

SEARCHING FOR LINKS BETWEEN ARTEFACTS FROM AREAS OF PREHISTORIC DWELLING SITES AND BURIAL GROUNDS

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Grave-goods belong to the sphere of sacrum where property donated for the dead might reflect a distorted picture of reality. They are the result of creative activity performed in „real life“. Therefore finds from dwelling sites have great importance for connecting artefacts from burial grounds back to the sphere of profanum. Several examples from Lithuanian archaeology are presented concerning dwelling sites as centres of production and exchange of artefacts that later found their way into grave-sets. Some considerations are presented regarding the elements of costume of people of the Brushed Pottery Culture; comparison of distribution of Roman imports in cemeteries and dwelling sites; the importance of chronological indicators has been distinguished thanks to databases of burial sites for the dating of layers in dwelling sites. Finally we present some hypotheses about the possible everyday or ceremonial functions of outfit elements based on the example of female temple ornaments.

Keywords: dwelling sites, burial sites, ornaments, Roman period, Migration period.

Įkapės priklauso sacrum sferai, kurioje vertybės, dovanotos mirusiajam, gali atspindėti iškreiptą tikrovės vaizdą. Jos yra kūrybinės veiklos, vykdytos „tikrame gyvenime“, išdava. Dėl šios priežasties radiniai, aptikti gyvenamosiose vietose, turi ypatingą svarbą vėl susiejant artefaktus iš laidojimo paminklų su profanum sfera. Šiame darbe pateikiama keletas Lietuvos archeologijos pavyzdžių gyvenamųjų vietų kaip gamybos ir mainų centrų kontekste bei susiejant su dirbiniais, kurie vėliau pateko į kapus, taip pat aptariami Brūkšniuotosios keramikos kultūros žmonių aprangos elementai, lyginamas romėniškojo importo paplitimas kapinynuose ir gyvenvietėse, atkreipiamas dėmesys į chronologinių indikatorių, kurie išskiriami pagal laidojimo paminklų medžiagą, svarbą gyvenamųjų vietų sluoksniams datuoti. Galiausiai pristatomos tezės apie kasdienę ar ritualinę aprangos elementų funkciją pagal moteriškus antsmilkinius.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: gyvenamosios vietos, laidojimo paminklai, papuošalai, romėniškasis laikotarpis, tautų kraustymosi laikotarpis.

INTRODUCTION

Links between dwelling sites and burial grounds of the Roman and Migration periods have been discussed in Lithuanian archaeology by Aleksiejus Luchtanas (Лухтанас 2001), Rokas Vengalis (2009), Andra Simniškytė (2013), Audronė Bliujiene (2013), Renaldas Augustinavičius, Rimvydas Laužikas, Albinas Kuncevičius, Rimantas Jankauskas (Augustinavičius *et al.* 2013) and other colleagues.

Vengalis (2016) recently presented an overview and critical analyses of investigations of hillforts and settlements in Lithuania. Nevertheless, I would like to present here several theses with a hope of providing some additions to scholarly discussion. This paper does not discuss demographical issues or spatial relations between dwelling sites and burial grounds. This approach may appear somewhat „old-fashioned“ because it is devoted to the discussion of artefacts, but it is worth our turning attention to the

„stories“ which may emerge from comparing the contexts of finds from spheres of life and death. This paper surveys categories of finds from Roman Iron Age dwelling sites and also presents examples of artefacts of the Migration period from the territory of what is now Lithuania. The main aim of this article is to suggest several possible directions/conceptual sections for the discussion related to the context of finds from dwelling sites and burial grounds. The text draws attention to rare but important finds in dwelling sites which show how artefacts of local or interregional style were distributed in the sphere of the *profanum* where ideas of style of dressing and preparation of dead members of the community originated. Usually regional elements of outfit are reconstructed on the basis of material from burial sites. By contrast, in the case of Eastern Lithuania, especially during Early Roman period, only finds from hillforts and settlements provide us with a basis for considering local costume, which is interesting to compare with neighbouring Balt areas. Roman imports were important elements of life during the centuries under discussion and represent different phenomena when we look separately at the material of burial and dwelling sites. Here I would like to show that the proper role of Roman imports might be understood by integrating both sources and both find contexts. Using various statistical approaches, artefacts found in grave-sets may be dated quite precisely today. This comparison should be applied more frequently concerning artefacts from hillforts and settlements that earlier literature dated very broadly and imprecisely. This paper presents several examples of such chronological indicators relevant to dwelling sites. Finally a short discussion is offered here of the possible symbolic meaning of some artefacts found in the sphere of *profanum*. The example of female temple ornaments might be one such case. The article's main task is to pose questions and possible directions for further investigations integrating the contexts of finds from dwelling sites and burial grounds.

DWELLING SITES AS PLACES OF ORIGIN AND CENTRES OF DISTRIBUTION OF JEWELLERY STYLES DETECTABLE IN BURIAL GROUNDS

Grave-goods belong to the sphere of *sacrum*, where property donated for the dead might reflect a distorted picture of reality. Nevertheless, grave-goods are the result of creative activity performed in „real life“. Therefore finds from dwelling sites have great importance for connecting artefacts from burial grounds back to the sphere of *profanum*. The artefacts found in cemeteries were produced in dwelling sites (about workshops of jewellers see Vengalis 2009, pp.118–122). This production during the Roman period also took place in hillforts – such a tradition took root in the pre-Roman period. Examples may be drawn from such hillforts and surrounding settlements as Velikuškės (Zarasai District) (Fig. 1) or Aukštadvaris (Trakai District) and other sites discussed below where metallurgical ceramics and casting moulds are indicators of this sort of activity. Velikuškės hillfort excavated by Petras Tarasenko in 1933 provided fragments of two ceramic „scoops“ (VDKM, inv. No. 877:72, 73), two ceramic scoop „handles“ (VDKM, inv. No. 877:74; 877) and two casting moulds for the production of a ring-shaped artefact (one with number of field registration 6629:97? and one without any number) (Tarasenko 1935, p.162, lent. XIV:18–21; cf. Tarasenko 1935 pp.411–414; Тарасенко 1952, pp.87–89). Metallurgical ceramics from Velikuškės did not have any special features which would lead to the conclusions about chronology. This hillfort, like others in Eastern Lithuania provided stone and bone artefacts typical of the Early Brushed Pottery culture during the centuries of transition from 2nd to 1st millennium BC. The Roman Period horizon in Velikuškės is indicated by a bronze pin of Beckmann H type, iron pins of Beckmann/Juga-Szymańska type BI, BII (Juga-Szymańska 2014, pp.62–69), a bracelet of flat triangular cross-section Michelbertas group I, an openwork pendant of a type similar to enameled ones, and an enameled pennanular brooch (Fig. 2, 3). These types



Fig. 1. Metallurgical ceramics found in Velikuškės hillfort and foot settlement: 1–3 – fragments of casting moulds, 4, 5 – scoop-handle fragments, 6, 7 – scoops. VDKM, inv. No. 6629; 877:72–75; without inv. No. Photo by A. Užgalis.

belong to the Early Roman period – beginning of the Late Roman period according to the databases of burial sites (see Michelbertas 1986; Juga-Szymańska 2014). Jonas Puzinas (1938, p.210) was of the opinion that metallurgical ceramics from North eastern Lithuanian hillforts belonged to the Iron Age after AD. It is difficult to prove the particular chronology of metallurgical ceramics in Velikuškės without special further investigations based on methods of natural sciences. The analysis of stratigraphy in detail is almost impossible because of many discrepancies in the text of Tarasenkā's excavation report (see critic of Tarasenkā's methods and his interpretations of Velikuškės material in the article of Gintautas Zabiela (1994); see also Simniškytė 2013, p.304). Therefore the attribution of the metallurgical ce-

ramics from Velikuškės on the basis of similar finds in other Brushed Pottery culture hillforts in North eastern Lithuania to the artefacts of Bronze Age is also credible (see Luchtanas 1981, pp.6–9, pav. 1:4, 5; 4:3, 5, 7; 12), despite the fact that types of early metal production were absent from Velikuškės. Nevertheless, the tradition of producing bronze/brass ornaments in hillforts originated at the turn of the 2nd and 1st millenium BC and continued into the Roman period. This is testified most prominently by finds from Narkūnai hillfort. Bronze-casting activity most probably underwent several breaks in Narkūnai but it was carried out during Roman period once again. This is proved by the fragment (1/4) of a Roman coin (a sestertius of 2nd–3th century¹) attached to the remains of smelting furnace made of clay (Luchta-

¹ Recently this coin was identified as coming from the time of Faustina (2nd century AD) (Podėnas *et al.* 2016b, p.203).



Fig. 2. Ornaments of Roman period found in Velikuškės: 1 – iron pin of Beckmann type B (VDKM inv. No. 973:24), 2 – bronze pin of Beckmann type H (VDKM, inv. No. 1201:1), 3 – bronze bracelet (VDKM inv. No. 973:45). *Photo by A. Užgalis.*



Fig. 3. Ornaments of enamel style from Velikuškės: 1 – penannular brooch with enamel (VDKM, inv. No. 973:44), 2 – openwork pendant (VDKM, inv. No. 973:40). *Photo by A. Užgalis.*

nas 1981, pp.12–13, pav. 10; cf. Michelbertas 2001, p.58). Several fragments of ceramic casting moulds were found in the same layer of Narkūnai hillfort as smelting furnace. Therefore Agnė Čivilytė (2014, pp.116, 124, 133) proposed that part of this category of finds might be associated with metallurgic activity during the Roman period. The stratigraphy of Narkūnai hillfort is complicated but undoubtedly this site also was used during Roman period as can be seen not only from changes in the style of ceramics but also from individual metal finds belonging mostly to the Early Roman period (see Podėnas *et al.* 2016a; 2016b). Metallurgic activity on hillforts might be explained by the opportunities such sites provide to ensure the safety of artisans – if not by their really effective defensive system then by the symbolic meaning of enclosures for special actions necessary for metallurgic processes or craftsmanship of jewellery (see considerations on the symbolic meaning of some hillfort defensive structures in Čivilytė 2014, p.148). Finds connected with the working of bronze/brass from Aukštadvaris indicate that hillforts might have been used as storage places for raw material. Here 5 bars of metal were found in the household section of a building. The storage function of hillforts, among other purposes, might be seen in the light of old European archaeotypes of human behaviour in particular periods. For example, Early La Tène Celtic hillforts in Southern England were used largely for storage. However, the functions of Celtic hillforts still pose questions to researchers – refuge, storage, feast places, sanctuary. According to Olivier Büchschütz (1996, p.58) hillforts „[...] were used, depending upon the regions and the times, for various purposes by different actors of the society“. Other finds from the Aukštadvaris hillfort, such as a spiral temple ornament, and ceramic „weight“ of the D’jakovo type provide a Roman period context. Vytautas Daugudis dated this layer to the 2nd century AD (Daugudis 1962, pp.49–

50, pav. 5:1, 2; Vaitkunskienė, Merkevičius 1978, p.93; Michelbertas 1986, pp.23, 212). Excavations at the Aukštadvaris site also produced other artefacts typical of the Roman period and metallurgic ceramics for bronze casting was found in the layer of foot settlement² (Daugudis 1962, pp.49–52, pav. 4, 6, 7; Banytė-Rowell 2013, p.66, Abb. 2). Casting and production of bronze items also took place in open settlements during the Roman period. Excavations at the Pilviškiai settlement (Vilnius District) unearthed furnace and ceramic crucibles which were in the same context as a lunnula-shaped bronze pendant from the second half of 2nd century AD (Vaitkevičius, Dapkevičius 2002, pp.44–46, pav. 8). Ceramic crucibles and bronze waste material were found in the Kernavė open settlement (Pajauta valley) near Kernavė (Širvintos District) in the context of artefacts from the Roman period (Luchtanas 2005, p.44). A bronze bar – raw material – was found in Semeniškės settlement 2 near Kernavė (Vengalis 2006, p.60; 2010b, pp.82–83). Metallurgical activity was detected in the Staviškės settlement (Vilnius City) where, along with ceramic crucibles and casting moulds, two bronze bars and other fragments of bronze raw material were found. Gytis Grižas (2000, p.169) dated this layer of the Staviškės settlement to the 1st–2nd centuries AD. Recently Bliujienė (2013, pp.157, 188–189, lent. 8, 9) summarised finds and sites where bronze alloys and items were produced. The dating of finds in the sites mentioned above testify that the production of bronze items took place in an open settlements since at least 2nd century AD.

The Velikuškės (?), Aukštadvaris, Semeniškės and Kernavė sites mentioned above as places of bronze casting and jewellery production provided Roman period finds that have special importance in relation to artefacts from local burial sites. The enamel brooch and openwork pendant found in the Velikuškės hillfort represent local variations of interregional shapes, which were created under the

²Crucible and scoop were dated by Daugudis (1962, pp.55–56) to the middle of the 1st millenium AD.



Fig. 4. Silver bracelet found in Velikuškės (VDKM, inv. No. 973:39). Photo by A. Užgalis.

influence of a stylistic mixture of ornaments from the West (Bogaczewo culture) and also to some degree from the Dnepr and upper Volga-Oka river basins (Kulikauskas 1941, pp.56–57, lent. XI:3, 4; Michelbertas 1986, pp.155–156; 2016, p.87 – see here a list of earlier literature concerning the Velikuškės enamel pennisular brooch; for barbarian enamel ornaments see also Moora 1934; Корзухина 1978; Гороховський 1982; Jabłońska 1992; Bitner-Wróblewska 2009, pp.400–424) (Fig. 3). It is significant that ornaments of the Velikuškės type were found in burial sites not far from Velikuškės hillfort. The Rokėnai and Žadavainiai enamel pennisular brooches with off-shoots, Dusetos and Eikotiškis enamel openwork pendants represent the concentration of one style in North Eastern and Eastern Lithuania to the South of Velikuškės hillfort (Michelbertas 2016, pp.60–63, 81, 92, pav. 2). Mykolas Michelbertas (2016, pp.24–25, 32) attributed pennisular brooches with off-shoots to type D as the

production of local artisans. Openwork pendants of the Dusetos, Eikotiškis and Velikuškės types have parallels in the Upper Volga region. The traces of metallurgic activity in Velikuškės and the ornaments under discussion lead us to suppose that the production of that unique jewellery might have taken place in hillforts acting as „major places“³ that provides security for local or travelling artisans to work with valuable imported raw material. Simniškytė (2013, pp.58–59, 77–78, pav. 23) stressed that wandering artisans produced artefacts of a certain style which were distributed in the region. On the other hand, ideas of enamel ornamentation may have reached the region of what is now North Eastern Lithuania because of its location between the Nemunas and Dauguva basins. Such contact zone might „swallow“ influences and goods from more distant areas. Even if some doubt remains about the local origin of the enamel ornaments discussed above, the concentration of finds around Velikuškiai hillfort testifies that such special prestigious ornaments circulated via hillforts. Lithuanian scholars have also drawn attention to the role of hillforts as a possible store-places for valuables (Vengalis 2010a, p.126; Bliujienė 2013, pp.171, 193, 435; Čivilytė 2014, pp.160, 198–199). A silver bracelet from the Migration period also found in Velikuškės appears to support such a supposition (Fig. 4). It was found in Trench 24 in the NE part of the hillside, at a depth of 1–20 cm (Tarasena 1935, p.147, lent. 8:10). The Velikuškės bracelet is important because it reveals a local style of hand ornaments which has not been detected hitherto in burial sites in Lithuania. A similar bracelet

³ Here the term „major places“ is used in contrast to the term „central places“. The latter mark the progress of society towards urbanisation and therefore this term is not suitable for describing Balt sites in Lithuania before the introduction of coinage and planned settlements. Central places played the role of markets, and places to exchange goods and information (see Smith 1976, p.6). For example, before the period of planned *oppida*-type settlements Celtic hillforts acted as „major settlements“ or places where elites kept goods and employed craftsmen who made luxury items for their courts. These courts were not necessarily located on hillforts (Büchschütz 1996, pp.61–62). The Kernavė complex in Eastern Lithuania provides an example of a „major settlement“ which over the centuries grew into a „central place“. Major Celtic *oppida* housed substantial numbers of craft workers who processed a range of materials such as iron, bronze, stone, wood, leather, glass, and pottery. Iron-working had a special significance in this activity (Wells 1996, pp.88–89, 91). The latter production was detected on a large scale in the Bandužiai complex of sites in West Lithuania, which is dated from the pre-Roman Iron Age (see Masiulienė 2013). This feature allows us to attribute the Roman-period Bandužiai site to the category of „major settlements“.

made of bronze alloy-plate was found in Dūkštas (Ignalina District), not far from the Zarasai District (Lietuvių 1958, p.331, pav. 343, 344; Tautavičius 1996, pp.253–254). A bronze bracelet of this type found in a child's grave in Krapes Lejasoķēni barrow cemetery (Ogre County, Riga Region) (Šnore 1993, p.62, att. 80, Tab. VI:13) might indicate the transition of aesthetic ideas between Balts in Latvia and the inhabitants of North Eastern Lithuania via the Daugava River. The technique and style of ornamentation of the silver bracelet from Velikuškės might be compared with the decoration of Migration period owl brooches. Many examples of these brooches contained silver foil with circular impressions (cf. Urtans 1961; Ozols 1964; Tautavičius 1996, pp.217–218, pav. 102, 103). Similar silver foil plating may be observed on the pendants-chain distributors of Semigallian pendants or Kyburiai (Pasvalys District) finger ring (grave 1) from the same region (Griciuvienė *et al.* 2005, pp.93, 97, 107; Banytė-Rowell 2006, p.33, fig. 5, 6; 2009b, p.465, fig. 36, 37). A „wolf tooth“ motive depicted in lines joined with circular impressions is another characteristic feature of the ornamentation of the Velikuškės bracelet. A „Wolf tooth“ element was used to decorate silver and bronze rings from Sudota I Barrow cemetery (Švenčionys District) in Eastern Lithuania (Kaczyński 1963, ryc. 5:d, i; 18:p; Banytė-Rowell 2009b, p.466, fig. 34, 35). Thus, in its shape and ornamentation the Velikuškės bracelet represents a mixture of ideas in trends which circulated between various Balt areas and left indications mostly in burial sites. The Velikuškės items reveal how versatile and unique the ornaments worn or preserved in hillforts could be. Thus hillforts were places in which elite ornaments were worn or deposited. Such finds might testify to the

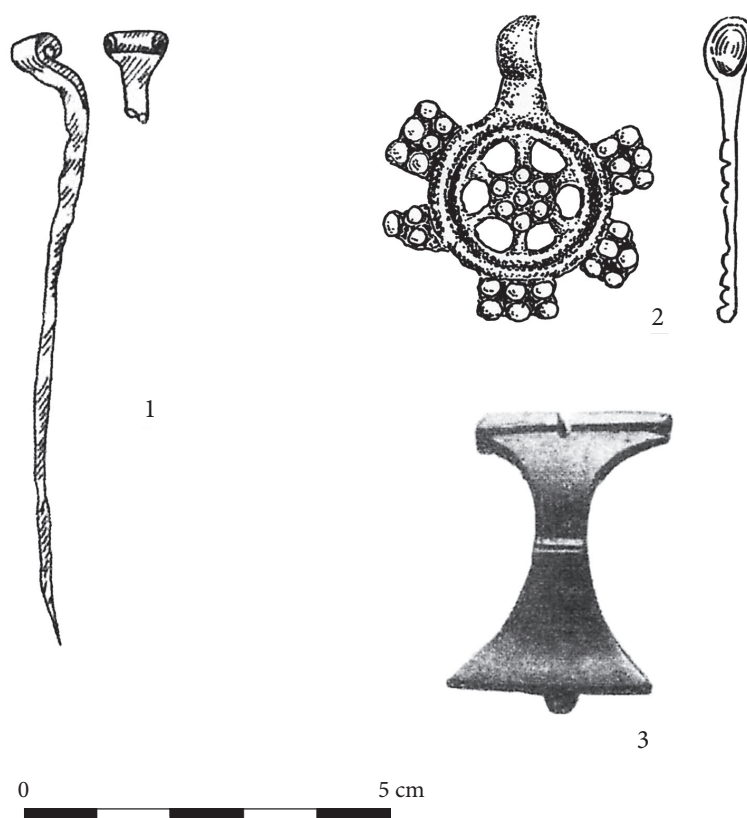


Fig. 5. Ornaments from dwelling sites as indicators of interregional interactions: 1 – iron pin of Beckmann type A from Aukštadvaris settlement (after Gerdvilienė 1958), 2 – openwork pendant from Aukštadvaris settlement, 1958 (LNM card catalogue, No. AR 235:454, drawing by A. Ruzienė), 3 – bronze brooch with triangular foot from Moškėnai hillfort (after Krzywicki 1917, Tabl. XIII: 22).

use of hillforts as special feast/gathering places. It is also possible that the silver bracelet from Velikuškės might have been deposited deliberately in the hillfort or its building (such practice in Iron Age settlements has been described in terms of „structured“ or „ritual“ deposition – Webley 2008, pp.129–148).

Aukštadvaris hillfort and foot settlement provided chronological indicators of the Roman period. An iron pin of Beckmann type A and an openwork pendant from Aukštadvaris hillfort represent the types that were most typical of Bogaczewo culture among the Balts in what is now North eastern Poland (Daugudis 1962, pp.50–51, pav. 7:2; Banytė-Rowell 2013, Abb. 2:1) (Fig. 5:1, 2). Iron pins of Beckmann type A, according to research by Anna Juga-

Szymańska (2014, pp.51–59, tabl. I–VII), represent reminiscences of Pre-Roman shapes and belong to the Early Roman period. Aukštadvaris finds testify to the importance of South eastern Lithuanian regions as intermediaries for transferring the impact of Bogaczewo culture further to the North east. Other iron pins of type A found in Eastern Lithuania mark the North-easterly route of this rare type (Bradeliškės, Nemenčinė hillforts) (Juga-Szymańska 2014, pp.139, 334, 336; cf. Kulikauskas 1958, pav. 16:7; 16:10; Michelbertas 1986, p.124). The openwork wheel-shaped pendant with off-shoots from Aukštadvaris foot settlement found in 1958 during excavations led by Aldona Bernotaitė represent another type, the idea for which originated in the Bogaczewo cultural area (Bernotaitė 1958, p.3; Brzozowski, Szymański 1999, p.50; Лухтанас 2001, p.26, рис. 3:2; Banytė-Rowell 2013, Abb. 2:2). The Aukštadvaris pendant was attributed to the Dręstwo type according to Paweł Szymański's typology. It is almost identical to the pendants from Dręstwo grave 2 (Augustów Powiat/District, North eastern Poland). This type has been found in Masuria, Suwalki region, Central Lithuania (Marvelė, Kaunas City) and South eastern Lithuania (Aukštadvaris) (Szymański 2005, pp.49–50, ryc. 7:4–6). The influences of Bogaczewo culture on material found mostly in burial sites in South western Lithuania was discussed by Grižas and Anna Bitner-Wróblewska (2007). These authors have drawn an attention to the pottery of „Bogaczewo style“ and Almgren 133 brooches as clear indications of the impact from Masurian Balts. Mindaugas Bertasius (2007, pp.252–253, ryc. 2, 3, 5) presented finds from Marvelė cemetery that testify to contacts between the Balts of Central Lithuania and their neighbours in Mazury. The Beckmann type A pins, Dręstwo type pendant, and Almgren 133 brooch are among examples presented from Marvelė. The „Bogaczewo style“ pin and pendant from Aukštadvaris hillfort are proof of how communication between the Balts of North eastern Poland and of South eastern Lithuania was important in real life and resulted in its reflection on the

choice of types of grave goods for dead members of these communities. Openwork wheel-shaped pendants found in Bakšiai burial site (Alytus District, Southern Lithuania) let us view the Southern Lithuanian region serving as a transitional area for the flow of common Balt trends from the South towards East Lithuania (Michelbertas 2011, pp.72, 75, pav. 5:2, 3; Bliujienė 2016, pp.224–225, fig. 3:1–3, 10–12, 14–15). The pendant from Aukštadvaris hillfort does not seem to be accidental in this context. The North-eastward impact of Bogaczewo cultural influences left in dwelling sites reveals vivid communication and probably point to important routes. An Almgren 133 type brooch as a „straight import“ from Masuria was found in the Spietīņi settlement of what is now South eastern Latvia (Griciuvienė, Buža 2007, p.26, fig. 508; Simniškytė 2013, p.67, pav. 21:1). Almgren 133 brooches were a source of inspiration for the creation of brooches with hinge-like construction and triangular foot (Ger. *Scharnierfibeln mit dreieckigen Fuß*) (Almgren 1923, p.68; Moora 1929, Taf. V:7, 9; 1938, pp.78–90). Such brooches were found across an area stretching from Central Lithuania to Estonia. Their distribution zone covers mostly the Eastern regions of the modern Baltic states. It seems that North eastern Lithuania played an important part in the spread of these stylistic ideas. A brooch with a hinge-like construction was found in Moškėnai hillfort (Krzywicki 1917, p.39, tabl. XIII:22) (Fig. 5:3). This hillfort belongs to Selonian area where some concentration of such brooches (especially in South eastern Latvia) has been recorded (Banytė-Rowell, Bitner-Wróblewska 2005, pp.115–116, fig. 8; Simniškytė 2013, p.67, pav. 21:2). Moškėnai hillfort (Rokiškis District) located in North eastern Lithuania, like Velikuškės hillfort, most probably guarded the so called Eastern routes which stretched from Nemunas and Daugava Rivers towards the Dnepr and Upper Volga-Oka regions (Michelbertas 1972, pp.70–72; 1986, p.217). The significance of the region for this route is marked also by another find from Moškėnai hillfort, viz. an iron pin with flat bronze leaf-shaped

openwork head. This type is most common for the Eastern Balts, especially in the Upper Oka Basin. It was dated by Michelbertas to the first decades of 1st century AD (Krzywicki 1917, p.38, Tabl. XIII:1; Michelbertas 1986, p.134). North eastern Lithuania might also have lain on the continental communication lines which led from Southern Balt areas via South–South eastern–East–North eastern Lithuania to the Finnic areas of Northern Latvia and Estonia. It is typical that all these directions were important for the distribution of style of enameled ornaments. Chronologically the latter communication began to take place probably directly after the time of spread of Almgren 133 brooches and brooches with hinge-like construction and triangular foot (see Bitner-Wróblewska 2009, p.403; Michelbertas 2016, pp.38–39).

ELEMENTS OF OUTFIT FOUND IN DWELLING SITES REVEALING THE ENIGMA OF COSTUME IN EASTERN LITHUANIA DURING ROMAN PERIOD

When dealing with burial sites in Eastern Lithuania during the Early Roman period, we should stress that some mystery about their type and location still remains – the main archaeological material of this period in Eastern Lithuania is represented by results of excavations in hillforts and settlements. The lack of known burial sites in Eastern Lithuania does not enable us to collect grave goods as an alternative archaeological source. It is much more difficult to imagine Early Roman period costume in Eastern Lithuania. Therefore the plate temple ornament find in Nemenčinė (Vilnius District) (Fig. 6:1) and the similar casting mould in Kernavė hillfort is of special importance because they suggest the cultural integrity of Eastern Lithuania with neighbouring areas of Žemaitija, and Northern and Central Lithuania (Kulikauskas 1958, p.25, pav. 13:5; Лухтанас 2001, pp.22–24, рис. 1:1, 2; Luchtanas, Vėlius 2002, pp.106–107, fig. 59). Those finds expanded the area of distribution of this female ornament from the Early Roman period, which is known

mostly from burial sites in Žemaitija, and Northern and Central Lithuania, as is demonstrated by the map compiled by Ludwika Sawicka (2006, fig. 1). This researcher analysed this type of ornaments and concluded that items from Nemenčinė and Kernavė „[...] are made in a similar style, different from the standard dominating in the Lithuanian-Latvian Barrow culture. The open-work decoration is replaced by a row of knobs on the outer edge.“ (Sawicka 2006, p.36, Pl. I:3). She even proposed that this category of temple ornaments was invented in Brushed Pottery culture under influences from distant Eastern areas such as the Middle Volga-Ural region or Ukraine (Sawicka 2006, pp.32, 36, Pl. IV). It seems that ornaments of Brushed Pottery culture found in Lithuania may have been created under inspiration from various directions. The part of a so-called composite/serial bracelet found in Kereliai hillfort (Kupiškis District) is another indicator of the fashion of the 1st century AD. This chronological horizon is expressed weakly also in burial sites of the Early Roman period in other Lithuanian regions. Elena Grigalavičienė (1992, p.94, pav. 17:7; cf. Gričivienė, Buža 2007, p.151, fig. 623), who excavated Kereliai hillfort, compared the composite/serial bracelet with bracelets from Eglišķiai barrow 3 (Kretinga District) in Western Lithuania. Bronze composite bracelets were found also in barrows in Žemaitija (Maironija, Sandrausiškė) but they mainly represented rare types, and Michelbertas (1986, p.135, pav. 49:1) connected them with influences of the Baltic Finns. Jānis Cigliš (2013, pp.108–111, fig. 2, 3) recently discussed the finds of serial bracelets in the Eastern Baltic. He concluded that such bracelets found in Lithuania belong to mid-1st century AD. Thus the Kereliai find is an indicator of acceptance of inter-regional fashion in the Eastern Baltic region at the beginning of Early Roman period.

So it is interesting to ask whether the regional shapes/types of artefacts, usually placed on maps according to the database of burial sites are distributed in a similar way in the settlement pattern of the same territory. Such a comparison begs the question

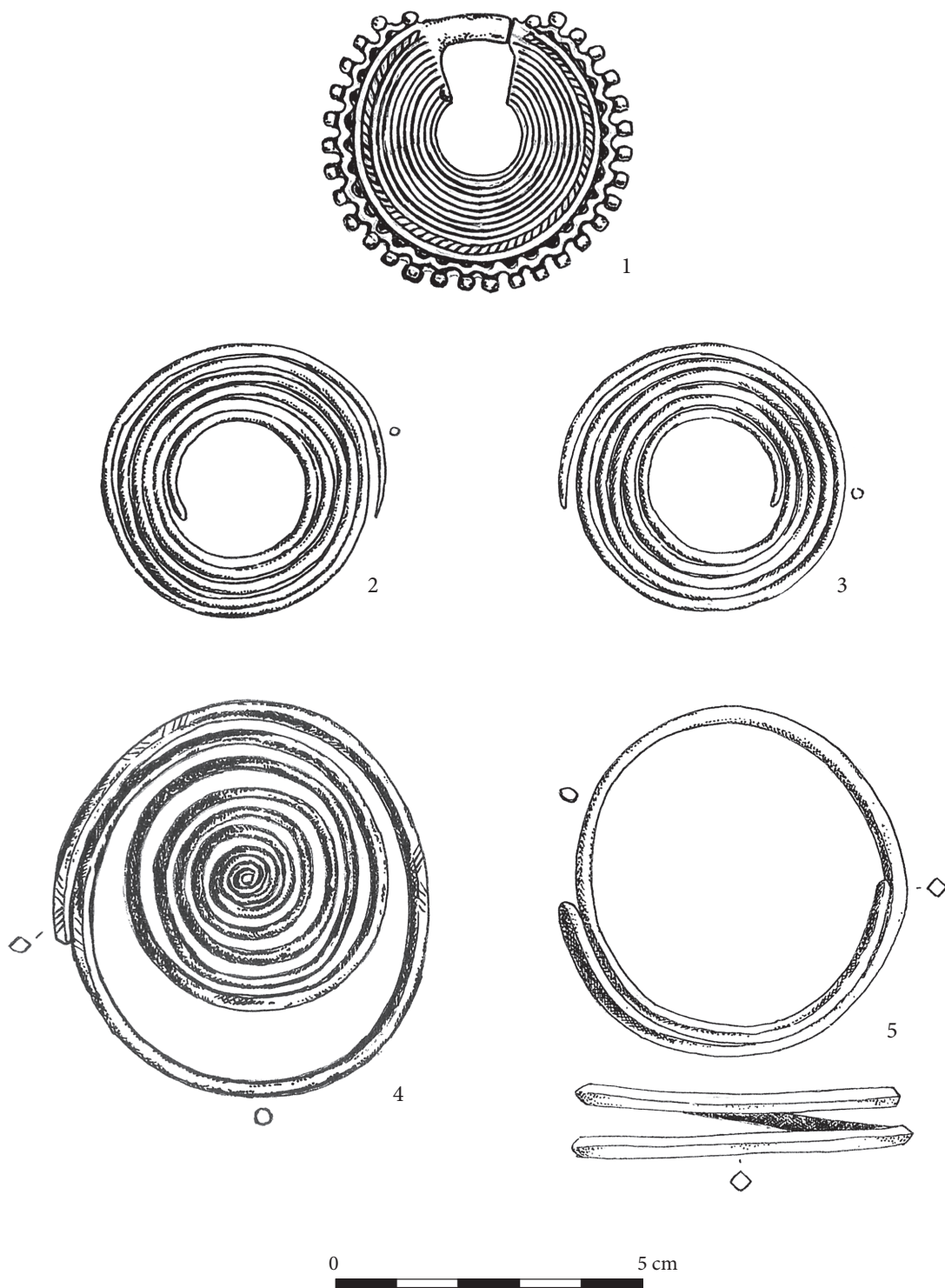


Fig. 6. Bronze temple ornaments found in the hillforts of Lithuania. 1–3 – from Nemenčinė hillfort (LNM card catalogue, No. AR 226:168, AR 226:63, 64), 4 – from Kaukai hillfort (LNM card catalogue, No. AR 500:246), 5 – from Migonys hillfort (LNM card catalogue, No. AR 223:4). Drawings by A. Ruzienė.

of whether regional ornament styles were created under the influence of „the regional taste“ of several artisans of a particular region and that this process reflects the existence of a regional identity. Or perhaps these regional features had a more practical origin – the distribution of particular types in particular regions was the outcome of trade networks and a range of influence of production centres on the market. Even if the inhabitants of Eastern Lithuania were practising very special burial customs during the Early Roman period (not inhumations in flat cemeteries and in borrow cemeteries like their neighbours to the West), this does not mean that no technological ideas from the European *Barbaricum* were accepted. Probably the lack of Early Roman period burial sites in Eastern Lithuania limits the possibilities to collect more grave goods. Nevertheless, material from dwelling sites also gives some inspiration for reconsidering the thesis about the apparent cultural isolation of Eastern Lithuania during the Early Roman period. The Almgren 61 eye brooch found in Vosgėliai hillfort (Utena District) may be regarded as „a cosmopolitan“ element (Fig. 7). Luchtanas has drawn an attention to more types of jewellery found in the latest layers of Brushed Pottery culture hillforts in Lithuania (Лухтанас 2001, p.24). Pins of Beckmann types A, H, and I are among them. This category of finds in the area of the latter culture was discussed recently by Juga-Szymańska (2014, pp.194–195, 334–337, pl. LII). She also has drawn an attention to the earliest type of iron pins BI acc. Beckmann/Juga-Szymańska. The remark of the latter researcher is important for stressing that all types of pins from Brushed Pottery culture hillforts might be seen in the light of influences from Bogaczewo culture or from areas of Lithuanian-Latvian barrows. Thus the ornaments from Lithuanian Brushed Pottery culture hillforts discussed here testify to the „normality“ of the outfits of inhabitants of this area during the Early Roman period. Ornaments of common Balt style were worn and some trends of interregional styles were accepted.

Finds from Kernavė (Semeniškės) settlement

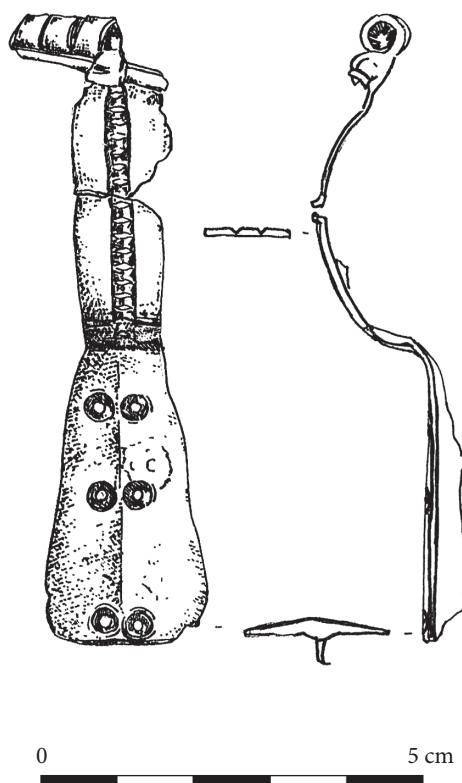


Fig. 7. An eye brooch of Almgren type 61 from Vosgėliai hillfort (LNM card catalogue, No. AR 75:16). Drawing by A. Ruzienė.

testify that at least during the beginning of the Phase B2/C1 the inhabitants of Eastern Lithuania acquired products which were common on the Northern borders of the European *Barbaricum* – the most characteristic signs of such a process are the Almgren 128 brooch and a spur similar to Jahn type 68 (Vengalis 2006, pp.59–60, pav. 18:1, 4; cf. Bliujienė 2013, pav. 105:1, 2). The latter might be considered as a part of riding gear accessible to the local elite. Martin Jahn (1921, p.65, Abb. 68) associated his type 68 with transitional time into Late Roman period. Jerzy Ginalski (1991, pp.59–61, ryc. 11:1–3) attributed spurs of Jahn type 68 to the type E1 which was dated to the mature Phase B2. Almgren 128 brooch as a loose find was found in Rūdaičiai II cemetery (Kretinga District) of Western Lithuania (Michelbertas 1968, p.66, pav. 3, 9; 1986, p.115, pav. 3, 35). Michelbertas (1998, p.428) dated Almgren 127 and 128

brooches to the Phase B2/C1. According to Henryk Machajewski, the Semeniškės brooch belongs to group 6 of Almgren group V series 8. Group 6 represents an Eastern version of this ornament in the European *Barbaricum*. It appeared during Phase B2c and was most popular during Phase B2/C1. Some brooches also occurred in later burials of Wielbark culture (Machajewski 1998, p.192, Abb. 2). It seems that a Beckmann type I pin (Lith. *statinėlinis smeigtukas*) is a local Balt ornament found also in Semeniškės settlement 2, and belongs to a group of finds dated to the end of Phase B2 – Phase B2/C1 (Michelbertas 1986, pp.127, 129; Juga-Szymańska 2014, pp.157–160). The Semeniškės finds testify to the cultural richness of the Late Brushed Pottery culture and its interregional ties with Germanic and Balt neighbours in South West. Such relations are clearly detectable in the typology of grave goods from Pakalniai barrow 7 grave 2 (Vilnius District) dated by Vykintas Vaitkevičius to Phase B2/C1–C1a. Bucket-shaped pendants and multicolour glass beads represent common trends in the European *Barbaricum*. Enamelled penannular brooch is also of a more widely distributed style, spreading more in an easterly direction between North Eastern Poland via Lithuania and towards Dnepr region (Vaitkevičius 2003, pp.118–122, ryc. 10, 11; 2004, pp.54–58, pav. 13–19). The importance of influences and impact from the South west (from Bogaczewo and Suduvian cultural areas) during the time of the emergence of Eastern Lithuanian barrows in the Late Roman period was already acknowledged by other scholars (Michelbertas 1986, p.77; Kaczyński 1987, pp.31–35; Astrauskas 1996, p.7; Vaitkevičius 2005; Banytė-Rowell 2007a, pp.52–55, 92–94; Bliujiene 2013, pp.475–480). The vitality of these cultural interactions which took place in the sphere of *profanum* is also proved by the archaeological material of hillforts and settlements.

DISTRIBUTION OF ROMAN IMPORTS IN THE AREAS OF LIFE AND OF DEATH

West Lithuania and Žemaitija to a lesser degree were areas where Roman coins were placed in graves during the Late Roman period (end of Phase C1a – Phase C1b) (Michelbertas 1972, pp.50–52; 1986, pp.81–83). This tradition testifies to the importance of the Lithuanian coastland for the maintenance of far-flung contacts with the Roman provinces. There the horizon of burials with coins, mainly dated to the early-middle 3rd century AD, also contain locally-made openwork ornaments and riding equipment. These artefacts reflect the influence of „openwork style“ that spread out from the Roman provinces and reached Balt jewellers in West Lithuania. Here „foreign ideas“ were adopted willingly and transformed according to local taste and possibilities (on the influences of „Roman style“, see Banytė-Rowell 2016, where earlier literature related to the problem is presented). Therefore the Lithuanian coastland was an important region where goods and interregional ideas of the Roman period found „fertile soil“. It is interesting that Roman coins have been found in the cultural layers of hillforts and settlements in Žemaitija and Central, Southern and Eastern Lithuania (Alsėdžiai, Eketė⁴, Gabrieliškės-Naukaimis, Kvėdarna, Kernavė, Kernavė-Semeniškės II, Migonys, Narkūnai, Pajevonys-Kunigiškiai, Paveisininkai, Seredžius, Turlojiškės⁵, Žemoji Panemunė) while the tradition of placing Roman coins in burials in those regions is almost absent (Michelbertas 2001, pp.27, 32, 35, 46, 47, 52, 53, 56, 58, 59; Baubonis, Zabiela 2005, p.32; Vengalis 2006, p.59; Vaitkevičius 2007, p.498, pav. 3) (Fig. 8). Apparently Roman coins were distributed in all regions of Lithuania and such finds in dwelling sites leads us to consider their function in everyday life. Roman coins found in dwelling sites indicate more the rule rather than

⁴ Eketė Hillfort is an exception in this list. It is located in the Lithuanian coastland.

⁵ I am grateful to Dr Vykintas Vaitkevičius for sharing information about the Roman coins found in Paveisininkai and Turlojiškės.

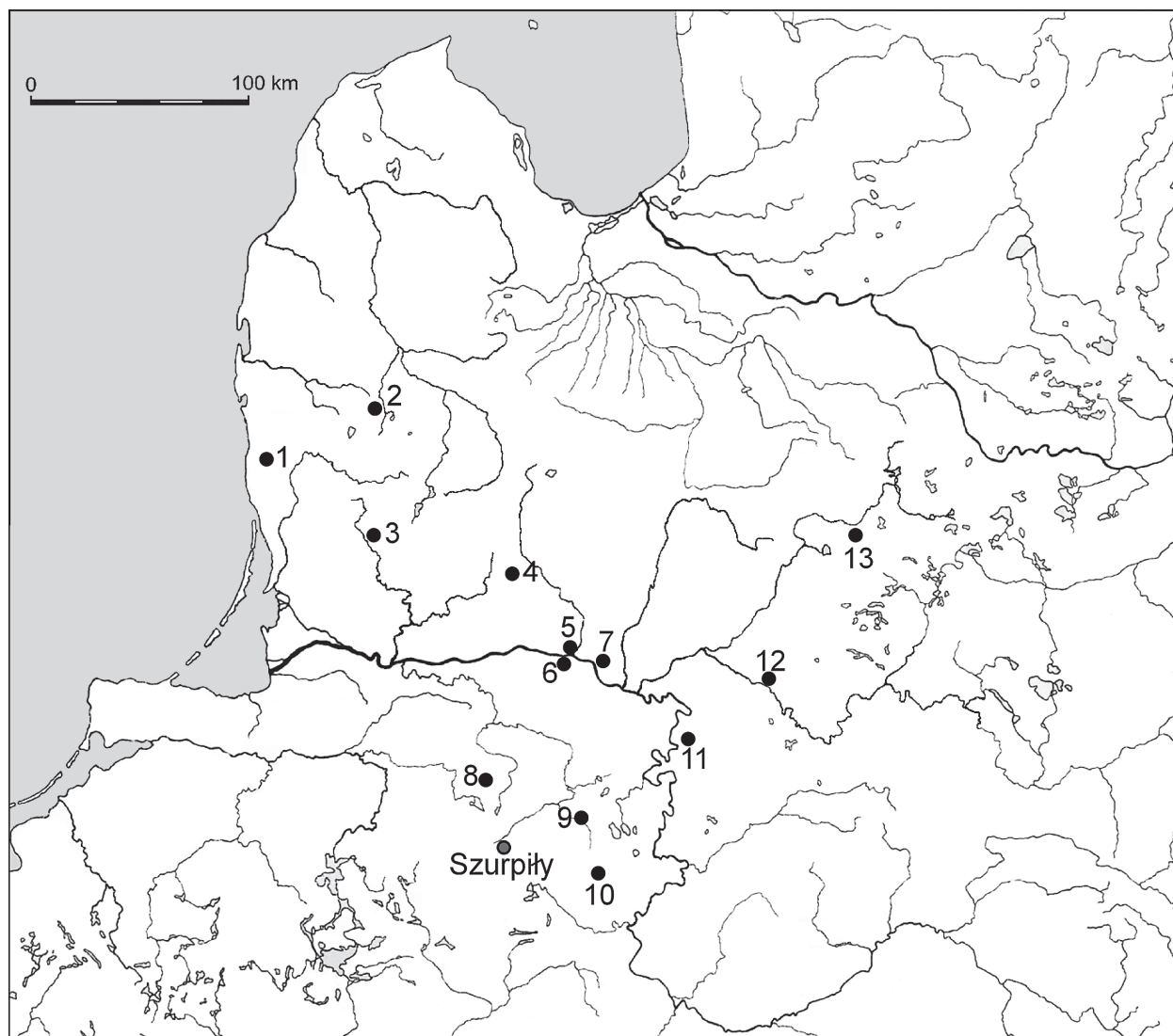


Fig. 8. Distribution of Roman coins in the dwelling sites of Lithuania: 1 – Eketė, 2 – Alsėdžiai, 3 – Kvėdarna, 4 – Gabrieliškės-Naukaimis, 5 – Seredžius, 6 – Žemoji Panemunė, 7 – Jaučakiai, 8 – Pajevonys-Kunigiškiai, 9 – Turlojiškės, 10 – Paveisininkai, 11 – Migonys, 12 – Kernavė, 13 – Narkūnai. Szurpily hillfort marked on the map is situated in North eastern Poland.

accidental occurrence. For example, six sestertii were found in Gabrieliškės-Naukaimis hillfort (Raseiniai District) and silver denarii in the hillfort at Pajevonys-Kunigiškiai (Vilkaviškis District) and in the open settlement at Kernavė (Krzywicki 1931, pp.89, tabl. II:8–10; Kulikauskas 1982, p.25; Michelbertas 2001, pp.32, 47, 59; Лухтанас 2001, p.26, рис. 2; Luchtanas, Vėlius 2002, pp.112–113, Nr. 98). This amount of Roman coins found in the sphere of

profanum is not as insignificant as it might appear when thinking about quantities outside the broader context. Somehow it is surprising that only two incidences of Roman coins have been recorded in Early Roman Iron Age settlements in Western Denmark. One silver coin was found in the Dankirke longhouse and a coin hoard was deposited beneath a house floor in the Ginnerup settlement. This poor representation of Roman imports from the Early Ro-

man Iron Age contrasts with numerous finds of this category in graves and votive places (Webley 2008, pp.131–132, table 7.3). Even more so, this was a time when Denmark regions played the role of controllers and main filters of various categories of Roman imports further into Scandinavia (see Lund Hansen 1987, pp.240–243). It seems that the distribution of Roman coins was regulated through activity in major places or at regional points where communication lines were guarded. Both of these distribution models might be relevant when looking for settlements of exceptional importance (see discussion in Nakoinz 2014, p.198). This tendency was confirmed recently in the Szurpily complex of archaeological sites in the Balt area of North eastern Poland. During the Yatwing Archaeology Project of the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw Maximinus Thrax sestertius was found in the rampart of the hillfort (Bitner-Wróblewska *et al.* 2016, p.117, fig. 17). Special importance of the Kernavė settlements is also confirmed by the fragments of glass vessels found in the open settlement of Kernavė archeological complex. A piece of a glass beaker of the Eggers 230 type was found in Kernavė-Semeniškės settlement 2 (Лухтанас 2001, p.26, рис. 3:1; Luchtanas, Vėlius 2002, p.113, fig. 99). Another fragment originated from the same site in the form of the ear of glass vessel (Vengalis 2006, p.60). A small piece of a glass vessel was found also in the Bakšiai settlement located in Southern Lithuania (Alytus Town) as well (Steponaitis 1996, pp.53–54). This type of imported glass products are common in the graves of Germanic tribesmen and those of Chernyakhiv culture (see Eggers 1951a, pp.62, 180–181; 1951b, Taf. 16, Karte 58; Lund Hansen 1987, pp.88–89; Stawiarska 1999, pp.291–296; Храпунов 2002, p.57, рис. 71:14; Петраускас, Пастернак 2003, p.68, рис. 2:1–12; Ciešliński 2010, pp.112–115; Петраускас 2016)

but are almost completely absent from burial sites in Lithuania⁶ and quite rare in other Balt regions (7 occurrences in Masuria but three of them belong to the Migration period Phase E – see Nowakowski 2001, pp.52, 62–63, 69–72, 89, 93). The Kernavė and Bakšiai finds indicate that such exclusive imports reached Lithuanian parts of the *Barbaricum*, but probably the custom of placing them as grave goods for dead was not practised there. Beakers of Eggers type 230 according to their distribution were brought to Scandinavia during Phase C2 through South eastern routes stretching from Pontus and Chernyakhiv culture areas via Oder and Vistula River basins (Lund Hansen 1987, pp.89, 243, 247, 248). A find from Kernavė might be an indication that some branch of this route ran through Eastern Lithuania.

The most numerous among Roman imports in Lithuania during Early Roman period were glass beads (see Michelbertas 2001). It is usually stressed that continental routes (the Amber route) played the main role in far-flung communication in the Eastern Baltic during the Early Roman period (Michelbertas 1972, pp.65–69). However, Michelbertas (1972, p.68) noted, that it is unlikely that sea routes were not exploited at the same time. It is believed that communication between Samland and coastal Lithuania might have been effective by using a maritime route. The glass beads of the Early Roman period found in coastal Lithuania may be considered as a sign of maritime connections. The fashion of necklaces of similar composition during Phase B2 is reflected in graves of Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture, Western Lithuania and Lower Nemunas regions (Banytė-Rowell 2015, pp.42–43, 46, fig. 3:1–6; cf. Chilińska-Drapella 2010, p.14). There is also an interesting case of imported glass beads that were found in the settlement and cemetery of Bandužiai

⁶ Baitai cemetery grave 31 (West Lithuania, Klaipėda District) provided a very small pellucid bluish glass chip. The grave was plundered but the types of grave goods still testify to the exceptional status of the dead (Banytė-Rowell 2000, Fig. 7:15; 2007b, pp.11–17 Fig. 3c:25; Banytė-Rowell *et al.* 2012, p.217, Fig. 10, 12).

(Southern part of Klaipėda City). One TM291 type glass bead was found in Bandužiai settlement which is known as an important centre of local iron production (Masiulienė 2013, p.110, pav. 21; about this type see Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1985, p.55, Tab. 8, Taf. 49). The same type of beads was numerous in the splendid necklaces of female grave 91 from Bandužiai cemetery which should be attributed to the mature Phase B2 (see publication of this grave – Bliujienė, Bračiulienė 2007, pp.46–56, pav. 3–6). These imported type TM 291 glass beads represent ties between *profanum* and *sacrum* in the same archaeological complex. It is obvious that impressive necklaces offered during burial rites have left us with only a very thin trace in the layer of settlement – one fragmented item. Nevertheless, the bead from Bandužiai settlement reminds us that elaborate necklaces were composed in the sphere of *profanum* and later brought to the sphere of *sacrum*. Grave goods represent the concentration of items that once circulated in the space of *profanum*. The material from burial sites is a „storehouse“ of production that was made or acquired via exchange in settlements. Of course not all categories of items ended up in the „storehouse“ for the Other World. Therefore, there is no sense in contrasting exclusively the value of finds in settlements against finds from burial sites. The ideal model would balance both sources from a given region.

GRAVE-GOODS AS CHRONOLOGICAL INDICATORS FOR THE DATING OF FINDS IN THE DWELLING SITES

Thanks to the work of Michelbertas (1986) Roman-period finds in Lithuania have a precise chronology. Today this chronological database mainly composed of finds from burial sites is undergoing a detailed revision by using the statistical approach and synchronising the material with the types from the European *Barbaricum*. Types of jewellery found in the layers of dwelling sites may be treated as par-

ticular chronological indicators. Of course analysis of charcoal, osteological material and ceramics is very important but natural-science methods are not always possible to apply effectively for material from excavations conducted decades ago. Therefore, the dating of layers or human activity in the settlements using the types as chronological indicators is still relevant. For example, the Almgren 72 profiled brooch from Jautakiai foot settlement (Mažeikiai District) is a chronological indicator of the Early Roman period (Stankus 1977, p.31). This type of brooch is associated mostly with Phase B2 (on the chronology of this type, see Godłowski 1970, p.50, pl. X; Nowakowski 1996, pp.55–56, 155–156, Taf. 107, Karte 4, Anhang C; Michelbertas 1998, pp.427–428; 2009, p.67, footnote 13; Banytė-Rowell 2009a, pp.56–57, footnotes 2, 3, fig. 5; Chilińska 2009, pp.190–195, Karte 1, 2) (Fig. 9:1). The crossbow brooches with a bent foot (for example brooches from Aukštadvaris foot settlement (2 examples), Eketė, Kaukai, Pajevonys-Kunigiškiai (3 examples) hillforts and Paveisininkai settlement) indicate human activity around the 3rd century AD (Gerdvilienė 1957, p.9, list of finds; Kulikauskas 1970, p.241, pav. 10; 1982, pp.63, 67, pav. 40:2; 41:2, 3; 112:1; Merkevičius 1974, p.18; on the chronology see Michelbertas 1986, p.119; Nowakowski 1996, Taf. 107; Budvydas 2002) (Fig. 9:2, 3). Velikuškės hillfort provided also good chronological indicators of Roman period such as a bronze pin of type H (Lith. *ritinis smeigtukas* group III) (Lietuvių 1958, p.327, pav. 200, 201), an iron pin of Beckmann-Juga Szymańska type BI/BII, and a bracelet similar to those of a triangular cross-section group I according to Michelbertas (Fig. 2). A pin of type HIII may belong to the beginning of the Late Roman period (see Michelbertas 1986, p.127). A type B pin contains features of the earliest sub-type and probably is contemporary with the HIII pin (on the chronology of types BI and BII, see Juga-Szymańska 2014, pp.64–69). Velikuškės bronze bracelet dates back to the mature Late Roman period (cf. Michelbertas 1986, pp.144–145, pav. 57:2). Iron pins of Beckmann type B (Lith.

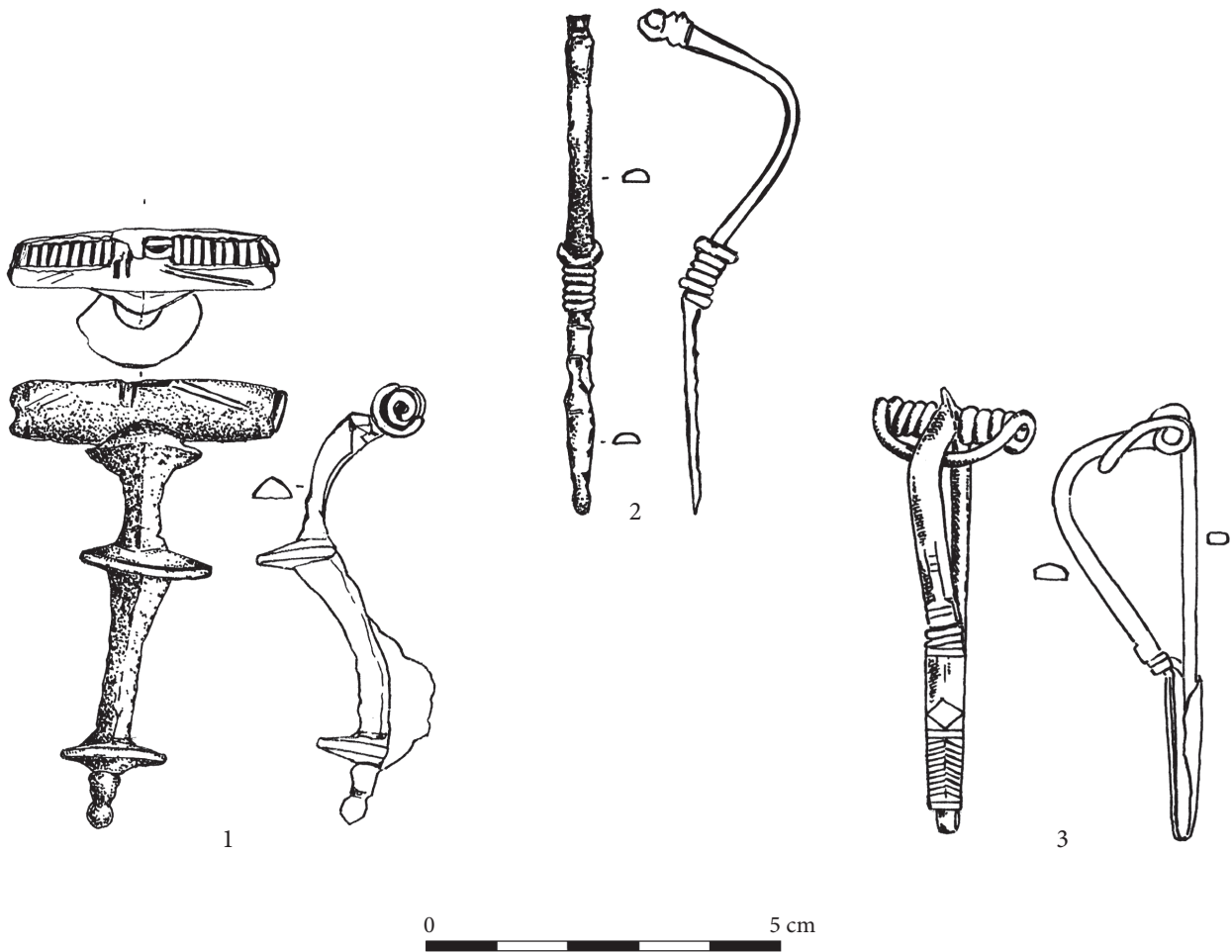


Fig. 9. Brooches of Roman period found in dwelling sites of Lithuania: 1 – profiled brooch of Almgren type 72 from Jautakiai settlement (LNM card catalogue, No. AR 675:10), 2 – fragment of crossbow brooch with a bent foot from Eketė hillfort (LNM card catalogue, No. AR 673:89), 3 – crossbow brooch with a bent foot from Pajevonys-Kunigiškiai hillfort (LNM card catalogue, No. AR 405:49). Drawings by A. Ruzienė.

lazdelinis smeigtukas) are the most common type of outfit element found in hillforts and settlements (for example, no less than 7 pins of this type were found in Velikuškės in 1934 – see Tarasenko 1935, lent. VII). Even this „unattractive type“ may inspire important considerations. For example, an iron pin of type BI found in Trench 1 of Kaukai hillfort (Alytus District) proves the usage and/or visiting of this site during the Early Roman period (Kulikauskas 1982, pav. 108:3; Juga-Szymańska 2014, tabl. LI: 5) (Fig. 10:1). This pin has a specific head features that were typical for Bogaczewo culture (North

eastern Poland) from the end of Phase B1 till Phase B2a. Juga-Szymańska (2014, pp.62–64, 194–195, tabl. IX–X, LI) stressed that finds of type BI testify to relations between the Balts of Brushed Pottery culture and Bogaczewo culture. Kaukai (Obelytė) hillfort is located in the middle of this route. A type BI pin and a fragment of a crossbow brooch (Fig. 10: 2) suggest that the chronology of Kaukai hillfort should be extended to the Roman period. Petras Kulikauskas associated the earliest finds of this hillfort with the 5th century AD onwards (see chronological table in Kulikauskas 1982). Bronze finger rings

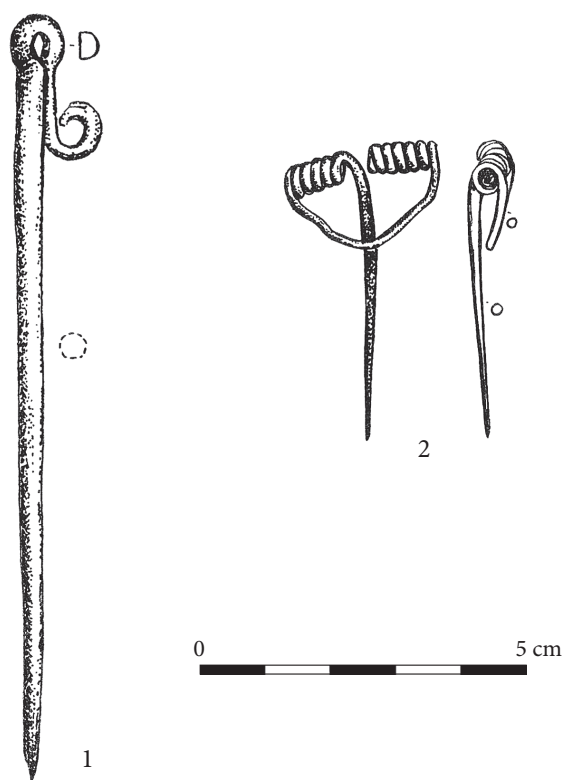


Fig. 10. Finds of Roman period from Kaukai hillfort: 1 – iron pin of Beckmann/Juga-Szymańska type BI (LNM card catalogue, No. AR 500:309), 2 – fragment of bronze crossbow brooch (LNM card catalogue, No. AR 500:123). Drawings by A. Ruzienė.

were numerous in Pajevonys-Kunigiškiai hillfort (10 items were found during excavations) (Kulikauskas 1982, p.63, pav. 41:5, 6). Some of them represent specific types. A spiral ring of Beckmann type 35a most probably was produced during the 3rd century AD (Fig. 11:1). This type occurred mostly in coastland areas. The Pajevonys-Kunigiškiai find expands the geography of this fashion (Ch. Beckmann 1969, pp.44–45 Taf. 2; Michelbertas 1986, p.152). Several finger rings from Pajevonys-Kunigiškiai were with a broadened frontal coil, which is characteristic of the earliest part of the Migration period (Fig. 11:2–4). The motif of S or V incisions and pressed circular ornamentation was characteristic of rings found in burial sites of that time (Tautavičius 1996, pp.256–257; Banytė-Rowell 2009b, pp.461–466, fig. 24–32, 36, 37). Crossbow brooches with a triangular foot

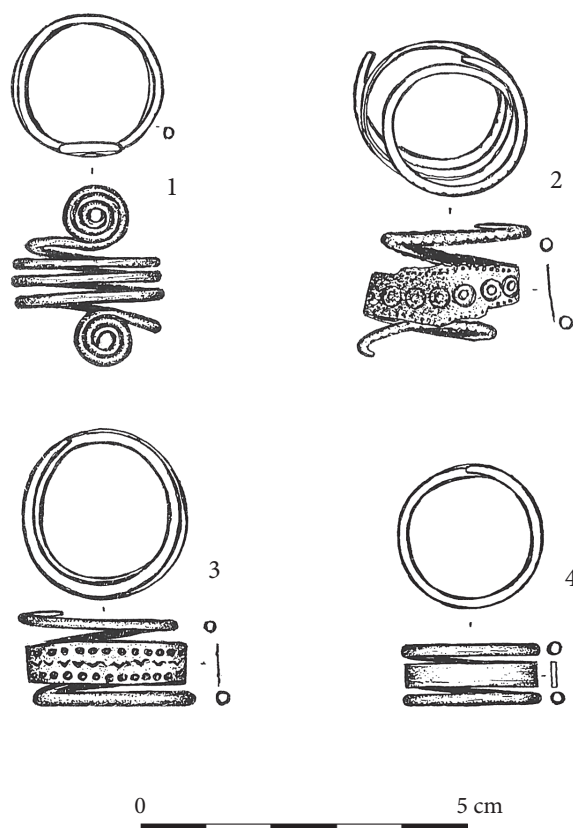


Fig. 11. Finger rings found in Pajevonys-Kunigiškiai hillfort: 1 – LNM card catalogue, No. AR 405:11, 2 – LNM card catalogue, No. AR 405:34, 3 – LNM card catalogue, No. AR 405:32, 4 – LNM card catalogue, No. AR 405:35. Drawings by A. Ruzienė.

and a catch plate were contemporary with the latter type of finger rings. These brooches were common in burial grounds of the Early Migration period (Tautavičius 1996, pp.198–200, pav. 85, 86). Finds of this type from Aukštadvaris (Fig. 12) and Vosgėliai hillforts indicate activity there during the 5th century AD (Daugudis 1957, Annex 2, p.22; Gričiuvienė, Buža 2007, p.127, fig. No. 513).

All the examples of the dating of artefacts from hillforts and settlements shown here reveal how important the correlation between databases of dwelling sites and burial grounds is. A statistical approach to cemetery material helps to create a more precise chronological schema. Deeper and more thorough analysis of grave-sets may provide new inspiration for consideration of material collected in dwelling

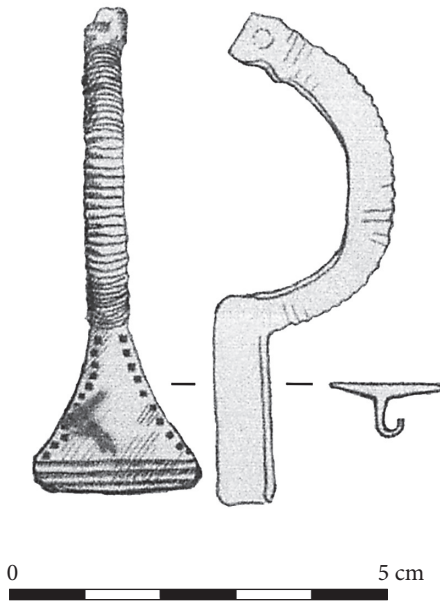


Fig. 12. Fragment of brooch with triangular foot found in Aukštadvaris hillfort, 1957 (after Daugudis 1957, LIIR drawing No. 452).

sites. A more precise dating of artefacts may provide support for reconsidering the common schema, whereby hillforts were abandoned during the Late Roman period, when foot and open settlements were preferred for living. It might be that the development of the relationship between hillforts, foot settlements and open settlements was much more complex than it is usually portrayed and might have been subject to regional peculiarities (for broad discussion and earlier literature see Bliujienė 2013, pp.161–194).

SOME NOTES ON THE FUNCTION OF FEMALE ORNAMENTS IN THE HILLFORTS

Finds of ornaments in dwelling sites always are somehow mysterious. Of course, we may disregard the iron pins of Beckmann type B (Lith. *lazdelinis smeigtukas*) as they are very simple and multifunctional. They might easily be lost during everyday activity. Their owners probably did not pay too much

attention to such losses. Finger rings are of such a size that they can easily disappear among household objects and surrounding areas. They might even be hidden intentionally as valuable items or deposited as „pit or building offerings“ (cf. Webley 2008, pp.129–132, 137–138). More elaborate ornaments such as brooches, bronze pins, bracelets might be hidden or lost in the chaos during dangerous events. Temple ornaments represent a category of female ornaments which is worthy of special attention. Bearing in mind the scarcity of jewellery found in dwelling sites, their occurrence in hillforts may be regarded as relatively frequent. Temple ornaments of various types were found in Aukštadvaris hillfort and its foot settlement, and in the hillforts of Nemenčinė, Migonys (Kaišiadorys District), and Kaukai (Tautavičius 1978; see also Kulikauskas 1958, p.25, pav. 13:5, 6; 1982, p.64, pav. 104; Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė 1958, p.61, pav. 19:1; Kulikauskas *et al.* 1961, p.316, pav. 215; Daugudis 1962, p.49, pav. 6:3; 8:3 (Fig. 6). The spatial distribution of a pair of temple ornaments found near a saddle quern and milling stone in Nemenčinė hillfort suggests the household context of the use of these female ornaments. On the other hand, it is less plausible that a pair of temple ornaments would be lost during work. Most probably this set was hidden or was deposited intentionally. Probably temple ornaments were spacially and symbolically related to querns. Querns might have had a ritual significance due to their importance in food transformation process (Webley 2008, pp.135, 142). The latter activity was typically performed by females. The deposition of temple ornaments near a quern might be symbolic and mark protected space of special gender activity in the dwelling area. The plate (spiral-disk) temple ornament from Nemenčinė (Fig. 6:1) represents more ornate type. It was found also in the „female space“ of the building – near the hearth (Kulikauskas 1958, pp.23–24). It seems that such elements of female outfit were not worn in everyday life. Probably temple ornaments fixed a headdress which was not con-

venient to wear during normal household activity. Temple ornaments might be elements of ceremonial dress, which also was applied during burial rites. Therefore most of the temple ornaments have been found in burial sites. They may be the attributes of a female group of a particular age and status. Anthropological analysis of female graves with temple ornaments made on the basis of burial sites might provide the answer to what type of activity females were engaged in hillforts (housewives, companions of community's leader, members of elite family, refugees from neighbouring open settlements?). The casting mould for a spiral-disk temple ornament found in Kernavė hillfort „Aukuro kalnas“ (see Luchtanas, Vėlius 2002, pp.106–107, fig. 59) might be an indication that distribution of these ornaments were under control of local centres. Artisans working there enjoyed the protection of the local leader and local community. Some group of leaders (including perhaps females) might have supervised who among females had the right to wear temple ornaments. Traditions of woman's costume most probably were developed in the spheres of female authority. Even in a male-dominated societies other types of power are possible. Females may control some activities thanks to their spiritual power, particular attributes of a person, which provide „[...] the ability of someone to impose their will on others in social action and interpersonal relations“ (Díaz-Andreu 2005, pp.20–21). Rūta Kačkutė (1995, pp.23–24) presented brief discussion about the symbolical meaning of the details and ornaments of female headdresses from the Roman period found in Lithuania. She stressed that spirals probably represented snakes connected with the symbolism of fertility and good luck. Therefore the most complex headdresses probably were worn during rites devoted to the gods that provided health and fertility. Of course the considerations presented here are purely hypothetical, but a comparison of data from dwelling sites and burial grounds in the future probably could bring unexpected and interesting results.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The finds related to metallurgic activity in hillforts indicate that probably jewellers were guarded when working with valuable bronze alloys. Protected dwelling sites (in the direct and symbolic sense) were places where new trends in jewellery were accepted and old traditions were guarded. Through settlements acting as major places that were situated on important routes new ideas and influences on outfit were accepted and then followed. Some finds in hillforts (for example, rare enamelled ornaments, silver items) testify to the importance of hillforts as a place for preservation of valuables.

2. The mystery of burial customs in Brushed Pottery culture does not allow us to form a large database of jewellery types worn in Eastern Lithuania during the Early Roman period. Nevertheless, a closer look at individual finds in hillforts and dwelling sites provides many examples of outfit elements. They indicate that the costume of inhabitants of Eastern areas of Lithuania was not exceptionally „archaic“ or pure but on the contrary it contained elements that were common in other Balt regions and even in more distant parts of the European *Barbaricum*.

3. The selection of grave goods was regulated by local burial customs. Therefore database of the *sacrum* sphere is rich but limited. An example of this may be the distribution of Roman coins which were found mostly in the cemeteries of Western Lithuania. Finds of these coins in dwelling site, although less numerous, testify to the circulation of this import within various regions of Lithuania. The use of imported glass vessels is undetectable in the material of burial sites, but fragments of them found in settlements of Bakšiai and Kernavė prove that glass vessels also reached Lithuania regions. Quantity of such imports might not be marginal. The sphere of *profanum* swallowed small number of artefacts which once circulated in real life. The latter thesis might be proved when comparing the occurrence of numerous multicolour glass beads in Bandužiai grave 91 and only one bead of this type that was found in Bandužiai settlement. Therefore, there is no sense in contrasting exclusively the value of finds

in settlements against finds from burial sites. The ideal model would balance both type of sources.

4. Some types of ornaments are useful for determining chronology of dwelling sites. Dating of the same artefacts found in burial grounds has been tested statistically in many cases (especially in West Balt areas). As a result, some artefacts became perfect chronological indicators. Undoubtedly statistical analysis of material from burial sites will provide more such indicators in the future. This is very important when applying to the material that was excavated from dwelling sites decades ago.

5. Some elements of outfit found in graves may have not only functional character but also be part of ceremonial dress. Comparison of their contexts in spheres of *sacrum* and *profanum* may provide theories as to what kind of activity was carried out in hillforts and whether every type of ornaments found in burial sites was worn in everyday life. For example, such considerations arise from female temple ornaments found in dwelling sites. The question arises as to whether they were part of ceremonial dress or the everyday dress of women of a particular status. Detailed analysis of the anthropological context of temple ornaments in burial sites might shed more light on the role(s) of females in hillforts (were they the site of female household activity, ceremonial rites, elite residence, a place of refuge for community members?).

Summarising, it is possible to state that a comparison of finds from dwelling sites and burial grounds may provide deeper insight into the prehistory of the Balts during the Roman period. Therefore it is important to integrate databases originating from the spheres of both *sacrum* and *profanum*.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB – Archaeologia Baltica
 AL – Archaeologia Lituana
 ATL – Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje
 ILKI – Iš lietuvių kultūros istorijos
 LA – Lietuvos archeologija
 LIIR – Lietuvos istorijos instituto Rankraštynas

(Manuscript Department at the Lithuanian Institute of History)

LNM – Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus
 SJ – Saalburg Jahrbuch
 VDKM – Vytauto Didžiojo karo muziejus (Vytautas the Great War Museum)
 WA – Wiadomości Archeologiczne

IEŠKANT SAŠAJŲ TARP ARTEFAKTŲ IŠ PRIEŠISTORINIŲ GYVENAMŲJŲ VIETŲ IR LAIDOJIMO PAMINKLŲ

Rasa Banytė-Rowell

Santrauka

Straipsnyje apžvelgiami daugiausia romėniškojo laikotarpio radiniai bei keletas tautų kraustymosi laikotarpio artefaktų, kilusių iš dabartinės Lietuvos teritorijos, palyginamajame gyvenamųjų vietų ir laidojimo paminklų kontekste. Įkapės priklauso *sacrum* sferai, kurioje mirusiesiems dovanoti daiktai gali atspindėti iškreiptą tikrovę. Vis dėlto tos įkapės gamintos gyvenimiškomis aplinkybėmis. Archeologiniai radiniai gyvenvietėse yra svarbūs dar ir tuo, kad leidžia artefaktus iš kapinynų susieti su *profanum* sfera. Žalvariniai aptariamojo laikotarpio papuošalai buvo gaminami piliakalniuose ir gyvenvietėse. Apie tai liudija spalvotosios metalurgijos priemonių likučiai (1 pav.). Jei kai kurie papuošalai, rasti piliakalniuose, ir nebuvo pagaminti juose, jie liudija apie tolimus ryšius su kitais arealais. Šiuos kontaktus galima nustatyti per veiklas piliakalniuose. Įdomu, kad emaliuota segė iš Velikuškių ir ažūrinis kabutis yra tame pačiame regione kaip beveik analogiški pilkapynų radiniai (3 pav.). Taigi tie vertingi papuošalai plito per piliakalnį. Čia žmonės kaupė ar nešiojo vertingus papuošalus, tokius kaip tautų kraustymosi laikotarpio sidabrinė apyrankė iš Velikuškių (4 pav.). Ji liudija apie bendras stiliaus

idėjas, adaptuotas tiek Dauguvos baltų, tiek Šiaurės rytų Lietuvos gyventojų. Aukštadvario piliakalnyje ir papėdės gyvenvietėje rasta svarbios medžiagos, liudijančios apie kontaktus su Bogaczewo kultūros žmonėmis. Tai ažūrinis kabutis ir Beckmann A tipo smeigtukas (5:1, 2 pav.). Šias Pietų baltų įtakas atspindi ir Almgreno 133 segių bei jų imitacijų radiniai (šarnyrinės segės trikampe kojele), kurių vienas iš plitimo kelių ėjo per Šiaurės rytų Lietuvą ir Pietryčių Latviją šiaurės link (5:3 pav.).

Būtent piliakalnių ir gyvenviečių medžiaga leidžia atskleisti Rytų Lietuvos Brūkšniuotosios keramikos kultūros arealo gyventojų kostiumo paslaptį ankstyvuojų romėniškojo laikotarpio. Plokštelinis antsmilkinis (Nemenčinė) (6:1 pav.), sudėtinė apyrankė (Kereliai), A61 tipo akinė segė (Vosgėliai; 7 pav.), įvairių tipų smeigtukai liudija apie aprangos elementų panašumą su kaimyniniais baltų arealais, taip pat su Baltijos finais. Galima daryti prielaidą, kad Rytų Lietuvos gyventojų apranga nebuvo itin egzotiška, ypač nuo B2/C1 periodo ji aiškiai įgyja interregioninių bruožų.

Straipsnyje atkreipiamas dėmesys į romėniškojo importo paplitimo skirtumus palyginus kapinynų

ir gyvenamųjų vietų duomenis. Kapinyuose rastos monetos beveik išimtinai būdingos Vakarų Lietuvai ir Nemuno žemupiui, o piliakalniuose ir gyvenvietėse jų pasitaiko visuose regionuose (8 pav.). Stiklinių indų pasitaikė gyvenvietėse, ir tai leidžia tikėtis daugiau tokių retų importinių pavyzdžių ateityje, o paprotys laidojant dėti į kapus stiklinius indus Lietuvoje beveik nežinomas. Bandužių gyvenvietėje rastas margintas stiklinis karolis liudija, kad gyvenamosiose vietose išliko tik maža dalis ten buvusių artefaktų. Jų naudojimo apimtis atspindi laidojimo medžiaga. Taigi tam tikro regiono duomenų bazėje visada svarbus balansas tarp gyvenviečių ir kapinynų medžiagos. Radiniai iš kapinynų, kurių datavimas pagrįstas statistikos metodais, atlieka svarbų chronologinių indikatorių vaidmenį gyvenamosiose vietose, ypač ankstesnių tyrimų atveju, kai gamtamokslinių datavimo metodų negalima taikyti (2, 9–12 pav.).

Kai kurios įkapės, pvz., aprangos elementai, laidojimo apeigų metu galėjo atlikti ritualinį – statuso simbolio vaidmenį. Tokio pobūdžio radiniai (straipsnyje atkreipiamas dėmesys į moteriškus papuošalus – antsmilkinius; 6 pav.) piliakalniuose gali inspiruoti veiklos juose įvairovės tyrinėjimus. Ištyrus antsmilkinių simboliką laidosenoje galima būtų atsakyti į klausimus, ką atskleidžia jų radiniai piliakalniuose (moterų namų ūkio veiklą, apeigų vietą, elito gyvenamąją vietą, bendruomenės narių slėptuvę?). Taigi *sacrum* ir *profanum* erdvių duomenų integravimas gali pateikti daug nelauktų atsakymų ir tolesnių inspiracijų.

ILIUSTRACIJŲ SĄRAŠAS

1 pav. Metalurginė keramika, rasta Velikuškių piliakalnyje ir papėdės gyvenvietėje: 1–3 – liejimo formų fragmentai, 4, 5 – samtelių rankenų fragmentai, 6, 7 – samteliai. VDKM, inv. Nr. 6629; 877:72–75; be inv. nr. A. *Užgalio nuotr.*

2 pav. Romėniškojo laikotarpio papuošalai, rasti Velikuškėse: 1 – geležinis Beckmann B tipo (laz-

delinis) smeigtukas (VDKM, inv. Nr. 973:24), 2 – žalvarinis Beckmann H tipo (ritininis) smeigtukas (VDKM, inv. Nr. 1201:1), 3 – žalvarinė apyrankė (VDKM, inv. Nr. 973:45). A. *Užgalio nuotr.*

3 pav. Emaliuotojo stiliaus papuošalai iš Velikuškių: 1 – emaliuota pasaginė segė (VDKM, inv. Nr. 973:44), 2 – kiauraraštis smeigtukas (VDKM, inv. Nr. 973:40). A. *Užgalio nuotr.*

4 pav. Sidabrinė apyrankė, rasta Velikuškėse (VDKM, inv. Nr. 973:39). A. *Užgalio nuotr.*

5 pav. Papuošalai iš gyvenamųjų vietų kaip tarpregioninių sąveikų ženklai: 1 – geležinis Beckmann A tipo smeigtukas iš Aukštadvario gyvenvietės (pagal Gerdvilienė 1958), 2 – kiauraraštis kabutis iš Aukštadvario gyvenvietės, 1958 m. (LNM kartoteka, Nr. AR 235:454, A. *Ruzienės pieš.*), 3 – žalvarinė segė trikampe kojele iš Moškėnų piliakalnio (pagal Krzywicki 1917, Tabl. XIII:22).

6 pav. Žalvariniai antsmilkiniai, rasti Lietuvos piliakalniuose: 1–3 – iš Nemenčinės piliakalnio (LNM kartoteka, Nr. AR 226:168, AR 226:63, 64), 4 – iš Kaukų piliakalnio (LNM kartoteka, Nr. AR 500:246), 5 – iš Migonių piliakalnio (LNM kartoteka, Nr. AR 223:4). A. *Ruzienės pieš.*

7 pav. Almgreno 61 tipo akinė segė iš Vosgėlių piliakalnio (LNM kartoteka, Nr. AR 75:16). A. *Ruzienės pieš.*

8 pav. Romėniškų monetų paplitimas gyvenamosiose vietose Lietuvoje: 1 – Eketė, 2 – Alsėdžiai, 3 – Kvédarna, 4 – Gabrieliškės-Naukaimis, 5 – Seredžius, 6 – Žemoji Panemunė, 7 – Jaučakiai, 8 – Pajevonys-Kunigiškiai, 9 – Turlojiškės, 10 – Paveisininkai, 11 – Migonys, 12 – Kernavė, 13 – Narkūnai. Szurpių piliakalnis, kuris pažymėtas žemėlapyje, yra Šiaurės Rytų Lenkijoje.

9 pav. Romėniškojo laikotarpio segės, rastos gyvenamosiose vietose Lietuvoje: 1 – Almgreno 72 tipo profiliuota segė iš Jautakių senovės gyvenvietės (LNM kartoteka, Nr. AR 675:10), 2 – lankinės segės lenkta kojele fragmentas iš Eketės piliakalnio (LNM kartoteka, Nr. AR 673:89), 3 – lankinė segė lenkta kojele iš Pajevonių-Kunigiškių piliakalnio (LNM kartoteka, Nr. AR 405:49). A. *Ruzienės pieš.*

10 pav. Romėniškojo laikotarpio radiniai iš Kaukų piliakalnio: 1 – geležinis Beckmann/Juga-Szymańska BI tipo lazdelinis smeigtukas (LNM kartoteka, Nr. AR 500:309), 2 – žalvarinės lankinės segės fragmentas (LNM kartoteka, Nr. AR 500:123).
A. Ruzienės pieš.

11 pav. Žiedai, rasti Pajevonių-Kunigiškių pilia-

kalnyje: 1 – LNM kartoteka, Nr. AR 405:11, 2 – LNM kartoteka, Nr. AR 405:34, 3 – LNM kartoteka, Nr. AR 405:32, 4 – LNM kartoteka, Nr. AR 405:35.
A. Ruzienės pieš.

12 pav. Segės trikampe kojele fragmentas, rastas Aukštadvario piliakalnyje, 1957 m. (pagal Daugudis 1957, LIIR, piešinys, Nr. 452).

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