying the dead. Such use of the soil in the underground does not differ from that above the ground. It does differ in another aspect, though: it cannot be used to sow crop plants in expectation of a havest. People were sowing plants in Býčí Skála Cave nonetheless, however. Such behaviour can only be explained on a symbolic level, as it is documented by myths from the Bronze and Iron Ages. A well-known Greco-Roman myth of the goddess Persephone/Proserpina says that she returns from the underground palace of Hades/Pluto to the earth in the spring, only to return back after the harvest. The spring – the future harvest – is hidden in the ground. Sowing of plants in cave soil partially uncovers the veil concealing the thought of the Early Iron Age, distant from that of people of the present day.

Rock – is the most visible matter in the cave, and perhaps also the least visible in a certain aspect. Limestone is a matter that enables the creation of underground cavities. It is studied by geologists, while archaeologists leave it almost unnoticed. Yet the rock often served as a "canvas" for messages from numerous visitors. Human

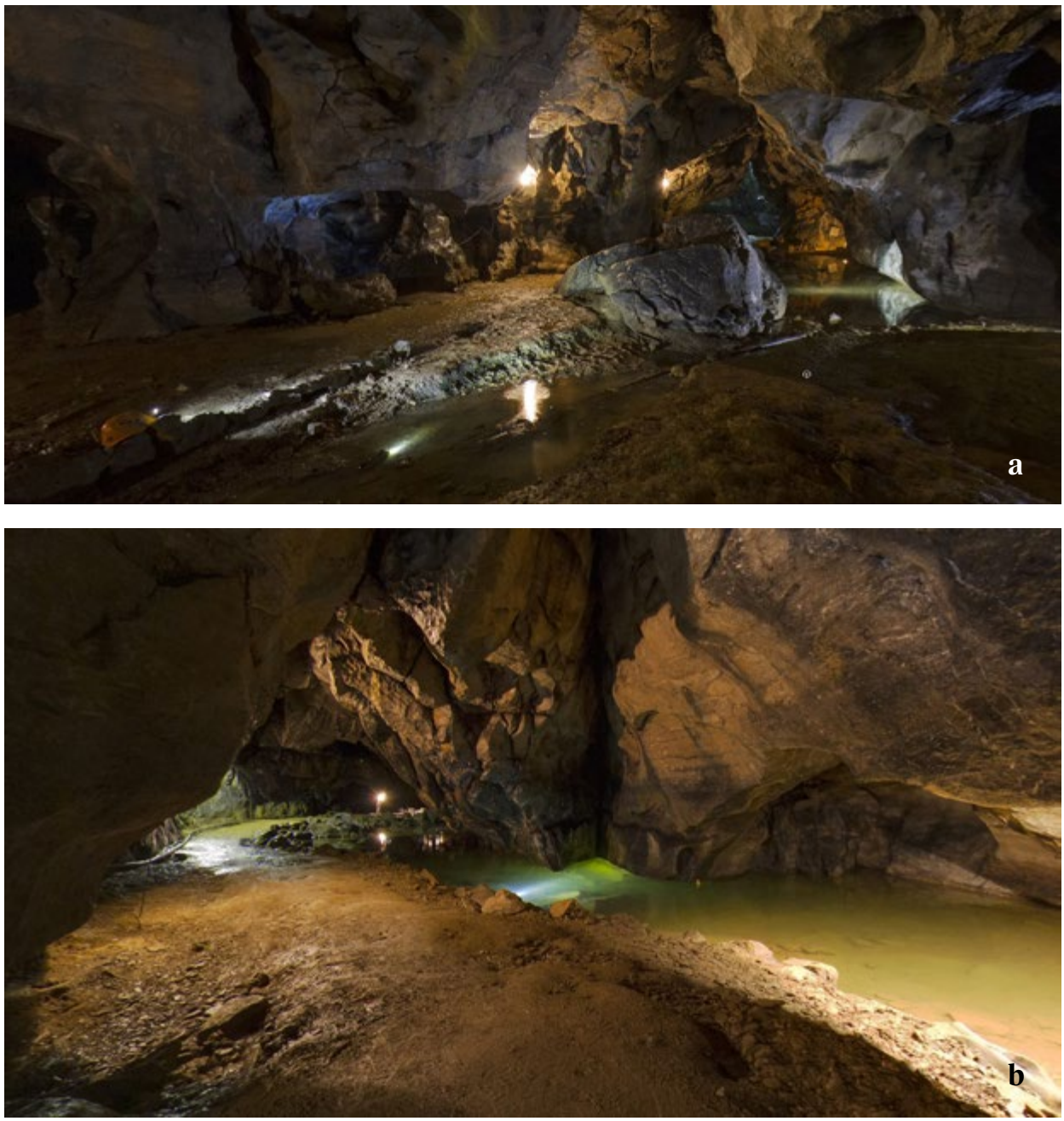


Fig. 39: Puddles of water in Old Býčí Skála Cave near the Pohanské Kameny (Pagan Stones) are caused by water dripping from the chimneys, whereas the pool called Kouzelná Voda (Magic Water) originates from the rise of water from below (photograph: J. Syrový).

creations such as graffiti can come into existence thanks to the rock and are permanently connected with it. Within the archaic thought of people of the Early Iron Age, the rock was certainly also something more substantial. As an example, we can name the Persian-Roman myth of the sun god Mithra, who is born a rock in a cave and then ascends the heaven.

Materials – Humans gradually learnt to search for and process everything they found in the landscape. It is no wonder that cave materials (commodities) also became a subject of their interest. Not all of them were used at the same time. People always expressed interest only in some of them. For hunters and gatherers, it was the local "flint" of Býčí Skála type. Beads were made from dripstone in nearby Výpustek Cave. In the Baroque, people looked there for cave bear bones as a medical substance, while phosphate soil and bones ware processed into a fertiliser in the 20th century (*Fig. 40*). Also in the Baroque, people looked for a medicament nicknamed tophus in Latin (tuff); today,

Fig. 40: Phosphate soil mining in Výpustek Cave in the 1920s (source: archive of the MM Brno).

we call it moonmilk. It is a plastic sinter; the possibility that people of the Iron Age intentionally deposited iron items as gifts in it and it cemented them as a binder in the subsequent centuries has not been more reflected and considered yet. A symbolic and medical meaning ascribed to dripstone can be presumed at any time in the past. People gradually made use of perhaps all possibilities in Býčí Skála Cave: pebbles for Palaeolithic art; amulets or talismans in the Iron Age; cave sand to cast grey iron in the 19th century; limestone to be processed into gravel for construction purposes in the 20th century. Iron ore and fireproof clay from around Býčí Skála Cave were used already in prehistory and remained massively mined until the Industrial Revolution, along with limestone for burning lime and wood for charcoal.

Food/drinks and heating – caves are devoid of any food, and the same is true of firewood. People must bring everything with them. On the contrary, they offer enough water even during the greatest draught. Fish occur in underground watercourse springs. Clay used for porridge can perhaps be named as a cave food and medication as well. It is a matter without any smell. Caves generally support the creation of mould, which is utilised in cheese production. Until recently, the popular Niva cheese aged in artificially remodelled natural Michalka Cave in the northern part of the Moravian Karst.

Special phenomena/effects – caves are dynamic natural places; unusual karst phenomena can be experienced in them in various seasons of the year. Their character is based on the fact that they occur irregularly or even exceptionally. In Old Býčí Skála Cave, they include occasional dramatic floods, when otherwise non-flowed parts of the cave are gushing the waters of the Jedovnický Potok (Stream) out of their entrances. Contrary to that, the nearby Křtinský Potok (Stream) disappears altogether in the underground when the water level is low, and fills in its long dry bed on the surface at other times. Likewise, underground lakes and siphons disappear and reappear. Stones fall from chimneys in the underground from time to time, and even a larger piece of rock may exceptionally fall from the ceiling. We are confronted with various kinds of noise in the caves, magnified by the echo. Bizarre icefalls and other ice formations grow in the front parts of caves in the winter. Steam rises from the fissures during hard

winters; until the Baroque, people believed that it causes plague. In winter, the warm underground sometimes melts the snow on the surface above a cave; such places used to be called greasy spots. Sun rays passing through the front wall via the Large Window into the underground (*Fig. 41*) form a specific phenomenon occurring in the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave.

Fig. 41: Direct sun rays can enter the Entrance Hall through the so-called Large Window (entrance No. 2). Thanks to coincidental natural setting of the downward-sloping corridor, the phenomenon can be observed between the spring and the autumn equinoxes. It cannot be seen in the cooler part of the year, when the Sun is lower in the sky. The phenomenon, dependent on a cloudless sky, appears after noon; the angle of the rays depends on the season. The form of the effect changes depending on the astronomical phase of the year. Originally, the rays fell to a rock shelf (*Fig. 8–9*); after the war adjustments, they reach the ground (photograph: R. Kvasnica).

Stories – caves are not an ordinary area of the world; they are unsettled, and due to their desertedness, people often situate stories in them. In fact, this is a special type of colonisation. Caves thus serve people as a way of conservation of past events made complete by fantasy. Sometimes based on a real core and sometimes not, they get on the boundary between the real and the unreal (virtual) world. Mysteriousness is often mentioned in relation to the caves. This is precisely how Býčí Skála Cave has been depicted by the literary sources of the past two centuries, and it functions thus also today. The cave is thematised and featured by various popular magazines and books (*Liška 2012*), and even by professional literature, as is attested by statements such as "the mystery of Býčí Skála Cave, or a cave full of questions", "the eternal mystery of Býčí Skála Cave" or "the greatest mystery of Moravian prehistory", which further support the existence of the story and its mysterious character. Television crews come to record this story. It is precisely for this reason that we can find Býčí Skála Cave among the most mysterious places of the Czech Republic (*Fig. 42*). Mysteriousness is a real offer that can be commercialised. The result is an unceasing popularity of the cave and interest in it. Abandoned castle ruins have a similar function in the landscape.

BS I Palaeolithic

Manifestations of interest in the Early Stone Age (Palaeolithic, 15,000–10,000 BC) in Býčí Skála Cave reach as far as to the times of Heinrich Wankel. This topic has been recently revised by Martin Oliva (*1996*; *Oliva et al. 2015*, 40–48, 82–114). Býčí Skála Cave has remained permanently opened since the last glaciation of Europe, representing a continual offer for people, who started to visit and use it. The first people whose remains have been securely proved in Býčí Skála Cave were the horse and reindeer hunters of the Magdalenian culture. This population spread to Central Europe from the west, from France via Germany, following the improvement of the climatic conditions after the last massive glaciation of Europe. We presume that people used the cave as a refuge in the freezing winter months, when the temperatures dropped deep below zero, while setting out into the free landscape during the summer. Disputes have been long under way on whether or not remnants of even earlier periods are present there. Martin Oliva believes today that basically not. A long scientific dispute concerned so-called ancient stone tools of the "bottom layer". Nonetheless, their archaic appearance is given by the use of a low-quality local material, the chert of the Býčí Skála type, which is unsuitable for the production of aesthetically more valuable artefacts. A camp was situated in the eternal darkness of the South Branch, far from the entrance, where the cave never froze. A question open to this day is whether this place was advantageous also for another reason – it enabled the starting of fires thanks to good conduction of smoke

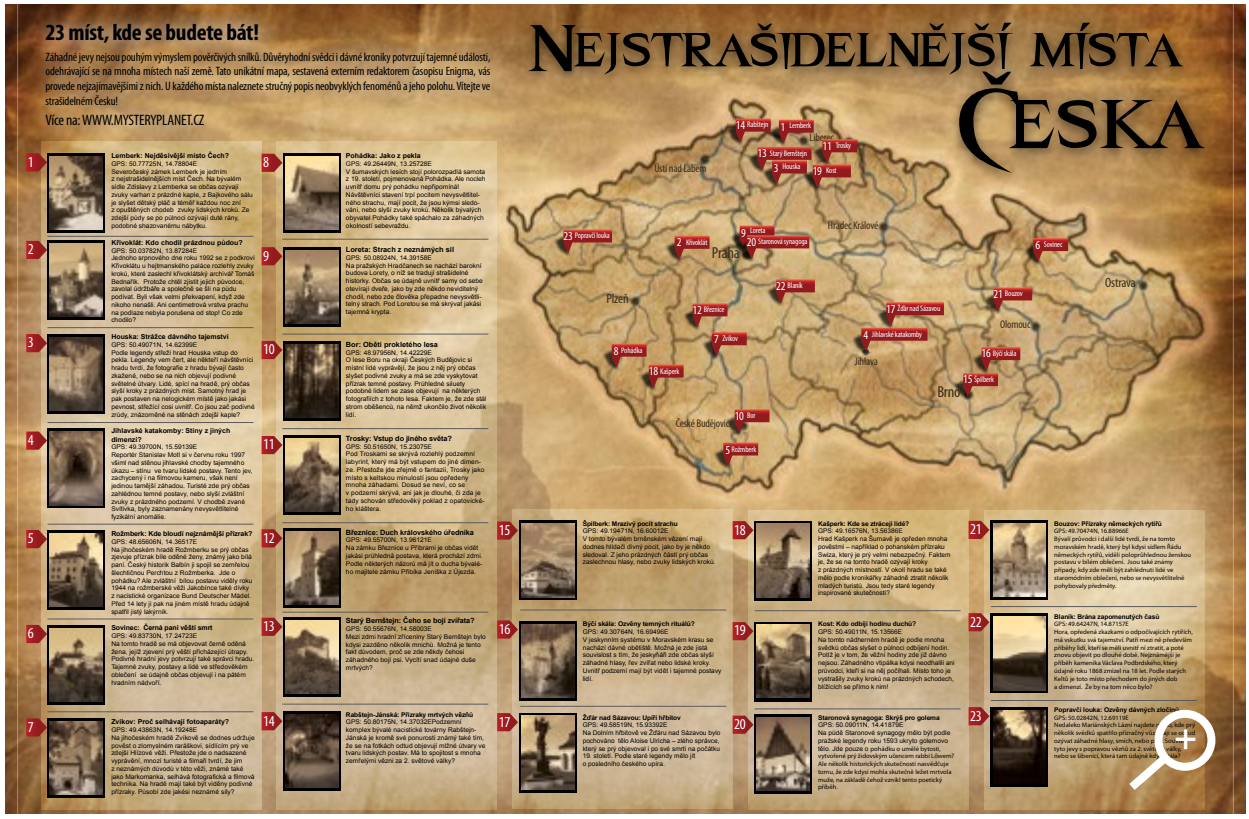


Fig. 42: Long-term cultural interest in Býčí Skála Cave supported the formation of the construct of a "cave with a mystery". It has found secondary use in most various, mostly commercial forms. In this case, it is one of the Czech Republic's 23 most haunted places (source: P. Koutský, M. Šimánek and L. Kacrová).

through open chimneys above the South and North Branches. This cannot be ruled out, as several fire rings have been found there. People, waiting for the spring, probably whiled away the time during the long months by the production of various items, including the chipping of "flint". A great volume of material remaining after this activity suggests that rather than the products themselves, the aim was to kill time, which seems longer in the darkness of the cave. The specific local art has the form of geometric engravings in pebbles of Culm slate (*Fig. 106*) modelled by a shift of the bed of the Jedovnický Potok (Stream), which passed through the cave deeper in the past. Numerous bones of hunted animals and tools made of stone brought from distant areas have also been found at the settlement. Spring in this locality was characterised by significant thawing of snow on the karst plateau above the cave. A large amount of water reached the underground, which might be a significant factor in its abandonment (*Fig. 43*). The question whether or not an active water course still flowed through Old Býčí Skála Cave is open. Likewise, we do not know which entrances to the cave the people used. In any case, the opinions concerning this very important parameter of Býčí Skála Cave differ.

BS II Mesolithic

The Middle Stone Age (Mesolithic, 10,000–5700 BC) has not been proved in Býčí Skála Cave.

The climatic conditions in Central Europe gradually changed. Open plains with sparse groves of trees and shrubbery gradually grew into connected forested areas. This had several consequences. Herd animals, which avoid forests, changed their movement patterns, and people had to adapt to other sources of food. The lack of interest in Moravian Karst caves may be precisely a consequence of the change in the use of the landscape. The rather dramatic processes of filling and emptying of the sediments of the cave spaces basically ended in this region. Winter no longer brought so much snow that would enter the underground in the spring, and a continuous forest started to prevent massive washing of sediments into the caves from chimneys or the creation of stone tali near their entrances.

BS III Neolithic

People returned to Býčí Skála Cave after a longer interruption in the Young Stone Age (Neolithic, 5700–4200

Fig. 43: The spring is coming, and Magdalenian hunters and gatherers are packing their winter camp in the area of the South Branch (painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

BC). The climatic conditions in Europe had changed completely; the temperatures even exceeded today's average values. The new use of Moravian Karst caves is connected with a general population of the flatland around the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). Holocene cave finds from the Moravian Karst have never aroused much researcher interest; they have only been revised recently (*Ondroušková 2011*). Numerous caves in the Křtinské and Josefovské Údolí (Valleys) were used, for example Výpustek Cave, Mariánská Cave, Drátenická Cave, Býčí Skála Cave, Barová Cave and Jáchymka Cave. All Neolithic cultures gradually appeared there – the Linear Ware culture, the Želiezovce type, the Šárka type, the Stroke-Ornamented Ware culture and the Moravian Painted Ware culture. We can ask why people actually came there. Poor climatic conditions might not have been the motivation. We can find a good indication in the nearby Výpustek Cave, where earlier excavations produced the most finds of the Linear Ware culture (*Wankel 1871*; *idem 1973*; *Ondroušková 2011*, tab. 21–48). People of the Linear Ware culture used the cave versatilely. Their activities were concentrated in darker parts further from the entrance. We presume that this is where they had their camp with fire rings as well as their shrine. A broader use of the space is evidenced by the fact that they buried their dead there (*Fig. 44*). This fact avoided the attention for a long time, as the originally published notes sunk into oblivion, and was reminded recently by a revision of finds from the 1870s and 1880s in the Natural History Museum in Vienna. Provable finds of Neolithic pottery in Býčí Skála Cave come from the Entrance Hall (*Oliva et al. 2015*, 118–120). Contrary to that, human skeletons are preserved probably to this day in the area of the South and North Branch, but their dating is uncertain. The information comes from Heinrich Wankel and later also from Martin Kříž. Wankel recorded a similar situation in Jáchymka Cave, but the skeletons there had been destroyed by sand quarrying before his

Fig. 44: In the Výpustek Cave only 4 km from Býčí skála Cave, Neolithic farmers repeatedly performed their rituals, besides left objects and foods, they also buried their dead here, they deposited ash from the funeral pyres into vessels and then left those in the darkness of the underground temple (painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

arrival. Their dating to the Neolithic is regrettably also a mere presumption. Two Neolithic axes have survived from Býčí Skála Cave, one possibly belonging to the Stroke-Ornamented Ware culture or the Moravian Painted Ware culture, the other probably to the Moravian Painted Ware culture. Neolithic finds come also from the entrance to Barová Cave, where a fire ring has been examined, and another one found deeper in the entrance part of the cave, the so-called Entrance Hall. It is also the place of discovery of an assemblage of the Linear Ware culture, which was also proved in front of the entrance, once again in the 1980s. The Křtinské Údolí (Valley) is the place of origin of the remarkable cylindrical beads from Výpustek Cave made of dripstone. The products suggest how people used the cave sources. The dripstone beads in Výpustek Cave were part of a necklace, along with a pendant of a sea shell with traces of a red dye. The finds from recent excavations near Olomučany suggest that the cave finds are related to Neolithic activities on the plains above the valleys. These activities might have been connected with the surface mining of Olomučany cherts, which were distributed in the Neolithic, but their dating is uncertain as yet in view of the absence of dating artefacts.

BS IV Eneolithic

The Late Stone Age Period (Eneolithic, 4200–2200 BC) is once again represented by the pottery of several cultures in Býčí Skála Cave. We can ascribe them to three cultures with a considerable time span: the Jordanów culture/Boleráz type, the Channelled Ware culture and the Jevišovice culture. From the Křtinské Údolí (Valley), we know evidence of Eneolithic cultures also from Výpustek Cave and Žitného Cave; very interesting finds come from Jestřábka-Kanibalka Cave. From the immediate vicinity of Býčí Skála Cave, finds of the Jevišovice culture are known from Barová Cave (*Oliva et al. 2015*, 120–121). A unique carbon drawing discovered in the South Branch of Býčí Skála Cave in 1994 stands out from the framework of ordinary finds. Radiocarbon dating later proved its origin within the range of 3330–2915 BC (*Svoboda – van der Plicht – Balák 2005*). The drawing, situated in a cavern in the rear part of the South Branch, is ascribed to the Channelled Ware culture due to its resemblance to the motifs used on its pottery.

This Eneolithic culture is dated to 3400–3200 BC in Moravia. The find of the drawing is unique; we know no similar manifestations of art from the caves in the Czech

Republic. The geometric drawing makes use of a natural rock protrusion, covering a great part of it. It was originally larger; a part of the drawing in the downward direction has been wiped, but smaller traces have survived to this day. Regrettably, we do not know the meaning of the drawing. Its location in the cave is a new discovery that has avoided attention so far. Its authors situated it in a vagina-shaped cavern that is unique in whole Old Býčí Skála Cave. This fact extends the interpretative possibilities. Similar location of drawings is known from other European caves. The nearest one is the Sacred Corridor of Domica Cave in South Slovakia. Numerous drawings and pottery in the spacious cave were situated in a short walk-through corridor that is from one side also conspicuously modelled into the shape of the vagina (*Laučík 2015*, 161). Such human behaviour can be explained as an intentional search for caves suitable for the veneration of the "womb of Mother Earth" (*Fig. 45*).[27] An Eneolithic pottery assemblage that might correspond to the period of the origin of the drawing comes from Býčí Skála Cave. A whole vessel of the Boleráz type is part of the collections of the Natural History Museum in Vienna, while another vessel, probably of the Channelled Ware culture, has been incorrectly classified as Hallstatt. In an immediate vicinity of Býčí Skála Cave, the Jevišovice culture of the Late Eneolithic has been recorded in front of the entrance to Barová Cave; the pottery is similarly known from the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave. An interesting find from the interpretative viewpoint is an assemblage of chipped, burnt and cut human bones from Jestřábka-Kanibalka Cave. During a recent revision, Zdeněk Tvrdý has confirmed an evident manipulation with the human remains of four individuals. Three of them have been identified as 9–10-, 15- and 20–30-years-old persons. The fragmentation of bones very soon after the death of the people would be indicative of cannibalism (*Ondroušková 2011*, 184–200). Regrettably, we only have poorly datable shards from the cave; they correspond the most to the cultures of the Eneolithic. The open landscape significantly changed during this period; fortified hill strongholds appeared for the first time, which had not yet been present in the Neolithic. Several of them can be found on the eastern edge of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands), near the entrances to this area, for example Staré Zámky in Brno-Líšeň (Brno District), Luleč – sv. Martin (Vyškov District) or Březina – Obrova noha (Prostějov District). They have yielded evidence of the presence of the above-mentioned Eneolithic cultures as well as finds from the subsequent Bronze Age. The stronghold Staré Zámky in Brno-Líšeň is the closest to Býčí Skála Cave; it might have represented an important place in the wider neighbourhood, from which prehistoric people were coming to the caves of Central Moravian Karst.

Fig. 45: The ritual of the creation of a geometric drawing in a vagina-shaped cavern in the South Branch of Býčí Skála Cave (painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

BS V Bronze Age

Several cultures took turns in Býčí Skála Cave also during the Bronze Age (2200–800 BC), leaving very numerous collections of pottery behind (*Oliva et al. 2015*, 121–122). They included the Únětice culture, the Middle Danube Tumulus culture, the Velatice culture and the Podolí culture. This attests to an almost permanent human interest in the cave, albeit in various intensities. Regrettably, no finding situations that would document a particular type of use of this cave have been detected. Apart from a very numerous pottery assemblage, we know two metal artefacts from this period: a fragment of a torc most probably belonging to the Urnfield Period and a bronze razor with a frame handle of the type Velké

27 Furthermore, Eva Čermáková brings a new view of the topic in Chapter VI.

Žernoseky (*Fig. 46*) from the Earlier Urnfield Period – Velatice culture – BD–Ha A2, i.e. 1300–1000 BC. The latter discovery may be rather valuable, as the absence of luxury items of Bronze Age cultures is in a sharp contrast with the rich collection from the subsequent Iron Age – Hallstatt Period, when local iron ores probably started to be processed. The landscape under study entered a new social phase.

BS VI Hallstatt Period

The Hallstatt Period or Early Iron Age (800–450 BC) is a real phenomenon in Býčí Skála Cave. The finds from the Horákov culture cannot be measured at all with other periods from this or other caves of the Moravian Karst. The composition of the artefacts, their luxury character and above all their quantity still exceed all cave finds of the Hallstatt Period from whole Europe. While an interest in the underground is not exceptional in this period, such abundance of finds is unique. Since Wankel's discovery in the Entrance Hall in 1872 (*Fig. 31–32*), the assemblage has always aroused the attention of both the professional and the lay public. The latter knew it most often as the so-called Hallstatt Magnate Burial (*Fig. 48*). The constant interest is understandable, as it is of a fundamental importance for the understanding of the Hallstatt Period landscape in Moravia.

The above-standard quantity of texts and interpretations relating to a single locality requires a significant researcher attention in case of interest. Before the presentation of this book, the existing rich sources were summarised in the publication *Jeskyně Býčí skála ve svých dějích a pradějích* (Býčí Skála Cave: History and Prehistory; *Oliva et al. 2015*, 122–146), which can be understood as a starting source of facts. Chapter V of the book above all focuses on the landscape relationships of Býčí Skála Cave.

Fig. 46: People of the Bronze Age repeatedly visited Býčí Skála Cave and left ceramic vessels in it. An interesting object is a bronze razor, which could indicate some rite of passage of the acceptance of boys among men, a component of which could have been also the first shave (painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

Fig. 47: The La Tène culture provides the first ethnic information. A nice example of the traces here of the Celts is the collection of women's jewellery, which we usually find in the graves of the richer people, e.g. in the vicinity of Brno. It is not excluded that they came to be in Býčí Skála Cave as an offering (painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

An important new discovery made by Martin Oliva at the time of the creation of this text is radiocarbon dating of a bone corresponding to the Hallstatt Period. The bone came from the area of the South Branch (*Fig. 31*; *Oliva et al. 2015*, 11). It documents the also the use of the other larger space of the cave, particularly for the deposition of human burials, apart from the intensively used Entrance Hall.

Fig. 48: The first of three new pictures dealing with the Hallstatt Period in Býčí Skála Cave. The burial of a magnate depicts the burial ritual as a part of one of the possibilities of practical use of the Entrance Hall; the stone house served as the deposition place of the deceased magnate (painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

BS VII La Tène Period

The Late Iron Age or the La Tène Period (450–9/6 BC) is incommensurably less represented in Býčí Skála Cave (*Oliva et al. 2015*, 146–147). The historical Celts, who came out of the darkness of history in this period, appeared in two phases in Býčí Skála Cave. One, or more likely two bronze anklets (*Fig. 47*) are known from 310–250 BC – LT B2. It is possible that a sapropelite and siltstone bracelet also falls into this period; according to unique Hallstatt analogues from abroad, they may be already of Hallstatt origin, but we only know from the La Tène Period from Moravia. A small assemblage of La Tène pottery and a spindle whorl come from 180–50 BC – LT C2–D1. At that time, the Celts were already building their fortified settlements – oppida; the nearest is Staré Hradisko, Prostějov District, which is connected with Býčí Skála Cave along the line of the Amber Route by the Rozstání access road from the Prostějov District.

BS VIII Roman Period

Just before the turn of the millennia, there comes the Roman Period (9/6 BC–375 AD). The old homeland of the new ethnic group of Germans lay in Northern Europe. They spread to Moravia at the latest in the second half of the 1st century and we find them again at Býčí Skála Cave (*Oliva et al. 2015*, 147). Besides several handmade domestic Germanic pieces of ceramic, the predominant component of the set is high-quality imported Roman-provincial production, which Germans were not able to produce and had to import. The table eating and drinking sets include a luxurious hard-fired pottery of red shades with a relief decoration from the workshops in Rheinzabern and Westerndorf, which is found on the territory of today's Southern and Southwestern Germany, further stamped bowls of fine grey pottery of Roman Danubian province or so-called Raet pottery, represented by black-coated vessels decorated with plastic geometric or inscribed models. The entire named collection comes

Fig. 49: Germanic tribes also left their traces in Býčí Skála Cave. One of the luxurious ceramics that stands out is a small lamp of Roman origin, which certinaly served for the lighting of the underground spaces (painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

from the 2nd to 4th centuries BC. An interesting accessory for movement in the underground is a fragment of a small Roman clay lamp (*Fig. 49*), the fuel of which was various plant oils or animal fat.

BS IX Migration Period

The period (375–568) has not been securely proved. The newly arrived inhabitants of Moravia showed no interest in caves, although an important monument from that period has been found near the entrance to one. It is a stone mausoleum with very rich burials on the hill Žuráň, not far from the fortification Staré Zámky originating from the same period and registered as the hillfort Brno-Líšeň 3.

BS X Early Middle Ages

The beginning of the Early Middle Ages (568–1250) brought an ethnic change – the arrival of the first Slavs. The Early Slavic Period (600–700), characterised by monuments of the so-called Prague type, is represented by a burial in Adamov, about 5 km from Býčí Skála Cave. Local metallurgy is not proved until the 8th century, the Period just before Great Moravia (*Fig. 50*). Serial metallurgical furnaces were in operation near later Olomučany during its existence in the 9th century; their finished products were distributed along a trade route via Staré Zámky in Brno-Líšeň further on to the Great Moravian centres (*Souchopová 1986*; *eadem 1995*; *Souchopová et al. 2002*). An Early Medieval pottery assemblage from the 9th–12th centuries,

Fig. 50: Loose reconstruction of the organisation of iron smelting in the pre-Great Moravian Period (8th century) from the vicinity of Olomučany near Býčí Skála Cave (painting: L. Balák, consultation: J. Merta, O. Merta and L. Slezák).

Fig. 51: The High Middle Ages brought a number of military conflicts to the future Moravian Karst. In such times, the caves became refuges for people in need. It was probably no different in the winter of 1470/1471, when people settled temporarily in the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave and built in the underground not only a tiled stove but quite likely also some provisional shelters for overwintering (painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

unique among other Moravian Karst caves, comes directly from Býčí Skála Cave (*Golec 2014a*; *Oliva et al. 2015*, 147–148). A hoard of three iron items – a ploughshare, a knife/sickle and an axe – has been discovered at Jidášova Stěna (Judas Wall), not far from Býčí Skála Cave. It is dated to the Great Moravian Period, i.e. the 9th century (*Galuška 2006*).

BS XI High and Late Middle Ages

The following Periods of the High and Late Middle Ages (1250–1500) are also represented by pottery in Býčí Skála Cave, in a much greater quantity (*Golec 2014a*; *Oliva et al. 2015*, 148). Other circuits of finds come from the cave as well, and all of them are unusual in a way. Fragments of a tiled stove have survived apart from pottery (*Fig. 51*), indicating human occupation probably in 1470–1471, when the Hungarian army besieged the nearby castle Nový Hrad near Adamov (*Konečný – Merta 1976*; *iidem 1980*). The fact that people might have lived in the Entrance Hall sometime in the past is indicated also by finds of remnants of daub, which however cannot be dated more precisely. Furthermore, Wankel's finds of unminted silver discs come from the area of the South Branch, a possible remnant of a money forging workshop. The last interesting find is a drawing of an animal (deer?) discovered in the South Branch in 1994 (*Oliva 1995*, 40), dated to 1275–1395 (*Svoboda – van der Plicht – Balák 2005*). Finds from the High and Late Middle Ages are numerous in the Moravian Karst caves. Behind this phenomenon was an extensive colonisation of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) and the construction of noble residences. The first written reports about this region come from this period (*Bednářová 1961*; *eadem 1968*), relating for instance to places of pilgrimage in Křtiny and Vranov (near Brno), to the local nobility and above all to the war years, which drove villagers out of their homes into forests and caves. The local inhabitants might have drawn inspiration for stories, for instance about highwaymen, from these events. A pagan sanctuary of the Slavic god Svantovít, situated in Býčí Skála Cave by folk stories and literarily recorded before Heinrich Wankel's arrival in the Moravian Karst, cannot be confirmed.

BS XII Renaissance

The Renaissance (1500–1620) is not reliably proved in the cave, but thanks to written sources, a production facility is documented in its near vicinity – the presumed iron mill Althamr (Old Forge) in the first half of the 16th century

Fig. 52: The Renaissance did not leave specific traces in Býčí Skála Cave, nevertheless, we know from its vicinity abundant economic activities at the Althamr, which served for the production and processing iron. It is not excluded that the nearby caves were used for ordinary economic purposes, which we know from later periods, perhaps to drive the cattle underground at night (painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

(*Kreps 1976*; *Oliva et al. 2015*, 148). The existence of the iron mill is confirmed by two deeds dated 1506 permitting a repair of the damaged mill, which suggests that it had been operating already in the 15th century. The mill, called V lukách or Althamr, is also mentioned as of 1549 and, as empty, as of 1568 (*Fig. 52*; *Merta 2006*).

BS XIII Baroque

The sources of knowledge of the Býčí Skála Cave in the Baroque (1620–1750) mention, apart from landscape elements, also directly Býčí Skála Cave for the first time (*Oliva et al. 2015*, 13–25). The first description of Býčí Skála Cave by Johann Ferdinand Hertod von Todtenfeld comes from 1669 (*Skutil 1973*). He documented much remarkable information. We can find a new use of the cave in the form of a hermit's stay in it (*Fig. 53*). During the

Baroque, after the end of the Thirty Years' War, numerous religious processions went through the Křtinské Údolí (Valley) or on the plateaus above it to important centres of Marian spirituality – the pilgrimage churches in Vranov near Brno and Křtiny. We do not know how many people made a stop in the cave, but the first historical signature from the wall of the cave – Krasl 1650 – comes from this period. Human settlements and other buildings, above all early industrial enterprises, came closer to the cave. The names Adamov, Josefov and the Josefovské Údolí (Valley), which was extensively colonised during this period, are derived from the Christian names of Joseph Johann Adam of Liechtenstein (1690–1732). Adam's Cave, an old name of Býčí Skála Cave derived from his name, has not been confirmed. Two (trout) ponds were built near Býčí Skála Cave in 1711 to supply water to the production plants located below. Glassworks functioned in today's Josefov in 1724–1747, being afterwards used as a potash factory until the end of the century. The blast furnace in Stará huť near Adamov was put into operation in 1746 at the latest. A set of modern ceramics from the Entrance Hall found in 1937–1943 can be only generally dated to the Modern Era; it may therefore possibly be of Baroque origin.

Fig. 53: Another form of inhabiting the underground came with the Baroque. A hermit took a liking to the spaces at the entrances of Býčí Skála Cave. He chose a part into which he had to climb by a rope ladder. He had a very good view of the incoming pilgrims, who undertook the pious journey between Vranov and Křtiny (painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

BS XIV Classicism, Romanticism

The Baroque Period was followed by a significant change in the social circumstances, characterised by the Classicism and its intellectual movement, the Romanticism (1750–1868). Although the historiographical interest in the late 18th and 19th century Býčí Skála Cave has always been considerable (*Absolon 1970a*; *idem 1970b*; *Kučera – Slezák – Hromas 2009*) and the topic seemed to have been exhausted, the area between Vranov near Brno and Křtiny has partially revealed an unknown context recently. The aesthetically valuable karst landscape attracted the attention of the owners of the Pozořice estate, the brothers Alois I Joseph and Johann I Joseph of Liechtenstein, who made extensive Romanticising park adjustments. The possible reasons might have included the fact that their family tomb was situated in Vranov near Brno but also the romantic landscape itself. A romantic park was first built in the area of Josefov, at the boundary of the Josefovské and Křtinské Údolí (Valleys). The caves Jáchymka, Býčí Skála and Kostelík were aesthetically embellished. The whole Old Býčí Skála Cave underwent complex artificial adjustments, and a relaxation gazebo with a view appeared above the cave. The adjustments were gradually extended towards the Výpustek Cave and also to the area of Adamov, with the family tomb in Vranov being the last.

The whole extensive complex was recently summarily named the Vranov-Křtiny Liechtenstein Complex (*Golec 2014c*; *Oliva et al. 2015*, 26–39). The project was very open to the public from its beginning, inviting the first tourists to make a visit. The new term *Moravian Switzerland* (Christian Carl André) also became established during this period, modelled on a distant land of unspoilt mountaineers in the spirit of European Romanticism. The social peak of this period was a visit to Býčí Skála Cave by the imperial couple, Emperor Francis II and his wife Maria Theresa of Naples and Sicily, on 7 September 1804 (*Fig. 54*). Some designs of the landscape adjustments and their implementation were by Carl Joseph Rudzinski, Joseph Hardtmuth or later Bernhard Petri. It can be presumed that many of the participating persons have not been identified yet.

Numerous tourists of this period covered the walls of Býčí Skála Cave with thousands of signatures, which became a unique historical source (*Čermáková – Golec 2014*).

Fig. 54: A loose reconstruction of the possible form of the arrival of Emperor Francis II in the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave on 7 September 1804 upon the invitation of the owner of the cave, Alois I Joseph of Liechtenstein (painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

This is the second stage of the scientific appreciation of Býčí Skála Cave, with numerous descriptions appearing in newspapers and tourist guides; the area became the topic of works of art. The cave was visited without a guide, or these services were offered for a financial consideration, along with the sale of prepared torches, by the inhabitants of Stará huť near Adamov and of the nearby Josefov. Period drawings depict two circles of visitors – burghers and villagers – recognisable by their clothing and different kinds of activities.

The situation in Býčí Skála Cave in the late 18th and early 19th centuries documents complex information that enables the identification of community relationships. We can put together a model of interactions among the communities of people in the cave, which was frequently visited at that time. Such a model is useful for the discussion of similar relationships in earlier periods, for which we lack such sources. The exclusive owner of the cave and the nearby land plots in the late 18th and early 19th centuries was Alois I Joseph of Liechtenstein. He made the cave safe and comfortably accessible to the wide public – other external communities – for a visit. As such, the new offer was promoted in the period press. It was evidently and supra-community area in the landscape. Exceptionally, meetings took place there between the owner of the cave, who entered the cave with his entourage (members of the owner's community), and guests from external communities (*Fig. 55a*). This was also the case of the unique visit by the Austrian emperor, his family and retinue on 7 September 1804. The cave remained permanently open for anyone who wished to enter, and this offer was frequently used. The ownership of the cave was clear. An absolute majority of the guests had no personal relationship to the owner. Individuals and numerous members of many external communities often met in the Býčí Skála Cave area without the presence of the owner (*Fig. 55b*).

Model of relationships in unlocked supra--community area Býčí Skála Cave (Example No. 1)

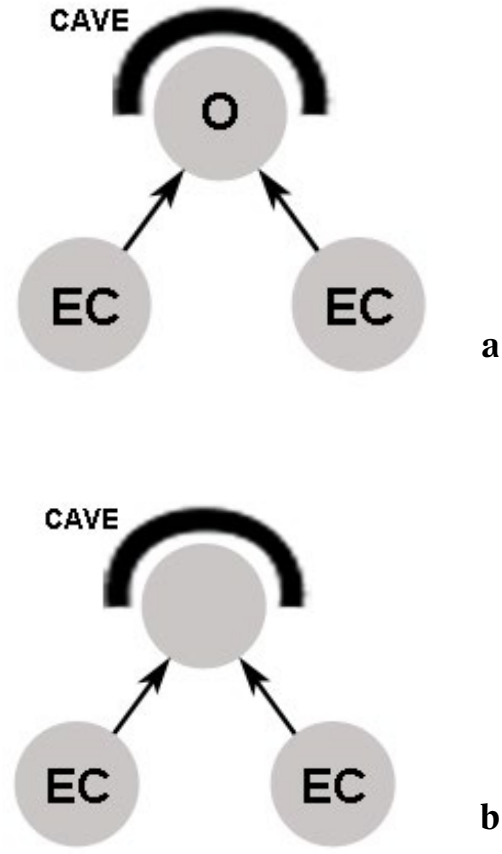


Fig. 55: Unlocked supra-community Býčí Skála Cave: a – the owner of the cave is present, meeting members of external communities; b – the owner of the cave is known and absent, and members of the external communities use the cave. O = the owner's community; EC = external community (source: M. Golec).

This model, when the cave temporarily had no owner or an absent owner did not prevent other external communities from entering, can be imagined in many periods of the past.

BS XV Austria-Hungary

The sources of knowledge of the Býčí Skála Cave in the Period of Austria-Hungary (1868–1918) are significantly more extensive (*Oliva et al. 2015*, 40–60, 82–114). The beginning of Wankel's archaeological research in Býčí Skála Cave in 1867 (literarily 1868) practically coincides with the origin of Austria-Hungary (*Fig. 56*). It started an intensive period of a scientific interest in the cave. Wankel's excavations were followed by the work of many archaeologists, especially in the South and North Branches. Martin Kříž carried out an extensive survey of the entire cave in 1891–1892, aimed at gathering hydrological, geological and sedimentological knowledge as well. Býčí Skála Cave appeared in Czech and German scientific literary production. The first maps of Old Býčí Skála Cave came into existence at that time. A new name, the Moravian Karst, was coined in this period (Vladimír Josef Procházka, 1899) and took root among Czech scientists. Different approaches also appeared, apart from serious science. The mythologist and occultist Guido von List from Vienna viewed Býčí Skála Cave through the prism of German nationalism in his novel *König Vannius* (King Vannius) (*von List 1899*), calling it Wotan's (Smith's) Cave in Wotan's (Adam's) Valley and regarding the Entrance Hall as the entryway to the Valhalla. German speleologists came to the cave around 1900; the cave section of the German Tourist Society from Brno found previously unknown spaces in thanks to intensive work on the upper levels. Numerous signatures, above all in Brunina Cave, are preserved from this period. The works on overcoming Šenkův Sifon (Siphon) with the use of machinery started later, from 1911. Mountain climbing also started to develop on the outer walls of Býčí Skála Cave and Krkavčí Skála (Rock). Tourists were accompanied by Liechtenstein foresters as well as German speleologists.

BS XVI Interwar Period

The sources of knowledge of the Býčí Skála Cave in the Interwar Period of the First and Second Czechoslovak Republic (1918–1939) were long outside the scientific interest or lacking; only Palaeolithic surveys were known (*Oliva et al. 2015*, 40–60, 82–114). German speleologists from Brno owned exclusive research rights for the cave during this period. To overcome Šenkův

Fig. 56: The first archaeological excavations continued also later in 1872, when Heinrich Wankel achieved his lifelong success by revealing the rich find situation in the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave. We know that one of his daughters helped him in the excavations, most likely it was his 17-year-old Karla, later mother of the famous Karel Absolon (painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

Sifon (Siphon), they used heavy diving suits like before the war (*Fig. 57*). Their intensive work led to the discovery of New Býčí Skála Cave in November 1920. Tours were under way in the new spaces in 1920–1922 (some sources even say until the 1927 flood), and Býčí Skála Cave was gaining attractiveness among accessible caves. Before the land reform of 1923, when the Pozořice estate went over from the Liechtensteins under the administration of today's Mendel University Brno, the speleologists removed their machinery equipment from the cave, Šenk Siphon was re-filled and New Býčí Skála Cave became inaccessible once more. Speleological activity and regular tourist tours ceased. The little used locked cave became often illegally visited by Czech hikers ("tramps"), who grew fond of the neighbourhood of Býčí Skála Cave from the 1930s (*Golec 2014b*). They were entering it through the side Small Entrance via the Pagan Chimney. German amateur archaeologists worked in the South Branch from the 1920s; Karel Absolon was the last to conduct research there in the late 1930s. Hans Freising performed excavations in the Entrance Hall from 1937 (*Fig. 31*).

Fig. 57: A new era began in Býčí Skála Cave in the early 20th century. Members of the German Tourist Society from Brno started to look for new parts across then Býčí Jezero (Lake), today´s Šenkův Sifon (Siphon). The significant deployment of the technical equipment was characterized by strenuous labours. As the first in Central Europe, a heavy diving suit was used to reach new parts of the cave (painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

BS XVII WWII Period

The circuits of the sources of knowledge of the Býčí Skála Cave and its surroundings during the so-called Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (1939–1945) were separated for a long time (*Oliva et al. 2015*, 61–72). The WWII Period in the cave can be divided into two parts. A relative calm continued in the cave at first, as German speleologists went to the war front. Research in caves was even officially forbidden. This did not discourage young Czech adventurers from visits, however. An archaeological survey took place in the Entrance Hall sometime in 1937–1943; its results remained unevaluated and after more than seventy years, they have become the content of the texts in this part of the book. Then the cave was calm once more for a year until 1944, when the Entrance Hall was hastily adapted by the Brno-based construction company Bauunion for war arms production of the company Flugmotorwerke Ostmark GmbH Wien, Zweiwerk Brünn, a warplane manufacturer (*Přichystal – Náplava 1995*, 98–119). The actual production never took place there, however; the place was not completed, although many adjustments took place (*Fig. 58*). Limestone resulting from blasting was used to produce gravel for construction purposes. For these reasons, Býčí Skála Cave should rather be called a backup and unfinished factory at that time. The WWII basically ended in the Moravian Karst. There the front stopped and fell apart in May 1945, as German soldiers were fleeing to the west. The cave possibly served as a mortuary for dead German soldiers, and one of them (an officer?) reportedly even hung himself in the side branch called U esesáka (By an SS Man). Býčí Skála Cave preserved both anti-fascist (inscriptions Hitler – ein blutiger Hund; Die rote Front lebt!) and fascist (top climber book in Brunina Cave and on the outer mountaineering routes) manifestations from WWII. Czech hikers and self-styled potholers also left numerous signatures in the cave (*Čermáková – Golec 2014*). The hiker and mountain climber Josef Kudláček died after falling from Býčí Skála Cave's rock wall. Karel Absolon worked on his extensive monograph on the Palaeolithic of Býčí Skála Cave towards the end of the war (*Absolon 1944–45*).

BS XVIII Post-WWII Period, Communist Era

Sources dealing with the speleological research of the Býčí Skála Cave during the Third Czechoslovak Republic and the Communist Era (1945–1989) are also already part of the present living culture (*Golec et al. 2015*, 20–21, 24–27; *Oliva et al. 2015*, 73–81). Czech speleologist associations and organisations became interested in Býčí Skála Cave immediately after WWII. Býčí Skála Cave was closed to the public. The cave became the official workplace of the Brno Speleology Association shortly after the end of the war. The main effort was focused on overcoming the Inflow Siphon in New Býčí Skála Cave, but it was never achieved. A brand-new group from ADAST Adamov started to work there in 1954, becoming a collective member of the Brno Speleology Association. The nearby Barová Cave was discovered by a different group, led by Antonín Sobol, in 1947. This group worked independently until the mid-1970s, and then merged with the ADAST Adamov group. Both caves became part of the Protected Landscape Area Moravian Karst (1956) and of the State Nature Reserve Býčí Skála (1975). Several work campaigns took place in the cave from the late 1960s, focused on overcoming the Přítokový Sifon (Siphon) at the end of New Býčí Skála

Cave, where the driving of an artificial gallery started. Quantities of necessary machinery and other material were brought to the cave for these purposes. Speleologists traditionally organised tours for the public in Býčí Skála Cave. From 1977, local speleologists organised Open Days in the spring months, originally as a part of the Memorial Long-Distance March of Dr Rudolf Burkhardt. The cave was also visited by experts; a discussion of Wankel's 1872 finds took place there, for instance, in connection with the international exhibition Hallstatt and Býčí Skála in 1969 and during the Blansko Workshop in 1984. In this period, the state institutions increasingly pushed forward the aspect of the protection of the cave within state protected territories.

BS XIX Recent Past

The Recent Past – the period between 1989 and the present (*Golec et al. 2015*, 21, 28–63) – is once again characterised by intensive speleological activity in Býčí Skála Cave and Barová Cave (*Fig. 59*); likewise continues a broad interest of other branches of science and of the public, for whom the cave remains closed. The preservation of the cave's entire ecosystem is gaining in importance; the protection of bats hibernating there in the winter (1 October – 30 April) is a priority. The mountaineering activity is similarly restricted due to the protection of the steppe flora and the nesting of ravens at Krkavčí Skála (Rock) and Býčí Skála Cave. A certain compensation for the public is the entry to Býčí Skála Cave during the traditional Open Days during May weekends organised by Býčí Skála Cave speleologists (*Fig. 20*). The event is organised in cooperation with another cultural event – Meeting in the Central Part of the Moravian Karst. A continual interest in the Josefov and Křtinské Údolí (Valleys) has been registered in connection with the development of regional tourism in the Czech Republic.

Sampling took place in the Entrance Hall and the South Branch in 2007, aimed at a verification of the presence of microscopic artefacts in the cave soil. The outcome was very positive; the cave has preserved many small prehistoric finds to this day. In 2007, members of the Basic Organi-

Fig. 58: The view of the Lower Entrance to the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave in 1944. The Czech labourers of the company Bauunion, hired for the German war production, dismantle the old walling from the 19th century. The cave was selected for the purposes of the transfer of the wartime aerial production which never occurred to a greater scale because of the rapidly advancing front (painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

Fig. 59: In the Recent Past, speleologists in Býčí Skála Cave work in side branches of the main cave corridors discovered in the past. They make use of the so-called hydro-extraction technique developed in this cave, when the sediment filling the corridors is washed away using firefighting equipment and transported outside the cave by the underground Jedovnický Potok (Stream) (painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

Fig. 60: Currently, the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave plays the role of a didactic space, where archaeologists present in "the stone house of prehistory" selected chapters of history to the wider public as now in 2010, when Wankel's princess was brought here for a short time after 138 years (painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

Model of relationships in locked supra--community area Býčí Skála Cave (Example No. 2)

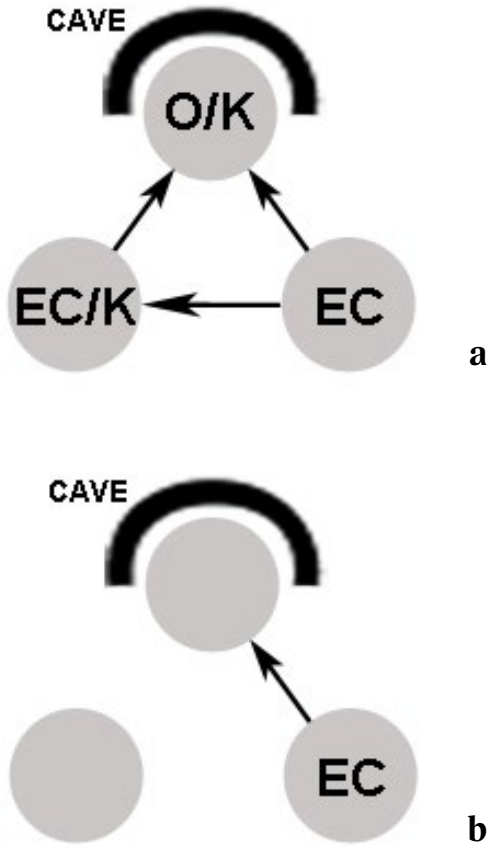


Fig. 61: Locked supra-community Býčí Skála Cave. The owner (O) and the keyholder (K) community grants the right of the possession of the key to an external community. Other external communities (EC) wishing to enter depend on some of the keyholders (a). An independent entry (b) is only possible by means of a forced entry (source: M. Golec).

sation 6-01 Býčí Skála of the Czech Speleological Society cleaned the Entrance Hall area of speleological refuse and prepared an incomplete reconstruction of Wankel's 1872 Hallstatt find for the public. The didactically processed area itself arouses a discussion on the complicated finding situation to this day (*Fig. 60*). Accompanying events to the Open Days take place there as well. The charismatic space of the Entrance Hall is used rather often for various artistic performance; an easy logistic accessibility and the possibility of a temporary storage of material behind a locked gate are the advantages (offers) of this place.

The entrances to Býčí Skála Cave were closed and locked in the 1880s at the latest. This changed the model of the supra-community area. First of all, we are interested in the current owners of the cave. Until 1923, it was the Liechtensteins; subsequently, the property went over to the state, which has managed it to this day through its institutions. They became the owner (O) and the keyholder (K) of the cave. The present owner and administrator (owner community) is the Administration of the Protected Landscape Area Moravian Karst (O/K). The law stipulates that it issues permissions for speleological activity, thus enabling legal possession of the key to an important group (external community), the Basic Organisation 6-01 Býčí Skála of the Czech Speleological Society, which becomes a keyholder (EC/K). Other speleological groups (EC) cannot own the key; the cave is occupied according to the customary law. Other external communities (EC) do not own the key, either; to enter the cave, they need to contact one of the keyholders named above (*Fig. 61a*). This creates a hierarchical structure: O/K ➡ EC/K ➡ EC. Legal entry without a holder of the key is impossible. An exception took place in the Post-1989 Period, however, when no keyholder was present to an entry by an unknown external group (*Fig. 61b*). The contents of two cases (hoard) deposited at the end of WWII were probably picked up during a forcible opening of the cave in the 1990s.

The model derived from the present state may be useful for earlier periods. The Palaeolithic Period offers itself, when the cave was occupied by an owner community in the winter season; they might have encountered other external communities there, which would necessarily lead to the emergence of a social structure. Ownership rivalry or denial of entry might have also taken place, which can be understood as signs of a supra-community area. The Hallstatt Period can be discussed as well. We do not expect longer stays of people inside during this era, but a different situation might have occurred, derived from the establishment of a sanctuary with the burials of the highest social stratum (occupation by the dead). A strong taboo might have acted as locking on external communities, once again creating a hierarchical social structure.

Practical Functions of Býčí Skála Cave in Unlimited Time

The individual periods of Býčí Skála Cave from the Palaeolithic to the Present (BS I–XIX) provide us with various sources. They imply that each period generated both common and different manners of use of the cave – various practical functions. The *Pre-literary Period of Býčí Skála Cave* generated several cases that can be interpreted. They include the Palaeolithic (BS I), when hunters and gatherers made their winter camp in the South and North Branches, gathering local stones and producing tools from them on

Fig. 62: Open Days at Býčí Skála Cave in 2010. The historicising installation in the Entrance Hall helped the visitors understand Wankel's Hallstatt discovery from 1872. The place is not only visited but also adapted for a temporary stay or occupancy (photograph: V. Šebeček).

the spot, as well as from the bones of hunted animals. The next period is the Eneolithic (BS IV); the drawing in the vagina-shaped cavern in the South Branch indicates a sacred place, perhaps of the Great Mother. The most complex post-Palaeolithic information was provided by the Hallstatt Period (BS VI), when the cave served as a sanctuary with residential, production, burial and votive functions. After a long pause, the High Middle Ages (BS XI) indicated an adjustment of the Entrance Hall to more permanent habitation, and a money forger workshop might have functioned in the South Branch. Three periods are not represented or recognized at all (the Mesolithic BS II, the Migration Period BS IX and the Renaissance BS XII). For others, we know finds from the cave, but they do not indicate a practical function (the Neolithic BS III, the Bronze Age BS V, the La Tène Period BS VII, the Roman Period BS VIII and the Early Middle Ages BS X). The *literary period of Býčí Skála Cave* brings much information about practical uses of Býčí Skála Cave; there is no longer a single period when we would not know any. In the Baroque (BS XIII), we can find a hermitage in it, and the cave is the target of the first stage of scientific research. In the Classicism (BS XIV), the main element is the construction of the Liechtenstein Romantic tourist complex and its visits; the second (Wankel's) stage of scientific research begins. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy (BS XV) brought the beginning of speleology and mountaineering, the tourist interest continues, the cave found also an economic use (livestock housing), and the third stage of scientific research began. The Interwar Period (BS XVI) brought an intensive speleological, tourist, mountaineering and hiking interest. Phosphate soil mining, which took place in the nearby Jáchymka Cave and Výpustek Cave, avoided Býčí Skála Cave, and the third stage of scientific research continued. The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (BS XVII) maintained the usual activities, speleology, tourism, mountaineering and hiking; the war brought about the construction of an underground factory followed by local gravel production. The cave became the venue of a mortal accident, possibly playing also the role of a front mortuary and a place of a suicide. The third stage of scientific research continued. The Third Czechoslovak Republic and the Communist Era (BS XVIII) supported the

interest in speleology, tourism, mountaineering and hiking. The state started to protect the cave, and Open Days for the public began to take place. Scientific research reached its fourth stage. The Recent Past (BS XIX) has maintained the interest in speleology, tourism, mountaineering and hiking; strict state protection of the cave continues, Open Days for the public take place and the fourth stage of scientific research continues.

The monitoring of the functions of the Býčí Skála Cave in the human world in unlimited time has brought often unknown or neglected pieces of knowledge. This underground space constantly remained within the interest sphere of people. It turns out that there was almost always someone who used it. A fundamental turn in the informational value of the available sources is the Baroque Period, from which we continually know written sources recording particular human actions most often in the form of events. The practical functions of the cave can be very well derived from them. Earlier periods offered this possibility only thanks to particularly telling sources, such as those of the Palaeolithic or of the Hallstatt Period.

The Pre-literary Period offers possibilities of a solution of the practical functions in four cases: the Palaeolithic, the Eneolithic, the Hallstatt Period and the High Middle Ages. In all cases, it has been found out that people not only visited the cave or adjusted the internal space for their stay or settlement but also gathered or mined materials and created or produced artefacts, whether they had the form of "flint" tools, of drawings on the cave walls or of the striking of coins. All periods in unlimited time can be summarised within a circle of four practical functions: 1. *visitor/residential/settlement* (*Fig. 62*); 2. *gatherer/mining/production*; 3. *sacrificial/burial,* which can be found above all in the Hallstatt Period, and 4. *sacrificial/votive* – we known mass deposition of items from various periods, but a religious meaning of the form of votive hoards is difficult to prove – the Hallstatt Period offers itself above all once again.

Most Often Visited Post-palaeolithic Cave in Moravian Karst

The Moravian Karst includes several very sizeable caves among hundreds of small ones. It is no coincidence that precisely they provided evidence of very rich cultural traces. Býčí Skála Cave is one of the most often used ones, along with Kůlna Cave, Rytířská Cave, Výpustek Cave or Pekárna Cave. The sixteen periods out of nineteen proved at Býčí Skála Cave document that.

Palaeolithic archaeology of hunter-gatherer communities has a very long tradition in the Moravian Karst. The climatic conditions of the glacial and interglacial periods caused that the remnants of them were gradually deposited in thick layers of sediments. The Kůlna Cave is one of the most prestigious cave localities. A unique profile was examined there in 1961–1976 under the guidance of Karel Valoch, revealing twelve Palaeolithic layers (Layers 14–3, from the earliest to the latest) and two layers from subsequent post-Palaeolithic Periods (Layers 2–1), which fall into the time of a significant warming of the climate during the Holocene (*Valoch 1988*, 164; *Oliva 2005*, 105). At that time, the sediments grew only minimally, and the rich remnants of later periods lie mixed near today's surface, which makes it almost impossible to examine them by layers. A similar situation arose also in other caves of the Moravian Karst, and also in Býčí Skála Cave.

A valuable post-Palaeolithic layer formation came into existence in the Pekárna Cave in the southern part of the Moravian Karst. Rudolf Czižek and Karel Absolon gained the local profile in the 1920s (*Fig. 63*). The site is important for Býčí Skála Cave in terms of the position and communication; it is situated on the edge of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands), near the Líšeň entrance. It is evident that this route to Býčí Skála Cave has very ancient

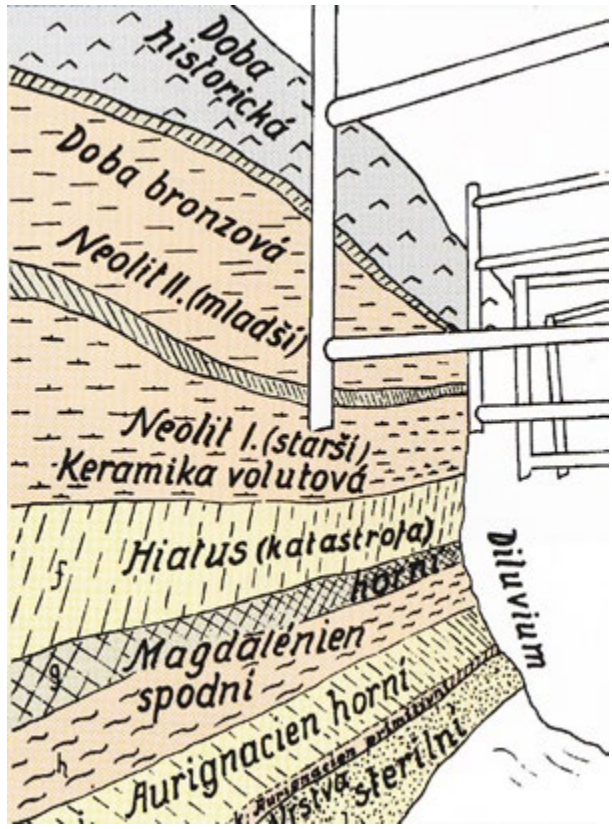


Fig. 63: Profile through the cultural layers in the front part of the Pekárna Cave acquired before WWII. The time periods represented correspond in general features to the revision discoveries of human traces in Býčí Skála Cave (source: archive of the MM Brno).

roots; it has been stable already from the Magdalenian, as is evidenced by chert of the Býčí Skála type deposited in Pekárna Cave at that time (*Oliva et al. 2015*, 110). A similar cultural-spatial scheme has repeated itself time and again in the later periods to this day.

If we look away from caves now and go out into the open landscape, there is no doubt that such concentrated cultural traces cannot be acquired at a single place there. The open landscape offers enough space, which is fundamental for humans. From the viewpoint of the compact landscape, especially *large caves of the Moravian Karst are unique time-lapse points.* Such accumulation of human activities is unparalleled; *the caves can be understood "culture tins"*. Scientists have been coming into them as the *"owners of the opener"* and uncovering their valuable contents.

Case

Hallstatt Landscape of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) and Their Foothills

Of the numerous temporal levels from which traces have been found in Býčí Skála Cave, the finds from the Hallstatt Period have attracted the most attention. Since the time of Heinrich Wankel, they have induced repeated original interpretations. However, contemporary speleo-archaeology as a part of landscape archaeology sees their purpose as an inseparable part of the inhabited landscape of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) and their settled foothills. What we mean by the case here is a single temporal layer, a part of Hallstatt, where the absolute majority of finds from the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave were found.[28] It represents approximately the first half of the 6th century BC,[29] a time of a very intensive use of the cave we are interested in. *The aim of Chapter V is to present the Hallstatt landscape in individual images that put together the main human activities – the complex world of Býčí Skála Cave*. The cave is presented in the first place here, becoming the starting point of our journey, but we are not expressing an idea that it is the most important point. The individual visited places represent particular relicts of the activity of people who shared above all the Horákov culture that was widespread in South Moravia, and marginally also its neighbour, the Platěnice culture. It is a commonwealth of communities of different people, many of whom knew each other, either because they were neighbours or because they visited common supra-community areas. Many of the presented places might have been such areas. The domestic Horákov culture represents the greatest heyday of Býčí Skála Cave in terms of cultural development. The communities of this culture maintained very lively social contacts with other neighbours in their vicinity. The largest number of items so far was "travelling" through the landscape, and many of them ended deposited with deceased people in their graves, but also in votive hoards. This is precisely the substance of the Býčí Skála Cave assemblage. Starting in the cave with numerous burials of rich and socially prominent people, we are going to take a tour of various places. We will visit a not very distant settlement that might have been their home, in which craftsmen were creating items intended for them. We will also pay a visit to hill strongholds/settlements that just started to be built along the edge of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). We are interested in the forms of the deposition of the dead in the populated landscape – at burial grounds and even in settlements. Apart from the underground of Býčí Skála Cave, we will visit also a different form of sacred places – the circular and oval structures called rondels or rondeloids. We will present the content and meaning of

28 A catalogue of Hallstatt artefacts from the Entrance Hall stored in Vienna and Brno, authored by Jindra Nekvasil, was published in 1995 (*Parzinger – Nekvasil – Barth 1995*, 233–258, Taf. 1–112). Their analysis and evaluation was prepared by Hermann Parzinger. Regrettably, this crucial publication is not very well known among the Czech Republic.

29 Phases Ha D1–D2, earlier part (*Parzinger – Nekvasil – Barth 1995*, 179–183). The whole Hallstatt Period is divided into the following phases: Ha C1a, Ha C1b, Ha C2, Ha D1, Ha D2 and Ha D3 (*Golec 2005*; *idem 2007*).

the deposited mass sacrifices of items and their relationship to Býčí Skála Cave. Our travels will be completed by a visit to the uninhabited landscape of the southern Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands), where apart from caves, there are apparently no other Hallstatt human remnants in the open landscape. We will show how people worked stone, for which, in contrast to bronze or iron, we are able to find out in which part of the landscape it originated and where it was transported. We will also visit prehistoric stone mines, and witness another remarkable case of a religious behaviour of people related to them. In the end of the case study, we present the social model of the Horákov society and a model of a compact settled and inhabited landscape.

Hallstatt Find from Býčí Skála Cave

In the autumn of 1872, Heinrich Wankel, a man in his fifties, set out for a trip to Býčí Skála Cave once again. This time, he was not alone. The event was larger, he had organised it in other than the usual manner. In order to increase the scope of his research, he had requested support, we would say a sponsor donation today, from the owner of the land plots, Johann II of Liechtenstein. Johann II, a very generous patron of science at that time, willingly undertook the financing of the miners during the planned research, whom would Wankel otherwise have to pay himself. The reason for the new excavations is known very well to this day: a random discovery of a small bronze figure of a bull by the Felkl cousins three years before, in 1869. Wankel learnt about the discovery with a delay and acquired it for scientific purposes not long afterwards. Several circles of today's sources come from surface stripping in larger areas of the Entrance Hall. Miners probably stuck to the dark layer of several decimetres below the then surface, imbued with charcoals and finds. All they needed to do was literally dig and dump the cave over – easy work for the experienced miners. Pit lamps sufficiently lighted the darkened space, and eyes used to darkness could find even very small items. Pits for quarrying sand for the needs of the nearby ironworks Františka had been dug in the area of the Entrance Hall, formerly a popular tourist destination, before the middle of the 19th century. Items and human bones must have been well visible in such areas. This was precisely how the Felkls had found the today legendary small bull figure during their summer visit three years earlier.

Having gathered the scientific treasure, Wankel systematically published the acquired knowledge in numerous articles for decades. They contain facts which together

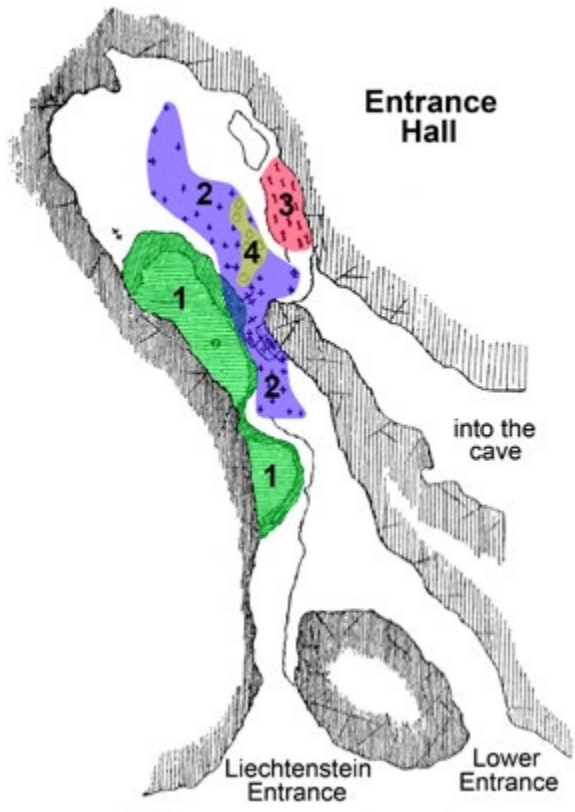


Fig. 64: Map of the finding situation from 1872 indicates that the area was probably divided and used in a different manner (practical functions): 1 – the so-called small and large cremation grounds, i.e. the places of deposition of items without human skeletons; 2 – the so-called burial ground, the area of artefacts deposited (as long as proved by the sources, together) with human skeletons; 3 – the so-called forge referring to a crafts workshop; 4 – a large concentration of pottery along with other finds (*Wankel 1882,* Fig. on page 383 and interpretation by M. Golec).

with the final summary in *Bilder aus der Mährischen Schweiz und ihrer Vergangenheit* (*Fig. 64–65*) and sources not published directly by Wankel comprise the complete source whose knowledge is necessary even today for those who wish to deal with this topic.[30] Particularly the most complex publication, *Bilder*, contains information about the place and deposition of the items and human skeletons as well as a valuable plan of their areal horizontal distribution and of the vertical deposition of the finds. This description has always been and will be a source document on the situation, and it cannot be neglected. It has been re-published and commented on many times. There is no doubt that it is insufficient for today's archaeology,

30 Wankel's bibliography: *Absolonová – Bednářová 1971*; for the latest summary, see also *Oliva et al. 2015*, 122–146.

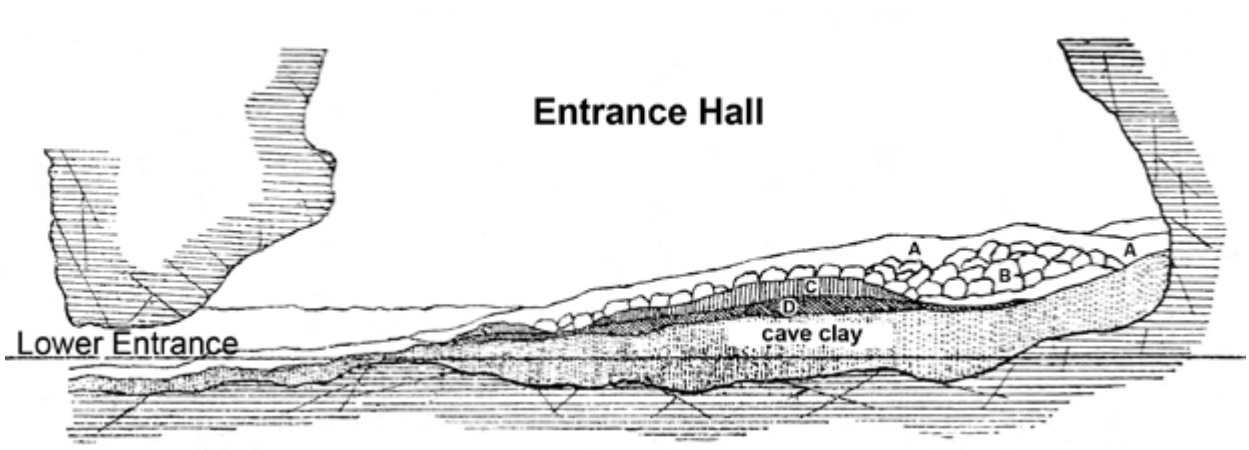


Fig. 65: Vertical section through the sediments documented four layers: above the cave soil without human finds (cave clay), there was Layer D spread across the Entrance Hall, containing charcoals, cereals, Hallstatt artefacts, human and animal skeletons; it included up to half a metre thick Layer C, the so-called cremation grounds with constantly in-grown moonmilk; the thick stone Layer B was deposited sometime later; the sand and gravel Layer A was situated at the surface of the cave (*Wankel 1882*, Fig. on page 383).

but the same will once be true of the present plans. An important question at present is whether the complex of information is useful also for today's archaeology, usable for work at least within the basic intentions. We answer it positively. On the contrary, the omission of the facts left by Wankel would lead to interpretative deviations and mistakes, of which the history of the interest in this topic is more than full.

The items of men, women and children

A large number of items – using the archaeological terminology, artefacts and products of nature or ecofacts, e.g. human and animal bones, agricultural products or refuse – was collected in the Entrance Hall. The list of the items is rather long.[31] They can be formally classified according to various parameters. The most often used ones include material (gold, iron, bronze, bones, pottery, amber, stone, glass, textile, leather, etc.), the assumed place of origin (local or distant regions such as the Carpathian Basin, the Baltic Sea, Austria, Slovenia, Northern Italy, Bohemia or Germany) or function (weapons and equipment, jewellery, vessels for cooking and storing, tools for production – hammers, pliers, chisels, moulds for casting and means of transport – wagons).

Another possible classification of the finds is based on whether they belonged to men (*Fig. 66*), women (*Fig. 67–68*) or children. This is also how anthropologists divided the human remains from the Entrance Hall.[32] Apart from small exceptions, unfortunately, Heinrich Wankel did not leave us information on where precisely the individual finds were situated. There is no doubt that some items did not even lie together with the dead bodies; this is true above all of the assemblage from the so-called cremation grounds (*Fig. 64*). Our advantage is that we already know many graves from the same milieu of the Horákov culture in the plains around the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). We find buried men and women there; children were not entitled to an adult burial, and their remains are found only quite exceptionally. Býčí Skála Cave is an exception from this point of view, as children were deposited there, comprising a fourth of all the burials. The items belonging to men and women can be divided into two groups according to their presumed use: 1. jewellery and parts of clothing, i.e. items worn on one's body as a part of the garment; 2. items that men and women used for other purposes. Luxury items that belonged to magnates – both male and female – are the best identified component. All items were also symbols that were interconnected with the owner's gender and roles in life.

Numerous pieces of evidence of craft activities represents a specific and exceptional group of finds. These items have always attracted much attention. They included above all the remnants from the area of the so-called forge (*Fig. 64*). The set term is considerably imprecise, however, or rather incomplete in terms of content. If

31 *Parzinger – Nekvasil – Barth 1995*. A comment can be found in the book *Oliva et al. 2015*, 134–146, which is understood as detailed preparation for this publication.

32 The assessment, which serves as the starting source to this day, was carried out in the 1980s by Milan Stloukal and repeatedly published, most recently (*Stloukal – Nekvasil 2015*, 13–81).

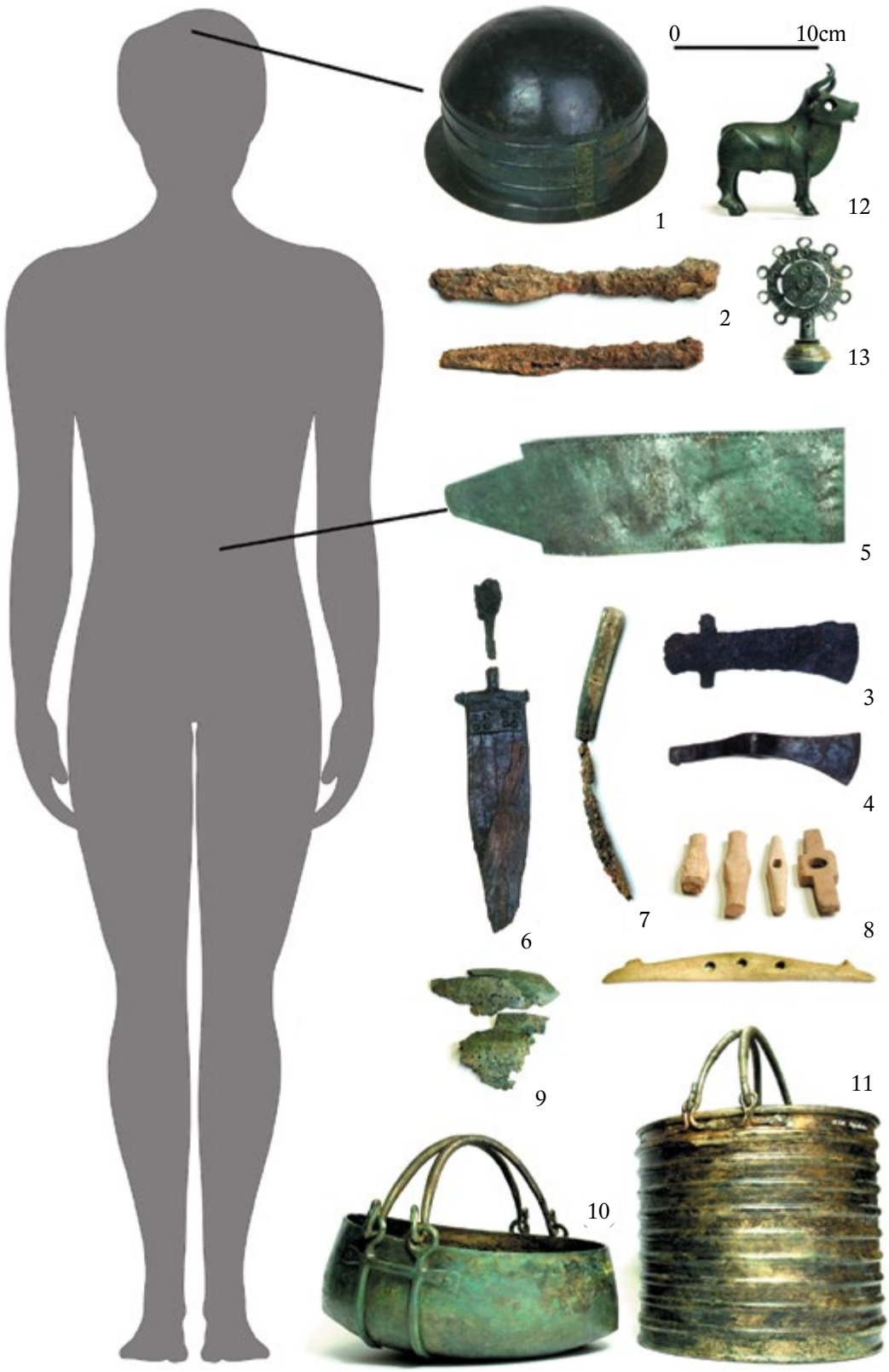


Fig. 66: Selection of the items of the male magnate from the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave: 1 – bronze helmet; 2 – iron lances; 3–4 – iron axe and hammer-axe; 5 – bronze belt; 6 – iron dagger in sheath; 7 – iron knife with bone handle; 8 – horse harness; 9 – bronze sieve; 10–11 – bronze vessels; 12 – bronze sculpture of a small bull with iron inlays; 13 – bronze sceptre (source: NHM Vienna, photograph: M. Golec).

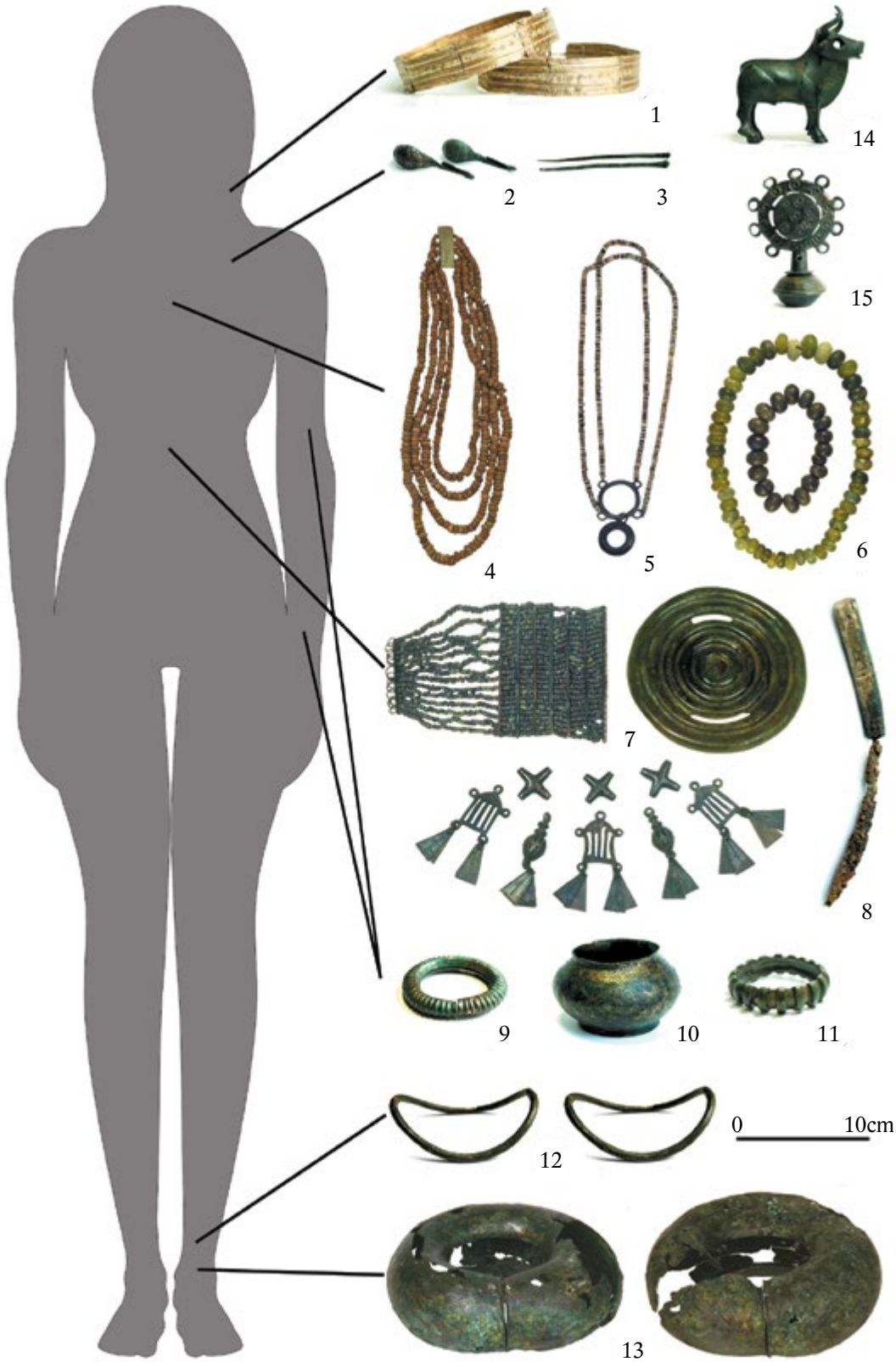


Fig. 67: Selection of the items of the female magnate from the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave: 1 – pair of gold temple rings/earrings; 2 – bronze fibulae; 3 – bronze pins; 4 – amber beads; 5 – glass beads with a pendant; 6 – glass beads; 7 – compound belt of bronze parts; 8 – iron knife with bone handle; 9–11 – bronze bracelets; 12 – pair of bronze anklets; 13 – pair of bronze anklets – so-called turbans; 14 – bronze sculpture of a small bull with iron inlays; 15 – bronze sceptre (source: NHM Vienna, photograph: M. Golec).

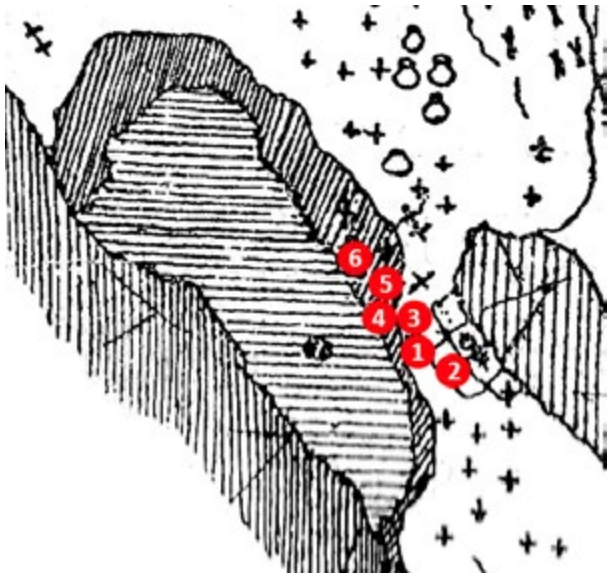


Fig. 68: Detail of the central part of the Entrance Hall. According to Wankel's published sources, several female magnates were buried there, along with exceptional items belonging to women: 1 – a skull of an about 20-year-old woman lay directly on the so-called altar, the largest of the three grinding slabs; 2 – nearby, on the so-called paving, lay two unique stone weaving weights close to another skeleton; 3 – the skeleton of a woman (later Wankel's Princess) with gold temple rings/earrings under her head was situated next to the so--called altar; 4 – another skeleton with a compound belt of bronze parts on her pelvis lay next to her; 5 – gold temple rings/earrings lay nearby, next to another skeleton; 6 – massive anklets, so-called turbans, filled with millet were situated nearby (*Wankel 1882*, Fig. on page 383).

there ever was a workshop in the Entrance Hall,[33] it manufactured several types of products in terms of the material used. Apart from smithery (*Fig. 69*), which we regard as the finishing process of the production of iron following necessary production steps that fall under mining, charcoal burning and metallurgy, the Entrance Hall contained also tools, semi-finished products and rejects of the production of bronze, bone (*Fig. 70*) and amber products, and we must also name possible textile production (*Fig. 90:2ab*). This situation corresponds to the information about the production as we know it from settlements, such as the enclosed settlement near Kuřim presented below. The issue of the crafts was and will be essential for the overall assessment. This concerns above all the possible existence of metallurgical workshops near the Býčí Skála Cave site, which have not been found yet, however. The theoretical model of this site still counts on their existence, and it must be systematically addressed in the future. Let us quote an unpublished theoretical postulate of this not yet found part of the Býčí Skála Cave landscape by the expert on this landscape Václav Cílek: "*Each iron-working area in Europe had its sanctuary*".

The path to a cave sanctuary concept

A remarkable feature of the Hallstatt find from Býčí Skála Cave is a very long list of scientific statements on what it was and was not supposed to be in the human world. This complex tangle of opinions has been summarised in detail (*Oliva et al. 2015*, 121–134).

The work of all generations of archaeologists involved in the Hallstatt Býčí Skála Cave case is characterised by a tendency to emphasise a certain part of the whole and disregard others. The individual approaches thus significantly differ, confusing the present reader and forcing him or her to lean towards some author in a fan-like manner. The authors have been interested in the reasons for the stay of people in the cave. Most of all, they have paid attention to the dead people found (circuit No. 1), in three basic variants of functions: a – *the burial of an individual*, which is represented above all by the well-known burial of a magnate (sporadically, a female magnate); b – *the burial of a group*, i.e. a burial ground; c – *a sacrificial site*. The aspect of the production (circuit No. 2) prevailed at other times, turning around the term *forge* with an unspecified residential-production function – a refuge of traders and craftsmen. From the viewpoint of the presented concept, we can say that all variants are possible in a way; basically, they are not mutually exclusive, as it has been often presented. Whether we wish it or not, Wankel's sources offer us a broader functional use of Býčí Skála Cave in the Hallstatt Period.

It is certainly also useful to ponder the identification of the mover of the action(s) by the interpreters so far. If we prefer the interpretation concerning dead people, the impulse comes from within the group that buried their dead in the cave. Opposed to it is an external mover in the form of another tribe, nomadic (Scythian) aggressors from the east or simply of the stone ceiling that was supposed to collapse in the Entrance Hall.[34] These interpretations often

33 This question remains open, and we cannot definitively say whether production took place in the Entrance Hall, or craftsmen only had their votive hoards deposited there. The existence of a functional forge is commonly presumed from the perspective of the research of iron metallurgy (*Souchopová – Stránský 2011*, 18).

34 The concept of a collapse of the ceiling contradicts the fundamental sources of the natural substance of Býčí Skála Cave. It would deny the basic geological, chemical or thermodynamic possibilities of the site as well as the moderate possibilities of interpretation of the finding situation described by Wankel. It is a dilettantish approach.

Fig. 69: Forging tools and iron raw material from the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave: 1–4 – hammers; 5–7 – semi-finished products from iron material; 8, 11–12 – anvils; 9–10 – socket chisel; 13 – pliers (source: NHM Vienna, photograph: M. Golec).

Fig. 70: Documents of bronze and bone working from the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave: 1–2 – bronze sheet cuttings, some with decoration; 3–4 – moulds for pendant and horse harness button casting; 5 – a reject, a semi-finished product and complete antler side pieces of a horse bridle; 6–7 – antler hammers, possibly also serving for craft production (source: NHM Vienna, photograph: M. Golec).

treat sources as events. Regrettably, pre-literary prehistory does not make this possible, and archaeologists have often freely gone over into fiction.

The find from the Entrance Hall is not monothematic; people brought more complex schemes of their culture with them into the underground. They organised it as a *multi-purpose area*.[35] We can find evidence of four possible functions:[36] 1. visiting/residential; 2. production; 3. sacrificial/burial; 4. sacrificial/votive.[37] An umbrella term for such complex activities is *a cave sanctuary with a visiting-residential, production, sacrificial-burial and sacrificial-votive function*. The term *cave sanctuary* can be discussed besides the term *cave sacrificial site*, which has been commonly used in recent decades[38] but only covers some of the mentioned functions; for example, the possible production with a necessarily derived occupation of the Entrance Hall is incompatible with it.[39] At this point, we need to mention that Býčí Skála Cave's shape does not

35 Within the conception of Evžen Neustupný's methodology, it is both multi-function and multi-purpose area (artefact).

36 The polyfunctionality of the Hallstatt Entrance Hall was first pointed out already by Vladimír Peša (*2006a*), he suggested the existence of a burial ground within the temple.

37 The issue of the votive function is related to the existence of the so-called cremation grounds. It is not quite clear whether items were also burnt there, or only deposited and left to decompose and grow into the sinter. This task is yet to be resolved.

38 E.g., *cave sacrificial site* (*Parzinger – Nekvasil – Barth 1995*, 183–222).

39 The term *sanctuary* has been used for instance by Vladimír Podborský, Jan Bouzek or the trio Václav Matoušek, Petr Jenč and Vladimír Peša.

correspond to the types of shaft caves, often sought after in the Hallstatt Period, suitable for throwing items in. It is a unique stone house suitable for activities that are usually carried out in a house.

The issue of dead people

The Hallstatt Period in Býčí Skála Cave is well known thanks to a significant quantity of human remains. Their evaluation is decisive for the evaluation of the whole assemblage. This is primarily an anthropological problem, which was fundamentally assessed already before 1989, when Milan Stloukal managed to travel to Vienna and revise Wankel's quite mistaken age and sex determinations.[40] This analysis brought much knowledge that became fundamental for new standpoints.[41] First of all, the ratio between dead men and women was completely changed; men slightly prevailed in the set,[42] not confirming Wankel's idea of an absolute predominance of women. The age composition of the dead is also very interesting. It implies two groups of issues. First, children comprised a quarter of the buried people, a quite exceptional situation in the Horákov cultural milieu. Equally remarkable is a deviation from the usual composition of the dead at Hallstatt burial grounds, where the average age of the dead culminates between 25 and 35 years. The evaluation has proved that no people aged 20–30 were buried in the cave; only older age categories are represented, which is a quite fundamental discovery. Both groups are evidently a remnant of the social rules of the community that buried its dead in Býčí Skála Cave. To our knowledge, they were different from the rules of the Horákov burial grounds near the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands).

The complex set of the discovered remains of dead people enabled various interpretative possibilities. It seems to be useful to present the possibilities of how the assemblage might have come into existence, and then assume an attitude regarding what it might have been. A person's departure from the world of the living has several stages, which are mutually causally dependent. First of all, it is the *manner of death*, which may be *natural* or *premature*, the latter further subdividing into *voluntary* (sacrifice, suicide), *involuntary* (sacrifice, punishment, murder) or *accidental*. The second stage is in the hands of the living members of the deceased person's community, who choose the *manner of the burial*. In the Horákov culture, the body is most often *interred* (buried); it cannot be proved whether the body was sometimes *left on the surface* unburied (abandoned). The next step is often omitted: *manipulation with the body*. While sometimes documented in the Horákov culture (separation of heads/skulls), it has not been paid much attention. Quite hypothetically, it might have taken place *before* and/or *after the burial*. The inclusion of all the presented possibilities is important for further considerations; some of them were overlooked in the past. In the case of Býčí Skála Cave, it was for instance the issue of burials, which is automatic at any non-cave Horákov site. Contrary to that, human sacrifice has been preferred very much, although it represents the question of the manner of death, which has no influence on the existence of the burial. While human sacrifice is an exceptional manifestation, burial is commonplace. An absolute majority of the dead, or more precisely all members of the communities are buried above all. Based on this premise, the presented concept works with the dead above all as with buried persons.

A very little discussed but fundamental fact is that the dead people in the Entrance Hall were laid below the level of the walking surface in the Hallstatt Period. This is corroborated by three indications. It is confirmed by a sediment profile acquired during WWII (*Fig. 33*). Furthermore, it is absolutely ruled out that Heinrich Wankel would describe the finding situation of whole skeletons, sometimes even with jewellery on their bodies, after twenty-four centuries if the people had remained merely lying on the surface of the cave. A piece of information that has not been utilised so far is concealed in the depository of the Vienna museum, which keeps to this day a number of whole, unbroken and unglued vessels, whose preservation is unconditionally dependent on the original deposition in the cave soil (*Fig. 71*). The deposition of burials not only with jewels on the bodies but also with vessels is usual in the Horákov culture. In this respect, the funeral rules in Býčí Skála Cave did not differ from other burial grounds of this culture. The remnants of food have survived in some vessels, however, which is quite unique (*Fig. 72*). The usual fragmentation of pottery is otherwise very high in caves. We believe that *within the framework of the cave sanctuary in the Entrance Hall, Heinrich Wankel uncovered a burial ground*. Its unusualness lies in its situation in a

40 Present-day anthropologists cannot regard Heinrich Wankel as an equal scientific partner; his method of determining age (wisdom tooth) and sex (robustness of the skull) could not lead to a standard result today. Yet his final result concerning Býčí Skála Cave was not a romantic attitude, but the outcome of serious method, albeit different, corresponding to the period (*Urban – Golec – Tvrdý 2009*).

41 The anthropological analysis has been repeatedly published by Milan Stloukal alone and also with Johann Szilvássy (most recently: *Stloukal – Nekvasil 2015*, 13–81).

42 Of Wankel's 40 human skulls, Milan Stloukal determined 17 as male and 11 as female; 2 belong to adults of undetermined sex, and 10 are child skulls.

Fig. 71: Complete, cracked or very little fragmented vessels from the Entrance Hall attest to their deposition in the ground already in the Hallstatt Period. They were not left on the surface of the Entrance Hall; otherwise, they would not remain preserved until Wankel's survey (source: NHM Vienna, photograph: M. Golec).

Fig. 72: The cave climate in the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave has preserved the original contents of the vessels. Such situation is unknown from Horákov graves. 1 – the content of an amphora fused together; 2 – millet grains cemented together; 3 – food from the Hallstatt Period, known thanks to human excrements in the salt mines in Hallstatt, Austria; it was a mixture of barley with chaff, millet and beans, which were substituted for by peas in Býčí Skála Cave (source: NHM Vienna, photograph: M. Golec and H. Reschreiter).

cave, in the fact that it is functionally a more complex place in the landscape, and eventually in the greater extent of the magnate stratum identified there, especially among women, which is indicated by the jewels on their bodies. This issue is discussed in more detail in Chapter VII of this book. A new fact relating to this topic came to light as recently as in 2016. A human bone from the other large space of Býčí Skála Cave, the South Branch (*Fig. 31*) has been radiocarbon dated to the Hallstatt Period (*Oliva et al. 2015*, 11), which attests that even more distant parts of the cave were used for burial purposes.

Ethnographic-archaeological model of Hallstatt Býčí Skála Cave

Two examples of the functioning of a supra-community model were presented in Chapter IV. The cave was open in the late 18th and early 19th century, a situation that was followed by the model of a locked cave around the middle of the 19th century. The owner of the cave was known in both cases. In the first case, the visitor did not depend on him as regards the entry; locking changed the situation completely, as the rules of visit were defined by the owner of the key. The time of intensive Hallstatt use of the cave must have had the consequence of a similar generation of a particular community of owners. The cave sanctuary was used i.a. for burying the socially very important dead. A question that arises is whether this posthumous occupation of the cave did not create a similar "locked" regime. The deceased remained part of the living community even after death, which implied the setting of the regime of appropriated (colonised) supra-community area in an otherwise uninhabited landscape. The rules might have been set similarly in the close neighbourhood of Býčí Skála Cave thanks to the economic potential derived from the processing of iron ore. This mystery has not been revealed by this part of the landscape yet, however.

Inhabited caves elsewhere during Hallstatt Period

In the Pre-1989 Period, the Hallstatt find from Býčí Skála Cave was, apart from exceptions, not included among similar cave localities, not even among those with Hallstatt finds. The topic is very extensive and deserves at least a brief summary. First of all, we need to say that this time period left minor but frequent traces in many caves of the Moravian Karst (*Ondroušková 2011*). A little known but numerous assemblage from Pekárna Cave, situated on the route of the Líšeň access to Býčí Skála Cave, deserves attention among them. The Hallstatt Period in the whole Czech Republic has been summarily processed by a domestic researcher rather recently. Vladimír Peša has compared Bohemian and Moravian finds above all with the abundant Bavarian finds, paying attention to both human remains and artefacts. He divided the caves into cult – vertical (shaft-like) and horizontal – burial (*Peša 2006b*).[43] At this point, we need to say that the interest in caves of the Hallstatt people was rather high, even one of the highest in the prehistoric history of Central Europe. We can therefore find remarkable parallels in all karst regions of the neighbouring countries – Slovakia, Austria, Italy, Slovenia or Germany. Where caves were available at that time period, people by no means overlooked them. A remarkable example of a domestic Hallstatt cave is the Bacín site in the Bohemian Karst (*Matoušek 2005*). It represents the vertical type of underground cavity. Václav Matoušek categorised the site with human remains thrown in as a cave sanctuary. Býčí Skála Cave is of a different, horizontal type. The stone house – sanctuary was used, among other functions, for extensive burials of the dead in accordance with the rules usual at burial sites in the open landscape. A horizontal cave of Býčí Skála parameters thus enables the combination of the functions of a sacrificial site and a (usual) burial ground, which is not possible in vertical caves.

43 Býčí Skála Cave was not included among the cave finds in Central Europe until after 1989, however; in the greatest extent, it was done by the German researcher Hermann Parzinger (*Parzinger – Nekvasil – Barth 1995*, 190–204).

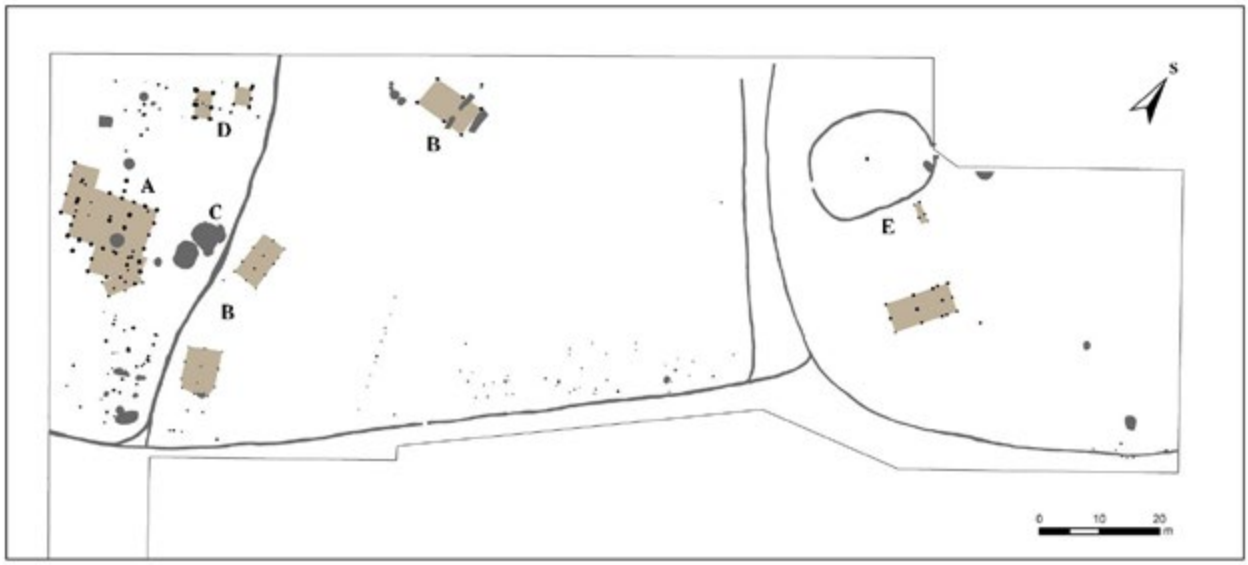


Fig. 73: A section of the examined Hallstatt homestead in Kuřim divided into three parts by palisade fences. A – the homestead owner's house; B – other houses; C – pithouse No. 28 with rich evidence of craft production; D – granaries; E – sanctuary (*Zeman 2015*).

Village in the Foothills *(Jan Zeman)*

Let us now leave the underground world and go out into the open landscape. We are going to visit the populated landscape in the flatlands outside the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). We are interested in the form of settlement of the community that might have dwelt in Býčí Skála Cave. We will set out towards the west, to the edge of the uplands, leaving them through the Lelekovice entrance and making a stop near Kuřim.

A remarkable *settlement complex* stretched there, at the confluence of several streams and the small River Kuřimka. As yet, it is the only such extensive Horákov settlement with preserved remnants of above-ground houses in Moravia. The reason is that so far, the bearers of the Horákov culture have been connected above all with the building culture of sunken houses, sometimes called *zemnice* (pithouse). On the example of Kuřim, we can show the appearance of buildings that formed a smaller agricultural-craft homestead, exceptionally enclosed by a palisade in the form of a linked line of posts (*Fig. 73*; *Čižmář 1995*; *Zeman 2015*).[44]

Layouts of houses with columnar construction are most numerous in the southwestern part of the complex, where even several building phases overlap, attesting to a reconstruction of the *homestead*. There are much fewer remnants of buildings in the central part, and the eastern part contains a single house layout. This above-ground construction is best-preserved, however, consisting of significantly sunken columnar pits and above all of standardised building elements that comprise the regularly rectangular and internally structured house. The remnants of the columnar construction make it possible to judge on the carpenter technique used to build such Horákov *house*. In this sense, we can basically find two types of building structures, the second type subdividing into two variants. The first type is a structure with a central row of posts along the longer axis of the rectangular building. These houses had their tradition already in the Early Bronze Age; the basic idea of their construction is to distribute the weight of the saddle roof to vertical columns. For this reason, the columns must be sunken into the ground in a self-supporting manner. The roof can then have a truss with a ridge set directly on the central row of columns, or use a more advanced queen/king post truss construction and tie beams. Such constructions can be expected for the largest houses and possibly for important common buildings such as the house in the northeast area. The buildings in the central part of the Kuřim complex may represent a variant of the above-described type; we can find there at least two compact layouts of larger buildings whose postholes are standardly smaller. In this case, the roof structure would still distribute the weight to the columns, but they would be mutually interconnected using the more complex carpenter technique of joints. The entire building thus created a well-interconnected

44 A part of another similar enclosed homestead in Kobylnice, near the southeast boundary of Brno, was surveyed at the time of the creation of the book.

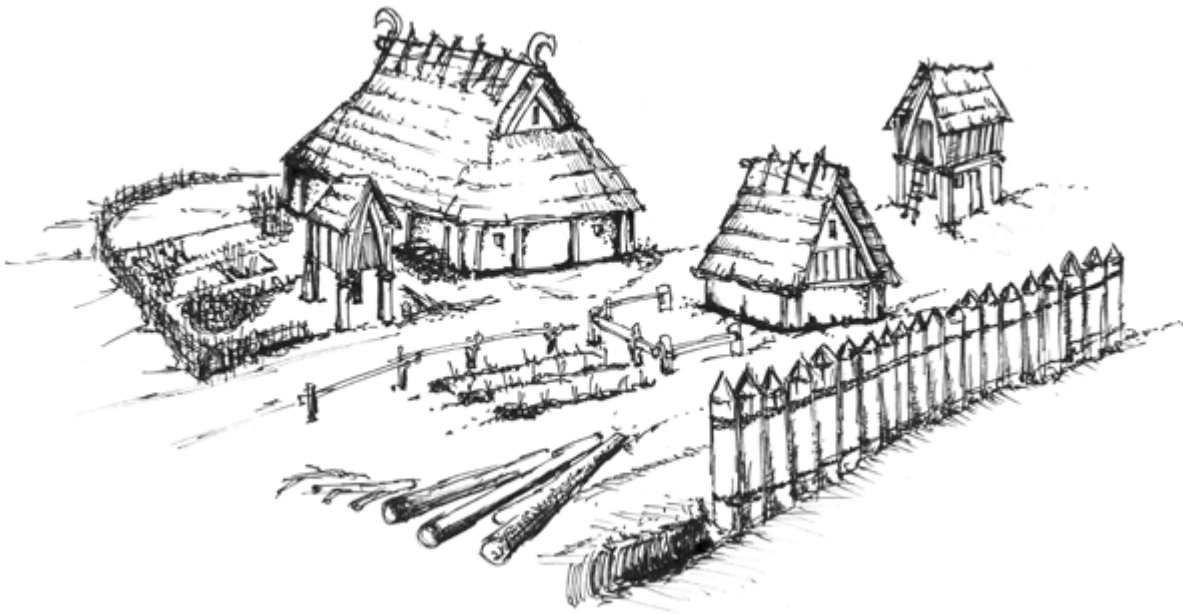


Fig. 74: Reconstruction of all basic types of structures of the Kuřim enclosed homestead. The palisade fence in the forefront, a smaller above-ground residential house behind it and a larger common house, unique in the Horákov culture milieu so far, back on the left. The above-ground type of grain granary is situated near both buildings (source: J. Zeman).

whole. The two-storey granaries were of a quite special columnar construction, with four and six posts in the corners and along the longer side of the buildings situated in the southwest area.

The second type of buildings came only with the Hallstatt Period: hall-like buildings with a perimeter wall and wall construction with a groove. These buildings occur contemporarily with simpler and earlier building types, but we can connect them with really central buildings of the homesteads; they often form a dominant in the form of a *common building* (*Fig. 74*). Their walls consist of vertical columns with grooves in which horizontal beams or cut planks daubed with clay daub are set (*Schefzik 2006*). This base, along with a lighter internal structure of several columns, creates a framework on which rests the weight of the roof and of the rather extensive house. Not many traces of the internal constructions have survived, only a few column pits, from which we can read that the building was internally divided. The inner partition walls were built of lighter wickerwork. According to foreign analogies from South Germany and the Alpine regions, a house with a perimeter wall of groove construction indicates the residence of the homestead owner and his family. Such buildings are surrounded by various farm buildings used for storing crops (*granaries*) and also by buildings used for craft production (*workshops*), which often do not exceed home character, although they may also have the form of specialised shops of regional importance processing imported materials as well.

Crafts and production are documented also among the houses of the Kuřim settlement (*Fig. 75*). The remnants of the processing of amber, iron and bronze are found most often in sunken features, parts of above-ground farm buildings that were for some unknown reason sunken below the surface. These buildings, denoted as *pithouse*, are very typical of the rural settlements of people of the Horákov culture. The question remains whether these sunken spaces were used for ordinary life, or whether they are cellars of larger above-ground buildings. The remnants of at least two furnace facilities with a burnt layer in their vicinity have been found in feature No. 28 in Kuřim. Moreover, the feature contained the most of the found slag, bronze casts and also several lost bronze casting forms. The finds themselves were situated in several layers, and the structure underwent at least two reconstructions; the later phase manifested itself with several shallow postholes in the original fill of the earlier structure. The production building is situated only a few metres of a large house with a perimeter wall, the dominant of the later phase of the homestead. The development of the sunken structure can be also linked to a possible reconstruction on the area of the homestead. Another interesting fact is that the farm building retained its production function, although it might have had also other auxiliary functions such as the housing of cattle in winter or ordinary residential use. The homestead thus performed also craft activities, apart from its agricultural function. Where the production of items is concerned, products consisting of several materials are regarded as more

Fig. 75: Evidence of craft production from Kuřim: 1–2 – pottery bronze casting forms; 3 – pottery *dyzna* (a fireproof bellows handle); 4 – remnants of bronze matter in a vessel; 5 – whetstone; 6 – stone crusher; 7 – stone smoother; 8 – amber waste and material. Lost items: 9 – bronze pin (possibly with amber head); 10 – bronze semi-finished product; 11 – bronze ringlet; 12 – a possible weaving pin; 13 – iron bracelet; 14 – glass bead; 15 – a shard of white pottery from Silesia (source: Museum of the Brno Region and *Zeman 2015*).

expensive and more luxurious. They are called compound items and regarded as evidence of the mastering of more demanding technological procedures. Their use is linked to the stratum of landowners – the ruling component of the communities, who prided themselves on these items in life and had themselves buried with them, in chamber graves under tumuli or exceptionally in the Býčí Skála Cave sanctuary.

The Kuřim homestead excels above all in the production of amber beads. While iron can be acquired in the place of the occurrence of the ore in close vicinity, which was probably also the case of Moravia, bronze and above all amber attest to medium- and long-distance trade. An analysis has discovered that amber from the Kuřim workshop comes from the Baltic Sea, hundreds of kilometres from the South Moravian Horákov culture. It must have been transported to the homestead in a raw state and processed there, as is documented by defective fragments of beads. Regrettably, we cannot determine whether amber items were produced within the enclosed complex together with the production of the forge and foundry workshop during the rather short duration of the homestead, only two or three generations at the most. It is suggested by the production waste found, however, clustered in the same features. It means that the production of compound items took place there, containing amber beads as well as bronze parts (ringlets); examples of such items include necklaces, belts and other parts of luxury clothing. The homestead maintained its attached self-sufficient productive character with an interest in the processing of iron, bronze and imported amber for a longer time. Let us also note that amber beads as well as bronze ringlets occur in contemporary Horákov graves. A multi-part earthen form for series casting of small bronze ringlets has been found in the production feature No. 28 in Kuřim. Remnants of beads of Baltic amber in three more features have their undamaged analogies in the burials of female magnates near the foothills of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) and also in Býčí Skála Cave (*Fig. 67, 80–81*).

The unique system of a light *wooden enclosure* that divides the whole Kuřim complex into three parts was not built at once (*Fig. 73*). On the contrary, light wicker fences together with a higher palisade consisting of posts set in sequence in a palisade trench attest to a gradual development of the fencing of the individual parts. Moreover, an unusual structure, which cannot be regarded as a house due to its size, was built in the northeast area inside the larger enclosed complex. It is an irregularly oval *rondeloid* built of a palisade with two opposite entrances. The above-mentioned lonely post house with identical orientation was situated close to the oval (*Fig. 73*). Such structures evidently had a function different from residential and farm buildings. We might even ascribe them the function of a sanctuary, whose construction communicates primarily with the canopy of the heavens, outside the reach of people. Structures of similar size and shape have been analogically found also in other regions of Central Europe (*Trebsche 2011*), and it is not ruled out that like materials and artefacts, this building construct was also "imported". Small circular rondels and rondeloids are widespread in the Horákov culture, occurring on settlements as well as in connection with graves, for instance in the extensive Hallstatt necropolis in Modřice (*Fig. 88*).

Hill Strongholds on the Horizon

People of the Hallstatt Period spent most of their time in their settlements in the flatlands, near their fields and cattle herds. As we have already said, we find them frequently represented near the edge of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). Contrary to that, hilly terrain remained permanently uninhabited. People stuck to places with the highest-quality soil. The hilly forested relief was well visible from any place below, while the populated landscape lay open when viewed from the edge of the uplands.

The settled lowland landscape is almost deforested at present, which makes a greater number of villages visible even from smaller hillocks. We believe the situation was different in the Hallstatt Period, however. We would find an extensive forest park landscape with more densely or sparsely settled areas surrounded by compact forests. We might be interested in the edges of the settlements, where intensive crop and above all pastoral farming is presumed to have taken place. Next to fields sown with crops, above all wheat, barley, millet, pea or bristle-grass, there were meadows intensively grazed by sheep, goats and cows. The branches of bushes and trees had leaves grazed down in the lower parts, where the cattle reached. Directly in the villages, close to houses, there were pens and shelters for animals such as pigs. Branches with leaves were cut for the animals, apart from the preparation of the fodder for the winter. Cut off and broken off trees with epicormic shoots on the edges of villages would perhaps seem aesthetically unsightly to us today (*Sádlo et al. 2005*, 75–82). It has also not ruled out that the cattle grazed separately from the lowland villages during the summer, and that people made use of the compact growth not only between the villages but also inside the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). Cutting and processing lumber was another necessary activity of the inhabitants of the villages. Within reach of the villages, we would find clearings with stubs of felled trees, often higher above the ground than we are used to today. Epicormic shoots would sprout from leafy trees and be eaten by cattle. In

Fig. 76: The hill stronghold in Brno-Obřany ceased to fulfil its role in the Early Hallstatt Period in the 8th century BC. From that time, magnates resided only in the flatlands below the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). An important road led around it to the Býčí Skála Cave sanctuary during the sanctuary's existence in the first half of the 6th century BC. At that time, it must have still been in the living memory of people, for instance in many stories passed on orally (painting: Z. Burian and L. Balák; *Podborský a kol. 1993*, Fig. 40).

contrast, the villages were probably mostly without trees and even without growth at all, owing to both people and the roaming cattle.

Fortified settlements/hillforts were not built for two centuries between 750 and 550 BC. For the last time, they had been used in the early 8th century BC, when Late Bronze centres were losing their social importance. As an exceptional site in the foothills of the mentioned uplands, we can name an extensive hill stronghold in Brno-Obřany with an area of more than forty hectares and a massive fortification with several gates (*Fig. 76*). It was a supra-community centre with numerous houses, documented craft production and an adjacent extensive burial ground with hundreds of graves on the access side (*Adámek 1961*; *Salaš – Stuchlík 2011*, 296–306). This is where the earliest Horákov magnate burials in South Moravia have been found; the Hallstatt Period begins here. The site is situated upon the Obřany entrance into the core of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands).

The new age of iron brought about a fundamental change in the structure of the inhabited landscape; the old hill strongholds had no place in it and were abandoned. A new network of inhabited settlements was created in the lowlands. Another change came around the middle of the 6th century BC. People once again started to feel a need to fortify themselves more than with mere palisade fence enclosures, such as we have presented for the lowland homestead. We know about ninety new hill centres all over Moravia. The cause of the construction has not been wholly clarified yet; three possible reasons are being discussed: 1. construction of self-representation residences of magnates with the help of members of their home communities; 2. fear of the neighbours or distant aggressors; 3. non-military reason for the hill strongholds brought about by the need to create supra-community centres for meeting and the performance of collective activities. Regrettably, we know very little about them as yet, which makes it difficult to resolve this problem. We also need to bear in mind that the function of supra-community centres is more complex, and a combination of the above-mentioned possibilities is therefore not ruled out. Little light has been cast on their demise as well. At present, it seems that they did not last long; a possible solution is offered by a model including temporary aggressive actions of the nomadic Scythian Vekerzug culture from the Carpathian Basin via the territory of Slovakia into Moravia (*Golec – Čermáková – Fojtík 2017*).

Flatland did not offer suitable places for the construction of fortresses. When the need arose, people once again grasped the offer of the hilly terrain on their near

Fig. 77: The distribution of hill strongholds – supra-community centres – on the hilly edge of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) indicates a territorial landscape pattern of mutually delimited Hallstatt societies in its foothills. The numbers correspond to the names in the text (source: J. Martínek and M. Golec).

horizon and colonised it in an old-new fashion. Some places had been fortified before, some had not. The completely forested terrain was an advantage, offering an abundance of wood for the high needs of the emerging constructions. A rather continuous network of fortified settlements can be found on the edge of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands), evoking the impression that the cause of their emergence must have been global in the area under discussion. Like the earlier Late Bronze centre in Brno-Obřany, we find them on crossroads and entrances that led from the plains into the interior of the uplands. Another unifying element is their rather small fortified area of up to approximately 1 ha.

We can find them near the foothills of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands), along an arch above today's urban centres Prostějov – Vyškov – Rousínov – Brno – Kuřim – Černá Hora – Boskovice (*Čižmář 2004*). There are fourteen of them in total: 1. Malé Hradisko – Staré Hradisko; 2. Stínava – Ježův Hrad; 3. Drahany – Starý Plumlov; 4. Drysice – Melice; 5. Radslavice – Zelená Hora; 6. Orlovice – Žešov; 7. Nemojany – Blatice; 8. Pozořice 2 – Hrádek; 9. Tvarožná – Santon; 10. Horákov 2 – Horákovský Hrad; 11a. Brno-Obřany 1 – Hradisko; 11b. Brno-Obřany 2 – Skály; 12. Kuřim – Záruba; 13. Krhov – Malý Chlum; 14. Boskovice 2 – Bašta (*Fig. 77*). Their spatial distribution and distances indicate the existence of individual cooperating social units (communities). They are premeditatedly built supra-community centres, which controlled the home area and roads passing not only around the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) but also into its interior, where, by coincidence, the Býčí Skála Cave sanctuary is situated at their super-crossroad. Its role in the natural need of communication of the individual communities "on the other side of the hill" will be a suitable topic for future discussion.

Magnates: Weapons, Vessels and Wagons of Men, Jewellery of Women

Burial grounds as part of the settlement units, situated not far from settlements, represent a quite indispensable source of information about the Hallstatt Period. Archaeologists of this period have been paying attention to them due to the riches that the dead took away with them to the world beyond.

The funeral rules of costly graves must have been very complex, and we do not fully understand them. We believe that they reflected the complexity of the hierarchically stratified society. For instance, we do not know what determined who would be burnt during the funeral ritual and who would not. Both basic types of burials are commonly known in the Horákov culture. It is also not ruled out that some people had no funeral at all, no grave as we know it from the burial grounds, and that they were dispatched to the world beyond in quite a different manner. This is precisely the case of children, who are completely missing among the adults. Only a certain age, most probably the adulthood rite of passage, decided about this privilege. Moreover, not everyone had equally large and deep burial pits. We know very small and shallow holes for ash from a burnt body, but rectangular or square chambers were dug much more often, housing either the ash from cremation or an unburnt body. The size differed again. The most frequent size for inhumation is around 2 × 1.5 m. The most respected persons, however, had the privilege of much more sizeable graves, around 4–5 m wide and 5–6 m long. Such gigantic graves are not known from other periods; the Hallstatt Period is exceptional in this respect. The variedness of the arrangement of the graves was significant as well. Among the rich, we can find graves with several people in one chamber. Sometimes, some of them are burnt and other not – these are so-called biritual graves. The appearance of the grave on the surface can be reconstructed only partially. We do not know if tumuli were heaped over all of them, or reserved for prominent members of the communities. They have exceptionally survived to this day, such as Hlásnica near Horákov, where we can find an about 30-metre tumulus. There were even larger ones; a 70-metre one stood in Brno-Holásky until its destruction in the 1950s. Large tumuli can be found not far south of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) in Šaratice, and near their southwestern edge in Kuřim. Such graves were richly

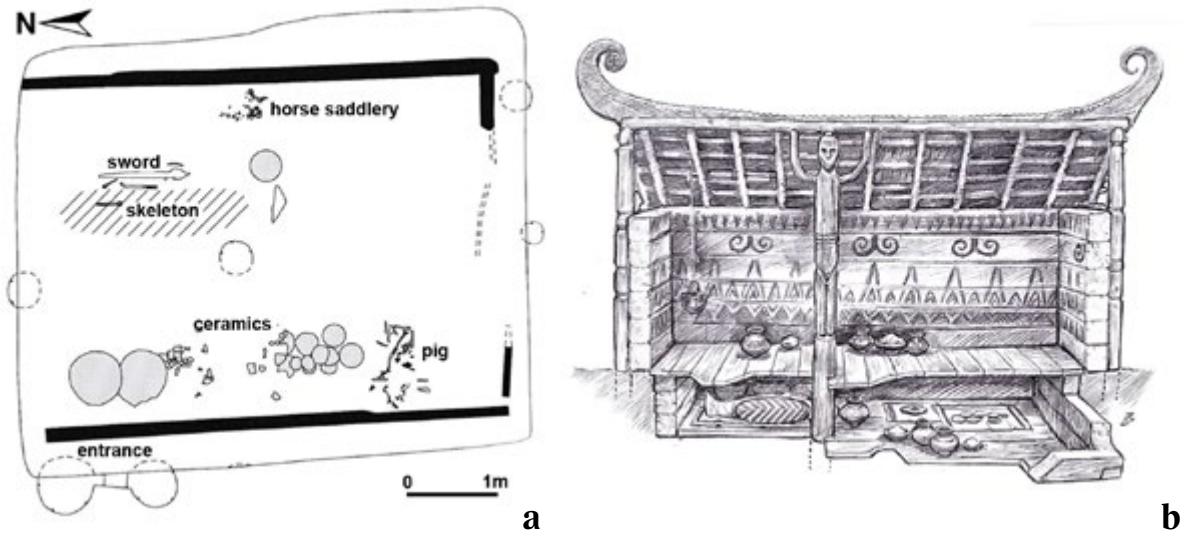


Fig. 78: Terrain plan (a) of the grave of a male magnate in Brno-Horní Heršpice 3 (5.5 × 4.8 m). The usual log burial chamber was accompanied with a vertical load-bearing pillar structure. The house of the deceased person might thus have been divided into two vertical levels, with the burial situated in the lower part and the memorial sanctuary above it. The size of the grave and the deposition of the deceased indicate that it was probably originally designed for a four-wheel carriage, which has not been preserved; the first reconstruction from 2004 (b) did not yet take this possibility into account (a – source: M. Golec, J. Čižmářová and Z. Holubová; b – drawing: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

equipped inside. Grave goods were commonly added, depending on the social status. Almost all the deceased had ceramic vessels in their graves, probably with foodstuffs. Both storage and serving vessels are contained. Meaty meals (pig, sheep, goat) along with a knife for carving and consumption are regularly found during the surveys. We do not know much about the food but presume that its spectrum corresponded to usual Central European Hallstatt customs. Apart from meat, for instance in the form of bacon, cereals and legumes prevailed in the diet, along with dairy products, dried crops, honey, mushrooms, etc. The richest people sometimes used bronze vessels instead of pottery; buckets for storing beverages with ladles for pouring we popular, as were drinking cups and plates for serving meals. The most important men prided themselves on iron spits. Such habits transparently reflect the customs men and women followed during their earthly life; they did not change them when departing for the afterlife. Rich men took their weapons with them as well: swords exceptionally, lances/spears and battle axes more often. Duels, wrestling and hunting were supposed to be among popular activities also in the afterlife. Luxury items within the grave goods also included horse harnesses, once again indicating an exceptional social status of the owners. The richest of all did not walk to the afterlife but rode on horseback or even in a four-wheeled wagon. Women lacked such privileges; their domain included rich clothing and body accessories. They liked adorning themselves with belts, bracelets, anklets, rings, earrings, temple rings, fibulae and glass or amber beads. We can find some accessories, most often bracelets, pins and belts, also with men. Women often have one or more spindle whorls with them in reference to their usual activity – spinning, which was also supposed to continue in life after death.

Graves are unique sources that partially lift the veil that conceals spiritual life. They reflect the relationship between the world of the living and the world of the dead. They assure us about a firm belief of people of the Early Iron Age in the existence of a life after death. They are a gateway into it, its anteroom. The variedness of burial customs offers us a wide scale of sources for the reconstruction of the ancient world, which included social stratification of the communities or abundant contacts of people with distant regions.

Graves were also secondarily opened. What is usually described as an ordinary robbery, however, might have also been the so-called cult of dead ancestors, with whom people needed to communicate. The dead were probably also commonly brought supplies for life in the other world. Such graves might have been directly constructed as houses of the dead; possibly, they were built with two storeys for this purpose: a memorial sanctuary above the grave itself. As an example, we can name the exceptionally large 5.5 × 4.8-metre grave in Brno-Horní Heršpice 3 (*Fig. 78*; *Čižmářová – Holubová 2011*, 357–359) dated to the second half of the 7th century BC – phase Ha C2 (*Golec 2007*). It thus predates the period of the use of the Býčí Skála Cave sanctuary by fifty years. We cannot fail to see a remarkable parallel between rich graves of magnates built as houses-sanctuaries and the cave sanctuary under

discussion, which is similarly not only a cave burial ground but also a place of other religious acts, which must have been undoubtedly connected with the dead.

Magnate burial in Bratčice

A single male magnate chamber grave from the sphere of the Horákov culture in the Brno region falls into the period of the greatest use of the Býčí Skála Cave sanctuary; it is situated in Bratčice, south of Brno. It is characterised by biritual arrangement and dated to the first half of the 6th century BC – phase Ha D1 (*Fig. 79*). The rectangular pit with the respectable dimensions of 5.3 × 4.6 m was sunken by 0.9–1 m into the bedrock. The main burial was the inhumation of a robust man, aged about forty. An additional cremation burial was deposited by the mourners in a bronze situla standing in the corner of the log chamber, near pottery vessels. Animal bones were clustered in two piles in the southeast part, the remains of two young slaughter animals, a 1–3-year-old bovine and a 0.5–1.5-year-old domestic sheep or goat. The remains of a horse skull lay in the south corner, a very unusual find in a grave.

The items in the grave document the richest Horákov burial assemblage ever. It consists of four large food storage vessels and fifteen bowls for serving the dishes. The magnate himself used a bronze bowl, ladle and cup; an iron loop in the shape of a bull attests that wooden vessels must have been included in the grave as well. An iron spike and iron knife were used to roast and carve meat. Weapons are represented by an iron lance, and clothing accessories by a leather belt – iron parts that originally hung on it have survived. The magnate had himself buried as a warrior, with luxury vessels laying in his proximity, intended for the consumption of drinks and meals. The stores were deposited nearby, along with a service for the treatment of others in the afterlife. The burnt person might have been a member of the magnate's retinue, a servant who prepared and served the dishes. The only socially equal burial of a male magnate from the first half of the 6th century BC can be identified in Býčí Skála Cave. Although Heinrich Wankel did not leave us information about a find of a particular skeleton with items attached, it is indicated by the composition of luxury items from the cave, particularly male warrior equipment – a helmet, daggers, lances, battle axes, bronze vessels, horse harnesses and wagons.

The earlier grave from Brno-Horní Heršpice 3 as well as the later one from Bratčice open the question, not yet discussed for the Horákov culture, of possible *burials of male magnates on four-wheel wagons*. The opinion predominant until the late 20th century was that this burial custom, widespread in regions situated west of South Moravia, did not occur in its territory. The topic has developed after a survey of another male magnate grave in Hrušovany near Brno (*Kos – Přichystal 2013*) showed in 2001 that a four-wheel wagon had originally stood in it. It is dated to the first half of the 7th century at the latest – phase Ha C1b. A question that offers itself is whether this phenomenon might have been present but unrecognised in graves surveyed earlier, including Bratčice, opened in 1996. The main indication is the size of the chambers of the largest magnate chamber graves; they might have been built precisely to fit wagons, including the body and the shaft (*Fig. 79b*). If they were completely wooden or taken out after the burial, they might have left no detectable traces. It is worth mentioning that they are the largest and most prestigious items of that time preserved to this day.

It is precisely wagons that may form a link between the Bratčice grave and Býčí Skála Cave, where parts of at least three specimens have been found in the area of the so-called large cremation ground (*Fig. 29a*). Their meaning may be sought in connection with the people buried at the burial ground, a part of the local sanctuary. We cannot fail to notice that Heinrich Wankel described two incomplete horse skeletons in the layer with the Hallstatt finds there. The practical sense of these burial customs is that *prominent people believed that they would ride them or be driven on them to the other world.*

People left us an important social message around 550 BC in the form of a fundamental change in the burial rules. For unknown reasons, the dead ceased to be deposited at the burial grounds, although the settlements were not abandoned. This fact has not been satisfactorily explained yet. As we have mentioned when discussing the issue of the emergence and extinction of hill strongholds, a possible external aggression of the Scythian Vekerzug culture from the Carpathian Basin might have had a lion's share in the disappearance of the evidence of magnates from the region of South Moravia.

Belt female magnates

The burial of one of the richest Horákov men of the Brno region in Bratčice has several socially corresponding contemporary burials of female magnates. They are likewise dated to the first half of the 6th century BC, and their links to similar graves in Býčí Skála Cave are much greater than in the case of men. They can be identified thanks to numerous clothing and body accessories. They must have owned very beautiful and creative clothes, but textile has regrettably not survived. What remains is metal, glass and amber parts. Next to rings, bracelets, anklets excel previously unknown complexly formed *compound belts* made of various parts,

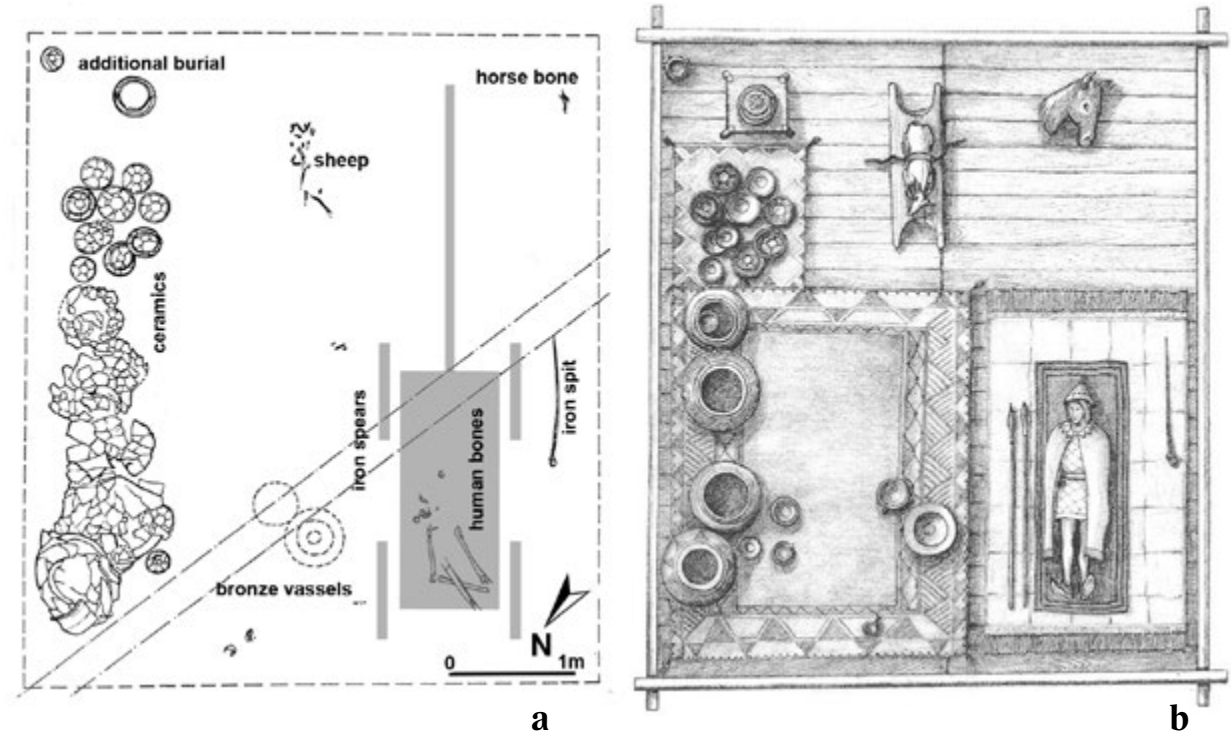


Fig. 79: Terrain plan (a) and reconstruction (b) of the grave of a male magnate in Bratčice near Brno (5.3 × 4.6 m). The size of the grave chamber suggests that it might have been designed for a four-wheel carriage, which the first reconstruction from 1999 did not take into account (a – drawing: P. Kos and M. Golec; b – drawing: P. Kos).

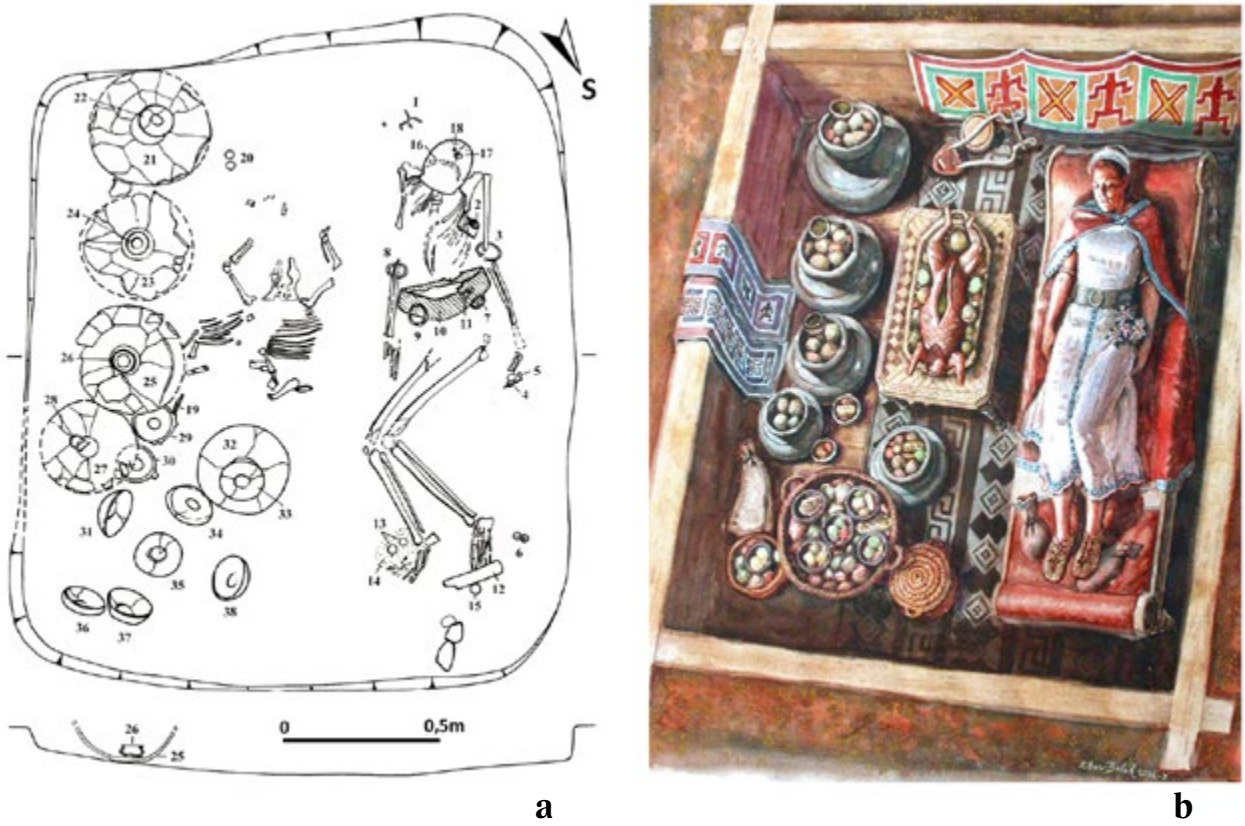


Fig. 80: Terrain plan (a) and reconstruction (b) of the grave of a female magnate (belt magnate) with a compound belt in Vojkovice, grave No. 111. At her right foot, there is an additional cremation burial (No. 14) of another woman (a – drawing: P. Kos and M. Golec; b – painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

based on series of small bronze ringlets with the diameter of ca. 5 mm threaded into horizontal and vertical lines and sewn to a leather basis (*Fig. 81*). This unmistakable product has a high scientific value in several respects.

Compound belts are prestigious items of presumably demanding craft production, which probably included both male and female work. What also makes them valuable is that they represent a Horákov innovation whose epicentre lies in the Brno region in South Moravia. Quite commonly, we are unable to determine the epicentre of bronze products, because they are spread on extensive territories. The spatial distribution of compound belts helps us uncover the local production-consumption network. We are discussing them here above all because several of them have been found also in Býčí Skála Cave. They thus help us find answers to the question of the origin of the community or communities that buried their dead in this cave.

The scientific potential of compound belts has not been utilised yet. Until the 1990s, it was unclear what kind of items they actually are. Thus, a similar belt from Brno-Židenice was regarded as a male warrior's chain mail, but we know today that no such items existed in the Hallstatt Period. The situation was similar in Býčí Skála Cave, where some experts even believe in such classification to this day. Especially the largest part of some of these belts – so-called *cardiophylaxes* – are still regarded as heart pads by both foreign and Czech literary production, reportedly as a part of male armours (*Fig. 81ad*). If we return to Heinrich Wankel, however, he clearly described a so-called lumbar belt on the pelvis of a human skeleton that must have belonged to a female magnate (*Fig. 68:4*). The attitude has partially changed thanks to the research made since the mid-1990s, when two compound belts were discovered within a single year on the bodies of skeletons, thus pointing out not only their functional categorisation but also their link to female magnates. They are the finds from Brno-Zábrdovice, grave No. 214/19 (*Fig. 81b*), and Vojkovice, grave No. 111 (*Fig. 80*); the situation has been confirmed also by another find in Modřice, grave No. 818 (*Fig. 81c*). This territorially not very extensive concentration in the Brno region is linked to Býčí Skála Cave (*Fig. 81a*) along three possible roads entering the uninhabited uplands through the Líšeň, Obřany and Soběšice entrances (*Fig. 82*). The latest

Fig. 81: Compound belts from the graves of female magnates: a – Býčí Skála Cave; b – Brno-Zábrdovice, grave No. 214/19; c – Modřice, grave No. 818; d – Pavlovice, jewellery female hoard (a – source: NHM Vienna, photograph: A. Přichystal and L. Píchová; b – source: ÚAPP Brno, photograph: P. Vitula; c – source: ÚAPP Brno, photograph: P. Kos; d – source: MM Brno, photograph: M. Golec).

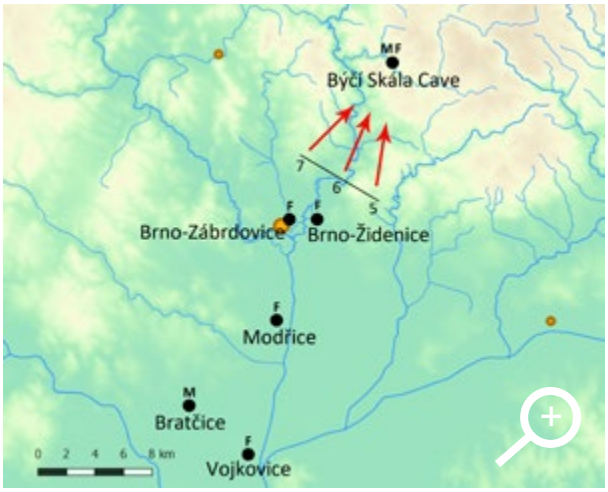


Fig. 82: The distribution of Horákov graves of male (M) and female (F) magnates in the first half of the 6th century BC that have been identified in the Brno region. People approached Býčí Skála Cave via the Líšeň (5), Obřany (6) and Soběšice (7) entrances (source: J. Martínek and M. Golec).

addition to the compound belt set, somewhat distant, comes from Pavlovice, Vyškov District, the southernmost territory of the Platěnice culture. This was not a grave, however, but a votive hoard deposited in a bowl (*Fig. 81d*). It makes it clearer what was the actual function of the so-called *cardiophylax*. A possible link between Pavlovice and Býčí Skála Cave was ensured by a road via the Vyškovská Brána (Gate), and with the Brno region by a route passing along the foothills of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) (*Fig. 84*).

The identified territorial structure of socially prominent women with compound belts is remarkable. It is even likely that they were also produced somewhere in the Brno region. The temporal extent of their use is not long, covering precisely the first half of the 6th century BC. As the area of occurrence is not very extensive, it is likely that their owners might have known each other thanks to the maintenance of contacts between neighbouring communities.

Compound belts are not alone among the most prestigious items of women. Býčí Skála Cave casts significant light on this aspect. Our target is gold, which always identifies the stratum of the most powerful people. We know no item from the flatland graves from the 6th century BC, whereas in the Entrance Hall, Heinrich Wankel found a numerous collection consisting of eight gold temple rings/earrings, eight rings and two bracelets. The descriptions of their deposition on the bodies are preserved in two cases. Two gold rings were supposedly found on hands laying on the so-called altar (*Fig. 90:1*); even more remarkable, however, are temple rings/earrings (*Fig. 67:1*) found under the skull of a woman later nicknamed Wankel's Princess (*Fig. 124*). The topic will be discussed in detail in Chapter VII. This jewel illustrates how we can err. Scientific texts published so far still count them among adornment of the upper part of the head, so-called diadems (*Parzinger – Nekvasil – Barth 1995*, 46–49); this is untrue – these pair jewels were worn as earrings or possibly temple rings. It is not ruled out that the owners of these items and their male counterparts were on an even higher social level among the belt female magnates. Their presence in Býčí Skála Cave points out a remarkable importance of this place for the understanding of the complex structure of Horákov society.

Weird Treatment of People
(Pavel Fojtík – Martin Golec)

Skull worshippers

Secondary opening of graves can be encountered at Horákov burial grounds. The professional literature quite commonly describes these cases as so-called robbery. In essence, however, we do not know what these interventions mean. For some rich graves, such as that of the 40-year-old man in Bratčice, it is remarkable that even very valuable items remained in them. Yet the body of the buried person was evidently manipulated with and, which is important, the skull has not been preserved in the grave. Unburnt bodies were not deposited in the neighbouring Platěnice culture. In both cultural areas, however, we find lonely skulls in settlements. We do not know whether these are two successive sequences of the same social phenomenon. It is evident that people of this time expressed an exceptional interest in the heads of some deceased. We can observe similar behaviour somewhat later, in Late Iron Age (La Tène) among the Celts, of whom we know that [they believed that] the person's soul resides in the head. We can assume that this was an identical manifestation also in the Hallstatt Period, which would make it a remarkable piece of evidence of a spiritual dimension. Similarly, according to Wankel's description, a skull of a man aged 30–40 was found in Býčí Skála Cave in a bronze vessel (NHM Vienna, Inv. No. 2336). It is globally coloured with green verdigris (*Fig. 133c*). Much have been written about the so-called human skull cup (NHM Vienna, Inv. No. 2342), which Milan Stloukal did not assess as a cup, i.e. as an artefact. It is appropriate to mention, however, that Heinrich Wankel also said that the skull was filled with millet, a fact that we should not neglect. This phenomenon repeated itself in the Entrance Hall for so-called turbans – female anklets – and a (possibly artificially damaged – carved up) small bronze figure of a bull, which was again deposited in a

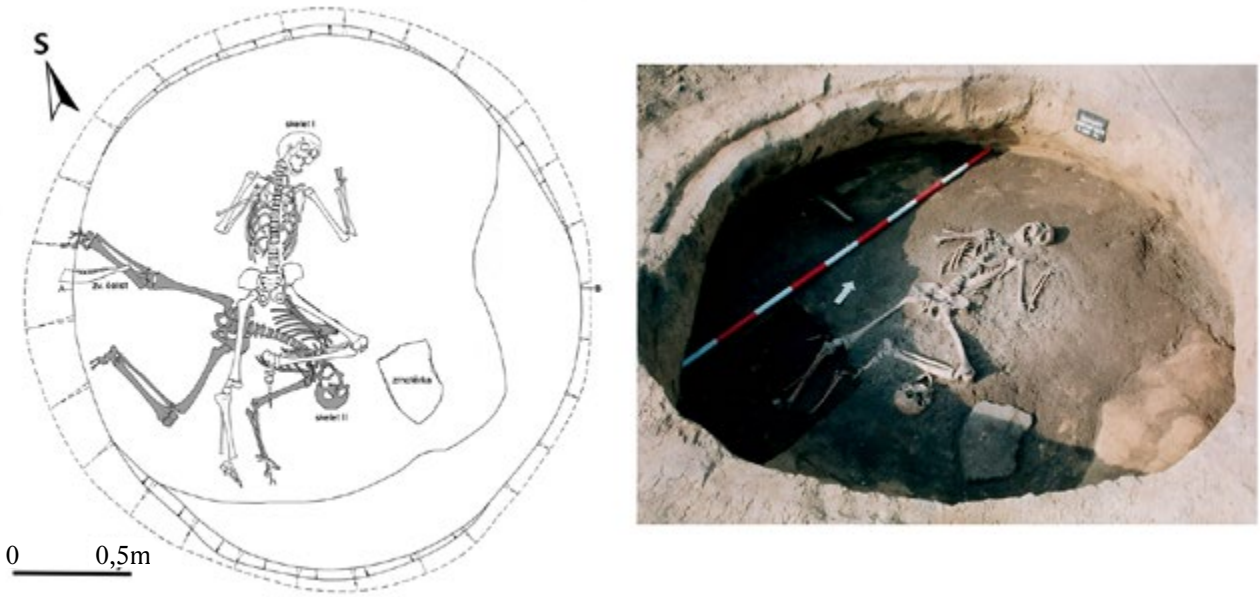


Fig. 83: The position of the virgin 14-year-old siblings in Prostějov-Čechůvky in feature No. 785. They lay crosswise one over the other with their left legs bent, with a grinding slab situated nearby (source: ÚAPP Brno, a – drawing: M. Holemá; b – photograph: P. Fojtík).

vessel with millet,[45] and even under pottery vessels in a concentration of cereals, other foodstuffs and items from organic matters. Let us notice that the cup, once again, belonged to a 30–40-year-old man. Other preserved cases include that of the cutting of the skull of a young, about 20-year-old girl by a sharp item (NHM Vienna, Inv. No. 2369; *Fig. 133b*), and of a juvenile individual aged 12–13, who most probably had the skull opened by trepanning (NHM Vienna, Inv. No. 2343; *Stloukal – Nekvasil 2015*, 38–51). The manipulation of skulls documents the religious manner of the thought of that period.

Settlement burials

The so-called settlement burials are encountered throughout the Bronze Age and also during the Hallstatt Period. It is a well-known but little-clarified phenomenon, of which there are many opinions. Generally, we can say that in the Hallstatt Period, for instance, these dead did not end up at the regular burial grounds built by each community or by several communities together. As an example, we have chosen two rather recent cases in the southern area of the territorial extent of the Platěnice culture. As only burnt bodies are documented at the burial grounds of this part of Moravia, the situation is rather anomalous. Human skeletal remains in the features No. 748 (diameter 2 × 1.93 m, depth 0.25 m from stripped topsoil) with the find of a 49–58-year-old woman and No. 785 (diameter 2.3 × 2.15 m, depth 0.9 m from stripped topsoil) with a find of a boy and a girl, probably siblings, both 14-year-old were examined at an extensive Platěnice culture settlement in Prostějov-Čechůvky (*Fig. 83*) in 2004. Both pits can be specified as ordinary grain silos or storage cellars. They are situated near two sunken residential pithouses, a mere 5.3 m from the nearest of them in the case of feature No. 785 and only 25 m from feature No. 748. None of the deceased had any personal items with them, but the juveniles had a grinding slab (*Fojtík 2007*; *Drozdová 2007*) for the preparation of flour (*Fig. 83*) next to them.

Let us discuss the possible manners of viewing these burials. First of all, we will ask whether these situations can be denoted as burials and graves at all. We believe so. The burial rules always concerned a collective act of the living towards the dead in accordance with the particular traditions. It is therefore no wonder that archaeology uses the term *settlement burials*. The place of their final rest can be regarded as a grave – a non-standard one, but still a grave.

There are always particular reasons for the departure from the world of the living. Death comes naturally or prematurely, by accident, through an act of violence, suicide or (self-)sacrifice. The issues connected with death were

45 In contrast to other cereals, millet is not sown until rather late the spring, approximately in May, into a quite warm soil. It was used as a substitute for overwintered crops. It was the last cereal to harvest, concluding the gathering cycle. These basic characteristics may offer a lead to the understanding of its task in Hallstatt Býčí Skála Cave.

certainly governed by complex social rules, but archaeology cannot reveal them, it only presumes their existence based on ethnography. People buried in an anomalous way might have played some particular negative or positive role within the community. It might have been forced upon them as a punishment (adultery, theft, murder, offences against a god, etc.); this also includes a sacrifice to a god, which might have been forced, involuntary but also voluntary (the future victim came forward him or herself, having "heard the god's call"). Such acts are beneficial for society, maintaining tradition and order in a balance. They may be indicated by certain exceptional visual characteristics of people (albinos, twins, a physical or mental handicap or another anomaly). This possibility is not ruled out in the case of the twins in Prostějov-Čechůvky.

Apart from its basic social aspect, the human death has also a religious dimension, which is very useful for archaeology. It can be understood spatially, and the landscape has always helped people fulfil it. Living people saw death as a process of moving of the deceased person from one world (the world of the living) to another world (the world of the dead where those who fulfilled certain rules dwelt with the gods). This opinion was based on two basic components of a human being – the tangible body and the intangible soul. The soul above all travelled to the new area. The grave itself was important as a gateway between the two worlds inhabited by humans. The question is how people of the Hallstatt Period understood it: as a unidirectional path, or bidirectional, with the souls or the body being able to return (in the old form, or a new one). The fulfilment of the prescribed attitude of members of the communities towards the world of the gods is then the "Alpha and Omega" of their life, including the acts connected with death. From this point of view, it is useful to discuss the existence of settlement burials in a more complex manner, as one of the existing links between the world of the living and the world of the gods and the dead. Situating them in the populated area will not be autotelic. Possibly, the living people wished to intentionally create a particular link between the two parts of the complex world.

In the territory of the Platěnice culture, it was unthinkable not to burn a dead person. Two variants offer themselves for settlement burials: 1. these people were punished, did not deserve a regular burial and were left between the two worlds, perhaps belonging neither among the living nor among the dead; 2. these people had voluntarily worked as messengers between the two worlds for the good of the community and were to deservedly dwell with the gods in the other world. In both cases, it is beneficial to seek an explanation of why they were left in an immediate vicinity of the living people. One way or the other, as a punishment or voluntarily, might/should

Fig. 84: Hoards at the Prostějov-Čechůvky, Pavlovice and Kralice na Hané settlements in the fertile strip near the eastern edge of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) (source: J. Martínek and M. Golec).

they have conveyed a message from the other world back to the living? This purpose might be referred to by the grave of the siblings with the grinding slab. Their virgin age in connection with an item linked to the subsistence is probably not incidental. It is not ruled out that they were "sown" into the earth like cereals, animals and items (votive hoards) to ensure the future harvest – a new birth. The sacrifice is thus understood not as a one-way gift but as a form of a trade deal – people expected an equivalent consideration from the divine world.

What makes such forms useful for Býčí Skála Cave? Both separated skulls and abandoned settlement burials have been identified as ways of treatment of the dead by the living. It is not ruled out that such acts were performed in the underground of Býčí Skála Cave, among other functions. It is not ruled out that some human bodies in the Entrance Hall were analogues to the settlement burials, which is corroborated also by the identical treatment of artefacts in the form of votive hoards.

Hoards
(Pavel Fojtík – Martin Golec)

Apart from the natural deposition of people in the ground along with their items, people of the Hallstatt Period also deposited items alone in so-called hoards. These objectively stored deposits have also their interpretative level; the term *votive hoards* can be used if they are understood as donations to the gods. This is an ancient tradition known for many centuries, for instance in the previous Bronze Age or in the subsequent La Tène Pe-

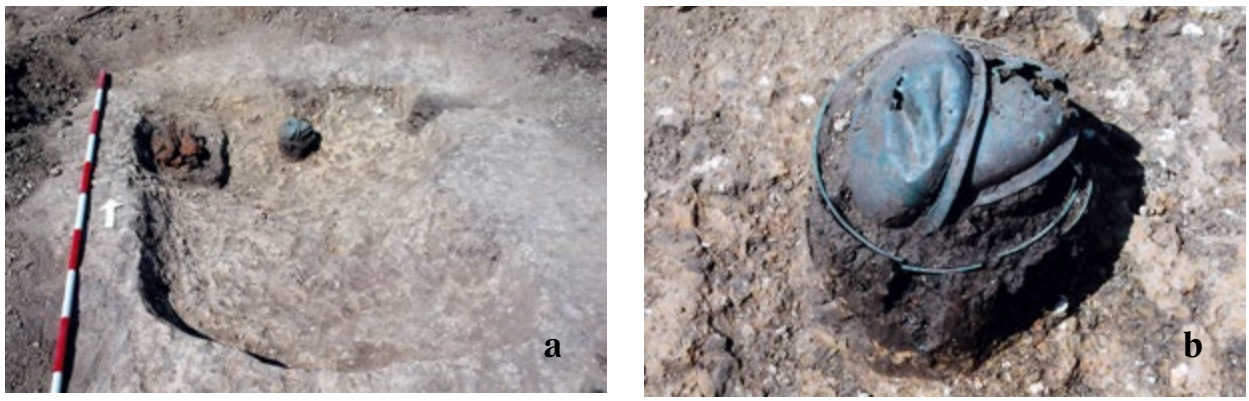


Fig. 85: Hoard of bronze vessels and broken iron spits in a quadratic pit No. 527 at the Kralice na Hané settlement. The empty space was probably originally filled with items from perishable materials (source: ÚAPP Brno, photograph: M. Šmíd).

riod. It was long believed that this phenomenon ceased in Moravia during the Hallstatt Period, but new cases document that it was not so. Especially the development of detector surveys has brought a number of previously new unknown cases (*Čižmář – Čižmářová 2014*). Their content is very varied, and the possibility to view them through the prism of our knowledge of graves offers itself. They imply a transparent difference between the items characterising men and women. Two groups can be distinguished within hoards. The first of them, *dining hoards*, includes items connected with food and drinks: bronze cups, bowls, ladles and cists as well as meat spits (*Fig. 85*). This group might have belonged to men. The other group, *jewellery hoards*, includes most often bracelets, followed by amber, glass and mother-of-pearl beads (*Fig. 86b*) as well as a find of the above-mentioned compound belt (*Fig. 81d*). Jewellery is characteristic of women. In both cases, they are items of great value that were not owned by every member of the communities. We link them to their owners, just like we commonly do so for graves.

The reasons why hoards were deposited remain questionable; no universal and unified answer can be given. Nonetheless, the Hallstatt Period always brings new possibilities of judgement. In contrast to the previous Urnfield Period, people of the Horákov culture did not burn their dead, especially not the respected ones, and equipped them for the afterlife with often valuable property, of which we believe that they needed it again in the new phase of their existence. Items and food were to satisfy their necessary needs, and their luxury form brings them prestige among others in the new community.

Hoards can be understood as offerings or votive gifts, linked to the need of communication with the space of a different form of life; they also connected the living with the gods. Items removed from the living space of people sometimes even underwent their own death, being broken or otherwise devalued[46] (*Fig. 85*); they can be viewed similarly as deceased beings including people. They also entered the process of a transformation from the world of the living to the world of the dead.[47] Let us notice that votive hoards can be found also at settlements such as Prostějov-Čechůvky (*Fig. 86*), where we have also found buried human bodies; it is similar also in nearby Kralice na Hané (*Fig. 84*).

How is this knowledge useful in relation to the Býčí Skála Cave find? The composition of the voluminous assemblage conceals so far unclarified findings, and hoards offer new possibilities of solution. The composition of both types of hoards is identical with the cave assembly under discussion. Bracelets have a remarkable position within it, especially their number – 150 units (*Fig. 87*; *Parzinger – Nekvasil – Barth 1995*, 26–45, Taf. 2–18)[48] – is unusually high. Compared to the forty dead, the series arouses the impression of abnormality.[49] Graves with bracelets are in a considerable minority at ordinary burial grounds. An explanation that offers itself is a so far unrecognised vo-

46 Numerous items in Býčí Skála Cave are also intentionally deformed or broken. Jindra Nekvasil spoke about items of the "scrapyard type", always sticking to a non-religious explanation.

47 A highly frequent explanation of hoards is that they were merchants' stores. We regard this opinion critically. Many hoards have never been picked up. Another problematic fact is that the possible model of ownership has not been sufficiently discussed. Could merchants store their property without the will of the leaders of the communities?

48 In one case, four of them were interconnected into a chain, which points out a votive function (*Parzinger – Nekvasil – Barth 1995*, Taf. 57a–d).

49 This fact has been pointed out also by Jindra Nekvasil, but without offering an explanation.

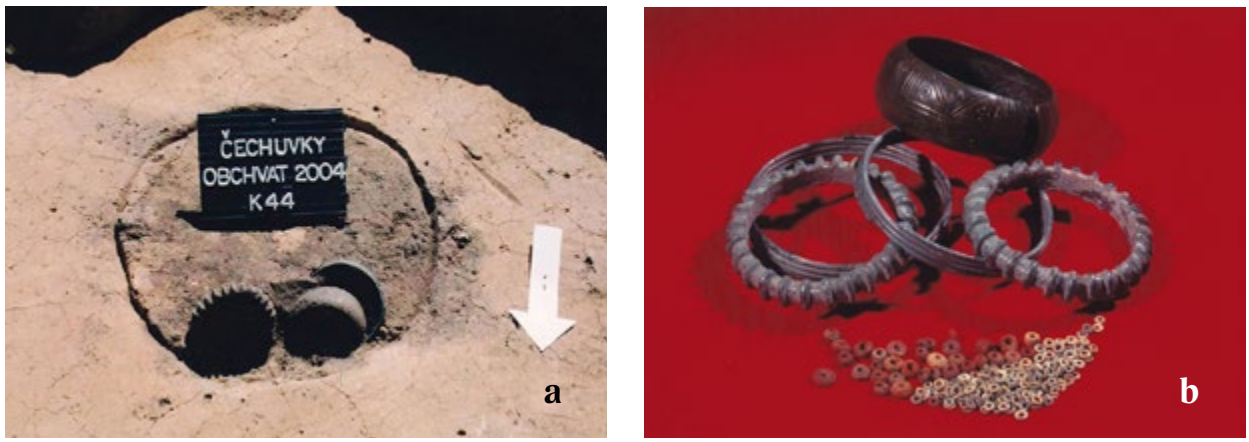


Fig. 86: Hoard of bronze bracelets, amber and mother-of-pearl beads in a pit No. 2650 at the Prostějov-Čechůvky settlement (source: ÚAPP Brno, photograph: a – M. Šmíd; b – J. Pospíšil).

Fig. 87: 1–9 – bracelets of various types from the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave. The number of 150 units can be explained as a votive hoard/hoards deposited in the cave sanctuary; 10ab – four units were linked into a chain; 11 – the sizes of spiral-shaped bracelets indicate their use by adults, youths and children (source: NHM Vienna, photograph: M. Golec, drawing: J. Jaša).

tive function of bronze items in Býčí Skála Cave. People not only buried their dead in the cave but also deposited separate offerings or votive hoards there.

Looking towards the Skies (Petr Kos – Martin Golec)

Specific structures of a circular or – in one case – oval layout, so-called rondels or rondeloids, are valuable examples testifying to the spiritual world of the communities of the Horákov culture. We register as many as ten of them already. They can be found in all basic parts of settlement units – they have occurred in both enclosed and non-enclosed settlements, at hill forts and also at a burial ground. The habit of building such structures is ancient; it has been registered in many forms for several millennia before the beginning of the Early Iron Age. Their present form stabilised at a rather small size compared to the past, a diameter of about 10 m for circular structures, the longer axis of ca. 20 m for the oval type in Kuřim (*Fig. 73*).

We have the most complex information from the largest examined settlement complex in terms of the area situated in Modřice on the southern outskirts of Brno (*Kos – Přichystal 2013*, 84–87). As many as seven of these characteristic structures have been gradually examined there, four at an extensive necropolis and three among the residential buildings of the adjacent settlement. They open new avenues of understanding. They can be distinguished very well from the quadratic pithouses and above-ground post houses as well as from the quadratic chamber graves. We are uncertain about their construction; they might have been open enclosures or even roofed structures. Both variants can be discussed. In the latter case, they might have also served as a dwelling.

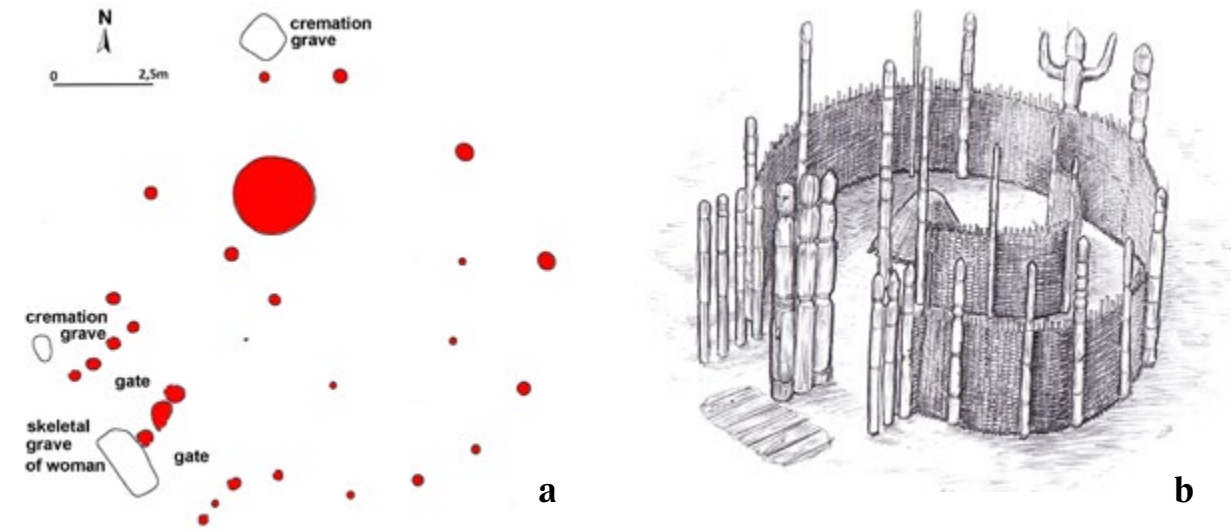


Fig. 88: Reconstruction of the rondel at the Modřice burial ground as an open enclosure. Its only double gate bears an astronomical meaning, being directed along the axis of the ideal ray of the Sun at the winter solstice. An adult woman was buried, possibly sacrificed, in front of the entrance (source: ÚAPP Brno, a – drawing: P. Kos, astronomical analysis: R. Rajchl; b – drawing: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

The meaning of these structures lies in the fact that their creators composed their relationship to the heavenly bodies into their shape by means of geometry. Among archaic societies, this is a widespread means of a connection between people and the beings dwelling on the canopy of the heavens. It is manifested very well especially by the position of the gates, directed towards particular places in the sky. One of the Modřice rondels[50] is rather instructive. It is situated at a burial ground among graves. It was a post structure with a single gate that was directed towards the place where the Sun crosses the horizon at the end of the winter solstice day in the southwest (*Fig. 88*); a similar direction has been identified also along the longer axis ended with two opposite entrances to the Kuřim rondeloid.[51] There, let us notice that although one entrance might serve, the opposite one was built as well (*Fig. 73*). The direction of the axis of the Modřice rondel corresponds to the orientation of the longitudinal axis of most graves at this burial ground, a fact that cannot be coincidental. The dead were laid in the right-hand part of rectangular graves, with their heads directed precisely to the southwest. The situation makes the impression of the dead waiting in their graves for their departure to the other world, which helps us identify its location in the skies. Similar burial customs are typical of the whole Horákov culture. This must have been a general cultural rule involving the location of the world of the dead as well as the fact that the sun disc represented a deity sought in the case of death.

The Modřice rondel yielded further remarkable information, however, in the form of the evidence of two unusual burials in its vicinity. All three of them are situated along its outer wall, respecting it. The structure therefore needs to be understood with its funeral function. An unburnt woman aged 35–40 was buried right in front of the double gate in a remarkable position: her body is crouched, and she was gazing through the entrance inside the structure. A crouched skeleton is untypical of the basic form of a Horákov burial. Another interesting piece of knowledge is that the grave of this guardian of the structure had to be stepped over whenever the rondel was entered. The second case is anomalous as well: a child lay along the east side of the rondel; this is exceptional, as we do not find juvenile individuals at the burial grounds. How can we understand the meaning of the structure with combined astronomical and funeral symbols and messages? Once again, the situation leads us on the track of a fragment of the thought of people of the Hallstatt Period. The people buried there apparently played also the part of a sacrifice necessary to consecrate the important funeral structure.

Traces of gazes turned towards the canopy of the heaven can be found also in the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave. In it, human bodies were deposited not only inside the earth (cave), but within it also in the earth (soil). In this cave, the sunshine sometimes penetrates through the Large Window directly into the underground, a phenomenon

50 The Modřice complex has not been summarily published, and we therefore cannot work with the complete sources yet.

51 The surveying has been carried out by Rostislav Rajchl, who has occupied himself with palaeo-astronomy for a long time.

that took place in the past and still does. The outer rock wall of the cave is even directed towards the west (*Fig. 31*). We can thus state that not only all Horákov burial grounds in the open terrain but also Býčí Skála Cave had a link to the Sun. Moreover, its light has remarkable parameters in the underground: it only occurs for half a year, between the spring and the autumn equinox. During the other half of the year, the Sun rises lower in the sky and cannot enter the cave. This charismatic effect creates a permanent temporal boundary in the Entrance Hall which the Hallstatt people must have been well aware of.[52]

Krumlovský Les (Forest) Mines

For a deeper understanding of the ways of using the landscape's offers, it is beneficial to get to know various manifestations of the people of the prehistoric world. Some phenomena that were overlooked so far have shown their unforeseen scientific potential. Only after 1989, systematic surveys led to the recognition of the extensive remnants of prehistoric stone mines[53] in Krumlovský Les (Forest), which were continually used for several thousands of years from the time of the last hunters and gatherers in the Mesolithic until the Hallstatt Period (*Fig. 89*). Mining culminated there in the Early Bronze Age, when round stones were extracted from deep shafts, carried away and subsequently chipped, resulting in artefacts that were used for the needs of cutting. The demanding mining activity contrasts with the fact that most of the gathered material was not utilised; the miners left it unused on the spot. They only carried away the most valuable sickle blades, which were then used as ritual requisites in other parts of the inhabited landscape. What is perhaps even more interesting about the period under study is that the activity did not cease when the processing of bronze and later even iron became common; the production of stone tools continued, and they were distributed to the surrounding settlement complexes. We can find them in settlements and even in graves. Martin Oliva (*2010*, 310–336), the head of the research, explains such manifestation as a mass wastage of time and human effort. The expended work is far from being equivalent to the result achieved, which might have been accomplished much more simply. An explanation can be sought in social importance, valuing not only the produced small stone knives but also the coexistence inside the community and between the communities. People have a strong instinct to form groups, usually based on a joint activity or work, which however mostly has a deeper and often prevailing religious sense. The whole phenomenon including its fragment in the form of the mining landscape can be understood polyfunctionally; this fact is not surprising, however, as we have made a similar discovery with the Býčí Skála Cave complex.

In both landscapes beyond the border of permanent occupation, we find fragments of the thinking of people of the Early Iron Age shown in the answers to specific offers. In the Krumlovský Les (Forest) and in Býčí Skála Cave, we can find a very long interest in a particular place, maintaining the need of a connection with the popular places of the ancestors. Their advantage (offer) lies in the fact that they are situated on the level of the accessible human world and that people can dwell there and carry out activities there. Such places contrast with levels that are inaccessible for the living. It is not ruled out that interfaces where living people communicated with the inaccessible space came into existence precisely there. *Coexistence was maintained among all beings of the world*; the living communicated with the living, with the dead, with the gods. They wished to continue doing so after the death, when the other world became their home. And the same must have been true also of the gods. The interaction might have taken place in specially built places such as sanctuaries and sacred places. One of their aspects, however, was also a possibility to produce something, carry it away and practically use it.

Stone mining remained an important technology even in the Iron Age. Although the communities already knew how to process iron ore present in the landscape, it did not immediately lead to the replacement of earlier types of production. The Hallstatt Period is an interesting time of a coexistence of older technologies and new, progressive ones. A deeper transformation followed in the La Tène Period, when many archaic activities disappeared forever due to the great technical inventiveness of the Celts. The Krumlovský Les (Forest) mines document well the mingling of the archaic and the progressive. *Rather than superseding, the technologies accompanied each other in the Early Iron Age*. Specialised iron production, which required a coordination of the community, now contrasted with the method of production of a stone knife, which could be produced individually. It is precisely the production independence, however, that the Krumlovský Les (Forest) mines suppress, elevating collectivity once again. People had the need to dig narrow and rather deep shafts (*Fig. 89*), from which they gathered production material, but the overall result can be described as disproportionate. The meaning of the activities becomes visible only in their end, however.

52 The phenomenon was proved by Martin Golec during repeated observations after 2007.

53 Jura chert, secondarily deposited in Miocene sands, was used to produce sharp flakes and blades.

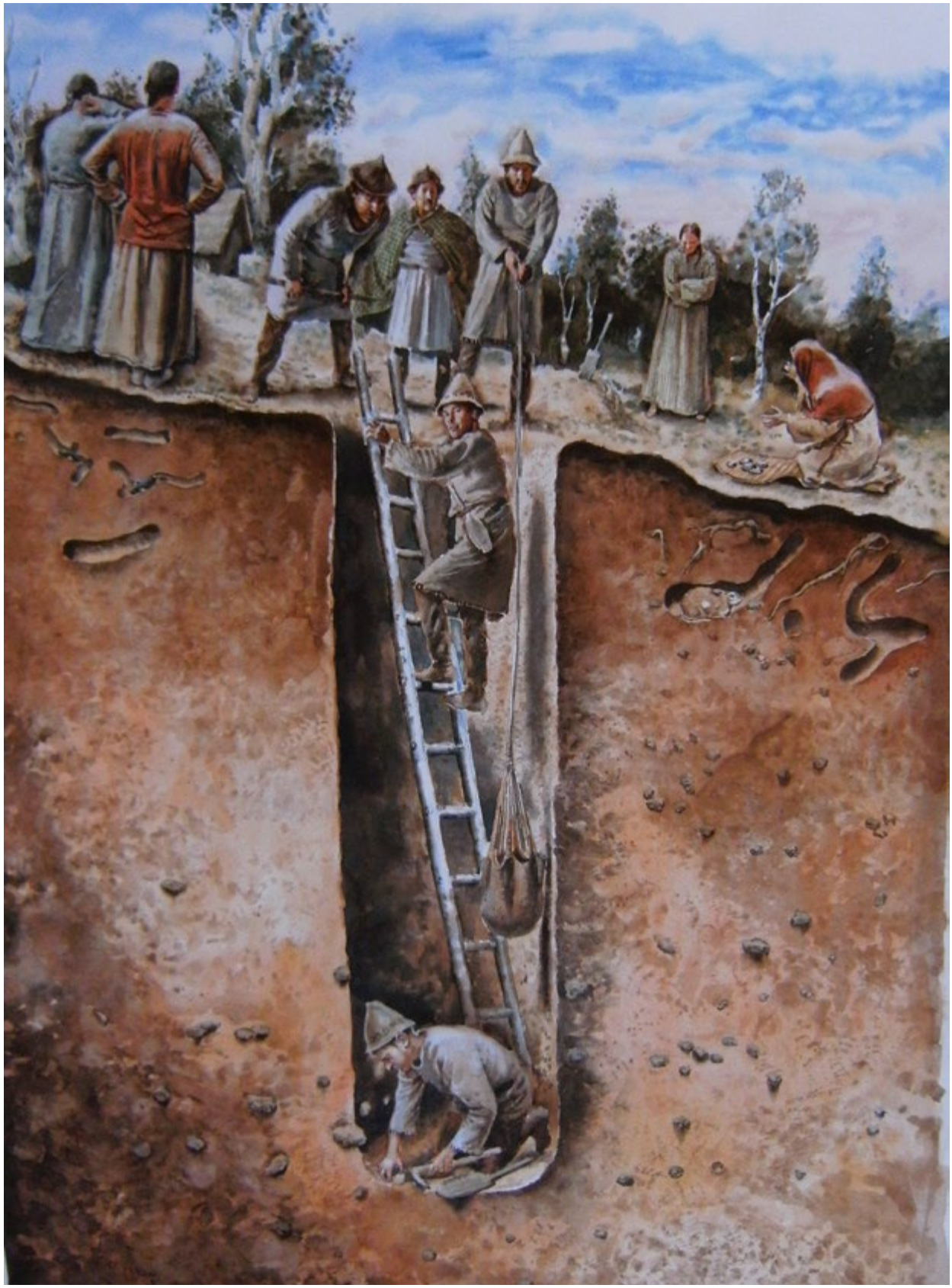


Fig. 89: A collective methods of chert mining in the Krumlovský Les (Forest) during the Hallstatt Period. Narrow deep shafts provided large quantities of material that was subsequently chipped. Some of the products were thrown back as a sacrifice to the opened earth (painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Oliva).

People threw the collections of the produced flakes to the bottom of the shafts, in fact creating hoards. The meaning of polyfunctional acts need to be sought also on the level of religious thought. Apart from their practical-production function, activities connected with the earth had also a practical-ritual basis, without which it was impossible to enter the earth (and wound it). The practical function, the social importance and the symbolic meaning transparently complement each other here. The Krumlovský Les (Forest) was transformed into a *sacral landscape* due to its specific offers (*Oliva 2010*, 310–311).[54] In this respect, it is identical to the Býčí Skála Cave landscape. There, it might be beneficial in the future to find out whether it was also an iron working landscape, i.e. the place of mining and production.

Stone Artefacts from Býčí Skála Cave (Antonín Přichystal)

The Krumlovský Les (Forest) mines have proved the potential of an interest in archaic technologies during the Hallstatt Period. Let us return to Býčí Skála Cave and focus precisely on stones. Of the very plentiful find assembly from the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave, they have avoided systematic attention so far, charming much neither with their artistic processing nor with an exotic character of their origin (*Fig. 90*). However, they precisely document a deeper interest of people of the Hallstatt Period in the area of the southern Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). So far, it seemed to be uninhabited, arousing an impression of being void of any human activities. The gathering of stones, the creation of artefacts and their deposition in Býčí Skála Cave present the situation in a completely different light. An interesting aspect of stones is that they bear spatial information, in contrast to items from bronze, glass or amber, where we cannot say much about the origin of the material. Regrettably, even analyses of the origin of iron, of which we presume that it might have been mined and processed from materials from the vicinity of Býčí Skála Cave, have not yielded convincing results. The sources (offers) of stone in the vicinity of this cave and in the area of the southern Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) fit very well into the network of roads used by people of the Hallstatt Period.

Two groups of finds are particularly interesting within the Entrance Hall assembly: they formed a certain purposeful whole, and yet the origin of their parts lies evidently in different regions. It is the so-called altar and the weights (originally, it was perhaps a weaving loom). According to Wankel's description, they were both deposited in the ground near buried people (including female magnates; *Fig. 68*) with valuable personal items. The items can be categorised into the following groups (*Fig. 91*):

Grinding slabs (3 units) – the probably most interesting of the mentioned 32 stone items are three grinding pads that Heinrich Wankel reportedly found close to one another and described as the so-called altar. They are classical tabular grinding slabs or even only parts of them with a characteristic saddle-bent upper part and stone thickness between 4.5 and 8 cm. The largest of them (*Fig. 90:1*),[55] has the dimensions of 54 × 30–33 × 4.5–8 cm and a mass of 21.8 kg. A distinct blackening covering nearly a third of the stone makes it clear that the grinding slab did not lay horizontally but was buried approximately vertically into an ash layer with one of its longer sides. The material used was Lower Carboniferous (Culm) medium-grained conglomerate, which contains apart from quartz round stones also partially rounded pieces of grey Devonian to early Carboniferous limestones and fragments of black Culm slates. The origin of the rock can be theoretically linked to many places in the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). An attractive possibility is that the rock was acquired at one of the access roads to Býčí Skála Cave from the south, particularly in the Údolí (Valley) Říčky under Staré Zámky in Brno-Líšeň with the hill stronghold Horákovský Hrad (Castle) situated on the opposite side of the valley (*Fig. 77*). The second tabular grinding slab[56] has the dimensions of 33 × 22 × 5 cm. The item weights 7.9 kg. It is a non-calcareous coarse-grained sandstone, with small fragments of dark slates present in places. This rock most probably came from the last promontories of the Bohemian Cretaceous basin, which stand out as the hills Malý and Velký Chlum at Krhov in the Boskovická Brázda (Furrow) near Černá Hora, or possibly even closer to Blansko or, on the contrary, to the north between Lysice and Kunštát. The Rájec–Blansko access to Býčí Skála Cave was used for transport. The third grinding slab, with the dimensions of 33 × 23 × 5.5 cm and a mass of 5.2 kg is the most interesting in terms of the rock composition. It is a dark grey-green metamorphic rock consisting of muscovite, a biotite with conspicuous porphyroblasts of garnets and feldspars. The garnets may reach up to 0.5 cm in size, and the porphyroblasts of feldspars even up to 1 cm. A number of small pinkish garnets stand out from the smoothed grinding surface. The rock, which can be described as a garnet double-mica paragneiss, was brought to Býčí Skála Cave

54 The term is discussed also by Václav Cílek (*2014*). According to Evžen Neustupný (*2010*), the landscape, or rather its parts, can be regarded as artefacts, which assume all three above-named components for archaic societies in various ratios.

55 NHM Vienna, Inv. No. 11500.

56 NHM Vienna, Inv. No. 11499.

Fig. 90: Stone Hallstatt artefacts from the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave: 1 – grinding slab (so-called upper part of the altar); 2ab – stone weaving weight; 3 – macehead; 4 – casting form; 5abc – whetstones; 6abcde – pendants; 7 – beads; 8abcdef – round stones; 9 – crusher; 10ab – smoothers (source: NHM Vienna, photograph: M. Golec).

from the northwest from the area of the West Moravian Crystalline Basement, most probably from the Svratka Dome of the Moravicum. Similar rocks are described for instance from the vicinity of Olešnice.

Weights (2 units) – stone weaving weight with a drilled hole (*Fig. 90:2a*),[57] height 11.2 cm, upper diameter 4 cm, lower diameter 7.3 cm. Calcareous micaceous fine-grained sandstone probably from the Cretaceous; the second weight of a black appearance (*Fig. 90:2b*),[58] an igneous rock, granodiorite of Královo Pole type from the Brno Batholith; its reliable determination is complicated by a remarkable smearing of its surface with a black organic colour.

Macehead – ground spherical artefact (*Fig. 90:3*)[59] with a diameter of around 6 cm. The rock is soft. It is clayey limestone or marlstone without visible fossils, most probably of a Jurassic origin.

Mould – a double pendant casting form (*Fig. 90:4*).[60] The possible rock position is within Upper Devonian – Lower Carboniferous limestones directly from the Moravian Karst.

Whetstones (3 units) – the stone tools for the sharpening of metal items (*Fig. 90:5abc*)[61] can be described as whetstones. All of them are fine-grained calcareous sandstones, or possibly siltstones of light colours. The presence of muscovite is usually discernible, sometimes in the form of copious and large flakes (*Fig. 90:5c*).

Pendants (5 units) – drilled pendant (*Fig. 90:6a*),[62] light brown chert, apparently from Rudice beds; a chert round stone (*Fig. 90:6b*)[63] of the size of 3.6 × 2.2 cm with a natural hole, metal gold abrasion marks on inside the aperture, the origin of the chert probably from Rudice beds; pendant with seven drilled holes (*Fig. 90:6c*),[64] non-calcareous light ochre coloured sediment; stone ringlet (*Fig. 90:6d*),[65] Lower Carboniferous chert; small drilled round stone (*Fig. 90:6e*),[66] pinkish silicified slates. The groups of these pendants make the impression of local rocks collected directly near Býčí Skála Cave. Cherts of Rudice beds and Lower Carboniferous chert may come from round stones that can be found in the bed of the Jedovnický Potok (Stream), which has its source in front of Býčí Skála Cave. The items probably served as decoration with the function of amulets or talisman.

Black beads (7 units; *Fig. 90:7*)[67] – suspected slag? Waste from iron production might have been used for these decorative items.

Round stones (8 units; *Fig. 90:8*)[68] – red quartz; coarse-grained Culm greywacke; Permian arkose?; yellowish quartzite round stone of the *sluňák* type; clastic sediment with psammite grain sizee, with black surface; small greywacke round stone; black surface chert Krumlovský Les type, most probably Krumlovský Les III variety, which surfaces near Hády in Brno or near Soběšice; Culm greywacke (?); the type of use of the round stones cannot be determined.

Grinder (1 unit) – a half of an overburnt round stone with a ground surface (*Fig. 90:9*),[69] Culm greywacke. The grinder was used as the grinding stone for a grinding slab.

Smoothers (2 units) – yellowish quartzite of the *sluňák* type (*Fig. 90:10a*); large flat round stone (*Fig. 90:10b*) with a diameter of 11 cm, Culm greywacke. The function of these stones, bearing clear traces of an activity, is unknown.

A small excursus into the issues of the stone material (*Přichystal 2009*) has helped us partially reveal the collection-creation importance of Býčí Skála Cave within the southern part of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). It has turned out that the cave, situated at a super-crossroads of long-distance routes, was used by communities passing through the unoccupied hilly landscape as a suitable place for stopping, making a temporary residence, producing or satisfying their religious needs. Local stone products thus form an important part of the mosaic of the understanding of Hallstatt Býčí Skála Cave.

Matter, Local and Imported

Every Hallstatt community and the individuals within it were creating unique and variable networks of social contacts. People sought particular places in their immediate and more distant vicinity. They did so in order to satisfy all their needs such as visiting a neighbour in the nearby house, procuring wood just outside the village or producing iron on the other side of a hill. Items travelled within the networks along with people, eventually leaving the human world in various forms: as waste, during burials or through a loss. All deposited items, including those from Býčí Skála Cave, can be viewed in this manner. It

57 NHM Vienna, Inv. No. 11493.
58 NHM Vienna, Inv. No. 11494.
59 NHM Vienna, Inv. No. 11487.
60 NHM Vienna, Inv. No. 11504.
61 NHM Vienna, Inv. Nos. 11495–11497.
62 NHM Vienna, Inv. No. 11501.
63 NHM Vienna, Inv. No. 11502.
64 NHM Vienna, Inv. No. 11503.
65 NHM Vienna, Inv. No. 11567.
66 NHM Vienna, Inv. No. 11568.
67 NHM Vienna, Inv. No. 11544.
68 NHM Vienna, Inv. No. 11498. Also under numbers NHM Vienna, Inv. Nos. 1287–1294 in this order.
69 NHM Vienna, Inv. No. 11498.

Fig. 91: Spatial identification of stone items from Býčí Skála Cave indicates that the uninhabited landscape of the southern Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) was not only visited but that the collection or mining of stones took place there as well. The usual routes via the Líšeň, Obřany, Soběšice or Rájec–Blansko entrances were used to access Býčí Skála Cave (source: J. Martínek and M. Golec).

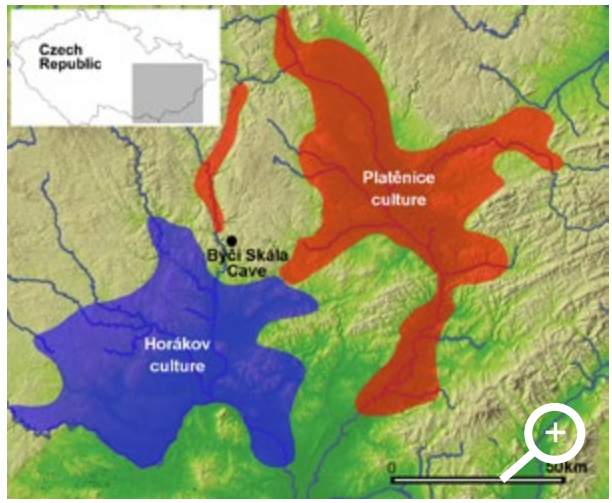


Fig. 92: Hallstatt Moravia – South Moravian Horákov culture and Central Moravian Platěnice culture (source: *Podborský a kol. 1993*, Map 25 and M. Golec).

is beneficial to perceive everything as fragments of these networks, which we understand as complex, complicated and causally dependent artefacts.

In most periods, people certainly travelled to Býčí Skála Cave from near and far. Yet rather than local relationships, long-distance relationships, so-called long-distance contacts, have been sought above all for Býčí Skála Cave. Hermann Parzinger presented a rather detailed elaboration of them in 1995 (*Parzinger – Nekvasil – Barth 1995*), referring to cultural relationships and contacts above all across Central Europe. Such approach to the research is suitable, as the items from Býčí Skála Cave have links to many distant regions. These long-distance relations aroused the impression that the creators of Wankel's cave site came from some more distant areas. Such notion is irrelevant today, however. The cave sanctuary is evidently a local creation, the product of the activity of a community or communities of the Brno segment of the Horákov culture (*Fig. 92*). Imported items reached this territory in various ways; they are the outcome of a network of common contacts that was usual with all Hallstatt communities anywhere, including Central Europe. *Imported items, regardless of how they were acquired, first became the property of the local community/communities, which subsequently deposited them together with local products.*

Let us attempt to view the items in the cave sanctuary through the prism of a particular Horákov community in the Brno region. We will divide them according to their possible origin: 1. those it procured and produced itself from sources available within its territory (e.g., most foodstuffs, wood, wicker, textile, leather, stone, iron); 2. those it produced itself from material originating outside its territory (e.g., copper, tin, amber, graphite); 3. those it could not or would not produce itself (being a mere consumer) and acquired, once again, from outside its territory (e.g., luxury products, salt, wine). Items in the world of such community are a combination of the above-mentioned variants. Each community created its own original setting of the network, which might have shown both similarities and differences from those of its neighbours. The identification of the form of these networks may lead to a progress in the understanding of the world of living people of the Hallstatt Period.

Power Hierarchy

The existence of a political aspect is an interesting prism through which we can view the Moravian Horákov and Platěnice cultures. This is a task for political anthropology. This general phenomenon can be observed for all types of social formations, including pre-state ones. We can always find some form of political leadership. On the lowest levels of development, the political organisation is difficult to distinguish from family, kinship, economic and religious structures. Precisely this is still expected in the Hallstatt Period. The period under observation falls into the third phase of the four-phase categorisation of human societies: clan – tribe – chiefdom – state, where *chiefdom* is already regarded as a lower stage of the centralised systems of pre-industrial societies (*Kolář 2002*; *Německý 2006*).

On the chiefdom level, the society is based on a social status hierarchy. The stratification is based on the economic principle. A *dignitary society* is not based on different access to the means of production but on the genealogical origin and age of its members. The aristocracy is formed from people from more valuable families. A magnate or chief has a key economic role, is the richest member of the community and distributes the property among other members. According to genealogical construction, even members with the lowest social status are relatives and therefore entitled to participate in the redistribution of economic goods. Chiefdom represents a form of permanent political regulation based on an administration led by the chief. The chief does not have absolute power, however; rather than on a threat of physical sanctions, it is based on his direct control of the redistribution system. The chief collects levies and distributes them among other members of the society. In contrast with a state, the legal norms have informal character. The state, then, represents a more advanced form of pre-industrial political integration. The Hallstatt society in Moravia undoubtedly did not reach this phase yet.

The presented forms of political systems are basically derived from the observation of living pre-industrial societies. The examples of societies of the dead of which we have more complex report thanks to written sources are important as well. A classical example for Central European Hallstatt Period are comparisons with the model of the Greek society of the so-called Dark Age, which lasted from the collapse of Late Bronze political structures in the late 12th century BC until the beginning of the Iron Age in the late 9th century BC. It was a period when an earlier highly hierarchical political organisation had disappeared and everything once again depended on the physical and material power of local leaders. In many respects, Hallstatt Central Europe resembles the society described in the Iliad and the Odyssey (*Kolář 2002*; *Bouzek 2011*, 128–140). Settlement was concentrated around the courts of the aristocracy, where we can find their families and servants, including household slaves. *Courts* (oikos, an autarkic self-sufficient household) were separate units dependent on their ruler, who protected them from their neighbours and more distant rivals. People who did not belong to such community were without protection, and in many respects worse off than the servants and household slaves. The social elite presented themselves by the ownership of a horse. In Greece and Ancient Italy, however, the *equites* were only the second estate, after richer people who could afford to ride a carriage pulled by horses. Like in Central Europe, rare items acquired through long-distance trade became a matter of prestige. In the Greek Homeric society, we can also encounter the term *basileus* denoting the supreme ruler from among the aristocracy – the king. The content of the term *basileus* is questionable in the area of the Hallstatt cultures; once again, it is usually identified with the institution of the magnate.

Expedition among Strangers

The transfer of goods, including prestigious items, along the Amber Route intensified in the 6th century BC. We consider beautiful items a reciprocal value for the highly-prized Baltic amber, whose large quantities ended up apart from the communities along the distribution route also in Northern Italy and further in the Mediterranean. The Moravian communities evidently profited from the activated trade network. Precisely at the studied time period, we can register an increased deposition of valuable items in graves and votive hoards. The custom of burying magnates – both male and female – with their riches culminated in the first half of the 6th century BC, and Býčí Skála Cave is part of it. What we register here is a process known also from other regions of Hallstatt Europe. Thanks to sufficient resources coming from their southern neighbours, rich aristocracy constantly increased the level of self-presentation. A highly-known example is the well-explored hill stronghold Heuneburg with an adjacent agglomeration in the German Danube region. There, the development continued very conspicuously also in the second half of the 6th century BC, in the Ha D2 phase. This was the time of the final culmination of the arrangement of the most lavishly equipped burials (e.g., in Hochdorf) that we know so far anywhere in Hallstatt Europe (*Fig. 93*).

Moravia no longer participated in this close of the Hallstatt Period, however. A fundamental cultural turn, identical with the whole eastern region of Hallstatt Central Europe, took place there already in the middle of the 6th century BC, as the aggressive Scythian Vekerzug culture (*Bouzek 2011*, 140–143; *Golec – Čermáková – Fojtík 2017*)[70] from the Carpathian Basin intervened in history. The economic structure dependent on the long-built network of social relationships of the neighbours fell apart under the pressure of the new situation, resulting in an archaeologically recordable step disappearance of the manifestation of the magnates' riches. Moravia, undoubtedly one of the active regions in the development of Hallstatt so far, experienced a period of cultural decline compared to most westward situated areas. Communities of people

70 It is presumed that at least some of them belonged to ethnic Scythians, described in detail by Herodotus in Eastern Europe.

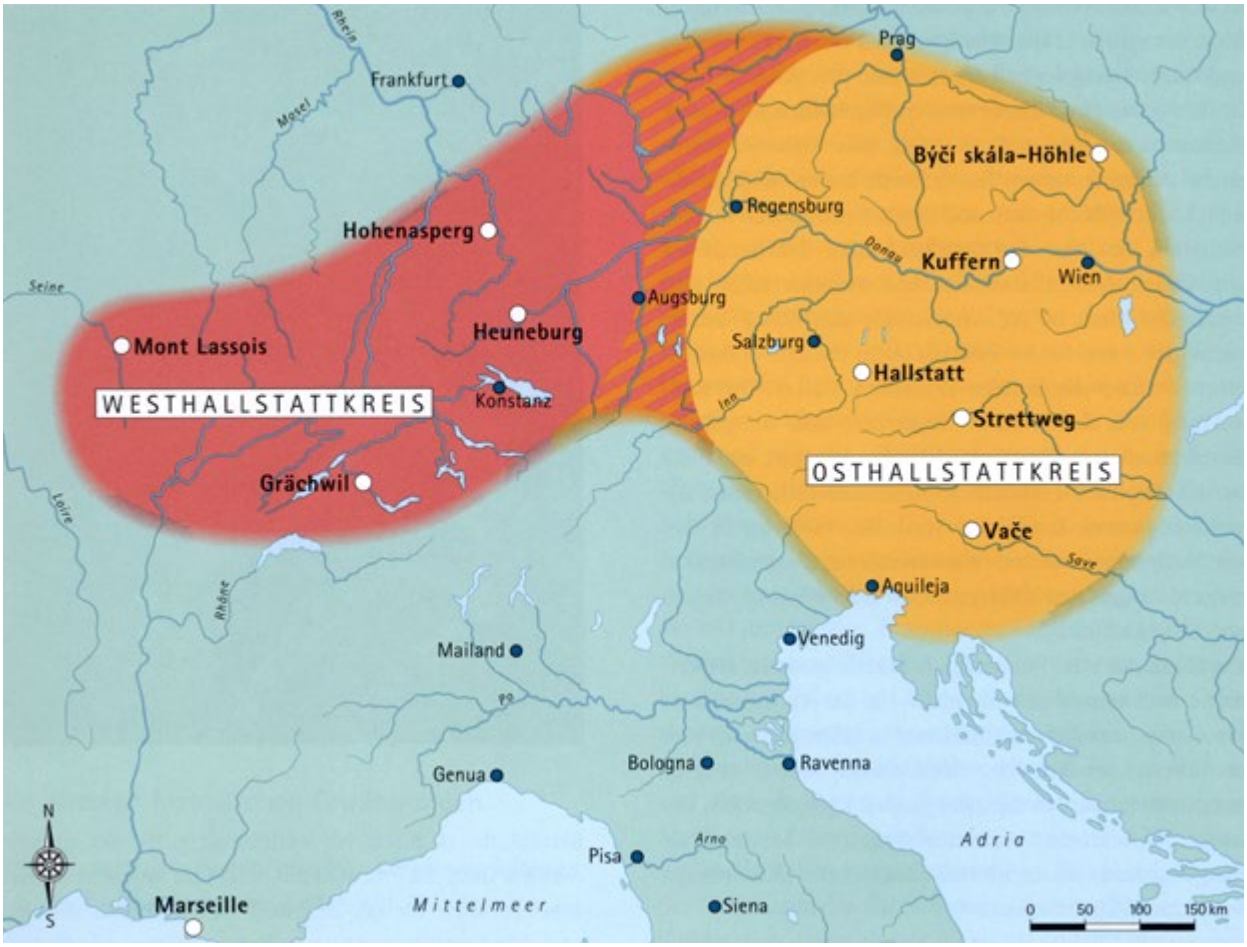


Fig. 93: Hallstatt Central Europe. Moravia belongs to the northeast edge of the Hallstatt cultures; it was an important communication area on both north-south and west-east long-distance routes. Býčí Skála Cave is the best-known Moravian site of this period (*Kuckenburg 2004*, Fig. on page 10).

still lived there, but the new time contrasts with the manifestations of the recent past. Extensive flatland regions in the Czech Republic were affected by this change, apart from Moravia also the Polabian area in Bohemia. Only the hilly terrains of Central and above all West Bohemia kept pace with the development in the most westerly regions. The change is well reflected in the transfer of the Amber Route from Moravia more westward, to Bohemia. There, the new period is documented by an inflow of luxury from Etruria, Italy in the second half of the 6th century – first half of the 5th century BC, newly across the Alps rather than around their eastern edges, as it had been before. Moravia no longer participated in this development due to its political instability.

Celts Entrapped in Letters

The desire to know the names of our ancestors has existed from the outset of the interest in prehistory. The name has always been important, and it is so to this day; it is the basic social identifier of each of us. The Hallstatt Period is the first phase in Central Europe when written records from the distant Greeks start to timidly emerge from the fog of ignorance. They name the Celts as the first local ethnic group.

What do we actually know about them, however? The first voice belongs to Hecataeus of Miletus, who lived in 560/550–480 BC. In his work, *Periodos ges* (Journey round the Earth), he mentioned the Greek colony Massilia (today's Marseilles) in the land of the Lugurs close to the land of the Celts, and also the town of Nyrax, which is most often identified with the later ancient town of Noreia in Styria, Austria. If this location is correct, it is very close to Hallstatt Moravia. Herodotus of Halicarnassus, a later author living in 484–425 BC, said that the River Istros (Danube) rises in the land of the Celts near the town of Pyrene and flows through the very centre of Europe (*Hérodotos 2005*). German researchers identify the town with the above-mentioned archaeological site

Heuneburg in Baden-Württemberg. Herodotus lived concurrently with the La Tène Period in Central Europe. It is not ruled out that his interest in the western part of the Late Hallstatt – Early La Tène ancient core of the Celts reflects the political-social decline of the eastern part of this territory due to the acts of the Vekerzug culture. The Scythians, whose geography is discussed in much detail by Herodotus, are supposed to form their core.

The question that remains to be answered is to whom the Hallstatt and Early La Tène Moravia can be ethnically ascribed. Were they the Celts? We have no direct evidence supporting such an assertion, but we cannot prove this for any particular region of the Hallstatt cultures. Each human society has many social identifiers, ranging from the name of the individual to that of the family, clan, tribe and ethnic group. It is likely that the presumed Celts never even encountered the term Celts. The Greeks used this name for their very distant neighbours much as West Europeans did millennia later for the "Indians" overseas. Discussions are thus under way within Celtic archaeology on how to identify the Celts. Based on culture (such as art), language or genetics (blood)? It turns out that these groups of sources may be identical for some particular community of people and quite different for others. Today, for instance, it is evident that we can find no genetic relation between the present population of the British Isles and Ireland and the Celts, the bearers of the Celtic culture. A link can thus only be sought in culture and the language. How was it like in Late Hallstatt – Early La Tène Moravia? We can say nothing at all about the Celtic language and genetics there. However, an evidently identical cultural context with so-called Celtic regions in the West evidently existed there both in the Hallstatt Period and in the Early La Tène Period. The question will probably remain open for a long time. In any case, the term *Celts* is and must be understood very loosely; keeping well in mind the "Indian" issue pointed out above, we can use it in accordance with out Western colleagues. If we use the term *early Celts* for the La Tène Period, *the term earliest Celts should be used for the Hallstatt Period*.

People on the Stage

A Few Words about the Guests

Traditional post-Palaeolithic archaeology was not much interested in a landscape with caves. The spatial relations were either overlooked, or reduced to simple forms such as "people came there from afar". This state needs to be overcome. On the basis of the defined space, three specialists attempt to present the issue in a different light. In the first place, they have been interested in the landscape, in caves generally and in Býčí Skála Cave in particular for a long time. They approach the issue with an interdisciplinary conception, thus imitating natural sciences, which have been continually presenting themselves in the landscape in this manner. In contrast, the humanities stand in front of an almost blank sheet of paper. They are entering the landscape, ascending the "stage of the past", with their research possibilities. All three presented approaches are formed based on particular cases not only in the unlimited dimensional area of the landscape of the southern Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) and their foothills but also in unlimited historical time. They show a considerable interest in the Recent Period, in more compactly known social manifestations.

Klára Sovová uses sociology and ethnology to present visitor and colonisation activities, while intentionally noticing subcultural manifestations in the Moravian Karst. She is interested in two distinct groups – pilgrims and soldiers, deriving general schemes of behaviour that can be universalised and used for much earlier periods. Eva Čermáková enters the cave with an anthropological insight into linguistics, noticing a so far unjustly overlooked source – graffiti. Her choice is not random. Karst archaeology has always been preoccupied by movable sources found in the cave, leaving aside manifestations such as graffiti as artefacts grown together with their bearer – the cave, which create a unique "underground linguistic landscape". The approaches of both mentioned archaeologists cross the boundary also towards psychology, which offers us possibilities of explanations of the motives of human acts. The third, longest section enters the world of symbolic thought par excellence. Peter Laučík has ascended the stage of a particular landscape and especially the cave once again with an intention to present this cultural crossroad from the perspective of religious studies. He gradually uses all the mentioned disciplines to penetrate the very difficult theme of the relationship between humans and the other world, the world beyond, their relationship to unlimited time and space. Structurally, he presents the cave as an important area for human communication with those who have always exceeded them, with their gods. The landscape – stage plays a fundamental role here, putting the ungraspable at least partially into the position of the graspable. However, we need to visit all corners of the stage of both humans and gods.

Scientists of the humanities are undoubtedly behind the times in the research of the landscape; they have not studied it and they owe something to the general public and to themselves as well. Chapter VI enters very little examined areas so far using a slightly experimental conception. Actually, a cave is not so unusual a space for some people. Speleologists constantly discover new, unexplored spaces there. Archaeologists, recently speleo-archaeologists and possibly other scientists of the humanities imitate this natural type of behaviour and likewise go where the cave permits them to go.

Let us notice that speleological tools (digging, transport, measuring, documentary, abseiling) are not and cannot be uniform – they are always adapted to the particular requirements of the space, which are highly specific in each cave. How often it is necessary for instance to cut away the handle of a shovel or pickaxe so that it fits in the cave at all; the use of transport tubs instead of wheelbarrows or buckets is a good example. Speleologist rucksacks, clothing, helmets, lamps, sit harnesses, belay devices, rope ascension aids or drills are also special. Diving equipment, cameras or video cameras also require adjustments. There has been a very long practical experience that things that are commonly used on the surface simply fail in a cave, because they are too fragile or spatially unsuitable. We can expect similar methodological adjustment in the theoretical sphere of the humanities if their subject of investigation is a cave (*Fig. 94*). The cave is not a standard normative space – this is not a refusal to take scientific responsibility but a basic human experience.

Landscape of Visits and Interactions *(Klára Sovová)*

The Moravian Karst has been a landscape for visiting for most of the time. We can observe constantly repeating stays and subsequent abandonment of the territory in this area from the Palaeolithic to the Present. Yet we encounter only little evidence of permanent residence there (unique settlements do appear in the course of history, but their disproportion to the surrounding densely populated landscape is conspicuous, and they are probably temporary; *Ondroušková 2011*, 157–159).

Landscape and human communities

Landscape and people primarily depend on one another. Within the spirit of Simon Schama's interpretation (*Schama 2007*, 65), we understand it as the outcome of an interaction between people and nature. A certain segment of the natural environment becomes landscape once it is reflected by humans, becomes part of their awareness and is interpreted in some manner. It is ascribed various meanings and connotations on the immaterial level (on the level of feelings and impressions, the landscape enters stories, songs, legends and myths),[71] and it is mostly usually reshaped also physically, whether unwittingly, in the form of a beaten path, or by purposeful activity aimed at its transformation, leading to the adaptation of nature to human needs. Despite this mutual and constant interaction and gradual transformation, we believe that the landscape bears within itself a certain stable circle of offers throughout its existence, which are only responded to differently in different times. With its character, it thus itself predetermines the way of its use by people. These different attitudes to the use of the offers cannot be understood as a development, however. A similar offer (e.g., the source of a raw material) is used in different times in manners reflecting the specifics of the given period, but we can also find certain unifying moments in these situations. If we focus on the types of offers, we can single out several groups:

material – dripstones, "flint material", iron ore, limestone, phosphate clays, refractory clays, etc.;
spiritual – sanctuaries, cult places, pilgrimages, sacred landscape;
aesthetic (experience) – tourist trip, "outdoor adventure", visit to a cultural event;
utilitarian – temporary shelter (from a storm or a danger), search for food, transport through landscape, use of the climatic conditions of the caves;
colonisation (in the sense of ownership) – construction of a temporary residence (hermitage, a speleological hut, etc.).

We can regard scientific knowledge itself as a reflection of the offers of this area par excellence: it temporarily brings researchers into this landscape.

Human communities in the landscape

Human communities move and behave according to certain patterns in the landscape. They come there in response to a certain offer they have recognised in the landscape; moreover, two or more offers are regularly utilised within a single event. The reasons are equally varied as the forms of visit, and they can be assessed from various perspectives. Visitors come uniquely and repeatedly, as individuals and in groups. Let us now pass over individuals (however inspiring their reasons and stories may also be) on the one hand and looser social groups on the other end of the

71 The Moravian Karst region abounds in legends and superstitious stories. Legends concerning Býčí Skála Cave are much older than Wankel's find from the Entrance Hall (*Schmidt 1835*; *Wolny 1837*). Legends and mysterious stories do not create only a historical stage set of the place, however; they are not dead documents of an ancient folklore tradition. On the contrary, we can witness a constant emergence of new folklore structures ranging from legends (of the more recent ones, let us mention, for instance, the Story of the Hanged SS Man in Býčí Skála Cave) to superstitious stories and anecdotes. A great number of unexplainable supernatural stories circles among speleologists (*Vašíček – Pekárek 2003*).

Fig. 94: A cave permanently forces people to change their behaviour. This fact can be observed also in most fundamental human manifestations such as movement in confined or darks spaces, the selection of clothing and items or even breathing in places with the absence of oxygen. These principles are universal and atemporal in a cave. A human scientist adjusts to the cave also by the method of research (photograph: V. Káňa).

spectrum,[72] and focus on groups that are coming to the area for a particular purpose. There is a justified presumption that the offer to which the group reacts plays a part in the creation of its form.

The Moravian Karst is a landscape that provides an extraordinarily wide and specific range of possibilities to which one can react, and its landscape plays the part of a "polyfunctional stage or playground" for meetings of people with nature and with other people. Formations denoted as small social groups by sociologists are the centre of our attention. Sets of twenty to forty people are considered as small social groups. However, the decisive factor is not the number of people comprising the group (in particular cases, groups of more members may show all signs of a small social group) but the character of their mutual interaction. What distinguishes them from a large social group is the mutual knowledge of members of the group and their direct immediate communication. Small social groups naturally emerge also within large social groups, such as companies, the military, etc. (*Reichel 2008*, 114–121). Mutual interactions naturally take place among the various groups, and individuals can belong to several groups, concurrently or subsequently.

We can find two basic models from the perspective of the genesis of the groups entering the studied space:

1/ Groups formed by a modification of an original social group, from which they already come partially or fully formed (it is the whole group, or its significant part). They bring their own rules and norms with them from the original milieu. Although the original social bonds and roles mostly persist, they are adjusted to the new conditions

72 The ever more massive visits by so-called crowds and audiences have been a phenomenon of the Recent Period. They are random groupings of individuals (so-called social aggregates) who share no mutual personal relationship but were brought to a place by a common interest (*Reichel 2008*, 77–101). The phenomenon goes hand in hand with the increasing need of experience activities. Long past are the days when it only had the form of tourist visits to publicly accessible caves; organised events such as open-house days, days of crafts, concerts and entertainments organised in caves and others are gradually being added. For example a regular meeting of the lovers of didgeridoo has taken place in the Výpustek Cave for several years.

stemming from the change of the whereabouts. These communities are mostly based on family or local relationships (families and clans, inhabitants of municipalities, parishes). The way in which they are excluded from the original group as well as the resulting form of the group are influenced by the reason for which they arrive in the landscape. If the group used the area as a seasonal dwelling, the transfer of the whole group is likely. This model is likely for the groups of villagers who used the refugial character of the caves at the time of a war danger as well as for Magdalenian hunters returning to their winter camp in the South Branch of Býčí Skála Cave. In the case of a religiously motivated pilgrimage, there is a selection given for example by age and the ability of the individuals to undertake such a voyage, the possibility to release the pilgrims from their daily duties, etc. In prehistory, there is also a possibility that certain rituals (and the participation in them) might have been bound to a specifically defined group of individuals (e.g., a selection based on gender, age, passing of initiation rituals, etc.).

2/ The groups are comprised of persons who have been brought to the place of the meeting by a common interest (speleology, tourism or perhaps their profession). They come from different milieux, from their original groups (community, family, territorially delimited groups – municipalities, work) sharing different objectives, structures and norms and differing in many aspects between themselves and with the new group. Within the new social groups, the individuals adjust themselves to already established norms, while participating in their creation at the same time. Other social statuses and norms (of which they are bearers in the original groups) add to the variability and dynamics of this group in a certain manner, but their importance is significantly eliminated in the new milieu. This type of social groups can be regarded as historically later. The reason is that it involves either directly organised creation (albeit mediated, e.g. small informal groups emerging within large formal groups, such as employees of steelworks, solders, forced labourers, child patients of sanatoria), or they are purely interest (leisure-time) groups that have appeared relatively recently (however, this category will probably also include Medieval highwaymen residing in caves, although here we will rather speak about a professional group, or WWII partisans). These interest groups are only encountered on a more massive scale in the early 20th century (hiking, tourism, speleological groups; *Fig. 95*; *Pohunek 2011*, 65–66; *Golec 2014b*; *Oliva et al. 2015*, 49–60, 73–81). The reason is that these leisure time activities mostly require enough free time and at least a basic transportation infrastructure enabling fast transport to the places of interest and back.

Fig. 95: A group of young hikers/mountaineers/speleologists is heading via Josefov towards Býčí Skála Cave shortly after WWII. Urban youths used the area for temporary stays. It is type 2 of groups (source: archive P. Ryšavý and F. Musil Jr).

Bonds of the landscape

Let us look at the relationship between the landscape and people/human communities from the perspective of a psychological experience (cathexis). What role does a certain landscape play in the minds and how are we bound to it?

It seems that the landscape speaks to us through its offers, and many ways in which a human gets connected with the landscape are formed in response to them. These ways are very numerous; we can best imagine them as a scale between *landscape-stage* and *landscape-determinant*.

What can we imagine under the term *stage*: a group enters the landscape with a certain purpose, most often an aesthetic experience, sports activities, gathering (herbs, mushrooms, minerals, photographs or "caches"), adrenaline sports. The group and the landscape meet and influence each other to a certain extent. The visitors must adjust themselves to the landscape already in the preparatory stage (e.g., by adapting their equipment to the travel); they will be influenced by the stay itself (positively or negatively, depending on the level of the fulfilment of their expectations) and carry away an aesthetic or cultural experience, an impression, a story that may go on living its own life or stores of herbs, forest fruits and mushrooms for the winter. They have left their traces in the landscape (beaten paths, fire rings, refuse, new climbing pitons on rock walls) and leave the landscape. Although this experience might have had a deep personal importance for them, it was not significant whether they visited this particular landscape. Any

Fig. 96: A solemn muster of soldiers in front of the Výpustek Cave in 1992. The top secret underground structure bore the cover name "Military Unit 9031 Křtiny", and its function was a backup command centre built in case of nuclear war (source: archive R. Dvořáček).

landscape meeting their requirements (aesthetic, outdoor, cultural) might have played the same part in their lives. *The group leaves the landscape without being more significantly bound to it. Next time, they will go to the Tatras, for instance.*

What does a landscape-determinant offer? In a response to an offer comes a group that has a strong cathexis towards the particular landscape. The group repeatedly return to the same place, create their own (deep) personal relationship to it, consider the landscape or its part as "*theirs*". Typical representatives of visitors with a preset relationship to the landscape are hikers and speleologists. Albeit genetically not much interrelated, these groups share many characteristics (*Janeček ed. 2011*, 65).

The groups themselves intensify the feeling of bonding to the particular landscape by activities that connect them physically to the place (construction of a hiking hut/camp, works on adjustments of the terrain, speleological/research activity in a cave). The emergence (adjustment) of folklore manifestations (songs, anecdotes, stories) is a similar bonding on the verbal level. We can observe analogous tendencies of building a relationship to a particular segment of the landscape also with the inhabitants of cottage or garden communities. *The stay in the landscape strongly influences the visitors and changes their perception, values and eventually also the way of life and habits. The group feels to be strongly bound to the landscape* (*Fig. 95*).

We have described the two borderline examples of a cathexis that people create towards the landscape, aware of the fact that numerous intermediate stages lie between these positions. At the same time, changes may (and do) happen in particular cases, depending on time, the life situation of individuals and such like. The groups we observe are not constant; their members change, as do their real situations, like in any other human community.

Historical excursus

Of the numerous social groups that have moved in the territory of the Moravian Karst in the course of history, as we have randomly named them above, we would like to focus on two in more detail. These groups have been present in the area for a long time, which makes it possible to ponder how their reflection of the landscape and its offers has changed, and what, on the contrary, remains unchanged throughout the ages.

Soldiers

The use of a karst landscape in the times of danger or when building defensive position directly offers itself. Let us now focus on the relationship between armies and the landscape and on the way the method of use of its offers has changed.

The evidence of historically recorded war events in the region is numerous. Probably the first recorded conflict concerns the destruction of the church in Křtiny during the Hussite Wars (*Kavička 2014*, 23–25). Later, in 1470, the castle near Adamov was besieged by the army of Matthias Corvinus (at that time, it was the Old Castle; after its liquidation, it was rebuilt and has been known as the New Castle – Nový Hrad ever since; *Konečný – Merta 1976*; *iidem 1980*). In 1623, the village of Křtiny was sacked by Hungarian armies of Gabor Bethelen. More attacks against civilian inhabitants as well as cult and military centres took place during the Thirty Years' War (*Kavička 2014*, 26). Swedish troops repeatedly operated near Brno in 1642 and 1643. A part of the Swedish army reportedly found a refuge in a cave name Švédův Stůl (Swedes' Table; *Koudelka 1889*, 29). In 1645, a considerable part of the army marched from Brno towards castle Nový Hrad, which was sacked, along with an iron mill (today's Adamov) and the monastery in Vranov (*Oliva et al. 2015*, 23–24). Another type of a military visit was the double occupation of Adamov (and the Liechtenstein arms and ammunition production situated in it) by the Napoleonic army, aimed at securing necessary provisions for the troops operating deep inside enemy territory (*Kreps 1976*, 128–130).

The civilian population made use of the refugial offer of caves in war times with cast-iron regularity. Armies of the 20th century repeatedly resorted themselves to the same purpose, the construction of secret and relatively well defendable underground spaces. The Czechoslovak army built an ammunition storage in the Výpustek Cave in 1936, for example. A part of a factory producing air engine parts operated by the company Flugmotorenwerke Ostmark GmbH was built there under the supervision of the German army in 1944. Other caves of the Moravian Karst suffered the same fate, including for instance the Drátenická Cave, Michalka Cave, Kůlna Cave and Býčí Skála Cave, where however the production never started (only an "oil economy" was operated there; *Přibil 2004*; *Peša 2013*, 234; *Oliva et al. 2015*, 66).

The Moravian Karst became the venue of hard fighting towards the end of the WWII. The front stopped there for about a week, with the Wehrmacht and the Red Army standing against each other (as well as the partisan units, which operated in the Moravian Karst during the war; *Oliva et al. 2015*, 69).

The last (known) military episode in the Moravian Karst was the construction of a command post of the Czechoslovak People's Army in the Výpustek Cave in the 1960s. The shelter was top secret until 2001 (*Fig. 96*). In 2005, the structure was handed over to the Environment Ministry, which made it open to the public (*Přibil 2004*).

Military groups and armies came into existence in an organised manner, have a firm social hierarchy and an elaborate system of values and sanctions. We can perceive them as a certain type of a professional group. It might seem that in such an organisation there is no space for the creation of smaller groups living their own lives, independent on the official structure. The opposite is true, however. These small groups sensitively react to the army milieu and help their members cope with the situation that is not easy for them. They delimit themselves against the official structures and often reach the character of a subculture. The space for the development of these small groups is the smaller the more professional is the army. On the contrary, times when wider groups of the population are called for the army (whether in wartime, through a draft notice, or by means of compulsory military service in peace) are favourable for the development of these structures, characteristic i.a. by expressive culture and folklore (*Votruba 2011*, 61–63).

The shift in the use of the landscape by armies of the Middle Ages, the Early Modern Era and the 20th century is evident at first glance. It was caused above all by a different military strategy. Where armies only passed through the region in the past, making use of all possibilities of gaining stores and war booty by means of pillaging and forced contributions, the strongest reason for the presence of all three mentioned armies in the Moravian Karst was the refugial function of the caves. Looking at the form of the military groups, we can presume that the character of the military events affected their dynamics. Medieval and Early Modern episodes in the Moravian Karst represented above all one-off events of the conquest and pillage of a particular target (castle, monastery, economic facility) on the background of other war events. We can see a shift already during the Napoleonic Wars, when a strategic military armoury was occupied. A quite different situation is registered in the case of the 20th century events. The method of use of the caves required longer-term stays of garrisons. This naturally affected ordinary life of the soldiers. Especially the soldiers of the Czechoslovak People's Army who secured the long-term operation of the shelter in Výpustek Cave had enough space to form the above-mentioned small social groups and create expressive culture and folklore. The visitors of the current exposition situated in the cave can see for themselves the products with which the soldiers whiled away time (it was apparently for the same reason that ancient Magdalenians once produced enormous quantities of further unused chipped industry in Býčí Skála Cave; *Oliva et al. 2015*, 104, 117).

Pilgrims

The beginnings of Christian pilgrimages in the Moravian Karst are connected with two Marian places of pilgrimage in Křtiny and Vranov near Brno. The manifestations of pilgrimage culminated in the Baroque, but we can find their beginnings already in the Middle Ages (*Mihola 2010*; *Kavička 2014*; *Oliva et al. 2015*, 16–17). Pilgrimage in the Moravian Karst goes deeper into history, however. If we understand pilgrimage as a religious act aimed at reaching a sacred place and carrying out prescribed rituals, with the travel itself being an important part of the religious act, we must ascribe the status of pilgrims also to the prehistoric visitors of cult places/sanctuaries in the Moravian Karst (*Fig. 97*).[73] Those documented from the Moravian Karst area are relatively distant from contemporary settlements. They are situated in a landscape that was not occupied at that time. It is therefore highly unlikely that these places might have served as subjects of everyday religiosity. It was necessary to undertake a not quite undemanding travel, which had a deep symbolic meaning in itself. The distance from the venue of the ritual emphasised the exceptionality of both the place and the act itself, especially if this venue was situated in a sacred landscape.[74] Prehistoric and later religious pilgrimages are connected by many other parallels as well, including for example the bringing of offerings (food, vessels, jewellery, flowers or blood sacrifices – animal and human) known from prehistory and living to this day in many religions or rather symbolic gifts at first glance of Christian pilgrimages (votive plates of thanks, images dedicated to a church or miniature versions of organs restored to health; *Fig. 98*; *Dvořáková 1997*, 41–42), a social subtext of the events, an organised character of the pilgrimage, a tendency to bring a memorial item from the pilgrimage that carries the blessing of the place (holy images, water from a sacred spring, stone from a sacred place, etc.).

A question that remains difficult to answer is whether these prehistoric places were "pilgrimage" places in the sense of the organisation of cyclically repeated festivities (the ceremonies might have been bound for instance to the vegetation cycle, the movements of celestial bodies, etc.) or whether some served for a one-time purpose, for example at the time of an extraordinary danger that required the performance of an exceptional religious/sacrificial act. A detailed study of the site may help us get closer to a solution to this problem, apart from an analysis of archaeological material. A recently discovered natural phenomenon (a ray of light penetrates the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave through the so-called Large Window only at the time between the spring and autumn solstices; *Oliva et al. 2015*, 131) may indicate a connection to the rituals of fertility linked to the beginning and the end of the vegetation period. The outcome of analyses of the stomach contents of human sacrifices from the Iron Age found in Danish bogs is worth mentioning in this context: no fresh plants or fruits have been found in their food. A possible explanation is that they were sacrificed in the winter or early spring, with a prospective connection between their sacrifice and agricultural rituals (*Glob 1972*, 132). The character of the offerings from the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave would correspond to the same type of cult; let us noted the repeated use of millet in a religious sense. We can also consider a solar symbolism of the place, however: the appearance and disappearance of sun rays in the cave might have been understood as a visualisation of the constantly repeating journey of the solar disc on the canopy of the heavens and its descent into the under-

73 Pilgrimages have been a rather marginal topic within the professional anthropology public until recently, even though it is a generally widespread phenomenon. Religious pilgrimages are inherent to Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism; they were undertaken by Ancient Greeks, Romans or Inca. From the symbolic perspective, they are usually perceived as a specific kind of an initiation ritual (*Bowie 2008*, 243–270). There is a general agreement that the travel is a substantial part of a pilgrimage. Perhaps the most important voyage that needs to be undertaken in the course of a pilgrimage is the journey into one's own soul. Regardless of the formal appearance and ritual practices accompanying the individual pilgrimages, the pilgrim must turn their thoughts to God on the way and find their personal relationship to Him (regardless of what the particular society understands under the notion of God). This is perhaps one of the many reasons for the existence of pilgrimages – to provide an occasion for this internal journey, for which one usually has little time and few opportunities in their ordinary home milieu, filled with constant work and social contacts.

74 Caves were and are generally perceived as exceptional places with an extraordinary religious potential; they have therefore been used for ritual/religious activities worldwide and across all religions (*Eliade 1998*, 146). Within the region of the Moravian Karst, we are at present capable of distinguishing caves in which ritual activities took place: Výpustek, Pekárna and Býčí Skála; caves that have yielded evidence of ritual treatment of human remains (burials; in the case of documented cannibalism, they was most probably remains of sacrificial rituals): Císařská, Barová, Jestřábka-Kanibalka; and caves that are regarded today as prehistoric sanctuaries: Výpustek at the time of the Linear Ware culture and Býčí Skála in the Eneolithic and in the Hallstatt Period (*Ondroušková 2011*, 130, 162–164; *Oliva et al. 2015*, 120–121, 146). In reality, it is likely that many more caves than only the mentioned ones were used in this manner, but we are confronted with interpretative problems and with the destruction of many archaeologically hopeful situations in the past (e.g., Jáchymka Cave, North and South Branches of Býčí Skála Cave).

Fig. 97: "Sloup, pilgrimage place near Brno" in 1860 (painting: F. Kaliwoda, lithography: A. Haun; archive of the Vyškov Region Museum).

ground. In both cases, we can rightfully think about a cyclical character of prehistoric rituals in this place. A similar penetration of the Sun into the underground is known also from the area (entrance hall) of Entrance No. 2 to the Výpustek Cave, and once again, we register a presence of Hallstatt finds, and perhaps even fire rings/hearths, like in the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave (*Skutil 1970*, 319–320).

Pilgrims come to the cult places from their home milieu. It is not a movement of the whole community, but parts of families, village communities, hamlets or parishes, i.e. already formed social groups, often travel together. They form a temporary group for the duration of the pilgrimage whose rules are given by their joint objective, and an equalisation of a hierarchised community takes place (in the ideal case). Temporary groups usually came into existence formally (an organised pilgrimage) and followed particular instructions of the organisers as well as general and liturgical habits. Yet we know from literary sources that numerous excesses (drunkenness and disorderly behaviour) sometimes took place even at these occasions, arousing the displeasure of other pilgrims and of the clergy. The pilgrimage started already at home, with the moment of preparation; the travel was an inseparable part of the ceremony. It was connected with numerous acts that had to be performed (*Langhammerová 2004*, 182). The religious peak of the pilgrimage was the arrival in the sacred place and manifestations of piousness corresponding to the particular historical form of the faith (the Holy Mass, bringing the sacrifice of the Son of God to the present, or prehistoric mysteries connected with historically different types of sacrifice).

An important aspect of a pilgrimage is the social context of the event – the interactions between the individual pilgrims and communities. Meetings are intentionally searched for; their importance is purposefully intensified by social events (feasts, manifestations of favour among related clans and families or meetings of wider families in Recent Past and the Present). The deeper in the past we venture, the greater is the importance of the social aspect (integration, strengthening of relationships among related families and friendly clans). The codification of information on who belongs to "us" and who does not, to whom we

can turn for help in the case of need[75] and among which groups we can look for our life partners was an important function of these meetings. This social aspect is gradually weakening, however. Such archaic form of communication is losing importance at the time of birth registers, post, telephones and the Internet, but does not disappear altogether.

Pilgrim landscape

We describe the landscape of the Moravian Karst above as a visiting landscape. We have shown, however, that the meaning of the landscape has changed depending on the way of its grasping by people. Over the course of time, the Moravian Karst was perceived as industrial, tourist, battle, pilgrim and eventually, in proportion to the construction of industry in the locality, ever more as residential landscape. Today, it even has the status of protected landscape. Yet it seems that sanctity/sacredness is its dominant function. Václav Cílek defines sacred landscape as a "*specific type of landscape that has a transcendent meaning and makes a spiritual impression on us ... this type of landscape arouses certain feelings and thoughts in us, which lead us to a kind of concentration, understanding, pondering of spiritual affairs and reconciliation with some transpersonal sphere*." (*Cílek 2014*, 15; on the topic also *Peša 2014*, 204). It is thus a quality of the landscape itself, which calls on a human to exceed him or herself. It helps introduce spiritual aspects in our lives and forces us to ask questions connected with the very existence of people and the world. If a person understands the call of the landscape (as the perception of this function of the landscape is largely individual) and adjusts their behaviour to it, they gradually further the sacralisation of the landscape by their presence and activity (e.g., the reshaping of its ritual substance by chert mining in the Krumlovský Les [Forest], which led to the creation of heaps and pits and the accumulation of the chipped refuse, which added to an increase in the perception of sacredness by other visitors; the structures of tumuli or megalithic tombs made a similar impression at other places). A layering of the meanings and individual records takes place in the landscape. Some of these records are rather easy to read even today, whereas others have vanished and are invisible to the eye. However, memories of them remain often stored in the popular memory in the form of toponyms, legends or habits whose meaning is almost unreadable today, but people understood them for a long time (*Peša 2014*, 182). It is certainly no coincidence that cult places and sanctuaries emerged mutually independently on the relatively small territory of the Moravian Karst throughout almost the whole prehistory, and that two major Christian places of pilgrimage were built there in the Middle Ages, which maintain their living tradition to this day.[76] A similar situations repeats itself elsewhere. The proximity of prehistoric cult places and a major Christian place of pilgrimage is known also in the Bohemian or Slovak Karst (*Cílek 2009*, 152–156; *idem 2013*, 157–164). Prehistoric cult places within a settlement landscape are relatively common, but it is precisely their interconnectedness with other contemporary infrastructure that makes the aspect of pilgrimage impossible to capture. Other sacred localities, such as "sacred mountains", which would meet the

Fig. 98: Pilgrimage votive paintings in the cloister of the pilgrimage church in Křtiny are remnants of religious behaviour typical of the period. Collected in this manner, they create a hoard of items of the same type (photograph: M. Golec).

75 Ordinary human settlements are situated at the edge of the visited area of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). In case of need, people turned their minds to the safety of this area. The same must have been true of prospective allies "beyond the hill". These relationships must have been continuously confirmed and meetings must have played a part in it.

76 A place of pilgrimage in Sloup came into existence in the middle of the 18th century and another one, called "Moravian Lourdes", in the Císařská Cave in 1933 (*Odehnal 2008*).

condition of a distance from contemporary settlements and thus a necessity of a pilgrimage to a sacred place, are often connected with a single culture or period (*Fig. 99*). It is not, however, an exception that such activities in some places are identical to similar previous usage, perhaps prehistoric. What makes Moravian Karst unique from the perspective of archaeo-religious studies is that it contains the evidence of pilgrimage from the Neolithic to the Present (albeit with intermissions) within a single landscape.

Scientist landscape

The notion that our ancestors perceived the natural environment only from the utilitarian viewpoint, i.e. from the perspective of the possibilities it offered to them no longer stands today. The very fact that ancient people thought about the emergence and origin various dominants of the landscape and included them in their myths proves, among other things, that their perception of landscape did not differ much from the one we have today (*Beneš – Dreslerová – Kuna eds. 2003*, 67–68).

Of course, their personal experience was different, as were their knowledge and the abilities of their movement and life within the landscape. We cannot aspire to be able to see the landscape through their eyes and understand their way of thinking – the distance between us, both temporal and cultural, is too great. Nonetheless, it is ever clearer that we need to attempt this attitude at least. In a certain sense, the method of study of historical events that has prevailed so far and took the character of landscape– stage into account only marginally has reached a limit of its possibilities. At present, scientists purposefully visit the landscape and often succumb to the charm of the landscape itself and the possibilities this method of research brings. At the same time, this leads to even more intensive interconnection of various disciplines of sciences (from natural sciences to history, archaeology, religious studies, sociology, cultural anthropology and psychology). If we wish to get closer to our ancestors' understanding of the landscape and their way of life in it, we must repeatedly enter "their" landscape and let it speak to us. This approach of a "reconstruction of the lived space of prehistoric people" is attempted by landscape phenomenology (*Norberg-Schulz 2010*; *Pauknerová 2012*, 141–142) and landscape archaeology. The positive results of this approach are visible already today. Nevertheless, science will even here once encounter a barrier that will be insurmountable. Yet it may not be so important to find answers to all questions we ask. Perhaps

Fig. 99: A pilgrimage manifestation at Svatá Hora (Holy Mountain) near Křižanov (Žďár nad Sázavou District). Christian crosses are spontaneous products emerging in most cases extemporaneously in the place itself (photograph: V. Bělehradová).

the most important fact is that the questions have been posed and we are forced to ponder them. Without these efforts, our research loses its main sense – to understand the motivation and acts of the human communities that inhabited *our common landscape* before us.

Eneolithic Drawing from Býčí Skála Cave and the Issue of the So-called Danube Script *(Eva Čermáková)*

A group of geometric signs drawn by charcoal in the South Branch of the Býčí Skála Cave (*Fig. 100–101*) stands out from the hundreds of inscriptions and engravings preserved in the cave. Using radiocarbon method, the drawing has been dated to the Late Stone Age Period (Eneolithic), more precisely to 4420 ± 50 BC; after calibration, in 3330–2915 BC (*Svoboda – van der Plicht – Balák 2005*, 575). The people who lived in this country in this time period are called after their typical pottery, the Channelled Ware culture, or also the Baden culture; after all, pottery material from that period was discovered earlier in the cave (*Ondroušková 2011*, 122–123). The cave drawing itself has not attracted greater professional attention – Jiří Svoboda only stated that the motifs indeed resemble the decoration engraved into some Channelled Ware pottery vessels (*Svoboda – van der Plicht – Balák 2005*, 575). I believe that for correct interpretation of this monument, it needs to be set into a wider cultural context. The Baden culture was situated in a periphery (both spatial and temporal) of a larger civilizational circle whose centre was in Southeast Europe, in the area of the Balkan Peninsula. In the course of its existence, the so-called Danube civilisation influenced life also deep inside the European continent. Its influence, dominant above all in the Neolithic, gradually subsided in the course of the Eneolithic. The advanced level of this civilisation is illustrated also by the fact that within it, we encounter a specific semiotic system denoted as the Danube Script in the professional literature. Despite the marginal interest in this phenomenon in our archaeological circles, we can encounter it to a certain, albeit scantly extent also in this country. It is very likely that the drawing from Býčí Skála Cave represents precisely such an example.

Danube civilisation

The term *Danube civilisation* does not sound familiar to us. To their detriment, the Bohemian and Moravian archaeology does not work with this notion, which characterises the unity of optically differentiated cultural units. On the contrary, the predominant trend within it is atomisation of larger wholes into almost digital units – phases, sub-phases and local variants. When looking from so up close, however, we often miss the overall context, not only spatial but also temporal – we do not see the wood for the trees. Only a few decades ago, researchers could still see the context. The term *Danube civilisation* was coined by the British archaeologist of Australian origin Vere Gordon Child in the 1920s. The term reflected the diffusionist paradigm of which he was a protagonist. According to Child, the Danube basin was the path through which an advanced Neolithic and Chalcolithic[77] civilisation spread from the Balkans; at the same time, the course of the Danube was the axis and the backbone of the Danube civilisation. The woman who gave the Danube civilisation a "spirit" was Marija Gimbutas. Due to her overlaps, the American-Lithuanian archaeologist of extraordinary erudition and purview[78] did not fit into the beaten track of traditional archaeological science. Her legacy was rather neglected, if not directly denied in many spheres because of some conclusions that were misunderstood and described as simplified. The proverbial child thrown out with the water was a unique view of the Danube civilisation, to which Marija Gimbutas gave a human dimension and elevated it above "bones and sherds".

The Danube civilisation[79] is a term denoting a complex of Neolithic and Chalcolithic (Eneolithic in this country) pre-Indo-European cultures that developed in Southeastern Europe, above all in the Balkans and the adjacent regions[80] approximately in 6400–3500/3300 BC (*Haarmann 2002*). The Danube civilisation was characterised by an emphasis on the agriculture, advanced maternal cults and celebration of the cycle of life and death, symbolised by the annual death and "rebirth" of vegetation, but above all by the creation of a semantic system known under the established term *the Danube Script*. This phenomenon puts the Danube civilisation next to the earliest literary

77 The Chalcolithic, or the Copper Age, is a period roughly parallel with Central European Eneolithic (Late Stone Age). The term *Chalcolithic* is used for areas where copper was already more frequently used in the given period (Southeastern Europe). In contrast, the term *Eneolithic* is used for Central, Western and Northern Europe, precisely due to rather sporadic occurrence of copper artefacts and still dominant use of stone material.

78 Apart from archaeology, Marija Gimbutas had a doctorate also in religious studies and ethnography (*Spretnak 2011*, 4).

79 Marija Gimbutas originally denoted it as "Old Europe", a term that is being abandoned today due to its vagueness.

80 They include for instance the following cultures: Vinča, Turdaș, Lengyel, Cucuteni, Tripolje, Gumelnița, Karanovo, Baden, Pécsely and others.

Fig. 100: Drawing from the middle part of the Eneolithic in a vagina-shaped cavern in the South Branch of Býčí Skála Cave (photograph: J. Syrový).

Fig. 101: Detail of the Eneolithic drawing from South Branch of Býčí Skála Cave (photograph: M. Golec).

civilisations that knew writing and that came into existence precisely in the basins of great rivers: Nile (Egypt), Euphrates and Tigris (Mesopotamia), Indus (the Harappa culture; *Merlini 2008*, 60). The Danube civilisation was destroyed during the Eneolithic by aggressive invasions of the first Indo-Europeans from East European steppes, who established a patriarchate in Europe and definitively ended its blossom (*Gimbutas 2000*).

The Vinča culture with a core in today's Serbia is usually understood as the centre (both temporal and spatial) from which the Danube civilisation crystallised in its most classical form and from which cultural influences spread

Fig. 102: Spindle with script-like signs from a Baden culture hillfort in Hlinsko, Přerov District (*Pavelčík 1983*).

further. In the territory of today's Czech Republic, the northwest periphery of the Danube civilisation, it includes the Linear Ware culture, the Lengyel culture (both from the Neolithic) and the Eneolithic cultures following in Lengyel traditions, including the Baden culture, which is bound to southeastern and Balkans territories and represents one of the last, latest phases of the Danube civilisation.

Danube Script

The notion of the existence of a writing system in the European area preceding the emergence of the first known writing systems was (and is) quite unimaginable and therefore unacceptable for many archaeologists. Finds with unusual or even "suspicious" signs occurred from time to time in the archaeological record of cultures that can be included in the Danube civilisation, but the idea of a script was out of the question and even if it sometimes did creep in, it was usually soon suppressed, often perhaps also out of fear of a ruin of the persons' archaeological reputation by placing him or her next to "fantasts" such as Erich von Däniken. A very typical in this sense is the story of the find of a spindle from a hillfort near Hlinsko belonging (like the drawing in Býčí Skála Cave) to the Baden culture (*Fig. 102*). The spindle with special engraved signs was discovered by the archaeologist Jiří Pavelčík, who naturally noticed a distinct similarity between the signs and a script. He ruled out the possibility of it actually being a script, however, pointing out that the signs were similar neither to the linear nor to the hieroglyphic script of Crete, and moreover significantly temporarily preceded them (*Pavelčík 1983*). The idea that this script might have been original and even earlier than the two mentioned writing systems would have seem utterly fantastic. It is not surprising that the existence of the Danube Script has been accepted as a fact above all among archaeologists from Southeastern Europe, where finds with this type of signs are so numerous that they cannot be rejected as rarities or curiosities. The greatest attention has been paid above all to the finds of tablets with written signs from Tărtăria, Romania (for example, *Lazarovici – Lazarovici – Merlini 2011*) and Gradešnica, Bulgaria (Macedonia today; for example, *Merlini 2005*).

The so-called Danube Script is regarded as a semiotic system of signs and symbols concerning above all the religious sphere (*Robbins Dexter 2010*, 74). Based on years of comparison and interdisciplinary studies, Marija Gimbutas put together a "dictionary" of the Danube semiotic system, calling it typically the "Language of the Goddess" (*Gimbutas 1989*). In each repeating symbol or ornament, it identified a meaning implied by the context of use and other contexts (above all ethnological and mythological). According to Merlini, the Danube Script is a semantic system that "froze" in the rudimentary stage of its development in connection with the collapse of the Danube civilisation, never reaching the form of a pictorial or phonetic script (*Merlini 2009*, 5). The Danube Script (this term needs to be understood rather broadly) thus represents a unique category on the boundary between symbolism, decoration and writing (in the narrower sense, as we understand it today). As we do not have space here for more detailed presentation of this remarkable phenomenon, I refer those interested to the quoted literature.

Býčí Skála Cave on the periphery of "Danube literature"

The Býčí Skála Cave is situated on the periphery of the Danube civilisation both temporarily (the Baden culture represents one of the last stages of the civilisation in this country) and spatially: the territory of Moravia lies on the northwestern edge of the "area of occurrence of the Danube Script" (*Merlini 2009*, 5, see the map of page 2).

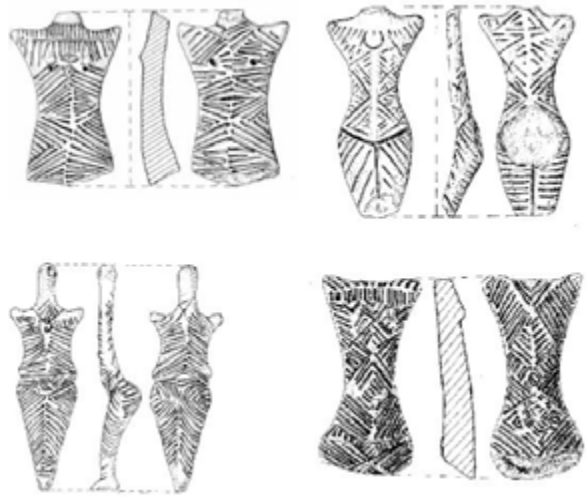


Fig. 103: Venus from the Romanian site Scânteia, Cucuteni culture (*Lazarovici 2008*).

Fig. 104: Drawing in the Bulgarian cave Magura (*Gimbutas 1989*, Fig. 459).

The signs drawn in the South Branch bear signs of intentionality at first glance – the lines are parallel and multiple, signs in the form of crosses repeat themselves, the motifs of a triangle and of a reversed letter "V" are distinguishable in the central part of the drawing. The whole motif strongly resembles ornaments we encounter on the bodies of Eneolithic ceramic "Venuses", whether from the Baden culture itself in Moravia and Slovakia or from contemporary more southeast situated Chalcolithic cultures, above all Cucuteni and Tripojle (*Fig. 103*). Marija Gimbutas links these motifs to reproduction and maternal deities (triangles) and with the life-giving stream of water or milk ("V" motifs; *Gimbutas 1989*). The occurrence of these signs in a cave may be connected with the age-old female cave symbolism that can be identified already from the Palaeolithic. In the case of Býčí Skála Cave, moreover, this link is intensified by the fact that the drawing is situated on a rock in a crevice that directly evokes the female sex and in the presence of an underground watercourse, a symbol of the life-giving stream. It is possible that Býčí Skála Cave represented an analogue to sanctuaries representing the gigantic body of the Goddess (see for instance the megalithic sanctuaries in Malta, Ggantija, Mnadjra and others, originating approximately from the same period as the Býčí Skála Cave drawing). If we wish to find an analogy to Eneolithic cave drawings, our attention will probably be drawn by drawings preserved in the Bulgarian cave Magura (*Fig. 104*); unlike the Býčí Skála Cave drawing, it contains apart from abstract motifs also concrete and figurative ones. Radiocarbon dating of two samples has yielded the dates of 3950–3660 and 3780–3530 BC after calibration (*Kunov – Arnaudov – Molnar 2014*, 112), which is comparable to the age of the find at Býčí Skála Cave. According to Marija Gimbutas, the depiction is connected with the (winter) Sun regaining its strength after the solstice (*Gimbutas 1989*, 291). Also here, we thus encounter the cave as a spring of life. (We need to add that the cave contains more scenes.)

How should we evaluate the Eneolithic drawing from Býčí Skála Cave? I believe it is a creation connected to the Danube civilisation and the tradition of the Danube Script. In view of the peripheral location of the site in relation to the centres of the Danube civilisation, we can presume that it was a simplified manifestation, adjusted to the local "barbarian" conditions. The creators were probably aware of the sacredness of its meaning but did not achieve the thoroughness of the rendition known from the southeastern regions – this can resemble unreadable barbaric imitations of writing that sometimes appear for instance on old Germanic coins created by illiterate craftsmen, or the attempts at a "script" by the native people of the Nambikwara of South America mentioned by Peter Laučík in the following part of this chapter.[81] In any case, the drawing from Býčí Skála Cave shows us another case of the connection between Moravia and the area of the "Danube literature". However seemingly marginal this phenomenon is in this country, we need to take it into account as a distinctive cultural phenomenon that is no longer quite unique. In the ideal case, it might set off a revision of at least some Neolithic and Eneolithic artefacts found in Moravia.

Býčí Skála Cave and Return of Writing back to Wilderness *(Eva Čermáková)*

"Isolation" of writing from living nature

According to the philosopher David Abram, writing came into existence by gradual "isolation" from living nature (*Abram 2013*). He sees the origin of writing in animal traces in the sand, the way birds fly (from which it was possible to read the future) and similar natural phenomena. Archaic pictorial forms of writing were still related to natural phenomena in appearance, and so were phonetic alphabets (Hebrew, Phoenician). It was much later that writing became an abstract sign "liberated" from nature, sign whose forms only have meaning in order to distinguish it from other signs. This is how we perceive writing today, when few people can trace a wavy water surface in the letter "M" or a bull's head in the letter "A". Over the course of the millennia, the script was extracted and isolated from wild nature and "replanted" in ever less material and more virtual media. Signs engraved in a rock or impressed on

81 Brief Stroll Through the Cave with Claude Lévi-Strauss.

clay tablets could be not only read but also felt by touch, and their limited mobility limited also the possibility of spread of their contents. The process continued by the "occupation" of a new media, parchment and paper. These subtler media no longer enabled "touching" of the script, which was transformed into two dimensions. Current digital displays of monitors represent the final stage of the "virtualisation" of writing, which has completely lost not only natural but also material form.

Concept of linguistic landscape

It would be incorrect to assume, however, that the "denaturation and virtualisation of writing" was a simple and unidirectional process. From the very beginning to this day, this line is accompanied also by a different method of use of the script, which is connected and interacts with the natural environment.[82] We are reaching the field of geosemiotics, a discipline introduced by Ronald and Suzanne Wong Scollon (*2003*). Signs (and inscriptions in the narrower sense) enter the material world and acquire a certain meaning based on their position. For this reason, the Scollons promote the study of signs in view of their particular occurrence in the physical environment. The central term with which the authors operate is indexability – a characteristic of signs based on their referential nature in view of their particular location in the material world as well as in relation to other signs and items in their vicinity. Indexability is a key characteristic that directly influences the way the recipient interprets the given sign/inscription. The theoretical concept of linguistic landscape (*Landry – Bourhis 1997*), which applies these perspectives to the case of a text in the landscape, can be regarded as a subset of geosemiotics. During such research, we need to ask:

1/ Where is the sign/inscription situated? (What is the quality of the location? Is it a well accessible and visible place, or a hidden and poorly accessible one?)
2/ In what manner is the sign/inscription rendered? (Is it a carefully engraved and planned inscription, or a slovenly carved graffiti? What type of script was used?)
3/ What is the language of the inscription? In what relationship are inscriptions in various languages? Do they overlap or spatially respect each other?
4/ What was the original intention of the creation of the sign/inscription? For whom was it intended and for what reason?
5/ Is the text informative ("No entry to the quarry."), and/or symbolic (quotation on a memorial)?
6/ How is the sign/inscription perceived today? Is it regarded as cultural heritage, a memory of events that took place on that place or merely as a form of vandalism? Is it a motivation for the rendition of more inscriptions?

As texts and writing occur more frequently in the urban milieu, an absolute majority of surveys of this type takes place in towns and cities. This was the reason for the creation of a new term, *cityscape*, reflecting the specificity of this area and its difference from the landscape of the rural areas. Linguistic landscape outside the urban area (or more precisely outside the area of settlements) has a different character; it is usually less compact and less dynamic than urban linguistic landscapes,[83] but it shows many specifics and therefore deserves special attention.

Býčí Skála Cave as a "linguistic landscape"

When the Englishman Frederic William Maitland spoke about the landscape as a palimpsest (Maitland in: *Gojda 2000*) for the first time, he used the phrase as a metaphor for the process of overlapping and following of anthropogenic interventions. Nonetheless, there are areas that we can thus characterise almost without an overlap in meaning. The Moravian Karst and the Býčí Skála Cave is undoubtedly such a landscape.

The Moravian Karst is one of the earliest touristically used areas in this country, and the preserved "linguistic landscape" is closely related to the phenomenon of tourism. It includes for instance the tourist path signs, guideposts, educational trail information boards, mountaineering or summit registers but above all the numerous signatures and inscriptions made by visitors of this area across centuries and social strata. This type of inscriptions has survived in an increased extent in several caves of the Křtinské Údolí (Valley): Jáchymka Cave, Výpustek Cave[84] and above all Býčí

82 By natural environment, we mean an environment that plays a part in the interpretation of text. For instance, the word *Rose* tattooed on a man's body can be interpreted as the name of his girlfriend. On a doorbell, it probably signifies the surname of a woman or man who lives there; carved into a memorial, it denotes the name of the buried person. In contrast, the word *Rose* standing separately in an *unnatural* environment of a Word document or on a sheet of papers tells us nothing.

83 The dynamics of urban linguistic landscapes is considerable, with changes taking place within days or even hours (a noticeboard of a restaurant advertising the daily menu is erased or updated in the afternoon hours, posters of past events are overlapped with current offer, not speaking of movable advertisements and displays that occupy public space).

84 Only a minimal number of these inscriptions has survived to this day due to the interventions carried out during WWII. We can get an idea of their quantity from preserved reports (e.g., *Musil 2010*).

Skála Cave. We have presented and analysed the unique complex of epigraphic monuments from Býčí Skála Cave in detail before (*Čermáková – Golec 2014*), above all from the perspectives of the micro-history of the place and of the development of tourism in the given area. I will therefore refrain from a chronological description at this point and refer those interested to the cited work. I would rather wish to view and interpret the local inscriptions precisely from the viewpoint of the concept of a linguistic landscape.

Within the cave, we can easily distinguish well accessible areas (those that can be reached by walking) and those accessible with difficulties (for instance, the spaces accessible by crawling or with the help of mountaineering equipment). The character of the inscriptions changes significantly depending on this quality. Most inscriptions and signatures occur in well-accessible areas; most of them are personal names of tourists from the 18th–20th centuries. They are dominated by a memorial plaque created in memory of the visit of Emperor Francis I and his wife Maria Theresa of Naples and Sicily in 1804. These basically "conformist" signatures, inspired to a significant extent precisely by the signatures and engraved names of the period elites (let us not forget that the perception of these graffiti as a sign of vandalism is relatively recent) is in a rather sharp contrast with the inscriptions in parts of the cave accessible with difficulties. Somewhat within the style of Jára Cimrman's slogan "we shall not hide our truth", it was in these places that the proponents of various movements situated their political statements in tense times. Anti-Nazi slogans of Communist-oriented visitors of the cave: DIE ROTE FRONT LEBT!, HITLER – EIN BLUTIGER HUND including the symbols of a hammer and a sickle can be read to this day in so-called Brunina Cave, a cave corridor labyrinth within Býčí Skála Cave accessible by crawling. Politically engaged inscriptions appeared also in summit or "wall" registers in Býčí Skála Cave, in parts accessible only to mountaineers. Rudolf Burkhardt mentions strong propagation of Nazism on the pages of summit registers by German mountaineers at the beginning of WWII (*Burkhardt 1973*, 3). Summit registers "infected" by Nazism – apart from the book from Býčí Skála Cave and the climbing route "Idaho" also the book from Krkavčí Skála (Rock) – were subsequently liquidated by members of the Czech Tourist Club (*Gregor – Pipal – Pokorný 2012*, 32).

The specificity of an area brings about a specific drive of the inscriptions. Difficult to reach cave spaces served for a "mental hygiene" of the visitors. It enabled them to express opinions that were inadvisable to manifest elsewhere (including more easily accessible parts of the cave).

However, the inscriptions react not only to the quality of the area but also to each other. We have mentioned an example of a likely overwriting of a slogan above; at other times (more frequent), inscriptions do not compete but rather tend to accumulate. The inscriptions of the "elites" act as a magnet, attracting numerous other signatures and inscriptions. (Let us mention the desire of Medieval people to be buried as near as possible to the remains of a saint.)

From our point of view, Býčí Skála Cave represents a unique underground linguistic landscape, a place where writing "returns to wild nature", which it has in fact never left. With both their appearance and meaning, the inscriptions and signs react to the particular physical localisation and to each other, creating a meaningful unity (*Fig. 105*).

Argonauts' Passage Between the Cliffs of Archaeology and Ethnology *(Peter Laučík)*

Our attempts at understand prehistoric societies can be based on two main sources: 1. the survived fragments of material culture and scanty written monuments offered by archaeological and historical research; 2. ethnographic research of so-called "primitive" societies, or more politically correctly "natural peoples". As almost nothing has remained from their way of life, archaeological and ethnographic research start to resemble each other: the society under study no longer exists.

If we incline to the method of traditional archaeology, we expose ourselves to the danger of a reduction implied by positivism: of leaving out those levels of meaning that cannot be (regrettably, often even implicitly) transferred by archaeological artefacts and omitting an immense set of social parameters, which however significantly participate in the creation of human society. As an example, we can name a simple ban on incest and the implied system of distribution of suitable sexual partners, wedding customs, hygienic measures, mechanisms of distribution of hunted food, distribution of power, but also perception of melody, harmony, rhythm and musical feeling generally or the simple ability to tolerate the existence of another person as another, etc.

If we incline to ethnology, we face the danger of creating a lofty comparative theory out of fragments of diverse materials, which will however – like a balloon without necessary grounding – always make a somehow "flown-off" impression.

The middle course (similar to the Argonauts' passage through the imaginary closing cliffs) seems the have the form of an evolutionist approach, centred around the core presumption of a psychical unity of humanness as the united vector of its development. According to this theory, people of all times and places are of the same mental equipment, mental characteristics independent of race, milieu and time (*Soukup 2004*, 298). Understanding the evolutionist hypothesis means to acknowledge (and perhaps even believe) that people in various places and times were faced with very similar tasks and shared a similar objective: to create a

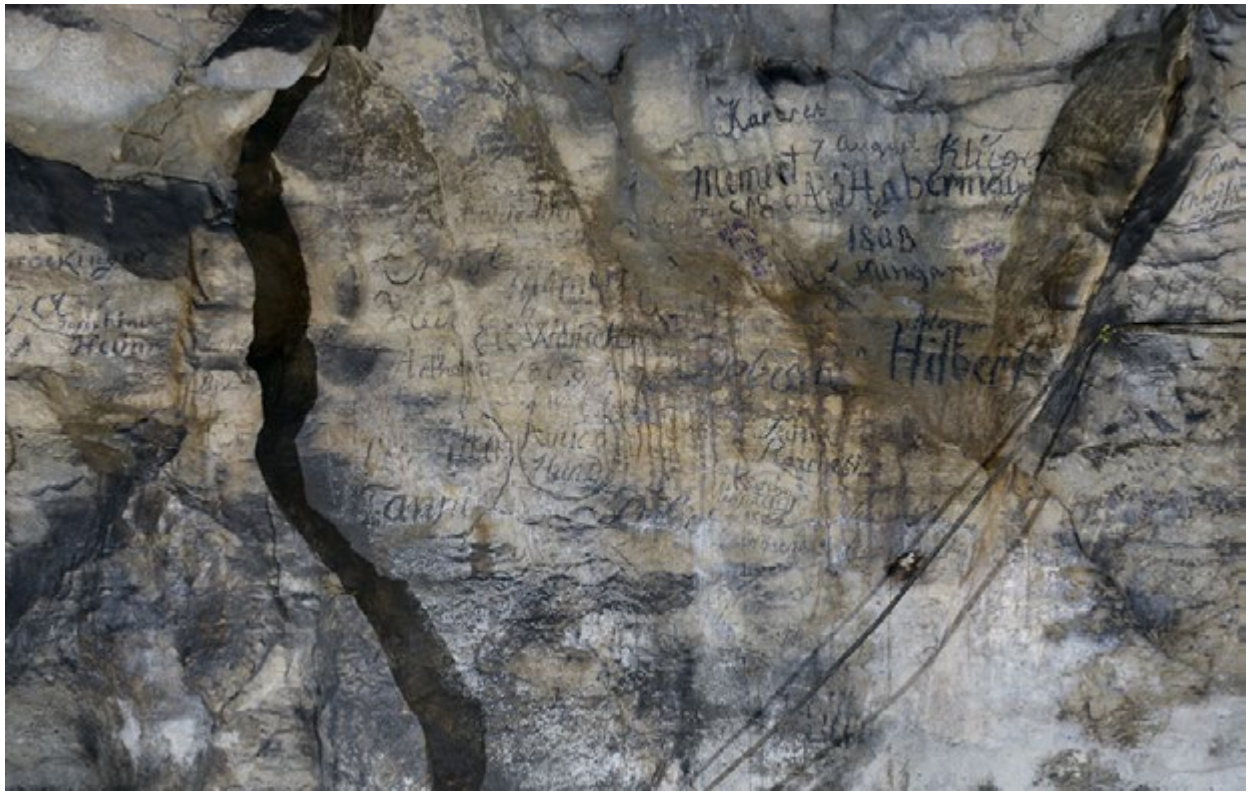


Fig. 105: Underground linguistic landscape of Býčí Skála Cave, part of the rock in the Dračí Hřbety (Dragon's Backs) (photograph: J. N. Moravec).

society in which they can live. According to the evolutionist Edward Burnett Tylor, barbarians and savages the most resemble what our ancestors used to be and what our farmers are to this day (*Tylor 1897*, 83). Later neo-evolutionists do not protest against this statement; they only add that the vectors of development of various cultures are not heading towards the same goal but show a certain dispersion – this is the theory of multilinear evolution. Thanks to the comparison of archaeological hypothetical theory with ethnologically known social practice, we can, looking back, avoid the constitution of too unlikely or reduced images of vanished human communities. This broad field of mutual cooperation is only opening for us, perhaps with the exception of the reconstruction of societies of the kind of the Scythians because, as have known from Pliny, anything can be expected from Scythians, any strangeness – from ritual zoophilia to the consumption of human meat, so there is no appreciable restriction that would delimit their cultural model. I would by no means dare to steal horses from Scythians.

On the previous basis, we can thus compare the ethnological theory with archaeological artefacts and attempt at building theoretical models of human society. Models that do not correspond to any observable reality but that may help us distinguish what is original and what is artificial in the present human character and also get to well know a state which no longer exists, which perhaps never existed and will probably never exist, but of which we need to have a correct idea anyway in order to be able to well assess our present state (*Lévi-Strauss 1966*, 274).

The following texts constitute an attempt at an analysis and interpretation of some selected archaeological phenomena from the perspective of ethnology that arose before me as concrete questions during the few joint moments spent with Martin Golec in Býčí Skála Cave. These questions subsequently became subjects of long telepathic discussions, and we then confirmed a little in the Internet non-space. Claiming neither any definitive validity of the presented hypotheses nor the completeness of the analysed phenomena, we would like to outline in the following texts the possible benefits of teaming up archaeology with ethnology within the research into the socially-historic context of some specific places such as the Býčí Skála Cave and also of broader areas such as the Moravian Karst.

Brief Stroll Through the Cave with Claude Lévi-Strauss
(Peter Laučík)

The observance of the way children play and embrace the world forces us, among other things, to admit the possibility of a primary fascination with a line drawn on a wall.

This also means admitting the possibility that some cave drawings or paintings, altough very ancient, need not have any particular *meaning*. When I saw the strange Eneolithic drawing in a recess of the South Branch of Býčí Skála Cave, I regarded it as a *symbol,* a *message*, and looked for its *meaning*. It might have perhaps been the world's earliest map of a cave.

The main feature of human culture is that it delimits itself against nature using a certain system of restrictions or, if we want, selection from the boundless set of what is possible into a few variants which then play the role of a distinguishing and recognition sign for a certain community. Similarly, when we absent-mindedly draw with a pencil on a paper, the initially inexhaustible possibilities of drawing will become gradually reduced, eventually reaching a single final version. Our drawing may and may not bear an intentional message. What an art historian, a graphologist or a psychiatrist – who regard it *a priori* as a symbolical expression of a part of our unconscious – can read from it, is another matter. One of the purposes of socialisation is to teach a child this sign character: what is done and what is not, how to look and how not to; the child does not understand the situation at all at the beginning. Gradually, however, gestures, movements, facial expressions, the tone of voice become signs with a certain meaning, and words and images come later. In the ideal case of increasing intelligence, the person then understands each symbol as multivalent, to eventually see "everything in everything", which is in fact their last experience in the moment of death.

The symbolical essence of cultural behaviour lies in a certain distinguishing from nature – in the landscape, for instance, by reshaping of the relief or clearing of a forest; on the body, by clothing or by the decoration of artefacts. The structuralist Claude Lévi-Strauss examined the habit of the Brazilian nomad people of the Caduveo to paint complex and highly decorative mutually similar patterns on their faces. When observing these motifs in the form of oblique strips, spirals and coils, one inevitably thinks of the Spanish Baroque, of the subtle Neolithic Linear Ware pottery or of the drawings from Býčí Skála Cave or from Ardovo Cave, Slovakia. Lévi-Strauss looked for a connection between the distribution of the drawings and paintings and the system of myths, notions of the arrangement of the world and society or anything that would prove that this is a symbol of the kind of a model of the world, such as those known for instance from Siberian shamanistic cultures. Lévi-Strauss was very disappointed, however, because the Caduveo's explanation was very simple: "*Why are you so stupid?*" the Caduveo asked missionaries. "*And why should we be stupid?*" the missionaries answered with a question. "*Because you do not paint yourselves. ... A human must be painted to be human; those who remain in the natural state do not differ in any way from an animal.*" (*Lévi-Strauss 1966*, 129). Opposite cases are also frequent in practice, however, of graphical manifestations of fully--fledged cosmological symbols that were not worth a single question to an ethnographer, because he or she was apparently well educated did not want to ask about so strange things. A differentiation from nature, however bizarre it may sometimes seem, often has a single purpose for natural people (and for our farmers as well): a reshaping of a space, decoration of artefacts and festive attires or damaging of some parts of the world.

Internal disappointment was also beneficial for Lévi--Strauss in some respect, however, as he experimented with his knowledge when studying another people, the Nambikwara, reaching the understanding of their limited abilities of *symbolisation*, above all on the field of coding of messages. They did not understand what the meaning of the expression "to mean". "*That the Nambikwara could not write goes without saying. But they were also unable to draw, except for a few dots and zigzags on their calabashes. I distributed pencils and paper among them, none the less, as I had done with the Caduveo. At first, they made no use of them. Then, one day, I saw that they were all busy drawing wavy horizontal lines on the paper. What were they trying to do? I could only conclude that they were writing or, more exactly, that they were trying to do as I did with my pencils. As I had never tried to amuse them with drawings, they could not conceive of any other use for this implement. With most of them, that was as far as they got: but their leader saw further into the problem. Doubtless he was the only one among them to have understood what writing was for. So, he asked me for one of my notepads; and when we were working together he did not give me his answers in words, but traced a wavy line or two on the paper and gave it to me, as if I could read what he had to say. He himself was all but deceived by his own play-acting. Each time he drew a line he would examine it with great care, as if its meaning must suddenly leap to the eye; and every time a look of disappointment came over his face. But he would never give up trying, and there was an unspoken agreement between us that his scribblings had a meaning that I did my best to decipher.*" (*Lévi-Strauss 1966*, 208). 2–3-year-old children play very similar games with their parents.

The question that remains is to what extent the artistic manifestations from Býčí Skála Cave bear other message than the simple information about their own existence. Perhaps they do, but their code no longer belongs to the language but to the while in which it was created only to be lost forever in the depths of the ignorance immediately afterwards, like with the Nambikwara leader. Reshaping of a space by an assortment of lines can be seen as a purely

cultural act. It is not only a unique message and abstract art with an aesthetic value but also an act of differentiation of the human world from the original natural world, an act of transformation of chaos to order, an act of a "mental occupation" of a space leading to its acquisition. A very conspicuous formal and evolutionary parallel arises between decorated movable items, specifically Palaeolithic pebbles from Býčí Skála Cave (*Fig. 106*; *Oliva et al. 2015*, 117), and sacred stones, so-called Tjurunga or Churinga[85] of indigenous people of Australia. The Tjurunga represented a mystic "connection" between their holders and the souls of their totemic ancestors in the male family line of the clan. They were among the most sacred relics and very personal items, being acquired from the elders only after passing difficult tests, adulthood rites of passage or for exceptional merit. Their transfer was connected with the distribution of the social competences of leaders and of the power over the whole clan, consecrated by the supernatural mandate of the ancestors. No one but their owners could touch them. They were only shown in a narrow circle of adult male members of the clan, and even that only on festive occasion and from afar. Some Tjurunga had a hole for hanging. Their loss was considered a catastrophe for the whole clan, and their theft was subject of a blood feud (*Durkheim 2002*, 128–136). A cave might have certainly been an ideal hiding place for a Tjurunga. The decorated pebbles might have thus had a very fundamental social function. However, it also offers a massive impulse for a primary fascination by the possibility of the transformation of something into something else, such as *undifferentiated nature* into *differentiated culture*.

Fig. 106: Palaeolithic pebbles collected directly in Býčí Skála Cave with linear motifs engraved by hunters and gatherers. Their real meaning is difficult to grasp for us today (source: NHM Vienna, photograph: A. Přichystal and L. Plchová).

Human Sacredness – Religion as a Social Fact, Cave as a Socio-Spatial Fact *(Peter Laučík)*

In the following text, we will attempt to define some basic notions such as *religion* or *sacredness* with respect to human society and the space. This theory is necessary to understand further ethnological analysis of the phenomenon of Býčí Skála Cave.

There are very many definitions of religion, even very contradictory ones at first glance. A detailed analysis and classification of the various definitions will show that the point is above all *the relationship to what has the role of god to the particular person* (but also to their broader society) in the given moment. A person's relationship may be more theoretical (manifesting itself in the teaching, in philosophical-mental conceptions) or more practical (more reflecting in ethics and cult). Religion may represent a multi-layer complex of opinions, ideas, value systems but also various rituals, practices and other phenomena that reflect the person's relationship to what they regard as god or more generally to what they consider sacred and supernatural, what they find worthy of veneration and possibly also of cognition. All sorts of things are understood under the notion *the current role of god* (*Fig. 108*; *Belko 2005*, 4). In history but also at present, *god (the current role of god)* appears in various forms of mental representations on various levels of reality for individuals as well as for numerous groups of people. The notions of *god and the sacredness* can be classified on a scale ranging from materialism to spiritualism, depending on how they are expressed in various forms in human notions and acts:

1/ *material items*, *matter as such,* e.g. the veneration of relics, items and statues substantially identified with a deity (fetishism) but also the veneration of celestial bodies, natural phenomena, elements and various places in the space (materialist pantheism). Matter is not understood as a symbol of something else or as a manifestation of an invisible genius. This also includes the veneration of the body or of some its parts (cult of the body). This sacredness can be touched and often literally *eaten*;

2/ *supernatural forces*, personal and impersonal, within the space and outside it, falling into the group of notions of the existence of a *supernatural life form*,

85 *Tjurunga* means *sacred* in the language of Central Australian Aranda people; *tju* means *secret*, *hidden* and *runga* denotes something that is *mine*, *for me*.

such that are expressed in various religions by key notions such as dynamis (dynamism), prana, qi, ki, živa, mana, manido, wakanda, orenda but also wide mixtures of the notions of existence of difficult to define *energies and vibrations*, for instance spatial, astral, ethereal or aural ones. The faith in an unspecified "something" is also included in this group. The manifest world is then the outcome of the effects of various supernatural forces;

3/ *persons*, or rather *personal beings of spiritual character*, such as angels, demons, genii, dwarves, guardian spirits (animism, cult of ancestors); the manifest world is then the outcome of the actions of differently specialised "spirits" and "demons" with almost human properties;

4/ *beings of altogether spiritual character,* such as deities among deities (polytheism); the manifest world is the stage of the games of the immortal divine beings;

5/ forms of a single *deity* chosen from many other *spiritual beings* (classical monotheism). If the venerated deity is regarded as the creator, the manifest world is the outcome of his or her creator activity. In monotheism, other spiritual beings are usually not denied existence, but rather a cult and the qualities of a venerated being;

6/ forms of a single, all-uniting *Supreme Spiritual Being* (monism, or in the negative aspect atheism). The manifest world is then the outcome of the emanation of the One.

7/ *Everything, Always and Everywhere* (panentheism). The manifest world is then "only" *something, sometime, somewhere*, although within *this here and now.* Everything *is* including *nothing, never and nowhere,* because if *Everything* did not contain *nothing* as well, it would not be *Everything*.

We can see that people are a multi-layer beings in a multi-layer environment (material, emotional, mental, spiritual). Religion is also a multidimensional phenomenon. If we consider the presented classification from the perspective of evolutionism, we find out that the more complex, developed religion is, the more of the outlined spheres it covers, in the direction from simpler, so-called early religious forms such as fetishism or dynamism, which are inherent to the thought of natural peoples, to various normative and popular forms of the great religions to the mystic crown of monism and subsequently panentheism, which is rather inherent to a few subtle philosophies such as Neoplatonism. The presented list of religious forms implies that the dimensions of religious notions is not quite arbitrary. "Higher" forms usually include also "lower" (early) ones, but the opposite is not true. The interpretation of archaeological finds and more complex finding situations naturally depends on the admitted level of the religious form. Here lies perhaps the greatest problem in an attempt at a reconstruction of religion and cult behaviour: how much knowledge and faith shall we allow our ancestors to have?

Religion is a social phenomenon as well. When we search for the social essence of religion, we cannot bypass the father of sociology, Émile Durkheim, and above all his excellent *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (*Durkheim 2002*). According to Durkheim, religion is a product of human society and *god* is its image, which needs to be understood above all on the *moral level*. Durkheim regards religion as a *social fact of non-material character*, i.e. one of the components and aspects of culture that form our thought, feelings and acts in the form of ideas, values and norms. Social facts are products of human mental activity, but what is more interesting about them is that they retroactively affect humans in a very imperative manner. People conform to social facts, often even unknowingly. A social fact can literally "possess" a person without them noticing anything or without them being aware of its effect; paradoxically, they feel like making their decisions of their own free will. Social facts are mostly instilled in people from the outside, as Durkheim illustrated on the example of *suicide* (*Fig. 107*). However, they can be also explained using a more cheerful example, such as the phenomenon of dressing. When we dress ourselves in the morning, we freely choose from the offer in the wardrobe, but rarely think *whether* and *why* we should dress at all. A reader with fantasy need not wear a spaghetti strainer on their head or reverse crosses upside down to imagine how great power social facts may have over a human.

The immaterial part of culture consisting of religion and sacredness has the same power. The social substance of *human sacredness* is delimited above all using *behaviour patterns*, expressed in various *bans* (e.g., on eating pork or beef, on urination into a fireplace) and *commands* (e.g., to conceal one's face or prepare food in this or that manner), which are part of each major cult and normative religion. Religious *bans and commands* comprise what we summarily call *taboo.* Durkheim calls the phenomena to which a taboo relates *sacred* and the others *profane*. These qualities in connection with the perception of space have been brought to a very satisfactory form by the Romanian religious studies scholar Mircea Eliade (*1994*).

As a social fact, a religion has no mass, radiation or chemical composition. Yet it has *its temporal place* and an enormous *power* over people. The deity of the religion is a *social person, social being* that inhabits and controls the relevant *social fact*. A disturbing question is not whether god really exists or not, but to what extent social facts are objective. The objects of a religious cult (deities but also angels, demons or lower astral figures) created by people are called

Fig. 107: The Macocha Abyss is famous not only as a centre of tourism but also as the "arms open for suicides". Long, so long is the chain of lives that died on its bottom, like this one in the first half of the 20th century. Such an act is certainly the outcome of an interplay of inner psychological dispositions but also and above all of unconscious external factors in the form of social facts that brought the human decision--making all the way here. We can also regard Macocha as a strange resonance with the ancient traditions of self-sacrifice in the Moravian Karst (source: archive of the MM Brno).

egregores[86] in the interested circles of religious studies. The cultural anthropologist Pierre Mabille (*1938*) generally defined an egregore as a group of people who through a repetition of normative behaviour create a *common personality (social being)* different from the personalities of the individuals who comprise it and specifies that necessary but not sufficient condition rests in a powerful emotional engagement. Based on a parallel with chemistry, where synthesis requires an intensive effect of energy, he gives the example of the simplest egregore formed by a man and a woman before extending the term to more complex entities and reaching the most extensive ones, civilisations (*Roger 2005*, 303). According to an old Jewish tradition, when two people meet, an angel is born between them (above them). Its lifetime is set for the period of one year. If these people do not meet and care for their *relationship* within a year, their *angel* gradually becomes less lively, languishes and dies. More people create greater, more complex and longer-life structures through intensive social activity, and particularly through intentional cult activity. It is regrettable that the term *egregore* has not taken much root in the social sciences (possibly despite the esoteric breadth of its meaning, or perhaps precisely because of it), as it is a religious and secular term, an abstract and real one at the same time. An egregore is something more than a mere agreement of people melted into a social convention. Their ability to exist and operate independently, outside and beyond the knowledge of their creators and maintainers, is very interesting. Common points between egregores and social facts is that they originate in human society, draw their strength from it and act back within it. They differ only seemingly from Durkheimian social facts in a notion of the supernatural, above-mechanical character of their effects. According to some substantialist views, these *social beings* acquire certain existential self-sufficiency, intelligence and

86 *Egregore* from the Greek word *ἐγρήγοροσ – watcher* (etymologically), from the stem *ἐγρε – ἐγείρω* (*wake up*, *urge*).

will; stronger ones can allegedly even manifest themselves in the material world as events or shapes visible to the eye. It is not technically necessary, but based on practice, that these specific types of social facts tend to be bound to material artefacts, places and cultural areas linked to their cult – and remain so long after the cult as a social phenomenon ceases to exist. Is this a possible explanation of the notion of the "possession by demons", whose symptoms including speaking in ancient sacred languages that the unfortunates had no opportunity to know? It is very interesting that while the "possessed" in the Far East speak a fluent Sanskrit, those in the Western civilisation speak in Aramaic.

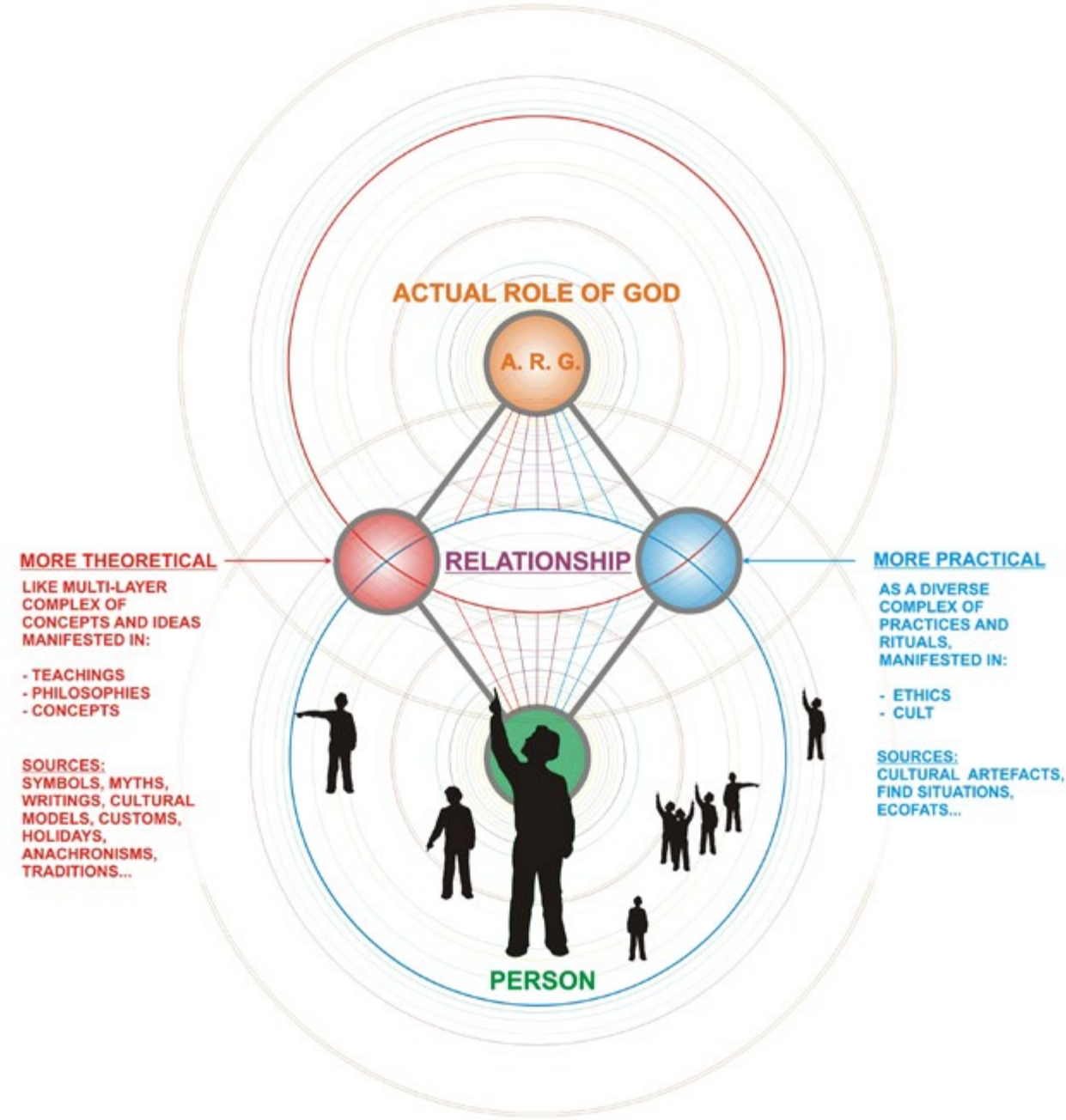


Fig. 108: There are many definitions of religion. On the general level, religion can be regarded as a relationship between a human (or a wider group of people) and that what currently plays the role of god for them (A. R. G.), of which they believe that it exceeds them, that it is worthy of veneration and on which they believe they depend. The character of this relationship is a combination of its theoretical and practical aspects in various ratios. Almost anything can be understood under the role of god; the subject of veneration changes (both in a small human life and in the great history of humankind) according to the current level of knowledge, even if it were the knowledge that doubt or faith is an effective expression of this relationship (source: P. Laučík).

What does this extensive theory have to do with the ethnology of Býčí Skála Cave? Much and nothing, as we are yet to see. If we ask the questions whether, for example, present speleology is a certain kind of social fact, we certainly answer it positively. Today's speleology can be viewed also as a social fact, however small so far, but powerful in its effect on people in the cave. In a caver's attitude to the cave there is something typically "cave-ish" that attracts people who think in the same way and repels those who think otherwise. Caving can be also viewed as a certain type of a religious society with its own type of faith and cult, albeit of a different order. It is also a very good example of a social *positive* or *negative selection* of a certain *taboo* from the boundless scale of possible activities that can be theoretically carried out in a cave. However, *caves* as *specific places* can also become *socio-spatial facts*, which is a very apt notion. They can be bearers an independent *social being*, created by people who have visited the cave and events that have taken place in it but different from them. Let us notice, however, that there is something in addition to *nature* here: it is no longer just a *hole in a rock* or *a nice view*, but a relationship, an interaction much more intensive than we are often able to knowingly admit.

Three World, Cyclical Time and World Renewal Rituals *(Peter Laučík)*

The introduction to every other Marxist book in a used book shop will contain a sentence similar to the following: "*... like modern people, prehistoric people examined the world around them in an effort to understand it, and as they were incapable of deep scientific understanding, they invented myths and gods.*" As we have seen, there will be some truth to that. Among other things, the construction and study of models of complex religious myths, symbols and notions of a multi-layer arrangement of the world implies also that these notions are based on what people had immediately at their disposal – and that was Nature: high sky with the strange transformations of heavenly phenomena, wide earth with mountains and forests full of animals as well as springs, rivers, lakes, caves and deep abysses referring to unknown depths hidden under the ground. People also had a complex psychical equipment, which enabled them to orient themselves in space and time but also to consider space and time in the coordinates of a horizontal and vertical level as well as distinguish oppositions: right and left, front and rear, up and down, before and after, day and night, Sun and Moon, winter and summer, male and female, life and death, gold and silver, movement and stillness, etc. People as deliberate movers of small things analogically presumed the existence of deliberate invisible movers of great things. For example, we cannot see *wind* itself but we can feel coldness, see tree branches bending, grass waving and presume that the wind *is*. Similarly, the prehistoric people observed the phenomena and presumed their causes. Wind is moving air, and the very word air is related to the adjective airy, which also means immaterial, unearthly. Contemplative observation of the world and of the game of its transformation gradually (based on the principle of analogy) led to the formulation of the religious notions of a three – and more – dimensional cosmos with various levels (*Fig. 109*):

1/ the world of gods and demons on the skies, the heavens;
2/ the world of people, animals and also demons on the earth;
3/ the world of gods and demons under the ground, the underworld.

As it is impossible to provide a wider explanation of the rules of construction of a mythical space here, we will only suggest the direction the research might follow (*Laučík 2015*). The method of research into notions of less evident layers of reality is based on the study of theoretical models of perception of the space and time, which in themselves stand outside time and space – and on their comparison with reality. Thus, it is possible to get to know the world without travelling anywhere.

In natural archaic perception, the earth stands out as a surface washed by the endless sea. The earth was understood as an intersection of what is up and what is down. Geologically speaking, the face of the landscape is also the result of influences from below (rock folding, sedimentation, volcanism, etc.) and from above (wind, erosion, radiation, etc.). The archaic perception of the world did not regard the unevenness of the terrain or some special creations of nature as direction indicators or symbols, as they are understood by more advanced cultures; they were directly identified with their meaning. As we have suggested and as we will show further, the supernatural was taken rather literally. To climb a mountain or a tree meant to *travel to the sky and be there*; to descend into a pit or cave meant to *touch* all the notions of *the underworld and be there*. It is interesting that the more "advanced" a culture is in the evolutionary sense, the more the abstract prevails over the concrete and the symbolical over the literary in religious rituals. Notions of communication between the worlds are typical above all of shamanism as an early religious form. The shaman,

priest and medic was the one who travelled between the worlds for the sake of the community, negotiated with gods and demons, fought them, looked for the lost or abducted "souls" of ill people, as this was regarded as a frequent cause of diseases in shamanistic cultures. Shamans were considered spiritual relatives of smiths and metallurgists, who controlled the mysterious art of the transformation of a rock into a metal (*Eliade 2000*). However, the notions of a vertical division of the world are culturally and religiously universal in a number of symbols. A remarkable situation arises when we attempt to add the issue of morale to the axis of the three suggested

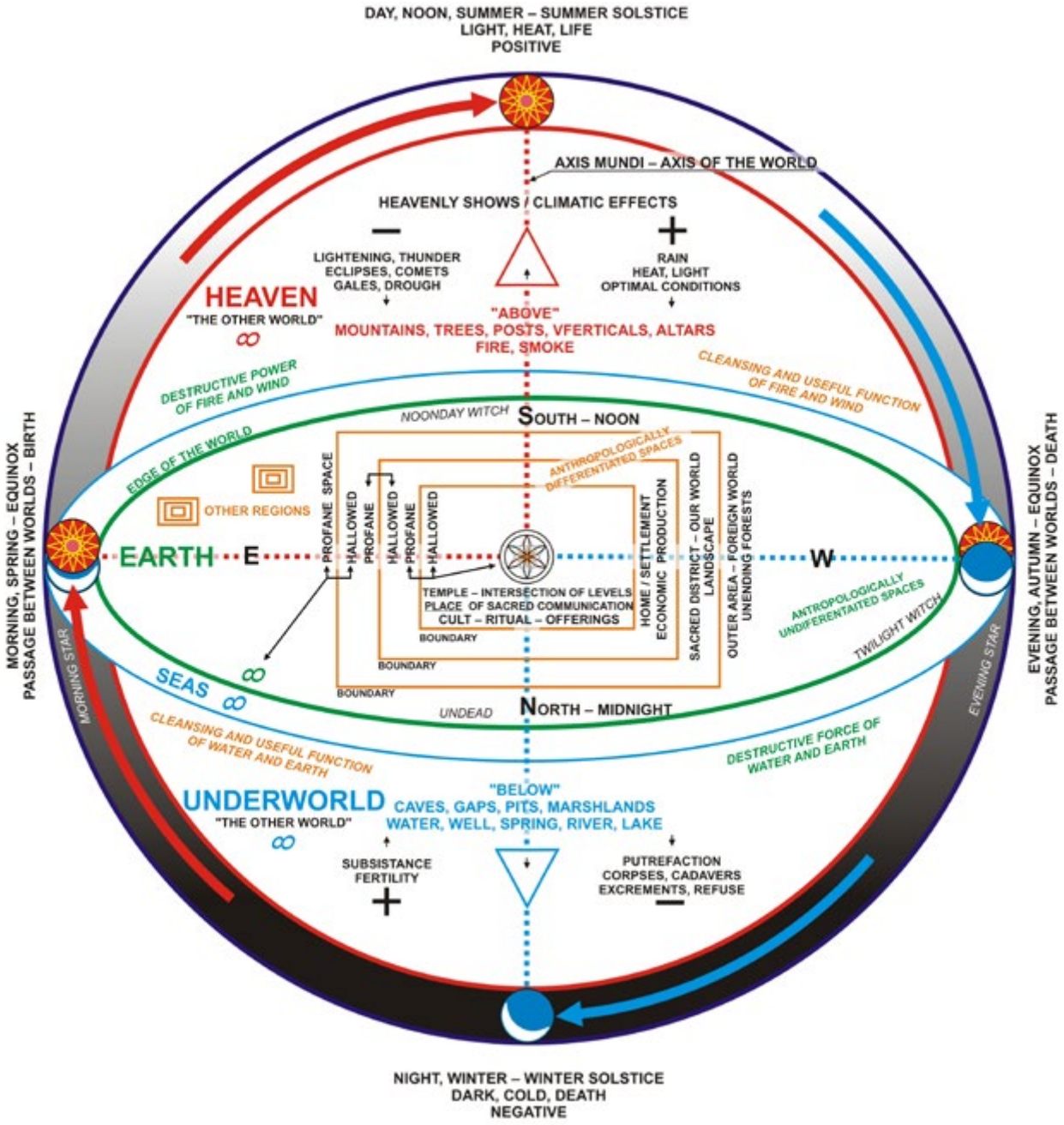


Fig. 109: A model of three-level division of the cosmos along the axis Heaven – Earth – Underground with respect to real space and time. The sanctuary has a central position, being situated in the "centre of the world" (Axis mundi), at the point of the intersection of all the levels. A paradox of the "centre of the world" is that they are many and yet there is only a single one. In the horizontal direction from the centre of the world, we can distinguish several levels of graded concentration of Sacrum to the boundaries of the sacred district – "our" world, behind which Darkness and Chaos rule. The correlation of the qualities of the space with respect to the flow of time, to the Sun's cyclical journey within the day and within the year is suggested along the circumference of the model. A percipient eye will perhaps even glimpse the Hallstatt swastika in the model (source: P. Laučík).

three worlds – the "light and good" will be somehow intuitively always situated up rather than down. We can see this on the example of Christianity, which took over a three-dimensional model: the paradise with angels in the heaven; the earth, where everything is decided; and the hell below. This is far from being only a domain of Christianity, however: full five centuries before Christ, Plato (who was no Christian) said: "*Coming into darkness and setting on a journey under the ground is no longer intended for those who started their journey under the canopy of the heaven, who can live their lives in light, live together and be happy, so that they once, when the time comes, received wings for their love*" (*Platón 1981*, 137).

According to archaic viewpoints, a *sanctuary* was a *particular place*, where all the worlds mingled, which enabled communication among them. It is a place in the centre of the world, or in the axis of the world, the *axis mundi*. *Invisible forces* on which the fate of the universe depends (as does the smelting of metals, the harvest, fertility and protection from misfortune) are supposed to descend and ascend along the vertical world axis. A sanctuary as a specific place is therefore usually subject to various *taboos* so that the vertical relationships between the worlds were not disturbed. The social "concentration of sacredness" in the horizontal space decreases in the direction from the centre of the world up to a certain *boundary*, which is usually, like the *centre of the world*, culturally delimited and somehow defined in space. The space inside is consecrated by the force of the centre, it is its sacred district with a positive social value of "our" differential world. Beyond the boundary of "our" world is a *culturally undifferentiated* space, the "foreign" world where "the others, strangers, foreigners" live. It is an area of unpredictable chaos, which was in popular notions inhabited also by demons and other negative supranational forces. The *boundary* did not necessarily have the form of a continual spatial delimitation by barbed wire but rather of certain points in the landscape, whose imaginary connecting line formed the *boundary*. In the Christianised world, such points are for instance crosses and chapels near roads in front of a village. Barrows and burial grounds were situated near access roads in earlier times, from the Bronze Age. The souls of ancestors and, later, also the souls of Christian saints were supposed to protect the boundary of "our world" against intruders from the realm of chaos. These *boundary places* were where people accompanied their dear ones who were leaving for travels and places of minor sacrificial rituals (prayers, sacrifices of coins) to secure safe return for the wayfarers.

Like space, time was not linear but cyclical in archaic conceptions of the world (the day comes again, the spring comes again). The answer to the question of whether the prehistoric people considered something a matter of course is probably negative. In this sense, the psychics of natural people was "obsessively-compulsive". If a man presumed the existence of an invisible and more powerful mover, he might never be certain whether the sun rises tomorrow or whether he hunts a deer that will increase his prestige and he will afford to have two wives at once. The fact that the sun rose even if he perhaps forgot to sacrifice was probably ascribed to a sacrifice made by someone else. "Our" world needed to be maintained and periodically renewed through ritual activities which as if brought about its re-creation. The rituals were a *repetition* of the primary creation myth in human conditions (*Eliade 1993*). Among the most important cosmologically focused religious rituals are some rituals of *sacrifice*; their performance assured the cosmic balance and thus also the continuation of the world (but only in respect to the given social fact).

The image of Býčí Skála Cave – a cave in a hill, with rock turrets soaring skyward above its entrance – is a very precise expression of the universal scheme of a *sanctuary* that we can find also in major world religions including Christianity. What else are the towers and altars in churches, below which underground crypts are situated? The natural characteristics (offers) of Býčí Skála Cave directly urged people to found a sanctuary *par excellence* there, and as we can see, people accepted this offer in the past and accept it also today.

Let us presume that Býčí Skála Cave was a sanctuary in its time, a socially-spatial fact, a place of performance of rituals of sacrifice to deities in prescribed time intervals (for instance, once a year, like with the Scythians). The problem of Býčí Skála Cave as a sacrificial site is that a sacrificial site involves a certain periodicity of the same or at least similar social phenomena manifested also in the cultural layers of the archaeological site. We can find sixteen different cultural horizons (*Oliva et al. 2015*, 115–153) in Býčí Skála Cave, but they bear almost no signs of a periodicity of cult activity – or we at least do not know about it. The tragic events we know from the Hallstatt Period, which include apart from a hoard of various precious items also a find of forty human skeletal remains and two horses from Heinrich Wankel's research, rather resemble a one-time event, which can indeed be interpreted as a magnificent burial of a magnate (and his servants). What we do not know is whether this "one-time character" of the event does not stem just and only from the speedy uncovering, based on which Wankel enthusiastically formed an impressive image of a burial. Possibly, those forty people appeared in the cave within the horizon of as many years – which could already be considered a sign of intensive cult activity. If Býčí Skála

Cave was at least for some time a *sanctuary, the centre of the world* (*Fig. 110*), we can assume that the sacred district was comprised of an area slightly larger than today's Protected Landscape Area Moravian Karst including large settlements situated in the foothills of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands). It might have been a spiritual centre of a kind for a greater number of settlements situated in the more distant surroundings of inhabited landscape. A piece of knowledge possibly very important for archaeologists is that the ritual of a sacrifice is a re-actualisation of the creation myth, and that it can therefore directly refer to the notions of the origin of the world, i.e. to the cosmological mythology of the society that performs the ritual. In this case, we can believe that the Hallstatt world of the people of Býčí Skála Cave arose through a *self-sacrifice* of the primary human-deity. The notions of a mythical progenitor who stood at the creation of a family, tribe or of the world is connected with the early religious form called totemism. *From the meat of the Forefather arose the earth, from his bones the mountains, from his hair the trees, from his body hair the grass, from his brain the clouds, and from his eyes the sun and the moon...* Beware, however: this is a scene from the creation of the world according to Scandinavian mythology.

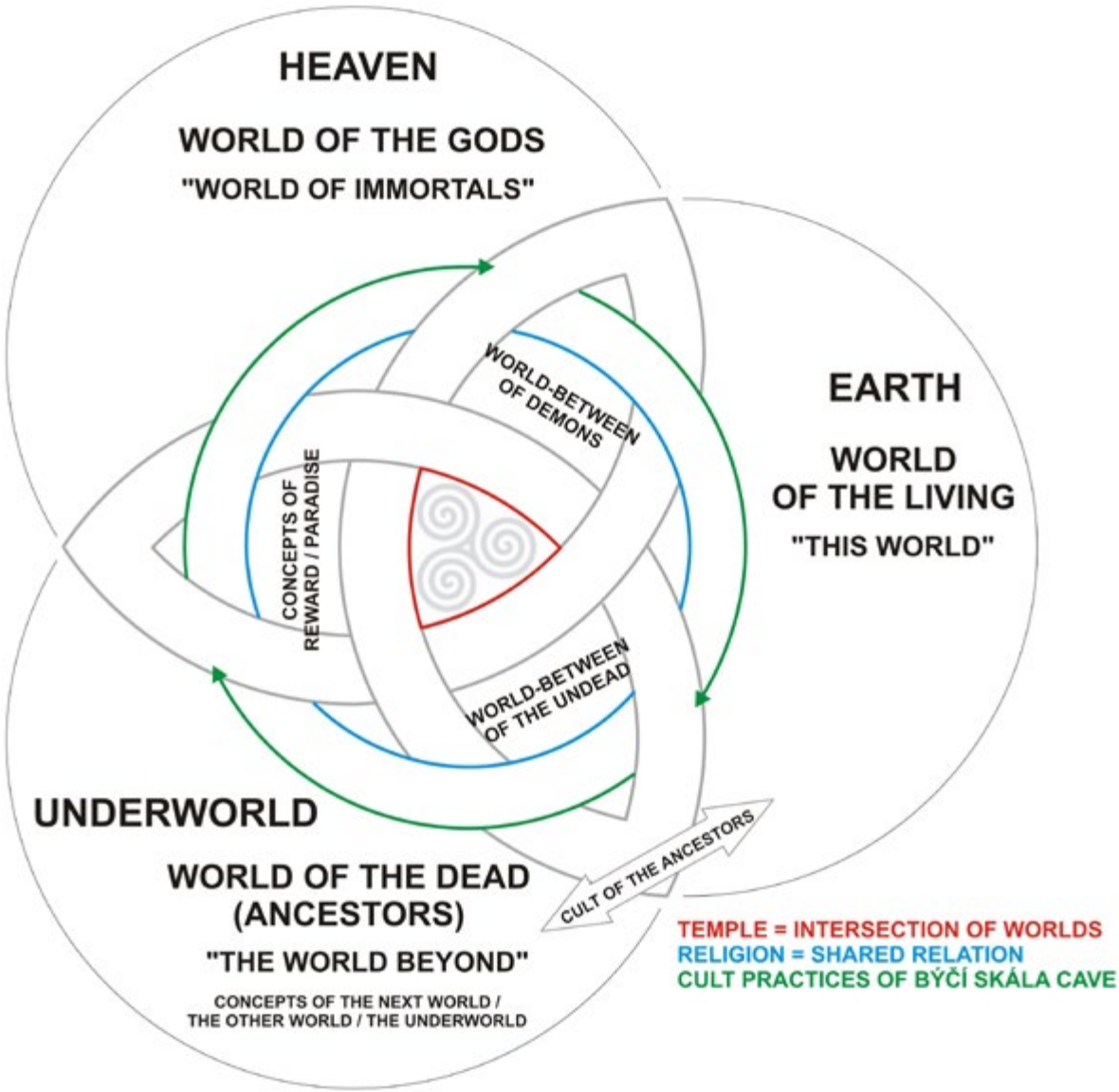


Fig. 110: One of the possible views of the relationship among the three worlds, including mediating inter-worlds and the so-called Limbo. Regardless of the number of the worlds and their levels, the sanctuary is always situated in their intersection. Then and there, but also here and now (source: P. Laučík).

Beyond the Veil
(Peter Laučík)

I believe that even today, many people wish to be once buried or at least have their ashes scattered somewhere near Býčí Skála Cave in the Moravian Karst, and I am not surprised at all. This special form of an intimate unity with the landscape has been replaced today by the graveyards of the "gravestone-field" culture.

According to the evolutionist Herbert Spencer, any religion is based on a *cult*[87] *of ancestors (cult of the dead)* as a way in which people come to terms with the existence of the phenomenon of death. In ethnology, a cult of the dead means above all the veneration of the souls (sometimes also spirits) of more important representatives of the family or tribe, such as chiefs, wizards or fathers and mothers of the family, and also the veneration of dead parents, grandparents and relatives (*Belko 2005*, 19). According to Spencer, the cult of ancestors is the basis of religion. He says that the souls of the dead arouse the same fear in us as living politicians; this does not sound so incredible if we fully realise their untouchability as well as the reach of their power – this may also be the case of Wankel's burial of a magnate from Býčí Skála Cave as well as of other dead.

The cult of ancestors is based on the dichotomy of life and death and the corresponding division of the world into the *world of the living* and the *world of the dead* or, if we prefer, *the other world*, which has an overlap into the world of demons and gods. Everyone who has ever been near a dying person knows precisely how magic the moment of dying is; in it, the statement that *no other world* exists seems to be quite absurd and contrary to all rules of logic. A dead person lacks something absolutely fundamental – and it is not merely the facial expression. Put simply, it is as if something left somewhere. A cult of ancestors presumes the faith in the existence of an immortal soul. A faith that after death, the human soul goes over from the world of the living to the world of the dead amidst various complex rites of passage (burial), without which the soul of the deceased could not leave our world and be received in the world beyond.

The burial rites of passage are among the best-documented manifestations of social life of ancient communities, because they left behind numerous artefacts in the form of the grave goods but also of the graves themselves. In some cases, they are buildings of grandiose formats (Egyptian pyramids, Taj Mahal) that leave us in awe of the enormous energy that had to be expended for their construction, let alone the technology, which we no longer master today. The Hallstatt Býčí Skála Cave can be perceived as a monumental grave (or tomb) of natural origin,[88] which – like a large pyramid – we would also be unable to build. It is a construction whose existence lasts incomparably longer than even the greatest of human wonders.

The existing forms of a cult of the ancestors attest to a development that bears traces of the division of souls into benign and malign ones, souls that help their relatives or outright protect them as well as souls of evil-minded ancestors, against whose influence one needs to protect oneself. This division is analogical to the relationships that existed in social reality. In both cases, the protection is ensured by means of prescribed rituals carried out periodically in a certain given time of the year. These are typical forms of the construction of a religious egregore for which we – at least once a year – care even today. The rituals of reconciliation of the dead would not make sense if the cult of the ancestors did not include a notion that a soul does not return but remains only in the other world, but has a power to affect this world from the world beyond, retrospectively influencing events in the world of the living. In this respect, the cult of ancestors is incompatible with the conception of spiritual transmigration, reincarnation.

Ethnographic research provides us with a broad scale of various religious notions of the location of the *realm beyond – the world of the dead*. Generally, we can state that they overlap with some of the three worlds from the model of a multi-dimension arrangement of the world. There are notions within which the souls of the dead undergo a moral selection along the axis *heaven – hell/purgatory* as well as non-selective notions, according to which there is a single level, mostly in the *under-world*, and also notions in which the souls of the dead dwell, as if in parallel with the living, in a land *beyond-the-world,* for instance in a landscape across a river spanned by a bridge. Various forms of handling of the bodies of the dead are recorded as well.

A very specific form of a cult of ancestors is the faith in a possible return of the dead, i.e. the faith in revenants, as well as the faith in vampirism based on an opinion that the dead can cause damage to the living. Under the artificial lake Liptovská Mara in Slovakia there once were villages whose inhabitants at the time of great epidemics and crop failures exhumed buried people of whom they believed that they might damage them from the other world (*Hoššo 1975*). As late as in the 17th century, people believed that a dead person was transformed into a vampire and "sucked" benefit from the community. They dug out graves, cut heads of the dead, pierced their skulls with big spikes or crushed them with large stones. The burial of the bodies

87 The word *cult* comes from the Latin base *colo* (*colere*, *colui*, *cultum*) – *to educate*, *foster*, *cultivate*, *care for*.

88 A "stone house" within Martin Golec's conception.

Fig. 111: Loose reconstruction of the prospective manipulation with a human head in the Hallstatt Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave. One of the skulls was found in a bronze vessel; as a consequence of it, it acquired green colour over the course of time (*Fig. 133c*). In a certain sense, taking possession of one's head meant gaining control of the soul of the deceased and his or her inclusion among the servant spirits of the ancestors (photograph: V. Šebeček).

face down, binding them with chains and locks or burdening with stone are also regarded as prophylactic measures against the threat of a return of the dead. According to popular beliefs, a body that remained untouched by decay for a relatively long period after the death was a sign of a vampire. Secondarily opened graves with the heads of the dead missing are known also from the Horákov culture in Moravia. We have shown that within the understanding of natural people, *the grave*, at all, need not to be a symbol, an arrow pointing to the *other word*, but rather a *place* identified directly with *the other world*, *like the dead* is very often identified with *his or her remains*. The wagon burials known from the burial grounds of the culture of Býčí Skála Cave and its flatland neighbourhood can also be interpreted in this manner. The dead rode on their wagon, getting only as far as to the place of their deposition – the *other world*. The cave (then and there) was not *like* the other world, it was *directly* the other world. We can understand this as a fetishisation of a place. The finds of headless bodies can be explained analogically. A cult of skulls is a specific form of a wider cult of the dead. Gaining control of a corpse's head meant to *gain control* of the dead person's soul and their inclusion within the ranks of favourably inclined, protective and servant souls (including those of the ancestors) within one's cult of the dead (*Fig. 111*). We can call this a fetishisation of the human remains. In exchange for this social advantage, the owner of the skull was magically committed to *take care of the cult* of the dead person, to bring him or her sacrifices in at prescribed time.

Be it as it may, people concur in one thing: they situate the *other world* outside the *world of the living* and separate human bodies from their world. The dead represent a universal taboo, like incest. We can rule out almost with certainty that Býčí Skála Cave would be used also for other purposes while the burials (sacrifices) took place in the cave. Only if the dead were charged precisely with guarding the deposited hoard, making their presence clear to the nose of those who arrive: Not a single step more! This is not your world! In this case, materialism would slightly prevail over spiritualism.

Býčí Skála Cave with its slanting chimney-like entrance (Large Window No. 2) is otherwise an ideal image of a cult boundary (entrances could have been walled-up in the past), a place of separation of the dead from the living and

a sanctuary at the same time – a place of communication between the world of the living and the world of the dead (*Fig. 112*), from which their retroactive influence was expected. In view of other contemporary cave sanctuaries of Central Europe, Býčí Skála Cave is the next in the line of places that provide the image of an entrance into a separated world of the dead (underworld, the world beyond), whose modern echo can be found also in the nearby caves Jáchymka and Výpustek.

Landscape of Psychics, Black Holes and the Dark Side of the Places of Memory *(Peter Laučík)*

From the perspective of the methodology of ethnology, it would be unwise to attempt at explaining social and cultural phenomena outside their own context. Phenomena from the sphere of magic and religion must therefore be interpreted from their own point of view, because only that can lead us to their understanding and to the understanding of the "world of the others". The following text can certainly sound as a load of tall stories to natural scientists and positivists. An ethnologist does not examine whether people are right or wrong about their notions, views or assessments of reality. However bizarre some human notions of the world and the supernatural are, their very existence always has a positive value of a truth for an ethnologist, at least of the truth of the existence of some social fact. As long as individuals and various social groups with different views of the world (such as psychotronics or psychics) exist, their very existence obliges an ethnographer to deal with their views as a possible way of viewing the world.

We have mentioned that in terms of geography, culture of feelings, the world is not quite homogeneous. Some places may seem very strange to us. From the perspective of psychics, the landscape is not like a palimpsest, because its memory is much livelier. It is rather like a water surface, on which an *interference* of various kinds of wave motion takes place. Concordant waves strengthen each other, while others mutually cancel.

The existence of a very widespread layer of popular notions that a human death leaves a "magic" waste of a cultural-natural character in the space, which may be dangerous to the living (*the taboo of death*) is remarkable from the perspective of ethnology and particularly of spatial ethnology of ancient sacrificial sites. No less frequent is a related group of notions that mental and emotional activity leads to a "magic" transformation of the quality of an area, of a place. These notions explain why both "sacred" and "cursed" places exist in the landscape. Both groups of notions are classified within marginal socio-spatial facts with an overlap into the religious sphere, and we can find them combined also at Býčí Skála Cave. If we accept the theory that Býčí Skála Cave contained a Hallstatt sacrificial site with human sacrifices (one-time or periodical), we can see very strange outlines of the religious activities with the presence of death performed there. We know, for instance, that Scythians performed such activities once a year. As Herodotus says, they had no temples, altars or statues. And yet, *once in a year*, they sacrificed horses and sheep and one per cent of war captives to "Areus" (Papaius);

Fig. 112: The shaman acted as a middleman between the worlds of people, demons and gods. He was not only the priest but also the immolator, judge, teacher, psychologist, good actor and jester, who spoke the truth when it suited him the least. He was a "traveller between the worlds", psychopomp, guides of souls that were lost or transiting into other worlds. To avoid being recognised and torn to pieces by demons (and other astral vermin), he used various masks to appear like one of them. The image shows a loose reconstruction of a shaman ready to travel to the world beyond from the Majda-Hrašková Cave in the Slovak Karst (source: Slovak Nature Protection and Speleology Museum – Liptovský Mikuláš, photograph: P. Laučík).

the god was represented by a sword thrust into an artificial hill – the *axis mundi*. People – one royal concubine and numerous servants – were sacrificed when burying kings. It is important to point out the shamanistic character of Scythian rituals connected with the use of hemp; their parallels can be found also in the tradition of Zoroastrianism (*Eliade 1995*, 273). However, can we imagine what actually happens during such ritual murder, for instance from the perspective of experts in the wide marshlands of European traditions of magic and occultism?

Let us start with the suggested folk theory (very well composed into esoteric aspects of many official religions), which explains the existence of some types of invisible waste that come into existence during the death of a living organism. According to the views of Czechoslovak psychotronics, which has reinterpreted most views of earlier folk traditions, a *deceased human leaves* the components of their own biofield structurally changed, an *energy-information waste* of a kind, in the area they died. It remains there and may subsequently settle in the biofield of people who appear in this area and cause them physical and psychical problems (*Souček 2015*, 110). In other words, those of the Aborigines of Australia: people must avoid places where a death took place, because the "soul" (the living principle) of the dead dwells there (*Durkheim 2002*, 331). It is regarded as extraordinarily dangerous, because it may start to crave a body again, possess a living person and cause him or her much torment as an external agent (*Mauss 2003*, 122). According to an overview of the dark swamps of magic by Milan Nakonečný, a traditional occultist term for this specific type of a *socio-spatial fact* is *astral larva*. According to Nakonečný, it is an *astral form* that comes into existence through an involuntary emission of psychical energy that accompanies human tendencies, passions and affects. In a broader sense, it is the astral remnant of anything living that has died on the earth, or is bound to animal forms of life. It is a created cluster of astral light or an *astral being* characterised by *certain vitality, power, tendency and intelligence*, which can be magically bound and directed to bring about certain effects on the astral plane of physical being. According to Paracelsus, *larvae* emerge also from spilled semen (ritual orgies) and blood (sacrificial rituals). The larvae can unite with other astral forms of similar tendencies and acts and *possess* both astral and psycho-physiological components of an individual, driving them as far as to madness and death (*Nakonečný 1997*, 148). According to folk tradition, *death's larvae* can be decomposed by a certain ritual procedure with the use of *fire*. The traditional folk culture of our ancestors considered *fire* as a magic *cleansing element* – this is also one of the keys to the understanding of the inner context of cremation. Traces of large fires have been registered also in the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave. Heinrich Wankel regarded them as cremation grounds, but no traces of dead people have been found in them. The mentioned view of the "magical" consequence of death might also explain numerous archaeological finds of partially burnt human remains not only from Býčí Skála Cave but also with the earlier tradition of so-called hearth burials, which occurred in both Moravia and Bohemia during the Palaeolithic and which is not interpretable as either attempted cremation or an attempt at heating a cool corpse aimed at bringing life back (*Neustupný 1941*). As we can see, it might have rather been a hygienic measure of a different order, an act of "magic" or *energy-information hygiene*. The custom of lighting fires is linked to the moment of death also in our traditional folk culture; it has settled into the form of burning candles behind the head of the deceased and in the place of the death. This much from old views on the existence of unknowing magic emissions left in the space after the death of a living organism.

How about the considered intentional cult practices from Býčí Skála Cave, however? According to the overview of magic by Milan Nakonečný, intentional cult activity accompanied by bloodshed (ritual murders, black masses) give rise to elementals, astral forms similar to larvae in the space, but larger, more agile, more intelligent and also *more aggressive*. Like all religious egregores, elementals have their own social being, interact with similar qualities and enliven all astral forms in the neighbourhood, which gather around them. According to Papus, they appear one moment as small glowing point and the next as strange animals, unknown on the earth, as various combinations of human and animal shapes (*Nakonečný 1997*, 77). According to the views of present psychics, elementals "live" not only from cult practices but above all from the larvae (waste after the dead) that accompany these practices. They also interact with other types of compatible energy-information waste, which they attract from their vicinity like a magnet.

According to earlier traditions, these astral creations can be invoked and controlled by magic-evocators, but they can also control others by means of "possession". They thus have the character of Durkheim's social facts. The idea of the possibility of creation of such forms with the aim of misusing them to gain great supernatural power, which can be assumed during the evocation of evil and war deities, was the aim of magic-religious practices not only of ancient cults but also of many Medieval and Modern occultists (*Fig. 113*), who subsequently succumb to their mistakes and paid for their daring not only with their reason but even the highest price. German Nazis of the SS units during WWII also expressed a very deep interest in magic, occultism and the use of supernatural powers, potentially heading towards controlling them. Specialised independent

Fig. 113: German nationalistically conceived view of Wankel's burial of a magnate from 1872 in Býčí Skála Cave (described as Celtic in 1875 at the latest) appeared already in 1877. Its conception as the burial of a Germanic (Quadi) magnate is no longer known today (source: M. and S. Görlich; *Kirchmayr 1893*, Fig. on page 77). A similar conception can be found in the work of the occultist Guido von List from Vienna, who directly projected the Valhalla into the Entrance Hall in his drama *König Vannius* (*von List 1899*).

cells (Ahnenerbe) recruited precisely from the ranks of the SS were even established for the purpose of research into this sphere (*Bergier – Pauwels 1990*). Similarly, the Communists later – even during the hardest "normalisation" – very generously supported psychotronic research. It was not only in heavy arms industry that Czechoslovakia was among the top world class in its time. This is why it perhaps does not come as a surprise that among the last evocators of occult forces in the Moravian Karst (Býčí Skála Cave, Výpustek Cave) were precisely the bearers of the symbol of the reverse swastika, which was also a popular Hallstatt motif. It is very unlikely that the Nazis would disregard the occult potential of the Hallstatt sacrificial site implied by the outcomes of Wankel's research. What is certain is that Nazis from Ahnenerbe were present in Býčí Skála Cave, and another member of the SS perhaps even committed suicide there. It is not quite certain whether they were there just and only because of the production of air engines, which never took place in the end.

From the perspective of an attempt at a religious-studies categorisation of the notions of the existence of the mentioned astral forms into a systematic hierarchy of the supernatural world, they clearly belong to the section "dwelling on the left hand". They are the lowest of the inexhaustible throngs of similarly tuned entities, ranging from evils, evil spirits, lower demons, higher demons as far as to war and ireful deities. All of them like human blood (death) because, as we have said, they "feed" on its consequences, just like war breeds war and hatred breeds hatred. We do not know the name of the deity or magic power venerated in Býčí Skála Cave, but we can assume that during cult practices and rituals accompanied by *violent death* – whether it was a burial of a magnate, a sacrificial ritual aimed at securing the cosmic balance or thanksgivings to a deity of war – created also in the Hallstatt Period rather *negative energy-information forms* with a regional and perhaps even supra-regional scope (sacred district). We only need to think of evil Greek Ares, Norse Thor, Slavic Parom or Semitic Samael, Belial, Ahriman, Belphegor, Lilith, etc., to understand that not everything that arose from that "spiritual" world, from the memory of human history, is worthy of interaction with the mind of today's average-decent person. From the viewpoint of the generation of social facts it did not matter whether people ascribed to their deity some natural phenomena (lightning, thunder) or events (victory in battle); the important thing was that the blood *sacrifice was consecrated* to some *bearing*

idea, which created social life and had effect both inside and outside the community. These destructive powers were perhaps worthy of veneration and a religious cult for some ethnics in the past. However, ritual murders are rather a historical curiosity – that even they existed. Today, we would quite justifiably include them in the sphere of *black magic* or, somewhat more professionally, in the sphere of activity of *destructive sects and cults*. From this specific point of wiew: demons, egregors, elementals, social facts and at least institutions are different names for the same thing.

According to traditional views, *unnatural death* brings about a long-lasting "magical" change in the cultural memory of the place in question and – certainly – also in the course of the fates of the involved people. The depth of the record in the *cultural memory of the place* allegedly depends above all on the intensity of the emotions experienced there stemming from the spiritual attitudes of the dying person in the moment of their death. Violent deaths and suicides are usually accompanied by extraordinarily intensive emotions of horror, anger and hatred, possibly accompanied by a curse or a promise, which then also has the validity of a social fact. These structures are rather durable from the temporal viewpoint, rather tuned into the horizons of archaeological epochs. When they do not interact with anyone and anything, they gradually become denser and thinner (spiritually degenerate) but never naturally disappear altogether. According to the views of present psychics, not only death but also "emotional impregnation" brought about by a long suffering can also imprint itself negatively in the memory of a place. As an illustration of the notions of a prospective resonance of the *human mind* and a specific type of a *genius loci* – the invisible yet perceptible and real influence in which a place abounds, we can mention the atmosphere, perhaps interesting for some, but emotionally rather freezing – of old prisons, torture chambers, internment camps, underground factories, some old mines, sanatoria, hospitals and other "abandoned" places. Some inquisitive individuals visit such places with cameras, hoping to increase their status within some social group. Others, with mystic tendencies, choose them as places suitable for meditation, illogically expecting positive results. Said with psychics, it is like drinking murky swamp water and then wondering why one suffers from clay between one's teeth and stomach problems; this is a permanently neglected and dark aspect of today very popular *Urbex*, *SubUrbex* and of the hunt of *Site specific*.

The mentioned socio-spatial phenomena are probably among the reasons why the places of misfortunes and tragedies tended (and still tend) to be specifically marked in the folk tradition, and perhaps also why some psychics have somewhat disconcerted impressions from places such as Býčí Skála Cave. In Slovakia, we have the Silická Ľadnica Abyss, which is still active in a similar quality. On the other hand, Býčí Skála Cave is reportedly not doing that badly as a place, because the presence of so many people has significantly blunted the edge of the original drive (interference). Some summary information of the events and pre-events remains, however, as does something of the original mystery with which the space of a cave permanently addresses people, keeping more sensitive ones at a respectful distance.

In the Maze of Minotaur's Underground Labyrinths *(Peter Laučík)*

"*These kindly and good people cut their dead into pieces and throw them to vultures. This a special play on raising matter: what is dead becomes living, the earthly element becomes air. It is a rare example of food symbiosis in these inhospitable conditions. We must admire the courage with which the local people move among the birds of prey. Our zoologists say that if a predatory animal has been made used to human meat since early age, it can be presumed not to change its diet after release, when it is replaced by a currently more attractive exhibit in the zoo. However, these 'buriers' know that the birds will not harm them in any way as long as an invisible bond of death exists between them, as long as there are enough dead among the people*."

(Lao'Tschig: A record from his observation of aerial burials during an expedition to Tibet that did not take place)

There can be no doubt that the views of the matters of religion, death and moral differ very much among various human cultures. We have suggested in the previous part that religious, social and socio-spatial facts have rather personal and substantial character in archaic views of the world. It is as if events of ancient history did not disappear from the place but persist in the form of an invisible (yet affecting) substance bound to the memory of the place in the landscape. The problem of social sciences' comprehension of archaic views is that they maintain the information but refuse the substance, whereas the natural sciences refuse the information but maintain the substance.

We need not long discuss the fact that the underground generally is a space of the occurrence of mysterious powers in the folk beliefs, with predominantly negative impacts on an individual ascribed to it. The stories and legends concerning mining, once a widespread means of coexistence with the landscape in both the Czech Republic and Slovakia, is a very suitable extension of the notions of the

supernatural potential of the underground. We know many folk stories concerning the encounters between miners and supernatural beings (the Spirit of Earth, dwarves, Kobolds, etc.). Demons residing in the underground are discussed also by the mining doctor Georg Agricola, otherwise very sober and serious researcher, in the 16th century in his treatise *De animatibus subterraneis* published in 1657. In a rational list of a number of quite understandable obstacles to mining, he also mentions sporadic cases of clashes between miners and demons terrible to behold, malicious and cruel who occur in some mines, adding that even promising operations had to be abandoned for good because of them (*Agricola 2001*, 230). The workers employed within Heinrich Wankel's archaeological research were also miners. Miner notions are separated in present ethnology, regarded as a special type of notions concerning only the miner profession. For us, they are an important illustration of the fact that the underground will never become free of ambivalent meanings within folk beliefs.

A dark cave – that part of the otherwise kindly Goddess the Mother Earth, the one who gives life for life – stands on the opposite pole than the light sky in the cultural model of the world. We find no artificially defined differences between professions and places in the archaic view of the landscape, however. Each region, each village had various legends of dragons, bogeys, devils, water goblins, imps, forest nymphs, wood goblins, vampires, marsh fairies and other, more local folk demonology beings of the "jump-on-the-back" kind, whose effects were predominantly negative in folk beliefs. It was believed that many of them were transformed souls of the dead dwelling "between the worlds" (this and the other). It is a matter of perspective whether we consider the stories as random products of human fantasy "for bad children and long winter evenings" or as a summary of particular human experience in a certain time and place melted into stories. In the latter case, as Claude Lévi-Strauss and many other folklorists have done, we admit that fairy tales and legends have an "initiation core" to which information ballast became attached over the course of time, and the real event was forgotten during its passage from one generation to another. Many demonological folk stories are connected with certain particular events in particular places in the landscape. In Slovakia, for instance, we have the rock Besná near Strečno Castle. A woman is said to once have thrown her adolescent stepdaughter Margita from a cliff there. Then she went mad and committed suicide by jumping into the depths in the same place. Subsequently, at least one rafter a year lost his life there in the waves of the River Váh as his raft hit the cliff and broke into a thousand pieces, as Baron Mednyanský writes in his *Malebná cesta dolu Váhom* (Picturesque Journey Downstream of Váh). The cliff was blasted away and no longer exists. The road section that passes there today is classified as "high-accident" one. It is interesting that most folk demonological stories concern places with a provable anthropological-historical background. It does not matter if they concern desolate castles and mills or natural attractions such as caves or lonely rocks, people were present there in the past in almost one hundred per cent cases.

Býčí Skála Cave is no exception. It is the subject of several mutually very similar folk stories recorded in writing before the middle of the 19th century (*Golec 2014c*, 361–362). Let us quote at least one for all: "*A legend makes this cave a temple of Svantovít (Vitislav), the powerful war god of the pagan Moravians, who reportedly received the homage there in the form of the lives of many captives dying under the knives of priests*." (*Schmidt 1835*). The cult of Svantovít and human sacrifices create the core of a mythological matter that is varied with only minor alterations in other mentions. Of artificial origin is probably a mention of *the cave Bežiskála in the earlier epic Slávy dcera by Jan Kollár* (*2001*, Poem 565), *in an indirect connection to traitors who betrayed Bohemia during the raids of the Swedish armies in the 17th century and now reside in the underground, between the world, half living and half dead.*

A certain extension of the dimension of the folk beliefs concerning the cave has the form of later fantastic images above all of a procession of skeletons recorded by Karla Absolonová-Bufková, née Wankelová: "*Once a splendid and numerous procession came from afar and got lost in the cave during the night. Weeping and wailing carried from the depths, light shone there and a procession of skeletons appeared there. A phantom of a mysterious bull also appeared near the rock. Sometimes, it even went down to the village and peered into people's huts. People tried to pursue it, but it always disappeared in the maze of the underground labyrinth, where they then lost their own way and died. It was said that it leads the way to treasures hidden deep inside. People from Josefov saw a phantom of a fiery horse there, while those from Habrůvka tried to dig in the rock and found traces of a dragon.*" (*Stejskal 2011*, 84). The mentioned folk beliefs in supernatural apparitions (ritual sacrifices, a procession of the undead, a bull, horse or dragon) oscillate in a very centripetal manner around the finds of later archaeological research, to which Wankel's daughter was quite possibly personally present. The impact of these finds on the folk fantasy at the time of the research is difficult to assess, and it is therefore also problematic to estimate the age of their origin.

Before we go over to the old gods, we need to point out that the Svantovítian core of the stories precedes Wankel and the start of archaeological research in the cave in 1872 (*Oliva et al. 2015*, 38). This "mythological topography" as if was an unconscious reaction of a certain type of pre-archaeology knowledge to the memory of the place. It is

Fig. 114: The Býčí Skála Cave find inspired also Czech artists of the National Revival. Its source was Wankel's ethnic re-interpretation of the originally Slavic, then Celtic and finally also Slavic (Hallstatt) find in Býčí Skála Cave. The find was appropriated also by German artists, in the form of a Germanic magnate (*Fig. 113*). The painting from 1888 by Mikoláš Aleš depicting Samo, the Duke of the Slavs, uses items and motifs from Býčí Skála Cave. The god Svantovít is depicted in the background to the left. The question of the source from which a sanctuary of this god was situated to Býčí Skála Cave 37 years before Wankel's research in the Entrance Hall will probably remain unanswered forever (drawing: M. Aleš; *Přichystal – Náplava 1995*, Fig. on page 91).

difficult to tell whether there was an intention to situate precisely and particularly Svantovít's cult in Býčí Skála Cave (*Fig. 114*). I think it rather was a reaction of a not very educated mind to sporadic finds of human bones with an added projection of "some" pre-Christian deity, which was later taken over by other commentators. Yet, the precise diagnosis of the cave sanctuary is interesting to know.

The worship of Svantovít is securely proved only in the Arkona shrine on the island Rügen (Rugia) in the Baltic Sea, destroyed in 1168 (*Profantová – Profant 2004*, 44). Frankly, we know very little of the ancient gods and cults of the Slavs from the perspectives of ethnography, religious science, history and generally science. What we can observe even today is that the need for spirituality persists despite social changes. At present, it manifests itself by the search for religious alternatives but also for one's own roots and identity, reflecting in the growing popularity of (pre-Christian) *old deities* and their cults in the Czech Republic and, to a slightly lesser extent, in Slovakia. However, these reconstructions are rather an artificially construed mixture of the few preserved mythological fragments (above all the names of the gods), of the wide group of the notions of East Slavs and of analogically derived attributes taken over from other provenances, including early Melanesian-Polynesian dynamism or the polytheism and polydemonism of Ancient India or Greece. The attempts at a practical reconstruction of the spiritual world of old Slavs represent a very apt example of both technical and moral eclecticism, because religion and morale are one and the same thing. While we can observe certain hypocrisy and significant differences between theory and practice in the living context of Christianity, for instance, the moral imperatives of this social fact remain as a generally valid point of reference and ideal. In present-time "original Slavic" syncreses, we can find a remarkably Christian content incorporated in the form of the worship of "pagan" gods. On the other hand, it would certainly be unwise to take over, for reasons of fashion, Hallstatt, La Tène or ancient Slavic morale at present. Like there is much difference between copper, silver, the lanthanides and the actinides in chemistry, there can be no doubt in the religious science that the theology of the Medieval Christian cult of the Virgin Mary in nearby Křtiny was and is neither compatible nor convertible with prehistoric sacrificial mysteries of war and ireful deities. Religious social facts were only confused but also exchanged in history. An earlier cult, weakened by the fact that its cult activity was fading away, made way to a more topical and much higher-quality one. Now we can perhaps better understand how strange and unsettling place Býčí Skála Cave must have been for a Medieval Christian mind. As the cult activity directed on the old gods was subsiding, the cultural circle of their province changed as well, and possibly even the method of their "subsistence", however strange this sounds in relation to a social being. We can assume that supra-regional deities gradually became regional ones, then local daemons, and quite local bugaboos, after whom only grease, sulphurous stench and children's stories remained in the end. This view is very similar to the degenerative hypothesis of religion by the Austrian diffusionist Wilhelm Schmidt. It is the reverse procedure that is interesting for experimental reconstruction of archaic religious forms, however. Let us take the Polednice (Noon Witch), for example. Can we regard this widespread lower folk daemon as a relic

Fig. 115: Some percipient observers see the head of a bull in the rock wall of Býčí Skála Cave. Standing close and turning our look upwards, we can see rock turrets along its sides, which can be regarded as horns. The two higher entrances, Nos. 2 and 6 (cf. *Fig. 35*), evoke the eyes and the lowest entrances, Nos. 3 and 1, the nostrils. The Entrance Hall can be identified with the inside of the animal's head (photograph: M. Golec, grafics: M. Surikata Korba, M. Elvira Davídková).

of a larger and earlier (pre-Christian) god who had been offered sacrifices of new-born children in a prescribed amount at a prescribed time? Conceptually speaking, yes, but we have no proofs. Cultural change was thus accompanied also by changes in religious cults as social facts and by transformations of deities as social beings. We also have no proofs of what became of the social being after its cult ceased to exist – possibly, it was followed by an unexplainable series of children's deaths, which was later transformed into folk demonology, like in the case of the Noon Witch.

Another ethnologically remarkable feature of Býčí Skála Cave is its name. Like the concept of a sacrificial site, the name of the cave came into existence well before the 1869 find of a statuette of a bull, the "Egyptian Apis" (*Oliva et al. 2015*, 41). Possibly, the two rock turrets above the entrance to the cave, today almost unobservable and overgrown with vegetation, once evoked a bull's horns to people (*Fig. 115*). However, the pre-Christian notion of a "horned" deity might have reflected in the toponym as well. We do not know much about Hallstatt forms of religion. The situation is slightly better for La Tène and the Celts, who had horned deities and daemons. Draugr, the stormy guardian haunting barrows, is worth mentioning in connection with our topic. So is horned Cernunnos (a cousin of the Greek Pan and a great-uncle of Saint Hubert), connected with the underworld and fertility. The image of a monster of Noves in Bouches-du-Rhône from the 3rd century BC with large teeth, claws and erected phallus is particularly interesting. It holds a half-eaten human arm in its mouth and rests its paws on two severed heads (*Messadié 1996*, 190). Is it Crom Cruach, a daemon of Celtic bloody rituals during which people were sacrificed and then – as Julius Caesar says – ritually eaten? Upis (Apis), the Seer, Artemis or Diana Lucina, who supported childbirth, was venerated in Tauria, Scythia. Creuzer says about her: "*She was a bull goddess in a bull land; a blood service was prescribed to her, and she thirsted for blood like Moloch.*" Her name in the bull form was Taurópolos (*Wankel 1877*, 103). We remain in amazement on how closely the themes of fertility and death are connected in human unconscious; this becomes slightly more comprehensible when we consider that our life is redeemed with the lives of countless other living beings. When seeing, for instance, the modern reconstruction of a statue of Radegast at Radhošť (inspired by Native American totems), I cannot help myself: it looks like a daemon that has escaped from Býčí Skála Cave. It resembles an ireful deity or a daemon of Tibetan Tantric Buddhism. Is it a guardian of the threshold? "Bull's strength" emanates from it, something very animalistic and instinctive, rather than intellectual and human, such as Cyril and Methodius, who stand nearby with an open book. It much resembles also Bohemian Kudibal or Cretan Minotaur – a creature originated already in the Bronze Age from a sexual union of the *queen* of Crete and a *bull*. Minotaur lived in an *underground labyrinth*, regularly feeding on human death. After Athens was subdued in the war between Athens and Crete, Athenians had to provide a human sacrifice for him every year: seven young men and seven virgins. He improved his diet with the lives of the daredevils who entered his labyrinth and lost their way. What else is the balladic end of countless lives in the strange local tradition of self-sacrifice than the outcome of a long and desperate effort to find one's way through the labyrinth of the world? Small Kateřina of Kateřinská Cave also saw for herself that the underground labyrinths of the Moravian Karst are rather convoluted. We do not know whether Minotaur was pleased with his fate. He lived in the underground until the arrival of Theseus – the redeemer who put a definitive end to the monster. According to unofficial views, he did not resist Theseus much in his lonely sadness. Theseus was helped in the *underground labyrinth* by *gifts of love* he had received from Ariadne: a *thread* – a symbol of Light

in the human Soul, which like a spider (Arachne) weaves the nets of the fate, and a *sword*, a symbol of cutting the darkness, of a great *pardon*, *forgiveness* and above all of the *ancestors*.

Landscape of Iron Remembering, Landscapes of Iron Forgetting *(Peter Laučík)*

The karst underground of Bohemia and Moravia is not very large in terms of area but culturally much more varied compared to somewhat more sterile Slovakia. Subjectively speaking, I even do not know any language-related region where the ancient character of the relationship between the landscape and people could be felt as much as in the fertile Moravia and particularly near the karst and its caves. The reason might be that for many Slovaks, Moravia remains the mythological spiritual original homeland of a kind. The Western and the Eastern worlds mingle here (the Hajnal line) and this blending, not boundary, is even emphasised by one of the main routes of the former and still living *Amber Road*.

In the previous texts, we have attempted at ethnological analyses of wall drawings and some specific religious notions connected with death and human sacrifices. We have suggested that the natural human reaction to Infinity – not only in the spiritual sphere – consists in attempts at restricting it to the selection of a certain set of advantageous variants, which then manifest themselves as certain socio-cultural regulatives formed by social facts, cultural patterns and values. *Nature* proceeds similarly, after all: as a *skilful craftswoman*, she has weaved the manifested world (and whole universes) as one of an infinite line of variants of the potentially possible existence. Using the language of Plato's geometers, we would say that a circle is the manner in which the human mind tries to cope with the *infiniteness of a line*. That people of Hallstatt loved circles is more than evident from their artefacts. In general symbol, the circle a symbol of the *Spirit*. However, the *greatness* of humanity rests precisely in how it has been trying for millennia of its existence to elevate itself from a relative and transitory level to the absolute level. And in *forgetting* that humans did not invent the *Beauty* that surrounds them, that it was only entrusted to them for a while, rests the cause of *their fall*.

Soft and silent is the mystery of the *Spirit* that floated above the waters of the warm Palaeozoic sea when the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) consisted of no more than a layer of fine chalky sediment on its bottom. The sea subsided and rock folding, erosion, corrosion and karst formation began. Caves emerged in rock fissures, and vegetation and animals established on the surface. Perhaps precisely the inner awe at all the creation was the effect sought by the Romantic souls of those who came to the Liechtenstein park, which included also the Býčí Skála Cave. The Moravian Karst is a landscape of various perspectives, lonely views, stops by silent pools and springs, by majestic portals of deep caves, dwellings of hermits and places of pilgrimage dedicated to the most *Merciful Deity* (*Fig. 116*).

However, it is also an ambivalent landscape, a landscape of the contrasts of *light* and *darkness*, *nature* and *civilization*, represented by the proximity of a large city, and in the Křtinské Údolí (Valley) above all by the very long tradition of iron-working production, mines and foundries that were from their beginnings closely related to the production of *weapons*. It is no wonder that *iron* as a *resistant, working metal* was consecrated to the *gods of war* and that its discovery massively extended armed conflicts in the history of the humankind. It is precisely because of *Mars* or *Moloch* (a Canaanite deity from the Bronze Age with bull's horns and a human sacrificial ritual) that a distinct balladic shade is contained in the romantic soul of the Moravian Karst. If we acknowledge that today's landscape is to a certain extent also what it was in the past, we could say that the southern part of the Moravian Karst formed a kind of screened out background for the production of the war industry from the Hallstatt Period. Býčí Skála Cave then represents a central sanctuary of a cult of *war deities* linked also to *iron* metallurgy. The skill of iron production through decarbonising of cast iron in smelting pots comes as a surprise in the late Hallstatt Period (*Jarůšková – Štrof eds. 2014*). From Josefov, it is not at all far to Rudice, a significant deposit of clay and iron ore in the form of mud limonites; likewise, there are clear traces of ancient prospecting and mining activity also on the plain directly above Býčí Skála Cave. We will surely admit that iron smelting in pots and primitive small semi-sunken furnaces was a delicate affair, a process prone to the destruction of the whole work at any moment. In the milieu of natural peoples, it was necessary to prepare the smelting very well, not only technically but also magically, spiritually. Based on examples from West Africa or India, we can assume that the process was preceded by essential religious rituals in the form of reconciliation sacrifices to the deities of smelting (killing a cock in Africa and even human sacrifices in India) and related ceremonies focused on the prediction of the suitability or unsuitability of the time for the success of the smelting. Like in the agriculture, the success in metallurgy also depended on the *weather* and the *moon* phase, which influence the dampness of the soil. On the example of early forms of economic production in natural societies, we can see their interconnection with religion and magic.

Fig. 116: The image depicts pilgrims coming to Křtiny from Adamov in the 1820s. The Marian sanctuary has been the target of pilgrims and hikers for many centuries. It is part of the compact landscape with all its natural and cultural works (painting: F. Richter, archive of the MG Brno).

The *Moon* in a certain phase resembles *bull's horns*. It was considered the *night light* and linked in the general symbolism also with *night, darkness* and therefore also with a *cave*. In connection with Hallstatt *cults of war deities*, the parallel occurrence of *solar symbols* is remarkable, suggesting a close and ambivalent relationship between the *light* cult of the *Sun-light-fire-life* and the *dark* cult of *war-death-coldness-night*. True, there is certain complementarity: iron cannot be smelted without fire, we can plant nothing in dark soil without the Sun and no woman can conceive a child without a man. The *Sun in the sky*, the light antipole of the *underground* in the theoretical model of the world, was ascribed Supreme power, which reflected also in folk beliefs. For instance, a *bat*, an inhabitant of *caves* according to widespread folk beliefs, fears *daylight* very much, which is why it was a symbol of *dark* beings such as *vampires* and *other undead (nosferatu)*. They spent days in *underground tombs*, leaving them only in the night, because, as we know very well, *Sunlight* would destroy them. A concrete stage remained in Býčí Skála Cave after WWII, perhaps preserved for a strange show. The military withdrew from the Křtinské Údolí (Valley) quite recently, leaving highly visible and permanent traces, which became part of the stimuli for landscapes of remembering.

What I admire ever more on the generations of my ancestors when studying the cultural-natural boundary of space is the easiness with which many of them disappeared without leaving considerable traces. They faded away from the memory of the landscape. I thank for the knowledge of the necessity to forget in the landscape to unforgettable Natalie Belisová of the administration of the National Park Czech Switzerland, who asked me about *Detvan painted crosses* the first minute of our meeting; this small *spark* later lighted a great fire of pondering of possible positive aspects of a *loss of memory*. Sandstone remembers much, but *wooden crosses* on graves had something about them as well. It was believed that the memory of the dead was to be maintained only until the wood of the cross moulders away in the natural manner, until the kind nature takes him or her back. There is something non-archaeological about it, but restricting of the duration of a memorial was a very wise step from the perspective of the dynamics of life in the

landscape. Today, we encounter memorials of ferroconcrete, non-corrosive metal or rock. Stones do not care, they know that they were stars once, but we people are able not only to build constructions but also to ascribe meanings to places in the landscape that survive us by a long time.

From a strongly reduced ethnological perspective, a *cultural landscape* (occupied or visited) is in fact a mere *system of symbols* and their *mutual relations* set into an otherwise culturally rather inert natural base (*Fig. 117*). An instructive example of a meaning bound to a spatial point in the landscape is the traditional folk custom to *mark places* of tragedies and accidents. Despite general secularisation and progressing atheisation, many such places are marked even today (and some, more important, are surprisingly not). As we have suggested, these places are according to some views signed by a very specific meaning. As we have pointed out in the previous texts, marking of a place of an accident can mean more than a *memento mori* or a *memory of the deceased* (who has a second memorial at the graveyard). Our ancestors felt a need to mark such places and sign them with an unmistakable meaning. With this *magic measure*, they hoped to prevent the *repetition* of tragic events on that place. There can be no doubt that a place signed in such a way acts as a socio-spatial fact: we somehow intuitively feel that this is not a place suitable for having a snack or a picnic. Let us ask, however, when the time comes to erase an event from the memory of a place. Think how dismal place our planet would be if each place on its surface where death has ever intersected a human fate had to be permanently marked, how scary some natural monuments would be. When does a cursed place become a place of mercy and forgiveness, a sacred place? Our ancestors resolved this issue by a reconstruction after the disintegration of the original memorial – ritual eradication of the place followed by its re-dedication, consecration and formal building adjustments. They built a smaller sacred building, a wayside shrine or cross or small chapel. Within this "landscape alchemy", many sacred places overlaid originally cursed places. Let us notice, however, that even these crosses with Christ are kind of an echo of ancient sacrificial mysteries of an initiation death, the difference being that here, one sacrificed himself for all. We live in times when it is very difficult to establish new sanctuaries of the classical type. The generation leaving the world would prefer a memorial, the coming generation prefers free space for life, and capitalists prefer their capital. *Specific sites.*

The discourse between the maintenance of the *cultural memory of a place* (socio-spatial facts) and the entitlement to an *empty space* is fact also a discourse between the cultural-historical conception of the landscape, its economic use and the requirements of the protection of nature. The world of human spirituality highly resembles a piece of a landscape such as a meadow. Down below, there is the past (roots) and the landscape (soil), then a dense network of social relations, communication, mutual dependencies fulfilling various needs (moss), and also higher levels – the grass blade of individual spiritual effort is higher here and lower there, but even the highest creek cannot fundamentally reduce the distance between the Earth and the Sun. Understanding the substance of the spiritual components of human culture means getting to know the human origin of religious social and socio-spatial facts. It also means the understanding that "sacred" components of the landscape, "spatialised" symbolic "terminals" of old and new religious egregores in the form of sanctuaries and sacred places, represent merely an offer of tools for social development of a part of the material environment rather than its aim. It is a matter of art and sensitivity to understand the purpose of these tools, to be able to use this offer *wisely* and with *deliberation*, which is not always managed.

The time may also come for putting such tools away and starting along one's own path to seek the real sanctuary – a

Fig. 117: The woody and sparsely populated landscape of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands) has always been a spiritually strongly lived landscape. Precisely in the most remote corners, people reminded themselves of this aspect of calling of the divine presence as a proof that they have not been abandoned. They threaded them as beads on the threads of networks leading from afar to the centres of pilgrimage, where they were meeting God (photograph: R. Czižek, archive of the MM Brno).

Fig. 118: The Liechtenstein tomb in Vranov became the spiritual centre of the "Romantic landscape of Býčí Skála Cave". It was a very popular place of visits by pilgrims and tourists. It added a sacred dimension to the landscape and turned one's mind to the meaning of death (painting: unknown author, after 1819, LIECHTENSTEIN. The Princely Collections, Vienna).

place where we would confirm our freedom and search the content of our percipience, for instance, during a visit to a cave. What is more: such a sanctuary is a place of questions to which we actually do not even wish to find answers, either because we are very well aware of the impossibility of such effort, or because we anticipate that by answering them, we would lose the most precious thing that can be offered to us – the knowledge of a Mystery. Even the darkness in a cave may have its religious meaning, as it was in the most sacred place in the centre of the Temple of Jerusalem. The Holy of Holies was dark in order to make it clear that the *true* Spirit is ungraspable, invisible, but yet present (*Fig. 118*).

It is a matter of perspective whether Heinrich Wankel's not quite rigorous archaeological research in Býčí Skála Cave should be praised or condemned. From the viewpoint of archaeology, such premature research is certainly detrimental to knowledge and a very easy opportunity to criticise one's predecessors. From ethnology's point of view, it is precisely the other way around: the insufficient documentation of the site opened doors for the construction of an infinite line of notions, views and theories of the events that probably took place there. Thanks to insufficient documentation of the finding situation, the cave fulfilled its original function: to be a source of the primary chaos, an inexhaustible fount of stimuli for the imagination. Until the single final interpretation is known (and it will probably never be), all theories about events and pre-events will be mutually equal and equally valid. This is the eternal Mystery of Býčí Skála Cave. And this is only a small illustration of how mysterious the world around us can be if we acknowledge the limited possibilities of our understanding, how many different views may be bound to the reality of a single place. As regards caves, even empty spaces may be of a great value for people, such as those in New Býčí Skála Cave, hidden behind the spaces discussed in this work strongly marked by people. This is pure emptiness without history, formed only by the hum of the unconscious, water, darkness and millennia of silence. A space of limited dimensions but unlimited freedom in a moment of a real solitude.

I believe that we need this knowledge of a Mystery precisely in order to have the ability not to cling. As Ladislav Fuks's Cremator said: "*It may come handy in the future.*" Getting to know the cave and the landscape can be a way to getting to know oneself. The problem of localisation of a real sanctuary as a geographic place is that we always carry it with us even without intervening more significantly in the physical environment. Remarkable natural creations such as Býčí Skála Cave are the best places that can remind this to us. Sometimes, it is simply necessary to get a little away from the world for a time, silently withdraw inside the earth or to its peak, to see through the strange games of social reality and transformation of the outer world. It is a form of forgetting and a form of cure. If we stay longer in the darkness, we may lose clear sight, but perhaps precisely because it is a cure, we feel from time to time a need to (quite unselfishly) do something as if aimlessly, to seek for something that has been forgotten, peek into clefts in rocks or study moss on mountain peaks or – like the Medieval knights in search of the Grail – just wonder through forests, forests without an end. However, until the knowledge of the external landscape interconnects with the knowledge of the landscape within us, we will not return from the half-light of trees, from darks forests and caves any less worried than we were at the beginning. It is said that one who has got to know the whole world and erred in himself erred in everything. Only a landscape approached through one's heart may also become a landscape adopted by one's heart.

Reconstruction of a Princess

The Third Birth of Wankel's Princess

The information, which has been preserved for us from Wankel's research from 1872 in the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave, only very exceptionally concern specific people buried in the cave, their personal equipment and mutual spatial relations inside the cave. Wankel mentions for instance burned human bones deposited on a carriage, in the area of the so-called large cremation grounds (a wooden burial chamber was groundlessly constructed on this site a hundred years later by other researchers), which became a starting point for the interpretation of the entire underground situation as a kind of burial of a magnate (*Fig. 119*). Elsewhere, he writes of the burial of a young man, lying on a so-called stone pavement. Between these two specific places, which we can identify in space thanks to a small plan of the Entrance Hall (*Fig. 64*), a group of female skeletons decorated with strikingly luxurious items was found. These items were either directly on the body of the buried or in their immediate proximity . Information of the deposition of a so-called loincloth (today it is understood as a woman's plaited belt) on a female pelvis has also been preserved. We further read about bracelets and rings on the hand of the skeleton of a woman, lying along on a so-called altar, elsewhere about another skeleton of a woman with whorls, amber beads and a gold bracelet, as well as gold hair decorations, deposited under the woman's skull only a metre from the woman decorated with the plaited belt (*Fig. 68*). The skeleton of a woman with similar gold jewellery lay nearby. Such small mentions are very valuable for us. We suppose that Wankel himself considered them as exceptional among the other situations and therefore devoted somewhat more attention to them. We do not find these data, describing the relationship of the artefacts to specific people, summarized together in one literary source and it is necessary to focus on them among several outputs by Wankel from 1872–1882, his unpublished sources and the works of others and compare the deviations from Wankel's descriptions and the descriptions of his successors (*Absolonová – Bednářová 1971*; *Wankel 1872*; *idem 1875a*; *idem 1875b*; *idem 1882*; *idem 1987*; *idem 1988*; *idem 1989*; *idem 1990*; *Havelka 1886*; *Kříž 1892*; *Pelíšek 1949*; *Adámek 1972*; *Skutil 1972*; *Přichystal – Náplava 1995*; *Urban – Golec – Tvrdý 2009*).

The term *princess* does not come directly from Wankel. He never used it himself. We encounter it for the first time only much later, in the 1990s (*Přichystal – Náplava 1995*, 59; *Podborský 2006*, 315). But what sparked the impetus for its creation? Heinrich Wankel already in 1883 sent the largest part of his collection as a financial consideration to Vienna. His heirs did the same with the second half of the collection after his death in 1897. The collection contained thousands of items collected over the years. Nevertheless, three items were never sold. We only know why with two of them. They were scientifically recognized unique items at the time. Both a "cast" iron ring and the upper part of the skull of a cave bear with a "healed, person-caused" injury were published by Wankel as an important topic at the time and became the subject of the reactions of other researchers. The third item was a female skull. The skull of our princess now, but today we cannot say why Wankel kept it. It is indisputable that he has left us a very mysterious legacy, the background of which we can only speculate. The idea creeps in that Wankel sensed the scientific importance of the woman, gold "hair decorations" had been found

Fig. 119: The painting *Pohřeb velmože v Býčí skále* (The burial of the magnate in Býčí Skála Cave) by Zdeněk Burian from 1945 was created under the professional guidance of Karel Absolon. It started from an interpretation by Heinrich Wankel from his *Bilder aus der Mährischen Schweiz und ihrer Vergangenheit*. Absolon placed a woman with a "golden diadem" in the carefully composed scene as an important motif inherited from his grandfather. It is in the foreground of the painting among the other sacrifices near a horse, leaning on the shoulder of a man with the so-called "loincloth" (painting: Z. Burian, consultation: K. Absolon, a private collection of descendants of K. Absolon, USA).

in her close vicinity, but that cannot be the only reason for the decision to keep the skull. We do not know for instance why he did not keep those gold decorations as well, which he had in his collection for a long eleven years.[89] It was apparently about more than the skull itself for him. Although it will seem unlikely or even laughable, his romantic tendency to beautiful women arises quite evidently from his German-written and as-yet unpublished manuscript – *Ephemeriden* (Journal of My Life).[90] It thus not possible to rule out that one of the reasons for keeping precisely this skull could have been also reasons of his feelings; the find could have the meaning of a "souvenir" for Wankel, significant, emotionally charged memories.

Why is the princess so important for contemporary archaeology? Whereas the mentioned ring and bear skull are almost empty scientifically today, our skull on the contrary offers as-yet unutilised scientific potential. It shows that Wankel's surmised assumption was correct. It is to this day the only find in Moravia, from its context the very most luxurious female Horákov culture jewellery comes. In other words, the princess was really a "princess and perhaps also queen", in today's terminology rather a magnate. Golden jewellery are always signs of the most powerful members of archaic societies. Scientific interest in the class of the magnates is first-class. Their representatives had undeniable influence on the form of the life of the community and always differed from the other social markers of power, which are inter alia precisely expensive items and a higher living standard.

89 According to the agreement Wankel was to submit the gold from the research to the owner of the cave Johann II of Liechtenstein. Nevertheless, he left two "hair decorations" for himself despite this (apparently for scientific purposes). It could be precisely the princess exemplar, but we do not know for certain. Today, they are in the collections of the NHM in Vienna.

90 At the time of the creation of this text, there was a decision at the MM Brno to issue the journal.

Heinrich Wankel left us a report in two texts, which connect the golden jewellery with the skull of the woman – princess (Fig. 68:3, 120): "*A meter behind this sacrificial altar lay a skeleton of a second girl perhaps 16–18 years of age, under her untouched head lay crumpled remnants of beautifully ornamented golden hair clasps.*" (*Wankel 1990*, 72). Elsewhere: "*The first hair clasps were broken and crumpled and lay not far from the stone table (altar) under the head of the female skeleton.*" (*Skutil 1972*). The term *princess*, which we use today for name of the woman, whose skull we have discussed, therefore has its indisputable origin in the Entrance Hall's captured find situation.

Wankel's secret decision to keep this skull allowed a "second birth of the not-yet named princess". Almost a hundred years after his death, the term *princess* was first used and so a third and as-yet final "birth" has occurred.

Reconstruction of the Princess as a Story?

Traditional archaeology looks critically on the possibility of reconstructing entire prehistoric societies. It believes that we lack enough information for that and so deals only with partial themes mainly and sometimes exclusively. As an example of the commonly used methods of scientific work, we present the following for illustration. The result of the traditional study would be the golden jewellery of the princess described in the greatest detail with a mention of analogical finds and the result of the research would be the message that it comes somewhere from the west or south. Traditional archaeology would essentially not be about the person set in the context of a reconstructed society. On that point, we admit that the normal archaeological scientific text is only very little intelligible in the better case for a layperson. Which way to set out? First of all, it is suitable to find a balance between a factually correct approach on the one hand and on the other retell past events in a way that proves its attractivity with the consumers of scientific conclusions, i.e. the broadest public. There is frequently a large chasm between the requirements of archaeologists and laypeople. At one end, there are scientific works full of tables, graphs and maps with plotted points and at the other end an attempt to allow contemporaries the most plastic view of a specific human society and life situation of their members and in a reader-friendly form and in a way that modern science can understand them. The truth is that without the first phase there is not a second, but it is necessary to admit that it often never gets to second phase at all, or only exceptionally. How much has been actually written on the Moravian Hallstatt Period since 1989 in a way that is comprehensible and readable for the public? Of the scientifically tuned texts, only a tiny fraction.

Fig. 120: The first depiction of the princess by Zdeněk Burian. The drawing was probably created at the instigation of Karel Absolon shortly after WWII. The jewellery is mistakenly shown here as a diadem (drawing: Z. Burian; *Poulík 1956*, Fig. on page 134).

The informed reader knows that in 1882 in his masterfully written *Bilder aus der Mährischen Schweiz und ihrer Vergangenheit* Heinrich Wankel presented stories, which have stuck deeply in the memory of people to this day. According to his final conception, there was to have been the burial of a magnate accompanied by many sacrifices and enclosed gifts in Býčí Skála Cave. Wankel's successors then modified his view and other opinions began to appear. The Entrance Hall in their interpretations became mainly a refuge of assaulted merchants. However, notice that Heinrich Wankel in the 19th century spontaneously allowed himself to present the situation as a (romantic) story. The 20th century brought a gradual change, the result of which was abandonment of "reading" the prehistory past as a story. The narrative form also stopped being cultivated in serious science. Real science became not only linguistically austere, but strictly scientific in its tables, list of find sites and graphs. This trend culminated in the pre-revolutionary ear, at the time of the fill professionalization of the field. Archaeology is now very distant from the common lay reader. In many places, it has broken from the primary

objective or rather dream of archaeology – to present the past systematically step by step as a reconstructed world of people living long ago. It is no wonder that the public has stopped understanding the highly-specialized articles and books. The criticism of Wankel's romantic approach reached its peak. The critics refused to conceive of archaeology in the form of a story, they saw in it a literary dishonour of science. Nevertheless, was it really that way at that time? How else should we understand the interpretation of the researcher, who devoted himself to the Hallstatt of Býčí Skála Cave a total of forty years, Jindra Nekvasil. The concluding words of his posthumous book (from 2015) precisely joins in itself the causally dependent events in the form of a story. He speaks of prospectors, persecuted Scythians (in his earlier interpretations even killed in the cave; *Stloukal – Nekvasil 2015*). However, is it possible currently to offer the reader a plausible story?

We stand before a fundamental decision. On the one hand, archaeology is aware that it does not have a scientific weapon useful in the reconstruction of events and prehistoric events from the preserved fragments of the past and on the other hand desires to present its achieved results in an attractive and comprehensible form to interested parties. Contemporary scientists consider it their obligation, just like their predecessors long ago, to find new paths to the reconstruction of the past. They could or should present the past world to the public in a pleasant way.

An interdisciplinary collective of archaeologists, an ethnologist, an anthropologist, a reconstruction painter and sculptor have tried it in one specific case – the story of Wankel's princess. It will not be in essence the building of an event construct, but a linking of possible sequences (earlier possible events) from the princess's life, in both of her lives, the real one, lived in real time and in space far in the past and the symbolic one, her resurrection, through newly awakened scientific interest. Let's ask the symbolic princess to become the guide to her world similar to what it was at one time in the past. We will try to ask her "story". Scientists will now become the spokespeople for this dead woman, who lived at some time in the first half of the 6th century BC and was buried in this cave temple in Býčí Skála Cave and is now "reborn" into our world.

How to Get to the Times of the Distant Past? *(Libor Balák)*

I would like to devote this part to nothing less than a look into the past. Strictly speaking, discussing the possibilities of our views into the past. It is perhaps clear and logical that we cannot look at cultures distant in the past or examine them as contemporary cultures.

Learning about a different culture entails diverse difficulties and complications increase, if the subject of our study is distant or our possibilities of study limited and that is precisely the case of cultures distant in time. A simplified rule applies that the older a culture is the less material there is for learning about it. And those cultures are only indicated in a fragmentary way. Professionally, a problem arises called the "problem of limited sources".

Now someone might have thrown in the towel, but also in mathematics can still calculate equations with several unknowns. Moreover, because people are just biological beings, and they are subject to the general biological regularities, then many significant things can be inferred or derived. There are many such laws, which will then appear in various forms outside biology figuratively in human behaviour and thinking, hence in the area of psychology, so in the end the starting position for research of many ancient ethnic groups is fairly decent.

From my own experience, I look at the different cultures like a biological entity in time. I seek their typical specialization and watch them later adaptation to changing internal or external conditions. I notice their efforts to maintain their stability, which often, paradoxically, can only be achieved by adaptation and change. Simply, even staying in a favourable position sometimes requires a lot of energy and effort.

Perhaps the biggest and most widespread mistake is the idea that archaeology brings insight into the past. Sherlock Holmes would have looked on those archaeologists digging up artefacts through his large magnifying glass, would puff on his pipe and then he would surely rightly said: "*My dear Watson, all of these are just plain traces of those ancient cultures. These exposed artefacts are only remains, mere fragments and sherds of ancient cultures. Nothing more. The whole culture is not excavated!*" Then he would pause and add: "*But the bright and open head may look on these traces like on tracks that remain after committing a crime, many things sensible can certainly be inferred from them and find many things, which would otherwise remain hidden!*"

And so, thanks to Conan Doyle, I have presented this opportunity of how to build the imagining of life of people in the past. Change into Sherlock Holmes, prepare your patience and go to the scene of the crime! To verify the work of the archaeologists themselves, review the analyses, look for cultural parallels, rely on biological studies and think in many ways as a designer or architect would and top it all off with a look through the eyes of psychology. So, hurray for adventure! And on that Holmes-esque way of treating our ideas on distant cultures, it is necessary to

Fig. 121: This reconstruction of the princess is derived from her original skull, on which the painter applied a plastic material, representing the missing soft tissue. The model was subsequently transferred by a two-dimensional technique onto paper (painting: L. Balák).

emphasize greatly one more already mentioned incredibly important thing. The image needs a written description of what we have actually found to express the results, because expression of the theory is the most essential principle of scientific work. Without a theory, there is nothing to examine, to check, to evaluate critically and there is no possibility of a competition of the theories. And so, it is not possible to hope for any advancement.

In treating the issue of the Bronze Age, there is luckily quite unprecedentedly enough sources here. That is if you compare it with other, stubbornly silent cultures. Hallstatt speaks as if for itself, in its own depictions, which capture life, rituals, people, clothes and animals. With the corrosion effusions, here and there some cloth or leather is preserved, elsewhere a wooden fragment of a well, wall or even some object is found and all of that is completed by numerous archaeological artefacts from materials that do not age.

2D reconstruction

Reconstructions could now feed me only if I bet on the right card. That's why I have to verify all kinds of data, mainly the most basic. Any mistake, hidden somewhere deep in the basic information, will certainly materialize during the otherwise flawless work in a huge nonsense. So, I seek collaborators more open to more scientific disciplines, because I'm saving a lot of time, energy and explaining.

That is why I like researchers so much who surpass what I would expect from them. What comes only from their profession. In the last decades, for instance, several archaeologists have been added to my colleagues, who moreover study ethnology as an end in itself. I am also very happy that they do not remain only with it but apply also psychology, through which they perceive the background of human conduct. I hope that one day they also devote themselves for example to biology.

What is the reward for this effort? For archaeologists, especially the opportunity to look at my just painted picture that we prepared together so long and carefully, just for it to become obsolete right before our eyes to us, even during its completion. Even after all this effort we have put into it. This is completely normal and I am cheerfully entertained when Martin Golec detects it now. It is sad but true. Especially on topics which have not advanced for many decades, its acute obsolescence is very distinct. Therefore, in my internet textbook on reconstructive palaeo-ethnology and ethnology for universities, it is also recommended that to comment on this obsolescence and in the final report recommended changes for the future image realization of the reconstruction (*Balák 2016*). I am glad that in this book not only my images are used, but also an explanation of what is in them. In the 2D facial reconstruction of the princess's face (*Fig. 121*) the urgency of justification does not arise, but for complex topics, such as the Hallstatt triptych *Burial*

of a magnate (*Fig. 48*), *Burial of a princess* (*Fig. 132*) and *Smithy* (*Fig. 134*) is, it is already indispensable.

The reward for the archaeologist, or any of the specialists involved in the reconstruction, is the view of applied knowledge, integrated in a functional model of the whole. Only now in the colour when everything looks live and has a story, you can imagine what will happen in a minute, in two; tomorrow and the day after tomorrow can be seen anew on the investigated culture and on found artefacts and realize an entirely new context, which can escape you in the depository or in the trench. The reconstruction can change the views of the specialists themselves in their fields. To imagine the people of that already long past world at all, which science can capture with its methods, it is as amazing as showing public photos from the surface of the Moon, Mars or Venus.

For me it was always such *sci-fi*, the same as that featured expedition to explore the distant worlds and distant cultures of the universe in the series *Star Trek*, but in learning about the past it is transformed into reality.

And so maybe also in some very modest way my *sci-fi* of the last years is fulfilled. Maybe the dawn is here that promises really scientifically substantiated paths even to those deepest and darkest depths of the distant time, in our case underground time. This adventure is no less interesting and no less adventurous than trips of the spaceship Enterprise. The individual protagonists, individual collaborating researchers are the same heroes as the crew of that legendary ship, which on its excursions to explore foreign cultures and civilizations headed to the most distant ends of space.

A Look from Eye to Eye
(Eva Vaníčková – Ondřej Bílek)

An anthropological reconstruction of the appearance of a person according to their skull is a method, by which we attempt to return the face to the person. In our case, we have selected the case of a specific person, who died some time in 600 to 550 BC (*Fig. 122ab*). Only in the 1970s did similar reconstruction efforts receive a really scientific basis, when examining the relationship between the shape of the skull and facial shape was significantly enriched and clarified using ultrasound.

If we look at the method from the technical side, it can be divided into the drawing direction (2D) and plastic (3D), which we could split into sculptural and computer. For the sculptural production, which is also an outcome of our work, three different methods are available. Today they are labelled as the anatomical (Russian) method (*Fig. 122cd*), in which, according to the nature of connecting points on the skull, one reconstructs the jaw muscles, which form the most face shape. The American method using the depth of soft tissues, which utilizes the average thickness dimensions of soft tissue in the anthropometric points. And thirdly, the combined (British) method, which combines the advantages of both (*Vaníčková 2009*).

Whatever the selection of technique is, the reconstruction of the face always requires a detailed analysis of the skull, focusing mainly on its basic characteristics, i.e. its morphology and size. All of this investigation provides information on the age, sex, possibly ethnic group appurtenance; we can also follow the peculiarities of the skull, such as its asymmetry, pathology, cultural modification of the head or other individual habits. All of that is subsequently included in the final form of the reconstructed face.

All types of methods currently have wide usage mainly in prehistoric, historical and forensic anthropology. In the area of criminal science, they are often the only means of the identification of the skeletons of an unknown origin. Historical reconstruction helps materialize a known person or deeper in the past perhaps some typical representative of an already deceased population. On this level, many sciences of the person – archaeology, anthropology, museology and also art – converge and unify (*Novotný et al. 2003*).

The method of the reconstruction of the appearance includes many unknowns and it is unrealistic to expect a reconstruction of a precise appearance. The position and general shape of the main features can be reconstructed relatively precisely, but subtle details like wrinkles and skin folds are necessarily speculative, because their position or parameters do not remain on the skull. Anyway, despite all the difficulties that method involves, it is becoming more and more popular because of its importance not only fundamentally scientific, but it is especially beneficial and understandable to the general public, which is well acquainted with its own history, namely in an engaging way of visual anthropology. In this case, we have tried to "revive" the appearance of one of the wealthiest and most socially important women of the Earlier Iron Age in Southern Moravia. *It is not exciting to look into the eyes of a nearly 26-century-old ancient princess?*[91]

91 The age of Wankel's princess was determined a total of three times. Heinrich Wankel determined it as 16–18-years-old (*Wankel 1990*, 72), Milan Stloukal as 40-years-old (*Parzinger – Nekvasil – Barth 1995*, 136). A new determination was conducted by the author of the last reconstruction Eva Vaníčková to the age range of 30–35-years-old (adultus II), hence to the lower range of this age category, whereas Milan Stloukal leaned towards the upper limit.

Fig. 122: Front (a) and side (b) view of the skull of the princess. Front (c) and side (d) view of the reconstructed face of the princess (photograph: J. Vermouzek).

Clothing of the Princess *(Karina Grömer)*

Besides other finds, a large number of items, which are connected with the production of textiles and clothing, were found in the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave. These are mainly jewellery, such as buckles, pins, rings, bracelets and anklets. Among the articles that refer to textile production, especially spindle whorls and loom weights are broadly represented. In the cave, originally spindles have been deposited, unfortunately, the wooden spindle shafts have not been preserved. The whorls can very well be compared with contemporary findings from the settlements. It is also interesting that in the eastern parts of Hallstatt culture in Central Europe (*Fig. 93*), we find spindle whorls in the graves of women, as well as loom weights. This shows how textile work was closely associated with female activities. The whorls from Býčí Skála Cave have different sizes, which corresponds to artefacts from numerous other sites. The whorls probably have been used to produce threads of different kinds and qualities.

As an exceptional find from Býčí Skála Cave, we can name the charred remains of felt and balls of yarn, which have been deposited here like other objects as offerings. The felt was folded in packages, bound by plaited cords made of tree bast. The fine yarn threads clearly show high the level of skill in Hallstatt Period textile production. The textiles known from this period can be assessed as high quality.

For the reconstruction of an Iron Age women's garment, we can depend on various sources. We have depictions of people from the Hallstatt Period. They show what men's and women's clothing looked like. Focusing on women's clothing (*Fig. 123*), they are depicted e.g. one ceramic vessels found in the largest burial mounds in Sopron in Western

Fig. 123: The people and their clothing in Central Europe in the Hallstatt Period was depicted in Northern Italy and the Eastern Prealps on ceramic and bronze vessels (*situlae*). Thanks to these unique sources, we can fairly well reconstruct the women's clothing (source: K. Grömer).

Fig. 124: An approximate reconstruction of the clothing of the princess using our knowledge of the textiles of the Hallstatt Period in Central Europe and the use of specific jewellery, found in the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave (photograph: A. Schumacher, consultation: K. Grömer and M. Golec, model: H. Seidl da Fonseca).

Hungary at the Austrian border, dated to 800–600 BC. Women are dressed in wide skirts or dresses. More detailed depictions can be found on the luxurious bronze items of the so-called situla art from the 6th to 4th centuries BC. On them, we see the ceremonial dress of Hallstatt people. In the depictions, women most frequently wear long garments reaching their calves with half-length sleeves. The edges of these clothes are partially decorated by hems. The dresses are sometimes tied at the waist with a belt. The clothing was always accompanied by a veil or scarf of various lengths. On close examination, there is a very interesting detail in the area around the ears (*Fig. 124*). On some of the situlae, elegantly braided hairstyles or large hairrings/earrings protrude behind the veils (*Fig. 125*). Two similar massive pieces made of gold plates were found under the skull of the princess precisely in Býčí Skála Cave.

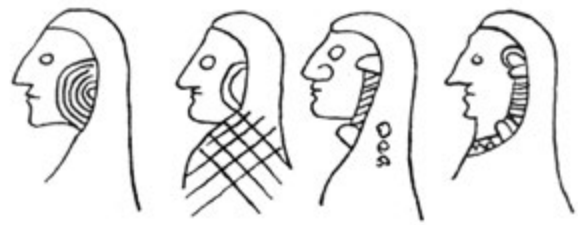


Fig. 125: On the situla art in Northern Italy and Eastern Prealps, depictions of women appear repeatedly from which large hairrings/earrings stick out under their veil. "Our princess" from Býčí Skála Cave wore similar gold pieces. It is a valuable fact, connecting a specific South Moravian burial find with situla art (*Lucke – Frey 1962*).

Plaid patterns of fabrics with decorative seams and bands, which decorated dresses, are sometimes depicted in detail on the items of situla art. These depictions indicate exquisite fabrics. Due to excellent conservation abilities of textiles in the prehistoric salt mines in Upper Austrian Hallstatt, we are able to say that such fabrics really have been used in Iron Age. Additionally to the salt mine textiles, which are still organic preserved and colourful, we also know of finds of textiles from graves in the Hallstatt culture, preserved thanks to the deposition in the immediate vicinity of iron and bronze objects. Additionally, there are also some textiles attached on metal items from the Býčí Skála Cave. They show the same technical details as the saltmine textiles – but no colour.

Hallstatt Period textiles from Austria and the Czech Republic are very diverse and cover a broad range of various types of fibres used, production techniques, weave-types, qualities, colours and patterns. Fabrics are usually made of wool, but we can also detect flax and horsehair. More than half of the Hallstatt textiles is decorated. Most of the patterns are created while working on a loom by using multi-coloured threads (warp), as well as during the actual weaving (weft). This created a colour pattern with stripes or different chequered designs like houndstooth pattern or tartan-like patterns (*Fig. 126*). A distinctive pattern type is spin pattern, it is made by the use of groups of different twisted threads, which cause in an interesting tone-on-tone structure pattern with stripes and sometimes checks.

Additionally, we know of different products of band looms among the textiles found in Hallstatt. For patterns in the design of longitudinal stripes or checkerboard pattern, different coloured threads of the warp have been used. With tablet weaving it is possible to create interesting creative monochrome reliefs on woven bands, but also more complex multi-coloured motifs such as meander, filled triangles and diamond pattern. Attractive hems on the already very brightly coloured and richly decorated garments were created in such a manner.

Life Role of the Princess *(Klára Sovová – Martin Golec)*

Archaeologists in the past did not deal with reconstructions of the life of people of prehistoric cultures. This science in the long terms devoted itself much more to the study of the objects that our ancestors used. Scientists have even become accustomed to talk about people as "bearers of culture". This term is not particularly useful. It gives the impression that culture is just something that comes from outside. People are, however, primarily "creators of culture" that comes from the inside and is inseparable from them. They are the epicentres of culture.

It is very difficult to deal with the roles of mankind in the deep past; the main reason is that our reconstruction is based on very fragmentary sources. But even so we believe that it is a not only interesting but also necessary way. It is actually the main purpose of archaeological work, or even a dream or desire scientist who progresses by partial steps still further. The demarcation of the point, where we are headed, is crucial. It has already been said above that it is precisely where we encounter the wishes of the general public for understanding and appreciation of past events.

To create a basic axis of possible life roles of Wankel's princess (hereinafter only the princess), we will use a basic, biologically given fact, the inevitable process of aging, which is the same for all people and contributes to the social differentiation of society. The transition from childhood through adulthood to old age brings changes in life roles that are associated with the aging process.[92] The second axis, which we follow, is the assumed model of the social structure of the Horákov society in the Brno region where this woman probably came from and where she lived. Within a living society, a number of social roles are on offer, defined in the field of family, that a woman of that time could (but did not have to) hold: daughter, sister, bride, wife, companion, mother, widow. They are all part of life roles resulting from the natural course of biological time and their concrete forms correspond to the character of the given society.

Another level of social roles that a woman in this society could hold was a position based on a "professional" inclusion within the group. In this case, we can speak about it, for example, as a slave, a prostitute, a priestess, a princess (by virtue of the official wife of a magnate), healer/midwife,

Fig. 126: A sample of the striped and chequered materials of the Hallstatt Period (source: K. Grömer).

where the individual roles can also accumulate (princess/priestess, priestess/prostitute, priestess/healer).

We try to consider two sequences (images) of the life of a princesses in terms of age: first – child/girl; second – woman. In both stages of life, she bore a different social status and fulfilled different social roles.

Child/girl

This age category is very hard to capture with the studied (Horákov) culture, because it is not possible to find children and adolescent members of the communities at the burial grounds of this period (*Čermáková et al. 2007*). There is no exception to that, whereas we have to expect a high death rate precisely in that age range in prehistory. The situation can be explained by different rules concerning the burial customs of various age groups. We can easily imagine a model situation, when the rite of passage to the world of adults was not fulfilled and the individual therefore did not acquire the right to a burial "for adults". A similar situation when a boy who died during a rite of passage (when he belonged neither to the world of children or adults) could not be buried in the usual way for the aforementioned groups of the society, for example, is described, for instance, with the East African Kaguru (*Eriksen 2008*, 172–173). The method of dealing with those who died so is unknown, which does not mean that they were not buried at all. The method of their burial is merely not (as-yet) capturable by archaeological methods. Although every rule has an exception, children's remains have been found, precisely in the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave. It arose from the anthropological judgement that ten of the forty human skulls kept by Wankel belonged to children and youths. It was possible to determine the age only with four of

92 Greater age is considered to be a positive in most pre-industrial societies; elderly people are attributed with deep wisdom, experience and are the object of respect (*Eriksen 2008*, 169).

those. One skull belonged to a child in the age of 5–6 years, two in the range of 12–13 years and one belonged to an individual aged 14–15 years (*Parzinger – Nekvasil – Barth 1995*, 143). Unfortunately, it is not possible to prove in any of the mentioned cases a connection of the found skeletons with any object (jewellery) on the body, but a significant number (approximately 150 items) of bracelets come from the Entrance Hall (*Fig. 87*). With one of the types – helical, twisted from bronze wire – we observe a significant range of the diameters of jewellery with identical shape. The smallest of them corresponds precisely to the size of a child's arm (*Fig. 87:11*).[93]

At the normal burial grounds at the foot of the Drahanská Vrchovina (Uplands), child burials and burials of adolescent people do not appear. It is particularly evident with (virgin) age, when we can expect the conduct of rites of passage of puberty (transition to adulthood). If children are exceptionally found, their burials distinctly differ from the riles of burial of that time, as the above-mentioned children found in the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave, or the two child burials at the as-yet largest investigated Horákov burial ground in Modřice (*Fig. 88a*). It is clearly an anomaly associated with exceptional places, whether it is a cave or a connection to the sacred building – rondel-shaped.

The answer to the question whether it was possible to identify the remains of a dead princess in childhood or adolescence (before performance of the rite of passage) is relative complicated; archaeology is not capable of finding and/or recognizing such a person. This chance appears only in adulthood. Býčí Skála Cave is this exception and it is thus possible to state that a small/young princess could have been deposited here. At this point, it is necessary to say that it is not possible to determine the sex of a child by anthropological methods. Hence, we do not know then even with the children/adolescents of Býčí Skála Cave.

We can consider the form of the life of a princess at the time of childhood purely hypothetically, on the basis of ethnological and historical parallels. Childhood had the form of preparation for adulthood for a long time in history; the girl was taught the skills necessary for a major life roles as wives and mothers. Even children's games were adapted for that. The girl learned housework, childcare and typically feminine and ritualized activities, such as spinning, weaving and sewing clothes (*Fig. 127*). If her life role and aim was the track of a priestess or female chieftain (an engagement could occur at a relatively early age), she was certainly taught also in the cult and ritual practices and social representation. It is also not ruled out some other form of education with the help of a teacher, whose knowledge significantly exceeded the average normal in her community or even in communities nearby.

Fig. 127: The activities which women dealt with in the Hallstatt Period are well illustrated by the famous scene from an amphora-like vessel from burial mound No. 27 at the West Hungarian site of Sopron – Burgstall. Four women in rich and decorated apparel and one in a simpler garment dealing with their typical activities – spinning, weaving, playing a stringed instrument of a type of lyre and dance (*Barber 1995*, Fig. 3.8).

Woman

Only upon entry among adults does the princess find herself in the viewfinder of archaeology – hence that she can be physically identified. For a young princess, it means the first significant step into society. It is an essential stage of life, when there is an initiation *rite of passage*, with women it is always connected with the arrival of menarche (the first menstruation), signifying the transformation of a girl into a woman.[94] And not only biologically but also socially. From that moment, she is mature enough to marry, maybe even begin to assume a full-fledged role of priestess. The initiation rituals related to this event are widespread in many societies and their disappearance in the Euro-Atlantic civilization is perceived by part of the female popu-

93 The question arises whether this jewellery does not express the social status of children and youth from important families?

94 Women's initiation rituals are firmly bound to the time when a girl becomes a woman physiologically. We encounter such rituals more or less hiddenly also in modern societies. Here, however, is a time in when the ritual comes did not develop from physiological but a culturally and socially defined moment of maturity. The ritual, which made it clear that the girl is ripe for marriage, was also the "first presentation to the society" (debut), until recently common in middle and upper classes of European society.

Fig. 128: An approximate reconstruction of the magnate from the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave in his armour (photograph: J. Zajíček, model: D. Říčan).

lation so negatively that new rituals are created, because the need for rites of passage is much more fundamental for the development of the individual that it seemed; their disappearance mainly has negative consequences. The purpose of such a ceremony is the symbolic of killing of the teen/s to be reborn as adult. The culmination of the process of maturation in women is then up to the wedding and intercourse, in some cultures even childbirth.

The adult princess had to undergo the initiation rites successfully to be able to assume her female tasks. These are fundamentally different from male tasks. We assume that the princess was from one of the most important families of one of the richest clans of the area of today's Brno District. Considering her high social position in society, her tasks differed from those of the other women in the group. We can assume that she did not perform all of the usual women's activities. She was apparently saved particularly from the heavy physical work in agriculture and household, but she had to know this work and oversee the perfect running of the household, which seemingly was assured by lower places members of the society and domestic slaves. We are not able to say so far to what extent a noblewoman shared in the preparation of foods and their service. It is likely that she dealt with activities connected with textile production. A Greek myth (*On Arachne*) tells us the fact that spinning and weaving activities were suitable for a noble woman, even a goddess. Homer also describes the gift that Helen of Troy received – a gold spindle and silver basket for yarn. A similar spindle made of silver and gold was actually discovered later in the capital of the Hittite empire in the royal tomb in Hattusha, today Alacahöyük in Central Turkey (*Barber 1994*, 60–61, 207–209). Aids for spinning – whorls (originally about even with spindles) – are also commonly found in graves of Horákov women. In Býčí Skála Cave, they also served as offerings, 80 items are deposited in the Viennese collection, but there were probably more; Heinrich Wankel said there were 300.

The princess's *wedding and motherhood* became new obligations. We again know nothing of this further rite of passage. We would be very interested, mainly from the perspective of exogamic and endogamic regulations. Primarily the identification of the circle from which the partner of the princess could or could not come would be very beneficial. *A whole number of regulations must have existed within this ritual*. One can only guess again, who could become that husband. We assume that he was socially equal to a woman "from a good family". Unfortunately, we have no

evidence about whether the princess came from inside the community, the neighbourhood, or if a geographically more complex "marriage policy" was not practiced with equals from relatively remote regions. Similarly, we do not know anything about the matri- or patrilocation. Whether the princess married into a community of people, among whom were buried in Býčí Skála Cave, or they are "her people by blood" (i.e. kith). We are not able to reconstruct even the form of the family then. It is possible that couple families were common at that time, but polygamy could just as well have been acceptable and primarily common with higher social classes. What was the real-life role of the princess, was she a wife (first, second, third...) of a magnate, or a priestess, dedicating her life to the service of the gods?

We do not even know if she had fulfilled her *maternal role* – the birth and raising of children, although considering her age at the time of death, it can be assumed. Pregnancy and the time of nursing followed quickly after one another in archaic societies and took the majority of a woman's fertile age. High nativity and frequent pregnancy took its toll in the form of the high mortality of children and women themselves. Until recently, the adage was common that every pregnant woman carried death under her belt. Maternity generally increases the social prestige of a woman; her fertility is seen also on the symbolic level as a guarantee of the prosperity of the family. Conversely, a barren woman receives a hierarchically lower level of social significance.[95]

The dignitary system of the Hallstatt Period appointed for every person of the society a *set of regulations, which he could (or had to) or could not (or must not) perform*. Everything was derived from his origin, sex, age, relationship to the ruling society, abilities and property. Besides the common "everyday" economic activities of the society, also unique, exceptional or ceremonial activities took place. We again do not know their specific form and frequency, but we will try at least to outline them generally. There were certainly *cyclic ceremonies*, given by the calendar of the ever-repeating agricultural year. The second group was made up of irregular, exceptional events, connected with some specific occasion, e.g. a wedding or important visit. Rules given by tradition had to exist for all similar events. A socially significant part of the community – the magnate and his family – played a crucial role in them. Precisely in these situations we can observe the princess in her representative functions/roles. Whether she becomes a ritual object, such as she was at her own wedding, or she takes the role of hostess. It can also be assumed that music or dance expressions added significance to some events of social character. The links to these activities (dancing, singing, playing musical instruments) with ritual and for example the connection of certain activities exclusively with a particular social class/group offers itself.

The society of the Hallstatt Period was of a patrilineal or patriarchal character; political power was primarily in the hands of men (*Fig. 128*). The princess could thus play a relatively large role in society through her role as wife of the ruler, or a priestess.

The ruler took care of very important acts, exacted the law, became the judge and distributed food, land and property. His social position was predetermined for the performance of religious (cyclic-cult) acts. It is supposed that also the faith in his divine origin was widespread, a blood connection with a mythical ancestor of the society or was at least considered as the bearer of divine power,[96] had exceptional abilities, which the others could not master. This highest possible social status could be symbolically transferred also to his wife/daughter – the princess. Connection with the sacred could have been given from birth (considering her origin) or it could have been a status acquired by marriage. The named qualities then could take on importance in rituals, connected with the renewal of balance and maintenance of the prosperity of the society (*Fig. 129*). Such rituals could also have been the already mentioned human sacrifices or a sacred hierogamy, repeating the initial marriage between Heaven and Earth (*Eliade 1998*, 146–148).

The Death of the Princess and Departure for the Next World *(Klára Sovová – Martin Golec)*

The culmination of human life, in a sense, becomes the moment of death. The princess died at the age of 30–35 years.[97] Unfortunately, the reason of her death is unknown. There come into consideration various natural causes, the most common being disease among women and also

95 We observe changes in social prestige acquired by marriage, birth or on the contrary spinsterhood and childlessness to lesser intensities also in today's "Western" society.

96 James George Frazer has collected a series of documents on victims of kings or their family members (sons). This ritual is associated precisely with the divine power, with which kings are endowed (*Frazer 1994*, 236–251, 257–259).

97 Her age approximately corresponds to the average age of the deceased at the Horákov burial grounds, which is 25–35 years of age, but with women it is a little less 20–30 years of age (adultus I) and with men then over 40 years of age (maturus I) (*Urbanová 2000*, 55).

complications related to pregnancy and childbirth, but can hypothetically think about other reasons.

Social milieu of the princess

Our princess is in the archaeologically identifiable group of very rich women ("female aristocrats", in the Horákov milieu of girdled magnate women), whose graves we find in the Brno District. A striking part of the clothing, which these women have on, are the opulent plaited belts (*Fig. 81*).[98]

In Býčí Skála Cave, we find already several women from this social class. According to Wankel's descriptions, as many as five women with luxurious furnishings, who laid in the small space of the central part of the Entrance Hall, can generally be identified (*Fig. 68*). They are "our princess" with golden earrings/hairrings deposited under the skull,[99] another woman with the same jewellery, a woman with a plaited belt (earlier the so-called loincloth), a woman with whorls, amber beads and gold bracelet and a woman, whose hands lay on the so-called altar (both with two gold rings and two bronze bracelets). The finds of another two pairs of gold earrings/hairrings and six gold rings indicates other possible opulent sets, if we start from the assumption that every woman has one pair of gold earrings/hairrings and two rings on her. The collection of unassigned gold is closed by one more bracelet. From the voluminous collection of female ornaments from the Entrance Hall, numerous bronze, amber and glass jewellery also come, which did not belong to the completely luxurious decoration but are not usually represented at the common Horákov burial grounds. The other exceptional jewellery includes the so-called cardiophylax of ribbed scales (parts of the compounded belts; *Fig. 81a*) where were found in the Entrance Hall already in three exemplars. It is a question whether the jewellery belonged to the already mentioned owners or other buried women.[100] In any case, their situation here seems nonstandard among the other burial grounds from the Brno region. Such a concentration of women from the highest social class and their jewellery is as yet unknown from any burial ground. Only at some burial grounds there was one very rich female grave of a female magnate.

As against that, we know much less about important men – the magnates found in the Entrance Hall. Two such cases are described. Wankel's mention of a (burnt?) man, who was in the proximity of the so-called large cremation grounds in the context of a luxuriously decorated four-wheel vehicle, is famous (*Fig. 29a*) – from that the famous interpretation of the "burial of a magnate" subsequently arose (*Fig. 119*) – then the report on the skeleton of a man, with whom an iron dagger was found, which can be considered as a luxury item of a magnate fully fit.

Another noteworthy item from the Entrance Hall is that according to the anthropological judgement of Milan Stloukal the categories of women (and men) of the age juvenis (15–20 years) – adultus I (20–30 years) are not represented in Býčí Skála Cave, on the contrary women (and men) in the age from adultus II (30–40 years) and older are in it. Unfortunately, the very old research will no longer reveal anything to us today. The actual fact of the absence of the listed age categories is *again an anomaly*, which is not at all common at the normal lowland burial grounds. Such an anomaly must be the consequence of burial/ritual customs tied only to the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave. Unfortunately, today we can no longer say anything about the details captured and described by Wankel, according to which many skeletons were to be missing individual parts of the bodies and were to lie "thrown" in various positions on the stomach, side, next to one another, etc. Precisely such anomalies could underline the exceptionality of this specific burial space.

Burial rite outside the cave

The burial rite becomes very diverse at the time of the Horákov culture. We are in the process of learning the very old custom from the end of the Bronze Age – the so-called Period of Urnfield – to burn all the members of the communities. This uniformity is, however, now disturbed. Not only cremation but also richly furnished skeletal buried appear. The dead are deposited in graves with complex internal and external adaptation. The problem of the *so-called additional cremation burials* stands out in the background of this complicated situation. This custom is very widespread in the Brno District in the Hallstatt Period. It is always connected to the nobility and we find them with unburnt buried men and women. At this moment, we will pay attention particularly to the graves from the Period of "Girdled Female Magnates". The additional burials are found with the graves of women – female magnates in Vojkovice, in at the foot (*Fig. 80*) and in

98 Three well documented cases made after 1989 come from the site Brno-Zábrdovice, Příkop Street, grave No. 214/19 (adultus I, 20–30 years of age with an additional funeral of a man maturus I, 40–50 years of age); Vojkovice, grave No. 111 (juvenis, 16–20 years of age with an additional burial); Modřice, grave No. 818 (adultus II, 40 years of age).

99 It is believed that this jewellery was broken up. Nevertheless, it is not possible to break gold easily because of its significant flexibility; it had to have been purposefully cut, but the breaks are not sharp. The jewellery was rather "folded". The gold over time became weak and it is thus not ruled out that the breakage was not done by Heinrich Wankel in returning it to its original appearance.

100 We cannot safely say whether all of the opulent women's jewellery was on the skeletons or also separate votive objects, which did not have a direct relation to those buried.

Fig. 129: On situla art, there are reliefs showing erotic scenes, which can be interpreted also as ritual intercourse, emulating mythical procreation (hierogamy), primordial divine union of Heaven and Earth, and their purpose was to ensure the fertility of their community. In the scene on the left (above), the woman has a raised dress and jewellery on – earrings/hairrings and pair of massive anklets on her leg. Two similar anklets (so-called turbans) have been found near the princess in Býčí Skála Cave and were filled with grain (*Fig. 67:13, 68:6*), which indicates a link of this jewel with fertility rituals (*Kern 2001*, Fig. 2.5–2.6).

Brno-Zábrdovice, Příkop Street next to the torso (*Fig. 130*). In the second case, it was a young woman placed in the already existing grave of an older woman (mother?) along precisely with an accompanying burial, identified as a man in the age of 40–50 years (maturus I).

The phenomenon of added burials is also striking as it cannot be considered to be accidental. It also contrasts with the situation when another unburnt woman was placed in the grave of a man (Brno-Holásky 1), considering the position in terms of the second buried person (research captured her at a higher level – mezzanine), it did not have to be an additional burial but a subsequent regular burial. If secondary interventions into the grave are proved in which the original body was manipulated[101] and there was the addition of other

101 Posthumous manipulation with the bodies can be motived in various ways. The removed skull rather signalizes a cult of the ancestors, the missing part of the remains can indicate magical

Fig. 130: The distribution of so-called additional burials (hereinafter AB) in the Brno District. Main male burial: 1–2 Brno-Holásky 1 (AB or second burial, woman) and 2, 3 – Bratčice, 4 – Hlásnica near Horákov (AB woman); main female burial: 5 – Brno-Líšeň, 6 – Brno-Zábrdovice (AB man), 7 – Popovice near Rajhrad, 8 – Vojkovice (AB woman); main burial undetermined: 9 – Modřice (as-yet unprocessed); possible AB burials: 10 – Býčí Skála Cave, 11 – Velatice (source: M. Golec).

regular burials, we might consider "family graves". In cases, when the situation is not convincing for repeated manipulations with the grave, it is possible to assume that the find proves the death of a hierarchically important person, which calls for the death of another, who accompanied him in the form of an additional burial to the next world. It would be the burial of a highly placed person (male or female magnate) already accompanied by their closest, servants and/or slaves. In the repeated appearance of this burial custom, the question arises whether the actual female magnates could not be additional burials to the death of their husbands? We encounter similar practices also with other Prehistoric and Early Medieval ethnic groups (Slavs, Vikings), the custom of voluntary sacrifice by burning alive on the funeral pyre of the husband (sati), was until recently an acclaimed (although often forced) component of the burial rites in India (*Fig. 131*). At the time of the "Girdled Female Magnates", however, it has not yet been proved that such women were (whether burnt or not) deposited in a male grave. The male magnate burial mounds Brno-Holásky 1 and 2, Hlásnica near Horákov (second half of the 7th century BC, i.e. level Ha C2) are a half-century older. Golden jewellery (a ringlet) was found as a symbol of the high social position of the buried women in both localities, in Brno-Holásky 1 a kind of hair-ring/earring was used on the head of the woman. The only known male grave with an additional burial, dated to the time of the appearance of the "Girdled Female Magnates", comes from Bratčice (first half of the 6th century BC, i.e. level Ha D1). In this case, the additional burial was deposited in a bronze situla, so its sex and age could unfortunately not be determined archaeologically (*Fig. 130*). At this place, it is not possible to do anything but "dust off" that opinion of Wankel's (today long rejected by the specialized public) on 35 women, killed during the "burial of the magnate" in the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave. We cannot confirm such a "hecatomb", but on the contrary we must anticipate the actual phenomenon of "additional burials",[102] although we do not know such a large concentration of male and female magnates in the space of Horákov culture from any other Horákov burial ground.

Sacrifices and burials in the cave

The question of human sacrifices is perhaps one of the least explained parts of the whole find, because it is significantly complicated to take a position on it. The basic starting point, which was debated already at the times of Heinrich Wankel, is the issue whether the people are *buried or sacrificed* in the Entrance Hall. Contemporary archaeology can and what more needs to take a position toward this issue, as towards the wrong question. Both acts associated with human death do not stand causally against each other, but we understand them as subsequent. Even one (death) encourages (or might incite) the second (burial). It is a cause and effect relationship (supply and demand).

"Our princess" could have been sacrificed, like anyone else in the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave. Anthropologically it cannot be proved and so it is only a theoretical possibility but with which it is necessary to count. There can be more causes for the sacrifice; one of them could even be the above discussed additional burial to another person ("a wife sacrificed for her husband"). Blood sacrifices (animal and human) were felt to be especially strong in prehistory and are also with some contemporary ethnic groups. Human sacrificed used to be the highest possible sacrifice; it was used during especially important events. Some religions even had very precisely defined methods on various occasions, or a specific deity (Celts, Israelites). In a certain sense, a person is a source for the existence

practices. We can consider the disturbed skeleton and bones in an unanatomical position as a consequence of a secondary intervention, the cause of which was the deposition of another body. We even encounter purposefully robbed graves. It always depends on the specific find situation, the interpretation requires its careful evaluation.

102 At the time of finalizing this book, a fragment of a bronze vessel with remnants of charred human bones from the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave was being examined.

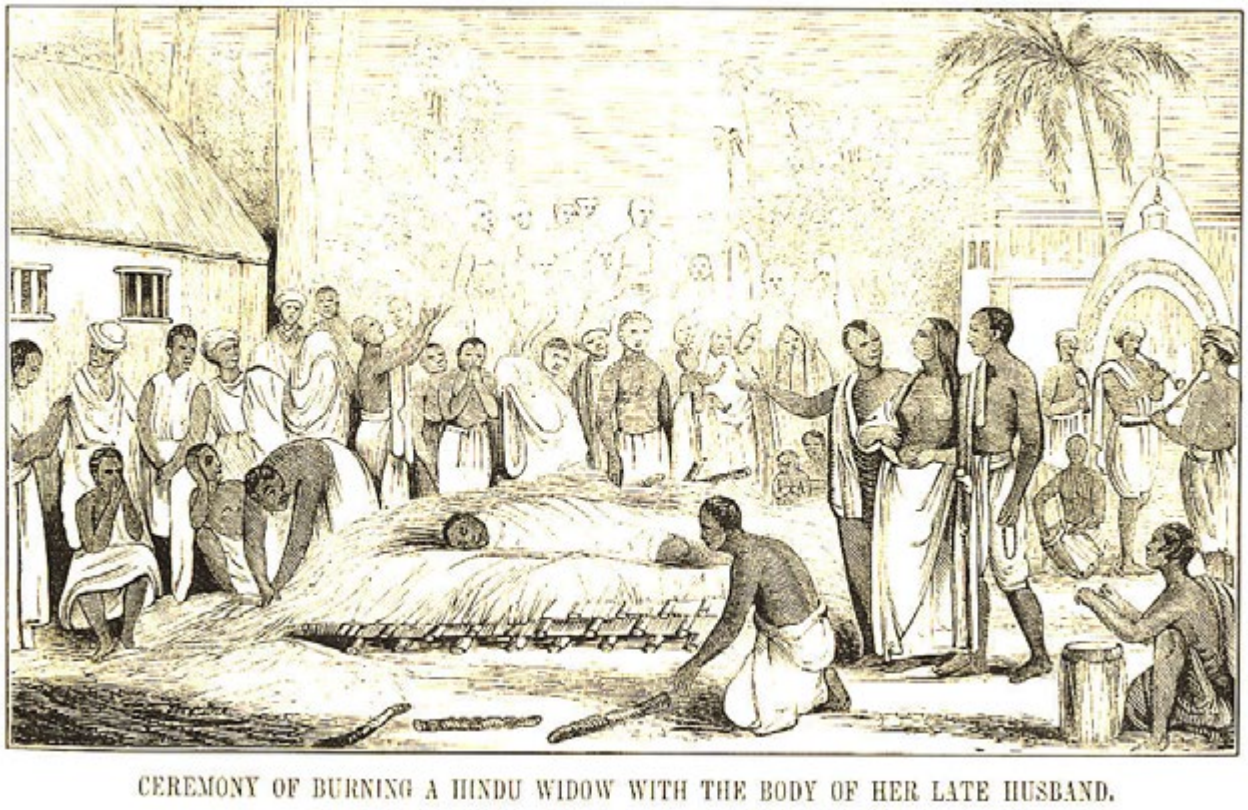


Fig. 131: Sati – is a Hindu ritual in the habit of self-immolation of a widow along with the body of her dead husband. It is exceptionally practiced to this day, but British colonial administration banned it in India in 1829, because it was considered inhumane and used to be abused by relatives who forced the widow into it (source: Wikipedia).

of gods, but in a different respect he draws his existence from them – because as soon as he matures, he borrows from them powers indispensable for the maintenance and renewal of his spiritual being. It can thus be said that he himself (person) is the one who created the gods or at least the one thanks to whom they exist. In the institution of sacrifice, it gives the sacred creature part of what he gets from them and from them he receives everything that he gives them. As soon as the sacrificing kills some animal, it is then because he divides and satiates the life principles hidden it in (*Durkheim 2002*, 372).

In prehistory, these sacrificial rites were often connected with ceremonies of Mother Earth. Human sacrifice and be voluntary or involuntary. Who the sacrificed individuals were is often discussed. Criminals could become these; from history, we know the sacrifice of prisoners of war; wars were even fought with some ethnicities only for the purpose of acquiring prisoners, necessary for the sacrificial rites. A voluntary sacrifice was especially effective and at the very notional top was a voluntary victim from the ranks of the nobility; the actual male or female magnate, or someone from their family, sacrificing himself/herself for the people. Proof of the existence of this custom in the Iron Age is the finds from the peat bogs of Northern Europe. Higher social position is assumed with many of the discovered sacrifices. Despite not having on them any charitable gifts (an exception is, e.g., the find of a woman from Huldremose), study of the mummified bodies tells that they were individuals who never dealt with heavy physical labour (*Glob 1972*, 62, 132; *Hald 1980*, 47–54). The situation helps us to understand also the ethnographic cases derived from living societies or the more complex preserved cases of the sacrificed. We hence see that the sacrifice of a princess as a member of the highest social class is not unlikely.

However, what follows the actual sacrifice is very interesting. This aspect has not been discussed much in the past. Does the actual fact of a premature death (sacrifice) exclude the possibility of burial? Or in another way, is the sacrificed person, left in Býčí Skála Cave unburied? The authors of this text believe not, independent of who they people went to the world of the dead they are primarily buried (*Fig. 132*). *The cave itself is the tomb.* Another possibility is also the variant, when the burial (placement of the remains in the ground) is an indelible component of the sacrificial ritual, without which this sacrifice would lose its sense. Mircea Eliade presents one of the rituals of voluntary sacrifice, conducted with the Indian Kandh (Khónd). After the performance of the act, each villager

Fig. 132: Hallstatt burial ground in the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave. Individual people were deposited in the cave below the walking level of that time. In what order and if simultaneously or successively cannot be said. In the stylized scene, a man will be buried on the left, on the right then "our princess" in textiles (painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

receives a piece of the body of the sacrificed and buries in the field, the rest is burned and is distributed over the fields. The pieces of the body of the sacrifice are compared to semen, placed back in Mother Earth. Deposition of the bodies in caves could also be similarly motivated, felt as the womb of Mother Earth (*Kandert 1982*, 195; *Eliade 1998*, 160–161). On the other hand, not every individual is found buried in this area must also be a sacrifice.

The famous Tollund Man, ritually killed by a triple death (he was hanged, his throat slit and drowned) is indisputable sacrificed, but was he really refused a funeral in coincidence with the ritual, which we expect over his person/body? Does one exclude the other? The authors believe not in accordance with common opinion on this case. Deposition of his remains in the bog, he buried under the surface like in the earth, perhaps only more sacred. It is thus possible and even necessary to approach the situation at Býči Skala Cave essentially in the same way, because a parallel between the cave and bog offers itself, which were both understood as entries to another/the next world (in the case of the peat bogs of Northern Europe that is proved by a number of sacrifices, people, animals, jewellery, vehicles with offerings and even weapons of entire defeated armies).

We understand a burial as a ritualized treatment of the body of the deceased, whatever form it has. "Piety" and importance is given to it by the customs, myths and rite, which comprise the cultural framework of the society, in which the funeral occurs. Martin Oliva specifies the burial as "*a kind of ritual treatment of human remains, the aim of which is to transfer the individual from the world of the living to the world of the dead*" (*Oliva 2001*, 22). It is possible to see the problem also from the other side, hence to define what is not a burial. It will be about a situation when the purpose was to vilify the person in some way, or prevent his posthumous existence (he remains as inanimate/undead between worlds). The funeral/funerary ritual/ceremony is mainly a mental event, the idea is substantial with which the acts are conducted with or on the human body, not their form. It is therefore so difficult to interpret nonstandard archaeological finds. The variability of the burial rite helps archaeologists understand the numerous ethnographic parallels, diverse burial customs proved with contemporary ethnic groups. Some of them can seem from the perspective of the observer, belonging to the Euro-Atlantic civilization, shocking, but for the given ethnic group they are the proper and reverent farewell to the deceased (*Kandert 1982*).

In several cases, extensive cut/carving wounds were identified on the skulls from the Entrance Hall. In the first it is to be a cutting wound, it is the skull of a man in the age of 30–40 years (*Fig. 133a*) and in the second case a girl in the age of 20 years (*Fig. 133b*), traces of posthumous cutting are clear on the female skull, similar to another skull of undetermined age of the person or find, which allows the second to be called "cup from a human skull" (*Stloukal – Nekvasil 2015*, 38–49).[103] Whereas the first case proves that not all people were sacrificed (a cut wound on the left side of the skull indicated murder or is proof of a battle/contest), the second and third cases prove ritual posthumous opening of the skull. The last case of the posthumous manipulation with remains is the famous find of a head placed into a bronze vessel (*Fig. 133c*), which was judged to be original and genuine by scientific methods.

In conclusion, it is possible to state that the princess could have left the world of the living at an age of 30–35 years as a socially valuable sacrifice and subsequently was buried at the burial ground of the temple in Býčí Skála Cave, also with her social signifier – gold earrings/hairrings (the only surviving remnant of her apparently rich clothing and expression of her social role). So, whether her funeral was the result of a ritual sacrifice, or the funeral came in another way to the deceased woman, she left, or rather was taken away (as indeed all the people of this time) to the next world with the insignia of her earthly social statuses. She properly entered (in the ideas of her people) the other world, from which she could further influence the life of her people. That is apparently the last life role of "our princess", as we can comprehend based on archaeological, historical and ethnological knowledge.

A Fairy Tale in Conclusion
(Klára Sovová)

"*That is precisely where the problem is, because all of our academic education has a tendency to exclude the emotional factor. ... As Jung said, that is precisely where the difficult position of psychology is as a science, because in contrast to all other sciences it cannot afford to ignore emotion. It must take into account the emotional undertone and emotional value of internal and external factors, including the emotional response of the observer.*"

(Marie Louise von Franz,
The Interpretation of Fairy Tales)

103 Skulls: Inv. No. 2336 with complete green coloration, Inv. No. 2341 with posthumous cutting – "second cup from a human skull", Inv. No. 2354 with a fatal cut wound, Inv. No. 2369 with posthumous cutting. Skull Inv. No. 2342 – "first cup from a human skull" was judged inauthentic.

Fig. 133: Three cases of various interventions in the skulls from the Entrance Hall. The skull of a man (Inv. No. 2354) with a cutting injury (a), the skull of a woman (Inv. No. 2369) with remnants of posthumous cutting (b) and the skull of a man (Inv. No. 2326) strongly coloured green deposited in a bronze vessel (c) (source: NHM Vienna, photograph: I. Harna).

Emotion, emotional undertone and emotional value, just like the emotional reaction of the observer and the observed cannot in reality be neglected even by the historical or social sciences. Whenever the object of study is mankind, its manifestations and creations, it is not possible to ignore the determining aspect of his personality, which is just sentimentality, emotion.

Seeking the foundations of what allows a person to create a richly structured expression of his culture, the effort to capture that essence of human conduct, permeates every chapter of this book. From different perspectives, with contributions from the humanities and natural sciences, we are dealing basically still one problem, the mystery of mankind, his ability to create, perceive, react.

This broad view enables us to cover the full range of human activities, mapping them, trying to interpret them and gradually coming closer to the very root of the matter. The essence of this is what is common to every human being and what determines how certain events will play out. The key to understanding lies in the human psyche – in how a person copes with basic emotions and life situations: fear, love, addiction, death. The human experience (and wisdom) obtained from these experiences are really what creates the environment in which they can develop specific models of the social structure of society, the forms of religious myth, what determines how a particular landscape affects us, what makes us leave a mark in it of ourselves (e.g., a signature on the cave wall). We get into the realm of psychology, seemingly far from our initial investigation, at the very beginning, to the archetypes[104] that are enchanted – where else but in fairy tales.

The factor, limiting the possibilities of the study of archaeology studying prehistoric periods, has always been the lack of contemporary literary sources. From archaeological artefacts, find situations and landscape studies, scientist nowadays can reconstruct for the most part the form of the life of past populations, but what it cannot do is to tell stories of people at that time. However, is this really always the case?

104 The term *archetype* was originally used in psychology by Carl Gustav Jung. Today, however, they are commonly used also in the historical and social sciences. Most often, this term is to mean an original and perfect pattern of conduct, a prototype, an Ur-type, archetype, which one mimics in his/her actions. Mircea Eliade, who works with the concept of archetype, considers them as the pattern of the behaviour of the gods or mythical ancestors (*Malina – Soukup 2009*).

Fairy tales and myths

Ethnologists and anthropologists have traditionally engaged in the study of myths, fairy tales and stories. Myths are (as well as fairy tales and other forms of oral literature) inherent in all human societies. A myth is something magnificent and contains within itself the message of the root cause. According to Mircea Eliade, "*myth tells sacred history; it describes and even, which took place in initial time, in the fabulous time of the 'beginnings'. In other words, the myth tells how thanks to the powerful acts of supernatural beings some fact began to exist, whether already the entire fact, the universe, or only its part: a tree, plant species, human behaviour, institutions. So, it is always telling about some 'creation': it recounts how something arose how it began to be*" (*Eliade 2011*, 11).

In contrast, the fairy tale is at first glance a more modest literary segment. Its heroes are anonymous, the landscape, where the story takes place, plays almost no role. If the myth explains the "big issues", the creation of the universe, the sun, fire, man, then the fairy tale addresses the fundamental human situation. Fairy tales have the same intensity and depth as myths, they only address the big issues on a personal level.

At the time when the first more extensive collections of folk tales began to be created, the researchers were puzzled by the finding that the same motifs constantly repeat in fairy tales collected over a wide territory. At the beginning of the 19th century, Wilhelm Grimm expressed the idea that the remnants of myths thousands of years old are hidden in them. This opinion was rejected by his contemporaries as romantic. However, since then, a number of comparative studies have been conducted and many theories expressed, solving the issue. The roots of some fairy tales were tracked all the way to Antiquity and Ancient Egypt. Today we know that the fairy tales travel through time and space. These movements lead to their transformations, reflecting the contemporary realities or social structure of a particular society.

One of the last research projects was recently published by the authorial team of Sara Graça da Silva and Jamshid J. Tehrani (*2016*). In their work, they used the methods of evolutionary biology (phylogenetic-comparative methods). In their study, the authors focused on the so-called magical fairy tales, where they started from the motifs amassed in the Aarne-Thompson catalogue (*Uther 2004*).[105] Their aim was to determine the origin and age of the stories. They defined several circles emerging linguistically diverse ethnicities (Proto-Romans, Proto-Celts, Proto-Germans and Proto-Baltic-Slavonic), until they gradually narrowed the circle of the observed motifs to four original Proto-Indo-European. According to the authors, the very oldest preserved European fairy tale is *The Blacksmith and the Devil*, the age of which they determined to be 6000 years. That means it comes from as deep as the end of the Stone (Copper) Age or the Bronze Age. The fairy tale develops the motif of the alliance of the blacksmith with the devil which we encounter in all of the Indo-European area. In reality, a whole range of the altered versions of this fairy tale travel through space and time. The devil was replaced by another supernatural being, in the later periods even Christ and Saint Peter appear in certain variations (*Dobře tak, že je smrt na světě* [God Almighty did well when He sent Death to the world] – from the collection of Karel Jaromír Erben). The form of the alliance of the blacksmith with the devil has a number of variants. From our perspective, it is noteworthy (and the parallel to the find of the famous so-called smithy in Býčí Skála Cave is also welcome) that the earliest fairy tale is told precisely about a blacksmith. We see in that a connection with the sacred, which was attributed to this trade in prehistory (*Fig. 134*).

Folk tales thus take us deep into the past like artefacts of material culture. In work with these stories, it is possible to study their movement around the planet, their age, as well as to look for archetypes hidden in them. Fairy tales (or their narration) were a form of entertainment or could be narrated on formal occasions. They thus played also a socialization role similarly to artefacts. The method and form of the narrative situations of fairy tales in the times before their literarization and later the delegation of this literary segment to the children's public is familiarised by research conducted in the 1970s by Milena Hübschmannová. She managed to document the archaic form and type of the narrative situation, common in the milieu of Roma communities in Bohemia then. The narration of fairy tales was the domain of men and fairy tales were heard on diverse occasions, such as waking the dead or only an evening spent together (*Hübschmannová 1973*, 7–16). The fairy tale in this milieu appeared in a similar role as in prehistory. The stories were intended for the adult public and also their form corresponded to that. They often contained cruel scenes, coarse expressions, not evading even delicate subjects such as incest (*Princezna se zlatou hvězdou na čele* [Princess with a gold star on her forehed] from the collection of Božena Němcová).

When we listen to the 4000-year-old fairy tale *Beauty and the Beast*, we are aware that the same story, (although it has taken place on other stages) on how humility, love

105 This is already the third extension of the catalogue of fairy tales originally published by Antti Aarne, one of the founders of the so-called Finnish School (geographic-historical method) and then extended by Stith Thompson. The Aarne-Thompson-Uther catalogue contains more than 2000 fairy-tale motifs.

Fig. 134: The so-called Hallstatt smithy (and foundry) in the Entrance Hall of Býčí Skála Cave. It was separated in the back part, away from the buried people. From the Entrance Hall, we also know other evidence of crafts, semi-finished works from bone and amber were found as well as items necessary for the production of textile. It is not possible to decide safely whether production was carried out at this place, or whether the objects are deposited here as offerings (painting: L. Balák, consultation: M. Golec).

and feminine tenderness managed to break the curse and make of a dangerous animal a handsome prince, could have been heard also by our princess from Býčí Skála Cave, just like her great-grandmother. It is not important at this point where we see behind the story, in accord with the Jungian tradition, a depiction of the collective unconscious mental processes (*von Franz 1998*, 15), an encrypted initiation ritual,[106] or we will assume that the strategy for resolving difficult life situations was handed down in this way, where we in this case understand the animal as the symbolic depiction of evil. From our perspective, it is essential that the messages of the ancient tales are still present, and if we think we cannot become acquainted with the stories of our prehistory, we are mistaken. You just have to listen to well-known children's stories, clear away the newer life and institutions and perceive only the story itself. In this way, we approach this mental world of the people then perhaps more than through the study of their material culture that fulfils the whole essence of traditional archaeology.

The Brothers Grimm issued the fairy tale in an original collection from 1812 (*Grimm – Grimm 1812*, 360–364). Although the fairy tale in this form underwent Christianization, it entails relicts of the archaic ideas on the form of posthumous life. The blacksmith asks for a hammer and nails to be added in his grave (reminiscence of the pagan grave goods). His Christian spirit leaves this world and still is able to use the specific instruments as the blacksmith could during his life and even is definitively freed from the power of hell with their aid. To what extent in his deliverance the selection itself of his grave goods could have played, hence the smith's hammer, which Mircea Eliade considers as sacred in and of itself in the mythology of (not only) the Iron Age and we can only speculate on the figure of the blacksmith, whose role was in the past perceived often as contradictory but always sacred (*Eliade 2000*, 24).

106 The initiation core in the fairy-tale stories were already dealt with by the folklorist Vladimir Jakovlevič Propp. A comparison of the Indian and European fairy tales with the individual phases of the initiation rituals was done by (*Vrbatovská 2005*, 71–80).

Now, let's listen to an original version of the fairy tale as a memento of distant prehistory. Before we do so, let's change the scene in our minds; we can imagine the smith as a kind of metalworker, later metalworker and smith in one person, the devil we exchange for a demon from the underworld and Saint Peter as the guardian of the other world, so together we find ourselves deep in the Bronze Age, passed down further in the Iron Age, in a story much older than the narratives are in the non-Indo-European Old Testament.

The Blacksmith and the Devil

There once lived a blacksmith who enjoyed life: he squandered his money and had a lot of court cases. After several years, there was no longer a penny in his pocket.

"Why should I suffer further in this world?" he said. So, he went into the woods with the intention to hang himself on the tree. When he was about to poke his head into the noose, there appeared from behind a tree a man with a long white beard who carried in his hands a great book.

"Listen, blacksmith," he said. "Write your name into this great book and for ten very long years you'll have a good life. But then you'll be mine and I'll come and I'll take you."

"Who are you?" the blacksmith asked.

"I am the devil."

"And what can you do?"

"I can make myself as long as a fir or as small as a mouse is."

"Then show me. Seeing is believing," responded the blacksmith.

Therefore, the devil made himself as long as a fir or as small as a mouse is.

"That is good," said the blacksmith. "Give me the book and I'll write my name in it."

After the smith signed his name in the book, the devil told him: "Now go home. You'll find chests full of gold coins, from which take as much gold as you want, and they will never be empty and never decrease."

And so the smith's happy life began again – he called his cronies and was the happiest man in the world with that. Then after a few years had passed, the day came that as he had once promised the devil came to see how the blacksmith was doing. When leaving, he then gave the blacksmith a leather pouch and told him that whoever jumps into that pouch remains in it, until the blacksmith consents and lets him go. And the smith, naturally, had a lot of fun with the pouch. However, when assessed ten years was gone, the devil came back to a blacksmith and said: "Your time is up, and now you're mine. Get ready for the trip."

"OK," said the blacksmith, quickly hid a magic pouch behind his back and walked with the devil on the path.

When they reached the place in the woods where the blacksmith had wanted to hang himself a long time ago, he told the devil: "I want to make sure that you are indeed the devil himself, as you say. Make yourself as large as a fir again and as small as a mouse is."

The devil expected it and showed his art. But once he had changed into a mouse, the blacksmith grabbed it and quickly hid it in the magic pouch. The smith then cut a cane from the nearest tree, threw the bag on the ground and began to beat the devil. He desperately screamed and ran back and forth in the pouch, but it was all in vain: he could not get out. Finally, the smith said: "I'll let you go, if you give me the leaf from your book, where I wrote my name."

The devil at first refused, but finally acquiesced. The page was torn from the book and the devil returned to his hellish home, angry that he had been duped and beaten. Meanwhile, the blacksmith went home to his smithy and remain happily lived as long as he was given by God. Ultimately, however, he fell ill, and he realized that death is near, ordered that two nails and a hammer be placed in his coffin. It happened, as he had said, and when he died, he came before the heaven's gate and knocked. But Saint Peter refused to open it, because in this worldly life had an affair with the devil. When the blacksmith heard it, he turned and went to hell. However, not even the devil would let him inside, because he wanted very little to have a blacksmith in hell, who would boast how he had outsmarted the devil.

The blacksmith got angry and started to make noise before hell's gate. One small demon was curious and wanted to see what the smith was doing. He opened the gate just a little and looked out. The blacksmith deftly snared his nose and firmly nailed him to the gates of hell with one of the nails he had with him. The little demon screamed like a wildcat, until another demon came, who was attracted to the gate by the screams. he also stuck his head out of the gate, where the blacksmith already prepared awaited. He grabbed the demon by the ear and nailed him to the gate like the first with the second of his nails, right next to the first demon. Now, they both screamed so horribly that the old devil himself ran over to the gate. The view of both demons firmly nailed to the gate aroused such anger in him until he cried and leapt. He then ran from hell up to heaven to visit our dear Lord. He told Him that He must accept the blacksmith into heaven. The devil lamented that nobody could do anything to stop the blacksmith. He wailed that the smith would continue in nailing the demons by the nose and ears and that he, the devil himself, would no longer be the lord of hell. Well, then our dear Lord and Saint Peter quickly came to learn that if they want to get rid of the devil again, they will have to let the blacksmith into heaven. And so, the dear smith is still sitting to this day in calm and peace in heaven. However, I know nothing about how they managed to free those two little demons.

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The Phenomenon of Býčí Skála Cave
Landscape, Cave and Mankind

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with guests
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