

DISC BROOCHES OF DOLLKEIM-KOVROVO CULTURE. THE QUESTION OF THE ORIGIN OF ORNAMENTS IN THE SOUTHEAST BALTIC IN THE FIRST CENTURIES AD

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Abstract

Disc brooches of Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture attributed to the Early Roman Period are characterised by the complicated archaeological context. Distant analogies in Roman disc brooches, the different morphology and technique leave open the question of their origin. This article proposes an analysis based on the verification of archival data, publications and surviving archaeological items from the collection of the former Prussia-Museum.

Key words: Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture, Roman influence, disc brooches, enamel specimens, openwork ornamentation, Baltic Sea region, Early Iron Age traditions, amber exchange.

Introduction

Disc brooches dated to the early stage of Dollkeim-Kovrovo (or Sambian-Natangian) culture are known as a category of grave goods from the second half of the 19th century (Hensche 1869, p.147, Taf. 3; Tischler, Kemke 1902, p.16ff.). For a long time, this data has been available solely from prewar publications (see Bezzenberger 1909, p.48, Fig. 21; Heydeck 1909a, p.213, Taf. XXXVI; Bezzenberger, Peiser 1914, p.230; Gaerte 1929, Fig. 132. a, 140. b, 146. a), which made the concept of their genesis schematic. They are usually called *Scheibenfibel*; but the terms *zapinki tarczowe* (Okulicz 1973, p.375) and *Zierscheibe* (Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1989, Fig. 37) are also used. In Russian historiography, the name fibulae-brooches is applied (Ambroz 1966), but usually for the broad group of artefacts.

Thanks to data from the archives of H. Jankuhn, F. Jakobson and M. Schmiedehelm, the depositories of the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte and the Kaliningrad Region History and Art Museum, the opportunity has arisen to observe this category of ornament in a new light. Only the formal adjacency with Roman brooches in morphology, the different technique, and the absence of enamel fields, leave the question of their origin open. It seems that an analysis of a wide range of specimens, different not merely in their style and decoration, but also in the construction of the clasp, and the technique, could help us to find some answers to our questions about the character of the formation of new categories of ornament in the southeast Baltic in the Early Roman Period.

Material

The typology which in our opinion defines the character and prototypes of disc brooches should be based on: 1) aspects of technique, their form and dimension; 2) the form of fastening and the construction of the clasp; 3) the ornamentation.

Stamped brooches clasped with a pin

Brooches with concentric circles (bands) in relief, of different thicknesses, occur in Kovrovo grave 14a (Fig. 1.1), Kostrovo II grave 30 (Fig. 1.4), Lehndorf grave C (Fig. 1.3–3a). Specimens from Kovrovo grave 30, and Putilovo grave 1 were ornamented in addition with a stamp (Figs. 2.1, 1.2). A brooch from Kovrovo grave 4 could also belong to this type (Fig. 1.5). The diameter of the items is about 4.4 to 8.6 centimetres, and known by data from Kostrovo II grave 30 and Kovrovo grave 14a.

Brooches from Klincovka grave IV and Kovrovo grave 35b, ornamented with relief circles with crosses and grains in the centre and at the edge of the disc, should be regarded as versions (Fig. 2.2,4). The diameter of the specimen from Kovrovo is about six centimetres.

Artefacts from Orehovo grave 8 and Rovnoe grave 26, adorned with concentric circles and zones with S-shaped relief stamps (Fig. 2.3,5), are also defined by the convex central part. The diameter of the brooch from Orehovo is about 5.4 centimetres, the item from Rovnoe is smaller, about 3.7 centimetres.

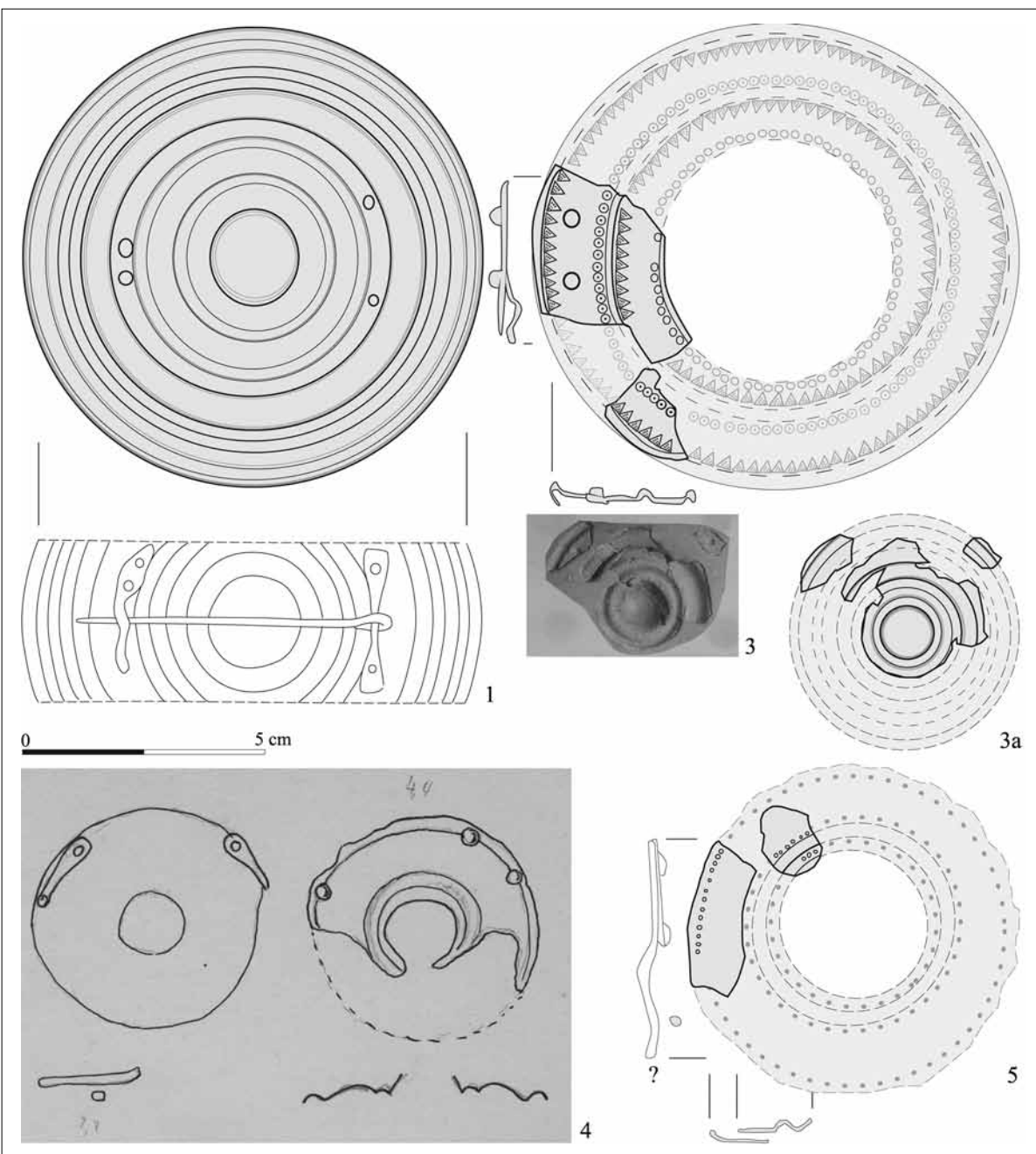


Fig. 1.1, 1a Kovrovo grave 14a; 2 Putilovo grave 1; 3,3a Lehndorf grave C; 4 Kostrovo II grave 30; 5 Kovrovo grave 4 (I Tischler, Kemke, 1902 Taf. VIII.1; 2-5 H. Jankuhn archive. Brooch reconstructions by O. Khomiakova).

A group of stamped brooches is also presented by a specimen from Putilovo grave 2, which is characterised by the umbo-shaped central part, and the disc ornamented with radial axes (Fig. 3.1–2).

An analysis of the surviving artefacts from the collection of the former Prussia-Museum, comparing them with archival data and published sources, allows us to consider them to have been produced with identical technical methods, which at the same time can be described as rather primitive. A metal plate (about 0.5 to 0.8 or 0.96 millimetres thick) could have been used as a blank. The relief ornamentation was not moulded. It was made without a matrix, by pressing with a soft

pad/support. Punches were used: all the elements (circles, axes and grains) are rough and unequal (Fig. 3.3–5). Some of the elements were probably applied with a chisel (Fig. 3.6). The edge was worked by rolling (Fig. 3.7). The central part of the umbo-shaped specimens was knocked out (Fig. 3.1–2,6).

The construction of a clasp is represented by the brooch from Putilovo grave 2. The pin was made from wire; it was fixed by twisting it around a flat-ended bow, and fixed on the body by small rivets. The end of the pin was put in a bracket and placed on the opposite end (Fig. 3.8–9), which also was fixed by clinches. All the elements were forged. The weight of the specimens is

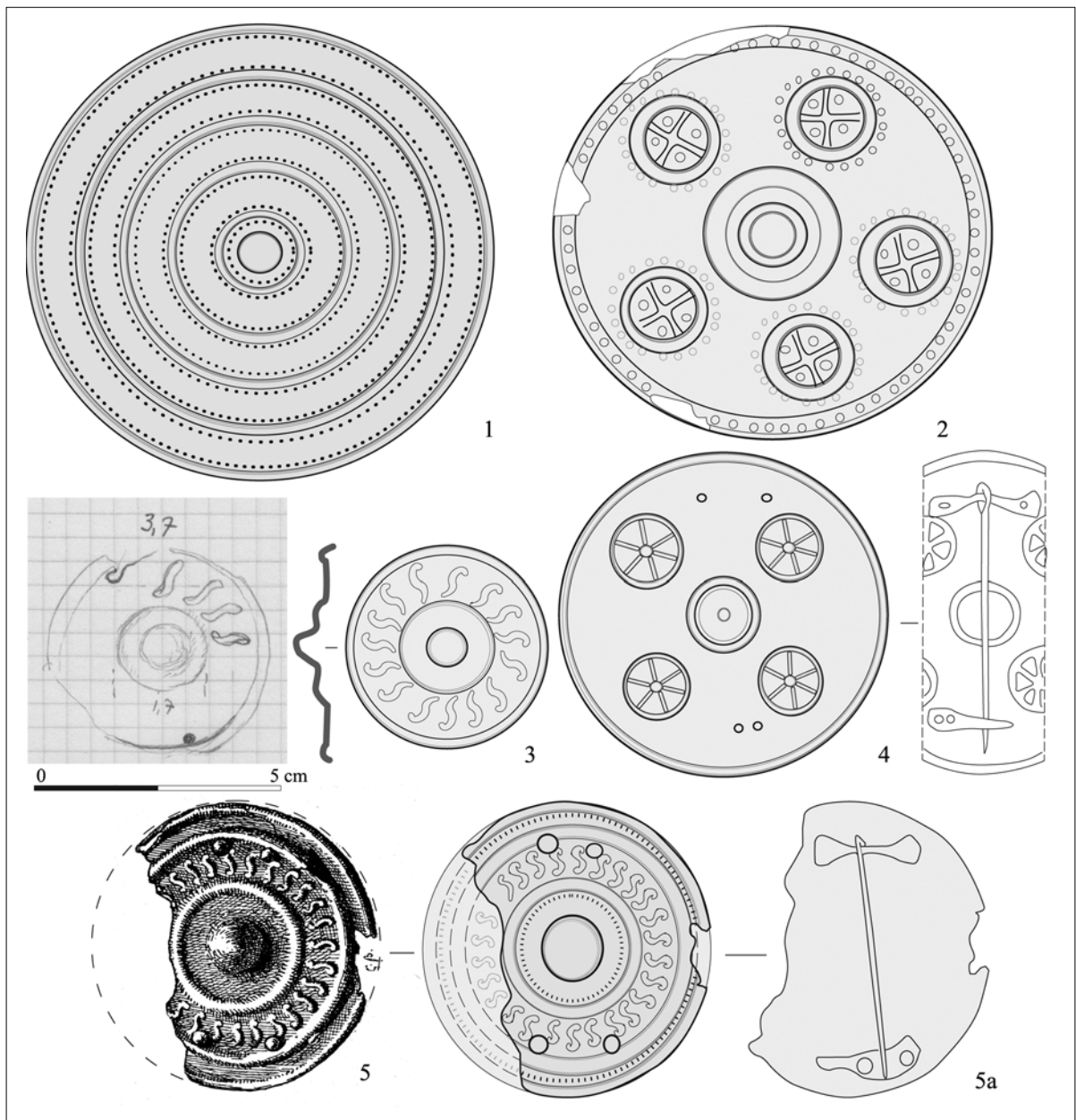


Fig. 2. 1 Kovrovo grave 30; 2 Klintzovka grave IV; 3 Rovnoe grave 26; 4 Kovrovo grave 35b; 5 Orehovo grave 8 (1, 4 Tischler, Kemke 1902, Taf. VIII.2–3; 2 Heydeck 1909b, Taf. XXXVI; 3, 5a H. Jankuhn archive; 5a Bezenberger 1909, Fig. 21. Brooch reconstructions by O. Khomiakova).

quite small, and is about ten grams on average. The weight of the umbo-shaped item from Putilovo grave 2 is about 20 grams.

Plate brooches without a clasp, with a rolled edge and perforated in the central part of the disc

These brooches are close to stamped brooches, either by technique or decoration. They occur similarly in complexes (see Putilovo grave 2). The surface of the finds was decorated by a relief cross with grains on the ends (Fig. 4.1–2), concentric circles (Fig. 4.3–4), or rays (Podubnoe PM 710–711) (see Fig. 9.1–2). The diameter of the body was nearly 5.1 to six centimetres.

Flat moulded disc brooches

Openwork brooches ornamented with a rhomb motif inscribed in the circle are rather diverse. They are known from Kovrovo grave 30, Althof-Insterburg grave 30, Putilovo grave 400, and Povarovka grave 10 (Fig. 5.1–7). A specimen from Althof-Insterburg is characterised by a segmented border with lugs, ornamented with a round stamp¹ (Fig. 5.5–6). A brooch

¹ According to the drawing and description in Jankuhn's papers, the lugs of the fibula should be ornamented with red enamel 'rosette' fields. However, an analysis of photographs held in the Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schloß Gottorf in Schleswig indicates that the lugs were not enamelled, they were probably ornamented with punches. The same stamp was at the centre of the disc.

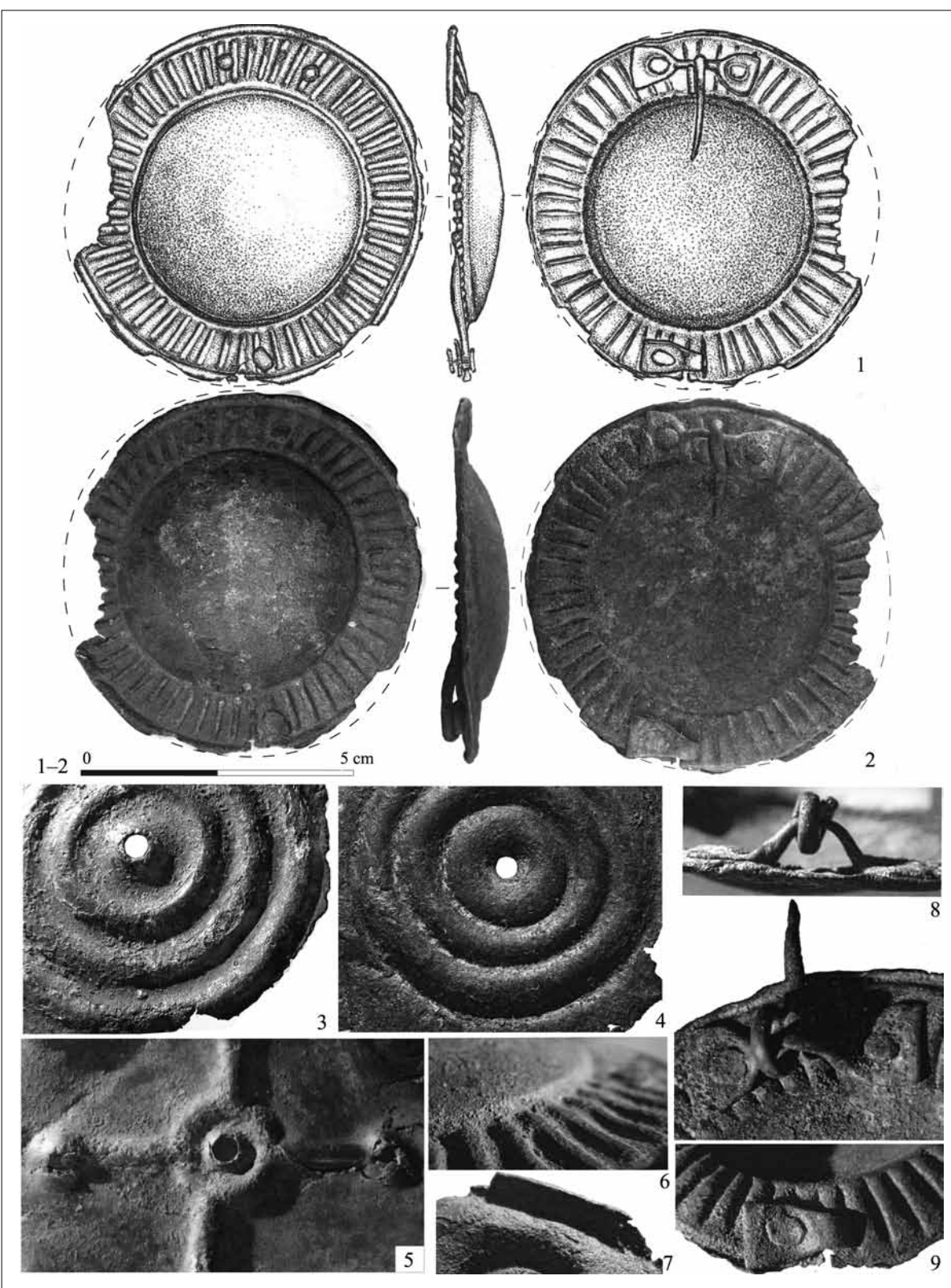


Fig. 3. 1–2, 6, 8–9 Putilovo grave 2, PM 14243; 3–4 Putilovo stray find PM V.113.7508; 5, 7 Putilovo grave 2, PM 14244 (3–9 details, macrophotography; photography and drawings by O. Khomiakova).

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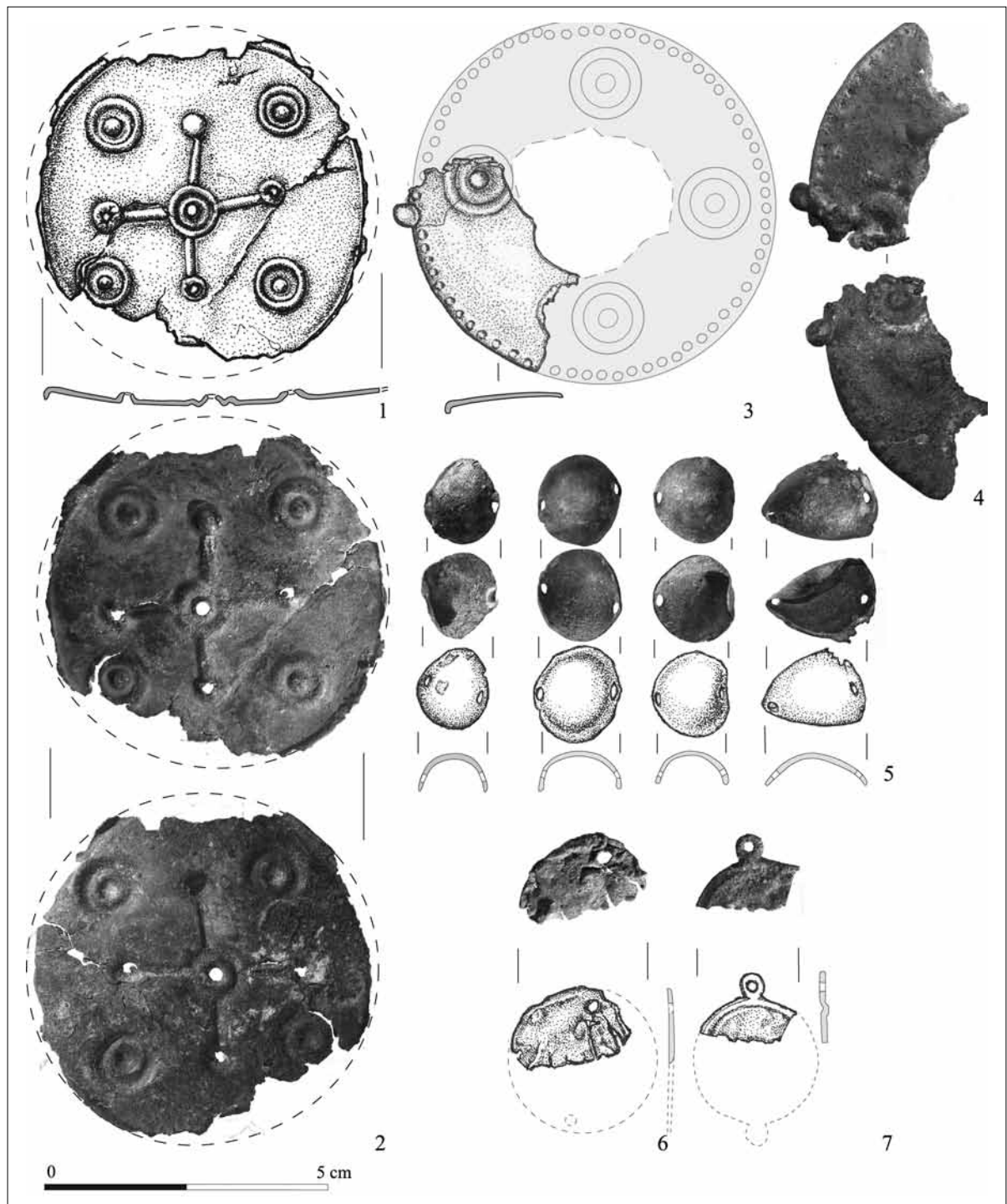


Fig. 4. Putilovo grave 2: 1–2 item PM 14244; 3–4 item PM 14245; 5 items PM 1427; 6–7 fragments. Photography, drawings and reconstructions by O. Khomiakova.

from Povarovka had a tutulus in the centre of the disc (Fig. 5.4).

An analysis of the item from Putilovo (Fig. 5.1–2) shows the probable traces of a coating with white metal on the face of the disc. The character of edge shows that it could have been turned, and three-cornered lugs could have been sawn off. We should not totally disregard the possibility that it is a piece from the central

part of a specimen, which was originally larger in diameter. Its weight is about six grams.

Only brooches from grave 30 of Althof-Insterburg cemetery were supplied with a cast (?) needle case (Fig. 5.5). Specimens from Kovrovo grave 30, and Putilovo grave 400, were furnished with a clasp, consisting of a forged clip, joined to the body by a rivet (Fig. 5.2,7). An item from grave 10 of Povarovka cemetery had no clasp at all.

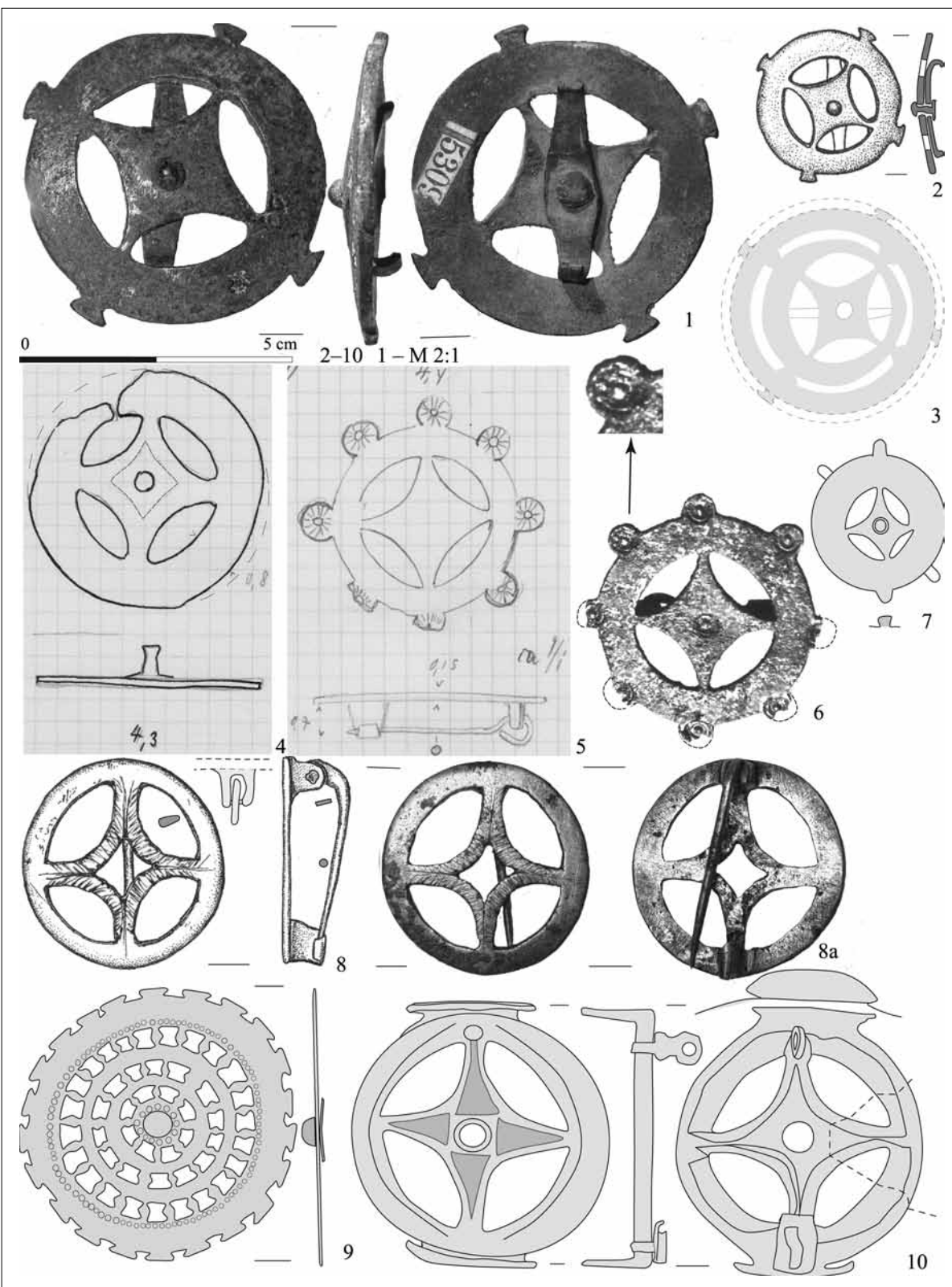


Fig. 5. 1–3 Putilovo grave 400; 4 Povarovka grave 10; 5–6 Althof-Insterburg, grave 30; 7 Kovrovo grave 30; 8–8a Mojtyny grave 28; 9 Zaostrov'e II grave 145; 10 Kalvi. 1–3, 7–8a photography, drawings, image reconstruction by O. Khomiakova; 4–6 H. Jankuhn archive, 7 reconstruction Chlińska-Drapella 2010, tab. 23.d; 10 G.F. Korzhuhina archive, No. 157.

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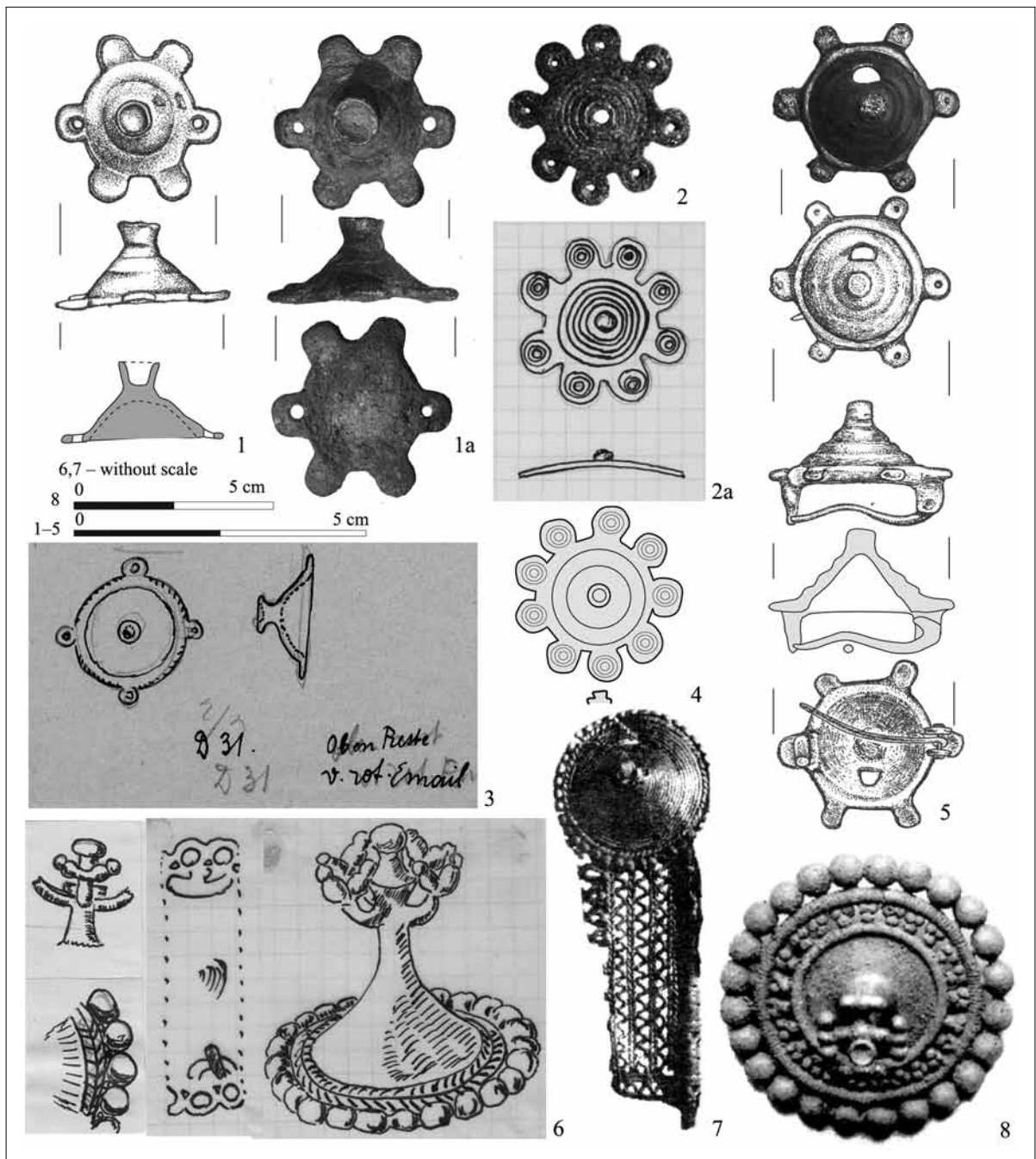


Fig. 6. 1–1a Grebieten grave *Grabstätte P*, urn B; 2–2a Schlakalken IV grave 24; 3 Greibau grave 156; 4 Kovrovo grave 30; 5 Leleszki grave 44; 6 Kovrovo grave 6; 7 Podmoklovo hill-fort; 8 Trijgi (1–1a, 5 photography, drawings by O. Khomiakova; 3 reconstruction Chilińska-Drapella 2010, tab. 23.e; 4 Bitner-Wróblewska *et al.* 2011, p.194; 6 H. Jankuhn archive; 7 Korol' *et al.* 1997, Fig. 67; 8 Katalog, 1930).

Another division is represented by disc ornaments with a segmented edge and an elongated central part (Kovrovo grave 30, Grebieten grave *Grabstätte P*, urn B, Schlakalken IV grave 24) (Fig. 6.1–3). Only the specimen from Grebieten grave *Grabstätte P*, urn B was probably cast from a wax model, and its character could indicate that it was based on some example. The reverse side does not have any traces of a clasp, but two drilled openings are located in opposite segments. The weight of the item is about 8.9 grams. The elon-

gated centre can be regarded as *tutuli* (Fig. 6: 1–1a). Ornaments from Kovrovo grave 30, and Schlakalken IV grave 24, were produced from flat plates with perforated segmented edges. The clasp was represented by a forged clip, joined to the body by a rivet (Fig. 6: 2, 2a, 3).

The brooch from Kovrovo grave 6, with a cylindrical element at the centre of the disc, stands out. It is known only from archive drawings (Fig. 6: 6). The edge of the item was probably decorated with half-spheres and

rows of notches, and the elongated element was characterised by the ending, composed of outgrowths and kernels. The brooch was furnished with a pin.

An analysis of the archaeological context

Brooches found in the Balts lands and their parallels in Roman provinces

A brief comparative analysis of stamped brooches with brooches from Pannonia and Noricum is presented in multiple investigations about the amber trade (Okulicz 1973, pp.366-389; 1976, p.188ff.; Kaczyński 1991, p.160ff.; Nowakowski 1996, p.55). Scholars have connected their occurrence with Roman enamelled brooches called *Scheibefibeln*. Initially being a part of Roman military dress, from the first century AD *Scheibefibeln* were used as a part of daily dress in the Danube and Rhine regions, Gaul, Britain and Central Europe (Exner 1941, p.62ff; Thomas 1966, p.126ff.; Tivadarné 2008, p.82).

Two enamelled disc brooches from the Dollkeim-Kovrovo area, from the Gauten and Hrustal'noe cemeteries (Fig. 7) (see Tischler 1887; Heydeck 1909b, p.219, Taf. 37; Gaerte 1929, Fig. 152; Jankuhn 1939, p.257, Taf. II.3), are regarded as imports from Roman provinces. Their form and style show that the ornaments could be a possible inspiration for stamped brooches. As a rule, a comparative analysis of the items is based on archaeological data from Gaul and Germania Libera, where similar artefacts are known (Nowakowski 1996, S. 30, 70; Erdrich *et al.* 2004, Taf. 20.4, 7). Both items find analogies with disc brooches with concentric ledges (Thomas 1966, p.126ff.), and belong to type 27b (1–2) by M. Feugère (1985, Pl. 153). Meanwhile, their reconstructions were seen in literature as being simplified and inconsistent (Fig. 7.1, 2). According to F. Jakobson's archive (Fig. 7.1a, 2a), only the brooch from Hrustal'noe grave 34 belonged to the type indicated. The item from Gauten was characterised by features of another type of brooch with a field segmented by petal-like cells (III/1/2/1 by A. Vaday) (2003, p.331ff., Fig. 7), which is widespread in Pannonia, Dacia and Sarmatian territories (Fig. 7.1b, 2b). Similar examples are also known from Singidunum Castle in Moesia (see type 23, variant 4 by D. Bojović (1983, p.24, Table XXVIII.275).

At the same time, close analogies to the brooches discussed occur in neighbouring areas. Specimens of types 27b2 by M. Feugère, or III/5/1 by A. Vaday (2003, p.344, Fig. 15), with discs with concentric ledges, are known from Bogaczewo culture cemeteries at Mojtyny grave 32, and Szczytno (Hollack, Peiser 1904,

Taf. VI.32; Nowakowski 2001, Taf. IV.6-7). A brooch with an elongated disc centre discovered at Bandužiai cemetery in west Lithuania (Michelbertas 2001, Taf. 9.5) is similar to brooches of type 7.14 by E. Riha, known from Singidunum and Augusta Raurica castles (1979, Table 51; Böhme 1972, Taf. 26.994; Vaday 2003, p.332, Fig. 8). A specimen from grave 57 of the Bogaczewo culture cemetery at Babięta (Nowakowski 2001, Taf. I.1) also perhaps belonged to the same type. Similar finds have been made in the Wielbark culture cemeteries at Dąbrowka Słupska, Grudziądz and Babi Dół-Borc (Mączyńska, Urbaniak 2006, p.151ff., Fig. 1.1; 2.4,6).

A brooch with an elongated disc centre was discovered in grave 156 of Greibau cemetery. The body of the item had four round projecting elements. According to the description, these parts were filled with red enamel (Fig. 6. 4). Similar artefacts known from West Balt territories are usually attributed to type III.26 by K. Exner, characterised by a peltate-shaped disc with cells, an edge with five to eight projecting elements, and a cone-shaped centre (Exner 1941, p.103ff.; Juga-Szymańska, Szymański 2010, p.270). In our opinion, the specimen from Greibau has more analogies with brooches of type III.60 by K. Exner, distinguished by the cone-shaped disc and globular projecting elements (1941, p.114ff., Taf. 17.7; III.60). Such brooches are also close to type 25b by M. Feugère (1985, pl. 152.1911–1912), and 7.11 by E. Riha (1979, Table 51), or III/3/2/1/1 by A. Vaday (2003, p.338ff., Fig. 11), or variant 21A by S. Petković (2010, p.161ff., Fig. 45). Similar items can be found in the Rhine region, Pannonia and Sarmatian *barbaricum*. Imported artefacts of this type are known in Central European cultures. A brooch from grave 44 of the Leleszki cemetery is regarded as the closest analogy to the brooch from Greibau (Bitner-Wróblewska *et al.* 2011, p.286; KGOM 1–18350/66). It is characterised by a clasp with a hinge joint (Fig. 6.5). Similar brooches were recovered at the Pommern cemeteries at Kowalewko and Nowy Łowicz, and the Przeworsk culture cemetery at Kamieńczyk (Mączyńska, Urbaniak 2006, pp.152, 155, Figs. 2.8, 11; 4.6).

Undoubtedly, brooches with a rhomb motif inscribed in a circle also find prototypes in the Roman *Scheibefibeln* (Fig. 5). Similar openwork ornamentation is characteristic of wheel-brooches of variant 24c of M. Feugère (1985, pp.184, 341, 347ff., Fig. 50), type 7.6 by E. Riha (1979, Taf. 51. 7.6), and group 8.2 by A. Ambroz (1966, Table 14.17), widespread in Gaul, Rhaetia and Germania Libera. Imported disc items of this type were discovered in the West Balts area, in the Bogaczewo area, in Mojtyny grave 28 (Hollack, Peiser 1904, Taf. II.28–a; KGOM 1–18350/53), in

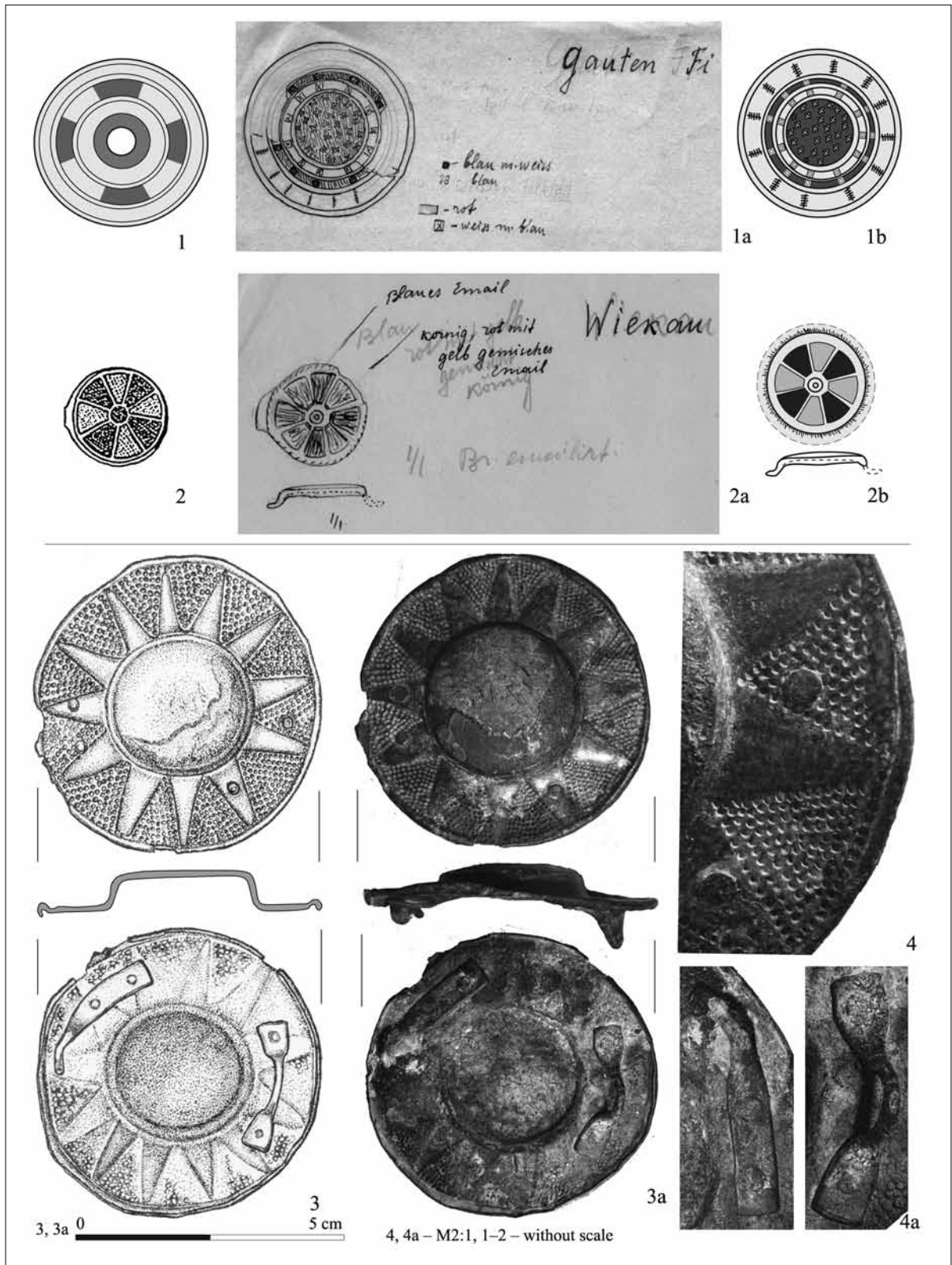


Fig. 7. 1–1b Gauten, 2–2b Hrustal'noe grave 34; 3–4 Muntowo, grave 15. 1 Nowakowski, 1996, Taf. 102: 3; 2 Heydeck 1909b, S. 219, Taf. 37; 1a, 2a Bitner-Wróblewska *et al.* 2011, p.178f., p.498; Figs. 1b, 2b, 3–4 photography, drawings and reconstructions by O. Khomiakova).

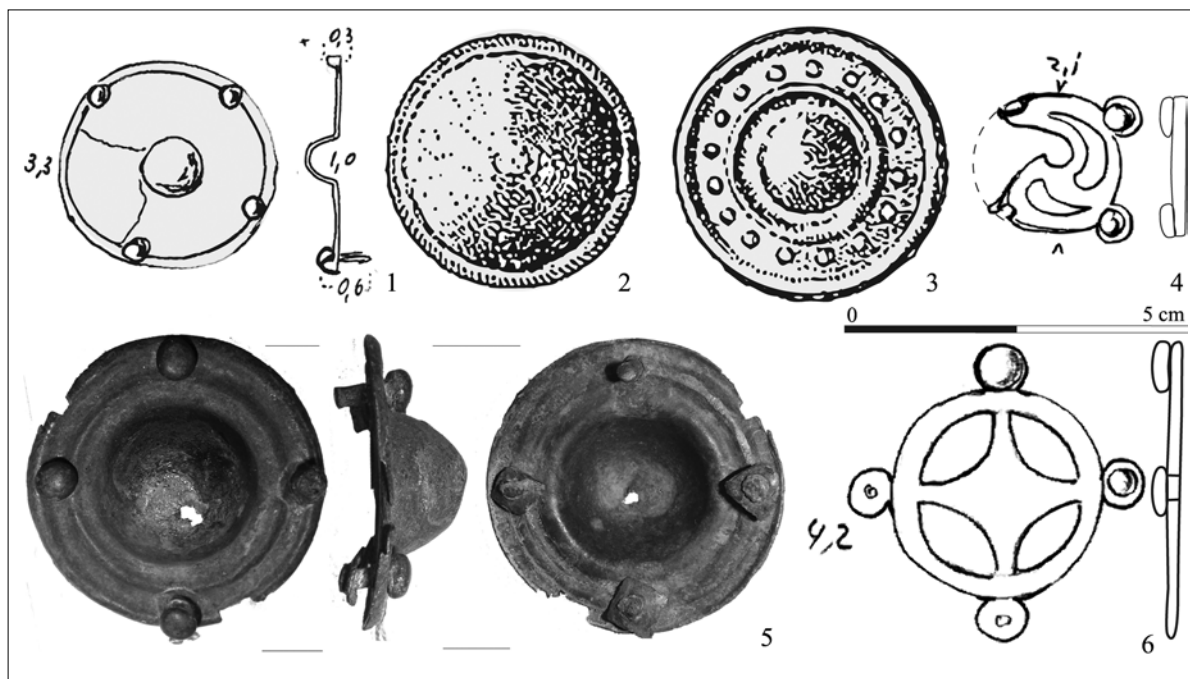


Fig. 8. 1 Putilovo grave 8; 2, 3 Hrustal'noe grave 34; 4, 6 Morshanskoe grave 17; 5 Caimen (1, 4, 6 H. Jankuhn archive; 2, 3 Heydeck 1909b, Taf. 37; 5 photography by O. Khomiakova).

Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture, in data from Petino cemetery (SMB–PK/MVF, PM–A 1186/1: 180). The specimen from Mojtyny is characterised by a moulded body, 3.7 centimetres in diameter, and a clasp with a hinge joint. In addition, the face of the body is decorated with notches (Fig. 5.8–8a). Other specimens with an openwork rhomb inscribed in a circle, known from the former East Prussia (in this article, East Prussia is equated with the current Kaliningrad Oblast of the Russian Federation), maintain only the general form of Roman items and the decorative motive of a wheel.

Disc brooches of the local jewellery tradition occur not only in the Dollkeim-Kovrovo and Bogaczewo areas (see Nowakowski 1995, Tab. XVIII), but are also distributed in modern Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia (Moora 1929, Taf. VII; 1938, pp.100–118; Frolov 1974; Michelbertas 1986, p.123ff., Fig. 41). A mutual influence, as the main factor in developing disc brooches from the production of local workshops in the Baltic lands, was expressed by Il'ja K. Frolov (1974, p.27). But only some items belong to the group of enamelled artefacts. Most are known from the area of Tarand grave culture (Moora 1929, Taf. VI.13–15, VII; Frolov 1974, pp.19–27, Fig. 1–3); meanwhile, they are attributed to the third and fourth centuries AD (Shmidehelm 1955, p.119, Fig. 29:7; Korzuhina 1978, p.26ff.; Vaska 2013, p.106ff.). The question of the use of enamel technique in the production of local disc brooches in the Masurian Lakeland, Pomerania and Mazovia, in our opinion, is still open (see Nowakowski 1995, Table XVIII; Mączyńska, Urbaniak 2006, p.150ff., Fig. 4; Bitner-

Wróblewska, Stawiarska 2009, pp.334–341). Galina F. Korzuhina expressed the opinion that the 'earliest' Baltic disc items did not have enamel fields (1978, p.27). Actually, in the Early Roman Period, openwork artefacts were evenly distributed (see Bitner-Wróblewska 2009, pp.380–399, Figs. 22–23) (Fig. 8.4,6). It should be mentioned that wheel-brooches from the Danube region and the Sarmatian area dating from the first quarter of the second century AD were also without enamel (Vaday 2003, p.353).

Thus, openwork disc brooches occurring in the west Lithuanian area in the Stragnai, Gintarai and Pangėšai cemeteries (Bezzenberger 1914, p.150, Fig. 33; Michelbertas 1986, p.123ff, Fig. 41; Tamulynas 2006, p.176, Fig. 5; Banytė-Rowell 2009, Fig. 4) are attributed to the beginning of the third century AD. The decorative motif of their main plate is very different to Roman ones. The body is usually ornamented with composed rings connected by 'beams' or 'spindles'. Some distant analogies can be found in brooches of types III/8/1 by A. Vaday distributed in Dacia and Pannonia (von Patek 1942, p.293, Taf. XVIII.32; Vaday 2003, Fig. 19), or group III by K. Exner (1941, Taf. 16). Brooches with a cylindrical axle element from the local workshop tradition are well known in west Lithuania in the C2 phase. They are characterised by a bronze disc inlaid with iron wire, and endings with tutuli that contained a blue glass bead. However, their stylistics is connected mainly with the Haßleben–Leuna horizon (Banytė-Rowell 2001, Pl. 5.1, 2). In East Prussia, only a brooch from Wogau cemetery can be regarded as an artefact of

a similar type (see Tischler, Kemke 1902, Taf. VIII.5, 5a).

Openwork brooches with a 'beam' and 'spindle' motif are also typical of Tarand grave culture (Moora 1938, pp.100-118; Shmidehelm 1955, Fig. 22.7-8; Vaska 2013, p.106, Fig. 13). Some isolated specimens are also known from the Dollkeim-Kovrovo area. Thus, an openwork item with a white metal coating on the face and a clasp consisting of a clip joined to the body by a rivet has become known due to rescue excavations by the RAS Institute of Archaeology at the Zaostrov'e II cemetery, where it was discovered in grave 145 (Fig. 5.9). At the same time, brooches ornamented with a rhomb motif inscribed in the circle, similar to Dollkeim-Kovrovo specimens, occur exactly in Tarand grave culture areas (Moora 1929, Taf. VI.13-14). The brooch from Kalvi had enamelled fields² (Fig. 5.10), the specimen from Raunas Mūsiņa had no enamel (Katalog 1930, Taf. 8.22).

Unlike items cast from wax models, stamped brooches from East Prussia should be connected with Roman disc-brooches only nominally. Perhaps some similarities in form with type 27a2 by M. Feugère (1985, p.371, Pl. 152.1913-1916) can be found for the umbo-shaped brooch from grave 2 of Putilovo burial ground. This outward resemblance even makes it possible to consider that it was a Roman import (Kulakov 2011, p.28). However, the morphological criteria of artefact and the technique different to Roman workshops do not permit us to share this view. Its closest analogy, from grave 15 of the Bogaczewo culture cemetery at Muntowo, is also regarded as a Roman import (Nowakowski 2001, Taf. III. 6; SMB-PK/MVF – PM VII 75, 9274). It seems that this specimen should also be considered the work of Balt goldsmiths, and quite possibly that it was imported from the Dollkeim-Kovrovo area. The same techniques and methods of decoration were used. Furnished with a pin, it is characterised by the unequal rolled edge and knocked out umbo-shaped centre. The ornamentation with triangles filled by stamps was made by a kern, and imitated filigree (Fig. 7. 3-4).

Brooches with relief concentric circles (see Fig.1.1, 3, 4; 2.1) find only distant analogies with some disc brooches of type 7.2 by E. Riha (1979, Taf. 51: 7.2), or type 44b by A. Böhme (1972, S. 41-42, Taf. 29), known from Augusta Raurica, Carnuntum and Aquincum castles, in North Pannonia (see type 21 A-B by S. Petković (2010, p.161ff., Tab. XXIX; also see von

² This item is mainly compared with enamelled items from the Dnieper region (Shmidehelm, 1955, p.218, Fig. 58.6), which is quite feasible, as Roman provincial prototypes of type 7.6 by E. Riha were widely distributed, for example, in the northern Black Sea area and Ukraine (see Kropotov, 2010, p.305, Figs. 90-91).

Patek 1942, Tab. XIV.17, 20). Specimens ornamented with relief circles with crosses and grains placed at the centre and the edge of the disc, find some similarities with disc brooches ornamented with geometric enamel fields of types 3.14 by E. Riha (1979, Taf. 51.3,14), or 41x by A. Böhme (1972, p.38, Taf. 26.988) distributed in northern Gaul, Belgium and the Rhine region. Thus, enamel fields could be substituted by relief ornament.

The sizes of Dollkeim-Kovrovo brooches deserve attention. The large stamped items are about 8.5 centimetres in diameter, the small ones are about four centimetres. Meanwhile, Roman disc brooches are smaller: specimens between 2.5 and three centimetres are considered to be the largest, and the size is related to the enamelling techniques (Vaday 2003, p.324).

In other words, stamped brooches do not find direct analogies in disc brooches. Only the influence of the Roman tradition can be discussed. The dating of items is also different.

The chronology of Dollkeim-Kovrovo disc brooches

The chronology of Dollkeim-Kovrovo disc brooches is period B of O. Tischler (Tischler, Kemke 1902, Tab. VIII), phases B2 and B2/C1 of the Central European chronology (Okulicz 1976, p.188ff.), the earliest phase (I or phase B2) of Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture (Nowakowski 1996, p.5, p.48ff., Taf. 107). This date is confirmed by the occurrence of ornaments in complexes (see also Khomiakova 2012b, p.258ff., appendices 3-5).

It is important to mention that the dating of provincial Roman brooches is based on the chronology of Roman castle horizons (see Exner 1941; von Patek 1942; Böhme 1972; Riha 1979). The items found not only in northern Germany and Pomerania, but also in the south and southeast Baltic, are also interpreted in accordance with this chronology (Thomas 1966; Skorupka, 2001; Erdrich *et al.* 2004). The Roman analogies cited are related to the second half of the second century AD. Imported disc brooches from West Balt territory are connected with the same period, or phases B2/C1 and C1 of the Central European chronology (Nowakowski 1996, p.70ff.; 2001, p.43; Bitner-Wróblewska, Stawiarska 2009, p.312ff.), as well as items of a similar type from the Wielbark area (Maćczyńska, Urbaniak 2006, p.151ff.).

Grave 34 of Hrystal'noe cemetery contained an enamel disc brooch (Fig. 7.2-2b), in accordance with its inventory, a *spatha*, shield boss of type I.1 by J. Ilkjær (1990, Fig. 1999), spurs of type E3 by E. Ginalska (1991, p.62, Fig. 11.10), brooches of Almgren 130 (Machajewski

1998, p.192, Fig. 2.9), and riding equipment (Wilbers-Rost 1994, p.98), could be dated to the period B2/C1–C1a.

At the same time, this chronology could be different from the time of the distribution of Roman imports in the West Balt area, since the question of their circulation is still open. The same conclusions could be made for the brooch from Greibau grave 156 (Fig. 6.3), dated to the beginning of the third century AD. As a striking instance, the disc brooch of type 25b by M. Feugère, known from Leleszki grave 44, can also be included (Fig. 6.5). The assemblages it was found in (Bitner-Wróblewska *et al.* 2011, p.286; see Lehlesken grave 44) are typical of the Great Migration Period, phase E of the Olsztyn Group (Nowakowski 1998, p.81).

The disc brooch from Gauten (Fig. 7.1-1b) is dated to the second half of the second century AD only by analogies. However, the dating of similar items from the Sarmatian area is extended to the whole second century (Vaday 2003, pp.331-332); in Moesia, such brooches are placed between the first and the second century (Bojovic 1983, p.24). Grave 30 of Kovrovo cemetery is also of the same chronology. It contains a specimen similar to type 25b by M. Feugère (Fig. 6: 4). At the same time, assemblages from Grebieten grave *Grabstätte P, urn B*, and Schlakalken IV grave 24, are dated to the end of the second and the beginning of the third century (Fig. 6.1-1a, 2-2a).

The chronology of relief disc brooches from the Danube region confirms the assumption about the earlier dates of imported Roman brooches in the West Balt area. According to data from complexes in Serbia, S. Petković placed them between the first and the second century (2010, p.161: see types 21A-B). Even A. Ambroz considered that the earliest plate disc brooches appeared in the first century (1966, p.31). This is also indicated by an analysis of items occurring in the north Black Sea region made by V. Kropotov (2010, p.314ff.). Openwork disc brooches with a geometric motif are also dated to the second half of the second century (Feugère 1985, p.344).

Grave 28 of the Masurian cemetery at Mojtyny (see Hollack, Peiser 1904, Taf. 28), with the disc brooch similar to type 24 by M. Feugère (Fig. 5.8-8a), can be attributed to phases B2/C1 and C1a. However, Sambian items that might be regarded as imitations and as the production of local workshops, known from Putilovo grave 400 (D16), and Kovrovo grave 30 (Fig. 5.1-3, 7), are older. They were found in the assemblages with brooches Almgren 72, and ‘ocellated’ items Almgren 61 and 63. Grave 30 of Althof-Insterburg cemetery (see Fig. 5:5) is also dated to the B2 phase.

Umbo-shaped brooches of type 27 a2 by M. Feugère (1985, p.371, Pl. 152. 1913-1916) known from the western provinces are usually attributed to the first century. The described item from Putilovo grave 2 (Fig. 5.5-6) occurs with an ‘early’ brooch Almgren 57, or type I by R. Jamka (1964, p.60ff.), which makes it possible to date it to period B2. W. Nowakowski dated the Muntowo brooch (Fig. 7.3-4) to the first or the second century (2001, p.78).

In the Raetia and Rhine region, disc brooches with a white metal coating are dated to the second half of the second century (Böhme 1972, p.41ff.). Specimens from Putilovo grave 400 (D16), and Zaostrov’e II grave 145 (Figs. 5, 9), are attributed to the same period. The item from Zaostrov’e II probably gives the earliest date for wheel-brooches connected with local craftsmanship in the Balts area.

Disc brooches with a cylindrical axle element in Pannonia and Dacia are attributed to the second and the first half of the third centuries (Petković 2010, p.169); they have been known in Gaul and northern Germany since the second half of the second century. Items from west Lithuania are dated to the same period (Banytė-Rowell 2001, p.58ff.; 2009, p.19ff.; Banytė-Rowell, Bitner-Wróblewska 2005, p.111).

3. Disc brooches and other jewellery traditions

Some stamped disc specimens, as described above, have no clasp, but were furnished with a forged clip, joined to the body by a rivet. Items from Povarovka and Putilovo were between 3.5 and 4.3 centimetres in diameter (Fig. 9.3–4). Specimens from Rovnoe and Livny cemeteries, with relief ornamentation with circles, crucifixes and grains, could also belong to this group, for they are similar to the stamped brooches (Fig. 9.7,11).

The closest analogies to the finds furnished with a clip are found in parts of headdresses made by the same technique and widespread in data for cemeteries in the Kaliningrad peninsula, attributed to the end of the first and the first half of the second centuries. Their appearance in West Balt territory is usually discussed in literature in the light of contacts with Scandinavia, and especially with Gotland and the Danish islands. They demonstrate the possibility of these contacts since the Pre-Roman Period (La Baume 1942, p.16; Blumbersg 1982, p.23ff.; Nowakowski 2008, p.57ff.). Thus, the tradition of furnishing textile headdresses with metal mounts is known on these islands since the Early Iron Age (Almgren, Nerman 1923, p.19ff., Fig. 27).

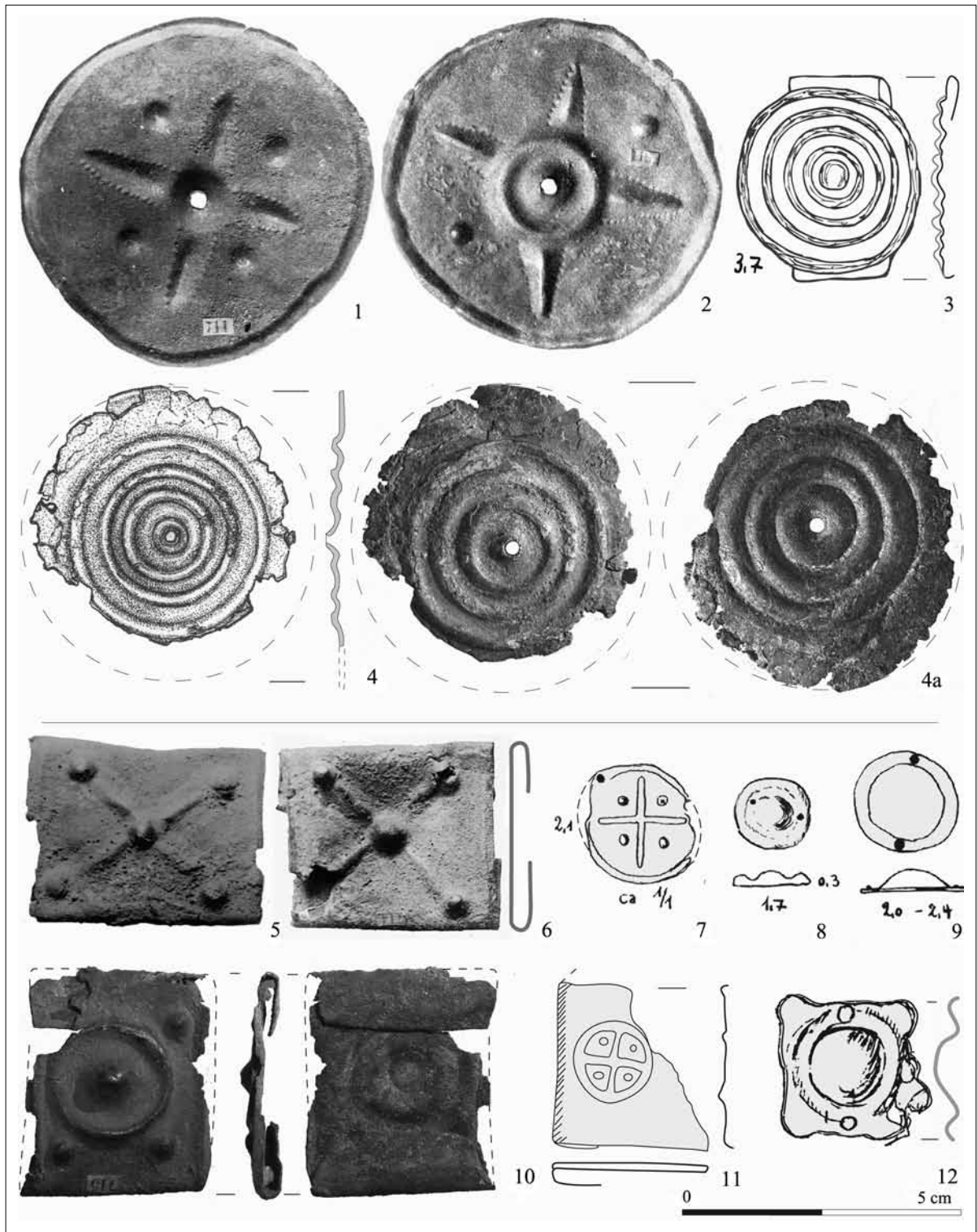


Fig. 9. 1 Poddubnoje item PM 711; 2 Poddubnoje item PM 710; 3 Povarovka item PM III. 363,2352; 4 Putilovo item PM V. 113,7508; 5, 6, 10 Poddubnoje item PM 713-715; 7 Livny item PM III. 139,996, 13; 8, 9 Grachovka; 11 Rovnoe PM III. 371,2384; 12 Althof-Insterburg grave 50 (1-3, 5-9, 11-12 H. Jankuhn archive, 4, 10 photography, drawings and reconstructions by O. Khomiakova).

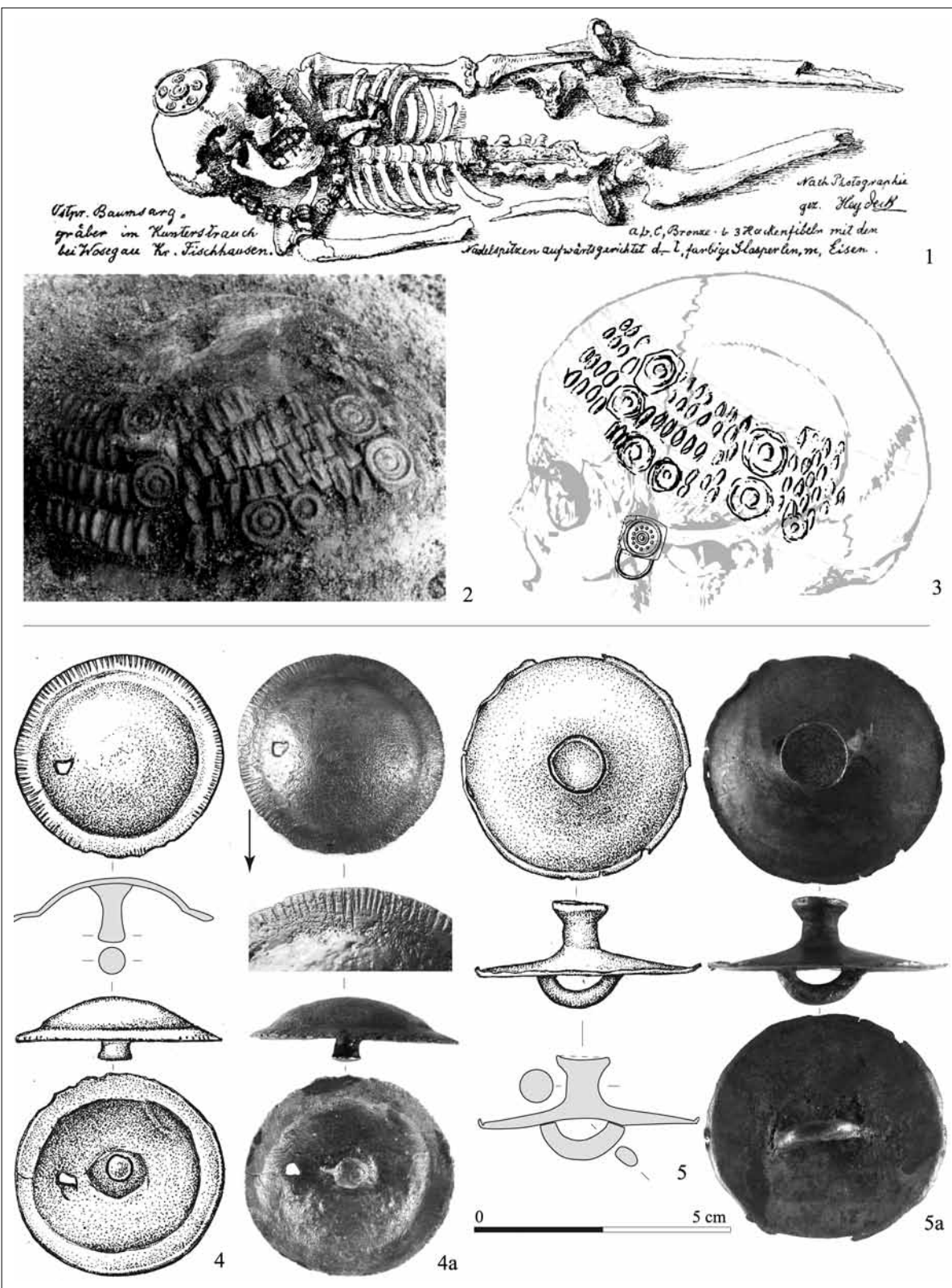


Fig. 10. 1 The arrangement of the inventory in Klinckovka grave IV; 2 the headdress from Berezovka grave 78; 3 a reconstruction of the headdress from Berezovka grave 78; 4–5 bronze ‘umbo’ and tutuli shaped items (1 Heydeck, 1909a Taf. XXXVI; 2 H. Jankuhn archive; 3 Khomiakova 2012a, Fig. 100.1; 4–5 photography and drawings by O. Khomiakova).

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Meanwhile, they belonged to a different group, with a half-spherical form, and two perforated openings for a thread placed on opposite sites (Blumbergs 1982, Figs. 55-57). The same ornaments are known from the Lower Vistula region (Gaerte 1929, Fig. 146.d), and finally they are widespread in the Dollkeim-Kovrovo area in the Early Roman Period. In addition, small half-spherical-form mounts were found in assemblages with stamped disc brooches. The same occurrences characterise complexes of ornaments from Putilovo grave 2 (Fig. 4), Kovrovo grave 30, Althof-Insterburg grave 30, and stray finds from Poddubnoe. Single items of type IA by Z. Blumbergs are known from Rovnoe and Althof-Insterburg cemeteries.

Disc brooches made by pressing were too light to fasten clothes, so they could have been parts of headdresses. The arrangement of the inventory from Klincovka grave IV, where a stamped disc brooch was discovered by the skull, suggests this (Fig. 10.1). On this occasion, apart from Roman, the tradition known from the Early Iron Age in the Baltic region could also have influenced the formation of this category of ornament.

Some rectangular stamped mounts from stray finds at Poddubnoe and Althof-Insterburg cemeteries can be interpreted (Fig. 9.5-6, 10, 12) in this vein. They were considered to be parts of belt sets, although they find only distant analogies in this category. However, rectangular stamped mounts are also similar to parts of headdresses. Items close in morphology are known from the Lower Nemunas/Niemen region (Jovaiša, 1986, p.49ff.).

Headdresses with metal mounts from Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture are mainly considered in literature to be caps (Kopfhäube). This consideration is based on analogies from Gotland (Almgren, Nerman 1923, Fig. 27) and west Lithuania (Bezenberger 1892, p.26; Waetzoldt 1939, p.116ff.). The outward appearance of a headdress can be reconstructed only by data from Berezovka grave 78 (Gronau 1939, Taf. VIII: 3; La Baume 1942, p.16), where metal mounts were found by the skull in situ (Fig. 10.2). A headdress from Berezovka consisted of four parallel textile bands, and the rest of the wide part by the forehead could be regarded as a band (Fig. 10.3). Unfortunately, we have no more archaeological data nowadays to represent an aspect of this category. But ethnographic examples of bands consisting of mounts of different types and sizes are known (Blumbergs 1982, Fig. 37).

The chronological position of stamped mounts in the Dollkeim-Kovrovo area is limited to phase B2; afterwards, they disappeared from archaeological data. However, the tradition of supplying bands with half-spherical mounts is well known from neighbouring

areas of the Lower Nemunas region, from Šernai (formerly Schernen) and Ržhevskoe (formerly Linkuhnen) cemeteries (Waetzoldt 1939, p.116ff.), and Bandužiai in west Lithuania (Stankus 1995, Fig. 33)³, where they are dated to the third or fourth centuries.

A connection between the category of stamped disc brooches and traditions from the Early Iron Age can probably be traced through the genesis of some bronze 'shield' and 'umbo' shaped items of West Baltic Barrow culture⁴ (Fig. 10.4-5, 11), of which questions of genesis and chronology are still open.⁵ On one hand, the items could be interpreted as accidental finds and sporadic imports dating from the Bronze Age; but on the other, the deep-rooted goldsmiths' tradition that was handed down for a long period can be mentioned. Thus, specimens are characterised by the same form. Moulded by a wax model, they were ornamented additionally with notches (Fig. 10.4a). However, the clasp is different: the massive eyelet and needle should have been intended for fastening heavy textile or leather.

Items similar to group II by Z. Blumbergs (1982, p.18ff., Figs. 13-15), distributed in northern Europe and Poland in the Bronze and Early Iron Age, should only be counted as distant analogies of 'umbo' shaped mounts with discretion. Notable bronze specimens were discovered in inhumations of an 'early' phase of Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture. Thus, they were discovered in grave 135 of Zaostrov'e II cemetery, dated to B2 phase (Juganov 2011, p.137ff., Figs. 933-934), and stray finds at Grachevka burial ground (Fig. 9.8-9). The chronology of items from Tarand grave culture can be argued as witnessing the long period of the tradition of applying dress with ornaments in tutuli form

³ Clasps dated to the late second and early third century were found at Bandužiai cemetery, in women's graves 63 and 85. These clasps are artefacts of another construction (editorial note: for this, see Bliujienė 2006, p.126ff.).

⁴ 1. Tutuli, KGOM №16421.136, bronze, moulded, with eyelet at return side. Diameter 4.19 cm, height 1.95 cm; eyelet: length 1.66 cm, diameter 0.38 cm; tutuli: thickness 0.69 cm, weight 25.08 g. From an unknown place in former East Prussia (Fig. 10. 5-5a).
 2. Umbo-shaped mount, KGOM №16421.135, bronze, moulded, with field decorated with notches. Diameter 3.85-3.96 cm, height 1.19 cm, thickness of field 0.14 cm, diameter of needle 0.51 cm, weight 18.19 g. From an unknown place in former East Prussia (Fig. 10.4-4a).
 3. Tutuli, KGOM № 1/49 17291.3, bronze, moulded. Diameter 9.56-9.61 cm, height 3.63 cm, thickness 0.18 cm, weight 102.78 g. From an unknown place in former East Prussia. Publication: Gaerte, 1929, Fig. 76.f (Fig. 11).

⁵ We are familiar with the view that considers tutulus No 1/49 17291.3 to be a tiny copy of a shield dated to the second century (Kulakov, 2007, p.138). However, the morphology of the item and the absence of any archaeological context make it impossible to find direct analogies in this category (see Kiernan, 2009, p.104ff., Fig. 3.4-3.6, 3.12-3.17, 3.20, 3.27, 3.36).

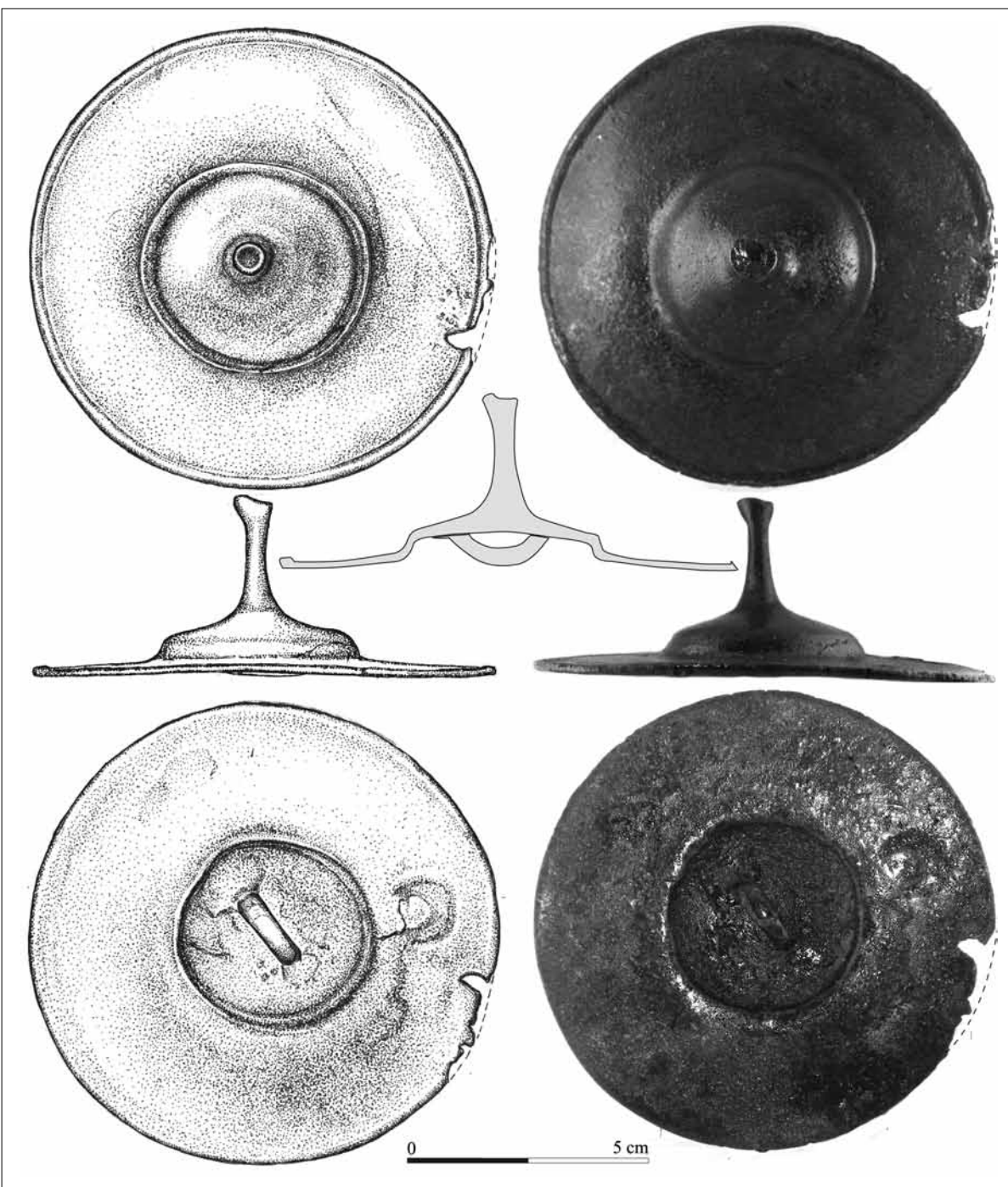


Fig. 11. Tutuli, bronze. From unknown place in former East Prussia (photography and drawings by O. Khomiakova).

in the Baltic region (Figs. 10–11). Thus, the complex from Ivasi cemetery, with specimens similar in form and furnished with eyelets, is dated to the end of the era (Ciglis 2013, p.115, Fig. 9).

In this context, the disc brooch with a cylindrical part from Kovrovo grave 6 attracts our attention (Fig. 6.6). It has only distant analogies in Roman brooches of type 25b by M. Feugère, and this comparison should be the most obvious (Banytė-Rowell 2009, p.20ff., Fig. 2). Moulded with a wax model, it was decorated with half-spheres and rows of notches, resembling the

imitation of granular elements. In our opinion, the item could be an example of the combination of the different influences and jewellery traditions of Roman provinces and the Baltic region.

An elongated centre with an ending composed of outgrowths and kernels recalls the composition of a few grains characteristic of pear pendants distributed on the Baltic Sea islands, Oland, Gotland and Bornholm, between the end of the first and the first half of the second centuries (Andersson 1993, Figs. 77, 96; 2008, p.38). Simplified pear pendants also occurred in the

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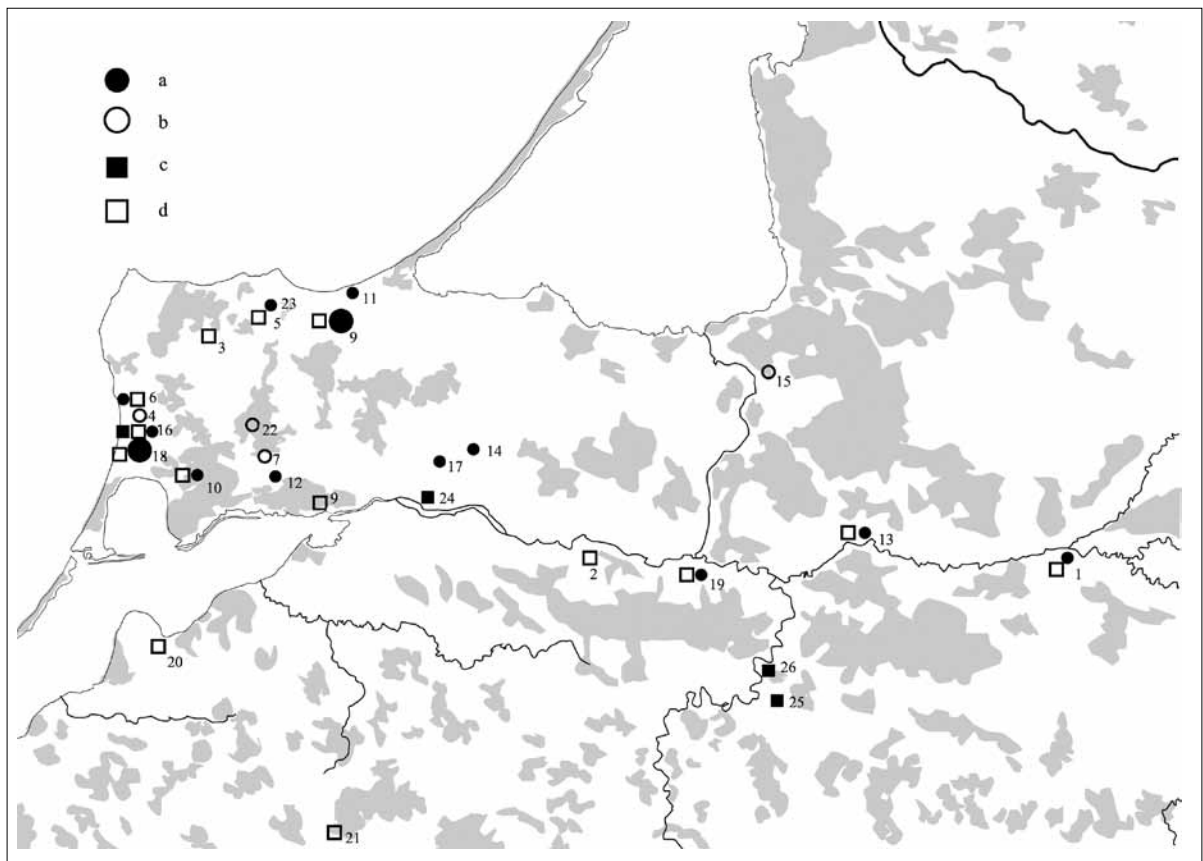


Fig. 12. The distribution of disc brooches, parts of headdresses and enamel items in Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture (see Appendix 1): a disc brooches; b imported provincial disc brooches; c enamel goods; d metal patches, parts of headdresses; d enamel goods. 1 Althof-Insterburg/Althof, Kr. Insterburg; 2 Berezovka/Groß Ottenhagen, Kr. Preußisch Eylau; 3 Grachovka/Craam, Kr. Fischhausen; 4 Gauten/Gauten, Kr. Fischhausen; 5 Zaostrov'e II/Schlakalken II, Kr. Fischhausen; 6 Grebieten/Grebieten, Kr. Fischhausen; 7 Greibau/ Greibau, Kr. Fischhausen; 8 Zhukovskoe/Margen, Kr. Fischhausen; 9 Kovrovo/Dollkeim, Kr. Fischhausen; 10 Kostrovo/Bludau II, Kr. Fischhausen; 11 Klinzovka/Kunterstrauch-Wargenau, Kr. Fischhausen; 12 Lehdorf/Lehdorf, Kr. Fischhausen; 13 Livny/Stobingen, Kr. Wehlau; 14 Orechovo/Schuditten, Kr. Königsberg; 15 Petino/Perdollen, Kr. Labiau; 16 Povarovka/Kirpehnen, Kr. Fischhausen; 17 Poddubnoje/Fürstenwalde-Niedtkeim, Kr. Königsberg; 18 Putilovo/Corjeiten, Kr. Fischhausen; 19 Rovnoe/Imten, Kr. Wehlau; 20 Primorskoe/Wollitnick-Fedderau, Kr. Heiligenbeil; 21 Skarbiec/Groß Steegen-Schatzberg, Kr. Preußisch Eylau; 22 Hrustal'noe/Wiekau, Kr. Fischhausen; 23 Schlakalken IV/Schlakalken IV, Kr. Fischhausen; 24 Zaozer'e/Lapsau, Kr. Königsberg; 25 Druzhba/Muskau, Kr. Wehlau; 26 Fedotovo/Plauen, Kr. Wehlau.

West Balts area in the same period (Bliujiene 2005, pp.112-130; Khomiakova 2012a, p.305ff., Map 40). And two examples of the form were discovered in Kovrovo grave 6. Thus, the decoration of the brooch from Kovrovo grave 6 could be connected with Scandinavian jewellery art of the first and second centuries (see Müller 1958, p.106; Andersson 1990, p.241, Figs. 1, 2; Schukin 2000, p.215ff.), but in simplified form, with pseudo-granulation. The closest analogy is well known from the Triigi cemetery of Tarand grave culture, dated to B2 phase (Fig. 7.2), which does not contradict our assumptions.

On the other hand, the disc brooch from Kovrovo grave 6 could indicate some surviving traditions from the Early Iron Age and distant contacts. Besides Tarand grave culture, similar items were discovered in the D'jakovo area. 'Umbo' shaped specimens (pins and

pendants) are known from the Podmoklovo hill-fort (Korol' et al. 1997, p.165ff., Fig. 67), and the Kruglica, Kuznechiki and Mjakinino settlements, dating from the first or second centuries (Krenke et al. 2013, p.58, Fig. 2.4). They are considered to be characteristic of the interfluvial area between the rivers Volga and Oka (Smirnov 1974, p.55). The earliest specimens are dated to the first century BC (Krenke 2011, p.79ff.). Apart from the 'umbo' shaped centre, they can also be decorated with openwork squares (Fig. 6.7). But other than ornamentation of the edge with pseudo-granulation, which is similar to the brooch from Kovrovo grave 6, the pear-shaped ending was not characteristic of D'jakovo items.

The formation of the design of Dollkeim-Kovrovo ornaments was probably not determined only by direct contacts with neighbours in the first centuries AD, but

also under the influence of some general ancient tradition which could have continued to exist until the beginning of the Roman Period, connecting the Baltic lands to the archaeological cultures of the forest zone.

General observations and conclusions

1. The activation of contacts with Central Europe, Scandinavia and the Roman provinces, associated with the amber trade, undoubtedly played a major role in the creation of new groups of West Balt decoration at the beginning of the Roman Period. Both cast and stamped disc brooches find distant analogies in Gaul, the northern Black Sea region and Pannonia in disc brooches dating from the first century.

2. In most cases, imitations of Roman provincial disc brooches of Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture demonstrate the general direction of development with specimens of the same type from the Bogaczewo area. According to J. Okulicz, this could emphasise the particular role of the Masurian Lakeland as an intermediate point in the contacts of the West Balts with Roman provinces (1973, p.416ff.). The sporadic appearance of artefacts of 'Barbarian enamel style' in the Dollkeim-Kovrovo area could also probably have been caused by connections with Bogaczewo culture. According to maps, they went for graveyards located near the main waterways of the region (Fig. 12). Disc enamel brooches of local production on the Sambian Peninsula are unknown. Imitations of Roman brooches, such as the item from Grebieten grave Grabstätte P, urn B (see Fig. 6.1–1a), did not have enamel fields, and were rather crudely made. It is noteworthy that disc brooches with an elongated centre, openwork wheel-brooches of Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture, give the earliest dates for similar items of local craftsmanship for all the Baltic lands. Thus, the specimens of the local tradition from west Lithuania are younger, and are dated to the beginning of the third century.

3. The age determination of the described artefacts is within the limits of B2 phase, which does not contradict the chronology of imported Roman disc brooches in West Balt territories, since the chronology of the graves cannot always correspond with the time of an import's arrival. Specimens that could have become models for local items appeared as a result of exchange within the context of the amber trade in the period of the most extensive contacts, such as the effect of the Slovakian-Danish wave of imports in the late first and early second centuries (see Kaczyński 1991, p.161ff.; Nowakowski 1995, p.70ff.). Disc items produced in local workshops according to the tradition of East Prussia are a bit older than artefacts of Bogaczewo culture, and

this probably indicates the availability of local lines of development, which could have been determined by the different peculiarities of contact zones in the Kaliningrad peninsula and in the Masurian Lakeland.

4. Besides connections with the Roman provinces by the 'amber route', contacts across the Baltic Sea could have existed (see Kaczyński 1991, p.179; Banytë-Rowell 2002, p.127). A lot of influences can be observed in West Balt ornaments: stamped brooches occur with trumpet-shaped neck-rings of Havor type (Rzeszotarska-Nowakiewicz 2010, p.329ff.; Khomiakova 2011, Fig. 5.4), and openwork belt sets (Jankuhn 1933, pp.166-260; Okulicz 1976, p.191ff.; Chilińska-Drapella 2010, pp.3-80), which find analogies not only in data from Noricum and Pannonia (Garbsch 1965, pp.79-94), but also in elements of Barbarian belt sets, military equipment and harnesses (Andrzejowski 2006, Fig. 15.4,5; Madyda-Legutko 2009, p.778ff.; Lau 2014, pp.9ff., 275, Figs. 4-5).

Horse bridles of Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture that find parallels in Danish items (see Wilbers-Rost 1994, p.107ff.) contain stamped elements similar in form and style to the discussed items. Belt separators in disc form with relief concentric circles are known from the inventory of grave 34 of Shossejnyj cemetery (Skvortzov, 2008, Fig. 248.20–21), Putilovo grave 8, and stray finds from the Kaymen cemetery, Kr. Labiau (Fig. 8.1, 5).

The harness from grave 34 of the Hrustalnoe cemetery (Heydeck 1909b, Taf. 37.k–m) has mounts similar to the stamped brooches from Orehovo grave 8, and Rovnoe grave 26 (Fig. 8.2,3). Items from Schreitlacken, Kr. Fischhausen are characterised by an openwork disc with a wheel motif (Fig. 8.4,6).

4. It should be mentioned that complexes with disc brooches and parts of headdresses also included mass imports, glass beads and imitations of 'prestigious' ornaments: strong profiled brooches of Almgren 72, and other items that find analogies in Wielbark culture of the Lower Vistula region, the Baltic islands and the 'princely' graves of the Lübsow area (see Domański 1979, Fig. 21.a-g; Wołągiewicz 1995, p.39ff., Taf. IV. 10, X. 12, XVI. 105. 1-6, Schuster 2010, Fig. 26). All the discussed specimens were produced from bronze; precious metals were not used. The burial rite of the graves was bi-ritual. Although the majority of complexes attributed to the first half of the second century were characterised by inhumations, cremations are also known. It seems that the question of the imitation of prestigious items is within the limits of the polemic about West Balt elites, and their character and role in contacts, and the process of their adoption.

5. The design of stamped brooches could also have formed under the influence of some ancient tradition that existed in the Baltic region from the Early Iron Age, like the system of waterway connections. Headdresses with pair brooches are certainly known from northern Roman territories (see Garbsch 1965, Taf. 12-14), but in the case described, ideas and styles of disc brooches known in the Baltic region in the Early Iron Age could also have been adopted. Some of them were sewn on textiles as before, others were fastened with a clasp. The mix of ancient tradition and innovation, connected with Roman influences and traces of distant contacts, characterises, for example, the item from grave 6 in the Kovrovo cemetery.

It should be mentioned that an opinion about the conservation of Early Iron Age traditions in the archaeological culture of the Sambian Peninsula in the 'early' phase of the Roman Period was pronounced (see Okulicz 1973, pp.356-364; Nowakowski 2008, p.47ff.). It could probably have persisted in jewellery, too. The question of the absence of local enamel artefacts may also fit into this idea. Although the Barbarian enamel technique was slightly crude, it was close to the Roman (Bitner-Wróblewska, Stawiarska 2009, pp.321ff., 331). The production of enamel in the first centuries AD was approached only with the stipulation that local craftsmen had to have direct connections with Roman enamel workshops (Stawiarska 1991, p.65ff.; Vaday 2003, p.331). Goldsmiths from the Dollkeim-Kovrovo area probably did not have the necessary technical skills. It raises the issue of the character of the contacts between Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture and Noricum and Pannonia in the late first and early second century. These contacts should not always be interpreted according to the binarity principle: we can speak about indirect connections. This also touches on the general question of the origin of Barbarian enamel style in East European cultures.

The adoption of different styles and the creation an original one are seen as one of the characteristic features of West Balt jewellery (see Banytė-Rowell 2004, pp.11-24; Bitner-Wróblewska, Banytė-Rowell 2005, p.116ff.; Bliujienė 2005, p.128); perhaps it could also be an effect of lack of knowledge. Local craftsmen could probably adopt innovations connected with Roman influence in some cases only on the level of the 'import of ideas'. Meanwhile, techniques such as coating with white metal, pseudo-granulation and stamping, which distinguished Barbarian jewellery art in the first centuries AD, notably in Wielbark workshops (see Andersson 1995, pp.203-214; Strobin 1995, p.51ff.), were used in the production of stamped brooches and parts of headdresses of Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture. The adoption of innovations and their integration into

local jewellery was the main aspect that distinguished the style of decoration in the late first and second centuries. These observations should, of course, be discussed and described by making an analysis of other kinds of decoration, their chronology, technique and style.

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Abbreviations

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

Arch. Lituana – Archaeologia Lituana (Vilnius since 1999)

BRGK – Berichte der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission. Mainz.

CRFB – Corpus der römischen Funde im Europäischen Barbaricum.

Fornvännen – Fornvännen. Journal of Swedish Antiquarian Research (Stockholm since 1906).

KSIA – Kratkie Soobshhenija Instituta Arheologii (Moscow since 1960).

Lietuvos Arch. – Lietuvos archeologija (Vilnius since 1979).

MAB – Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica. Warszawa; Kraków.

Offa – Offa-Bücher. Berichte und Mitteilungen aus dem Schleswig-Holsteinischen Landesmuseum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Schleswig und dem Insti-

tut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte an der Universität Kiel, Neumünster.

Prussia – Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia. Königsberg i.Pr.

Saalburg Jahrbuch – Saalburg Jahrbuch. Bericht des Saalburg Museums. Berlin.

SPÖG – Schiften der Physikalish-Ökonomischen Gesellschaft zu Königsberg I Pr. (Königsberg I Pr.)

WA – Wiadomości Archeologiczne (Warsaw, since 1873)

Museums and archives

KOIHM – Kaliningrad Region History and Art Museum, Kaliningrad

IA RAS – Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

KGOM – Kaliningradskij gosudarstvennyj oblastnoj muzej.

PM – Prussia-Museum.

SMB-PK/MVF – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin

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- Grave 50. Rectangular press mount with concentric circles (1 item).
Literature, archives: H. Jankuhn, R. Grenz archives.
- 2. Berevozka (Groß Ottenhagen, Kr. Preußisch Eylau)**
Grave 78. Headdress, consists of mounts of types III A, III C and III D (no information about exact number of items).
Literature: Khomiakova 2012a, p.443.
- 3. Grachovka (Craam, Kr. Fischhausen)**
Stray finds. Umbo-shaped mounts of group II (9 items) (Fig. 9.8-9).
Literature, archives: H. Jankuhn, R. Grenz archives.
- 4. Gauten (Gauten, Kr. Fischhausen)**
Stray find. Provincial disc fibula with enamel fields. Bronze, Colour of enamel: blue, white, red (Fig. 7.1-1b).
Literature: Thomas 1966, S. 158; Nowakowski 1996, Taf. 102.3; Bitner-Wróblewska *et al.* 2011, p.178f.
- 5. Zaostróv'e II (Schlakalken II, Kr. Fischhausen)**
Grave 135. Umbo-shaped mounts of group II (18 items).
Grave 145. Open-worked mount with wheel- and spindle motive and segmented edge. Bronze, with white metal coating. D around 5.2 cm (Fig. 5. 9).
Literature, archives: Juganov 2011, p.137f., p. 145f., Fig. 101.
- 6. Grebieten (Grebieten, Kr. Fischhausen)**
Grave 176. Mounts of type III C (3 items).
Grave "Grabstätte P, urn B". Item (mount?) PM IV. 1545384, with elongated centre and segmented edge. Bronze D 2.86 cm, H 1.31 cm, M 8.95 g (Fig. 6.1-1a).
Literature, archives: Bujack, 1888, p.235; H. Jankuhn, R. Grenz archives; Khomiakova 2012a, 431f.; SMB-PK/MVF.
- 7. Greibau (Greibau, Kr. Fischhausen)**
Grave 156. Roman provincial disc fibula with elongated centre and red enamel fields. Bronze, enamel. No information about size (Fig. 6.4).
Literature: Tischler, Kemke 1902, p.31; Bolin 1926, p.213; Nowakowski 1996, p.33, p.51; Bitner-Wróblewska *et al.* 2011, p.194
- 8. Zhukovskoe (Margen, Kr. Fischhausen)**
Grave A. Mounts of type III D (4 items), III C (3 items).
Literature, archives: H. Jankuhn, R. Grenz archives

Appendix 1. List of disc fibulae, round mounts, parts of headdresses and enamel items of Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture⁶

1. Althof-Insterburg (Althof, Kr. Insterburg)

Grave 26. Mounts of type III D (10 items).

Grave 30. Open-worked moulded fibula. Bronze, D. 4.4 cm; H. 0.87 cm; Th. 0.17 cm (Fig. 5.5-6). Mounts of types III D (20 items) and IA (1 item).

⁶ The typology of metal mounts according to Blumbergs, 1982; Abbreviations used in appendix: D diameter; H height; Th Thickness; M weight; L length.

9. Kovrovo (Dollkeim, Kr. Fischhausen)

Grave 4. Pressed disc fibula PM 6390. Fragmented. Bronze (Fig. 1.5).

Grave 6. Moulded fibula with elongated centre PM 6408. Bronze, D 7.1 cm, H 5.1 cm, D of composition at the end of tutuli 3.5 cm (Fig. 6.6).

Grave 9. Mounts of types III C (8 items), III D (9 items).

Grave 14a. Pressed disc fibula PM 6487. Bronze, D 8.6 cm (Fig. 1.1–1a)

Grave 27d. Mounts of types III A (2 items), III D (14 items).

Grave 30. Pressed disc fibula. Bronze (Fig. 2.1). Moulded (?) open-worked mount. Bronze, with white metal coating. (Fig. 5.7). Moulded (?) plate mount. Bronze (Fig. 6.3).

Grave 35b. Pressed disc fibula. Bronze, D 6.0 cm (Fig. 2.4).

Literature, archives: H. Jankuhn, R. Grenz archives; Tischler 1880, p.421, Fig. 19; Günther, Voss 1880, pp.349, 353, 358, 361, 369 and 481; Tischler, Kemke 1902, p.16, Taf. I.1, 5, 6, 10, 12; VIII.1–4, IX.3–3b, X.4, 4a; XIV.1, 9–10; Smirnova 1987, p.236; Kulakov 2004, p.14f., p.18, Figs. 7, 9, 30; Chylińska-Drapella 2010, p.21ff., Tab. 13, 14, 18, 19, 23; Khomiakova 2012a, pp.414, 416 and 418.

10. Kostrovo (Bludau II, Kr. Fischhausen)

Grave 30. Pressed disc fibula PM V.409.8756. Fragmented. Bronze, D 4.4 cm (Fig. 1.4). Mount of type III D (1 item).

Literature, archives: Bezenberger, Peiser 1914, p.229f., Figs. 76, 78–81; H. Jankuhn, R. Grenz archives.

11. Klincovka (Kunterstrauch-Wargenau, Kr. Fischhausen)

Grave IV. Pressed disc fibula. Bronze (Fig. 2.2).

Literature, archives: Heydeck 1909a, p.213, Taf. XXXVI; Gaerte 1929, Fig. 17.a; Nowakowski 1996, p. 45, Taf. 85; Khomiakova 2012a, p.460; H. Jankuhn archive

12. Lehdorf (Lehdorf, Kr. Fischhausen)

Grave C (1). Pressed disc fibula. Bronze (Fig. 1.3–3a).

Grave *without number*. Roman provincial enamel fibula (so called *Bügelfibel*) of type 4.I.18 by K. Exner.

Literature, archives: Jankuhn 1933, p.185; Nowakowski 1996, Taf. 81.2; Chylińska-Drapella 2010, p.26, tab. 24–25; Khomiakova 2012a, p.476; H. Jankuhn archive

13. Livny (Stobingen, Kr. Wehlau)

Stray finds. Pressed mount PM III. 139.996, 13c. Bronze, D 2.1 cm (Fig. 9.7). Mounts of type III D (2 items). Pressed mount (1 item).

Literature, archives: H. Jankuhn archive

14. Orehovo (Schuditten, Kr. Königsberg)

Grave 8. Pressed disc fibula PM V. 256 8307. Bronze, D 5.4 cm, H 0.5 cm (Fig. 2.5).

Literature, archives: Bezenberger 1909, p.48, Fig. 21, Taf. X; Nowakowski 1996, Taf. 106: 2; H. Jankuhn archive.

15. Petino (Perdollen, Kr. Labiau)

Grave 1. Roman provincial disc fibula with wheel-motive.

Literature, archives: SMB–PK/MVF, PM–A 1186/1: 180

16. Povarovka (Kirpehnen, Kr. Fischhausen)

Grave III. Provincial enamel fibula (so called Gleichseitige Fibeln) of type 1.II.1 by K. Exner.

Grave 10. Fibula (disc mount?) PM V. 352 8506, moulded, open-worked, with elongated center. Bronze, D 4.3 cm, Th 0.3 cm (Fig. 5.4).

Stray find. Pressed mount of type III C (1 item).

Literature, archives: Stadie 1909, p.371, 372; Gaerte 1929, p.213, Fig. 161.d, e; Chylińska-Drapella 2010, p. 32; Khomiakova 2012a, p. 456; H. Jankuhn archive

17. Poddubnoe (Fürstenwalde-Niedtkeim, Kr. Königsberg)

Stray find. Pressed mount (?) PM 710. Bronze, D 6.5 cm, H 0.5–1.0 cm. (Fig. 9.2)

Stray find. Pressed mount (?) PM 711. Bronze, D 6.0–6.5 cm, H 0.5–1.0 cm (Fig. 9.1).

Literature, archives: Hensche 1869, p.147, Taf. III.2, 3; Gaerte 1929, Fig. 146.a; H. Jankuhn archive

18. Putilovo (Corjeiten, Kr. Fischhausen)

Grave 1. Pressed fibula PM 14236. Bronze (Fig. 1.2).

Grave 2. Pressed fibula PM 14243 with “umbo” shaped center. Bronze, D 6.1–6.5 cm, H 0.96 cm, M 2.,38 g (Fig. 3.1–2, 6, 8–9). Pressed mount PM 14244. Bronze, D around 5.8–6.1 cm, Th 0.05 cm, M. 8.01 g (Fig. 4.1–2). Pressed mount PM 14245. Fragmented. Bronze, D around 6.3 cm (reconstructed), Th 0.08 cm, M 3.78 g (Fig. 4. 3–4). Mounts PM 1427 of type IA (17 items, now only 4 items remain). D 1.4–1.7 cm, H 0.6 cm, M 0.87 g (Fig. 4.5). Plate mount. Bronze, D 2.5 cm

(reconstructed) (Fig. 4.6). Plate mount. Bronze, D 2.1 cm (reconstructed) (Fig. 4.7).

Grave 400. Open-worked mount with wheel-motive. Fragmented. Bronze, with white metal coating. D 3.0 cm, H 0.6 cm, Th 0.15 cm. M 6.08 g (Fig. 5.1–3).

Stray find. Pressed mount PM V.113.7508. Fragmented. Bronze, D around 4.3–4.4 cm, D around 5.1 cm (reconstructed), H 0.2 cm, Th 0.06 cm, M 6.22 g (Fig. 3.3–4).

Literature, archives: Jankuhn 1933, p.168f., Fig. 1; Chilińska-Drapella 2010, p.28f., tab. 31; Khomiakova 2012a, p.411f.; H. Jankuhn archive; SMB–PK/MVF.

19. Rovnoe (Imten, Kr. Wehlau)

Grave 3. Mounts of type III D (28 items), round and rectangular pressed mounts (12 items).

Grave 14. Mount PM III.280, 2100 of type III D (1 item).

Grave 26. Pressed fibula (mount?) PM III. 380 2407. Bronze, D 3.7 cm (Fig. 2.3).

Stray finds PM III.216, 2092. Mounts of types I A (3 items), III D (10 items), pressed disc mount (1 item).

Literature, archives: H. Jankuhn archive

20. Primorskoe (Wollitnick-Fedderau, Kr. Heiligenbeil)

Grave A. Mounts of types III C (4 items), III D (25 items).

Literature, archives: H. Jankuhn archive; Khomiakova 2012a, p.492.

21. Skarbiec (Groß Steegen-Schatzberg, Kr. Preußisch Eylau)

Stray finds. Mounts of types III C (8 items), III D (6 items).

Literature, archives: H. Jankuhn archive

22. Hrustal'noe (Wiekau, Kr. Fischhausen)

Grave 34. Provincial disc fibula. Bronze, enamel. The colours of enamel (by F. Jakobson archive): blue, red, yellow (Figs. 7.2–2b; 8.2,3).

Literature: Heydeck 1909b, p.219, Taf. 37; Thomas 1966, p.173f.; Wilbers-Rost 1994, p.198; Nowakowski 1996, p.30, 70; Bitner-Wróblewska *et al.* 2011, p.498.

23. Schlakalken IV (Schlakalken IV, Kr. Fischhausen)

Grave 3. Mount of type III D (1 item).

Grave 24a. Mount, moulded, with segmented edge. Bronze, D 3.0 cm, H 0.5 cm (Fig. 6.2–2a).

Grave 26. Mounts of type I A (2 items).

Grave 29. Mounts of types III C (3 items), III D (45 items).

Literature, archives: Jankuhn 1933, pp.169, 173f., Tab. II.4; Jankuhn 1933, pp.245ff.; Chilińska-Drapella 2010, p.30f., tab. 36; Khomiakova 2012a, p.480; H. Jankuhn, R. Grenz archives.

24. Zaozer'e (Lapsau, Kr. Königsberg)

Stray find. Chain with enamel fields, point of drinking horn PM II, 22. 107/a.

Literature, archives: Tischler 1879, p.52; H. Jankuhn archive

25. Druzhba (Muskau, Kr. Wehlau)

Stray find. Pendant with enamel fields PM III 252, 1173.

Literature, archives: H. Jankuhn archive

26. Fedotovo (Plauen, Kr. Wehlau)

Stray find. Finger-ring with enamel fields.

Literature: Bujack 1880, p.111, Fig. 9.

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APSKRITINĖS SEGĖS DOLLKEIMO-KOVROVO KULTŪROJE. PAPUOŠALŲ KILMĖS PIETRYTINIAME BALTIJOS REGIONE PIRMAISIAIS AMŽIAIS PO KRISTAUS KLAUSIMU

OLGA KHOMIAKOVA

Santrauka

Straipsnis skiriamas ankstyvojo romėniškojo laikotarpio apskritinių segių kategorijai Dollkeimo-Kovrovo (Sembos-Natangos) kultūroje. Sudėtingas archeologinis šių radinių kontekstas, daugelio morfologinių savybių, pagal kurias jos siejamos su Romos provincijose gamintomis fibulomis-segėmis, sąlygiškumas leidžia jas tyrinėti ne tik kaip savivertę kategoriją, bet ir daug platesnės grupės radinių fone. Siūlomas tyrimų metodas, kuris remiasi įvairių archyvinių šaltinių verifika-

cija, taip pat išlikusių buvusios „Prussia“ muziejaus kolekcijos radinių analize.

Iš apskritinių gaminių išskiriama: pirma, pagaminti štam pavimo būdu, su smeigtuko tipo užsegimo mechanizmu (1, 2, 3 pav.); antra, plokšti egzemplioriai be smeigtuko, su iškiluma akcentuotu kraštu ir su skylute centrinėje dalyje (4: 1–2, 9: 1–2 pav.); trečia, plokšti apskriti papuošalai, pagaminti liejimo būdu. Čia pasiūlytose grupėse galima išskirti gaminius su įvairiais puošybos būdais. Atskirą grupę sudaro lieti egzemplioriai: ažūriniai rato pavidalo (5 pav.) ir apskriti su segmentuotais kraštais ir iškiluma vidurinėje dalyje (6 pav.), kurie turi tiesioginių analogijų Romos provincijų medžiagoje. Pietryčių ir Pietų Baltijos regiono archeologinių kultūrų medžiagoje žinomas ir šių tipų importas (5: 8; 6: 5 pav.). Aptariamų dirbinių datos apskritai sietinos su I a. pabaiga – II a. ir galbūt pačia III a. po Kr. pradžia. Tokia pat chronologija būdinga ir kitų tipų importinėms romėniškųjų provincijų fibuloms-segėms su emale, kurios žinomos Kaliningrado pusiasalio medžiagoje (7: 1–2 pav.). Vietinės gamybos pavyzdžiai sietini su ankstyviausiu jų datavimu visame rytiniame Baltijos regione, kurio kultūrose ažūrinių ir tutulinių apskritinių gaminių tradicija gerai žinoma, tačiau jie siejami su ne ankstesniu nei III a. pradžios laikotarpiu. Tarp vietinių senienų emaliuotų dirbinių gamybos tradicija nepastebėta. Dollkeimo-Kovrovo kultūros areale dirbiniai su emale – tai romėniškųjų provincijų tipų importas arba artimi radiniais iš Mozūrijos ežeryno. Tuo tarpu apskritinės segės, pagamintos štam pavimo būdu, iš viso reprezentuoja tik tolimą panašumą su romėniškųjų provincijų fibulomis-segėmis.

Čia aptariami dirbiniai labai panašūs su galvos apdangalų plokštelėmis-detalemis, kurios plačiai žinomos Kaliningrado pusiasalio medžiagoje. Galvos apdangalų su metalinėmis detalėmis nešiosenos tradicija Baltijos jūros salose žinoma nuo ikiromėniškojo laikotarpio. Tam tikrų kapų kompleksų su apskritinėmis segėmis sudėtyje buvo išskirti aplikacijų tipai, žinomi ankstyvajame geležies amžiuje Gotlande. Inventoriaus išsidėstymas Klincovkos kapo IV komplekse (10: 1 pav.) rodo, kad štam puoti dirbiniai taip pat priklauso ir galvos dangalui. Daugelis dirbinių, taip pat ir su ažūriniu rombo formos ornamentu, aprėmintu ratu, turėjo tvirtinimą, kuris būdingas minėtoms aplikacijoms. Visa tai leidžia daryti išvadą, kad ši tradicija, tikėtina, taip pat turėjo įtakos aptariamoms kategorijoms formavimuisi. Išorinis tokios galvos dangos vaizdas žinomas tik pagal vieno komplekso – Berezovkos kapo 78 (10: 2–3 pav.) – duomenis, kur ši danga gali būti interpretuojama kaip vainikas iš kelių juostų, papuoštų aplikacijomis. Pažymėtina, kad tokie galvos dangalai, taip pat ir kepurėlės su metalinėmis aplikacijomis, plačiai žinomi ir kitose „senovės baltų arealo“ kultūrose.

Ryšį su ankstesniojo laikotarpio tradicijomis galbūt galima atsekti ir per kai kuriuos „skydo pavidalo“ arba „umbo formos“ vakarų baltų pilkapių kultūros gaminius. Jų genezės ir chronologijos klausimai lieka atviri, bet čia pirmą kartą bandoma šiuos dirbinius analizuoti morfologinių bruožų, kurie turi tam tikrų sąsajų su I–II a. gaminiais, lygmeniu. Esama daugelio analogijų Baltijos regiono kultūrų areale, taip pat tam tikrų to patvirtinimų Kaliningrado pusiasalio archeologinėje medžiagoje, kurios leidžia manyti šią tradiciją gyvavus ilgai ir galbūt „išgyvenus“ iki romėniškojo laikotarpio pradžios. Taigi tutulinių papuošalo analogijų, panašių kaip iš Kovrovo kapo 6, buvo žinoma tiek Rytų Baltijos regione, tiek miško zonos kultūrose erų sandūroje. Pastebėta ir tam tikrų laidosenos savybių – apskritų gaminių ir aplikacijų, būdingų Baltijos jūros saloms ikiromėniškuoju laikotarpiu (Lietuvos terminologijoje ir chronologinėje sistemoje – ankstyvojo geležies amžiaus pabaiga), buvo rasta degintiniuose ankstyvosios Dollkeimo-Kovrovo kultūros fazės kapuose.

Taigi įkapių kompleksuose atsiskleidžia kai kurie archajiški bruožai ir paliudijimai, kad kontaktai su Baltijos jūros regionais (visų pirma salomis) gyvavo ir ikiromėniškuoju laikotarpiu, o prasidedant romėniškųjų įtakų laikotarpiui pastebimas tik jų stiprus sužydėjimas ir sklaidos pradžia, veikiant romėniškųjų provincijų įtakoms.

Dirbinių, kurie tradiciškai laikomi „svetimos kultūros“, gali būti randama B2 fazės kompleksų, kurie yra degintiniai, sudėtyje. Morfologinių savybių lygmenyje pastebimas brangiųjų metalų nenaudojimas, tam tikras technikos grubumas, vietinių dirbinių su emale gamybos nebuvimas – tai greičiausiai yra susiję su technologijų stoka, nepaisant akivaizdaus „romėniškųjų provincijų idėjų“ išnaudojimo. Vėliau tai galėjo kompensuoti Wielbarko kultūros juvelyrikos tradicijos įtakos. Šių veiksmų visuma greičiausiai ir sudaro I–II amžių radinių kompleksų tapatybę.

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