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Abstract

Michał Eustachy Brensztejn compiled the ‘Archaeological Inventory of the Kovno Gubernia’ in 1907. The manuscript was not published, and only in 2010 was it discovered in the archives of the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw. The Lithuanian Institute of History and the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw initiated a project to publish the ‘Inventory’ as the third part of the Ostbalticum project.

This paper gives some preliminary insights and a short description of the manuscript as a source for Lithuanian archaeology. It analyses the sources used by Brensztejn, describes the process of identification of place-names, discusses the reliability of the records and the novelty of these data, and shows some characteristic mistakes that the author of the ‘Inventory’ made. A puzzle of artefact collection from Jagminai is presented as a brief case study. Thanks to the oral tradition recorded by Brensztejn, the identification of the site was possible.

Key words: Michał Eustachy Brensztejn, archaeological inventory, Kovno (Kaunas) Gubernia.

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.15181/ab.v1i0.1139

Introduction

Michał Eustachy Brensztejn (1874–1938) (Fig. 1) was a famous autodidact historian of culture, who was born in Žemaitija (Samogitia), but was most creative when he lived in Vilnius after 1910. His identity was connected with the complicated self-definition of the gentry, which was rooted in the heritage of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania: he knew the Lithuanian language, and signed his articles with the nom de plume Żmudzin (Žemaitijan); but he regarded himself as belonging to the Polish nation, and he worked faithfully in Vilnius, which was annexed by Poland in 1919–1920. A short outline of his life and his scientific activity was presented shortly after his death by Stanisław Kościałkowski (1938).

The subjects of his work were the history of culture of both Lithuania and Poland. Brensztejn was interested in archaeology mostly during the early part of his life. He collected antiquities, conducted small-scale excavations in Žemaitija, and published the results of them in Polish cultural publications, such as ‘Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne’ and ‘Materyały Archeologiczno-Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne’ (Brensztejn 1894; 1895a; 1895b; 1896a; 1896b; 1897; 1898a; 1898b; 1901a; 1901b; 1903). Nevertheless, his greatest work on archaeology, ‘Inwentarz archeologiczny gubernji kowieńskiej’ (Archaeological Inventory of the Kovno [Kaunas] Gubernia) (Fig. 2) (further the ‘Inventory’), which was finished, with the exception of the introduction, in Telši in 1907, was never published. The manuscript was bought from Brensztejn in 1926 by the Polish state heritage institution in Warsaw called Państwowe Grono Konserwatorów Przedhistorycznych, but plans to publish it were unsuccessful for various reasons. In 2010, the manuscript was rediscovered by Maria Krajewska in the archives of the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw (Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne w Warszawie).

The publication of this manuscript as the third part of the Ostbalticum project was initiated by the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage (http://www.mkidn.gov.pl/pages/ostbalt-left/ostbalt-left-en/stages-of-project-ostbalticum.php?lang=EN), which invited the Lithuanian Institute of History to join the project. The main partner in the work on the Polish side is the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw. The head of the project is Dr habil. Anna Bitten-Wróblewska, and the coordinator of the Lithuanian side is Dr

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1 A study about Brensztejn’s archaeological activity has been prepared recently by Dr habil. Anna Bitten-Wróblewska, and it will be published in the third volume of ‘Aestiorum Hereditas’.

2 Maria Krajewska has conducted detailed research about the history of this manuscript, and its complicated journey to the archives of the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw. An article by Krajewska will be published in the third volume of ‘Aestiorum Hereditas’.
Polish and Lithuanian scholars worked together to prepare the text for publication, with commentaries, a scholarly introduction and explanatory articles on Brensztejn’s cultural activity and his work in archaeology. These will be published in Poland, in Polish, Lithuanian and German, as the third volume in the ‘Aestiorum Hereditas’ series.

The main task of the Lithuanian team is to evaluate the archaeological sites described by Brensztejn as sources in the light of modern archaeological science in Lithuania. We have sought to show what new information Brensztejn’s work provides to Lithuanian archaeology, what other sources he repeated and how he interpreted them, and what stimuli and inspiration the ‘Inventory’ can offer for further archaeological investigations. A detailed study will be presented in the forthcoming volume of ‘Aestiorum Hereditas’, and the aim of this paper is to give some preliminary insights and a short description of the manuscript.

The ‘Inventory’: an overview

The ‘Inventory’ is an important source for Lithuanian archaeology, providing a list of archaeological sites in the former Kovno (Kaunas) Gubernia in the Russian Empire, which consisted of seven districts, called (in Polish) powiat: Telšiai, Raseiniai, Šiauliai, Panevėžys, Kaunas, Ukmergė and Zarasai. Part of what is now northwest Belarus and a small part of southern Latvia belonged to the Zarasai district (Fig. 3).

Brensztejn presented data from 1,127 sites in 907 locations, which he compiled not only from the available published and unpublished material by Fiodor Pokrovskii, Ludwik Krzywicki, Konstantin Gukovskii, Tadas Daugirdas (Tadeusz Dowgird), Eustachy Tyszkiewicz, Motiejus Valančius, Michał Baliński, Fr Juozapas Žiogas, and others, but also from his personal archaeological research, and information on finds provided by other amateur antiquaries who owned private collections. Various sources were used to different degrees for every district (Fig. 4). For example, the list of archaeological sites in the Panevėžys and Ukmergė districts was compiled by using the archaeological atlas by the Russian archaeologist Pokrovskii that was printed in 1899 (Pokrovskii 1899). The descriptions of the Kaunas district were based mainly on works by Daugirdas and Pokrovskii. Looking through the areas located deeper in western parts of Žemaitija, the sources used for the descriptions of sites are more diverse, and the number of sites visited by Brensztejn himself and the number of finds mentioned from his own collection increase significantly. For the Telšiai district, primary sources such as Brensztejn’s own knowledge (24% of cases), and information from Fr Žiogas’ records and
Fig. 3. The Kovno Gubernia (modern country borders on a 1888 Russian map) and its administrative partition: 1 Telšiai district; 2 Raseiniai district; 3 Šiauliai district; 4 Kaunas district; 5 Panevėžys district; 6 Ukmergė district; 7 Zarasai district (drawing by L. Kurila).
collection (22.5%), were very important. Very interesting data for the description of sites in the Raseiniai district came from the diary and the catalogue of finds of the amateur archaeologist Daugirdas (30% of sites). In the part devoted to the Zarasai district, mostly data from manuscript descriptions of excavations and surveys by Fr Žiogas and the catalogue of his archaeological collection give us new information. Some sources used by Brensztejn are yet to be investigated in more detail, and some records have no references.

One of our main tasks was to identify the sites and place-names described by Brensztejn. This was complicated for various reasons. In some cases, which are not uncommon, the place names given by Brensztejn according to the dwelling, farm or places in the landscape known in his time differ significantly from the modern toponyms. For example, Leibiškės is known as Lopaičiai or Tverai today, Piepaliai as Babtynas, and Lukos as Gribžėnai. Some of the locations do not even exist any more, and were identified only on contemporary Russian topographic military maps, as can be seen in the case of Michalin (in Russian Михалино) in the Kaunas district (Fig. 5).

The length of the process of identifying sites depended on the precision of Brensztejn’s description of their locations. In some cases it is very detailed, and in other cases it represents a generalised view of a broader area. There are some mistakes: sometimes the same site is described twice by different names, even in two different districts. For example, Peleniškiai hill-fort is mentioned once as Peleniškiai in the Panevėžys district, and it is described a second time as Papiliškiai hill-fort in the Šiauliai district. Or vice versa: two sites are ‘hidden’ in the description of Sarviečiai. It seems that some mistakes in the ‘Inventory’ were made because of misunderstandings of the handwriting by the authors cited, by not verifying inaccurate parts of primary sources, or because of grammatical mistakes (for example, Karawele, or Карауел в in Pokrovskii 1899, p.57). Or again, the Guronyms, Pravieniškės barrow cemetery is named after the neighbouring village of Pašuliai, but using the incorrect form Пуные from Pokrovskii (1899, p.98), and changing it again incorrectly to Posuszowie or Pašušvais, which is the name of another well-known cemetery in a different location. Another interesting example is: after confusing lakes Ažvintis and Ažvintaitis and the village of Ažvintis in the Zarasai district, Brensztejn mistakenly interprets information from Pokrovskii (1899, p.38), and instead of describing the Margavonė barrow cemetery that he meant to describe, he locates the cemetery currently known as Trakai, Ažvinčiai, of which neither Brensztejn nor Pokrovskii himself had any knowledge.

The proportion of types of archaeological object in every district is different. Of all the sites described in the ‘Inventory’, hill-forts constitute about 25%, burial sites about 32%, and stray finds about 34% of the records. Around 10% of all the descriptions are devoted to rarer types, such as Stone Age settlements, hoards, ramparts, fortifications and similar natural derivatives, castles and their sites, secret paved paths through swampy areas, mythological stones, sites of former manors or churches, find spots of mammoth’s bones, and wooden piles in lakes. However, we should treat these statistics cautiously, because some types in the ‘Inventory’ are defined otherwise to how we understand them today, or differently to the sources used by Brensztejn (there are references to a hill-fort instead of a barrow, to a cemetery instead of a hill-fort, etc). For example, the small Vikūnai hill-fort, which resembles a huge barrow, was described by Brensztejn as a kurhan, or barrow.
Another task was to evaluate how many of the sites described in the ‘Inventory’ are unknown and not visited by modern archaeologists, bearing in mind the fact that after the Second World War, archaeological expeditions frequently used the same literature and sources as Brensztejn did. The number of unknown sites, or those visited but not identified or examined archaeologically, varies from district to district (Fig. 6). The largest number of such sites is in the Telšiai district, 41 out of 151. There are slightly fewer in the Raseiniai district, 38 out of 223. A third of the unlocated sites in the Panevėžys district are represented by find spots of stone axes, and in the Ukmergė district more than half of the unlocated sites. Most unknown data about archaeological sites in the Zarasai district is the documentation of Fr Žiogas’ collection, which was later lost. Several unknown barrow cemeteries are also mentioned in it. The novelty of these data lies in the fate of the primary sources and the collections of antiquities which were once used by Brensztejn, to what degree these sources and collections were used by scholars, and how many of them have vanished.

The best-known source, which was later used widely by Lithuanian archaeologists, is the excavation diaries of the artist and museum employee Daugirdas, now preserved at Vilnius University (Dowgird 1881-1888; 1888-1909). Daugirdas’ archaeological collection, along with its register, is almost fully preserved in the Vytautas the Great War Museum in Kaunas.

The written records and collection of Fr Žiogas are considered to be lost sources. After a complicated journey from one private owner to another, the Žiogas’ collection ended up in the Aušra Museum in Šiauliai, but only after losing all its registration records (Ramanauskaite 1999). For this reason, the names of sites of finds from Fr Žiogas’ collection which are mentioned by Brensztejn are very valuable, as they allow us to reconstruct at least the geographical origins of the collection. Several rather comprehensive descriptions of artefacts have allowed us to identify them in the Aušra Museum, and
thus to restore their links to particular place-names mentioned in the ‘Inventory’. For example, in Jautneikiai, in the Zarasai district, a ‘clay bead’ was found with six ‘stars’ on one side and seven on the other. A spindle whorl with the same appearance is held in the museum’s Žiogas collection (GEK 845, inv. No. I-A 120:524). In Bužiškės (Bužyszki) in the same district, a stone find in the shape of ‘a cross’ was found, and a reference is given in the ‘Inventory’ to an analogy found in Utena in Eustachy Tyszkiewicz’s book (see Tyszkiewicz 1850, Plate V.1) (Fig. 7). This allowed us to identify the artefact: a stone mace head in the Žiogas collection (GEK 852, inv. No. I-A 120:429). Unfortunately, neither place-name could be identified beyond doubt on a current map.

The fate of the catalogue of another rich and varied private museum collection, that belonging to Antoni Zaborski (1850–1907), is unknown; but as in the case of the Brensztejn’s collection, most of the items found their way via the Museum of the Society of Friends of Learning in Vilnius (in Polish Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk w Wilnie, further TPN) to what is today the National Museum of Lithuania (Žilénas 1982, p.55ff.; 2011, p.131; Kulikauskas, Zabiela 1999, p.179ff.). Documents from the correspondence between Zaborski and Erazm Majewski (1858–1922), the founder of the Archaeological Museum in Warsaw and the ‘father of Polish archaeology’, have a special value. Fifteen letters dating from 1901–1904 and 1906, along with drawings and photographs of artefacts from Zaborski’s collection at Pašušvys manor, survived the 20th century, and are preserved in the archive legacy of Majewski, kept in the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw (Krajewska 2009, p.152ff., Figs. 18-23; 2013). The drawings and photographs of archaeological finds that were attached to boards and signed with letters or numbered are an important source when trying to reconstruct the original composition of Zaborski’s collection. During its journey through various institutions, the archaeological objects in Zaborski’s collection were subject to new ordering systems, not always following the primary frames of the boards made by Zaborski himself.

From the attention to original sources given by Brensztejn in his ‘Inventory’, we uncovered an error in successive literature, and a whole web of consequences was untangled. The result is the presumption that an important archaeological site exists in a place not hitherto visited by archaeologists.
Discoveries and Inspiration from Michał Brensztejn’s ‘Archaeological Inventory of the Kovno Gubernia’

Inspirations for discoveries: the Jagminai site as a case study

After Zaborski’s artefacts on boards B and E were mixed up when recomposing finds on the TPN board, they were regarded for a long time as a genuine collection from Jagminai (in Polish Jagmony). This ‘new’ Jagminai collection on the TNP plate was published in Latvian literature (Paegle 1927, p.592) (Fig. 8). Also, this false plate ‘circulated’ in the academic context of the first Republic of Estonia, as photographs of it (TÜAKDK, inv. No. 3272) were included in the didactic/training collection of photographs preserved in the Archaeological Department of Tartu University (for more about this collection, which is now kept in the Institute of History at Tallinn University, see Juga et al. 2003; Tamulynas 2006, p.173). Moreover, due to the similarity between the names, Jagminai has long been confused with the well-known Jagminiškė (in Polish Jakminiszki) barrow cemetery, which was excavated by Massalitinov at the beginning of the 20th century (Makarenko 1910, p.105ff., 10; Plate V; VII). There are two artefact collections in the National Museum of Lithuania named differently, although assumed to be from the same Jagminiškė site (Lietuvos 1977, p.45), despite conspicuous differences. The Jagminiškė collection is characteristic of Roman Period graves, while Jagminai on the TPN plate presents a set of a different chronology and nature, such as a conspicuous anthropomorphic figure, a fibula, and a crossbow arrowhead (Fig. 8). It should be noted that the so-called Jagminai collection does not fit the description given by Brensztejn, who used original information from Zaborski. Brensztejn’s reference to Zaborski’s board B in the ‘Inventory’ provided the inspiration to suspect the genuine origin of the collection, and only after the photographs of Zaborski’s original boards were published in 2013 (Krajewska 2013, Figs. 11; 14) did the circumstances of this ‘falsification’ become apparent. Seemingly after material was donated ‘to Vilnius’, Zaborski’s original tables were redesigned incorrectly by the TPN, and artefacts from different places, not only from Lithuania (Anykščiai, Jagminai, Pašušvys, Veliuona), but also from distant regions (Kiev), were assigned to Jagminai. Some artefacts from Jagminai Zaborski’s board B are missing on the ‘falsified’ TPN board (Fig. 9) (e.g., the ending of a neck-ring, an iron axe).

Returning to the question of Jagminai and Jagminiškė, the current location of Jagminiškė, which is more than four kilometres away from the River Dubysa, does not fit the topography of Jagminai in the ‘Inventory’, where the site is situated near the river, near Padubysis (today Bazilionai). The Jagminai (in Russian Ягмины) location does not exist today, and it was identified only on a 19th-century Russian topographical military map.
Fig. 10. The surroundings of the former Jagminai estate on a Russian topographical military map (1882–1907, scale 1:25,000) (above); and on a modern map (2004–2005).
Discoveries and Inspiration from Michał Brensztejn’s ‘Archaeological Inventory of the Kovno Gubernia’ (Fig. 10). The more precise location of the site became possible due to attention to the folklore tradition as given by Brensztejn in his ‘Inventory’. Place names are an important source of knowledge, and a way to locate archaeological objects. This power of micro-toponyms was well understood by Brensztejn. For example, out of 328 sites in the Panevėžys, Šiauliai and Ukmergė districts, 106 were mentioned by their local names (Fig. 11). The most common were generic names, such as ‘hill-forts’ and ‘giant’s graves’. Sometimes, however, rare place names occurred. One of these is Karalravis (meaning ‘King’s ditch’), an area within the Jagminai estate.

![Fig. 11. The local names of sites mentioned by Brensztejn (in the Panevėžys, Šiauliai and Ukmergė districts) (graph by A. Simniškytė).](image-url)

The landscape of the surroundings of Jagminai has changed significantly since the turn of the 20th century, but the specific place name ‘King’s ditch’ is still known by local people, and denotes a stream flowing in a deep narrow ditch between two bluffs, which nowadays are heavily cultivated. There are more streams nearby, but only this one is known by this name. Perhaps a burial site once existed here, and accidental finds earned the place a special regard. Nowadays, no particular archaeological site is known in the environs of Padubysis (Bazilionai). On the other hand, these surroundings have hitherto never been visited by archaeologists, and thus retain the value of their archaeological potential.
Concluding remarks

The information which is given to us by Brensztejn, based on his own knowledge or that of other authors, has a great value in finding new data; but there are also cases where the sites and places of accidental finds described by scholars in Brensztejn’s time are still unknown today. The ‘Inventory’ encourages us to return to a deeper analysis of publications which appeared at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries; there are examples where a site that is mentioned in a few publications is still not identified. Brensztejn himself was very particular about his ‘Inventory’. Years passed, and the unpublished manuscript data became stale and no longer relevant after other archaeologists made discoveries. Maria Krajewska, our partner in this project, who has investigated the history of attempts to publish the ‘Inventory’ in Warsaw, discovered that Brensztejn regarded his manuscript as irrelevant after 1928, when a register of Lithuanian archaeological sites written in Lithuanian by Petras Tarasenka was published in Kaunas (Tarasenka 1928). Let the readers of ‘Aestiorum Lithuanian by Petras Tarasenka was published in Kau-

Abbreviations

MAAE – Materyaly Antropologiczno-Archeologiczne i etnographiczne (Kraków since 1896 to 1920)

PMA PDN – Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne w Warszawie, Pracownia Dokumentacji Naukowej

TPN – Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk w Wilnie

TŪAKDK – Tartu Ülikooli Archeologial Kabinetididaktiline Kollektsooni, praegu Tallinna Ülikooli Aja-

WNA – Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne

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Received: 2 February 2015; Revised: 29 April 2015; Accepted: 5 June 2015.

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ATRADIMAI IR INSPIRACIJOS IŠ MYKOLO BRENŠTEINO „KAUNO GUBERNIJOS ARCHEOLOGINIO INVENTORIAUS“

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Santrauka

