EARLY MEDIEVAL FINDS FROM CZECHOWICE (GLIWICE / PL)

In the Archives of the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* (Museum of Prehistory and Early History) in Berlin, several original documents produced during February and March 1880 (File Reference: E 1880/00379), containing abundant information regarding the discovery of Early Medieval materials in the village of Czechowice in Upper Silesia (formerly *Schechowitz* or *Czechowitz*, district *Tost/Gleiwitz*; now part of the city of Gliwice/PL) are preserved. The discovery was made by accident during the construction of a branch line of the Opole – Strzelce Opolskie – Chebzie railway (**fig. 1**)¹, between the stations of Łabędy (f. *Laband*) and Pyskowice (f. *Peiskretscham*). The most valuable document is a comprehensive report on the site of the discovery by a certain Ehrenberg, an official of the *Oberschlesische Eisenbahn* (Upper Silesian Railway) overseeing the construction. The report was accompanied by a carefully executed and detailed site sketch (**figs 2–3**) showing that the discoveries were made on the western edge of Czechowice in the place where the Łabędy-Pyskowice railway line cuts firmly the hill on the edge of an undulating plateau descending towards the valleys of the Drama and Kłodnica rivers.

On September 13, 1879, workers digging a trench for the laying of the railway tracks came across three circular features 100–110 cm in diameter, filled with sand, spaced close together within a layer of sandy clay, at a depth of 2.6 m. The sketch accompanying the report shows detailed plans and cross-sections of these features (**fig. 3**), which Ehrenberg described as shafts, most likely because of their characteristic vertically sloping shape and walls reinforced with birch wood. One of them, dug by workers without official supervision, was covered with thick planks or wooden beams reinforced with crossed birch logs. The depth of the feature was 125 cm. At the bottom were two earthenware vessels, identified in the report as urns. The larger of the two was preserved in fragments. The smaller one, allegedly filled with sand, was excavated in its entirety. The other two shafts, described in more detail in the report, had already been dug under the supervision of *Oberschlesische Eisenbahn* officials. The work dragged on until early 1880 due to unfavorable weather conditions and groundwater outflow. Both shafts turned out to be much deeper than the shaft containing the vessels (6.2 and 6.6 m deep)². The bottom part of the deepest of the two shafts passed into a quadrangular box with a side of 50 cm. Numerous wooden elements were excavated from the fill, including three pulleys used for pulling buckets, as well as a ladle and bucket hooks. Shaft planking was done by hammering poles into the clay subsoil, behind which densely spaced, unbound wooden planks were inserted.

The archives³ still contain information showing a broader context for the discovery than described in Ehrenberg's report. We learn that an iron sword and an iron axe, as well as a human skeleton, were also encountered in the same place where the »shafts« were located⁴. The weapons and objects excavated from the »shafts« were handed over to the General Directorate of the *Oberschlesische Eisenbahn* and sent directly to Berlin. The antiquities were acquired for the collection of the *Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde* (Royal Museum of Ethnology) and inventoried under the numbers lc 1–13. Most were lost at the end of World War II. Only the sword cross-guard and axe (nos lc 3 and 4), were able to be identified in the remains of the museum's collection from the *Martin-Gropius-Bau*, which was bombed in 1945. The collection of the former *Schlesisches Museum für Kunstgewerbe und Altertümer* (Silesian Museum of Decorative Arts and Antiquities) in Breslau contained plaster casts of a sword and an axe made before the war (Altschlesien 1, 1922, 49).

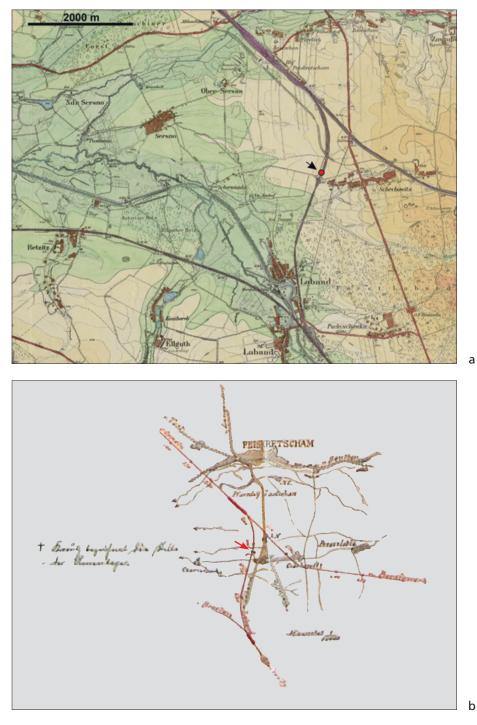


Fig. 1 Location of the discoveries made in 1879 in Czechowice/PL: **a** on the *Meßtischblatt* Peiskretscham 3307 [new no. 5677], *Königlich Preußische Landesaufnahme*, survey 1882 (ed. 1883), single suppl. 1912 (Digital Library of University of Wrocław). – **b** according to the sketch accompanying Ehrenberg's report.

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Fig. 2 Documents reporting the discoveries from Czechowice/PL held in the Archives of the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* in Berlin: **a** covering letter from the *Königliche Direktion der Oberschlesischen Eisenbahn* to the Board of Management of the *Königliche Museen* in Berlin. **- b** Ehrenberg's accompanying detailed report.

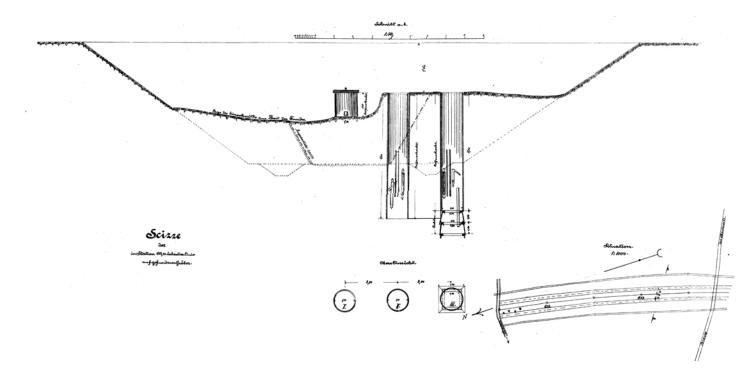


Fig. 3 Site sketch accompanying Ehrenberg's report containing plans and cross-sections of the three »shafts«.

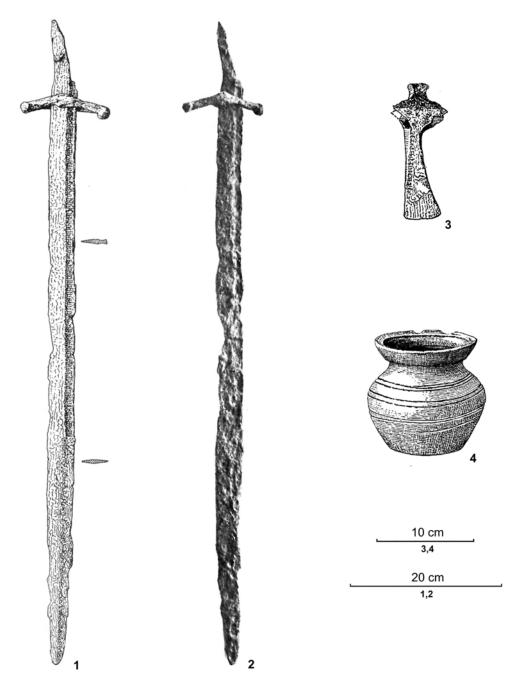


Fig. 4 Early medieval materials from Czechowice/PL: 1–2 iron sword. – 3 iron hammer-axe. – 4 wheel-turned vessel. – (1 after Petersen 1935; 2 after Hampel 1905; 3–4 after Arndt 1925). – Scale 1:5.

The discovery from Czechowice gained some notoriety in the literature mainly due to the associated sword, long described as a saber, which has been attributed to a nomad tribe or, more precisely, the Hungarians. A fairly accurate photograph was published by J. Hampel (1905, fig. 491) (fig. 4, 2). Several other illustrations of the sword, of varying quality, also appeared in pre-war publications – from a very accurate drawing containing even cross-sections of the blade included in E. Petersen's book *Schlesien von der Eiszeit bis ins Mittelalter. Einführung in die Vor- und Frühgeschichte des Landes* (1935, fig. 389) (fig. 4, 1), to schematic

sketches in the paper of M. Weigel (1892/1893, fig. 59) and the book of L. Niederle (1925, fig. 145, 4), where the blade was given a rapier-like outline. A similar quality drawing with the marked curvature of the blade typical of sabers was found in the publication of A. Nadolski (1954, pl. XXXIII, 1) and was subsequently reproduced in the specialized literature on weaponry (Strzyż 2006, fig. 3, 8; Świętosławski 2006, fig. 30A; 2012, fig. 3b). An Early Medieval date was also attributed to an axe discovered in Czechowice, which A. Nadolski (1954, 41–42) described as a hammer-axe in the »Moravian« type (fig. 4, 3). Its most complete evaluation in accordance with the latest trends in weaponry studies was made by P. N. Kotowicz (2014, 34 cat. 91; 2018, 105–106). The age of the two clay vessels excavated from the shallowest »shaft« was assessed similarly (fig. 4, 4).

At the same time, a number of divergent opinions about the character of the Czechowice discovery have been introduced. Among other things, they were linked to a Slavic settlement (Weigel 1892/1893, 61), probably guided by the presence of two deep »shafts« believed to be wells. However, the chronology of these objects is not clear, as they could just as well have been late medieval or modern and were only coincidentally located near a »shaft« with Early Medieval vessels. E. Petersen (1935) suggested that artifacts from Czechowice are dated to clearly different times. He related the sword to the Avars (Petersen 1935, 201) and regarded the smaller vessel as a late Slavic form (Petersen 1935, fig. 409). Most publications, however, considered the Early Medieval finds from Czechowice as unique grave equipment, often mistakenly referring the place of their discovery to Czechowice-Dziedzice near Bielsko-Biała (most recently, for example, Kotowicz 2018). Conjectures have also been made, but not supported by a thorough analysis of archival materials, about their connection with the equipment of the inhumation grave (e.g. Zoll-Adamikowa 1966, 35; 1971, 59).

CATALOGUE OF THE EARLY MEDIEVAL FINDS FROM CZECHOWICE HELD IN THE COLLECTION OF THE FORMER *KÖNIGLICHES MUSEUM FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE* IN BERLIN

- Iron sword heavily corroded; straight blade in about ^{2/3} of its length one-edged with a wide fuller and a flat back; the third part of the blade on the side of the point is two-edged and rhombic or oval in cross-section; flat, slightly bent down hilt bar with a rivet; on the bar a massive cross-guard with knobbed terminals and widened middle part; the edge slightly damaged by corrosion. Dimensions: length 85 cm, maximum width of the blade 4 cm, length of the cross-guard 11.5 cm. Originally inventoried at the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde under the number Ic 3. Lost in 1945. Cross-guard identified in the collection of the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Berlin (MVF) (figs 4, 1–2; 5).
- Iron hammer-axe head heavily corroded; its narrow asymmetrical blade is slightly lowered in relation to the long axis of the head; it has a clearly separated, rec-

tangular in cross-section hammer and a large-diameter haft hole; high socket with triangular lugs. Dimensions: length 15.5 cm, height of the socket 6 cm, height of the blade 6 cm. Originally inventoried in the *Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde* under the number Ic 4. Lost in 1945. Identified in the MVF collection (figs 4, 3; 6).

- **3.** Wheel-turned small clay vessel with thickened rim profiled on the inner part; on the belly carelessly made engraved lines (grooves?). Dimensions: height 12.5 cm, maximum diameter of the belly 13.5 cm, diameter of the rim 12.5 cm, diameter of the bottom 8.5 cm. Originally inventoried in the *Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde* under the number Ic 1. Lost in 1945 (fig. 4, 4).
- **4.** Eight fragments of a larger clay vessel. Originally inventoried at the *Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde* under the number Ic 2. Lost in 1945.

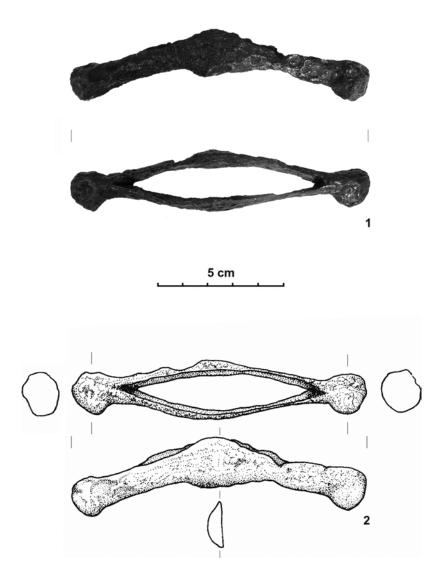


Fig. 5 Iron cross-guard of the sword from Czechowice/PL identified in the collection of the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* in Berlin. – (Photo and drawing M. Grygiel). – Scale 2:3.

ANALYSIS OF THE OBJECTS

Sword

The first detailed opinion in the Polish literature regarding the sword from Czechowice (**cat. 1**) was formulated by A. Nadolski (1954, 68), who recognized it as a saber and compared it to specimens found in large numbers in graves from the northern part of the Carpathian Basin dated to the second half of the 9th and the 10th century AD, attributed to the Hungarians of the Age of Conquest (*Honfoglalás*). The saber is an element of weaponry that emerged in the 7th–8th centuries among tribes inhabiting the Eurasian steppes. Its emergence is considered to be the result of the evolution of the sword and changes in tactics of fighting and horseback riding, associated with the introduction of certain technical innovations, chief among which are stirrups and the saddle. It was popularized in the Carpathian Basin by the Avars (Hofer 1996; Csiky 2016; Pohl 2018). New saber types were brought to the Tisza and Middle Danube basins from the steppes by the Magyars in the second half of the 9th century (Schulze-Dörrlamm 1991; Kovács 1993). However, by the 11th century, it had already disappeared from the combat armor of the Hungarians, only to reappear at the end of the Middle Ages under the influence of contact with Turkish warriors, using swords and sabers equally on the battlefield. It seems that at that time the so-called »Racs«, i.e. light cavalry composed of

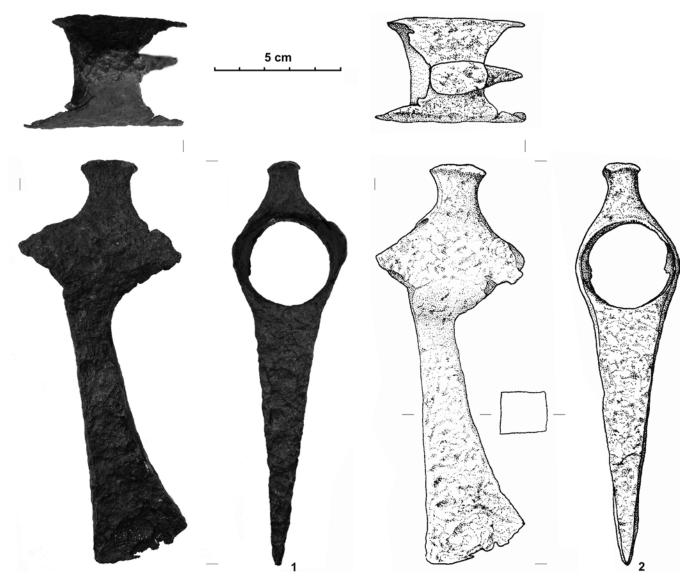


Fig. 6 Iron hammer-axe from Czechowice/PL identified in the collection of the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Berlin. – (Photo and drawing M. Grygiel). – Scale 2:3.

southern Slavs who remained in Hungarian service, may have been the first to become familiar with the saber, which may have influenced the adoption of the Slavic name for this piece of weaponry in Hungary (Kalmár 1971; Jarnuszkiewicz 1973, 50–51). In the early Middle Ages, in addition to the Avars and Hungarians, the saber was used by the Ruthenians, who, however, adopted it as a result of borrowings made in constant battles with nomads. It also appeared in the territory of medieval Bulgaria (Jotov 2004).

The distinctiveness of Hungarian-type sabers was recognized as early as the late 19th century. At the same time, Hungarian researchers formulated the view that these were weapons made and used exclusively by Hungarians, which was criticized by Soviet archaeologists in the 1950s and 1960s (Korzukhina 1950; Merpert 1955; Kirpichnikov 1966, 68–72). They pointed to the considerable range of sabers classified as Hungarian type, covering, in addition to the concentration of Old Hungarian sites in the northern part of the Carpathian Basin, also the zone of the Great Steppe stretching along the northern coasts of the Black and Caspian Seas and the northern Caucasus, up to Central Asia. Several whole or fragmentary sabers of this type come from Bulgaria (Jotov 2004). North of the Carpathians, in addition to the discovery from Czecho-

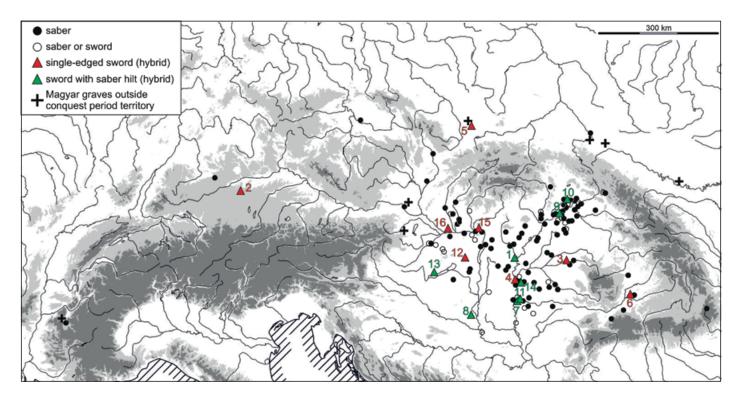


Fig. 7 Distribution of Hungarian-type sabers and hybrid edged weapon forms. Numbering of sites: 1 Abony (Kom. Pest/HU). – 2 Augsburg/DE. – 3 Biharkeresztes (Kom. Hajdú-Bihar/HU). – 4 Csongrád/HU. – 5 Czechowice (Gliwice/PL). – 6 Gâmbaş (Gombás; jud. Alba/RO). – 7 Kiskundorozsma (Szeged; Kom. Csongrád-Csanád/HU). – 8 Mohács/HU. – 9 Rakamaz (Kom. Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg/HU). – 10 Somotor-Véč (okr. Trebišov/SK). – 11 Szeged (Kom. Csongrád-Csanád/HU). – 12 Székesfehérvár (Kom. Fejér/HU). – 13 Szentbékkálla (Kom. Veszprém/HU). – 14 Szentes (Kom. Csongrád-Csanád/HU). – 15 Szob (Kom. Pest/HU). – 16 Zemianska Olča (Nemesócsa; okr. Komárno/SK). – (Map M. Grygiel).

wice, only one other specimen is known from Radymno (pow. Jarosław/PL), on the San River, excavated from an old river crossing along with other elements of medieval weaponry (Koperski 1980; Nowakowski 1998). On the other hand, an iron fitting described as an element of a saber pendant (Koperski 2003, 366 fig. 3), comes from one of the burials of Hungarian warriors in a cemetery in Przemyśl-Zasanie/PL (Rycerska Street) dated to the late 9th or the first half of the 10th century. The westernmost discoveries are single Hungarian specimens from Augsburg/DE (Schulze-Dörrlamm 2007, fig. 11) and from the grave of a Hungarian warrior from Aspres-lès-Corps (dép. Hautes Alpes/FR) (Schulze 1984) (**fig. 7**).

Among the main features of Hungarian-type sabers (see Kovács 1981; 1986; Révész 2006, 124–133), whose length varies from 75 to 95 cm, is the presence of a slightly curved, single-edged blade (fig. 8, 6). Its weak (mostly third) part has two cutting edges and is sometimes marked by a so-called false edge (*elman*) formed on the back. The hilt is open with a massive boat-shaped cross-guard which was intended to protect the hand of the warrior and was especially useful during fencing when there was a slide down the blade of the opponent's saber. The hilt bar is characteristically bent down to one line with the blade. Thanks to this construction, the saber found use not only for slashing but also to inflict effective thrusts. In the front part of the bar is sometimes a riveted ear, through which was passed a thong intended to prevent the loss of the saber.

Some sabers have preserved metal hilt fittings, mostly in the form of cylindrical or pear-shaped pommels (fig. 8, 1), occasionally accompanied by plates and rings incorporated into the organic facings of the grip. Hilts with the simplest forms of iron fittings predominate, most likely produced in workshops operating in

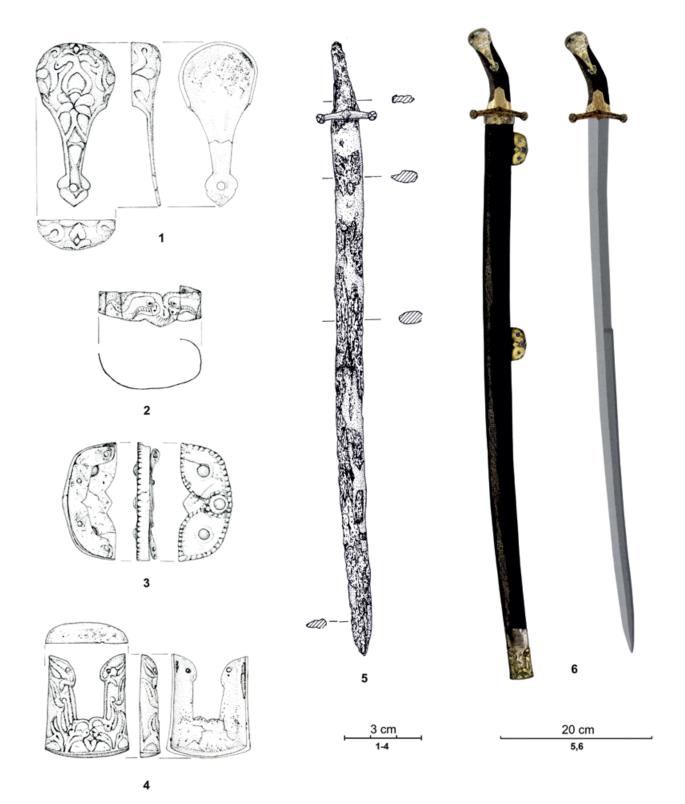


Fig. 8 Saber and scabbard from the burial of a Hungarian warrior from Gnadendorf (Bez. Mistelbach/AT): **1** silver pommel. -2-4 silver scabbard fittings: locket reinforcement (**2**), suspension loop (**3**), front plate of the chape (**4**). -5 iron saber with bronze cross-guard. -6 reconstruction of the saber and scabbard. -(After Daim/Lauermann 2006). -1-4 scale 2:3; 5–6 scale 1:5.

areas east of the Tisza River. Less common are bronze fittings and richly ornamented one- or two-piece fittings made of precious metals, which come mainly from areas west of the Tisza River and the northern part of the Little Hungarian Plain.

The scabbard of the Hungarian-type saber was tailored to the shape of the blade (**fig. 8, 5**). It consisted of a wooden core wrapped in leather and typically clad with three metal fittings – a small chape at the end and two suspension bars with loops, the highest of which was also a reinforcement of the locket (sometimes reinforced with an additional band) (**fig. 8, 2–4**). The simplest iron or bronze fittings are the most common. Only a narrow group of the most exclusive scabbards have fittings made of precious metals, richly ornamented to match the style of the hilt. The lamellar chape generally had a rounded end. Only one scabbard with a knob-terminal chape accompanying a saber kept in the Imperial Treasury of Vienna (*Schatzkammer*) is known and is counted among the coronation insignia of the Kingdom of Hungary (Fodor 1996, 67; Révész 2014, 51). The suspension bar in the form of two metal strips, or less commonly, a wide metal sheet, has one semicircular or triangular loop.

A general typology of »Hungarian« sabers was proposed by M. Schulze-Dörrlamm (1991), distinguishing among them Koban-type specimens with richly decorated metal fittings of hilts and scabbards. According to this author, it is also possible to identify two variants of the Koban type: one with suspension bars in the form of two metal strips connected with riveted strip metal loops; and the other, in which the loops are in the form of semicircular or triangle plates. Outside the Carpathian Basin, the zones of occurrence of the two variants differ somewhat. While sabers belonging to the second variant with scabbards provided with suspension bars with plate loops are mostly found in Central Asia and the northern foreland of the Caucasus, the forms of the first variant come from grave finds in the Volga and Kama basins, between the Don and the Dnieper, but also from the northern foreland of the Caucasus. Both variants of the Koban type found in the Carpathian Basin can only be occasionally found in graves dated later than the 9th century (Schulze-Dörrlamm 1991, 394). The early chronological position of Koban-type sabers with scabbards wrought with gold or silver is also indicated by comparing their range with the spread of sabers without precious metal sheath fittings (Schulze-Dörrlamm 1991, figs 19. 22). Such simple sabers are already found in the oldest Hungarian graves in the Carpathian Basin from the 9th century, but in isolated cases, they also occur in burial assemblages dated to the second third of the 10th century, when the territory occupied by the Hungarians expanded significantly (the second phase of the Hungarian conquest according to M. Schulze-Dörrlamm 1991). Consequently, the zone of their occurrence in the Carpathian Basin is larger than that of the Koban type and extends primarily further westward to the mouth of the Marusha River on the Great Hungarian Plain. However, the area of occurrence of these simple forms is still smaller than the range of the younger double-edged swords and so-called saber-swords (Säbelgriff-Schwerter), which have been discovered both in central Transdanubia and in the very south of the Great Hungarian Plain and Transylvania (Kovács 1993, fig. 2). Only a few 10th-century Hungarian-type sabers still have metal scabbard fittings, but these are made of bronze, not gold or silver.

M. Schulze-Dörrlamm (1991, 460 list 11 no. 1) also included a specimen from Czechowice in the group of sabers without metal fittings, despite the lack of certainty about the completeness of this accidental discovery. On the other hand, J. Hampel (1905) pointed out that the specimen from Czechowice differs from typical sabers by the straight course of the blade, as do several other Hungarian specimens known to him from Gâmbaş (Gombás; jud. Alba/RO), Zemianska Olča (Nemesócsa; okr. Komárno/SK), and Székesfehérvár (Kom. Fejér/HU) (Hampel 1905, 197–205 figs 483. 485. 487; **fig. 4**). More recently, A. Bíró (2012, 201–203) proposed that such forms should be referred to as single-edged swords⁵. He pointed to the functioning of this form of sword in the armament of the Byzantine army, to which he applied the term paramerion, appearing in Byzantine sources since the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries, literally meaning »something

held against the thigh«. The paramerion is mentioned among several weapons used by the heavy-armed Byzantine cavalry (*kataphraktoi*), which also included a spathion, identified with a double-edged straight sword still derived from the tradition of the armament of the imperial Roman army, and several *siderorabdia*, i. e. heavy iron maces attached to the saddle (according to the *Sylloge Tacticorum* 39, 2 [Dain 1938, 61] and *Praecepta Militaria* 3, 7 [McGeer 1995, 36–37. 216–217]). J. Haldon (1975, 31; 2002, 73) assumed that the main difference between the spathion and the paramerion was the way they were carried: the former was worn on the *balteus*, while the latter hung from the belt. He also considered the paramerion to be a slightly curved saber, although none of the Byzantine sources mention the curvature of its blade. In one passage of Leo VI's *Tactica* (5, 2. 17), the paramerion was referred to as a dagger, while this is probably only a comparative term intended to show its straight shape and perhaps the cross-shaped construction of the handle (Bíró 2012, 201). The *Sylloge Tacticorum* also uses the term paramerion, and most notably in two passages confirms that single-edged swords (*monostomon* and *heterestomon xiphos*) were called paramerions (38, 5. 18 and 39, 2. 12–13) and at the same time states that the lengths of paramerion and spathion are equal (Dain 1938, 59. 61).

The existence of a distinction between single-edged swords and double-edged swords is also confirmed by 10th-century Byzantine iconographic sources. One example is a fresco depicting the procession of the Forty Martyrs from Sebasta (today's Sivas/TR) located in the Güvercinlik Church in Çavuşin (Cappadocia/TR) dating from AD 963–969. It shows figures of soldiers with straight swords rendered extremely realistically and in detail, among which one can recognize single- and double-edged forms (Restle 1967, fig. 325).

Thus, there seems to be no evidence supporting the use of sabers, i. e. weapons with a curved blade, in the 10th century in Byzantium, which is also pointed out by contemporary researchers such as P. Ł. Grotowski (2010) and M. G. Parani (2003). Archaeological evidence for the parallel use in the 10th century of three of the types of edged weapons mentioned here – the single-edged sword, the double-edged sword, and the saber – is, however, found on the northern periphery of Byzantium, in the Carpathian Basin and in Bulgaria (Jotov 2004; Bíró 2012, fig. 3 and note 84). At the present stage of research, it is impossible to resolve the relationship of such swords to paramerions known only from Byzantine written and iconographic sources, and which of these forms appeared first. What is certain, however, is that the one-edged sword, undoubtedly combining the advantages of the saber and the two-edged sword, became a widespread weapon, penetrating the armament of formations of a distinctly different nature – lightly armed Hungarian warriors and heavy Byzantine cavalry.

The sword from Czechowice has so far been dated according to the old proposal of A. Nadolski (1954, 68 tab. B/20) to the 10th century at the latest. The period of maximum spread of similar Hungarian-type sabers in the Carpathian Basin is referred to before the middle of this century. The second half of the 10th century is the period of the changes in the armament of the Hungarians that are reflected in archaeological sources associated with the spread of two-edged swords, representing mostly forms of Western origin (Kovács 1993). Also connected with this was a marked reduction in the range of sabers, which maintained their popularity for several more centuries only in Kievan Rus and among the nomadic tribes of the Great Steppe (Świętosławski 2006; 2012).

An expression of the changes taking place was also the appearance in the Carpathian Basin of new forms of white weapons combining features of the saber and the sword. These were the single-edged swords already discussed (**fig. 9**), as well as characteristic specimens of double-edged swords distinguished by the construction of the asymmetrical hilt typical of sabers (*Säbelgriff-Schwerter*) (**fig. 10**). M. Schulze-Dörrlamm connected double-edged swords with a saber hilt to the second phase of the Hungarian conquest, dated absolutely to the second third of the 10th century (Schulze-Dörrlamm 1991, 394). It was then that hybrid one-edged swords, which characteristically belong to relatively simple forms, devoid of decorative handles

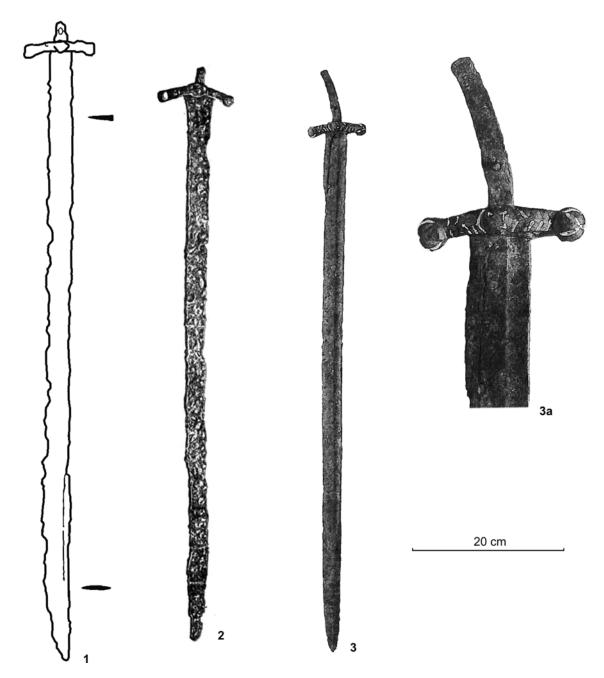
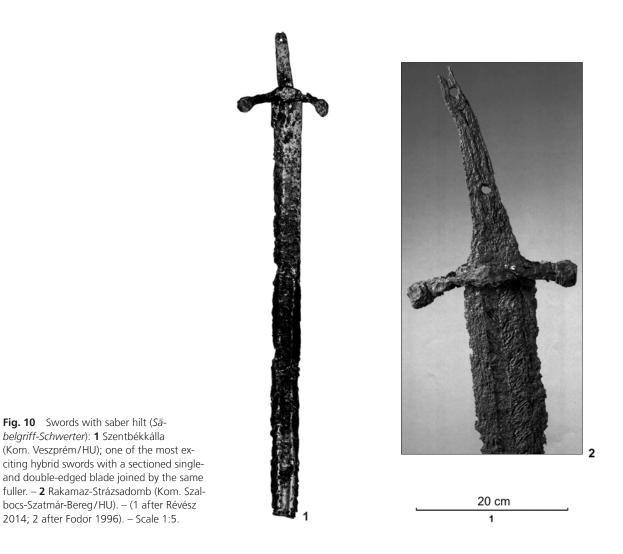


Fig. 9 Single-edged iron swords: 1 Biharkeresztes, Vasútállomás (Kom. Hajdú-Bihar/HU). – 2 Gâmbaş (Gombás; jud. Alba/RO). – 3 Augsburg/DE. – (1 after Bíró 2012; 2 after Hampel 1905; 3 after Schulze-Dörrlamm 2007). – Scale 1:5.

and scabbard fittings, typical of edged weapons of the 9th century, most likely appeared as well (Schulze-Dörrlamm 1991, 394). This would imply that the first changes in the offensive armament of the Hungarians were already marked before the defeat suffered at the Battle of the Lech River (near Augsburg) in AD 955⁶, which is considered a turning point in their military development, and clearly predate the massive influx of swords associated in the older literature with the reign of Prince Geza (AD 972–997). They may have been the result of earlier Hungarian raids on Byzantium and western European countries, during which the nomadic tribes came into contact with new occidental fighting techniques and may have come into possession of foreign weapons (Schulze 1984, 505 note 129; Kovács 1993, 49).



Hammer Axe

In addition to the sword, the Czechowice find consists of an iron hammer-axe head, which belongs to the narrow forms with slightly asymmetrical blade, with triangular lugs on both sides of the socket and a long rectangular in cross-section hammer (**cat. 2; fig. 6**). It has already been discussed many times in the literature, but this was based, as in the case of the sword, on poor quality drawings found in old publications (Kotowicz 2014, 34 cat. 91 and older literature there).

In the early Middle Ages, hammer-axes gained particular popularity among the nomads of the Great Steppe. Undoubtedly, under their influence, this type of close-combat weapon became widespread among the Slavic tribes living in Rus and the Middle Danube Basin. In the Oder and Vistula basins, axes appeared through influences flowing from several neighboring cultural zones, inspiring the development of local forms. At the early stage preceding the 10th century, this kind of weaponry was shaped by the influences of southern centers, including the most significant one associated with the environment of Great Moravia. The Moravian leading form represented in the north, the development of which was largely inspired by the influences of Avar armament, is considered to be the hammer-axe, designated by the Czech term »bradatica«. It is characterized by an archaic construction of the socket provided with long lugs on both sides, a clearly

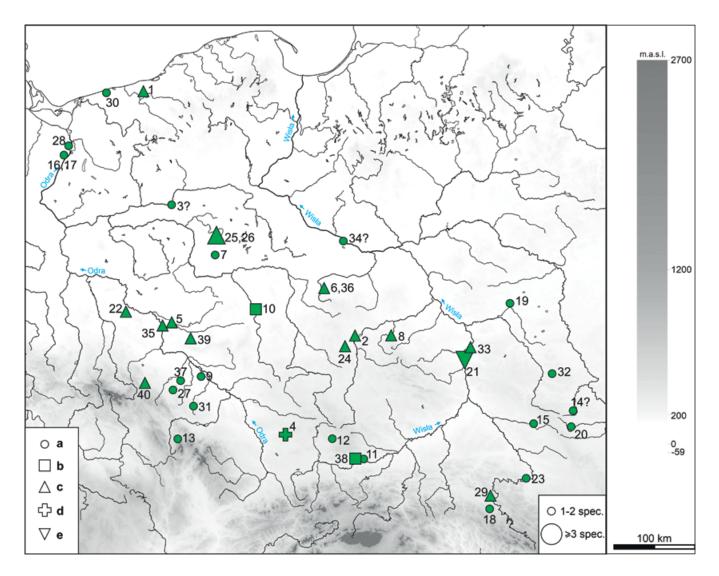


Fig. 11 Distribution of Early Medieval Moravian-type hammer-axes in the Oder and Vistula basins/PL. Legend (context of finds): a stray find. – b settlement. – c stronghold or fortified settlement. – d grave. – e hoard. – Numbering of sites: 1 Bardy (pow. Kołobrzeg). – 2 Barkowice Mokre (pow. Piotrków Trybunalski). – 3 Czarnków (vicinity) (pow. Czarnków-Trzcianka). – 4 Czechowice (Gliwice). – 5 Czeladź Wielka (pow. Wąsosz). – 6 Czerchów (pow. Zgierz). – 7 Giecz (pow. Środa Wielkopolska). – 8 Goździków (pow. Przysucha). – 9 Jankowice (pow. Oława). – 10 Kalisz-Stare Miasto. – 11 Kraków-Wyciąże. – 12 Krzykawka (pow. Olkusz). – 13 Lądek-Zdrój (pow. Kłodzko). –
14 Łaszczów (vicinity) (pow. Tomaszów Lubelski). – 15 Łąki-Byki (pow. Biłgoraj). – 16–17 Moczyły (pow. Police). – 18 Niebieszczany (pow. Sanok). – 19 Niewęgłosz (pow. Radzyń Podlaski). – 20 Nowosiółki Przednie (pow. Tomaszów Lubelski). – 21 Piotrawin (pow. Opole Lubelskie). – 22 Popęszyce (pow. Nowa Sól). – 23 Przemyśl. – 24 Rozprza (pow. Piotrków Trybunalski). – 25–26 Rybitwy-Ostrów Lednicki. –
27 Słupice (pow. Dzierżoniów). – 28 Szczecin. – 29 Trepcza (pow. Sanok). – 30 Włodarka (pow. Gryfice). – 31 Strzelińskie Hills. – 32 Zastawie (pow. Krasnystaw). – 33 Żmijowiska (pow. Opole Lubelskie). – 34 Mazowsze Płockie (unknown place). – Damaged or closer unknown hammer-axes: 35 Chobienia (pow. Lubin). – 36 Czerchów (pow. Zgierz). – 37 Jaszowice (pow. Wrocław). – 38 Kraków-Mogiła. – 39 Pietrowice Małe (pow. Trzebnica). – 40 Wałbrzych-Stary Książ. – (Map M. Grygiel).

separated hammer and a broad, straight-cut blade (beard) (type I according to Dostál 1966; variant IB.5.30 according to Kotowicz 2018). Another form of the Moravian type represented north of the Carpathians is the narrow, asymmetrical hammer-axe with approximately the same construction of the hammer and socket as the bradatica, to which the discussed specimen from Czechowice belongs (type II according to Dostál 1966 [71 fig. 15, 9]; type 2Aa according to Bartoškova 1986 [5 fig. 1]; type IIA according to Ruttkay 1976 [306 fig. 42]; variant IB.5.29 according to Kotowicz 2018).

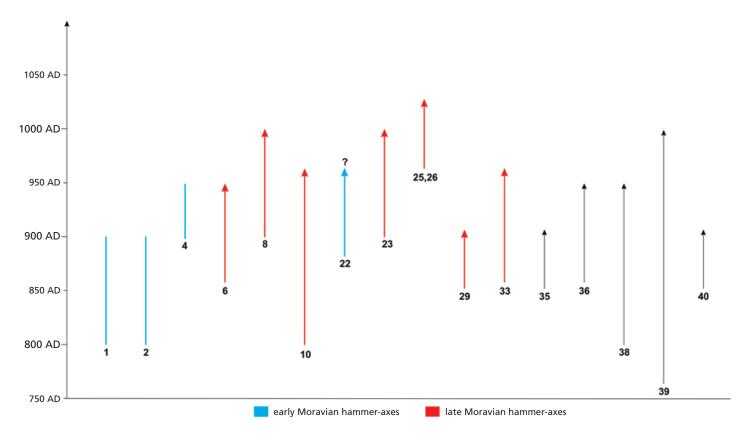


Fig. 12 Chronology of Moravian type hammer-axes from Poland. Numbering of sites in caption to fig. 11. – (Graphics M. Grygiel).

The primary area of occurrence of bradaticas and narrow hammer-axes includes the zone of Slavic settlement in Moravia and southwestern Slovakia, where they appeared as early as the 7th and 8th centuries (Dostál 1966; Ruttkay 1976; Měřínský 2005). Much less numerous specimens are known from eastern Bohemia and the Danube region of Lower Austria (Friesinger 1972; Poulik 1948, 33–38). They were also used by the nomadic warriors in the Carpathian Basin (Kotowicz 2009, 384 and further literature there). North of the Carpathians and Sudetes, both forms were found primarily in Lower Silesia and the area of historic Lesser Poland, as well as at scattered sites in Western Pomerania, Greater Poland and central and eastern Poland. Nearly a third of them are associated with strongholds functioning in the 9th and 10th centuries, and in some cases longer. The specimen from Czechowice is a unique find from a grave context. However, the most numerous are stray finds (**fig. 11–12**).

A significant concentration of hammer-axe forms is drawn in the eastern part of Lower Silesia (or so-called Central Silesia), closely linked to the Great Moravian cultural circle. From here come, among other things, two classical bradaticas discovered in the region of the Strzelińskie Hills and at the stronghold in Popęszyce (pow. Nowa Sól/PL) (Wachowski 1997, 46; Jaworski 2005, 292–293; Lisowska 2017). They represent the forms of type IA according to B. Dostál (1966, 70–71), the common battle axes of Great Moravians, characterized by a long narrow lug and an elongated, rectangular in cross-section hammer. Another specimen of type IA (inlaid with bronze?) comes from the stronghold at Bardy near Kołobrzeg on the Baltic coast (Kotowicz 2014, 14–15 no. 4 with older literature there). Numerous hammer-axes bearing early Moravian features (like the one from Czechowice – high socket with both-sided lugs and long, square in cross-section hammer) occur not only in Lower Silesia but also in the Kraków region maintaining strong ties with the Mid-

dle Danube Basin (Poleski 2013), and in central Poland at strongholds in Czerchów (pow. Zgierz/PL) (Trojan 2014, fig. 3, 1; Kotowicz 2014, pl. XVI, 6) and Rozprza (pow. Piotrków Trybunalski/PL) (Kotowicz 2014, pl. LXXII, 3) and at a settlement in Barkowice Mokre (pow. Piotrków Trybunalski/PL) (Góra/Kotowicz 2009). Specimens from other parts of Poland are mostly similar to late Moravian forms with reduced lugs and a short, massive hammer. We cannot exclude the possibility that some of those found in southeastern Poland were brought there by nomads, who also used this type of weaponry and penetrated the area in the 10th and 11th centuries. Finally, we have to take into account the possibility of the existence of local imitations of southern axes, which include, for example, a bradatica-like specimen from Zastawie (pow. Krasnystaw/PL) (Kotowicz 2014, 191 no. 766).

The earliest Moravian imports are undoubtedly represented by the aforementioned classical bradaticas from Lower Silesia and from the stronghold at Bardy, which belong to forms that were widely used already in the first half of the 9th century (Kouřil 2004, 70; Kouřil/Tymonova 2013). The specimen from Bardy and a hammer-axe similar to the bradatica from Barkowice Mokre⁷ were deposited as early as the 9th century (**fig. 12**, nos 1–2). The narrow hammer-axe from Czechowice represents the early form used most intensively around the same time as classical bradaticas. Its chronology, however, is extended by the accompanying single-edged sword to the first half of the 10th century. Some of the late axe forms have been discovered in contexts indicating that they were deposited in the 10th or even 11th century (**fig. 12**, nos 8. 25–26), essentially during the period of the disappearance of bradaticas and narrow hammer-axes south of the Carpathians (Měřínský 1985, 63).

Pottery

We can say the least about the two clay vessels discovered in Czechowice, which have been lost along with a sizable portion of the Berlin museum's collection. The larger of the two (cat. 4), which we assume may have served as an urn, is known only from laconic information contained in archival sources. However, with regard to the smaller one (cat. 3), we have an old repeatedly published drawing (fig. 4, 4) and the basic dimensions recorded in the inventory book of the former Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (MfV inv. no. Ic 1). Based on this, it is reasonable to believe that it was a small, squat vessel with a relatively large diameter bottom and high mouth with a turned-out rim, as well as a concave neck part. Its rim gives the impression of being thickened and molded from a double portion of clay mass into a strip-like shape. On the upper and inner sides of the rim, one can see regular profiles all around, indicating the use of a potter's wheel. On the belly, there are groups of lines or grooves made with a single-tooth tool. This is one of the leading decorative motifs adopted by the Slavs living in Silesia from the Great Moravian pottery in the course of the 9th and 10th centuries. On the Głubczyce Plateau, it appears on pottery from about the middle of the 9th to the end of the 10th century (Parczewski 1982, 63). Also, the squat form of a vessel from Czechowice having a large diameter bottom refers to the 9th century Great Moravian small pottery forms (e.g. Dostál 1966, pls XVI, 1. 4. 12; XXV, 15; XXIX, 5–6; XL, 17; XLII, 2; XLIV, 8; XLIX, 6; LII, 13; LVI, 8; LXV, 20; Macháček 2001, fig. 177, 181; pls 1, H55/1; 2, H63.1/1; 6, H83/2; 66, 10–13; Přichystalová/Kalábek 2014, pl. 34, H48/1). On the other hand, its high mouth with thickened and profiled rim, as well as its strongly concave neck area are rather progressive features appearing on Upper Silesian ceramics in the 10th century (Pankiewicz 2012, 122–136).

INTERPRETATION OF THE DISCOVERY FROM CZECHOWICE

The sepulchral character of the Early Medieval finds from Czechowice seems beyond doubt. This is already suggested by the very location of the discovery site, associated with the exposed landscape zone of the upland, most often used in the early Middle Ages in southern Poland for the establishment of cemeteries (see Zoll-Adamikowa 1966; 1971; 1975; 1979). No other contemporary traces of human activity have been found in the immediate vicinity of the site and, above all, no remnants of settlements, which have been encountered in the lower parts of the river valleys⁸. Another important clue is the relatively good state of preservation of the finds from Czechowice, typical of grave equipment.

Unfortunately, the information relating to the accidental discovery from Czechowice contained in the archives and literature is mostly so laconic and sometimes contradictory that we cannot be sure of both the number and form of the Early Medieval burials deposited there. The shallowest of the three wood-reinforced »shafts« described in Ehrenberg's detailed report, containing two clay vessels, one of which certainly represented an Early Medieval form, may be considered to be a feature from this period. The report referred to the vessels as »urns«, which, however, does not automatically necessarily indicate a form of cremation burial, as the term was formerly used even in the specialist literature quite arbitrarily, also referring to containers that did not necessarily conceal human ashes.

The sword and hammer-axe probably belonged to the equipment of the inhumation grave, which must have been encountered by workers digging the trench for the laying of the tracks even before the discovery of the »shafts« and the start of official supervision of the discovery (cf. note 4). The sword, representing a hybrid Hungarian-type form dated to the second third of the 10th century, at the same time provides an important premise for clarifying the chronology of the burial⁹. This kind of weapon could be acquired by the local Slavic population as a booty, gift or object of prestige good character. However, the combination of single-edged weapon and hammer-axe in the inhumation grave seems to be atypical of the pre-Christian funeral rite of the Slavs inhabiting north-central Europe and indicates the close ties of the buried warrior to the nomadic environment in the Carpathian Basin. The most probable seems to be the western periphery of Hungarian the territory reaching in the mid-10th century to central Transdanubia, the area around the bend of the Danube and the mouth of the Morava River. This direction suggests the range of hybrid forms of sabers and swords, which include the specimen discovered in Czechowice as well as the accompanying hammer-axe of Moravian type.

In the areas north of the Carpathians and Sudetes, discoveries of objects of Old Hungarian character are rare and come mainly from the areas of historic Lesser Poland. From the far western periphery of this region in the upper Odra River basin, in addition to the grave from Czechowice, there is another poorly known skeletal burial, considered to be Hungarian, with elements of equestrian equipment and a horse skeleton, accidentally discovered in Ściborzyce Wielkie (f. *Steuberwitz*) on the Głubczyce Plateau (Parczewski 1976; Wachowski 2000, 41). On the other hand, great importance is attributed to a small skeletal cemetery from Przemyśl-Zasanie (Rycerska Street), located at the opposite end of Lesser Poland in the San basin, where graves of warriors with archery equipment, axes, saber pendent fitting, sabretache, equestrian equipment, vessels of the Čierna type, as well as burials of partial horses, typical of the funerary ritual of nomads, have been discovered (**fig. 13**). This necropolis is associated with a group of Magyars settled on the upper San River at the end of the 9th or in the first half of the 10th century (Koperski/Parczewski 1978; Koperski 1996; 2003). Probably from the same period comes the already mentioned saber of Hungarian-type found in the San riverbed in the Radymno area. On the other hand, single belt fittings characteristic of the Old Hungarian culture are known from the leading strongholds in Lesser Poland at Kraków (Okół) (Radwański 1959, 74. 76 fig. 9) and Naszacowice (Poleski 1996), as well as from the settlement in Igołomia near Kraków (Machnik

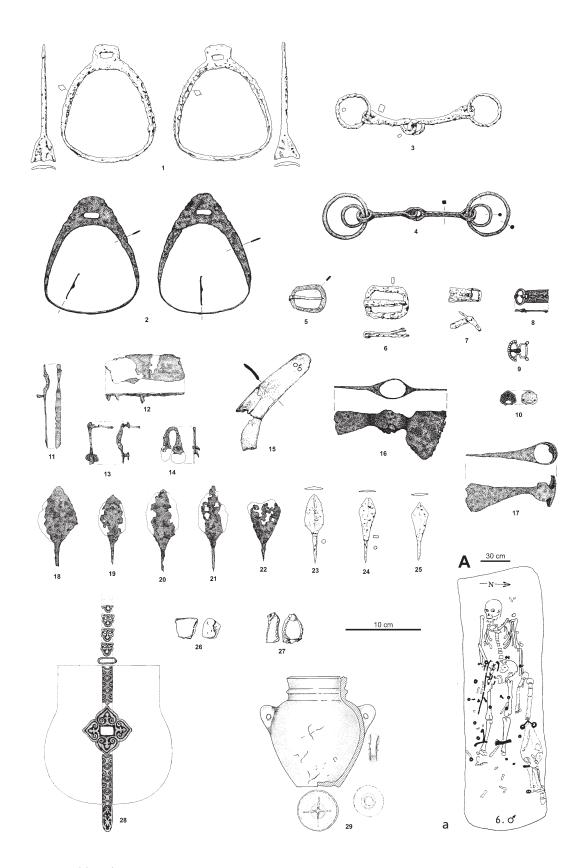


Fig. 13 Selection of finds from the warrior graves at the cemetery in Przemyśl, Rycerska Street (1. 3. 6–7. 23–27. 29 grave 1; 2. 4–5. 8–16. 18–22. 28 grave 6; 17 grave 5). 1–2 pairs of iron stirrups. – 3–4 iron bits. – 5–6 iron girth buckles. – 7–10 bronze and iron belt fittings (buckles and mount). – 11–14 iron quiver fittings. – 15 bone quiver top. – 16–17 iron axe heads. – 18–25 iron arrowheads. – 26 piece of polished sandstone. – 27 flint stone. – 28 set of sabretache bronze mounts (type Černigov). – 29 clay pot (type Čierna). – a plan of warrior grave 6 with partial horse burial. – (1. 3. 6–7. 23–27. 29 after Koperski/Parczewski 1978; others after Koperski 1996). – Scale 1:5.

1961, 44–45. 107 pl. 18, 17). A Hungarian-type lyra-like buckle was also part of the equipment of a presumed cremation grave (most likely Slavic) from Haliczany (pow. Chełm/PL) (Bronicki et al. 2003). Outside of Lesser Poland, isolated sites with Magyar Conquest period finds, mainly a few belt fittings occurring in the context of local or Czech finds, are known from Silesia (Wachowski 1982, 170; 2000, fig. 39) and central Poland¹⁰.

M. Parczewski (1991, 41–42) put forward a convincing hypothesis that in the cemetery in Przemyśl-Zasanie Magyar warriors were buried who were in charge of the strategic section of the route leading from the basin of the Middle Danube, through the Carpathian passes (e.g. Dukla Pass) to Kievan Rus. This was not only a route of trade links, but also one of the important avenues of contact between Hungarians from the Carpathian Basin and their kinsmen living in the areas of the Great Steppe. The significance of the isolated burial from Czechowice is much more difficult to explain. At the time to which it is related, the entire region in the upper Oder River basin was inhabited by the Slavs, and by AD 907 was under the political influence of Great Moravia, then probably Bohemia. In turn, since the reign of the first historical Polish ruler Mieszko I (ca. AD 960–992), the area was incorporated into the growing Polans' state and soon a long and complicated process of the border formation between Silesia and Lesser Poland began there. The warrior's grave from Czechowice is most likely the work of a group of people originating from the Middle Danube Basin, who organized the burial according to the ritual typical of a nomadic environment. Their presence far north can be interpreted in two historically significant ways:

- 1. Near the warrior burial in Czechowice, there was a shallow »shaft« with Early Medieval pottery, incl. a wheel-turned vessel in the local Slavic style (a cremation grave, e.g., a local Slavic woman? Or was it a carefully prepared niche associated with a nomad's grave?). This, in turn, would indicate the new-comers' ties to the local cultural milieu and suggest their peaceful infiltration into the foreland of the Moravian Gate. It is possible that they appeared here again in connection with securing an important communication route leading this time to Moravia. This route played a significant role in the contacts of the inhabitants of the Polish lands with the south during the development of the Great Moravian state and in the period immediately following its collapse. The peaceful infiltration of the Hungarian substrate in this area and its assimilation with the local Slavic population would have mirrored similar processes observed in the first half of the 10th century in the Morava and Váh basins (Kouřil 2003; 2015; 2019; Ruttkay 2003; Fusek 2012; Bednár/Ruttkay 2018).
- 2. The presence of the newcomers in the area of Czechowice could also be related to the intensive military activity of Hungarians in central Europe during the 10th century. In that case, it cannot be ruled out that the inhumation grave of a warrior with a sword and hammer-axe is a trace of one of the numerous Hungarian rides that also contributed to the fall of Great Moravia. The archaeological background of Hungarian rides is based so far mainly on finds of rhomboid arrowheads with a tang (Schulze-Dörrlamm 2002; 2007; 2010; 2021). However, this type of weapon was universal and used not only by the Magyars, but often in identical shape and size belonged to archery equipment of the Great Steppe nomads, Ruthenian armies, or Varangian warriors. Thus, in areas where, in addition to the Hungarians, other of the mentioned armed forces operated, the affiliation of loose arrowheads must be treated with caution. This remark applies, among other things, to the Polish lands, especially their eastern part repeatedly penetrated in the early Middle Ages by warriors from the East. Thus, the picture of Hungarian rides reconstructed on the basis of archaeological finds seems plausible only in relation to the areas of west-central and western Europe.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that the comments made in this paper raise many questions about the nature and chronology of the accidental discovery from Czechowice, which, after nearly one hundred and fifty years, can be at last fully introduced into scientific discussion. Archival information points to the discovery of an Early Medieval inhumation burial within this locality, to which the repeatedly published oneedged sword and hammer-axe should be linked. Both the burial rite and grave equipment show connections with the zone of Old Hungarian settlement in the north-western part of the Carpathian Basin while being clearly distinct from the local Slavic environment. The chronology of the warrior's burial is determined by the associated armament – a sword that represents a hybrid Old Hungarian edged weapon dated to the second third of the 10th century, and an archaic narrow hammer-axe representing a form, which appeared as early as the 7th and 8th centuries. It is highly unlikely that this kind of weapon equipment could have been created and used later than the decades around the middle of the 10th century.

It is possible that the warrior's burial may be associated with a larger Early Medieval cemetery, as suggested by its very location on an elevated terrain in a typical position for sepulchral sites, as well as the discovery of a small circular wood-reinforced »shaft« near it, with two clay vessels that chance finders referred as urns. The smaller of these vessels, preserved in its entirety, fits the style of local Slavic pottery from Silesia and Moravia from the 10th century.

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Notes

- 1) Today it is the area of the railway viaduct on Jagodowa Street in Czechowice approximately 50.3661021 N, 18.62683022 E.
- 2) In the documents kept in Berlin, both deep shafts are described as wells.
- 3) In addition to the documents stored in Berlin, there are two other significant collections of archival material relating to the Czechowice discovery stored in the Archiwum Państwowe (State Archives) in Wrocław (File Reference: 685, 111–112) and in the Archiwum Działu Archeologicznego Muzeum Górnośląskiego (Archives of the Archaeological Department of the Upper Silesian Museum) in Bytom. The most significant among them, however, are the Berlin archives, which are given priority in this article.
- 4) This is mentioned, among other things, in the Berlin museum archives, in a covering letter from the Oberschlesische Eisenbahn Directorate addressed to the Königliche Museen board in Berlin, accompanied by Ehrenberg's report and a situational sketch made by him (document issued in Breslau, February 18, 1880; fig. 2a). The discovery of the weapons, which is mentioned in it, suggests that it was made even before the »shafts« were encountered and placed under official supervision, reported by Ehrenberg. Another interesting source is the chronicle of the Catholic public school in Czechowice, dating back to 1864. In it, there was supposed to be a record of the discovery, during the construction of the railway on a hill located on the western edge of the village of Czechowice in September 1879, of cremation urn graves, as well as a sword and an axe, in the context of which a human skeleton was mentioned (the contents of the chronicle known from a copy of Heising's letter to Skalnik, kept

in the Archiwum Działu Archeologicznego Muzeum Górnośląskiego in Bytom).

- 5) We abandoned the practice, sometimes found in weapons studies (e.g. Świętosławski 1996; 2012), of using an anachronistic term »palash« of unknown origin and etymology. Instead, we prefer the term »one-edged sword« that appears in Byzantine written sources from this era (see below).
- 6) It is tempting to link a Hungarian-type one-edged sword discovered in the Augsburg/DE area (fig. 9, 3; Schulze-Dörrlamm 2006, fig. 11) to the events surrounding the Battle of the Lech River. This would be an additional argument pointing to the functioning of this type of weapon already around the middle of the 10th century.
- The specimen from Barkowice Mokre is actually a unique early form combining traces of classical bradatica and Nomadic hammer-axe (so-called *fokoš*).
- The conclusion is based on an analysis of the distribution of Early Medieval settlements in the wide surroundings of Czechowice, reconstructed on the basis of data from the Polish Archaeological Record program (AZP) – sheets 95–43, 95–44, 96–43, and 96–44.
- A similarly refined chronology of the warrior grave from Czechowice is proposed by K. Wachowski (1982, 170; 2000, 41), J. Poleski (1997, 59) and E. M. Foltyn (1998, 96).
- Unpublished materials from Ryszard Grygiel's research at the stronghold in Czerchów, Zgierz district, held in the collection of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography in Łódź.

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Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

Frühmittelalterliche Funde aus Czechowice (Gliwice/PL)

Mehrere polnische und deutsche Institutionen bewahren in ihren Sammlungen Archivdokumente auf, die Informationen über den Zufallsfund frühmittelalterlicher Objekte im Dorf Czechowice (heute im Stadtgebiet von Gliwice) in Oberschlesien enthalten. Die 1879 beim Bau einer Eisenbahnlinie gefundenen Artefakte wurden vom Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin erworben und gingen während des Zweiten Weltkriegs verloren. Erst kürzlich wurden einige von ihnen in der Sammlung des Museums für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Berlin identifiziert. Zu den wichtigsten Funden gehören ein langes, gerades, einschneidiges Schwert, bei dem es sich um einen hybriden altungarischen Waffentyp handelt, und eine schmale Hammeraxt vom mährischen Typ. Beide Stücke wurden an derselben Stelle gefunden und gehörten wahrscheinlich zur Ausstattung eines Brandgrabes, das um die Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts datiert.

Early Medieval Finds from Czechowice (Gliwice/PL)

Several Polish and German institutions have preserved in their collections archival documents containing information relating to the accidental discovery of Early Medieval objects in the village of Czechowice (now within the city limits of Gliwice) in Upper Silesia. The artefacts, found in 1879 during the construction of a railway, were acquired by the *Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde* in Berlin and lost during World War II. Only recently, some of them have been identified in the collection of the *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* in Berlin. The most important finds include a long, straight, single-edged sword representing a hybrid Old Hungarian-type weapon and a narrow hammer-axe of the Moravian type. Both pieces were discovered at the same place and probably belonged to the equipment of an inhumation grave dated to around the mid-10th century.

Artefacts du haut Moyen-Âge de Czechowice (Gliwice/PL)

Plusieurs institutions polonaises et allemandes comptent parmi leurs collections des documents d'archive contenant des informations sur la découverte accidentelle d'objets du haut Moyen-Âge dans le village de Czechowice (maintenant situé sur le territoire de la ville de Gliwice) en haute Silésie. Les artefacts découverts en 1879 lors de la construction d'une voie ferrée entrèrent en possession du *Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde* à Berlin et ont disparu durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Ce n'est que récemment que furent identifiés quelques-uns d'entre eux dans la collection du *Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* à Berlin. Parmi les plus importants figurent une longue épée droite à un seul tranchant, correspondant à un type d'arme hybride hongrois, et une hache-marteau étroite de type morave. Ces deux pièces furent découvertes au même endroit et font probablement partie du mobilier d'une tombe à incinération datant du milieu du 10^e siècle.

Schlüsselwörter / Keywords / Mots-clés

Frühmittelalterliches Kriegergrab / ungarische Hiebwaffe / Hammeraxt / Archivarchäologie / Archäologisches Erbe Schlesiens Early Medieval warrior grave / Hungarian-type edged weapon / hammer-axe / archival archaeology / archaeological heritage of Silesia Tombe de guerrier du haut Moyen-Âge / arme tranchante de type hongrois / hache-marteau / archéologie d'archives / patrimoine archéologique de la Silésie

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