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CZECH, POLISH OR CENTRAL EUROPEAN? CONTRIBUTION TO THE CZECH-POLISH CONTACTS AT THE END OF THE 9TH - THE FIRST HALF OF THE 11TH CENTURY. ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE.

ABSTRACT

This paper will focus on a few lesser-known cases of men's equipment in Bohemia, which may have originated from Poland or Central Europe. However, we know them mostly from male graves in Poland: a sword of type S, stirrups, a miniature axe, or a fitting of the scabbards with animal heads or with animal figures. Czech exclusive finds, such as a sword or stirrup from Dobruška-

Běstviny, could be a gift as well as evidence of the movement of concrete men. The stirrup from Zbečno could be imported from the west. The fitting of the scabbard with animal heads could be local, made after Western models. The fitting with the animal figure is an import from Poland. Elites in Bohemia and Poland often used similar luxurious goods.

Keywords: Bohemia, early Middle Ages, stirrups, sword, fitting of the scabbard with an animal head, Czech-Polish contact, helmet

The complex problematics of Czech–Polish relations from the late 9th to the mid-11th century are historically documented mainly for the second half of this period, particularly through the marriage of Mieszko I († 992) to Dobrava (in 965), the death of Dobrava († 977), and the subsequent hostile relations between Bohemia and Boleslaus II – the loss of Silesia and, subsequently, the painful loss of Kraków around 990, followed by the occupation of the principality by Bolesław the Brave in 1003. This paper focuses on several lesser-known cases of comparable manifestations of material culture associated with men and their representation, considered within a broader context of these turbulent times.¹ It attempts to demonstrate the difficulty of determining the origins of these phenomena in areas where such objects were not included as grave goods, as compared with areas where they were. In many cases, these phenomena may represent elements of a shared Central European

and West Slavic heritage or result from similar influences from Western Europe. However, the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record does not allow clear-cut answers – particularly in light of recent dietary analyses, which have provided the first archaeological evidence of the arrival of a sword-wielding warrior from the East Baltics at Prague Castle in the early 10th century.² Four brief case studies are presented below.

The need for caution in interpretation is illustrated by a dendrochronologically dated element of a wooden hook construction from Žatec (Žatec district), dated to 930–937, with a parallel beam dated to 929–935.³ This structure predates many fortifications in Greater Poland (*Polonia Maior*) and roughly corresponds chronologically to the situation at Bnin, where the fortifications were constructed after 934–940;⁴ the Gniezno structure is dated to around 940, as are some fortifications of strongholds in Lusatia.⁵

¹ Profantová 2025.

² Sanders *et al.* 2019.

³ Kos 2020.

⁴ Sawicki 2018, 124, Fig. IX:23.

⁵ Heußner. Westphal 1998, 226, Abb.3.

Sword and Stirrups

The sword from the spa town of Lázně Toušeň is undoubtedly a very luxurious piece of armament. It was discovered during the dredging of the Malvíny reservoir (part of the former Elbe riverbed) near the early medieval hillfort at the Hradištko location in 2016.⁶ This sword has been preserved almost in its entirety; only the upper part of the pommel was missing (the so-called crown). The guard and pommel of the hilt, including the base, were decorated with silver, brass and copper wire plating over the entire surface (on an iron base). The application of other metals formed an intricate braided ornament, supplemented at the place of the knots with knobs. Between the knots there were three or four golden-shining oval areas (on the pommel; Fig. 1).⁷

The composition of the motif differs in detail from Scandinavian swords, corresponding more closely to motifs from Central (Poland) and Eastern Europe (Ukraine). The Central European origin of this composition is underlined by the discovery of bronze fittings decorated with a similar motif – albeit executed by pressing on a punched background in Wrocław, Silesia.⁸ These fittings depict similar knobs and parts of interlaced ovals and were dated to the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries, that is, to an earlier period than ‘S’ – Petersen-type swords with a three-lobed crown,⁹ whose maximum appearance in Europe falls at the end of the 10th or the very beginning of the 11th century.¹⁰

The closest analogues of the sword are known from Ukraine (Blystova near Chernihiv), Poland (mainly at the Cieple burial ground in the lower Vistula region and in Lutovo),¹¹ and also from the sword hilt in Szob, Hungary (Figs. 1 and 2),¹² where the sword probably arrived as an import from the region of Poland or Ukraine. The most precise dating of this group comes from the context of the chamber tomb in Cieple, where the sword was found alongside a coin of Henry II. This coin was minted at the Cham mint in Bavaria, close to the Bohemian border, between 1002 and 1009 AD. The sword, whose overall form is rather conservative and finds Frankish analogies from the last third of the 9th and part of the 10th century, is dated by its decoration rather to the end of the 10th or the very beginning of the 11th century.¹³ The long-distance communication routes, which were to

a considerable extent controlled by the Bohemian princes until the early 990s, were acquired together with Kraków by Mieszko I (†992) of the Piast dynasty. The sword may have reached Bohemia from the territory of Poland at the time of these turbulent changes, or from the territory of Kievan Rus’.

Stirrups

Stirrups are another category of luxury equipment often associated with the Viking milieu, or at least with Poland. Indeed, the brass, silver, and copper inlaid elongated stirrup with a rectangular handle from Zbečno, Rakovník district (Fig. 3:1)¹⁴ has parallels in Denmark, notably in the famous Haithabu, and in southern Scandinavia¹⁵ as well as at Lutomiersk or Cieple in Poland (Fig. 4:4);¹⁶ it belongs to type A1¹⁷ and is datable to the end of the 9th and the 10th century.

The Czech example is most likely datable to the last two-thirds of the 10th century. However, this stirrup with bird and snake decoration is also more likely a Western import,¹⁸ which spread from the empire simultaneously to Bohemia, Denmark, and Scandinavia, as did many swords (e.g., the Ulfberht type, Litoměřice, Litoměřice district). However, it was only in Scandinavia and then in Poland (around the turn of the 10th/11th century) that luxury stirrups were buried in rich graves in the second half of the 10th century. Grave equipment thus illustrates the developmental trends in much of Europe. The motif with snakes could be of northern origin (cf. the snake motif),¹⁹ but in Bohemia, it is known from the 8th century in other types of depictions and stylisation. In the case of the earlier stirrup with sculptured arms from Kolín, Kolín district (9th century),²⁰ the decoration consists of an inlaid geometric motif of two intertwined ovals on the stirrup loop, clearly visible only in some photographs. This stirrup is a Carolingian import. I would like to point out that braided motifs were already present on the gilded top of the phalera from Plaňany, Kolín district (unpublished), from the second half of the 8th to the beginning of the 9th century; although close to the late Avar production, it was probably made in Bohemia.

Similarly to Zbečno, a lesser-known but no less luxurious stirrup with silvered copper-plated inlay comes

⁶ Hergesell, Snítily 2020, Fig. 1 on p. 6 and 1 on p. 18.

⁷ Hergesell, Snítily 2020; Hošek *et al.* 2019, 97; 2021, Fig. 92e.

⁸ Pankiewicz 2023, Fig. 144a.

⁹ Petersen 1919.

¹⁰ Košta 2020, 37–43.

¹¹ Wadył 2019, Tab. 19.

¹² Košta 2020.

¹³ Košta 2020, 37–43.

¹⁴ Košnar 1982, 53–74, note 36; Profantová 2019, Abb. 16.

¹⁵ Thumby-Bienebek, G. 37, Deutschland. Stirrups have the same type of sheet collars..

¹⁶ Wadył 2019.

¹⁷ Goßler 2013, 109–215; Abb. 2, 3, 4, 5.

¹⁸ Profantová 2015, Tab. 1; Profantová 2011, 82.

¹⁹ Gardela, Kajkowski 2021.

²⁰ Košnar 1982.

²¹ Profantová 2012 with detail analysis.



Fig. 1. S-type sword from Lázně Toušeň: reconstruction with the crone (after: Košta 2020 and Hošek *et al.* 2021, Fig. 105).



Fig. 2. Map of the close parallels of the S-type sword with similar braided decoration. Larger points indicate the most similar examples (after: Košta 2020, 44).

from Dobruška-Běstviný (Fig. 4:1).²¹ This one differs from the Zbečno example in shape, which is based on the almost circular Old Hungarian stirrups of the first half of the 10th century,²² with two embossed protrusions and a rectangular handle (similar to type BI1b).²³ The closest parallels include the inlay stirrup from Biskupice near Třebíč in southwestern Moravia (Fig. 5), and especially the stirrups from Kalisz (Fig. 4:2), and Lutomiersk (grave 55) in Poland,²⁴ or Prietzerbe near Brandenburg in northern Germany (Figs. 4:3, 5).²⁵ The custom of using a decorative loop for the hanging of the stirrup – most intensively in the 10th and beginning of 11th century – appears to be

of Viking or Polish origin (Figs. 4:3, 4). We do not rule out its more frequent use in Bohemia, but without grave units, it remains unprovable. The territorially closest settlement context (stratigraphically) to the find of the loop has been found in Wrocław, albeit with different decoration.²⁶

The stirrup dates from the second half of the 10th century to the first two-thirds of the 11th century. However, due to its proximity to the communication routes with Poland, it is unclear whether it was used by a domestic or foreign member of the elite. The nearby Opočno hillfort is thought to have been established at the turn of the 10th/11th century (new excavations by Muzeum Rychnov nad Kněžnou).²⁷

²² Gošler 2013, Fig.13b; most similar piece Revész 2000, Fig. 15.03.01bb.

²³ Gošler 2013, Fig. 3, specific variant.

²⁴ Gošler 2013, Fig. 44:3, 6, 7.

²⁵ Profantová 2012; Herrmann 1982, 297, 320.

²⁶ Pankiewicz 2023, Fig. 170.

²⁷ Beková 2010.

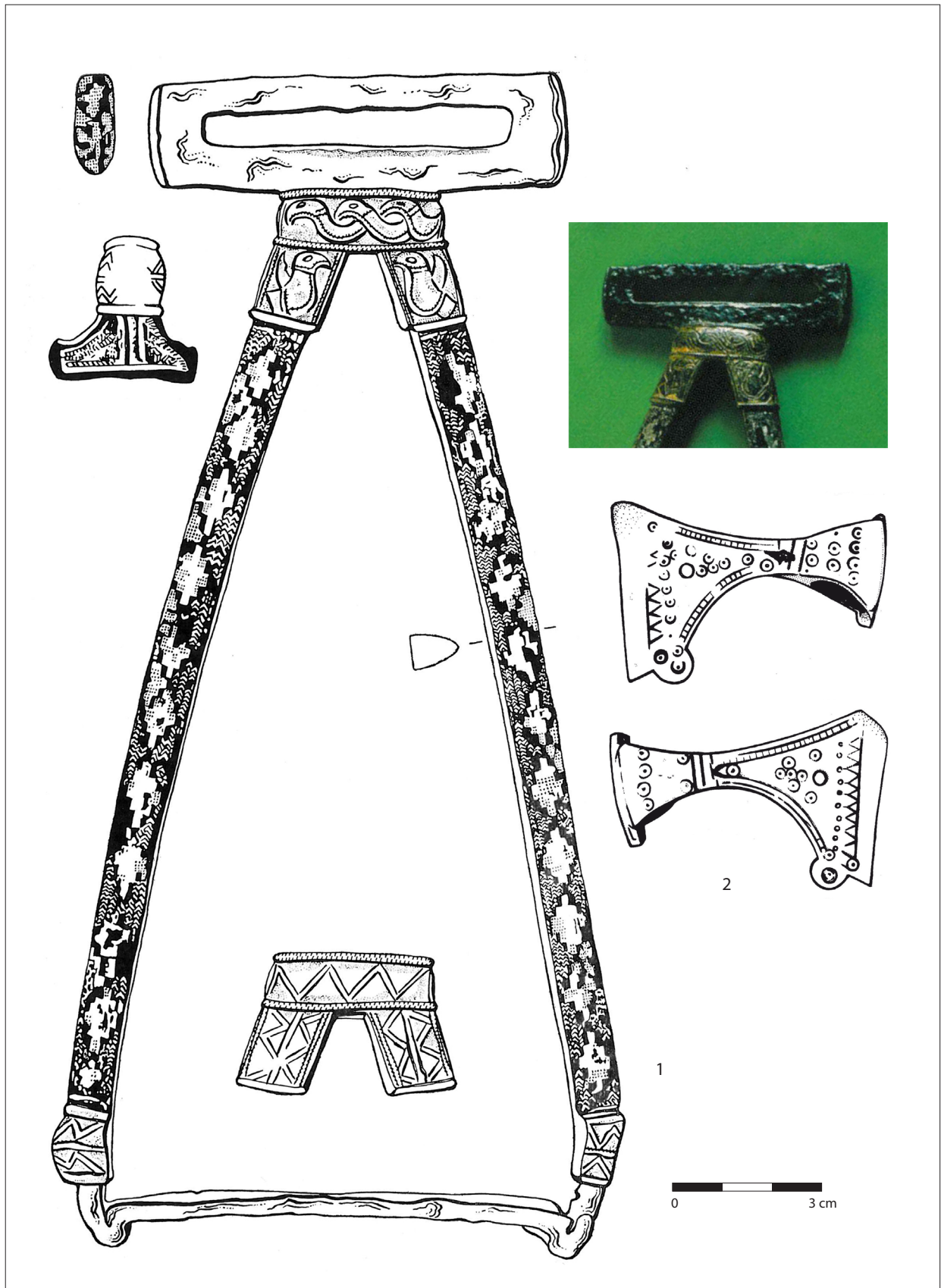


Fig. 3. 1 – Stirrup with a rectangular handle from Zbečno (Rakovník district, Czechia; after: Profantová 2012, Fig. 2) with a detail, three-coloured in lay (Fe, Silver, Cu, “collar” was made from gilded copper alloy sheet); 2 – Miniature iron axe from Horky nad Jizerou, Czechia (after: Košnar, Krásný 2018, Fig. 1, 2).

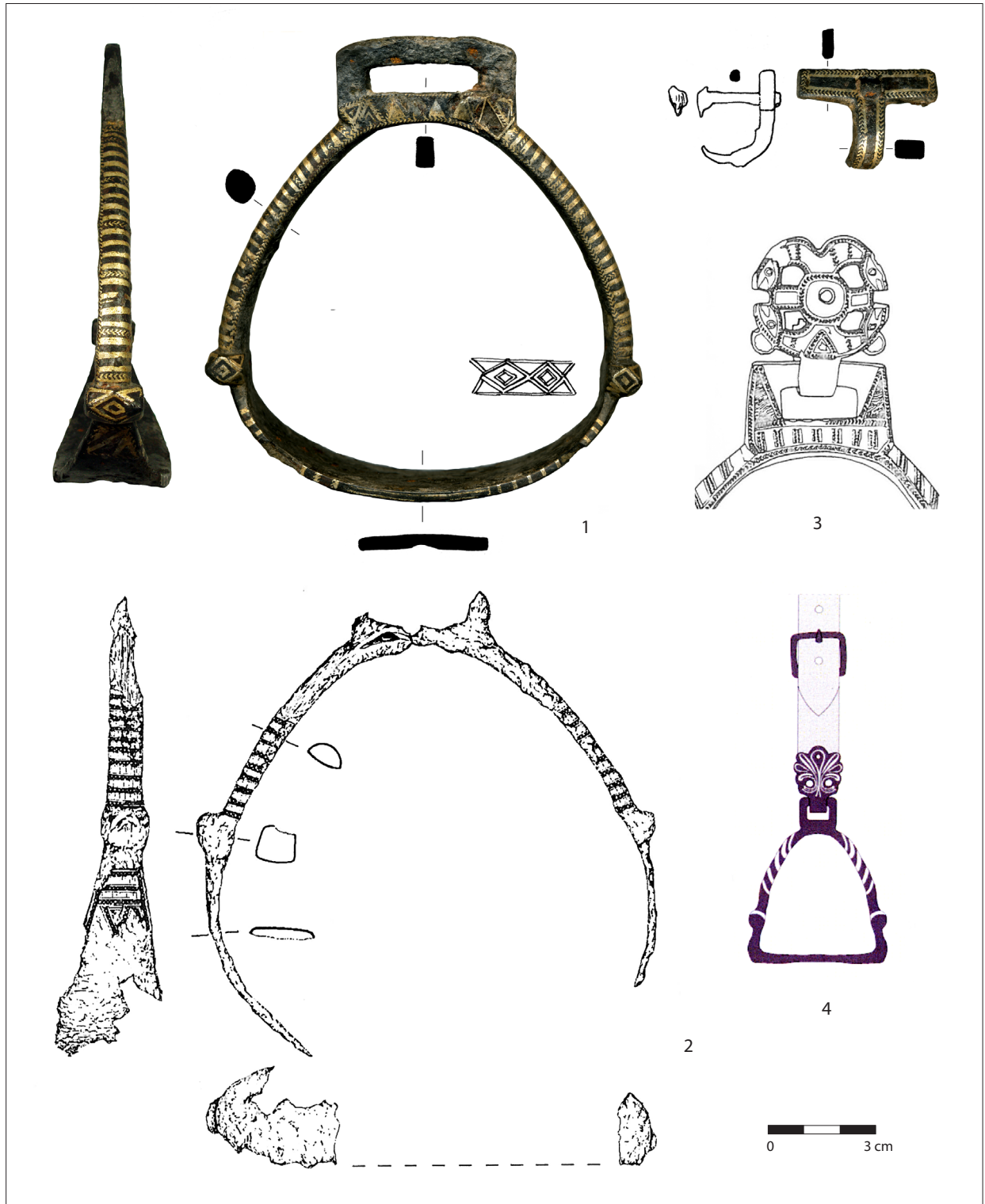


Fig. 4. Stirrups with an inlay decoration: 1. Dobruška – Běstvin, Czechia, which could be influenced by Polish production, or it inspired Polish production. Dated to the end of the 10th - 1060s. A hung was used in the Northern milieu, as well as in Poland (after Profantová 2012, Figs. 2a, 5); 2 – Kalisz, Poland (after: Goßler 2013); 3 – Priezerbe, Germany (after: Profantová 2012); 4. Cieple, Poland (reconstruction; after Wadył 2019, Fig. 4:30).



Fig. 5. Stirrup from Biskupice, southwestern Morava, Czechia (photo by N. Profantová).

Miniature Axe from Horky nad Jizerou, Mladá Boleslav District

The miniature iron axe from Horky nad Jizerou (l. 56 mm, Fig. 3:2)²⁸ has symbolic significance. It is decorated on both sides with engravings (ladder motif, zig-zags) and embossed rings with midpoints; it belongs to Makarov's type I with a slightly elongated back and a slightly downward elongated blade,²⁹ imitating type IV of Kirpichnikov. These axes are found in a wide area covering eastern and northeastern Europe (concentrations near Kiev, the most distant Biljarsk on the Volga and Sarkel), Scandinavia (Bergen, Oslo, Sigtuna, Birka, etc.) and Poland (e.g. Tum with very similar decoration); 55 pieces are known in total, and 13 others are related to this type, including a find from Opole in Silesia. The Czech find is one of the westernmost, together with Bergen and Hjelmsølille.³⁰ The axe imitated pieces decorated with the inlay technique, and is dated to the 11th – early 13th century. Geographically close is also the find from Moravia, stored in the Hodonín Museum; it has a volute decoration and was published only on the server *Lovec pokladů* (treasure hunter) without a site.

In Eastern Europe, it was found in male graves, but also and more often in boys' graves (sometimes only

classified as children's graves). This has led to speculation about their association with the carvings of boys, the sons of companions, and thus a sign of a certain status associated with this amulet, traditionally interpreted as related to the Thunderer (god), in the East probably to Perun. The Bohemian find is thus thought to be related to the international composition of warrior retinues, possibly transmitted through Polish territories.

Scabbard Fittings with Depictions of Snakes

We know this type of fitting as a hook-bent rod with a viper's or dragon's head on one end, and a rosette with a rivet hole on the other. A similar rosette is placed between the two ends of this element. The second rod has three rosettes with rivet holes, while the third is decorated with diagonal cuts and a central hole.³¹ The best examples from the graves are known from Poland, Tomice in Lower Silesia (child's grave 47; Fig. 6:1), Dziekanowice in Pińczów district in Greater Poland (female grave), and Kałdus, graves 13/00 and 60/00 (Chełmno district, Pomerania, Figs. 6:6, 7).³² Another example comes from a male grave in Sowinki, site 23A, G. 148. The pieces from Kałdus and Sowinki in the Poznań district are dated to the second half of the 10th or the 10th/11th century,³³ while the grave in Tomice is dated to the end of the 10th, 10th/11th or beginning of the 11th century.³⁴

The Bohemian pieces derive exclusively from field prospection (with metal detector), including a fitting with an open-mouthed dragon's head from Plzeň-Bukovec hillfort in west Bohemia, and fitting with a closed-mouthed viper's head from the vicinity of Lázně Bělohrad in eastern Bohemia (Jičín distr., Fig. 6:3) as well as the new find from the Kozojedy - Dřevíč hillfort, Rakovník distr., found at the beginning of 2025 and deposited in the T. G. Masaryk Museum in Rakovník (Fig. 6:5). The Plzeň-Bukovec find is oriented in such a way that the dragon's head may have pointed upwards, and may have decorated fittings on both the upper and lower sides. The fitting with the open-mouthed head and one preserved rivet from Prague – Lumbe garden, G. 38 is the only find from an old adult male(?) grave in the frame of the elite burial ground (*senilis*, Fig. 6:2).³⁵ It was associated with another bronze sheet with three rivet holes, representing another part of the sheath dec-

²⁸ Košnar, Krásný 2018, Fig. 1–2.

²⁹ Makarov 1992.

³⁰ Map in Kucypera, Pranke, Wądył 2011, Fig. mapa 1, all types Fig. mapa 3; or Košnar, Krásný 2018, Fig. 3.

³¹ Szczepanik 2017.

³² Szczepanik 2017, Figs. 3, 5.

³³ Chudziak 2010, 30 and Tab. 13a.

³⁴ Szczepanik 2017, 173.

³⁵ Frolík *et al.* 2014, 67, Obr. 1/43–8.

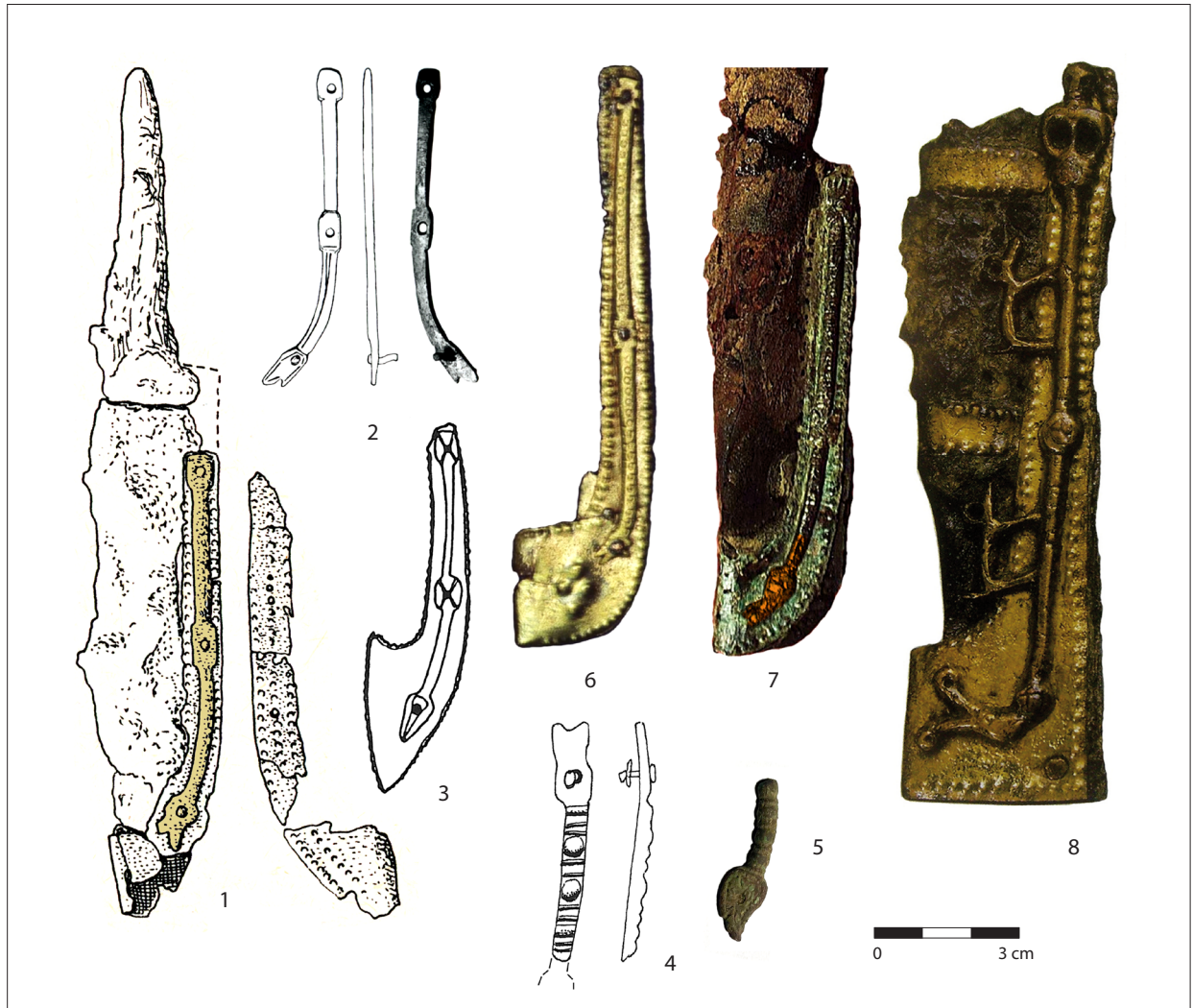


Fig. 6. Scabbard's fittings with the snake's, viper's, or dragon's head motif: 1 – Tomice, Gr. 47; 2 – Prague-Lumbe garden, Gr. 38, Czechia, 9th-10th c.; 3 – Lázně Bělohrad surrounding (reconstruction), Czechia; 4 – Plzeň-Bukovec, Czechia, 9th-10th c.; 5 – Kozojedy-Dřevíč, Czechia, 6-7 – Kałdus, Poland, Gr. 13/00 and 60/00, 2nd half of the 10th or 10/11th century; 8. Ostrów Lednicki (after: Szczepanik 2017; Frolík, Smetánka 2014, 90; Profantová 2011, Fig. 3:4, 3:1; and photo by Z. Šámal, the find in Muzeum of T. G. Masaryk in Rakovník).

oration. Grave 38 is in stratigraphical connection with grave 37 and is deeper and probably older, based on the plan of the cemetery. It has no other finds and belongs to the second burial phase (925-995 AD). The other finds we can date only based on the analogies, firstly from Bohemia, and secondly from Poland. The Plzeň-Bukovec hillfort dates from the 9th century, and it also existed based on the pottery in the first half of the 10th century.³⁶ The similar gilded scabbard fitting from Prague-

Motol male grave 17 – without dragon's head – but with three rivets – is dated to the end of the 9th and first third or half of the 10th century.³⁷ The complete fitting with viper's head (Fig. 6:3) is probably from the same time, it could be associated with hillfort Kal or Holovousy in this region, from the end of the 8th to the first third of the 10th century. Both fittings may be a little bit earlier than the finds from Poland, but the meaning of the depictions could be similar. The specific symbol of viper or dragon

³⁶ Profantová 2011, Fig. 1, 3.

³⁷ Kovářík 1991, 85, Tab. 69:2. It is in itd. It is in Muzeum of Prague lost (after death of J. Kovářík in 1990s), or the subject

is unavailable for study. The saex and bucket with iron fittings were in this grave.

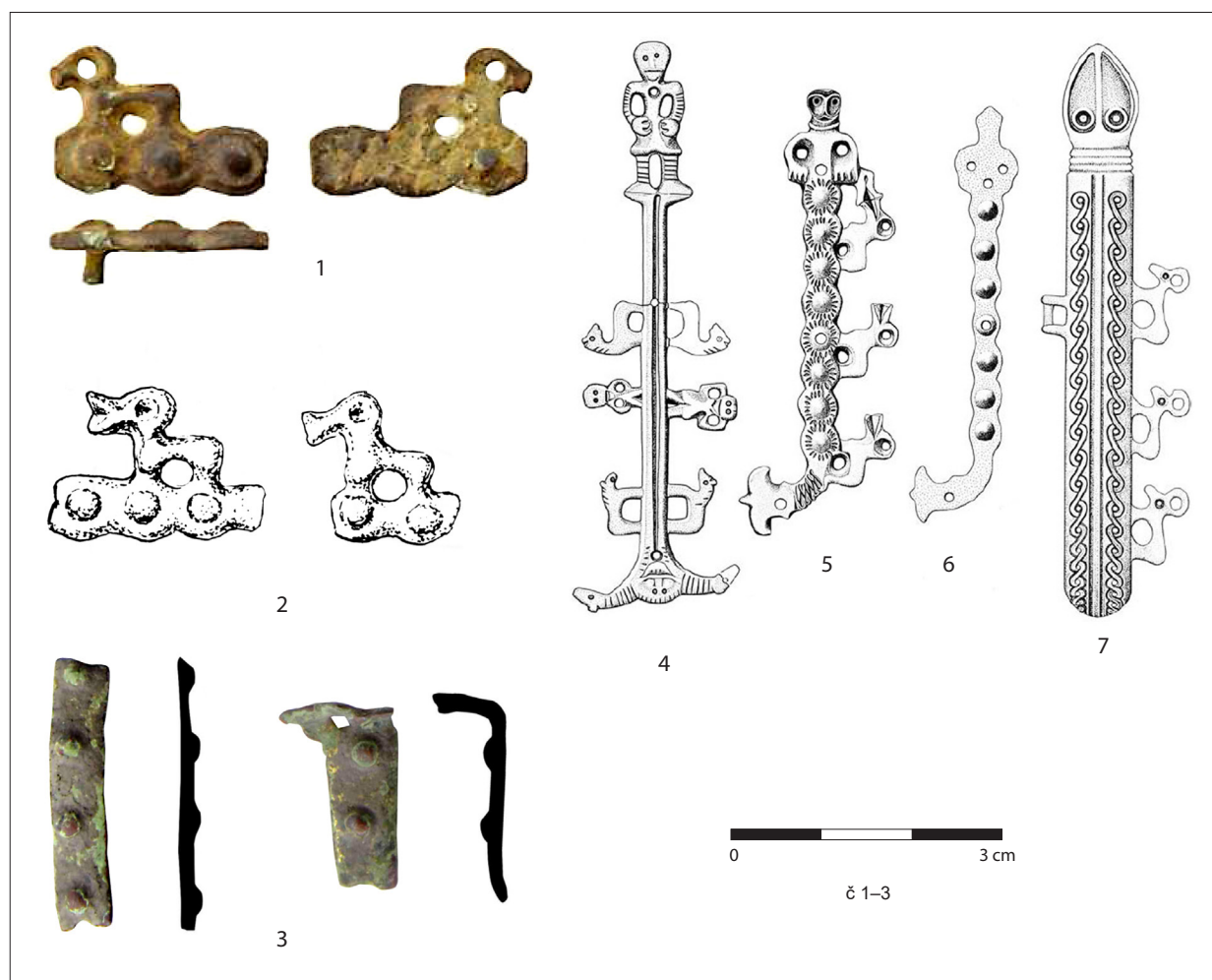


Fig. 7. Scabbard's fitting with the animals' bodies (usually 3, livestock, in some cases horses- Oldenburg), 10th – the 1st half of the 11th century: 1 – Kosičky, Czechia, 2 – Malé Kosihy, Slovakia, 3 – Velešice, Czechia; 4 – Oldenburg, Germany; 5 – Brześć Kujawski, Poland, 6. – Schwedt/Odra, Germany, 7. – Lutomiersk, Poland (after: Skala 2016, Fig.16:8; Hanuliak 1994, Tab. 80D; Žohová 2019, Figs. 17:6, 7, 4, 5, 6, 7; Posselt, Szczepanik 2017, Abb. 15, 16:3).

is linked by Szczepanik based on ethnography to tales about 'a rooster at the age of seven could lay an egg, from which Burning Snake would hatch, bringing silver under specific conditions'.³⁸ The rooster is commonly associated with the solar sphere and the element of fire and gold. This interpretation remains speculative, although it carries a certain degree of probability.

From the chronological point of view, the Bohemian finds – at least those from Plzeň-Bukovec and possibly also Prague-Lumbe Garden are slightly earlier than the Polish examples, which are usually dated to the second half of the 10th century. The find from Dřevíč is contemporary with Polish examples, dating from the second half of the 10th century to

a half of the 11th century. It is possible to discuss the hypothesis that the Bohemian pieces were produced under Western influences in the late 9th-10th century.

From Hörpolding bei Traunsen (Landkreis Deggendorf, Germany) comes the fitting from a sax sheath with a snake body and a slightly open maw, accompanied by a braid terminating in a leaf motif, dated to the first half of the 8th century.³⁹ Such simplification – retaining only the bent strip and the animal's head – may have led to the Bohemian fittings. This interpretation is further supported by the presence of similar fittings in Slovenia,⁴⁰ a country bordering with the Carolingian world.

³⁸ Szczepanik 2017.

³⁹ Waldner Zeller 1988, 237–248, Abb. 164.

⁴⁰ Knific 2021.

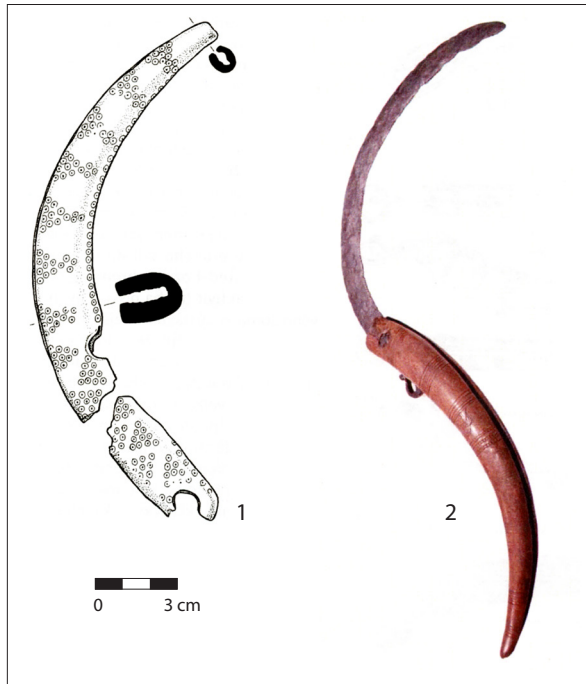


Fig 8. Folded sickles: 1. Kováry-Budeč, Kladno district (after: Bartošková 2014, Fig. 49) 2 Gniezno, site No. 22. (after: Osiadacz 2020, Fig. 6).

A small incomplete fitting – a dagger or knife sheath fitting decorated with a schematised animal motif, perhaps a horse – comes from Kosičky-V Zelnici in the Hradec Králové district (Czechia, Fig. 7:1). This fitting has close parallels across the wide territories of Poland and North-Eastern Germany and is often associated with the pagan worldview, especially due of the complex scene on the Oldenburg fitting, which symmetrically depicts along a vertical axis the ‘land of the living and the dead’ and probably a sun god with a horse-drawn chariot, while on the opposing ‘underworld’ side the decoration most likely shows the same deity in a standing position (Fig. 7:4). A key comparison can be drawn with the fittings from Brześć Kujawski, male grave 91, where the fittings were preserved together with the scabbard leather (Fig. 7:5), and with a piece from Ostrów Lednicki⁴¹ (Figs. 6:8) located about 400 km from Kosičky.

In Malé Kosihy (Ipolykiskeszi), southern Slovakia, only a fragment of the same fitting was found among the beads of the necklace in female grave 412, i.e. in a secondary position (Fig. 7:2).⁴² This is important for the chronology, as the grave dates to the second half of the 10th century – at this time it was no longer functional, having probably been produced in the 940s–960s.

Most of the artefacts are also adorned with embossed hemispherical protrusions surrounded by engraved rays, symbolising the sun (Brześć Kujawski, Fig. 7:5). These are difficult to discern on the Czech fragment, which preserves only a single rivet, so it remains unclear whether a figure representing a god was present at the opposite end or whether the fitting represents a simplified variant. The stylisation of the animals is more closely aligned with that observed on the luxurious spur from Lutomiersk, where it is complemented by the stylisation of the spur’s plate as a snake’s head (Fig. 7:7).⁴³ The same type of spur has also been found in Wrocław, closer to Bohemia.⁴⁴ The fitting from Kosičky can be dated to the second half of the 10th century and the first two-thirds of the 11th century. In both cases, these objects represent imports from the regions of Kuyavia or Greater Poland. Two fragments of gilded knife scabbard fittings with embossed protrusions from Velešice, dated to the end of the 10th–11th century, belong to the same ornamental group (Fig. 7:3). The incomplete fitting lacks the engraved sun rays, similar to the example from Schwedt (Fig. 7: 6); it was probably a simpler variant of the above-mentioned.

Antler Case of a Folding Sickle

The import from Greater Poland consist of an ornamented antler case of an iron so-called folding sickle, featuring a suspension hole, found in the Na kašně field on the bailey of the Kováry–Budeč hillfort near Prague (Kladno district, Fig. 8:1).⁴⁵ This is the only known find of the folding sickle from Bohemia. It is dated to the second half of the 10th century. Such cases or sheaths were commonly produced in Poland; e.g. Biskupin, district Znin, Sródka near Poznań, Lednica Lake, and nearby Gniezno: Góra Lecha, and site No. 22, Santok, district Gorzów, as well as from Pomerania. The closest parallel in terms of decoration – comprising concentric circles with central points executed using a compass – is the Gniezno find (reconstruction Fig. 8:2).⁴⁶ The find supports the interpretation of the individual as a probable warrior; the sickle was worn at his waist and was believed to protect him from demons and evil forces.⁴⁷

Conclusions

I have focused only on the chosen type of finds associated with men and their equipment. Swords, stirrups, and spurs were part of an international repertoire. Spurs with long necks decorated with tin or silver inlay

⁴¹ Szczepanik 2017, Posselt, Szczepanik 2017, Abb. 15:1,3.

⁴² Hanuliak 1994, 67, Tab. 80D.1, note 29.

⁴³ Wieczorek-Hinz 2000, Katal.18.01.16.

⁴⁴ Pankiewicz 2023, Fig. 166.

⁴⁵ Bartošková 2014, obr. 49.

⁴⁶ Osiadacz 2020, 190–193, Fig. 5,6.

⁴⁷ Osiadacz 2020.

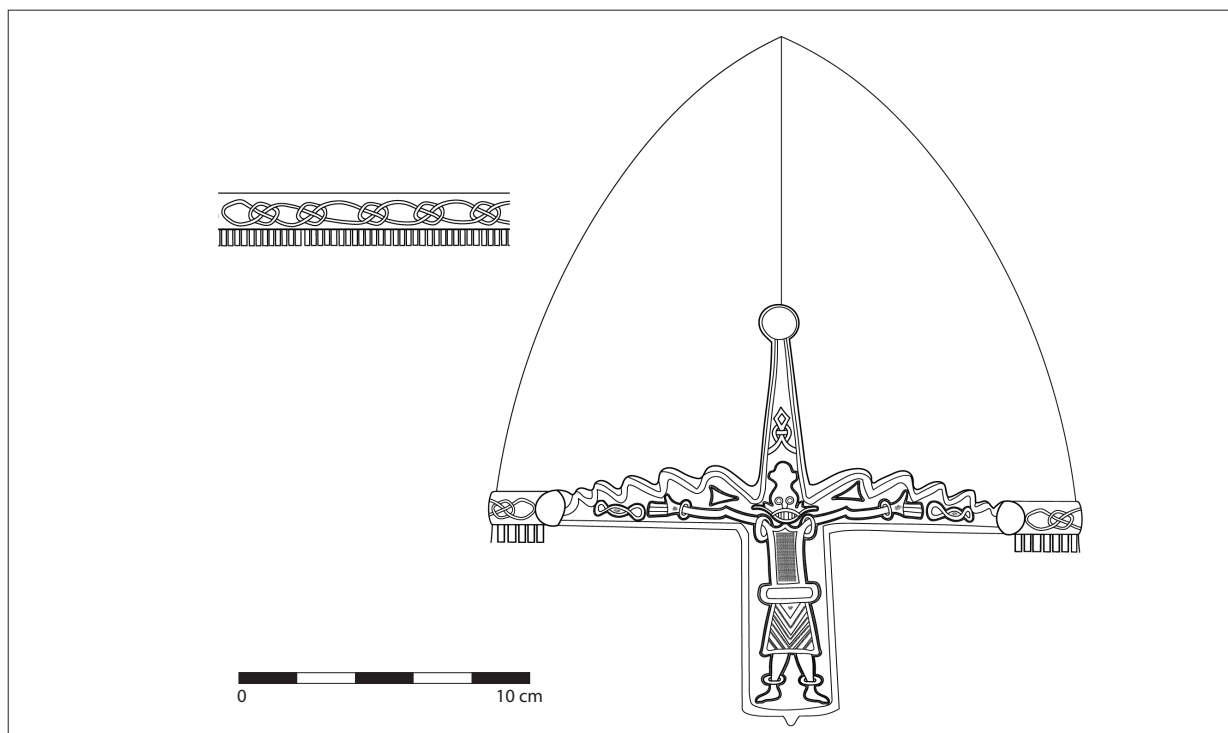


Fig. 9. Helmet of St. Wenceslaus, Prague (drawing by T. Vlasatý; also: Bravermanová *et al.* 2019, Fig. 1, 3B).

(Type IV,⁴⁸ type I after Nadolski or other Polish authors) are practically identical in Bubovice, Beroun district,⁴⁹ and Wrocław, Ostrów Tumski,⁵⁰ the Polish finds date to the end of the 10th and the first half of the 11th century, whereas the Czechia one may be dated to the first half of the 10th century, but is only a stray find. Most probably, the production of this type of spur started in the first half of the 10th century, and they were used at least until the mid-11th century, possibly later.

I do not discuss the most famous find from Bohemia – the helmet of St. Wenceslas from the St. Wenceslas Treasury in Prague. The original helmet from the first half of the 10th century was supplemented, perhaps as early as the end of the 10th century, with a Nordic nosepiece decorated with silver and a decorative rim from another type of ‘Nordic’ helmet, probably produced between 940–996.⁵¹ According to the most recent study, the two different elements from helmets could have been combined both in the above-mentioned interval and later, for example during the reign of Vratislav II in the 11th century. The weak integration of the suspension system for the barmice with the rings, the terminal band of which was gold, shows that these elements were already largely

non-functional and represents secondary modifications. All these modifications probably date to the same period.

It was the St. Wenceslas helmet, together with the Hradsko helmets with a fixed noseband (end of 9th – beginning of 10th century)⁵² produced in Bohemia, that stood at the origin of the development of the so-called Norman helmets. The ornament on the rim has a perfect analogy in decoration of a lance socket from Netno in Poland.⁵³ The iconography of the figure attached to the tree, depicted in a manner similar to the cross on the breastplate, corresponds to Odin rather than Christ. Nevertheless, even these elements may have originated in Poland or Bohemia following a Nordic model; the important distinction lies in the use of metals: rather than three as in the North, only iron and silver were employed. It is, however, certain that in Bohemia the depiction was understood as Christ crucified, as a similar helmet was known to ‘Christian’ from the Přemyslid’s dynasty, as indicated in his writings, namely St Wenceslaus’ legend from the end of the 10th century, before 997).⁵⁴

Shifts in the interpretation of certain symbols demonstrate the mutual influence of different cultural traditions and the establishment of new meanings –

⁴⁸ Profantová 2013.

⁴⁹ Profantová 2016, Fig. 14: 2 without complete drawing.

⁵⁰ Pankiewicz 2023, Fig. 162b, the best photo in Rzeźnik 2000, No. 07.01.13.

⁵¹ Bravermanová *et al.* 2019, 236 n.

⁵² Bravermanová *et al.* 2019; figs. 54, 55.

⁵³ Chudziak 2006, 647–655.

⁵⁴ Ludvíkovský 1978.

in the case of the helmet discussed here, the formation of a relic.

In conclusion, elites in Bohemia and Poland frequently employed similar luxury goods. They cannot be

uncritically interpreted as imports, although this may have been the case in some instances (e.g. the sword from Lázně Toušev and the scabbard fittings from Kosičky and Horky nad Jizerou).

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