

pat metu, kaip ir pasaginės segės. Jų randama ir Rytuose. Tačiau labiau giliantis į detales galima atskirti vietinius gaminius nuo importuotų.

Gotlando moterų mėgtų déželinių segių nedaug rasta Rytų Pabaltijje ir Rytų Prūsijoje. Jos priklauso VIII–IX a. gaminiams. Vienas iš naujausių tokių radinių yra iš Laukskuolos kapyno, kur kape buvo kartu su dvielem Gotlando gyvūninėmis segėmis. Gali būti, jog tai gotlandietės kapas, kuri buvo ištakėjusi už lyvio. Gotlando kilmės gyvūninės segės labai retos kitur. Žinoma viena iš Staraja Ladogos ir dar viena ar dvi atsitiktinės iš to paties regiono. Gruobinėje aptiktas įdomus pletų Skandinavijos, taip vadinamas "näbbfibula" ir Gotlando segės hibridas.

Bead spacers buvo naudojami tiek Skandinavijos žemyninėje dalyje, tiek ir Gotlande dar prieš Vikingų laikotarpį. Vikinginiu laikotarpiu jie pavirsta į didelius ir turtingai ornamentuotus papuošalus, dažnai inkrustuotus sidabru. Šiu papuošalų rasta ir Latvijoje. Seniausieji artimi gotlandiečiams, vėliau įgyja vietinių bruožų.

Tool brooches buvo naudojamos Skandinavijos žemyninėje dalyje dar iki Vikingų laikotarpio, tačiau Vikinginiu metu jos išskirtinai gotlandietiškos. Šis segių tipas randamas ir Latvijoje. Vienas iš seniausių yra iš Gruobinės. Jų taip pat aptinkama ir toliau į pietus Baltijos pajūriu. Brakteatai, kaip ir bead spacers bei tool brooches naudoti Vendelio ir Vikingų laikotarpiais, tačiau pastarajame periode tik Gotlande. Vienas ar du rasti ir Latvijoje.

Rytų Pabaltijo dirbiniai Gotlande. Smeigtukai ir apyrankės - dvi moterų papuošalų grupės kilusios iš Rytų Pabaltijo. Smeigtukai kryžinėmis ir trikampėmis galvutėmis yra svetimi Gotlandui. Saloje naudoti smeigtukai skiriasi išvaizda bei dévėjimo būdu. Apyrankės gotlandiečių moterų buvo labai mėgiamos, ypač vėlyvajame Vikingų laikotarpyje. Didelė dalis apyrankių, aptiktų Gotlande atrodo pagamintos Rytų Pabaltijje. Jos skiriasi nuo vietinių (7 pav.). Kai kuriais atvejais jas sunku atskirti.

Interpretacija ir išvados. Skandinavai ir gotlandiečiai ankstyvajame Vikingų laikotarpyje apsigyveno Rytų Pabaltijje, kur gyveno petis petin su kuršiais. Tai patvirtina Gruobinėje aptiktas akmuo su gotlandietišku piešiniu ir vietiniai moterų papuošalai transformavęsi iš atsivežtinių.

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Between Curonia and Bavaria. Animal-head Brooches Resulting from Long-Distance Connections During Migration Period

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1. Introduction.

The interregional character of Germanic culture during the Migration Period is well-known, but it has been hardly noticed that the Balts, who dwelt on the periphery of the Barbarian world, also became a part of this interregional society.

The example of crossbow brooches with full catch-plate, Almgren VI, 2 and an animal head on the foot (see Åberg 1919: Figs. 127-132) appears to be very good confirmation of such an assumption. Their geographical distribution is split curiously between Scandinavia, the Balt lands and Bavaria on the one hand, and the Dneper river basin on the other. Such wide distribution offers insight into different aspects of long-distance connections such as direct, lively interchange among workshops, intermarriage or the presence of itinerant artisans. It is also possible to observe how "interregional" ornamentation underwent local modifications which gave rise to local variations.

These brooches have been already described by such scholars as N. Åberg (1919: 93-97, 143-146), E. Oxenstierna (1940), E. Šturm (1950: 22), J. Werner (1970: 78-81) and lately V. Kazakevičius (1983; 1993: 106-109) and V. Kulakov (1990), but they mostly touched the subject briefly. No one has analysed all the finds, nor has anyone paid sufficient attention to the internal differentiation of the fibulae in question, and as a result their conclusions are somewhat limited. I would present these ornaments in a new light with a new classification which would permit us to follow both their stylistic development and its chronological consequences and their historical interpretation.

2. The origin of animal-head-crossbow brooches.

The question of origin of crossbow fibulae with an animal head was first discussed by Nils Åberg (1919: 93-94) who regarded their emergence as the result of the

influence of *Fibeln mit dreilappiger Kopfplatte und schmalem Tierkopffuß* on the Samland crossbow brooches. This hypothesis was accepted by other scholars since noone proposed a better one. An exception could be V. Kazakevičius (1983: 194-195) who sought analogies for an item from Plinkaigalis among Gotland's belt sets, which are dated to the Migration Period, but later he revised his opinion (Kazakevičius 1993: 108-109).

However, N. Åberg's proposition seems to be open to question. First, chronological questions arise. Crossbow brooches with full-catch plate and long narrow foot are regarded as an indicator of the Early Migration Period (phase D) in the Balt lands, as is confirmed by the latest correspondent analysis done by W. Nowakowski (1996: 15-54). *Bügelfibeln* are typical of the Late Migration Period (phase E) (Nowakowski 1996: 53-54). Of course, there was no gap between these two phases and some artefacts could remain in use longer, while others could appear slightly earlier. Nevertheless, it seems that synchronic ornamental development of these ornaments must have facilitated the mutual influences much more than in case of specimens being overlapped only partially.

There is also some doubt concerning the stylistic connections between crossbow brooches and *Bügelfibeln* proposed by N. Åberg. The completely different construction of the latter renders their mutual connections questionable, although not, of course, impossible.

The status of animal-head-crossbow fibulae is very special, owing to their wide distribution - on one hand analysis of them seems very attractive, on the other they elude simple solutions. The latter reservation also concerns the problem of the origin of the brooches in question. It seems that one should cease looking for one place of origin for them and treat this group of artefacts more broadly in the context of long-distance interchange of ideas in the Baltic basin during the Migration Period. Such hybrids as animal-head-crossbow brooches must have emerged as a result of "crossing" influences. The fibulae in question have a typological source in crossbow ones with long narrow foot and full catch-plate (type Schönwarling/Skowarcz and its development - see Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986: 650-652; Bitner-Wróblewska 1992). The latter, being one of the most popular ornaments in the eastern Baltic basin, occur in concentrations primarily in Samland and the Mazurian Lakeland as well as western Lithuania, Gotland and Öland (Bitner-Wróblewska 1992). At the same time this find area in the western Baltic basin and the areas situated to the west of it, contains cruciform brooches (Reichstein 1975). In addition to a plate on the head with three knobs, they feature an animal head on the end of the foot.

It might have been possible that crossbow fibulae with an animal head emerged on the periphery of the distribution of those two popular categories of artefacts. It does not seem necessary to stress the role of a particular area in their emergence. On the other hand, it is worth pointing out that the territories were a "meeting point" of cruciform and crossbow brooches, as at Öland, for example, where three animal-head-crossbow fibulae were found (Åberg 1923: 131, Figs. 234, 235). By contrast, there is no such ornament recorded in Gotland, where the cruciform ones too are not found either. This might not be a coincidence. If Öland-Samland links played a role in the emergence of brooches with animal head, it would not be strange if none of them were known from Gotland, which traditionally had closer connections with the other Balt lands.

3. The classification of animal-head crossbow brooches.

The typological development of *Fibeln mit schmalem Tierkopffuß*, as proposed by Åberg remains correct (Åberg 1919: Figs. 127, 130-131). An item from Mragowo (formerly Sensburg) was regarded as an example of the first stage of their development. The more recent finds have relief ornament and an animal head on the both ends of the bow, as we see from a brooch found at Yaroslavskoe (formerly Schlakalken), grave 25. The culmination of the development of the fibulae in question could be illustrated by a richly decorated item from Tumiany (former Daumen) which has an imitation crossbow construction. Such a description of stylistic development could not replace the classification of animal-head crossbow brooches. Their great diversity requires detailed analysis, which might reveal their local differentiations.

A first attempt at closer analysis was the subdivision of finds into *Armbrustfibeln mit reicher Ornamentik* and *Kragenfibeln* (meant as items with an imitation crossbow construction, not as Almgren 239) made by E. C. G. Oxenstierna (1940: 238-240). Unfortunately, he did not include all finds in his work and hence his conclusions have limited value.

A recent classification proposed by V. Kulakov is not based on clear enough criteria. One type (see his group 2. and 4.) includes both items with and without relief ornamentation, as well as brooches with different construction (see group 3. – Kulakov 1990: 211-212).

I would like to propose a simple, general criterion for classifying animal-head crossbow brooches, namely the presence of relief ornamentation. It seems that by dividing the fibulae in question into specimens with or without relief ornamentation, one could appreciate the interregional or local character of these ornaments better. Further subdivisions could be made where it is necessary to highlight particular aspects.

Instead of using a long description to refer to the brooches in question, I would like to propose a term, "the Sensburg/Mragowo type" for specimens without relief ornament and the term "Daumen/Tumiany type" for those with relief decoration. Both groups of brooches have been treated as rather rare ornaments, but after collecting all finds, it has turned out that the total quantity of them is not so small. There are 30 specimens of the Sensburg/Mragowo type (including all variants), and 23 fibulae of the Daumen/Tumiany type.

4. The Sensburg/Mragowo Type and its variants.

The Sensburg/Mragowo type (see Annex A) features a crossbow construction, short catch-plate and realistic animal head on the end of the foot (Fig. 1). The most frequently repeated pattern is transverse dents covering the bow and the foot. A loose find (Fig. 1a) from Mragowo has been chosen to name the type according to its position in Åberg's typological scheme, despite the fact that it is a single find from the Mazurian Lakeland, the area situated in the south-western part of the Balt lands.

Apart from the Mragowo brooch, three items were found in Öland (Skogsby, Hönsorp and an unknown site), two in Bornholm (both in Levka) and a single,

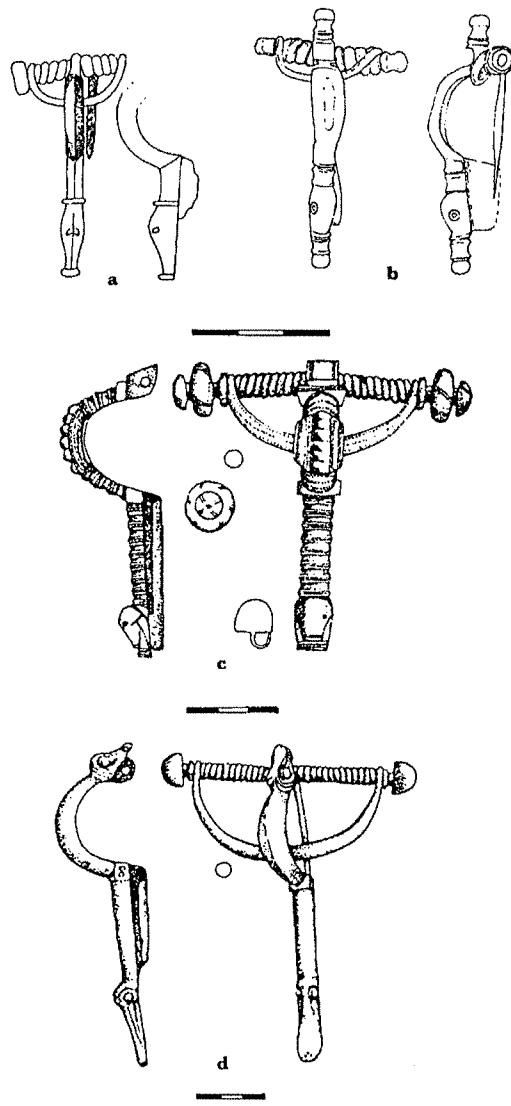


Fig. 1. Brooches of the Sensburg/Mragowo type: a – Mragowo (formerly Sensburg); b – Bornholm, unknown site; Smørenge variant; c – Plinkaigalis, grave 107; Rubokai variant; d – Jauneikiai, grave 390; Letto-Lithuanian variant. According to Åberg 1919; Klindt-Jensen 1957; Bezzenger 1909; Vaškevičiūtė 1978.

the case of particular variants, it represents a cultural indicator of Bornholm dress (Bitner-Wróblewska 1992: 30, Fig. 3).

Another local form, called the Rubokai variant (Fig. 1c), emerged in the Nemunas river basin (Rubokai, Plinkaigalis, Vidgiriai). Its special feature is a group

dispersed find is known from outside the area mentioned (Fig. 2), namely in the Dnieper river basin (Choulgovka). The latter should not be treated as a curiosity, if it is placed in the context of a few Baltic artefacts found in the Dnieper basin (e.g. spade-footed brooch, bow-curved strap end - Bitner-Wróblewska 1991: 68-69; Kazanski, in print). All those finds reveal the links between Balt lands and south-eastern Europe, thereby confirming the tempting hypothesis that a splinter group of the Galindai, inhabitants of Mazurian Lakeland, might have migrated south with the Goths (Nowakowski 1989: 120-123, earlier literature, *ibid.*).

Returning to the Sensburg/Mragowo type, it is worth to stressing the local character of this type with several variants dispersed around the Baltic basin (Fig. 3). The motif spread over this area and was rapidly modified to suit local tastes. There are even some imitations of the Sensburg/Mragowo type where the animal head on the foot has been marked only slightly. Three such specimens were found in Ošenieki, south-western Latvia, another one in Lower Nemunas area.

An interesting example is provided by the Smørenge variant (Fig. 1b) found on Bornholm (2 from Smørenge, Mølleågård, and an unknown site). It features a new pattern, viz. a knob on the head projecting beyond the spring. It is the most frequently repeated pattern on crossbow brooches from Bornholm and sometimes in

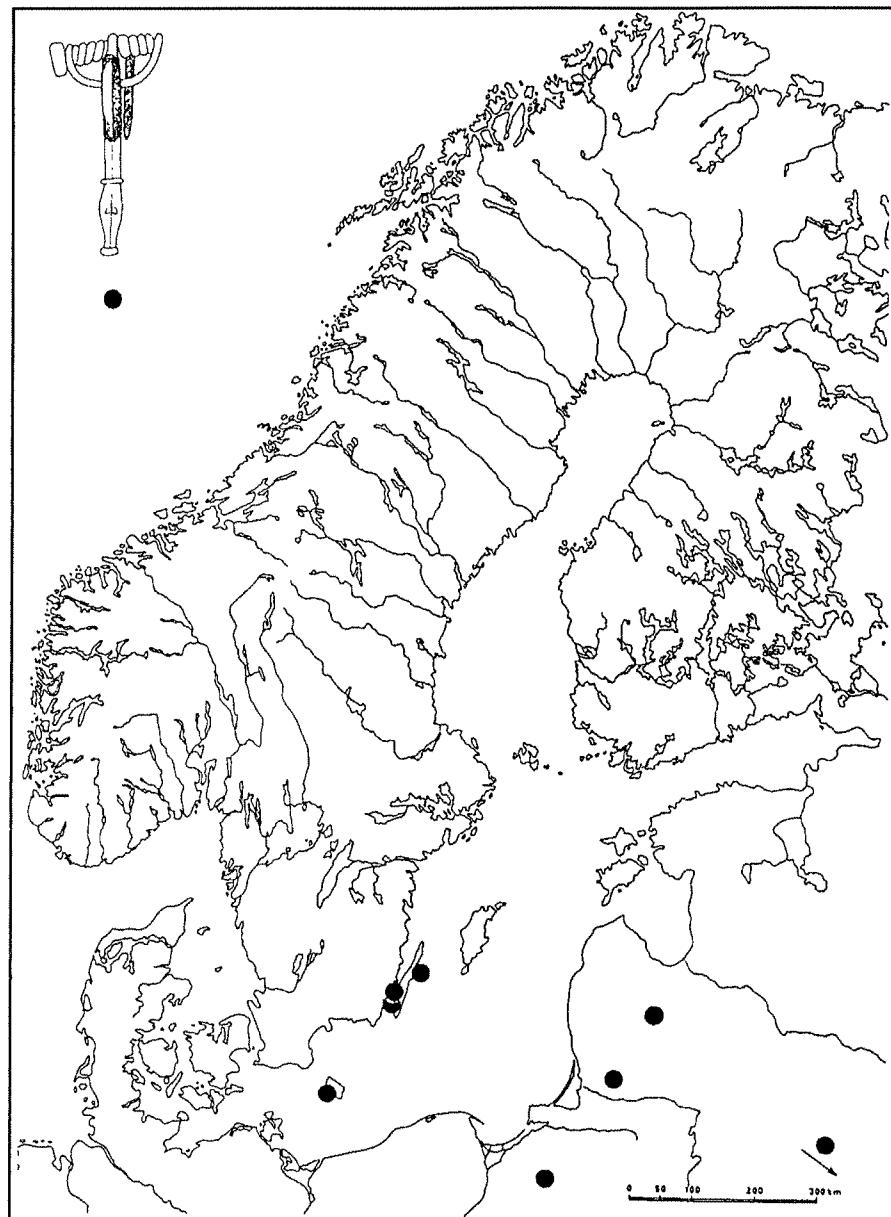


Fig. 2. Distribution of the classical Sensburg/Mragowo type. Drawn by A. Bitner-Wróblewska.

of ribs, the so-called "cockscomb" on top of the bow. Both the foot and the bow are covered by very deep transverse dents as well as being decorated by stamping. There is also a stamped decoration on the wide cord. The same features appear on several crossbow brooches with a long foot (e.g. Kazakevičius 1993: Figs. 166: 6; 171) found in the same area. There are a few cemeteries - Rubokai, Vidgiriai, Plinkaigalis, Pašušvys - situated along the Nemunas river and its tributary the

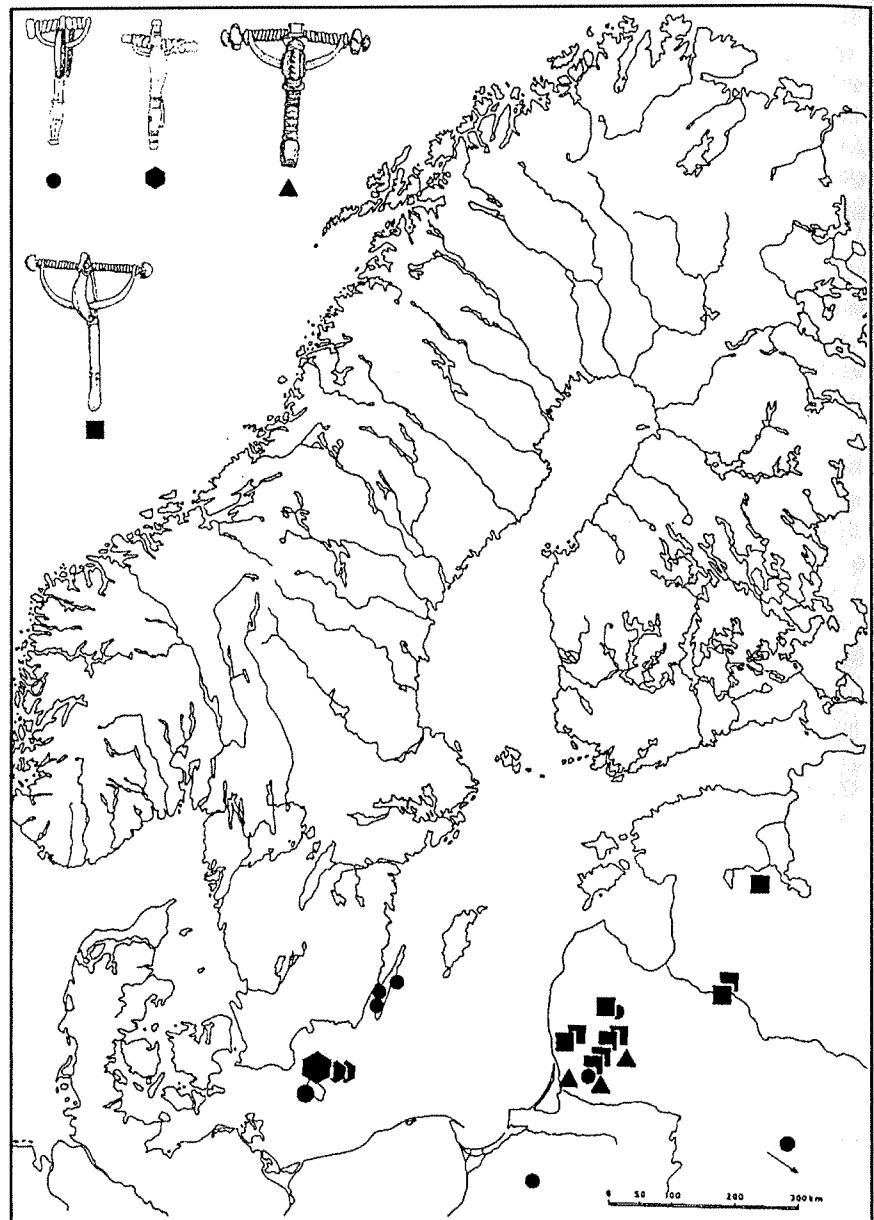


Fig. 3. Distribution of the Sensburg/Mragowo type and its variants. Drawn by A. Bitner-Wróblewska.

Nevėžis, and the Šušvė. There must have been a local artisan wandering between the lower Nemunas area and central Lithuania. No such item is known from outside the territory mentioned. An exception appears a brooch with an imitation "cockscomb" found in Ošenieki, western Latvia.

Last, but not least is the Letto-Lithuanian variant (see Annex A). It occurs in the lower Nemunas basin as well as along the Lithuanian and Latvian coast (Fig. 3).

A number of single dispersed finds are known from eastern Latvia, on the Daugava (Dvina) River route. There is also an item found outside these areas, in eastern Estonia (former Langensee). Brooches of the Letto-Lithuanian variant have a realistic animal head, which decorates not only a foot, but often also the end of the bow (Fig. 1d). Sometimes, instead of the latter, there is a large, trapeze-like metope on the head of the fibula. Such a metope is one of the typical Lithuanian and Latvian features known from other fibulae, such as long-footed items, for example (Tautavičius 1996, Figs. 79-81). The Letto-Lithuanian variant is unique among the Sensburg/Mragowo type which underwent further stylistic development and gave rise to brooches with far stylized animal heads situated on the end of the foot, the bow or the cord. Their spatial distribution covers the same areas as those mentioned above. They have become a cultural indicator of seventh-/ eighth-century Curonian dress. (Åberg 1919: 143-146, Figs. 198-200; LAA 1978: 44, Map 30).

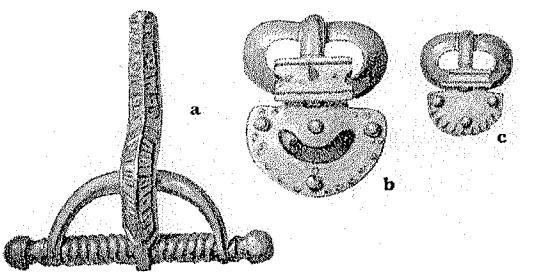


Fig. 4. Tumiany (formerly Daumen), grave 150. According to J. Heydeck 1895.

5. The Daumen/Tumiany type.

There is a group of crossbow broches with animal head and relief ornament, the so-called Daumen/Tumiany type (see Annex B). The cemetery in Tumiany (former Daumen) is situated in the Mazurian Lakeland, in the Olsztyń Group area ("masurgermanische" Kultur – Sturms 1950; Okulicz 1973: 476-491). Four examples of the fibulae in question were found at Tumiany. These offer insight into great diversity of the Daumen/Tumiany type and present all possible variations.

There is a silver-gilt item from grave 150 (Fig. 4a), whose proportions, such as the spring's length in relation to the size of fibula, are the same as those of other crossbow broches that were so popular in the Baltic lands. The spring of an item from Tumiany, grave 150 is very wide, with 16 coils. Semi-spherical, profiled knobs decorate the ends of the axis. There is a stylized indistinct animal head on the foot. It should be stressed that generally the animal-head broches of the Daumen/Tumiany type are much more stylized than those of the Sensburg/Mragowo type and this could be regarded as one of the differences between them. Last, but not least characteristic of brooch from grave 150 is its rich relief ornamentation that covers both the bow and the foot.

Similar features are found on a silver loose find from Tumiany. It differs from the former in the decoration of its bow, which is covered by very deep transverse dents like a caterpillar. It seems to be connected with the "degeneration" of the type in question.

A massive brooch from grave 38 in Tumiany (Fig. 5b) features different proportions from those of the above mentioned specimens. Its length is

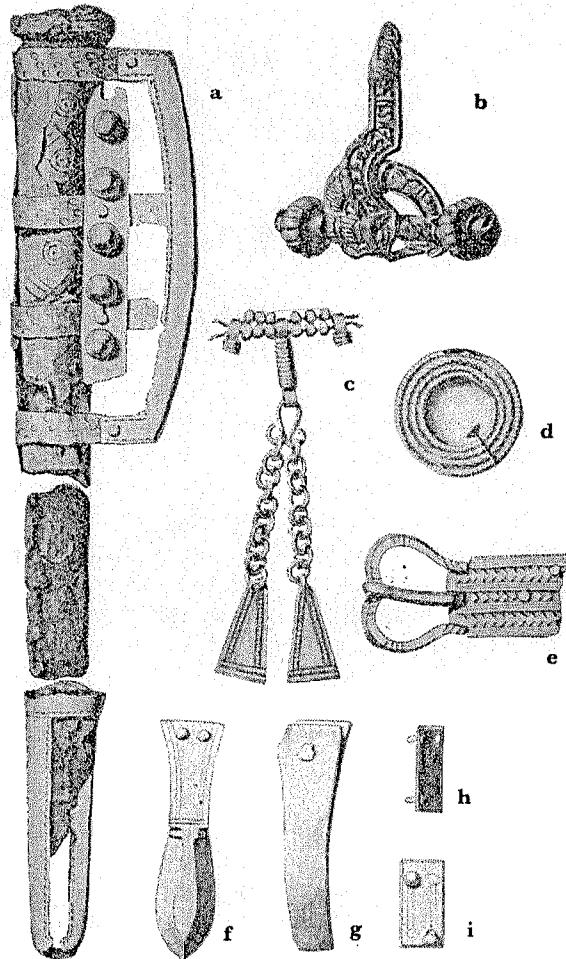


Fig. 5. Tumiany (formerly Daumen), grave 38. According to J. Heydeck 1895.

As has been illustrated by the fibulae from Tumiany, variation between examples of the Daumen/Tumiany type occurs in size, decoration, the presence of crossbow construction or its imitation and the level of stylization of the animal head. It is impossible to point out any local features as in the case of the Sensburg/Mragowo type. On the contrary, the variations among brooches of the Daumen/Tumiany type are spread all over the area of their distribution. They occur mostly in the south-eastern Baltic zone (Fig. 7). Single, dispersed finds are known from Öland and Bavaria. Fibulae of the Daumen/Tumiany type occur almost exclusively in the western part of the Baltic lands, namely in Samland and Mazurian Lakeland, in lower Nemunas area and along the coast of Lithuania and Latvia, as well as in central Lithuania and Semigallian territory. An example of the type in question has been found in an area of mixed Letto-Finnish settlement in north Latvia (Ošbirze).

approximately the same as its width. There is an imitation of crossbow construction; the spring and the cord form a single unit. Very rich relief decoration covers the bow and the foot as well as the wide, flat cord of the fibula. There are two stylized animal heads - on the end of the foot and the end of the bow. The large, circular knobs of the axis are richly decorated by engraving. The brooch found in grave 38 was made of bronze and this appears to be rather an exception among the Daumen/Tumiany type.

A silver-gilt fibula, a loose find from Tumiany is a masterpiece (Fig. 6). Its relief ornamentation is developed much more than any of the other examples discussed above. It also covers the large knobs of the axis. The spring and wide cord only imitate the crossbow construction. The animal head is situated both on the foot and on the head of the brooch. Its length is the same as its width.

Brooches, parallel in design - proportions and ornament - to the specimen from Tumiany, grave 150 discussed above, are found in the Mazurian Lakeland, Samland (Osokino/Gr.Waldeck), the lower Nemunas basin (Vidgiriai, gr. 2), central Lithuania (Plinkaigalis, gr. 106) and south-western Latvia (Griezes) too. The same observation could be made analysing the richly decorated massive fibulae, masterpieces such as the loose find from Tumiany. They occur in Mazurian Lakeland (Tumiany, grave 38, loose find; by Węgorzewo), Samland (Prudovka/Popelken), the lower Nemunas (near Sovetsk/Tilsit; Vidgiriai, grave 32), western Latvia (Geistauti, grave 2; Grobiņa), Öland (Gråborg) and as far as Bavaria (Altenerding, grave 421). A fragment of a mould found in Helgö, central Sweden, confirms the role of itinerant artisans in the transmission of the masterpieces of the Daumen/Tumiany type. On the other hand, intermarriage could have been another factor influencing their distribution, as could be suggested by the woman's grave from Altenerding (Fig. 8e).

This grave contained a number of Scandinavian ornaments such as a pair of pins, which are widespread in Scandinavia (comp. Høilund Nielsen 1987: 78; Nerman 1935: 6, 70-71), and a bronze necklace with a widened middle part known only from Gotland and Öland (Nerman 1935: 71-74). The woman buried in Bavaria wore another crossbow fibula in addition to the one with an animal head, namely a brooch of the Ozingell type (according to M. Schulze-Dörrlamm's classification - Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986: 619-620). This rare ornament is recorded only in Öland (Sätra), XXXX (territory of the Angles?) England (Ozingell), Norway (Issjøen) and Thüringen (Mühlhausen, grave 2). According to M. Schulze-Dörrlamm's analysis, the shape of the bow on the Bavarian item suggests it originated from Scandinavian workshops. The Scandinavian character of the grave goods from Altenerding is also confirmed by the dress combination of pairs of brooches and pins.

6. Chronology.

The chronology of animal-head crossbow brooches is not easy to state precisely. Some of them are loose finds, while others occur in together with artefacts which do not indicate any precise period.

The brooches in question have a typological source in crossbow fibulae with a long foot (types Schönwarling/Skowarcz and its developments). The latter, as has been mentioned above, are dated to the Early Migration Period in the Baltic lands and associated with the stamped-decorated artefacts. In absolute chronology it corresponds with the last few decades of the fourth century and the first half

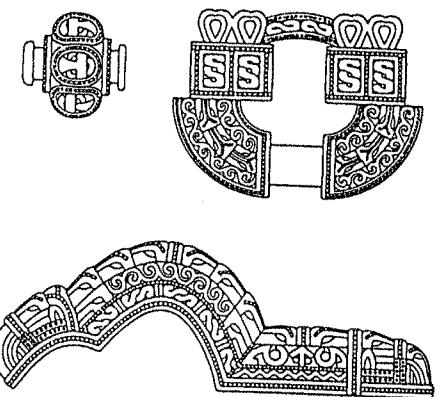


Fig. 6. Tumiany (formerly Daumen), loose find. According to E. Oxenstierna 1940.

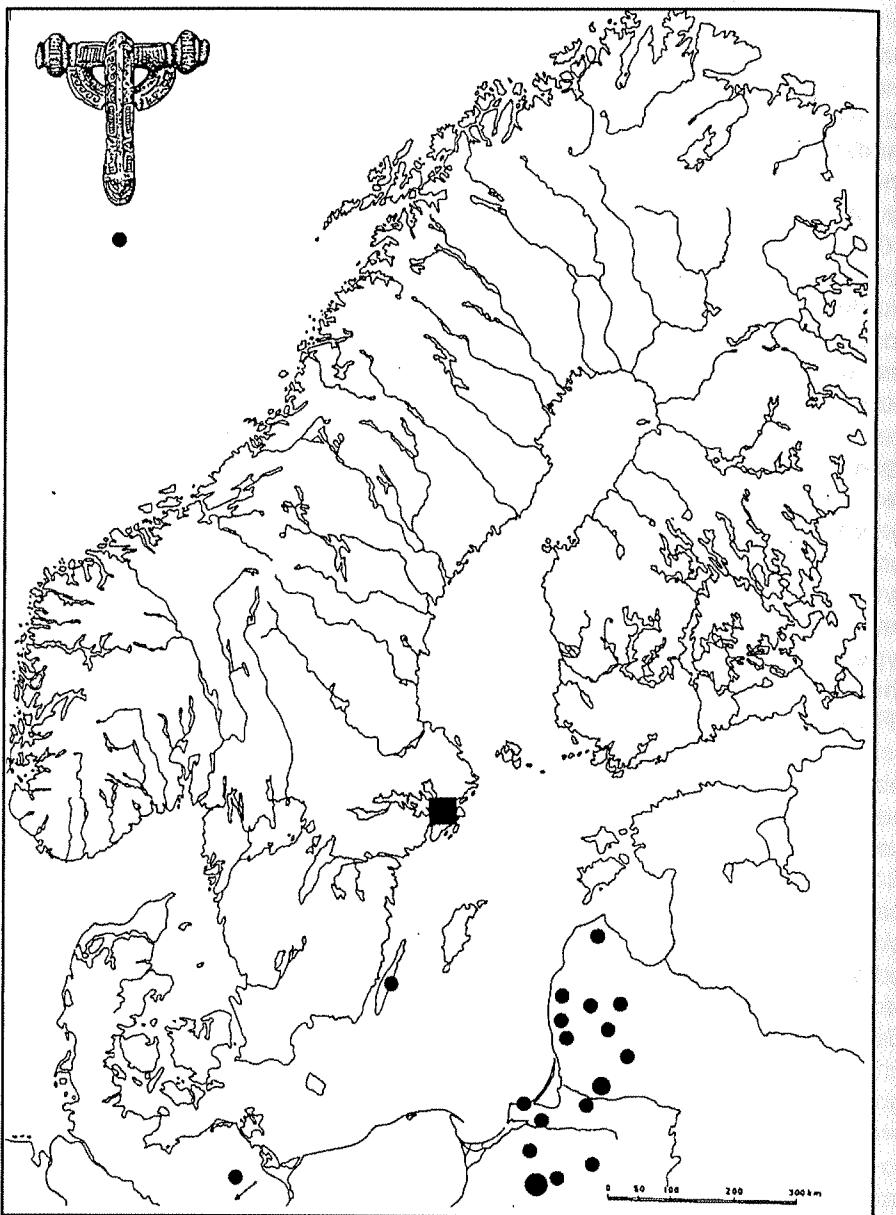


Fig. 7. Distribution of the Daumen/Tumiany type. A fragment of the mould from Helgö is marked by a square. Drawn by A. Bitner-Wróblewska.

of the fifth century (Godłowski 1974: 90-91; Nowakowski 1996: 53). The emergence of animal-head crossbow fibulae should be dated to that time.

Among the Sensburg/Mragowo type practically only the well-known grave 2 in Levka (Fig. 9) on Bornholm could be useful for the purposes of chronological analysis. Two animal-head brooches are associated with the local variant Schönwarling/Skowarcz type (items with knobs on the head) and this serves to

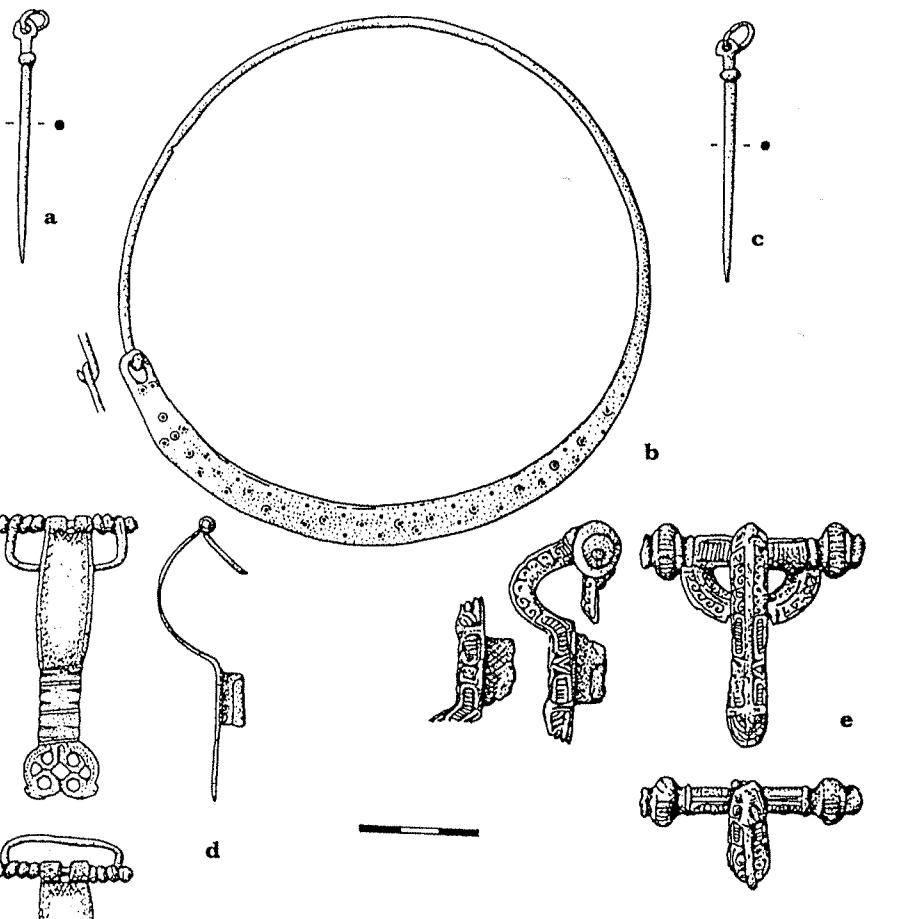


Fig. 8. Altenerding, grave 421. According to B. Krüger 1983.

confirm the above remark. The other artefacts from this grave, such as pins and annular brooch, are also known in Bornholm in the context of the Early Germanic Iron Age (Jørgensen 1990: 25-26).

The Daumen/Tumiany type remains in use longer. The close assemblages which could be analysed consist of specimens typical for phase E, Late Migration Period, i.e. as early as the second half of fifth century and the sixth c. (Kowalski 1991). There are buckles with a cross on the end of the tongue, *Kreuzdornschnallen*, (Tumiany, grave 150; Yaroslavskoe/Schlakalken, grave 25), lancet-like strap ends, *lanzettförmige Riemenzungen*, (Tumiany, grave 38 – Fig. 5), late variant of spade-footed brooches (Geistauti, grave 2) as well as torques (Prudovka/Popelken, grave VI).

The chronology of the Baltic specimens of the Daumen/Tumiany type is confirmed by the Bavarian grave in Altenerding (Fig. 8) which was dated by J. Werner to the first half of sixth century (Werner 1970: 78). The latest study on the chronology of the Ozingell type, made by M. Schulze-Dörrlamm, permits us to date the grave in question even to the end of fifth century or the beginning of the sixth (Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986: 620).

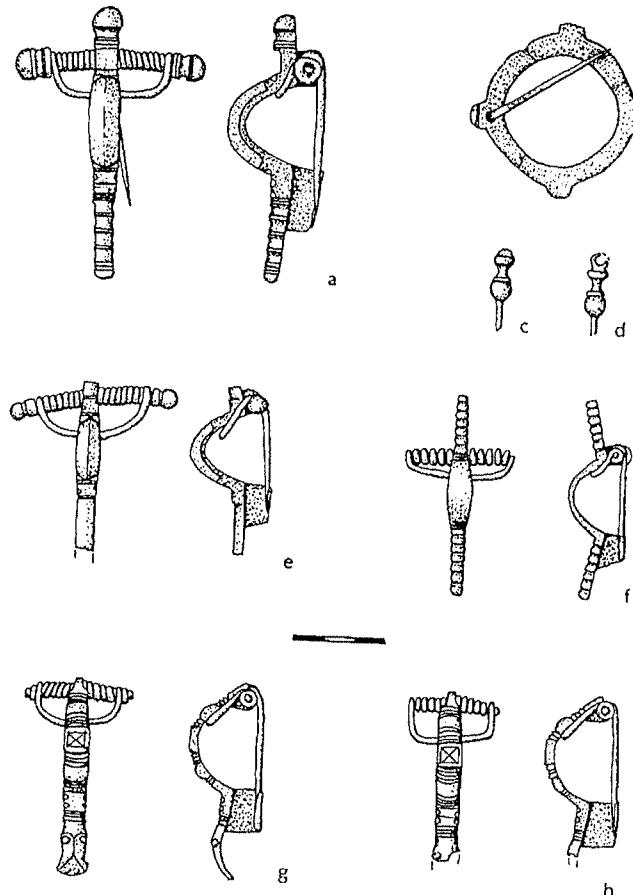


Fig. 9. Levka, grave 2. According to J. Seit Jespersen 1986.

cations of the fibulae in question as well as their "interregional" features.

Specimens without relief ornament, the Sensburg/Mragowo type, were made exclusively of bronze. Items decorated by relief ornament, the Daumen/Tumiany type, were mostly made of silver, silver-gilt, gilt bronze, rarely of bronze. This type appears to have become an unusual ornament, a symbol of the special status of its owner. This is especially clear in the case of *Prachtfibeln* of this type, richly decorated masterpieces which could be regarded as a status-symbol. They are recorded in Mazuria, Samland, the lower Nemunas area, western Lithuania and Latvia, Öland and even Bavaria. Such interregional distribution, crossing ethnic borders, confirms its status.

Unlike the interregional character of animal-head brooches with relief ornamentation, those of the Sensburg/Mragowo type, whose distribution overlaps the former, gave rise to local variations. Some of them were very hermetic, such as the Smørenge variant on Bornholm or the Rubokai variant produced along the Nemunas river and its tributary. The others, such as the Letto-Lithuanian variant, were spread more widely both in space, reaching as far as middle Daugava basin or eastern Estonia, and time, leading up to late Curonian ornaments with a far stylized animal head.

7. Conclusions.

Between the distribution zones of two popular artefacts from the Migration Period, namely cruciform brooches in the west and crossbow fibulae with a long foot in the east, there emerged a rather rare ornament, a hybrid - animal-head crossbow brooch. Such a transformation might have taken place in Öland. The connections linking this island with the south-eastern Baltic basin, especially Samland (Bitner-Wróblewska 1992: 32-34), spread the motif rapidly over the Sea where it flourished in the Baltic lands.

Contrary to earlier studies of animal-head crossbow brooches, the classification proposed above allows us to trace local modifications of the fibulae in question as well as their "interregional" features.

As far as we could conclude from the evidence of the complex of goods from a few graves, it appears that animal-head crossbow brooches became a part of men's dress only in the Balt lands. In Scandinavia such fibulae were a women's ornament, according to the Levka grave in Bornholm or the grave of a Scandinavian woman in Bavaria. A wandering artisan of unknown nationality was making the same type of ornament to satisfy both a Curonian warrior from Geistauti and a Scandinavian beauty married in Bavaria.

ANNEX A.

The Sensburg/Mragowo Type

Budraičiai, r. Joniškis, Lithuania - Tautavičius 1996: 205, Fig. 93.

Choulgovka, r. Dnepropetrovsk, Ukraine - Kazanski, in print.

Hönstorp, Algutsrum sn., Öland, Sweden - KLM 1458; see Åberg 1923: 131, Fig. 234.

Levka, Hasle sn., grave 2 (2 items), Bornholm, Denmark - BMR 1119; see Seit Jespersen 1986: Fig. 4, g,h.

Mragowo (former **Sensburg**), Olsztyń voiv., Poland - Åberg 1919: 94, Fig. 127.

Öland, unknown site, Sweden - SHM 1304; see Åberg 1923: 131, Fig. 235.

Skogsby, Torslunda sn., Öland, Sweden - KLM 4950; see Åberg 1923: 131.

The Sensburg/Mragowo type, Rubokai variant

Plinkaigalis, r. Kėdainiai, grave 107, Lithuania - Kazakevičius 1983: 191, Fig. 5:1; 1993: 107, Figs. 167:6, 174.

Rubokai (former **Rubocken**), r. Šilutė, grave 41, Lithuania - Bezzengerger 1909: 169-170, Fig. 145.

Vidgiriai, r. Šilutė, grave 11, Lithuania - unpublished materials from cemetery excavated by V. Šimėnas, Vilnius University; see Kulakov 1990: 209.

The Sensburg/Mragowo Type, Smørenge variant

Bornholm, unkown site, Denmark - O. Klindt-Jensen 1957: 118, Fig. 89:1.

Mølleågård, Klemensker sn., Bornholm, Denmark - BMR 1235x161.

Smørenge (2 items), Vestermarie sn., Bornholm, Denmark - BMR 766x371; 766x233.

The Sensburg/Mragowo Type, imitations

Jurgaičiai, r. Šilutė, grave 5, Lithuania - LNM AR 406:49.

Ošenieki (3 items), r. Liepāja, Latvia - Vasks & I. Virse 1990: 172, Fig. 30: 2, 3, 5.

The Sensburg/Mragowo Type, Letto-Lithuanian variant

Jauneikiai, r. Joniškis, grave 390, Lithuania - LNM AR 537: 808; see Vaškevičiūtė 1978: Fig. 1.

Jēkabpils, r. Jēkabpils, Latvia - Oxenstierna 1940: Fig. 33.

Jurgaičiai, r. Šilutė, grave 22, Lithuania - LNM AR 406: 190; see Vaitkuskienė 1986: Fig. 1: 4.

Kalnini Bunkas, r. Kuldīga, Latvia - Oxenstierna 1940: Fig. 35.

Krustpils Mantas, r. Jēkabpils, Latvia - Latvijas PSR 1974: 158, Pl. 42: 2.
former **Langensee**, r. Põlva, Estonia - KAR 1896, Pl. VI: 2.

Lazdininkai, r. Kretinga, graves 27, 36, 116, Lithuania - Rickevičiūtė 1984: 46, Fig. 1; Tautavičius 1996: 207-208, Fig. 96: 1, 2.

Oši, r. Dobelē, Latvia - Oxenstierna 1940: Fig. 32.

Pagrybis, r. Šilalė, Lithuania - Kazakevičius 1983: 191, Fig. 5: 2; Vaitkuskienė 1995: 119, Fig. 168.

ANNEX B.

The Daumen/Tumiany Type

The Daumen/Tumiany type with items with the crossbow construction

- Gēstauti, r. Liepāja, grave 2, Latvia – Latvijas PSR 1974: 146, Pl. 40: 16.
Gråborg, Algutstrum sn., Öland, Sweden – KLM 20732; see Åberg 1953: 93, Fig. 107.
Griezes, r. Liepāja, Latvia – LVM A.10097:1.
Jaroslavskoe (former Schläkalken), r. Zelenogradsk, grave 25, Russia – Åberg 1919: 95-96, Fig. 130.
Lazdininkai, r. Kretinga, grave 116, Lithuania – Rickevičiūtė 1984: 46, Fig. 1.
Osokino (former Groß Waldeck), r. Bagrationovsk, Russia – Åberg 1919: 94-95, Fig. 129; Oxenstierna 1940: 238, Fig. 38.
Plinkaigalis, r. Kėdainiai, grave 106, Lithuania – Kazakevičius 1983: 189-190, Fig. 1; 1993: 107, Fig. 172.
Robinsonsberg by Sovetsk (former Tilsit), r. Sovetsk, Russia – Oxenstierna 1940: 239, Fig. 41.
Rucava, r. Liepāja, Latvia – Šturm 1950: 22 endnote 14.
Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn voiv., grave 150, loose find, Poland – Heydeck 1895: 65-67, Pl. VI, 9; Oxenstierna 1940: 238, Fig. 40.
Vidgiriai, r. Šilutė, graves 2, 32, Lithuania – Šiménas 1988: 95-96, Fig. 10; 1996: 56-58, Fig. 20.; unpublished materials from cemetery excavated by V. Šiménas, Vilnius University.

The Daumen/Tumiany Type with items with imitation crossbow construction

- Altenerding, Kr. Klettham, grave 421, Germany – Werner 1970: 78-81, Pl. 9.
Grobiņa, r. Liepāja, Latvia – KAR 1896: Pl. VI: 7; Oxenstierna 1940, earlier literature ibid.
Miklas Kalns, r. Jelgava, Latvia – Graudonis 1978: Fig. 10.
by Węgorzewo (former Angerburg), Suwałki voiv., Poland – Pisanski collection, MVFB II. 559; see Ledebur 1838: Pl. I; Oxenstierna 1940: 240, Fig. 43.
Prudovka (former Popelken), r. Cherniachovsk, grave VI, Russia – Oxenstierna 1940: 240, Fig. 45.
Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn voiv., grave 38, loose find, Poland – Heydeck 1895: 49, Pl. IX, 2; Åberg 1919: 96-96, Fig. 131; Oxenstierna 1940: 230, Figs. 18, 19.
Wyszembork (former Weißenburg), Olsztyn voiv., Poland – unpublished materials from cemetery excavated by W. Nowakowski and P. Szymański.

The Daumen/Tumiany Type with unknown construction

- Ošbirze, r. Talsi, Latvia – LVM A.7579:74; see Kazakevičius 1983: 194.

The Daumen/Tumiany Type, imitation

- Jauneikiai, r. Joniškis, grave 466, Lithuania – LNM AR 537:1026; see Vaškevičiūtė 1978: Fig. 2.

Museum collections

- BMR - Bornholms Museum, Rønne
KLM - Kalmar Museum
LNM - Lietuvos Nacionalinis Muziejus, Vilnius
LVM - Latvijas Vestures Muzejs, Riga
MVFB - Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin
SHM - Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm

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teritorijose tarp Skandinavijos, baltų žemų ir Bavarijos iš vienos pusės, ir Dniepro baseino iš kitos. Apie šias seges nemažai rašyta, tačiau niekas nebandė analizuoti jų tarpusavio susiskirstymo. Straipsnyje analizuojama jų raida, pateikiama nauja klasifikacija, chronologija ir istorinė interpretacija.

N. Obergo segių „mit schmalem Tierkopffuß“ (1919) tipologinė raida išlieka teisinga. Tačiau jas labiau detalizuojant išsiskiria E.C.G. Oksensternos pasiūlyti segių tipai „Armbrustfibeln mit reicher Ornamentik“ ir „Kragenfibeln“. Paskutinė V. Kulakovo segių gyvūninėmis galutėmis klasifikacija neturi aiškių kriterijų. I tą patį tipą patenka skirtingus pozymius ir net konstrukciją turintys dirbiniai. Autorė siūlo paprastą, bendrą kriterijų joms išskirti, t. y. segės su reljefiniu ornamentu ir be jo. Segės su reljefiniu ornamentu vadinamos Sensburg/Mrongovo tipu (1-3 pav.), o be jo – Daumen/Tumianų (4-7 pav.) tipu. Jas taip skirstant būtų galima išvengti ilgų pavadinimų. Pirmojo tipo segių su visais variantais yra 30, antrojo – 23.

Lankinių segių gyvūniniais galais chronologiją nustatyta nėra labai lengva. Daug jų yra rastos atsitiktinai, kitos kapų komplektuose be gerai datuojamų dirbiniai. Pagal turimus duomenis Sensburg/Mrongovo tipo segės turėtų būti datuojamos IV a. paskutiniu ketvirčiu – V a. pirmaja puse. Daumen/Tumianų tipo segės išlieka ilgiau. Jas galima datuoti V a. antraja puse – VI a.

Tarp dviejų populiarų segių tipų paplitimo arealų – vakaruose kryžinių segių, rytuose – lankinių segių ilga kojele, pasirodė retas hibridas – lankinės segės gyvūniniais galais. Tokia transformacija galėjo prasidėti Elande. Ryšiai tarp šios salos ir Baltijos jūros pietrytinų pakrančių, ypač Sambijos plito labai greitai. Baltų žemėse segės gyvūninėmis galutėmis tapo vyrių papuošalu, Skandinavijoje – moterų. Nežinomas tautybės meistras gamino to paties tipo papuošalus stengdamasis patenkinti kuršių karj iš Geistautų ir Skandinavijos gražuolę ištakėjusių Bavarijoje.

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Tarp Kuršo ir Bavarijos. Lankinės gyvūninės segės – Didžiojo tautų kraustymosi laikotarpio tolimų ryšių išdava

ANNA BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA

Santrauka

Germanų kultūros tarregioninis charakteris gerai žinomas, tačiau baltų – iki dabar dar sunkiai pastebimas. Tokiu tarregioninio baltų kultūros plėtros pavyzdžiu gali būti lankinės ilgakojės ir gyvūninėmis galutėmis segės. Jos paplitę didelėse