

Terra fertilis, terra deserta
Exploitation of marginal zones



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Terra fertilis, terra deserta
Exploitation of marginal zones

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A failed idea – a peculiar grave of a horse rider from the Samland Peninsula

Agata Chilińska-Früboes

During the Roman and Migration periods, the Samland Peninsula, the middle basin of the Pregolya River and the area between the lower Pasłęka and the middle Łyna Rivers were inhabited by people defined as the Dollkeim/Kovrovo culture (NOWAKOWSKI 1996, map 2). These areas were intensively investigated in the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th by East Prussian archaeologists associated with scientific societies from Königsberg (see HOLLACK 1908a). They often published the results of their research, but these publications were rarely comprehensive. It was only after the geopolitical changes in Europe and the fall of the Berlin Wall that archival sources on these excavations became accessible for study and publication (e.g. IBSEN 2003; CHILIŃSKA-DRAPPELLA 2010; 2013; RZESZOTARSKA-NOWAKIEWICZ 2010; JUGA-SZYMAŃSKA 2011; PRASSOLOV and SKVORTSOV 2016; CHILIŃSKA-FRÜBOES 2020; 2021). After World War II the Samland Peninsula was no longer studied on such a scale. Soviet

archaeologists concentrated mainly on the documentation and study of Prussian hillforts (see GUREVIČ 1960). From the 1990s, during the slow democratization of Russia, local archaeologists returned to the tradition of East Prussian archaeologists and began to excavate cemeteries as well, but they rarely published the results of their work (e.g. SKVORZOV 2007; SKVORCOV 2012; 2022). Currently, Russia's invasion of Ukraine has made any cooperation with Russian researchers impossible. For this reason, the only opportunity to further our knowledge of the archaeology of the Samland Peninsula is to return to archival studies and examine the materials found by East Prussian researchers.¹

One of the largest archaeological sites of the Dollkeim/Kovrovo culture excavated before World War II was the cemetery at Corjeiten, Kr. Fischhausen (Путилово, рай. Зеленоградск) (Fig. 1:1).² Over four hundred graves were discovered here, dating from the end of the 1st century AD (subphase B2a) up to the



Fig. 1. Roman Period horse bits with propeller-shaped bars in the Baltic Sea basin. 1. Corjeiten; 2. Aleyka; 3. Klein Fließ; 4. Fürstenwalde; 5. Padvariai; 6. Rūdaičiai; 7. Skomatzko; 8. Thorsberger Moor. Finds of uncertain chronology are marked in black. After https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Relief_Map_of_Baltic_Sea.png; Graphics: A. Chilińska-Früboes.

10th–13th, with a probable gap in the use of the cemetery in the 8th and 9th cc. (CHILIŃSKA-DRAPPELLA 2013, with further literature). At least 15 graves dating back to the Early Roman period were found (CHILIŃSKA 2009, 142–152), mostly inhumation graves covered with rectangular stone pavements. The deceased were buried on the NS axis with their heads to the N (CHILIŃSKA-FRÜBOES 2020, pl. 23, 27, 37, 42, 45). This arrangement of skeletons was typical of the Dollkeim/Kovrovo culture in phase B2 (GAERTE 1928, 46–48; OKULICZ 1973, 368–371; NOWAKOWSKI 1996, 61–63, 165–166, map 13). Placing stone pavements over burials was also a widespread custom at that time, and it was also practiced in the Younger Roman period and during the Migration period (CHILIŃSKA-FRÜBOES, in print). However, among the Early Roman period graves from Corjeiten, grave 8 stands out (CHILIŃSKA 2009, 19–21, 152–154, pl. 12–14; CHILIŃSKA-FRÜBOES 2020, 43–44, pl. 24–27). It is the only such dated grave at the cemetery to contain a horse burial and, even more importantly, both the arrangement of the horse remains and the grave inventory are highly unusual.

In the grave, beneath a rectangular stone pavement measuring 270 cm NW–SE×40 cm EW (Fig. 2:1a), a human inhumation burial was discovered (the bones were not preserved). The skeleton was lying on the NW–SE axis, with head to the N. Next to the head stood a large vessel with a two-hole handle (Fig. 2:1b – δ).³ The remains of a second vessel were also found. Two brooches, one of type A.60⁴ (Fig. 2:7) and the other most likely identical, belonged to the costume of the deceased. In the area of the Dollkeim/Kovrovo culture, fibulae of type A.60 occurred in phase B2 (CHILIŃSKA-FRÜBOES 2020, 201). A shield was also placed in the grave, as evidenced by the surviving elements: an iron shield boss of type J.5 (Fig. 2:9) with the edge covered with bronze sheet and with four bronze rivets, an iron shield grip of type J.7 (Fig. 2:8) with the ribs inlaid with bronze wire, and bronze and iron fittings of the shield-edges (Fig. 2:10). Shield bosses of type J.5 occurred in the Dollkeim/Kovrovo culture throughout phase B2 (NOWAKOWSKI 1996, 18; CHILIŃSKA-FRÜBOES 2020, 170, 197, 292). The specimen from Corjeiten was made of iron and the edge was lined with bronze sheet, but unfortunately the exact appearance of this decoration is not known (*die Konstruktion läßt sich nicht ganz genau erkennen* – Jankuhn, legacy). Shield bosses of J.5 type decorated in this way are rare, although they are known from Gotland, Bornholm and the Rhineland. This type of decoration was much more common on shield bosses of type J.7 (JAHN 1916, 171, 176; CHILIŃSKA 2009, 112–113). Such decorated finds come from the area of the Dollkeim/Kovrovo culture from Caymen, Kr. Labiau (Заречье, рай. Гурьевск) (CHILIŃSKA-FRÜBOES 2020, 40, pl. 12:10d), Althof-Insterburg, Kr. Insterburg (Черняховск, рай. Иосо), grave II (GRUNERT 1936, 130, fig. 8; Jankuhn, legacy) and Klein Fließ, Kr. Labiau, grave 2 (Изобильное, рай. Полесск) (HEYDECK 1900, 59, pl. VI:6; Jankuhn, legacy). The chronology of the Caymen find falls in subphase B2b (CHILIŃSKA-FRÜBOES 2020, 40). The specimen from Klein Fließ, judging from the accompanying brooch

(HEYDECK 1900, 59, pl. VI:2), cannot be younger than phase B2/C1–C1a (KONTNY 2019b, 135). The shield grip found in Corjeiten has no exact analogy in the Dollkeim/Kovrovo culture (CHILIŃSKA 2009, 113; CHILIŃSKA-FRÜBOES 2020, 100, 197). It was damaged, so the shape of the rivet plates is unknown. Given the way in which the rivet plates are separated, the shield grip resembles type J.7. However, the shape of the rivet plates seems to be more like the younger variant of type J.9 (see GODŁOWSKI 1977, 85–86). The only shield grip of type J.7 from the Dollkeim/Kovrovo culture area is a specimen from Kirpehnen, Kr. Fischhausen (Поваровка, рай. Зеленоградск), site 1, grave VI, dated to subphase B2b (CHILIŃSKA-FRÜBOES 2020, 100, pl. 244:6). Like the specimen from Corjeiten, it was made of iron and probably inlaid with bronze wire. Shield grips of type J.9, the younger variant, are dated on the Samland Peninsula to subphase B2b and throughout the Younger Roman period (KONTNY 2015, 314). The shield from Corjeiten also had bronze and iron edge fittings. The state of their documentation makes it impossible to determine the shape of the shield, but it is assumed that the shields of the Dollkeim/Kovrovo culture were oval and rectangular (LA BAUME 1941, fig. 3, 4b), and perhaps also hexagonal (JAHN 1916, 200). Two almost identical spear heads were also placed in the discussed grave (Fig. 3:1–2).⁵ Their shape is typical of the Early Roman period.

Below the human burial, halfway along the pavement, there was a layer of stones covering a horse burial (Fig. 2:1b). The horse was placed on the EW axis, with its head to the W. Near the head the bridle was found (Fig. 2:1b – β, γ), including an iron horse-bit, described in archival sources as *Leitenkorkarde* (Tischler, legacy)⁶, a bronze object described as a *Rosette* (Jankuhn, legacy) and numerous iron elements. Among these finds were two iron plates (Fig. 2:2–3), each connected to a bronze ring. One of the rings had a bronze fitting attached to it (Fig. 2:2). Most likely, the second plate also had such a fitting (Fig. 2:4). Each fitting had a pair of bronze rivets with flat, circular heads, decorated with an incised checkerboard pattern. The fittings themselves were decorated with pairs of incised lines. Most likely, the iron plates discussed here belonged to a bit with propeller-shaped bars (see Fig. 4:10). The bronze object described as a *Rosette* could have been a strap-divider, although another interpretation cannot be ruled out, namely as a bridle applique. The bridle also included two circular bronze plates. The larger one (Fig. 2:6) was attached to the strap with four rivets. It may have been a strap divider or an applique. The smaller plate (Fig. 2:5) had only one rivet, with its head decorated in a similar way to the rivets in the bridle fittings (Fig. 2:2). In addition, this plate was decorated with concentric grooves. This was probably the bridle applique.

In the Dollkeim/Kovrovo culture area, horses, or only bridle elements, were often placed in human burials during the Roman period (HOLLACK 1908b, 180–181; JANKUHN 1933, 204; ENGEL 1935, 68–69; OKULICZ 1973, 373). However, these were almost exclusively bits with rings, while bits with cheek pieces come mainly from the late phase of the Migration period (LA

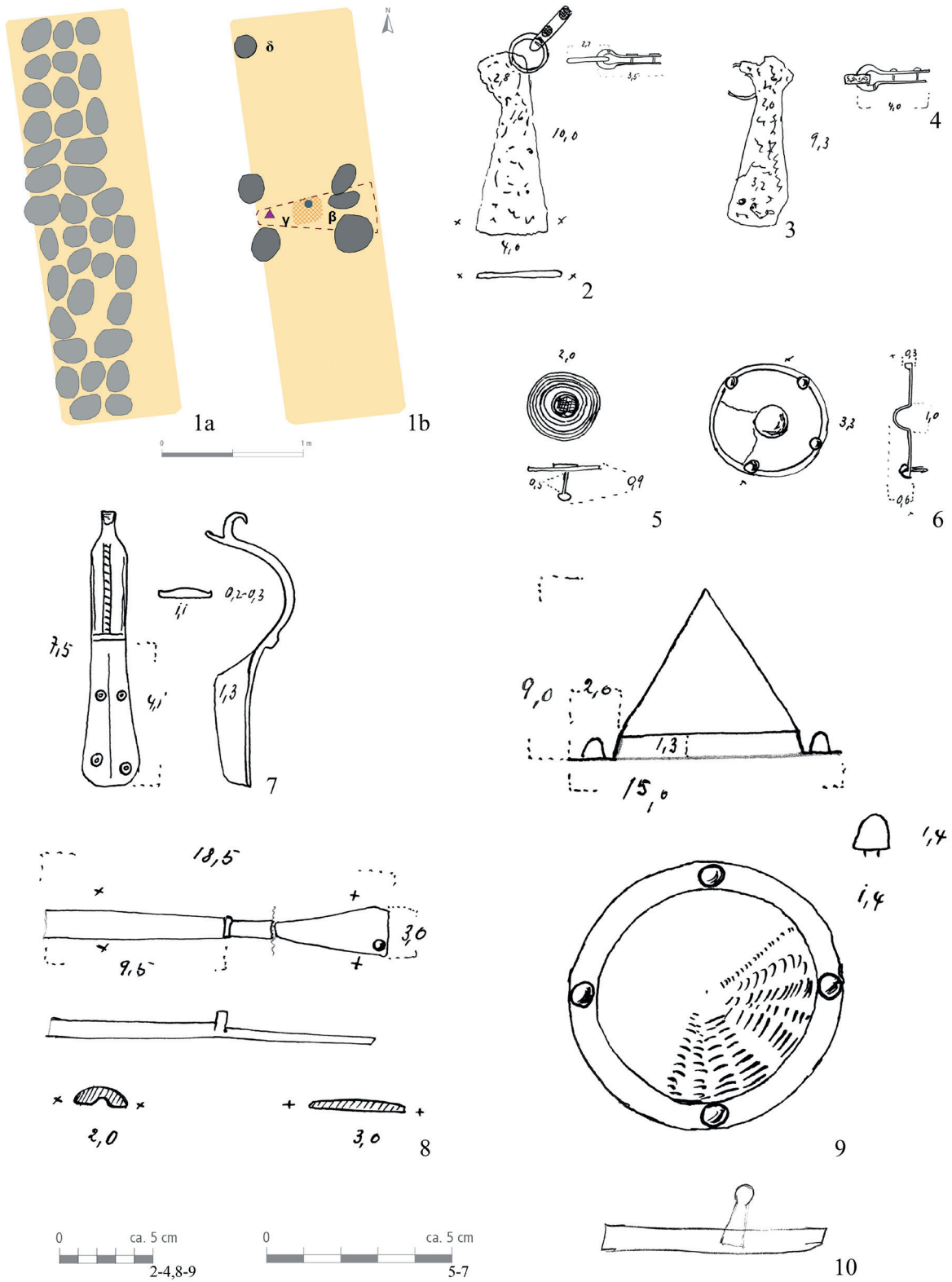


Fig. 2. Corjeiten, grave 8. No. 10 not to scale. After CHILINSKA-FRÜBOES 2020.

BAUME 1944, 12, fig. 15) and the early Middle Ages (LA BAUME 1944, 18–19, fig. 28–33; GOSSLER 2013, fig. 12:6; 15:30, 16:7, 20:11, 56:4; 2014, 6, fig. 4:1,4). Bits with propeller-shaped bars probably spread from central Asia to northeastern and northern Europe thanks to the Sarmatians (TREISTER 1997, 62; cf. VON CARNAP-BORNHEIM 2003, 377–380). Riders with horses with such bits are depicted on a silver vessel from a richly furnished Sarmatian grave from Kosika in Caspian Lowland (КОСИКА, рай. ЕНОТАЕВСК; Fig. 5:2a; TREISTER 1997, 59–62, fig. 24, 28, with further literature). The four horses shown here were used for fighting (Fig. 5:2b–c) and hunting wild boars (Fig. 5:2d–e; BĂRCA 2012, 188, fig. 3). This vessel dates back to the mid-1st century AD (VON CARNAP-BORNHEIM 2003, 377) or the first half of the same (BĂRCA 2012, 198, note 61). A fragment of a bit with propeller-shaped bars was found in the northern Caucasus, in Ust'-Labinsk (УСТЬ-ЛАБИНСК, край Краснодарск), grave 31 (Fig. 5:1). It probably comes from the first half of the 2nd century AD (VON CARNAP-BORNHEIM 2003, 377). However, it is worth emphasizing that the bits with propeller-shaped bars from the Baltic Sea area often differ from Sarmatian ones. Sarmatian bits often have not one but two holes in the bar, and the bars are typically less massive than the Baltic finds (DEDIULKIN 2012, fig. 3:4; SYMONENKO 2015, fig. 80:2–8.10, 83:1–5).⁷ Massive bars were also in use, but they still had two holes (SYMONENKO 2015, fig. 83:9). Bits of the discussed type are also known from Dacia, primarily from the southern and southwestern parts. Their occurrence dates back there to the end of the 2nd century BC until the beginning of the 2nd century AD (LAU 2014, 138, with further literature). It is not clear why this bit design was not adopted by the Romans or in the northern Barbaricum.

Apart from the specimen from Corjeiten, a few other bits with propeller-shaped bars are known from the Dollkeim/Kovrovo culture. One of them comes from Aleyka (Алейка, рай. Зеленоградск), site 3, grave 423a (Fig. 1:2, 3:3.11; SKVORTSOV 2009, 137, fig. 1:1). It was found in a grave containing the burials of a man (423) and a horse (423a). A brooch of group A.VI (Fig. 3:3.4) and a coin (Fig. 3:3.2) found in the grave allow dating it to phase B2/C1–C1a at the earliest (see NOWAKOWSKI 1996, 50–51, 56–57, pl. 107). This is in line with the chronology of the vessels discovered in the grave: an urn of type *Greibieten* (Fig. 3:3.1) and a *Dollkeim*-type vessel (Fig. 3:3.3), which first appeared in the Dollkeim/Kovrovo culture area in phase B2/C1–C1a but also occurred later (CHILIŃSKA-FRÜBOES 2021, 212). A shield boss of type J.7a was also found in the grave (Fig. 3:3.7). Artefacts of this form are considered typical of phase B2/C1–C1a in the Dollkeim/Kovrovo culture (NOWAKOWSKI 1996, 51). However, the older variant of this type (according to Teresa LIANA (1970, 451–452)) appeared here earlier, in subphase B2b (CHILIŃSKA-FRÜBOES 2020, 40–41, 201). In the territory of the West Balt Circle, forms with short spines, such as the shield boss from Aleyka, occurred primarily in phase C1, but in the Dollkeim/Kovrovo culture their chronology could have been longer (KONTNY 2019a, 102, fig. 3:12–16). The shield grip from Aleyka (Fig. 3:3.5) corresponds to the younger variant of type J.9 (GODŁOWSKI 1977, 85–86), which, as already mentioned, can be dated to subphase

B2b and throughout the Younger Roman period. All in all, it should be assumed that the grave from Aleyka can be dated to phase B2/C1–C1a.

A bit with propeller-shaped bars was also found in Klein Fließ, Kr. Labiau (Изобильное, рай. Полесск) (Fig. 1:3). It is known only from a brief mention (LA BAUME 1944, 17). Because it was a stray find, its chronology is difficult to determine. The cemetery in Klein Fließ contains artefacts from the turn of the Early and Younger Roman period, as well as from the Late Migration period. Another such bit was discovered in Fürstenwalde, Kr. Königsberg (Поддубное, рай. Гурьевск) (Fig. 1:4, 4:1; HENSCHKE 1869, 150, fig. 2). It was again a stray find, so it is impossible to determine its chronology (LAU 2014, 136–137). However, it seems that the bits from Klein Fließ and Fürstenwalde should both be dated to phases B2 or B2/C1–C1a, due to analogical finds from Corjeiten and Aleyka. Such dating has been already suggested by Susane WILBERS-ROST (1995, 69).

Several examples of bits with propeller-shaped bars are also known from the area of the West Lithuanian group (CHILIŃSKA 2009, 127; BLIUJENĖ and BUTKUS 2009, 105). A fragment of such a bit was discovered in Padvariai, raj. Kretinga, in mound 18 (Fig. 1:5, 4:2). It was accompanied by three fibulae of type A.61 and an iron axe (Fig. 4:3–6). The chronology of the grave falls in phase B2 (BLIUJENĖ 2013, 287, fig. 191; BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2019, 413, fig. 150, with further literature). A similar bit was found in Rūdaičiai, raj. Kretinga, site II, horse grave no. 1 (Fig. 1:6, 4:7). This bridle also included over twenty circular, decorated plates with rivets (Fig. 4:9; MICHELBERTAS 1968, 62–63, 73, fig. 7:1,3–5; 1986, 177–178, fig. 69:2) identical to those found in Corjeiten (Fig. 2:5). Near the horse head a bronze, decorated strap fitting was discovered (Fig. 4:8; LAU 2014, 177–178, fig. 113). The chronology of this grave is not clear. However, the Early Roman period has been proposed (BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2019, 413). From the West Balt Circle territory comes one more bit with propeller-shaped bars, probably also dated to the Early Roman period or the beginning of the Younger Roman period. It is a stray find from Skomatzko, Kr. Lyck (Skomack Wielki, pow. Elk) (Fig. 1:7, 4:10; LA BAUME 1944, 17, fig. 26). However, its chronology and cultural affiliation are not certain. Single bits of this type are also known from eastern Jutland, at Thorsberger Moor (Lkr. Schleswig-Holstein) (Fig. 1:8, 4:11; LAU 2014, 135–139, pl. 19–20, with further literature). They are dated to the Younger Roman period, most likely to subphase C1b (LAU 2014, 137). Their chronology is therefore later than that of the finds from the Dollkeim/Kovrovo culture and the West Lithuanian group.

The circular decorated plate from Corjeiten (Fig. 2:5) was probably a bridle applique. Similar artefacts were found in the already mentioned grave VI from Kirpehnen (Fig. 6:1–3), dated to subphase B2b (CHILIŃSKA-FRÜBOES 2020, 100, pl. 247:15). Some of them still have remains of a leather straps attached (Fig. 6:3). Identical appliques were discovered in Šosseynoe (Шоссейное, рай. Гурьевск), grave 34 (Fig. 6:5–6). They were parts of a richly decorated bridle (Fig. 6:4; SKVORTSOV and LUGANOV 2015, fig. 4:1, 5:1, 6–7, 8:1–2), which also included brow mount of type Sb

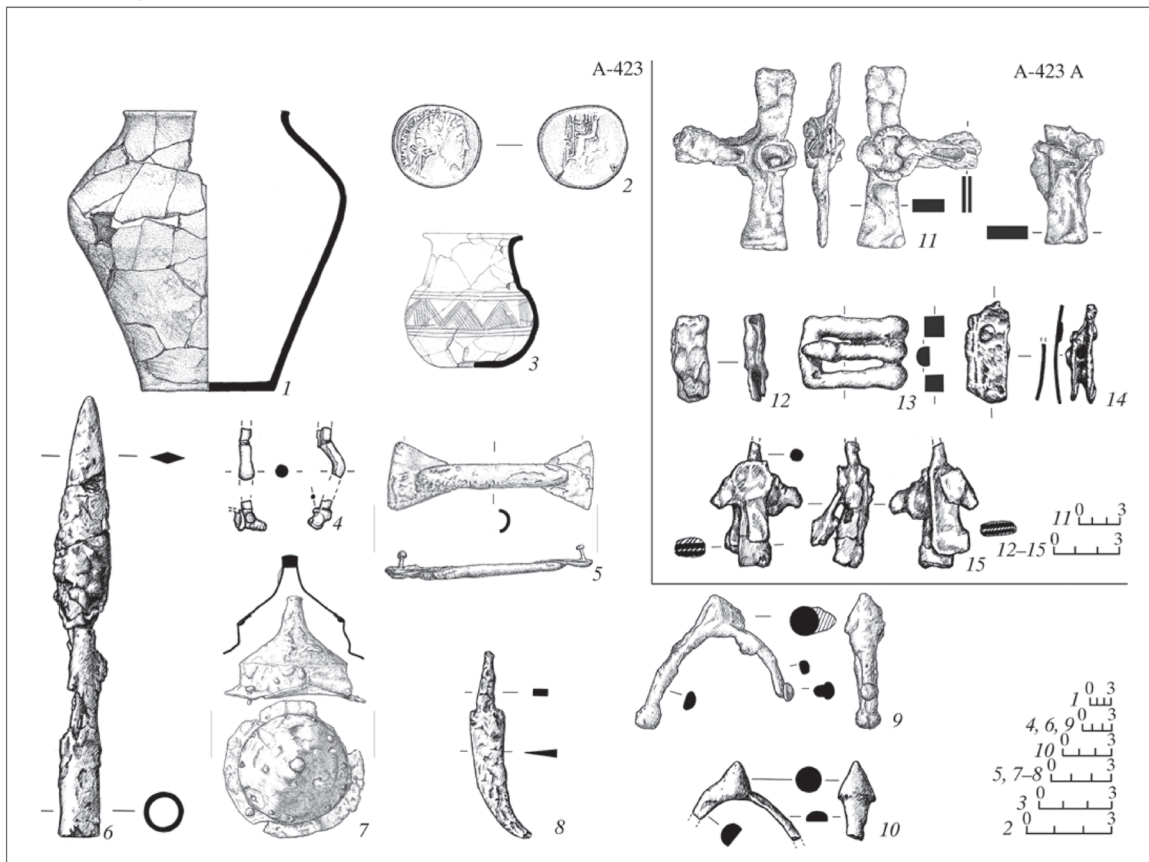
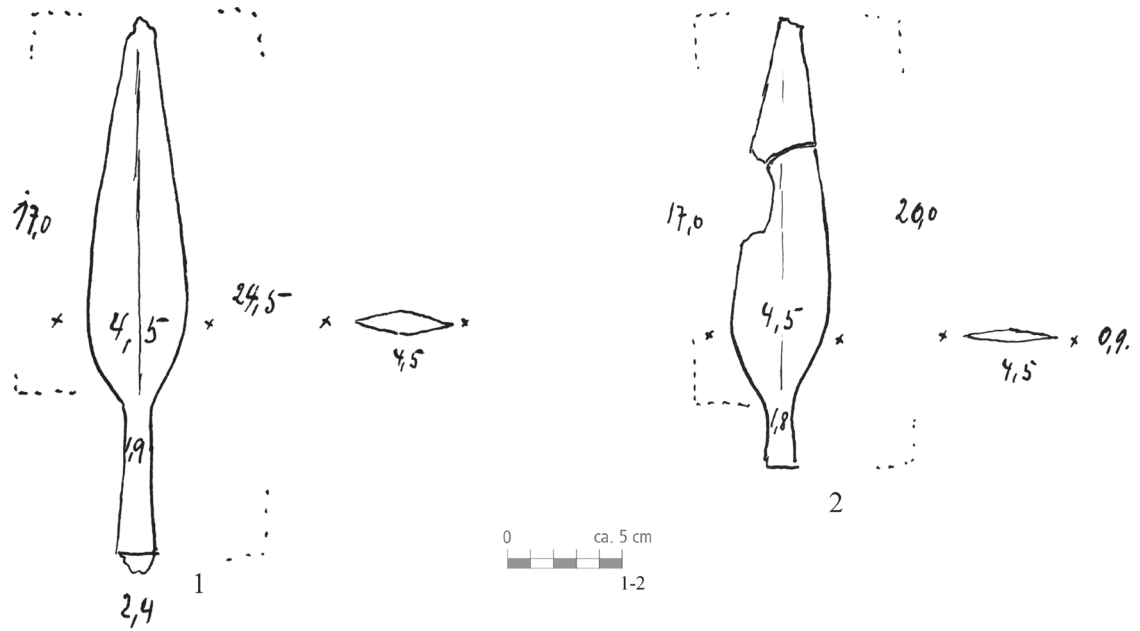


Fig. 3. 1-2. Corjeiten, grave 8; 3. Aleyka, site 3, grave 423. 1-2. After CHLIŇSKA-FRÜBOES 2020; 3. After SKVORTSOV 2009.

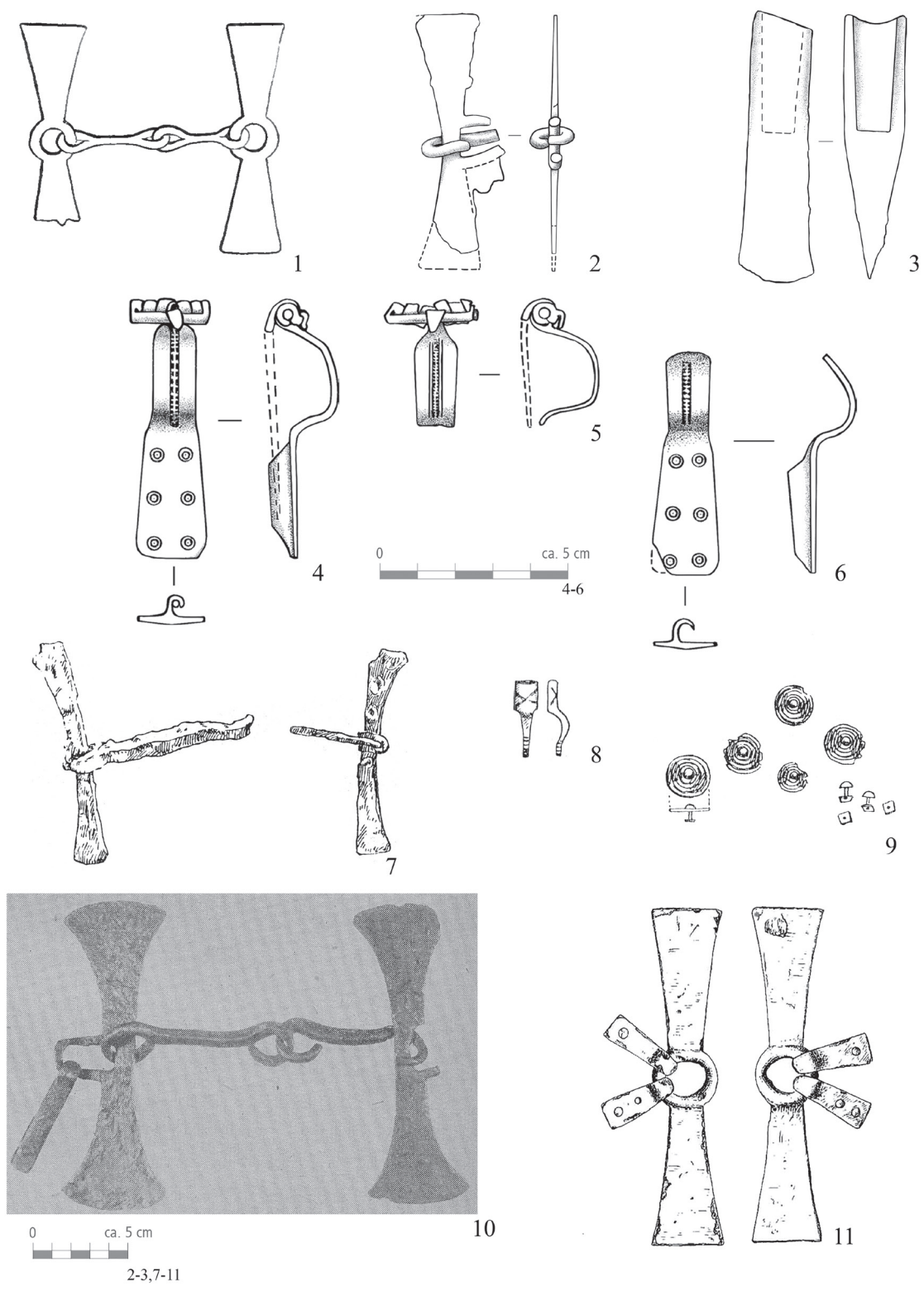


Fig. 4. 1. Fürstenwalde, stray find; 2-6. Padvariai, mound 18; 7-9. Rūdaičiai, site II, horse grave no. 1; 10. Skomatzko, stray find; 11. Thorsberger Moor. 1. After HENSCHÉ 1869, not to scale; 2-6. After BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2019; 7-9. After MICHELBERTAS 1968; 10. After LA BAUME 1944; 11. After RADDATZ 1987.

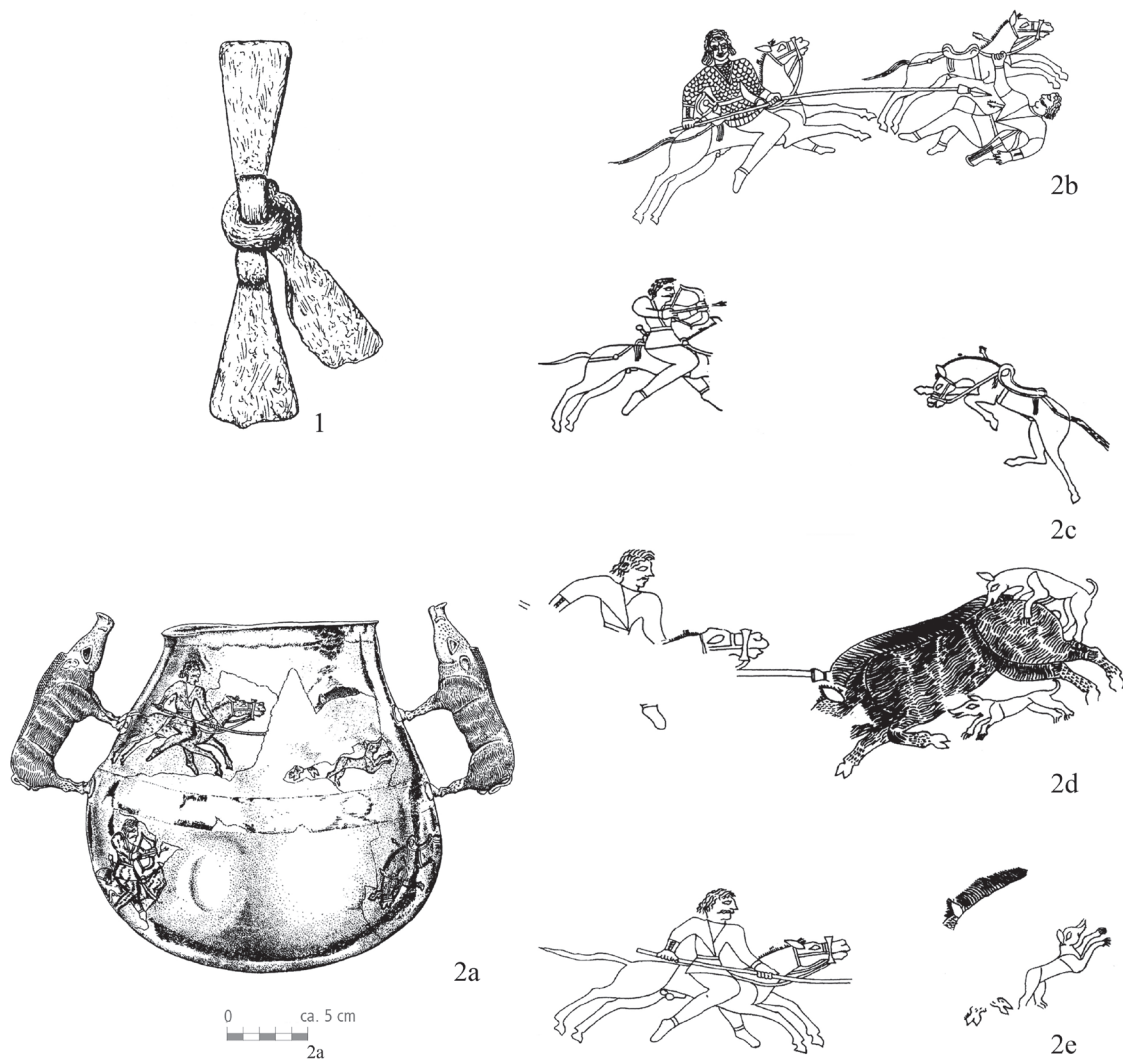


Fig. 5. 1. Ust'-Labinsk; 2. Kosika. 1. After VON CARNAP-BORNHEIM 2003; 2a. After TREISTER 1997; 2b–d. After BĂRÇA 2012.

2a and a bracket of type Kb 1 according to WILBERS-ROST (1995), numerous rectangular bronze appliques and their fragments, an iron bit with rings, and two spurs similar to variant F1 according to Jerzy GINALSKI (1991; cf. SKVORCOV and LUGANOV 2015, 201–202). In the Przeworsk culture area such spurs occurred mainly in sub-phase C1a (GINALSKI 1991, 66). However, the brow mount of type Sb 2a has analogies in phase B2 (LAU 2014, 13), and this chronology should probably also be accepted for the Šosseynoie bridle, with a possible extension to phase B2/C1–C1a. Identical decorated appliques come also from the area of the West Lithuanian group, from the already described grave from Rūdaičiai (Fig. 4:9). The larger plate from Corjeiten (Fig. 2:6), perhaps a strap divider or an applique, resembles two finds from Caymen (Fig. 6:7–8; Jankuhn, legacy; cf. LA BAUME 1944, 3). They were similar in size, attached to the strap with four rivets, and in their center was a hemispherical arch. Unfortunately, they are stray finds, so it is impossible to determine their exact chronology. However,

the style of their decoration suggests an association with phase B2, or possibly with phase B2/C1–C1a.

Based on the chronology of brooches and shield elements, the discussed grave 8 from Corjeiten should be dated to phase B2. The bit with propeller-shaped bars found here would therefore be the earliest such find from the area of the Dollkeim/Kovrovo culture. However, it has analogies from the same period in the West Lithuanian group. The bit from Aleyka is slightly later, and such bits appeared even later in eastern Jutland. Perhaps their appearance in Thorsberger Moor is the result of the influence of the West Balt Circle tribes, who took over this tradition from the Sarmatians or the Dacians.

The discussed grave draws attention not only to the bit, but also to the unusual burial of the horse, which was placed below the human body and transversely to it. It could have given the impression that the rider was riding the horse. The custom of burying horses near human burials was widespread throughout

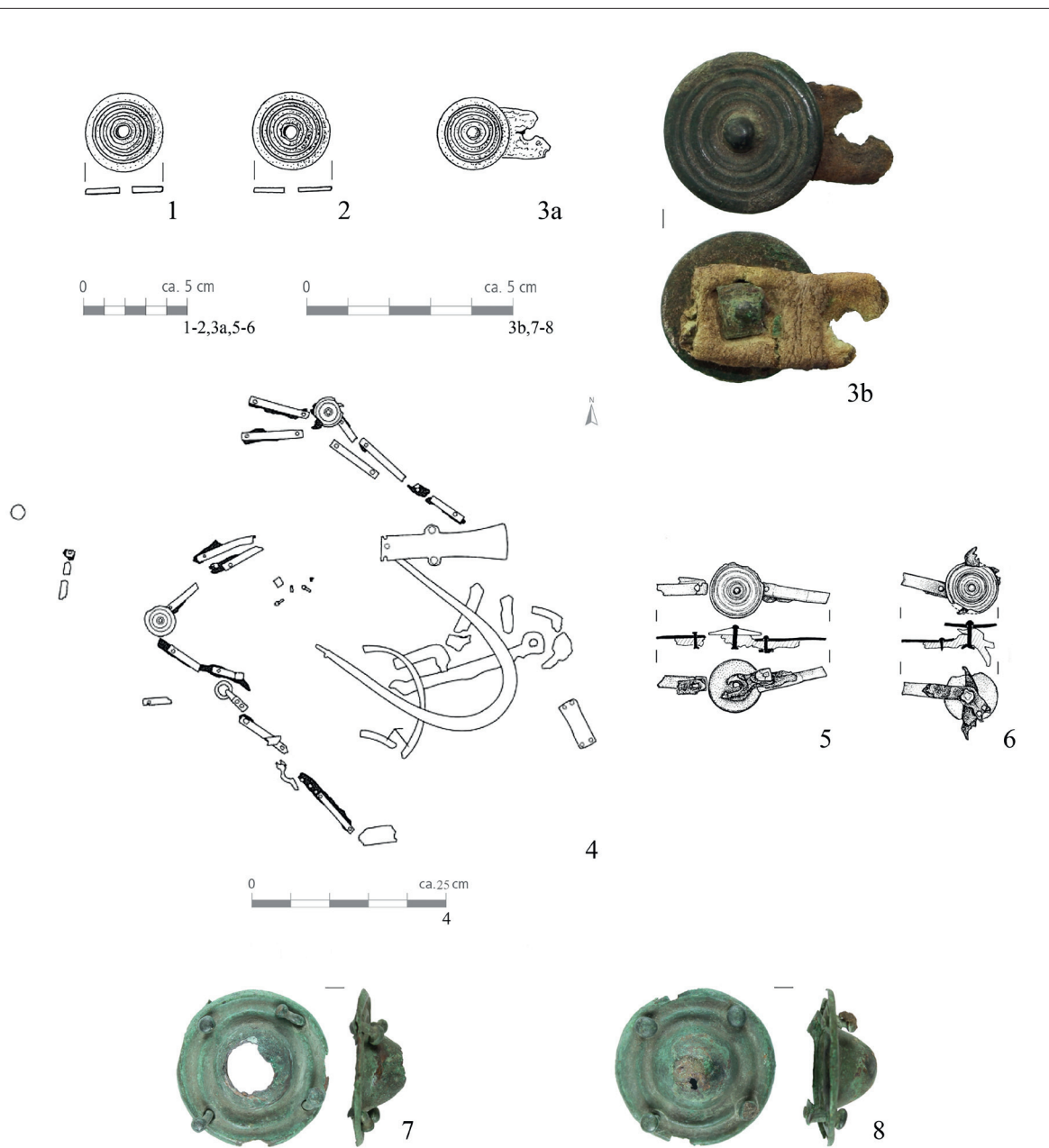


Fig. 6. 1–3. Kirpehnen, site 1, grave VI; 4–6. Šosseynoe, grave 34; 7–8. Caymen, stray finds. 1–3a. After CHILIŃSKA-FRÜBOES 2020; 3b, 7–8. Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin, photo by A. Chilińska-Früboes; 4–6. After SKVORCOV and LUGANOV 2015.

the West Balt Circle territory from the Early Roman period to the Middle Ages (ENGEL 1935, 68). Horse graves appeared first in the West Lithuanian group, while on the Samland Peninsula they appeared in phase B2 (NOWAKOWSKI 2009, 115). In the Roman period such burials also occurred in the areas of the Bogaczewo and Sudovian cultures and in Lithuania, and during the Migration period also in the Olsztyn and Elbląg groups (JASKANIS 1966; 1968; 1974, 97–98, 169–171, 196–199; BARANOWSKI 1996; PIĄTKOWSKA-MAŁECKA 2000; GRĘŻAK 2007; BLIUIJENĖ and BUTKUS 2009; KONTNY et al. 2009; NOWAKOWSKI 2009; KARCZEWSKI 2011, 69–70).

In the Dollkeim/Kovrovo culture area horse graves were extremely numerous in cemeteries (see HOLLACK 1908b, 180–181; JANKUHN 1933, 204; ENGEL 1935, 68–69; NOWAKOWSKI 1996, 166; CHILIŃSKA 2009, 152–155). It is worth noting, however, that bridle elements were also found in human graves, and it is not certain in such cases whether a horse was also placed in them. Sometimes only single horse bones or teeth were found (OKULICZ 1973, 372–373). A custom of burying only part of a horse can also be observed in the area of the West Lithuanian group during phases B2 and B2/C1 (BLIUIJENĖ and BUTKUS 2009, 96–98,

fig. 3; BANYTE-ROWELL 2019, 13–14, with further literature) and in the Younger Roman period in the area of the Sudovian culture (JASKANIS 1974, 171; KARCZEWSKA et al. 2009, 57, with further literature). In the Early Roman period, horses were usually buried next to men on the Samland Peninsula. In a large oval or rectangular pit, oriented on the NS axis, a human body was typically placed with his head facing N, and next to it a horse was buried with its head facing S (CHILIŃSKA-FRÜBOES 2024, 412, with further literature). The custom of placing horses under human burials was extremely rare at that time. Five such graves⁸ were discovered in Sanditten, Kr. Wehlau (Лунино, рай. Гвардейск) (CHILIŃSKA-FRÜBOES 2024, 412). Their chronology is uncertain. According to Carl Engel, at least some of them should be dated to the Early Roman period (ENGEL 1931, 49–50), but in more recent literature it has been proposed to date them to the Younger Roman period (NOWAKOWSKI 1996, 63). A similar burial was discovered in Groß Friedrichsberg, Kr. Königsberg (Совхозное, рай. Калининград), site 2, grave 10. However, this burial is slightly later than the grave from Corjeiten, as it dates back to phase B2/C1–C1a (CHILIŃSKA-FRÜBOES 2024, 397–402, 412, fig. 17–21). In the graves from Sanditten and Groß Friedrichsberg, horses were oriented on the NS, and not on the EW axis, as at Corjeiten. So far, this grave is the only Roman Period grave with such stratigraphy known from the Dollkeim/Kovrovo culture area. The custom of burying horses under human bodies became more common on the Samland Peninsula much later, during the Migration period (ENGEL 1935, 68–69; CHILIŃSKA 2009, 153–154; SKVORCOV 2017, 230–231, with further literature), when such graves also appear in the Elbląg group (KONTNY et al. 2009, 165–167).

Grave 8 from Corjeiten is atypical in several respects. A bit with propeller-shaped bars was found here, a rare find in this part of the Barbaricum (Fig. 1), perhaps a reflection of Sarmatian or Dacian influences. As observed by Claus von Carnap-Bornheim, the appearance of such bits in southern Scandinavia and on the south-eastern coast of the Baltic Sea might be the result of interregional contacts of warrior elites (VON CARNAP-BORNHEIM 2003, 380). The grave in question could fit into this horizon, as it is the richest Early Roman male burial at the cemetery under discussion and the only one with a horse (CHILIŃSKA 2009, 148). The man buried here can therefore be described as a representative of the local warrior elite. The way the horse was buried in grave 8 is also unusual, as it has no exact analogy in the West Balt Circle. Again, this may be the result of external influences. The position of the horse and the man may have given the impression that the man was riding the horse. There are graves known from the Sarmatian area in which the deceased were lying on their backs with their knees apart, as if they were riding a horse. However, these graves are earlier, dating back to the 3rd century BC, and these burials still give rise to discussion (GURSOV et al. 2020, 414–415, fig. 1). Perhaps the burial of a horse under the man in grave 8 was an impromptu arrangement, and we as archaeologists do not have the key to understanding it.

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- 2 In this text I use German administrative names, because the materials discussed are known in the literature under these names. Moreover, Russian administrative names are constantly changing.
- 3 The artefacts from the grave come from Oscar Tischler's research conducted in 1885. They were then sent to the Ostpreussisches Provinzialmuseum, then to the Prussia-Museum in Königsberg, inv. no. 14264–14275, currently considered missing. The drawing documentation of all the items, including the vessels, has been lost (CHILIŃSKA-FRÜBOES 2020, 43–44, pl. 24–27).
- 4 The article uses the following typologies: O. ALMGREN (1897) for brooches, M. Jahn (1916) for shield grips and shield bosses.
- 5 The spear heads in the figure are shown after damage. They were originally approx. 25–26 cm long.
- 6 Herbert Jankuhn (legacy) mentioned that this object was made of bronze. It should be considered a mistake (CHILIŃSKA-FRÜBOES 2020, 44).
- 7 I am grateful to Aleksandra Rzeszotarska-Nowakiewicz, PhD for information about these bits.
- 8 Graves: 4, 6, 8, 10, 21.

Archival records

Jankuhn, legacy – legacy of Herbert Jankuhn, part kept in the Museum für Archäologie, Schleswig.

Tischler, legacy – legacy of Prusia Museum, part written by Otto Tischler, part kept in the Muzeum Warmii i Mazur, Olsztyn.

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