# DELIBERATELY DEFORMED SHEARS FROM EARLY AND MIDDLE LA TENE GRAVES IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

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#### Abstract

Shears are commonly found in La Tène burials from the Carpathian Basin. The earliest such finds known in Europe date from the early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC Mediterranean cultural milieu. Towards the end of the same century they are adopted by the La Tène communities, where their morphology and meaning in the funerary process is changing. The purpose of these tools during the burial ritual seems to be similar to the one played by the swords. This fact can be deduced from several treatments that were applied to them like: position in the grave, similar decoration as some of the weapons or deliberately mutilation of the objects.

The earliest shears in Europe

uring the early and middle La Tène period, certain burial rites rituals were common throughout the entire Carpathian Basin while others show regional or even intracommunal variations<sup>1</sup>. These custom variations reflect different means of expressing various layers of identity. They also reflect different traditions and cultural interactions that are characteristic of each area. One of these customs, which is found throughout the entire Carpathian Basin, is the placing of sheers as grave offering. In Europe, these items appear in the early 4th century BC in Greek or Punic contexts from the Peloponnese<sup>2</sup>, Magna Graecia<sup>3</sup>, Sicily<sup>4</sup>, Sardinia<sup>5</sup> or Ibiza<sup>6</sup>, where they are found in female burials as part of toiletry sets. The custom is also known in the Black Sea area, in the Greek colony from Apollonia Pontica (Sozopol, Bulgaria), where, starting from the second quarter of the 4th century BC, shears are found in toiletry sets from female burials7. Most of these tools have a similar morphology. Their length is rather small, ranging

- <sup>1</sup> Berecki 2006; Németi 2012; Ramsl 2012.
- <sup>2</sup> Kovacsovics 1990, T. 30/4.
- <sup>3</sup> Prohászka 1995, 142–143.
- <sup>4</sup> Bechtold 1999, 172.
- <sup>5</sup> Levi 1950, Tav. XI.
- <sup>6</sup> Gómez Bellard 1984, 46; Fig. 13/15.
- <sup>7</sup> Bogdanova 2016, 72–73.

between 11–13 cm and their handle is often longer than the blade.

Around the same period shears appear in the La Tène milieu. Among the earliest finds are the ones found in grave 141 from Dürrnberg (Salzburg, Austria)<sup>8</sup> or in grave 180 from Pişcolt (jud. Satu Mare, Romania)<sup>9</sup>, both dated to the La Tène B1 period. The custom becomes more frequent in the subsequent periods.

The morphology of the La Tène shears is somewhat different than the ones from the Mediterranean world (Pl.I.1). Their average length is between 18 and 23 cm, while the handle and the blades are roughly equal in size. Their shape remains unchanged until the end of the first millennium BC when various types of handles and blades appear<sup>10</sup>.

Unlike the ones from southern Europe, shears from the Celtic environment are more frequently found in male graves, placed alongside a razor or a whetstone<sup>11</sup>. Their functionality has often been debated being thought to have been used for body hygiene<sup>12</sup> or textile production<sup>13</sup>. A different approach has been proposed by Jenny Kaurin in her study about shears found in the cemeteries of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Tiefengraber – Wiltschke-Schrotta 2012, 134–140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Németi 1988, 62, Fig. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Jacobi 1974, Abb.24; Kaurin 2011, Fig. 2.

Georgescu 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Jacobi 1974, 87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Grömer 2012, 55.

the Treveri<sup>14</sup>. Her research method combines the morphological variations of the tools with their grave position in relation to the human remains. The study is relevant for attempting to identify the functionality of these tools in everyday life. However, this method would not be so relevant for the shears dated to the early and middle La Tène period due to their lack of morphological variations. It also doesn't provide an answer for the role of shears in the funerary context.

Concerning their position in graves several rules have been noticed. In inhumation burials, shears have been placed either in connection with some of the vessels or in the proximity of the body. In the latter case, they are more frequently found on the right side of the body; near the head, the arm or the hand of the deceased. In some cases, like graves 52015 and 56216 from Pottenbrunn (Niederösterreich, Austria), or the grave 18117 from Mannersdorf (Burgenland, Austria), shears have been placed alongside swords, near the right hand of the deceased. The close association between swords and shears is also visible in some cremation burials. In grave 12 from Zvonimirovo (Virovitičko-podravska županija, Croatia) a triple cremation burial was found<sup>18</sup>. The remains belonged to an adult male, an adult female and an infant. Among the grave goods, a complete panoply of weapons (sword, spearhead and shieldboss) and a toolset comprising of two razors, a pair of shears and a whetstone were found. Unlike in most of the cases when such toolsets are found, the shears were not placed together with the razor and whetstone, but on top of the weapons heap<sup>19</sup>. A similar situation was encountered in grave 10 from Dobova (Občina Brežice, Slovenia)<sup>20</sup>. In this case, the weapons were grouped in two heaps. The shears were placed along with one of the swords, a slashing knife and a spearhead, while another sword and a shield-boss were placed on the opposite side of the grave. The razor was placed in the middle of the grave among the cremated bones<sup>21</sup>. Another example where shears show a strong connection with the weapons is grave 30 from Dubník (Nitriansky kraj, Slovakia). The cremation burial contained a sword with a scabbard decorated with All these examples seem to indicate that shears had a similar role in expressing the deceased's identity as the weapons did. Another treatment that can be observed on both weapons and sheers is the ritual 'killing' of the object.

### Ritually destroyed shears in graves from the Carpathian Basin

Out of the 93 shears discovered in early and middle La Tène graves in the Carpathian Basin, only six of them were intentionally destroyed before being placed in the grave. The roughly 5% prevalence show that this custom was not common for everybody in that period. Although it is found in the entire Carpathian Basin, most of the cases (5) were encountered in the western part of the area (Pl. I.2).

Two of the finds come from the cemetery at Pottenbrunn. Grave 854 (Pl. II/a) was a cremation burial dating from the end of the LTB1 period, which also contained a bent sword, a fragment from a razor and two brooches<sup>23</sup>. The shears were deformed by pulling the blades outwards. The second grave from Pottenbrunn containing deformed shears was grave 975 (Pl. II/b). It was also a cremation burial which contained a folded sword, a spear-head, a fragmentary razor, two brooches and a bracelet<sup>24</sup>. The shears were deformed by twisting the blades outwards. The burial is also dated roughly at the end of the LTB1 phase.

Two more finds come from south-western Slovakia. The first one comes from the cremation grave 274 found in the cemetery from Malé Kosihy (Nitriansky kraj, Slovakia) (Pl. II/d). The burial inventory was composed of seven brooches, fragments from a bronze anklet, a fragment of tweezers, an armlet and several fragments from a belt chain<sup>25</sup>. The shears and most of the metal inventory were placed in the south-western corner of the

a pair of dragons, a sword-chain with a decorated loop-end, a spearhead with decorated shaft, a razor and a pair of shears which were decorated in a similar manner to the spearhead. The decorated shears are unique in the entire Carpathian Basin and are rarely known in the entire Late Iron Age<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Kaurin 2011.

<sup>15</sup> Ramsl 2002, Taf. 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Ramsl 2002, Taf. 64.

<sup>17</sup> Ramsl 2011, Taf. 188.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Dizdar 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Dizdar 2013, Fig. 157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Guštin 1981.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Guštin 1981, Abb. 1–2.

Another decorated pair of shears was found in Hertfordshire, UK. (Hill – Crummy 2005) They were made from copper alloy which, together with the decoration raises questions about their use in ceremonial practices, for wich some metals might have been considered impure (Aldhouse-Green 2010, 1–3; 167).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Ramsl 2002, Taf. 71/5–9; Taf. 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ramsl 2002, Taf. 76–77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Bujna 1995, 63–65.

pit, on top of o some of the cremated remains<sup>26</sup>. Anthropological analysis was not able to establish the gender of the deceased but determined that they belonged to a mature person. However, judging from the grave inventory we can assume that the buried person was a female. The grave can be dated to the middle La Tène period. The shears were deformed through a slight bending of the blades. In the same region, another cremation burial containing deformed shears was unearthed at Sv. Michal (Pl. II/c). Grave 17 contained two brooches, a razor, a whetstone and a shield-boss, the entire inventory being placed in one heap<sup>27</sup>. Based on the inventory, the burial can be dated to the LTC1 period. The shears were deformed by folding the blades towards the handle.

In south-western Hungary, a deformed pair of shears was found in the disturbed grave 10 from Szabadi (Somogy megye, Hungary) (Pl. II/e)<sup>28</sup>. Other grave goods recovered were a chain-belt and an armlet<sup>29</sup>. Unfortunately the burial rite could not be determined, although it was presumed to be cremation. The shears were deformed by bending the blades to a nearly 90 degrees angle.

Finally, in the eastern Carpathian Basin, in the cemetery from Pişcolt, a pair of intentionally deformed shears was found in the cremation grave 158 (Pl. II/f)<sup>30</sup>. The burial also contained three brooches, three small knives of different shapes, a spear-head and a sword scabbard belt-hanger. The grave can be dated to the early middle La Tène period. The shears were placed underneath the spear-head, with the rest of the metal inventory positioned nearby. They were deformed by folding the blades towards the handle in the same manner as the ones from Sv. Michal.

In the end of this survey we can conclude that all of the ritually deformed shears from the Carpathian Basin were found in cremation burials (if we include here the disturbed grave from Szabadi). Most of the burials belonged to males and also contained military equipment. Only one grave could have belonged to a woman. The earliest manifestation of this custom comes from the cemetery from Pottenbrunn, in eastern Austria. Here, both the shears and the swords that were placed in the grave have been ritually 'killed'. The destruction of the shears was done in most cases

by bending or folding. Only at Pottenbrunn, the shears were twisted or pulled apart.

# The ritual destruction of graves goods in the La Tène period

The custom of destroying grave goods is known throughout different periods of time and in numerous cultures. The reasons behind these acts are various ranging from repulsion caused by the use of the objects in preparing the body for funeral or fear of contamination in the case of persons dying of diseases<sup>31</sup>. In the case of objects thought to indicate the status of the individual, they have often been connected with the life of the deceased, sharing the same faith as their owners<sup>32</sup>.

In the Late Iron Age the most frequent destroyed objects found in graves are weapons<sup>33</sup> or pots<sup>34</sup>. In the Carpathian Basin they are mainly associated with cremation burials. This custom is missing in cemeteries like Mannersdorf<sup>35</sup> or Chotín<sup>36</sup>, where inhumation was the dominant burial rite. In biritual cemeteries, like Dubník<sup>37</sup>, Pottenbrunn<sup>38</sup>, Sajópetri<sup>39</sup> or Pişcolt<sup>40</sup>, ritually killed weapons are found only the cremation burials. In this context, it seems highly likely that the custom of ritual destruction of iron tools or weapons was linked to the act of cremation. The preference of burial rite was often linked with ethnic identity. However, the preference for cremation or inhumation was more likely determined by other factors like the status of the deceased, certain events that occurred in life or even the season in which the burial took place<sup>41</sup>. In this respect, it is worth mentioning that within the same community we may encounter both cremation burials with weapons that have or have not been ritually 'killed'. This situation is noticed in the cemeteries both in the western (e.g. Dubník) or eastern Carpathian Basin (e.g. Pișcolt). This aspect suggests that some burial rituals were perhaps determined by deeds or events from one's life<sup>42</sup>. It could also infer a hierarchical stratification of the elite, where some burial rituals were only reserved for a certain class.

Bujna 1995, Abb. 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Benadik 1958, Obr. 199/4–7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Horváth – Németh 2009, 9. kép/6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Horváth – Németh 2009, 140.

<sup>30</sup> Németi 1992, 97; Fig 28/M158.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Grinsell 1961, 476–479.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Åström 1987, 216; Lloyd 2015, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Măndescu 2012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Repka 2018.

<sup>35</sup> Ramsl 2011.

<sup>36</sup> Ratimorská 1981.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Bujna 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Ramsl 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Szabó *et alii* 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Németi 1988; Németi 1989; Németi 1992.

<sup>41</sup> Rebay-Salisbury 2017, 56–57.

<sup>42</sup> Lloyd 2015, 22.

A similar explanation can be used for the deformation of shears. Their connection to cremation graves seems to be prevalent, while the rare occurrence of the custom could suggest a use reserved for people of special deeds or special class.

### Conclusions

Shears appear in European funerary contexts around the early 4th century BC in the Mediterranean world. Here, they are part of toiletry sets and seem to express women identity. Around the end of the same century they are adopted by the La Tène communities, who adapt the morphology of these tools to better suit their needs. The symbolic meaning of these objects is also different, being mostly associated with male burials which often contained weapons. These tools are found throughout the entire Carpathian Basin in the early and middle La Tène period burials. Their role during the funeral procession was probably to signal the membership of the deceased to a certain social class. This could be argued by the small proportion of graves that contained these objects, their position in relation with the human remains and also by the special treatment that sometimes was applied to them. One such treatment is the deliberate destruction before the burial. There have been numerous attempts at identifying the reason for killing the grave goods but, as P. Åström already expressed over three decades, an explanation might never be found. This could be owed to the fact that there isn't just one explanation valid for every community that practiced this custom throughout time. As the research conducted by L.V. Grinsell showed, different communities could have their own motivation for destroying the goods that accompanied the deceased in the afterlife.

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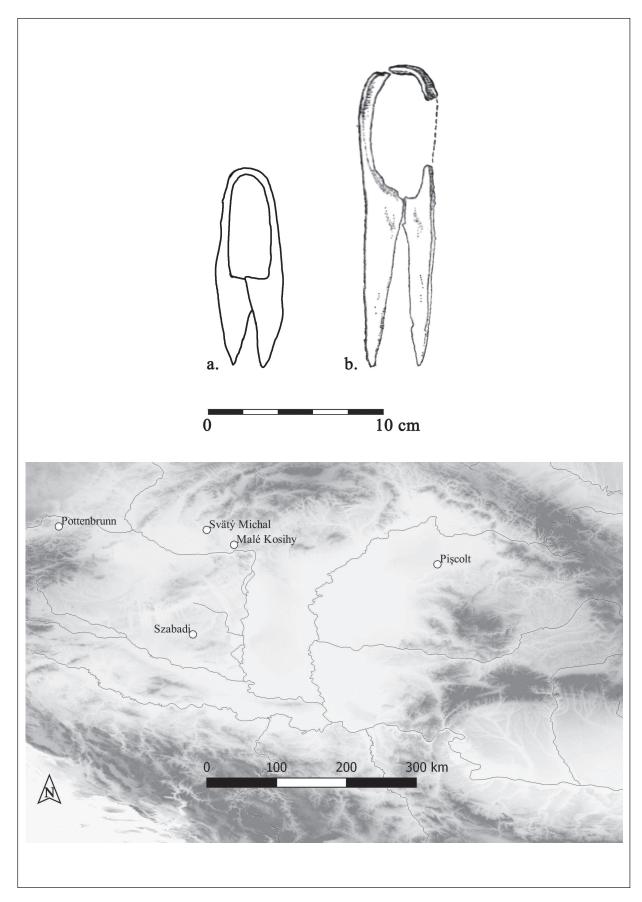
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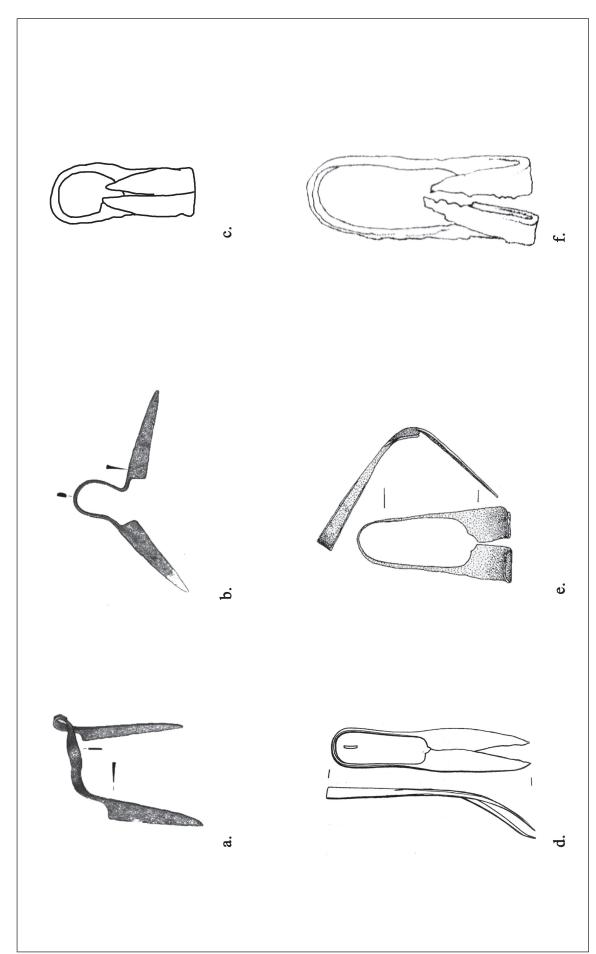
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Pl. I.1. Morphological differences between shears from the Mediterranean environment and the La Tène milieu: a. Shears from Kerameikos cemetery (after Kovacsovics 1990); b. Shears from Pişcolt (after Németi 1988); 2. Map of deliberately deformed shears in early and middle La Tène burials from the Carpathian Basin.



Pl. II. Deformed shears from early and middle La Tène burials from the Carpathian Basin (not at scale): a. Pottenbrunn grave 854 (after Ramsl 2002); b. Pottenbrunn grave 975 (after Ramsl 2002); c. Sv. Michal grave 17 (after Benadik 1958); d. Malé Kosihy grave 274 (after Bujna 1995); e. Szabadi grave 10 (after Horváth, Németh 2009); f. Pişcolt grave 158 (after Németi 1992).