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THE LA TÈNE CULTURE OF THE TRANS-CARPATHIAN AREA: IS THE MIGRATION MODEL STILL RELEVANT?

The article deals with the La Tène culture of the Trans-Carpathian region of today's Ukraine. It is stated that although the indigenous Thracian population was deeply involved in the cultural transition process, the emergence of the La Tène culture in the early 3rd century BC cannot be described in the terms of fashion or influence. The archaeological discoveries in the Upper Tisza region demonstrate the colonization carried out by the Celts from Central Europe in so far as their way of life differed significantly from the indigenous population. It caused vast and dramatic changes in the fields of settlement planning, metallurgy and pottery-making for the Upper Tisza valley inhabitants. Most of the Celtic sites in the Trans-Carpathian region ceased to exist not later than in the late 2nd to early 1st centuries BC, however some settlements survived the Burebista's raids in mid-first century BC. They contributed to the local Padea-Panagjurski Kolonii group formation at the turn of eras.

Keywords: *la Tène Culture, Trans-Carpathian area, Celts, Padea-Panagjurski Kolonii, archeology.*

The only region of the present day Ukraine where the La Tène sites are sufficiently widespread is the Trans-Carpathian area which lies south-westwards of the Carpathian mountains. The majority of the finds from the Upper Tisza area (Zakarpatska region) were identified by Bidzilia [7; 9], however the results of the excavations carried out at La Tène sites during the recent decades remained mostly unpublished, (with some exceptions, such as [20]). The only available sources of more or less complete information on the La Tène sites of Upper Tisza area which were excavated since 1970 are the hand-written reports from the Archive of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

The earliest interpretations [9] tended to explain the emergence of the La Tène sites in the Trans-Carpathian area as a result of the indirect Celtic influence on the local Thracian population. This assumption was based mainly on the fact that the typical La Tène inhumation burials are almost unknown in the Trans-Carpathian region. Later such scholars as Eremenko [12], Kobal [14] and Kotygoroshko [21] had come to conclusion that some Celtic groups had arrived in the region where the mixed Celtic-Thracian culture came into being during the 3rd c. BC. However, some recent studies devoted to the La Tène culture in the Balkan Peninsula show that the Laténization of the whole region should be considered as an adoption of the Central European life-style and fashion by the local inhabitants [11]. This raises the question whether the emergence of La Tène culture in the Trans-Carpathian area should be considered as a consequence of the Celtic cultural expansion or migration.

The Trans-Carpathian region is a part of the Upper Tisza basin which also covers the lands of today's Eastern Slovakia, North-Eastern Hungary and Northern Romania. The undulating terrain with its mild climate provided excellent conditions for cattle breeding and farming. The wetlands of the Upper Tisza basin offered large sources of both limonite and charcoal which were used in the Iron Age metallurgy. During 7th – 4th cc. BC the Upper Tisza basin was occupied by the Kushtanovycia culture which is most frequently associated with the Northern Thracians.

In the early 3rd c. BC the cultural situation in the region changed radically. New technologies for house building, pottery making and metalworking were introduced in the Upper Tisza area and new centers of economic and political activity emerged. The Celtic colonization of the northern part of the Great Hungarian plain and Upper Tisza area appears to have happened slowly, over a period between the second half of the 4th c. BC and the beginning of the 3rd c. BC, with the earliest cemeteries starting at the end of LT B1 [32, p. 163].

The emergence of the La Tène sites in the Trans-Carpathian area is often ascribed to the LT B1 period [20, p. 19–20]. Among the earliest La Tène items which were

found in the region are the short sword with an X-shaped handle, the early La Tène ribbed arm-rings and the Duchcov fibulae [12, p. 29–32]. However such chronological indicators are far from being reliable. The swords of the type mentioned above, considered to be a sign of high social rank, were in use widely until the late La Tène epoch. The ribbed arm-rings in the Eastern Europe were characteristic mainly of the LT B2/C1 period. The find of the Duchcov fibula in the ruins of Greek emporium Pistiros, which was destroyed by the Celts in 278/79 BC, invites the suggestion that the La Tène sites of the Trans-Carpathian area come into being not earlier than the early 3rd c. BC.

The Celtic new-comers into the eastern Carpathian basin formed several distinctive groups which were influenced by the indigenous communities: the Thracian-Scythian Verkerzug culture in the region between the Danube and Tisza rivers, the North Thracian or proto-Dacian Kushtanovycia culture in the Trans-Carpathian region of Ukraine, and the Transylvania group of Scythian culture on the Crasna and lower Samoş rivers [24, p. 145]. As A. Rostoiu notes, in newly colonized regions of the eastern Carpathian basin the way in which the interactions between Celtic and indigenous communities developed varied significantly due to the mixed cultural character of the local communities [32, p. 163]. Among the cemeteries with exclusively Celtic burial traditions there are bi-ritual burial grounds where each ethnic group preserved its specific funeral rite, as well as cemeteries where mixed (both Celtic and indigenous) ritual practices were employed.

Two inhumation graves with Celtic coins from Galish hill are the only known La Tène burials from the Ukrainian part of Upper Tisza area. It is likely that the local La Tène group used a kind of burial rite which left no archaeologically detectable traces. Such a situation was typical for the other Celtic enclaves in eastern Carpathian basin since LT C1/C2 period [24, p. 148]. There are about a dozen cremation graves containing mixed Kushtanovycia and La Tène inventory. Such burials seem to show, not the indigenous influence on the local Celtic inhabitants [12, p. 36] but, rather the adaptation of La Tène fashion by either the neighbouring or subdued Thracian population which at least partly preserved its cultural distinction.

All the burials with La Tène elements were made under mounds according to the autochthonous burial rites and the old burial grounds of Kushtanovycia culture were used for them. The inventory contained clay vessels as well as adornments made from bronze and glass. No weaponry or horse gear was found at the sites. The only exception is the mound n. 19 in Kralovsky Hlmeč (Slovakia) which contained elements of La Tène military equipment [20, p. 16–17].

Bobove (Vynohradivskyi district). Cremation burial under a mound. The grave contained 16 black glass beads, fragment of wire fibula, some fragments of a chain belt, three hand-made vessels of the Kushtanovycia type, two

wheel-made La Tène vessels. The late La Tène painted vase is of particular interest [9, p. 44].

Kushtanovycia (Mukachivski district). The burial ground of the Kushtanovycia culture. The cremation grave in the burial mound no. 11 contained an exclusively La Tène inventory (wheel-made urn, three bronze fibulae, fragments of bronze chain belt). Excavated in 1931 [9, p. 44].

Kolodne (Irshavskiyi district). A burial ground of the Kushtanovycia culture. Among the grave goods of the Kushtanovycia types, a wheel-made La Tène vessel (mound no. XV) and some fragments (mounds nos. IX, XI) were excavated in 1958 by G.I. Smirnova [9, p. 4].

Machola (Berehivskiyi district). A burial ground with badly damaged cremation graves unsystematically excavated in 1932. Most of the grave goods are now lost. The glass arm-ring and wheel-made La Tène urn are currently preserved in the Uzhhorod State Museum [9, p. 45].

Onokivci (Uzhhorodskiyi district). Wheel-made La Tène urn from the burial ground of the Kushtanovycia culture [9, p. 45–46].

The emergence of the cremation mound burials containing a mixed Kushtanovycia and La Tène inventory may reflect the matrimonial links and trade contacts between the North Thracian and Celtic groups of population in the Upper Tisza area. The same process is observed in the nearby regions of the eastern Carpathian basin where the female burials with La Tène inventory in the Getic environment were revealed [32, p. 167].

The most important La Tène site in the Ukrainian part of Upper Tisza area was the settlement on the Galish (204 m) and Lovachka (306 m) hills near the modern town of Mukacheve. The **Galish-Lovachka** site (S = 15 ha) had been un-systematically excavated by amateur archaeologists from 1844 to 1930. About a thousand items were found in 24 half-excavated dwellings on the occupation layer of the site [9, p. 30–38]. Currently they are preserved in Uzhhorod State Museum. Among the goods are: a) iron tools: opener tips (32), reaping-hoops (22), scythes (18), anvils (7), sledge-hammers (2), hammers (6), pincers (1), rasp, drill tool, axes (55), chisels (30), gouges (13), adzes (10), hack-saw, knives (11), clippers (8) miscellaneous items; b) jewellery: 2 chain belts and lots of fragments, five bronze and three iron arm-rings, bronze finger-rings, bronze leg-ring, one Duchcov fibula and 8-wired middle La Tène brooches; c) military equipment: short sword with X-shaped handle (l = 41 cm); two middle La Tène swords (72,5 and 75 cm), 12 large curved knives, 27 spearheads, 2 javelin heads, 14 arrow heads, iron tip of the scabbard; d) horse tack: bits (6), chariot fittings (3); e) household goods: padlock, iron chain for hanging a cauldron; grain bruisers; hayforks etc.; f) pottery: 36 hand-made and wheel-made vessels, lots of fragments. The wheel-made ceramics amount to appr. 30% of the pottery finds; g) smelting pots (2) and moulds (6) [9, p. 30–33; 19, p. 17–20, fig. 3; 6, p. 19–21, fig. 21]; h) coins: tetrachmas (18), didrachm, drachmas (3) of nine types (Kopf ohne Kinn/Rad, W-Reiter, Vogel auf Zweig, Vogel auf Helm, Schnurrbart/Rosette, Audoleonotyp, Audoleonmonogramm 1, Reiter mit kurzen Armen, Armloser Reiter, Schild + Kranz, Schild + Schwert) [15] Map 1.5. Only three La Tène inhumation burials were revealed in the site. One of them was made in a pit rounded by stones with the inventory of more than 30 Celtic derivations of Philip II and Alexander the Great coins.

In the early twentieth century, the cultural layer of the Galish-Lovachka site was mostly destroyed by ploughing the land to plant crops. Additional research conducted in 1962 and 1964 was unsuccessful. In 1988–1989, the archaeologists of Uzhhorod State University excavated several storage pits and a half-dugout dwelling (4,1x2,4 m) on the Lovachka hill. The cultural layer contained the fragments of pottery (mostly wheel-made) and several metal

goods, including the iron tip of a scabbard [19, p. 17–20, fig. 3; 6, p. 19–21, fig. 21].

The question as to whether Galish-Lovachka should be considered as an *oppidum* remains debatable. It is not clear if the settlement had any fortifications. V. Kotygorosko argues that during the excavations in late 1980s the remains of the dry-stone wall along the Galish hill crest were revealed [21, p. 126]. However, I was not able to find a single mention of the wall in the expedition documents. Regardless, it is almost impossible to prove the relationship between the stone wall remains on the Galish hill and the La Tène settlement.

Another problem with the Galish-Lovachka settlement is its dating. As it is known, the emergence of *oppida* in the Celtic world dates to the LT D period. However, most of the finds from the Galish and Lovachka hills are dated to the LT C1–2. Among the metal goods from the settlement there are only a few late La Tène horse bits [7, tab. 25.14]. They belong to the type widely used by Dacian population and may have no connection to the Celtic settlement.

It seems to be clear that Galish-Lovachka, with its well-developed crafts and coin minting, shows a certain stage of La Tène settlement evolution if it had become an *oppidum*, but it does not. The ill-disciplined and un-systematical character of the excavations on the Galish and Lovachka hills makes it difficult to decide if the Galish-Lovachka settlement was either destroyed by enemies or simply deserted by its inhabitants. However the large amount of valuable goods left in houses, as well as several hoards found in nearby locations, indicate that the settlement was abandoned suddenly.

Apart from Galish-Lovachka there are about two dozen La Tène sites in the Ukrainian part of the Upper Tisza basin.

Bakta (Berehivskiyi district) Three half-dugout dwellings (4,4x3,5 m; 4,5x3,3 m; 4,7x3,3 m); hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments; spindle whorls (4 in dwelling №1 and 3 in dwelling №2); fragment of the glass arm-ring (dwelling №1); wire bronze fibula (fragment); iron finger-ring; iron buckle; amber bead; some pieces of iron slag; large quantity of animal bones (small cattle, cows, wild boars) [16, p. 9; 2, p. 14–9, fig. 2.5–6, 2.8–10]. Map 1.1.

Brid (Irshavskiyi district). Working ground with slag and iron aggregations. Cultural layer damaged. Excavated in 1982 [10, p. 9]. Map 1.2.

Dercen (Drisine) (Mukachivskiyi district; Mala Gora stove). Half-dugout dwelling (damaged) with hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments randomly found in 1973. Two years later another half-dugout dwelling as well as storage pit with hand-made and wheel-made pottery were found [26, p. 2, 23–27, fig. 55, 56]. In 1982 the storage pit (damaged) with hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments was revealed. Cultural layer of the settlement was badly damaged by construction and agricultural works [4, p. 13, 21–22]. Map 1.3.

Dyida (Didove) (Berehivskiyi district). Excavations of 1984: half-dugout dwelling; pottery fragments, mostly wheel-made (Peniak, Popovich 1984/14: 27–30, fig. 41–42; Balaguri, Kotygorosko 1984/59: 20). Excavations of 1985: three half-dugout dwellings; hand-made and wheel-made pottery; two spindle whorls made of wheel-made pottery fragments; some iron goods of uncertain form; glass fragments; iron and glass slag [17, p. 11–16, fig. 2.1–4]. Map 1.4.

Gorbok (Irshavskiyi district). Dwelling of uncertain construction; occupation layer with hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments [9, p. 41]. Map 1.6.

Gut (Garazdivka) (Berehivskiyi district). Occupation layer with traces of dwellings and fireplaces, fragments of hand-made and wheel-made vessels. The most interesting find is a hoard of more than a hundred silver derivations of Philip II coins in a hand-made vessel [9, p. 47]. According

to Kolniková the coins are of Huși-Vovriești and Südostdakien types [15, p. 109]. Map 1.7.

Holmok (Uzhhorodskyi district). Half-dugout dwelling (4.1 x 2.8 m); hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments (3rd – 2nd cc. BC); iron chisel; fragment of a grain pummel [6, p. 6–8]. Map 1.8.

Kliachanove (Mukachivskyi district) Occupation layer (S = 2 ha) with large quantity of pottery fragments. Wheel-made La Tène ceramics make up about 30% of the total amount of the pottery finds. In 1954, a hoard of La Tène iron tools (four axes, opener tip, chisel and cylindrical hand-punch) had been found on the Obuch ridge near Kliachanove village by farmers. All the items are currently on display at the Uzhhorod State Museum [9, p. 46]. Map 1.9.

Mala Bigan (Berehivskyi district). A pottery vessel of uncertain form containing small figurines of a boar and a human, fragmented glass arm-ring (LT C1), fragment of a bronze leg-ring, found by farmers in 1952. The figurines and glass arm-ring are now in the possession of the Uzhhorod State Museum [9, p. 46]. Map 1.10.

Midianytsia (Irshavskyi district). Two working grounds with slag and iron aggregations. Excavated in 1983 and 1987 [29, p. 2; 18, p. 8–9]. Map 1.11.

Mukacheve. Occupation level with large quantity of wheel-made pottery revealed during the water pipe construction on Zamkova Street [9, p. 41–42; 21, p. 126]. Map 1.12.

Muzhyeve (Berehivskyi district). Two half-dugout dwellings; fragments of 25 wheel-made and 35 to 40 hand-made pottery vessels. Excavated in 1982 [4, p. 20–21]. Map 1.13.

Nevetlenfolu (Dyakove) (Vynohradivskyi district). Damaged pit and cultural layer with hand-made and wheel-made pottery which was discovered in 1970 inside the Nad Eger stove [1, p. 2–3]. In 1972, at the Tekerev stove the working ground with 97 forges, 10 fireplaces, 4 storage pits had been excavated [3, p. 87–88]. Map 1.14.

Nove Klynove (Vynohradivskyi district). 15 working grounds with slag agglomerations and more than 130 forges occupying a territory of approximately 50 ha on the left bank of the Botar river. A few fragments of hand-made and wheel-made pottery. The remains of forges and iron slag are known from nearby villages Yulivci, Volchanske and Chepe [7, p. 70–71]. Map 1.15.

Oleshnyk (Vynohradivskyi district). Two half-dugout dwellings (4.8x5.7 m; 4.8x3.6 m); wheel-made (22%) and hand-made (78%) pottery; small curved knife ($l = 11$ cm); fragment of a chain belt (fig. 4); chisel; two iron goods of uncertain form and iron slag in dwelling no. 24; fragment of wire fibula (?); three spindle whorls. Excavated in 1977 [28, p. 33–6, fig. 76]. Ostroverkhov with reference to Kotygoroshko mentions a find of a glass arm-ring fragment [25, p. 142–143]. Map 1.16.

Osiy (Irshavskyi district) Several dwellings; occupation layer with hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments; three spearheads [9, p. 41]. Map 1.17.

Rativtsi (Uzhhorodskyi district) Five dwellings with storage pits. Ceramic findings are represented mostly by the fragments of hand-made vessels and to a lesser degree by wheel-made pottery fragments [9, p. 39]. Map 1.18.

Uzhhorod Three to five settlements in different districts of the city; stray finds:

1) On the territory of a modern brickyard two dug-out dwellings with wheel-made pottery fragments were excavated. Several bronze finger-rings and arm-ring with knobs were also found.

2) The second settlement represented by the occupation layer with hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments on the Uzhhorod Castle hill.

3) The third settlement revealed during the excavations of the Slavic site Radvanka (eastern suburb of Uzhhorod). Occupation layer is represented by the hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments [9, p. 40–

41]. In 1976 iron slag pieces and some wheel-made pottery fragments were discovered.

4) Lysa Gora stove (northern suburb of Uzhhorod). Cultural layer with small pottery fragments (mostly hand-made). One fragment contained traces of iron slag. Excavated in 1976.

5) Mlaki stove (northern suburb of Uzhhorod). Damaged cultural layer with wheel-made La Tène pottery fragments and iron slag. Excavated in 1976 [23, p. 2–10]. Map 1.19.

Velyka Bihan (Berehivskyi district) Excavations of 1986: three dwellings; hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments [2, p. 7–8]. Excavations of 1987: two half-dugout dwellings (S = 11,7 and 15,6 m); hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments [18, p. 10–11]. Ostroverkhov citing Kotygoroshko mentions a fragment of glass arm-ring found in dwelling 1 of the settlement [25, p. 142–143]. Map 1.20.

Verkhni Remety (Irshavskyi district). Dwelling with hand-made and wheel-made pottery fragments; fragment of spindle whorl [9, p. 41]. Map 1.21.

It is clear that most of the La Tène sites in the Trans-Carpathian area were small rural settlements which consisted of a few half-dugout dwellings and storage pits. The fragments of pottery, both hand and wheel-made, clay spindle whorls and rare metal goods display the material culture of those complexes. Only a few sites contained the remains of iron-working which are known from the settlements of Bakta, Dyida, Oleshnyk and Uzhhorod. The finds of glass slag from Dyida prove the existence of at least one glass making workshop.

Along with small *vici* there were highly specialized centers of metallurgy which consisted of working grounds with remains of forges, slag and iron aggregations. Nove Klynove, the largest of them, comprised about 200 forges [8; 9, p. 21–30].

Almost all La Tène sites in the area contained fragments of Kushtanovytsia culture hand-made pottery. However the wide use of indigenous hand-made pottery was characteristic for many Eastern Celtic communities. It is evident that in the Upper Tisza area the settlement structures, the technologies of iron and glass working, wheel-made pottery, the artistic style and other aspects of material culture of La Tène sites were not familiar to the local population before the early 3rd c. BC. The style of combat in which the long slashing swords, iron chain belts and chariots were used may also be considered as foreign to the native people. Such rapid and radical changes cannot be explained in terms of cultural diffusion. It seems that the La Tène group of the Upper Tisza area demonstrates the classical pattern of immigration and cultural incorporation.

It is not clear when the La Tène sites of Upper Tisza area were abandoned. Most scholars believe that the decline of local Celtic settlements was caused by the military activity of Dacians in the middle of the 1st c. BC, attested to in the classical sources [12, p. 35; 21, p. 168]. In the late 2 c. BC the so called Padea-Panagjurski Kolonii group emerged on the banks of Danube in the lands of today's northern Bulgaria and southern Romania. It is characterized by the cremation burials containing late La Tène long slashing swords, spearheads, curved knives, shield umbos and horse bits of "Thracian" type. Such burials belonged to the ethnically heterogeneous warrior nobility, mainly of Scordiscan, Thracian-Ilyrian and Dacian origin, which disturbed the Roman province of Macedonia from the second half of the 2nd c. BC. In the period between 175/150 and 50 BC the bearers of Padea-Panagjurski Kolonii group launched an expansion in a northern direction. As a result the Celtic settlements in the eastern Carpathian basin declined. In south-western Transylvania the La Tène cemetery from Blandiana containing wheel-made pottery and metal objects specific to the LT C1 signifies the end of the Celtic horizon [31, p. 115].

In the Upper Tisza area the same situation occurs. Almost all objects from the Celtic sites with more or less precise dating may belong to LT C1–C2 period so it is highly probable that most of the Celtic sites in the Trans-Carpathian region ceased to exist not later than in the late 2nd to early 1st cc. BC. Only a few La Tène settlements of the area are reliably datable to the LT D period. The fragments of late La Tène painted pottery, which was produced in the Latènidized Dacian production centres such as Zemplin [30, p. 190; 34, p. 219–226], were found in the cultural layer of Bakta and Dyida, indicating that at least some Celtic settlements survived the Burebista's raids in the mid-1st c. BC.

It should be emphasized that the newcomers were thoroughly imbued with the Celtic culture and La Tène metalworking technologies. In the Upper Tisza area they established several hill-forts, including Zemplin in Slovakia and Mala Kopania in Ukraine, and renewed the Celtic metallurgical centres in the Botar river basin. In the Chellenytsia stove near the Mala Kopania hill-fort cremation graves containing goods typical for Padea-Panagjurski Kolonii group were revealed. There are no less than seven ritually-bent late La Tène swords coming from the site as well as brooches of middle La Tène scheme, plus shield umbos, spearheads and other items [22]. The linguistic sources also show the Celticization of the Dacian population in the Upper Tisza area.

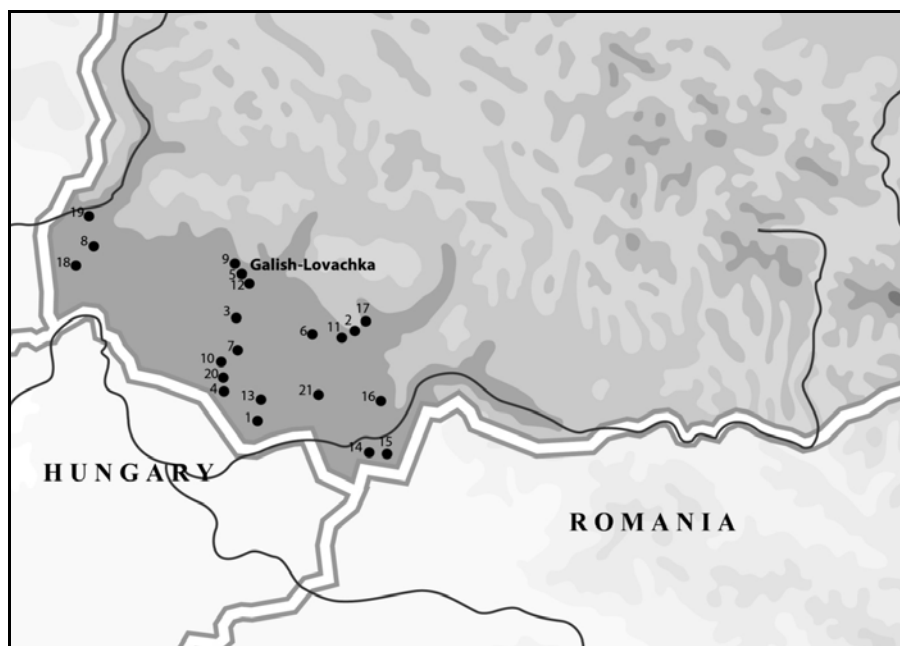
Greek and Roman authors were poorly acquainted with the Northern Dacia region so it is difficult to associate the group of La Tène sites with any certain ancient ethnic name. According to Strabo, Tisza river separated the lands of Boii and Taurisci from Dacia. However the Dacians under Burebista, laying claim to those lands, crushed the Celtic tribes led by Critasiros and destroyed them totally (Strabo VII.5.2). However the sources of the 1st c. BC do confirm the existence of some Celtic ethnics in the region. Caesar (B.G. VI. 25) mentions the *Anarti* tribe bordering with the Dacians (ad fines Dacorum et Anartium) as well as Claudius Ptolemy who notes the Ἀναρτοί and their neighbours Τευρίσκοι (Ptol. III. 8. 3). While the Teurisci are frequently associated with a certain part of the Celtic Taurisci community, the Anarti are completely unknown until the mid-1st c. BC. References to the Anarti tribe are also made in two epigraphic sources dating to the Augustan times. In the *Elogium Tusculanum* the subjugation of the Anarti to Roman power (Anarti[os sub potestatem]) is mentioned. There is also an inscription "Iulia Utta E[p]/ponis

f(ilia) Flor/ina nati(oue) Anarti(a)" (CIL III, 10552) from Aquincum. Falileyev [13, p. 21–23] suggests the Anart(i)oi to be a Celtic ethnic name, while Sims-Williams [33, p. 216] consider it's Celticity uncertain.

It is highly probable that the Celtic or hybrid ethnic names Teurisci and Anarti belonged to the Celticized Dacian population which established such significant settlements as Mala Kopania and Zemplin. M. Ołędzki argues that the group of La Tène sites in the region of San river (Poland) may be associated with Anartophracti, which were placed by Claudius Ptolemy to the east of Vistula and to the north of Carpathian mountains [24, p. 148–150]. The cultural connections which this group maintained with the Upper Tisza area may confirm this hypothesis.

Therefore, it may be stated that although the Dacian expansion in the Upper Tisza area led to the decline of the La Tène sites such as Galish-Lovachka, it did not result in the annihilation of the Celtic culture in the area. The local population continued to preserve their ethnic distinctiveness, as reflected in the tribal names such as Anarti and Teurisci. The ethnically mixed group containing the Kushtanovycia, La Tène and Padea-Panagjurski Kolonii elements continued to thrive in the Upper Tisza area.

The archaeological discoveries in the Upper Tisza region demonstrate the colonization carried out by the Celts from Central Europe in so far as their way of life differed significantly from the indigenous population. The emergence of the La Tène culture in the Trans-Carpathian region cannot be described in the terms of fashion or influence because it caused vast and dramatic changes in the fields of settlement planning, building structure, metallurgy technology and pottery-making for the Upper Tisza valley inhabitants. The Celts brought types of jewellery which were previously unknown in the region, a new variety of weapons and introduced a style of combat which included the use of war chariots, long slashing swords and chain belts. The indigenous Thracian population was deeply involved in the cultural transition process. Some ritual practices and pottery-making traditions survived under the La Tène cultural dominance but the role of the autochthonous elements became diminished. Largely, as far as the Trans-Carpathian area was concerned, one may speak about a mass migration framework by which the whole region was incorporated into the core Central European La Tène culture zone.



Map 1. The La Tène sites of the Trans-Carpathian area

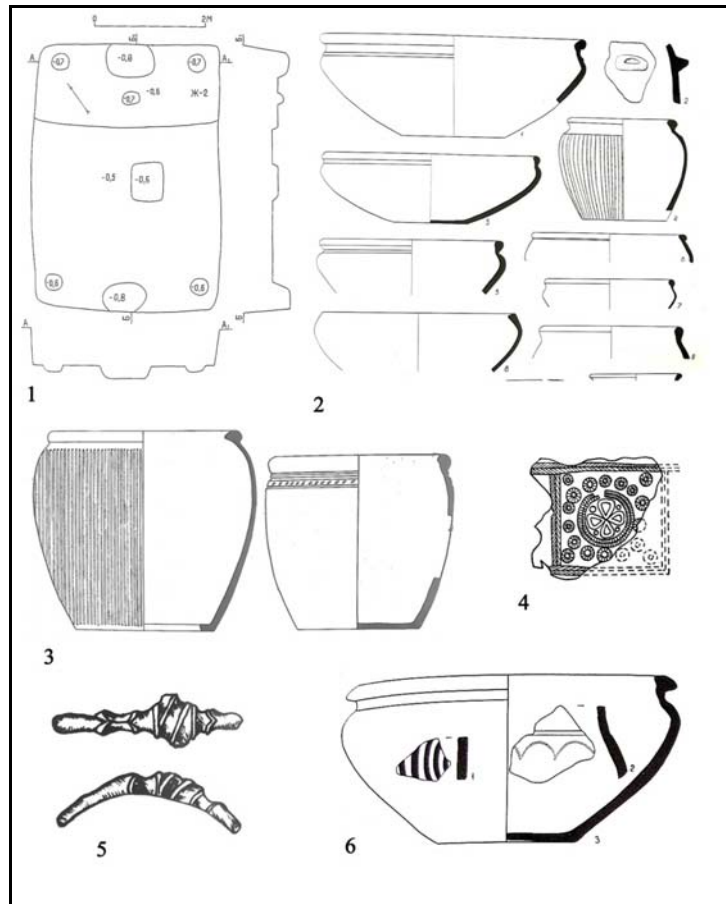


Fig 1. The La Tène culture of the Trans-Carpathian area: half-dugout dwelling №2 (drawing) from Bakta (1); pottery fragments from the dwelling №3 from Dyida (2, 6); clay vessels from Galish-Lovachka (3); bronze plate (4) and arm-ring fragment (5) from Galish-Lovachka.

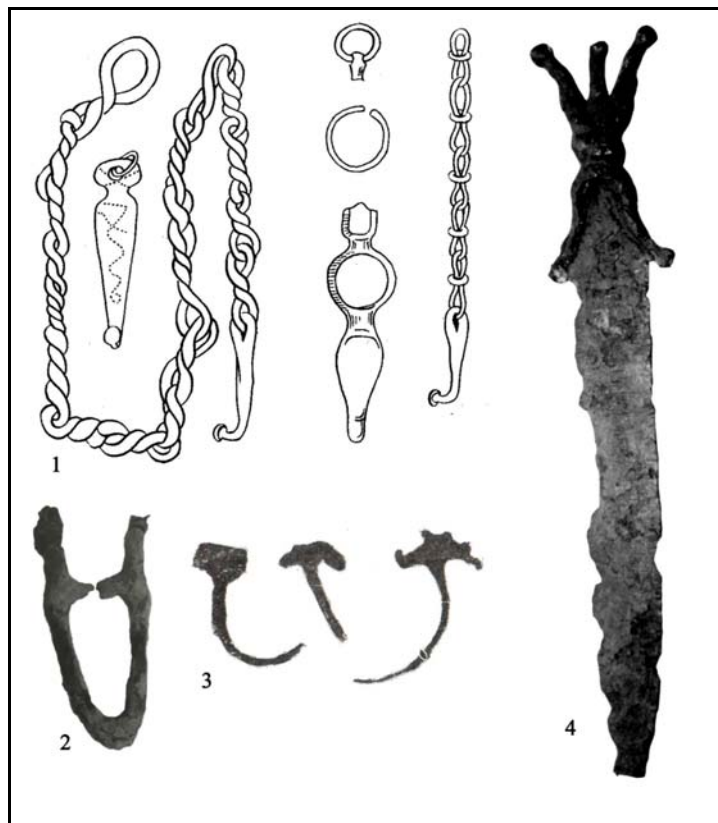


Fig. 2. Military equipment finds from Galish-Lovachka: iron chain-belts (1); tip of the scabbard (2); chariot fittings (3); sword with X-shaped handle (4)

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ЛАТЕНСЬКА КУЛЬТУРА ЗАКАРПАТТЯ: ЧИ ДОСІ Є АКТУАЛЬНОЮ МІГРАЦІЙНА МОДЕЛЬ?

У статті розглядаються проблеми походження, хронології та етнічної приналежності пам'яток латенської культури, виявлених на території Закарпатської області України. На основі широкого комплексу опублікованих джерел та архівних матеріалів археологічних експедицій 1966–1988 рр. з'ясується питання, що спричинило появу пам'яток латенської культури на Закарпатті: поширення впливу культури кельтів на місцеве фракійське населення чи переселення достатньо великих груп кельтів на цю територію. Автор доходить висновку, що масштабні зміни у структурі поселень, галузях виробництва та військових традицій не могли відбутися без суттєвої участі груп прибулого населення центральноєвропейського походження. Зазначено, що упродовж III–II ст. до н. е. на Закарпатті виникли характерні для культури кельтів центри ремісничого виробництва, серед яких Галиш-Ловачка впритул наблизилася до рівня протоміського поселення типу oppida. Крім Галиш-Ловачки, існують відомості про приблизно 40 латенських поселень. У більшості випадків вони становлять типові для латенської культури невеликі відкриті селища, які склалися з двох-трьох жител і господарських споруд. Крім поселень, на Закарпатті відомі поховальні комплекси з імпортованими речами кельтського походження.

Нерідко можна зустріти визначення цих поховань як латенських, що зазнали впливу гето-фракійського середовища. Однак варто зауважити, що загальна їх кількість не перевищує десятка; усі вони, виконані згідно з обрядом куштановицької культури й на куштановицьких могильниках, містять майже виключно жіночий інвентар. З огляду на це, згадані поховання можна окреслити як куштановицькі з латенськими елементами. Їхня поява вказує насамперед на існування матримоніальних зв'язків між носіями прибулої латенської та автохтонної куштановицької культур, запозичення останніми престижних предметів кельтського виробництва, а також про взаємну асиміляцію й переважно мирний характер співіснування обох груп. Відсутність у регіоні класичних для центрально-європейського латену інгумаційних поховань пояснюється специфікою поховального обряду, зокрема, раннім переходом місцевого кельтського населення до поховального обряду, який не залишав помітних для археології слідів. Вважається, що латенська культура Закарпаття припиняє своє існування в результаті експансії даків, носіїв латенізованих пам'яток Падеа-Панагюрські Колонії, близько середини I ст. до н. е. Водночас, знахідки в похованні з Бобового й на поселеннях Бакта й Дийда мальованої кераміки, найбільшим центром виробництва якої було дакійське городище Земплін, а також середньолатенських фібул засвідчує, що окремі кельтські поселення пережили кельто-дакійські війни середини I ст. до н. е. й на деякий час вписалися у нові економічні та політичні реалії.

Keywords: Латенська культура, Закарпаття, кельти, Падеа-Панагюрські Колонії, археологія.

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РОСІЙСЬКЕ ІМПЕРАТОРСЬКЕ КОНСУЛЬСТВО У НАҒАСАКІ

У статті проаналізовані обставини відкриття та діяльності консульства Російської імперії у Наґасакі. Уточнена дата його заснування, прізвища та посади очільників. Визначені основні функції та особливості діяльності консульської установи, до яких, зокрема, належала опіка консула над військово-морським лазаретом у Наґасакі. Описаний випадок залучення купця до виконання консульських обов'язків, а також випадки виконання консульських функцій на користь Російської імперії представником іншої європейської держави і навпаки. Проаналізовані донесення російських консулів у Наґасакі до Азійського департаменту МЗС. Розглянуті конфліктні ситуації, що виникали між консулом та представниками Морського міністерства.

Ключові слова: Російська імперія, Японія, консульство, Наґасакі, лазарет.

Порт Наґасакі був відкритий Японією для російських суден з 1855 р., а з 1858 р. російський уряд отримав право призначити туди консула чи консульського агента. Точна дата відкриття російського консульства у Наґасакі є спірним питанням. Найбільш ранню дату називає у своїй статті дослідник О. В. Ілишов [10, с. 27]. Він твердить, що з 1866 р. у Наґасакі працював почесним консулом (на неофіційних засадах) М. Ф. Цивільков, з 1868 р. посаду нештатного консула обіймав О. Ф. Філіппеус. За словами автора, офіційного статусу російське консульство у Наґасакі стало набувати з 1871 р. За інформацією, що подає К. М. Попов, у 1868 р. у Наґасакі відкрилось консульське агентство, на чолі якого стояв крупний російський купець О. Ф. Філіппеус [15, с. 416]. Згідно з даними Дж. О. Ленсена [18, р. 166] та П. Е. Подалка [14, с. 58], відкриття у Наґасакі російського консульства відбулось у 1873 р. У списку вихідних паперів російського консульства у Хакодате, знайденому нами в Архіві зовнішньої політики Російської імперії (АЗПРІ), згадується документ, що має назву "До Азійського Департаменту щодо призначення п. Філіппеуса російським консулом у Наґасакі", датований 1 жовтня 1867 р. [3, л. 3]. А 9 вересня 1868 р. міністру закордонних справ Японії були відправлені папери про призначення О. Ф. Філіппеуса консульським агентом у Наґасакі. У 1869 р. (точна дата, на жаль, невідома) у хакодатське консульство були доставлені папери від японської влади стосовно отримання листа про затвердження О. Ф. Філіппеуса консульським агентом. Окрім того, в АЗПРІ зберігаються листи до Й. В. Лімбруггена, який обіймав посаду тимчасово виконуючого обов'язки консула Російської імперії у Наґасакі до прибуття туди О. Ф. Філіппеуса [2, л. 1–33].

Мета нашої статті – дослідити обставини відкриття російського імператорського консульства у Наґасакі та проаналізувати особливості його діяльності до моменту закриття представництва у 1904 р. у зв'язку з розривом дипломатичних відносин між Російською та Японською імперіями.

Відповідно до знайдених нами документів, першим, хто представляв інтереси громадян Російської імперії у Наґасакі, був Й. В. Лімбругген. Інформацію про осо-

бу Й. В. Лімбруггена встановити досить проблематично. На сайті "Nagasaki Foreign Settlement" вказано, що Й. В. Лімбругген, працював у торговельній компанії "Walsh&Co"[20], одним із засновників котрої був консул Сполучених Штатів у Наґасакі Дж. Дж. Уолш. В офіційних листах до Й. В. Лімбруггена звертаються то як до виконуючого обов'язки консула, то як до консула Російської імперії. Вірогідніше за все, він все ж не мав усієї повноти повноважень консула. Адже на прохання російського консула у Хакодате Є. К. Бюцова (1837–1904) до розв'язання спірних питань між росіянами та жителями Наґасакі був залучений консул Пруссії у Наґасакі Р. Ліндау.

Представник Російської імперії у Наґасакі спілкувався з місцевою владою на рівні помічників генерал-губернатора о. Кюсю. На їхнє прохання Й. В. Лімбругген інформовав російських громадян про дати японських свят, коли митниця була закрита; про заборону продажу та купівлі опіуму; про право російських підданих у випадку пограбування звертатись до поліцейського управління міста [2, л. 1–9]. Помічники генерал-губернатора о. Кюсю регулярно сповіщали виконуючого обов'язки консула про всі зміни, що відбувалися на митниці. Приміром, 2 червня 1868 р. Й. В. Лімбругген отримав листа про присвоєння митному управлінню назви, яка у дослівному перекладі мала наступний вигляд: "Офіс, де іноземці укладають угоди" [2, л. 16]. А в липні того ж року три митних управління змінили свої печатки, про що також повідомили Дж. В. Лімбруггена. Влітку 1868 р. японські чиновники звернулись до Й. В. Лімбруггена з проханням поінформувати всіх російських підданих, які перебували у Наґасакі, про заборону експорту рису, пшениці та іншого зерна.

Співпраця Й. В. Лімбруггена з наґасакською владою була досить активною. У листі від 5 жовтня 1868 р. йому повідомили про призначення нових уповноважених МЗС у Наґасакі. Вже через п'ять днів новопризначені чиновники зв'язались з виконуючим обов'язки консула Російської імперії з приводу розповсюдження серед усіх російських торговців інформації про необхідність надання до митного управління детальних відомостей про найменування і