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## TERRA SIGILLATA FROM CLOSED FINDS NORTH OF THE CARPATHIANS

The most „recent” catalogue of Samian ware finds from Poland was published over 30 years ago (B. Rutkowski 1960)<sup>1</sup> and covers 216 pieces from 78 sites. As a result of intensive archaeological investigations and better knowledge of sources<sup>2</sup> the number of sites with terra sigillata has grown to approximately 120 (i.e. more than 50%) while the number of pieces themselves to over 1100 (more than 400%). Unfortunately, very often the sherds are small and burnt, and, as a result, difficult or impossible to indentify<sup>3</sup>. Only 17 complete vessels were discovered in their original shape (4 in recent years) mostly coming from the Wielbark Culture graves<sup>4</sup>, their preservation obviously favoured by inhumation. Very few of the new discoveries were identified<sup>5</sup> and almost none were published<sup>6</sup>. This results from two important reasons connected to each other — lack of background publications (particularly catalogues) and lack of specialists in this field who could identify the 1300 pieces<sup>7</sup>.

For reasons quoted conclusions presented below are fairly tentative.

Terra sigillata finds concentrate in central and, to some extent, southern Poland<sup>8</sup>. Almost all finds originate from the Przeworsk Culture territory. Only 17 sites are known from the Wielbark C. and 1 site from

the Bogaczewo C<sup>9</sup>. However, reasons for such a distribution of Samian will not be examined here, our primary concern will be chronology — namely, redefinition of relative and absolute chronology of 2nd half of 2nd c. AD.

The starting point would be the absence of terra sigillata east of the Vistula and San Rivers in the Przeworsk C. context (Fig. 1). This territory was abandoned by the Przeworsk C. population during phase B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub><sup>10</sup>, which offers the first chronological indication.

The second is the result of research on identified pieces of Samian from closed finds — i.e. burials with local grave goods which can be dated within one relative chronological phase. Since the first publication of this category of finds by K. Godłowski (1977), 12 new items have surfaced<sup>11</sup>.

The material published by K. Godłowski requires reexamination, primarily in terms of chronology of Eastern Gaulish and Rheinisch potters, altered, sometimes quite radically, since 1964<sup>12</sup>, especially by the last decade's intensive research<sup>13</sup>. In a few cases identification of potters<sup>14</sup> or relative chronology of native finds<sup>15</sup> were also changed.

district and Babięta, Olsztyn Voivodeship) — W. Nowakowski 1983, p. 91-93.

<sup>10</sup> T. Dąbrowska 1980; 1981; K. Godłowski 1986; R. Wołagiewicz 1986, A. Kokowski 1988; J. Okulicz 1989; J. Andrzejowski 1989.

<sup>11</sup> This new material has been adopted from Halina Walicka's unpublished MA thesis submitted in 1990 at the Institute of Archaeology, Warsaw University. The complete Lezoux vessel recently found in the rich grave (no 208) from Weklice, Elbląg voiv. was not considered here.

<sup>12</sup> Absolute chronology of terra sigillata from complex finds K. Godłowski (1977) adopted from the slightly outdated work of B. Rutkowski (1964).

<sup>13</sup> H. Bernhard 1981; A. King 1981; 1985; D. Gabler 1982; 1983; 1986; B. Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1983; F.-K. Bittner 1986.

<sup>14</sup> For instance from Ciemnowo, Ciechanów Voivodeship lost terra sigillata piece (found i.a. with 2 A.40 brooches — i.e. dated to B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub>) could be attributed to Reginus I style rather than to Januarius II (B. Rutkowski 1960, p. 52, no 19; 1964, p. 79).

<sup>15</sup> Gronowo grave 1, with a J II 3 strap-end and a spur Godłowski type V is dated here to B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub> — C<sub>1a</sub> (B<sub>2</sub> according K. Godłowski 1977, p. 212, however B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub> in K. Godłowski 1974,

<sup>1</sup> Some additional remarks — B. Rutkowski 1964.

<sup>2</sup> Scholars are now usually able to distinguish Samian sherds from modern pottery, however hundreds of pieces may still await rediscovery in stores from large-scale unpublished excavations of late '50 and '60.

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes possible only using special analytical methods recently proposed by P. Kaczanowski & J. Sztwiernia (1982).

<sup>4</sup> The recent 4 finds were discovered in: Odry, Pomielin, Weklice (Wielbark C.) and Lisów (Przeworsk C.).

<sup>5</sup> Usually by West-European experts, sometimes by B. Rutkowski.

<sup>6</sup> Publication of the Drochlin cemetery (P. Kaczanowski 1987) is an exception, on the other hand, false attribution of the potter (ALSUSI VSF [sic!] instead of Belsus II) at Odry, grave 423 being typical lapse (T. Grabarczyk, J. Kmiecinski, J. Maik, K. Walenta 1979, Pl.271).

<sup>7</sup> I.e. 1100 pieces which have yet to be identified and about 200 already identified requiring verification in view of recent research.

<sup>8</sup> New important evidence was found i.a. in Kietrz, Drochlin, Zadowice, Konopnica and Łódź.

<sup>9</sup> 2 from the entire Westbalt Circle (Izobilnoe, Primorsk

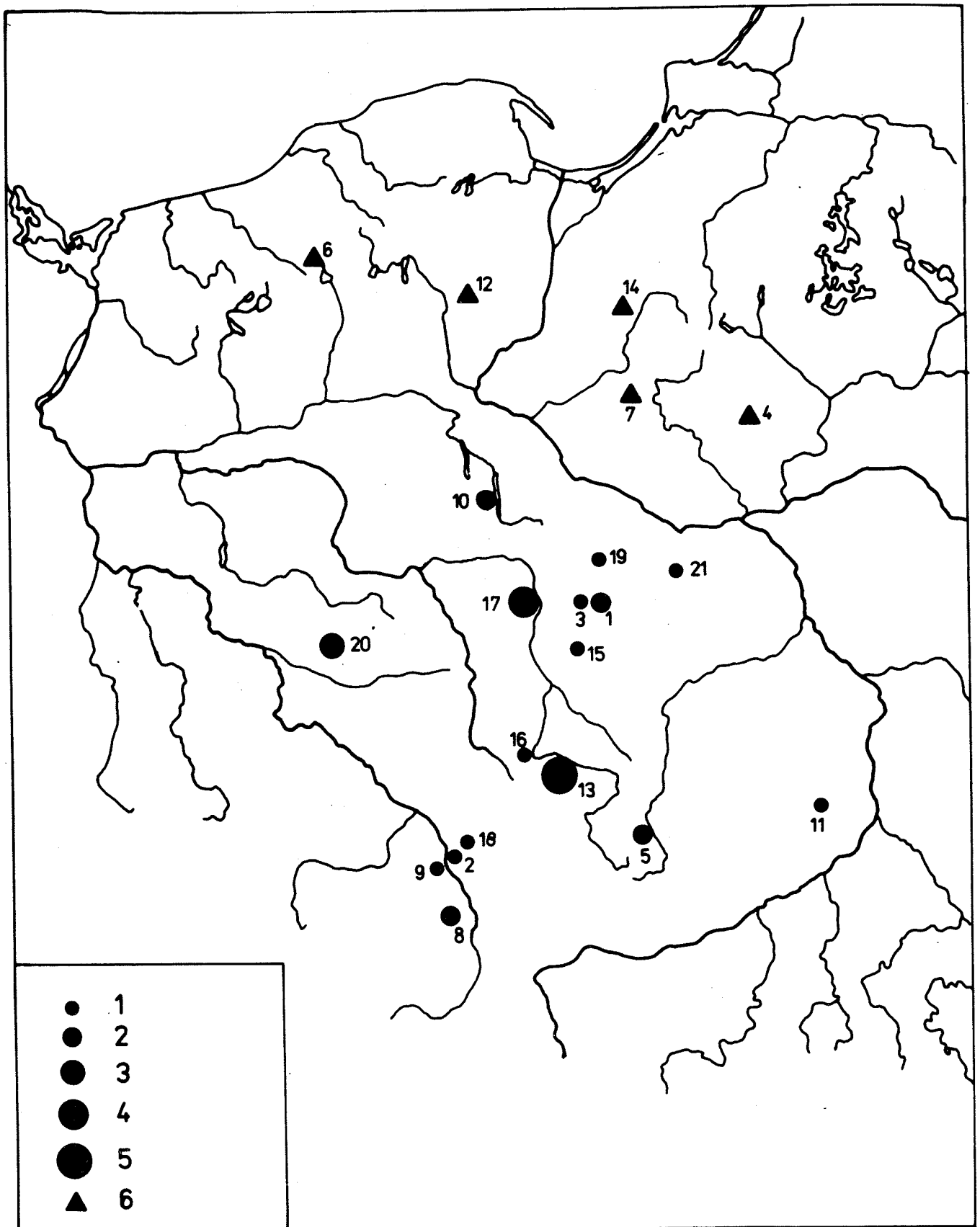
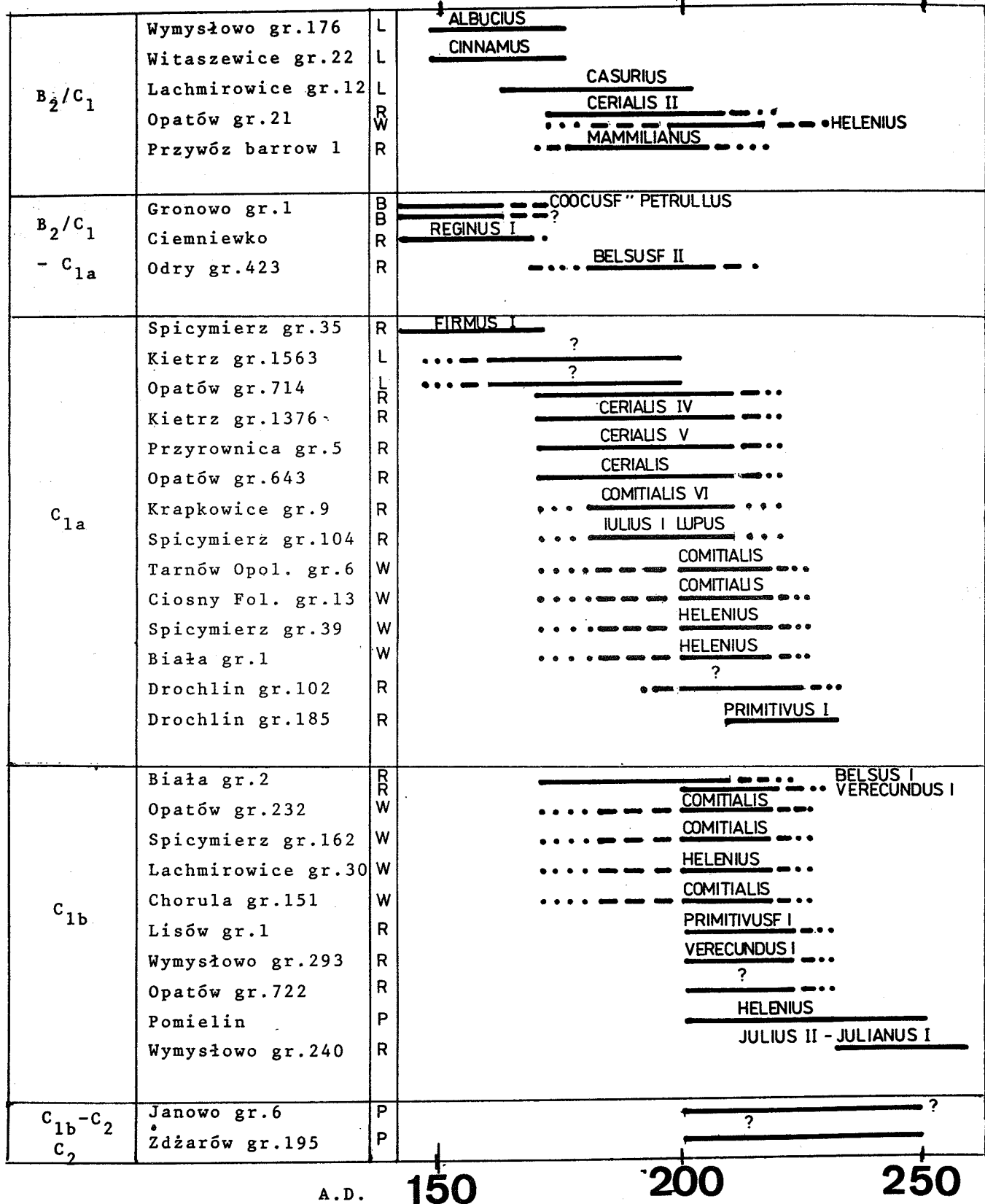


Fig. 1. Map of closed finds with terra sigillata: 1-5 Przeworsk Culture (1 — 1 close find with Samian on a site, 2 — 2 finds, 3 — 3 finds etc.); 6 — Wielbark Culture

List of sites: 1 — Biała, Łódź voiv.; 2 — Chorula, Opole voiv.; 3 — Ciosny Folwark, Łódź voiv.; 4 — Ciemnowko, Ciechanów voiv.; 5 — Drochlin, Częstochowa voiv.; 6 — Gronowo, Koszalin voiv.; 7 — Janowo, Toruń voiv.; 8 — Kietrz, Opole voiv.; 9 — Krapkowice, Opole voiv.; 10 — Lachmirowice, Bydgoszcz voiv.; 11 — Lisów, Częstochowa voiv.; 12 — Odry, Bydgoszcz voiv.; 13 — Opatów, Tarnobrzeg voiv.; 14 — Pomielin, Olsztyn voiv.; 15 — Przyrownica, Sieradz voiv.; 16 — Przywóz, Sieradz voiv.; 17 — Spycymierz, Konin voiv.; 18 — Tarnów Opolski, Opole voiv.; 19 — Witaszewice, Płock voiv.; 20 — Wymysłowo, Leszno voiv.; 21 — Żdźarów, Skierniewice voiv.

A.D. 150 200 250



A.D. 150 200 250

Fig. 2. Terra sigillata from closed finds (traditional Samian dating): L — Lezoux; B — Blickweiler; R — Rheinzabern; W — Westendorf; P — Pfaffenhofen

At present, 35 closed finds with identified terra sigillata are known from north of the Carpathians<sup>16</sup> — 30 from the Przeworsk and 5 from Wielbark C. (Fig. 1), including: 1 La Graufesenque<sup>17</sup>, 2 Blickweiler, 5 Lezoux, 19 Rheinzabern, 9 Westerndorf and 3 Pfaffenhofen specimens<sup>18</sup>. The number of workshops reflects more or less the general pattern of terra sigillata finds north of the Carpathians<sup>19</sup>.

The material presented in the diagram (Fig. 2)<sup>20</sup> is sufficient to analyse Przeworsk C. chronology of phases B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub>, C<sub>1a</sub> and C<sub>1b</sub> only. The Wielbark C. finds are used as additional and comparative material.

The first interesting point is the low proportion of terra sigillata from phase B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub> as compared to the abundant local material from this period<sup>21</sup> i.e. 6 (19%) pieces, while 15 (47%) pieces belong to phase C<sub>1a</sub> and 11 (34%) — to C<sub>1b</sub>.

Such a proportion reflects the intensity of influx of Samian ware north of the Carpathians in terms of relative chronology. Whether the amount of terra sigillata during phase B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub> was as yet negligible or the influx began only in its second half will be answered later on.

p. 87) and Kietrz, grave 1563, with a composite antler comb and a bucket-like pendant Kaczanowski type I 1 is attributed here to C<sub>1a</sub>. The latter was dated by M. Gedl (1988, p. 152-157) to B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub> but the silver snake bracelet fragment (Wójcik type IIIb) from this grave, being the Wielbark C. import, could not be treated as a chronological determinant of the Przeworsk C. complex. Moreover, even in the Wielbark C. bracelets of this type survived until C<sub>1b</sub>-C<sub>2</sub> phase (Krosno grave 370, Elbląg voivodeship, with a strap-end type J II, 6-7 — author's unpublished research).

<sup>16</sup> Out of 30 closed finds analysed by K. Godłowski (1977, p. 211-213) 7 graves are excluded: 1 from Slovakia (Očkov), 4 from Elbian Circle (Damme, Wilhelmsau, 2 graves from Leuna) and 2 from Przeworsk C. (Zadowice grave 281 — no terra sigillata and Opatów grave 741 — no verifiable relative chronological determinant within the assemblage). In other words, from 35 complex finds analysed here, 23 were taken into consideration by K. Godłowski (1977).

<sup>17</sup> Of Bio (30-70 AD) from Żerków grave 1, relatively dated to B<sub>2a</sub> (W. Kočka 1938; B. Rutkowski 1960, 89; 1964, 81), excluded from further consideration.

<sup>18</sup> The difference in numbers (35:39) results from the presence of sherds by two potters in the same find (i.e. in Opatów, gr. 21, Gronowo, gr. 1, Opatów, gr. 714, Biała gr. 2).

<sup>19</sup> I.e. domination of Rheinzabern (more than 50%), with Westerndorf — circa 25% and Lezoux — 8%, B. Rutkowski 1960, p. 39, 1964; the proportion of workshops is also similar in Slovakian finds, but with lower proportion of Rheinzabern and higher — of south and central Gaulish and Westerndorf potters — K. Kuzmová, R. Roth 1988.

<sup>20</sup> The chronology of potters in the diagram bases on the following works: Lezoux — J.A. Stanfield, G. Simpson 1958; E.R. Hartley 1972; G. Rogers 1974, Rheinzabern — H. Ricken, Ch. Fischer 1963; H. G. Simon 1968; H. Bernhard 1981, Westerndorf — H. Kellner 1981; Pfaffenhofen — H. Kellner 1964; D. Gabler 1978; for the relative chronology of the Przeworsk C. Eggers-Godłowski system is used (K. Godłowski 1970; 1985; 1988) and for the Wielbark C. — one by R. Wołagiewicz (1981).

<sup>21</sup> Graves from this phase very often outnumber quantitatively and qualitatively those from other stages as can be seen in longer-used Przeworsk C. cemeteries.

The second interesting point is the absolute chronology of the three phases quoted. If we accept the turn of 2nd and 3rd century AD suggested by K. Godłowski (1970; 1974, p. 87; 1977, p. 211-213) as the approximate date for the end of B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub> in Przeworsk C., terra sigillata would have been deposited in Przywóz barrow 1<sup>22</sup> and in Opatów grave 21<sup>23</sup> during the first decades of their mass production (confined within approx. 170-230 AD). The case of Opatów is particularly interesting given Westerndorf (Helenius) sherds found there. Such a period would have been insufficient for exporting, transmission, use and deposition of the Samian in question. Instead, the earliest possible close of B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub> would be somewhere during the second half or even final period of its production i.e. not earlier than 200 AD<sup>24</sup>. Early Roman style in female graves of the Przeworsk C. could therefore have survived longer than previously thought, until the beginning of 3rd century. It is even possible, that the end of phase C<sub>1a</sub> (Godłowski's 2nd horizon of weapon graves) did not exceed the end of transition phase B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub>.

The chronology of potters presented in the second diagram (Fig. 3) is more tentative and is based on Anthony King's typescript of the PhD thesis submitted at the Institute of Archaeology in London in 1985. A. King (1985) on the basis of stratigraphical correlation of terra sigillata with coins in well-dated camps like Corbridge, Zugmantel or Niederbieber indicated both the period and relative volume of production of each potter. In the dissertation among others, in group III of Central Gaulish potters he distinguished CG IIIa (Cinnamus-Cerialis and Cinnamus earlier styles) and CG IIIb (Cinnamus main style and Albucius). The most important conclusion from our point of view is that the main production of CG IIIb should be dated to late 2nd c. AD. Accordingly, the majority of Lezoux production found north of the Carpathians (less than 10% of all finds), could have begun to arrive starting from late 2nd century, therefore, later than previously thought. This delay could be of great importance particularly, if compared with the already quoted absence of Samian ware to the east of the Vistula River, in Przeworsk C. context, area abandoned by Przeworsk C. population during phase B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>22</sup> Fragments by Mammilianus from Rheinzabern were discovered here with i.a. a bronze, silver gilt brooch A V 95 (dreisprossen Fibel). However, the homogeneity of this assemblage is somewhat doubtful (M. Kowalczyk 1968; K. Godłowski 1977, 212).

<sup>23</sup> Fragments by Helenius from Westerndorf were found here (B. Rutkowski 1960, p. 71, 1964, 79) with fragments of 2 A.II brooches of Eastern series — K. Godłowski 1959, 185-186, fig. 12.

<sup>24</sup> Such a possibility was suggested in the most recent works by K. Godłowski (1982, p. 66-67; 1985, p. 68; 1988, p. 38-41).

A.D.

150

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B <sub>2</sub> /C <sub>1</sub>	Wymysłowo gr.176	L	.. <u>ALBUCIUS</u> ..
	Witaszewice gr.22	L	.. <u>CINNAMUS</u> ..
	Lachmirowice gr.12	L	.. <u>CASURIUS</u> ..
	Opatów gr.21	R W	.. <u>CERALIS II</u> .. <u>HELENIUS</u>
	Przywóz barrow 1	R	.. <u>MAMMILIANUS</u> ..
B <sub>2</sub> /C <sub>1</sub> - C <sub>1a</sub>	Gronowo gr.1	B B	<u>COOCUSF</u> " <u>PETRULLUS</u>
	Ciemniewko	R	<u>REGINUS I</u>
	Odry gr.423	R	<u>BELSUSF II</u>
C <sub>1a</sub>	Spicymierz gr.35	R	.. <u>FIRMUS I</u> ..
	Kietrz gr.1563	R	.. <u>CERIALIS</u> ..
	Opatów gr.714	R	.. <u>CERIALIS IV</u> ..
	Kietrz gr.1376	R	.. <u>CERIALIS V</u> ..
	Przyrownica gr.5	L	.. <u>?</u> ..
	Opatów gr.643	L R	.. <u>?</u> .. ?
	Krapkowice gr.9	R	.. <u>COMITALIS VI</u> ..
	Spicymierz gr.104	R	.. <u>ILULIS I LUPUS</u> ..
	Tarnów Opol. gr.6	W	.. <u>COMITALIS</u> ..
	Ciosny Fol. gr.13	W	.. <u>COMITALIS</u> ..
	Spicymierz gr.39	W	.. <u>HELENIUS</u> ..
	Biała gr.1	W	.. <u>HELENIUS</u> ..
	Drochlin gr.102	R	.. <u>?</u> ..
	Drochlin gr.185	R	.. <u>PRIMITIVUS I</u> ..
C <sub>1b</sub>	Biała gr.2	R R	<u>BELSUS I</u> .. <u>VERECUNDUS I</u>
	Opatów gr.232	W	.. <u>COMITALIS</u> ..
	Spicymierz gr.162	W	.. <u>COMITALIS</u> ..
	Lachmirowice gr.30	W	.. <u>HELENIUS</u> ..
	Chorula gr.151	W	.. <u>COMITALIS</u> ..
	Lisów gr.1	R	.. <u>PRIMITIVUS I</u> ..
	Wymysłowo gr.293	R	.. <u>VERECUNDUS I</u> ..
	Opatów gr.722	R	.. <u>?</u> ..
	Pomielin	P	.. <u>HELENIUS</u> ..
	Wymysłowo gr.240	R	.. <u>JULIUS II - JULIANUS I</u> ..
C <sub>1b</sub> -C <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub>	Janowo gr.6	P	.. <u>?</u> ..
	Zdżarów gr.195	P	.. <u>?</u> ..

A.D.

150

200

250

Fig. 3. Terra sigillata from closed finds (Samian dating A. King 1985)

Changes in dating proposed by A. King are controversial and have not yet been accepted<sup>25</sup>. Furthermore, in current opinion the export of Lezoux ware to the Danubian region faltered as a result of Marcomanic Wars (D. Gabler 1982; 1986; D. Gabler, A.H. Vaday 1986). In any case, finds of Lezoux sigillata in Poland are not numerous<sup>26</sup>. This means that the mass influx of Samian ware to area in question could not have begun prior to the close of phase B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub>, possibly only after the Marcomanic Wars. Similarly, influx of terra sigillata to Slovakia Moravia or Sarmatian territory achieved maximum intensity after 180 AD (D. Gabler, A. H. Vaday 1986; E. Droberjar 1991; K. Kuzmová, P. Roth 1988). Significantly, the onset of the wave of sestertii from Rheinland reaching the South Baltic Coast also started after this date (A. Bursche 1992).

The suggested 20-30 years' delay could considerably change the current perception of relations between the Roman Empire and Barbaricum in the second half of the 2nd century (H.W. Böhme 1977; K. Godłowski 1982; 1985b, p. 346; J. Wielowiejski 1982). A discussion in literature goes on whether Marcomanic Wars interrupted the traditional southern direction of contacts replacing it by Baltic Sea route or, conversely, whether they provoked an acceleration in trade with Pannonia. Insights gained from reexamination of sources argue for an entirely different view. Distinct categories of imports and different channels would have been involved prior, during and after the Wars. I.e. pre-war trade links are reflected e.g. by a considerable amount of bronze vessels; political relations — the only type of contacts possible during

years of hostilities — such as loots, tributes, war contributions or ransom may have been the main source of denarii influx; resumption of trade relations, greatly flourishing during Severian period, is visible in large quantities of terra sigillata, glass beakers or sestertii, the latter admittedly brought from the Rheinland (A. Bursche 1992). The view presented here could be more consistent with the general picture of the period emerging from written records (J. Kolendo 1982).

Both diagrams (Fig. 2 and 3) seem to indicate that the end of phase B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub> should be moved somewhere after 200 AD. It is possible that some delay in the subsequent phases of the Przeworsk C. as compared to views of K. Godłowski (1974; 1985a; 1988) on the subject should be accepted.

This later date would shift towards the Westbalt Circle absolute chronology which is based on the frequent occurrence of sestertii in burials (K. Godłowski 1974; A. Bursche 1992). It is interesting that graves dated to B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub> contained very few sestertii while starting from phase C<sub>1</sub> their volume rapidly increased. Changes in chronology proposed above refute theories of the supposedly „old fashioned” character of the Westbalt circle in the Late Roman Period<sup>27</sup>, an extraordinary notion given intensive contacts of Romans with Westbalts in the time (J. Okulicz 1976; W. Nowakowski 1983; 1992; J. Kolendo 1987; 1992).

Of course propositions presented above need to be verified — particularly further study is needed of all terra sigillata finds north of the Carpathians. However, the first step should be to update the identification of all available evidence.

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<sup>25</sup> D. Gabler for instance, disagrees with his thesis — view presented in discussion at the „Römische Funde in der Germania Magna” conference in Friedberg (Germany), September 1990.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. footnote 19; they are relatively rare also in Slovakia (K. Kuzmová, P. Roth 1988).

<sup>27</sup> K. Godłowski (1974) suggested longer continuation of styles in Westbalt Circle than in the German cultures of Central Europe.

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