

INTERREGIONAL AND MULTIDIRECTIONAL CONTACTS OF LOCAL ELITES: A CASE OF SCABBARDS WITH CROSSBARS DECORATED WITH THREE OR MORE S-FIGURES IN NORTHERN POLAND

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Abstract

At the beginning of the Late Pre-Roman Period, various cultural transformations occurred on Polish territory induced by La Tène culture, and, to a lesser extent, by Jastorf culture circle stimuli. As a result of these influences, new cultures appeared: Oksywie culture in the north of Poland, and Przeworsk culture to south of Oksywie culture. Among Oksywie culture sepulchral materials, many imported items can be identified, such as metal scabbards with crossbars decorated with three or more S-figures. These sheaths were found together with items imported from La Tène culture and Roman territories. The article analyses the provenance and distribution of imported items. The authors try to define the origin of the scabbards, and show the interaction between Oksywie culture societies and Celtic cultures.

Key words: Przeworsk culture, Oksywie culture, Pre-Roman Period, Celtic imports, Roman imports, weapons.

Okseywie culture, in the Pre-Roman Period covering a large part of the Polish Baltic coast and the Lower Vistula basin, was one of the cultures that were formed under La Tène influences. The latest research shows that it was a very heterogeneous cultural complex, a phenomenon which was created through various kinds of La Tène stimuli, as well as through cultural connections with the Baltic Sea region. La Tène trends passed directly through neighbouring Przeworsk culture to the south, and through the broadly defined Jastorf culture circle (Bokiniec 2001; Dąbrowska, Woźniak 2005, p.93ff; Stąporek 2007; Maciałowicz 2009, p.204ff). Although sepulchral materials of Okseywie culture lack impressive 'chieftain' graves, there is a group of graves with above-standard equipment, containing military items as well as Celtic imports. Following the Celtic burial traditions, funeral equipment was usually burnt and ritually destroyed. Among the weapons that were found in sepulchres belonging to members of Okseywie culture, there is one particularly interesting type of sheath that attracted our attention. Not all sheaths are equally well preserved; moreover, we have only scraps of archive information about some. It is enough, however, to identify one homogenous type of sheath. By this homogenous type, we mean specimens made of two iron sheets where the bent edges of the rear, wider sheet overlapped the front sheet (Fig. 1). The lower part of the scabbard was shod with a chape with a pointed end, and contained a pair of 'barbs' (Fig. 1.5). The scabbard's locket was usually straight, and

was additionally reinforced with a profiled slat (Fig. 1.1). Another characteristic element were the crossbars (one or two) in the upper part of the sheath, which were decorated with three or more S-figures. Specimens with two crossbars had a different number of S-figures on each of them, usually three for the higher crossbar, and four for the lower one (Fig. 1.2, 3). This element had a purely decorative role. This feature distinguishes the discussed scabbards from older specimens, well known not only in the Celtic world, but also beyond its borders. There, a two S-figure ornament was a kind of clasp that reinforced a sheet; the chape was not pointed, and had two pairs of 'barbs' (Zachar 1974; Brunaux 1990, pp.173, 185; Lejars 1994, p.53ff; Bochnak 2005, pp.38, 45ff, 280, Table X; Łuczkiwicz 2006, pp.59ff, 182ff, Fig. 54.4, 5, 7, 8).

What is more, in the case of the discussed sheaths, an S-figure sequence is sometimes repeated in the lower part of the scabbard (Fig. 1.4),¹ but because of its poor state of preservation, it is impossible to tell whether it was characteristic of that part of the scabbard. The sheaths also have a short suspension loop with symmetrical plates in circle or drop shapes (Fig. 1.6).² The

¹ According to a drawing from Kostrzewski's publication, such an ornament was also noticed on a sheath from Lachmirowice, grave 1. However, the sketches from his private papers depict some other way of embellishing (see Fig.6.1d). Perhaps the sketch represents the rear part of a scabbard.

² The above-mentioned description corresponds with the characteristics of scabbards of type 4 (according to

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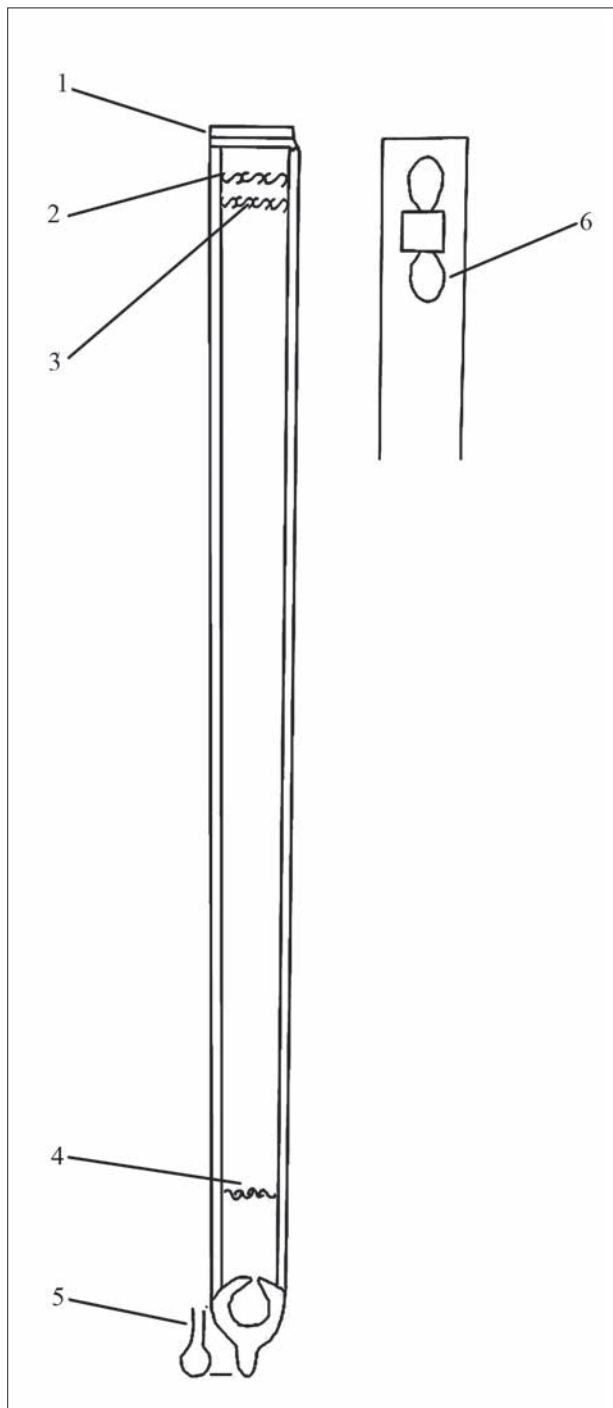


Fig. 1. Characteristic features of scabbards with multiple S-figures (based on the example of the scabbard from Lachmirowice, grave 1: 1 profiled slat; 2 three S-figures; 3, 4 four S-figures; 5 pointed chape with a pair of barbs; 6 suspension loop with symmetrical plates (reconstruction of scabbard drawing by Kostrzewski, 1919).

greatest diversification is to be observed among the scabbards' lockets: most of them were straight, reinforced with a profiled slat though a bell-like entrance, characteristic of finds from Gdańsk-Nowolipki (Fig. 2C), Pruszcz Gdański, site 7, grave 374, and Pruszcz Gdański, site 10, grave 137 (Fig. 3) (it is worth noting that in every instance the shape of the entrance was fitted to the shape of the sword's guard that was inside it).

Nowadays, eight or nine sheaths are included within this type of category. However, because of the varying state of preservation, as well as the varying degrees of scholars' attention paid to the above-mentioned scabbards, only some of the markers have been noticed in the case of individual specimens (for this see: Catalogue). Nearly seven scabbards were found in the region of the mouth of the Vistula, which in the Pre-Roman era belonged to the Oksywie culture area (Map 1). Three specimens were found in the burial grounds in Pruszcz Gdański, of which one is in neighbouring (circa six kilometres away) Żukczyn (Fig. 2A), and another one in Gdańsk Nowolipki (a necropolis situated ten kilometres from Pruszcz Gdański). The next scabbard was found in Opalenie (Fig. 4.1a-2c) about 70 kilometres south of Pruszcz Gdański. In Ciepłe, about 55 kilometres from Pruszcz Gdański (and several kilometres from Opalenie), yet another scabbard was found. However, the only piece of evidence that would allow the inclusion of this find in the category described is a note by J. Kostrzewski, a distinguished Polish scholar. While sketching a sword from the destroyed necropolis in Żukczyn, he noted in the margin: '*Verzierung ähnlich Abb[au] Warmhof.*'³

As we can see, the majority of the sheaths discussed come from Oksywie culture graves, with a high incidence noticed in the region of the mouth of the Vistula. From Lachmirowice, grave 1, there is one known specimen from Przeworsk

the classification provided by P. Łuczkiwicz), although the list of scabbards given by this author differs from the group of sheaths distinguished by T. Bochnak and discussed in this text (Łuczkiwicz 2006; Bochnak 2008). Regardless of the division of types, P. Łuczkiwicz distinguished scabbards with a pointed chape, including within group 7 specimens from Hoppstätten-Weiersbach, grave 23, Pruszcz Gdański, grave 374, Podwiesk, grave 103, Opalenie and Lachmirowice, while a list of specimens classified in this group does not correspond to scabbards of type 4 (Łuczkiwicz 2006, p.202ff, Table 19).

³ Abbau Warmhof/Warmhof Abbau and Warmhof are former names for the village of Ciepłe.

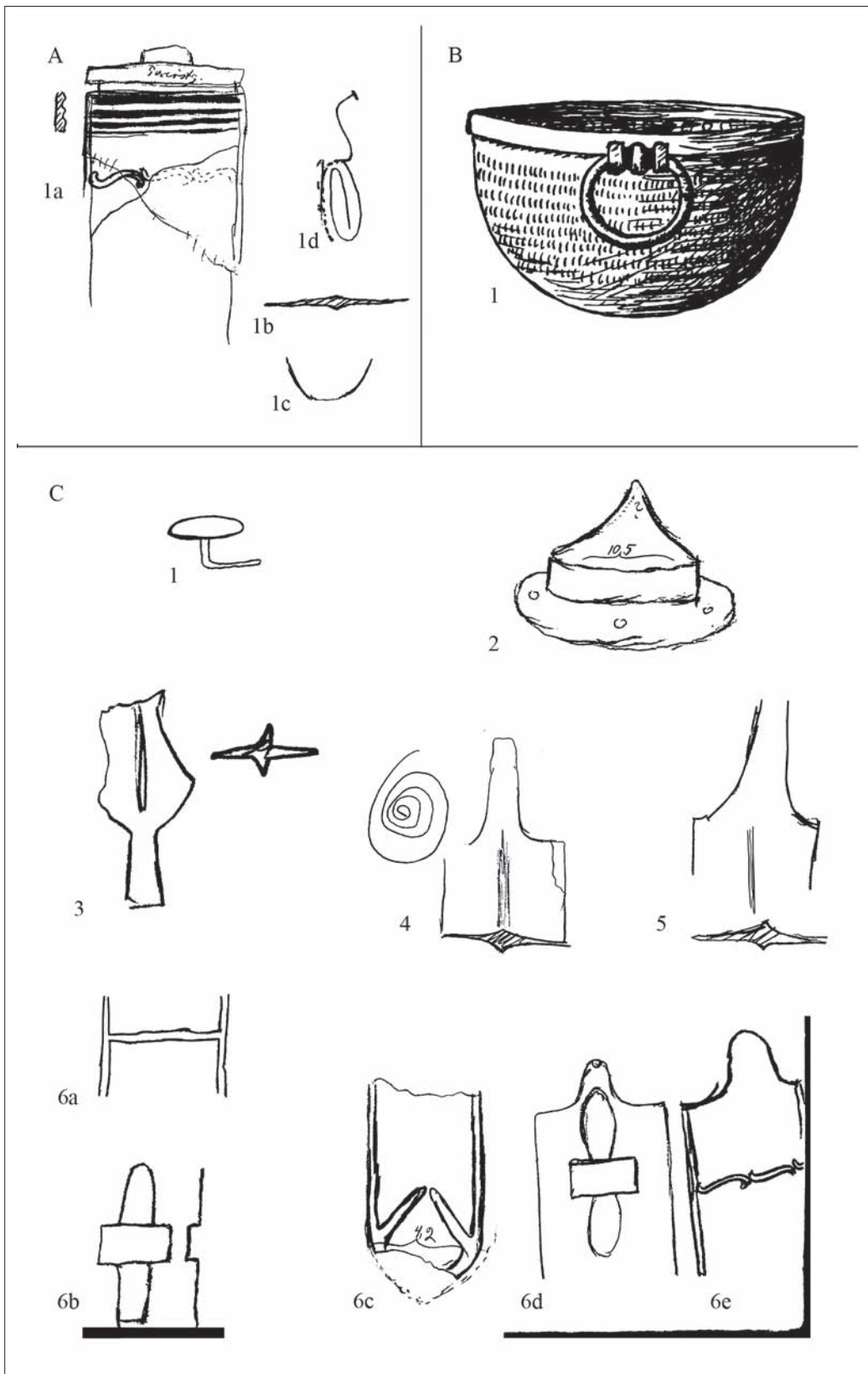


Fig. 2. Findings from Żukczyn, Ciepłe and Gdańsk-Nowolipki (the sites were not numbered). A. Żukczyn, grave 1: 1a-1d sword and scabbard, characteristic features. B. Ciepłe, grave without number: 1 cauldron with an iron rim. There are no pictures of any other grave goods. C. Gdańsk-Nowolipki, grave without number: 1 rivet; 2 shield-boss; 3 spearhead; 4 sword; 5 the second sword; 6a-6e different sheath details. No scale. The figure omitted the presence of local ceramic vessels (after Kostrzewski, 1919, and drawings from his papers).

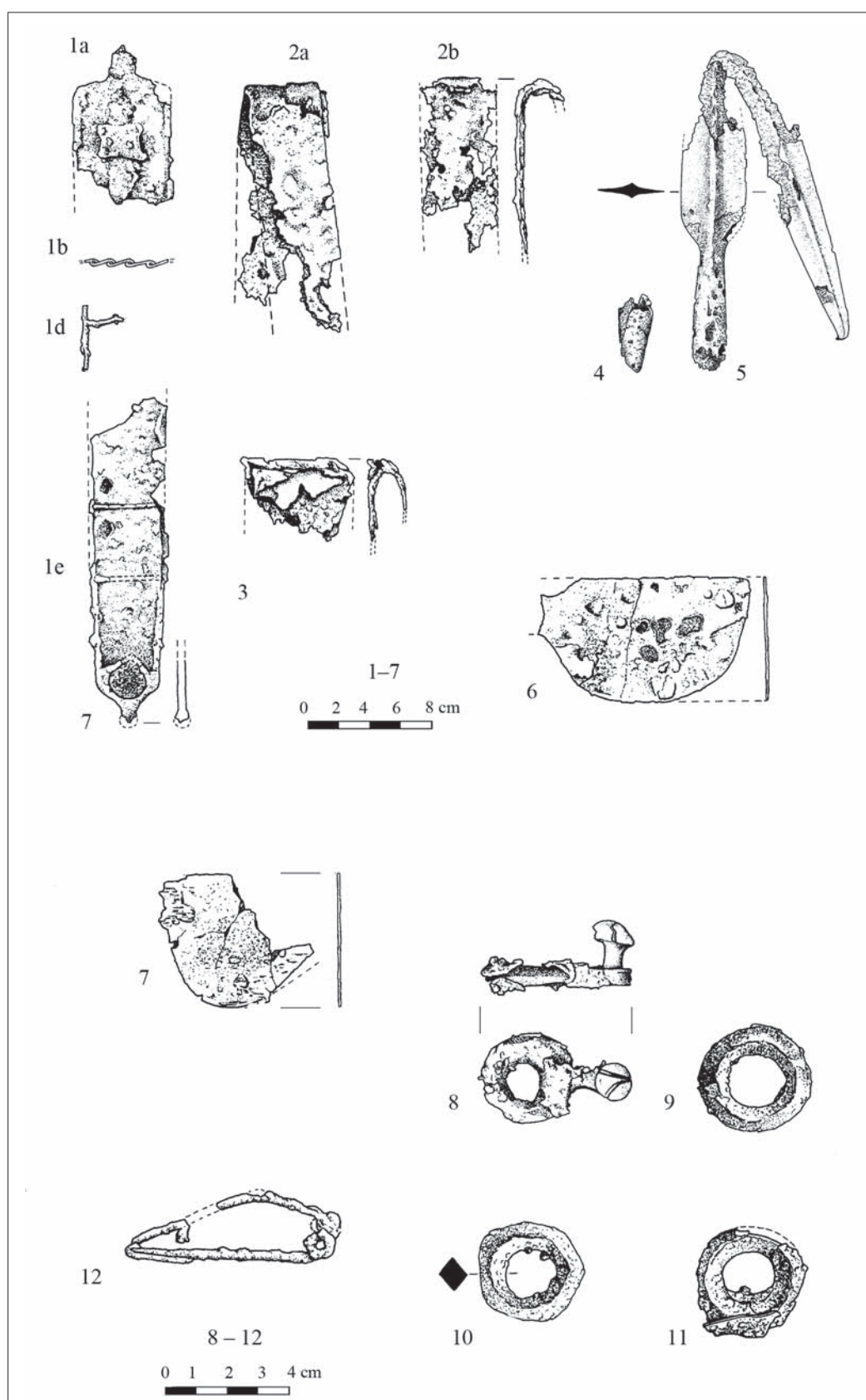
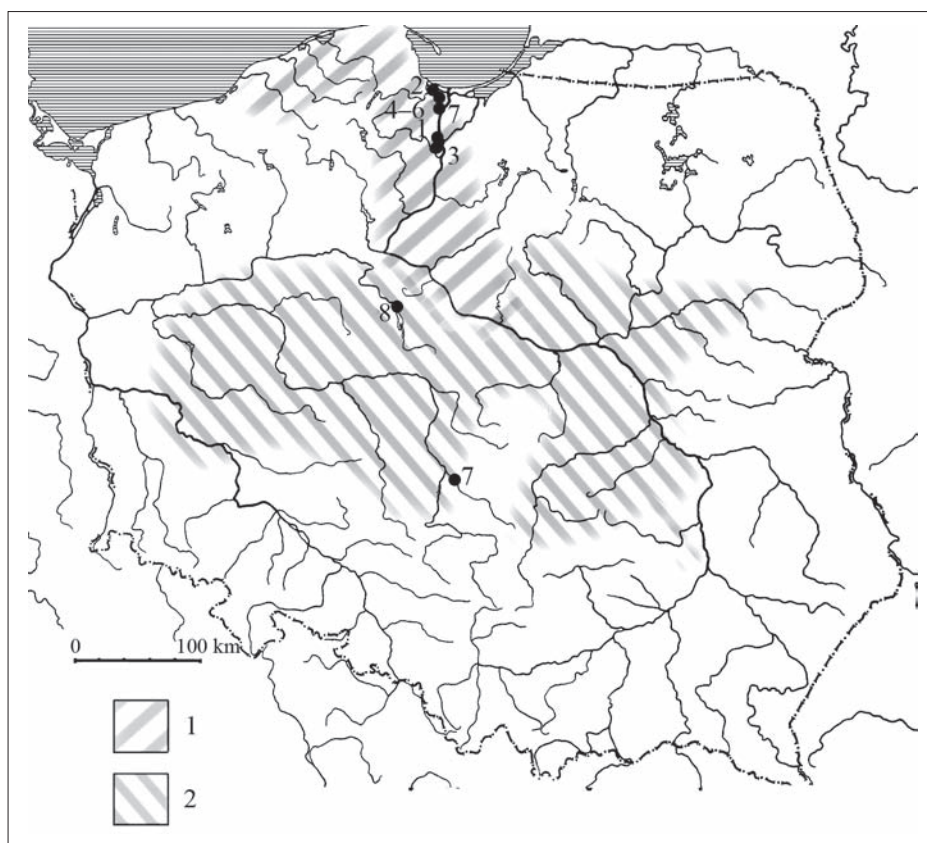


Fig. 3. Pruszcz Gdański site 10, grave 137: 1a-1e pieces of a sword and scabbard; 2a, 2b sword; 3 sword and fragment of a scabbard; 4 spearshoe; 5 spearhead; 6, 7 razor (?) fragments; 8 belt hook; 9-11 loops, parts of a sword belt; 12 fibula. 1-12 iron. 1-7 scale 1:4, 8-12 scale 1:2. Figure omitted the presence of local ceramic vessels (after Pietrzak, 1997).



Map 1. The distribution of scabbards with multiple S-figures compared to Przeworsk and Oksywie culture settlements in the Late Pre-Roman Period. The numbers on the map correspond with the numbers of finds in the catalogue.

culture territory (Figs. 1; 7A).⁴ In all likelihood, a similar type of sheath was found in Siemiechów, grave 25 (Figs. 7B; 8). Judging by the remaining pieces, this specimen had a short suspension loop with symmetrical plates and a straight locket; however, it had no signs of a profiled slat. Its lower part was shod with a pointed chape and a pair of 'barbs'. Among the burial equipment of the grave, there was also a small iron item in the shape of an S-figure; it might formerly have also been part of a scabbard.⁵ A comparison of typological features is shown in Tables 1 and 2.

The discussed sheaths were paired with double-edged swords. Unfortunately, our knowledge about the discussed weapon may only be fragmentary, as in most cases swords remained inside the scabbards. Almost all of them were of a diamond-shaped cross-section with a separate ridge; only the specimen from Opalenie belonged to the rare category of swords with selectively

etched blades, which constituted a further development from swords with a diamond-shaped cross-section (Fig. 4.4c, 4d). Swords from Opalenie, Pruszcz Gdański 7, grave 374, and Żukczyn, grave 1, had rounded points; whereas the points of other specimens were either damaged or still inside the scabbards. In the cases that were documented, the width of the blade ranged from five centimetres (Lachmirowice) to six centimetres (Opalenie). Scabbards with swords still remaining inside them were 6.2 to 6.6 centimetres wide, so we can assume that the blades inside were of a similar size. A comparison of swords inside sheaths with crossbars decorated with S-motifs shows that this kind of weapon was designed for cutting. We may also notice some typological similarities between swords and the scabbards that were paired with them. The greatest diversification can be spotted in the shapes of two various scabbard lockets; the diversification is attributable to the shape of the guards which were tailored to fit the scabbard. Northern Poland has a high concentration of the type of sheaths discussed, but similar specimens were found in Celtic areas. However, they do not always have all the features described above as markers. Out of specimens found in Celtic territories, the most similar (to the sheaths found in northern Poland) is the one from Hoppstädten-Weiersbach, Kr. Birken-

⁴ There is a mistaken illustration of the scabbard from Lachmirowice, grave 1, in the publication about the armaments of people of Przeworsk culture in the Late Pre-Roman Period (Bochnak 2005, pp.40, 48, Fig. XIII.1).

⁵ A sheath from Siemiechów was classified as type II according to Bochnak (2005, p.212). However, as some features formerly unknown to the author have been revealed, this seems to be a mistake.

Table 1. Characteristic features of scabbards

	Pruszcz Gd., st. 10, gr. 137	Pruszcz Gd., st. 7, gr. 355	Pruszcz Gd., st. 7, gr. 374	Gdańsk-Nowolipki	Opalenie	Cieple	Żukczyn	Siemiechów, gr. 25	Lachmirowice, gr. 1	Hoppstädten-Weiersbach, gr. 23
Shape of scabbard's locket	Campanulate	Campanulate	Straight	Campanulate	Straight + profiled slat	Straight + profiled slat	Straight + profiled slat	Straight	Straight + profiled slat	Straight + profiled slat
Pointed chape	•	•	•	?	•	?	?	•	•	•
Three S-figures in the upper part	?	?	•	•	•	?	•	?	•	•
At least four S-figures in the upper part	•	•	?	?	?	?	?	?	•	•
Two S-figures in the lower part	?	?	?	?	•	?	?	?	?	-
Symmetrical plates of suspension loop	•	•	•	•	•	?	?	•	•	•

Table 2. Characteristic features of double-edged swords

	Pruszcz Gd., st. 10, gr. 137	Pruszcz Gd., st. 7, gr. 355	Pruszcz Gd., st. 7, gr. 374	Gdańsk-Nowolipki	Opalenie	Cieple	Żukczyn	Siemiechów, gr. 25	Lachmirowice, gr. 1	Hoppstädten-Weiersbach, gr. 23
Breadth	?	?	Circa 5.5 cm	Circa 5.8 cm?	Circa 6 cm	?	5.5 cm	5.2 cm	5 cm	5.8 cm
Cross-section	Diamond-shaped or diamond-shaped with prominent central rib	Diamond-shaped or diamond-shaped with prominent central rib	?	Diamond-shaped with prominent central rib	Selective etched (diamond-shaped with reduced middle)	?	Diamond-shaped or diamond-shaped with prominent central rib	?	Diamond-shaped or diamond-shaped with prominent central rib	Diamond-shaped
Point	?	?	rounded	?	rounded	?	rounded	?	broken	triangular

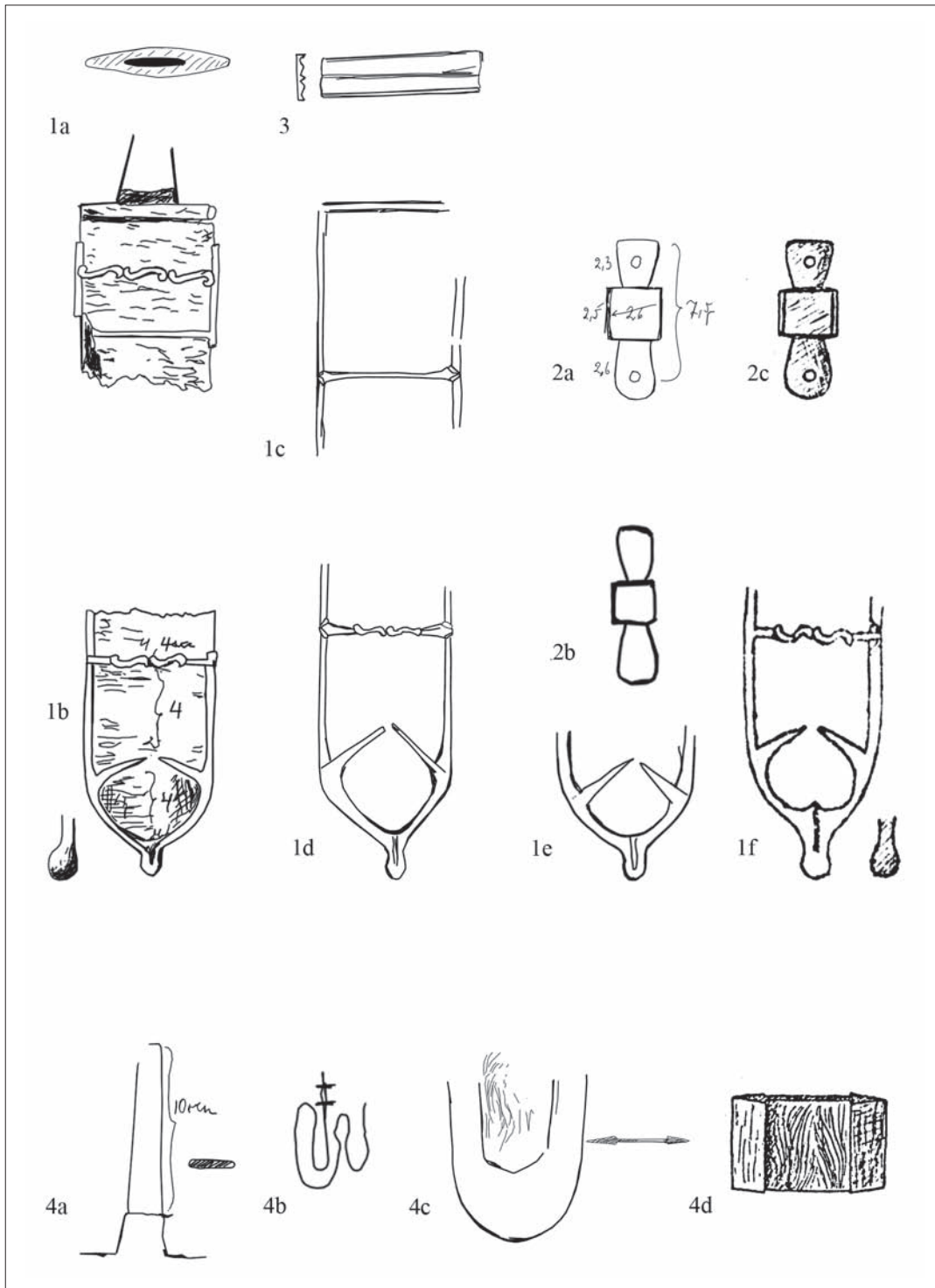


Fig. 4. Opalenie (the site was not numbered): 1a-1f sword and scabbard, characteristic features; 2a-2c suspension loop; 3 profiled slat reinforcing the locket of a scabbard; 4a-4d sword, characteristic features. No scale reference. Figure omitted the presence of local ceramic vessels (according to sketches from Kostrzewski's papers [1a, 1b based on Undset 1882], Kostrzewski 1919).

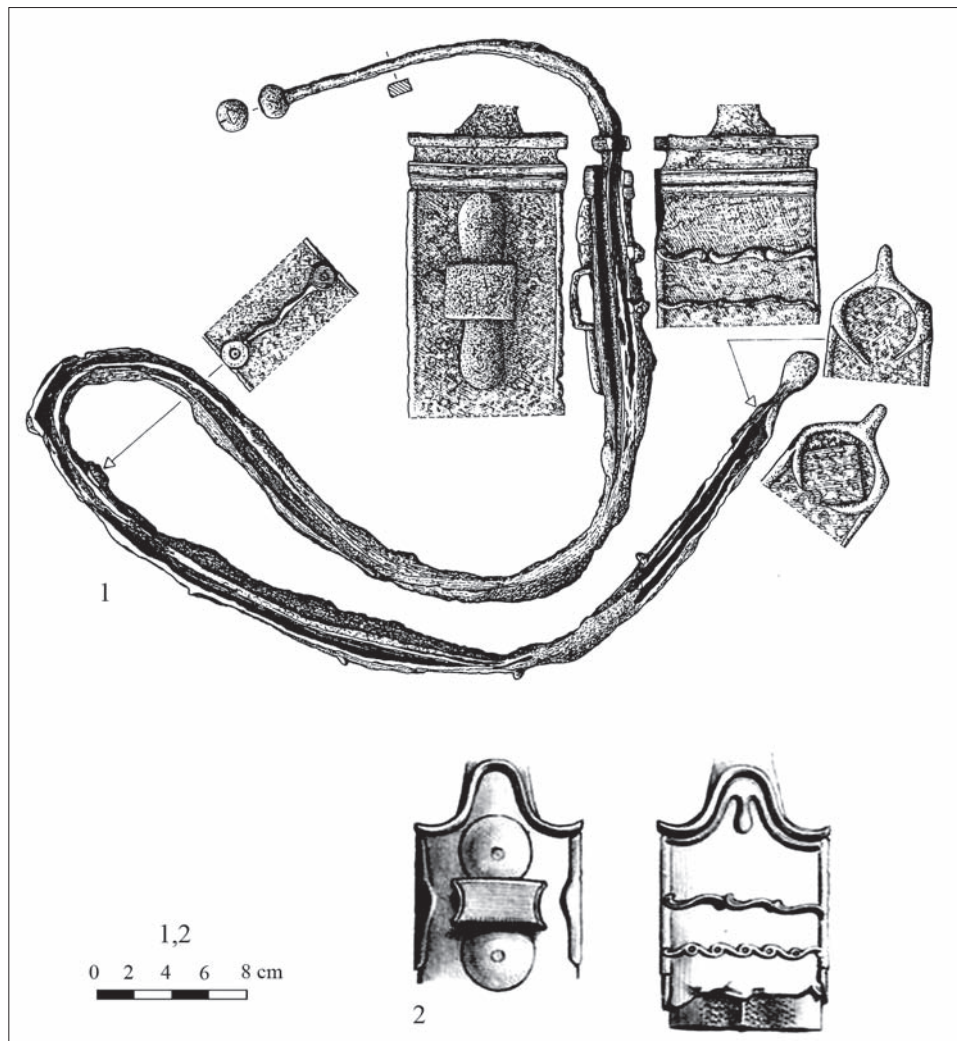


Fig. 5. Scabbards with two crossbars in the upper part of the sheath which were decorated with three or more S-figures from outside Polish territory: 1 Hoppstädten-Weiersbach, Kr. Birkenfeld (Germany), grave 23; 2 Mörigen, canton of Bern (Switzerland) (after de Navarro 1972; Gleser 2005).

field (Germany), grave 23, dated to LT D_{2a} phase (Fig. 5.1) (Gleser 2005, pp.118ff, 577ff, 697; Tables 8.1; 9). This sheath has a straight mouth-locket reinforced with a profiled, short slat, a short suspension loop with symmetrical plates, and S-figure ornaments (three S-figures on the upper crossbar, four on the lower one) on its upper part. The lower part of the scabbard is shod with a pointed chape with a pair of 'barbs'. Ralf Gleser, while describing the artefact from Hoppstädten-Weiersbach, noticed its close resemblance to the specimens from Lachmirowice, Żukczyn and Opalenie; he emphasised the difference between those findings and other scabbards with a pointed chape. He stressed the number of markers connecting the discussed sheaths with Ludwigshafen-style scabbards, and claimed that there are no reasons to consider them imports from Polish territory (Gleser 1999; 2005, pp.118-124, Table 10). This argument (concerning the connection of the mentioned scabbards with scabbards of the Ludwigshafen style)

was questioned by Piotr Łuczkiwicz, who considered R. Gleser's conclusions not to be convincing enough. According to him, the similarities between these two types of scabbard might suggest that the specimen from Hoppstädten-Weiersbach is the product of a German workshop (Łuczkiwicz 2006, p.204).

In our opinion, 'classic' Ludwigshafen-style scabbards, as well as those with crossbars decorated with three and four S-figures, correspond strictly with Celtic ornamental designs. An ornament of multiplied S-figures can be found on, for example, the crossbars of a scabbard from Mörigen, canton of Bern (Switzerland) (Fig. 5.2) (de Navarro 1972, pp.10, 16, 146, 156, 290, 340, Plate XCIV.8). The remains of S-figure ornamentation (possibly three S-figures) can be found on the crossbar of a sheath found in the Vernon oppidum (France) (Dechezleprêtre *et al.* 1998, 25, Fig. 30; Viand 2007). A scabbard with a similar motif of three S-figures (but

without a pointed chape) is also known from Loècheles-Bains (Leuk), Valais district, Switzerland.⁶

A fragment of an iron artefact in the shape of three S-figures which could have constituted part of sheath is also known from the oppidum at Stradonice, Beroun district (Czech Republic) (an unpublished find, in the collection of the Národní Muzeum, Prague, no. 561 256). In Stradonice some other bronze items decorated with two S-figures were also found; one of them (nos. 560 and 540) constituted part of a small chain. Other sheaths were extracted from the riverbed of the Saône in the region of Chalon-sur-Saône. They had a profiled slat at their mouth-lockets, and some of them were additionally adorned with crossbars decorated with S-motifs (up to four). What differentiates the scabbards from the Saône from the Polish ones are the boat-shaped chapes (Guillaumet, Szabó 2002, pp.219ff, 223, 225, Figs. 17-19). A fragment of a bronze S-motif was also found in a bronze workshop located near Porte de Rebut in the Bibracte/Mont Beuvray oppidum, in the Saône-et-Loire and Nièvre départements (France). In Bibracte, another three fragments that were parts of S-figure sequences were found (at least one of them is a semi-product of the crossbar of a sheath) (Hamm 1999, p.44ff, Fig. 91.1-4). In grave 3 from the Trever necropolis in Lamadelaine (Luxembourg), dated to LT D2a phase, a scabbard with *opus interrasile* decoration was found, a decoration which in fact is a multiplied motif of three S-figures (Metzler *et al.* 1999, pp.29, 31, 34-35, 300-303, Figs. 327.1; 328; 329). In the lower part of the specimen mentioned, there is a motif of two S-figures (similar to the case of specimens from Lachmirowice and Opalenie). A straight mouth of a scabbard (fitted to a sword paired with it) was decorated with a profiled slat. Both elements mentioned are to be found in the case of Polish specimens; however, in contrast with the pointed chape scabbards from Oksywie and Przeworsk cultures, the sheath from Lamadelaine had a boat-like chape.

In our opinion, we cannot consider sheaths with crossbars decorated with three or more S-figures as a local product, despite their high incidence in the mouth of the River Vistula in northern Poland. There is a number of factors suggesting their foreign origin. The criteria distinguished by Deborah Olausson proved to be helpful in identifying the artefacts of foreign provenance (Olausson 1988). One of them is local 'manufacturing' traditions. In the case of Poland, we do not have signs that any type of iron scabbard was produced locally. All of the scabbards found on Polish territory are analogous to the ones of Celtic origin, and thus we are unable to indicate any type that would be unique to

⁶ Information from M. Lionel Pernet of the Musée archéologique Lattara, Lattes.

Okisywie or Przeworsk culture alone. Moreover, metal sheaths disappeared from Polish territory at about the same time as La Tène culture vanished, an observation which may serve as further proof of the Celtic origin of these artefacts.⁷ Another criterion is the stylistics. According to D. Olausson, the stylistics of sheaths with crossbars decorated with S-figures, which bear a strict resemblance to Celtic forms, may serve as yet more proof of their foreign provenance. We cannot find any stylistic motifs that could be counted as local. Another identifying feature is the technique. The high level of craftsmanship of these scabbards allows us to rule out a coincidental overlap of local and La Tène manufacturing traditions.

Not all the criteria distinguished by D. Olausson find an application in the case of scabbards with crossbars decorated with three or more S-figures (the identification of raw material does not always provide us with the expected results, due to, among other things, our limited knowledge of areas of iron ore extraction, or the inability to identify particular types of ores, from which the given objects were made, on the basis of a metal analysis of the given artefacts). However, in our opinion, there is no data that could suggest that the sheaths were produced locally by members of Oksywie culture. Additionally, finds of semi-products from Bibracte oppidum are further proof of the Celtic origin of such ornamented sheaths.

The varying levels of concentration of the discussed artefacts are to be attributed to differences in burial traditions occurring in various cultures, rather than to the artefacts' actual popularity among the members of a given community.

To sum up, it may be assumed that scabbards with crossbars decorated with three or more S-figures, particularly well known from the region of the mouth of the Vistula (but also from the northern part of Przeworsk culture territory) are imports from Celtic-influenced areas. Analogous counterparts are to be found in Celtic territories, especially in the western part. The find from Stradonice proves that a motif of three S-figures was known in the Bohemian basin, although we cannot be sure that the find mentioned was not imported from Western Europe; the latest research by Gilles Pierrevelcin shows an intensive cultural interaction between Gaul and Czech territories (Pierrevelcin, forthcoming 2012).

⁷ We should note that some local products, such as metal bosses, one-edged swords, spearheads and brooches, can be found in sets dated to the Early/Late Pre-Roman Period, as well as the beginning of the Roman Period, and that they are more resistant to change than metal scabbards.

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As we have already mentioned, scabbards with crossbars decorated with three or more S-figures were found mainly on Polish territory in rich graves (a simplified list of the contents of funeral equipment is shown in Table 3). Each sheath was paired with a sword, though because in most cases the swords were put in graves still inside the scabbards, their state of preservation is so bad that sometimes we cannot distinguish even the basic characteristics of these weapons. The swords inside the mentioned scabbards belonged to fully armed warriors who were usually also armed with a pole weapon and a shield. Only in one case (Pruszcz Gdański, site 10, grave 137) were no metal shield reinforcements found in a grave. In two cases, pieces of weaponry were doubled; in Ciepłe, parts of a single-edged sword scabbard were found next to a sword inside a sheath that was probably decorated with a crossbar with three S-figures. In Gdańsk Nowolipki, the inventory of a grave consisted of two swords.⁸ Two spearheads were also found in the same grave, though cases of double funeral equipment are also to be encountered in some other individual graves in Poland. In the case of graves from Pruszcz Gdański, sheaths with crossbars decorated with S-figures were found next to metal belt-hooks and loops which were formerly parts of a sword belt (an artefact characteristic of La Tène culture). An analysis of funeral equipment shows that sheaths with crossbars decorated with S-figures (found on Polish territory) can be dated to the relatively short period between the turn of the A₂ and A₃ phases and the beginning of the A₃ phase of the Late Pre-Roman Period for Przeworsk culture, according to Teresa Dąbrowska (1988, pp.14-62), and for Oksywie culture, according to Ryszard Wołągiewicz (1981, p.136; 1997, p.17). It is possible that some graves are a little older. However, the observable differences in their chronology might well reflect the disparate typo-chronological changes that Oksywie and Przeworsk cultures were subjected to. This chronology is a result of brooch finds (for this, see Catalogue). Finds of imported metal vessels do not contradict this (see Catalogue). A similar time frame is to be applied to the finds from Hoppstädten-Weiersbach, grave 23, and from Lamadelaine, grave 3, which are dated to phase LT D_{2a}, that is, the period between the end of the second century BC and the first half of the first century BC.⁹

⁸ We know few graves in Poland with 'doubled' pieces of inventory. The phenomenon of what is called 'Waffenbrüder' (brother-in-arms) is known mainly from Oksywie culture, but individual graves of this kind are also known from Przeworsk culture (Czarnecka 2007a).

⁹ P. Luczkiewicz dates his type 4 slightly earlier, that is, to phase A₂ of the Early Pre-Roman Period, and only individual sets are dated to phase A₃.

It is worth noting that along with swords inside sheaths with crossbars decorated with S-figures, we can often find some other artefacts of foreign provenance, including brooches, iron vessels and military equipment. An analysis of the origin of these imports may provide us with answers as to whether the members of local elites (buried in the discussed graves) maintained long-distance contacts with only one cultural region or with many.

Brooches

In the funeral equipment of grave 355 from Pruszcz Gdański, site 7, a type A18 brooch was found. This type of fibula belongs to a numerous and largely differentiated group of *geschweifte Fibeln*, of which the oldest varieties present some similarities to brooches with a crooked bow (Rieckhoff 1995, p.56ff; Demetz 1999, pp.115, 117, 122). The brooch from Pruszcz Gdański, site 7, grave 355 represents, according to the classification introduced by Thomas Völling, sub-type A18a, the 'Wederath' version (Völling 1995, p.183ff, Fig. 18; 2005, p.116, Fig. 29). The main identifying feature of the 'Wederath' variant is a slender and flat bow, with a bulge above the spring (Völling 1995, pp.183-184, Fig. 18; 2005, p.116, Fig. 29). What is more, in this version, sometimes the head of the brooch is located just above the spring (Behrens 1923, p.37, Fig. 43.2-2a; Völling 1995, Fig. 18.a, e, j; Dąbrowska 2008, Fig. 9.4). The specimen from Pruszcz Gdański, site 7, also has this feature. Most 'Wederath' type brooches are made of iron. They are dated to the LT D₂ period, and classified as probably belonging to the beginning of the Roman Period (Völling 1995, p.188; 2005, p.118). They are found mainly in the Rhine and the Mosel river basin areas (Völling 1995, p.184, Fig. 17; 2005, p.116), only a few specimens have been found on Polish territory. One such artefact is a fibula made of 'white metal' found in grave 1-1964 in Kacice, Pułtusk district, site 2 (Dąbrowska 1988, p.26; 2008, pp.31, 140, 190, Fig. 9.4). It is possible that a partially preserved brooch from Oblin, Garwolin district, grave 95, is also of the 'Wederath' version (Czarnecka 2007b, p.33; Table CI.95.1).

Most different versions of the type A18 fibula found on Oksywie and Przeworsk culture territories are probably signs of cultural contacts with the Tyniec group (Poleska 2005, p.191, Fig. 8.6-7; 2006, p.149, Fig. 20.12-14), but probably also with Puchov culture and the northern Czech area (Droberjar 2006, p.26, Fig. 10.2-3; Woźniak 2007, p.393). However, the discussed specimens of A18 'Wederath' type are to be looked upon rather as remains of contacts with the Rhineland area. We must note that these brooches are not the only

Table 3. A comparison of funeral equipment found in graves

Okcywie culture	Brooch		Imported metal vessels	Armament		Other imports	Parts of a belt	Other
	imported	locally made		imported	locally made			
Cieple		K. type L (Fig. 18)	cauldron with iron rim E.4		chape and fittings of single-edged sword scabbard, spearhead, 6 rivets of shield-boss			
Gdańsk-Nowolipki	fragments of unknown brooch				double-edged sword			
Opalenie	K. type. E? (provenance unknown)			chainmail	two spearheads, shield-boss			
Pruszcz Gdański st. 7 gr. 355	fragments of a brooch		situla E.20		spearhead, shield-boss		iron belt-hook K.49 and three iron loops	
Pruszcz Gdański st. 7 gr. 374	A.18				spearhead, spearshoe, shield-boss		copper alloy loop	
Pruszcz Gdański st. 10 gr. 137		K. type. L + K. type. L (Fig. 18)			spearhead, spearshoe, shield-boss		iron belt-hook K.48, three iron loops	fragments of a razor?
Żukczyn	bowl-like brooch				spearhead, spearshoe		copper alloy loop	knife
Przeworsk culture					shield-boss			
Lachmirowice, gr. 1					two spearheads, shield-boss			knife
Siemiechów, gr. 25		K. type. M		helmet	spearhead, shield-boss	two knives with grip ending in a loop		knife, fittings of a bucket? pieces of a buckle?

Table does not include local ceramic vessels. Two swords were found at Gdańsk-Nowolipki.

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EARLY METAL AGE SOCIETIES: FROM A THEORETICAL ASSESSMENT TO THEIR ECONOMY, INTERREGIONAL CONTACTS AND RITUALS

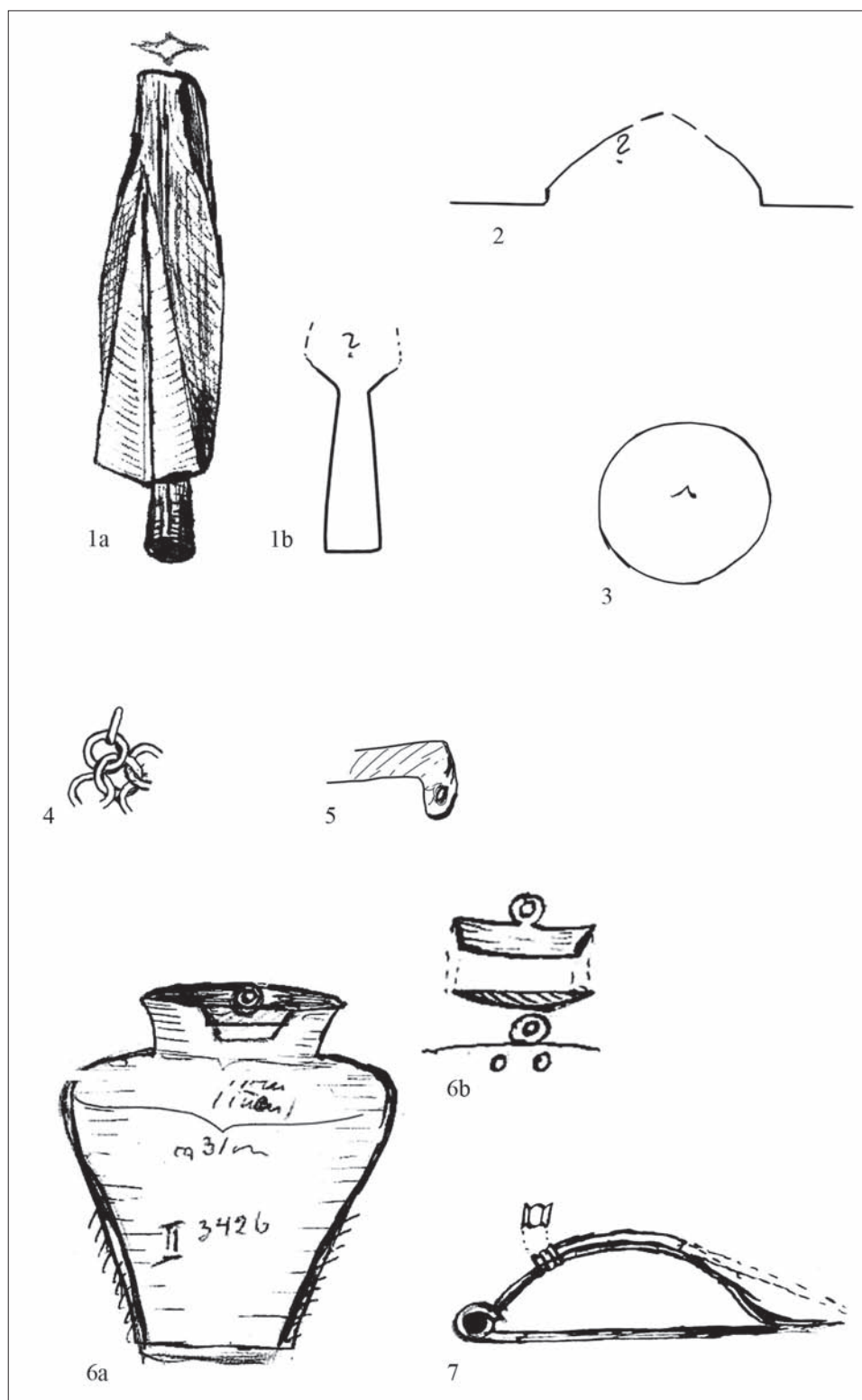


Fig. 6. Opalenie (the site was not numbered): 1a, 1b spearhead head; 2 shield-boss; 3 rivet; 4 small piece of chainmail; 5 fragment of a shield fitting; 6a bronze situla; 6b part of a bronze situla; 7 fibula. No scale reference. Figure omitted the presence of local ceramic vessels (according to sketches from Kostrzewski's papers).

specimens that suggest a western direction of contact. Type A241 brooches, group 11 (according to Michel Feugère's classification) brooches, and early *Kragenfibeln*, all found on Polish territory, are some of the brooches of which the origin, usually associated with the trade route connecting Caput Adriae and the south Baltic shore, is unlikely (Czarnecka 1995; Nowakowski 1998; Margos 2002; Andrzejowski 2005).

In graves where sheaths with crossbars decorated with S-motifs were found, we also come across brooches of uncertain provenance. One of them is the type E fibula (according to Kostrzewski's classification) that was found in a grave in Opalenie (Fig. 6.7). This type of brooch belongs to a group of iron, wire-like brooches of middle-La Tène construction, with four-spiral springs and a lower bow-string. The bow of the fibula type is evenly bulging and has a rounded shape. It differs from similar fibulae of this classification, namely from the type D brooch, by the larger diameter of its spring and the strongly bent bow (Kostrzewski 1919, p.19; Bokinić 2008, p.4; Dąbrowska 2008, p.28). The preserved part of the brooch was 8.2 centimetres long, with a maximum bow height of 2.6 centimetres. The foot of the fibula was joined with a bow at a third of the bow's length with the help of a delicately profiled catchplate.

We can find a sketch of this brooch in Józef Kostrzewski's archive. The relatively small diameter of the spring might show some resemblance by this form to the type D brooch. However, the note below the drawing 'zieml. [ich] gr.[oße] Rolle' leaves us in no doubt whatsoever, and we do not have any reason to challenge the author's typological classification of brooches from the Late Pre-Roman Period.

The results of archaeological research that followed Kostrzewski's publication revealed new material where many brooches were classified as transitional types, between D and E types; nowadays, the definition 'D/E' is applied to them. In Oksywie and Przeworsk cultures, type D/E brooches are usually dated to A₂ phase (Wołagiewicz 1981, p.136; 1997, p.17; Dąbrowska 1988, p.29; 2008, p.28; Bokinić 2008, p.34), although there are some premises for suggesting that they were in use for a period longer than the stated one as well.¹⁰

Type D/E brooches known from Polish territory (Bokinić 2008, p.34; Dąbrowska 2008, p.28) have analogous counterparts in the finds of La Tène culture in Czech-Moravia and southern Germany (Břeň 1964,

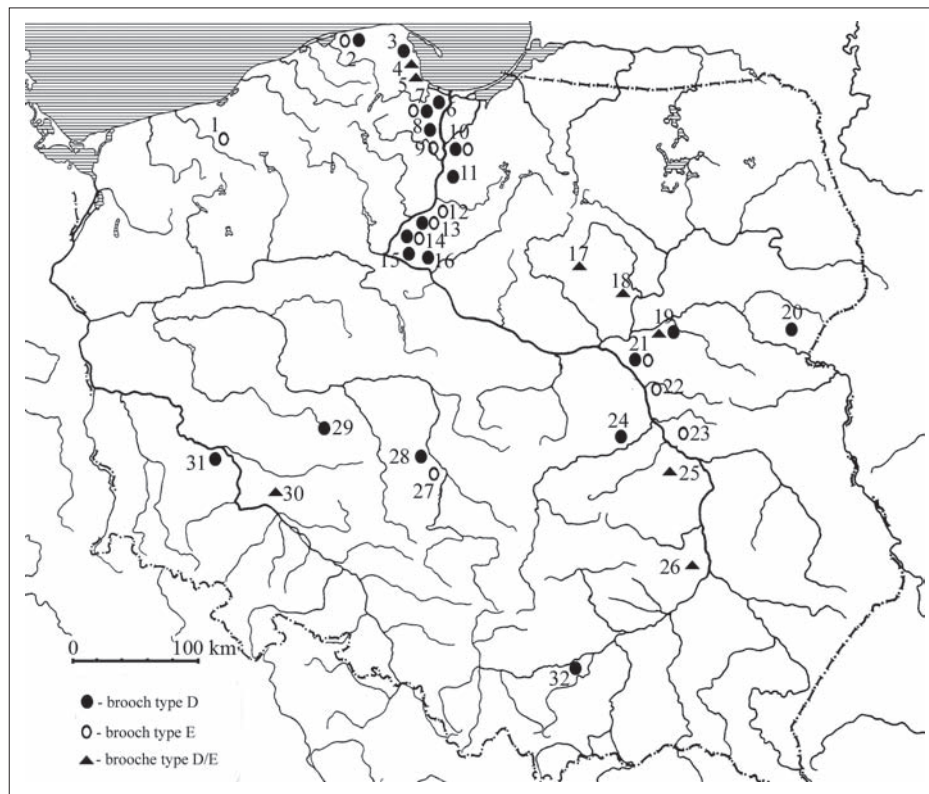
pp.200-210, Fig. II.14, 17, 20, 145, 179; Gebhard 1991, p.20, 86; Fig. 39.579-580, 583-589; Rybová, Drda 1994, p.127, Fig. 40.16). Brooches from these areas are dated to LT D₁ period. What is interesting is that there are no such finds in the Tyniec group, although this may stem from the different burial traditions in the Upper Vistula basin.

On the basis of the above-mentioned analogies, Ewa Bokinić (2008, p.34) suggests that type E brooches are imports that might have reached the Lower Vistula basin area along the Amber Road as a result of a direct, long-distance exchange. However, we must bear in mind that the popularity of this kind of brooch in Masovian cemeteries seems to deny the hypothesis of a direct exchange (Map 2). Moreover, iron wire-like brooches were items that were relatively easy to produce. This is why we cannot fully exclude the possibility that alongside imported fibulae of D/E type, there are also items that could have been produced locally. In which case, the type E brooch from Opalenie could be either an imported or a locally made product.

Similar doubts may be raised in the case of an iron bowl-like brooch from grave 137 from Pruszcz Gdański, site 10 (Fig. 3.12). According to S. Demetz, this fibula belongs to type I, which also involves specimens with an unornamented bow (1999, p.72). In his opinion, iron specimens of bowl-like brooches are either imitations of specimens made of non-ferrous metals, or constitute an independent development. Within the La Tène culture areas, they are dated to the late LT D₁ and early LT D₂ periods, where, along with type A65 brooches, they mark out the last stage of the existence of the Czech-Moravia area oppidum (Rybová, Drda 1994, p.129; Rieckhoff 1995, pp.115-116; Poleska 2006, p.49). In Oksywie culture, bowl-like fibulae are dated to the late A₂ period and the beginning stages of the A₃ period (Wołagiewicz 1981, p.136; 1997, p.17; Harasim 2011, p.230), as in Przeworsk culture (Dąbrowska 1988, pp.30-31, 59; 2008, p.29). It seems that further studies of the Oksywie culture fibulae of La Tène origin (Harasim 2011, pp.230-231) confirmed T. Dąbrowska's (2006, p.49; 2008, p.105) doubts about treating all specimens of bowl-like brooches as imports.

There are a few reasons why we should class some bowl-like brooches, inspired by La Tène culture, as locally produced. Firstly, we are familiar with a relatively large number of them compared to the number of some other imports of a similar chronology found on Oksywie culture territory. What is more, the model of the spatial distribution of these artefacts differs from the model of the spatial distribution of the same chronology imports that were found on Pomeranian terri-

¹⁰ For example, the discussed grave at Opalenie and grave 102 at Pruszcz Gdański, site 10, or grave 1 at Całowanie (Pietrzak 1997, p.23, Fig. XXX.102; Dąbrowska 2008, p.28).



Map 2. The distribution of type D and type E (according to Kostrzewski's classification) fibulae on the territories of Przeworsk and Oksywie culture (according to Bokinić 2008 and Dąbrowska 2008, with addendum).

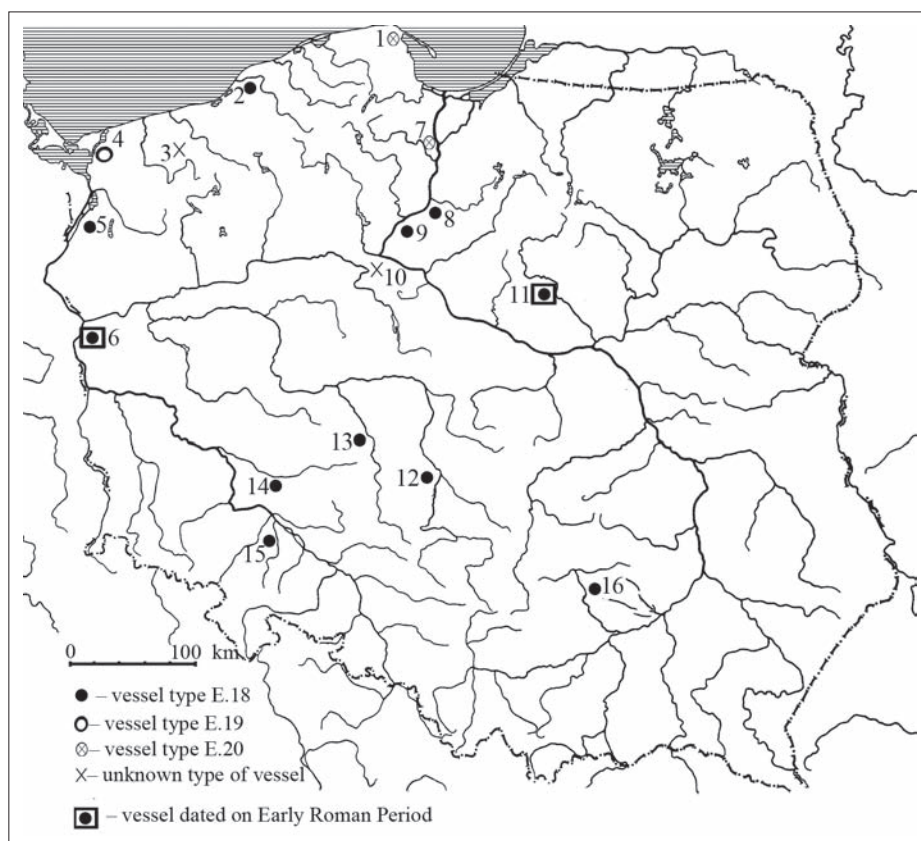
1 Buczek, Białogard district; 2 Kopaniewo, Lębork district (three specimens); 3 Rumia, site 2 (three specimens), Wejherowo district; 4 Gdynia-Oksywie, Gdynia district; 5 Gdańsk-Wrzeszcz, Gdańsk district; 6 Pruszcz Gdański, site 4 (two specimens) and site 10 (eight specimens), Gdańsk district; 7 Skowarcz, Gdańsk district (eight specimens); 8 Wyczechowo, site 13 (two specimens), Kartuzy district; 9 Opalenie, Tczew district; 10 Malbork-Wielbark, Malbork district (two specimens); 11 Bystrzec, Kwidzyna district; 12 Rząd (Grudziądz-Rząd), site 1 (two specimens), Grudziądz district; 13 Podwiśk, site 2 (six specimens), Chełmno district; 14 Chełmno, site 1 (six specimens), Chełmno district; 15 Nowe Dobra, site 20, Chełmno district; 16 Papowo Toruńskie, Toruń district; 17 Stupsk, site 3 (two specimens), Mława district; 18 Kleszewo, site 1, Pułtusk district; 19 Kamieńczyk, site 1 (five specimens), Wyszaków district; 20 Krupice, Siemiatycze district; 21 Warszawa-Wilanów, site XV (four specimens), Warszawa district; 22 Całowanie, site XXVI, Otwock district; 23 Oblin, site 5, Garwolin district; 24 Biejków, site 9 (two specimens), Białobrzeg district; 25 Brzoza, Kozienice district; 26 Błonie, Sandomierz district; 27 Tyczyn, Sieradz district; 28 Charlupia Mała, Sieradz district; 29 Wymysłowo, Gostynin district; 30 Kotowice, Trzebnica district; 31 Nosocice, Głogów district; 32 Siedlec, Bochnia district.

tory. Finally, the shape of the heads of some locally produced brooches recalls the shape of the heads of bowl-like fibulae. Taking the above into consideration, we may assume that among the bowl brooches from the area of Pomerania, there are both specimens produced locally as well as imports. However, with the current state of our knowledge, it is impossible to tell the former from the latter.

Metal vessels

Along with ornamented sheaths, imported metal vessels are also found with grave goods. A situla of 30.5 centimetres in height with a rim diameter of 23.2 centimetres, and belly and bottom diameters of 31 and 17 centimetres respectively, was found in Opalenie (Fig. 6.6a-6b) (Kostrzewski 1919, p.208ff; Łęga 1958,

p.12). Trapeze-like attachments clinched to the neck, and the smooth shape of the vessel's body, allow us to class it as type 20, according to the classification provided by H.J. Eggers (1951, p.40, Table 4.20; Wielowiejski 1985, p.157ff). Finds of this kind are quite rare in Poland (Map 3): except for the above-mentioned vessel from Opalenie, there is only one more, from Starzyno in the Pomerania region (Kostrzewski 1919, p.208; Łęga 1958, p.12, Fig. 3; Wielowiejski 1985, p.255). Being used as urns was a function of the metal vessels discussed, which was particularly popular, especially for graves from the 'barbarian' part of Europe (Wegewitz 1986; Voß 2005, p.35; Czarnecka 2007a, p.53ff). The chronology of finds from the Oksywie culture area suggests that they were put in graves during the A₂ phase. Situlas of E18-19 type from Przeworsk and Oksywie culture sites are similarly dated, although



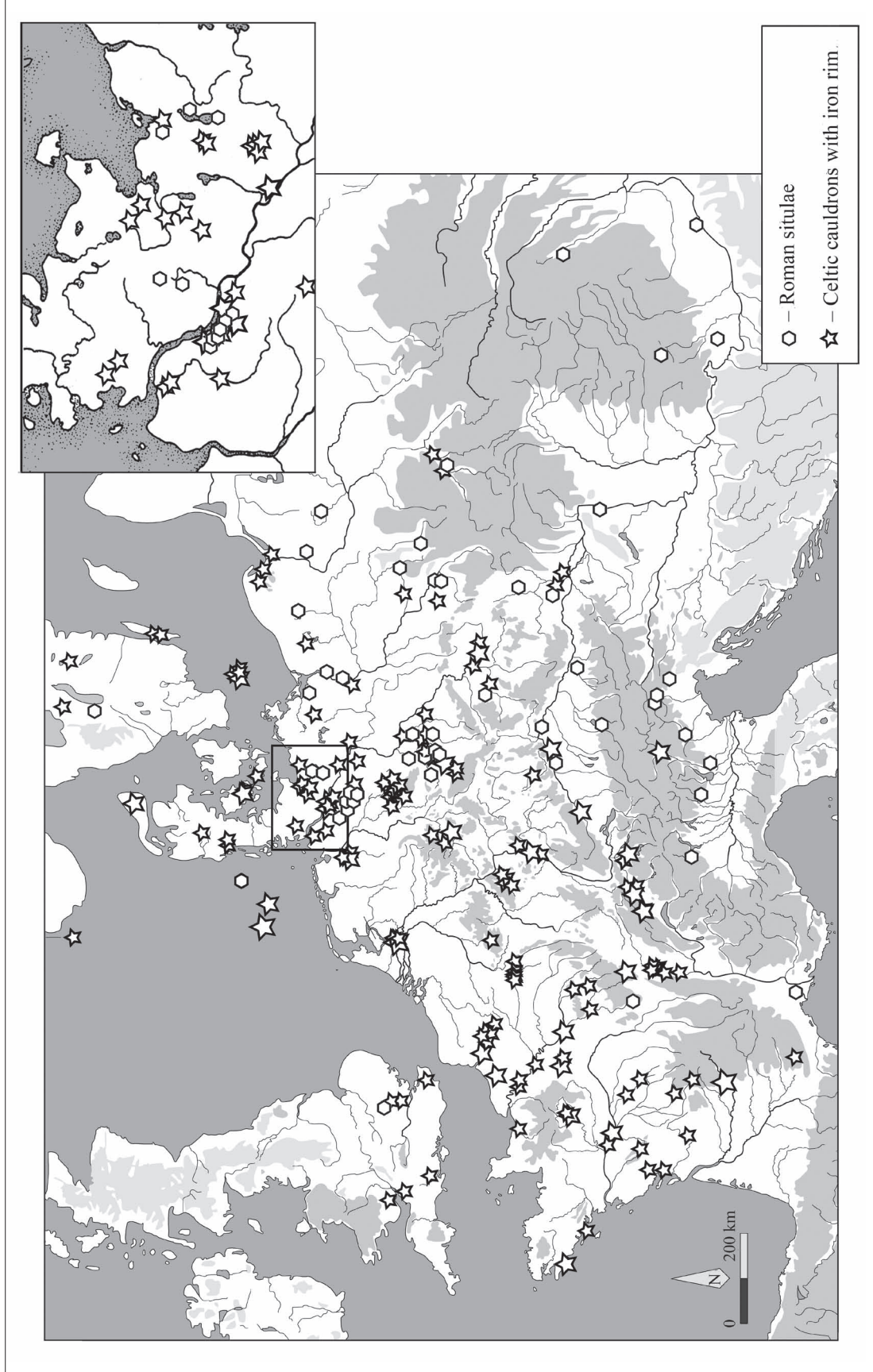
Map 3. The distribution of E18-20 type metal buckets and specimens of undetermined type on Polish territory (according to Wielowiejski 1985, with addendum).

1 Starzyno, Puck district; 2 Sławno, Sławno district; 3 Rokosowo, Świdwiń district; 4 Troszyn, Kamień Pomorski district; 5 Barnisław, Police district; 6 Golice, Słubice district; 7 Opalenie, Tczew district; 8 Rządź (Grudziądz-Rządź), Grudziądz district; 9 Małe Czyste, Chełmno district; 10 Słupy, Nakło nad Notecią district; 11 Zgliczyn-Pobodzy, Żuromin district; 12 Niechmirów-Mała Wieś, Sieradz district; 13 Kościelna Wieś, Pleszew district; 14 Brzyków, Trzebnica district; 15 Piotrków Borowski, Strzelin district; 16 Stawiany, Pińczów district.

some of them belong already to A₃ phase. Their chronology is based on co-finds of brooches, military equipment and ceramics (Wielowiejski 1985, p.253ff; 1986, p.65ff; Dąbrowska 1988, p.210; 2003, p.154; Boguwolski, Kurzyńska 2001, Fig. 51; Machajewski 2006, p.86ff). The period of time in which these vessels were in use was sometimes probably longer than stated. This is suggested by the finds from sepulchres in Zgliczyn-Pobodzy, Żuromin district, and Golice, Słubice district, which are dated to the Roman Period (Wielowiejski 1985, p.255, 1986; Dąbrowska 1988, p.210).

There is a prevailing opinion that situlas of E18-20 type are of east-Alpine or north-Italian origin (Dąbrowska 1988, p.211; Wielowiejski 1985, p.235; 1986, p.61ff; 1991, p.152, there earlier literature; Karasová 1998, p.12ff; Keiling 2010, p.109). This hypothesis is based mainly on chrono- and chorological analyses (Wielowiejski 1991, p.155; Keiling 2010, p.111). However, we should bear in mind that the spread of the metal vessel finds is mostly attributable to the character of the sites at which they were found, namely necropolises. People

gave brass vessels in their burial grounds as funeral offerings, a practice that was not observed in 'Roman' society (Wielowiejski 1991, pp.152, 154). It cannot be ruled out then that the areas where bronze situlas were found are not the ones where the workshops in which they were manufactured were located. As there is no proof that E18-20 situlas were produced in Capuanian workshops (Wielowiejski 1986, p.62; 1987, p.33; 1991, p.154), hypotheses that suggest this origin for them are doubtful (Machajewski 2006, p.88; 2007, p.39). The high level of craftsmanship of the metal vessels produced in Capua in the second and the first centuries BC is confirmed by written records. However, a find of a vessel with a Celtic name stamped on it may be proof that similar workshops existed in northern Italy and the Roman provinces (Dohme 2002, p.87). As long as an identification of the precise location of these vessels' production site remains an open question, they surely came out of Roman workshops, and reached *barbaricum* probably from the south, possibly with members



Map 4. The distribution of Celtic cauldrons and Roman E18 situlas in Europe (after Bochnak 2011).

of La Tène culture.¹¹ As for situlas found on Polish territory, the type E 18-20 one appeared most likely via routes along the Oder and Vistula.

As has already been mentioned, thanks to the notes found in Józef Kostrzewski's papers, the grave at Cieple should be included in the group of graves containing swords with sheaths with crossbars decorated with S-figures. There was a small cauldron with an iron rim in the grave goods found there (Fig. 2B) (Kostrzewski 1919, pp.104, 212, 336, 337, Fig. 98). Vessels of this kind are thought to be either of Raetia or Noricum origin, or to come from a broadly defined oppidum area. The distribution of these vessels shows that the latter hypothesis is more plausible. Cauldrons can be found in areas occupied by La Tène culture in France through Switzerland, southern Germany and up to the Czech valley (Déchelette 1927, pp.927, 928; Hawkes 1951, p.177ff; Jacobi 1974, p.148; Hachmann 1990, p.652, Fig. 24; Poux 2004). Classified as imports, they are found north of the oppidum area, in the basins of the Elbe, the Oder and the Vistula, and also in the Baltic Sea basin, on Bornholm, Jutland and the Scandinavian peninsula, as well as on Gotland (Map 4) (Eggers 1951, pp.159, 160; Karte, 10; Keiling 1986, pp.22, 24, 25, Fig. 10; 1989, p.207, Fig. 7; Tromnau 1975, p.89ff; Thieme 1976/77, p.71, Fig. 1; Bjørnqvad 1989). Because of the various burial traditions, cauldrons can be found on Celtic territory mostly in settlements and offering sites, whereas outside the La Tène culture area, most specimens are found in graves (Wegewitz 1986). There are many grounds for believing that cauldrons reached the non-Celtic areas not only from the south, but also from a western direction (this remark applies mostly to the finds found in the Lower Elbe area and in the Baltic Sea basin) (Bochnak 2010, p.395ff, Figs. 1; 2; Bochnak 2011). There is a good probability that some types of cauldron that are known from Oksywie culture territory reached Pomerania from the west, via people inhabiting the area around the mouth of the Elbe (Bochnak 2011).

Chainmail

Chainmail from the Opalenie grave (Fig. 6.4) is the only find of this kind in Poland, and one of the few that have been found outside Celtic and Dacian territories. Most chainmail finds from non-Celtic regions are concentrated near the Baltic Sea basin (Map 5). The oldest specimens, dated to the fourth century BC, are known from Hjortspring on Als island (Denmark). Among the

¹¹ Fragments of vessels E18-19 are known from older layers from the *oppidum* in Stradonice and Staré Hradisko (Čižmářová 1996, pp.118, 122, Fig. 2.4; Karasová 1998, pp.9, 11-12).

younger ones, we may include finds from Putensen, Kr. Harburg, Holdorf, Lkr. Nordwestmecklenburg (Germany), grave 1993/20 (Voß 1998, p.47), and the above-mentioned specimen from Opalenie; they have been dated to the period of declining Celtic domination. The Early Roman Period is represented by finds from Hedegård, Amt Randers (Denmark), Öremölla (Sweden) and Sörup, Kr. Schleswig-Flensburg (Germany) (Hansen 2003, pp.63-65, 68, 69, 78). The geographical distribution of chainmail near the Baltic Sea may point to Western Europe as their place of origin. Older specimens probably came from La Tène culture areas, younger ones from the Roman provinces, although the inflow of the latter may be connected with the military activities of Roman armies along the North Sea coast.

Helmet

Two other categories of imports come from Przeworsk culture alone, from Siemiechów, grave 25. They will be presented briefly, in order to give a full view of the imported items found alongside swords and sheaths with crossbars decorated with S-figures. The only helmet found on Polish territory comes from the grave mentioned in Siemiechów (Fig. 7B.3). There is a vast literature about the specimen, which was first classified as a Roman import (Jażdżewska 1983; 1986; 1986a), and later as a helmet of an east Celtic type (Jażdżewska 1988; 1992; 1994; 1994a; Kaczanowski 1992a, p.172, 1992b, p.53).

Similar specimens were found in Slovenia, and there was also one more found in the Black Sea region. Some new finds of helmets in the La Tène style come from the recently discovered cemetery at Mutin on the River Seym in Ukraine (Terpilovskii 2010, p.145). The concentration of these finds on Slovenian territory cannot be treated as evidence of local production, but rather as a manifestation of local traditions, according to which helmets were a part of funeral equipment, and more often than in other regions. This tradition was already observed in the Hallstatt Period, and it endured until the Roman Period. That is why it seems fair to exclude the western provenance of three-section helmets, for in western Celtic areas other types of construction were used for head protection at the time.

Knives

Grave 25 at Siemiechów contained two more imported items, namely knives with the grip ending in a loop (Fig. 8.8-9). These were quite popular tools in Celtic culture, although rather rarely found in inventories of latinised cultures' graves. The fact that knives

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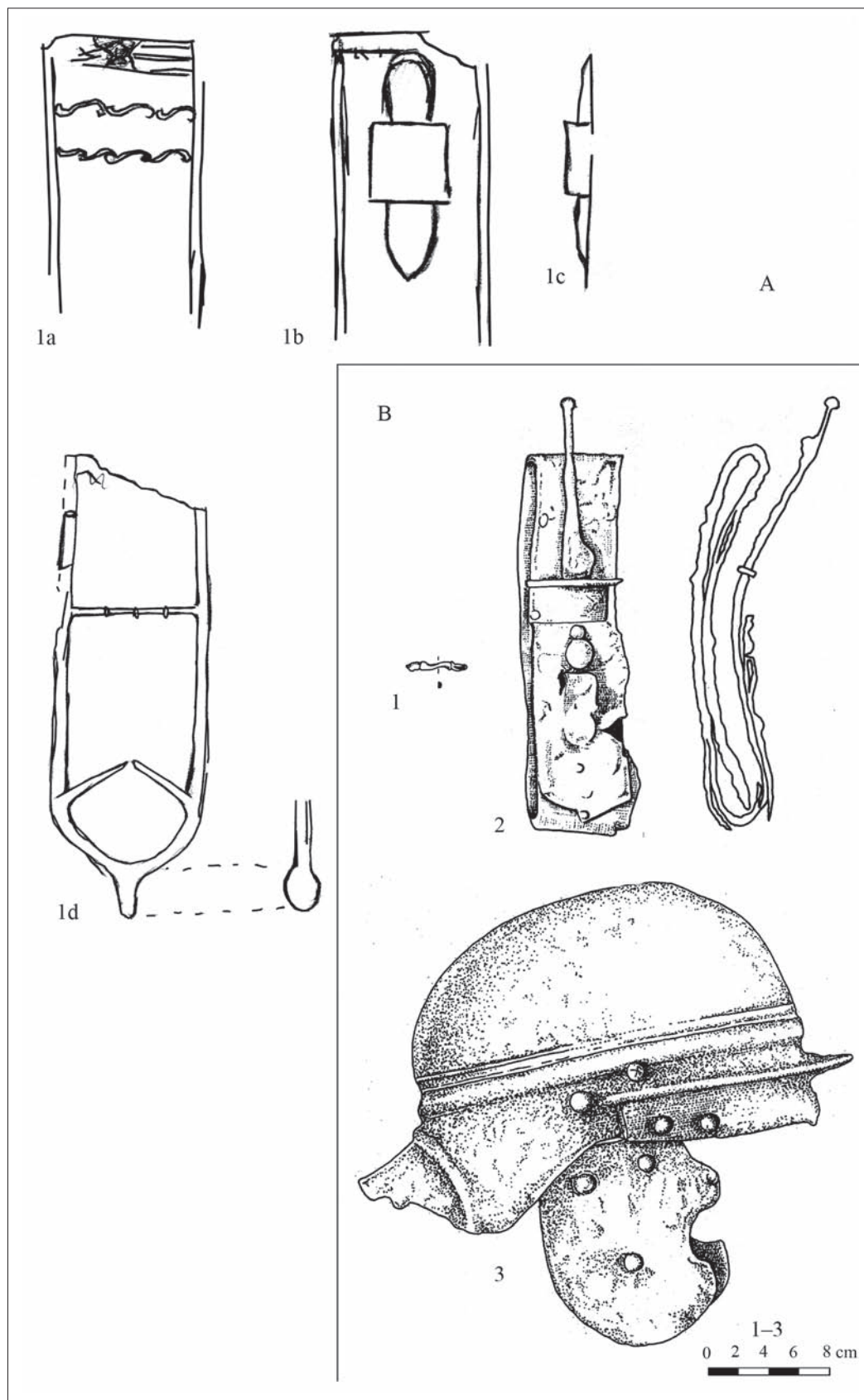


Fig. 7. A: 1a-1d Lachmirowice site 5, sword from grave 1. B. Siemiechów, grave 25: 1 fragment of an S-figure ornament; 2 sword inside a scabbard; 3 helmet. A no scale; B scale 1:4. Figure omitted the presence of local ceramic vessels (after Jażdżewska 1988; 1997).

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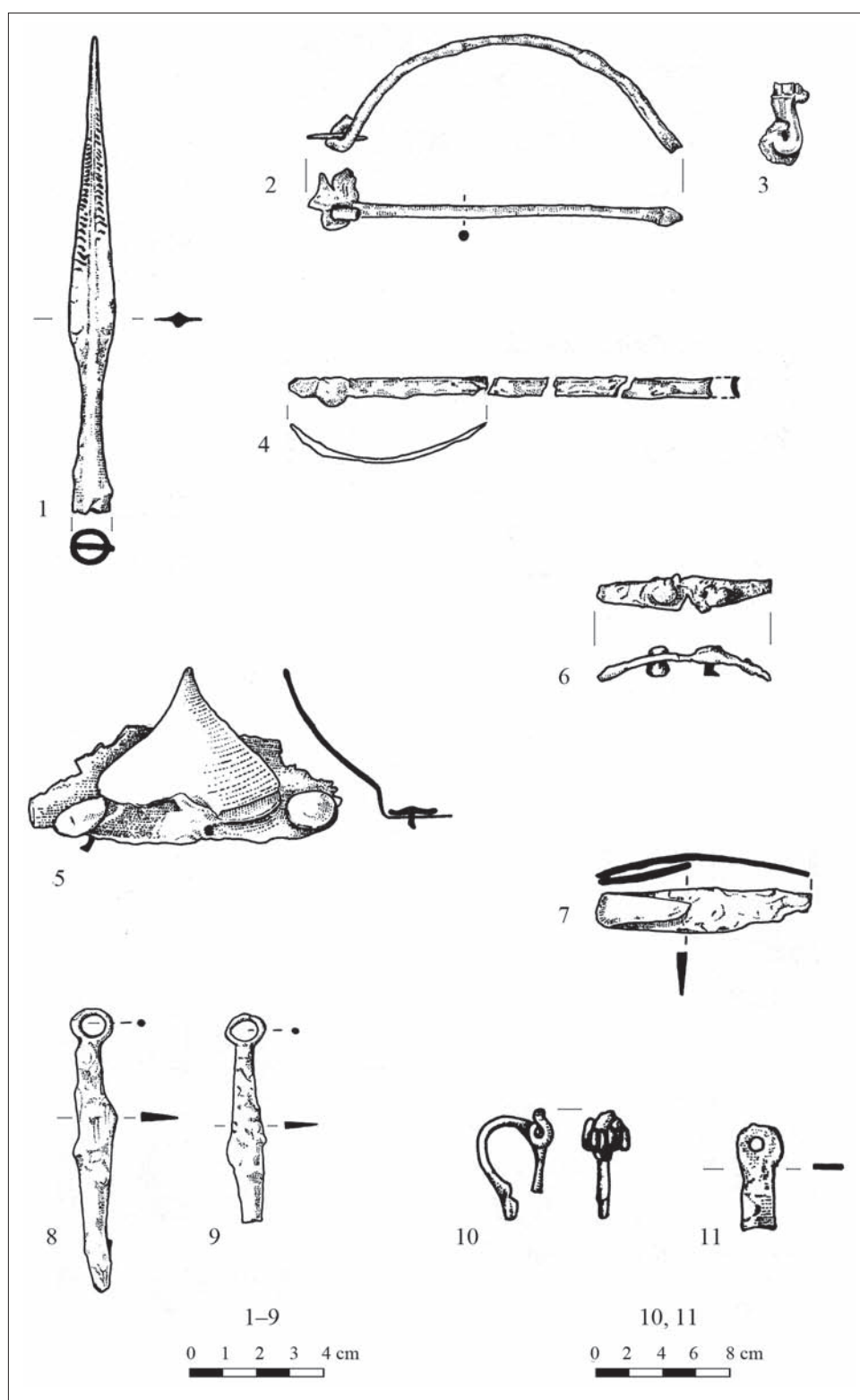


Fig. 8. Siemiechów site 2, grave 25: 1 spearhead; 2 handle of a bucket; 3 a piece of the arch of a bucket; 4 a long strip fitting of a vessel; 5 shield-boss; 6 a piece of a long strip fitting; 7 a piece of a knife; 8, 9 knives with rounded hilts; 10 a piece of a fibula; 11 iron fitting. 1-9 scale 1:4, 10, 11 scale 1:2. Figure omitted the presence of local ceramic vessels (after Jądzewska 1988; 1997).



Map 5. The distribution of finds of chainmail in Europe from the fifth century BC to the first century AD (after Hansen 2003, with addendum).

of this kind were not too popular on non-Celtic territories makes us think that they were imported. Producing such items does not require much skill. Still, they were not often found in inventories of Przeworsk culture graves; only one such item has been found on Pomeranian territory. Knives usually appear in graves together with other pieces of the inventory, an observation that makes us think that they did not have any special status. We can assume that there was no great demand for them. A few specimens known from Polish territory were not the products of local workshops, but came from Celtic territories together with their owners. They were probably treated not as merchandise goods, but as part of the personal equipment of Celtic newcomers, and through personal relations they came into the possession of local people (Bochnak 2007). In our opinion, the extent of the penetration of people of La Tène culture on Polish territory is reflected in the distribution of knives with handles ending in a loop.

Conclusions

The range of imports that were found along with swords in sheaths with crossbars decorated with S-figures is very diversified. A comparison of the distribution of each category of artefacts provides us with knowledge not only about the routes by which they reached Polish territory, but also about their status. A type A18 version 'Wederath' brooch (according to Völling's clas-

sification) found in Pruszcz Gdański, site 7, grave 355, has its closest analogous counterparts in the Rhineland. If we treat bowl-type and type E brooches as imports, then they probably came to Polish territory from the south. Without doubt, a Roman situla found in Opalenie is also a southern import. The distribution of iron rim cauldrons tells us that at least some of these vessels came to Pomerania from the west with inhabitants of the Lower Elbe basin area. Early chainmail might also have come from the west. A Celtic helmet from Siemiechów has analogous counterparts in Slovenian finds, and probably comes from the south of Europe. Knives with a grip ending in a loop also came from the south. The character of these tools and the circumstances in which they were found make us believe that they were not goods brought from the oppidum area to sell. They may be seen as the personal belongings of Celts, which were later 'passed on' to local inhabitants who came to the Vistula basin.

What about the origin of swords in scabbards with crossbars ornamented with three or more S-figures? We cannot say clearly what their provenance was. Analogies found in the western part of the Celtic area (Hoppstädten-Weiersbach, grave 23, a semi-finished product from Bibracte) suggest that they came from this very region, but finds from the oppidum in Stradonice show that we cannot entirely exclude the southern provenance of the scabbards mentioned. We should pay attention to the large disproportion of the number

of scabbards mentioned that were found on Przeworsk and Oksywie culture territories. The disproportion may suggest that the inhabitants of southern Poland did not play a very important role in the distribution of the artefacts discussed. The visible concentration of these finds in northern Poland somehow resembles the spread of Jezerine-type brooches (they came from the south) which are usually considered to have come as a consequence of long-range, direct trade connections (Nowakowski 1996, p.220ff, Fig. 1; Żórawska 2001; Dąbrowska 2003, p.155). In graves that contained swords in scabbards, we find Celtic as well as Roman imports (the latter in a minority, which points to the dynamics of contacts through which imports came to Polish territory in the first century BC). It is worth mentioning that imports of southern origin (knives with a loop, a helmet) have been found on Przeworsk culture territory, while the northern part of Poland is dominated by objects with analogous counterparts found in the western part of Celtic territories. The diversified origin of the imports shows that people from Oksywie culture maintained long-distance contact with various cultural areas, and that higher social classes had access to luxurious goods, regardless of their provenance.

What was the nature of these contacts? An inflow of imports is usually explained by military (looting) or political activities (the exchange of gifts), trade or social relations (marriage). It is difficult to imagine that establishing political relations with the tribes that inhabited territories beyond their direct area of interest would have been the purpose of the Celts or the Romans. When it comes to marriage, patrilocality¹² was probably a social practice between members of the above-mentioned tribes. This rules out the possible explanation of the inflow of highly 'masculine' items (such as military items), particularly from the distant territories influenced by La Tène culture, as a result of intercultural marriages. The kinds of relations through which imports reached Polish territory could have been of a political nature, but these, in the light of the lack of interest mentioned on the part of the Celts and the Romans, seem to have been highly improbable. We have come to the conclusion that the inflow of foreign objects was probably the result of established trade contacts, whereby the inhabitants of the Lower Vistula region must have had at their disposal some kind of equivalent in exchange for precious foreign goods. Did swords in scabbards with crossbars decorated with S-figures and other imports appear in the territories mentioned in exchange for amber? This hypothesis is the most probable one, although we must bear in mind that, with the methodological tools that are currently

¹² There is little information about it, and it applies mainly to Germanic tribes (Tacitus, *Germania* § XVIII).

at our disposal, we are not able to determine, for example, the status of given goods, or the role they could have played in exchange. This remark is true in the case of 'the finest of salted hog-meat, which was brought down from the Sequania territories and shipped to Rome' (Strabo, *Geography*, IV. 3, 2). A comparison of some other details in *Geography* that deal with the exchange of goods with Britannia (*Geography*, IV. 5, 2-3) or Noricum (*Geography*, IV. 6, 9) with data acquired during excavations undisputedly shows flaws in current archaeological methods. It is worth mentioning that, according to ethnologists, about 90% of the goods traded in the Amazon region in South America do not leave any material trace (Olausson 1988, p.22). Regardless of the kind of exchange goods which were at the disposal of the elites inhabiting the region around the mouth of the Vistula, the goods were highly valued by contractors from the south and the west, from both the Celtic circle as well as from Rome.

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviation

WA – *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* (Warsaw, since 1873)

Catalogue

Oksywie culture

1. Ciepłe (Warmhof Abbau), Tczew district, Pomerania voivodeship.

Grave: urn grave (Fig. 2B.1).

a. Scabbard with a crossbar in the upper part decorated with three S-figures (?). The sheath also has a straight mouth-locket reinforced with a profiled slat.

b. Double-edged sword with a straight guard.

c. Cauldron with iron rim type E4: height 15 centimetres; rim diameter 29 centimetres; diameter of the handle 7.3 centimetres.

Other equipment: fibula type L (according to Kostrzewski's classification), chape and fittings of single-edged sword, spearhead, six rivets of a shield-boss.

Chronology: Late A₂ to Early A₃ phase.

Comment: the site was not numbered by researchers.

Literature: Kostrzewski 1919, pp.262, 366; Eggers 1951, p.104, Map 10; Łęga 1958, pp.13, 68, Fig. 4, Map II; Wielowiejski 1985, p.167; Dąbrowska 1988, p.140; Czarnecka 2007a, p.53; Bochnak 2009, pp.11, 13.

2. Gdańsk-Nowolipki (Dreilinden), Gdańsk district, Pomerania voivodeship.

Grave: urn grave (Fig. 2C.1-6e).

a. Scabbard with a crossbar in the upper part decorated with three S-figures. The sheath also has a campanulate mouth-locket, and a short suspension loop with symmetrical plates.

b. Double-edged sword with campanulate guard.

Other equipment: fragments of unknown fibula, double-edged sword, two spearheads, shield-boss, six rivets of a shield-boss, ceramic vessel.

Comment: the site was not numbered by researchers.

Chronology: Late A₂ to Early A₃ phase.

Literature: Kostrzewski 1919, p.332; Bochnak 2009, p.9, Fig. 6.5a-5c.

3. Opalenie (Münsterwalde), Tczew district, Pomerania voivodeship.

Grave: urn grave (Fig. 4.1a-4d; 6.1a-7).

a. Scabbard with one crossbar in the upper part decorated with three S-figures. In the lower part of the sheath there is a decoration of two S-figures (a crossbar?). The sheath also has a straight mouth-locket reinforced with a profiled slat, a short suspension loop with symmetrical plates, and a pointed chape with a pair of 'barbs'.

b. Double-edged sword with a straight guard.

c. Fragments of chainmail: cross-section of the loops 0.7 centimetres.

d. Bronze situla type E20: height 30.5 centimetres; rim diameter 23.2 centimetres; bottom diameter 17 centimetres.

e. Fibula type E (after Kostrzewski's classification).

Other equipment: spearhead, shield-boss.

Chronology: Late A₂.

Comment: the site was not numbered by researchers.

Literature: Kostrzewski 1919, pp.208-211, 258, 280; Eggers 1951, p.61, Map 15; Łęga 1958, pp.2, 67, Map II; Dąbrowska 1988, pp.208, 209, Map 25; Bokinić 2008, p.34.

4. Pruszcz Gdański (Praust), Gdańsk district, Pomerania voivodeship, site 7.

Grave 355: urn grave.

a. Scabbard with a crossbar in the upper part decorated with at least four S-figures. The sheath also has a campanulate mouth-locket, a short suspension loop with symmetrical plates, and a pointed chape with a pair of 'barbs'.

b. Double-edged sword with campanulate guard.

c. Fragment of iron fibula A18a version 'Wederath' (according to Völling's classification).

Other equipment: fragments of an unknown iron fibula, iron belt-hook type 49 (according to Kostrzewski's classification), three iron loops, spearhead, spearshoe, shield-boss, two iron rivets.

Chronology: A₃ phase.

Literature: unpublished material belonging to the Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk.

5. Pruszcz Gdański (Praust), Gdańsk district, Pomerania voivodeship, site 7.

Grave 374: urn grave.

a. Scabbard with a crossbar in the upper part decorated with three S-figures. The sheath also has a straight mouth-locket, a short suspension loop with symmetrical plates, and a pointed chape with a pair of 'barbs'.

b. Double-edged sword with a straight guard.

Other equipment: iron fibula type L (according to Kostrzewski's classification), spearhead, spearshoe, shield-boss, bronze loop, molten bronze loop.

Chronology: Late A₂ to Early A₃ phase.

Literature: unpublished material belonging to the Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk.

6. Pruszcz Gdański (Praust), Gdańsk district, Pomerania voivodeship, site 10.

Grave 137: urn grave (Fig. 3.1a-11).

a. Scabbard with a crossbar in the upper part decorated with at least four S-figures. The sheath also has a campanulate mouth-locket, a short suspension loop with

symmetrical plates, and a pointed chape with a pair of 'barbs'.

b. Double-edged sword with a campanulate guard.

c. Iron bowl-like fibula: length 6.7 centimetres.

Other equipment: iron belt-hook type 48 (according to Kostrzewski's classification), three iron loops, spear-head, spearshoe, fragments of a razor (?), two ceramic vessels.

Chronology: Late A₂ to Early A₃ phase.

Literature: Pietrzak 1997, p.27, Fig. XLIX.137; Łuczkiwicz 2006, pp.60, 61, 345, Fig. 16: 2.

7. Żukczyn (Suckschin), Gdańsk district, Pomerania voivodeship.

Grave 1: (Fig. 1A.1a-1d).

a. Scabbard with a crossbar in the upper part decorated with three S-figures. The sheath also has a straight mouth-locket reinforced with a profiled slat.

b. Double-edged sword with a straight guard.

Other equipment: shield boss, knife, bronze loop.

Chronology: Late A₂ to Early A₃ phase.

Comment: the site was not numbered by researchers.

Literature: Kostrzewski 1919, pp.336, 366; Bochnak 2009, p.11, Fig. 9a.

Przeworsk culture

8. Lachmirowice, Inowrocław district, Kujawy-Pomerania voivodeship, site 5.

Grave 1 (Fig. 7A.1a-1d).

a. Scabbard with two crossbars in the upper part of sheath: the first one was decorated with three S-figures; the second was decorated with four S-figures. The sheath also has a straight mouth-locket reinforced with a profiled slat, a short suspension loop with symmetrical plates, and a pointed chape with a pair of 'barbs'.

b. Double-edged sword with a straight guard.

Other equipment: two spearheads, shield-boss, knife.

Chronology: A₂/A₃ to A₃ phase.

Literature: Kostrzewski 1919, pp.92, 97, 98, 128, 342, 368, Fig. 80; Zielonka 1970, p.213; Bochnak 2005, pp.40, 48; 2009, p.14ff.

9. Siemiechów, Łask district, Lodz voivodeship, site 2.

Grave 25: urn grave (Fig. 7B.1-3; 8.1-11).

a. Scabbard with a crossbar with multiple S-figures (?). The sheath also has a straight mouth-locket, a short suspension loop with symmetrical plates, and a pointed chape with a pair of 'barbs'.

b. Double-edged sword with a straight guard.

c. Iron Celtic helmet: height 13.5 centimetres; diameter 30.7 by 23.5 centimetres.

Other equipment: fragment of fibula type M (according to Kostrzewski's classification), iron buckle (?), spear-head, shield-boss, two knives with a grip ending with a loop, a fragment of a knife, fittings of a wooden bucket (?), ceramics.

Chronology: A₃ phase.

Literature: Jażdżewska 1994, pp.108, 109; Figs. 7; 8.

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TARPREGIONIAI IR
ĮVAIRIAKRYPČIAI VIETINIO
ELITO KONTAKTAI:
MAKŠČIŲ APKALAI,
DEKORUOTI TRIMIS AR
DAUGIAU HORIZONTALIAI
IŠDĖSTYTŲ FIGŪRŲ,
ŠIAURĖS LENKIJOJE

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Santrauka

Importuoti dirbiniai, randami kartu su kalavijais, kurių makščių apkalai dekoruoti S simboliu, paskiruose regionuose paplitę labai nevienodai (1–8 pav.; 1–5 žem.). Tai leidžia ne tik atsekti kelius, kuriais jie pateko į dabartinės Lenkijos teritoriją, bet ir nuspėti jų reikšmę. A.18a tipo „Wederath“ varianto segė (pagal Völlingo

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EARLY METAL
AGE SOCIETIES:
FROM A
THEORETICAL
ASSESSMENT
TO THEIR
ECONOMY,
INTERREGIONAL
CONTACTS
AND RITUALS

klasifikaciją), rasta Pruszcz Gdański 7, kape 355, yra analogiška segėms, rastoms Reino žemėje. Jei dubens tipo (bowl-type) segės ir E tipo segės gali būti traktuojamos kaip importas, tai jos čia buvo atgabentos iš pietų. Romėniška situla iš Opalenie neabejotinai taip pat yra pietinis importas. Katilų išraiškingais geležiniais pakraščiais paplitimas rodo, kad dalį jų į Pamarį su savimi atsigabeno atvykėliai iš žemutinės Elbės regiono. Ankstyvieji šarviniai marškiniai taip pat importuoti iš vakarų. Keltiškas šalmas iš Siemiechów turi analogijų Slovėnijoje ir į šiuos kraštus tikriausiai pateko iš pietinės Europos dalies. Taip pat iš pietų importuoti peiliai su rankenomis žiediniu galu. Šių dirbinių pobūdis ir jų radimo aplinkybės leidžia manyti, kad tai ne iš oppidų paplitimo arealo atgabenti prekybos objektai, o keltų asmeniniai daiktai, kurie atsidūrė pas naujus savininkus, kurie nukeliavo iki Vyslos. Ką galima pasakyti apie kalavijus, kurių makštys dekoruotos horizontaliai išdėstytais trimis ar daugiau S simboliais? Jų kilmė dar nėra visiškai aiški. Analogijų rasta vakariniame keltų areale (Hoppstädten-Weiersbach, kapas 23), neužbaigta gaminti makštis iš Bibracte leidžia manyti, kad tokios makštys galėjo būti gaminamos būtent čia, tačiau neatmestina ir jų kilmė iš pietų, ką rodo Stradonice oppidos radiniai.

Aptariamųjų kalavijų makščių retumas Przeworsko ir Oksywo kultūrų areale leidžia manyti, kad pietinės Lenkijos gyventojai menkai teprisidėjo prie jų platinimo. Tuo tarpu aiški jų koncentracija Lenkijos šiaurėje sutampa su Jezerine tipo segėmis (tarp kitko, jos importuotos iš pietų), kurios į Lenkijos teritoriją pateko tolimosios prekybos ryšiais. Kapuose, kuriuose randama kalavijų su aptariamomis makštimis, taip pat aptinkama tiek keltiškų, tiek romėniškų importuotų dirbinių (pastarųjų nėra gausu), kurie atskleidžia kontaktų dinamiką I amžiuje. Įdomu tai, kad pietinės kilmės radinių (peiliai su rankenomis žiediniu galu, šalmas) rasta Przeworsko kultūros areale, tuo tarpu šiaurinėje Lenkijoje rastų importuotų dirbinių analogijų žinoma vakarinėse keltų žemėse. Importuoti dirbiniai, atgabenti iš skirtingų regionų, patvirtina Oksywo kultūros žmonių ryšius su tolimaisiais kraštais ir aukštesnę socialinę padėtį užimančių asmenų galimybes įsigyti prabangių daiktų iš įvairių kraštų.

Kokia šių ryšių prigimtis? Importo pasirodymas paprastai siejamas su kariniais (grobis) arba politiniais veiksmais (apsikeitimas dovanomis), prekyba ar socialiniais ryšiais (vedybos). Mažai tikėtina, kad įsivyravę politiniai ryšiai su toliau gyvenančiais ir į interesų sferą nepatenkančiais genčių vadais buvo inicijuoti keltų ar romėnų. Veikiausiai egzistavo patrimoniniai vedybiniai ryšiai. Tai paneigia teoriją, kad vyriški importuoti dirbiniai (karybos atributai), įvairiuose regionuose pa-

plitę La Teno kultūros žmonių dėka, yra vedybinių santykių rezultatas. Importuoti dirbiniai Lenkiją tikriausiai pasiekė dėl politinių interesų, nors atsižvelgiant į tai, kad šiuo kraštu pernelyg nesidomėjo nei keltai, nei romėnai, ši mintis vargu ar skambės įtikinamai. Manome, kad labiau tikėtina yra nusistovėjusių prekybinių ryšių versija, nes žemutinės Vyslos regiono gyventojai savo erdvėje buvo suformavę tam tikrą prekybos prabangiais importiniais daiktais ekvivalentą. Ar kalavijai su makštimis, puoštomis S simboliais, ir kiti importuoti daiktai galėjo būti įsigyti mainais už gintarą? Ši hipotezė yra labai tikėtina, tačiau reikia turėti omenyje faktą, kad metodologiniu požiūriu neįmanoma nustatyti prekybos objektų vertės ar jų svarbos mainų sistemoje, nes jų gal paprasčiausiai neišliko, pvz., Strabono „Geografijoje“ aprašoma laivais į Romą gabenama sūdyta mėsa. Remiantis etnologiniais duomenimis, apie 90 % prekybos objektų Amazonėje nepaliko jokių materialių pėdsakų. Vis dėlto galima manyti, kad Vyslos žemupyje gyvenę elito atstovai prekiaavo gėrybėmis, kurios turėjo paklausą ir buvo vertinamos tiek keltų, tiek romėnų pasauliuose.

Vertė Agnė Čivilytė