

THE ORIGINS OF CUFF BRACELETS IN WEST BALT CULTURES (ACCORDING TO DATA FROM SAMBIAN-NATANGIAN CULTURE CEMETERIES)

OLGA KHOMIAKOVA

Institute of Archaeology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Dmitry Ulyanov St., 19, Moscow, 117036, Russian Federation, e-mail: olga.homiakova@gmail.com

The category of cuff bracelets characteristic of West Balt Bogaczewo and Sudovian cultures during B2/C1 and C1 is examined in the context of previously unknown data from cemeteries in the Sambian-Natangian area. The paper presents the reconstruction and analysis of Sirenevo (Eisselbitten) burial 30, based on new data from Moskovskoye 1 Cemetery, making it possible to examine the chronology and range of this jewellery type in a somewhat new light.

Keywords: Late Roman period, West Balts, cuff bracelets, tribal elites, intercultural contacts.

Anksčiau nežinomų duomenų iš Sembos-Notangos regiono kapinynų kontekste apžvelgiamas rankogalinių apyrankių tipas, būdingas B2/C1 ir C1 periodų Vakarų baltų kultūrinio rato Bogačevo ir Sūduvių kultūroms. Straipsnyje pateikiama naujais Moskovskoje 1 kapinyno duomenimis grindžiama Sirenevo (Eisselbitten) kapinyno kapo 30 rekonstrukcija ir analizė, kuri leidžia naujai pažvelgti į aptariamų papuošalų chronologiją ir paplitimą.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: Vėlyvasis romėniškasis laikotarpis, Vakarų baltų kultūrų ratas, rankogalinės apyrankės, gentinė diduomenė, tarpkultūriniai kontaktai.

INTRODUCTION

One of the major objectives of Southeast and East Baltic archaeology in the first half of the 1st millennium is the study of intercultural contacts and mutual influence among the West Balts¹ on the basis of data from burial assemblages and the solution of the issue of the nature of this mutual influence (Okulicz 1976; Kaczyński 1991; Bliujienė 2011, pp.35–203; Banytė-Rowell 2015, pp.40–57; Khomiakova 2015).

The Sambian-Natangian area (Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture), as one of the core contact zones in the Baltic region, holds a unique position among the West Balt cultures (see Nowakowski 1991, pp.52–61; 1996, p.80; Bitner-Wróblewska 2001, p.22). Various artefacts discovered in burial grounds on the Kaliningrad (Sambian) Peninsula provide a material reflection of the intercultural contacts in West Balt territory. These finds play a role in the definition of the culture and the chronological framework.

¹ In this article, the West Balts are understood to mean the community of Roman period archaeological cultures located in the Southeast Baltic region bounded by the Rivers Vistula (Pol. *Wisła*), Neman (Lith. *Nemunas*), and Daugava (Western Dvina), and the watershed area in the vicinity of the Lake Narach (Bliujienė 2013, pp.78–80, pav. 24).

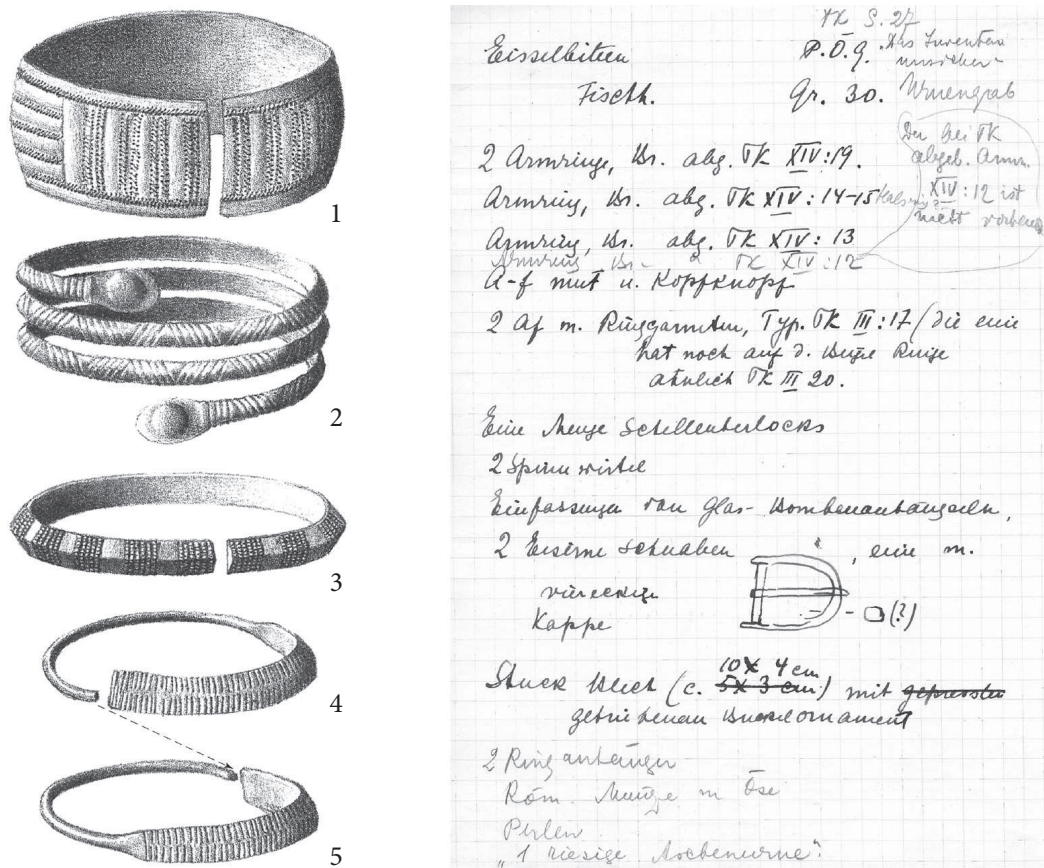


Fig. 1. Finds from Sirenevo (Ger. *Eisselbitten*) burial 30 and their description: 1–5 – bracelets; 6 – archival data (1–5 – after Tischler, Kemke 1902, Taf. XIV:12–15, 19; 6 – after MSA, 9.21–11).

Cuff bracelets hold an important place among these items. This type of Sambian-Natangian artefact is represented in all of the chronological-typological schemes of the West Balt material culture. Such bracelets, together with other elements dating to the Early Roman period in Kazimierz Godłowski's chronological system, are regarded as one of the indicators of the 'younger phase' (Late Roman period) of the West Balt culture (Godłowski 1974, tab. 5:13). Jerzy Okulicz (1973, pp.404–405, ryc. 191:b) named them indicators of Central European phase C1 in the Sambian-Natangian area. They are also indicative of phase 2 in the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture according to Wojciech Nowakowski (1996, pp.48–49, Tab. 107:Phase 2). Cuff bracelets have been attributed by the present author to phase 2 (value 43) and synchronized with Central-European phases B2/C1

and C1a in the chronology of female clothing elements (Хомякова 2012b, pp.259–260, рис. 9).

The cuff bracelet from the second half of the 19th–early 20th-century excavation of burial 30 in Sirenevo (Eisselbitten) Cemetery serves as a 'key item' (Fig. 1:1). The burial's inventory is only known from illustrations in the 1902 book by Otto Tischler and Heinrich Kemke *Ostpreussische Altertümer aus der Zeit der großen Gräberfelder nach Christi Geburt* (Tischler, Kemke 1902, Tab. XIV:19) (Fig. 1:1–5). The lack of information on the burial inventory is responsible for it having been considered somewhat 'alien' to the material culture of the Sambian-Natangian area (e.g. Кулаков 2015, pp.184–185, рис. 1). Archival data and finds preserved at the Museum for Prehistory and Early History, Berlin (hereinafter SMB-PK MVF), have allowed the inventory of this

‘atypical’ burial to be reconstructed. Its analysis, in the context of other finds, including recent ones, makes it possible to discuss the origins, chronology, and context of cuff bracelets in the West Balt cultures.

RECONSTRUCTION OF SIRENEVO BURIAL 30

The Tischler’s 1878 investigation at Eisselbitten Cemetery (*Eisselbitten bei Rudau Kreis Fischhausen*, now Sirenevo, Zelenogradsk District, Kaliningrad Oblast) (Tischler 1879, p.259; 1880. pp.5–10) saw the excavation of 160 burials. The 1902 monograph by Tischler and Kemke contained descriptions of ten urn and pit cremations: burials 17, 18, 24, 29, 30, 47, 52, 119, 130, and 146 (Tischler, Kemke 1902, pp.26–27). The archives of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation at the SMB-PK MVF contain the cemetery’s excavation records drawn from Tischler’s field logbook but they lack a description and plan of burial 30.

According to the description in the aforementioned monograph, burial 30, an urn cremation, contained: a large urn, five bronze bracelets, iron crotal-shaped pendants (*Schellenberlocken*), two ring-shaped pendants with loops, two long bronze straps, a Roman coin, a small spherical bead (*millefiori*), and three melted glass cylindrical beads (Tischler, Kemke 1902, p.27). Kemke points out in his notes, appended to the description, that this burial inventory has still not been completely identified. The bracelets from burial 30 were mentioned by Tischler in the proceedings of the Physical and Economic Society (*Physikalisch-ökonomische Gesellschaft*). It was characterized as a ‘very rich female burial’ (Tischler 1880, p.9) but its inventory was not itemised. Kemke also mentions pieces of bronze sheet metal and three crossbow fibulae (Tischler,

Kemke 1902, p.27). The catalogue compiled by Sture Bolin likewise mentions three crossbow fibulae, two decorated with notched-wire rings. Bolin (1926, p.211) also attributes an indefinable pierced bronze Roman coin (sesterce) to burial 30, citing Tischler’s monograph, which only mentions Roman coins from Eisselbitten Cemetery (Tischler 1879, p.214).

The information found in Marta Schmiedehelm’s archive (hereinafter MSA) for the inventory of burial 30 largely coincides with the data from Tischler and Kemke’s publication and Bolin’s description (MSA 9.21-11). It has references to the illustrated bracelets, three crossbow fibulae, two of which are decorated with notched-wire rings, crotal-shaped pendants, two ring-shaped pendants, two long bronze straps, a pierced Roman coin, and beads. Meanwhile, Schmiedehelm’s catalogue provides evidence that the burial contained, *inter alia*, two spindle whorls and two iron buckles, the outline of one being shown in Fig. 1:6.

The items from Eisselbitten Cemetery are classified as being among the oldest pieces in the Physical and Economic Society collection, which survived among the remains of the Prussia Museum collection stored in the SMB-PK MVF. The identification of those bracelets, which have a specific morphology, appears to be the most accurate. They were assigned the following inventory numbers: 16531 and 16532 – cuff bracelets, 16532² – a coiled bracelet fragment, 16533 – a band bracelet, and 16543 – a ring-shaped item with a flattened thickened terminal (Figs. 2; 3:1, 5, 8). The following items are also likely to belong to burial 30: no. 16539 – folded bronze sheet metal (Fig. 3:11), which may be part of a bronze pendant, no. 16538 – a fibula pin that has partially melted away, no. 16536 – a fibula spring (Fig. 3:3), no. 16543 – sheet metal decorated with a stamped design (Fig. 3:9), no. 16540 – a ring-shaped pendant (Fig. 3:6), and nos. 16529 and 16530 – crossbow fibulae (Fig. 3:2, 4).

² In many cases different items from the old collection of Prussia-museum (usually from one cemetery or grave) have the same inventory numbers.

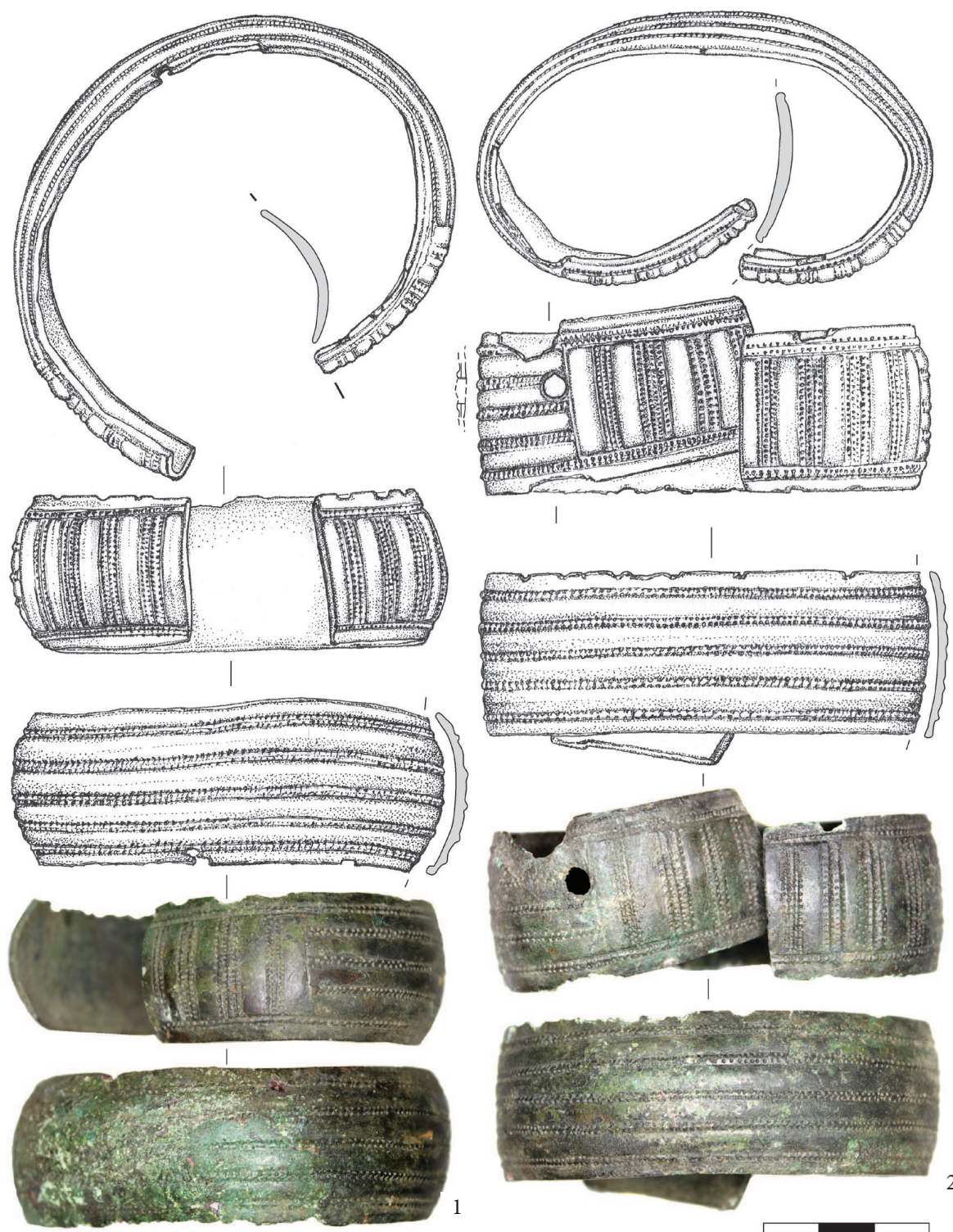


Fig. 2. Cuff bracelets from Sirenevo burial 30: 1 – SMB-PK MVF, PM, no. 16531; 2 – SMB-PK MVF, PM, no. 16532. Drawings and photos by O. Khomiakova.



Fig. 3. The partial inventory of Sirenevo burial 30: 1, 5 – bracelets (SMB-PK MVE, PM, nos. 16532, 16533); 2–4 – two fibulae and a fibula spring (SMB-PK MVE, PM, nos. 16529, 16530, 16536); 6 – a ring (SMB-PK MVE, PM, no. 16540); 7, 10 – beads (SMB-PK MVE, PM, nos. 16550, 16558); 8 – a ring-shaped item with a flattened, widened terminal (SMB-PK MVE, PM, no. 16543); 9, 11 – sheet metal with stamped decorations (SMB-PK MVE, PM, no. 16543). 1–6, 9, 11 – bronze; 7, 10 – glass. Drawings and photos by O. Khomiakova

The identification of beads appears to be more complicated. Items, which have similar descriptions and might have belonged to burial 30, bear inventory numbers 16550 and 16558 (Fig. 3:7, 10), but they cannot be attributed to this burial with full confidence. The iron artefacts: the buckles and crotal-shaped pendants mentioned by Tischler and Schmiedehelm, if they have survived, may be among the unidentified finds from the Prussia Museum collection preserved in the SMB-PK MVF.

INVENTORY DESCRIPTION

The items remaining in the SMB-PK MVF include:

The cuff bracelets, items nos. 16531 and 16532 (Fig. 2), are 6.60–7.60 cm in diameter with a 2.53–3.76 cm wide shank. The 0.16–0.19 cm thick sheet metal shank of the clasplless ornaments has a convex profile and is decorated with a geometrical design formed by rows of chased pits and grooves interspersed with repoussé ridges. The terminals are decorated with a geometrical design that combines vertical lines of notches and pits. Bracelet no. 16532 (Fig. 2:2) is distorted, its terminals having been pushed inwards, and one terminal has a 0.44 cm diameter perforation.

A spiral bracelet, item no. 16532 (Fig. 3:5), has survived incompletely and bears traces of having been in a fire. The extant piece, which consists of two fused shank fragments with a roughly 0.50 cm convex cross-section, is 5.52 cm long and 0.95 cm wide in the middle. The surface is adorned with sets of four parallel rows of oblique grooves that form a zigzag pattern. According to the published data, the shank was turned in three spiral volutes. The terminals are roundish, flattened, and decorated with the spherical knobs.

A bracelet, item no. 16533 (Fig. 3:1), also survived incompletely. One end, where the terminal has melted off, is distorted. The diameter ranges from 5.67 to 6.75 cm. The shank has a 0.75 cm wide, roughly 0.9 cm high triangular cross-section. The

surface is adorned with parallel, vertical notched ridges created by incising grooves.

Item 16543 (Fig. 3:8) is worth noting. The ring-shaped, 5.25–5.93 cm diameter, cast object was made from a roundish rod, roughly 0.24 cm in diameter, one half of which has been flattened, giving it a triangular cross-section, and decorated on the outside with grooves in a pattern similar to a ‘wolf’s tooth’. Both ends bear traces of having been broken off, which indicates that the item is incomplete. Traces of tinplating can be seen on its surface.

One fibula, item no. 16529 (Fig. 3:4), is 6.58 cm long and 3.0 cm wide with a 4.6 cm long spring. It has a pentagonal cross-section arched bow decorated with rings and ridges.

The second fibula with notched wire decoration has not survived but, according to the MSA description, which lists item 20 in Table III in Tischler and Kemke’s monograph (Tischler, Kemke 1902, Taf. III:20) as analogous, it was decorated with a single ring. Item 16536, part of a spring, might have come from it (Fig. 3:3).

The third fibula, item no. 16530 (Fig. 3:2), features a bent foot and three knobs: one on the end of each axis pin and one on the head. The arched bow has a faceted cross-section. The fibula is 5.47 cm long, 2.29 cm wide, and has a 3.28 cm long spring.

Item 16538, a pin with a melted end, is likely to have come from a fibula.

Item 16543 (Fig. 3:9), which is 7.52 x 3.43 cm, was probably rectangular originally. It is made of tin sheet metal (roughly 0.59 cm wide) decorated with a bumpy repoussé design. The same repoussé was mentioned as being on the item’s edges. The object’s description and dimensions approximately correspond to the MSA data for a 10 x 4 cm piece of sheet metal. The object had probably deteriorated in storage. Item 16539 (Fig. 3:11), a 2.12 x 1.83 cm x 0.183 cm piece of folded sheet metal, is considered to be a fragment of item 16543.

Item 16540 (Fig. 3:6) is an open ring-shaped artefact made from circular cross-section wire. The ring has a roughly 3.26 cm diameter.

Item 16550 (Fig. 3:10) is an elongated (2.68 cm long, roughly 0.8–1.3 cm diameter), partially melted, polychromic glass bead. The 'bottle green' body is decorated with slightly wavy, horizontal white and red lines. Item 16580 (Fig. 3:7), a 2.02 cm long, 1.92 cm diameter bead of opaque black glass decorated with white and yellow dots, was also partially melted.

Missing items, known from the MSA (9.21-11):

Buckles (2 items). One probably had semicircular two-piece shank. The other, according to the description, probably had a buckle plate (Fig. 1:6).

Iron crotal-shaped pendants.

Two spindle whorls.

According to the information from Tischler and Kemke's monograph, a millefiori glass bead was also part of the grave goods (Tischler, Kemke 1902, p.27).

A bronze Roman coin (sesterce), attributed by Bolin, can possibly be assigned to burial 30.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Despite the failure of the burial's entire inventory to reach the present day or to be identified (like the spindle whorls, coin, pendants, and beads), the main artefacts contributing to the chronology and typology have survived. The fibulae with notched wire rings belong to Almgren type 167 (Almgren 1923, pp.78, 241, Taf. VII:167) and are close to ring decoration types I.1 and II (Khomiakova 2012, Fig. 1:1, 3, 5). Fibula 16529 is distinguished by its size, form, and cross-section, which are similar to the majority of the Almgren type 167 artefacts from the Sambian-Natangian area (Nowakowski 1996, pp.55–59, Karte 7; Хомякова 2012а, pp.76–77, рис. 15–18, Карта 10). The other fibulae have been identified as Almgren types 161–162 (Almgren 1923, p. 241, Taf. VII:161, 162, 167). The buckle's morphological features allow it to be attributed to D-shaped type D17 established by Madyda-Legutko (1987, pp.29–30, Karte 21). The occurrence of Almgren type 167 and 161–162 fibulae and D-shaped buckles is characteristic of Sambian-Natangian burials dating to

C1a–C1b (Хомякова 2012а, pp.78–79, 104; 2012b, pp.260–261, рис. 9).

The open ring (Fig. 3:6) was probably part of a necklace and was assigned to the ring-shaped pendants. At Bol'shoe Isakovo (Ger. *Lauth*) and Gur'evsk-Novyj (Ger. *Trausitten*) Cemeteries, similar items have been discovered in burials dating to C1a–C1b and C2 (SMB-PK MVE, PM, no. 15213, 1014.14–16; Скворцов 2000, pp.147–150, рис. 168–171). The 'spotted' black glass bead is close to Tempelmann-Mączyńska type 198 and polychromic bead 16550 can be attributed to type 303–307 (Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1985, pp.48, 56, Taf. 8–9, 43). Similar items are common in North Europe, especially on the Baltic Sea islands during B2/C1–C1a and C1b–C2 (Ollag 1994, p.228). Millefiori glass beads, which were also found in burial 30, were widespread in Europe, including the Black Sea region, beginning in the 1st century (Алексеева 1982, pp.33–45, Табл. 47–49; Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1985, pp.58–62).

Artefacts similar to sheet metal item 16543 (Fig. 3:9) have been discovered in the Sambian-Natangian cemetery at Poddubnoje (Ger. *Fürstentalde*) (Hensche 1869, p.147, Taf. III:1). One had right angles and was roughly 13.5 x 6.7 cm (HJA, PM, no. 709). The function of the artefacts cannot be clearly determined. Kemke associates them with drinking horn elements similar to items found at Thorsberg Moor (Tischler, Kemke 1902, p.27, footnote). However, in the Sambian-Natangian culture, they are associated with different objects. They resemble the sheet metal pieces thought to be part of a belt-end fitting found in the inventory of burial 53 at Bol'shoe Isakovo Cemetery (Skvortzov 2004/2005, pp.141–142, Taf. 66:34–35). The same function has been ascribed to a similar item from burial 'Urn 2' at Kotel'nikovo (Ger. *Warengen*) Cemetery (SMB-PK MVE, PM, no. III, 211, 1082.2). In any case, these sheet metal artefacts were discovered together with rivets, which attached them to the strap. But no rivets were discovered in Sirenevo burial 30. These sheet metal items have some similarities with the

fragments of the small amulet boxes used by the West Balts. They are known from the data from the Bogaczewo culture: Babięta (Ger. *Babienten*) burials 461 and 482, Mojtyny (Ger. *Moythienen*) burial 41, Krosno (Ger. *Krossen*) burial 325 (Hollack, Peiser 1904, p.50; Peiser 1921, p.115; Rudnicki *et al.* 2015, pp.588–589, ryc. 2:a–c). The boxes incorporated the same repoussé-decorated sheet metal. The box from Babięta, which is part of the ‘Prussia’ collection currently kept at the Kaliningrad Regional History and Art Museum (No. KTOM 18350.94), is about 4 cm high and has similar measurements to the item from Sirenevo burial 30. The piece of sheet metal was deformed; it may have been folded before being placed in the grave.

No definitive conclusions could be made about the function of item 16543, a piece of sheet metal. However, all the parallels are connected with stylistic features attributed to ‘prestigious’ artefacts from North and Central European antiquities that date to C1–C2 (see Ilkjær 1993, Abb. 81; Czarnecka 2010, p.229, ryc. 2). Similar items, dated to no later than the same period, have been discovered in the Wielbark culture, which existed near the West Balts (Natuniewicz-Sekuła, Okulicz-Kozaryn 2011, p.33, Pl. XV, XVI, CCXL:9, CCXLIII:13).

The Sirenevo burial 30 item with a thick triangular cross-section and the ‘wolf’s tooth’ design (Fig. 3:8) was assigned to the bracelet category by Tischler and Kemke. Two individual pieces are depicted in the illustration (Tischler, Kemke 1902, Taf. XIV:14, 15). The end of item 16543 in the SMB-PK MVF shows signs of destruction (Fig. 3:8), which allows the assumption to be made that these could have originally been two fragments of a coiled artefact. Although this item has no analogies in the Sambian-Natangian area, it is recognized that analogous finds of coiled items with snakelike terminals, Andersson (1993, fig. 79; 1995, fig. 47) types B/C, are common among the C1b–C2 artefacts from Bornholm, Gotland, and Öland. The item could have derived from such an object. A similar idea was proposed by Schmiedehelm, who associated it with a

neck-ring in her files (Fig. 1:6). Neck-rings with the laminar terminals with snakelike shapes are known in the Estonian material culture from the same period (Moora 1938, pp.304–305, 352, Abb. 42:5).

Although snake-head bracelet 16532 (Figs. 1:3, 3:1) should be described in the context of the snake-head artefacts that occurred in the Baltic Sea region during C1–C2, it should be seen more as an example of the jewellery practices characteristic of the West Balts. The bracelet’s terminals imitate snake-headed ones while the shank is adorned with a notched design. Spiral bracelets produced from wire were common in Balt territories during the Iron Age. In the Late Roman period, which is associated with C1–C2 in Central European chronology, similar bracelets with shanks decorated with punched designs were developed in West Lithuania (Michelbertas 1986, pp.146–148, pav. 59:3, 4). Data from Palanga, Bandužiai, and Kurmaičiai Cemeteries have yielded information about analogous bracelets made from wire that have a triangular cross-section and punched decoration (Kulikauskas 1968, pav. 17:4, 21:1, 2, 23:1, 2; Tautavičius 1968 p.134, pav. 13:4; Stankus 1995, p.70, pav. 59:1, 5, 6). A close analogy of the bracelet occurs in the Sambian-Natangian area, namely in Okunevo (Ger. *Grebieten*) burial 155, which dates to C1a (Fig. 5:3). The bracelet was found together with Almgren type 93 and 130 fibulae and a square-shaped buckle, which could be assigned to Madyda-Legutko group G (HJA, PM IV.227–9.5416; Almgren 1923, pp.46–47, Taf. IV:93, VI:130; Madyda-Legutko 1987, pp.48–49). On the whole, the burial’s date can be associated with C1.

COMPARATIVE CHARACTERISTICS WITH THE DATA FROM MOSKOVSKOYE 1 BURIAL 6

Another cuff bracelet (Figs. 4:4; 11:2) from the Sambian-Natangian area was discovered in burial 6, an urn cremation, in Moskovskoye 1 Cemetery, Bagrationovsk District (Ger. *Kreis Heiligenbeil*) (Голубев 2009, pp.20–23, рис. 76–84). The burial’s

data have been published (Скворцов 2012, pp.121–123, рис. 9). The burial's pottery assemblage included a hand-built urn and a vessel with a slightly everted rim. The ornaments consisted of Almgren type 161–162 crossbow fibulae (with three knobs) (Fig. 4:1, 2), a monochromatic powder-blue glass bead (Fig. 4:3), which is close to Tempelmann-Maczyńska type 30 (Almgren 1923, p.241, Taf. VII:161, 162; Tempelmann-Maczyńska 1985, p.94, Tab. 8; Taf. 1), and two bronze Roman coins (sesterces of Antoninus Pius and Hadrian) (Fig. 4:7, 8). The complex contained fragments of a so-called payment tin (about 9.4 g), which was probably a part of silver vessel covered with a punched design (Fig. 4:5, 6). The grave good assemblage allows the burial to be attributed to C1a–C1b, which corresponds to Sirenevo burial 30.

According to the archaeological attribution, both Moskovskoye 1 burial 6 and Sirenevo burial 30

can be considered female; both had ornaments and no weapons.

Both also contained artefacts, which can be regarded as local imitations of prestige goods characteristic of the elite class from the Danish islands and South Baltic Sea region. Common imports, e.g. glass beads and Roman coins, as well as a coin bank were also present. These artefacts could be regarded as representative of the local groups that performed distribution and exchange functions in the local system of contacts and played a leading cultural assimilation role. According to the archival data, Sirenevo Cemetery should be located on the NE slope of a sandy hill which was near the Eisselbitten (now Sirenevo) farmstead and one of the tributaries of the River Zelenogradka (Ger. *Bledauer Beek*). The cemetery is associated with one of the largest site clusters in the area of the Sambian Peninsula and the inter-

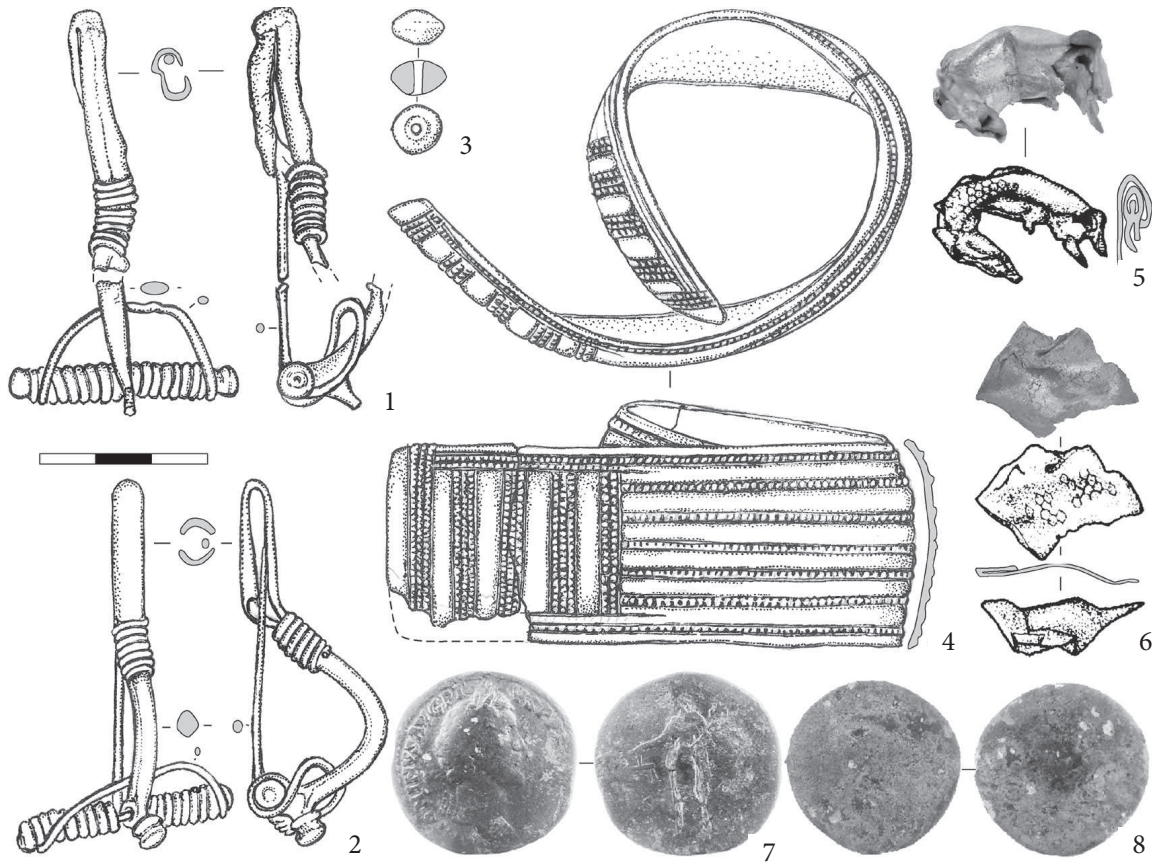


Fig. 4. The inventory of Moskovskoye 1 burial 6: 1, 2 – fibulae; 3 – a bead; 4 – a cuff bracelet; 5, 6 – pieces of a silver vessel; 7, 8 – Roman coins. 1, 2, 4, 7, 8 – bronze; 3 – glass; 5, 6 – silver (1–6 – drawings by O. Khomiakova; 5–8 – after Скворцов 2012, Fig. 9).

fluve between the Medvezhya and the Kurovka (see Khomiakova 2016, pp.62–72, Figs. 2, 3). The Zele-nogradka, which flows into the Curonian Lagoon, is one of the possible routes that led to the West Lithuanian coastline in the Roman period. Moskovskoye 1 Cemetery is located within a cluster of settlements along the shore of the Vistula Lagoon and is connected with the route that led to a Wielbark culture centre in the Elbląg Upland (Okulicz-Kozaryn 1992; Khomiakova 2016, pp.62, 69). Intensive contacts might have caused higher-status symbols and local imitations of ornaments typical for the neighbouring cultures to appear in the inventory of the Sambian-Natangian female burials.

THE QUESTION OF THE ORIGIN OF THE CUFF BRACELETS

Several types of band bracelets (variants I–III) are represented in the material culture of the Sambian-Natangian area from B2/C1–C1a to C2. They are characterized by a flattened, spindly (0.9–1.6 cm wide) shank and zones of punched decoration. The terminals are adorned with crisscross grooves bounded by diametric lines (Fig. 5:1). A great number of them have been discovered together with Almgren type 167, 161–162 fibulae (with three knobs) and D-shaped buckles and are attributed to C1a–C1b and C2. Meanwhile, the earliest Sambian-Natangian flat band bracelets (variant III) are found with Almgren group V and type 130 crossbow fibulae and date to B2/C1–C1a. The bracelets are characterized by a maximum width of 1.6–1.9 cm, a shaft decorated with notched ridges, and terminals inlaid with iron wire (for more, see Хомякова 2010, pp.278–283, 288, рис. 1–3).

In this case, Sambian-Natangian bracelets with type IV (Хомякова 2012а, pp.176–177, рис. 79, 80) or type Trömpau (see Nowakowski 1996, pp.56–57) snake-like terminals stand out (Fig. 5:2). These items are attributed to B2/C1–C1a at the latest. This form is distinguished from the typical Sambian cast bracelets with snake-like terminals by a shank pro-

duced from flattened metal with repoussé vertical ridges. The shank's massiveness (from 1.3–1.5 cm to 3.5–5.5 cm wide) places them close to the discussed cuff bracelet form. Finally, some of the typical Sambian bracelets with snake-like terminals were designed in the same style as the cuff bracelets (see Хомякова 2012а, прил. I.4.1.1.в, рис. 76).

Thus it is seen that large numbers of band bracelets assignable to several types are found in the material culture of the Sambian-Natangian area in B2/C1 and C1. The range of the variations and hybrid forms reflects the general 'culture medium', which made their appearance possible. The culture was caused by the special role of the Sambian-Natangian area as the zone with the most intensive contacts within the range of the West Balts. This does not contradict the opinion that cuff bracelets could have derived from Wielbark culture's snakehead items, which had intermediate forms on the Sambian Peninsula (Nowakowski 1989, pp.148–149, ryc. 3; 1996, p.32, Taf. 55:5; 1998, p.61; 2007, pp.61–63). Only sporadic finds have occurred in the Sambian-Natangian area. The incidence of the cuff bracelets coincides with the territory of the Bogaczewo and Sudovian cultures (see Fig. 11:3–23). Items with a flattened, spindly shank, which are typical for the Sambian Peninsula and date to C1a–C1b, have many analogies in West Lithuania (Michelbertas 1986, pp.144, 145, pav. 53, 57; Хомякова 2010, p.284, рис. 6).

The cuff bracelets typical of the Masurian Lake District and Suwałki Region mainly date to no earlier than B2/C1–C1 and no later than C2 (Nowakowski 1991, pp.59, 66, ryc. 8). The inclusion of the Sambian bracelets does not expand these boundaries. The 'earliest' cuff bracelets were discovered together with crossbar fibulae (e.g. Gąsiora burial 314, Miętkie I (Ger. *Mingfen*) burial 498, and Sterławki Wielkie burial 57, Tuchlin), the 'latest' with crossbow fibulae with a bent foot (e.g. Netta burials 31, 78, 138A, Czerwony Dwór barrow 32). Two types of cuff bracelets have been distinguished on the basis of the form of the shank (spindly or massive) and the terminals (straight or tapering). Cuff bracelets with

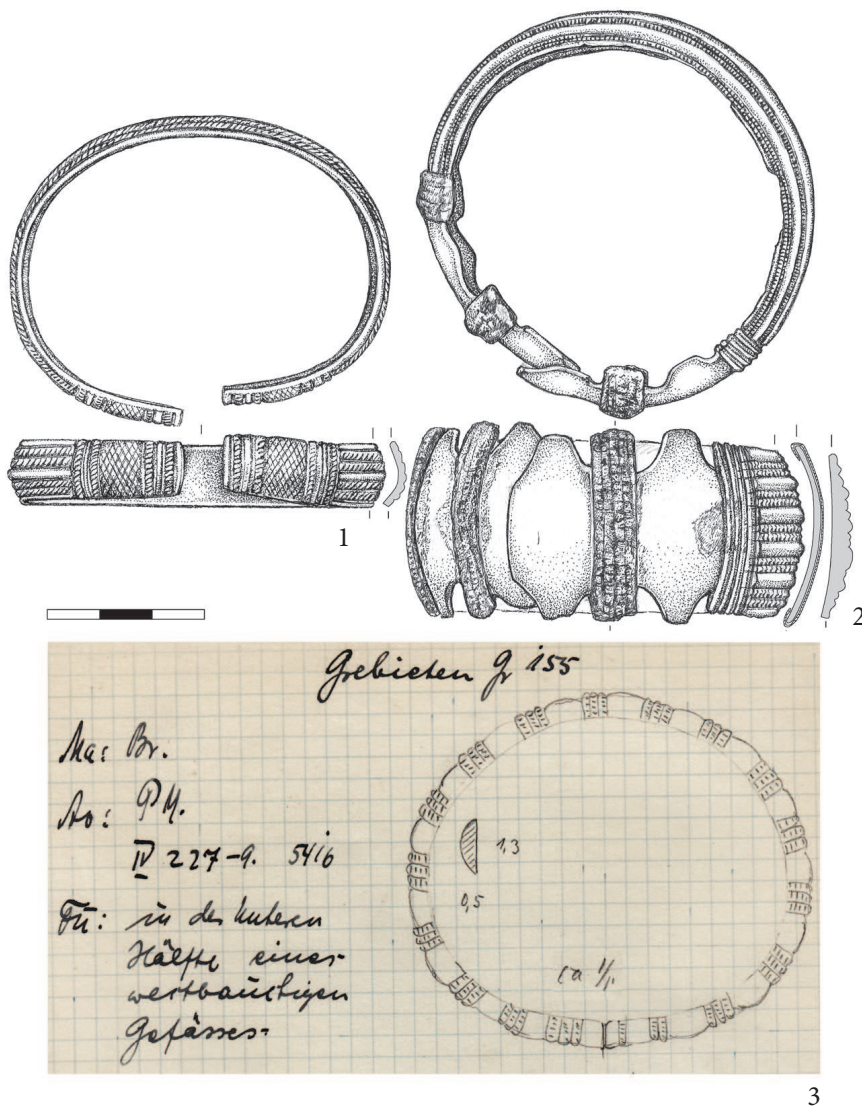


Fig. 5. Cuff bracelets from the Sambian-Natangian culture: 1 – Bolschoje Isakovo burial 88; 2 – unknown location (Povarovka (Ger. *Kirpehnen*)?) (SMB-PK MVE, no. Pr 5130); 3 – Okunevo (Ger. *Grebieten*) burial 155 (1, 2 – drawings by O. Khomiakova; 3 – after HJA, PM, no. IV, 227–9.5416).

tapering terminals are considered to be derivatives (Szymański 2005, pp.56–57; Jaskanis 2013, pp.154–156). It is possible that the two forms occur in both chronological groups. Data from Wyszembork, Paprotki Kolonia I, and Netta Cemeteries (Bogaczewo and Sudovian cultures) attests that bracelets of both types occur in certain complexes (see Bitner-Wróblewska 2007, p.56 and the cited literature).

Cuff bracelets from the Sambian-Natangian area are characterized by a spindly shank and straight

terminals and can be attributed to the ‘typical’ form. Their closest analogies are in Netta burials 27, 78, 138A/B (Fig. 6:1–24), Czerwony Dwór XXII burial 1 (Fig. 6:25–30), and Szwajcaria burial 1 (Fig. 7:1–3) (Bitner-Wróblewska 2007, Pl. XIV:1–2, XXXVII:1–10, LXXXI:1–7; Jaskanis 2013, Pl. XCVI; Szymański 2013, Fig. 11).

Cuff bracelets are also found in about ten places in Lithuanian territory (Figs. 7:4–9; 8–10; 11:24–31), the majority in the area of the East Lithuanian barrow culture and Southwest Lithuania (Michelbertas 2011, pp.76–81, pav. 7–10; Медведев 2011, pp.161–162). Most belong to the type with a massive (roughly 6–9 cm wide) shank (Lietuvos 1978, pav. 53; Michelbertas 1986, pp.140–141, pav. 54:2) (Figs. 8:1, 2; 9). The ‘typical’ bracelet form has also been determined (Fig. 10). The chronological attribution of the bracelets in both territories should be concurrent and associated with C1b–C2 (Bliujenė 2013, pav. 339, 340).

It should be noted that the problem of the connections and contacts of the Wielbark and Sudovian cultures with East and Southwest Lithuania have been discussed (Nowakowski 2004/2005, pp.5–16; Vaitkevičius 2005; Bliujienė 2016).

The similarity of the cuff bracelets in these burial assemblages with those from the Sambian Peninsula, the area near the Vistula Lagoon, the Masurian Lake District, and the Suwałki region should be noted. Some burials with cuff bracelets from the Bogaczewo and Sudovian cultures as well as the

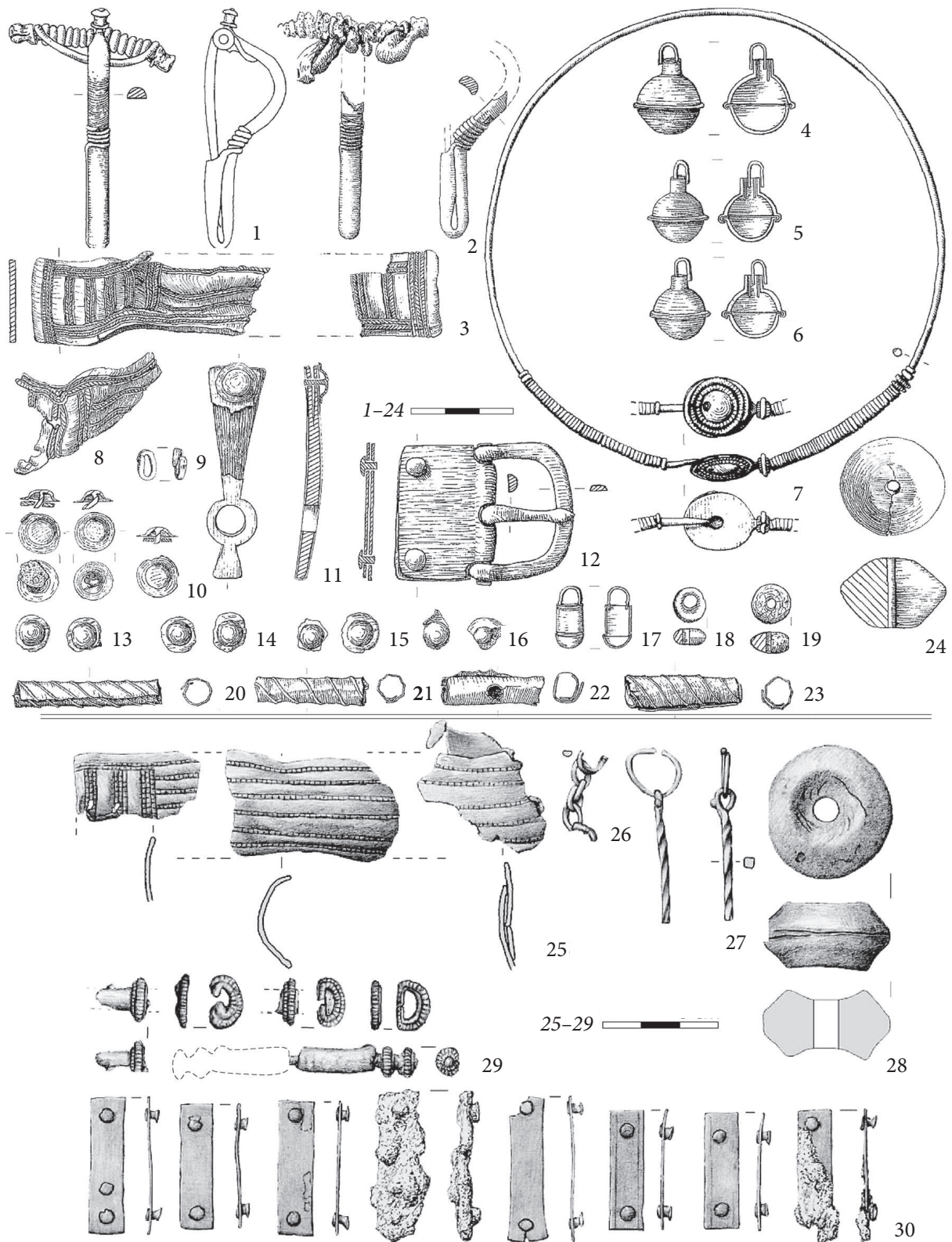


Fig. 6. The inventory of burials with cuff bracelets from the Bogaczewo and Sudovian cultures: 1–24 – Netta burial 78; 25–30 – Czerwony Dwór XXII burial 1. 1, 2, 29 – fibulae; 3, 25 – bracelets; 9–16, 30 – belt fittings; 7 – a neck-ring; 4–6, 17–23, 26, 27 – necklace elements; 24, 28 – spindle whorls (after Bitner-Wróblewska 2007, Pl. XXXVI–XXXVII; Szymański 2013, ryc. 11 with additions).

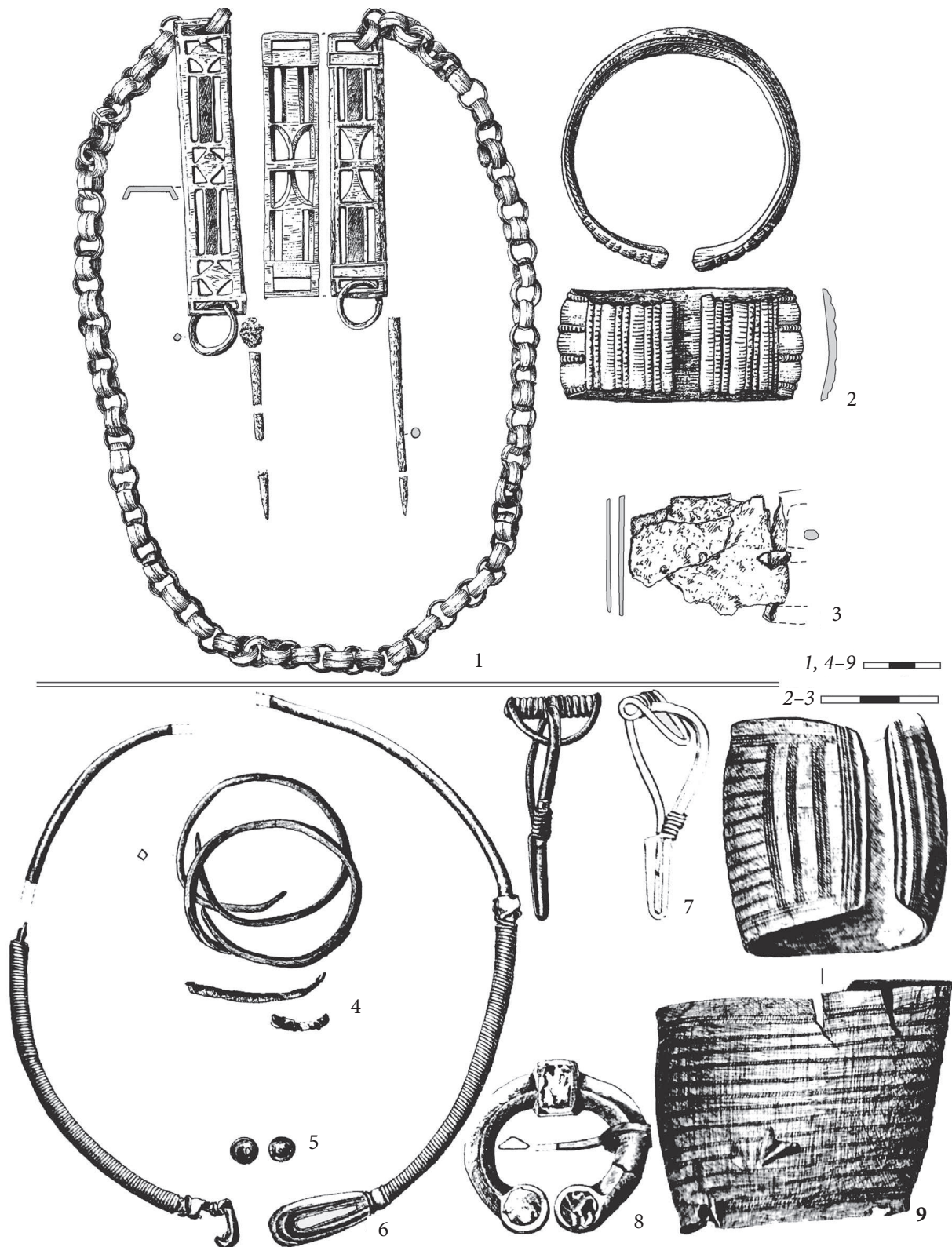


Fig. 7. The inventory of burials with cuff bracelets from the Sudovian culture and Southwest Lithuania: 1-3 – Szwajcaria burial 1; 4-9 – Eitulionys barrow II. 1 – a pectoral ornament; 2, 4, 9 – bracelets; 3 – a buckle; 5 – a bead; 7 – a fibula; 8 – a penannular fibula (after Jaskanis 2013, Pl. XCVI; Bliujienė 2013, pav. 322 with additions).

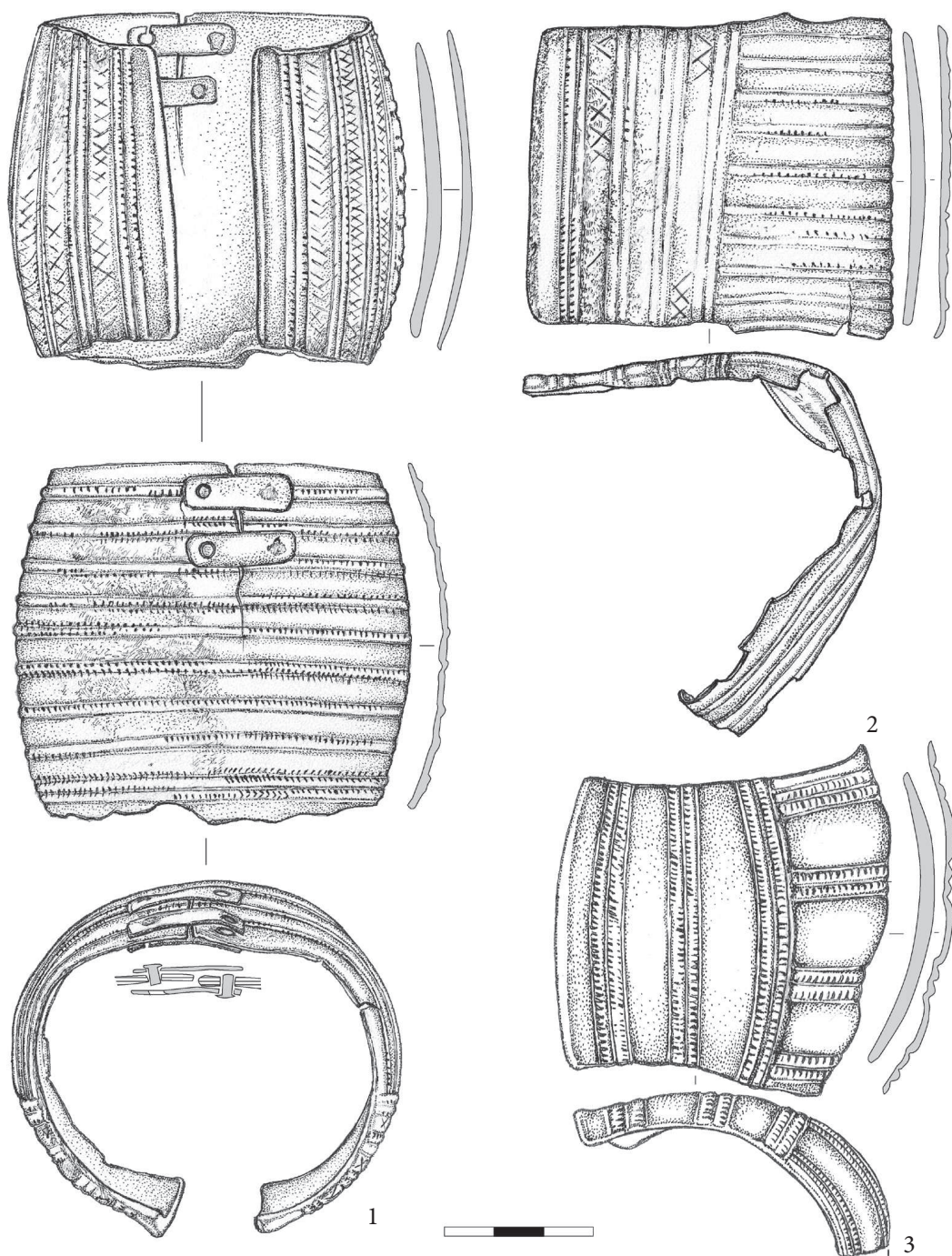


Fig. 8. Cuff bracelets: 1, 2 – Bakšiai (SHM, no. 982/13, 14); 3 – Babięta burial 44 (Kaliningrad Region History and Art Museum, PM, no. 1637). Drawings by O. Khomiakova.

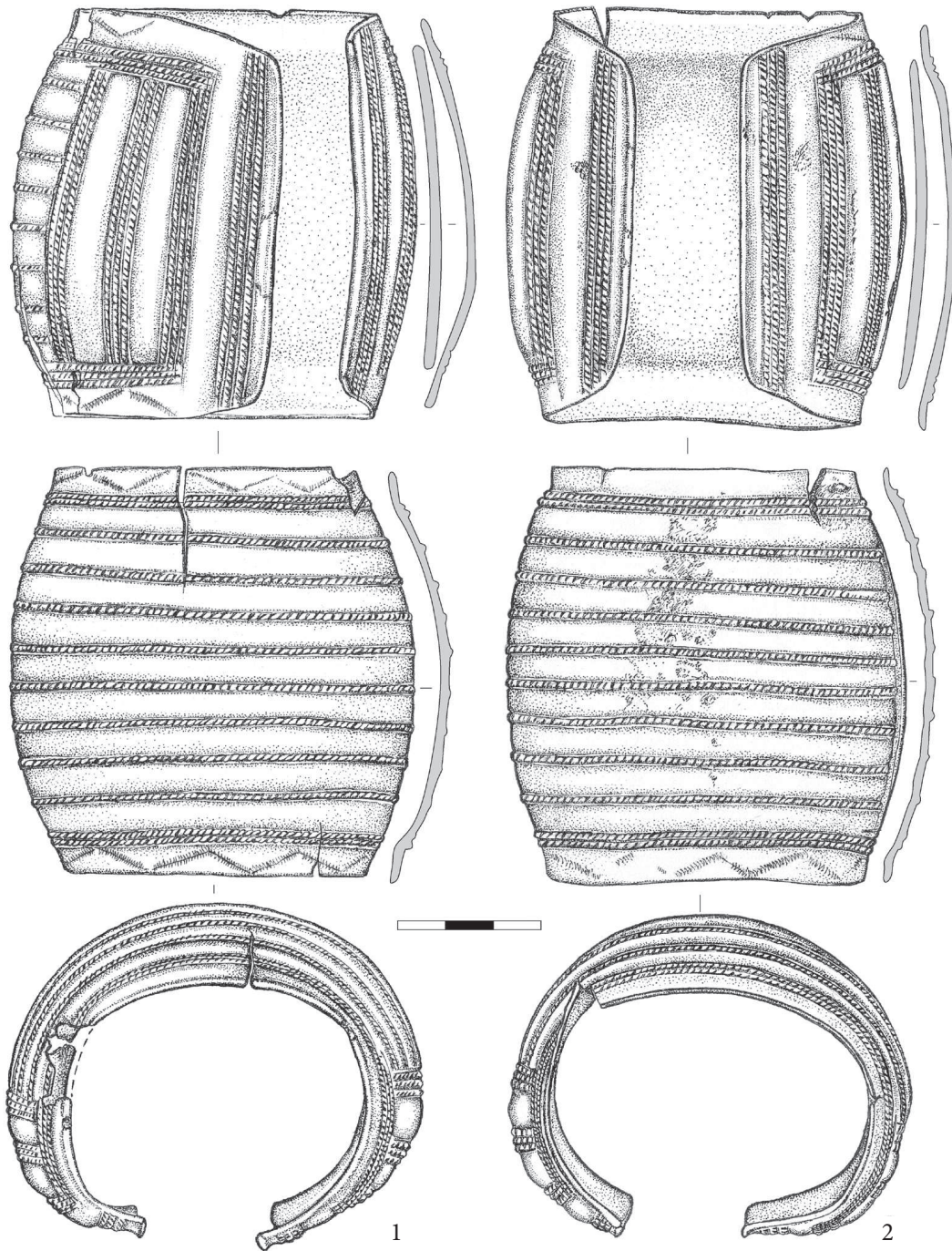


Fig. 9. Cuff bracelets from Bakšiai: 1 – SHM, no. 982/11; 2 – SHM, no. 982/12. Drawings by O. Khomiakova.

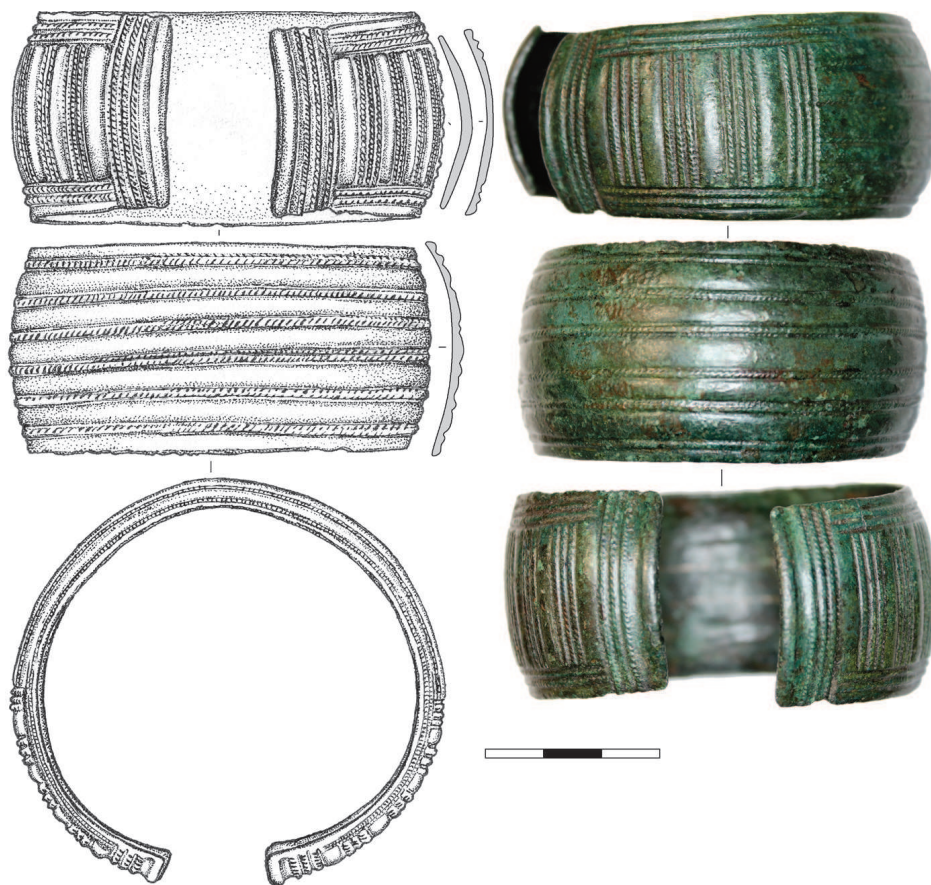


Fig. 10. A cuff bracelet from Bakšiai (SHM, no. 982/15). *Drawings and photos by O. Khomiakova.*

Sambian-Natangian culture contain imitations of prestige goods distinctive of the Central and North European elites.

The inventory of Netta burials 78 and 138A (Sudovian culture) included cuff bracelets as well as local imitations of crotal-shaped pendants, crossbow fibulae with a bent foot and three knobs joined with a chain, a neck-ring with notched wire ring decoration, and a D-shaped buckle (Bitner-Wróblewska 2007, pp.25, 37, Pl. XXXV, XXXVI, LXXI). The ornaments decorated with notched wire rings, imitation filigree, and granulation imitations (e.g. the discussed Paprotki Kolonia I and Netta burials) can be considered local symbols of higher-status and indicators of intercultural communications not only among the West Balts but also the East-Germanic and Northern European tribes. The same assump-

tion can be made about the assemblages with cuff bracelets from the area of the East Lithuanian barrow culture and Southwest Lithuania. Massive items have been found there together with enamel ornaments and neck-rings with hooks and decorative discs: for example in Medžionys barrow I and Eitulionys barrow II (Antanavičius 1970, pav. 2:1; Bliujus 1983, pav. 9; Bliujienė 2013, pav. 322). However, this ornament assemblage first appeared in Sudovian culture burials. Cuff bracelets of both types ('typical' and 'massive') that are attributable to B2/C1–C1a were discovered together with an open-work enamel ornament and an imitation of the 'Samland' belt set in barrow 20, burial 2 (Jaskanis 2013, tab. XXX, XXXI) and with the enamel pectoral ornament in Szwajcaria burial S.1, a flat burial (Jaskanis 2013, tab. XCVI) (Fig. 7:1–3).

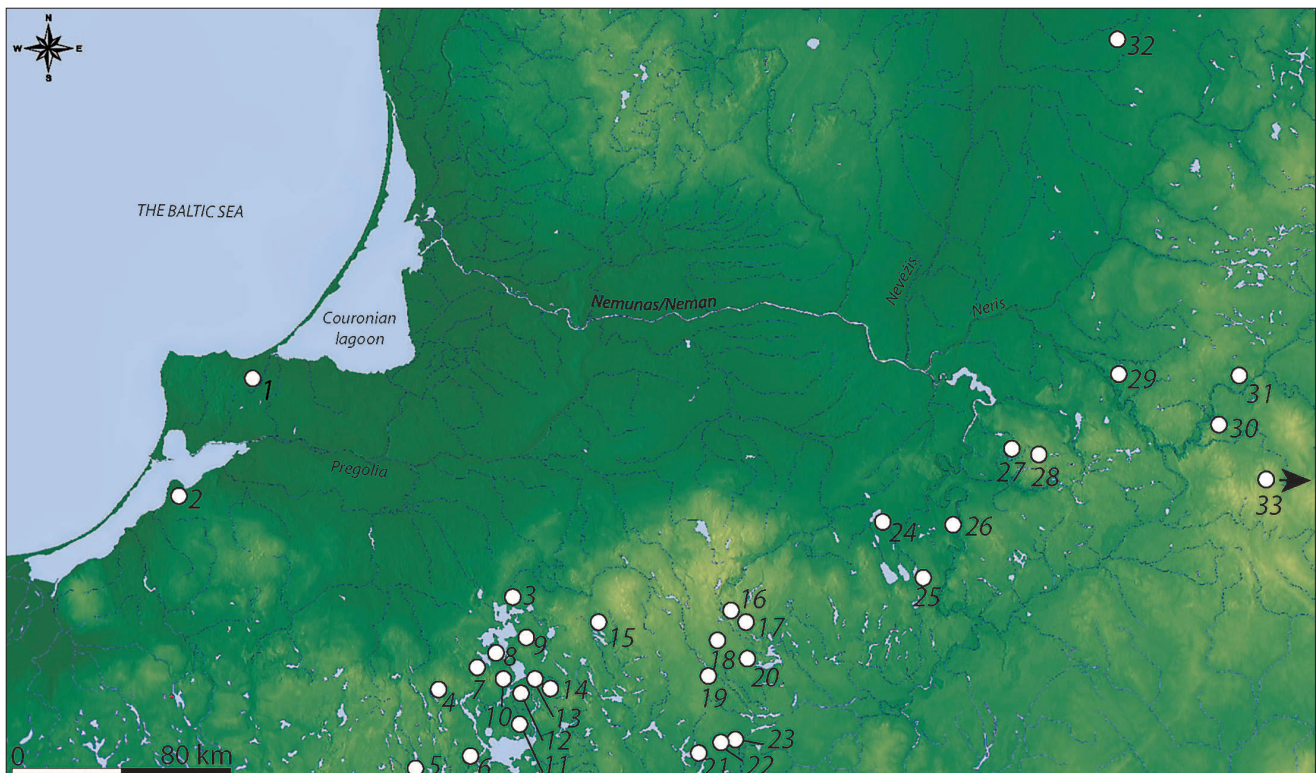


Fig. 11. Distribution of the cuff bracelets: 1 – Sirenevo (Eisselbitten), 2 – Moskovskoye 1, 3 – Węgorzewo, 4 – Wyszembork IVa, 5 – Miętkie I, 6 – Babięta, 7 – Sterławki Wielkie, 8 – Guty, 9 – Pieczarki, 10 – Bogaczewo, 11 – Tuchlin, 12 – Paprotki Kolonia I, 13 – Staświny II, 14 – Czyprki, 15 – Czerwony Dwór XXII, 16 – Żywa Woda, 17 – Szwajcaria, 18 – Przebród, 19 – Raczki, 20 – Płociczno, 21 – Rajgród, 22 – Bargłów Dworny, 23 – Netta, 24 – Radastai, 25 – Seiliūnai, 26 – Bakšiai, 27 – Medžionys, 28 – Eitulionys, 29 – Semeniskės, 30 – Kairėnai, 31 – Pakrauglė, 32 – Didžprūdėliai, 33 – Svobodka. *Map by O. Khomiakova after Lietuvos 1978, pav. 53; Nowakowski 1991, ryc. 8; Michelbertas 2011, pav. 10 with additions.*

CONCLUSIONS

Cuff bracelets should be regarded as a form that originated near the boundary of the West Balt and East Germanic tribes in B2/C1 and C1a as a result of contact with the Wielbark culture. The role of the Sambian-Natangian culture in the development of cuff bracelets was probably determined by the implication of the earliest band items, which date to B2/C1 and are known from the Sambian Peninsula. The form's development occurred in the territory of the Masurian Lake District and Suwałki. The type's further evolution is connected with Southwest Lithuania. All of the bracelets have been attributed to the same chronological horizon although the 'massive' items from Southwest Lithuania can be dated a bit later.

The cuff bracelets from the Sambian-Natangian area and the E part of the territory of the West Balts are morphologically close to the 'classic' form and can be determined to be imports from the Masurian Lake District and Suwałki.

Some of the bracelets from the Sambian-Natangian, Bogaczewo, and Sudovian cultures were discovered in the burials of members of local groups and arrived through trans-regional contacts. They are found in association with local imitations of prestige ornaments with ring decorations, Roman coins, a coin bank, and common imports, e.g. glass beads. The same assumption can be made about the items from Lithuania, which were found together with enamel goods.

Consequently, cuff bracelets are revealed to be not just an example of the West Balt jewellery tradi-

tion. These items vividly reflect the 'bridge' between the population of the SW and NE areas of the territory of the West Balts on the Baltic Ridge from the Elbląg Upland to Aukštaitija. Conclusions, which have become possible to make owing to previously unknown data from Sambian-Natangian burials at Sirenevo and Moskovskoye 1 Cemeteries, play an important role in the argument.

Acknowledgements

The author is grateful to Prof Dr Claus von Carnap-Bornheim (Centre for Baltic and Scandinavian Archaeology, Schleswig), Dr Matthias Wemhoff, Dr Heino Neumayer (Museum for Prehistory and Early History, Berlin), Dr Sergej A. Jakimov (Kaliningrad Region History and Art Museum), Dr Mihail B. Piotrovsky, Dr Tat'jana B. Senichenkova (State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg), Dr Anna Juga-Szymańska (University of Warsaw).

*Translated by A. Peshkov and O. Khomiakova,
English edited by J. A. Bakanauskas*

REFERENCES

Almgren, O., 1923. *Studien über die nordeuropäische Fibelformen der ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte mit Berücksichtigung der provinzialrömischen und südrussischen Formen* (=Mannus-Bibliothek, 3 (2)). Leipzig: Habelt.

Andersson, K., 1993. *Romartida guldsmede i Norden, I. Katalog* (=Aun, 17). Societas Archaeologica Upsaliensis.

Andersson, K., 1995. *Romartida guldsmede i Norden. Övriga smycken, teknisk analys och verkstadsgrupper (Roman period gold jewellery in the Nordic countries. Other objects, technical analysis and workshop groups)* (=Aun, 21). Societas Archaeologica Upsaliensis.

Antanavičius, J., 1970. Medžionių, Prienų raj., pavieniai kapai. *Archeologiniai ir etnografiniai tyrimai Lietuvoje 1968–1968 metais*, 44–45.

Banytė-Rowell, R., 2015. Connections Between the Memelkultur Area and Dollkeim-Kovrovo Culture According to Data from Archaeological Archives. *AB*, 21/22, 40–57.

Bitner-Wróblewska, A., 2001. *From Samland to Rogaland. East-west connections in the Baltic basin during the Early Migration Period*. Warsaw: Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne.

Bitner-Wróblewska, A., 2007. *Netta. A Balt Cemetery in Northeastern Poland* (=Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica, XII). Warszawa: Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne.

Bliujienė, A., 2011. *Northern gold: amber in Lithuania (c. 100 to c. 1200)*. Leiden: Brill.

Bliujienė, A., 2013. *Romėniškasis ir tautų kraustymosi laikotarpiai* (=Lietuvos archeologija, III). Klaipėdos universiteto leidykla.

Bliujienė, A., 2016. South Lithuanian Barrows. In: Zabiela, G., Baubonis, Z., Marcinkevičiūtė, E., eds. *A Hundred Years of Archaeological Discoveries in Lithuania*. Vilnius: Society of the Lithuanian Archaeology, 208–225.

Bliujus, A., 1983. Eitulionių pilkapynas. *Muziejai ir paminklai*, 5, 31–40.

Bolin, S., 1926. Die Funde römischer und byzantinischer Münzen in Ostpreussen. *Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia*, 26, 203–240.

Czarnecka, K., 2010. Metalowe pojemniczki tzw. Amulettendose w europejskim Barbaricum. In: Mączyńska, M., red. *Terra barbarica: studia ofiarowane Magdalenie Mączyńskiej w 65. rocznicę urodzin* (=Monumenta archaeologica barbarica: Series gemina, II). Warszawa, Łódź: Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 229–239.

Godłowski, K., 1974. Chronologia okresu późnorzymskiego i wczesnego okresu wędrówek ludów w Polsce północno-wschodniej. In: Dzierżykraj-Rogalski, T., ed. *Rocznik Białostocki*, XII, 9–109.

Hensche, A., 1869. Das Gräberfeld bei Fürstenwalde. *SPÖG*, 10, 117–159.

Hollack, E., Peiser, F., 1904. *Das Gräberfeld von Moythienen*. Königsberg i. Pr.: Verlag von Gräfe & Unzer.

Ilkjær, J., 1993. *Illerup Ådal, 3. Die Gürtel. Bestandteile und Zubehör: Textband*. Aarhus: Jysk Arkæologisk Selskab.

Jaskanis, J., 2013. *Szwajcaria. Cmentarzysko bałtyjskie kultury sudowskiej w północno-wschodniej Polsce*. Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Naukowe Archeologów Polskich.

Kaczyński, M., 1991. Z problematyki kontaktów zachodnich bałtów z prowincjami Imperium Romanum. *Rocznik Białostocki*, 16 (1989), 157–199.

Khomiakova, O., 2012. Sambian-Natangian Culture Ring Decoration style as an Example of Communication between Local Elites in the Baltic Region in the Late Roman Period. *AB*, 18 (II), 147–166.

Khomiakova, O., 2015. Disc Brooches of Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture. The Question of the Origin of Ornaments in the Southeast Baltic in the First Centuries AD. *AB*, 21–22, 14–40.

Khomiakova, O., 2016. Landscape and Spatial Analysis of Roman Period Archaeological Sites at the Eastern Border of Dollkeim-Kovrovo/Sambian-Natangian Culture. *AB*, 23, 58–80.

Kulikauskas, P., 1968. Kurmaičių kapinynas. In: Tautavičius, A., ats. red. *Lietuvos archeologiniai paminklai. Lietuvos pajūrio I–VII a. kapinynai*. Vilnius: Mintis, 12–56.

Lietuvos, 1978. *Lietuvos TSR archeologijos atlasas, IV. I–XIII a. radiniai*. Vilnius: Mokslas.

Madyda-Legutko, R., 1987. *Die Gürtelschnallen der Römischen Kaiserzeit und der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit im mitteleuropäischen Barbaricum (=BAR International Series, 360)*. Oxford: B.A.R.

Michelbertas, M., 1986. *Senasis geležies amžius Lietuvoje. I–IV amžius*. Vilnius: Mokslas.

Michelbertas, M., 2011. Radiniai iš Bakšių (Alytaus rajonas) Laidojimo paminklo. In: Luchtanas, A., Tamulynas, L., sud. *Lietuvos archeologijos šaltiniai Sankt Peterburge*. Vilniaus universitetas, 67–87.

Moora, H., 1938. *Die Eisenzeit in Lettland bis etwa 500 n. Chr, II. Analyse (=Õpetatud Eesti Selts: Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi toimetused, 29)*. Tartu: Dorpat.

Natuniewicz-Sekuła, M., Okulicz-Kozaryn, J., 2011. *Weklice. A cemetery of the Wielbark Culture*

on the Eastern Margin of Vistula Delta (Excavations 1984–2004) (=Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica, XVII). Warszawa: Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne.

Nowakowski, W., 1989. Kultura wielbarska a zachodniobałtyjski krąg kulturowy. In: Gurba, J., Kokowski, A., red. *Kultura wielbarska w młodszym okresie rzymskim, II*, Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 143–159.

Nowakowski, W., 1991. Kulturowy krąg zachodniobałtyjski w okresie wpływów rzymskich. Kwestia definicji i podziałów wewnętrznych. In: Judzińska, H., red. *Archeologia bałtyjska: materiały z konferencji, Olsztyn, 24–25 kwietnia 1988 roku. Rozprawy i materiały Ośrodka Badań Naukowych Im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie*, 120. Olsztyn: Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego, 42–66.

Nowakowski, W., 1996. *Das Samland in der Römischen Kaiserzeit und seine Verbindungen mit dem Römischen Reich und der barbarischen Welt (=Veröffentlichungen des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars Marburg, 10)*. Marburg, Warszawa: Vorgeschichtliches Seminar der Philipps-Universität.

Nowakowski, W., 1998. *Die Funde Der Römischen Kaiserzeit und der Völkerwanderungszeit aus Masuren (=Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte Bestandskataloge, 6)*. Berlin: Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte.

Nowakowski, W., 2004/2005. Na skrzyżowaniu szlaków. Pojezierze Mrągowskie u schyłku starożytności w układzie kontaktów między Bałtykiem a Dunajem i Morzem Czarnym. In: Gancewski, J., red. *Mrągowskie Studia Humanistyczne. Pismo poświęcone historii i literaturze w regionie mazurskim, 6/7*. Mrągowo: Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, 5–16.

Nowakowski, W., 2007. Kultura bogaczewska na Pojezierzu Mazurskim od schyłku późnego okresu przedrzymskiego do starszej fazy późnego okresu wpływów rzymskich. Próba analizy chronologiczno-kulturowej. In: Bitner-Wróblewska A., red. *Kultura bogaczewska w 20 lat później. Materiały z konferencji, Warszawa, 26–27 marca 2003 (=Semina-*

rium Bałtyjskie, I). Warszawa: Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne w Warszawie, CD.

Okulicz, J., 1973. *Pradzieje ziem pruskich od późnego paleolitu do VII w. n.e.* (=Monografie dziejów społecznych i politycznych Warmii i Mazur, 1). Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.

Okulicz, J., 1976. Powiązania półwyspu wschodniego Bałtyku i centrum sambijskiego z południem w podokresie wczesnorzymskim. *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Prace Archeologiczne*, CCCCXXII/22, 181–213.

Okulicz-Kozaryn, J., 1992. Centrum kulturowe z pierwszych wieków naszej ery u ujścia Wisły. *Barbaricum*, 92 (2), 137–156.

Olldag, I.E., 1994. Glasperler i danske fund fra romersk jernalder. *Aarbøger For Nordisk Oldkyndighed Og Historie*, 1992, 193–280.

Peiser, F.E., 1921. Die Trinkhorn-Ränder des Prussia-Museums. In: Bezenberger, A., Hrsg. *Festschrift Adalbert Bezenberger zum 14. April 1921 dargebracht von seinen Freunden und Schülern*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 114–120.

Rudnicki, M., Skvortsov, K.N., Szymański, P., 2015. Uwagi wstępne o kolekcji Biriukova, czyli o możliwości identyfikacji zabytków z dawnego Prussia-Museum w Królewcu. *Światowit Supplement Series B: Barbaricum*, 11, 585–600.

Skvortsov, K.N., 2004/2005. Das Gräberfeld der römischen Kaiserzeit von Bolšoe Isakovo (ehemals Lauth, Kreis Königsberg). Katalog der Funde aus den Grabungen 1998 und 1999. *Offa-Bücher*, 61/62, 111–219.

Stankus, J., 1995. *Bandužių kapinynas* (=Lietuvos archeologija, 12).

Szymański, 2013. *Z badań nad chronologią i różnicowaniem kulturowym społeczności Mazur w późnej starożytności i u progu wczesnego średniowiecza* (=Światowit Supplement Series B: Barbaricum, IX).

Szymański, P., 2005. *Mikroregion osadniczy z okresu wpływów rzymskich w rejonie jeziora Salet na Pojezierzu Mazurskim* (=Światowit Supplement Series P: Prehistory and Middle Ages, X).

Tautavičius, A., 1968. Palangos kapinynas. In: Tautavičius, A., ats. red. *Lietuvos archeologiniai paminklai. Lietuvos pajūrio I–VII a. kapinynai*. Vilnius: Mintis, 123–137.

Tempelmann-Maczyńska, M., 1985. *Die Perlen der römischen Kaiserzeit und der frühen Phase der Völkerwanderungszeit im mitteleuropäischen Barbaricum* (=Römisch-Germanische Forschungen, 43). Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern GmbH.

Tischler, O., 1879. Ostpreussische Gräberfelder III. *SPÖG*, 19, 159–268.

Tischler, O., 1880. Die Gräberfelder zu Wackern und Eisselbitten. Sitzung am 3. Januar 1879. *SPÖG*, 20, 5–10.

Tischler, O., Kemke, H., 1902. *Ostpreussische Altertümer aus der Zeit der großen Gräberfelder nach Christi Geburt*. Königsberg i. Pr.: Gräfe und Unzer Verlag.

Vaitkevičius, V., 2005. Interpreting the East Lithuanian Barrow culture. In: Lang, V., ed. *Culture And Material Culture. Papers from the first theoretical seminar of the Baltic archaeologists (BASE) held at the University of Tartu Estonia, October 17th–19th, 2003* (=Interarchaeologia, 1). University of Tartu, 71–86.

Алексева, Е.М., 1982. *Античные бусы Северного Причерноморья* (=Рыбаков, Б.А., ред. *Свод археологических источников*, Г1-12). Москва: Наука.

Голубев, И.В., 2009. *Отчет об археологической разведке на территории Багратионовского района Калининградской области в 2009 г.* IARAS, P-I, № 36501.

Кулаков, В.И., 2015. Браслеты типа armilla и змееголовые на северо-восточной границе Барбарикума. *Stratum Plus*, 4, 185–192.

Медведев, А.М., 2011. *Верхнее Понеманье в железном веке и раннем Средневековье*. Минск: Баларуская навука.

Скворцов, К.Н., 2000. Отчет об охранных раскопках, проведенных Натангийским отрядом Балтийской экспедиции ИА РАН на могильнике Большое Исаково-Лаут. IARAS, P-I, № 24732.

Скворцов, К.Н., 2012. Новые находки памятников римского времени на побережье Вислинского залива. *Stratum Plus*, 4, 107–127.

Хомякова, О.А., 2010. Пластинчатые браслеты самбийско-натангийской культуры. *Ил:* Щеглова, О.А., Казанский, М.М., Новиковский, В., ред. *Древности Центральной и Восточной Европы эпохи римского влияния и переселения народов (=Germania-Sarmatia, 2)*. Калининградский областной историко-художественный музей, 277–291.

Хомякова, О.А., 2012а. *Женский убор самбийско-натангийской культуры периода Римского влияния I–IV вв. н.э. (Анализ компонентов и хронология)* (Doctoral dissertation). Москва: Институт археологии РАН. IARAS, P–II, № 2809–2810.

Хомякова, О.А., 2012b. Хронология компонентов женского убора самбийско-натангийской культуры. *Ил:* Воронцов, А.М., Гавритухин, И.О., ред. *Лесная и лесостепная зоны Восточной Европы в эпохи римских влияний и Великого переселения народов*, 3. Тула, Москва: Институт археологии РАН, 255–280.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB – Archaeologia Baltica

HJA – Scientific Archives of Herbert Jankuhn, State Archaeological Museum, Gottorf Castle, Schleswig (Archäologisches Landesmuseum Schloß Gottorf, Schleswig)

IARAS – Institute of Archaeology, Russian Academy of Sciences (Институт археологии Российской академии наук)

MSA – Marta Schmiedehelmi arhiiv, Institute of History, Tallinn (Ajaloos Instituut, Tallinn)

PM – Prussia-Museum

SHM – The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg (Государственный Эрмитаж, Санкт-Петербург)

SMB-PK MVF – Museum for Prehistory and Early History, Berlin (Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin)

SPÖG – Schriften der Physikalisch-Ökonomischen Gesellschaft

RANKOGALINIŲ APYRANKIŲ KILMĖ VAKARŲ BALTŲ KULTŪROSE (SEMBOS-NOTANGOS KULTŪROS KAPINYŲ DUOMENIMIS)

Olga Chomiakova

Santrauka

Vakarų baltų kultūriniam ratui būdingos ankstyvajame vėlyvojo romėniškojo laikotarpio etape paplitusios rankogalinės apyrankės užima reikšmingą vietą materialiosios kultūros tyrimuose. Šie dirbiniai yra būdingi Bogačevo ir Sūduvių kultūroms, tačiau retai pasitaiko Sembos-Notangos (Dollkeim-Kovrovo) kultūroje. Vis dėlto jie užima vieną svarbiausių pozicijų Vakarų baltų kultūrų dirbinių tipų chronologinėse schemose (Okulicz 1973, p.404–405, rys. 191:b; Godłowski 1974, Tab. 5:13; Nowakowski 1996, p.48–49, Tab. 107: Phase 2; Хомякова 2012b,

c.259–260, рис. 9). Iki šiol informacijos apie „etaloninį“ kompleksą – Sirenevo (Eisselbitten) kapinyno k. 30, leidžiantį tyrinėti rankogalinių apyrankių (1:1–5 pav.) tipologiją ir chronologiją – buvo labai mažai (Tischler, Kemke 1902, Taf. XIV:19). Straipsnyje pateikiama detali komplekso rekonstrukcija, grindžiama prieinamais archyviniais duomenimis (Berlyno priešistorės ir ankstyvosios istorijos muziejus, Martos Schmiedehelm archyvas) (1:6 pav.), taip pat Berlyno priešistorės ir ankstyvosios istorijos muziejuje išlikusiais Prūsijos muziejaus radiniais

(2, 3 pav.). Kapo inventoriaus analizė rodo daugybę analogų su Šiaurės ir Centrinės Europos bei Vakarų Lietuvos C1b–C2 periodo archeologine medžiaga. Dalis radinių gali būti traktuojami kaip „prestižinių“ daiktų imitacija.

XIX a. pabaigoje aptikto Sirenevo (Eisselbitten) kapinyno (Tischler 1879, p.259; 1880, p.5–10) k. 30 duomenys palyginti su 2000 m. aptikto Sembos-Notangos kultūros Moskovskoje 1 kapinyno (Голубев 2009, л.20–23, рис. 76–84; Скворцов 2012, с.121–123, рис. 9) k. 6 kompleksu (4 pav.). Abiejuose kapuose rasta rankogalinių apyrankių, juose panašus inventorių ir yra datuojami tuo pačiu C1a–C1b laikotarpiu. Pagal įkapes galima manyti, kad tai moterų kapai. Kapinynų, kuriuose aptikta rankogalių apyrankių, lokalizacija siejama su Sembos-Notangos kultūros gyvenviečių, išsidėsčiusių šalia pagrindinių prekybos kelių, grupėmis. Šie keliai viena kryptimi vedė link Elbingo aukštumos, kita – link Vakarų Lietuvos pakrantės.

Rankogalinės apyrankės kildinamos iš ankstyviausių formų juostinių apyrankių, jos atsirado Sembos-Notangos teritorijoje B2/C1 ir C1a periodais netoli Vakarų baltų ir Rytų germanų kultūrinės ribos, ryšių su Velbarko kultūra zonoje (5 pav.). Sembos-Notangos kultūros rankogalinių apyrankių įvairovė ir hibridinės formos atspindi pagrindinį kultūrinį kontekstą, kuriame iškilo nauji dirbinių tipai.

Aptariamų dirbinių formos vystėsi Mozūrijos ežeryno, Suvalkų ir Pietvakarių Lietuvos teritorijose (11 pav.). „Klasikinės“ Sembos-Notangos regiono ir Vakarų baltų kultūrinio rato rytinės dalies rankogalinės apyrankės vertintinos kaip importas iš Mozūrijos ežeryno ir Suvalkų (2, 10 pav.). Tiek tipinės, tiek masyviosios apyrankės priskiriamos tam pačiam chronologiniam horizontui. Dalis Sembos-Notangos, Bogačevo ir Suvalkų kultūrų apyrankių rastos kartu su prestižinių papuošalų vietinėmis imitacijomis (Sirenevo (Eisselbitten) kapinyno k. 30, Netta kapinyno k. 78, Paprotki Kolonia I kapinynas), romėniškomis monetomis, mokėjimui skirtais alavo lydiniiais (Moskovskoje 1 kapinyno k. 6), masinio

importo dirbiniais, pvz., stiklo karoliais (Sirenevo (Eisselbitten) kapinyno k. 30). Jos gali būti laikomos tarpregioninių ryšių būdu atkeliavusiais vietinių grupių narių laidojimo atributais (6 pav.). Ta pati prielaida taikytina ir Lietuvos teritorijos, kur rankogalinės apyrankės aptinkamos kartu su emaliuotais dirbiniais, radiniams (7 pav.). Rankogalinės apyrankės yra Vakarų baltų teritorijai būdingos juvelyrikos tradicijos pavyzdys, kita vertus, šių dirbinių archeologinis kontekstas ir paplitimas atspindi „tiltą“ tarp pietvakarių ir šiaurietinių Vakarų baltų kultūrų rato teritorijų (11 pav.). Nauji Sembos-Notangos kultūros Sirenevo (Eisselbitten) ir Moskovskoje kapinynų duomenys ir jų pagrindu suformuluotos išvados vaidina svarbų vaidmenį pagrindžiant šį teiginį.

ILIUSTRACIJŲ SĄRAŠAS

1 pav. Sirenevo (Eisselbitten) kapinyno k. 30 radiniai: 1–5 – apyrankės, 6 – archyviniai duomenys (1–5 – pagal Tischler, Kemke 1902, Taf. XIV:12–15, 19, 6 – pagal MSA, 9.21–11).

2 pav. Sirenevo (Eisselbitten) kapinyno k. 30 rankogalinės apyrankės: 1 – SMB-PK MVE, PM, Nr. 16531, 2 – SMB-PK MVE, PM, Nr. 16532. *O. Chomiakovos pieš. ir nuotr.*

3 pav. Sirenevo (Eisselbitten) kapinyno k. 30 įkapsės: 1, 5 – apyrankės (SMB-PK MVE, PM, Nr. 16532, 16533), 2–4 – segės (SMB-PK MVE, PM, Nr. 16529, 16530, 16536), 6 – žiedas (SMB-PK MVE, PM, Nr. 16540), 7, 10 – karoliai (SMB-PK MVE, PM, Nr. 16550, 16558), 8 – žiedo formos dirbinys suplotu paplatintu galu (SMB-PK MVE, PM, Nr. 16543), 9, 11 – išpudais ornamentuota plokštelė (SMB-PK MVE, PM, Nr. 16543). 1–6, 9, 11 – žalvaris, 7, 10 – stiklas. *O. Chomiakovos pieš. ir nuotr.*

4 pav. Moskovskoje 1 kapinyno k. 6 įkapsės: 1, 2 – segės, 3 – karolis, 4 – rankogalinė apyrankė, 5, 6 – sidabrinio indo dalys, 7, 8 – Romos monetos. 1, 2, 4, 7, 8 – žalvaris, 3 – stiklas, 5, 6 – sidabras (1–6 – *O. Chomiakovos pieš.*, 5–8 – pagal Скворцов 2012, рис. 9).

5 pav. Sembos-Notangos kultūros rankogalinės

apyrankės: 1 – Bolšoje Isakovo kapinyno k. 88, 2 – nežinoma vieta (Povarovka (Kirpehnen?)) (SMB-PK MVE, Nr. Pr 5130, 3 – Okunevo (Grebieten) kapinyno k. 155 (1, 2 – *O. Chomiakovos pieš.*, 3 – pagal HJA, PM, Nr. IV, 227–9.5416).

6 pav. Bogačevo ir Sūduvių kultūrų kapų su rankogalinėmis apyrankėmis įkapės: 1–24 – Netta kapinyno k. 78, 25–30 – Czerwony Dwór kapinyno XXII k. 1. 1, 2, 29 – segės, 3, 9, 25 – apyrankės, 9–16, 30 – diržo apkalai, 7 – antkaklė, 4–6, 17–23, 26, 27 – kaklo apvarų dalys, 24, 28 – verpstukai (pagal Bitner-Wróblewska 2007, Pl. XXXVI–XXXVII; Szymański 2013, Fig. 11 su papildymais).

7 pav. Sūduvių kultūros ir Pietvakarių Lietuvos kapų su rankogalinėmis apyrankėmis įkapės: 1–3 – Szwajcaria kapinyno k. 1, 4–9 – Eitulionių pilkapyno pilk. II. 1 – krūtinės papuošalas, 2, 4, 9 – apyrankės, 3 – sagtis, 5 – karolis, 7 – lankinė segė, 8 – pasaginė segė (pagal Jaskanis 2013, Pl. XCVI; Bliujienė 2013, pav. 322 su papildymais).

8 pav. Rankogalinės apyrankės: 1, 2 – Bakšių laidojimo paminklas (SHM, Nr. 982/13, 14), 3 – Babięta kapinyno k. 44 (Kaliningrado srities istorijos

ir meno muziejus, PM, Nr. 1637). *O. Chomiakovos pieš.*

9 pav. Bakšių laidojimo paminklo rankogalinės apyrankės: 1 – SHM, Nr. 982/11, 2 – SHM, Nr. 982/12). *O. Chomiakovos pieš.*

10 pav. Bakšių laidojimo paminklo rankogalinė apyrankė (SHM, Nr. 982/15). *O. Chomiakovos pieš. ir nuotr.*

11 pav. Rankogalinių apyrankių paplitimas: 1 – Sirenevo (Eisselbitten), 2 – Moskovskoje 1, 3 – Węgorzewo, 4 – Wyszembork IVa, 5 – Miętkie I, 6 – Babięta, 7 – Sterławki Wielkie, 8 – Guty, 9 – Pieczarki, 10 – Bogaczewo, 11 – Tuchlin, 12 – Paprotki Kolonia I, 13 – Staświny II, 14 – Czyprki, 15 – Czerwony Dwór XXII, 16 – Żywa Woda, 17 – Szwajcaria, 18 – Przebród, 19 – Raczki, 20 – Płociczno, 21 – Rajgród, 22 – Bargłów Dworny, 23 – Netta, 24 – Radastai, 25 – Seiliūnai, 26 – Bakšiai, 27 – Medžionys, 28 – Eitulionys, 29 – Semeniškės, 30 – Kairėnai, 31 – Pakrauglė, 32 – Didžprūdėliai, 33 – Svobodka. *O. Chomiakovos žemėl.* pagal Lietuvos 1978, pav. 53; Nowakowski 1991, ryc. 8; Michelbertas 2011, pav. 10 su papildymais.

Vertė J. Žukauskaitė