

II. BARBARIAN WARRIORS FROM THE BALTIC TO THE DANUBE

BROTHERS-IN-ARMS? GRAVES FROM THE PRE-ROMAN PERIOD FURNISHED WITH A DOUBLE SET OF WEAPONRY

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Abstract

Graves of two warriors equipped with rich sets of weapons, emerge on the Celtic territories from the early La Tène period till the end of phase D₂.

Graves with double sets of weapons (one and two-edged swords) placed in metal vessels are known from the apparently Germanic cultures of northern Europe. Celtic graves are evident burials of two (or more) persons, warriors of similar status expressed by analogous weaponry. “Germanic” Oksywie Culture, and Scandinavian finds are burials of individual persons, notable warriors, who were given special sets of weapons to show their social position. A similar situation observed at an archaeological level could have had different grounds and meant different phenomena.

Key words: burials with weaponry, Celt's, Pre-Roman Period.

Weapon in grave

The custom of equipping the dead with weaponry appeared first in Celtic Culture. Graves in which we find more or less complete sets of weapons are interpreted as the graves of warriors, and the type and amount of weaponry allows us to infer what the possible rank of the warrior was and what way he fought, for example, on a horse or on foot. However, studies into the techniques of fighting and types of weaponry used that are based on finds from cemeteries are always subject to the possibility of incorrectness, as we reconstruct a world of living people on grounds of burial gifts that were governed by other laws. Although we do not know what rules of customs or rules related to beliefs prompted people to choose certain objects to be laid in the grave, the recurrence of some practices, and comparisons with written sources, even when they deal indirectly with investigated issues, let us at least try to reconstruct real social phenomena, and sometimes in special cases even historical facts. Nevertheless, we need to remember that things identical in living cultures may be demonstrated by various means in the world of the dead, that is, in cemeteries, and things that are different may be expressed in the same way (at least for us). A good example may be a certain phenomenon known from Celtic and north European (Germanic)

territories, finds of graves equipped with two sets of weapons. In the Celtic environment, such burials occur rather early, in the Hallstatt period. They are not very frequent, but they have been noticed, and several elaborations have been devoted to them, recently that of M. Egg (1999) who used the term “Waffenbrüder”, or brother-in-arms, in referring to them.

Graves furnished with a double set of weaponry in Celtic world

Graves equipped with two sets of weapons emerge in the Celtic territories from Slovenia through the Czech Republic and Austria to France. From the early La Tène Period, grave 19 in barrow VII from a cemetery in Nove Mesto–Kapiteljska Niva in Slovenia, is a good example (Egg 1999, p.317ff). Two sets of weapons were found inside it, situated more or less parallel, logways the two walls of the grave chamber. The grave was richly furnished with bronze vessels, harness elements and numerous ornamental plates. Sets of weapons (several spearheads and battle axes) were also above the standard equipment of burials with weapons from that time and region. What particularly draws our attention are two helmets that bear traces of intentional damage done before putting them in the grave. People buried in the grave were equipped like warriors. Weap-

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ons were placed near the heads; bronze vessels, a bridle bit and a spur near the legs.

Not far away from Nove Mesto, in Magdalenska Gora, in grave 29, barrow V, a similar grave was revealed, with well-preserved skeletons. Researchers found there two bronze helmets of Negau type (imported from Italy, contrary to the Greek helmets from Nove Mesto), six spearheads, one double-edged Celtic sword, two bridle bits and four horses (the skeletons were preserved), four bronze vessels (three ribbed cists and one situla), and two cauldrons. Apart from that, belt fittings, fibulae of Certosa type, and a bracelet were found there too (Hencken 1978, Figs. 135-149; Weiss 1996). The outfit is extremely wealthy and indicates, as in the case of the grave from Nove Mesto, a very high social position of both buried warriors. There is one more double grave of warriors from the area of Slovenia, found in Solkan-Sveta Catarina. The grave, discovered by accident during the First World War, was equipped with two helmets of Negau type, two spearheads and two vessels with coins. All these artefacts disappeared during the war, and cannot be verified (Stroh 1950).

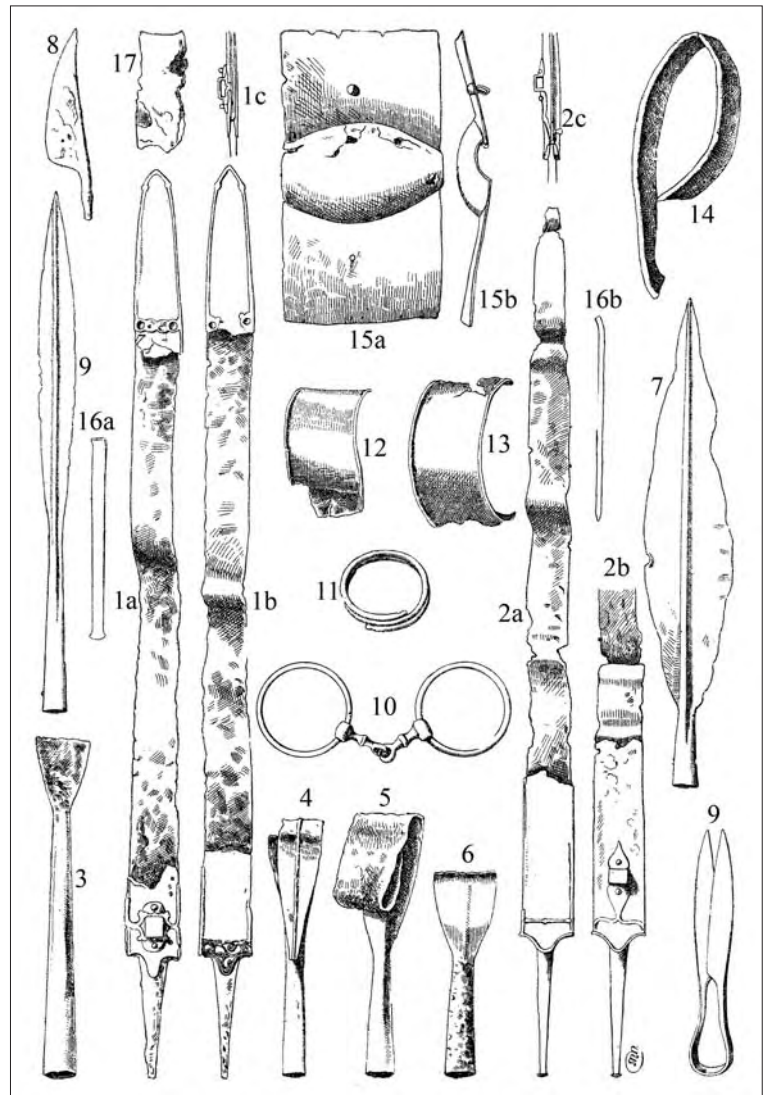


Fig. 1. Odžaci (Hodsághi), grave (after Roediger 1904, p.351).

In Slovenia, there are some graves from the middle La Tène Period acknowledged as double burials of warriors in terms of the presence of two swords. According to M. Guštin (1984, p.317): “Zwei Schwerter kennzeichnen reichere Gräber bei Taurisken”. The example of grave 10 from Dobova, equipped with two swords but containing, according to anthropological analysis (Guštin 1981, p.229), the remains of a man, a woman and a two-year-old child, made some researchers (Guštin 1984, p.317; Egg 1999, p.349) take a more cautious approach to the interpretation of this case. Guštin treated the second sword as an heirloom of the dead child (possibly a boy) or a trophy stressing the richness and status of the dead warrior (Guštin 1981, p.229; 1984, p.317). However, determining the sex of the dead on the basis of bone material from cremation graves is always likely to be inaccurate, and archaeological indication needs to be recognized as more credible.

Graves with double sets of weaponry dating from the middle La Tène Period are known from neighbouring Kärnten, eg Förk bei Nötsch, grave 1/1943. The urn

grave has a stone setting and was equipped with two swords, three spearheads, a shield grip and some elements of shield boss, a knife, a pair of iron brooches and a single one, an iron ring, an awl, and pieces of bronze belt sheet (Gleirscher 1996, p.263). A double set could, possibly, be found in Steier, in graves 4 and 7 in Frohnleiten-Schraudning. The grave inventory was reconstructed from notes and archives, so is not quite certain (Kramer 1994, p.12ff.). A grave with two swords was also found in Leibach in West Germany (Gerlach 1976, Pl.2).

Among the well-recognized group of graves of the Celtic elite furnished with carts (or chariots) are also sometimes graves with a double set of weaponry, two swords and several spearheads. One of them is the famous grave from Odžaci/Hodsagh (Fig. 1) in Slovenia (Roediger 1904, p.351). It is a cremation grave, dated to La Tène C₂, furnished, besides parts of a cart, with two swords, five spearheads, shield fragments, an iron bracelet, shears, a knife and other tools. A good exam-

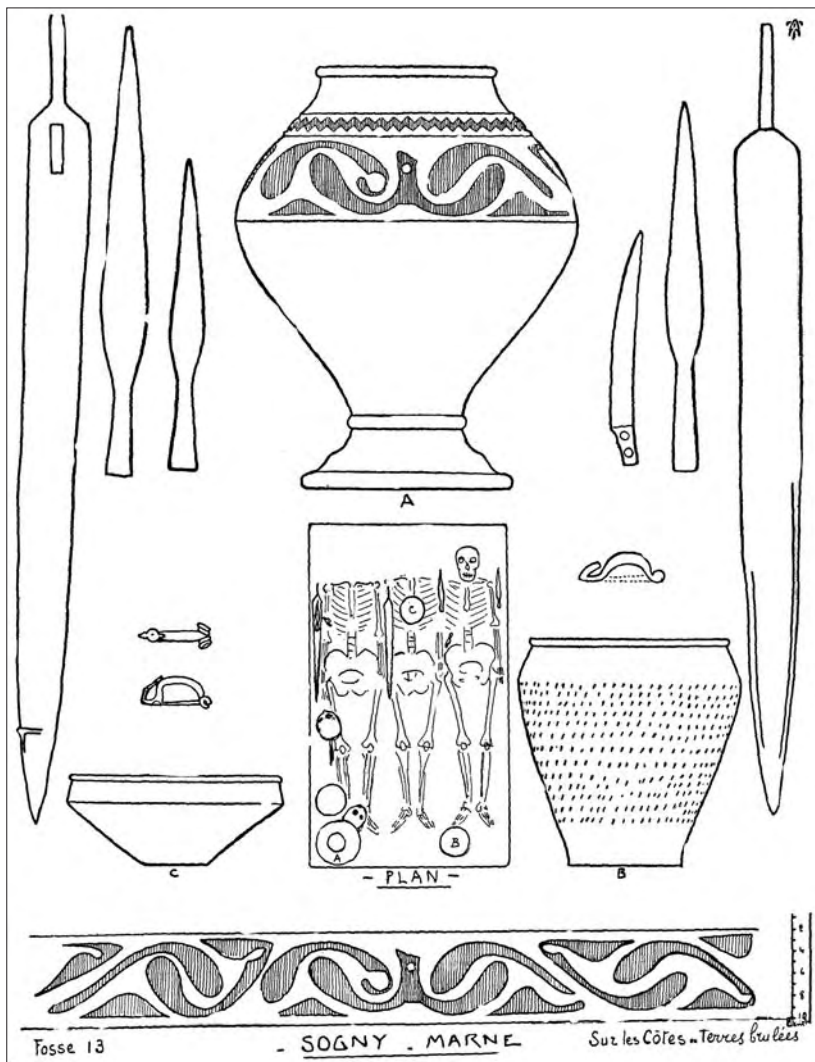


Fig. 2. Sogny-aux-Moulins, grave 13 (after Thierot 1930, Fig. 2).

ple from France could be a grave from Verna, in Isere. It is a cremation grave in a barrow, dated to La Tène D₁, found in 1818 with two swords (one in a scabbard of Ludwigshafen type), spearheads, shield elements, a bronze helmet and bronze vessels, and wagon fittings (Schönfelder 2002, p.386).¹

A very rich outfit, including a cart (metal wheel bands and other parts were preserved), three swords, three shield bosses, five spearheads, two battle-axes and luxurious objects like a tripod, a cauldron with a chain, glass vessels, “Feuerbock” etc were found in a grave from Mailleraye-sur-Seine in Normandy (Lequoy 1993, Fig. 6). The grave is dated to the transition period between La Tène C and La Tène D (second half of the second century). Anthropological analysis does not allow us to state unequivocally how many dead people were buried there, but three swords and three shield

¹ From France, l’Octroi de Beaucaire, we know also a grave with a parallel set of weapons (two identical spears, two shield bosses) and other equipment (boar tusks) but with only one sword, interpreted as the grave of two warriors (Py 1891, p.147).

bosses would indicate three individuals.

Burials of more than two individuals with a full set of equipment are not unusual in the Celtic world. A well-recorded burial of three persons equipped with weapons comes from Sogny-aux-Moulins “Sur les Côtes” (Fig. 2) in northern France (Thiérot 1930, Fig. 2). Grave 13 contained two swords and two fibulae. It is dated to the transition period between La Tène A and La Tène B. There is a grave from a cemetery in Wörgl-Egerndorfer Feld, in which three strongly bent La Tène swords in iron scabbards, a big knife, belt fittings and a fibula were found. There were the burnt remains of three individuals inside three clay vessels. This seems to suggest that all three were buried at the same time (Egg 1999, p.350). The grave should be dated to the early La Tène Period. Grave 13 discovered in Leithagebire (Hutweide bei Au am Leithagebirge) in Lower Austria, dated to the La Tène B Period, revealed three swords, four spearheads, a battle knife, blacksmith’s tools and ornaments (bracelets and a fibula).

The bones were decomposed, so we cannot establish the exact number of buried people (Nebhay 1973).

The double graves of warriors with similar or equally rich outfits appear even in the first century before Christ, in the region of Skordiski. In Ripotek-Plavinacki Potok in Serbia, a cremation grave was discovered containing two adequate sets of weapons: two swords in iron scabbards, two band-shaped shield bosses, two big spearheads, two belts made of iron chain links and one knife (Todorović 1973, p.74).

A very interesting example of different ways of expressing a possibly similar practice is a find from a cemetery in Wederath-Belginum, in North Rhine (Haffner 1989). In grave 805, a warrior was buried who had a partially preserved sword (without a hilt), two shield bosses, and equipment not connected to weaponry, such as shears and pottery. In grave 809, apart from pottery and a fragment of a knife, two spearheads and a sword’s hilt was found, which turned out to be the missing part of the sword from grave 805. Likewise, a large piece of

pottery from grave 809 fitted a broken vase from grave 805. The situation described is the result of deliberate practices. The author of the excavations excluded the possibility of random muddling. Two shield bosses in one grave and two spearheads in the second point to an intentional “exchange” of weapons between the two burials. The only sword (probably warriors did not have a second sword at their disposal) was divided between them, too. These two graves clearly suggest a close link between both buried men, a relationship that somehow corresponds with the “Waffenbrüder” idea, although the men were not placed in one grave. According to an anthropological analysis, each grave contained the remains of young individuals (between 14 and 18 years old). Both graves are dated to the D2 phase. A. Haffner, the author of the excavations, indicates the possibility of relating the premature death of the two young warriors to the uprising of Treveri (Haffner 1989, p.230).

Two warriors buried in one grave: interpretation possibilities

A very interesting issue is the interpretation of this phenomenon: the simultaneous burial of warriors of equal or similar status in one grave, suggested by similar outfits, was usually related to the elites of the contemporary society. In general, it may be stated that double burials (and even triple) with two (or more) sets of weaponry, present in the Celtic tradition, as early as in the Hallstatt period, are burials of two (or more) warriors. Equipment may sometimes even be placed in different, separate parts of a grave and not muddled. It is difficult to explain unequivocally why they were buried together. Was death at the same time, perhaps in one battle or campaign, the reason? Were they family: brothers (we still lack DNA tests that could answer this question), or foster brothers, whose loyalty towards each other is the groundwork for many dramatic Celtic tales? Or perhaps, as we may wonder, it is the result of ties of friendship or comradeship arising out of jointly experienced hardship and dangers. These pairs of warrior friends had archetypes in mythology and heroic tales: some already in Greek tradition and mythology, Achilles and Patroclus, Orestes and Pylades, Theseus and Peirithous, but first and foremost the divine twins Castor and Pollux².

² *Homer makes Achilles avenge Patroclus in that brilliant fashion, not as his favourite, but as his comrade. Orestes and Pylades, Theseus and Peirithous, along with many other noble pairs of demigods, are celebrated as having wrought in common great and noble deeds, not because they lay unarmed, but because of the admiration they felt for one another* (Xenophon, Symposium 8.31).

Help from the other warrior was very often an indispensable requirement to effective fighting, increasing chances of surviving³. A Celtic charioteer and warrior standing on a chariot created such a tandem. In a few cases, double weaponry, two swords and several spearheads, were found in graves furnished with carts (chariots) from France or Slovenia. These finds were explained (Navarro 1959, p.90; Guštin 1984a, p.122) as burials of the main warrior and the driver of his chariot. We can find many parallels in written sources, especially in the (obviously later) tales of tradition and the heroic mythology of the Celts.

Graves furnished with double set of weaponry in the Germanic world

The phenomenon of double sets of weapons in graves is known not only from Celtic cemeteries but also from Przeworsk Culture, Oksywie Culture and from Scandinavia from the A₃ phase of the pre-Roman period, more or less parallel to the La Tène D₂ phase. The custom of depositing weapons in graves appears in European Barbaricum (Central and northern Europe), in different Germanic cultures in a different intensity, and is interpreted as the influence of Celtic civilisation as one of the elements borrowed or adapted from the Celts. It is hard to say whether only external forms of burial rite were adapted, such as numerous technical achievements with that most crucial one, iron smelting, or the whole world of spiritual values standing behind it, beliefs, but also certain social phenomena, were imbibed as well. Celtic societies, though richer in the advanced technical and economic achievements of civilisation, such as the potter’s wheel, glass production or coin minting, in the case of military organisation did not stand out much from their northern neighbours the Germans. Warriors created an important social group with a specified status and prestige adequate to the same circumstances – success at war, personal charisma etc. Even the institution of a retinue (“Gefolge”), confirmed in written sources, was present in both societies mentioned.

Germanic weaponry was partially adapted from the Celts: long double-edged swords in iron scabbards, shields with circular bosses, and some types of spearheads⁴. On the other hand, elements of personal equip-

³ A two-man team of Scythian archers from a chieftain’s burial from Ryzanovka, Ukraine, is a distant but good example. According to an anthropological analysis of pathological changes in the skeletons, one of the archers shot arrows to the right, the second one to the left, so that they could move side by side, protecting each other’s backs (Chochorowski 1997, p.10).

⁴ Perhaps some techniques of fighting as well: for instance infantry mixed with cavalry, technique proved for Celts

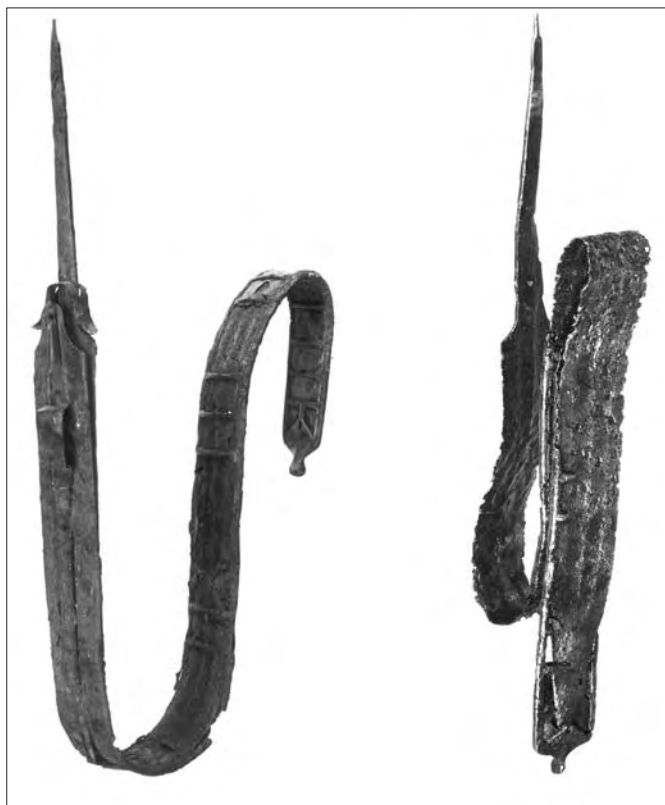


Fig. 3. Korytnica, grave 4, swords, State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw.

ment, such as chain mail or helmets, did not become accepted. A single-edged sword of native origin still remained in use. The question whether the “Latenisierung” process referred only to external symptoms and why only to some of life’s aspects, will probably remain open. This concerns the discussed phenomenon of so-called brother-in-arms as well.

In a Przeworsk Culture cemetery in Korytnica (Fig. 3), district Jędrzejów, voivodship Świętokrzyskie, investigated by the amateur archaeologist Father Skurczyński, a local parish priest, in grave 4 were found two sets of weaponry typical of phase A₃ (Skurczyński 1947, p.13). These were two double-edged swords in nearly identical iron scabbards (both ritually bent) with ladder-shape mountings, pointed chapes (it is likely that one of the scabbards originally had a bronze openwork plate in the upper part), and two shield bosses of type 8 according to D. Bohnsack (1938), two folded lance heads, two barbed spearheads, four spurs, two fibulae of M type according to J. Kostrzewski (1919), four knives, four awls, shears, a spindle whorl, rings on staples, coiled wire, and fragments of pottery. Unfortunately, there are no results of anthropological analysis, but the arrangement of objects in the grave suggests

and Germans, but unknown to Romans and therefore arousing their curiosity.

the burial of two individuals⁵. The set of equipment is quite opulent, with a full weaponry outfit (two kinds of spearheads, a shield) but also with shears and spurs that are a rare element of equipment, suggesting a high social position of the warriors buried there.

Furnishing with double elements of equipment is rare, but happens in Przeworsk Culture. A grave equipped with two shield bosses is known from Czeladź Wielka (Sławęcice) (Pescheck 1939, p.207 ff., Fig. 145). Moreover, the grave contained four knives, bronze handles, a sword and two spearheads. Grave 65 from Oblin (unpublished, State Archaeological Museum, Warsaw, IV/8896) revealed two shield bosses, two spearheads and one single-edged sword; grave 24 from Siemiechów two shield bosses, a shield grip (?), a single-edged sword and a knife (M. Jażdżewska 1985, pl. II); probably also Ciecierzyn grave 8 was furnished in similar way⁶ (Martyniak 1997, pl.X). Two shield bosses were found on the territory of Oksywie Culture in Pruszcz Gdański, site 10, grave 434 (both of Bohnsack 7 type) with two spearheads and a shield grip (Pietrzak, 1997, pl. CXXX). Graves at Czeladź and Oblin can be dated to phase A₂, the grave at Siemiechów and

Ciecierzyn to the transition period between A₂ and A₃, and the one at Pruszcz to phase A₃.

A new find from Troszyn on the island of Wolin, from the area between Oksywie and Jastorf Culture, throws a new light on the discussed problem of the interpretation of double burials (Machajewski, 2006)⁷. In 2004, an amateur collector looking for military accessories using a metal detector discovered a cremation grave. A bronze bucket, that was used as a cinerary urn was covered with a clay vessel. In the bucket two swords with their scabbards and two spearheads were placed; two shields were situated next to the bucket. A one-edged sword represents a classic specimen used in Oksywie culture in phases A₂ and A₃. Similar swords were used at that time on the Baltic islands and in Östergötland. The other, a double-edged sword in an iron scabbard, is very similar to finds from Korytnica, with ladder-shape mountings and an ornamental iron plate with a grid pattern fixed near the mouth. There were also two spearheads and two shield bosses of types Bohnsack 5 and Bohnsack 8 among the outfit. The shield grips are

⁵ We may presume from the find of the spindle whorl that a woman was buried in the grave; however, single finds of spindle whorls occur in men’ graves, perhaps as a special grave gift, or haphazardly.

⁶ Only a small fragment of the second shield boss is preserved.

⁷ I would like to thank H. Machajewski PhD for access to the materials.



Fig. 4. Rządź, grave 1/1883, (after Boguwolski and Kurzyńska 2001, Fig. 51).

very interesting. The first one refers to type D according to N. Zielsing; so far there are no analogues known to the second one. The whole assemblage may be dated to phase A₃. The outfit derives from the Celtic (double-edged sword) but also from Scandinavian traditions (shield boss and grip).

A nearly identical set comes from the Okseywie Culture cemetery in Rządź, grave 1/1883 (Fig. 4) (Bohm 1985, p.5; Anger 1890, p.10, pl. IV: 2; Boguwolski and Kurzyńska 2001, p.59, Fig. 51). Inside a bronze bucket there was a double-edged sword in a scabbard with ladder-shape mountings and a pointed chape and a bronze openwork plate in the upper part, a single-edged sword, a spearhead, a shieldboss type Bohnsack 7 and a fibula. Although the description left no doubts that both swords were found together in the vessel, the grave inventory was thought to be muddled in terms of the presence of the two swords. The Troszyn discovery has verified the cohesion of this assemblage.

From the territory of Okseywie Culture, we know another, however accidentally discovered and therefore not very certain, find from Bolszewo (Bolschau). A cremation grave with a bronze cauldron of type 4 according to H.-J. Eggers (1951), that was used as a cinerary urn, was supposed to contain a hilt, part of a blade and a scabbard of a double-edged sword, two big shield bosses, two big, folded spearheads, and one totally folded big sword (Virchow, 1870, p.85). Another grave, with two bent together La Tène swords, two spearheads⁸, a shield boss and fragments of iron objects, was found in Gdańsk Nowolipki (Dreilinden) with a big cinerary urn with bones situated half a metre underground (Lissauer 1887, p.127).

The find from Ciepłe (Warmhof-Abbau) presented by J. Kostrzewski (1919, p.106) with bronze cauldron type Eggers 4 with double-edged sword and scabbard fittings from the single-edged sword could also be interpreted as a grave with two different types of swords, one of them symbolically represented (*pars pro toto*) by elements of the scabbard.

Burials with multiple sets of weapons placed in bronze vessels are known from Fyn, Bornholm and Öland. Grave 1 found in 1877 in Langaa (Langå) on the island of Fyn is the most impressive (Sehestad 1878, Pl. XXX-VII-XXXIX; Albrechtsen 1954, p.29, pl. 4). A cauldron of Eggers 4 type served as an urn, covered with a big, flat stone. It was equipped with four folded single-edged swords⁹, part of a spearhead, a badly preserved

⁸ According to A. Lissauer, there was only one spearhead; according to J. Kostrzewski (1919, p.78), who checked Lissauer's information, there were two spearheads.

⁹ According to J. Martens (2002, p.261), there was only one sword and three long knives, and (probably) two shield bosses. All are preserved only in fragments, and the exact

shield boss, a shield grip and several tiny objects. What attracts attention are two folded, gold rings, fragments of bronze vessels (excluding a cauldron-cinerary urn) and parts of a cart. This is one of the wealthiest graves, clearly indicating the high social position of the buried person (or persons).

Another grave with a double weaponry outfit is grave 1 from Simblegaard on Bornholm (Vedel 1897, p.127). This is a cremation burial furnished with a cauldron of Eggers 4 type, three iron swords, a spur (?), a spearhead, a shield boss and a shield grip. In Birket, in Jutland, a grave was found that uncovered a double-edged sword with a cross-guard, a fragment of a single-edged sword and fittings from its scabbard, a destroyed shield boss, two spearheads, a knife with a socket (? a preserved fragment) and other knives (Martens 2002, Fig. 7).

A well-preserved burial with a double set of weapons (grave 2) was discovered in Övre Ålebäck (Fig. 5), on Öland (Sjöberg Beskow 1991, Figs. 1–9). There were two single-edged swords, scabbard fittings, two spearheads, a shield boss and a shield handle fitting placed inside a bronze cauldron with an iron rim (cauldron of Eggers 4 type). Another grave comes from Ringstad Mo (Östra Eneby) in Sweden. The assemblage comprised of a double-edged sword, a single-edged sword, a spearhead, a low spiked shield boss, a second destroyed shield boss and a fibula of Kostrzewski K type. The assemblage was thought to be uncertain and mixed (Nicklasson 1997, p.212).

Many graves with double sets of weaponry are old finds, sometimes random ones. Assemblages with two swords seemed unbelievable and were often treated in literature as muddled. This, for instance, concerns Rządź and the grave from Ringsted Mo, too. Obviously, the credibility of such finds must be verified, as some of these discoveries are undoubtedly spoiled assemblages. As an example, let us give a grave 1 from Piotrków Kujawski (Zielonka 1956, p.276) with one double-edged and one single-edged sword, but incoherent chronology. Nevertheless, in many cases there are no reasons for subverting the coherence of assemblages.

Unfortunately, in the majority of cases, graves with double sets of weapons are old finds that do not have any anthropological analyses of burnt remains. The lack of anthropological analyses makes us unable to determine if we are undoubtedly dealing with burials of two warriors ("Waffenbrüder") or with an extremely richly equipped single burial (of one person). In recently discovered grave from Troszyn, according to anthropological analysis (Machajewski 2006), one

determination is difficult. Anyway, it is a grave with a multiple set of weaponry.

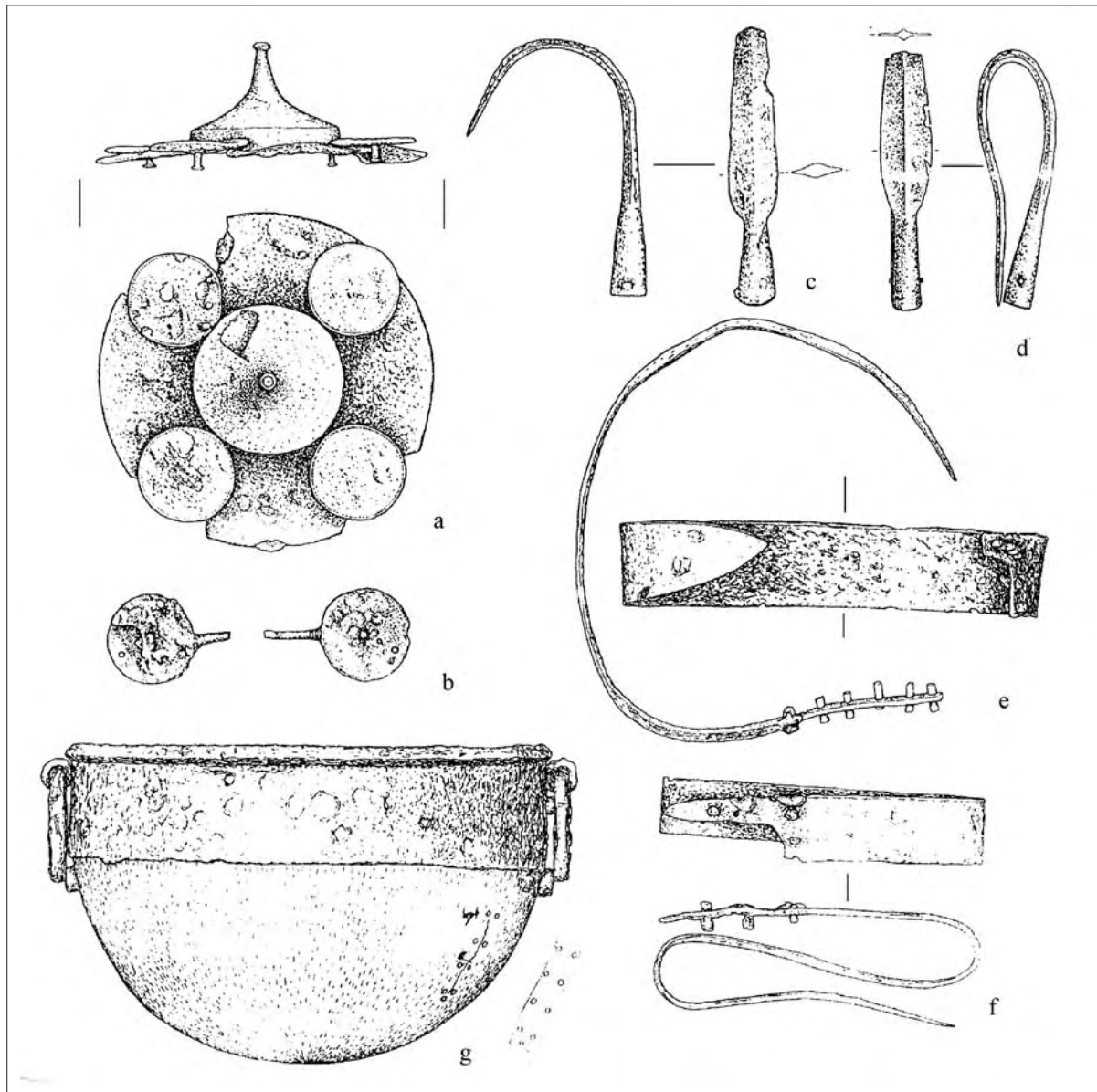


Fig. 5. Övre Ålebäck, grave 2, (after Rasch 2002, Fig. 4).

person was buried, an adult, over 20 years old. A few analyses of graves with double shield bosses (Pruszcz, grave 434, Oblin, grave 65) indicate burials of single persons. On the other hand, a notable part of graves with double sets of weapons from the Celtic area are inhumation graves with well proven two (or more) individuals in one grave.

It seems interesting that graves from Pomerania and Scandinavia with two or more swords often do not contain a higher number of spearheads or shield bosses (only one spearhead in Langaa and Troszyn; two spearheads in Övre Ålebäck, but only one shield boss). This situation differs in Przeworsk Culture, in Korytnica, for instance. Similar to finds known from the Celtic area, there are two separate sets of weapons, not one extremely rich one.

It is very difficult to establish if the weaponry is double or if it is a full set of weaponry used by one warrior. It depends on the technique of fighting. Two or more spearheads are thought to be one-person equipment, as thrown weapons, spears, are in some senses used once only. In the early Roman Period, in Przeworsk Culture (a culture that, thanks to the custom of richly equipping the dead with weapons, is most suitable for such observations, although the phenomenon is observed in the Elbian area also) a common set of weaponry, a lance head and a smaller, often barbed, spearhead, is a good example of full equipment, as in practice these two objects are used for different purposes, different ways of fighting (one for throwing, another in close combat). Two nearly identical double-edged swords (as in the case of grave 4 from Korytnica) are double

weapons, because they in fact may function only in the same way. Double and single-edged swords (Troszyn, Rządź and Birket) are two kinds of weaponry used for different fighting techniques (Kontny 1998). Long, double-edged swords are most efficient in fighting from a horse, while shorter, single-edged swords are infantry weapons. Of course, they may be used in other ways, when needed, but their construction features (the shape of the blade, hilt dimensions that decide the centre of gravity) are optimally adjusted to a specific type of fighting. We can understand the sense of possessing both swords, used according to necessity. There is yet another aspect of the problem in the case of shields. Two shields cannot obviously be used at once. However, it is an element prone to damage during battles. The aim of a wooden shield, even with metallic rim fittings that are very rare in the pre-Roman period, is to receive strokes from a sword or spear (not to mention a battle-axe). It is not imperishable, so the necessity to have a spare one seems to be justified (Sławinski 2006). What still needs to be mentioned is ceremonial weaponry that was not designed for fighting purposes but could have been placed in a grave. Ceremonial weaponry is known from the Roman Period (shield bosses with silver or gold sheet etc). It is also known from the Roman army (helmets with masks covered with silver foil).

Summing up

Finds of double sets of weapons in graves, observed not only on Celtic but also Germanic lands, despite apparent similarities, refer to different phenomena. Celtic graves are evident burials of two (or more) persons, warriors of a similar status expressed by analogous weaponry. The reasons for burying them in one grave will never be entirely understood, but we are entitled to link this with the phenomenon described as *Waffenbrüder*, warriors who were tied by links of real or symbolic relationship, known from written sources and mythological tales. I would explain in the same way, the finds from Korytnica. Przeworsk Culture was strongly influenced by Celtic civilisation, the so-called “Latenisierung” process.

In cases of graves with double weaponry equipment from Germanic culture areas, from territories more distant from Celtic influences, that is Oksywie Culture and Scandinavia, I regard them as burials of individual persons, notable warriors who were given outstanding sets of weapons to show their social position or their position in the military hierarchy of the group which took care of the burial. They refer in the form of burial to local customs. Burials in metallic vessels (usually Eggers 4 and 7 type cauldrons, or Eggers type 18–20 buckets) are quite common in the younger Pre-Roman

period, especially from Mecklenburg but also from Denmark and Sweden (Wegewitz 1986; Rasch 1994, p.229; Voß 2005, p.35). This custom had begun yet in phase A₂, but most finds are from phase A₃ or even from the beginning of the Roman Period. Weaponry is a common element of outfit in these graves; often full sets of weapons (a sword, a spearhead and a shield boss), and they are linked to elite warriors (Sjöberg Beskow 1991, p.474; Rasch 1994, p.231; Voß 2005, p.35). It is nothing bizarre that the best, most distinguished, warriors or chiefs were honoured with an outstanding set of weapons, such as two kinds of swords (single and double-edged, explained by different ways of fighting), or two swords of the same kind, two single-edged (Övre Ålebäck or Langaa) or two double-edged (Bolszów, Gdańsk Nowolipki). One of each could be an heirloom or important war trophy, which was supposed to stress the prestige and position of the dead person.

The custom of equipping graves with weaponry was an influence Celtic civilisation; weapons, double-edged swords in metallic scabbards, too. Metallic vessels were imports as well. However, the origin of the custom and the meaning of equipping with a higher number of weapons could have been different from the Celtic custom. The same or a similar situation observed at an archaeological level could have had different grounds and meant different phenomena.

Translated by Anna Mistewicz

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„GINKLO DRAUGAI“? PRIEŠROMĖNIŠKOJO LAIKOTARPIO KAPAI SU DVIGUBAIS GINKLUOTĖS RINKINIAIS

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Santrauka

Kapai su dvigubais ginkluotės rinkiniais keltų gyven-tose teritorijose pasirodo Halštato (Halstatt) laikais – La Tenio periode (Nove Mesto ir Magdalenska gora, Slovėnija), tokių kapų žinoma iki D2 fazės pabaigos (Ripotek, Serbija). Kai kuriuose iš šių kapų buvo rasti vežimai (pvz., Odžaci, Slovėnija, ir Mailleraye sur Seine, Normandija) ar net trys ginkluotės rinkiniai. Vienalaikis tokio paties socialinio statuso (daugiausia susijusio su bendruomenių elitu) dviejų karių su vienodais ginkluotės komplektais palaidojimai viename kape rodo šeimyninius ryšius ar reiškinį, žinomą kaip draugystė, dar vadinamą „ginklo draugais“ (1–5 pav.). Karių draugų poros turi savo archetipus mitologijoje ir herojiniuose pasakojimuose: Achilas ir Patroklas, Orestas ir Piladas, Tesėjas ir Pirithojus bei dieviškieji dvyniai Kastoras ir Polideukas (gr. Dioskūrai). Nuo priešromėniškojo laikotarpio fazės A3 kapai su dvigubais ginkluotės rinkiniais žinomi iš akivaizdžiai germaniškų Šiaurės Europos kultūrų. Pševorsko kultūros Korytnicos kapinyno kape 4 buvo rasti du panašios sudėties turtingi ginkluotės rinkiniai, kuriuose buvo ir po dviašmenį kalaviją (3 pav.). Iš Oksyvo kultūros degintinių kapų bronziniuose katiluose žinomi vien- ašmeniai ar dviašmeniai kalavijai (Troszyn, Rządz ir Bolszewo, Lenkija), tokių kapų rasta ir Skandinavijoje (Langaa, Simblegaard, Birket, Övre Ålebäck). Dėl degintinių kaulų antropologinių analizių trūkumo šių kapų negalima vienareikšmiškai priskirti dviem kariams, tokiems, kokie žinomi iš keltų bendruomenių, jų negalima priskirti ir išskirtinai turtingiems vieno žmogaus palaidojimams. Todėl kyla klausimas, ar dvigubi ginkluotės rinkiniai priklausė skirtingiems asmenims, ar vienam kariui. Keltų kapų pavyzdžiai leidžia manyti, kad kapai su dvigubais ginkluotės rinkiniais yra skirti dviem ar daugiau asmenų, panašaus socialinio statuso karių, kuriems buvo įdėta analogiška ginkluotė. „Germaniški“ (Oksyvo kultūra ir Skandinavija) dvigubi ginkluotės rinkiniai yra individualių kapų radiniai, priklausę žymiesiems kariams, kuriems buvo įdėta ši išskirtinė ginkluotė, rodanti jų užimamą socialinę padėtį ar hierarchinį statusą karinėje grupėje. Tačiau ta pati ar panaši situacija, žinoma iš archeologinės medžiagos, gali turėti skirtingą pagrindą ir atspindėti skirtingus reiškinius.

II

BARBARIAN
WARRIORS
FROM THE
BALTIC TO
THE DANUBE