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25^{lat} **Mazowsze**

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WIADOMOŚCI ARCHEOLOGICZNE LXXIV (2023)

SPIIS TREŚCI
CONTENTS

ROZPRAWY / PAPERS

- WOJCIECH NOWAKOWSKI „Wiadomości Archeologiczne” – panorama stu pięćdziesięciu lat polskiej archeologii pradziejowej 3
“Wiadomości Archeologiczne” – a Panorama of One Hundred and Fifty Years of Polish Prehistoric Archaeology
- ANNA STROBIN Jednoczłonowe klamry do pasa Kostrzewski typy Ib i IIb. 19
Zróżnicowanie – chronologia – inspiracje
One-Piece Belt-Hooks of Kostrzewski Types Ib and IIb.
Varieties – Chronology – Inspirations

MISCELLANEA / MISCELLANEA

- GRAŻYNA ORLIŃSKA O nagolennikach z Siwianki na wschodnim Mazowszu i nie tylko... 61
About the Siwianka Anklets from Eastern Mazovia and More...
- JOANNA ZAGÓRSKA-TELEGA Intrygujący pochówek kobiety z birtualnego cmentarzyska 85
MARCIN M. PRZYBYŁA w Kazimierzy Wielkiej, pow. kazimierski
ANITA SZCZEPANEK An Intriguing Female Burial from a Bi-ritual Cemetery
at Kazimierza Wielka, Kazimierza Wielka County
- JAN SCHUSTER Almost a Dozen already. The Next Princely Grave 107
at the Necropolis at Czarnówko in Pomerania
Już niemal tuzin. Kolejny grób książęcy na cmentarzysku w Czarnówku na Pomorzu
- ANDRZEJ KOKOWSKI Łyżeczki kosmetyczne z obszaru *Barbaricum* 149
MAREK FLOREK Cosmetic Spoons from the *Barbaricum*
- BARTŁOMIEJ MAKOWIECKI Szesnastowieczne kafle z herbem Starykoń z królewskich 165
LUCYNA SAMEK zamków na Wawelu i w Ojcowie w świetle wyników analizy
DARIUSZ WĘGRZYNEK porównawczej oraz badań fizyko-chemicznych
ZDZISŁAW STĘGOWSKI Sixteenth-century Tiles with the Starykoń Coat of Arms from the Royal Castles
ALEKSANDRA WANDZILAK of Wawel and Ojców in the Light of the Results of Comparative Analysis
PAWEŁ WRÓBEL and Physical and Chemical Studies
MICHAŁ WOJENKA
- ANDRZEJ KOKOWSKI In Search of Lost Archaeological Artefacts 183
WIEŃCZYŚŁAW NIEMIROWSKI W poszukiwaniu zaginionych zabytków archeologicznych

ODKRYCIA / DISCOVERIES

BARTŁOMIEJ KACZYŃSKI ŁUKASZ MAURZYCY STANASZEK	„Nieumyślne spowodowanie śmierci” na warszawskim Annopolu we wczesnej epoce żelaza 'Manslaughter' in the Warsaw Annopol in the Early Iron Age	191
AGATA GRZĘDZIELSKA	Archiwalne cmentarzysko w Zalcu (dawn. <i>Salza, Kr. Lötzen</i>) na Pojezierzu Mrągowskim odkryte na nowo – analiza zabytków z współczesnych badań powierzchniowych Archival Cemetery at Zalec (former <i>Salza, Kr. Lötzen</i>) in the Mrągowo Lakeland – Eediscovered. Analysis of Artefacts from Contemporary Field Surveys	202
VADŽİM BELÂVEC	Odlew z Čarnaŭčyc i zapinki typu Almgren 41 z ziem Białorusi A Cast from Čarnaŭčycy and Brooches of Almgren Type 41 from Belarus	217
MIKALAI PLAVINSKI	Antler Container from the Navasiolki Barrow Cemetery (Miadziel District, Minsk Region, Republic of Belarus) in the Collection of the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw Pojemnik rogowy z cmentarzyska kurhanowego Nowosiółki (rejon miadziolski obwodu mińskiego, Republika Białoruś) w zbiorach Państwowego Muzeum Archeologicznego w Warszawie	227
SZYMON MOSAKOWSKI MARTA PIOTROWSKA MATEUSZ POPEK KONRAD LEWEK	Łódź jednopienna z Jeziora Lubikowskiego (woj. lubuskie) A Dugout from Lake Lubikowskie (Lubuskie Voivodeship)	238

WYKAZ SKRÓTÓW / ABBREVIATIONS

243

JAN SCHUSTER

ALMOST A DOZEN ALREADY. THE NEXT PRINCELY GRAVE AT THE NECROPOLIS AT CZARNÓWKO IN POMERANIA

JUŻ NIEMAL TUZIN. KOLEJNY GRÓB KSIĄŻĘCY NA CMENTARZYSKU W CZARNÓWKU NA POMORZU

Abstract: *In 2021, in the well-known Oksywie and Wielbark Culture cemetery at Czarnówko in Gdańsk Pomerania, a very well-equipped grave was discovered that deserves to be called ‘princely’. It is the eleventh grave of this type in the cemetery. Feature 1927 is a cremation grave which was re-opened in antiquity. The urn contained fragments of two Roman vessels: a bucket of copper alloy and a badly melted glass cup or goblet. Despite the cremation, the set of personal objects is rich. It includes a brooch typical of the Wielbark Culture, fragments of two silver bracelets of different types, a golden crescent-shaped pendant, a pendant with a cowrie shell core in a strap-setting, a belt buckle and strap end, and more, all also placed in the urn. The buried person died in the age of senilis; according to the archaeological criteria, it is the burial of a woman. The grave can be dated to subphase C1b.*

Keywords: Wielbark Culture, Czarnówko, princely grave, Öremölla-Czarnówko horizon

Słowa kluczowe: kultura wielbarska, Czarnówko, grób książęcy, horyzont Öremölla-Czarnówko

*Every hour of every day, I'm learning more.
 The more I learn, the less I know about before.
 The less I know, the more I want to look around,
 Digging deep for clues on higher ground.*

UB40, “Higher Ground”

INTRODUCTION

The well-known Oksywie and Wielbark Culture necropolis at Czarnówko in Gdańsk Pomerania is still full of surprises. This words proved true again during the excavation in summer 2021¹, when the eleventh (!) grave that

deserves to be called a ‘princely grave’ was uncovered². The cremation burial (feature 1927) was located on the north-western edge of the cemetery³ and surrounded by

Marczewski (Gdańsk/Lębork), who explored the grave in question, and the author.

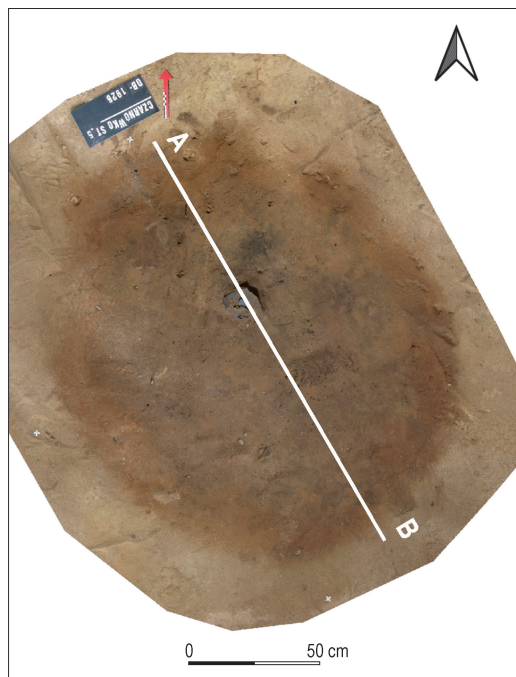
² The oldest princely grave, dating back to the 1st century CE, has been published preliminarily (A. KASPRZAK 2016), eight princely graves from the second half of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century CE have been published in detail (M. MĄCZYŃSKA, D. RUDNICKA 2002; D. RUDNICKA, M. MĄCZYŃSKA 2004; J. SCHUSTER 2018a), the tenth princely grave in total – with the already famous glass fish and an extraordinary glass goblet – was discovered in 2015 (see: J. ANDRZEJOWSKI, M. PRUSKA, J. SCHUSTER 2021; J. ANDRZEJOWSKI, J. SCHUSTER 2022; J. SCHUSTER, J. ANDRZEJOWSKI 2023).

³ Until now the exact extend of the burial ground in this part of the site is still unknown, but will hopefully be clarified in the next future.

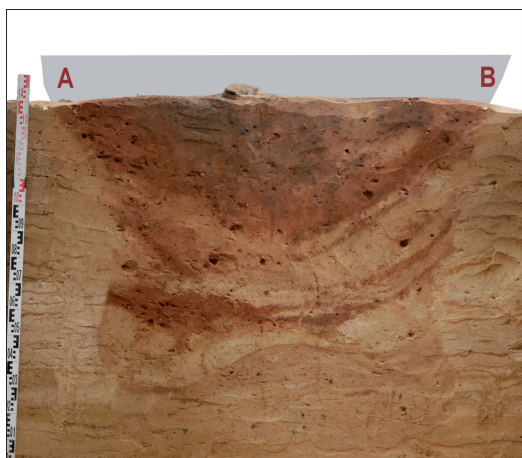
¹ The excavations were conducted by Agnieszka Krzysiak (Museum of Lębork), with the assistance of Marta Marczewska and Maciej



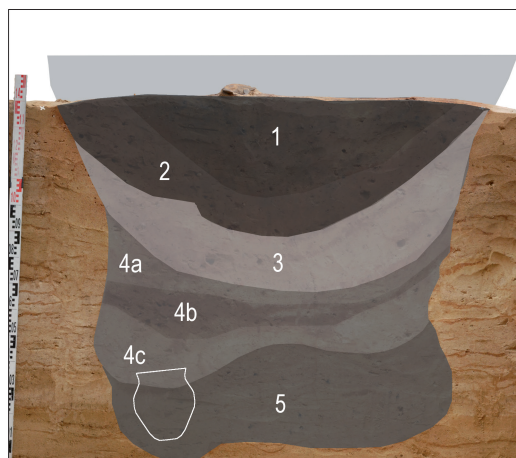
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2



3



4



5



6

inhumations. The specific grave goods and their dating are of great interest, which is why the grave should be published and discussed as soon as possible. And there is no better place than the journal “Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, which is currently celebrating its 150th anniversary. Congratulations!⁴

The pit of feature 1927 (Fig. 1) was oval in shape and measured ca. 1.98×1.59 m, with a depth of ca. 1.60 m. The multiple filling layers clearly indicate that the grave had been re-opened: almost three quarters of the original fill had been dug out, presumably including some of the grave goods (which could have been placed in a second urn).

Evidence of this (and of ritual ceremonies associated with the re-opening and re-filling) may be provided by

⁴ There is a congratulatory saying in Poland: A hundred years! (Sto lat!), which is no longer appropriate in this case. So let us say: Two hundred years! (Dwieście lat!).

the fragment of a clay vessel with glass melt residues⁵, which was found at the very top of the refilling and appears to have been deposited here⁶. At least four strata can be distinguished. The lowest (No. 4) is not homogeneous, it shows three layers of different colours. The appearance of the strata in the grave is difficult to explain – either they were created more or less accidentally by intentional backfilling, or they are the result of the natural and gradual refilling of the open pit on the left⁷. The fully preserved urn came to light in the untouched

⁵ Cat. no. 4.

⁶ There are several parallels in the cemetery of Czarnówko and other necropolises of the Wielbark Culture.

⁷ I myself doubt the possibility of a natural filling. This is contradicted by the presence of a clay vessel fragment in the middle of the uppermost part of the filling, which could not have been moved here by natural means.



Fig. 2. Czarnówko, Łęborg County, feature 1927. The urn with content. Photo: M. Marczewski. Graphics: J. Schuster.

Ryc. 2. Czarnówko, pow. łębarski, obiekt 1927. Popielnica z zawartością. Fot.: M. Marczewski. Grafika: J. Schuster.

Fig. 1. Czarnówko, Łęborg County, feature 1927: 1 – plan at first exploration level (below top-soil); 2 – plan at second exploration level with cross-section marked (ca. 15 cm below first level; notice the pot fragment, see also no. 5); 3 – cross-section; 4 – interpretation of the filling layers (in re-opening pit) with position of the urn (behind cross-section wall); 5 – upper part of the filling with deposited clay vessel fragment; 6 – view of the urn *in situ*. Photo: M. Marczewski. Graphics: J. Schuster.

Ryc. 1. Czarnówko, pow. łębarski, obiekt 1927. 1 – plan na poziomie pierwszej warstwy mechanicznej (poniżej); 2 – plan na poziomie drugiej warstwy mechanicznej (ok. 15 cm niżej od warstwy pierwszej; zob. fragment naczynia glinianego – por. też nr 5); 3 – przekrój; 4 – interpretacja warstw wypełnienia wkopu z zaznaczoną pozycją popielnicy (za ścianą przekroju); 5 – strop grobu ze zdeponowanym fragmentem naczynia glinianego; 6 – widok popielnicy *in situ*. Fot.: M. Marczewski. Grafika: J. Schuster.



Fig. 3. Czarnówko, Lębork County, feature 1927. Clay urn. Photo & graphics: J. Schuster.

Ryc. 3. Czarnówko, pow. lęborski, obiekt 1927. Gliniana popielnica. Fot. i grafika: J. Schuster.

lower part of the grave, off-centre. It contained several grave goods (Fig. 2).

CATALOGUE OF FINDS⁸

1. Clay pot (urn) with two handles (one broken off), rounded belly and widened rim. Almost complete. Surface colour varying between light brown and dark grey. On shoulder, two incised horizontal lines above a double zigzag running around the body. Surface of the upper part smoothed, between zigzag and bottom slightly roughened. Height 26 cm, rim diameter ca. 18 cm, belly diameter ca. 25 cm (Fig. 3).

2. Fragments of a clay vessel with a neck set back from shoulder and a widened, thickened rim (rim fragment slightly secondarily burnt – ‘foamed’). Smoothed brown-

ish surface. Shape can be roughly reconstructed. The belly is decorated with incised horizontal and crossing lines forming zigzag and diamond shapes. Max. diameter ca. 14 cm, rim diameter ca. 10 cm (Fig. 4:1).

3. Fragment of a clay vessel with rounded shoulder and vertical rim. Rim diameter ca. 10 cm (Fig. 4:2).

4. Fragments of a wide-open clay vessel with a wide rim (presumably on a high foot). Smoothed brownish surface, glass melt adhering to the outside. Rim diameter ca. 19 cm (Fig. 4:3).

5. Belly fragment of a clay vessel. Smoothed dark grey, almost black surface, inside brownish grey (Fig. 4:4).

6. Copper alloy bucket, broken into many pieces (cannot be reconstructed), with two triangular attachments (6a) with traces of melting (Fig. 5).

7. Arched fragment of copper alloy rod (fragment of bucket handle?). Slightly faceted. Length 1.8 cm (Fig. 5).

8. Arched fragment of a copper alloy rod (fragment of bucket handle?). Slightly faceted. Length 4.7 cm (Fig. 5).



Fig. 4. Czarnówko, Lębork County, feature 1927. Fragments of clay vessels. Photo & graphics: J. Schuster.

Ryc. 4. Czarnówko, pow. lęborski, obiekt 1927. Fragmenty naczyń glinianych. Fot. i grafika: J. Schuster.

9. Fused and deformed fragments of a glass vessel (one?). Colourless, translucent. Thickness of a non-swollen wall fragment 0.1 cm. Total weight 191 g (Fig. 6).

10. Brooch in copper alloy. Surface with traces of melting. Pseudo-massive, hollow body. Bow triple faceted, end with a groove along the edge. Long spring, chord wrapped around base of spring wire. Bow length 3.3 cm, total length 37 cm, weight 18 g (Fig. 7).

11. Terminal of a silver bracelet (*Schildkopfarmring*). Semi-circular head decorated with a row of silver rivets, silver beaded wires, a half pipe-shaped 'wire' and a partially gilded silver sheet with repoussé ornamentation. The bulbous part of the head and the adjacent crest are

grooved (for beaded wire applications). Length 3.2 cm, width 3.4 cm (Fig. 7).

12. Two hoop fragments of a silver bracelet (*wellenförmiger Armring*) or two specimens. Length 6.5 and 4.7 cm (Fig. 7).

13. Buckle in copper alloy. Bi-partite, D-shaped frame with ornamented bases. Narrow prong, its base decorated like the bases of the loops. Chape almost rectangular with long triangular extension and round terminal with rivet. Each corner of the chape has a three-quarter circle rivet plate with a rivet and a fourth rivet between them. Length 5.8 cm, loop width 3.0 cm, loop length 2.4 cm, weight 13 g (Fig. 7).



14. Strap end in copper alloy. Upper part split up, with three rivets. Below, a four-faceted section framed by three rows of notches (one above, two below); lower part open-worked: a teardrop-shaped frame merges into a two-ring terminal. Length 6.9 cm, max. width 1.5 cm, weight 12 g (Fig. 7).

15. Belt fitting in copper alloy. Rectangular with rounded corners, each with a rivet. The rivets of the both pairs

are connected with washers underneath. Length 2.3 cm, width 1.3 cm, distance between plates 0.2 cm (Fig. 7).

16. Golden pendant (*lunula*). Crescent-shaped sheet with a band-shaped suspension loop with applied beaded wires of gold. The sheet is decorated with beaded wires, gold granules and a central inlay of glass, now melted (probably a cabochon). A grape of granules at each terminal. Width 3.7 cm, height (with loop) 3.7 cm (Fig. 8).



Fig. 6. Czarnówko, Łębork County, feature 1927. Fragments of a melted glass vessel. Photo: M. Górski.

Ryc. 6. Czarnówko, pow. łęborski, obiekt 1927. Fragmenty stopionego naczynia szklanego. Fot.: M. Górski.

Fig. 5. Czarnówko, Łębork County, feature 1927. Fragments of a copper alloy bucket. Photo: M. Górski.

Ryc. 5. Czarnówko, pow. łęborski, obiekt 1927. Fragmenty wiadra ze stopu miedzi. Fot.: M. Górski.

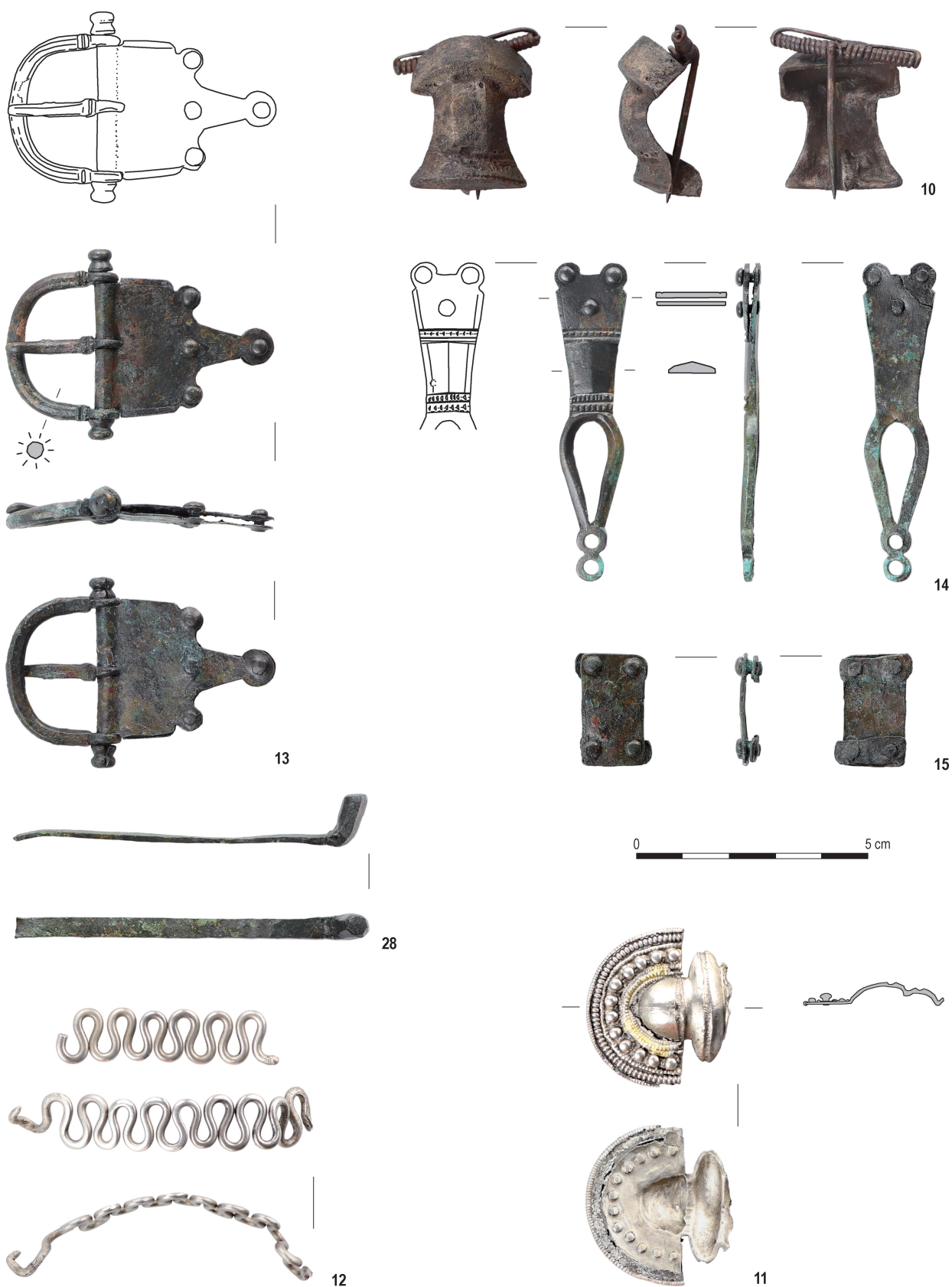


Fig. 7. Czarnówko, Lębork County, feature 1927. Metal elements of attire and personal equipment. 10, 13–15, 28 – copper alloy, 11 – silver/gilded silver, 12 – silver. Photo: M. Górski. Graphics: J. Schuster.

Ryc. 7. Czarnówko, pow. lęborski, obiekt 1927. Metalowe elementy stroju i wyposażenia osobistego. 10, 13–15, 28 – stop miedzi, 11 – srebro i srebro pozłacane, 12 – srebro. Fot.: M. Górski. Grafika: J. Schuster.

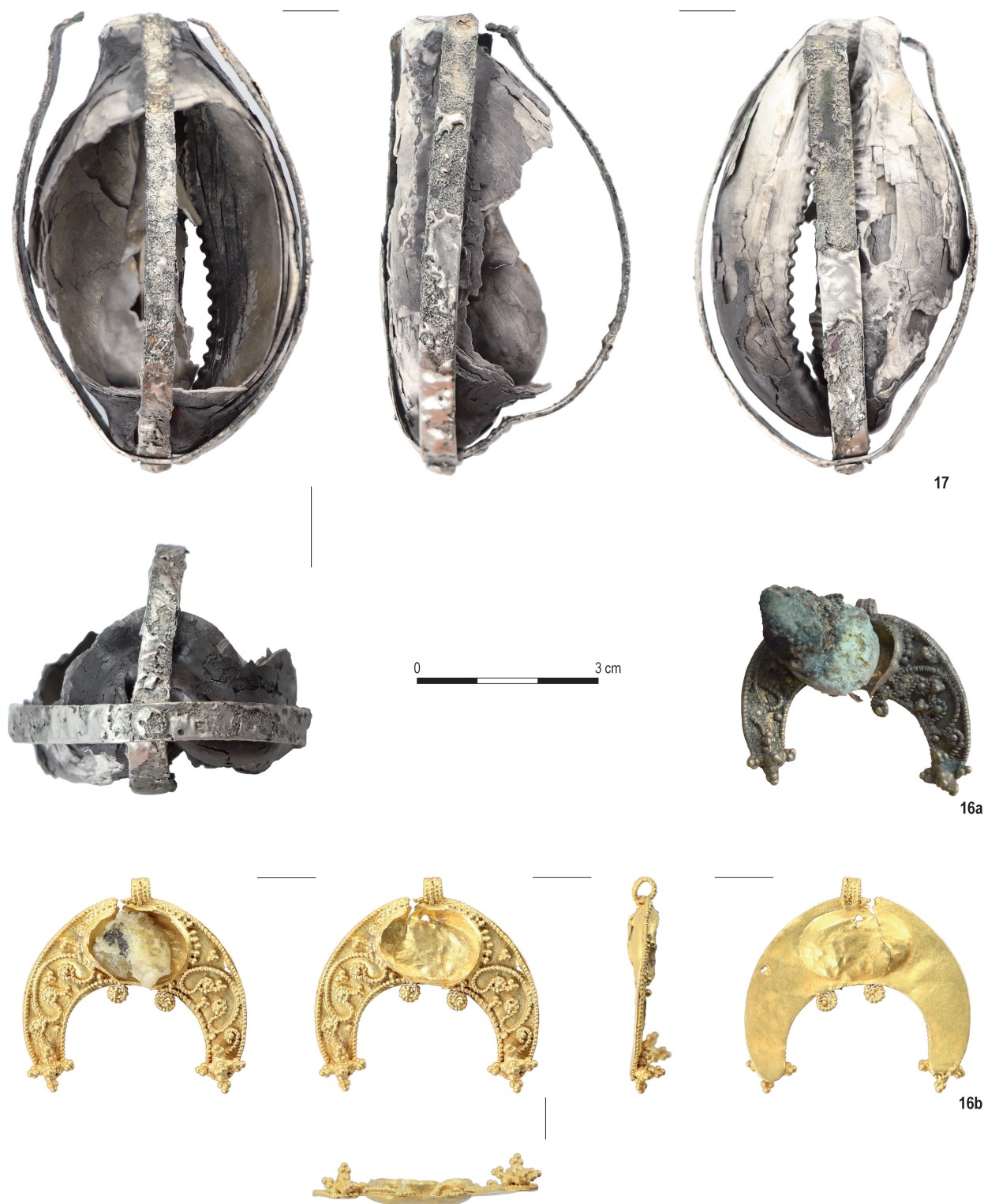


Fig. 8. Czarnówko, Lębork County, feature 1927. Gold pendant with filigree, granulation and glass inlay, before (16a) and after conservation (16b), and pendant with cowrie shell with silver-plated copper alloy strap-setting (17). Photo: M. Górski.
Ryc. 8. Czarnówko, pow. lęborski, obiekt 1927. Złoty wisiorek zdobiony filigranem, granulacją oraz wkładką szklaną przed (16a) i po konserwacji (16b) oraz wisior z muszli kauri opasanej taśmami ze stopu miedzi platerowanymi srebrem (17). Fot.: M. Górski.



Fig. 9. Czarnówko, Lębork County, feature 1927. Spindle-whorls from clay (25, 26) and stone (27), glass beads damaged in fire (18–24), and antler (?) comb fragment (29). Photo: M. Górski. Graphics: J. Schuster.

Ryc. 9. Czarnówko, pow. lęborski, obiekt 1927. Przęśliki z gliny (25, 26) i kamienia (27), nadtopione i stopione paciorki szklane (18–24) oraz fragmenty grzebienia, prawdopodobnie z poroża (29). Fot.: M. Górski. Grafika: J. Schuster.

17. Pendant with strap-setting. Straps made of silver-plated copper alloy. Arranged crosswise, fixed by a rivet. Suspension broken off. Core: large cowrie shell, partly cracked. Length 7.7 cm (Fig. 8).

18. Glass bead TM6. Opaque whitish. With traces of heat. Diameter 1.4–1.7 cm, max. height 1.2 cm (Fig. 9).

19. Glass bead (probably TM 6), melted and badly damaged. Opaque whitish. 2.0×2.0×0.9 cm (Fig. 9).

20. Fragment of a melted glass bead (probably TM6). Opaque whitish (Fig. 9).

21. Melted, severely damaged glass bead (probably TM6). Opaque whitish. Fused with another (partly reddish) glass bead which is also melted (Fig. 9).

22. Two glass beads TM XII. Flat-hexagonal cross-section. One moderately, one severely heat damaged (partly

melted); both with altered colour. Length 2.0 cm, thickness 0.5 cm (Fig. 9).

23. Fragments of a cracked and melted glass bead. Originally translucent blue (Fig. 9).

24. 17 fragments of severely melted glass beads. Colour no longer ascertainable (only a reddish part is visible in one case) (Fig. 9).

25. Spindle whorl of clay. Barrel-shaped, concave poles. Diameter 1.4 cm, height 2.1 cm, weight 13 g (Fig. 9).

26. Spindle whorl of clay. Bi-conical with sharp edge. Heat cracks. Diameter 3.1 cm, height 2.3 cm, weight 18 g (Fig. 9).

27. Spindle whorl/bead of sandstone. Approximately round with convex-flat cross-section. Surface smoothed. Diameter 2.8–3.0 cm, max. height 0.5 cm, weight 9 g (Fig. 9).

28. Spring of a casket in copper alloy. Flat strap with a piston-shaped terminal, opposite end broken off. Length 7.6 cm, strap width 0.4 cm (Fig. 7).

29. Fragments of two inner plates of a three-layer bone or antler comb. One with rudimentary teeth. Calcined. 1.1×1.0–1.2×1.0 cm, thickness 0.15 cm (Fig. 9).

TYPOLOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

IMPORTED VESSELS

The cremation urn contained fragments of a Roman copper alloy bucket (Fig. 5). Their condition indicates that the vessel was damaged (certainly intentionally deformed, perhaps also cut or crushed) and partly melted prior to being deposited. While one of the attachments is almost complete, the second has been severely damaged by heat.

Based on the two nearly triangular attachments, the vessel can be clearly identified as type Eggers 36, which is extremely rare in *Barbaricum*⁹. The closely related and also very rare type Eggers 35 (both type 35 and type 36 were combined by Hans Jürgen Eggers to form the *Vængegård* type¹⁰) has attachments with facial representations¹¹. The occurrence of the bucket in Pomerania is very surprising, since until now we had only five records of type Eggers 36 from *Barbaricum* (Fig. 10) – two from northern Germany, two from the Danish Isles and one from Bohemia¹².

⁹ The administrative data of all localities referred to below are given in List 2.

¹⁰ H.J. EGGERS 1951, 57, 162.

¹¹ J. WERNER 1936. Cf. form den Boesterd 153 (M.H.P. DEN BOESTERD 1956, 47, pl. VI:153).

¹² D Borstel, grave 557 (H.J. EGGERS 1951, 163; M. BECKER *ET ALII* 2006, 93); D Brokshus (H. WILLERS 1901, 63; H.J. EGGERS 1951, 163; M. ERDRICH 2002, 48, pl. 57:2); DK Himlingøje, assemblage from

The workshops where these vessels were made in the second half of the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd century CE are thought to have been situated in Gaul or in the Roman Rhineland¹³. According to Richard Petrovsky and Helmut Bernhard, the bucket from the Rhine hoard at Otterstadt dates back to the late 2nd century CE, but no reasons were given for this assertion¹⁴. The vessel hoard with a bucket Eggers 36 found at *Flavia Solva*¹⁵ in Austria was dated very late, i.e. to the reign of Aurelian (270–275)¹⁶. Helga Sedlmayer noted that if this dating was correct, the bucket would have been in use for a very long time¹⁷. According to Martin Luik, the buckets were produced between the second half of the 2nd century and the second half of the 3rd century CE¹⁸. However, the latest finds mentioned by him (elements of hoards, dated by coins to the sixties and seventies of the 3rd century CE) do not necessarily indicate the time of production, but only the time of deposition. Ulla Lund Hansen pointed out that the two Scandinavian finds of the vessel type in question can be dated to subphase C1b¹⁹. This agrees with the dating of Borstel, grave 557 in the Altmark (middle Elbe region) with a brooch with high catch plate of type A 209²⁰. Thus, there is every indication that the period of production buckets did not significantly precede the period of their use in *Barbaricum*, or even that both periods more or less coincided.

The buckets with triangular attachments differ in shape and construction (Fig. 11) – except for the one-piece body we know two-piece specimens with an inserted²¹ or attached²² bottom. No statements can be made about the Czarnówko bucket due to the strong fragmentation.

1828 (H. WILLERS 1901, 63; H.J. EGGERS 1951, 163; U. LUND HANSEN 1995, 142, fig. 4.9, pl. 5); DK Møllegaardsmarken, grave (H.J. EGGERS 1951, 163; J. WERNER 1936); CZ Tuklaty, settlement pit (V. SAKAŘ 1970, 50, fig. 22:17; Z. KARASOVÁ 1998, 84, No. 54). The find from D Hemmoor listed by HANS JÜRGEN EGGERS (1951, 163) has probably not been confirmed in the renewed listing of Roman imports found in Schleswig-Holstein (M. ERDRICH, C. VON CARNAP-BORNHEIM 2004), because it is not listed there.

¹³ H. WILLERS 1901, 186; J. WERNER 1936, 261; M. FEUGÈRE 1985, 65; M. LUIK 2005, 264.

¹⁴ R. PETROVSKY, H. BERNHARD 2016, 254, fig. 5.

¹⁵ A Wagna (W. MELCHART 1986).

¹⁶ W. MELCHART 1986, 237.

¹⁷ H. SEDLMAYER 1999, 163–164.

¹⁸ M. LUIK 2005, 264.

¹⁹ U. LUND HANSEN 1995, 178.

²⁰ J. WERNER 1936, 261. The find from Brokshus in Lower Saxony does not provide any relevant information to the question at hand as it comes from a complex with vague dating. Similarly, the settlement find from Tuklaty in Bohemia cannot be precisely dated.

²¹ DK Himlingøje, assemblage from 1828 (U. LUND HANSEN 1995, 142, fig. 4.9, pl. 5).

²² F Garenne-du-Roi (J. WERNER 1936, fig. 1).

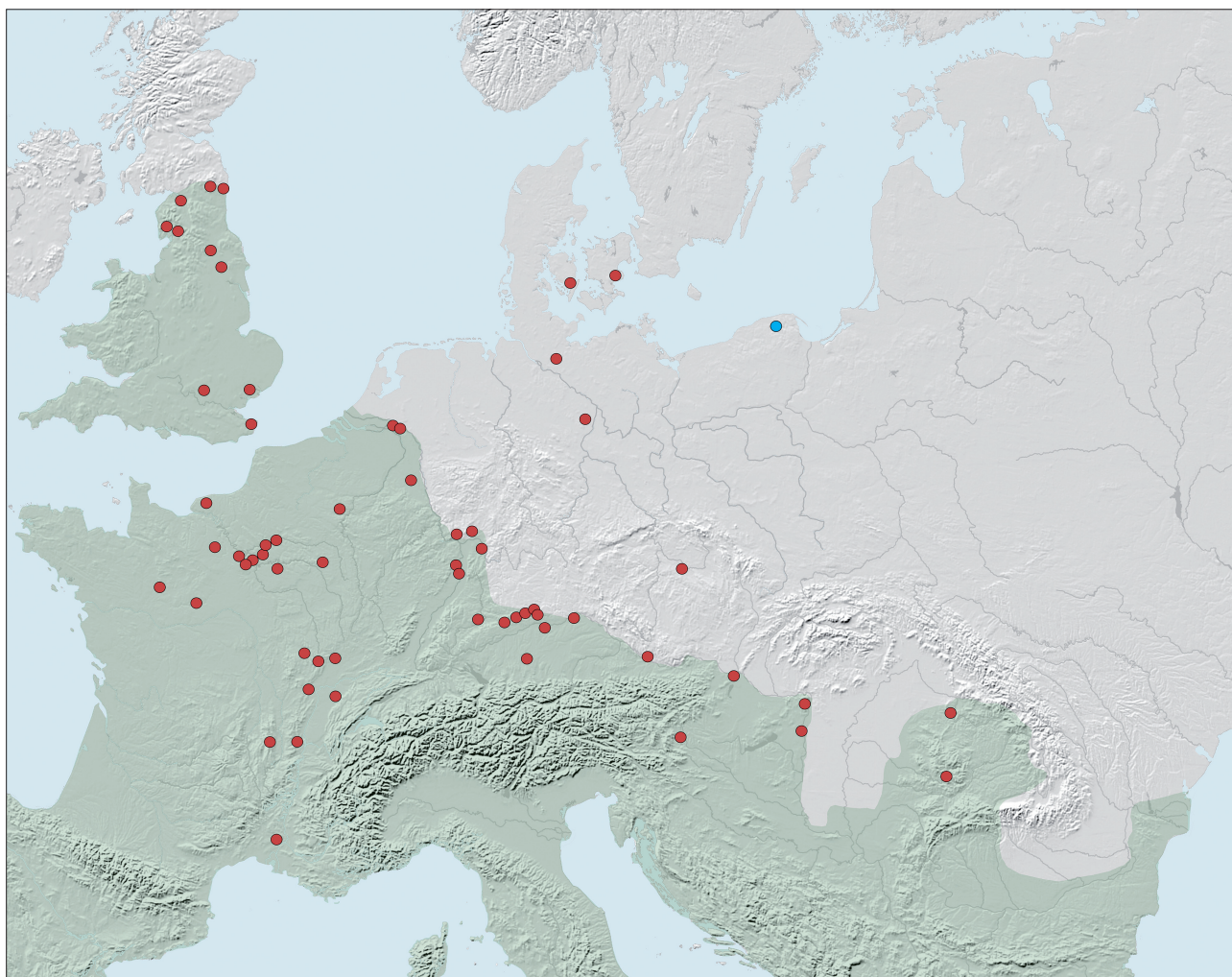


Fig. 10. Distribution map of E 36 type buckets. Acc. to M. LUIK 2005 (with additions; blue dot – Czarnówko). Graphics: J. Schuster.

Ryc. 10. Rozprzestrzenienie wiader typu E 36. Wg: M. LUIK 2005 (z uzupełnieniami; niebieski punkt – Czarnówko). Grafika: J. Schuster.

The Czarnówko bucket is an exceptional specimen due to the fact that it was decorated with incised motifs²³. We can distinguish two motifs at least: a row of double-lined drop-shaped loops and a floral one of multiple volutes accompanied by *punctum* lines (Fig. 12). Unfortunately, their arrangement remains unclear.

The grave also contained smaller and larger fragments of a badly melted vessel of colourless translucent glass (Fig. 6). It is so heavily damaged that we cannot say anything about shape or type, but it is very likely that it was a beaker or goblet. There is one non-swollen fragment that still has the original wall thickness of 1 mm. As there are no traces of coloured glass (or glass applications), the vessel must have been completely colourless.

The occurrence of a glass vessel in a ‘princely’ grave of the early 3rd century CE²⁴ is not surprising, since the deceased has been buried at the time when glass vessels were very fashionable²⁵ and replaced silver vessels as part of the drinking service in graves of the elites.

It is clear that the Germanic elites in the Younger Roman Iron Age placed great importance on possessing glass vessels. This is evidenced by the two exceptional vessels (glass fish and goblet) from feature 1793 at Czarnówko²⁶ and the outstanding accumulation of glass beakers in the Połowite cemetery²⁷.

²⁴ On dating of the grave see below.

²⁵ A. RAU 2021, 216, table 1, 2; J. SCHUSTER 2021, 312.

²⁶ J. ANDRZEJOWSKI, A. KRZYSIAK, J. SCHUSTER 2021; J. SCHUSTER, J. ANDRZEJOWSKI 2022.

²⁷ H.J. EGGERS 1966; A. CIEŚLIŃSKI 2010, 270–274, especially pl. 28–34.

²³ M. Luik is not aware of any other specimen with a comparable ornamentation (written communication, 2.05.2022).

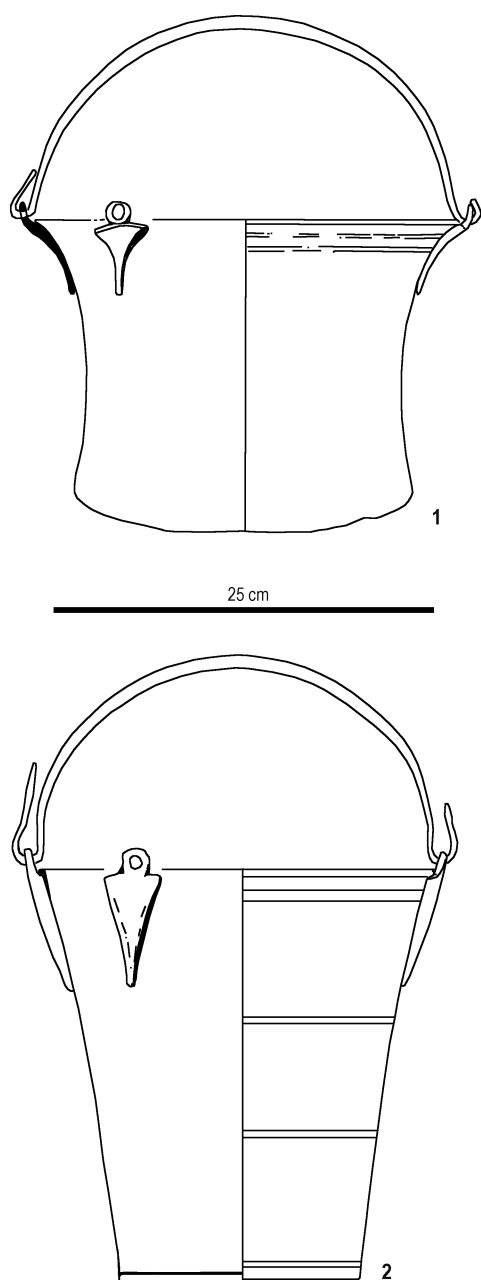


Fig. 11. Two varieties of buckets with triangular attachments. 1 – one-piece body with rounded bottom, 2 – two-piece body with inserted bottom. Graphics: J. Schuster, based on C. MASSART 2015 (1) and U. LUND HANSEN 1995 (2).

Ryc. 11. Dwa warianty wiader z trójkątnymi ataszami. 1 – jednocielny korpus z zaokrąglonym dnem; 2 – dwudzielny korpus z wkładanym dnem. Grafika: J. Schuster, na podstawie C. MASSART 2015 (1) i U. LUND HANSEN 1995 (2).

ELEMENTS OF ATTIRE

The urn contained a brooch of copper alloy (Fig. 7:10). There is no doubt that it represents the ‘baroque’ A 130 type or Machajewski form 9²⁸, even though there are no

²⁸ Cf. H. MACHAJEWSKI 1998, 190, fig. 2:42.43.



Fig. 12. Czarnówko, Lębork County, feature 1927. Three fragments of the bucket with incised ornamentation (highlighted in red). Photo: M. Górski. Graphics: J. Schuster.

Ryc. 12. Czarnówko, pow. lęborski, obiekt 1927. Trzy fragmenty wiadra z rytym ornamentem (wyróżnionym na czerwono). Fot.: M. Górski. Grafika: J. Schuster.

appliqués of precious metal anymore like sheets or wires²⁹. The brooch’s proportions, massivity and three wide facets as seen in brooches A 130 are clear indications³⁰. This type is an indigenous form of Eastern Pomerania and also occurs east of the Gdańsk Bay in the areas of the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture³¹ (Fig. 13). It was most popular at the beginning of the Younger

²⁹ It is highly likely that these were originally present but lost due to the incineration process.

³⁰ J. SCHUSTER 2018a, 61.

³¹ J. SCHUSTER 2018a, 63, fig. 21. Some additions to the list of finds (ibid. 146–147, Nos. 1–34) have to be made: 35 – PL Dąbie, grave, variant *Zakrzewska Osada* (personal comm. from P. Szczepański, Toruń); 36 – RUS Grachëvka, feature 5 (O. KHOMIAKOVA 2012, 153; A. JUGA-SZYMAŃSKA 2014, 175, fig. 5 – here erroneously classified as A 128 type); 37 – PL Opatów, features 562, 563 & 745 (R. MADYDA-LEGUTKO, J. RODZIŃSKA-NOWAK, J. ZAGÓRSKA-TELEGA 2011a, 139, 185; 2011b, pl. CXCI/562:17, CXCI/563:1, CCLXXIX/745:12); 38 – BLS Piotrowiły, grave 77 (V.G. BELYAVETS 2014, 128, fig. 3:4.5); 39 – PL Witoroż, detector find (B. NIEZABITOWSKA-WIŚNIEWSKA 2021, 288, 295, fig. 5:7). In the compilation from 2018, I intentionally excluded the three brooches found at Opatów as I felt that they do not fit exactly the definition of A 130 type. However, upon further consideration, I now believe that the Opatów brooches fall within the range of individual shape variability of the A 130 type.

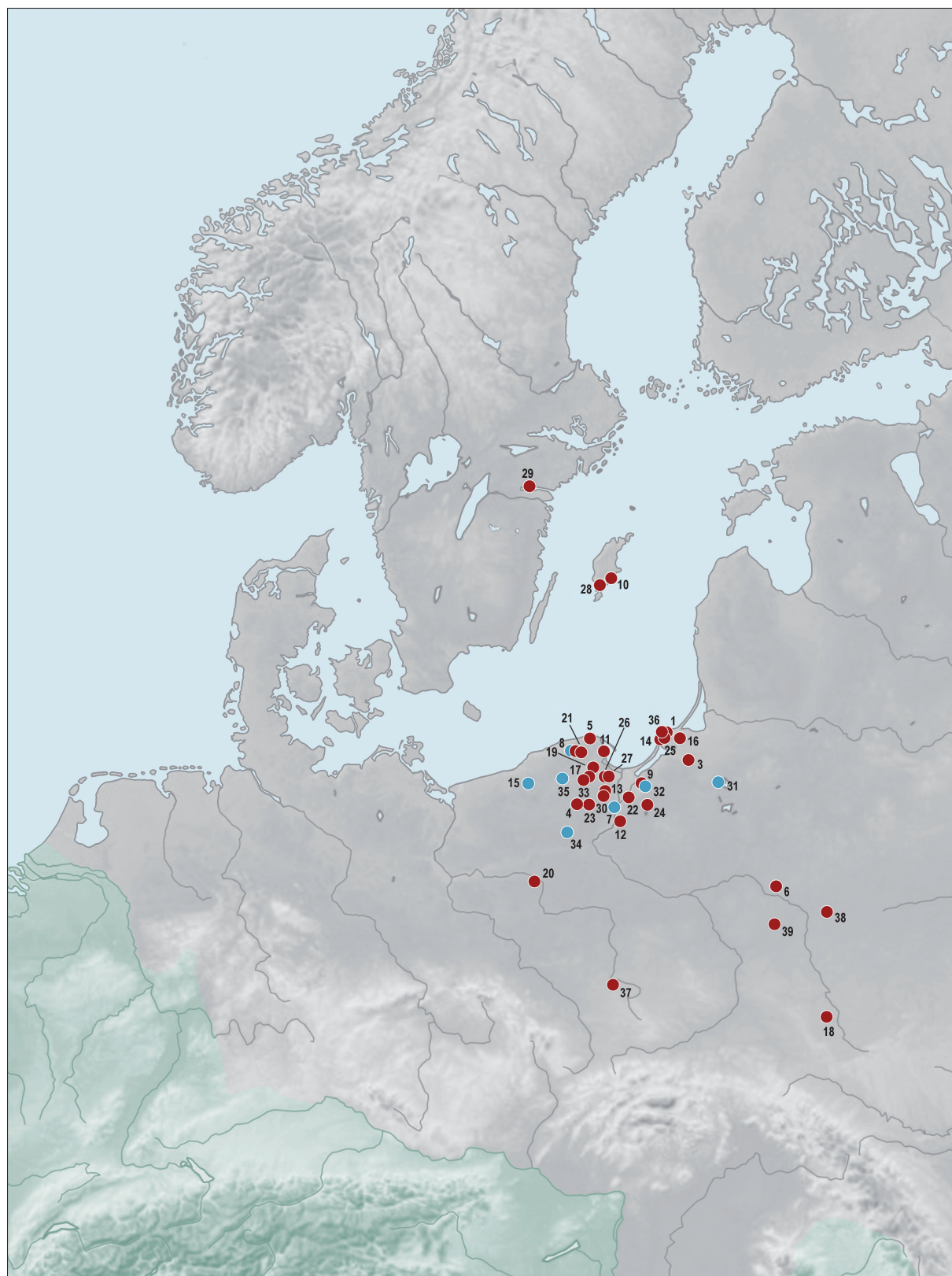


Fig. 13. Distribution map of A 130 type brooches. Acc. to J. Schuster 2018a (with additions: nos. 35–39, see footnote 31). Graphics: J. Schuster.
Ryc. 13. Rozprzestrzenienie zapinek typu A 130. Wg: J. Schuster 2018a (z uzupełnieniami: nr. 35–39, patrz przyp. 31). Grafika: J. Schuster.

Roman Iron Age, i.e. in the so-called B2/C1a horizon that can be dated to subphase C1a³². However, in the case of feature 1927, it must be already stated that the brooch is not a reliable dating indicator. It will be discussed below.

The urn also yielded fragments of two silver bracelets of different types. The only surviving part of a *Schildkopfarmring*³³, also called *bracelet of Pomeranian type*, is a semi-circular terminal (Fig. 7:11). Two serpentine wire fragments are from the hoop of a *wellenförmiger Armring* (literally: wavelike bracelet) or of two such specimens (Fig. 7:12). We can be sure that the deceased was originally in possession of two pairs of bracelets. This question will be discussed in more detail in the context of the reconstruction of the grave inventory below.

The state of preservation of the *Schildkopfarmring* makes it difficult to determine its typological attribution. The width of the survived terminal (c. 3 cm) points to Wójcik type IV (variant B), although type V could also be considered³⁴. The terminal of the bracelet (Fig. 14) is highly interesting by reason of its construction. It consists of a basic plate manufactured in one piece with the bracelet's hoop. This plate bears embossed and partly gilt silver sheets (*Pressbleche*), beaded wires of silver, a C-shaped silver sheet with a row of silver rivets and, at its edge, a semi-tubular beaded sleeve. The Czarnówko terminal is the first evidence of a gilt³⁵ Pomeranian type bracelet within the Wielbark Culture area. However, this does not mean that there are no such bracelets of Wielbark origin: We do know three gilt silver bracelets from other cultural areas (south Elbian Circle in Bohemia and Przeworsk Culture) which we can read as traces of migration and maybe exogamy³⁶.

The bulbous part of the Czarnówko bracelet terminal shows traces of a T-shaped arrangement of now lost applications, which were most likely to have been beaded wires. This ornamental detail is shared by two of its closest parallels, the *Grebieten*³⁷ and Pilipki³⁸ bracelets. As in case of the Czarnówko specimen, on the three terminals of the two *Grebieten* bracelets known in figure (Fig. 15:4–6) we can recognize grooves in a T-shaped arrangement. These were originally used for wire appliqué. The Pilipki bracelet has two stripes of three beaded wires in the T-shaped arrangement, supplemented by two granules (Fig. 15:3). In my view, this rather standardised design speaks



Fig. 14. Czarnówko, Lębork County, feature 1927. Close-up of the bracelet terminal: 1 – top view; 2 – view from below.

Photo: J. Strobin. Graphics: J. Schuster.

Ryc. 14. Czarnówko, pow. lęborski, obiekt 1927. Zbliżenie główek bransolety: 1 – widok od góry; 2 – widok od dołu.

Fot.: J. Strobin. Grafika: J. Schuster.

for uniform conventions on which the ornamentation of all the pieces was based³⁹. However, the Pilipki bracelet was made in the *Wielbark Baroque* tradition, despite of the late dating of the grave itself. This means that the Czarnówko and *Grebieten* ones can be placed in a stylistically younger context of artefacts decorated with rivets arranged in rows, bows or circles. This were most fashionable in C1b, C2 and C3 phases. The high number of rivets applied to the individual specimens suggests that they were not primarily used to fasten the metal sheet, but rather for decoration. They are known, for instance, from conical shield fittings, fittings of sword belts and similar in South Scandinavian bog finds (Fig. 16:8.9), on rosette brooches as well as on disc or conical brooches⁴⁰.

³² M. MĄCZYŃSKA 2011, 55–56; J. SCHUSTER 2018a, 63.

³³ In older literature referred to as *Schlangenkopfarmring*.

³⁴ Cf. T. WÓJCIK 1982, 59–66.

³⁵ In this case, 'gilt' means either covered in gold or decorated with golden or gilt appliqué, such as beaded wires or sheets.

³⁶ Most recently: R. MĄDYDA-LEGUTKO, J. RODZIŃSKA-NOWAK, P. KOTOWICZ 2021, 94–96, map 3.

³⁷ G. BUJACK 1888, 245, pl. X:a.b; V.I. KULAKOV 2016, 23, fig. 10.

³⁸ Most recently: V. BELIAVETS, M.J. PRZYBYŁA, S. VORONIATOV 2018.

³⁹ The late *Schildkopfarmringe* from the Lower Vistula region commonly featured T-shaped ornamentation executed in punch marks (cf. M. NATUNIEWICZ-SEKUŁA, J. STROBIN 2020, fig. 1–3). However, it is not a mandatory feature.

⁴⁰ See: C. VON CARNAP-BORNHEIM, J. ILKJÆR 1996a, 431: *üppige(r) Gebrauch profilierter Silberniete* (lavish use of profiled silver rivets), 453; M.J. PRZYBYŁA 2018, 51–57, 73–74, 116, 286–306, 368–376, 450–456, fig. 3/25:1.2, 3/49:1–5, 3/97:3.5, 10/78 (here objects with conical metal sheets only).



1



2



3

0 3 cm



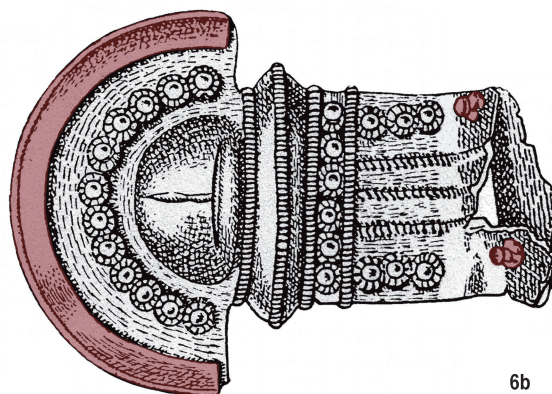
4



6a



5



6b

like the specimen found at Tangendorf⁴¹ (Fig. 16:4) or the brooches from grave 1 at Dienstedt⁴² (Fig. 16:6.7). The number of such finds from the Wielbark Culture area is still small and until now it seemed as if they were exclusively imports from other regions. The Czarnówko bracelet fragment challenges this assumption, as it demonstrates that the form itself is indigenous. The Wielbark Culture area provides a number of examples of the style under discussion here. These include two rosette brooches from Mierzeszyn⁴³ (Fig. 16:2), a sword belt fastener from Linowo, grave 114⁴⁴ (Fig. 16:3), and a disc brooch found under barrow 46 in grave 1 at Nowy Łowicz⁴⁵ (Fig. 16:5).

The rivets of such objects, interesting enough, are often set in sheet metal and surrounded by embossed rings imitating beaded wires⁴⁶, as in the case of the Czarnówko bracelet terminal. Therefore, it can be argued that the Czarnówko bracelet was not the result of an experiment based on a sudden idea of a silversmith but was made according to a common, supra-regional style of the 3rd century CE.

A comment is necessary on the *Grebieten* bracelets. As two terminals lack wire applications framing the row of rivets (Fig. 15:5.6), while one bears three beaded wires (Fig. 15:4), it is possible that the two bracelets differed slightly in decoration. Nevertheless, it is also possible that the loss of appliqués cannot be excluded. Two of the known in figure terminals have also lost the C-shape silver sheet (collar) that is still present on the third terminal (Fig. 15:6). The survived hoop part of this terminal again has two more rivets than the others⁴⁷. It is likely that this is the result of a repair, as an attached (now lost) metal sheet (or hoop) fragment was fastened by these rivets.

There is a fourth find of bracelets that is worthy of mention in the context of the Czarnówko bracelet terminal. This is a pair made of silver, discovered in grave 4 under barrow 22 at Gronowo in Szczecin Pomerania⁴⁸ (Fig. 15:1). Their terminals bear a collar (overlay), a feature they share with one of the *Grebieten* specimen and with the Pilipki bracelet⁴⁹. Both collars are decorated with an incised double zigzag line. Between this collar and the bulbous part of the terminals there is a further appliqué: a curved sheet metal strip with granules⁵⁰ that resemble the rivets of the Czarnówko and *Grebieten* finds. The whole composition is very similar to the arrangement of ornamentation of the other finds mentioned above. In contrast to the aforementioned finds, the Gronowo bracelets lack straight or curved beaded wire applications⁵¹. Instead, they are decorated with rows of punch marks (so-called pseudo-filigree). There is no doubt that the Gronowo bracelets represent a comparable developmental stage of *Schildkopfarmringe* to those previously discussed. All of them must be dated to the Younger Roman Iron Age – the Gronowo bracelets in C1a, the Pilipki and the *Grebieten* finds in C1b⁵². On dating of the Czarnówko find see below.

As already mentioned, the two hoop fragments found in feature 1927 can be identified as belonging to a bracelet of the *wellenförmiger Armring* type. It is, however, possible that they also originate from two such specimens (Fig. 7:12). Bracelets of this type are also indigenous jewellery items of the Wielbark Culture (Fig. 17) and were in use only during a relatively short time span, namely the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century CE⁵³.

⁴¹ W. WEGEWITZ 1941; J. BRANDT 2006.

⁴² Most recently: B. SCHMIDT, J. BEMMANN 2008, 145–146, pl. 198, 199.

⁴³ M. PIETRZAK 2015.

⁴⁴ M. KURZYŃSKA 2015, 39, pl. XXX/114:2, XC:2. On manufacturing techniques and replication: J. STROBIN 2015; Ł. KOWALSKI ET ALII 2017.

⁴⁵ T. SKORUPKA 2004, fig. 23.

⁴⁶ Motif A33 acc. to M.J. PRZYBYŁA 2018, 22, fig. 2/3.

⁴⁷ The differences to the other terminals are marked in red at Fig. 15:6b.

⁴⁸ R. WOŁĄGIEWICZ 1976, 154, fig. 23a:9.10; T. SKORUPKA 2004, 55, fig. 106, 107; H. MACHAJEWSKI 2013, 30, pl. L/22.4:11.12.

⁴⁹ Cf. V. BELIAVETS, M.J. PRZYBYŁA, S. VORONIATOV 2018, 163, fig. 2.

⁵⁰ H. MACHAJEWSKI 2013, 30, pl. XL/22.4:11.12, LXX; V. BELIAVETS, M.J. PRZYBYŁA, S. VORONIATOV 2018, table 1.

⁵¹ Mistakenly, V. BELIAVETS, M.J. PRZYBYŁA and S. VORONIATOV (2018, table 1) described the Gronowo bracelet as decorated with beaded wires.

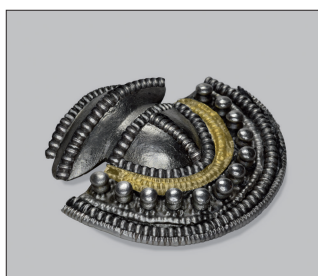
⁵² V. BELIAVETS, M.J. PRZYBYŁA, S. VORONIATOV 2018, 173, table 1; on *Grebieten* see also: W. NOWAKOWSKI 1996, 25–27.

⁵³ K. RADDATZ 1994, 259–262, fig. 8; R. WOŁĄGIEWICZ 1993, fig. 1; H. MACHAJEWSKI 2013, 46–47. K. RADDATZ (1994) listed three incomplete bracelets that have been found in the Roman *castellum* D Zugmantel. All are made of copper alloy and are heavily damaged

Fig. 15. Stylistically late bracelets of the Pomeranian-type with wide terminals decorated with filigree and granulation or rivets. 1 – PL Gronowo, barrow 22/grave 4; 2 – Czarnówko, feature 1927; 3 – PL Pilipki, grave; 4–6 – RUS fm. *Grebieten*, grave 98. Photo: J. Schuster (2). After: H. MACHAJEWSKI 2013 (1), V. BELIAVETS, M.J. PRZYBYŁA & S. VORONIATOV 2018 (3), www.smb-digital.de/eMuseum (4, 6a), www.smb-digital.de/eMuseum & V.I. KULAKOV 2016 (5), G. BUJACK 1888 (6b); graphics: J. Schuster).

Ryc. 15. Stylistycznie późne bransolety typu pomorskiego z szerokimi zakończeniami zdobionymi filigranem i granulacją lub nitami. 1 – PL Gronowo, kurhan 22/grób 4; 2 – PL Czarnówko, obiekt 1927; 3 – PL Pilipki, grób; 4–6 – RUS d. *Grebieten*, grób 98.

Fot.: J. Schuster (2). Wg: H. MACHAJEWSKI 2013 (1), V. BELIAVETS, M.J. PRZYBYŁA i S. VORONIATOV 2018 (3), www.smb-digital.de/eMuseum (4, 6a), www.smb-digital.de/eMuseum i V.I. KULAKOV 2016 (5), G. BUJACK 1888 (6b); grafika: J. Schuster).



1



2



3

0 3 cm



4



5



6



7



8



9

Their characteristic features are the wavy hoop of silver wire⁵⁴ and a capsule-shaped fastener⁵⁵. The latter was often decorated with granules and filigree, and in a few cases its upper part was partly gilt with foil. In regard to the decoration scheme of the capsule, all specimens are quite individual products⁵⁶. The *wellenförmige Armringe* were worn in pairs and appear very often together with a pair of bracelets of the *Pomeranian type*. Similarly, these items were components of female attire, often made of copper alloy or silver⁵⁷. The equipment of graves with the

(CH. BECKMANN 1981, 18–21, pl. 5:2–4). One specimen is said to having a capsule-like fastening made of two thin copper alloy plates. But the two endings of the hoop wire are hooked into each other and the presumption of a repair was made by the author. Of course, it cannot be ruled out that Germanic warriors as auxiliaries and their families were present in the military bases along the *limes*, but we have to keep in mind that the *castellum* was situated in a region inhabited by Celts in the La Tène Period. Bracelets with wavy hoops, mostly made of copper alloy were worn by the Celts in La Tène B (see H. DELNEF 2003; B. BÜHLER ET ALII 2008, 127, fig. 17). The Zugmantel finds could therefore also be pieces from an older settlement period and their relation to the Wielbark bracelets remains very doubtful.

⁵⁴ In a very few cases the loops were made of copper alloy. This affects the fragment of Neuenhagen (see List 1). If it really testifies a *Wellenarmring* is not certain. However, the site is located in an area with evidence of groups moving west out of the area of the Wielbark Culture in the second half of the 2nd century (cf. J. SCHUSTER 2005, 109–119, fig. 12, 13, 21, 24). How great the possibility of error can be in the determination of loop fragments may be illustrated by a 'wielbarking' neck ring of Smørum-Kong Svends Park, grave 1060 (A. CIEŚLIŃSKI 2009, 194–201, fig. 1) that, found as a fragment, could 'pretend' a *Wellenarmring*.

⁵⁵ The two specimens found in grave 26B at Weklisce show a different, unique fastening solution: instead of the capsule three discs, two at one end and one at the other, the 'middle' and undecorated is H-shaped open-worked, while the single one has a T-shaped extension that can be hooked into the opening. One bracelet is damaged – the two discs are broken off (M. NATUNIEWICZ-SEKULA, J. OKULICZ-KOZARYN 2011, 31, pl. XI/26B:6.7, CCXXXVIII:10.11).

⁵⁶ See T. SKORUPKA 2004, fig. 114–118.

⁵⁷ An exception are the golden bracelets of the Pomeranian type that could also have been worn by men (V. BELIAVIETS, M.J. PRZYBYŁA, S. VORONIATOV 2018, 168, table 2).

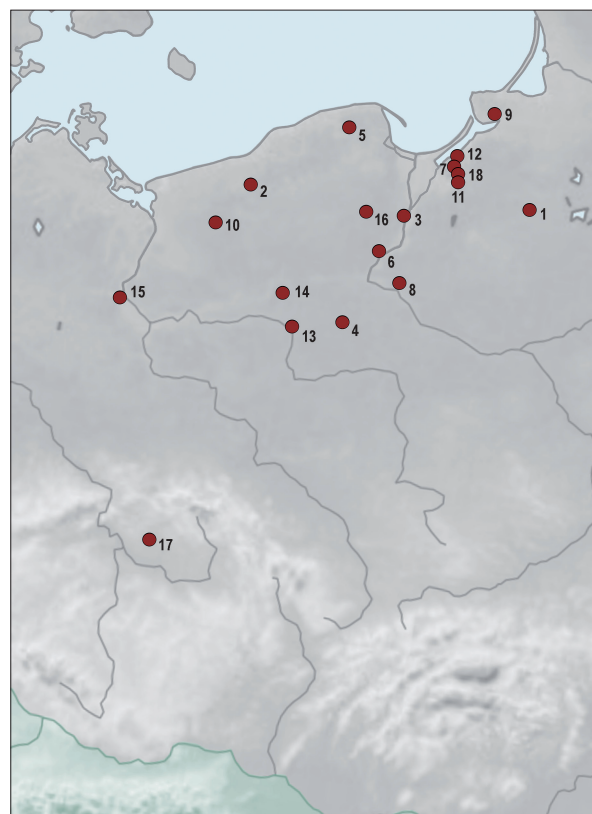


Fig. 17. Distribution map of bracelets of the *wellenförmiger Armring* type. Numbers correspond to the list of finds (List 1).

Graphics: J. Schuster.

Ryc. 17. Mapa rozprzestrzenienia bransolet wężykowatych. Numeracja odpowiada wykazowi znalezisk (Lista 1).

Grafika: J. Schuster.

bracelet type under discussion is generally above average or even rich, a topic that will be discussed below.

A further high quality element of jewellery from this grave is a golden crescent- or half-moon-shaped pendant, a so-called *lunula*. It is slightly damaged by heat, with the central inlay of glass being melted and adhered to another melted glass bead. The basic plate has been

Fig. 16. The digitally reconstructed terminal of the bracelet from Czarnówko, feature 1927 (1) and examples of other objects with embossed metal sheet (*Pressblech*) decoration in combination with silver rivets with profiled head arranged in circles: 2 – PL Mierzeszyn (one of the two rosette brooches); 3 – PL Linowo, grave 114 (sword belt fastener); 4 – D Tangendorf (disc brooch); 5 – PL Nowy Łowicz, barrow 46, grave 1 (disc brooch); 6.7 – D Dienstedt, grave 1 (a pair of conical brooches); 8 – D Thorsberger Moor (sword belt fitting); 9 – DK Illerup Ådal (shield fitting). Photo and graphics: J. Schuster (1). After: M. PIETRZAK 2015 (2), M. KURZYŃSKA 2015 (3), https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Scheibenfibel_von_Tangendorf.jpg (4), T. SKORUPKA 2001 (5), G. BEHM-BLANCKE 1973 (6, 7), S. MATEŚĆ 2015 (8), C. VON CARNAP-BORNHEIM & J. ILKJÆR 1996b (9).

Ryc. 16. Zrekonstruowana cyfrowo główka bransolety z obiektu 1927 z Czarnówko (1) i przykłady innych zabytków dekorowanych wytłaczanymi blaszkami oraz ułożonymi w okrąg srebrnymi nitami o profilowanej główce: 2 – PL Mierzeszyn (jedna z dwóch fibul rozetowych); 3 – PL Linowo, grób 114 (zapięcie balteusa); 4 – D Tangendorf (fibula tarczowata); 5 – PL Nowy Łowicz, kurhan 46, grób 1 (fibula tarczowata); 6.7 – D Dienstedt, grób 1 (para fibul tutulsowatych); 8 – D Thorsberger Moor (zapięcie pasa mieczowego); 9 – DK Illerup Ådal (okucie tarczy). Fot. i grafika: J. Schuster (1). Wg: M. PIETRZAK 2015 (2), M. KURZYŃSKA 2015 (3), https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Scheibenfibel_von_Tangendorf.jpg (4), T. SKORUPKA 2001 (5), G. BEHM-BLANCKE 1973 (6, 7), S. MATEŚĆ 2015 (8), C. VON CARNAP-BORNHEIM I J. ILKJÆR 1996b (9).



mechanically bent (Fig. 8:16a) and is now bent straight again (Fig. 8:16b).

The *lunulae* have been known since the Hellenistic period, when they were widely distributed in southern Italy and in the Black Sea coast region⁵⁸. They were also elements of attire in the Roman provinces⁵⁹, in the Sarmatian milieu on Crimea and in the Hungarian plain⁶⁰ and also in the Balt lands⁶¹. They came into fashion in the Germanic world as well, but apparently relatively late, at the beginning of the Younger Roman Iron Age, at the end of the 2nd century – mostly in the eastern part of the *Germania magna*, with some examples known from southern Scandinavia⁶². The Germanic pendants were exclusively crafted from precious metals or, in a few instances, from gilded/silvered copper alloys⁶³. *Lunulae* are

quite individual products, exhibiting considerable variation in shape and decoration across different regions, cultures, and historical periods. We know crescent-shaped specimens with broad wings and pointy or rounded ends. Some are kidney- or pretzel⁶⁴-shaped (full plate or open-work) pendants with ends bent inwards, while others are rather horseshoe-shaped and have thin wings. Some (often longer than high) pendants have a third pointy or rounded extension⁶⁵ between both wings. Simpler forms are only made of sheet, while others additionally bear filigree, granule appliqué and inlays of semi-precious stones or glass. In certain instances, the body of the pendant is composed of multiple elements. The loop of the pendant can be manufactured separately or in one piece with the basic plate.

The *lunula* discovered in feature 1927 at Czarnówko belongs to a group of pendants that are almost as high as they are wide. Its wings are long and relatively broad, with rounded ends. The added loop consists of four beaded wires, similar wires were used to frame the pendant's plate

⁵⁸ B. DEPPERT-LIPPITZ 1985, 253; J. WERNER 1988, 275–277.

⁵⁹ J. WERNER 1988, 266.

⁶⁰ M. KŐHEGYI 1984; E. ISTVÁNOVITS, V. KULCSÁR 2006, 213–215, fig. 5; 2017, fig. 152; V. BÂRCĂ 2016, 21–25.

⁶¹ A. SIMNIŠKYTĖ 2002.

⁶² Cf. J. WERNER 1988, 275–281.

⁶³ For example, copper alloy specimen with embossed foil of gilded silver from grave 238 from Pruszcz Gdański 7 (M. PIETRZAK, M. TUSZYŃSKA 1988, pl. 371(3):87; M. TUSZYŃSKA, A. STROBIN, J. STROBIN 2016, 34, fig. 53) and from grave 275 from Weklice (M. NATUNIEWICZ-

SEKUŁA, J. OKULICZ-KOZARYN 2011, 80, pl. CXVII/275:9, CCXL:4), both Wielbark Culture cemeteries in the Lower Vistula region.

⁶⁴ *Brezelförmig* (J. WERNER 1988, 266).

⁶⁵ *Mittelzipfel* (J. WERNER 1988, 266).

Fig. 18. Younger Roman Iron Age pretzel-, pelta- and crescent-shaped pendants (*lunulae*) made of gold, electrum and silver (or of copper alloy with gilded silver foil application – 17.18) from eastern Central Europe (1–22) and parallels from Crimean cemeteries (23–27). 1 – PL Sadłowo, stray find; 2 – PL Zielnowo, grave; 3 – PL Spicymierz, grave 37; 4 – PL Ostrów, grave 50; 5 – PL Rzemienowice, stray find; 6 – PL Pilipki, grave; 7 – SVK Rankovce, feature 31; 8 – PL Kruszwica, stray find; 9 – RUS Logvino, assemblage 1 (destroyed grave); 10 – PL Chmielów Piaskowy, grave 39; 11 – PL Bielany Wrocławskie, single find; 12.13 – Ukraine, findspot unknown; 14 – PL Skierniewice-Ławki, single find; 15.16 – PL Kroczyce-Okupne (cave “Jaskinia Wisielca”), hoard (?); 17 – PL Wrocław-Zakrzów, grave II; 18 – PL Pruszcz Gdański 7, grave 238; 19 – PL Weklice, grave 275; 20 – PL Pruszcz Gdański 5, grave 34; 21 – PL Czarnówko, feature 1927; 22 – UA Kariv, stray find; 23 – UA Krasna Zoria, grave 25; 24 – UA Ust Alma, grave 54; 25 – UA Chornorichchia, grave 37(87); 26 – UA Nejzats, grave 103; 27 – UA Zavitne, grave 286. Photo: V. Beliaevs (6), B. Solarewicz (14), M. Górski (21). After: A. KURPIEWSKI ET ALII 2019 (1), KAPHAN 1914 (2), A. KIETLIŃSKA & T. DĄBROWSKA 1963 (3), S. STEMPNIAK-KUSY & A. LASOTA-KUŚ 2021 (4), J. RODZIŃSKA-NOWAK ET ALII 2021 (5), J. RÁKOŠ 2019 (7), E. PETERSEN 1944 (8), K.N. SKVORCOV 2014 (9), K. GODŁOWSKI & T. WICHMAN 1998 (10), www.wroclaw.gosc.pl/doc/1864647.Lunula-i-denar [20.10.2021] (11), www.violity.com [20.9.2021 & 24.11.2021] (12, 13), A. BURSCHKE, K. KOWALSKI & B. ROGALSKI 2017 (15, 16), M. TUSZYŃSKA, A. STROBIN & J. STROBIN 2016 (18), M. NATUNIEWICZ-SEKUŁA & J. OKULICZ-KOZARYN 2011 (19), M. PIETRZAK, L. CYMEK & F. ROŻNOWSKI 2015 (20), Ya.I. ONYSHCHUK 2022 (22), M. LEVADA 2006 (23–27).

Ryc. 18. Wisiorki (*lunule*) w kształcie precla, pety lub półksiężycza ze złota, srebra lub elektronu (bądź ze stopu miedzi, zdobione pozłacaną folią – 17.18) z młodszego okresu wpływów rzymskich ze wschodniej Europy Środkowej (1–22) oraz analogie z terenów Ukrainy (23–27). 1 – PL Sadłowo, znal. luźne; 2 – PL Zielnowo, grób; 3 – PL Spicymierz, grób 37; 4 – PL Ostrów, grób 50; 5 – PL Rzemienowice, znal. luźne; 6 – PL Pilipki, grób; 7 – SVK Rankovce, obiekt 31; 8 – PL Kruszwica, znal. luźne; 9 – RUS Logvino, zespół 1 (zniszczony grób); 10 – PL Chmielów Piaskowy, grób 39; 11 – PL Bielany Wrocławskie, znal. luźne; 12.13 – Ukraina, miejsc. nieznana; 14 – PL Skierniewice-Ławki, znal. luźne; 15.16 – PL Kroczyce-Okupne (jaskinia „Jaskinia Wisielca”), skarb (?); 17 – PL Wrocław-Zakrzów, grób II; 18 – PL Pruszcz Gdański 7, grób 238; 19 – PL Weklice, grób 275; 20 – Pruszcz Gdański 5, grób 34; 21 – PL Czarnówko, obiekt 1927; 22 – UA Kariv, znal. luźne; 23 – UA Krasna Zoria, grób 25; 24 – UA Ust' Al'ma, grób 54; 25 – UA Čornoriččia, grób 37(87); 26 – UA Nejzac, grób 103; 27 – UA Zavitne, grób 286. Fot.: V. Beliaevs (6), B. Solarewicz (14), M. Górski (21). Wg: A. KURPIEWSKI ET ALII 2019 (1), KAPHAN 1914 (2), A. KIETLIŃSKA i T. DĄBROWSKA 1963 (3), S. STEMPNIAK-KUSY i A. LASOTA-KUŚ 2021 (4), J. RODZIŃSKA-NOWAK ET ALII 2021 (5), J. RÁKOŠ 2019 (7), E. PETERSEN 1944 (8), K.N. SKVORCOV 2014 (9), K. GODŁOWSKI i T. WICHMAN 1998 (10), www.wroclaw.gosc.pl/doc/1864647.Lunula-i-denar [20.10.2021] (11), www.violity.com [20.9.2021 i 24.11.2021] (12, 13), A. BURSCHKE, K. KOWALSKI i B. ROGALSKI 2017 (15, 16), M. TUSZYŃSKA, A. STROBIN i J. STROBIN 2016 (18), M. NATUNIEWICZ-SEKUŁA i J. OKULICZ-KOZARYN 2011 (19), M. PIETRZAK, L. CYMEK i F. ROŻNOWSKI 2015 (20), Ya.I. ONYSHCHUK 2022 (22), M. LEVADA 2006 (23–27)

and for the decoration of the inner field with pretzel-like and S-shaped motifs. The wires belong to the filigree variety 8, which is characterised by spirally wounded wire with rectangular cross-section⁶⁶.

The deformation (compression) of the wires during twisting results in the formation of a groove (or, alternatively, higher edges) on the beads, which closely resembles the characteristics of beaded wires belonging to varieties 10 and 11⁶⁷. In the centre of the pendant's plate, beneath the loop, there was a glass inlay set in an oval indentation/nest with a high rim (setting). A distinctive feature of the *lunula* is the two granule cluster adorning each end of the wings.

The sudden appearance of *lunulae* at the beginning of the Younger Roman Iron Age in the Germanic milieu⁶⁸, and their apparent lack of popularity in the Wielbark Culture area, prompt the question of the provenance of the Czarnówko specimen. The decoration with glass inlays itself is known from brooches and other items of native production (from subphase C1b onwards), suggesting that the manufacturing of the pendant in Pomerania or somewhere in the Baltic region may be a viable hypothesis. This assumption is corroborated by the two granule clusters previously mentioned, which appear in a similar manner to 'grapes' on multitude of gold or silver S-shaped clasps, peach-shaped pendants, and even on brooches of the Wielbark milieu in the second half of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century CE. The inferior quality of the beaded wires and the less precise ornamentation in comparison to Greek or Roman *lunulae* suggests that the Czarnówko pendant was made somewhere in *Barbari-*

cum. However, if we look around and compare it with other golden *lunulae* found in East Central Europe, significant differences become apparent (Fig. 18). All gold pendants discovered in the same area and dating to the same period as the Czarnówko find (late B2–C2) belong to one of two forms: the kidney- or pretzel-like shape or the pelta-shaped form. Not a single piece with a nearly crescent shape have been identified⁶⁹. Furthermore, no such pendants are decorated with an inlay. This phenomenon occurs on a single Younger Roman Iron Age *lunula*-like pendant in Central Europe: a pelta-shaped specimen from grave II in Wrocław-Zakrzów in Lower Silesia⁷⁰ (Fig. 18:17). However, I must mention pendants of the pretzel-shaped variant without known localisation of the find spot, originate from Ukraine. These examples prove that pretzel-shaped *lunulae* can be decorated with stone or glass inlays, too (Fig. 18:12.13). Perhaps this is a matter of geography, and that the inlaid pretzel-shaped *lunulae* were produced east of the Bug only?

A group of Sarmatian gold *lunulae* found in the Hungarian plain display decoration with glass inlays⁷¹, though these are rather horse shoe-shaped and cannot be identified as reliable parallels for the Czarnówko pendant. To date, no close parallel to the Czarnówko find has been discovered in Central Europe. However, similar examples can be found elsewhere. A specific group of *lunulae* from the Crimea was compiled by Maxim Levada and contrasted with those he associates with the *Haßleben-Leuna-Zakrzów* horizon⁷². This filigree-decorated specimens from the Crimea, which appear alongside other forms of *lunulae*, are characterised by an almost uniform stylistic approach and a consistent shape (Fig. 18:22.24–27). The wings' ends are pointed, and they are often decorated with small groups of granules. Additionally, glass inlays are present⁷³. It can be reasonably assumed that the inspiration for the production of these jewellery items originated from the late Hellenistic milieu of the northern

⁶⁶ Cf. C. VON CARNAP-BORNHEIM, J. ILKJÆR 1996a, fig. 240 (*Spiralspuldraht mit rechteckigem Querschnitt*).

⁶⁷ Cf. C. VON CARNAP-BORNHEIM, J. ILKJÆR 1996a, fig. 240 (*Perldraht mit Äquatorschnitt, Spuldraht*).

⁶⁸ This means *lunulae* worn as a pendant on a necklace or similar. Already in subphase B1b can be dated an iron set of amulets consisting of miniature tools (axe, knife, awl [?], pliers) and a *lunula* of grave 13 at Siemiechów in central Poland (M. JAŹDŹEWSKA 1988, pl. IV). It is probably the oldest find of similar sets found in Przeworsk culture context which most prominent example comes from feature 49 at Opatów in Lesser Poland. All elements of this set are made of iron. An iron specimen of feature 888 of that cemetery is also accompanied by iron miniature tools. Two copper alloy *lunulae* of same shape, decoration and presumably purpose were found in feature 827. All this features can be dated to the B2/C1 horizon (subphase C1a) (R. MADYDA-LEGUTKO, J. RODZIŃSKA-NOWAK, J. ZAGÓRSKA-TELEGA 2011a, 40–41, 198, 206; 2011b, pl. XXVI/49:3, XXVII/49:3, CCXCVII: 872/2.6, CCCXVI: 890/3–6). A copper alloy *lunula* hangs on a pendant with strap-setting found in grave 20 at Mierzyn-Grobla (J. ZIĘTEK 2004, 29, pl. V:4). The *lunula* itself has a hole in each wing what indicates that further elements were fastened to it. As there are miniatures of tools and weapons it is highly likely that all the mentioned items form a set similar to those from Siemiechów and Opatów. The grave of Mierzyn-Grobla can be dated in late B2 or early C1.

⁶⁹ Here I omit such small *lunulae* made of silver sheet like the three specimens of grave 256 from Wekllice (M. NATUNIEWICZ-SEKUŁA, J. OKULICZ-KOZARYN 2011, 76, pl. CVII/256:5–7) and four pieces of grave 13 from Kamienica Szlachecka (M. TUSZYŃSKA 2020, 21–22, pl. XII/(25)13:6), both cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture in the Lower Vistula region. Such *lunulae* have pointed ends, a wire loop set in a hole and appear in the B2/C1 horizon, thus the beginning of the Younger Roman Iron Age. I also omit sheet *lunulae* being parts of pendants with strap-setting (cf. R. MADYDA-LEGUTKO, J. RODZIŃSKA-NOWAK, J. ZAGÓRSKA-TELEGA 2014, 129 note 6, fig. 2:16).

⁷⁰ W. GREMLER 1888, 8, pl. III:10. Most recently: D. QUAST 2009, 42–46, fig. 65, 66.

⁷¹ E. ISTVÁNOVITS, V. KULCSÁR 2017, 196–200, fig. 151.

⁷² M. LEVADA 2006, 202–205, fig. 9. New find of this group: Frontove (Crimea), grave 297 (I. GAVRITUKHIN ET ALII 2021, 105, fig. 9:2).

⁷³ Cf. A.A. STOYANOVA 2016, 137–138.

Black Sea region. This is evidenced by their similarity to Hellenistic *lunulae*, for example from Parutine (*Olbia*)⁷⁴.

Morphologically and stylistically, the *lunulae* of the aforementioned Crimean group are the best parallels to the piece from Czarnówko. They date mainly to the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, thus being chronologically close to it⁷⁵. However, it has to be emphasised that the specimen of feature 1927 at Czarnówko is considerably larger than its Crimean counterparts. It remains an open question as to whether this constitutes a weighty argument against a connection between the Czarnówko piece and the Crimea⁷⁶. At present, however, I tend to believe that the piece in question comes from the Crimea. This assumption is supported by verifiable intensified contacts between the areas of Germanic *Barbaricum* and the northern Black Sea region from the second half of the 2nd century onwards⁷⁷.

Another impressive component of a necklace is a pendant with strap-setting (Fig. 8:17). The core is a cowrie, a common name for sea snails (marine gastropods) of the *Cypraea* family that inhabit tropical and subtropical waters. In Egypt and the Near East, the cowrie shells were already used as decorative elements and were popular from the Neolithic onwards⁷⁸. In the 'barbarian' part of Central Europe in the Roman Iron Age, cowrie shells were worn as amulets by the Sarmatians. With the beginning of the Younger Roman Iron Age (or perhaps as early as late stage of phase B2), this practice was also observed in the eastern Germanic milieu⁷⁹.

In the Wielbark Culture area, pendants with strap-settings⁸⁰ were very common, regardless the core material⁸¹. However, those with a cowrie shell core are comparatively rare⁸². This may be due, at least in part, to the

state of preservation of the artefacts. The shell is fragile and it is possible that it simply did not survive until retrieval or was even destroyed upon discovery. It can be reasonably assumed that the Grubno pendant⁸³ (Fig. 19:2) was originally set with a cowrie shell that subsequently disintegrated. A similar fate may have befallen a pendant from Lubieszewo, of which only a fragment of the strap-setting survives⁸⁴ (Fig. 19:3), although this cannot be confirmed with certainty. A complete pendant from Kuchnia⁸⁵ retains the shell of the small cowrie species *Cyprea annulus* (Fig. 19:5). A strap-setting of a pendant from Zwierzewo, grave 9⁸⁶ (Fig. 19:6) has the same dimensions and shape as the pendant from Kuchnia and was therefore included in the category of cowrie shell pendants by E. Blume. However, when one considers other pendants with a strap-setting and a preserved core, which is not a cowrie shell⁸⁷, then this interpretation appears to be highly uncertain.

Since Blume's time, the number of finds has increased, although not significantly. The pendant from Malbork-Wielbark, grave 1934/32 did not survive until today, but we have a sketch made by the Swedish researcher Carl-Axel Moberg before World War II⁸⁸ (Fig. 19:8). The specimen is part of a rich grave assemblage belonging to the B2/C1 horizon⁸⁹. Another Pomeranian find was discovered at Odry⁹⁰ (Fig. 19:4). Grave 127, which contained the well-equipped burial of a woman, retained a pendant with very wide straps. These are decorated with zigzag patterns formed by nubs created through the repoussé technique. The grave also belongs to the B2/C1 horizon.

Of particular interest is a pendant from grave 89 at Opalenie⁹¹ (Fig. 19:7, due to its shape and decoration of the strap-setting. The front or back side is in a unique way drop-shaped widened and decorated with a swastika and an arrow-like symbol inside a frame of small hemispherical nubs. The cowrie shell is partly cracked. An almost

⁷⁴ OTCHET 1898, 110, fig. 493.

⁷⁵ A.A. STOYANOVA 2016, 138. However, burial II from grave 25 at Krasna Zoria (Crimea) must also be mentioned here. It contained a *lunula* of the aforementioned group and which, according to a late fibula A.68, was already executed in the second half of the 1st or in the beginning of the 2nd century CE (see: A.A. VOLOSHINOV, V.V. MASYAKIN, I.I. NENEVOLYA 2007, 304, fig. 4:8).

⁷⁶ In the last years several maps with the geographical dispersion of golden *lunulae* or of some of their variants were published (D. QUAIST 2009, fig. 66; J. MOSIEJCZYK 2019, fig. 4; K. SKVORCOV 2014, fig. 5; K. MYZGIN 2019, fig. 12), but none of them pictures it in the right way. The maps of D. Quast, K. Skvorcov and K. Myzgin omit the finds from the Crimea at all, the map of J. Mosiejczyk is far from complete.

⁷⁷ E.g. O.V. SHAROV 2010; 2013; 2017, 367–368; see also: J. ANDRZEJOWSKI, R. MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2018; I. BRUÁKO, A. DZIGOVSKIJ, R. MADYDA-LEGUTKO 2018, 42–43.

⁷⁸ A. GOLANI 2014.

⁷⁹ A. KOKOWSKI 2001, 206, fig. 4.

⁸⁰ Known also as 'banded pendants'.

⁸¹ Cf. K. STANEK 1999.

⁸² First compilation: E. BLUME 1912, 96. He listed eight specimens from the Wielbark Culture area: Borkowice, Elbląg-Pole Nowomiejskie

(2 pcs.), Grubno, Lubieszewo, grave VIII, Kuchnia, Skrzetuszewo-Witakowice, Zwierzewo, grave 9. The most recent, but incomplete compilation names six finds from the Wielbark Culture area (A. KOKOWSKI 2001, 205, 211–213, fig. 4). However, the pendant from Lubowidz, grave 109 (A. KOKOWSKI 2001, 206, 210) keeps a stone not a *Cyprea* (see R. WOŁĄGIEWICZ 1995, 22, pl. XVII:9). Here we also find the information that all *Cyprea* finds had strap-settings, this does not concern the find from princely grave II at Grudziądz-Rządź (see below).

⁸³ MATHES, SCHMIDT 1898, fig. 1.

⁸⁴ A. LISSAUER, H. CONWENTZ 1886, pl. 4:8.

⁸⁵ E. BLUME 1912, fig. 124, pl. V:124.

⁸⁶ E. BLUME 1912, fig. 123; A. CIEŚLIŃSKI 2010, 298, pl. 47/9:3, with older literature.

⁸⁷ Sf. K. STANEK 1999, fig. 3–7.

⁸⁸ J. ANDRZEJOWSKI, J. MARTENS 1996, 28, pl. XXVIII; K. STANEK 1999, 345, fig. 5:5.

⁸⁹ J. KLEEMANN 2017, 190, pl. 105.

⁹⁰ J. KMIĘCIŃSKI 1968, pl. XIV.

⁹¹ M. TUSZYŃSKA 2007, 151–152, pl. I:d.

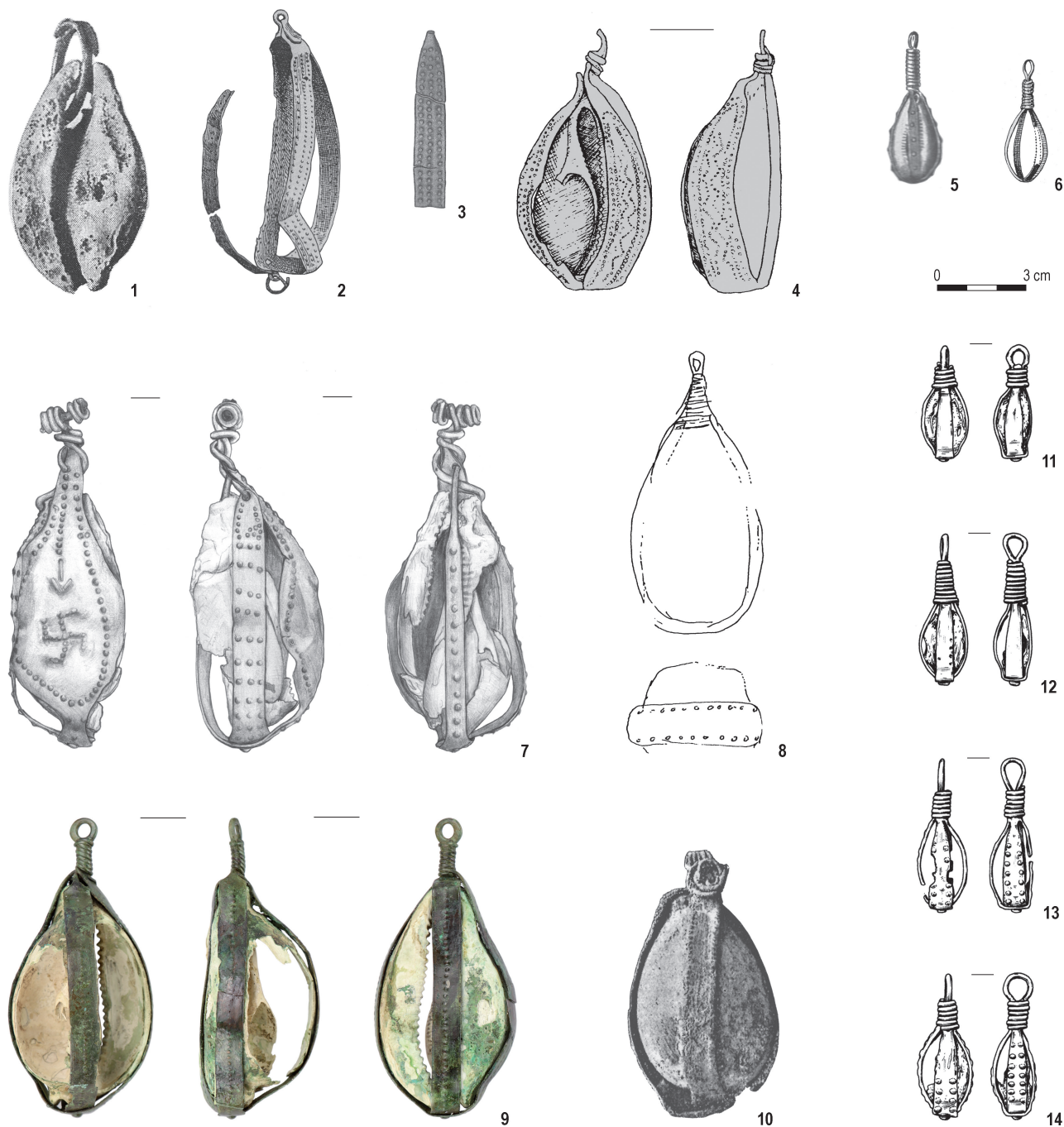


Fig. 19. Pendants with cowrie shell (certain or possible) in strap-setting found in the Wielbark Culture area: 1 – PL Grudziądz-Rządź, grave II; 2 – PL Grubno, stray find; 3 – PL Lubieszewo, stray find; 4 – PL Odry, grave 127; 5 – PL Kuchnia, single find; 6 – PL Zwierzewo, grave 9; 7 – PL Opalenie, grave 89; 8 – PL Malbork-Wielbark, grave 1934/32; 9 – PL Czarnówko, grave R371; 10 – PL Skrzetuszewo-Witakowice, grave; 11–14 – PL Weklice, grave 150.

Drawing: J. Glinkowska-Kowalewska (7). Photo: M. Górski (9). After: W. LA BAUME 1928 (1), MATHES & SCHMIDT 1898 (2), A. LISSAUER & H. CONWENTZ 1886 (3), J. KMIECIŃSKI 1968 (4), E. BLUME 1912 (5, 6), J. ANDRZEJOWSKI & J. MARTENS 1996 (8), K. Stanek 1999 (10), M. NATUNIEWICZ-SEKUŁA & J. OKULICZ-KOZARYN 2011 (11–14).

Ryc. 19. Wisiory opasane z muszlą kauri (pewne i prawdopodobne) z terenów kultury wielbarskiej: 1 – PL Grudziądz-Rządź, grób II; 2 – PL Grubno, znal. luźne; 3 – PL Lubieszewo, znal. luźne; 4 – PL Odry, grób 127; 5 – PL Kuchnia, znal. luźne; 6 – PL Zwierzewo, grób 9; 7 – PL Opalenie, grób 89; 8 – PL Malbork-Wielbark, grób 1934/32; 9 – PL Czarnówko, grób R371; 10 – PL Skrzetuszewo-Witakowice, grób; 11–14 – PL Weklice, grób 150.

Rys.: J. Glinkowska-Kowalewska (7). Fot.: M. Górski (9). Wg: W. LA BAUME 1928 (1), MATHES i SCHMIDT 1898 (2), A. LISSAUER i H. CONWENTZ 1886 (3), J. KMIECIŃSKI 1968 (4), E. BLUME 1912 (5, 6), J. ANDRZEJOWSKI i J. MARTENS 1996 (8), K. STANEK 1999 (10), M. NATUNIEWICZ-SEKUŁA i J. OKULICZ-KOZARYN 2011 (11–14).

complete pendant, which is only the shell that is partly damaged, comes from grave R371 in Czarnówko itself⁹² (Fig. 19:9). The grave can only be dated very broadly, with the earliest possible date being phase B2 or later.

A particularly intriguing set of pendants was discovered in grave 150 at Weklice. It includes, *inter alia*, four pendants with strap-setting and a cowrie shell core⁹³ (Fig. 19:11–14). These pendants are as small as the Kuchnia pendant, as they also contain a *Cyprea annulus*. The pendants are paired, with one featuring undecorated straps and the other displaying the well-known nub rows. The grave is dated to phase C2⁹⁴.

To the finds from the Pomeranian part of the Wielbark cultural area, a pendant with strap-setting from Greater Poland can be included. The single find from Skrzetuszewo-Witakowice (Fig. 19:10) is believed to come from a destroyed inhumation grave⁹⁵. To date, this is the only confirmed example of its kind in the region. As with the Lubieszewo and the Zwierzewo pendants, the interpretation of the find from Kowalewko, grave 375⁹⁶ remains uncertain. K. Stanek pictured more fragments of metal straps than could be subsequently identified in T. Skorupka's monograph of the cemetery. However, Skorupka did not address this issue. Judging by the illustration of K. Stanek there are at least four strap crossings with a connecting rivet, which would be highly unusual for a pendant with strap-setting. It is possible that we are dealing with more than one pendant or a single one that has been repaired. Some of the metal straps are long and all are about one centimetre wide, which suggest that a large-sized cowrie shell may have been used as the original core.

The pendant of *Cypraea* (*Cypraea pantherina*) from princely grave II from Grudziądz-Rządź⁹⁷ differs from all the others by the way it is suspended: the upper part of the shell was pierced and a spirally wound ring was hooked into it (Fig. 19:1). This might indicate that the pendant was not made locally. But on the other hand, it is probably the oldest pendant in the Wielbark Culture area, for it dates in subphase B1b⁹⁸. Here, pendants with strap-setting in general did not become popular until

late phase B2⁹⁹, which could explain the different way of suspension.

There is one feature that makes the Czarnówko pendant exceptional in the whole Wielbark milieu: despite the heat of the funeral pyre, remnants of silver plating¹⁰⁰ have survived on the copper alloy straps (Fig. 20). This is the first time that the silvering of a band setting has been observed¹⁰¹. This proves that we are dealing with an outstanding pendant that was made for an outstanding person. The *lunula* and pendant with strap-setting were presumably worn as parts of a necklace (or perhaps two). It also consisted of glass beads, very few of which survived the fire pyre (Fig. 9:18–24). Two glass beads with a flat-hexagonal cross-section belong to TM group XII, but their colour cannot be determined. Such beads appeared at the beginning of the Younger Roman Iron Age, i.e. the B2/C1 horizon, and their peak of use coincides with the C1 and C2 phases. Most specimens were found in the area of the Wielbark Culture¹⁰². Thus they are a typical form of the Younger Roman Iron Age. The other glass beads that have survived are such badly damaged that they hardly can be classified. Two or three are of type TM6 – white, opaque beads of almost round cross-section. They are chronologically indifferent and were worn throughout the whole Roman Iron Age¹⁰³.

The buckle found in the grave (Fig. 7:13), with its interestingly shaped fitting, in general represents D 20 type, i.e. D-shaped buckles with a more or less triangular chape¹⁰⁴. As I have recently shown, there are two groups with some variants of such buckles¹⁰⁵. According to this classification, the newly discovered specimen belongs to subtype B (with a pronounced round rivet plate) and here to variant 2 (large rivet plate), subvariant b (long 'neck') – so it can be described as subvariant D 20 B/2a. The finds in question should be seen as a group rather than representing a narrowly defined type. All buckles are very individual products, therefore specimens of the same shape of the chape are rare. For this reason, I have refrained from mapping the variants. The chape of the new buckle from Czarnówko has two pronounced, almost round, rivet plates in each corner, which is a new a hitherto unknown feature within the whole group.

⁹² T. SKORUPKA 2004, fig. 171.

⁹³ M. NATUNIEWICZ-SEKUŁA, J. OKULICZ-KOZARYN 2011, 56, pl. LVIII/150:20–23, CCXL:7.8.

⁹⁴ From the area of the culturally related Masłomęcz Group we know a small *Cyprea* pendant from grave 84 at Masłomęcz 15 (M. GŁADYSZ-JUŚCIŃSKA, A. KOKOWSKI, B. NIEZABITOWSKA-WIŚNIEWSKA 2021, 169, pl. A26:1).

⁹⁵ K. STANEK 1999, 335, 344, fig. 3:1 (here as a single find); A. GAŁĘŻOWSKA 2007, 208.

⁹⁶ K. STANEK 1999, 349, fig. 7:10 (erroneously: grave 497); T. SKORUPKA 2001, pl. 118/375:).

⁹⁷ W. LA BAUME 1928, 40, fig. 10; M. KURZYŃSKA 2020, 233, tabl. 215/II:8.

⁹⁸ J. SCHUSTER 2010, book insert.

⁹⁹ K. STANEK 1999, 341.

¹⁰⁰ On the technique of plating see: I. AUFDERHAAR 2009, 32, fig. 1; B. ARMBRUSTER 2018, 10, fig. 1.

¹⁰¹ However, straps made of silver are known like the pendant with a walnut core found in grave 238 from Pruszcz Gdański 7 (M. TUSZYŃSKA, A. STROBIN, J. STROBIN 2016, fig. 62).

¹⁰² M. TEMPELMANN-MĄCZYŃSKA 1985, 35, table 8.

¹⁰³ M. TEMPELMANN-MĄCZYŃSKA 1985, 27.

¹⁰⁴ See R. MĄDYDA-LEGUTKO 1987a, 31.

¹⁰⁵ J. SCHUSTER 2018a, 67–71.

Most of the buckles of the Madyda-Legutko D 20 type have been found in the area of the Wielbark Culture, but we also know some examples of this type from the regions of the western Balts, the south-eastern part of the Przeworsk culture territories, from Jutland, the regions between the Elbe and the Oder, and one piece from Western Slovakia¹⁰⁶.

According to R. Madyda-Legutko, the buckles D 20 belong to an early stage of the Younger Roman Iron Age¹⁰⁷, but the specimens from the war booty offerings Thorsberger Moor and Illerup Ådal prove their use also in subphase C1b¹⁰⁸. The latter is of some importance for the dating of feature 1927. More on this below.

The strap end (Fig. 7:14, 21:1) is a high quality open-work piece that has no parallels in the existing classification systems. Its lower part is a teardrop-shaped frame ending in two rings. The latter places the piece closer to the Madyda-Legutko type 7 specimens¹⁰⁹. R. Madyda-Legutko emphasized that there are two groups of them: one with rings at a certain distance from each other (with a straight element between them) and one with adjacent rings. Strap ends with adjacent rings – corresponding to Raddatz type J II 6¹¹⁰ – were mainly worn in the area of the Wielbark Culture, some are known from Jutland and a very few from the southern part of the Middle European *Barbaricum*.¹¹¹ All the more remarkable is the evidence for the production of such fittings in the settlement of Pasohlávky in Moravia¹¹². The strap ends Raddatz J II 6/ Madyda-Legutko type 7 were in use in phase C1¹¹³.

There is a second, almost identical strap end from Czarnówko itself. It came to light in feature 1622 (Fig. 21:2). The upper part of this specimen is somewhat shorter than in case of that of feature 1927. With the help of a silver brooch A 170 and two spurs similar to Ginals type G1¹¹⁴, the grave can be dated to C1b. Interestingly, there was also a buckle of type D 20¹¹⁵ accompanying the strap-end, as in the case of feature 1927. Another strap end from feature 1144 at Czarnówko also represents a close parallel¹¹⁶ (Fig. 21:5), even though it is much larger than the other two. Its dating to C1 is beyond doubt.

¹⁰⁶ J. SCHUSTER 2018a, fig. 25.

¹⁰⁷ R. Madyda-Legutko 1987a, 31.

¹⁰⁸ See: J. SCHUSTER 2018a, 69–71.

¹⁰⁹ R. Madyda-Legutko 2011, 64–66, pl. XXIX:1–4.

¹¹⁰ K. Raddatz 1957, 98–99, fig. 2.

¹¹¹ R. Madyda-Legutko 2011, 65, map 15.

¹¹² J. Tejral 2006, 138–141, fig. 12:1–6.

¹¹³ K. Raddatz 1957, 99; R. Madyda-Legutko 2011, 65.

¹¹⁴ Cf. J. Ginals 67–70, fig. 15:1–7. As A. Cieśliński (2010, 97) pointed out, the spurs resembling G1 in the Wielbark Culture area differ considerably from those of the Przeworsk Culture: the heel band is not asymmetrical and they mostly also lack the third hook.

¹¹⁵ Variant D 20 A/1 acc. to J. Schuster 2018a.

¹¹⁶ J. Schuster 2014, fig. 36.



Fig. 20. Czarnówko, Lębork County, feature 1927. Close-up of the pendant with strap-setting with remains of silver plating. Photo: M. Górski.

Ryc. 20. Czarnówko, pow. lęborski, obiekt 1927. Zbliżenie taśm wisiora opasanego ze śladami platerowania srebrem. Fot.: M. Górski.

Probably the closest specimen to the Czarnówko strap ends, despite its single-ring terminal, is one from the former *Kreis Stolp* (Słupsk)¹¹⁷ (Fig. 21:3). It was published together with a group of other Roman Iron Age artefacts. There is no further information about this find, but we are probably dealing with the inventory of a grave. Apart from the strap end, it comprises two brooches of type A 128, a buckle of type D 17, and a clay vessel of unknown shape. Based on this – if this is really a trustworthy, authentic set – a dating in C1a (B2/C1 horizon) will not meet with opposition.

Yet another comparative specimen from the Wielbark Culture area should be mentioned: a strap end from feature 119 at Jartypory¹¹⁸ (Fig. 21:6). Given the poor grave inventory it cannot be dated closer than to the Younger Roman Iron Age.

¹¹⁷ H.J. Eggers, P.F. Stary 2001, 132, pl. 351:29.

¹¹⁸ Friendly information from Jacek Andrzejowski (Warszawa).

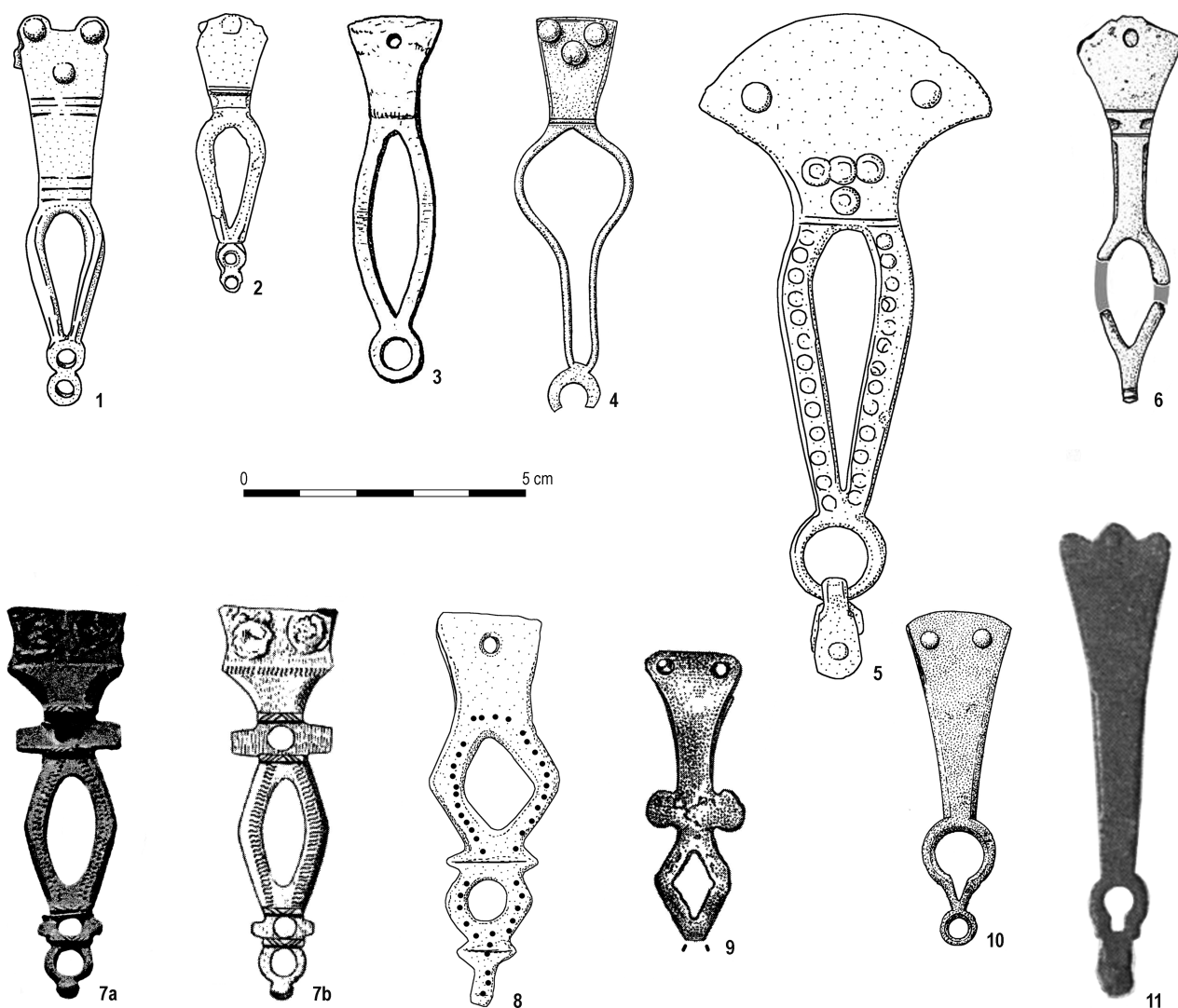


Fig. 21. Open-work strap ends with oval, drop-shaped or rhomboidal middle part and single or double ring terminal. 1 – PL Czarnówko, feature 1927; 2 – PL Czarnówko, feature 1622; 3 – PL fmr. *Kreis Stolp* (Słupsk); 4 – DK Illerup Ådal, object YSX; 5 – PL Czarnówko, feature 1144; 6 – PL Jartypory, feature 119; 7a.b – PL Mojtyny, feature 4; 8 – Pisanski Collection, presumably from the vicinity of PL Węgorzewo; 9 – LT Stragnai, single find; 10 – DK Illerup Ådal, object XWF; 11 – CZ Zárby, grave. Drawing: J. Schuster (1, 2, 5). After: H.J. EGGERS & P.F. STARY 2001 (3); J. ILKJÆR 1993a (4, 10), J. ANDRZEJOWSKI 2023 (6), E. HOLLACK & F.E. PEISER 1904 (7a), W. GAERTE 1929 (7b), W. NOWAKOWSKI 1998 (8; redrawn), R. BANYTÉ-ROWELL 2007 (9), J. SCHRÁNIL 1917 (11).

Ryc. 21. Ażurowe okucia końca pasa z owalną lub romboidalną partią środkową oraz zakończeniem w postaci pojedynczego lub podwójnego pierścienia. 1 – PL Czarnówko, obiekt 1927; 2 – PL Czarnówko, obiekt 1622; 3 – PL d. *Kreis Stolp* (Słupsk); 4 – DK Illerup Ådal, znal. YSX; 5 – PL Czarnówko, obiekt 1144; 6 – PL Jartypory, obiekt 119; 7a.b – PL Mojtyny, obiekt 4; 8 – kolekcja Pisanskiego, prawd. okolice PL Węgorzewa; 9 – LT Stragnai, znal. luźne; 10 – DK Illerup Ådal, znal. XWF; 11 – CZ Zárby, grób. Rys.: J. Schuster (1, 2, 5). After: H.J. EGGERS i P.F. STARY 2001 (3); J. ILKJÆR 1993a (4, 10), J. ANDRZEJOWSKI 2023 (6), E. HOLLACK i F.E. PEISER 1904 (7a), W. GAERTE 1929 (7b), W. NOWAKOWSKI 1998 (8; przerysowane), R. BANYTÉ-ROWELL 2007 (9), J. SCHRÁNIL 1917 (11).

Looking around for similar specimens in more distant areas we can refer to the finds from Illerup Ådal in Jutland: two silver strap ends (YSU and YSX) of *Funktionsgruppe* 1, i.e. from horse equipment, belonging to the newly defined type J VI 2¹¹⁹ (Fig. 21:4), and the copper

alloy strap end XWF of *Funktionsgruppe* 3, i.e. a strap end of the warrior's individual equipment¹²⁰ (Fig. 21:10). They all have the open-work part in common with the Pomeranian finds, as well as the fact that it is elongated, drop-shaped and ends with a ring. The three fittings – like almost all of them – belong to the C1b-offering. The

¹¹⁹ J. ILKJÆR 1993a, 51, fig. 41, 61; 1993b, pl. 103. Regarding the extension of Raddatz's classification see: J. ILKJÆR 1993a, 176, fig. 34.

¹²⁰ J. ILKJÆR 1993a, 183, 201, fig. 63; 1993b, pl. 108.

smaller specimen from Illerup leads us to another strap end, this time from Bohemia (Fig. 21:11). The specimen from Zárby was found in a cremation grave with weapons, spurs and several belt elements¹²¹. Its small openwork, pear-shaped terminal resembles that of find XWF from Illerup. The grave can be dated to subphase C1b¹²².

If we look eastwards, we can find two stylistically related but somewhat ‘stiffer’ in execution strap ends in the area of the Western Balt Culture Circle. One of these was found in feature 4 at Mojtyny¹²³, together with two brooches A VI 167, one brooch A VI 162, two *Dreisprossen* brooches of the Mazurian type with bull’s head-shaped terminal, and a sesterce of Septimius Severus (193–211), which allows a dating to C1b. The central openwork is an elongated, punch-decorated rhombus set under a crossbar with a central perforation. Below the rhomb is a second, smaller, perforated crossbar, ending in a ring with a knob at the end (Fig. 21:7a). A piece identical in every detail is said to have been found at Machary¹²⁴ (Fig. 21:7b), but this information is apparently wrong. The strap end published by W. Gaerte is clearly the redrawn specimen from Mojtyny¹²⁵, which becomes particularly clear when comparing the upper parts with the rivets of both illustrations. There is, however, another belt end from Western Balt that must be mentioned in connection with the Czarnówko find: a punch-decorated specimen from the Pisanski collection, without a specific locality, but presumably from the vicinity of Węgorzewo¹²⁶ (Fig. 21:8). Its composition is very similar to that of the Mojtyny strap end. The only difference is the absence of the upper crossbar. The last fitting to be mentioned is a single find from Stragnai in western Lithuania¹²⁷ (Fig. 21:9). Its terminal is broken off, but it was most likely ring-shaped. Above the rhomboid openwork there is a wide crossbar with rounded endings. According to R. Madyda-Legutko such strap ends are typical for the early stage of the Younger Roman Iron Age, i.e. phase C1¹²⁸.

I do not agree with R. Banytė-Rowell¹²⁹ that the above-mentioned Mazurian and the western Lithuanian strap ends can be directly and definitely related to Gotlandic specimens, but I claim that all the specimens mentioned –

including the Czarnówko and Illerup strap ends – are expressions of a contemporary style of phase C1 in the entire southern Baltic region.

The buckle and the strap-end of feature 1927 are stylistically matched and appear to have been made as a set¹³⁰. Such sets, which are rare, are usually characterised by a common rivet frequency and/or similar rivet extensions. A good, but also ‘extreme’ (because very rich) example is the belt set from grave 150 at Weklice¹³¹ – buckle, fittings and the main strap end were provided with rivets with large hemispherical heads. An iron buckle with a forked tongue and an iron strap end from grave 67 at Koczek¹³², site II, form a set, with three rivet plate extensions spaced far apart. A simple strap end completes the set. Such sets can be called first-degree sets, because it is certain the shaping of the matching features took place during manufacturing – they were planned and designed as a set. In some cases the decoration of the buckle and the tongue match, as in the case of the set from grave 200 from the already frequently mentioned cemetery at Weklice¹³³. The buckle and the strap end show the so-called *Tremolierstich* pattern in a row¹³⁴. Another example of such a set was found in grave 210 from the same cemetery, both pieces are decorated with punched circle eyes (*Kreisaugen*)¹³⁵. Such sets can be called second-degree sets because we cannot exclude a random or secondary combination of their elements that were later decorated in the same style.

The rectangular belt fitting with four rivets found in feature 1927 is a fairly common element of Roman Iron Age belts and appears in several cultural contexts¹³⁶. Regional parallels are, for example, the finds from features 11, 75 and 265 at Brzyno¹³⁷, some 40 km to the north-east of Czarnówko, dating to subphase C1a.

PERSONAL EQUIPMENT

The only surviving element of the casket is the copper alloy lock spring (Fig. 7:28). It is made of a long, narrow strap ending in a massive stud, the opposite end having been broken off. Spring locks of the shape described are

¹²¹ J. SCHRÁNIL 1917, 164, pl. XXIV.

¹²² See: M.J. PRZYBYŁA 2010, 122–123.

¹²³ E. HOLLACK, F.E. PEISER 1904, 43, pl. I/5:e.

¹²⁴ W. GAERTE 1929, 175; cf. R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2007, 330, fig. 2:4.

¹²⁵ R. MADYDA-LEGUTKO (1987, fig. 1:m) pictured the find with the correct find spot name Mojtyny.

¹²⁶ W. NOWAKOWSKI 1998, 129, fig. 25:547 (mistakenly replaced with No. 729), pl. 37:729.

¹²⁷ Also mentioned as *Skörn* or *Skören* – in 1896 united with Stragnai (R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2007, 330, fig. 2:1).

¹²⁸ R. MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1987b, 32.

¹²⁹ R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2007, 331.

¹³⁰ This is not about combinations of buckle and strap-end types that just frequently occur together but about artefacts planned and designed as sets.

¹³¹ M. NATUNIEWICZ-SEKUŁA, J. OKULICZ-KOZARYN 2011, 56, pl. LXI/150:5–18, LXIII/150:5–18.

¹³² W. NOWAKOWSKI 2013, 63, pl. 98:2.3.

¹³³ M. NATUNIEWICZ-SEKUŁA, J. OKULICZ-KOZARYN 2011, 64, pl. LXXXII/200:1.2.

¹³⁴ Sometimes incorrectly also referred to *wolf tooth pattern*.

¹³⁵ M. NATUNIEWICZ-SEKUŁA, J. OKULICZ-KOZARYN 2011, 67, pl. LXXXVI/210:5.6.

¹³⁶ J. ANDRZEJOWSKI 2014, 22–24, fig. 3; W. ARMFELT 2010, 266–267; J. SCHUSTER 2018b, 70.

¹³⁷ A. STROBIN 2021, 22, 35, 80, pl. XIII/11:2, XL/75:5, CXLIX/265:3.

common features in the Central European *Barbaricum* during the Roman Iron Age and were elements of a lock that recently was called the *Siemianice* type¹³⁸. Its production in bronze is in line with the fact that lock components and keys in the area of the Wielbark Culture were mostly made of this material¹³⁹.

Only two small fragments of the inner layer plates of a three-layer comb have survived. One shows the half of a rivet hole.

Three items were elements of hand spindles. Two spindle whorls are made of clay, one of sandstone (Fig. 9:25–27). The biconical and barrel shape of the two clay whorls is quite common in Pomerania in the Roman Iron Age, their appearance does not require any special discussion. Sandstone whorls, however, are much rarer in the Wielbark area. They are abundant in the regions between the lower Elbe and the lower Oder, but are apparently rarer east of the Oder¹⁴⁰. However, this does not seem to reflect the real situation, as there are no major excavations of cemeteries immediately east of the river, and settlements are largely missing as a source of information. Thus, the picture we have is probably determined more by the state of research than by reality¹⁴¹.

POTTERY

A two-handled pot of Wołągiewicz type II served as an urn (Fig. 3). The body is ovoid, with two incised lines run under the two X-shaped handles and a zigzag band with two lines underneath. A zone of the body below the maximum width and up to about 7 cm above the bottom is very slightly roughened. Similar vessels already appeared in phase B1 and were in use until subphase C1b, their peak of use being in phase B2 and in the B2/C1 horizon (subphase C1a)¹⁴². The distribution map of Ryszard Wołągiewicz shows a gap with no finds in the northern part of Eastern Pomerania¹⁴³, presumably caused by the state of research, as the pot of feature 1927 at Czarnówko proves.

A second vessel, of which only a few fragments survived (Fig. 4:1), is not easy to classify. The bottom is rounded, which is a rare characteristic of Wielbark pottery. The vessel could belong to the Wołągiewicz group XVI, but the elongated upper part, which resulted in a low position of the widest part of the belly, is also known from vessels of the Wołągiewicz group XVII. It is interesting to note that an elaborately decorated one-handed vessel from this group was found in Obliwice, only a few kilo-

metres from Czarnówko¹⁴⁴. Vessels of group XVII were in use predominantly in the Younger Roman Iron Age¹⁴⁵. The decoration of the Czarnówko vessel is a variety of the multi-line crossed zigzag according to R. Wołągiewicz, which was in fashion in phase C1¹⁴⁶.

The third vessel from feature 1927 is also preserved in fragments (Fig. 4:2). It is not very carefully made, the rim is uneven, wavy, but the surface is smoothed. It could represent the variant Wołągiewicz XVA (cups) or the variant Wołągiewicz XVIIb (small pots), as shown by parallels such as vessels from feature 97, grave 63 and grave 75 from Kamienica Szlachecka¹⁴⁷. Both variants were probably used in the Younger Roman Iron Age¹⁴⁸.

The fragment of a smaller, wide open clay vessel (Fig. 4:3) was placed in the upper part of the backfill. It could belong either to the Wołągiewicz variant XIIC or to the variant XIVb. As the distinctive lower part is missing, it is impossible to make a definite determination.

The last, fifth vessel is only represented only by a larger belly fragment with a dark grey, carefully smoothed surface (Fig. 4:4). Given the wall thickness of 0.5–0.7 cm, this vessel must have been a big one. As the sherd is the only surviving piece, it remains unclear whether the vessel was an original part of the grave inventory. It cannot be excluded that an older cremation grave of the Oksywie Culture was touched during digging the pit of feature 1927 and a fragment of the urn accidentally got into the younger grave. The colour and consistency of the fragment in question (and even the nature of the circular spalling of the surface fragment) support this assumption.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ENSEMBLE OF ATTIRE AND GIFTS

Given that this was a cremation burial and that the grave was re-opened, the surviving assemblage does not reflect the original set of gifts placed on the pyre. We also have to be aware of the fact that not all items that remained after the cremation might have been collected out of the pyre residues. Obviously, this triple ‘filter’ of burial customs in a broader sense made the set of finds in the grave highly incomplete. At first glance, this can be seen in the arm rings, but other elements of attire that one might expect to find in the grave of such a wealthy person are also missing.

¹³⁸ K. CZARNECKA 2020, 49, 63–68, fig. 42–45.

¹³⁹ A. KOKOWSKI 1997, 16, fig. 24, 25.

¹⁴⁰ J. SCHUSTER 2018b, 116–118, fig. 65.

¹⁴¹ J. SCHUSTER 2018b, 117–118.

¹⁴² R. WOŁĄGIEWICZ 1993, 13, list 2.

¹⁴³ R. WOŁĄGIEWICZ 1993, map 3.

¹⁴⁴ R. WOŁĄGIEWICZ 1993, pl. 78:2.

¹⁴⁵ R. WOŁĄGIEWICZ 1993, 26.

¹⁴⁶ R. WOŁĄGIEWICZ 1993, 21, pl. 445.

¹⁴⁷ M. TUSZYŃSKA 2020, 50, 57, 59, pl. XLIX/(83)63:18, LVIII/97:1, LXII/(99)75:28.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. R. WOŁĄGIEWICZ 1993, lists 15A and 16B.

	Wellenförmiger Armring	Bracelet of Pomeranian type	Pendant, silver or gold	S-shaped clasp	Necklace	Bi-conical wire bead	Brooch, silver	Brooch, iron or copper alloy, decorated with silver and/or gold	Brooch of copper alloy	Import (vessel)
Biskupiec, gr. (?)	●●	●●								
Cieple, gr. 36	●●			●		●●				
Cotoń, gr.	●	●							●●	
Czarnówko, f. 1927 (r-o)	●	●	●						●	×
Czarnówko, gr. R425 (r-o)	●●	●●	●				●	●		
Dworzysko, gr.	●●	●						3× (alloy?)		
Gronowo, b. 22/gr. 4	●●	●●		●		●●	●	●●●	●●	
Kikoły, gr.	●	●●							●●	
Kowalewko, gr. 34	●●	●		●		●●	●●			
Kowalewko, gr. 165 (r-o)	●●	●●		●		●	●	●●		
Kowalewko, gr. 227 (r-o)	●			●			●			
Kowalewko, gr. 357 (r-o)	●			●		●		●	●	
Mirosław, b. 4	●●	●●	(●)	●	●	●●	●●●●		●	
Mirosław, b. 7	●●	●●		●		●	●	●●●		
Odry, gr. 112	●			●●				●	●●●	
Semčice, f. 20/02	●	●		●			●●		●	
Weklice, gr. 26B	●●	●●	(●)	●				●●●		
Weklice, gr. 208	●●	●●		●		●●	●●●●			×

Fig. 22. Compilation of graves with bracelets of *wellenförmiger Armring* type and other selected items of their inventories.

Key: black names – cremation graves; grey names – inhumations; b. – barrow; gr. – grave; f. – feature; r-o – re-opened.

Colours: brownish – iron; blue – silver; yellow – gold; yellow in blue brackets – electrum.

Ryc. 22. Zestawienie grobów z bransoletami wężykowatymi i innymi wybranymi elementami ich wyposażenia.

Legenda: czarna czcionka – grób ciałopalny; szara czcionka – inhumacja; b. – kurhan; gr. – grób; f. – obiekt; r-o – otwierany.

Kolory: brunatny – żelazo; niebieski – srebro; żółty – złoto; żółty w niebieskich nawiasach – elektron.

Since they seem to have been very high status markers¹⁴⁹, the starting point for the reconstruction of the gift set has to be the fragments of one or two bracelets of the *wellenförmige Armring* type. There are only a very few graves with such elements of attire¹⁵⁰ (Fig. 22). But here we run into a similar problem as in the case of feature 1927 of Czarnówko: although most of these graves are inhumations, which had better conditions of preservation of the grave goods than cremations, the gift set is not necessarily complete. Some of them were re-opened

in antiquity, others were discovered by chance and/or unearthed at the end of the 19th century or at the beginning of the 20th century, so their contents are not completely known. Keeping all this in mind, we can try to search for common patterns.

Firstly, it is quite clear that most of the women wearing *wellenförmige Armringe* had a pair of them and in addition a second pair of bracelets of the Pomeranian type (as bracelets of this type generally were worn in pairs). Usually all of them were made of silver – of the well-equipped graves in question here – we know of only three cases in which one or two bracelets were made of a copper alloy. We can therefore safely assume that the woman buried in feature 1927 had two pairs of silver bracelets.

¹⁴⁹ See below.¹⁵⁰ The list of finds contains more positions than the table. Some finds are without context, other could not be taken into account due to the lack of further information about the grave inventory.



Fig. 23. Reconstruction of the minimal gift set that the woman buried in feature 1927 must have been given prior to the cremation. Presumed gifts in light colors and without outlines. Drawing: J. Schuster.

Ryc. 23. Rekonstrukcja minimalnego zestawu darów, które kobieta pochowana w obiekcie 1927 musiała otrzymać przed kremacją. Przypuszczalne dary w jasnych kolorach i bez linii konturowych. Rys.: J. Schuster.

Secondly, in 12 of the assembled 18 graves, there was a S-shaped clasp, mostly made of precious metal. In only one case were there two S-clasps made of copper alloy. As the woman buried in feature 1927 had a necklace consisting of beads and pendants (or perhaps even two necklaces), and set of her grave gifts is rich, it is very likely that at least one gold or silver S-shaped clasp was included.

Thirdly, biconical beads made of silver or gold wire appeared in eight of the graves. This is not even half of the total, but if we recall that the gift sets of two graves are not known in full because of the circumstances of their discovery, and that three are cremations, the number is not so small. Since the woman buried in feature 1927 must got most of her elements of attire in what we call the B2/C1 horizon, and the biconical silver and gold beads are the most characteristic of it, we can assume that she owned one, most probably two.

Last but not least, eleven graves contained one or more brooches made of silver and/or brooches of copper alloy with silver applications. Apart from the fact that the brooch type A 130 from feature 1927 was certainly richly

decorated with gilded foil and filigree, there must have been at least two or three other brooches, most probably of silver.

Fig. 23 shows the reconstruction of the gift set that was most likely been on the pyre. Of course, 'gift set' also means elements of attire. The set depicted is to be understood as a minimum; there could have been, and certainly were, many more gifts such as food, flowers, herbs, clothing and other textiles, wooden dishes, etc.

DATING

We have several clues as to the dating of the grave. There is no doubt that the deceased was buried in the Younger Roman Iron Age. Classically, the brooch would be used as the surest indicator to determine the chronological position of the burial. As already stated above, the brooches of type A 130 date to the B2/C1 horizon (subphase C1a). Such a dating of the grave is also theoretically supported by the arm ring fragments, which

represent types belonging to this horizon. However, as I explained above, from a stylistic point of view, the *Schildkopfarmring* represents a somewhat younger period of time and cannot be dated before subphase C1b. Its closest parallels, the two bracelets from grave 98 of former *Grebieten* on the Sambian Peninsula, were accompanied by two fibulae with a bent foot (types A 167 and A 168, var.), which support a dating to subphase C1b¹⁵¹.

The belt set, consisting of a buckle Madyda-Legutko type D 20 and an openwork strap end, supports this later dating. The buckle is characteristic of the entire phase C1, while the strap end may be characteristic of its younger stage, i.e. subphase C1b. This is suggested by the already mentioned close parallel found in feature 1144 at Czarnówko with items characteristic of subphase C1b, similar strap ends found in Illerup in Jutland, and a parallel from Mojtyń, feature 4.

The crushed bucket of copper alloy represents a vessel type (Eggers type 36) that apparently did not enter *Barbaricum* until C1b, at least we have no evidence for an earlier influx. This argument, although weaker than the one above, does not contradict the proposed dating of the grave to subphase C1b.

The contrast between the items typical of the B2/C1 horizon and the younger dating of the grave can be explained by the long life of the deceased. It is very likely that the older woman buried in feature 1927 received some of her attire early in her life, which is within the B2/C1 horizon. This is at least the case for the brooch and the *wellenförmige Armringe*. The *Schildkopfarmringe*, represented only by one terminal (which, it must be admitted, continues the tradition of the B2/C1 horizon), and the belt set she received a little later. This makes feature 1927 a good parallel to the well-known Pilipki grave mentioned several times above, which also contained jewelry made in the Wielbark-Baroque tradition (which coincides with the B2/C1 horizon), but also a somewhat younger Scandinavian finger ring, and must therefore be dated to C1b.

FINAL REMARKS

Feature 1927 is the next grave uncovered at Czarnówko that can be called ‘princely’. Together with eight such features¹⁵² and the already famous one with a glass fish and a glass goblet¹⁵³, it forms a group of ten (!) graves dating back to the last quarter of the 2nd and the beginning of the

3rd century CE¹⁵⁴. Like the others, it also belongs to the Czarnówko/Öremölla horizon of princely graves, known mainly from the southern Baltic region. It is very likely that this horizon is related to the events and aftermath of the Marcomannic Wars¹⁵⁵.

Although the gifts have been reduced by the fire and the subsequent selection, the grave furnishing is still impressive. It includes Roman import as well as objects made of gold, silver and copper alloys. The occurrence of the rare bucket type E 36 at Czarnówko is remarkable, as it once again confirms the importance and far-reaching connections of a centre of wealth that must have existed in the Czarnówko microregion. Since we know several unique objects from Czarnówko¹⁵⁶, it is more than justified to speak of a centre not only of wealth but also of power, even though we not yet know the settlement(s) associated with the cemetery and cannot say anything about the settlement structure in the microregion. The importance of the Czarnówko site is underlined by a number of high-quality objects of indigenous origin. Focusing on the grave under discussion, the remarkable distribution pattern of *wellenförmige Armringe* must be emphasised. Even though their dispersion seems to cover the whole Wielbark Culture area in phase C1, some gaps are noticeable (Fig. 17). With the exception of Czarnówko, a large area to the west of the Gdańsk Bay (almost all of Eastern Pomerania) is free of finds, as is all of southern Cassubia¹⁵⁷ and the Krajna (the region north of the Noteć River). Only recently have such arm rings been found at Mirosław in northern Greater Poland. They are absent in the areas east of the Vistula, northeastern Mazovia and Podlachia, which began to be occupied by the Wielbark settlers around the time when the bracelets were worn. This picture is hard to explain, but it seems to be only partly due to the state of research. The bracelets were probably rather exclusive pieces of jewellery, a fact that is underlined by the much higher frequency of silver *Schildkopfarmringe* in the Wielbark Culture area. Apparently, only a small group of women deserved to wear the ‘wavy’ bracelets. In this light, the appearance of bracelets of the *wellenförmiger Armring* type in feature 1927 at Czarnówko emphasises the outstanding social position

¹⁵¹ *Zeitstufe IIa* (W. NOWAKOWSKI (1996, 24–27, pl. 35:2–14). On brooches with decoration of sets of beaded wire like the one of *Grebieten* see: J. ANDRZEJOWSKI, A. CIEŚLIŃSKI 2007, 305–306, fig. 27.

¹⁵² J. SCHUSTER 2018a.

¹⁵³ J. ANDRZEJOWSKI, J. SCHUSTER 2022; J. SCHUSTER, J. ANDRZEJOWSKI 2023.

¹⁵⁴ The eleventh grave (feature 872 – preliminarily: A. KASPRZAK 2016) dates back to the mid-1st century CE and belongs to the older *Lübsow* horizon of Roman Iron Age princely graves.

¹⁵⁵ J. SCHUSTER 2018a, 116–121.

¹⁵⁶ The cauldron with ‘Suebian heads’ (M. MĄCZYŃSKA, D. RUDNICKA 2004; J. SCHUSTER 2018a, 37–41, pl. LIII–LV/R430); the glass fish and the glass goblet with water fowl (J. ANDRZEJOWSKI, A. KRZYSIAK, J. SCHUSTER 2021, 15–17, fig. 4.6; J. SCHUSTER, J. ANDRZEJOWSKI 2022).

¹⁵⁷ Odry lies to the southeast of Cassubia, in the landscape called Bory Tucholskie (Tuchola Forests).

of the woman buried there¹⁵⁸. The same applies to the gold *lunula* with glass inlay, which has no good parallels in the closer and wider environment.

According to the anthropological examination¹⁵⁹, we are dealing with the burial of a person who died in the age *senilis* (>55 years), and with caution it can be said it was probably a woman. According to the archaeological assessment, regarding the composition of the grave goods, feature 1927 preserved a female burial. As she was buried in subphase C1b, she died slightly later than the female buried in grave 208 at Weklice¹⁶⁰ and almost in the same time as the female buried in grave 150 at the same cemetery¹⁶¹. Both graves were above-average equipped, even rich, and contained the burial of a woman in the age *senilis*¹⁶². This cannot be considered a coincidence. The three graves seem to reflect the obvious importance of some elder women within the Wielbark society at the early stage of the Younger Roman Iron Age, who belonged to the local elite and had the chance to reach this age – a fact that should not be taken for granted. After all, the category of *senilis* is very poorly represented in the cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture¹⁶³. The age of around 60 was rather the maximum of life expectancy for the people of the Wielbark Culture¹⁶⁴, and women here mostly only reached the age of *adultus*¹⁶⁵. The woman of Czarnówko was therefore very special and was given a special burial. The grave in question belongs – as far as current research allows – to the last ‘Wielbark’ phase of use of the Czarnówko necropolis.

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LIST 1. BRACELETS OF THE WELLENARMRING TYPE. LIST OF FINDS

1. Biskupiec. Probably grave find: pair, silver (K. RADDATZ 1996, 286).
2. Buczek. Single find, silver (K. RADDATZ 1996, 240, fig. 2:6, pl. 78:7).
3. Cieple. Grave 36: pair, loops of copper alloy, capsule of silver (E. BLUME 1915, 67; K. RADDATZ 1996, 286).
4. Cotoń. Grave: Single specimen, silver (E. BLUME 1915, 87; K. RADDATZ 1996, 286).
5. Czarnówko. A. Grave 425: pair, silver and gold (J. SCHUSTER 2014, fig. 34). B. Feature 1927: loop fragments, silver (see above).
6. Dworzysko. Grave: pair, silver (E. BLUME 1915, 67; K. RADDATZ 1996, 286).
7. Elbląg-Pole Nowomiejskie. Find from cemetery, alloy unknown (A. SCHMIDT 1902, 132, fig. 5; E. BLUME 1915, 67; K. RADDATZ 1996, 286).
8. Gostkowo-Folsąg. Grave find from 1932: single specimen, alloy unknown (B. ZIELONKA 1968, fig. 13).
9. Former *Greibau*. Grave 166: single specimen, silver (?). (E. BLUME 1912, fig. 102, pl. IV:102; 1915, 67; W. GAERTE 1929, 235, fig. 179:c; K. RADDATZ 1996, 284).
10. Gronowo. Barrow 22, grave 4: pair, silver (R. WOŁĄGIEWICZ 1976, 160, fig. 23:b; T. SKORUPKA 2004, fig. 116; H. MACHAJEWSKI 2015, 30, pl. XL/22.4:13.14, LXXI:2.3).
11. Jelonki. ‘Assemblage 1’. Single specimen, silver (W. NOWAKOWSKI 1994, 170, pl. VII:5; A. CIEŚLIŃSKI 2022, 81, fig. 7:h).
12. Kikoły. Cremation grave: single specimen, silver (I. UNDSET 1882, 144, pl. XV:11; E. BLUME 1915, 67; K. RADDATZ 1994, 286).
13. Kowalewko. A. Grave 34 (cremation grave): pair, silver. B. Grave 165: pair, silver. C. Grave 227: single capsule, silver. D. Grave 357: single capsule, silver and gold (T. SKORUPKA 2001, 22, 52, 66, 95, pl. 9/34:7.8, 49/165:7.8, 68/227:2, 110/357:6; 2004, fig. 114, 115).
14. Mirosław. A. Barrow 4: pair, silver (unpublished, friendly information of Andrzej Michałowski, Poznań). B. Barrow 7: pair, silver (A. MICHAŁOWSKI, M. TESKA, M. TELĄŻKA 2021, 123, fig. 4).
15. Neuenhagen. Single find, copper alloy (Roman Iron Age?) (A. KIEKEBUSCH pl. IX:15; E. BLUME 1915, 67; K. RADDATZ 1994, 286).
16. Odry. Grave 112: single specimen, copper alloy (J. KMIĘCIŃSKI 1968, 151, pl. 11; K. RADDATZ 1994, 286).
17. Semčice. Grave: single specimen, silver (E. DROBERJAR, J. WALDHAUSER 2012, 896, fig. 5:5.6, pl. 19/B:2).
18. Weklice. A. Grave 26B: pair, silver. B. Grave 208: pair, silver (T. SKORUPKA 2004, fig. 117, 118; M. NATUNIEWICZ-SEKUŁA, J. OKULICZ-KOZARYN 2011, 31, 66, pl. XI/26B:6.7, LXXXIV/208:6.7, CCXXXII:12.12, CCXXXVIII:10.11).

¹⁵⁸ We have also to keep in mind that we know only one other pair of bracelets of that type from the cemetery at Czarnówko, which is, after all, the largest Wielbark necropolis.

¹⁵⁹ Carried out by Bogumiła Wolska, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw.

¹⁶⁰ M. NATUNIEWICZ-SEKUŁA, J. OKULICZ-KOZARYN 2011, 65–67, pl. LXXXIII–LXXXV/208.

¹⁶¹ M. NATUNIEWICZ-SEKUŁA, J. OKULICZ-KOZARYN 2011, 54–57, pl. LVII–LXIII/150.

¹⁶² I. TEUL 2011, table 1.

¹⁶³ K. SKÓRA 2020, 42–48, 55, table 3.14.

¹⁶⁴ K. SKÓRA 2020, 55.

¹⁶⁵ K. SKÓRA 2020, 56.

LIST 2. LIST OF LOCALITIES QUOTED IN THE TEXT

Bielany Wrocławskie, gm. Kobierzyce, pow. wrocławski, woj. dolnośląskie (PL)

Biskupiec, gm. Biskupiec, pow. nowomiejski, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie (fmr. *Bischofswerder*, Kr. *Rosenberg*) (PL)

Borkowice, gm. Będzino, pow. koszaliński, woj. zachodniopomorskie (fmr. *Borkenhagen*, Kr. *Köslin*) (PL)

Borstel (Stendal-B.), Lkr. Stendal, Sachsen-Anhalt (D)

Brokshus (Oldenburg-B.), Lkr. Oldenburg, Niedersachsen (D)

Brzyno, gm. Krokowa, pow. pucki, woj. pomorskie (PL)

Buczek, gm. Białogard, pow. białogardzki, woj. zachodniopomorskie (fmr. *Butzke*, Kr. *Belgard*) (PL)

Chmielów Piaskowy, gm. Bodzechów, pow. ostrowiecki, woj. świętokrzyskie (PL)

Chornorichchia/Чорноріччя, Севастополь (Балаклавський рай.) (UA)

Cieple, gm. Gniew, pow. tczewski, woj. pomorskie (fmr. *Warmhof*, Kr. *Marienwerder*) (PL)

Cotoń, gm. Rogowo, pow. żniński, woj. kujawsko-pomorskie (PL)

Czarnówko, gm. Nowa Wieś Lęborska, pow. lęborski, woj. pomorskie (PL)

Dąbie, gm. Bytów, pow. bytowski, woj. pomorskiej (PL)

Dienstedt (Stadttilm-D.), Ilm-Kreis, Thüringen (D)

Dworzysko, gm. Świecie, pow. świecki, woj. kujawsko-pomorskie (fmr. *Wilhelmsmark*, Kr. *Schwetzwitz*) (PL)

Elbląg-Pole Nowomiejskie, pow. Elbląg, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie (fmr. *Elbing-Neustädter Feld*) (PL)

Frontove/Фронтowe, Севастополь (Нахимовський рай.) (UA)

Garenne du Roi (Forest of Compiègne), dep. Oise, Hauts-de-France (F)

Gostkowo-Folsąg (G.-Folząg), gm. Łysomice, pow. toruński, woj. kujawsko-pomorskie (PL)

Grachëvka/Грачëвka, Зеленградский рай., Калининградская обл. (fmr. *Craam*, Kr. *Fischhausen*) (RUS)

fmr. *Greibieten*, Kr. *Fischhausen* (Калининградская обл., fmr. Eastern Prussia, locality does not exist anymore) (RUS)

fmr. *Greibau*, Kr. *Fischhausen* (Калининградская обл., fmr. Eastern Prussia, locality does not exist anymore) (RUS)

Gronowo, gm. Złocieniec, pow. drawski, woj. zachodniopomorskie (PL)

Grubno, gm. Stolno, pow. chełmiński, woj. kujawsko-pomorskie (fmr. *Grubno*, Kr. *Culm/Kulm*) (PL)

Grudziądz-Rządź, pow. Grudziądz, woj. kujawsko-pomorskie (fmr. *Rondsen*, Kr. *Graudenz*) (PL)

Hemmoor, Lkr. Cuxhaven, Niedersachsen (D)

Himlingøje, Stevns Kommune, Sjælland (DK)

Illerup Ådal, Skanderborg Kommune, Midtjylland (DK)

Jartypory, gm. Liw, pow. węgrowski, woj. mazowieckie (PL)

Jelonki, gm. Rychliki, pow. elbląski, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie (fmr. *Hirschfeld*, Kr. *Preußisch Holland*) (PL)

Kamienica Szlachecka, gm. Stężyca, pow. kartuski, woj. pomorskie (PL)

Kikoły, gm. Tolkmicko, pow. elbląski, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie (fmr. *Kickelhof*, Kr. *Elbing*) (PL)

Koczek, gm. Świętajno, pow. szczycieński, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie (former *Koczek/Kotzek* vel *Waldersee*, Kr. *Johannisburg*) (PL)

Kowalewko, gm. Oborniki, pow. obornicki, woj. wielkopolskie (PL)

Krasna Zoria/Красна Зоря, Бахчисарайський рай., Автономна Республіка Крим (UA)

Kroczyce-Okupne (cave "Jaskinia Wisielca"), gm. Kroczyce, pow. zawierciański, woj. śląskie (PL)

Kruszwica, gm. Kruszwica, pow. kruszwicki, woj. kujawsko-pomorskie (PL)

Kuchnia, gm. Chełmża, pow. toruński, woj. kujawsko-pomorskie (fmr. *Seehof*, Kr. *Thorn*) (PL)

Linowo, gm. Świecie nad Osą, pow. grudziądzki, woj. kujawsko-pomorskie (PL)

Logvino/Логвино, Зеленградский рай., Калининградская обл. (RUS)

Lubieszewo, gm. Nowy Dwór Gdański, pow. nowodworski, woj. pomorskie (fmr. *Ladekopp*, Kr. *Marienbourg*) (PL)

Lubowidz, gm. Nowa Wieś Lęborska, pow. lęborski, woj. pomorskie (former *Luggewiese*, Kr. *Lauenburg i.P.*) (PL)

Machary, gm. Piecki, pow. mrągowski, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie (former *Macharren*, Kr. *Sensburg*) (PL)

Malbork-Wielbark, gm. Malbork, pow. malborski, woj. pomorskie (fmr. *Willenberg*, Kr. *Marienbourg*) (PL)

Masłomęcz 15, gm. Hrubieszów, pow. hrubieszowski, woj. lubelskie (PL)

Mierzyszyn, gm. Trąbki Wielkie, pow. gdański, woj. pomorskie (PL)

Mierzyn-Grobla, gm. Rozprza, pow. piotrkowski, woj. łódzkie (PL)

Mirowsław, gm. Ujście, pow. pilski, woj. wielkopolskie (PL)

Mojtyny, gm. Piecki, pow. mrągowski, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie (fmr. *Moythienen*, Kr. *Sensburg*) (PL)

Møllegaardsmark, Svendborg Kommune, Syddanmark (DK)

Nejzats/Нейзац (Красногирське), Білогірський район, Автономна Республіка Крим (UA)

Neuenhagen (Freienwalde-N.), Lkr. Märkisch Oderland, Brandenburg (D)

Nowy Łowicz, gm. Kalisz Pomorski, pow. drawski, woj. zachodniopomorskie (PL)

Obliwice, gm. Nowa Wieś Lęborska, pow. lęborski (former *Obliwitz*, Kr. *Lauenburg i.P.*) (PL)

Odry, gm. Czersk, pow. chojnicki, woj. pomorskie (PL)

Opalenie, gm. Gniew, pow. tczewski, woj. pomorskie (PL)

Opatów, gm. Opatów, pow. kłobucki, woj. śląskie (PL)

Ostrów, gm. Przemyśl, pow. przemyski, woj. podkarpackie (PL)

Parutine/Парутине (Olbia), Миколаївський рай., Миколаївська обл. (UA)

Pasohlávky, okres Brno-venkoc, Jihomoravský kraj (CZ)

Piatrovičy/Пятровічы, Жабінаўскі раён, Брэсцкая вобл. (BLS)

Pilipki, gm. Bielsk Podlaski, pow. bielski, woj. podlaskie (PL)

Połowite, gm. Małdyty, pow. ostródzki, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie (fmr. *Pollwitten*, Kr. *Mohrunen*) (PL)

Pruszcz Gdański, gm. Pruszcz Gdański, pow. gdański, woj. pomorskie (PL)

Rankovce, okr. Košice-okolie, Košický kraj (SVK)
 Rzemienowice, gm. Opatowiec, pow. kazimierski, woj. świętokrzyskie (PL)
 Sadłowo, gm. Rypin, pow. rypiński, woj. kujawsko-pomorskie (PL)
 Semčice, okr. Mladá Boleslav, Středočeský kraj (CZ)
 Siemiechów, gm. Widawa, pow. łaski, woj. łódzkie (PL)
 Skierniewice-Ławki, gm. Skierniewice, pow. Skierniewice, woj. łódzkie (PL)
 Skrzetuszewo-Witakowice, gm. Kiszkowo, pow. gnieźnieński, woj. wielkopolskie (fmr. *Ramsau, Kr. Gnesen*) (PL)
 Słupsk, pow. Słupsk, woj. gdańskiej (fmr. *Stolp, Kr. Stolp*) (PL)
 Smørum-Kong Svends Park, Egedal Kommune, Hovestaden (Sjælland) (DK)
 Spycimierz (Spycimierz), gm. Uniejów, pow. poddębicki, woj. łódzkie (PL)
 Stragnai, Klaipėdos rajono savivaldybė (fmr. *Stragna, Kr. Memel*) (LT)
 Tangendorf (Toppenstedt-T.), Lkr. Harburg, Niedersachsen (D)
 Thorsberger Moor (Süderbrarup), Kr. Schleswig-Flensburg, Schleswig-Holstein (D)

Tuklaty, okr. Kolín, Středočeský kraj (CZ)
 Ust-Alma/Усть-Альма (Піщане), Бахчисарайський рай., Автономна Республіка Крим (UA)
 Wagna, BH Leibnitz, Steiermark (A)
 Weklice, gm. Elbląg, pow. elbląski, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie (PL)
 Witoroż, gm. Drelów, pow. bialski, woj. lubelskie (PL)
 Węgorzewo, pow. węgorzewski, woj. warmiński-mazurskie (fmr. *Angerburg, Kr. Angerburg*) (PL)
 Wrocław-Zakrzów, pow. Wrocław, woj. dolnośląskie (fmr. *Sackrau, Kr. Breslau*) (PL)
 Záryby, okr. Praha-východ, Středočeský kraj (CZ)
 Zavitne/Завітне, Бахчисарайський рай., Автономна Республіка Крим (UA)
 Zielnowo, gm. Radzyń Chełmiński, pow. grudziądzki, woj. kujawsko-pomorskie (fmr. *Selnowo, Kr. Graudenz*) (PL)
 Zugmantel, Rheingau-Taunus-Kreis, Hessen (D)
 Zwierzewo, gm. Ostróda, pow. ostródzki, woj. warmińsko-mazurskie (fmr. *Abbau Thierberg, Kr. Osterode*) (PL)

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JUŻ NIEMAL TUZIN. KOLEJNY GRÓB KSIĄŻĘCY NA CMENARZYSKU W CZARNÓWKU NA POMORZU

STRESZCZENIE

W 2021 roku na znanej nekropoli kultury oksywskiej i wielbarskiej w Czarnówku na Pomorzu Gdańskim odkryto kolejny bardzo bogato wyposażony grób (obiekt 1927), który zasługuje na określenie go mianem „książęcego”. Jest to już jedenasty grób tego typu na tym cmentarzysku i podobnie jak dziewięć innych należy do tzw. horyzontu Öremölla-Czarnówko, natomiast jeden jest starszy i reprezentuje tzw. lubieszewską grupę grobów „książęcych”.

Obiekt 1927 to grób popielnicowy („czysty”) z jamą o owalnym planie. Urna ustawiona była acentrycznie w dolnej partii obiektu (Ryc. 1). Grób otwarto w starożytności: niemal trzy czwarte pierwotnego wypełniska wykopano, przypuszczalnie podczas tego procesu usuwając również część darów grobowych (które mogły być umieszczone w drugiej, niezachowanej urnie); w wypełnisku wkopu wyróżnić można co najmniej cztery warstwy zasypiskowe.

Popielnica zawierała fragmenty dwóch naczyń rzymskich: celowo rozkawałkowanego wiadra ze stopu miedzi (typu E 36)⁹ oraz silnie stopionego pucharu szklanego (Ryc. 5, 6). Wiadra tego typu były prawdopodobnie produkowane w Galii. Dotychczas z *Barbaricum* znaleźliśmy tylko pięć egzemplarzy, znalezionych w jego zachodniej części (Ryc. 10). Wiadro z Czarnówka było starannie zdobione motywami rytymi (Ryc. 12), co czyni je unikatem. Naczynie szklane jest zbyt zniszczone, by można je było określić typologicznie.

Mimo spalenia na stosie zestaw darów grobowych jest imponujący. Znalezione w popielnicy zapinka reprezentuje „barokowy” typ A 130 (Ryc. 7:10), charakterystyczny dla środowiska kultury wielbarskiej w ostatniej ćwierci II i na początku III wieku n.e. Ta identyfikacja nie budzi wątpliwości, chociaż nie ma ona tulejki na sprężynkę, nie zachowały się też charakterystyczne dla tego typu aplikacje z metali szlachetnych (wytlaczane blaszki czy filigran).

W popielnicy złożono również trzy fragmenty srebrnych bransolet różnych typów: węzowatej typu pomorskiego (jedynie półokrągła tarczka główki bransolety; Ryc. 7:11) i jednej lub dwóch wężykowatych (dwa fragmenty faliście wygiętego drutu z obręczy; Ryc. 7:12). Pierwsza z nich jest szczególnie interesująca ze względu na sposób konstrukcji tarczki. Odlano ją w całości razem z obręczą bransolety, później nałożono nań częściowo połączane wytłaczane blaszki srebrne, srebrne

druciki perełkowane, srebrną blaszkę w kształcie litery C z rzędem srebrnych nitów, a na jej brzeg żeberkowana tulejkę o C-kształtnym przekroju. Bransoleta ta ma analogie w dwóch grobach: z Gronowa na Pomorzu Szczecińskim⁴⁷ i z dawn. *Greibeten* na Półwyspie Sambijskim³⁶, datowanych odpowiednio na podfazy C_{1a} i C_{1b} (Ryc. 15:1.4–6).

Kolejnym wysokiej jakości elementem biżuterii jest złota zawieszka w kształcie półksiężyca, tzw. lunula (Ryc. 8:16). Została ona lekko uszkodzona w wysokiej temperaturze stosu a do stopionej centralnej wkładki szklanej przywarł również stopiony paciorek szklany. Ten zabytek nie ma dotychczas w Europie Środkowej żadnej dobrej analogii – wszystkie podobnie datowane (późne stadium fazy B₂ – faza C₂) złote zawieszki to formy nerkowate (preclowate) lub pelta-kształtne, żadna z nich nie jest też zdobiona wkładką. Najlepsze stylistyczne i morfologiczne odpowiedniki zabytek Czarnówka znajduje na Krymie⁷¹ (Ryc. 18:23–27), gdzie podobne lunule datowane są głównie na II i III wiek n.e., czyli horyzont, w którym mieści zespół z obiektu 1927. Innym efektownym elementem naszyjnika jest wisior opasany (Ryc. 8:17). Pomimo iż został naruszony w ogniu stosu, to na jego taśmach zachowały się resztki platerowania srebrem. Rdzeń wisiora stanowiła muszla kauri (*Cypraea*). O ile na obszarze kultury wielbarskiej wisior opasany – z różnymi rdzeniami – są częste, to egzemplarze z muszlą kauri należą do znalezisk stosunkowo rzadkich.

Sprzączka i okucie końca pasa (Ryc. 7:13.14) są sobie na tyle bliskie stylistycznie, że należy sądzić, iż wykonano je jako komplet. Można je datować na fazę C₁, najprawdopodobniej na podfazę C_{1b}.

Wydaje się, że tak właśnie datować należy cały zespół, pomimo iż choć kobieta, która zmarła w wieku *senilis*, część swojej otrzymać musiała jeszcze za młodu, tj. w horyzoncie B₂/C₁ (czyli w podfazie C_{1a}) – chodzi tu o zapinkę i bransolety wężykowate, może też bransolety typu pomorskiego.

Zespół znalezisk z obiektu 1927 najpewniej nie odzwierciedla oryginalnego zestawu darów grobowych, złożonych na stosie pogrzebowym. Część z nich mogła ulec zniszczeniu w ogniu stosu, nie wszystkie też mogły zostać zebrane z pozostałości stosu, inne mogły być usunięte podczas otwarcia grobu. Mimo to wyposażenie grobu jest nadal imponujące. Zawiera m.in. importy rzymskie oraz przedmioty

wykonane ze złota, srebra i stopów miedzi. Porównując zestaw darów grobowych z inwentarzami innych bogatych grobów z bransoletami wężykowatymi (Ryc. 22) możemy przyjąć, że kobieta pochowana w obiekcie 1927 w Czarnówku posiadała dwie pary srebrnych bransolet, przynajmniej kolejne dwie, zapewne srebrne fibule oraz inne, niezachowane metalowe elementy biżuterii (paciorki dwustożkowate, klamerka esowata) (Ryc. 23).

Zgodnie z wynikami badań antropologicznych w omawianym grobie pochowano osobę zmarłą w wieku *senilis*, według oceny archeologicznej był to pochówek kobiety. Grób (obiekt) 1927 z Czarnówka jest kolejnym, obok grobów 150 i 208 z Weklic, dowodem wysokiej pozycji, jaką wśród wielbarskich społeczności z późnego II i wczesnego III wieku n.e. zajmowały starsze kobiety.

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 volkskundlichen Sammlungen des Westpreußischen Provinzial-Museums für das Jahr...”, (później: „Amtlicher Bericht über die Verwaltung der naturhistorischen, archaeologischen und ethnologischen Sammlungen des Westpreußischen Provinzial-Museums für das Jahr...” oraz „Amtlicher Bericht über die Verwaltung der naturgeschichtlichen, vorgeschichtlichen und volkskundlichen 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 [BAR Publishing]
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	– Краткие сообщения Института археологии Академии наук СССР, Москва
MIA	– Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР, Москва
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 (-Przemyśl/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 [Ossolineum]
Prussia	– „Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia” (później: „Prussia. Zeitschrift für Heimatkunde”), Königsberg.
PZ	– „Praehistorische Zeitschrift”, Berlin-New York
RArch.	– „Recherches Archéologiques”, Kraków
RB	– „Rocznik Białostocki”, Białystok
RGA	– Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde: 1. edycja: J. Hoops (wyd.), tomy 1–4 (K.J. Trübner, Straßburg 1911–1919), 2. edycja: H. Jankuhn, H. Beck i in. (wyd.), tomy 1–35 (Walter de Gruyter/De Gruyter, Berlin-New York 1973–2007).
RO	– „Rocznik Olsztyński”, Olsztyn
RosArh.	– „Российская археология”, Москва
SJahr.	– „Saalburg Jahrbuch”, Berlin-New York
SLA	– „Slovenská archeológia”, Bratislava
SovArh.	– „Советская археология”, Москва
SprArch.	– „Sprawozdania Archeologiczne”, Kraków

SprPMA	– „Sprawozdania P.M.A.”, Warszawa
WA	– „Wiadomości Archeologiczne”, „Wiadomości Archeologiczne. Spostrzeżenia lat ostatnich w dziedzinie starożytności krajowych. Czasy przedhistoryczne” (I–IV – 1873–1882); „Wiadomości Archeologiczne. Organ Państwowego Głównego Konserwatorium Zabytków Przedhistorycznych” (V–IX – 1920–1925); „Wiadomości Archeologiczne. Organ Państwowego Muzeum Archeologicznego” (X–XXII – 1929–1955); „Wiadomości Archeologiczne” (XXIII–XXXI – 1956–1966), „Wiadomości Archeologiczne. Organ Muzealnictwa i Konserwatorstwa Archeologicznego” (XXXII–LV – 1966–2001); „Wiadomości Archeologiczne” (od LVI – 2002), Warszawa
ZfE	– „Zeitschrift für Ethnologie”, Berlin
ZNUJ	– „Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego”, Kraków
ZOW	– „Z otchłani wieków”, Warszawa

WYKAZ SKRÓTÓW NAZW WYDAWNICTW

ABBREVIATIONS OF PUBLISHING HOUSES NAMES

FBAPKJ	– Fundacja Badań Archeologicznych imienia Profesora Konrada Jażdżewskiego (Łódź)
FMAB	– Fundacja Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica (Warszawa)
FPIAUW	– Fundacja Przyjaciół Instytutu Archeologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego (Warszawa)
IAE PAN	– Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Warszawa)
IA UG	– Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego (Gdańsk)
IA UJ	– Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (Kraków)
IA UŁ	– Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego (Łódź)
IA UMCS	– Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej (Lublin)
IA UW	– Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego (Warszawa)
MAE	– Muzeum Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne w Łodzi (Łódź)
MAG	– Muzeum Archeologiczne w Gdańsku (Gdańsk)
MAK	– Muzeum Archeologiczne w Krakowie (Kraków)
MfVF	– Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin)
MKiDN	– Ministerstwo Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego (Warszawa)
MSHM	– Muzeum Starożytnego Hutnictwa Mazowieckiego im. Stefana Woydy (Pruszków)
OODA	– Ośrodek Ochrony Dziedzictwa Archeologicznego (Warszawa)
Ossolineum	– Wydawnictwo Ossolineum (Wrocław), dawn. Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich. Wydawnictwo (w latach 1953–1990 – wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk)
PAU	– Polska Akademia Umiejętności (Kraków)
PMA	– Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne w Warszawie (Warszawa)
PWN	– Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe (Warszawa)
RGZM	– Römisch-Germanische Zentralmuseum (Mainz)
SNAP	– Stowarzyszenie Naukowe Archeologów Polskich
UJ	– Uniwersytet Jagielloński (Kraków)
UŁ	– Uniwersytet Łódzki (Łódź)
UAM	– Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu (Poznań)
UMCS	– Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej (Lublin)
UW	– Uniwersytet Warszawski (Warszawa)
WA UW	– Wydział Archeologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego (Warszawa)
ZBSA	– Zentrum für Baltische und Skandinavische Archäologie (LEIZA-ZBSA) (Schleswig), dawn. Zentrum für Baltische und Skandinavische Archäologie – Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloss Gottorf

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