# BURIALS OF RIDERS AND HORSES DATED TO THE ROMAN IRON AGE AND GREAT MIGRATION PERIOD IN ALEIKA-3 (FORMER JAUGEHNEN) CEMETERY ON THE SAMBIAN PENINSULA

### KONSTANTIN SKVORTSOV

# KVORT

#### **Abstract**

Presently the greatest number of riders with horse burials on the territory of Sambian-Natangian Culture was discovered in the Aleika-3 cemetery. The appearance of this burial custom falls on the beginning – the middle of the second century. The rite appears in Sambia in the completed manner. Horse equipment of Aleika-3 cemetery has numerous analogies in the Danube region, this fact enables to suggest that its appearance in the region follows German-Sarmatian contacts during the Marcomannic Wars. The custom to bury horse to a rider reaches Western Balts with the Germans who took part in these wars. The grave furnishings of Aleika-3 riders in practice do not differ in contents from the tackle of *Germania Liberia* riders. The abundance of the Roman imports found in Aleika-3 cemetery including the luxury items and clearly expressed relationship with Welbark Culture are the result of the fact that the multiethnic society oversaw the beginning of the amber trade in this region and probably controlled it. Archaeological evidence of Aleika-3 cemetery enables to conclude that the beginning of the process of clan system degrading is fixed in the second century. This process was conditioned by penetrating of the German ethnic component involved into amber trade.

Key words: Aleika-3 cemetery, Sambian-Natangian Culture, horse burials, riders, multiethnic society.

#### Introduction

At present time in the areal of Sambian-Natangian Culture<sup>1</sup>, not less than 41 graves of the first–fifth centuries are known. However, the number of burial monuments containing among the complex burial stock some findings so typical for the riders such as spurs is more considerable (Fig. 1).

The number of riders burial with horses is quite insignificant for the Roman Period and it enables to consider these complexes as the indicators of a deceased's social status and his having been a member of the clan top. The situation only changes radically by the fifth century when the number of such burials multiplies; and by the end of the Migration Period, this ritual becomes an integral trait of the funerary rites which in practice is characteristic for every male burial place of the following periods up to Prussia conquest by the German Order (Jaskanis 1974, p.171; Pashuto 1959, p.501; Pronin *et al.* 2006).

Archaeological evidence tells about horses being used in Sambia in the Bronze Age yet (Bezzenberger 1904, p.41 fig.37). But appearance of the horse and rider burials proper in the cultural circle of the Balts and in the area of Sambian-Natangian Culture belongs to the Early Roman times (Nowakowski 1996, p.63). It was

# Key studies of the Aleika-3 (former Jaugehnen, Kr. Samland) cemetery

Aleika-3 (former Jaugehnen, Kr. Samland) cemetery is situated in the northern part of the Sambian Peninsula, 1.75 km to the east from Romanovo village in Zelenogradsky dictrict of the Kaliningrad region (former Pobetten, Kreis Samland) on the southeastern glacis of the massive moraine elevation on the fundamental left bank of the Aleika River (Fig. 2). This cemetery unknown in the prewar time was discovered in the course of exploration connected with the construction of Kaliningrad gas storage and developed in 2004 (Kalashnikov 2004).

In 2005–2008 years in the course of stationary field works on this monument done by Sambian expedition of the Archeology Institution of the Academy of Science of Russia, 4600 sq. km were researched (Fig. 3). 554 burial complexes were investigated, of which 517 were dated to the second – the beginning of the fifth centuries and 37 – to the end of the 11–12th centuries. The examined part of the site presents approximately 70% of the assumed grave area.

then that burials of riders with horses become an integral part of the local funerary tradition, which existed without any radical changes up to 13th century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Presently also known as Dollkeim-Kovrovo Culture.

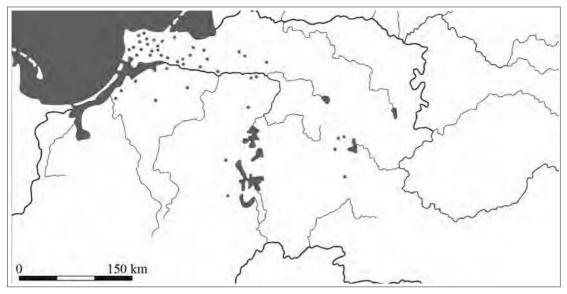


Fig. 1. Horse burials in southern part of the West Balts area (after Nowakowski 1996 with author's additions).

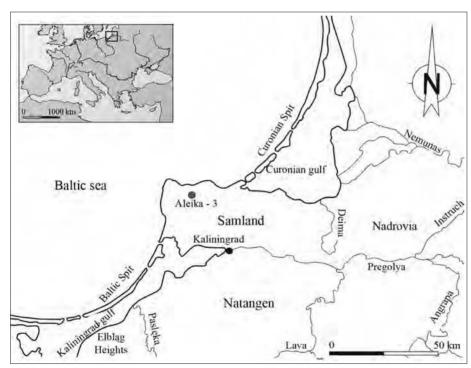


Fig. 2. Location of Aleika - 3 (former Jaugehnen) cemetery (after Ibsen, Skvorzov 2004, fig.1).

Burials in the grave were arranged in two zones. The southern one was almost completely occupied with complexes dated to the Roman Iron Age and to the Migration Period, and the northern one contained the objects dated to the 11–12th centuries.

In the block of burials dated to the Roman Iron Age and to the Migration Period, the overwhelming part was presented by cremations (urn or non-urn graves) and only 46 burials were completed according to the inhumation rites. 5 of them are dated to the second century, 41 burials – to the third – fourth centuries. In

general, the burial stock is quite traditional for the burial monuments of Sambian-Natangian Culture of the Roman Period. It is represented by different kinds of bronze and iron fibulae, silver neck-ring, sashlike bracelets of different types, amber beads, Roman glass and mosaic beads, iron tool, some pieces of armament, and etc. In some burials, bronze and silver Roman coins of the second century are found.

Pottery is represented by the hand made vessels of different types; it is quite possible to draw a parallel between some

pottery (vessels) forms and the material of the neighboring Przeworsk and Wielbark cultures (Smirnova *et al.*, 2007, pp.57-73).

Today Aleika-3 is the only grave in the areal of Sambian-Natangian Culture where inhumation with the northern orientation dated to the third – fourth centuries are present. In their stock, there is a lot of elements connected with the German antiquities available; among them there are pear-shaped and pole-axe-form amber pendants; silver bracelets with snakelike endings and etc. There are often found fibulae of A158

 $\coprod$ 

KONSTANTIN SKVORTSOV

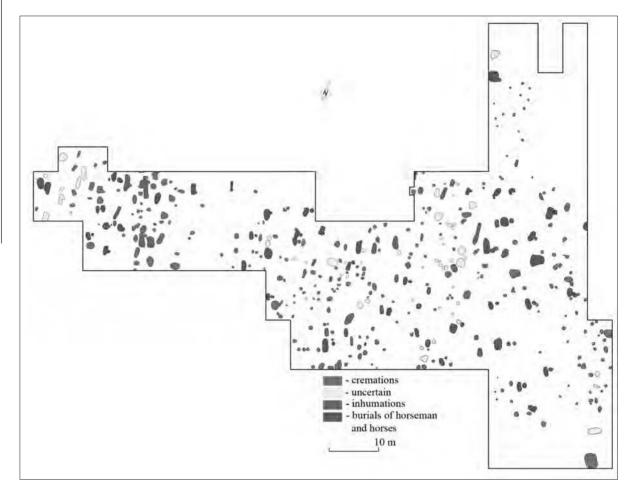


Fig. 3. Burial of the early phase at Aleika-3 cemetery. Drawing by Skvortsov.

type made of iron of which the areal of creation according to some researchers is the areal of Przeworsk Culture (Godłowski 1970, p.15ff). Amber beads found in these burials are considered to be the earliest made with the help of a lathe and are dated to the beginning of the third century. Beads of this kind are widely represented in the materials of the simultaneous graves of the Elblag group of Wielbark Culture. All these facts let us think of a possible multiethnic membership of the group of people who left this monument. Perhaps we can speak about including the bearers of Wielbark Culture coming from the Elblag Heights into the Baltic environment (Pietrzak 1997, plates LXVII, LXXII and CXII). According to the conclusions of J. Okulicz-Kozaryn it is there that the centre of Wielbark Culture belonged to that time, that the cultural impulses spread to the territory of the Ukraine, Moldavia, Romania, feeding the arising Cherniahovsk Culture and keeping tight connections with the centre of culture on the Danish Peninsula (Okulicz-Kozaryn 1992, p.104ff).

Some traces of damage caused in the twelfth-thirteen centuries by the local population while trying to yield nonferrous metal from the burials are fixed overall the examined area of the monument. Just 30% of exam-

ined burials were left untouched. Numerous fragmented and intact items coming from the burials ruined in the Middle Ages and in the agricultural works of new times were found in the top soil. Most of these findings concentrated in the south and the east parts of the examined area.

It is quite interesting to mention the abundance of raw amber that can be found in the burials and in it stuff layer. Graves material also includes work pieces for trapezium shaped and axe-shaped pendants. Pieces of amber quite often have size and shape that are typical for findings in the amber hoards and in the amber workshops in Southern Poland (Cofta-Broniewska 1999, pp.157-175).

There were fragments of glass and Roman vessels (Megarian cup?) among the findings. We should mention numerous samples of fritted silver found in every examined pit both in the top soil and on the day surface in some complexes damaged by medieval robbers as well as fragments of silver items including the fragments of two silver spoons, belonging to Luxus class – the fragmented Ligulae silver spoons. These spoons are widely represented in the mortuary stock of the late

Roman times in so-called princely graves of the barbarian nobility from *Germania Liberia* up to Sarmatia (Ondrouch 1957, p.219 table. 28.2; Eggers, Stary 2001, Table 341.10-11; Sharov 2003, pp.39, and 40 tab.13.3-5; Brøndsted 1963, p.202; Schulz 1953, Tab. XIX. 2; Stenberger 1977, p.282 fig.177).

The greatest part of these findings is connected with the burials of the end of the second – the beginning of the third centuries. Some of these rare artifacts come from the Danube provinces of the Roman Empire and belong to the time close to the Marcomanni Wars (166–180). In spite of the remarkable percentage of the damaged burials, survived examined objects are of full value and contain very important information about the grave functioning in the Roman Iron Age and in the Migration Period. At the same time, the overwhelming part of the horse burials remained untouched. In some cases the contents of the mortuary stock of these horse burials enables to date the damaged rider complexes.

#### Raiders from Aleika-3

In the group of 517 burials of Aleika-3 cemetery belonging to the early years of the Late Roman Iron Age and in the Migration Period, 52 male graves were accompanied by the horse burials.

The main body of the discovered rider-with-the-horse burials in Aleika-3 cemetery is dated to the end of the second – the beginning of the third centuries and consists of 48 from 52 burials. We can detect some definite planigraphy correlation of the considerable part of these burials: most probably, they are placed in rows oriented along the northwest – southeast line with the average distance between the burials about 5 meters.

All these burials represented complexes traditional for Sambian-Natangian Culture. In them, horse burials accompanying urn cremations of the riders were situated to the west of the latter. The horse skeletons are situated in the pits with their heads to the south with different deviations; the pits are oriented along the northeast – southwest line.

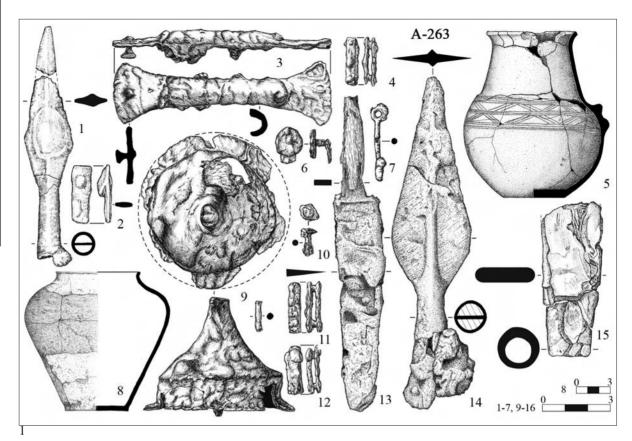
It should be noted that the percentage of the rider-with-the-horse burials dated to the Roman Period in Aleika-3 grave is significantly higher than in all the rest graves examined in large areas up to present time. For example, from more than 300 examined burials of Bol'shoe Isakovo (former Lauth Kr. Königsberg) cemetery, which is contemporaneous with Aleika-3, there are 27 horse burials discovered. Only seven of them are dated to the Roman Period and 20 of them are dated to the fifth century (Skvortsov 2004/2005, pp.111-219; 1998; 1999; 2000; 2002; 2003; 2004). Similar situa-

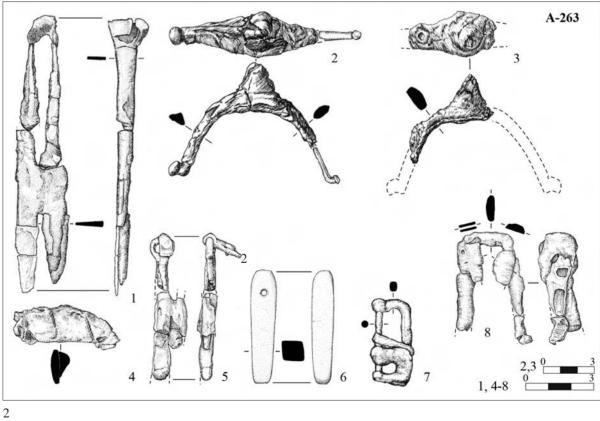
tion tends to be observed in the other cemeteries of the Sambian-Natangian Culture. As a rule the burials were overlapped by the remains of the masonry ruined by the age-old ploughing.

The ceramic set of the earliest rider burials was presented by various shaped by hands vessels like urns, small vessels of different types (as a rule with the polished outer surface, often decorated with the slit zigzag ornament and having a rudimentary multipart handle), and in Late Roman Period - by various vessels of the Dollkeim type. The rest stock of the burials with horses as a rule was more diverse than in the burials without horses. It is represented by iron spearheads of different types, knives, bush-end axes, shield buckles and shield handles, spurs, razors, scissors, drawing knives, whetstones, steels, awls, pins, pincers, iron and bronze details of the belts (Fig. 4.1-3). Most of the fibulae are crossbow brooches (intact and fragmented) made of bronze, seldom - of silver. In the majority of cases, the variants of A161-162 are presented. In burial 275 there was found the bronze fibula of the Almgren type covered with the soldered sheets of embossed gold foil. Such fibulae are in great number presented in the areal of the Roman Iron Age Wielbark Culture and on the islands of the Baltic Sea in Scandinavia (Machajewski 1998, p.190). In the burial 263 there was found the fragmented comb made of horn. In the ruined rider cremation 319a dated to the Late Roman Period there was a spiral gold ring weighing 13 g among the other fragments of mortuary stock items. Some single findings of glass and amber beads can be discovered in the burials as well as some pieces of raw amber, which do not have any traces of fire exposure. It may prove the suggestion that amber was placed to the grave as a funeral gift at the last step of the burial ritual. As a rule, one to three bronze Roman coins are found in every male burial. It should be mentioned that it is in the middle of the second century that in the mortuary stock in the graves of Sambian-Natangian Culture and first of all in the male burials some Roman bronze coins appear in great number; they are often discovered together with the pieces of raw amber. This fact can serve as an indirect evidence of the specific role of the men-warriors in amber trade. All these coins mainly come from the Antoninus dynasty emission, from Trajan up to Commodus (Bollin 1926, pp.203-240). As a rule, they do not have any traces of being long handled. Judging by the coins state and by the dating of the rest stock we can say that they got to the burials without long delays. It enables us to use their numismatic dating for the period (Nowakowski 1996, p.75). This fact can be an evidence of the high amber trade intensiveness in the second part of the second century. As a rule in the warrior burials, the coins are found next to the

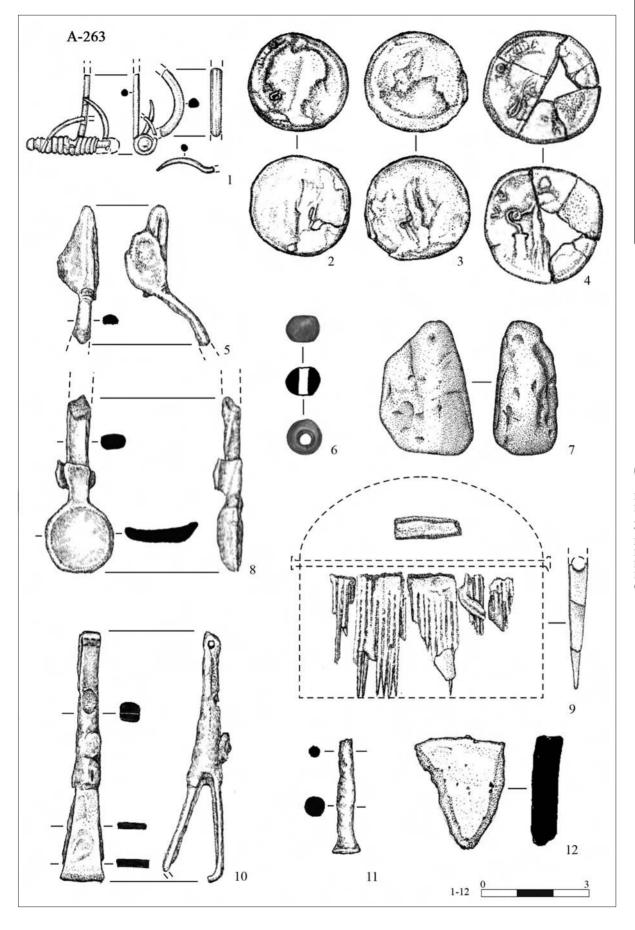
 $\mathbf{III}$ 

> KONSTANTIN SKVORTSOV





 $Fig.\ 4.1, 2.\ Grave\ goods\ from\ burial\ A-263\ (iron,\ bronze,\ pottery,\ stone).$  Drawings by O. Khomiakova and A. Sidorov.



 $Fig.\ 4.3.\ Grave\ goods\ from\ burial\ A-263\ (silver,\ bronze,\ iron,\ pottery,\ amber,\ antler/bone).$   $Drawings\ by\ O.\ Khomiakova\ and\ A.\ Sidorov.$ 

 $\coprod$ 

> KONSTANTIN SKVORTSOV

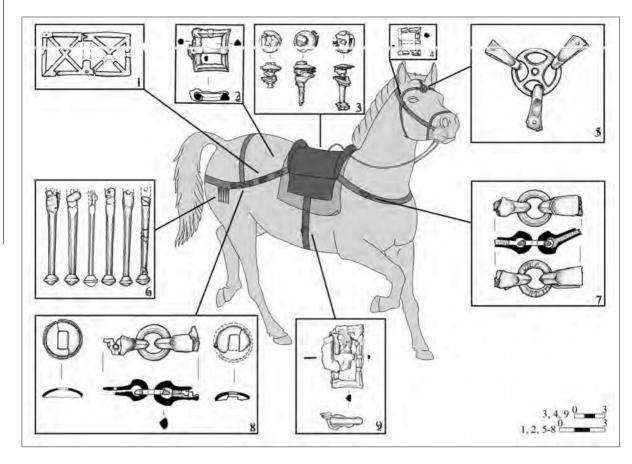


Fig. 5. Grave goods from burial A-418 and reconstruction of horse equipment. Drawing by K. Yuganov, O. Khomiakova and Skvortsov.

numerous items of armament, which have many analogies in the materials of Przeworsk Culture and in Scandinavia. In the Late Roman Period in contrast to the phase B<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>1</sub>, burials of all age groups without any sex differences can be observed. In the phase C<sub>1</sub>/C<sub>2</sub> (particularly during the Goth wars) Roman bronze coins can be found in greater quantity than in the previous period; their most part also relates to the Antoninus dynasty emission as in the previous time. Bronze Roman coins become the most widely spread good substitute in the trade relationship of that time (Bursche 1988, p.43). However, as opposed to the previous period, a considerable part of the coins is much rubbed out and sometimes they are used as pendants. The same phenomenon can be observed in some complexes of Cherniahovsk Culture where most coins either are pendants or are rubbed out after being very long handled (Tikhanova 1979, p.40ff). It is necessary to specify that the overwhelming part of the coins is Italic. It enables us to suggest that the most part of them comes from the territories of Roman province of Dacia and Pannonia: only here bronze coins circulated in significant number (Kropotkin 1961, p.25). It is highly probable that the coins come to the territory of Sambian-Natangian Culture and to the adjacent territories primarily as a result of military and trade activities of the bearers of Przeworsk Culture before and in course of the Marcomanni Wars, and then as a result of the Goths war activities in the third century on the Danube (Budanova 1990, p.103). Perhaps all these out of use coins came from some state depositaries. This suggestion is indirectly proved by information about barbarians being paid by the coins of Marcus Aurelius and of Antoninus Pius, the emperors of the third – fourth centuries who had to produce payment from the treasury using out of use coins. In this case, we should speak about the coins of precious metals but coins of bronze and copper could probably be collected too (Kropotkin 1970, p.52ff; Tikhanova 1979, p.38ff).

As for the horse burials proper, it should be noted that because of peculiarities of local soil chemical composition, as a rule almost nothing survive from the horses skeletons except teeth and so called "shadow" of the horse body. In horse burials the stock was represented by a typical set: various examples of bit as a rule ringed, made of iron; iron buckles and numerous other details of harness made of iron and bronze, more seldom – of silver. In some cases in horse burials, there could be found iron spurs, sickles, scissors and drawing knives, which judging by their placement were primarily in the horse bags.

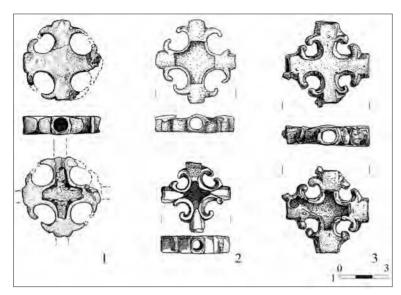


Fig. 6. Horse riding gear: bronze strap-distributor 1 Aleika-l burial A-460; 2-3 Analogue from Danube -Limes area. Drawing by Skvortsov and K. Yuganov.

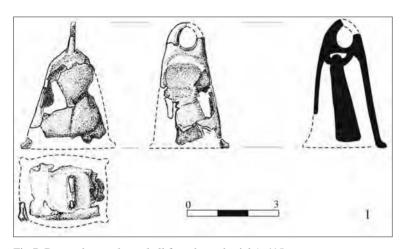


Fig.7. Roman bronze horse bell from horse burial A-415. Drawing by Skvortsov.

Among the rare findings made in the horse burials in the grave early zone, a full set of horse harness from burial 418 dated to the end of the second century is particularly worth pointing out (Fig. 5). It is made of bronze with numerous round and rectangular plates in *opus interrasile* style, with ten bronze belt tips and parting rings. In this complex, there were also some large iron rivets with the bronze heads, which judging by their size and placement served for fastening the details of wooden saddle. That time, similar in contents horse sets are known in the Roman provinces and in the places of swamp sacrifices in Scandinavia (von Carnap-Bornheim, Ilkjær 1996; Oldenstein 1977, Tables 62-64).

A bronze cast cross-shaped divider of belts was discovered in burial 460 dated to the end of the second c. to the beginning of the third century (Fig. 6). Analogies

to it are known in the Roman castles in the Danube section of limes where they are dated to the second century (Gschwind 2004, p.176 table 60; Herramhof, *et al.* 1986-1987, p.303 fig. 154.1). Finding of this kind in the areal of Sambian-Natangian Culture and in the southeast of the Baltic region is found for the first time.

Some not very large bronze Roman bells (Fig. 7) so-called tintinnabula were found near the remains of the horse sculls in two burials also dated to the end of the second - the beginning of the third centuries. Some iron Roman big bells were discovered in graves 302 and 550 (Fig. 8.1-2). These bells of pyramidal shape bells are known from in Sarmatia (Nowakowski 1988, p.99ff). In the areal of Sambian-Natangian Culture findings of this kind are dated to the same period but in the quantity they are found in Aleika-3 grave they are not known yet on any other monument (Nowakowski 1996, p.67).

In burial 423 dated to the beginning of the third century, iron bit with the propeller-shaped cheek pieces were discovered (Fig. 9.1-2). Many researchers connect this kind of bit with Sarmatians (von Carnap-Bornheim 2003, p.378ff figs.4-5). Propeller-shaped cheek pieces of a very close type come from Dacia (Werner 1983, fig.2). In the areal of western Balts<sup>2</sup>,

there are known two other places of finding bit of this kind also dated to the beginning of the third century (La Baume 1944, p.17 fig.26). Bridle bits of this kind originate from the place of swamp sacrifices in Torsberg in the north of Germany (Raddatz 1987, p.85). In burial 478 (the end of the second century) there was a bronze cast nose plate (Fig. 10) with extraordinary decorated upper part.

Almost full horse harness with plenty of elements (Fig. 11.1-3): dividing rings, belt tips, buckles, bronze silver plated cross-shaped bridle dividers, ring furniture and bronze rivets with silver cover survived in burial 328 (cf. for distribution map of the cross-shaped bridle dividers look to Christine Reich article in this volume).

 $\mathbf{III}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Comment of volume Editor: bridle bits with iron propellershaped cheek-pieces were found at Padvariai burial ground For this see: Bliujienė, Butkus 2007, p.105 fig.9.

KONSTANTIN SKVORTSOV

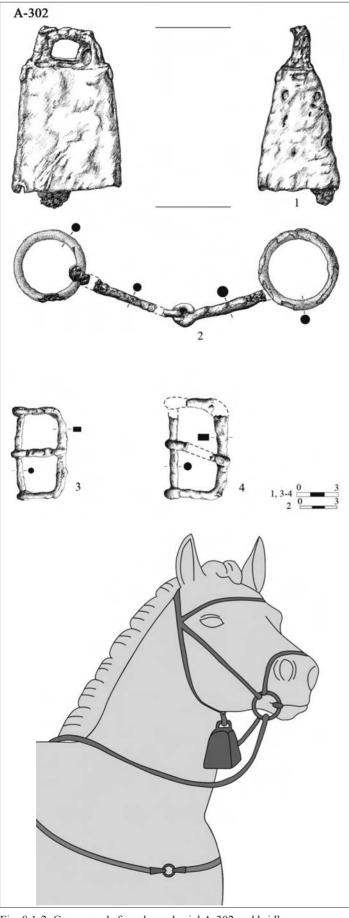


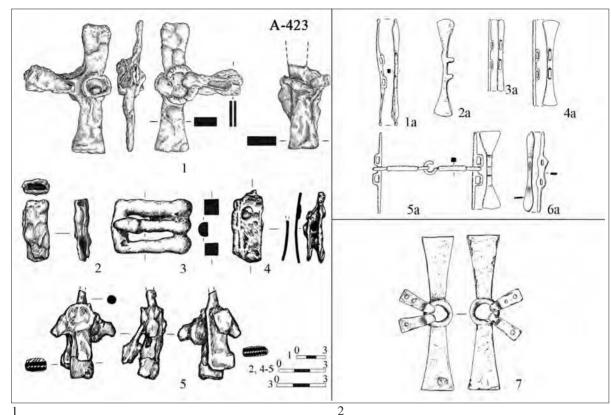
Fig. 8.1-2. Grave goods from horse burial A-302 and bridles reconstruction. Drawing by Skvortsov.

Similar in shape plates are known in the materials of the Late Roman Period in the neighboring cultures (Banytė-Rowell 2004, p.46 fig.6.1-3; Bitner-Wróblewska 2007, table XXXVIII. Bliujienė, Butkus 2007, p.104 fig.8; also see Christine Reich in this volume).

Four horse burials dated to the end of the second c. to the beginning of the third century are worth special mentioning. There were remains of two horses in each of them. It is possible that the fact of double horse burial is not only a sign of a deceased's high social position but it is also reflection of religious beliefs of the ancient habitants of these places. These burials of the Roman times on this territory can be found extremely seldom. Similar burial dated to the end of the second century was discovered in Berezovka (fromer Gross Ottenhagen) burial ground. It was under 1.2 m high barrow, with massive stone masonry about 7 m in diameter, with the cremation of not less than two people (Ibsen, Skvorzov 2004 p.402ff figs.7 and

In the grave early zone, the latest rider-withthe-horse complex is burial 356 dated to the beginning of the fifth century, in which rider's cremation underwent plunder, the stock survived partly but the horse burial remained untouched. In it, there were remains of two horses with the metal details of the horse harness among which it is necessary to mention bimetal ornamented bridle bit made of bronze and iron (Fig. 12). This type of bit having a constructive particularity - a bronze, more often silver faceted cap with a ring loop put on a free end of an iron rod is characteristic for Hun period (Zasetskaia 1994, p.40ff tables 4.12; 16.13; 30.5; 44.5; 47.5; 20, 21). The closest analogies of these bits are known in the burials of Przeworsk nobility of the early Hun period on the territory of Poland in Lugah / Koenigsbruch and in Jakuszowice (Petersen 1932, p.154ff; Godłowski 1995, pp.155-179 fig.4.1).

Presently examined part of the grave enables us to suggest that from the beginning of the fifth century its functioning was interrupted for at least 600 years. Only at the end of the 11th – the beginning of the 12th centuries ancient Prussians begin to bury their deceased in 60 meters to the north of



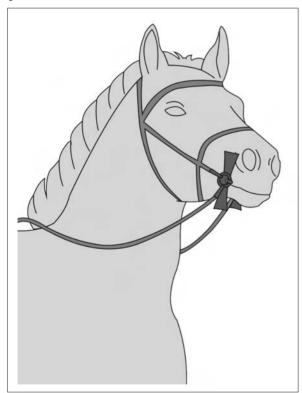


Fig. 9.1-3. Details of bridles with propeller shaped cheek-pieces. 1 Aleika-3 horse burial A-423; 2 Cheek-pieces from Sarmatian sites (1a–6a); 2 Thorsbeg bog find (7); 3 Bridles reconstruction after grave goods of Aleika-3 burial A-423. Drawings by Skvortsov, A. Sidorov and K. Yuganov.

3

the graves dated to the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period.

Judging by the context of the complexes discovered in the process of researching, Aleika-3 grave, as we can see at present moment, is an exceptional phenomenon for Sambian-Natangian Culture.

## Relationships of the Sambian-Natangian Culture

In spite of the fact that Sambian-Natangian Culture was on the periphery of *barbaricum*, its appearance and development is connected with the interest in amber, which sharply increased in the first century AD. The demand for it in Rome and its provinces attracted attention of the representatives of Przeworsk Culture to this region (Shchukin 1994, p.278). Keeping in mind the fact that at the turn of ages Przeworsk Culture kept good contacts with the cultures of Central Europe and Scandinavia (Shchukin 1994, p.228ff), such development of the situation looks quite realistic.

This time is characterized by the appearance of a great number of the Roman and Noricum-Panonian imports and their derivatives produced in barbarian environment in our region. Setting of trade connections between the Roman provinces and the western Balts in the Early Roman Period before the beginning of the Marcomanni Wars and for some time after them prob $\mathbf{III}$ 

KONSTANTIN SKVORTSOV

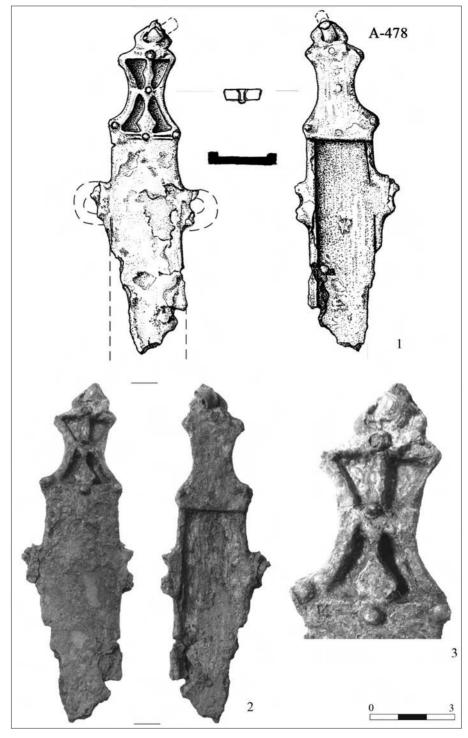
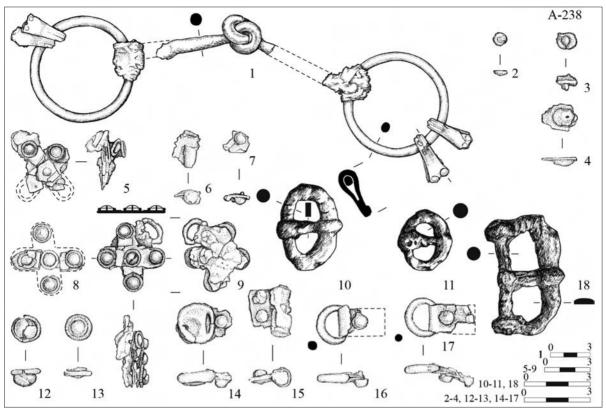


Fig. 10. Bridle detail: bronze cast nose plate ("Naseberg") from horse burial A-478. 2–3 Analogues from Danube-Limes area. Drawing by Skvortsov.

ably went on through the mediation of the bearers of Przeworsk Culture.

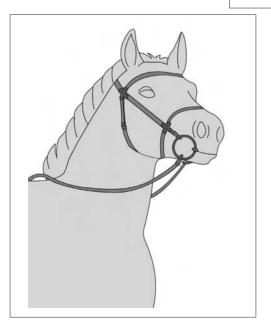
From the moment of its appearance in the second part of the first century and up to the first part of the second century the dominant funerary rite of Sambian-Natangian culture was the inhumation with the northern orientation.

In the second part of the second century during a short period of time inhumation rite disappears completely. Urn and non-urn cremations replaced this rite. The funerary rite type like most innovations in mortuary stock in this period is connected by its origin with the cultures of the west, and first of all of Przeworsk Culture and Scandinavia. At the same time, by the end of the second century – the beginning of the third century the lot of imports from the areal of Wielbark Culture considerably increases (Bliujienė 2007 pp.312 and 317). Perhaps it is connected with the bearers of Wielbark Culture moving to the south of the territo-



 $\prod$ 

HORSES,
HORSEMEN,
AND EQUESTRIAN
EQUIPMENT:
PREPARED
FOR WAR,
BURIALS, AND
OFFERINGS



1

Fig. 11.1-3. Grave goods from horse burial A-328 (1); Cruciform shaped bridle mounts from burial A-238, Netta and Althof Insterburg (2); Reconstruction (3). Drawings by Skvortsov, K. Yuganov and O. Khomiakova.

3

2

> KONSTANTIN SKVORTSOV

Fig.12. Grave goods from burial A-356. Drawing by O. Khomiakova.

ries, which were previously occupied by the bearers of Przeworsk Culture because of its weakening after taking part in the Marcomannic Wars. It is possible that some not very large part of Przeworsk people moved by the wave of Wielbark migrants had to leave territories earlier settled and to get to West-Baltic culture. The same time in the materials of the graves in the Pregel River valley, the Roman imports that can be related to the items of luxury appear: a dagger – pugio from Alt Ilischken, a fragmented terra sigillata from the burial at Klein Flies and some others (Nowakowski 1996, p.68ff plates 92.1; 99.8-8 and 102.2). In the region of Mazurian Lakeland and in Sambia, the situations provoked by the same processes are similar. The most number of imports here fall on the phases  $B_2/C_1-C_2$ . (Nowakowski 2001 p.26ff). During the phase C<sub>1</sub>/C<sub>2</sub> in the burial grounds of the Sambian-Natangian Culture there opens a horizon of rich burials containing specific stock: fibulae of Monstreosa type (Skvortsov 2000), silver bracelets with snakelike endings; numerous jewelry pieces of silver and bronze and some other stock originally connected straight to the areal of Wielbark Culture, to the regions of Scandinavia and Germania Liberia. It is very much likely that a considerable part of the buried was of either German origin or autochthons tightly connected with the ruling clans on the Elblag Heights and in Scandinavia.

From the third century, the role of representatives of Wielbark Culture in amber trading on the prior 'Sambia – Vistula mouth' section of the amber way increas-

es. New findings made in some graves of the Roman Period are the evidence. The value of the amber way section from Sambia along the Vistula bay to the Vistula delta is very difficult to overestimate (Skvortsov 2007a; Goverdovskii 2008; Andrzejowski, Cieśliński 2007, p.279). The people who left Aleika-3 grave could control collection of amber in the beginning of the way. Not less than eight simultaneous burial grounds are known in the radius of 5 km from Aleika-3. It indicates

the high density of settling on this territory in that time. Habitants living along in the valleys of small rivers of Sambian Peninsula went out to the Pregel from where they could reach lands in the Vistula mouth where amber accumulated for its moving from the Baltic Sea shore to the Roman boundary.

#### Conclusions

At present time the greatest number of rider with the horse burials in the territory of Sambian-Natangian Culture are



Fig. 13. Tomb of Svebian horseman in Roman military service.

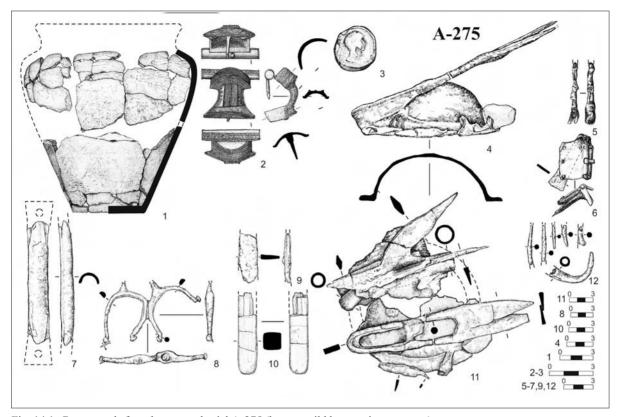


Fig. 14.1. Grave goods from horseman burial A-275 (bronze, gild bronze, iron, pottery). Drawing by O. Khomiakova and A. Sidorov.

discovered in the materials of Aleika-3 cemetery. It should be noted that the appearance of this rite falls on the beginning – the middle of the second century. The rite appears in Sambia in the completed manner. Numerous analogies of the horse burial stock of Aleika-3 cemetery found in materials of the region of Danube enable us to suggest that it owes its appearance to the German-Sarmatian contacts during the Marcomannic Wars (Kokowski 2003, pp.275-291; Tejral 2003, pp.239-274 tables 1; 3; 4; 5; 7; 16; 17; 18). This rite reaches the areal of the Western Balts with the Germans who took part in these wars. From this moment the burials with horses appear in the Sudovian culture and in the West Lithuanian Stone Circle Grave Culture (Bliujienė, Butkus 2007, p.115). In the late Roman time, singular cases of this rite penetrating from the areal of Sambian-Natangian Culture to the Baltic Sea islands and to Denmark are known. In Denmark on the Zeeland Island in Skovgarde cemetery, there was found the horse burial 26 dated to the third century (Ethelberg 2000, p.25ff). It is possible that this burial as well as findings of bit in the burials on the Funen island, which are not found on the neighboring territories and according to K. Raddaz point to the connections with the west Balts tribes of Sambian Peninsula in the Roman Period (Raddatz 1956 p.173ff; 1962).

The earliest rider burials found in the grave belong to the second part of the second century that is phase B<sub>3</sub>/

 $\rm C_{_{1}}$ . Besides there are some burials made according to the inhumation rite, which are dated to the phase  $\rm B_{_{2b}}$ . Chronological proximity of the considerable part of the burials is proved by their planigraphy interrelation.

Appearance of the most part of the rider complexes is close in time to the last period of the Marcomannic Wars and may be a reflection of exactly these events happening in the Danube provinces of the Roman Empire. Most probably, the abundance of the Roman import items on this monument including the luxury items is the result of the fact that this multiethnic society faced the beginning of the amber trade in this region and probably controlled it. Riders of Aleika-3 represented the top of this society from the Marcomannic Wars up to the early Hun period when the last centers of Wielbark Culture disappear from the region of Vistula (Godłowski 1970, plate VII). In less degree, we can connect the findings of new Roman import categories with the possible participating of representatives of this multiethnic society in the last period of the Marcomannic Wars, in higher degree – with their participation in amber trade.

The tackle of Aleika-3 riders in practice does not differ in contents from the tackle of *Germania Liberia* riders. As an example of a typical armament set of the population close to Sambian we can mention the grave stone of a *Suebi* rider in the Roman service from Heidelberg

 $\mathbf{III}$ 

> KONSTANTIN SKVORTSOV

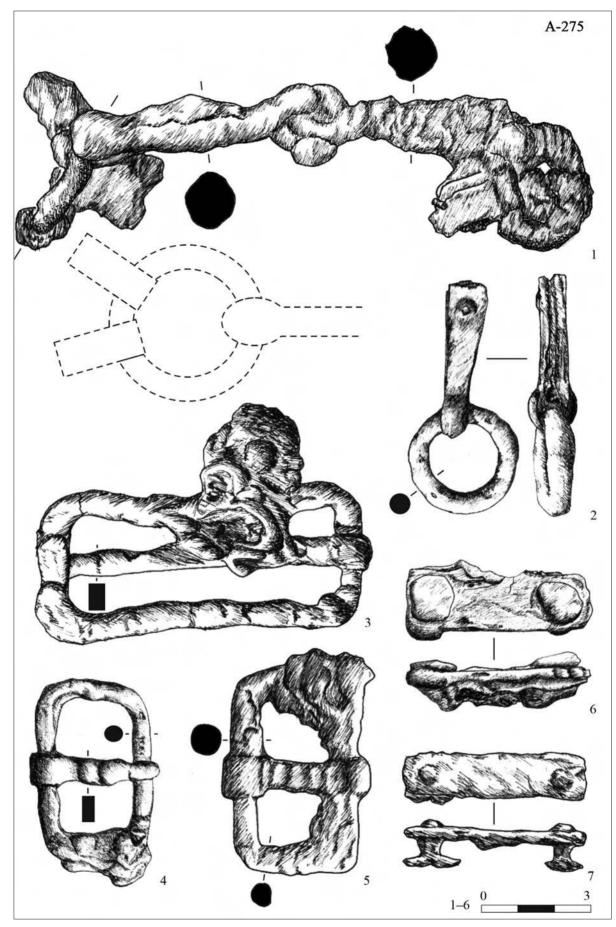


Fig. 14.2. Grave goods from horse burial A-275A (iron, bronze). Drawing by O. Khomiakova, A. Sidorov and A. Dement'eva.

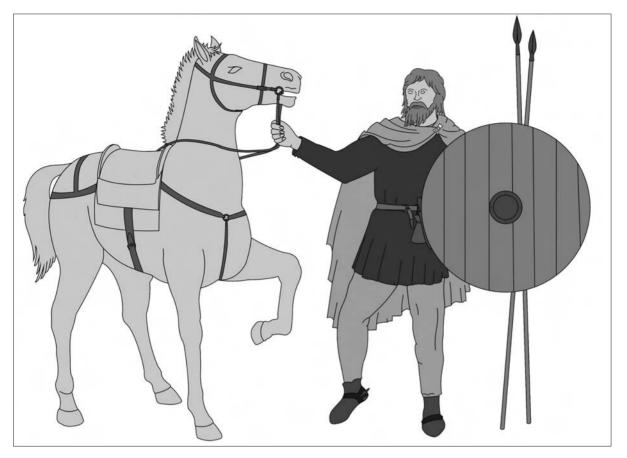


Fig. 14.3. Horseman and his horse from Aleika-3 cemetery (burial A-275). Reconstruction by Skvortsov and K. Yuganov.

(Speidel 1992, p.89ff) (Fig. 13) and compare it with the stock of burial 275 (Fig.14.1-3).

The materials of Aleika-3 cemtery in the context of other examined monuments of Sambian-Natangian Culture of the Roman Iron Age enable us to conclude that the beginning of the process of clan system degrading is fixed on this territory in the second century. It was conditioned by penetrating of the German ethnic component involved into amber trade to the Balts environment. This process could only start during or after the Marcomannic Wars, influence of which showed off not only in economic and in social changes on the territory of Germania Liberia but touched upon the periphery of barbarian world including the territory of Sambia. All these facts can indirectly prove the possibility of presence of the highest social status burials in the areal of Sambian-Natangian Culture. No doubt, they can be discovered in future.

#### Translated by Marina Evstafieva

#### Abbreviations

Arkhiv IA RAN – Arkhiv Instituta Arkheologii Rossikoi Akademini Nauk, Maskva.

### References

#### Manuscripts

GOVERDOVSKII, G. A., 2008. Arkhiv IA RAN, R-I. Otchet o razvedkakh v bagrationovskom raione Kaliningradskoi oblasti Zapadnoi arkheologicheskoi ekspeditsiei NPC.

KALASHNIKOV, E.A., 2004. Arkhiv IA RAN, R-I. Otchet o razvedkakh v Zelenogradskom raione Kaliningradskoi oblasti. Cherniakhovskii otriad Desninskoi ekspediciei IA RAN.

SKVORTSOV, K.N., 1998. Arkhiv IA RAN, R-I, №21982. Otchet Natangiiskogo otriada BAE IA RAN po okhrannym raskopkam gruntovogo mogil'nika Lauth – Bol'shoe Isakovo v Gur'evskom raione Kaliningradskoi oblasti.

SKVORTSOV, K.N., 1999. Arkhiv IA RAN, R-I, №23285. Otchet Natangiiskogo otriada BAE IA RAN po okhrannym raskopkam gruntovogo mogil'nika Lauth – Bol'shoe Isakovo v Gur'evskom raione Kaliningradskoi oblasti.

SKVORTSOV, K.N., 2000. Arkhiv IA RAN, R-I, №24733. Otchet Natangiiskogo otriada BAE IA RAN po okhrannym raskopkam gruntovogo mogil'nika Lauth – Bol'shoe Isakovo v Gur'evskom raione Kaliningradskoi oblasti.

SKVORTSOV, K.N., 2002. Arkhiv IA RAN, R-I, №25795. Otchet Natangiiskogo otriada BAE IA RAN po okhrannym raskopkam gruntovogo mogil'nika Lauth – Bol'shoe Isakovo v Gur'evskom raione Kaliningradskoi oblasti.

SKVORTSOV, K.N., 2003. Arkhiv IA RAN, R-I, №25796. Otchet Natangiiskogo otriada BAE IA RAN po okhrannym raskopkam gruntovogo mogil'nika Lauth – Bol'shoe Isakovo v Gur'evskom raione Kaliningradskoi oblasti.

 $\mathbf{III}$ 

- SKVORTSOV, K.N., 2004. Arkhiv IA RAN, R-I, №. 25797. Otchet Natangiiskogo otriada BAE IA RAN po okhrannym raskopkam gruntovogo mogil'nika Lauth Bol'shoe Isakovo v Gur'evskom raione Kaliningradskoi oblasti.
- SKVORTSOV, K.N., 2006. Arkhiv IA RAN, R-I. Otchet Sambiiskoi ekspeditsii IA RAN po raskopkam gruntovogo mogil'nika Aleika-3 v Zelenogradskom raione Kaliningradskoi oblasti.
- SKVORTSOV, K.N., 2007. Arkhiv IA RAN, R-I. Otchet Sambiiskoi ekspeditsii IA RAN po raskopkam gruntovogo mogil'nika Aleika-3 v Zelenogradskom raione Kaliningradskoi oblasti.
- SKVORTSOV, K.N., 2007a. Arkhiv IA RAN, R-I. Otchet Sambiiskoi ekspeditsii IA RAN po raskopkam gruntovogo mogil'nika Shosseinoe v Gur'evskom raione Kaliningradskoi oblasti.

#### Published sources

PASHUTO, V.T. 1959. Obrazovanie Litovskogo gosudarstva. Khrisburgskii Kishporskii) dogovor 1249. Moskva.

#### Literature

- ANDRZEJOWSKI, J. CIEŚLIŃSKI, A., 2007. Germanie i Bałtowie u schyłku starożytności. Przyjazne związki czy wrogie sąsiedztwo? *In*: A. BITNER-WROBLEWSKA, ed. *Kultura bogaczewska w 20 lat później. Materiały z konferenciji Warsawa, 26 27 marca 2003. Seminarium Bałtyjskie,* vol. I. Warzawa, 279-320.
- BANYTĖ-ROWELL, R., 2004. Metalinės diržų ir kamanų detalės iš Stragnų kapinyno. *Archaeologia Lituana*, 5, 33-61.
- BEZZENBERGER, A., 1904. Analysen vorgeschichtlicher Bronzen Ostpreußens. Königsberg.
- BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA, A. 2007. Netta. A Balt Cemetery in Northeastern Poland. *In: Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica*, vol XII. Warszawa.
- BLIUJIENĖ, A., 2007. *Lietuvos priešistorės gintaras*. Vilnius: Versus aureus.
- BLIUJIENĖ, A. and BUTKUS, D., 2007. Armed Men and their Riding Horses as a Reflection of Warrior Hierarchy in Western Lithuania during the Roman Iron Age. A. BLIUJIENĖ, ed. Archaeologia Baltica, 8. Weapons, Weaponry and Man (In memoriam Vytautas Kazakevičius), 95-116.
- BOLLIN, S., 1926. Die Funde römischer und byzantinischer Münzen in Ostpreußen. Prussia, 26. Königsberg.
- BRØNDSTED, J., 1963. Eisenzeit in D\u00e4nemark. Nordische Vorzeit, 3. Neum\u00fcnster.
- BUDANOVA, V.P., 1990. Goty v epokhu Velokogo pereselenija narodov. Moskva.
- BURSCHE, A., 1988. Kontakty cesarstwa rzymskiego z ludnością kultury wielbarskiej w III i IV w. w. świetle źródel numizmatycznych. *In*: J. GURBA & A. KOKOWSKI, eds. *Kultura Wielbarska w mlodzym okresie rzymskim*, vol. I. Lublin, 221-239.
- von CARNAP-BORNHEIM, C., 2003. Zu "magischen" Schwertperlen und propellerförmigen Seitenstangen in kaiserzeitlichen Moorfunden. In: C. von CARNAP-BORN-HEIM, ed. Kontakt Kooperation Konflikt Germanen und Sarmaten zwischen dem 1. und dem 4. Jahrhundert nach Christus. Internationales Kolloquium des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps–Universität Marburg, 12.-16. Februar 1998. Neumünster, 371-382.

- CARNAP-BORNHEIM, C. V., ILKJÆR J., 1996. *Illerup Ådal. Bd 5. Die Prachtausrüstungen*. Aarhus.
- COFTA-BRONIEWSKA, A., 1999. Amber in the material culture of the communities of the region of Kuiavia during the roman period. In: B. KOSMOWSKA-CERANOW-ICZ, H. PARKER, eds. Investigation into Amber. Gdansk, 157–175.
- EGGERS, H. J., STARY, P.F., 2001. Funde der Vorrömischen Eisenzeit, der Römischen Kaiserzeit und der Völkerwanderungszeit in Pommern, vol.38. Lübstorf.
- ETHELBERG, P., 2000. Skovgårde. Ein Bestattungsplatz mit reichen Frauengräbern des 3.Jhs. n. Chr. auf Seeland. København.
- GODŁOWSKI, K., 1970. The Chronology of the Late Roman and Early Migration Periods in Central Europe. *Prace Archeologiczne*, 11.
- GODŁOWSKI, K., 1995. Das"Fürstengrab" des 5. Jhs. i der "Fürstensitz" in Jakuszowice in Südpolen. In: La noblesse romaine et les chefs Barbaren du III e au VII e siécle, Association Française d' Archéologie Mérovingienne et la Société des Amis du Musée des Antiquités Nationales. Paris.
- GSCHWIND, M., 2004. Abusina. Das römische Auxiliarkastell Eining an der Donau vom 1. bis 5. Jh. n. Chr. München.
- HERRAMHOF, S., HERRMANN, F.,R., KOSCHIK, H., ROSENSTOCK, D., WAMSER, L., 1986-1987. Archäologische Funde und Ausgrabungen in Mittelfranken. Fundchronik 1970-1985. *Jahrbuch des historischen Vereins für Mittelfranken*, 93.
- IBSEN, T., SKVORZOV, K., 2004. Das Gräberfeld von Berezovka/Groß Ottenhagen. Ein wiederentdeckter Bestattungsplatz des 1. Jahrtausends n. Chr. im Kaliningrader Gebiet. Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission, 85, 381-399.
- JASKANIS, J., 1974. Obrządek pogrzebowy zachodnich bałtów u schyłku starożytności(I-V w.n.e). *Biblioteka Archeologiczna*, 23. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk.
- KOKOWSKI, A., 2003. Zur Geschichte der gotisch-sarmatischen Beziehungen im Licht der Maslomecz-Gruppe und der Kulturen des Goten-Kreises. *In*: C. von CAR-NAP-BORNHEIM, ed. *Kontakt Kooperation Konflikt Germanen und Sarmaten zwischen dem 1. und dem 4. Jahrhundert nach Christus. Internationales Kolloquium des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps–Universität Marburg, 12.-16. Februar 1998. Neumünster, 275-302.*
- KROPOTKIN, V.V., 1961. Klady rimskikh monet na territorii SSSR. In: B. A. RYBAKOV, ed. Arkheologia SSSR. Svod arkheologicheskikikh istochnikov, G4-4. Moskva.
- KROPOTKIN, V.V., 1970. Rimskie importnye izdelia v Vostochnoi Evrope (I v. do n.e. V v. n.e.). In: B. A. RYBAKOV, ed. Arkheologia SSSR. Svod arkheologicheskikih istochnikov, Moskva. D 1-27.
- LA BAUME, W., 1944. Altpreußisches Zaumzeug. *Alt-Preussen*, 9,1/2, 2-19.
- MACHAJEWSKI, H., 1998. Die Fibeln der Gruppe V, Serie 8, im östlichen Teil Mitteleuropas. *In*: J. KUNOW, ed. *100 Jahre Fibelformen nach Oscar Almgren Forschungen zur Archäologie im Land Brandenburg* 5. Wünsdorf, 187-196.
- NOWAKOWSKI, W., 1988. Metallglocken aus der römischen Kaiserzeit im europäischen Barbaricum. *Archaeologia Polona*, 27. 99-123.
- NOWAKOWSKI, W., 1996. Das Samland in der römischen Kaiserzeit und seine Verbindungen mit dem römischen Reich und der barbarischen Welt. Veröffentlichungen des

- Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars Marburg. Sonderband 10. Marburg.
- NOWAKOWSKI, W., 2001. Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum. Polen, vol. 1. Masuren.Warszawa
- OKULICZ-KOZARYN, J., 1992. Ett kulturcentrum vid Weichsels mynning under de första århundradena av vår tideräkning. In: Folkvandrings-och äldremedeltida symposiet i Lidköping 1992. Lidköping.
- OLDENSTEIN, J., 1977. Zur Ausrüstung römischer Auxiliareinheiten. Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission. 57.
- ONDROUCH, V., 1957. Bohaté Hroby z doby rímskej na Slovensku. Bratislava.
- PETERSEN, E., 1932. Neue wandalische Grabfunde aus dem 2. 4. Jahrh.n.Chr. *Altschlesien*, 34.
- PIETRZAK, M., 1997. Pruszcz Gdański. Fundstelle 10. Ein Gräberfeld der Oksywie- und Wielbark-Kultur in Ostpommern. In: Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica, vol. IV, Kraków.
- PRONIN, G.N., SMIRNOVA, M.E., MISHINA, T.N., NO-VIKOV V.V. 2006. Mogil'nik Povarovka X-XIII vv. kaliningradskaia oblast *In:* M.A. Oblomskii, *ed. Materialy okhrannyh arkheologicheskich issledovanii*, 8. Moskva.
- RADDATZ, K., 1956 (1962). Fynske jernaldergrave II. *Offa*, *51*.
- RADDATZ, K., 1987. Der Thorsberger Moorfund. Katalog. *Offa-Bücher*, 65. Neumünster.
- SHAROV, O., 2003. Die Gräber des sarmatischen Hochadels von Bospor. In: C. von CARNAP-BORNHEIM, ed. Kontakt Kooperation Konflikt Germanen und Sarmaten zwischen dem 1. und dem 4. Jahrhundert nach Christus. Internationales Kolloquium des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps–Universität Marburg, 12.-16. Februar 1998. Neumünster, 35-64.
- SCHULZ, W., 1953. Leuna. Ein germanischer Bestattungsplatz der spätrömischen Kaiserzeit. Berlin.
- SHCHUKIN, M.B., 1994. Na rubezhe er. Opyt istoriko-archeologicheskoj rekonstrukciji politicheskikh sobytii III v. do n.e. – I v n.e. v vostochnoi i Tsentral'noi Evrope. Sank-Peterburg.
- SKVORZOW, K., 2004/2005. Das Gräberfeld der Römischen Kaiserzeit von Bolsoe Isakovo (ehemals Lauth, Kreis Königsberg). *Offa*, 61/62, 111-220.
- SMIRNOVA, M.E., KULAKOV, V.I., KALASHNIKOV, E.A., RADIUSH, O.A., IAKOVLEV, A.V., BOGUS-LAVSKIJ, O.I., SCHCHEGLOVA, O.A., SKVORTSOV, K.N., ZAL'TSMAN, E.B., KHOKHLOV, A.N., KRENKE, N.A., SPIRIDONOVA, E.A., TSYBRIJ, V.V., BEZDU-DNYJ, V.G., 2007. Okhrannyje raboty v zone stroiteľ stva podzemnogo khranilishcha gaza v Zelenogradskom Raione Kaliningradskoj oblasti. *In: Arkheologicheskije otkrytia* 2005 goda. Moskva, 57-73.
- SPEIDEL, M.P., 1992. Exploratores. Mobile Elite Units of Roman Germany. *Roman Army Studies II Mavors*, 8. Stuttgart.
- STENBERGER, M., 1977. Vorgeschichte Schwedens. *Nordische Vorzeit.* vol. 4, Neumünster..
- TEJRAL, J., 2003. Zur Frage der germanisch-sarmatischen kulturellen Beziehungen an der Wende von alteren zur jungeren Kaiserzeit. In: C. von CARNAP-BORNHEIM, ed. Kontakt Kooperation Konflikt Germanen und Sarmaten zwischen dem 1. und dem 4. Jahrhundert nach Christus. Internationales Kolloquium des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps–Universität Marburg, 12.-16. Februar 1998. Neumünster, 239-275.

- TIKHANOVA, M.A., 1979. K voprosy o dostovernosti datirovki zkrytykh kompleksov s rimskimi monetami. *In: Krankie soobchenia instituta arkheologii*, 159, 37–43.
- WERNER, W. M., 1983. Ein dakischer Trensenknebel aus Augsburg-Oberhausen. Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, 13.
- ZASETSKAIA, I.P., 1994. Kul'tura kochevnikov iuzhnorusskikh stepei v gunnskuju epokhu (IV-V vv.). Sankt-Peterburg.

Received 12 June 2009; Revised: 26 July 2009; Accepted 30 July 2009

Konstantin Skvortsov Kaliningrad Museum of History and Art 21 street Klinicheskaia RU-236000, Kaliningrad Russia E-mail: sn\_arch\_exp@mail.ru

ROMĖNIŠKOJO IR DIDŽIOJO TAUTŲ KRAUSTYMOSI LAIKOTARPIŲ SAMBIJOS PUSIASALIO ALEIKOS 3 (BUVĘS JAUGEHNEN) 3-IOJO KAPINYNO RAITELIŲ IR ŽIRGŲ KAPAI

#### Konstantin Skyortsov

#### Santrauka

Iš dabar žinomų Sambijos-Natangijos kultūros kapinynų daugiausia raitelių ir žirgų kapų rasta Aleikos 3-iajame kapinyne (1-2 pav.). Reikia pabrėžti, kad šis paprotys paplinta II a. pirmojoje pusėje ar šio amžiaus viduryje. Sambijos pusiasalyje paprotys laidoti raiteli ir žirga paplinta visiškai susiformavęs. Didelis Aleikos 3-iojo kapinyno radinių analogijų skaičius su Dunojaus regiono kapinynų radiniais leidžia kelti prielaidą apie germany ir sarmaty kontaktus markomany kary metu. Šis paprotys sieja vakarų baltus su germanais, dalyvavusiais šiuose karuose. Nuo to laiko kapai su žirgais išplinta sūduvių ir Vakarų Lietuvos kapinynų su akmenų vainikais kultūrose. Vėlyvajame romėniškajame laikotarpyje šis paprotys iš Sambijos-Natangijos kultūros arealo prasiskverbia į Baltijos jūros salas ir Danija. Danijos Zelandijos saloje Skovgardo kapinyno žirgo kapas 26 datuojamas III amžiumi.

Ankstyviausias Aleikos 3-iojo kapinyno raitelio kapas yra iš II a. antrosios pusės arba tarpsnio  $B_2/C_1$ . Šalia taip pat rasta griautinių kapų iš  $B_{2b}$  laikotarpio. Šios kapinyno dalies kapų chronologija nustatyta remiantis kapų išsidėstymu kapinyne ir tarpusavio ryšiais.

Didžioji dalis raitelių kapų kompleksų chronologiškai yra artimi baigiamosioms markomanų kovoms ir  $\prod$ 

KONSTANTIN SKVORTSOV įvykiams Romos imperijos Dunojaus provincijose (3–14 pav.). Labai gali būti, kad romėniškojo importo ir tarp jų prabangos daiktų gausa Aleikos 3-iajame kapinyne rodo, kad daugiatautė bendruomenė pradėjo prekiauti gintaru ir galbūt net šią prekybą kontroliavo. Aleikos 3-iajame kapinyne palaidoti raiteliai priklausė šios bendruomenės diduomenei iki ankstyviausiojo hunų laikotarpio, kai paskutiniai Vielbarko kultūros centrai išnyko iš Vyslos žemupio. Yra nedidelė tikimybė, kad šie radiniai sietini su numanomu šios daugiatautės bendruomenės atstovų dalyvavimu markomanų karuose, bet kur kas labiau – su jų įsitraukimu į prekybą gintaru.

Aleikos 3-iajame kapinyne rastų žirgų apranga praktiškai nesiskiria nuo Laisvosios Germanijos raitelių aprangos. Kaip tipišką romėnų samdinio ginkluotės pavyzdį galima paminėti Haidelbergo svebų raitelio antkapinio akmens piešinį (13 pav.) ir palyginti jį su Aleikos 3-iojo kapinyno kapo 275 inventoriumi (14 pav.).

Aleikos 3-iojo kapinyno ir kitų tirtų Sambijos-Natangijos kultūros romėniškojo geležies amžiaus paminklų medžiaga leidžia teigti, kad gimininės bendruomenės irimas čia prasidėjo II a. Tai lėmė germanų etninio komponento skverbimasis į baltų aplinką per prekybą gintaru. Šis procesas prasidėjo markomanų karų metu arba tik jam pasibaigus, o jo įtaka ekonominiam ir socialiniam gyvenimui pastebima ne tik Laisvosios Germanijos teritorijoje, bet įvairialypės įtakos palietė ir barbarų žemių periferiją, įskaitant ir Sambijos-Natangijos kultūros teritoriją.

Vertė Audronė Bliujienė