

ITEMS WITH THE OX-HEAD ON THE SHORES OF THE BALTIC SEA IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

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Abstract

Items with the ox-head are a very interesting archaeological phenomenon in the Baltic Sea area in the Roman Period. The earliest category of these finds is drinking horn fittings, which appeared in the Early Roman Period on Jutland and the Danish islands. At the beginning of the Late Roman Period, in the territory of the West Balts in Masuria, brooches with the ox-head occurred. According to the scientific tradition, they are interpreted as the effect of influences from the western zone of the shore of the Baltic Sea. Nowadays, when new finds of items with the ox-head (drinking horn fittings, brooches) are found in Przeworsk culture, it is necessary to analyse this thesis again.

Key words: West Balt Cultural Circle, Przeworsk culture, ox-head items, distribution, contacts.

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Introduction

Elements of clothing decorated with animal heads, dated to the Early Roman Period, are frequent finds on the western shores of the Baltic Sea. The brooches with a predator's head on the bow (*Fibeln mit beissendem Tierkopf* – Demetz 2000), which were usually found in richly equipped graves, are particularly attractive (cf. Liversage 1980, 34, Fig. 15.d; Hedeager, Kristiansen 1982, 94-99, Figs. 9-15). Over half a century ago, the German archaeologist M. Jahn pointed to the Celtic origin of these ornaments, and marked a possible way along the River Elbe by which the motif of an animal's head on fibulae could have been transferred from the mid-Danube regions to Jutland and the Danish islands (Jahn 1952; cf. Demetz 2000).

The western zone of ox-head art

Most probably, one of the effects of these influences at the beginning of the Roman Period on the western shores of the Baltic Sea was the rise of craft centres producing bovine figurines (Thrane 1989; Hardt 1994) and items with ox-heads (Thomsen 1989), including drinking horn terminals (cf. Voss, Ørsnes-Christensen 1948 231-243; Klindt-Jensen 1950, 114, Fig. 70; Tischler 1950, Fig. 3; Andrzejowski 1991, Map 15, 1994, Fig. 2; Rasmussen 2007, Fig. 2; Andrzejowski, Cieśliński 2007, Fig. 15). The centre has adapted and continued Celtic design, and at the same time affected neighbouring regions. One of the directions of these influences was southern Scandinavia; the route is marked by finds from Bornholm (Vedel 1870, 31, 78, Pl. 9.7; Larsen 1949, 121, Fig. 14.9) and further north

from Öland, Gotland and the Scandinavian Peninsula (Stenberger 1946; Tischler 1950, Fig. 3; Andrzejowski, Cieśliński 2007, Fig. 15).

Another area in which the bovine figurines and bovine ornament motifs are frequent is the southern shores of the western Baltic Sea. There are numerous finds of figurines registered in Mecklenburg (Schumann 1902; Kunkel 1931a; Schoknecht 2006; cf. Schuster 2001, Fig. 3; Andrzejowski, Cieśliński 2007, Fig. 15), and an ox-head drinking horn terminal was discovered in grave II in the famous cemetery of Marwedel (Körner 1951, 44, Fig. 6, Pl. 6.4; Laux 1993, 354ff., Fig. 29.1). Other bovine figurines came from inland areas of the basins of the Middle Elbe, Havel and Spree (Radig 1930; Gandert 1958; Müller 1966).

In Pomerania, east of the River Oder, near Pyrzyce in Mojszewko,¹ an ox-head drinking horn terminal was found. The object probably came from a destroyed and partially robbed prince-grave, dated to phase B_{1a}, which makes it earlier than similar finds known from the Danish islands and Jutland (cf. Andrzejowski 1991, 36ff.). Another find, an accidental discovery, came from Rusinowo,² a place located even further east.

West Balt ox-head brooches

The distribution of the finds described briefly above resulted in recognising the western shores of the Baltic Sea also as a place of origin of ox-head brooches

¹ Mojszewko, Gryfice county (formerly Klein-Moitzow, Kr. Greifenberg). For this see: Kunkel 1931b; Eggers, Stary 2001, 99, Plate 280.7.

² Rusinowo, Sławno county (formerly Rützenhagen, Kr. Schlawe). For this see: Eggers, Stary 2001, 130, Plate 345.8.

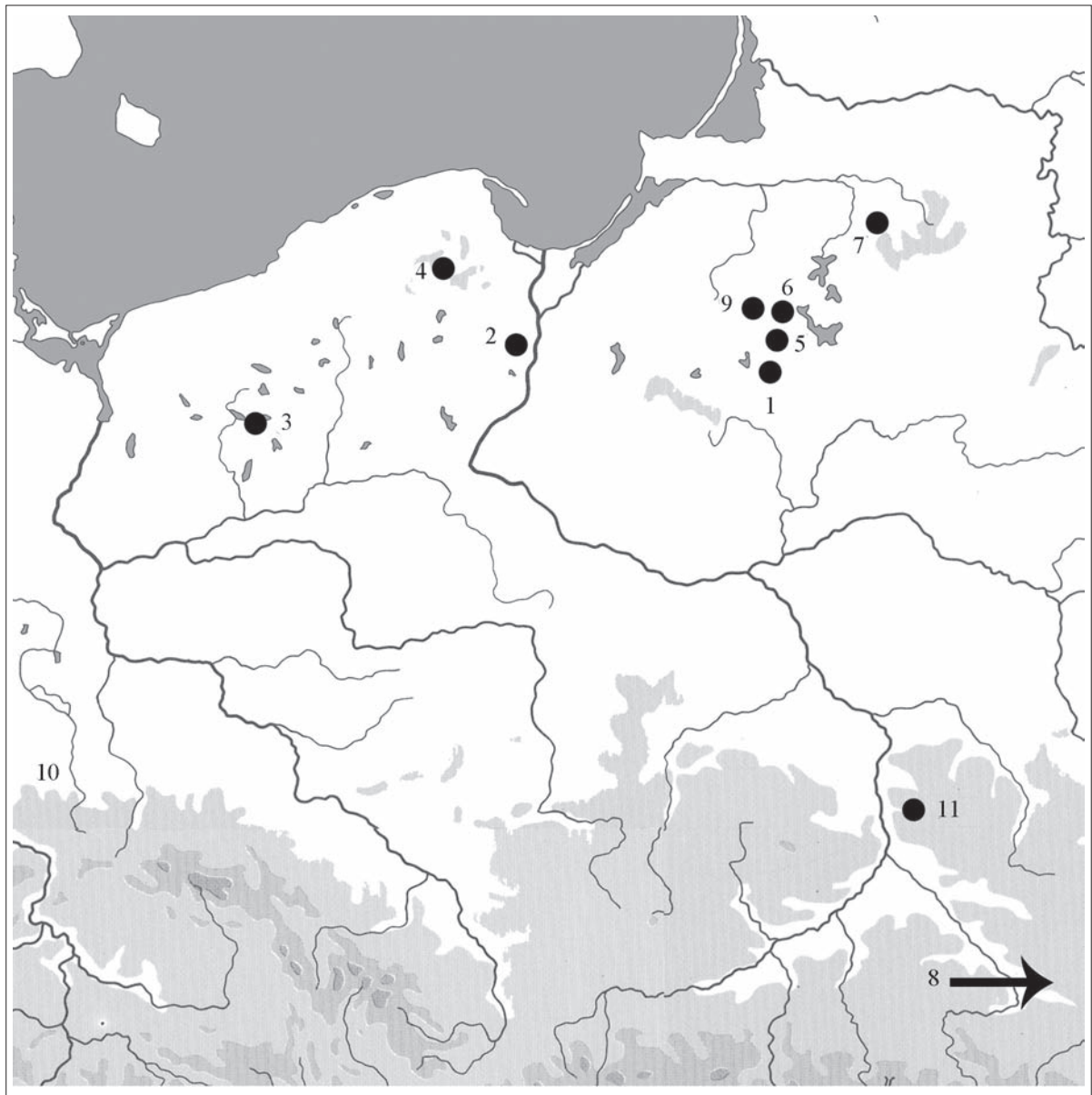


Fig. 1. The distribution of ox-head brooches: 1 Miętkie; 2 Opalenie; 3 Świerczyna; 4 Łubiana; 5 Spychówko; 6 Mojtyny; 7 Grunajki; 8 Cheronokhizhinti; 9 Nikutowo; 10 Zauschwitz; 11 Kraśnik-Piaski. Miętkie, Spychówko, Mojtyny, Grunajki and Nikutowo cemeteries belong to the West Balt Cultural Circle.

known from the West Balt Cultural Circle (Fig. 1.1,5-7,9), clearly concentrated in Bogaczewo culture sites in the Masurian lake district (cf. Voos, Ørnsnes-Christensen 1948, 242; Andrzejowski, Cieśliński 2007, 292f., Fig. 18). For over a hundred years, these fibulae have constantly attracted archaeologists (cf. Tischler 1879, 181, 198, Pl. IX.15; Hollack, Peiser 1904, 24ff., 43ff., Fig. 22, Pl. I.5d, I.7b), despite the fact that there are only a few brooches decorated in this way; moreover, they represent three types of constructional and stylistic solutions (Gaerte 1929, Fig. 169.a-b, d; Schmiedehelm 1962, 2011, 98-101, Pl. XL.1-3).

Knee-shaped brooch

The list starts with a brooch from the Bogaczewo culture cemetery in Miętkie³ (Figs. 1.1; 2.1). The brooch has a knee-shaped bow, decorated with crosswise, corrugated rollers, typical of examples of Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture from Sambia, most frequent in phase B₂/C₁ (Nowakowski 1996, 50ff., Map 5). The foot of the brooch from Miętkie is finished with a realistic representation of an ox-head, with very long horns pointing forward, tipped with ball-shaped swellings, and a pair of narrow, protruding ears (Nowakowski 1998, Pl.

³ Miętkie, Szczytno county (formerly Mingfen, Kr. Ortelsburg), grave 3. For this see: Schmidt 1906, 480, Fig. 3; Gaerte 1929, Fig. 169.a; Schmiedehelm 1962, 336, Pl. XII:2; Nowakowski 1998, 49, Fig. 13.304, pl. 16.304.

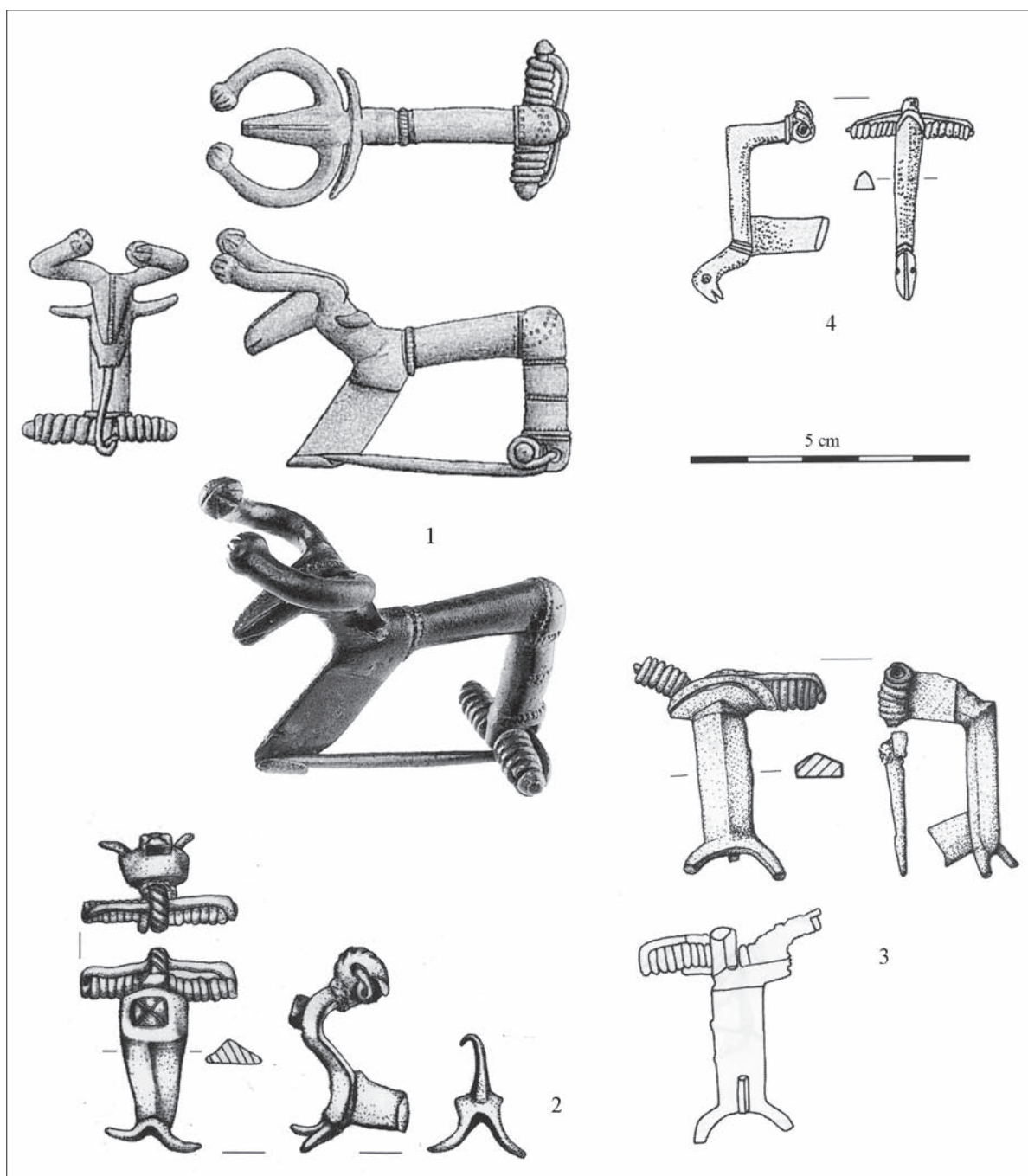


Fig. 2. Ox-head brooches: 1 Miętkie (Nowakowski 1998, Fig. 13.304, Pl. 16.304); 2 Opalenie (Andrzejowski, Cieśliński 2007, Fig. 17); 3 Świerczyna (Andrzejowski, Cieśliński 2007, Fig. 19.b); 4 Łubiana (Mączyńska 2011, Pl. 9.F18).

16.304). In the grave, the fibula was accompanied by a triple-crest brooch Almgren 96 (Schmidt 1906, 460; Nowakowski 1998, 117, Pl. 16.303), which dates the finds to phase B₂/C₁-C_{1a} (Godłowski 1970, 51, Pl. X.1-3; cf. Nowakowski 2013, 260ff.).

The distribution of fibulae which could be recognised as analogies with the example from Miętkie seems to confirm the above-mentioned thesis about relations between Masurian ox-head brooches and the western shores of the Baltic Sea. Some objects from sites of Wielbark culture in Pomerania can be recognised as prototypes of the fibula from Miętkie. A brooch was

found in the cemetery in Opalenie (Figs. 1.2; 2.2) with an S-shaped bow tipped with a schematic representation of horns. The brooch was accompanied by two other brooches similar to the Almgren 42 type,⁴ which dates the whole complex to phase B_{2a} (cf. Olędzki 1998, 80ff.), distinctly earlier than the find from Miętkie.

We can also regard a brooch from the Wielbark culture cemetery in Świerczyna (Figs. 1.3; 2.3) as a prototype of the fibula described above: two horns on the

⁴ Opalenie, Starogard Gdański county, grave 122. For this see: Andrzejowski, Cieśliński 2007, 294, Fig. 17; cf. Almgren 1923, 19, Pl. II.42.

foot of the fibula tipped with small balls, with a high catch-plate imitating an animal's muzzle.⁵ Moreover, an early brooch of the east series of Almgren group II (*Rollenkappenfibel* – cf. Eggers, Stary 2001, Pl. 317.7; Andrzejowski, Cieśliński 2007, 296; cf. Almgren 1923, 17ff., Pl. II) came from the same grave, which dates the grave complex to the mature phase B₂ (cf. Ołędzki 1998, 73ff.). This brooch fits, both chronologically and stylistically, between fibulae from Opalenie and Miętkie.

A knee-shaped ox-head brooch can also be found in the famous hoard from Łubiana near Gdańsk⁶ (Figs. 1.4; 2.4). The fibula has a rectangular bent bow, a small crest on its head, and an animal head, with the eyes encrusted with bronze and traces of removed horns, on its foot. The unique character of the deposit makes it possible that the treasure consists of objects from various regions; however, northern Great Poland seems to be the most possible place (Mączyńska 2011, 246ff., Fig. 76), which to a certain degree confirms the western links of the fibula from Miętkie.

Triple-crest brooches

Five ox-head brooches belong to the Masurian type, a specific form of triple-crest brooches, typical of Bogaczewo culture (Hauptmann 1998, 166ff.; cf. Schmiedehelm 2011, 85ff.). A distinguishing attribute of the Masurian type was the construction: instead of a spring, the brooches were usually equipped with a resilient needle placed on the axis of the cylinder on the head.

Two identical brooches, without doubt a pair, were discovered in Spychówko⁷ (Figs. 1.5; 3.1). The feet of both fibulae were tipped with ox-heads with semi-circular horns and long cylindrical muzzles. On the brooches' heads, on the cylinders locking the axis of the needles, there were rectangular plates. From the same grave also came an iron crossbow tendril brooch, most probably of Almgren type 161-162, an iron buckle with an oval-shaped frame and an amber bead.

A second pair of identical ox-head brooches was discovered in a cemetery in Mojtyny⁸ (Figs. 1.6; 3.2).

⁵ Świerczyna, Drawsko county (formerly Groß-Linichen, Kr. Dramburg), grave 3. For this see: Gandert 1958, 137, Footnote 75, Fig. 2; Eggers, Stary 2001, 119, No 250, Pl. 317.6; Andrzejowski, Cieśliński 2007, 295ff., Footnote 45, Fig. 19.b.

⁶ Łubiana, Kościerzyna county. For this see: Mączyńska 2011, 50ff., Pl. 9.F18.

⁷ Spychówko, Szczytno county (formerly Klein Puppen, Kr. Ortelsburg), grave 137a. For this see: Hollack, Peiser 1904, 24ff., Fig. 22; Gaerte 1929, Fig. 169.b; Schmiedehelm 1962, 335f., Pl. XII.1.

⁸ Mojtyny, Mrągowo county (formerly Moythienen, Kr. Sensburg), object 1-7. It was a 'large gathering of partly

They are exact analogues of the fibulae described above, the only difference is the eyelets placed on the rectangular plates fixed along cylinders. The eyelets were placed one on the right (No 7) and one on the left (No 5) side, which indicates that the fibulae from Mojtyny were originally connected with each other by a string or a strap, possibly with beads and pendants, which were frequently represented there (Hollack, Peiser 1904, Pl. I). Other items from the same object, that is, brooches of Almgren 161-162 type and ses-terces of Commodus and Septimius Severus (Hollack, Peiser 1904, 22, 42ff., Pl. I), allow us to recognise the pair of ox-head brooches from Mojtyny as contemporary with the fibulae from Spychówko, and to date it to phase C_{1a} (Godłowski 1970, 51, Pl. X.9; cf. Nowakowski 2013, 144ff., 253).

The two almost identical pairs of fibulae described above came from cemeteries less than ten kilometres apart, which allows us to assume that all the brooches were the product of one workshop. Another ox-head brooch, found loose in a cemetery in Grunajki, which is situated further northeast, in the valley of the River Goładapa, represents a slightly different pattern (Figs. 1.7; 3.3). The fibula had visibly shorter crests, and was missing the characteristic plate on a cylinder for the axis of the needle.⁹

The Masurian triple-crest brooches with an ox-head seem to be a very local form, with no analogies in neighbouring regions. The only exception is a find from Ukraine. A brooch with a widened head and a prominent crest on its foot and at the centre of its bow came from an accidental discovery in Chervonokhizhintsi¹⁰ on the left bank of the Middle Dnieper (Figs. 1.8; 3.4). It is an analogy with forms which are variants of the Masurian type of triple-crest brooches (cf. Hauptmann 1998, 167, Fig. 1 – variant 3/2; cf. Szter 2010, 218-221, Figs. 15-16), but with a different construction: the spring was uncovered, with an upper cord held by a

burnt bones' (*Größer Haufen von schlecht verbrannten Knochen*. Cf. Hollack, Peiser 1904, 42) recognised by the excavators as a compact complex (*ein geschlossener Fund* – Hollack, Peiser 1904, 44), while it consisted most probably of a few mixed burials with equipment. Because of the winter conditions (cf. *die Erde steinhart gefroren war* – Hollack, Peiser 1904, 44), the exploration was conducted gradually (*etappenweise*), and the artefacts were registered in order of discovery and then joined into seven groups (No 1–7), reflecting the particular stages of the excavations. The fibulae with bull heads described above were attributed to No 5 (Hollack, Peiser 1904, 43, Pl. I.5d) and to No 7 (Hollack, Peiser 1904, 44, Pl. I.7b).

⁹ Grunajki, Goładapa county (formerly Gruneiken, Kr. Goładapa), stray find. For this see: Tischler 1879, 181, 198, Pl. III.15.

¹⁰ Chervonokhizhintsi, rajon Chornobay, oblast' Cherkasy, Ukraina, stray find. For this see: Magomedov, Kushtan 2002.

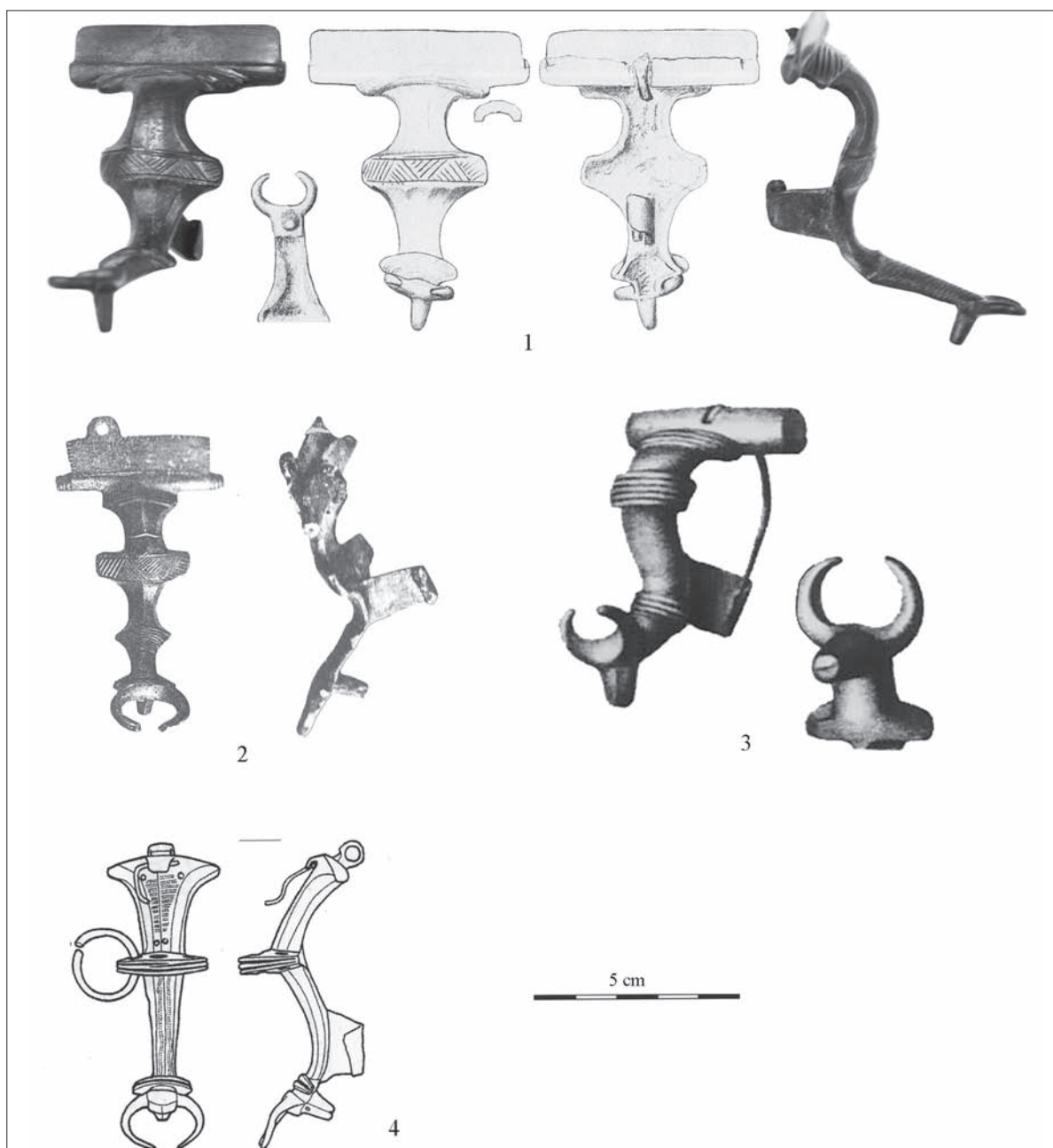


Fig. 3. Ox-head brooches: 1 Spychówko (drawing by P. Szymański, photograph by W. Nowakowski); 2 Mojtyny (Hollack, Peiser 1904, Pl. I.5d, 7d); 3 Grunajki (Tischler 1879, 198, Pl. III.15); 4 Chervonokhizhintsi (Magomedov, Kushtan 2002).

hook. The ox-head placed on a foot recalls those of the fibulae from Mojtyny and Spychówko.

The circumstances of the discovery of the fibula from Chervonokhizhintsi exclude its attribution to a certain cultural context. Relations with post-Zarubincy sites (Magomedov, Kushtan 2002, 67) seem to be most possible, where, in the final stages of their existence in phase B₂/C₁, fibulae of a similar construction and style were discovered (cf. Terpilovskij 2004, Figs. 3.1, 20.3). The assumed recognition of the fibula from Chervonokhizhintsi as an import from Wielbark culture (Andrzejowski, Cieśliński 2007, 297ff.) seems to be very probable in the light of the above-mentioned finds from Opalenie and Świerczyna.

A brooch with a high catch-plate

We should regard a fibula from Nikutowo¹¹ (Figs. 1.9; 4.1), a crossbow brooch with a high catch-plate which could be a very specific form of the first series of the Almgren group VII (Almgren 1923, 91f., Pl. IX), taking into consideration the stylistic aspect of the latest variant of ox-head brooches. The fibula was accompanied by a ring made of wide bronze tape and fragments

¹¹ Nikutowo, Mrągowo county (formerly Nikutowen, Kr. Sensburg), grave 222. For this see: Gaerte 1929, Fig. 169.d; Schmiedehelm 1962, 326, Pl. XII.4; 2011, 98, Pl. XL.2.

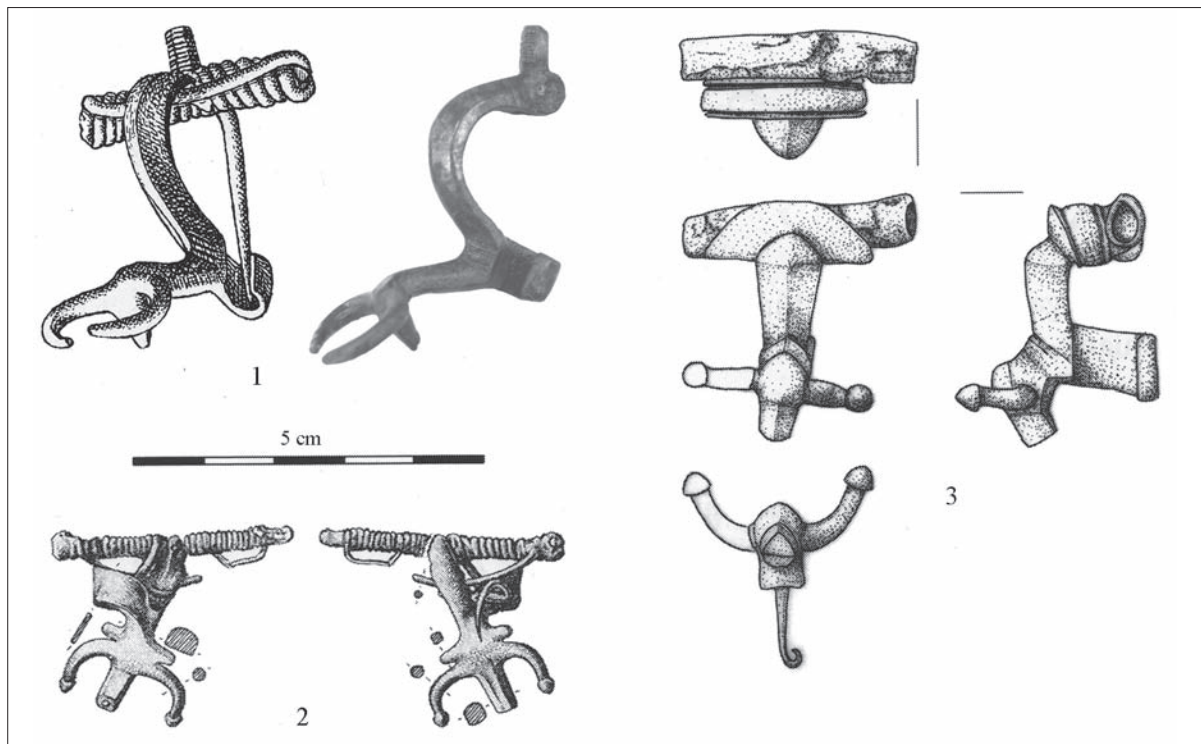


Fig. 4. Ox-head brooches: 1 Nikutowo (Gaerte 1929, Fig. 169.d; photograph by W. Nowakowski); 2 Zauschwitz (Andrzejowski, Cieśliński 2007, Fig. 19.e); 3 Kraśnik-Piaski (Andrzejowski, Cieśliński 2007, Fig. 19.d).

of a triple-layer comb, which dates it all to phase C₁ (Godłowski 1970, 51; cf. Kaczmarek 1998, 309ff.).

The fibula from Nikutowo found a rather unexpected analogy among artefacts from Zauschwitz, in the Middle Elbe area (Figs. 1.10; 4.2), where a fibula of the third series of Almgren group VII was discovered. The brooch was decorated with an ox-head placed on a spot where the bow came into the catch-plate.¹² The horns of the animal were tipped with little balls. The stylistic attributes of this fibula, as well as the presence of a shield brooch in the same complex, allow us to date it to phase C_{1b} (Schulte 1998, 296ff.; Schuster 2001, 419ff., Fig. 2.6), which is more or less contemporary with the find from Nikutowo.

A questionable find

Among artefacts discovered at the end of the 19th century in the cemetery at Tyulenino on Sambia, two ox-head brooches were mentioned as finds from one cremation grave. However, they were described that way only once, in the first publication of the results of research, which was a brief listing of artefacts, without further data.¹³

¹² Zauschwitz, Kr. Borna, grave 25. For this see: Meyer 1969, 122, Fig. 37.1.

¹³ Tyulenino, raj. Polessk (Viehof, Kr. Labiau), grave 170. For this see: Bezzenberger 1895, 257.

There was no mention or picture of these interesting finds in later works, even in parts dedicated to brooches with ox-heads (cf. Hollack, Peiser 1904, 24ff.). What should be underlined here is that the finds from Tyulenino were overlooked twice by M. Schmiedehelm in her work concerning this category of fibulae (cf. Schmiedehelm 1962, 2011, 98ff.). H. Jankuhn, who, like the Estonian researcher, was enquiring in the Prussia-Museum in Königsberg before the Second World War, did not mention anything about the bull-head ornaments of the fibulae from Tyulenino (Jankuhn 1933b, 225). However, he did note that one of them was a bronze triple-crest brooch, encrusted with iron (Jankuhn 1933a, 198).

In this situation, it should be assumed that the original designations made directly after excavations, probably before the conservation of the objects, and even before cleaning them, were unsupported.

Brooches with bull decoration reappeared in Masuria in the Migration Period (Hollack, Peiser 1904, 37, Fig. 39; Schmiedehelm 1962, 341, Pl. XII.7). However, they were totally different to the brooches from the Roman Period: a fibula was formed in a complete corpus of a bull. Considering this difference, as well as the large time gap, linking later brooches with those from the Roman Period (which happens sometimes, cf. Mączyńska 2011, 274, Fundliste 10: Fibeln mit Stierkopf) should be regarded as groundless.

The southern direction

The picture given above, where Masurian fibulae with an ox-head decoration meet analogies on the southern shores of the west Baltic Sea and in the Elbe area, which suggests the western origin of this ornament, is somehow disrupted by the appearance of zoomorphic forms in Przeworsk culture. Moreover, it cannot be excluded that some poorly made figurines may have represented bulls or oxen (cf. Rodzińska-Nowak 2006, 21ff., Fig. 6). At the same time, there are artefacts which can be recognised without a doubt as representations of *bovidae* (Dulęba, Schuster 2012).

Things that especially support the thesis about the appearance of ox-head brooches in Masuria as a result of influences from the area of the Oder and Vistula basins are drinking horn terminals with the ox-head found on sites of Przeworsk culture dated to the beginning of the Early Roman Period. Two such fittings were found together with brooches in the cemetery in Osiek, in Great Poland, which date them to phase B_{1a3}¹⁴ which is distinctly earlier than in the case of most similar items from the zone of the shores of the west Baltic Sea (cf. Andrzejowski 1991, 36ff.).

Equally early could be an ox-head fitting of a drinking horn from Legionowo¹⁵ in Masovia, from the part of Przeworsk culture territory neighbouring West Balt territory. One more ox-head drinking horn terminal from Masovia can be dated to phase B_{1/B_{2a}}. It was found in a cemetery in Modła,¹⁶ a site situated in the northern outskirts of Przeworsk culture territory.

Another find that implies a connection between Przeworsk culture and the Masurian ox-head fibulae was discovered in a cemetery of that culture in Kraśnik-Piaski, on the Lublin Upland (Figs. 1.11, 4.3). It was a fibula with a knee-shaped bow and a wide crest on its head. The fibula's foot was decorated with an ox-head; the horns were tipped with little balls,¹⁷ resembling the stylistically earliest brooches from Świerczyna and Miętkie. The fibula from Kraśnik-Piaski was accompanied by two brooches of Almgren 43 (cf. Almgren 1923, 19ff., Pl. II.43), and these last marked a rather broad chronological framework, from the end of phase B₂ to the beginning of phase C₁ (Olędzki 1998, 82ff.).

¹⁴ Osiek, Jarocin county, site 10, grave 15. For this see: Pawlak 2008, 210ff., Fig. 3-4.

¹⁵ Legionowo, loco county, stray find. For this see: Orliński 2011.

¹⁶ Modła, Mława county, grave 283. For this see: Andrzejowski 2009, 220. Andrzejowski, Cieśliński 2007, 293ff., Fig. 16.

¹⁷ Kraśnik-Piaski, Kraśnik county, site 2, grave 9. For this see: Wichrowski 1998, 104, Fig. 4.3, 2004, 321, no. 19.12-18.

At the same time, that fibula could be contemporary with both fibulae from Świerczyna and from Miętkie.

Therefore, it cannot be excluded that the appearance of the ox-head fibulae in Masuria could have been a result of the influence of Przeworsk culture. That culture was closely linked with Bogaczewo culture through the whole Early Roman Period. The evidence for these relations is the warrior belt, which is common to both cultures.¹⁸ Thus, Przeworsk culture would be here in the traditionally prescribed role of an intermediary, cultivating for ages and transferring into *Barbaricum* the influence of La Tène culture (cf. Dąbrowska 1988). One can assume that the so-called San group (Karwowski 2012) can be considered as a link with the Celtic circle. In the light of the latest research, this group appears to be the clearly marked front of La Tène culture, situated north of the Carpathian Mountains, while the area of origin could be the area of the Lower Danube, which seems to be confirmed by the provenance of some Celtic imports known from Przeworsk culture sites (cf. Łuczkiwicz 1998). For a symbolic 'milestone' on this route, we can recognise a silver bull head discovered in the River San (Parczewski 2009), which has recently been connected with the Balkan zone of Celtic civilisation (Bochnak, Kieferling 2009).

In place of recapitulation

These considerations indicate that it is difficult to offer an unequivocal opinion on the origins of Masurian ox-head fibulae. However, instead of a resume, a short presentation of another hypothesis concerning these unique finds seems to be more interesting. The impulse to form this hypothesis was provided by a fascinating interpretation of one of the decorative motifs on the belt fitting from Hagenow,¹⁹ Mecklenburg, formulated a few years ago by Alexandra Pesch (Pesch 2011, 9ff., Figs. 2-3; cf. Voß 2000, Fig. 164). She suggested that one of the animals which was a part of the fitting ornament and was recognised as a bull is actually a horse with horns. The 'horned horse' motif was widespread chronologically and geographically (cf. Bochnak, Kieferling 2009, 135, Note 5): it can be found in Scythian barrows on the Eurasian steppes (Jansé 1936, 66, Pl. 15.2; Samašev 2008, 133, Fig. 4), and in Scandinavia (Jansé 1936, 68, Pl. 15.1; Pesch 2011, 10ff., Figs. 4-5). It can be assumed that this motif could have been employed in societies where horses played an

¹⁸ Initially, it was a belt with a round buckle and a pin elongated into a belt plate (cf. Nowakowski 2002, 139ff.), and next a belt with a rectangular buckle with a double pin (cf. Andrzejowski, Madyda-Legutko 2013).

¹⁹ Hagenow, grave 9/1995, Kr. Ludwigslust. For this see: Voß 2000.

important role, that is, among the West Balts (Hoffmann 2006; cf. also Bliujienė 2009). This hypothesis leads to a reconsideration of the barbarian representations of horned animals.²⁰

In the case of the Masurian ox-head brooches, another important reason is, without doubt, the special role that horses played in Bogaczewo culture. Elements of horse furniture are known from numerous graves; moreover, horse burials were practised (cf. Gręzak 2007; Nowakowski 2009a, 2009b). Therefore, it should be expected to find a number of examples of horse representations in the zoomorphic art of Bogaczewo culture. It is partly confirmed in the decoration of pottery: a drawing on a lid discovered in the cemetery in Raczki²¹ is believed to be a horse representation, while an urn from the cemetery in Wojzak²² was engraved with images of horsemen.²³

In these circumstances, the question seems justified: could some of the fibulae with ox-heads in fact represent horses with horns? In the case of the earliest example of these brooches, the knee-shaped fibula from Miętkie, the answer is unequivocally negative: realistically presented, a wide muzzle and horns tipped with little balls, which are very characteristic of bovine images (cf. Radig 1930; Meier 1981; Seitz 1988; Thrane 1969, Pls. XI.19, XIII.24, XIII.30, XIV.31), exclude an interpretation different to the traditional one.

It seems that five triple-crest brooches ornamented with long-muzzle horse-like heads should be treated differently. Moreover, the semicircular 'horns' of the Masurian items are clear analogues to the semi-lunar horns of a horse (?) from Hagenow. Thus, in the case of the above five fibulae, it seems justified to reconsider their decoration as representations of 'horned horses'. It can also possibly be applied to the latest find, the cross-bow brooch with a high catch-plate from Nikutowo, as its head has a similar shape of the muzzle and horns.

²⁰ Cf. the different interpretation of presentations of silver skyphos from Järnsyssa, Västergötland, Sweden. For this see: Boike 2004, 27, Footnote 94.

²¹ Raczki, Suwałki county, grave 2. For this see: La Baume, Gronau 1941, 61, Fig. 1.g; cf. Iršėnas 2009, 117.

²² Wojzak, county Giżycko (formerly Woysack, Kr. Lötzen). Cf. Gaerte 1934, 23.

²³ Carl Engel's archives are currently held in the archives of the Archäologisches Landesmuseum in Schleswig; see: Nowakowski 2009c, 108. The unique legibility of the ornament which is visible on the photograph is a result of a specific 'conservation' procedure, whereby chalk was rubbed into the grooves (*Die vertieften Rillen der Bilder sind mit Kreide für die Schausammlung nachgezogen* – note by C. Engel).

Conclusions

As has been mentioned many times before, drawing ultimate conclusions about the Masurian ox-head brooches is impossible, considering the present state of research. What can be estimated is the fact that at least four fibulae, two pairs from Spychówko and Mojtyny, were products of one craftsman. Taking into consideration the fact that the period which separated the production of the earliest and the last of the brooches does not exceed one generation, it can be supposed that all seven fibulae from Masuria could have been made by one craftsman. Maybe this person initially imitated an unknown, strange pattern, to eventually make it more familiar and to match the 'regional style' by adding ox (or horse?) heads on the feet of a local variant of triple-crest brooches, and to finally experiment with high catch-plate fibula, still with only singular customers. But these interesting divagations are, unfortunately, beyond the limits of archaeology.

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ROMĖNIŠKOJO LAIKOTARPIO BALTIJOS JŪROS PAKRANČIŲ DAIKTAI SU JAUČIO GALVA

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Santrauka

Labai įdomus romėniškojo laikotarpio Baltijos jūros arealo archeologinis fenomenas – daiktai su jaučio galva. Anksčiausia tokių dirbinių kategorija yra geriamųjų ragų apkalai, kurie ankstyvuojų romėniškojo laikotarpiu pasirodo Jutlandijos pusiasalyje ir danų salose. Vėlyvuojų romėniškojo laikotarpiu vakarų baltų gyvenamose teritorijose, Mozūruose, pasitaiko segių su jaučio galva (1 pav.). Ilgalaikė mokslinė tradicija jas interpretuoja kaip vakarinių Baltijos jūros pakrančių įtaką. Šiandien, kai Pševorsko kultūros paminkluose rasta naujų daiktų su jaučio galva (geriamųjų ragų apkalų, segių), būtina iš naujo persvarstyti šią tezę. Pastarųjų metų tyrimai leidžia teigti, kad mažiausiai keturios segės su jaučio galva, rastos Spychówko ir Mojtyny kapinyuose, buvo gamintos vietos amatininkų. Be to, svarstant įvairias galimybes, teigiama, kad žinomos septynios vietos, kur buvo rastos vietinių amatininkų pagamintos segės (2–3 pav.).