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## LADY FROM THE WEST BURIED IN THE MIDDLE OF NOWHERE? AN EXCEPTIONAL GRAVE FROM THE LATE PRE-ROMAN PERIOD AT BUDZISZKI AND THE QUESTION OF THE EMERGENCE OF THE PRZEWORSK CULTURE IN NORTH-EASTERN MAZOVIA

### ABSTRACT

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A cremation grave from the Late Pre-Roman Period, discovered at Budziszki in north-eastern Mazovia, offers insights into the emergence of the Przeworsk culture in this poorly researched border region. The burial, probably of an adult woman, contained a bimetallic 'ball brooch', a clay urn and a stone polisher. Many features of this grave indicate western affinities. Some originate in the western zone of the Przeworsk culture and the so-called Jastorf culture in the Polish Lowland, while others trace back to the Jastorf culture of the middle Elbe and Oder regions. The grave, dated to phase A1b or early A2, predates the establishment of a stable settlement associated with the Przeworsk culture in the area. The evidence, including the Budziszki burial and other discussed finds, suggests that the presence of small, mobile groups from the west may have initiated the local development of this cultural unit. The Budziszki find exemplifies the hybrid character of the cultural processes shaping the Przeworsk culture in north-eastern Mazovia.

Keywords: Przeworsk culture, Jastorf culture, 'ball brooch' (Kugelfibel), Late Pre-Roman Period, burial rite

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## INTRODUCTION

The middle Narew River basin formed the border zone of the Przeworsk culture settlement for over three centuries (phases A2-B2/C1), and at the same time, remains one of the least archaeologically explored regions of Poland. A grave from the Late Pre-Roman Period, discovered during rescue excavations at Site 2 at Budziszki, Ostrów Mazowiecka district, sheds new light on the elusive process of the formation of this cultural unit on the border of Mazovia and Podlachia, suggesting the involvement of newcomers from the west.

## CONTEXT

Site no. 2 at Budziszki is located on the eastern side of the provincial road no. 677, which connects Ostrów Mazowiecka with Łomża, between the eastern outskirts of Gniazdowo and the western edge of Budziszki (Fig. 1). The site lies atop a small elevation of approximately 118 m a.s.l., bordered to the south and east by the marshy valleys of the Orz River and an unnamed stream flowing into it from the north (Fig. 2). The site was discovered in 2018 during a survey commissioned by the General Directorate for National Roads and Motorways, Białystok Branch. The results of this prospection formed the basis for the decision to conduct a rescue excavation prior to the planned construction of the S61 expressway. Excavations were conducted by the Ab Terra Foundation between October 1, 2021, and July 6, 2022, under the direction of Sławomir Miłek. During this time, an area of 169.73 ares was investigated, revealing 460 archaeological features, of which only 90

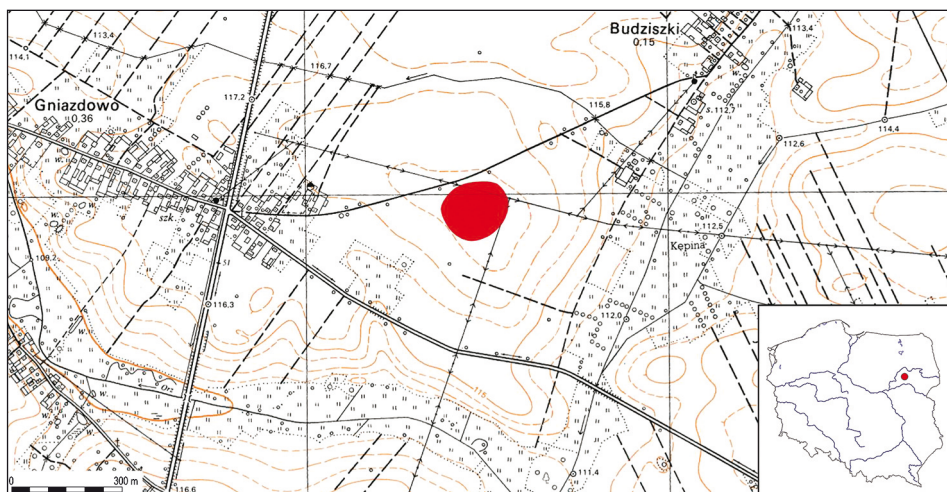
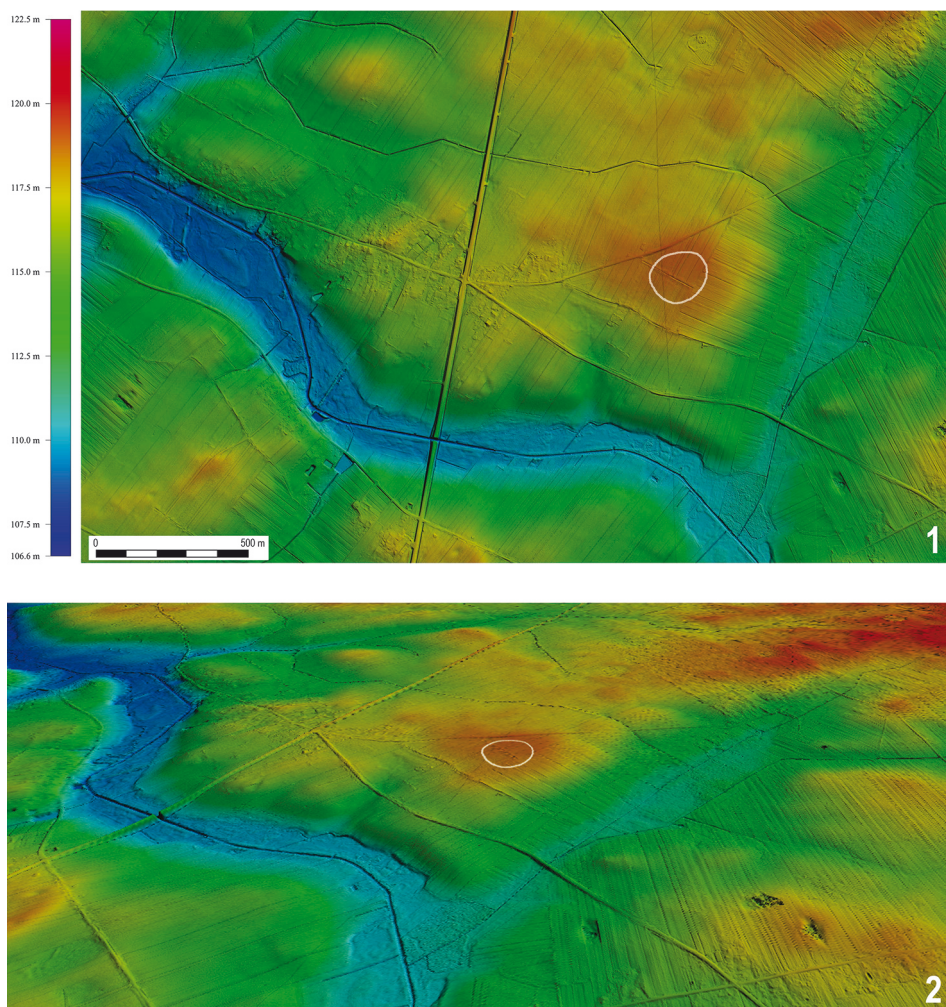


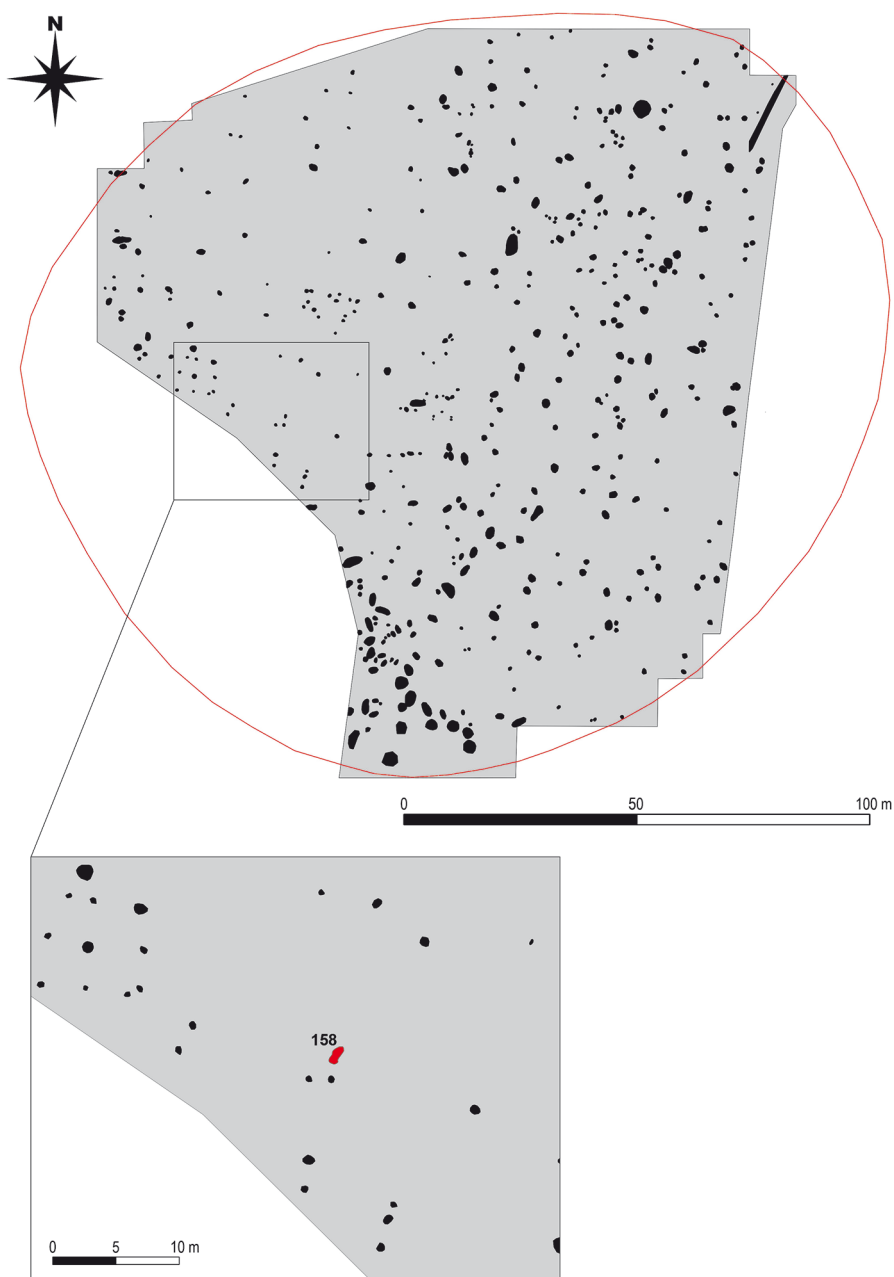
Fig. 1. Location of Site 2 at Budziszki. Graphics by T. Gawęda

(19.6%) contained datable material (Fig. 3). The vast majority of these (84) were functionally diverse features associated with settlement activity during the Roman Period, five features can be associated with the Late Middle Ages, and one – Feature 158 – with the Late Pre-Roman Period (hereinafter: LP-RP); the latter is the focus of the present study.

Feature 158 appeared at the level of the virgin soil, approximately 0.2 m below the surface, as an irregularly oval soil discolouration measuring  $0.96 \times 0.45$  m, oriented along the NE-SW axis (Figs 4 and 5). Its dark brown fill was heavily mixed – especially in the central part – with large yellow inclusions of clayey sand, suggesting that the original



**Fig. 2.** Digital terrain model of the vicinity of Site 2 at Budziszki, with the site's location marked: 1 – plan, 2 – isometric projection (view from the southeast). Graphics by M. Woźniak and A. Maciałowicz



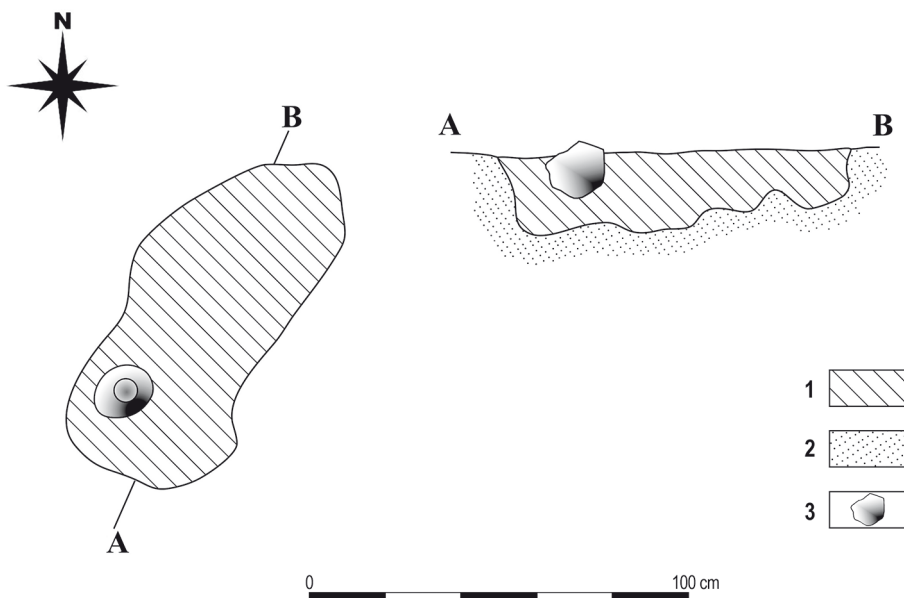
**Fig. 3.** Plan of the excavated area of Site 2 at Budziszki (in grey) with the range of the site based on fieldwalking surveys (red outline). Location of Feature 158 (urn grave) marked in red. Graphics by T. Gawęda



structure of the feature had been at least partially disturbed by mechanical means. The cross-section of the pit was nearly basin-shaped, with an uneven bottom and a maximum depth of 0.22 m. In the feature's top level, in its SW part, an upside-down clay vessel was uncovered. Inside the vessel were heavily burnt, small fragments of human bones, along with a bimetallic brooch and a stone polisher. No charcoal was present.



Fig. 4. Budziszki, Site 2. Plan (1) and cross-section (2) of Feature 158 (urn grave). Photo by J. Sosnowski



**Fig. 5.** Budziszki, Site 2. Plan and cross-section of Feature 158 (urn grave):  
1 – dark brown sand with yellow inclusions, 2 – yellow sand (virgin soil), 3 – clay urn.  
Graphics by T. Gawęda and A. Maciałowicz

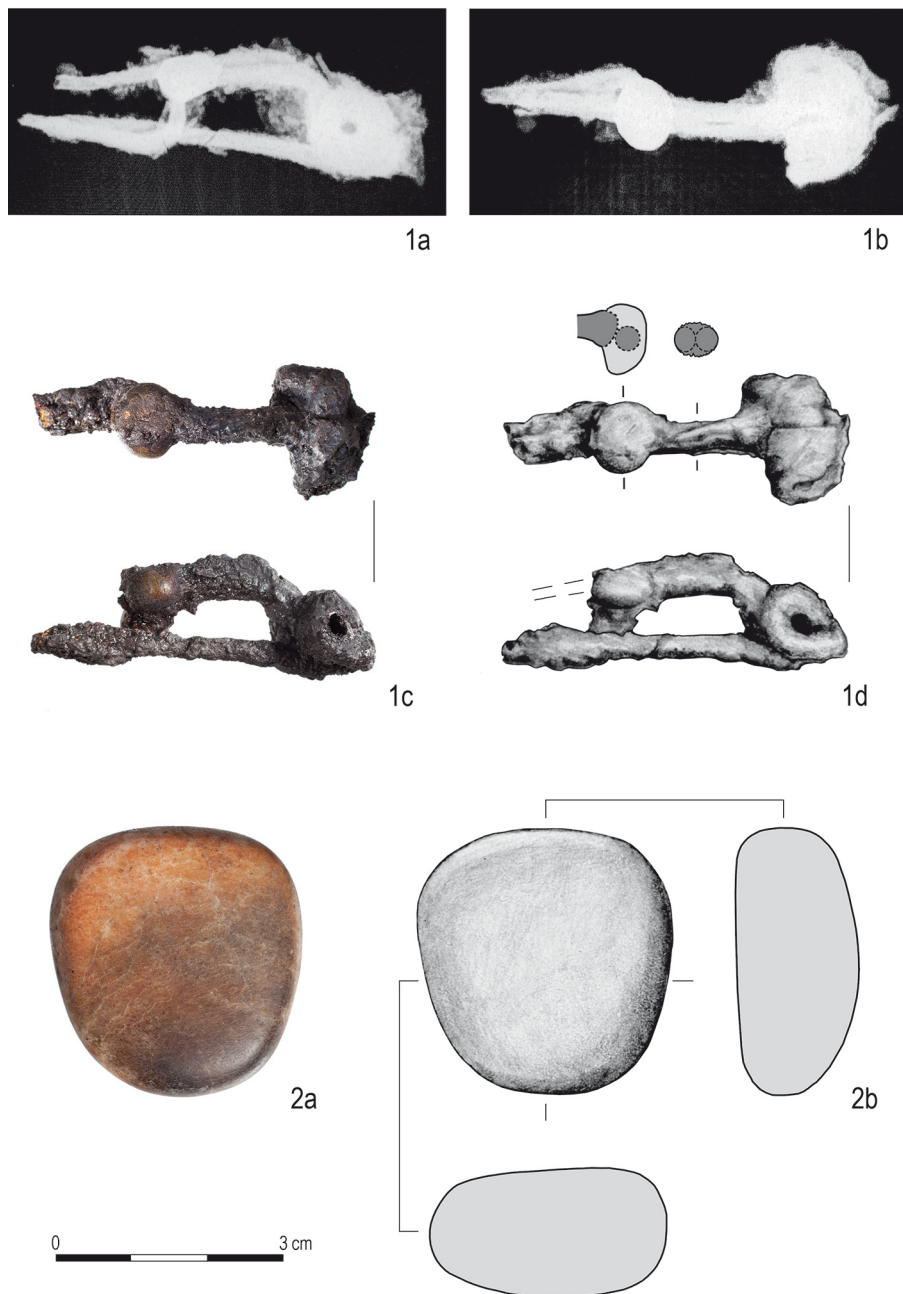
An anthropological analysis of the highly fragmented bone remains (304 g), carried out by Dr Maurycy Stanaszek of the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw, indicated that they probably belonged to a woman of *adultus/maturus* age (approx. 35 years old).

#### Grave inventory:

**1.** Iron wire brooch with bronze 'balls' on the bow; partially preserved (the front 'ball' and the end of the catchplate with the bend of the foot are missing), corroded. The bent foot runs along the bow and extends towards the spring, joined to the bow at its rear bend by a small, flattened spherical knob ('ball') cast in bronze. The brooch has a 6-coil spring with an upper chord. Preserved length of the brooch before conservation: 4.9 cm (now 4.6 cm); height: 1.6 cm; knob diameter:  $0.85 \times 1$  cm; knob height: 0.6 cm (Fig. 6: 1a-1d).

**2.** Stone polisher, with one surface clearly flattened and strongly polished (working surface). Dimensions:  $3.6 \times 3.4 \times 1.7$  cm (Fig. 6: 2a, 2b).

**3.** Clay mug (urn) with a gently rounded transition in a slightly biconical body and a wide, multiple faceted rim; partially preserved (*e.g.*, missing handle). Both surfaces are initially smooth, now partially eroded, brick-grey-brown in colour. Abundant fine-grained mineral admixture. Height: 11.6 cm; rim diameter approx. 15.5 cm, base diameter: 6.3 cm (Fig. 7).



**Fig. 6.** Budziszki, Site 2. Small finds from Feature 158 (urn grave):  
 1 – iron brooch with a bronze knob (1a, 1b – before conservation); 2 – stone polisher: X-ray image  
 by J. Ludziejewska (1a, 1b); photo by M. Bogacki (1c, 2a); drawing by A. Grzędzińska (1d, 2b)





Fig. 7. Budziszki, Site 2. Clay urn from Feature 158 (urn grave).  
Drawing by A. Grzędzińska, photo by M. Bogacki

## BROOCH

The most distinctive artefact from the grave in question – and at the same time unique in this part of Poland – is the small, bimetallic so-called ‘ball brooch’ (German: Kugelfibel). Based on its condition immediately after discovery (before the catchplate and bent foot partially disintegrated prior to conservation), it initially measured approximately 5 cm in length (Fig. 6: 1a, 1b). However, owing to the low height of the bow, clearly elongated catchplate, and short 6-coil spring, it can be described as very slender. At the point where the bent foot meets the rear bend of the bow, one of the ‘balls’ (the rear one) is preserved.

It takes the form of a small, flattened spherical knob cast in bronze. Based on parallels, it is reasonable to assume that a second, similar 'ball', now missing, was located closer to the spring, connecting the end of the extended foot with the front part of the bow.

'Ball brooches' constitute a large and morphologically diverse category of artefacts, for which there is no comprehensive classification covering their full diversity. Only a few specific types have been defined (the specimen from Budziszki does not match any of them). However, a more general division based on raw materials, morphology, and stylistic features has been proposed (Bieger 2003, 15-35). According to this framework, the Budziszki find can be broadly classified among small, slender bimetallic 'ball brooches' with a short spring and two small, undecorated 'balls'. Such specimens are particularly characteristic of Jastorf culture materials from the middle Elbe basin, especially Brandenburg, as well as the Gubin group from the middle Oder region, which shows strong cultural ties with the former area (Bieger 2003, 54-57, pls 42-44, 55-57; Grygiel 2018, 115, 116, fig. 55). In graves, they usually appear in pairs, and are often accompanied by an elongated belt hook, which is why they are interpreted as an element of women's costume (Domański 1975, 16; Bieger 2003, 53, 55, 56).

However, the Budziszki artefact stands out due to two features: the arrangement scheme and the shape of the decorative 'balls' (the latter of which, contrary to the term, are sometimes far from spherical). It represents the so-called scheme C according to A. Bieger (2003, 17, fig. 5), as the rear 'ball' encloses and covers the junction where the bent foot meets the bow, so that both these wires protrude from the 'ball' in different directions – backwards and downwards, respectively (Fig. 6: 1a). Moreover, this preserved 'ball', with its distinctly flattened form, corresponds to specific cast decorations found on some 'ball brooches' in the shape of lenticular or hemispherical knobs (Bieger 2003, 22, fig. 13). Scheme C and such more or less flattened 'balls' are primarily characteristic of bimetallic or all-bronze brooches from the northern part of the Jastorf culture (northern and north-eastern Germany), especially those classified as variant O by R. Beltz (*cf.*, Bieger 2003, 33, fig. 23, with references). These patterns probably spread from this region to Jutland and the Danish islands, including Bornholm, where – presumably – they gave rise to further brooch variants, occasionally featuring hemispherical bronze knobs cast together as a single element. The latter forms are now increasingly being recorded in northern Poland. However, most of these 'northern' specimens differ significantly from the Budziszki find. They tend to be stockier, have long, multi-coil springs, and their knobs are often decorated with incised ornamentation, sometimes filled with enamel (Bieger 2003, 41-53, pls 28-38, 105, 106; Andrzejowski and Maciałowicz 2017, 188-198, figs 9 and 10; Grygiel 2018, 118-120, fig. 56).

Meanwhile, among the aforementioned small, slender bimetallic brooches from the middle Elbe and Oder river basins, other 'ball' arrangement schemes are clearly predominant: in scheme A2, the rear 'ball' encloses only the bent foot and is not connected to the bow, while in scheme B – similar to scheme C – the 'ball' covers both the foot and the bow,



but is cast farther forward, away from the bend of the bow, so that both wires emerge from the rear of the 'ball', side by side (Bieger 2003, 54, 56, 60, figs 33A, 34A, 36A). Moreover, their bronze-cast decorations typically have the form of quite regular balls or are ring-shaped. Identifying specimens analogous to the Budziszki find in terms of the arrangement scheme and the shape of the 'balls' is challenging due to often imprecise illustrations and descriptions in the literature, as well as the poor preservation of many artefacts. However, a few more or less similar examples can be identified, mainly from western Brandenburg. The find from the settlement at Brück (Fig. 8: 1), although preserved only fragmentarily, confirms the presence in this region of small iron brooches fitted with pairs of flattened, undecorated bronze 'balls' arranged according to scheme C (Gustavs 1977, 66, fig. 3: e). A second example may be a brooch from the cemetery at Derwitz (Fig. 8: 2), which bears a close resemblance to the artefact from Budziszki (Bieger 2003, 81, 152: no. 343, pl. 42: 4). The state of preservation of four other brooches with flattened or hemispherical knobs – from Brielow (Grave 25), Bücknitz, Glienecke (Grave 19), and Großbeuthen (with three knobs) – makes it either impossible to determine their arrangement schemes or they represent the much more common scheme A2 (Bieger 2003, 150: no. 297; 151: no. 318; 154: nos. 373, 385, pls 43: 3, 13; 54: 3; 56: 6). Brooches with such features also occur sporadically in eastern Brandenburg, *e.g.*, in Frankfurt (Oder)-Nuhnen, Grave 2,

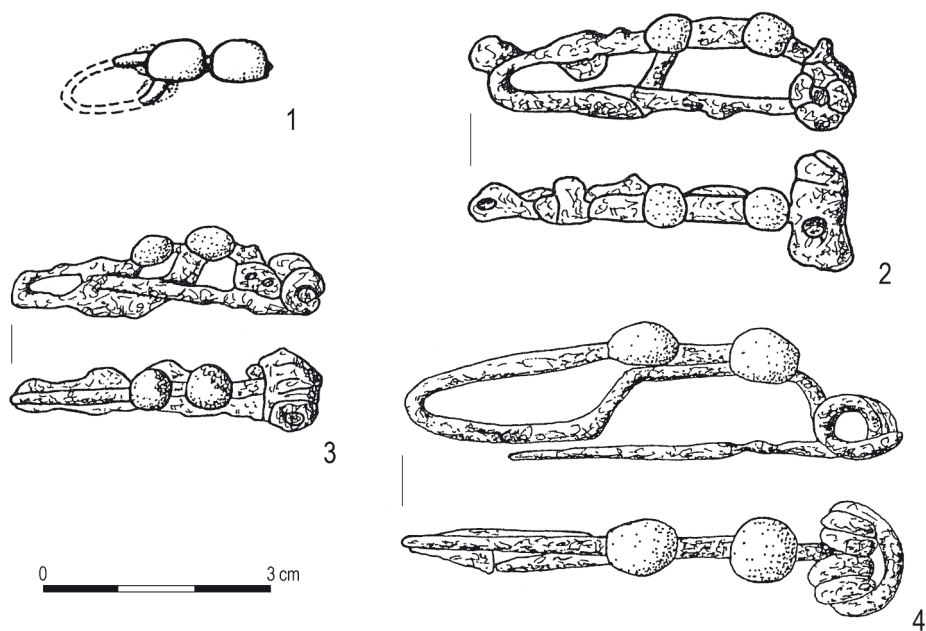
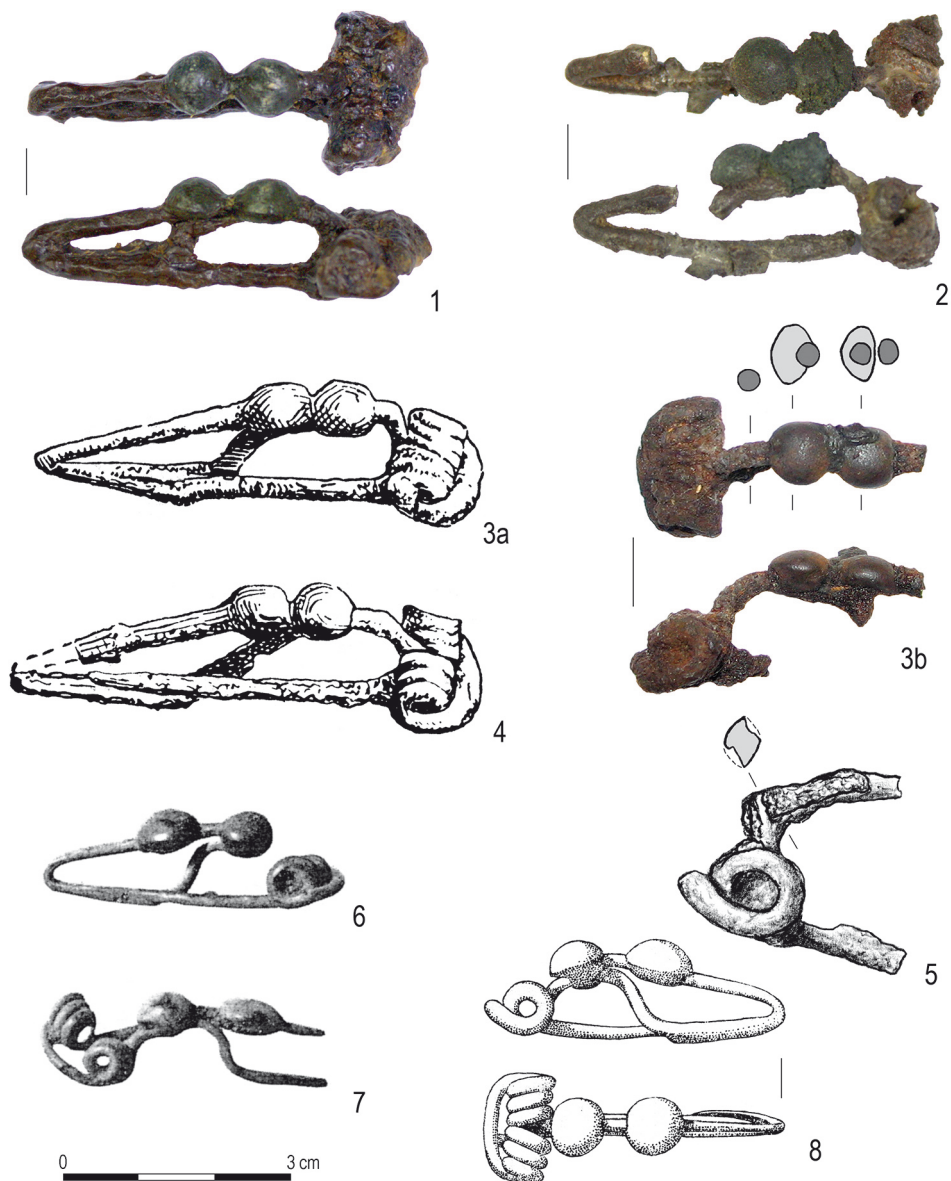


Fig. 8. Small, slender bimetallic 'ball brooches' with flattened knobs from Germany:  
1 – Brück; 2 – Derwitz; 3 – Schwelow, Grave 24; 4 – Mannheim-Straßenheim.  
After: Gustavs 1977 (1) and Bieger 2003 (2-4)



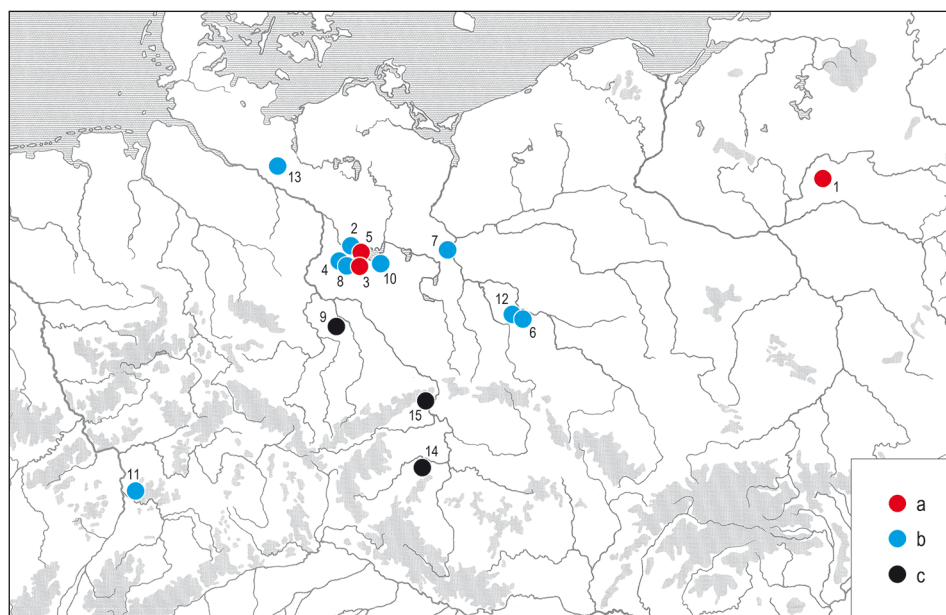
**Fig. 9.** Small, slender bimetallic (1-4) or bronze (6-8) 'ball brooches' with flattened knobs, as well as a fragment of an iron Gebhard Type 19d brooch (5): 1 – Domaniowice, Grave 85; 2 – Domaniowice, Grave 93; 3-5 – Nowe Miasteczko, Grave 2; 6, 7 – Ústí nad Labem-Neštětice, Grave 39; 8 – Stradonice. After: Tackenberg 1929 (3a, 4), Mähling 1944 (6, 7), and Břeň 1964 (8); photo by E. Przechrzta, processed by A. Maciąłowicz (1, 2; collection of Archaeological Museum of the Middle Oder Region in Zielona Góra, based in Świdnica, inv./cat. nos MAŚN 2329/1969:1362, MAŚN 2337/1969:1388); photo & drawing by A. Maciąłowicz (3b, 5; collection of Archaeological Museum, Branch of the City Museum of Wrocław, inv. no. MAW/III/2220)

in Mecklenburg, *e.g.*, in Schwechow, Grave 24 (Fig. 8: 3), and even – as a distant import – in Mannheim-Straßenheim in Baden-Württemberg (Fig. 8: 4; *cf.*, Lienau 1930, 221, pl. 6/I: 7, 8; Bieger 2003, 144: no. 197; 165: no. 559, pls 42: 6; 61: 4). It is also worth noting that small, slender brooches with flattened ‘balls’, though made entirely of iron, are also known from western Brandenburg (Bieger 2003, pls 77: 6; 102: 1, 2).

In the context of only partially analogous finds – those with different ‘ball’ arrangement schemes, sometimes featuring hemispherical knobs – it is important to highlight four brooches from the cemeteries of the Gubin group of the Jastorf culture in Lower Silesia (Fig. 9: 1-4): two from Nowe Miasteczko (formerly Neustädtel), Grave 2 (Tackenberg 1929, 244, fig. 5: 9, 10) and two others from Domaniewice, Graves 85 and 93 (Kołodziejski 1973, 128, fig. 7: f; Grygiel 2018, 120, fig. 56: 13, 14). The examples from Domaniewice differ not only in the arrangement scheme but also because both bronze hemispherical knobs were cast as a single, profiled decoration. Contrary to recent claims (Grygiel 2018, 120, 126), at least one brooch from Grave 2 at Nowe Miasteczko had two separately cast ‘balls’, as demonstrated by the preserved specimen with scheme A2 (Fig. 9: 3b). Very similar examples made entirely of bronze and arranged in scheme A2 are also known among ‘ball brooches’ of the Jüchsen variant. Several of these feature flattened or hemispherical, especially rear knobs (Fig. 9: 6-8), such as the specimen from Greppin in Saxony-Anhalt and three more from Bohemia: two from the Podmokly group cemetery at Ústí nad Labem-Neštětice (formerly Nestomitz), Grave 39, and one from the Celtic oppidum at Stradonice – probably an import from the latter cultural milieu (Mähling 1944, 117, 200, pl. 29: 2a, 2b; Břeň 1964, 219: no. 276, pl. 5: 276; Bieger 2003, 32, pl. 1: 3-5, 12).

Despite the differences in arrangement schemes (C or A2) and variations in the exact shape of the ‘balls’ – which are, however, always flattened (flat-spherical or hemispherical) – it can be argued that the discussed artefacts represent the same stylistic phenomenon. They reflect a shared aesthetic within a group of small, slender ‘ball brooches’ characteristic of the middle (and upper) Elbe and Oder river basins. The fact that certain specimens from the Gubin group were decorated with hemispherical knobs (cast as a single element in a few finds from Domaniewice) has been interpreted as a possible result of northern European stylistic influences, especially from Bornholm (Grygiel 2018, 118-120). While such inspiration cannot be ruled out in specific cases, it seems more likely that the flattened ‘balls’ of the examples from Brandenburg (and Budziszki) reflect stylistic trends originating in northern and north-eastern Germany. This is supported by the closer connections – evident in the distribution of various ‘ball brooch’ variants – between Brandenburg and regions such as Holstein and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, rather than with the aforementioned Baltic island (*cf.*, Bieger 2003, 56, maps 4, 5, 8, 14, 20). From the middle Elbe, this stylistic current, already somewhat modified, may have reached culturally related groupings such as the Gubin group in Lower Silesia and the Podmokly group situated around the Elbe ravine between Saxony and Bohemia (Fig. 10).

Small, slender bimetallic ‘ball brooches’ from the middle Elbe basin are generally dated to phases LT C1b–C2, with an emphasis on the latter (Bieger 2003, 80, 81, fig. 46). Specimens following scheme C appear to emerge slightly later, in LT C2, and may have remained in use into the early LT D1 phase. For instance, the aforementioned brooch from Brück can presumably be dated to the beginning of the Late La Tène period, as it was accompanied by fragments of a wheel-thrown vessel attributed to that time, confirmed by parallels from grave assemblages with well-established chronologies (Gustavs 1977, 66, 67, fig. 3: a; *cf.*, Müller 1985, 119, pl. 71: 7). It is also possible that the brooch from Derwitz – closely resembling the Budziszki find – originates from a context dated to the beginning of phase LT D1 (Bieger 2003, 81, 152: no. 343). As for the brooches from the Gubin group, decorated with pairs of flattened or hemispherical knobs (arranged according to scheme A2), they are generally dated to phase A1b of the LP-RP, which aligns with the bulk of phase LT C2 (Grygiel 2018, 126, 134–135, fig. 62: 17). It is worth noting, however, that in grave 2 at Nowe Miasteczko, the pair of brooches was accompanied, among other items, by a fragment of a brooch of Gebhard Type 19d (Fig. 9: 5; Tackenberg 1929, 244, fig. 5: 7).



**Fig. 10.** Distribution of small, slender ‘ball brooches’ with flattened knobs, mentioned in the text: bimetallic specimens, possibly with scheme C (a) or other (b), specimens made entirely of bronze with scheme A2 (c). 1 – Budziszki; 2 – Brielow; 3 – Brück; 4 – Bücknitz; 5 – Derwitz; 6 – Domaniowice; 7 – Frankfurt (Oder)-Nuhnen; 8 – Glienecke; 9 – Greppin; 10 – Großbeuthen; 11 – Mannheim-Straßenheim; 12 – Nowe Miasteczko; 13 – Schwechow; 14 – Stradonice; 15 – Ústí nad Labem-Neštětice.

Graphics by A. Maciałowicz

**Table 1.** Chemical composition of the bronze ‘ball’ on the brooch from Budziszki (in wt%)

Al	Si	P	Mn	Fe	Ni	Cu	Zn	As	Ag	Sn	Sb	Au	Pb	Bi
0.12	0.85	0.04	0	0.21	0.01	<b>67.46</b>	0	0.17	0.07	<b>8.16</b>	0	0	<b>22.91</b>	0

This type represents a transitional form between Types B and C in J. Kostrzewski’s typology (1919), and its dating within both the La Tène and Jastorf cultures falls at the end of LT C2 and beginning of LT D1. This corresponds well with its recently proposed dating in the Przeworsk culture to the newly defined A2a stage (Gebhard 1991, 82, fig. 42; Mistewicz *et al.* 2021, 96–102).

The decorative ‘balls’ were cast onto the formed bow and foot of the brooch, probably using the lost-wax technique. An analysis of the chemical composition of the preserved ‘ball’ on the brooch from Budziszki, performed using the SEM-EDS method at the Bio- and Archaeometry Laboratory of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw (equipment: SEM Tescan Vega 4 and Ultim Max Oxford Instruments), showed that it was made of lead-tin bronze (Table 1). The addition of lead increases the alloy’s fluidity and lowers its melting point, but the measured lead content of 22.91% is surprisingly high. There are no directly comparable data for similar ‘ball brooches’ from the middle Elbe or Oder basins. However, in the case of bronze brooch elements from northern Germany and either northern European imports or their local derivatives found in Poland, lead is often a significant component, typically up to ca. 10%; specimens exceeding 20% lead content are rare (*cf.*, Meier 2000; Andrzejowski and Maciałowicz 2017, 196, 197, table 1; Bokinić 2005, 162, 163, appendix 4). Heavy leaded bronzes are also known from the La Tène culture, for example, in the Czech Republic. A sudden increase in lead content occurred during phases LT B2b–C1, *i.e.*, during the period of the so-called ‘plastic style’, which required casting small, sharply profiled decorative details (Danielisová *et al.* 2021, 278, 279, fig. 3). In turn, although the average lead content in bronze artefacts decreased during the Late La Tène period, some items found in oppida – such as ‘4-ray wheel amulets’ or fragments of imported metal vessels – display chemical compositions very similar to that of the Budziszki brooch (Danielisová *et al.* 2018, 11, table 1; 2020, 38, table 2). Given the current lack of comparative data, particularly from ‘laténized’ cultures, it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions from this similarity. It is also important to consider alternative explanations for the high lead reading in this sample – for example, repeated remelting (recycling) of metal prior to casting (*cf.*, Meier 2000, 127), or the possible presence of a lead inclusion in the analysed portion, as this metal tends to form such inclusions in copper alloys (Schwab 2014, 177, 178, fig. 4; Mecking 2020, 10).

In conclusion, the Budziszki brooch was most likely produced within the Jastorf culture milieu of the middle Elbe basin, probably in western Brandenburg, where such items were a common component of women’s attire. Given the presence of similar brooches in



the Gubin group on the middle Oder – strongly connected culturally with Brandenburg – the role of its communities in transmitting the object far to the east cannot be ruled out (Fig. 10). Based on the dating of counterparts in the Jastorf culture, the Budziszki brooch should most likely be assigned to stage A1b or possibly the beginning of phase A2 (probably stage A2a) in the relative chronology of the Przeworsk culture.

## STONE POLISHER

A small pebble, made of quartzite or possibly sandstone (according to the expert opinion of Dr hab. Prof. PAN Łukasz Kruszewski of the Institute of Geological Sciences, Polish Academy of Sciences), was discovered in the grave. Its flattened and polished surface bears numerous, clearly visible traces of friction (Fig. 11). Similar artefacts are commonly found in burials of the Przeworsk and Oksywie cultures with a predominantly female grave goods and are usually interpreted as stone polishers (*e.g.*, Dąbrowska 1997, 98; Bokinić 2005, 104; Czarnecka 2007, 90, 91). Although this interpretation was initially based solely on assumptions, a small number of traceological analyses have since confirmed that these tools were likely used to smooth the surfaces of clay vessels or leather (Mistewicz *et al.*



Fig. 11. Budziszki, Site 2. Traces of use of the stone polisher from Feature 158 (urn grave) viewed with 20x magnification. Photo by K. Pyżewicz

2021, 156, 157, with further references). In both of the aforementioned cultural groupings, stone polishers are documented as early as stage A1b following the chronology of M. Grygiel (2018), as evidenced by associated brooch types (Kaszewska 1962, pl. 16: 3, 4; 2023, pls 35/43: 1, 3; 60/154: 1, 4; Bokiniec 2005, pl. 67/160: 7-9). By contrast, such tools are absent from graves of the Jastorf culture in the middle Elbe region and appear only as exceptional finds in its Gubin group (Lewczuk 1993, 178, fig. 1: 7). Their presence there is probably the result of influence of the funerary practices of the Przeworsk culture.

## VESSEL

The mug used as an urn, despite its slight asymmetry, has a clearly biconical shape, defined by a gentle inward inclination of the upper part of the body and a subtly marked carination, below which the walls narrow sharply toward a very small-diameter base (Fig. 7). Its precise classification is difficult, but it clearly refers to Przeworsk culture mugs, Types I.1 and I.3 (Dąbrowska 1973, 500; 1997, 102). The wide, horizontally extended rim with clearly defined edges, resulting from careful multiple faceting from the outside, corresponds to variant 'a' according to T. Dąbrowska (1973, 499; 1997, 101), or Type A.1 according to A. Mistewicz, A. Maciałowicz and M. Woźniak (2021, 166, 167). This rim form suggests an early date within the LP-RP, most likely phases A1b-A2a as per the latter authors.

Przeworsk culture mugs with a strongly profiled, biconical body are rarely found in phases A1-A2. Typically, the upper sections of these mugs are directed upwards, even if slightly rounded as in Type I.1. This trend clearly distinguishes early Przeworsk pottery from vessels of the so-called Jastorf culture in the Polish Lowland (hereinafter: JCPL), as well as from the Gubin group and the Oksywie culture, where mugs and vases with a distinct carination are relatively common (*cf.*, Domański 1975; Strobin 2011; Grygiel 2015). Consequently, only a few A1-A2 vessels from the Przeworsk culture resemble the Budziszki find, and the generally poor preservation of both grave and settlement ceramics complicates direct comparisons. A few comparable vessels from Mazovian cemeteries are known (Fig. 12: 1, 4, 6); among them, only the specimen from Grave 77 in Warsaw-Wilanów is dated to A1b, while the rest belong to phase A2, most likely its later stage A2b (*e.g.*, Marciniak 1957, pl. 70: 1; Okulicz 1971, fig. 44: f; Czarnecka 2007, pl. 223/274: 7; Mistewicz *et al.* 2021, pl. 19/30: 3). Some stylistically related but larger vessels from this region are closer to vases than mugs (Okulicz 1971, fig. 44: e; Oporska 2005, 21, pl. 8: 4).

More biconical mugs – including 'large', rather stocky examples – are found in the western Przeworsk zone (Fig. 12: 2, 3, 5), such as in Greater Poland, Kujawy, and Silesia (*e.g.*, Seger 1902, fig. 4; Wydra 1939, fig. 1; Wiślański 1959, fig. 61: 1, 2; Kokowski 1989, figs 37: 2; 43: 3; Martyniak *et al.* 1997, pl. 61: 3; Kaszewska 2023, pl. 141/471: 2; possibly also Bokiniec 1999, figs 5/5: 1; 9/14: 4; 9/17: 1). Notably, some of these come from well-dated A1b and A2a assemblages. In Mazovia, this mug body style became more common only at

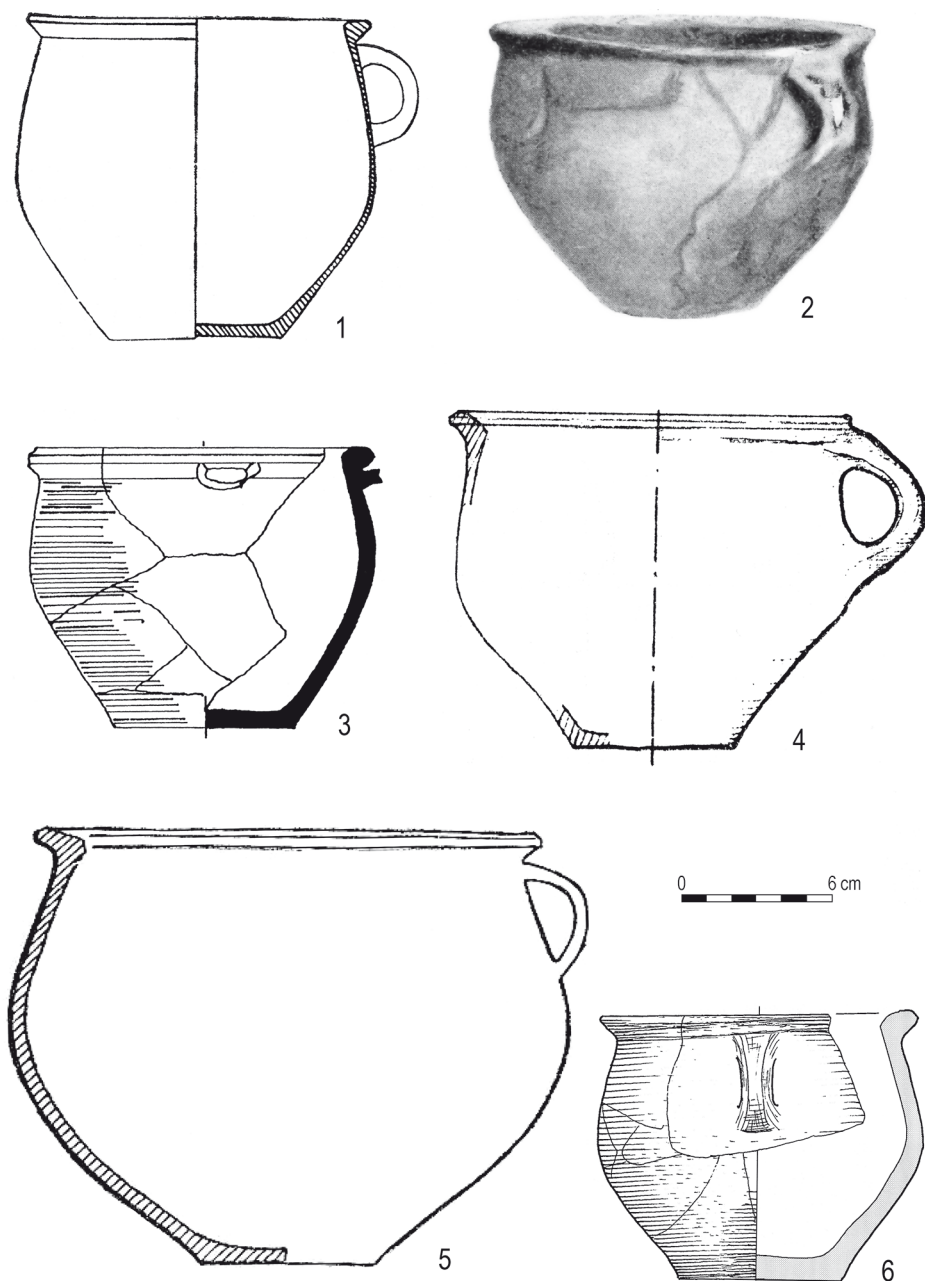


Fig. 12. Przeworsk culture mugs and the 'large mug' (5) with slightly biconical bodies.

1 – Warsaw-Wilanów, Grave 77; 2 – Bartodzieje, Grave 10; 3 – Zadowice, Grave 471; 4 – Dobrzankowo, Grave 34; 5 – Strzelce, Grave; 6 – Oblin, Grave 274. After: Marciniak 1957 (1), Seger 1902 (2), Kaszewska 2023 (3), Okulicz 1971 (4), Wiślański 1959 (5), and Czarnecka 2007 (6)

the end of the LP-RP, as shown by finds from Oblin cemetery (*e.g.*, Czarnecka 2007, pls 125/128a: 13; 133/134: 8; 244/292: 15), often accompanied by Nauheim and Ma.1-type brooches or Bohnsack Type 5/6 shield bosses, *i.e.*, indicators of the A2/A3 stage (*cf.*, Maciałowicz 2015, 423, 424, footnote 37; 2017, 91-94).

Very similar mugs, including 'large' ones, are also known from the Oksywie culture, especially in the lower Vistula region (*e.g.*, Heym 1961, figs 3: 12; 9: 21; 10: 13; Bokiniec 2005, pls 11/25: 1; 17/37: 1), and more sporadically in the Gubin group (Domański 1975, pl. 22: i). Indeed, pottery from both groupings shows strong parallels to Przeworsk culture ceramics.

Numerous examples of biconical mugs and vases – though typically with differently shaped rims – are also found among settlement materials of the JCPL, often predating the emergence of the Przeworsk culture proper, particularly in Kujawy, adjacent parts of central Poland, and western Mazovia. Some are dated to the Early Pre-Roman period (*e.g.*, Kaczor *et al.* 2017, pls I.105: 4; II.18: 6; II.24: 13; II.28: 12; Grygiel 2018, fig. 144: 7), others are associated with the LP-RP, probably phase A1 (*e.g.*, Tomaszewska 1998, fig. 55: 2; Grygiel 2018, pl. 59: 1; Tyszler and Nierychlewska 2018, fig. 42: 1).

The Budziszki mug is therefore most likely a product of the Przeworsk culture, though it represents a relatively rare form in its ceramic repertoire. This cultural attribution is supported particularly by the shape of the wide, horizontally extended rim, which is carefully faceted from the outside. This feature clearly sets the vessel apart from the mugs and vases of the JCPL. Given the strong stylistic and technological similarities between vessels of both these cultural groupings, rim shape and faceting style often serve – albeit imperfectly – as distinguishing criteria for identifying tableware from the JCPL's latest horizon versus the early Przeworsk culture (*cf.*, Grygiel 2015; 2018, 301-303, 314, 317, 323). Assuming that both cultures represent not two separate phenomena but successive stages of transformation within one cultural cycle originating in the Polish Lowland at the end of the Early Pre-Roman period (*cf.*, Grygiel 2004), then the biconical shape of the Budziszki mug (and other similar Przeworsk culture vessels) may be interpreted as a 'legacy' of JCPL ceramic traditions.

Finally, the rim – so significant for cultural attribution – also points to a date in phases A1b-A2a, consistent with the chronological position of the brooch found in the same grave.

## BURIAL RITE

The characteristics of the grave from Budziszki – an isolated urn burial (*i.e.*, one located outside a cemetery) in an inverted mug, placed in a pit without the burnt remains of a funeral pyre – deviate from the general burial norms of the Przeworsk culture during the LP-RP.

Isolated burials are not typical for this cultural grouping. The few known cases may result from extensive destruction of the site, potentially leading to the total loss of other graves, or from limited exploration of the area (*cf.*, Antosik and Piotrowska 2023, 184,

185). This possibility also applies to accidental finds. In the case of Budziszki, the use of the site area for agriculture, the shallow depth of the grave (approximately 20 cm below the surface), and possible disturbance of the fill might, in theory, render the former explanation plausible. However, the archaeological research conducted at the site – including the use of a metal detector – would probably have revealed artefacts from destroyed graves, had a larger Late Iron Age cemetery been present. As for the latter explanation, the grave was located about 10 m from the south-western edge of the excavation area (Fig. 3), so the possibility of additional graves lying just beyond the explored zone cannot be entirely ruled out. Nevertheless, based on the dating of the grave goods and comparative evidence from other early finds in eastern Mazovia (see below), one may cautiously propose that this is indeed an isolated burial.

The absence of large cemeteries and the predominance of single, isolated graves are particularly characteristic of the JCPL, especially during phase A1 (Grygiel 2004, 50-59; 2015, 144). These burials show considerable variety, though urn graves predominate – both with remains of the funeral pyre and the so-called ‘clean’ burials without burnt debris. The accompanying inventories typically included one or two clay vessels, and sometimes a brooch or small metal tools (*cf.*, Grygiel 2018, 458-514, list 31). Very often, a mug was the only vessel deposited in the grave (though not always used as an urn), occasionally accompanied by fragments of a larger vessel. Of particular interest is an isolated urn grave with burnt debris discovered in Grodziszczce in the Lubusz Land (Żychliński and Przybytek 2008). As in the Budziszki find, a partially preserved, inverted cup was found, containing burnt human bones and a fragmentary small iron brooch. The latter – contrary to the source publication and a later study (Michałowski and Żychliński 2012) – probably represents a form of Middle La Tène construction, and according to M. Grygiel (2018, 298, 472), should be dated to stage A1a (LT C1).

Graves containing little more than a single mug – occasionally with an added brooch or small tool – occur sporadically across various Przeworsk culture cemeteries, but they are particularly numerous in several necropolises in northern and western Mazovia, central Poland, and Kujawy (Maciałowicz and Woźniak 2015, 245-248; *cf.*, recent find in: Antosik and Piotrowska 2023). These graves are primarily associated with child burials, though some contained adult remains (Maciałowicz 2006, 320, 321; Mistewicz *et al.* 2021, 195, 196), as was the case in Budziszki. In a few instances (*e.g.*, Oblin, grave 111; Suchodół, Graves 24, 27, 40, and 99; Zadowice, Grave 418), mugs were placed upside down (Maciałowicz 2006, 319; Czarnecka 2007, 36, pl. 115/111; Kaszewska 2023, 87, pl. 128/418: 1). It is possible that this distinctive model of grave furnishing – so different from standard Przeworsk culture practice – reflects the survival of certain elements of JCPL funerary traditions, although influences from Early Iron Age customs cannot be excluded (Maciałowicz and Woźniak 2015, 247, 248).

Despite the absence of a comprehensive, up-to-date study on Przeworsk culture burial customs, it is worth examining the occurrence of early urn burials to contextualise the



grave from Budziszki within the broader framework of this grouping. Such burials are recorded as early as phases A1-A2 across various regions, especially in western and central Poland, though they remained relatively rare at that time (*cf.*, Niewęglowski 1981, 28-32, map II). Against this background, north-eastern Greater Poland and the adjacent part of Kujawy stand out. Early-established cemeteries from phases A1b-A2a – such as those at Krusza Zamkowa, Mogilno, Świerkówiec, and possibly Wszedzień (Sites I and II) – show a relatively high frequency of urn graves, both with pyre remains and so-called ‘clean’ types (Kostrzewski 1919, 345, 346; Kokowski 1989; Bokiniec 1999, 126; Smaruj 2023, 196-201). A second region with similarly early urn burials is the Wkra River basin in north-western Mazovia. In some cemeteries in this area, urn graves dated to phases A1-A2 comprise between 36% and 70% of the assemblages (Table 2), although the lower range may be underestimated due to grave disturbance at Dobrzankowo. The oldest urn burials here – at Dąbek (Site 9) and Stupsk – can be dated to phases A1b and A2a (Mistewicz *et al.* 2021, 191, 192, 213). By contrast, in major cemeteries in other parts of Mazovia (*e.g.*, Kamieńczyk, Oblin, Warsaw-Wilanów), urn graves from phases A1-A2 are relatively infrequent. The higher frequencies (17-50%) cited by T. Dąbrowska (2008, 14, 15) are inflated by the inclusion of clearly later burials containing Nauheim, J, and Ma.1-type brooches and Bohnsack Type 5/6 shield bosses, which indicate a dating no earlier than phase A2/A3 (see above).

For this study, we re-examined early grave chronologies from the largest cemeteries across Mazovia, including only those with clear A1-A2 phase markers or exclusively early pottery forms (Table 2). The urn grave frequencies based on this stricter criterion are approximately 9-10% at Kamieńczyk and Oblin, and only 1.5% at Kleszewo – all three located in right-bank Mazovia. Only at Warsaw-Wilanów, situated on the left bank of the Vistula in central Mazovia, does the proportion exceed 16%. Notably, this is the only site where urn graves can be securely dated to phase A1b; elsewhere, there is no basis for dating them earlier than stage A2b, *i.e.*, the horizon of Type K brooches (*cf.*, Mistewicz *et al.* 2021, 98-102). Thus, in most parts of Mazovia outside the northwest (the Wkra river basin), early Przeworsk urn burials are rare (left-bank central Mazovia) to very rare (east of the Vistula), and the jump in their frequency occurred no earlier than in stage A2/A3.

In the Przeworsk culture, urns were generally placed upright in graves. Instances where a mug or bowl containing cremated remains was placed upside down are exceptional and, again, seem to be concentrated in north-eastern Greater Poland and Kujawy (*e.g.*, Kokowski 1989, 67, fig. 29: 1; Bokiniec 1999, 126, fig. 6/7; Smaruj 2023, 198). Urn burials – usually of the ‘clean’ type – were also frequent in the Jastorf culture, both in its core area along the middle Elbe and in the Gubin group on the Oder (Domański 1975, 74-77; Seyer 1982, 80, 81; Müller 1985, 44, 45). While some of these urns include mugs resembling Przeworsk culture Types I.1 and I.3 (Kasiński 2010), none precisely match the biconical vessel from Budziszki, and they were usually placed upright. A notable exception is the site at Ladeburg in eastern Saxony-Anhalt, where eight burials dated to the LP-RP were discovered in

**Table 2.** Frequency of urn burials among graves from phases A1-A2 in selected Mazovian cemeteries of the Przeworsk culture (based on: Marciniak 1957; Reinbacher 1964; Okulicz 1971; Dąbrowska 1997; Ziemińska-Odojowa 1999; Czarnecka 2007; Mistewicz *et al.* 2021; Woźniak 2021; 2023; Grzymkowski 2023 and the collection of the Museum of Ziemia Zawkrzeńska in Mława; with the dating of the grave assemblages re-examined)

Region	Site	Frequency	Graves dated to phases A1-A2 (urn burials marked in bold)
north-western Mazovia	Dobrzankowo	<b>36.4%</b> (4/11)	4, 6, 8, <b>10</b> , 11, <b>12</b> , 15, <b>23</b> , 31, 32, <b>34</b>
	Dąbek (site 9)	<b>41.6%</b> (15/36)	<b>8</b> , 9, <b>11</b> , 12, 13, <b>20</b> , 22, <b>23</b> , <b>24</b> , <b>27</b> , 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, <b>33</b> , 38, <b>39</b> , 40, <b>41</b> , 42, <b>44</b> , <b>45</b> , <b>46</b> , 47, <b>49</b> , <b>50</b> , 51, 52, 53, <b>54</b> , 55, 57, 58, 68, 69
	Stupsk	<b>57.1%</b> (8/14)	<b>23/1917</b> , <b>24/1917</b> , <b>11/1988</b> , <b>12/1988</b> , 16/1988, 20/1988, <b>24/1988</b> , 34/1988, <b>20/1991</b> , 23/1991, 6/2004, <b>7/2004</b> , <b>2/2014</b> , 5/2014
	Niedanowo	<b>70%</b> (7/10)	<b>16</b> , 29, 46, <b>48</b> , <b>49</b> , <b>72</b> , <b>94</b> , 436, <b>469</b> , <b>470</b>
north-eastern Mazovia	Kleszewo	<b>1.5%</b> (1/68)	3, 9, 10, 12, 13, 22, 27, 28, 29, 37, 38, 41, 45, 47, 51, 59, 63, 64, 68, 70, 73B, 74, 77, 81, 89, 92, 102, 103A, 110, 111, 117, 122, 128, 144, 147, 157, 165, 200C, 200D, 203, 212, 236, 283, 314, 402, 407, 409A, 476, 591, 596A, 606, 608, 620, 637, 655, 692, 713, 714, 717, 797, 798, 830, 832, 837, 885, 920, 946, <b>985</b>
eastern Mazovia	Kamięńczyk	<b>8.8%</b> (3/34)	2, 5, 26, 28, 82, 83, 95, 96, <b>115</b> , 119, 176a, 318, 321, 323, 325, 330, <b>331</b> , 332, 356, 357, 364, 365, 367, 369, 372, <b>374</b> , 376, 377, 382, 383, 384, 386, 394, 396
southern Mazovia	Oblin	<b>10%</b> (1/10)	68, 101, <b>106</b> , 171, 187, 191, 205, 261, 273, 274
central Mazovia	Warsaw- Wilanów	<b>16.4%</b> (11/67)	<b>4</b> , 5, 7, 10, 11, <b>12</b> , 14, <b>15</b> , 16, 17, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, <b>28</b> , 29, <b>31</b> , 34, 35, 36, 37, <b>38</b> , 42, <b>47</b> , <b>49</b> , 51, 53a, 53b, 55a, 55b, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, <b>66</b> , 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, <b>81</b> , 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93, 96

an earlier Jastorf culture urnfield: five pit graves and three urn graves, all containing remains of a funeral pyre. In each of the three urn graves (Nos. 1, 2, and 5) there was a 'large mug' of Type I.1 placed upside down, inside which there were burnt human bones and – in the case of Graves 2 and 5 – small metal items (Grimm 1932; Müller 1985, 176, 177, pl. 108: 20-25; though later misclassified as pit burials – *cf.*, Dąbrowska 1988, 160, 161; Meyer 2008, 164 – these clearly represent urn graves). The two associated brooches suggest a LT C2 date, roughly corresponding to the Przeworsk culture phase A1b. Despite their milder profiles and larger size, the urns from these three graves closely resemble the Budziszki mug in terms of general shape and proportions (Fig. 13). These finds are part of a broader phenomenon, where sites in eastern and central Germany yield Przeworsk-style pottery



Fig. 13. 'Large mugs' from urn graves in Ladeburg (from the left: Grave 1, 2, and 5). After: Grimm 1932

(cf., Meyer 2008, 150-193). Recent studies devoted to the occurrence of 'large' mugs referring to Type I.1 (as in Ladeburg) among the materials interpreted as representing the Przeworsk culture may suggest, however, that their presence in the border zone of eastern Saxony-Anhalt and western Brandenburg is rather the effect of the kinship that this zone of the Jastorf culture shows with the Gubin group (Kasiński 2010 and pers. comm.). Notably, western Brandenburg also yielded the best analogies for the Budziszki 'ball brooch'.

In summary, the grave from Budziszki has no exact contemporaneous parallels within the Przeworsk culture of north-eastern Mazovia. Comparable early urn burials appear only in the Wkra basin and, to a lesser extent, in left-bank Mazovia. However, key aspects of the Budziszki burial find closer affinities with urn graves of the Przeworsk culture and the earlier, sparse sepulchral materials of the JCPL, found in western Poland. The striking resemblance to contemporaneous graves at Ladeburg – despite their inclusion of pyre debris – reinforces the broader cultural connections suggested by the imported brooch type.

## DISCUSSION

Site 2 at Budziszki is located a dozen or so kilometres east of the previously recognised range of the LP-RP ecumene in north-eastern Mazovia (Fig. 14). It is situated approximately 60 and 45 km from the largest excavated cemeteries of the Przeworsk culture in the Narew and lower Bug river basins, namely at Kleszewo and Kamieńczyk, respectively. Both of these necropolises were most likely established during phase A2. The discovery of just one or two relatively early brooches of Middle La Tène construction, including Type C (Dąbrowska 1997, 114, 121, pl. 169/364: 1; Woźniak 2023, 139-141), suggests that this occurred towards the end of stage A2a (cf., Mistewicz *et al.* 2021, 98-102). This aligns well with the overall picture of settlement network development in the eastern parts of Mazovia, as it is believed that this process took place markedly later here than in the western part of the country, specifically during phase A2 (Dąbrowska 2001, 29-31).

Unfortunately, the state of research in the immediate vicinity of the discussed site, *i.e.*, in the basin of the middle Narew, is far from satisfactory. Most of the sites recorded between

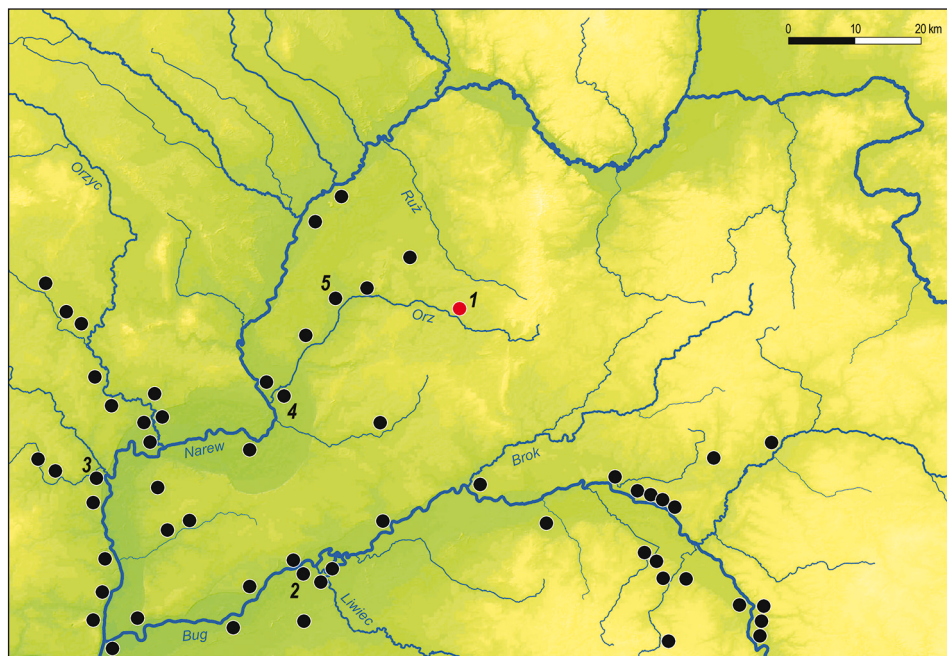


Fig. 14. Map of sites dated to the Late Pre-Roman Period in north-eastern Mazovia.

Locations mentioned in the text: 1 – Budziszki; 2 – Kamieńczyk; 3 – Kleszewo; 4 – Kunin; 5 – Tomasz.

Rendered by A. Maciałowicz, after: Dąbrowska 2008 with supplements

this river and the Orz and Ruż rivers are either so-called ‘settlement spots’ from which only a few pottery fragments were obtained during fieldwalking or settlements that were only slightly excavated, with the material from them not yet published (*cf.*, Dąbrowska 2008, 80, 81, 90, 91, map 2). As a result, there is no basis for a more precise dating of these finds beyond the general LP-RP framework. One of the exceptions is the Przeworsk culture settlement in Kunin, located at the mouth of the Orz river, where, among other things, an iron K-type brooch was found, confirming the use of this site since at least stage A2b (Przewoźna-Armonowa 1983). The second exception is a multicultural site in the village of Tomasz, located approximately 16 km west of the find from Budziszki. Among other discoveries, a Przeworsk culture settlement was found here, generally dated to phases A1-A2 based on pottery, but from which two artefacts associated with the JCPL also come: a small fragment of a clay ‘firedog’ and a bronze pin of the Holstein Type (Prochowicz 2017). These finds possibly represent a horizon preceding the emergence of the Przeworsk culture settlement, and should be attributed to the very beginning of the LP-RP (phase A1?) or even to the time of the turn of the Early and Late Pre-Roman Period, as suggested by the shape of the pin (*cf.*, Grygiel 2018, 172-174). A short distance from the settlement, a cremation cemetery was discovered and partially excavated, uncovering what are likely ten Przeworsk

culture pit graves (Oporska 2006). Based on the preserved artefacts – mostly small fragments of pottery (iron objects were lost, including pieces of unspecified ‘brooches’) – three of the graves (Nos. 3, 4, and 5) can be dated to phases A1-A2. The early dating is supported by a fragment of a mug or vase from Grave 5 (Oporska 2006, fig. 4/5: 3), whose wide band of ornamentation, placed directly under the rim, clearly refers to the decoration found on JCPL vessels from the beginning of the LP-RP (*cf.*, Grygiel 2018, pl. 26: 8; 37: 13; 58: 5; 77: 29, 30). Some early Przeworsk culture mugs (including ‘large’ ones) are similarly decorated, mainly found in western and central Poland, in graves dated by brooches to stages A1b and A2a (*e.g.*, Bokiniec 1999, fig. 5/5: 1; Kaszewska 2023, pls 34/44: 5; 35/43: 6).

The burial from Budziszki, dated to stage A1b, or possibly to the very beginning of phase A2, thus predates the establishment of stable, widespread settlement structures of the Przeworsk culture in north-eastern Mazovia. It is most likely associated with the formative stage of this grouping in the region and, therefore, with a period of increased human mobility, which was essential for the spread of cultural patterns. The presumably isolated character of the grave corresponds well with this context, suggesting the presence of a relatively small group of people and an unstable settlement. Moreover, the core elements of the cultural tradition reflected in this find – both in the burial arrangement and the form of the vessel used – show clear western affiliations, as the most significant number of analogies for both features can be found in the central and, especially, the western part of the country, where the Przeworsk culture had already taken shape during stage A1b and where its connections to the earlier JCPL substrate are clearly visible (which may also be the case with the grave in question). The surprising similarities in the form of the burial, which can be found in the three graves from Ladeburg in eastern Saxony-Anhalt, are currently difficult to interpret unequivocally, although they may not be entirely coincidental.

Distant western connections are also indicated by the ‘ball brooch’ discovered in the grave. It is undoubtedly the result of contact with the Jastorf culture milieu, most likely from western Brandenburg, although the involvement of communities from the Gubin group – closely culturally affiliated with that region – cannot be ruled out. In any case, it concerns the import of an object, rather than the origin of the woman buried at Budziszki, as the use of only one brooch to fasten her clothes and the lack of a belt hook correspond much more to patterns known from the Przeworsk culture than to women’s fashion from the middle Elbe and Oder regions. Evidence of contacts with these areas, in the form of brooches, belt hooks, or the use of ‘large mugs’ for funerary purposes, has been recorded in phases A1-A2 in Silesia, Greater Poland, Kujawy, and Central Poland, as well as in some parts of Mazovia (*e.g.*, Grygiel 2018, 107-110, fig. 52: 8-13; Mistewicz *et al.* 2021, 93-97, 106-108, 128-134, 171, 172, figs 13, 15, 20; Teska *et al.* 2021). Interestingly, such artefacts are also found, for example, in the large necropolis at Kamieńczyk mentioned above, which suggests that impulses from the middle Oder – and perhaps even from more distant areas – could have reached eastern Mazovia as well (Mistewicz *et al.* 2021, 132 with footnote 140).



Surprising evidence of such – sometimes very far-reaching – connections with the broadly understood West is increasingly being recorded in right-bank Mazovia and the adjacent part of Podlachia. First of all, the number of sites with materials of the JCPL, of undoubtedly western provenance, has increased, suggesting a more intensive than previously thought penetration of these areas by the communities of this grouping at the very beginning of the LP-RP (Bryńczak 2017; Jurkiewicz 2021). In addition, from Kamieńczyk (though not from the mentioned cemetery site) and Grodzisk, both located along the lower and middle Liwiec River, come, respectively, a bimetallic ‘winged pin’ of the Eastern Mecklenburg-Vorpommern Type and a bronze torc with thickened cylindrical terminals (Andrzejowski and Maciałowicz 2017, 219, 220, fig. 28, with further references). These finds can be dated to the end of the Early Pre-Roman Period, or possibly to the very beginning of the LP-RP. Both artefacts, typical of the Jastorf culture proper in north-eastern Germany, stand out within the Przeworsk culture not only because of their bronze raw material and stylistic features, which did not match local aesthetic norms, but above all because such items were functionally alien to this milieu, where neck rings were virtually unknown as a form of ornament and pins were not used for fastening garments. The considerable distance between the core area of these forms and the places of their discovery, combined with the lack of other clear indications of contact between the regions, makes it difficult to account for their presence by indirect transmission alone. In light of numerous finds dated to the transition between the Early and Late Pre-Roman Period, they may be best understood as reflecting episodes of mobility among Jastorf culture representatives.

Also in the Liwiec area, fragments of two unique brooches were discovered – a bimetallic ‘ball brooch’ with analogies on Bornholm and a second, bronze brooch with a hemispherical decoration cast on the bow, which reproduces forms known from Gotland, but at the same time is ornamented in a way typical of brooches from Bornholm (Andrzejowski and Maciałowicz 2017, 188-205, figs 2: 1 and 13). These artefacts, despite their Baltic counterparts, are probably products made in the northern or western part of Poland, and can be dated to stage A1b, or possibly to the very beginning of phase A2, so they also generally preceded or were contemporary with the formation of the Przeworsk culture settlement network in the area in question. Similarly to the aforementioned torc and pin from the Jastorf culture, these finds attest to contacts in the borderlands of Mazovia and Podlachia with people for whom bronze costume fastenings were more familiar than they were to the Przeworsk population, where the use of brooches made of this metal is extremely rare at the beginning of the LP-RP (*cf.*, Maciałowicz 2021). Perhaps, therefore, the users of both of these loosely found brooches were individuals whose traditions were close to the JCPL, the inventory of which includes many different bronze costume accessories, including those with northern European connotations.

The unique burial from Budziszki broadens the spectrum of western connections from the beginning of the LP-RP recorded so far in right-bank Mazovia, reflecting the interplay of different cultural traditions. These may be associated with increased mobility of individuals

from the central or western part of the country, where the process of transformation of the JCPL into the Przeworsk culture had already begun, as well as with still unrecognised contacts with the Jastorf culture proper, whether its Gubin group on the Oder or other groupings in the Elbe basin, including the possible presence of some of its representatives in this region. These factors could have triggered profound changes, leading to the emergence of the Przeworsk culture here, based on the model already known from stage A1b in central and western Poland. It was only the complete formation of this grouping in stage A2b (horizon of Type K brooches) that led to the unification of the archaeological image of eastern Mazovia and the erasure of the mosaic of different, sometimes surprisingly exotic, cultural traditions recorded at the beginning of the LP-RP.

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