

REALLY UNIQUE? ON THE SWORDS IN THE WEST BALT CIRCLE¹

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Kľúčové slová: meč, zbrane, západobaltský kultúrny okruh, doba rímska, migračné obdobie

The paper deals with the problem of swords in the West Balt circle. It has been stated that they lack here almost entirely, with the exception for several swords known. The author opposes such idea, showing new materials proving the usage of swords in the Balt cultural milieu, specifically swords from bog sacrificial sites (Wólka, Czaszkowo) and elements of swords' scabbards, fittings of baldric belts aimed to hang the scabbard, or sword's handle fitting discovered in graves without swords themselves. That phenomenon is observed both in the Roman (the Bogaczewo culture and Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture) and Migration Period (the Olsztyn group). It seems to prove that Balts frequently avoided placement of swords in graves what could be expressed by the value of swords (see long usage of broken and then sharpened swords) or ritual matters/beliefs (e.g. pars-pro-toto principle or taboo).

The weaponry of the Balt peoples (Fig. 1) in protohistorical period had not been studied for years. As the relatively well known cultural units one may quote only the Bogaczewo culture, Sudovian culture and the Elbląg group (Kontny 2007a; 2007b; 2009; 2011; 2013a; 2013b; 2015a; 2015b; 2016) although it is far from being at the state of conclusions. However there is one general statement as refers to Balt weaponry, treated as a verity: Balts used swords only exclusively. It is a result of studies carried out by one of the best 'baltologists' W. Nowakowski (1994a). Later 'outburst' on the archival data concerning the Balt lands as well as relics that survived the II World War² didn't change that view significantly (some specimens were verified and only single sword was added to the list) so the scholar confirmed his thesis (Nowakowski 2007). He based on archaeological materials, i.e. the scarcity of swords but to expose this additionally he quoted the information given by Tacitus in 'De origine et situ germanorum' or 'Germania' (published in

¹ The article is revised version of report which was presented on 9th protohistoric conference in Bratislava in 2013.

² As refers to materials this is connected namely with the reappearance of the significant part of the Prussia-Museum collection (quoted further as Prussia-Sammlung) and archives (embracing both written data and photographs, mentioned further as Prussia-Archiv and Foto-Archiv) now stored in the Museum of Prehistory and Early History (Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte) in Berlin as well as its part unearthed in Fort Quednau near Kaliningrad now in the Museum of History of Arts (Istoriko-Hudožestvennyj Muzej) in Kaliningrad; both discoveries happened in 1990s; smaller part of the collection was known much earlier, it is kept in the Museum of Warmia and Mazury (Muzeum Warmińsko-Mazurskie) in Olsztyn. One should add further archival data like so called inventory books of Prussia-Museum (partly published: *Bitner-Wróblewska et al. 2008*; mentioned in the text as Prussia-Museum Inventory Books) as well as private files of archaeologist active in the pre-war period, strongly interested in Balt area. In the field of weaponry I would like to accentuate specifically the heritage of M. Jahn (now in the Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw), H. Jankuhn (in Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schloß Gottorf in Schleswig; partly published *Nowakowski 2013*), F. Jakobson (in Latvian Nacionālais Vēstures Muzejs in Riga; published *Bitner-Wróblewska et al. 2011*; *Jakobson 2009*), M. Schmiedehelm (in Tallinn University – Tallinna Ülikooli Arheoloogiline Teaduskogu, Arhiiv; prepared for publication *Juga-Szymańska/Szymański, in print*), K. Voigtmann (in the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Berlin), R. Grenz (in Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schloß Gottorf in Schleswig) and C. Engel (in Grenz's heritage and in J. Gottfried Herder-Institut in Marburg). For the access to archival sources and collections I would like to thank especially H. Junker Ph.D., H. Wieder Ph.D. and H. Neumayer Ph.D. from the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, prof. Claus von Carnap-Bornheim from Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schloß Gottorf in Schleswig, A. Juga Ph.D. from Warsaw, A. Bitner-Wróblewska Ph.D. habil. from the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw and M. Hoffmann Ph.D. habil. from Museum of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn.

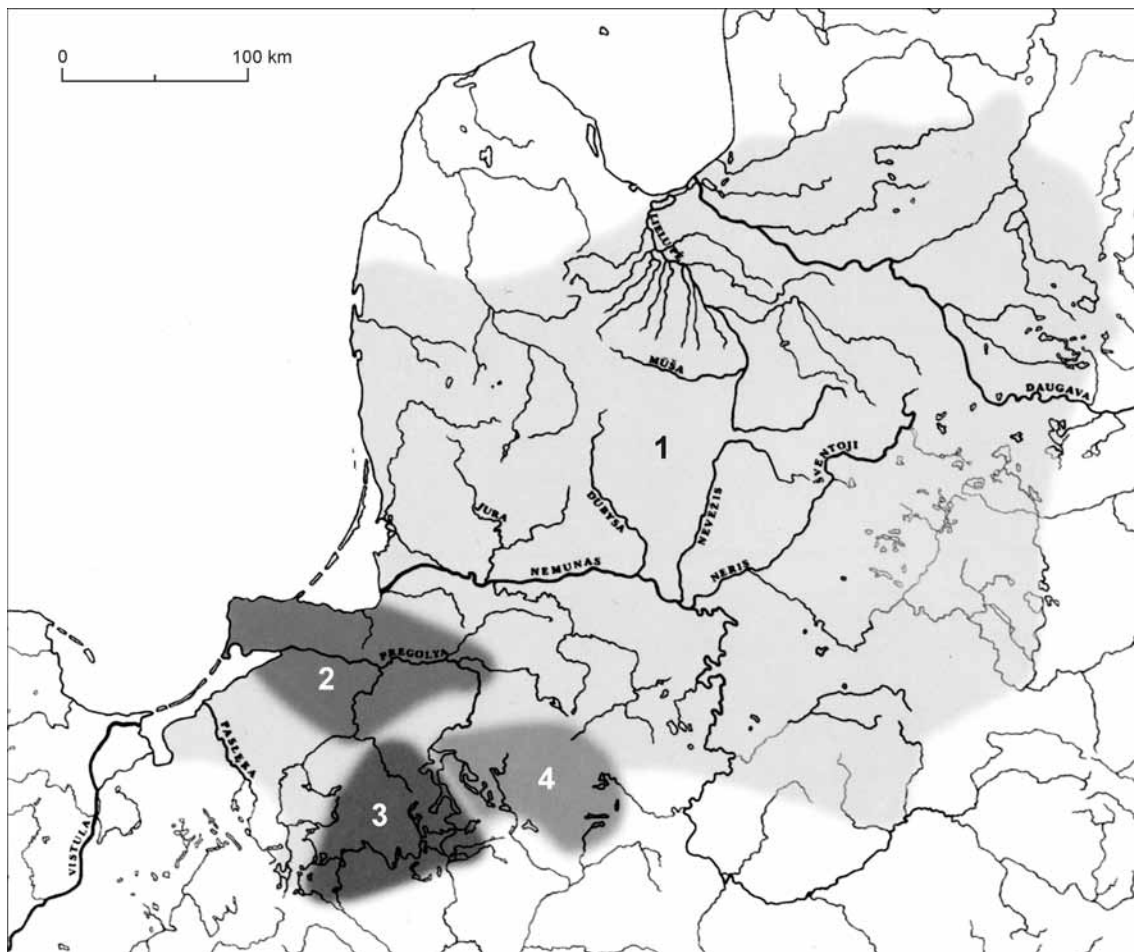


Fig. 1. The West Balt circle in the Younger Roman Period. 1 – maximum extent; 2 – Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture; 3 – Bogaczewo culture; 4 – Sudovian culture (after Bitner-Wróblewska 2010).

AD 98), that Aestii, i.e. the Balts that had lived in Sambian Peninsula³, “*rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus*”; ‘Their weapons are chiefly clubs, iron being little used among them’ (*Germania*, 45, 3). Nowakowski’s idea was that the Balts didn’t like swords to such extent that they preferred the shortest possible specimens, sometimes shortened ones, and their main substitute was to be a battle knife or a dagger. However is that really so?

In my opinion that’s not so obvious as Tacitus’ message concerning the lack of iron among the Balts may be simply a topos. Such cliché Tacitus used also to describe Germans’ armament: *Germania* 6: “*Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum colligitur. Rari gladii aut maioribus lanceis utuntur*”; ‘Even iron is not plentiful among them; as may be inferred from the nature of their weapons. Swords or broad lances are seldom used’ (transl. E. Brooks Jr.). Apparently he wasn’t true: swords were quite popular in Germanic milieu (see e.g. *Biborski* 1978; 1994; *Biborski/Ilkjær* 2006a; *Kontny* 2001, 106, 107, Graph 11; 2004, 151–153; 2008a, 121, Diagram 11; *Miks* 2007a) and the same refers to lances with quite big points (*Kontny* 2008a, 108, 110–117). The first part of the quoted passage devoted to Aestii seems also not clear: inasmuch organic hitting weapons were popular in different periods, at the turn of the ages they were probably quite rare. There are almost no data to prove their existence in protohistorical Barbaricum except for the finds from Oberdorla in Thuringen – sanctuaries dated to La Tène Period and the Roman Period (*Behm-Blancke* 2003,

³ They are identified with inhabitants of Sambian Peninsula and neighboring lands, i.e., the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture (*Kolendo* 2008b, 21; *Nowakowski* 1994a, 379; 2008, 45–47) blossoming in the Roman Period and owing its status to natural resources, i.e., amber, very popular in Roman Empire. The picture of Aestii is quite precise and embraces some details concerning even their language. Therefore it seems that they were known to Romans quite well, probably because of the fact that they lived on the end of amber route so Roman merchants had to contact them quite frequently (*Kolendo* 1998, 34; 2008a, 176; 2008b, 20–25).

39, 40, 50, 53, 89, 90, 145, 147, 149, 185, 186, pl. 24: 4; 34: 11; 37: 10; 78: 4; 100: 1–6; 117: 6), clubs from Alken Enge bog site in east Jutland (personal communication: M. Kähler Holst Ph.D. from the Moesgård Museum, coordinator of the excavation project at the site⁴) and finally the representation of club(s) on the miniatures from the Early Migration Period hoard 1 found at Szilágysomlyó (Ș. Silvaniei) in Transylvania (*Gschwantler* 1999, 67, 70, fig. 11; 19). However they served rather as a hunting not fighting weapons and in case of Alken Enge they were probably utilized to execute the prisoners of war (*Kontny* 2015a, 279). Moreover one cannot exclude that Tacitus used information slightly outdated what is stated for description of *Venethi* (*Nowakowski* 1996a, 190, 191) and swords of Gothones, Rugii and Lemovii (*Kontny* 2008b, 184). It seems that his notice concerning Aestian clubs should be apportioned to the West Balt Barrows culture thriving in the Sambian Peninsula until the 1st c. AD, the more so that wooden clubs are proved for the West Balt Barrows culture (*Kontny* 2015a). In societies that were not abundant in metal (here: iron) and cannot be described as warrior societies, the borderline between the hunting and fighting weapon is vague if really existing (what ethnographical examples show), plausibly we deal here with such multi-purpose weapons, which were to be substituted soon by the better types of shafted weapons, axes and socketed axes of the later stages of the Roman Period (*Kontny* 2015a, 279, 280). Concluding the above observations I assume that Aestian clubs together with the lack of iron mentioned by Tacitus may be interpreted in terms of common phrase or – being outdated – show the reality from preceding chronological stadiums.

W. Nowakowski's list, embracing swords from the Bogaczewo, Sudovian and Dollkeim-Kovrovo cultures has shown the following swords (see List 1): single-edged specimens from Koczek II, Grave 122 and Mojtyny/ex-Moythienen, Grave 27 (the Bogaczewo culture), Szurpiły, stray find (Fig. 4: 4; the Sudovian culture?), Sibirskoe/ex-Moritten (the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture; Fig. 2: 1, 5) and two-edged ones from Łazne/ex-Haasznen, Grave 59 (actually it was rather a dagger made of the broken sword), Grunajki, loose find – type Biborski II/Miks Type Mainz, variant Haltern-Camulodunum, Skomack Wielki/ex-Skomatzko, Grave 23 – type Biborski II/gladus Type Pompeja (Fig. 2: 2; the Bogaczewo culture), Hrustal'noe/ex-Wiekau, grave 34 and Parussnoe/ex-Gaffken (Fig. 2: 3; the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture), Szwajcaria, Barrow 2, grave 1 (Fig. 2: 6) and Barrow 25 (the Sudovian culture), as well as very short item from Fedotovo/ex-Plauen (Fig. 2: 4).

Hitherto the above list may be supplemented by new finds of complete swords. Lately the scholars came across the stray find of a sword from Grzybowo/ex-Grzybowen, Ryn comm., where the Bogaczewo culture cemetery was situated (*Peiser* 1919a). Although fragmentarily preserved, it seemed like the example of Type I/6 or I/5 after M. Biborski, dated to Phase B₂ (*Biborski* 1978, 60, fig. 2: d; 3: a) or Group II of Roman swords (*Biborski* 1994, 94, 95, fig. 494, 495). P. Kaczanowski (1992), described such swords as Roman imports Type Newstead i.e., the Early Roman spathae; in Ch. Miks's proposal they fit to Type Straubing-Nydam, variant Newstead (*Miks* 2007a, 117–119). Coincidence with Roman swords has been supported by the fact that the remains of a punched mark were spotted on the grip's thong, although it possessed an elongated form rather not typical of Roman marks, placed on thongs probably to control the process of its manufacturing; rectangular stamps were situated on blades, namely their upper parts (*Biborski* 1994; *Biborski/Ilkjær* 2006a, 302, 303). However metallographical studies carried out by G. Żabiński, Ph.D. from the Castle Museum in Malbork, proved that it was made of cast iron, i.e. the technology unknown for both Romans or Barbarians, so apparently it has to be excluded from the collection of Ancient findings (*Żabiński et al.* 2016, footnote 8).

From Onufryjewo/ex-Onufriogowen, Ruciane-Nida comm., Grave 220 came a specimen which, accordingly to archival descriptions, should be identified as a single-edged sword. Unfortunately drawings are lacking here but accordance among two sources (List 1) makes me to believe that we deal with the sword not a knife. Taking into account the chronology of the interment (Phase C_{1a}) we deal with the Type C or most probably – D after M. Biborski (1978, fig. 74).

More convincing are the findings from bog sites. There were a few exemplars proved for the Wólka/ex-Wolka-See, Kętrzyn comm. find in the Masurian Lakeland, the Bogaczewo culture (*Das Antiquarium* 1848, 410–416; *Jahn's heritage*; *Jankuhn's heritage*; *Kontny* 2015b, 305, 318, 319, fig. 1; *Lissauer/Schüch* 1878, 176; *Miks* 2007b, 763, pl. 87; *Nowakowski* 2001a, 115–116, pl. IX; 2013, 95, 96, 151, 213, 214, 216, 217, 219, 220, 229, pl. 174: 3; 175; 176; *Raddatz* 1993, 128–131, fig. 1; 2). The finding circumstances are unclear. We only know that the items were found while drying the bog in 19th c.: 'bei Ablassung des Wolka-Sees gefunden' and came to Königsberg and Danzig. The same refers not only to weapons but also to a bit that was stored in Danzig museum ('gefunden im See bei Wolka, Kr. Rastenburg'). The items were enumerated in the catalogue

⁴ See also: http://www.skanderborgmuseum.dk/Status_2012-1141.aspx [access 11. 11. 2013].

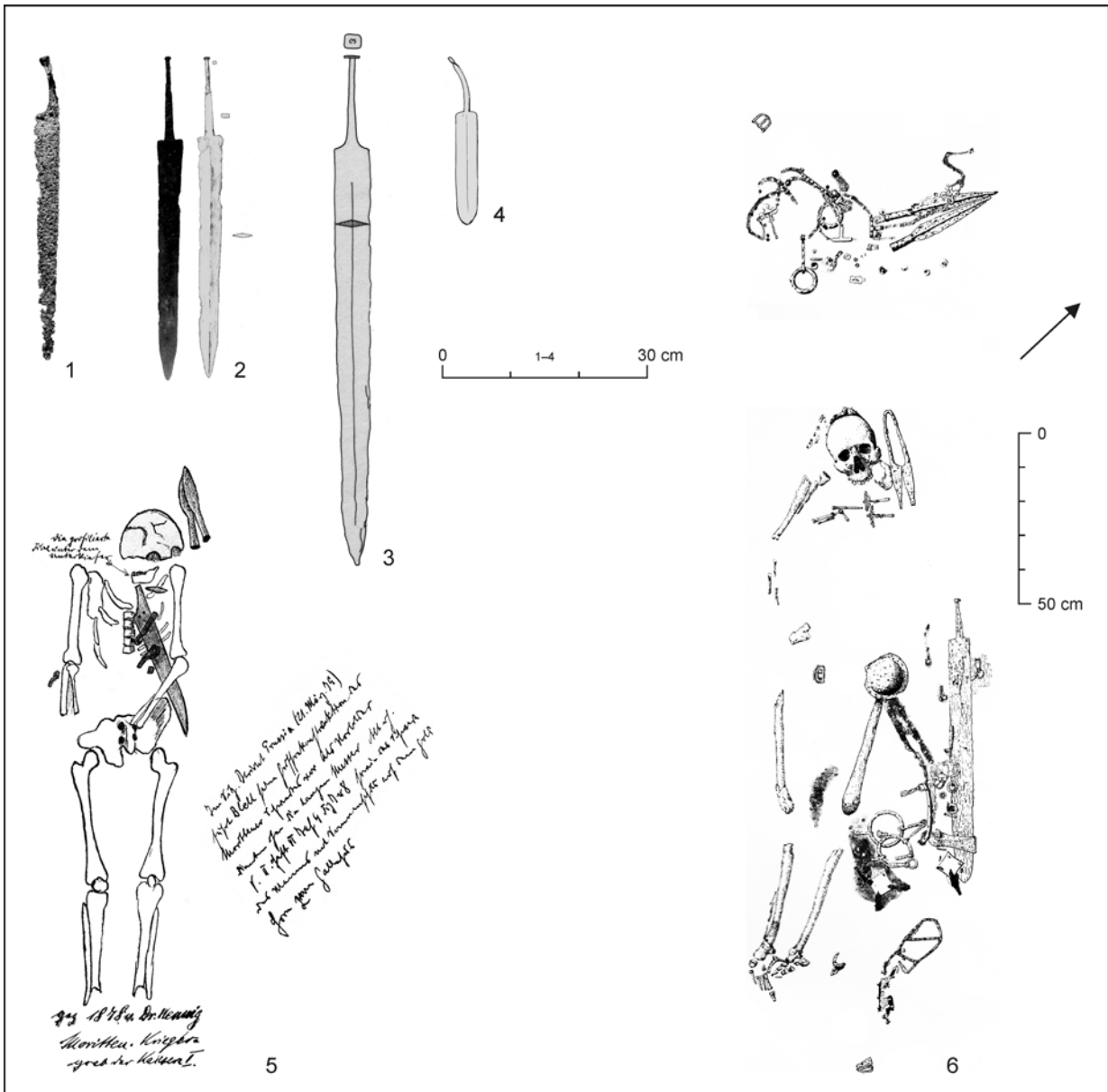


Fig. 2. Swords from the West Balt circle. 1 – Sibirskoe, skeleton grave; 2 – Skomack, Grave 23; 3 – Parussnoe; 4 – Fedotovo; 5 – plan of the skeleton grave from Sibirskoe; 6 – plan of the Grave 1 from Szwajcaria, Barrow 2. 1–4 – after W. Nowakowski (2007); 5 – after *Jahn's heritage* (courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw); 6 – after J. Antoniewicz/M. Kaczyński/J. Okulicz (1958).

of new acquisitions in the Collection Natural Sciences Society in Danzig (*Sammlung der naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Danzig*) in 1848 (*Das Antiquarium 1848*) and some details were repeated by A. Lissauer and R. Schück in the guidebook of the Danzig collection (*Lissauer/Schück 1878*, 176). It seems that they were part of the private possession of *Oberlehrer Wehl* from Rastenburg who gifted them to the museum together with much later item coming from unknown location (*Partisane* with inscription *Soli Deo Gloria* and date *Anno 1650* is mentioned). Also one of the swords from Wolka-See enlisted in the first publication seems not to be dated to the Roman Period: it was described as probably the hunting knife (*Wahrscheinlich ein Jagdmesser*). Part of the collection was presented then during the great exhibition of prehistoric finds in Berlin in A. D. 1880. Unclear context as well as the fact that some findings (swords) were exposed in the Berlin exhibition showcase together with medieval weapons (pattern welded lanceheads) made some scholars to doubt the Roman Period character of the site (for the discussion see *Nowakowski 2001a*, 115, 116; 2013, 95, 96). It seemed significant that *M. Jahn* (1916) didn't mention swords in his momentous book devoted to weapons. From

the other side while studying his archival files one may find hints concerning weapons from Wólka-See, also four swords with parallels in Wiekau (*Jahn's heritage*). Finally the existence of the Roman Period weapons was proved by K. Raddatz (1993, 128–131, fig. 1; 2) who published drawings by H. Jankuhn (*Jankuhn's heritage*), one of the best pre-war times archaeologists, taking interest in the Balt area. The most plausible interpretation of the collection is that we deal with the bog find, naturally with later additions which are not astounding as the lake could have existed for hundreds of years after the Roman Period. Later items (at least a single one, i.e. hunting knife) could be lost here by chance.

Univocally at least four fragments of swords from Wólka should be attributed to the Roman Period (there are hints referring to seven fragments in all; see List 1). In the bog more Roman Period weapons were found, i.e. shield bosses⁵, shield grip⁶, a couple of horse equipment elements and other specimens⁷. Two of the swords belonged to Type Straubing-Nydam after Ch. Miks (2007b, 763) or Lachmirowice-Apa after M. Biborski and J. Ilkjær (2006a), typical of the Przeworsk culture, the latter typological identification with time-span from Phase B_{2b} to early stage of Subphase C_{1b} (Biborski/Ilkjær 2006a, 192–193, tab. 11). Next two are to be linked with Type Lauriacum-Hromówka from Phases C₁–C₂ (Miks 2007a, tab. 25), most popular during Subphase C_{1b} (Biborski/Ilkjær 2006a, 206, tab. 20)⁸. This is quite a rare form, known from Scandinavia, the Przeworsk culture as well as the Roman Empire (Biborski/Ilkjær 2006a, fig. 137). Two of the swords from Wólka were pattern-welded what confirms their Roman provenance, i.e., the pattern Il-lerup AZK was documented with doubled wavy bands (Biborski/Ilkjær 2006a, 290, fig. 165). Most probably

⁵ One of the shield bosses should be attributed to Type Jahn 6 (*Jahn's heritage*; *Jankuhn's heritage*; Nowakowski 2013, 216, 217, pl. 176: 2; Raddatz 1993, 142, fig. 2: 2), which was quite popular in the Bogaczewo culture where they appeared significantly later than in the Przeworsk culture (Godłowski 1992; Kontny 2008a, 122, fig. 9), i.e. Subphase B2b: Kamień/ex-Kamien, Ruciane Nida comm., grave 10 (Sztar 2010, 254, pl. III) accompanied by a strap end Type Madyda-Legutko 9.3 (*Madyda-Legutko* 1986), Marcinkowo/ex-Mertinsdorf II, Mragowo comm., grave 34a (Gaerte 1929, fig. 198: e; inv. no. Prussia-Museum VII.75.9278; *Schmiedehelm's heritage* 7.13.18, 7.13d.355) with a shield grip Type P/T2 after N. Zieling (1989); curiously, they prolonged even to the Younger Roman Period: Dłużec/ex-Langendorf I, Piecki comm., grave 29 (Prussia-Sammlung, no inv. no.; *Schmiedehelm's heritage* 7.13.24, 7.13.25, 7.13.59, 7.13d.1135, 7.13e.162, 7.20d.39) attended by a pin of Type I, Variant Bogaczewo after B. Beckmann (1969; as refers to the chronology of pins see *Juga-Szymańska* 2014, 87, 88, 257), Gąsior/ex-Jaskowska See, Ruciane-Nida comm., grave 212, accompanied by pin close to Type Beckmann C (*Jahn's heritage*; *Jankuhn's heritage*; Prussia-Archiv PM–A 390/3. 187; *Schmiedehelm* 2011, 44, pl. VIII: 6; X: 1; XVIII: 2–8; XXI: 6; XXIII: 3) and Tałty/ex-Talten, Mikołajki comm., grave 35 (*Juga-Szymańska* 2004, 96, pl. III: 2–3; *Schmiedehelm's heritage* 7.12.54, 7.19.31, 7.19.74) found together with a late variant of pin Type Beckmann A (see *Juga-Szymańska* 2014, 139–142, 316). The second umbo is documented primarily by a mention that the iron vessel of the hemispherical form was found there; it was interpreted by K. Raddatz (1993, 142) as a shield boss type Jahn 8/Zieling R1/Ilkjær 5a–b (Ilkjær 1990; Jahn 1916; Zieling 1989) what could be confirmed by a note by M. Jahn (*Jahn's heritage*) who described it as 1 C Buckel, i.e. a shield boss from Phase C (it stands in agreement with the chronology of the type). Such shield bosses are represented in the Bogaczewo culture also by finds from Mojtyny/ex-Moythienen, Piecki comm., grave 75 and Wólka/ex-Dietrichswalde, Ruciane-Nida com., stray find. Unfortunately they are not dated precisely here therefore it is needed to confirm the chronology basing on analogies from the West Balt circle. From the Sudovian culture four items of that type are known: Szwałcaria, Suwałki comm., Barrow 2, Grave 1; Barrow II; Barrow XLVII, Grave 2 (*Jaskanis* 2013, 77, pl. CXIX: 10) and Netta, Augustów comm., Grave 79 (*Bitner-Wróblewska* 2007, 18, pl. XVI: 3, 4), where they can be dated to Phases C₁–C₂, probably without its earliest stage. From the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture I may mention nineteen shield bosses of that type, which are dated to the time span starting from B₂/C₁–C_{1a}: Dybki/ex-Waregenau-Kunterstrauch, raj. Zelenogradsk (i.e. knee shaped brooch probably close to Type 132 or 137 after Almgren 1923; see Nowakowski 1996b, tab. XII: a–b; XVI: d) but with majority of finds are attributed to phases C_{1b}–C₂ (Kontny 2015b, 310–313), the latest of which comes from Phase C₂: Kotelnikovo/ex-Warengen, raj. Zelenogradsk, Grave 31 (huge brooch Almgren 161, 162, strap end Type Madyda-Legutko 2.6, glass beaker Type 203 after Eggers 1951, Emperor Karakalla's coin).

⁶ Single shield grip from Wólka is quite typical for Barbarians. The strange shape of rivet plate results plausibly from rust and originally it was trapeze-like. We may describe it as Type Jahn 9 with indistinct rivet plates/Zieling V. 1 or U. 1 (Zieling 1989), here with simple ornamentation. Similar finds are known also from the Bogaczewo culture, the closest comes from Dłużec, Grave 29 (mentioned above), but there are also further parallels, e.g., Onufryjewo/ex-Onufrigowen, Ruciane-Nida comm., Grave 291 (with a brooch Type 167 after Almgren 1923; Kontny 2009, 99, fig. 10: b; tab. 1), Wyszembork IVa, Mragowo comm., Grave 61 (with a belt buckle Type D29 after *Madyda-Legutko* 1986) and a pin Type Beckmann C (Kontny 2009, 99, fig. 10: a; *Szymański* 2005, 67, 70, 71, pl. XXIV) and Babięta/ex-Babienten I, Piecki comm., Grave 70 (with an umbo Type Jahn 7a and spur Subgroup E5 after Ginalski 1991; see *Bitner-Wróblewska et al.* 2008, pl. LXXVII; Prussia-Museum Inventory Books 7.028; Prussia-Archiv PM–A 096/1, s. 236; *Schmiedehelm's heritage* 7.12.77, 7.13.17, 7.13.18, 7.13e.89, 7.13e.98, 7.13e.105, 7.13e.148). Therefore they can be dated to the whole Phase C₁.

⁷ One of the next items is a socketed axe, very popular form in the West Balt circle, although hardly changing through the ages. Unfortunately nothing sure can be stated as refers to further finds, i.e. spurs and the bridle bit because of the lack of further description. The only non-military element was a bracelet, however possessing no frequent and adequate parallels; taking into account ornamentation and general form it is assumed to stem of the later stage of the Early Roman Period (Nowakowski 2013, 151) nevertheless it shouldn't be treated firmly.

⁸ W. Nowakowski proposed mostly different typological identifications which are however not convincing (Nowakowski 2013, 213, 214).

they came here from the territory of the Przeworsk culture.

As refers to the chronology of the site this is hardly probable that the Roman Period collection comes from the single offering. Its narrowest time span covered Subphases C_{1a}–C_{1b} with elements from both but it is equally imaginable that it started in Phase B₂ and ended in the Late Roman Period.

The further swords has been excavated lately in the sensational find from Czaszkowo, Piecki comm. (the Bogaczewo culture). It is the first scientifically excavated bog site from the territory of Poland which (in place of what) approved sacrificial character of Wólka finds as well as confirmed that the Balts practiced ritual depositions in waters. Apart from extraordinary silver ornaments of belts and horse harnesses, multiple weapons were found here, among them several double-edged swords and their scabbards (Nowakiewicz/Rzeszotarska-Nowakiewicz 2012, 59–61, fig. 34, 35). Unfortunately, their preservation is poor but at least a few of them were pattern-welded (Nowakiewicz/Rzeszotarska-Nowakiewicz 2012, fig. 36) so we may link them with Roman imports. The most impressive sword element from Czaszkowo is a gold set of a guard and throat mount and an amber sword bead; this is speculated that the metal elements possess Mediterranean or Pontic/Byzantine (?) parallels (Nowakiewicz/Rzeszotarska-Nowakiewicz 2012, 74–78, fig. 51–53) but it has not been proved so far. Plausibly it comes from the Migration Period, i.e. the times when the Bogaczewo culture no longer existed in this area which was occupied by the inhabitants of the Olsztyn group.

The bog sites do not deplete the premises to trace the swords. I'd like to add a few new footprints from archival data or published materials, though these are only small fragments, not always directly of swords (List 2).

Fragment described as a part of the single-edged sword comes from Gašior/ex-Jaskowska-See, Grave 158 (Jankhuhn's heritage; Nowakowski 2013, 103, 104, 212, 213, pl. 196: 1; Schmiedehelm 1990, 40; 2011, 37) but in my opinion it rather belongs to a big knife: the length of a thong equals only ca 5.5 cm which, together with small width (3.7 cm), seems rather unusual for the Early Roman items; their thongs measure usually 10–12 cm⁹ (Biborski 1978, 121, 123, 127); also W. Nowakowski (2013, 213) is doubtful about the function of the specimen from Gašior.

There is a hint concerning the chape from Skomack Wielki/ex-Skomatzko, Grave 26 (Kotzan 1936, 90) in the Bogaczewo culture, however without any details given so it seems to be dubious and cannot be verified.

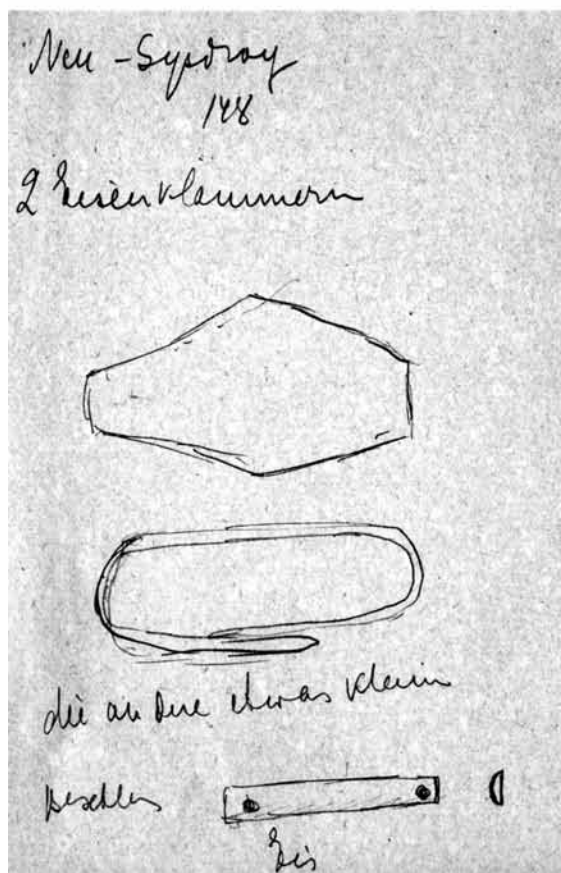
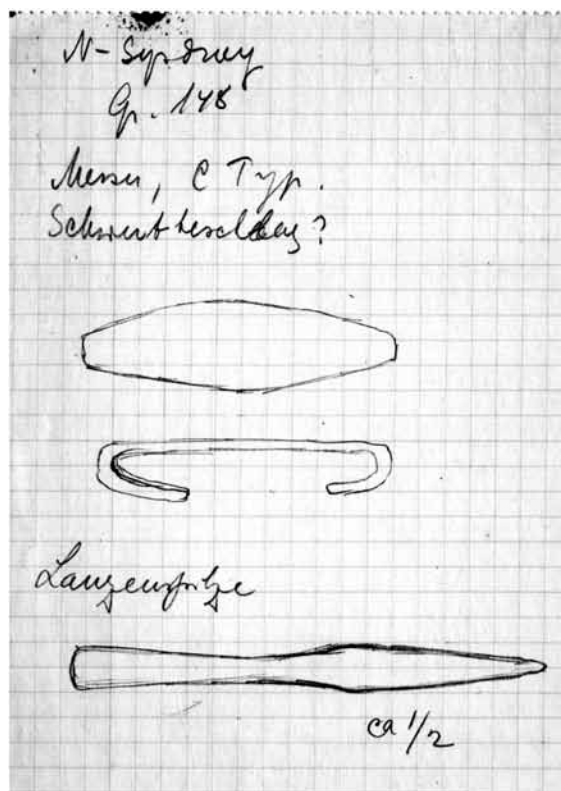


Fig. 3. Possible C-shaped scabbard's clasp(s) and equipment of Grave 148 from Nowy Zyzdrój. After Schmiedehelm's heritage (courtesy of Tallinna Ülikooli Arheoloogiline Teaduskogu, Arhiiv).

⁹ The grave is dated to the Roman Period by a drinking horn fitting Type Andrzejowski K.1 (Andrzejowski 1991, 43–45, fig. 9; Nowakowski 2013, 248), and the single-edged sword - such forms appeared in the Early Roman Period, not later (Kontny 2003a).

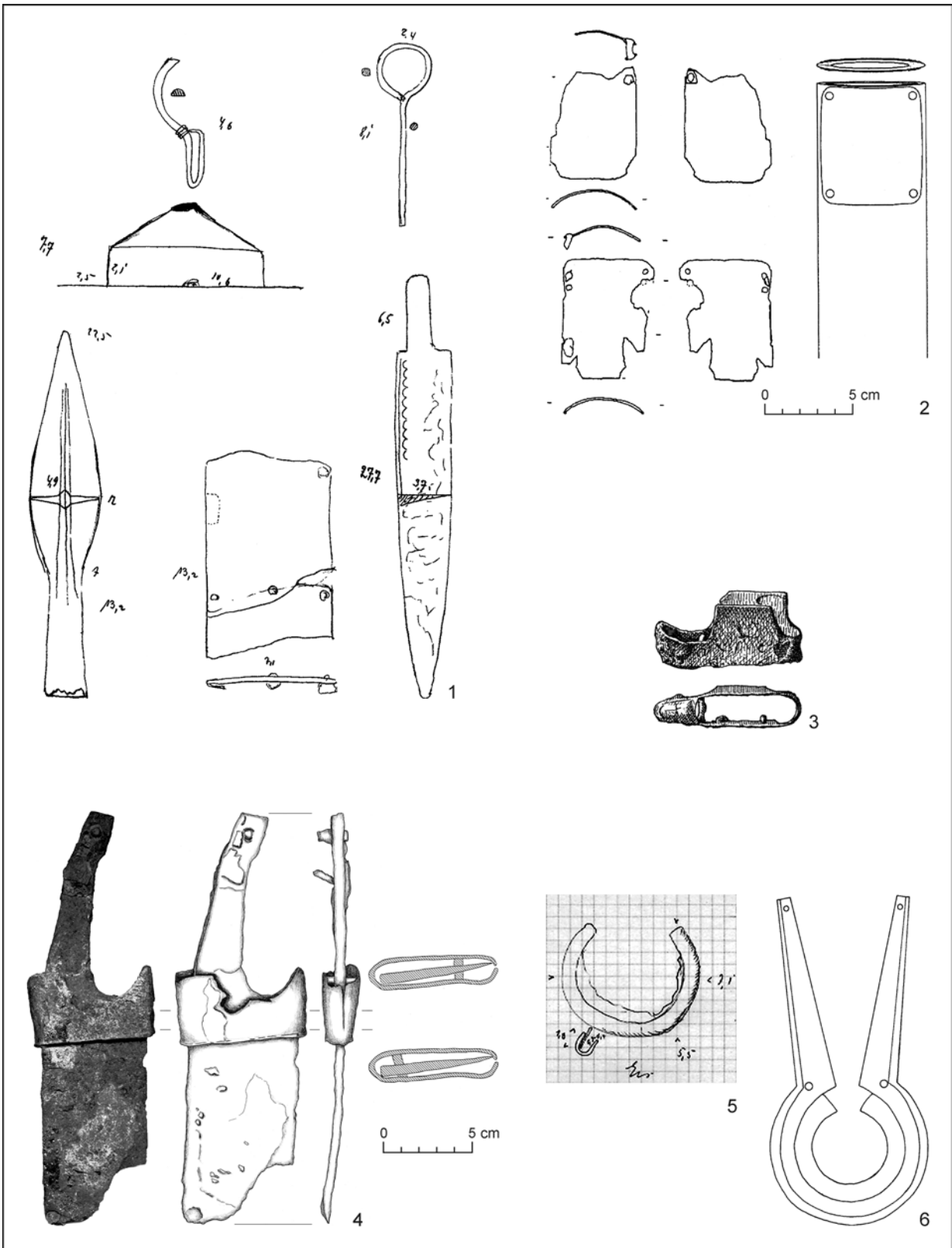


Fig. 4. Elements of swords' handles and scabbards from the West Baltic circle and their parallels. 1 – Onufryjewo, Grave 275; 2 – Cetula, Grave 2; 3 – Åroslavskoe, Grave 16; 4 – Szurpiły, Site 4; 5 – Kotel'nikovo, Grave 4; 6 – Kragehul. 1 – after Jankuhn's heritage (Nowakowski 2013); 2 – after M. Biborski (2000); 3 – after M. Jankuhn (1939); 4 – after L. Sawicka (2007); 5 – after Jankuhn's heritage (courtesy of Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schloß Gottorf in Schleswig); 6 – after R. B. Iversen (2010).

The find from Onufryjewo/ex-Onufrigowen, Grave 275 (Fig. 4: 1) seems much more interesting. According to the sketch from Herbert Jankuhn's files (*Nowakowski 2013*, 112, pl. 213: 5) a rectangular iron sheet was excavated (13.2 x 7.1 cm). In my opinion originally it was probably a scabbards' throat mount, fixed with rivets. Such elements were quite rare in Barbaricum and proved for the Przeworsk culture and Scandinavia (*Biborski 2000*, 58, fig. 14). The closest parallel stems of Cetula, Wiązownica comm., Grave 2 (Fig. 4: 2) in the Przeworsk culture (*Biborski 2000*, 58, fig. 14: 2; *Kieferling 2000*), that one was fastened with rivets in corners. The find from Onufryjewo is slightly bigger than the one from Cetula but it fits the widths of scabbards from that period. The outline of the fitting shows an outstanding hook-shaped terminal. Originally it was probably aimed to keep halves of the scabbard wood together though it is also possible that it had been repaired what is suggested by the crack and additional rivet in central part. Nevertheless one should be careful with such interpretation as analysis of archival sketches even of good quality, like in the case of Jankuhn's files, could lead to misunderstanding (*Kontny 2007c*). The find from Onufryjewo should be dated to Phase B₂/C₁-C_{1a} (pin Beckmann B, tendril brooch)¹⁰ not contradictory to the one from Cetula.

From Grave 148 from Nowy Zyzdrój/ex-Neu-Sysdroy, according to M. Schmiedehelm's files, a C-shaped clasp, widened centrally was acquired (Fig. 3). It seems to be a scabbard fitting aimed to keep the scabbard's construction (it was also Schmiedehelm's assumption as she wrote on a metrice the remark: *Schwertbelschlag?*). Such element was proved for the Bogaczewo culture also in case of a find from Łażne, Grave 59 (List 1), where it attended the short double-edged sword/dagger. Normally such fittings were used to keep the wooden parts of single-edged swords' scabbards both in the Late Pre-Roman Period (*Bochnak 2005*, 71) and Early Roman Period (*Jahn 1916*, 150, 151). The specimen from Łażne proves their utilization also in the case of scabbards fit for double-edged swords. It seems to be a Balt property to employ it to double-edged swords but also to prolong its usage as much later examples of that form, attributed to Phase C₃-D₁ are documented for the Sudovian culture, i.e. Szwajcaria, Barrow 25 (List 1). There were two fittings more (noted by M. Schmiedehelm as *Eisenklammern*) found in the discussed grave from Nowy Zyzdrój, but most probably they were the elements not of a scabbard but knife's sheath, see their typically overlapping terminals, not spotted among the swords' scabbards¹¹. The grave is dated to Phases B_{2b}-C_{1a} (?), by a head of the shafted of Type Kaczanowski XIV (*Kaczanowski 1995*; for the dating of the Bogaczewo culture lanceheads see *Kontny 2007a*).

Further specimen that could be an evidence that sword was used by the Balts creates a fitting of the baldric (Lat. *balteus*). It is a bronze openwork circular plate from Babięta/ex-Babienten I, Grave 305a from the Bogaczewo culture, equipped with a central rivet and a washer (Fig. 5). It looks like *Balteusschliesse* of Group I, Variant 1 after M. *Biborski (1997, 244)*. Such fittings were typical not only of Roman sword belts but there were known multiple barbarian imitations, also from the territory of nowadays Poland, e.g. the Przeworsk culture finds from Opatów, Opatów comm., Grave 724 (*Madyda-Legutko/Rodzińska-Nowak/Zagórska-Telega 2011*, pl. CCLXIX: 2), Cieblowice Duże, Tomaszów Mazowiecki comm., Grave 61 (*Dzięgielewska/Kulczyńska 2008*, 25, 56, pl. XLVIII: 6) or the find from famous hoard found at Łubiana, Kościerzyna comm., of equivocal cultural provenance (*Biborski 1997; Mączyńska 2011*, 129, 130, 375, pl. 77: W1). Naturally, such balteus fittings frequently possessed loops, but the ones with washers, outcurved terminals or thickened end, aimed to regulate the strap length, are also known (*Biborski 1997*, fig. 4; *Przybyła 2010*, 93, 94, 96). According to information that survived in Prussia Archiv (PM-A 096/1, 244) it was enamelled. It was known mainly from the drawing in Voigtmann's files but currently it has come to Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseum Schloß Gottorf in Schleswig where it is kept as a temporary deposit.¹² Unfortunately, the enamel is no longer visible, the problem is whether it existed at all as there are no cells on the plaque to place enamel but exclusively openwork areas. Theoretically we may imagine that it could have served element of horse harness, like headgear connector. Similar items are known from the Sudovian culture, i.e. Żywa Woda, Jeleniewo comm., Barrow 14, Grave 2 (*Ziemlińska-Odojowa 1961*, 199, fig. 5; pl. VIII: 2, 4), a stray find from Parussnoe/ex-Gaffken, raj. Zelenogradsk in the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture (*Schmiedehelm's heritage VM 9.21.40*) and a single specimen also from the Bogaczewo culture: Spychówko/ex-Klein-Puppen, Świętajno comm., Grave 217 (*Prussia-Archiv PM-A-1781/2.44.17*;

¹⁰ Contrary to the idea of W. Nowakowski who recognized in the grave equipment a head of the shafted weapon of Type Venaker I would see here rather Type Kaczanowski XVII (*Kaczanowski 1995*); also his plausible identification of the shield boss as Type Jahn 7a (*Nowakowski 2013*, 112) seems not certain for me as the apex didn't survive at all.

¹¹ Unfortunately M. Schmiedehelm didn't put any scale on contours drawn by her.

¹² I would like to express my gratefulness to prof. Claus von Carnap-Bornheim and Izabela Szter M. A. for this information.

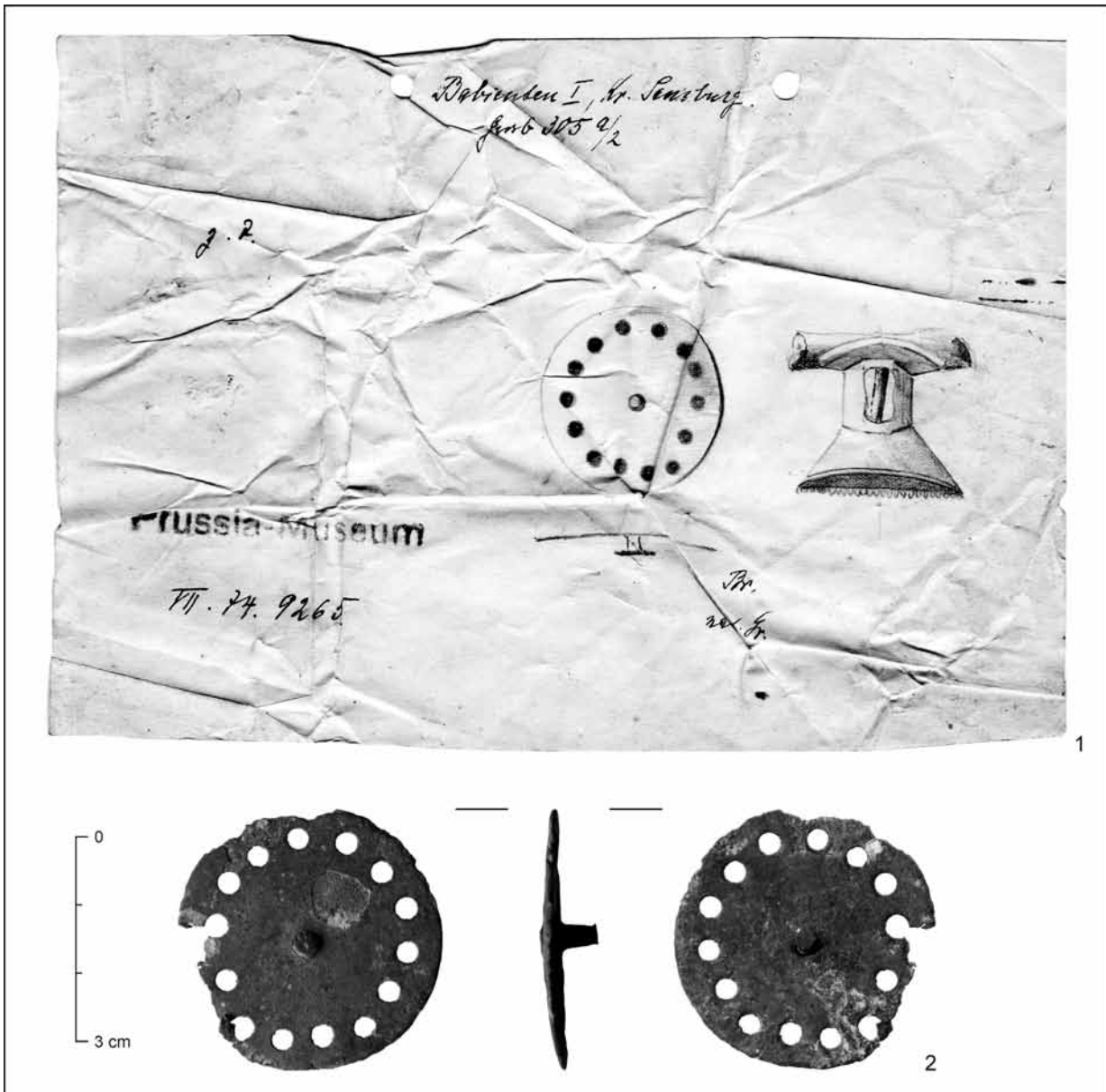


Fig. 5. Possible balteus fitting: Babięta, Grave 305a. 1 – grave equipment according to Voigtmann's heritage (courtesy of Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Berlin); 2 – photo of rediscovered item (courtesy of Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schloß Gottorf in Schleswig).

Schmiedehelm's heritage 7.1.203, 7.8a.114, 7.13.34, 7.13b.90, 7.22a.833; *Voigtmann's heritage*). Sudovian culture finds are slightly later than the one in question¹³ but the one from Spychówko is dated analogically by a pin Type Beckmann A (Juga 2003, 77; 2014, 310). Nevertheless they were shaped differently, i.e. as a spoked wheel-like not adorned with the cell pattern. Moreover the grave equipment didn't embrace any horse harness fittings. It is also not convincing to assume that we deal with the horse grave mixed with the human one, as horse graves of the Bogaczewo culture were not furnished at all and they did not attend human interments – as a rule they were situated on the brink of cemeteries (Gręzak 2007, 355–359; Nowakowski 2009, 167–169). The wheel ornament resembles also some Lithuanian and Latvian and Estonian ornaments, like pin heads in shape of spoked wheel (Vaska 2004, fig. 1: 1, 3, 4), circular pendants of parallel morphology (Bliujienė 2006, 250–252) or disc brooches some of which possess cell motifs on the circular background (Vaska 2013, fig. 7; 12; 13) but surely we do not deal with disc brooches they are differently

¹³ The grave is dated to Phase B₂/C₁–C_{1a'} by the brooch of Type Almgren 129 (Almgren 1923).

shaped (spoked wheel) and definitely later (disc brooches are dated to Phases C_{1b} – C_3 and some even later, to the 5th c.; *Vaska 2013*, 97–100, fig. 7; 12; 13). The plaque could be of Roman but also Balt origin as the enamel technique was well known for the Balts in these times (*Bitner-Wróblewska/Stawiarska 2009*), although enameled balteus fittings are generally treated as Roman imports, known from Marcomannic-Quadic area and Scandinavia (*Bitner-Wróblewska/Stawiarska 2009*, 313; *Madyda-Legutko 1992*, 110, 111). Exceptionally they were proved for the West Balt circle, i.e. the loose find from the West Lithuanian cemetery at Pangesai-Pleškučiai, raj. Klaipėda – bronze, silvered circular plaque with red enamel (*Bezenberger 1892*, 221; *Michelbertas 2001*, 36; *Nowakowski 1985*, 76)¹⁴ and the button from Szwajcaria, Barrow 25, Grave 2 (the Sudovian culture). *Balteusschliesse* were known in Barbaricum in the Younger Roman Period until Phase C_2 (*Biborski 1997*, 249), specifically during Phases C_{1b} – C_2 (*Przybyła 2010*, 94) but they are proved also for the later times (e.g., Szwajcaria, Barrow 25, Grave 2; List 1)¹⁵.

A couple of ‘new’ finds from old sources comes also from the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture. From Åroslavskoe/ex-Schlakalken, Grave 16 (Fig. 4: 3) comes the item that was published (*Jankuhn 1939*, 253, fig. 9) but described simply as a iron fitting with traces of two rivets.¹⁶ All the time certainly we deal with the grip fitting of a single-edged sword Type D after *M. Biborski (1978)*, characteristic for the end of the Early Roman Period (*Biborski 1978*, 128; *Kontny 2003a*, 69). Such interpretation is supported by the fact that the grave was furnished with a scabbard (or its fragment) of such a sword, which is proved by the fragment of iron C-shaped clasp keeping wooden scabbard’s parts together (List 2).

The next premise that swords were used in the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture creates a find from Kotelnikovo/ex-Warengen, Grave 4 (*Jankuhn’s heritage; Peiser 1919b*, 322). A big fragment of an iron chape in shape of a segment of a circle was found here. It consisted of trough shaped fitting and lower sheet repeating the shape of the upper plaque (Fig. 4: 5). Most probably originally it was a winged chape (*Bemmann/Hahne 1994*, 402) typical of scabbard fittings of Group IV after *M. Biborski* and *J. Ilkjær*, proved for the 1st half of the 4th c. AD or Group IIIa from the 2nd half of the 3rd c. AD (*Biborski/Ilkjær 2006a*, fig. 16). The item in question is not identical with the above patterns as it lacks winged arms (probably they were broken off) nevertheless it is closest to variant 1 after *J. Bemmann* and *G. Hahne*, i.e. the one with reduced wings (*Bemmann/Hahne 1994*, 402). Winged chapes are known mostly from Scandinavia but also from northern Germany and singly from Finnland (*Bemmann/Hahne 1994*, fig. 44). They are attributed to chronological Group Mollestad (*Bemmann/Hahne 1994*, 316, 402, 403) or Ilkjær 11, i.e., C_3/D_1 (*Ilkjær 1990*, 303) but the earliest are documented for later stage of Phase C_2 (see *Miks 2007a*, 412, 413), namely from the Scandinavian bog sites (*Iversen 2010*, 86, 87, fig. 9; 10); the latter were closest to the find in question as they were characterized by short wings (*Biborski/Ilkjær 2006a*, fig. 16). It stands in accordance with the chronology of the grave from Kotelnikovo. Normally such chapes were made of bronze or precious metals (*Bemmann/Hahne 1994*, 402) so the iron specimen in question should be treated a Balt imitation rather the more so that the wings are missing.

Another case of finding the chape alone (?)¹⁷ comes from Parkoszewo/ex-Perkau (*Jankuhn’s heritage; Nowakowski 2013*, 52, pl. 70: 5). Long fragments of the U-shaped chape (15.5 cm and 17.5 cm) were found here; originally they covered significant part of the scabbard. *W. Nowakowski (2013, 52)* apportioned

¹⁴ There is only scarce information here is but eventually it was identified as a balteus mounting (*Madyda-Legutko 1992*, 110; *Przybyła 2010*, fig. 2).

¹⁵ The item from Szwajcaria is very late so it could lead to the conclusion that it was used for unusually long period but I doubt it as it is not worn and probably it came here together with the of late Roman spatha. The sword itself is an univocal import (*Antoniewicz 1962*, 191–193; *Nowakowski 2001a*, 109, 110) as it was pattern-welded; see the damascene pattern Illerup VF with flanking band motif close to Illerup AZK (*Biborski/Ilkjær 2006a*, fig. 165; 166). Its late dating amazes as it was thought that Roman fabricae executing swords had been nationalized during Emperor Diocletianus’ reign what had evoked dramatic loss of swords’ quality to such extent that the difference among the swords of Roman and Barbarian origin had become blurred (*Biborski/Ilkjær 2006a*, 292, 293). Meanwhile it occurred that such image is not true for Scandinavia, where Roman swords performed in a complicated manner existed until Phases C_3 – D , among them outstanding ‘elegant’ forms of Type Ejsbøl-Sarry, i.e. the one to which the discussed sword is assigned. Simultaneously it is rather excluded that Barbarian workshops took over Roman know-how so most probably we have to do with specimens made in Roman fabricae (*Biborski/Ilkjær 2006a*, 292–294). Then most probably the spatha from Szwajcaria came here from Scandinavia.

¹⁶ One has to admit that *H. Jankuhn* had an intuition to link it indirectly with a sword, i.e. showing an a parallel handle fitting of the single-edged sword from the bog site at Vimose on Funen and the one from Gotland (*Almgren/Nerman 1923*, pl. 39: 573; *Engelhardt 1869*, pl. 7: 23; *Jankuhn 1939*, footnote 5).

¹⁷ It is not clear. *W. Nowakowski (2013, 52)* described them as stray find (they were gifted to *F. E. Peiser*) so it is also imaginable that primarily they were buried together with a sword.

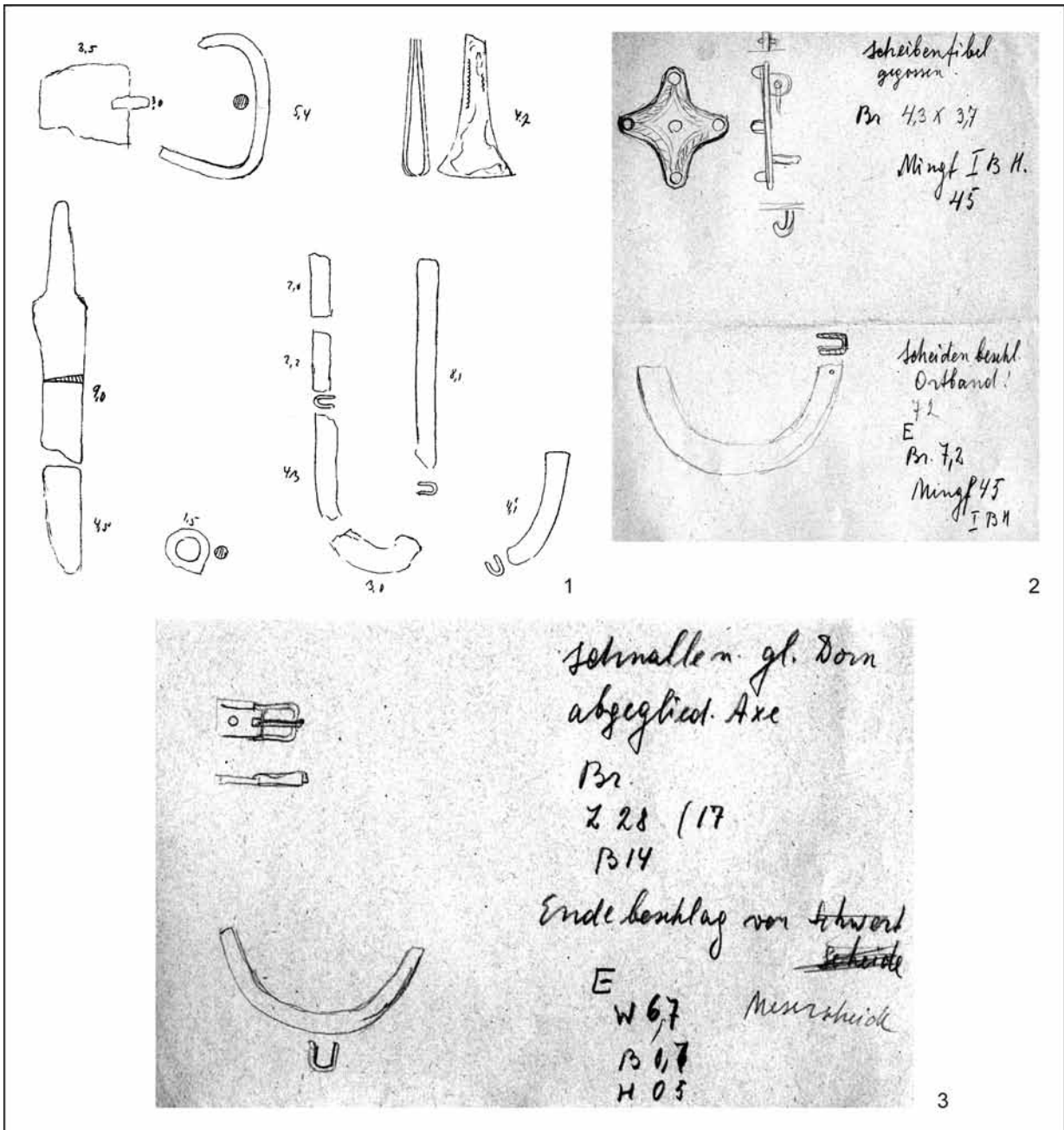


Fig. 6. Chapes of the Olsztyn group from Miętkie I. 1 – Grave 2 (Jankuhn’s heritage, after Nowakowski 2013); 2 – Grave 45 (Jakobson’s heritage, after Bitner-Wróblewska et al. 2011); 3 – stray find ? (Jakobson’s heritage, after Bitner-Wróblewska et al. 2011).

them to the scabbard of a short sword or *Dolchmesser*¹⁸ but it is rather later: in my opinion it should be attributed to a scabbard of a Balt sax, i.e., the weapon characteristic of the Late Migration Period (Kontny 2011, 90–91; 2013a). Anyway it could confirm that scabbards without swords were placed in graves in the Balt milieu. It is evidenced univocally by the further finds dated to the Late Migration Period, attributed to the Olsztyn group (List 2). From that cultural unit, almost totally lacking weapons, we know the U-shaped iron chape from Miętkie/ex-Mingfen, Site I, Grave 45 (Fig. 6: 2; Jakobson’s

¹⁸ Weapon typical of the Balt tribes, specifically the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture, West Lithuanian group, Central Lithuanian group and Lower Neman group, characterized by a knife-like shape but supplemented with a long point sharpened on both edges, dated mainly to the Early Migration Period (e.g. Prassolow 2013, 119, 123, 124; Šimėnas 1996). They made a form from which Balt Late Migration Period seaxes developed (Kontny 2013a).

heritage; Jankuhn's heritage; Nowakowski 2013, 76, 215, pl. 133: 4), it belonged to a sword scabbard because of its great width, i.e., 7.2 cm. There are other examples of the Olsztyn group graves with iron chapes without swords: Kosewo/ex-Kossewen III, stray find (Gładki/Stokłosa 2015, 123, fig. 10: 3), Łęzany, Wólka Prusinowska/ex-Pruschinowen Wolka, Grave 92 (Fig. 7: 1; Jakobson's heritage) – here additional trough shaped fittings making the chape higher and probably horizontal element aimed to keep arms of the chape together (Biborski/Ilkjær 2006a, fig. 116; Menghin 1985, fig. 91), Zdory/ex-Sdorren, grave 117 (Fig. 7: 2; Jakobson's heritage), Miętkie, Grave 2 (Fig. 6: 1; Jankuhn's heritage) – here we could possibly deal also with sheath of knife's elements – and another item from Miętkie (Fig. 6: 3; Jakobson's heritage) but it could be a stray find (the data on the metrice from Jakobson's files are not clear). All the above mentioned were made of iron and majority of them was fastened with rivets (only in case of Miętkie, Grave 2 and stray find? it is not shown). It seems to me that it should not be equalled with U-shaped chapes known from Scandinavia (Bemmann/Hahne 1994, 403–406; Menghin 1985, 123–132; Nørgård Jørgensen 2008, 35–47) although it seems close to Type IV after A. Nørgård Jørgensen (2008). The problem is that they were made of iron like the Balt chapes of seaxes, not of bronze or precious metals like in case of U-shaped chapes of Scandinavian spathae therefore in my opinion they point more to single-edged swords than the double-edged ones, although one cannot exclude the opposite situation (see the distribution map of the Balt seaxes and chapes; Fig. 8). Moreover north and west European U-shaped chapes of simple form, i.e. without back metal sheet, were limited to the late 5th c. (Bemmann/Hahne 1994, 403–406; Biborski/Ilkjær 2006a, fig. 116; Menghin 1985, 59, fig. 80) so they die out before the ones we discuss here. Naturally one may assume that the chapes from the Olsztyn group were elements of knives' sheaths but they were wide enough not to link them with sheaths (List 2; only the sketch of a chape from Zdory was not supplemented in scale). The idea of dealing with remnants of single-edged swords' scabbards is justified also by a fact that from the neighboring areas, i.e. Sambian-Natangian region and the Elbląg group, only seaxes are known. By the way it seems that we come across the phenomenon of territorial continuation of burial rite: almost entire shortage of weapons had began as early as the later stages of the Bogaczewo culture (Kontny 2009) thus it could be a premise for discussion of settlement continuity between the Bogaczewo culture and the Olsztyn group in the Early Migration Period (Bitner-Wróblewska 2008).

Additionally from the Bogaczewo culture there are known fittings in shape of ornamental bosses, e.g. Janowo/ex-Heinrichsdorf, Sorkwity comm., Grave 197 (Prussia-Museum inv. no. VII.251.11497; Schmiedehelm's heritage 7.12.111, 7.13.17–19, 7.13e.45, 7.13e.167, 7.22b.137, 7.22b.154), Koczek II, Grave 82 (Jankuhn's heritage; Nowakowski 2013, 63, pl. 101; Schmiedehelm's heritage 7.12.63, 7.13.29, 7.13.31, 7.13.64, 7.13e.174, 7.13e.187) that remind Scandinavian sword belts mountings of Group 5 of belt mount (Carnap-Bornheim/Ilkjær 1996, 308, 309, 311, fig. 210; 215). The Scandinavian specimens were fixed on both sides of the scabbard and were arranged, apart from ornamentation, to prevent the sliding of the belt. Ne-

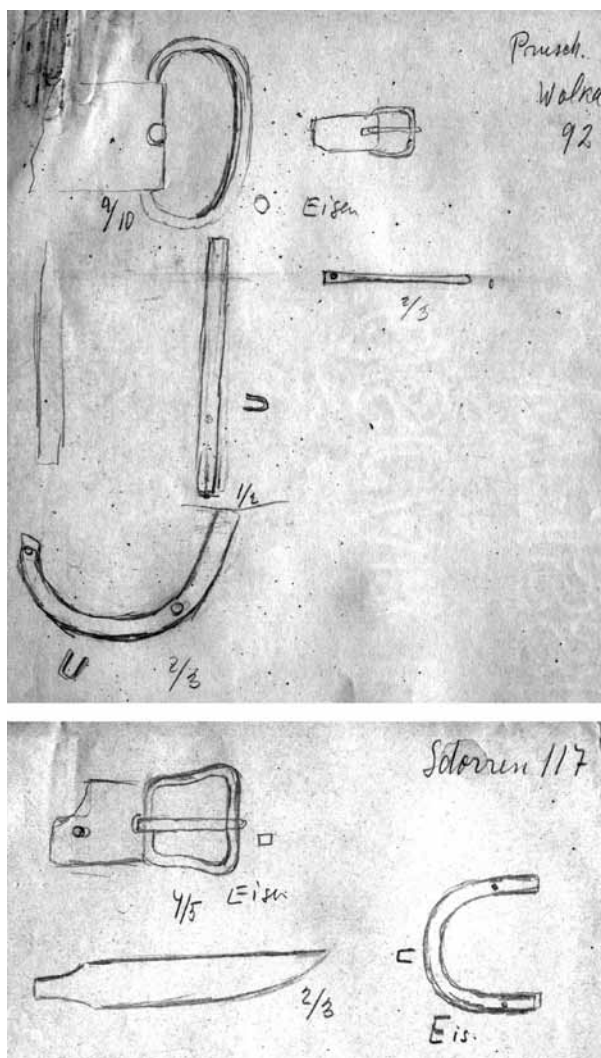


Fig. 7. Chapes of the Olsztyn group. 1 – Wólka Prusinowska, Grave 92 (Jakobson's heritage, after Bitner-Wróblewska et al. 2011); 2 – Zdory, Grave 117 (Jakobson's heritage, after Bitner-Wróblewska et al. 2011).

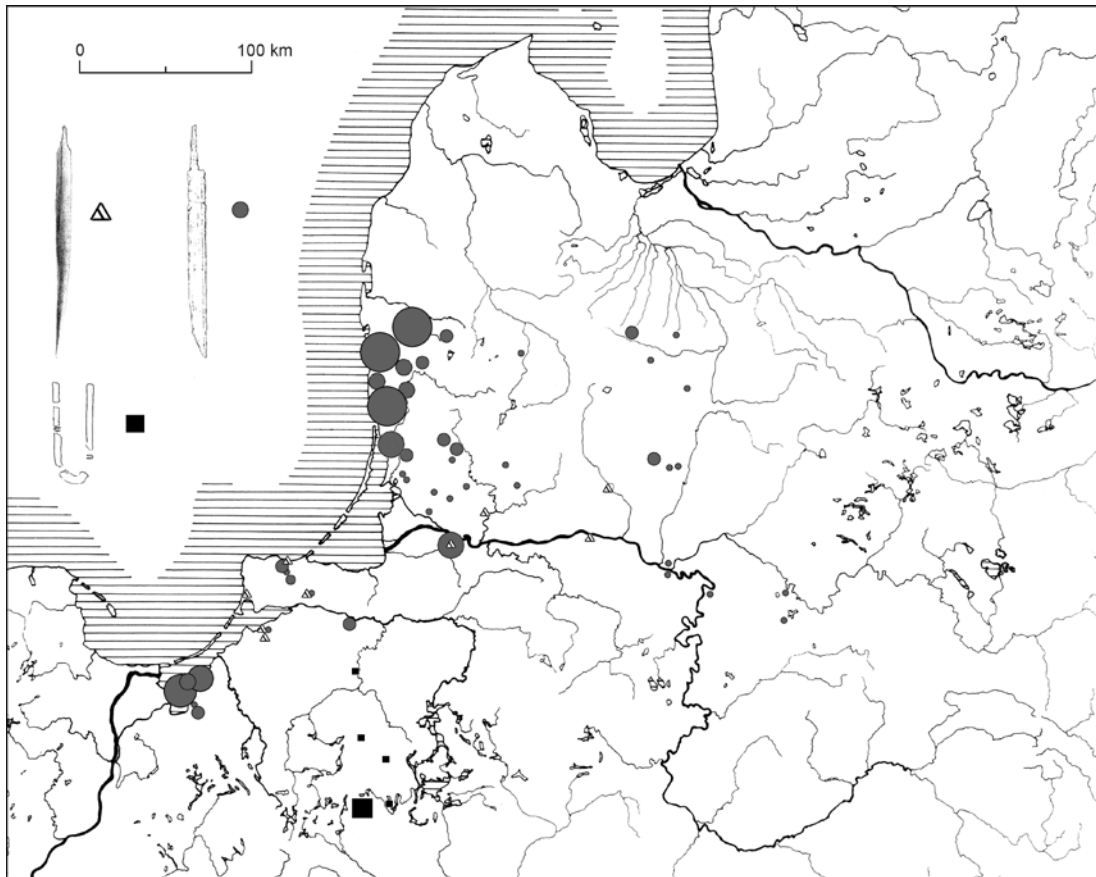


Fig. 8. Distribution of the Balt type seaxes. Triangles – early forms, circles – developed forms, squares – sole chapes (after Kazakavičius 1988; Kontny 2013a; List 2).

vertheless such identification seems not to be true for the Bogaczewo culture: the documentation here is vague but it is clear that they were found singly, not in pairs like in Scandinavia. Therefore it seems more reasonable to link them with horse harness fittings or belt mountings.

Theoretically there is another possibility to trace a baldric employed to suspend a sword. One may assume the use of the sword in case of two belt buckles found in a single interment: one should belong to the waist belt and another to the balteus. However the solution is not so simple and universal. It is known from Scandinavian bog sites that warriors sometimes used two waist belts of which the upper one was more emblematic, i.e. supplemented with ornamental fittings and equipped with a knife, fire-steel, fire-stone etc. whereas the lower was much simpler and lacking 'spectacular' elements – sometimes only iron awl shaped sharpeners or wooden toothpicks were attached to it (Ilkjær 1993, 373, 374). Here one should be aware of the fact that documentation and the digging technique of the older excavations is far from being precise what could have 'create' inactual grave sets and may lead to false conclusions, e.g. mixed interments with two buckles. Anyhow there is a possibility to make tracing a balteus buckle more trustful. It refers to big rectangular belt buckles with a double tongue. In the Przeworsk culture they served as a waist belt mounting and concurrently a sign of the highly ranked warriors¹⁹ almost always appearing together with Roman swords and second, smaller buckle, identified as a balteus element (Madyda-Legutko 1990). Appearance of such buckles in the Bogaczewo culture was treated as the Przeworsk culture influence (Nowakowski 1994b, 374). As the Przeworsk culture armament model influenced the Bogaczewo culture to much higher extent than it refers to Scandinavia (Kontny 2007a) it is sensible to engage the Przeworsk culture-oriented model here. It has occurred lately that double tongue buckles were much more popular in the West Balt circle, namely the Bogaczewo culture that it has been thought (Andrzejowski/Madyda-Legutko 2012; 2013). It seems quite possible to me that two buckles in a grave of the West

¹⁹ They had to be impressive as their height and at the same the width of the belt sometimes exceeded 10 cm. To a certain extent we may treat them as a cover of abdomen.

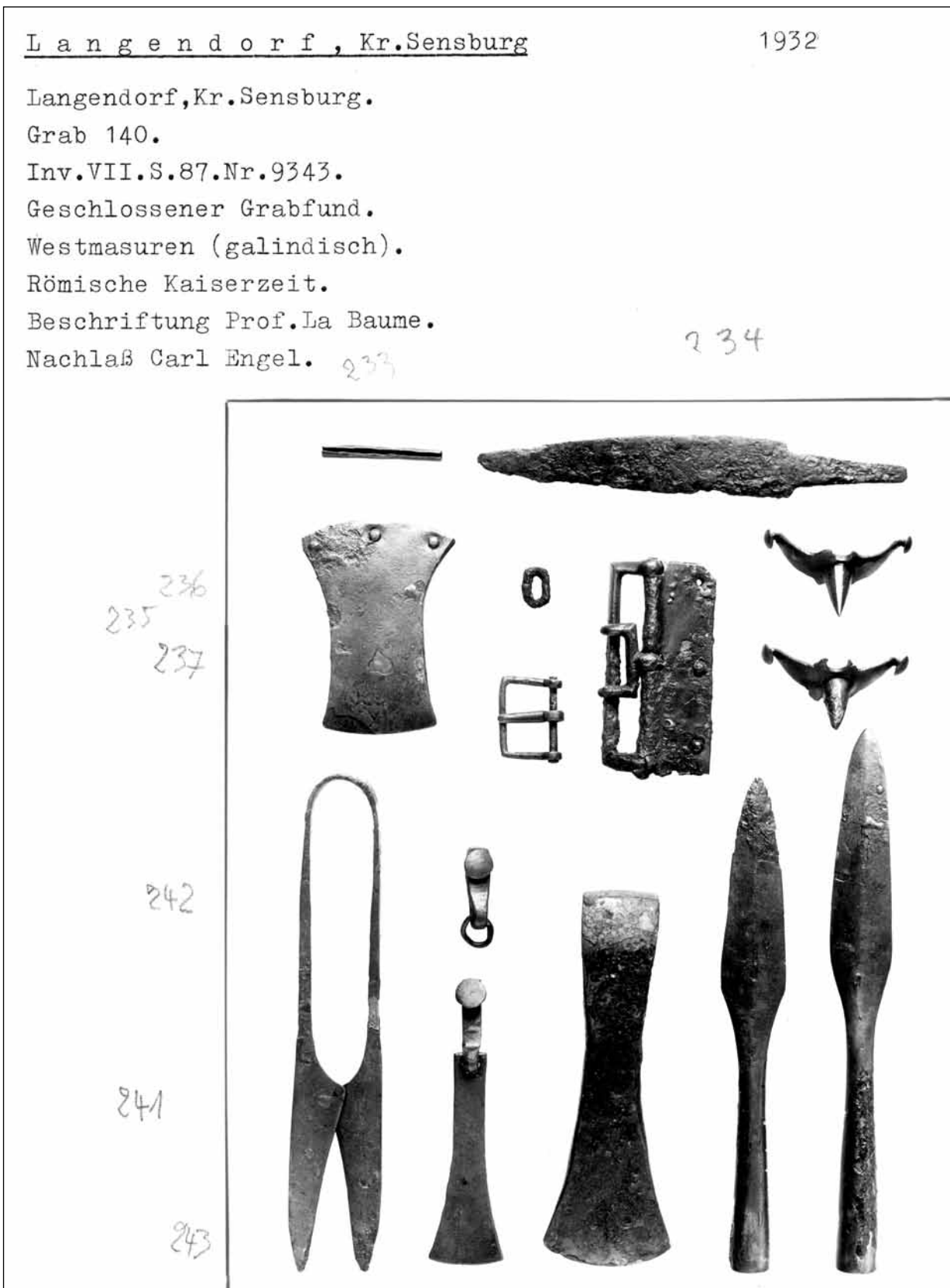


Fig. 9. Example of the Bogaczewo culture weapon-grave furnished with two belt buckles incl. one with double tongue. Dłużec I, Grave 140 (Engel's heritage, after Grenz's heritage; courtesy of Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schloß Gottorf in Schleswig).

Balt circle (one of them with double tongue) mean the use of the sword (Fig. 9; List 3), although equally frequent were graves in which buckles with fork-shaped or H-shaped were the only item of that function.

Concluding it seems to me that W. Nowakowski's idea of almost complete shortage of swords among the Balts seems too pessimistic. Findings of sword scabbards or baltei elements in graves as well as swords from bog sites prove rather that swords were treated in another way than in the neighboring Przeworsk culture and Scandinavian area where scabbards alone were quite rare in grave furnishing (*Kontny 2003b*, 129, graph 4). It could be the matter of swords' bigger value than in the rest of Barbaricum and intention to economize on them resulting from that fact. One may guess that the Balts introduced pars-pro-toto principle so the scabbard symbolized the sword while the original was left for the family of the dead warrior, creating additionally a mystic link between the dead and his relatives; it is also possible that relatives of the dead person tried to 'economize' on costly sword, e.g. putting organic imitation of a sword into a scabbard (for further interpretations and literature see *Kontny 2002*, 106; *2003b*, 120). Not going into far-fetched speculations the point is that Balts did not exclude swords from their armament and most probably further excavations at bog finds would enhance this statement.

LIST 1

Swords and scabbards elements in the West Balt circle from the Roman and Early Migration Period.
A – cultural attribution; B – sword or scabbard elements; C – further grave furnishing; D – chronology;
E – bibliography.

Hrustal'noe, raj. Zelenogradsk (ex-Wiekau, Kr. Fischhausen), Grave 34

- A. The Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture,
- B. Double-edged sword, iron with wooden handle, length 52.5 cm, width 5 cm, originally longer, broken and sharpened in aim to adjust for fighting; originally probably of Type Lauriacum-Hromówka or Woerden-Bjärs after *M. Biborski* and *J. Ilkjær (2006a, 200–217)*; scabbard of wood and leather,
- C. Two heads of the shafted weapon, iron; socketed axe, iron, curved in profile; shield boss, iron, Type 7a after *M. Jahn (1916)*; two spurs, bronze, Subgroup E3 after *J. Ginalski (1991)*; bridle bit with bronze chain reins and fittings of the headgear straps of silvered bronze; knife, iron; brooches, silvered bronze, Type 129 and 130 after *O. Almgren (1923)*; enamelled plate; belt buckle, Group G after *R. Madyda-Legutko (1986)*; strap end (?), iron, Type 9 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (2011)*,
- D. B₂/C₁–C_{1a'}
- E. *Gaerte 1929*, fig. 152; 159: e; *Heydeck 1909a*, 218, 219, pl. XXXVIII: a–g; *La Baume 1944*, 8, fig. 10; *Nowakowski 1994a*, 384; *1996b*, pl. 50; 51; *2007*, 85, 91.

Fedotovo, raj. Pravdinsk (ex-Plauen, Kr. Wehlau), stray find (Fig. 2: 4)

- A. The Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture,
- B. Double-edged sword, iron, most probably made of broken and extremely shortened blade, thong bent, blade's length 26 cm,
- C. –
- D. Roman Period (B)?
- E. *Bezzenberger 1900*, 124; *Jankuhn's heritage*; *Nowakowski 2007*, 91, fig. 1: 1; 2: 5.

Grunajki, Banie Mazurskie comm. (ex-Gruneyken, Kr. Darkehmen), loose find

- A. The Bogaczewo culture; although it was wrongly attributed to the Sudovian culture (*Engel/Iwanicki/Rzeszotarska-Nowakiewicz 2006*) its chronology precedes the appearance of the Sudovian culture in Goldapa group (see *Szymański 2013*, 69, 70),
- B. Double-edged sword, iron, with a circular plate at the end of the thong, Type II after *M. Biborski (1978)* or Type Mainz, Variant Haltern-Camulodunum after *Ch. Miks (2007a)*, length 51.5 cm, width 3.5 cm,
- C. –
- D. B_{1–2(a)'}
- E. *Engel/Iwanicki/Rzeszotarska-Nowakiewicz 2006*, pl. III: 7; *Gaerte 1929*, fig. 197: b; *Jahn 1916*, 128; *Jahn's heritage*; *Jankuhn's heritage*; *Miks 2007a*, tab. 1; *2007b*, 599; *Nowakowski 1994a*, 384, fig. 2: 5; *2007*, 85; *2013*, 53, 213, pl. 72: 3; *Stadie 1919*, 415, fig. 187.

Koczek II, Świętajno comm. (ex-Koczek, Kr. Sensburg), Grave 122

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
- B. Single-edged sword, iron, Type D/2 after *M. Biborski (1978)*, bent three times, length 57 cm, width 4.5 cm,
- C. Head of the shafted weapon, iron, Type XIII after *P. Kaczanowski (1995)*; knife, iron, length 25.2 cm; belt buckle Type G36 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (1986)*; fibula, bronze, Type 133 after *O. Almgren (1923)*; rivet; whetstone; clay pot,
- D. B_{2c}-B₂/C₁,
- E. *Jahn's heritage*; *Jankuhn's heritage*; *Juga/Ots/Szymański 2003*, 216, fig. 2623: 1, 4; *Nowakowski 2001b*, 160–162, fig. 1; 2007, 87, 88, fig. 3; 2013, 66, 191, 192, 212, 208, 209, pl. 108: 2–5; 109: 1–4; *Schmiedehelm's heritage* 7.12.63a–64, 7.13e.174, 7.13e.187, 188.

Łażne, Świętajno comm. (ex-Haasznen, Kr. Oletzko), Grave 59

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
- B. Dagger, iron, made probably of shortened double-edged sword Type II after *M. Biborski (1978)*, length 25 cm, width 3.5 cm; 2 C-shaped scabbard clasps,
- C. Belt buckle, probably Type D1 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (1986)*; bar-shaped strike-a-light; flint fragment; 2 clay pots,
- D. B_{2(a)'}
- E. *Gaerte 1929*, fig. 197: a; *Nowakowski 1994a*, 384; 2007, 91; *Schmiedehelm's heritage* 7.12.32, 7.13.21, 7.13e.43, 7.13e.119.

Mojtyny, Piecki comm. (ex-Moythienen, Kr. Sensburg), Grave 27

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
- B. Single-edged sword, iron, Type C/1 after *M. Biborski (1978)*, length 53 cm, width 4.5 cm,
- C. 2 spurs, iron, Subgroup E2/3 after *J. Ginalski (1991)*; fibula, bronze, Type 80 after *O. Almgren (1923)*; clay pot,
- D. B_{2a/b'}
- E. *Gaerte 1929*, fig. 150; *Hollack/Peiser 1904*, 47, 48, pl. V: 27a–c; *Nowakowski 1994a*, 383, fig. 2: 2; 2007, 85; *Prussia-Museum Foto-Archiv PM-F 2572*.

Onufryjewo, Ruciane-Nida comm. (ex-Onufrigowen, Kr. Sensburg), Grave 220

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
- B. Single-edged sword (according to *Schmiedehelm's heritage*: *Schwert* or *langes skramasaxartiges Messer*; acc. to *Prussia Archiv: Schwert*) Type C or D (?) after *M. Biborski (1978)*,
- C. Head of the shafted weapon with short socket and pronounced midrib, close to Type *Kaczanowski XVII (?)*; shield grip; pin, iron, Type C after *B. Beckmann (1969)*; three amber beads (one in shape figure-of-eight); pendant,
- D. C_{1a'}
- E. *Prussia-Archiv PM-A 1162/1.147*; *Prussia-Museum inv. no. PM VII.77.9291*; *Schmiedehelm's heritage* 7.12.103a, 7.13.24, 7.13b.331, 7.13e.205.

Parussnoe, raj. Zelenogradsk (ex-Gaffken, Kr. Fischhausen), stray find? (Fig. 2: 3)

- A. The Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture,
- B. Double-edged sword, iron, Type V (?) after *M. Biborski (1978)*, length 75–80 cm, width less than 5 cm,
- C. –
- D. B_{2b}-C_{1a'}
- E. *Gaerte 1929*, fig. 129: c; *Grenz's heritage*; *Nowakowski 1994a*, fig. 2: 8; 2007, 89, fig. 1: 7; 2: 4; *Prussia-Museum inv. no. III.311.2176*; *Schmiedehelm's heritage* VM 9.21.40; according to *Schmiedehelm's heritage* files there were the other finds enumerated on the metrice, i.e. shield boss Type 7a after *M. Jahn (1916)*; bronze bracelet, bridle bit, three brooches, belt buckle and belt link, spur, etc. however most probably they create a collection of stray finds (*wohl kein geschloss. Fund*); for the identification of the above shield boss as a stray find see *Jankuhn's files*.

Sibirskoe, raj. Pollesk (ex-Moritten, Kr. Labiau), skeleton grave (Fig. 2: 1, 5)

- A. The Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture,
- B. Single-edged sword, iron, Type C/1 (so far wrongly as Type B/1, see *Nowakowski 2007*, 87) after *M. Biborski (1978)*, length in state of preservation 45.5 cm, reconstructed length 50 cm, width 5 cm (in the primal publication handle has been falsely reconstructed, see *M. Jahn's* opinion in his files); lenticular fitting, bronze, element of a handle? (in opinion of *M. Jahn*, expressed on the metrice from his files),

- C. Two heads of the shafted weapon; strike-a-light, iron, bar shaped, Type IA2a after *M. Jonakowski (1996)*; two brooches – of Type 60 and 77 after *O. Almgren (1923)*; belt fitting, bronze, box shaped,
- D. B_{2a'}
- E. *Bezzemberger 1897*, 7, fig. 11; *Grenz's heritage*; *Jahn's heritage*; *Jankuhn's heritage*; *Nowakowski 1994a*, 382, fig. 2: 1; *1996b*, pl. 90: 1–6; *2007*, 87, fig. 2: 1; *Schmiedehelm's heritage* 7.25.

Skomack Wielki, Stare Juchy comm. (ex-Skomatzko, Kr. Lyck), Grave 23 (Fig. 2: 2)

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
- B. Double-edged sword, iron, with a circular plate covered with copper at the end of the thong, close to Type II/2 after *M. Biborski (1978)* or Group VI after *M. Biborski (1994)* or Type Pompeja after *P. Kaczanowski (1992)* of 'classical' Variant after *Ch. Miks (2007a)*, 112, 113, length 47 cm, width 3.7 cm,
- C. 2 spurs, iron, Subgroup C1 after *J. Ginalska (1991)*; 2 bridle bits, one of which belongs to Type 1B3, 2B after *M. Ørsnes (1993)*; knife; scissors; 2 belt buckles, iron; 2 hemispherical silver beads with bronze loops; clay pot,
- D. B_{1-2a'}
- E. *Grenz's heritage*; *Kotzan 1936*, 90, 97, 98; *La Baume 1941*, 54, fig. 6: c–d; *Nowakowski 1994a*, 384, 385, fig. 2: 4; *2001a*, 97, 98, fig. 10; *2007*, 88, fig. 2: 2, 3; *Prussia-Museum Archiv PM–A 802/1–115, 802/3–049*; *Prussia-Sammlung inv. no. VIII.84.521*.

Szurpiły, Jeleniewo comm., site 4 ('Targowisko'), stray find (Fig. 4: 4)

- A. The Bogaczewo culture?/the Sudovian culture?
- B. Single-edged sword, iron, Type D/2 after *M. Biborski (1978)*, length in state of preservation 13 cm, width 6 cm, survived iron fittings of a handle's base with three rivets,
- C. –
- D. B_{2'}
- E. *Nowakowski 2007*, 91; *Sawicka 2007*, 171, fig. 2.

Szwajcaria, Suwałki comm. (nowadays in the administrative boundaries of Suwałki), Barrow 2, Grave 1 (Fig. 2: 6)

- A. The Sudovian culture,
- B. Double-edged sword, iron, with a small bone pommel, Type Folkeslunda-Zaspy, Subtype 1 after *M. Biborski and J. Ilkjær (2006a)* or Type Lauriacum-Hromówka, Variant Hromówka after *Ch. Miks (2007a)*; scabbard made of oak and leather, equipped with iron scabbard slide close to Type Kaczanowski VII (*Kaczanowski 1992*),
- C. Two bronze (covered with silver) strap connectors used to fasten the sword; balteus fittings: one silver in shape of a *Cervidae* animal (general shape of a deer, antlers of an elk), three circular plates of bronze fitted with silver and gilded impressed foil, one bronze silvered in shape of miniature shield grip, one bronze silvered rectangular fitting with a washer, one bronze silvered crescent; silver balteus buckle Type D17 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (1986)*; iron axe with symmetrical edge, small; iron head of a shafted weapon Type Ilkjær 15/Vennolum after *J. Ilkjær (1990)*, ornamented with a zig-zag engraved pattern; iron head of a shafted weapon Type XV after *P. Kaczanowski (1995)*, damascened with silver solar, lunar and S-shaped motives and socket's rivet decorated with silver notched wire; iron shield boss Type 8 after *M. Jahn (1916)*/Type D after *N. Zieling (1989)*; two iron spurs Type Szwajcaria after *U. Giesler (1978)* iron bridle bit Type 1C1, 2B after *M. Ørsnes (1993)*, with two pairs of ferrules, i.e. rein and cheek-piece ones; headgear fitted with two bronze rhomboid connectors covered with silver impressed foil as well as two iron horse equipment buckles close to Type E14 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (1986)*; iron bridle bit Type 1C1, 2C after *M. Ørsnes (1993)* headgear of twisted leather straps with bronze fittings: three rosette-like four-armed connectors, two T-shaped connectors, rectangular strap mounts and several nails with hemispherical heads of the headpiece, noseband, browband and central strap, ornamental fitting of the central strap with motives of the human head and a scavenger bird head as well as two iron horse equipment buckles Type E14 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (1986)*; fragment of an iron knife; bronze belt buckle close to Type D28 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (1986)*; iron belt buckle close to Type D30 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (1986)*; three bronze silvered strap ends close to Type 6.1 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (2011)*; bronze strap end close to Type 2.6 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (2011)*; two bronze brooches fitted with notched silver wire, Type 167 after *O. Almgren (1923)*; two bronze tweezers; antler comb with bronze rivets Type II after *S. Thomas 1960*; iron scissors, saddle remains; remnants of a leather bucket,
- D. C_{1b'}
- E. *Antoniewicz/Kaczyński/Okulicz 1958*, 23–31, pl. I–IX; *Biborski/Ilkjær 2006b*, 388; *Jaskanis 2013*, 76–80, pl. CXVII–CXXV; *Kontny 2013b*; *2016*; *Nowakowski 1994a*, 385, fig. 2: 10; *2007*, 86; *Miks 2007b*, 739, pl. 113: A717; nr. inw. PMA/IV/4498.

Szwajcaria, Suwałki comm. (nowadays in the administrative boundaries of Suwałki), Barrow 25, Grave 2

- A. The Sudovian culture,
- B. Double-edged sword, iron, pattern-welded, Type XI after *M. Biborski (1978)*/Type Ejsbøl-Sarry, Subtype 3 after *M. Biborski and J. Ilkjær (2006a)*/Type Illerup-Wyhl after *Ch. Miks (2007a)* with survived fragments scabbard: elements of

- oak chips and three C-shaped clasps of iron, length 94.5 cm, width 5.7 cm, length of the thong 11.9 cm; balteus fitting, circular with a shaft, close to Type II after *M. Biborski (1997)*, bronze, decorated with concentric zones of white and blue enamel, remains of a leather strap visible from the bottom, diameter 2 cm,
- C. Scissors, iron; brooch, silver, decorated with a knob (Germ. *Bügelknopffibel*) close to Type Leipferdingen, Variant Lichtenberg after *A. Rau (2010, 190)*; two amber beads; bronze lumps,
- D. C₃-D_{1v},
- E. *Antoniewicz 1961, 8–10, fig. 7–8; pl. V; 1962, 186–193, fig. 1; 3; Madyda-Legutko 1992, 110, pl. XII: 5; Biborski/Ilkjær 2006b, 388, 389; Bitner-Wróblewska/Stawiarska 2009, 312, 313, 341, fig. 10; 12: g, h; Jaskanis 2013, 93, 94, pl. CLXII; Miks 2007b, 739, pl. 129: A718; Nowakowski 1985, 83, fig. 8; 1994a, 385, fig. 2: 9; 1998, 109, 110, fig. 12, pl. IV: 4; 2007, 86; State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. PMA/IV/4998.*

Wólka, Kętrzyn comm. (ex-Wolka-See bei Wolka, Kr. Rastenburg), bog site, stray find 1

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
- B. Double-edged sword, iron, fragment, Type Lauriacum-Hromówka after *Ch. Miks (2007a)*, length in state of preservation 62.4 cm, width 5.2 cm, length of the thong 12 cm, pattern welded,
- C. –
- D. C₁-C_{2v},
- E. *Das Antiquarium 1848, 411; Jahn's heritage; Jankuhn's heritage; Kontny 2015b, 318, fig. 1: 1; Miks 2007b, 763, pl. 116; Nowakowski 2001a, 116, pl. IX: 2; 2013, 96, 213, 214, pl. 175: 3; Raddatz 1993, 131, fig. 1: 4; W. Nowakowski (2013, 96) apportioned the sword to Type Snipstad after M. Biborski and J. Ilkjær (2006a).*

Wólka, Kętrzyn comm. (ex-Wolka-See bei Wolka, Kr. Rastenburg), bog site, stray find 2

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
- B. Double-edged sword, iron, fragment, Type Straubing-Nydam after *Ch. Miks (2007a)*, or Type Lachmirowice-Apa (?) after *M. Biborski and J. Ilkjær (2006a)*, length in state of preservation 48 cm, width 4 cm, length of the thong 5 cm, pattern welded,
- C. –
- D. B_{2b}-C_{1v},
- E. *Das Antiquarium 1848, 411; Jahn's heritage; Jankuhn's heritage; Kontny 2015b, 318, 319, fig. 1: 2; Miks 2007b, 763, pl. 87; Nowakowski 2001a, 116, pl. IX: 1; 2013, 95, 213, 214, pl. 175: 2; Raddatz 1993, 131, fig. 1: 2; W. Nowakowski (2013, 95) apportioned the sword to Type Ejsbøl-Sarry after M. Biborski and J. Ilkjær (2006a).*

Wólka, Kętrzyn comm. (ex-Wolka-See bei Wolka, Kr. Rastenburg), bog site, stray find 3

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
- B. Double-edged sword, iron, fragment, Type Straubing-Nydam after *Ch. Miks (2007a)*, or Type Lachmirowice-Apa (?) after *M. Biborski and J. Ilkjær (2006a)*, length in state of preservation 40.8 cm, width 4.5 cm, length of the thong 4.5 cm,
- C. –
- D. B_{2b}-C_{1v},
- E. *Das Antiquarium 1848, 411; Jahn's heritage; Jankuhn's heritage; Kontny 2015b, 319, fig. 1: 3; Miks 2007b, 763, pl. 87; Nowakowski 2001a, 116; 2013, 95, 213, 214, pl. 175: 1; Raddatz 1993, 131, fig. 1: 1.*

Wólka, Kętrzyn comm. (ex-Wolka-See bei Wolka, Kr. Rastenburg), bog site, stray find 4

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
- B. Double-edged sword, iron, fragment, Type Lauriacum-Hromówka (?) after *Ch. Miks (2007a)*, length in state of preservation 26 cm, width 5.5 cm, length of the thong 10.6 cm,
- C. –
- D. C₁-C₂,
- E. *Das Antiquarium 1848, 411; Kontny 2015b, 319, fig. 1: 4; Miks 2007b, 763, pl. 116; Nowakowski 2001a, 116; 2013, 96, 213, 214, pl. 174: 3; Raddatz 1993, 131, fig. 1: 3; Jahn's heritage; Jankuhn's heritage; W. Nowakowski (2013, 95) apportioned the sword to Type Folkeslunda-Zaspy after M. Biborski and J. Ilkjær (2006a).*

Wólka, Kętrzyn comm. (ex-Wolka-See bei Wolka, Kr. Rastenburg), bog site, stray find 5

- A. ?
- B. Sword, fragment,
- C. –
- D. ?
- E. *Das Antiquarium 1848*, 411; *Kontny 2015b*, 319; *Nowakowski 2001a*, 116; *Raddatz 1993*, 131.

Wólka, Kętrzyn comm. (ex-Wolka-See bei Wolka, Kr. Rastenburg), bog site, stray find 6

- A. ?
- B. Sword, fragment,
- C. –
- D. ?
- E. *Das Antiquarium 1848*, 411; *Kontny 2015b*, 319; *Nowakowski 2001a*, 116; *Raddatz 1993*, 131.

LIST 2

Small elements of swords, scabbards and baltei in the West Balt circle from the Roman and Early Migration Period. A – Cultural attribution, B – sword, scabbard and baltei elements, C – further grave furnishing, D – chronology, E – bibliography.

Âroslavskoe, raj. Zelenogradsk (ex-Schlakalken, Kr. Fischhausen), Grave 16

- A. The Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture,
- B. Handle fitting of a single-edged sword Type D after *M. Biborski (1978)*, iron, with traces of two rivets (originally described as *Eisenbeschlag (...) mit Spuren von 2 Nietten*); C-shaped scabbard clasp, fragment,
- C. Iron knife; iron awl (?); iron awl-shaped item; fragment of raw amber,
- D. B₂'
- E. *Jankuhn 1939*, 253, fig. 9.

Babięta I, Piecki comm. (ex-Babienten, Kr. Sensburg), Grave 305a (Fig. 5)

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
- B. Balteus fitting (?), circular, bronze, decorated with a row of circular holes along the edge, originally enamelled, diameter 3.8 cm,
- C. Brooch, Type 129 after *O. Almgren (1923)*,
- D. B₂/C₁–C_{1a}'
- E. *Prussia-Museum Inventory Books 7.068*; *Prussia-Archiv PM–A 096/1.244*; *Prussia-Museum inv. no. PM VII.74.9265*; *Voigtmann's heritage*; there are discrepancies in data concerning grave furnishing: *Voigtmann's heritage* include a sketch of the brooch Type Almgren 129 whereas in *Prussia-Museum Inventory Books* one may find a contour of the brooch Almgren 130, attributed to Grave 305, not 305a (however it does not change the chronology; the former drawing seems to be more trustful); in *Schmiedehelm's heritage (7.13.17–18, 7.13.83)* there is an information enlisting different grave sets than mentioned above both in case of Grave 305 (strap-end, curved knife, awl and strike-a-light) and Grave 305a (brooch, strike-a-light).

Kosewo, Mrągowo comm. (ex-Kossewen III, Kr. Sensburg), stray find

- A. The Olsztyn group,
- B. U-shaped chape of trough-shaped iron, single rivets in terminals of both arms, width 6.2 cm,
- C. –
- D. E,
- E. *Gładki/Stokłosa 2015*, 123, fig. 10: 3.

Kotelnikovo, raj. Zelenogradsk (ex-Warengen, Kr. Fischhausen), Grave 4 (Fig. 4: 5)²⁰

- A. The Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture,
- B. Chape, iron, made of trough in shape of a segment of a circle, supplemented with the back crescent plate, probably originally winged (Germ. *Flügelortband*), height 5.5 cm, width 7.5 cm,
- C. Small shield grip (?) iron; numerous edge fittings, trough shaped, iron, one of them straight and ornamented, probably from shield's edge (clearance among the edges 0.3 cm); nail with long bent shaft, iron, probably from shield boss; knife, iron; strap end, iron, broken; tendril brooch with ring decoration, bronze; pendant (germ. *Schellenberlock*); bead, glass; comb, antler (?), fragment; fragments of iron,
- D. C₂,
- E. *Jankuhn's heritage*; Peiser 1919b, 322; Prussia-Sammlung inv. no. V.486.9026.

Miętkie I, Dźwierzuty comm. (ex-Mingfen, Kr. Ortelsburg), Grave 2 (Fig. 6: 1)

- A. The Olsztyn group,
- B. Six fragments of the U-shaped chape or/and knife sheath of trough-shaped iron, length 2.2–8.1 cm; W. Nowakowski (2013, 75) identified them as shield edge fittings what seems to be improbable because of the curvature of at least one of them),
- C. Belt buckle fragments, bronze, iron, Type Madyda-Legutko E14 (*Madyda-Legutko 1986*); tweezers, iron; knife, fragment, iron; ring, iron; flint flakes,
- D. E,
- E. *Jankuhn's heritage* (Nowakowski 2013, 75, pl. 131: 1–5); Prussia-Museum Inventory Books 8.113 (*Bitner-Wróblewska et al. 2008*, pl. CL).

Miętkie I, Dźwierzuty comm. (ex-Mingfen, Kr. Ortelsburg), Grave 45 (Fig. 6: 2)

- A. The Olsztyn group,
- B. U-shaped chape of trough-shaped iron, rivet-hole in one of the arms, width 7.2 cm,
- C. Disc brooch, bronze, cross-shaped; hook ring, bronze; tongue of the penannular brooch (?), iron,
- D. E_{2-3'}
- E. *Bitner-Wróblewska et al. 2008*, pl. CLVI; *Jakobson's heritage* (*Bitner-Wróblewska et al. 2011*); *Jankuhn's heritage* (Nowakowski 2013, 76, pl. 133: 1–4); Prussia-Museum Inventory Books 8.122.

Miętkie I, Dźwierzuty comm. (ex-Mingfen, Kr. Ortelsburg), stray find? (Fig. 6: 3)

- A. The Olsztyn group,
- B. U-shaped chape of trough-shaped iron, width 6.7 cm,
- C. –
- D. E,
- E. *Jakobson's heritage* (*Bitner-Wróblewska et al. 2011*); *Jankuhn's heritage*; Nowakowski 2013, 76, 215, pl. 133: 4.

Nowy Zyzdrój, Piecki comm. (ex-Neusysdroy, Kr. Sensburg), Grave 148 (Fig. 3)

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
- B. Scabbard/sheath fittings, iron, incl. one C-shaped and two with overlapping terminals (one smaller),
- C. Head of the shafted weapon Type XIV (?) after P. Kaczanowski (1995); knife (acc. to M. Schmiedehelm: „C” – *Typ*); belt fitting, iron, rectangular; pin, iron; two clay pots,
- D. B_{2b}–C_{1(a?)}
- E. Prussia-Archiv PM–A 1272/1.254; Schmiedehelm's heritage 7.18.11a, 7.25.10.54–55.

Onufryjewo, Ruciane-Nida comm. (ex-Onufrigowen, Kr. Sensburg), Grave 275 (Fig. 4: 1)

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
- B. Scabbard's throat mount, bronze, rectangular, length 13.2 cm, with three rivets and hooked lobe (acc. to Schmiedehelm's heritage is was a belt fitting),
- C. Head of the shafted weapon, iron, Type XVII after P. Kaczanowski (1995); shield boss Type 7 after M. Jahn (1916); knife, iron; tendril brooch, bronze; pin, iron, Type B after B. Beckmann (1969); two clay vessels,

²⁰ There is a discrepancy in grave numbers; another grave with that number but from earlier excavations is also known (*Heydeck 1909b*, 227; Nowakowski 1996b, tab. IX: a–b; XVI: b).

- D. B₂/C₁–C_{1a'}
- E. *Grenz's heritage; Jankuhn's heritage; Nowakowski 2013, 112, 122, 144, 145, 211, 217, 218, pl. 213; Prussia-Museum inv. no. PM VII.77.9291; Schmiedehelm's heritage 7.12.105, 7.13d.944, 7.13d.944a, 7.13e.205.*

Pangesai-Pleškučiai, raj. Klaipėda (ex-Pangessen, Kr. Memel), stray find

- A. The West Lithuanian group,
- B. Plaque, silvered bronze with red enamel, circular,
- C. –
- D. Younger or Late Roman Period,
- E. *Bezenberger 1892, 221; Madyda-Legutko 1992, 110; Michelbertas 2001, 36; Nowakowski 1985, 76; Przybyła 2010, fig. 2.*

Parkoszewo, Bartoszyce comm. (ex-Perkau, Kr. Bartenstein), stray find (?)

- A. The Sambian-Natanagian culture/the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture,
- B. U-shaped chape, trough-shaped, iron, length 15.5 cm, inner distance between the arms 2 cm, inner distance among the edges 0.4 cm; trough-shaped straight fitting of the scabbard's edge, iron, length 17.5 cm, inner distance among the edges 0.9–1.2 cm,
- C. –
- D. E,
- E. *Jankuhn's heritage; Nowakowski 2013, 52, pl. 70: 5.*

Samławki, Reszel comm., Site 8 (ex-Loszeinen, site excavated by Johannes Heydeck?), stray find

- A. The Olsztyn group,
- B. U-shaped chape of trough-shaped iron,
- C. –
- D. E,
- E. Unpublished materials from the excavations carried out by the DAJNA Foundation (courtesy of Agnieszka Jaremek M.A. and Marcin Gładki M.A.).

Skomack Wielki, Stare Juchy comm. (ex-Skomatzko, Kr. Lyck), Grave 26

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
- B. Chape, fragment,
- C. Bead, glass, white; bracelet, fragment, ornamented; pigment? (*Rotel*); clay vessel,
- D. The Roman Period,
- E. *Kotzan 1936, 90.*

Wólka Prusinowska, Piecki comm. (ex-Pruschinowen Wolka, Kr. Sensburg), Grave 92 (Fig. 7: 1)

- A. The Olsztyn group,
- B. U-shaped chape of trough-shaped iron, rivet-holes singly in both arms width ca 8 cm; trough-shaped straight fitting of the scabbard's edge, iron, length ca 16 cm; horizontal fitting of the chape, fragment with a rivet-hole in the terminal,
- C. Belt buckle, iron close to Type H3 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (1986)*/Type III.2 after *E. Butėnas (1999)*; belt buckle, iron, Type IV.3 after *E. Butėnas (1999)*,
- D. E,
- E. *Jakobson's files (Bitner-Wróblewska et al. 2011).*

Zdory, Pisz comm. (ex-Sdorren, Kr. Johannsburg), Grave 117 (Fig. 7: 2)

- A. The Olsztyn group,
- B. U-shaped chape (?) of trough-shaped iron, rivet-hole in one of the arms,
- C. Knife; belt buckle, iron, Type IV.4 after *E. Butėnas (1999)*,
- D. E,
- E. *Jakobson's files (Bitner-Wróblewska et al. 2011).*

LIST 3

Weapon graves with at least two belt buckles, incl. double-tongue ones in the Bogaczewo culture and Sudovian culture. A – Cultural attribution, B – belt buckles, C – further grave furnishing, D – chronology, E – bibliography.

Babięta I, Piecki comm. (ex-Babienten, Kr. Sensburg), Grave 53

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
- B. Belt buckle, iron, Type G37 after R. Madyda-Legutko (1986); belt buckle, iron, Type G after R. Madyda-Legutko (1986),
- C. Head of the shafted weapon; shield grip Type T after N. Zieling (1989); strap-end Type 9.2 after R. Madyda-Legutko (2011); belt hanger; bar-shaped strike-a-light, fragment; razor, iron; brooch, bronze, Type 96 after O. Almgren (1923); brooch fragment; rivets, iron; pin's fragment; polisher, stone; bead; bronze fragments; 2 clay pots,
- D. B₂/C₁-C_{1a'}
- E. Bitner-Wróblewska et al. 2008, pl. LXX; Prussia-Museum Inventory Books 7.020-021; Schmiedehelm's heritage 7.12.90-90a, 7.13.18-19.

**Babięta I, Piecki comm. (ex-Babienten, Kr. Sensburg),
'Rider's grave' (excavations carried out by O. Wollert in 1905 AD)**

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
- B. Belt buckle, iron, Type G37 after R. Madyda-Legutko (1986); belt buckle, iron, Type D26 after R. Madyda-Legutko (1986); belt buckle, iron, Type G16 after R. Madyda-Legutko (1986),
- C. Shield boss, iron, Type 7a after M. Jahn (1916); shield grip, iron; bridle bit, iron; knife, iron; belt bow-shaped hanger, iron; belt fitting, iron, rectangular; brooch, bronze, Type 133 after O. Almgren (1923); brooch, bronze Group V series 1 after O. Almgren (1923)/Series 1, variant 1 after T. Hauptmann (1997); clay pot,
- D. B₂/C₁-C_{1a'}
- E. Jahn's heritage; Łęga 1961, fig. 1, 4; Schmiedehelm's heritage 7.13.18, 7.13e.176, 7.25.2.4a; Wiśniewska 2005, 7, 8, pl. II; Collection of Museum of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn.

Bartlikowo 4, Ryn comm. (ex-Bartlickshof, Kr. Lötzen), Grave 20

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
- B. Double tongue belt buckle, iron; belt buckle, iron, Type G after R. Madyda-Legutko (1986),
- C. Axe, iron; knife, iron; strap end, iron, Type 9.4.2 after R. Madyda-Legutko (2011); belt fittings, iron, rectangular; pin, bronze, Variant Nikutowo (Nowakowski 1995, 43, 44); necklace fragment; iron fragment; beads; needle cover; spindle whorl; clay vessel Type IIA after P. Szymański (2000); clay vessel Type IDa after P. Szymański (2000),
- D. B₂/C₁-C_{1a'}
- E. Jahn's heritage; Kemke 1900, 112, pl. III: 13, 15; IV: 3, 6, 9, 15; Schmiedehelm's heritage 7.13.21, 7.13d.1138, 7.13e.136, 7.20d.15, 7.20d.15a, 7.21.395, 7.21.395a, 7.25.3.13.

Bartlikowo, Ryn comm. (ex-Bartlickshof, Kr. Lötzen), Grave 9a

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
- B. Double tongue belt buckle, iron; belt buckle, iron, close to Type G16 after R. Madyda-Legutko (1986),
- C. Shield nails Type F after N. Zieling (1989); spur, iron, Subgroup E2 or E5 after J. Ginalska (1991); strap end, iron, Type 5.2 after R. Madyda-Legutko (2011); iron fragments,
- D. B_{2b}-C_{1a'}
- E. Prussia-Museum inv. no. PM VII.75.9272; Schmiedehelm's heritage 7.13.21, 7.13e.88, 7.20d.11, 7.20d.11a.

Bogaczewo-Kula, Giżycko comm. (ex-Kullabrücke/Bogatzewen, Kr. Lötzen), Grave 310

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
- B. Double tongue belt buckle, iron; two belt buckles, iron, Type G after R. Madyda-Legutko (1986); belt buckle fragment, bronze; belt buckle, bronze, Type D1 after R. Madyda-Legutko (1986),
- C. Spur, iron, Subgroup G1 after J. Ginalska (1991); belt fittings, rectangular; knife; tweezers; tendril brooch, bronze, with rings of notched wire; coin-shaped pendant; glass beads; spindle whorls,
- D. C_{1a'}

- E. *Karczewski 1999, 278; Museum of Warnia and Mazury in Olsztyn inv. no. 125, cat. no. 1104; Okulicz 1958, 70, pl. IX: 5, 7; Schmiedehelm's heritage 7.13.37–39, A54.*

Dłużec I, Piecki comm. (ex-Langendorf, Kr. Sensburg), Grave 140 (Fig. 9)

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
 B. Belt buckle, iron, Type G37 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (1986)*; belt buckle, iron, Type G46 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (1986)*,
 C. Axe, iron; head of the shafted weapon, iron, Type VII.1 after *P. Kaczanowski (1995)*; head of the shafted weapon, iron, Type VII.2 after *P. Kaczanowski (1995)*; two spurs Subgroup E1 after *J. Ginalski (1991)*; strap end Type 9.4 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (2011)*; bar-shaped strike-a-light, iron, Type IIAC after *M. Jonakowski (1996)*; link, iron, oval; belt hanger; two knives, iron; scissors, iron; trough-shaped fitting,
 D. B_{2b'}
 E. *Engel's heritage (after Grenz's heritage); Prussia-Archiv PM–A 1936/2. 274; Prussia-Museum Foto-Archiv PM–F 252 A4290/b; Prussia-Museum inv. no. VII.87.9343.*

Kamień, Ruciane-Nida comm. (ex-Kamien, Kr. Sensburg), Grave 4

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
 B. Belt buckle, iron, Type G46 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (1986)*; belt buckle, iron, close to Type G1 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (1986)*,
 C. Spur, iron, Subgroup E1 after *J. Ginalski (1991)*; strap end, iron, Type 9.3 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (2011)*; belt fitting, rectangular; clay vessel Type IIA after *P. Szymański (2000)*; clay vessel Type IB or ID after *P. Szymański (2000)*,
 D. B_{2b'}–B₂/C_{1'}
 E. *Engel's heritage; Grenz's heritage; Jahn 1921, 65, 66, 117; Jahn's heritage; Prussia-Archiv PM–A 1677/1.267; Schmiedehelm's heritage 7.13.15, 7.13e.87, 7.25.7.6; Sztet 2010, 253, pl. II: 4.*

Mojtyny, Piecki comm. (ex-Moythienen, Kr. Sensburg), Grave 17

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
 B. Belt buckle, iron, Type G37 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (1986)*; belt buckle, iron, Type G16 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (1986)*; belt buckle, small,
 C. Two heads of the shafted weapon, iron, Type VII.2 after *P. Kaczanowski (1995)*; two spurs, iron, Subgroup E1 after *J. Ginalski (1991)*; bridle bit, iron; adze, iron; strap end, iron, Type 9.5 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (2011)*; belt fitting, iron; padlock, iron; padlock key, iron; brooch, iron, Group V, Series 8 after *O. Almgren (1923)*; bar-shaped strike-a-light, iron, Type IIAa after *M. Jonakowski (1996)*; tweezers, iron; three nails, iron; two iron items; 6 'beads', iron with silver; six rivets, bronze; clay pot,
 D. B_{2b'}
 E. *Czarnecka 2013; Hollack/Peiser 1904, 45, 46, pl. III; Jahn 1921, 117.*

Spychówko, Świętajno comm (ex. Klein-Puppen, Kr. Ortelsburg), Grave 12 (excavations carried out by E. Hollack in 1903 AD)

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
 B. Belt buckle, iron, close to Type G45 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (1986)*; belt buckle, bronze, Type G after *R. Madyda-Legutko (1986)*; belt buckle, small,
 C. Head of the shafted weapon, iron, Type XIV (?) after *P. Kaczanowski (1995)*; knife, iron (acc. to *Schmiedehelm's files: 'C Typ'*); strap end, Type 9.4 after *R. Madyda-Legutko (2011)*; bow-shaped belt hanger, iron; prick (Germ. *Pickel*); brooch, bronze, Group V, Series 1 after *O. Almgren (1923)*/Series 3, variant 2 after *T. Hauptmann (1997)* and more (acc. to *Schmiedehelm's heritage: und so weiter*),
 D. B₂/C₁–C_{1a'}
 E. *Prussia-Archiv PM–A 1781/1.6, s. 1–2, 4–6; Prussia-Museum inv. no. PM 573.13280; Schmiedehelm's heritage 7.12.21, 7.13.33–34, 7.13e.202, 7.20.44–44a, 7.22.40–40a.*

Spychówko, Świętajno comm (ex. Klein-Puppen, Kr. Ortelsburg), Grave 4 (from unknown excavations)

- A. The Bogaczewo culture,
 B. Double tongue belt buckle; belt buckle, Type G after *R. Madyda-Legutko (1986)*,

- C. Chair-shaped spur (acc. to Schmiedehelm's files: *Typ TK XVI: 2²¹* strap end; another strap end, narrow, fragment,
 D. B_{2b}-C_{1a'}
 E. *Schmiedehelm's heritage* 7.13.33; 7.13e.93.

Szwajcaria, Suwałki comm. (nowadays in the administrative boundaries of Suwałki), Barrow 52, Grave 1

- A. The Sudovian culture,
 B. Belt buckle, iron, Type G46 after R. Madyda-Legutko (1986); belt buckle, iron, Type E14 after R. Madyda-Legutko (1986),
 C. Shield boss, iron, Type O after N. Zieling (1989)²²; two spurs, iron, Subgroup G1 after J. Ginalski (1991); bridle bit, iron, with headgear fittings and ferrules; knife, iron; bar-shaped strike-a-light, iron, Type IA2b after M. Jonakowski (1996); brooch, silver, Type 167 after O. Almgren (1923),
 D. C_{1b'}
 E. *Antoniewicz* 1961, 14, 15, pl. VI: 6–25; *Jaskanis* 2013, 106, pl. CXCVIII–CXCIX; State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw inv. no. PMA/IV/4998: 335–345.

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²¹ See *Tischler/Kemke* 1902, pl. XVI: 2.

²² The printed drawings are definitely wrong as refers to the shape of the brim and collar.

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Naozaj výnimočné? O mečoch v západobaltskom kultúrnom okruhu

Bartosz Kontny

Súhrn

Príspevok sa venuje intenzite využívania mečov v západobaltskom kultúrnom okruhu v dobe rímskej. Ich zastúpenie medzi zbraňami tohto obdobia bolo považované za zriedkavé. Vychádzalo sa pri tom z analýzy hrobových celkov. Zohľadnili sa tiež informácie z archívov o starších nálezoch, ktoré boli sprístupnené v posledných rokoch. Výsledky bádania boli stotožňované s antickým písomným prameňom (*Germania* 45, 3). Spomínajú sa tu Estiónia, i to, že boli chudobní na železné výrobky a v bojoch používali palice (*Nowakowski 1994a; 2007*). Tieto informácie však môžeme pokladať za príklady nepravdivých informácií Rimanov o Barbaroch.

Ďalšou možnosťou je interpretácia, že máme dočinenie s anachronizmom, ktorý odzrkadľuje situáciu zo skoršieho obdobia. Vtedy bol Sambijský polostrov osídlený nositeľmi západobaltských kurhanov. Na území tejto kultúrnej skupiny boli naozaj potvrdené palice s hruškovitými hlavicami (*Kontny 2015a*).

Počet nálezov mečov však výrazne vzrástol vďaka posledným výskumom (*Nowakowski 2007*), predovšetkým objavom početných nálezov z bahennej lokality v Czaszkowe (*Nowakiewicz/Rzeszotarska-Nowakiewicz 2012*). Je potrebné tiež spomenúť starší nález mečov vo Wólce (zoznam 1), ktorý bol nedávno nanovo interpretovaný. Autor kladie nálezy aj do sepulkrálného kontextu. Archivnými prameňmi je doložený jednosečný meč z hrobu 220 v Onufryjewe. Spomínané sú tam tiež iné predmety, ktoré potvrdzujú používanie mečov, rukoväť jednosečného meča z hrobu 16 v obci Āroslavskoe (kultúra Dollkeim-Kovrovo), kovanie pošvy meča z hrobu 275 v Onufryjewie (bogaczewska kultúra), zápona v tvare „C“ do spojenia segmentov pošvy meča z hrobu 148 v Nowom Zyzdroji a poškodený *trzewik* s krídelkami z hrobu 4, na lokalite Kotelnikovo (kultúra Dollkeim-Kovrovo). Nemôžeme nespomenúť bronzový terčík zdobený prelamovaním (možno pôvodne zdobený emailom), ktorý pravdepodobne reprezentuje kovanie balteusu, t. j. ramenného pása k zaveseniu pošvy meča. Bol objavený v hrobe 305a v Babiętach. Analógie k nemu poznáme aj v baltskom regióne (zoznam 2).

Zoznam 2 reflektuje informácie o príkladoch uloženia pošiev bez mečov v hrobách olsztyńskiej skupiny z neskorej fázy obdobia sťahovania národov. Svedectvom toho sú nálezy železných nákončí pošiev v tvare písmena „U“. Nadväzujú do kontextov zdokumentovaných na príklade pošiev *spathae* zo severnej a západnej Európy v merovejskom období. Vzhľadom k chronologickým danostiam, berúc do úvahy zbrane využívané susednými kultúrnymi jednotkami patriacimi do západobaltského kultúrneho okruhu (skupina elblaska, región sambijsko-natangijski), máme pravdepodobne dočinenie s časťami pošiev baltských saxov. Musíme upozorniť, že zánik výskytu zbraní v hrobách kultúry bogaczewskej nastúpil už v mladšej dobe rímskej (*Kontny 2009*). Chýbajúce zbrane v hrobách skupiny olsztyńskiej v neskorej fáze obdobia sťahovania národov môžu byť tiež potvrdením tohto zvyku (s výnimkami, ktoré reprezentujú časti pošiev uložené v hrobách).

V príspevku je analyzovaný aj výskyt praciek v hrobových celkoch a zastúpenie veľkej pravouhlej pracky s dvojitém trňom medzi nimi (fázy B_{2b}–C_{1a}).

V przeworskej kultúre, ktorá mala silný vplyv na výzbroj kultúry bogaczewskej, sa to interpretuje ako výrazný indikátor využívania mečov. Veľká pracka je považovaná za časť bedrového opaska a menšia pracka je zas pokladaná za súčasť balteusu. Môžeme sledovať takmer stopercentnú koreláciu medzi výskytom takýchto súborov s dvojsečnými mečmi, ktoré boli výlučne rímskej proveniencie (*Madyda-Legutko 1990*). Zdá sa, že podobne tomu bolo aj v bogaczewskej kultúre. Rozdiel spočíval v tom, že meč využívaný v bojoch nebol vkladán do hrobov. Tento fenomén si môžeme vysvetliť tabuizáciou mečov, dodržiavaním zásady *pars-pro-toto* (pošva symbolizuje meč), túžbou zachovania väzby so zosnulým (meč ostal rodine zosnulého a pošva bola uložená k jeho pozostatkom) alebo ekonomickými faktormi (vysoká hodnota meča zapríčinila, že ho neuložili do hrobu, ale naďalej využívali). Nemôžeme sa jednoznačne prikloniť k žiadnej zo spomenutých interpretácií. K tej poslednej sa prihovára fakt, že Balti v boji využívali aj poškodené meče, ktoré boli neintencionálne zlomené a po skrátení opätovne naostrené (zoznam 1). Dôkladné určenie zastúpenia mečov k západobaltskom kultúrnemu okruhu je veľmi ťažké. S určitosťou však vieme, že tento typ zbrane odohrával dôležitejšiu úlohu ako sa donedávna predpokladalo.

- Obr. 1. Západobaltský okruh mladšej doby rímskej. 1 – maximálny rozsah; 2 – kultúra Dollkeim-Kovrovo; 3 – kultúra Bogaczewo; 4 – súduvska kultúra (podľa *Bitner-Wróblewska 2010*).
- Obr. 2. Meče zo západobaltského okruhu. 1 – Sibirskoe, kostrový hrob; 2 – Skomack, hrob 23; 3 – Parussnoe; 4 – Fedotovo; 5 – plán kostrového hrobu z lokality Sibirskoe; 6 – plán hrobu 1 z lokality Szwajcaria, mohyla 2. 1–4 – podľa *W. Nowakowski (2007)*; 5 – podľa *Jahnovej pozostalosti* (s láskavým dovolením Archeologického ústavu Varšavskej univerzity); 6 – podľa *J. Antoniewicz/M. Kaczyński/J. Okulicz (1958)*.
- Obr. 3. Pravdepodobne pracka/y pošvy v tvare C a výbava hrobu 148 z lokality Nowy Zyzdrój. Podľa *Schmiedehelmovej pozostalosti* (s láskavým dovolením Tallinna Ülikooli Arheoloogiline Teaduskogu, Arhiiv).
- Obr. 4. Prvky rukoväti a pošiev mečov zo západobaltského okruhu a ich paralel. 1 – Onufryjewo, hrob 275; 2 – Cetula, hrob 2; 3 – Āroslavskoe, hrob 16; 4 – Szurpiły, poloha 4; 5 – Kotelnikovo, hrob 4; 6 – Kragehul. 1 – podľa *Jankuhnova pozostalosti* (*Nowakowski 2013*); 2 – podľa *M. Biborski (2000)*; 3 – podľa *M. Jankuhn (1939)*; 4 – podľa *L. Sawicka (2007)*; 5 – podľa *Jankuhnova pozostalosti* (s láskavým dovolením Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schloß Gottorf v Schleswigu); 6 – podľa *R. B. Iversen (2010)*.
- Obr. 5. Pravdepodobne kovanie z ramenného opasku: Babięta, hrob 305a. 1 – hrobová výbava podľa *Voigtmannova pozostalosti* (s láskavým dovolením Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte v Berlíne); 2 – fotografia znovuobjaveného predmetu (s láskavým dovolením Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schloß Gottorf v Schleswigu).
- Obr. 6. Nákončia olsztynskej skupiny z lokality Miętkie I. 1 – hrob 2 (*Jankuhnova pozostalosti*, podľa *Nowakowski 2013*); 2 – hrob 45 (*Jakobsonova pozostalosti*, podľa *Bitner-Wróblewska et al. 2011*); 3 – náhodný nález? (*Jakobsonova pozostalosti*, podľa *Bitner-Wróblewska et al. 2011*).
- Obr. 7. Nákončia olsztynskej skupiny. 1 – Wólka Prusinowska, hrob 92 (*Jakobsonova pozostalosti*, podľa *Bitner-Wróblewska et al. 2011*); 2 – Zdory, hrob 117 (*Jakobsonova pozostalosti*, podľa *Bitner-Wróblewska et al. 2011*).
- Obr. 8. Rozšírenie nožov baltského typu. Trojuholníky – rané formy, kruhy – rozvinuté formy, štvorce – samostatné nákončia (podľa *Kazakovičius 1988; Kontny 2013a; List 2*).
- Obr. 9. Príklad zbraňového hrobu kultúry Bogaczewo s dvomi prackami na opasky, vrátane jednej s dvojitém jazykom. Dłużec I, hrob 140 (*Engelova pozostalosti* podľa *Grenzova pozostalosti*; s láskavým dovolením Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schloß Gottorf).

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