Connections between the
Memelkultur Area and Dollkeim-
Kovrovo Culture According to Data
from Archaeological Archives

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CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE MEMELKULTUR AREA AND DOLLKEIM-KOVROVO CULTURE ACCORDING TO DATA FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARCHIVES

RASA BANYTĖ-ROWELL

Abstract

The author discusses a few examples of artefacts that testify to the contacts between the Balts living in Samland (the Sambian Peninsula) and in the Memelkultur area during the Roman Iron Age. This data was collected from notes and drawings made by Herbert Jankuhn, Marta Schmiedehelm and Kurt Voigtmann. Archival data gives us a chance to interpret similarities in the fashion of wearing of necklaces of similar composition, or rings with similar nodular decoration during the Early Roman Period. The Memelkultur-style brooches found in Samland, and similar status symbols, such as snake-head rings, testify to the strong relations between the two Balt coastal areas during the Late Roman Period.

Key words: Memelkultur, Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture, Samland, mutual contacts, Roman Period, archaeological archives.

Relations between the Dollkeim-Kovrovo and Memellkultur cultural areas has been a subject for discussion among scholars of East Prussian archaeology since the beginning of the 20th century. Nils Åberg, who found '*die Litauische Kultur*' in the Klaipėda region only from the third century AD, associated it very closely with Samland culture. He stressed that despite some differences in the distribution of particular local forms of artefact, the northeast ('Lithuanian') part of East Prussia during the Late Roman Period should be regarded as a 'Samland colony' (Åberg 1919, p.132). Carl Engel, who distinguished the Memelkultur area as a particular culture during the Roman Period, defined the northern and southern parts of the Memelkultur area as Curonian and Scalvian, on the basis of ethnonyms known from the Teutonic Order's chronicles, rather than the differences between the structures of archaeological sites and finds (Fig. 1). This culture appears to be a link between the West Balt Prussian and East Balt Latvian and Lithuanian cultural groups. Engel's realisation that during the Early Roman Period common features could be seen between Memelkultur artefacts and the forms of Samland-Natangian culture, and that Memelkultur later flourished as a specific phenomenon, was important (Engel 1931, p.31; 1932, p.17; 1933, p.271ff.; 1935, p.81ff., p.85ff., Engel, La Baume 1937, p.149ff.). Like Engel, Hari Moora noted how Memelkultur could already be distinguished in the Early Roman Period, but he classified such finds as a whole, without differentiating between the northern and southern groups (Moora 1938, p.599ff., and footnote 1). The works of Adolfas Tautavičius (1968; 1987, p.107ff.) and Mykolas Michelbertas (1986, pp.28-44)

had a special significance in distinguishing the main features of cemeteries in the Lithuanian coastal areas and the lower reaches of the Nemunas. Their studies finally established names for both cultural areas of Memelkultur: Lithuanian cemeteries with stone circle graves, and Lower Nemunas/Memel/Nemen cemeteries. Wojciech Nowakowski established these two names in the German version as Westlitauische Gruppe and Untermemel Gruppe (Nowakowski 1996, p.83ff.). Despite certain differences in burial rites (for example, Lower Nemunas cemeteries lack the more complex stone enclosures that are known in the Lithuanian coastland), both cultural sub-areas of Memelkultur share many common features, especially when we discuss types of finds (Michelbertas 1986, pp.24-44; Nowakowski 1996, p.83ff.; Jovaiša 1997, p.54ff, 58; Banytė Rovell 2001, pp.85-91; Banytė-Rowell 2007a, p.43ff.; 2013a, p.67ff.; Bliujienė 2013, p.485, p.491, Figs. 335-336). Therefore, I decided to present here some connections between West Lithuanian areas using the joint old-fashioned name Memelkultur. One important reason for this decision is the valuable *memellandisch* data of the Early Roman Period from H. Jankuhn's card catalogue, which is now kept in the ZBSA in Schleswig. Jankuhn regarded Memelgebiet as a single cultural area, and determined forms of finds which were characteristic of Memelkultur during the Early Roman Period. Among the local types, he described bracelets with a round cross-section, decorated with small circles with a dot inside or 'eyes'. The distribution map of bracelets in the Southeast Baltic region illustrated that finds of this type in Samland represent the influence of Memelkultur, while the bracelet
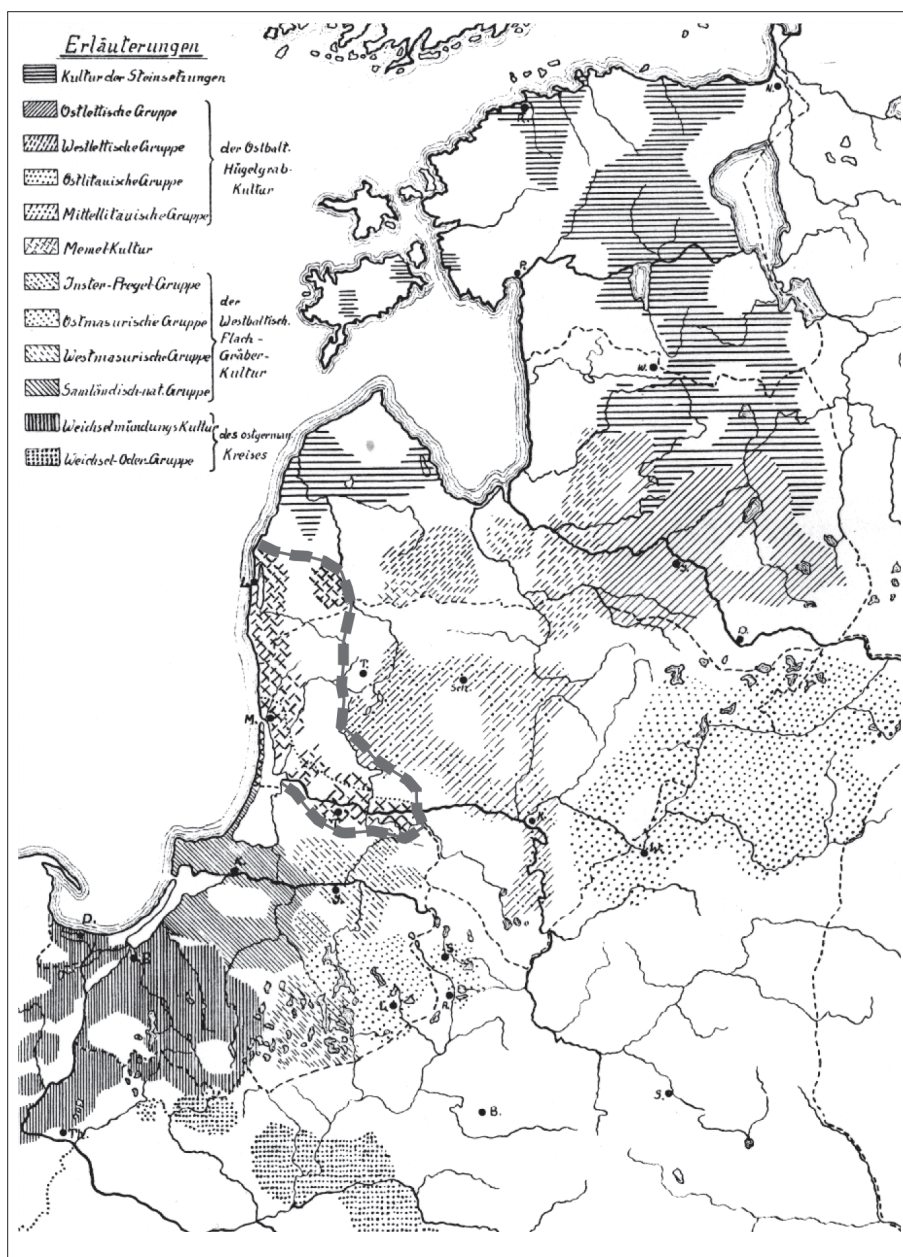
Fig. 1. Cultural areas of the east Baltic region according to C. Engel (1933, Fig. 1). Broken grey line marks approximate borders of the Memelkultur Area acc. to recent archaeological data.

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with profiled ends found in the Barsduhnen/Barzdūnai cemetery near Šilutė is a sign of Samland influences in former Memelgebiet (Jankuhn 1950, p.58ff.). The connections between Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture and the west Lithuanian areas discussed here have been outlined precisely by W. Nowakowski. He stressed that among local types of phase B2, we can find Samland forms in west Lithuania, such as neck-rings with trumpet-shaped ends, eye brooches of the Prussian series, and Almgren 72 brooches. Polompen/Palumpiai female grave in the Lower Nemunas region was regarded by Nowakowski as very similar to Samland ones (Nowakowski 1996, p.83ff.). During the Late Roman Period, Memelkultur features became more independent and local; nevertheless, some finds such as big crossbow brooches with a bent foot, which represent phase 3a of Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture, can also be seen in the light of connections between Samland and west Lithuania. I have marked on the chronological table of Dollkeim-Kovrovo made by Nowakowski types that are also more or less known from Memelkultur cemeteries (Fig. 2).

The main aim of my article is to present a few other examples of finds which illustrate the contacts between the Dollkeim-Kovrovo and Memelkultur culture areas. These signs of relations were detected mostly using archival data from the card catalogues of H. Jankuhn (ZBSA), M. Schmiedehelm (kept in the Ajaloo Institute, Tallinn, Holding 22), and K. Voigtmann (K. Voigtmann-Kartei, SMB-PK/MVF, PM IXc 1).

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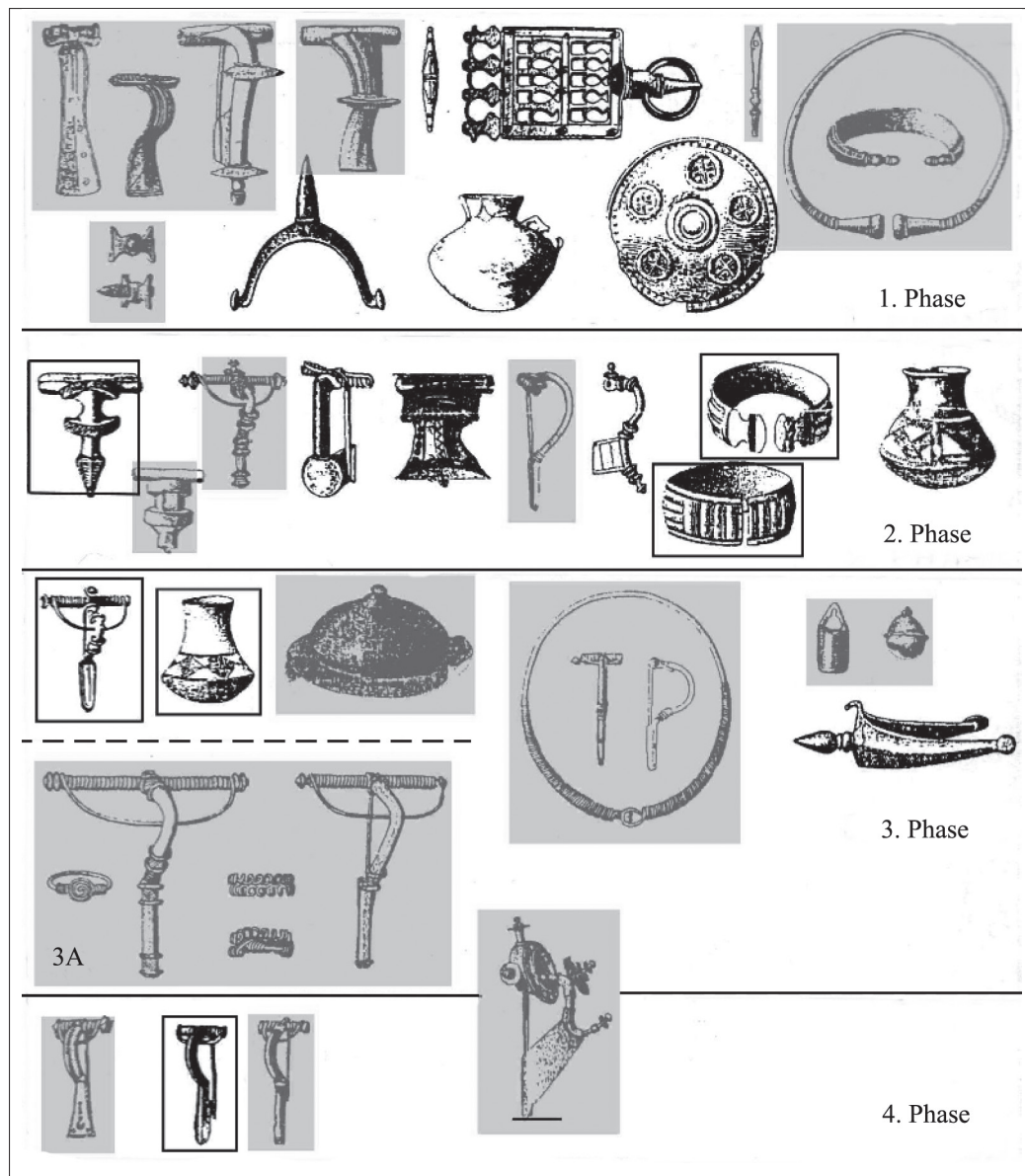from Archaeological Archives

Fig. 2. Chronological indicators of Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture during the Roman Period (according to Nowakowski 1996, Pl.107). Occurrence of same types in the Memelkultur Area are marked in grey by R. Banytė-Rowell; frames surrounding the types mark similar local versions of *Memelkultur*.

First example: necklaces made of glass beads and small bronze rings

The first example comprises necklaces from Early Roman Period graves which were composed of multicolour (mottled) glass beads and small bronze rings, and which should be regarded as a version of TM 527 (Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1985, p.91, Pl. XX). Thanks to H. Jankuhn's card catalogue, we know today what particular types were found in Barsduhnen/Barzdūnai cemetery near Heydekrug/Šilutė, which was excavated by Adalbert Bezzenberger in 1897. In his publication about these excavations, Bezzenberger presented only a few types with pictures, in some cases they were described as 'similar to' (*ähnlich wie*). Necklaces made of glass beads and small bronze rings were found in

Barsduhnen graves III and IX. Bezzenberger only referred to some glass beads as '*ähnlich wie*' in his Table XXI in *Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia*, Vol. 21 (1900, p.114ff., Taf. XXI.30-36). Thanks to H. Jankuhn, we have a full reconstruction of Barsduhnen graves III and IX (Banytė-Rowell 2009, p. 53, Fig. 3) (Fig. 3). The types of glass beads mostly coincide in both Barsduhnen graves (TM 287, 291, 355). In the case of grave III TM 520, bronze beads and TM 277 glass beads were also found, and a glass bead of TM 193 was found only in grave IX. The necklaces are not the only link between these two Barsduhnen graves. Bronze finger-rings of Beckmann type 2 were also found among the grave goods of both graves. The grave set of Barsduhnen Fundstelle III comprised a Beckmann type I pin, two bracelets with profiled ends,

two Beckmann type 2 finger-rings, a bronze needle (*Nähnadel*), and an iron awl. Along with a necklace, Barsduhnen Fundstelle IX contained a brooch with a triangular foot similar to A100, an A61 eye brooch, two bracelets of semi-circular cross-section (Michelbertas Group VI), two Beckmann type 2 finger-rings, an iron *Nähnadel* (or smaller awl), and an iron awl. The Barsduhnen/Barzdūnai necklaces which are composed of multicoloured glass beads and small bronze rings are not the only such cases known from the Memelkultur area. A bracelet of of semi-circular cross-section (Michelbertas Group VI) was found in Pangessen/Pangesai grave 7, together with a short necklace consisting of two profiled bronze rings-beads, two TM 291 glass beads, and two fragments of glass beads (one TM 287?) (Jankuhn archive; see also the description in Bezzenberger 1914, p.156). The same elements (glass beads plus bronze rings) made up the necklaces of Bandužiai cemetery (now in the area of Klaipėda city) grave 91, which was uncovered in 2004 and published in 2007 by Audronė Bliujienė and Ramunė Bračiulienė. Bandužiai grave 91 contained three necklaces (two with bronze elements, including Berlock-shaped and openwork wheel-shaped pendants), an Almgren 72 brooch, bracelets with profiled ends, a bronze needle, and an iron awl (Bliujienė, Bračiulienė 2007, pp.46-56, 62-63; Figs. 3-6). Bracelets, needles and glass and small bronze rings plus bronze TM 520 beads are types found both in Barsduhnen grave III and Bandužiai grave 91. A link through the glass and bronze bead necklaces encourages us to find similarities between Barsduhnen grave IX and Dauglaukis grave 41. Dauglaukis is situated in the Lower Nemunas region; this cemetery was excavated by Eugenijus Jovaiša, who dated grave 41 to phase B2 (Jovaiša 1998). Dauglaukis grave 41 contained, along with two long necklaces (the longer one composed of TM 162-163, TM 287, TM 291 glass beads, of TM 520-521 bronze beads, and of bronze rings, and the other shorter necklace comprised TM 387a and TM 291 glass beads), a brooch with a triangular foot similar to Almgren 100, an eye brooch of the Prussian series, a Beckmann type H pin, bracelets with a round cross section, and spiral rings. The same types of brooches and pin were found in Barsduhnen grave IX. Bronze rings-beads were also used to make necklaces found in Dauglaukis grave 50, where TM 12, 57, 287, 291, 387a, 387b glass beads were used. This grave also contained a pin of Beckmann type H, and was attributed to phase B2 (Jovaiša 1998). All these similarities between the grave goods from Barsduhnen, Bandužiai and Dauglaukis cemeteries suggest that necklaces composed of multicoloured glass beads and bronze beads-rings were put in graves at a particular period in time, which might be defined

as phase B2 – beginning of phase B2/C1. Therefore, it is very interesting to learn, thanks to the study by Agata Chilińska-Früboes (Chilińska-Drapella), that necklaces of a similar composition were worn by the female inhabitants of Samland (Chilińska 2009, pp.99, 100 and 102). This author used various data from archaeological archives for the purpose of reconstructing grave sets with 'Samland belts'. Such belts were not found in Memelkultur, but some other types typical of the 'Samland belt' have been mentioned already with regard to Barsduhnen/Barzdūnai, Bandužiai and Dauglaukis graves: namely, the Almgren 72 brooch, eye brooches of the Prussian series, bracelets with profiled ends, bronze needles, and necklaces of glass and bronze beads and small rings. Chilińska-Früboes specified the most popular types of glass bead in the Samland graves with openwork belts (2010, pp.10-16; Pl. 3.i-m; 5.e-m; 6.e; 14.c-h; 17.h-o, r-x; 19.d-f; 21.c-j; 25.h-o; 30.c-p; 32.d-f, h-j). Most of them (that is, TM 162-163, TM 223g, TM 287b, TM 291, TM 355, TM 387a-b) were mentioned as parts of necklaces with small bronze rings in the Memelkultur cemeteries that we are discussing here. Necklaces of these types of glass beads and small bronze rings should be regarded as a typical find in Samland graves of the Early Roman Period, as finds made during recent decades suggest. The necklace of Groß Ottenhagen/Berezovka grave 119 (2004) was composed of 32 glass beads (types TM 287b-c, TM 366, TM 6, TM 12, and Augenperlen of TM group XXI), and 21 profiled bronze rings-beads (Ibsen, Skvorzov 2005, p.410ff.; Figs. 16, 19, 20). A similar necklace was found in Lauth/Bolshoe Isakovo grave 216 (Skvortsov 2012, p.172, Pl. IV, 1). According to Chilińska-Früboes, most graves with 'Samland belts' should be dated to mature phase B2, while only a small number of specimens originate from phase B2/C1-C1a (Chilińska-Drapella 2010, p.9ff.). Similar chronological borders can be adopted for the necklaces found in the Memelkultur cemeteries under discussion here. This means that the fashion for making necklaces of imported glass beads with small bronze rings and bronze beads flourished at the same time both on the Samland Peninsula and in the Memelkultur area. The glass beads were probably also acquired from the same market. The idea of combining glass beads with small bronze rings may have originated in Samland and spread north. Not only the sea route along the coast, but also the continental route via Pregel-Inster may have served as a channel of communication. This possibility is illustrated by Althof-Insterburg/Cherniachovsk grave 30, known from Jankuhn's card catalogue. This grave contained TM 223, 287, 291 glass beads, TM 520, 522 bronze beads, and small bronze rings. The exceptional status of the deceased individual is

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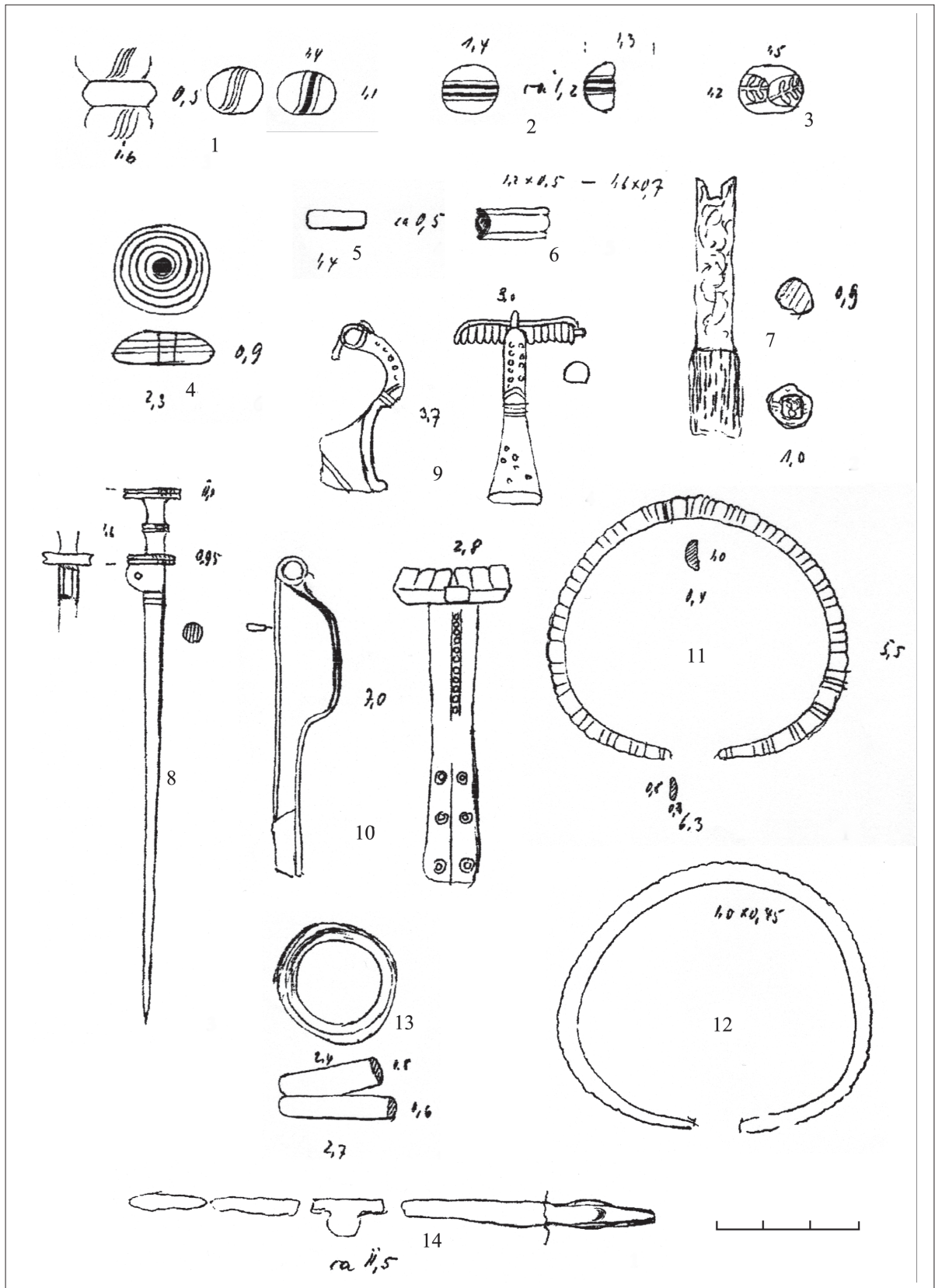Kovrovo Culture According to Data
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Fig. 3. Types from Barsduhnen/Barzdūnai Grave IX: 1 glass beads of TM 291 (8 examples); 2 glass beads of TM 287b (7 examples); 3 a glass bead of TM 355; 4 a glass bead of TM 193; 5-6 small bronze rings-beads (12 examples); 7 a fragment of an iron awl; 8 a bronze pin; 9-10 bronze brooches; 11-12 bronze bracelets; 13 two bronze finger-rings; 14 an iron awl. Drawings and description by H. Jankuhn (Jankuhn archive).

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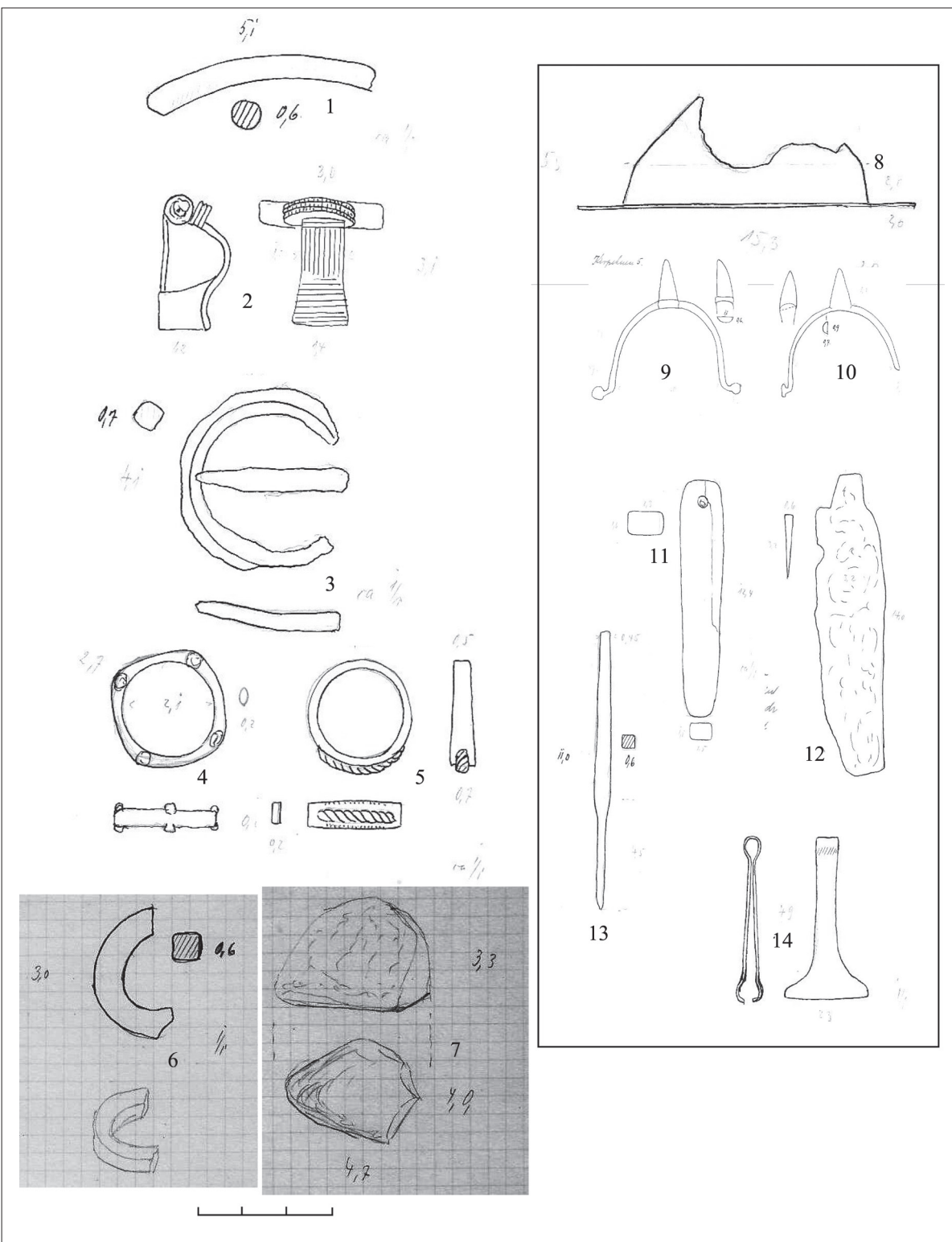CONTEXTS OF
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Fig. 4. Grave goods from Kirpehnen/Povarovka grave V, drawn by H. Jankuhn: 1 a bronze fragment of an unknown artefact; 2 a bronze brooch; 3 a buckle; 4-5 bronze finger-rings; 6 a fragment of an amber ring; 7 a piece of raw amber (Jankuhn also noted five smaller pieces of amber); 8 a shield boss; 9-10 iron spurs; 11 a whetstone; 12 an iron knife; 13 an iron awl (probably from Kirpehnen grave 5); 14 a bronze pincet (Jankuhn Archive). The scale below Nos 1-7 shows the size of the original drawings; Nos 8-14 are not to scale.

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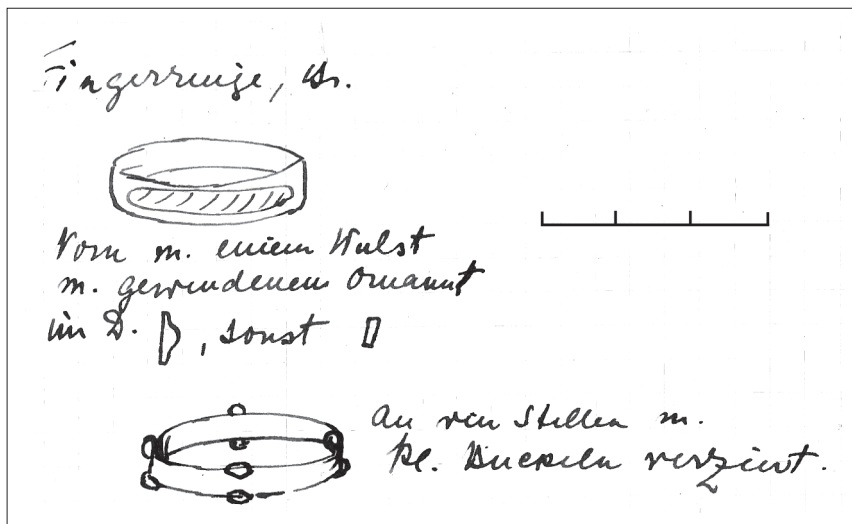Kovrovo Culture According to Data
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Fig. 5. Finger-rings from Kirpehnen/Povarovka grave V, drawn and described by M. Schmiedehelm. The scale shows the size of the drawings (Schmiedehelm archive, AI 9_21_2_1).

represented by bronze details of headdress ornamentation and a Roman openwork brooch (H. Jankuhn archive; the Roman brooch is discussed in this volume by A. Chilińska-Früboes). The idea to use profiled rings-beads also reached northern Lithuania. One bronze ring-bead was found in Pakalniškiai barrow 3 grave 2, which dates to phase B2 (Sawicka, Grižas 2007, pp.171ff., 191; Fig. 4.l)

Second example: finger-rings
decorated with knobs

The inspiration for talking in detail about stylistic similarities concerning ornaments worn by the inhabitants of Samland and west Lithuania comes from the ring from Kirpehnen grave V, which is documented in M. Schmiedehelm's and H. Jankuhn's archives (Figs. 4.4-5; 5). In this grave, two rings were found, both extraordinarily ornamented and close in shape to Beckmann Group I. One of them had a front part decorated with twisted wire. Both rings are of original types, but I would like to draw attention to the second ring, decorated with small knobs. I do not know of other Kirpehnen type rings, but one ring with similar ornamentation was found in Genčai I cemetery grave 275 in the Lithuanian coastland (Stankus 1998a, p.16, Fig. 10; 1998b, p.206ff.; Griciuvienė, Buža 2009, p.19ff.; Figs. 18-23) (Fig. 6.3). The Genčai round cross-section ring is decorated with six knobs in the front part. It seems that Kirpehnen grave V and Genčai I grave 275 are chronologically close. Kirpehnen grave V was distinguished by a rich male grave set, represented by a shield boss, two spurs, an iron awl, a whetstone, an iron buckle, a bronze pincet (tweezers), a piece of amber, a piece of an amber ring (?), a bronze brooch of Almgren group V with features of type Almgren 133, and two bronze finger-rings. According to W. Nowakowski, the brooch

could be dated to the end of phase B2 – beginning of phase B2/C1 (Nowakowski 1998a, p.198ff.; 2013, p.41ff.). Genčai I grave 275 was a male grave, too (Fig. 6). The grave goods were represented by a knife, a socketed axe, a spearhead of Kazakevičius type IVB, two rings (the second one being of Beckmann type 1), and a gold-coloured TM type 387b double glass bead. The bead can be treated as the best chronological indicator in the case of the Genčai grave: this type occurred in the graves of Memelkultur cemeteries which can be dated to the end of phase B2 – phase B2/C1. Type 387 beads were used most in the Barbaricum during phases B2-C1a, and in the area of Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture they were most frequently found in graves from phase B2 (Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1985, p.64ff.). So we may presume that the rings from Kirpehnen grave V and Genčai I grave 275 represent the same trends in the male ring fashion: that is, decoration with small knobs. Small knobs were characteristic of decoration found in Tarand grave culture, in what is nowadays northern Latvia and Estonia (Moora 1929, Pl. IV.3; V.4,8; VI.4,7; 1932, Fig. 24.3; Schmiedehelm 1955, p.93ff., 158; Figs. 22.4; 42.1; Laul 2001, p.107; Figs. 38-39; Lang 2007, p.207ff.; Fig. 126.1). The application of knobs as decorative elements was typical for some brooches similar to A100 found in places from Masuria via Balt areas in Lithuania and Latvia as far as Tarand cemeteries (see Szymański 2005, p.19ff.; Fig. 2; Pl. XXIII.4). The same style is represented by the openwork ring with knobs from Truuta in southern Estonia, which was included by Christine Beckmann as Type 26c in her typology of rings. It was the only example of this type at that time (Beckmann 1969, p.41, Pl. 2). The Truuta ring, with nodular ornamentation, was also published in a better drawing by Silvia Laul (Laul 2001, p.143; Fig. 57: 5) (Fig. 7.1). It is interesting that two rings similar to the Truuta ring

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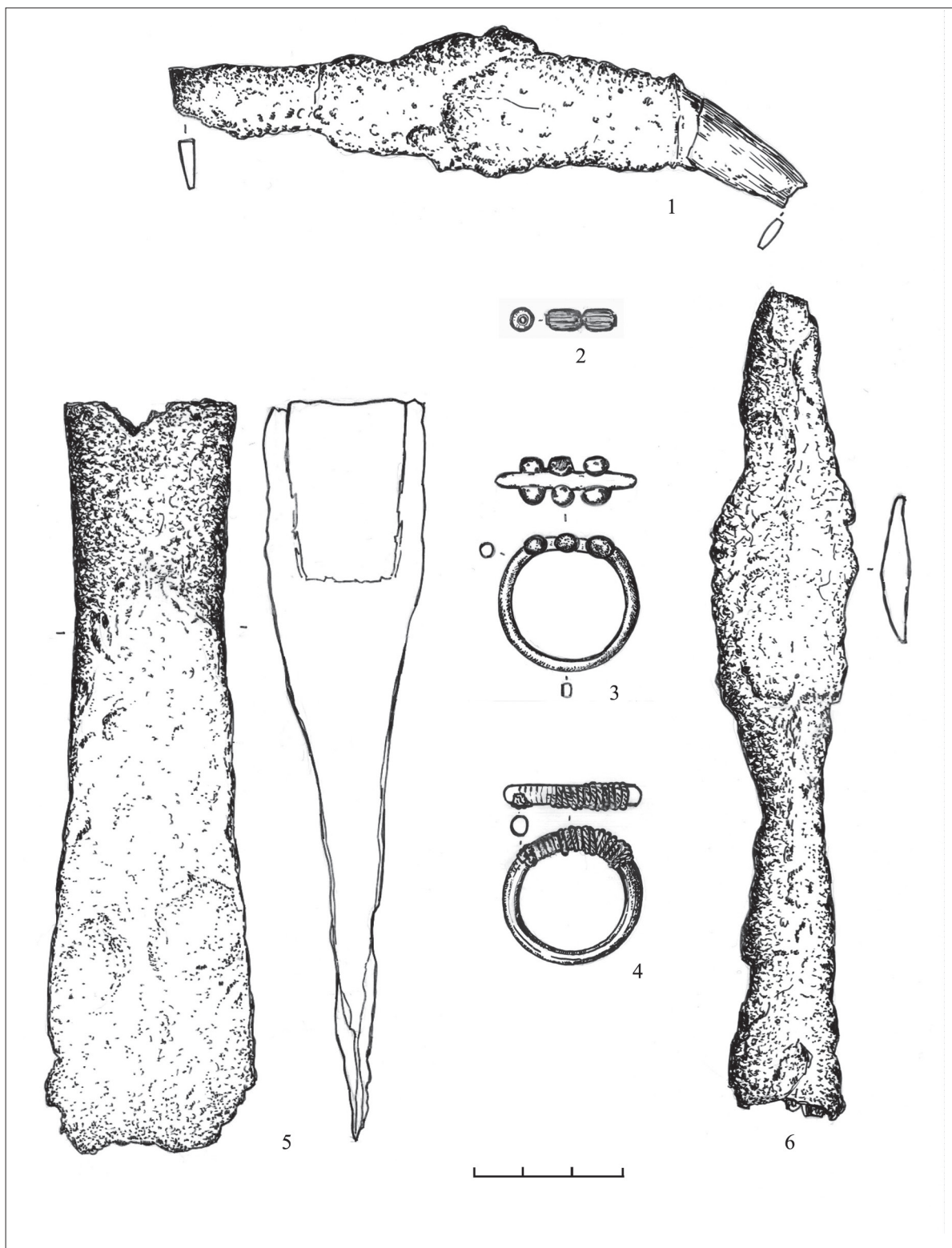CONTEXTS OF
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Fig. 6. Finds from Genčai I cemetery, grave 275 in west Lithuania: 1 an iron knife; 2 a glass bead with gold inlay; 3-4 bronze finger-rings (4 with traces of textiles); 5 an iron socketed axe; 6 an iron spearhead (LNM card-catalogue Inv. Nr. AR 694:2114-2119; drawings by A. Ruzienė).

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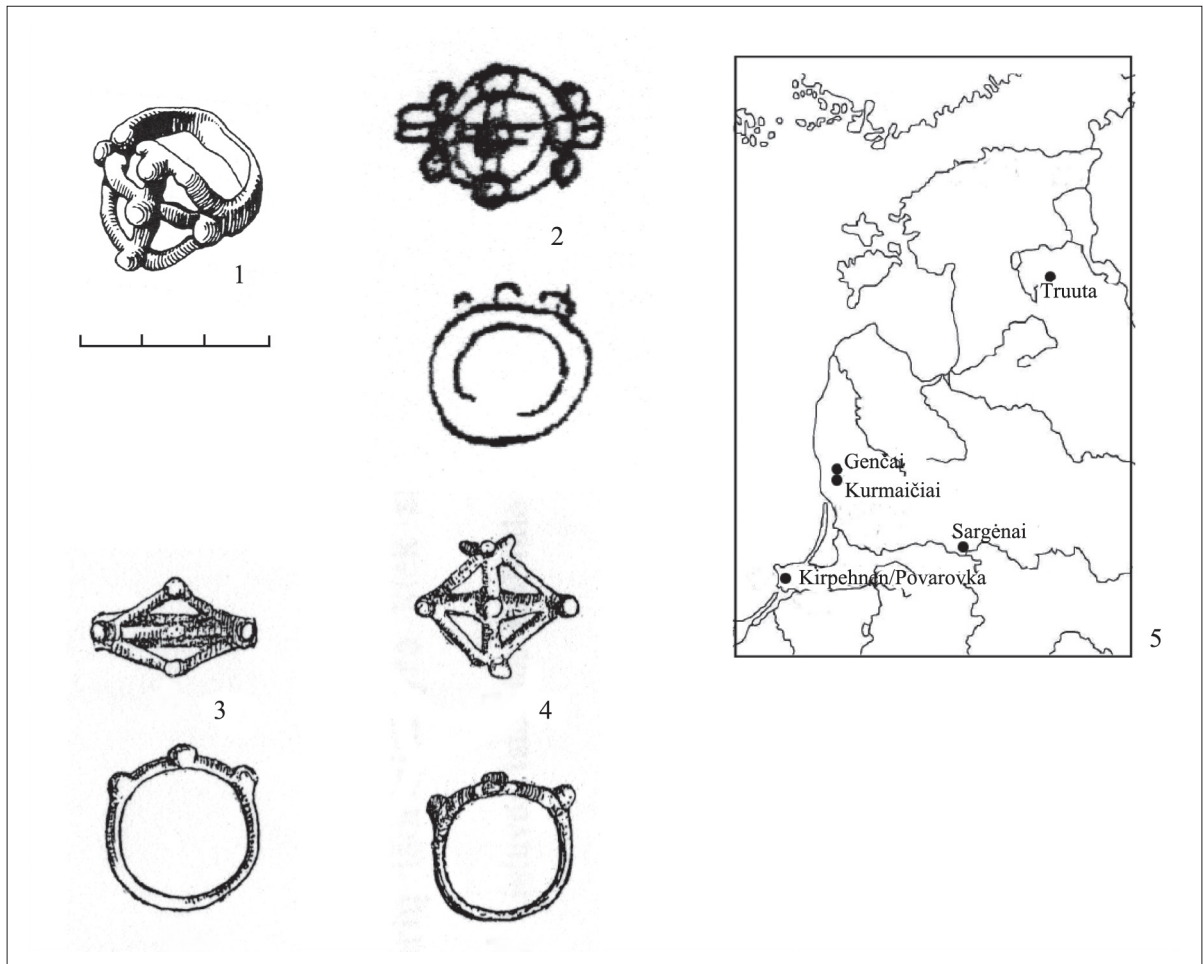Kovrovo Culture According to Data
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Fig. 7. Rings with knob decoration in the east Baltic region (1-4 bronze finger-rings with an openwork front part): 1 a ring from Truuta in Estonia (according to Laul 2001, Fig. 57:5); 2 a ring from Sargėnai grave 13 in central Lithuania (drawing by H. Jankuhn; Jankuhn archive); 3-4 rings from Kurmaičiai cemetery (according to Kulikauskas 1957, Fig. 7: 3,5); 5 a map of the distribution of finger-rings with nodule-decoration discussed in the article.

were found in Kurmaičiai cemetery in the Memelkultur area. Unfortunately, the Kurmaičiai rings are accidental finds from graves of phases B2-B2/C1, which were destroyed by local villagers in 1955 (Kulikauskas 1957, p.147ff.; Fig. 7.3,5) (Fig. 7.3,4). Another similar ring with an openwork front part decorated with knobs is known from Sargėnai grave 13 in central Lithuania. This find was interesting to H. Jankuhn, who made a small drawing of it in Kaunas (Fig. 7.2). Two spiral temple ornaments, a neck-ring with trumpet-shaped terminals, a Beckmann type H pin, a bracelet with a round cross-section (Michelbertas Group III) decorated with 'eyes', and four rings with overlapping terminals, were also found in this Sargėnai grave (Puzinas 1938, p.214ff.; Fig. 27. 1-6, 8). These finds represent phase B2 (Michelbertas 1986, p.151). The Genčai, Kurmaičiai and Sargėnai examples show that the nodular decoration of rings was known in west and central Lithuania, and not only in Estonia. Thus, we may suppose that inhabitants of the Memelkultur area and the Middle Nemunas region were responsible for the

'exchange of the knob idea'[1] further to the west Balt region (Fig. 7.5). This impact is probably represented by the ring from Kirpehnen grave V. The spiral temple ornaments from Sargėnai grave 13 are clearly female grave goods. Therefore, we can presume that similar rings with an openwork part at Kurmaičiai also originated from burials of females. The rings from Genčai I grave 275 and Kirpehnen grave V probably represent a male, more modest, version of finger-rings with nodules.

Third example: brooches
of Memelkultur

It is possible to detect more examples of the influence of the Memelkultur area on Samland in the Late

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[1] Editorial note: the knobs that occur in the Memelkultur area and other Balt and Finno-Ugric territories are also interpreted as a simply technical process (the adornment of ornaments with granules; granulation) that was used by Germans (for this, see: Bliujienė 2013, p.395ff.).

Roman Period when the special features of Memelkultur are more obvious. In some cases, we can talk of imports from west Lithuania. M. Schmiedehelm noted 'Cramm'[2] finds of B7, where a ladder brooch (*Sprossenfibel*) of the Masurian type was found together with a *Sprossenfibel* of the Memel type (Fig. 8). The 'Cramm' finds noted as B7 are probably a mixture of two chronologically different grave sets, because they contained a spindle whorl, a bridle bit, a stirrup (!), an iron buckle and two ladder brooches. The later ornaments are contemporary, and might originate from the same grave set. The Masurian type or Hauptmann Serie 3 variant 1 is attributed to B2/C1-C1a phase (Nowakowski 1998b, p.51; Fig. 14; Hauptmann 1998, p.167; Fig. 1.10; Szymański 2005, p.18ff.; Fig. 13.1). Ladder brooches of Memel type or of Hauptmann Serie 6 are dated by Michelbertas to the end of phase C1a – phase C2 (Michelbertas 1986, p.117; Fig. 37. 2-4). 'Cramm' grave B7 testifies to the coincidence of the use of both types of ladder brooches. Thanks to Schmiedehelm's drawings and notes, it is possible to recognise a fragment of a bronze openwork brooch that was found among other parts of the rich grave set of Grebieten/Okunevo female grave 49 (Fig. 9). The openwork ornamentation of the Grebieten/Okunevo brooch can be compared to a brooch from Šarkai cemetery in west Lithuania (Banytė-Rowell 2011, Fig. 18; 2013a, Fig. 14.1) (Fig. 9.2). The Grebieten brooch probably came from a workshop in the Memelkultur area, where openwork patterns flourished during phase C1, and could be seen on examples of round brooches and pins, chain dividers and pendants, and on rarer occasions, on belt and bridle fittings (Moora 1929, Pl. XI.1-4, 6-7; 1938, pp.196ff., 222-257; Figs. 24.1,2; 29-31; Michelbertas 1986, pp.122ff., 179ff; Figs. 41.1-2; 76.2; Banytė Rovell 2001, pp.56-61, Figs. 70-72; Banytė-Rowell 2007a, p.83ff.; Fig. 27; 2013, p.76ff.; Fig. 9.5-7, 8-9, 11; 14; Bitner-Wróblewska, 2009, pp.380-399; Figs. 2-23; Bliujienė 2013, p.84, p.380ff., p.386ff.; Figs. 25.2-4; 250.2: 1,3; 253-256; 257.3; 258.1-4; Vaska 2013). The rich variety of openwork ornaments in the Memelkultur area is represented by the round brooches and pins which were most popular in the first half of the third century. Another part of the east Baltic region where brooches of a similar style were produced locally is the Tarand grave area in northern Latvia and Estonia (Moora 1929, Pl. VII.1-5, 7-9; Laul 2001, pp.108-114; Figs. 40-42; Banytė-Rowell, Bitner-Wróblewska 2005, p.110ff.; Fig. 5; Lang 2007, p.208ff.; Fig. 127-128; Vaska 2013, pp.23-107; Fig. 7.10-14). Looking at the

grave goods of Grebieten/Okunevo grave 49, we can say that they belonged to a 'traveller', as we can see a container key among them. The key should be attributed to Kokowski type A. The tradition of placing a key in a grave was Germanic, and it is treated as a symbol of the deceased individual's higher status (Kokowski 1997, pp.14, 25ff., 29ff., Figs. 18; 19.23-27; 37-38). Other grave goods from Grebieten/Okunevo grave 49 represent a mixture of Balt and Germanic types. A crossbow brooch decorated with ringlets of Tischler/Kemke type III: 17, six iron *Schellenberlocks*, a fragment of an openwork brooch, and three spindle whorls, clearly represent the Balt tradition. A key, an iron bucket-shaped pendant, and a banded pendant (*Anhänger in Bronzefassung*) are artefacts of Germanic style or origin. The coins of Antonius Pius and of Faustina the Younger, and glass beads, are popular Roman imports of the second half of phase C1a – phase C1b (for the distribution of Roman coins in Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture, see Nowakowski 1996, p.75). It is impossible today to say whether the deceased female in Grebieten/Okunevo grave 49 was connected personally to areas near the Lithuanian coast, but at least someone who took part in the burial ceremony had connections, or intended to demonstrate them.

Fourth example: archive data as an important source for the distribution and chronology of Balt snake-head rings and the context of grave sets

A fourth example should prove that mutual, shall we say 'mafia', connections flourished between Samland, Masuria, and the Memelkultur area during the Late Roman Period. I would like to show the distribution of Balt snake-head rings. Imitations of Scandinavian Beckmann types 39-40 are typical not only of West Balt areas (also covering the area which is now western Lithuania), but also the Tarand grave area in what is now Estonia (Quast 2004, p.256ff.; Figs. 10-11; Banytė-Rowell, Bitner-Wróblewska 2005, p.113ff.; Fig. 7; Banytė-Rowell 2007b, pp.17-24, Fig. 4.5). These finds reveal contacts between opposite shores of the Baltic Sea in the Late Roman Period, especially during C1b-C2. Archaeological archive data is of great importance for this research. When preparing articles about finds of these rings on the eastern Baltic coast during 2002-2007, I collected information using published sources. In 2008 and 2010, thanks to various people and institutions, I had a chance to study Schmiedehelm's archive in Tallinn, and to collect material from H. Jankuhn's archive in Schleswig, and K. Voigtmann's card catalogue in Berlin. This material, available only in archive

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[2] M. Schmiedehelm put several sheets from Cramm into one envelope marked 'Cramm Fischhausen'. The finds probably originated from the Craam/Grachevka cemetery (see Nowakowski 1996. p.149; Schmiedehelm/ 2011, p.221, no. 241).

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Kovrovo Culture According to Data
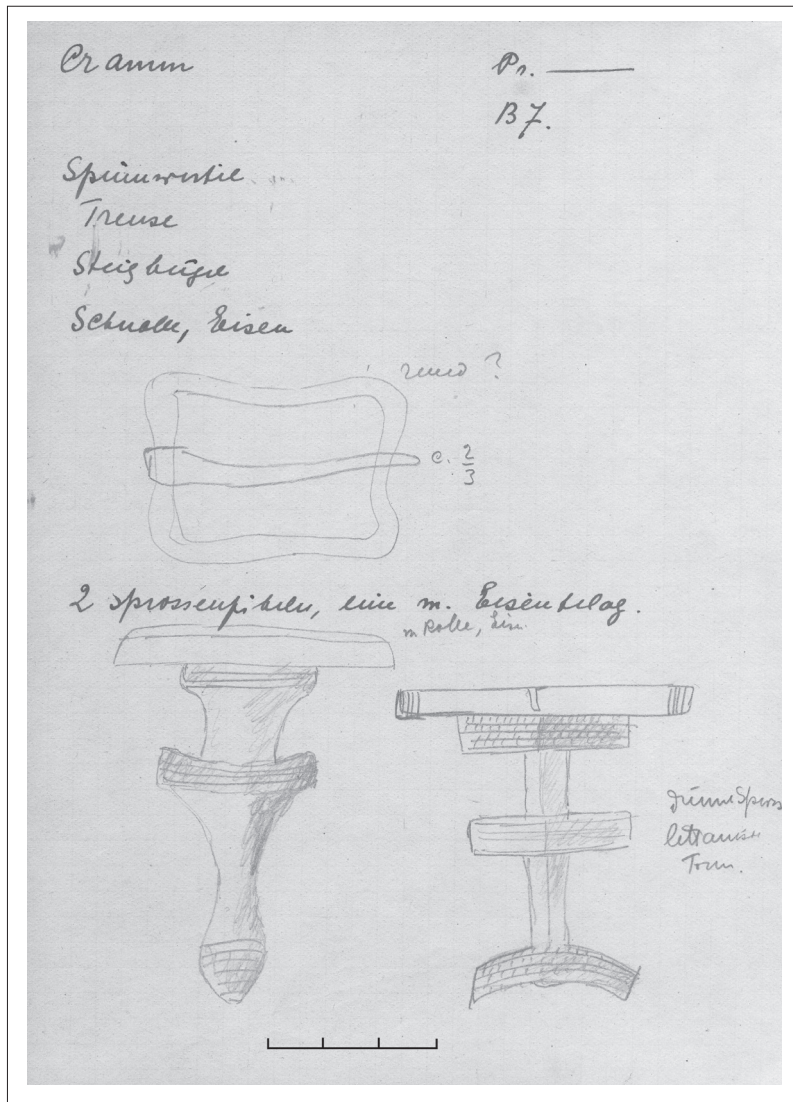from Archaeological Archives

Fig. 8. Drawings and descriptions of finds from 'Cramm' finds B7, made by M. Schmiedehelm. The scale shows the original size of the drawings (Schmiedehelm archive, AI 9_21_2_1).

form, helped me to supplement the list of Balt-made snake-head rings. As a result, the distribution map of Balt snake-head rings has altered considerably (compare maps: Banytė-Rowell 2007b, Fig. 4 and 2013b, Fig. 7). In 2007, it was possible to date Balt snake-head rings on the grounds of four grave sets in Memelkultur area cemeteries, which were attributed to a period from C1b-C2 to the beginning of C3. A recent analysis of archive material shows that Balt imitations of snake-head rings were placed in graves as early as phase C1a. Grebieten grave 85 (now Okunevo) belongs to the group of the earliest graves with Balt-made snake-head rings (Fig. 10). This grave contained a bronze snake-head ring, along with two ladder brooches ('like Tischler/Kemke Type II:14'), a fragment of a crossbow brooch decorated with ringlets ('like Tischler/Kemke Type III:14'), bronze pincers, a bronze needle, and a spindle (M. Schmiedehelm archive). According to Schmiedehelm's sketch, the ladder brooches were not of 'pure Masurian type' as in the Tischler, Kemke sketch (1902, p.1902, Pl. II.14), because it had a broader and shorter

bottom ladder. This was probably a ladder brooch of the second variation of the third series according to Hauptmann, which is associated with phase B2/C1-C1a (Hauptmann 1998, p.167). On the basis of brooch chronology, we can date Grebieten 85 to no later than the decades at the turn of C1a and C1b. A very similar collection of brooches with a snake-head ring was found in Masuria in wealthy grave 43 at the cemetery in Landskron (now Smolanka in the Bartoszyce district). H. Jankuhn sketched a ladder brooch, a brooch decorated with ringlets with a bent foot (originally with a double bow?, a variation of A 161-162), and a silver brooch with a high catchplate (A211) (H. Jankuhn archive, Nowakowski 2013, Pl. 64). A bronze Roman coin was found in Landskron grave 43, but it is not clear when it was minted. Nowakowski dates Landskron grave 43 to C1a (Nowakowski, 2001, p.99; Nowakowski 2013, pp.143, 158-159). Grebieten grave 85 and Landskron grave 43 show that Balt-made snake-head rings came to be placed in graves as early as C1a, that is, at the same time as Scandinavian Beckmann

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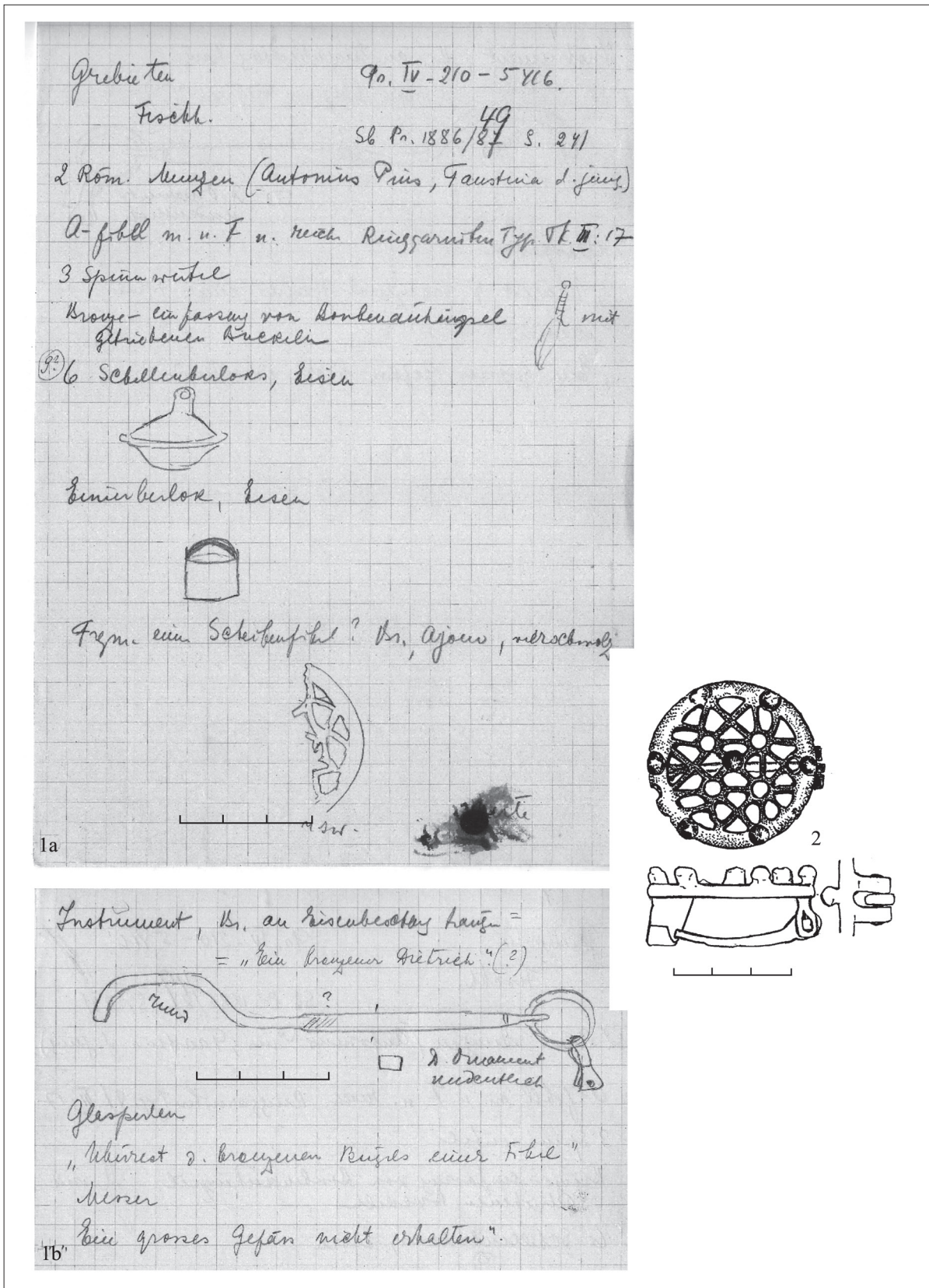CONTEMPORARY
ARCHAEOLOGY

Fig. 9. 1a-1b drawings and descriptions of finds from Grebieten/Okunevo grave 49, by M. Schmiedehelm. The scales show the original size of the drawings (Schmiedehelm archive, AI 9_21_3_33); 2 an openwork brooch found in Šarkai cemetery in west Lithuania (LNM card-catalogue Inv. Nr. AR 528:242; drawings by A. Ruzienė; Banytė-Rowell 2011, Fig. 18).
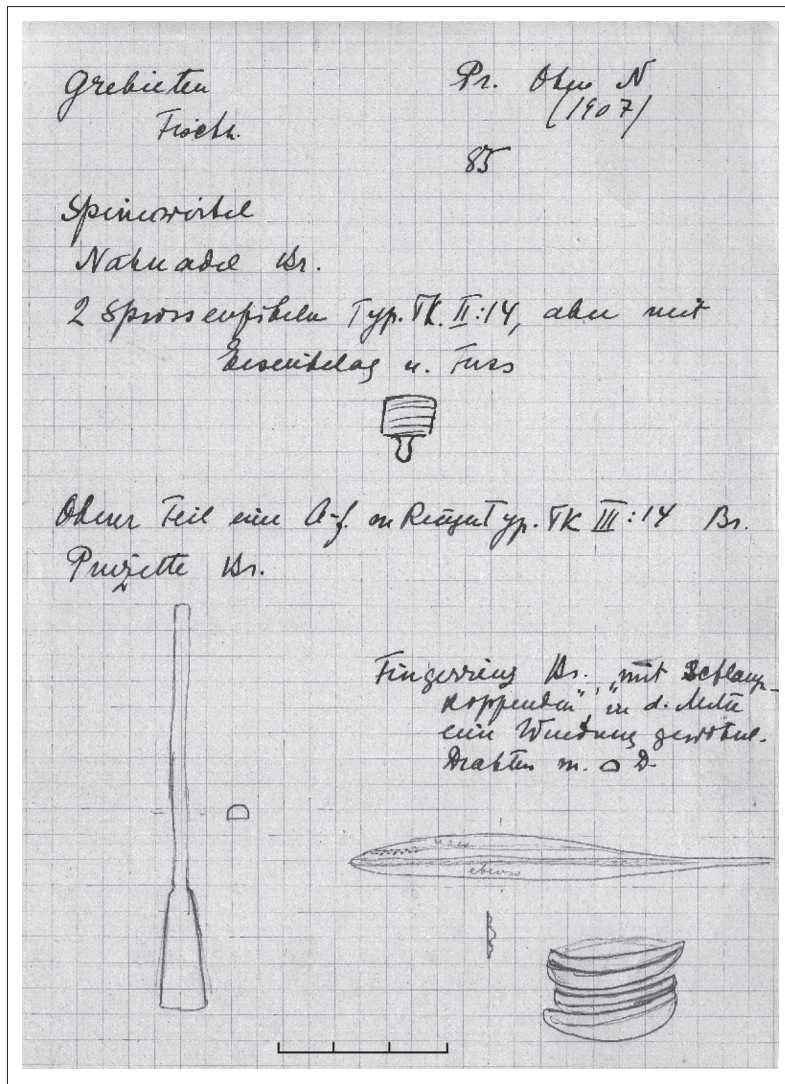
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Fig. 10. Drawings and descriptions of finds from Grebieten/Okunevo grave 85, by M. Schmiedehelm. The scale shows the original size of the drawings (Schmiedehelm archive, AI 9_21_3_196).

40 rings, which appeared in C1 and continued in use in C2 (Andersson 1993, p.86). The Samland graves with rings such as those discussed here and similar crossbow brooches with a bent foot (A161, 167 variations), Roman coins, and iron bell-shaped pendants (*Schellenberlocks*), should be dated slightly later, that is, to phase C1b. These are Grebieten/Okunevo graves 16, 28; Greibau grave 180a, Tenkieten/Letnoe grave 156 (Schmiedehelm archive, AI 9_21). The snake-head rings found in all these, apart from Grebieten/Okunevo 16, were made of silver, as were most west Lithuanian rings. Undoubtedly, snake-head rings were a sign of rank. The graves at Bandužiai 74 and Baitai 31 are among the wealthiest Late Roman Period graves in west Lithuania (Banytė-Rowell, Bitner-Wróblewska, Reich 2012, pp.209, 212, 214; Fig. 10). The graves we have cited from the Dollkeim-Kovrovo area are also remarkable for their wealth. Greibau 180a and Tenkieten/Letnoe 156 stand out. Both contained a silver neck-ring with coiled-wire terminals with a hook and a loop, parts from a belt decorated with silver (including

a small notched wire), and silver and silver-decorated crossbow brooches with a bent foot (Greibau, grave 180a) (Fig. 11a-b). There was an impressive collection of supplementary grave goods in Tenkieten/Letnoe 156: four arrowheads, two shield bosses, a socketed axe, a knife or scythe, scissors, a saw, an iron fish-hook, two whetstones and a ceramic pot (M. Schmiedehelm archive, AI 9_21; Nowakowski, 1996, p.46; Pl. 87.3-5). Such a wealth of grave goods caused Nowakowski to wonder whether these finds might not have come from several disturbed graves. This possibility is credible, but on the other hand, the sets of grave goods we have noted here with snake-head rings from Samland were also quite wealthy. Grave sets with snake-head rings from the Bogaczewo culture area in Masuria are not so eloquent in their wealth. Although most of the snake-head rings found in Masuria are bronze, some were made of silver (Macharren, now Machary, 148 – Schmiedehelm archive). If a silver ring showed its owner was of a higher rank than the owner of a bronze one, we may presume that Samland and the Lithuanian
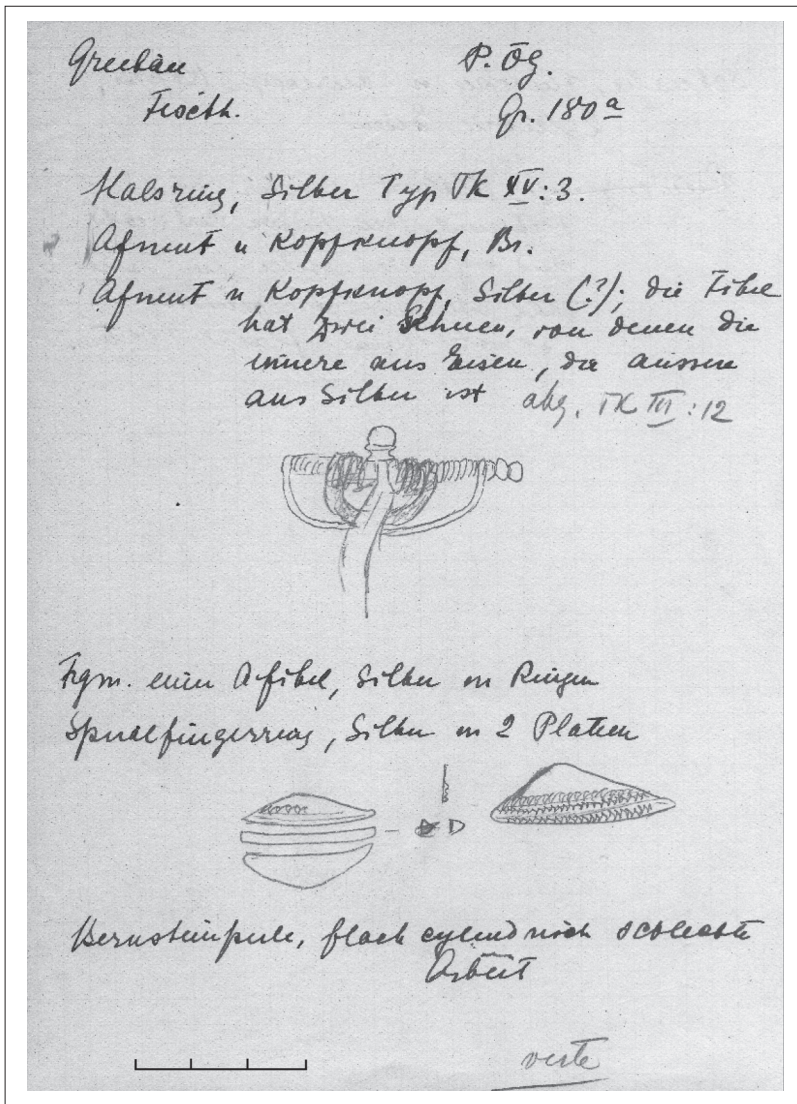
Fig. 11a. The front page with descriptions and drawings of finds from Greibau grave 180a, by M. Schmiedehelm. The scale shows the original size of the drawings (Schmiedehelm archive, AI 9_21_4_45).

coastland were more important areas in some respect than west Masuria when the inhabitants of all three areas demonstrated rank in a common network of West Balt communication. But this presumption might be false: perhaps the 'local mafia' of the Late Roman Age had equal positions in the Samland, Masuria and west Lithuanian areas. They all had ways of being active in the market of goods and ideas which came across the Baltic Sea during the Late Roman Period.

Conclusions

The few examples presented here illustrate only a few aspects of the complicated communication network which operated between inhabitants of the Dollkeim-Kovrovo and Memelkultur areas. In some cases, relations shown by various types of finds in both areas lead to other questions, such as the ways and direction of the distribution of Roman imports (in the case of similar necklaces from the Early Roman Period), or the importance of communications between the West

Balts and the northeast Baltic region and Scandinavia (in the case of similar types of rings). Data from archaeological archives are an invaluable source for further research.

The Memelkultur-style brooches found in the graves in the 'Cramm' (Craam/Grachevka?) and Grebieten/Okunevo cemeteries testify to the mobility of life along the coast from Samland as far as the Lithuanian coastland during the Late Roman Period. Grave goods from Grebieten/Okunevo grave 49 symbolise the interface of Balt and Germanic traditions in Samland. This should probably be interpreted as a sign of 'cultural integrity': the interests of the inhabitants of Samland turned in various directions, in this case towards contact with Germanic neighbours in the West, and at the same time towards the culturally related inhabitants of the Memelkultur area.

From data recorded in the archaeological archives of H. Jankuhn and M. Schmiedehelm, the chronology of the appearance of Balt snake-head rings used in the areas of Dollkeim-Kovrovo and Bogaczewo cultures can

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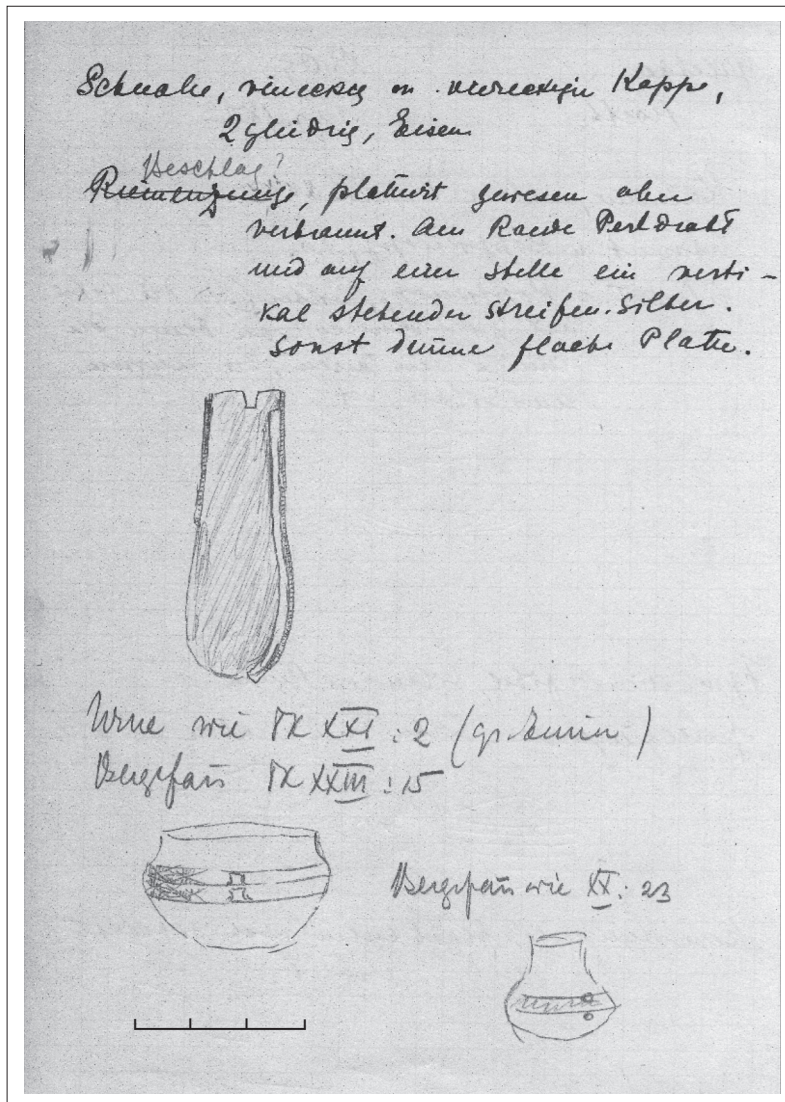Kovrovo Culture According to Data
from Archaeological Archives

Fig. 11b. The reverse page with descriptions and drawings of finds from Greibau grave 180a, by M. Schmiedehelm. The scale shows the original size of the drawings (Schmiedehelm archive, AI 9_21_4_45).

be fixed precisely to phase C1a. This shows that Balt imitations of finger-rings were synchronic with the Scandinavian originals of the snake-head style. There are no such examples found in the graves of phase C1a of Memelkultur. Therefore, it is possible to propose that this type of ornament spread here during phases C1a-C2, that is, in the time when these finger-rings were most often placed in graves in Samland and Masuria. Of course, this hypothesis may be challenged in the future. Fully recorded grave sets with Balt snake-head rings show that these finger-rings were a sign of a higher status, which was recognised by the Balts from the Samland peninsula, and the Masurian Lakeland as far as the areas of Memelkultur.

Acknowledgments

Abbreviations

Arch. Baltica – Archaeologia Baltica (Vilnius 1995–2002, Klaipėda 2006 –)

Arch. Lituana – Archaeologia Lituana (Vilnius 1999 –)

AI – Tallina Ülikooli Ajaloo Instituut (Institute of History, Tallinn University)

Lietuvos arch. – Lietuvos archeologija (Vilnius 1979–)

LIIR – Lietuvos istorijos institutas, Archyvas (Lithuanian Institute of History, Archive), Vilnius.

LNM – Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus (National Museum of Lithuania), Vilnius.

MADA – Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademijos Darbai, A. Serija (Vilnius 1955 to 1998)

ZBSA – Zentrum für Baltische und Skandinavische Archäologie (Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloß Gottorf)

SMB-PK/MVF, PM IXc 1 – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Archiv (SMB-PK/MVF), Akten des Prussia-Museums Königsberg i.Pr. und des Ostpreußischen Landesamt für Vorgeschichte (PM IXc 1)

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RYŠIAI TARP VADINAMOSIOS *MEMELKULTUR* AREALO IR DOLLKEIMO-KOVROVO KULTŪROS ARCHEOLOGINIŲ ARCHYVŲ DUOMENIMIS

RASA BANYTĖ-ROWELL

Santrauka

Straipsnyje aptariamas ryšių tarp dviejų baltų kultūrų – Dollkeimo-Kovrovo Semboje ir vadinamosios *Memelkultur* Lietuvos pajūryje ir Nemuno žemupyje – abipusių ryšių klausimas romėniškuoju laikotarpiu, remiantis H. Jankuhno, M. Schmiedehelm ir K. Voigtmanno archeologiniais archyvais. Carlo Engelio išskirta *Memelkultur*, kuri šiandieninėje archeologinėje literatūroje apima dvi kultūrines grupes – Vakarų Lietuvos kapinynus su akmenų vainikais ir Nemuno žemupio kapinynus, – iš tiesų pagal paplitusių artefaktų tipus romėniškuoju laikotarpiu yra gana vientisas arealas, jei nepaisysime tam tikrų laidosenos skirtumų. Šiame tekste senamadiška vokiška sąvoka *Memelkultur* vartojama dar ir dėl to, kad minėti archeologai, kurių užrašais čia remiamasi, ją taip pat traktavo kaip visumą.

Pirmas pavyzdys yra ankstyvojo romėniškojo laikotarpio vėriniai iš stiklo karolių ir mažų žalvarinių žiedelių. Tiek Semboje, tiek Vakarų Lietuvos arealuose jie buvo sudaryti iš labai panašių stiklinių karolių kompozicijų. Populiariausi buvo TM 162–163, TM 223, TM 287, TM 291 tipai. Tai leidžia daryti prielaidą, kad stiklo karoliai B2 periode – B2/C1 periodo pirmojoje pusėje buvo įsigyjami toje pačioje rinkoje, o idėja juos derinti su žalvariniais žiedeliais greičiausiai kilo Semboje, ir ši mada paplito toliau į šiaurę.

Antras pavyzdys – spurgeliais puošti žiedai, rasti Genčių I vyro kape 275 ir Kirpehnen vyro kape V, kurie skirtini B2 periodo pabaigai – B2/C1 periodo pirmajai pusei. Šie žiedai nėra identiški, tačiau jų formoms naudotas spurgelių motyvas, kuris sieja visą Rytų Baltijos regioną. Žiedų ažūrine priekine dalimi, puošta spurgeliais, buvo rasta Estijoje (Truuta), Vakarų Lietuvoje (Kurmaičiai) ir Vidurio Lietuvoje (Sargėnai, kapas 13). Greičiausiai pastarieji buvo moteriška tokio stiliaus žiedų versija.

Trečias pavyzdys – vadinamojo klaipėdietiško stiliaus segių radiniai Sembos vėlyvojo romėniškojo laikotarpio kapinynuose. Klaipėdietiška laiptelinė segė Craam kape B7 buvo rasta kartu su mozūriškojo tipo sege,

o turtingame įkapių Grebieten kape 49 buvo rastas apskritos ažūrinės segės, kuri greičiausiai pagaminta Lietuvos pajūryje, fragmentas. Pastarasis kapas yra įdomus dėl mišraus įkapių pobūdžio: žieduotoji lankinė segė lenkta kojele, klaipėdietiška ažūrinė segė, geležiniai varpelio formos kabučiai yra baltiškos formos, o kibirėlio formos kabutis ir kabutis, aptaisytas viela, bei raktas atstovauja germaniškos kilmės įkapėms ar jų imitacijoms. Grebieten kapas 49, kuris skirtinas C1a antrajai pusei – C1b periodui, simbolizuoja Sembos gyventojų ryšius tiek vakarų, tiek šiaurės kryptimi.

Ketvirtas pavyzdys – tai grįžimas prie baltiškųjų gyvatgalvių žiedų chronologijos klausimo, kurį leidžia diskutuoti archyviniai duomenys. Jie rodo, kad ankstyviausi šio tipo žiedai Semboje ir Mozūruose pradėti į kapus dėti C1a periode, o tai sinchronizuoja šią baltišką formą su pirminių „originalių" gyvatgalvių žiedų plitimo pradžia Skandinavijoje. Kol kas *Memelkultur* areale rastieji baltiški gyvatgalviai žiedai datuojami nuo C1b–C2 periodų. Taigi greičiausiai skandinaviškųjų prestižo simbolių imitacijos idėja kilo Semboje, o ne Lietuvos pajūryje. Archyviniai duomenys gerokai papildė šių žiedų paplitimo žemėlapius (plg. Banytė-Rowell 2007b; 2013b), suteikė svarbių duomenų apie kapų kompleksus, kurie liudija, kad Sembos, Mozūrų ežeryno ar *Memelkultur* arealo gyventojai vėlyvuoju romėniškuoju laikotarpiu naudojosi tomis pačiomis Baltijos regiono komunikacinėmis linijomis ir mėgo tuos pačius statusą pabrėžiančius ženklus.

I

ARCHIVAL MATERIALS IN THE CONTEXTS OF CONTEMPORARY ARCHAEOLOGY