

On the chronology of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age in eastern Germania in the light of selected types of brooches

K chronologii pozdní doby předřímské
ve východní části Germánie prizmatem vybraných typů spon

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On the basis of selected types of supra-regional brooches (A.65, Nauheim, Schüsselfibel, A.18), an attempt was made to check whether they appeared in the eastern part of Germania in the same chronological rhythm as in their home zones. The service life of A.65 brooch and post-oppidial forms A.18 north of the Carpathians corresponds to the chronology in the primary distribution zone, no significant differences can be seen. Another picture – obtained, however, from a small number of finds – is drawn for Nauheim type brooches, which seem to remain in use a little longer in the zone between the Carpathian Mountains and the Baltic coast, until the younger stage of the LT D2 phase. Similarly, bowl-shaped brooches (Schüsselfibel), probably made mostly in local workshops, were worn in the north for several decades longer than in the zone south of the Carpathian Mountains. In Pomerania they came into use probably slightly earlier than in the area of Przeworsk culture and probably went out of fashion a little faster. This indicates a slightly different rhythm of stylistic and fashion changes between southern and central Poland (Przeworsk culture) and the north – the region of the lower Vistula and the Gulf of Gdańsk.

Late La Tène period – Late Pre-Roman Iron Age – chronology – brooches – Przeworsk culture – imports

Cílem článku je ověřit na základě vybraných typů spon vyskytujících se v pozdní době laténské napříč střední Evropou (Almgren 65, nauheimská, lžičkovitá, Almgren 18), zda se tyto spony ve východní části Germánie objevují ve shodném rytmu jako v mateřských oblastech. Obraz používání spon Almgren 65 a 18 severně od Karpatského oblouku odpovídá chronologii v původní oblasti jejich výskytu. Jiný obraz, byť ovlivněný nízkou početností nálezů, se rýsuje pro nauheimské spony, jejichž výskyt na území Polska ukazuje na jejich delší používání, až do mladší fáze LT D2. Podobně lžičkovité spony, vyráběné nejspíš převážně v lokálních dílnách, zde byly používány pravděpodobně o řadu desetiletí déle než v oblasti jižně od Karpatského oblouku. V pobaltské oblasti se přitom objevily pravděpodobně dříve než na území převorské kultury a také o něco dřív vyšly z módy. To naznačuje rozdílný rytmus stylistických a módních změn mezi Pobaltím, resp. regionem dolní Visly a Gdaňského zálivu, a oblastí převorské kultury v jižním a středním Polsku.

pozdní doba laténská – pozdní doba předřímská – chronologie – spony – převorská kultura – importy

Introduction

Almost tirelessly research is concerned with chronological questions of the Middle and Late La Tène Period or – in the Germanic-influenced lands – of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age. Here, the focus concentrates very much on the problem of the parallelization of large-scale and supra-regional relative chronological schemes with local schemes and their integration into absolute chronological frameworks. Despite the fact that the spectrum of finds used for this research was approximately the same (of course with unavoidable regional characteristics, peculiarities and developmental tendencies), the number of chro-

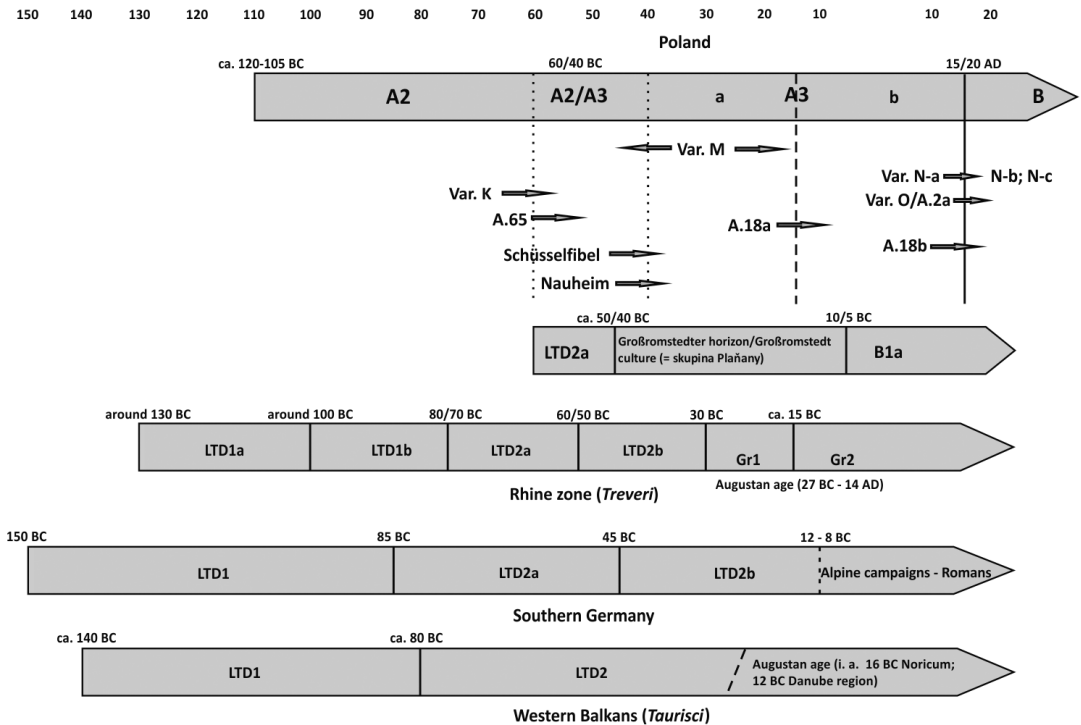


Fig. 1. Comparison of selected relative-chronological systems: Poland (Przeworsk culture; after *Dąbrowska 1988*, 50–62); *Großromstedt-Horizon/Kultur* and phase *Plaňany* (after *Droberjar 1999*, 158, Tab. 22; 2006, Tab. 1, Abb. 50); settlement areas of the *Treveri* (after *Metzler 1995*, 561, fig. 282); Southern Germany and Alpine region (after *Rieckhoff 1995*, 194, fig. 21); the Balkans/*Taurisci* (after *Dizdar 2013*, 65, tab. 1).

nological classification systems and “scaffolds” finally led to a “Babylonian confusion” (*Miron 1998*) in fine chronology and above all in terminology (fig. 1). When, for example, does Late La Tène period begin? Here, one question is indispensable: When does it begin? Where? What, for instance, do terms like LT D1 and D2 actually mean in the settlement areas of the *Treveri*, in southern Germany or in Bohemia? When does phase LT D1 begin? About 130 BC (*Metzler 1995*, 561, fig. 282) or about 150 BC (*Miron 1991*, 168; *Rieckhoff 1995*, 194, fig. 21) or even later, between 120 and 105 BC (*Polenz 1971*, 37; *Dąbrowska 1988*, 52)? What consequences does this have for the periphery of the laténoid zone, where the influences of the La Tène culture are limited and selected? And when does the La Tène period or the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age end in various parts of Europe and when does the Imperial Roman Period begin? Is Caesar’s conquest of Gaul of primary importance or is it Augustus conquering the Alpine peoples? In eastern *Germania* regions, east of the River Oder, La Tène influences were replaced by Roman influences during the late Augustan and early Tiberian period, i.e. phase LT D2 (phase A3 in the regional chronological system) lasting even until 15/20/25 AD (*Dąbrowska 1988*, 62, 323–324). Also important is the character of the archaeological sources under study: contrary to various, especially southern areas which provide only or predominantly finds from settlements and oppida, burial finds dominate the Germanic regions.

The remarks presented below do not claim to redefine the relative, let alone the absolute chronology of finds from Polish regions. Our purpose is to check whether the content of the valid relative chronological phases in the southern and western provinces (i.e. the brooches) coincide with find conditions in the east and whether there are chronological differences (retarded emergence?, longer period of use?). In order to answer such questions, some types of brooches will be examined in detail. This regards brooches endemic to the *Keltiké* and occurring beyond that zone in noticeable quantities. The following brooches are found north of the Carpathian Mountains and south of the Baltic Sea coast: A.65, the *Nauheimer Fibel*, the *Schüsselfibel* (Kostrzewski J) and A.18. The extent to which these types of brooches can be looked upon as regular costume accessories in modern Central and Northern Poland plays only a minor role. More important is that they can be treated as precise chronological markers and that they are found in burial inventories in combination with traditional local costume accessories. In the case of small series of associations, however, their informative value may be weakened considerably.

Brooches under discussion

Brooches A.65

Type A.65 brooches are native to Northern Italy and the Eastern Alps.¹ Although they are also part of everyday costume accessories in the western *Keltiké*, they are often found in the Bohemian and Moravian oppida zone, where they were also manufactured.² Their distribution shows a scattered presence all the way down to the Balkans in the south and the southern Baltic coastal areas in the east of the *Germania* (the Balkans: for instance *Ivčević 2002*; Poland: *Poleska 2006*, 148; *Harasim 2011*, 226–228; *Bochnak 2014*, 41–44). Commonly made from bronze, regularly they were also made from iron. Whether this phenomenon can be explained by adaptation to the local habits and cultural conditions or as imitations, remains at least in individual cases discretionary (*Demetz 1999*, 28, note 57; *Leifeld 2007*, 83, note 370; *Meller 2012*, 67–69).

Regarding brooches A.65 (together with their variants) it is recommended to date them in LT D1b and an early phase of LT D2, whereby most of them precede the horizon of *geschweifte Fibeln* (*Rybová – Drda 1994*, 129, 132; *Demetz 1999*, 34–36; *Meller 2012*, 70–71). In the relative chronological scheme of the Przeworsk culture, this roughly corresponds with the advanced phase A2 and the transition horizon A2/A3 (*fig. 1*). Only exceptionally later specimens can be encountered, isolated finds belonging to the Pre-Roman

¹ For definition, distribution and typology see: *Almgren 1923*, 35, pl. IV: 65; *Demetz 1999*, 27–38; *Meller 2012*, 53–71. For instance, from the sanctuary of Este-Baratella I, at least 46 specimens (including derivatives) are known: *Meller 2002*, 71–76, pls. 28–32.

² West: Villeneuve-Saint-Germain: more than 20 finds: *Debord 1996*, 135–144, pls. XVII: 291–293; XVIII: XIX: 304–311; Altenburg-Rheinau, *Doppeloppidum*: at least 61 brooches (both bronze and iron): *Schreyer 2005*, 140, fig. 5; Oberleiserberg A, Höhensiedlung: *Karwowski 2009*, 130, fig. 8; *Leifeld 2007*, 83–84. Oppida in Bohemia and Moravia: for instance, Třisov: min. 23 ex. (among them iron or silver brooches): *Karasová 2002*, 242–247, pls. VIII–X; *Hlava 2008*, 145, 174, fig. 6: 4; *Danielisová – Militký 2014*, 47–48, fig. 2b: 19–27, fig. 3; Stradonice: at least 95 finished brooches and a couple of semi-finished iron items: *Příč 1906*, pls. IV: 14, 18–19; *Rybová – Drda 1994*, 124–125, fig. 40: 22–23; *Droberjar 2006*, 13, fig. 1: 2, 4–5; *Venclová – Valentová 2012*, fig. 98: 587 340.

Site	Var. A-IIc	Var. C	Var. D/E	Var. K	Schüsselfibel
Malbork-Wielbark, grave 2010/16 (Bz./Fe)	X				
Skowarcz, grave C (2x A.65 b2)		X			
Stupsk, grave 24/1917 (2x Fe)			X		
Gledzianówek, grave 80/1934 (Fe)				X	
Pruszcz Gdański, site 10, grave 481				X	
Zadowice, grave 700					X
Warszkowo, grave 135 (Derivate)					X

Tab. 1. Co-occurrence of fibulae A.65 in Poland (after *Harasim 2011*, 226–227, 242, map 2; *Bochnak 2014*, 42–44, fig. 11, 246–247; with additions).

Iron Age or appearing in allegedly Early Augustan period dated contexts.³ The possibilities for making statements on their gender-specific use are severely limited in their main distribution area due to the small number of burial finds, but the A.65 brooches are nevertheless considered to be part of female dress accessories. In their primary as well as secondary distribution area they are only occasionally found in weapon graves (*Meller 2012*, 66; more cautiously *Demetz 1999*, 31–32). If one leaves aside fine typological divisions, most of the evidence, especially regarding the smaller specimens, is rather characterized by paired wearing. From 18 sites in Poland, at least 26 specimens of A.65 type brooches, including some imitations and derivatives, have been discovered.⁴ Based upon grave-goods, here they also belonged to the female costume, although only in exceptional cases they are worn in pairs.⁵ The distribution pattern points to the east of the Przeworsk culture (east of the Vistula) as well as to the Lower Vistula region up to the Gdańsk Bay. A single piece of exceptional form was found in the cemetery of Warszkowo in central Pomerania. The find context from Nowe Dobra is uncertain. Ignoring grave 2/1905⁶, fibulae of type A.65 are associated with other brooches only in six burial inventories (*tab. 1*), which counts for one third of the total amount. In three inventories the brooches in question are combined with finds dating into the older part of A2 (A2a). The accompanying finds also give the impression of being “antiques” that have already gone out of fashion. In the so far unpublished inventory of Malbork–Wielbark, grave 2010/16 (*fig. 2*), a bronze fibula with a missing foot of type A.65a1 (a special form with iron needle and coil: a repair?), which was certainly manufactured in the technique of *Überfangguß*, decorated with three transverse ribs on

³ Cf. the hoard from Großmehring, Ldkr. Eichstädt: classic brooch A.65 together with a *Nauheimer Fibel* in a Großromstedt type tureen with rouletted decoration (*Hüssen 2000*, 239–242, fig. 3: 2). Burials 379, 380, 418, 427, 471 in Giubiasco I already belong to LT D2 – Augustan horizon of this necropolis (*Pernet et al. 2006*, 106, 143, tombs 379, 380, 418, 427, 471).

⁴ Find lists in *Dąbrowska 2008*, 27–28; *Harasim 2011*, 226–227, 242, map 2; *Harasim 2013*, 7–8, fig. 4; *Bochnak 2014*, 42–44, fig. 11, 246–247, each with extensive lit. New finds from Lubieszewo (Lübsow), isolated find: *Blankenfeld 2011*, 69, fig. 3; Perkowo, necropolis: *Kurpiewski – Rakoczy 2015*, 19, No. 128, 32, 74, pl. 7: 128; Gaški/Wierzbiczy, at least 5 isolated finds: unpubl., pers. comm. M. Rudnicki, IA UW.

⁵ Skowarcz, grave 65 and Stupsk, grave 24/1917: *Kostrzewski 1919*, 19, 40–41, fig. 26; *Reinbacher 1964*, 159, pl. 26a: 4–5; *Harasim 2011*, 226–227, 242; *Bochnak 2014*, 246, 291.

⁶ It is highly uncertain, whether this inventory, allegedly with two brooches *Kostrzewski N-b* of Augustan dating (*Völling 1995*, fig. 25, tab. 11; *Bockius – Luczkiewicz 2004*, 62–67, fig. 10: 5–7, tab. 6) represents a “closed find” (for discussion *Harasim 2011*, 227; *Bochnak 2014*, 44). Most probably, the finds represent two mixed inventories.

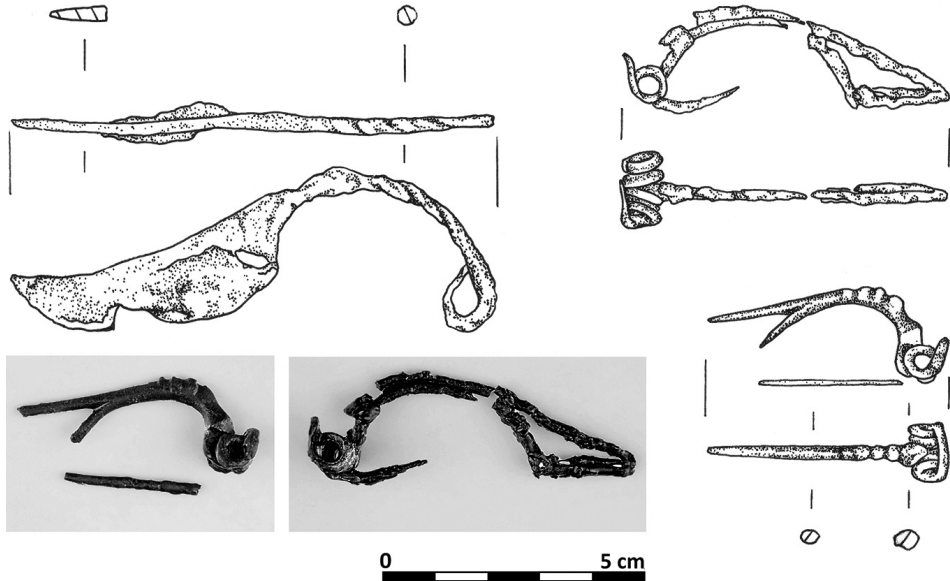


Fig. 2. Malbork–Wielbark, grave 2010/16 (photo J. Strobin, drawing A. Kuzioła).

the bow, was found together with typologically Middle La Tène brooch Kostrzewski A-IIc. Such brooches are actually characteristic for the phase A1 and the older horizon of the phase A2 (A1–A2a) and only occasionally reach the horizon of *geknickte Fibeln* (for typology and chronology: *Bokinić 2005*, 87–89; *2008*, 18–22 fig. 1, 326, 344). The same chronological position applies to the fibulae Kostrzewski C and D/E, found in graves C from Skowarcz and 24/1917 from Stupsk (fig. 3). In both inventories these fibulae are accompanied with two brooches of type A.65 to form a set of three. The specimens from Skowarcz are made of “white metal alloy” (*Kostrzewski 1919*, 41). This could be copper alloy with a lot of tin added, although an inferior quality silver cannot be excluded either. In this case they might come from the Alpine region, since the few known silver specimens of type A.65 were found there.⁷ The two iron specimens from Stupsk are also exotic. In the relevant literature it is widely accepted that the bronze fibulae represent imports from the Alpine region and northern Italy, while the iron items at the oppida were mass-produced as imitations of southern originals.⁸

An iron brooch comes from Gledzianówek, grave 80/1934 (*Kaszewska 1977*, 103, 124, pl. LXIX: 4), and was associated with a brooch Kostrzewski K; the same is true for the Pruszcz Gdański site 10, grave 481 (*Pietrzak 1997*, 68, 239, pl. CXLI: 481/1–2). With this younger horizon A2 (A2b), which is marked by *geknickte Fibeln*, corresponds also the

⁷ *Militký – Karwowski 2013*, 29. Two silver brooches from the oppidum of Třísov are regarded as imports from Northern Italy: *Danielisová – Militký 2014*, 47, 55, fig. 3.

⁸ Cf. the spectrum of brooches from the oppidum Altenburg: fibulae A.65 appear more often in iron (36 specimens) than bronze (18 specimens), see *Maute 1991*, 393–395, fig. 1–2). See also *Meller 2012*, 68–69; *Harasim 2011*, 226–227; *Bochnak 2014*, 42.

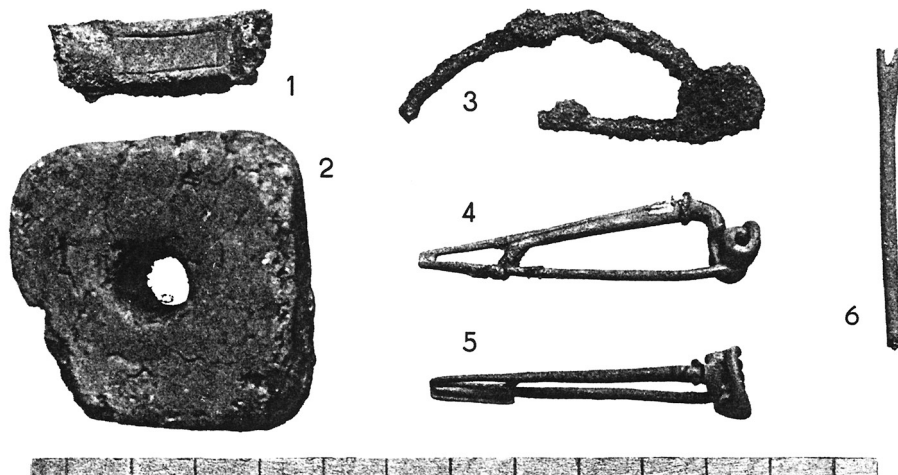


Fig. 3. Stupsk, grave 24/1917 (after Reinbacher 1964, pl. 24a).

combination of finds from Zadowice, grave 700, with a *Schüsselfibel* (Maciałowicz 2017, 90, tab. 2, 110, with refs.). Also combined with the *Schüsselfibel* is a peculiar iron derivative of type A.65 (with lower tendon and perforated catch plate from Warszkowo, tomb 135 (Wotągiewicz 1965, 270, pl. XXIII: 1–4; derivatives of A.65: Meller 2012, Typentafel 3).

Thus, in chronologically relevant find inventories in Poland, more or less half of the fibulae of type A.65 are found together with forms of the earlier part of phase A2 and the other half with material dating into the younger part (A2b). They are never associated with *Nauheimer Fibeln*. There is no temporal delay, let alone (as in the primary distribution area) temporal overlap with the horizon of *geschweifte Fibeln*.

Nauheim brooches

The *Nauheimer Fibeln*, with several variants and derivatives, belong to the most numerous finds at the oppida from Gaul to Bohemia.⁹ Mainly made of bronze, especially in the Bohemian oppida and in the Celtic East, iron items are also often found. Such accessories belong to the female costume, only exceptionally they appear in graves with weapons (Striwe 1996, 157–158). The analyses of the settlement areas of the *Treveri* show that there occur almost exclusively bronze brooches. The rare iron pieces should be linked to male burials as demonstrated by anthropological evidence from the Wederath cemetery (Leifeld 2007, 52–54). Similar to the case of type A.65, the *Nauheimer Fibeln* also determine the youngest horizon of the Bohemian and Moravian oppida (LT D1b and beginning of LT D2a). In the Polish relative chronological system they are regarded as essential

⁹ Cf. Striwe 1996; Demetz 1999, 78–91. For instance, from Basel-Gasfabrik at least 96 bronze and 8 iron brooches are known (Hecht et al. 1999, 171, fig. 4); Titelberg: 59 *Nauheimer Fibeln*, all bronze (Gaspar 2007, 81–84); Altenburg: min. 83 brooches (Maute 1991, 393–394, fig. 1); Besançon (min. 20 pieces) and Nissan (min. 38 specimens): Striwe 1996, 257–258, 263–264; Stradonice (ca. 30 bronze and ca. 75 iron brooches): Píř 1906; Břeň 1964; Třisov (19 bronze and iron specimens): Karasová 2002; Danielisová – Militký 2014, 45–48, fig. 2a–b: 5–16.

Site	SLT – schema	Var. K	Var. J	Var. N	Var. M/O
Złotniki, grave 13	X				
Brachlewo-Biały Dwór (Bystrzec), grave 460		X			
Kamieńczyk, grave 89			X		
Kleszewo, grave				X	
Pajewo-Szwelice, grave 99a					X

Tab. 2. Co-occurrence of *Nauheimer Fibeln* in Poland (after *Harasim 2011*, 228–230, 243, map 3; *Bochnak 2014*, 44–45, 247, list 1.6; with additions).

features of A2 and the “transitional phase” A2/A3, which should actually be understood as an introduction to the horizon of *geschweifte Fibeln* (*Rybová – Drda 1994*, 126–129; *Droberjar 2006*, 12–14; *Dąbrowska 1988*, 30–31; 2008, 29, 105; *Harasim 2011*, 230; *Bochnak 2014*, 45).

The material of the Polish finds, mostly iron¹⁰, could refer to their origin in the Bohemian oppida zone, but certainly not all are to be seen as imports. In Polish find contexts (*fig. 4*) these brooches are found relatively sparsely, their minimum number is 20 specimens from 17 sites.¹¹ The distribution of these costume accessories essentially corresponds to the pattern of type A.65 and is roughly concentrated along the Vistula, as far as the Bay of Gdańsk, with a distinct focus in Mazovia. Two items were excavated in Greater Poland and Lower Silesia. In Poland *Nauheimer Fibeln* were worn individually, which indicates a relation to the female costume. In two burials, Oblin, grave 128a (*Czarnecka 2007*, 38–39, 288, pl. CXXI: 128a/1) and Podwiesk, grave 303 (*Bokiniec 2005*, 60, 271, pl. CV: 303/3), they were associated with military equipment.

If one tries to verify the chronological position of the *Nauheimer Fibeln* in Poland on the basis of fibulae associations, then there are only five relevant grave inventories (*tab. 2*). In Złotniki, grave 13, such brooch appears together with an iron brooch of the *Spätlatène-schema*, which is characterized by a very flat, elongated bow with a small disc or bead and a frame-shaped, triangular catchplate (*Olędzki – Ziąbka – Teske 2014*, 90, *fig. 12*; erroneously, the authors identified the brooch as a derivate of var. K). A fragment of a very similar flat fibula comes from the fortified settlement of Záhovice–Vladař in west Bohemia (*Chytráček et al. 2012*, 293–294, *fig. 15: 1*; this brooch was mistakenly described as a type A.65). The find from Złotniki resembles the small, very flat versions of the *geschweifte Fibel* (K-1d: *Bockius – Luczkiewicz 2004*, 34–39, *fig. 6b: 13–17*, map 13), but morphologically it certainly does not belong to it. The exact chronological position of this inventory and thus the decision whether it is LT D1b or LT D2a must remain open.

¹⁰ One bronze brooch was found in the settlement of Pelczyska in the area of the Celtic-Germanic Tynec-Gruppe (*Rudnicki 2009*, 294, 307, *fig. 6: 1*). Fragments of another bronze fibula (coil and part of a flat, strap-shaped bow) were found in Malbork–Wielbark, grave 2013/71 (unpubl., excavations under the direction of J. Kleemann and P. Luczkiewicz).

¹¹ After *Harasim 2011*, 228–230, 243, map 3; 2013, 8–9, *fig. 5*; *Bochnak 2014*, 44–45, 247, list 1.6, with additions: Kwiatków, site 11/20, settlement find (unpubl., pers. comm. K. Kot a. M. Piotrowska, UŁ); Malbork–Wielbark, grave 2013/71 (fragment, unpubl.); Wierzbiczany-Lipionka, find context unknown (*Woźniak ed. 2016*, 85); Złotniki, grave 13 (*Olędzki – Ziąbka – Teske 2014*, 85, 90, *fig. 12, 93*). The list presented by T. Bochnak also includes (after *Dąbrowska 1988*, map 14) controversial finds from Chełmno, Gdańsk-Oliwa, Gdańsk-Wrzeszcz, Gdynia-Oksywie, Papowo Toruńskie, Skowarcz, Warszkowo und Żuczkczyn in Pomerania.

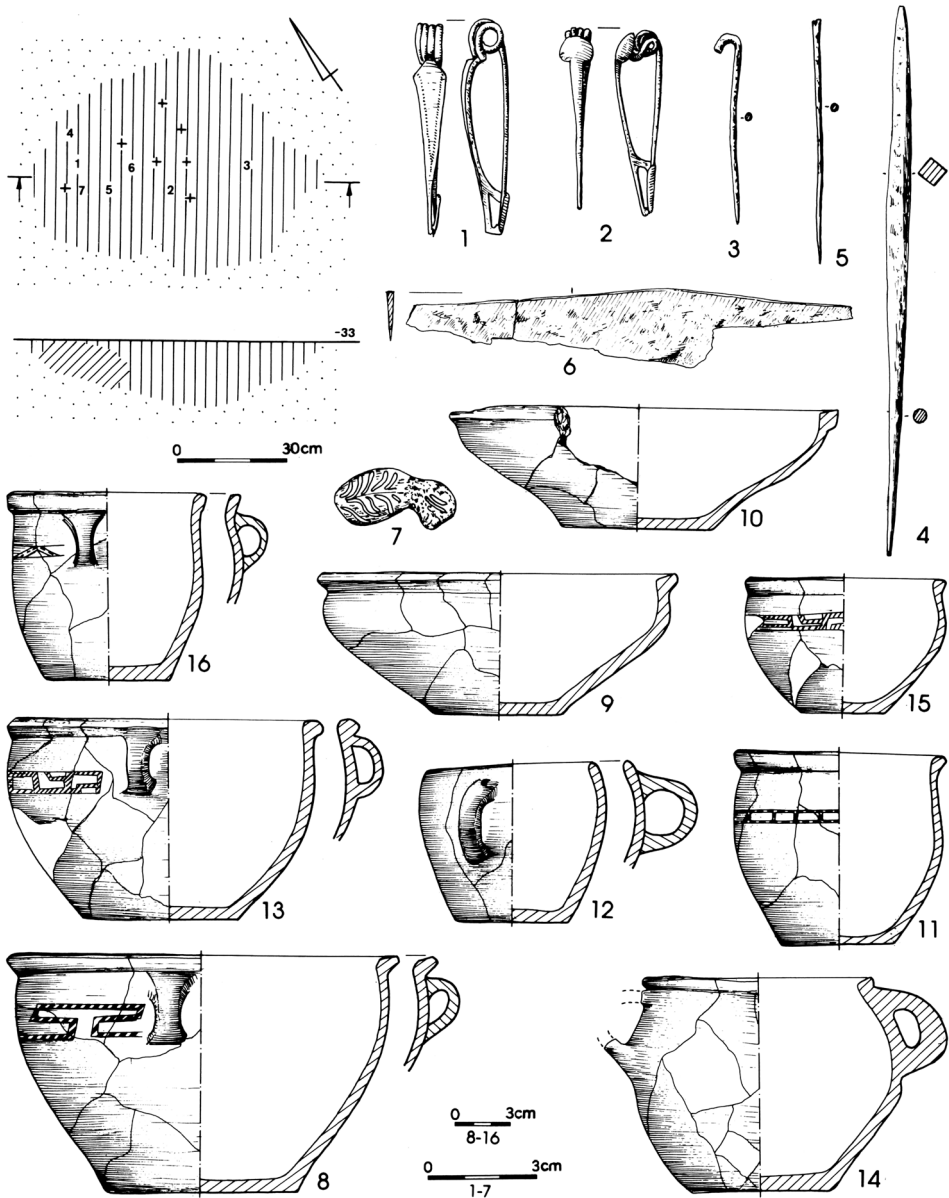


Fig. 4. Kamieńczyk, grave 89 (after *Dąbrowska 1997*, pl. XLVII).

The *Nauheimer Fibel* in Brachlewo – Biały Dwór (formerly Bystrzec), grave 460 (*Żórawska 2003*, pl. III: 26, with older literature) and Kamieńczyk, grave 89 (*Dąbrowska 1997*, 27–28, 177, pl. XLVII: 89/1–2), are associated with typical representatives of the late phase of LT D1b and the beginning of LT D2 (fibulae *Kostrzewski K* and *Schüsselfibel* *Kostrzewski J*). Chronologically they are related to the inventory of Złotniki and can form a common group.

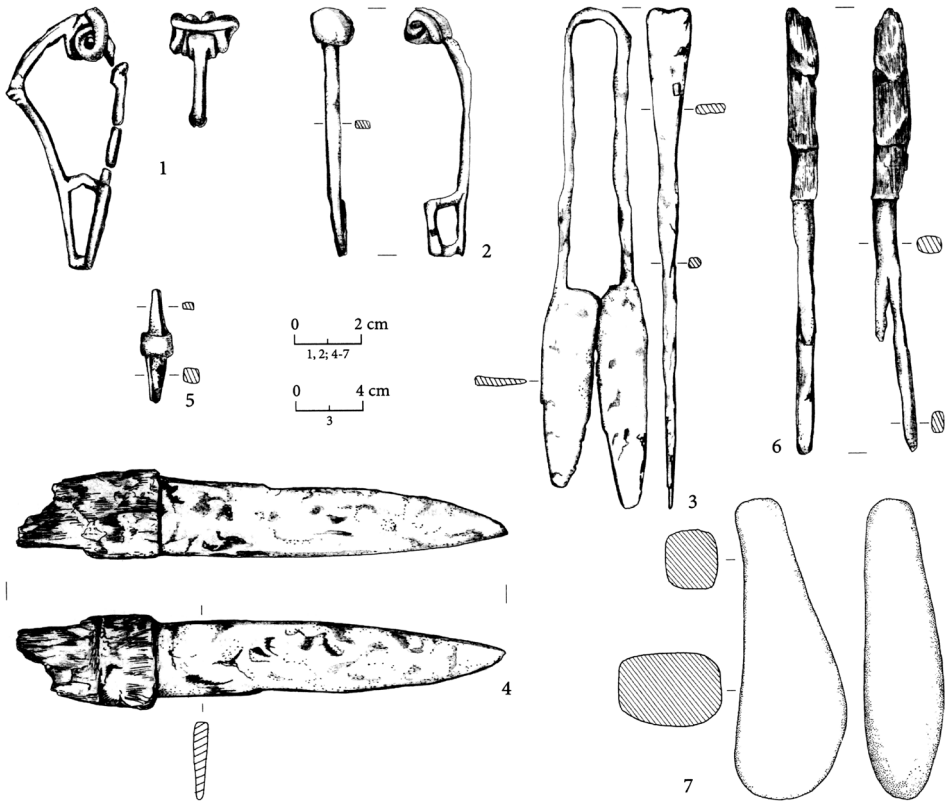


Fig. 5. Różyń, grave 68 (after *Tuszyńska – Stąporek 2005*, pl. IV).

In two graves, *Nauheimer Fibeln* were found together with forms of the late pre-Roman Iron Age. In Kleszewo (*Niewęłowski 1972*, 238) this concerns an iron brooch Kostrzewski N, in Pajewo-Szwelice, tomb 99a (*Dłubakowski 2005*, 77–78, 199, pl. LXXXIV: 17, 20), one finds a corroded, iron hybrid form of a *geschweifte Fibel* with anterior tendon (*vordere Sehne*), which has a small bow knot or a bulge-like thickening behind the high arched, almost U-shaped bow and which stands between Kostrzewski M and O not least because of the perforated catch plate. The assignment of both graves to the younger section of phase A3 (A3b), which more or less corresponds to LT D2b or the early Augustan period, is beyond doubt.

In Poland, a longevity of the *Nauheimer Fibeln* seems to emerge, lasting until the final phase of the younger pre-Roman Iron Age. The absence of associations with fibulae of the Middle La Tène-scheme, in contrast to the Bohemian-Moravian oppida zone, where the *Nauheimer Fibeln* occur both with Middle La Tène and early types of Late La Tène-scheme fibulae (predominantly with A.65 and *Schüsselfibeln*/Kostrzewski J). The association of A.65 brooches with Middle La Tène-scheme brooches (50% of the relevant inventories) could refer to a chronological sequence of A.65 and *Nauheimer Fibeln* in Poland. It does not seem impossible that these fibulae came into use a little later. Or, there is no chronological delay, but we are tricked by a random factor or with a deceptive picture caused by the small number of relevant finds?

Schüsselfibeln

Schüsselfibeln (Kostrzewski J: *Kostrzewski 1919*, 31–32, fig. 16; *Rybová – Drda 1994*, 126–129; *Striwe 1996*, 147–148), a typologically rather diverse type of brooches, as well as their relation to the female costume, as it is assumed by the majority of researchers, were repeatedly in the focus of archaeological research. Their equation with the phase LT D1b and possibly – in the case of the Central European oppida – with the early years of LT D2a was also discussed.¹² Their wide distribution covers the western oppida-zone up to the Balkan in the southeast and the lower Vistula area and the Gdańsk bay in the northeast.¹³ In contrast to the *Keltiké*, where both bronze and (noticeably rarer) iron specimens occur, in the Balkan region (especially in Dacia) also silver specimens, in Polish find contexts exclusively iron items appear (*Harasim 2011*, 230–233, 244, map 4; *Bochnak 2014*, 247–247, list I.8; recently *Maciłowicz 2017*, 89–96, 106–110, list 3). This connects the East Germanic find zone with the “Boian” centres and their “classical” iron specimens (see *Karwowski 2006*, 63; *2009*, 118–119, 129–130, fig. 7–8; *2015*, 218, fig. 9). Nevertheless, this does not mean that Polish finds necessarily arrived from outside (see esp. *Dąbrowska 1988*, 125; *2008*, 105, 190; cf. also *Harasim 2011*, 230–231; *Maciłowicz 2017*, 94–96). The following arguments can serve as evidence for local production: their extraordinarily large number, altogether more than 100 specimens from more than 30 sites, as well as their distribution pattern that shows clear concentrations in Mazovia and the northern Polish region; in these landscapes, however, there are clear differences to other foreign fibulae, which are shown also in often small morphological deviations compared to the presumed southern brooches.

North of the Carpathians (fig. 4–8), in the secondary distribution area, *Schüsselfibeln* appear in graves mainly individually and only exceptionally they are found in male/weapon burials, such as Czarnówko, grave 1444/10 (unpubl., pers. comm. A. Krzysiak, Mus. Łęborg a. A. Strobin, IA UG), Kamieńczyk, grave 335 (*Dąbrowska 1997*, 282–283, pls. CLII–CLIII), Brzyno, grave 116 and 239 (unpubl., pers. comm. A. Strobin, UG), Różyny, grave 68 (with fire iron: *Tuszyńska – Stąporek 2005*, 359, pl. IV: 1–2). Pairwise wear was encountered only once, in an uncertain inventory of Grudziądz-Rządź (Rondsen), grave 640/24.05.1888 (*Anger 1890*, 48). Here allegedly a pair of *Schüsselfibeln* was associated with an undetermined iron clasp(?). They are rarely combined in the triple brooch costume.¹⁴

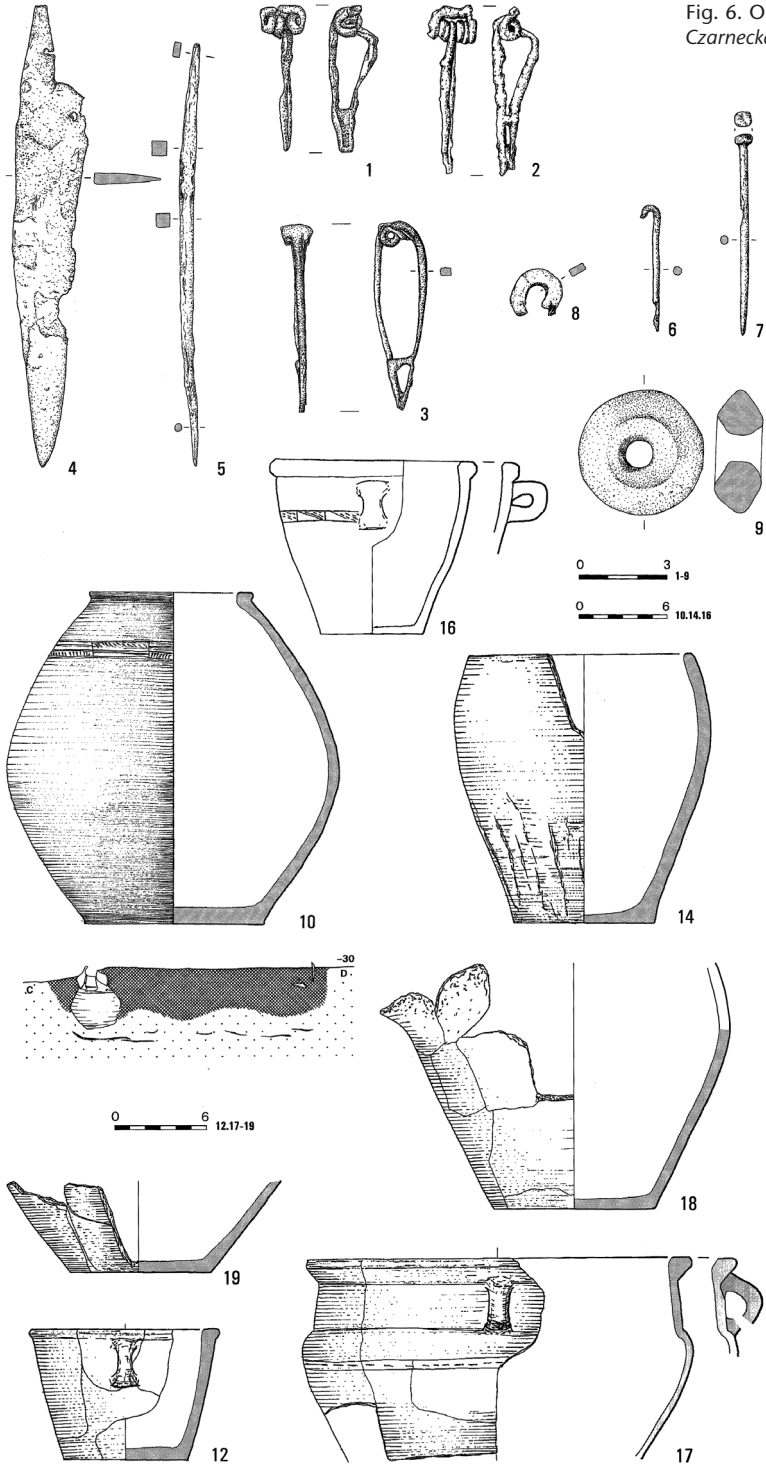
As associations of brooches (tab. 3) have recently been discussed in detail (*Maciłowicz 2017*, 89–96), the results are only briefly commented on here. It is also worth noting

¹² *Demetz 1999*, 64–77, 236–239, Liste IX; *Meller 2002*, 78–81, pls. 34–35; *2012*, 71–95, 303–312, list 10–11; *Gaspar 2007*, 28, 93–99, pls. 14–17; *Leifeld 2017*, 54–72. Here, derivatives or special variants appear which, especially in the West, were worn until the Augustan and Tiberian period. On their dating in the eastern oppida zone see: *Rybová – Drda 1994*, 129; *Demetz 1999*, 72–73; *Karwowski 2006*, 63.

¹³ *Demetz 1999*, 69–73, esp. 72–73; *Meller 2012*, 89–90. In the Balkan area *Schüsselfibeln* (local, mainly silver variants) are mainly found in the Eastern group of the Dacian hoard finds, for instance: *Rustoiu 2002*, 192–193.

¹⁴ Oblin, grave 87 (*Schüsselfibel* associated with Kostrzewski A-II and an unknown fibula, most probably of Middle La Tène-scheme): *Czarnecka 2007*, 257, pl. XCIII: 87/1–3; Brzyno, grave 27 (Kostrzewski J and 2 ex. Kostrzewski Fig. 18): unpubl., pers. comm. A. Strobin, UG; Pruszcz Gdański, site 10, grave 270 (Kostrzewski J, Kostrzewski I and A.18): *Pietrzak 1997*, 192, pl. XCIV: 270/4, 6, 7; with early, pairwise brooches Kostrzewski M-a1 also present in Kamieńczyk, grave 212 (*Dąbrowska 1997*, 242, pl. CXII: 212/1–3), and Oblin, grave 93 (*Czarnecka 2007*, 263, pl. XCIX: 1–3).

Fig. 6. Oblin, grave 56 (after Czarnecka 2007, pls. LX–LXI).



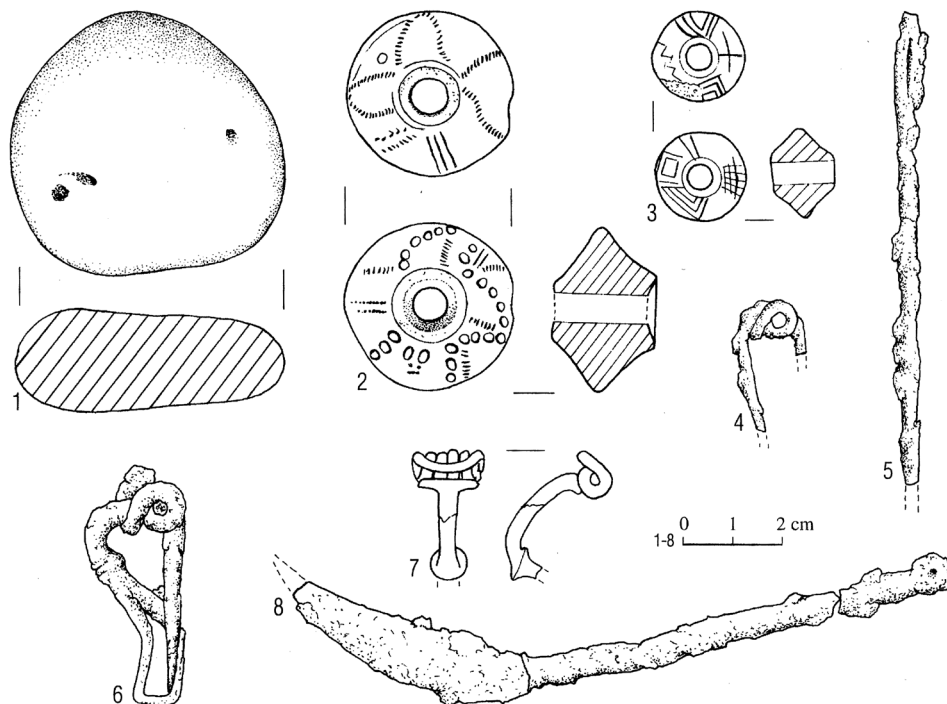


Fig. 7. Pruszcz Gdański, site 10, grave 270 (after Pietrzak 1997, pl. XCIV).

that the relevant inventories are highly meaningful, as they are based on at least 27 finds, i.e. almost a quarter of the fibulae used. In at least nine inventories (i.e. in 1/3 of the listed ensembles) *Schüsselfibeln* occur together with already somewhat old-fashioned *Middle La Tène*-scheme brooches (Kostrzewski A-II and C).¹⁵ This could point to a connection of the *Schüsselfibeln* with phase A2, an idea supported by individual burial inventories with early evidence of Late La Tène brooch construction elements such as Kostrzewski H, A.65 and *Nauheimer Fibeln*. Irrespective of whether the brooch from Różyń, burial 68, belongs to the derivatives of Kostrzewski K or to the so-called var. *Thalmassing* of the early *geschweifte Fibeln* or to mixed forms Kostrzewski K and M (Maciałowicz 2017, 91)¹⁶, really remarkable is at least the complete absence of the combination with *geknickte Fibeln* Kostrzewski K, which is accepted as one of the index fossils of the later section of phase A2 (A2b) or of the Central European horizon LT D1b.

Schüsselfibeln are twice associated with Kostrzewski L and A.18a brooches, in Pruszcz Gdański, site 10, grave 270 (Pietrzak 1997, 192, pl. XCIV: 270/6–7), a third one, Kostrzewski I, joins them. Closely related to the Kostrzewski L are the brooches Kostrzewski Fig. 18, a pair of them was found in the Brzyno tomb 27 (unpubl., pers. comm. A. Strobin, IA UG).

¹⁵ In tab. 3 Żukczyn, grave 59 (Strobin 2011, 237), was excluded. Therefore, a detailed typological analysis of brooch Kostrzewski A and consequently the determination, whether this fibula belongs to A-II, must remain open.

¹⁶ Critical remarks on the “early *geschweifte Fibeln*” of S. Rieckhoff: Bockius – Łuczkiwicz 2004, 45.

Site	Var. A-II	Var. C	Var. H	A.65	Nauheim	Var. K/M	Var. L-IIb	Kostrzewski fig. 18	Var. I	A.18a	Var. M	Var. N
Czarnówko, grave 1444/10	X											
Gródek, grave 58/1995	X											
Kamieńczyk, grave 120	X											
Karczewiec, grave 160	X											
Oblin, grave 87	X											
Pruszcz Gdański, site 7, grave 110	X											
Różyny, grave 66	X											
Brachlewo-Biały Dwor (Bystrzec), grave 79		X										
Kleszewo, grave 357			X									
Zadowice, grave 700				X								
Warszkowo, grave 135				*								
Kamieńczyk, grave 89					X							
Różyny, grave 68						X						
Brachlewo-Biały Dwor, grave 107							X					
Stary Targ, grave 287							X					
Brzyno, grave 27								2x?				
Pruszcz Gdański, site 10, grave 270									X	X		
Czarnówko, grave 73										X		
Kamieńczyk, grave 212											2x	
Kleszewo, grave 200											X	
Oblin, grave 56											X	
Oblin, grave 93											2x	
Oblin, grave 293											X	
Pajewo-Szwelice, grave 62a											X	
Różyny, grave 8a											X	
Warszkowo, grave 202											X	
Oblin, grave 297												X

Tab. 3. Co-occurrence of *Schüsselfibel*/Kostrzewski J in Poland (after Maciałowicz 2017, 90, tab. 2; with additions). * – Derivate.

Reports on the closed character of the unpublished inventory of Czarnówko, grave 73 (just a brief note by *Strobin 2011*, 159, Nr. 16/73; I thank M. Pruska from Museum in Lębork and J. Schuster for permission to publish this inventory), with *Schüsselfibel* and bronze brooch A.18 (fig. 8), are questionable. All sites mentioned are located in East Pomerania, where the period of use certainly lasts as long as the fully developed phase A3.

At the lower end of *tab. 3*, about one third of the inventories contain *geschweifte Fibeln*. Although more than half of them have the morphologically early form of the Kostrzewski var. M-a1¹⁷, some of them even point to the late phase of the Late La Tène period, i.e.

¹⁷ Kamieńczyk, grave 212; Oblin, graves 56, 93, 293; Pajewo-Szwelice, grave 62a. On the typology of Kostrzewski M: *Bockius – Luczkiewicz 2004*, 50–61, fig. 9–10. I thank M. Tuszyńska, Mus. Arch. Gdańsk for her vital

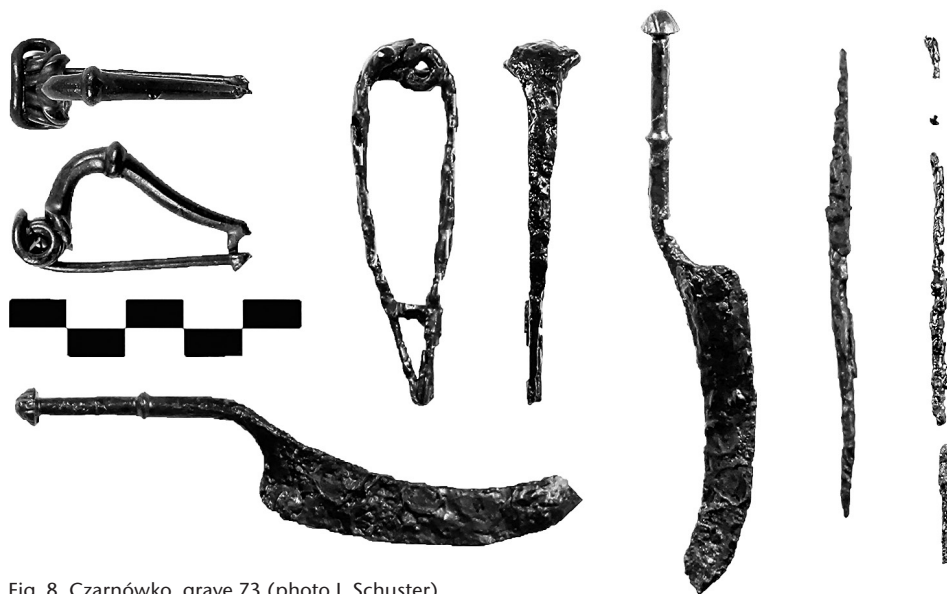


Fig. 8. Czarnówko, grave 73 (photo J. Schuster).

until the early part of phase A3, marked with Kostrzewski N fibulae with lower tendon. This is especially true for the east of the Przeworsk culture: seven out of nine inventories with *geschweiften Fibeln* are found in Mazovia. So it seems that the *Schüsselfibeln*¹⁸ – whichever relative chronological model one prefers, already appear in the late horizon A2 or in the transitional phase A2/A3 –, but tend to be regarded as a form of the older horizon of *geschweifte Fibeln* (phase A3 or A3a). This applies both to Pomerania and Mazovia.

Brooches A.18

The fibulae A.18 are relatively numerous in find associations of the Przeworsk culture as well as in the Lower Vistula region and in East Pomerania. At least 33 specimens from 24 sites are known from Polish territory (*fig. 8–10*)¹⁹ – apart from the accumulation of finds

information on the unpublished inventory of grave 8a from Różyny (*Schüsselfibel* + Kostrzewski M-a1 + bronze threepartite belt-hook).

¹⁸ *Dąbrowska 1988*, 59–62 with the transition phase A2/A3 at the transition of LT D1b – D2a or *Maciatowicz 2017*, 92–94, who looks upon A2/A3 as *de facto* the earliest horizon of phase A3 (beginning of LT D2a).

¹⁹ For lists of finds, see *Harasim 2011*, 232–234, 245; *2013*, 9–12, *fig. 6–7*; *Bochnak 2014*, 45–47, 247, list I.7; cf. *Woźniak 2017*, 245–248, *fig. 5–7*. New finds to add: Kwiatków, site 11/20, settlement (A.18a): unpubl., pers. comm. K. Kot and M. Piotrowska, IA UŁ; Perkowo, cemetery (A.18b, bronze): *Kurpiewski – Rakoczy 2015*, 25 Nr. 237, 31, 68, pl. I: 237; Siemieców, grave 70 (A.18b, bronze): *Jażdżewska – Siciński 2017*, 48, 118, *fig. 63: 7*; Brzyno, grave 2 (A.18a var. Dünsberg, iron): *Strobin 2013*, 165–167, *fig. 1*; Gostkowo, grave 77 (A.18a var. Dünsberg, iron): unpubl., pers. comm. A. Kasprzak, Mus. Koszalin. – A fragment of an iron brooch from Malbork–Wielbark inhumation 2009/12, published as Kostrzewski var. M might actually belong to a type A.18a brooch (*Kleemann – Luczkiewicz – Münster 2013*, 178–179, *fig. 7: 1*). The C-shaped vault of the far forward pulled bow and the material used for manufacture support the classification of the discussed fibula as one of the usually iron var. Wederath. As this fragment lacks the mandatory rear bow knot, a precise typological determination is impossible.

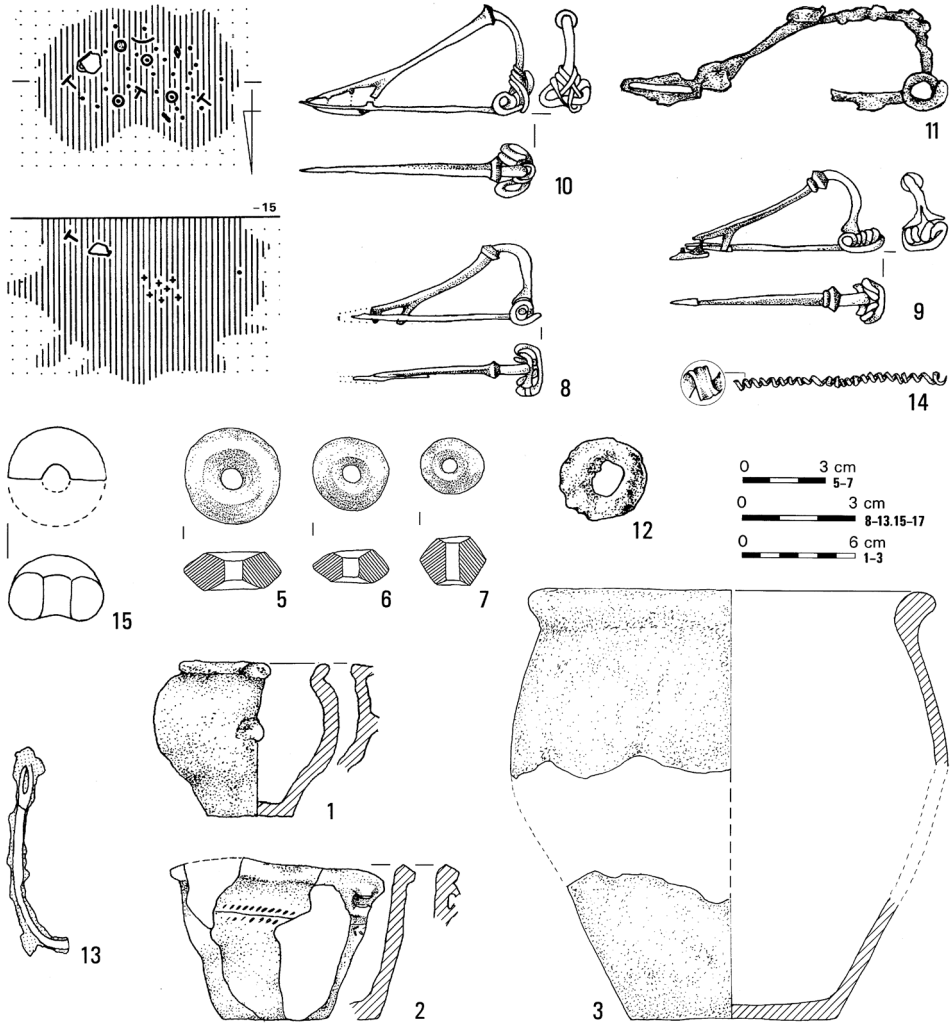


Fig. 9. Podwiesiek, grave 49 (after Bokinić 2005, pl. XXIV).

in the inhomogeneous Celtic-Germanic Tyniec group (Poleska 2006, 149–150; Rudnicki 2009, 309–310, fig. 8: 1–2; Bochnak 2014, 46–47). As in the case of the type A.65 and the *Nauheimer Fibeln*, the distribution pattern strongly tends towards the east, with striking accumulations in Mazovia, the Lower Vistula region and East Pomerania. However, isolated finds scatter to Central Pomerania (Gostkowo) or – within Przeworsk culture (Kwiatków, Wymysłowo, Siemiechów, Ciecierzyn) – to Kuyavia, Greater Poland and Lower Silesia.

The refined typological classification of this varied group of mostly bronze *geschweifte Fibeln* with prominent bow knot or disc, divided roughly into two morphologically and chronologically defined groups replacing one another – without tendon hooks (A.18a) and with tendon hooks (A.18b) – has been discussed several times (Glüsing 1972, 6–10, 23; Völling 1995, 178–192; Demetz 1999, 116–122; concluding: Bockius – Łuczkiwicz 2004,

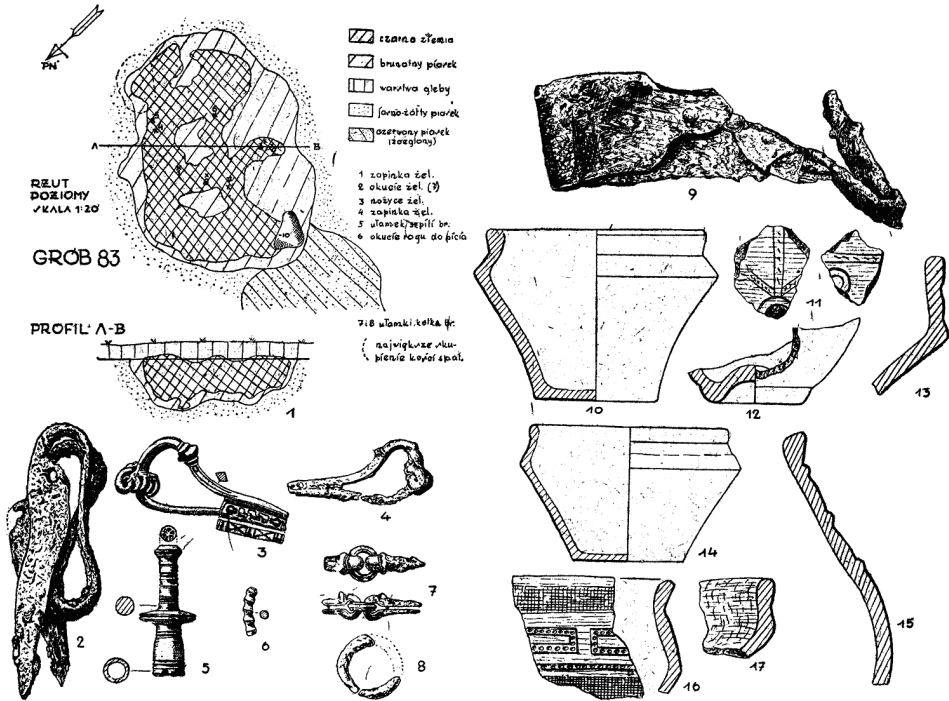


Fig. 10. Wymysłowo, grave 83 (after Jasnosz 1952, fig. 60).

43–50). The distribution reaches from Caput Adriae and the northern edge of the Alps to the Rhine-Main-Moselle area and to Gaul in the west, as well as over the low mountain range zone to Bohemia and the Polish lowlands in the east and northeast. The fibulae come in use already after the fall of the oppida, i.e. in the early part of LT D2 (phase A3 in Poland), about at the same time as the Germanic *geschweiften Fibeln* Kostrzewski M and are often found in the inventories of the *Großromstedt-Horizon* in Central Germany and the *Plaňany-Horizon* in Bohemia; the younger variants with tendon hooks even reach the *Halterner-Horizon* and the late Augustan period (Völling 1995, 186–188, 191–192; Demetz 1999, 122; Bockius – Łuczkiwicz 2004, 50; Droberjar 2006, 23–32).

The situation in the southern study area hardly permits statements about the way of wearing of these fibulae. Only conditional answers come from the Germanic region, where pairs of fibulae appear only occasionally. Elements of the women's costume are indicated by the occurrence of another pair of fibulae, on the other hand some sparse graves with arms show that such brooches were also worn by men (Völling 1995, 192; Demetz 1999, 121). In Poland they have been proven sporadically in burials with weapons.²⁰ Pairwise wearing is only detectable in Stupsk, grave 6/1917 (2x var. Altenburg), more often they are com-

²⁰ Cf. for instance Pruszcz Gdański, site 7, grave 355 (with complete set of weapons): unpubl., pers. comm. M. Pietrzak, Muzeum Arch. Gdańsk; Oblin, grave 95 (fragment of shield boss with three rivets, lance head): Czarnecka 2007, 33, 264–267, pls. CCI–CCH.

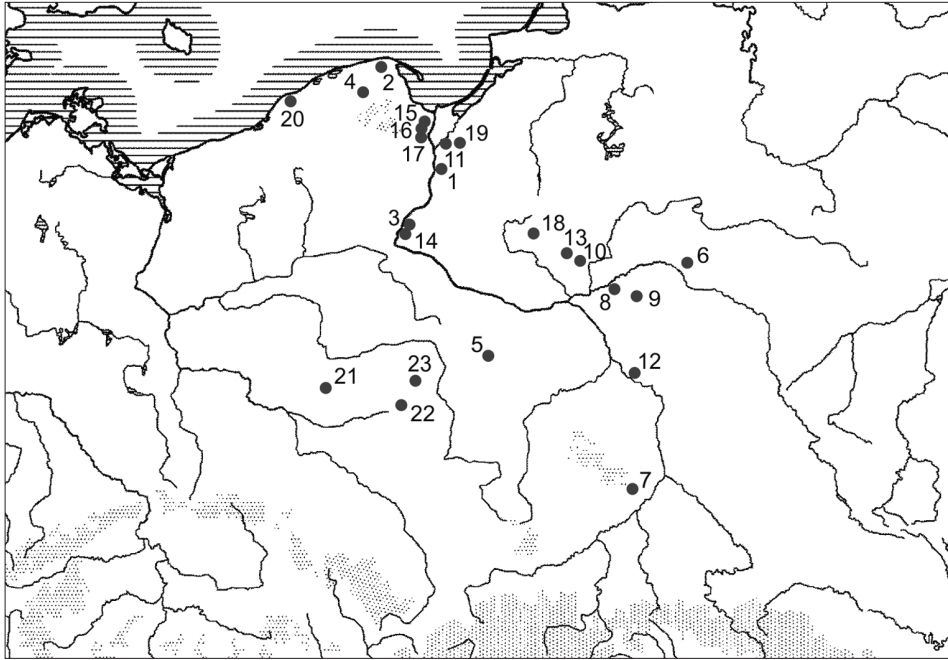


Fig. 11. Sites mentioned: 1 Brachlewo – Biały Dwór (Bystrzec); 2 Brzyno; 3 Chełmno; 4 Czarnówko; 5 Gledziakówek; 6 Gródek; 7 Grzybów; 8 Kamieńczyk; 9 Karczewiec; 10 Kleszewo; 11 Malbork–Wielbark; 12 Oblin; 13 Pajewo-Szwelice; 14 Podwieski; 15 Pruszcz Gdański; 16 Różyny; 17 Skowarcz; 18 Stupsk; 19 Stary Targ; 20 Warszkowo; 21 Wymysłowo; 22 Zadowice; 23 Złotniki.

bined in a multi-fibula dress (*Reinbacher 1964*, 153–155, pl. 20b; *Bockius – Łuczkiwicz 2004*, 171, Nr. 168 – erroneously as var. M-a3).

At first glance, the significance of the Polish fibula societies (*tab. 4*) seems rather limited, since only eight ensembles are known, yet these represent about a quarter of listed inventories. Half of the combinations, all with older variants without tendon hooks²¹, contained fibulae from the early horizon of the final phase of the Pre-Roman Iron Age: Kostrzewski I, *Schüsselfibel*, and twice Kostrzewski M. The second half of the finds already include fibulae with tendon hooks (var. A.18b), focussing on a later dating. At least twice they are associated with *geschweiften Fibeln* Kostrzewski N, both inventories date already in the transition from the younger Pre-Roman Iron Age to the Imperial Period and are to be placed in the Early Imperial Period B1. Wymysłowo, grave 83, included an end fitting of a drinking horn and transition period pottery (*Jasnosz 1952*, 53–54, fig. 60).²² Also the tomb from Grzybów (*Bochnak 2014*, 47, with refs.; typological determination of this brooch is disputed: *Woźniak 2017*, 246, note 3), with a strongly profiled brooch A.68, dates into the transition to the early Roman period. A little earlier, still in the late part of the Late

²¹ Not included in *tab. 4*: Chełmno, grave 167 (var. Altenburg + undetermined iron brooch: *Bokinić 2008*, 287).

²² The brooch from Chełmno, grave 76 (*Bokinić 2008*, 284) is missing the typologically discriminative front part of the bow.

Site	Var. I	Var. J	Var. M	SLT-Schema	Kostrzewski Abb. 15	Var. N	A.68
Pruszcz Gdański, site 10, grave 270 (Var. 18a)	X	X					
Czarnówko, grave 73 (Var. 18a)		X					
Podwiesk, grave 49 (3x Var. 18a)			X				
Oblin, grave 240 (Var. 18a2)			2x				
Chełmno, grave 151 (A.18a + A.18b)				X			
Chełmno, grave 76					X	X	
Wymysłowo, grave 83 (Var. A.18b)						X	
Grzybów, garve (Var. A.18b)							X

Tab. 4. Co-occurrence of fibulae A.18 in Poland (after *Harasim 2011*, 232–234, 245; *Bochnak 2014*, 45–47, 247, list I.7; with additions).

Pre-Roman Iron Age, the tomb 151 from Chełmno is to be placed. Here the A.18b fibula accompanies an earlier variant without tendon hook (A.18a) and an undetermined fibula of a Late La Tène type (*Bokinić 2008*, 286, 371, pl. XII: 151/1–3; erroneously determined as A.18 + 2x A.19). *Table 4* thus confirms that fibulae A.18b tend to be younger than A.18a, although a strong temporal overlap of both variants must be considered.

Conclusion

The circulation time of the oppida period fibulae A.65 and post-oppida period A.18 north of the Carpathians probably corresponds to the valid chronological scheme in the primary distribution area. There is no chronological difference. Both in the home areas and in the Przeworsk culture zone and in Pomerania, the A.18 fibulae are rather an element of women's attire. In both places, however, they also appear in men's graves (with military items). North of the Carpathians, also A.65 brooch were worn mainly by women.

The emerging longevity of the *Nauheimer Fibeln*, which with a modest number of chronologically relevant finds even persist into the younger part of LT D2, may be contested, since each new find can completely change our present picture. The fact that the majority of Polish finds of these fibulas are made of iron may indicate contacts with the Czech-Moravian oppida zone, but local production should also be taken into account.

Only in the case of the *Schüsselfibeln*/Kostrzewski J it can be proved that the period of use in the north lasts several decades longer. These brooches, which may tend to be older in Pomerania than in the Przeworsk culture area, seem to have also gone out of fashion a little earlier in the north. They reach the late part of the Pre-Roman Iron Age first in finds of the Przeworsk culture in Mazovia. This could be an indication of slightly different rhythms of temporary fashion in central and southern Poland on the one hand and in the north of the country on the other. The longevity of both archaeological provinces can easily be explained by local production, which would be more than plausible for this almost mass-produced costume accessory.

English by *Michael Erdrich* and *Natalie Venclová*

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