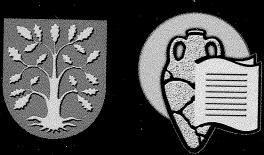
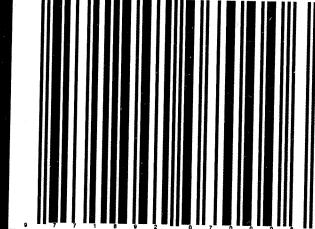


The conference “*Inter Ambo Maria*: Northern Barbarians from Scandinavia towards the Black Sea” was held on October 3rd–7th, 2012 in the village of Gaspra (Crimea, Ukraine). It was organised by Vest-Agder County Council (Kristiansand, Norway), “Heritage of Millennia” Foundation, and V. I. Vernadsky National Taurida University (Simferopol, Ukraine). Researchers of eleven European countries (Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Norway, Poland, Russia, Slovakia, Sweden, and Ukraine) came to the Crimea to discuss aspects of ethnic and cultural interrelations in the *inter ambo maria* zone – between the Baltic and the Black Seas – in the Late Roman and Migration periods. Following the discussion of the presentations, the authors have revised their papers for this volume. The first conference “*Inter Ambo Maria*” took place in Gaspra in October 2010. Its proceedings were published in the volume entitled “*Inter Ambo Maria: Contacts between Scandinavia and the Crimea in the Roman Period*” (Kristiansand; Simferopol, 2011).

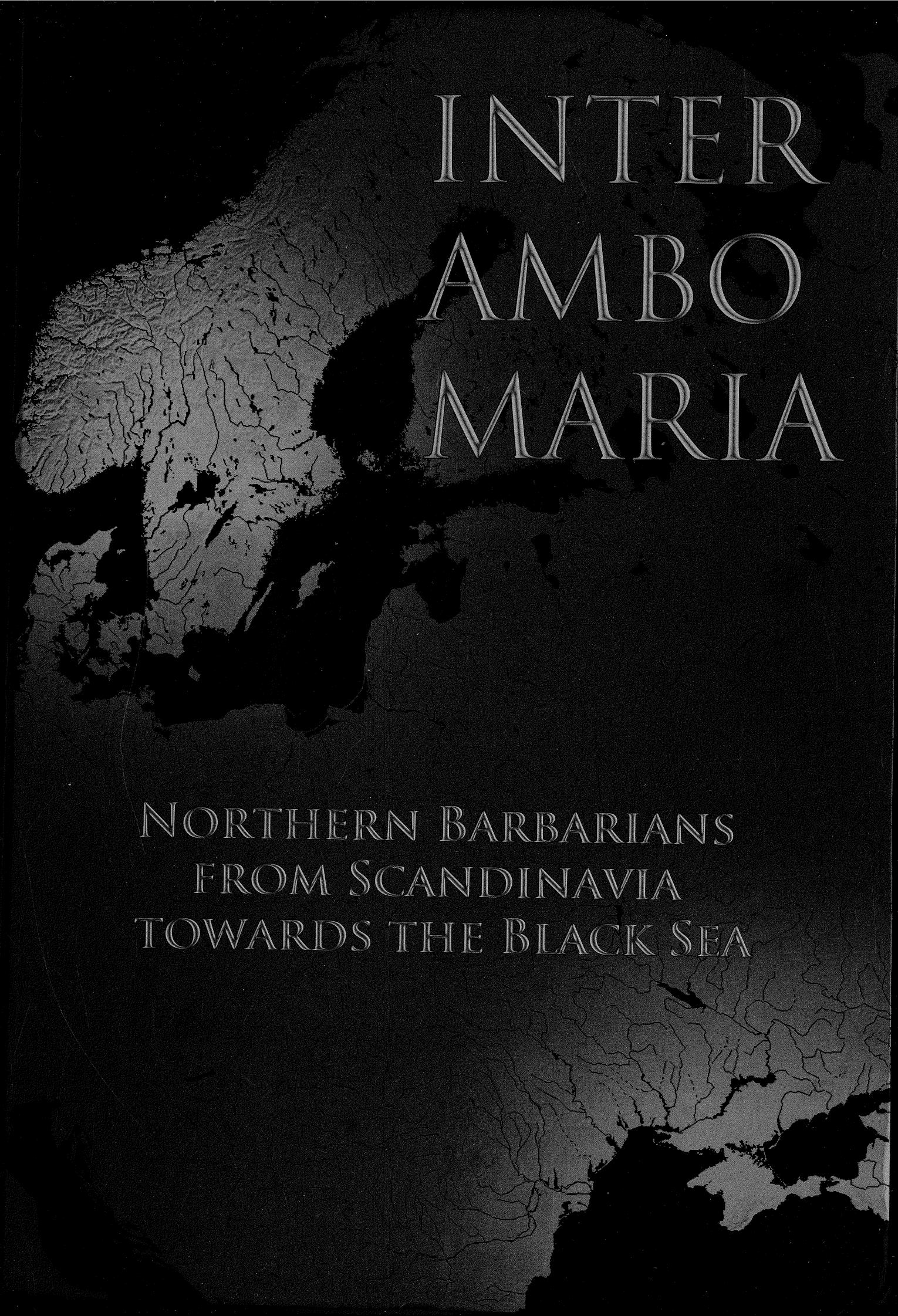


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INTER AMBO MARIA

NORTHERN BARBARIANS
FROM SCANDINAVIA
TOWARDS THE BLACK SEA



INTER
AMBO
MARIA

Magdalena MĄCZYŃSKA

A GOLD BROOCH FROM MŁOTECZNO (HAMMERSORF), BRANIEWO POWIAT, IN NORTH-EASTERN POLAND¹

The Młoteczno finds, discovered between 1873 and 1917, gradually gave birth to numerous interpretations, particularly those discussing their homogeneity as a single complex, chronology, and origin. There are at least 17 gold and silver artefacts unearthed in various areas of the village of Młoteczno, of which we now know medallion of Constantius II, produced in Constantinople in 335–336 AD (Bursche 1998: 237), three gold bucket-shaped pendants, polychrome gold brooch with a chain, fragments of two silver eastern Roman vessels (*lances*), two gold neck-rings, and possibly an urn with cremated bones. Most of these finds appeared in the collection of the Prussia Museum in Kaliningrad (Königsberg, Królewiec), one pendant was melted down, and two gold neck-rings, which had been in the Ethnological Museum, Berlin, before 1945, were discovered in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow (Merowingerzeit 2007: Kat. IV. 1. 1–2). Other artefacts should be considered missing.

The first find of 1873 consisted of fragments of two silver vessels (Hirschfeld 1884–1885): a *patera* with hunting scenes, of Byzantine origin, and a plate with flora design, a Gallic or Italian product. Both vessels cannot be later than the early fifth century (Bott 1982: 151 f.; Munksgaard 1987).

Gold brooch was discovered in 1913, and three pendants and two neck-rings, making the main concentration of the finds, and a medallion from more than two kilometres to the east of them, appeared four years after. Fragments of silver vessels were discovered in between of these two locations.

Felix Ernst Peiser, who was the first to write about all these finds (Peiser 1919), and Nils Åberg after him (Åberg 1919: 67 f.) have interpreted this collection as a single assemblage originating from a barrow grave from the mid-fifth century (Peiser) or from ca. 400, the first half of the fifth century as the latest (Åberg).

Max Ebert has suggested another interpretation (Ebert 1923: 159) following his studies of the finds

and related documents *de visu* in the museum in Königsberg. He has divided the artefacts into early and late groups, the former including the brooch, three pendants, and silver vessels, dated by him to the second half of the fourth century, or ca. AD 400 as the latest. The late group consists of two neck-ring of Scandinavian type from the first half of the sixth century, most likely from ca. 550 (Ebert 1923: 170 ff.). Günter Mangelsdorf's recent research has suggested the sixth century as the general date of the latter (Mangelsdorf 2011: 97, Kat. 6).

Many years after the discovery, Aleksander Bursche has reconsidered the location of the Młoteczno finds (Bursche 1998: 76–79). Against the background of the visual survey of the place and field research, he has run to the conclusion that these finds were perhaps votive offerings originated from adjacent turf accumulations, which had been discovered as early as Ebert's times (Ebert 1923: 156) (similar to: Cieśliński, Nowakowski 2005: 262). This interpretation seems the most probable if one considers 200-year-long chronological gap between different artefacts. Although Volker Hilberg has run to a similar conclusion (Hilberg 2009: 161f.), he has analysed the location of three find spots to learn that they were located in the uppermost places in this area, which could not be turf mines.

The gold polychrome brooch has been subject of repeated studies and references in scholarship. The latest researcher able to see it with his own eyes was Ebert (1923: 161–166). The brooch measured 13.2 cm in length, weighing 92.9 g (initially ca. 100 g). Its semicircular head-plate had three knobs in the form of stylized beast's heads. The head-plate, bow, and diamond foot-plate were decorated with insets of semiprecious stones, filigree, and granulation. Unfortunately, none of the previous publications attributed the stones, when it was still possible. Only Peiser writes that, besides semiprecious stones, the brooch was decorated with amber insets, not mentioned by Ebert (Peiser 1919: 93). In

¹ The preparation of this paper has been funded by the National Science Centre of Poland as grant DEC-2011/02/A/HS3/00389 "The Great Migration in the basin of the Oder and the Vistula."

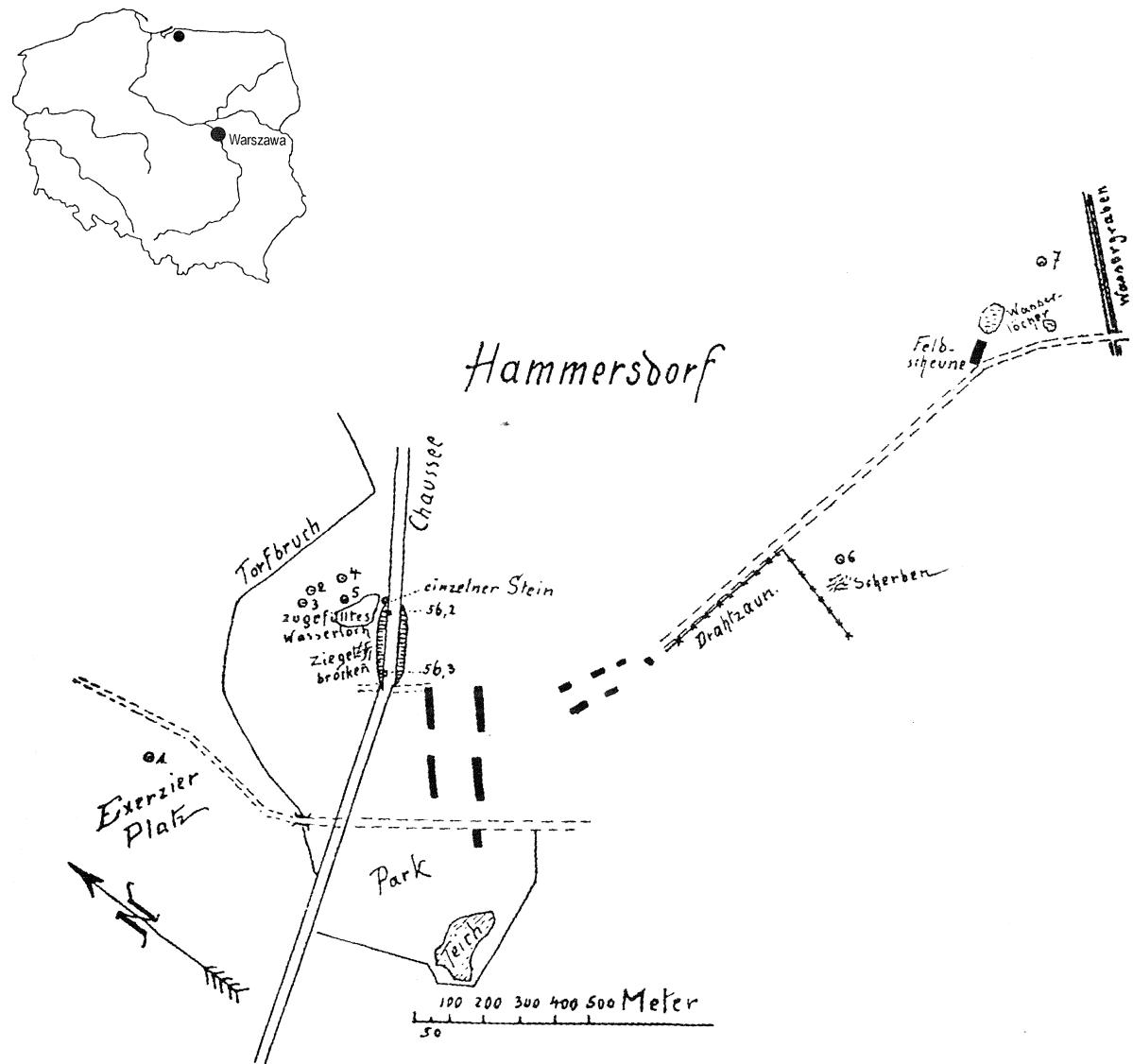


Fig. 1. Localization of the finds in Młoteczno:
 1 — coins (modern); 2 — preserved pendant; 3 — melted pendant; 4 — necklaces; 5 — brooch;
 6 — fragments of silver vessels; 7 — golden medallion (Hilberg 2009)

the archive of the Museum of Prehistory and Early History, Berlin, there is a clipping labelled PM-A 1562/1, without newspaper title, that informs about garnet insets.² Besides, on the head-plate there were stylized S-shaped sea-monsters made with filigree and granulation, and a fragment of gold chain with 29 links, weighing 16.2 g, similar to the chain of polychrome brooches from Airan / Moult (Salin, France, Lanord 1949; Pilet 2007) survived near the head-plate. On the opposite side of that chain there probably was an identical brooch.

The combination of filigree, granulation, and polychrome style of the Młoteczno brooch makes

it considered in a few years after discovery to be the intermediate form between the brooches of type Zakrzów, polychrome artefacts in Untersiebenbrunn style, and early variants from the hoard of Szilágysomlyó. This interpretation, following initial remarks by Peiser (1919: 95) and Nils Åberg (1919: 67 ff.), was formed by Ebert (1923: 167), who suggested its date as the second half or end of the fourth century, about AD 400 at the latest. Later on, this concept was revived by other researchers, e. g. Hans Bott (1982: 142 ff.).

Nandor Fettich has paid attention to the sea-monster design of the brooch from Młoteczno and

² I am indebted to professor Aleksander Bursche for this information.

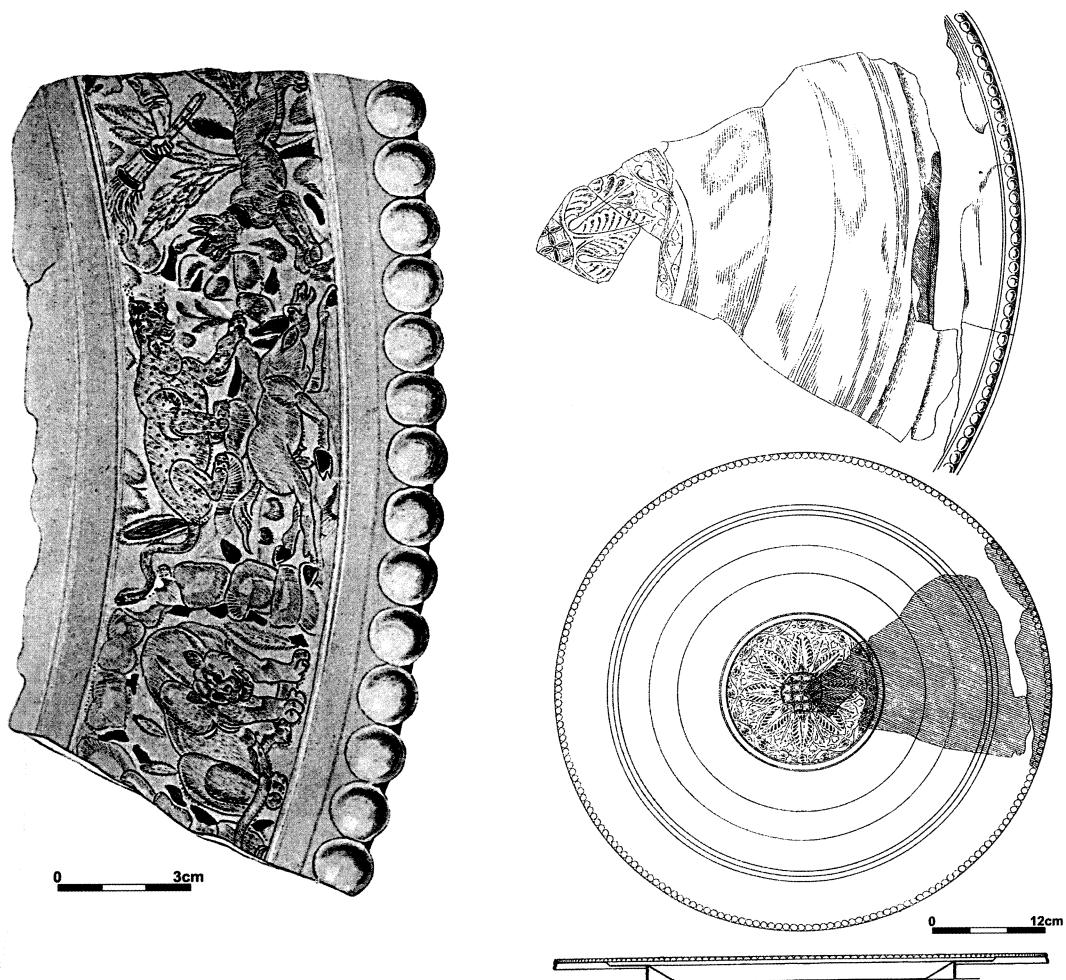


Fig. 2. Młoteczno (Hirschfeld 1886)

two more clasps from Szilágysomlyó II (Fettich 1932: pair of brooches no. VI, pl. 12. 1–2; 17. 2; fig. 4; Kiss 1999: Kat. 50–51), thus drawing a line of development from the buckle with carnelian inset in grave 2 in Wrocław-Zakrzow, via the brooch with filigree and carnelian insets in Årslev on Funen (Storgaard 1994), to the brooch from Młoteczno. Its decorative monsters could be borrowed from the Mediterranean environment (Fettich 1932: 64–66). Mogens Mackeprang has also supposed Hungarian origin of the Årslev brooch (Mackeprang 1940: 89).

A very similar motif with seahorse (*hippocampus antiquorum*) is known on silver gilt buckle

from Sagi in vicinity of Kherson at the estuary of the Dnieper (Annibaldi, Werner 1963: 371 ff.; fig. 10. 1a; pl. 48. 1), now in the State Hermitage collection.³ It was discovered in 1887 together with silver fittings of horse harness and gold appliqués featuring granulation and cloisonné. This find dates back to the age of Attila, and the buckle decoration of a mask encircled with two snakes and stylised fish, according to Joachim Werner, should be derived from late antique Danubian environment rather than the Black Sea area.

Maxim Levada holds another opinion (Levada 2011: 120, рис. 12. 2) relating the buckle of interest with the bog find from Finnestorp, which is

³ I am indebted for this picture to Maxim Levada and Vyacheslav Baranov (Kiev). The buckle from Sagi (similar to the find from Alyoshki) has been published by Aleksandr Aibabin (Айбабин 1990: 29, рис. 23. 8), though Irina Zasetskaya calls the place itself, without a reference to this very buckle, Alyoshki / Kuchugury (Засецкая 1994: табл. 15). The find condition and all the grave goods were recently published by Baranov, who interpreted them as a destroyed cremation grave from phase D2/D3 (Баранов 2010).

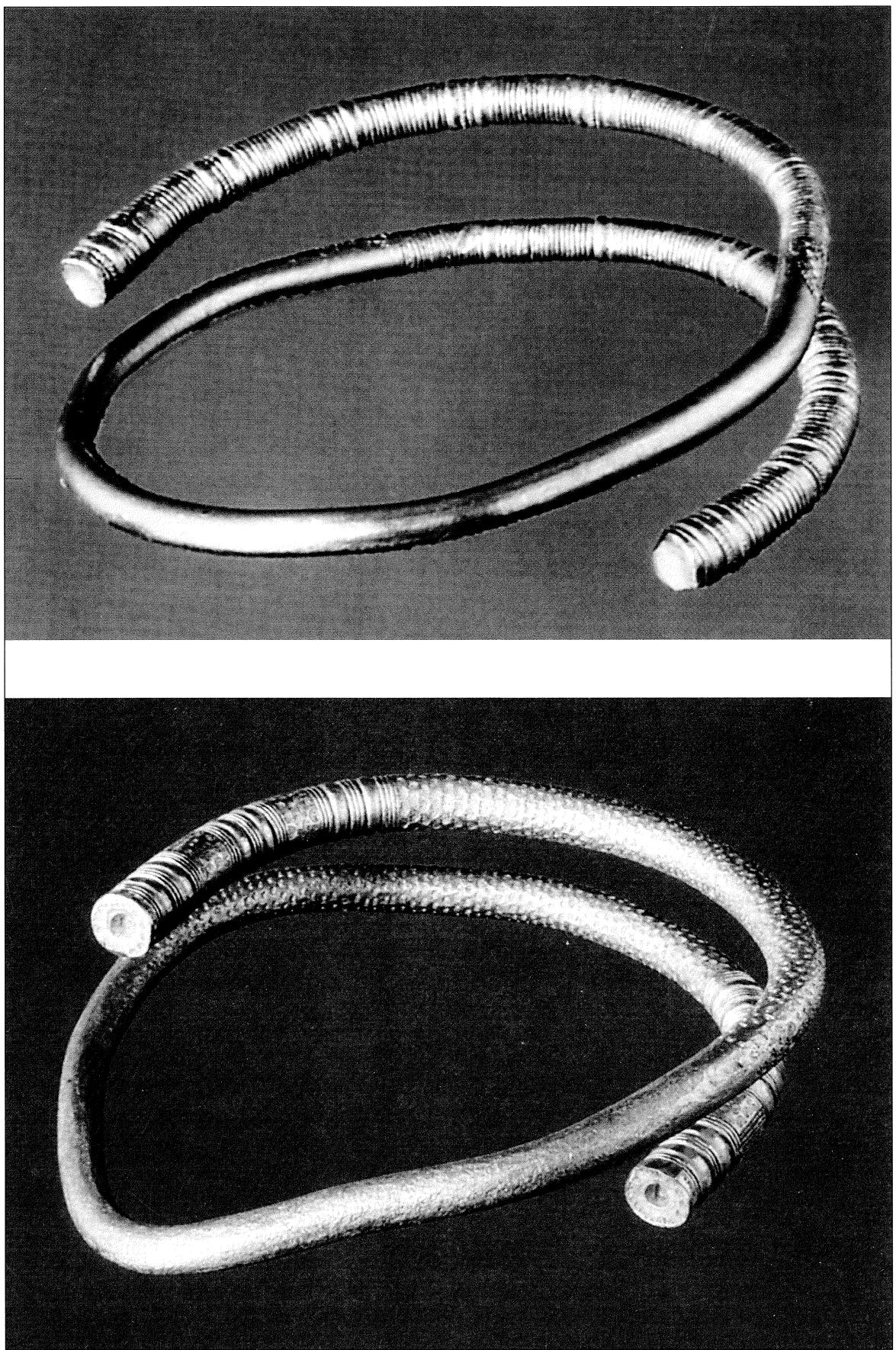


Fig. 3. Młoteczno (Merowingerzeit 2007)

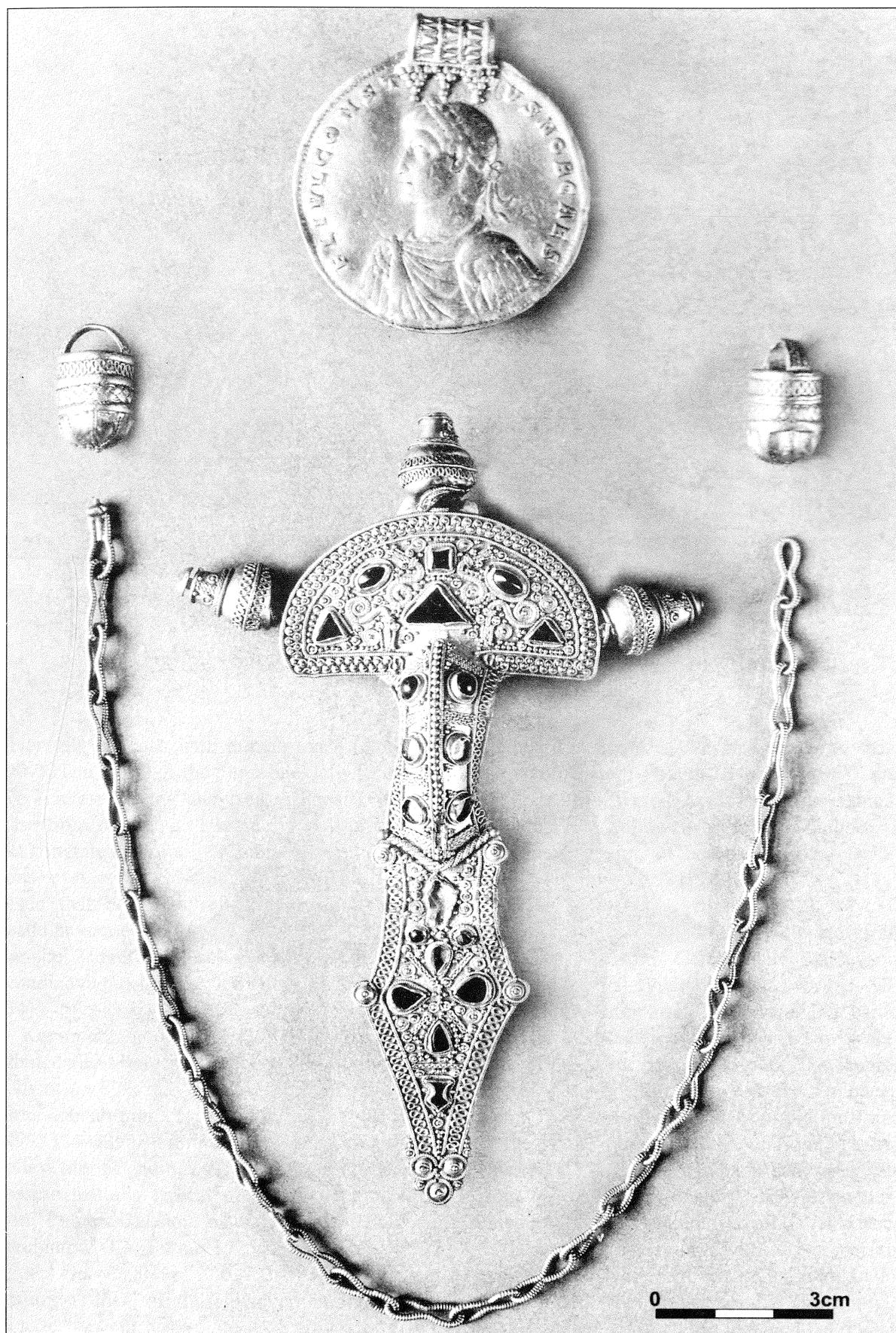


Fig. 4. Młoteczno (Peiser 1919)



Fig. 5. Młoteczno (*Peiser 1919*)



Fig. 6. Szilágysomlyó (*Kiss 1999*)

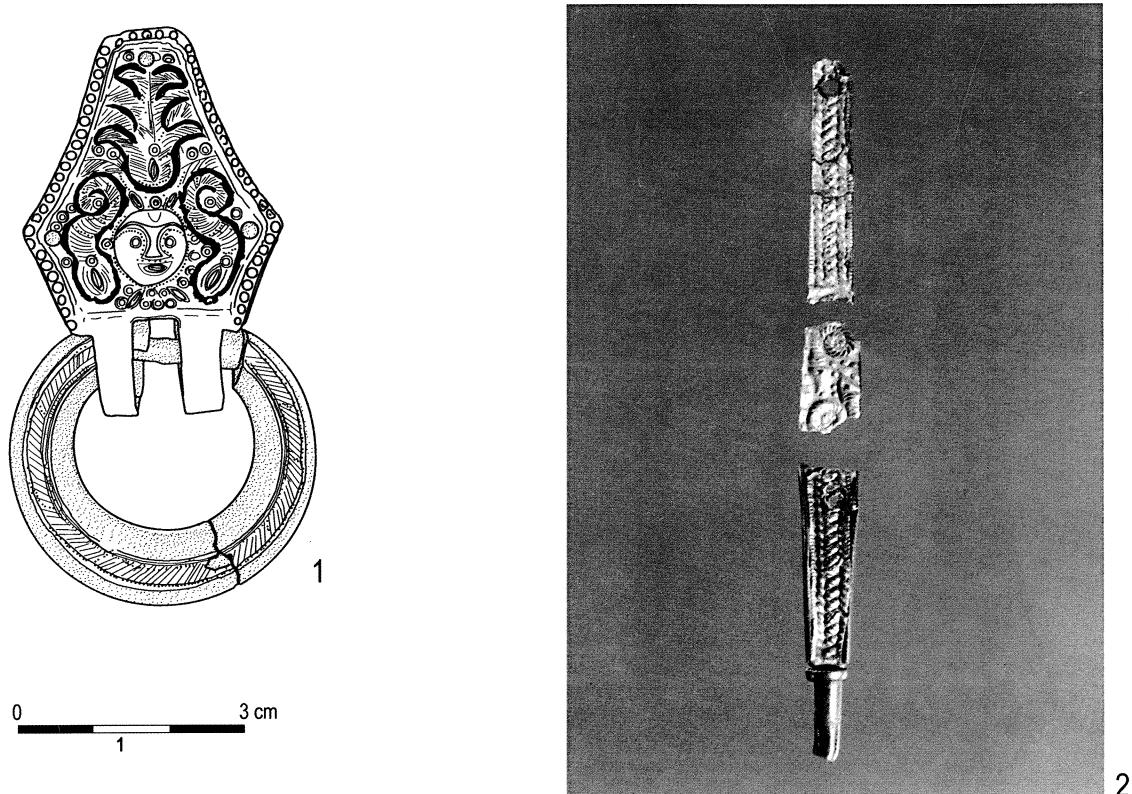


Fig. 7. 1 — Sagi (Levada 2011); 2 — Gudme (Østergaard Sørensen 1994)

silver gilt and also with human mask (Nordquist 2007). The frame of the latter buckle is formed by two snakes. Having analysed the hoard of metal ware from Bar in the Ukraine, which lays within the Untersiebenbrunn – Kachin horizon and contains artefacts in Sösdala style, Levada has supposed that hoard to reflect migration of some Scandinavian elites towards the Black Sea and the Danube. Therefore, the Sagi buckle is probably of Scandinavian origin as well (Levada 2011: 119 n.; 134).

Kazimierz Godłowski (1981: 79 ff.) has attributed the Młoteczno brooch to the polychrome finds of type Nezhin – Szilágysomlyó – Regöly – Untersiebenbrunn (Tejral 1988: 237–244; Tejral 1997: 334–339; Bierbrauer 1995: 562–564), though hollow filigree endings of its front bow and axle bar possess features typical of ornamented brooches from Pomerania, such as Kiełpin, Świelino, and Trzebiatów (La Baume 1925: 20–27; Zeiss 1937; Eggers, Stary 2001: pl. 380. 9; 395. 3–10), thus suggesting its local origin. However, similar endings of axle bar and head-plate area also known with the brooches from grave in Úherce in the Czech Republic and with brooches of type Wiesbaden from

the hoard in Świlcza, Rzeszów powiat (district) in the south-eastern Poland (Svoboda 1965; Werner 1981: 241 ff.). Werner considered Pomeranian and Scandinavian hollow head-plate endings to be a local modification of beast's heads of Danubian brooches (Werner 1981: 242).

Radu Harhoiu has compared 29 polychrome brooches to place the Młoteczno find to group III with brooches from Gelénes and Szilágysomlyó (Harhoiu 1994–1995; Harhoiu 1998: 93–97, pl. 99); the latter artefacts have a big carnelian inset on diamond foot-plate instead of seahorses (Kiss 1999: Kat. 52–53). Group III occupies an intermediate position between the Dnieper and Kerch brooches of group II from the third quarter of the fourth century and those from Velt, Airan, Untersiebenbrunn, and Rábapordány of group IV from the early fifth century. The researcher has dated group III, the Młoteczno brooch in particular, to the late fourth century, with a reference to the eyelet on the Młoteczno medallion with analogies in the hoard from Szilágysomlyó (Harhoiu 1998: 96). However, Harhoiu has included the finds from Nezhin, Porshnino, Regöly, and Szilágysomlyó with beast's heads (see e. g.: Кропоткин 1970:

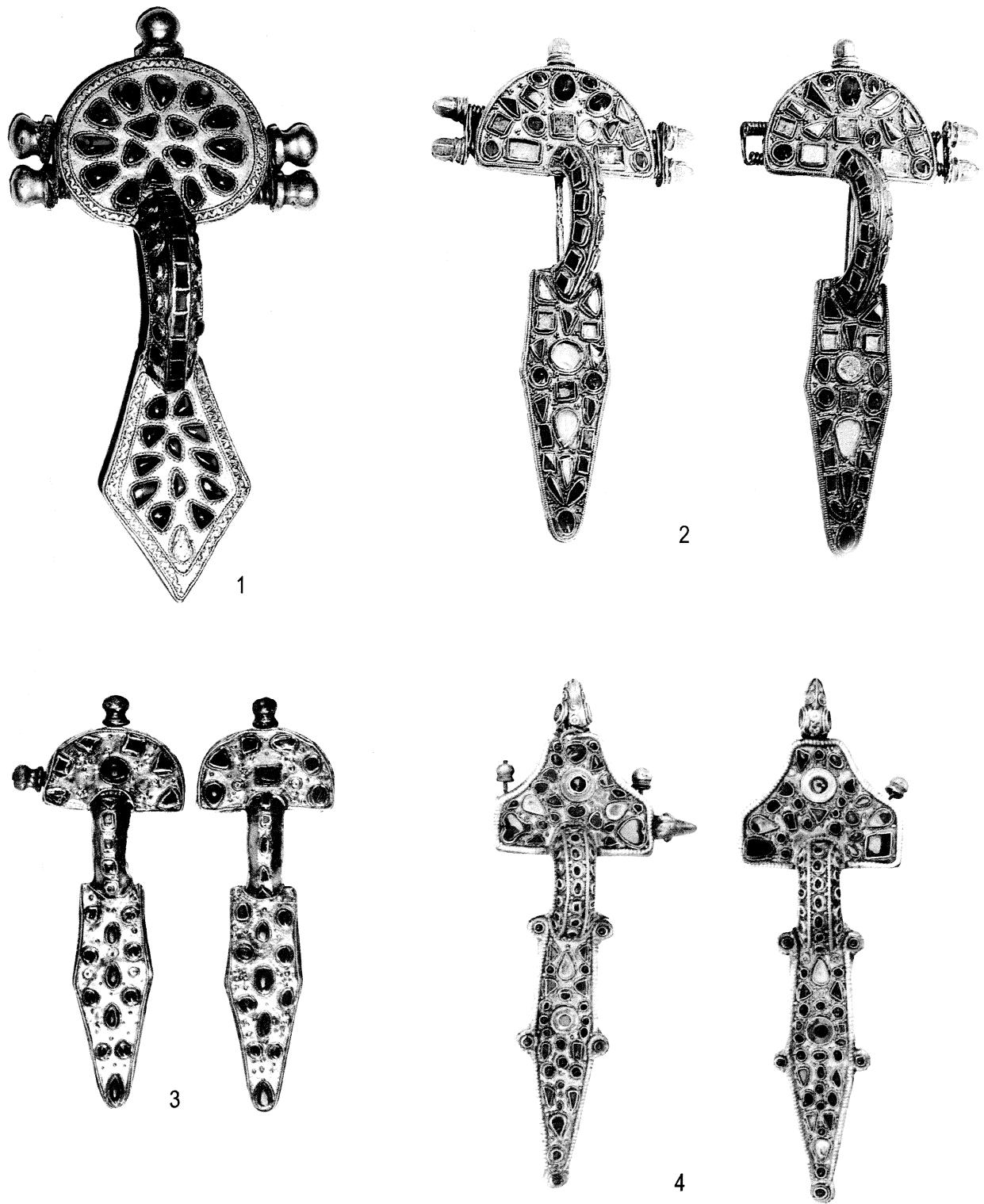


Fig. 8. 1 — Nezhin; 2 — Untersiebenbrunn; 3 — Rábapordány;
4 — Regöly (*Merowingerzeit 2007; Germanen 1987*)

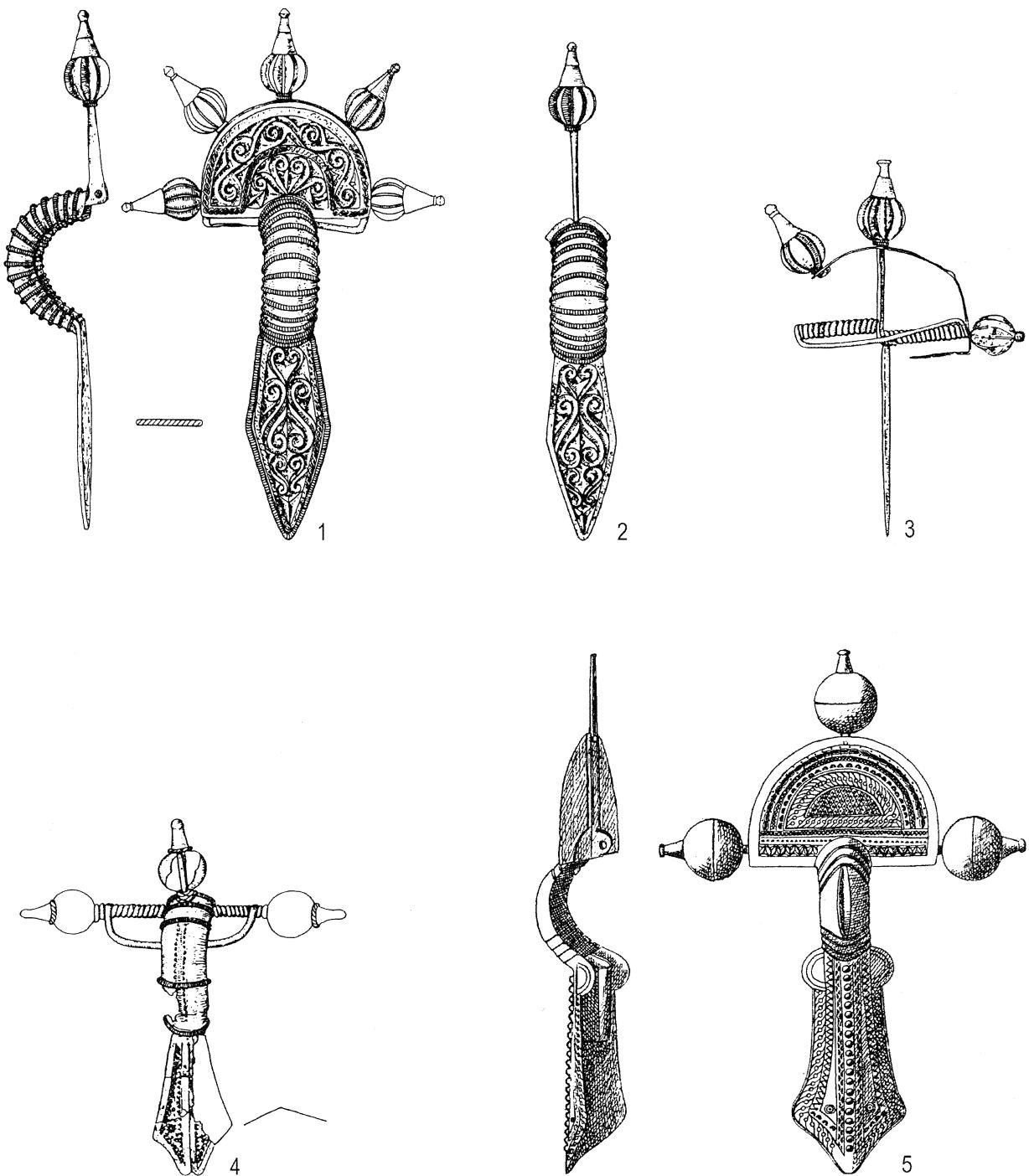


Fig. 9: 1–4 — Świelino; 5 — Kiełpino (*La Baume 1925; Zeiss 1937*)

кат. №. 1109, 1044; рис. 53. 5, 7; 54; Godłowski 1981: 79 ff.), similar to the Młoteczno brooch and often referred to in its context, into his group V from the second half of the fifth century.

Michael Schmauder has interpreted the Młoteczno brooch as similar to the finds from Regöly, Rábapordány, and the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Schmauder 2002: Kat. XV.

1. 1–2; XVI; XX. 7. 1–2; pl. 112. 1–2; 115; 116; 172–173). The latter one most likely originates from the hoard in Szilágysomlyó (Bierbrauer 2000). Granulation on the ends of two very simple brooches from Rábapordány looks similar to the technique applied to the Młoteczno brooch, however, it is necessary to underline the Młoteczno brooch's higher artistic level.



Fig. 10. Szilágysomlyó (*Dembski 1999*)



Fig. 11. Zamość (*Kokowski 1995*)

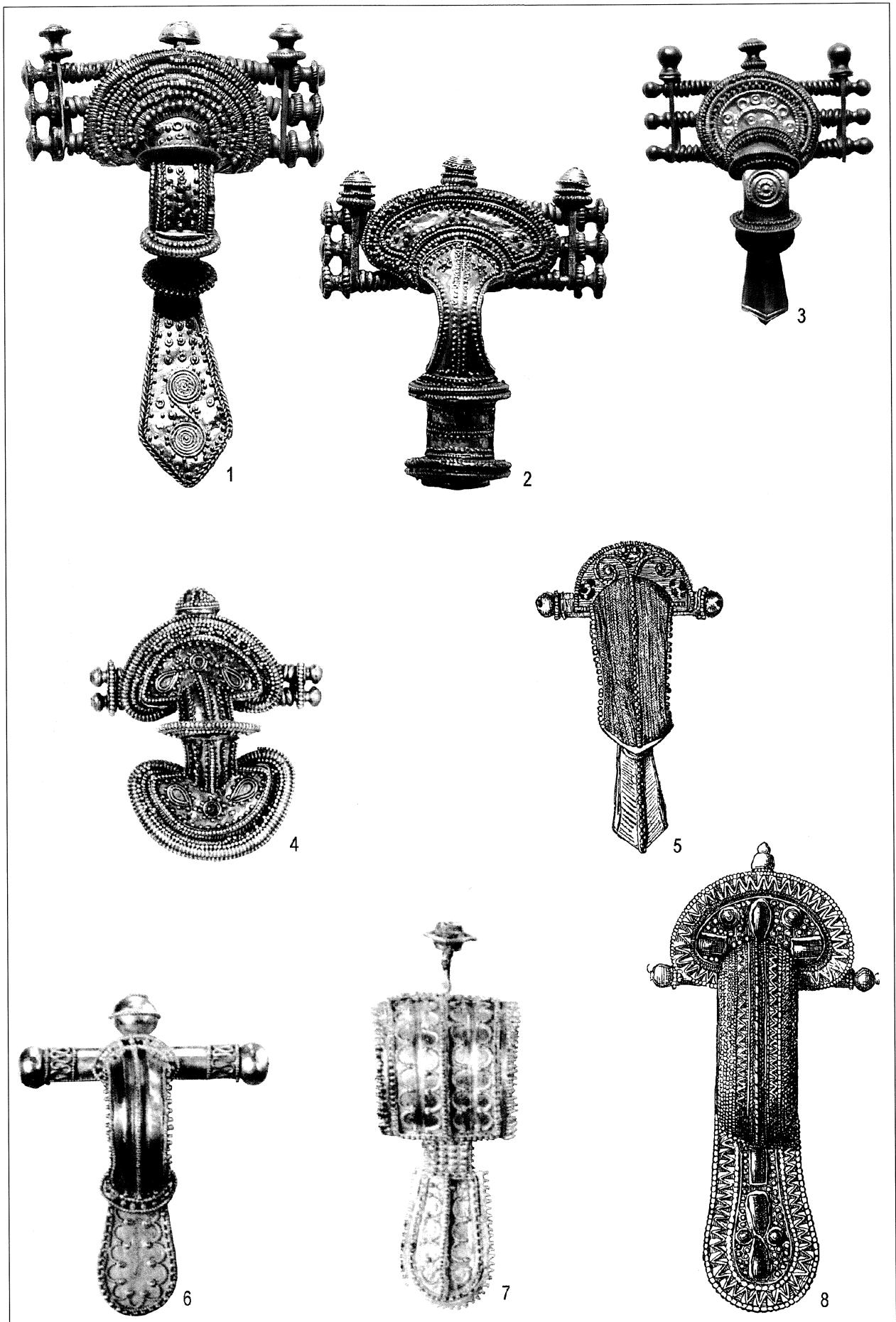


Fig. 12: 1–3 — Wrocław-Zakrzów; 4 — Stráže; 5, 8 — Hungary, unprovenanced;
6, 7 — Ostrovány (Quast 2009; Hampel 1905; Prohászka 2006)



Fig. 13. Sanderumgård
(Jørgensen, Petersen 1998)

Robert Stark has reconsidered the origin of the Młoteczno brooch when discussing the brooches from Szilágysomlyó, especially those with the “seahorse” design. (Stark 1999: 142, 149, 154). He has placed it in his group I, presumably of eastern Roman artefacts, from the late fourth and early fifth centuries, interpreting the Młoteczno brooch as a local artefact and supposing that the artisan who made it did not have enough polished stones and therefore used granulation and filigree, the techniques he knew perfectly well, which were widespread in the lower Danube and northern Black Sea areas. Hilberg also leans towards that interpretation (Hilberg 2009: 159 ff., fig. 5. 58–59), underlining Scandinavian features of the brooch, particularly filigree and granulation, and interpreting hollow knobs on its head-plate as local attributes.

In recent years, Adam Cieśliński has paid much attention to the Młoteczno find (Cieśliński 2008: 124–127; Cieśliński 2010: 162–168). Having discussed the origin of the brooch, he acknowledged that granulation, twisting, and filigree on wires

composing the sea-monsters indicate its local origin in contrast to embossing used in brooches from Szilágysomlyó with similar ornamentation, and the samples inspiring the Młoteczno brooch could be among the brooches from Gepid areas on the lower Danube. As an argument for the northern origin of this brooch, Cieśliński uses fragments of silver neck-ring with gold figurines of two embossed snakes from public building I in Gudme on Funen island from ca. mid-fifth century (Østergaard Sørensen 1994: 35 ff., fig. 14; Cieśliński 2010: 165). However, the publisher of the Gudme building underlines that several gold ornaments from it including gold *linula* pendant originate from the south-eastern Europe (Østergaard Sørensen 1994: fig. 11).

The Młoteczno brooch is made in the Danubian style from phase D2 (Tejral 1988: 237–256; Tejral 1997: 335f.; Tejral 2007: 65–72; Kazanski 1989; Kazanski 1996), probably its earlier stage, i. e. late fourth or early fifth century. This period is typical of semi-precious stone insets, knobs on head-plate, and framing with insets along the foot-plate sides. Such brooches basically concentrate in the middle Danube area, around Seven Castles of Transylvania (*Siebenbürgen*), and in the Crimea (Schmauder 2002: fig. 13; Fundliste 22).

Bronze gilt brooch from Kaloté / Collaten in the area of Klaipeda belonged to the same horizon (Гавритухин 2000: 285, fig. 7. 20), though it did not have polychrome insets and, according to survived drawings, had embossed decoration (Bezzenberger 1897: fig. 85; Кулаков 2009: 75, fig. 11. 14300).

The design of 8-shaped wires decorating the knobs on the head-plate of the Młoteczno is extremely important because the same motif appears on two gold pendants from the same find. The similarity is so big that all three artefacts could be considered manufactured in the same workshop, as Peiser supposed long ago (Peiser 1919: 95). Similar pendants discovered in Cejkov and 8-shaped design on the brooch from Slovakian Ostrovány (Beninger 1931: 185 ff., pl. 9. 4; Prohászka 2006: fig. 33) from phase C2 suggest this ornamentation to appear earlier, though there also are later pendants of the kind, such as the find from the cemetery layer in Luboszyce (Domański 1979: fig. 24. k; Domański 1982: pl. 26. j) or another one from Solontsy in Western Ukraine (Котигорошко 1987: рис. 7. 29; 8). Many gold and silver bucket-shaped pendants with granulation and filigree originate from the Przeworsk culture area, being Ines Beilke-Vogt's type N IIb, basically from phase C2/C3 (Beilke-

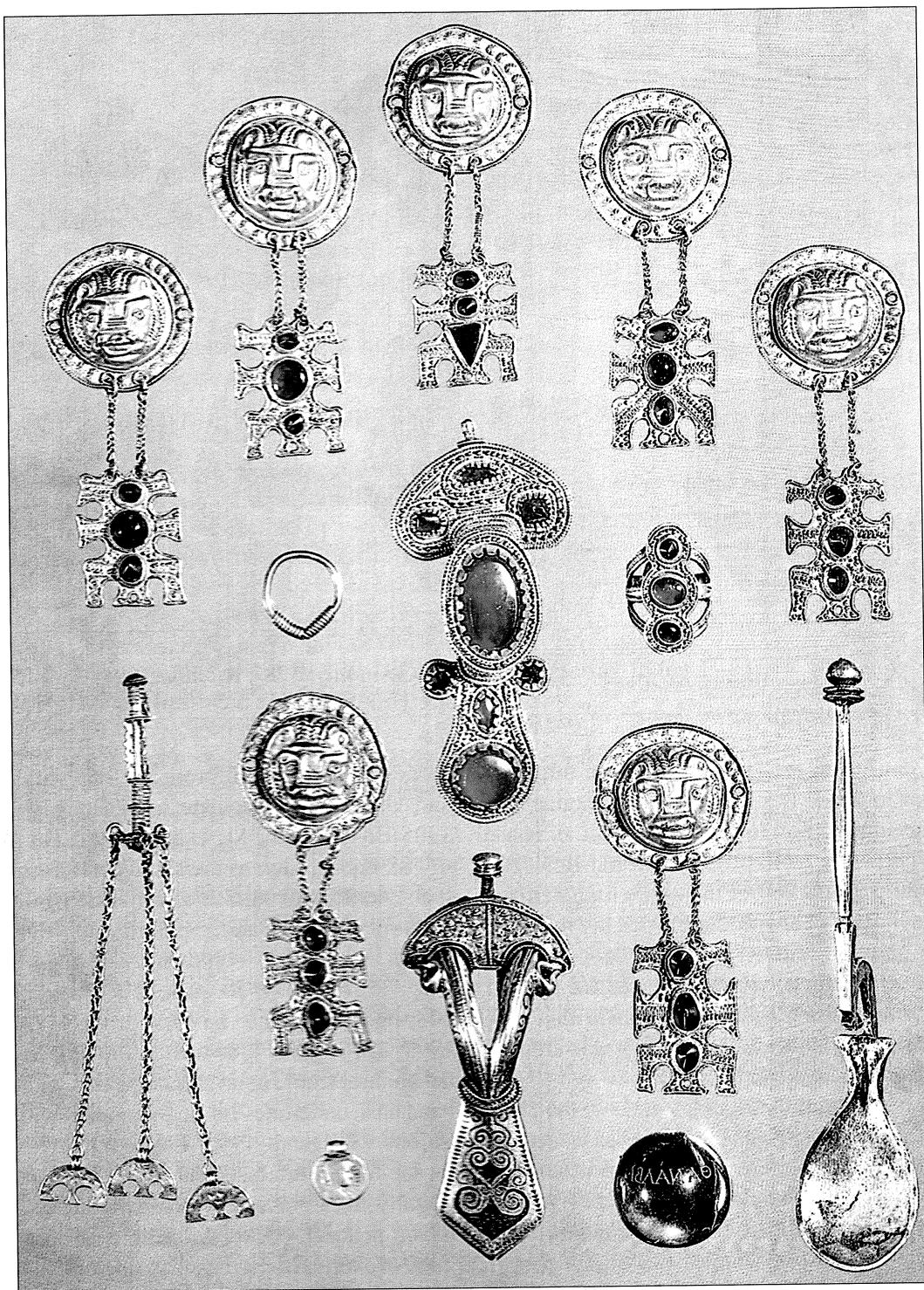


Fig. 14. Årslev (Storgaard 1994)

Vogt 1998: 56, 71, fig. 61, Fundliste 39; Bursche 1998: 145f.).

The same 8-shaped ornament occurs on eyelets of two medallions of Valens from Szilágysomlyó (Bursche 1998: 146; Dembski 1999: Kat. 8, 9). Granulated gold pear-shaped pendant from the hoard of Grushevtsy in Bukovina (all but three ar-

tefacts disappeared) with vessels probably similar to those from Szilágysomlyó (Маркевич, Рикман 1973: рис. 1; Bursche 1998: 147). Moreover, this 8-shaped motif repeats on two silver gilt brooches from the hoard of Zamość (Kokowski 1995: kat. 4859–4860, ryc. 63; Merowingerzeit 2007: Kat. 0.7.2; Fig. 4). Both these hoards, Szilágysomlyó and

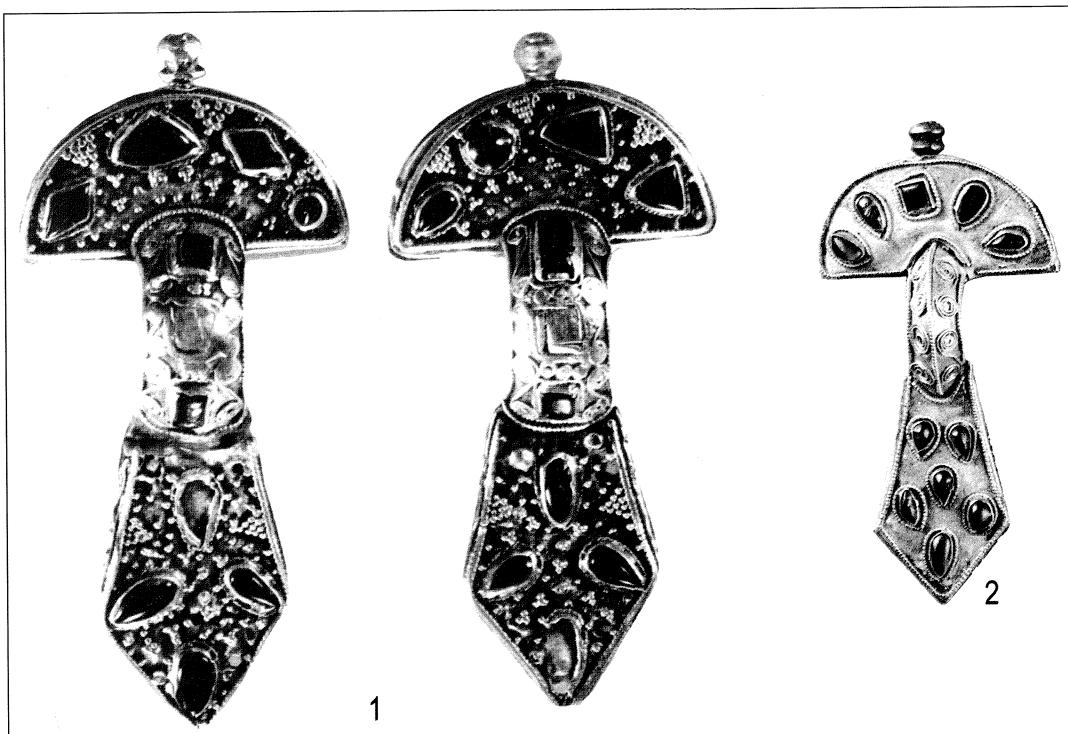


Fig. 15. 1 — Lago di Varese; 2 — Kerch (Germanen 1987; Ajbabin 1994)

Zamość, date from the late fourth to the mid-fifth century, or to phase D2, and the latest elements of the Szilágysomlyó find to the mid-430s, i. e. phase D2/D3.⁴ Therefore, gold pendants from Młoteczno should not be the earliest of the entire find, perhaps they are synchronous with the brooch, as it comes from the above-discussed ornamentation of both categories of artefacts, which nevertheless existed for long, from phase C2 to D2. Cieśliński also suggests that the pendants are later than it was considered earlier (Cieśliński 2010: 162).

Let us return to the intriguing origin of the Młoteczno brooch and its place in the sequence of brooches of types Zakrzów and Untersiebenbrunn/Szilágysomlyó (cf. above). Gold brooches A 184 with granulation and filigree from all the three burials in Wrocław-Zakrzów (Grempler 1888: pl. V. 9, 10; Grempler 1888a: pl. III. 1, 3; VII. 1–3; Quast 2009: fig. 63. 1, 3; 64. 1, 2) are a little bit earlier than the brooch with high receiver and high cord from Stráže (Kolník 1964, fig. 2). In phase C2, brooches with rich decoration of granulation and filigree appear in the Leuna – Hassleben – Gommern horizon, for example, the finds from Hassleben (Schulz 1933: pl. 4. 1a, 3a) or Ostrovány (Prohászka 2006: pl. 31, 33). Two

particular find of such brooches, one with carnelian and glass insets, originate from Hungary (Hampel 1905 Bd. 2: 11 ff., 51; Hampel 1905 Bd. 3: pl. 12, 43. 8), dating back to the same period according to the style. Recent studies consider two gold brooches from Funen (Sanderumgård and Årslev) from phases C2 and C3 respectively (Andersson 1993: Kat. 331. b; 404. i; Jørgensen, Petersen 1998: 176, 178; fig. 133–134) to be local products (Andersson 1995: 221 ff.). They, as well as the brooch with carnelian inset from Årslev, accompanied with gold lion pendants, underline the acquaintance with Eastern Europe (Storgaard 1994; Quast 2011: 199 ff.). As for the filigree artefacts from Wrocław-Zakrzów, especially from grave II which particularly contained *lunula* pendant, buckle with carnelian inset, and cut glass beaker, Dieter Quast has interpreted them as a link to the Chernyakhov culture, supposing that the lady buried in that grave, who was wife to a local prince or king, probably was of the northern Black Sea origin (Quast 2011: 203 ff.).

In the light of the mentioned finds of gold brooches from the late Roman period and in contrast to Stark (Stark 1999: 142) and Hilberg (Hilberg 2009: 161), I am not convinced in purely

⁴ See recent studies: Tejral 1997: 335 f.; Harhoiu 1998: 97; Bursche 1998: 51; Kiss 2001: 224 ff.



Fig. 16. 1 — Gelénes; 2 — Szilágysomlyó (Kiss 1999)

regional, Scandinavian usage of rich ornamentation with granulation and filigree. In phase D2 and earlier, especially in the period when the so-called Danubian style was popular, different styles mixed with a huge participation of Pontic elements.

As it is indicated by a pair early silver gold-clad two-plate brooches with semicircular head-plate from Lago di Varese (Werner 1961: 26, Kat. 87, Taf. 19; Germanen 1987: Kat. I. 5. c), two gold brooches from Gelénes, two pairs of brooches from Szilágysomlyó (Kiss 1999: Kat. 52–55) with rich granulation, and brooches with filigree and garnets from two burials of 24.06.1904 in Kerch (Засецкая 1993: кат. 90, табл. 23; Ajbabin 1994: Kat. II. 1. k), this decorative pattern still existed in the Great Migration period, at least as long as the mid-fifth century. Big conical ornamented spring axle terminals and knob on the head-plate related to the Pomeranian brooches also have, however very distant, parallels among the sea-horse brooches from Szilágysomlyó.

Nevertheless, general appearance and style of the Młoteczno brooch make it closer to the

Danubian finds in contrast to Scandinavia and Pomerania, therefore I would better consider it an import from a centre of art located in the lower or middle Danube area.⁵

Not far to the west of the main concentration of gold artefacts in Młoteczno, there was a partly destroyed Western Baltic cemetery, investigated in 1970s by Włodzimiera Ziemlińską-Odojowa (1991), which had existed in phases C3, D, and E (Cieśliński, Nowakowski 2005: 262 ff.; Cieśliński 2010: 167). However, gold artefacts from Młoteczno are of purely Germanic appearance, so the proximity to the Western Baltic cemetery suggests the coexistence of both tribes.

Although we still not know for sure the exact place where the Młoteczno brooch was made, it was found east of the lower Vistula, within Germanic and not Western Baltic context from the final stage of the Wielbark culture or even after its disappearance, which was an evidence of the polychrome style distribution far to the north and of its influence on the artisans working in the southern Baltic Sea area.

⁵ Instead, the mentioned brooch from Kaloté / Collaten with stamped design could be of local origin.

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Магдалена МОНЧИНЬСКАЯ

**Золотая фибула из Млотечно (Хаммерсдорф)
Браневского повята в северо-восточной Польше**

Резюме

В 1873–1913 гг. в разных местах деревни Млотечно (бывш. Хаммерсдорф) было найдено не менее 17 золотых и серебряных предметов, из которых сегодня известны фрагменты двух серебряных сосудов восточноримского и галльского или итальянского производства, медальон Констанция II (335–336 гг.), золотая фибула, три золотые ведёрковидные подвески и две золотые гривны. Гривны относятся к VI в., а остальные находки могут быть датированы концом VI и первой половиной V в.

Золотая фибула с гранатовыми и янтарными вставками вызвала оживлённую дискуссию, продолжающуюся уже несколько десятилетий. Основная проблема — местного ли

она происхождения или была изготовлена на среднем или нижнем Дунае. Стиль фибулы считается переходным между стилями «Закшув» и «Унтерзибенбронн – Силадьшомьё». О её местном происхождении писали К. Годловский, Р. Старк, А. Цеслинский и Ф. Хильберг, также указывавшие на скандинавское влияние, проявившееся в использовании скани и зерни, а о дунайском — Й. Вернер, Р. Хархою и М. Шмаудер.

На основании стилистических признаков фибулы из Млотечно и собранных аналогий (фибул типа «Нежин – Силадьшомьё – Регель – Унтерзибенбронн – Рабапордань» начала фазы D2), следует признать её продуктом дунайской мастерской, оказавшимся далеко на севере.