

Baitai Cemetery Grave 37 – an inspiration to return to the question of contacts between Western Balt Areas in Late Roman Period

Rasa Banytė-Rowell

INTRODUCTION

Professor Michelbertas is an inspiring example of an academic whose works are typified by exhaustive analysis of both individual finds and their broader context. The ability to synthesise a huge number of data, which is clear in his studies, devoted to trade links during the Roman Period or all material from Lithuania during this time (Michelbertas, 1972; 1986) is equal only to his skill in examining each and every artefact closely to reveal its significance and derive all manner of information from it. The professor was the first in Lithuanian archaeology to understand the significance of publishing full grave find-sets. The material from the Paragaudis barrow graves which was published according to this principle, forms the basis for important conclusions concerning finds from the Early Roman Period in Lithuania which were published in a separate monograph (Michelbertas, 1997), while Michelbertas' many other excavation publications are also extraordinarily important for the study of the Roman period in Lithuania and further afield. This article attempts to follow the principle of the Michelbertas 'school' in the publication of material from one cemetery at Baitai (Klaipėda Region).

Baitai Cemetery (Baiten in German) in the Klaipėda Region belongs to the area of Western Lithuanian Cemeteries with Stone Enclosures. The cemetery was discovered at the end of the nineteenth century when a small part of it was excavated by E. Scheu and A. Bezenberger (Bezenberger, 1900; Tamulynas, 1998, p. 268–269) and more recently by the present author in 1989–1991, 1993, 1995, 1997, 2001–2003, 2006–2007 (Banytė-Rowell, 2012). Baitai Grave 37, which was excavated in 1997, belongs to the group of graves in the centre of the cemetery which date to the middle of the Late Roman Period. Here we shall pub-

lish material from Grave 37 in full, analysing it in the context of internal connections between the western Balts, which are reflected also by the ring from Grave 31 at Baitai.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE PIT OF GRAVE 37 AND ITS FINDS IN SITU

The pit of Grave 37 became clear as soon as the first sub-turf layer of soil was removed. Its outline became clearest at a depth of 0.25–0.30 m from the surface (Fig. 1). The pit was dug in a SE-NW orientation, with a length of 1.95 m and a width at the south-eastern end of 0.80–0.95 m and 0.6 m at the northwestern end. In shape the pit was an irregular long rectangle with rounded corners. The in-fill of the pit was not very distinct, being composed of a greyer sand mixed with ashes and small charcoal particles. The central part of the pit from the E-NE side was broken by an almost circular agricultural pit with a diameter of 1.35–1.4 m at a depth of 0.25 m. This pit is most likely the remains of a 'potato-store' from the end of the nineteenth century. Bezenberger mentions the part of the Baitai graves disturbed by this 'potato-store' (Bezenberger, 1893, S. 133). All the finds made here were discovered at the SE end of the pit not disturbed by the potato-store. They lay at a depth of 0.20–0.35 (0.36) m from the modern surface level. For most of its width the bottom of the grave pit reached a depth of 0.32–0.36 m. The shallowness of the pit shows that the old surface of the cemetery had been moved considerably in this area and thus we cannot tell whether Grave 37 originally had a full stone enclosure. During excavation six stones were found in the undisturbed part of the pit and these lay in the lower level of the pit in-fill at a depth of 0.28–0.30 m. Three lay at the north-western

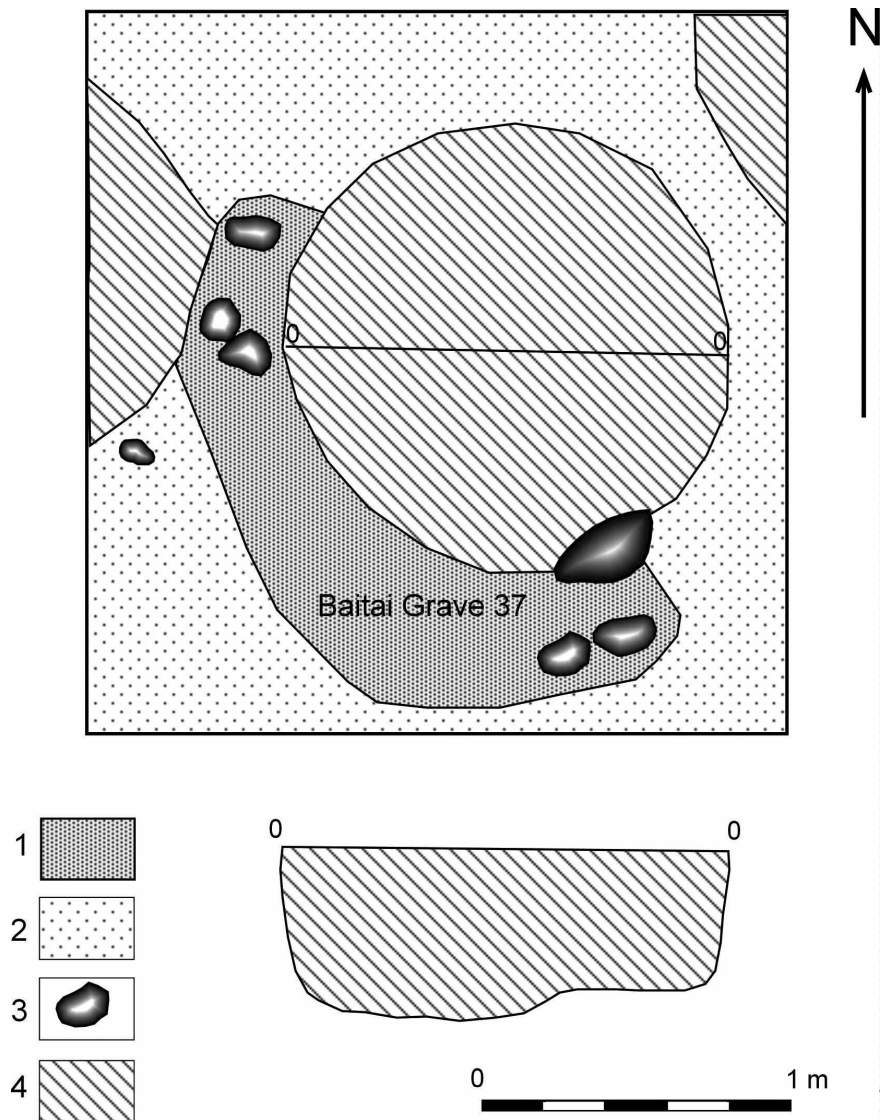


Fig. 1. Pit of Baitai Grave 37 at the depth of 0.25 m (stones lay at a depth of 0.20–0.35 m). 1 – grey sand mixed with ashes and small charred wood particles; 2 – yellowish sand; 3 – stones; 4 – pits of ‘potato-store’ from the end of the nineteenth century-beginning of twentieth century, 0-0 profile of ‘potato-store’, which destroyed part of Grave 37, made at a depth of 0,25 m.

1 pav. Baitų 37 kapo duobė 0,25 m gylyje (akmenys guli 0,20–0,35 m gylyje). 1 – pilkas smėlis, sumišęs su pelenais ir smulkiais degėsiukais; 2 – gelsvas smėlis; 3 – akmenys; 4 – XIX a. pabaigos–XX a. pradžios bulviarūsių duobės, 0–0 bulviarūšio, suardžiusio dalį kapo 37, pjūvis 0,25 m gylyje

end of pit and another three were at the south-eastern end. The latter covered the site of a clay pot and birch-bark box.

First of all we found small broken bronze spirals at the south-eastern end of the pit at a depth of 0.20 m. Scattered spirals lay at a depth of 0.20–0.36 m. Some of them were larger in size (see Fig. 2:1; Fig. 3a:1–2). Three plate spirals were found at a depth of 0.28–0.36 m, one of which was linked with small cylindri-

cal spiralets (Fig. 2:2; 3a:3). A tiny fragment of woolen cloth remained attached to one of the plate spirals. All these small artefacts were designed for metal cloth decoration items, the like of which have been found in greater number in other Baitai graves. Most likely these are part of a head dress decoration, as they were found in the head area. This is shown by a tiny fragment of jawbone which was found at a depth of 0.28 m 30 cm to the NW of the south-eastern end of

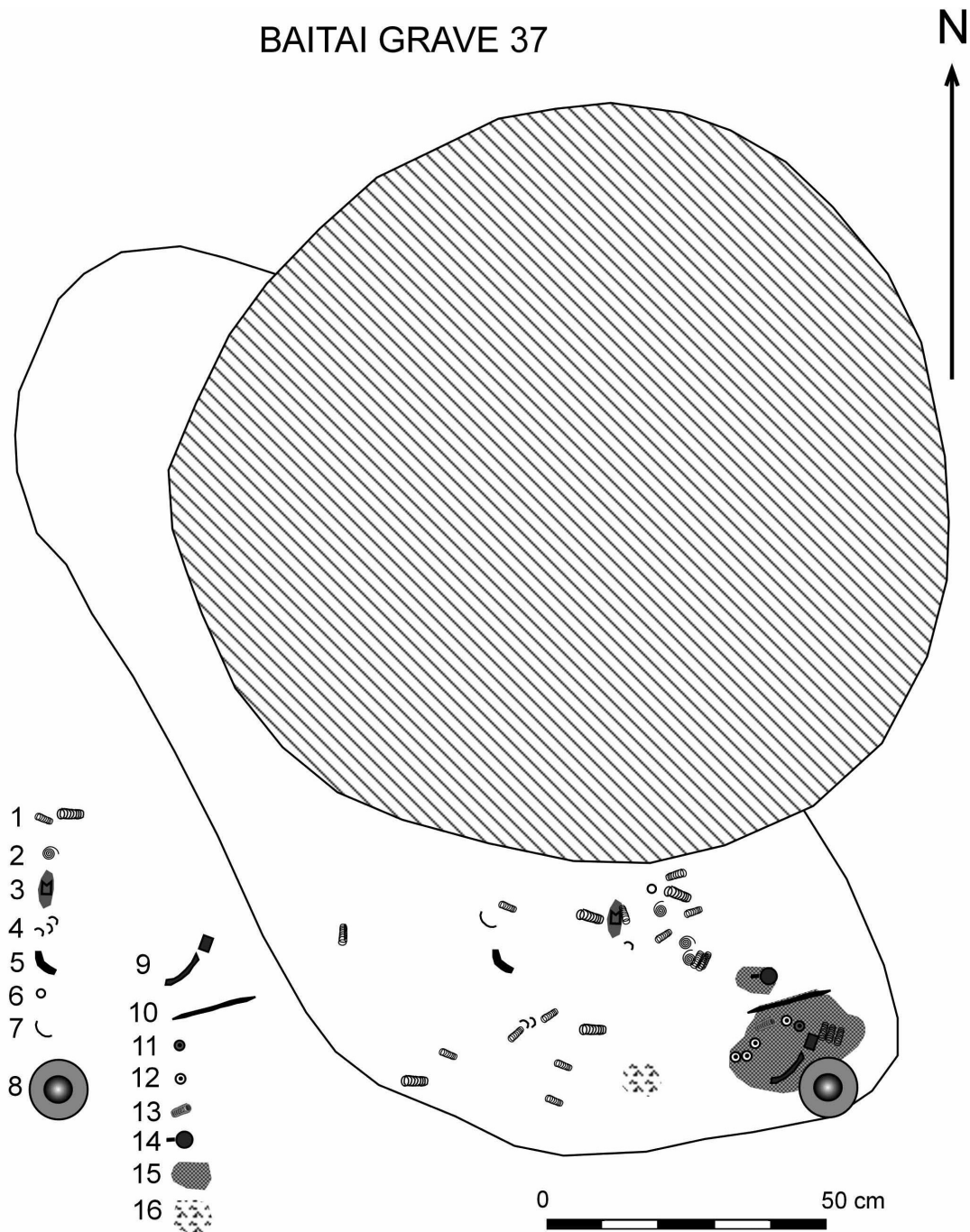


Fig. 2. Scheme of situation of finds in the pit of Baitai Grave 37 (depth of 0.20–0.36 m). 1 – smaller and bigger bronze cylindrical spiralets; 2 – bronze plate spirals; 3 – remains of the jawbone with a single tooth; 4 – fragments of bronze ring; 5 – a fragment of bronze bracelet; 6 – bronze link/ring of notched wire; 7 – bronze notched wire; 8 – ceramic vessel; 9 – leather-strips with bronze ornamentation/staples fastened into clasp mounts; 10 – iron peg; 11 – dark blue glass bead; 12 – amber beads; 13 – silver spiralet; 14 – circular bronze pendant; 15 – wooden residue with remains of birch bark; 16 – piece of clay.

2 pav. Baitų 37 kapo radinių išsidėstymo planas (gylis 0,20–0,36 m). 1 – mažesnės ir didesnės žalvarinės cilindrinės įvijėlės; 2 – plokštinės žalvarinės įvijėlės; 3 – žandikaulio liekanos su pavieniu dantimi; 4 – žalvarinio žiedo fragmentai; 5 – žalvarinės apyrankės fragmentas; 6 – žalvarinė įkartuota grandelė; 7 – žalvarinė įkartuota vielutė; 8 – molinis puodelis; 9 – odinių žalvariu puoštų juostelių junginys su sąsagomis; 10 – geležinis smeigtas; 11 – mėlyno stiklo karolis; 12 – gintariniai karoliai; 13 – sidabrinė įvijėlė; 14 – apskritas kabutis; 15 – medienos liekanos su tošies žymėmis; 16 – molio gabalas

the pit; nearby lay a single tooth (Fig. 2:3).¹ A fragment of a closed bronze ring lay in the same undisturbed southern part of the grave pit at a depth of 0.24 m, 4 cm to the S-SE of the remains of the jawbone. Other parts of the ring were found as far as 20 cm to the SW at a depth of 0.35 m (Fig. 2:4; 3a:7). This dispersion of broken grave goods in grave pits and the fact that some of the parts of the artefacts were only fragmentary are very typical of other burials in Baitai graves. This can be understood in two ways, either as the result of grave plundering in antiquity or the practice of placing a piece of an artefact in graves as symbolising *pars pro toto*. Thus, in Grave 37 22 cm to the west of the first ring fragment lay part of the band from a bronze bracelet (Fig. 2:5; 3a:6). It is hard to tell whether the small bronze link/ring of notched wire (Fig. 2:6; 3a:4) found 5 cm to the NE of the jawbone fragments in Grave 37 at a depth of 0.26 m and the similarly notched slightly bent small wire (Fig. 2:7; 3a:5) found at a depth of 0.30 m, 7 cm to the N-NW of the bracelet fragment also belonged to cloth decorations. Such small wires may have adorned the rosette tutuli pins, which were removed from the grave after the potato store was dug out at the end of the nineteenth century.

In the south-eastern corner of the pit the worn rim of a ceramic vessel was found at a depth of 0.26–0.28 m (Fig. 2:8). While preparing the find it emerged that a dark organic stain similar to wood residue measuring 15 x 16 cm lay on the north-west side of this pot (Fig. 2:15). Nearby at a depth of 0.28–0.33 m we found the following artefacts. Next to the pot a leather ornamentation with clasps lay spread out in a NE-SW direction along with wood which had turned green from contact with parts of the artefact (Fig. 2:9; 3a:8–12). Four cm to the north of the vessel were three small bronze spirals next to which we noted residues from birch bark (Fig. 2:1, 15). Thirteen centimetres to the north of the pot on the eastern side of the stain of wood lay the tip of an iron peg (Fig. 2:10; 3b:3). In situ this artefact was 13 cm long. A dark blue glass bead lay at a depth of 0.33 m between the peg tip and the

above mentioned bronze spirals and next to the bead, to the NW, was an amber bead (Fig. 2:11, 12; 3b:4, 5). Five cm to the west of the amber bead lay a small white metal (probably silver) spiral (Fig. 2:13; 3b:2). Later a woollen thread was found inserted in this spiral. Three further amber beads were found 0.33 m down 2–6 cm SW of the small silver spiral (Fig. 2:12; 3b:6–8). Another dark stain formed by wood lay 4 cm N of the peg, 27 cm from the southeastern end of the pit; a circular bronze pendant with a cloth fragment on its tip was found on this stain at a depth of 0.28 m (Fig. 2:14; 3b:1). After removing this find we noted that several small fragments of human (?) hair were attached to the bottom half of the pendant between the metal and the attached fragments of wood. The remains of the wood, birch-bark and bronze staples were removed along with soil. Thanks to Jolanta Mažeikaitė (MLIM), who restored these finds, as the material was treated with polymer the string of bronze staples and clasps was preserved. The latter has been glued together from fragments. After removing the group of finds spread over the organic material the ceramic vessel was uncovered (Fig. 3b:9; 6). The bottom of this pot lay in undisturbed soil, 0.34 m from the surface.

The undisturbed sand in the pit reached a depth of 0.34–0.36 m from the current surface level. Since the old surface of the cemetery had been disturbed in this area and the grave pit was detected under 20 cm of soil beneath the turf, it may be that part of the grave finds were destroyed when the soil was moved while a collective farm operated on the site. Earlier damage was done to the site when a potato store was dug out at the end of the nineteenth century. The fragments of artefacts collected in this ‘potato store’ should not be overlooked, namely a part of a small bronze chain 2.5 cm long and an irregularly twisted an 18 mm thick wire with round cross-section (Fig. 4:1, 2). The full length of the wire after unravelling would reach approximately 20 cm. A broken (nineteenth-century) white clay pipe found in the in-fill of the potato-store shows the period when the store was dug (Fig. 4:3).

Thus Grave 37 was disturbed over a period of a century. Although its artefacts do not represent a full set of grave goods, they are special and worthy of separate attention.

¹ This was established on 10 June 1998 while sorting finds. The excavation report refers incorrectly to this bone as a fragment of a hand bone (Banytė-Rowell, 1997 š, p. 48).

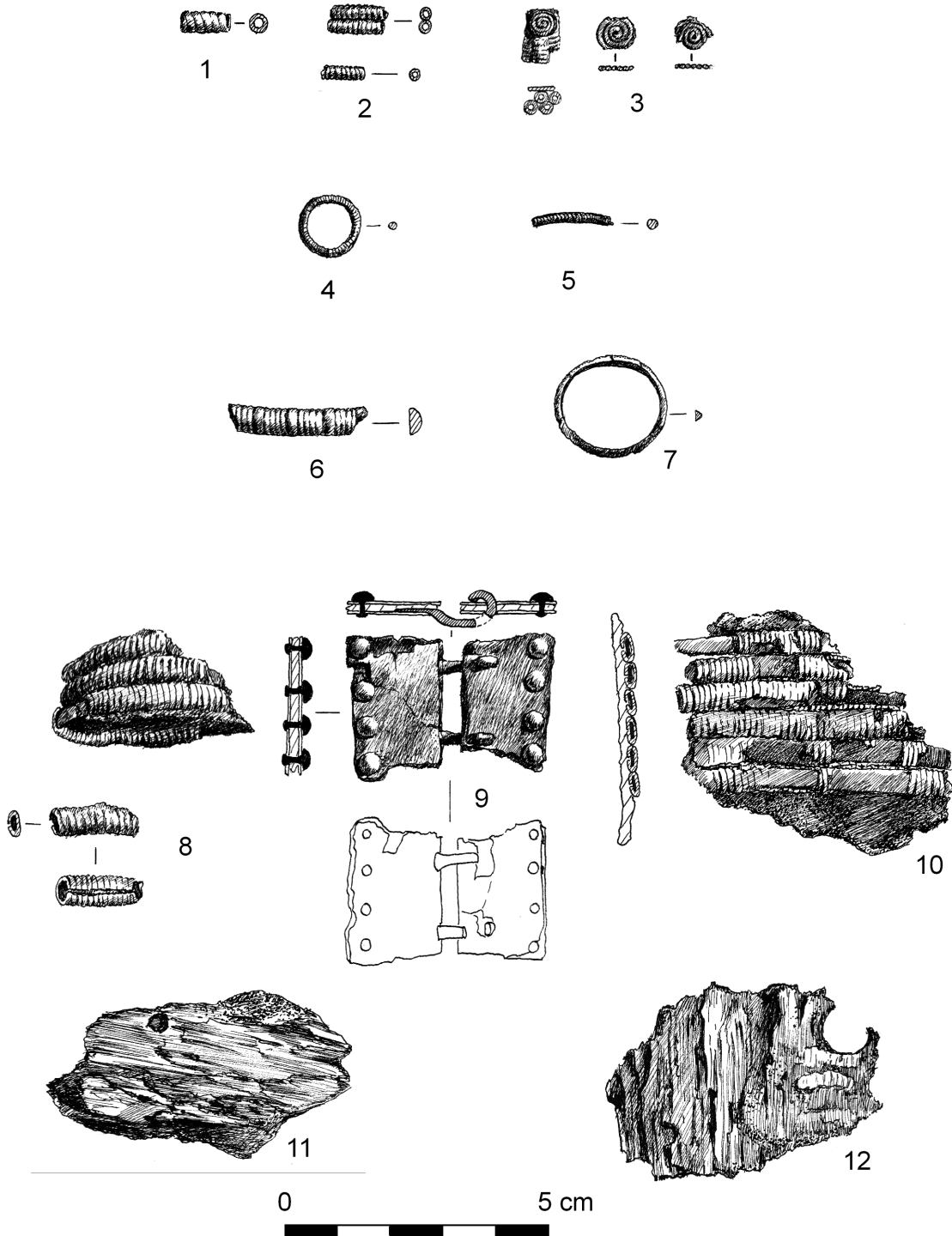


Fig. 3a. The first part of finds from Baitai Grave 37. 1, 2 – examples of smaller and bigger cylindrical spiralets; 3 – bronze plate spirals, one of them was linked with four cylindrical spiralets; 4 – link/ring of notched wire; 5 – fragment of notched wire; 6 – fragment of bracelet; 7 – ring; 8–10 – joint of leather strips with bronze ornamentation and clasps; 11–12 – remnants of wood. 1–7 bronze, 8–10 bronze, leather, wood; 11–12 wood. Drawn by J. Mažeikaitė.

3a pav. Baitų 37 kapo radinių pirmoji dalis. 1, 2 – mažesnių ir didesnių cilindrinų įvijelių pavyzdys; 3 – plokštinės įvijelės, iš kurių viena sulipusi su keturiomis cilindrinėmis įvijelėmis; 4 – įkartuotos vielos grandelė; 5 – įkartuotos vielutės fragmentas; 6 – apyrankės fragmentas; 7 – žiedas; 8–10 – odinių žalvariu puoštų juostelių junginys su sąsagomis; 11–12 – medienos likučiai. 1–7 žalvaris, 8–10 – žalvaris, oda, mediena; 11–12 mediena. J. Mažeikaitės piešiny

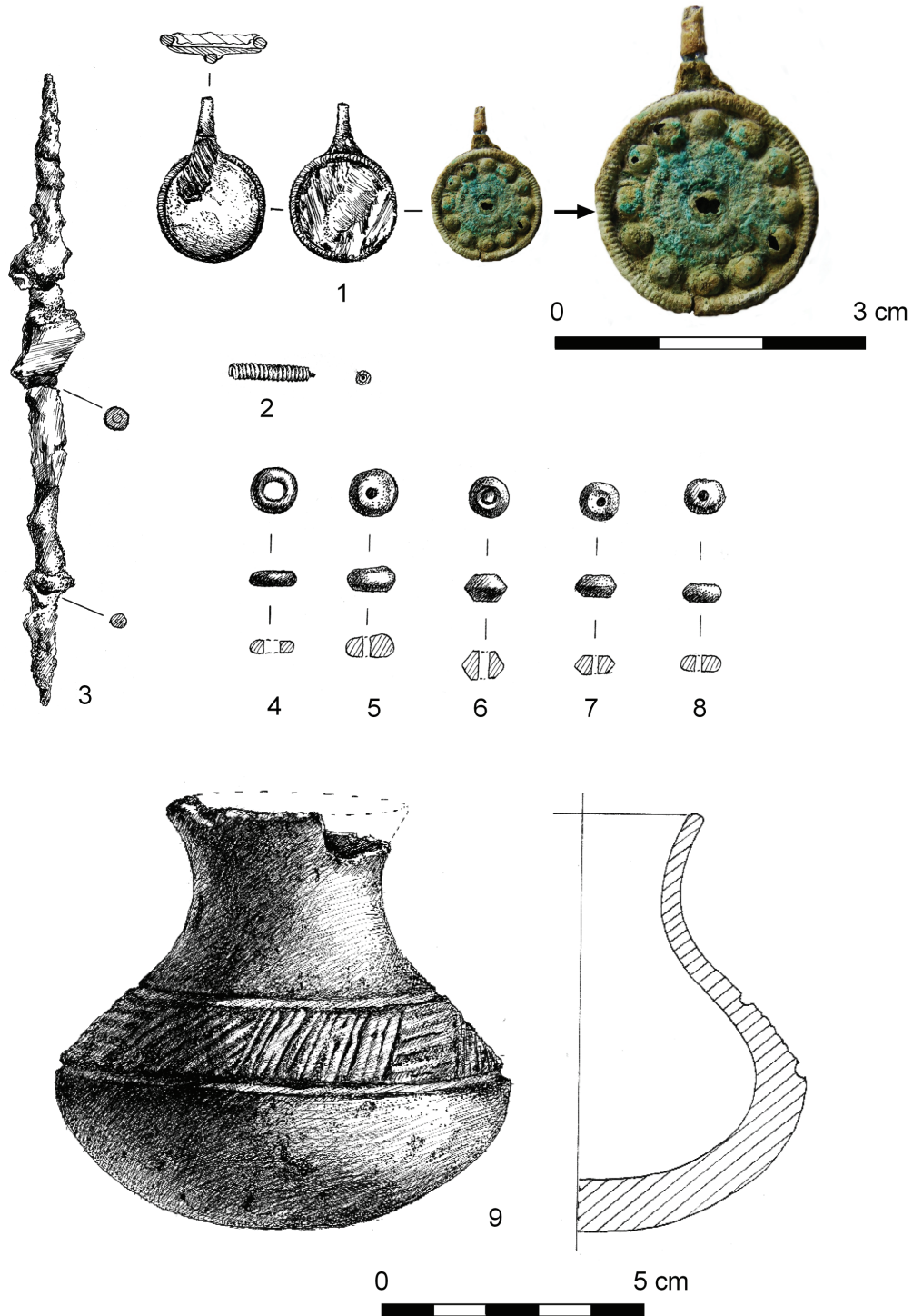


Fig. 3b. The second part of finds from Baitai Grave 37. 1 – circular pendant (sketch shows the view of backside and frontside before cleaning off the organic material, photos – the front side of pendant cleaned by restorers, on the right – magnified view of pendant); 2 – spiralet; 3 – peg; 4–8 – beads; 9 – modelled clay pot. 1 – copper alloy whit tin, tin-lead, woolen threads, remnants of wood, 2 – silver, 3 – iron, 4 – blue glass, 5–8 – amber, 9 – clay. Drawn by J. Mažeikaitė.

Fig. 3b. Baitų 37 kapo radinių antroji dalis. 1 – apskritas kabutis (piešinyje užpakalinės ir priekinės pusės vaizdas prieš nuvalant organines medžiagas, nuotraukoje – konservatorių nuvalyta priekinė kabučio dalis, dešinėje – padidintas kabučio vaizdas); 2 – įvijėlė; 3 – smeigtas; 4–8 – karoliai; 9 – lipdytas molinis puodelis. 1 – vario lydinys su alavu, alavas ir švinas, vilnoniai siūlai, medienos likučiai, 2 – sidabras, 3 – geležis, 4 – mėlynas stiklas, 5–8 – gintaras, 9 – molis. J. Mažeikaitės piešinys

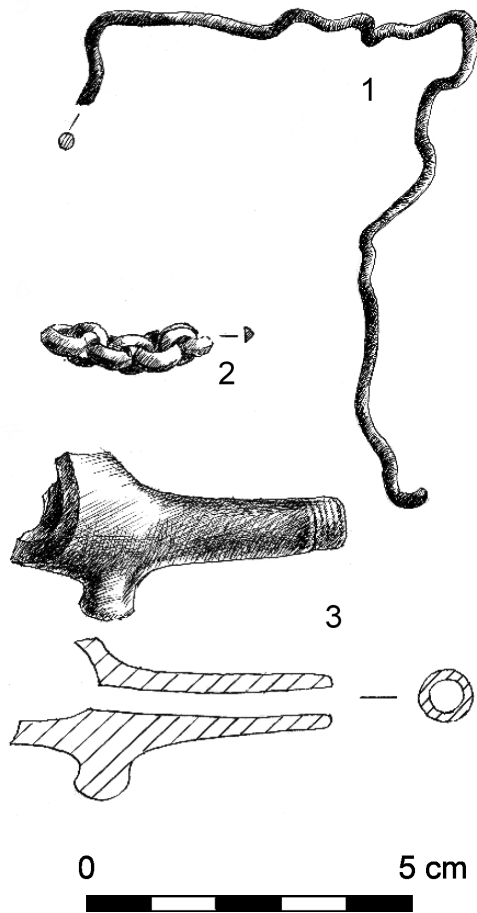


Fig. 4. Finds from 'potato-store' pit which destroyed partly the Baitai Grave 37. 1 – twisted wire; 2 – part of chain; 3 – fragment of pipe. 1–2 – bronze, 3 – faience. Drawn by J. Mažeikaitė.

Fig. 4. Radiniai iš Baitų 37 kapą apardžiusio bulviarūšio duobės. 1 – deformuota viela; 2 – grandinėlės dalis; 3 – pypkės dalis. 1–2 – žalvaris, 3 – fajansas. J. Mažeikaitės piešinys.

ANALYSIS OF FINDS FROM GRAVE 37

The 'headdress' or link of leather bands ornamented with staples was constructed with the help of rectangular clasp-mountings (Fig. 3a:9). These were 2.5 cm top to bottom, and approximately 1.8 cm wide. The plate of one clasp ended in two hooks, while two small holes were made on the other plate for the hooks to be attached from below. A strip of leather was fixed with the help of four studs between the two clasp plates on one side opposite the link; this strip was cut lengthways into six narrow strips. Bronze staples of wire 1 mm thick were fixed to these strips. They were bent on the inside part of the decoration (Fig. 3a:8).

The width of the strips minus the staples is 3 mm, making a width of 5 mm in total. The total width of the six bronze-decorated strips is 3 cm. The inside part of the decoration was covered by a woollen fabric which proved impossible to clean well, maintaining the whole structure of the remnants of the artefact. The strips were also supported by wood. Two larger fragments of the strips have survived with a length of 5 and 7 cm (Fig. 3a:8, 10). Obviously, the general length of the strips is insufficient to make up a headband.

The leather-strips and clasp mounts from the artefact in Grave 37 are one of the best examples of such an artefact in Lithuania. It is no coincidence that A. Bliujienė published it in an article dealing with Curonian female necklaces, headbands and other head decorations in the Viking and early mediaeval periods. This is one of a few such artefacts from the cemeteries of western Lithuania and southern Latvia in the Late Roman Period. Clasps and strips are known from Bandužiai Graves 63, 85, Mazkatuži Grave 5, Šernai Graves 24 and 72 (Bliujienė, 2006, p. 126–128, Fig. 1:1). Bliujienė draws attention to the fact that it is hard to determine the true function of these artefacts as they are associated with both headbands and bracelets, with belts and the decoration of birch-bark boxes. The construction concept behind leather strips fixed into double clasp mounts may have been used for decorations of various types, as we can see from the headbands with strips decorated with small bronze staples from Lazdininkai (Grave 81/2003) and Aukštakiemis/Oberhof (Grave 202). The connecting function on these items was carried out by one single round plate rather than two quadrangular ones (Bliujienė, 2006, p. 128, Fig. 2:5).

The **circular pendant** was found on a stain left by organic material (remnants of wood). The surface of the pendant (especially its front) was also covered with remain of organic material. When preserving this delicate artefact, it was recorded in a sketch for the excavation report (Banytė-Rowell, 1997 š, ill.7:15) (Fig. 3b:1 left). A decayed layer of wooden material was found on the front side of the pendant and the remains of woollen cloth could be seen on the other side. Several fragments of the dead woman's (?) hair could be seen caught between the wooden remains and the oxidised bronze surface. After the wooden-encrusted surface of the pendant was cleaned carefully in the P. Gu-

dynas Restoration centre by L. Vedrickienė, the decorative side of the pendant was revealed. It emerged that the pendant has two layers: the back side is even while the front side is a pressed bronze plate whose edges are surrounded by a notched wire (Fig. 3b:1, see photos on the right). Several decorative circles were laid out in a concentric pattern on the decorative plate: the outer circle has twelve hemispherical knobs, while on the inner side of this circle of knobs there are two small outwardly pressed notched circles, which imitate stylistically the appearance of the notched wire which runs around the rim of the pendant. In the middle of the plate there is a damaged hemispherical knob which acts as the pendant's 'eye'. The general diameter of the pendant is 2.2 cm and its general thickness is 0.3 cm. Only a small fragment of the small loop survives (0.8 cm long).

Dr. L. Grabauskaitė investigated the metal of the pendant with the following results: "the pendant comprised two plates, a back plate and a decorated front plate. Both plates were made of a copper alloy which contains much tin. The plates are connected by a cast metal (tin-lead)".

V. Lukšėnienė studied the fabric remnants from the pendant with the following result: "the yellowish threads and the dark ones found above them were stuck on the back of bronze plate. Morphological and micro-chemical analysis showed that all these threads are wool. The yellowish threads are weft in an S. It was determined micro-chemically that the dark threads were dyed indigo and weft in a Z. Remains of wood were found on the decorated side of the pendant. These covered the surface decoration". The blue dye, indigo, was dominant among fabric fragments from Lithuanian territory in the Roman period that have been studied so far. According to E. Pečeliūnaitė-Bazienė's data such fabrics were typical of male and female graves and garments of various types (Pečeliūnaitė-Bazienė, 2007 š, p. 75).

This research is of great significance; it shows that the pressed metal leaves technique was used in the manufacture of a copper alloy² (not silver) ornament. The remnants of woollen thread show that the dead woman was dressed or adorned in an item of two colours, some of whose threads were dyed with indigo.

² In this study we shall refer to this alloy as 'bronze'.

The circular/round metal pendants found between the Nemunas and Dauguva rivers have been described by Blujienė (Blujienė, 2009, p. 245–248, 256–257, Fig. 1). The origin of their form is connected with both Germanic capsule-pendants and imitations of Roman medallions. Circular metal pendants have been found in cemeteries in Lithuania in coastal and central Lithuanian areas. Apart from at Baitai another pendant was found in western Lithuania in the Rūdaičiai II Cemetery but its was decorated with a technique different from that used at Baitai 37. The Rūdaičiai II pendant has little eyes impressed on the metal (Michelbertas, 1968, p. 65, ill. 6:2; 1986, 106, ill. 30:4; Blujienė, 2009, Fig. 1:3). "Engraving" of such a type is typical of a loose find from Mikužiai Cemetery, which Blujienė thinks is an imitation of a Roman medallion (Blujienė, 2009, p. 250, Fig. 3). The finds from Rūdaičiai and Mikužiai cannot be dated exactly but the way in which they are decorated allows us to suppose that they are from an earlier 'series' of round pendants than the artefact found at Baitai 37. Closer to the latter are white-metal pendants decorated with small granules which are found quite commonly in central Lithuanian cemeteries. They date from the B2/C1 period to the end of the Roman period. Blujienė compared the style of these with the decoration of closing plates on box-shaped necklaces (Blujienė, 2009, p. 247–248, Fig. 1:6a, b). The imitation of filigree jewellery items in western Lithuania is particularly clear in the decoration of rosette brooches and pins, and this manner of decoration is applied to various pieces of jewellery. It came into fashion around the C1b/C2 period (Banytė-Rowell, 2001 š, p. 63–64, 136–137; Banytė-Rowell, 2008 b, p. 25). In coastal Lithuania rosette brooches and pins are close in their concentric designs to Germanic brooches from the southern Elbe region, but the latter are noted for a different technical method: a motif of notched wires is pressed on a silver foil (von Carnap-Bornheim, 2000, S. 49–50; Banytė-Rowell, 2008 b, p. 27–28, Fig. 6). The circular pendant from Baitai 37 shows that with this small piece of jewellery its master-creator was already using not the technique of welding Baltic filigree wires and knobs but the strengthening of bronze plates pressed with the same motifs. This is a sign of the mastering of pressed folio techniques, revealing the local jeweller's knowledge of similar artefacts from the European Bar-

baricum. This technology would be used on a greater scale in Balt jewellery during the Migrations Period – the concentric decoration of a pressed foil is typical of a tutuli pin from Lazdininkai Grave 136 (1976) (Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė, Jankauskas, 1992, p. 156–158, ill. 41; Tautavičius, 1996, p. 240; Banytė-Rowell, 2008 b, 28).

The Baitai 37 pendant is decorated in the same style as a considerable number of Germanic round capsule-pendants. These are common from the islands off the coast of Denmark, and Jutland via the Elbe Region to the areas of Przeworsk and Wielbark Culture in central Europe. In Wielbark culture most are made of silver and bronze, while iron ones have also been found in Przeworsk areas. In Wielbark culture they are most common in the B2b phase and B2/C1–C1a. An exception from this rule is Grodek nad Bugiem Grave 79 (Masłomęcz Group, Lublin District, SE Poland) which is dated to C2 (Blujienė, 2009, p. 245; Ciesliński, 2010, S. 84, where the most important literature is cited). The necklace from Grodek nad Bugiem Grave 79 is very similar to the type of necklace found in graves from western Lithuania in the second half of the third century: it comprises amber pendants and beads, octohedral-cuboid beads, silver bucket-shaped pendants and silver capsule-pendants with an even surface. Two crossbow brooches with a bent foot (A162) were found alongside these (Kokowski, 1993 a, s. 63–65; 1993 b, s. 89, ill. 71). Decoration with concentric silver notched wires, reflecting similarities with the decoration of the Baitai 37 pendant was typical of a pendant in the Elbing Museum (now Elbląg in Poland) (Blume, 1912, S. 92, ill. 117). The form of the Baitai pendant is simple and like a coin rather than capsule-like as the Germanic finds are. In this it is more like the Balt coin pendants spread throughout the Bogaczewo Culture, most of which are not decorated. They date from the end of the B2 period to C2. More decorative examples covered with enamel or a silver plate are dated to the late Roman period. Pendants decorated with small circles of granules from graves in central Lithuania are a local variation influenced clearly by the style of necklaces common in Bogaczewo Culture which spread as far as the southern Latvian barrow cemeteries (Blujienė, 2009, p. 246–248, Fig. 2, 4–5). The pendants found Raczki Cemetery (Suwalki powiat, Podlasie, Poland) Grave 1 were covered with a silver plate. They are close to the decorative technique of the

pendant from Baitai 37 (La Baume, Gronau, 1941, S. 59, ill. 1c; Nowakowski, 1982–2007, s. 51–52; Szymański, 2005, s. 53). A capsule-pendant similar to Germanic pendants, especially in their horizontal loops was found in Babięty Cemetery Grave 49 (formerly Babienten) in what is now Województwo Warmińsko-Mazurskie (Poland), as excavated by F.E. Peiser. It was sketched schematically and described by M. Schmiedehelm (Schmiedehelm Archive) (Fig. 5). The pendant is approximately 0.5 cm thick and its diameter is unclear – most probably Schmiedehelm sketched it to size, which means it would have measured approx. 2 cm across. The main part of the pendant was of silvered bronze or silver and at the front it was fixed along the rim with a notched wire. Remains of another metal (gold foil?) covering were found on the front side of the pendant. Also found in Babięty 49 were amber- and glass beads, the remains of another capsule-pendant (of iron and silver) and a bronze crossbow brooch with a bent foot (close to A158, called by Schmiedehelm *die Fibeln m.u.F. und obere Sehne*). The stem of the brooch is slightly faceted. This manner of decoration in material from Žviliai Cemetery in western Lithuania at least dates to the C2–C3 periods (Banytė-Rowell, 2011, p. 65, ill. 8, 11). Schmiedehelm stressed that such brooches “with a high bow” were popular in Masuria and Samland on the lower reaches of the Vistula, where they spread under the influence of “Vandal”, that is Przeworsk culture (Schmiedehelm, 2011, S. 113–114, Plate XLI:6). Thus in Babięty 49 both the brooch and the pendants reveal close contacts between the western Balts and the Germanic tribes, if not in trade, at least in the form of ideas. The form of the pendant from Baitai 37 is more coin-like than a capsule and its decoration reflects both the decoration of Germanic pressed foil plates and the imitation of local filigree technique – the structure of the closing plates of necklaces with a box-shaped clasp, rosette tutuli pins and rings such as those found in Baitai 8, Užpelkiai 33, Mazkatuzi 15 (1942) (Banytė, 1999, p. 65, ill. 1:8; Bliujienė, 1990, p. 75, ill. 9; Bliujienė, 1998, ill. 8:7; Banytė-Rowell, 2009, p. 455–456, ill. 11–13; Stankevičius, 2007, p. 81; Šturms, 1942 š, p. 23; Schmiedehelm archive). Thus in its form and manner of production the round pendant from Baitai 37 reflects connections with Germanic capsule-pendants, so-called Baltic coin pendants and the style of local Balt filigree rosette decoration. This is yet another example of a

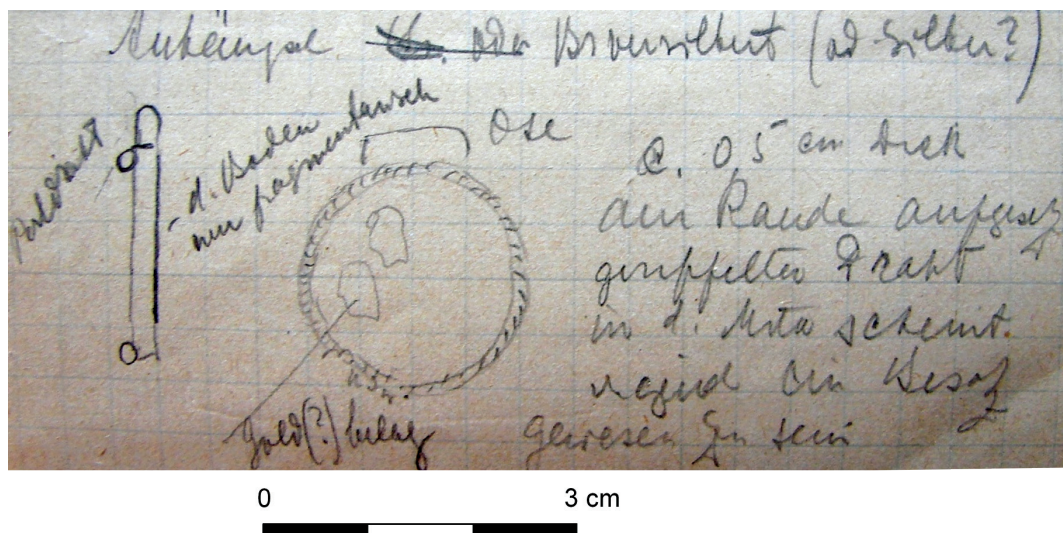


Fig. 5. Silvered-bronze or silver (?) pendant with gold (?) foil from Babienten (now Babięty) Cemetery Grave 49 in Masuria drawn and described by M. Schmiedehelm (Schmiedehelm Archive).

Fig. 5. M. Schmiedehelmo nupieštas ir aprašytas žalvarinis sidabruotas (ar sidabrinis?) kabutis su aukso (?) folijos danga iš Babienteno (dab. Babięty) kapinyno 49 kapo Mozūrijoje (Schmiedehelmo archyvas)

product of late-Roman-period “cosmopolitan fashion” where the influences of the European Barbaricum and local coastal Lithuanian jewellery skill blend.

The beads, silver spiral and three small bronze spirals were found in an area of wooden remains (possibly from a birch-bark box) between the iron peg and the artefact with clasps. We may suppose that this is extra grave goods for the deceased woman such as a small necklace (Fig. 3a:2; 3b:2, 4–8). On the other hand, the beads and spirals may have decorated the clasp artefact – in Bandužiai grave 63 two beads were found next to clasps (Stankus, 1995, ill. 33:1). Two small amber beads were of a flatted spherical form (TM 388) and two were like a flattened double cut cone (TM 395b). The dark blue glass bead is shaped like a wheel (close to TM 47). This glass bead is a poor chronological indicator. They are typical of the European Barbaricum from B2 to D Period. They are to be found on the southern Baltic coast and the Elbe region (Tempelmann-Maczyńska, 1985, S. 94, Table 8, Plate 27). On the other hand, wheel-shaped glass beads are found quite commonly in western Lithuanian cemeteries during the Late Roman Period. They were found in Baitai 2 (two items of a greyish-sandy hue) and Graves 31, 32 (one dark blue glass bead in each).

The small silver spiral containing woollen threads is also a typical small necklace component (Fig. 3b:2)

and along with the three small bronze spirals (see Fig. 3a:2) and beads (Fig. 3b:4–8) it may have made for a playful composition. Clothes could be decorated with small spirals. Small components of garment decoration made of silver alloy, including the small spirals, found at Baitai were typical not just of the exceptionally wealthy ‘princely level’ male grave 31 (Banytė-Rowell, 2007 a, ill. 3b:18–20; 3c:29–34; Banytė-Rowell, 2008 a, ill. 4:4, 5, 9; ill. 5:1, 6, 10). Small cylinders made of silver foil for decorating clothing were found in Baitai 2 and 24 (Banytė, 1990 š, p. 16, ill. 5:4; Banytė, 1994 š, p. 47, ill. 8:22; Banytė-Rowell, 2008 a, S. 106–107, ill. 3:7; 4:8).

The iron peg which was called an awl in the excavation report is similar in length to a pin but both ends are narrower than the main body of the find (Fig. 3b:3). The remains of a handle could not be found at one end. Marks made by wood, possibly leather can be seen on the middle part of the peg but these may be the remains of a wooden or birch-bark box or a clasp artefact. The peg is circular in cross-section with a diameter in the middle of 0.4 cm. Both ends of the artefact grow narrower. The common length of the piece was 12 cm (the iron was corroded greatly and the peg broke into six pieces). The bronze cylindrical and plate-like spirals found in the south-eastern part of the grave pit should be regarded as part of the decorations



Fig. 6. Photos of clay pot found in Baitai Grave 37. A view from side and above. Photos by J. Mažeikaitė.

Fig. 6. Baitų 37 kape rasto molinio puodelio nuotraukos iš šono ir iš viršaus. Fotografavo J. Mažeikaitė

on the deceased's clothing. They have decayed markedly and so the illustration contains only the better-preserved examples. Some **cylindrical spirals** were a little greater in diameter than the rest (Fig. 3a:1). Four larger items were recorded with a diameter of 0.35–0.4 cm. The longest comprises 6 twists and is 0.9 cm long. These spirals were twisted from semi-circular cross-section wires 1.5 mm wide. Other cylindrical spirals had a diameter of 0.25 cm and lengths of 1.0–1.2 cm (Fig. 3a: 2). Fifteen larger or smaller remnants of these were found, of which seven were in better condition. The fact that four of them were found along with the plate spiral with fabric remains shows that these spirals were used as fabric decorations (Fig. 3a:3 left). Very similar tiny cylindrical spirals, some in pairs, were found in Baitai Grave 38A nearby (in the south-eastern part of Double (?) Grave 38) (Banytė-Rowell, 1997 š, p. 82, ill. 8:8). The **plate spirals** in Grave 37 were also very decayed, lacking loops, with worn edges, approximately 0.8 cm in diameter. Three such examples have survived (Fig. 3a:3). The small wire measures 1.3 mm across. A very tiny cloth fragment survived on one plate spiral (this has not been

studied). Single plate spirals were found in Baitai 2 and 31, while double spirals were found in Graves 18 and 24. In Female Graves 2, 18 and 24 the plate spirals were found with “small studs” (*Buckelchen* of Blumbergs Group III) which are known in Western Lithuania and the lower reaches of the Nemunas as basic metal decorative elements for headgear. Their function at Baitai may have been broader. They were used to decorate both headbands and other types of attire (Banytė-Rowell, 2008 a, s. 105–106, ill. 1–2, 3:1–2).

Part of the bracelet band is decorated with groups of broader and narrower transverse notches. The band has a flattened semicircular cross section (Fig. 3a:6). The width of the band is 0.6 cm and it is 0.25 cm thick. The bracelet fragment is 2.5 cm long. Analogous bracelet fragments were found in Baitai 24, although there the decoration near the end of the band changed into a ‘net’ design (Banytė-Rowell, 2008 a, ill. 3:14). The bracelet fragments from Baitai 24 and 37 are parts of so-called Klaipėda-type spiral bracelets. One such bracelet, which had one external spiral decorated with a net pattern, was found in Baitai 18 (Banytė, 1999, p. 66, ill. 2:15). Michelbertas ascribes bracelets of the

Klaipėda sub-type to the end of B2/C1–C1b–C2 period (Michelbertas, 1986, p. 148). The context of other finds from the Baitai Cemetery allows us to date these bracelets to C1b–C2. In western Lithuanian cemeteries Klaipėda sub-type spiral bracelets are found in graves with Roman coins. In wealthy Female Grave 2002 at Aukštakiemis/Oberhof there were two such bracelets. This is the above-mentioned grave where a headband made of leather strips with small bronze staples was found; this is an artefacts of the same construction as the headband of leather strips and clasps from Baitai 37 (Reich, 2012, S. 136, ill. 4a, b, 5, 9).

The **closed sash-like ring** broken into five parts with a triangular cross-section band is not a very chronologically informative find. The ring has a diameter of 1.8 cm and the band is 0.18–0.2 cm wide (Fig. 3a:7).

We should also note a further two **fragmentary finds of bronze wire with transverse notch decoration**. These are a small circular-cross-section wire bent in a slight bow (0.15 cm wide) and a small notched wire (0.12 cm wide) in the form of a ring (Fig. 3a:4, 5). One side of this is slightly flatter. Evidently it was fixed to some other object on this side. Such notched wire details, bent in a circle are typically particularly of decorations on rosette tutuli pins and brooches (Banytė-Rowell, 2008 b, ill. a, b). Such wires from the severely disturbed Grave 37 allow us to suppose that the woman buried here may have worn such pins. Perhaps they were linked with a bronze chain, a fragment of which was found in the in-fill of the nineteenth-century potato-store. This hypothesis cannot be proved.

A **clay pot** which was weighed down and thus preserved by a stone is a thrown pot close to a pear in form: with a half-round bottom, blown sides and narrow neck (Fig. 3b:9, 6). The rim is bent slightly outwards. The clay is light brown with many tiny gritty stone additions. The pot was baked badly and the edges of the rim are damaged. Only part of the rim fragments were collected in situ (the pot was conserved by L. Paulaitytė-Rutkaitienė of MLIM, Klaipėda). The top part of the belly of the pot is decorated with a band of grooves: groups of horizontal and oblique grooves/notches incised between two horizontal raised lines. The pot is 8 cm high, at its widest point it is 8.5 cm in diameter; the neck is 3.5 cm wide and the outer diameter of the opening measures 4.8 cm across.

The pot from Baitai 37 is not a typical ceramic find for west Lithuanian cemeteries. From its form and decoration it should be ascribed to the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture, the so-called pear-shapes pots with triangular decoration. Most of these Dollkeim-type pots are known from the Samland peninsula but they are also found in Natangian and Nadruvian territory. According to W. Nowakowski, this type of pottery is found during the Second Phase of Dollkeim-Kovrovo Culture, associated with B2/C1–C1a periods and they are still found in C2 period graves (Nowakowski, 1996, S. 60, Appendix I, Map 10). In the Dollkeim-Kovrovo cemetery pear-shaped pots are found in graves belonging to Phase IIb of this cemetery dating to the C1a–C1b periods (Nowakowski, 1996, S. 19, 21; Plate. 11:7–9, 11–12, 12:3, 33, 107). In other cemeteries Dollkeim-type pottery is found in grave sets from C1–C2 (mostly early C2) although it also appears in B2/C1–C1a graves (such as Wakern Grave 35). Such a chronology is typical too of Dollkeim-Kovrovo Graves 252, 254, excavated by V. Kulakov, where these pots are found alongside material dated to C1b–C2. In Grave 253 a slightly taller similar pot is dated to C3 (Кулаков, 2007, c. 10–11, ill. 6, 8, 11). In Grave L11C from Bol'shoe Isakovo (formerly Lauth) a pot was found with an A168-type brooch, dated AD 200–270. Similarly decorated pots have been found in later graves (L-28, 55) which are dated to the end of the third century-beginning of the fourth century (Skvorcov, 2007, S. 122, 130, 142, Plate 13:24, 34:3, 67:3). In Samland such pots were often accompanied by cross-bow brooches with a bent foot (A161–162 types), crossbow brooches decorated with ringlets with a bent foot, neckrings with coiled-wire terminals, amber- and glass bead necklaces, which also contain bell-, and bucket-shaped pendants (*Schellen und Eimeranhänger*) (Nowakowski, 1996, S. 31–34, 47, Plate 53:4, 55:8, 57:1, 58:1–3, 5, 13, 59:3–5, 84:4). A similar find context is apparent in the area around Baitai 37 but another find from Western Lithuania shows that Dollkeim-type pots were known here from the turn of the C1a and C1b periods. Male Grave 1 (6) from Lazdininkai-Kalnalauskis Cemetery (Kretinga Region), excavated in 1991, had a smashed pear-shaped pot with strongly profiled sides (13 cm high, widest diameter – 11.9 cm). With this two arrowheads were found (IVA and IB forms, according to Kazakevičius)

along with a sandstone whetstone, a neckring with conical terminals, two concave-cross-section bracelets (Kanarskas, 1991 š, p. 1–2, ill. 1, 2, 17:3; Butkus, Kanarskas, 1992, p. 85). D. Butkus and J. Kanarskas supposed that the pot from Lazdininkai Grave 1(6) found its way there via trade routes from the Roman Empire but today, based on Nowakowski's 1996 study we may set aside this theory – even if the pot came to Lazdininkai via the trade route, the route came from the Dollkeim-Kovrovo Culture area. The Lazdininkai pot lacks decoration but has a prominent rim on its neck, something which undoubtedly reproduces the style of Dollkeim pottery. The Group II neckring with conical terminals and bracelets are important for dating Lazdininkai 1(6). Michelbertas dates the so-called Klaipėda (Group II) neckrings with conical terminals to the turn of C1a and C1b and the Klaipėda sub-type concave-cross-section bracelets are dated very similarly – the turn of C1a and C1b, and perhaps C2 (Michelbertas, 1986, p. 92–94, 139–140). Bracelets of the latter type which are typical for their eye motifs are ascribed by O. Khomiakova to the second variation of sash bracelets, which she regards as a good indicator of C1b–C2 in the Samland-Natangian (Dollkeim-Kovrovo) area (Хомякова, 2010, с. 278–281, 284–285, ill. 2). We may assert that the pear-shaped pot (close to the Dollkeim type) from Lazdininkai 1(6) was placed in the grave when this form was spreading across the Dollkeim-Kovrovo Cultural Area.

THE SNAKE-HEAD RING FROM BAITAI 31 – ANOTHER IMPORTANT CONNECTION WITH FORMS OF THE WESTERN BALT AREA

A silver spiral ring with broadened side spirals was found in the wealthy Grave 31 from Baitai (Fig. 7 left above). Its form reflects that of Scandinavian snake-head rings, bracelets and neckrings (Banytė-Rowell, 2000, p. 39, Fig. 7:23; Banytė-Rowell, Bitner-Wróblewska, 2005, p. 113–114, Fig. 7; Banytė-Rowell, 2007 a, p. 17–24). Imitations of the Scandinavian Beckmann 39–40 types are typical not only of western Balt areas (covering also the area which is now western Lithuania) but also the Tarand Grave Area in what is now Estonia. The current author was very pleased to read a similar evaluation of such Estonian finds (noting Scandinavian prototypes in the form of these rings)

in D. Quast's study, which deals with all Estonian ring finds (Quast, 2004, S. 256–258, Abb. 10, 11). Finds of stylised-snake-head rings in Tarand Grave areas and the lands of the Balts reveal contacts between opposing shores of the Baltic Sea in the late Roman period, especially during C1b–C2. In our study of the ring from Baitai 31 I established the chronology of Balt snake-head rings which is possible only on grave sets from cemeteries in western Lithuania and the lower reaches of the Nemunas, dating them from C1b–C2 to the beginning of C3 (Banytė-Rowell, 2007 a, p. 26). In 2008 and 2010, thanks to various persons and institutions I had a chance to study M. Schmiedehelm's archive in Tallinn and collect material from H. Jankuhn's Archive in Schleswig and K. Voigtmann's card catalogue in Berlin.³ This material, available only in archival form, helped me supplement the list of Balt-made snake-head rings. In my opinion these rings reflect close cultural ties between the inhabitants of western Lithuania and Balts in Samland and Masury. Since we find Germanic-formed items (the round pendant) made by local craftsmen and very Samlandish Dollkeim-Kovrovo-type ceramics in Baitai 37, it is worth returning albeit briefly to the matter of the spread of snake-head rings in our search for an answer to the issue of connections between areas of western Balt culture during the Late Roman Period pav. 7). Grebieten Grave 85 (former East Prussia, now Okunevo, Kaliningrad District, Russian Federation) belongs to the group of earliest graves with Balt-made snake-head rings. This contained a bronze snake-head ring along with two ladder brooches ("like Tischler/Kemke Type II:14"), cross-bow brooches decorated with ringlets ("like Tischler/Kemke Type III:14), a bronze pincet, a bronze needle-shaped pin, a spindle (Schmiedehelm Archive). According to Schmiedehelm's sketch the ladder brooches was not "a pure Masurian type" as in the Tischler/Kemke sketch (Tischler/Kemke, 1902, Plate II:14) because it had a broader and shorter bottom ladder. Most probably this was a ladder brooch of the second variation of the third series according to Hauptmann, which is associated with B2/C1–C1a (Hauptmann, 1998, S. 167). The brooch with a bent foot with a double (?) bow decorated with ringlets found in Grebieten 85 was typical of the second phase of Dollkeim-Kovrovo

³ See acknowledgements at the end of this article.

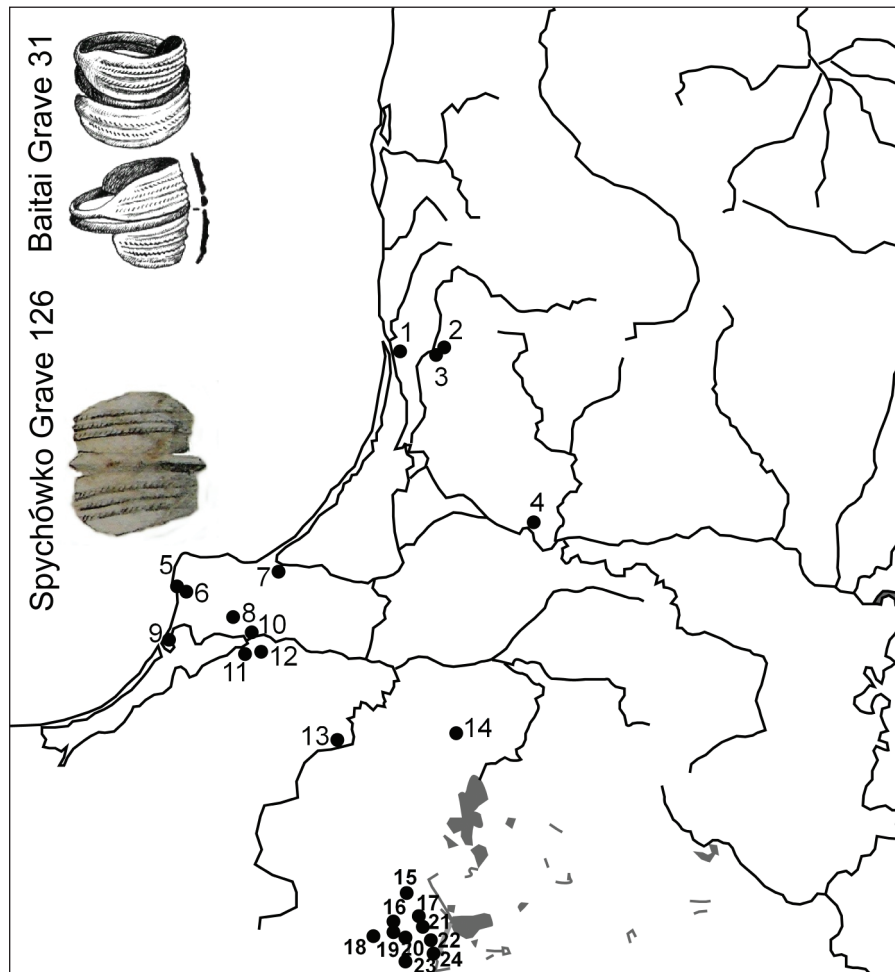


Fig. 7. Find-sites of snake-head rings of Balts type: 1 – Bandužiai Grave 74; 2 – Baitai (German: Baiten) Grave 31; 3 – Šernai (German: Schernen) Grave 67; 4 – Lumpėnai (German: Lumpönen) Graves 2, 9, 14; 5 – Окунево (German: Grebieten) Graves 16 (1907), 28, 85 (1907), 180; 6 – Путилово (German: Corjeiten) Grave 267; 7 – Безьямянка (German: Nuskern) Graves 31, 41; 8 – former German: Greibau Grave 180a; 9 – Лётное (German: Tenkieten) Grave 156; 10 – Большое Исаково (German: Lauth) Grave 44; 11 – Шоссейное; 12 – former German: Rosenau; 13 – Smolanka (German: Landskron) Grave 43; 14 – Зареченское (German: Gross Sobrost); 15 – Nikutowo Grave 95; 16 – Dłużec (German: Langendorf) Grave 36 or 96; 17 – Jakubowo (German: Jakobsdorf) Grave 24; 18 – Miętkie (German: Mingsen) Grave 307; 19 – Machary (German: Macharen) Graves 15, 148, 223; 20 – Babięta (German: Babienten); 21 – Kosewo (German: Kossewen); 22 – Gašior (German: Gonschor, Jaskowska-See) Grave 109; 23 – Spychówko (German: Klein Puppen) Grave 126, also lose find (?); 24 – Wólka (German: Dietrichswalde). 1–4 – find places in Lithuania, 5–12, 14 – find places in Russia, 13, 15–24 – find places in Poland (acc. Tischler, 1879, S. 233–234; Bezenberger, 1909, S. 139; Banytė-Rowell, 2007, Fig. 4; Khomiakova, 2012, p. 158, Fig. 7:5; Скворцов, 2012, С. 12, ill. 7:4; Schmiedehelm Archive; Jankuhn Archive; Voigtmann Card Catalogue).

7 pav. Baltiškų gyvatgalvių žiedų radimo vietos: 1 – Bandužiai, 74 kapas; 2 – Baitai (vok. Baiten), 31 kapas; 3 – Šernai (vok. Schernen), 67 kapas; 4 – Lumpėnai (vok. Lumpönen), 2, 9, 14 kapai; 5 – Окунево (vok. Grebieten), 16 (1907), 28, 85 (1907), 180 kapai; 6 – Путилово (vok. Corjeiten), 267 kapas; 7 – Безьямянка (vok. Nuskern), 31, 41 kapai; 8 – buv. vok. Greibau, 180a kapas; 9 – Лётное (vok. Tenkieten), 156 kapas; 10 – Большое Исаково (vok. Lauth), 44 kapas; 11 – Шоссейное; 12 – buv. vok. Rosenau; 13 – Smolanka (vok. Landskron), 43 kapas; 14 – Зареченское (vok. Gross Sobrost); 15 – Nikutowo 95 kapas; 16 – Dłużeco (vok. Langendorf), 36 arba 96 kapas; 17 – Jakubowo (vok. Jakobsdorf), 24 kapas; 18 – Miętkie (vok. Mingsen), 307 kapas; 19 – Machary (vok. Macharen), 15, 148, 223 kapai; 20 – Babięta (vok. Babienten); 21 – Kosewo (vok. Kossewen); 22 – Gašior (vok. Gonschor, Jaskowska-See), 109 kapas; 23 – Spychówko (vok. Klein Puppen), 126 kapas, atsitiktinis radinys (?); 24 – Wólka (vok. Dietrichswalde). 1–4 – radavietės Lietuvoje, 5–12, 14 – Rusijoje, 13, 15–24 – Lenkijoje (pagal Tischler, 1879, S. 233–234; Bezenberger, 1909, S. 139; Banytė-Rowell, 2007, Fig. 4; Khomiakova, 2012, p. 158, Fig. 7:5; Скворцов, 2012, с. 12, ill. 7:4; Schmiedehelmo archyvas; Jankuhn archyvas; Voigtmanno kartoteka)

Culture, while the Grebieten graves with brooches close to the A167 form are dated to the C1 period (Nowakowski, 1996, S. 25–27, Taf. 107). On the basis of brooch chronology we can date Grebieten 85 to decades at the turn of C1a and C1b. A very similar collection of brooches was found in Masury at wealthy Grave 43 at the cemetery in Landskron (former East Prussia, now Smolanka in Bartoszyce District). Here a bronze snake-head ring was also found. H. Jankuhn sketched a ladder brooch of the first variation of the third series according to Hauptmann, a brooch decorated with ringlets with a bent foot (originally with a double bow?, variation A167), a silver brooch with a high catchplate (A211) (Jankuhn Archive). A bronze Roman coin was found at Landskron 43, but it is not clear when it was minted. Nowakowski dates Landskron 43 to C1a, while noting that the rich collection of finds might belong to several contemporary graves (Nowakowski, 2001, S. 99). Grebieten 85 and Landskron 43 show that Balt-made snake-head rings came to be placed in graves as early as C1a, that is at the same time as Scandinavian Beckmann 40 rings, which appeared in C1 and continued in use in C2 (Andersson, 1999, p. 86). The Samland graves with such rings as discussed here and similar crossbow brooches with a bent foot (A161, 167 variations), Roman coins, and iron bell-shaped pendants (*Schellenberlocks*) should be dated slightly later. These are Grebieten 16, 28; former Greibau 180a, Tenkieten (now Liotnojė) 156. The snake-head rings found in all these, apart from Grebieten 16, were made of silver. The coins described by S. Bolin were minted under Hadrian (Grebieten 16, 28), Domitian and Marcus Aurelius (Tenkieten 156) (Bolin, 1926, S. 212–213, 219). Roman coins were placed in Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture graves for quite a short period; they appear in collections from the end of the second century to the beginning of the second half of the third century (Nowakowski, 1996, S. 75). Iron *Schellenberlocks* from those graves show that these graves should date to the first half of the third century (Nowakowski, 1996, S. 50–51, Plate 107). In western Lithuania Roman coins were found alongside a silver snake-head ring in Šernai 67 but these were all minted in the 240s and 250s and so the grave cannot be dated earlier than the turn of C1b and C2 (Rühl, 1982, p. 170; Banytė-Rowell, 2007 a, p. 22). Coins were not found in Baitai 31 and Bandužiai 74 – they should be

dated no earlier than the end of C1b–C2. The plate from the Germanic rosette brooch found in Baitai 31 provides further argument for such a date (Lund Hansen, Przybyła, 2010, p. 270, ill. 36). The latter graves from Bandužiai and Baitai are among the wealthiest late-Roman-period graves in western Lithuania. Even though it was plundered, Baitai male grave 31 equals the level of the inter-regional elite with its silver-decked clothing (the issue of the elite is discussed in detail in Banytė-Rowell, Bitner-Wróblewska, Reich, 2012). The graves we have cited from the Dollkeim-Kovrovo area are also remarkable for their wealth. Grebieten 180a and Tenkieten 156 stand out in particular. Both contained a silver neckring with coiled-wire terminals with a hook and a loope, details from a belt decorated with silver (including a small notched wire), silver and silver-decorated crossbow brooches with a bent foot (Grebieten 180a). There was an impressive collection of supplementary grave goods in Tenkieten 156: four arrowheads, two shield bosses, a socketed axe, a knife or scythe, scissors, saw, an iron fish-hook, two whetstones and a ceramic pot (Schmiedehelm Archive; Nowakowski, 1996, S. 46, Plate 87:3–5). Such a wealth of grave goods makes Nowakowski doubt whether these finds might not come from several disturbed graves. Such a possibility is credible but on the other hand the sets of grave goods we have noted here with snake-head rings from Samland were also quite wealthy. Iron and bronze crossbow brooches with a bent foot, an arrowhead with a raised edge, shield boss and a bronze snake-head ring were found in a grave Nuskern at (former East Prussia, now Bezymianka, Kaliningrad District) (as preserved in the Prussia Museum, Pr. V-312-8418, and recorded in M. Schmiedehelm's Archive). The shield boss would lead us to believe the man buried here was of high rank. Undoubtedly snake-headed rings were a sign of rank. Among the graves with such rings a Dollkeim-Kovrovo-type pot was found at Greibau 180a (Schmiedehelm Archive) and this allows us to synchronise the spread of snake-head rings in Samland and western Lithuania with finds of such pots on the Lithuanian coast.

Grave sets with snake-head rings from the Bogaczewo Culture area in Masury are not so eloquent in their wealth. Although most of the snake-head rings found in Masury are bronze, some were made of silver (Macharren (now Machary) 148 – Schmiedehelm

Archive). A side variation of snake-head ring developed most probably in this Baltic region, where the outside broadened spirals have a triangular form with the top aligned along a vertical axis (Jakobsdorf [now Machary] Grave 24; Kossewen [now Kosewo], Macharen [now Machary] Grave 223, Mingsen [now Miętkie] Grave 307, Nikutowen [now Nikutowo] Grave 95 – Schmiedehelm Archive, Voigtmann Card Catalogue). Some of these rings were decorated with lines of small notches like the Beckmann 26b ring from Klein-Puppen [now Spsychówka] (Gaerte, 1929, ill. 178; Beckmann, 1969, S. 41). The ring with broadened external spirals found in Lumpėnai Grave 9 on the lower reaches of the Nemunas should be ascribed to this group too (Bezenberger, 1909, S. 139, ill. 135; Banytė-Rowell, 2007 a, ill. 6:4). This form should be later from the C2–C3 periods. A ring of this type was found with an Almgren 168 crossbow brooch with a bent foot in Mingsen (Miętkie) 307 while in the Gross Sobrost Cemetery [Zarechenskoe, Kaliningrad District] on the Nadruvia-Masury border a ring with small triangular plates was found alongside C3 jewellery – a neckring with a key-hole loop and a bracelet with thickened and faceted terminals (Schmiedehelm Archive, Voigtmann Card Catalogue). On the other hand in Grebieten 180 from Samland (Prussia museum Pr. IV-166-5345) a classic Balt snake-head ring with a lengthwise moulding to its plates was found together with large crossbow brooches with a bent foot (two were found in this grave “like Tischler/Kemke Type III:22” – Schmiedehelm Archive). A bronze oval polyhedral buckle with a mounting close to Madyda-Legutko Type H34, dating to the early Migrations’ period, was also found in Grebieten 180 (Madyda-Legutko, 1986, S. 68–69, Plate 20). Nevertheless, the large crossbow brooches found in this grave allows us to propose that the grave dates to C3 or the turn of C3 and D.

Thus the Balt-made snake-head rings crafted in imitation of Beckmann 39/40 Scandinavian examples appeared in the lands of the western Balts in C1a and continued to appear until the end of the late-Roman period. They were spread most widely in C1b–C2. The chronology of Dollkeim type clay vessels in Samland is the same. The finds from Baitai 37 described above allow the grave to be dated to C1b–C2. The Dollkeim-Kovrovo-type pot found there is yet another proof from Baitai material of local links with the inhabitants

of Samland (or more broadly with Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture people). The girl or woman from Baitai 37 belonged to a community whose elite (the dead male from Grave 31) wore a silver Balt-made snake-head ring. Such rings spread in Dollkeim-Kovrovo and Bogaczewo cultural areas and most likely symbolised the exceptional status of their male or female wearers, which may have been connected with control over the lines of communication extending across the Baltic Sea area (on the possible influence of control over trade on the formation of the elite in western Lithuania, see Banytė-Rowell, 2007 a, p. 27–28; Banytė-Rowell, Bitner-Wróblewska, Reich, 2013; Skvortcov, 2012). Several areas were strong within this western-Balt communication network during the late Roman period: Samland and its environs, Masury and the Suwałki-Augustów area (and possibly part of Lithuanian Transnemunas), western Lithuania in the broad sense, covering the coastland and the lower reaches of the Nemunas, Žemaitija and central Lithuania. Other parts of what is now Lithuania also stand out for their advanced local cultural expression, but this is more typical for its slower pace and its borrowing of various ideas of form from the “avantgarde” areas of “Lithuania”. The westernmost part of Lithuania, or what C. Engel called the *Memelkultur* Area dressed undoubtedly in a western-Balt cultural garment in which special local elements stood out, some of which were conscious reworkings of objects from the European Barbaricum. This is proof of Western Lithuania’s autonomy within the network of lines of communication in the Baltic region.

A FEMALE FROM SAMLAND ON THE LITHUANIAN COAST OR THE ADOPTION OF SAMLAND CUSTOMS?

After discussing the find types from Baitai 37 and their chronology, we would like to ask the question of whether grave goods can help us determine what kind of person was buried there and what community she belonged to, what group of people she identified herself with or was identified with by others during the burial ritual. Unfortunately archaeology provides us with physical material, while the determination of various identities remains a matter of theory, albeit variously argued theory. Identity is a certain framework for our life and

the life of others on a larger or smaller scale, connected with consciousness of self in comparison/contrast with others (Brather, 2002, p. 171). According to M. Díaz-Andreu and S. Lucy, “identity, as we understand it, is inextricably linked to the sense of belonging. Through identity we perceive ourselves, and others see us as belonging to certain groups and not others” (Díaz-Andreu, Lucy, 2005, p. 1). Grave goods, that is, mostly metal artefacts, may be symbols of various levels of identity. We cannot tell whether similarly appraised people defined themselves in the same way or not – variations in parts of dress do not have to mean that people of different groups did not feel a certain unity. Cultural differences may exist within a single ethnic group or the cultures of two different groups may be very similar (Simniškytė, 2010, p. 99). When interpreting archaeological artefacts we must not forget that the “meaning of things changes depending upon context, as well upon the observer” (Babić, 2005, p. 78). S. Jones notes how “ethnic categories may persist, whilst the material culture involved in the conscious signification of these categories changes, and likewise the ethnic referent of particular styles of material culture may change, whilst the styles themselves remain the same” (Jones, 1997, p. 122).

The dead female from Baitai 37 had more than one “form of identity” which was revealed deliberately or unthinkingly by the people who buried her. The identity of gender status, finally the dead woman’s belonging to a given community, which in a certain way associated itself with larger groups of people, communal links, which might be united for various reasons from myths of common descent and traditions to pragmatically devised “summit agreements”. In the latter case we might form hypotheses concerning the dead woman’s ethnic or cultural identity on the basis of areas where artefacts of a certain type or funerary practices spread. Such a method also gives rise to doubt, since individual cultural features or the distribution of artefacts ‘forms’ archaeological cultures of various sizes (Brather, 2002, p. 172; Lang, 2005). Even so, we may suppose that certain similar forms are found within a space where people communicate actively among themselves and exchange technological expertise, that is, they are interlinked by various connections which in part at least may express their identity.

The search for various identity symbols among the grave goods of Baitai 37 is made more difficult by the

fact that the grave as disturbed in part at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and we cannot tell what the full set of grave goods was. The tooth found in the grave and the small wooden box with supplementary grave goods placed in the same part of the grave shows that the deceased lay with her head to the SE, and such a tradition is prevalent in Baitai female graves. Similar customs can be seen in the cemeteries of various places – special rule may have been applied to a certain gender when burying the dead, selecting a site or fixing the orientation and position of the corpse: “Rules may apply to the location, orientation and position of the dead body” (Díaz-Andreu, 2005, p. 39). The fragment of spiral bracelet, and the iron peg should be regarded as female grave goods. The clasps with bronze-adorned leather strips are found in graves marked by ‘female grave goods’ in western Lithuania. Admittedly two graves may have been found in Šernai Find Site 24. The clasps were found on the eastern side next to blue glass shards and an iron nail, and thus may have been a disturbed burial. Bezenberger called the clasps and strips of leather *Gürtel(?)verschlussen*, that is, parts of a belt (Bezenberger, 1892, S. 153). The A161 brooch found nearby neither supports nor counters the supposition that a male was buried in the grave.

On the basis of modern research data metal clasps with leather strips which were decorated with staples are typical of Lithuanian and south-western Latvian coastal cemeteries during the late Roman period. Strips of thread fixed with bronze staples, without clasps, are known as a form of headdress from Female grave 3 in Barrow XIII at Pajuostis (Panevėžys Region). This head decoration was most likely part of a leather cap (Kačkutė, 1995, p. 15; Michelbertas, 2004, p. 29, ill. 28:6). Thus construction with staples was used in ‘land-locked’ Lithuania too but the fixing of strips with clasps is known hitherto only from coastal areas. The spiral Klaipėda-type bracelet, and the leather-strip artefacts with clasps denote the deceased’s ‘local’ dress, typical of the Western Lithuanian Graves with stone enclosures area. The clasps may have been a local fashion item but perhaps the ideas of form and construction were influenced in part at least by Scandinavian artefacts. In the late Roman period and early Migrations’ period clasps of various forms are an interesting source for studying contacts between Eng-

land and Scandinavian regions and their chronology (Hines, 1993).

The clay pot decorated with a band of striations first and foremost encourages us to suppose that it arrived in western Lithuania from Samland. Could the female in Baitai 37 have been from Samland? The way in which the woman was dressed and other finds suggest local customs and fashions. Could the pot have been a gift from Samland? Perhaps. Even so, pottery is not the most safely transportable trade item or gift on account of its fragility. The pot with a profiled neck found in Male Grave 1(6) at Lazdininkai-Kalnalaukis Cemetery in 1991, albeit undecorated, also reflects Dollkeim pottery style. It was found with other grave goods including a local variation of a Klaipėda neckring with conical terminals, and concave cross-section bracelets which spread from Samland to the coastlands of Lithuania. The context of the finds in Baitai 37 and Lazdininkai-Kalnalaukis 1 (6) would suggest rather that the deceased were of local origin. It is interesting that it was important for those who buried these people that they place Dollkeim-type pots in the grave, as though following a tradition that was most typical of the Dollkeim-Kovrovo Cultural Area. This act brought the ritual thinking of people in Samland and the Lithuanian coastland closer during the Late Roman Period. Brather notes that the 'alien artefacts' from neighbouring areas found in graves may be regarded as the transfer of neighbours' habits rather than expansion by neighbouring peoples (Brather, 2002, p. 167). Perhaps this is evidence that people in these areas consciously felt their kinship on a certain level, which archaeologists notice when they recognise many artefacts of similar form in both areas (Engel, 1931, S. 32; 1933, S. 272; Moora, 1938, S. 602; Jankuhn, 1950, S. 56, 58–59, Abb. 4; Michelbertas, 1972, p. 73; Michelbertas, 1986, p. 218; Nowakowski, 1996, p. 85; Budvydas, 2002, p. 248, 254; Хомякова, 2010; Jovaiša, 2012, il. 11:22, 23) Dollkeim-Kovrovo-type pottery was placed in graves in the Lithuanian coastlands which date to C1a–C1b/C2 periods. The period between the first half of the third century and the middle of the century is one where the high level of western Lithuanian jewellers' skill thrives. They created various openwork jewellery, brooches and pins with tutuli, and neckrings with a box-shaped clasp. Nowakowski notes that from B2/C1 to C2 the area of western Lithuanian cemeteries

with stone enclosures separates further from Dollkeim-Kovrovo Culture (Nowakowski, 1996, S. 84). Even so, Dollkeim-type pottery in the Lithuanian coastlands shows that a certain kinship on the level of customs remained during the middle of the late Roman period too. It is interesting that Balt-made snake-head rings also belong to the chronological period which saw the spread of Dollkeim-type pottery (Fig. 7). Find sites of such rings in the lakeland of Masury (Bogaczewo Culture) are concentrated to the west of the great lake Śniardwa (German: Spirdingsee). On the Samland peninsula they spread from the coast to the border of Natangia and Nadruvia with Masury. The third centre of distribution for Balt-made snake-head rings lies in the Lithuanian coastlands (Baitai, Bandužiai, Šernai). All the rings found here were silver, and the bronze ring from Lumpėnai Cemetery on the lower reaches of the Nemunas should be regarded as a late variation of this type. The earlier forms of these rings in particular are similar to the stylised Scandinavian Beckmann 39/40 rings, except that the Balt-made rings have three spirals rather than two (Banytė-Rowell, 2007 a, ill. 4). Thus the Balt-made snake-head rings came to be placed in graves from the end of C1a to the beginning of C1b and are one of the find forms illustrating shared elements-symbols of western Balt dress, worn from the Masurian lakeland to western Lithuania. It is likely that these were status symbols because they are found for the most part in wealthy graves and the golden and silver prototypes of these pieces of jewellery in Scandinavia are connected unambiguously with upper or high-rank status (Lund Hansen, 1995, S. 429; Ethelberg, 2000, S. 161). Basing ourselves on the fact that control of exchange and resources determines social structure and we associate an elite with so-called central places, where goods were exchanged or produced (Frankenstein, Rowlands, 1978; Renfrew, 1982; Babić, 2005, p. 72), we may conclude that the find sites of snake-head rings are concentrated around such places. On the other hand, differences in status may have been influenced not only by economics but also by the long process of negotiations or competition between certain groups and the confirmation of the results of such in ritual action within a certain cultural context (Babić, 2005, p. 75). The Dollkeim-type pot from Baitai 37 like- the silver snake-head ring from Baitai 31 is an indication of mutual connections between the western

Balts in the middle of the Late Roman Period. The ring, as a secondary imitation of form indicates even broader contacts across the whole Baltic coastland. We can see the association of such a “two-level connections” of form in the circular pendant from Baitai 37. It is similar to Germanic capsule-pendants but it is flat and decorated with a motif of notched wires and studs which was popular among local jewellers. Similar pendants and strings of pendants spread in Bogaczewo Culture areas, from whence this fashion came to central Lithuania (Bliujienė, 2009, p. 246–248, Fig.1). Evidently, a different manner of wearing circular pendants was known in the Lithuanian coastlands – singly, as in Baitai 37, and this is closer to Germanic style. Another piece of evidence showing the connections between western Lithuanian and Bogaczewo cultural areas can be found in the stylistic similarities between the tongues of openwork belt mountings found on the Lithuanian coast and in Masury. This is a thread leading to a further but still recognisable similarity between this type of western Balt artefacts and the tongues found in Gothland (Banytė-Rowell, 2007 b).

In their form the finds from Baitai 37 discussed here represent three levels: types known from the Lithuanian coastlands, those, which spread more broadly in the western Balt region, and finally the imitation of jewellery (pendants) popular in the central and northern European Barbaricum. These three levels may be detected in analysis of the silver snake-head ring from Baitai 31, which was found along with part of a Germanic rosette brooch. Such connections can be seen by studying things themselves, but it is difficult to say whether the dead or the members of the community who buried them associated themselves with three ever broadening spheres of community: inhabitants of the Lithuanian littoral, the broader area of western Balt homelands and the whole Baltic Sea world. According to S. Brather, “it is possible that no material sign was important; habitus and people’s action could have been the only relevant way that an ethnos differentiated itself from its neighbours” (Brather, 2002, p. 172). However, there can be no doubt that the community at Baitai was drawn into channels of information-, trade- and political connections linking the cultural areas of Dollkeim-Kovrovo, Bogaczewo and Western Lithuanian Cemeteries with Stone Enclosures. Despite all the special features of the funerary cultures and dress of

people in these western Balt cultures, certain common artefacts, which hold a symbolic significance, were common in all these regions. What they symbolised may be a multifaceted question, Dollkeim-type pottery in western Lithuania may have symbolised more their spiritual/cultural/ethnic connections with the inhabitants of the Samland peninsula, while the snake-head rings may have been regalia for a social class in various western Balt communities, connected with control of communication links across the Baltic region.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The female from Baitai 37 was buried in a NW-SE orientation in a pit typical of west Lithuanian cemeteries with stone enclosures. She lay with her head to the SE, which stresses her female gender. Despite the fact that the grave was disturbed during the last century or so (at the end of the nineteenth century a potato-store was dug out and later Soviet farm workers leveled the top of the cemetery), its finds provide quite a wealthy and varied set of grave goods.
2. The leather strips and metal clasps, the fragment of a Klaipėda-type spiral bracelet, small parts of fabric decoration, an iron peg and the birch-bark box reveal the local tradition of the female’s dress and supplementary grave goods. The circular pendant with its welded pressed decorate plate are probably an imitation of Germanic capsule pendants, various forms of which have been unearthed in the area inhabited by the western Balts from the Masurian lakeland to the Lithuanian coast. The cast pot from Baitai 37 is very close in form and decoration to Dollkeim-type pottery from the Dollkeim-Kovrovo Cultural Area. Baitai 37, dated to the turn of C1b and C2 reflects in its grave goods a three-level tradition: local jewellery and funerary practices, Samland pottery and a secondary Balt imitation of Germanic pendants.
3. Another important find from Baitai Cemetery is the silver “snake-head” ring from Grave 31 which also illustrates internal connections within the western Balt cultural area in the late Roman period. These silver and bronze rings spread from the Masurian lakeland and Samland peninsula to the Lithuanian coast and the lower reaches of the Nemunas. Analysis of the grave sets shows that snake-head rings appeared in the Dollkeim-Kovrovo area at

the end of C1a and spread during C1b–C2. At the same time Dollkeim-type pottery is found in Samland graves. A vessel of this pottery type found in Lazdininkai/Kalnalaukis 1(6) in 1991 also belongs to the turn of C1a and C1b, a slightly earlier date than the pot from Baitai 37. Dollkeim-type pottery may have been used in western Lithuanian funerary rituals as a result of a merger of local customs of placing small ceramic vessels in graves with an incoming Samland habit. The new ceramic form (imported or copied on site) reached the Lithuanian coastlands via the same communication links as snake-head rings, which most likely had become status symbols in western Balt regions. The pendant from Baitai 37 is an ‘alloy’ of the ideas of both Germanic and Balt Bogaczewo cultural artefacts.

5. Today it is impossible to say whether the female buried in Baitai 37 considered herself or was considered by those who buried her to be at least in part a ‘Samlander’. The Dollkeim-type pot may even have been both a coincidental gift and a material part of a deliberate ritual akin to those on the Samland peninsula. Even though they are distributed in certain areas, archaeological finds are not necessarily symbols of the identity of people from those areas. Even so the finds from Baitai 37, like the snake-head ring from Baitai 31, mark exchanges of common western Balt artefacts/symbols, which in certain cases in the broader context form part of the communications network of the Baltic region as a whole or the central European Barbaricum. In this case we may speak not only of cultural community and difference, which are perhaps completely unconnected with *ethnic* identity, but also of similarities in the self-expression of the elite of very varied communities.

LITERATURE

Andersson K., 1993. Romartida guldsmid i Norden, II. Fingerringar (= Occasional Papers in Archaeology, 6). Uppsala.

Babić S., 2005. Status identity and archeology. In: *The Archaeology of Identity. Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*. London, New York, p. 67–85.

Banytė R., 1999. Baitų kapinyno dviejų kapų chronologijos klausimu. In: *Archaeologia Litwana*. 1. Vilnius, p. 63–71.

ACKNOWLEDGES

I would like to express my sincere thanks

- to the restorer from the Lithuania Minor History Museum (Mažosios Lietuvos istorijos muziejus) in Klaipėda J. Mažeikaitė – for all her help in fieldwork at Baitai Cemetery, in particular for the primary conservation of finds;
- to the specialists of Pranas Gudynas Restoration Centre (Prano Gudyno restauravimo centras) – to L. Vedrickienė, restorers V. Lukšėnienė, S. Garšvienė, dr. L. Grabauskaitė – for precise conservation of finds from Baitai Grave 37 and various technical and chemical examinations;
- to the restorer from the Lithuania Minor History Museum L. Paulaitytė-Rutkaitienė for the restoration of ceramics found in Baitai Cemetery;
- to Academies of Sciences of Lithuania and Estonia for the possibility to do research in the Archive of the Institute of History, Tallinn University (Tallina Ülikooli Ajaloo Instituut) relating to the archival heritage of M. Schmiedehelm, also many thanks to Prof. M. Mägi and M. Ots for special help during my stay in Tallinn;
- to Prof. C. von Carnap-Bornheim for the opportunity to work with H. Jankuhn heritage in the archive of the Archaeology Museum in Schleswig (Archäologisches Landesmuseum Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloß Gottorf); to Dr. V. Hilberg for the help during this research;
- to Dr. H. Neumayer and H. Wieder for the all their help when working with archive material from the former Prussia Museum, now in the Museum of Prehistory and Early History in Berlin (Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte).

Banytė-Rowell R., 2000. Characteristics of the end of the Roman Period According to material from Baitai Grave Site (near Klaipėda). In: *Archaeologia Baltica*. 4. Vilnius, p. 27–44.

Banytė-Rowell, R. 2007 a. Vėlyvojo romėniškojo laikotarpio žiedas iš Baitų kapinyno. Pavidalo kilmė Baltijos regiono kultūrinių ryšių plotmėje. In: *Lietuvos archeologija*. 30. Vilnius, p. 9–38.

- Banytė-Rowell R., 2007 b. Ažurowe okucia końca pasa – wędrówka wzoru między Gotlandią, Mazurami a Litwą zachodnią. In: *Kultura bogaczewska w 20 lat później. Materiały z konferencji, Warszawa, 26–27 marca 2003* (pod red. A. Bitner-Wróblewskiej). Warszawa, s. 329–337.
- Banytė-Rowell R., 2008 a. Metallene Trachtzierate aus einem westlitauischen Gräberfeld der römischen Kaiserzeit im „germanischen“ und „sarmatischen“ Kontext. In: *Germania-Sarmatia. Древности центральной и Восточной Европы эпохи римского влияния и переселения народов*. 1. Калининград, S. 88–103.
- Banytė-Rowell R., 2008 b. Vėlyvojo romėniškojo laikotarpio rozetiniai smeigtukai ir segės su tutuliu. In: *Lietuvos archeologija*. 34, Vilnius, p. 9–42.
- Banytė-Rowell R., 2009. Žiedai kaip baltų meninės kūrybos atspindys / Rings as a Reflection of Baltic Creative Art. In: *Baltų menas/Art of the Balts*. Vilnius, p. 445–508.
- Banytė-Rowell R., 2011. Žvilių ir Šarkų kapinynų romėniškojo laikotarpio kapų chronologinės fazės. In: *Lietuvos archeologija*. 3. Vilnius, p. 25–86.
- Banytė-Rowell R., Bitner-Wróblewska A., 2005. From *Aestii* to *Esti*. Connections between West Lithuanian Group and the area of distribution of *Tarand*-graves. In: *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). Tartu–Riga–Vilnius, p. 105–120.
- Banytė-Rowell R., 2012. The Excavations at Baitai Cemetery. In: *Archaeological Investigations in Independent Lithuania 1990–2010* (ed. by G. Zabiela, Z. Baubonis, E. Marcinkevičiūtė). Vilnius, p. 122–126.
- Banytė-Rowell, Bitner-Wróblewska, Reich, 2012. Did they Exist? The Question of Elites in Western Lithuania in Roman and Early Migration Periods and their Interregional Contacts. In: *Archaeologia Baltica*, 18: *People at the Crossroads of Space and Time (Footmarks of societies in Ancient Europe) II*. Klaipėda, p. 192–220.
- Beckmann C., 1969. Metallfingerringe der römischen Kaiserzeit im freien Germanien. In: *Saalburg Jahrbuch*. XXVI, S. 5–100.
- Bezenberger A., 1892. Litauische Gräberfelder: I. Das Gräberfeld bei Schernen (Kreis Memel). In: *Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia*. 17. Königsberg, S. 141–168, Taf. VI–XVI.
- Bezenberger A., 1893. Accessionen des Prussia = Museums. In: *Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia*. 18. Königsberg, S. 128–137.
- Bezenberger A., 1900. Gräberfeld bei Baiten, Kr. Memel. In: *Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia*. 21. Königsberg, S. 133–135, Taf. XVI:3.
- Bezenberger A., 1909. Gräberfeld von Lumpönen, Kr. Tilsit. In: *Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia*. 22. Königsberg, S. 130–147.
- Bliujienė A., 1990. Užpelkių kapinyno tyrinėjimai 1988 metais. In: *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1988 ir 1989 metais*. Vilnius, p. 74–77.
- Bliujienė A., 1998. Investigations at Užpelkiai Cemetery. In: *Archaeologia Baltica*. 3. Vilnius, p. 277–290.
- Bliujienė A., 2006. Some notes on Curonian Women's Bead Sets with Bronze Spacer Plates in their Headbands, Headdresses Made of Cloth and Unaccountable Ware during the Viking Age and Early Medieval Times. In: *Archaeologia Baltica*. 6. Klaipėda, p. 126–143.
- Bliujienė A., Bračiulienė R., 2007. Prašmatniosios *Barbaricum* paribio diduomenės moterys ir jų vyrai. In: *Lietuvos archeologija*. 30. Vilnius, p. 39–68.
- Blume E., 1912. *Die germanischen Stämme und die Kulturen zwischen Oder und Passarge zur römischen Kaiserzeit*. 1. Teil: Text. Würzburg.
- Bolin S., 1926. Die Funde römischer und byzantinischer Münzen in Ostpreußen. In: *Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia*. H. 26. Königsberg, S. 203–239.
- Brather S., 2002. Ethnic Identities as Construction of Archaeology: The Case of the *Alamanni*. In: *On Barbarian Identity. Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (ed. by A. Gillet, Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 4). Turnhout, p. 149–175.
- Budvydas U., 2002. Lietuvoje rastų lankinių segių lenkta kojele tipologija ir chronologija. In: *Lietuvos archeologija*. 22. Vilnius, p. 243–274.
- Butkus D., Kanarskas J., 1992. Lazdininkų (Kalnalaukio) kapinyno tyrinėjimai 1991 m. In: *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1990 ir 1991 metais*. Dalis I. Vilnius, p. 81–85.
- Butkus D., Kanarskas J., 2005. Lazdininkų (Kalnalaukio) kapinynas. In: *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 2003 metais*. Vilnius, p. 118–119.
- von Carnap-Bornheim C., 2000. Einige jünger-kaiserzeitliche Beispiele überregionaler Trachtbeziehungen zwischen dem baltischen und germanischen Kulturbereich. In: *Archaeologia Baltica*. 4. Vilnius, S. 45–61.
- Ciesliński A., 2010. Kulturelle Veränderungen und Besiedlungsabläufe im Gebiet der Wielbark-Kultur an Łyna, Pasłęka and Oberer Drwęca. Berlin.
- Diaz-Andreu M., 2005. Gender identity. In: *The Archaeology of Identity. Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*. London, New York, p. 13–42.
- Diaz-Andreu M., Lucy S., 2005. Introduction. In: *The Archaeology of Identity. Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*. London, New York, p. 1–12.
- Engel C., 1931. Einführung in die vorgeschichtliche Kultur des Memellandes. Memel.
- Engel C., 1933. Die Kaiserzeitlichen Kulturgruppen zwischen Weichsel und finnischem Meerbusen und ihr Verhältnis zueinander. In: *Prussia: Zeitschrift für Heimatkunde und Heimatschutz*. 30:1. Königsberg, S. 261–286.

- Ethelberg P. et al., 2000. Skovgårde. Ein Bestattungssplatz mit reichen Frauengräbern des 3. Jhs. n. Chr. auf Seeland. København, 2000.
- Frankenstein S., Rowlands M. J., 1978. The internal structure and regional context of early Iron Age society in South-Western Germany. In: *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology*. 15, p. 73–112.
- Gaerte W., 1929. Urgeschichte Ostpreußens. Königsberg.
- Hauptmann Th., 1998. Studien zu Dreisprossenfibeln. In: *100 Jahre Fibelformen nach Oscar Almgren. Forschungen zur Archäologie im Land Brandenburg*. 5. Wünsdorf 1998, S. 159–173.
- Hines J. Clasps, Hektespinner, Agraffen. Anglo-Scandinavian Clasps of Classes A-C of the 3rd to 6th centuries A.D. Typology, Diffusion and Function. Stockholm.
- Jankuhn H., 1950. Zur räumlichen Gliederung der älteren Kaiserzeit in Ostpreußen. In: *Archaeologica Geographica*. 4, November 1950. Hamburg, S. 54–64.
- Jones S., 1997. The Archaeology of Ethnicity. Constructing identities in the past and present. London, New York.
- Jovaiša E., 2012. Aisčiai. kilmė. Vilnius, 2012.
- Kačkutė R., 1995. Lietuvos moterų galvos dangos papuošalai I–IV amžiais. In: *Baltų archeologija*. Nr. 4 (7). Vilnius, p. 14–24.
- 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. In: *Archaeologia Baltica*, 18: *People at the Crossroads of Space and Time (Footmarks of societies in Ancient Europe) II*. Klaipėda, p. 147–166.
- Kokowski A., 1993 a. Gródek nad Bugiem. Cmentarzysko grupy masłomęckiej. Część I. Lublin.
- Kokowski A., 1993 b. Gródek nad Bugiem. Cmentarzysko grupy masłomęckiej. Część II. Lublin.
- La Baume W., Gronau W., 1941. Das Gräberfeld von Raczki, Kreis Suwalki. In: *Alt-preußen*. 5. Jahrgang, Heft 4, S. 59–61.
- Lang V., 2005. Archaeological Cultures and Ethnic History: Some examples from the East-Baltic Early Iron Age. In: *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). Tartu–Riga–Vilnius.
- Lund Hansen U., 1995. Himlingøje – Seeland – Europa: Ein Gräberfeld der jüngeren römischen Kaiserzeit auf Seeland, seine Bedeutung und internationalen Beziehungen. København.
- Madyda-Legutko R., 1986. Die Gürtelschnallen der Römischen Kaiserzeit und der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit im Mitteleuropäischen Barbaricum (BAR International Series, 360). Oxford.
- Michelbertas M., 1968. Rūdaičių II kapinynas. In: *Lietuvos pajūrio I–VII a. kapinynai*. Vilnius, p. 56–73.
- Michelbertas M., 1972. Prekybiniai ryšiai su Romos imperija. In: *Lietuvos gyventojų prekybiniai ryšiai I–XIII a.* Vilnius, p. 5–148.
- Michelbertas M., 1986. Senasis geležies amžius Lietuvoje. I–IV amžius. Vilnius.
- Michelbertas M., 2001. Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum. Litauen. Vilnius.
- Michelbertas M., 2004. Pajuosčio pilkapynas. Vilnius.
- Moora H., 1938. Die Eisenzeit in Lettland bis etwa 500 n. Chr. II. Teil: Analyse. Tartu.
- Nowakowski W., 1982–2007. Kultura bogaczewska na Pojezierzu Mazurskim od schyłku późnego okresu przedrzymskiego do starszej fazy późnego okresu wpływów rzymskich. Próba analizy chronologiczno-kulturowej [daktaro disertacija, Varšuvos universitetas, 1982]. CD versija. Warszawa, 2007 (pod red. A. Bitner-Wróblewskiej, P. Iwanickiego i G. Iwanowskiej).
- Nowakowski W., 1996. Das Samland in der römischen Kaiserzeit und seine Verbindungen mit dem römischen Reich und der barbarischen Welt. Marburg–Warszawa.
- Nowakowski W., 2001. Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum. Polen. Band 1: Masuren. Warszawa.
- Quast D., 2004. Ein skandinavisches Spathascheidenmundblech der Völkerwanderungszeit aus Pikkjärve (Põlvamaa, Estland). In: *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz*. 51 Jahrgang. Mainz, S. 243–279.
- Reich Chr., 2006. Das Gräberfeld von Oberhof – Kulturelle Beziehungen und Kontakte. In: *Archaeologia Litwana*. 7, Vilnius, S. 85–97.
- Reich Chr., 2012. Schmuck- und Münzbeigabe in Männerbestattungen des Gräberfelds von Oberhof (Aukštkiemiai). In: *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica*. 44. Berlin, 131–147.
- Renfrew, C. 1982. Socio-economic change in ranked societies. In: *Ranking, Resource and Exchange-Aspects* (ed. by C. Renfrew and S. Shennan). Cambridge, p. 1–8.
- Schmiedehelm M., 2011. Das Gräberfeld am Jaskowska-See in Masuren. Studien zur westmasurischen Kultur der römischen Eisenzeit (red. A. Juga-Szymańska, P. Szymański). Warszawa.
- Simniškytė A., 2010. Sėliai ir lietuviai vėlyvojoje priešistorėje: genčių kontaktai. In: *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis*. 2009 metai/2. Vilnius.
- Skvorcov K., 2007. Das Gräberfeld der römischen Kaiserzeit von Bol’šoje Isakovo (ehemals Lauth, Kreis Königsberg). Katalog der Funde aus den Grabungen 1998 und 1999. In: *Offa. Berichte und Mitteilungen zur Urgeschichte, Frühgeschichte und Mittelalterarchäologie*, Bd. 61/62-2005/05. Neumünster, S. 111–220.
- Skvortcov K., 2012. The Formation of a Sambian-Natangian Culture Patrimonial Elite in the Roman Period in the Context of the Amber Trade. In: *Archaeologia Baltica*, 18: *People at the Crossroads of Space and Time (Footmarks of societies in Ancient Europe) II*. Klaipėda, p. 167–191.
- Stankevičius M., 2007. Senojo geležies amžiaus (I–IV a.) metaliniai žiedai. In: *Archaeologia Litwana*. 8. Vilnius, p. 70–96.

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

Szymański P., 2005. Mikroregion osadniczy z okresu wpływów rzymskich w rejonie jeziora Salęt na Pojezierzu Mazurskim. Warszawa.

Tamulynas L., 1998. A. Bezenbergerio archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Klaipėdos krašte. In: *Lietuvos archeologija*. 15. Vilnius, p. 247–285.

Tautavičius A., 1996. Vidurinis geležies amžius Lietuvoje (V–IX a.). Vilnius.

Tempelmann-Maczyńska M., 1985. Die Perlen der römischen Kaiserzeit und der frühen Phase der Völkerwanderungszeit im mitteleuropäischen Barbaricum. Mainz am Rhein.

Tischler O. / Kemke H., 1902. Ostpreussische Altertümer aus der Zeit der grossen Gräberfelder nach Christi Geburt. Königsberg.

Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė R., Jankauskas K., 1992. Iš senosios lietuvių amatininkystės istorijos (alavas senuosiuose lietuvių papuošaluose). In: *Lietuvos archeologija*. 8. Vilnius, p. 135–165.

Казакявичюс В., 1988. Оружие балтских племен II–VIII вв. на территории Литвы. Вильнюс.

Кулаков В. И., 2007. Доллькейм-Коврово. Исследования 1992–2002 гг. (= Prussia Antiqua, 4. Monumenta). Минск.

Скворцов К. Н., 2012. Новые находки памятников римского времени на побережье Вислинского залива. In: *Stratum plus*. 4, p. 1

Хомякова О. А., 2010. Пластинчатые браслеты самбийско-натангской культуры. In: *Germania-Sarmatia*. 2. Калининград–Курск, с. 277–291.

SOURCES

Banytė R., 1990 š. Baitų senkapių (Klaipėdos raj.) žvalgomieji archeologiniai tyrinėjimai. Ataskaita. LII RS. F. 1. B. 1633.

Banytė R., 1994 š. Baitų senkapių (Klaipėdos raj.) 1993 metų archeologiniai tyrinėjimai. Ataskaita. LII RS. F. 1. B. 2178.

Banytė-Rowell R., 1997 š. Baitų/Baičių/ kapinyno 1997 metų tyrinėjimų ataskaita. LII RS. F. 1. B. 2853.

Banytė-Rowell R., 2001 š. Vakarų Lietuvos kapinynų su akmenų vainikais kultūrinė sritis III a. – V a. pradžioje. Daktaro disertacija. Humanitariniai mokslai, istorija (05H). Vilniaus universitetas.

Jankuhn Archive – archive of H. Jankuhn' documentary heritage, preserved in Schleswig (Archäologisches Landesmuseum Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen Schloß Gottorf).

Kanarskas J., 1991 š. Lazdininkų (Kalnalaukio) plokš-

tinio kapinyno (Darbėnų apyl., Kretingos raj.) 1991 metų archeologinių kasinėjimų ataskaita. II dalis. LII RS. F. 1. B. 1854.

Pečeliūnaitė-Bazienė E., 2007 š. Geležies amžiaus (I–XII a.) tekstilė Lietuvoje. Daktaro disertacija, humanitariniai mokslai, istorija (05 H). Vilnius, 2007. VUB RS F76-4756.

Schmiedehelm Archive – archive of M. Schmiedehelm documentary heritage, preserved in Tallinn, Institute of History (*Ajaloo Instituut*), Holding 22

Šturms E., 1942 š. Pārskats par 1942. g. izrakumiem Rucavas Mazkatužu kapulaukā. Latvijas Vēstures muzeja Arheologijas nodaļas Arhīvs. AA 302.

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

ABBREVIATIONS

LII RS – Lietuvos istorijos instituto rankraštynas / Manuscript Room of Lithuanian Institute of History

MLIM – Mažosios Lietuvos istorijos muziejus / Lithuania Minor History Museum (Klaipėda)

VUB RS – Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos Rankraščių skyrius / Manuscript Room of Vilnius University Library

BAITŲ KAPINYNŲ 37 KAPAS – INSPIRACIJA GRĮŽTI PRIE VAKARŲ BALTŲ AREALŲ RYŠIŲ VĒLYVUOJU ROMĒNIŠKŲ LAIKOTARPIU KLAUSIMO

Rasa Banytė-Rowell

Santrauka

Baitų kapinynas (Klaipėdos r.) priklauso Vakarų Lietuvos kapinynų su akmenų vainikais arealui. 1997 m. atidengtas Baitų kapinyno 37 kapas priklauso centrinei kapinyno

kapų grupei, datuojamai vėlyvojo romėniškojo laikotarpio viduriu. Šio straipsnio tikslas yra išsamiai paskelbti 37 kapo medžiagą, analizuojant ją vakarų baltų tarpusavio ry-

šių, kuriuos atspindi kitas Baitų kapinyno radinys – žiedas iš 31 kapo – plotmėje. 37 kapo vidurinę dalį suardė, greičiausiai, XIX a. pabaigoje iškastas bulviarūšis. Tikėtina, kad akmenys, dengę kapą, taip pat buvo iš dalies nuardyti stumdamt kapinyno paviršių Baičių kolūkio fermų funkcionavimo laikais, nes kapo radiniai buvo aptikti labai negiliai (0,20–0,36 m gilyje) (1, 2 pav.). Pagal radinių išsidėstymą ir žandikaulio su pavieniu dantimi padėtį galima teigti, kad kapo mirusioji buvo orientuota galva į PR pusę. Duobės pietrytiniame, bulviarūšio nesuardytame areale rastos pasklidusios cilindrinės ir plokštinės įvijėlės, kurios vertintinos kaip audinio puošybos elementai (3a:1–3 pav.). Tarp jų rastas nedidelis klaipeidietiško pogrupio įvijinės apyrankės fragmentas (3a:6 pav.), sulaužytas uždaras žiedas (3a:7 pav.). Galima daryti prielaidą, kad įkartuotos vielos fragmentai (3a:4, 5 pav.) galėjo priklausyti rozetiniams smeigtukams su tutuliu, kurie išimti, iškasus XIX a. pabaigoje bulviarūšio duobę. Joje rastas deformuotos žalvarinės vielos gabaliukas, žalvarinės grandinėlės dalis, fajansinė pypkė (4 pav.). Pietrytiniame-rytiniame duobės kampe buvos medienos su tošies žymėmis liekanos (dėžutė?). Virš jos rastas žalvariu puoštų odinių juostelių junginio su sąsagomis papuošalas (3a:8–10 pav.), geležinis smeigtas (3b:3 pav.), vienas mėlynyno stiklo ir keturi gintariniai karoliai (3b:4–8), sidabrinė įvijėlė (3b:2 pav.) ir trys žalvarinės įvijėlės. Greta medienos su radiniais plotelio, prie pat duobės krašto, buvo atkastas molinis lipdytas puodelis (3b:9; 6 pav.). 4 cm į š nuo medienos su radiniais liekanų, ant panašios organinės medžiagos likučių gulėjo apskritas kabutis (3b:1 pav.). Pagal kūno orientavimo tradiciją pietų link ir radinių pobūdį 37 kapas skirtinas moteriškosios lyties mirusiajai, palaidotai C1b–C2

periode. Odinių juostelių junginys su sąsagomis, klaipeidietiško tipo įvijinės apyrankės fragmentas, smulkios audinio puošybos detalės, geležinis smeigtas, tošinė dėžutė rodo lokalinę mirusiosios aprangos ir papildomų įkapių dėjimo tradiciją. Apskritas kabutis su prilituota puošybine presuota plokšte – tikėtina, yra germaniškųjų kabučių-kapsulių, kurių įvairios formos buvo sukurtos vakarų baltų areale – nuo Mozūrijos regiono iki Lietuvos pajūrio, imitacija (5 pav.). Molinis lipdytas puodelis iš Baitų 37 kapo savo forma ir ornamentika yra labai artimas Dollkeimo tipo keramikai vakarų baltų Dollkeimo-Kovrovo kultūros areale. Kitas svarbus Baitų kapinyno radinys – sidabrinis „gyvatgalvis“ žiedas iš 31 kapo – taip pat liudija apie vidinius ryšius vakarų baltų srityse vėlyvuju romėniškuoju laikotarpiu. Šie žiedai (sidabriniai ir žalvariniai) paplitę nuo Mozūrijos ežeryno ir Sembos pusiasalio iki Lietuvos pajūrio ir Nemuno žemupio (7 pav.). Kapų kompleksų analizė rodo, kad gyvatgalviai žiedai Dollkeimo-Kovrovo srityje pasirodo C1a periodo pabaigoje, o išplinta C1b–C2 periode. Būtent tuo pačiu laikotarpiu Semboje kapuose atsiranda ir Dollkeimo tipo puodelių. Panašūs puodeliai Vakarų Lietuvoje laidojimo ritualuose galėjo būti naudoti kaip vietinio mažų keramikos indelių dėjimo į kapus papročio ir atėjusio iš Sembos regiono papročio susiliejinimo padarinys. Baitų 37 kapo radiniai, kaip ir gyvatgalvis Baitų 31 kapo žiedas, žymi bendrą vakarų baltų dirbinių / simbolių mainus, kurie platesniame kontekste kai kuriais atvejais yra ir viso Baltijos jūros regiono ar Vidurio Europos *Barbaricum* komunikacinio tinklo dalis. Šiuo atveju galima kalbėti ne vien apie kultūrinius bendrumus ir skirtumus, galbūt visai nesusijusius su etnine tapatybe, bet ir apie įvairiausių bendruomenių elito saviraiškos panašumus.

Įteikta 2013 m. liepos mėn.