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**MATERIALS OF HUNGARIAN PROVENIENCE FROM THE TURN  
OF THE 11<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY FROM LIPNIK, OPATÓW DISTRICT,  
ŚWIĘTOKRZYSKIE PROVINCE. CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY  
ON FOREIGN SETTLEMENT IN EARLY MEDIEVAL  
LESSER POLAND**

ABSTRACT

M. Florek 2017. *Materials of Hungarian provenience from the turn of the 11<sup>th</sup> century from Lipnik, Opatów district, Świętokrzyskie Province. Contribution to the study on foreign settlement in Early Medieval Lesser Poland*, AAC 52:209–233.

In 2015 and 2016, a reconnaissance study have been performed on a fortified hillfort in Lipnik, located between Sandomierz and Opatów, which had been discovered in 2015. Neither remnants of the buildings nor the presence of a cultural layer that could indicate permanent, or at least longer residence, have been found on the hillfort. Apart from the ceramics, a series of metal objects were found on the hillfort: silver beads, fragment of silver earring with ‘grape’ pendant, bronze rings, silver and bronze applications of leather straps, strap-ends, pendants and buckles from harness or saddlebags, iron and lead weights, iron arrowheads. Some of the metal artefacts have distinct analogies in Hungarian materials from 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century. Similar to the materials from a nearby settlement in Kaczyce, they indicate the possibility that groups or units of Hungarian origin that followed nomadic traditions had been staying in the vicinity of Sandomierz between the second half of 10<sup>th</sup> and the first half of 11<sup>th</sup> century. They might had been warriors serving in one of the Piast princes, captives brought by Bolesław I the Brave or merchants participating in international trade.

**Key words:** Early Middle Ages; Lesser Poland; Hungarian artefacts; foreign settlement

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I. INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of 2015, thanks to the laser scanning (LIDAR) photos in Lipnik, Opatów district, a previously unknown hillfort has been discovered<sup>1</sup>. The object is located in a forest at the edge of a small, 15–25 m high, headland surrounded by two deep ravines. There is a stream flowing in one of the ravines; about 200 m away from the foot of the headland it flows down to the nameless stream, which in turn is the tributary of the Opatówka river (Figs. 1–2; see also Fig. 9). The

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<sup>1</sup> Translated by M. Florek-Wojciechowska.

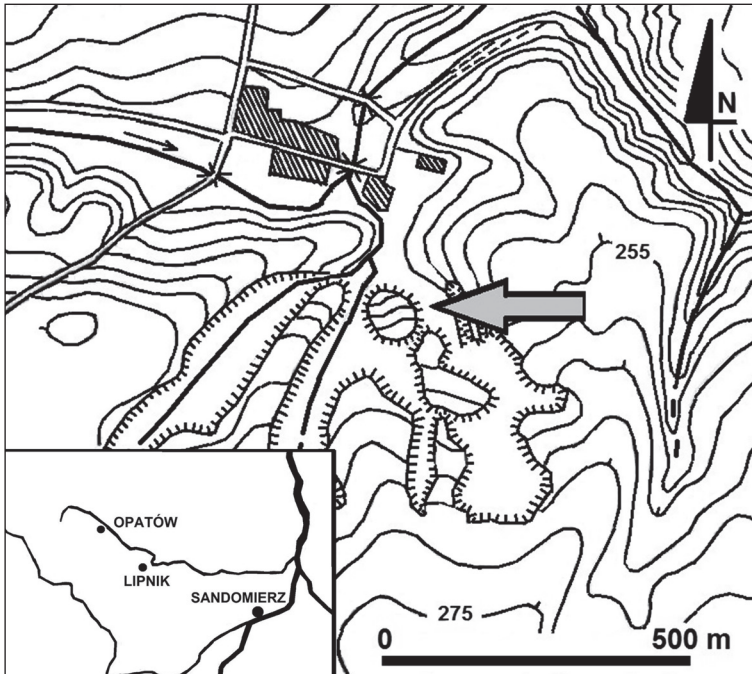


Fig. 1. Location of the hillfort in Lipnik, site No. 32, Opatów district; processed by M. Florek

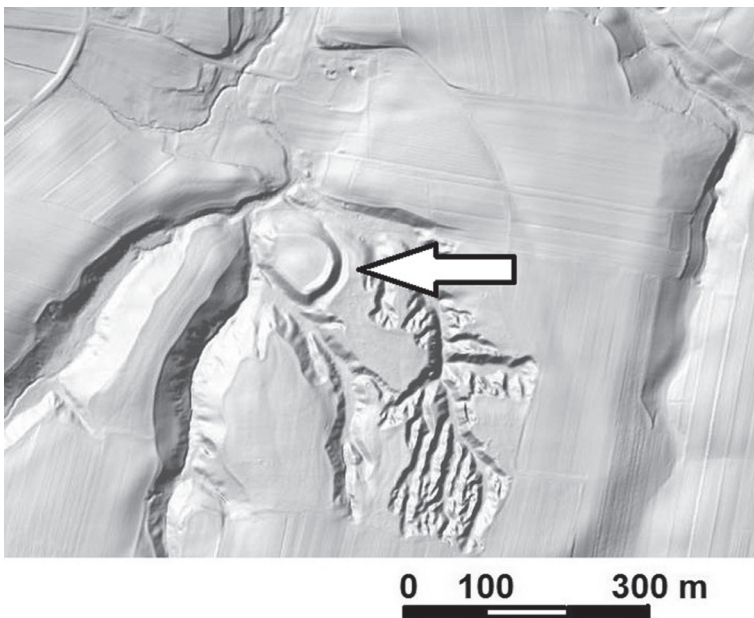


Fig. 2. Lipnik site No. 32, Opatów district. LIDAR image of the hillfort in Lipnik; after: [www.mapy.zabytek.gov.pl](http://www.mapy.zabytek.gov.pl) (accessed on 19.06.2018); processed by M. Florek

only defence constructions of the hillfort that are visible today are crescent-shaped trench (moat) dug across the headland and 60 m long earthen rampart situated parallel to the trench. The trench is 4.5–5 m deep; at the narrowest part of the bottom it is 3 m wide. The width of the rampart is up to 15 m at the bottom, while at the top it is only 2–2.5 m wide. The height of the rampart at its highest point, in the middle of the headland, is about 5 m and decreases evenly towards its ends.

## II. RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION OF THE HILLFORT INCLUDING ANALYSIS OF ARTEFACTS

In 2015–2016 archaeological research was carried out in aim to verify a presumed function and establish a closer chronology of the hillfort (*cf.* Bajka, Florek 2015; Fig. 3). In the first stage, in spring 2015, a site and altitude plan was made and a detailed surface recognition of the object was performed. Due to the dense forest covering the area, a metal detector was used for surface investigation. During this period one piece of early medieval ceramics and several metal objects were found. The latter included: two silver beads (Fig. 6:4–5), an iron weight (Fig. 6:1), a silver application with a stylized human face (Fig. 7:1), four bronze heart-shaped applications (Fig. 7:2–5), a bronze buckle (Fig. 7:9), a brown hemispherical pendant (Fig. 7:8) and an iron arrowhead (Fig. 8:2). Moreover, it was found that there are large quantities of burnt flakes of loess or clay at the top of the rampart, directly under the thin layer of forest litter. In the autumn 2015, 8 survey trenches of different sizes were dug; in the summer of 2016 16 more were investigated (Fig. 3). Excavations were performed in sites where either metal artefacts had been previously found or in places that were important for recognition of the spatial layout of the hillfort. Total area of about 120 m<sup>2</sup> was recognized. Moreover, a series of boreholes was made to obtain additional information on stratigraphy. The excavation works were complemented with further surface prospections of both the hillfort itself and its surroundings.

No archaeological objects were registered on the site except for one irregular, shallow cavity (object 1) discovered in excavation trench No. 5 and irregular stone pavements exposed on the edges of the headland, on the extension of the shaft in excavation trenches Nos. 4, 9 and 14.

Moveable artefacts were discovered mainly in object No. 1 in excavation trench Nos. 5, 10 (adjacent to No. 5), and in excavation trenches Nos. 4, 9, 12 and 14 located near the edge of the headland. Individual artefacts were found in other trenches. Apart from the remains of burnt wooden structures, there were no monuments in excavation trenches Nos. 8 and 11 situated on the top of the rampart.

The most numerous category of findings were fragments of pottery. In total 280 fragments were found; 95 pieces, i.e. about 1/3 of all, were discovered in object No. 1 (Figs. 4–5). The following objects were found in object No. 1 and

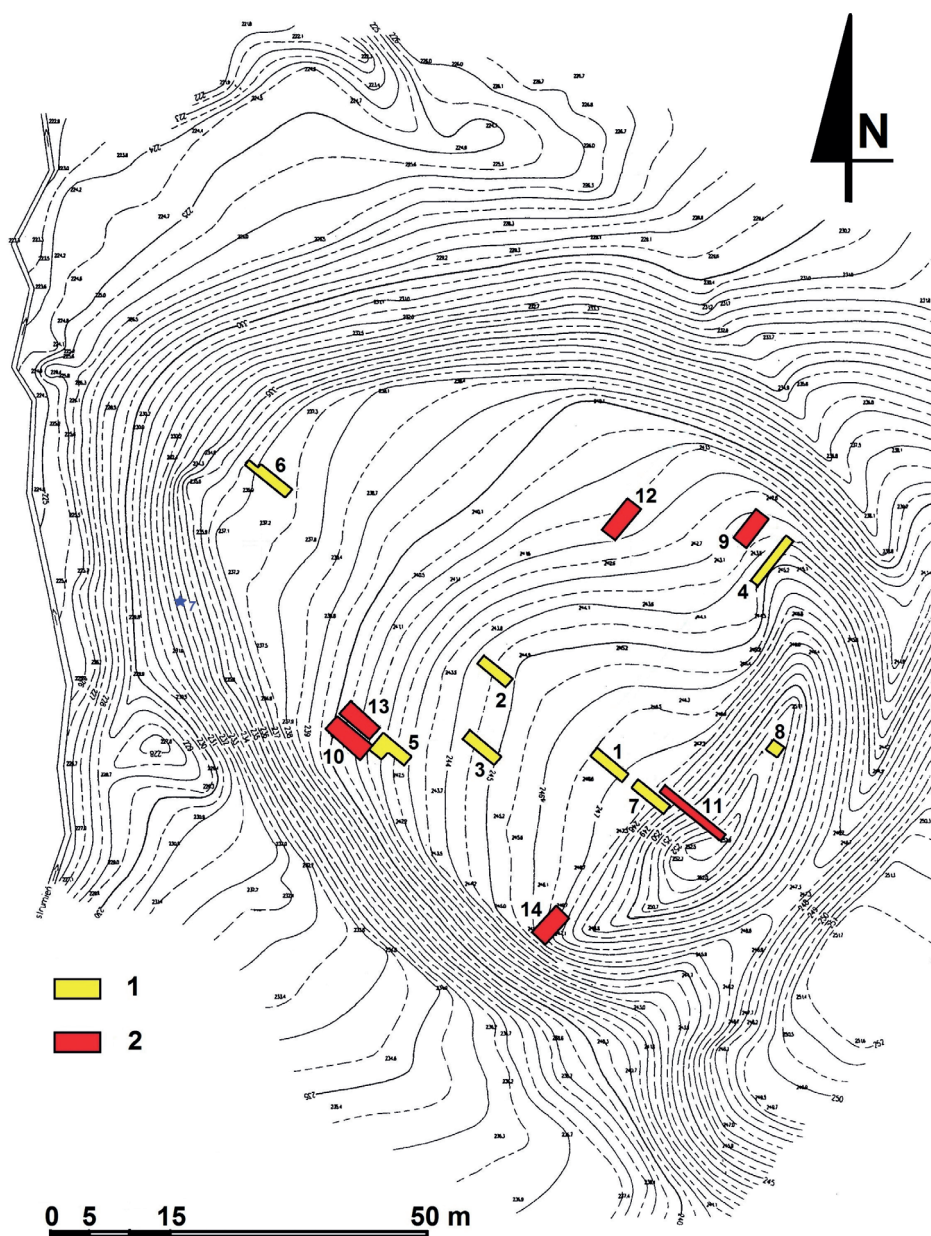


Fig. 3. Lipnik, site No. 32, Opatów district. A site and altitude plan with a location of excavation trenches from 2015 (denoted with 1) and 2016 (denoted with 2); drawn by M. Florek



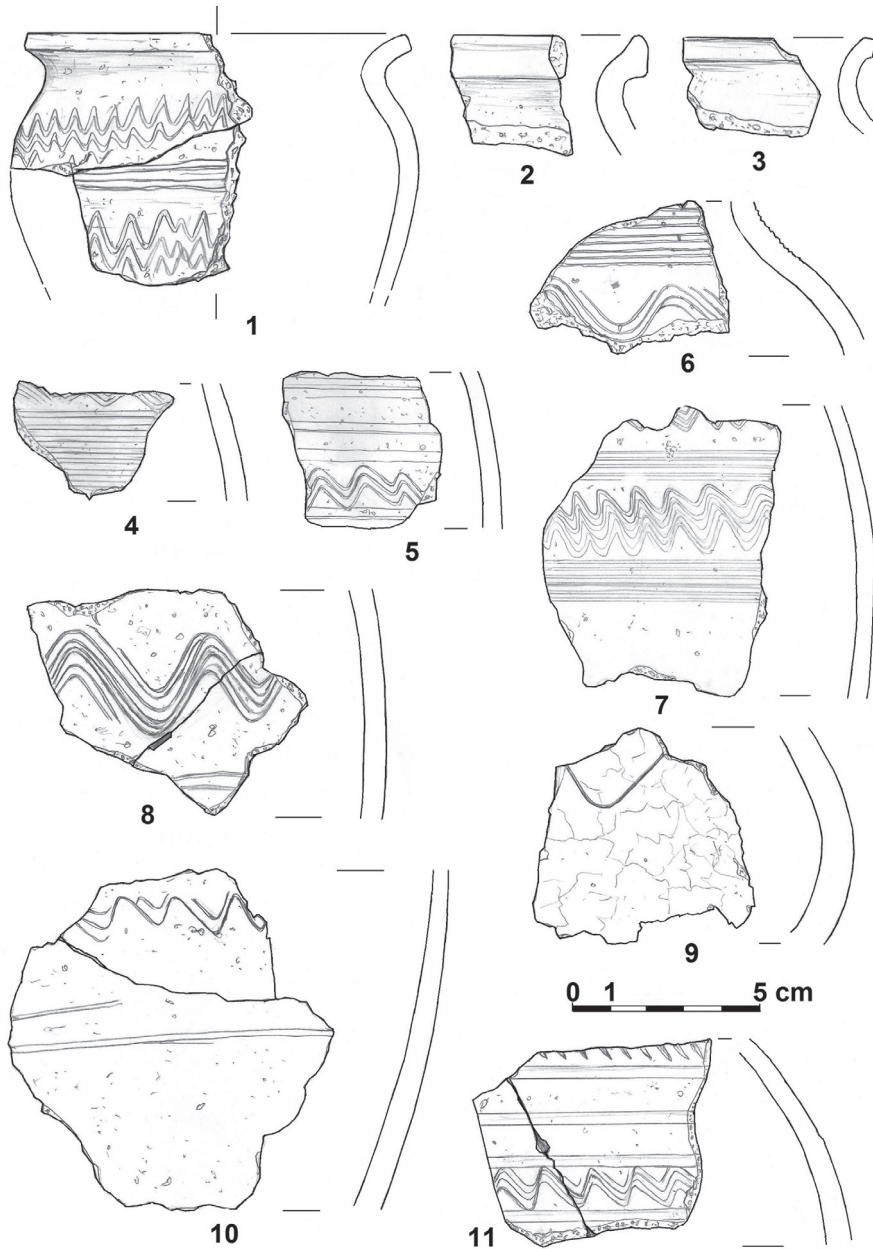


Fig. 4. Lipnik, site No. 32, Opatów district. A selection of ceramics; drawn by M. Florek

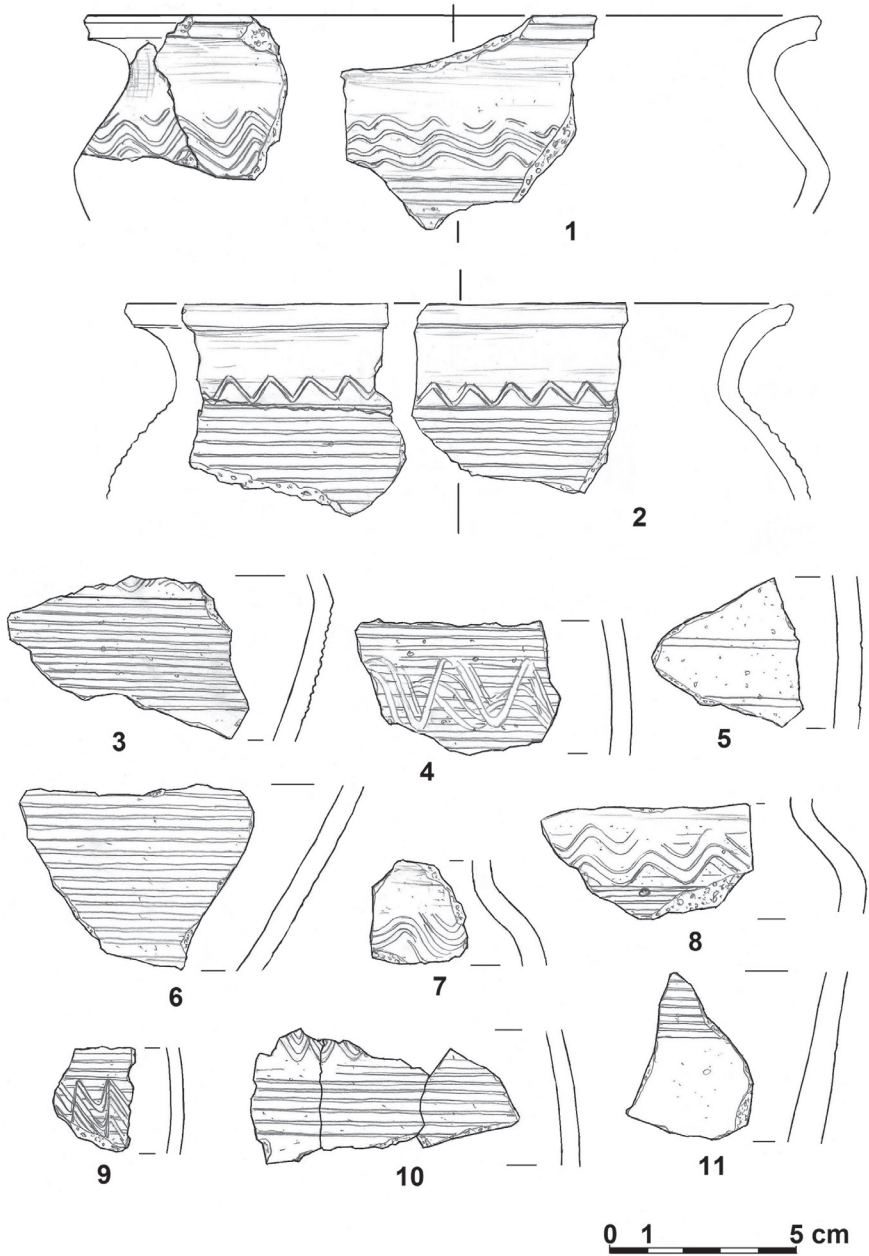


Fig. 5. Lipnik, site No. 32, Opatów district. A selection of ceramics from object No. 1; drawn by M. Florek

within layers related to stone pavements in excavation trenches Nos. 4, 9 and 14: various size pieces of pug (charred clay), charcoals, animal bones (some of them were burnt or had traces of food processing), several flint flakes and two heart-shaped bronze applications (Fig. 7:6–7), bronze strap-ends (Fig. 7:10), ring made of bronze plate (Fig. 6:8) and an iron knife covered with rivets for fixing the handle (Fig. 8:3). In excavation trench No. 6, which was situated on the northern edge of the hillfort, another bronze ring (Fig. 6:7) and an iron arrowhead with shaft (Fig. 8:1) were discovered. Moreover, two lead weights (Fig. 6:2–3), a flat bronze object with three holes, decorated with engraved ornaments of circles (Fig. 8:4), and a piece of silver pendant (Fig. 6:6) were found during prospection with metal detector.

### Ceramics

Except for one piece of white clay, which recalled the so-called Cracow white pottery, all the ceramics discovered on the hillfort in Lipnik was made of ferrous clay, which gets brown, taupe or reddish-brown after baking (Figs. 4–5). Fine- and medium-grained rubble was used as a leaning additive. The pots were made on a potter's wheel with the coil and throw technique. With the exception of one piece of shallow plate, all the remaining pieces of pottery come from s-shaped vessels. They are characterized with both mildly and strongly profiled edges, corresponding to the so-called "Wielkopolska" pottery tradition (Buko 1981, 189–192). Most of the fragments are decorated, predominantly with shallow horizontal grooves. There are also fragments with single or multiple wavy lines and the combination of horizontal grooves and wavy lines. Only in one case has the combination of wavy lines and nail imprints been observed. This ceramics clearly differs from the pottery from the nearby mound cemetery in Międzygórz, Opatów district (Flórek 2008) dated to the 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries, but there is a clear analogy to ceramics both from Sandomierz, district city (dated back to the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Buko 1981, 189–194) and from the settlement in Kaczyce, Opatów district (Buko 2003, 133–140). The uniform nature of the ceramics found on the hillfort indirectly implies its relatively short duration.

### Weights

All 3 weights discovered at the hillfort in Lipnik were found close to each other, in the direct vicinity of excavation trench No. 5 and object No. 1 (Fig. 6: 1–3). They belong to type B according to H. Steuer's classification (Steuer 1997). The first one is 34.1 g heavy bronze-coated iron weight. It is barrel-shaped (in a shape of flattened ball) with no marks. Its form is similar to the B2 variety; K. Wachowski combined it with the II system of classification of weights, known

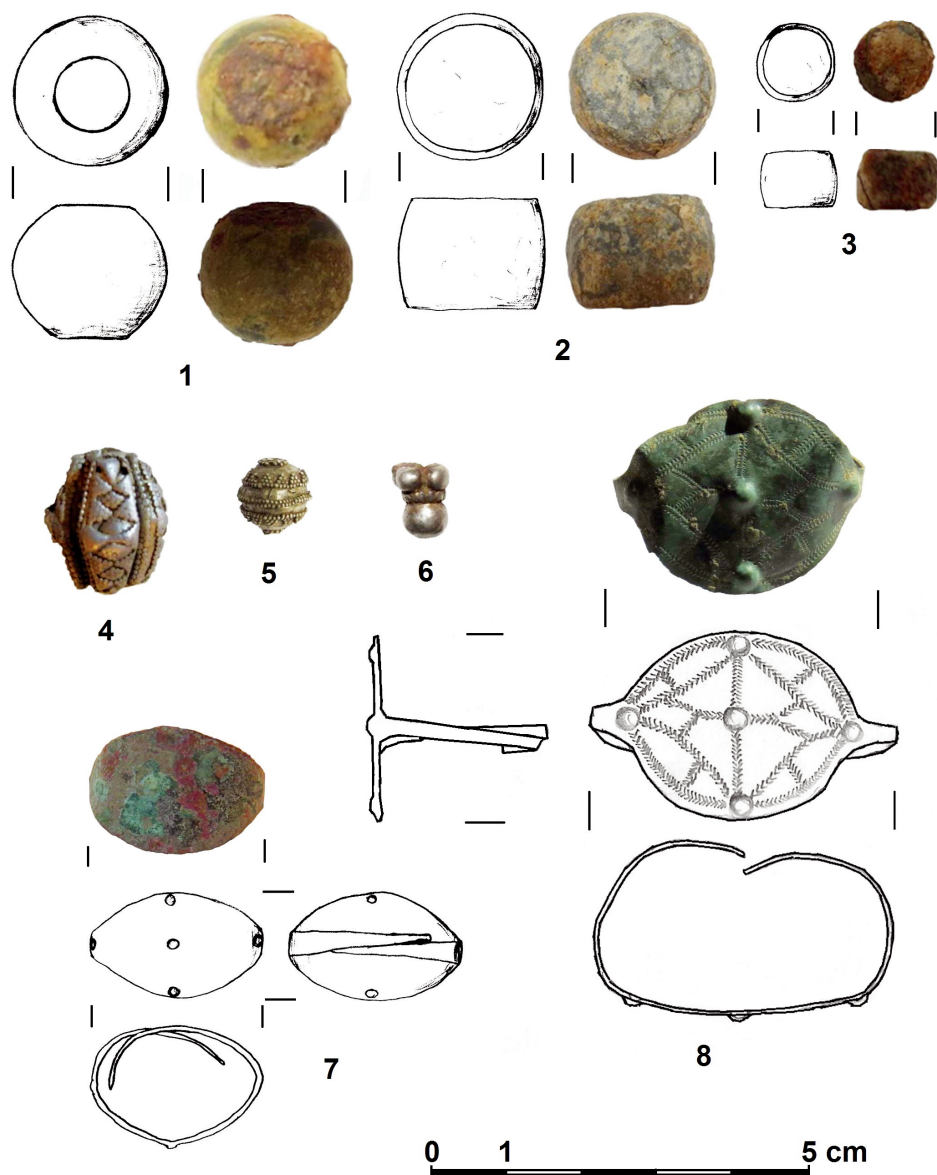


Fig. 6. Lipnik, site No. 32, Opatów district. Metal artefacts; photos, drawings and computer design by M. Florek.

1-3 — weights; 4-6 — beads; 7-8 — rings.  
1 — iron; 2-3 — lead; 4-6 — silver; 7-8 — bronze



as Slavic one (Wachowski 2006, 360). Weights of this type date from the end of 10<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The other two weights are made of lead and lack any marks as well. The larger of them weighs 41.5 g, while the smaller one weighs 4.7 g. Their shape represents an intermediate form classified as varieties B1–B9; according to K. Wachowski they belong to I and to IV (the so-called urban) classification system of weights, respectively (*cf.* Wachowski 2006, 359–360). Similar to the iron one, these two weights are dated between the end of 10<sup>th</sup> and the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Barrel-shaped weights of Steuer's type B1–B3 and weights similar to them usually made of iron coated mainly with bronze are considered as an evidence of the activity of merchants who specialized in long-distance trade and are often associated with the Scandinavian culture, although not necessarily directly with Scandinavia itself (Kokowscy 2003, 155–165; Wrzesińska, Wrzesiński 2006, 341–358; Brather 2010, 143–614; Bibikov *et al.* 2016, 35–40).

In Lesser Poland barrel-shaped weights (of type B) are rarely-discovered. Two iron, bronze-coated specimens dating back to the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century were found in a settlement in Kaczyce, 8 km away from Lipnik (Bajka, Florek 2016, 64–66). One weight was discovered at a hillfort in Podegrodzie (at so-called Castle), and another one was found in Naszacowice (both Nowy Sącz district); they both date back to the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Poleski 1998, 288–291). One specimen dating to the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century or 11<sup>th</sup> century was found in Gródek on the Bug River, Hrubieszów district (Kokowscy 2003, 155–158). Most probably the weight discovered in Topornica, Zamość district, dates back to the same period (Piotrowscy 2010, 86). Barrel-shaped copper weight was found in the hillfort in Czermno, Tomaszów Lubelski district (Zbierski 1959, 128 and Pl. XVIII:77), another one, made of lead, was discovered in a skeletal cemetery in Żłota Pińczowska, Pińczów district (Miśkiewicz 1969, 293). Both of these weights are widely dated to the period between the end of 10<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup> century, just as are the sites at which they were discovered. One weight made of lead, which is classified as B type, was found in Cracow (Krzyżstofowicz 1969, 195–214). Polyhedral (cuboctahedral) weights, known as type A, are even less common. They are contemporaneous with early B type varieties; only two copies of these were found in Lesser Poland in the above-mentioned settlement in Kaczyce (Bajka, Florek 2016, 65–66). Type D weights, which are characterized by the broadest chronology and the most varied forms, were also relatively rarely found in Lesser Poland. Two lead weights of this type were found in layers from 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century in Cracow (Krzyżstofowicz 1969, 195–214). Another lead specimen, but of a pear shape, was discovered on the hillfort in Czermno in layers dating back to the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries (Zbierski 1959, 108–109). Almost identical pear-shape weight, but made of tin alloy, was found on the site of the settlement in Kaczyce (Bajka, Florek 2016, 65–66). Several type D weights, both of lead and iron, were recently discovered in Sandomierz. They were found in layers and objects related to the furnaces and metallurgical workshops dating back to the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Florek, Stempin 2015, 56–57).

Compared to Lesser Poland areas, much more early medieval weights were found in Greater Poland, Pomerania and Silesia. They were discovered both in settlements and at cemeteries (*cf.* Wrzesińska, Wrzesiński 2006, 341–342). For example, 61 specimens of weights, 24 of which found in graves, were found at site No. 22 in Dziekanowice by Lednica Lake (district Gniezno). Thirteen of them represented type A, 21 — type B, 13 — type C, 13 — type D, and one was not classified (*cf.* Wrzesińska, Wrzesiński 2006, 352–354).

### Silver beads

Two silver beads (Fig. 6:4–6), the smaller of which seems to be part of Świątki type earring, have numerous analogies in Polish and other Central European and North and Eastern European territories dating back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Sedov 1982, Fig. XXIX:11–20; Kóčka-Krenz 1993, 96–97). A bead discovered in one of the graves at the cemetery from the late 10<sup>th</sup> and early 11<sup>th</sup> century in Bodzia in Kujawy (Włocławek district) is very similar to the larger of silver beads found in Lipnik. (Duczko 2015, 205, Fig. 10:2). Similar beads were also found in hoards from Borucin, Radziejów Kujawski district, Ldzań, Pabianice district and Mniszków, Opoczno district (Gupieniec, Kiersnowscy 1965, 16, 33, 37 and Pl. I, VII–VIII), Obra Nowa in Greater Poland (Wolsztyn district; *cf.* Słaski, Tabaczyński 1959, 44–45; Kroker *et al.* 2011, Fig. 267, 272, 275). On the other hand, artefacts similar to the smaller of the beads are known, among others, from the hoard dating to the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century from Oleśnica, Poddebice district (Gupieniec, Kiersnowscy 1965, 40, Tabl. X). Similar beads that had been parts of earrings were found, e.g., in the hoard in Obra Nowa (Kóčka-Krenz 1993, 66–67; Kroker *et al.* 2011, Fig.13).

The piece of silver bead found on the slope of the headland (Fig. 6:6) was part of the grape-shaped earring. Such earrings were discovered at numerous sites in Central and Eastern Europe (Korzukhina 1954, Figs. VI:7–9; VIII:24; Dekówna 1968, 565; Chrapovský 1978, 21; Ruttkay 1979, Fig. 4; Pobol 1983, 346; Kóčka-Krenz 1993, 83) on Polish territories they were found mainly in Greater Poland and Central Poland (Kóčka-Krenz 199, 83). Some specimens were parts of hoards from Lesser Poland, e.g. the ones from Zawada, Brzesko district and Trzcinica, Jasło district. The former was buried down ca. 960 and the latter in the 1020s (Jamka 1935; Zoll-Adamikowa, Dekówna, Nosek 1999; Suchodolski 2003; Garncarski, Fedyk 2006). Another examples of these were also discovered in the grave No. 2 at the cemetery at Rycerska Street in Przemyśl, district city (Koperski 2001, 237; 2004, 87). According to Hanna Kóčka-Krenz the earrings were worn from the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Kóčka-Krenz 1993, 83).

## Elements and ornaments of the belts, horse saddlebags and harness

The silver application in the form of a stylized human face (Fig. 7:1) is almost identical to silver applications of leather straps used to fasten the saddlebags (pannier) found at Magyar cemetery in Karos (Karos I, grave 1936/1), Hungary, which dates back to the end of the 9<sup>th</sup>–half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (*cf.* Fetti ch 1937, 134–136; Fodor 1996, 84, Fig. 3; Révész 1996, 226, Fig. 4:31) and they seem to be the closest analogy to the artefact from Lipnik. Mounts of the closing straps of the saddlebags (sabretaches) found at Tuzsér-Boszorkány-hegy and Izsák-Balázspuszta cemeteries in Hungary bear a close resemblance to the Lipnik finding, as well (Istvánovits 2003, Pl. 230:30, Tóth 1976, Fig. 15:13). Similar artefacts, both silver and bronze, are known from other Hungarian cemeteries dating back to the end of the 10<sup>th</sup>–beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, e.g. from Újfehértó-Micskepuszta (Fodor 1996, 207, Fig. 1), Budapest-Farkasrét (Dienes 1973, Fig. 6:1–7), Karos — cemeteries II and III (Révész 1996, Pl. 41:2–24; 89:32–51; 92:3–13; 118:3–13), Nyíraczád (Bollók 2015, 41), Szarvas-Tessedik-Sámuel (Bollók 2015, 49), Tiszaeszlár-Bashalom (Révész 1996, 138), abovementioned Tuzsér-Boszorkány-hegy in Hungary, as well as from Streda nad Bodrogom in Slovakia (Nevizánsky, Košta 2012, Fig. 12:11–18; Fig. 13:1, 3–5, 7), Hunca Mare (Bukovapuszta), and Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár) in Romania (Gáll 2013, Pl. 29:III–2; 134:12), and several Bulgarian cemeteries. The last ones are treated as eleventh-century imitations of Hungarian products (Stanilov 1997, 381, Fig. 2:15–16). Such applications were used as belt ferrules and ornaments of harness, saddlebags (sabretaches) or even shoes.

Similar tenth-century applications with face images are also known from the Varangian-Rus', Scandinavia and Black Sea areas (Murashova 2000, Figs. 22, 64). Relatively close analogies, though not identical, for the bronze heart-shaped applications of the leather straps found in object 1 (Fig. 7:2–7) can also be found in materials from Hungarian cemeteries, including the tenth-eleventh-century ones, e.g. Anarcs-Chobel (Istvánovits 2003, Pl. 3:3) and Sárrétudvari-Hízóföld (Nepper 2002, Fig. 345:5–19). Similar applications dating back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century are also known from Eastern Europe (Türk 2012, Fig. 2:2), including the ones belonging to the Varangian-Rus' culture, e.g. from Gniezdowo, Shestovitsa and Novgorod (Yanin *et al.* 1985, Fig. 153; Kolchin, Makarova 1997, Fig. 61; Murashova 2000, Figs. 39, 45, 62, 74, 76, 112, 113), as well as from Sweden (e.g. Birka, Gotland; Hedenstierna-Jonson 2012, Fig. 6). The lingulate leather strap-ends similar to that from Lipnik, dating from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, are known both from Eastern Europe (i.a. from the Kama river basin and the Saltovo-Mayaki culture, Lake Ladoga surroundings and Veliky Novgorod, Shestovitsa), Scandinavia (Yanin *et al.* 1985, Figs. 147, 148; Fodor 1996, 84; Almásy *et al.* 1997, Fig. 100:8; Kolchin, Makarova 1997, Fig. 61; Murashova 2000, Fig. 88:1–5; Nevizánsky, Košta 2012, Fig. 24; Janowski 2015, Fig. 145) and from the Hungarian sites in the Carpathian Basin, e.g. Sárrétudvari-Hízóföld (Nepper 2002, Fig. 232:8, 9). Likewise, the

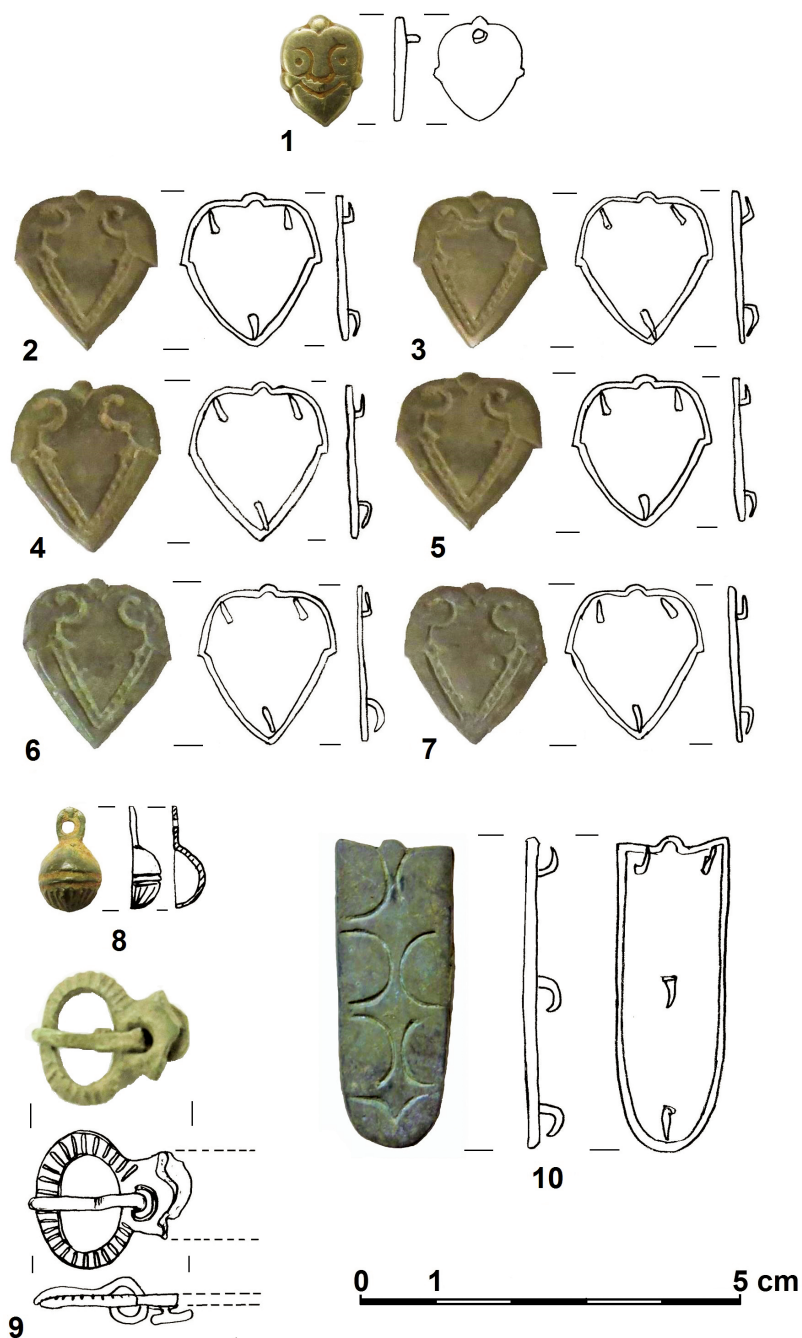


Fig. 7. Lipnik, site No. 32, Opatów district; photos, drawings and computer design by M. Florek.

1-7 — strap applications; 8 — bell-shaped pendant; 9 — buckle; 10 — strap-end.

1 — silver; 2-10 — bronze



bronze buckle from Lipnik may have analogies both in the Hungarian cemeteries of the Carpathian Basin as well as in Eastern Europe, dating back to 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century (Kolchin, Makarova 1997, Fig. 61; Murasheva 2000, Fig. 110; Nevizánsky, Košta 2012, Fig. 11:9–11).

An exceptional find is half-preserved bronze pendant in the form of a miniature spherical bell (Fig. 7:8). Bell-shaped pendants, usually made of iron or bronze sheet, less often made by casting, are quite common in Central and Eastern Europe at sites from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and are believed to be a piece of apparel (an ornament) worn by both women and men (*cf.* Sedov 1982, Figs. XXXIX:6, 7; XLII:4; LI:11; Kóčka-Krenz 1993:91; Malinowski 1993, 97–107; Kolchin, Makarova 1997, Pl. 54; Malinowski 1993, 97–107). They are, however, different from the Lipnik pendant, both in size and form, and usually also in the production technique. On the other hand, identical casted pendants, considered to be ornaments of the horse harness, are known from the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century Hungarian cemeteries, i.a. Hajdúböszörmény, Sárretudvari, Püspökladány and others (Nepper 2002, Figs. 19:1–6; 12; 108:6; 207:4, 6; 304:3).

### Rings

There are no good analogies to two bronze rings found in trenches Nos. 6 and 14 (Fig. 6:7–8). They are both open with narrowing ends. They have oval discs decorated with repoussed knobs; one of the rings is additionally richly decorated with punctured ornament. A silver ring of similar form, but different ornamentation was found in Janów Pomorski, Elbląg district, a settlement identified with the Baltic Truso (see Gardęła 2014, 115; Jagodzinski 2015, 97); the ring is considered to be a Scandinavian product of 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century. Bronze rings discovered in the eleventh-thirteenth-century graves Nos. 103, 154 and 320 from the cemetery in Gruczno, Świecie district on the Vistula appear to be further analogies of the Lipnik finds (Boguwolski, Hys 2005, 12–24).

### Arrowheads

An iron rhomboid arrowhead with a tang seems to be of Hungarian or at least of nomadic origin, even though it is not as large as the typical arrowheads of the Early Magyar Period. It has analogies from a series of sites from Eastern Europe and Hungary dating to the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries (Medvedev 1966, 66–67; Ruttkay 1976, 329–330; Nepper 2002, Figs. 3:7, 9, 11; 75:3; 138:1; 350:5; Janowski 2015, Figs. 114, 132:5, 7).

There are no clear analogies for an iron arrowhead with a socket found in trench No. 6, which, in terms of form, resembles a miniature tip of a javelin rather than the arrowhead. Most of the early medieval iron arrowheads with sockets known from the Polish lands have barbs, while the leaf-shaped arrowheads with

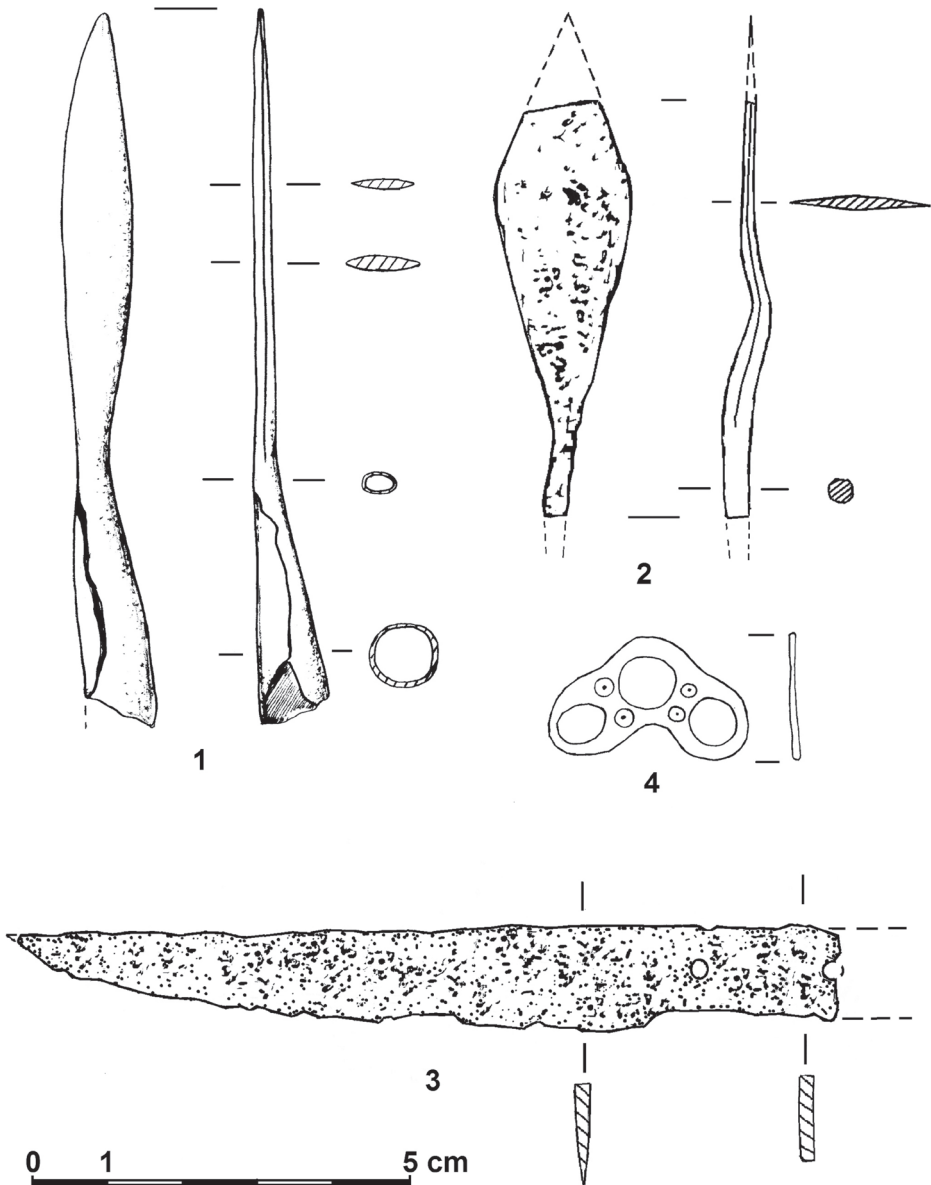


Fig. 8. Lipnik, site No. 32, Opatów district. Metal artefacts; drawn by M. Florek.

1-2 — arrowheads; 3 — knife (3); 4 — strap distributor (?).

1-3 — iron; 4 — bronze

a sleeve are very rare. In terms of form the artefact from Lipnik is similar to type 5, according to the A. F. Medvedev classification (Medvedev 1966, 57), which dates to the 9<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century. A somewhat similar, but stockier arrowhead was discovered on the hillfort in Naszacowice (Poleski 2013, 383, Fig. 95:16), but small arrowheads with such slender blade such as the Lipnik specimen have not been known in Poland at all.

### Others

There is also no analogy to a flat bronze object, with three holes, decorated with circular ornaments, perhaps used as a strap distributor (Fig. 8:4).

## III. CHRONOLOGY

The artefacts found on the hillfort in Lipnik, if treated individually, belong to a fairly wide chronological framework, as they date back to the period between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> or even the 13<sup>th</sup> century. It seems, however, that they should be treated as one chronological group. The absence of remains of settlement constructions and the uniformity of the pottery (fragments of vessels from object No. 1, where they were found together with metal objects, have the same material and technological properties, the same form and ornaments as the ones found in other trenches) indicate that the stronghold in Lipnik functioned relatively briefly. In such a situation, one should narrow the dating of the artefacts discovered in Lipnik to the period between the mid-10<sup>th</sup> and the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century. Such chronology does not contradict <sup>14</sup>C dating of charcoal samples taken from trench No. 8 (at the culmination of the shaft) and leveling layers in trenches 4 and 9<sup>2</sup>.

## IV. INTERPRETATION

Among the materials discovered on the hillfort in Lipnik the most interesting artefacts are those with direct analogies from 9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century Hungarian sites, namely: silver application in the form of a stylized human face and bronze heart-shaped applications of leather straps of saddlebags, strap-end and the buckle (which probably was also a part of a saddlebag) and iron deltoid arrowhead. It is also plausible, that a fragment of the grape-shaped earring is also of Hungarian origin.

Artefacts of Hungarian provenience, commonly referred to as early-magyar and dated between the late 9<sup>th</sup> and the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century, are known only from

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<sup>2</sup> Stratigraphy, embankment construction plan, all movable artefacts and specialist analyzes, including <sup>14</sup>C dating will be the subject of a separate study.

several sites from Poland, all of which are in Lesser Poland (Fig. 9; Poleski 2013, 390, Fig. 102). Apart from objects from the cemetery at Rycerska Street in Przemyśl (Koperski, Parczewski 1978a; 1978b; Koperski 2003; 2010) and alleged grave in Czechowice (Zoll-Adamikowa 1966, 35) those are only individual items: belt strap-ends from Igołomia and the hillfort in Naszacowice, a Liada-type heart-shaped ferrule found Kraków-Okół, a lyriform buckle from Haliczany; a saber from Radymno; an alleged bone lining of a bow from the hillfort in Demblin (Poleski 2013, 390, Fig. 102) and a bronze openwork strap distributor from cemetery in Lublin-Sławinek (not published). They are usually treated as traces of Hungarian nomadic invasions that took place in the southern Polish lands between the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup> century, or even as a proof of their temporary dependence on them (Parczewski 1991, 39–42; Poleski 2013, 149, 185). It should be noted, however, that in the case of the cemetery in Przemyśl a different dating, namely the first quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, is possible (Florek 2013)<sup>3</sup>. The above-mentioned strap distributor from the cemetery

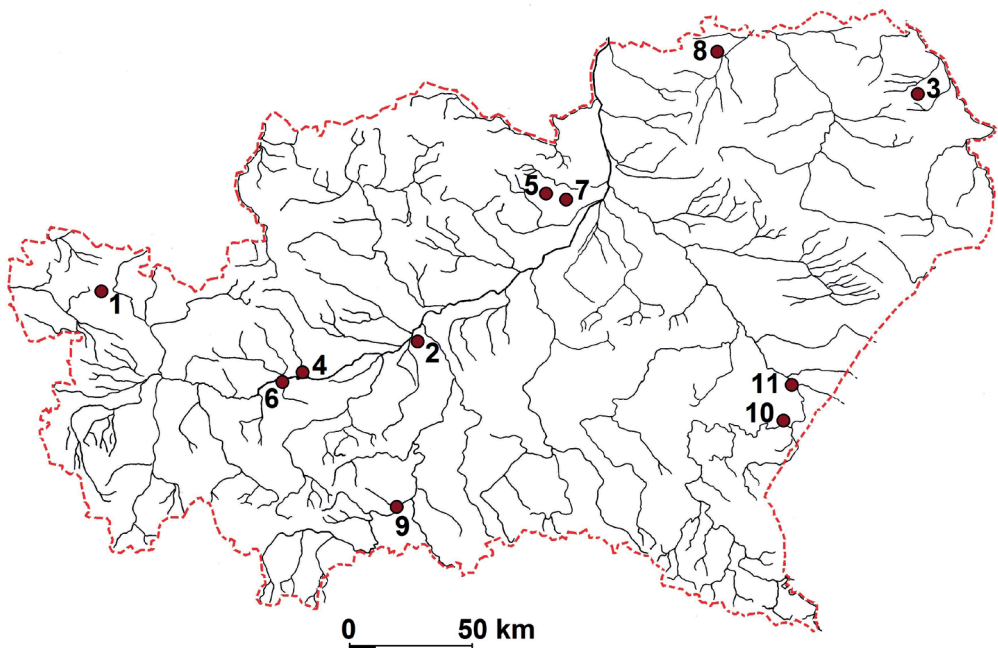


Fig. 9. Finds of Magyar origin from Lesser Poland; after J. Poleski (2013, 390, Fig. 102, with supplements by M. Florek); computer design M. Florek.

1 — Czechowice, Bielsko-Biała district; 2 — Demblin, Tarnów district; 3 — Haliczany, Chełm district; 4 — Igołomia, Cracow district; 5 — Kaczyce, Opatów district; 6 — Cracow-Okół, Cracow district; 7 — Lipnik, Opatów district; 8 — Lublin-Sławinek, Lublin district; 9 — Naszacowice, Nowy Sącz district; 10 — Przemyśl (Rycerska street), Przemyśl district; 11 — Radymno, Jarosław district

<sup>3</sup> According to the Editorial Board dating of the Early Magyar burial from Przemyśl to the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century should be approached with reservations.



in Lublin-Sławinek is certainly younger, and can be dated at earliest to the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Polańska 2004, 33). Local names like Węgrzce, Węgrce and similar ones known, among others, from Cracow, Sandomierz and Poznań area, also indicate the presence of Hungarian people in Polish territories as far back as in the second half of 10<sup>th</sup> century (Modrzejewska 1969, 368–369; 1984, 34–40, 90; Rajman, Urban 1994).

If raids of the nomadic tribes from Hungary actually had happened and reached Sandomierz areas, they must have taken place only in the 9<sup>th</sup> century or in the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Dąbrowska 1979, 162–176; Gyórfy 1988, 6). On the other hand, the context and chronology of artefacts of presumed Hungarian provenience from Lipnik clearly indicate that they came to these territories between mid-10<sup>th</sup> and mid-11<sup>th</sup> century. If one assumes such a dating to be correct, it would suggest that individuals or small groups of the Hungarian population, which followed, at least partially, the nomadic tradition, had stayed in Lipnik area at that time.

The settlement or at least occasional stay in the vicinity of Sandomierz of small groups of people or at least individuals from Hungary is not as peculiar concept as it may seem.

At the end of the 1990s, on the basis of the analysis of post-consumer animal remains (mainly of goats, sheep and horses) discovered in the site of the 11<sup>th</sup> century settlement in Kaczyce, which is located only a few kilometers away from Lipnik, A. Buko pointed out that as far as dietary preferences are concerned, the settlement might have been inhabited by the people who followed nomadic lifestyle. They were supposed to come from the Transcarpathian region, perhaps from Hungary (Buko 2000, 199–207; 2003, 113–156). This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by recently found metal artefacts found in Kaczyce (Bajka, Florek 2016, 65–67). In 2006 M. Florek reported an attempt to prove (primarily on the basis of topomastic sources) the presence of groups of people from Hungary in Lesser Poland (including in the vicinity of Sandomierz) at the turn of 11<sup>th</sup> century (Florek 2006, 729–740). The artefacts from Lipnik, similarly to those found in Kaczyce, seem to be another argument confirming this hypothesis.

Theoretically, there are at least three hypotheses regarding the circumstances in which people of Hungarian origin could appear in the vicinity of Sandomierz between the mid-10<sup>th</sup> and the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century, and one doesn't necessarily exclude the other. The first hypothesis is related to the presence of warriors of foreign origin in the armed forces of early medieval rulers. The Primary Chronicle includes several descriptions of Scandinavian (Varangian) troops serving the Rurik dynasty (PVL, 76, 83, 124, 127, 166–167, 173). The same source refers to a Hungarian man named George, who served as the guardian of Prince Boris, the son of Vladimir the Great, who died with him in an assault organized by Sviatopolk (PVL, 178). On the other hand, the Byzantine sources confirm the fact that both the Scandinavian Varangians and the Hungarians served in the Imperial Guards (Florek 2006, 735–736). It is also known and confirmed, i.a. by the presence of burials containing weapon, that not only individual people,

but probably groups of foreign origin, primarily Scandinavian or Varangian-Rus', served in the military team of Mieszko I and Bolesław I the Brave (Nadolski 1956, 19, Kara 1991, 99–120; 1992, 33–47; Buko 1999, 40). It is therefore very probable that individual Hungarians or small groups of Hungarian warriors could serve in the military units of the first members of the Piast dynasty, either in their guard teams or as a cast of selected castles. This assumption seems to be confirmed by information from Thietmar's chronicle that a group of 500 Hungarian warriors (knights) accompanied Bolesław I the Brave during his expedition to Kiev in 1018 (Thietmar of Merseburg VIII.32, p. 384). After the service had ended, the team members might not return to their homeland but settled in the vicinity of the main Piast castles, including Sandomierz. The presence of Hungarians in Przemyśl can be explained in a similar way if one changes the dating of the cemetery on Rycerska street in Przemyśl to the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Florek 2013).

Another reason why Hungarian people might have appeared in Lipnik and Kaczyce at the turn of the eleventh centuries is that they were prisoners of war. Gallus writes in the *Gesta principum Polonorum* that Bolesław I the Brave "Numquid non ipse Vngaros frequencius in certamine superavit, totamque terram eorum usque Danubium suo dominio mancipavit = Was it not he who time and again defeated the Hungarians in battle and made himself master of all their lands as far as the Danube (Gallus Anonymus, I.6., p. 31–33), which is interpreted as an occupation of territories of modern Slovakia that took place around 1003. Earlier, perhaps in the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, these lands had been conquered by the Hungarians (Györfy 1988, 12–15). Therefore, it is possible that some prisoners or a group of Hungarian people were resettled to the vicinity of Sandomierz. This hypothesis is very plausible in case of settlement in Kaczyce. Dietary preferences of the inhabitants indicate that it was rather the permanent settlement of the nomadic population (or at least followed nomadic traditions), which have been Slavicized in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, what is reflected e.g. by a change of dietary preferences (Buko 2003, 149–150). An indirect indication may be the name of the village Węgrzce located near Lipnik and Kaczyce, which was first recorded in written sources in 1255 (Kamińska 1965, 212; Modrzejewska 1969, 367).

The last hypothesis is associated with the fact that both in Lipnik and Kaczyce the elements of dress and equestrian accessories of nomadic, probably Hungarian origin, coexist with the weights related with the Scandinavian system of weights and measures, as well as with silver and bronze ornaments. This suggests that these may be traces of long distance merchants: Hungarian ones and of the unspecified ethnicity (Slavic?, Varangian-Rus'?, Scandinavian?), that used northern (Scandinavian) system of weights and measures.

Researchers dealing with the origins of the Polish state indicate that one of the bases of its economy during the reigns of Mieszko and Bolesław I the Brave was the slave trade directed towards Arab markets, both to the Middle East and to Muslim Spain. Scandinavian and Varangian-Rus' merchants, who maintained

direct or indirect (through the Byzantine Empire) contacts with the Middle East, and Hungarians (at least until the early 11<sup>th</sup> century) participated in this slave trade (Górczak 2014, 28; Adamczyk 2015, 32; Krysiak 2015, 42–47; Urbańczyk 2016, 48). Thus, perhaps items of nomadic origin are a testimony of the stay of Hungarian merchants who mediated slave trade. This is especially probable in the case of the forthill in Lipnik.

No matter what the likelihood of the presented interpretations is, it remains a fact that the artefacts found in Lipnik (and also in nearby Kaczyce) clearly indicate the arrival of some nomadic population groups, probably of Hungarian origin, in the vicinity of Sandomierz between the middle of the tenth and the eleventh centuries.

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