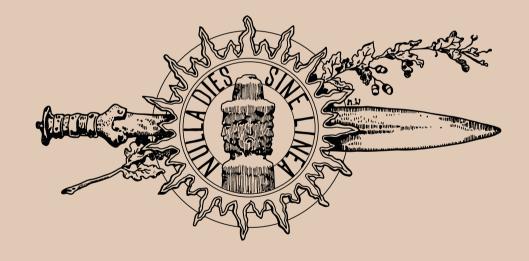
# ŚWIATOWIT



VOLUME LVII
WORLD ARCHAEOLOGY

# **ŚWIATOWIT**

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Address / Adres redakcji:
"Światowit"
Uniwersytet Warszawski, Instytut Archeologii
ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28, 00-927 Warszawa
swiatowit@uw.edu.pl
http://www.archeo.uw.edu.pl

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## "Full Astern! Because the Past Has a Future!"

In the academic year 2019/2020, the University of Warsaw celebrates the centenary of the establishment of the Chair of Prehistoric Archaeology, the kernel which gave birth to today's Institute of Archaeology. The said Chair was founded by Professor Erazm Majewski, a self-taught archaeologist whose ambition and extensive knowledge earned him the title of the country's first full professor of archaeology in Warsaw. About a dozen years later, on the initiative of Professor Kazimierz Michałowski, archaeologists from Warsaw started their excavations in Egypt. This way Professor Michałowski made Polish archaeology enter the international stage. Already in 1959, the Polish Archaeological Centre in Cairo was up and running, thus supporting further Polish archaeological investigations in Egypt, Sudan, and the Near East.

Today, the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Warsaw holds a place among the leading educational and research institutions in Poland and Europe. There, young would-be archaeologists are encouraged to follow the principle coined by Professor Michałowski — "to understand and cherish the past for a wiser and richer future". It is by no means a coincidence that today's motto of the Institute is: "The past has a future!".

Specialists from the Institute of Archaeology conduct numerous archaeological research projects which involve students doing their excavation practicum at various sites across the world. This way, the students make their first steps into the past by gathering first-hand experience of the material relics left by our ancestors. I truly believe that we all find it very satisfying and inspiring that researchers, scholars, lecturers, and students can work side by side. This creates unique bonds and atmosphere not only during the fieldwork but also in laboratories and classrooms.

Flexibility and dynamism are other integral characteristics of the Institute. Both have become particularly apparent over the last few years, when archaeology has experienced the digital revolution, which swept through the humanities. The digitisation, which surely lends our work much efficiency and precision, is not the only challenge the Institute has faced in the recent times. Another one comes from the fruitful cooperation with specialists of different disciplinary backgrounds – such as chemistry, biology, or physics – which has contributed significantly to the development of archaeology as an academic discipline and to our understanding of the past itself. Nowadays, what is still considered our iconic activity by the general audience and remains a genuine source of joy for the archaeologists – the excavations – is limited to necessary fieldwork. A century ago, when archaeology at the University of Warsaw was being born, excavations were essential and crucial for understanding the past. The field-based analyses of the discovered

artefacts used to be fundamental for explanation and reconstruction of the past cultures. Today, nearly all artefacts, sediments, pottery fragments, and other objects are analysed in laboratories. The traditional understanding of archaeology is waning slowly, but steadily. It seems that almost everything has changed during this one hundred years of archaeology at the University of Warsaw. Everything except for our passion and curiosity about the past.

We have already experienced the first technological breakthrough and now new possibilities are wide open. This, obviously, will bring in new perspectives and challenges. At this point, I am absolutely certain that archaeology is on a good path leading towards exciting research prospects and future achievements. Indeed, now more than ever, since the latest legal regulations enable much more dynamic development of our field at the University of Warsaw. This centenary, coinciding with a new ministerial enactment concerning higher education, should be seen by all of us as an invitation to make archaeology at our University even more vivid, flexible, and open to new trends and opportunities – worthy to be an independent discipline.

To conclude this introduction to our emblematic journal, Światowit, I rest assured, considering all the above observations, that in a few years, when the Institute will be celebrating its another anniversary, the vision that was outlined here will not lose anything of its adequacy, vividness, and authenticity. I have no doubts that our discipline has a great potential for further development, whereas the Institute will strengthen its position as a major educational and research institution recognised worldwide.

Krzysztof Jakubiak
Director of the Institute of Archaeology,
University of Warsaw

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#### WITOLD DOBROWOLSKI (1939–2019)

Il 25 gennaio 2019 ci ha lasciato improvvisamente il Professor Witold Dobrowolski, ancora nel pieno della sua attività scientifica. Nel panorama polacco degli studiosi d'antichità classica da più di mezzo secolo egli occupava un posto importante come indiscusso esperto in etruscologia e in ceramica greca. Dal lontano 1960 fino al 2011 aveva ininterrottamente lavorato al Museo Nazionale di Varsavia, dove si era formato, era cresciuto e aveva lasciato le sue impronte indelebili nella storia dell'istituzione, che dopo la seconda guerra mondiale con le sue collezioni è diventata la più importante in Polonia per l'esposizione e la divulgazione dell'arte antica. Nella sua carriera museale aveva ricoperto tutti i ruoli professionali, da assistente fino alla guida dell'intera Galleria dell'Arte Antica negli ultimi dieci anni come capo curatore.

Tuttavia il suo percorso scientifico rimase sempre legato anche all'Università di Varsavia e alla Facoltà di Storia, dove aveva studiato l'archeologia mediterranea negli anni 1956–1962, ottenendo in seguito il titolo di dottore in scienze umanistiche (1.07.1974) e infine l'abilitazione (13.01.1993). Inoltre, per più di dieci anni, prima di andare in pensione, come professore universitario egli aveva condiviso il suo impegno museale con l'attività didattica all'Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Varsavia. Aveva insegnato anche con diversa intensità e frequenza nelle Università di Toruń e Łódź, nell'odierna Università del Cardinale Stefan Wyszyński a Varsavia, e nelle Accademie di Belle Arti di Varsavia e Danzica.

Come per tanti altri archeologi classici polacchi del dopoguerra la carriera di W. Dobrowolski fu influenzata e indirizzata dall'eminente prof. Kazimierz Michałowski (1901-1981), promotore della sua tesi magistrale intitolata "I bronzi etruschi del Museo Nazionale di Varsavia" (1962). A quell'epoca il prof. Michałowski, oltre alla sua attività universitaria e accademica, svolgeva anche il ruolo di vicedirettore del Museo Nazionale di Varsavia, dove aveva creato un ambiente di suoi allievi e collaboratori che partecipavano alle tante iniziative di scavo in diversi paesi mediterranei e alla pubblicazione delle raccolte museali, accogliendo anche il giovane W. Dobrowolski, ancora studente (1960). In questo contesto si capisce meglio la nascita di W. Dobrowolski come etruscologo, non soltanto per la presenza di oggetti etruschi nel museo, ma anche per la consapevolezza del prof. Michałowski dell'enorme sviluppo di questa disciplina in Italia, indubbiamente ispiratagli ancora a Leopoli dal suo maestro Edmund Bulanda (1882-1951), autore dell'interessante studio su queste tematiche (Etrurja i Etruskowie, Lwów 1934),



Foto di Z. Doliński.

ma anche approfondita nei contatti con Massimo Pallottino (1909–1995) e Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli (1900–1975), ereditati poi da W. Dobrowolski.

In un certo senso con le prime pubblicazioni di W. Dobrowolski è nata la moderna etruscologia in Polonia e, non a caso, proprio negli anni sessanta del secolo scorso furono tradotti in polacco alcuni importanti libri sulla materia, anche con la sua partecipazione come redattore (M. Pallottino, Etruskowie, traduzione di J. Maliszewska-Kowalska, Warszawa 1968). Senza entrare nei particolari dei suoi studi stupisce, però, la grande coerenza e costanza nell'attività scientifica. Nel giro di dieci anni la pubblicazione di diversi oggetti etruschi delle collezioni museali portò W. Dobrowolski a stendere il suo manuale dell'arte etrusca in polacco (1971). Invece, dalle rappresentazioni dei mostri marini da lui pubblicati trasse l'ispirazione per una tesi di dottorato intitolata "Di alcuni miti greci nella plastica etrusca del VI-V sec. a. C. La fauna marina fantastica", con la prof.ssa Anna Sadurska (1924-2004) come promotore e il prof. Michałowski come uno dei recensori (1974). In seguito questo tema lo avrebbe accompagnato per anni fino al libro sui miti marittimi nell'antichità classica, pubblicato nel 1987. Evidentemente egli amava ritornare sui suoi passi e riprendere le questioni analizzate nel passato.

Naturalmente studiando l'arte etrusca non si può prescindere dalle influenze artistiche e culturali greche, evidenti tra l'altro nella pittura vascolare e tombale, quindi è del tutto comprensibile che W. Dobrowolski rivolgesse il suo interesse verso le collezioni storiche dei vasi greci in Polonia, soprattutto del Museo Nazionale di Varsavia. Bisogna, però, sottolineare che questo interesse non era motivato soltanto dalla ricerca di analogie iconografiche e stilistiche, ma piuttosto dall'amore verso la forma e il disegno nell'arte greca che ammirava come fenomeno artistico universale, naturalmente condizionato dalle circostanze storiche, ma sempre riferito all'idea del Bello. In questa prospettiva, quando W. Dobrowolski si sentiva chiamare etruscologo, a volte s'irritava e ironizzava che nello studio bisogna puntare in alto e occuparsi delle cose importanti e significative come l'arte greca e non concentrarsi sui fenomeni provinciali, circoscritti nel tempo e nello spazio, che avevano recepito solo superficialmente le influenze greche, come appunto l'arte etrusca. D'altronde anche l'arte romana, a prescindere dalla definizione, veniva da lui valutata secondo forma e organicità dell'arte greca.

Questo atteggiamento sembra denotare una certa influenza del pensiero di R. Bianchi Bandinelli, stimato molto da W. Dobrowolski, e quindi non fu casuale la sua traduzione in polacco dell'Introduzione all'archeologia classica come storia dell'arte antica, arricchita dall'analisi, a volte polemica, della sua dottrina, anche nel contesto dello sviluppo dell'archeologia classica in Polonia. Aveva appreso da lui che l'arte antica può e deve incidere sulla realtà contemporanea ed è sintomatico che la sua guida alla ceramica greca attraverso gli esempi del Museo Nazionale di Varsavia si apra con una domanda: "che cosa può costituire un vaso greco dipinto per l'uomo moderno?" (1977, p. 5). Con R. Bianchi Bandinelli rispose che è un documento di un'epoca storica, ma oltre a ciò può fornire autentiche emozioni estetiche. Quindi l'arte antica, cioè in realtà greca, fa parte del patrimonio umano sempre vivo, non ridotto a ennesimo classicismo e accademismo.

Gli studi sull'arte greca vista soprattutto attraverso pittura vascolare, forma e disegno portarono W. Dobrowolski sempre di più verso una maggiore consapevolezza delle caratteristiche dell'arte etrusca, testimoniata nel suo libro sulla pittura etrusca (1977). Tuttavia la sua fama internazionale, anche recentemente ricordata in un colloquio sulla pittura parietale antica da Stephan Steingräber (2018), era legata agli studi sulla documentazione delle tombe etrusche nel Settecento, da quando egli aveva scoperto la partecipazione sconosciuta di Franciszek Smuglewicz (1745–1807), un pittore polacco residente per lungo tempo a Roma, nella pubblicazione di James Byres di alcune tombe tarquiniesi. Proprio questa scoperta approfondita per anni e studiata nel contesto storico, inclusa l'analisi iconografica della documentazione pittorica, gli fornì la base per la tesi d'abilitazione intitolata "La peinture étrusque dans les recherches du XVIIIe siècle", pubblicata in tre succinti articoli (1990-1992).

Gli studi sui vasi greci del Museo Nazionale di Varsavia richiedevano attenzione per la storia delle collezioni, quindi fu inevitabile che W. Dobrowolski si occupasse della persona di Stanisław Kostka Potocki (1755–1821), tra l'altro autore di O sztuce u dawnych, czyli Winkelman Polski (1815), e delle sue acquisizioni di oggetti antichi in Italia, comprese quelle dei suoi scavi a Nola in Campania, nonché delle successive vicende delle raccolte del Palazzo di Wilanów presso Varsavia, per lungo tempo dimora di questa importante famiglia aristocratica. I suoi lunghi studi si conclusero con la pubblicazione della storia e del catalogo dettagliato della collezione dei vasi antichi (2007), miracolosamente salvatasi in frammenti dopo la seconda guerra mondiale e pazientemente ricostruita e restaurata nel dopoguerra. Analogamente la collezione di Isabella Działyńska (1830-1899), nata Czartoryski, portata verso la fine dell'Ottocento da Parigi nel Palazzo di Goluchów in Polonia e recuperata in parte dai russi dopo la seconda guerra mondiale (1956), rimase al centro dei suoi interessi come esempio del collezionismo polacco dell'antichità classica. Così W. Dobrowolski si accostò alla problematica della tradizione dell'antico nella cultura e nella società di diversi periodi storici, quindi alla questione di R. Bianchi Bandinelli a cosa servisse l'arte antica.

Indubbiamente il tema della presenza delle idee antiche nella cultura polacca ed europea lo coinvolgeva sempre di più, ed è sintomatico che, pur già in pensione e libero da ruoli istituzionali, si occupasse soprattutto di questo; era orgoglioso dei suoi recenti articoli sulla questione che riguardavano sia la decorazione pittorica degli ambienti settecenteschi della villa suburbana di Łazienki dell'ultimo re polacco Stanislao Augusto, o il programma artistico del Tempio di Diana nel giardino romantico di Nieborów nei dintorni di Varsavia, sia i quadri di Henryk Siemiradzki (1843–1902), famoso pittore accademico della fine dell'Ottocento e le sue citazioni dall'antico, soprattutto dei vasi greci.

Per un po' di tempo negli anni novanta nell'ufficio del museo sedevo alla scrivania proprio davanti a W. Dobrowolski, e a me ancora giovane colpiva la sua devozione, nel bene e nel male, per il Museo Nazionale di Varsavia, sempre considerato posto imprescindibile nella sua vita professionale e personale. Mi ricordo al museo il giorno del suo colloquio d'abilitazione, stranamente anche del suo compleanno (13.01.1993), quando, non rinunciando agli impegni museali, cercava di dimostrare, come questo importante momento della sua carriera scientifica non fosse un "tradimento" istituzionale e non avesse conseguenze sul suo rapporto intimo di fedeltà verso il museo. Effettivamente quando dopo tanti anni per caso lo incontrai nel 2017 a una conferenza a Varsavia, per salutarmi e comunicarmi i suoi commenti, le sue prime parole furono: "erano bei tempi, quelli del museo, vero?"

Nel dopoguerra il Museo Nazionale di Varsavia rappresentava un centro culturale ed intellettuale molto attraente, sotto la direzione del prof. Stanisław Lorentz (1899-1991), che aveva in aiuto non soltanto il prof. Michałowski, ma anche il prof. Tadeusz Dobrzeniecki (1914-1999) e soprattutto il prof. Jan Białostocki (1921-1988), importanti storici dell'arte. Librava nell'aria l'idea che il museo avesse una grande missione e responsabilità nel salvaguardare e custodire il patrimonio culturale, ma pure nella divulgazione dell'arte e della cultura nella società polacca, idea che fu assimilata e continuata negli anni da tantissimi dipendenti del museo, compreso W. Dobrowolski. A quell'epoca se qualcuno cercava informazioni sulle opere d'arte in generale, oppure sugli oggetti posseduti nelle collezioni, di solito si rivolgeva non all'università, ma al Museo Nazionale di Varsavia. In quest'atmosfera è naturale che W. Dobrowolski si impegnasse molto come esperto e consulente per diversi musei, privati collezionisti, giornalisti, editori di diverse enciclopedie e compendi di storia dell'arte.

Per portare l'arte nella società, la Galleria dell'Arte Antica s'è impegnata nell'organizzazione di tante mostre temporanee in numerose città polacche, piccole e grandi, vicine e lontane. Questo compito era seguito da W. Dobrowolski con estremo zelo e piacere. Creò decine di mostre su diverse tematiche che riguardavano l'arte antica e la tradizione dell'antico, spesso in collaborazione con altri colleghi, come Aleksandra Majewska, Sabina Grzegrzółka e Krzysztof Załęski, a volte seguite anche da piccole guide.

Nei tempi bui della Polonia del dopoguerra queste iniziative avevano un ruolo molto più importante di quanto si pensi oggi. Ebbi l'occasione di seguire W. Dobrowolski nella realizzazione di qualche mostra di questo tipo e rimasi sempre impressionato dalla sua concezione dell'esposizione museale come sfida intellettuale ed estetica. Quando si arrivava nei piccoli centri museali, spesso le sale e le vetrine a disposizione non erano all'altezza degli oggetti portati dal Museo Nazionale di Varsavia, ma in queste circostanze egli si imponeva e si sentiva come un mago che con intelletto e gusto artistico riusciva a creare dal nulla una realtà rilevante e apprezzabile da tutti. Erano momenti in cui esprimeva la sua sincera passione e l'amore per gli oggetti museali, passione che di solito nascondeva dentro di sè.

Per spiegare la storia dell'arte antica nel Museo Nazionale di Varsavia nacque nel dopoguerra la galleria più grande e completa, ma anche la più moderna in Polonia, una sorta di "Musée Central" voluto dal regime comunista, che per decenni influenzò le generazioni polacche. Nel tempo, con le nuove ricerche, scoperte e i restauri degli oggetti, l'esposizione veniva sistematicamente rinnovata per rispondere alle nuove esigenze ed idee, e si poteva osservare anche qui la crescente influenza di W. Dobrowolski. Similmente a quanto accadeva per le

mostre temporanee, egli vedeva l'esposizione fissa del Museo Nazionale di Varsavia come uno specchio delle ricerche, sue e di altri, quindi mescolava spesso gli oggetti secondo le nuove idee, per esempio specificando nella ceramica greca le officine regionali, oppure creando la sezione dell'arte etrusca come l'introduzione all'arte romana. Era molto abile nel "pescare" dai magazzini museali gli oggetti che dimostravano i diversi aspetti della cultura antica, fino a stupire gli studiosi stranieri in visita al museo per quanto l'esposizione, tutto sommato piccola, fosse completa nel quadro generale.

Naturalmente l'esposizione come sfida intellettuale non esauriva le aspettative di W. Dobrowolski che la guardava anche come creazione estetica. Nei tempi ormai lontani per entrare nell'ufficio della Galleria dell'Arte Antica bisognava attraversare l'esposizione e spesso W. Dobrowolski, aprendo la mattina la porta salutava tutti con parole di rimprovero, anche per se stesso, che un certo vaso importante fosse ancora esposto male e trascurato, e una certa scultura si perdesse nella prospettiva della sala. D'altra parte nelle mostre temporanee al museo faceva impazzire tutti quando fino all'ultimo momento cambiava la posizione degli oggetti, anche tra le vetrine, cercando l'esposizione migliore e più giusta. Tutto sommato provoca un certo rammarico il fatto che la vecchia galleria dell'arte antica sia stata smantellata dieci anni fa senza riflessione sul suo valore storico come documento degli sforzi e delle ricerche di tanti studiosi polacchi del dopoguerra, e senza la garanzia che l'esposizione nuova e moderna in preparazione sarebbe stata per definizione migliore.

Nella storia dell'attività del Museo Nazionale di Varsavia W. Dobrowolski viene anche ricordato come ideatore e curatore delle tante importanti mostre temporanee. Nel 1989 fu presentata a Varsavia una grande mostra mobile intitolata "Il mondo degli Etruschi", frutto della collaborazione dei diversi musei dei paesi ancora del blocco sovietico (Berlino, Pietroburgo, Mosca, Budapest, Praga e Varsavia), nella quale W. Dobrowolski era il responsabile per la parte polacca e il curatore dell'esposizione nel Museo Nazionale di Varsavia.

Un altro grande evento è legato all'uscita, nel 2001, della bella adattazione cinematografica di Jerzy Kawalerowicz del famoso romanzo *Quo vadis?* di Henryk Sienkiewicz, accompagnata dalla mostra "Attorno a *Quo Vadis*. L'arte e la cultura di Roma ai tempi di Nerone", pensata e curata da W. Dobrowolski, particolarmente orgoglioso dell'esposizione e del catalogo. La ricordava spesso, perchè era fiero di aver portato al Museo Nazionale di Varsavia gli oggetti dai vari musei polacchi, e soprattutto dai rinomati musei italiani, ma anche di aver radunato nel catalogo i saggi di diversi importanti studiosi con un vasto quadro storico e interdisciplinare che portava dai tempi di Nerone e dei primi cristiani fino al romanzo di H. Sienkiewicz e al quadro "Dirce cristiana" di Henryk Siemiradzki.

Qualche anno dopo un'altra occasione per una sua mostra notevole la offrì la XXVII edizione delle Olimpiadi ad Atene nel 2004, commemorata a Varsavia con una mostra intitolata "L'Olimpiade. Lo sport nell'arte greca dal VI sec. a. C. al V sec. d. C.", questione seguita e studiata da anni dal curatore W. Dobrowolski, che allora riuscì a portare a Varsavia oggetti da Atene, ma anche da Parigi, Berlino e Pietroburgo e dai diversi musei polacchi, naturalmente sempre con l'indispensabile impegno di tutto lo staff della Galleria dell'Arte Antica.

Indubbiamente W. Dobrowolski aveva una personalità complessa, che suscitava negli altri sentimenti opposti, ma di sicuro fu un uomo forte, consapevole di poter sfruttare le occasioni della vita, un uomo che con rigida coerenza si era creato da solo con il suo lavoro, lasciandosi alle spalle un'infanzia difficile e poco promettente. Era un appassionato dell'antichità classica, e questa passione la condivideva soltanto con l'amore per l'Italia, dove si recò frequentemente dall'inizio degli sessanta fino alla morte con diverse borse di studio, partecipazioni agli scavi, per esempio di M. Pallottino a Pyrgi nel 1966, a conferenze e vari soggiorni, e dove ha lasciato tantissimi amici. Quest'amore non era nato soltanto dagli studi e dai monumenti, ma era un sentimento molto intimo. Quando ricordava il Bel Paese non parlava delle splendide opere d'arte, ma diceva semplicemente che non esiste cosa più bella dell'odore di Roma quando la mattina presto si esce per le strade, dimostrando che forse era un uomo sereno e felice, malgrado tutte le difficoltà della vita.

*Jerzy Żelazowski* Istituto di Archeologia, Università di Varsavia j.zelazowski@uw.edu.pl

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#### Tadeusz Sarnowski (1945–2019)

Tadeusz Sarnowski – PhD in archaeology and full professor affiliated with the University of Warsaw – was one of the most prominent Polish scholars involved in archaeological investigations of Roman provinces in general and Roman limes in particular. In the course of his 54-years-long academic career, he authored over two hundred publications, thus establishing himself among the very few historians and archaeologists specialising in the Roman army and Latin epigraphy respected in Poland as well as abroad. He educated a host of students, many of whom are now recognised scholars forming his school. As a scholar, he was entirely devoted to his work, an outstanding intellectual marked by exceptional modesty. His passing is a great loss for the Polish academia.

His mother was a teacher of French from Volhynia, whose wartime story included a deportation to a Soviet labour camp near Arkhangelsk in February 1940 and then, after the Sikorski-Maiski Agreement was signed in 1941, a perilous journey through Iran all the way to Cape Town in the Republic of South Africa. There, on 9 October 1945, Tadeusz Sarnowski was born. For young Tadeusz, their stay in Africa and the later travel north, across the continent and towards the Mediterranean coast, were formative experiences which impacted his future scholarly interests. Later, he would often return to the Maghreb, which fascinated him not only with its relics of Roman towns but also because of the climate and cuisine of the African coast. There, his excellent command of French served him well during establishing scholarly networks and publishing his research on Roman Africa.

After his return to Poland and graduation from high school in Żołynia, Łańcut district, he enrolled at the University of Warsaw to study Mediterranean archaeology. His master's thesis dealing with Bronze Age Greece was supervised by Professor Kazimierz Majewski, former Chair of the Ancient History Department at the University of Lviv - a man of exceptional rigour and strictness, whose teachings had a lasting effect on Tadeusz Sarnowski, then a young graduate student. In 1960, on the initiative of Professor Kazimierz Majewski and Professor Dymitr Dymitrov from the Institute of Archaeology of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, archaeological excavations were started in Novae, northern Bulgaria - a Roman legionary camp and a late Roman town. Since 1969, initially as a PhD student in classical archaeology and then as a fully-fledged PhD, Tadeusz

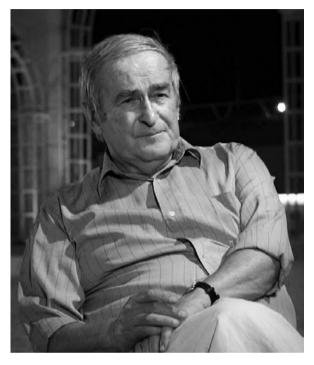


Photo by P. Zakrzewski.

Sarnowski regularly participated in excavations at this site, to which he remained closely attached throughout his whole life.

In the years 1967-1969, he studied at the School of African Studies at the University of Warsaw and immediately after his graduation started his PhD course at the Faculty of History at his Alma Mater. His doctoral dissertation, titled Architektura willowa w późnoantycznej ikonografii mozaikowej Afryki rzymskiej [Iconography of villa architecture in late antique mosaics from Roman Africa] was supervised by Professor Kazimierz Majewski. In June 1974, he submitted and defended his thesis. His reviewers were Professor Tadeusz Lewicki and Professor Ludwika Press - a long-time participant and future Director of the Archaeological Expedition in Novae. His dissertation, published in 1978 as a monograph under the French title Les représentations de villas sur les mosaïques africaines tardives, became one of the most important scholarly works on the subject and remains a fundamental resource for studies on villa architecture in Roman Africa. It was through his efforts, as well as reputation, that joint Polish-Tunisian excavations were started at the site of Musti (Mest Henschir).

In 1973, soon after completing his PhD course and before defending his dissertation, he was offered assistant-ship at the Department of Mediterranean Archaeology of the Faculty of History, University of Warsaw. Teaching soon emerged as his true calling. For many years, he offered courses on archaeology of the Mediterranean and Roman provinces, which earned him a name as a great and praised teacher.

As an active field archaeologist, on the other hand, he did not limit himself to the excavations in Novae. In the years 1971-1973, he participated in investigations at the site of Mucking in Great Britain, the largest European archaeological excavations of the 1970s and a dense, multiperiod landscape palimpsest ranging from the Neolithic to medieval times, including Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon burials. Another important site where he gained his expertise was Apamea in Syria, excavated by the Centre Belge de Recherches Archéologiques. During his cooperation with Belgian archaeologists in 1977-1979 and 1982, he benefitted from the skills obtained earlier in Mucking and Novae. He worked also at Polish excavations (Gdańsk, Radom, and Majdan Królewski). As a field archaeologist, he had a keen interest in modern documentation methods. It was through his initiative that, for the first time in Polish Mediterranean archaeology, planigraphy was prepared for two sites in the vicinity of Novae – in the years 1971–1979.

Since the 1970s, first as a participant of the Expedition directed by Prof. Majewski and, later, Prof. Press, then a Director of the Archaeological Expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Warsaw, he investigated the very heart of the legionary fortress in Novae, where he managed to unearth a monumental building of the legionary headquarters (principia). The fieldworks, and the related documentation, had become his life's work, crowned by creating a visualisation of the building within the framework of a EU-funded project whose objective was to establish the Archaeological Park right in the middle of the camp of Novae. Tadeusz Sarnowski published several dozen articles showcasing the architecture and topography of Novae as well as epigraphical relics. Each of his publications excelled in terms of scholarly quality and many of them were major contributions to broader areas of study, e.g. on the structure of the Roman army.

In 1982, he had received a second-degree award from the Polish Ministry of Education and Science, whereas in 1984, already a young PhD, he was granted a one-year A. von Humboldt scholarship in Frankfurt-am-Main. At the same time, he advanced within the academia through junior and senior assistantships to the position of an assistant professor at the Institute of Archaeology at the University of Warsaw. The studies he was conducting

at the time were capstoned by his habilitation thesis, later published in Warsaw in 1988 as a Polish monograph titled *Wojsko rzymskie w Mezji Dolnej i na północnym wybrzeżu Morza Czarnego [Roman Army in Lower Moesia and the Northern Coast of the Black Sea]* and a comprehensive article titled "Das römische Heer im Norden des Schwarzen Meeres" ["Roman Army in the North of the Black Sea"] (*Archeologia* 38, 1988, 61–98). These two publications, abounding with information, remain largely up-to-date even today and still pose a challenge to scholars of the field. Since 1989, he was a university reader at the Faculty of History, University of Warsaw.

Beginning from the 1990s, in parallel with his archaeological investigations in Novae, he conducted excavations in Crimea, in the vicinity of today's Sevastopol, where he unearthed a temple of Jupiter Dolichenus. Next, he turned to investigating the rural areas of Tauric Chersonesos, quickly becoming the foremost expert dealing with this region in the Roman period. Over the last twenty years, Professor Sarnowski authored numerous papers in Polish, German, and Russian, thus earning himself recognition among Russian-speaking scholars. He attended many academic conferences in Russia and Ukraine and gave lectures on invitation at such institutions as the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow or the Kazakhstan National Science Academy. His knowledge and expertise were valued both in Poland and abroad, even in faraway countries.

Two main branches of Professor's research interests – the Roman army in the lower Danubian provinces and Roman military presence beyond the Imperial borders – became his showcases. In the early 1990s, soon after his *Alma Mater* granted him the title of associate professor, he founded the Department of Archaeology of the Roman Provinces, which he directed until his retirement. Extraordinarily quickly, as early as 2002, Tadeusz Sarnowski was awarded full professorship in appreciation of his scholarly accomplishments.

Professor was also a long-time member of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut as well as of editorial boards of the leading Polish periodicals on the Mediterranean archaeology – *Archeologia* and *Światowit*.

He dedicated his final years to the task of reconstructing the sculptural decoration of the legionary headquarters in Novae. He would no longer conduct excavations and instead concentrated on the previously discovered statues situated within the *principia*. His planned monograph dedicated to Novae was intended as a consummation of several decades of work. Sadly, he was unable to see it completed.

As a teacher, Professor was highly-praised both in Poland and abroad. He ran courses or gave lectures as a visiting professor at the universities in Łódź, Poznań, Algiers, London, Newcastle upon Tyne, Frankfurt-am-Main, Berlin, Prague, Sofia, Simferopol, Bern, Lausanne, Geneva, Zürich, Basel, Freiburg, and even Almaty. At the University of Warsaw, he chaired seminars and presented lectures on Roman provinces with a particular focus on Roman military presence in the lower Danubian provinces and beyond the Imperial borders – along the northern Black Sea coast – as well as on archaeology of North African provinces. Having retired, he used any spare time to travel with his beloved wife and visit North African cities. In spite of his severe illness, he went on his last tour in May 2019 and travelled along the Adriatic coast in Dalmatia.

Professor educated many graduate students, as well as a number of postgraduates, who formed a circle of his close co-operators. He was our Master – a father figure and mentor. He often cared to ask about our families or mood while paying little attention to his own comfort. In his cherished Novae, where he worked for a long time, he had a dense network of friends and acquaintances which included labourers – simple people who had unusual respect and affection for him. During two decades of our cooperation in Novae, I was privileged to learn from

him, and this learning extended well beyond archaeology and history of Roman provinces – it encompassed such secrets of the trade as the specificity of doing research in Bulgaria or the nuances of local culture and customs. As Director of the Expedition he strictly followed certain rules and rituals. The first and foremost principle was respect for the labour of simple men.

This year, in August, he planned to visit Novae yet again. He passed away on August 7, having made sure his Expedition was heading out to Novae. Now, upon his sudden departure, we are determined to carry on his principles. We see it as a way to cherish the memory of him as an outstanding man, not only an exceptional scholar.

Exegisti monumentum aere perennius... Vale!

Novae, September 2019

Agnieszka Tomas Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw agnieszka.tomas@uw.edu.pl

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#### ROMAN V. SMOLYANINOV

Lipetsk State Pedagogical University named after P.P. Semenov Tyan-Shanskiy rws17rws17@yandex.ru

#### ALEKSEY A. KULICHKOV

Lipetsk regional scientific organisation "Arkheolog"

#### Yelizaveta S. Yurkina

Lipetsk State Pedagogical University named after P.P. Semenov Tyan-Shanskiy eli9725@mail.ru

#### Yevgeniya Yu. Yanish

I.I. Schmalhausen Institute of Zoology of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (IZAN) tinel@ukr.net

# Памятники ранненеолитической среднедонкой культуры у села Доброе на верхнем Дону<sup>1</sup>

#### ABSTRACT

## EARLY NEOLITHIC SITES OF THE MIDDLE-DON CULTURE NEAR THE TOWN OF DOBROE ON THE UPPER DON

Nowadays there are 72 sites of the Neolithic Middle-Don Culture. Ceramic vessels are ornamented mostly using triangular pricks. These settlements are located on the banks of the rivers Voronezh and Don in their lower reaches. Not far from the town of Dobroe, a concentration of Neolithic settlements was found. Three of them contained Early Neolithic pottery of the

Middle-Don Culture (6<sup>th</sup> millennium BC). For the first time on the settlement Dobroe 9 a cultural layer was found *in situ*. Due to the discovery of the assemblage of pottery and stone and bone tools, new excavations allowed us to characterise the material culture of the ancient population of the Upper Don in a new way.

**Keywords:** Neolithic, Middle-Don Culture, pottery, radiocarbon chronology (неолит, среднедонская культура, керамика, радиоуглеродная хронология)

#### Введение

Неолитические поселения лесостепного Дона известны с первой половины XX века. Их изучение во многом определило вектор развития современ-

ного неолитоведения России и позволило наряду с другими регионами Восточной Европы выделять как локальные культуры, так и культурные общности, рассматривать процессы неолитизации и появления керамики на местном материале.<sup>2</sup>

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  Работа написана при поддержке гранта РФФИ проект 18-49-480004 р\_а "Поселение Доброе 9 в системе ранненеолитических древностей лесостепного Подонья".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sinyuk 1986.

Главным показателем для определения ранних памятников эпохи неолита данного региона, даже в тех случаях, когда набор кремнёвого инвентаря ничем не отличается от предшествующей мезолитической эпохи, является наличие керамических обожженных сосудов, с появлением которых и связывается подавляющим большинством современных исследователей, для Европейской части России, начало эпохи неолита. Их специфика является также главной при выделении археологических культур.<sup>3</sup>

В 1971 году в лесостепном Подонье А.Т. Синюком из культурных слоёв многослойных стоянок на основе вычленения особой группы керамики типологически была выделена ранненеолитическая среднедонская культура. Появление её он датировал началом 5 тыс. до н.э.<sup>4</sup>

Современное понимание о раннем неолите региона сформировалось после проведенных в начале 2000-х годов исследований неолитических памятников у с. Карамышево на Верхнем Дону (что позволило поставить вопрос о выделении сначала типа керамики, а затем и отдельной карамышевской культуры), а также после работ на Среднем Дону в 2009-2015 гг. у с. Черкасское Воронежской области, в результате которых на стоянке Черкасская 5 в устье р. Битюг (левый приток р. Дон) была выявлена коллекция ранненеолитической керамики, отличающаяся от всех известных керамических комплексов лесостепного Подонья. В основании культурного слоя залегала керамика с примесью раковины, с лощеной поверхностью. Затем при анализе известных ранее материалов подобная группа керамики была выделена в нижнем слое стоянки Черкасская 3. По одному из образцов получены две даты по нагару: 7474±65 ВР (6450-6225 calBC) (Hela-3520) и 7610±45 BP (6570-6398 calBC) (GrA-62165). Также по нагару с керамики данной группы из слоя стоянки Черкасская 5 была получена дата: 7115±130 ВР (6236-5730 calBC) (SPb-1465)<sup>5</sup>.

Материалы карамышевской культуры с лощёной посудой, украшенной преимущественно отпечатками овальных наколов, известны на 26 памятниках, локализованных только в бассейне р. Воронеж (левый приток р. Дон). Она имеет все основания для включения её в круг ранненеолитических древностей, поскольку имеются четкие стратиграфические данные, радиоуглеродные даты, хронологическая позиция которых соотносится с данными по елшанской, верхневолжской и другим ранненеолитическим культурам.  $^6$ 

Включение карамышевской культуры в круг ранненеолитических древностей региона от начала VI тыс. до н.э. было подтверждено рядом радиоуглеродных дат. Для материалов этого этапа получены радиоуглеродные даты по нагару на керамике нижнего слоя стоянки Ивница – 6940±40 ВР (5471–5303 calBC) (Роz–42054) и керамике Карамышево 5 – 6570±60 ВР (5790–5230 calBC) (Кі–11088).

Керамику же среднедонской культуры А.Т. Синюк характеризовал относительной тонкостенностью, плотным тестом и лишь в единичных случаях - добавлением в него какого-то органического вещества. Лепка сосудов производилась ленточным способом, при котором нижний край ленты накладывался на предыдущую ленту изнутри, т.е. использовался прием их косой стыковки. Ширина их варьирует в зависимости от диаметра той или иной части сосуда. Фиксируется приём ангобирования. По мнению А.Т. Синюка, господствуют цилиндрические формы верхней части сосудов с относительно плавным переходом стенок к острому дну, хотя есть и конические, тоже с острым дном. Днища «незаполненные», по толщине почти не отличаются от стенок. Верх сосудов скруглен или плавно приострён. Диаметры их колеблются от 10 до 30 см. При относительном единстве форм и технологии изготовления, сосуды наделены и еще одним общим признаком: орнамент их, за единичными исключениями, выполнен в отступающей, накольчатой манере. Основным элементом орнамента выступает различного вида накол, от мелкого треугольного до крупного ямчатого. Все многочисленные виды наколов, включая аморфные, создавались вдавлением и поворотом конца, поставленного под разным углом одного и того же орудия. Так, при более глубоком его нажиме спаренные наколы преобразуются в скобки и подковки. Одним и тем же орудием наносились треугольные и скобковидные наколы, а также ямчатые вдавления. Это позволило А.Т. Синюку сделать вывод, что по характеру использования одного орнаментального штампа устанавливается культурнохронологическое единство всех видов накола, а их разнообразие отражает яркую специфику керамики местной неолитической культуры. Свыше 60%

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sinyuk 1986.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Sinyuk 1971; 1986.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Smolyaninov et al. 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Smolyaninov et al. 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Smolyaninov et al. 2017.

покрыто наколами треугольной формы. Далее идут скобковидные, спаренные наколы, наколы в виде подковок и округлые. Нередко фиксируется вза-имовстречаемость различных их видов на одних и тех же сосудах. Обязательным признаком сосудов являются ямки под венчиком в один горизонтальный ряд. Они глубокие, округлые, довольно крупные, иногда делались в «отступающей» манере.<sup>8</sup>

На сегодняшний день на территории Верхнего Дона известно 72 памятника неолитической среднедонской культуры с керамикой, украшенной преимущественно наколами треугольной формы; 68 из них располагаются на берегах рек бассейна р. Воронеж, и только четыре – Замятино 10, Ксизово 6, Кривоборье и Ямное – на р. Дон, три на правом и одно на левом берегах, соответственно. При этом, в 59 случаях низко расположенные поселения занимают пойменные останцы, а в девяти – края низких надпойменных террас. Только четыре стоянки на реках бассейна Верхнего Дона располагались на краях высокого коренного берега. 9

В окрестностях с. Доброго обнаружено скопление неолитических памятников, из которых на трёх выявлена ранненеолитическая керамика среднедонской культуры VI тыс. до н.э. При этом на стоянке Доброе 9 впервые за время изучения среднедонской культуры выявлен однородный литологический слой, вмещающий в себя только материалы этой культуры: керамику, кости, изделия из камня. Благодаря обнаружению этой коллекции новые раскопки позволяют по-новому охарактеризовать материальную культуру древнего населения Верхнего Подонья.

#### Источники

#### Поселение Доброе 9

В 2014 году А.А. Клюкойть в размывах берега р. Воронеж обнаружил ранненеолитическую керамику у южной окраины с. Доброе Липецкой области (Рис. 1.1) на пойменном останце высотой 2 м над рекой. В разведочном шурфе стоянки Доброе 9 площадью 4 кв.м. им был выявлен культурный слой с 11 фрагментами керамики среднедонской культуры и одной костью животного. 10

В 2017 году на разрушающемся участке А.А. Куличковым был заложен раскоп площадью 20 кв.м.<sup>11</sup> В раскопе обнаружено 349 фрагментов керамики среднедонской культуры, 33 находки из камня и 37 из кости.

Основная масса находок среднедонской культуры происходила из литологического слоя светлой супеси с нивелировочными отметками от нулевого репера -150 — -181 см (уровень песчаного материка), который располагался под слоем погребённой почвы, вмещающим в себя находки среднестоговской культуры с нивелировочными отметками -105 — -145 см.

Анализ орнамента производился по методике, предложенной Ю.Б. Цетлиным. Им выделяются следующие стилистические уровни орнамента: элемент, узор, мотив, образ и композиция. Элементы орнамента на керамике среднедонской культуры с поселения Доброе 9 представлены тремя типами, один из которых подразделяется на подтипы: *I тип. Наколы*. Подтипы: 1 – мелкие треугольные наколы (Рис. 4.13, 21) – 14,4%; 2 – овальные наколы (Рис. 4.20) – 7,4%; 3 – скобковидные наколы (Рис. 4.16, 19) – 14,4%.

II тип. Оттиски гребенчатого штампа. Короткий, размеры которого составляют  $1-2 \times 8-10$  мм (Рис. 4.1, 11) – 11,6%.

*III тип. Ямки.* Округлые небольшие, диаметром 3–4 мм, доля их использования составила 46,4% (Рис. 4.1, 2, 7–9, 11–13, 15–17, 19–21).

IV тип. Прочерченные линии. Неглубокие прочерченные линии толщиной 1–2 мм – 5,8% (Рис. 4.7).

Мотивы из элементов орнамента на керамике среднедонской культуры делятся на пять типов, два из которых подразделяются на подтипы:

*І тип. Мотивы из наколов.* Подтипы: 1 - один диагональный ряд из наколов (Рис. 4.12, 16) наносился в 3,2% случаев; 2 - три диагональных ряда наколов (Рис. 4.13, 20) -5,5%;  $3 - \text{более трёх диагональных рядов наколов (Рис. <math>4.19$ ) -3,9%; 4 - один вертикальный ряд из наколов в виде зигзагообразной линии (Рис. 4.21) -2,9%.

II тип. Мотивы из гребенчатого штампа. Подтипы: 1 – один горизонтальный ряд из гребенчатых вдавлений (Рис. 4.1) наносился в 2,6% случаев; 2 – три диагональных ряда гребенчатого штампа (Рис. 4.11) – 5,8%.

<sup>8</sup> Sinyuk 1986.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Smol'yaninov R.V., Bessudnov 2017, 131.

<sup>10</sup> Klyukoyt 2015.

<sup>11</sup> Kulichkov 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Tsetlin 2008.

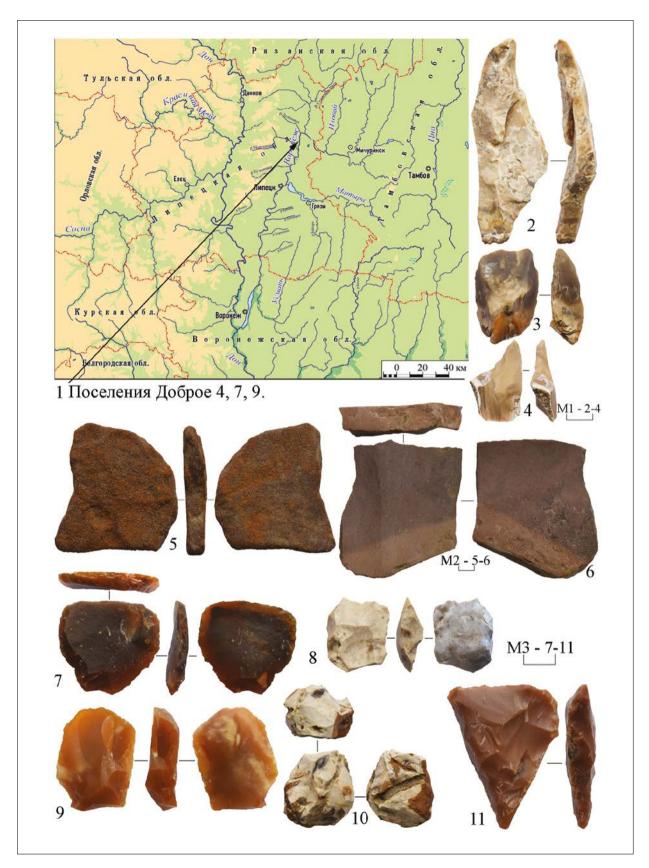


Рис. 1. Стоянка Доброе 9. 1. Расположение памятников на карте Центрального Черноземья; 2–11. Каменный инвентарь (Е.С. Юркина).

Fig. 1. Site Dobroe 9. 1. Location map; 2–11. Stone assemblages (Ye.S. Yurkina).

*III тип. Мотив из ямок.* Один горизонтальный ряд из ямок (Рис. 4.1, 2, 7–9, 11–13, 15–17, 19–21), представлен в 28,3% случаев.

IV тип. Мотив из прочерченных линий. Зона из диагонально нанесенных линий отклонённых как влево, так и вправо от вертикальной оси сосуда (Рис. 4.7) – 2,9%.

*IV тип. Мотивы из зон без орнамента* (Рис. 4.1–10, 12–18, 21). Доля их в орнаментации на сосудах составила 44,9%.

Изучение технологии изготовления сосудов производилось при помощи бинокулярного микроскопа в рамках историко-культурного подхода, разработанного А.А. Бобринским<sup>13</sup> и выделенной им структурой гончарного производства, состоящей из десяти обязательных и двух дополнительных ступеней, которые объединены в три последовательных стадии: подготовительную, созидательную и закрепительную.<sup>14</sup>

Нами были проанализированы фрагменты от 17 сосудов. В качестве исходного пластичного сырья (далее ИПС) для их изготовления использовалась сильно запесоченная илистая глина, 14 образцов было изготовлено из ожелезнённого, три из неожелезнённого сырья. Во всех изломах, в единичной концентрации встречены: 1) органические остатки в виде полостей от выгоревшей растительности: листьев и стебельков растений, различных по форме и размеру (Рис. 3.3-6); 2) кварцевый, окатанный песок размером 0,2-0,4 мм в концентрации 1:3-1:4. В восьми образцах отмечены твёрдые железистые частицы округлой формы, диаметром до 4 мм (Рис. 3.2, 3, 6). Сырьё всех сосудов использовалось в естественном увлажненном состоянии, признаков дробления не зафиксировано. В тесто трёх из них в качестве искусственной примеси был добавлен органический раствор, в изломах выраженный в виде тёмных маслянистых пятен (Рис. 3.1).

Выявлены признаки конструирования сосудов по ёмкостно-донной программе – направление линий спаев строительных элементов от внешней стенки сосуда к внутренней, кольцевым налепом из небольших лоскутков размерами от  $1 \times 1$  см до  $1,5 \times 1,5$  см. Отмечен всего один способ обработки поверхностей – расчёсывание жёстким гребенчатым штампом.

Механическая прочность сосудов средняя. Окраска изломов фрагментов всех изделий трёхслойная. Слои неравномерные по толщине,

границы между ними слегка размыты, что свидетельствует о том, что сосуды после обжига некоторое время оставались остывать в обжиговом устройстве. Полученные данные позволяют предполагать костровой обжиг с недостаточно продолжительной выдержкой при температурах каления – 650–700°С, с резким повышением и последующим понижением температур, что отразилось в неравномерной толщине слоёв. 15

Каменная часть коллекци и содержит 33 находки, из которых 16 – орудия. Основное количество артефактов изготовлено из местного мелового кремня различных цветовых оттенков, в меньшей степени фиксируется галечный кремень, в единичных случаях – песчаник и кварцитопесчаник.

Продукты первичного расщепления представлены двумя нуклеусами. Один из них многоплощадочный, аморфной формы (Рис. 1.10), второй – одноплощадочный уплощенной призматической формы, покрытый с одной стороны коркой (Рис. 2.5). Их использование было направлено на получение отщепов. Пластинчатая индустрия на памятнике отсутствует, выявлен только один пластинчатый отщеп со следами незначительной утилизации (Рис. 2.3).

При всей малочисленности коллекции, орудийный набор памятника представлен достаточно разнообразно:

- одним наконечником треугольной формы с резко выраженными ассиметричными шипами и обломанным черешком, обработанный двусторонней отжимной ретушью (Рис. 2.10). Со стороны спинки и брюшка наблюдаются следы патинизации белого цвета. Ближайшая аналогия подобного типа наконечников встречена в материалах стоянки Дрониха на р. Битюг;16
- одним угловым резцом (Рис. 2.1) на среднем по величине отщепе, на сколе которого прослеживается дополнительная подработка;
- одним ножом (Рис. 2.7) на крупном отщепе подтреугольной формы;
- одним концевым скребком с прямым лезвием, 2/3 изделия которого по краям обработаны притупляющей ретушью (Рис. 1.7);
- двумя проколками на отщепах (Рис. 1.4; 2.4).
   Вероятно, функции перфоратора выполнял ещё один пластинчатый отщеп (Рис. 2.2), на котором визуально прослеживается на конце изделия приостряющая ретушь.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Bobrinskiy 1978; 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Bobrinskiy 1999, 9–11.

<sup>15</sup> Vasilyeva 2002, 31-33.

<sup>16</sup> Sinyuk 1986, 112.

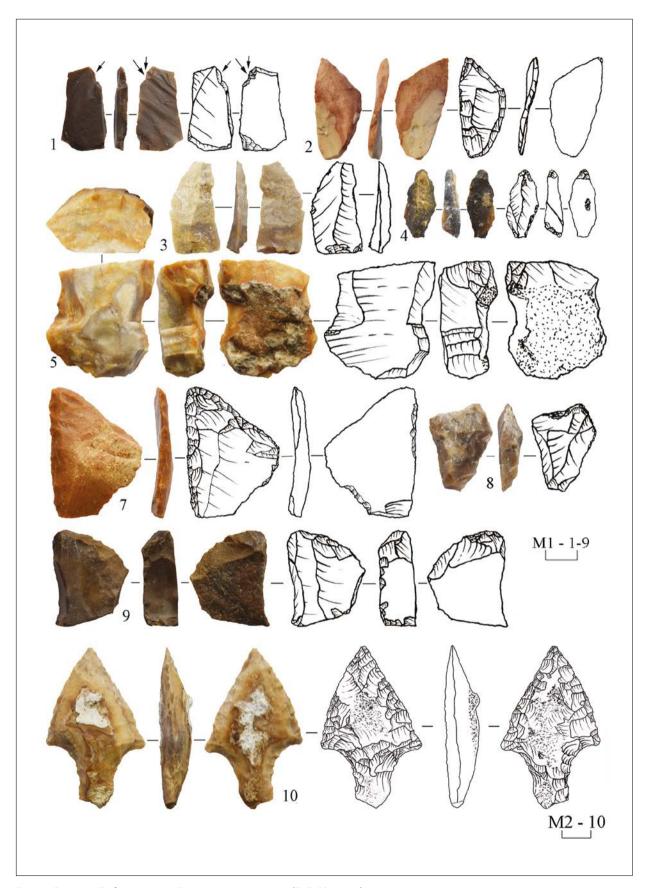


Рис. 2. Стоянка Доброе 9. 1–10. Каменный инвентарь (Е.С. Юркина).

Fig. 2. Site Dobroe 9. 1–10. Stone assemblages (Ye.S. Yurkina).

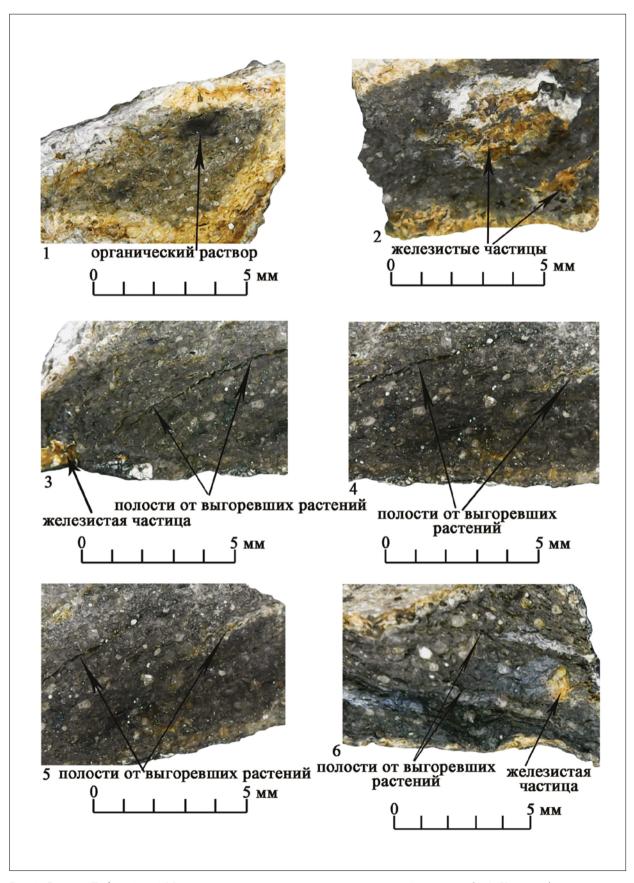


Рис. 3. Стоянка Доброе 9. 1–6. Микроснимки изломов керамики среднедонской культуры (А.А. Куличков). Fig. 3. Site Dobroe 9. 1–6. Microscopic images of fractures on pottery of the Middle-Don Neolithic Culture (А.А. Kulichkov).

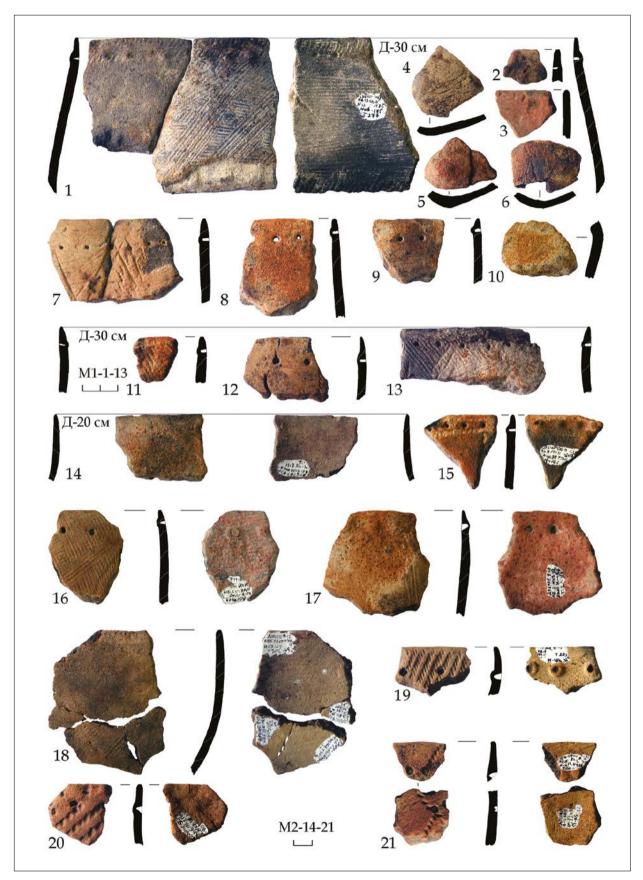


Рис. 4. Стоянка Доброе 9. 1–21. Керамика среднедонской культуры (Р.В. Смольянинов).

 $Fig.\ 4.\ Site\ Dobroe\ 9.\ 1-21.\ Pottery\ of\ the\ Middle-Don\ Neolithic\ Culture\ (R.V.\ Smolyaninov).$ 

Кроме того, обнаружено шесть полифункциональных орудий, выделяемых нами по морфологическим признакам, сочетавших в себе несколько рабочих функций: по два – ретушер-струг (Рис. 2.8), скребок-нож (Рис. 1.9), резец-скобель (Рис. 1.2), и по три: скребок-ретушер-провертка (Рис. 1.3), проколка-ретушер-скребок (Рис. 1.11), резчик-проколка-струг (Рис. 1.8).

Обнаружено также два фрагмента шлифовальных плит. Одна из песчаника (Рис. 1.5), размер ами 8,7 см в длину, 8 см в ширину и до 1,4 см в толщину, вторая – из кварцитопесчаника (Рис. 1.6), в длину – 9,3 см, в ширину – 8 см, в толщину до – 1,6 см. В единичном экземпляре встречен обломок кремня со следами бифасиального скалывания (Рис. 2.9). Оставшаяся часть находок 14 экземпляров – отходы производства: обломки кремня и отщепы, на пяти из которых визуально прослеживаются следы утилизации.

Отметим, что одноплощадочный нуклеус, обломок кремня со следами бифасиального скалывания, нож, ретушер-струг, проколка на пластине, наконечник, резец и фрагменты шлифовальных плит залегали в одном горизонте, который (судя по стратиграфическим и планиграфическим наблюдениям можно соотнести с керамической коллекцией среднедонской неолитической культуры. Основным же признаком каменного инвентаря раннего неолита, в частности среднедонской культуры, А.Т. Синюком назывался пластинчатый облик производства и подавляющее преобладание орудий на пластинах, кроме того, констатировалось отсутствие резцов. 17 Полученная кремнёвая коллекция памятника этим критериям не соответствует. Здесь доминирует ярко выраженная отщеповая технология изготовления орудий, как и на других памятниках среднедонской культуры Верхнего Дона.

Е.Ю. Яниш были проведены археозоологические исследования. Всего выявлено 106 костей животных (от 55 особей), из них 105 костей принадлежат млекопитающим и лишь одна кость – птице. Сохранность материала очень плохая – 1–3 балла по пятибалльной шкале. Многие кости рассыпаются в труху, и определить их до вида и даже до рода не представляется возможным.

Всего определено лишь два вида – бобр (Castor fiber) и лось (Alces alces). Оба вида относятся к диким животным и представляют по археозоологической классификации мясную добычу. Данные виды типичны для поселений исследуемого периода

в этом регионе и указывают на существование крупных лесных массивов около поселения.

В одном случае найдена обгоревшая кость – зуб лося, сильно кальцинированный. Соответственно температура, воздействию которой он подвергся, составила 800–1000°С. Возраст можно было определить лишь в одном случае – по верхнему зубу, который принадлежал взрослой особи.

#### Поселение Доброе 4

Памятник находится на останце первой надпойменной террасы правого берега р. Воронеж у с. Доброе Липецкой области. А.Ю. Клоковым в 1987 году на нём исследовано около 100 кв.м. Керамические комплексы памятника представлены обломками от сосудов десяти культур и культурных типов. Культурные слои памятника сильно переотложены. Стратиграфических и планиграфических наблюдений ему сделать не удалось. Среднедонская неолитическая культура представлена фрагментами от 38 сосудов. 27 из них прямостенные, 11 имеют лёгкую степень профилировки. Шесть из них открытой формы (Рис. 7.2, 9; 8.1, 4-6), 32 – закрытой (Рис. 5.2, 3; 6.2, 5, 7, 14; 7.1, 4-8; 8.2, 3). Диаметры горла от 10 до 42 см, толщина стенок 4-8 мм. Все имеющиеся днища острые (Рис. 5.3, 8; 6.12; 7.3; 8.7, 9).

Элементы орнамента представлены тремя типами:

I тип. Наколы (оттиски орнаментира в накольчатой технике) разной формы: 1 – мелкие треугольные наколы (Рис. 5.1, 2, 4, 5; 6.1–3, 5, 6, 8–10, 12; 7.1, 3–5, 7–11; 8.1–6, 8) – 42,4%; 2 – крупные треугольные наколы (Рис. 7.8) – 0,8%; 3 – овальные наколы (Рис. 5.3; 6.9) – 3,2%; 4 – скобковидные наколы (Рис. 6.15; 8.9) – 4,8%; 5 – спаренные наколы.

II тип. Оттиски гребенчатого штампа. Короткий, размеры которого составляют  $1-2 \times 8-10$  мм (Рис. 5.6-8) – 18,4%.

*III тип. Ямочные вдавления*: круглые, диаметром 4-5 мм (Рис. 5.1, 4, 6, 7; 6.1, 3–8, 11, 14–15; 7.1, 2, 5–7, 9; 8.2, 4, 5, 6) – 20%; 2 – округлые мелкие, диаметром 2–3 мм (Рис. 7.2; 8.3) – 3,2%; 3 – спаренные ямочные вдавления (Рис. 6.15; 7.6) – 4%; 4 – плюсневые вдавления (делались костью маленьких птиц, диаметр оттиска 5–7 мм) (Рис. 6.13) – 1,6%.

На керамике выявлено десять узоров орнамента: 1) два параллельных, диагонально расположенных ряда гребенчатых вдавлений; 2) диагонально расположенный ряд мелких треугольных наколов;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Sinyuk 1986, 62-65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Antipina 2003, 10.

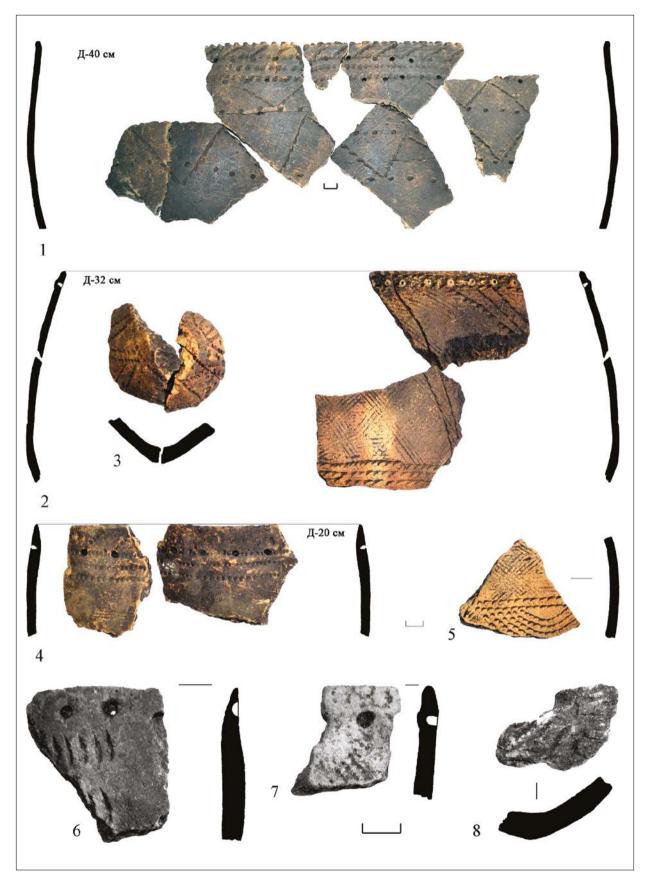


Рис. 5. Стоянка Доброе 4. Керамика среднедонской культуры (Р.В. Смольянинов).

Fig. 5. Site Dobroe 4. Ceramics of the Middle-Don Neolithic Culture (R.V. Smolyaninov).

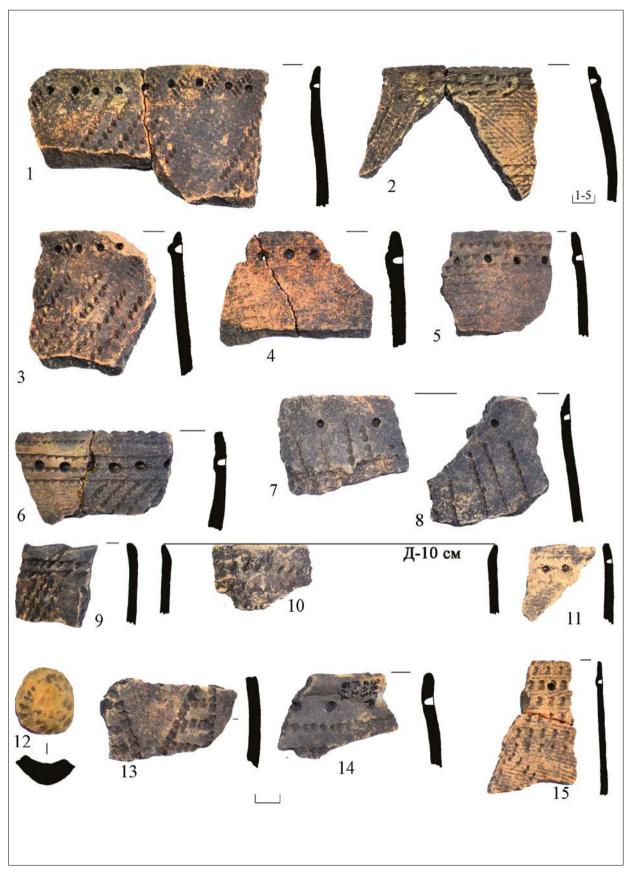


Рис. 6. Стоянка Доброе 4. Керамика среднедонской культуры (Р.В. Смольянинов).

 $Fig.\ 6.\ Site\ Dobroe\ 4.\ Ceramics\ of\ the\ Middle-Don\ Neolithic\ Culture\ (R.V.\ Smolyaninov).$ 

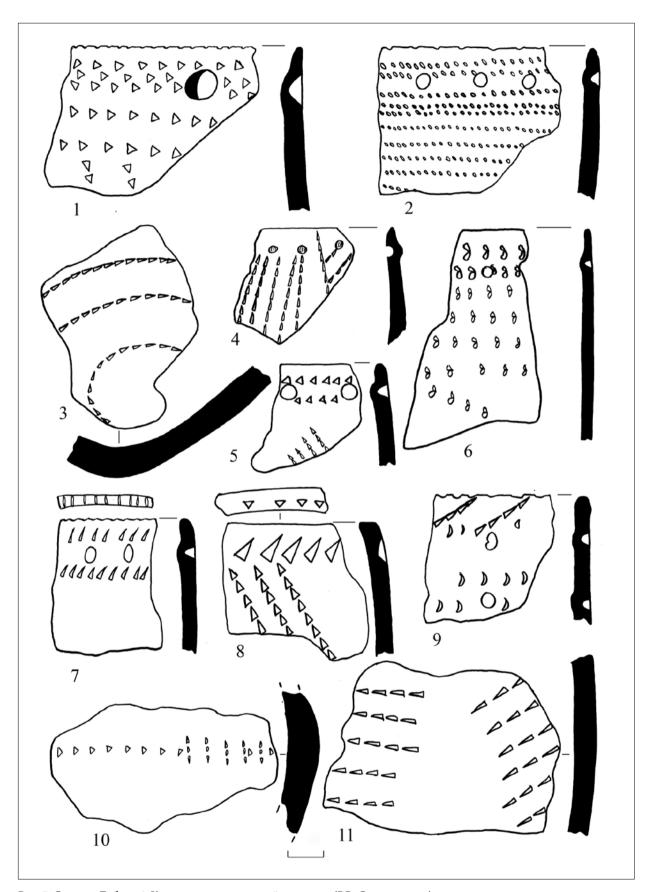


Рис. 7. Стоянка Доброе 4. Керамика среднедонской культуры (Р.В. Смольянинов).

 $Fig.\ 7.\ Site\ Dobroe\ 4.\ Ceramics\ of\ the\ Middle-Don\ Neolithic\ Culture\ (R.V.\ Smolyaninov).$ 

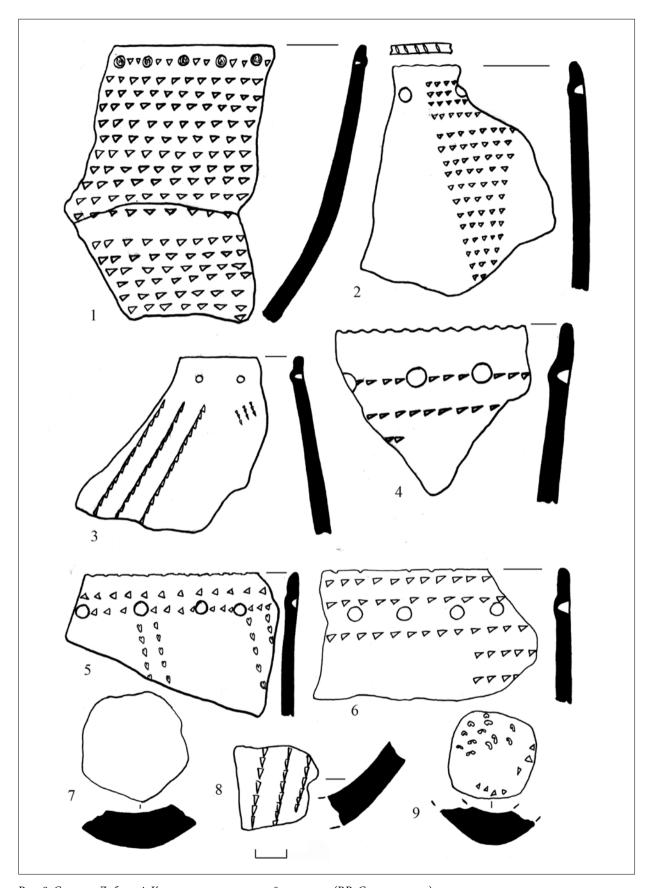


Рис. 8. Стоянка Доброе 4. Керамика среднедонской культуры (Р.В. Смольянинов).

Fig. 8. Site Dobroe 4. Ceramics of the Middle-Don Neolithic Culture (R.V. Smolyaninov).

3) два диагонально расположенных ряда мелких треугольных наколов; 4) три диагонально расположенных ряда мелких треугольных наколов; 5) две группы наколов по три ряда, диагонально расположенные и образующие букву «V»; 6) шесть рядов наколов, расположенных по дуге параллельно друг другу; 7) несколько рядов наколов, расположенных диагонально относительно оси сосуда и параллельно друг другу, образующие при этом параллелограмм; 8) треугольник из горизонтальных рядов треугольных наколов, острой стороной смотрящий вниз треугольник, состоящий из двух вертикально поставленных рядов плюсневых вдавлений, внутри заполненный неорнаментированными участками и горизонтальными линиями плюсневых оттисков; 10) две короткие, параллельные горизонтальные линии из оттисков гребенчатого штампа.

Нами были проанализированы фрагменты от всех 38 сосудов среднедонской культуры. В качестве ИПС для изготовления всех сосудов использовалась средне- или слабозапесоченная илистая глина, 21 образец был изготовлен из ожелезнённого, 17 из неожелезнённого сырья. Во всех изломах, в единичной концентрации встречены органические остатки в виде полостей от выгоревшей растительности: листьев и стебельков растений, различных по форме и размеру. В среднезапесоченных образцах встречается кварцевый, окатанный песок. В 29 образцах встречены твёрдые железистые частицы округлой формы. Сырьё всех среднедонских сосудов использовалось в естественном увлажненном состоянии, признаков его дробления не зафиксировано.

Выявлены признаки конструирования сосудов по ёмкостно-донной программе – направление линий спаев строительных элементов от внешней стенки сосуда - к внутренней, кольцевым налепом из небольших лоскутков размеров от 2 × 2 до  $2,5 \times 2,5$  см. Выявлено три способа обработки поверхностей: 1 - внешняя расчёсана пучком травы, внутренняя - тщательно заглажена грубо выделанной кожей (13 обр.); 2 - внешняя поверхность тщательно заглажена грубо выделанной кожей, а внутренняя - расчёсана пучком травы (7 обр.); 3 - обе поверхности тщательно заглажены (возможно галькой) (2 обр.); 4 - внешняя поверхность тщательно заглажена (возможно галькой), а внутренняя - расчёсана пучком травы (5 обр.); 5 - внешняя поверхность тщательно заглажена (возможно галькой), а внутренняя - расчёсана жёстким гребенчатым штампом (11 обр.).

Механическая прочность сосудов средняя. Окраска изломов фрагментов сосудов двух- (15 обр.) или трёхслойная (23 обр.). Слои равномерны по толщине, границы между ними слегка размыты,

что свидетельствует о том, что сосуды некоторое время оставались остывать в обжиговом устройстве. У пяти образцов они чёткие, что говорит о том, что сосуды были извлечены сразу же после окончания обжига. Полученные данные позволяют предполагать костровой обжиг с недостаточно продолжительной выдержкой при температурах каления – 650–700°С, но с плавным повышением и последующим понижением температур, что отразилось в равномерной толщине слоёв.

# Поселение Доброе 7

Поселение Доброе 7 находится на останце первой надпойменной террасы правого берега р. Воронеж. Открыт о в 2014 г. И.Е. Бирюковым. В 2017 г. на поселении был заложен разведочный раскоп площадью 6 кв. м. Керамические комплексы памятника представлены обломками от сосудов восьми культур и культурных типов. Культурный слой сильно перемешан противопожарной опашкой, поэтому стратиграфических и планиграфических наблюдений сделать не удалось.

На поверхности памятника было собрано 18 фрагментов от четырех сосудов среднедонской неолитической культуры, из них четыре венчика, одна придонная часть и 13 стенок. В шурфе было найдено 42 фрагмента этой же керамики от 11 сосудов, из них 11 венчиков и 31 стенка. Сосуды средних и больших размеров, с диаметром верха от 18 до 46 см, при толщине стенок – 4–7 мм. Три из них открытой формы (Рис. 9.4), три с прямым верхом (Рис. 9.6) и девять слегка закрытые (Рис. 9.1–3, 5). Края без утолщений, три заострены (Рис. 9.1), 11 закруглены (Рис. 9.3–6) и один косо срезан наружу (Рис. 9.2).

Сосуды орнаментированы не по всей поверхности, присутствуют свободные от орнамента зоны (Рис. 9.1, 4, 7, 10, 12, 13, 15). Основным элементом орнамента является накол: треугольной (Рис. 9.1-5, 7, 8, 10-12), прямоугольной (Рис. 9.6) или овальной формы (Рис. 9.9). Компонуются они или разреженно (Рис. 9.7, 11, 12), или строчками в «отступающей технике» (Рис. 9.1-4, 6, 8-10). Следует отметить, что нанесение наколов отступающим приемом очень характерно для данных сосудов. Вторыми по многочисленности элементами орнамента являются оттиски мелкой гребенки (Рис. 9.13-15). На семи сосудах присутствуют один или два ряда ямочных вдавлений под краем (Рис. 9.1-4), на трех - жемчужный поясок (выпуклины на внешней поверхности горшка от ямочных вдавлений нанесённых изнутри сосуда) (Рис. 9.1, 4). Интересен фрагмент донца, орнаментированный изнутри ямчатыми вдавлениями (Рис. 9.11).

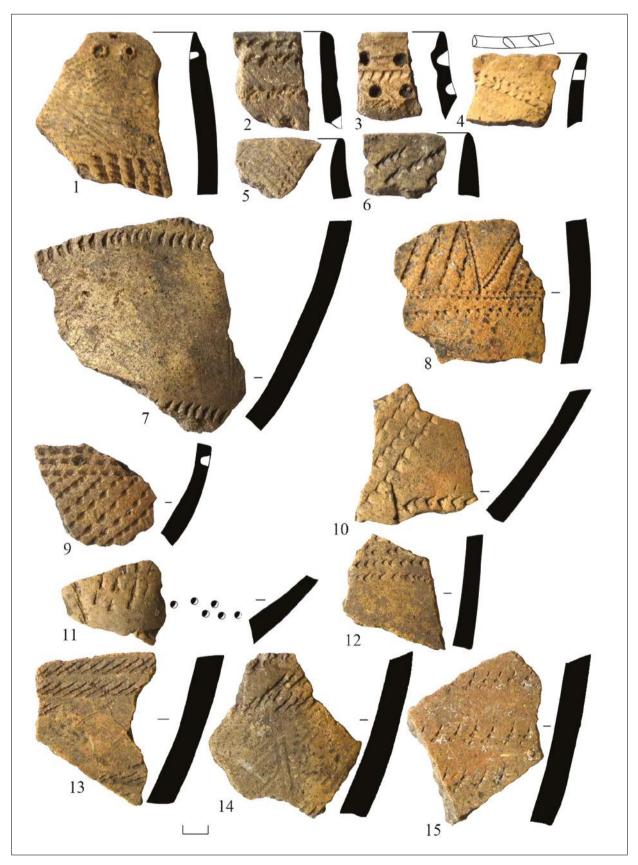


Рис. 9. Стоянка Доброе 7. Керамика среднедонской культуры (Р.В. Смольянинов).

Fig. 9. Site Dobroe 7. Ceramics of the Middle-Don Neolithic Culture (R.V. Smolyaninov).

В качестве исходного пластичного сырья (ИПС) для изготовления всех сосудов среднедонской культуры с данного поселения использовалась ожелезненная низкопластичная илистая глина. Во всех изломах в единичной концентрации встречены органические остатки в виде полостей от выгоревшей растительности: листьев и стебельков растений, различных по форме и размеру. Во всех образцах встречается кварцевый, окатанный песок. ИПС всех среднедонских сосудов использовалось в естественном увлажненном состоянии, признаков дробления не зафиксировано.

Сосуды сконструированы кольцевым налепом из небольших лоскутков размером от  $1.5 \times 1.5$  до  $2 \times 2$  см. Выявлено два способа обработки поверхностей: 1 – внутренняя и внешняя поверхности расчесаны пучком травы; 2 – внутренняя и внешняя поверхности расчесаны жестким гребенчатым штампом.

Механическая прочность сосудов высокая. Окраска изломов фрагментов сосудов двух или трехслойная. Слои неравномерные по толщине, границы между ними относительно четкие, что свидетельствует о том, что сосуды через короткое время после обжига были извлечены из обжигового устройства. Полученные данные позволяют предполагать костровой обжиг с недостаточно продолжительной выдержкой при температурах каления – 650–700°С.

#### Дискуссия

Материалы поселений Доброе 4, 7, 9 мы связываем со среднедонской культурой, вероятно переходного этапа: от первого ко второму этапов развития.<sup>19</sup> Для первого этапа среднедонской культуры характерны однокультурные слои с накольчатой керамикой (без накольчато-гребенчатой), которые были выявлены в материалах Монастырской стоянки в Побитюжье, нижний слой Черкасской стоянки (раскопки А.Т Синюка 1979-1981 гг.), а также на Инясевской, Шапкинской 6, Плаутинской 2 в Похоперье. На Верхнем Дону подобные материалы встречены только в слоях поселения Ярлуковская Протока, стоянке Доброе 1 и Университетской 3. Для этого этапа есть несколько более ранних радиоуглеродных датировок: стоянка Доброе 4 - 6912±120 ВР (6019-5621 calBC) (SPb-1287), стоянка Черкасская 3, нижний слой – 6715 $\pm$ 64 ВР (5730–5525 calBC) (Hela– 3491), Ярлуковская Протока (пункт 222) – 6774 $\pm$ 120 ВР (5903–5484 calBC) (SPb–1637) и поздних – переходных между первым и вторым этапами по керамике стоянки Университетская 3: 6190 $\pm$ 100 ВР (5400–4800 calBC) (Ki–15959), 6140 $\pm$ 90 ВР (5300–4840 calBC) (Ki–15432), 6050 $\pm$ 90ВР (5300–4700 calBC) (Ki–15441).

Для второго этапа, наряду с накольчатой орнаментацией, характерно распространение мелкой, тонкой гребёнки в украшении посуды. 21 При этом, второй этап среднедонской неолитической культуры следует связывать с проникновением в Донскую лесостепь населения раннего энеолита нижнедонской культуры. 22 Материалов с поселений второго этапа, которые мы датируем концом VI - первой половиной V тыс. до н.э., значительно больше. Они известны как на р. Воронеж, так и на р. Дон: Университетская 3, Университетская 1, Карамышево 9, Ксизово 6, Савицкое, Курино 1, Васильевский Кордон 1, Липецкое Озеро, Черкасская, Черкасская 3. Для этого этапа получено по одной дате по материалам стоянок Ярлуковская Протока - 5770±200 ВР (5207-4246 calBC) (SPb-1288) и Черкасская -5997±33BP (4985–4795 calBC) (Hela-3771). Пока что всего одна радиоуглеродная дата есть по нагару с керамики черкасского типа со стоянки Черкасская 5763±32 BP (4710-4535 calBC) (Hela-3884).<sup>23</sup>

Исходя из анализа материала наиболее яркая керамическая коллекция поселения Доброе 9 нам представляется переходной от наиболее ранних памятников среднедонской культуры (только с керамикой украшенной преимущественно наколами треугольной формы) к поселениям, где значительную роль играет орнаментация сосудов гребенчатым штампом.

Традиционно основным признаком каменного инвентаря раннего неолита в лесостепном Подонье, в частности среднедонской неолитической культуры, А.Т. Синюком назывался пластинчатый облик производства и подавляющее преобладание орудий на пластинах, а также констатировалось отсутствие резцов. <sup>24</sup> Кремнёвые коллекции наших памятников и других стоянок Верхнего Дона этим выводам полностью противоречат. На стоянках с материалами среднедонской неолитической культуры доминирует ярко выраженная отщеповая технология изготовления орудий:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Smol'yaninov, Bessudnov 2017, 138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Zaytseva et al. 2016; Smolyaninov et al. 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Gapochka 2001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Skorobogatov 2011, 178–180.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Zaytseva et al. 2016; Smolyaninov et al. 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Sinyuk 1986, 62-65.

- статистические данные иллюстрируют яркое преобладание отщеповой технологии над пластинчатой на территории Верхнего Подонья. Очень низок процент нуклеусов именно для скалывания пластин;
- представленные в коллекциях орудия не образуют устойчивых серий и очень неоднородны по своему типологическому облику;
- на каждом памятнике есть шлифовальные камни из песчаника или кварцитопесчаника с обширными участками рабочих поверхностей, однако, процент шлифованных изделий не представителен;
- встречаются единичные резцы;
- в культурных слоях ранненеолитических памятников встречается крайне малое количество каменных артефактов, что частично свидетельствует о высоком уровне заменяющих их производств: косторезного и деревообрабатывающего.<sup>25</sup>

#### Выводы

Таким образом, ранненеолитические памятники территории Верхнего Дона располагаются кустами: скоплениями пойменных стоянок (3-5 памятников) в местах расширения долины реки Воронеж (левый приток р. Дон). Поселения на каждом расширении такого типа имеют преимущественно схожие датировки. Подобный участок р. Воронеж был исследован у села Доброе, в Добровском районе Липецкой области. Таких стоянок здесь четыре: Доброе 4, Доброе 7-9.26 На них выявлены керамические материалы ранненеолитической среднедонской культуры, которые мы датирует VI тыс. до н.э. Уникальность данного куста памятников в том, что впервые в лесостепном Подонье на стоянке Доброе 927 выявлен однородный литологический слой, вмещающий в себя только материалы этой культуры: керамику, кости, изделия из камня.

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<sup>27</sup> Kulichkov 2018; 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Smolyaninov, Yurkina 2018, 199.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Поселение Доброе 8 пока не исследовано раскопками.

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## Andrey N. Mazurkevich

The State Hermitage Museum a-mazurkevich@mail.ru

# Ekaterina V. Dolbunova

The State Hermitage Museum katjer@mail.ru

#### ALEKSANDR L. ALEKSANDROVSKY

Institute of Geography, Russian Academy of Sciences alexandrovskiy@mail.ru

# JORG W.E. FASSBINDER

Ludwig-Maximilian University of Munich fassbinder@geophysik.uni-muenchen.de

#### MIKHAIL V. SABLIN

Zoological Institute, Russian Academy of Sciences msablin@yandex.ru

#### Ivan G. Shirobokov

Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Russian Academy of Sciences ivansmith@bk.ru

# Preliminary Results of an Investigation of a Single Barrow near the Village of Serteya (Smolensk Region)<sup>1</sup>

#### **ABSTRACT**

A single burial mound is located on the right bank of the Serteyka River (north-western Russia). It was discovered by E.A. Schmidt in 1951 and is attributed to the Old Russian Period. New researches on the burial mound conducted in 2013 and 2014 have uncovered several diachronic constructions. The first stage was connected to a flint knapping site, which was located on a natural elevation. It can be attributed to the 6th millennium BC on the basis of the Early Neolithic pottery fragments found nearby. The next period is dated to the second half of the 3rd millennium BC, when a ritual platform was created. Moreover, on another mound, a ditch was created, which can be attributed to the Long Barrow Culture due to a ceramic fragment found there. Samples from burnt bones

and charcoal indicate that the first and second stages of this construction could be dated to between the middle and the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC – the late stage of the Zhizhitskaya Culture of pile-dwellers and the initial stage of the Uzmenskaya Culture. Animal bones were cremated along with bronze items, as evidenced by the patina visible on the surface of the bones. Such a rite has been recorded for the first time. Furthermore, a ritual fire-place was set on a flat platform, and additional fire-places were situated on the slope of the burial mound. This complex, which can be interpreted as a site of worship from the Late Neolithic through the Early Bronze Age, existed for a long period of time. Nowadays, it is difficult to find analogies to such ritual complexes from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The research was performed within the frames of the state order of the Zoological Institute RAS (no. 0125-2016-004).

the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC from the territory of Poland and the Upper Dnepr region; only the kurgans and burial mounds of the Corded Ware Culture dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC are known. It might also be supposed

that some of the sites with such a sepulchral rite, usually attributed to the Long Barrows Culture, could also be ritual sites – this, however, would require further research.

**Keywords:** ritual site, burial mounds, pile-dwellings, Neolithic, Bronze Age, Long Barrows Culture, magnetometer prospection, archaeological geophysics, Zhizhitskaya Culture, 3D reconstructions

#### Site location

The single burial mound under discussion is located near the village of Serteya (Velizhsky district, Smolensk region) and was discovered by E.A. Schmidt in 1951. It was attributed to the Old Russian Period.<sup>2</sup> Three more burial mounds were discovered near this site before the mid-1950s – E.A. Schmidt described a kurgan group consisting of four burial mounds in that location.<sup>3</sup> Active ploughing in this area led to the destruction of the majority of these mounds. Agricultural activity ceased in the beginning of the 1960s, and later a pine forest developed there. Due to, among others, particularities of the land-scape, its location, or form of the mound, this kurgan was not included in the list of early-medieval sites.<sup>4</sup>

The site is located 1100 m to the south-east from the village of Serteya, on the right bank of the Serteyka River, on a sandy narrow neck 330 m wide, between two basins where lakes used to be located in the past (Figs 1–2).

The diameter of the kurgan measures c. 20.0 m along the S-N axis and 18.3 m along the E-W axis. Its height is c. 0.8 m, the upper part is flat and measures c. 8.0 m in diameter, the ditch is 1.5 m wide and 0.1 m deep.

# Methods of investigation

Geophysical survey was performed with a magnetometer in the area and in the direct vicinity of the kurgan before the excavations. In order to reach the highest possible sensitivity, a reasonable speed of prospection, and to gain additional information on the enrichment of magnetic minerals in the lateral sedimentary layers, we chose the caesium total field magnetometer (Scintrex SM4G-Special). We adapted the instrument for the survey in the forest environment and set it to the so-called 'duo-sensor' configuration. In this mode, probes are mounted on a wooden frame and carried along a zigzag path at the height of c.  $30\pm 5$  cm above the ground. The profiles of the  $40\times 40$  m grids were oriented E-W in order to minimise the technical disturbance and

interactions of the magnetometer probes with the electronic parts and batteries of the device. The sampling frequency of the magnetometer (10 readings per second) enabled surveying a 40 m profile in less than 30 s, at the same time maintaining the spatial resolution of data sampling (10 measurements per second) of approximately 10-15 cm by normal walking speed. After each 5 m, in parallel to the magnetic data, a manual switch set a marker. This helped achieve the best and most precise interpolation of the data during the subsequent processing stage, where the slight linear changes in the daily variation of the geomagnetic field were removed by a reduction filter and the mean value was calculated for the 40 m profile. Additionally, we calculated the mean value of all data of the grid and subtracted this value from the survey data. Here, we assume that the variation in the intensity of Earth's magnetic field during a measurement of one 40 m profile follows a linear increase or a linear decrease. Thus, it is possible to eliminate this variation for each traverse line by a reduction to the mean line value. Alternatively, in magnetically quiet areas, it is also useful to calculate the mean value of the whole  $40 \times 40$  m grid and use this value for further data processing as described above. To create discrete field values, we applied a resampling program, setting the data to a sampling interval of 25 × 25 cm. Additionally, by using this procedure, the difference between the measurement of both the magnetometer probes and the theoretically calculated mean value of Earth's magnetic field was obtained. This intensity difference revealed an apparent magnetic anomaly caused by the magnetic properties of specific subsurface structures, soil magnetism, and geology. The application of the Smartmag optical pumped caesium magnetometer in the duo-sensor mode allowed for setting a reference value, e.g. a virtual gradient of the Earth's magnetic field, to infinity in order to enable the recording of the full intensity of the magnetic anomalies.<sup>5</sup>

The great advantage of this configuration (as compared to fluxgate gradiometers) is rather obvious. The resulting data provides not only a higher magnetic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Schmidt 1982, 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Schmidt 1982, 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Eremeev 2003; 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Fassbinder 2015; 2017.

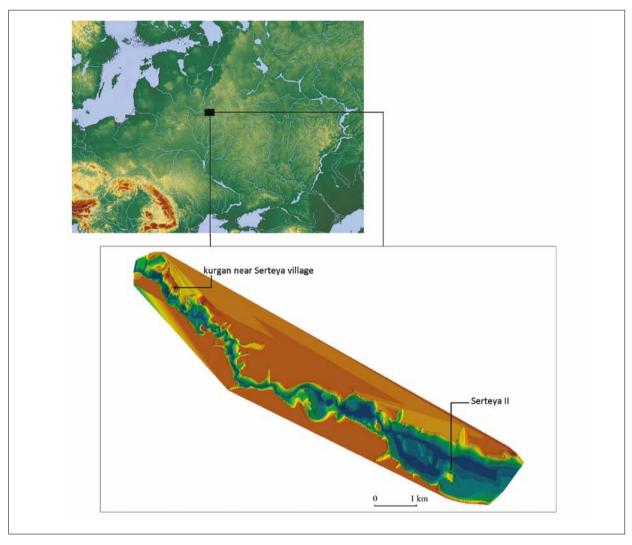


Fig. 1. Location of the single kurgan near the village of Serteya (north-western Russia) (compiled by E. Dolbunova).



Fig. 2. View of the kurgan prior to the excavations (photo by A. Mazurkevich).

intensity of the anomalies, and thus more information on the buried features, but also insights on the deeper parts of magnetically enriched layers, ash layers, palaeochannels, archaeological structures, and changes in depositional environments. The SM4G-Special magnetometer measures the total Earth's magnetic field intensity by an intrinsic sensitivity of ±10.0 picotesla with a sampling rate of ten measurements per second. For comparison, the daily fluctuations of Earth's magnetic field in Serteya (07/2007) varied within the range of *c.* 52 250±20 nanotesla.

The data were stored as binary files on the readout unit, then downloaded to a Panasonic Toughbook and unpacked to ASCII data. For image processing and further data treatment (resampling), we applied a special self-made software Resam2, as well as programmes Geoplot (Fa. Geoscan Ltd., UK) and Surfer (Golden Software, USA). The visualisation as a greyscale image (magnetogram) enabled tracing even negligible anomalies originating from the shade of slightly enriched sediment layers beneath the kurgan's surface. The application of a high-pass filter removed the deeper and predominantly geological features, and provided supplemental information on the type of the anomalies. The magnetometer measurements were complemented by magnetic susceptibility measurements of the topsoil and rocks on the site, which were conducted with a handheld magnetic susceptibility meter SM-30 by ZHinstruments.

The excavations of the kurgan involved 3D recording of all the finds. The analysis of the finds' distribution and their reconstruction were made in the AutoCad 3D software according to the code of each find. Also samples for geochemical, sedimentological, and radiocarbon analyses were taken during the excavations. The samples for the geochemical analysis were taken from each  $50 \times 50$  cm square from the kurgan's surface, including the identified features (*e.g.* fire-places or pits), and from each layer. Sedimentological analyses were applied to the main stratigraphical sections of the kurgan.

# Results of the investigation

The ditch around the kurgan appears as a negative (white) anomaly because it was still preserved as a ditch and not backfilled with ashes or topsoil. The black/white dipole spot in the west of the kurgan turned out to be a modern piece of iron rubbish. The other inhomogeneity reflects an accumulation of finds, such as ash layers or a concentration of burnt bones in the south-western part of the kurgan. The ditch around the kurgan and a small passage in its south-western part can be clearly traced on

the magnetogram. Some anomalies of anthropogenic nature can be identified in the northern part of the mound (Fig. 3) and another one – in the southern part. The latter turned out to be traces of a burnt tree. Although we set the magnetometer to the highest possible sensitivity, and the height of the mound measured below one meter, we could not detect any clear traces of a burial chamber or other typical burial constructions, such as those found during previous research projects in a multitude of Scythian kurgans in the steppes of Siberia, Kazakhstan, and Caucasus.<sup>6</sup>

#### Stratigraphy

Several lithological layers traced in the burial mound reflect different stages of the mound's construction (Fig. 4). An upper yellow sand layer marks the third stage of the building works (Fig. 5). It is 40.0 cm thick in the central part and 60.0 cm - on the slopes. The upper part of the construction was cut in the past, and sand was moved to the slopes of the mound (fourth stage). During this last (fourth) stage, the mound was burnt, and the upper part of the kurgan was flattened (Figs 5 and 6-7.b). This fact can be testified by a grey-blackish interlayer of sand, which was abruptly cut under a modern layer of topsoil in the upper part of the mound. It is filled with charcoal. At the bottom of the yellow sand, a layer of ashy sand rich in charcoal was traced. The layer was 4.0-8.0 cm thick and measured 8.2 m in diameter (Figs 6-7.a and 8). This layer appeared when a big fireplace was set there and then backfilled after it burnt out (second stage). It is testified by small inclusions of charcoals and ash distributed above the ashy-sandy layer which may have appeared when an almost burnt fire-place was filled up (Fig. 7). The ashy-sandy layer was located on greyish-yellow sand 4.0 to 30.0 cm thick. This mound stretches for 10 m along the N-S axis and 9 m along the W-E axis. It represents the first stage of the mound's construction (Fig. 8). A lower dark yellowish sand layer 17.0 to 35.0 cm thick was recorded where Early Neolithic finds were uncovered (Fig. 9). The base layer was represented by light yellow sand (Fig. 10).

#### Parts of the construction

The ditch from which the yellow sand was taken for the final construction stage of the mound was partly covered with sand that accumulated after the flattening of the surface. It was 50.0 cm in depth, while in its southwestern part a passage was preserved *c*. 2.1 m wide (Figs 5, 8). After a while, when the mound was constructed, small fire-places, which can be traced by lenses of reddish sand, were set in the ditch. These lenses (nos 1, 2, and 16–18)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Parzinger et al. 2016.

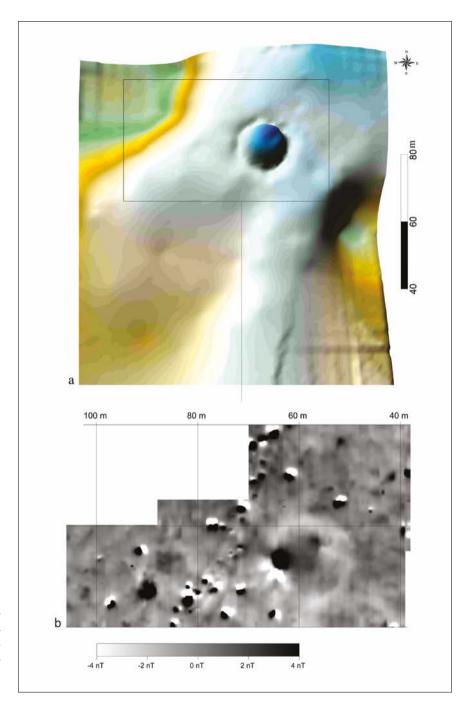


Fig. 3. Topography and magnetometry (a) elevation model and (b) a magnetogram of the kurgan and its surroundings (compiled by E. Dolbunova (a) and J. Fassbinder (b)).

were found in sectors A and D and in the northern part of the mound (Fig. 5). The biggest reddish spot no. 1 was located in its eastern part.

It was noted that when the ditch had been constructed, its inner part had slipped, and as a result a thin layer of ashy sand mixed with small charcoals could be traced below (Fig. 8). It appeared to be a part of an older ditch, from which earth was extracted to construct the mound located where the fire-place was set afterwards. The ditch was made *c*. 11.7 m in diameter and 1.3 m wide as a result of this mound's construction. There is

a passage in the south-western part that was preserved during the construction of the later mound. Oval spots of different diameters were traced on the slopes of the mound and on the outer surface of the ditch (nos 3–8 and 10). They were filled with reddish burnt sand 2.0 cm thick (Fig. 8). A pit no. 9 was traced in Square A/1–2 with a flat bottom, and it was filled with greyish sand and charcoals 3.0–6.0 cm thick. The charcoal from this pit was dated to 3485±80 BP (SPb-1203). Under the ashy layer, there were found pits nos 11, 12, and 19. There, an accumulation of burnt bones 6.0 cm thick was found in Square B/II

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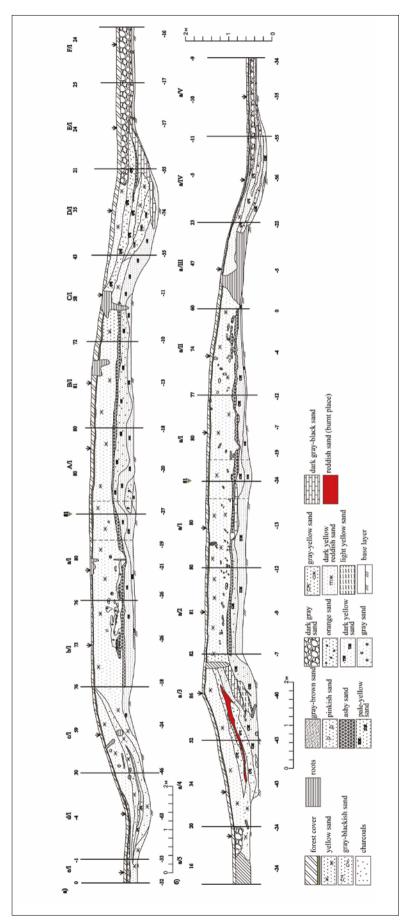


Fig. 4. North-south (a) and west-east (b) stratigraphy (drawing by E. Dolbunova and A. Mazurkevich).

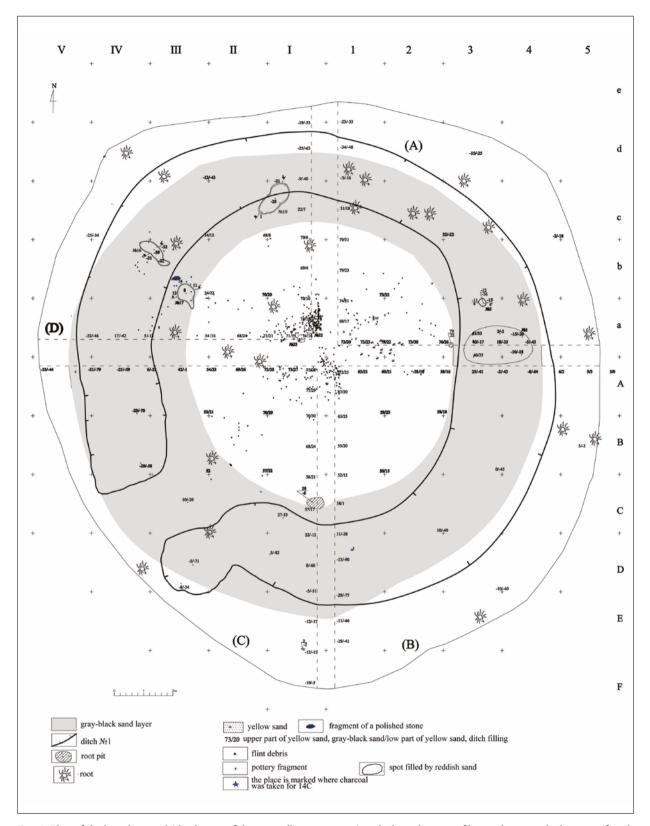


Fig. 5. Plan of the burial mound (third stage of the mound's construction) with the indication of burnt slopes marked in grey (fourth stage) (drawing by E. Dolbunova).

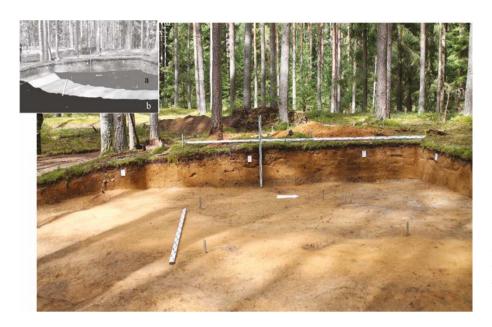


Fig. 6. Platform covered with ash in the central part of the kurgan (first stage of the kurgan's creation – a); slopes with traces of fire (fourth stage – b) (photo by A. Mazurkevich).



Fig. 7. Stratigraphy of the southern wall of Square a/1–4: ashy interlayer (first stage of the mound's creation – a); slopes with traces of fire (fourth stage – b); mound above the ashy interlayer with ash spots (c); burnt spot (d) (photo by A. Mazurkevich).

(Figs 8, 11). The dense and compact deposition of these burnt bones may testify that they were put in some container and then buried near the passage neighbouring the ditch (Fig. 8). The burnt skeletal remains are represented by calcined bones predominantly light-grey in colour and weighing 474±16 gr (Fig. 11). Some of them, including fragments of bones with the articulation surface and inner part of diaphysis of long bones, are of black colour, which means that they were exposed to a lower temperature compared to the majority of the remains. Some of the bones were deformed. Different types of fractures were traced on the surfaces of the fragments: transversal, arc-shaped, or irregular. All these features

evidence that body with flesh, and not just bones, was burnt. Anatomical identification of the majority of the fragments is complicated. Their sizes fall below 4.0 or 5.0 cm, whereas most fragments do not exceed several millimetres. No parts of a human body were identified. Some of the bones were attributed to animal species, including a fragment of a thigh bone of an elk (*Alces alces*) and a fragment of a phalange with a partly preserved articulation surface. A micrometrical analysis conducted on one of the diaphyses of the long bone also testified to its animal origin. Between 30 and 35 Leeuwenhoek canals with a diameter not exceeding 20.0 µm were recorded within the area of 1.0 mm². The determination of species was

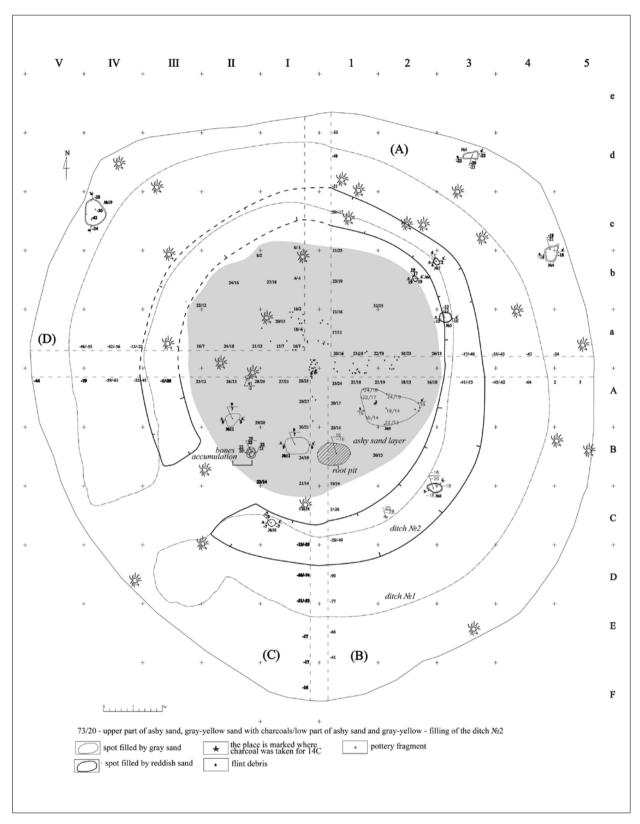


Fig. 8. Plan of the first stage of the mound's creation (drawing by E. Dolbunova).

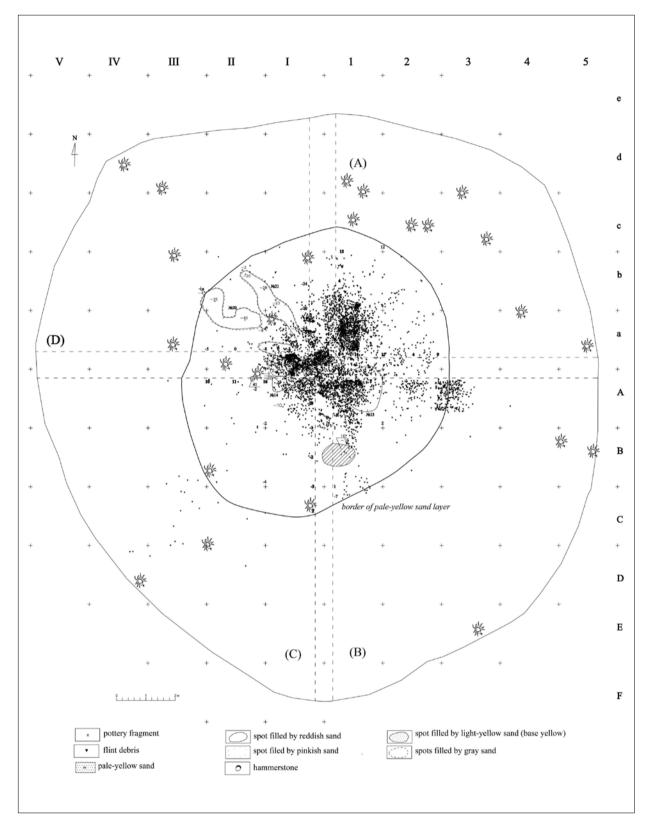


Fig. 9. Finds' distribution in the pale-yellow sand layer (Early Neolithic) (drawing by E. Dolbunova).



Fig. 10. Base layer of the kurgan (photo by A. Mazurkevich).



Fig. 11. Accumulation of burnt bones (photo by A. Mazurkevich).

based on micrometric features and cannot be regarded as unambiguous. However, for human remains the amount of Leeuwenhoek canals should be lower and the diameter higher than it was recorded.

Some of the bones were covered with a dark-green patina, which was identified in the Department of Scientific-Technical Expertise of the State Hermitage Museum as bronze oxides (Tab. 1).

The pits nos 13, 14, 20, and 21 were traced in a cultural layer below this construction, alongside an accumulation of flint debris (Figs 9, 12).

#### Chronology

Charcoals from different structures and burnt bones were dated in order to determine the chronology of different stages of the construction.<sup>7</sup> The charcoals from the grey-blackish interlayer of sand were dated to 120±25 BP (SPb-1196). Charcoals from the pit no. 1 date back to 3485±80 BP (SPb-1203). The burnt bones were dated to 3743±50 BP (SPb-1194).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Mazurkevich et al. 2013.

Ca Ca Sr Fe Cu Zn Ermy/MV 15 20

Tab. 1. Results of XRF analysis of green residue on the surface of burnt bones (prepared by S.V. Khavrin).

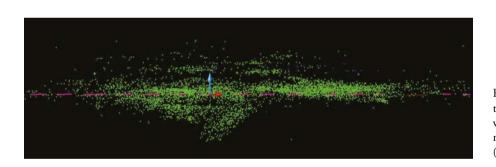


Fig. 12. 3D reconstruction of the finds (flint artefacts marked with green dots; pottery fragments marked with blue dots) (compiled by E. Dolbunova).

#### Artefacts' description

A potsherd attributed to the Long Barrows Culture was found in the south-eastern sector, in dark-grey sand (Fig. 13.10). This find may date to the final stage of this construction. The flint artefacts and pottery fragments which were found in the burial mound were taken from a cultural layer destroyed during the creation of the mound. A part of the cultural layer not destroyed was traced in the central area. The flint artefacts include 3348 chips, 397 flakes (including technological flakes, as well as numerous rejuvenation edge flakes), 1341 flint fragments, 471 flake-blades, 465 blades and 114 blade fragments, 156 microblades, and two cores (Fig. 13.7). The particularities of the raw flint material testify that nodules of different raw materials were processed there.

Also a few tools were found: a fragment of a flake tool (Fig. 13.2), a fragment of Swiderian-like arrowhead made from a blade (Fig. 13.4), a willow-leaf arrowhead with the edge retouched with a ventral flat retouch (Fig. 13.3), a blade fragment with a marginal retouch, a scraper made from a blade flake (Fig. 13.1), a scraper made from a massive flake, a notched blade tool (Fig. 13.5), as well as a fragment of polishing plate and a hammer stone (Fig. 13.6). These artefacts were found mostly in the central, highest part of the site in Square a–A/I and nearby.

Fragments of four vessels that can be attributed to the Early Neolithic (Sub-Neolithic) were found. The total of 27 fragments were parts of four vessels: the first decorated with horizontal rows of quadrangular impressions

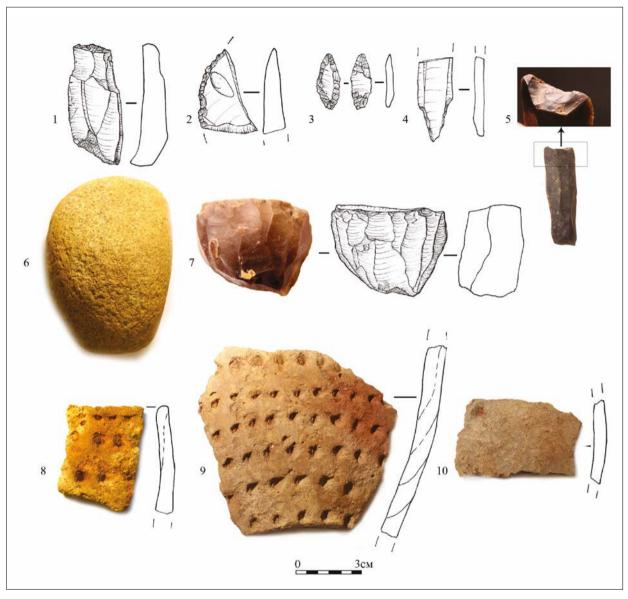


Fig. 13. Flint tools (1, 2, 5), arrowheads (3, 4), core (7), hammer stone (6), and pottery fragments: the Early Neolithic (8, 9) and the Long Barrows Culture (10) (drawing and photo by E. Dolbunova).

(Fig. 13.8–9), the second – a fragment decorated with roundish impressions, the third – fragments of a vessel tempered with organic admixtures, and the fourth – potsherds decorated with thin incisions. The Early Neolithic vessels were made from paste tempered with sand and small amounts of organic components and show the use of N-junction coils as well as traces of polishing on the outer surfaces and often scratching on the inner surface. The first vessel decorated with quadrangular impressions can be dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> millennium BC and is attributed to Ceramic Phase 'b-4'.<sup>8</sup>

## Sedimentological analysis

Soils buried under the kurgan do not differ a lot from their surroundings and can be classified as sandy sod-podzol soils. Several horizons can be distinguished: humic – A1, 10.0 cm thick, light coloured with a considerable amount of charcoals; podzol (eluvial) – E (depth 10.0–30.0 cm), pale-yellow sand with flint artefacts; Bf horizon divided into Bfe (depth of 30.0–50.0 cm, reddish sand) and Bff (50.0–100.0 cm; pale-yellow sand with pseudofibre; thin, dark-brown, wavy, dense interlayers) (Fig. 14).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Mazurkevich et al. 2013.

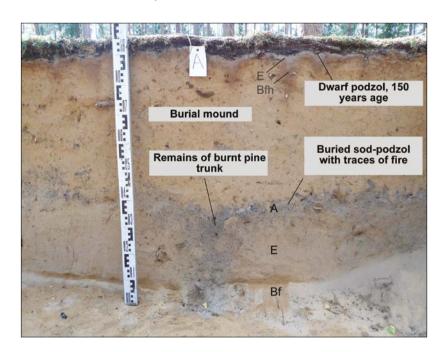


Fig. 14. Buried soils with their identification (photo by A. Aleksandrovsky).

Location	Quercus	Pinus	Picea	Coniferae	Bark	Not identified
Accumulation of bones, sq. A/I	5					
Pale-yellow sand (Neolithic site)				40		
Grey sand – filling of the low ditch		5		8		1
Spots with reddish sand		8		14		1
Grey-black sandy layer		1	1?	20	1	5

Tab. 2. Wood species of charcoals.

The surface of the kurgan was flattened rather recently. This is testified by the soil which formed on the upper part of the kurgan – the dwarf podzol. Several horizons can be distinguished in its profile under the forest cover: E-0-1.0(2.0) cm, greyish-white sand; Bfh-1.0(2.0)-4.0 cm, greyish-brownish coloured with wedges up to 15.0-20.0 cm, more compacted in the wedges; C-4.0(20.0)-50.0 cm, pale-yellow sand (kurgan mound) with patches of humus and eluvial horizons of the primary soil which was put into the burial mound during its construction. Such soil with a thin profile forms for 150-200 years. Thus, it may be suggested that there was no ploughing conducted on this kurgan in contrast to the others, and the forest was preserved during this period of time.

High concentration of charcoals in its upper humus horizon is a particular feature of buried soil. All the features described indicate that the kurgan appeared after a forest fire. The remains of a black pit left by a burnt-out trunk (squares A1–A2) were recorded, its base being more than 40.0 cm deep under the surface of the buried soil.

The soil under the burial mound is classified as sod-podzol, with no features of a well-developed humus horizon, especially dark-humus horizon AU. This might constitute evidence that this soil was formed in conditions similar to the modern ones. Intensive diagenetic processes are typical of sandy soils and are often accompanied by the degradation of the humus horizon. Atmospheric moisture penetrates easily into sandy burial mounds; along with good aeration, it favours high microbiological activity and the destruction of the humus substance. That is why we cannot exclude more intensive development of humus horizon in the soils during the discussed time-period.

The charcoal species determined also enabled an attempt at the reconstruction of the surrounding forest cover as it was in the past (Tab. 2). We may suggest that, like nowadays, so during the Neolithic, pine forests grew

on sandy soils. Forest stands are different in the Serteyka River valley, where broadleaved forests dominated during the Neolithic. The charcoals found in the accumulation of burnt elk bones located in Square A/1 are completely different. They may have been brought there either with burnt elk, as wood species from the banks of the Serteyka River located approximately 700 m away, or from the southern part of the post-lake basins where broad-leaved forests grew and where a long-term pile dwelling is known to had existed (Serteya II).

#### Discussion

Chronological sequence of different construction stages can be reconstructed based on the above-mentioned results. The local landscape is characterised by hilly fluvioglacial surfaces. Tops of these hills were used as seasonal camps or flint knapping sites during the Early Neolithic (Sub-Neolithic). One of these elevations located at the foot of the burial mound was inhabited and used for flint knapping, and may have been in use several times. The flint debris was deposited predominantly on the platform on a natural elevation and in two pits. Also, fragments of pottery attributed to the Early Neolithic were left there, which allows for dating these events to the 6<sup>th</sup> millennium BC.<sup>10</sup> A soil layer was formed above this cultural layer, as represented now by a buried sod-podzol.

In the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC (3743±50 BP [SPb-1194]), this natural elevation was chosen for a sepulchral construction and a mound c. 10.0-11.0 m in diameter with a flat top platform about 8.5 m in diameter. Sand was obtained locally, and thus the ditch c. 1.3 m wide with a passage in its south-western part appeared. The probable height of this construction was around 0.35 m above the surface, and it had the form of a truncated cone with entrance in the south-western part. Then, a cremation burial, which consisted of burnt animal (probably elk) bones, was placed on the site. The remains were put in some container with, probably, bronze items and buried near the bottom in the southwestern part of the mound, near the entrance. The bones were accumulated within one spot; the whole accumulation of bones was 5.0 cm thick and had a round section. Fragments of oak charcoals among the cremains suggest that the cremation was performed in a different microregion or in the southern part of the Serteysky microregion where broadleaved forest grew. Such an area of broad-leaved forests, including oaks, may have been located 6 km to the south, where synchronous settlements (Serteya II) were also recorded. Anthropogenic activity was conducted on the platform and is traceable through

the remains of pits, which may be synchronous to this event or have been left later. Sometime afterwards, soil formed on the surface of the mound and the forest encroached. It is important to note that no flint artefacts were found in the thin interlayer around 5.0 cm thick. Instead, these were found in the abovelying and underlying layers (Fig. 12). This suggests that the initial mound was made from pure sand, brought from outside the borders of the Early Neolithic cultural layer.

The platform was burnt *c*. 3485±80 BP (SPb-1203), and, afterwards, the fire-place was covered with sand. It is marked in the modern profile by a buried sod-podzol with traces of fire. During this stage or just before the time when the platform was burnt, fires were started periodically, leaving burnt spots both on the slopes of the mound and beyond the ditch. The slope slide and the remains of fires were partly deposited on its bottom part and in the inner part of the ditch.

Afterwards, a mound with a conical form was created, and the construction height reached c. 1.3 m above the surface. Small fire-places were made after the mound was constructed, and these left lenses of reddish burnt sand recorded in the northern part. The biggest lens (no. 1) was located in the eastern part of the ditch. It is complicated to date this construction phase precisely. In the light of the stratigraphical and sedimentological data, the mound was made somewhat later, when the big fire-place on the platform was covered with sand, as soil did not form above this level. The spatial distribution of the flint artefacts in the mound shows that they were lying within several horizons. It indicates that either the mound was erected in several stages, or it was periodically renewed. However, it may also evidence that the earth was taken from different places near the construction site and the Early Neolithic cultural layer was periodically destroyed.

The mound may have been used during the time of the Long Barrows Culture, as suggested by a pottery fragment found in the ditch. Remains from this time-period may have been located on the top and destroyed during subsequent reconstruction.

During the last construction stage, dated to the end of the  $19^{th}$  century, the mound was burnt, a flat platform c. 8.0 m in diameter was created, and the ground was put onto the slopes (Fig. 3). Then, after this last reconstruction, podzol soil formation started to develop on the top of the kurgan.

#### Conclusion

The sites of this type are usually attributed to the Long Barrows Culture. However, our research has made

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Aleksandrovsky 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Mazurkevich *et al.* 2013; 2016.

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it clear that such constructions represent much more complicated events. The dating obtained from the burnt bones and different charcoal samples shows that one of the construction stages could be assigned to the mid- or the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC and thus could be synchronous with the late stage of the Zhizhitskaya Culture or the beginning of the Uzmenskaya Culture. It is the first time when such a rite was recorded – cremains of animal bones (elk) buried in a container with some bronze items. Based on radiocarbon dates, this complex can be interpreted as a ritual site from the Late

Neolithic through the Early Bronze Age which was in use over a long period of time. It has proven complicated to find any direct synchronous analogies to this complex. So far, in Poland, burial mounds of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC have been known only from the Corded Ware Culture sites, while in the Upper Dnepr region – from the Middle Dnepr Culture.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, we may suggest that some of the sites with a similar burial rite previously attributed to the Long Barrows Culture may also contain remains of such ritual constructions, which can presumably be evidenced by future researches.

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<sup>11</sup> Kryval'cevich 2006; Jarosz et al. 2016.

# Elżbieta Jaskulska

Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw ejaskulska@uw.edu.pl https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8786-5602

# Order in Chaos. Spatial Analysis of Cremated Human Remains in Urn Burials from Podlesie, Site 5, Oleśnica Commune, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship<sup>1</sup>

#### ABSTRACT

A sample of six cremated graves from the Lusatian Culture cemetery from Podlesie, site 5, has been subjected to a spatial analysis aimed at recognising anatomical provenance of bone fragments within the layers of the urn burial. Even though individual features have shown damage ranging from slight to severe, most of the burials have shown an indication of a repeated pattern, with skull fragments predominantly present in the upper layers ( $Chi^2 = 43.968$ , df = 16, p < 0.001) and lower limb

fragments accumulated in the lower parts of the urn  $(Chi^2 = 28.635, df = 16, p = 0.027)$ . In the case of the torso (the term used to describe postcranial axial skeletal fragments together with pectoral and pelvic girdles' elements) and upper limb, the analysis has not shown statistically significant distribution between the layers. The analysis confirmed the advantage of the proposed method in determining the presence of the so-called 'anatomical order' within cremation burials.

Keywords: cremation, spatial analysis, Lusatian Culture, Podlesie, urn cremation burial, funeral ritual in cremation

# Introduction

Analysing cremated remains is a time-consuming process. Nonetheless, for many archaeological cultures, periods, and sites, these remains are the only available source of information on the individuals who once were producing all the available artefacts. According to the experience of the author, further corroborated by the recent publication by McKinley,<sup>2</sup> it is unpractical to expect the cremated remains to represent the same type of data that can be acquired from skeletal burials. The nature of cremation will destroy many of the elements that are necessary for a complete osteological analysis. The analysis, therefore, mainly focuses on the reconstruction of patterns in the state of preservation of the cremains, which can, among other things, indicate the presence of differences in the funeral rite.

One of the most common observations made during the excavation and analysis of a cremation grave is the spatial distribution of the remains within the burial. Traditionally, Polish publications, both archaeological and anthropological, are referring to this issue as the occurrence of the so-called 'anatomical order', and nearly every publication indicates whether the remains showed any anatomically logical order or fragments of different skeletal elements were intermixed indiscriminately.<sup>3</sup>

The terminology applied can be misleading, as typically this term is used for remains still presenting the original anatomical articulations between particular bones, indicating an undisturbed primary burial.<sup>4</sup> These conditions cannot be fulfilled in the case of pyre cremation, when the non-uniform character of the environment, together with possible interventions of people present during the ceremony (Fig. 1), may cause

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I would like to express my appreciation to Dr Adam Waluś, who provided the materials for the present research, and to Paweł Dziechciarz, whose BA thesis and discussions with the author provided a necessary archaeological background for the bioarchaeological analysis. I also wish to acknowledge the help provided by the anonymous Reviewer, whose useful and con-

structive remarks allowed for improvements in the final version of the text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> McKinley 2017, 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Durczewski 1959, 140, 143; Piontek 1976, 199, 201; Pyżuk 2004, 42; Wróbel 2014, 226–227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Duday, Guillon 2006, 126.



Fig. 1. Modern cremation on a traditional pyre, Bagmati River, Pashupatinath, Nepal. Photo by Akiyoshi Matsuoka (CC BY-SA 4.0, online: https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=40503441, accessed 5.04.2019).



Fig. 2. Bone-picking cremation ceremony (*kotsuage*) at the Doi Saien crematorium in Shikokuchuo, Ehime Prefecture, Japan. Photo by O -otamusune -i ku tanken-tai (Autumn Snake) (CC BY-SA 3.0, online: https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=1868211, accessed 5.04.2019).

disruptions in the arrangement of skeletal fragments even in those rare cases when the whole pyre site is inhumated, forming a primary cremation burial (often denoted by the Latin term *bustum*).<sup>5</sup>

In the case of a cremation burial, the term is used typically to indicate that remains originating from a similar position within the body are placed together, implying a systematic and careful collection of the remains still occurring in some cases of modern cremations (Fig. 2). Unfortunately, in many cases, authors of publications do

not specify how the recognition of the anatomical order was made, sometimes only indicating that 'the anatomical order is present'. Even in the cases of detailed descriptions, where the spatial distribution of the anatomical regions was used as an indicator of a funeral rite, *e.g.* a typical way of collecting remains from the pyre site, the individual data was not typically provided, rendering observations and conclusions subjective and hard to compare with other sites and burials. Where data for individual burials are provided, results are presented in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Noy 2000, 186; Deforce, Haneca 2011, 1338.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Durczewski 1959, 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Wróbel 2014, 226.

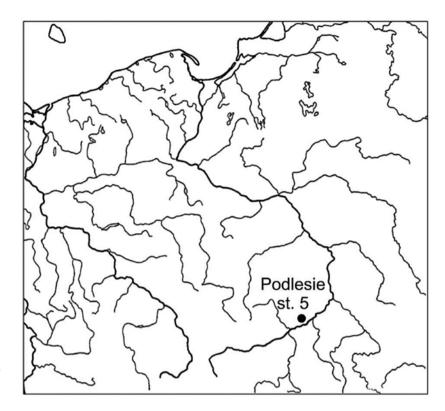


Fig. 3. Localisation of Podlesie, site 5, Oleśnica commune, Staszów district, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship (drawing by P. Dziechciarz).

qualitative rather than quantitative manner, which does not facilitate the statistical approach.<sup>8</sup> The quantitative method of analysing the spatial distribution of bones should allow for greater objectivity of observation and facilitate comparison of different burials from the same or different sites, cultures, or chronological periods. As the method used by the author permits such an approach, the spatial analysis of the collection of cremation burials from the Lusatian Culture from Podlesie, site 5, presented below is used to assess its potential.

#### Material

The analysed collection comes from 12 graves representing the Lusatian Culture from site 5 in Podlesie, Oleśnica commune, Staszów district, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship (AZP 94-67/35) (Fig. 3). The site has been recognised as a flat burial ground with a dominating post-burial funeral rite that can be attributed to the Lusatian Culture. The site itself has been used as a sand pit by local farmers for a significant period of time (probably several dozen years), and an unrecognised number of features have been previously destroyed (Fig. 4). Some damage has also been reported in the case of the features

selected for the present analysis, and the burials range from nearly intact to nearly completely destroyed (see information in Tab. 1 and Fig. 5.a–d). The full description of archaeological findings has been presented by Paweł Dziechciarz in his bachelor thesis. The analysis of the artefacts implies that the burial ground was used for a significant period of time, from Period IV of the Bronze Age to the beginning of the older Pre-Roman Period, which marks the end of the Lusatian Culture in the area. On the basis of its geographical location and the typology of the pottery, the site can be attributed to the Upper Silesia-Lesser Poland group of the Lusatian Culture. 10

Due to the character of the present analysis, only graves that were explored in several mechanical layers were selected, resulting in a total number of six features under investigation. The burials differ in the number of exploration layers, as well as the state of preservation of the urns and chronology. Detailed information is presented in Tab. 1. Presumably, each of the burials contained the remains of one individual, as the detailed morphological analysis has not shown supernumerary morphological elements, with the weights obtained not indicative of multiple individuals within the burials (see also 'Results' section). The remains underwent standard sex and age determination (see Tab. 2).

<sup>8</sup> Piontek 1976, 199, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Dziechciarz 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Dziechciarz 2015, 40–41.

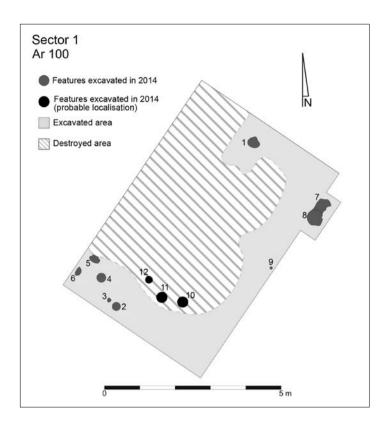


Fig. 4. Plan of the trench no. 1 and the location of the discovered archaeological objects with information on the destruction due to the digging of sand (drawing by P. Dziechciarz).

Tab. 1. List of the analysed burials with detailed information on exploration, state of preservation, and chronology (according to Dziechciarz 2015).

Feature no.	Weight of the remains in grams	Number of layers	Layer thickness	State of preservation	Age	Sex	Chronology
2	978	5	3 cm	Missing hip and shoulder, the lower part of the body mostly intact; the damage attributed to ploughing activity	40 yo	?	Period V of the Bronze Age – Hallstatt D
3	1442.5	5	3 cm	The urn nearly completely destroyed due to environmental factors	> 45 yo	m?	Hallstatt D – older Pre-Roman Period
5	626.5	2	8 cm	The urn severely damaged, only fragments of the body preserved, the remains evenly distributed within the pit	> 45 yo (?)	?	Hallstatt D (?)
8	837	7	3 cm	The upper part of the urn body and a shoulder missing, lower part well preserved; human remains found only within the urn	Adult	?	Hallstatt D – early older Pre-Roman Period
10	1188	6	5 cm	The feature heavily damaged by the digging of the sand	5–40 yo	m	Period V of the Bronze Age
12	945	5	5 cm	The feature heavily damaged by the digging of the sand	Adult	m	Hallstatt D

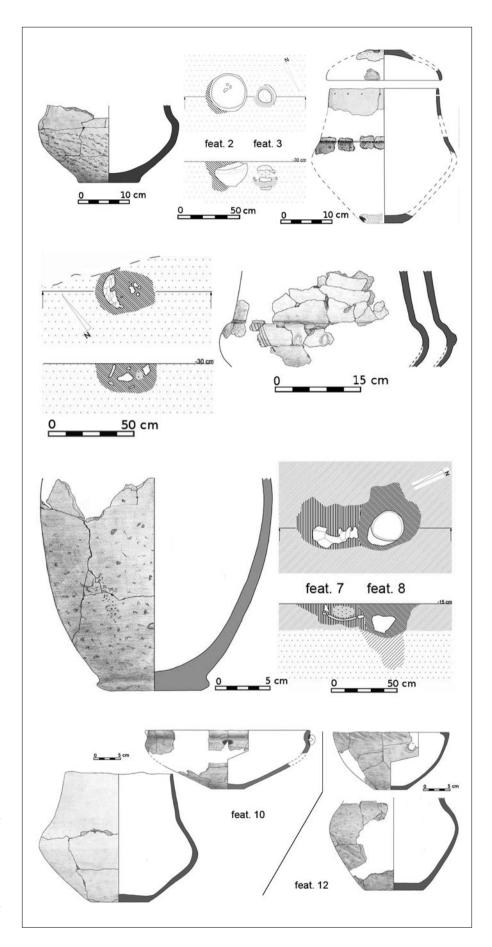


Fig. 5. Plans and stratigraphy of the analysed features with urn documentation: a. Features nos 2 and 3; b. Feature no. 5; c. Feature no. 8; d. Features nos 10 and 12 (only urns, see text for details) (drawing by P. Dziechciarz).

Tab. 2. Methods of determining the age and sex of the individuals within the individual burials.

Feature no.	Age	Method of age determination	Sex	Method of sex determination
2	> 40 yo	Cranial suture fusion <sup>a</sup>	?	No diagnostic fragments
3	> 45 yo	Pubic symphysis scoring system (phase 5+); <sup>b</sup> cranial suture fusion <sup>a</sup>	m?	Gracile and small mastoid process (score 2 – f?), blunt supraorbital margin (score 5 – m) <sup>c</sup>
5	> 45 yo (?)	Cranial suture fusion <sup>a</sup>	?	No diagnostic fragments
8	Adult	General morphology of the bone	?	No diagnostic fragments
10	35–40 yo	Pubic symphysis scoring system (phase 4), <sup>d</sup> auricular surface scoring system (phase 5+) <sup>d</sup>	m	Prominent supramastoid crest (m), <sup>c</sup> robust and large mastoid process (score 5 – m) <sup>c</sup>
12	Adult	General morphology of the bone	m	Blunt supraorbital margin (score 5 – m) <sup>c</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Meindl, Lovejoy 1985; after White et al. 2012, 392-393.

#### Methods

The analysis was carried out according to McKinley's method.11 This way of describing cremated remains takes into account most of the proposals given in the literature, allowing for a rather detailed but relatively easy to apply analysis. According to the recommendations, the burned remains from the analysed features were sieved with a set of calibrated sieves with 10, 5, and 2 mm mesh, and then each fraction was separately weighed. This division allows for determining the degree of material fragmentation. The next stage of the analysis involved the separation of identifiable fragments within each fraction and dividing them according to the anatomical position into five groups: skull, torso,12 upper limb, lower limb, and unidentifiable fragments. Fragments belonging to each group were then individually weighed on a scale with the accuracy of 0.5 g. This process was repeated separately for the remains from each of the analysed layers.

#### Results

The collected data clearly shows that probably none of the analysed burials can be expected to represent all fragments of the skeletons of the cremated individuals,

as implied by the recorded weights. Modern data indicates that cremains of an adult should weigh from 876 to over 5000 grams, with the ranges for females from 876 to 4000 g and males -1865 to 5379.<sup>13</sup> Within the researched sample, only the remains from the features nos 2, 8, and 12 fall within the lower end of the observed weights for the cremated female skeleton, but the last one belongs to a male individual. The observations do not allow to specify whether the 'missing' fragments are the result of burial practices, taphonomic damage to the graves, or exploration. Nonetheless, the anatomical analysis shows that, with the exception of the feature no. 8, all the burials contain fragments belonging to each of the distinguished skeletal regions (Fig. 6). Compared to expected values based on the weights of dry bones and presented as a model,14 it could be surmised that the burials are not exhibiting any indication of an intentional selection of the remains. According to the available data, it is difficult to speculate about the cause of the different composition of the feature no. 8, as even its total weight falls in the lower end of the analysed features, and its RAI (rate of anatomical identification - percentage of the identified elements within each of the features, Tab. 3)15 shows medium identification rate.

core of the body from the extremities, thus facilitating the interpretation of the heat-induced changes to the skeleton.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Brooks, Suchey 1990; after White et al. 2012, 396-400.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Walker 1994; after White et al. 2012, 396-400.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> Lovejoy et al. 1985; after White et al. 2012, 400-404.

e Rösing et al. 2007, 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> McKinley 1994, 5–6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The term 'torso' is used in the paper as an indication of skeletal fragments originating both from postcranial axial skeleton as well as pectoral and pelvic girdles. This way of differentiating the anatomical position of the elements follows the method proposed by McKinley (1994) and allows for distinguishing the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Warren, Maples 1997; Bass, Jantz 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> McKinley 1994, 6.

<sup>15</sup> Gonçalves 2012, 67.

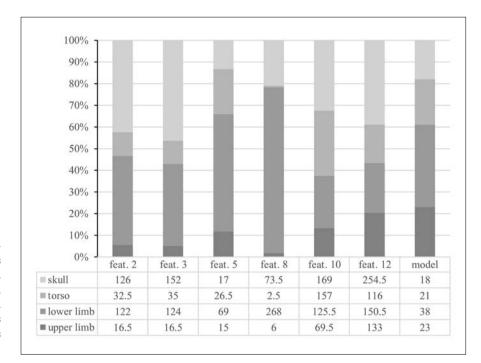


Fig. 6. Ratio of the representation of different skeletal regions within each of the analysed features with information on the model data; the actual weights of the skeletal regions in grams are given in the graph's table (compiled by E. Jaskulska).

Tab. 3. The rate of anatomical identification (RAI) of each feature, calculated as the percentage of the identified elements to the total weight of the cremains analysed.

Feature no.	Total weight of remains in grams	Total weight of identified fragments in grams	RAI
2	978	297	30.4
3	1442.5	327.5	22.7
5	626.5	127.5	20.4
8	837	350	41.8
10	1188	521	43.9
12	945	654	69.2

The amount of anatomically recognised fragments for each of the features analysed is presented in Fig. 7.a-f. Though most of the burials have been described as damaged, some indication of order can be observed. In most of the urns, the topmost layers consist primarily of skull fragments, and this position is statistically significant as confirmed by Chi<sup>2</sup> test (Chi<sup>2</sup> = 43.968, df = 16, p < 0.001), so it is not coincidental. To interpret the spatial distribution as a result of a methodical gathering of the remains from the pyre site, the lowest layers should show the predominance of lower limb bones, and the results of the statistical analysis confirm the validity of this observation (Chi<sup>2</sup> = 28.635, df = 16, p = 0.027). Such a situation is clearly visible in the features nos 2 and 8, but the features nos 3 and 10 also show an inclination for a similar distribution (Fig. 7.a-e). The lesser amount of fragments recovered from the feature no. 5, with low RAI value, makes the observation less valid (Tab. 3, Fig. 7.c).

The positions of the torso and upper limb are not easily interpreted, mostly due to the small amount of identified fragments. The statistical analysis shows that the distribution can be coincidental, especially in the case of the least numerous upper limb fragments (torso:  $Chi^2 = 18.75$ , df = 12, p = 0.095; upper limb:  $Chi^2 = 8.5$ , df = 8, p = 0.386). If the remains were gathered methodically, then bone fragments from both regions should be located in similar layers, most likely in-between skull and lower limb fragments. In the case of the feature no. 10, where the amount of torso and upper limb fragments was highest, the latter is distributed similarly to a lower limb through the lower layers, while an upper limb was found mostly in the middle of the urn (Fig. 7.e).

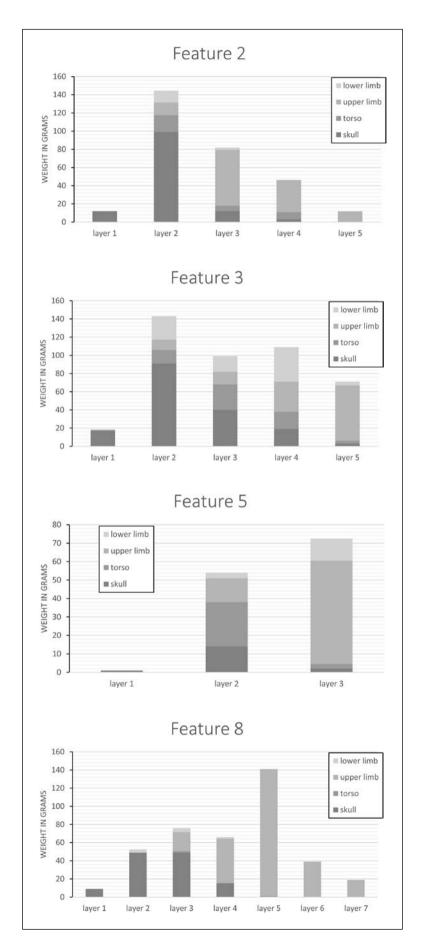


Fig. 7. Weights of fragments belonging to different skeletal regions within each of the excavation layers in the analysed features (compiled by E. Jaskulska).

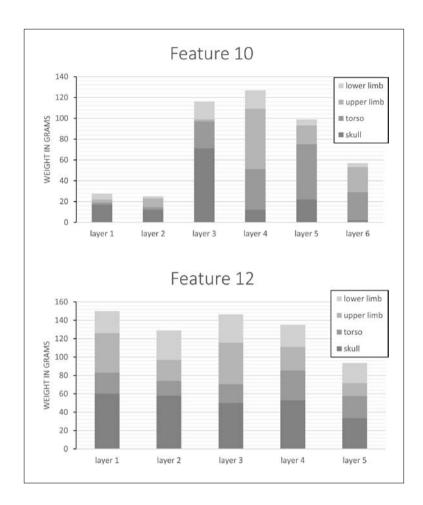


Fig. 7. cont.

The absence of any visible pattern in the spatial distribution of the fragments within the feature no. 12 is quite evident (Fig. 7.f). Each skeletal region is represented throughout all the layers in similar amounts, which could probably be interpreted as an indication of a lack of methodical gathering of the cremated remains from the pyre site unless the observation is a result of post inhumation damage, which in the case of the feature no. 12 was reported as significant.<sup>16</sup>

The position of the bone fragments within the urn could also result from the movement of the remains inside the vessel during the handling of the urn or post inhumation, due to microtremors of the surrounding soil. In this condition, it seems plausible to expect that the smallest fragments would move within the vessel, gathering in the lower part, while the largest elements would stay mostly in the original position, with their size impeding their movement. As lower limb fragments tend to be larger due to the durability and size of leg bones, this process could influence the observed position of the

fragments. To verify this hypothesis, the fragmentation of all the remains (including the unidentified fragments) within the layers has been analysed. The results are presented in the graphs in Fig. 8. The analysis does not confirm the hypothesis that the smallest fractions would gather in the lower part of the vessels in any of the analysed features, suggesting restricted movement of the remains, which should not affect the spatial distribution.

#### Discussion

The proposed method allows for a relatively easy to achieve and comprehensible presentation of the spatial distribution of cremated fragments within an urn. The most interesting observation is the clear disparity of the burial described as the feature no. 12, where no indication of the different anatomical origin of the fragments has been observed between the layers. There are several possible explanations of the unique character of this burial. One of the most obvious could be the state

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Dziechciarz personal communication.

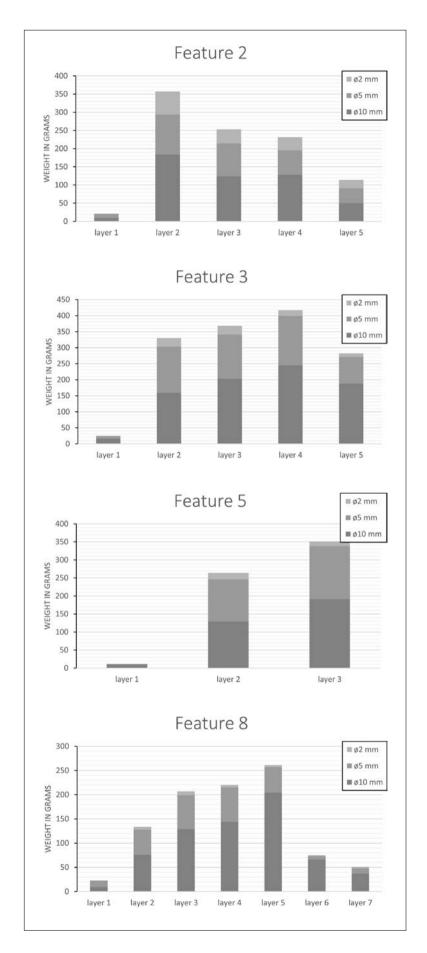


Fig. 8. Weights of bone fragment fractions within each of the excavation layers in the analysed features (compiled by E. Jaskulska).

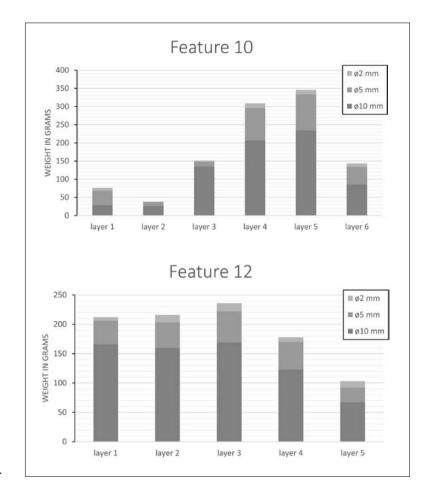


Fig. 8. cont.



Fig. 9. Example of an invasive spatial analysis from Targowisko, sites 10 and 11 (from Wróbel 2014, 227, fig. 8).

of preservation, as the feature is described as coming from the mostly destroyed part of the cemetery, and the state of the find has not allowed for the documentation of the grave structures.<sup>17</sup> This assumption seems to be implausible as other analysed features present a similar level of damage, and even the neighbouring feature no. 10 differs in its layers' morphological composition (Figs 4, 7.e–f). Other possible explanations do not seem valid either: the proposed chronology, the amount of the remains, nor the biological profile of the individual vary significantly from the rest of the findings (see also Tab. 1).

A very interesting case is presented by the feature no. 3, which is described as heavily-damaged (Tab. 1) and is documented also in Fig. 5.a. Contrary to expectations, the spatial analysis of the remains shows some order between the layers (Fig. 7.b). This observation has been explained by Paweł Dziechciarz, who confirmed the destruction of the urn but indicated that the urn's fill remained largely intact, forming a visible *in situ* shape of the ceramic vessel.<sup>18</sup>

The present analysis seems to confirm the value of the proposed method in providing quantitative data describing the spatial distribution of the remains within the urn, allowing for implementing the statistical analysis in order to determine the probability of the observation. It should be noted that this type of information is also easy to gather without relying on a much more invasive methodology involving the destruction of the artefacts, an example of which is presented in Fig. 9. An alternative approach has also been implemented in research, where the spatial observation was based on the localisation of each of the available fragments in a three-dimensional space, either through a non-invasive method, like CT scanning, <sup>19</sup> or during excavations through 3D scanning or photogrammetry, allowing for further statistical analysis of the position of each bone fragment. <sup>20</sup> The method proposed here does not require additional instruments and produces a description in the form of patterns facilitating a comparison of data coming from different sources.

#### Conclusions

The present analysis has not provided clear information whether the observed patterns of spatial distribution indicate any ritual practices, as the number of the investigated features is too low for generalisation. Further research on the site can answer the question whether the lack of any order within the feature no. 12 is a unique or at least uncommon trait within the burials on the site. If the documented pattern is repeated in further observations, the argument for the intentional placement of the different skeletal parts within the urn will be confirmed, allowing for further investigation whether the process can be used for reconstruction of funerary rite of the Lusatian Culture.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Dziechciarz 2015, 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Dziechciarz 2015, 18.

<sup>19</sup> Harvig et al. 2012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Pankowská et al. 2017.

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## PIOTR KIECA

Institute of Archaeology, University of Rzeszów piotrkieca@poczta.fm

# PAWEŁ SOBCZYK

Museum of the History of Włocławek archeologia@muzeum.wloclawek.pl

# THE CELTIC SWORD WITH BRONZE HILT ELEMENTS FROM SIARZEWO, NIESZAWA COMMUNE, KUYAVIAN-POMERANIAN VOIVODESHIP

#### ABSTRACT

A sword with bronze pseudo-anthropomorphic hilt elements typical of the Middle La Tène was found in the Vistula River not far from the village of Siarzewo, Nieszawa commune, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship. The scabbard was discarded and lost, but the sword is now in the Kujawy and Dobrzyń Land Museum in Włocławek. The hilt consists of three solid bronze elements: the guard, the tang ring, and the pommel. At present, these elements are separated by empty spaces which were previously covered with elements made from

organic materials. The pommel and guard are decorated on the surface with three small circles with a point inside. The blade of the sword is also very interesting. The surface of the sword is covered with a chagrinage decoration. In the middle part of the blade, below the top part of the hilt end, a crescent-shaped, star-like stamp (punchmark) is located. Similar bronze hilts and hilt elements are more typical of Celtic daggers and short swords, hence a sword with these elements appearing a long way north of the main Celtic area is a major surprise and mystery.

**Keywords:** Siarzewo, Celtic sword, pseudo-anthropomorphic hilt, La Tène Culture, chagrinage decoration, crescent-shaped punchmark

#### Introduction

This article is about a sword which is part of the collection of the Kujawy and Dobrzyń Land Museum in Włocławek. Unfortunately, there is little information about the circumstances of its discovery. According to the account of the finder, the sword was taken from the bottom of the Vistula River, not far from the village of Siarzewo, Nieszawa commune, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship (Fig. 1.1). Originally, the sword was bent and still in its metal scabbard. Because of its gold colour, the scabbard was taken to a jeweller and analysed. When this demonstrated that the plates were not gold but rather made from copper, the scabbard was taken off and discarded. After some time, the next owner bought the straightened sword from the finder. Finally, the sword was given to the Kujawy and Dobrzyń Land Museum in Włocławek (cat. no. MK-H 919/17132). Following this, in the 1980s, the sword was taken to the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology in Łódź, where its authenticity was confirmed.

## The sword

The total length of the Siarzewo sword is 844 mm. The length of the blade is 704 mm from the tip to the lower part of the hilt end. The maximum width of the blade is 35 mm (Fig. 2). The blade is lenticular in section, with a small midrib in the middle through most of its length. The hilt tang is 140 mm long, rectangular in section, from 11 to 9 mm wide and 3.5 mm thick.

The most interesting part of this sword is the hilt (Fig. 3). It consists of three solid bronze elements: the guard, the ring-shaped covering in the middle part of the tang (hereafter 'tang ring'), and the pommel. All of these are separated by what are now empty spaces previously covered with elements made from organic materials.

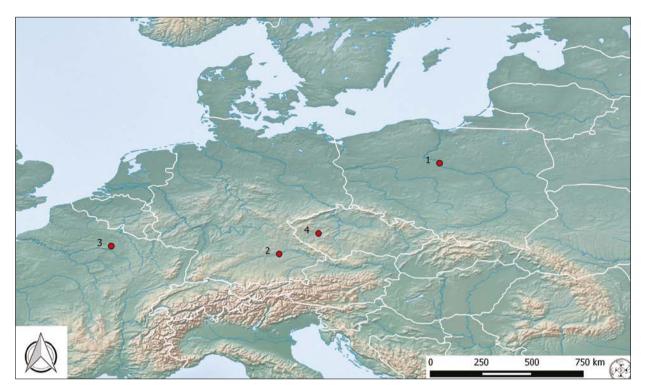


Fig. 1. Location plan: 1. Siarzewo; 2. Irnsing; 3. Prosnes; 4. Kyšice (compiled by P. Szmyd).

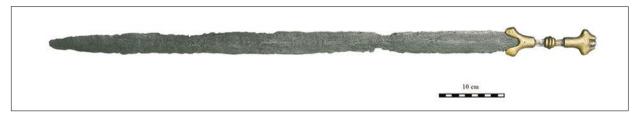


Fig. 2. Celtic sword from Siarzewo (photo by P. Sobczyk).



Fig. 3. Siarzewo sword hilt, both sides and the edge (photo by P. Sobczyk).

The upper empty part between the pommel and the tang ring is 14 mm long, and the lower part between the tang ring and the guard is 16 mm long. The first massive bronze element is a campanulate guard which, in the upper part, becomes a cylinder-shaped hilt in the lower third of the tang's length. The guard is 45 mm long with 'legs' extending down, with a maximum thickness of 11 mm in their middle part and 6 mm at the end. The broadest – 39 mm – is the lower part of the guard. In the central part of the grip, there is the tang ring. Its shape is a contoured cylinder with a 5 mm high cone-shaped collar in the middle. This element is 16 mm long and 19 mm wide, with the maximum diameter of 19 mm (13 mm at the top and 12 mm in the lower part). The third massive bronze element is the pommel, which is 51 mm high. Its shape is more or less similar to that of the guard, also starting as a cylinder-shaped part of the grip and then increasing to 41 mm in width. It creates 'arms' extending upwards with a small bulge on the top. Their width and thickness are between 5 and 6 mm, with the total width between their outer borders amounting to 22 mm. In the middle part, between the 'arms', is a rectangular niche 12.5 mm wide. Inside this niche, there is an iron, barrelshaped knob 11 mm high and 10 mm in diameter, with a thin collar in the middle. The knob is slightly thinner, 8 mm wide in the top part. The pommel and guard are decorated on the surfaces with three small circles, 7 to 8 mm in diameter, with a point inside. On the pommel, the circles are located in the central top part and on the 'arms'. On the guard, the decoration is on the central part and on both lower ends of the campanulate 'legs'. In both cases, the circles form a triangle. Unfortunately, nowadays the circles are barely visible due to heavy wear, but the middle points are very clear. It is possible that originally this decoration was slightly raised.

#### Physical and cultural associations

The bronze elements of the Siarzewo sword hilt are unique. It is very difficult to find a sword with similar kind of elements among the most common La Tène Culture weaponry. However, their shape and location on the sword can be compared to known forms of the European pseudo-anthropomorphic metal hilts

of swords and daggers. The armament with humanlooking, X-shaped hilts has been an important subject of debates since the beginning of the La Tène Culture research.¹One of the broadest studies has been performed by R.R. Clarke and C.F.C. Hawkes.<sup>2</sup> The researchers analysed every example known to them from Europe and divided them into seven types named in alphabetical order from A to G. The main division criterion was the shape and construction of the hilt. This issue was also undertaken by J. Filip in his major publication about the Celts in Central Europe.<sup>3</sup> Later, the finds from Hungary were reanalysed and presented by É.F. Petres.<sup>4</sup> Similar objects from Moravia were described by M. Čižmář,5 whereas P. Sankot<sup>6</sup> published finds from the Czech Republic. This type of weaponry was also a subject of interest to such researchers as F. Drilhon and A. Duval<sup>7</sup> or R. Pleiner<sup>8</sup> and A.P. Fitzpatrick<sup>9</sup>. Fitzpatrick turned his attention to a particular aspect, namely the presence of distinctive astral 'stamps', which were inlaid with copper alloys or precious metals, on the blades of some weapons. However, it needs to be pointed out that the above-mentioned publications have described mainly weapons which were defined as short swords or daggers, 10 but the specimen from Siarzewo is a long sword. There are only three other examples of longer swords with pseudo-anthropomorphic hilts, and only one of them is longer than 700 mm.

The first specimen comes from a disturbed Celtic grave from Kyšice,<sup>11</sup> Plzeň-City district in the Plzeň region of the Czech Republic (Fig. 1.4). The full length of this sword is 670 mm, with the blade 560 mm long and 360 mm wide.<sup>12</sup> The decorated hilt of this sword is made of bronze, with the grip rectangular in section and with five big knobs. Two knobs are on the pommel, on the ends of the 'arms', and two are on the ends of the convex guard 'legs'. The fifth one, the 'head', is in the central part of the pommel between the arm knobs. The tang, similarly to the grip, is rectangular in section. The decoration on the grip is composed of three vertically oriented circles in the lower part of the pommel, in the central part of the hilt, and in the middle part of the massive grip.

The second longer sword comes from a warrior grave in Prosnes, Marne Department in northern France (Fig. 1.3).<sup>13</sup> The full length is 670 mm, with the blade 550 mm long and 43 mm wide. The hilt is made of iron

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Déchellete 1927, 643-649.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Clarke, Hawkes 1955.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Filip 1956, 158–159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Petres 1979.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Čižmář 1996.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Sankot 1995.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Drilhon, Duval 1985.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Pleiner 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Fitzpatrick 1996.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Brunaux-Lambot 1987, 90–91; Pleiner 1993, 69; Fitzpatrick 1996, 373.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Clarke, Hawkes 1955, 204–206, 221, fig. 2:1; Filip 1956, 159, tab. 5:3, tab. VIII:1; Sankot 1995, 413–414, figs 1–3; 2003, 12, tabs 12, 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Sankot 2003, 17-20, tabs 1-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Rapin 2002.

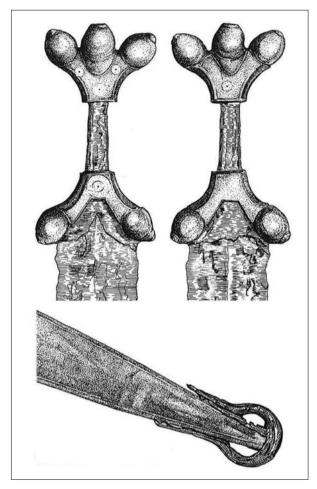


Fig. 4. Irnsing sword (after Sievers 2001, Abb. 2).

and contains five acorn-shaped knobs. The first one is in the central part of the pommel, two are on the ends of the 'arms', and the next two are on the ends of the convex 'legs' of the guard. The grip is rectangular in section and embellished with gold-inlaid ornaments. The next two decorative elements of this sword are located on the blade below the hilt. The first of these consists of two astralshaped punchmarks, the moon and the sun, placed on one side of the blade, while the other is found on the opposite side of the blade and consist of two carved goats.

The third example is a sword found on the bottom of the Danube, not far from the village of Irnsing,<sup>14</sup> the Free State of Bavaria in Germany (Figs 1.2, 4). The full length of the sword is 770 mm, whereas the blade is 661 mm long and 50 mm wide. The tang of this example is equipped with a massive bronze guard and a pommel

with five acorn-shaped knobs (Fig. 4). Three of these make the head and arms of the pommel, the next two are on the triangular-shaped guard 'legs'. Both of these elements were originally separated by a grip made of organic materials. The bronze pommel is ornamented on both sides. On the front, there are three circles arranged to form a triangle, while on the back there is only one in the middle. A decoration consisting of two concentric circles is also placed on the central part of the guard.

#### Decorative motifs

Circles as a decorative motif are very common on the pseudo-anthropomorphic hilts, especially types D and E. A similar embellishment is found on the hilt of the short sword from the Zihl River in Switzerland,15 on the specimen from Kölesd-Lencsepuszta, Tolna county in Hungary, 16 and on two swords from Klucov, Kolín district, and Údrnická Lhota, Jičín district in the Czech Republic.<sup>17</sup> As described above, this kind of decoration appears also on type A bronze hilt of the sword from Kyšice.<sup>18</sup> In most cases, the ornament is curved, except for the two swords from Klucov and Údrnická Lhota, where it is composed of round dimples. S. Sievers acknowledged that the location of the circles on the hilt of the Irnsing sword is similar to the locations of rivets holding the organic hilt elements of Celtic long swords. It is highly probable that the circles on the hilt of the Siarzewo sword are also associated with rivets.

There is another hilt from Poland which contains bronze elements with similar ornamentation (Fig. 5). This find was discovered in the grave (no. 41) of a healer/ warrior in Żukowice, Głogów commune, Lower Silesian Voivodeship. The iron tang, 105 mm long and rectangular in section, has a bronze pommel and two bronze rings attached to the tang. The first bronze ring is in the place of the guard, while the second smaller ring is placed in the middle part of the grip. The third one is the pommel, which has the shape of a stylised human head with big ears, nose, lips, and brows. On the top of the head, there is a curved isosceles cross in a circle, whereas the second decorative circle with a dot in the middle is on the back of the head. The identical decoration is placed on the lower part of the lower ring.<sup>19</sup> The hilt from Żukowice is a part of an unknown kind of tool, probably a knife.<sup>20</sup> The bronze elements of this hilt create a trifid arrangement with a ring in the middle, similar to the construction of the Siarzewo hilt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Sievers 2001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Clarke, Hawkes 1955, 210, 222, fig. 5:1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Petres 1979, fig. 1, tab. I:2; Szabó, Petres 1992, 93–94, tab. 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Sankot 1995, figs 7–10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Clarke, Hawkes 1955, pic. 2:1; Sankot 1995, figs 1–3; Sievers 2001, 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> I would like to thank Krzysztof Demidziuk for his help and detailed information.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Łuczkiewicz 2009, 81, fig. 1B.

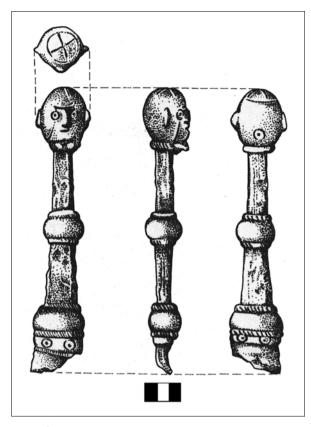


Fig. 5. Żukowice hilt from the burial no. 41 (drawing by Teresa Demidziuk).

## Tang rings

Tang rings are elements of the hilt known from Celtic worlds. A ring made of an iron plate 7 mm thick was located in the central part of the sword hilt from the Early La Tène rich warrior burial from Wintrich, Rhineland-Palatinate in Germany.<sup>21</sup> This kind of hilt element was more often used in the late phase of the Middle and into the Late La Tène Period. Nonetheless, the earlier rings were made not only from metal but also from organic materials. Two bone tang rings with thin bronze plates on their tops and bottoms were placed on the tang of the sword from the burial no. 225 in Povegliano, Verona province in north Italy.<sup>22</sup> The grave is dated to La Tène D1. Antler-made tang rings and a bronze campanulate-shaped hilt end were mounted on the tang of the sword from the burial no. 548 from Sion, the canton of Valais

in Switzerland.<sup>23</sup> This burial was dated to La Tène C2 or La Tène D1. Among the large number of finds revealed in the oppidum of Stradonice, Beroun district in the Czech Republic, one very interesting object was found. It was an iron tang, 35 mm long, with a bronze ring on it.<sup>24</sup>

## Ornamental elements on tang ends

In the construction of the Siarzewo sword hilt there is one element which does not appear in other pseudoanthropomorphic hilts. It is an iron, barrel-shaped knob located on the end of the tang, inside the pommel niche. The plastic small elements located on the ends of the sword tangs appear in the Early La Tène Period. For example, there is a sword in a warrior grave from Hochscheid, Rhineland-Palatinate in Germany,<sup>25</sup> and an item from a burial in Bescheid, Rhineland-Palatinate. On the end of the tang of the sword from Bescheid, there was a small bronze stylised human head.<sup>26</sup> Nonetheless, these tang elements are more often seen in more recent phases of the La Tène Period. The largest number of swords with small plastic knobs on the ends of their grip tangs come from Central Europe.<sup>27</sup> It is worth highlighting that a large number of swords of the Hatvan-Boldog type have a big cylindrical knob on the tops of their tangs. The swords from Hatvan-Boldog, Heves county, and Gáva-Katóhalom, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county, both in Hungary,<sup>28</sup> as well as from the burial no. 102 in Dürrnberg, Hallein district in Austria, may serve as references in this regard.<sup>29</sup> Another very interesting specimen is the Middle La Tène sword from Detva, Detva district in Slovakia,30 with an iron cylindrical knob on the end of the tang.

The surfaces of the knobs of the Middle La Tène swords from Kupinovo, Srem district in Serbia, and Szob, Pest district in Hungary, exhibit decorations featuring human faces.<sup>31</sup>

#### Sword hilts

Hilts of Celtic swords were made mainly from organic materials.<sup>32</sup> Most of them have not survived, but there are a few examples where wooden pieces were found.<sup>33</sup> The best-preserved surviving wooden hilt elements come from the Early La Tène skeleton burials

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Nortman et al. 2004, 137, 139, fig. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Bolla et al. 1993, 11, 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Curdy et al. 2009, 62-63, fig. 215, pl. 7:4782.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Pič 1906, pl. IX:35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Sievers 2001, fig. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Haffner 1999, 125, 128, figs 2, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Szabó, Petres 1985; 1992; Sankot 2005, 139.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Szabó, Petres 1985; 1992, pls 13, 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Stöllner 1998.

<sup>30</sup> Zachar 1987, pl. 131; Sankot 2005, pic. 2:1.

<sup>31</sup> Szabó, Petres 1992, pl. 71, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Pleiner 1993, 62.

<sup>33</sup> Pleiner 1993.

from Glauberg, the State of Hesse, and Hochscheid, Rhineland-Palatinate in Germany.<sup>34</sup> A large number of 'well-preserved' hilts come from the Münsingen-Rain (burials nos 79, 96, and 138)<sup>35</sup> and Münsingen-Tägermatten (burial no. 21) burial grounds, the canton of Bern in Switzerland.<sup>36</sup> The remains of bone-made fittings have been found in the burial no. 19 in Dubnik, Nové Zámky district in Slovakia.<sup>37</sup>

Metal elements were used in the design of long sword hilts since the Early La Tène Period. Bronze pommels with arms pointing up were put on top of swords from Hallstatt, Upper Austria (burial no. 994), and Herzogenburg-Kalkofen, Lower Austria (burial no. 11),38 in Austria. Very interesting remains of a wooden hilt with bronze, cone-shaped fittings were found in the warrior barrow in Liebau, the Free State of Saxony in Germany.<sup>39</sup> These bronze fittings were placed as decorations on the pommel and guard ends. The wooden grip of the sword from Fiskerton, Lincolnshire in England, was also decorated with ornamented bronze fittings.<sup>40</sup> However, at the end of the Early La Tène Period, Celtic craftsmen stopped using bronze to make hilt elements. This trend is visible all across Europe, except on the British Isles, where bronze was still in use.41 Since then, two-piece hilts fitted with iron rivets became the dominant form of sword grips. However, there are some sporadic departures from this rule. The sword in the burial no. 126 from Mana, Nové Zámky district in Slovakia, has bronze rivets.<sup>42</sup> In this period, the wing-like iron tin plates were very often installed on top of pommels. These elements are known from Pottenbrunn (burial no. 23)43 and Mannersdorf (burials nos 60 and 76),44 Lower Austria in Austria. Similar wing-like pommel ends came from Csabrendek, Jutas 4, Sümeg district, and Kósd, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén district in Hungary. 45 Another very interesting sword was also found at the burial ground in Pottembrunn in the burial no. 562.46 The bow-shaped wooden pommel and the guard of this specimen were originally covered with decorated iron tin plates joined by two rivets. Between the arms of the pommel there was also an ornamented iron knob.

At the end of the Early La Tène Period, the first metal-made convex and campanulate hilt ends started to appear. In the Middle La Tène Period, round flat tin plates and other metal elements started to be used in the construction of sword hilts more often. Iron and bronze were used to make them. These elements have been found on sword tangs from Neunkirchen, Lower Austria in Austria, 47 Balassagyarmat, Nógrád county, Halmajugra 1, Heves district in Hungary, Iža, Komárno district in Slovakia, 48 and the above-mentioned specimens from Povegliano in Italy and Sion in Switzerland. The tang on the sword from Courgenay, Yonne department in France, has three iron tang rings, and its massive campanulate hilt end is decorated with circles. This weapon also has a punchmark, a human head in profile on the blade below the hilt, and the relic of a bronze scabbard. 49 The metal hilt elements have also been found on the swords which come from La Tène, Neuenburg canton in Switzerland. The tang of the sword no. 80 was equipped with an iron tang ring.<sup>50</sup> From this site, there comes another sword with two very interesting iron hilt elements. The first is a half-rounded and vertical stripe made of iron. The second is a campanulate iron hilt end with extended and upward pointing ends, which were flattened and pierced with rivets.<sup>51</sup> From the end of the La Tène Period, swords are known which contained a set of tin plates placed on the grip tangs. These plates were made of iron, bronze, and sometimes brass. These finds mainly came from the area of northern Germany and the Netherlands.52

## The Siarzewo sword

The measurements of the Siarzewo sword are similar to the dimensions of other finds of this type from Europe.<sup>53</sup> The almost identical-sized swords are known from the area of the La Tène Culture including the finds from the enclaves of this culture in Poland, such as the two swords from Głownin, Lower Silesian Voivodeship (burial no. 2-3/1904).<sup>54</sup> From a typological perspective, the Siarzewo sword is similar to Type 6 or 8, according to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Raftery 1988, pic. 83; 1998, 64, pic. 3; Sievers 2001, pic. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Hodson 1968, pls 97, 98, 99, 101:530.

<sup>36</sup> Osterwalder 1975, 23-24, Abb. 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Bujna 1989, 268.

<sup>38</sup> Egg, Schönfelder 2009, 30, Abb. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Coblenz, Pietzsch 1956; Pleiner 1993, 62, fig. 6:1.

<sup>40</sup> Stead 2006, 23, fig. 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Stead 2006, 23, 32; Fitzpatrick 2007, 27, 29, figs 1, 2.

<sup>42</sup> Benadik 1983, 58, fig. XLIX.

<sup>43</sup> Ramsl 2002, 74-75, fig. 34:1.

<sup>44</sup> Ramsl 2011, 162, Tafs 82:11, 90:6.

<sup>45</sup> Szabó, Petres 1992, pls 10:1, 23, 40.

<sup>46</sup> Ramsl 2002, 48, fig. 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Pittioni 1930, 47, pic. 9, pl. 11:2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Szabó, Petres 1992, pls 2, 3, 16, 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Drack 1954/55, 233, pics 8, 49, pics 14, 49, pl. 66, 49; Parruzot 1955.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Navarro, 1972, 409, pl. XXXVI:3.a-b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Vouga 1923, 33–34, pl. III:7; Drack 1954–1955, 233, pics 14, 50, pl. 68.50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Verwers, Ypey 1975; Lejars 1996, 90, fig. 6:6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Navarro 1972, 401, 402, tabs XXXI:4, XXXII:3.a-b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Woźniak 1970, 59, 61–62, pl. XV:3, 4–4.a; 1979, 213.



Fig. 6. Chagrinage decoration (photo by P. Kieca).



Fig. 7. Siarzewo sword blade, astral-shaped stamp in the shape of a crescent (photo by P. Kieca).

the typology of swords from Gournay Sur Aronde, Oise department in France, proposed by J.-L. Brunaux and B. Lambort,<sup>55</sup> and to Type I in the typology of swords from the Przeworsk Culture proposed by T. Bochnak.<sup>56</sup> However, its dimensions are closer to those of Type IV by Bochnak.<sup>57</sup>

The blade of the Siarzewo sword has another very interesting attribute, namely a decoration made of punched or incised dots, or the chagrinage ornament (Fig. 6).<sup>58</sup> This kind of decoration is known from the sword blades from the La Tène Culture area.<sup>59</sup> and the swords from the Przeworsk Culture area.<sup>60</sup> A closer examination of the blade's surface revealed a punchmark

located in the middle part of the blade, 77 mm below the top part of the hilt's end. It is an example of an astral-shaped stamp in the shape of a crescent, 75 mm high by 4 mm wide and 1 mm thick (Fig. 7), on the right side of the blade. The punchmarks and the associated swords have been very thoroughly analysed, which led to various interpretations of the purpose of this special decoration. These varied from the thesis that it was a blacksmith's or owner's mark, to the theses about their magical and symbolic meaning. Inlaid with gold, silver, or base metal, the astral-shaped stamps on dagger/sword blades with pseudo-anthropomorphic hilts have been analysed by A.P. Fitzpatrick. The author suggests that this weapon

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Brunaux, Lambot 1987, 120–121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Bochnak 2005, 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Bochnak 2005, 39–40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Pleiner 1993, 64; Bochnak 2005, 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Navarro 1972, 145, 209–210, pl. XII:3.

<sup>60</sup> Bochnak 2005, 32-33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Drak 1954/55; Pleiner 1993, 65; Bochnak 2005, 34–36; Dulęba 2006; 2009; Deutscher 2012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Fitzpatrick 1996.

played a major role in the Celtic religion.<sup>63</sup> According to his interpretation, these swords were used for religious ceremonies, probably related to counting the passage of time and the Celtic calendar.

In the light of the above-mentioned information, it can be considered that this sword came from a Celtic workshop, but it is really hard to pinpoint the precise place of its production.

However, it is worth mentioning that to the west of the Rhine there are no pseudo-anthropomorphicly hilted swords/daggers with similar hilt decoration, neither is there a weapon with analogical construction and components. They are, however, found across Switzerland, Bavaria in Germany, and Hungary. It is highly possible that the area of Central Europe is the place where one should look for their manufacturer's workshop. The presence of the above-mentioned bronze-hilted swords from Irnsing and Kyšice in this part of Europe also corroborates this theory. The finds proving the presence of workshops manufacturing anthropomorphic hilts in this area are commonly known. One find is a bronze pommel in the shape of a human head from the oppidum of Manching, the Free State of Bavaria in Germany.<sup>64</sup> Identical finds also come from the oppidum of Stradonice, Beroun district in the Czech Republic,65 and the oppidum of Staré Hradisko, Prostějov district in Moravia.66 These finds are elements of swords/daggers with Type G pseudoanthropomorphic hilts according to the typology of R.R. Clarke and C.F.C. Hawkes.<sup>67</sup> A very interesting object, a mould used to cast a campanulate hilt end, was found in the oppidum of Heidetränk,  $^{68}$  the State of Hesse in Germany. This find is a proof of the existence of a workshop where bronze hilt elements were made.

## Votive offerings in rivers

The sword from Siarzewo is an example of a very interesting piece of weaponry, and its find-spot was also very unusual. From the finder's account, we know that the sword came from the bottom of the Vistula River. This allows us to propose a theory about the votive context of this find. A large number of small swords/daggers

with pseudo-anthropomorphic hilts come from rivers.<sup>69</sup> The Irnsing sword came from the bottom of the Danube, 70 and the sword/dagger with a decorated hilt came from the Zihl River in Switzerland.<sup>71</sup> It is also worth mentioning that two other swords with punchmarks known from Poland were found in a river. These are the specimens from the Noteć River, which were found in Białośliwie, Piła district, and Inowrocław-Matwy, Inowrocław district.72 The sword from Białośliwie, like the Siarzewo sword, has a chagrinage ornament on the blade.<sup>73</sup> Stamped swords are very often associated with water votive offering sites.<sup>74</sup> A river itself was probably a home of a deity, and weaponry was an offering or a result of a vow. These kinds of finds mainly come from places where there were probably river crossings, fords, especially on slow rivers like the Saône.<sup>75</sup> S. Sievers, in her paper about the Irnsing sword, also suggested that the role of this votive offering was to amplify a tribal border, which was the river.

## The chronology

It is very important to determine a proper dating of this sword. Taking into consideration the shape and measurements, the Siarzewo find fits into the Middle La Tène horizon, which is also supported by the presence of the punchmark. The custom of decorating sword blades with blacksmiths' stamps was widespread in the Middle La Tène Period, and the majority of the Celtic swords with stamps on their blades come from this period.<sup>76</sup>

However, it is important to point out that the sword was originally found in a metal scabbard, which, according to the finder's account, was made of copper. It is possible that it was bronze with a very low tin content and was thus labelled as copper by mistake. Colour metals were commonly used as a material for scabbard plates at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and in the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Later, they were abandoned in favour of iron sheets. But there is a small number of non-iron finds from the Middle La Tène horizon. Two of them come from La Tène<sup>77</sup> – probably the scabbard of the sword from Courgenay, Yonne department in France, was also made of bronze. Similarly, the front sheet of

<sup>63</sup> Fitzpatrick 1996, 388–389.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Sievers 2010, 22, pic. 7.

<sup>65</sup> Pič 1906, pl. XX:8.

<sup>66</sup> Meduna 1961, pl. I:9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Clarke, Hawkes 1955, 213–217, pics 4–6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> The find from the oppidum of Heidetränk is held by the Vortaunusmuseum in Oberursel, see Auszüge aus den Inventarbüchern 1, 1973/74–5, 1981/82 (archive of the Centre de Recherche Archéologique Européen de Bibracte, Glux-en-Glenne).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Clarke, Hawkes 1955; Sievers 2001, 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Sievers 2001, 13, fig. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup>Clarke, Hawkes 1955, 222.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Makiewicz 1992; Bochnak 2002, 34; 2006; Dulęba 2006; 2009

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Dulęba 2006, 179.

<sup>74</sup> Duleba 2006, 184; Deutscher 2012, 252.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Sievers 2001, 20; Bochnak 2006.

<sup>76</sup> Dulęba 2006, 185, 192; 2009; Deutscher 2012, 252, 293.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Navarro 1972, 21, tab. XX:3.a-c.

the Irnsing sword's scabbard was made of bronze as well. At the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and in the beginning of the 1st century BC, bronze and other colour metals made a come-back as materials for sword scabbard elements. The bimetallic scabbards of Ludwigshafen and Orme types<sup>78</sup> are good examples. Probably closer to the middle of the 1st century BC, brass started to be used as well.<sup>79</sup> Bronze scabbards are also related to pseudoanthropomorphic weaponry. The sword from the Zihl River in Switzerland was found with a bronze scabbard,80 similarly to the chronologically earlier (1st century BC) specimens from Châtillon-sur-Indre, Indre department, Mirebeau-sur-Bèze, Côte-d'Or department, Tesson, Charente-Maritime department in France, and the sword in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.81 In the light of the information provided above, it is possible to suggest that the Siarzewo sword should be dated to between the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

#### **Conclusions**

The Celtic sword from Siarzewo is an example of weaponry which was not only of utilitarian but also ceremonial function. It was probably a part of a high-status warrior's equipment, similarly to the swords/daggers with pseudo-anthropomorphic hilts. But it needs to be highlighted that this is a long sword, and, except for the Early La Tène finds, no chronologically younger long swords with similar hilt elements have been known so far.

It remains a big mystery how this sword appeared in the centre of a Germanic land, so far north from the heartland of the Celtic cultural zone. It seems that this lends considerable support to the suggestion by P. Dulęba that, like the swords with punchmarks, the Siarzewo sword was a war booty.<sup>83</sup> It is possible that the presence of this sword in this area in the younger Pre-Roman Period was related to the expansion of the Przeworsk Culture towards the south. The context of its finding suggests that, similarly to the swords from Irnsing and the Noteć River, it was a water-related votive offering.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Lejars 2003, 11–12; Istenič 2010, 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Verwers, Ypey 1975, 90–91, fig. 7; Istenič 2010, 143–144; 2015.

<sup>80</sup> Clarke, Hawkes 1955, 210, 222, fig. 5:1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Fitzpatrick 1996, 393–394, figs 12, 14; Megaw 2002, 408, fig. 7.a–b; Deutsher 2012, 263.

<sup>82</sup> Pleiner 1993, 51.

<sup>83</sup> Duleba 2006, 192.

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#### BARTOSZ KONTNY

Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw bdkontny@uw.edu.pl https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3627-046X

# Novaesium Type Chape from the Area of Międzyrzecz<sup>1</sup>

#### **ABSTRACT**

A copper alloy chape was found by chance by a detectorist, Ernest Buczkowski, at Silna – several kilometers to the east of Międzyrzecz. It is a unipartite form with an openwork crescent decoration on the front side fastened to the scabbard with the use of a nail. One should attribute the item to the Roman type *Novaesium*, dated to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Outside the Roman limes, it was popular in the Elbe Circle as well as the Isle of Funen and the Jutland Peninsula during Subphases Cla and Clb. Some of the chapes of the said type (specifically the multipartite

specimens) may be treated as barbarian replicas of Roman originals. However, it is not the case for the finding from Międzyrzecz. It is the second find of this type from the territory of Poland. It should be associated with the Wielbark Culture, which was situated in the Międzyrzecz region in the beginning of the Early Roman Period. It makes the finding very intriguing, as this cultural unit is characterised by the lack of weapons among the grave goods; therefore, the one in question sheds some light on the problem of armament in the Wielbark Culture.

**Keywords:** Wielbark Culture, Roman Empire, weapons, *Novaesium* type chape, *Barbaricum*, Crisis of the Third Century

The artefact presented here was discovered in the village of Silna, Międzyrzecz district, in the Lubusz Lakeland, in the topsoil layer of a field intersected by a ditch, at the depth of c. 20 cm (Fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> It is a one-piece cast copper alloy chape of a double-edged sword (Figs 2–3). Its lower part is rounded, and the upper part has two s-shaped ornaments separated by a centrally located pineal projection with a triangular top; no rounded extensions are visible on the edges above the openwork ornament. Below the s-shaped ornaments, there are symmetrical crescent-shaped holes, and slightly below them, there is a small hole made only in the front part, at the vertical axis of the chape, which was used to fasten it to wooden laths. The back part is lower, and its upper edge is parallel to the lower edges of the crescent-shaped

openwork ornaments. Along the vertical axis there is a lath; in this place, the artefact is slightly concave so that the chape could have been tightly fitted to a wooden scabbard. The arms are bent and u-shaped in profile. The chape is 5 cm high, 4.1 cm wide, and 0.8 cm thick in its thickest point. It weighs 0.017 kg.

The find should be classified as the *Novaesium* type, which is indicated by the characteristic crescent-shaped (it could be also pelta-shaped) openwork decoration (cone-shaped central projections are also known from these forms<sup>3</sup>). It can be ranked as medium-sized among all the chapes,<sup>4</sup> just as the larger ones among the chapes without extensions over openwork crescents.<sup>5</sup> Chapes of the *Novaesium* type (Fig. 4) are considered to be of Roman origin<sup>6</sup> and to have evolved from the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This paper is a part of a research project led by Prof. Adam Ziółkowski from the Institute of History, University of Warsaw, financed by the Polish National Science Centre, 2017/25/B/HS3/01299 ('Crisis of the Roman Empire in the 3rd c.: causes and reflection in ancient sources').

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In 2017, the finder, Mr Ernest Buczkowski, handed the artefact to the Institute of Archaeology at the University of Warsaw.

The artefact is now in the process of being transferred to the Jan Dekert Museum of the Lubusz Land in Gorzów Wielkopolski.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For instance, *cf.* Thorsberg – Matešić 2015, pls 26: M 193, 29: M 213, 215, 216; see also Fig. 4.B285.72–73 here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. Miks 2007, 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. Matešić 2015, 73–74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Kaczanowski 1992, 43.

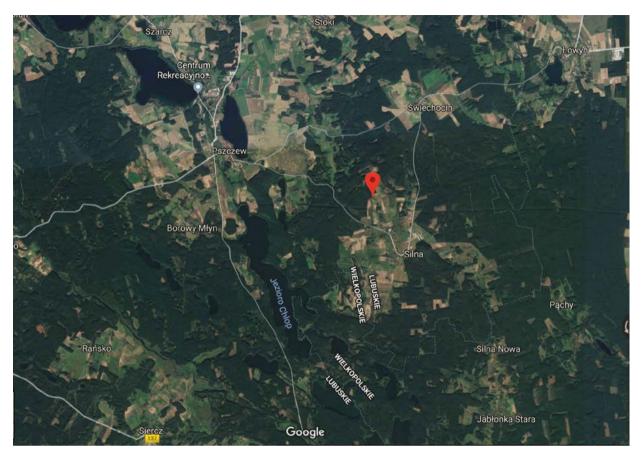


Fig. 1. Silna, Międzyrzecz district. Location of the site.



Fig. 2. Chape from Silna (photo by M. Bogacki).

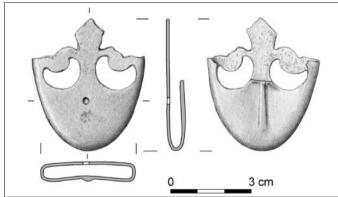


Fig. 3. Chape from Silna (drawing by P. Szymański).

pelta-shaped forms of the *Hamfelde-Vimose* type.<sup>7</sup> The discussed artefacts were made almost exclusively from copper alloys.<sup>8</sup> However, there are some differences between the finds from the lands of the Empire and those from the *Barbaricum*: the former were usually made from one piece of cast metal and fixed with rivets for

which special holes were left, whereas the latter were in some instances made of several elements, and rivets were put through the openwork ornaments in the chapes.<sup>9</sup> The artefact from Silna was made from a single piece and has a hole for a rivet in its front part. At the areas of the Roman Empire such forms are quite frequent:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Miks 2007, 338.

<sup>8</sup> Miks 2007, 225-336.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Miks 2007, 336.

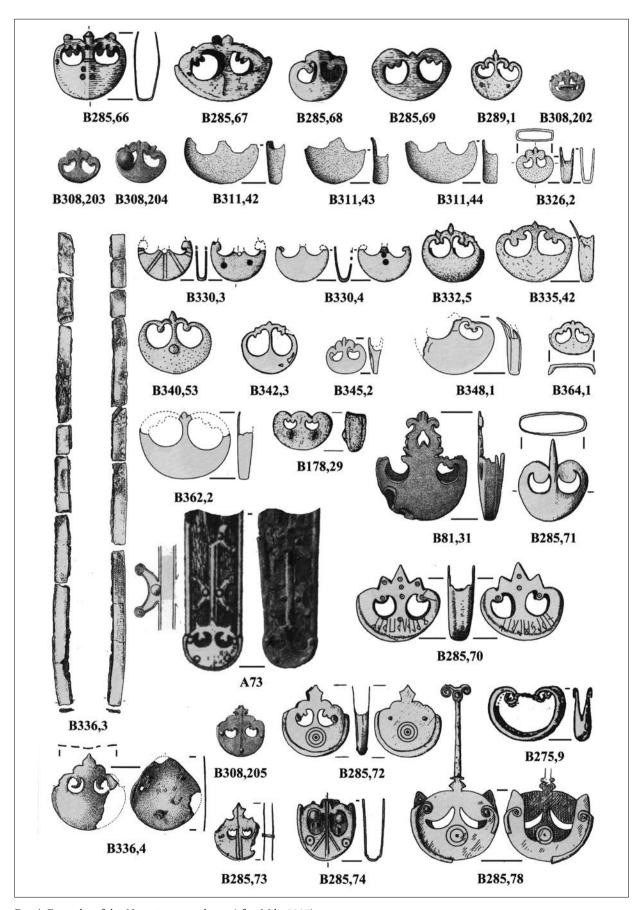


Fig. 4. Examples of the *Novaesium* type chapes (after Miks 2007).

from Britain and Gaul through Raetia, Pannonia, and Dacia to Syria. In the lands of the *Barbaricum*, the majority of the *Novaesium* type chapes were found in the Elbe Circle, on Funen, and in Jutland. Besides them, only a number of single items were found in the Rhine and the Weser lands, which may be a matter of burial rite rather than the actual circulation. Until recently, no specimens were discovered in the lands to the east of the Elbe. The situation has been changed by the recent discoveries from Bąbolin, Inowrocław district in Kujawy, and from Silna.

The origin of the item from Bąbolin is not certain. There are some Germanic imitations of the *Novaesium* type, <sup>13</sup> especially small specimens without rivets (*i.e.* features exhibited by the artefact from Kujawy), discovered almost exclusively across Germanic lands. <sup>14</sup> However, as it was made from a single piece of metal, has quite a complex openwork decoration, and is of relatively high quality, it seems more probable that the chape was made somewhere in the Empire. <sup>15</sup>

These doubts do not pertain to the find from Silna. The specimens with rounded projections over openwork crescents/peltae (cf. Fig. 4.B285.66-67, B308.204, B332.5, and B335.42) have been recorded at the north European bog sites of Thorsberg, Illerup Ådal, and Vimose, as well as at two sites in the Barbaricum, including Mušov in Moravia. The last of the mentioned finds may be related to the Roman presence in the Barbarian lands during the Marcomannic Wars. Similar chapes are also known from the provinces of Germania Inferior and Britannia, as well as the north-Germanic-Rhaetic limes. When it comes to the ones without side extensions (like the case from Silna and the others shown on Fig. 4), they appeared sparsely throughout the whole Roman Empire, whereas their smaller variants show concentrations in the province of Germania Inferior and in the Barbaricum (Fig. 5).16

The context of the finds of the *Novaesium* type chapes enabled dating them to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century (recently these specimens have been included in the chrono-

logical group IIa, which is equivalent to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century<sup>17</sup>) as well as to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The precise chronological determination was possible owing to the discoveries made outside the *limes*<sup>18</sup> which should be associated with Phases Cla and Clb.<sup>19</sup>

The find from Silna bears no traces of melting, which means that it either came from a disturbed inhumation burial or does not have a sepulchral character. The latter possibility is supported by the cultural analysis. The chape should be linked to the Wielbark Culture because the area of modern Miedzyrzecz was under the influence of that culture during the Early Roman Period. In the vicinity of its findspot, there are no known sites from similar times except one - Silna, site 8 - where a single potsherd identified as dating to the Roman Period was found.<sup>20</sup> Wielbark Culture burial grounds are known from Brójce, Trzciel district, and Jordanów, Świebodzin district, located more than a dozen kilometres to the south-east and south from Międzyrzecz respectively. Hence, the chape from Silna, discovered to the east of Międzyrzecz, should be linked to this cultural unit. The above-mentioned burial grounds functioned in Phase B2 but also at the beginning of the Early Roman Period and in Jordanów - even in Phase Clb.<sup>21</sup> This area is considered the starting point for the westward migration of the Wielbark Culture population.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the chape should be dated to the time when members of the Wielbark Culture were settling within the micro-region. The almost complete lack of weapons in the Wielbark Culture burial grounds<sup>23</sup> undermines the hypothesis that the find could have come from a sepulchral context. Possibly, the discussed artefact comes from a yet undiscovered settlement. The popularity of similar forms in particular parts of Scandinavia (Denmark and its sacrificial bog sites) suggests that this is where the chape originated from.<sup>24</sup> This remains in agreement with the increasingly well-documented claim that at the beginning of the Early Roman Period the Przeworsk Culture was replaced by Scandinavian influences as an inspiration for Wielbark

Oldenstein 1976, 112–113, pl. 19:112–116; Miks 2007, 337; Matešić 2015, figs 43–44.

<sup>11</sup> Kaczanowski 1992, 44; Pauli Jensen 2016, fig. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Kontny, Rudnicki forthcoming.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Matešić 2015, 87–88, fig. 53.

<sup>14</sup> Matešić 2015, 73-75, fig. 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Naturally, quality should not always be paralleled with provenance. One may encounter also truly perfectly-manufactured items produced in the *Barbaricum* as well as mediocre (cheapish?) specimens coming from the Empire. The distinction between the Roman and the Barbarian pieces may be blurred further by the possibility that Roman artisans (captives or hired) did their work in the Barbarian territories – see *e.g.* Schnurbein 1994.

<sup>16</sup> Matešić 2015, 73–74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Cf. Biborski, Ilkjær 2006, fig. 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Miks 2007, 336–338.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Pauli Jensen 2016, 654.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Archive of the National Heritage Board of Poland, Polish Archaeological Record, area no. 51–17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Gałęzowska 2007, 188, 192, tab. 1, with further literature.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Cf. Schuster 2007, 438, fig. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Kaczanowski, Zaborowski 1988; Kontny 2006; 2019a, 69–113.

 $<sup>^{24}</sup>$  It seems possible that such borrowings were possible via participation in joint military actions or raids organised by north European military leaders, see *e.g.* Kontny 2019a, 90.

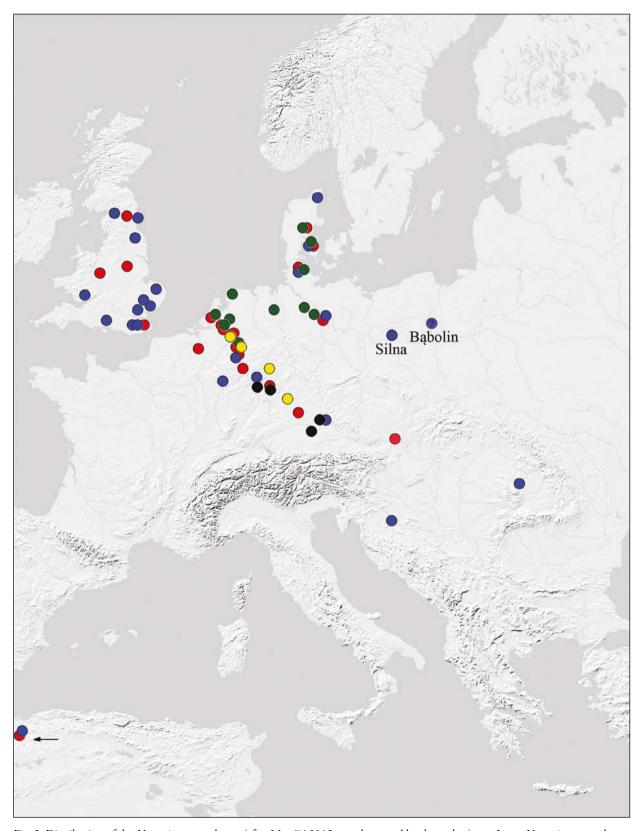


Fig. 5. Distribution of the *Novaesium* type chapes (after Matešić 2015, supplemented by the author): • – Large *Novaesium* type chapes without extensions over openwork decorations on the sides; • – Small chapes of the *Novaesium* type without extensions over openwork decorations on the sides; • – Large *Novaesium* type chapes with extensions over openwork decorations on the sides; • – Small *Novaesium* type chapes with extensions over openwork decorations on the front side.

weapons.<sup>25</sup> This trend can also be noticed in male belt fittings.<sup>26</sup> This points to the possibility that the Roman chape came to Silna from Scandinavia, but this hypothesis should be verified by excavations in the area. Such possi-

bility, however, sheds new light on the problem of military contacts and movement in Barbarian Europe. It may be specifically linked to the crisis of the Roman Empire in the  $3^{rd}$  century and in times directly preceding it.

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# Dariusz Krasnodębski

The Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences krasnodebskid@poczta.onet.pl https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7096-1227

#### Hanna Olczak

hannaolczak@yahoo.co.uk

## Jagoda Mizerka

jagodamiz@o2.pl https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9172-8264

#### Kamil Niedziółka

Institute of Archaeology, The Cardinal Wyszyński University in Warsaw k.niedziolka@wp.pl https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7368-1167

# ALLEGED BURIAL MOUNDS FROM THE LATE ROMAN PERIOD AT LEŚNICTWO SACHAREWO SITE 3, BIAŁOWIEŻA PRIMEVAL FOREST

#### **ABSTRACT**

The article presents results of excavations carried out at an alleged barrow cemetery located in the western part of the Białowieża Primeval Forest, Poland. The site, discovered in 1996 and verified in 2016, consists of 10 mounds. In 2017, the first excavations were carried out when the mound no. 3, with a diameter of c. 9 m and a relative height of c. 0.7 m, located on the northern edge of the site, was chosen for research. In the mound 39 potsherds were found. The scarcity of ceramic material and the high degree of its fragmentation make the stylistic analysis difficult. The technological and stylistic features of the discussed pottery are typical for ceramics from a wide timespan, ranging from the Pre-Roman Period to the Late Roman Period. Their precise dating and cultural affiliation are difficult to determine due not only to the small size of the collection but also to the lack of well-dated comparative materials from the

Białowieża Forest and its surroundings. A <sup>14</sup>C analysis of charcoal obtained from the embankment of the mound yielded an approximation which fits between the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the early 6<sup>th</sup> century. The cultural situation of north-eastern Poland in the Pre-Roman and Roman periods remains insufficiently recognised. Excavations carried out over the past dozen years have revealed many settlements related to the local culture group of the Hatched Pottery Culture and the Wielbark Culture, with some influences flowing from the post-Zarubintsy circle. In the course of the excavations, no human bones were found which would unambiguously confirm the sepulchral function of the mound. The Sacharewo mound is a part of a wider category of objects known from throughout the Białowieża Forest in which no bones were discovered but only fragments of clay vessels or charcoal layers.

Keywords: cemetery, mounds, Roman Period, Białowieża Primeval Forest, Wielbark culture, post-Zarubintsy culture

Leśnictwo Sacharewo Site 3 is located in compartment 413A of the Białowieża Forest, in the bifurcation of the Leśna Prawa River and an unnamed creek (Fig. 1). It is located c. 300 m south-east of the Sacharewo forester's lodge. The site consists of ten earth mounds located within an area of c. 1 ha (Figs 1.3, 2). The features are scattered over the length of c. 145 m and do not create a clear layout. The particular mounds are located at a distance of 10 to 45 m from each other. Their diameters range from 7 to 12 m and heights from 0.3 to 1.0 m (Figs 2–4). There are no circular trenches or stone structures visible on the surface. Only at the eastern edge of the furthest mound no. 7 a large pit was recorded.

The described site, as a cluster of eight mounds, was documented for the first time in 1996, when an inventory of mounds located in the Białowieża Primeval Forest was drawn.1 In 2015, this area was included in a field survey of the Polish Archaeological Record (in Polish: Archeologiczne Zdjęcie Polski – AZP), as a result of which the ninth mound was discovered.2 Re-verification of the site was performed in the autumn of 2016,3 during an expedition of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw carried out as a part of the project 'Inventory of Cultural Heritage of the Białowieża Primeval Forest'. 4 In four mounds (nos 2, 3, 5, and 7), drillings were carried out with a geological drill. On their basis, it was found that the mounds were made of light-brown-yellow sand and did not have stone mantles or clear charcoal layers. In 2017, to the east of the mound no. 3, one more low mound (no. 10), covered with dense vegetation, was recorded.

The excavation, led by D. Krasnodębski, was carried out in September and October 2017 as a part of the project 'Cultural and Natural Heritage of the Białowieża Primeval Forest' implemented by the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw in cooperation with the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw.<sup>5</sup> The mound no. 3, with a diameter of c. 9 m and a relative height of c. 0.7 m, located on the northern edge of the site, was chosen for research (Fig. 2). Its choice was decided based on the availability of the area, i.e. the lack of trees growing on the entire mound. In the north-western quarter of the object, a trench of  $5 \times 5$  m has been marked out.

After the removal of the plant litter and modern humus (Layer 1), the shape of the mound was exposed. It

was made of light-brown-yellow sand (Layers 2 and 3) with individual charcoals. This layer was about 0.6 m thick (Figs 5, 6.1-2). On the basis of its range, it can be assumed that the original diameter of the mound was c. 8 m. On its bottom, there were thin layers (c. 0.1 m thick) with numerous ferruginous precipitations: lightbrown and light-grey sand (Layer 9) and spotted lightbrown sand (Layer 11). The large amount of charcoals present in Layer 9 indicates that organic material was burned at this point. Below them, a horizon of buried soil formed of light-brown-yellow sand (Layer 12) with a thickness of c. 0.2 m was revealed. At the edge of the mound, this layer was removed. In this place, as well as on the slope of the mound, there was light grey sand (Layer 6), which can be interpreted as a slope-wash brought down from the upper part of the mound.

Directly under Layers 6 and 12, there was light-yellow natural sand (Layer 7) containing numerous clusters of stones with diameters of up to c. 0.25 m. A geological consultation confirmed the non-anthropogenic provenance of these 'pavements' and their relation with the post-glacial basin.<sup>6</sup> At the border of the original mound range, under the slope-wash layer no. 6, a post-hole was discovered (feature no. 14). The feature was c. 0.20–0.25 m in diameter and c. 0.1 m deep (Fig. 6.1). It was filled with light-brown sand (Layer 13).

As a result of the research, 39 potsherds were obtained. Most of them were found inside the mound (Layers 2 and 3-22 fragments) and in the slope-wash deposits located on the edge of the mound (Layer 6-10 fragments). The modern humus (Layer 1) yielded three potsherds, whereas the buried soil (Layers 9, 11, and 12) – four potsherds. The set is dominated by parts of bodies (32 fragments), with only six fragments classified as rims and one as a bottom (Fig. 7).

The pottery is characterised by a high degree of fragmentation<sup>7</sup> and erosion. The largest share in the collection constitute potsherds of size category II with the length of 2 to 5 cm – 33 sherds (about 85%). Category III included six small fragments up to 2 cm long. There were no specimens of size category I, *i.e.* of a length of more than 5 cm. Traces of erosion were recorded on the surfaces of 29 potsherds (74%). On the walls of two of them, traces of secondary burning are visible. On the surface of the same number of fragments, there were traces of use in the form of residues of burned substances, probably of organic origin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Oszmiański 1996, no. 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Siemaszko 2015, AZP site no. 46-91/3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The research was financed by the General Directorate of State Forests in Warsaw.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Krasnodębski, Olczak 2017, 5–63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The project is financed by the National Science Centre, Ministry of Science and Higher Education – UMO-2016/20/W/HS3/0059. Its leader is Prof. dr hab. P. Urbańczyk.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Scientific consultation with M. Stepaniuk, PhD.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The degree of vessel fragmentation was determined using a simplified version of A. Buko's method developed for early medieval ceramics (Buko 1990, 235).

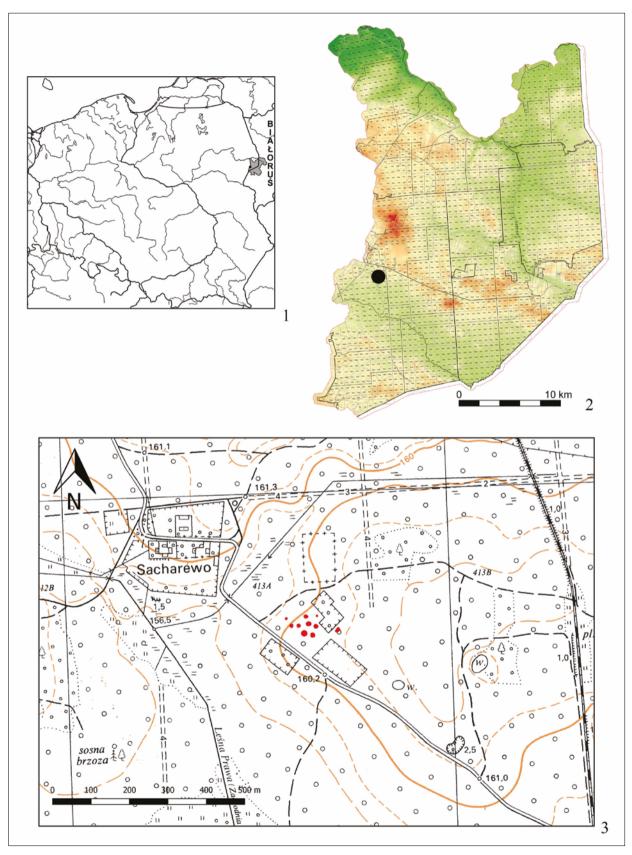


Fig. 1. Białowieża Forest (compartment 413A), Leśnictwo Sacharewo Site 3. Location of the research area: 1. Situational sketch with an indication of the Białowieża Forest area; 2. Location of the site on the map of the Białowieża Forest (map source: IBL in Sękocin Stary); 3. Situational plan of the site (on the basis of a 1:10 000 map). Compiled by M. Jakubczak and K. Niedziółka.

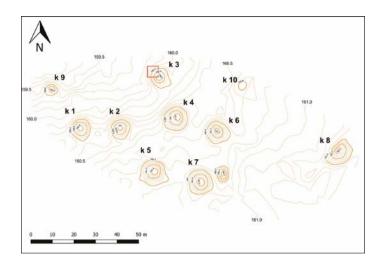


Fig. 2. Białowieża Forest (compartment 413A), Leśnictwo Sacharewo Site 3. A contour plan of the site. Drawing by M. Jakubczak and K. Niedziółka.

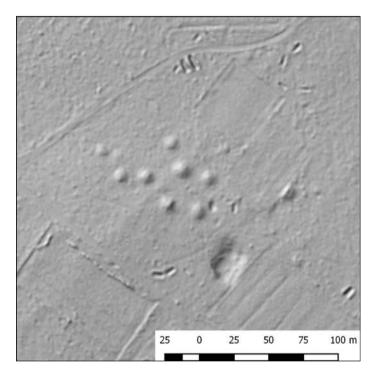


Fig. 3. Białowieża Forest, Leśnictwo Sacharewo Site 3. LiDAR view, source: Head Office of Geodesy and Cartography.

Ferruginous clays, most probably obtained from local glacial deposits,<sup>8</sup> were used for the vessels. An analysis of the chemical composition indicates significant homogeneity of the pottery fabric.<sup>9</sup> In all the analysed samples high content of iron trioxide and a low proportion

of calcium oxide were found, which indicates the use of desalinated clay, presumably as a result of weathering. These parameters are similar to the results of the chemical composition analysis of vessels from other prehistoric sites located in the Białowieża Forest.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>The ground in this area was formed during the middle and late Warta Glaciation stages (Krzywicki 2010, 142–144; Krzywicki, Pielach 2010).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The analysis of the seven samples (CL19875–19881) was conducted by E. Pawlicka at the Central Bio-Archaeometric Laboratory of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. A scanning microscope VEGA TS5135MM by TESCAN and an X-ray fluorescence

spectrometer PGT PRISM 2000 by Princeton Gamma-Tech Inc. were used in combination with the Spirit software and the digital AVALON 8000. The results were discussed in Olczak 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The results of the analyses are kept in the Central Bio-Archaeometry Laboratory of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw.



Fig. 4. Białowieża Forest (compartment 413A), Leśnictwo Sacharewo Site 3. General view of the site from the north (September 2017). Photo by J. Mizerka.



Fig. 5. Białowieża Forest (compartment 413A), Leśnictwo Sacharewo Site 3, the mound no. 3. Excavations after removing Layer 6 – visible mound bank (Layer 3). Photo by D. Krasnodębski.

On the basis of a microscopic photography analysis, it can be assumed that a weakly-sanded clay, tempered with crushed stone, probably granite, was used in the production of the vast majority of the vessels (Fig. 8.1–2). Only in the case of one potsherd a large amount of sand was noted in the fabric, which was either added as a temper or was a natural inclusion in the clay (Fig. 8.3). In the tempering material white quartz prevails, while the grains with pink or dark pink colour (probably feldspar) and mica are less common. The granulometry of the temper varies. Three groups of temper sizes were separated: a) fine-grained — with the grain diameter below 0.1 cm (five fragments); b) medium-

grained – with the grain diameter between 0.1 and 0.2 cm (24 fragments); c) coarse – with the grain diameter above 0.2 cm (10 fragments). In the last group, the size of the grains usually does not exceed 0.3 cm, and large rock fragments (0.5–0.8 cm in diameter) were found only in a few sherds, which attests to the careful preparation of the fabric.

The colour of the sherds' external surfaces is usually orange, less often brown, dark brown, or black, which proves that the firing conditions varied. Most fragments originate from vessels fired in an atmosphere characterised – at least at the final stage of this process – by free access of oxygen, but the presence of a small number of

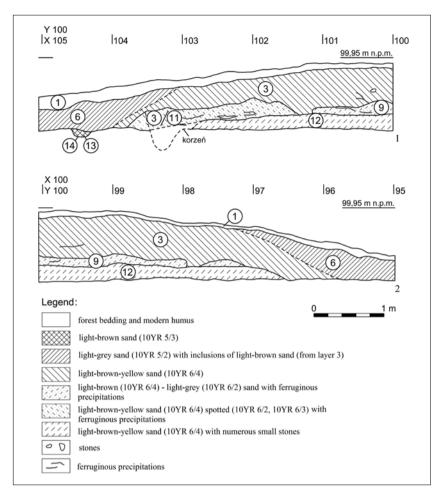


Fig. 6. Białowieża Forest (compartment 413A), Leśnictwo Sacharewo Site 3, the mound no. 3. Eastern (1) and southern (2) section of the trench. Drawing by Z. Tragarz.

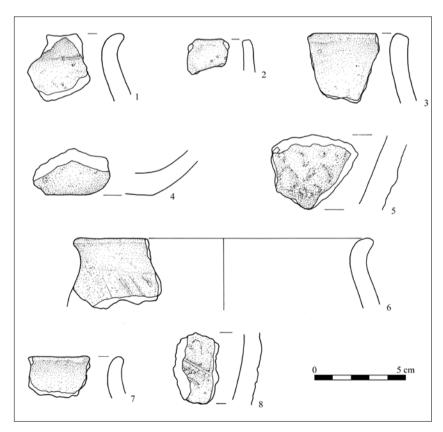


Fig. 7. Białowieża Forest (compartment 413A), Leśnictwo Sacharewo Site 3, the mound no. 3. Selection of ceramics: 1–4. Layer 3; 5–8. Layer 6. Drawing by G. Nowakowska and H. Olczak.

specimens of black colour and uniform sections may indicate the use of firing in the reduction atmosphere too. The higher frequency of the multi-coloured cross sections than of the single colour ones is clearly visible.

In the discussed collection, hand-made vessels characterised by different ways of finishing the external surface can be distinguished. The largest group consists of potsherds with roughened surface (Fig. 7.5, 8). It consists of 18 sherds, which constitutes c. 48% of all the classified material. Their outer surface, most often of an orange colour, was probably covered with a solution of runny clay, sometimes with the addition of crushed stone. In a few cases, irregular lines are visible on the ceramic walls, and these were probably created as a result of processing with a sharp tool, for example a comb or a socalled wisp (Fig. 7.8). The inner surfaces of the vessels were usually dark brown or black (two-coloured cross sections), usually carefully smoothed and sometimes even polished. A moderately-grained, or rarely coarse, temper was added to the clay. The majority of the roughened sherds originate from thick-walled vessels with wall thickness measuring from 0.8 to 1.3 cm.

Potsherds with slightly smoothed (rough) surfaces constitute *c*. 29% of the total (11 fragments; Fig. 7.1–3, 6, 7). Some of them bear visible traces of processing with a so-called wisp, comb, or burin (Fig. 7.1, 6). The sherds vary in terms of their surface colour (from orange to black) and cross sections' colour (different types, with a predominance of multi-coloured). A single fragment is characterised by a fine-grained, while the rest by medium and coarse-grained, temper. The thickness of the walls measures between 0.5 and 0.9 cm.

The smallest group consists of fragments with carefully smoothed or polished outer surfaces (eight sherds – 21%, Fig. 7.4). Most of them originate from fine ware of thin to medium wall thickness measuring 0.5–0.8 cm and in the near-bottom part 1.2 cm. In general, they are black or dark brown, which indicates the preference for firing in – or close to – the reduction atmosphere. The ceramic fabric contains additions of fine or medium-grained crushed stone. There are two fragments of orange colour and medium and coarse temper originating from thick-walled vessel 0.9–1.0 cm thick.

The scarcity of the ceramic material and the high degree of its fragmentation make the stylistic analysis impossible. The discussed collection contains fragments of fine pottery with carefully smoothed or polished surfaces, as well as the so-called kitchenware with roughened or

smoothed walls. More characteristic are three fragments of the vessel's upper parts with everted rims and rounded or slightly bevelled edges (Fig. 7.6–7). One of them is a part of a medium-sized pot *c*. 14–18 cm in diameter (Fig. 7.6). Another fragment is characterised by a nearly vertical neck and diagonally cut-off rim (Fig. 7.3). Another fragment is a part of a vessel with an inverted upper part and possibly ovoid or hemispherical shape (Fig. 7.2). The only found bottom fragment originates from fine ware and is 1.1 cm thick (Fig. 7.4). On its bottom side, crushed stone with a granulation of *c*. 0.15 cm is preserved. There are some decorated vessel fragments in the collection, and the lines visible on some of them should be treated as one of the methods of surface finishing (Fig. 7.8).

The technological and stylistic features of the discussed vessels are typical for pottery from a wide range of time, including the Pre-Roman Period and the Roman Period. Indication of their precise dating and determination of their cultural affiliation are difficult due not only to the small size of the collection but also to the lack of well-dated comparative materials from the Białowieża Forest and its surroundings.

The cultural situation in this part of north-eastern Poland in the Pre-Roman and Roman periods remains poorly recognised.11 Excavations carried out over the past dozen years in this area have revealed many settlements related to the local culture group of the Hatched Pottery Culture, which most probably lasted until the beginning of the Late Roman Period.<sup>12</sup> A settlement of this cultural circle has also been registered in the Białowieża Forest.<sup>13</sup> In the Late Roman Period, this area was within the range of the Wielbark Culture settlement. Several sites, mainly burial grounds of the so-called Cecele Phase, are scattered on the edge of the Białowieża Forest, including the localities of Kutowa, Kotłówka, Kuraszewo, and Szczyty-Dzięciołowo.14 The remains of settlements and the burial grounds of the Wielbark Culture are also known from several sites in the Białowieża Forest.<sup>15</sup> In recent years, much attention has also been paid to influences flowing from the post-Zarubintsy circle.16 The nearest site from which the materials of this culture originate is Kutowa, located less than 20 km to the north-west of Sacharewo.<sup>17</sup>

A serious problem is still the lack of well-identified settlements and published ceramic materials from that period, which makes any comparative studies practically impossible. Considering that in the discussed collection there are no potsherds with a hatched surface, there is no

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Andrzejowski 1999; Dąbrowska 2008.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> For further literature, see Olczak 2009.

<sup>13</sup> Olczak et al. 2018.

<sup>14</sup> Jażdżewski 1939; Jaskanis 1963; 1970; 2012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Dzierżykray-Rogalski, Jaskanis 1961; Krasnodębski et al. 2008.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Andrzejowski 1999, 32–37, 41–47; for further literature, see Dąbrowska 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Andrzejowski 1999, 42; Jaskanis 2012, 137, 181.

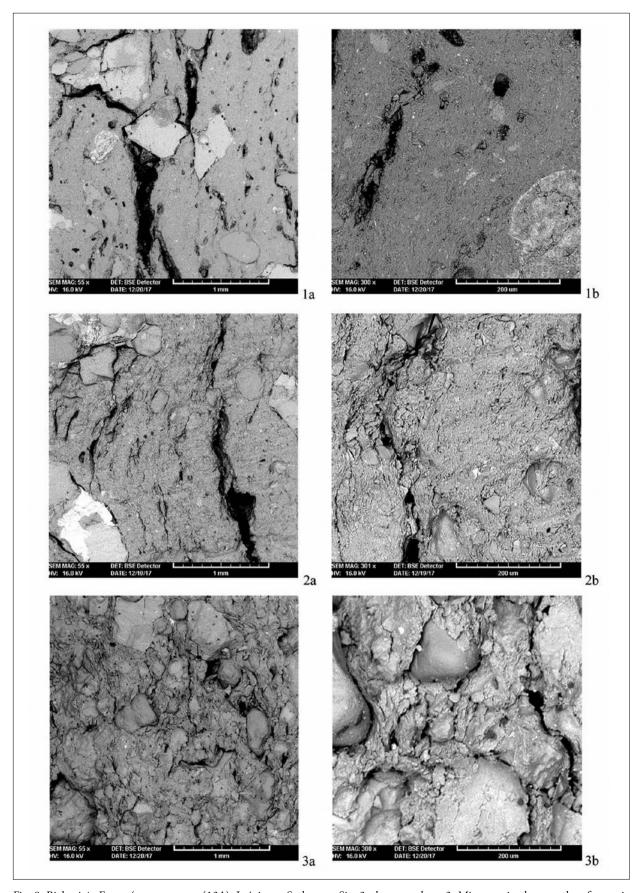


Fig. 8. Białowieża Forest (compartment 413A), Leśnictwo Sacharewo Site 3, the mound no. 3. Microscopic photography of ceramic microsections: 1. CL19879; 2. CL19876; 3. CL19880. Photos by E. Pawlicka.

Sample	<sup>14</sup> C age (PB)	Calibrated age (68.2%)	Calibrated age (95.4%)	Lab. code
1	1655±30	AD 352 (13.1%) AD 367 AD 380 (55.1%) AD 421	AD 262 (2.0%) AD 277 AD 328 (87.9%) AD 431 AD 492 (5.6%) AD 530	Poz-96964
2	1600±30	AD 411 (18.4%) AD 435 AD 452 (11.6%) AD 471 AD 487 (38.2%) AD 534	AD 399 (95.4%) AD 539	Poz-99169
3	1567±25	AD 430 (55.3%) AD 493 AD 511 (5.7%) AD 518 AD 529 (7.2%) AD 537	AD 421 (95.4%) AD 550	MKL-A3872

Tab. 1. Results of a radiocarbon analysis of charcoal.

evidence for its connection with the local group of the Hatched Pottery Culture.<sup>18</sup> There were also no explicit references to the Wielbark Culture pottery; although in this case, again, the small size of the collection and the lack of characteristic sherds made it difficult to reach any final conclusions. The technological features of the studied pottery, mainly the method of surface finishing (irregular lines applied with a wisp, burin, or comb) but also the shape of the upper parts of the best-preserved vessels, may indicate some references to the pottery of the post-Zarubintsy circle.<sup>19</sup> The pottery from Sacharewo cannot be considered a typical material of this culture because of the lack of such features as incisions on the edges of the rims or a comb ornament, which are typical both for vessels from the Podlasie area<sup>20</sup> and Belarusian Polesie.21 Among the sites located at the edge of the Białowieża Forest, stylistically and technologically similar pottery, also without clear attributes allowing its cultural identification, was found at the settlement in Szczyty-Dzięciołowo, Site 1, Bielsk Podlaski district.<sup>22</sup>

In general, at this stage of research, the pottery from the discussed site can be dated to the Roman Period. Thanks to the <sup>14</sup>C analysis of a charcoal sample taken from the mound, it was possible to narrow down the

chronology of the site to the Late Roman Period. With the obtained result of 1655±30 BP, the calibrated age of the sample ranges from the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century to the early 6<sup>th</sup> century, with the highest probability for the time-period between the 4<sup>th</sup> century and the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Tab. 1).<sup>23</sup> An analysis of two other samples, taken from the bottom of the mound, yielded slightly younger radiocarbon age: 1600±30 BP<sup>24</sup> and 1567±25 BP.<sup>25</sup> After the calibration, dates ranging from the turn of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries to the second quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and from the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century were obtained.<sup>26</sup>

The excavations at Leśnictwo Sacharewo Site 3 are a contribution to understanding the settlement of the Białowieża Forest. Partial exploration of one of the ten earth mounds, however, does not allow to clearly determine the site's chronology and function. It was found that the mound had been erected directly on the ground which had earlier been cleared, with its vegetation burned away. The lack of buried soil around the mounds indicates that it was built from the material collected in the immediate vicinity. As a result of the research, no bone fragments were found that could unambiguously confirm the sepulchral function of the mound. The poor state of preservation of the vessels and the spatial distribution of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> In the case of the best-recognised Podlasie sites of this cultural circle, the share of hatched surface pottery is usually at least a dozen or so percent (see Olczak 2009, Fig. 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> We would like to thank Dr V. Belavec for this suggestion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> See *i.a.* Andrzejowski 1999, Fig. 12.2–7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Belâvec 2016, cf. Figs 3 and 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Olczak 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Dating was conducted at the Poznań Radiocarbon Laboratory (Laboratory code Poz-96964). After the calibration, the ranges obtained with a probability of 68.2% were 352 AD (13.1%) 367 AD, 380 AD (55.1%) 421 AD; and with a probability of 95.4% – 262 AD (2.0%) 277 AD, 328 AD (87.9%) 431 AD, 492 AD (5.6%) 530 AD.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The analysis was conducted at the Poznań Radiocarbon Laboratory (Laboratory code Poz-99169). After the calibration, the ranges obtained with a probability of 68.2% were 411 AD (18.4%) 435 AD, 452 AD (11.6%) 471 AD, and 487 AD (38.2%) 534 AD; and with a probability of 95.4% – 399 AD–539 AD.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Dating has been conducted at the Absolute Dating Laboratory in Cianowice Male (Laboratory code MKL-A3872). After the calibration, the ranges obtained with a probability of 68.2% were 430 AD (55.3%) 493 AD, 511 AD (5.7%) 518 AD, 529 AD (7.2%) 537 AD; and with a probability of 95.4% – 421 AD–550 AD.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Krasnodębski et al. 2018.

the pottery fragments allows for the assumption that the discovered ceramic materials were not directly related to the time of the mound's construction but were found in a secondary context. However, it is also possible that some fragments could have been intentionally deposited in the mound. This is indicated by a relatively large number of sherds obtained from it in comparison with the small number of findings originating from the buried soil. In the vicinity of the site, no settlement has been discovered so far from which the ceramic material could have reached the mound.

The Sacharewo mound is one of many constructions of this type known from the Białowieża Forest. Two other similar features have been excavated at Leśnictwo Postołowo Sites 4 and 5 by the researchers from the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Like the Sacharewo mound, these other two mounds also contained no human bones but only fragments of clay vessels.<sup>27</sup> From the first mound, which is c. 0.5-0.7 m high, approximately 100 pieces of pottery were obtained. Besides these, on the edge of the mound and in a small pit dug under it, the remains of two vessels were discovered. Based on the 14C analyses, the mound should probably be dated to the period between the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>28</sup> From the second site, where a mound c. 1 m high was partially excavated, originate several fragments of prehistoric ceramics and a fragmentarily preserved pottery vessel from the early phase of the Early Middle Ages. The vessel was discovered at the bottom of a shallow ditch surrounding the mound. Radiocarbon dating<sup>29</sup> indicates that the mound was probably erected in the period

between the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. During the initial phase of this period, the areas of eastern Mazowsze and Podlasie were under the influence of the Wielbark Culture. What is important, one of the grave-forms characteristic for this culture were stone and earth mounds containing cremation or inhumation burials.<sup>30</sup> However, in the light of the information obtained during the study of the mound in Sacharewo, it seems unlikely that these mounds could be associated with the graves of the Rostołty type.<sup>31</sup>

In some mounds investigated in the Białowieża Primeval Forest, no archaeological materials were discovered at all, except for charcoal. These included several mounds excavated at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by Alfred Götze<sup>32</sup> and in the 1960s and 1970s by Tadeusz Żurowski<sup>33</sup> and Irena Górska.<sup>34</sup> So far, no convincing hypothesis has been formulated about their function and chronology. It is worth mentioning that in 2016 radiocarbon analyses were carried out for some mounds which had not been excavated. The results of the dating of four objects located in different parts of the Białowieża Forest point to the Roman Period, perchance to the turn of Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages.<sup>35</sup>

Based on the results of the investigation of one of the ten earth mounds located at Site 3 in Leśnictwo Sacharewo, it can be concluded that with the current state of research it is difficult to determine the function and chronology of the site. Dating the mounds to the Late Roman Period is hypothetical. The alleged sepulchral function of the investigated mound has also not been confirmed, which may be the result of excavating only one quadrant of this object.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Krasnodębski, Olczak 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Laboratory codes Poz-87563 and Poz-87566.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Laboratory codes Poz-87564 and Poz-87567.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Cieśliński 2014, 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>Cieśliński 2014, 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Götze 1929, 525, 531, 541.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Żurowski 1963.

<sup>34</sup> Górska 1973; 1976, 117–128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> These are the mounds located at the sites of Leśnictwo Krynoczka Site 3 (compartment 387C, D), Leśnictwo Łańczyno Site 8 (compartment 41D), and Leśnictwo Olchówka Site 3 (compartment 49B). The analyses were carried out at the Poznań Radiocarbon Laboratory (Laboratory codes Poz-9871, Poz-88867, Poz-88877, and Poz-88883).

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#### THOMAS ERIKSSON

Department of Collections and Research, National Historical Museums in Stockholm thomas.eriksson@shm.se

#### GOTLANDIC POTTERY OUTSIDE GOTLAND<sup>1</sup>

#### ABSTRACT

The article discusses contacts and networks along the eastern coast of Sweden and around the Baltic Sea. The focus is on the decorated pottery c. 0–700 AD. Sweden and Scandinavia had different regional styles of pottery during this period. One of the most distinctive Scandinavian styles is found on Öland and Gotland. This style is distinguished by the elaborate use of stamps and vessels with handles positioned from the rim to the shoulder. Vessels made in this style are found outside the large islands, notably in Svealand, i.e. the lake Mälaren Basin in central Sweden, as well as in northern Sweden. More interesting is the spread and influences in

the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture, in north-eastern Poland, and Oblast Kaliningrad. During the Roman Iron Age, a special type of beaker is found from the Mälar basin to Gotland/Öland and further on in Oblast Kaliningrad. The connection can also be seen in dress ornaments and other artefacts. The regional differences in the pottery decrease during the Vendel Period (*c*. 550–800 AD). A new style of stamped vessels is spread from the Langobards in northern Italy to England and Scandinavia and marks a new, more uniform material culture. This marks probably a new area of more complex and centralised political units.

**Keywords:** Decorated pottery, Roman Iron Age, Migration Period, Vendel period, Eastern Sweden, Gotland, Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture, networks

#### Introduction

The pottery during the Roman Iron Age until the Vendel Period on the islands of Gotland and Öland forms one of the most unique traditions around the Baltic Sea. The complexity of distinctive traits in the fine ware makes the style easy to recognise. The use of stamped decors, vessel-forms, and placements of the appendages make the tradition unique.

The focus of this article is not the pottery on Gotland and Öland but its distribution outside this core area. The spatial distribution of Gotlandic style elucidates networks and political alliances during the period c. 70–700 AD. One of the most common ways to make bonds and consolidate alliances is to eat and drink together. The use of the same type of table manners and rituals is a way to signalise a common cultural habitat. Using the same type of cups, jugs, and bowls will be a strong and physical manifestation of these, easy to see for all participants as well as viewers (Fig. 1).

During those periods, decorated pottery is very uncommon on the mainland of Eastern Sweden, especially in Svealand (the counties of Uppland, Södermanland, and Västmanland). This quantity stands in sharp contrast to the frequency of its occurrence in continental Europe as well as in southern and western Scandinavia. The occurrence of decorated pottery must therefore be regarded not just as pottery but also as something rare and valuable in Svealand.

#### Ware or style

The term regularly used in archaeological contexts to speak about pottery is 'ware'. It can be understood in two ways. Firstly, it expresses physical or technical conditions such as firing temperature and type of clay, *i.e.* stoneware or terracotta. Secondly, it can be used for stylistic features, such as style and decoration, and even indicate an origin.<sup>2</sup> It is possible to call the decorated pottery on

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Orton et al. 2001, 12; Rice 2005, 5, 286f.

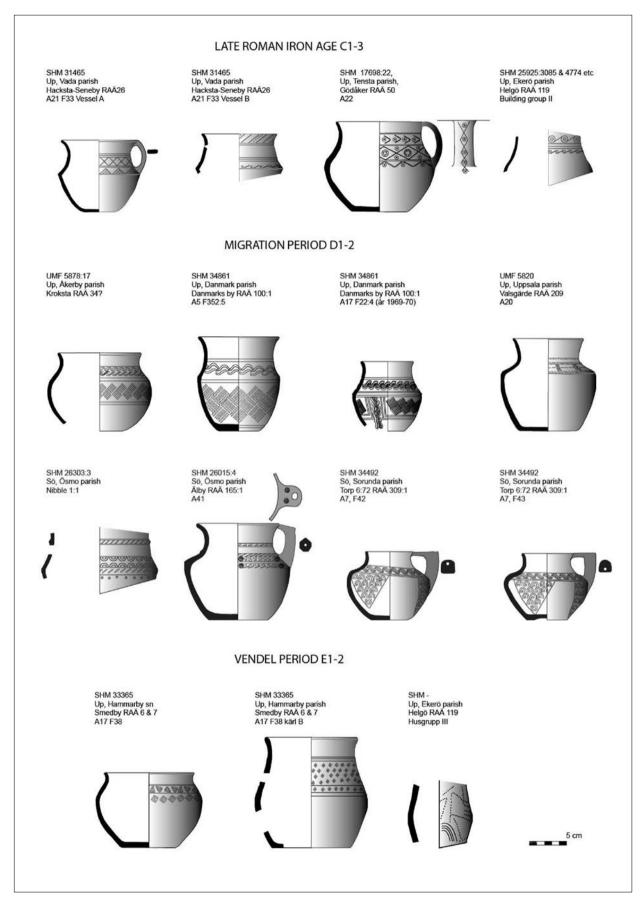


Fig. 1. Some of the reconstructable vessels from Uppland and Södermanland during period C-E (drawing T. Eriksson).

Gotland and Öland from *c*. 70–650 AD a Gotlandic or Ölandic Ware. However, the ambiguity of the term is difficult and may even be misleading.<sup>3</sup> It is better without technological analyses to use the term 'style' in order to avoid this confusion. That makes it easier to deal with vessels made in a special style without making an implicit interpretation that implies export or import. In this study, I have chosen to call the style of the pottery Gotlandic, regardless of whether the vessels were made in Gotland, Öland, or even somewhere else. The vast majority of finds are found on Gotland.

A crucial factor for understanding the handicraft and production of the vessels on Gotland and Öland is the supply of raw material, especially clay. Most of the clay found on the islands is rich in chalk; so rich that it is difficult to make low-firing wares without adding organic temper or using a reducing atmosphere in order to avoid cracks in the ware.4 Despite this shortage in good raw material, the islanders have maintained the extraordinary tradition in making pottery. One explanation could be that originally there were more spots containing more suitable deposits with glacial and post-glacial clays, transported there from the northern Baltic basin. Those secondary clays could have had lower calcium content. Another explanation could be that the islanders had the technical knowledge to manage the calcium. Clay is rare on both islands. It occurs mostly in the form of moraine clay, especially on Öland. According to the latest geological survey, more secondary clays are found on Gotland than previously thought.5

The scarcity of clay and the need for a higher level of special treatments during the manufacturing and firing may be some of the clues for understanding the production. The need for more knowledge in combination with the scarcity of raw material could have forced the production towards more specialised potters. The production may have been more centralised and professional compared to the production in, *e.g.*, the region around Lake Mälaren, *i.e.* Svealand. The handicraft in the latter region has a more domestic character, dominated by functional undecorated vessels. The abundance of clay in Svealand has given the handicraft a decentralised production for the household on the mainland in contrast to more standardised fine ware from the islands.

There are of course many types of vessels found on the islands. The settlements are dominated by large, undecorated vessels in the shape of barrels or *situlae*.<sup>6</sup> The focus in this study is the fine ware, *i.e.* thin-walled, smaller vessels, often with smooth, polished, or burnished surface and often fired in a reducing atmosphere. Ornamentation with stamps is the main feature of the pottery from the Roman Iron Age until the Vendel Period. Stamps occur in other regions, but it is only on Gotland and Öland that they form such a large part of the elements of decors. Here, the variation among the stamps is only equivalent to the Anglo-Saxon pottery during the Migration Period.

Another typical trait is the position of the handle in the Late Roman Iron Age and Migration Period. The handle is usually placed to begin on the rim and ends on the shoulder. This is a typical East Scandinavian and East Germanic way of design, with parallels in Eastern Scania, Bornholm, and in the Wielbark culture. In other parts of Scandinavia, the handle usually begins on the neck and ends on the shoulder.

# Early Roman Iron Age

Something happens within the pottery-making tradition on Gotland and Öland in the Early Roman Iron Age. This seems to be an indigenous course of events more connected to internal change of traditions in style and other handicrafts rather than a result of external influences. One of the main forms is the so-called Ölandic or Gotlandic pot.<sup>8</sup> The rounded S-profile of the vessels is very similar to other forms in contemporary products made of copper alloys and silver (Fig. 2). The form can be seen in strap ends, fibulae, and even in imported Roman wine sieves and wine ladles. The décor mostly consists of thin, shallow, horizontal cordons and simple  $\Theta$ -stamps.

The vessel form probably has its origin in the Seedorf phase of the Jastorf culture with an early, more continental example from Öland.<sup>9</sup> What is more interesting is the resemblances with pottery in northern Poland and Kaliningrad Oblast, Russia, during phases B1–C1.<sup>10</sup> It is a variant of Wołągiewicz group VIII. There are

Definition of Gotlandic style

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> According to a new XRF-analysis in Eriksson, Lindahl, forth-coming.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Feathers 1989; Rice 2005, 97f; Eriksson, Lindahl 2012, 47ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Daniel et al. 2005; Svantesson, Söderlund 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Stenberger 1955, 1113–1119; Herschend 1998, 31ff; Fors, Gerdin 2009, 183ff.

Mackeprang 1943; Stjernquist 1955; Wołągiewicz 1993,
 tabl. 68; Klindt-Jensen, Bech 1996, 70–78; Engblom 2001,
 63ff.; Heidemann Lutz 2010, 136ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Almgren, Nerman 1923, figs 186–194, 297–302; Eklund, Wikborg 1996; Eriksson 2009, 191ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Almgren, Nerman 1923, 24, fig. 182; Beskow-Sjöberg, Hagberg 1991, 366; Eriksson 2009, 192.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Wołągiewicz 1993, tabl. 30, type A.7–8.

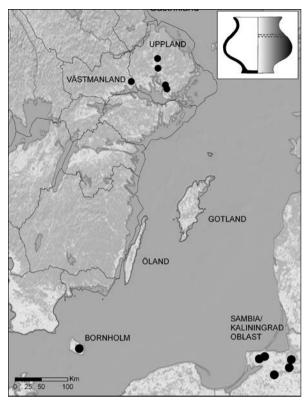


Fig. 2. The distribution of Gotlandic style pottery around the Baltic during period B1–C1. The distribution on Öland and Gotland is not marked on the map (map T. Eriksson).

some Sambian examples from phase B1–C2 that must be influenced by the Gotlandic style.<sup>11</sup> The similarities form one of the most striking examples considering the pottery from Sweden *versus* the Dollkeim-Kovrovo and Wielbark cultures. The forms of the vessels in both regions are very similar and this applies even more so to the knobs and handles. Their clover-form and other forms do not occur elsewere in Scandinavia. Contacts between Gotland/Öland and Dollkeim-Kovrovo can also be seen in some types of belt-fittings, the cross-bow brooches of Dollkeim-Kovrovo type.<sup>12</sup>

One more type of ceramic vessel shows the contacts between the regions. It is a special type of slender, tall vase common on Bornholm, Gotland, and Öland and in Kaliningrad Oblast during the migration period.<sup>13</sup> Some variants of the type are also found. A vessel with a décor of a shallow cordon and impressions of concentric circles comes from rich grave A7 in Gödåker, Tensta parish in Uppland. This inhumation grave was equipped with a Roman casserole, drinking horn, and bark vessels. The casserole, an example of the type Eggers 144, has almost the same profile and decoration as the majority of the Gotland bowls.<sup>17</sup> The resemblances in form and decoration cannot be a mere coincidence.

A vessel from the large gravefield in Istaby, Blekinge parish, has been interpreted as a Gotlandic vessel. 

The vessel should rather be considered as a Gotlandic form type ÄEG 196 with affinity to forms on Bornholm and in the Wielbark culture. 

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At least one example of a Gotlandic vase is found without context on Bornholm. It is a type with décor of vertical cannelures and cordons, with a close parallel on Gotland. It can be dated to phase B2.<sup>20</sup> The spatial distribution shows close contacts between Gotland and Svealand with one example from Bornholm and similar forms in the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture.

# The Late Roman Iron Age

The pottery on Gotland experiences a transformation and exhibits an extraordinary richness in forms and decors during phase C1–3. The use of stamps has its counterpart in the use of stamps on items of silver, gold, and bronze alloys. Stamps on gold items are well analysed and have been shown to originate in different workshops in Scandinavia. One group of the workshops can be seen

About 16 vessels are found on Öland, and the number on Gotland is much higher. He are dated to phases B1b–B2 with very standardised form and size. The distribution outside the islands is very interesting (Fig. 2). Vessels are found on the northern shores of Lake Mälaren, in inhumation graves in Bastubacken, Tortuna parish in Västmanland and Brillinge, Vaksala parish and Carlslund, Hammarby parish in Uppland. All three graves belong to a stratum with richly equipped interments, especially the grave from Carlslund (Fig. 3). This is dated to subphase B2b basing upon, *i.a.*, Roman imports in the form of a Capuan bronze casserole of type Eggers 142, beads with gold foil, and a fibula with silver thread. He

Wołagiewicz 1993, tabl. 70.2–3, mapa 9; Nowakowski 2007, 272, Taf. I.e, V.c, f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Nowakowski 1996, 102ff; Bitner-Wróblewska 2001, 41ff, 83ff, 109ff.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Klindt-Jensen, Bech 1996, 81; Nowakowski 1996, Taf. 16, 17.
 <sup>14</sup> Almgren, Nerman 1923, Taf. 12; Beskow-Sjöberg, Arnell 1987, 252, 358, 363; Beskow-Sjöberg, Hagberg 1991, 123, 184, 242; Hagberg, Beskow-Sjöberg 1996, 105, 166, 175, 177, 260; Rasch, Fallgren 2001, 337.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Arwidsson 1941, 12ff.; Eklund, Wikborg 1996, 172–175; Edenmo 1998, 26–30.

<sup>16</sup> Edenmo 1998, 26, 94; Eriksson 2009, 191ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Almgren 1916, 90ff; Andersson 2002, 240; 2016.

<sup>18</sup> Björk et al. 2011, 68f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Almgren, Nerman 1923, fig. 196; Wołągiewicz 1993, tabl. 30; Klindt-Jensen, Bech 1996, 57f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Müller 1888, fig. 171; Almgren, Nerman 1923, fig. 302.



Fig. 3. So-called Gotlandic or Ölandic pots from phase B2. A vessel from Brillinge, Vaksala par. in Uppland, to the left and two pots from Öland to the right (photo T. Eriksson).

in Gotland and Öland with a preference for some special stamps, particularly triangular forms and St. Andrew crosses.<sup>21</sup> The use of stamped decors is even richer on pottery. It is hard to explain the two phenomena without a transmission of methods between the crafts of metal and pottery. One explanation of this transmission can be found in the moulds and crucibles. Most moulds and all crucibles are made of clay. To make them suitable for extreme temperature and still preserve a milieu for making good-looking artefacts requires an insight and knowledge of clay, temper, and forming. This points towards a milieu where goldsmiths, potters, and bronze casters work so close that they have insight into each other's traditions and workmanships. There are several possibilities for this. The potter and the smith can be the same person, they can be married, or they work in special sites for manufacturing. It has been argued that stamped decors appeared in phase C1 in Central Europe and spread northwards.<sup>22</sup> But the tradition of stamped decors had begun already in phase B1 on Gotland and Öland.

At the same time, two main features begin to appear on the pottery, creating a division between the East and West Scandinavian ceramic traditions. The first trait is the carinated form of the drinking bowls. It is seen in Eastern Scania, Blekinge, Bornholm, and on Gotland and Öland. The second characteristic is the placement of the handle, with the starting point at the rim. This can also be seen on bowls in the Wielbark culture and in the

regions mentioned above.<sup>23</sup> This is a distinctive cultural trait in contrast to the tradition in western Scandinavia.<sup>24</sup>

The contacts between the three large islands in the south-eastern Baltic Sea can be seen in handled bowls made in Bornholmic or eastern Scanian style found in graves at Öland and Gotland.<sup>25</sup> The bowls are of Bech type 27 and can be dated to phase Cl.<sup>26</sup> The bowl from rich grave 302 at Vi Alvar, Källa par. on Öland, was found together with artefacts with mostly female connotations. Perhaps this was a woman from Bornholm or eastern Scania who was married to an Ölandic man. The contacts between the regions are also seen in other materials.<sup>27</sup> The distribution of Roman imports must also have gone via the large islands in the Baltic and further to the northern regions around the sea.<sup>28</sup>

Pottery of Gotlandic style is found in the eastern part of Södermanland and in Uppland. The finds from Södermanland come from Ösmo parish, and the sites are situated on the parts of the Mälaren region mainland that are closest to Gotland (Fig. 1). The distribution northwards follows the water systems from Ösmo up to Gödåker in Uppland (Fig. 4). The graves from grave cemeteries in Ösmo are quite common without any remarkable richness in the rest of the grave goods. This might indicate that the contacts between Gotland and Ösmo were regular and that decorated vessels were not high status artefacts in that context. The vessel from Ösmo was probably made in the same workshop as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Andersson 1991, 222ff.; Andersson 1995, 181–189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Machajewski 2001, 164.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Wołągiewicz 1993, tabl. 33, 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Mackeprang 1943, 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Almgren, Nerman 1923, fig. 479; Rasch, Fallgren 2001, 110, 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Klindt-Jensen, Bech 1996, 76ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Heidemann Lutz 2010, 259ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Lund Hansen 1987, 218ff.

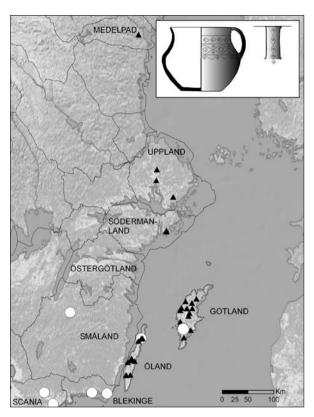


Fig. 4. The distribution of Gotlandic style pottery around the Baltic Sea during phases C1–C3. Triangles – Gotlandic style; circles – Bornholm/east Scanian style (map T. Eriksson).

vessels found on Öland.<sup>29</sup> A grave at Hacksta-Seneby, Vada par. in Uppland, belongs to a woman, and another grave at the same gravefield contains one of the rare silver fibulae in Uppland. The vessels from Vada are not typical Gotlandic ones but show some resemblance with vessels from Lärbro on northern Gotland (Historical Museum in Stockholm - SHM, inv. no. 32375.6). The find from Gödåker comes from a chamber grave richly equipped with a golden finger ring and a wooden bucket.<sup>30</sup> Thinsection analysis has shown that the vessel of Gotlandic type was not made in a common Gotlandic ware.31 The item is very similar to finds on the north-western coast of Gotland instead (SHM, inv. no 3911.6, b, c; 6957.h; 10025; 20651b<sup>32</sup>). The similarities must be regarded as a proof that the vessels were made in the same tradition of one workshop, although not necessarily with the same clay. The other grave goods in the graves both on Gotland and in Gödåker also bear many resemblances (Fig. 5). It seems likely that the deceased in grave 22 in Gödåker was part of an intermarriage with a Gotlander.

During this period, a distinctive connection between the workshops and halls at Helgö in Lake Mälaren and Gotland is seen.<sup>33</sup> A fragment from house foundation II on Helgö has probably been made using the same stamps as the vessel from the Havor cemetery, Hablingbo par. on Gotland (SHM, inv. no 25925.4774; 8064.135). The stamps are in the shape of quite simple concentric



Fig. 5. A set of vessels from Gotland phases C1–C3. The colours of the vessels are mostly secondary. Back row from the left: Visby par., Värnhem par., SHM, inv. no. 15828 (phase C1–C2) and 15828.6 (per. C3); front row from the left: Sjonhem, Sojvide par., SHM, inv. no. 6071 (phases C2–C3) and Ekeby, Ardags par., SHM, inv. no. 26313.1 (phase C1–C2). The vessel in the upper left corner is almost a copy of the vessel from Uppland, Gödåker, grave 22 (photo T. Eriksson).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Polásková 1998, 28f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Andersson 2016.

<sup>31</sup> Stilborg 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Polásková 1997, 253f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Arrhenius 1964, 269ff.

circles with tangents that might be difficult to distinguish, but the style and décor are very similar. The vessel from Havor is dated to phases C1–C2.

From this period onwards, the axis between Gotland and the area around Uppsala becomes more and more accentuated in the chorological distribution of the Gotlandic style. Regions on the rest of the Swedish east coast lack similar finds. In some areas, such as Norrland, Småland, and Blekinge, the shortage of finds may partly be owed to the limited number of excavations that have been carried out. In other counties, such as Östergötland and Scania, the lack of finds cannot be sought in the lack of excavations. Instead, it must be seen as the absence of bonds compared to the ones between Svealand and Gotland and Öland.

The most northern find of Gotlandic character is found in a cairn in Hov, Selånger in Medelpad. The closest parallel to the handled bowl comes from phase C1 on Gotland.<sup>34</sup> It is the earliest example of a decorated vessel in Norrland and the only one that tells us about contacts with the south. All the other decorated later vessels in Norrland have a Norwegian character. The contacts between the former estuary around the rivers of Selångersån, Ljungan, and Indalsälven and Gotland can also be seen in the distribution of Westland cauldrons and the spade-shaped currency bars.<sup>35</sup>

The vessel from Hov is, therefore, an important and early witness of these contacts.

## The Migration Period

The Migration Period is the peak of the Gotlandic tradition as to the amount of finds as well as to the originality and complexity in décors. The quantity of different stamps and compositions is striking. The compositions of the motives are dominated by simple horizontal bands loosened up with décors in triangular fields, rectangular enclosures, and vertical bands. The stamps and the décors are very similar to the contemporary Anglo-Saxon tradition. This kind of similarity may not only be explained simply by close contacts between the regions. The likeness could rather be explained by a common transmission of style from metal handicraft. Stamps, rectangular and triangular fields, can all be seen in relief brooches and other metal handicraft. Other patterns that are common with the metal handicraft are the use of entrelac and ribbon interlacing. This stands in sharp contrast to the common styles in Western Scandinavia, even though the Norwegian bucket-shaped vessels show similar

influences with a transfer in decoration between finesmiths and potters.<sup>36</sup> The stamps, on the other hand, are rather an archaic trait, even though stamps are common even in metal art.

The decorated vessels can be divided into two main groups with traditions going back to the Late Roman Iron Age. The first group consists of the often tall and slender bowls with one handle and a mostly carinated profile. Almost 80% of the vessels have a carinated shoulder. The second group consists of bowls or jugs with a tubular handle. The former type became extremely popular on the islands during this period and was exported to Svealand. They can be found in richer gravefields such as Denmark outside Uppsala, stray finds inside Uppsala, and on Helgö.<sup>37</sup> Two almost identical vessels are found in two separate graves in Torp, Sorunda par. (Fig. 1) in Södermanland.<sup>38</sup> The jugs from Torp are also almost identical with two finds from the Barshalder cemetery, Grötlingbo par. on Gotland (SHM, inv. no 32623.1967. A07, 13).39 The vessels have identical stamps and they must have been made in the same workshop. The finds in

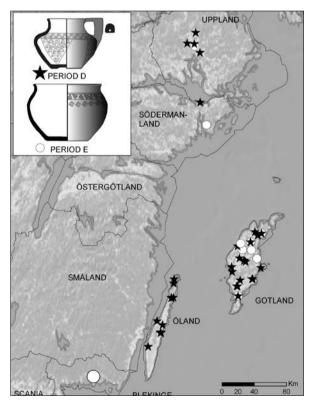


Fig. 6. The distribution of vessels made in Gotlandic style during phase D, *i.e.* the Migration Period, and E1, *i.e.* the Vendel Period (map T. Eriksson).

<sup>34</sup> Almgren, Nerman 1923, fig. 477, 480, 482.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Hauken 2005, 92; Lindeberg 2009, 275.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Fredriksen et al. 2014, 126ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Eriksson 2016, 59ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Elfstrand 1994, fig. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Rundkvist 2003a, 196ff.

Sorunda may be interpreted as a Gotlandic woman and a child with Gotlandic ancestry buried in Södermanland.

The most remarkable concentration of finds is Helgö on Lake Mälaren (Fig. 6). The island is situated on an old waterway that leads directly from Ösmo in Södermanland through Södertälje to Mälaren and further up to Uppsala. No pottery with Gotlandic style has so far been found in any of the graves on Helgö. The Gotlandic style, in the form of jugs, bowls, and vessels with tubular handles, is instead found in the settlement debris in the halls and among the building foundations. In particular, house foundation II is rich in finds of this type. The tubular handles may also be seen as a very special feature, one that was not constructed for practical reasons. The form became exceedingly popular on Gotland during this period. The construction of the combined handle and spout may be seen as a materialisation of ritual drinking or feasting.<sup>40</sup> The rest of the finds in the same house foundation indicate feasting, rituals, faraway contacts, and specialised workshops. The connection between the manufacture of items of gold and copper alloys and stamped décors on metal and pottery from the same foundation indicates a more indigenous pottery-making tradition on Helgö.

The rest of the Stockholm area lacks similar finds of Gotlandic style even though large-scale excavations of both settlements and graves from this period have been carried out. The area around Uppsala presents a contrast with the finds of pottery with Gotlandic style. Two of the sites belong to richly equipped necropolises, namely Valsgärde near Gamla Uppsala and the cemetery at Danmark-Söderby, Danmark par. in Uppland. The latter is situated at the landing point of two former waterways. The gravefield contains chamber graves with pottery of Gotlandic style. 41 It is interesting that thin-section analyses of two of the finds have revealed that the clay is not typically Gotlandic in the sense of being rich in calcareous deposits. The vessels with entrelac are tempered with grog in a medium-coarse clay. The vessel with stamped décor from grave 46 is made of a fine clay tempered with granite. Thus, they have different origins, 42 which is exactly the same observation as in the case of one of the older vessels from Gödåker. The vessels with entrelac from grave 5 and 17 are very slender. This, together with Hulthén's results, can indicate a manufacture on the mainland. The compositions of the decors on the vessels are very much alike, but the stamps are not identical. The

entrelac has close likeness to finds in Grötlingbo (SHM, inv. no 32623.A33).<sup>43</sup>

The second aristocratic milieu is Valsgärde. One vessel of Gotlandic style is found in chamber grave 20, on the gravefield famous mainly for the slightly later boat-graves. Another richly decorated vessel, with close parallels in the material from the Danmark graves, comes from an ordinary grave found in Kroksta, Åkerby par. in Uppland. The decoration consists of entrelac bands similar to the jugs from Sorunda in Södermanland. 44 Two main hypotheses may explain the observations through the thin-sections. 45 The first hypothesis is that there are more natural deposits of non-calcareous clay on Gotland and perhaps on Öland. The second is that potters have worked on the mainland, i.e. they were brought up in the Gotlandic tradition. One such site could be Helgö. New XRF-analysis can verify whether vessels made in the gotlandic style have been manufactured on the mainland.46

#### Vendel Period and Øsløs vessels

The tradition continues on Gotland in period E1. Gradually, the tradition undergoes a transformation in the number of forms and the impoverishment in decoration. The older and richer variety of forms decreased, and a new form of bag-like vases became common (Fig. 1). The older forms of this type are broader and often have a horizontal division marked by lines. The types of stamps also became fewer with a preference for diamonds, squares, and rectangles with grid patterns. During period E2, the form of the vessels becomes slender, and the decoration becomes even coarser. This has often been seen as a swan song of the old vessel tradition that disappears at the end of the period. 47 Vessels with the same character are also found in Denmark and Norway; their style of ornamentation has been seen as rigid and uninspired. 48 Some of the vessels from Jutland, Norway, and the Swedish west coast are made in a slightly different and quite sophisticated tradition.<sup>49</sup> Still other vessels, for instance from Värmland, Östergötland, Småland, Södermanland, and Uppland, are made in a coarser way, with thick walls and unevenly impressed stamps. They must be seen as mere local products or imitations, probably of a later date (SHM, inv. no. 6638, 17550, 18671, 20110, 28402).50

This form and decoration schemes are widely spread among the Germanic areas during the period

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Ekengren 2009; Løchsen Rødsrud 2012, 29ff.; Eriksson 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Hulthén 1992; Wexell 2008.

<sup>42</sup> Hulthén 1992, 6ff.

<sup>43</sup> Rundkvist 2003a, 205ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Nordahl 1952.

<sup>45</sup> Hulthén 1992, 6ff.; Stilborg 2009, 2ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Eriksson, Lindahl forthcoming.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Nerman 1967, 93ff.; 1969, figs 761, 773–782; Polásková 1998, 31.

<sup>48</sup> Brøndsted 1966, 309; Ramskou 1976; Gudesen 1980, 67f.

<sup>49</sup> Sarauw 1923, 333f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Petré 1984, 82; Lundborg 1994; Hamilton, Östlund 2012, fig. 16.

c. 500–700 AD. Close to the Scandinavian parallels are, e.g., Anglo-Saxon finds from c. 500–550 AD.<sup>51</sup> Some finds from western Scania are very close to some of the Anglo-Saxon examples.<sup>52</sup> More slender forms, often with a carinated shoulder, are also found in Holland and are dated to around 510–680 AD.<sup>53</sup> Bertha Stjernquist has previously studied the material from Southern Sweden,<sup>54</sup> and she has interpreted them as a product of influences mainly from Western Europe. A similar origin has also been suggested for finds from eastern Scania.<sup>55</sup>

Many tempting parallels are also found in connections to the Gepids and Lombards in Central Europe and north Italy. Slender vases with grid stamps, often in the form of rectangles, aces, and crosses, evolve during the end of the Migration Period in Hungary. They become a key artefact for Lombardic influences in Italy during the 6th century. The similarities between the vessels made in the Gotlandic style cannot be a coincidence. There are more connections between Gotland, Mälaren Valley, and the Lombards, such as the rich weapon-graves, Vendel-styles, and even the finds of brooches. Se

The spread of the pottery tradition outside Gotland is more interesting (Fig. 6). One of the most important points is the lack of pottery with stamped décors on Öland. The island has previously been one of the major regions with this type of pottery. There are two possibilities for explaining the dearth. One explanation is that the tradition of producing or/and importing decorated vessels had ceased. Many indications suggest that Öland underwent a rather dramatic change during the end of the Migration Period and the 6th century. The hoards of Roman solidi disappear during the beginning of the 6th century and comparatively few gold items are found from the Vendel Period, at least compared to Gotland. The decrease on Öland is also shown in datings from settlements and ring-forts.<sup>59</sup> The old system of settlement undergoes a change and the ring forts indicate a violent period. The loss of the decorated pottery of Gotlandic style is another sign of a breakage in the external network of Öland. There are of course always sourcecritical aspects of a statement relying on the absence of special features. However, the number of excavated and

published graves on Öland is so abundant that the shortage is statistically significant.

The contacts between the eastern part of Svealand and Gotland continue and seem to flourish. This can also be seen for instance in the distribution of E-bracteates, dress brooches, picture stones, and Vendel styles.60 The material can be divided into two groups. The first group consists of bowls with a more distinctive Gotlandic character with impressions of mostly small diamondshaped stamps. One example comes from an excavation made in 1847 in a mound called Gullhögen in Gamla Uppsala (SHM, inv. no. 1411). The excavation does not satisfy the modern standards, but the finds are rich with golden and bronze jewellery and gaming pieces. 61 Only one small pottery fragment is preserved, but this has a clear Gotlandic character. Another example comes from a boat grave from Smedby, Hammarby par. in Uppland. The boat was about 5 m long and contained a knife, many rivets, and two pottery vessels with stamped décor (SHM, inv. no. 33365.A17). The other boat graves and large mounds in Mälardalen barely contain any pottery; thus, the graves in Gullhögen and Smedby are unique. The context in Gamla Uppsala, at the same cemetery as the three 'royal' mounds surrounded by a large complex with workshops, halls, ritual enclosures, and a settlement, is particularly interesting. The vessel found here is the only decorated ceramic vessel found in graves so far, and it highlights a connection between one of the cores of Svealand and Gotland. A possible find of a vessel of Gotlandic type is from Johannishus, Hjortsberga par. in Blekinge (SHM, inv. no. 7869). It may be seen in the light of an elite in eastern Blekinge with contacts with islands in the east.62

A late form of Gotlandic type is a very narrow and tall vessel with a sharp angle on the body.<sup>63</sup> The form has often a close connection to Lombardic vessels. This type is the final expression of a dying tradition, and it is not the type's best artistic expression. So far, the type has not been found in graves in the Mälaren Valley. It appears instead in the complex around house foundation III at Helgö.<sup>64</sup> The example from Helgö is a crude one, with comb impressions and lines in the form of bows. The former fineness has disappeared forever (Fig. 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Myres 1977, fig. 1014; Hills, Lucy 2012, fig. 3.29.1823.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Myres 1977, fig. 2254, 2335; Lindahl et al. 2002, fig. 214–215.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Siegmund 1998; Theuws, Van Haperen 2012, 109–113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Stjernquist 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Brorsson 2003, 351, 363f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Bocsi 2008, 424–428; Hegewisch 2008; Tejral 2009, 62ff., 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Bierbrauer 2008a, 472f.; 2008b, 113-116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Magnus 2008, 183ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Nerman 1925, 193; Herschend 1981, 155; Beskow-Sjöberg, Arnell 1987, 407; Victor 2015, 114f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Olsén 1945, 110f.; Arrhenius 1960; Gaimster 1998, 71f.; Rundkvist 2003b, 112; Gustavson *et al.* 2006; Mangelsdorf 2007, fig. 2; Hamilton 2012.

<sup>61</sup> Ljungkvist 2006.

<sup>62</sup> Fischer 2005, 218ff.

<sup>63</sup> Nerman 1969, figs 1288-1291.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Reisborg 1981, 161f.

The Scandinavian vessels of this type must be at first seen at two scales. There are several different regional styles. A Gotlandic style with an evolution in forms from rounded vessels to slender vases with a sharp angle on the belly and the progressive degeneration in décor. This type can be found in Mälardalen and Blekinge. The second type can be traced in Scania, where it appears with Anglo-Saxon similarities. The third type is a more exclusive and elaborately decorated vessel of Øsløs type found in Jutland, Western Sweden, Norway, and Bornholm. The fourth type is simpler, and its coarse imitations are found over a larger area.

On a macro scale, this late offshoot of stamped décors is a more widespread tradition that can be traced in many continental contexts. The spread of the tradition may be seen as a manifestation of a more international style dispersed among the Germanic tribes and their neighbours; in a Swedish perspective, it can be seen as a loss of regional styles during the Migration Period.

### A cultural interpretation

The contacts between the Lake Mälaren valley and Gotland are crucial for understanding the growth of chiefdoms around the Lake Mälaren valley. Gotland and Öland were a link between Svealand and the continent on the route from Eastern and Central Europe, especially from phase C and onwards. The south-eastern corner of Södermanland, around Ösmo and Sorunda, seems to be a bridgehead for those contacts. Sorunda has one of the largest accumulations of large grave mounds in Södermanland, indicating a high-status milieu during the Vendel and Viking periods.<sup>65</sup> The meaning of the name Ösmo is probably the heath of Uppsala öd, i.e. a part of the royal domain.66 There are other metal finds from the parish that show close connections between Gotland, Helgö, and Ösmo during the Migration Period.<sup>67</sup> Helgö might also have a royal connection through the Hundhamra complex with rich grave finds in mounds at Norsborg.<sup>68</sup> The axis between Gotland and the Uppsala area via Ösmo/Sorunda and Helgö is therefore well founded. The material culture on Gotland and Öland has many similarities to the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture. They testify to contacts between the regions where the islanders have played an important and mediating role between Svealand and the Balts.

The graves with Gotlandic style in the area are not the richest ones but might indicate more low-scale migrations or intermarriages. In central Uppland, in periods B and C, the Gotlandic style appears on gravefields with rich finds and high status items. The contacts continue during the Migration Period, but they are probably channelled through Helgö. In the mead halls at Helgö, drinking vessels of Gotlandic style were used in order to consolidate alliances and bonds. The cluster around Uppsala is also the main feature with finds in chamber graves in Valsgärde and Danmark. The other chamber graves around the Mälaren Valley and Norrland lack finds of pottery of Gotlandic type. <sup>69</sup>

Svealand is remarkable in that it is the only region on the mainland with this mixture of styles of pottery with influences from southern and western Scandinavia and Gotland. The connection between Sjaelland and Svealand during phase C can be seen in fibulae and other jewellery. Some of the pottery in Svealand may also indicate contacts with Västergötland. There are also indications that not merely vessels but also potters moved to the mainland and continued to evolve their style.

During the Vendel Period, the contacts continue along the axis from Gotland to Uppsala. One clue of the importance of the ceramics is that the only fragment of pottery found in the larger mounds at Gamla Uppsala is of Gotlandic character.

It is tempting to combine the finds with the tradition in the Gutasaga in the Gutalag about Avair Strabain. He was sent to the king of Svealand and arranged a treaty between Gotland and the Svear that regulated taxes and trade.<sup>71</sup> A further matter of interest is the lack of vessels in the Gotlandic style along the shores between Södermanland and Blekinge. The geographic closeness between Småland and Öland makes this especially remarkable. One suggestion is that the connections between the regions were hostile. The network between Gotland, Öland, and Svealand was maintained on friendly grounds, at least periodically.72 Gotland and Öland have played an important role in the cultural transmission between Central and Eastern Europe and Svealand since phase C.73 There is also evidence that the production on Helgö reached both Gotland as well as the eastern part of the Baltic Sea.<sup>74</sup> The late stamp décor of Gotlandic character can also be seen during the Migration Period in the south-eastern part of the Baltic.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Bratt 2008, 129f.

<sup>66</sup> Wahlberg 2003.

<sup>67</sup> Bemmann 2003, 172ff.; Franzén 2007.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Ambrosiani 1985, 32f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Fischer 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Lund Hansen 2001, 164f.; Fernstål 2004, 122ff.; Przybyła 2009, 55f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Faulkes *et al.* 1999.

 $<sup>^{72}</sup>$  For the martial relations between the regions, see Gräslund 2018, 143ff, 218ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Bolin 1926, 304; Näsman 1984, 114ff.; Lund Hansen, Przybyła 2010, 262–271.

<sup>74</sup> Waller 1996, 21ff.

 $<sup>^{75}</sup>$  Machajewski 2001; Bitner-Wróblewska 2008, 148, tabl. LI, LII, CXLIV, CLVII.

The distribution must be seen as a common practice of decoration in all the cultures on Gotland and Öland as well as parts of Poland and Germany and later among the Anglo-Saxons. A shift in influences and mutual contacts might be traced in the slender beakers with late stamped décors during the transition between period D and E. The earlier routes and contacts between Svealand-Gotland and the south-eastern part of the Baltic are

replaced by a route to Central Europe and northern Italy. The resemblances between the late Gotlandic style and especially the beakers among the Langobards and Gepids cannot be neglected. The shift in more western influences can be seen in many ways but is probably most obvious in the formerly neglected beakers in eastern Scandinavia.

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#### Anna Gruszczyńska-Ziółkowska

Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw a.gruszczynska@uw.edu.pl https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3168-3460

### BETWEEN THE SILENCE OF THE PAST AND THE FUTURE

#### ABSTRACT

Archaeomusicological research currently conducted at the Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw, institutionalised thanks to the financial support from the Ministry of Science and Higher Education (grant NPRH), gave the opportunity to develop a wider field of research. The project includes not only the documentation of musical instruments but first and foremost

experimental studies. We started with completely new research on idiophones (*e.g.* on the sounds of lithophones and rattles), returned to previously closed topics (*e.g. gus-li* from Opole), and developed reconstruction methods using state-of-the-art technology (*e.g.* the reconstruction of flutes).

Keywords: archaeomusicology, idiophones, lithophones, musical instruments, rattles, reconstruction, 3D modelling

The project of archaeomusicological studies at the Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw (titled Archaeological Music Instruments in Polish Museum Collections), was inaugurated by the international conference Ringing Stones, held in December 2014 at the Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk on the initiative of the Polish Chapter of The Explorers Club. The conference was dedicated to the current practicalities of the project. Its guests set up a council to discuss the Institute's plans for the commencement of research on the Sudanese lithophones owned by the Museum. The conference not only provided an opportunity to get acquainted with the instruments, whose original context was most likely ritual (as suggested by rock art), but also to discover the extraordinary story of how they were saved from irrevocable loss and brought to Poland.<sup>2</sup> The participants presented no less impressive counterparts of these 'ringing stones' found throughout Northern Europe: Scotland,3 Norway,<sup>4</sup> Sweden,<sup>5</sup> Finland,<sup>6</sup> and Karelia (in Russia)<sup>7</sup>. A certain similarity of type, form, and sonority, and especially the geographical proximity of the presented

specimens, attracted our students' interest. They announced, half in jest but with genuine zeal, that they were "going to the woods to look for stones".

Looking back on that conference a few years later, we can say that this rather unusual project of 'looking for stones in the woods' has been successfully completed, both literally and figuratively. The topic of lithophones had previously not been discussed in Poland, neither by archaeologists nor by musicologists. Today, however, we get some signals concerning the possible identification of similar instruments.8 Most importantly, radically innovative research has been undertaken - previously rare globally and completely absent from Polish musicology and archaeology - concerning the sound of various idiophones, including both huge lithophones and tiny bells or rattles. We have also taken up an earlier avenue of research concerning the possible reconstructions of musical instruments. In our work, we strive to take advantage of most recent technology. Some of it is applied in archaeology, but it has to be modified to match the specific character of musicological research, which gives

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The project was financed from the funds of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education as a part of the programme titled *The National Programme for the Development of the Humanities* in 2014–2019. All the conference papers and studies published thanks to this grant bear the following annotation in the bibliography: NPRH project no. 11H 13 0382 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Paner 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Purser 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Kolltveit 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Lund 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Rainio 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Ablova 2014.

<sup>8</sup> Rudawska 2016a.

our studies a pioneering character. Our new methods of reconstruction also concern historical artefacts that have been preserved only partially or fragmentarily, *i.e.* those deemed useless for research and unimpressive as objects for exhibition and as such previously confined to museum storerooms.

I originally discussed the subject of the research project covered by this grant in my research manifesto titled Perspektywy polskich badań archeomuzykologicznych [The Perspectives of Polish Archaeomusicological Studies], published in Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny in 2012. In that paper, I predicted the dynamic development of Polish archaeomusicology on the basis of an analysis of relics in Polish museums – despite their humble and relatively undiversified resources. I do still abide by the opinion I then expressed that the scarcity of artefacts "probably makes our situation closer to that of Scandinavian scholars, who greet every newly-unearthed 10th- or 11th-century artefact, no matter how small, with great satisfaction, rather than to the heirs of Pompeii".9 All the same, I must admit that I underestimated our collection with regard to the amount of artefacts available, the diversity of their variants, and the wealth of possible research topics. The already initiated research confirms that "archaeomusicology has a chance to make effective though experimental use of the most recent technologies (different for each object)".10 We do not hope for all our experiments to prove successful. We treat our attempts as a rich set of opportunities to look for new research tools and methods as well as a field in which new questions can be posed.

#### Directions of research

The experiences of three years' work of our rather little team prove that musicology need not play a merely auxiliary role toward archaeology (for instance by helping to identify artefacts or to reconstruct them). By presenting archaeology with new tasks and formulating previously unasked questions, archaeomusicology – with an emphasis on the *logos* aspect with regard to music – is in fact a partner discipline for archaeology. The conference on lithophones<sup>11</sup> which I mentioned above inspired the archaeological circles to 'hearken' to the sound of the cave and cavern interiors, to underground rock art,<sup>12</sup>

but also helped popularise the subject of lithophones and attracted attention to these objects in the archaeological circles. Notably, the programme of the conference *Music in Archaeology*,<sup>13</sup> which summed up the first year of our team's work and provided an opportunity for a meeting of archaeologists and musicologists, included a discussion on lithophones based on ethno-historical materials.<sup>14</sup>

Another example of the inspirational role of our research in the work of archaeologists was the request to prepare sound material for an archaeological exhibition made after we recorded the sounds of the bells at the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw. The exhibits that we brought to life in this way can be heard at the exhibition *Yatvings – The Forgotten Warriors*. 15

Importantly, our research sometimes calls for interdisciplinary work. It supplies representatives of other academic disciplines with non-standard, original material for their own research, thus assisting these disciplines in extending their field of research. One example of such an interdisciplinary project may be the reconstruction of a musical instrument carried out jointly by a musicology student<sup>16</sup> and a doctoral student of architecture<sup>17</sup> using scans and three-dimensional modelling.

Altogether three main general themes emerge from the documentation work and studies performed to date. These three themes may determine future research directions or at least open up a space for new experiences and experiments. They are: 1) the study of sound, 2) the problems of musical instruments (and sound tools) identification, and 3) the reconstructions of instruments.

#### Sound and sound tools in space

To an archaeologist, a musical instrument (or, more generally, a sound tool) is usually just one of many finds whose interest lies in their form, ornaments, the context they are found in, or the material and technology used to produce them. At the same time, however, these artefacts used to be (and some of them still are) sound-producing objects. This was the purpose for which they were created in the first place, and, therefore, their sonic qualities are of primary importance: they are always intentional, designed, never accidental. They provide us with knowledge of how people heard the world and about human

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Gruszczyńska-Ziółkowska 2012, 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Gruszczyńska-Ziółkowska 2012, 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The conference *Ringing Stones*, Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk, 12–15 December 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Szymczak 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Institute of Musicology, Warsaw, 4–5 March 2016. NPRH project no. 11H 13 0382 82.

<sup>14</sup> Tunia 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The exhibition opened in September 2015 in Jeleniewo and was later moved to Ełk and Warsaw. Since February 2016 it has travelled through Norway and then Poland.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Gruda 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Marta Pakowska, MEng, doctoral student supervised by Prof. dr hab. Jacek Kościuk at the Laboratory of 3D Scanning and Modelling at the Institute of Architecture, Wrocław University of Science and Technology.

contributions to the soundscape – an element that frequently escapes us nowadays, in an age dominated by noise and the surrounding acoustic chaos.

And yet, the world around us is by and large an orderly one, and it also has its sonic order. Some elements of this order are cyclical, regular, or permanent and can therefore impart to us information concerning, *e.g.*, a time of day (night, morning), a place (a meadow, a street), or some special situations (the sound of a thunder or of an alarm). The acoustic landscape, basically invariable in itself, is internally diversified, and humans modify it even further, customising and individualising it to suit their purposes.<sup>18</sup>

#### Lithophones

The natural, and at the same time unique, qualities of some spaces (such as *e.g.* caverns) not only facilitate new experiences but in fact also provoke people to experiment with sound. On the other hand, there are objects around us whose acoustic qualities make us intuitively use them as musical instruments. These include large stones or rocks that possess specific acoustic qualities and have, therefore, been used to produce sounds. It is worthwhile to take a closer look at these objects and even to conduct research into them as one of the oldest known types of musical instruments.<sup>19</sup>

Several such instruments, found in Sudan, were rescued by a team of archaeologists from the Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk (the rocks were being flooded at the bottom of a water reservoir as a result of the

construction of a dam on the Nile) and are today recognised, along with numerous rock carvings, as a unique collection of finds (Fig. 1).20 In recent years, such Sudanese lithophones, originally accompanied in their place of discovery by rock art, became famous in archaeomusicological circles mainly owing to the research carried out by Cornelia Kleinitz, who identified nearly a hundred such instruments and documented many of them by describing their locations, making sketches, and taking photographs as well as creating several short films, which also comprise some basic record of the instruments' sounds. However, as an archaeologist, Kleinitz dedicated little attention to the sound qualities of those objects. She studied their spatial arrangement and the interesting location of the individual finds in the territory under study, as well as their appearance in groups, which she even termed 'soundscapes', referring to the sonic use of lithophones as 'rock music'. 21 There are many examples of such lithophones in the world's literature on the subject. It needs to be emphasised that - though our knowledge about 'ringing stones' is mainly based on ethnographic sources and, to a lesser extent, on historical records - they are usually considered a long-standing, stable, and regular component of local cultures.<sup>22</sup> The most frequently discussed aspects of these instruments include their ritual and communicative functions. In her survey of African publications dedicated to lithophones, Natalia Arciszewska pointed out to the rarely-observed fact that, apart from using the instruments merely to send signals, some specific qualities of speech could be imitated by representing the tonal structures of words and prosody



Fig. 1. Big lithophone from Sudan (no. 164 p, Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk, 2014) – registration of sounds (photo by P. Ziółkowski).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The question has been discussed widely also by Renáta Beličová (2014).

<sup>19</sup> Fang 2010; Lawson 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Paner 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Kleinitz 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Arciszewska 2016.

on those instruments, which would place lithophones on the same level as the so-called talking drums.<sup>23</sup>

Many phenomena directly related to musical issues were discussed during the Ringing Stones conference, especially in those papers that were devoted to Northern European lithophones.<sup>24</sup> John Purser, who presented both photographs and sound recordings, pointed out the great diversity of form and acoustic effects produced by Scottish idiophones as well as the resulting folk interpretations of these sounds. Riitta Rainio analysed the structure of a series of sounds of a single lithophone from Finland. An important point in the debate that summed up the conference was Jan Żera's statement, combined with a brief presentation, in which he demonstrated that a lithophone is basically a resonating slab. Its acoustic qualities depend on the places in which nodes appear, as well as the shape in which its base is formed (a cavity, some kind of 'feet' or other type of structure that mutes the sound) and the direct surroundings: another stone or a niche in the rock in which the lithophone stands, the way it is separated from the sandy ground, and the ways in which good resonance is guaranteed. These aspects of lithophones gave rise to more questions and opened up new areas of study (though not necessarily for musicologists themselves), since, according to the archaeologists, the lithophones brought by them to Poland had not been processed in any way, and, therefore, both their shapes and positions ought to be considered natural. The huge number of larger and smaller lithophones in the area of the Fourth Cataract of the Nile calls for a systematic study of their forms and acoustic contexts. Unfortunately,

most of this material has been lost. The more important, it seems, is the study of the material that remains available to us, complemented by the sizeable photographic archive of the Sudan team at the Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk.

One of the most interesting questions is one concerning the original location of the largest of the lithophones transported to Poland. Photographic documentation proves that it lay on a stone of a different kind (or at least a different colour) but of an astoundingly similar shape. Judging by the large number of marks left by hitting the lithophone, as well as by the depth of some of these cavities, which suggests frequent or prolonged use of the instrument, this stone most likely had good acoustic qualities. It is temporarily kept in the museum storeroom, in conditions unfavourable to bringing out its acoustic qualities. Hopefully, further research may establish the optimum conditions for exhibiting this valuable find.

An analysis of the sound of two Sudanese lithophones, recorded in Gdańsk by a group of students from the Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw, reveals a surprisingly poor sound quality of the larger instrument (muffled, heavy, not sonorous). This could be caused by the loss of the stone's original context/placement: now it lies flat on a wooden pallet, while in Sudan it was situated on another rock, and its points of support were a bit different (Fig. 1). The smaller of the two lithophones is more promising as an object of study. Detailed observation of the sounds forming in four points in the proximity of the stone confirmed the prediction that, despite the different impressions of the sounds produced by hitting the stone

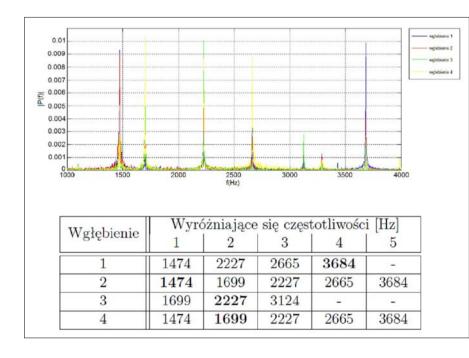


Fig. 2. Small lithophone (Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk) – sounds of four 'cup-marks'. An analysis by M. Misiurewicz (Misiurewicz 2017) shows that the difference of the sounds is, in fact, an impression created by a different exposition (volume) of various harmonics of the same sound.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Arciszewska 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Koltveit 2014; Purser 2014; Rainio 2014.

at different points, they are in fact all of the same pitch and differ only in the exposition (volume) of their various harmonics (Fig. 2).<sup>25</sup> Such study constitutes an important and innovative contribution to the systematic research into lithophones. Their presence in various cultures has been noted for a long time, and their sounds have been recorded, but acoustic studies are still in the initial phase.

As mentioned above, already after the inauguration of our project, we received signals concerning the possible presence of lithophones also in Poland. Knowledge about the location of stones that possess unique qualities - symbolic and in many cases also acoustic - has for a long time been preserved in local traditions, as demonstrated by Krzysztof Tunia on the basis of abundant ethno-historical material.<sup>26</sup> Some of the hypothetical lithophones can still be localised, but unfortunately they are not always found in their original forms. Anna Rudawska, who saw the famous two-element 'clicking stone' (locally known as Klickstein) from near Rościno (formerly Rostin in Hinterpommern) – or rather what is left of it after one of the parts was taken off and moved many kilometres away to serve a new function - learnt from local tales that the smaller stone placed on the bigger one produced a clicking-knocking noise whenever a person 'with a guilty conscience' was passing by.<sup>27</sup>

#### Rattles

Since the initial planning phase of our project, it has been our intention to make sound recordings of ceramic rattles from museum collections (Fig. 3). This was mainly to serve documentation purposes, though sound analyses were also considered a possible option, mostly for the sake of scholarly diligence. It has turned out, however, that the sound material of the rattles is so varied and diversified that it deserves a separate indepth study. The topic was taken up by Katarzyna Tatoń, an archaeologist who already had some experience with idiophones from the time of her work on the book titled *Archeologia muzyki: starożytny Egipt* [*The Archaeology of Music: Ancient Egypt*], dedicated to Egyptian archaeological musical instruments in Polish collections.<sup>28</sup>

At present, we have recordings of c. 240 objects (belonging to different collections) at our disposal. However, as demonstrated by the results of previous research, the number of still sounding rattles should be estimated at several hundred. The set of artefacts also includes other objects that have been damaged or only fragmentarily preserved. These constitute excellent supplementary material which provides additional information concerning



Fig. 3. Clay rattle from Brzezie (no. 28gr69\_86, Museum of the Kalisz Land, Kalisz, 2016) (photo by K. Tatoń).

such acoustically significant qualities as the shape of internal structure as well as the kinds and number of movable components.

Our initial 'rattling' explorations have brought many surprises and shown that, as a rule, there is no direct link between the form and the type of sound or its volume. This is also true of instruments that look alike and represent the same culture or similar dating and locations. The relation between size and sound is frequently a source of surprises. Relatively large objects can prove quiet and 'rustling', while quite loud and distinct rattling sounds can be produced by small instruments. This results not only from the type of 'peas' placed inside but also from the shape of the sound chamber (internal construction) and the type of ceramics involved.

Rattle tones are in general of a high register, and their harmonics very frequently exceed the human hearing range (Fig. 4). Their functions seem to have been rather different from the typical functions of musical instruments. They are mostly found in graves and are a kind of 'bridge' between two types of objects: they must be viewed as sound tools, but they also sometimes resemble other, purely ritual items (*e.g.* the painted 'eggs': rattles and not rattles of clay or stone frequently found in graves from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Mazgaj 2016, 1–9; Misiurewicz 2017, 1–9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Tunia 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Rudawska 2016a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Tatoń 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Dymek no date.

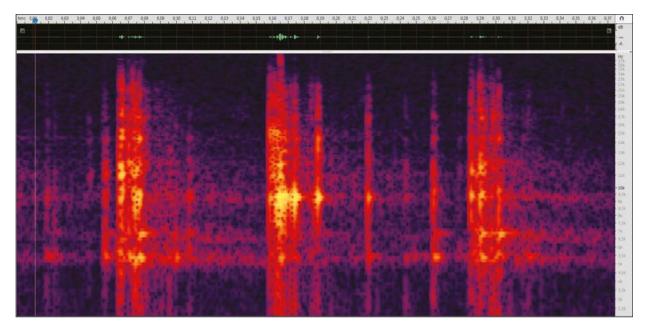


Fig. 4. Clay rattle from Brzezie (no.  $28\text{gr}69\_86$ , Museum of the Kalisz Land, Kalisz, 2016). Spectrogram shows the formant frequencies (c. 5 kHz, 6.5 kHz, and specially marked – c. 9.5 kHz) and the quite clear exposition of the high frequencies (up to c. 26 Hz), exceeding the human hearing range (registration of the sound by K. Tatoń, 2016; analysis by A. Gruszczyńska-Ziółkowska).

Clay rattles have attracted the interest of archaeologists for a long time. Comprehensive work on their classification, studies concerning the range of occurrence of their various types, and ways of disseminating some models have been conducted. Detailed analyses have also addressed the very material they were made of, including glazing techniques and types of glazes. An interesting image of the archaeologists' comprehensive studies of rattles emerged from our conference *Muzyka w archeologii* [*Music in Archaeology*]. <sup>30</sup> All in all, we could say that the only topic that is missing from archaeological research is the sound – which is a small and a great deficiency at the same time.

#### Bells

Like rattles, also bells produce interesting acoustic phenomena in the ultrasound range,<sup>31</sup> and, like the former, they have not been subjected to systematic research in Poland.<sup>32</sup> Most collections include meagre assemblages or even only individual specimens. The State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw<sup>33</sup> is one of the few institutions in the country to boast a large collection of

bells, several dozens of which are in good condition and can still produce sound. They are objects of varying provenience, mostly from north-eastern Poland, including Yotvingian bells from the area of Szurpiły and Szypliszki, as well as a beautiful set of bells and clashing metal plates, of varied forms and shapes, which Zygmunt Gloger collected late in the 19<sup>th</sup> century during his field studies in Polish Livonia – in the boroughs of Rzeżyca (Latvian: Rēzekne) and Lucyn (Latvian: Ludza, both now in Latvia) among others. Gloger called these bells *brząkadła* ('jingles'). They were attached to horse harnesses or constituted a part of necklaces, clasps, belts, and other elements of a garment.

Archaeologists have painted such a suggestive image of the application of bells<sup>34</sup> that it became the topic of two interesting sound impressions. One is the already mentioned composition accompanying the exhibition *Yatvings – The Forgotten Warriors* (PMA 2015), whose main idea was to present sound as a museum exhibit. The task was by no means easy, since the sounds of the individual bells are quiet and hardly distinguishable. The four persons who carried out this project were

<sup>30</sup> Kalaga 2016; Siemianowska 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Jankowski 2016, 1–10, plus sound recordings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Such research is rare also worldwide. One original study of a similar class of artefacts is the doctoral dissertation of Riitta Rainio of the University of Helsinki (Rainio 2010).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Department of Archaeology of the Baltic Peoples, State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw.

<sup>34</sup> E.g. Jończyk 2016.

each to produce a three-part music piece consisting of any sequence and rhythmic arrangement of individual sounds of bells (part I), original sounds in any combination, for instance polyphonic (part II), and original bell sounds used as part of a composition also involving other sounds (part III). A 6-minute-long multimovement piece was formed out of this material, whose interlaced but clearly distinguishable sections are built out of original and newly-composed sounds. Every person visiting the exhibition can familiarise themselves with the artefacts' most important quality - their sounds. On the other hand, thanks to the concept of thematic composition, these genuine sounds are not 'petrified', feeble, and monotonous, but - on the contrary - they enliven and animate the museum space along with the sound of rustling forest trees, rain, and thunderstorm, as well as mounted troops.35

The other application of the documentary material (interesting also for the museum staff) is the reconstruction of space with ringing bells created by Justyna Kotarska, who 'embedded' the original bell sounds in an imaginary space. Based on the suggestions of archaeologists, and taking into account the original placement and functions of the bells, she created four sound simulations titled: "Winter Space", "Footfalls in the Snow", "Bells as Pieces of Jewellery", and "A Bundle of Bells".<sup>36</sup>

#### Identification of musical instruments

Identification – and later reconstruction – of instruments constitutes a separate group of research problems. Our studies involve two stages of identification. In the first, we aim to determine whether a given relic is a sound tool (or its fragment) at all. This stage is an excellent field for collaborations between archaeologists and musicologists. For this reason, separating the potentially 'sound-producing objects' from among various not easily identifiable artefacts seems fully justifiable, though even

for musicologists such objects are sometimes a genuine puzzle. The preserved finds are for the most part popular, commonly used instruments, whose models can be found in ethnographic material. The so-called professional musical instruments are rare and come from relatively recent historical past. Due to the disappearance of certain instrument building technologies or materials in some regions, in other words – the discontinuity of traditions related to instrument construction – parallels from other areas can also prove useful. The decision to classify a given object as a sound tool has not been taken yet with reference to some artefacts which demand further in-depth comparative studies.

Contrary to what may seem, identification of sound tools is not easy, and even experienced researchers risk over-interpreting or underestimating a given find.<sup>37</sup> Problems with classification may result from the fact that in some circumstances any object may become a sound tool. For instance, a wooden or bone pipe will produce sound if one blows into it properly – which need not mean that this was in fact its original application. In some cases, it helps to consult wider material, which makes it possible to study various alternative solutions,<sup>38</sup> while in others (where the object is ambiguous with regard to application) – we must leave room for doubt.

In the second stage, we recognise the model of the instrument, define its pattern, and analyse those details of its construction which support the interpretation we have presented. The task of fully identifying the instrument and pointing to a specific design pattern is particularly difficult with reference to heavily-damaged or only fragmentarily preserved objects. In such cases, the identification process involves not only a detailed analysis but also a search for comparative material (other artefacts, iconography), as well as planning and reconstruction work that takes into account various possible structural solutions. In the course of this process we discover more and more details and ask new questions. What results is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>Concept of the composition: Anna Gruszczyńska-Ziółkowska; composers: Joanna Dubrawska-Stępniewska, Adam Jankowski, Andrzej Stępniewski, Przemysław Ziółkowski (morenoise.eu); mixing and mastering: morenoise.eu.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Kotarska 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> One of the world-famous collections published a catalogue of finds which classifies ceramic vessels belonging to one culture according to their forms. Though it was noticed that one of the items had a hole drilled in the pot's bottom, this observation did not influence its classification and (in a way) interpretation as a piece of kitchenware, while in fact it was a vessel drum – a type of kettledrum – in fact typical of that culture. This little hole in the bottom ought to have been recognised as unmistakable evidence of the object being a drum. In instruments with

closed bodies, such holes serve as valves for the air compressed by hitting the membrane. Thanks to the presence of the hole, the membrane can vibrate freely, since the air is both pressed out and sucked in through the hole. The movement of the membrane is thus not abruptly suppressed or stopped.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> The identification of bone tubes with two holes placed transversely close to each other as two-note whistles probably needs to be revised. According to Andrzej Piotrowski of the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw, this interpretation (accepted by authorities in the field of musicology and found in the literature) may be the result of a mistake and over-interpretation, since it disregards rather numerous Russian finds which point to the use of such tubes as tools for spinning thread (A. Piotrowski, personal communication).

a kind of interpretation of the find – of its proposed form and, indirectly, also of the musical practice involved.

#### Reconstructions

The umbrella term 'musical instrument reconstruction' is not used very precisely nowadays. It is applied to various types of actions undertaken with different results in mind. We should in fact talk about three types of reconstruction. The first is restoring an instrument using original materials (for instance by putting together a fragmented object). Archaeologists carry out many such 're-constructions', for instance of ceramic rattles. The missing elements are frequently filled in so that the artefact can be presented in its complete form. This is usually done at the expense of the loss not only of the acoustic qualities (which were already impaired by the damage) but also of information about them. Broken rattles play a major role in research because they reveal how the most important part of the instrument – the interior of its acoustic chamber - was formed. The rattling 'peas' are also exposed. The same is true for other instruments.

The second type of reconstruction is related to performance practice. It depends first and foremost on the thorough examination of the object (measuring its dimensions, identifying materials, etc.). Subsequently, a kind of a copy of the instrument is built using historical (or at least 'archaicising') technologies. Since most of the finds are damaged and largely incomplete, their forms must be restored. In the last stage, the thus constructed instruments are made to produce sound - which is to a great extent a question of interpretation (e.g. the type of blast on aerophones, the choice of strings, tuning, and playing technique on chordophones, etc.).39 This type of reconstruction has the advantage of obtaining an instrument that produces 'live' sound. The main disadvantage is the relatively wide range of interpretation, which means that research work in the strict sense of the term ends at this point.

Our team has conducted reconstructions of the third type, which aim, among others, to study the construction of a find so as to collect the greatest possible amount of data concerning the key ideas underlying an instrument's construction, as well as to test research methods and the possible scope of applications for new technologies. This concerns the type of work where the stage of experiments with the original objects is limited and replaced with modelling. 40 In such research, reconstructions are virtual, and the object is modelled on the basis of three-dimensional scans. As a rule, the image of a model proves sufficient for the reconstruction of instruments' forms. Various solutions are tested and verified on a virtual model. However, we also create 3D prints, which make empirical studies of the details of a construction to some extent possible.

We have undertaken a study of four very different finds. Two of these are the well-known *gusle* (Pol. *gęśle*) of Opole, also quoted by foreign researchers (two lyres from Ostrówek in Opole, 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>41</sup> The other two are fragments (central parts) of aerophones – a bone pipe from Człuchów (mid-15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>42</sup> – and a wooden Baroque flute from Wrocław (early 18<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>43</sup>

Our study of the two-string instruments is to verify the previous reconstructions and interpretations. We use the basic archaeological data as our point of departure. Our work, therefore, focuses on meticulous examination of the finds and the study of their original contexts. The study, undertaken by Anna Rudawska for her MA thesis, is still in progress, 44 but we can already say that the emergent questions include the choice of material for the strings, the way the strings were attached, and the technique of playing. Iconography plays a major role in this research, as do comparative studies focusing mostly on lyres found in Northern Europe (Scandinavia, England, and a find from Gdańsk in Poland) and in the north-east of the continent (Veliky Novgorod).

The study of the bone pipe aims at the best possible reconstruction of its both ends, as well as experiments with sound production using this pipe and determining its type. The study will result in creating a copy/reconstruction of the object, thus making reasonably good quality sound production possible. This is meticulous research which required participation of an archaeozoologist who helped identify the animal (goose) whose bone had been used and choose one of the many biologically possible and justified models. Modelling is based on precise 3D images of both the pipe Ar and the bone

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Mazurek 2016.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Such studies are still rare. Examples include the bridge from Pasture Cave (Purser, Lawson 2012) and Maya finds (Katz 2016).
 <sup>41</sup> In the collection of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences in Wrocław (Bukowska-Gedigowa, Gediga 1986; Rudawska 2016b).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> In the collection of the Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw (Starski 2016).

 $<sup>^{43}</sup>$  In the collection of the Archaeological Museum – Branch of the City Museum of Wrocław.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Rudawska 2016b.

<sup>45</sup> Kubies 2016, 1-13.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Anna Gręzak, Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw.
 <sup>47</sup> Tomography performed at the Chair of Geotechnics, Hydraulic Engineering, Underground and Hydraulic Structures, Department of Civil and Hydraulic Engineering, Wrocław

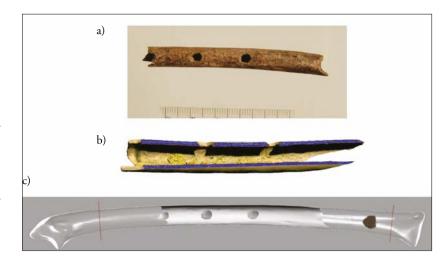


Fig. 5. Bone pipe from Człuchów (no. Cz.Z.19-B, Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw).

a. Original view (photo by M. Dąbski) and two phases of the process of 3D reconstruction; b. Tomography (M. Rajczakowska); c. Example of virtual modelling (M. Pakowska) according to the identification of the bone's type by Dr A. Gręzak.

used as our model (Fig. 5). Though this research concerns a simple pipe, analogous procedures can be applied in the future to instruments of a more complex built.<sup>48</sup>

Work on the preserved fragment of the Baroque flute from Wrocław was also an interesting experience. This find was the topic of a BA thesis by Aleksandra Gruda, who carried out historical research into the development of the flute in the period of the find's dating, taking advantage, among others, of a study of the flute iconography. 49 At this stage, Gruda's work aimed to discover a suitable model, which proved rather difficult, since many different manufactures were active at that time, and their products sometimes differed significantly from one another. As a result of the study, which used detailed design drawings of the flutes, two possible models were established: those by T. Lot and J.-H. Rottenburgh. 3D modelling constituted a separate stage of the study. The find was scanned in detail, the scanned surfaces were put together and cleaned of any defects. The design drawings of flutes by Lot and Rottenburgh (made by Jean-François Beaudin) were entered into AutoCad, turned into vector graphics using this software, and then sent to the Rhinoceros 5.0 program,<sup>50</sup> which converted them into solids of revolution. 51 Two thus obtained virtual sets of flutes were compared with the archaeological find. It turned out that fitting the find into Rottenburgh's set created a gap c. 3 mm wide between the model and the head joint of the find. The Lot model was therefore eventually selected as better fitting.<sup>52</sup> A 3D print of the flute was also made.

It was not our aim to physically reconstruct the instrument complete with all its acoustic qualities. This would have been costly and quite unnecessary, since the so-called Baroque flutes, built in accordance with historical designs, are common in today's performance practice. Similarly as in the case of the above discussed pipe, our aim was to test an innovative method of reconstruction. The obtained 3D print can, however, prove useful in museum practice.

#### Education

One of the aims of the project was to educate young researchers. This was one of the requirements of our patron and of the National Programme for the Development of the Humanities, which provided funds for the project. Over the two-year period of research, about twenty students collaborated with our archaeomusicological studio to a greater or lesser extent, and they represented all three levels of studies at the institute: BA, MA, and PhD courses. Three of these students represented disciplines other than musicology. One MA thesis, one BA thesis, and one engineering diploma work have been completed; three MA theses and one doctoral dissertation are in progress. All these theses are based on

University of Science and Technology, under the supervision of Prof. Dariusz Łydżba.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Modelling preparation: Marta Pakowska (3D Scanning and Modelling Laboratory, Faculty of Architecture, Wrocław University of Technology, under the supervision of Professor Jacek Kościuk). Pakowska 2016, 1–5.

<sup>49</sup> Winiarska 2016, 1-22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Pakowska 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Pakowska 2016.

<sup>52</sup> Gruda 2016, 1-51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> History of art, acoustics, and architecture.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Gruda 2016, 1–51; Gawarska 2017, 1–124; Adamczyk 2018, 1–79.

the material collected as a result of our research and make use of state-of-the-art research technology. Admittedly, without the funding these theses and dissertation would not have been possible.

The young grant beneficiaries also took part in two international archaeomusicological conferences coorganised by the Institute of Musicology of the University of Warsaw. The first of these was Ringing Stones, held at the Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk in December 2014, in which 6 students took part. Among their tasks was to carry out methodical recordings of lithophone sounds, which were to constitute the basic analytic material, as well as to compose 'music impressions for lithophone' for the needs of a museum broadcast for children. Our second meeting, the 14th ICTM Study Group on Music Archaeology, was held at the Archaeological Museum in Biskupin in August 2015 (five participants). Both conferences were organised at the early stage of research work, which means that the students did not present their results there but used the opportunity to become acquainted with most recent results of archaeomusicological studies, as well as to take part in numerous conversations and debates. But at the next Conference of the ICTM Study Group on Music Archaeology, in Ljubljana (Slovenia, 2017), the reconstruction of the Wrocław flute was presented by Aleksandra Gruda and Marta Pakowska.<sup>55</sup>

Already in March 2016, twelve researchers took active part in the conference *Music in Archaeology*, which was financed from the grant and summed up the first year of our work. All the participants delivered papers or presented brief reports on their research or auxiliary activities (such as the overview and classification of material, sound recordings, *etc.*). Though this meeting was

conceived as a working session, it attracted numerous persons from outside the group of the grant beneficiaries, mainly archaeologists. <sup>56</sup> It is necessary to emphasise the presence of the participants of the project at two Organological National Conferences in Ostromecko, <sup>57</sup> where they delivered four papers in 2017 and eight presentations in 2018.

Of note was the participation of one of our students – Natalia Arciszewska – in the 22<sup>nd</sup> All-Polish Research and Education Nubiological Conference (Gdańsk-Sobieszewo, May 2015), where she discussed our studies on the Sudanese lithophones in her paper titled Analogie dla litofonów sudańskich: typy i konteksty występowania w Nigerii [Analogies to Sudanese Lithophones. Types and Contexts of their Occurrences in Nigeria], which was greeted by the archaeologists with great interest.

#### **Conclusions**

In the context of the future of Polish archaeomusicology, we will certainly need to discuss issues of documentation and its use. The scope and type of documentation we create is determined by the research programmes and tasks that we implement. Our work did not aim to create a database of all the relevant museum finds, which means that our documentation is limited to those artefacts that we select for our studies. However, the scope of these studies is now already quite wide and certainly untypical, since they also involve sound material. The latter is systematically classified and made accessible to the owners of the finds, who can use it to update and modernise their catalogue records (which can include sounds and instrumental settings), as well as during exhibitions and lessons in the museums.

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<sup>55</sup> Gruda, Pakowska 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Both the conference and the team's independent work attracted media interest. PAP agency printed a note (ed. Szymon Zdziebłowski – *News: Nauka w Polsce* [*Science in Poland*], http://naukawpolsce.pap.pl/aktualnosci/news,408678, archeomuzykologia--poczatek-nowej-dyscypliny-naukowej-w-polsce.html, accessed 20.03.2017), and PR24 broadcast a radio programme (ed. Katarzyna Kobylecka, *Czas na Naukę* [*Time for Science*], http://www.polskieradio.pl/130/4430/Arty-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Organised by the Institute of Musicology of the University of Wrocław, the Municipal Cultural Centre in Bydgoszcz, and the Faculty of Instrumental Music of the Feliks Nowowiejski Music Academy in Bydgoszcz (http://mck-bydgoszcz.pl/?p=wydarzenia&id=7452, accessed 02.12.2018; http://konferencja.instrumenty.edu.pl/2018/08/20/program-ii-ogolnopolskiej-konferencji-instrumentologicznej/, accessed 02.12.2018).

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#### MARTA DANIEL

Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw mart0614@gmail.com

# FINDS OF ILLYRIAN COIN HOARDS FROM THE TERRITORIES OF GREEK ILLYRIA. AN ATTEMPT AT RECONSTRUCTING THE CIRCULATION OF COINAGE BASED ON THE RANGE OF PARTICULAR EMISSIONS<sup>1</sup>

#### ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to reconstruct the circulation of coinage through an analysis of finds of hoards of 'Illyrian coins' from the territory of Greek Illyria in the period from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. To this end, hoards from modern-day Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, Kosovo, and Serbia, that is the maximum territorial extent of the so-called 'Illyrian state', were compiled in a catalogue. This catalogue of hoards of Illyrian coins served as a basis for producing dedicated maps which present data in

a cumulative form, as well as sorted by date and place of issue. Distribution of finds in relation to terrain and settlement patterns was studied in order to locate concentrations of coins of given centres in different periods. Additionally, important observations concerned places in which coin hoards are absent or very scarce. The catalogue was also useful for tracing patterns in the composition of the hoards – those consisting of coins most commonly minted together and those dominated by coins of differing provenance.

Keywords: Illyria, Greek-Illyrian coinage, coin hoards, circulation of coinage, Balkan Peninsula

The term 'Illyrians' refers to tribes that inhabited the Balkan Peninsula from the 4th century BC onwards. The name 'Illyria' comes from the Greek language and is of a mythological origin. Its interpretation is a subject of dispute among modern historians, who propose various hypotheses as to the provenance and original meaning of this word. Researchers have also attempted to reconstruct the political and economic history of Illyria based on Classical, mainly Roman, sources. As for local texts, none have survived. It is unknown whether the Illyrians had their own writing system. Another disputed matter is the territory inhabited by Illyrian tribes. The situation is made more difficult by the fact that the

Illyrians did not form a 'state' with an established territory and clearly-defined borders.<sup>4</sup>

Numismatists conducting research on the 'Illyrian coinage'<sup>5</sup> lack sufficient archaeological data in the form of coin finds. Most works about the Illyrian coinage focus on describing emissions or particular types of coins.<sup>6</sup> Currently, there is only one book whose author collected hoards of 'Illyrian' and Roman coins. However, she took into account only finds from the territory of present Albania.<sup>7</sup>

At the beginning, the coinage in the Balkans in the  $4^{\rm th}$  century BC was dominated by Greek mints. Greek colonists were immigrating to the territory of the

others. In this paper, the term 'Illyrian state' was used for the sake of convenience, but it is always placed between quotation marks in order to accentuate its inaccuracy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The present article was based on an MA thesis prepared in 2017 at the Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw, under the supervision of Dr Renata Ciołek. It is an outcome of the project no. 2016/21/B/HS3/00021 funded by the National Science Centre titled *Monetary circulation in Moesia and Illyria. The case of finds from Novae (Bulgaria) and Risan (Montenegro)*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Stipčević 1989, 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In this article, the boundaries of the area inhabited by Illyrian tribes were taken from Pajakowski 1981.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The Illyrians forged a statehood based on a confederation of tribes, the strongest of which had supreme power over the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The 'Illyrian coinage', actually the 'Greek-Illyrian coinage', was inspired by Greek colonists. It had traits characteristic for Greek coins, *i.e.* a legend in Greek and allusions to Greek mythology, combined with typically Illyrian symbols like the Illyrian galley.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Evans 1880, 269-302; Ceka 1972; Brunšmid 1998.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Gjongecaj-Vangjeli 2014.

northern Adriatic Sea, mainly inhabiting the islands and the coast. They were founding towns along with the first mints in the Balkans (Apollonia, Dyrrhachium). Thus, the largest Illyrian mints were of the Greek origin. At the beginning of this period (4th century), the indigenous population did not strike their own coins. The first Illyrian emissions appeared under the influence of the Greek coinage. This is why, speaking of the 'Illyrian coinage', the literature often refers to mints of Greek origin, for example Issos or Faros, but also those typically Illyrian, for instance Skodra or Rhizon.

The main criterion for the division of the 'Illyrian coinage' is the type of ore used for manufacturing coins. Two metals were exploited in Illyria: silver and bronze. Bronze coins were in common use. Most of the antique mints only struck bronze coins (mints on the Adriatic islands, Byllis, Orikos, and Genthios). Silver coins had a much higher value. They were struck only in Dyrrhachium and Damastion.

As I mentioned before, the 'Illyrian coinage' derives strictly from its Greek predecessor. The first mints in the territory of the Balkan Peninsula were founded in Greek colonies on the Adriatic islands. The first Illyrian emissions appeared under the influence of the Greek coinage. Coin hoards are a premise for a conclusion that coins were a form of thesaurisation. But was it so everywhere? There are still many unanswered questions. Were the coins of various mints a fully-fledged currency on the territory of ancient Illyria? Here, another question arises, one about the function of coins in the life of the local population. Did they serve as a means of payment everywhere? Did the Illyrian inhabitants know the function of money during the Pre-Roman Period? It is not known whether the Illyrians were aware of the function of currency as an intermediary of exchange. This topic requires further studies, which should include individual finds.

The coinage of the two largest mints in the Balkans, *i.e.* Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, is currently known best as their coins clearly dominated the circulation. Issues of other Illyrian centres were often ephemeral and low-intensity, and from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC onwards they were replaced by Roman *denarii*, which completely eliminated local coin production. The latter causes contribute to the inadequate state of research on the history and coinage

of Illyria, hindering the reconstruction of its chronology and coin circulation.

The MA thesis that forms the basis for the present paper called for a thorough library survey, including a visit to the Römisch-Germanische Kommission library in Frankfurt on the Main. This library houses the largest collection of periodicals of Balkan museums and archaeological institutions in which one can find information on Illyrian coin finds. The collected material was presented in a catalogue form as a part of the MA thesis.<sup>8</sup> Such attempts have already been made but on a selected material, never including all finds from the entire Balkan Peninsula.<sup>9</sup>

A useful analytical method proved to be the mapping of 'Illyrian' coin finds. The hoards were divided by issue, date, and mint in order to gauge the situation on the coin market in a given period and to observe the differences from one period to the next. On this basis, it was possible to conduct an analysis of the circulation of coinage and to determine the range of the occurrence of coins of each mint and their time in circulation.

The consulted scholarly works on numismatics yielded data on 78 published Illyrian hoards from the territories of modern-day Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, Kosovo, and Serbia, which constituted the maximum territorial extent of the so-called 'Illyrian state' (Fig. 1). They were divided into four categories according to the coins' dates of issue (Fig. 2). In the case of two hoards, the publications do not offer any dating (Dobra Voda, cat. nos 23 and 24); therefore, they were excluded from the analysis. Each assemblage was represented with a symbol proportional in size to the number of objects it included. It should be noted that the article focuses exclusively on the so-called Pre-Roman Period<sup>10</sup> in the 'Illyrian coinage', and that the finds included in the scope of the research come from the territory of the so-called 'Greek Illyria'.11

# Hoards dated to the 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC (to 230 BC)

The 4<sup>th</sup> century BC was a time of consolidation of Illyrian tribes. The heartland of the newly emerging

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The catalogue included in the MA thesis is titled "Znaleziska skarbów monet iliryjskich z terenów greckiej Ilirii. Próba rekonstrukcji obiegu monetarnego", and it was prepared by the author in 2017 at the Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw, under the supervision of Dr Renata Ciołek.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Thompson *et al.* 1973; Mirnik 1981; Crawford 1985; Brunšmid 1998; Ujes 2001; Gjongecaj-Vangjeli 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> This term was used by R. Ciołek to denote the time of existence of the so-called 'Illyrian state', which survived until 168 BC, *i.e.* the end of the Third Roman-Illyrian War.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Greek Illyria is a region on the eastern Adriatic coast, inhabited by the Illyrian tribes and partly colonised by the Greeks. It is an area of mixed Greek and Illyrian influence and from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC a sphere of influence of Greek colonists.



Fig. 1. Topographical map of the Balkans with marked locations of hoards containing Illyrian coins (compiled by M. Daniel).

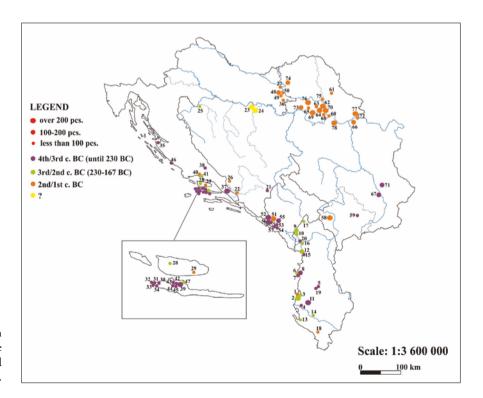


Fig. 2. All catalogued Illyrian hoards divided by date of issue (4<sup>th</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC) (compiled by M. Daniel).

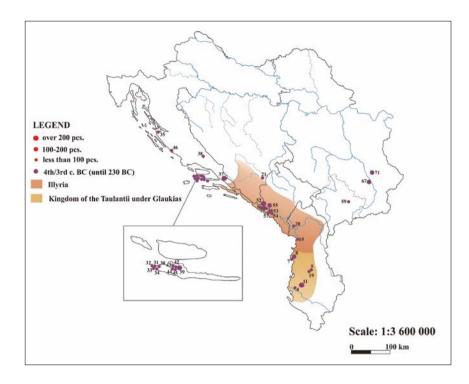


Fig. 3. Illyria in the late  $4^{th}$  and early  $3^{rd}$  centuries BC with marked locations of the hoards dated to the  $4^{th}/3^{rd}$  centuries BC (compiled by M. Daniel).

polity was the Mediterranean coast between the town of Lissos in the south and the river Naretva in the north. <sup>12</sup> In the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, this territory was ruled by Bardylis I, identified in modern scholarship as the first Illyrian ruler. <sup>13</sup> He united most of the tribes and expanded the territory of Illyria. For some time, he also had the supreme power over the Taulantii. In the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> and in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, Illyria included territories from the Naretva in the north to the river Vjosa in the south. <sup>14</sup> Hoards dated to the 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC are found within the Illyrian territory of that period, as well as outside its borders (Fig. 3).

Spatial distribution of finds from the 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC shows three clearly-defined clusters. The first consists of hoards from the territory of modern-day Albania composed primarily of issues of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium. A century earlier, the dominant coinage in this territory was foreign, namely that of Athens and Corcyra,<sup>15</sup> but by the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC Apollonia and Dyrrhachium slowly began to establish their hegemony on the coin market (Fig. 4). Of eight hoards found in Albania as many as seven contained coins issued by these centres. It seems that these issues were used primarily in local trade. In hoards of this period one can also observe a predominance of the issues of Dyrrhachium (461 pcs) over the

production of Apollonia (3 pcs). The coins of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium co-occurred in these assemblages with coins of, among others, Monunius, Corcyra, Corinth, and Macedonian rulers: Philip II and Cassander, one of the *diadochoi*.

The second cluster of hoards dated to the 4th/3rd centuries BC was located on the coast of modern-day Croatia and the Adriatic islands. Dominant in this group were coins of Greek colonies founded on Croatian islands and of towns whose location is unknown but most likely within the same area: Pharos (five hoards), Issa (one hoard), Illyrian Heraclea (seven hoards), the town of  $\Delta I(M)$  (one hoard), and Corcyra Nigra (one pc.). A characteristic trait of the coins of these centres is their occurrence in a confined area; they are found exclusively on the Adriatic islands. An exception is Illyrian Heraclea, whose coins were also found in a single homogeneous hoard found in Nin, a locality near Zadar.<sup>16</sup> Another salient feature of this group is that the specimens cooccur solely with other specimens belonging to the same group, while coins of coastal centres are lacking. This may mean that there were no meaningful commercial ties with the mainland, and that the coins were used predominantly in the local economy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Pająkowski 1981, 119.

Hammond 1966, 243; Pająkowski 1981, 122; Stipčević 1989,
 Wilkes 1992, 117–177; Ceka 2005, 81–83; Daniel 2016, 6.

<sup>14</sup> Pająkowski 1981.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Gjongecaj 1986, 145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Bonačić-Mandinić 1988, 65–80; Šeparović 2012, 525–536; Nad 2013, 396.

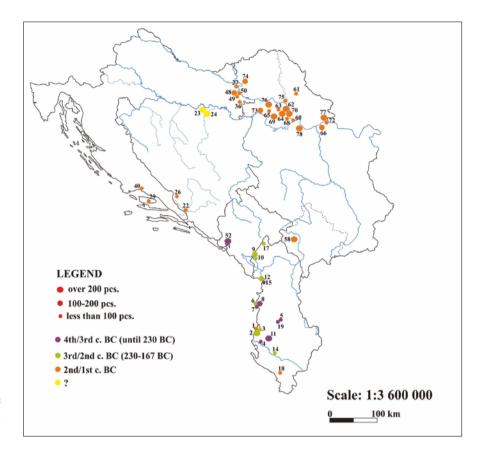


Fig. 4. Hoards containing coins of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium (compiled by M. Daniel).

The coinage of Ballaeus (dated to 260–230 BC)<sup>17</sup> is split between two of the abovementioned clusters. A part of them is found on Hvar Island and on the coast, and the rest, with two exceptions (Shkodër, cat. no. 20 and Avtovac, cat. no. 21), on the Bay of Kotor in Montenegro. Three hoards with coins of Ballaeus were found on Hvar, one on the coast and five in modern-day Risan. It is noteworthy that most hoards featuring the Ballaeus specimens are homogeneous.

In the modern town of Risan (the third cluster), besides numismatic finds struck under Ballaeus, there were also autonomous issues of the town of Rhizon dated to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (Risan, cat. no. 53). The hoard contained 10 such coins. It is the only find of autonomous issues of Rhizon in the entire catalogue.

The last of the distinguished clusters consists of hoards found in southern Serbia and the territory of Kosovo. The group consists of only three sites (Janjevo, cat. no. 59; Kutina, cat. no. 67; Prva Kutina, cat. no. 71), which yielded almost exclusively coins of Damastion. The spatial distribution of hoards containing issues of Damastion seemingly does not feature any clusters. Besides the finds mentioned above, they also occur in one

homogenous hoard from the territory of Croatia (Sinj, cat. no. 38) and in one mixed hoard from Montenegro (Risan, cat. no. 52). Useful for the analysis of the coins of Damastion was the work of D. Ujes in which the author catalogued all the known specimens (both hoard finds and individual pieces).<sup>18</sup> Most of these were concentrated in the territory of modern-day Kosovo, which led Ujes to conclude that Damastion must have been located somewhere in this area, near the local silver mines. Thus, it was concluded on the basis of these prerequisites that hoards from the sites of Janjevo (cat. no. 59), Kutina (cat. no. 67), and Prva Kutina (cat. no. 71) constitute a distinct cluster, while the discoveries of Damastion coins in the towns of Sinj (cat. no. 38) and Risan (cat. no. 52) are incidental. As in the case of the coins of Ballaeus, hoards containing issues of Damastion are often homogeneous.

Based on the collected material, it may be concluded that in the late  $4^{th}$ /early  $3^{rd}$  centuries BC the most vigorous coin production among the civic issuers was conducted by Dyrrhachium. However, considering all the issuers of this period, the most numerous finds are the coins signed with the name of Ballaeus. The number of specimens found to date exceeds 5500, while the coinage

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ciołek 2011.

<sup>18</sup> Ujes 2002, 111-120.

of Dyrrhachium, the second most numerous in hoards of the 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, is represented by over 461 pieces. Such a disproportion between the two issuers may be due to differences in the state of research on their coinage. A salient feature of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC is a large share of foreign coins (*e.g.* from Corinth or Corcyra), which were in fairly widespread use. Characteristic for this period is also a large share of silver coins as compared to bronzes. Silver was used by centres throughout the Balkans, both in the territory of Illyria and beyond. This metal was utilised in Apollonia, Dyrrhachium, Rhizon, Damastion, Pharos, and Illyrian Heraclea. Damastion, located most likely outside Illyria, issued only silver coins, which was a peculiarity in the ancient world.

It also has to be pointed out that coins of some centres, namely the issues of the towns of Dyrrhachium, Illyrian Heraclea, and Damastion, as well as of king Ballaeus, tend to occur independently, in homogeneous assemblages. It is difficult to determine what caused this phenomenon. Why do coins of some centres occur in mixed hoards more often than others? This question requires further investigation using a broader source base.

# Hoards dated to the period from the reign of Agron and Teuta to 167 BC (3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC)

During the reign of Agron and Teuta in *c*. 230 BC, Illyria reached its greatest territorial extent. Its original area encompassed the lands between the river Naretva in the north and the town of Lissos in the south. As the power of the rulers increased, so did the political activity of the Illyrians abroad. The ruling couple gained control of the Adriatic islands (except Issa), as well as of Dalmatia,<sup>19</sup> Aetolia, and Epirus. The distribution of hoards dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC largely coincides with the maximum territorial extent of Illyria (Fig. 5). Only one of them was found far beyond its 'borders' (Japra, cat. no. 25).

The turn of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC is marked by the increased minting activity of Apollonia. At the same time, Dyrrhachium sustained its production on the same level as in the previous period (Fig. 4). Thus, the number of coin finds from these two centres is very similar. Seven out of eight hoards include pieces from both Apollonia and Dyrrhachium. One of them, however, is composed exclusively of coins from Apollonia. Investigation of the assemblages of coins originating from Apollonia and Dyrrhachium helps trace the participation of Greek *poleis* in the local and long-distance trade – in one assemblage, they co-occurred with coins of Skodra, Lissos, Byllis,

and Thasos, as well as Athens (Bakërr, cat. no. 2). The population also traded with Epirote towns, as indicated by the presence of issues of Cassope, Ambracia, and the Epirote League (Bakërr, cat. no. 2 and Qesarat, cat. no. 14).

The find-spots of coins from Pharos did not change since the previous period – they were still found on Hvar, but their number dropped significantly. In addition, one hoard was found on the eastern Adriatic coast. Exchange in Pharos most likely still took place on the local level.

As in the previous period, only one hoard dated to the  $3^{\rm rd}/2^{\rm nd}$  centuries BC contained coins of Issa (Donji Humac, cat. no. 28), and even this find is uncertain. The coins of Issa co-occurred with the only coin of Illyrian Heraclea found in a  $3^{\rm rd}$  century hoard. In turn, issues of the towns of  $\Delta I(M)$ , Corcyra Nigra, Rhizon, and Damastion no longer occurred in this period.

Two hoards from the north-western part of modernday Albania contained autonomous and 'royal' issues of Skodra and Lissos. All coins of Skodra, Lissos, and Genthius known from hoards were part of assemblages found in Rentzi (cat. no. 16) and Selci (cat. no. 17). The fact that they occurred together may be explained by Genthius' domestic policy. This ruler made Skodra and Lissos the capital towns of his emerging 'state'. He introduced a monetary reform, changing the symbols and legends on the coins and using currency for selfpromotion.20 The process of minting new forms was short-lived, as indicated by the dates of Genthius' reign. It is likely that there was not enough time to withdraw autonomous coins from circulation, so their use was contemporary to royal issues. This explains their cooccurrence in hoards.

The towns of Byllis and Orikos were founded on the edge of the sphere of influence of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, as well as of Epirus. Coin finds representing these centres are sporadic at best. Specimens struck by Byllis occurred in only one hoard (Qesarat, cat. no. 14, Tab. 11) found in southern Albania, while Orikos was represented in two hoards (Orikos, cat. no. 13; Senicë, cat. no. 18). The example of the coinage of Byllis and Orikos shows the intermingling of northern and southern traditions. A perfect illustration of this is the Qesarat assemblage (cat. no. 14), which is a combination of Byllis coins with issues of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, as well as Epirote Ambracia. Similarly, the hoard from Orikos (cat. no. 13) consists of specimens originating from Orikos and from the Epirote League.

In the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, coin production developed in modern-day Albania. New mints, such as Skodra, Lissos, Byllis, and Orikos, emerged,

<sup>19</sup> Wilkes 1969, 15; Ceka 2005, 121-122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Daniel 2016, 9–18.

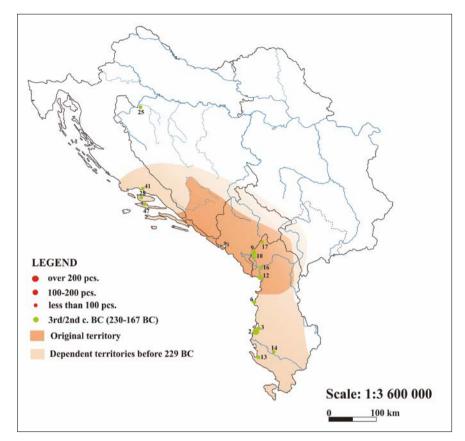


Fig. 5. Illyria during the reign of Agron and Teuta before the first war against Rome in 229 BC with marked locations of the hoards dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (compiled by M. Daniel).

but the territorial extent of their issues was limited. Coins of Skodra and Lissos dominated in the vicinity of Lake Skodra, while Byllis and Orikos prevailed near the Illyrian-Epirote border. In this period, the share of coins of Greek origin decreased. Coinage was increasingly common among the Illyrians, and bronze became the most frequently-used metal. Silver coins were only struck in Apollonia and Dyrrhachium.

It is puzzling that the Illyrian dynasty, so strong under Agron and Teuta, did not issue their own coins. The royal couple was able to unite a vast territory but did not establish a single mint. In Rhizon, where Teuta resided, no coins indicating issue attempts in this period have been found to date. Meanwhile, a century later, a much weaker ruler, Genthius, struck coins with his own legend not in one but two centres.

# Hoards of Illyrian coins from the period after 167 BC (2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC)

The demise of King Genthius during the Third Roman-Illyrian War in 167 BC brought an end to the

Illyrian statehood. The peace treaty stipulated that the Illyrian territory be divided into three parts, and some of its population came under the Roman rule. <sup>21</sup> The borders of the territory inhabited by the Illyrian tribes between the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and the early 1<sup>st</sup> century changed very dynamically in response to military campaigns of the Senate against the still independent Dalmatians, Ardiaioi, and Pleraioi. <sup>22</sup> Until 135 BC, Roman Illyria consisted of the coastal regions near Rhizon, areas around Skodra and Lissos, and Apollonia and Dyrrhachium in the south. In subsequent years, Rome expanded the area under its control; ultimately, it came to include the territory from the river Naretva in the north to the latitude of Orikos in the south (Fig. 6). <sup>23</sup>

A map of the spatial distribution of hoards dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries shows that nearly all the assemblages were found outside the territory of *Illyricum* (Fig. 6). Of 31 finds dated to between the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC only two were unearthed on the Illyrian soil (Apollonia, cat. no. 1; Risan, cat. no. 51).

The period between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC is characterised by an unquestioned domination of coins of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium in the Balkans (Fig. 4).<sup>24</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Wilkes 1969, 27; Daniel 2016, 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Pająkowski 1981, 232–235.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Pająkowski 1981, 238.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Gjongecaj 1986, 149–150.

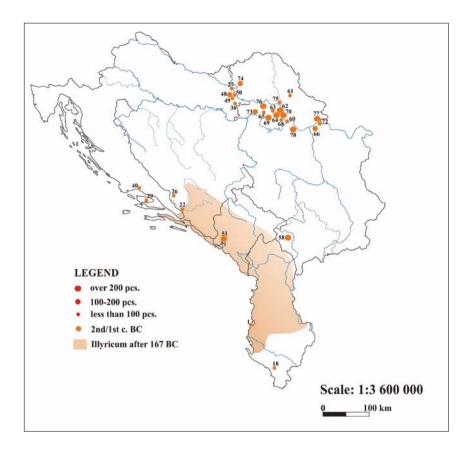


Fig. 6. Illyria after 167 BC with marked locations of the hoards dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC (compiled by M. Daniel).

Of 31 finds, only one lacks issues of these two centres (Risan, cat. no. 51). Also the territorial extent of their occurrence expanded. The balance point shifted to the lands beyond the Illyrian 'border'. An analysis of the distribution of hoards from this period clearly indicates a cluster in the region of northern Serbia and northeast Croatia (Fig. 6). As many as 22 out of 31 hoards were found in this region, located far from other assemblages and from the Illyrian territory. On the other hand, nearly all of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as central Serbia, are devoid of finds, most likely due to topographical reasons. These regions feature high mountains which hinder settlement and transportation and constitute a natural barrier between the north and the south (Fig. 1).

Issues of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium most likely changed function, becoming universal currencies used in long-distance trade. The fact that coins of these centres have not been found in the *Illyricum* is puzzling (Fig. 6). Possibly, they had already been replaced by the Roman *denarius* in this area but remained in use in regions still beyond the expanding Roman control.

Through coinage one can observe the Illyrians' gradual loss of independence. Issues of towns attested in the previous periods, such as Skodra, Lissos, Byllis, Pharos, Issa, and Illyrian Heraclea, disappeared. The catalogued assemblages also lack foreign coins of Greece and Epirus. An exception is a hoard from Senicë (cat. no. 18). In the

second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, and especially the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, the coinage in circulation is remarkably uniform. Most finds are mixed sets consisting of specimens from Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, sometimes cooccurring with Republican denarii (Vukovar, cat. no. 48; Indija, cat. no. 63; Stara Pazova, cat. no. 64; Vračevgaj, cat. no. 77) or their local imitations (Orolik, cat. no. 36; Čelopek, cat. no. 58; Stara Pazova, cat. no. 64; Kostolac, cat. no. 66; Titel, cat. no. 75). The 1st century BC was the time of the most intensive minting activity of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, gradual introduction of the new Roman currency, and local circulation of imitations struck in the region. Another difference in comparison with the previous periods is the dominance of silver as the metal used in coin production of both Greek towns and Rome. The establishment of the Roman province of Illyricum after the failure of the Pannonian uprising (6-9 AD) entailed the imposition of the Imperial coinage in the Balkans and a definitive end of the independent Illyrian-Greek coin production.

# Coin circulation in the late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC

In the late 4<sup>th</sup> or the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, exchange most likely occurred primarily on the local level. Exceptions were foreign coins of Greek and Macedonian

origin (Corinth, Corcyra, Philip II, and Cassander). Their presence in the 'Illyrian' hoards is easy to explain. They occurred in assemblages together with specimens from Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, colonies of Corinth and Corcyra which still maintained strong economic ties with their mother towns. Coins of Macedonian rulers, in turn, come from the period of the Macedonian conquest of Illyria in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. The relatively small number of foreign coins in circulation at that time testifies to the weak position of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, which were still dependent on their *metropoleis*. <sup>25</sup> The exchange on the local level is attested by the territorial extent of occurrences of coins of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, which was limited mostly to the territory of modern-day Albania (Fig. 4).

An analogous situation is observable on the islands and the eastern Adriatic coast. The catalogued hoards permit to observe that the mints operating in that area – Pharos, Issa, Illyrian Heraclea, the town  $\Delta I(M)$ , and Corcyra Nigra – established relations resulting in exchange. These contacts were, however, limited to the territory of the islands. Only the issues of Illyrian Heraclea were found in homogeneous hoards on the mainland coast (Nin, cat. no. 35; Tisno, cat. no. 46). It is worth noting that coins of the island centres never co-occurred with mainland issues. It seems, therefore, that exchange took place exclusively on the local level. The Greek colonies were most likely not interested in establishing economic ties with centres in other parts of the Balkan Peninsula.

The coinage of Ballaeus clearly stands out among the other issues. Its distinctive character lies not only in the difficulty of determining who Ballaeus actually was and when he struck his coins. What is most baffling is the number of specimens found to date (over 5500 pcs)<sup>26</sup> which are scattered over a vast area (from Pharos in the north to Lake Skodra in the south) among the clusters identified above. The coins of Ballaeus were found mainly on Pharos and in the vicinity of modern-day Risan. The research of R. Ciołek showed that Ballaeus must have initially resided in the town of Pharos, where he established the first mint, and after some time he moved to Rhizon.<sup>27</sup> The Pharos and Rhizon types differ in iconography, legends, and workmanship. It is interesting that nearly all hoards containing specimens of Ballaeus are homogeneous. These coins do not co-occur with issues of other towns, as if they were not used in exchange but still satisfied the needs of the local population.

In the late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries also the issues of Damastion were in circulation. They were diffused over

a vast area: besides the territory of modern Kosovo and southern Serbia, where their finds are clearly the most numerous,<sup>28</sup> they occurred also near the Bay of Kotor (Risan, cat. no. 52) and in southern Croatia (Sinj, cat. no. 38). As in the case of Ballaeus, most hoards containing coins of Damastion are homogeneous. An exception is the hoard from Risan (cat. no. 52), where these coins co-occur with specimens from Corinth. It is possible that in the vicinity of Risan silver issues of Damastion competed with the Corinthian currency, better known in this region and made of the same raw material. May argues that the assemblage no. 52 reached Rhizon, as a part of a cargo of precious metal dispatched from Damastion.<sup>29</sup> The discovery of coins from Damastion on the mainland coast indicates that this town established ties with this region.

In the late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, exchange on the local level clearly dominated, among others, in Pharos, Issa, Illyrian Heraclea, and Corcyra Nigra. A broader scope of operation is attested for Dyrrhachium, Damastion, and Ballaeus. The issues of Damastion and Ballaeus were used across a very large area. Dyrrhachium in this period is still dependent on its metropolis, but its coinage is found far from the town, near the Bay of Kotor.

## Coin circulation in the late 3<sup>rd</sup>/early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC

In this period, the number of issuers increased, resulting in greater diversity of coins in circulation. The extent of circulation of 'Illyrian' coins includes territories from the Adriatic islands in the north to the Illyrian-Epirote border region in the south (Fig. 5). In the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries, the largest number of specimens was issued by Apollonia and Dyrrhachium. The situation of Dyrrhachium did not change since the previous period. In hoards, the town is represented by a similar number of coins, whose distribution corresponds approximately to the territory of modern-day Albania (Fig. 4). A major change occurred in the case of Apollonia. The centre significantly intensified its coin production, which rose to match that of Dyrrhachium. The area of circulation of coins from Apollonia corresponds to the territory of modern-day Albania.

In the late  $3^{rd}$  and early  $2^{nd}$  centuries BC, Apollonia and Dyrrhachium were no longer interested solely in exchange on the local level. They significantly expand their area of influence and established ties with the Greek *poleis* of Thasos and Athens (Bakërr, cat. no. 2), as well as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Gjongecaj 1986, 146.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Dr Renata Ciołek (Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw) personal communication.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ciołek 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Ujes 2002, 103-129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> May 1939.

with the Epirote towns of Cassope, Ambracia, and the Epirote League (Bakërr, cat. no. 2; Qesarat, cat. no. 14). According to Sh. Gjongecaj, there were two routes along which foreign issues reached the southern Illyrian territory: the maritime (western) route, through which came the coins of Greece proper, and the land (eastern) route, which brought specimens of coinage of Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, and Thrace.<sup>30</sup>

On the Adriatic islands, the situation remained unchanged since the previous period. Local exchange dominated, and no contacts with coastal towns were recorded. However, the number of hoards decreased compared to the late  $4^{th}$  and early  $3^{rd}$  centuries BC. Four assemblages dated to the late  $3^{rd}$ /early  $2^{nd}$  centuries BC have been found, and they contained coins of Pharos, Issa, and Illyrian Heraclea. In this period, the issues of the town  $\Delta I(M)$  and Corcyra Nigra disappeared.

As already mentioned, in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC new coins struck by the Illyrian towns of Skodra, Lissos, Byllis, and Orikos, as well as by King Genthius, were brought into circulation.<sup>31</sup> Their range of occurrence is clearly limited to local exchange circuits. According to Sh. Gjongecaj, the intensification of domestic coin production was a result of establishing contacts between the towns.<sup>32</sup> Coins of Skodra, Lissos, and Genthius were likely used only in the region around Lake Skodra and the town of Lissos. In the catalogue, these coins are found only in two hoards found in Rentzi (cat. no. 16) and Selci (cat. no. 17). Their limited area of operation may have been due to their short-lived circulation and low production intensity.

The situation is similar in the case of Byllis and Orikos. Their issues are found in small numbers solely in the region of southern Albania, in the vicinity of these centres. In the catalogue, only one hoard contains coins of Byllis (Qesarat, cat. no. 14) and two feature coins of Orikos (Orikos, cat. no. 13; Senicë, cat. no. 18). They seem to have been used solely by the local population. These towns were located on the Illyrian-Epirote border, not far from Apollonia and Dyrrhachium. The above-mentioned hoards illustrate the mixing of northern and southern influences in this area. Among the coins in circulation were issues of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, as well as those of Epirote Ambracia and specimens struck by the Epirote League. Circulation in this region also featured issues of Amantia, an Illyrian town that struck its own coins and surpassed Byllis and Orikos in the intensity of production.33 Amantia was an important economic and political

centre, which produced autonomous coins in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC.<sup>34</sup> Like Byllis and Orikos, it remained under a strong influence of Epirus. All four towns engaged in intensive trade with one another; it is therefore puzzling that not a single coin from Amantia was found in the discovered hoards.

In the late 3<sup>rd</sup>/early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, the sphere of influence of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium expanded, which resulted in the establishment of contacts with towns outside Illyria. Simultaneously, new mints active on the local level emerged in order to satisfy the population's demand for coinage. In Illyria, one can observe the occurrence of foreign issues; however, they did not replace domestic production, which remained dominant in the local circulation.<sup>35</sup> In this period, the diversity of issues and the intensity of production testify to a dynamic economic development of the regions inhabited by the Illyrians.

## Coin circulation in the late 2<sup>nd</sup>/early 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC

The political events taking place in Illyria in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC radically changed the situation on the coin market. After Genthius succumbed to Rome during the Third Illyrian War, the Senate decreed the annexation of most of the Illyrian territory and thus gained control over the major towns and their mints. The fate of these centres varied. Skodra still issued coins after 167 BC but did it under the Roman influence, while Lissos, Byllis, and Orikos stopped producing coins altogether. The most important towns of the region, Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, already had prior ties with Rome; therefore, in their case, the political change was not as momentous. Their coinage does not differ significantly from that of the earlier periods, with the exception of the placement of names of officials on the reverse imitating Roman models. What is more, the production of coins in Apollonia and Dyrrhachium developed further, until in the mid-1st century BC it reached its most intensive stage.<sup>36</sup>

In the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 1<sup>st</sup> centuries, the dominant issues in circulation were those of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium. Unlike in the previous period, their range of occurrence broadened significantly, extending beyond the borders of modern Albania (Fig. 4). The coins of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium crossed the Dinaric Alps all the way to lowland Vojvodina. According to M. Crawford, during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, the

<sup>30</sup> Gjongecaj 1986, 148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1969, 1–7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1969, 1–7.

<sup>33</sup> Ciołek 2011, 176–186.

<sup>34</sup> Ciołek 2011, 176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Gjongecaj 1986, 149–150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Gjongecaj, Picard 2000, 137–138; Ujes-Morgan 2012, 369–370.

coinage of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium financed the Roman military presence in the Balkan Peninsula.<sup>37</sup> This is the reason why there are many hoards found in the area of the Danube basin, which contains only coins of these two mints. Crawford suggests that the revenues obtained from the latifundia in Epirus were converted into coinage by Apollonia and Dyrrhachium and exported to the Danube basin, where they were used to finance the army. The Roman army, conquering the northern areas of the Balkan Peninsula, provided landowners with a steady stream of slaves needed to work in the latifundia.

The small number of hoards containing coins of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium found in the territory of Illyricum calls for a moment of reflection. Possibly after the Roman conquest, the Senate began to introduce its own coinage, while in the north-eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula, in areas beyond the Roman control, Greek coins were still in use.

The population of the independent part of Illyria and the lands further to the north and east used the coinage of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium but also made attempts to issue their own coins. In hoards, this is indicated by the presence of local imitations alongside the originals (Orolik, cat. no. 36; Čelopek, cat. no. 58; Stara Pazova, cat. no. 64; Kostolac, cat. no. 66; Titel, cat. no. 75). Possibly, the access to coins was hindered, and their volume on the market did not satisfy the local needs. One can surmise that these areas were experiencing a period of economic growth.

On the other hand, the Republican *denarii* appeared in circulation in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Interestingly, they were only found in the assemblages discovered in the territory of Vojvodina. They may have arrived there from the south, but what is puzzling is their absence in the hoards closer to *Illyricum*. The inclusion of loose finds in the study might help explain this phenomenon, but the analysis conducted thus far is based solely on the catalogue of hoards of 'Illyrian' coins known to date.

The catalogue of hoards shows that in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century and through the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, the coins in circulation were mainly the issues of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, which sometimes co-occurred with local imitations or the Republican *denarii*. The Roman coinage of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC was still of lesser significance than the other issues, but in the following century it dominated the circulation and became the only currency in operation.

#### Concluding remarks

This paper attempted to analyse coin assemblages by scrutinising the types of issues and the range of their occurrence within three distinct periods: the  $4^{th}/3^{rd}$  centuries BC, the  $3^{rd}/2^{nd}$  centuries BC, and the  $2^{nd}/1^{st}$  centuries BC. In addition, an attempt was made to describe the coin circulation, although it bears admitting that the results were based solely on an analysis of the finds of 'Illyrian' coin hoards from the territories of selected Balkan states compiled in the form of a catalogue. Due to the vast scope of this topic, it was decided to omit individual loose finds. Data on the political situation of the 'Illyrian state' were also helpful for formulating conclusions.

On the basis of the cartographic analysis of the collected data on hoards, it can be concluded that the factor that determined their location was access to the sea, which enabled maritime trade. Illyrians were known for their fondness of travelling by ship, and they were characterised in ancient sources as highly-skilled sailors.<sup>38</sup> The second important criterion influencing the distribution of the hoards was topography (Fig. 1). Finds were chiefly located in lowland areas, on the coastline, as well as in river valleys.

From the collected data it may be concluded that in the 4<sup>th</sup> through the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC the most dynamic minting activity was undertaken by Ballaeus. The second most active mint was Dyrrhachium, whose issues were found in eight hoards dated to this period. Other trends observable in the 4<sup>th</sup> through the 3<sup>rd</sup> century are the dominance of the local over the long-distance exchange (production on a larger scale was conducted by Dyrrhachium, Damastion, and Ballaeus) and the presence of foreign coins, mainly of Greek and Macedonian origin. Also characteristic for this period was the production of silver coinage and the occurrence of issues of some centres (Dyrrhachium, Illyrian Heraclea, Ballaeus, and the town of Damastion) in homogeneous assemblages.

The period of the 3<sup>rd</sup> through the 2<sup>nd</sup> century brought the intensification of the coin production of Apollonia, which rose to match that of Dyrrhachium. These centres expanded their sphere of influence by establishing ties with towns outside Illyria. In hoards from this period the share of issues of Greek colonies on the Adriatic islands, such as Pharos, Issa, and Illyrian Heraclea, decreased significantly. The coins of the town of  $\Delta I(M)$  and Corcyra Nigra disappeared from the assemblages, but new mints of Skodra, Lissos, Byllis, and Orikos emerged across the territory of modern-day Albania. They produced coins for the regional market to meet the needs of the local population. The share of foreign issues decreased and included primarily Greek and Epirote coins. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> through the 1st century BC, one can observe a growing popularity of coinage among the Illyrians. The main raw material used for coin production was bronze, with the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Crawford 1985, 225.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Polyb. 2. 4. 8.

exception of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, which struck silver coins. In turn, the lack of issues of Amantia in the hoards is puzzling, since it surpassed Byllis and Orikos, among others, in the volume of production, but while the latter two centres appear in the catalogue, Amantia does not. Another research question is the reason why no mints of Agron and Teuta are known to date. This royal couple was able to unite the largest territory in the Illyrian history under their rule, but according to the current state of research, they did not issue any coins of their own, while a much weaker ruler, Genthius, issued coins with his own legend in two towns, Skodra and Lissos.

Coinage of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC was the least diverse. After the Third Illyrian-Roman War, many towns ceased to issue coins, among them Skodra, Lissos, Byllis, Orikos, Pharos, Issus, and Illyrian Heraclea. Money in circulation was dominated by emissions of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium. Their range of operation also increased - they appear in large quantities in the territory of Vojvodina. On the other hand, the small number of the 'Illyrian' hoards found in Illyricum witnesses the gradual introduction of the Republican denarius. The Roman coinage appeared for the first time in hoards in the 1st century BC. Its presence, however, was negligible, and the situation did not change until the turn of the eras, when the denarius replaced the issues of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium. Several assemblages dated to this period also feature coins identified as local imitations. It is possible that the native population attempted to produce

their own coins modelled on the issues of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium. The main raw material used in monetary production was again silver.

Looking at the presented materials, it is not possible to say whether 'Greek Illyria' actually saw any sort of 'monetary circulation'. It seems that in the territory of the Balkan Peninsula there could be two monetary circulations. The first of those, the 'official', consisted of coins of Apollonia and Dyrrhachium. These issues have the largest range, being probably used by both Greeks and Illyrians. In the hoards, they were mixed with Greek (Corinth, Korkyra, Philip II, Cassander, and Athens) as well as Illyrian coins (Lissos, Skodra, and Orikos). The second circulation, the 'local', can be observed on the example of Skodra, Lissos, Byllis, Orikos, and Ballaeus coins. They were of local importance, limited to the area inhabited by the Illyrians. They were probably minted to meet the needs of the local community.

This study is merely an introduction to the broad topic of coin circulation in Illyria. The research problem requires further investigation, which should also include individual finds. Such a broader study could help verify the conclusions reached to date. In addition, one has to keep in mind the varied state of archaeological research in the Balkans, which may distort the picture of the economic situation in ancient Illyria. Thus, further archaeological investigation is particularly crucial as it may supply further material for analysis and thus considerably broaden our knowledge of ancient Illyria.

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#### Paulina Komar

Faculty of History, Jagiellonian University paulina.komar@uj.edu.pl https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6580-223X

### 'Brown-Clay' Amphorae from Gonio (Apsaros)<sup>1</sup>

#### ABSTRACT

This paper presents the first study of the so-called 'brown-clay' amphorae discovered by the Gonio-Apsaros Polish-Georgian Expedition in the Roman fort of Apsaros (modern Gonio, Georgia) between 2014 and 2018. In the course of five excavation seasons, 157 diagnostic fragments of these containers were attested, all belonging to variants Ch 1B2 and Ch 1C dated to between *c.* 50 BC and the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Thus, they confirm the existence of the Apsaros fortress during the first three centuries of the present era. Both Colchian and south-eastern Pontic

containers were found in Apsaros, the latter produced probably in Trapezus. This suggests the south-eastern Pontic provenance of some of the imports in Apsaros, especially until the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. On the other hand, local production of containers indicates that the area of the fortress might have produced food surpluses (probably wine), which during the late 1<sup>st</sup> and throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD were exported to other areas neighbouring the Black Sea.

Keywords: 'brown-clay' amphorae, Colchis, Gonio, Apsaros, production, transport, Black Sea region

This paper investigates the so-called 'brown-clay' amphorae discovered by the Polish-Georgian archaeological mission in ancient Apsaros (modern Gonio) between the years 2014 and 2018. Apsaros was one of the principal Roman forts of the Pontus-Caucasian frontier during the first three centuries of the present era (Fig. 1).2 During five excavation seasons in the fortress, 460 diagnostic fragments of transport containers were found, among which 157 belonged to the group labelled as 'brown-clay' amphorae. This term denotes containers produced in the eastern part of the Black Sea region, the main feature of which was the colour of the clay varying from almost red to blackish-brown. They are also known as 'Colchian' amphorae, but this term may be misleading, since these vessels were produced in numerous workshops in the eastern part of the Black Sea region, not only in Colchis. Their general unity suggests that they all belong to a single container type - Ch 1 - which can be divided into four variants (A-D). All variants are egg-shaped or elongated,

with short, cylindrical neck and oval handles, while their capacity varies between 15 and 20 litres (Fig. 2).<sup>3</sup>

### 'Brown-clay' amphorae – the history of research

Since the 1950s and 1960s, the 'brown-clay' amphorae have been attested in numerous archaeological sites in the eastern but also in the northern part of the Black Sea area, in layers dated from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC up to the Middle Ages. Their provenance was attributed to different regions around the Black Sea.<sup>4</sup> For example, I.B. Zeest proposed that they originated from the southern part, <sup>5</sup> while Y.G. Vinogradov and N.A. Onaiko linked some with Heraclea, and others with Colchis. <sup>6</sup> At the same time, B.Y. Mikhlin, who studied 'brown-clay' containers from Crimea, claimed that two types were produced in southern Pontus, whereas the third in Colchis. <sup>7</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>This paper is based on research conducted thanks to financial support from the National Science Centre in Poland (UMO–2017/26/M/HS3/00758).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For more about the site, see Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2016; Mamuladze 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Vnukov 2003, 160–164, 191–192.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Vnukov 2009, 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Zeest 1951, 114–115; 1960, 108.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Vinogradov, Onaiko 1975, 88–89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Mikhlin 1974, 60–67.

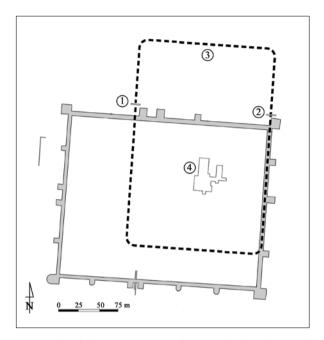


Fig. 1. Plan of the Gonio (Apsaros) fortress including the area of the ancient fort (3), trenches (1 and 2), and the main excavation area (4).

However, as early as c. 1950, Georgian archaeologists proposed that 'brown-clay' containers originated in Colchis. According to M. Khoshtaria, O. Lortkipanidze, and A. Khakhidze, their shape and clay composition point to the Caucasus region and the date between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, while I. Kruglikova proposed that the examples from the 1st and 2nd centuries found in Gorgippia (modern Anapa) imitated 'brown-clay' containers dated to the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD.8 O. Lordkipanidze developed a hypothesis about the Colchian origin of the 'black-clay' amphorae. He noticed not only that they are attested in numerous quantities in Georgia but also that local pottery is made of similar clay. In addition, he noted that marks which were incised on the amphorae before firing are similar to those upon Georgian pithoi.9 During the 1990s, the 'brownclay' containers found in the northern Black Sea region as well as in Georgia were studied together, not as separate groups, which was an important step forward in their investigation. Now, it has been established that 'brown-clay' containers were produced in two areas, that is in the eastern and south-eastern part of the Black Sea region, and their typology has been established.<sup>10</sup> S.Y. Vnukov was the main contributor in this regard.<sup>11</sup>



Fig. 2. 'Brown-clay' amphora of type Ch 1C from the Gonio-Apsaros Museum (photo by P. Komar).

## Classification and chronology

The earliest forms of these amphorae, *i.e.* those dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, were attested, among others, in Vani and Tsikhizdziri (Variant A) and resemble containers from Sinope. They have ovoid bodies, short necks, cylindrical rims, and handles that are flattened ovals in section. Their walls are rather thick (up to 1 cm) and smooth. In the late 3<sup>rd</sup> through 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, however, they developed their own typical features, such as a 'waist' in the lower third of the body (Variant B). This 'waist' (Fig 2) is a characteristic technological element, which results from separate shaping of the upper and lower parts of the amphorae.

Two groups of Variant B (Figs 3–4) may be distinguished, namely B1, dated to between the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and mid-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, and B2, dated to the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC through the late 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. These containers have rather short necks, their handles are oval in section, while the toes are short and conical with flourishes inside (Fig. 5). All their parameters, such as height, diameter, toe height, and thickness, are smaller than the former variant. After some time, a new type of toe (flat-based) appeared.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Khalvashi 2002, 10–21. Vinogradov and Onaiko disagree with the hypothesis of Kruglikova.

<sup>9</sup> Lordkipanidze 1966, 137-140.

<sup>10</sup> Vnukov 2009, 29; 2013, 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Tsetskhladze, Vnukov 1992; 1993; Vnukov 2003; 2009; 2011.



Fig. 3. Fragment of a 'brown-clay' amphora of type Ch 1B (no. GA 2016/104) (photo by an unknown author).

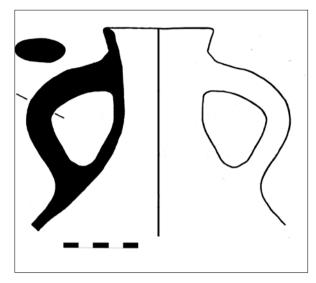


Fig. 4. 'Brown-clay' amphora of type Ch 1B (no. GA 2016/104) (drawing by P. Komar).



Fig. 5. Foot of the 'brown-clay' amphora with a flourish inside (no. GA 2014/236) (photo by P. Komar).

It seems that vessels attributed to Variant B were still produced in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, but *c*. the turn of the eras Variant C appeared. The main characteristic of this type, which dominated during the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD (C1 dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD, whereas C2 to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD), was a sharp rib under the rim, at the level of the upper handle attachment (Figs 6–7). An indentation corresponding to the rib may be observed inside the neck, while some specimens possess also a groove on the inner surface of

In the first half or c. the mid- $4^{th}$  century AD, the size of the amphorae decreased. The small container with a narrower waist is labelled as Variant D and is typical for the Late Roman Period.<sup>13</sup> Late Roman 'brown-clay' amphorae are dated to between the  $4^{th}$  and  $7^{th}$  centuries AD,

the neck corresponding to the rib on the outer surface (Fig. 8). Moreover, some containers have two or three circular bulges (c. 1 cm in diameter), sometimes two rows of them, on the inner surface of the neck, exactly where the upper part of the handle was attached (Fig. 9). Their function, however, remains obscure. Variant C amphorae are around 80-90 cm high, and the diameters of their bodies amount to 25-30 cm. Compared to the former type, their body is more proportional: the upper part is smaller, while the lower more 'swollen'. Waist is preserved but not always so clearly visible. Rims curve outwards, and their diameter varies between 8.5 and 11.0 cm, whereas toes are simple and conical. The flourish inside is less marked, and in some examples it disappeared completely at the end of the 1st century AD (Fig. 10). Handles are wider (c. 4 cm), and two shallow incisions on their inner and outer surfaces are more visible. Variant C co-existed together with Variant B during the 1st and probably in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. A detailed chronological evolution of the amphorae of Variant C has not been established so far, but it seems that Variant Ch 1C1 developed between the second half of the 1st and the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, while Ch 1C2 dates to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Tsetskhladze 1992, 91–104; Tsetskhladze, Vnukov 1993, 83–88; Tsetskhladze 1999, 109–113; Vnukov 2003, 166, 170; 2009, 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Vnukov 2011, 276–277.



Fig. 6. Neck of an amphora of type Ch 1C with a rib under the rim (photo by an unknown author).

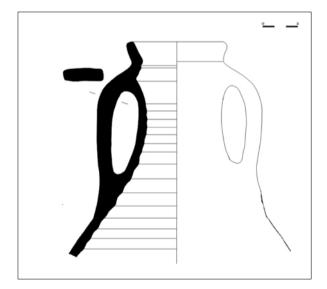


Fig. 8. Neck of a Ch 1C amphora with a rib and a groove on the inner surface of the neck corresponding to the rib on the outer surface (drawing by P. Komar and M. Marciniak).

and they are probably represented by the so-called 'pseudo-Colchian' containers from the Samsun Museum in Turkey.<sup>14</sup> Transformations between different types occurred gradually, without any sharp changes, which on the one hand shows a clear direction in their evolution, but on the other hampers distinguishing between the

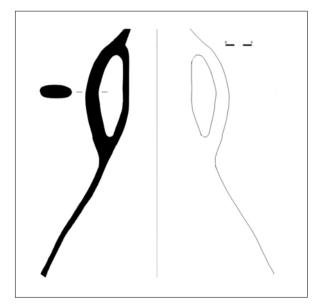


Fig. 7. Neck of an amphora with a rib under the rim (drawing by P. Komar and M. Marciniak).

variants. For example, it is impossible to determine typical features of different parts of these containers which would be characteristic for a given variant. It seems that their evolution may have been independent from the development of the general shape of the containers. Nevertheless, S.Y. Vnukov made an attempt to present a statistical correlation between the forms of profile sherds and the variants of the amphorae.<sup>15</sup>

Petrological studies have revealed that the clay of the 'brown-clay' amphorae is easily distinguishable from fabrics of other containers due to it being hydromicaceous and having high iron content. This suggests that the containers were produced in one particular region, which means Colchis, probably along with the neighbouring areas (e.g. Trapezus). 16 Generally, all 'brown-clay' amphorae contain pyroxene, but its quantity varies between 4 and 90% of total grain inclusions. Similarly, the quantity of plagioclase fluctuated between 3 and 35%. Quartz might have also been present (rather small quantities of isolated grains) and sometimes also amphibole (up to 12% of inclusions), iron (up to 14%), epidote (up to 10%), and micaceous minerals (up to 5%). Fragments of acidic rocks as well as basalt were present in all the samples, whereas plutonic rocks of normal alkalinity were attested in half of them. At the same time, sandstone and other sedimentary rocks were not typically present (substantial quantities of sandstone were attested only in the amphorae from NW Colchis). Generally speaking, the characteristics

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Kassab Tezgör, Akkaya 2000; Kassab Tezgör 2002, 205–207.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Vnukov 2003, 166–192; 2009, 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Tsetskhladze, Vnukov 1992, 378.



Fig. 9. Circular bulges on the inner surface of a neck of a Ch 1C amphora (no. GA 2017/483) (photo P. Komar).



Fig. 10. Foot of a 'brown-clay' amphora with a flourish inside (no. GA 2014/166) (photo by P. Komar).

of the clay of these amphorae remained unchanged, but considerable fluctuations in mineral composition of inclusions can be observed.<sup>17</sup> It should also be noted that their morphological variability increased during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>18</sup>

On the basis of the temper, at least two variants of clay can be distinguished, but a third, intermediary variant is sometimes also mentioned.<sup>19</sup> The first one (Fabric 1) is similar to the Sinopean pottery and has an admixture of pyroxene and basaltic sand, whereas the second (Fabric 2), typical for Ajaria and Abkhazia, is more diversified, containing plutonic, basaltic, and sedimentary rocks and minerals.20 Moreover, the second variant has a similar fabric to the Colchian pithoi.21 Given that the clay of the Fabric 1 amphorae was Colchian and that the Greek name 'Τιμαρχος' was preserved on a few of them, one may suppose that these amphorae were made by potters from Sinope who worked in Colchis but used their 'Sinopean' recipe.<sup>22</sup> Such a conclusion seems to be confirmed by the fact that the Fabric 1 containers date from the 4th century BC through the 1st century AD and were distributed mostly in the northern Black Sea region. Conversely, vessels of the second variant were found mostly in Colchis.<sup>23</sup> However, it is not possible to find any correlations between the different forms of amphorae (Ch 1A, B, and C) and the fabrics.<sup>24</sup>

It should be noted that some of the 'brown-clay' amphorae bear epigraphic marks in the form of stamps with

Greek names which resemble amphorae and tile stamps attested in Sinope.<sup>25</sup> S.Y. Vnukov noted that marked containers have temper of Fabric 1 only. On the other hand, Fabric 2 vessels had only unepigraphic stamps (circles or crosses) or marks engraved prior to firing, which resembled those on local Colchian pottery (e.g. pithoi). This observation, as well as the similarity in the fabric and shape of the earliest 'brown-clay' amphorae and the Sinopean ware, led him to the conclusion that their production was first established by potters from Sinope. Trapezus, which was a Sinopean colony according to Xenophon,<sup>26</sup> might have been the first centre of their manufacture. Pottery made in this town is similar to Sinopean in temper and to Colchian in clay matrix. Trapezus exported wine to the northern Black Sea region during the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. The production of 'brown-clay' amphorae soon spread out to several Greek and barbarian workshops in Colchis. This manufacture may have been associated with the increase in wine export that started after the appearance of the Roman army in this territory in the late 1st century AD (although Colchian amphorae were transported mostly within Colchis).27 Colchian 'black-clay' amphorae had the same shape and clay matrix as their prototypes from Trapezus, but they varied in temper, which was more complex (Fabric 2) and resembled the Colchian pottery. According to Tsetskhladze, the fabric of these amphorae resembled the so-called sub-group B2.28 Its main

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Tsetskhladze, Vnukov 1992, 378–383.

<sup>18</sup> Vnukov 2009, 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Tsetskhladze, Vnukov 1993, 91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Tsetskhladze, Vnukov 1992, 359; Vnukov 2009, 30, pls 6.1, 6.2; 2011, 271–272. Vnukov (2013, 33) claims that the Abkhazian type has very little pyroxene.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Tsetskhladze, Vnukov 1993, 91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Tsetskhladze 1992, 105–107; Tsetskhladze, Vnukov 1992, 383; 1993, 91

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Tsetskhladze, Vnukov 1992, 383; 1993, 90–91; Vnukov 2009, 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Vnukov 2009, 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Tsetskhladze, Vnukov 1992, 383.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Xen. Anab. 4, 8, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Vnukov 2009, 30-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Tsetskhladze 1999, 111.

characteristic is sand used as a thinner typical of 'brownclay' amphorae found in Colchis, as well as of local *pithoi* and kitchen ware. According to Tsetskhladze, they were produced in workshops operated only by local (non-Greek) craftsmen. Unlike amphorae with other fabrics, which were produced in workshops of Greek potters, they were manufactured for local markets rather than for export.<sup>29</sup> Fragments of containers of this type were found in Eshera, Gvandra, Krasny Mayak, Gyenos, Kepi (Cepi), Rokhshi, Vani and its neighbourhood (Dablagomi, Dapnari, and Sakanchia), Ureki, Pichvnari, Tsikhizdziri, Namcheduri, Zemo-Partskhma, Tsebelda, as well as maybe in Sukumi and Vardcikhe.<sup>30</sup>

## 'Brown-clay' amphorae in Apsaros

In a publication of transport containers from Gonio by M. Khalvashi, the 'brown-clay' amphorae were referred to as the type Gonio I.<sup>31</sup> According to him, they may have been produced in a Gonio workshop which probably existed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> through 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD in the south-western corner of the inner fort – the remains of an amphora kiln were attested there in 1997.<sup>32</sup> Apart from Gonio, kilns producing 'brown clay' containers were attested in Nokalakevi (amphorae of the Early Byzantine Period)<sup>33</sup> and Vardtsikhe-Rhodopolis,<sup>34</sup> but to the best of my knowledge, these hypotheses have not been so far confirmed by advanced petrological studies performed on samples of pottery from the kilns and amphorae.

Until 2009, two complete examples of 'brown-clay' amphorae and approximately 300 amphorae feet were discovered by a Georgian expedition. Some of the amphorae with a ridge in the neck, *i.e.* Variant C, were accompanied by a copper coin of Emperor Nero dated to the 1st or 2nd centuries AD. The Gonio-Apsaros Polish-

Georgian Expedition working annually between 2014 and 2018 have not so far found any complete vessels, but 157 diagnostic fragments were attested, including 40 well-preserved rims and necks, 68 feet, and 49 handles. They were examined with the naked eye and with a 10x magnifying glass in daylight, which allowed to distinguish three macroscopic groups:

- Dark brown, coarse-grained clay with bigger inclusions of pyroxene and black basaltic sand, as well as numerous voids;
- Finer-grained orange or light or dark brown clay with small inclusions of black basaltic sand, small round white inclusions, less pyroxene, occasional silver mica and other indefinite inclusions, as well as small round voids:
- 3. Similar to number 2 but with less pyroxene and more sand.

Macroscopic groups 1 and 2 roughly correspond to Vnukov's Fabrics 1 ('Sinopean recipe') and 2 ('local recipe') respectively.<sup>35</sup> Most of the fragments, namely 86 pieces, belong to Fabric 2 ('local recipe'). Fabric 1 ('Sinopean recipe') was considerably less numerous, being represented by 47 diagnostic fragments. In 18 cases, sand admixture was clearly visible, especially on the surfaces of the vessels, and the clay was lighter in colour, which suggested that they belonged to Fabric 3. In nine cases, the fabric could not be precisely defined with the naked eye, though it seems more similar to coarse-grained Fabric 2 in seven cases and fine-grained Fabric 1 in one case, with one example remaining indefinite. Tab. 1 shows the numbers of diagnostic sherds per fabric.

Only two variants of 'brown-clay' amphorae were attested in Gonio, namely Ch 1B (most probably Ch 1B2) and Ch 1C, which is perfectly understandable, given that Variant A stopped being produced before the

	Fabric 1	Fabric 2	Fabric 2 with sand	Fabric 1/2	Total
Rim	6 (each Ch 1B)	16	6	4	32
Neck	0	8	0	0	8
Foot	29	37	0	2	68
Handle	12	23	11	3	49
Total	47	84	17	9	157

Tab. 1. Number of diagnostic fragments per fabric.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Tsetskhladze 1999, 110–112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Tsetskhladze, Vnukov 1992, 360, Fig. 1; Khalvasi 2002, 12–15.

<sup>31</sup> Khalvashi 2002.

<sup>32</sup> Kakhidze 2003, 319, 324, Fig. 32.

<sup>33</sup> Lomitashvili, Colvin 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Japaridze 1989, 134–135.

<sup>35</sup> Japaridze 1989, 134-135.

Tab. 2. Dimensions of rims, necks, and handles.

	Ch 1B	Ch 1C	
Rim diameter	7.2 to 8.0 cm	7.8 to 10.7 cm	
Neck diameter (internal)	4.5 to 5.0 cm	5.0 to 7.0 cm	
Handle width	3.0 to 3.3 cm	3.5 to 4.17 cm	
Handle thickness	1.3 to 1.6 cm	1.3 to 1.6 cm	
Body thickness	0.5 to 0.7 cm	0.6 to 0.9 cm	

fortress was founded. It is possible that also late Roman or medieval 'black-clay' amphorae were found, but the form has not yet been thoroughly described, while fragments of containers found by the Gonio-Apsaros Polish-Georgian Expedition were too fragmentary to allow for such a conclusion. Nevertheless, it cannot be excluded that the late form is represented by Fabric 3, because the shapes of rims and handles, as well as their colour, differed slightly from the typical Roman material. The colour of the Early Roman 'brown-clay' containers varies between orange-brown through bright-brown (Munsell 2.5YR 5/8), red (Munsell 7.5YR 4/6 and 10R 5/6), and dark reddish-brown (Munsell 10R 4/6 or 10R 4/8), while the supposed late Roman containers (Fabric 3) had rather different shades of red (Munsell 10R 5/8) or reddish-orange (Munsell 10R 6/6 or 10R 6/8) in fresh breakages but more orange on the surface (Munsell 2.5 YR 6/6, 2.5 YR 7/4, or 10 R 6/8).

The dimensions taken from the fragments of amphorae enable a conclusion that the rim and neck diameter of Variant Ch 1B varied between 7.2 and 8.0 cm, while in the case of Variant 1C rims were wider, measuring between 7.8 and 10.7 cm. Handles were always oval, 3.0 to 3.3 cm wide and 1.3 to 1.6 cm thick in Variant Ch 1B, whereas in Variant Ch 1C they were 3.5 to 4.17 cm wide and 1.3 to 1.6 cm thick. Body thickness varied between 0.5 and 0.7 cm in Ch 1B and between 0.6 and 0.9 cm in Variant Ch 1C (Tab. 2). The feet varied greatly, as some of them exhibited a more or less pronounced flourish inside, while others were smooth. Overall, it is worth mentioning that the Ch 1C forms were bigger than their predecessors. Unfortunately, no specimen of either form has so far been found in its entirety by the Gonio-Apsaros Polish-Georgian Expedition, which is why the total body shapes and height were not given.

It was not possible to establish any certain correlation between the form and the fabric because most of the fragments could not be attributed to any of the forms. However, it seems that the form Ch 1B appeared mostly in Fabric 1 (six out of eight discernible fragments), while the form Ch 1C was made exclusively according to the local recipe (Fabric 2).

If S.Y. Vnukov is right in attributing Fabric 1 to the kilns in Trapezus,<sup>36</sup> it seems that a certain part of 'brownclay' amphorae (c. 36%) were produced there, and that this production continued until the end of the 1st century AD. The rest of the 'brown-clay' containers would be made somewhere in Colchis, but petrographic analyses of the local pottery and ceramic fragments preserved in the kilns are necessary to find out the exact centres of their manufacture. What may be significant here is the fact that type Ch 1C presumably postdates the mid-1st century AD, i.e. the time when Apsaros fort was probably founded. Therefore, it seems possible that they may have been indeed made in the kiln that was attested in the south-western part of the Gonio fortress, as Khalvashi suggested.<sup>37</sup> We may, however, ask what was the point of making transport containers in, or rather next to, the Roman fort (the then Roman fortress looked differently than the later Turkish walls suggest, and the kiln was in fact outside of it). 38 There is no archaeological evidence for olive oil, fish sauce, or wine production within the area of Gonio, but nowadays wine is made around Keda, which lies c. 40 km from Gonio. Even though Ajaria is not among the main wine-making districts in Georgia, such as Kakheti, Kartli, or Imereti, wine production on a considerable scale is currently noted in this area.<sup>39</sup> Since conditions for viticulture are favourable in the region, it cannot be excluded that wine production occurred there in the Roman times as well. Thus, for the time being, the only possible commodity which may have been transported in the 'black-clay' amphorae is wine. It could have been brought from the interior in wineskins, then transvased into amphorae produced in Apsaros,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Vnukov 2009, 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Vnukov 2009, 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski personal communication.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Robinson 2006, 303.

and subsequently exported by the sea. It is almost certain that a harbour or at least a pier existed next to the fort because it was necessary to supply the soldiers. 40 Given that most of the identifiable Fabric 2 amphorae belonged to type Ch 1C, produced since the end of the 1st century AD, it seems that the presence of the Roman soldiers and their demand for food supply encouraged intensified agricultural production in the region. The development of wine and amphora production and export was probably a consequence of this.

#### **Conclusions**

The study of 'brown-clay' amphorae from Apsaros showed that these containers were found in the fortress in considerable quantities – 157 out of 460 diagnostic fragments (34%). It was possible to distinguish two variants of 'brown-clay' amphorae upon the basis of rims and

necks, namely Ch 1B2 and Ch 1C, which confirms the dating of Apsaros to the first three centuries of the current era. Two fabrics were noted, i.e. the 'Sinopean' (Fabric 1) and 'local' (Fabric 2), with a considerable preponderance of the latter. Amphorae of Variant Ch 1C, presumably postdating the late 1st century AD, were made exclusively in the second fabric. Assuming that S.Y. Vnukov is right with his attribution of Fabric 1 to the production of Trapezus, we may suppose that the Apsaros fort was mostly supplied with products imported from the south Pontic region until the end of the 1st century AD. Later on, it could probably rely on local Colchian agricultural production, which was developed as a response to the Roman demand (possibly for wine). The production of the local amphorae, which were distributed across Colchis, suggests that surpluses of local products were so high that also other regions of Colchis may have profited from agricultural development of the region.

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### Radosław Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski

Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw radoslaw.szczypiorski@gmail.com https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6235-9313

# ROMAN FORT AT CAPE AJ-TODOR (*CHARAX*) AND ITS SURROUNDINGS. A New Look at Old Discoveries

#### **ABSTRACT**

Despite many years of research at the site, the Roman fort at Cape Aj-Todor near Yalta remains relatively poorly studied. A better understanding of the discoveries made at the site can be reached by comparing them with the results of the excavations conducted in another fort also located in Crimea – at Balaklava-Kadykovka. This text is an attempt at gathering together all the published information about the discoveries made

at Cape Aj-Todor. The comparison of the research results from both sites has enabled establishing numerous similarities between them. Both forts functioned simultaneously, and their architectural remains can be qualified to identically dated phases. The final effect of the analysis undertaken by the author is a more complete plan of the fort at Cape Aj-Todor along with its surroundings, processed in a new graphic formula.

Keywords: Aj-Todor, Charax, Crimea, Roman army, Roman fortifications

#### Introduction

The fort at Cape Aj-Todor is the earliest discovered and correctly identified garrison site of the Roman army in Taurica. Despite the many excavations conducted in the fort, it is relatively little known. Much of the research material has never been circulated academically, while some of it – due to various twists and turns of fate – has been irretrievably lost. In turn, certain categories of movable artefacts from the collection stored in Moscow are only now being studied and published.1 However, it is worth taking another look at the previously published results of the studies conducted at the site, as well as to undertake efforts to come to a better understanding of the architecture, topography, and settlement history of the fort. This can be aided by conducting a comparison with the results of the excavations conducted within the last decades at other sites connected to the presence of the Romans in Taurica, primarily in Balaklava-Kadykovka.

## The reasons for the choice of the fort's localisation

Cape Aj-Todor is situated about 8 km west of the present-day centre of Yalta (Fig. 1). This hill, separate from the nearby Crimean Mountains, is located on the extension of the so-called Gaspra Ridge.2 Viewed from afar, the cape is in the shape of a hill cut in half by the sea. The highest point is located right at the coast – on the cliff. The area is inaccessible from the coast, but the remaining slopes are at an angle of between 20 and 40 degrees.3 It is an excellent observation point.4 The cape is also located in the vicinity of the most convenient road leading from the west to the Yalta Valley, enclosed by high mountains. The old route for centuries ran right next to the castellum's fortifications, in the depression between the cape and the mountains.<sup>5</sup> The above-mentioned Gaspra Ridge constitutes one of the most important natural boundaries dividing the southern edge of Crimea into separate valleys.6 However, the lack of water poses a challenge for any potential settlement on the cape. Another problem involves the very badly sheltered natural harbour located

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Žuravlev, Kamelina 2005; 2012; 2015; Kamelina 2012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Blavatskij 1938, 373; Zubar' 2003, 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Zubar' 2003, 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> D'âkov 1930, 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Firsov 1975, 94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Bert'e-Delagard" 1907, 25-26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Bert'e-Delagard" 1907, 25; Orlov 1988, 22; Zubar' 2000, 189.

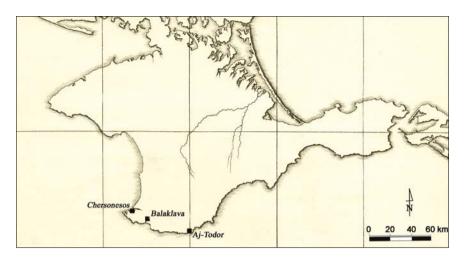


Fig. 1. Crimea. The Roman garrisons mentioned in the text (compiled by O. Kubrak).

in a wide open bay about 0.5 km east of the centre of the fort.8 At one time, Berthier de Lagarde noted that for many reasons this place is inferior to a number of others on the southern coast of Crimea, while for a military or trade fleet it is completely unusable.9 The bay does not protect mooring ships from storms.<sup>10</sup> Based on my own experience, I can safely confirm that during a bout of bad weather it is impossible to approach the shoreline. However, there were some researchers who voiced a different opinion.11 Due to the lack of other convenient natural ports on the southern Crimean coast, a harbour must have functioned near the cape and was probably in use at least on a seasonal basis. This is evidenced, among other things, by the traditional name of the rock protruding out into the sea east of the above-mentioned bay "Harbour Rock" (in Turkish "Liman Burun").<sup>12</sup>

Taking into consideration the benefits and draw-backs of the fort's localisation on the cape, it should be stated that the choice of this spot in particular was motivated primarily by the unobstructed view and the neighbourhood of the best land route to the Yalta Valley. One of the very significant reasons must also have been the role of the cape as an important navigational point. It is distinctive and easily recognisable from the sea. Aj-Todor can be seen from Cape Ajudah (to the east) to that of Koška Rock near present-day Simeiz (to the west). The role of the discussed point in navigation along the Crimean coast is also evidenced by the fact that a modern lighthouse was erected on this spot as early as in 1865.

## Aj-Todor and Charax

The name 'Charax' was only mentioned by Claudius Ptolemy (Ptol. Geog. III, 6, 2). The identification of this ancient settlement with the fort on Cape Aj-Todor was done by Rostovcev;<sup>15</sup> however, he supposedly based this claim on the earlier opinion voiced by Latyšev, among others.<sup>16</sup> Due to the lack of any possibility to verify Ptolemy's information, even the opinion of such a well-known researcher as Rostovcev should be treated with some caution. Certain scholars who later analysed this issue were hesitant to link Ptolemy's Charax to the fort on Cape Aj-Todor.<sup>17</sup>

At least some of the attempts to link various other names listed by the geographer from Alexandria with specific places have raised researchers' doubts, with their localisations ultimately later modified. The example of Calisia, supposedly corresponding to Kalisz (in central Poland), which was shown to have almost definitely been situated somewhere in modern-day Slovakia (by the Váh River), best illustrates the magnitude of the problem involved in the interpretation of data from Ptolemy's texts. However, to return to the southern Crimean coast, it should be stated that the identification of the fort at Cape Aj-Todor with *Charax* has been widely accepted in the academic literature on the matter and is usually quoted without any reservations or doubts. 19

<sup>8</sup> Zubar' 2000, 177.

<sup>9</sup> Bert'e-Delagard" 1907, 25.

<sup>10</sup> Zubar' 2003, 102-103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 41; Blavatskij 1951, 291; Orlov 1988, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Keppen 1837, 191; D'âkov 1930, 7.

<sup>13</sup> Novičenkova 2015, 151.

<sup>14</sup> D'âkov 1930, 17; Orlov 1988, 22; Zubar' 2003, 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Rostovcev 1900, 159; Rostowzew 1902, 95.

<sup>16</sup> Orlov 1988, 17.

<sup>17</sup> D'âkov 1930, fn. 77; Firsov 1975, fn. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Kolendo 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Blavatskij 1951; Orlov 1985; 1988; Sarnowski, Zubar' 1996; Zubar' 2000; 2003; Novyčenkova, Novyčenkova-Lukyčeva 2009; Žuravlev, Kamelina 2015; Novyčenkova 2017.

## History of research

Consecutive researchers have provided at least short overviews of the history of the investigations conducted at the site. Thanks to V.M. Zubar's publication, it is possible to follow in detail who studied what at the "Aj-Todor stronghold" up until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The stronghold is the contraction of the century.

The first amateur excavations were undertaken in 1849 by Count Šuvalov, a son-in-law of M.S. Voroncov, the owner of the nearby Alupka and a collector of ancient works of art. Systematic research was initiated in 1896 under the auspices of Grand Duke Alexander Mihailovič Romanov, at that time the owner of the surrounding land. The grand duke was very interested in archaeological discoveries near his household. At his initiative, a local museum was founded on the cape and served the purposes of collecting and presenting all the acquired finds. The idea for the museum was consulted with K.K. Koscjuško-Valjužinič, a representative of the Imperial Archaeological Commission and the Director of the Warehouse of Local Antiquities in Chersonesos. Rostovcev, who visited the museum, praised the idea of storing the whole collection in one place and the high level of the exhibition, for which special display cases had been purchased.<sup>22</sup>

The pre-revolution excavations lasted 15 years with some interruptions. Rostovcev also participated in these studies, and it is to him that we owe not only the identification of the fort with Ptolemy's *Charax* but also the confirmation that this was indeed the place where a Roman garrison was stationed. Rostovcev published, among other things, a plan of the site as well as the epigraphic finds, including Latin stamps on bricks, altars, and the so-called votive reliefs.<sup>23</sup> From the perspective of the last century, we know that these are the only publications that were based directly on the results of these excavations. Some of the documentation and artefacts acquired at that time (later stored in the museum in Yalta) were lost during World War II.

The architectural structures discovered during the pre-revolution excavations included the following: two lines of defensive walls with traces of at least one gate, one fortified turret at the outer wall, two water reser-

voirs (later named *Nymphaeum* I and *Nymphaeum* II), as well as a baths building<sup>24</sup> and a complex of rooms "with a large portico" near the lighthouse. A shrine with dedications by *beneficiarii consularis*<sup>25</sup> as well as a fragment of an aqueduct made from ceramic pipes were uncovered outside the fort walls.<sup>26</sup>

In the interwar period (1931, 1932, and 1935), research at the cape was conducted by V.D. Blavatskij.<sup>27</sup> Aside from the continuation of the work done on the buildings previously uncovered by the expedition supervised by this researcher, we are also indebted to him for the discovery of the cremation cemetery dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> century AD.

After the war, research was first undertaken in 1963 by P.N. Šulc, O.I. Dombrovskij, and L.V. Firsov,<sup>28</sup> while later, in the 1970s and 1980s, by K.K. Orlov.<sup>29</sup> We owe the discovery of the fragments of a marble plaque with a Latin inscription to the last of the above-mentioned scholars. The text of this building inscription is important for studies on the Roman military presence in Taurica.<sup>30</sup>

The last excavations on the cape were conducted at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century by V.I. Novičenkov and N.G. Novičenkova from the Museum in Yalta.<sup>31</sup> This research focused on the verification of the results of the earlier excavations of the external defensive wall.

## Issues with the site plan

Despite the work conducted by a few expeditions and a fair amount of researchers, relatively little is known about the Roman fort referred to as *Charax*. Documentation is lacking from some of the excavations, as it was either not maintained or lost. The results from some seasons were only published in the form of short reports, while the entirety of the material still requires more comprehensive studies.<sup>32</sup>

The scale of the issues connected to any attempt at preparing a synthetic analysis of the results of the research conducted thus far can be illustrated by the lack of one collective plan of the site (Fig. 2). It is quite peculiar that facts registered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are presently invisible in the field and have been erased from human memory, and,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 250; Orlov 1988, 16–19; Novičenkov, Novičenkova 2002, 27–29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Zubar' 2000; cf. Zubar' 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 1–2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Rostovcev 1900, 140–158; 1911, 1–42; Rostowzew 1902, 80–95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Rostowzew 1902, 91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 3–4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 3; Blavatskij 1951, 260; Orlov 1988, 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Blavatskij 1951.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Firsov 1990, 269–278.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Orlov 1978, 366–367; 1982, 298–299; 1984, 309–310; 1985, 331–332; 1987, 106–133; 1988, 12–27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Sarnowski, Zubar' 1996, 229–234; Zubar', Sarnovskij 1997, 50–59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Novičenkov, Novičenkova 2002; Novičenkova, Novičenkov 2005; Novyčenkova 2017.

<sup>32</sup> Zubar' 2000, 198.

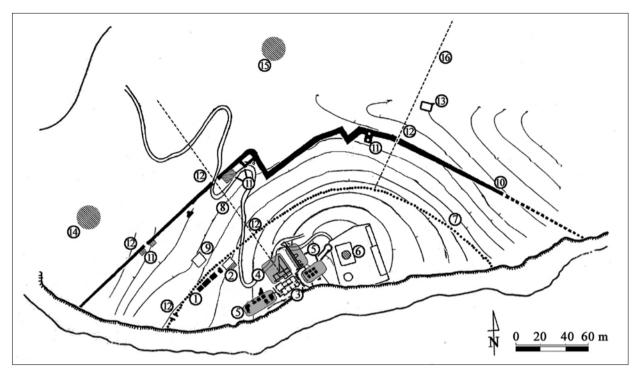


Fig. 2. Fort at Cape Aj-Todor. A plan of the site. This compilation was prepared based on the previously published plans (Rostovcev 1911, tab. 1; D'âkov 1930, fig. 7; Blavatskij 1951, fig. 2; Firsov 1975, fig. 1; Novičenkov, Novičenkova 2002, 33, fig. 3; compiled by R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski; drawing by O. Kubrak): 1. Rooms adjacent to the defensive wall; 2. *Nymphaeum* I; 3. Baths; 4. Central building (*principia?*); 5. Barracks; 6. Tower at the peak?; 7. Inner wall; 8. Probable course of the *via praetoria*; 9. *Nymphaeum* II; 10. Outer wall; 11. Turrets: confirmed localisation (in black), probable localisation (in gray); 12. Gates; 13. Temple outside the east gate; 14. Alleged temple beyond the walls – west of the fort; 15. Findspot of one of the altars dedicated to Jupiter (IOM) west of the temple (see no. 13 above); 16. Road leading to the harbour.

therefore, they were not included in the plans prepared in later periods. A comparison of the various plans from the perspective of the methods used for the documentation of the course of the Roman fortifications may serve as an example of such difficulties.

The oldest known plan was prepared by Keppen,<sup>33</sup> and his sketch of the outer wall is presented as a broken line. The outline of the fortifications is similar in shape to a triangle with an irregularly torn-off top. The later plan by Rostovcev, as supplemented by Dâkov, presents a semi-circular outline of both fortification sections.<sup>34</sup> Similar plans were later published by Blavatskij, Firsov, and Orlov.<sup>35</sup> Mistakes in the documentation appeared and were later duplicated, even though the mentioned researchers hired surveyors to measure the walls or did it themselves.<sup>36</sup> Only the verification during the following excavations proved that the external wall was curved,

and its course had actually ran more in accordance with what was sketched by Keppen.<sup>37</sup> The above-described repeated publications of the site plans containing mistakes are all the more surprising since, for example, Blavatskij noted that the various fragments of the external wall known in his time did not form the suggested arched shape. The researcher also noted a curve in the wall.<sup>38</sup> In turn, Orlov mentioned that a twisting wall would make better use of the natural defensive advantages of the area and would limit the "blind spots".<sup>39</sup> However, neither of these researchers attempted to correct the site plan so as to remove the mistakes.

To summarise, it should be emphasised that the most up-to-date information about the course of the outer wall were provided by Novičenkov and Novičenkova's verification of the earlier discoveries and opinions.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Keppen 1837, 191.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Roztowzew 1902, fig. 1; Rostovcev 1911, tab. 1; D'âkov 1930, fig. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Blavatskij 1951, fig. 2; Firsov 1975, fig. 1; Orlov 1988, fig. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 260; Firsov 1975, 95; Orlov 1988, 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Novičenkov, Novičenkova 2002, fig. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 276, fn. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Orlov 1988, 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Novičenkov, Novičenkova 2002; Novičenkova, Novičenkov 2005.

## Buildings enclosed by the external wall

The research conducted thus far has revealed a number of buildings, of which the majority have only been partially investigated, while some of the research was not documented or the documentation has not been preserved. At times, the buildings are only mentioned in the publications.<sup>41</sup> As a result, it is exceptionally difficult to form a complete image based on such rudimentary information.

The data made available by the various researchers enables stating that the remains of two streets were found in the area of the so-called 'citadel'. One, about 6 m wide, supposedly ran along the N–S axis, reaching the bathhouse located on the highest part of the hill. The bathhouse was situated west of this street. The second supposedly ran along the internal side of the inner defensive wall.<sup>42</sup> A small side street about 4 m wide diverged westward at a right angle from the first of the abovementioned streets. It neighboured the bathhouse from the north.<sup>43</sup>

The circuitous street could not have ran directly next to the inner defensive wall for its entire length as rooms that had been added to the inner face of these fortifications were found in the western part of the fort. 44 Abutments were also added from the inside in a few places in order to broaden the curtain wall. 45 In the south-western part of the inner wall, one fragment was registered towards the end of the 19th century that was supposed to have been up to 5.5 m thick. 46 In all probability, the wall had also been thickened from the inside. As a result, it should be assumed that an empty space was left between the supposedly circuitous street and the wall, which when needed was used for the construction of rooms or in order to add abutments or thicken the fortifications.

#### The rooms adjacent to the defensive wall

The buildings uncovered within the borders of the inner wall perimeter include, among others, the rooms in the north-western part on the top of the hill. The rooms adjacent to the inner defensive wall had already been marked on the plan prepared by Rostovcev. <sup>47</sup> A number of such rooms in the above-mentioned part of the 'citadel' had also already been registered by D'âkov.

This scholar also reported finds of entire "mounds" of ballista balls.<sup>48</sup> Blavatskij's research, conducted on the internal side of the wall, also revealed two similar rooms, as well as cultural accumulations up to 3 m thick.<sup>49</sup>

Aside from the general references cited above, a slightly larger amount of information can be found about three adjacent rooms. The walls are between 0.8 and 0.85 m thick, while they are  $1.9 \times 2.2$  m,  $5.2 \times 5.4$  m, and  $6 \times 4$  m in dimensions. The first room supposedly functioned as a utility room,  $^{50}$  and a floor made of a layer of lime mortar was registered inside. The last room had a floor made from raw clay, on the surface of which traces of a fire-hearth or oven were found. On this basis, it can be assumed that the room performed a residential function. Among other things, a supply of over 700 stone balls for ranged weapons was discovered nearby.

To summarise the above-quoted references, it can be assumed that a series of rooms was built between the defensive walls and the circuitous street within the fort on Cape Aj-Todor. The space on the internal side of the fortifications at the outpost on Kazatskaya Hill was used in an analogous manner. Traces of fire-hearths were also found there on the clay floors in the rooms adjacent to the defensive wall. It is assumed on this basis that these were *contubernia*. <sup>53</sup>

## Nymphaeum I

In the south-western part of the 'citadel', a water reservoir (so-called Nymphaeum I) was also found at the beginning of the 19th century (Figs 2.2, 3). The plan indicates that the basin, similarly as in the case of the above-mentioned rooms, was constructed right next to the defensive wall.<sup>54</sup> The basin was  $9 \times 7.7$  m in dimensions and reached the depth of at least 2.55 m. The south-eastern wall, adjacent to the circuitous street (compare with the description of the streets provided above), was moulded into 8 or 9 steps, which enabled going down to the bottom of the tank.<sup>55</sup> The walls were made from quarried stone, while the entire interior was plastered with two layers of mortar. The internal sealing layer contained an admixture of broken pottery. A drain about 20 cm in diameter was located in the north-eastern part of the reservoir, near the bottom. The backfill layers in the vicinity of the tank contained broken roof tiles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Cf. among others Zubar' 2000, 198.

<sup>42</sup> Vinogradov 1910, 251; Zubar' 2000, 187.

<sup>43</sup> D'âkov 1930, fig. 12; Zubar' 2000, fig. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Rostovcev 1911, tab. 1; Blavatskij 1951, 282; Orlov 1988, 26; Zubar' 2000, 183.

<sup>45</sup> Orlov 1988, 26-27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Rostovcev 1900, 96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Rostovcev 1911, tab. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> D'âkov 1930, 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 280, 282.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Zubar' 2000, 183.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Orlov 1988, 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Orlov 1988, 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Rostovcev 1911, tab. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Blavatskij 1938, 386.

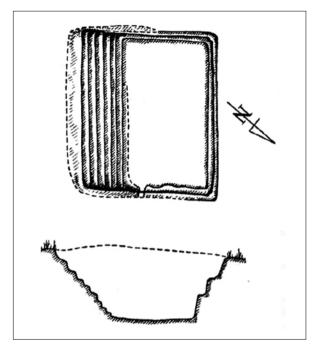


Fig. 3. Fort at Cape Aj-Todor. *Nymphaeum* I (after Blavatskij 1951, fig. 19).

On this basis, it can be assumed that the basin was covered with a roof.<sup>56</sup> Nearby, a fragment of a Latin inscription was also found carved into a lime plaque: "[n]ymph[aeum]". The preserved letters bore traces of having been painted red.<sup>57</sup> A piece of a relief, on which a fragment of an image presenting a woman near a tree is visible, was found in this same area.<sup>58</sup> Dâkov put forward a supposition that the marble sculptures of women that Šuvalov presented to the Alupka collection might also have been connected to the discussed reservoir.<sup>59</sup>

#### The baths

The bathhouse (balneum) is the only building within the fort which was excavated in its entirety (Figs 2.3, 4). It is situated west of the hill's peak, on which the modern-day lighthouse is located. The bathhouse takes up the lower terrace, formed in the rock probably deliberately for its construction. As already mentioned, one of the main streets ran east of the discussed building, along the N–S axis. A narrower small street, perpendicular to the main artery, neighboured the bathhouse from the north.

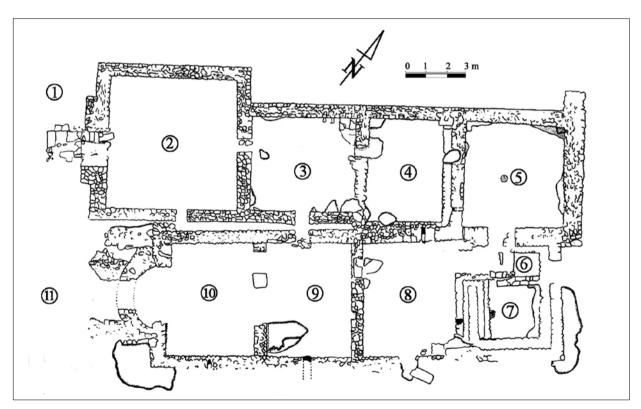


Fig. 4. Fort at Cape Aj-Todor. The baths (after Blavatskij 1951, fig. 22; numbering according to D'âkov 1930, 27, fig. 12).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 282–283.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 41–42; D'âkov 1930, 24; Blavatskij 1951, 250.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 283.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> D'âkov 1930, 24.

<sup>60</sup> D'âkov 1930, 25.

Baths were discovered at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. They can be seen on the plan of the site published in 1902.61 Rostovcev was also the author of the first plan of the building and of the first attempt to interpret the functions of the discovered rooms.<sup>62</sup> However, the mentioned plan was quite schematic; in addition, it shows that at the time the entire baths had not yet been uncovered. The bathhouse was once again studied in the 1930s, 1970s, and 1980s. Combining the discoveries made before the revolution and the results of research conducted later contributed, among other things, to the publishing of two subsequent versions of balneum plans. The older one presents all of the rooms in the baths and some of those in the neighbouring buildings. It also contains a coherent proposal for the numbering of the rooms.<sup>63</sup> The plan published later focused only on the baths building but provided more precise documentation of the structure. Undoubtedly, one major drawback of this version is the lack of any sort of markings of the rooms.<sup>64</sup> Due to the indicated imperfections in the published bathhouse documentation, Blavatskij's plan with D'âkov's numbering will be used in the present paper.

To return to the building itself, at present it is accessible on the surface, and it constitutes the best preserved example of a bathhouse constructed by Roman garrisons on the northern coast of the Black Sea. It is also an exception among the various Roman architectural monuments on Cape Aj-Todor as all the others, despite formally being under protection, have been systematically damaged or are threatened with destruction.

The baths building is 24.65 × 14.85 m in dimensions, with its longer side oriented along the W–E axis.<sup>65</sup> The walls are 0.75–1.0 m thick and were built from broken stone with admixtures of roof tiles and bricks,<sup>66</sup> in the pertinent literature sometimes even termed *opus mixtum*.<sup>67</sup> Lime mortar was used as the binding material. In the majority of the rooms, *pilae* from the hypocaust basements have been preserved, some of which were made of lime blocks and others from bricks bound with lime mortar.<sup>68</sup> *Pilae* made from ceramic pipes were also found, with additional holes made in their walls later.<sup>69</sup> Renovations of the heating system done with the use of such pipes were also observed in the garrison baths in the Chersonesos citadel.<sup>70</sup> During the

excavations, the remains of ceramic tiles which had covered the hypocaust, as well as leftover fragments of the floor mosaic (probably made from pebbles) and plaster fragments with traces of paintings, were also found.<sup>71</sup>

As mentioned above, the particular rooms and their parts have been marked using Arabic numerals from 1 to 11 as proposed by D'âkov (Fig. 4).<sup>72</sup> The entire complex of rooms was clearly divided into two rows: the southern and the northern. Blavatskij's plan and the results of his studies provided confirmation that the building was constructed in two stages. The earlier phase saw the construction of only the rooms from the southern row (numbers 6–11). In the later phase, a whole row of rooms was added to the north (numbers 1–5). The plan published by Blavatskij<sup>73</sup> clearly indicates that the two sides of the building are at a slight angle to each other and are not linked very precisely.

Rooms 2 and 10 have furnace mouths (*praefurnia*) in the walls to the west. In these rooms, as well as in the neighbouring ones numbered 3, 4, 8, and 9, the remains of hypocaust basements have been preserved. Therefore, they were all heated by the two aforementioned furnaces.<sup>74</sup>

In the walls of rooms 2 to 4, added at a later point in time, flues that served to let out the furnace gases from the basement level have also been preserved. In the walls of this part of the building, fragments of roof tiles marked with stamps "LE XI CL" were also found.<sup>75</sup>

The published baths plans differ from each other in some details. However, it can be stated that at the level of the basements there were connections between rooms 2, 3, and 4, as well as between 9 and 10. Based on the analysis of this documentation, it remains uncertain whether there was a connection with room 8 (and if so, where exactly it was located). However, both Orlov and D'âkov were of the opinion that there had been a hypocaustum in this room.76 In addition, the latter of the above-mentioned researchers claimed that large ceramic box tiles were arranged on top of the pilae stacks covered with a layer of mortar, on which the remains of a mosaic made from broken pebbles (gravel) were preserved. This room had benches arranged along the walls neighbouring with rooms 4 and 9. It was also connected to the pools (so-called rooms 6 and 7). Three steps led to the large pool no. 7. The pool also had a drain for letting out water

<sup>61</sup> Roztowzew 1902, 88, fig. 1.

<sup>62</sup> Roztowzew 1902, 91, fig. 4.

<sup>63</sup> D'âkov 1930, 27, fig. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Blavatskij 1951, fig. 22.

<sup>65</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 287.

<sup>66</sup> Blavatskij 1938, 378.

<sup>67</sup> D'âkov 1930, 27.

<sup>68</sup> Blavatskij 1938, 378.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 253.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Antonova, Zubar' 2003, 55–56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Blavatskij 1938, 378; Orlov 1977, 6, 8–9.

<sup>72</sup> D'âkov 1930, 27, fig. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Blavatskij 1951, fig. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Rostowzew 1902, 91; D'âkov 1930, 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 287.

<sup>76</sup> D'âkov 1930, 26; Orlov 1977, 6, 8-9.

on the side situated next to room 8.<sup>77</sup> The above-quoted information about the mosaic floor stands in contrast to the description claiming that the floor in room 8 was covered with bricks. They lacked stamps, but they had the same dimensions as the specimens bearing stamps "VEX / G RAV SP".<sup>78</sup> The publications provide concordant information that there was a doorway leading outside (in the direction of the cliff) in room 8, as well as a door to room 5.

Attempts to identify the functions of particular rooms were undertaken by Rostovcev and D'âkov.<sup>79</sup> However, these proposals could not be comprehensive. The first of these researchers did not have access to information about the entire building, while the second could not yet have known that the structure had been expanded. More precise studies of the building enabled distinguishing two construction phases.<sup>80</sup>

The sum of the discoveries and observations conducted over the decades enables the reinterpretation of the functions of the particular rooms. In the earlier phase, when only the southern part of the building existed, room 8 along with pools 6 and 7 probably served jointly as an *apodyterium* and *frigidarium*. Even if we assume that room 8 had a hypocaust basement, it was located farthest away from the furnace (room 11) and in addition was furnished with benches along the walls. Due to its localisation in relation to the furnace, room 9 should have performed the function of a *tepidarium*, while room 10 – that of a *caldarium*. The above-mentioned room 11 would have been the back room for people working with the furnace (*praefurnium*).

It seems that after the expansion of the bathhouse nothing was changed in the old part of the building, with only the joint *apodyterium* and *frigidarium* extended through the addition of room 5. In all probability, this room was used to enter room 4 and subsequently to pass on to rooms 3 and 2. The last of these was located right next to the furnace and would have performed the function of a *caldarium*, while rooms 3 and 4 situated further from the fire would have jointly served as a *tepidarium*.

In summary, it may be assumed that the expanded bathhouse had two rows of rooms for warm and hot baths and one (large) *apodyterium* with a *frigidarium*. The cold baths would be limited to the two baths located in the eastern edges of the building (rooms 6 and 7). The estimates concerning the amount of rooms with

warm and hot bathing areas after the expansion of the *balneum* may of course raise certain doubts, but it seems certain that the general bathing surface was doubled!

## The central building

In the central part of the so-called 'citadel', rooms were discovered that neighboured the baths but belonged to other buildings (Figs 2.4, 5.1). Large rooms that lacked hypocaust basements were located north of the bathhouse, on the opposite side of the small narrow street. The walls were supposedly monumental, even though they had been constructed using stones in clay bonding. During the excavations, a canal was found, made from broken stone well insulated with lime mortar and constructed earlier than the discussed building. Only later (after the terrain had been levelled) was a building erected in this place. It probably had two construction phases, which is indicated by the two levels of floors observed during the excavations.<sup>81</sup> The architectural complex consisted, among other things, of a portico 22 m in length situated on the neighbouring street.82

It is rather improbable that the entire structure constituted a palaestra next to the bathhouse.83 Rather, it is possible that the building performed the function of a military headquarters.84 However, there is no way to confirm this hypothesis by conducting a comparison with other Roman forts. Most of the well-known castella were constructed on a rectangular plan. At Cape Aj-Todor, the irregular contours of the fortification lines undoubtedly required various compromises and nonstandard solutions. From the plans of the buildings from this part of the fort, it can be inferred that the building next to the bathhouse, which was only examined in some fragments, took up a parcel of land measuring 30 × 30 m.85 A military headquarters or praetorium could have been of a similar size. Blavatskij used the term principia to describe this building.86 However, D'âkov wanted to see principia on the peak of the hill near the modern-day lighthouse.87

Comparing the listed proposals, the option that the garrison baths were located next to the headquarters building seems to be more probable. A similar case is known from the legionary camp in Novae, 88 as well as from the Apsaros fort, at which research is ongoing. 89 It is very probable that after the introduction of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> D'âkov 1930, 26; Blavatskij 1951, 287.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 287.

<sup>79</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 91, fig. 4; D'âkov 1930, 26.

<sup>80</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 287–288.

<sup>81</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 288.

<sup>82</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 3; cf. Zubar' 2000, 186.

<sup>83</sup> D'âkov 1930, 28.

<sup>84</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 3-4; Zubar' 2000, 187.

<sup>85</sup> D'âkov 1930, fig. 12.

<sup>86</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 260.

<sup>87</sup> D'âkov 1930, 25.

<sup>88</sup> Biernacki 2002.

<sup>89</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, Kakhidze 2015, 183–186, figs 3, 5.5.

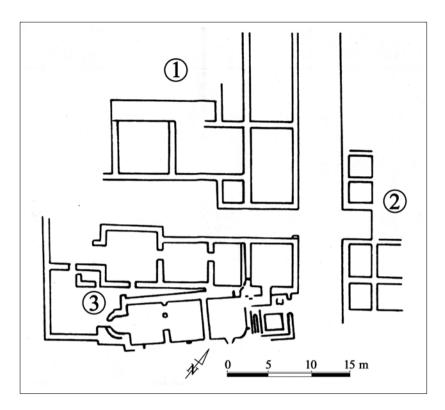


Fig. 5. Fort at Cape Aj-Todor. The central part of the fort (after D'âkov 1930, fig. 12): 1. Central building (*principia*?); 2. Barracks rooms; 3. Baths.

modifications to the buildings inside the Chersonesos citadel, a small staff building (Building B) and a separate chapel of the standards (Building G) were constructed next to the (expanded!) bathhouse (Building A).90 It is worth taking special note of this example as in Chersonesos the Roman garrison also had to be adapted to an atypical site. In addition, by all probability, in both cases soldiers from the vexillationes of the Lower Moesian army participated in their construction. Yet another argument in favour of the presented hypothesis about the function of the building located next to the bathhouse comes in the form of a piece of information that can be inferred from a comparison of the published fort plans. The front elevation (not investigated during the excavations) of the discussed building used to be oriented more or less toward the main gate in the inner defensive wall. It seems that the main gate in the external defensive wall was also located on the same axis. In forts and camps built according to a regular plan, the principia were erected directly opposite the main gate (porta praetoria), in the central part of the space enclosed by the fortifications.

#### The barracks

There were some rooms that belonged to a few other buildings situated east of the baths and the neighbouring street running from the north to the south (Figs 2.5, 5.2). The plans included in some of the publications show slightly larger fragments of the buildings discovered on the opposite side of the street. A number of small rooms are visible, located along the above-mentioned artery, probably arranged in two rows. Zubar's supposition seems correct that there was a barracks building standing on the eastern side of the above-mentioned artery, with its exits facing the street.

Similar rooms (four or six in pairs) have been marked as located east of the bathhouse. 94 The building that they composed must have been situated on the extension of the line determined by the bathhouse, *i.e.* along the W–E axis. The building with the rooms in two rows was similar in dimensions to that of the bathhouse and was located on the longer extension of the baths' axis. 95 Even though it was ignored by some of the researchers, it was included in Rostovcev's and Blavatskij's plans. 96

<sup>90</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2001, 65–66; 2015a, 30–32, 38.

<sup>91</sup> Rostovcev 1911, tab. 1; Blavatskij 1951, figs 1, 2.

<sup>92</sup> Rostovcev 1911, tab. 1; Blavatskij 1951, fig. 2.

<sup>93</sup> Zubar' 2000, 187.

<sup>94</sup> Rostovcev 1911, tab. 1; Blavatskij 1951, fig. 2.

<sup>95</sup> Orlov 1988, 19.

<sup>96</sup> Rostovcev 1911, tab. 1; Blavatskij 1951, fig. 2.

The remains of a similar building were discovered during the construction of an electric beacon east of the bathhouse in 1948. According to Orlov's account, farther to the east from the lighthouse, similar rooms were discovered during the construction of utility buildings, which he interpreted as barracks and generally dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. However, excavations were never conducted in this area.<sup>97</sup>

In summary, based on the quoted references and markings on the plans, it can be presumed that, so far, fragments of three or four barracks buildings have been discovered in the vicinity of the lighthouse. All were situated on the eastern side of the street west of which the baths were located. One part of the barracks was erected parallel to the aforementioned artery, opposite the alleged headquarters building; the second - perpendicularly to the street, directly opposite the bathhouse building. The third, about whose orientation it is difficult to state anything with any certainty, was located slightly farther to the east. It might perhaps have been placed on its longer axis, along the N-S line, as this is more or less the orientation of the modern-day utility buildings located east of the lighthouse, the construction of which led to the discovery of these alleged barracks.

### A tower at the peak?

In the same area, in 1876, the foundations of an unidentified round building (Fig. 2.6) were probably destroyed during the construction of the lighthouse keeper's house north of the lighthouse. D'âkov suggested that the ancient signal tower (the lighthouse) must have been located west of the modern-day building of the same function. However, the researcher did not provide any rationale behind his hypothesis. Pt does not seem very probable, as the highest point at the cape is situated precisely in the spot where the above-mentioned house and the modern-day lighthouse are located. D'âkov himself mentions that the bathhouse slightly farther to the west was constructed on a terrace situated at a lower point, probably formed directly before the construction of the buildings within the fort.

If we assume that in the period of the functioning of the Roman fort a tower of some sort was needed at the Cape in order to signal passing ships, then it should have been located in the same place as the modern-day lighthouse and the lighthouse keeper's house. <sup>101</sup> If this was the case, the mentioned remains of a round building might have been the traces of a lighthouse erected by the Romans.

## The inner wall

## The course of the fortifications and its length

The inner wall (Fig. 2.7) was similar in shape to a semi-circle and enclosed the peak of the hill in a defensive perimeter. Especially from the north and the east, the fortifications were constructed in such a way that the steeper lower parts of the slopes were left in the forefield. Both ends of the wall reached as far as the cliff which prevented access to the cape from the south. <sup>102</sup> The internal section of the fortifications was about 380 m long.

#### The structure of the curtain wall

The wall was erected on a substruction made from fine broken stone, gravel, clay, and lime mortar. The dump after the ruined wall reached 7 m down the slope and was up to 1 m thick. 103 According to Rostovcey, the south-western fragment of the wall was 5.5 m wide at its base. 104 Blavatskij's research, conducted also in the western part of the fortifications, indicated that the width of the wall amounted to about 3 m. 105 In turn, Firsov was of the opinion that the curtain was 2.0-2.5 m thick. 106 Elsewhere, it was stated that the width at the base amounted to between 1.8 and 2.4 m. Higher up, the curtain must have been narrower, as the preserved remains of the external and internal faces of the walls are at an 80-85 degrees angle.<sup>107</sup> Both wall fronts were made from large and medium-sized stone blocks. The filling inside the wall consisted of fine stones mixed with clay, but admixtures of lime mortar have also been encountered. 108 The mortar was also supposed to have bound the stone wall fronts. 109 Allegedly, the wall was also covered with lime plaster, while in its upper parts it consisted exclusively of small stones bound using the same kind of mortar.<sup>110</sup>

It can be inferred from Orlov's reports that in the western part of the fortifications, the inner wall was thickened by 1.8–2 m. On this basis, the researcher

<sup>97</sup> Orlov 1988, 19.

<sup>98</sup> Orlov 1988, 19.

<sup>99</sup> D'âkov 1930, 25.

<sup>100</sup> D'âkov 1930, 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Novičenkova 2015, 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Firsov 1975, 96.

<sup>103</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 280.

<sup>104</sup> Rostovcev 1900, 96.

<sup>105</sup> Blavatskij 1938, 373; Blavatskij 1951, 280.

<sup>106</sup> Firsov 1975, 96.

<sup>107</sup> Zubar' 2000, 182.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Blavatskij 1938, 373; 1951, 280; Orlov 1988, 25–26; Firsov 1975, 96, 100.

<sup>109</sup> Firsov 1975, 98.

<sup>110</sup> Orlov 1988, 26-27.

estimates that the rampart walk on the rebuilt curtain might have been 2–3 m wide. The thickening of the wall is supposedly a trace of the adaptation of the fortifications enabling the placement of catapults, as is also indicated by the numerous finds of stone balls in this part of the fort. It is worth noting that the joint width of the curtain wall (along with the thickened part) in the discussed fragment amounts to almost 4.5 m. Thus, the observations made in Orlov's studies are similar to those cited by Rostovcev.

Based on the gathered information, it can be stated that the fort's inner defensive wall was constructed in a very similar manner to the fortifications erected by the Romans around the watchtower on Kazatskaya Hill and in the fort in Balaklava-Kadykovka. 112 In the case of both mentioned sites, the curtain consists of two wall fronts made from irregular blocks of stone and an interior filled with fine stone and clay. However, there are no traces of the use of lime mortar in these walls. In Balaklava, mortar was used in the construction of the turrets by the gate, erected at a later point in time.<sup>113</sup> In the case of both curtain walls cited as analogies, traces of a ditch were found in the forefield. The one on Kazatskaya Hill has been especially well-preserved. It is not deep, but the cross section in the shape of letter 'V' is clearly visible.114 The remains of the wall at this outpost are 1.9-2.5 m wide at the base, while the fragment of the curtain wall discovered in Balaklava was slightly narrower at its base (1.3-1.4 m). Traces of the thickening of the walls, which in Balaklava also amounted to 1.3-1.4 m, were found at both sites, added from the internal side. 115 These examples of the thickening of the walls were located near the gates and have been interpreted as remains of structures used to ascend the walls (ascensus). At Aj-Todor, this structure for ascending the walls (a ramp?), added to the internal sides of the fortifications, might have been located at the south-western edge of the walls, where the curtain wall was supposedly even 5.5 m wide. 116 The significant width of the alleged ramp may have resulted from the need to bring ballistae to the top of the walls. The abutments on the internal side of the discussed wall, which broadened the curtain by 0.8-1.0 m, are perhaps yet another trace of the adaptation of the fortifications to the use of ballis*tae*, as is the depository of stone balls discovered slightly farther to the north.<sup>117</sup> The reinforced curtain might have aided in the placement of the *ballistae*, similarly as did the turrets. A thickened fragment of the wall, which might have been introduced in order to broaden the rampart walk, was also found on Kazatskaya Hill. However, in this case, a type of buttress was added onto the external surface of the wall.<sup>118</sup>

It can be inferred from the data published by Orlov that first 500 and then later over 700 balls made from gravel (Russian galka) were found in the vicinity of the above-mentioned wall fragment at Cape Aj-Todor. 119 Such balls were also found during subsequent excavation seasons in various parts of the fort.<sup>120</sup> The stone raw material mentioned in the publications allows for the supposition that the Roman garrison used pebbles from the nearby beach as projectiles. In the information provided about the discovery of the first deposit of balls, mention is made that their average diameter amounted to about 15 cm.<sup>121</sup> Previously, Blavatskij had mentioned finds of balls "the size of fists". 122 The researchers sometimes provided information about the diameters of the stone projectiles in their publications but did not make any remarks concerning their weight. It can only be supposed that they weighed up to 4.7 kg.<sup>123</sup> However, from the newest studies of the collection of shots from the excavations at Cape Aj-Todor, kept in various museums in Moscow, it can be inferred that the projectiles vary in terms of their mass. The heaviest among them weigh from 1.5 to almost 2.3 kg.124

#### The turrets

There is no information in the publications about any remains of turrets by the inner wall or about the ditch in the forefield.<sup>125</sup> It seems that this older wall was erected without any additional fortifications. The wall at the Kazatskaya outpost may serve as an example of the application of a similar solution. It was constructed on a circular plan, while the only extension of the defensive perimeter found during the excavations came in the form of the above-mentioned buttress in the northeastern part of the wall. In all probability, this buttress enabled one *ballista* to be placed on the widened

<sup>111</sup> Orlov 1985, 332; 1988, 21.

Sarnowski *et al.* 2002, 169; 2007, 61; Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski,
 Savelâ 2013, 125, figs 5:3–4, 8:1–2, 9:1–2; Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 62, 76; 2015b, 57.

<sup>113</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, Savelâ 2013, 125–127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Sarnowski, Savelja, Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2002, 168–169; 2009, 60; Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Sarnowski *et al.* 2002, 169, figs 2, 14; 2009, 61, fig. 3; Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, Savelâ 2012, 177, figs 1:1, 2; 2013, 124–125, figs 1:1, 5:3–4.

<sup>116</sup> Rostovcev 1900, 96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Orlov 1985, 332; 1988, 27; 1988, 26–27.

<sup>118</sup> Sarnowski et al. 2002, 169, figs 2, 14; 2009, fig. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Orlov 1978, 366; 1980, 115–116.

<sup>120</sup> Orlov 1984, 309; 1985, 331.

<sup>121</sup> Orlov 1978, 366; 1980, 115-116.

<sup>122</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 289.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Cf. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Žuravlev, Kamelina 2015.

<sup>125</sup> Orlov 1988, 25; Zubar' 2000, 183.



Fig. 6. Fort at Cape Aj-Todor. *Nymphaeum* II as preserved at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (photo by R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski).

fragment of the rampart walk (probably more as a demonstration of strength than out of any real need).

#### The gates

The gate was supposedly situated in the north-western fragment of the fortifications, but its traces are at present no longer visible (Fig. 2.12). 126 The results of studies done in order to prepare a new plan of the fort at Cape Aj-Todor suggest that the gate in the internal wall must have been located along the line linking the main gate in the external wall with the previously discussed alleged headquarters building. This would be an example of a standard solution applied in almost all the forts and camps from the Principate period. A straight road (*via praetoria*) presumably ran from the *porta praetoria* to the *principia* building.

## The area between the inner and outer walls

The expansion of the fortifications through the construction of a new wall in the forefield of the old fortifications led to the enclosure of additional space within the defensive perimeter. The estimates provided in the literature on the subject indicate that the area of the stronghold was increased at that time from 2 ha to 6 ha or from 2.5 ha to 4.5 ha. The distance between the external

and the inner walls oscillates in various places from 40 to 80 m, while the open area between the two walls amounts to about 2.5 ha.<sup>127</sup> There were supposedly no buildings in this open space, and it was supposed to have served as a refuge.<sup>128</sup> Blavatskij's opinion could have been based on his own research results. He did not encounter any architectural remains, and the preserved cultural layer was only 0.2 m deep and located directly on the rock. 129 The reason behind the lack of any buildings was supposedly the "lay of the land" or the terrain. 130 It can be presumed that the steep slope of the hill constituted an obstacle for the builders. It seems that as a result the eastern part of the discussed area was the least suitable for construction of any type of buildings. Nevertheless, Dâkov claimed that the entire space between the two walls, as well as the area beyond the walls, had been settled. 131

This part of the fort was only to a small extent excavated. Nevertheless, a water reservoir was found in the north-western part of the area between the walls, 132 and it was referred to in the literature on the topic as *Nymphaeum* II (Figs 2.9, 6). In terms of its construction, this tank is supposedly very similar to *Nymphaeum* I. 133 At present, this is one of the few structures available on the surface of the ground and open for visitors. However, there are no traces of steps which would have led down to the bottom of the basin analogically to those in *Nymphaeum* I. This allows us to assume that the similarity lies rather in the dimensions,

<sup>126</sup> Zubar' 2000, 183.

<sup>127</sup> D'âkov 1930, 33; Firsov 1975, 95.

<sup>128</sup> Blavatskij 1938, 373; 1951, 261, 278, 291.

<sup>129</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 261.

<sup>130</sup> Firsov 1975, 96.

<sup>131</sup> D'âkov 1930, 29.

<sup>132</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 3.

<sup>133</sup> Orlov 1988, 21.

which were not provided in the published material. It can also be presumed that there were analogies between the brickwork and the mortar used in the two reservoirs. In fact, the *Nymphaeum* II walls were also constructed from broken stone; however, there are no visible traces of any mortar insulating the inside of the structure.

In terms of the method and extent of the utilisation of the space between the fortification lines, it is difficult to come to any far-reaching conclusions, as apart from the area directly around *Nymphaeum* II, no larger excavation works have been conducted there. Only various fragments of the external walls have been excavated. However, during the work carried out in the northwestern part of the fortifications, remains of a building that was adjacent to the curtain wall from the inner side and the accompanying cultural layers were encountered at least once. The mentioned accumulation near the unidentified building was up to 2.5 m thick. This same author also mentioned the remains of a few buildings accompanied by accumulations that were not very thick.

In my opinion, there are no analogies or logical arguments that would justify a significant increase of the fort's surface and the length of its fortifications without taking advantage of the additional terrain protected by the fortifications. The examples from Chersonesos and Balaklava-Kadykovka indicate that upon moving the previous fortification line even slightly, the areas left after the walls had been knocked down were immediately used for the construction of new buildings.<sup>136</sup> The situation should be similar in the discussed case. As the south-western part of the open area between the walls was not completely devastated and lies outside the modern-day military unit, there is hope that in the future it will be possible to conduct new archaeological studies on this terrain. As a result, it will probably be possible to establish whether the area between the fortification lines was utilised, and if so - how.

## The external wall

The outer fortification line is situated at the bottom of the hill, allegedly 60 m below the inner wall (Figs 2.10, 7.a–d).<sup>137</sup> The discussed section of the fortifications was

supposed to have been 550 m long,<sup>138</sup> even though according to the first known measurements taken this amounts to only 550 steps (!), *i.e.* 185 fathoms.<sup>139</sup> To the west and to the east, the wall ended at the edge of the cliff.

#### The course of the fortification

Dâkov emphasised that the fort was not typical, as the fortifications were constructed according to an irregular plan, reminiscent of a semi-circle. Orlov noted that the seemingly unpredictable course of the wall might indicate the existence of bends in the external fortifications. However the researcher did not present any proposals concerning their course on the composite plan of the site that he had prepared. 141

The existence of a bend was documented in a sketch made by Keppen in the 1830s. 142 One bend in the middle part of the wall, east of the gate closing off the area of the lighthouse, was also discovered recently by Novičenkov and Novičenkova. 143 Their investigations also confirmed the existence of at least one rectangular turret in the middle section of the fortification line, which was added onto the internal side of the defensive wall. 144

With the results of Novičenkov and Novičenkova's research at our disposal, we can with all certainty state that the outer wall, at least in its middle part, ran along a broken line. The aforementioned researchers, referring to Keppen and the results of their own excavations, established that there had been at least two bends in the external wall.<sup>145</sup>

### The structure of the curtain wall

Various fragments of the external wall differ in terms of the applied construction techniques. A significant part of the central section in its lower parties is made of irregular stone blocks. At its base, this part of the curtain wall has the width of between 4.6–5.4 m<sup>147</sup> to 5.5 m. He external wall face slants at an 82–85 degrees angle, while the internal one at a 75–77 degrees angle. Similarly as in the case of the inner wall, two wall faces were erected from large stones, while the spaces between them were filled with small stones and clay.

<sup>134</sup> Orlov 1978, 366; 1988, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Orlov 1988, 24–25.

Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2001, 63; 2015a, 65; 2015b, 60;
 Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, Savelâ 2013, 124–131.

<sup>137</sup> Zubar' 2000, 181.

<sup>138</sup> Orlov 1988, 23.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Keppen 1837, 192.

<sup>140</sup> D'âkov 1930, 21.

<sup>141</sup> Orlov 1988, 24, fig. 1.

<sup>142</sup> Keppen 1837, 191.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Novičenkov, Novičenkova 2002; Novičenkova 2015, 292, 294; 2017, 292, 294.

<sup>144</sup> Novičenkova 2017, 289–290.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Novičenkov, Novičenkova 2002, 33, fig. 3; Novičenkova 2015, 152–153; 2017, 289, fig. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Novičenkova, Novičenkov 2005, 241; Novičenkova 2015, 151, 155.

<sup>147</sup> Orlov 1988, 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Rostowzew 1902, 89; Firsov 1975, 97.

<sup>149</sup> Firsov 1975, 97; Orlov 1988, 22.

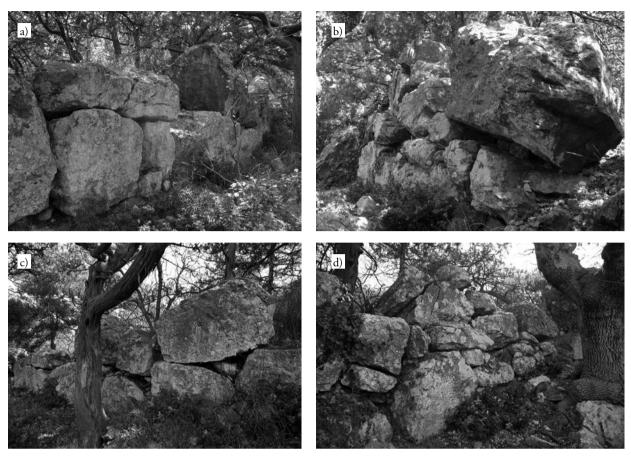


Fig. 7. a–d. Fort at Cape Aj-Todor. The outer wall to the east of the modern road to the lighthouse as preserved at the beginning of the 21st century (photos by R. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski).

The western part of the wall was supposedly constructed very differently from its central part.<sup>150</sup> In this fragment, the curtain wall is 2.2–2.4 m wide at its base and was erected on the rock. However, the wall was (at least partially) located on an older cultural layer containing a significant amount of ash admixtures, as well as on a substructure consisting of clay and stones.<sup>151</sup>

Finer stones were used in the making of the wall face in this fragment than in the case of the middle part of the wall. <sup>152</sup> Based on the depth of the dump located in front of the wall, its original height is estimated to *c*. 3 m. <sup>153</sup> Firsov, analysing the tilt angle of the wall face, suggested that the height of the curtain wall may well have reached as high as 7–8 m. <sup>154</sup> In its eastern fragment, the wall supposedly reached the width of 6 m. <sup>155</sup>

In the lower parties of the wall, traces of the use of lime mortar were also encountered during excavations. 156 Keppen also informed about the use of such binding material in his description of the alleged turret located on the internal side of the discussed fortifications. 157 In turn, Rostovcev emphasised that the external wall had been constructed without the use of mortar. 158 Firsov categorically claimed that mortar had been used both in the construction of the external face and the internal one of the discussed section of the fortifications, as well as deep in its core.<sup>159</sup> In turn, Orlov observed traces of the use of lime mortar in the western edge of the middle part erected using large stone blocks. The mortar was supposedly also present in the upper parties of the curtain wall. 160 Traces of mortar were also found during last excavations in the western part of the external wall.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 276; Novičenkova, Novičenkov 2005, 241; Novičenkova 2015, 151, 155.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Blavatskij 1938, 373; cf. Novičenkova 2017, 294–295.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> Orlov 1988, 24; *cf.* Novičenkova 2017, 294.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 278.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> Firsov 1975, 97.

<sup>155</sup> D'âkov 1930, 21; Orlov 1988, 23.

<sup>156</sup> Zubar' 2000, 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> Keppen 1837, 191, 193.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> Rostowzew 1902, 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> Firsov 1975, 99–100.

<sup>160</sup> Orlov 1988, 24.

<sup>161</sup> Novičenkova 2015, 153-154.

It would seem worthwhile to comment on these observations regarding the differences in the methods of constructing particular sections of the discussed fortification section. The use of variously-sized stones in different parts of the wall and the alternating thickness of the curtain wall may indicate that the fortifications were built by a few brigades using slightly different raw material. A similar situation has already been observed in Chersonesos along the curtain wall consisting of 17 wall sections rebuilt at the beginning of our era, perhaps also with the aid of the Roman army.<sup>162</sup> The above-discussed differences might also result from the stretching out of the investment over time and changes in the original concept during the construction of the structure. 163 Similar situations have been observed in other places, including Hadrian's Wall in Great Britain, for which in the western part the curtain wall's stone fortifications were built at a later point in time than the turrets. The toothing construction located between the turrets, built earlier, is broader than the curtain wall added on later. The width of the toothing corresponds to the curtain in the eastern part of the wall, which is somewhat older. In the quoted example, it is clear that in the case of similar investments the initial plan was later revised. The reasons behind this might have been the lack of time, no labour force, or no money. Blavatskij and Novičenkova point out that the external wall might have been constructed in a hurry. 164 The former researcher emphasised that the fortifications are rather reminiscent more of an embankment than an actual wall.165 Firsov noted that clay and not lime mortar was used in the core of the wall (especially at its base). In his opinion, this lowered the construction costs significantly.<sup>166</sup> Novičenkov and Novičenkova were of the opinion that the construction of a wall with bends required less time and costs than of a wall with turrets but enabled a very similar effect.167

#### The turrets

Most of the publications regarding the fortifications at Cape Aj-Todor provide information about the turrets at the external wall, the remains of which, however, have not been preserved (Fig. 2.11). The only researcher who

claimed that the external wall was not reinforced by turrets was Firsov.<sup>168</sup>

The first to mark one rectangular structure on the internal side of the discussed fortification line on his plan of the site was Keppen. <sup>169</sup> The structure, located 200 steps from the sea, was supposedly  $13 \times 7$  steps in dimensions, while the preserved ruins were made from stones in lime mortar bonding. In 1909, a rectangular turret measuring  $6 \times 4$  m was discovered in the north-eastern section of the external wall, with foundations that were 1 m thick. The wider side of the structure adjoined the inner face of the curtain wall. <sup>170</sup> The turrets also supposedly flanked the main gate in the north-western part of the external wall. <sup>171</sup>

In addition, one semi-circular turret was allegedly visible somewhere in the bend of the wall. 172 It is almost certain that this refers to the same turret, the existence of which in the middle section of the fortifications was confirmed during the last excavations conducted at this site. The alleged semi-circular shape of this structure may have resulted from the rounded corner of the bend in which the turret was situated.<sup>173</sup> One other piece of information about a rectangular turret, next to which a third gate (perhaps a door?) was located, refers to the north-western section of the wall.<sup>174</sup> However, in this case, discrepancies among the opinions expressed by various authors are obvious. D'âkov, while writing about the discussed fragment of the fortifications, assumes that it was rather a doorway aiding in the defence of the main gate that was located in this spot. However, the researcher does not mention any turret there.175

## The gates

A gate with the width not exceeding 3 m, which should have served as a passageway to the nearby harbour in the bay, was located in the north-eastern section of the external wall (Fig. 2.12). This gate was used as an exit leading to a nearby temple (Fig. 2.13).<sup>176</sup> The main gate was probably situated in the north-western segment of the external wall, more or less in the spot where the road leading to the lighthouse currently cuts through the remaining traces of the fortifications or somewhat to the east of this road.<sup>177</sup> It was supposedly flanked by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2014, 91–94; 2015a, 46–47, 54.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. Novičenkova 2015, 151.

<sup>164</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 281; Novičenkova 2015, 151.

<sup>165</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 291.

<sup>166</sup> Firsov 1975, 100.

<sup>167</sup> Novičenkov, Novičenkova 2002, 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> Firsov 1975, 96.

<sup>169</sup> Keppen 1837, 191, 193.

<sup>170</sup> Rostowzew 1902, 90, fig. 3; Rostovcev 1911, 3; D'âkov 1930,
21; Blavatskij 1951, 250; Orlov 1988, 23; Zubar' 2000, 180.

<sup>171</sup> D'âkov 1930, 22.

<sup>172</sup> D'âkov 1930, 20, fig. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Novičenkov, Novičenkova 2002, 33; Novičenkova 2015, 153; 2017, 289.

<sup>174</sup> Orlov 1988, 24; cf. Novičenkova 2017, 289.

<sup>175</sup> D'âkov 1930, 21, fig. 9; cf. Novičenkova 2017, 289.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> Rostowzew 1902, 90, fig. 3; Rostovcev 1911, 4; D'âkov 1930,
 21–22; Novičenkova 2015, 154.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 3; D'âkov 1930, 22; Orlov 1988, 23;
 Novičenkov, Novičenkova 2002, 28; cf. Novičenkova 2015, 153;
 2017, 289.

turrets, while the gateway was allegedly even 10 m wide. 178 However, Orlov claimed that there were no traces whatsoever of the existence of such structures. 179

Perhaps a third gate (or a doorway?) was located in the north-western segment of the wall. This additional passageway through the curtain wall, with the width of 2.5 m, was allegedly situated at a distance of 129 m from the cliff and 70 m from the inner wall. Firsov claimed that only one gate existed in the western part of the external wall, more or less in the same spot as the discussed passageway. Zubar' was of the opinion that there were three gates reinforced by turrets in the external fortifications, and that the only confirmed turrets were situated next to the gates. The same spot as the discussed passageway through the same spot as the discussed passageway.

Taking into account the newest research results and approaching the unverified earlier reports with caution, it can be assumed that the external line of defence had been reinforced with turrets and bends. These bends were located only in the middle section, while the turrets were situated also in the eastern and western sections, adjacent to the gates that presumably must have been located there. If not all of the turrets, then at least most of them were erected on a rectangular plan on the internal side of the perimeter wall. In the case of the external fortifications, information is lacking regarding a possible ditch in the forefield of the wall. The fortifications were built with the use of a variety of construction techniques and diverse building materials on a plan similar to that of a triangle.

## Extramural area (extra muros)

The research conducted thus far has only to a small extent encompassed the area beyond the fort. As a result, only one building and some other traces of a settlement can be mentioned. The interpretation and dating of at least part of the discovered remains raises certain justifiable doubts; however, there is usually no possibility of verifying the published data. Another frequent issue is the lack of any preserved documentation, as signalled by subsequent authors.

## The shrine outside the east gate (with dedications by *beneficiarii consularis*)

The remains of a small temple were discovered in 1907 about 30 m north-east of the gate from which

a road ran in the direction of the wharf at the nearby bay (Fig. 2.13). The building was almost definitely originally located next to this road. The appalling state of the architectural remains made any attempts at reconstructing the plan of the building impossible. 183 Modern-day researchers are also unable to make any such attempts as no documentation for the research conducted in this area has been preserved (perhaps none was ever compiled?). Two altars were extracted from the ruins.<sup>184</sup> There were some Latin inscriptions on the altars, both dedicated to Jupiter "Iovis Optimus Maximus". A third similar altar was found by coincidence a year earlier (at a spot located at a distance of about 170 m to the west), during levelling works conducted in a nearby vineyard (Fig. 2.15).<sup>185</sup> A collection of 12 votive reliefs and their fragments also originates from the temple ruins, and these elements have been identified as traces of a cult of Thracian origin. 186 The mentioned reliefs made from marble bear representations of: Dionysus (three times), the Thracian Horseman (two times), Mitra (two times), as well as Hermes, Hecate, and Artemis. One relief has not been identified. 187

## A second temple beyond the walls – west of the fort?

On the property belonging to Prof. Malyšev before the revolution, to the west from the fort, two more votive reliefs were found (without their context), shattered into pieces. The considerable distance from the above-described temple prompted at least some of the researchers to conclude that a second temple had existed beyond the fort walls (Fig. 2.14). Both reliefs presented Artemis. This was supposed to be a proof that an undiscovered shrine had been dedicated to this goddess. On the property of the pro

However, so far no research has been conducted in this area, and the hypothesis about the existence of a second temple cannot be verified. Nevertheless, after the passage of one hundred years, it seems highly unlikely. It must be remembered that one of the three known altars was found at some distance from the temple, in which it is almost certain that the altar had been located. This is indicated by the similarity between all the three known altars. It is also probable that the original reliefs exhibited in one temple were later scattered around the area. Not only the two reliefs with Artemis (loose findings from

<sup>178</sup> D'âkov 1930, 22.

<sup>179</sup> Orlov 1988, 23.

<sup>180</sup> D'âkov 1930, 22, fig. 9; Orlov 1988, 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Firsov 1975, 96, fig. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> Zubar' 2000, 181; cf. Novičenkova 2015, 153-154; 2017, 289.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 4; cf. Zubar' 2000, 189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 5, no. 2, 6, no. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 4–5, no. 1, tab. 1:a; D'âkov 1930, 31; *cf.* Blawatsky, Kochelenko 1966, 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> Rostovcev 1900, 1–42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 13–16; *cf.* D'åkov 1930, 31; Blavatskij 1951, 256–258; Blawatsky, Kochelenko 1966, 23–25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 16; cf. D'âkov 1930, 32; Blavatskij 1951, 258.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 16–17; cf. D'âkov 1930, 30.

<sup>190</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 16-17; D'âkov 1930, 32; Blavatskij 1951, 258.

Malyšev's plot of land) but also one complete plaque and a fragment of another one originating from different parts of the fort were found at various distances from the shrine with dedications by *beneficiarii consularis*. One of these reliefs presents the Thracian Horseman and bears a Latin inscription, while the other features a Greek-sounding woman's name transcribed in Latin "[*Parthe*] nope". <sup>191</sup>

Most probably, the temple (or temples) located *extra muros* were privately funded by the soldiers or officers and served to perform cult practices other than those of the official worship. <sup>192</sup> The same function was performed by the Temple of Jupiter Dolichenus constructed at a distance of about 60 m from the fort in Balaklava. This shrine was probably situated by the road leading out of one of the *castellum*'s gates. <sup>193</sup>

One significant difference between the temple at Cape Aj-Todor and the one in Balaklava-Kadykovka is that votive reliefs, preserved in full or in fragments, were only discovered in the first location. There can be no doubts concerning their connection to cults common in the Balkan provinces of the Empire; however, their relation to the Roman garrisons in Crimea is not as obvious.<sup>194</sup> We know of no other similar finds either from the Temple of Jupiter Dolichenus or in general from the Roman fort in Balaklava and its surroundings. A number of votive plaques were found in Chersonesos, but they were scattered all across the town, while for example altars with Latin inscriptions were found almost exclusively in the close vicinity of the citadel occupied by the Romans.

The lack of documentation as well as of any possibility of verifying the earlier excavations means that the above-mentioned doubts will probably never be resolved. However, by referring to the above-quoted material differences between the attestations of the cults practiced at Cape Aj-Todor, in Balaklava-Kadykovka, and in Chersonesos, it is possible to speculate that they result from a different composition of the *vexillationes* stationing in these garrisons. <sup>195</sup> Perhaps the discovery of traces of a Thracian cult is connected with the suggested stationing of soldiers from the *I Thracum Syriaca equitata* cohort at the cape? <sup>196</sup> The soldiers of this unit stationing in Lower Moesia would have consisted of *peregrini* recruited among the local population on the Balkan Peninsula.

Perhaps, however, the findings of the votive plaques *extra muros* point to the presence of an unidentified group of civilian inhabitants living in a settlement outside the walls (*vicus*)?

#### The settlement beyond the walls

The majority of the scholars conducting research at the site suggested the existence of a settlement near the fort.<sup>197</sup> In turn, Orlov emphasised that so far no traces of cultural layers with a thickness and scope suggesting a stable settlement have been found outside the walls. 198 Zubar' drew attention to the finding of the abovementioned fragment of a votive relief with the female name Parthenope. However, the researcher claimed that it was too soon to claim the existence of a settlement next to the camp.<sup>199</sup> The conjectures concerning the permanent presence at Aj-Todor of civilians connected to the garrison can also be supported by the interpretation of votive reliefs from Chersonesos. The scattering of these objects across different parts of the town (almost exclusively outside the citadel) constitutes one of the arguments supporting the hypothesis about a permanent settlement of a group of civilians in the town, probably originating mainly from the Balkan provinces of the Empire.<sup>200</sup> In the case of the finds from Aj-Todor, coming mainly from the temple outside the fort walls, suggestions have been made that the shrine served not only the soldiers but also civilian inhabitants.<sup>201</sup>

Due to the lack of any evidence that would indisputably confirm the existence of a settlement next to the camp, researchers are probably doomed to remain guessing. In an attempt to take into account all the traces that might be linked to the discussed issue, it would be worthwhile to focus on the altars originating from the above-mentioned temple outside the fort walls.

One of the altars<sup>202</sup> was issued by a *beneficiarius consularis* from the Eleventh Claudian Legion "*pro sa[l(ute)] sua et filiorum* [...]". Yet another altar was issued by another *beneficiarius consularis* "*pro sal(ute) sua et su[or(um)*]".<sup>203</sup> The funding of votive offerings also on behalf of someone's close ones may (but does not necessarily) testify to the fact that civilians came to Taurica together with the *beneficiarii*. Of course,

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 42, no. 2; IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 679; Solomonik 1965,
 99–102; Novychenkova-Lukychova 2014, 143.

<sup>192</sup> Cf. Zubar' 2000, 190.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> Sarnowski, Savelja 2000a; Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 72; 2015b, 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 126–128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 176–181.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> Sarnowski 1988, 80; Zubar' 2000, 196–197; Matei-Popescu 2010, 234; *cf.* Spaul 2000, 366–367.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> Rostovcev 1900, 152; 1911, 35, 41; D'âkov 1930, 29–31; 1942,
 75; Blavatskij 1951, 290.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> Orlov 1988, 21.

<sup>199</sup> Zubar' 2000, 197; cf. Rostovcev 1911, 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> D'âkov 1930, 31-32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 5, no. 2; IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 675.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 6, no. 3; IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 676.

it cannot be stated whether they reached as far as Cape Aj-Todor, and if so – whether they lived *extra* or perhaps *intra muros*. The example of Centurion Antonius Proculus, also from the Eleventh Claudian Legion, who almost certainly served in Balaklava, shows that his wife and at least one daughter lived in Chersonesos.<sup>204</sup> Thus, it is impossible to determine whether the close relatives of the Roman soldiers who arrived at the southern Crimean coast lived at Cape Aj-Todor. However, it seems justifiable to once again draw attention to the discussed altars, which may serve as an argument in the discussion on the topic.

#### The soldiers' cemetery

A soldiers' cemetery must have been situated beyond the walls. It is possible that civilians connected to the garrison were also buried there. Even if this was the case, it does not apply to the later cremation burials dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.<sup>205</sup> The only material trace of the cemetery, which presumably functioned as long as the Roman army stationed at the fort, is a potential gravestone with a representation of a horseman and a Latin inscription.<sup>206</sup> As in the case of the gravestone of a cavalryman from Balaklava-Kadykovka, this is the only piece of evidence of a military burial ground at the fort;<sup>207</sup> however, in Balaklava, information is available concerning the find-spot of the stela and it can be assumed that it was discovered in situ, 208 whereas the place of origin of the discussed fort gravestone is uncertain. In the literature on the topic, the opinion is voiced that the plate was purchased in the 19th century for the Voroncov collection (perhaps in Rome) along with some other objects.<sup>209</sup> However, it seems more probable that it made its way to the palace in Alupka as a result of the excavations conducted at Cape Aj-Todor supervised by the son-in-law of the collection's owner - Count Šuvalov.<sup>210</sup>

## The aqueduct

A fragment of an aqueduct made from ceramic pipes was also found outside the fort. The pipeline runs in the direction of the fort from the spring flowing to this day on the slopes of Aj-Petri Mountain. It was discovered outside the walls, about 700 m from *Nymphaeum* I,

to which it most probably led.  $^{211}$  The construction of the water conduit can in all probability be dated to the  $2^{nd}$  century AD.  $^{212}$ 

It seems almost certain that the aqueduct supplied water to the waterless cape, all the more so since pipes were also discovered somewhere within the area of the fort.<sup>213</sup> However, it remains unknown at which point the pipeline intersected the fortifications and whether only one pipeline existed. It is also unknown how the water was distributed around the fort. The aqueduct should have first supplied water to the bathhouse located at the highest point in the fort and then subsequently (gravitationally) to all the reservoirs situated lower down in the 'citadel' (*Nymphaeum* I) and in the area between the walls (*Nymphaeum* II).

## Pottery production outside the fort walls

In the pertinent academic literature, opinions were expressed about the convenient conditions in the vicinity of the fort for the development of pottery production. The localisation nearby a rich deposit of clay, well-known for many generations and called "the clay pit", was conducive to this purpose. <sup>214</sup> It is also well-known that during the construction of the Grand Duke Aleksander Mihailovič's house (west of the fort) a huge deposit of broken defective pottery products was found; however, there is no information available concerning the dating of this find. <sup>215</sup>

The above-mentioned dump of production 'rejects' (pottery kiln waste) evidences the functioning of a pottery production facility near the cape. However, it is impossible to determine whether deficient ceramic building materials were also found and whether the deposit can be dated to the first centuries of our era. Berthier de Lagarde emphasised (as did other researchers) the complete lack of water in the closest vicinity of the fort.<sup>216</sup> This is probably the main reason behind the lack of settlement activities since the end of the Roman Period up until modern times. The water supply system constructed by the Romans functioned only until the fort was abandoned, i.e. at the latest until the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>217</sup> Taking into account this data, it can be assumed that pottery production developed in this area only during the period of the stationing of the Roman garrison. This is also indirectly indicated by the discovery of the aforementioned

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> Sarnowski, Savelja 2000b, 197–205.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 262–274, 291.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 38, tab. III:3; D'âkov 1930, 4; AE 1990, 871.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> Savelja, Sarnowski 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015b, 53–54, 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> D'âkov 1930, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 260, 288, fig. 24: 6; Orlov 1988, 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> Cf. Blavatskij 1951, 289.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 3; cf. Zubar' 2000, 188.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> Bert'e-Delagard" 1907, 25; D'âkov 1930, 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> Bert'e-Delagadr" 1907, 25; D'âkov 1930, 29; Orlov 1988, 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> Bert'e-Delagard" 1907, 25; Orlov 1988, 22; Zubar' 2000, 189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> Orlov 1988, 22, 27; Zubar' 2000, 198.

dump filled with pottery products in an area through which the aqueduct ran, *i.e.* west of the fort.

#### The road running near the fort

Following the discovery of the temple outside the fort walls and the altars set up by the *beneficiarii*, Rostovcev assumed that the place of worship may have been connected to a military outpost (*statio*) next to an important route or crossroads. <sup>218</sup> Since then, some of the researchers have postulated that a road ran next to the fort, which may have linked the southern coast of Taurica with Chersonesos. <sup>219</sup> This hypothesis is frequently accepted indiscriminately and is the source of a profound 'belief', developed beyond measure in various areas of Crimea, in the widespread system of Roman roads. <sup>220</sup>

It is worth emphasising at this point that the fort at Cape Aj-Todor was constructed in the vicinity of the most convenient natural passageway to the Yalta Valley. However, I am not convinced that the road running from the west was a route built and guarded by the Romans that ensured a permanent passageway to Chersonesos. It must be taken into account that the route through the mountains was very long and uncomfortable, while its maintenance and monitoring must have surpassed the capabilities of the garrisons at Balaklava-Kadykovka and Cape Aj-Todor, located as they were at some distance from each other. Despite the inconvenient harbour,<sup>221</sup> it seems almost certain that the supplies for the fort were delivered by the sea. In all probability, the land route, which surely existed, had little significance for the transport organised by the Roman army. Its role and safety might have increased in later times. Most of the traces of the nearby settlements are dated to as late as the Middle Ages.<sup>222</sup> Towns on the southern coast (e.g. Aluston) also did not come into being prior to the 6th century AD.223

Reaching for arguments closer to modern times, it is worth noting that the traditional route (from the direction of Sevastopol through the Baydar mountain pass) was encountered on the southern coast by Adam Mickiewicz, among others. Evidence for this comes in the form of the subject matter of his *Crimean Sonnets*. Nevertheless, even in later periods, the road leading to

Yalta from the west was marked on maps as a minor route. Even in the beginnings of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the tsar's family was transported from Sevastopol to the palace in Livadia (Yalta) by the sea!

Due to the numerous doubts regarding the need for the existence of a land route that would have run next to the cape and its quality, it can be assumed that the army stationed at the fort would have monitored the movements of the local population heading to the Yalta Valley rather than of some Roman army columns or convoys transporting supplies.

## Dating the site

The general chronological framework for the fort at Cape Aj-Todor has for a long time been dated to the period between the mid-1st to the mid-3rd century AD.224 Such dating was supposed to be confirmed by the finds of coins, among which the oldest were specimens issued during Galba and Vitellius's reign, while the youngest - during Gordian III's. However, the research results so far have not provided any evidence for Roman building activities in the 1st century AD. The only trace of any construction works conducted during this period is supposed to have been a roof tile with the stamps VEX / G RAV S P, found in a secondary context.<sup>225</sup> As a result of the conducted physico-chemical analyses and the reinterpretation of the inscriptions on the stamps, we currently know that the building material signed using the above-mentioned stamps was only made in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>226</sup> The new dating is connected to the reading of the inscription which mentioned a centurion of the Eleventh Claudian Legion<sup>227</sup> and the opinion expressed in the literature on the subject that there was no squadron of the Ravennate Fleet on the Black Sea in the 1st century AD. 228 In connection to the cited research results, it can be stated that as of yet evidence is lacking concerning the presence of the Romans at Cape Aj-Todor in the 1st century AD.

The remains of canals, which most probably served the purpose of draining rain water from the area of the later bathhouse and from the neighbouring alleged

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 7, 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> D'âkov 1942, 80; Orlov 1988, 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> See, among others, Lancov 2003; Zubar' 2003, 120–121; for arguments against this claim, see Sarnowski 1989, 85; Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 102, 130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> Bert'e-Delagard" 1907, 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> Dombrovskij 1961; Orlov 1988, 18; *cf.* D'âkov 1930, 18; Sarnowski 1989, 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> Dombrovskij 1961, 166; Myc 2002, 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> Rostowzew 1902, 92–93; D'âkov 1930, 33; Blawatsky, Kochelenko 1966, 25–26.

<sup>225</sup> Zubar' 2000, 184, 197.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup> Sarnowski 2006c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup> Orlov 1988, 21; Sarnowski, Zubar' 1996, 229–234; Zubar', Sarnovskij 1997, 50–59; Zubar' 2000, 194–195, fig. 19; 2005, 59–63, fig. 3, no. 4; *cf.* Sarnowski 2006c, fig. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> Sarnovskij 2006; Sarnowski 2006a; 2006b.

headquarters (see above, 'The central building'), are the first (oldest) trace of building activities at the discussed site. The canals made from broken stone and in the form of gutters insulated with lime mortar were destroyed during the construction of the mentioned buildings. <sup>229</sup> Based on the above-mentioned building inscription, which was probably related to the construction of the baths, stamps on bricks from *pilae*, stratigraphy, and small finds, the construction of the bathhouse can be dated to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD at the earliest. <sup>230</sup>

The altar funded by Marcus Geminius Fortis, 231 dated to 118/119-121/122 AD, can be acknowledged as the earliest dated trace of the stationing of the Roman garrison. 232 According to Zubar', the arrival of the Roman army was a result of the peace reached by Hadrian on the other territories and his withdrawal from a number of areas conquered by his predecessor. Basing the hypothesis on the dating of only one inscription does not give us any certainty regarding the actual date of the arrival of the Romans. The above-mentioned altar might have been set up after a few or even a few dozen years of the presence of the garrison in the mentioned fort. Therefore, it cannot be excluded that the beginnings of the army presence at Cape Ai-Todor, similarly to other places in Taurica (Balaklava-Kadykovka, Chersonesos), might date to the final period of Trajan's reign.<sup>233</sup>

A trace of the presence of the Romans dated to the beginnings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD might also come in the form of one of the layers distinguished during Orlov's excavations, which – based on the *fibula* found during his explorations – has been dated to the turn of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>234</sup> Thus, the results of the research conducted so far, enable delimiting the beginnings of the Roman army presence at the cape to the first decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.

The evacuation of the garrison supposedly occurred in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>235</sup> The departure of the Romans may have entailed deliberate dismantling of a part of the fortifications and buildings.<sup>236</sup> It should be added that so far traces of 'pre-Roman' settlement are

lacking, while some material (pottery) has been found that might be dated as later.<sup>237</sup>

One of the arguments indicating the presence of the Romans up until at least the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD was the above-mentioned Gordian III's bronze coin.<sup>238</sup> However, Zubar' presumed that the evacuation might have occurred earlier, *i.e.* in the mid-230s.<sup>239</sup> It should be remembered that in the context of the research conducted thus far at the fort, this later coin is an isolated find. Its link to the cremation cemetery should be taken into account, as the burial grounds began to function probably somewhere around the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century and are dated to the period from the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>240</sup> The two oldest Roman coins from the graves are Trajan's and Gordian III's issues.<sup>241</sup>

The last renovation of the rooms added onto the inner wall of the fort supposedly took place in the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>242</sup> An uncleared dump was registered in the baths, containing roof tiles signed with the stamps VEX / G RAV S P and LEG XI CL, as well as LE XI CL.<sup>243</sup> It is important to note the presence in the discussed dump of roof tiles with the stamps of the Eleventh Claudian Legion, which were placed on the roofs constructed (or only repaired) in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>244</sup> As a result, it can be assumed that the fort at Cape Aj-Todor was abandoned at the same time as, for example, the fort in Balaklava-Kadykovka or the watchtower on Kazatskaya Hill, that is *c*. the mid-230s.<sup>245</sup>

In summary, it can be stated that, considering the present state of research, there is no evidence of the stationing of the Roman army at Cape Aj-Todor both in the 1st century AD and in the 240s AD.

## Construction phases and their dating

In various sections of their excavations, both Blavatskij and Orlov distinguished three construction phases.<sup>246</sup> The division into three phases proposed by the quoted researchers still seems to be valid. However, it was necessary to verify the suggested dating and revise

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>229</sup> Orlov 1982, 298-299; Blavatskij 1951, 288.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>230</sup> Orlov 1988, 24, 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup>Rostovcev 1911, 5; IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 674.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> Sarnowski 1989, 78, tab. 3; Zubar', Sarnovskij 1997, 54; Zubar' 2000, 192.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 163, 176.

<sup>234</sup> Orlov 1978, 366.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 256, 259, 278, 288, 290.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> Orlov 1988, 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 261, 280.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> Rostovcev 1900, 156; Bert'e-Delagard" 1907, 24; Blavatskij 1951, 245.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> Zubar' 2000, 198.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 274, 290–291; Orlov 1978, 366.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 290–291.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> Orlov 1980, 115–116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> Orlov 1984, 310.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> Sarnowski 2006c, 94, 97–98; Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 174–175.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> Sarnowski *et al.* 2009, 59; Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 36, 62, 78; 2015b, 58; *cf.* Filippenko, Alekseenko 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 254, 288, 289, 291; Orlov 1988, 18.

the correlation of the stamped bricks and roof tiles with the subsequent *vexillationes* stationed at the cape. Such specification was possible thanks to the analyses of the clay used for the production of the ceramic building material from various places of the stationing of the Roman detachments in Crimea.<sup>247</sup>

The stamps on the bricks and roof tiles found during the excavations conducted at Cape Aj-Todor belong to three types:<sup>248</sup>

PER·L·A·C > / LEG·I·IT·PRAEP / VEX·MOES·INF (type  $2,^{249}$  type  $14^{250}$ )

Per L. A(---) C(---), > (centurionem) | leg(ionis)

I It(alicae) praep(ositum) | vex(illariorum

or –illationis) Moes(iae) inf(erioris)<sup>251</sup>

These stamps are the earliest ones at the discussed site. The use of building material signed using these stamps can be dated to Antoninus Pius or early Marcus Aurelius and linked to the construction activities of the *vexillatio exercitus Moesiae Inferioris*. At other sites, VEMI stamps are the most frequently encountered stamps linked to this unit. According to the information on the discussed stamp from Aj-Todor, this *vexillatio* included officers from the First Italic Legion.<sup>252</sup>

VEX / G RAV SP (type 1,<sup>253</sup> type 13<sup>254</sup>) Vex(illarii) G. Rav(onii?) Sp(erati?)<sup>255</sup>

Contrary to the previously dominant opinions, stamps of this type do not constitute traces of the presence of the Ravennate Fleet, and they should not be dated to the 1st century AD. 256 These are probably equivalents of the VEX and VEM stamps known from Balaklava-Kadykovka and Kazatskaya Hill. The ceramic material signed with these stamps is perceived as linked to the building activities of the Roman garrisons from the period of the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. At this time, soldiers of the First Italic Legion still continued to be a part of the *vexillationes* in Taurica, but the presence of a centurion of Claudius' Eleventh Legion has been attested. 257

The Eleventh Claudian Legion stamps<sup>261</sup> are found in the largest number of sites connected to the presence of the Romans in Taurica. The roof tiles signed with these stamps usually constitute an addition to an older roof on which the majority of the tegular material has the earlier VEMI stamps. Type 15 (according to Sarnowski) is a variety of the same kind of stamp as that which appears only at Cape Aj-Todor. Both variants can be referred to the period of Septimius Severus' reign and of his successors, and may be linked to the construction activities of garrisons dominated by the soldiers and officers of Claudius' Eleventh Legion. In all the known Roman outposts in Crimea, this is the latest dated signed ceramic material used for construction and renovation.

In summary, the above-described architectural remains, juxtaposed with information about the stamped building material, allow for distinguishing three construction phases. However, perhaps further research will support a more detailed division.

Phase 1 applies to some faint traces of buildings (primarily water installations), the construction of which can be dated either to the final period of Trajan's reign or the beginnings of Hadrian's. The discussed remains do not correspond to any other types of building ceramic used at the cape. So far, there have been no examples of stamps of the Fifth Macedonian Legion, which are linked with the construction activities of the *vexillatio* of this army unit in Chersonesos in the analogical period.

Phase 2 was distinguished for the architectural remains of the majority of the discovered buildings. It can be dated to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The tegular material from various sites seems to indicate the need for distinguishing two separate phases within the framework of Phase 2: a construction phase (during Antoninus Pius' reign) and a renovation phase (during Marcus Aurelius' reign). The first of these is signalled primarily by the presence of the following stamps: VEMI (in Chersonesos, Balaklava-Kadykovka, and on Kazatskaya Hill) and PER·L·A·C > / LEG·I·IT·PRAEP / VEX·MOES·INF (Aj-Todor). The second is evidenced

LE XI CL; LEG XI CL (type 3,<sup>258</sup> types 4 and 15<sup>259</sup>) Le(gio) XI Cl(audia); leg(io) XI Cl(audia)<sup>260</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> Sarnowski 2006c; Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 174–175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 254; Orlov 1988, 18; Zubar' 2000, 190, 289.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 254; Orlov 1988, 18; Zubar' 2000, 190, 289; Novyčenkova, Novyčenkova-Lukyčeva 2009, 68–69, figs 8–9.

<sup>250</sup> Sarnowski 2006c, 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> Sarnowski 2006c, 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 174–181.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 254; Orlov 1988, 18; Zubar' 2000, 190, 289; Novyčenkova, Novyčenkova-Lukyčeva 2009, 62–68, figs 1–7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> Sarnowski 2006c, 96–97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> Cf. Sarnowski 2006c, 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> Sarnovskij 2006; Sarnowski 2006a; 2006b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup> Sarnowski 2006c, 92, fig. 1.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>258</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 254; Orlov 1988, 18; Zubar' 2000, 190, 289;
 Novyčenkova, Novyčenkova-Lukyčeva 2009, 69–70, fig. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> Sarnowski 2006c, 94–95, 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> Sarnowski 2006c, 94, 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>261</sup> Sarnowski 2006c, type 4.

mainly by the finds of VEX stamps at the above-listed sites and VEX / G RAV SP at the cape.

Phase 3 manifests itself in the reconstruction and expansion of various buildings (*e.g.* the expansion of the bathhouse, the construction of the external fort wall). This increased construction activity has been linked to the presence of a detachment dominated by soldiers from the Eleventh Claudian Legion, as confirmed, among other things, by the stamps on the building ceramics: LE XI CL, LEG XI CL. This phase is dated to the period of the reign of Septimius Severus and his successors.

# Assigning the buildings to the phases The bathhouse

Based on Orlov's research conducted in the balnea area, three construction phases can be distinguished: Phase 1 – before the baths were constructed (the only known traces are the above-mentioned canals); Phase 2 - the construction of the small bathhouse (the southern row of rooms); Phase 3 – the expansion of the bathhouse (the addition of the northern row of rooms). This division results from the published reports showing that two layers of plaster were registered on one of the balnea walls, while two floor levels were also preserved in one of the rooms. It seems very significant to note the information that the lower (older) floor was divided from the upper one by a levelling layer about 0.7 m thick.<sup>262</sup> Similarly levelled layers were registered between analogical floor levels in Balaklava-Kadykovka and at the Chersonesos citadel.<sup>263</sup>

#### The central building

Three phases were also distinguished during the excavations of the alleged headquarters building.<sup>264</sup> Similarly to the neighbouring bathhouse, Phase 1 preceded the construction of the discussed building (in this case also only the canals for draining water were included). A monumental building was constructed in Phase 2, preceded by levelling works. The existence of Phase 3 is indicated by the presence of two floor levels registered during the excavations. The lower floor level would have belonged to Phase 2, while the higher one to Phase 3. Similarly, in this area both levels are separated by a levelling layer, but its thickness has not been precisely established.

#### The rooms next to the inner wall

Two floor levels were also registered during the excavations of some of the rooms added onto the internal face of the defensive wall. The higher level was supposed to have been located c. 20 cm above the lower one and referred to the activities of the Eleventh Claudian Legion at the end of the  $2^{\rm nd}$  century and in the first half of the  $3^{\rm rd}$  century AD.<sup>265</sup> On this basis, the floors observed during the excavations can be qualified as traces of construction activities in Phase 2 and in Phase 3.

### Nymphaeum

The water basin located in the area fortified by the inner wall was insulated twice using layers of mortar.<sup>266</sup> This might indicate that it was constructed at the latest in Phase 2 and renovated in Phase 3. Blavatskij dated the construction of the tank to the second half of the 1st century AD, while the addition (construction) of the agueduct to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>267</sup> Correcting this information so that it is in accordance with the current state of knowledge, the supposition can be put forward that the reservoir was constructed in Phase 1 and may initially have been linked to the above-mentioned canals for draining water from the area on which the later bathhouse and central building were erected. In Phase 2, a newly constructed water conduit was attached to the reservoir. The nearby baths from the very beginning almost certainly must have had stable access to water, which, considering the local conditions, could only have been ensured by an aqueduct. Thus, it can be assumed that the entire system for bringing rainwater to Nymphaeum I must have been formed before the construction of the bathhouse, i.e. in Phase 1.

#### The inner wall

Two phases have been distinguished for the inner wall. Traces of the reconstruction of the fortifications were observed by Orlov, who dated the discussed fortifications to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>268</sup> Fragments of roof tiles with the stamps VEX / G RAV SP were found in the structures of the abutments added from the inside to the curtain wall.<sup>269</sup> Thus, it is probable that the wall was constructed in Phase 2, simultaneously to the construction of the baths, and renovated in Phase 3, more or less at the same time as the expansion of the bathhouse. The fragments of the stamped roof tiles would have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup> Orlov 1978, 366; 1984, 310.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 28, 63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 288.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 281–282.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>266</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 282.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>267</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 289.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup> Orlov 1985, 331–332; 1988, 21, 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>269</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 280; Orlov 1985, 331–332; 1988, 26.

found their way into the added or reconstructed part during the renovation, *i.e.* in Phase 3.

#### The external wall

Orlov dated the external fortification line to no earlier than the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>270</sup> In turn, Firsov claims categorically that this was a one-phase structure, and the external wall might have been constructed later than the internal one.271 A fragment of a roof tile with the VEX / G RAV SP stamp was found in a cultural layer in the forefield of the external fortifications.<sup>272</sup> In my opinion, the find comes from the destruction (levelling?) layer formed before the construction of the external wall. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the fact of the reuse of fragments of similarly stamped roof tiles in the construction of the curtain wall.<sup>273</sup> It can thus be assumed that the wall was built in Phase 3. Similarly, the dating of the external wall follows from the analysis of the pottery from Blavatskij's excavations, as well as from an analysis of the stratigraphic layout observed during last excavations conducted by Novičenkova.<sup>274</sup> In her opinion, the wall was built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>275</sup> However, it is important to remember that Antoninus Pius' coins determined the terminus post quem for the beginning of construction works.

The significant enlargement of the fort could have been connected to the doubling of the area of the bathhouse (Phase 3). The differences in the construction of various segments of the new fortifications can, in turn, be explained by the simultaneous work of a few different building crews or by breaks in the construction and modifications of the original concept.<sup>276</sup>

## The fort and its immediate surroundings. Towards a periodisation of the settlement history of the site

An important element of the analysis undertaken herein is the attempt to prepare, based on all the available data, a more transparent and complete plan of the fort (Fig. 2). The remains of all the buildings and their parts that appear on various plans and/or are mentioned in different publications have been taken into account. In addition, information from the above-presented

stratification of some buildings into construction phases was used.

#### Phase 1

It seems justified to use the term 'Trajanic' to refer to this phase, analogically as in the case of other discussed Roman bases in Taurica.<sup>277</sup> It can be assumed that during this period, the fort encompassed only the area of the so-called 'citadel', *i.e.* the peak of the hill encircled by the inner wall. We are not fully certain as to the course of the fortifications during this period. However, in all probability, the fortifications had the same contours as in Phase 2. The only hint in this regard might be the localisation of *Nymphaeum* I. The reservoir, which may have been constructed as early as in Phase 1, lies within the area of the fortifications from Phase 2.

The canals used for draining water belong to the earliest phase. They were probably linked to *Nymphaeum* I in order to make the collection of rainwater more effective, since in the discussed period the fort was not yet catered for by a water supply system. At this point, it is worth noting that at the fort in Balaklava-Kadykovka similarly only the canals delivering and draining water as well as the remains of a tank and inspection manhole have been preserved from Phase 1 (the Trajanic phase).<sup>278</sup>

It is very probable that the temple outside the fort walls at Cape Aj-Todor was also constructed in the discussed phase. This assumption can be based on the dating of the oldest of the known altars dedicated to Jupiter, which was founded in 118/119–121/122 AD.

#### Phase 2

The buildings considered to be from this phase were constructed during the reigns of Antoninus Pius and/ or Marcus Aurelius. A *vexillatio* of the Lower Moesian army under the command of a centurion from the First Italic Legion, and later a formation under the command of a centurion from the Eleventh Claudian Legion, were stationed at the cape during this period.<sup>279</sup>

The above-mentioned remains from the previous phase indicate that the new garrison appropriated a place that the Roman army had already been using, but this happened after a break lasting a few decades. The poor state of preservation of the remains from the previous phase may have resulted from the destruction of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>270</sup> Orlov 1988, 24; cf. Novičenkova 2015, 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>271</sup> Firsov 1975, 97–98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>272</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 278.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>273</sup> Kamelina 2012, 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup> Kamelina 2012; Novičenkova 2017, 295.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>275</sup> Novičenkova 2015, 151, 153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>276</sup> Cf. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2014, 91; 2015a, 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>277</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 23–24, 60–61; 2015b, 56–57.

 <sup>278</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski, Savelaâ 2012, 174, figs 1.6–7, 3, 4,
 5: 2013, 123

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>279</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 174–181.

buildings and fortifications by the army leaving the cape in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, or it may have been an effect of the passage of time, the elements, or human activities. The results of the research conducted thus far do not resolve these doubts. However, it is almost certain that the exceptionally modest remains of the buildings from Phase 1 are also a result of the levelling of the terrain, traces of which were observable during the excavations. This probably stemmed from the need to prepare the area for the construction of new buildings. It can be assumed that the groundwork included not only levelling the surface but also terracing the terrain. The garrison of the Balaklava-Kadykovka fort also conducted levelling work, and perhaps also demolition, before initiating the construction in Phase 2, destroying most of the earlier remains in the process.<sup>280</sup>

The inner wall (without any turrets) and the buildings within the area defended by the fortifications were constructed during the discussed phase. The buildings constructed during this period include the bathhouse, the central building next to the baths (the principia?), the rooms next to the perimeter wall opening out into the circuitous street, as well as the barracks east of the bathhouse. The baths and Nymphaeum I were linked to the aqueduct that was constructed during the same time. The road coming out of the supposed headquarters building probably led to the main gate (Fig. 2.4, 12). If this supposition is correct, then the fort – despite its seemingly utter irregularity - maintained the fundamentals of the order used in the construction of other castella. The rounded course of the fortifications and the addition of the row of rooms on the internal side of the curtain wall enable noting certain similarities between the fort at the cape and the outpost constructed in the same time-period on Kazatskaya Hill.<sup>281</sup> This comparison also indicates that the fort at Cape Aj-Todor was not an absolute exception in terms of the construction solutions used by the Roman garrisons.

The beginnings of the buildings included in Phase 2 should be dated, by analogy to the Temple of Jupiter Dolichenus in Balaklava, to the period after 138 AD and connected to the construction activities of the formation present in Taurica under the name *vexillatio exercitus Moesiae Inferioris*, which included officers of the First Italic Legion. The continuation of the building expansion at Cape Aj-Todor, also considered to be a part of Phase

2, was conducted by a detachment under the command of a centurion from the Eleventh Claudian Legion. This may have occurred during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. <sup>282</sup> The Phase 2 structures should thus be correlated to the phase of the same number distinguished in the case of the Roman buildings in Balaklava-Kadykovka and Chersonesos. The Dolichenum was constructed in Balaklava during this period, as was the *praetorium* along with its neighbouring buildings and the fort's defensive wall. <sup>283</sup>

The temple outside the walls at Cape Aj-Todor continued to function or was rebuilt in Phase 2. At this time, the second of the known altars dedicated to Jupiter (found in the ruins of the shrine) was most probably set up.<sup>284</sup> The altar was supposedly made in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>285</sup>

#### Phase 3

Another period of increased construction activities can be dated to the reign of Septimius Severus and his successors. During this time, at the cape stationed a *vexillatio* probably dominated by soldiers from the Eleventh Claudian Legion.

In a few places across the fort, a levelling layer was observed separating the floor levels of Phase 2 from those of Phase 3.<sup>286</sup> The thickness of the discussed layer amounts to between 0.2 to 0.7 m. This has analogies with the situation observed during excavations at Balaklava-Kadykovka, on Kazatskaya Hill, and at the Chersonesos citadel, where a similar layer was up to even 1 m thick.<sup>287</sup>

In this latest phase, a number of buildings were renovated, including the rooms adjacent to the inner wall and the supposed headquarters building. The baths were developed and the fort enlarged through the construction of the external wall.<sup>288</sup> The inner wall was made thicker, probably in order to enable placing ballistae on its crown. The deposit of stone balls constitutes traces of the use of ballistae. The new external wall probably had three gates. The main one was erected on an axis which was probably an extension of the alleged via praetoria. The external fortification line was probably constructed in a short time, with a number of construction brigades working on it simultaneously. The curtain wall was strengthened through the addition of at least a few turrets located on its internal side. In the central section of the fortifications, the wall ran in a broken line, increasing its defensive value. Among

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>280</sup> Cf. Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 60; 2015b, 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> Sarnowski *et al.* 2002, 169–170; 2009, 61; Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 77–78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>282</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 176–181.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>283</sup> Sarnowski, Savelja 2000a, 38, 88; Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015b, 57–58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>284</sup> Rostovcev 1911, 5, no. 2; IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 675.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>285</sup> Sarnowski 1989, tab. II.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>286</sup> Blavatskij 1951, 280–282, 288; Orlov 1978, 366; 1984, 310;
 Žuravlev, Kamelina 2015, 191.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>287</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2001, 65, 71; 2015a, 28, 63; 2015b, 58; Wróbel *et al.* 2008, 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> Cf. Novičenkova 2015, 151, 153.

other things, another water reservoir (*Nymphaeum* II) was built in the area between the walls. Its localisation at a small distance from *Nymphaeum* I (but lower down) allows for the supposition that after the tank outside the inner wall had been filled up, the excess water from the aqueduct flowed down (through a pipe) to fill up the new reservoir as well. The temple continued to function outside the gate, leading eastward to the port.

In the light of the research conducted thus far, the listed construction works should be linked to the use of the youngest building material with the LEG XI CL and LE XI CL stamps. An analogical situation has been observed at Balaklava-Kadykovka and at the citadel in Chersonesos. In Balaklava during this time, the praetorium was expanded, while the fortifications from the western side were dismantled and moved farther into the previous forefield, increasing the area encircled by the walls.<sup>289</sup> In Chersonesos, as in the case of Aj-Todor, the garrison baths were expanded.<sup>290</sup> It seems highly probable that the observed cases of increasing the area enclosed by the defensive walls and the expansion of the bathhouse might constitute traces of the enlargement of the individual succeeding Roman garrisons in Taurica in the first decades of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

#### **Conclusions**

Summarising all these considerations on the fort at Cape Aj-Todor, it should once again be emphasised that evidence is lacking that would confirm the presence of the Romans at this site in the 1st century AD. Only minimal traces have survived from Phase 1 (probably Nymphaeum I and the canals destroyed during the construction of the bathhouse and the nearby supposed headquarters building). Phase 2 involved the construction of the inner wall, the bathhouse, the above-mentioned central building (the principia?), and probably also the water supply system as well as most of the buildings of the so-called 'citadel'. In Phase 3, the baths were expanded, while the inner defensive wall was thickened, and the other encountered buildings behind this fortification line were renovated and reconstructed. The fort was also enlarged through the construction of the external wall.

In the light of the above-presented attempt to divide the architectural remains into phases and the results of the studies and analyses of the building ceramics from the places where the Roman army was stationed in Crimea, it can be concluded that the fort at Cape Aj-Todor was constructed and expanded at the same pace as the fort and Temple of Jupiter Dolichenus in Balaklava-Kadykovka and as the Chersonesos citadel's interior.

It should be emphasised that the data available in the publications concerning many of the excavations conducted at the cape are patchy and often do not enable answering many of the questions posed by modern research. The supplementation and clarification of some of this information and posing of new research hypotheses is possible primarily due to the studies performed in the 1990s and at the beginning of the 21st century, conducted mostly at other sites connected to the presence of the Roman army in Crimea. Within this scope, enormous significance should be attached to the Polish-Ukrainian research of the Temple of Jupiter Dolichenus and the remains of the fort in Balaklava-Kadykovka, as well as of the watchtower on Kazatskaya Hill near Inkerman. As a result of the work conducted there, it was possible to distinguish and correlate the subsequent construction phases at the listed sites and at Cape Aj-Todor. Based, among other things, on the results of the said research, a new proposal was formulated concerning the periodisation of the presence of Lower Moesian vexillationes in Taurica.<sup>291</sup> Due to the lack of any perspectives for research at the cape in the nearest future, analyses should be conducted on the unpublished reports from the excavations at this site stored in various archives.

The above-presented comprehensive comparison and analysis focusing on only the published material enables stating that the fort was expanded at the threshold of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, which almost certainly indicates the intent to enlarge the garrison stationing there. Traces of analogical changes at this same time can also be observed in Chersonesos and Balaklava. Therefore, this suggests that perhaps during the reigns of Septimius Severus and his successors a more ambitious plan to reinforce the Roman army presence in Taurica was being implemented.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>289</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 62–67; 2015b, 58–61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>290</sup> Karasiewicz-Szczypiorski 2015a, 28–30.

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#### Abbreviations:

AE – L'Année épigraphique, Paris.

AO – Arheologičeskie Otkrytiâ, Moskva.

CIL - Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.

IAK – Izvestiâ Imperatorskoj Arheologičeskoj Kommissii.

IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> – B. Latyschev, Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini. Inscriptiones Tyrae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae aliorum locorum a Danubio usque ad regnum Bosporanum, Petropoli 1916.

IOSPE IV – B. Latyschev, Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini. Graecae et latinae per annos 1885–1900 repertae, Hildesheim 1965.

MAIÈT – Materialy po Arheologii, Istorii i Ètnografii Tavrii, Simferopol.

MIA – Materialy i issledovanià po archeologii SSSR, Moskva.

VDI – Vestnik Drevnej Istorii, Moskva.

ZOOID - Zapiski Odesskago Obŝestva Istorii i Drevnostej, Odessa.

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## Радослав Карасевич-Щыпёрский

# Римский форт на мысу Ай-Тодор (*Харакс*) и его окружение. Новый взгляд на старые открытия

Форт на мысу Ай-Тодор является одним из первых открытых и правильно отождествленных мест дислокации римской армии в Тавриде (рис. 1). Несмотря на многократные исследования, крепость все еще относительно слабо изучена. Многие материалы из раскопок так и не вошли в научный оборот, более того, часть их в результате бурных превратностей судьбы без возвратно утрачена. Стоит, однако, пересмотреть и хорошо известные сведения, с целью их лучшего понимания. В этом могут помочь результаты исследований последних десятилетий на других объектах, связанных с римским присутствием в Тавриде, прежде всего, в Балаклаве-Кадыковке (рис. 1).

Среди исследователей очень долго доминировало убеждение, что на мысу Ай-Тодор римский гарнизон располагался с середины I в. н.э. и до середины III в. н.э. Такая датировка подтверждалась находками монет, среди которых наиболее ранними были экземпляры, эмитированные в правление Гальбы и Вителия, а наиболее поздней - монета времен правления Гордиана III. Однако результаты проведенных к настоящему времени исследований не дали доказательств строительной активности римлян в I в. н.э. Следами деятельности этого периода могла быть строительная керамика с клеймами VEX/G RAV S P, находимая во вторичных контекстах. Благодаря физико-химическим анализам и толкованию надписей на клеймах теперь известно, что визированный строительный материал с упомянутыми клеймами изготовляли только со второй половины II в. н.э. Предложение более поздней датировки связано с прочтением надписи, упоминающей центуриона XI Клавдиева легиона, и появлением в публикациях мнения, что в І в. н.э. не было никакой эскадры Равеннской флотилии на Черном море. Опираясь на результаты упомянутых исследований, можно констатировать нехватку каких-либо доказательств дислокации римского гарнизона на мысу Ай-Тодор в I в. н.э. Начальный период присутствия римской армии на этом месте можно соотнести только с первыми десятилетиями II в. н.э.

Форт должен был быть окончательно покинут в конце первой половины III в. н.э. На присутствие римского гарнизона вплоть до середины этого

столетия может указывать находка бронзовой монеты Гордиана III. Зубарь предполагал, однако, что эвакуация могла быть и раньше, т.е. в середине 30-х годов III в. н.э. Нужно иметь в виду, что в контексте проведенных к настоящему времени исследований упомянутая поздняя монета является единственной находкой. Следует принимать во внимание ее связь с расположенным поблизости могильником с кремациями, который начинает функционировать, вероятно, уже с середины III в. н.э. и используется до первой половины IV вв. н.э. Две наиболее ранние римские монеты, происходящие из могильника, были выпущены в период правления Траяна и именно Гордиана III.

Резюмируя, можно констатировать, что на настоящем этапе исследований нет прямых доказательств присутствия римского гарнизона на мысе Ай-Тодор как в І в. н.э., так и в 40-е годы ІІІ в. н.э. и позднее. Наиболее вероятно, что объект был покинут одновременно с фортом в Балаклаве-Кадыковке и другими постами в пограничной зоне хоры Херсонеса в середине 30-х годов ІІІ в. н.э.

Соотношение открытых на памятнике архитектурных объектов с тремя фазами, предложенное Блаватским и Орловым, остается все еще актуальным. Тем не менее, необходимо было провести пересмотр данных датировок и произвести корректуру корреляции клейм на кирпичах и черепице с очередными вексилляциями (vexillationes), дислоцированными на мысу. Такое уточнение стало возможным благодаря анализам глины, из которой была изготовлена клейменная строительная керамика, происходящая из мест дислокации римских войск в Крыму, а также благодаря анализу стратиграфии и архитектурных объектов на упомянутых выше памятниках, таких как Балаклава-Кадыковка и Казацкая. Полученные результаты позволили автору данной разработки предложить новую периодизацию памятника и отнести открытые к настоящему времени архитектурные объекты к трем следующим фазам:

Фаза 1. К ней относятся ничтожные следы архитектурных структур (главным образом, водяных инсталляций), возникновение которых можно датировать или концом правления Траяна или началом господства Адриана. С упомянутыми

объектами не соотносится ни один из типов строительной керамики, найденных при раскопках на мысу. Пока не обнаружено кирпичей или черепицы с клеймами V Македонского легиона, которые связываются со строительной активностью вексилляции (vexillatio) этой военной части в Херсонесе в аналогичный период.

Можно предположить, что в этот период форт охватывал только территорию так называемой "цитадели", то есть центра возвышенности, огороженной внутренней стеной. У нас нет полной уверенности относительно хода укреплений из этого периода. Наиболее вероятно, однако, что у укрепления было такое же очертание, как в Фазе 2 (рис. 2.7). Единственное указание на это дает расположение Нимфея І. Емкость, которая могла возникнуть уже в Фазе 1, находится в соседстве с оборонительной стеной Фазы 2 (рис. 2.2).

К наиболее ранней фазе относятся также каналы, отводящие воду. Наиболее вероятно, что они сообщались с Нимфеем I в целях улучшения накапливания дождевой воды, так как в этот период форт еще не был снабжен водопроводом.

Здесь же стоит обратить внимание на то, что и в форте в Балаклаве-Кадыковке со времен Фазы 1 («траянской») также сохранились только каналы, подводящие и отводящие воду, и остатки емкости или ревизионного колодца.

Очень вероятно, что храм за стенами на мысу Ай-Тодор также возник в этот период (рис. 2.13). Это можно предположить на основании датировки наиболее раннего из известных алтарей, посвященных Юпитеру, который был заложен в 118/119–121/122 годах.

Плохая сохранность объектов Фазы 1, вероятно, связана с разрушением построек и укреплений гарнизоном, покидающим мыс в первой половине II в. н.э. или же является следствием медленного действия времени, стихий и людей. Результаты проведенных исследований не позволяют однозначно решить этот вопрос.

Фаза 2. была выделена на основании изучения архитектурных остатков большинства открытых сооружений. Она может быть датирована второй половиной II в. н.э. Автор считает, что находки клейменных черепиц, обнаруженных на разных памятниках, указывают на необходимость выделения в будущем еще двух фаз в пределах самой Фазы 2: строительной (в правление Антония Пия) и ремонтной (в правление Марка Аврелия). На первую указывает, прежде всего, наличие клейм: VEMI (Херсонес, Балаклава-Кадыковка, Казацкая) и PER·L·A·C> / LEG·I·IT·PRAEP/VEX·MOES·INF (Ай-Тодор). Вторую подтверждают, главным образом, находки клейм VEX на упомянутых выше объектах и VEX/G RAV S P на мысу.

В этот период мыс Ай-Тодор занимала вексилляция нижнемезийской армии под командованием центуриона из I Италийского легиона, а потом воинское формирование под командованием центуриона с XI Клавдиева легиона.

Состояние описанных выше архитектурных остатков Фазы 1 указывает на то, что новый гарнизон занял территорию, уже использованную ранее римской армией, но, вероятно, это имело место спустя несколько десятилетий. Ничтожно малое количество остатков ранних сооружений, отмеченное во время раскопок, является, скорее всего, результатом более поздней нивелировки данной местности при подготовке территории для новой застройки. Наиболее вероятно, что проводимые в это время земляные работы состояли не только в выравнивании поверхности земли, но также и ее террасировании. Стоит вспомнить, что гарнизон форта в Балаклаве-Кадыковке в такой же период (т.е. перед постройкой сооружений, относящихся к Фазе 2) тоже провел нивелировочные работы (а, возможно, и разборку прежних сооружений), уничтожив большинство следов более ранней застройки.

На мысу Ай-Тодор в Фазе 2 появляются внутренняя стена (без башен) и застройка на территории, охраняемой этим укреплением (рис. 2.7). Были построены Термы (рис. 2.3, 4.6-11, 5.3), центральное здание рядом баней (principia?) (рис. 2.4, 5.1), помещения при оборонительной стене, выходящие на окружную улицу (рис. 2.1), и казарменные бараки к востоку от бани (по крайней мере, 3 здания) (рис. 2.5). Термы и Нимфей I присоединили к построенному в этот период акведуку. Улица, выходящая из предполагаемый комендатуры, наиболее вероятно, вела к центральным воротам (рис. 2.8). Если это предположение верное, то форт, несмотря на видимость совершенной иррегулярности, сохранял основы порядка, применяемого в большинстве римских укреплений в период принципата. Ход укреплений по линии, приближенной к части окружности, и пристройка серии помещений по внутренней стороне куртины, позволяет улавливать сходство между данным фортом и возникшим в это же время постом на высоте Казацкая. Это сравнение показывает, что форт на мысу Ай-Тодор не был абсолютным исключением в применяемых римскими гарнизонами строительных решениях.

Возникновение построек, относящихся к Фазе 2, следовало бы датировать, по аналогии с храмом Юпитера Долихена в Балаклаве, периодом после 138 года н.э. и связывать с присутствием воинского формирования, выступающего в Тавриде под названием vexillatio exercitus Moesiae inferioris, в состав которого входили офицеры (и, скорее всего,

солдаты) I Италийского легиона. Вероятно, продолжение строительства форта, относящегося еще к Фазе 2, проводил отряд, возглавляемый центурионом XI Клавдиева легиона. Это могло иметь место в период правления Марка Аврелия. Объекты Фазы 2 следует соотносить с фазой с таким же номером, выделенной для римских сооружений в Балаклаве-Кадыковке и цитадели Херсонеса. В этот период в Балаклаве возник Долихений, а также преторий (pretorium) вместе со смежными зданиями и крепостными стенами форта.

В период Фазы 2 на мысу Ай-Тодор по-прежнему функционирует или восстанавливается храм за стенами (рис. 2.13). В это время, скорее всего, был заложен второй из известных алтарей, посвященных Юпитеру, обнаруженный в святилище. Этот алтарь датируется второй половиной II в. н.э.

Фаза 3. На протяжении этой фазы сооружены или перестроены ряд объектов. Повышенная строительная активность связывается с присутствием отряда, состоящего, главным образом, из солдат XI Клавдиева легиона, что подтверждается клеймами на строительной керамике: LE XI CL и LEG XI CL (тип, известный до сих пор только по исследованиям на мысу Ай-Тодор). Фаза 3 датируется периодом правления Септимия Севера и его преемников.

На территории форта в нескольких местах была отмечена выравнивающая (нивелировочная?) прослойка, разделявшая две разных дневных поверхности Фазы 2 и Фазы 3. Толщина данного слоя колеблется в пределах от 0,2 до 0,7 м. Это явление аналогично выявленным во время исследований в Балаклаве-Кадыковке, на высоте Казацкая и в цитадели Херсонеса, где подобные слои достигали даже метровой толщины.

В течение Фазы 3 были отремонтированы помещения возле внутренней стены и предполагаемая комендатура (principia) (рис. 2.1–4, 5.1). Расширены термы и увеличен форт, благодаря постройке внешней стены (рис. 2.10, 4.1–5). Толщина внутренней стены была увеличена, скорее всего, для того, чтобы на ней могли быть установлены метательные орудия (рис. 2.7). Косвенным доказательством для этого служат большие запасы каменных ядер, обнаруженные во время раскопок.

В новой внешней стене были сооружены, предположительно, трое ворот (рис. 2.12). Главные ворота были построены на оси, представляющей собой удлинение предполагаемой via praetoria, которая соединяла центральное здание (principia?) с воротами во внутренней стене (рис. 2.8). Внешняя линия укреплений возникла, скорее всего, в течение очень короткого периода, и над ее сооружением работали вместе несколько строительных бригад. Куртина была укреплена башнями, размещенными по ее внутренней стороне (рис. 2.10–11). В центральной части укрепления стена была построена по ломанной линии, что также увеличивало его оборонительные достоинства. На территории между стенами был построен, помимо прочего, очередной резервуар для воды (Нимфей II). Его расположение на небольшом расстоянии от Нимфея I, но ниже по склону, позволяет догадываться, что вода из акведука после наполнения более раннего вместилища за внутренней стеной стекала (по трубе?) и наполняла уже новый резервуар (рис. 2.2–9).

Снаружи от ворот, ведущих к востоку (к пристани), по-прежнему функционировал храм (рис. 2.13).

В такой же период в Балаклаве-Кадыковке был расширен преторий (pretorium), а укрепления форта с западной стороны были разобраны и передвинуты на предполье, увеличивая, тем самым, территорию, обнесенную стенами. В Херсонесе, так же, как и на мысу Ай-Тодор, были расширены гарнизонные термы.

В свете предложенной выше попытки нового переосмысления архитектурно-строительных объектов Ай-Тодора надо заметить, что в таким же образом были перестроены форт и храм Юпитера Долихена в Балаклаве-Кадыковке, а также внутренняя застройка цитадели в Херсонесе.

Важным элементом анализа, предпринятого автором настоящей работы, является также попытка составления, на основании доступных данных, нового плана форта (рис. 2). В этой работе были учтены все сооружения и их части, которые появляются на разных планах и/или упоминаются в различных публикациях. Также была использована информация, следующая из представленного выше разделения части объектов на строительные фазы.

Резюмируя, следует подчеркнуть, что содержащиеся в публикациях сведения относительно большинства проведенных на мысу раскопок часто скупы и недостаточны для решения вопросов, которые в настоящее время стоят перед учеными. Восполнение этих лакун и появление новых теорий стали возможны благодаря исследованиям 90-х годов XX в. и начала XXI в., проведенным, главным образом, на других объектах, связанных с римским военным присутствием в Тавриде. Огромное значение имели украинско-польские исследования храма Юпитера Долихена и остатков форта в Балаклаве-Кадыковке, а также сторожевой башни на высоте Казацкая возле Инкермана. Благодаря этим работам удалось откорректировать информацию по очередности строительных фаз форта на мысу Ай-Тодор. В виду слабых перспектив на возобновление исследований на этом объекте,

#### Радослав Карасевич-Щыпёрский

в ближайшем будущем должны быть проанализированы хранящиеся в научных архивах неопубликованные отчеты предыдущих раскопок.

Представленное выше обширное описание только опубликованных материалов (и их анализ) позволяет заметить, что форт был расширен на рубеже III в. н.э., что с большой долей вероятности указывает на намерение увеличить дислоцируе-

мый в нем гарнизон. Следы подобных изменений в это же время можно заметить также в Херсонесе и в Балаклаве. Таким образом, можно предположить, что в период правления Септимия Севера и его преемников был реализован обширный план укрепления римского военного присутствия в Тавриде.

Перевод Вячеслав Е. Герасимов

#### HASMIK Z. MARKARYAN

Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia asmik.markaryan@mail.ru

# MARBLE RELIEF 'NERO AND ARMENIA' FROM THE SEBASTEION AT APHRODISIAS IN CARIA (ASIA MINOR)

#### **ABSTRACT**

The article is devoted to an artistic and historical study of a marble relief with a symbolic scene of Nero's victory over Armenia from the *Sebasteion* sanctuary complex in the ancient town of Aphrodisias in Asia Minor. The temple complex was dedicated to the cult of the Julio-Claudian imperial dynasty. The artistic and stylistic analysis of the relief was performed in the context of the sculptural program and decoration of the whole complex, and took into consideration other images of Nero in the *Sebasteion*. Through a comparative analysis of the

figure personifying Armenia depicted on the marble relief in Aphrodisias, as well as a series of images on coins and small statuary samples, characteristic iconographic traits of Armenia in the Roman imperial art were revealed. Along with this, the paper presents an in-depth 'reading' of this scene within the context of specific episodes from the history of the Parthian-Roman conflict and the Roman struggle for Armenia during the period of 54–68 AD.

Keywords: Armenia, Roman Empire, Aphrodisias, Sebasteion, relief, personification, symbolism

# The *Sebasteion* sanctuary complex: its architecture and sculptures

In 1979, excavations at the town of Aphrodisias in Caria, situated in the south-western Asia Minor, revealed a *Sebasteion*, a large temple of Aphrodite and a sanctuary complex dedicated to the cult of the Julio-Claudian imperial dynasty (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> In the *Sebasteion* in Aphrodisias, among a large number of sculptural reliefs, there was found a relief panel with figures of Emperor Nero and personified Armenia, symbolising the victory of Rome over Armenia in the course of the Roman-Armenian War of 54–62/63 AD, which culminated in the coronation of Armenian King Tiridates I in Rome.<sup>2</sup>

The *Sebasteion* in Aphrodisias is one of the most significant Roman monuments in Asia Minor from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, and it was dedicated to the worship of Roman emperors. The imperial cult was considered to

be an embodiment of the idea of unity of the Empire and one of the ways of unifying its various parts.<sup>3</sup> It was conducted through the establishment of a certain ritual-procedural order and the erection of temples – *Sebasteia* or *Kaisareia* – with altars and statues in honour of the ruler and his dynasty.<sup>4</sup>

The town of Aphrodisias was known for its close relations with Imperial Rome, particularly during the reign of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.<sup>5</sup> The town acquired free and allied status which made it independent from the Roman province of Asia (Fig. 2). This status provided Aphrodisias with a number of privileges: exemption from taxes and a special right of asylum granted to the main sanctuary of the town – the Temple of Aphrodite.<sup>6</sup>

During the reign of Tiberius, as a token of gratitude, as well as a proof of their loyalty and its victory in a civil rivalry between the towns in Asia Minor, the elite and the urban community of Aphrodisias founded

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Erim 1986, 184–193; Ratté 2001; 2008, 7–10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Debevoise 1938, 179–196; Manandjan 1944, 326–356.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sventsitskaya 1981, 35; Millar 1984, 363–463; Price 1984, 1–2, 53–77; Sartre 1991, 109–116; Walbank 1992, 217–218.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Tuchelt 1981, 170-171; Price 1984, 249-274.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Brody 2001, 93–109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Erim 1986, 15–24; Smith 1987, 90; 2008, 10; Stevenson 2001, 103–113.



Fig. 1. General view of the South Portico of the Sebasteion (source: HolyLandPhotos'Blog-WorldPress.com, accessed 07.07.2016).

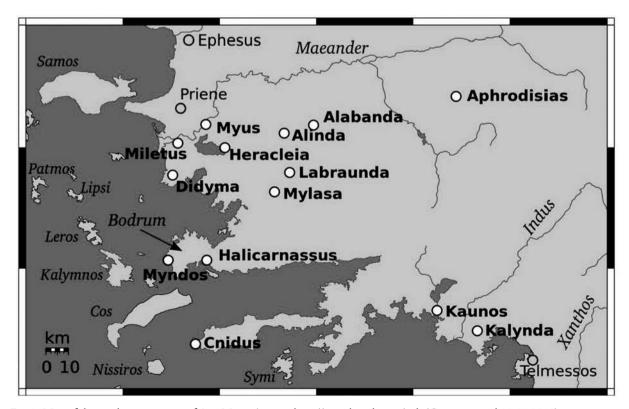


Fig. 2. Map of the south-western part of Asia Minor (source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caria, accessed 08.07.2019).

a number of buildings and monuments, including the *Sebasteion*. As evidenced by the inscribed dedications, the construction of the sanctuary complex began during the reign of Tiberius and was completed under Nero. Many buildings of the complex, in particular the North and the South Porticoes, suffered damage as a result of several powerful earthquakes and were rebuilt under Claudius (41–54 AD) and Nero (54–68 AD).<sup>7</sup>

The architecture and sculptural display of the *Sebasteion* aimed to propagate imperial ideas and illustrate the cult of the members of the Julio-Claudian imperial dynasty.<sup>8</sup> According to the inscriptions in the *Propylea* and the temple building, the sanctuary was dedicated to Aphrodite, to *Theoi Sebastoi*, and to *Demos*.<sup>9</sup>

The *Sebasteion* complex is oriented from the east to the west and composed of four main buildings: a two-storey monumental gateway – a *propylon* with an arch and statues in the niches, two porticoes flanking together a paved processional road (14 m wide and 90 m long), and, finally, a prostyle Corinthian temple of Aphrodite with six columns on the façade.<sup>10</sup>

The Sebasteion in Aphrodisias holds a special place among the architecture of Asia Minor of the Roman Period. The layout of the Sebasteion complex in its principal elements bears similarity to the fora of Julius Caesar and Augustus in Rome.11 The complex was built according to a well-known Roman practice - with axial layout and the temple placed on a podium inside a colonnaded courtyard at the end of a road and porticoes. Roman elements are expressed mainly in the spatial arrangement of the complex, while the Greco-Hellenistic are found in the architectural design and decoration. The Sebasteion has much in common with other architectural structures of this type and especially with the Augusteum in Antioch of Pisidia.<sup>12</sup> Its main distinguishing feature are the multi-tiered façades of porticoes with columns of different Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders in their first, second, and third storey,13 which is a clear testimony to the eclectic nature of the Roman Imperial architecture. The three-storeyed portico buildings seem to be a combination of a multi-stoa with a theatre-like façade.14 The gables of the façades are adorned with acroteria in the form of acanthus leaves, indicative of the influence of the Asia Minor style of the Late Hellenistic Period (Figs 3–6).

All buildings and constructions of the sanctuary are richly decorated with local fine marble. Local Aphrodisian style features reflect the turgid spirit of the artistic school of Pergamon.<sup>15</sup> The conscious use and combination of artistic traditions of the Roman and Hellenistic art traditions aimed at demonstrating the willingness of the province to serve the Roman Empire.

The *Sebasteion* sculptural gallery begins with portraits of the emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, their family members, and their divine ancestors – Aeneas and Aphrodite. The statues of gods and emperors displayed in the niches greeted everyone who entered. Throughout the sanctuary, ancient visitors were accompanied by figures of gods, other mythological heroes, and emperors placed on the two upper tiers of the porticoes. Originally, there were 190 slabs on both porticoes, of which only 70 have survived.

The gallery of marble panels with high-relief human figures was made with a high level of artistic performance. It is the largest gallery of sculptures of this kind within the territory of the Roman Empire. Three principal themes are represented there: the Roman Empire, the Greek world within it, and the imperial dynasty.<sup>17</sup>

#### The North Portico

On the third upper storey of the North Portico, a series of allegorical figures of time and space are placed, and on the second tier – personifications of nations. From the figures on the third upper tier, only the allegorical figures of the Day (*Hemera*) and the Ocean (*Okeanos*) have survived.<sup>18</sup> The allegory of the Day is symbolised by a draped standing female figure, the allegory of the Ocean – by a naked bearded male figure.<sup>19</sup> According to R.R.R. Smith, initially, next to these figures, there were also figures of the Night (*Nyks*) and the Earth (*Ge*) in a binary order, as well as other allegorical images symbolising time and space; these, however, have not survived.<sup>20</sup>

From the second middle tier, 15 inscribed bases with names of nations (*ethne*) and six relief panels with the figures of these nations have been preserved.<sup>21</sup> Originally,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Reynolds 1981, 314–320; Smith 1987, 88–90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Reynolds 1982, 156–164; Smith 1987, 92; Welch 1998, 547–569; Friesen 2001, 81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Smith 1987, 90.

<sup>10</sup> Smith 1987, 93-94.

<sup>11</sup> Kuttner, 1995, 92-94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Boethius, Ward-Perkins 1970, 390; Ossi 2005, 9, 21, figs 1, 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> We first see the design of the floors with columns of different orders in Rome in the three-tiered Theatre of Marcellus

<sup>(12</sup> BC). Its façade is decorated with arches and Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian colonnades (Boethius, Ward-Perkins, 1970, 187).

<sup>14</sup> Smith 1987, 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Grant, Dowden 1995, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Friesen 2001, 81.

<sup>17</sup> Smith 1988, 51, 55.

<sup>18</sup> Reynolds 1981, 325; Smith 1987, 95.

<sup>19</sup> Smith 1988, 53, pl. VII, 3, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Smith 1990, 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Smith 1988, pls I-IX.



Fig. 3. Part of the South Portico with the reliefs of the second and third tiers (source: ancient-anatolia.blogspot.am, accessed 08.07.2019).

the second storey of the portico was covered with a series of 50 such reliefs. The personifications of the nations on the slabs are presented by standing female draped figures – all easily-distinguishable by costumes, attributes, and postures.<sup>22</sup> The bases of the stelae are composed of two parts: on the upper, there is an inscription in the Greek language with the name of the nation or the territory, while on the lower part, in the centre, a theatrical

mask is depicted with a garland enveloping it from above.<sup>23</sup> Names of different peoples are mentioned on them: Egyptians, Jews, Arabs, Bosporans, and others, as well as the people of three islands - Sicily, Crete, and Cyprus.<sup>24</sup> These pedestals are arranged from the west to the east, *i.e.* first the western nations are represented, then the eastern ones. The North Portico of the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias with its conception and composition replicates the Portico of Nationes of Augustus in Rome, which showcased figures personalising all nations of the Empire (simulacra gentium omnium) (Plin. HNXXXVI, 39; Serv. Dan. 8, 721).25 They symbolised the place and rank of the countries and peoples within the Empire and its frontier areas.26 The figures in Aphrodisias, like the figures in the Portico of Nationes of Augustus, represented the conquered nations listed by Augustus in his famous testament Res Gestae.27

The custom of demonstrating the effigies of defeated nations during festivities and holidays had been practiced in Rome since the years of Pompeius. Fourteen statues of conquered peoples were displayed during the triumphal procession of Pompeius (Plin. *HN* XXXVI, 41; Suet. *Ner.* 46, 1).

The custom of depicting various peoples, cities, and countries in the form of human figures was already known in the Hellenistic art. In Rome, this custom became a part of the official art and was widely practiced in the Augustan time,<sup>28</sup> since it was during the reign of Augustus when the right to triumph was monopolised by the emperor and put to the service of the propaganda of the dynastic politics and imperial ideology in Rome and in the provinces.<sup>29</sup> According to Dio Cassius (LVI, 34, 2) and Tacitus (I, 8, 4), during the ceremonial procession at the funeral of Augustus, statues of the peoples conquered by him were exhibited. Fragments of small-sized images of various peoples have also survived on the inner frieze of the Ara Pacis. 30 Sixteen reliefs with the personifications of provinces have survived in the Hadrianeum in Rome (141 AD).31 Originally, 36 reliefs of this kind, i.e. with the figures of provinciae fideles (loyal provinces), were installed there.<sup>32</sup> The statues of the provinces were later

<sup>22</sup> Smith 1990, 95-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Smith 1988, 54–60, pls VIII–IX.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Smith 1990, 90-92; Walker 2004, 111-112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Smith 1988, 70–77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Reynolds 1981, 326–327; 1986, 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> According to Suetonius (*Aug.*, 101), Augustus ordered to carve the second of the three scrolls of the testament that contained the 'list of deeds' on bronze tablets at the entrance to his mausoleum in Rome. These tablets have not survived. Yet, they were copied into many temples dedicated to Augustus. The most famous ones are the preserved inscriptions on the

walls of the temple of Augustus and Roma in Ankara, fragments of inscriptions in Antioch in Pisidia, in Apollonia in Pisidia, and in Sardis. Probably all the nations conquered by Augustus were listed along with the text of the second scroll on the tablets on the walls of the mausoleum in Rome.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Rose 1990, 453–467; 2005, 21–25; Kuttner 1995, 73–86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Balbuza 2015, 239–243, 256; 2017, 255–286.

<sup>30</sup> Kähler 1954, 67-100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Platner 1929, 250; Hughes 2009, 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Sapelli 1999.



Fig. 4. Second tier of the South Portico (source: ancient-anatolia.blogspot.am, accessed 08.07.2019).

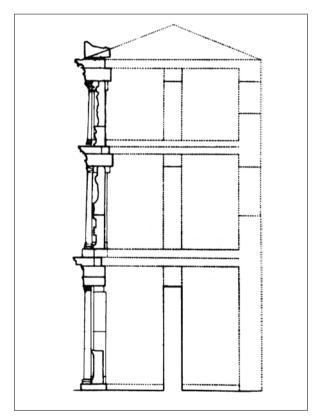


Fig. 5. Restored elevations and sections of Room 3 of the South Portico (after Smith 1987, fig. 2).

depicted on the 'provincial' series of coins of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.<sup>33</sup>

The idealised female figures of the conquered nations in the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias resemble purely Greek classical statues of standing goddesses. The allegorical figures of the conquered nations situated in the North Portico symbolised these nations' political status within the Empire. The nations of the islands of Crete, Cyprus, and Sicily, re-conquered from Gnaeus Pompeius by Augustus, were considered to be conquered. The nations like the Illyrians were considered to be subordinate. Finally, the third category included 'peaceful' nations, such as the Dacians, with whom peace was concluded (Vell. Pat. II, 39). All those nations and the places occupied by them in the North Portico of the Sebasteion demonstrated various victories of Augustus and the areas of the Empire that acted as "equal partners and neighbours"34 and, at the same time, constituted a part of the whole (pars pro toto). The reliefs with the allegories of Space and Time situated right above the figures of the nations further enhanced the visual impression of the eternity of Time and of the geographical universalism of the Roman Empire and the Roman world - orbis Romanus and orbis terrarum.

The reliefs with personifications of the nations in the form of standing female figures in different clothing, with various attributes and inscriptions on the bases,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Toynbee 1934, 147.

<sup>34</sup> Smith 1988, 57-59.

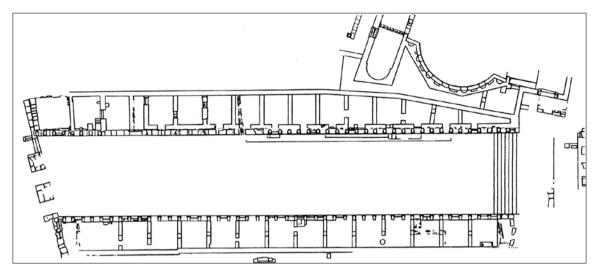


Fig. 6. Plan of the Sebasteion complex (after Smith 1987, fig. 1).

constitute a unique catalogue of Roman provinces. Their idealistic appearance contrasts with the figures of captives on the 'imperial' reliefs of the South Portico and, in particular, with the personifications of Britain and Armenia in the South Portico.

#### The South Portico

The South Portico, similarly to the North Portico, is lavishly decorated with reliefs. The second tier used to be decorated with 45 stelae with the images of traditional Olympian gods and heroes, as well as scenes from the Greek and Roman mythology and religion: Leda and the Swan, Demeter and Triptolemus, Bellerophon with Pegasus, Meleager and Atalanta, Achilles and Penthesilea, Apollo and the Muses, Hercules, Aphrodite, Dionysus, Romulus and Remus, Aeneas and Anchises, Julus Ascanius, and others. The third tier used to be decorated with figures of Roman emperors and gods. The order of the arrangement of the myth panels was strictly planned in accordance with the entire sculptural program, with its ideological orientation aimed at promoting close ties between the Greeks and the Romans within the Roman world. First, a visitor, presumably a Greek, saw the scenes from the Greek mythology. Further towards the western end of the Portico, closer to the Temple of Aphrodite, the images from the Roman mythology would begin: Aphrodite and Eros, Aeneas and his family fleeing Troy, etc. (Fig. 7). The relief of Poseidon with a ship, a dolphin, and a standing male figure should be seen in the context

of Aeneas's triumph over the land and the sea.<sup>35</sup> The inclusion of Aeneas in the theme of the town of Aphrodisias aimed at connecting the ancestor of the Julio-Claudian dynasty with the patroness of the town, Aphrodite. The presence of another goddess, Nike-Victoria, very common across the mythological imagery, further emphasises the theme of triumph and imperial victory. Several reliefs with Nike-Victoria's figure have survived: "Victoria" written on the armour, Victoria with an inscription of Nike *Sebaston*, as well as two panels with Victoria and a trophy.

On the third upper tier, there are panels with scenes of imperial content – deified representatives of the Julio-Claudian dynasty with their family members and with gods, as well as various allegories of triumphal celebrations. There is no specific difficulty in identifying these figures as all the images are attributed by inscriptions in Greek and portraits of emperors. The aim of this sculptural program is clear: to present the deified emperors and their family members to the Greek visitors, to illustrate their victorious wars and triumphs, as well as peace and prosperity of the town of Aphrodisias within the Roman world.

On most of the above-mentioned reliefs, scenes of peaceful victory and triumph are depicted. These are multi-figure compositions of Augustus with Nike-Victoria, Claudius by the Land and the Sea, Nero with a captive, <sup>36</sup> Tiberius with a captive, the two young princes Gaius and Lucius Caesars, Emperor with the Roman Senate or the People, Claudius and Agrippina, Nero and Agrippina, Nero with a sceptre and a globe

of Augustus, whereas Nero's figure standing with a captive and a trophy used to be attributed to his father Germanicus. See Smith 1987, 104–106, 110–112; 2008, 23–24.

<sup>35</sup> Smith 1990, 95–97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> In the latest literature, the attribution of several Imperial portraits has changed. Earlier Claudius's portrait with allegories of the Earth and the Sea was considered to be a portrait



Fig. 7. Second tier of the South Portico with the relief 'Aeneas Fleeing Troy' (source: ancient-anatolia.blogspot.am, accessed 08.07.2019).

in his hands and with a figure of a captive. They also symbolised the idea of *concordia* between the society and the imperial power, the ideas of peace and prosperity. On the third tier, on both sides of the relief with the figure of goddess Victoria with a trophy on her shoulder, the reliefs 'Claudius and Britannia' and 'Nero and Armenia', both depicting fight scenes, are placed (Fig. 8).<sup>37</sup> They also advocate the idea of invincibility and universality of the Roman world, as they illustrate a complete triumph of the Roman emperor.

# The Imperial Relief 'Nero and Armenia': its iconography and symbolism

The relief panel with the figures of Emperor Nero and Armenia (160 cm high, 113 cm broad) was found

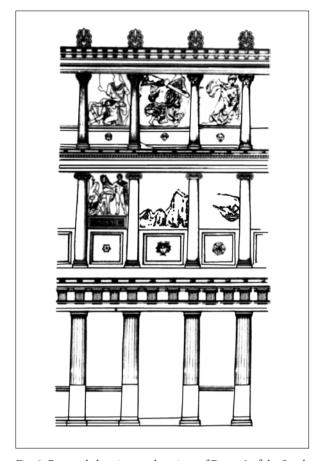


Fig. 8. Restored elevations and sections of Room 3 of the South Portico: the range of the reliefs from left to right: 'Claudius and Britannia', 'Nike with the Trophy', 'Nero and Armenia' (after Smith 1987, fig. 2).

in front of the third chamber, and its inscribed base was found in the area between the second and third rooms.<sup>38</sup> The above-mentioned panel was placed on the third tier in the second niche.<sup>39</sup> There is a Greek inscription on the panel base which is composed of two columns: the left column is captioned "ARMENIA", whereas on the right there is an inscription composed of six lines. It includes a full list of Nero's titles and the dynasty name, in which the name 'Nero' is scratched-out. 40 Between the left and right parts, there is a relief mask of a female head in the early classical style (Fig. 9). The inscriptions of these two parts differ from each other in the form of their letters, which indicates that the two columns with inscriptions were carved at different times. According to R.R.R. Smith, the stela itself was carved in the initial period of the construction of the Sebasteion. Originally,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Smith 1987, 116–121, pls XIV–XVII.

 $<sup>^{38}</sup>$  Erim 1986, fig. 180; Smith 1987, 119–121, pls XVI–XVII; Smith 2008, 23–24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Presently, the relief with the two fragments glued together is exhibited in the Aphrodisias Museum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Reynolds 1981, 24; Smith 1987, 117.



Fig. 9. Greek-inscribed base from the relief 'Nero and Armenia' (after Varner 2004, fig. 92.c).

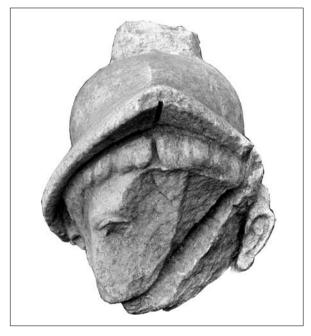


Fig. 10. Nero's helmeted head from the relief 'Nero and Armenia' (after Varner 2004, fig. 92.b).

the figure of the emperor depicted on it did not belong to a particular person, and the whole composition was made in the style of the Augustan triumphal art. Later, after the triumphs of Nero in Armenia, in the period of 54–68 AD, the figure of the emperor on the stela was transformed into a portrait of Nero, and the inscription with his name and titles was added.<sup>41</sup>

Nero's head from the Aphrodisian stela was found separately, at a significant distance from it. The emperor has a Corinthian type helmet on his head.<sup>42</sup> His face

is completely smashed, with the exception of the right eyebrow and a part of the right cheek and eye (Fig. 10). The head of the statue was broken and the name erased in accordance with the Roman law on *damnatio memoriae* – oblivion of memory – requiring the destruction of statues and portraits of 'bad' Roman emperors and statesmen. <sup>43</sup> By demolishing the statue of Nero after his removal, the citizens of Aphrodisias expressed their support for the dynastic and political changes occurring in Rome. <sup>44</sup>

The figure of Nero on the stela in the *Sebasteion* belongs to the type of honorary statues of the emperor. The naked torso of Nero is depicted with well-modelled muscles and a helmeted head resembling a classical Greek hero. He wears a short military cloak fastened with a round *fibula* on the left shoulder, a baldric across the chest, and carries an empty scabbard (Fig. 11). According to the Roman tradition, emperors were usually represented as naked only in post-mortem statues or in statues with historical narrative compositions, where they appear acting in a 'real' context. However, the nudity of this statue was a sign of special honours bestowed on the emperor as a divine ruler, as well as of all the benefits he had brought to the provinces, such as peace, concord, stability, and prosperity.

Armenia is represented in the image by a naked young girl with a helplessly drooped head and slumping on the ground. She is supported from behind by standing Nero. Unlike the earlier realistic personifications, Armenia is depicted in an idealist spirit, as a classical Greek heroine.<sup>45</sup> Her oriental origin is identified by the costume and attributes: a short cloak fastened on her left shoulder, short boots with ribbon-like ties, as well as a soft Phrygian cap with the top bent forward on her long, freely scattered strands of hair. Her left leg is bent

<sup>41</sup> Smith 1987, 117-118.

<sup>42</sup> Varner 2004, 74, fig. 92b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Varner 2004, 1–12.

<sup>44</sup> Smith 1987, 115-117.

<sup>45</sup> Ostrowski 1990, 106.

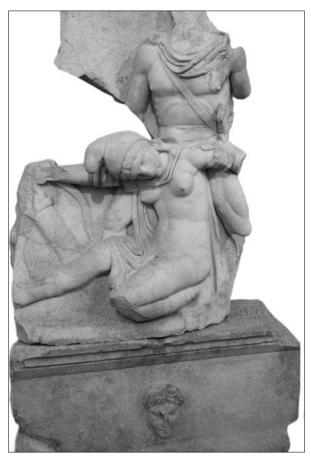


Fig. 11. Relief 'Nero and Armenia' (source: www.flickr.com/photos/damianos/5685228003/, accessed 15.01.2016).

at the knee and placed under her falling body, while her right leg is stretched out on the ground. On her right, there is a bow and a quiver indicating her eastern origin (Fig. 12). According to Smith, the theme of the relief is indicated by the 'oriental iconography' of the defeated character and by the inscription on the base.<sup>46</sup>

Standing behind the back of Armenia, Nero demonstrates his total dominance. However, his supporting pose and the empty scabbard hanging above the girl's head symbolise the idea of compassion and nobility of the emperor, his readiness to support, to bring the conquered nation back to its feet and to accept it as a part of the Empire. Armenia is depicted as a classical image of a beautiful eastern heroine — Amazon Penthesilea. She represents the ideal image of an eastern country resisting hero's actions which are motivated by aggressive yet noble purposes. Nero is the new Achilles who defends the western world and its constructive role from the eastern chaos. Nero has conquered Armenia, but in doing



Fig. 12. Lower part of the relief 'Nero and Armenia' with the figure of Armenia (source: www.livius.org/category/roman-empire/, accessed 08.07.2019).

so he supports it, at the same time demonstrating nobility and compassion (*clementia*). The symbolic meaning of the motif of struggle and victory is expressed in the idea of patronage (*patrocinium*) over the conquered country.

The panel with Nero and Armenia is similar in its pyramidal composition, the motif used, and the classical image of figures to the relief 'Achilles and Penthesilea' found at the same South Portico (Fig. 13). On the relief at the *Sebasteion*, the helmeted Greek hero Achilles supports with his hands and with one knee the body of dying Penthesilea, the Amazon, with a cloak draped over her shoulders and naked body, and with a Phrygian cap on her long strands of hair. <sup>47</sup> The head of the heroine has helplessly drooped, and the battle axe falls out from her exhausted hands. Achilles represents an archetype of a Greek hero and Penthesilea – that of eastern barbarians. This scene illustrates cultural and military superiority of the western over the eastern world in the context of the sculptural program of the *Sebasteion*.

Next to the slab of 'Nero and Armenia', there is another two-figured panel with a scene of a fierce fight depicting Emperor Claudius's victory over Britain (Fig. 14). Both of these reliefs are in general very similar in motif and, in particular, in the interpretation of the figures of Nero and Claudius. In its composition, it is one of the variants of the Hellenistic Amazonomachy. Yet the characters of these two Amazon heroines are different. Britannia dressed in a short tunic and boots and completely thrown to the ground is depicted as a fiercely resisting barbarian. She has long tangled hair, and her face is distorted with pain and despair. The mask of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Smith 1987, 118.

<sup>47</sup> Smith 1987, 119; 1990, 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Smith 1987.



Fig. 13. Relief 'Achilles and Penthesilea' (source: www. flickr.com/photos/kjfnjy/6856235070/, accessed 02.12.2016).



Fig. 14. Relief 'Claudius and Britannia' (source: timesonline. typepad.com/donslife/, accessed 02.12.2016).

a woodland satyr on the base of the slab somewhat accentuates the 'wild' image and character of the heroine. Claudius depicted as a noble Greek hero grabs his victim by the hair. Britannia dying of the last blow of the emperor symbolises the idea of *severitas* – final victory and conquest of the country by the Roman Empire.

The aim of the sculptural program of the pair of the stelae of 'Nero and Armenia' and 'Claudius and Britannia' placed on both sides of the slab with Victoria is quite clear. It is an illustration of the geography of the Julio-Claudian Empire. The panel with Britannia symbolises the western border of the Empire, the conquest of the country by Claudius in 43 AD, and its final subjection by Nero in 61 AD. The stela of 'Nero and Armenia', on the other hand, certainly points to the eastern border of the Empire. Even in the *Aeneid* by Virgil, the literary description of the territories along the Rhine, Euphrates, and Arax provides an example of the very image of the peoples conquered by Augustus (Verg. *Aen.* 8, 726–727).

The comparison of the East and the West became a typical feature of the early Imperial art.<sup>49</sup> The artistic illustration of the eastern and western borders, more frequently in the image of the figures of Germania and

Armenia, can be seen among the monuments of the early period of the Empire. The arch dedicated to the victory of Tiberius in the East and the West located in the town of Carpentras, France (Gaul of Narbonne), is decorated with relief images of triumphal-symbolic content: the relief represents two figures of standing captive warriors with their hands tied behind their backs, while between the figures there is a trophy of piled-up weapons.<sup>50</sup> The left figure represents Armenia in the traditional triumphal iconography: a beardless young person wears a typical eastern costume - a high-belted tunic reaching the knees, a short cloak on the shoulders, and a Phrygian cap on the head. The figure of Armenia depicts a specific image of the inhabitant of the country.<sup>51</sup> The figure of Germania is represented by the typical image of a northern 'barbarian' - a mature, bearded man, bareheaded and dressed in clothes made of animal skin.

The symbolism of territorial landmarks pointing to the borders of the Empire can be found not only on architectural monuments but also on expensive items and utensils, such as, for instance, a number of terra sigillata cups from Puteoli and Orbetello, as well as on other fragments of ceramics which replicate gold and silver items.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Megow 1987, 202–207.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Turcan 1984, 810–819; Shoppa 1957, pls 12–13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Ostrowski 1990, 51.

They bear depictions of paired figures of Armenia and Germania with accompanying inscriptions.<sup>52</sup>

The iconography and symbolism of the image of Armenia, as well as of other nations and regions subjugated by Rome, in the triumphal art of the Imperial Period were very responsive to all the changes occurring in the political relations between Rome and its provinces or neighbours. At different stages of the Roman-Armenian confrontation, personification and symbolism of Armenia in the Roman triumphal art changed quite frequently and gained characteristic features depending on the political status of the country.

It is known that in the Roman triumphal art, conquered or subjugated countries (nationes capta, gentes devicta)53 were usually personified by feminine figures, such as Judea.<sup>54</sup> These figures indicated a complete dependence and inclusion of the conquered territories into the structure of the Empire as provinces. Starting from the Augustan Age, the defeated Armenia was personified only by masculine figures.<sup>55</sup> The only exception is the historical-allegorical image of Armenia on the Sebasteion relief, interpreted in an idealist-classical spirit and strongly influenced by the local Asia Minor and Hellenistic styles.<sup>56</sup> The personification of Armenia as a naked feminine figure certainly reflected the essence of the loyalist aspirations and the gratitude of the Aphrodisians in response to the benefits brought to them by the 'Roman world'. Such interpretation was more than in line with the turgid spirit of the whole cultural programme of the Sebasteion, and Nero's political aspirations to see Armenia completely dependent were, of course, reflected in this image.

On the Great Cameo of France, which illustrates the story of the glorification of Germanicus in honour of the conquests of Tiberius in the East and the West, captive Germans in the lower register represent the western borders and Germania, whereas a sitting male figure wearing typical eastern clothing and a cap in the middle 'family' register represents Armenia and the eastern borders of the Roman Empire (Fig. 15).<sup>57</sup>

Under Augustus, Armenia maintained a foreign policy of Parthian orientation, actively resisted the aggression of Rome, and struggled for its own independence. The country played an important role in the relations

between Rome and Parthia.<sup>58</sup> Emperor Augustus issued a series of triumphal coins with the inscriptions "ARMENIA CAPTA" and "ARMENIA RECEPTA" (20–18 BC). On one of these coins, issued to commemorate the suppression of an anti-Roman uprising in Armenia led by King Artaxias, Armenia is symbolised by a standing warrior in Parthian clothes and with a lowered weapon. This is not an allegorical figure, but a figure of a specific inhabitant of the country, and a very special one.<sup>59</sup> Comparison of the facial features of the warrior from the Augustan coins with the portraits of Artashes II (30–20 BC) on the coins issued by Artashes himself allows us to notice that the warrior is the very same Armenian king who led the uprising and was killed by the Romans.

On the reverses of another series of coins issued to commemorate the treaty with Parthia in 20–18 BC and the conquest of Armenia, we see a kneeling figure of a king wearing an Armenian tiara. It also depicts a specific person – Tigran III (20–8 BC), who was put on the throne by the Romans after the murder of Artashes. Thus, the figures and personifications of Armenia in the early Roman triumphal art almost documentarily reflected specific events and their chronological order.

After the fall of the Artaxiad dynasty at the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, the kingdom of Great Armenia fell into the Roman area of influence. Roman puppet rulers were put on the Armenian throne. A different image of Armenia formed in the Roman triumphal art: it was a figure of a young man sitting on the ground dressed in 'regional' clothes. This figure to some extent became archetypal for 'territorial' personifications of Armenia throughout the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD, including the allegorical figure from the *Sebasteion* under consideration in the present paper.

The main theme of the aforementioned cameo of Tiberius is the glorification of Tiberius's stepson, Germanicus, who waged successful wars with the Germans and in the East,<sup>61</sup> in the aftermath of which Zeno-Artaxias was put on the throne of Armenia. On this cameo, Armenia is depicted in the middle 'family' register, personified by a male profile figure in characteristic eastern clothes with trousers, in a high-belted long tunic reaching the knees, and with a Phrygian-Parthian cap on his head:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Markaryan 2015a, 77–78.

<sup>53</sup> Smith 1988, 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Gambash et al. 2013, 83-104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> In works on numismatics, the figure of Armenia (dressed in oriental clothes and tiara) on coins and medals of Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus is interpreted as a female (here, Figs 16–17), such as the youthfully feminine figure typical of Hellenistic iconography of young eastern gods – Mithra, Attis, Ganymede, Orpheus, and others. This 'territorial' image

in the Roman art of the Imperial Period often symbolises both Armenia and the entire Euphrates region.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Ostrowski 1990, 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Markaryan 2015c, 78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Debevoise 1938, 129-132; Manandyan 1944, 285-296.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Ostrowski 1990, 52.

<sup>60</sup> Markaryan 2015c, 134-161.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Jucker 1976, 211–250; Vollenwieder, Avisseau-Brustet 2003, N275, 270–274.



Fig. 15. Fragment from the cameo of Emperor Tiberius with the figure of Zeno-Artaxias sitting on the ground (source: www.panoram-adelart.com/grand-camee-de-france, accessed 06.06.2015).

he is sitting on the ground near the throne of Livia, with his right leg stretched out and head lowered (Fig. 15). This posture and the position in the imperial 'family' register illustrate a semi-dependent state of the country.<sup>62</sup>

Later, this type of a female-like young man dressed in eastern 'regional' clothes with a little pointed or conical cap on the head appears on the triumphal coins of Trajan issued in honour of his oriental military expeditions in 114–118 AD, as well as on the coins of Lucius Verus (161–169 AD) and Marcus Aurelius (161–180 AD).<sup>63</sup> On these coins, the personification of Armenia is seen with one of his hands supporting his chin, while the other is resting on the symbols of the country – a bow and a quiver (Figs 16–17). The bow and quiver with arrows as symbols and attributes of the Kingdom of Greater Armenia and the legend "ARMENIA DEVICTA" first appeared on the silver *denarii* of Marcus Antonius from 37–34 BC.<sup>64</sup>

In 54 AD, immediately after Nero had come to power in Rome, Tiridates, a brother of a Parthian king, Vologases, ascended the Armenian throne. After a decade of Roman control, Armenia restored its pro-Parthian policy.<sup>65</sup> A war broke out between Rome and Parthia,

which lasted more than nine years. According to Tacitus, during 55–56 AD the war was "developing slowly": both sides constantly entered negotiations and exchanged envoys. In 57 AD, the war accelerated again. The Roman army commanded by Corbulo prepared to invade Artashat, the capital of Armenia. In the spring of 58 AD, Roman troops destroyed the town and set it on fire (Tac. *Ann.* XIII, 41).66

The siege of Artashat sparked incredible rejoicing in Rome. According to Tacitus, Nero was loudly greeted as Emperor. The Senate passed a resolution to build triumphal arches in Rome and provinces and to erect statues of the princeps (Tac. *Ann.* XIII, 41).<sup>67</sup> In the spring of 59 AD, Corbulo headed for the second capital of Armenia, Tigranakert, from the Ararat valley, where the Hellenized population consisting of Armenians, Syrians, and Greeks was awaiting him. According to Tacitus, at the entrance of the town he was met by its delegates, who informed him that the gates were open, and Corbulo was presented with a golden wreath of victory. In honour of this triumph, Nero began to build the Parthian arch on Capitoline Hill (Tac. *Ann.* XIV, 24; XV, 18).

<sup>62</sup> Markaryan 2015a, 68-75, figs 1-3.

<sup>63</sup> Bedukyan 1971, figs 24-27, 29, 30, 35, 38, 90, 108, 508, 600.

<sup>64</sup> Bedukyan 1971, 32-34; Markaryan 2015c, 132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Chaumont 1987, 425–426; Olbrycht 1998, 131–133; Olbrycht 2016, 605–633.

<sup>66</sup> Manandyan 1944, 336.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Tacitus sneers at the fact that the celebration of this event surpassed all measure.



Fig. 16. Coin of Lucius Verus. On the reverse: the figure of Armenia sitting on the ground (source: www.peopleofar.com/2012/07/11/armenia-images-in-roman-coins, accessed 02.12.2016).



Fig. 17. Coin of Trajan. On the reverse: the figure of Armenia sitting on the ground (source: www.peopleofar.com/2012/07/11/armenia-images-in-roman-coins, accessed 02.12.2016).

Armenia was already considered conquered after the capturing of Artashat and Tigranakert. Yet, behind the splendour of the triumphs, there was a hidden weakness of the Empire which proved unable to turn Armenia into a province. The only way to maintain its influence in Armenia was to appoint a dependent king. <sup>68</sup> A former Roman hostage, Tigran VI (60–61 AD), a greatgrandson of Herod the Great, a son of Alexander – brother of the Armenian king, Tigran V, who was a very distant relative of the Artaxiads – was put on the Armenian throne.

The feminine image of Armenia – exhausted and thrown to the ground – and the emphatically masculine image of Nero in an imperial cloak on the *Sebasteion* relief illustrate the defeat of Armenia in 58–59 AD: the capture of the capitals – Artashat and Tigranakert – as well as the appointment of Tigran VI who, according to Tacitus, "had sunk into servile submissiveness" (*Ann.* XIV, 26). The Parthian commander's short, leather military cloak on the figure of Armenia, the Parthian-Phrygian cap, the bow and arrows, all act as signs of the 'regional' clothing

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<sup>68</sup> Kudryavtsev 1949, 61.



Fig. 18. Base from the relief with the name "Nero-Helios" from the South Portico (after Smith 1987, XVII, 3).

and attributes characteristic of both the Armenians and the Parthians.

In the Sebasteion of Aphrodisias, a base from a relief with an inscription has survived (Fig. 18).69 The name of Nero was erased. In the centre, between the title of Nero on the right and the inscription "HELIOS" on the left, a classic mask of a young man resembling the images of Roman Sol is depicted. This inscription is certainly also related to Nero's policy in Armenia. Judging by the epithet 'helios', it can be assumed that the figure of Nero was portrayed on the stela as Helios. The image of Nero-Helios in the radiant crown of the sun god is known from the images on coins and glyptic samples. Two monumental statues are depicted on them. One of them is a 30-meter gilded bronze statue of standing Nero, the so-called Colossus in the lobby of the 'Golden House' in Rome. The other one portrays Nero-Helios standing on a quadriga.70

The portraits of Nero as Helios (Roman Sol) obviously appeared during the coronation ceremony of the Armenian king Tiridates in Rome (66 AD). The above-mentioned portraits were connected with Nero's political and diplomatic success in the East and especially with the strengthening of political control over Armenia.<sup>71</sup>

By the early 60s, there was a breakthrough in the foreign policy of Rome. Nero had to abandon the nominally dependent Armenia. The Parthians crowned Tiridates (Tac. Ann. XV, 2,5) in the town of Nisibis after Vologases had invaded the territory of Armenia to force out Tigran VI from besieged Tigranakert. The Roman legate of Syria, Corbulo, turned to Nero with a request to appoint a new commander for the war with Armenia.

Corbulo, in the hope of delaying military operations, tried to maintain peace negotiations independently. Vologases abstained from military clashes in order to resolve the issue of Armenia peacefully (Tac. Ann. XV, 5; Dio Cass. XX, 3). He agreed to conclude a peace treaty on condition of the withdrawal of Roman troops from Armenia, the restoration of the former territory, and the enthronement of Tiridates in Armenia as "an ally and friend of the Roman Emperor and people". Yet, Nero resisted the agreement between Corbulo and Vologases. In 61 AD, he sent Caessenius Paetus, Legate of Cappadocia, to Armenia, but the Roman troops were defeated. In 64 AD, a humiliating peace treaty was concluded in Rhandeia. According to it, Paetus with his troops were to be handed to the Parthians. This treaty became a crucial point in Roman dealings with the issue of Armenia.<sup>72</sup> Henceforth, Rome was obliged to reckon with the Armenian-Parthian alliance, abstain from the plan to turn Armenia into a province, and seek compromise. Vologeses demanded Armenia for Tiridates. Nero agreed on condition that Tiridates personally would go to Rome and receive the crown from the hands of the emperor himself. The Tiridates's journey to Rome and the lavish celebrations in the 'Golden House' of Nero took place in the summer of 66 AD. During the coronation ceremony, Tiridates received the crown from the hands of Nero and addressed the latter with a speech calling him the god of the sun, Mithra (Dio Cass. LXIII, 5, 4; Suet. Ner. 13).

The stela with the assumed portrait of Nero-Helios in the *Sebasteion* was also evidently referring to the political events occurring during the last five years of Nero's reign: the Parthian-Armenian alliance as well as the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Reynolds 1981, 324, no. 9; Rose 1997, 48, 165, no. 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Neverov 1976, 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup>Shotter 2003, 189; 2005, 57–58; Varner 2004, 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Stepanyan 1976, 176.



Fig. 19. Relief 'Nero and Agrippina' (source: http://:www.flickr.com/photos/ibexes/388735424, accessed 02.12.2016).

political compromise reached between Rome and Parthia, which resulted in the Armenian throne being given to Tiridates.

The other portraits of Nero in the *Sebasteion* also sequentially illustrate episodes from the emperor's career. On the panel 'Aeneas fleeing Troy' at the South Portico, the Roman ancestor, Aeneas, is endowed with the portrait features of Nero himself (Figs 3–4).<sup>73</sup> The relief 'Nero and Agrippina' represents Agrippina the Younger crowning her son, Nero, with a laurel wreath (54 AD) (Fig. 19). Agrippina carries a cornucopia in her left hand. She is depicted as the goddess Roma and Concordia and at the same time represents the guarantor of the Empire (*garantix imperium*) ensuring peace and prosperity.<sup>74</sup> Nero is depicted in a military costume and *paludamentum* holding a spear in his right hand and an orb or globe in his left hand.<sup>75</sup>

The ceremonial scene of coronation was first introduced in the art of the Augustan Age,<sup>76</sup> and it became a popular motif in the official art of its later stage. A similar composition is depicted on the reverses of two silver coins of Germanicus issued in 18 AD in honour of the coronation of the Armenian king Zeno-Artaxias: Germanicus in military clothes and an anatomical cuirass (*lorica anatomica*), holding a spear in his left hand, puts the Armenian tiara on the head of frontally-standing Zeno-Artaxias (Fig. 20). Artaxias is portrayed

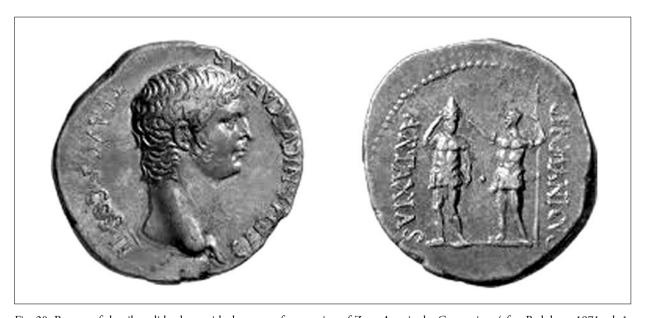


Fig. 20. Reverse of the silver didrachma with the scene of coronation of Zeno-Artaxias by Germanicus (after Bedukyan 1971, pl. 1, fig. 3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Smith 1990, 97, fig. 9; Rose 1997, 167.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Erim 1986, 4, 30, 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Smith 1987, 127–132, pls XXIV–XXVI; Rose 1997, 164–167.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Sutherland 1970, 102–104.

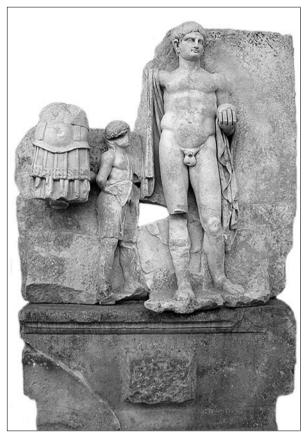


Fig. 21. Relief 'Nero with a Captive' (source: www.panoramio. com/photo/122551351, accessed 02.02.2017).

in a Roman military costume and an anatomical cuirass, while his right hand is raised towards the tiara.<sup>77</sup> With this solemn gesture, the Armenian king gives an oath of allegiance to the Roman emperor and to his people.<sup>78</sup>

On the next imperial relief, Nero's frontally-standing figure in heroic nakedness is depicted as almighty (Fig. 21): with a globe and a mantle over his left hand, and with a spear in his right hand.<sup>79</sup> On the ground, next to him, there is an anatomic trophy with pterygia, while between the emperor and the trophy a small barbarian figure, probably a captive Briton, is depicted.<sup>80</sup> Presumably, the composition symbolises the suppression of the uprising in Britannia in 61 AD and its final subjection.

The portraits of Nero, like all the other imperial portraits in the *Sebasteion*, follow a classicistic and idealistic style with some features of dynastic similarities typical

of the members of the Julio-Claudian family.81 They replicate the already known types of official portraits. All the Sebasteion portraits of Nero are in general linked to a series of the second type of portraits of the young emperor (54 AD). The portrait features of Nero, known to us from the long series of sculptures and from smaller works, are clearly reflected on the three well-preserved sculptural portraits in the Sebasteion (the reliefs 'Nero and Agrippina', 'Aeneas fleeing Troy', and 'Nero with a Captive'). In these reliefs, the physiognomic and portrait features of Nero are accentuated by short straight strands of hair on his forehead, a short curly beard, as well as side-whiskers and protruding ears. Despite the idealised and generalised interpretation of the image, the portrait features of Nero correspond mainly with his official portraits of the second type from 54-59 AD (Cagliari type). Along with this, signs of the third type depicting Nero in adulthood (59-64 AD) can be found in these portraits.<sup>82</sup> He is characterised by his wavy hairstyle - with rows of strands on his head. The locks grow long on the nape of the neck and are swept forward. The long curly strands are also in front of his ears, a slightly curly beard is visible on his chin. The strands arranged symmetrically on his forehead are aligned in a correct row, and their ends are directed from right to left, while the ends of the side coins accurately coincide with the outer corners of his eyes. The most famous example of this sculptural type is the marble head (59 AD) from the Museo Palatino.83 The wavy hair arranged in even rows on the top of his head coincides with Nero's hairstyle described by Suetonius - "comam semper in gradus formata" - as well as with his physiognomic features (Nero, 51).

The sculptural head of the emperor from the relief 'Nero and Armenia' is severely damaged: actually only the upper part with a helmet, a forelock on his forehead, and a part of the right eye are preserved (Fig. 11). Therefore, its identification with Nero is very difficult. The face of Nero from this relief is generally thin, and the forelock is depicted with a short relief curling and separated in the centre strands on his forehead. This 'family' hairstyle of the Julio-Claudians is characteristic for the *Sebasteion* portraits of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, or the step-son of Tiberius – Germanicus. This form of forelock significantly differs from its representation in the second portrait type, where it forms a row of thin, short, and pointed strands (Figs 22–23). <sup>84</sup> We suppose that the relief panel dates back to the initial period of the construction of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Bedukyan 1971, 25–27, figs 3–4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Markaryan 2015a, 70, fig. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Smith 1987, 109–112; 2008, 20–25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> R.R.R. Smith believes that the above-mentioned relief depicts Nero's father, commander Germanicus (Smith 1987, 110–112),

but the imperial regalia – globe and scepter – indicate that the emperor is depicted.

<sup>81</sup> Smith 1987, 100.

<sup>82</sup> Heisinger 1975, 113–124; Bergman, Zanker 1981, 321–322.

<sup>83</sup> Varner 2004, 48, figs 82a-c.

<sup>84</sup> Heisinger 1975, 118.



Fig. 22. Bronze portrait of Nero in New York Private Collection (after Varner 2004, fig. 87a).



Fig. 23. Marble head of Nero in the Museo Palatino in Rome (after Varner 2004, fig. 82a).

temple. The figure of the emperor depicted on it, crafted in the classicistic style of the Augustan art, originally portrayed one of the predecessors of Nero – Augustus, Tiberius, or his step-son, Germanicus, well-known for his victories over Armenia. This is evidenced not only by the graphic inscriptions mentioned by Smith and Reynolds<sup>85</sup> but also by the type of the figure of Armenia represented as a girl with a lowered head and one of the legs stretched out on the ground, which is similar to the figure of Armenia on the cameo of Tiberius.

Three portraits of Nero are preserved in the *Sebasteion*: in the first, he is depicted as Aeneas; in the second, on a stela with a coronation scene; and in the third, with a spear and a globe. They are comparable also with his numismatic portraits on the coins commemorating the victories over Armenia (after 59 AD). A didrachma and hemidrachma minted in 59 AD in Cappadocian Caesarea, after the siege of Tigranakert, symbolise Corbulo's victories. On their obverses, Nero's head turned towards right is depicted in a laurel wreath, and around it there is an inscription: "NERO CLAVD DIVI CLAVD F AESAR AVG GERMANI"; on the reverse, there is a figure of Victoria walking towards the right, holding a laurel wreath in her right hand and a palm branch in the left. There is an inscription "ARME-NIAC",

divided in the middle with the figure of Victoria (Fig. 24). According to Mattingly, the inscription "ARME-NIAC" should be read "ARMENIACA", *i.e. Victoria Armeniaca* – Armenian victory. <sup>87</sup> The abovementioned numismatic portraits of Nero suggest that they were not minted immediately in 59 AD, but rather were issued somewhat later, in the period pre-dating 64 AD. Nevertheless, the brief inscription "ARMENIAC(A)", restrained in form and content, references the events of the period when the Roman-Parthian conflict ended and the peace treaty of Rhandeia was signed in 64 AD (Tac. *Ann.* XV, 27, 28, 29; Dio Cass. LXII, 23, 2).<sup>88</sup>

On Nero's gems of 64–68 AD we see the emperor in a laurel wreath of a triumphant winner or in the *corona civica* on his head. They are similar to the abovementioned numismatic portraits of Nero in regard to the pose of the head as well as the laurel wreath with a ribbon tied on the nape of the muscular neck, 89 which was obviously copied from a specific sculptural sample. After *damnatio memoriae*, the majority of portraits of Nero were transformed into portraits of Domitianus, Trajan, Galba, and Antinous. 90 A particularly close similarity can be observed with the carnelian intaglio in the Metropolitan Museum. 91

<sup>85</sup> Reynolds 1981, 24; Smith 1987, 117-118.

<sup>86</sup> Bedoukyan 1971, 64, no. 20; RIC, I, 616, BMC, 406.

<sup>87</sup> Mattingly 1965, I, pls 40, 16, 17.

<sup>88</sup> Manandyan 1944, 348.

<sup>89</sup> Richter 1971, 109, fig. 525.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Varner 2004, figs 69, 60; figs 74, 63; figs 75, 63, and figs 76, 64.

<sup>91</sup> Varner 2004, figs 95, 77.





Fig. 24. Coin of Nero commemorating the conquest of Armenia. On the reverse: Nike with a palm branch and wreath walking towards the right (after Bedukyan 1971, pl. 3, fig. 20).

A symbolic figure of Victoria with the inscription "VICTORIA AUGUSTI" is found also on a coin of 63–68 AD. <sup>92</sup> This specimen differs from the coins with the inscription "ARMENIAC" only in regard to the posture of the figure, details of the clothes, *etc.* Obviously, all the above-mentioned coins belong to the triumphal series <sup>93</sup> marking Nero's military and diplomatic successes in the East. These events were the main, if not the only, large-scale events in his military 'career', except for the quickly suppressed uprising in Britain in 61 AD.

The inscriptions "VICTORIA AUGUSTI" refer to the events of the Augustan Age: the return of the Roman standards, the treaty with Parthia, the establishment of control over Armenia, *etc.* These images and inscriptions drew a sort of parallel between Nero's own successes and the victories of Augustus in the East.<sup>94</sup>

The motif of walking Victoria with a laurel wreath and a palm branch in her hands can be also seen on the cuirasses of marble and bronze 'military' statues of Nero. Judging by the symbols on the cuirasses, these statues were installed to commemorate the victory over Armenia and were evidently related to the sieges of Artashat and Tigranakert.

A paired heraldic composition is depicted in the centre of the front piece of the cuirass of the statue of Nero (transformed into the statue of Domitianus) in the museum in the town of Vaison-la-Romaine in the south of France. 95 Images of winged Victoria in a chiton and with

a palm branch and a wreath are depicted on both sides of the palladium of Athena-Minerva. The figure of Victoria proceeding to the right depicted on the reverses of the triumphal coins with the inscription "ARMENIAC(A)" completely coincides with the figure of the goddess depicted on the right part of the cuirass. However, the walk of Victoria carrying the wreath and the branch to the goal depicted on the cuirass is 'justified', while on the coins it seems to be incomplete and 'unaddressed'. It becomes clear that these two coin images replicate only the right part of the composition on the cuirass, despite the fact that the stamp cutter tries to balance the figure of the goddess with the inscription "ARME-NIAC" divided in the centre by the figure.

On the cuirass of another military statue of Nero (Domitianus) of 64–68 AD held by the Museum of Parma, the figures of the goddess are depicted standing on both sides of the sacred candelabrum or *thymiaterium* (Fig. 25). <sup>96</sup> According to Varner, the combination with two figures of winged Victoria at the palladium appears for the first time in the period of Nero's reign. However, versions of the triumphal motif with two figures of Victoria are already observed on the monuments of the Augustan Age: sculpture, architectural relief, engraved gems, items of military equipment, *etc.* This motif symbolised the universal power of Rome through the image of Victoria Romana and Victoria Augusta. They are

<sup>92</sup> Mattingly 1965, I, CLXXX, pl. 44, 2-4, 46, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup>Apparently, the lack of concrete inscriptions on these coins – like on the two examined samples – marking the victory over Armenia made M. Abramzon conclude that "military type" is almost absent in the coinage of Nero. However, quite the contrary seems to be true instead, as suggested by the coins with the image of the temple of Janus with closed doors and the inscription: "Delivering peace on land and at sea to Roman people, he closed the Temple of Janus". However, at the same time,

the author notes that these coins were minted after the investiture of Tiridates in Rome (Abramzon 1995).

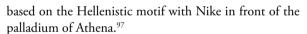
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> The erection of the Parthian Arch by Nero seemingly symbolised equality between Nero and Augustus and Augustus's Parthian Arch in the Roman Forum (here, Fig. 27). The Parthian Arch of Nero was preserved on a number of his series of coins. See Mattingly 1965, I, CLXXVIII, pls 44, 5; 46, 5; 48, 4; Kleiner 2007, 116, figs 8–22.

<sup>95</sup> Varner 2004, 58, fig. 60.a-c.

<sup>96</sup> Varner 2004, 58, fig. 61.b.



Fig. 25. Fragment of the cuirassed statue of Nero in the Parma Museum (after Varner 2004, fig. 60d).



Another honorary cuirassed statue of Nero, held by the Vatican Museums (from Caere), should also be attributed to the events of that period and the coronation of Tiridates in 66 AD (Fig. 26).98 Nero presented as Helios is depicted in the centre on the front piece of the cuirass. He has a radiant crown on his head while wearing an imperial toga and standing on a quadriga. Under the quadriga, a paired composition of two male kneeling figures with eastern appearance offering bowls to winged griffins is depicted. The right male figure is a mature man with thick wavy hair and a thick bushy beard. He wears Parthian military clothes with a short leather cloak and a sword belt, and holds with both hands a bowl from which he feeds the griffin. The left beardless young man wears a short shirt reaching down to his knees and with sleeves, which resembles the upper part of a Greek chiton. The small round cap fits tightly around the head. With his free right hand, the young man holds a sceptre protruding from a palmette in the centre of the composition. He holds the bowl in his left hand.

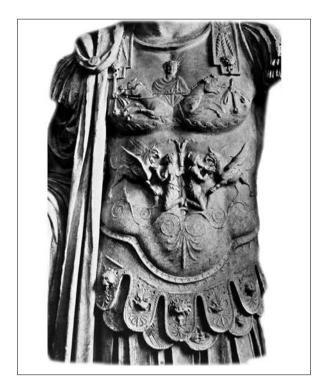


Fig. 26. Fragment of the cuirassed statue of Nero in the Vatican Museums (after Varner 2004, fig. 88).

The attributes, the oriental iconography of the figures, and the 'mythological' associations (Apollo-Helios-Mithra, griffins) establish a reference to the East. In the Greek myth, Apollo-Helios harnessed griffins instead of horses to his heavenly chariot. Nemesis, the goddess of retribution, also rode in a similar chariot drawn by griffins. Nemesis helped Nero defeat Parthia and Armenia.

The bearded figure feeding the griffin on the right symbolises Parthia, whereas the left figure of the young man personalises Armenia in accordance with the traditional standards of the Roman triumphal symbolism.<sup>99</sup>

The series of artefacts with the image of triumphant Nero is quite large. The small bronze statuette of Nero at the museum in Venice is among the number of images associated with the events of the coronation of Tiridates. <sup>100</sup> It depicts the young emperor cuirassed and seated. He extends his right arm in a gesture of *clementia*. <sup>101</sup> The portrait features correspond to the second type of 54–59 AD; hence, the statuette may date back to the second half of the 50s – the period when the abovementioned military actions were occurring on the territory of Armenia.

<sup>97</sup> Markaryan 2015b, 128-130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Varner 2004, 71, fig. 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Markaryan 2015b, 137, 141, 143–154, tab. VII, figs 2–3, tab. IX, figs 1–2; according to E.R.Varner, these two kneeling figures depict Arimaspes (Varner 2004, 71), but the specific 'ethnic'

iconography allows for identifying them as personifications of Parthia and Armenia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Sperti 1990, 24–28; Varner 2004, 71.

<sup>101</sup> Brilliant 1963, 41; Vahl 2007, 16, fig. 1.2.



Fig. 27. Sesterce of Nero. On the obverse: a portrait of Nero. On the reverse: an image of the Parthian Arch (source: www.coin-world.com/news/world-coins/2015/, accessed 02.02.2017).

This small bronze may reflect the large images of Nero, particularly the statue of Nero in Armenia to which Tiridates lay down his royal diadem in 66 AD: "It was then agreed that Tiridates should lay down his royal crown before Caesar's image, and resume it only from the hand of Nero. The interview then ended with a kiss. After an interval of a few days there was a grand display on both sides; on the one, cavalry ranged in squadrons with their national ensigns; on the other, stood the columns of our legions with glittering eagles and standards and images of deities, after the appearance of a temple. In the midst, on a tribunal, was a chair of state, and on the chair a statue of Nero. To this Tiridates advanced, and having slain the customary victims, he removed the crown from his head, and set it at the foot of the statue" (Tac. Ann. XV, 29, translated by A.J. Church, W. Jackson Brodribb).

Trajan's cuirassed image in the *sella curulis*, with the right arm outstretched in the gesture of *clementia* and *submissio*, is known from a number of sculptural reliefs and numismatic images on the coins of Trajan from the

series REX PARTHIS DATUS, issued to commemorate his victory over Parthia and the conversion of Armenia into a Roman province.<sup>102</sup>

According to L. Sperti, the bronze cult statuette of Emperor Nero was used during the ceremonies dedicated to the coronation of Tiridates in 66 AD. The statuette could have belonged among personal items kept in a small home sanctuary, or it could have been a part of decorations, such as of a horse harness, *etc.*<sup>103</sup> The famous bronze figure of Nero as Alexander the Great, <sup>104</sup> armoured and with a spear, is also evidently ranked among the cult statuettes of Nero.

Thus, the artistic-historical 'reading' of the theme of Nero's victory over Armenia depicted on the marble relief from the temple complex of the *Sebasteion* in Asia Minor reveals specific features of the symbolism of Armenia in the Roman triumphal art of Nero's period, reflecting the character and essence of these foreign political events occurring in the East during the reign of the last representative of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

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<sup>102</sup> Bedukyan 1971, 69–74, fig. 22; RIC, 667, 669, BMC, 1046.

<sup>103</sup> Sperti 1990, 22-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Henig 1984, 60.

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#### Krzysztof Misiewicz

Institut d'Archéologie, Université de Varsovie kmisiewicz@uw.edu.pl

## Jamel Hajji

Institut National du Patrimoine, Tunisie jamelhajji@hotmail.fr

#### Tomasz Waliszewski

Institut d'Archéologie, Université de Varsovie twaliszewski@uw.edu.pl

# Prospections non invasives sur le site de Mustis/Musti (El Krib) en Tunisie

#### **ABSTRACT**

Non-invasive Prospections on the Mustis/Musti (El Krib) Site in Tunisia

The objective of the first step of the non-invasive survey carried out on the Mustis site described herein was to verify the possibility of locating archaeological remains and to detect the location of the supposed remains by geophysical measurements (magnetic and electric methods). Magnetic measurements were made with Geometrics G-858 Cesium magnetometer with two probes located on the same horizontal level at 0.5 m distance or on the same vertical level at 0.5 m and 0.75 m above the ground level. The instrument recorded the values of the total vector of the magnetic field strength and made it possible to calculate the pseudo-gradient of its components (horizontal or vertical). Electric measurements were made by means of axial dipole-dipole electrode configurations (parallel) with AB current electrodes with spacing of one metre and electrodes of potential MN (identical spacing) at equal distance D at 4 and 6 metres, which made it possible to record values of apparent resistivity of

the subsoil, with the penetration depth of the current of c. 2.0 and 3.5 m, respectively, below the current ground level. At the time of the data interpretation, the suspected locations of the remains causing the anomalies were indicated by means of dashes of different colours and thicknesses (depending on the assumed depth of the structures). These indications, transferred on maps, can serve as a starting point for extensive analyses of the entire site and its surrounding area. The first non-invasive surveys carried out in Mustis have demonstrated the usefulness of magnetic and electric methods in mapping the preserved remains both inside and around the city. The obtained results enabled elaborating a strategy for the work to come. It is quite probable that the magnetic method will prove capable of indicating places where vestiges of constructions are preserved, while the electric method will determine the depth and conditions of deposition of localised structures.

**Keywords:** archaeology, Tunisia, Mustis, non-invasive surveys, geophysical measurements, aerial photography, topographic measurements (archéologie, Tunisie, Mustis, prospection non invasive, prospection géophysique, photographie aérienne, levés topographiques)

La recherche du site archéologique de Mustis est menée par le Centre Polonais d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne et l'Institut d'Archéologie de l'Université de Varsovie dans le cadre de l'accord scientifique signé en 2016 et 2019 (pour une durée de trois ans avec possibilité d'extension) entre l'Institut National du Patrimoine de Tunis représenté par le directeur N. Kallala et F. Mahfoudh, et l'Université de Varsovie représentée par le recteur M. Pałys. L'accord prévoit la possibilité de mener des recherches archéologiques interdisciplinaires en Tunisie.

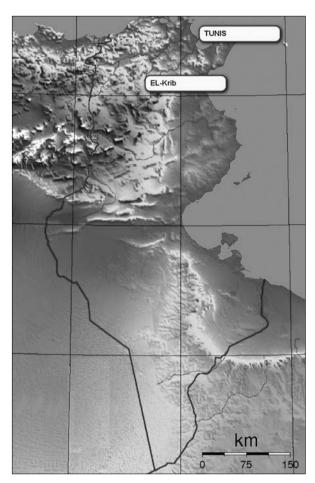


Fig. 1. Localisation de la ville moderne d'El Krib (ancienne Mustis) sur la carte de la Tunisie (élaboration K. Misiewicz).

Fig. 1. Location of the modern city of El Krib (former Mustis) on the map of Tunisia (elaboration K. Misiewicz).

Ce n'est pas la première activité polonaise en Tunisie. Il convient de mentionner ici les études menées à Carthage (à l'initiative de l'UNESCO) au début des années 70 du siècle dernier par une équipe de géophysiciens dirigée par le dr. J. Przeniosło avec la participation notamment des professeurs J. Kolendo et J. Wielowiejski.<sup>1</sup>

Le site archéologique de Mustis, aujourd'hui Henchir Mest, est situé à 120 km au sud-ouest de la capitale tunisienne Tunis (Fig. 1) dans la province de Siliana à la frontière de la ville moderne d'El Krib (environ 12 km seulement de l'un des plus grands sites de la province romaine appelée Dugga — Thugga). Il est situé dans une région fortement urbanisée à l'époque romaine, près de la principale artère reliant Carthage à Theveste. L'emplacement favorable le long d'une voie de

communication et de commerce très fréquentée, ainsi que sa position parmi les zones extrêmement fertiles de la culture du grain, de l'olivier et de la vigne ont influencé l'enrichissement très rapide de la ville, de la région et de ses habitants à partir du I<sup>er</sup> siècle jusqu'au III<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.C.

Ce centre urbain a été créé dans une région habitée par des tribus numides.<sup>2</sup> À la fin du II<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.C. une colonie romaine a été établie ici, fondée et habitée probablement par des vétérans de l'armée romaine issus des rangs commandés par le général *Gaius Marius*.

Malgré des années de recherche et de nombreuses publications anciennes et contemporaines,3 l'histoire de la ville et de la région est pratiquement inconnue ou reproduite de manière extrêmement fragmentaire et hypothétique. Le potentiel urbain de la ville à l'époque romaine est démontré par sa superficie de plus de 34 ha et ses nombreux édifices monumentaux visibles à la surface. Parmi eux: les temples de Pluton, Apollo et Cérès, les thermes romains, la citadelle byzantine (à la place de l'ancien forum), la basilique chrétienne, la place de la ville, une rue commerçante avec de nombreux magasins couverts et deux maisons romaines. À l'instar d'autres positions de l'Afrique procopienne, la crise de la ville était très probablement liée aux invasions puis à la présence de Vandales au Ve siècle et au début du VIe siècle après J.-C. La présence arabe éphémère a duré jusqu'au XIIe siècle et n'est confirmée que par des découvertes mineures.

Mustis est connu des voyageurs et des chercheurs européens depuis la fin du XIX<sup>c</sup> siècle. Une reconstruction partielle de quatre temples et d'une porte de la ville a été entreprise (des inscriptions attestent la présence d'au moins 11 temples païens). Des fragments de l'histoire de la ville sont connus principalement grâce aux études épigraphiques de découvertes locales d'inscriptions latines.<sup>4</sup>

L'objectif de cette première étape de la prospection non invasive réalisée sur le site de Mustis (dont les résultats sont présentés ci-dessous) fut de vérifier la possibilité de localiser des vestiges archéologiques et, dans l'affirmative, de détecter l'emplacement des supposés restes par mesures géophysiques (méthode magnétique et électrique).

### Méthodes adoptées

#### Prospection magnétique

Les mesures magnétiques ont été réalisées avec le magnétomètre G-858 à césium du Geometrics avec deux sondes situées sur une même horizontale à 0,5 m

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Przeniosło et al. 1974.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ferchiou 1986.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ferchiou 1985; Schmidt 2008.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Beschaouch 1967; 1968.

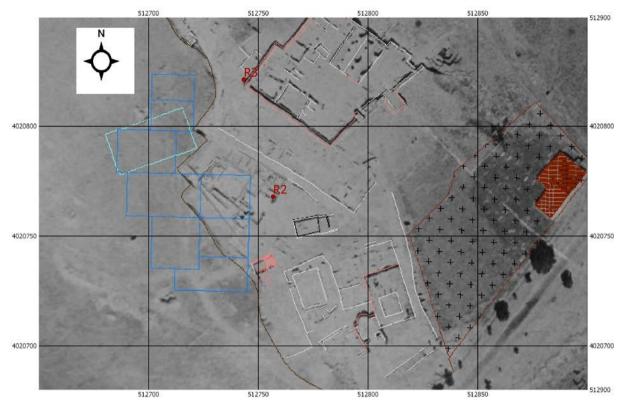


Fig. 2. Localisation du secteur ouest de la zone reconnue avec des carrés de mesure magnétique (élaboration P. Zakrzewski).

Fig. 2. Location of the western sector of the surveyed zone with squares of magnetic measurements (elaboration P. Zakrzewski).

de distance ou sur une même verticale à 0.5 m et 0.75 m au-dessus du niveau du sol. L'instrument enregistrait les valeurs de l'intensité du champ magnétique total et permettait de calculer le pseudo-gradient de ses composantes (horizontale ou verticale). Les mesures ont été effectuées dans le sens S-N suivant les profils tracés O-E situés à 1 m de distance sur l'axe N-S. Les résolutions spatiales ainsi obtenues étaient de  $0.25 \times 0.125$  m pour l'enregistrement de l'intensité totale du champ magnétique, de  $0.5 \times 0.125$  m pour le calcul de la composante horizontale et de  $1 \times 0.125$  m pour la composante verticale. Les mesures réalisées sur le terrain ont été traitées par le logiciel Mappmag 2000 et représentées au moyen du logiciel SURFER-14 sous forme de cartes d'anomalies et de modèles 3D de répartition des valeurs enregistrées.

### Prospection électrique (mesures de résistivité)

Les mesures ont été effectuées au moyen des configurations d'électrodes dipôle-dipôle axial (parallèle) avec des électrodes de courant (d'alimentation) AB avec écartement d'un mètre et des électrodes de potentiel MN (écartement identique) à la distance D égale à 4 et 6 mètres, ce qui a permis d'enregistrer des valeurs de résistivité apparente du sous-sol, avec la profondeur de pénétration du courant, respectivement, d'environ 2 et 3,5 m au-dessous du niveau actuel du sol.<sup>5</sup> Les résultats obtenus devaient fournir des données permettant de déterminer la profondeur, l'emplacement ainsi que l'état de conservation des structures pouvant être à l'origine des anomalies dans les paramètres physiques du sous-sol. Autrement dit, il fallait répondre à la question à quelle profondeur et dans quel contexte se trouvaient les supposés vestiges. Le relevé des valeurs de résistivité apparente du sous-sol a été réalisé au moyen de l'appareil à courant alternatif ELMES ADA-17.<sup>6</sup>

#### Localisation des zones d'étude

La localisation de tous les secteurs étudiés a été déterminée par rapport à 5 points de repère établis dans l'enceinte du site par les services géodésiques tunisiens par GPS RTK et définis dans les coordonnées UTM

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Hesse 1978, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Misiewicz et al. 1998.



Fig. 3. Localisation de la grille géodésique sur fond de plan de situation (élaboration P. Zakrzewski).

Fig. 3. Location of the geodetic grid on the background of a situation plan (elaboration P. Zakrzewski).

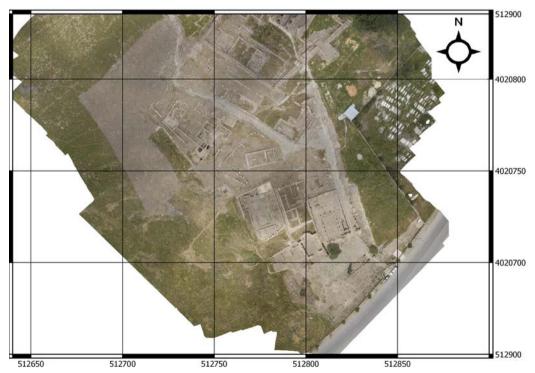


Fig. 4. Orthophotocarte avec des structures archéologiques visibles sur la surface (élaboration K. Misiewicz, photo aérienne O. Bagi). Fig. 4. Orthophotomap with archaeological structures visible on the surface (elaboration K. Misiewicz, aerial photography O. Bagi).

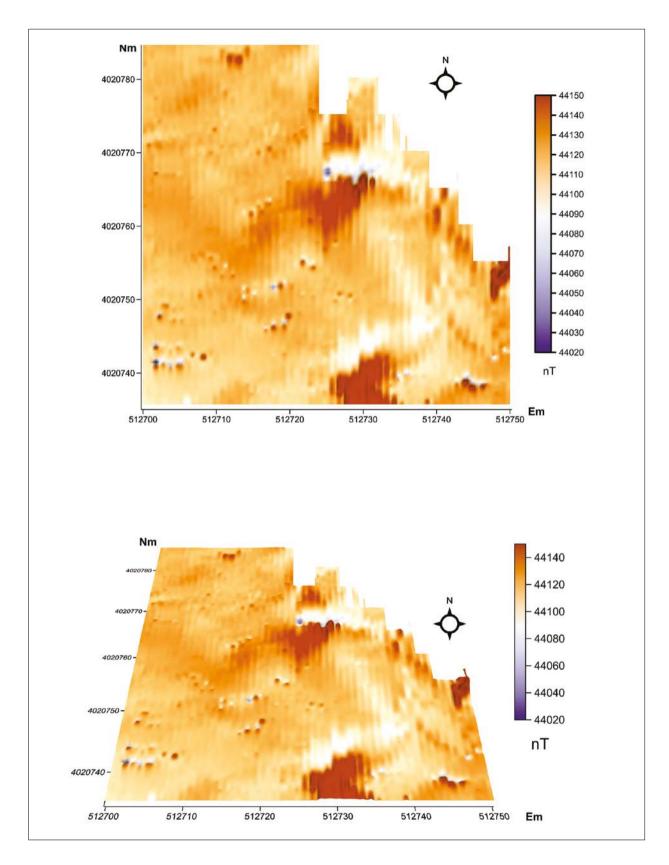


Fig. 5. Carte de l'intensité (en haut) et modèle pseudo 3D (en bas) du champ magnétique total dans la fourchette de 44 020 à 44 150 nT par couleurs graduées (secteur nord du terrain étudié) (élaboration K. Misiewicz).

Fig. 5. Map (top) and a pseudo 3D model (bottom) of the total magnetic field intensity in the range of 44 020 to 44 150 nT by graduated colour (northern sector of the surveyed area) (elaboration K. Misiewicz).

zone 32 S (IGNF: 32SW84). Deux points de mesure sont indiqués sur la Fig. 2. Dans les travaux ultérieurs, comme fond de carte furent utilisés le plan géodésique des structures conservées réalisé à partir des relevés tachymétriques directs (Fig. 3) et, en dernière étape, l'orthophotocarte (Fig. 4).

#### Résultats des mesures

#### Prospection magnétique

Les mesures magnétiques ont permis d'enregistrer les variations de l'intensité du champ magnétique total oscillant entre 44 020 et 44 156 nT, tandis que les valeurs calculées du pseudo-gradient de la composante horizontale HzG du champ magnétique variaient de -90 à +83 nT/m. Ces résultats ont été présentés sous forme de graphiques et de modèles pseudo 3D (Fig. 5) de répartition des valeurs mesurées.

Compte tenu des faibles variations de l'intensité du champ magnétique total enregistrées ainsi que de la trop haute résolution spatiale des mesures  $(0,25 \times 0,125 \text{ m})$  entraînant l'apparition d'autres anomalies le long des profils, il a été décidé de présenter les résultats sous forme de cartes et de modèles pseudo 3D (Fig. 6) d'anomalie du pseudo-gradient de la composante horizontale de l'intensité du champ magnétique total.

A l'étape suivante des travaux, il était question de choisir la meilleure façon de représenter graphiquement les résultats des mesures. Après réflexion, il a été convenu que la présentation en deux couleurs - où la couleur bleue correspondait aux plus faibles valeurs enregistrées et la couleur rouge aux valeurs les plus fortes - permettait de déterminer le caractère des anomalies repérées et d'identifier d'emblée et sans équivoque les altérations liées à des processus d'aimantation résiduelle acquise conséquente à l'exposition aux températures élevées. Il s'agit d'un moyen rapide d'identification de dépôts d'objets métalliques, de structures en brique cuite, de concentrations de céramiques, mais aussi d'amas de déchets modernes et contemporains ou de foyers en surface.7 Il s'est avéré que l'échelle adoptée était efficace en cas d'identification des sources d'anomalies, mais elle pouvait ne pas rendre compte des changements occasionnés par des vestiges archéologiques recherchés. Vu cette circonstance, une série d'essais a été réalisée mettant à l'épreuve des échelles des gris et des échelles monochromatiques. Les figures 7 et 8 illustrent les résultats de ces tests. Au terme de ces expériences, il est apparu qu'il était tout à fait possible de décrypter les anomalies causées par les vestiges de constructions en faisant appel à des échelles

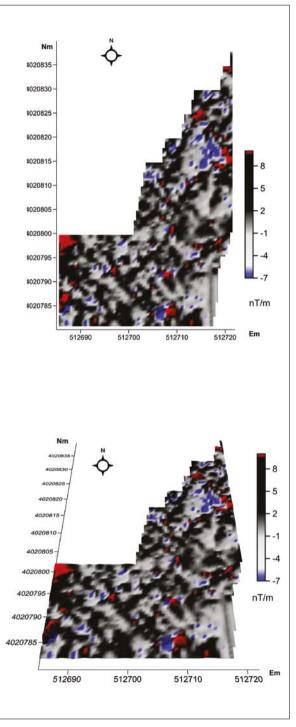


Fig. 6. Carte d'anomalie (sur le dessus) et modèle pseudo 3D (en bas) d'anomalie du pseudo-gradient horizontal de l'intensité du champ magnétique total (élaboration K. Misiewicz).

Fig. 6. Map (top) and a pseudo 3D model (bottom) of the disposition of values of the pseudo-gradient of the horizontal component of the total vector of magnetic field strength (elaboration K. Misiewicz).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Breiner 1999.

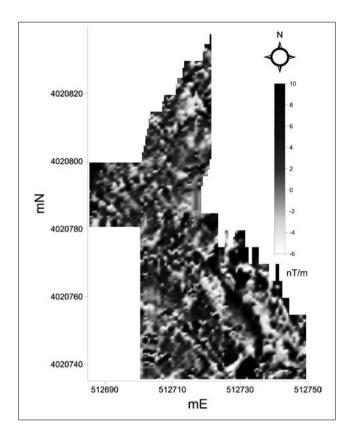


Fig. 7. Carte d'anomalie du pseudo-gradient de la composante horizontale de l'intensité du champ magnétique total dans la fourchette de -6 à +16 nT/m en échelle de gris (élaboration K. Misiewicz).

Fig. 7. Map of the disposition of values of the pseudo-gradient horizontal component of total of the total vector of magnetic field strength in the range of -6 to +16 nT/m in greyscale (elaboration K. Misiewicz).

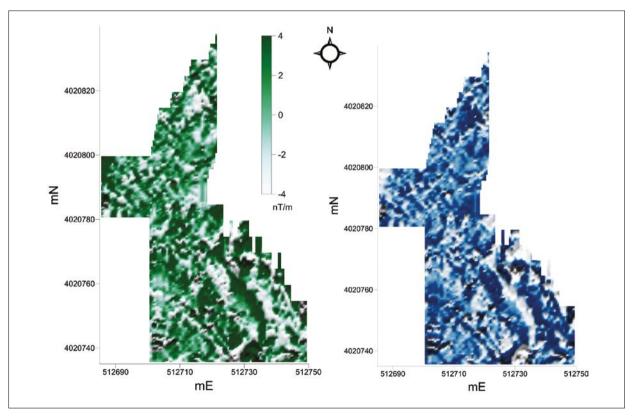


Fig. 8. Carte d'anomalie du pseudo-gradient de la composante horizontale de l'intensité du champ magnétique total par couleur bleue et couleur verte graduées (élaboration K. Misiewicz).

Fig. 8. Map of the disposition of values of the pseudo-gradient horizontal component of total of the total vector of magnetic field strength in graduated blue and green colour (elaboration K. Misiewicz).

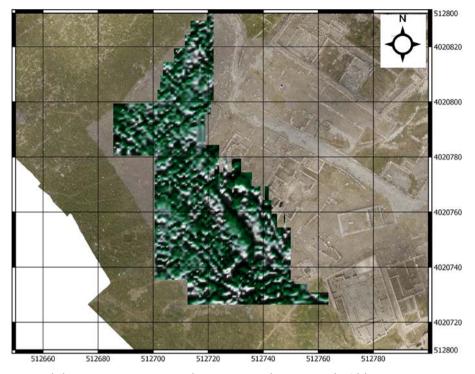


Fig. 9. Données intégrées de la prospection magnétique du secteur ouest du terrain étudié (élaboration K. Misiewicz, photo aérienne O. Bagi).

Fig. 9. Integrated magnetic survey data for the western sector of the surveyed area (elaboration K. Misiewicz, aerial photography O. Bagi).

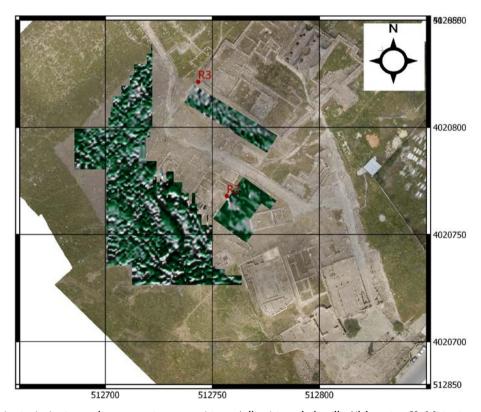


Fig. 10. Données intégrées issues des prospections magnétiques à l'intérieur de la ville (élaboration K. Misiewicz, photo aérienne O. Bagi).

Fig. 10. Integrated data from the magnetic surveys inside the city (elaboration K. Misiewicz, aerial photography O. Bagi).

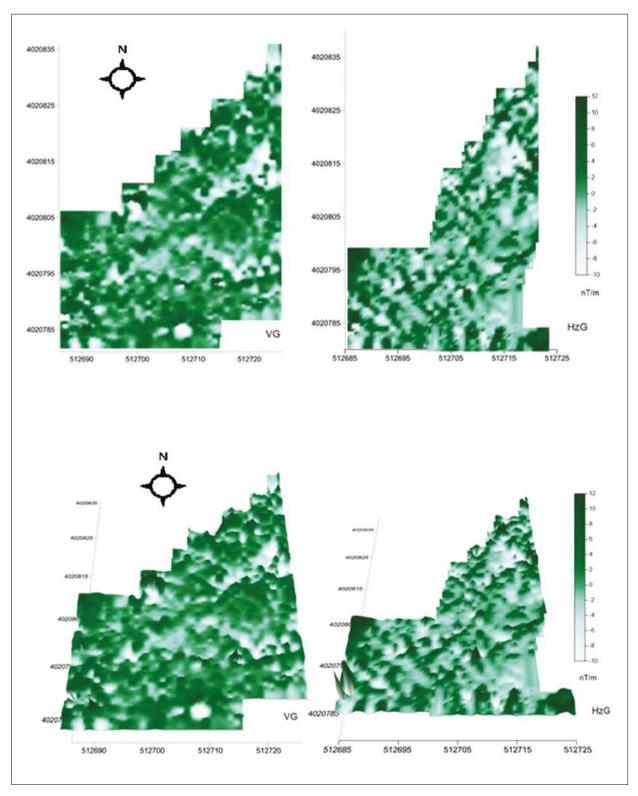


Fig. 11. Confrontation des résultats de la prospection magnétique obtenus avec des capteurs en configuration verticale (à gauche) et horizontale (à droite). Cartes de couleurs graduées (en haut) et modèles pseudo 3D (en bas) des composantes de l'intensité du champ magnétique total (élaboration K. Misiewicz).

Fig. 11. Confrontation of the magnetic prospecting results obtained with sensors in vertical (left) and horizontal (right) configuration. Graduated colour maps (top) and pseudo 3D models (bottom) of values of the components of the total vector of magnetic field strength (elaboration K. Misiewicz).

de différentes nuances de couleur bleue ou verte. C'est ce mode qui a été adopté dans l'élaboration des cartes d'intégration de données dans le système d'information géographique (ang. GIS) tant en ce qui concernait les prospections étendues effectuées dans le secteur ouest du terrain étudié (Fig. 9), que pour ce qui était des endroits accessibles dans l'enceinte des constructions déjà mises au jour et reconstruites (Fig. 10).

L'ultime étape des travaux consistait en des essais avec différents positionnements des capteurs du magnétomètre, ce qui permettait de calculer des valeurs du pseudo-gradient des composantes du vecteur du champ magnétique total - horizontale (position horizontale parallèle) ou verticale (position verticale avec hauteur variable des capteurs au-dessus du niveau du sol et distance variable entre les capteurs). Des essais effectuées dans différentes conditions ont permis de constater que les mesures les plus stables avaient été obtenues en positionnement horizontal avec des capteurs espacés de 0,5 m sur des profils tracés tous les mètres et en positionnement vertical avec des capteurs situés à 0,5 m au-dessus du niveau du sol et espacés d'un mètre. Afin de comparer la lisibilité des résultats, d'autres mesures ont été réalisées dans la partie nord du secteur situé à l'ouest de la basilique chrétienne. Les données issues de cette prospection ont été traitées avec la même résolution spatiale et l'application de la même échelle des couleurs que les

données issues des prospections précédentes. La confrontation des résultats est illustrée par la Fig. 11. A l'analyse des cartes et des modèles 3D de répartition des valeurs des pseudo-gradients de la composante horizontale et verticale de l'intensité du champ magnétique total il apparaît nettement que l'image la plus lisible d'anomalies est obtenue avec des capteurs en positionnement horizontal. C'est pourquoi, il est recommandé d'utiliser ce type de dispositif pour la prospection de l'ensemble du site.

#### Prospection électrique

Les prospections électriques ont été effectuées aussi bien dans les secteurs préalablement préparés pour la prospection géophysique qu'à des endroits restreints à l'intérieur de la zone des structures déjà dégagées (sur l'emplacement de la « maison romaine », à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de la forteresse byzantine, dans la portion sud de la voie dans l'axe formé par les deux arcs de triomphe existants, entre les temples sur l'emplacement présumé du forum) (Fig. 12).

Les mesures au moyen d'un dispositif dipolaire parallèle, avec des électrodes de courant AB et des électrodes de potentiel MN espacées d'un mètre et les distances D égales à 4 et 6 mètres, ont été réalisées dans le sens O-E suivant les profils tracés S-N situés à 1 m de distance. Les valeurs de la résistivité apparente obtenues étaient de 35 à 120 ohm-m pour D = 4 m (Fig. 13) et de 30 à 175

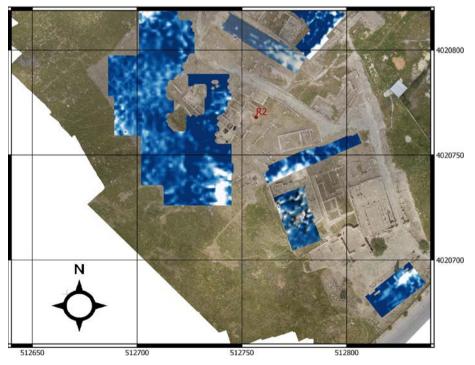


Fig. 12. Localisation des prospections électriques (élaboration K. Misiewicz, photo aérienne O. Bagi).

Fig. 12. Location of the electrical surveys (elaboration K. Misiewicz, aerial photography O. Bagi).

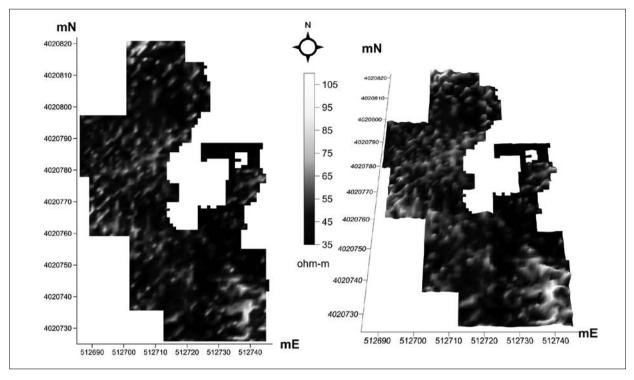


Fig. 13. Carte et modèle pseudo 3D des valeurs de la resistivité apparente enregistrées dans le secteur ouest du terrain prospecté. Dispositif dipolaire parallèle (linéaire) AB, MN = 1 m, D = 4 m, échelle de gris (élaboration K. Misiewicz).

Fig. 13. Map and a pseudo 3D model of the disposition of the apparent resistivity values recorded in the western sector of the prospected terrain. Parallel dipole-dipole array (linear) AB, MN = 1 m, D = 4 m, greyscale (elaboration K. Misiewicz).

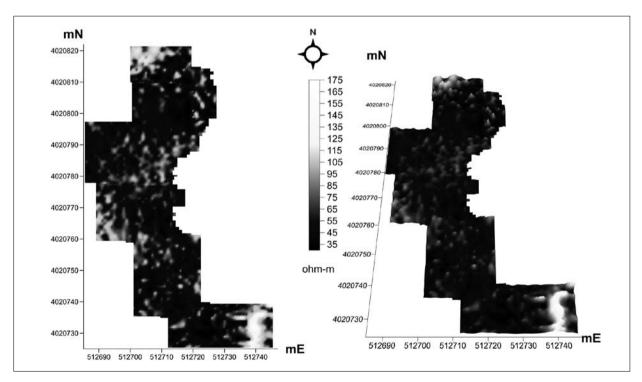


Fig. 14. Carte et modèle pseudo 3D des valeurs de la resistivité apparente enregistrées dans le secteur ouest du terrain prospecté. Dispositif dipolaire parallèle (linéaire) AB, MN = 1 m, D = 6 m, échelle de gris (élaboration K. Misiewicz).

Fig. 14. Map and a pseudo 3D model of the disposition of the apparent resistivity values recorded in the western sector of the prospected terrain. Parallel dipole-dipole array (linear) AB, MN = 1 m, D = 6 m, greyscale (elaboration K. Misiewicz).

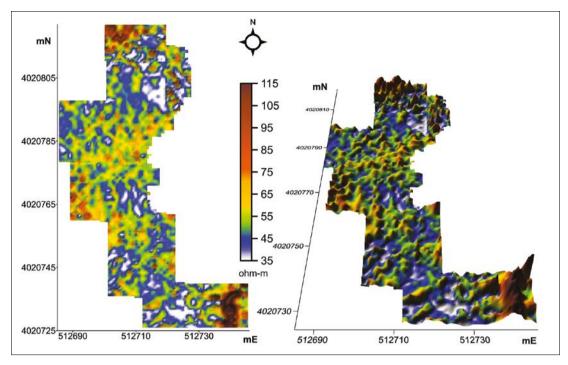


Fig. 15. Carte et modèle pseudo 3D des valeurs de la resistivité apparente enregistrées dans le secteur ouest du terrain prospecté. Dispositif dipolaire parallèle (linéaire) AB, MN = 1 m, D = 4 m, échelle des couleurs (élaboration K. Misiewicz).

Fig. 15. Map and a pseudo 3D model of the disposition of the apparent resistivity values recorded in the western sector of the prospected terrain. Parallel dipole-dipole array (linear) AB, MN = 1 m, D = 4 m, colour scale (elaboration K. Misiewicz).

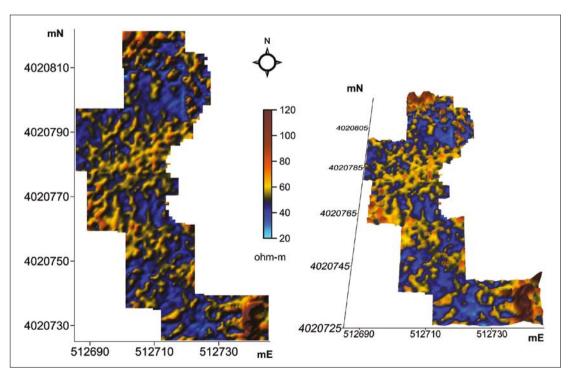


Fig. 16. Carte et modèle pseudo 3D des valeurs de la resistivité apparente enregistrées dans le secteur ouest du terrain prospecté. Dispositif dipolaire parallèle (linéaire) AB, MN = 1 m, D = 6 m, échelle des couleurs (élaboration K. Misiewicz).

Fig. 16. Map and a pseudo 3D model of the disposition of the apparent resistivity values recorded in the western sector of the prospected terrain. Parallel dipole-dipole array (linear) AB, MN = 1 m, D = 6 m, colour scale (elaboration K. Misiewicz).

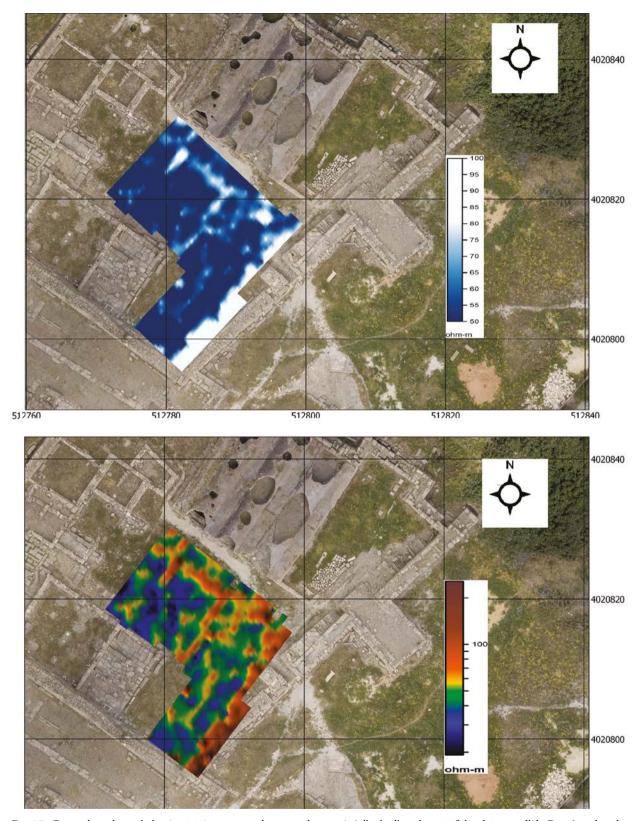


Fig. 17. Cartes des valeurs de la résistivité apparente du sous-sol mesurée à l'aide d'un dispositif dipolaire parallèle D = 6 m dans les nuances de bleu (en haut) et en échelle des couleurs (en bas), dans la fourchette 50-100 ohm-m (élaboration K. Misiewicz, photo aérienne O. Bagi).

Fig. 17. Maps of the apparent resistivity values of the subsoil measured using a parallel dipolar array D = 6 m in the shades of blue (top) and a colour scale (bottom), in the range 50-100 ohm-m (elaboration K. Misiewicz, aerial photography O. Bagi).

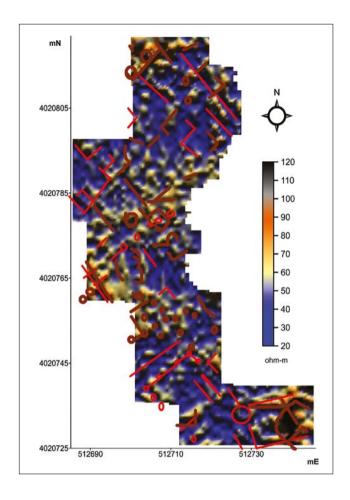


Fig. 18. Résultats de la prospection électrique avec dispositif dipolaire parallèle (linéaire) AB, MN = 1 m, D = 6 m, échelle des couleurs. Carte d'interprétation. Les anomalies causées par des structures situées près de la surface sont marquées de couleur marron. Les anomalies causées par des résidus plus profonds sont marquées en rouge (élaboration K. Misiewicz).

Fig. 18. Results of the electrical survey with parallel dipole-dipole array (linear) AB, MN = 1 m, D = 6 m, colour scale. Interpretations. Anomalies caused by structures near the surface are marked in brown. Anomalies caused by deeper residues are marked in red (elaboration K. Misiewicz).

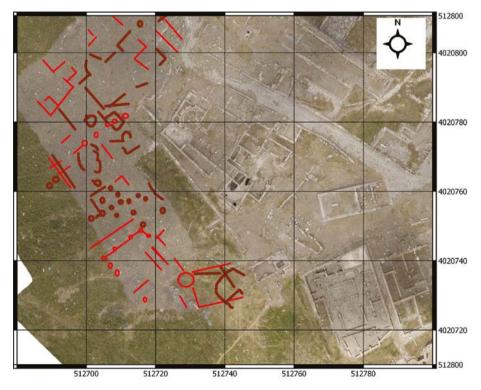


Fig. 19. Interprétation préliminaire des résultats des prospections électriques (élaboration K. Misiewicz, photo aérienne O. Bagi). Fig. 19. Preliminary interpretation of the electrical survey results (elaboration K. Misiewicz, aerial photography O. Bagi).

ohm-m pour D = 6 m (Fig. 14). Aussi bien les cartes que les modèles pseudo 3D des valeurs de la résistivité apparente élaborés à partir des résultats obtenus font apparaître d'étroites anomalies à angles droits, formant des structures linéaires sur d'importantes étendues. Il s'agit là d'une image typique des variations de résistivité électrique générées par les vestiges de constructions à l'intérieur de la ville, situés dans des séquences de plusieurs couches à différentes profondeurs. Leur agencement devient mieux lisible avec l'augmentation de la profondeur du sondage (cf. Fig. 15 et 16) et avec le recours aux échelles des couleurs pour la représentation graphique des résultats (Fig. 17). C'est ce qui a prévalu sur le choix des cartes de couleur dans l'interprétation des résultats des prospections (Fig. 18).

Au moment de l'interprétation des données, les emplacements présumés des vestiges étant à l'origine des anomalies ont été indiqués au moyen de traits de différentes couleurs et épaisseurs (en fonction de la profondeur supposée des structures). Ces indications transférées sur des cartes (Fig. 19) peuvent servir de points de départ à des analyses étendues sur l'ensemble du site et ses proches alentours.

#### **Conclusions**

Les premières prospections non invasives réalisées sur le site de Mustis ont démontré l'utilité des méthodes magnétique et électrique dans l'élaboration de la cartographie des vestiges préservés tant à l'intérieur de la ville qu'à ses abords. Les résultats obtenus ont permis d'élaborer la stratégie des travaux à venir. Il est tout à fait probable que la méthode magnétique permettra d'indiquer les endroits où se trouvent des vestiges de constructions. D'autant qu'il est désormais prouvé que le

meilleur instrument pour la prospection magnétique est le magnétomètre à cesium avec deux capteurs en position horizontale et que la résolution de mesures devrait être de  $0.5 \times 0.125$  m pour la mesure de l'intensité totale du champ magnétique et de  $1 \times 0.125$  m pour le pseudogradient de sa composante horizontale.

Il est recommandé que les résultats des mesures magnétiques soient corroborés par des mesures électriques avec l'enregistrement des valeurs de résistivité apparente du sous-sol au moyen d'un dispositif dipolaire parallèle avec écartement des éléctrodes de mesure MN et des électrodes de courant AB = 1 m et la distance entre elles D = 6 m. Dans les conditions géologiques du site, un tel dispositif devrait permettre de détecter des couches situées à une profondeur d'environ 3–4 m à partir du niveau actuel du sol, sans enregistrer des anomalies causées par le substrat rocheux vierge.

Le fond topographique pourrait être constitué à partir de clichés aériens de l'ensemble de la ville ainsi que de ses proches alentours. Il est nécessaire de donner à ces clichés la forme d'une orthophotocarte tenant compte des mesures topographiques recueillies par GPS RTK, ce qui permettra de réaliser un modèle 3D en haute résolution du relief.

Il convient en outre d'élaborer une méthodologie qui ferait appel à des techniques de géoradar et/ou à des prospections sismiques par réfraction permettant de localiser des structures vides (citernes publiques ou citernes dans les zones d'habitat particulier) ou encore à des prospections utilisant la tomographie par résistance électrique ERT qui permettent de recueillir des informations concernant la stratification en cas de constructions à plusieurs niveaux.

Traduction de Katarzyna Bartkiewicz

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## Andrzej Niwiński

Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw andrzejniwi.egipt@gmail.com

# TRAVELS OF COUNT MICHAŁ TYSZKIEWICZ TO AFRICA, HIS EXCAVATIONS IN 1861–1862, AND THE ORIGIN OF HIS COLLECTION OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES<sup>1</sup>

### ABSTRACT

Count Michał Tyszkiewicz (1828–1897) was one of the most renowned collectors of the ancient classical art at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. His interest in archaeology and ancient art was developed during his travel through Egypt in 1861. His *Journal of the Travel to Egypt and Nubia*, fortunately found in 1992 in Poznań, recounts this journey. From Egypt, Michał Tyszkiewicz brought a collection of antiquities, estimated to have comprised *c*. 800 objects; today, over a half of them can be found in museums in Paris (Louvre), Warsaw, Vilnius, Kaunas,

and Moscow. The majority of the objects originated from excavations conducted by the count, particularly in Thebes (Luxor area), by virtue of an official licence granted to him exceptionally by Mohamed Said Pasha—the then head of the Egyptian state. The present article discusses the circumstances of granting of this permission in the period when a strict state monopoly was imposed on archaeological investigations and presents the course of the excavations along with their results.

Keywords: Michał Tyszkiewicz, Egypt, Nubia, excavations, collection

Count Michał Tyszkiewicz has secured himself a place in the hall of fame in the history of art as one of the greatest and most renowned collectors of classical, especially Roman, antiquities. Adolf Furtwängler, Carl Robert, Salomon Reinach, and Wilhelm Fröhner – all of whom were themselves top-tier researchers of the classical world – counted themselves among his close friends. The last of the mentioned scholars wrote in 1892 (while Tyszkiewicz was still alive) that had it not been for the fact that Count's collections were dispersed, nobody, "not even the cardinals of Rome of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, nor today's millionaires" could equal him.<sup>2</sup> However, this well-documented activity of the 'old collector' began

only after 1863, when the count moved from Lithuania to Paris, and later to Naples and Rome.<sup>3</sup> Before 1870, he excavated several archaeological sites in Italy and was active in archaeology even later.<sup>4</sup> His collecting activity, in which he was very much successful, fell to the last twenty five years of his life. However, the origins of his interest in antiquity can be traced back to his travel through Egypt in 1861–1862. The first news concerning this were published in Paris (1863) as a book comprising a literary version of his *Journal of the Travel to Egypt and Nubia* written in Polish.<sup>5</sup> The book contained some information about the archaeological investigations in Karnak, albeit rather succinct. These works were possible thanks

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The original version of this paper was presented in Polish on 12 December 2011, during a conference accompanying an exhibition in the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw titled Papyri, mummies and gold. Michał Tyszkiewicz and the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the first Polish and Lithuanian excavations in Egypt. Like other papers from this conference, it was then sent to the editorial board of the periodical Z otchłani wieków; however, it has never been published. On the same subject, cf. Niwiński 1997; 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Fröhner 1892, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Memories of M. Tyszkiewicz were gathered and edited by his son, Joseph, in an article (in Polish) titled "Wspomnienia antykwarskie z Włoch", *Przegląd Polski* 26, 1892, 516–564. Later, the text was translated into French and was published as "Notes et souvenirs d'un vieux collectionneur", *Revue Archéologique*, IIIe série 27, 1895, 273–285; 28, 1896, 6–16, 129–137, 189–195; 29, 1896, 198–203; 30.1, 1897, 1–7, 129–135, 358–372; 30.2, 1897, 166–171, 305–312. Its English version was published in 1898 in London (*cf.* Tyszkiewicz 1898).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. the article by M. Kazimierczak in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Tyszkiewicz 1863.

to a permission "to excavate in the whole territory of the Country" granted to Count Tyszkiewicz by Mohamed Said Pasha, the then Egyptian head of state. Such a permission should be seen as exceptional in the first years of two newly-created (1858) institutions: the Service of Antiquities and the Egyptian Museum of Antiquities in Cairo (Bulaq) under the supervision of Auguste Mariette. The monopoly of the Egyptian state over all excavations was obeyed then with jealousy, and any creation of collections of antiquities by foreigners was strictly forbidden. Yet, it is known that M. Tyszkiewicz brought from Egypt to Europe a collection of several hundred objects.

In January 1992, the author of the present paper was successful in finding two manuscripts written by M. Tyszkiewicz held by the Raczyński Library in Poznań. One of them, described on the last page as "Notes of Count Michał Tyszkiewicz from the travel to Egypt and Nubia", had been long considered lost during World War II;<sup>6</sup> the discovery enabled the clarification of some questions concerning the Egyptian travel of M. Tyszkiewicz, as well as proposing its partial reconstruction.

It seems that hunting, besides sightseeing ancient monuments, was the main purpose of M. Tyszkiewicz's journey. The count was an enthusiastic hunter, and in November 1860 he undertook his first African travel to the Mahuna (Algeria) region in order to take part in a lion-hunting expedition.<sup>7</sup> The plans were not successfully realised, and it seems that a new African journey, this time to Egypt, may have been a compensation. Tyszkiewicz went to Egypt equipped with various kinds of rifles and even accompanied by several hunting dogs. At the time, the country on the Nile was perceived as a paradise for hunters. The count describes, for example, his meeting with an English traveller, Lord Londesborough, who came to Egypt equipped with a special type of cannon capable of killing several dozen geese with a single shot. Informed by Tyszkiewicz about a multitude of aquatic fowl on Manzalah Lake, the

lord gave up his plans to visit the famous monuments of Upper Egypt and devoted his entire stay to hunting. Tyszkiewicz's *Journal* documents an exactly opposite evolution of Count's own behaviour during his Egyptian travel: from a hunter he became principally an archaeologist and a lover of antiquities. He would devote to his new passion the rest of his life after his return to Europe.

The steamer 'Indus', with the count on board, arrived at the port of Alexandria on 21 October 1861. Three days later, after having visited the town and its monuments, M. Tyszkiewicz began a journey through the Delta, then the canal El-Mahmudia, and later on the Nile using a small sailing ship 'Adela', which he had hired for the whole travel. Along the way, the count visited the ruins of Athribis and Iseum, but he failed to go to San el-Hagar (Tanis), where A. Mariette was conducting his excavations. After a short stay in Port-Said and Damietta, Count Tyszkiewicz went to Cairo by train. The following nine days he devoted to visiting the capital and its vicinity, with the exception of the pyramids; the visits to Giza and Saggara were to be postponed until the final days of his stay in Egypt. One of the important persons M. Tyszkiewicz met in Cairo was A. Mariette, who personally gave the count a guided tour around the Bulaq Museum; Tyszkiewicz was very much impressed by this and later came back to this place three times. It seems plausible that Mariette arrived to Cairo, while taking a break from his excavations in Tanis, precisely in order to guide M. Tyszkiewicz. When reading the Journal, one can get the feeling that the Egyptian authorities, well-informed by the Russian embassy about the wealth of the count - an inheritor of a great estate and a landowner in Lithuania - took measures to gain his favour and financial support for the Suez Canal project, then in the early stage of its realisation. Already in Port-Said, M. Tyszkiewicz was guided by an engineer representing the Suez Canal Company, and on the same day when the count visited the Bulaq Museum, he met Ferdinand Lesseps as well - the head of the Suez Canal

colour paintings of Jan Matejko, some graphics of artists from Poznań, and perhaps also illustrations to Tyszkiewicz's *Journal*, which were never found even though he mentioned them several times in his text) were deposited in the Municipal Museum in Poznań. The manuscripts by Tyszkiewicz survived the war because together with some other documents they were preserved in Count Raczyński's private domain. The objects deposited in the Municipal Museum were concealed in the basement of a parish church in Poznań, but during or after the war they were, unfortunately, discovered and taken away by the Germans or the Soviets; today, these works of art are listed among the Polish war losses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> This manuscript contains a text compiled by M. Tyszkiewicz on the basis of original notes made by him during the journey, while another manuscript found in the Raczyński Library is a secondary literary version of the primary text, drawn up by a writer, Zofia Węgierska, and copied by M. Tyszkiewicz's hand. The first half of the latter manuscript corresponds to the text published in the 1863 book edition. Until 1938, both manuscripts belonged to a collector from Poznań, Stanisław Latanowicz, and upon his death were bought, together with Latanowicz's whole collection, by the Municipal Government of Poznań. All the books and manuscripts were then moved to the Raczyński Library (where almost everything was, unfortunately, burnt during the war), while all the objects qualified as works of art (including some drawings by Wojciech Gerson, water-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Zaleski 1860, 457.

project. Both interlocutors introduced Tyszkiewicz to the problems of the gigantic enterprise, speaking about the number of workmen engaged in it. This army of 12 000 men was not sufficient, and the builders of the canal tried to multiply it. A few weeks later, in Assuan, M. Tyszkiewicz was a witness of a dramatic forced recruitment of people directed to work on the canal within the scope of corvée, which was still obligatory in Egypt at the time. But lacking funds constituted another problem, and the Egyptian authorities were hoping that the count would become a shareholder of the enterprise. The count was treated everywhere as a VIP, and various members of the reigning Egyptian family as well as consuls were willingly entering into very friendly relations with him.

It seems that the exceptional research concession "to excavate in the whole territory of the Country" was in a direct relation with the Suez Canal problems. The permission to carry out archaeological works granted to M. Tyszkiewicz by Viceroy Said Pasha himself obviously broke the rules of the state monopoly introduced only three years earlier, in 1858. It is not known if A. Mariette was consulted about this digging permit; he probably had to consent to the decision of the head of state in the name of the *raison d'état*. It is, however, possible that he may have accepted this with reservation, as Western Thebes were defined by A. Mariette as "the white-headed boy among his excavations".8

As we know from Tyszkiewicz's account, his attempt to start excavations on the western bank opposite Luxor failed, and he was refused to dig there by an official representative of the Service of Antiquities who disregarded the firman (the permission document) of the Viceroy. After all, the excavations conducted by the count in Western Thebes were illegal, at least from the official viewpoint. It is, however, hardly conceivable that these works, which continued for a month, remained actually unnoticed. It looks rather like another game, controlled by the Viceroy, in order to maximise Count's satisfaction in hopes of his final decision to support the Suez Canal enterprise financially.

Certainly orchestrated was also the reception given by the Russian consul, Edouard Lavisson, on 17 November 1861, during which the count, for the first time in Egypt, had a chance to try his luck as an archaeologist and obtained first objects for his collection. This event is recounted in the *Journal* in the following way:<sup>9</sup>

"In the courtyard, three mummies lay in wooden coffins, the upper surface of which has already a shape, although not very distinct, of a human body. The human face and hands, painted in bright colours and carved in relief, decorate the outer coffin, which has also a short hieroglyphic inscription painted with two colours in a broad band on the case. A strong and aromatic scent of myrrh with which the mummified bodies are embalmed spread over the entire courtyard [...]. After opening the case we saw inside another, very similar coffin; only the hieroglyphs were different here. Both cases were made of sycamore wood, and were so excellently preserved as if they had been made yesterday. The colour of the paint had not faded, particularly the faces carved in the wood with much skill, retained a strange freshness of colouring. When in turn the second coffin was opened, we found inside a third case - the last. Its form was this time very similar to that of the dead body, as the finely-executed and painted head of the coffin was a replica of legs and arms in a word, the general shape of the human body. This case, pasted of several layers of linen was as hard as wood and completely covered with excellent paintings [...].

"Finally the body was taken out and laid on the table; wrapped in yellow bands of linen it looked like a doll. With permission of the host, I started myself to unroll the bandages. The smell of the myrrh became so strong that some of the spectators felt dizzy. After having unwrapped a dozen ells of the bandages, I suddenly saw in the middle of the length of the body seven scarabs, or beetles, the bottoms of which (serving as seals) were covered with concave hieroglyphic inscriptions. Each beetle was pierced through from the head up to the tail. They were strung onto a thin string wrapping the body over the band of linen. [...] One of the beetles – the principal one - was made of gold, two others strung beside it were glazed and set in gold, the remaining four scarabs were of stone. I continued unwrapping and found on the breast a sort of insignia usually given in ancient Egypt to the deceased. These are two bands of red leather, half an ell long, crossed over the breast. The ends of these bands are spatula-like. A hieroglyphic inscription covers the leather bands, while the representations of deities are stamped on the terminals. The leather had hardened over time and become rather brittle as well. The bandages soon came to an end, and the body appeared, quite dry, black, and very brittle. Except for a few beads of stone and a few figurines of deities, nothing else was found on the body itself. The body was filled inside with a black and hard mass, very aromatic one [...].

"The remains of the mummy were taken out, and we approached the two other ones. [...] In the last of the three mummies I found, close to the body, a wooden bow made of a species of wood unknown to me, and three sticks of the same wood. Mr. Lavisson was so kind

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Mariette 1860, 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 159–163; Niwiński 1997, 194–196; 2011, 12–14.

and generous that he offered me, in remembrance of this so interesting a session, all the objects which I had found on the mummies and unwrapped with my own hands".

Without any doubt, the description quoted above concerns the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty coffin set from the 10<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> century BC, as indicated by the decoration of the wooden coffins, the presence of the cartonnage and of the leather mummy-braces (today in the Louvre Museum, inv. nos E.3670 and E.3672), as well as the mode of writing of Amon's name on the scarab set in a golden border (today in the Louvre Museum, inv. no. E.3693).

Two days later, M. Tyszkiewicz left Cairo, directing his ship towards Upper Egypt. From onboard, Count Tyszkiewicz saw the quarries at Turah and the pyramid at Meydum. He spent much more time visiting the tombs of Beni Hassan and the ruins of Tell el-Amarna. We find then a mention of the cemetery of ibises and crocodiles at Gebel Abu Feida and of a rock-tomb near Assiut, probably that of Hapi-djefa. When he arrived on 7 December at Balliana, a consular agent awaited him there together with his servants and with several saddle-horses: "the consul added that he had had an order from Cairo to wait for my coming, and to be ready for my instructions". It is certain that it was taken into account that Tyszkiewicz might be willing to pay a visit to the temples at Abydos, and it is indeed hardly comprehensible why the count did not use this opportunity.

Three days later, on 10 December, he arrived at Qena, planning to visit the famous temple of Dendera. In the morning of the following day, he received the long-promised firman of Said Pasha from the Russian consul, together with another letter granting him the permission to excavate. Since then, the comments of the count in his *Journal* as well as his proceedings gain more and more professional character, expected rather from an archaeologist and not an amateur – which Tyszkiewicz actually was. The description of his visit in the temple at Dendera is concluded with the following note:

"(11 December 1861) It is a pity that the Egyptian Government does not pay enough regard to the integrity of such important monuments, which are not guarded by anybody. Because of this one, often sees empty spots on the walls where some of the finest carvings have been hammered by the hands of civilised barbarians – European antiquarians, even less able to respect the beautiful ancient monuments than the wild Persian hosts".<sup>10</sup>

The unexpected firman granting M. Tyszkiewicz a license to excavate "in the whole country" reached him in the most suitable moment. He was approaching the archaeological paradise of Egypt: the region of ancient Thebes. He writes that immediately after his arrival at the port in Luxor:

"(12 December 1861) we are going straight to the Russian consulate situated in the midst of one of the biggest Luxor temples. Mustafa-Aga, who serves the office of a Russian consular agent, meets us at the door, greets us politely, and invites into the room. After the common coffee-and-pipe ceremony, I show him my firmans and ask him to order a hire of 60 workmen to begin excavations at Karnak and Thebes in the days to come. Local authorities were sent for, and the wakil of the city of Luxor came soon after. Having kissed the Viceroy's seal stamped on the firmans, he read these and assured me that the workmen would be ready for work the next morning". In

#### The excavations at Karnak

After these formalities, the count first visited the Luxor temple, and then "the ruins of Karnak [...]. At the same time my intention was to choose a spot for the excavations and search for antiquities planned for tomorrow". He describes the chosen place as follows: "There are some hills behind the temples where the ancient town of Karnak once stood; thus I chose the spot for the excavation there".<sup>12</sup>

The excavations in Karnak started on 13 December 1861 and were conducted until 20 January 1862. M. Tyszkiewicz supervised this work in person only for the first six days; later, he charged one of his servants and a local overseer with the task of keeping an eye on the workmen. No doubt the first few days of the excavations were the most effective ones and brought the results which can be evaluated archaeologically. These

to one of the groups of the "buttes des décombres" indicated on the Karnak plan published in the *Déscription de l'Égypte*, to the north-west, north-east, and south-east of the great precinct. If so, the first of these unexcavated areas which Tyszkiewicz saw during his journey from Luxor was the last mentioned group of the "hills", between the precincts of Mut and Amon and to the east of the southern avenue of sphinxes. It seems very feasible that the count chose this place, perhaps situated not far from the sanctuary of Kamutef, for his first excavations.

<sup>10</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 225; Niwiński 1997, 196; 2011, 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 231; Niwiński 1997, 197; 2011, 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 235; Niwiński 1997, 197; 2011, 15. The description of the route by which the count went from Luxor to Karnak clearly indicates that he entered the temple of Karnak from the south, through the 10<sup>th</sup> pylon; however, the term "behind the temple" was used only on the next day, and it seems that the intention of Tyszkiewicz was to stress with this term that the area chosen by him for the excavations was localised outside the precinct wall of the main temple. The "hills" can correspond

first official Polish and at the same time Lithuanian excavations in Egypt should be assessed positively because of the fact that M. Tyszkiewicz not only kept a diary of the works, including descriptions and the register of the excavated items,13 but he also documented them in drawings with the intention to publish them together with the text of his Journal. This can be illustrated with the following note on 18 December: "I do not wish to describe the everyday fruits in too detailed a way, to avoid tiring the reader with a superfluous monotony of the objects. The plates added at the end of this Journal give a better idea of the types of objects than my unskilled pen. I present on these plates the main adornments I found on the mummies, as well as some more important bronzes I excavated in various locations in Egypt and Nubia";14 and another on 7 February 1862: "A detailed description of the new excavations could lose its attraction for the readers because of its monotony; therefore I would rather refer those who are interested to the Atlas that I am adding to this work. There is, next to the figures, a short description of each object. In addition to pieces I excavated, I was successful in purchasing in Cairo quite a number of very fine bronzes originating, too, from the excavations at Saggara. The Atlas will include the latter items as well".15

The excavations were organised and begun admirably professionally taking into account that M. Tyszkiewicz had probably little or no archaeological experience; he may have, at most, seen some works conducted in Lithuania by one of his cousins: Eustachy Tyszkiewicz or Konstanty Tyszkiewicz. The following is a description of the works conducted in Karnak on the first day, 13 December 1861:

"On my coming to the place marked yesterday, I already found the dragoman [interpreter] and my servants bustling about my travel tents intended to protect me against the hot rays of the sun, and also to be a temporary store of excavated objects. Another tent held the domestic staff, kitchen utensils, and tableware. Sixty nearly naked young boys were already in attendance. Since the soil,

in which I intended to dig, was pure sand, the workmen were equipped with hoes (and not with spades); some of them filled baskets made of palm leaf with sand, others carried these away and emptied them.

"The work was started soon after, and I – having sat down in the shadow of a big umbrella – was looking at the digging with much interest and attention, watchfully observing the workmen to prevent them from stealing the excavated objects, as is their habit. Several quarters of an hour later, among a terrible swirl of dust we came upon a wall built of mud-bricks; this was one of the houses of the old town of Karnak. When one finally came upon the door, just at the entrance, a large flat stone was seen; on its surface six round depressions for inserting in them vessels for water. From each depression, water could flow down a narrow channel carved in the stone, and all these channels joined together into one larger reservoir probably used to water the livestock. This stone was not inscribed nor sculpted.<sup>16</sup>

"Behind the door, that is just behind the entrance to the dwelling, I found an alabaster statuette of Isis sitting on the throne, with a child in her arms. The whole throne and its base were covered with beautifully conserved hieroglyphs. Unfortunately, this beautiful statuette was broken, and the heads of the goddess and the child were missing [Fig. 1].<sup>17</sup>

"When continuing the excavations, we found various small objects, of which the most interesting are worth mentioning:

- A double glazed pottery vessel serving as ink-pot for scribes who dissolved in it two paints: the black one and the red one, used for writing on papyrus. Around the square ink-pot, a hieroglyphic inscription reigns, a very unclear one; when I inserted this interesting small ink-pot into water, in order to wash the dust off, the hieroglyphs became distinct and they give impression of being gilded;<sup>18</sup>
- A big pottery urn, though without inscriptions, of an aesthetic shape;<sup>19</sup>
- A bronze figure of Osiris;<sup>20</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> On 14 December he noted in the *Journal* that he registered and arranged all the excavated objects; *cf.* Tyszkiewicz 1994, 241.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 249–251; Niwiński 1997, 200; 2011, 15.

<sup>15</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 410; Niwiński 2011, 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 235–237; Niwiński 1997, 198; 2011, 36. It seems that the described object corresponds well to a stone offering table that may have laid at the entrance to a small sanctuary, in the antechamber, or in the offering hall.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 237; Niwiński 1997, 198; 2011, 36. This statuette is preserved today in the Louvre Museum, inv. no. E.3775. Judging from the style, the object has been dated to the 25<sup>th</sup> or 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; *cf.* Rouit 1995, 51 (cat. no. 44).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 237; Niwiński 1997, 198. This object is preserved today in the Louvre Museum, inv. no. E 3666; Rouit 1995, 142 (cat. no. 150).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 237; Niwiński 1997, 198. This vase was probably broken on 3 January 1862 near Kalabsha as a result of a shock of the ship caused by a sudden gust of wind. The count mentioned that "much tableware broke, but most of all I regretted two beautiful urns excavated in Karnak, which I found in pieces after my coming back to the ship"; Tyszkiewicz 1994, 317; Niwiński 1997, 198.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 237; Niwiński 1997, 199. The bronze figurines in the collection of the count, amounting to more than 120 specimens, originated in particular from his excavations



Fig. 1. Fragment of the stone figurine representing Isis with Horus-child on her lap. This object belonged to one of the first groups of antiquities discovered at Karnak on 13 December 1861 (26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, 7<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century BC). The Louvre Museum, E.3775. Photo after the exhibition catalogue *Papyri, Mummies and Gold...*, Warsaw 2011, 37.

- A dozen small statuettes of gods, made of stone or porcelain;
- Sixteen glazed scarabs complete the body of the excavated objects.<sup>21</sup>

"After lunch in the tents and an hour of rest the works were continued. However, at the beginning nothing was found for some time; but towards the sunset many small objects were found again, and also a big stone statue of the goddess Pasht, albeit in a bad condition".<sup>22</sup>

There is everything to suggest that M. Tyszkiewicz discovered an offering chapel of a small sanctuary, probably devoted to the lioness-headed Mut-Sakhmet, and the type and style of the objects found there suggest that these were votive gifts from the 7<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century BC.

On the next day, the count was not personally supervising the excavations in Karnak, but he arrived only in the afternoon and was busy arranging the objects discovered on that day. "The best of these is a small wooden box, inlaid with strips of ivory, on which small circles are carved forming a kind of border. Worth mentioning because of its beautiful shape, there is a bowl, spherical at the bottom, made of copper and glaze, and gilded inside. Besides, there are a lot of porcelain adornments, scarabs, deities of stone and clay, and another figure of Isis very delicately-made of porcelain; its head was also broken off, but found nearby. When all these objects were already listed and registered, the dragoman took out of his pocket a small parcel that he was keeping

in Saqqara and from the older collection of Dr Meymar, bought by Tyszkiewicz. Almost all bronze statuettes are now held by the Louvre Museum, and eight among them represent Osiris. It is hard to decide which one may have been found in Karnak.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 237; Niwiński 1997, 199. Most of these small scarabs and figurines made of stone or faience were brought to Lithuania; a part of them is preserved now in the museums in Kaunas, Vilnius, and Warsaw; however, no identification is possible without studying the drawings in the *Atlas* mentioned by Tyszkiewicz (*cf.* footnotes 6 and 15).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Tyszkiewicz 1994, 239; Niwiński 1997, 199. After Tyszkiewicz had visited Speos Artemidos on 25 November 1861, he described every female lioness-headed figure as "Pasht" (Pakhet). The statue which he discovered in Karnak probably represented Mut – this seems to be in accord with the supposition that the area of his excavations was situated not far from the precinct of Mut; numerous lioness-headed statues preserved in world museums, including the National Museum in Warsaw, originate from there.

as a nice surprise for me: he showed me a golden ring of an original shape with a small uncut emerald, found by my workmen".<sup>23</sup>

On 15 December 1861, the count noted: "I went to Karnak to continue supervising the excavations, and found the work had already begun. I spent there the whole day, in spite of a strong and stifling wind blowing from the desert, called khamsin [...]. The excavations of today, besides a very beautiful golden statuette of the god Amun-Re, included several small bronzes, and a fairly big stone covered with inscriptions. I don't mention the pottery figures which abound all over the place here".<sup>24</sup>

M. Tyszkiewicz was supervising the excavations in Karnak during one more week, although information about these works becomes scant:

"(16 December) I proceed again to Karnak. The khamsin is still blowing and it makes the digging works difficult. Our eyes are already reddened from the annoying cloud of dust. I am obliged to wash myself off the black dust several times a day, however I don't give up the works, and again collect today considerable fruits.<sup>25</sup>

"(17 December) The works at Karnak brought almost nothing today.<sup>26</sup>

"(18 December) Staying till 5 p.m. at Karnak I witnessed the excavating of various further antiquities.<sup>27</sup>

"(22 December) I am going to continue my travel today, thus I devoted the whole morning to the payments and settlement of accounts with the workmen used by me so far. I let some of them remain to continue the works until my coming back from Nubia, under the supervision of one of my servants; others, after having been paid off, were dismissed".<sup>28</sup>

The excavations in Karnak were continued for almost one more month; however, they were conducted

without any proper supervision and with the use of a lesser number of workmen. When Count came back from the journey to Nubia, he heard the report of the overseer of the work but remained sceptical about the results:

"(19 January 1862) The supervisor brought a shawl full of various small objects: scarabs, beads, figures of gods of stone or porcelain, even some golden but common trinkets, two wooden figures, some small urns, and eight pieces of bronze deities. [...] I can't guarantee, however, that some more precious things were not excavated by my people and kept secret from me".<sup>29</sup>

The works in Karnak were definitely finished on the next day, 20 January 1862: "I paid the workmen, and the supervisor came with me to 'Adela' [...]. I have not forgotten, either, to give something to the governmental guardians in purpose to find them again favourably disposed in case of my future come back to Luxor and Thebes".<sup>30</sup>

## Excavations in the Theban Necropolis

The above-quoted interesting note contains an allusion to the relations between the count and the officials from the Service of Antiquities in Western Thebes or the necropolis. The only archaeological researches permitted in this area by the Egyptian Government were conducted by A. Mariette, about which M. Tyszkiewicz had probably not been informed. Trusting in the permission to dig "in the whole country", he went, on 14 December, to the western bank of the Nile, having at his side the official consular agent of the Russian embassy, Mustafa Aga, to find a promising spot for archaeological excavations and to start digging.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 241; Niwiński 1997, 199. The actual location of these three objects described with some details remains unknown. Probably all three were brought to Europe; however, they are absent in all of the known parts of the collection. Tyszkiewicz may have presented two of the containers mentioned in the beginning of the footnote to somebody, or these objects may have been kept in the palace in Łohojsk, where a private museum of the Tyszkiewicz family was established in 1842 by Konstanty Tyszkiewicz – later to be sold in the 1880s or 1890s by his son, Oskar Tyszkiewicz, the heir of the palace, after his father's death. The golden ring may have been retained by the count, but it was not put up for the auction of M. Tyszkiewicz's collection in Paris in 1898.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 243; Niwiński 1997, 199; 2011, 42. The actual location of the golden figurine of Amon is unknown. Such an object, no doubt, must have belonged among the most valuable pieces of Tyszkiewicz's collection. Only one golden figurine of Amon is preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art

in New York (inv. no. MMA 26.7.1412); this object, according to the archival information from the Museum, originates from the collection of Lord Carnarvon. It is, admittedly, not excluded that an object originally belonging to Tyszkiewicz became a property of Lord Carnarvon, but there is nothing to prove this. The stone covered with inscriptions corresponds probably to a stela. Tyszkiewicz mentions several objects like this in his *Journal*, but only one stela may have been brought to Europe. This object is now held by the National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. MNW 236843. It probably originates from Saqqara and is dated to the 6th century BC.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 245; Niwiński 1997, 199.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 247; Niwiński 1997, 199.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 249; Niwiński 1997, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 264; Niwiński 1997, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 363–365; Niwiński 1997, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Tyszkiewicz 1994, 369.

"Sixty workmen were already awaiting us. It took me more than one hour to find an appropriate place to start the works. Led with an instinct I chose a spot underneath a high rock half-way buried in sand. Tombs and small temples were usually hewn in the rocks; the entrance was covered with sand by winds, up to a considerable height. The point chosen by me had never been touched, although many deep holes as well as several temples and tombs dug in the vicinity indicated that this place promised an abundant repayment for the effort, the work, and the expenses. After having finally marked the limits in the sand, within which the workmen should start the digging, I gave a signal for work. Suddenly, an old Arab who was the supervisor of the governmental excavations begun just several hundred steps from us,<sup>31</sup> appeared among us following an order from Mr. Mariette. The Arab assured me that I couldn't dig in this place, because the Government intended to put their own workmen here soon to excavate. I showed him my firmans, but the stubborn Arab made a speech to the gathered workmen, threatening them with imprisonment, if anybody dared to disturb the integrity of this place. Then he turned round to us and announced that he wouldn't allow us to dig on the whole left riverside [...]. At present, there is nothing else to do for us than to go back to Luxor".32

The (illegal) excavations started, nevertheless, already on the next day, late in the evening. Still on 14 December: "the dragoman consoled me completely when saying that he had already made an arrangement with some guardians of the excavations at Thebes, and they promised not to watch in the night in a valley behind the mountain of Assasif. Thus, we'll be able to make nightly researches during some hours in that valley, which had served, too, the inhabitants of the ancient Thebes as a cemetery. The dragoman already made an arrangement with the workmen, and we should go on our first secret expedition tomorrow night. My conscience murmurs something, but the antiquarian bent prevails, and I am just beginning to dream about mummies and coffins.

"On 15 December [...] at 10 o'clock in the evening, together with the dragoman we crossed the river and set about digging. However, although we kept on till 4 o'clock in the morning, absolutely nothing was discovered this night, and tired and drowsy I came back to rest".<sup>33</sup>

Already the second night of the excavations brought important results in the form of two mummies, opened by M. Tyszkiewicz on the morning of 17 December 1861:

"Having closed ourselves in the cabin, we began to open the two mummies. One of them is closed in a wooden case, very decorative one, which is covered with paintings: green and made in relief, while other paintings compared with the green ones are red and shallow; one can see this case in Paris, in the Department of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Louvre [Fig. 2].<sup>34</sup>

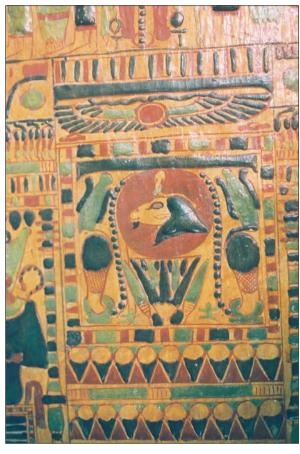


Fig. 2. Scene on the mummy-cover discovered on 16 December 1861 in Western Thebes. The scene depicts the Creator in the form of a sun-disc containing the head of a wider being, a cryptographic name for Amon-Re (Invisible One in his visible form = Sun) (21st Dynasty, 10th century BC). The Louvre Museum, E.3859. Photo by A. Niwiński.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> In 1858, A. Mariette began the excavations in the area of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari. It is possible that M. Tyszkiewicz intended to dig not far southwards from there, perhaps in the neighbourhood of the temple of Mentuhotep, beneath the southern rock-wall of the valley.

<sup>32</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 239–241; Niwiński 1997, 201; 2011, 66.

<sup>33</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 241–243; Niwiński 1997, 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> In the Louvre Museum, only the mummy-cover of this coffin is preserved, inv. no. E.3859 (*cf.* Rouit 1995, 136–138, cat. no. 138), belonging to an anonymous man. It probably dates from the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century BC. Most probably, the coffin in which the mummy with the mummy-cover upon it was found was left by Tyszkiewicz in Egypt.



Fig. 3. Gold pectoral with the cryptographic name of Amon-Re on the mummy of Lady Nekhemes-Bastet discovered on 16 December 1861 in Western Thebes (22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, 10<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> century BC). The Louvre Museum, E.11074. Photo after the exhibition catalogue *Papyri*, *Mummies and Gold...*, Warsaw 2011, 62.



Fig. 4. Stool discovered in a tomb in Western Thebes on 18 December 1861 (18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, 15<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century BC). The Louvre Museum, E.3858, on loan in the National Museum in Warsaw, MNW 143344. Photo after the exhibition catalogue *Papyri, Mummies and Gold...*, Warsaw 2011, 70.

"Thus we started from this case. To my great surprise, however, the mummy contained within had nothing on itself, except for the common wrappings. The next mummy - although modest - placed in a beautifully painted case stuck of linen repaid double our efforts. I found in the case a woman's body adorned with numerous gold jewels and figures of deities made of lapis lazuli. Thick gold ear-rings, two rings, and a gorgeous collar of the same material, decorated with cornelians [Fig. 3] – all this had the proper place on the corpse. A gold plaque with a hieroglyphic inscription laid on the breast; a bracelet of amethysts and cornelians strung on thread, and another one in the form of a serpent adorned the hands. A figure of the god Sawak made of crystal laid on her legs.<sup>35</sup> Delighted at this beautiful and rich prize I decided to continue digging in the promising valley, and sent immediately a generous baksheesh to my workmen to encourage them to further effort and research".36

The presence of two mummies indicated a possibility that an entrance to a tomb could be situated beneath the excavated layer of debris. In fact, the discovery took place on the next day, 18 December 1861:

"This night I was not present at the works across the river. Mohammed, whom I had left stationed there, informed me that one group of the workmen (they were divided into two parties, to make it possible to dig at two different places at the same time), digging near the rocks had come upon an entrance hewn in the rock, buried deep in the sand, presumably leading to a tomb; the other group had been digging the whole night and discovered nothing.

"At 10 o'clock in the evening [...] together with the dragoman I was on my way to my workmen. My effort was lavishly rewarded, because at about 2 o'clock in the morning I entered at last the newly discovered rock-tomb. In front of four funerary cases lying on the earth, there was a stool of sycamore wood, concave at the top [Fig. 4], with a blue faience bowl placed upon it [Fig. 5], containing some dried remains of food: two loaves of bread, one of which had the form of a hollow pyramid (broken at the top), while the other one was flat and shapeless, as well as a pile of stone-hard raisins. All my bounty was transported with care to the boat, and before dawn I was already on 'Adela', resting in a most innocent manner

refers to Anubis; the hieroglyph in the form of a lying jackal – the symbol of Anubis – has the phonetic value *sa*, which Tyszkiewicz may have deduced himself with the help of the publications of J.F. Champollion he had with him in Egypt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> This cartonnage mummy-case is kept today in the National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. MNW 238435. The mummy belonged to Lady Nehemes-Bastet of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty (10<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> century BC). From among the objects mentioned by Tyszkiewicz, only the golden pectoral, held today by the Louvre Museum, inv. no. E.11074, can be identified; other finds are probably dispersed in private collections. The name "Sawak"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>Tyszkiewicz 1994, 245–247; Niwiński 1997, 202–203.



Fig. 5. Faience bowl analogous to the one discovered in a tomb in Western Thebes on 18 December 1861 (18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, 15<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century BC). The Louvre Museum, AF 6894. Photo after the exhibition catalogue *Papyri, Mummies and Gold...*, Warsaw 2011, 70.

in bed, but not sleeping, because strong excitement had fully robbed me of my sleep".<sup>37</sup>

In the morning of the next day, onboard of the ship, M. Tyszkiewicz studied the contents of four coffins. He opened the mummies, all originating from the tomb of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (15<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century BC), and compiled an inventory of the objects found inside. In one of the coffins he discovered "a beautiful papyrus painted in many colours, or rather a manuscript on papyrus, a palette, some reeds used for writing, paints, and various instruments of ivory and metal were also found beside it" (Figs 6–7).<sup>38</sup>

It seems that the identification of the find-spot of the tomb can be attempted. The illicit arrangement of the nightly excavations made between Tyszkiewicz's interpreter, Petrus, and the guardians of the Necropolis concerned "a valley behind the mountains of Assasif". For somebody standing within the circus of Deir el-Bahari, such localisation may have meant either the area situated southwards (the Valley of the Royal Cache, the Valley of the unfinished temple of Mentuhotep,



Fig. 6. Ivory scribal palette and the copper knife for cutting papyrus: the objects found in Lady Bakai's coffin from the tomb in Western Thebes, discovered on 18 December 1861 (18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, 15<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century BC). The Louvre Museum, E.3669 and E.3673. Photo after the exhibition catalogue *Papyri*, *Mummies and Gold...*, Warsaw 2011, 87.

etc.) or northwards, *i.e.* at Drah Abu el-Naga, because the Valley of the Kings, also situated "behind the mountains" was certainly out of the question. The excavations first brought two mummies: one from the 21st Dynasty, the second being "in a beautiful painted case stuck of linen" and dating presumably to the 22nd Dynasty. Both mummies without any doubt originated from secondary burials situated not far from the mouth of the rock-tomb of the 18th Dynasty, as one can suppose from the analysis of the objects found inside, above all the well-datable papyrus with the *Book of the Dead*. Such valley containing some 18th Dynasty tombs,

in the National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. MNW 237128. The papyrus is dated to the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (the reigns of Thutmosis III or Amenhotep II; *cf.* Andrzejewski 1951). From among other objects found in the same coffin, the palette of a scribe, made of ivory, is now in the Louvre Museum, inv. no. E.3669 (*cf.* Rouit 1995, 144, cat. no. 152). The three playing sticks of bone and the copper knife for cutting papyrus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 249, 253; Niwiński 1997, 203; 2011, 69. The stool, presented by the count to the Louvre, inv. no. E.3858 (cf. Rouit 1995, 146–147, cat. no. 157), was deposited in 1960 in the National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. MNW 143344. The bowl is currently held by the Louvre Museum, inv. no. E.3856-3857.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 253; Niwiński 1997, 204; 2011, 69. The papyrus contained the *Book of the Dead* of Lady Bakai, now

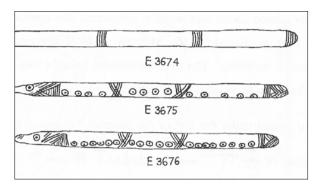


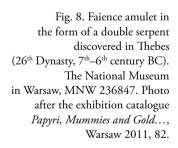
Fig. 7. Three bone playing sticks found in Lady Bakai's coffin from the tomb in Western Thebes, discovered on 18 December 1861 (18th Dynasty, 15th–14th century BC). The Louvre Museum, E.3674, E.3675, and E.3676. Drawing by A. Niwiński.

as well as some remnants of later burials, may be identified with the so-called Northern Valley (Khawi el-Alamat) situated at the northern slope of Drah Abu el-Naga, not far from the entrance to the *wadi* leading to the Valley of the Kings. This small valley, about 140 m in length and 70 m in breadth, contains the rock-tombs TT 150–TT 155 and 234, all from the times of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. It is, however, not known which one of these tombs was actually discovered and opened by Tyszkiewicz.

The clandestine excavations in the Theban Necropolis were continued during Count's absence, supervised by one of his servants. Nothing, unfortunately, can be deduced from the *Journal* concerning the place of

these investigations. After the tomb of the 18th Dynasty was definitely emptied, the excavations were certainly moved to another spot, where some burials were probably discovered, dated to a period post-dating the 18th Dynasty. Upon the count's arrival from the Nubian travel, the man left by him to supervise the digging presented a report on the works conducted both in Karnak and in Western Thebes. Besides "various small objects: scarabs, beads, figures of gods of stone or porcelain [Fig. 8], even some golden but common trinkets, two wooden figures, some small urns and eight pieces of bronze deities" which were already mentioned (as these objects may have been discovered in Karnak), "four mummies and two stones covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions have been found. The supervisor couldn't bring with him the last mentioned objects, because of their big volume, but he left them in one peasant's house. [...] He related that he had had a lot of troubles with the guardians of the governmental excavations who - wanting to get often baksheesh - were menacing that a ban to the night work would be imposed. [...] I am leaving the opening of the mummies and examination of the stones for tomorrow".39

In the morning of 20 January, M. Tyszkiewicz examined the above-mentioned objects: "Only one of these mummies was distinguished by beautiful adornments, and in particular I rejoiced over two beautiful earornaments of gold. The reader will find a drawing of these ear-ornaments in the tables which I do intend to attach to my diary, accompanied with a short text explaining the objects. <sup>40</sup> In one of the remaining mummies





are also in the Louvre Museum, inv. no. E.3673-3676; *cf.* Rouit 1995, 144–145, cat. nos 153–156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 363–364. It seems that some burials of the Third Intermediate or Saitic Period (8<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century BC) were probably discovered during the excavations, and they contained mummies covered with mummy nets made of faience beads and

figurines because such objects, originating from the collection of M. Tyszkiewicz, are kept today in the museums in Warsaw, Kaunas, and Vilnius.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> These tables with drawings have so far not been found; *cf.* footnote 6 above.

I found nothing except for the body and the wrappings, the last two brought also little to my collection. However, the stones are beautiful and covered with well-preserved hieroglyphs. On one of the stones there are several cartouches with the names of the kings, but even with the help of the publications in my possession, treating about hieroglyphs, I am not enough fluent at reading these names. I must therefore leave a decision concerning the importance of these stones to the scholars who are more learned and more experienced in this science than me—who am just barely and after a long work, with assistance of the works of Champollion and others, able to read, letter by letter, a short and easy text".<sup>41</sup>

## Other excavations of Michał Tyszkiewicz in Egypt

Only very scarce information in the *Journal* concerns other archaeological investigations of the count during his stay in Egypt.

#### Esna

On 25 December 1861, M. Tyszkiewicz arrived at Esna, where he undertook again some archaeological endeavours; however, he did not supervise the works in person: "We are going to him [the chief of the city, mudir – A.N.] to show him the firmans and to get men for digging antiquities. [...] Having chosen a spot for the digging and having immediately begun the work not far away from the town, we went to the palace [...]. Before the evening I am going to visit the works begun outside

the town. [...] Towards the evening, two tomb stones were brought to 'Adela', excavated for me and with hieroglyphic inscriptions. Such stones are named stelae. I'll stay here also tomorrow in purpose of making the archaeological researches. [...] (26 December) Having spent several hours with my workmen and having taken out of the earth some antiquities, I am going to my companions".<sup>42</sup>

These scarce notes do not allow any identification of the objects found in Esna in the remaining parts of Tyszkiewicz's collection. The stelae have probably been left in Egypt. 43

#### Wadi es-Sebua

In the first week of the new year 1862, M. Tyszkiewicz visited several temples in the Lower Nubia, subsequently in Philae, Kalabsha, Beit el-Wali, and Dendur. On 6 January, he made a stop to the south from Wadi es-Sebua to undertake archaeological investigations again: "Stone deities and various small ancient objects sometimes found at the foot of the rocky mountains nearby gave me the idea to stay here and try to dig and make the archaeological research. Therefore, I engaged thirty Negroes and spent the whole day digging. My principal prize was a stone figure, a rather awkward one, of the god Typhon [Fig. 9], about one cubit high. Moreover, some other small figures and fragments of stones with hieroglyphic inscriptions were excavated". 44

No further archaeological researches are mentioned in the *Journal* during the Nubian travel of Tyszkiewicz. The count only visited all the monuments in Derr, Amada, Dakka, Gerf Hussein, Dabod, and Abu Simbel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 369. The quoted passage informs us that M. Tyszkiewicz was surprisingly well-prepared for his Egyptian travel, taking with him some scholarly books on the hieroglyphic script, although these were of little use to somebody without specialised education in Egyptology. The stone inscribed with royal names represented with certainty a tomb stela. Except for one stone stela brought to Europe (cf. footnote 24), no other object of this kind can be identified in the known parts of Tyszkiewicz's collection. The count has probably decided against transporting too heavy or too voluminous objects, such as coffin-cases or stone statues, to Europe. Under the date of 19 January 1862, the Journal contains a note describing how the count refused to buy (in spite of a quite reasonable price) a beautiful statue of Osiris, half life-size, made of black granite, offered to him by the consular agent Mustafa Aga in Luxor. For the same reason only the innermost lid (mummy-cover) of the 21st Dynasty coffin was presented to the Louvre. Presumably, the bigger objects were transported to Cairo and offered as a gift to the Bulaq Museum. In the Memories of an Old Collector, a mention is made of a statue

presented by the count to Mariette; this statue was later exhibited at the World Exhibition in Paris in 1867.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 271–273; Niwiński 1997, 206.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Cf. footnote 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 325; Niwiński 1997, 208. It seems that a fragment of the above-mentioned figure representing Bes (= "Typhon") is actually preserved in the M.K. Čiurlionis Museum of Art at Kaunas, inv. no. IM 4960 (being a deposit from the National Museum in Vilnius). The present height of the limestone sculpture is only 8.8 cm, and it represents the head of the deity. From the note by Tyszkiewicz, we know that the whole figure was "about one cubit high" (*i.e.* about 50 cm). The aesthetic valuation of the object by the count was not very positive; he describes it as "rather awkward one". Knowing the fact that the count has often attempted to avoid including into his collection large or heavy objects, probably with the purpose of diminishing the costs of transport, one can presume that he decided to keep only the head of the statue.



Fig. 9. Head of a limestone statue of Bes discovered at Wadi es-Sebua on 6 January 1862 (18th Dynasty, 15th–14th century BC). The Lithuanian National Museum in Vilnius, IM 4960, on loan in the M.K. Čiurlionis Museum of Art, Kaunas. Photo after the exhibition catalogue *Papyri, Mummies and Gold...*, Warsaw 2011, 47.

#### Saqqara

Surprisingly little was written in the *Journal* about these excavations; only a few last sentences written in a hurry are devoted to the subject:

"(7 February) After a short stay in Cairo, having gotten a farewell audience by the Viceroy, and having spent some days on the desert of Saqqara, where I was successful to excavate a large number of beautiful bronzes, I decided to come back to Europe, and soon after I left Egypt on the beautiful English steamer 'Massilia'. [...] In Cairo, besides the things excavated by me, I succeeded also in purchasing a pretty big number of beautiful bronzes originating, too, from the excavations at Saqqara. The Atlas shall include these as well".45

## The collection of Egyptian antiquities

The whole collection of M. Tyszkiewicz brought to Europe can be estimated at no less than 800 objects,

mostly small ones. With the exception of one stela, all the other large stone objects excavated or purchased in Egypt were left there. One statue was presented to the Museum of Bulaq. <sup>46</sup> The largest objects transported to Europe were the cartonnage case of Lady Nehemes-Bastet (National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. MNW 141987), the wooden mummy-cover (Louvre, E.3859), and the wooden stool (Louvre, E.3858, currently on loan in the National Museum in Warsaw). The famous basalt 'healing statue' covered with magical texts (Louvre, E.10777) was purchased by the count only in 1897; its provenance remains unknown. Nothing is known about the second journey of M. Tyszkiewicz to Egypt in 1867.

Following the subsequent investigations on the fate of M. Tyszkiewicz's collection of Egyptian antiquities, it is possible to trace a total of 453 pieces brought by him from Egypt in 1862: two are in London, four in Boston, 121 in Warsaw, 124 in Lithuania, and 202 in Paris. The present location of 18 objects sold at an auction in 1898, listed by W. Fröhner in his catalogue, is unknown; they included a golden ring and two silver representations of the Ba – soul. Under the pretext of protecting the museum collection in case of a war with Germany, 223 small objects were taken away in 1867 from the Museum of Antiquities in Vilnius. At present, they are kept in Moscow in the Pushkin Museum. The warfare on the French-German front line resulted in the plundering and destruction of the town Peronne on the river Somme, where two bronze statuettes from Tyszkiewicz's collection in the Louvre were deposited in the Alfred Danicourt Museum. This museum was completely plundered by German soldiers in 1914; one can presume that at present the objects are in private hands. The register of war losses suffered by the National Museum in Warsaw in the course of World War II<sup>47</sup> includes 81 objects from the collection of Tyszkiewicz: two wooden figurines (over 30 cm in height), three ushabti funerary figurines, a small vessel, and 75 small figurines and amulets. Imaginably, these objects are now in private possession as well.

The *Journal* contains a description, left by Tyszkiewicz, of a dozen-odd more remarkable pieces, distinguished by their shape, material, and beauty. It is significant that, unfortunately, next to nothing is known about the majority of these objects. Their list is given below:

- a gold scarab, and another scarab set in gold, found on 17 November 1861 with a mummy unwrapped in the house of the consul of Russia, E. Lavisson;
- a bow and three batons of wood from the same source;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 410. The bronzes purchased by the count in Cairo probably belonged to the collection of Dr Meymar, mentioned in Tyszkiewicz 1898, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Now in the Cairo Egyptian Museum, cat. no. CG 725, *cf.* Borchardt 1930.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Mizera 2000.

- a silver plate with a representation of a weeping eye from a mummy presented to Tyszkiewicz by Mustapha Aga on 14 December 1861;
- a wooden box inlaid with ivory and decorated with a design of small incised circles, found at Karnak on 14 December 1861;
- a spherical vessel of copper, gilded inside, found at Karnak on the same day;
- a gold ring "with an uncut emerald" (probably a semiprecious stone), found at Karnak on the same day;
- a gold statuette of Amon-Re, found at Karnak on 15 December 1861;
- "numerous gold jewels and figurines of deities made of lapis-lazuli, stout gold ear-rings, two rings, a gold plaque with a hieroglyphic inscription, a bracelet of amethysts and carnelians, a bracelet in the form of a serpent, a figure of the god Sawak (Anubis) made of crystal" – all this found on the mummy of Lady Nehemes-Bastet discovered above the entrance of the tomb on 17 December;

- two stelae with hieroglyphic inscriptions (one with royal cartouches) – handed over to Tyszkiewicz on 19 January 1862;
- an inscribed golden ring composed together with a "porcelain goose", a work of the dealer Teodorus, bought by Tyszkiewicz on 19 January 1862.

There are reasons to believe that Tyszkiewicz left the wooden batons and the bow, similarly to the two stone stelae, in the Bulaq Museum. All the other, more valuable pieces M. Tyszkiewicz may have kept for himself. Some of them may have been offered as gifts to his closest family members (he was married twice), whereas some of the others were presumably sold.

To sum up, one may estimate that of the collection of Egyptian antiquities brought by M. Tyszkiewicz from his travel to Egypt and Nubia in 1862 – some 800 pieces in total – 453 items are now held by several museums across the world.

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#### Mariola Kazimierczak

Musée National des Châteaux de Malmaison et Bois-Préau mariola.kazimierczak@free.fr

## MICHEL TYSZKIEWICZ (1828-1897) ET LES FOUILLES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES EN ITALIE

#### ABSTRACT

MICHEL TYSZKIEWICZ (1828–1897): ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS IN ITALY

According to Stanisław Lorentz, the collections of Michel Tyszkiewicz, enriched by his excavations in Egypt and Italy, undoubtedly "belonged to the more valuable European collections created in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century". After his first journey to Egypt, Tyszkiewicz, enlivened with a passion for excavations, first lived in Naples and then settled permanently in Rome in 1865. As the political situation changed there after 1870 and the new government restrained issuing permits, he started applying for excavation permits in his estate of Birże, in Lithuania (1871). Later, in 1894, he also tried

to obtain excavation permits at Olbia, in Southern Russia, but this time unsuccessfully. His unpublished letters to the famous German scholar Wilhelm Froehner (1834–1925), now in the Goethe und Schiller Archiv in Weimar, throw a new light on the discoveries that took place in Boscoreale and in Lake Nemi and on his purchases there, as well as on his great enterprise in relation to the Satricum excavations in 1896, from which he was excluded after discovering the trace of "thousands of different votive objects".

**Keywords:** Count Michel Tyszkiewicz, Wilhelm Froehner, excavations in Egypt, in Italy, collection of antiquities, Boscoreale silver mirror (Comte Michel Tyszkiewicz, Wilhelm Froehner, fouilles en Égypte, en Italie, collection des antiquités, miroir en argent de Boscoreale)

Le nom de Michel Tyszkiewicz (Fig. 1) est gravé au cœur du musée du Louvre parmi les principaux donateurs. En 1862, il se fit connaître dans le monde des collectionneurs, savants et marchands de la seconde moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, grâce à son don à ce musée de 194 antiquités égyptiennes. De nombreuses statuettes représentant des divinités, jusque-là inconnues,¹ proviennent notamment de ses fouilles autorisées par Mohamed Saïd Pacha (1822-1863), alors gouverneur d'Égypte et de Nubie. Ce fut un cas rare, car à cette époque Auguste Mariette était l'unique responsable de toutes les fouilles en Égypte et en Nubie.

Pourquoi Michel Tyszkiewicz s'est-il montré aussi généreux pour les collections françaises ? À la veille de l'insurrection polonaise du janvier 1863, pressentant un échec et de graves représailles russes (toutes les collections du Musée d'archéologie de Vilnius furent saisies, puis emportées à Moscou en 1867), il prit conscience de

l'importance que pouvaient représenter ses découvertes archéologiques et ses acquisitions pour la science :

« On entreprend un tel effort et un tel travail aussi importants, non pas pour s'amuser, mais pour la science. Les objets de fouilles apportés en Lituanie, où personne ne sait déchiffrer les hiéroglyphes, seraient devenus seulement extraordinaires et curieux, tandis que déposés entre les mains des Champollion de nos jours, ils serviront la science ».<sup>2</sup>

Depuis 1856, il était membre et bienfaiteur de la Commission archéologique de Vilnius et, en 1858, il réjoignit la Société archéologique fondée par le tsar Alexandre II à Saint-Pétersbourg.<sup>3</sup> Michel Tyszkiewicz est mentionné comme « l'archéologue bien connu » dans le catalogue de vente de la collection du comte Alfred Tyszkiewicz (1882-1930) qui eut lieu en 1922 à Paris.<sup>4</sup>

Bien que son voyage en Égypte et en Nubie à la charnière de 1861 et 1862 soit bien connu, son intérêt

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Rougé 1862, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Tyszkiewicz 1862.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1858.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Collection 1922, 31. Alfred était le fils du comte Jean Tyszkiewicz (1852-1901), deuxième fils du comte Michel.



Fig. 1. Michel Tyszkiewicz, archives familiales de Tyszkiewicz, Paris.

Fig. 1. Michel Tyszkiewicz, family archives of Tyszkiewicz, Paris

pour les fouilles en Italie l'est beaucoup moins, en particulier, après le tournant politique de 1870, quand la situation du marché des antiquités avait changé. Le récent dépouillement de la correspondance des années 1872-1897 de Michel Tyszkiewicz à Wilhelm Froehner, célèbre savant allemand installé à Paris, permet une meilleure compréhension de son attitude vis-à-vis du domaine des fouilles. Stanisław Lorentz, dans son guide *Przewodnik po muzeach i zbiorach w Polsce*, met l'accent sur les fouilles menées personnellement par M. Tyszkiewicz en Italie qui ont enrichi sa collection, « l'une des plus importantes collections européennes de la seconde moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle ».6

## 1861-1862 – première expérience en Égypte

À cette époque, le démaillotement d'une momie était un vrai spectacle qui attirait toujours beaucoup de

curieux. Lors de l'Exposition universelle de Paris, en 1867, Auguste Mariette, successeur de Champollion, démaillota une momie devant un public constitué de gens célèbres tels les écrivains Alexandre Dumas fils, Théophile Gautier et les frères Goncourt.<sup>7</sup>

Le 17 novembre 1861 au Caire, le vice-consul russe M. Lavisson, autorisé à mener des fouilles en Égypte, invita Tyszkiewicz à la cérémonie de démaillotage de trois momies envoyées par un agent consulaire russe en poste à Qena. Tyszkiewicz saisit l'occasion et proposa de démailloter les momies de ses propres mains. Il éprouvait un énorme besoin de toucher les antiquités afin d'entrer en contact direct avec cette civilisation ancienne. Tyszkiewicz était au centre des événements, il en devint acteur. Les objets découverts sont signalés au fur et à mesure de la progression du démaillotement :

« Ayant défait quelques mètres, soudainement, je vis au milieu du corps sept scarabées, c'est-à-dire, des géotrupes, dont le dessous était gravé d'hiéroglyphes creux et servait de sceaux. Chaque scarabée était transpercé de la tête jusqu'à la queue. Ces géotrupes étaient enfilés sur un fin cordon, lequel entourait le corps par-dessus les bandelettes, dont une bonne quantité restait encore à dérouler. Quand je soulevai le cordon, sur lequel étaient enfilés les scarabées, pour les montrer aux personnes présentes, ce cordon déjà complètement pourri tomba en morceaux; on examina alors les scarabées un par un soigneusement. L'un d'eux, le plus important, était en or massif, deux autres, enfilés à ses côtés étaient émaillés et entourés d'un petit cadre d'or, les quatre derniers étaient en pierre.

« En continuant à déployer le ruban, je trouvai sur la poitrine une sorte d'insigne qu'on mettait habituellement aux défunts de l'Égypte antique. Ils représentaient deux ceintures en cuir rouge, d'une longueur d'environ deux coudées, croisées sur la poitrine. Leur embout se terminait comme une spatule. Les hiéroglyphes couraient le long de ces rubans et des images de divinités figuraient à leurs embouts. Avec le temps, le cuir était devenu dur comme de l'os, mais très friable. Puis, les bandelettes se terminèrent et le corps apparut entièrement sec, noir et extrêmement fragile. Sur le corps lui-même, à l'exception de quelques perles de pierre et de quelques petites représentations de divinités, nous ne trouvâmes rien de plus ».9

À la fin de la cérémonie, le vice-consul russe offrit à Tyszkiewicz tous les objets extraits de l'opération. Deux de ces pièces, deux bretelles de momie en cuir maroquiné, d'une longueur de 47 cm, portant une inscription hiéroglyphique, se trouvent aujourd'hui au musée du Louvre (E 3670 et E 3672), <sup>10</sup> mais leur provenance est probablement erronée. De plus, quatre des scarabées décrits par

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Kazimierczak 2015, t. 3, 80-108.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Lorentz 1973, 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Aziza 1996, 274.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Tyszkiewicz 1994, 159-163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Traduction du polonais par M. Kazimierczak et M. Myślicka.

<sup>10</sup> Rouit 1995, t. 2, 138-139, nos 139 et 140.

Tyszkiewicz peuvent être rapprochés du catalogue dressé par Charles Rouit : E 3686, E 3695, E 3687, E 3693, car leur provenance n'est pas indiquée dans le catalogue.

Dans son Journal de voyage en Égypte et Nubie 1861-1862, Tyszkiewicz dévoile notamment une facette moins connue de la vie d'archéologue : le travail d'écriture qui suit l'euphorie de la découverte. Il montre qu'il savait que les descriptions trop détaillées et trop précises pouvaient ennuyer ses lecteurs. Le 14 décembre 1861, il écrit dans son journal : « Ayant noté tous ces objets [MK, dans un inventaire], je les rangeai ».11 Le 19 décembre, après l'ouverture de quatre momies, ayant noté tous les nouveaux objets dans son inventaire, il en parle dans son Journal de voyage: « ayant relevé et enfermé de riches objets ». 12 Tyszkiewicz rédigeait, sans doute, de brefs textes décrivant les objets. Il ne les notait jamais en marge de son Journal de voyage, ce que j'ai pu constater ayant examiné le manuscrit à Poznań. Il avait sans doute un cahier séparé qui pouvait lui servir aussi de brouillon à l'élaboration de l'Atlas, ouvrage consacré à ses plus belles et plus importantes antiquités égyptiennes qu'il souhaitait publier à Paris. Le 18 décembre 1861, le comte écrivait :

« je ne veux pas décrire ici d'une manière très détaillée mes récoltes quotidiennes ; pour ne pas ennuyer le lecteur par la description monotone superflue des objets répertoriés, des planches situées à la fin de "mon journal" en donneront une meilleure idée que ma plume malhabile. On y trouvera d'importants ornements que je découvris sur les momies, ainsi que certains bronzes intéressants et autres objets issus de mes fouilles dans divers endroits d'Égypte et de Nubie ».¹³

Un mois plus tard, le 20 janvier 1862, il expliquait :

« Le lecteur trouvera le dessin de ces boucles d'oreilles dans des planches, que j'ai l'intention de publier comme annexe à mon journal, avec un bref texte décrivant les objets ».<sup>14</sup>

En 1996, 32 objets de la collection Tyszkiewicz étaient exposés dans les salles du musée du Louvre, soit 15 % de la collection (Fig. 2). Par ailleurs, dix objets sont mis en dépôt, dont trois au Musée national de Varsovie et sept dans des musées provinciaux : à Amiens,

Dijon, Besançon, Lille et Péronne.<sup>15</sup> D'après les récentes recherches sur la collection égyptienne de Michel Tyszkiewicz, estimée à 800 objets, le professeur Andrzej Niwiński a pu identifier au total 453 antiquités : deux se trouvent à Londres, quatre à Boston, 121 à Varsovie, 124 en Lituanie et 202 en France.<sup>16</sup>

## 1863-1865 – fouilles dans la baie de Naples

À son retour d'Égypte, Michel Tyszkiewicz avait donc développé un goût particulier pour les antiquités. <sup>17</sup> Sa richesse lui permettait d'y répondre. La même année 1862, il hérita de son oncle paternel Jean Tyszkiewicz une énorme propriété terrienne d'environ 60 000 hectares qui lui assurait des revenus supplémentaires lui permettant de s'installer à Naples en 1863, puis à Rome en 1865.

« Il vint en Italie à une époque heureuse où les fouilles et découvertes attendaient les collectionneurs et non comme c'est le cas aujourd'hui que les collectionneurs attendent le résultat des fouilles », écrivait Ludwig Pollak en 1898. Aussitôt après son arrivée à Naples, Tyszkiewicz entreprit des fouilles dans les environs, dans la nécropole de Cumes. Son ami Jacques-Alfred Bovet, alors secrétaire du consulat de France, le mit en relation avec le marquis Anatole de Gibaut qui l'associa à son entreprise des fouilles. Ensemble, ils y découvrirent quelques centaines de tombes avec une très grande quantité de vases peints et de menus objets, mais il n'y avait « pas une seule antiquité de premier ordre ».

Pendant deux hivers (1863-1864 et 1864-1865), il fouilla l'ancien lieu de délices des Romains à Baïes où ceux-ci avaient déployé un luxe inouï dans leurs villas, le long de la mer et sur les bords du lac Averne. Tyszkiewicz avait à cœur de bien surveiller ses ouvriers. Mais, selon ses propres termes, les ruines des villas romaines avaient déjà été dépourvues de tout objet d'art ou d'ornement :

« Pas une statue, pas un buste, pas un bas-relief. Rien qu'une grande quantité de plaquettes en marbre de

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm II}$  Tyszkiewicz 1994, 241 : « Gdy już wszystkie te przedmioty spisałem i ułożyłem ».

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 253 : « spisawszy i pozamykawszy bogate nowe przedmioty ».

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Tyszkiewicz 1994, 249-251: « lecz nie chcę tu zbyt szczegółowo opisywać każdodziennych mych plonów, żeby przez zbyteczną monotonię przedmiotów nie znudzić czytelnika, do tego tablice w końcu dziennika lepsze o typach przedmiotów dadzą wyobrażenie, jak moje niewprawne pióro. W tych tablicach umieszczam głównie ozdoby na muniach przeze mnie znalezione oraz najważniejsze brązy i inne przedmioty w różnych punktach Egiptu I Nubii przeze mnie wykopane », traduction

du polonais par M. Kazimierczak et M. Myślicka; voir aussi Kazimierczak 2003, 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1994, 367: « Czytelnik rysunek tych zausznic znajdzie w tablicach, które jako dodatek do mego dziennika wydać zamierzam, z krótkim tekstem objaśniającym przedmioty ».

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/joconde\_fr, consulté le 10/01/2013.

<sup>16</sup> Niwiński 2011, 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1903, 86.

<sup>18</sup> Pollak 1898, 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1898, 14.



Fig. 2. Paris, musée du Louvre, Osiris assis (E 3751), Basse Époque, 664-332, bronze incrusté d'or. Don de Tyszkiewicz (photo M. Kazimierczak, 2018).

Fig. 2. Paris, Louvre Museum, Osiris (E 3751), 664–332, gold encrusted bronze. Donated by Count Tyszkiewicz (photo M. Kazimierczak, 2018).

diverses couleurs qui avaient servi à décorer les murs de ces somptueuses habitations. Le déménagement ou le pillage s'étaient opérés avec une méthode qui ne laissait rien à glaner aux tard-venus ».<sup>20</sup>

Tyszkiewicz se retira donc de cette coopération puisqu'il n'était intéressé que par des œuvres de premier ordre. Entre-temps il visita à plusieurs reprises les fouilles de Pompéi. L'archéologue Giuseppe Fiorelli fut nommé, en 1860, responsable des fouilles de Naples. En 1863, pour la première fois, il utilisa une nouvelle technique de moulage qui consistait à verser du plâtre liquide dans des traces retrouvées dans le sol. Cela permit de déterminer les positions dans lesquelles les gens trouvèrent la mort à Pompéi. Aujourd'hui, les travaux continuent sur environ 50 ha de la surface totale de la ville qui est de 65 ha. Tyszkiewicz proposa aux autorités d'entreprendre à ses frais les fouilles d'un quartier entier de Pompéi, en laissant à l'État non seulement la direction scientifique et la propriété des objets trouvés, mais aussi le choix des

ouvriers et des surveillants. En contrepartie, il souhaitait seulement pouvoir assister aux travaux en tout temps. Il s'engageait à terminer la fouille en deux, trois hivers. Pourtant, cette permission lui fut refusée sans aucune explication. Les motifs de ce refus lui furent connus quelques années plus tard seulement. Il était entendu que l'État entretenait un grand nombre d'employés, payés tant pour fouiller que pour surveiller les fouilles, et que ces employés avaient intérêt à faire durer les travaux le plus longtemps possible et ne voulaient pas qu'on vînt troubler leur quiétude. Dans ses mémoires Tyszkiewicz écrit qu'à cette époque les sites anciens à l'ouest de Naples étaient laissés à l'abandon et qu'ils n'étaient pas du tout protégés par les autorités.

### Á Rome

Finalement, en 1865, Tyszkiewicz s'installa dans la capitale du monde antique. En effet, « il préféra Rome, et le besoin de vivre dans un pays où chaque jour amène une découverte nouvelle, devint pour lui, avec le temps, un besoin si impérieux, qu'il finit par y rester six ou sept mois de l'année ».<sup>21</sup> Aussitôt, il y entreprit des fouilles personnelles.

Comme beaucoup d'autres collectionneurs qui fouillaient, il avait pour objectif de trouver de précieuses œuvres d'art.<sup>22</sup> Dès 1865, en collaboration avec son ami Alfred Bovet devenu secrétaire à l'ambassade de France à Rome, il ouvrit un chantier qui dura plusieurs années sur la célèbre Via Appia Antica, au-delà de Casal-Rotondo sur les terrains d'un couvent romain.<sup>23</sup> Le roi et la reine de Naples, exilés alors à Rome, les visitèrent à plusieurs reprises. Un monument important, une énorme plaque de marbre très lourde, portant une très longue inscription, fut offerte par Tyszkiewicz au musée du Vatican. Une mosaïque remarquable qu'il y découvrit également se trouve aujourd'hui au musée des Thermes à Rome. En effet, dans sa collection privée, il ne pouvait garder de vestiges aussi encombrants.

Selon Charles Rouit, Tyszkiewicz ne tirait pas beaucoup de satisfaction de ses découvertes : « nous savons qu'il cherchait les objets rares et de valeur, et il ne prétend pas avoir voulu faire œuvre archéologique ».<sup>24</sup> La mosaïque offerte par Tyszkiewicz au pape n'arriva jamais jusqu'au Vatican, car il dut l'abandonner sur place après l'entrée de l'armée italienne à Rome.<sup>25</sup> Elle fut finalement soustraite par la Direction générale et transportée au Musée Kircher, pour aboutir plus tard au nouveau musée des Thermes. Les ouvriers qui travaillaient

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1898, 14-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Froehner 1898, catalogue illustré, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Dobrowolski 1997, 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Rouit 1995, t. 1, 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Rouit 1995, t. 1, 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1898, 31.

sur le chantier de Tyszkiewicz n'étaient pas honnêtes et ils cachèrent quelques objets de valeur en prétendant n'avoir rien découvert. Plus tard, dans le magasin d'un marbrier près du Colisée, Tyszkiewicz retrouva de beaux marbres, cippes, urnes et bas-reliefs provenant du lieumême de ses fouilles. Le marbrier en question, interrogé sur la provenance de ces sculptures, déclara qu'il les avait achetées au propriétaire du terrain où ses ouvriers avaient travaillé l'année précédente.

À cette époque, un autre collectionneur polonais illustre, le comte Jan Działyński, finança des fouilles dirigées par Giuseppe Mele en Italie, près de Noli. 26 Działyński signa le contrat avec le propriétaire du terrain, le 16 décembre 1867. Même si les résultats de ces fouilles ne furent pas fructueux, Działyński resta en contact avec Mele qui, d'après les notes conservées, continua à acheter pour lui de nombreuses antiquités en Italie. Plus tard, dans les années 1882-1884, un autre collectionneur polonais installé à Vienne, Karol Lanckoroński mena d'importantes fouilles archéologiques en Pamphylie et Pisidie. 27

À Rome, sous le règne de Pie IX, on commença la construction d'une grande gare de chemin de fer, tout près de la villa Massimi où Tyszkiewicz était en train de fouiller.<sup>28</sup> Comme il savait que les ingénieurs allaient raser toute la surface du Monte Giustizia, il se flatta d'obtenir la permission d'exécuter, à ses frais, des fouilles à cet endroit. À cet effet, il adressa une demande au conseil d'administration du chemin de fer, présidé par un prince romain. Sa demande fut repoussée :

« les trouvailles d'objets antiques y furent innombrables et journalières. On était près de l'emplacement du camp des Prétoriens et c'est ce qui explique le nombre incroyable de médaillons romains qu'on y découvrit. Bien entendu, médaillons, médailles et autres menus objets passaient dans les poches des terrassiers et tous les soirs, à l'Ave Maria, quand les ouvriers quittaient leur chantier, ils trouvaient à la porte de sortie de nombreux courtiers en antiquités qui venaient acheter de première main leur butin. À cette époque les trouvailles de monnaies étaient si fréquentes qu'on les achetait aux ouvriers pour quelques sous ».<sup>29</sup>

Tyszkiewicz mena aussi des fouilles à Véies, site étrusque à 15 km au nord de Rome.<sup>30</sup> Il fit même,

à plusieurs reprises, des fouilles dans quelques jardins de couvent et dans la banlieue de Rome.<sup>31</sup> Il mena notamment des fouilles à Faléries, autre site étrusque situé à 50 km au nord de Rome.<sup>32</sup> Un jour à Rome, alors qu'il se rendait à l'Institut archéologique de Prusse, il aperçut dans la rue des jeunes gens nettoyant une aile colossale en bronze de Victoire, dérobée lors de ses fouilles de Faléries. Cette fois-ci, il intenta un procès au propriétaire du terrain, mais les événements de 1870 et la mort de son ami Bovet l'obligèrent finalement à y renoncer. Du reste, le changement de régime à Rome n'était pas propice aux amateurs de fouilles ; « les miennes furent closes définitivement au mois de septembre 1870 » écrit-il dans ses mémoires.<sup>33</sup>

## Projet de fouilles au domaine de Birże

Parallèlement, Michel Tyszkiewicz continuait à enrichir la collection archéologique de Birże (Fig. 3).34 Après 1863, le majorat qui s'étendait sur au moins 62 272,5 hectares<sup>35</sup> fut conservé dans son intégralité par la famille Tyszkiewicz. En l'absence de Michel Tyszkiewicz, c'était Eustache Tyszkiewicz (1814-1873) qui, après la fermeture du Musée d'archéologie de Vilnius qu'il avait lui-même fondé en 1855, veillait sur le palais et les collections de Birże. Eustache souhaitait enrichir cette collection avec des antiquités romaines. Mais Michel avait d'autres projets sur Birze ; il souhaitait l'enrichir avec des œuvres locales en entreprenant des fouilles dans le domaine.36

En 1870, il adressa aussi une lettre au gouverneur de Kaunas, Michel Oboleński, en lui demandant la permission de fouiller le domaine de Birże dans un but scientifique et il obtint la permission en 1871 avec l'engagement que s'il trouvait des armes ou tout autre objet ancien, il devrait en informer la police locale.<sup>37</sup>

## Projet de fouilles en Russie

Il désirait également fouiller en Russie méridionale. En effet, le 14 avril 1894, Tyszkiewicz avoua à Froehner que, depuis longtemps, il souhaitait mener des fouilles

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Kłudkiewicz 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Winiewicz-Wolska 2010, 165.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1898, 63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1898, 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1898, 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Froehner 1898, catalogue illustré, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>Tyszkiewicz 1898, 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1898, 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Snitkuvienė 2008, 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Żychliński 1887, 396. M. Tyszkiewicz possédait à Birże 57 000 de « dziesiątyń » (dizaines). Il s'agit ici d'une ancienne mesure

russe de la surface du sol. À l'époque, on distinguait trois sorte de dizaines : « dziesiątynia skarbowa » (une dizaine du trésor) était égale à 10 925 m², dizaine « supérieure » égale à 14 567 m², enfin, dizaine centaine, égale à 18 209 m². T. Żychliński ne précise pas de quelle dizaine s'agissait-il ici. Donc, la propriété du comte à Birże pouvait avoir, respectivement, la surface de 62 272,5 ha, 83 031,9 ha ou 103 791,3 ha.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Snitkuvienė 2008, 90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Snitkuvienė 2008, 92 : d'après la lettre d'Eustache à son frère Konstanty Tyszkiewicz (1806-1868) du 10 novembre 1867.



Fig. 3. Palais sur l'île Ostrów, selon le projet de l'architecte polonais Tomasz Tyszecki, siège du majorat de Birże (photo M. Kazimierczak, 2007).

Fig. 3. Palace on Ostrów Island, according to the project of the Polish architect Tomasz Tyszecki, seat of the Birże Majorate (photo M. Kazimierczak, 2007).

à Olbia, dans le sud de la Russie. Il fit même pour cela des démarches auprès de la Société archéologique Russe.<sup>38</sup> Mais la surveillance en ce lieu était fort rigoureuse et il lui fut impossible d'obtenir la permission d'y fouiller. Il en parle à Froehner dans sa lettre du 14 avril 1896, quelque temps après l'achat d'une fausse tiare en or par le musée du Louvre :

« Ayant depuis longtemps le désir de faire faire des fouilles dans le midi de la Russie ou ailleurs, j'ai fait beaucoup de démarches pour arriver à me bien renseigner à cet effet et j'ai su qu'à Olbia la surveillance de la Société archéologique Russe était très rigoureuse, et qu'il était presque impossible d'obtenir une permission de fouilles, que du reste les fouilles qui y ont été exécutées n'ont donné que des résultats absolument dérisoires. Vous comprendrez que me basant sur toutes ces données, je n'ai pu que me méfier absolument de ce casque en or et ma conviction sur la vraie authenticité de ce casque est basée simplement sur ce qui précède et voici tout ce que je puis dire sur la matière, mais ma conviction est cependant solide et bien établie sans même voir l'objet! » (GSA).<sup>39</sup>

Cependant c'est d'Olbia que venaient de très belles antiquités. Quelques-unes sont signalées par Tyszkiewicz dans sa lettre à Froehner du 8 juillet 1897.

#### Découvertes de Boscoreale

En janvier 1895, un ami de Naples l'informa que, dans un endroit appelé Boscoreale, situé non loin de Pompéi et près de Torre Annunziata, en faisant des fouilles un propriétaire avait eu la chance de découvrir une villa romaine. Tyszkiewicz courut donc à Boscoreale: « L'excavation était très profonde ; on avait déblayé un bâtiment assez vaste, mais dont les abords ne semblaient pas indiquer la villa d'un riche romain ».40 Il fut honoré par le propriétaire qui lui montra tous les objets déjà retirés de la fouille : « Ceux-ci donnèrent une toute autre idée que la maison de l'opulence du propriétaire ; ils étaient presque tous de bonne qualité et plusieurs même étaient fort beaux ». 41 Tyszkiewicz demanda qu'on lui mit de côté un buste d'argent représentant une femme coiffée à la mode du premier siècle de l'Empire et aussi quelques bibelots et « un miroir en argent dont le manche avait la forme d'une massue d'Hercule, autour de laquelle était enroulée une peau de lion dont les pattes de devant embrassaient le disque du miroir ». Il en parle également à Froehner, le 31 janvier 1895 :

« Cette semaine dernière, ayant eu mot d'une trouvaille dans les environs de Naples j'y suis allé et j'ai vu les objets trouvés dans la fouille d'une villa située aux portes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Avant 1901, le site d'Olbia appartenait aux comtes Musin-Pouchkine qui ne permettaient aucune fouille sur leur propriété. <sup>39</sup> Kazimierczak 2015, t. 3, 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>Tyszkiewicz 1898, 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>Tyszkiewicz 1898, 59.

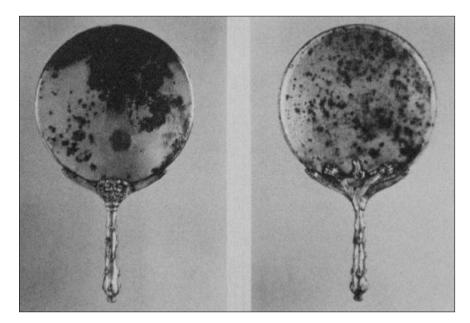


Fig. 4. Paris, musée du Louvre, Miroir de Boscoreale en argent, 1er siècle av. J.-C. (Bj 2160). Fig. 4. Louvre Museum in Paris, Boscoreale silver mirror, 1st century BC (Bj 2160).

de Pompeï vers le Vésuve. J'y ai vu deux magnifiques baignoires en bronze avec d'énormes têtes de lion en relief et d'une conservation superbe. [...] Ce que j'ai trouvé de beau ce sont deux objets pour lesquels j'ai fait prix et qui doivent m'être envoyés si le directeur du musée de Naples ne les prend pas pour le prix convenu avec moi. Ces deux objets sont un buste en argent de femme (Antonia je crois) haut d'une dizaine de centimètres et d'un art exquis et un miroir massif en argent dont le manche est une massue d'Hercule enroulée dans une peau de lion » (GSA).<sup>42</sup>

Le 26 février 1895, la transaction fut conclue :

« La fouille de la villa près de Pompéi est presque achevée. Les deux grandes baignoires ont été vendues à Mr. Vitoline le marchand de médailles de Rome. Le musée est sans le sou et n'a pu rien acheter. Quant à moi, j'ai eu le buste en argent, le miroir, la patère et le vase dont je vous ai déjà parlé et de plus deux verres très curieux dont l'un en verre bleu en forme d'arbre, et l'autre est un disque en verre également bleu foncé et tourné à la meule et faisant support car il est posé sur trois pieds et devait probablement supporter l'un ou quelque autre verre » (GSA).

Plus tard, en 1897, ce miroir de Boscoreale du 1er siècle av. J.-C. fut offert par Tyszkiewicz au musée du Louvre en complément du don du baron Edmond de Rothschild (Fig. 4). En 1899, il fit l'objet d'une publication spéciale par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (par Antoine Héron de Villefosse).<sup>43</sup> Et voici sa description (n° 98):

« Miroir rond, à main, (speculum), muni d'un manche. Les deux côtés du disque sont également polis. On peut se voir encore très aisément du côté convexe, mais l'image est réduite. Le manche. Il a la forme d'une massue très élégante, terminée par un bouton arrondi et rattachée au disque par une peau de lion. Cette peau est disposée de telle sorte qu'elle paraît servir de lien entre le disque et la massue. Du côté convexe apparaît, en haut de la massue, la tête du lion, qui semble tenir le disque dans sa gueule et l'entourer avec ses pattes de devant ; la dépouille de l'animal fait deux fois le tour du manche et revient du côté concave où s'étale l'arrière-train (queue et pattes de derrière avec les griffes). Les poils de la peau sont indiqués par des séries de petits traits. Diam. du disque, 0 m, 13. Long. du manche, 0 m, 095. Poids, 426,5 gr ».44

Ces fouilles près de Pompeï allaient s'achever et elles ne donnaient que peu de choses nouvelles (GSA, 18 III 1895). L'écho des fouilles de Boscoreale se fit entendre encore dans la lettre du 4 novembre 1895 à Froehner:

« Voici que Bosco Reale fait des siennes car ces trouvailles ont été le prétexte pour les faussaires de lancer de

<sup>42</sup> Kazimierczak 2015, t. 3, 100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Villefosse (de) 1899, t. 5, 128, n° 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Les miroirs en argent que l'on trouve dans les maisons de Pompéi sont ordinairement de ce type, voir Notizie degli scavi, 1877, 128 ; 1883, 147.



Figs 5 et 6. Paris, musée du Louvre, statuette d'Aphrodite (?), vues de profil et de face, bronze, 350 av. J.-C., fouilles de Némi, ancienne coll. Tyszkiewicz (Br 321).

Figs 5 and 6. Paris, Louvre Museum, a statue of Aphrodite (?), view from the side and front, bronze, 350 BC, Count Tyszkiewicz's collection of antiquities (Br 321).

par le monde leurs produits. Hier on m'a présenté une tête en argent fausse, bien entendu, mais joliment bien truquée. C'est une tête ou plutôt un buste d'homme ressemblant à Agrippa, très vaguement. La pièce est tellement bien faite que je suis sûr que ces coquins finiront par trouver une dupe » (GSA).

Le baron Edmond de Rothschild dut payer de grandes sommes pour les objets venant de Boscoreale qu'il donna ensuite au musée du Louvre. Le gouvernement italien chercha à interdire les concessions des fouilles afin de les contrôler entièrement. Felice Bernabei (1842-1922), directeur général des Antiquités, mit alors en place des restrictions pour les Français et fit faire un procès à Rothschild, ce dont Tyszkiewicz fut indigné.

Depuis le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, on savait que deux navires romains gisaient dans le lac de Némi (Latium), en Italie centrale.<sup>46</sup> La lettre du 26 octobre 1895 contient l'écho d'une fouille marine qui y fut alors entreprise :

« À propos de Némi, on y fait des fouilles pour le moment et on a trouvé dans le lac tout au fond une galère romaine de luxe dont on a déjà retiré quelques ornements en bronze, têtes plus grandes que nature, etc. On espère retirer tout le navire et il paraît que l'intérieur est en mosaïques très belles » (GSA).

Lors de la vente de 1898, dans la collection de Michel Tyszkiewicz se trouvaient quelques objets en provenance des fouilles du lac de Némi : trois fragments de verres opaques, numéros 84-86, et une figurine en bronze, démesurément allongée, trouvée au sanctuaire de Diane du lac de Némi, n° 147.<sup>47</sup>

Au musée du Louvre, se trouve une statuette en bronze provenant du lac Némi de l'ancienne collection Tyszkiewicz qui représente probablement une divinité, peut-être Aphrodite (Figs 5-6). Selon le cartel du Louvre (Br 321), elle appartient à un type d'ex-voto longilignes très répandu en Italie centrale au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C. Le visage aux traits réguliers, proche des modèles grecs classiques, contraste volontairement avec un corps démesurément allongé et plat (50,5 cm), sommairement détaillé, où seins et genoux sont indiqués par de simples protubérances.

Les découvertes de Boscoreale et du lac de Némi ontelles encouragé Tyszkiewicz à s'engager personnellement dans de nouvelles fouilles archéologiques ? Après 1870, puisqu'il avait du mal à obtenir les autorisations nécessaires, il abandonna les fouilles pour de nombreuses années. Cependant, son esprit vif le poussait toujours vers les lieux de découvertes. Jamais, il ne renonça à son désir d'aller chercher des objets antiques directement dans la terre. Plus tard, il essaya de surmonter l'obstacle en finançant les fouilles de tierces personnes.<sup>48</sup>

#### Fouilles à Canino

Il pensa à des terrains du prince Alessandro Torlonia, donc privés.<sup>49</sup> Les Français, sous la direction de M. Gsell, menaient des fouilles dans ses terres à Vulci, en 1889.<sup>50</sup> Ces fouilles apportèrent beaucoup à la connaissance de l'industrie et des arts de l'Étrurie. Et quand le prince

Lac de Némi

<sup>45</sup> Waarsenburg 1998, 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Briguet 1977, 123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Froehner 1898, catalogue sommaire, 12 et 19. Lors de la vente aux enchères, Froehner nota à la page 19 que cette figurine a été achetée par Ready pour 390 francs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Dobrowolski 1997, 165.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Waarsenburg 1998, 49-50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Perrot 1898, 123-124.

Torlonia entreprit de nouvelles fouilles à Canino en 1895, mais sans l'aide des Français, Michel Tyszkiewicz surveilla tout. Il y découvrit un grand tumulus, Cuccumella, mais les tombes avaient déjà été pillées. En raison d'un butin modeste, le prince Torlonia suspendit ses fouilles. Mais Tyszkiewicz avait la certitude que dans le sol, il y avait des choses à espérer. Helbig intervint alors en faveur du comte auprès de Torlonia pour autoriser Tyszkiewicz à mener des fouilles à ses frais et garder 50% des trouvailles pour lui. Mais Torlonia refusa. <sup>51</sup> Peu après, Torlonia mourut.

#### Fouilles à Satricum

Une série de lettres témoigne que Tyszkiewicz avait un projet sérieux de mener ses propres fouilles à Satricum. <sup>52</sup> Le terrain avait été acheté par le comte italien, Attilio Gori Mazzoleni, également marchand d'antiquités. <sup>53</sup> Sur les conseils de Wolfgang Helbig, celui-ci demanda et obtint du ministère de l'Instruction publique à Rome une autorisation de fouilles. Elles étaient menées par M. Graillot, ancien membre de l'École française de Rome aux frais du comte Tyszkiewicz. <sup>54</sup> Les trouvailles devaient être partagées entre eux deux selon la division de 50%, selon l'usage de l'époque. <sup>55</sup> Les lettres de Tyszkiewicz apportent une lumière nouvelle sur le déroulement de cette affaire. <sup>56</sup> Le 25 novembre 1895, pour la première fois, il informa Froehner de ces fouilles :

« Pour clore ma lettre, je vous dirai que j'espère entreprendre en janvier une fouille qui promet d'être remplie d'intérêt, c'est la fouille d'une ville et d'une nécropole Volsque. Cet endroit n'ayant jamais été fouillé pourrait donner de bons et intéressants résultats » (GSA).

Le 10 décembre 1895, il attendait toujours la permission du gouvernement et pensait entreprendre la fouille vers le 15 janvier : « Il se peut que l'on ne trouve ab-

solument rien, mais si l'on découvre une nécropole, il y a beaucoup à espérer » (GSA).

Le 4 janvier 1896, Tyszkiewicz confirma à Froehner que les fouilles à Satricum devaient commencer le 15 janvier, sous la direction de M. Graillot, également ancien membre de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.<sup>57</sup> La lettre suivante du 23 janvier 1896 apporta des nouvelles révélatrices (Fig. 7). Tyszkiewicz était heureux et excité:

« Samedi passé, on a commencé l'examen des terrains à fouiller à Satricum. Les sondages ont de suite fait constater l'existence de nombreuses tombes à chambre et à fosses, l'emplacement du temple de Matuta, et les murs de la ville » [mots soulignés dans l'original].

Le succès fut donc au rendez-vous et les lettres ne se firent plus attendre :

- le 25 janvier 1896, GSA: « Deux mots pour vous dire que hier à 2 heures on a découvert l'emplacement de la ville Satricum. Dans l'intérieur des murs, il y a trois temples. On a ouvert la tranchée au centre de l'un de ces temples et on a immédiatement trouvé une très grande quantité de fragments de statues du fronton, de vases votifs et fragments de vase de différentes époques depuis les plus reculées jusqu'aux vases corinthiens, terres cuites votives, bracelets et fibules en bronze, anses [mot illisible] etc, etc, etc. La nécropole est près de la villa et l'on y mettra une seconde équipe d'ouvriers. Enfin la fouille promet beaucoup car le terrain est vierge et il est à espérer que l'on retrouvera tout le fronton et peut être des statues en bronze de l'Inkiérion! Cela donnera aussi de beaux espoirs pour la nécropole »;
- le 29 janvier 1896, GSA: « Les fouilles à Satricum continuent et ont fait découvrir dans l'intérieur du temple plusieurs milliers d'objets divers tous votifs et quelques fragments encore de statues en terre cuite qui ornaient le fronton. Cela promet beaucoup. Depuis

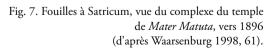


Fig. 7. Excavations at Satricum, view of the complex of the temple of *Mater Matuta*, c. 1896 (after Waarsenburg 1998, 61).



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Waarsenburg 1998, 49-50.

<sup>52</sup> Satricum est une cité antique, peuplée par les Volsques, située au sud de Latium, à environ 60 km au sud-est de Rome.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Waarsenburg 1998, 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Perrot 1898, 123-124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Waarsenburg 1998, 49-50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Kazimierczak 2015, t. 3, 102-105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Perrot 1898, 124.

trois jours les nouvelles de la fouille me manquent car je n'en ai qu'une fois par semaine. On va maintenant chercher les tombeaux à fosse et c'est sûrement là qu'est mon grand espoir ».

Hélas! Peu après, la situation changea radicalement et très rapidement. Le 13 février 1896, complètement résigné, il informa Froehner que le ministère de l'Instruction publique à Rome « sous prétexte que les fouilles étaient faites avec l'argent d'une autre personne que celle que mentionne le permis de fouilles, ce permis a été retiré! ». Avec résignation il écrivit: « À cela rien à faire qu'à le déplorer et à se soumettre ». Georges Perrot, membre de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, écrivit un rapport, lu en séance du 4 mars 1898, dans lequel il fait référence aux fouilles de Tyszkiewicz à Satricum:

« On sait comment, malgré la permission d'abord accordée, ont été interrompues, dès qu'elles ont paru devoir être fructueuses, il y a deux ans, les fouilles entamées à Satricum, aux frais du comte Tyszkiewicz, par M. Graillot, ancien membre de notre École. Plus récemment, un refus formel a été opposé à une demande analogue qu'avait présenté le premier directeur de l'École américaine, nouvellement fondée [...] » (GSA).<sup>58</sup>

Et voici un jugement différent d'un professeur français du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle, Marie-Christine Hellmann qu'elle nous adressa dans son e-mail privé du 10 mai 2011 :

« l'inspection des Bien culturels a vite fait arrêter les travaux de M.T., deux jours après le premier coup de pioche. C'était vraiment nécessaire, afin de pouvoir préserver le patrimoine culturel italien. [...] Évidemment, quand on a su que les trouvailles sortaient à la pelle, les représentants du Ministère ont interdit aux deux hommes de continuer et ont tout récupéré pour les musées italiens : c'était normal et indispensable, ils ont montré qu'ils avaient le sens de leurs responsabilités. Encore une fois, il faut cesser de croire que M.T. aurait été victime de la jalousie de conservateurs et d'autres archéologues officiels. Ceux-ci n'ont fait que leur métier, face aux méthodes parfois inacceptables de certains marchands et collectionneurs privés ».<sup>59</sup>

Sauf qu'ici, il ne s'agissait pas de fouilles sauvages, mais bien autorisées par l'administration italienne et menée sous la direction d'un archéologue professionnel français, M. Graillot. Nous avons l'impression que M.-C. Hellmann déprécie une fois de plus le collectionneur polonais (entre autre, dans ce cas précis, en le traitant de « noble » qui s'entendit avec un autre noble italien). Quoi qu'elle en pense, Michel Tyszkiewicz était très sensible à la protection du patrimoine antique, il suffit de lire ses mémoires pour s'en rendre compte. Ici, la méthode des fouilles avait été acceptée par les officiels de l'époque, mais le résultat en fut évidemment jalousé.

L'intervention de Bernabei, qui s'opposa à la transmission illégale du droit de fouiller à une tierce personne, provoqua donc la suspension des travaux. Ils furent repris plus tard par la Direction générale des Antiquités. Cet événement provoqua un conflit entre Bernabei et Helbig et beaucoup de polémiques violentes.<sup>60</sup>

En conclusion, toute sa vie, Tyszkiewicz s'intéressa beaucoup aux fouilles archéologiques et, dès qu'on en entreprenait quelque part en Italie, il en informait son ami Froehner qui demeurait à Paris. En novembre 1896, deux trouvailles importantes ont été faites en Italie (GSA, 10 XI 1896 ) : « L'une consistait en de très beaux bijoux en or, un superbe collier en torque très épais et terminé aux extrémités par des groupes de têtes d'animaux ». Il y avait aussi deux diadèmes, sorte de couronnes de fleurs d'or et émail, bracelets et d'autres objets. La seconde trouvaille a été faite à Tarente et se composait de cinq très beaux vases en argent. M. de Villefosse fut invité à venir voir ces objets et il passa par Rome pour aller à Tarente. Pourtant, il ne put faire affaire, car le gouvernement italien « manifesta le désir de les acheter ». M. de Villefosse alla ensuite voir les bijoux, mais le résultat de ses démarches n'était pas encore connu de Tyszkiewicz.

La collection de Michel Tyszkiewicz comportait beaucoup de pièces rares, voire uniques, provenant de fouilles qui présentaient un grand intérêt scientifique. De son vivant, de nombreuses publications consacrées aux pièces de sa collection parurent dans les revues spécialisées. Certaines pièces ont été présentées lors de séances des académies romaine et parisienne. Ainsi, Michel Tyszkiewicz contribuait, d'une part, au développement de l'histoire de l'art et, en particulier, de l'archéologie et de l'épigraphie, et, d'autre part, par ses dons et ses ventes, à l'enrichissement des collections des plus importants musées européens et américains.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Perrot 1898, 123-124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Hellmann 2011.

<sup>60</sup> Dobrowolski 1997, 165.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Leur liste a été publiée récemment dans mon article Kazimierczak 2016.

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## Aleksandra Majewska

National Museum in Warsaw aleks.majewska@gmail.com

## THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION FROM ŁOHOJSK IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN WARSAW<sup>1</sup>

#### ABSTRACT

The National Museum in Warsaw, founded in 1916, took over the function of the older Museum of Fine Arts in Warsaw, founded in 1862. Between 1918 and 1922, the National Museum was systematically enriched through donations by private persons and institutions. One of the most important collections, placed there in 1919, was that originating from an old private museum owned by the Tyszkiewicz family in Łohojsk, donated through the agency of the Society of Fine Arts 'Zachęta' in Warsaw. The museum in Łohojsk (today in Belarus, not far from Minsk) was founded by Konstanty Tyszkiewicz (1806–1868). The rich collection of family portraits, paintings, engravings, and other works of art was enriched in 1862 by Count Michał Tyszkiewicz

(1828–1897), who bequeathed a substantial part of the Egyptian antiquities brought from his travel to Egypt in 1861–1862. The Łohojsk collection was partly sold by Konstanty's son, Oskar Tyszkiewicz (1837–1897), but some of these objects were purchased in 1901 by a cousin of Michał Tyszkiewicz, who then donated them to the Society of Fine Arts 'Zachęta'. At this stage, the whole collection amounted to 626 items, of which 163 were connected to Egypt. During World War II, the National Museum in Warsaw suffered serious losses. At present, the exhibits originating from Łohojsk include 113 original ancient Egyptian pieces, four forgeries, and 29 paper squeezes reproducing the reliefs from the tomb of Khaemhtat of the 18th Dynasty (Theban tomb no. 57).

Keywords: museum in Łohojsk, National Museum in Warsaw, Michał Tyszkiewicz, Egyptian collection

The 19<sup>th</sup> century was a period abundant in initiatives, both by private persons and scholarly or artistic circles, involving the creation of museums. An intensive development of public museums coming into being alongside collections of aristocratic or landowner families falls to the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The creation of the Museum of Fine Arts in 1862 was one of the most important events in the cultural life of Warsaw. In 1916, at the dawn of Poland's regained independence, this museum was renamed as the National Museum. Between 1918 and 1922, its modest old collection was gradually enriched by gifts offered by private donors and institutions. Among these objects were also some relics of ancient cultures of the Mediterranean.<sup>2</sup> Ancient Egyptian objects were

donated to the new museum especially by the Museum of Antiquities of the University of Warsaw<sup>3</sup> and by the museum in Łohojsk. The latter collection came to the National Museum in 1919 through the agency of the Society of Fine Arts 'Zachęta' in Warsaw.<sup>4</sup>

The Egyptian collection from Łohojsk – the residence of the Tyszkiewicz family situated near Minsk (today's Belarus) – consisted of objects donated by Count Michał Tyszkiewicz. The history of the house of Tyszkiewicz, stretching back to the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, has been written by the biographies of many outstanding personalities. Michał Tyszkiewicz (1828–1897) – a lover of antiquities and a famous collector of works of ancient art – certainly belonged among them. He was very well

the editorial board of the periodical *Z otchłani wieków*; however, it has never been published. On the same subject, *cf.* Majewska 1997, 171–190.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The original version of this paper was presented in Polish on 12 December 2011 during a conference accompanying an exhibition in the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw titled Papyri, Mummies and Gold. Michał Tyszkiewicz and the 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the First Polish and Lithuanian Excavations in Egypt. Like other papers of this conference, it was then sent to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Lorentz 1938, 32, 36, 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Mikocki, Szafrański 1993, 147–196.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Lorentz 1938, 32.

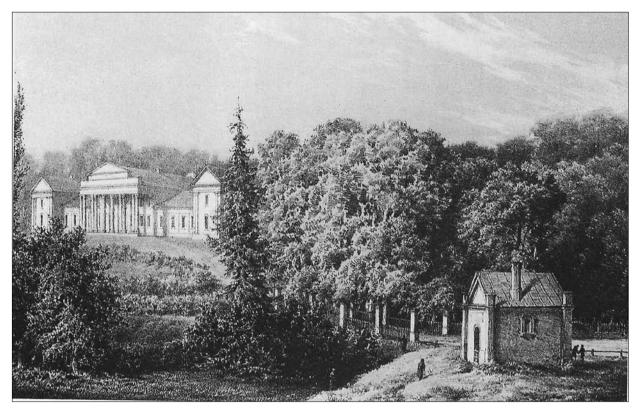


Fig. 1. Palace of Tyszkiewicz in Łohojsk in one of the engravings in N. Orda's *Album widoków historycznych* (National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. Gr. Pol. 16089/21).

known in the circles of the most eminent European archaeologists, collectors, and antique dealers, who held his competence, just as his sophisticated taste, in high esteem, while endowing his collections with supreme compliments.<sup>5</sup> Being in possession of a huge fortune – as the owner of the Birže estate – he was able to pursue his ambitious collecting projects. He had begun these in the palace in Gródek, where he was successful in enriching the family collections, *e.g.* with some sculptures, paintings, and old coins, later supplemented by ancient artefacts originating from his own excavations in Italy.<sup>6</sup> This collection was in the following years partly transferred to Birže.<sup>7</sup>

A turning point in Michał Tyszkiewicz's interest in collecting, as well as in his whole life plans, was his travel to Egypt and Nubia, initially undertaken as a hunting expedition, at the turn of 1861 and 1862.8 According to his own words, the first diggings in Egypt have incited his "love for archaeology" so much that he decided to

settle permanently abroad, where he was hoping to pursue his passion and collect works of ancient art. While living in Naples, Paris, and Rome, he was acquiring more and more splendid objects, which he later donated, exchanged, or sold. Upon his coming back from Egypt, the most valuable part of his collection gathered there was presented to the Louvre.<sup>10</sup> Much more modest gift was offered to the family collections in Lithuania, due to the risk of confiscation; the memory of similar events, which had afflicted a number of private properties under the Russian partition after the November Uprising in 1830, was still alive in the country. When enriching the collections accessible to the most eminent scholars of those days,11 Michał Tyszkiewicz was stressing that his intention was to serve the world's science. After his death in 1897, his collection was sold at an auction in Paris,12 and some items were transferred to the most famous museums, such as the Louvre, the British Museum,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>For more about M. Tyszkiewicz and his collections, *cf.* Froehner 1891–1897; 1898; Tyszkiewicz 1903, 86–92; 1994; Gąsiorowski 1948, 25; Bernhard 1962, 180–182; Rybicki 1966, 223–230; Lipińska 1970, 461–467.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf. Snitkuvienė 1997; 2008.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Tyszkiewicz 1869, 11, 151, 165; 1903, 74; Aftanazy 1991, 64–65; Snitkuvienė 2008, 44ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Niwiński 1997; 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Tyszkiewicz 1895–1897 (1895), 274; 1892, 516; 1898.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Rouit 1995.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Brensztejn 1933.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Froehner 1898.

the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, or the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Nothing then came to Poland: neither the relics brought from his Egyptian travel nor the Greek, Roman, or Etruscan works of art.

In the second half of the 19th century, the Tyszkiewicz family played a prominent role in the scholarly and cultural life of the Great Duchy of Lithuania, particularly in the Vilnius community of lovers of antiquity. The most deserving in this field were cousins of Michał Tyszkiewicz, brothers Eustachy and Konstanty – pioneering researchers of the history of Lithuania and promoters of archaeology and ethnography in the country. Each of them gathered an important collection, and both these collections were, to some extent, connected to the collecting activity of Count Michał Tyszkiewicz.

In 1856, the Museum of Antiquities was founded in Vilnius through the efforts of Eustachy Tyszkiewicz (1814–1873).14 This museum, together with the Archaeological Commission, became an important institution where the scholarly life of the town was revived (after the Vilnius University had been closed by the tsar's regime following the fall of the November Uprising). The founder was the first person who donated his valuable collection to the museum. The list of honorary members of the museum features the name of Michał Tyszkiewicz as well because of the gift offered in 1862, which was described by Eustachy in the following words: "The public knows from the French newspapers about a scientific travel of our member, Count Michał Tyszkiewicz, to Egypt. While being generous in his donations to the museums abroad, he has not forgotten his family city. The Egyptian antiquities amounting to 222 pieces shall prove Count's enlightened zeal for the country, and for us it constitutes an important enrichment of the department".15

Łohojsk – the family estate of Tyszkiewicz (Fig. 1) – was another place to which the Egyptian relics presented by Michał Tyszkiewicz arrived in 1862. The museum, enjoying fame across Lithuania at the time, <sup>16</sup> was founded in 1842 by Konstanty Tyszkiewicz (1806–1868) (Fig. 2). Like his brother, Eustachy, he was a keen archaeologist and ethnographer, but his passion for collecting was much broader. While he gathered pieces of modern art, his interest was particularly directed towards drawings and graphics. He created and published a unique collection of Lithuanian engravings. In Łohojsk, there were also some valuable family portraits and a precious



Fig. 2. Portrait of Konstanty Tyszkiewicz, founder of the Museum in Łohojsk, made in the Photographisches Atelier von H. Bruckner, Dresden (National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. DI 3508).

archive. Unfortunately, no register books of the museum have been preserved, and the few descriptions of the collection published in guides, journals, or memoirs are very succinct, albeit full of very favourable opinions. Only a short note was devoted to the Egyptian exhibits, which were considered mere curiosities, meant only to increase the attractiveness of the whole collection. Józef Tyszkiewicz, Michał's son, noted while describing the Łohojsk palace: "The first elongated room contained a cupboard with the Egyptian excavations partly presented to the Łohojsk Museum by my father, Count Michał Tyszkiewicz".<sup>17</sup>

In a comprehensive description of the museum in Łohojsk by Władysław Wankie, the Egyptian collection was characterised with the following words: "There is a lot of material here for recognizing the general history and culture, there is a great vitrine of the Egyptian excavations, one mummy – unfortunately already unfolded – and a great attraction: a huge roll of papyri excellently-preserved, not yet deciphered; only God knows what secrets it may preserve. Perhaps this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Zasztowt 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Krzyżanowski 1873; Tyszkiewicz 1903, 28.

<sup>15</sup> Kirkor 1880, 58.

Among others, cf. Słownik geograficzny... 1884, 683–684;
 Korotyński 1868, 289; Tyszkiewicz 1900, 8–12; 1903, 79;
 Urbański 1928, 115–117; Aftanazy 1991, 93–99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1903, 79.

collection shall throw a new light on the mysteries of the magicians of the Pharaonic world". 18

Władysław Wankie devoted a special article to the Łohojsk Museum because according to a plan of Józef Tyszkiewicz, a grandson of Konstanty, the museum was to be opened to the public and changed into a department of the Society of the Museum of Learning and Art in Vilnius, active since 1907. This highly-acclaimed decision was considered to be a proof of the civic attitude of Józef Tyszkiewicz; however, it was never realised, because of his unexpected death. The museum ceased to exist shortly afterwards. Even before, when the Łohojsk palace was inherited by Oskar Tyszkiewicz (1837–1897), the son of Konstanty, a part of the collection was sold. A number of the items were, however, bought back in 1901 by Michał Tyszkiewicz from Andruszówka, his cousin from the Ukrainian line of the Tyszkiewicz family, and were later donated to the Society of Fine Arts 'Zacheta' in Warsaw.<sup>19</sup> As mentioned before, in 1919, through the agency of this Society, a part of the old collection from Łohojsk was transferred to the National Museum in Warsaw. Even before this, some other items from Łohojsk, inherited by Józef Tyszkiewicz's widow, Maria Krystyna Brandt-Tyszkiewicz, were donated by her to this newly-created institution. These items included "the huge roll of papyri" mentioned by W. Wankie.20

Altogether 626 objects originating from the Łohojsk Museum came to the National Museum in Warsaw before World War II. Besides the Egyptian collection, they included some works of ancient art, relics of prehistoric cultures, as well as modern art. The last of the abovementioned parts of the collection included a gallery of portraits of the Tyszkiewicz family, as well as some pieces of Polish engravings, coins, and archives. The prewar register books contained 163 entries concerning Egyptian exhibits. Unfortunately, serious war losses suffered by the National Museum in Warsaw have not omitted the collection from Łohojsk. It is estimated that about 250 ancient and prehistoric relics are currently lost. Among the lost Egyptian items, the photographic documentation of which has luckily been partially preserved, there are, for example, two wooden painted statues: one representing a priest of the 27th Dynasty (6th-5th century BC) and another one representing kneeling Isis, of the Third Intermediate Period (11th-7th century BC) (Fig. 3).

The up-to-date register of the Egyptian collection of Łohojsk includes altogether 113 original items, four modern pieces (forgeries?), and 29 paper squeezes reproducing fragments of the relief decoration of the Theban tomb of Khaemhat (no. 57) of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. A small



Fig. 3. Wooden statue of Isis (inv. no. 21886 MNW) lost during World War II (after Majewska 1997, pl. XXIV. 1).

group of nine examples of the Greco-Roman art includes two valuable glass vessels produced by a workshop in the eastern part of the Roman Empire; these objects were bought at an auction of the Tyszkiewicz collection in 1898 in Paris by Izabela Działyńska (née Czartoryska) and came to the National Museum in Warsaw together with her collection from Goluchów. The Egyptian pieces from Łohojsk still constitute an important part of the Egyptian collection of the National Museum in Warsaw. They include religious objects that served the cult of the dead, differentiated chronologically and iconographically. Their origin cannot be unambiguously determined. The only source of information about the excavations conducted by Michał Tyszkiewicz in Egypt remains his Journal of the Travel to Egypt and Nubia and especially its second part found in 1992 in the Raczyński Library in Poznań.<sup>21</sup> Some descriptions certainly enable the identification of a few items now held in Warsaw, but such situations have been exceptional. Michał Tyszkiewicz intended to publish additionally an "atlas" of plates with

<sup>18</sup> Wankie 1907.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1903, 81; Lipińska 1970, 467.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Lorentz 1938, 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1863, 359–360; Niwiński 1994, 23.

drawings and detailed descriptions of the items excavated by him in Saqqara, Thebes West, Karnak, Esna, and Wadi es-Sebua; unfortunately, the location of this most valuable document has not yet been determined.<sup>22</sup>

In 1994, a small exhibition was organised by the Department of Ancient Art of the National Museum in Warsaw and the Seminar of Egyptian Archaeology of the Archaeological Institute of the University of Warsaw, showing some exhibits from the Łohojsk Museum.<sup>23</sup> The exhibition in the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw in 2011<sup>24</sup> enabled a much larger presentation of the Tyszkiewicz Egyptian collection from Łohojsk.

No doubt, the most impressive item is the papyrus covered with cursive hieroglyphic texts and coloured illustrations, 9.67 m long, dated to the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (14<sup>th</sup> century BC) and representing a funerary composition, called *Book of the Dead* by egyptologists, belonging to a woman named Bakai (Fig. 4).<sup>25</sup> The papyrus was discovered by Michał Tyszkiewicz on 18 December 1861 in West Thebes in a tomb containing four coffins. In front of these, a wooden stool was standing; this piece of furniture, perfectly preserved, was donated by the discoverer to the Louvre. Within the framework of the Polish-French cooperation, it was deposited in 1960 in the National Museum in Warsaw.<sup>26</sup>

The discovery of the above-mentioned tomb was preceded by the finding of two coffins buried loosely in the debris. One of them contained a cartonnage brought to Lithuania and given to the Łohojsk Museum, from where it was finally moved to the National Museum in

Warsaw. The item had previously been entered in the register of the war losses; however, during conservation works in the 1990s a cartonnage heavily-devastated by German soldiers was recognised as the allegedly lost piece of art from Łohojsk. The original appearance of the cartonnage could unfortunately not be successfully reconstructed; nevertheless, a number of scenes and texts previously barely recognisable reappeared – among others, the name of the deceased, a lady named Nehemes-Bastet, could be read. The style and decoration of the object enable dating it to the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty (10<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century BC).<sup>27</sup>

The most numerous group of objects is represented by 93 amulets made of faience or stone. These include: a figurine of Nefertum of the Late Dynastic or Ptolemaic Period (7<sup>th</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century BC) (Fig. 5)<sup>28</sup> and a faience amulet representing the dwarf-shaped deity Ptah-Patajkos of the Late Dynastic Period (7<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> century BC) (Fig. 6).<sup>29</sup> The origin of these objects is difficult to determine; Michał Tyszkiewicz may have found them on one of the mummies opened by him in Egypt, or he could have excavated them in Karnak or Saqqara.

Some objects brought from Egypt and donated to the Łohojsk Museum may have been purchased from antique dealers in Cairo or Luxor. One of them is another papyrus containing a land lease agreement signed in 119/118 BC, written in the demotic script (Fig. 7).<sup>30</sup> Of unknown provenance are three *ushabti* figurines (among them a limestone *ushabti* once owned by Lady Naia of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, 14<sup>th</sup> century BC) (Fig. 8);<sup>31</sup> a 6<sup>th</sup> century BC votive stela belonging to a man named Djed-Bastet-iuf-ankh, decorated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The illustrations to Tyszkiewicz's *Journal*, mentioned several times in his text but never found, were deposited in the City Museum in Poznań. The manuscripts of Tyszkiewicz survived the war because together with some other documents they were preserved in Count Raczyński's private domain. The items deposited in the City Museum were concealed in the basement of a parish church in Poznań; however, during or after the war they have, unfortunately, been discovered and taken away by the Germans or Soviets; today, these works of art are listed among the Polish war losses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The exposition titled *The Travel of Count Michel Tyszkiewicz to Egypt and His Activity of a Collector* offered a selection of 31 items from the Egyptian collection and eight items belonging to the Greek or Roman culture. The manuscript found in the Raczyński Library (no. RKP 1135/I-II) was presented too, as well as some documents, photos, drawings, and similar items related to the collection of M. Tyszkiewicz and his cousins, Eustachy and Konstanty. These were, among others, (from the Department of Iconographic Documentation) a portrait of Michał Tyszkiewicz drawn in Munich in 1900 (no. inv. DI 1147/43/84 MNW), a portrait of Konstanty Tyszkiewicz drawn in Dresden (inv. no. DI 3508 MNW), a portrait of Eustachy Tyszkiewicz – actually a lithograph according to the drawing by W. Walkiewicz made in 1870 (inv. no. DI83666 MNW),

a diploma with words of gratitude for Konstanty Tyszkiewicz issued in 1860 by the Museum of Antiquities in Vilnius (inv. no. Rkp 1795 MNW); (from the Gallery of Numismatics) a silver honorary medal awarded to Michał Tyszkiewicz in 1895 (inv. no. 77076 NPOMNW); (from the Gallery of Modern Drawings) drawings of the Łohojsk palace made by Franciszek Szwoch in 1915 (inv. no. Rys. W. 7241-42); (from the Gallery of Polish Art, Chamber of Engravings) some copies of engravings from the *Album de Vilna* by J.K. Wilczyński and from the *Album widoków historycznych* by N. Orda of 1875 (inv. no. Gr. Pol. 28608/211, Gr. Pol. 22347, Gr. Pol. 5985/56, Gr. Pol. 16089/21).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Niwiński (ed.), *Papyri, Mummies and Gold...*, 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Inv. no. MN 237128. The papyrus is dated to the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (the reigns of Thutmosis III or Amenhotep II; *cf.* Andrzejewski 1951).

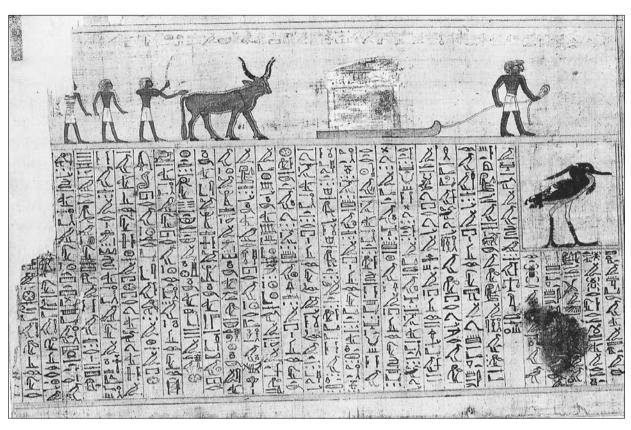
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The stool, presented by the count to the Louvre, inv. no. E.3858 (*cf.* Rouit 1995, 146-147, cat. no. 157), was deposited in 1960 in the National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. MN 143344. <sup>27</sup> Dolińska 2006, inv. no. 238435 MNW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Inv. no. 236857 MNW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Inv. no. 236889 MNW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Inv. no. 148288 MNW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Inv. no. 236853 MNW.



 $Fig.~4.~Fragment~of~the~funerary~papyrus~of~Bakai,~the~18^{th}~Dynasty~(inv.~no.~237128~MNW)~(after~Niwiński~1997,~pl.~XXXIV.~2).$ 



Fig. 5. Figurine of Nefertum, the Late Dynastic or Ptolemaic Period (inv. no. 236857 MNW) (after Majewska 1997, pl. XXX. 4).



Fig. 6. Amulet representing the Ptah-Patajkos figurine, the Late Dynastic Period (inv. no. 236889 MNW) (after Majewska 1997, pl. XXXI. 1).

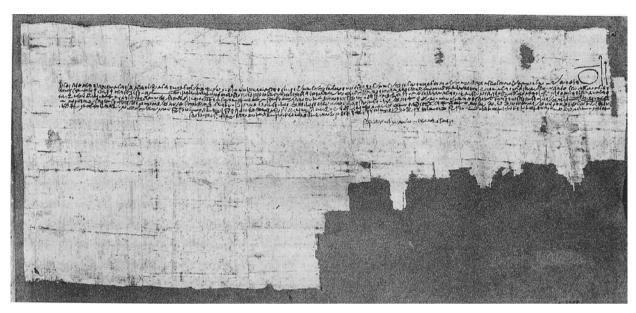


Fig. 7. Administrative papyrus, the Ptolemaic Period (inv. no. 148288 MNW) (after Niwiński 1997, pl. XXXV. 2).

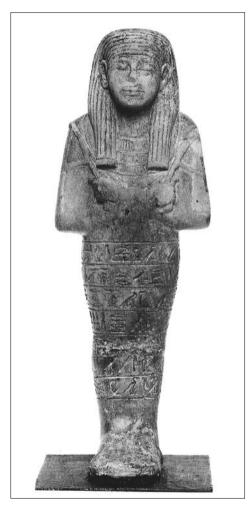


Fig. 8. *Ushebti* figurine of Naia, the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (inv. no. 236853 MNW) (after Majewska 1997, pl. XXVI. 1).

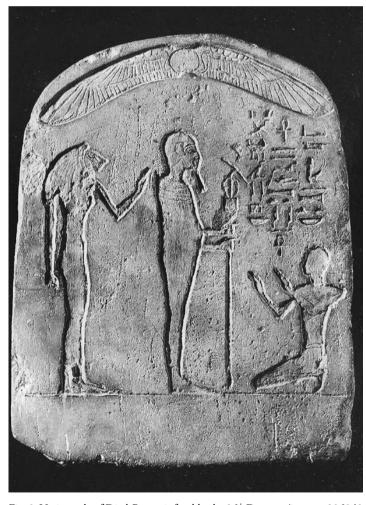


Fig. 9. Votive stela of Djed-Bastet-iuf-ankh, the  $26^{th}$  Dynasty (inv. no. 236843 MNW) (after Majewska 1997, pl. XXV. 1).



Fig. 10. Faience *sistrum* with the head of Hathor, the Ptolemaic Period (inv. no. 236909 MNW) (after Majewska 1997, pl. XXVII. 2).

with the scene of adoration of Ptah and Bastet (Fig. 9); $^{32}$  as well as a faience *sistrum* from the Ptolemaic Period ( $4^{th}$ – $1^{st}$  century BC) (Fig. 10). $^{33}$  A very well-shaped faience head of a baboon representing Thot is a fragment of a votive figurine probably originating from a temple (Late Dynastic Period,  $7^{th}$ – $4^{th}$  century BC) (Fig. 11). $^{34}$ 

Although far from being complete, the part of the Egyptian collection of Michał Tyszkiewicz originating

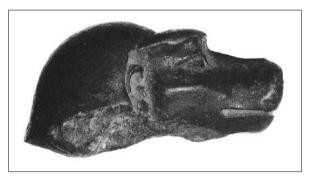


Fig. 11. Fragment of the figurine of Thot, the Saitic Period (inv. no. 236922 MNW) (after Majewska 1997, pl. XXVIII. 1).

from the Łohojsk Museum and preserved in the National Museum in Warsaw should be considered an important contribution to the general picture of the Polish collecting practices in the 19th century. Remnants of the valuable collection from Łohojsk representing non Egyptian relics are still enriching the resources of the Gallery of Ancient Art, the Gallery of the Polish Modern Art, the Gallery of Graphic and Polish Drawings, the Gallery of Coins and Medals, as well as the Gallery of Iconographic and Photographic Works. The preserved part of the archive from Łohojsk was transferred by the National Museum to the Central Archive of Historical Records in Warsaw. Other objects representing the prehistoric cultures from the territory of the Great Duchy of Lithuania, amounting to 87 specimens, were deposited in 1987 in the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw.

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<sup>34</sup> Inv. no. 236922 MNW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Inv. no. 236843 MNW.

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### Aldona Snitkuvienė

M.K. Čiurlionis National Museum of Art in Kaunas a\_snitkuviene@yahoo.com

## HISTORY OF SOME ANTIQUITIES FROM THE COLLECTION OF MICHAŁ TYSZKIEWICZ IN GRÓDEK<sup>1</sup>

#### ABSTRACT

The palace in Gródek, one of the palaces built by the Tyszkiewicz family in Lithuania, was located in present-day Belarus, a dozen kilometres from Minsk. The founder of the building was Count Michał Tyszkiewicz. Built in 1855, the palace remained in the hands of the family until 1918. Among the antique pieces of furniture documented on photographs and paintings are a table and a mirror, today kept in Lithuanian museums.

The mirror, decorated with tusks of wild pigs, was offered to King Augustus II on the occasion of his coronation in 1697. In the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was purchased by Michał Tyszkiewicz, who then added it to the furnishings of a tent offered as a resting place for Tsar Alexander during a hunting trip organised by Michał Tyszkiewicz and his brother in 1858 near Vilnius. This event was recorded by journalists and artists on some lithographs.

Keywords: Count Michał Tyszkiewicz, palace in Gródek, mirror, King Augustus II, Tsar Alexander, hunting

In 1855, in Gródek (a locality in the Minsk guberniya, c. 3 miles from Minsk), in a picturesque forest region and by a large lake, Count Michał Tyszkiewicz (1828–1897) and his spouse, Maria (1830–1902), built a palace in the English style (Fig. 1). The wall surrounding the palace park was over six kilometres long. The area included a game park for hunting because Count Michał Tyszkiewicz was an ardent hunter. He was at the same time a collector, and his collection gathered in the Gródek palace included weaponry, mostly from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, paintings, old faiences, porcelain, glass, coins, hunting trophies, panoplies, etc. His son, Józef Tyszkiewicz (1850–1905), left the following account:

"Michał Tyszkiewicz had many splendid collections in Gródek, where he lived until 1862. They included a set of Polish coins bought from Karol Beyer, Mikocki, and other collectors. It was later sold to Count Emeryk Czapski and now makes up a large part of the collection which Count Czapski bequeathed to the Museum in Kraków. Besides the coins, there was a fine collection of

old arms, coming in their majority from the 16th and 17th centuries. The arms were lost in 1863. There were several dozens of old and contemporary paintings by first-class artists. The old ones included some splendid works of art, such as a large painting by Holbein, a religious picture ascribed to Raphael, as well as one by Boucher, and more than a dozen of other good paintings. The contemporary ones included fine examples of French, Flemish, and other schools. The paintings were sold in Paris in 1864 at a public auction. The majority were bought by Józef Tyszkiewicz's paternal uncle, Count Jan Tyszkiewicz, for his residence in Waka, where they have remained until now. My father also had in Gródek three large albums with watercolours by eminent painters from 1850-1860. [...] He had a splendid collection of old Polish and German silver chalices [Fig. 2] as well as a beautiful large silver service from the 18th century representing a music band in period clothes under an arbour - all on a large rococo pedestal. [...] There were some faiences, porcelain, and glass wares".2

*Egypt.* Like other papers of this conference, it was then sent to the editorial board of the periodical *Z otchłani wieków;* however, it has never been published. On the same subject, *cf.* Snitkuvienė 1997; 2008.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The original version of this paper was presented in Polish on 12 December 2011 during a conference accompanying an exhibition in the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw titled Papyri, Mummies and Gold. Michał Tyszkiewicz and the 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the First Polish and Lithuanian Excavations in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Tyszkiewicz 1903, 86.



Fig. 1. Palace built by Michał Tyszkiewicz in Gródek. A lithograph from the 19th century (from Roman Aftanazy archive).



Fig. 2. Big silver chalice donated by Michał Tyszkiewicz for Vilnius Cathedral on St. Casimir's day (Snitkuvienė 2008, 375, no. 1561; col. ill. 399).

After Maria Tyszkiewicz's death, the palace was inherited by her grandson, Alfred Tyszkiewicz (1882–1930), who took diligent care of the whole collection. On 21 July 1917, a part of it was temporarily deposited in the Protection Department of Relics of Art and Culture by the Central Committee of Citizens in Minsk.<sup>3</sup> On 3 December 1918, the same objects were gathered by Alfred Tyszkiewicz and deposited in the City Museum of Kaunas under the supervision of its director, an archaeologist and artist, Tadeusz Dowgird (1852–1919).<sup>4</sup> This museum was liquidated in 1936, and the antiquities were passed to the Vytautas the Great Museum of Culture (currently the M.K. Čiurlionis National Museum of Art) in Kaunas.<sup>5</sup>

Among the paintings originating from the Gródek palace, there is Albert Žamett's (1821–1876) canvas *The Interior of the Gródek Palace*<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 3), which has been helpful during the identification of two other antiquities from the collection of Michał Tyszkiewicz. One of them is a mirror with the frame decorated with tusks of wild pigs, among others, and topped with a decoration representing the coat of arms of the princely house of Radziwiłł (Maria Tyszkiewicz's parents belonged to that family) – an eagle with raised wings – and a bone

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A handwritten note confirming the deposit (under number 334) is preserved on a label attached to a portrait of Józef Tyszkiewicz, currently in the M.K. Čiurlionis National Museum of Art, Kaunas, inv. no. Mtg 2265.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The register of donations of the City Museum Kaunas, KMM, 1.3–8, nos 30–60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Snitkuvienė 2008, 127–134.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> M.K. Čiurlionis National Museum of Art., inv. no. Mt 1896; Snitkuvienė 1997, pl. XLIV, 2; 2008, 47, 393 (fragment).

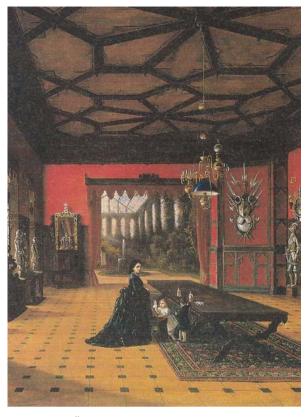


Fig. 3. Albert Žamett's canvas *The Interior of the Gródek Palace*, 1872 (fragment), the M.K. Čiurlionis National Museum of Art, Kaunas, inv. no. Mt. 1896 (Snitkuvienė 2008, 327, no. 1189; col. ill. 393).

with the incrusted date of 1697.<sup>7</sup> This date, as well as an archival document, enable the reconstruction of the interesting history of the object. On 15 September 1697, there was a coronation ceremony of the Polish King and the Great Duke of Lithuania, Augustus II, and it is plausible that the mirror, created perhaps by a local craftsman, was presented to the King on that occasion by somebody, maybe belonging to the Radziwiłł family (Fig. 4.a). In the empty dark slots seen on the frame and above it, one should probably reconstruct the monograms of Augustus II and the coats of arms of the Kingdom of Poland (white eagle) and of the Great Duchy of Lithuania (Knight).

The fate of the hunting trophies and pieces of furniture decorated with these monograms belonging to King Augustus II is for the most part unknown; they were probably dispersed after the king's death. However, one archival document in the possession of the Lithuanian State Historical Archive confirms that in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Karaliaučius (Królewiec, Königsberg) Count Michał Tyszkiewicz purchased a set of furniture once belonging to King Augustus II. These pieces of furniture were decorated with antlers of deer, while a dressing table had a mirror with tusks of wild pigs. <sup>10</sup> As a result of this purchase, the mirror later once again served another monarch, who may have examined himself in it.

In 1858, in the area localised some 16 versts (c. 17 kilometres) from Vilnius, not far from a route linking Vilnius and Wiłkomierz (Ukmergė), the counts Michał and Józef Tyszkiewicz (1835–1891) organised a hunting trip in honour of Alexander II (1818–1881), who was a tsar since 1855. Artists and journalists were invited in order to memorialise the event; a description of it is currently held by the Lithuanian Historical Archive, and some episodes have been presented on several pieces of lithography. The description of the hunt contains the following passages:

"The hunting area has been chosen very well, and the whole arrangement can prove the knowledge of the hunting art, and it testifies to an exquisite taste of the hosts. A broad road freshly built in the middle of the game park, going along the edge of an oak forest and then through a dense bush, led towards the north-east directly to the tents. The first of these was intended for His Highness. It was decorated first of all by the dressing

In the M.K. Čiurlionis National Museum, a computer reconstruction of the missing details was attempted (Fig. 4.b). The monogram may have been composed of the letters 'AR' (Augustus Rex) or 'FA' (Friedrich August). Analogous monograms can be found on other objects of decorative art from the period of Augustus II's reign,<sup>8</sup> especially on those representing an exceptionally high artistic value, often royal gifts, like some products of the Royal Porcelain Manufactory Berlin (Königliche Porzellan Manufaktur), the oldest of its kind in Europe.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> M.K. Čiurlionis National Museum of Art., inv. no. Tt 2225; in the register of donations of the City Museum of Kaunas, KMM 1.7, no. 58; Snitkuvienė 1997, 235, pl. XLIV,1; 2008, 360 (no. 1384), 392.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Schmidt 1997, 259 (cat. no. 457), 322 (cat. no. 586), 326 (cat. no. 603), 369 (cat. no. 726).

<sup>9</sup> Chrościcki 1974, 236, 244.

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  A document kept in the Lithuanian State Historical Archive (LVIA), no. f 716.ap.3, b 976.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Cf. the previous footnote.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Made by E. Cicéri and A.J.B. Bayot, the lithograph "Hunt organised by Michał and Józef Tyszkiewicz for Tsar Alexander II in 1858" was published in J.K. Wilczyński's *Album de Wilna*, 1860, I series, IV livre. These pieces of lithography are actually preserved in the library of the Vilnius University (VU GK, G.0015083-85), in the Lithuanian National Museum in Vilnius (LNM, inv. no. IMik 1919), and in the Lithuanian Museum of Art in Vilnius (LDM G.783, G. 784, G. 791).





Fig. 4. a. Mirror originally belonging to Augustus II, the M.K. Čiurlionis National Museum of Art, Kaunas, inv. no. Tt. 2225 (Snitkuvienė 2008, 360, no. 1384).

Fig. 4. b. Mirror with computer reconstructed monograms of Augustus II and the coats of arms of the Kingdom of Poland (white eagle) and of the Great Duchy of Lithuania (Knight)

(Snitkuvienė 2008, col. ill. 392,

no. 1384).

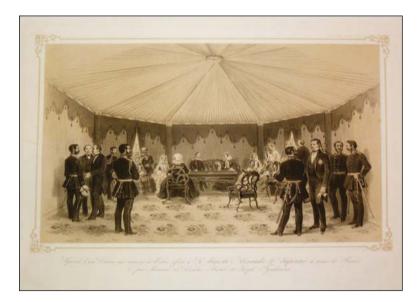


Fig. 5. Counts Michał and Józef Tyszkiewicz organised a hunting episode in honour of Tsar Alexander II in 1858. A lithograph by E. Cicéri and A.J.B. Bayot, 1860. In the tent we see the furniture with deer antlers which was bought in Królewiec by Michał Tyszkiewicz. By the table sit (in the middle) the tzar, (on the right) Maria Tyszkiewiczowa, (on the left) Eliza Orzeszkowa; in front and on the right stand Józef and Michał Tyszkiewicz (The Lithuanian National Museum in Vilnius, inv. no Imik 1919) (Snitkuvienė 2008, 55, photo 25).



Fig. 6. Table belonging to Count Tyszkiewicz's collection from Gródek, the Lithuanian Museum of Art, Vilnius (LDM), inv. no. TD 520 (Snitkuvienė 2008, 364, no. 1429, col. ill. 392).

table with the mirror of Augustus II. The frames of these mirror are completely made of tusks of wild pig, and are topped with an adornment in the shape of an eagle with raised wings, similarly made of stretching wild pig's tusks; under the eagle there is a year and Augustus II's monogram arranged of the tusks. The next tent was the largest; it was half-opened from the side of the road. A huge flag with the coat of arms of the State was flying above the portico, the roof of which was perfectly adapted to the style of the whole tent that was striking with the harmony of the size and the correctness of the design. The cornices of the portico and the front walls were decorated with heads of deers and other hunting trophies. Inside, between the poles supporting the tent were eight complete marbles and panoplies arranged of ancient weapons posed on poles. Along the tent, a table prepared for breakfast was positioned".13

Behind this tent, towards the north, by the road, one not very large parlour tent was erected, arranged in the Gothic style, with the windows topped with lancet arches and crowned with a small tower. At the entrance to this tent, covered with crimson portières, two dwarves were standing, supporting the portières. The inside of the tent was very tastefully covered with white crimson decorated with dark green festoons. All the furniture made of deer antlers, like that of Augustus, consisted of a dozen of armchairs, one large incrusted table, and some chairs of the same style. All these pieces of furniture had once been the property of Augustus II (Fig. 5).<sup>14</sup>

One of the two tables visible on the painting by A. Žamett was purchased in 1989 by the Lithuanian Museum of Art (Fig. 6). <sup>15</sup> On a photo made by an unknown photographer early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Gródek, <sup>16</sup> the two tables are still in place (Fig. 7). At a later date, these pieces of furniture were trans-



Fig. 7. Count Tyszkiewicz's dining-room in the Gródek Palace (with two tables that were painted in *The Interior of the Gródek Palace* by A. Žamett, 1872). Photography, Early 20th century, The National Museum of History and Culture of Belarus, Minsk, inv. no. KP 22876 (Snitkuvienė 2008, 393, no. 1429).

ported to Vilnius, to the palace of a granddaughter of Michał Tyszkiewicz, Klementyna Tyszkiewicz (1856–1921). The fate of the other table remains unknown.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Lithuanian State Historical Archive, no. f. 716, ap. 3, b. 976.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the previous footnote.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> LDM inv. no. TD 520.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Held by the National Museum of History and Culture of Belarus in Minsk, inv. no. KP 22876.

### Dagmara Król

Stacjonarne Studia Doktoranckie Nauk o Kulturze, Uniwersytet Wrocławski dagmara.krol@uwr.edu.pl

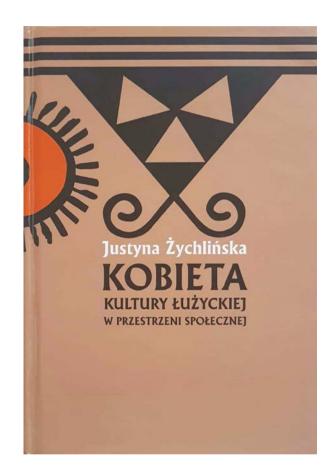
# Justyna Żychlińska, Kobieta kultury Łużyckiej w przestrzeni społecznej, Bydgoszcz 2018, 206 ss.

Zagadnienie, którego próby opracowania podjęła się Justyna Żychlińska, jest niezwykle ciekawe i trzeba przyznać, że dość trudne do zrealizowania zarówno ze względu na niesatysfakcjonujący stan zachowania zabytków, jak i niedostateczny stan badań nad nimi. Aby rzetelnie przeanalizować ten temat, należało skorzystać nie tylko z warsztatu archeologa, ale także z pomocy innych dyscyplin naukowych, takich jak etnologia, religioznawstwo, antropologia fizyczna, antropologia kulturowa czy socjologia, co autorka recenzowanej pracy z większym lub mniejszym sukcesem uczyniła. Praca ta jednak zdaje się być bardziej syntezą wcześniejszych publikacji opisujących m.in. tkactwo, garncarstwo czy symbolizm kultury łużyckiej jako elementy większego kompleksu kultur pól popielnicowych, niż nowatorską próba określenia pozycji "kobiety" w przestrzeni społecznej kultury łużyckiej, ale do tego dojdziemy w dalszej części niniejszej publikacji poprzez dokładną analizę całego utworu.

Obszar zainteresowań J. Żychlińskiej to przede wszystkim Wielkopolska, aczkolwiek możemy zauważyć, że w swoich badaniach często wykracza ona poza ten teren. Autorka przytacza liczne analogie ze strefy egejskiej (tkactwo), ale wskazuje także zaobserwowane przez siebie rozbieżności względem terenów Śląska (garncarstwo). Informacje zawarte w przytaczanej publikacji są bardzo różnorodne i dotyczą wielu aspektów życia kobiety w omawianej jednostce kulturowej. Niekiedy jednak informacji jest tak wiele, że odbiegają one znacznie od głównej tematyki pracy.

We wstępie (ss. 7–10) J. Żychlińska wyjaśnia, że choć temat organizacji struktur społecznych w kulturze łużyckiej poruszany był w literaturze stosunkowo często, to jednak "opracowań dotyczących roli i pozycji społecznej kobiety w kulturze łużyckiej jest niewiele". Mimo stwierdzenia, że prac na ten temat jest "niewiele", to niestety autorka nie wymienia żadnej z nich. W dalszej części wstępu J. Żychlińska obficie wykorzystuje informacje z pracy E. Ślęzak pt. *Przemiany w rolach społecznych kobiet i mężczyzn* (2004), wprowadzając czytelnika w socjologiczno-filozoficzne aspekty roli płci oraz definiując pojęcie przestrzeni społecznej.

W Zakresie przestrzennym i chronologicznym pracy (ss. 11–15) autorka wyjaśnia, dlaczego w zakres terytorialny



jej opracowania wchodzi obszar Wielkopolski (bez Kujaw) oraz opisowo omawia jego granice (ss. 11–12). Te uzasadnienia byłyby znacznie łatwiejsze w odbiorze i ciekawsze, gdyby w tej części podrozdziału zamieszczono mapy omawianego terenu.

Jako ramy chronologiczne pracy J. Żychlińska wskazuje ogólnie na czas istnienia kultury łużyckiej, tj. od III okresu epoki brązu (BD–HaA<sub>1</sub>) do starszego okresu przedrzymskiego, posługując się chronologią opartą na "umownej synchronizacji systemów periodyzacji względnej O. Monteliusa". W pracy "uwzględniono także system zaproponowany przez P. Reineckego", który to został zmodyfikowany przez Müller-Karpego (ss. 14–15).

Puentując krótko wstęp, uwagę czytelnika zdecydowanie zwraca brak informacji o stanie źródeł wykorzystywanych w pracy, dotychczasowym stanie badań, stosowanych przez autorkę metodach badawczych oraz omówienia używanej w pracy terminologii, która niekoniecznie jest przystępna dla każdego odbiorcy. Pominięcie tych ważnych elementów zaburza standardowy układ pracy naukowej przyjęty w archeologii.

Krótki, jednak treściwy, rozdział 1 (ss. 17-24) opatrzony został stosunkowo rozległym wprowadzeniem dotyczącym "stanu biologicznego populacji" (który to znacząco wpływał na kondycję biologiczną kobiety), a także informacjami od czego był zależny, w jaki sposób może być dzisiaj mierzalny oraz jakie ograniczenia i trudności napotykają naukowcy w trakcie badań nad nim. J. Żychlińska opisuje również podstawowe problemy, na które natrafia badacz podczas próby ustalenia kondycji biologicznej populacji, czy chociażby określenia płci pochowanych w pradziejach osób. Należą do nich m.in. ciałopalny obrządek pogrzebowy, nieprawidłowa metodyka badań antropologicznych (jeśli w ogóle taka została zastosowana) oraz możliwość tylko częściowej eksploracji obiektów (ss. 17-19). Szczególnie w tym miejscu można odczuć brak inwentarza stanowisk, które omawiane sa w pracy.

W przywołanym przez autorkę porównaniu zamieszczonym na s. 20 i dotyczącym dynamiki biologicznej populacji "łużyckiej" również nie znajdziemy wyników analizy i nazw cmentarzysk z Polski Południowej, czy nawet odnośników do literatury, gdzie takich badań należałoby szukać. Z drobniejszych uchybień, które może wychwycić wnikliwy czytelnik, to przypis nr 67 na s. 19 wprowadza nazewnictwo tradycyjnego podziału klas wiekowych, które w pracy omówiono dopiero na stronie następnej.

Od s. 21 J. Żychlińska zamieszcza opisy grobów wraz ze wskazaniem płci i wieku pochowanych w nich osób, skupiając się oczywiście na pochówkach kobiecych. Czytając ten fragment, odnosi się wrażenie, że został on zamieszczony bez odpowiedniego wprowadzenia. Nasuwają się pytania o przyczyny wyboru omawianych stanowisk, a także czy wykaz ten zawiera wszystkie znane nam pochówki, gdzie płeć żeńska została stwierdzona?

Analiza przedstawionych w tej części danych następuje na ss. 23 i 24. Pomaga ona dowieść J. Żychlińskiej, iż przeżywalność kobiet kultury łużyckiej na terenie Wielkopolski wynosiła średnio ok. 30 lat, co mogło wiązać się z ich wysoką umieralnością podczas porodu. Autorka zamieszcza również informację, że kobiety musiały w trakcie swojego żywota urodzić co najmniej czwórkę dzieci (s. 23), oraz próbuje opisać ich wygląd i stan zdrowia: "Wzrost kobiet pochowanych na cmentarzyskach w Wielkopolsce mieścił się w przedziałach typowych dla tego okresu. Nieobce były im zmiany reumatyczne czy próchnica zębów, choć wydaje się, że cierpiały na nią rzadziej niż mężczyźni. Analiza wartości wskaźników cynkowo-wapniowego i strontowo-cynkowego pozwala nam sądzić, że ich dieta była jednak

zdecydowanie uboższa. Niższe wskaźniki występowania tych pierwiastków w kościach kobiecych tłumaczone są albo wielokrotnymi porodami, albo niższą pozycją w hierarchii społecznej" (ss. 23–24).

Rozdział 2 opatrzony jest krótkim wstępem na temat gospodarki kultury łużyckiej, która nie tylko wytwarzała produkty na własny użytek, ale również prowadziła produkcję wyspecjalizowaną wymagającą odpowiednich umiejętności. Towary z takiej produkcji często były przedmiotem wymiany handlowej (s. 26). W podrozdziale *Tkactwo. Materialne pozostałości po warsztacie tkackim* autorka sporo miejsca poświęca krosnom (klasyfikacji, materialnym ich pozostałościom, umiejętności obsługi itd.), przy czym informacje te są porozrzucane po całej tej części (ss. 25–30, 39). Badaczka sugeruje również, że zawieszki grzebieniowate, znane z terenów Wielkopolski, "mogły symbolizować określony status danej kobiety, niewykluczone, że związany z tkactwem" (ss. 36–38).

Tkactwo, jako rodzaj rzemiosła, J. Żychlińska określa jako typowo kobiece, przy czym w tekście odnajdujemy stwierdzenie, iż: "Ponadto tkaczka lub tkacz, w zależności od potrzeb, mogą decydować o obciążeniu ciężarkiem tej samej wagi większej lub mniejszej liczby nici osnowy". To wprowadza pewną niekonsekwencję, zważywszy na to, że nigdzie wcześniej w pracy nie zostało wspomniane, iż czynność ta, mimo że uważana jest za domenę kobiet, mogła również być wykonywana przez mężczyzn, czego rzecz jasna nie można wykluczyć i co powinno zostać ujęte przez autorkę we wstępie. (określenie "tkacz" występuje na ss. 27-28). Podobna sytuacja ma miejsce w dalszej części pracy dotyczącej garncarstwa. Tam jednak autorka wyjaśnia, że "motywacje funkcjonalne były wystarczające do rozróżnienia kobiecego wytwórstwa naczyń od męskiego wytwórstwa ceramiki technologicznej [...], także rytualnej" (s. 55). Takim komentarzem powinien jednak zostać opatrzony wstęp całego rozdziału lub tego podrozdziału.

Interesująco przedstawione są kwestie dotyczące znalezisk tkanin, ich odcisków na naczyniach ceramicznych oraz ukazania stroju kobiecego na naczyniach i plastyce figuralnej. Omówione zostaje pokrótce również wykonywanie tekstyliów techniką "sprangu", źródła archeozoologiczne i archeobotaniczne oraz problemy, które pojawiają się w związku z ich opracowaniem (ss. 30–35). W tej części, podobnie jak we wstępie, J. Żychlińska niechętnie korzysta z dalszej literatury, powołując się najczęściej na pracę A. Ulanowskiej (Egejskie techniki tkackie w epoce brązu. Zastosowanie archeologii eksperymentalnej w badaniach nad włókiennictwem egejskim, Wrocław 2013), która jednak opisuje egejskie techniki tkackie. Brak jest natomiast chociażby szerszego omówienia zachowanych fragmentów tkanin z pochówków omawianej przecież kultury łużyckiej.

W podrozdziale 2.1.2 *Społeczno-symboliczny wy*miar tkactwa powtórzone zostają informacje z części poprzedniej o specjalizacji w tkactwie określonych grup kobiet oraz znaleziskach ciężarków tkackich jako pozostałości krosien pionowych. Autorka rozważa także, czy umiejętność tkania była znana kobietom starym, niezdolnym do prac polowych, czy po prostu kobietom wyjątkowym, specjalizującym się w tej dziedzinie i posiadającym wysoki status w ramach swojej wspólnoty (ss. 41–42). Dość dużo uwagi poświęca również technice tabliczkowej, która mogła się wiązać z zastosowaniem glinianych szpul, a która ze względu na rzadkie znaleziska przypisywana byłaby kobietom należącym do elit (s. 43). Wskazuje, że do tej pory gliniane szpule przypisywane były solowarstwu, jednak przekazy archeologiczne i ikonograficzne wyraźnie wiążą je z włókiennictwem (s. 43). J. Żychlińska zaznacza, że w przypadku włókiennictwa pradziejowego sytuacja jest o tyle utrudniona, że nie ma bezpośrednich odkryć krosien, a jedynie dane pośrednio je poświadczające, jak np. przedstawienia na naczyniach czy otwory w podłożu.

W dalszej części tego podrozdziału autorka skupia się na stroju jako komunikacie społecznym określającym przynależność kobiety do danej grupy, ale poświęca również uwagę samej tkaninie. Według J. Żychlińskiej znaczenie tkaniny, tj. jej struktura, wzór oraz barwa, w rozważaniach nad jej rolą w "systemie symbolicznej komunikacji społecznej" było do tej pory marginalizowane (s. 47), co można uznać za powód, który skłonił autorkę do tak szerokiego opisu – począwszy od znaczenia wzorów na odzieży, poprzez kolor, skończywszy na wzorach i ornamentach widocznych na ceramice oraz powiązaniu kobiety-tkaczki z kobietą-garncarką (ss. 47–50). Cała ta część jest bardzo ogólna i zawiera mało konkretnych odnośników do znalezisk dotyczących kultury łużyckiej.

Podrozdział 2.2 *Garncarstwo*, 2.2.1 *Materialne pozostałości po warsztacie garncarskim* na wstępie opatrzony jest definicją "warsztatu garncarskiego", informacjami o rodzaju używanej gliny, stosowanych domieszkach, warunkach wypału i piecach (ss. 50–52). Jest to pouczający fragment pracy, jednak i tutaj możemy zaobserwować pewne niedociągnięcia, chociażby w dwukrotnej kwalifikacji Gościmia do powiatu "strzelecko-drezdeńskiego" (a powinno być "strzelecko-drezdeneckiego") (ss. 52–53). Dalej czytamy o ceramice malowanej z terenów Wielkopolski i jej porównaniu z wyrobami śląskimi, a także o koncepcji A. Mierzwińskiego dotyczącej wyrabiania tworów ceramicznych przez dzieci (szczególnie chłopców), którą autorka odrzuca (ss. 55–56).

Repertuar wykonywanych naczyń oraz wskazanie, dlaczego w kobiecych warsztatach ceramicznych wykonywane były również naczynia przypisywane wytwórstwu męskiemu, opisane są na ss. 56–64. Autorka powołuje się tutaj głównie na swoje poprzednie dzieło z 2013 roku (*Przemiany stylistyczne naczyń ceramicznych ludności kultury łużyckiej w Wielkopolsce*, Bydgoszcz 2013). To omówienie wyrobów ceramicznych nie wnosi

znaczących informacji do pracy. Interesujący natomiast w tej części jest fragment dotyczący nielicznych amuletów oraz instrumentów muzycznych wykonanych z gliny (ss. 64–66).

W podrozdziale 2.2.2 Społeczno-symboliczny wymiar garncarstwa garncarstwo określone zostało jako "element systemu, który umożliwia identyfikację innych systemów – systemów kulturowych", za które odpowiedzialne były "bez żadnych watpliwości" kobiety. W dalszej części mamy odwołanie do opracowania M. Magielnickiej-Urban z 1984 roku odnośnie czasu wykonania pojedynczego naczynia, okresu w roku, w którym mogły być robione, ilości ceramiki, jaka mogła być produkowana, czy istnienia wydzielonej przestrzeni związanej z procesem wytwórczości. W tej części pracy wykorzystane zostają źródła etnograficzne (ss. 67-69). Opis symboliki związanej z wytwarzaniem przedmiotów glinianych rozpoczyna się na s. 69. Wskazuje on na mieszanie i przenikanie się symboli solarnych (utożsamianych z męskością) z lunarnymi (wiązanych z kobietą) widoczne w zbiorze naczyń o różnych formach.

Przedstawienia wizerunków ludzkich J. Żychlińska interpretuje jako zobrazowanie istot duchowych o niezwykłych cechach, natomiast motywy geometryczne przedstawia jako ideogramy: kobiety, żeńskiego bóstwa, prokreacji, płodności, wody czy ognia (ss. 71-72). Autorka opisuje kolory znajdujące się na ceramice malowanej, jak również barwy na tkaninach oraz ich funkcje symboliczne, np. czerwień miała się łączyć z krwią i ogniem (s. 72). Dalej opisywane są przedmioty, za pomocą których "można było kontaktować się ze światem sacrum", a należą do nich tabakierki, naczynia specjalne, wazy, kadzielnice (według J. Żychlińskiej służące do spalania np. opium) i stoliki na czterech nóżkach (s. 73). Mowa jest również o glinianych łyżkach, których przeznaczenie jest kwestią sporną, a które (egzemplarze o krótkich uchwytach) autorka również wiąże z prażeniem opium jako symbolicznym elementem łączącym dwa światy (s. 75). W tej części J. Żychlińska opisuje dane z terenów Wielkopolski, które świadczyłyby o nawiązywaniu kontaktów ze sferą sacrum, a są nimi owe łyżki, ikonografia oraz trójkatne przedmioty do wróżenia. Całość podsumowuje jednym zdaniem, mówiącym o tym, że zarówno garncarstwo, jak i tkactwo miało za zadanie przekazać pewne komunikaty oraz wiedzę innym członkom społeczności, dlatego rola kobiety w tym zakresie była znacząca (s. 75). Na końcu tego podrozdziału znajdujemy tabelę opisującą występowanie motywów palcowo-paznokciowych na ceramice kultury łużyckiej z terenów Wielkopolski. Tabela ta nie jest łatwa w odbiorze, ponieważ w całości nawiązuje do poprzedniej, wspomnianej już publikacji autorki z 2013 roku (Przemiany stylistyczne...). Wydaje się ona zbędna w rozważaniach na temat społeczno-symbolicznego aspektu wytwórczości kobiecej w kulturze łużyckiej, przynajmniej w zaprezentowanej formie (ss. 76–85).

Rozdział 3 rozpoczyna się definicją "komunikacji społecznej", którą autorka rozumie jako interakcję i proces przekazywania informacji przez jednego człowieka drugiemu przy użyciu dostępnych mu środków, przy czym dzieli ją na taką, która zachodzi pomiędzy jednostkami oraz pomiędzy grupami (s. 87). Badaczka powołuje się również na spostrzeżenia francuskiego antropologa C. Lévi-Straussa, który określił kobietę jako najcenniejszy "przedmiot wymiany" ze względu na jej "wartości biologiczne" i "wartości komunikacyjne" (s. 88). Autorka stwierdza, że kobiety, jako nośnik informacji, uczestniczyły w wymianie zarówno handlowej, jak i małżeńskiej. Wyróżnia także dwa poziomy komunikacji społecznej: pierwszy dotyczy socjalizacji młodzieży, przygotowującej ją do dorosłego życia, oraz przekazywania treści społecznych pozostałym członkom grupy, np. za pomocą wzorów na tkaninach czy przedstawieniach na naczyniach; drugi wiąże się z przekazywaniem treści innym społecznościom i możemy do niego zaliczyć wymianę dalekosiężną (ss. 88-90).

W tym miejscu chciałabym na moment się zatrzymać, ponieważ na s. 92 J. Żychlińska stwierdza, iż "trudno określić, w jakim stopniu kobiety uczestniczyły w wymianie dalekosiężnych ekskluzywnych dóbr materialnych, dlatego pytanie o ich aktywny udział w tym typie komunikacji społecznej pozostaje niestety nadal otwarte". Zdanie to jest jednak mało trafne, biorąc pod uwagę najnowsze analizy odkrytego w 1921 roku w Egtved (Dania) pochówku 16-18 letniej, pochodzącej ze Szwarcwaldu kobiety (datowanego na ok. 1370 p.n.e.) wykonane pod kątem określenia ilości strontu we włosach (ostatnie 23 miesiące życia), zębach (pierwsze 3 lata życia) i paznokciach (ostatnie 6 miesięcy przed śmiercią). Osoba ta przez ostatnie miesiące swojego życia bardzo intensywnie podróżowała pomiędzy południowymi Niemcami a Jutlandią (przebyła ok. 2400 km). Szczątki pochowanego wraz z nią pięcioletniego dziecka również pochodziły z południowych Niemiec. Kobieta ta mogła zostać wydana za mąż za wpływową osobę zamieszkującą w EB tereny dzisiejszej Danii albo mogła trudnić się handlem (przykładowy artykuł na ten temat: https:// www.nature.com/articles/srep10431, dostęp 20.11.2019). Tak czy inaczej, jej przypadek świadczy o bardzo dobrze zorganizowanym handlu dalekosiężnym pomiędzy Szwarcwaldem a Półwyspem Jutlandzkim, w którym brały udział również kobiety. W recenzowanej pracy takich odniesień do najnowszych badań i odkryć, jak możemy zauważyć, jest niestety dość mało.

W dalszej części tego rozdziału J. Żychlińska ponownie wraca do tematu ceramiki, tym razem opisując ją pod postacią importów (ss. 92–93). W tekście występuje jednak niewiele przykładów takich przedmiotów i są one świadectwem przede wszystkim

oddziaływań z terenów ościennych. Autorka przedstawia również pogląd mówiący o przemieszczeniach garncarek ze strefy wschodnio-halsztackiej, czego przejawem miałaby być ceramika malowana (s. 93), przy czym podaje go w wątpliwość ze względu na bariery językowe oraz odmienne niż w Europie Południowej warunki przygotowania masy garncarskiej i wypału (s. 94). Wysuwa zatem wniosek, iż obecność naczyń malowanych na terenie Wielkopolski jest świadectwem pośrednictwa wzorców południowych przez społeczności zamieszkujące tereny Śląska, co mogło być skutkiem wymiany kobiet (ss. 94–95).

Na s. 95 J. Żychlińska w jednym zdaniu wyjaśnia, że o wymianie kobiet, prócz ceramiki, mogą świadczyć ozdoby pojawiające się na stanowiskach w postaci całych kompletów lub pojedynczych egzemplarzy. Szkoda, że autorka bardziej nie rozwija tego wątku, ponieważ jeśli chodzi o ozdoby, to sytuacja jest bardziej złożona. Trzeba wziąć pod uwagę nie tylko wymianę kobiet w ramach zawierania małżeństw, ale również panującą "modę" na pewne elementy biżuterii, stosowanie jej jako surowca lub środka płatniczego, wędrówkę rzemieślników itd. Również na tej stronie, w przypisie nr 404, J. Żychlińska podaje, iż wydawanie kobiet za mąż mogło się odbywać w obrębie 200 km, natomiast z przytoczonych już wcześniej wyników badań wiemy, że taka wymiana w EB mogła mieć o wiele większy zasięg.

Pozostając w tematyce ozdób, w recenzowanej publikacji kobieta określana jest, dość szablonowo, jako tkaczka, garncarka lub (o czym dowiemy się pod koniec lektury tej publikacji) szamanka/wróżbitka, natomiast nie znajdziemy w niej informacji, że mogła ona sprawować w społeczeństwie jeszcze inne funkcje. Być może brak jest jednoznacznie takich dowodów dla kultury łużyckiej zamieszkującej obszar Wielkopolski, jednak wypadałoby w tego typu publikacji chociaż wspomnieć, iż kobiety mogły zajmować się również np. kowalstwem. Świadczyć może o tym żeński pochówek datowany na EB z terenów Austrii (a dokładniej z Geitzendorf), w którym odkryto m.in. kowadła i młotki, prawdopodobnie służące do wyrobu biżuterii i broni (https://www. wprost.pl/zycie/351152/odkryto-grob-kobiety-kowala-sprzed-4000-lat.html, dostęp 01.08.2018).

W dalszej części pracy autorka opisuje szlaki handlowe, które analizuje na podstawie "zwykłej" ceramiki znalezionej na stanowiskach wielkopolskich i umieszczonych na niej ornamentów (ss. 96–97), a także rozważa ewentualnie stosowane na tych odcinkach środki transportu (ss. 97–98). Opis wykorzystywania psa jako towarzysza podróży (i nawet jako przewodnika w zaświatach) zawarty jest na s. 99. Strony 100 i 101 to podsumowanie rozdziału 3, który pokrótce opisuje budowanie tożsamości regionalnej w kulturze łużyckiej. Polega ono na ustaleniu odpowiednich cech dla danej jednostki i grupy, które odróżniałyby je od innych. Pomaga to

w ustaleniu granic pomiędzy plemionami oraz przekazywaniu uniwersalnych wartości i symboli w ramach grupy, jak i konkretnej osoby, co mogło być obrazowane przez garncarki w postaci symboli umieszczanych na ceramice.

Rozdział nr 4 rozpoczyna się krótkim wprowadzeniem na temat znaczenia cmentarzysk i ich zrozumienia w kontekście przestrzeni społecznej kultury łużyckiej. Następuje przedstawienie cmentarzysk jako formy komunikatu społecznego, dającego nam informacje o relacji między żywymi a zmarłymi. Jednak, jak uważa autorka, są to miejsca mówiące więcej o osobach żywych, które w przeszłości kształtowały tę przestrzeń dla siebie (s. 103). W dalszej części tego wstępu znajduje się krótkie omówienie ogólnego znaczenia rytuału, jego rodzaje, materialne atrybuty i pozostałości, a także towarzyszące mu symbole (ss. 103–105).

Podrozdział 4.1 Rola i pozycja społeczna kobiety przez pryzmat rytuałów pogrzebowych rozpoczyna się stwierdzeniem, że "szczególne miejsce w rytuałach pogrzebowych zajmuje plastyka figuralna", przy czym zostaje przywołany pogląd S. Górki o przypisaniu naczyń w kształcie buta pochówkom żeńskim, do którego autorka się nie odnosi (ss. 105–106). W dalszej części pracy znajdujemy opis ceramiki i znaczenie znajdujących się na niej symboli, rytuału składania zmarłego do grobu, a także próba wyjaśnienia zjawiska tzw. grobów cząstkowych oraz rytualnego rabunku, którą proponuje A. Mierzwiński (ss. 106–109). Praktyki grzebania zmarłych oraz pochówki "atypowe" opisane zostają na ss. 109–111.

Omawiany podrozdział jest bardzo interesujący, jednak posiada on charakter bardzo ogólny i przeważnie odnosi się do literatury opisującej zabiegi stosowane np. we wczesnym średniowieczu. J. Żychlińska posługuje się również pojęciami, które nie łączą się z omawianym przez nią okresem, jak np. "strzyga", które dotyczy demonicznego stworzenia znanego z wierzeń słowiańskich. Przytoczeń do kultury łużyckiej w tym fragmencie pracy odnajdujemy dość niewiele. Informacje na temat grobów kobiet omawianej społeczności zamieszczone zostały w postaci tekstu i tabeli na ss. 115–118.

Podrozdział *Miejsce kobiety w przestrzeni funeralnej* zawiera opis lokalizacji żeńskich pochówków na cmentarzyskach z terenów Wielkopolski. Zamieszczonych jest w nim wiele rycin obrazujących rozplanowanie grobów na stanowiskach, podobnie jednak jak w pozostałych częściach recenzowanej publikacji ryciny zaczerpnięte zostały z prac innych badaczy (także poprzednich prac J. Żychlińskiej).

Dla czytelnika ciekawa może okazać się teoria zjawiska "symbolicznej protekcji zmarłych mężczyzn, których groby otaczają w przestrzeni funeralnej pochówki kobiet i dzieci". Można zaobserwować je m.in. na cmentarzysku w Kaliszanach, pow. wągrowiecki. Autorka zwraca również uwagę na jedyny na tym cmentarzysku

pochówek kobiety, zmarłej w wieku 35-50 lat, który można określić jako sprawujący "dodatkową pieczę nad swoimi zmarłymi" (s. 120). Podobne wnioski badaczka wyciąga z analizy nekropolii w Biernatkach, pow. poznański, datowanej na V okres EB oraz z Szadek, pow. kaliski, datowanej na okres HaC (ss. 120-122). Odmienną sytuację wskazuje natomiast na stanowisku w Słupi Kapitularnej, pow. rawicki, gdzie w południowej części cmentarzyska, datowanej na starszy okres EB, zauważyć można odwrotny rozkład – groby kobiet otaczają groby mężczyzn i dzieci, pełniąc nad nimi "symboliczną pieczę". Jak stwierdza J. Żychlińska, "dla młodszego okresu epoki żelaza wnioskowanie [dla tego stanowiska] jest utrudnione, gdyż mamy tutaj zaledwie cztery groby" (ss. 123-124). Na s. 128 dodaje, iż w rozwiniętym okresie wczesnego żelaza (HaC-HaCD) w Słupi Kapitularnej "groby kobiece pełnią symboliczną opiekę nad grobami męskimi", przy czym na tej samej stronie czytamy, że w okresie HaD w Słupi Kapitularnej "znów obserwujemy protektorat pochówków meskich nad grobami kobiet i dzieci". Na koniec autorka podkreśla, iż prawdopodobnie każde cmentarzysko w pradziejach podlegało własnym, wewnętrznym zasadom, natomiast nagromadzenie pochówków kobiecych w jednym miejscu niekoniecznie musi świadczyć o odmiennych rytuałach religijnych, ale mogło być skutkiem dużej śmiertelności kobiet przy porodzie (ss. 128-129).

W dalszej części tego podrozdziału J. Żychlińska opisuje zróżnicowanie sposobu grzebania zmarłych w obrębie jednej nekropolii oraz trudności z ich interpretacją i rekonstrukcją przez współczesnych badaczy. Nakreśla również problem z odczytaniem znaczenia elementów wyposażenia (ss. 129–131).

Warto zwrócić uwagę na pewne wypowiedzi autorki odnośnie ról typowo kobiecych i męskich: "Dlatego właśnie w odpowiedzi na pytanie o rolę i pozycję społeczną kobiety kultury łużyckiej pochowanej na obszarze dzisiejszej Wielkopolski należy pozbyć się stereotypów i budowania »wizji« kobiety przez pryzmat tradycyjnego pojmowania ról kobiecych (i męskich)" (s. 131); "e) wytwory, które w sposób pośredni wskazują, że nie było ról typowo kobiecych i typowo męskich" (s. 132); "Obserwacja wyposażenia pochówków występujących na obszarze Wielkopolski skłania do wysunięcia hipotezy, że nie było ról typowo męskich i typowo kobiecych" (s. 143). Stwierdzenia te, biorąc pod uwagę kształt pracy oraz informacje do tej pory w niej zawarte, mogą wydawać się w tym miejscu dość zdumiewające. Po pierwsze dlatego, że mamy tutaj do czynienia z przedstawieniem kobiety przede wszystkim jako tkaczki i garncarki, bez wyraźnego podkreślenia, iż poza tymi specjalizacjami mogła ona piastować również odmienne funkcje; po drugie, gdyż taka znacząca informacja pojawia się dopiero w przedostatnim rozdziale publikacji. Nie prędzej niż na s. 143 przytoczone zostają przykłady raptem siedmiu grobów kobiecych z wyposażeniem, które można uznać za typowo męskie (np. haczyk, nóż, czy elementy rzędu końskiego). Niestety brak jest ich głębszej analizy.

Następne akapity tego podrozdziału to powtórzenie informacji z rozdziałów 2 i 3 odnośnie tkactwa i garncarstwa z uzupełnieniami na temat stanowisk lub dodatkowymi ciekawostkami (ss. 135–142). Rozdział ten kończy krótka charakterystyka wyposażenia pochówków kobiet pełniących na cmentarzyskach rolę "strażniczek" (ss. 144–145). Ich obecność również była już nakreślana przez autorkę na poprzednich stronach pracy.

Ostatni rozdział (Kobieta kultury łużyckiej w przestrzeni społecznej – wnioski końcowe) stanowi podsumowanie wcześniejszych informacji. J. Żychlińska powołuje się na badania antropologiczne, które potwierdzają krótkie, lecz intensywne życie kobiet zamieszkujących tereny Wielkopolski w omawianym przedziale czasowym, neguje jednak pojawiające się wcześniej w literaturze poglądy o spędzaniu przez kobiety życia przede wszystkim na rodzeniu dzieci i opiece nad nimi. Autorka identyfikuje osoby posiadające wiedzę o garncarstwie lub tkactwie, a także o rytuałach magicznych czy pogrzebowych, jako kobiety pochodzące przede wszystkim z elit społecznych (ss. 148–149). Jak zauważa, czynnościom tym przypisywana była rola społeczno-komunikacyjna, poprzez utrwalanie na naczyniach i tkaninach wydarzeń z życia wspólnoty lub symboli pozwalających odróżnić członka własnej społeczności od obcego. Przyuczając dzieci do wykonywania tych czynności, kobiety przekazywały im zarówno wiedzę technologiczną, jak i cały system zasad panujących w danej społeczności. Wiedza ta była przenoszona na tereny ościenne poprzez zawieranie małżeństw poza własną wspólnotą (s. 149).

Po takich wnioskach końcowych można odnieść wrażenie, iż autorka swoją pracę poświęca przede wszystkim kobietom pochodzącym z wyższych warstw społecznych kultury łużyckiej, tj. tym piastującym wysokie pozycje społeczne, wyjątkowym. A co ze zwykłymi kobietami? Z tymi, które nie mogły sobie pozwolić na luksus tworzenia ceramiki, wróżenia czy tkania? Nie każdą przecież kobietę stać było na tkaniny czy odzież sprowadzaną z terenów śródziemnomorskich (ss. 149–151). Nie każda miała dostęp do wiedzy i towarów luksusowych. Niektóre z nich także wyłamywały się ze stereotypów i im właśnie nie poświęcono w tej pracy miejsca.

J. Żychlińska w swojej publikacji bardzo często odnosi się do praktyk znanych ze świata greckiego (np. tkactwo, działania biesiadno-libacyjne), natomiast zdecydowanie rzadziej pisze o innych rejonach zamieszkiwanych przez kulturę łużycką.

Po lekturze recenzowanej pracy czytelnik może mieć bardzo mieszane odczucia. Z jednej strony temat, którego opracowania podjeła się J. Żychlińska, jest tematem dość trudnym i niewdzięcznym w realizacji, szczególnie dla archeologa (choć niewatpliwie w pracy poruszonych zostało wiele interesujących kwestii); z drugiej natomiast publikacja ta jest pełna niekonsekwencji, nieścisłości, licznych zapożyczeń z innych prac (szczególnie wcześniejszych prac Żychlińskiej), nie posiada płynnej kompozycji, co spowodowane jest występowaniem niekiedy wyrwanych z kontekstu akapitów, czasami także przytłacza nadmiarem informacji (niekoniecznie związanych z tematem), przez co wydaje się lekko chaotyczna i jest trudna w odbiorze. Sposób, w jaki została napisana – długie i wielokrotnie złożone zdania, liczne powtórzenia, wiele informacji w nawiasach, literówki itp. - skutkuje tym, że można momentami pogubić się w toku myślenia autorki. Niektóre słownictwo, szczególnie to specjalistyczne, powinno również zostać wyjaśnione. Uwagę czytelnika zwraca także niedostatecznie dobra korekta publikacji, np.: "przy czym nie ma tu znaczenia orientacja pochówków "ochraniających" względem kierunki świata" (s. 124); "Tak jak wcześniej dominowały w wyposażeniu grobowych naczynia" (s. 151) itd.

Praca, mimo iż została opublikowana w 2017 roku, a pojawiła się w sprzedaży w roku 2018, nie powołuje się na najnowsze wyniki badań i odnosi się przeważnie do starszych publikacji, które były już wielokrotnie cytowane. Autorka w swoich rozważaniach skupia się również w głównej mierze na ceramice, nie sięgając po analizy innych artefaktów, jak np. fragmenty tkanin czy metali.

Niewątpliwie dużą zaletą omawianej pracy jest to, iż posiada bogatą bibliografię. Jednak i tutaj trzeba wspomnieć, że w miejscach, gdzie J. Żychlińska odnosi się do znalezisk np. z terenów Śląska, w przypisach powinno znaleźć się więcej odwołań do prac m.in. Ireny Lasak, Dagmary Łaciak czy Justyny Baron. Spis literatury zawiera również wyjątkowo wiele prac samej autorki (ok. 29 pozycji).

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### JUSTYNA ŻYCHLIŃSKA, KOBIETA KULTURY ŁUŻYCKIEJ W PRZESTRZENI SPOŁECZNEJ...

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### Joanna Kalaga

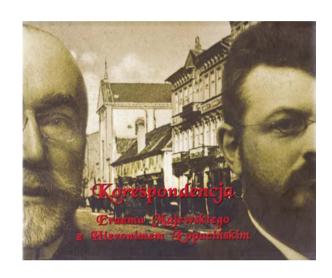
Instytut Archeologii, Uniwersytet Warszawski jk@pradzieje.pl

# Maria E. Krajewska, Korespondencja Erazma Majewskiego z Hieronimem Łopacińskim, Lublin–Warszawa 2017, 335 ss.

W maju 2017 roku odbyła się w Lublinie promocja książki opracowanej przez Marię Eleonorę Krajewską pt.: Korespondencja Erazma Majewskiego z Hieronimem Lopacińskim. Została ona wydana przez Bibliotekę Publiczną im. Hieronima Łopacińskiego w Lublinie i Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne w Warszawie. Liczy 335 stron i jest bogato ilustrowana kopiami rękopiśmiennych listów obu respondentów, ich zdjęciami, wnętrzami gabinetów naukowych i dawnego Lublina. Poszczególne ryciny nie są numerowane.

Maria Krajewska pracuje w Pracowni Dokumentacji Naukowej Państwowego Muzeum Archeologicznego w Warszawie. Jako dyplomowany archeolog i polonista zajmuje się bogatą archiwalną spuścizną naukową tej placówki. Ma na tym polu duży dorobek w postaci ponad 30 publikacji w polskich ("Wiadomości Archeologiczne", "Światowit", "Rocznik Mazowiecki", "Bibliotekarz Lubelski") i litewskich ("Lietuvos Archeologija") wydawnictwach naukowych. Ostatnio, w projekcie Ostbalticum, opracowała Inwentarz archeologiczny guberni kowieńskiej Michała Eustachego Brensztejna (red. A. Bitner--Wróblewska, R. Banytè-Rowell, Warszawa 2016), badacza i intelektualisty litewskiego z końca XIX i początku XX wieku. Maria Krajewska jest główną monografistką postaci Erazma Majewskiego. Ostatnim jej dziełem w tym zakresie jest studium ukazujące tego badacza kultury polskiej w kontekście korespondencji z Hieronimem Łopacińskim.

Hieronim Łopaciński herbu Lubicz urodził się w 1860 roku w Ośnie Górnym na Kujawach. Umarł w Lublinie w 1906 roku i jest pochowany na cmentarzu przy ul. Lipowej. Był absolwentem Wydziału Filozoficznego Cesarskiego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. W 1883 roku ukończył studia na "oddziale klasycznym" tej uczelni. Od 1884 roku pracował w lubelskich szkołach jako nauczyciel języków starożytnych. Będąc samoukiem, prowadził badania archeologiczne, etnograficzne, językoznawcze, historyczne i z zakresu historii literatury. Popularyzował szeroko rozumianą wiedzę dotyczącą przede wszystkim przeszłości Lubelszczyzny. Stał się też znanym lubelskim bibliofilem. Jego zbiory dały zalążek Bibliotece Publicznej w tym mieście, funkcjonującej do dnia dzisiejszego. Za całokształt działalności w 1901 roku Hieronim Łopaciński otrzymał członkostwo w Akademii



Umiejętności w Krakowie. Jego życiorys i aktywność naukowa były wielokrotnie omawiane w piśmiennictwie. Zwieńczeniem jest ukazanie wielu nowych aspektów bardzo czynnego życia tego intelektualisty w świetle nieznanej dotychczas korespondencji prowadzonej z Erazmem Majewskim.

Erazm Majewski urodził się w 1858 roku w Lublinie. Życie dorosłe spędził w Warszawie i tu został pochowany w 1922 roku na Powązkach (obecnie Starych). Wywodził się z rodziny przemysłowców. Był samoukiem w zakresie nauk biologicznych, archeologicznych, geologicznych, etnograficznych, ekonomicznych i socjologicznych. Zajmował się też powieściopisarstwem. Napisał wiele prac naukowych i popularnonaukowych. Stworzył pierwsze prywatne muzeum archeologiczne w Warszawie i założył periodyk naukowy "Światowit", którego tytuł omawiał w listach z Hieronimem Łopacińskim (rozważane alternatywy to np. Świat Przedhistoryczny, Nowiny Przedhistoryczne z Polski, Przegląd Archeologiczny, Świętowit, Prace Archeologiczne). Erazm Majewski należał do Państwowego Grona Konserwatorów Zabytków. Pełnił w nim funkcję pierwszego prezesa. Z własnych środków finansował badania naukowe, w tym archeologiczne, i publikacje naukowe. Stworzył podwaliny warszawskiej szkoły archeologicznej. Był autorytetem naukowym końca XIX i początku XX wieku. W 1919 roku został pierwszym profesorem archeologii przedhistorycznej na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim.

Erazm Majewski i Hieronim Łopaciński należeli do grona polskich intelektualistów dużego formatu. Przywrócenie pamięci o ich patriotycznych postawach, wielkim zaangażowaniu w badanie szeroko rozumianej kultury polskiej i wieloaspektowej działalności w zakresie nauk humanistycznych, przyrodniczych, społecznych i ekonomicznych ma kolosalne znaczenie. Korespondencja Erazma Majewskiego z Hieronimem Łopacińskim jest dziełem wpisującym się w cykl publikacji poświęconych nietuzinkowym postaciom polskiej inteligencji z przełomu XIX i XX stulecia. Powrót do tej problematyki należy do odradzającej się w XXI wieku archeologii historycznej, w której poczesne miejsce zajmuje aktywność Marii Krajewskiej. Autorka należy do nielicznego grona badaczy zajmujących się materiałami archiwalnymi w środowisku warszawskim. Poza Nią, odnośnie postaci Erazma Majewskiego, wymienić można jeszcze Stefana K. Kozłowskiego i Jacka Lecha.

Omawiana książka w pełni spełnia wymogi opracowania naukowego i jednocześnie popularno-naukowego. Składa się ona z dwóch części logicznie ze sobą połączonych. Pierwszą z nich stanowią materiały źródłowe (około sto listów), a drugą kilkaset przypisów i komentarzy odznaczających się starannym opracowaniem merytorycznym i metodycznym. Są one rzeczowe, wyczerpujące i oparte na starszej (przełom XIX i XX w.), niekiedy trudno dostępnej, i najnowszej (XXI stulecie) literaturze przedmiotu. Powyższy podział pozwala śledzić treść samych listów, realia czasów, w których żyli i działali bohaterowie monografii, ich rozliczne zainteresowania i kontakty z ówczesnym, żywiołowo rozwijającym się środowiskiem intelektualistów polskich.

Na szczególnie wysoką ocenę zasługuje wysiłek Autorki, który włożyła w odczytanie rękopisów listów Erazma Majewskiego i Hieronima Łopacińskiego oraz wierne oddanie ich treści w zapisie udostępnionym Czytelnikowi.

Podjęcie zaprezentowanej w książce tematyki jest jak najbardziej uzasadnione wobec niewielkiej jeszcze liczby nowoczesnych opracowań materiałów epistolarnych dotyczących archeologii i nauk pokrewnych, a także wybitnych przedstawicieli społeczeństwa polskiego. Dzieło Marii Krajewskiej wypełnia znakomicie lukę w tym względzie

i wpisuje się we współczesne naukowe potrzeby badawcze oraz zainteresowania miłośników kultury polskiej.

Celem głównym opracowania jest wprowadzenie do obiegu naukowego nieznanych dotychczas, bezcennych źródeł w postaci listów Erazma Majewskiego i Hieronima Łopacińskiego. Zaś celem podrzędnym jest zwrócenie uwagi na język i etykietę epistolarną obu intelektualistów wynikającą z różnicy wieku, statusu i pozycji społecznej oraz doświadczenia naukowego.

Układ książki odpowiada dziełu naukowemu. Otwierają ją zagadnienia wstępne. Są dostosowane do potrzeb tego typu opracowań i dobrze wprowadzają w meritum sprawy. Charakterystyka bazy źródłowej jest wyczerpująca, a zakres tematyczny pracy zwięźle omówiony. Zamieszczony spis listów w układzie chronologicznym ułatwia ich wyszukiwanie. Pozwala też śledzić w czasie rozwój tematyki podejmowanej przez respondentów.

Trzon książki stanowią poszczególne listy. Poza ich zawartością formalną zwracają uwagę nie tylko wzmiankowane już przypisy i komentarze, ale też dodatkowe informacje znajdujące się na marginesach stron, będące rodzajem metryczek. Odnoszą się one do danych o miejscu przechowywania listów (biblioteka, sygnatura rękopisu), formacie papieru, stanie jego zachowania, czytelności tekstu, wyglądzie kopert, widokówek, znaczków pocztowych i ich cenie. Wszystko to wzbogaca wiedzę o normach korespondencji prywatnej prowadzonej przed ponad 100 laty w gronie ówczesnych elit społecznych. Całość dzieła zamyka dobrze dobrana bibliografia, spis i opis ilustracji według numerów stron (forma oryginalna, ale niepraktykowana w wydawnictwach naukowych) oraz indeks osób.

Ilustracje i strona graficzna książki są starannie i estetycznie przygotowane. Poszczególne listy pokazane są z zachowaniem kolorytu papieru i atramentu. Są wyodrębnione z tekstu, co pozwala na bezpośrednie zapoznawanie się z nimi i ich ocenę.

Przypisy i komentarze napisane są nienaganną polszczyzną. Czyta się je z przyjemnością i zainteresowaniem. Dzieło Marii Krajewskiej ma charakter badawczy i jest dojrzałe. Jego kompozycja jest godna naśladowania przez innych badaczy zajmujących się podobną problematyką. Całość zasługuje na wysoką ocenę.

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### Jerzy Żelazowski

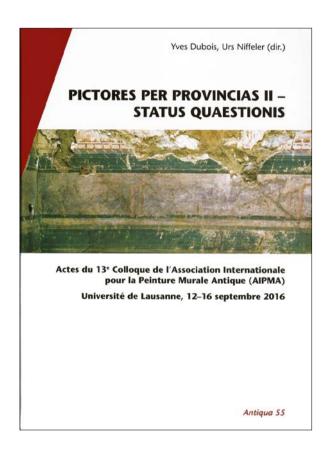
Istituto di Archeologia, Università di Varsavia j.zelazowski@uw.edu.pl

YVES DUBOIS, URS NIFFELER (DIR.), PICTORES PER PROVINCIAS II – STATUS QUAESTIONIS, ACTES DU 13E COLLOQUE DE L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE POUR LA PEINTURE MURALE ANTIQUE (AIPMA), ANTIQUA 55, BASEL 2018, 984 PP.

Nei giorni 12-16 settembre del 2016 si è svolto a Losanna l'ormai XIII convegno dell'Association Internationale pour la Peinture Murale Antique (AIPMA). Quest'organizzazione da circa trent'anni raduna gli studiosi di tanti paesi e promuove incontri di studio incentrati sulla pittura parietale antica. Dietro quest'attività ci si confronta sulla valutazione non soltanto delle tantissime nuove scoperte in costante aumento, ma soprattutto sulle direzioni di ricerca e sulle interpretazioni delle pitture. Uno dei problemi percepiti da anni riguarda la giusta collocazione della pittura pompeiana, da sempre campo dominante della ricerca, nel contesto storico, sociale e culturale dell'Italia e, in particolare, di Roma capitale dell'impero, ma anche in relazione alla situazione nelle province romane con le loro diverse tradizioni locali.

La necessità di una prospettiva storica adeguata e di un'apertura verso i contesti provinciali era stata ribadita già durante il convegno organizzato ad Avenches nel 1986 dal titolo significativo "Pictores per provincias". Con il passare degli anni e con le nuove scoperte sempre più massicce, il quadro della pittura parietale si è complicato notevolmente, ponendo difficili problemi interpretativi, ripresi nei titoli dei convegni successivi dell'AIPMA, ma anche delle associazioni nazionali, soprattutto quella francese (AFPMA). Dunque dopo trent'anni si è voluto, su ispirazione di M. Fuchs, arrivare ad un resoconto della ricerca, valutare il progresso e disegnare il percorso scientifico futuro: non a caso il convegno di Losanna ha ripreso il titolo di quello di Avenches, con l'aggiunta significativa "status quaestionis". Per evidenziare meglio lo stato della ricerca, il comitato organizzativo ha chiesto a diversi studiosi di preparare le sintesi per ciascuna parte del mondo greco-romano, spesso complementate da contributi e poster particolareggiati. Di conseguenza, grazie all'impegno di guida e redazione dei colleghi svizzeri, soprattutto di Y. Dubois e dell'equipe di Antiqua dell'Archeologia Svizzera, è nata una pubblicazione di mille pagine che presenta lo stato attuale della ricerca sulla pittura

Naturalmente non è possibile rendere conto qui della ricchezza dei materiali raccolti e delle riflessioni.



Conviene però notare che questo volume riassuntivo, un'idea geniale nella sua semplicità, peserà a lungo nella storia della disciplina, perchè permette di mettere a fuoco i successi, ma anche le sconfitte degli studi sulla pittura parietale antica e, in questa prospettiva, di tracciare i nuovi percorsi da seguire. Quanto questa pubblicazione indurrà a discussioni metodologiche e interpretative, lo si può vedere già nei contributi di A. Barbet e I. Bragantini, due autorità indiscusse della materia, che aprono e concludono il volume. Forse dietro l'idea di contestualizzazione delle pitture, tanto sfruttata nel passato, si profila un'apertura verso ricerche più globali e più sincronizzate con altre categorie di fonti antiche, con l'avvertimento, tanto banale, quanto spesso dimenticato, che la realtà storica non si divide secondo categorie e discipline

scientifiche, ma costituisce un'unità conoscitiva da scoprire e capire.

Nel volume si vede bene lo sforzo consapevole di reinserire le pitture pompeiane e della zona vesuviana in un contesto più ampio, come sottolineato da A. Allroggen-Bedel, le quali, però, segnano ancora profondamente la ricerca. In questo senso si riportano le considerazioni di E.M. Moormann, che vuole riconfermare la validità dei quattro stili di A. Mau considerati come "Zeitstile". Tuttavia, il confronto di questa periodizzazione con le recenti ricerche offre la possibilità di formulare riflessioni che vanno al di là dei quattro stili e sottolineano le difficoltà di interpretazione culturale, sociale ed artistica in determinati periodi. In questo contesto il richiamo a A. Riegl è molto prezioso e suona come un ammonimento, perchè l'idea che ogni epoca storica abbia il "diritto" ad un proprio stile ("Kunstwollen"), metteva in dubbio l'evoluzionismo stilistico di J.J. Winckelmann. Quindi ci si potrebbe chiedere se l'insufficienza della periodizzazione di A. Mau nei confronti dei cambiamenti socio-culturali non risultasse dalla scarsa definizione di "Kunstwollen" in certi periodi.

Per quanto riguarda il primo stile, la situazione sembra chiara, dato che da tempo si sottolinea la decadenza dei valori tradizionali dell'aristocrazia romana al tempo delle grandi conquiste, che portò all'imitazione dei modelli ellenistici e ad una rivalità sempre più sfrenata. Tuttavia il comportamento delle élite locali e dei "ceti medi" in Italia dopo la battaglia di Pidna, che fa pensare ad una "koinè" culturale ed artistica e di "Kunstwollen" almeno tardoellenistica, pone il problema di quanto l'aspirazione ad essere Romani con pieni diritti socio-politici imponesse l'" imitatio Urbis". In questo contesto la nascita del secondo stile in Italia si potrebbe considerare come segno e risultato di un'identità romana acquisita, pensata ed espressa (T. Hölscher)?

Da questa preziosa rassegna delle problematiche evidenziate nelle ricerche più recenti emergono chiaramente i problemi dell'inquadramento del terzo stile, dovuti soprattutto alle indagini sempre più approfondite delle case di Augusto sul Palatino. In parte questi problemi rispecchiano la difficile definizione dell'arte all'epoca di Augusto (P. Zanker), legata alla discussione sul nuovo assetto socio-politico, ma anche culturale dello stato ormai sempre più imperiale. Questo periodo di sperimentazioni lasciava spazio a diverse espressioni artistiche ed è chiaro che il primo imperatore lasciò l'opera incompiuta sotto vari aspetti. Lo sforzo di uniformare l'enorme stato, e la conseguente "provincializzazione" di Roma e dell'Italia, permise di creare una "koinè" culturale ed artistica, ma questo lungo processo, almeno in parte, offuscò la definizione del quarto stile.

Dagli studi recenti emergono anche importanti riflessioni su contesto e significato dei sistemi decorativi. Se intendiamo gli stili come "specific forms and painting manners", "syntaxes of paintings" e li applichiamo alle diverse categorie di spazi, si rilevano difficoltà di differenziazione. Tuttavia, l'analisi degli spazi paragonabili, per esempio degli ambienti con doppia alcova, porta a categorie come "riservatezza, condivisione e prestigio" (A. Anguissola), che richiedono una riflessione più approfondita sui nostri concetti di pubblico-privato, oppure modesto-lussuoso, adoperati nelle interpretazioni. Analogamente, se negli studi sui "marmi finti" si va oltre la consueta idea di un'alternativa più economica all'uso di autentiche pietre pregiate, si arriva pure alla nozione di prestigio e ricchezza, o di potere, che, però, come nel caso dello "style retro" (S. Mols) richiede un'impostazione storica.

Di conseguenza non c'è pericolo "that our field has non future" ed il progresso delle ricerche sembra evidente, ma il pregio maggiore delle osservazioni di E.M. Moormann, che riassume i diversi approcci emersi negli ultimi anni, forse sta nello stimolo ad una riflessione più generale. La specializzazione sul campo sembra inevitabile, ma almeno auspicabile sarebbe il ritorno allo storicismo di A. Riegl come punto di partenza per una visione più storica e globale, che prenda in considerazione anche gli stessi fenomeni e i problemi presenti, studiati in altri rami dell'attività artistica e culturale di un certo periodo, come segnali della stessa "Kunstwollen".

Tuttavia la situazione si complica se si guardano le diverse regioni dell'impero romano, per esempio le due Germanie e la Gallia Belgica, per cui R. Thomas, con grande competenza in merito, propone un quadro generale dello sviluppo della pittura (parietale e dei soffitti), aggiornato dalle acquisizioni di nuovi materiali, cronologie e ricostruzioni degli ultimi vent'anni, ponendosi il problema delle somiglianze o differenze, e delle possibili interferenze tra le due Germanie e la Gallia Belgica. Dalla presentazione delle pitture in ordine cronologico, dall'epoca augustea fino al IV secolo d.C., emerge uno sviluppo dei sistemi decorativi molto omogeneo e comune nelle tre province, il che rispecchia anche le dinamiche generali osservate in altre regioni dell'impero romano; va notata anche l'attenzione dedicata alle scelte coloristiche, a tonalità e contrasti.

Questa omogeneità dal punto di vista stilistico ed iconografico, fino a poter parlare di un "Reichsstil", si vede anche nella mancanza di differenze delle pitture nei diversi contesti abitativi, tra città, ville, campi militari, santuari e tombe, come se mancassero specifiche linee tematiche, legate alle categorie dell'edilizia pubblica. Questo quadro permette di affermare che "ist eine Darstellung "individueller Lokalstile" sinnlos", ma è molto importante l'osservazione che ciò dipende più che altro dalla frammentarietà dei resti delle decorazioni pittoriche conservati, dalle circostanze delle scoperte, dallo stato delle indagini archeologiche che non sempre offrono contesti e cronologie sicuri, quindi dalla valutazione della

rappresentatività dei materiali disponibili. A questo punto ci si potrebbe chiedere quanto l'immagine del mondo romano globalizzato dipenda dallo stato della ricerca e da generalizzazioni affrettate.

Tuttavia, nelle caratteristiche dei sistemi decorativi importanti sono i fattori qualitativi che spesso fanno la differenza e sono legati alla funzione dell'ambiente, alla posizione sociale del committente e alle sue possibilità economiche, oppure alla capacità dell'officina incaricata. Inoltre le analoghe tendenze stilistiche e, in più, i motivi e i modelli simili, riscontrati in posti anche molto distanti, fanno pensare non tanto a contatti diretti, a pittori e alle loro officine erranti alla ricerca della committenza, quanto all'utilizzo di cartoni ("Musterbücher"), come nel caso dei tanto diffusi motivi a candelabro. Tuttavia riconoscere una circolazione dei modelli da seguire non chiude la questione, perchè dietro le scelte dei motivi e delle immagini si dovrebbe anche cercare la personalità artistica e la formazione dei pittori che potevano rielaborare i modelli a disposizione fino a mostrare le loro maniere individuali.

Naturalmente la discussione sui canali di trasmissione delle tendenze iconografiche, stilistiche e tecniche è molto più complicata e vasta, ma già l'accenno a queste problematiche dà alle osservazioni di R. Thomas un peso notevole che va ben oltre la revisione della pittura parietale nelle Germanie e nella Gallia Belgica. In questa prospettiva le linee guida esposte, dello sviluppo della decorazione pittorica in particolare, ma anche in generale, costituiscono uno strumento di lavoro valido per successive discussioni sulla storia della pittura romana nelle province dell'impero romano, come del resto ha sottolineato I. Bragantini nella sua conclusione degli atti.

Nel volume le linee guida tracciate in sintesi si possono facilmente confrontare con casi particolari, e rimanendo soltanto nella Germania Inferiore si può notare il contributo di B. Jansen, incentrato sulle pitture che decoravano le case chiamate "Streifenhäuser" a Xanten, in una colonia traianea di forte impronta militare. Queste abitazioni spesso si distinguono per gli ambienti di carattere artigianale e commerciale affacciati verso le vie della città e più all'interno per le stanze, a volte tre, ad uso privato. Dunque da tempo si osserva la netta differenziazione nella decorazione pittorica di esse, più semplice negli ambienti lavorativi e più sofisticata in quelli privati delle case; proprio il contesto delle pitture costituisce il problema principale e prevale sulle analisi stilistiche.

Nella descrizione delle tipologie delle decorazioni pittoriche, spesso con analogie nelle residenze del capoluogo provinciale a Colonia, s'insiste molto sulla loro qualità artistica e tecnica, e sul carattere rappresentativo che va oltre il concetto delle loro funzioni strettamente private, in una sorta di retrobotteghe. Di conseguenza le pitture giustamente valorizzate vengono offerte come argomento valido per la discussione sul funzionamento

delle case e dei singoli ambienti, ma anche sul contesto sociale e culturale dei loro proprietari. Un esempio eclatante lo fornisce l'ambiente della casa dell'isolato 19 decorato nella zona mediana da edicole sostenute da giganti con aquile su globi, interpretate come manifestazione della lealtà al potere imperiale del committente, e questo richiedeva un certo pubblico, oltretutto in un'epoca precedente alla fondazione della colonia.

La valorizzazione del sistema pittorico delle abitazioni a Xanten nelle questioni archeologiche e socioeconomiche permette di vedere il contributo di B. Jansen non soltanto come "case study" aggiornato sulla Germania Inferiore, ma come esempio molto interessante del significato delle pitture contestualizzate in vista di discussioni più ampie, incentrate sui dipinti non soltanto per addetti ai lavori. In questa prospettiva le informazioni sulla cronologia della decorazione pittorica nel contesto della storia della città, insieme con le annotazioni di tipo archeologico e topografico, come la presenza di ipocausto negli ambienti affrescati o la localizzazione delle case, sono molto preziose e utili.

Infine va notata nell'interpretazione delle case a Xanten una certa insistenza su contesti abitativi pompeiani analoghi, forse con l'idea che la città creata all'ombra delle legioni in realtà non fosse così particolare da non rispecchiare le dinamiche architettoniche ed artistiche degli insediamenti meno militari, sotto l'influenza italica, almeno per quanto riguarda l'edilizia privata, perchè l'esempio delle terme pubbliche, brevemente accennato, sembra indicare un'altra realtà.

Rimanendo ancora nella Germania Inferiore sul basso Reno, sembra molto istruttivo il contributo di L. Laken, S. Mols e L. Swinkels che propongono un aggiornamento della rassegna delle pitture parietali romane trovate in Olanda, presentata al convegno di Napoli nel 2007, anche se naturalmente le osservazioni precedenti vengono adesso in parte riferite e ripensate. In questo modo si vede molto chiaramente il progresso delle ricerche e delle pubblicazioni dell'ultimo decennio, per cui si può affermare che le nuove scoperte non cambiano essenzialmente il quadro generale presentato già nel 2007.

Tuttavia gli autori, oltre alle novità e alle nuove cronologie delle pitture, si propongono di far vedere sistemi decorativi più sofisticati, presenti anche nel basso Reno e nella zona di Meuse, per inquadrare meglio questa regione nel contesto provinciale, ma anche più generale, a cominciare dalla presenza dei candelabri nel sistema decorativo a pannelli, simile alle decorazioni parietali della capitale provinciale a Colonia.

In questa prospettiva particolare attenzione viene data alla decorazione figurativa presente nelle ville, per dimostrare che, malgrado la scarsità dei resti dei dipinti conservati, spesso in contesti secondari, il livello concettuale ed artistico delle pitture parietali è piuttosto complesso. Dunque, vengono analizzati più dettag-

liatamente tre esempi, a cominciare dalla decorazione della villa di Hoogeloon, recentemente (2014) pubblicata, dove nei pannelli, oltre ai motivi floreali e all'imitazione intrigante delle mezze-sfere di vetro, analoghe a quelle della Domus Transitoria, oppure all'oscillum con maschera teatrale, si scorgono figure di menadi danzanti e di Ercole. Ma la decorazione più sorprendente proviene dalla villa di Maasbracht, dove una parte della parete, datata attorno al 200 d. C. presenta nella zona centrale combattimenti di gladiatori e venationes, mentre nella parte alta si trovano, oltre alle figure mitologiche, un gruppo di almeno sei persone con ritratti, probabilmente la famiglia del proprietario. Sembra quindi che la decorazione parietale, probabilmente di un triclinium, avesse una forte impronta autorappresentativa del proprietario, del suo status sociale ed economico, dei suoi munera, come anche del suo bagaglio culturale ed intellettuale. Di conseguenza anche se la decorazione rispecchia certi schemi di autorappresentazione e stereotipi culturali ed iconografici, nello stesso tempo assume un valore individuale legato alle scelte del committente. Una situazione simile si osserva anche nella villa di Kerkrade, dove nella decorazione parietale datata a cavallo del II e III secolo d. C., purtroppo mal conservata, probabilmente si possono vedere grandi scene figurative, di carattere non soltanto mitologico, ed imitazioni di opus sectile, piuttosto alte in una modalità tipica di questo periodo e territorio.

Anche se gli autori nelle conclusioni si limitano modestamente a sottolineare l'alto status sociale ed economico di proprietari e committenti, il loro notevole sforzo ricostruttivo ed interpretativo delle pitture mal conservate fa inquadrare meglio la zona del basso Reno e di Meuse nel contesto provinciale e anche più ampio dell'impero romano, dove ancora una volta la forte presenza militare non determina processi di globalizzazione, se non accelerandoli.

Quanto la contestualizzazione della decorazione pittorica sia importante, lo dimostra, per esempio, B. Tober nella presentazione del quadro generale della ricerca sulle pitture parietali di Noricum e Raetia successivamente al 1989, dove l'attenzione viene posta sulle questioni dei contesti e sui significati della decorazione, ancor poco studiati in queste province romane rispetto alle considerazioni tipologiche, iconografiche e cronologiche. Perciò vengono analizzati soprattutto i materiali rinvenuti che si prestano a questa problematica, nella ricerca incentrata sulle dipendenze della decorazione parietale dalla gerarchia degli ambienti, nell'ambito delle diverse strutture edilizie. Dunque già a Magdalensberg si pone il problema se la scelta della decorazione paratattica o con il quadro centrale fosse condizionata dall'importanza degli ambienti nei cosiddetti principia. Analogamente anche la policromia o la presenza della decorazione figurativa possono essere viste in relazione alla gerarchia degli spazi, anche se gli esempi dei temi acquatici adoperati nei *frigidaria* non portano alle generalizzazioni sulla presenza delle rappresentazioni specifiche a seconda della funzione del tipo d'edilizia.

Tuttavia la decorazione pittorica degli ambienti principali delle case in città o *vicus*, oppure delle ville, caratterizzati spesso dalle dimensioni, da absidi ed ipocausta, differisce chiaramente dalle pitture degli spazi secondari, sempre in riferimento alla decorazione musiva, e di conseguenza, anche considerando le capacità delle officine e le esigenze, oppure le preferenze della committenza, si notano ripetutamente le dipendenze dei parametri come "Farbigkeit, Sorgfalt, Dichte an Ornamenten, Figurenreichtum bzw. Bildprogramm oder Abstimmung der Figuren" dalla funzione e gerarchia degli spazi decorati. Indubbiamente va notato e sottolineato questo sforzo di andare oltre le solite affermazioni sull'autorappresentazione, nella ricerca di fattori più oggettivi che descrivano le scelte della decorazione pittorica.

Inoltre B. Tober nella seconda parte della sua sintesi affronta il problema delle officine pittoriche e della presenza di stili locali in entrambe le province, e insiste molto sulla dipendenza dello sviluppo della decorazione pittorica dalle vicende storiche dei singoli insediamenti, quindi in conformità allo "Zeitstil". Nella ricerca delle officine locali, si sottolinea che l'uso dei cartoni ("Musterbücher") da parte dei pittori impone di andare al di là del riconoscimento di motivi identici negli affreschi. Tuttavia vengono elencate le officine individuate ad Ausgburg, Enns, come le somiglianze tra Augsburg e Schwangau, Virunum e Teurnia. L'operato di questi pittori, spesso in zone delimitate non porta però all'identificazione di uno stile particolare né nel Noricum, né nella Raetia, ma è molto interessante la discussione sulle possibili differenze tra le due province, per esempio la presenza di "Schirmkandelaberdekorationen", che potrebbero rispecchiare le pendenze della Raetia verso Ovest, come del Noricum verso le Pannonie. Quest'idea mette la decorazione pittorica a confronto con altre fonti come la ceramica, l'architettura, ma anche l'onomastica ecc., che da tempo dimostrano dirette influenze sulle regioni vicine, quindi sui canali di trasmissione di beni e idee, e che in un certo modo avvertono i limiti delle generalizzazioni e dell'immagine globalizzante dell'impero romano.

Un caso particolare è costituito dalle pitture parietali provenienti dalla parte meridionale del Noricum (Carintia), cioè dal centro di Magdalensberg, sostituito dal municipio claudio di Virunum ad est, e dalla città di Teurnia a ovest, analizzate da I. Dörfler Ristow, che intende lo *status quaestionis* molto alla lettera, quindi propone una rassegna delle nuove scoperte e pubblicazioni degli ultimi trent'anni con un confronto dei contesti ritrovati in queste località.

Per quanto riguarda Magdalensberg si sottolinea l'attuale rialzamento della cronologia dell'occupazione del centro di qualche decennio, rispetto alla tradizionale data attorno alla metà del I secolo a.C. nelle pubblicazioni di H. Kenner, con la conseguente datazione delle pitture di OR/23 con grandi figure di divinità, che d'altronde non appartengono al primo strato pittorico. Inoltre si ribadisce l'importanza della data del 15 d. C., quando il contesto archeologico mostra una ricostruzione delle abitazioni probabilmente successiva al terremoto del 9 d. C. con il risultato che la maggior parte delle pitture precedenti era stata interrata negli strati dei nuovi livellamenti, per cui gli affreschi posteriori d'epoca tiberiana, a volte conservati in situ, si distinguono abbastanza bene, come per esempio le pitture dei cosiddetti principia, scoperti negli anni 1986-1990, brevemente descritte in base alla pubblicazione di K. Gostenčnik (2004). A questa studiosa si devono anche le descrizioni delle pitture del complesso, ancora poco chiaro, a sud del foro, dove negli strati di costruzione sono stati scoperti alcuni frammenti che sembrano appartenere al complesso d'Ifigenia.

Invece nella presentazione delle pitture parietali di Virunum e Teurnia l'attenzione si sposta sulle ricostruzioni della decorazione. Soprattutto interessante e istruttiva è la correzione del sistema decorativo di una parete delle cosiddette "Wohnterrassen" di Teurnia, presentato nel locale museo, con lo spostamento di alcuni elementi decorativi. Similmente a Virunum vengono proposte alcune ricostruzioni della decorazione parietale delle abitazioni ai margini occidentali della città, generalmente provenienti dall'epoca severiana in poi, di cui però tanti frammenti sono stati trovati in un contesto secondario. Queste elaborazioni, per quanto a volte ipotetiche, permettono di cercare elementi comuni nelle pitture di Teurnia e Virunum, prendendo in considerazione anche i vecchi ritrovamenti. Soprattutto "das Element des waagrecht schwebenden Stabes mit zentraler Schleife" dello zoccolo, riscontrato più volte in questi municipi negli affreschi datati dal I al IV secolo d. C. permette delle affermazioni piuttosto categoriche; usato in diversi periodi e testimoniato soltanto in queste due città, segnala uno stile locale e caratterizza un'officina locale, su cui, in riferimento pure al contributo di B.Tober, forse bisognerebbe discutere di più.

Nell'intento di dare un valido ed aggiornato strumento di lavoro vengono anche presentate le recenti scoperte a Teurnia nella zona del foro, come anche le pitture tardoantiche cristiane in questa città con nuove proposte ricostruttive. Quindi fino alla fine il contributo mantiene l'idea di una rassegna, tralasciando discorsi storici e stilistici più generali e concludendo con le prospettive dei progetti in corso.

In questo breve riassunto, in cui si citano soltanto alcuni dei contributi e delle sintesi di un volume così ricco di materiali e riflessioni, vale anche la pena di spostarsi in altre zone del Mediterraneo. Per esempio S. McFadden offre una rassegna delle pitture scoperte in Egitto (ad eccezione della città di Alessandria) negli ultimi vent'anni, dei nuovi studi su materiali già noti, nonchè delle nuove iniziative di documentazione in parte dovute alla situazione politica incerta. La scarsità e la casualità delle scoperte ostacola le generalizzazioni, perchè con ogni novità il quadro generale cambia, come per esempio nel contesto della pittura parietale delle case dimostra il confronto tra le immagini, forse legate al culto domestico, trovate tempo fa a Karanis e quelle recenti di Marina el-Alamein. Tuttavia non mancano gli esempi di pittura parietale, per esempio a Kellis ed Amheida, che appartengono alla "koinè" artistica ed iconografica greco-romana e di conseguenza possono essere considerate come "status symbol" e simboli dell'identità culturale delle élite locali, anche se dal punto di vista tecnologico dimostrano l'adeguamento alle condizioni locali nel prevalere di opere "a secco" e nella scelta dei pigmenti.

Nel contesto della pittura funeraria, meglio conosciuta in base alle scoperte nella Valle del Nilo e nelle oasi, si notano la persistenza dei tradizionali stili di rappresentazione egizia, dovuta alle pratiche religiose, e la mescolanza delle iconografie egizie e greco-romane, che d'altronde sembrano assenti nei contesti delle abitazioni nelle città, anche se per esempio è difficile valutare la rappresentatività delle scoperte nell'oasi di Dakhleh.

Il contributo giustamente sottolinea che le nuove scoperte, anche in luoghi lontani, come nel campo militare del Mons Claudianus, mettono in discussione l'importanza delle influenze alessandrine, e non soltanto perché mancano i confronti ad Alessandria stessa. Tuttavia anche se l'idea di una scuola d'arte alessandrina, sempre valida nel periodo ellenistico, sembra gradualmente svanire nell'impero romano, questa città rimaneva anche nella tarda antichità il centro del potere imperiale ed ecclesiastico, attraverso il quale si diffondevano le iconografie ufficiali, naturalmente interpretate ed eseguite nel contesto locale. Questo riguarda soprattutto le immagini cristiane, controllate dal punto di vista liturgico e dottrinale, e la loro impronta "classica" va oltre il discorso delle "late antique cultural transisions and continuities". Quindi il confronto delle pitture nelle chiese e nei monasteri egiziani con altre di contesti "pagani", privati e pubblici, richiede molta attenzione, per non mescolare fenomeni diversi. Fortunatamente in Egitto l'abbondante tradizione scritta conservata aiuta notevolmente le analisi, anche stilistiche. Naturalmente rimane sempre elemento di discussione se, per esempio, l'imitazione dell'opus sectile nelle pitture tetrarchiche a Luxor, e successivamente nelle chiese cristiane, segnali una "deep continuities in artistic practices" nel contesto locale, oppure la ricezione di pratiche e idee più generalizzate.

Invece A.-M. Guimier-Sorbets propone una rassegna delle nuove scoperte della pittura ad Alessandria negli ultimi vent'anni, che viene suddivisa secondo le problematiche emerse negli studi recenti. Per quanto riguarda l'utilizzo della policromia nelle strutture

architettoniche, oltre alle note facciate degli ipogei alessandrini, sono comparse anche le prime testimonianze fuori del contesto funerario e si nota sempre di più la loro somiglianza con le tombe macedoni. In modo analogo le nuove volte e i letti funerari dipinti con un certo illusionismo, scoperti nelle tombe della necropoli del ponte Gabbari, rispecchiano le tradizioni greco-macedoni che persistono nell'Egitto fino all'epoca imperiale.

Per quanto riguarda l'uso dello stile strutturale, notato da tempo nelle tombe alessandrine, ne sono emersi finalmente i primi esempi in un contesto domestico degli inizi del III sec. a.C. e si profila sempre di più l'idea di una sua precoce diffusione dalla capitale lagida verso le oasi (Fayoum) e l'Alto Egitto (Karnak). Sono molto preziose le osservazioni sugli elementi illusionistici adoperati, che non a caso assomigliano a quelli presenti nel secondo stile pompeiano, che, insieme con la resa illusionistica della prospettiva nelle tombe, fanno sempre più pensare all'illusionismo come a una caratteristica alessandrina. In questo contesto si nota anche la ricerca del rilievo nella parete attraverso l'uso dello stucco per gli elementi architettonici, il che va oltre la protezione delle pareti friabili, oppure l'imitazione del marmo.

Particolarmente importante è il capitolo dedicato all'iconografia greco-egizia in contesti funerari, grazie a numerosi studi recenti, in parte resi possibili dai nuovi progetti di documentazione delle vecchie scoperte. Per quanto riguarda Alessandria vengono riassunte le ricerche nelle tombe di Persefone nella necropoli di Kom el-Chougafa e una nuova interpretazione delle pitture della tomba 2 d'Anfouchi. Nel primo caso si avverte che la nuova campagna di documentazione fotografica del 2011 non ha cambiato essenzialmente la lettura e l'interpretazione delle immagini nel registro egizio, mentre nella parte greca sottostante si legge meglio il ciclo delle

storie di Persefone e si nota meglio il parallelismo del racconto con la versione egizia. Comunque queste iconografie bilingui, uniche e ormai diventate famose per i sistemi religiosi, nell'Alessandria multiculturale dell'epoca imperiale, vanno interpretate come una visione escatologica positiva, dove la forza delle immagini dovrebbe aiutare i defunti a raggiungere una vita felice nell'aldilà. Invece per quanto riguarda la decorazione dipinta sul soffitto della tomba 2 d'Anfouchi, la cui interpretazione risale ad un secolo fa e la cui ricostruzione risulta difficile anche con i metodi più sofisticati, si rileva la funzione delle scene come una sorta di Libro dei Defunti egizio che dovrebbe accompagnare ed aiutare i morti nell'aldilà e che risulta importantissimo per le credenze escatologiche dei Greci nell'Alessandria tolemaica.

Questi pochi esempi dei 74 contributi e sintesi pubblicati dagli studiosi provenienti da tanti paesi, con diverse tradizioni scentifiche e culturali, dovrebbero dimostrare non tanto la vastità territoriale della ricerca, che copre tutto il Mediterraneo greco-romano, Britannia compresa (R. Ling), quanto la diversità degli approcci e delle dinamiche metodologiche. Indubbiamente il volume presenta molto chiaramente lo status quaestionis degli studi sulla pittura parietale antica, e perciò stimola le discussioni sul futuro della disciplina e sulle nuove direzioni della ricerca. In questo senso, dopo un bilancio così approfondito, gli organizzatori del prossimo convegno dell'AIPMA che si terrà a Napoli nel settembre del 2019 saranno messi davanti alla difficile prova di una nuova apertura e di rilancio di prospettive. Tuttavia già il suo titolo "Pareti dipinte. Dallo scavo alla valorizzazione" promette un approccio multidisciplinare, che rivaluta "il dialogo costruttivo fra archeologia e archeometria, storia dell'arte e restauro, documentazione e comunicazione".