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WIADOMOŚCI ARCHEOLOGICZNE

Tom (Vol.) LXII

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ROZALIA TYBULEWICZ

A HOARD FROM THE MIGRATION PERIOD FROM KARLINO (NORTH-WESTERN POLAND)

SKARB Z OKRESU WĘDRÓWEK LUDÓW Z KARLINA, POW. BIAŁOGARDZKI

Introduction

The deposit from Karlino¹ (Germ. *Cörlin / Körlin*, Kr. *Kolberg-Körlin*), distr. Białogard, Western Pomerania (Germ. *Westpreussen*) present zachodniopomorskie voivodship (Fig. 1), was discovered by accident in the winter of 1838/1839. It was formed of gold objects, some of them of barbarian make, others having a Roman and Byzantine provenance (Fig. 2). The number of Migration Period hoard finds from Poland is quite small. In general they are an invaluable source for investigating contacts of the people of the day, both with the Roman Empire as well as with Northern and Western Germans from the area of present-day Scandinavia.

Probably the most striking items present in these hoards are gold Germanic bracteates. They are of exceptional interest owing to their provenance, origin of raw material (gold), technique of execution, and ornamentation as well as their

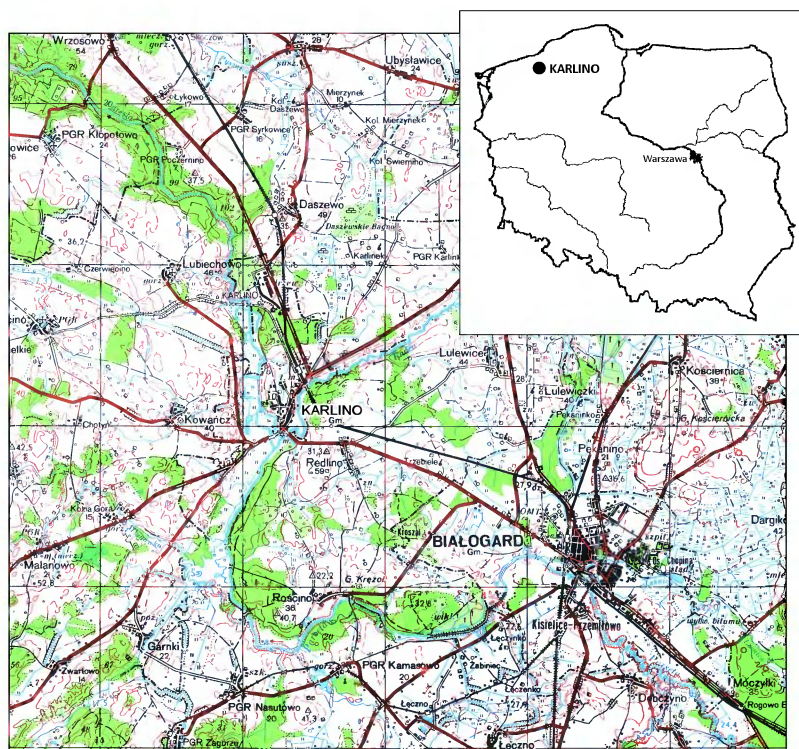
iconographic and iconological content². Their value for learning is even higher if they bear a runic inscription. From the area of Europe, in particular from Scandinavia, the Baltic Sea islands (Bornholm, Gotland, Öland), and the British Isles, we have at present over 1000 bracteate

² N. L. Wicker 1994; 1998; M. Axboe 2004; 2007.

¹ Karlino is located on rivers Parsęta (Germ. *Per-sante*) and Radew (Germ. *Radië*).

Fig. 1. Location of Karlino, distr. Białogard, voiv. zachodniopomorskie

Ryc. 1. Położenie miejscowości Karlino, pow. białogardzki, woj. zachodniopomorskie



CLASS OF ARTEFACT	CERTAIN FINDS			SUSPECT FINDS
Germanic bracteates	Nos. 1 and 2	Nos. 3–5 and 7 (with a runic inscription)	No. 6	–
Gold rings	–	With a runic inscription	Without ornament	In coiled wire
Gold coiled wire bead	1 specimen	–	–	–
Gold bracelet fragment and gold pendant with solidi	–	–	Bracelet fragment	Pendant with three solidi of Theodosius II
Solidi	Theodosius II; Leon I	–	–	Valentinian I, Valentinian III

Fig. 2. The contents of the hoard from Karlino
Ryc. 2. Zestawienie zawartości skarbu z Karlina

finds (Fig. 3)³. Out of this number, from Poland there are no more than 14 pieces, seven – from the deposit discovered at Karlino (Fig. 4).

Gold bracteate finds from the Migration Period are recorded on the present-day territory of Poland only in four hoards: from Karlino, Wapno, distr. Wągrowiec, Zagórzyn, distr. Piła, and Suchań, distr. Stargard Szczeciński. All the deposits (except for Suchań) have up-to-date comprehensive analyses of their content, circumstances of discovery, structure, analogies, provenance, runic inscriptions, and iconography⁴. The hoard from Karlino is the most valuable but also the most enigmatic among these deposits, due to its circumstances of discovery, contents and later fortunes. However, to this day it has not been published in comprehensive manner. The present contribution is intended to rectify this omission and put this exceptional find into wider circulation⁵.

In the discussion below I report on the results of a painstaking inquiry made in the period 2007–2008⁶. The

most important findings, which shed new light on the subject of the hoard from Karlino, were made in Berlin (in the archive of the former *Museum Vaterländischer Alterthümer*⁷), in Copenhagen (in the library of the Nationalmuseet and private files of M. B. Mackeprang), and also in the Muzeum Narodowe in Szczecin (in the archive of the numismatic department).

Sources and status of research

The analysis of archival records and references related to the hoard from Karlino was not an easy project. This is mainly because we have precious little basic information about this find with no direct report about the discovery from its finder and because of much contradictory data found in later publications. Over nearly two centuries individual researchers have not always had the opportunity to or felt the need to test the soundness of information which had been published by their predecessors. In addition, only a few of them accessed the data in the archival records of present Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Berlin. This has contributed to the accumulation of much incorrect data about the find-spot and circumstances of discovery or objects included in the hoard.

Archival records

The earliest sources which afford reliable data about the find are archival documents held at present by the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Berlin. In them we find information about the objects from Karlino which the former *Museum Vaterländischer Alterthümer* had purchased or received as a bequest. Unfortunately, the key reference on the circumstances of discovery of the

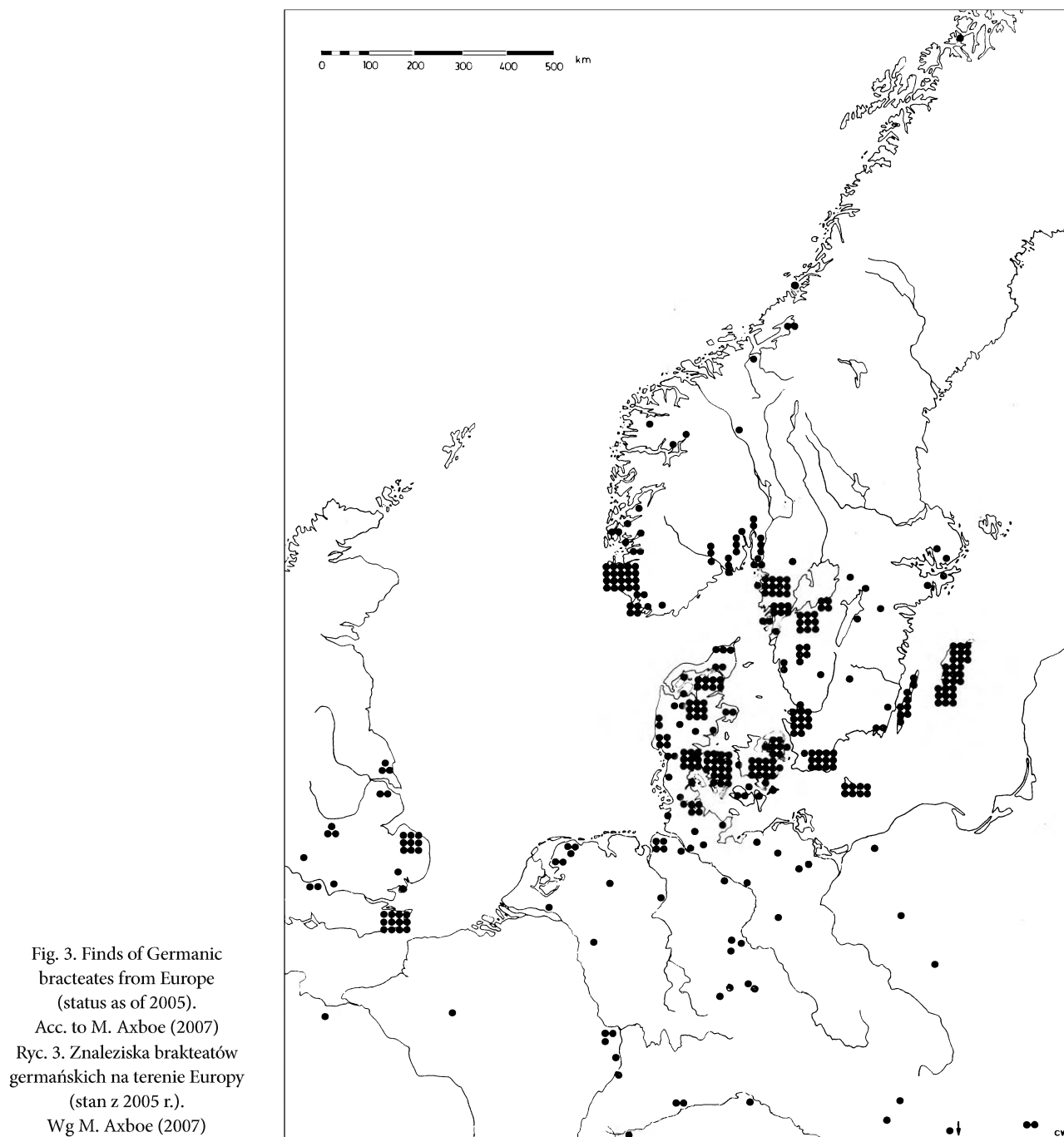
³ M. B. Mackeprang 1952; M. Axboe 1982; IK 1985–1989.

⁴ J. Żak 1950; M. Kara 1994; A. Bursche 1998; 2007; M. Axboe 2007. The find from Suchań has not been published yet.

⁵ The present paper based on my M.A. thesis (2008, Instytut Archeologii, Uniwersytet Warszawski). Currently work is in progress on a monograph of the hoard from Karlino which will include data to which I had no access at the time of writing the M.A. thesis.

⁶ I take this opportunity to thank everyone for support given during my research. I am especially grateful to my tutor, Prof. Aleksander Bursche from the Instytut Archeologii, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Poul Otto Nielsen, Chairman of the Board of Kazimierz Salewicz Foundation and Senior Curator at the Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen, Dr. phil. Morten Axboe of the Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen; Heino Neumayer, PhD and Horst Wieder, PhD from Archive of the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Berlin; Genowefa Horoszko, M.A. from the Muzeum Narodowe in Szczecin. For given help with working on archival, German texts, I would like to thank to Renata Ciolek, PhD, Prof. Hans Heinrich, Prof. Zygmunt Szultka, Hubert Hage, M.A., Zofia Kaczmarczyk, M.A., and Martin Brandt Nielsen, M.A.

⁷ In 1931 the *Museum Vaterländischer Alterthümer* was reorganised as the present day the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte (MVF).



hoard was lost in unknown circumstances. Its author was *Generalmajor* August Ludwig von Ledebur, commandant of *Festung Kolberg* (now Kołobrzeg), who wrote to his nephew, Leopold von Ledebur, director of *Museum Vaterländischer Alterthümer* and director of *Königliche Kunstkammer* in Berlin⁸.

Fortunately, the archive in Berlin holds 14 later documents concerning Karlino. The earliest are two from 9 August 1839, one from 13 August 1839, followed by three from 11, 16 and 19 September, three from 17 December 1839, one from 20 March 1867, and one from March

1934⁹. Almost all were signed by director Leopold von Ledebur. In sum, we have eight documents from 1839 (with several addenda made in 1839 and 1934).

There are also two entries made in the inventory books and one list of objects to be evacuated from the museum. In inventory lists of the Berlin museum artefacts provenance to Karlino appear for the first time in 1840 and in

⁸ E. Hering 1840, p. 10–13 no. 10; 1841, p. 131–134 no. 10.

⁹ MVF archive, nos.: SMB-PK/MVF, IXd 1, IA PrA, Bd. 2, E 104/39 (5 documents on 6 sheets), SMB-PK/MVF, IXd 1, IA PrA, Bd. 2, E 260/39 (4 documents on 4 sheets), SMB-PK/ZA, KKM 25, 4015/67 (1 document on 1 sheet), SMB-PK/MVF, IXd 1, II e, Bd. 27, E 417/34 (1 document on 2 sheets).



Fig. 4. Bracteates: no. 1 (MVF, II 2506), no. 2 (MVF, II 2507), no. 3 (MVF, II 5865), no. 4 (MVF, II 5866), no. 5 (MVF, II 5867), no. 6, no. 7 (MVF, II 5868). Courtesy of M. Axboe (1–5, 7) after IK 1985–1989, vol. 1/3, pl. 128, no. 100a (6)
 Ryc. 4. Brakteaty: nr 1 (MVF, II 2506), nr 2 (MVF, II 2507), nr 3 (MVF, II 5865), nr 4 (MVF, II 5866), nr 5 (MVF, II 5867), nr 6, nr 7 (MVF, II 5868). Dzięki uprzejmości M. Axboe (1–5, 7), wg IK 1985–1989, vol. 1/3, pl. 128, nr 100a (6)

1867¹⁰. In a protocol from 1867 we find a reference to an artefact without provenance (a bracteate with a runic inscription) which belonged to the same hoard (Fig. 4:7)¹¹.

¹⁰ MVF archive, no. SMB-PK/MVF, Hauptkatalog Abt. II, Protocol no. 2 from 1840, no. II. 2506–2508, also, Protocol no. 2 from 1867, no. II. 5864, II. 5865–5867.

¹¹ MVF archive, no. SMB-PK/MVF, Hauptkatalog Abt. II, Protocol no. 2 from 1867, no. II. 5868. Bracteate with a runic inscription originat-

From a document dated 20 March 1867 made out by *General Director der Königlichen Museen* – Ignaz von Olfers – we learn that the collection of the Berlin museum had received a posthumous bequest of Benoni Friedländer¹².

ing from the bequest of Benoni Friedländer, an antiquarian of Berlin.

¹² Directly after the discovery of the hoard he purchased a few objects from this deposit.



Fig. 5. Polygonal gold ring with a runic inscription (MVF, II 5864). Courtesy of M. Axboe

Ryc. 5. Złoty pierścień wieloboczny z inskrypcją runiczną (MVF, II 5864).
Dzięki uprzejmości M. Axboe

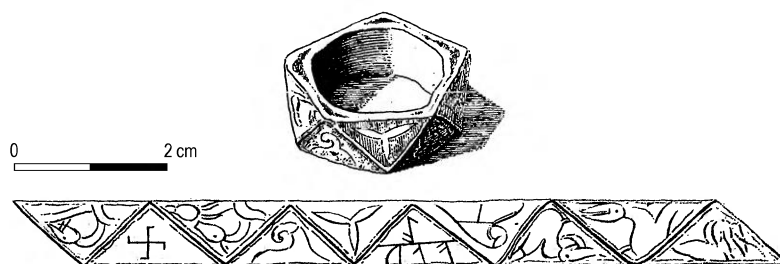


Fig. 6. Polygonal gold ring with a runic inscription.
After F. Magnussen (1841)

Ryc. 6. Złoty pierścień wieloboczny z inskrypcją runiczną.
Wg F. Magnusena (1841)

In this set were objects originating from Karlino¹³. They remained in the Berlin archive until World War II. Now the archive has in its keeping only a list of archaeological artefacts in four cases which at the end of the war were surrendered to the Soviet Army. This we know because in 1939, when the cases were being packed, the museum staff made detailed lists of artefacts placed in individual cases. On three cards of these list among many entries there is information about artefacts from Karlino which were packed into the cases¹⁴. These objects were shipped to the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts (Музей изобразительных искусств им. А. С. Пушкина) in Moscow¹⁵.

Unfortunately, during the last war almost the entire photographic documentation of the finds kept in Berlin perished. The only photograph we have is of a bracteate with a runic inscription from the Karlino hoard¹⁶.

Reliable information on the two solidi (Theodosius II and Leo I) from the Karlino deposit was found in two inventory lists of the former *Antiquarisches Museum* in Stettin (now Szczecin). Firstly, both of the coins were precisely described in *Inventarium* from the 1852¹⁷. At the end of the 19th century, at the request of the local research society (*Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*) a second inventory list was made of coins and medallions held by the Museum. In this manuscript volume entitled *Rom und Griechenland* ref-

erences to the Karlino find appear in the chapter *Römische Münzen in Pommern gefunden*¹⁸.

Information on one of the Karlino finds – a gold bracteates (Fig. 4:6), from a series of 6 identical specimens, is found also in two auction catalogues published in Frankfurt am Main¹⁹.

Important references to artefacts from Karlino were found in the private papers of M. B. Mackeprang in Copenhagen²⁰. During World War II this researcher had succeeded in bringing to Copenhagen a part of a photographic documentation associated with Karlino. This legacy includes photographs of six bracteates (Fig. 4:1–5.7) and a ring with a runic inscription sent from Berlin (Fig. 5, 6). On their reverse side is the original seal of the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte and inventory numbers noted down by the museum staff. Moreover, among the notecards describing individual finds of bracteates were two relating to the Karlino deposit²¹.

Publications

The discovery of a hoard of gold objects in Karlino had caused a considerable stir among researchers and antiquarians of the 19th century. We find the first published reference on the last page of the “Allgemeine Preussische Staats-Zeitung” of 18 October 1839²².

From more than 170 years since the discovery of the deposit we have a series of publications on its subject. The key information come from the following: paper by

¹³ MVF archive, no. SMB-PK/ZA, KKM 25, 4015/67 (items recorded by B. Friedländer as no. B.1, B.2–4 and B.5 subsequently by MVF as inv. No. II. 5864, II. 5865–5867 and II. 5868).

¹⁴ This is a so-called *Verlagersliste*, or a list of objects to be evacuated from the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Berlin. The document is a copy from 1941 and it has a signature no. SMB-PK/MVF, IXd 1, XIV, Bd. 1, Vg 23/41: card *Kiste 1, Blatt 5* (item no. II. 5864), *Kiste 1, card Blatt 7* (items nos. II. 2508 and II. 5868), card *Kiste 2, Blatt 1* (items nos. II. 2506–2507 and II. 5865–5867).

¹⁵ W. Menghin 1996, p. 110.

¹⁶ MVF archive, photograph no. SMB-PK/MVF, IXb 03658.

¹⁷ *Inventarium* 1852, p. 310, 312.

¹⁸ *Rom und Griechenland* (undated), p. 133.

¹⁹ *Catalog Pogge* 1903, p. 40 no. 771, pl. 2 no. 771; *Katalog Cahn* 1929, p. 187 no. 2883.

²⁰ I thank Dr. phil. Morten Axboe for letting me access to those files and having scanned for me photographs of artefacts from Karlino.

²¹ Notecard for Karlino and notecard of a bracteate with a runic inscription of uncertain provenance.

²² *Wissenschaft, Kunst, Literatur. Berlin. In der Sitzung des Vereins für Erkunde am 7. September (...) Herr von Ledebur las über den bei Köslin gemachten Fund von goldenen Alterthümern als dem ersten bekannt gewordenen Fall des Ausfindens von Goldbrakteaten und Nordischen Runen in Deutschland (...).*

Leopold von Ledebur, director of *Königliche Kunstkammer* in Berlin, from 1840²³, a text by E. Hering, published twice in 1840 and 1841²⁴, a monograph by a Icelandic runologist F. Magnusen from 1841²⁵, and articles by K. Müllenhoff from 1849²⁶, and by C. J. Thomsen from 1855²⁷. Valuable information is contained also in an article of E. Kühne from 1877²⁸, a catalogue of an archaeological and anthropological exhibition presented in Berlin in August 1880²⁹, a PhD dissertation of E. Jungklaus from 1924³⁰, and a monograph of the Swedish researcher S. Bolin from 1926³¹.

Invaluable data about circumstances of discovery, items included in the hoard and their later fortunes was provided by a monograph of M. B. Mackeprang published in 1952³². An authoritative study on the bracteate (Fig. 4:7) and the ring with a runic inscription is provided by U. von Schnall³³, with a full list of published references until 1973.

While making my review of publications I came across references to items which were said to originate from the Karlino hoard. However since they have no watertight provenance and had been published over a century years following the discovery of the hoard, without citing the source of this information, I shall refer to them here as 'suspect finds'³⁴. My main sources on this group were the following: a work by O. Kunkel, director of *Antiquarisches Museum* in Stettin from 1938³⁵, a monograph by E. Petersen from 1939³⁶, article by H. J. Eggers from 1940³⁷, and another, by P. La Baume published in 1963³⁸.

Circumstances of discovery and the find-spot

When we compare the information in archival records and published references we observe an accumulation of contradictory data about the name of the locality where the hoard had surfaced. It is difficult to establish whether

over more than 170 years individual authors had noted down this name incorrectly because they were not familiar with the geography of Western Pomerania, or they unwittingly relied on information contained in earlier scholarly publications.

In this context we often find in literature the incorrect name *Cöslin*, or *Köslin* which corresponds to the present-day city of Koszalin (distr. *loco*) some 28 km from the actual place of discovery – Karlino, in district Białogard.

Sometimes the researchers incorrectly record the hoard as two deposits, from two different localities, thus, Karlino occasionally appears under the name Malechowo (Germ. *Malchow*) and Lubiechowo (Germ. *Lübchow*). The name *Lübchow* is the name of the location where 'suspect finds' from Karlino (two solidi – Valentinian I and Valentinian III, an ornamental pendant of 3 solidi, and a coiled wire ring) were kept in private collection. They were presumably stored in the local palace. Its last owner was Clara von Schuman. At the beginning of World War II she emigrated with family to Switzerland.

The discovery of the hoard had been made at an unspecified location, in an area of farmland between the localities Karlino and Lubiechowo, now in district Białogard. It is hard to specify exactly circumstances of discovery. In literature of the subject we find a number of different versions. According to the earliest references, the hoard was found during moving out (*durch Hinwegräumen eines Feldsteines*)³⁹ or dynamiting (*beim Sprengen eines Steines in einem Torfmoor*)⁴⁰ a boulder. An odd information about place of find-spot comes from Pogge's Catalogue. It is mentioned there, that artefacts from Karlino were found in a megalithic tomb (*in einem Hüengrabe*)⁴¹.

The depth at which the deposit was resting is also recorded variously. In the two earliest references⁴², there is mention of a foot (i.e., 30 or so cm) below the surface. In a later report of E. Kühne we read about a hoard buried in a peat soil at the depth of two feet (i.e., 60 or so cm)⁴³. In the next, much later from 1924, is note that Karlino hoard was buried in peat soil at the depth of around 2 metres below the surface⁴⁴.

To conclude, deposit from Karlino was discovered in winter of 1838/1839 by an unnamed farmer. It took place during farm work. The aim was to remove or dynamite a large boulder lying in or near an area of peatland, close to Parsęta river. The deposit was found at a depth of approximately 30 cm near or under mentioned boulder. At present the suspect find-spot area is under a peatbog or

²³ L. von Ledebur 1840.

²⁴ See note no. 8.

²⁵ F. Magnusen 1841, p. 221–223, pl. 13 nos. 4a.b.

²⁶ K. Müllenhoff 1849, p. 10–14.

²⁷ Ch. J. Thomsen 1855, p. 307–308 no. 96 and p. 312 no. 113.

²⁸ E. Kühne 1877, p. 206–207.

²⁹ Katalog Berlin 1880, p. 326 no. 127, and the last page of a supplement to the Catalogue, nos. 1–2.

³⁰ E. Jungklaus 1924, p. 38 (Theodosius I – no. 1), p. 41 (Leo I – no. 4), p. 96.

³¹ S. Bolin 1926, p. 91 no. 22.

³² M. B. Mackeprang 1952, p. 182–183 no. 329, p. 193 no. 376.

³³ U. von Schnall 1973, p. 47–49.

³⁴ It may be possible to validate this hypothesis if we succeed in locating these artefacts.

³⁵ O. Kunkel 1938, p. 331, pl. 28.

³⁶ E. Petersen 1939, p. 29.

³⁷ H. J. Eggers 1940, p. 33 no. 53, with note no. 68.

³⁸ P. La Baume 1963, p. 21–24.

³⁹ L. von Ledebur 1840, p. 96.

⁴⁰ E. Hering 1840, p. 11, note *; 1841, p. 133, note *.

⁴¹ Katalog Pogge 1903, p. 40 no. 771.

⁴² See note no. 40.

⁴³ E. Kühne 1877, p. 207 no. 3.

⁴⁴ E. Jungklaus 1924, p. 96.

farmland bordering the river, made quite marshy here and there by the Parsęta river flowing nearby.

The Contents

The deposit consisted entirely of golden objects: Scandinavian bracteates, barbarian jewellery and Roman solidi (Fig. 3).

Bracteates

The most interesting and the largest group of objects are gold Germanic bracteates, type C as defined by O. Montelius, of the Eastern Danish-Southern Swedish subgroup⁴⁵. In the space of more than 170 years different researchers have referred to a different number of the bracteates said to have originated from the Karlino deposit giving different descriptions of their number, provenance, iconography, and dating⁴⁶. We have only a small number of photographs or drawings of individual bracteates. As yet no publication has included photographs of the full set of these artefacts.

It would appear from a careful analysis of the sources that originally there had been seven bracteates. There were struck from gold sheet on one side only. Six (Fig. 4:1–6) were made from the same die (IK/100). Each bracteate had a border of pseudo-granulation fashioned from four finely notched gold wires coiled in two pairs⁴⁷ and a loop of seven fluted segments, attached at centre of the ornamental border. The presence of loops suggests that all the bracteates could have belonged to a necklace. A number of such ornaments are known from the relevant literature⁴⁸.

The seventh bracteate from Karlino (IK/329) was different (Fig. 4:7). Struck from a different die it had a unique border of single finely notched gold wire fused to the central part of the bracteate with molten metal (i.e., soldered).

⁴⁵ M. B. Mackeprang 1952, p. 45.

⁴⁶ L. von Ledebur 1840, p. 96; E. Hering 1840, p. 13 no. 5; 1841, p. 134 no. 5; K. Müllenhoff 1849, p. 11, 13, fig. 2–3; Ch. J. Thomsen 1855, p. 307 no. 96, p. 312 no. 113; Katalog Berlin 1880, last page of supplement no. 2; Catalog Pogge 1903, p. 40 no. 771, pl. 2 no. 771; E. Jungklaus 1924, p. 96; S. Bolin 1926, p. 91 no. 22; A. E. Cahn 1929, p. 187 no. 2883; E. Petersen 1936, p. 44 no. 3; M. B. Mackeprang 1952, p. 182–183 no. 329, pl. 9 no. 14 and p. 193 no. 376, pl. 11 no. 5; J. Žak 1962, p. 50–51 nos. 11–12; P. La Baume 1963, p. 22–24; U. von Schnall 1973, p. 47–48; IK 1985–1989, vol. 1/2, p. 178–179 no. 100, vol. 1/3, p. 127, pl. 128 no. 100a.b; IK 1985–1989, vol. 2/1, p. 226–227 no. 367, vol. 2/2, p. 149, pl. 151–152 no. 367a.b; H. Machajewski 1992b, p. 64–65, 144, 231, pl. 43 no. 2–7; M. Kara 1994, p. 94, 102, 104; R. Ciołek 2001, p. 96 no. 118.

⁴⁷ From Germany we have a single bracteate find, the only analogous to the six bracteates from Karlino by its shape of laurel border. It was found near Hamburg (M. B. Mackeprang 1952, p. 179 no. 322).

⁴⁸ That is, a find from Sorte Muld II, Bornholm (M. Axboe 2002, p. 295–303).

The loop of four fluted segments was fixed to the border of the bracteate over the head of the horseman which had been represented on the bracteate – a highly stylised figure of a man on horseback walking left. Opposite the forehead of the horseman was a motif reminiscent of a letter 'X'. In the border between the man's head and the animal, between two lines, can be seen a runic inscription which has been read as *WAIGA*. It may indicate a single proper name either the owner, the donor, or the maker of the object⁴⁹. According to the research of E. H. Antonsen (1975; 2002) this translates as 'force', 'power' or 'rash one'⁵⁰.

We may assume that the inscribed bracteate was quite special as compared to the other ones in the hoard and had played a special role. As it also had a loop for suspension we may suppose that it was an element – probably the central pendant – of a necklace. Its role could have been that of an amulet or talisman worn to impart a special power or prowess to its owner.

Rings

It is certain that the hoard from Karlino had contained two gold rings. One of them is unique on a European scale: solid, smooth on its inner side, and faceted (Fig. 5)⁵¹. Its outer surface had been divided into 10 triangular planes covered with an elaborate engraved ornament of stylised representations of birds, a swastika and a triskel (Fig. 6). The key ornament of the ring, which sets it apart from all the others, is an inscription, clockwise, in two lines, which reads *ALU*. According to some runologists this word is a magical formula linked to ceremonies devoted to Odin⁵². It can be imagined that it was supposed to ensure protection and assistance to the wearer of the ring.

Similar runic inscriptions are quite rare and are known only from finds dated to the period A.D. 2nd–7th century⁵³. Until 2009 a total of twenty-five various artefacts provided with this formula were discovered, of which the largest category are gold Germanic bracteates. The inscription *ALU* is seen on 15 of these specimens⁵⁴. A certain

⁴⁹ W. Krause 1966, p. 274–275; E. H. Antonsen 2002, p. 217–218.

⁵⁰ E. H. Antonsen 1975, p. 64; 2002, p. 218.

⁵¹ L. von Ledebur 1840, p. 97 no. 1; E. Hering 1840, p. 11 no. 1; 1841, p. 133 no. 1; F. Magnusen 1841, p. 221–223, pl. 13 nos. 4a.b; K. Müllenhoff 1849, p. 12, fig. 1; Ch. J. Thomsen 1855, p. 307 no. 96; Katalog Berlin 1880, last page of supplement no. 1; E. Petersen 1936, p. 44 no. 3; 1939, p. 28 (entry *Körlin* no. 1, fig. 35a.b.g); M. B. Mackeprang 1952, p. 182 no. 329, *item* no. II. 5867 (Mackeprang's mistake, should be no. II. 5864); J. Žak 1962, p. 51 no. 11; U. von Schnall 1973, p. 48–50; IK 1985–1989, vol. 1/2, p. 178 no. 100; H. Machajewski 1992b, p. 42, pl. 43 nos. 1, 8; R. Ciołek 2001, p. 96 no. 118.

⁵² W. Krause 1966, p. 106; E. H. Antonsen 2002, p. 196–200, 209–210, 214; J. McKinnell, R. Simek, K. Düwel 2004, p. 90–96.

⁵³ J. McKinnell, R. Simek, K. Düwel 2004, p. 90–91.

⁵⁴ J. McKinnell, R. Simek, K. Düwel 2004, p. 90–96; M. Axboe, M. Stoklund 2007.

convergence of form with the runic ring from Karlino is shown by a piece from a hoard discovered in 1874 in a field near Killerup by Odense (Fyn, Denmark); the only difference is that this piece was not ornamented on its surface⁵⁵.

The second ring originating from the Karlino deposit was without ornament⁵⁶. Basing on information found in archival records and publications it had the form of a plain band⁵⁷.

Bead

The hoard from Karlino also included a gold bead⁵⁸, which L. von Ledebur described in his document of August 9 1839 as a bead 'of parabolic shape' from finely coiled wire (*eine parabolisch gestaltete aus gewundenen Golddraht bestehende*). In literature there is only one drawing of this find, which left (Fig. 7)⁵⁹. Bead has a parabolic shape. It was made from mentioned finely coiled gold wire. Its texture was notched. Similar bead was discovered in the fields near Slagelse (Zealand, Denmark)⁶⁰. It was made of spirally coiled gold wire with a partly smooth and partly notched texture. A close analogy to bead from Karlino constitute finds from Elsehoved hoard (Fyn, Denmark)⁶¹. In this case, beads were also made from coiled gold wire. Moreover, together with group of more than six solidi accompanied with loops, they created a necklace.

Bracelet fragment

Another element of the hoard from Karlino was a heavy gold bracelet made of thick wire⁶². According to informa-

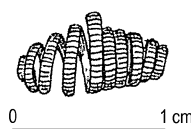


Fig. 7. Gold bead.
After H. J. Eggers & P. F. Stary (2001)
Ryc. 7. Złoty paciorek.
Wg H. J. Eggersa i P. F. Starego (2001)

tion from archival records, the surface of this item was ornamented. We have no photograph or even a rubbing of this specimen. According to L. von Ledebur bracelet was similar to a neckring from a hoard discovered in 1833 at Broholm in Fyn⁶³.

It is worth noting at this point that a number of gold neckrings, stray finds, were discovered in West Pomerania, i.e., at Piotrowice, distr. Kołobrzeg, Radosiew, distr. Piła, and Stargard Szczeciński (distr. loco)⁶⁴. They have lightly thickened terminals decorated with stamped crescents and were dated to the Migration Period. Similar neckrings have also surfaced in the region of Elbląg⁶⁵.

Coins

This is the last group of finds which definitely belonged in the hoard from Karlino. They included two solidi⁶⁶: Theodosius II (430–440), struck at Constantinople, RIC IX 258⁶⁷, and another, of Leo I (462 or 466), also struck at Constantinople, RIC IX 605⁶⁸.

Suspect finds

When making my inquiry I identified a group of objects which possibly also belong to the hoard from Karlino – possibly, because information about these specimens was published only over a hundred years after the discovery of the deposit and without citing sources of this information. This makes it nearly impossible for us to either validate or disprove this information. The integrity of researchers who wrote about these objects is above reproach and, moreover, their argumentation is supported by photographs, but for the sake of correctness we decided to refer to these items as 'suspect finds'.

⁵⁵ IK 1985–1989, vol. 1/2, p. 162–163 no. 91; E. Fonnesbech-Sandberg 1992, p. 40, fig. 3b. The contents of the hoard from Killerup may be to a certain extent useful as an analogy to the entire deposit from Karlino. Next to the ring of interest it included two type-B bracteates, a fragment of a type-D bracteate, two gold coiled wire rings and a fragment of a gold sword scabbard.

⁵⁶ L. von Ledebur 1840, p. 97 no. 2; E. Hering 1840, p. 11 no. 2; 1841, p. 133 no. 2; Ch. J. Thomsen 1855, p. 307 no. 96; E. Petersen 1936, p. 44 no. 3; 1939, p. 29 (entry *Körlin* no. 2); M. B. Mackeprang 1952, p. 182 no. 329; J. Žak 1962, p. 51 no. 11 and p. 98; H. Machajewski 1992b, p. 42–43; R. Ciołek 2001, p. 96 no. 118.

⁵⁷ The find was melted down back in 1839 and as such cannot be analysed more closely.

⁵⁸ L. von Ledebur 1840, p. 97 no. 4; E. Hering 1840, p. 13 no. 4; 1841, p. 134 no. 4; Ch. J. Thomsen 1855, p. 307 no. 96; E. Petersen 1939, p. 29 (entry *Körlin* no. 4); M. B. Mackeprang 1952, p. 182 no. 329, object no. II. 2505 (?) (Mackeprang's mistake, should be no. II. 2508); IK 1985–1989, vol. 1/2, p. 178 no. 100; H. Machajewski 1992b, p. 144; J. Žak 1962, p. 51 no. 11; R. Ciołek 2001, p. 96 no. 118.

⁵⁹ H. J. Eggers 2001, pl. 385 no. 5.

⁶⁰ C. Neergaard 1915, p. 198; E. Fonnesbech-Sandberg 1992, p. 41, fig. 3a.

⁶¹ M. B. Mackeprang 1952, pl. 23 no. 16.

⁶² L. von Ledebur 1840, p. 97 no. 3; E. Hering 1840, p. 12 no. 3;

1841, p. 133 no. 3; E. Petersen 1939, p. 29 (entry *Körlin* no. 3); M. B. Mackeprang 1952, p. 182 no. 329; IK 1985–1989, vol. 1/2, p. 178 no. 100, note b2); R. Ciołek 2001, p. 96 no. 118.

⁶³ L. von Ledebur 1840, p. 97 no. 3.

⁶⁴ K. Godłowski 1981, p. 94.

⁶⁵ K. Godłowski 1981, p. 94.

⁶⁶ L. von Ledebur 1840, p. 97 no. 6; E. Hering 1840, p. 10 no. 10, p. 13 no. 6; 1841, p. 131 no. 10, and p. 134 no. 6; Katalog Berlin 1880, p. 327; E. Petersen 1939, p. 29 nos. 6, 7); P. La Baume 1963, p. 22 nos. 6–7; M. Axboe 1982, p. 82 no. 329 (only Theodosius II); IK 1985–1989, vol. 1/2, p. 178 no. 100 note b2); H. Machajewski 1992b, p. 144; R. Ciołek 2001, p. 94–95 no. 118; 2007, p. 101–102 no. 144.

⁶⁷ RIC 1994, vol. 9, p. 259

⁶⁸ RIC 1994, vol. 9, p. 285.

Fig. 8. Solidi: no. 1 (Valentinian I)
and no. 2 (Valentinian III).

After E. Petersen (1939)

Ryc. 8. Solidy: nr 1 (Walentynian I)
i nr 2 (Walentynian III).

Wg E. Petersena (1939)

The group opens with the already mentioned gold ring of spirally coiled wire⁶⁹. Next come two solidi⁷⁰: a Valentinian I (367–375), struck at Trier, RIC IX 14(a) variant⁷¹ (Fig. 8:1), and a Valentinian III (c. 430–445), from the mint at Ravenna, RIC X 2019⁷² (Fig. 8:2). Both coins were provided with pseudo-granulation, laurel border, and decorative fluted loops. Solidi fitted with loops, some also with a decorative border, are known from other similar deposits of the late Migration Period discovered in Scandinavia⁷³.

But the most interesting of ‘suspect finds’ is a gold ornamental pendant (Fig. 9) fashioned from three solidi of Theodosius II (408–420, 420–422 and 424–455)⁷⁴. First two were struck in Constantinople, the third at Thessalonica (RIC X 202, 219 and



⁶⁹ E. Petersen 1939, p. 29 (entry *Lübchow*, no. 1); H. J. Eggers 1940, p. 33 no. 53 with note no. 68.

⁷⁰ O. Kunkel 1938, p. 331, pl. 28; E. Petersen 1939, p. 29 (entry *Lübchow*, no. 3); H. J. Eggers 1940, p. 33 no. 53, with note no. 68; R. Ciołek 2001, p. 94–95 no. 118; 2007, p. 101–102 no. 144.

⁷¹ RIC 1994, vol. 9, p. 16

⁷² RIC 1994, vol. 9, p. 366.

⁷³ For example, two solidi of Theodosius II (408–450) from a hoard from Fjärestad (Scania, Sweden) fitted with fluted loops and borders of gold notched wire. The coins were discovered together with five type-C bracteates, coiled gold wire and two gold rings (M. B. Mackeprang 1952, p. 164 no. 244, pl. 24 no. 1–5; M. Axboe 2004, p. 322). A solidus of Leo I (457–474) with a loop occurred among similar objects including five type-C bracteates and a gold ring in a hoard from Rynkebygård (Fyn, Denmark – M. B. Mackeprang 1952, p. 122 no. 64, and pl. 21 nos. 19–26; IK 1985–1989, vol. 1/2, p. 252–253 no. 147 and vol. 1/3, pl. 189–190; J. M. Fagerlie 1967, p. 207 no. 193; M. Axboe 2004, p. 324). Six looped solidi made into a necklace or a bracelet occurred together with nine gold coiled wire beads in a hoard from Elsehoved (Fyn, Denmark – F. Sehested 1978, p. 211–217, pl. 46; M. B. Mackeprang 1952, p. 23, 73, 87, pl. 23 nos. 16–19; J. M. Fagerlie 1967, p. 207 no. 194). A solidus of a looped Theodosius II issue (408–450) occurred together with four type-C bracteates and a solidus without a loop in a hoard from Tjörko/Målen (Blekinge, Sweden – J. M. Fagerlie 1967, p. 179 no. 20; M. Axboe 2004, p. 325).

⁷⁴ E. Petersen 1939, p. 29 (entry *Lübchow* no. 2); P. La Baume 1963, p. 21; M. Axboe 1982, p. 82 no. 329; IK 1985–1989, vol. 1/2, p. 178 no. 100, note b2); H. Machajewski 1992b, p. 144; R. Ciołek 2001, p. 96; 2007, p. 102.

361–365⁷⁵). Coins are suspended from a solid profiled rod. Analogies to the three solidi of Theodosius II possibly from the Karlino deposit come mainly from Scandinavia. They differ only in the manner of their attachment to the ornamental gold rod⁷⁶.

Subsequent fortunes

Tracing the later fortunes of the objects belonging to the Karlino hoard is quite a challenge. Not only because of the time which has elapsed since their discovery but, first and foremost, because of the lack of detailed source data as to the time, site, and circumstances of discovery,

⁷⁵ RIC 1994, vol. 10, p. 253–254, 256, 267.

⁷⁶ An example are finds from Kongsvad Aa (Zealand, Denmark; M. B. Mackeprang 1952, p. 115 no. 36, pl. 9, no. 2; IK 1985–1989, vol. 1/2, p. 178 no. 101, vol. 1/3, p. 128, pl. 127). In this case these are three type-B bracteates without loops, fastened to a long ornamental gold rod. Their borders are analogical to those seen on the solidi from the suspect gold pendant from Karlino. Similar bracteates come from Stenholts Vang deposit (Zealand, Denmark; M. B. Mackeprang 1952, p. 113 no. 24, pl. 9 no. 11; IK 1985–1989, vol. 1/2, p. 308–309 no. 179, vol. 1/3, pl. 233–234). Bracteates from hoard represent type-C of O. Montelius; their borders are different from those seen on the solidi from Karlino. What is similar is the way they were fastened (soldered onto?) to the gold ornamental rod. The deposit from Stenholts Vang also included at least three pendants of two bracteates.



Fig. 9. Gold pendant with three solidi of Theodosius II.
After P. La Baume (1963)

Ryc. 9. Złota zawieszka z trzema solidami Teodozjusza II.
Wg P. La Baume'a (1963)

and of a first-hand report on the contents of the deposit. What follows below is an account on the fortunes of the elements of the Karlino hoard from the time of discovery in winter 1838/1839 until the present I was able to reconstruct from archival sources and available publications, the latter not always strictly archaeological (Fig. 10). It is true that all of this material was examined by many researchers over the more than 170 years but frequently this could have been done in passing and without making a comparative analysis. My basic source was information from the archival records in Berlin, Copenhagen and Szczecin. They helped me make a critical verification of the information found in the relevant publications.

The key data on the subject of the later fortunes of constituent elements of the deposit comes from a document made out on 9 August 1839 by Leopold von Ledebur, director of *Königliche Kunstkammer* in Berlin⁷⁷. It appears from its contents that the finds had been purchased from their original finder within a period not longer than six months from the time of their discovery. However, L. von Ledebur did not mention by what route the individual artefacts had passed to their owners.

From a reference published by E. Hering it would appear that after the discovery of the hoard near Karlino an unknown from name farmer handed over the find to

Hackbarth⁷⁸, a dealer from *Kolberg*, who took it upon himself to sell them off. At this point we need to consider a question which is of key importance for all our subsequent inquiries: was the complete deposit handed over or only a larger or smaller fragment? The answers I was able to obtain from my research are satisfactory only to some extent.

In the document from 9 August 1839 L. von Ledebur reported that three of the six bracteates (Fig. 4:3–5) and a gold ring with a runic inscription (Fig. 5) had passed to a private collection of Benoni Friedländer in Berlin. In the same document L. von Ledebur wrote also, that he made his uncle August Ludwig von Ledebur, commandant of *Festung Kolberg*, to buy him a few artefacts from Karlino hoard. Artefacts were suppose to go to L. von Ledebur's private collection. They were: two solidi (Theodosius II and another, of Leo I) together with two bracteates (Fig. 4:1.2) and a gold coiled wire bead (Fig. 7).

A number of items were acquired by Brandes, a dealer in Berlin, who, according to Leopold von Ledebur's document, had his office on the corner of *Königstraße* and *Poststraße*. There were: a bracteate (Fig. 4:6), a plain gold ring, and a fragment of a chunky gold bracelet. The bracelet and the bracteate were offered by Brandes for sale to the *Museum Vaterländischer Alterthümer* in Berlin. The gold ring which remained in his possession he had melted down before 9 August 1839.

In the same document L. von Ledebur noted that on 9 August 1839 the Numismatic Cabinet in Berlin already had in its keeping two solidi of Theodosius II and Leo I, which his uncle had already bought him.

On 9 August 1839 dealer Brandes and Leopold von Ledebur started negotiations with crew of *Museum Vaterländischer Alterthümer*. They wanted to sell items from Karlino hoard kept in their private collections. We have a document confirming this situation. It was signed by members of the Museum Board, who were suppose to made a decision about agreement for buying those artefacts⁷⁹.

On 19 September 1839 the *Museum Vaterländischer Alterthümer* agreed to buy artefacts from Karlino deposit kept by Leopold von Ledebur⁸⁰. This is confirmed by an addendum made on the document by Ignaz von Olfers, General Director of Royal Museums, dated 17 December 1839⁸¹. He mentioned in this document two bracteates

⁷⁸ E. Hering 1840, p. 11, note *.

⁷⁹ MVF archive, no. SMB-PK/MVF, IXd 1, IA PrA, Bd. 2, E 104/39 (documents dated 9 and 13 of August 1839, and signed by H. Fink, J. Schlesinger, E. H. Tonken, A. von Rauch and Wach [?]).

⁸⁰ MVF archive, no. SMB-PK/MVF, IXd 1, IA PrA, Bd. 2, E 260/39 (document dated 19 September 1839, and signed by L. von Ledebur).

⁸¹ MVF archive, no. SMB-PK/MVF, IXd 1, IA PrA, Bd. 2, E 260/39 (document dated 17 December 1839, at lower part of page signed by I. von Olfers).

⁷⁷ MVF archive, no. SMB-PK/MVF, IXd 1, IA PrA, Bd. 2, E 104/39.

Solidus 1 – Theodosius II Solidus 2 – Leo I		Generalmajor August Ludwig VON LEDEBUR, commandant of <i>Festung Kolberg</i>	<i>Königliche Münzkabinett</i> in Berlin, before 9.09.1839	<i>Antiquarisches Museum</i> in Stettin, from 1852 until 1877	After 1877 later fate unknown
Bracteate no. 1 Bracteate no. 2 Gold (oval) bead			Leopold von Ledebur director of <i>Königliche Kunstammer</i> , before 9.09.1839	<i>Museum Vaterländischer Alterthümer</i> in Berlin (from 1931 <i>Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte</i>), from 19.09.1839 until 1945	Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts (Музей изобразительных искусств им. А.С. Пушкина) in Moscow, from 1945
Bracteate no. 3 Bracteate no. 4 Bracteate no. 5 Bracteate no. 7 (runic) Runic gold ring	Unknown FARMER discovered the hoard during farm work in winter of 1838/1839	Dealer HACKBARTH of Kolberg was in possession of the hoard within six months after the discovery	<i>Königliche Münzkabinett</i> in Berlin, from 1861	<i>Museum Vaterländischer Alterthümer</i> in Berlin (from 1931 <i>Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte</i>), from 20.05.1867 until 1945	
Bracteate no. 6			Family POGGE, from 1840 until 1903	In 1903 sold on C. F. Pogge's auc- tion to unknown buyer	In 1929 sold on A.C. Cahn's auction to un- known buyer
Plain gold ring		Dealer BRANDES	Melted down before 9.08.1839		
Gold bracelet fragment			After September 1839 later fate unknown		
Gold pendant with 3 solidi of Theodosius II	Private collection in LÜBCHOW (a group of objects which possibly also belong to the hoard from Karlino)	In 1945 sold to private collection in Switzerland			
Gold coiled wire ring		From 1939 later fate unknown			
Solidus 3 – Valentinian I Solidus 4 – Valentinian III		From 1939 later fate unknown			

Fig. 10. Fortunes of elements of the Karlino hoard
Ryc. 10. Losy elementów skarbu z Karlina

and a coiled wire bead recorded in the official inventory of the *Museum Vaterländischer Alterthümer* as nos. II. 2506–2508. His report regarding the assignation of the above named inventory numbers is confirmed by a document made out that same day by Leopold von Ledebur⁸² and by addenda in second museum protocol from 1840⁸³.

Ultimately, neither the gold bracteate (Fig. 4:6) nor the bracelet fragment were bought from dealer Brandes. The next mention of the bracteate surfaces only in a catalogue of an auction held in 1903 in Frankfurt am Main⁸⁴; from it we learn that this specimen was from the family collection of C. F. Pogge (to which it had been added presumably as early as in 1840⁸⁵). The same piece subsequently was put up for auction by A. E. Cahn's in 1929⁸⁶. Later fate of bracteate is unknown.

Equally unsatisfactory was my attempt to trace the fortunes of the gold bracelet. The Berlin museum had economised on expenditure but after September 1839, had lost a cognitively valuable specimen. Similarly as in the case of the sixth bracteate, sold twice at collectors' auctions, we do not know at present whether these two still exist and, if so, in whose keeping they are at present.

The story of the plain gold ring is quite brief. Dealer Brandes seeing no special value in this piece, had melted it down before 9 August 1839⁸⁷.

Also unclear is the fate of the solidus of Theodosius II and Leo I from Karlino. According to the document of L. von Ledebur dated 9 August 1839, at the time of writing they were property of *Königliche Münzkabinett* in Berlin⁸⁸. But in 1852 these coins turn up in an inventory list of *Antiquarisches Museum* in Stettin⁸⁹. They also feature in another register⁹⁰ which was drawn up presumably in late 19th or early 20th century. In documents of the same museum there is no information as to when and why the place of their keeping was changed.

Neither do we find information in the published literature on what year these solidi had passed to the collection in Stettin. E. Kühne in 1877 reports only that both

coins are in Stettin and earlier were in *Königliche Münzkabinett* in Berlin⁹¹. We know definitely that before 1944 the coin collection of the museum in Stettin was moved to Stralsund. Unfortunately, we do not know any inventory list of this collection. The results of an inquiry made in 2008 in the Münzkabinett in Berlin were also negative – I have not found there neither the coins nor any mention of the two solidi from Karlino.

Around 20 March 1867, the *Museum Vaterländischer Alterthümer* in Berlin added to its collections the legacy of B. Friedländer which supposedly included artefacts from Karlino, namely, a ring with a runic inscription (Fig. 5) and three gold bracteates (Fig. 4:3–5). There was also a fourth gold bracteate from Karlino with a runic inscription⁹² officially of unknown provenance (Fig. 4:7).

We have no information as who and where exactly had discovered the bracteate with the runic inscription. The first reference to its later location is indicated in K. Müllenhoff only in 1849 who cited Julius Friedländer, at that time the owner of this artefact⁹³. According to Julius, his father, Benoni Friedländer, had bought the bracteate in Berlin in 1839. It does not follow from this account with whom this transaction had been concluded. But Julius did mention that the piece had been purchased together with three other bracteates and a runic ring, objects which definitely belong to the hoard from Karlino. Perhaps, Benoni Friedländer had bought these items from the dealer Brandes himself.

The bracteate remained in the collection of family Friedländer until 1861 when it was submitted to the *Münzkabinett* in Berlin, as part of the posthumous legacy of B. Friedländer⁹⁴. Subsequently, as was mentioned earlier, around 20 March 1867, the bracteate passed into the *Museum Vaterländischer Alterthümer*⁹⁵.

The finds Karlino continued in the *Museum Vaterländischer Alterthümer* in Berlin, from 1839 until the end of the World War II. In 1945, they were taken away by the Soviet Army and shipped to the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow. Very likely from that year until today six bracteates, including five identical pieces (Fig. 4:1–5) and one with a runic inscription (Fig. 4:7), a gold ring with a runic inscription (Fig. 5) and a gold coiled wire bead (Fig. 7), have lain in the museum in Moscow⁹⁶.

There is another find, which probably also belonged to the deposit from Karlino – a gold pendant with three

⁸² MVF archive, no. SMB-PK/MVF, IXd 1, IA PrA, Bd. 2, E 260/39 (dated 17 December 1839, at upper part of page, signed by L. von Ledebur).

⁸³ MVF archive, no. SMB-PK/MVF, Hauptkatalog Abt. II, Protocol no. 2 from 1840, no. II. 2506–2508.

⁸⁴ Catalog Pogge 1903, p. 40 no. 771.

⁸⁵ M. B. Mackeprang 1952, p. 183 no. 329.

⁸⁶ Catalog Cahn 1929, p. 187 no. 2883.

⁸⁷ This information is confirmed by the contents of the document from MVF archive, no. SMB-PK/MVF, IXd 1, IA PrA, Bd. 2, E 104/39 (document dated 9 August 1839, signed by L. von Ledebur).

⁸⁸ According to information obtained from Professor B. Kluge, neither of the two solidi are in the collection of the Münzkabinett of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin.

⁸⁹ Inventarium 1852, p. 310, 312.

⁹⁰ Rom und Griechenland, p. 133.

⁹¹ E. Kühne 1877, p. 206–207 no. 3. Cf. E. Jungklaus 1924, p. 96.

⁹² MVF archive, no. SMB-PK/ZA, KKM 25, 4015/67 (signed by I. von Olfers). Resp. entered under nos. B.1, B.2–4 and B.5.

⁹³ K. Müllenhoff 1849, p. 10–13.

⁹⁴ M. B. Mackeprang 1952, p. 183.

⁹⁵ MVF archive, no. SMB-PK/MVF, Hauptkatalog Abt. II, Protocol no. 2 from 1867, no. II. 5868.

⁹⁶ See note no. 15.

solidi of Theodosius II (Fig. 9). The pendant was mentioned only by two researchers, and only one photograph of this artefact remained⁹⁷. Originally it was in keeping of its finder, the unnamed farmer, probably an inhabitant of *Lübchow*. We do not know how long this fine ornament continued in his possession before it was sold. It is not obvious from the written sources who was the vendor and who the buyer. In 1945 the pendant was in possession of an unnamed art dealer (with no information about provenance). In the same year it was bought by a private collector from Switzerland⁹⁸. Its present location is unknown.

The next case is unknown fate of the Valentinian I and Valentinian III solidi (Fig. 8). According to O. Kunkel in 1938 both solidi belonged to a private collection from the locality *Lübchow*⁹⁹, what was confirmed in 1939 by E. Petersen¹⁰⁰. From 1939 their fate is unknown. It is equally challenging to trace the fortunes of the gold coiled wire ring. The first information on this object was published quite late, only in 1939, by E. Petersen, and confirmed in 1940, by H. J. Eggers¹⁰¹. According to Petersen it is certain that this gold ring was a part of private collection from *Lübchow*. From 1939 its present location is unknown.

Interpretation of the deposit

Its contents and chronology make the deposit from Karlino unique for the area in which it was discovered. Its dating is established by the solidi and bracteates. With an issue of Theodosius II struck A.D. 430–440 and type-C bracteates dated to A.D. 475, we may assume that the Karlino deposit had been buried at the end of the 5th or at the latest, beginning of the 6th century. This is supported by hoards of a similar content and date recorded from north-western Poland, namely, deposits from Wapno, distr. Wągrowiec, Zagórzyn, distr. Piła, and Suchań, distr. Stargard Szczeciński, dated from late A.D. 5th until early 6th century¹⁰². In addition, quite close analogies to the hoard from Karlino are known from Scandinavia, first and foremost – three similarly dated hoards discovered in Denmark in Fyn: Rynkebygård, Elsehoved, and Broholm¹⁰³.

All the pieces from the Karlino hoard, except for the solidi, are of Scandinavian provenance. Only the gold coins originate from mints in the eastern (six coins) and western (one coin) areas of the Roman Empire.

We can assume, that firstly those seven solidi reached Pomerania. Then they came back to Scandinavia, where the local goldsmiths had provided five solidi (Valentinian I, Valentinian III and three solidi of Theodosius II) with characteristic ornamental borders; solidi of Valentinian I and Valentinian III got also ornamental loops. Three solidi of Theodosius II were suspended on a gold rod to make a pendant.

It is impossible to precise when exactly and how all seven solidi came again to Pomerania. However, it happened and together with seven bracteates, three rings, a bead and a bracelet they formed the Karlino hoard.

The northern provenance of the rings, the bead and the bracteates, and also, of the ornamental pendant, is validated by finds of analogous objects, both from stray discoveries and group deposits recorded in Scandinavia, in particular, in Fyn, where a concentration of deposits is observed which are direct parallels of those from Karlino, both in terms of the time and circumstances of deposition as well as content.

From a historical point of view the influx of gold, including such a great quantity of coinage, coincides with the activity of the Huns and Germans (in particular, the Ostrogoths) in the lands on the Danube. Its result was migration of other peoples towards the Baltic Sea (including the well-known return of the Heruli to their homeland – Scandinavia – after their defeat by the Longobards in A.D. 508, in a battle on the right bank of the Morava River)¹⁰⁴.

The hoard from Karlino has been attributed to the people of the Dębczyno Group¹⁰⁵. Their settlement was located in the region of today's Western and Central Pomerania. It is dated in the period A.D. mid-3rd – end of the 5th century or possibly the beginning of the 6th century¹⁰⁶.

The archival documentation found recently in the museums in Berlin and Copenhagen made it possible to bring up new light on history of discovery of the Karlino hoard and later fate of its particular artefacts.

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⁹⁷ E. Petersen 1939, p. 29; P. La Baume 1963, p. 21, fig. 1, 2.

⁹⁸ P. La Baume 1963, p. 21.

⁹⁹ O. Kunkel 1938, p. 331, pl. 28; E. Petersen 1939, p. 29 (entry *Lübchow* no. 3); H. J. Eggers 1940, p. 33 no. 53, with note no. 68.

¹⁰⁰ E. Petersen 1939, p. 29 (entry *Lübchow* no. 3).

¹⁰¹ E. Petersen 1939, p. 29 (entry *Lübchow* no. 1); H. J. Eggers 1940, p. 33 no. 53, with note no. 68.

¹⁰² See note no. 4.

¹⁰³ Rynkebygård and Elsehoved: see note no. 71; Broholm: F. Sehested 1878, p. 199–205, pl. 41–44; M. B. Mackeprang 1952, p. 120 no. 60, pl. 23, nos. 12–15; IK 1985–1989, vol. 1/2, p. 90–91 no. 47.2a, vol. 1/3, pl. 53–54; H. Thrane 1994, p. 9–11.

¹⁰⁴ B. Niezabitowska 2004, p. 273.

¹⁰⁵ H. Machajewski 1992a, p. 82.

¹⁰⁶ H. Machajewski 1992b, p. 74.

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SKARB Z OKRESU WĘDRÓWEK LUDÓW Z KARLINA, POW. BIAŁOGARDZKI

STRESZCZENIE

Skarb z miejscowości Karlino (Ryc. 1) w pow. białogardzkim na Pomorzu Zachodnim (niem. *Cörlin/Körlin, Kr. Kolberg-Körlin, Westpreussen*) znaleziono przypadkowo na przełomie lat 1838 i 1839 (Ryc. 1). Tworzyły go wyłącznie złote przedmioty, zarówno wykonane na terenach „barbarzyńskich” oraz o rzymskiej i bizantyjskiej proveniencji.

Na terenie Polski znaleziono niewiele skarbów datowanych na okres wędrówek ludów. Pośród należących do nich przedmiotów na największą uwagę zasługują tzw. złote brakteaty germańskie. Są one niezwykle interesujące ze względu na pochodzenie, surowiec, technikę wykonania, sposób zdobienia oraz treści ikonograficzne i ikonologiczne². W Europie, przede wszystkim w Skandynawii (w tym na Bornholmie, Gotlandii i Olandii) oraz na wyspach brytyjskich znaleziono dotychczas ponad 1000 brakteatów³ (Ryc. 2). Z Polski pochodzi jedynie 14 sztuk, z czego siedem egzemplarzy zawierał właśnie skarb z Karlina. Pozostałe znane są z Wapna, pow. wągrowiecki, z Zagórzyna, pow. piliński, oraz z Suchania, pow. stargardzki⁴. Depozyty z Wapna i Zagórzyna są już szczegółowo opracowane, natomiast skarb z Karlina nie został jak dotąd poddany analizie służącej ustaleniu historii i miejsca jego odkrycia, późniejszych losów oraz zawartości.

Kwerenda przeprowadzona w latach 2007 i 2008 w Berlinie i Kopenhadze zaowocowała dotarciem do niepublikowanych i nieznanych dotąd dokumentów archiwalnych, zawierających kluczowe informacje pozwalające na rekonstrukcję historii, zawartości i losów poszczególnych zabytków ze skarbu. Archiwalia ze zbiorów Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Staatliche Museum zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz to 10 rękopisów, trzy muzealne spisy inwentarzowe oraz jedno zdjęcie^{9 10 14 16}. W Nationalmuseet w Kopenhadze natrafiłam na dwa zdjęcia przedstawiające łącznie siedem przedmiotów z karlińskiego depozytu²⁰, stanowiące część prywatnej kartoteki M. B. Mackepranga, którą obecnie dysponuje dr M. Axboe. W Polsce zachowały się jedynie skrócone opisy dwóch zabytków z depozytu z Karlina, znajdujące się w dwóch księgach inwentarzowych, przechowywanych dziś w Dziale Numizmatycznym Muzeum Narodowego w Szczecinie^{17 18}.

Skarb z Karlina został znaleziony w ziemie na przełomie 1838 i 1839 roku, przez nieznanego nam z imienia i nazwiska rolnika, w bliżej nieokreślonym miejscu na polach położonych pomiędzy Karlinem a Lubiechowem. W archiwaliach i literaturze natrafiamy jednak na rozbieżności dotyczące miejscowości, w której dokonano odkrycia. W tekstach pojawiają się błędne nazwy: Koszalin (niem. *Cöslin*, bądź *Köslin*), Lubiechowo (niem. *Lübchow*) czy Malechowo (niem. *Malchow*).

Skarb odkryto przypuszczalnie w czasie prób wysadzenia^{39 40} duże-

go kamienia, zalegającego na torfowych polach w bliskiej odległości lub nad samą rzeką Parsętą (niem. *Persante*). Z najwcześniejszych wzmianek wynika, że skarb (Ryc. 3) odkryto w sąsiedztwie lub pod tym głazem, na głębokości ok. 30 cm⁴².

Najcenniejszymi, a jednocześnie najbardziej interesującymi zabytkami było siedem brakteatów germańskich typu C wg O. Monteliusa (Ryc. 4). Należą one do podgrupy wschodnioduńsko-południowoszwedzkiej^{45 46}. Wszystkie egzemplarze z Karlina zrobiono ze złotej blachy, w technice jednostronnego wycisku, zaopatrując je w dekorowane ramki oraz uszka. Sześć z nich (IK/100) wykonano przy użyciu tego samego stempla (Ryc. 4:1–6), z wyobrażeniem mocno stylizowanej męskiej postaci na koniu idącym stępą w lewo, a w otoku naprzeciwko postaci jeźdźca wizerunkiem ptaka zwróconego w prawo. Siódmy brakteat (IK/329) wybito innym stemplem (Ryc. 4:7), z przedstawieniem mocno stylizowanej męskiej postaci na koniu, idącym stępą w lewo; naprzeciwko czoła jeźdźcy wyobrażony jest znak podobny do litery „X”, a w ramce pomiędzy głową jeźdźcy a zwierzęciem, między dwoma liniami znajduje się inskrypcja runiczna – *WAIGA*.

W skład skarbu z Karlina wchodziły ponadto dwa złote pierścienie. Pierwszy był masywny, wieloboczny (Ryc. 5). Od zewnątrz zdobiły go fasetowania⁵¹, składające się z 10 trójkątnych płaszczyzn pokrytych rozwiniętą ornamentyką rytą, a także w dwóch liniach prawobrzeżnym napisem runicznym, odczytywanym jako *ALU* (Ryc. 6). Wewnętrzna strona pierścienia była zaokrąglona, niezdobiona. Drugi pierścień był gładką obrączką⁵⁶. Do zespołu należały również paciorek (Ryc. 7) z cienkiego, spiralnie skręconego, karbowanego drutu złotego⁵⁸, oraz fragment bransolety, sporządzonej z grubego drutu złotego⁶². Ostatnią grupą zabytków były dwa solidy wybite w Konstantynopolu⁶⁶: Teodozjusza II (430–440; RIC IX 258) oraz Leona I (462 lub 466; RIC IX 605).

W literaturze wymieniane są jeszcze inne przedmioty, które uznaje za prawdopodobnie przynależne do skarbu z Karlina. Informacje na ich temat pojawiają się późno, bo dopiero ponad 100 lat od daty odkrycia depozytu. Nie ma podstaw, by zaprzeczać wiarygodności tych informacji, zwłaszcza, że przemawiają za nimi opublikowane zdjęcia, jednak formalnie zabytki te należy uznać za znaleziska niepewne. Są nimi: złoty pierścień ze spiralnie skręconego drutu⁶⁹, dwa solidy: Walentyniana I, wybity w Trewirze (367–375; RIC 14[a] wariant RIC IX), oraz Walentyniana III, z mennicy w Konstantynopolu (ok. 430–445; RIC X 2019)⁷⁰. Obie monety zaopatrzone były, podobnie jak wspomniane wcześniej brakteaty, w ozdobne ramki i uszka (Ryc. 8). Kolejnym zabytkiem, który łączyć można ze skarbem z Karlina, jest złota

zawieszka (Ryc. 9) z trzech solidów Teodozjusza II, umocowanych w masywnej, profilowanej złotej rurce⁷⁴; dwa solidy wybito w Konstantynopolu (408–420 i 420–422; RIC X 202 i 219), trzeci (424–455; RIC X 361–365) w mennicy w Tesalonikach.

Ustalenie losów zabytków tworzących skarb z Karlina przysparza wiele trudności (Ryc. 10). Przyczyną jest nie tylko upływ czasu, ale także brak szczegółowych danych dotyczących okoliczności odkrycia skarbu oraz jego zawartości. W okresie nie dłuższym niż sześć miesięcy od momentu odkrycia depozytu znalazca przekazał go w ręce handlarza z Kołobrzegu, niejakiego Hackbartha⁷⁸, który odsprzedał je dalszym nabywcom. Trzy spośród sześciu identycznych brakteatów (Ryc. 4:3–5), brakteat z inskrypcją runiczną (Ryc. 4:7) oraz pierścieniem z inskrypcją runiczną (Ryc. 5, 6) trafiły do prywatnej kolekcji berlińskiego antykwarium Benoniego Friedländera. Dwa solidy: Teodozjusz II i Leona I, dwa brakteaty (Ryc. 4:1.2) i paciorek ze spiralnie skręconego drutu (Ryc. 7) kupił generał major August Ludwig von Ledebur, komendant *Festung Kolberg*, na prośbę swojego bratanka Leopolda von Ledebura, dyrektora *Königliche Kunstkammer* i zarazem naczelnika *Museum Vaterländischer Alterthümer* w Berlinie, który chciał w ten sposób zasilić swoją prywatną kolekcję. W ręce berlińskiego handlarza, niejakiego Brandesa, którego kantor mieścił się na rogu ówczesnych Königstraße i Poststraße, trafił jeden brakteat (Ryc. 4:6), gładki pierścień oraz fragment masywnej bransolety.

Zarówno Brandes, jak i Leopold von Ledebur chcieli następnie odsprzedać posiadane przez siebie przedmioty do *Museum Vaterländischer Alterthümer*, ostatecznie jednak nie doszło do transakcji z Brandesem. W 1840 r. brakteat Brandesa (Ryc. 4:6) trafił do kolekcji rodziny Pogge, następnie został dwukrotnie sprzedany na aukcjach we Frankfurcie nad Menem w latach 1903 i 1929. W żadnym przypadku nie wiadomo, kto stał się kolejnym właścicielem przedmiotu, nieznane pozostaje też obecne miejsce przechowywania zabytku. Gładki pierścień został przetopiony przez Brandesa jeszcze przed 9 sierpnia 1839 r. Nie wiemy, co stało się fragmentem bransolety, będącej własnością wspomnianego berlińskiego kupca; brak jest jakiegokolwiek informacji dotyczącej tego zabytku, datowanej na czas po wrześniu 1839 r.

Dwa solidy zakupione dla Leopolda von Ledebura trafiły przed 9 sierpnia 1839 r. do Gabinetu Numizmatycznego w Berlinie. Dwukrotnie jednak, w 1852 r. oraz pod koniec XIX wieku, obie monety ujęto w spisie inwentarzowym dawnego *Antiquarisches Museum* w Szczecinie. Ani w dokumentach archiwalnych, ani w literaturze przedmiotu nie ma informacji, kiedy i dlaczego opuściły one *Königliche Münzkabinett* w Berlinie. Przed 1944 r. kolekcja monet z muzeum w Szczecinie została wywieziona do Stralsundu (pol. Strzałów), nie dysponujemy jednak jej spisami inwentarzowymi. Kwerenda wykonana w 2008 r. w Münzkabinett w Berlinie również przyniosła negatywny wynik – nie znalazłam tam ani obu solidów, ani żadnych informacji na ich temat.

19 września 1839 r. *Museum Vaterländischer Alterthümer* odkupiło od Leopolda von Ledebura dwa brakteaty i paciorek (Ryc. 4:1.2, 7). Następnie, 20 marca 1867 r., jako pośmiertna darowizna, do muzeum trafiły zabytki z Karlina należące do prywatnej kolekcji Benoniego Friedländera¹³ – ryc. 4:3–5, 4:7, 5, 6).

Do 1945 r. zabytki z Karlina przechowywano w dawnym *Museum Vaterländischer Alterthümer* (od 1931 r. *Museum für Vor- und Früh-*

geschichte) w Berlinie. W 1945 r. dostały się w ręce wojsk sowieckich i zostały przewiezione do Muzeum Sztuk Pięknych im. Puszkina w Moskwie¹⁷. Można przypuszczać, że do dnia dzisiejszego znajdują się w magazynie tego muzeum. Podjęta przeze mnie próba nawiązania kontaktu z muzeum w Moskwie nie powiodła się jednak.

Trudna do ustalenia jest historia i losy zabytków, które uznałam za prawdopodobnie przynależne skarbowi z Karlina. Nie wiemy kto, gdzie i kiedy dokładnie znalazł złoty pierścień ze spiralnie skręconego drutu⁶⁹ oraz dwa solidy⁷⁰: Walentyniana I i Walentyniana III (Ryc. 8:1.2). Wiemy jedynie, że do 1939 r. obie monety i pierścień znajdowały się w prywatnej kolekcji w Lubiechowie, być może w tamtejszym pałacu Clary von Schuman. Po roku 1939 r. nie natrafiamy na żadne dalsze informacje związane z losem tych zabytków. Niejasne są także losy złotej zawieszki⁷⁴ z trzema solidami Teodozjusza II (Ryc. 9), odkrytej w nieznanym okolicznościach przez rolnika z Lubiechowa⁹⁸. Z literatury przedmiotu wiemy jedynie, że do 1945 r. zawieszka znajdowała się w rękach pierwotnego znalazcy. W 1945 r. została od niego odkupiona przez anonimowego handlarza sztuki, a następnie sprzedana do prywatnej kolekcji w Szwajcarii. Kwerenda mająca na celu ustalenie bliższych informacji na temat roku sprzedaży, osoby nabywcy oraz miejsca obecnego przechowywania zabytku przyniosła negatywny wynik.

Depozyt z Karlina datować można na koniec V, a najdalej na początek VI wieku po Chr. Z terenu Polski mamy jedynie trzy inne, wspomniane wyżej skarby o zbliżonej zawartości i datowaniu: z Wapna, Zagórzyna i Suchania. Ścisłe analogie do znaleziska z Karlina znamy ze Skandynawii. Stanowią je trzy podobnie datowane skarby znalezione na Fionii¹⁰³: w Rynkebygård (koniec V lub początek VI wieku po Chr.) oraz w Elsehoved i w Broholm (oba z I. połowy VI wieku po Chr.).

Z historycznego punktu widzenia napływ złota, w tym tak dużej ilości monet, na tereny północnych obszarów *Barbaricum* mógł być związany z aktywnością Hunów i plemion germańskich (w tym szczególnie Ostrogotów) na terenach naddunajskich. Doprowadziła ona do migracji innych ludów w stronę Morza Bałtyckiego (słynny powrót plemiona Herulów do swej ojczyzny – Skandynawii – po klęskę w bitwie z Longobardami w 508 r.¹⁰⁴).

Pod względem kulturowym skarb z Karlina można wiązać z ludnością grupy dębczyńskiej, która zajmowała Pomorze Zachodnie i Środkowe od połowy III do końca V lub początków VI wieku po Chr.¹⁰⁶. Złote brakteaty, pierścienie, paciorki i fragment bransolety z tego skarbu pochodzą ze Skandynawii. Solidy dostały się na Pomorze Zachodnie ze wschodniej (6 egz.) i z zachodniej (1 egz.) części *Imperium Romanum*. Solidy Walentyniana I i Walentyniana III oraz trzy solidy Teodozjusza II, tworzące zawieszki, napłynęły na Pomorze, skąd wywieziono je do Skandynawii, gdzie zaopatrzone zostały w dekorowane złote uszka oraz złote otoki. W końcowym etapie wszystkie siedem solidów, już łącznie z siedmioma brakteatami, trzema pierścieniami, bransoletą i paciorkiem, trafiły na Pomorze Zachodnie, gdzie je zdeponowano. Znalezienie tak bogatego skarbu złotych przedmiotów, w szczególności brakteatów oraz pierścienia z inskrypcją runiczną, na terenie północnej Polski, dostarcza ważnych dowodów na ożywione kontakty pomiędzy grupami zamieszkującymi Skandynawię i Pomorze w okresie wędrówek ludów.

WYKAZ SKRÓTÓW TYTUŁÓW CZASOPISM I WYDAWNICTW WIELOTOMOWYCH

ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICALS' AND SERIAL PUBLICATIONS' TITLES

AAC	– „Acta Archaeologica Carpathica”, Kraków
AAHung.	– „Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae”, Budapest
AFB	– „Arbeits- und Forschungsberichte zur sächsischen Bodendenkmalpflege”, Berlin (Stuttgart)
Amtl. Ber.	– „Amtlicher Bericht über die Verwaltung der naturgeschichtlichen, vorgeschichtlichen und volkswissenschaftlichen Sammlungen des Westpreussischen Provinzial-Museums für das Jahr ...”, Danzig
APolski	– „Archeologia Polski”, Warszawa
APS	– „Archeologia Polski Środkowowschodniej”, Lublin (wcześniej: Lublin-Chełm-Zamość)
AR	– „Archeologické rozhledy”, Praha
B.A.R. Int. Series	– British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Oxford
BerRGK	– „Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission”, Frankfurt a.M.-Berlin
BJahr.	– „Bonner Jahrbücher”, Köln/Bonn
BMJ	– „Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern”, Lübstorf (wcześniej: „Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg. Jahrbuch ...”, Schwerin/Rostock/Berlin)
CRFB	– Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum
FAP	– „Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses” (wcześniej: „Fontes Praehistorici”), Poznań
Inf.Arch.	– „Informator Archeologiczny. Badania rok ...”, Warszawa
InvArch.	– „Inventaria Archaeologica, Pologne”, Warszawa-Łódź
JmV	– „Jahresschrift für mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte”, Halle/Saale
JRGZM	– „Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz”, Mainz
KHKM	– „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej”, Warszawa
KSIA	– Kratkie soobšeniâ Instituta arheologii Akademii nauk SSSR (Краткие сообщения Института археологии Академии наук СССР), Moskva
MIA	– Materialy i issledovaniâ po arheologii SSSR (Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР), Moskva
MatArch.	– „Materiały Archeologiczne”, Kraków
MS	– „Materiały Starożytne”, Warszawa
MSiW	– „Materiały Starożytne i Wczesnośredniowieczne”, Warszawa
MSROA	– „Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego”, Rzeszów-Krosno-Sandomierz-Tarnów (-Przemysł/Tarnobrzeg)
MZP	– „Materiały Zachodniopomorskie”, Szczecin
PA	– „Památky archeologické” (wcześniej: „Památky archeologické a místopisné”), Praha
PArch.	– „Przegląd Archeologiczny”, Poznań
PMMAE	– „Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi. Seria Archeologiczna”, Łódź
PomAnt	– „Pomorania Antiqua”, Gdańsk
Prahistoria ziem polskich	– <i>Prahistoria ziem polskich</i> , tom I: <i>Paleolit i mezolit</i> (red. W. Chmielewski, W. Hensel), Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1975; tom II: <i>Neolit</i> (red. W. Hensel, T. Wiślański), Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1979; tom III: <i>Wczesna epoka brązu</i> (red. A. Gardawski, J. Kowalczyk), Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1978; tom IV: <i>Od środkowej epoki brązu do środkowego okresu lateńskiego</i> (red. J. Dąbrowski, Z. Rajewski), Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1979; tom V: <i>Późny okres lateński i okres rzymski</i> (red. J. Wielowiejski), Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1981
Prussia	– „Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia” (później: „Prussia. Zeitschrift für Heimatkunde”), Königsberg i.Pr.
PZ	– „Praehistorische Zeitschrift”, Berlin-New York
RArch.	– „Recherches Archéologiques”, Kraków
RB	– „Rocznik Białostocki”, Białystok
RO	– „Rocznik Olsztyński”, Olsztyn
SJahr.	– „Saalburg Jahrbuch”, Berlin-New York
SlA	– „Slovenská archeológia”, Bratislava
SovArch	– „Sovetskââ Arheologia” (Советская археология), Moskva
SprArch.	– „Sprawozdania Archeologiczne”, Kraków
SprPMA	– „Sprawozdania P.M.A.”, Warszawa
WA	– „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, Warszawa
ZNUJ	– „Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego”, Kraków
ZOW	– „Z otchłani wieków”, Warszawa

