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MYSTERY HIDDEN BEHIND THE BEASTS' HEADS.
REMARKS ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF A PECULIAR TYPE
OF MEDIEVAL DAGGER

Abstract:

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There is a group of medieval daggers that has not been previously more widely studied. They are hilted with cast bronze quillons and pommels. Quillon arms end with stylized heads of beasts pointing towards the blade. Scholars discussing published finds differ significantly in the assessment of their chronology. The latest discoveries allow us to finally solve their secret, dispelling all previous doubts.

Key words: Key words: dagger, quillon, Late Middle Ages, latten, metallography, amphisbaena, apotropaion

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In arms and armour studies the most important questions seem to be those about the origin and chronology of artefacts. There are many military items in museum collections arousing a number of controversies regarding these issues. An important problem in this respect is first of all a verification of authenticity of a given the artefact. In many cases analyses of museum objects using specialist research have resulted in clear conclusions (Williams, Edge 2015, 229-233). Many specimens still raise serious doubts even though they were examined using “conclusive” methods, just to mention helmets from the Boissonas collection (Ritter 2000). Specialist analyses sometimes allow to verify the chronology of partially preserved items whose dating was previously hypothetical (Biborski, Stepiński, Żabiński 2006). Due to a long period of use of universal forms, it is sometimes hard to precisely date particular artefacts and their evaluation differs fundamentally. In some cases comprehensive typo-chronological studies can contribute to this problem (Kotowicz 2013). Crucial results can also be obtained thanks to extensive studies on iconography, which often allow to determine a precise chronology of selected artefacts from museum collections (Breiding 2013, 2).

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The aforementioned chronological questions have for a long time been raised also with regard to the artefacts discussed in this paper – daggers hilted with cast bronze quillons and pommels. Both elements of their hilts are in the form of multi-sided blocks, covering the tang, with quillon arms protruding from its sides. Arms end with stylized heads of beasts pointing towards the blade. There is a ridge, located at the base of guard arms, clearly separating them from the main part of the block. The surface of the central plane is decorated with geometric ornament. The origin of this kind of daggers is still shrouded in mystery. They have never been thoroughly studied, and scholars discussing published finds differ significantly in assessment of their chronology. The latest discoveries allow us to finally solve their secret, dispelling all previous doubts.

Due to the hilt form, the daggers in question are difficult to unambiguously classify. Specimens with separate pommels and guards that both curve away from the grip, with terminals in the form of small flat-sided lobes or ends rolled back onto themselves, are considered as antennae-pommel daggers, the subgroup of quillon type

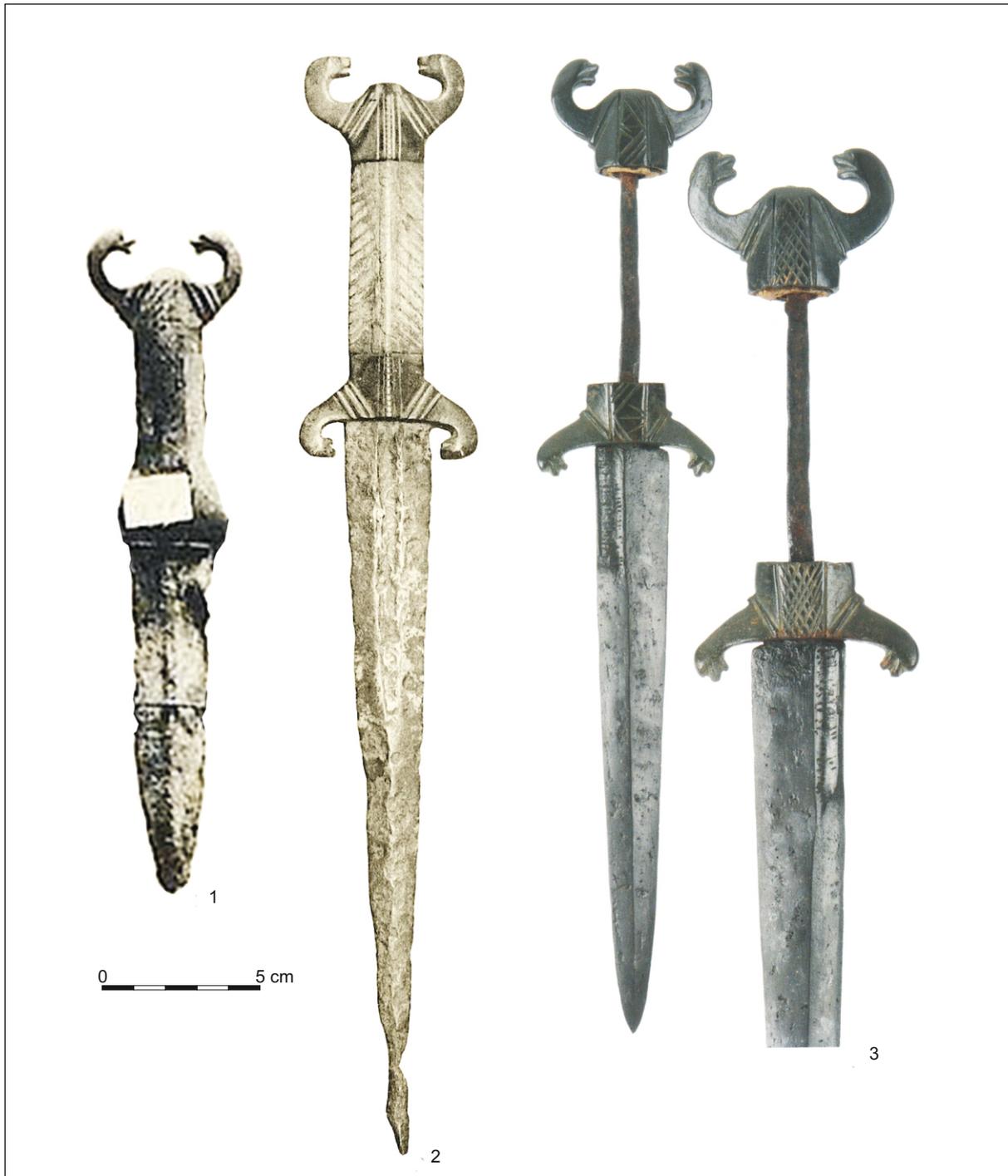


Fig. 1. Daggers: 1 – Karl Gimbel's collection; 2 – Hans C. Leiden's collection; 3 – Hermann Baumann's collection (1 – after *Kunsthau Lempertz 1934*; 2 – after *Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus 1904*; 3 – after *Baumann 2010*).

Ryc. 1. Puginały: 1 – kolekcja Karla Gimbela; 2 – kolekcja Hansa C. Leidena; 3 – kolekcja Hermanna Baumanna (1 – wg *Kunsthau Lempertz 1934*; 2 – wg *Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus 1904*; 3 – wg *Baumann 2010*).

(Laking 1920, 4-8, Figs. 734-736; Ward Perkins 1967, 40-41, Pl. VI:A1946; Peterson 1968, 22; Herman, Herman 1985, Cat. 1; Thompson 1999, 25). This kind includes daggers with guards which resemble cross-pieces of contemporary swords. However L. Marek (2008, 27) has recently proposed

to consider all side arms with hilts shaped like the capital letter "T" as baselards, and thus he classifies into this group all daggers with projecting side elements of pommels and guards (Marek 2017, 136-137). Unquestionably antennae pommel finds as well as the studied daggers clearly correspond

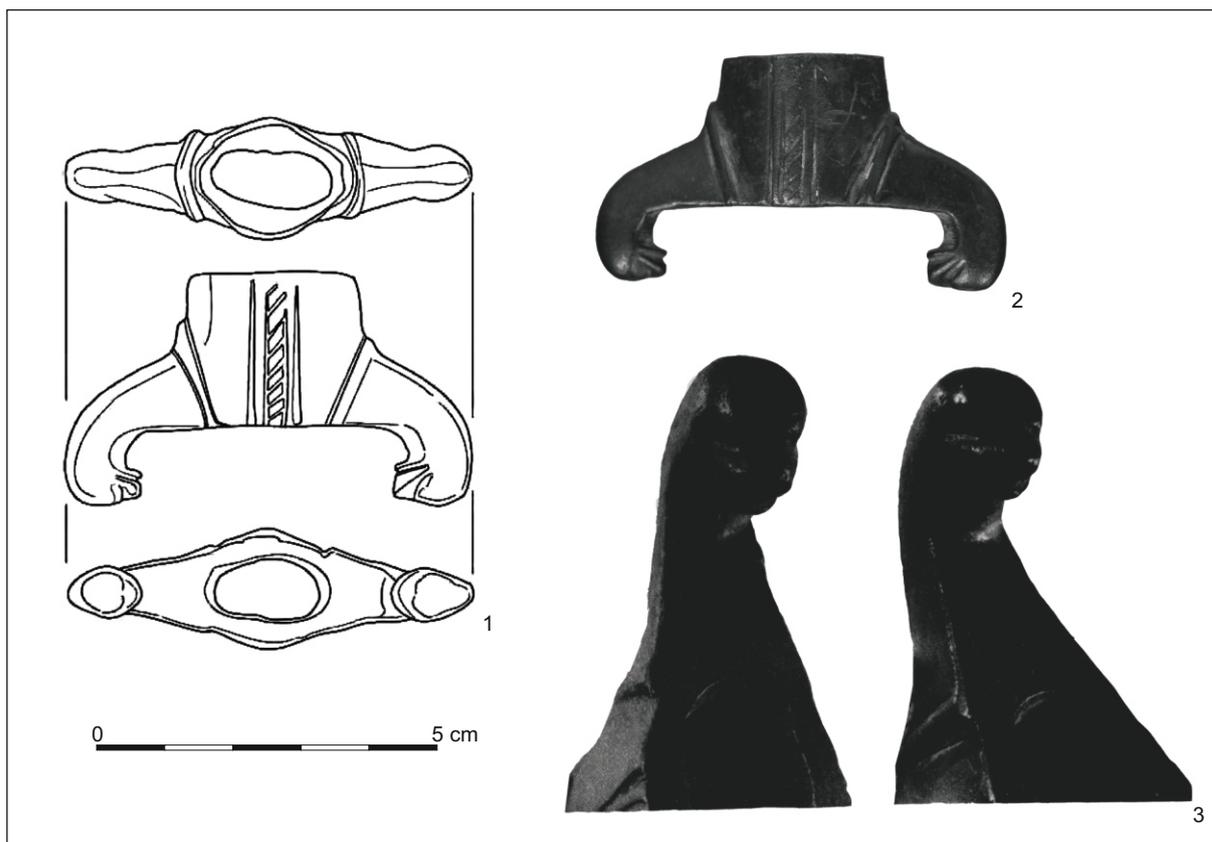


Fig. 2. Dagger guard found in Bodzanowo, Poland (after *Bukowski 1977* and *Chochorowski 2016*).

Ryc. 2. Jelec puginafu znaleziony w Bodzanowie, Polska (wg *Bukowski 1977* i *Chochorowski 2016*).

to this characteristics. Nonetheless, the lower cross of baselards is still a form of quillon.

For the first time this type of objects appeared in the catalogue of Karl Gimbel's acquisition – art and weapon collector from Baden-Baden. The catalogue was published in 1904. A bronze-cast dagger with a blade provided with a distinct ridge, of the overall length of 200 mm, was equipped with a characteristic type of the hilt (Fig. 1:1). On the photograph attached to the catalogue this element occurs as a pommel. Clearly visible are stylized heads of animals, characteristic double recessed lines at the base of arms and diagonal parallel lines on one side of the block. Its upper part is pyramid-shaped (Rudolph Lepke's *Kunst-Auctions-Haus 1904*, 92, Cat. 477, Taf. XIII:477). Gimbel dated this artefact to the Hallstatt Period, which was most likely connected with its antennae-shape pommel and its bronze-cast blade resembling those of finds from the Late Bronze Age (Peterson 1968, 6-7).

It is however necessary to be mindful that it often occurred during the 19th and 20th centuries, when antique edged weapons were acquired for both their aesthetic and historical qualities, that

parts of swords and daggers were often mixed and matched by dealers, restorers, and private collectors (LaRocca 2011, 133).

Another specimen with this form of the hilt appeared in the catalogue of the arms and armour collection belonging to Consul Hans Leiden from Cologne, published in 1934. His acquisition included a dagger with a double-edged, iron blade (length 240 mm, width ca. 28 mm), with a centrally placed fuller, reaching to the mid-blade and transforming from this point into a ridge. The fuller was filled with non-ferrous metal. The line of the ridge also continues on the hilt made of bronze and bone (length 120 mm, width ca. 24 mm). The tang is narrow, and so the grip must have been made in one piece which was drilled for the tang to pass through. The elements in question were used both as a pommel and quillon, and they both curve away from grip. The pommel block with a pyramid-like top is higher (ca. 26 mm); however, the spacing of the arms is smaller (ca. 51 mm). On the contrary, the guard is lower (ca. 21 mm), is straight in its part near the blade. It also has a wider span of the arms (ca. 58 mm) in order to match the width of the blade. The section of the blocks of both elements

are clearly diamond-shaped. One of its corners, placed in the line of the ridge, is decorated with horizontal grooves and underlined with a double frame on the sides. The bone handle, with a convex ridge, is ornamented with a herringbone pattern, corresponding to that from the guard and pommel. Quillon arms are clearly overlaid with a double plastic ridge (Fig. 1:2). The finials of the quillon and pommel were interpreted in this book as horse heads. This specimen is dated to the 14th century (*Kunsthau Lempertz* 1934, 52, Cat. 618, Taf. 32).

Another artefact of this form was discovered in 1949 during forest logging in Bodzanowo, Aleksandrów Kujawski distr., in Northern Poland. An iron dagger with a bronze ferrule was found at a depth of approximately 400 mm. Only its bronze element survived to our times, while the rest was damaged during unearthing (Zielonka 1952, 111). The block is octagonal in shape. Arms finished with heads are overlaid with singular, diagonally placed ridge. The flat part of the block is on both sides ornamented with a vertical double framed and diagonally grooved band. It is much wider than that on the artefact from Leiden's collection. The beast heads have clearly marked eyes and open snouts. The artefact is exhibited in the District Museum of Toruń (Inv. No. MT/A/3163). The overall height is 21 mm, the diameter of the tang-hole is 17 x 22 mm, while the span of the arms' finials is 59 mm. The find's weight is 40 g (Fig. 2).

On the basis of an analogous find from one of the graves from the Altai Mountains, B. Zielonka (*ibid.*, 111) connected this find with the Scythians and dated it to the 5th century BC. Although the author pointed to differences in proportions and arrangement of its fittings, his interpretation of the artefact as an acinaces part became obligatory for many years in Polish and foreign literature. Other authors dealing with Scythian artefacts in Poland and Central Europe accepted and still quote this opinion (Bukowski 1960a, 258, 262, Fig. 1; 1960b, 74, Fig. 5; 1977, 34-36; Dušek 1964, 54; Gedl 1980, 10, 32, Cat. 50, Taf. 7:50; Chochorowski 2014, Fig. 10:6; Topal, Golec 2017, 14, Fig. 5:24). The main argument was a similarity to the bear motif, which was extremely popular in the Scythian milieu (Замятин 1946, 29, Fig. 14). They also stressed analogies from South-Western Siberia, the Caucasus Mountains and Kazakhstan, which were equipped with hilts decorated with animal/bird heads confronting each other or bent outwards. These finds are dated to the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age (Aspelin 1877, 103, 108, Fig. 417; Minns 1913, 257-258, Fig. 179; Ginters 1928, Pl. 36:a, e-g; Анфимов 1949, 257-258, Fig. 9; Jettmar 1964,

43, Fig. 20). Analogies from Siberian cemeteries, e.g., from tumuli of Kumurtuk and Ananyino Culture burials also played a very important role in this argumentation (Киселев 1949, 181-182, Pl. XXX:11; Збруева 1952, 176, 179, Pl. XXXII:9-10; Членова 1967, 23).

In subsequent studies, in particular in the monumental work of Z. Bukowski (1977, 34-36), further analogies from the area of Western Siberia were mentioned. However, in many cases compared items were of rather different forms and decoration. The main determinant of these quests were primarily acinaces with antenna heads, with stylized ends in the form of the beast heads. This motif was undoubtedly very popular in the Scythian milieu. Similarities concerning construction of the artefacts, that is, iron acinaces hilted with bronze elements, were also noted (Мелюкова 1964, Pl. 20; Bukowski 1977, 35). Basing on the mentioned akin daggers Z. Bukowski (1977, 36) dated the specimen from Bodzanowo to the 6th-5th century BC. Other scholars approved this chronology after this author (Gedl 1980, 10, 32, Cat. 50; see also Bukowski 1981).

Following this line of reasoning, it is possible to mention many similar artefacts dated to the 6th-5th century BC, both from the previously mentioned area, as well as those previously not taken into account (Членова 1981, Ris. 4: 9-17; Vulpe 1990, 57-64; Троицкая, Новиков 2007, рис. 35:18, 40:5; Сугунов, Parzinger, Nagler 2008, 74; 2010, Pl. 8-9, 61; Клочко 2013; Rivkin, Isaac 2017, Fig. 22). These finds, however, are difficult to consider as direct analogies to this type of artefacts (Fig. 3).

Concluding, it should be noted that the recognition of the Bodzanowo find as Scythian was based more on the similarity of the idea of side arms provided with hilts decorated with the beast heads motif than on finding an exact counterpart to this form of weapon in the Scythian milieu. A large part of mentioned analogies had pommels where beast heads are connected to each other. Due to this trait, they are in fact much different from the analysed ones. One should also note the occurrence of the idea of two confronting beasts in other milieus as well (Nickel 1991, Fig. 2). There is a flat surface with a hole between the arms, which may indicate that we are dealing with part of a quillon rather than a pommel. This can be clearly seen in the artefact from Lempertz' collection. In the light of the available finds, as well as new unpublished materials, it seems that the discussed hilt elements can be dated to the Late Medieval period. The area where the discussed artefact was found was a part of the Toruń commandery of the Teutonic Order. This location

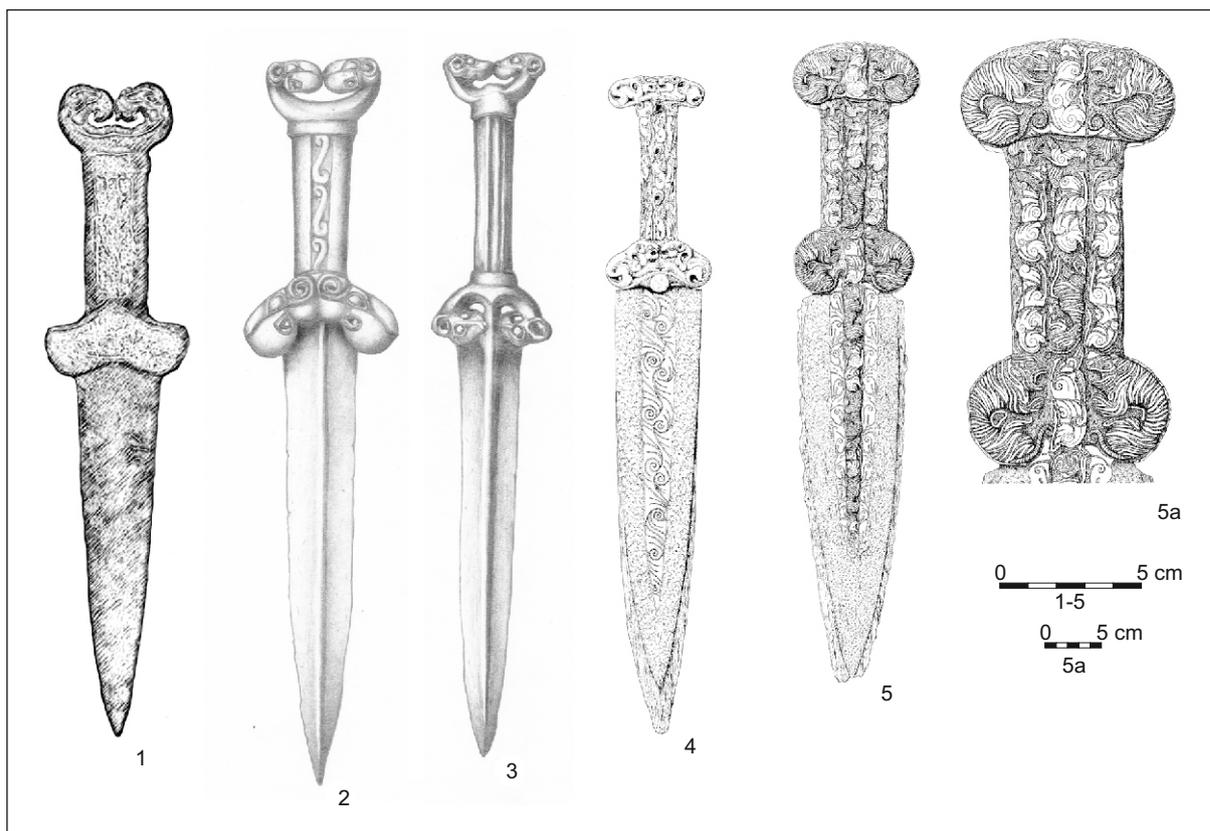


Fig. 3. Acinaces found in Siberia: 1 – Khakass-Minusinsk Basin; 2 – the territory of the Tagar Culture; 3 – Altai Mountains, 4-5 – Tuva (drawing by J. Sójkowska-Socha; 1 – after Клочко 2013; 2-3 – after Rivkin, Isaac 2017; 4-5 – Čugunov, Parzinger, Nagler 2010)

Ryc. 3. Akinakesy odkryte na obszarze Syberii: 1 – Kotlina Chakasko-Minusinińska; 2 – obszar kultury tagarskiej; 3 – góry Altaj; 4-5 – Tuwa (rys. J. Sójkowska-Socha; 1 – wg Клочко 2013; 2-3 – wg Rivkin, Isaac 2017; 4-5 – wg Čugunov, Parzinger, Nagler 2010).

seems to be of great significance. Due to close contacts of the Order with Western Europe, armaments coming from quite distant regions of Europe were brought to this territory (Michalak et al. 2017, 176). This area in the Polish-Teutonic borderland witnessed frequent conflicts, expeditions and acts of war, during which this dagger might have been lost.

It is worth noting a great popularity of hilt elements made of copper alloys in this period, sometimes taking very fanciful shapes (Laking 1920, Fig. 737-738; Dean 1929, 94; Wegeli 1929, 276, Fig. 251; Closs, Post 1938, Abb. 1-7; Salvatici 1999, Cat. 1, 7, 68-70; LaRocca 2011, Fig. 2-3, 6-13). Elements made of bronze were often used for hilding quillon daggers (Dean 1929, Pl. XXXVI:92-93). Opinions on the late medieval chronology of the discussed artefacts can also be confirmed by a quite frequent use of motifs of stylized animal heads by weapon manufacturers in this period (Thomas, Lhotsky 1951, obr. 6; Žákovský 2012, 696-697). Other examples are known from medieval iconography, just to mention the dagger from the 14th century effigy of Hug

de Copons (Fig. 9:1) (de Riquer 2011; Marek 2017, 137, Fig. 233:c). It is also worth mentioning original artefacts from museum acquisitions. There is a single-edged dagger (length 198 mm, width 18 mm, back width 31 mm) in the collection of the Bernisches Historisches Museum, hilted with an intriguing guard (length 47 mm). It has a form of a four-sided block with protruding quillon arms. They are slightly curved and end with animal (?) heads (“Tierkopfen”). This specimen was hilted with a brass wheel-shaped pommel with engraved rosettes (Fig. 4:2). Unfortunately its find place is unknown; however, Schneider (1980, Cat. 363) assumed that it was discovered in Western Switzerland. It is dated incorrectly by R. Wegeli (1929, Cat. 1029, Taf. XL) to the 12th century. H. Schneider is probably right in his dating of this artefact to the second half of the 14th century. Particular attention should be also paid to a single-edged dagger from the late Charles Buttin’s collection, with quillon ends formed in the style of “gargouilles gothiques”. Buttin dated it to the end of the 13th – beginning of the 14th century (Buttin 1933, Cat. 33, Pl. 11:33). A perfectly

analogous artefact is kept in the Bargello collection in Florence. According to L. Salvatici (1999, Cat. 68) it was manufactured in France in the 13th century. One should also bear in mind the artefact discovered in 1954 in a field in Mechernich, Kr. Euskirchen in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany, which is exhibited in the Heimatmuseum of the district of Schleiden in Blankenheim. Relics of a double-edged blade also comprised the guard. It was made of bronze (length – 71 mm, height – 21 mm, weight – 30 g) and was provided with an octagonal quillon block (diameter – 25 mm). The eight lateral surfaces of the block are alternately covered with strict engravings, with double lines at the top and at the bottom, as well as along the longitudinal axis of the sleeve (socket?). The edges of the sides of the edges are particularly prominent while the fourth pair varies somewhat. Each two central surfaces are filled with six almost geometric four-petalled/petal rosettes in two rows. The other is uniformly longitudinally split, but it shows various ornaments: fish-bones, tendrils, and the aforementioned leaf motif. Arms of guards formed on the sides of the quillon block evidently end with the heads of animals (Fig. 4:1) (Uhlemann 1956, 404). Another similar dagger was found during construction works of a bridge in Geneva in 1967. In the excavation on the right bank of the Rhône, remains of Saint Jean's monastery were discovered. Its existence was known only from archival sources (Heer 1967, 80). The dagger (Fig. 4:3) was about 150 mm above the level of the skull bones of a skeleton which was buried outside the church and does not seem to be related to other graves. Concerning the chronology of the dagger, these supplementary data are of little importance in view of severely damaged finds from the 11th-15th centuries. The most striking difference between these two daggers, which does not change in the type to which both pieces belong, is not in their stylistic traits, but in their construction. In contrast to the fully developed double-edged dagger from Mechernich, the Saint Jean dagger has a slightly curved blade (Uhlemann 1976, 281-282). As opposed to the octagonal-shaped quillon block of the dagger from Mechernich, the quillon block of the Saint Jean dagger is six-sided. Fortunately, the pommel which is possibly made from "Tombak" (?) has been preserved. It is hexagonal and is decorated with the same lattice pattern formed by niello inserts with upper and lower end lines (*ibid.*, 282). Although the length of the guard bars of both artefacts slightly differed (Mechernich – 71 mm, Saint Jean – 82 mm), the total length of the dagger

of Mechernich, whose blade was damaged, may have corresponded to the presumed length of the other dagger, which would be about 22 cm (Heer 1967, 83). According to Uhlemann, the dagger from Saint Jean, as well as that from Mechernich are representatives of a new and extremely rare type. Both artefacts belong to a group of Flemish daggers of the 14th century.

A late medieval chronology of this form of dagger suggested by specialists from the Lampertz auction house in Cologne was most probably the reason for the dating of two similar specimens offered on the 48th and 61st Hermann Historica auction (Fig. 5:1-2). The first dagger's octagonal pommel and guard are both cast of bronze and again the socket of the first one is higher than the other artefact. They both bear geometrical engraved decoration on the main surface. The bottom element is ornamented with diagonal narrow grooves, the upper one is also covered with engraved lines, which in the top part are similar to the ones from quillon. However in the lower panel beside the parallel lines there are also perpendicular ones, which form an ornament in the form of triangles. The bone handle is decorated with a similar pattern. Both arms of the quillon and pommel are finished with a characteristic motif. Like in other mentioned specimens, the motif is also cut off in a plastic rib (Fig. 5:1). According to Ch. Gilliot (2008) these terminals look like stylized dragon heads. The blade is initially single-edged and becomes double-edged 7 cm below the guard. There is a groove along both sides of the strong part of the blade on the ricasso. The total length of the artefact is 315 mm and it is dated to ca. 1400 (Hermann et al. 2005, lot 3576; Gilliot 2008).

The second dagger offered for sale is very similar to the previous one. Its narrow blade is badly corroded; however it is possible to say that in the upper part near the guard it is single-edged and after ca. 100 mm it becomes double-edged. The hilt has all the features of the above mentioned one, however the decorative pattern on the pommel, handle and guard consists of a diagonal line. Furthermore, on both sides there are intersecting grooves. The socket of the pommel is also higher than the one of the cross. The total length of the dagger is 310 mm and it is dated to ca. 1400 (Hermann, Hermann, Rief 2011, lot 3507).

The next artefact was published in 2010 and it is kept in the collection of the Reichstadtmuseum in Rothenburg (Fig. 1:3). Its overall length is 296 mm, while the length of the blade is 180 mm. The ridged blade with a fullered ricasso on one side is very similar to the dagger sold at the 48th Hermann

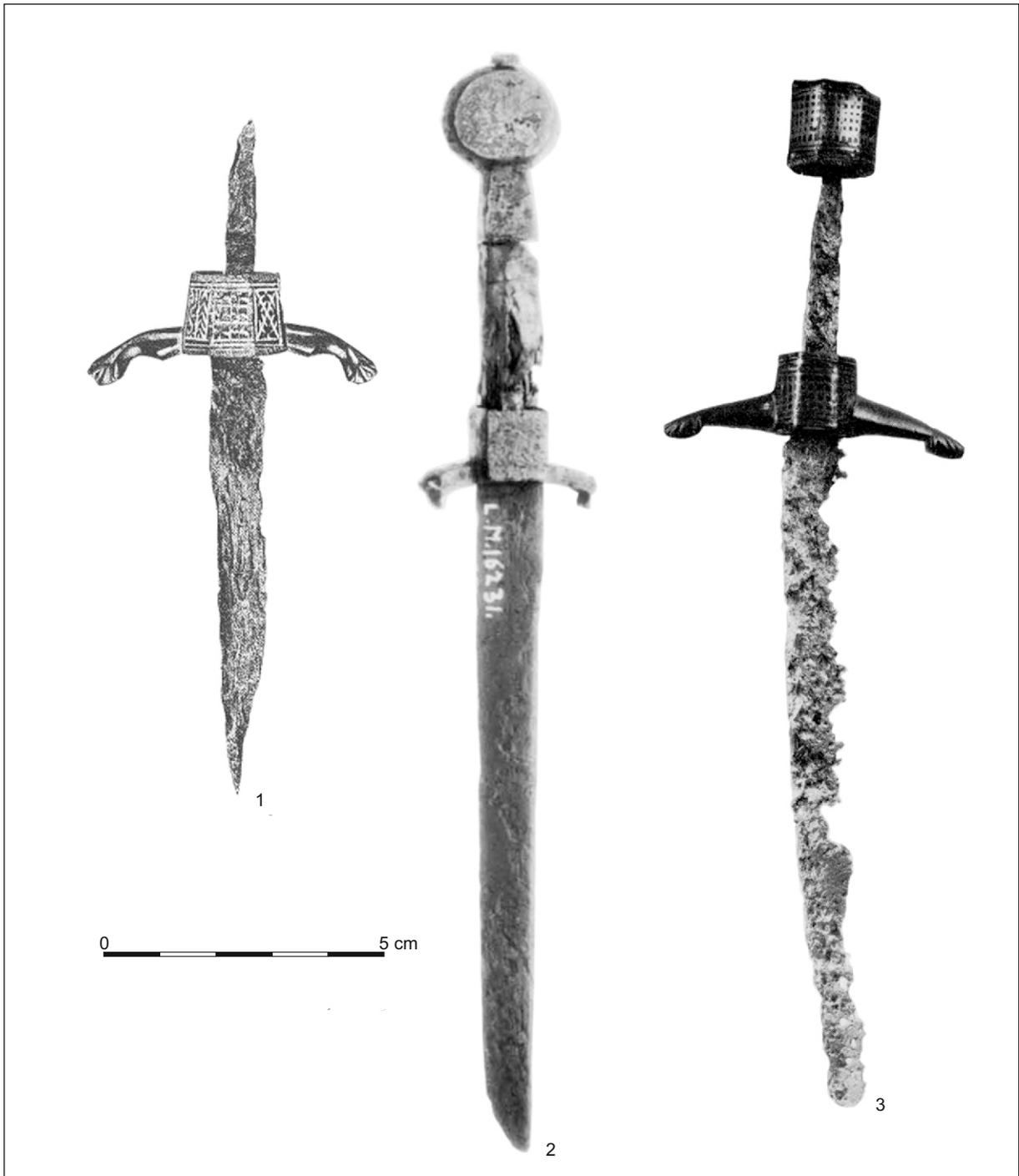


Fig. 4. Daggers with quillon finials in the form of animal head: 1 – Mechernich; 2 – collection of the Bernisches Historisches Museum; 3 – Geneva (1 – after *Uhlemann 1956*; 2 – after *Schneider 1980, cat. 363*; 3 – after *Uhlemann 1976*).

Ryc. 4. Puginały z ramionami jelca o formie głów zwierzęcych: 1 – Mechernich; 2 – kolekcja Bernisches Historisches Museum w Bernie; 3 – Genewa (1 – wg *Uhlemann 1956*; 2 – wg *Schneider 1980, cat. 363*; 3 – wg *Uhlemann 1976*).

Historica auction; however the blade is narrower (ca. 22 mm). The bone handle is unfortunately missing, but some remains are preserved in the pommel's tang-slot. They indicate that the grip (ca. 24 mm in section) was made from one piece, with a slot for tang bored longitudinally

down the center. The quillons and the pommel of patinated brass are on one side decorated with crossing notches, similar to those on the artefact from the 61st Hermann Historica auction. The other side is embellished with diagonal grooves separated by three lines spreading from one central

point. The pommel is also higher (ca. 24 mm) than the guard (ca. 18 mm), while its arms are narrower (ca. 49 mm) than the quillon (ca. 54 mm). W. Baumann (2010, 610) has determined the artefact's chronology as ca. 1400.

Another guard was found during a surface survey with metal detectors in the area of the so-called "Kępa Targacz" which was the seat of the Bishopric of Lubusz (Lubusz?) in Górzycza, Słubice county (Socha 2012, 53; 2013, 42). The discovered artefact is of analogous construction to the above mentioned one. The width of its arms is 51 mm; however the section of its quillon block (height – 16 mm, width – 21 mm, thickness – 15 mm) which covers the tang is more oval in its shape (Fig. 6:1). Its central surface is decorated with a few slanting lines arranged quite chaotically. The other side, beside diagonal lines, also contains straight ones, which are arranged in perpendicular to the diagonal ones. The artefact weights now 30 g.

The dating of this site can offer a direct answer concerning the chronology of the artefact in question. The first evidence on Górzycza dates back to at least 1252 (Golemski 2000, 9-10; 2013, 59). The beginnings of the Episcopal seat in this place in the light of written sources can be dated to 1276; however the first charter was issued there in 1290, since most likely the bishop resided there. In 1326, in retaliation for the Polish-Lithuanian expedition to Brandenburg, the burghers of Frankfurt and knights under the leadership of Landvogt Erik von Wulkow invaded the estates of the bishop of Lubusz who supported the expedition of the Polish King Władysław Łokietek. During this invasion the cathedral in Górzycza fell prey to destruction (Golemski 2013, 70). Since 1327 Górzycza was a diocesan Marian sanctuary, and in the place of the destroyed temple a chapel of the Holy Virgin was built in the mid-14th century. The discussed chronology could also be confirmed by a discovered and excavated cemetery, which can be preliminarily dated to the second half of the 13th-14th century (Linkowski 1991; Socha 2013, 49). Until the mid-16th century, pilgrims from Silesia, Pomerania, Greater Poland and whole Brandenburg peregrinated to Górzycza (Golemski 2013, 77).

Yet another artefact was accidentally discovered in the moat of a motte-type stronghold, situated in the so-called Hawk Mountain (Germ. Falkenberg, Pol. Sokola Góra), on the western shore of Lake Trześcińskie ca. 1 km from Łagów, Świebodzin county in the Lubuskie Voivodeship. The artefact is now in a private collection. As there is a plane with a rectangular slot between the arms, this find is presumably a guard (Fig. 6:2). The block is

clearly octagonal, decorated on its wide vertical band. On one side it is embellished with slanting intersecting grooves, similar to those occurring on the decoration of the daggers from the 61st Hermann Historica auction and the collection of the Museum in Rothenburg. The other side is decorated with three horizontal lines, followed by an X sign and another three horizontal grooves. The bottom part of the block is clearly damaged and it cannot be excluded that it was originally higher. The overall height is 28.4 mm while the width is 56.2 mm. Its dimensions from the grip side are 23.16 mm x 16.7 mm.

The chronology of this artefact can be determined thanks to previous archaeological excavations conducted at this castle, as well as written sources. Basing on the chronological span of the fortress existence, which was established with the use of artefacts discovered within the motte strata, the castle can be dated to the 14th century. Written records indicate a Brandenburg origin of the castle in Łagów. These sources mentioned that in 1299 Brandenburg Margraves Otto, Konrad and Henry granted "Castrum Lagove" along with adjacent areas as a fief to a knight Albert von Klepzig and his relatives (Przybył 2004, 75-76). The stronghold was probably built earlier by the margraves, who wanted to secure the area of the Torzym Land from the eastern side. These conclusions can be confirmed by archaeological excavations which indicate that the motte existed since the second half of the 13th century. Written records prove that the Klepziges probably belonged to the group of the most loyal families of the Askanian court. They also owned estates in the Świebodzin and Torzym Land. After Dukes Henry II of Głogów and Jan of Ścinawa had conquered the Międzyrzecz and Torzym Lands, the owners of the town in Łagów became supporters of the Silesian dukes (Wasilkiewicz 2014, 256). They most likely lost estates around Łagów due to Ludwig Wittelsbach's victory in the Brandenburg March. On December 9th, 1347, he offered "Łagów hus" as a pledge to the Knight Hospitallers. Their initial seat, before the construction of a brick castle (after 1350), could have been located on Hawk Mountain (Przybył 2009, 399; Wasilkiewicz 2014, 272). In the light of archaeological evidence this stronghold was not used in the 15th century; however the settlement located on the slopes of Hawk Mountain existed until 1569, when it was destroyed by fire (*ibid.*, 275). The Order of St John owned Łagów till the beginning of the 19th century.

The appearance of this kind of dagger in Western Poland should not come as a surprise.



Fig. 5. Daggers sold on the 48th (1) and 61st (2) Hermann Historica auctions (1 – after *Hermann et al. 2005*; 2 – after *Hermann, Hermann, Rief2011*).

Ryc. 5. Puginały sprzedane na 48. (1) i 61. (2) aukcji domu aukcyjnego Hermann Historica (1 – wg *Hermann et al. 2005*; 2 – wg *Hermann, Hermann, Rief2011*).

Different elements of military equipment came from the Holy Roman Empire to the borderland of Silesia, Poland, Brandenburg and Lusatia in the Late Middle Ages (Michalak 2017). This was the result of both personal contacts of local rulers with dukes of the Empire, migration of German

knights to the borderland, conflicts in the borderland and associated movements of troops, as well as intense pilgrimage.

It seems that the final proof of a medieval chronology of daggers with this kind of hilts has been provided by research in the Old Town Pond

in Telč in Moravia. The artefact from this group which was discovered there is provided with an oval-shaped block section. It is most likely part of a quillon (Fig. 7). It is on both sides decorated on a centrally placed band with 10 horizontal lines. The central ornamented part of the artefact is seriously damaged on both sides. The overall height of the find is now 35 mm, with a thickness of 8 mm and a span of quillon arms reaching 58 mm. The guard weights now 42 g. Rescue archaeological excavations undertaken in 2011 in the area of the Old Town Fishpond in Telč revealed an agrarian and craft-oriented complex or settlement, bound to a nearby farm yard. It was also part of a long-distance communication route, unearthed approximately 100 m to E-W. It was divided by a shallow watercourse. The uncovered section was largely paved with stones. Remains of a wooden beam were uncovered under the layer of stones. The date of cutting the tree from which the beam was made was determined by dendrochronology as 1202. The chronology of the road, at least its

material used for manufacturing these elements of dagger, cannot give clear answer concerning question on the place of its production. In some cases the presence and amount of trace elements can suggest the origin of copper ore from which the metal of a given artefact was obtained. One should be aware of the limitations of this method, which does not give unambiguous answers.¹ A previously carried out XRF analysis of the Bodzanowo guard has shown that the chemical composition of its metal composition did not exclude its Scythian origin (Bukowski 1977, 332-333). In order to gain possible answers on its origin and receive some additional information on the quality and composition of metal, the guard of Górzycy was also analysed by means of X-ray fluorescence in the Department of Conservation of Architectonic Elements and Details in Toruń, using an Olympus Innov-X Delta DS-2000 spectrometer. For the purpose of XRF analysis, the selected surface was polished and degreased. The obtained results are as follows (in %wt):

Artefact	Cu	Al	Bi	Co	Mn	Fe	Ni	Zn	As	Ag	Sn	Pb	Sb
Górzycy	76.2		0.88			1.78		5.43			3.45	12.26	
Bodzanowo	73.08	traces	0.05	0.0053	traces	1.3	0.074	ca. 15.0	0.91	0.17	4.9	3.45	0.71

stone phase, has been identified as the beginning of the 13th century. The end of its use can be related to the construction of a pond in the 1370s. However, accompanying finds material indicate that a gradual abandonment of the entire space occurred earlier. The artefact in question was found precisely in the area of this communication route. It can be considered most likely as a stray find, similarly to other groups of artefacts, including pilgrim badges and a dozen or so iron horseshoes.

Basing on the mentioned data, one can quite confidently relate this group of artefacts to the Late Middle Ages, most likely to the end of the 14th – beginning of the 15th century. Bronze elements of hilt are rather typical for the 14th century, while the characteristics of the blade (both single- and double-edged) seem to fit within the period between the 13th and 15th century. It is, however, difficult to precisely locate the place of their origin or production. It seems that they should be associated with German influence, extending both onto western and northern areas of present-day Poland as well as Bohemia and Moravia.

Unfortunately, metallurgical analyses which can determine a precise composition of the raw

Previous analyses of medieval artefacts indicate that the predominant copper alloy used for casting in the Middle Ages both in Europe and in the Islamic world was latten,² with zinc as the primary alloying agent, and tin and lead present at concentrations higher than 1.0% (Bayley 1991, 13-14; Brownsword 2004). While comparing the results of examinations of both artefacts, a slightly higher share of copper and a significant preponderance of lead are noticeable in the case of the guard from Górzycy, while the artefact from Bodzanowo has a clearly higher share of zinc and a greater tin content. Among detected impurities were Fe, with the content of about 2%wt and Ni, As, Ag, Sb (ca. 0.1-0.2%wt). A relatively high concentration of lead in both guards (varying from ca. 6 to ca. 15%wt), was most likely a result of enhancing the metal's casting properties and to ease its engraving (Newman 1991). Concentration of particular impurities of the analysed alloy is quite similar to the composition of medieval artefacts from Saxony (Zientek 1996) and other regions of Germany (Werner 1977; 1982), even though some of the examined finds are clearly of a larger size, which is supposed to be reflected in their metal composition

¹ In the course of recycling, metals of different origin may be melted together. Furthermore, a difference between ores is not always clear, even with the use of more refined data, such as isotopic ratios or "rare earth" elements.

² Term used throughout the Middle Ages for any alloy of copper.

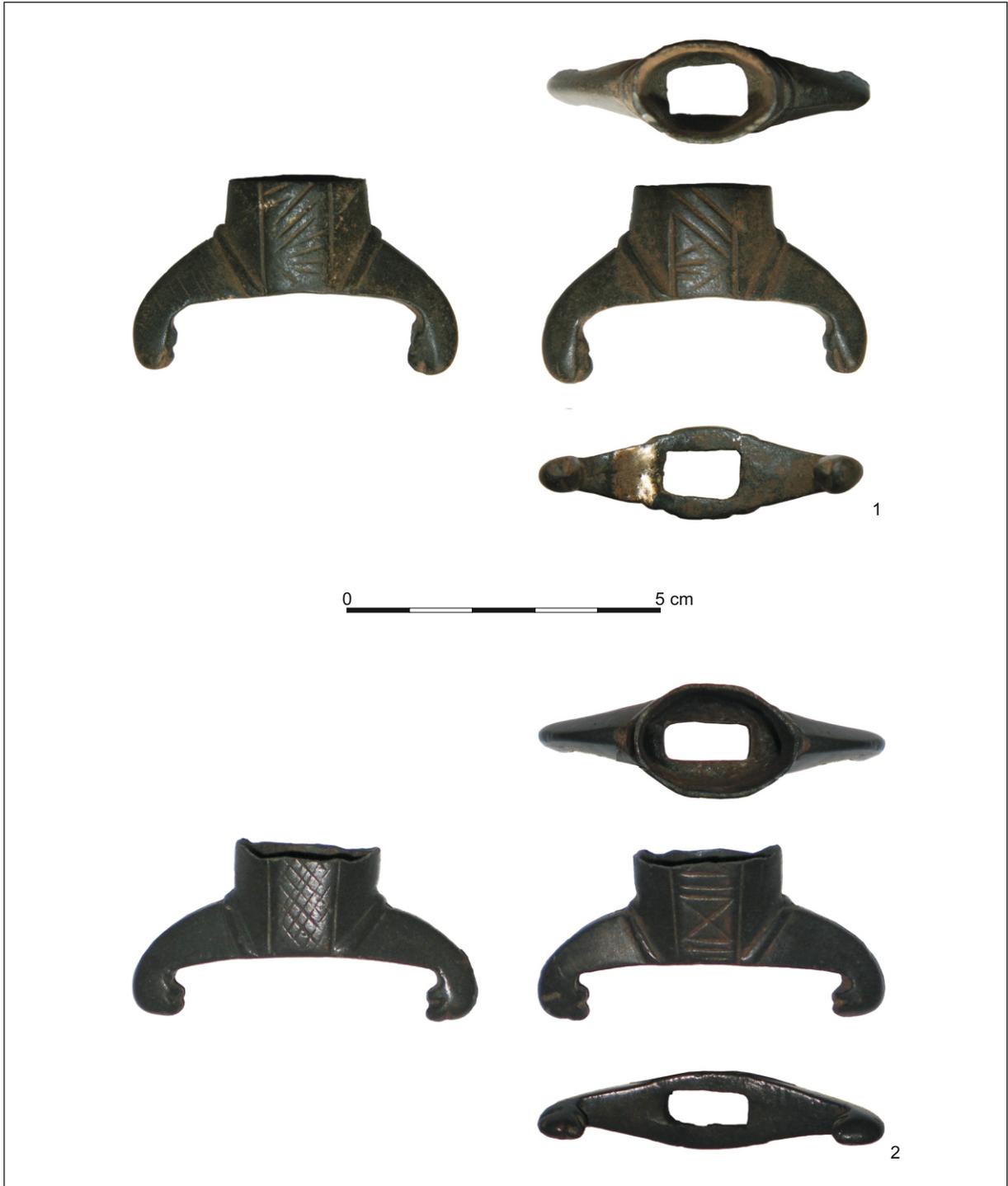


Fig. 6. Dagger guards: 1 – Górzycza; 2 – Łągów. *Photo by A. Michalak.*

Ryc. 6. Jelce pugińców: 1 – Górzycza; 2 – Łągów. *Fot. A. Michalak.*

(Riederer 1980; 1983; 1985). Using the alloy nomenclature proposed by J. Bayley (1991), the metal of the first artefact can be defined as leaded red brass, while that of the other one as brass. This metal composition is characteristic for medium-size casting. A similar chemical composition was

observed during examinations of many artefacts manufactured in the Middle Ages in different parts of Europe, e.g., with regard to finds from London, Paris, Leopoli-Cencelle (Heyworth 2002; Bourgarit, Thomas 2012, 3056, Table 3). No regularities regarding the composition of used

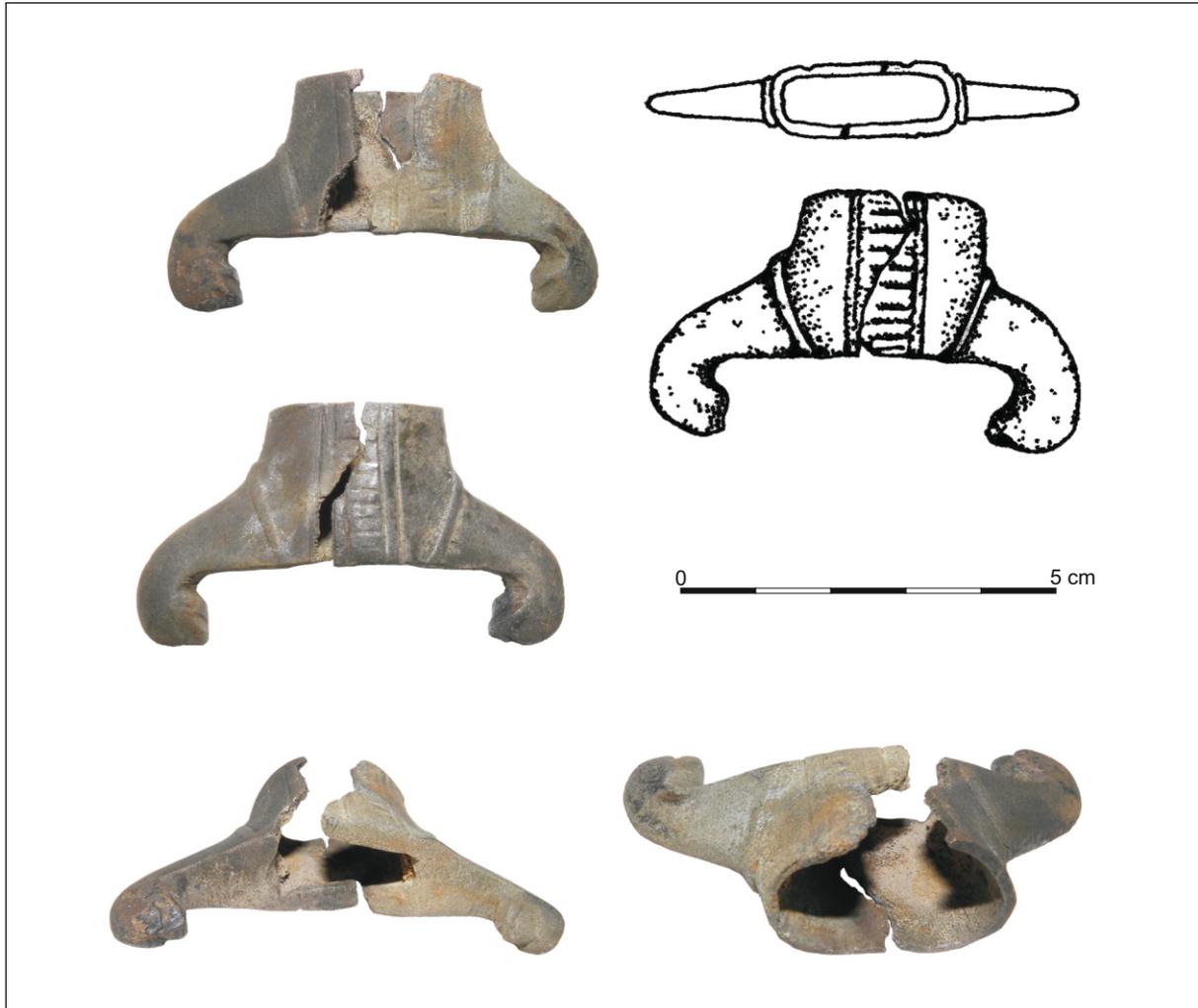


Fig. 7. Dagger guard found in Telč in Moravia. *Photo and drawing by Petr Žákovský.*

Ryc. 7. Jelec pugiinału znalezionej w Telču na Morawach. *Fot. i rys. Petr Žákovský.*

alloy have been found during analyses of other bronze elements of daggers. Most pommels from the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (including the collection of L. R. and K. Landmann), which are believed to be related to crusades and are dated to the 12th-13th century, were made of latten alloys. However, brass, leaded bronze and brass, copper, as well as alloys falling outside these definitions were used as well (Dandridge, Wypyski 2011, Table 1). Parts of the baselard scabbard found in Lake Ostrowite were made of brass (Michalak et al. 2017, footnote 5), while the dagger chape found in Leopoli-Cencelle, Italy, was made of pure copper (Asinelli, Martín-Torres 2015, Table 3). The compositional variations suggest that latten elements of daggers were produced not within a single, codified tradition but rather by multiple manufacturers using their traditional alloys and integrating recycled material as well. It seems that the colour or more generally

the visual appearance of used alloys might have been of much greater concern than their physical properties.

Some words should be also spent concerning a symbolic meaning of the monsters/beasts from the hilt. As their physiognomic features are depicted rather schematically, it is very difficult to determine what kind of creature we are dealing with. Scholars have been recognising it as horse, lion, dragon, or beast. Its main traits are the maw and convex eyes, which can easily be attributed to many mythical creatures described in bestiaries. It seems, however, that these features correspond more closely to the characteristics of beasts and snakes/dragons. Perhaps the presence of two heads may be of some importance. Obviously, dragons (maybe two-headed ones), quite often depicted in the medieval iconography and also used by arms and armour manufacturers to decorate weaponry should be taken into account (De Cosson 1923; Gamber

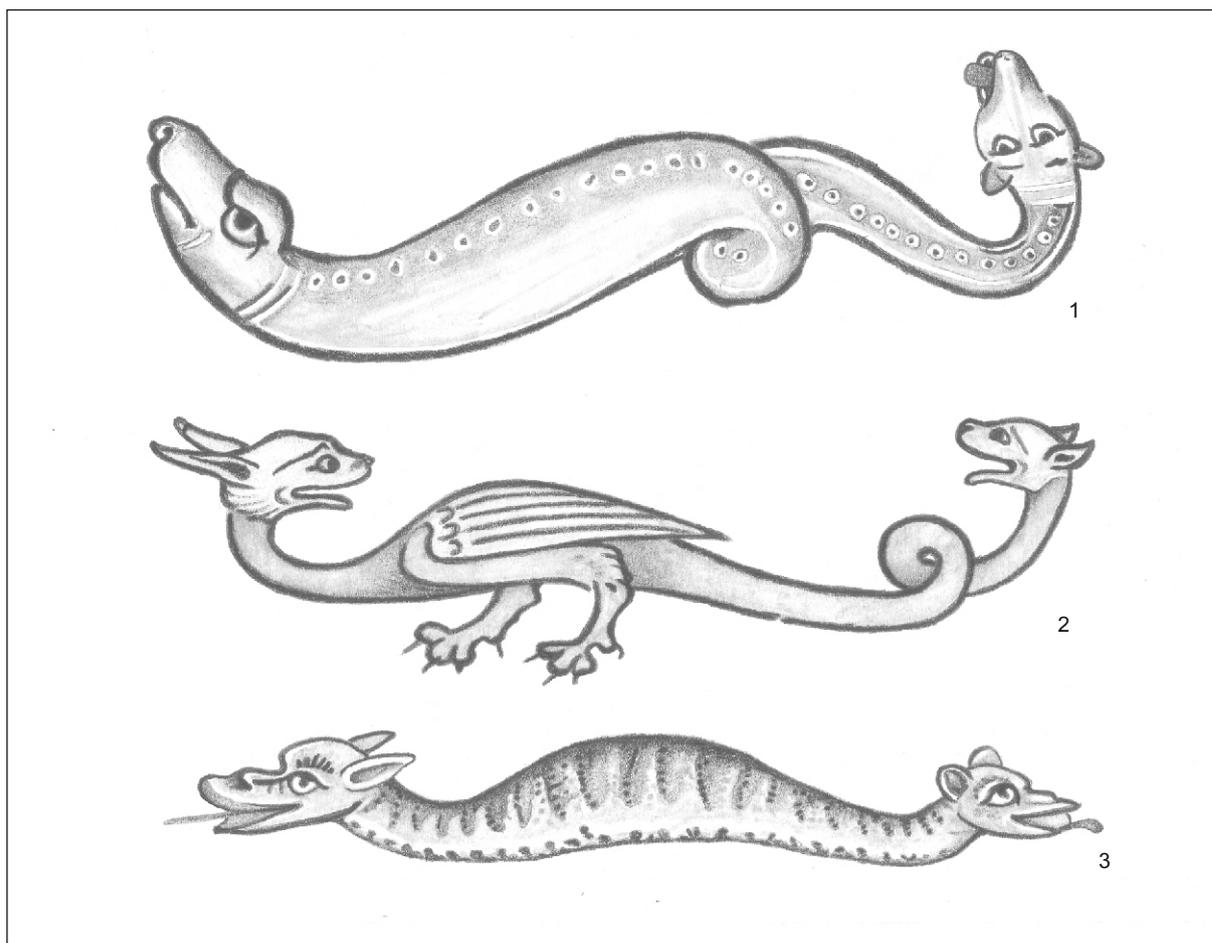


Fig. 8. Depictions of amphisbaena from medieval bestiaries: 1 – Kongelige Bibliotek (Gl. kgl. S. 1633 4°, fol. 54r); 2 – Bibliothèque Nationale de France (lat. 6838B, fol. 32v); 3 Museum Meermanno in The Hague (MMW, 10 B 25, fol. 41v). Drawing by J. Sójkowska-Socha.

Ryc. 8. Przedstawienia amphisbaeny z bestiariuszy średniowiecznych: 1 – Kongelige Bibliotek (Gl. kgl. S. 1633 4°, fol. 54r); 2 – Bibliothèque Nationale de France (lat. 6838B, fol. 32v); 3 Museum Meermanno in The Hague (MMW, 10 B 25, fol. 41v). Rys. J. Sójkowska-Socha.

1961, 24, Abb. 14; Seitz 1965, Abb. 116; Müller 1975, 204; Głosek 1991; Michalak, Wawrzyniak 2010, 241, Fig. 2; Marek 2017, 123). On the other hand, their characteristic anatomy with the head at both ends can point to amphisbaena (Amfivena, Anphine, Anphivena, Fenmine). According to bestiaries it is a two-headed lizard or serpent, which has one head in the normal position, and the other one at the end of its tail (Schrader 1986, 49; Levy 1996). It can therefore run in either direction. Its eyes shine like lamps, and the beast has no fear of cold. It is described by Pliny the Elder in the “Natural History” from the 1st century AD, and Isidoro de Sevilla in the 7th century AD. Amphisbaena appears in some bestiaries (Kongelige Bibliotek [Gl. kgl. S. 1633 4°, Folio 54r], Museum Meermanno in The Hague [MMW, 10 B 25, Folio 41v]) in a legless form (Fig. 8:1, 3), however it is sometimes depicted as having wings and two feet, with horns on its head (Fig. 8:2) (Bibliothèque

Nationale de France, lat. 6838B, Folio 32v) (Druce 1910; Newman 1987). It is often described as a two-headed lizard, or even a multi-headed serpent, with parts of a fowl – a description which closely resembles the notoriously toxic Basilisk. Amphisbaena has been referred to as the “mother of ants”, because of its particular fondness for the insect delicacy. According to Pliny, wearing of a live Amphisbaena is a supposed safeguard in pregnancy, and draping a dead one across one’s neck is an alleged remedy for rheumatism. Those who ate the meat of this creature were said to become irresistible to the opposite gender and anyone of pure heart who had the fortune of slaying an Amphisbaena during a full moon would allegedly gain remarkable powers.

Why, however, does this motif appear as part of the dagger hilt? We must refer here to the mentality of the people of the Middle Ages and the beliefs in the primacy of God and faith, to

which they were boundlessly subordinated and for which they fought. This also reflects the idea that the world itself was the Word of God, and that every living thing had its own special meaning. This can be interpreted thanks to medieval bestiaries. They described various animals (both real and fantastic) and can be treated as a reference to the symbolic language of animals in Western Christian art (Payne 1990). The combatant forces of good and evil are reflected there in creatures described as “sympathetic” and “antipathetic”. According to these bestiaries, much devilish traits and the Devil himself can be recognized in many animals and mythical creatures (Schrader 1986, 5-6). The dragon appears in this context as a symbol of defeated evil, but also as an expression of military and religious ethos referring to the legendary victory of Saint George (Seibert 2007, 297). Monsters’ heads from the quillon finials should be therefore most likely treated as warnings against the Devil. It cannot be ruled out that the amphisbaena could have had the same demonic association as the dragons, a symbol of evil. The illumination from the Prayer Roll (MS G. 39, fol. 11r, Pierpont Morgan Library collection) created in Yorkshire, England ca. 1500 which depicts St George dressed as a crusader fighting with amphisbaena might have indicated this (Ryskamp 1989, 79-80).

It cannot be however excluded that the beast head from dagger guard was an apotropaion, that is an element protecting its proprietor (Michalak 2012). Disturbing creatures frighten away evil that the owner of such an artefact feared. In practice, arms and armour manufacturers often placed mascarons in poorly protected areas of protective armament (Marek 2017, 77-78). For this purpose, they used images of bears and lions, but primarily of dragons, as associated with sin and abyss (*ibid.*, 78). Dragon skin were unpierceable and stab-proof, thus giving dragon attributes to the element protecting the owner’s hand and making this part of the weapon invincible.

A belief in the protective power of beast heads must have been common, as there are known examples of side arms with hilts provided with this kind of emblems both from the earlier and the later period. The cross-piece of a Type XI, I, 7 sword found in Rovaniemi, Finland, and dated to 1050-1100, terminates in beast heads (Oakshott 1991, 59). Another sword guard, in this case made of antler, was discovered in Lund, Sweden. Its arms are bent towards the blade and were formed into snake heads. This find is dated to 1100-1150 (Bergman, Billberg 1976, 387, Fig. 339). The French coronation sword was

provided in the 12th century with a golden guard whose arms end with winged dragon heads (Gaborit Chopin 1987, 66-69; Marek 2017, Fig. 212:a). Two confronting beasts were also carved on a horizontal ivory quillon fitting found in a grave in Poitiers, France. This discovery is dated to the 12th century (Ward Perkins 1939, 196, Pl. XLVI). Steel elements of quillons of ballock daggers from the collections of the Deutsches Historisches Museum and the Historisches Museum in Basel were formed into stylised heads of animals or beasts (Peterson 1968, Fig. 35; Müller, Kölling 1981, 366, Cat. 51). There is also a hybrid of a cinqueda dagger in the Windsor Armoury, whose guard is fashioned as serpents with heads turned in reverse directions. It has a wheel pommel, with two intertwined bodies of two snakes joined together at their necks and tails (Laking 1920, 61-62, Fig. 845). This dagger, most likely of North Italian manufacture, can be dated to ca. 1525. One should also mention the dagger from the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, whose guard’s arms terminate with beast heads. However, the ornament of this artefact is more sophisticated. Its pommel is vase-shaped and it is dated to ca. 1525 (*ibid.*, 65, Fig. 847; Dean 1929, 96, Pl. XXXVIII; Peterson 1968, Fig. 46). There is also a Venetian cinqueda from the same collection (Inv. No. 14.25.1172), dated to 1525-1550. Its quillon and pommel parts terminate in sculptured lion heads (Dean 1929, 86, Pl. XXXI:84).

The discussed interpretations seem probable. It should be however remembered, as recently pointed out with right by L. Marek (2017, 133), that emblems of medieval daggers, due to an extremely personal nature of this category of weapons, seem to elude any attempts of logical classification. This was because of the fact that such weapons were very often decorated according to an individual taste of their owners.

* * *

The discussed items demonstrate that there is still much to be learned about daggers from the 13th-15th centuries, despite very extensive arms and armour studies conducted for over 100 years. Iconography seems to indicate a low popularity of this form of arms after the 13th century. It was significantly smaller than that of baselards, ballock daggers or rondel daggers. There are rather rare examples represented in knight effigies from the 14th century, just to mention funeral monuments of the Archbishop of Cologne, Landesmuseum in Mainz, dated



Fig. 9. 1 – sarcophagus of Hug de Copons (†1354) from the church of Sant Julià in Llor (Segarra), attributed to Pere Moragues, Museo Diocesano y Comarcal de Solsona; 2 – the effigy of the Archbishop of Cologne (ca. 1340). Collection of the Landesmuseum in Mainz, Inv. S 3101 (1 – after <http://visitmuseum.gencat.cat/en/museu-diocesa-i-comarcal-de-solsona/object/sarcofag-d-hug-de-copons/>; 2 – after <https://rlp.museum-digital.de/data/rlp/images/201104/07172448789.jpg>).

Ryc. 9. 1 – sarkofag Hugo de Copons (†1354), z kościoła Sant Julià in Llor (Segarra), przypisywany Perowi Moraguesowi, Museo Diocesano y Comarcal de Solsona; 2 – nagrobek arcybiskupa Kolonii (ok. 1340) Landesmuseum w Moguncji, nr inw. S 3101 (1 – wg <http://visitmuseum.gencat.cat/en/museu-diocesa-i-comarcal-de-solsona/object/sarcofag-d-hug-de-copons/>; 2 – wg <https://rlp.museum-digital.de/data/rlp/images/201104/07172448789.jpg>).

ca. 1340 (Fig. 9:2), sir Miles Stapleton, Ingham Church, Norfolk (ca. 1370), Giacotto Provana (ca. 1382) Galleria Sabauda, Torino, John Cray, Esquire from Chinnor Church, Oxfordshire (ca. 1392) (Laking 1920, Figs. 726, 730; Arens 1997). Likewise, there is a low number of quillon daggers in museum collections (Laking 1920, Figs. 727-729; Dean 1929, 93-95, Pl. XXXVI:92-94; Peterson 1968, 21-26, Figs. 22-29; Lewandowski 1986, Tabl. III:4-5, IV:1, 3-4; Müller, Kölling 1986, Cat. 44, 47, 52-55; Urban 1989-1990, 27, Abb. 32:3-4; Salvatici 1999, Cat. 71; Taavitsainen, Harjula 2004, 138; Fig. 4:3; Baumann 2010, 598; Puype, Stevens 2010, 166-167, 170-171; LaRocca 2011) and actually there are very few artefacts with good archaeological dating among them (Abramek 2010, 105, Fig. 7:1). It should be borne in mind that only characteristic hilts, being diminutive copies of sword hilts and taking sometimes fancy shapes, gave these weapons their identity. Deprived of these elements, they become blades of little significance which often appear in archaeological materials (Lewandowski 1986, Pl. I:5-6, II:1, IV:5-6). One needs to remember that *it was not uncommon for a dagger to be disassembled and reassembled more than once during its working lifetime, either for repair or replacement of damaged or lost parts, or for alterations to keep up with changes in style or fashion* (LaRocca 2011, 133). Parts of dagger hilts made of bronze could easily be damaged or lost. The reason why there are so few copper alloy quillons and pommels in medieval materials

discovered both during archaeological excavations and as accidental finds (Laking 1920, Fig. 738; Buttin 1933, 23, Cat. 34-35, Pl. 11; Closs, Post 1938, Abb. 7; Caldwell 1976; Salvatici 1999, Cat. 69-70; LaRocca 2011) must be sought in the practicality of people of the Middle Ages, meticulously recycling precious metal and using it for casting of other artefacts.

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TAJEMNICA UKRYTA ZA GŁOWAMI BESTII. UWAGI O CHRONOLOGII SZCZEGÓLNEGO TYPU ŚREDNIOWIECZNEGO PUGINAŁU

Streszczenie

Pomimo dekad badań nad uzbrojeniem wiele spośród egzemplarzy broni przechowywanej w kolekcjach muzealnych nadal wzbudza pytania o miejsce

pochodzenia i datowanie. Przez ponad wiek wątpliwości implikowały również puginy zaopatrzone w oprawy z brązu o formie wielobocznych tulei,

obejmujących trzpień rękojeści, z boków których wyprowadzono ramiona zakończone skierowanymi w kierunku głowni stylizowanymi głowami bestii. Powierzchnia centralnej płaszczyzny tulei zdobiona jest w nich ornamentem geometrycznym. Do niedawna tego typu zabytki w literaturze polskiej, bazując na znalezisku z Bodzanowa w pow. aleksandrowskim (ryc. 2), identyfikowano jako elementy głowic scytyjskich akinakesów z VI-V w. p.n.e. (ryc. 3). Publikowane w przedwojennych katalogach uzbrojenia egzemplarze z tej formy oprawami datowano na okres halszacki i późne średniowiecze (ryc. 1:1-2). Z ostatnim przedziałem czasowym wiązano również egzemplarze sprzedawane na aukcjach broni i sztuki (ryc. 5). Najnowsze odkrycia tej kategorii zabytków nie pozostawiają jednak wątpliwości co do ich późnośredniowiecznej metryki.

Pierwszy egzemplarz odkryto przypadkowo w fosie gródka stożkowatego usytuowanego na terenie tzw. Sokolej Góry, na zachodnim brzegu Jeziora Trzeźniowskiego, ok. 1 km od Łagowa w woj. lubuskim (ryc. 6:2). Dekoracja tego zabytku zbliżona jest do ornamentu występującego na zabytku z 61. aukcji Hermann historica i z kolekcji Museum w Rothenburg (ryc. 1:3, 5), datowanych na ok. 1400 r. Chronologię tego okazu pozwalają nam uściślić wcześniejsze badania archeologiczne prowadzone na tym zamku. Na podstawie danych o okresie funkcjonowania obiektu, ustalonego w oparciu o wydobyte z warstw kulturowych zabytki, określić można ją na XIV w. Nie przeczą temu również źródła pisane.

Drugi z elementów pugińców odkryto w trakcie planowej prospekcji powierzchniowej z użyciem wykrywacza metali na terenie zlokalizowanej w obrębie tzw. Kępy Targacz siedziby biskupstwa lubuskiego w Górzycy (ryc. 6:1). Pewnych danych o chronologii tego egzemplarza dostarczają źródła pisane. Początek funkcjonowania siedziby biskupiej w tym miejscu w świetle źródeł pisanych określany jest na 1276 r., jednak pierwszy dokument wystawiono tam dopiero w 1290 r., od kiedy też najpewniej rezydował tam biskup. W 1326 r., w odwecie za polsko-litewską wyprawę do Brandenburgii, mieszczanie frankfurcy i rycerze pod wodzą wójta krajowego Eryka von Wulkowa najechali na dobra popierającego wyprawę Łokietka biskupa lubuskiego i zniszczyli katedrę górzycką. Od 1327 r. Górzycą pełniła funkcję diecezjalnego sanktuarium maryjnego, a na miejscu zniszczonej świątyni około połowy XIV w. wybudowano kaplicę maryjną. Omówioną chronologię potwierdzałoby również odkryte i badane wykopaliskowo cmentarzysko przykościelne, które datować można wstępnie na 2. połowę XIII – XIV w. Aż do połowy XVI w. do Górzycy licznie peregrynowali pielgrzymi ze Śląska, Pomorza, Wielkopolski i całej Brandenburgii. Przytoczone źródła sugerować mogą XIV-XV-wieczną chronologię odkrytego elementu pugińca.

Ostateczny dowód na późnośredniowieczną metrykę omawianych pugińców dostarczyły badania staromiejskiego stawu w Telcz na Morawach. Odkryto

tam element jelca takiego okazu, dekorowany poziomymi liniami (ryc. 7). Badania ratunkowe podjęte w 2011 r. ujawniły pozostałości obiektów osadniczych i produkcyjnych związanych najpewniej z nieodległą osadą. Odsłonięto również pozostałości traktu komunikacyjnego, pokrytego w większości brukiem. Pod nim zarejestrowano relikty drewnianej konstrukcji. Badania dendrochronologiczne pozwoliły na określenie daty ścięcia drzew użytych do jej budowy na 1202 r. Umożliwiły one ustalenie chronologii drogi, a przynajmniej jej brukowanej części na początek XIII w. Koniec jej użytkowania przypada na moment założenia stawu w l. 70. XIV w. Występujący materiał towarzyszący wskazuje jednak, że stopniowe opuszczanie całego terenu nastąpiło nieco wcześniej. Omawiany zabytek znaleziono dokładnie w strefie traktu komunikacyjnego i podobnie jak inne znaleziska (znaki pielgrzymie, podkowy) można go interpretować jako zgubę.

W oparciu o zachowane w całości egzemplarze przypuszczać można, że pugińcały te zaopatrzone były w kościaną rękojeść, ornamentowaną geometryczną dekoracją występującą na jelicu; analogiczny element oprawy z brązu ozdobił również szczyt oprawy. Zaopatrywano je zarówno w głownie jedno-, jak i dwusieczne. Bazując na powyższych danych, można jednoznacznie powiązać analizowane zabytki z późnym średniowieczem, najpewniej końcem XIV – początkiem XV w. Ich występowanie łączyć należy prawdopodobnie z niemieckim kręgiem kulturowym, obejmującym wpływami zachodnie i północne tereny dzisiejszej Polski, jak i Czechy oraz Morawy.

Aby uzyskać dodatkowe informacje o miejscu produkcji analizowanych pugińców, jak i dane dotyczące jakości i składu użytego metalu, jelec z Górzycy poddano badaniom spektrograficznym (XRF). Uzyskane wyniki porównano z wcześniej wykonanymi analizami zabytku z Bodzanowa. Wykazały one nieco wyższy udział miedzi i zdecydowanie większy udział ołowiu w wypadku okazu z Górzycy, podczas gdy okaz z Bodzanowa ma większą zawartość cynku i cyny. Pośród zarejestrowanych pierwiastków śladowych wystąpiły: Fe, z udziałem ok. 2 % wagi, oraz Ni, As, Ag, Sb, z ok. 0,1-0,2 % wagi.

Występujące na elementach oprawy głowy potworów, ze względu na dość schematyczne przedstawienie, są trudne do jednoznacznego określenia, z jakim mitycznym stworzeniem mamy tu do czynienia, choć wydaje się, że odpowiadają one charakterystyce bestii oraz węży/smoków. Ze względu na występowanie dwóch głów możemy mieć do czynienia z dwugłowym smokiem lub, co bardziej prawdopodobne, z amphisbaeną (Amphisbaena, Amfivena, Anphine, Anphivena, Femmine) (ryc. 8). Jej wizerunki z oprawy pugińcały traktować należy najpewniej jako apotropaion – element chroniący jego posiadacza. Przeróżające stwory odstraszały zło, którego obawiali się właściciele broni. W praktyce wytwórcy broni bardzo często umieszczali niepokojące wizerunki we wrażliwych, słabiej chronionych miejscach uzbrojenia.