WIADOMOŚCI ARCHEOLOGICZNE

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TOM LXVII

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Tom (Vol.) LXVII

SPIS TREŚCI

Contents

R O Z P R A W Y

AUDRONĖ BLIUJIENĖ

ON BOTH SIDES OF THE MIDDLE REACHES OF THE NEMUNAS RIVER. A NEW APPROACH TO OLD PROBLEMS

PO OBU STRONACH ŚRODKOWEGO NIEMNA. NOWE SPOJRZENIE NA DAWNE PROBLEMY

Introduction

The development of the Trans-Nemunas Region (in Lithuanian: *Užnemunė*, in Polish: *Litwa Zaniemieńska*) and southeastern Lithuania has been little investigated, therefore, it is natural that the view on the genesis of the region has to be compiled. Due to the distribution of contemporaneous homogeneous burial sites and the similarities of funeral rites and material culture, the development and the cultural changes of the Trans-Nemunas Region and southeastern Lithuania, this paper discusses the period from the late 1st cent. to the 6th/7th cent. AD. The area in question in terms of geography basically coincides with the Baltic Uplands. In the north, the Trans-Nemunas Region borders on the uninhibited southern part of the
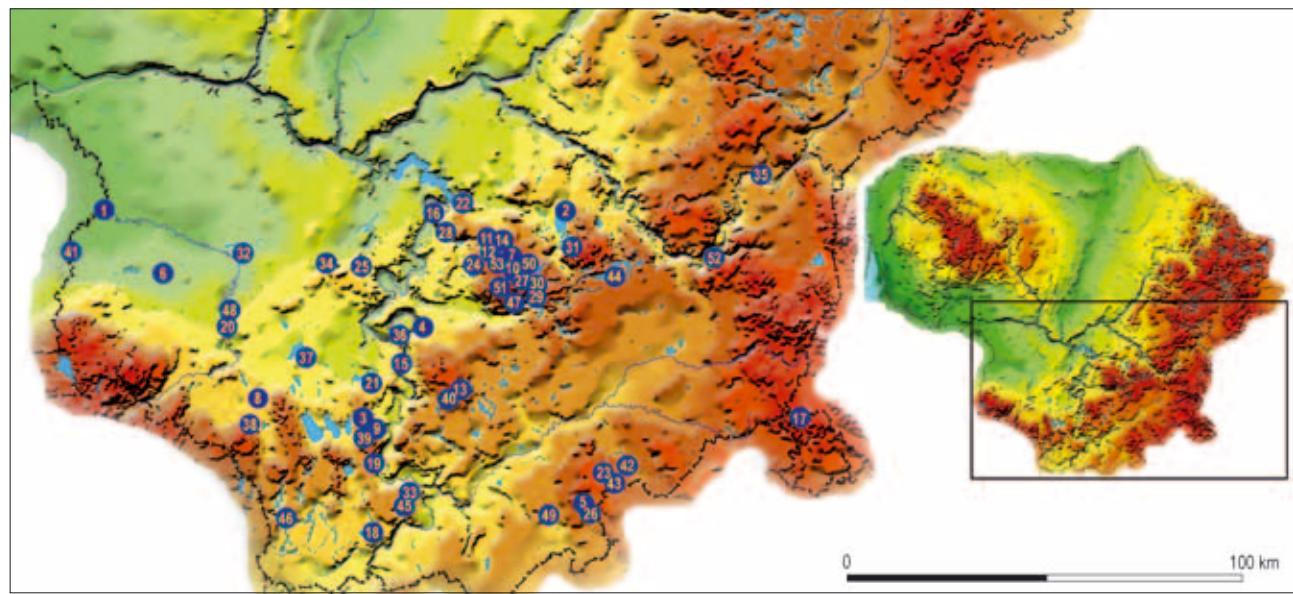
Fig. 1. Trans-Nemunas Region and Southeastern Lithuania. Burial sites and stray finds from the second half of 1st cent. to the 6th/7th cent. AD (see Table 1). Graphics: A. Bliujienė based on the Relief Map of Lithuania © Geological Survey of Lithuania (sites located by E. Žikulinas).

Ryc. 1. Litwa Zaniemeńska i Litwa Południowo-Wschodnia. Stanowiska sepulkralne i znaleziska luźne z okresu od drugiej połowy I do przełomu VI i VII wieku n.e. (zob. Tab. 1). Rys.: A. Bliujienė, na podkładzie Hipsometrycznej Mapy Litwy © Litewska Służba Geologiczna (lokalizacja stanowisk: E. Žikulinas).

Central Lithuanian Lowland. The lowland is, and must have been, covered by the large Kazlų Rūda forest. The said natural barrier has not been overcome either in the Roman or in the Migration Periods, or in the late Middle Ages. In the Roman and Migration Periods, the northern boundary of the Trans-Nemunas Region reached the right bank of the Šešupė (in Polish: *Szeszupa*) River, while in the south, it overstepped the Baltoji Ančia (in Polish: *Hańcza*) River (Fig. 1, 2; Table 1; see: R. Tučas 2012, p. 191–201, fig. 41–43; A. Bliujienė 2013a, p. 327, fig. 217, 222, 224, 227, map III–VII; V. Žulkus, R. Jarockis 2013, map III–VIII).

Southeastern Lithuania covers the area between the right-hand side of the middle reaches of the Nemunas and the Strėva River in the north, as well as between the Elektrėnai-Aukštadvaris environs in the North-East and the right bank of the Merkys River in the South. On the left bank of the Merkys, there is a small concentration of sites on the Eišiškės Plateau, which in the period in question also belonged to southeastern Lithuania (Fig. 1, 2). A favourable geographical position that allowed to control the Nemunas as the key inter-regional communication artery preconditioned the fast development and cultural changes of the Trans-Nemunas Region and Southeastern Lithuania.

The development of the territory discussed in this article used to be, and still is, of interest to historians, linguists, and, naturally, archaeologists. Despite a large circle of researchers in different areas, the issues of the development of the said areas and their ethnicity still cause
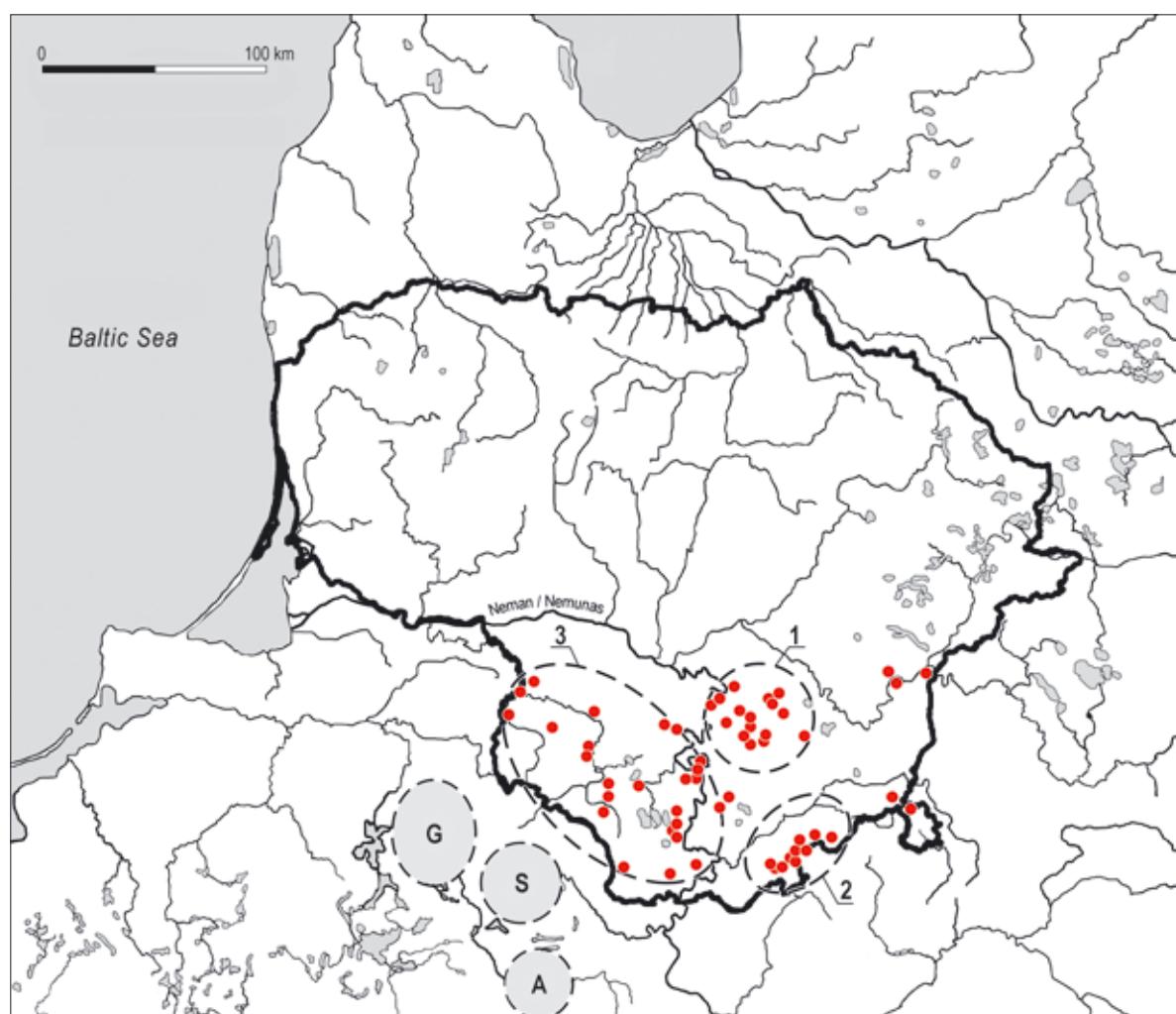
Fig. 2. Trans-Nemunas Region and southeastern Lithuanian burial sites from the second half of 1st cent. to 6th/7th cent. AD (see Table 1) and groups of the Sudovian Culture: 1 – Northern Group; 2 – Southeastern Group; 3 – Southern Group. Groups of the Sudovian Culture in NE Poland: G – Gołdap Group; A – Augustów Group; S – Suwałki Group. Lithuanian sites are listed in Table 1 (cf. Fig. 1).
Graphic: A. Bliujienė (sites located by E. Žikulinas; Sudovian groups in NE Poland after: P. Szymański 2013).
Ryc. 2. Litwa Zaniemeńska i stanowiska sepulkralne z południowo-wschodniej Litwy z okresu od drugiej połowy I do przełomu VI i VII wieku n.e. (zob. Tab. 1) oraz grupy kultury sudowskiej: 1 – północna; 2 – południowo-wschodnia; 3 – południowa. Grupy kultury sudowskiej w północno-wschodniej Polsce: G – gołdapska; A – augustowska; S – suwalska. Stanowiska litewskie wymienione są w Tab. 1 (por. Ryc. 1).
Rys.: A. Bliujienė (lokalizacja stanowisk; grupy kultury sudowskiej w Polsce wg: P. Szymański 2013).

	Region	Burial grounds, stray finds and settlements	Chronological periods					
			B	C	D	E	F	H
1	Šakiai	K. Naumiestis, Roman coin	0	1	0	0	0	0
2	Elektrėnai	Alinka (Raistinė) barrows	1	1	0	0	0	1
3	Alytus	Mankūnai barrows, Roman and Medieval Periods stray finds	1	1	0	0	0	1
4	Alytus	Punia, Roman coin	0	1	0	0	0	0
5	Varėna	Bagočiai barrows	0	0	0	1	0	0
6	Vilkaviškis	Baraučizna cemetery	0	0	0	1	1	0
7	Elektrėnai	Beižionys barrows	0	0	0	1	1	0
8	Lazdijai	Delnica cemetery	0	1	1	0	0	0
9	Alytus	Dirmiškės/Dzirmiškės barrows	0	1	1	1	0	0
10	Elektrėnai	Eitulionys barrows	0	1	1	1	0	0
11	Kaišiadorys	Klėriškės barrows	0	0	1	1	1	1
12	Kaišiadorys	Varkaliai barrows	0	0	1	1	1	1
13	Alytus	Viečiūnai barrows	0	1	1	1	0	0
14	Kaišiadorys	Vindžiuliškiai barrows	0	0	1	1	1	0
15	Alytus	Bakšiai barrows	1	1	0	0	0	0
16	Kaišiadorys	Visginai barrows	0	1	1	0	0	0
17	Šalčininkai	Katkuškės barrows	0	0	0	0	1	1
18	Druskininkai	Kaziuliai cemetery	0	0	0	1	1	1
19	Lazdijai	Krikštonys barrows	0	0	1	1	1	0
20	Marijampolė	Liepynai barrows	0	1	0	0	1	0
21	Alytus	Luksnėnai cemetery	0	1	1	0	0	0
22	Kaišiadorys	Maisiejūnai, Surgantiškės barrows	0	0	1	1	0	1
23	Šalčininkai	Kalesninkai, denarii hoard	0	1	0	0	0	0
24	Prienai	Medžionys cemetery	0	1	1	1	0	0
25	Prienai	Prienlaukis stray find	1	1	0	0	0	0
26	Varėna	Mickonys barrows	0	0	1	1	1	0
27	Elektrėnai	Migliniškės I–II barrows	0	1	1	1	0	0
28	Kaišiadorys	Migonys, Kleboniškis barrows	0	1	1	0	0	0
29	Trakai	Moša (Naujasodai) barrows	1	1	0	0	0	0

Table 1. Trans-Nemunas Region and Southeastern Lithuanian burial sites and stray finds from the Roman and the Migration Periods (see Fig. 2). Chronology: B, C – Early and Late Roman Periods; D, E – Early and Late Migration Periods; F–H – pre-Viking Age, Viking Age and Early Middle Age (East Lithuanian Barrows Culture sites from Period H are marked in grey). Uncertain data is marked with '?', lack of data with '–'.

Tab. 1. Stanowiska sepulkralne oraz znaleziska luźne z okresu wpływów rzymskich i z okresu wędrówek ludów z Litwy Zaniemeńskiej i Litwy Południowo-Wschodniej (por. Ryc. 2). Chronologia: B, C – wczesny i późny okres wpływów rzymskich; D, E – wczesny i późny okres wędrówek ludów; F–H – okres „przedwikiński", wikiński i wczesnośredniowieczny (stanowiska kultury kurhanów wschodniolitewskich z fazy H zaszarzono). Niepewne dane zaznaczono jako '?', brak danych jako '–'.

|	Region	Burial grounds, stray finds and settlements	Chronological periods					
			B	C	D	E	F	H
30	Trakai	Moša (Skrebio forest) barrows	0	0	0	1	1	0
31	Elektrėnai	Musteniai (Baubonys) barrows	0	0	1	1	0	0
32	Marijampolė	Nendriniai cemetery	0	0	1	1	1	1
33	Varėna	Papiškės barrows	0	0	1	1	1	1
34	Prienai	Pažarstis barrows	1	1	0	0	0	0
35	Vilnius	Pučkalaukis barrows	0	0	0	1	1	1
36	Alytus	Bundoriai, Punios Šilas barrows	0	0	0	1	1	0
37	Alytus	Radastai (Aleknonys) cemetery	0	1	1	0	0	0
38	Lazdijai	Rudamina barrows	0	1	1	0	0	0
39	Lazdijai	Seiliūnai cemetery	0	1	1	0	0	0
40	Alytus	Slabadėlės barrows	0	1	1	0	0	1
41	Vilkaviškis	Stanaičiai cemetery	1	1	0	0	0	0
42	Šalčininkai	Verseka barrows	0	1	1	0	0	0
43	Šalčininkai	Versekėlė barrows	0	0	0	1	1	0
44	Trakai	Skersabalės barrows	0	0	1	0	0	0
45	Varėna	Vilkiautinis barrows	0	0	1	1	1	1
46	Lazdijai	Paveisiejai, Zapsė cemetery	0	1	1	0	0	0
47	Trakai	Lavariškės barrows	0	1	1	1	1	0
48	Marijampolė	Marijampolė, Roman coin	1	0	0	0	0	0
49	Varėna	Kašėtos, coin (Valentinian I)	0	1	0	0	0	0
50	Prienai	Intuponys (Sutrukas) barrows	0	1	1	1	0	0
51	Trakai	Balandiškės barrows	0	1	1	1	1	0
52	Vilnius	Pilviškės barrows	1	1	1	0	0	0
53	Kaišiadorys	Nemaitonys (Žydiškės) barrows	0	0	1	1	0	0
54	Kalvarijų	Zubriai settlement	1	1	1	1	1	1
55	Šakiai	Suodžiai (Pjaunis), two Roman coins	0	1	0	0	0	0
Unclear, disturbed or destroyed stone barrows								
56	Vilnius	Kairėnai barrows (?)	0	1	1	0	0	0
57	Trakai	Čižiūnai barrow	0	0	1	?	?	?
58	Trakai	Akmeniai I–II barrows	0	1	1	0	0	0
59	Šalčininkai	Zavišonys barrows (?)	–	–	–	–	–	–
60	Varėna	Noškūnai barrows (?)	–	–	–	–	–	–
61	Varėna	Margiai barrows	1	1	1	–	–	–

Table 1 (cont.).
Tab. 1. (c.d.).
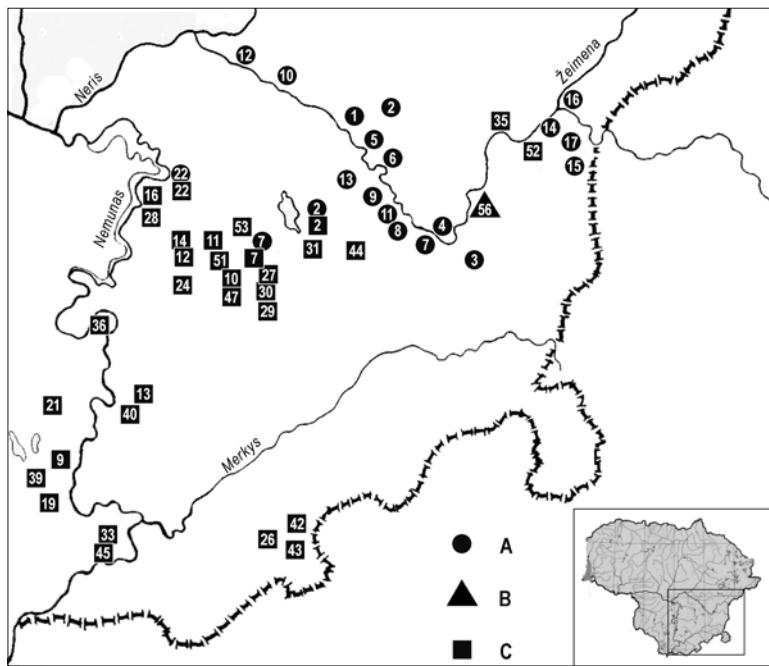
Fig. 3. Territorial differences between the Southeastern and Eastern Lithuanian barrow cemeteries dated from the Late Roman Period to the 11th/12th cent. AD. A – Southeastern Lithuanian barrow cemeteries (Numbers correspond to sites listed in Table 1; B – destroyed burial site). C – East Lithuanian barrows cemeteries: 1 – A r d i š k i s ; 2 – A u k š t i e j i R u s o k a i ; 3 – D u s i n ė n a i ; 4 – G u d e l i a i (Lenkiškiai); 5 – G r a b i j o r a i ; 6 – K a r m a z i n a i ; 7 – N e r a v a i - G r i g i š k ė s ; 8 – P a d v a r i š k ė s ; 9 – P o p a i (Vingeliai); 10 – R u s i ų R a g a s ; 11 – S a u s i a i (Bevandeniškės); 12 – V a n a g i š k i s ; 13 – V a r l i š k ė s (Orliškės); 15 – P a k a l n i a i ; 16 – P u n t u z a i ; 17 – S a n t a k a ; 18 – V a r a p n i š k ė s (After: Lietuvos TSR atlasas 1978).

Ryc. 3. Zróżnicowanie terytorialne cmentarzysk kurhanowych z południowo-wschodniej i wschodniej Litwy, datowanych od okresu późnorzymskiego do XI/XII wieku n.e. A – cmentarzyska z południowo-wschodniej Litwy (numery odpowiadają wykazowi w Tab. 1; B – stanowisko zniszczone). C – cmentarzyska ze wschodniej Litwy: 1 – A r d i š k i s ; 2 – A u k š t i e j i R u s o k a i ; 3 – D u s i n ė n a i ; 4 – G u d e l i a i (Lenkiškiai); 5 – G r a b i j o r a i ; 6 – K a r m a z i n a i ; 7 – N e r a v a i - G r i g i š k ė s ; 8 – P a d v a r i š k ė s ; 9 – P o p a i (Vingeliai); 10 – R u s i ų R a g a s ; 11 – S a u s i a i (Bevandeniškės); 12 – V a n a g i š k i s ; 13 – V a r l i š k ė s (Orliškės); 15 – P a k a l n i a i ; 16 – P u n t u z a i ; 17 – S a n t a k a ; 18 – V a r a p n i š k ė s (Wg: Lietuvos TSR atlasas 1978).

considerable confusion due to the attempts to combine linguistic data of not clear dating, the ancient and the 13th cent. written sources, and archaeological materials (cf. V. Sedov 1964; A. Tautavičius 1966; 1994; 1996; A. Vanagas 1970, p. 33–40; P. Kulikauskas 1982; J. Puzinas 1983; I. Vaškevičiūtė 2007; A. Ragauskaitė 2012, p. 113–128, fig. 1–8; Ž. Šaknys 2012, p. 127–128, fig. 2). Moreover, the approaches of Lithuanian and Polish archaeologists to the territorial development of the middle reaches of the Nemunas from the Roman Period to the early Middle Ages have been different (cf. A. Tautavičius 1996, p. 97–100, fig. 1; M. Engel 2006, p. 175, 177; I. Vaškevičiūtė 2007, p. 286–290, fig. 66; A. Bitner-Wróblewska *et alii* 2015, p. 6–10, 22; W. Nowakowski 2015, p. 23–29). Therefore, the opinions on the origin, development, and the ethnic character of both regions on both sides of the Nemunas tend to differ. Even if the Trans-Nemunas area is little known from the archaeological point of view, the authors who wrote about the left hand middle reaches of the Nemunas saw the area as inhabited by communities who use different burial sites (barrows and flat cemeteries) and practiced different burial rites. These communi-

ties were later, from the 9th cent., known as Sudovians and/ or Yatvingians[1] (J. Puzinas 1938, p. 61, map IV, VI; 1983, p. 478–479, 490–491; M. Alseikaitė-Gimbutienė 1946, p. 63–73, 189–193, map I, II; P. Kulikauskas 1982, p. 95–99; M. Michelbertas 1986, p. 73–77; R. Banytė-Rowell 2007, p. 53–55, fig. 9; I. Vaškevičiūtė 2007, fig. 66). Most debates are caused by seeing Southeastern and Eastern Lithuania as culturally different regions or as an area of so-called East Lithuanian Barrows Culture of a homogeneous nature. The East Lithuanian Barrows Culture prevail to the north of the Neris River – in other words, in the Roman and Migration Periods, the river was a distinctive border between the culturally different groups of barrow cemeteries (Fig. 3).

On one hand, the differences in the culture of the people who construct stone barrows and those who built the barrows in eastern Lithuania were not great, as they belonged to two cultures of Western Balts formed simultaneously on the same basis: that of the Brushed Pottery

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[1] (Editor's note) In English also written as Yatvings, Yotvingians, and recently Jatvingians.

Culture[2]. However, the emerging differences in the material culture and ideology are sufficient to distinguish there two units: Southeastern Lithuanian stone barrows (hereinafter: stone barrows) and Eastern Lithuanian sand barrows, encircled by stones and delimited by pits (see: A. Bliujienė 2016, p. 223–225, fig. 13, table 2).

The northern Trans-Nemunas Region as the ethnographic region is related with Suvalkija and Suvalkai (*Sudovia* or *Yotva-Sudovia*[3]*),* while the southern part is assigned to the Dzūkai and Dzūkija (A. Ragauskaitė 2012, p. 112–113, fig. 1; Ž. Šaknys 2012, p. 127–128, fig. 2). The northwestern part of the Trans-Nemunas Region is attributed to the historical land of Nadruva (P. Kulikauskas 1982, p. 3; R. Tučas 2012, p. 205–206, fig. 45). The historiographical tradition of Lithuanian archaeology assigns Southeastern Lithuania to the Yatvingians, the Dainavians, or the Sudovians-Dainavians (A. Tautavičius 1996, p. 99–100, fig. 1; I. Vaškevičiūtė 2007, p. 286–287, fig. 66).

However, the excavations in the last decades in these regions, as well as the overview of the available archaeological materials and their comparison with the Bogaczewo and Sudovian Cultures, lead to a new approach to the origin, development, and the fate of the areas stretching on both sides of the middle course of the Nemunas in the Roman and Migration Periods (G. Grižas, A. Bitner-Wróblewska 2007; Z. Baubonis *et alii* 2012; 2013; A. Bliujienė 2016).

On both sides of the middle reaches of the Nemunas: origin and cultural evolution

During the Roman and the Migration Periods the population of both sides of the middle reaches of the Nemunas, its structure and the cultural environment changed several times, and the rhythm of changes were related to the development of the whole area of the Western Balt Cultures. In these territories, brushed pottery disappeared in the second half of the 2nd and the early 3rd cent. AD simultaneously with the emergence of the burial sites on the Brushed Pottery Culture area (A. Luchtanas 2001, p. 23–28). The assumptions were justified by excavation of the hillforts and the settlements on both sides of the Nemunas that proved that hillforts of the Brushed Pottery Culture were abandoned, transformed by newcomers, and ultimately incorporated into the new structurally transformed settlement pattern (Z. Baubonis, G. Zabiela 2005; R. Vengalis 2009; Z. Baubonis *et alii* 2012; 2013). That is why the origin and the cultural space of the Trans-Nemunas Region and Southeastern Lithuania, and the

rhythm of changes are to be analysed in comparison with the processes taking place in the immediate environment, primarily in the areas of the Bogaczewo and Sudovian Cultures in northeastern Poland. The peoples who lived in the Roman and in the Migration Periods on both sides of the middle reaches of the Nemunas and in northeastern Poland, not only were neighbours, but also inhabited similar natural areas, i.e. the highlands of the Baltic Upland traversed by river and rivulet beds and lakes, and used similar natural resources (Fig. 1, 4). The ability of small family groups to master similar landscapes and to inhabit them had to promote a similar lifestyle and the development of the production economy. One family group of that kind could inhabit an area of three to seven square kilometres. However, there is no consensus about the size of the family structures and therefore about the range of an inhabited area (J. Antoniewicz 1958, p. 15–18, fig. 2, 3; A. Tautavičius 1996, p. 21; L. Kurila 2009a, p. 122–123).

As regards the Sudovian Culture in general sense and its direct impact on the Trans-Nemunas Region and Southeastern Lithuania, the available archaeological material leads to the conclusion that their sites appeared on both sides of the middle reaches of the Nemunas as a consequence of human migration in the process of fast formation of Sudovian cultural groups and their distribution. Nevertheless, based the presently available fragmented data, one has to note that the sites and the materials of the Roman and the Migration Periods in the Trans-Nemunas Region and southeastern Lithuania, just like in northeastern Poland, are heterogeneous. Formation of the common culturally heterogeneous Sudovian Culture space in the northeastern Poland and on both sides of the middle reaches of the Nemunas River is based on mostly the same similarities, in terms of population structure, burial sites distribution on uplands, usage of stones to build barrow mounds, finds, funeral rites, and chronology.

The Trans-Nemunas Region

The disappearance of the Brushed Pottery Culture in the Trans-Nemunas Region and the formation of new ethnocultural structures were directly related to the migration waves of the people of the Bogaczewo Culture (in Polish: *kultura bogaczewska*) and later on to the Sudovian Culture (in Polish: *kultura sudowska*) and the related acculturation (G. Grižas, A. Bitner-Wróblewska 2007; Z. Baubonis *et alii* 2012; 2013; A. Bliujienė 2016, p. 216–217; L. Kurila 2016, p. 198). The rhythm of the said migration waves could be synchronised with rhythms of development of the Bogaczewo and Sudovian Cultures and of the territorial expansion or retreat. In the Trans-Nemunas Region archaeological sites, a substantial Bogaczewo Culture layer was recorded. The recently excavated

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[2] The formation of the East Lithuanian Barrows Culture and the contacts with the Southeastern Lithuanian Barrows Culture will not be dealt with in the paper.

[3] The name of Sūduva is thought to have originated from Sūduonia River (20.4 km long), the left tributary of the Šešupė.

Fig. 4. M u s t e n i a i - B a u b o n y s barrows and landscape of the Baltic Upland in the Southeastern Lithuania in 1951.
Photo: A. Tautavičius (Institute of Lithuanian History Archive, file no. 1671).
Ryc. 4. Kurhany w M u s t e n i a i - B a u b o n y s i krajobraz wysoczyzn nadbałtyckich Litwy Południowo-Wschodniej, fot. z 1951 roku.
Fot.: A. Tautavičius (Archiwum Instytutu Historii Litwy, teka 1671).

Zubriai settlement is an excellent example of the pottery change, where the pottery of the Bogaczewo Culture was replaced by the Sudovian one (Z. Baubonis *et alii* 2012; 2013) (Fig. 5:1–4)[4].

The Bogaczewo Culture is associated with the *Galindoi*, mentioned by Ptolemy in his book *Geography* (in Greek: *Γεωγραφική Ὑφήγησις*/*Geographike Hyphegesis*), who in the later written sources were referred to as *Galinditae* (in Greek: *Γαλίνδαι*) (W. Nowakowski 2003, p. 7–11). In the 1930s, this culture was called *westmasurische Gruppe* (C. Engel 1933, pl. IV). In 1983, Wojciech Nowakowski defined the Bogaczewo Culture on the basis of sites distribution, funeral rite, and the finds (W. Nowakowski 1995, p. 18; 2003, p. 7–11). The Bogaczewo Culture disappeared in the Trans-Nemunas Region, as it was substituted by the people of diverse Sudovian Culture groups that poured in the 3ʳᵈ cent. to the Trans-Nemunas Region as well as to the Southeastern Lithuania. However, this process of cultural change has been little investigated so far. Yet it would be logical to assume that the process of

the Bogaczewo Culture decline coincided with the processes of changes in that culture, including the territorial ones: their territory was shrinking due to the rather intensive formation of the Sudovian Culture with its cultural groups (see W. Nowakowski 2003, p. 9–11; 2012, p. 181–190; 2015, p. 23–29; M. Engel *et alii* 2006, p. 24–27, fig. 8, 12, 15; P. Szymański 2013, p. 69–75). Still, it needs to be emphasized that the origin and the development of the Sudovian Culture remains a complicated issue.

The Southeastern Lithuania
In should be emphasized that only in 1976, on the basis of sites distribution, funeral rite, and the finds, Marian Kaczyński defined the Sudovian Culture (M. Kaczyński 1976, p. 253–286). In the 1930s, this culture was called *ostmasurische Gruppe* (C. Engel 1933, p. 276–278, pl. IV). Already M. Kaczyński noted the heterogeneity of the Sudovian Culture and distinguished the Suwałki, Gołdap, and Augustów Groups of the Sudovian Culture. The Lithuanian historiographic tradition most frequently associated Sudovians with the *Sudinoi* (Greek: *Σουδινοί*) referred to in Ptolemy's *Geography*. However, Ptolemy's book based on an earlier work written by Marinus of Tyre (70–130 AD) in the beginning of the 2ⁿᵈ cent. AD (cf. H. Reichert 2003, p. 569; W. Nowakowski 2012, p. 182–184). Meanwhile, on the basis of the distribution of burial sites, the beginnings of the Sudovian Culture go back to B2b–B2/C1 phases,

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[4] It seems that the Bogaczewo Culture component in the Trans-Nemunas Region is stronger that we supposed. Thus, e.g., in the Krikštonys barrow cemetery the traces of a settlement with potsherds of both the Brushed Pottery and the Bogaczewo Cultures, as well as potsherds of rusticated and smoothed pottery, were found (unpublished material in Archaeological Department of the Lithuanian National Museum, LNM AR 74:10-194).
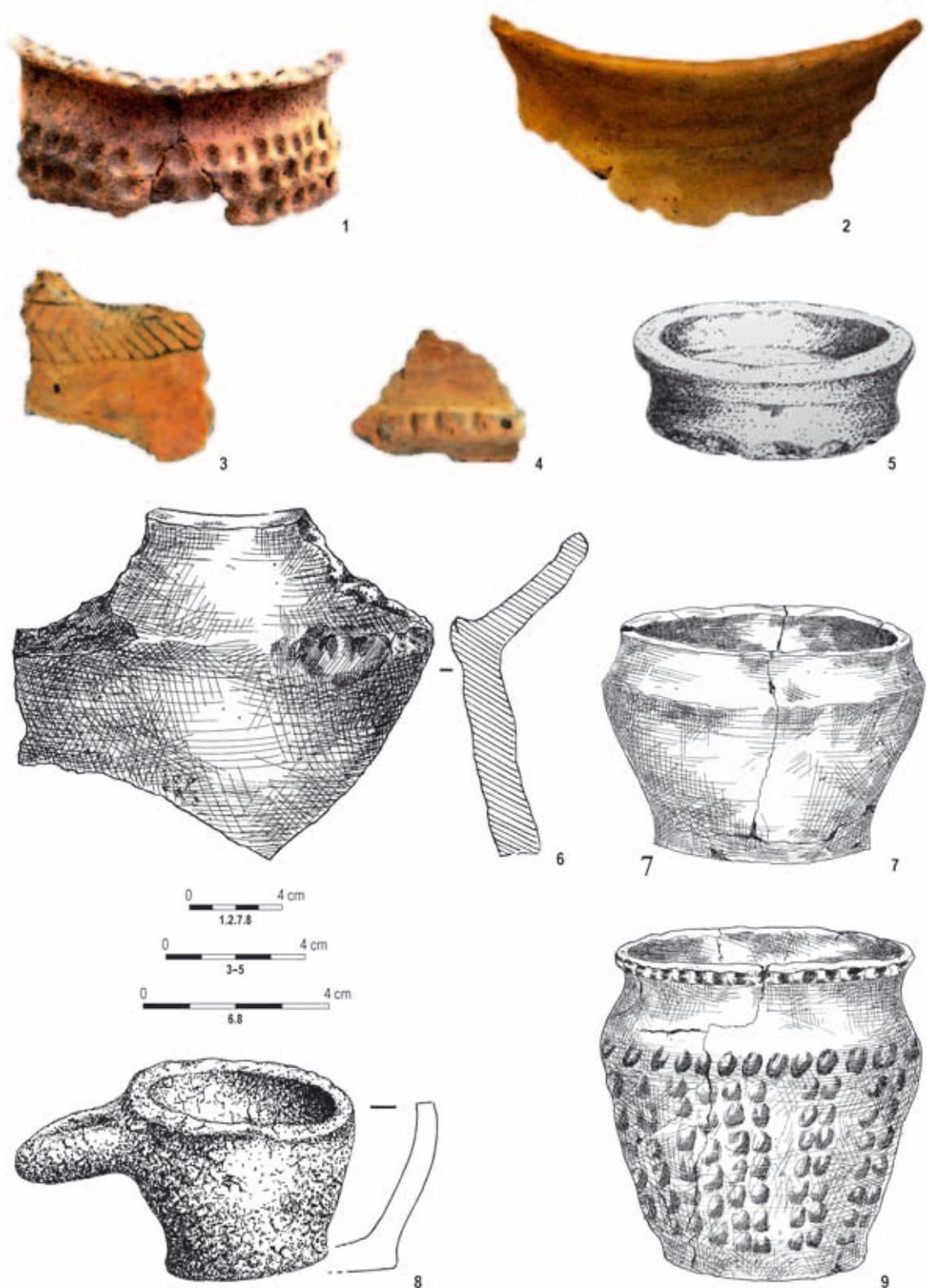
Fig. 5. The Bogaczewo and Sudovian type pottery found in the Trans-Nemunas Region: 1–4 – Z u b r i a i settlement; 5 – K u n i g i š k i a i - P a v a j u o n i s hillfort (plot VI, hearth 3); 6 – N e n d r i n i a i cemetery, horse burial 9; 7 – N e n d r i n i a i cemetery (plot V, square A–8); 8 – B a k š i a i settlement (plot 19, hearth 10); 9 – N e n d r i n i a i cemetery, urn grave 3. Photo: O. Fediajevas (1–4).
After: LNM AR Card catalogue 405:56, 497:98, 249 (5–7, 9) V. Steponaitis 1995 (8).

Ryc. 5. Ceramika typowa dla kultur bogaczewskiej i sudowskiej z Litwy Zaniemeńskiej: 1–4 – Z u b r i a i, osada; 5 – K u n i g i š k i a i - P a v a j u o n i s, grodzisko (dz. VI, palenisko 3); 6 – N e n d r i n i a i, cmentarzysko, grób koński 9; 7 – N e n d r i n i a i, cmentarzysko (dz. V, kwadrat A–8); 8 – B a k š i a i, osada (dz. 19, palenisko 10); 9 – N e n d r i n i a i, cmentarzysko, grób popielnicowy 3.
Fot.: O. Fediajevas (1–4). Wg: LNM AR, katalog nr 405:56, 497:98, 249 (5–7, 9) V. Steponaitis 1995 (8).

Fig. 6. View of the mound of E i t u l i o n y s barrow VIII after removal of the topsoil in 1979, as seen from the east. Photo: A. Bliujus.
Ryc. 6. Nasyp kurhanu VIII z E i t u l i o n y s po usunięciu humusu, widok od wschodu; badania z 1979 roku. Fot.: A. Bliujus.

when some sites of that culture first appear in the environs of Gołdap and Augustów (M. Engel *et alii* 2006, p. 185, fig. 2, pl. III, VI; A. Bitner-Wróblewska 2007, p. 112–114, fig. 5, 6; J. Jaskanis 2013, p. 257–260, table 2; P. Szymański 2013, p. 69–72, fig. 36). The fast development of Sudovian groups coincides with B2/C1–C1a phases. An assumption is made that, due to an obvious chronological discrepancy between the written sources and the archaeological materials, the *Sudinoi,* referred to by Ptolemy, are not to be associated with culturally heterogeneous Sudovian groups, and especially *Sudovitae*[5], mentioned in the Teutonic Knight Chronicles, or with *Jatviagi*, *Jatviazi*, and *Dainowe,* mentioned in Polish and Ruthenian Chronicles and other documents. As stated by W. Nowakowski, the "barrows of the Sudovians" seem to be a myth created by scholars, based on the *a priori* idea of "Great Sudovia" (W. Nowakowski 2003, p. 9–10; 2012, p. 181).

The tradition of the Lithuanian historiography provides different opinions on the origin of the Roman Period culture in Southeastern Lithuania, and simultaneously on its development and the fate of the formed structure in the second half of the Migration Period (V. Sedov 1964; A. Tautavičius 1966; P. Kulikauskas 1982; A. Bliujienė

2016). Based on the fundamental criteria of identification of ethnic groups, i.e. the distribution of burial grounds, the characteristics of the funeral rites, and grave good sets, Adolfas Tautavičius identified an ethnocultural group of stone barrows with one group of the ancestors of Sudovians-Yatvingians or Sudovians-Dainavians, or simply with a group of Yatvingians (A. Tautavičius 1977, p. 14–15, fig. 9; 1994, p. 5, 9–10; 1996, p. 45, 47, 97–100). The mounds of Sudovian barrows were built of one to three stone pavement rows, which were separated by sand layers. Besides, these barrow mounds were encircled by stones. Between 230–260 and 1,000 of specially collected stones of a rather similar size were used for building the barrow mound and the cairn that covered the grave, for the kerbs encircling the grave pits, and for the grave pits themselves (Fig. 6–8; see: O. Navickaitė 1955; D. Andrašiūnaitė 1972; A. Bliujus 1978; 1979; 1980; 1981). It was even proposed that the barrows with stone mounds should be called the *Eitulionys* type, after one of the northernmost stone barrow cemeteries in southeastern Lithuania (A. Astrauskas 1996, p. 7). Stones were more abundantly used in places of their rich natural distribution for constructing barrows and graves. Such places in the southern part of the Trans-Nemunas Region and in southeastern Lithuania basically coincide with the use of stones for building of barrows and equipment of graves

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[5] Cf. Peter of Dusburg (Book 3, § 3). The Teutonic chronicler mentions the Sudovians who lived in Sudovia among Prussian tribes.

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Fig. 7. M u s t e n i a i - B a u b o n y s barrow 1 in 1970. Photo: D. Andrašiūnaitė (Institute of Lithuanian History Archive, file no. 310).
Ryc. 7. Kurhan 1 z M u s t e n i a i - B a u b o n y s w 1970 roku. Fot.: D. Andrašiūnaitė (Archiwum Instytutu Historii Litwy, teka 310).

(F. Kavoliutė 2012, p. 76–77, fig. 40; A. Bliujienė 2013a, p. 471, 475–480, fig. 327, 329).

However, in recent decades, the uniqueness of Southeastern Lithuania as defined by Tautavičius was abandoned, because authors combined barrows with mounds made of stones with those with mounds made of sand into one cultural group. In other words, two groups of barrows of different construction were defined as the barrows of East Lithuania, and this view predominates in the contemporary Lithuanian historiography (M. Michelbertas 1986, p. 68–77; R. Banytė-Rowell 2007, p. 50–55, fig. 9; V. Vaitkevičius 2005a, p. 75–76, fig. 5; 2005b, p. 50; L. Kurila 2009a, p. 20, table 1, fig. 1, 11; 2016, p. 197–198, fig. 1). Nevertheless, some Lithuanian archaeologists identify certain differences between the stone barrows and East Lithuanian barrows (A. Tautavičius 1977, p. 14–15, fig. 9; 1987, p. 129–143; 1994, p. 4–14; 1996, p. 45, 47, 97–100, fig. 1; A. Astrauskas 1996, p. 7; 1989, p. 70–73, fig. 1, 2; V. Šimėnas 1997, p. 3; I. Vaškevičiūtė 2007, p. 286–289; A. Bliujienė 2013a, p. 32, 34, 318, 350; 2013b, p. 152–154, fig. 3; 2016, p. 118–135). At the same time, it is believed that a larger or smaller wave of immigrants (Sudovians) bringing their own burial rites could have reached southeastern Lithuania (A. Bliujienė 2016, p. 213; L. Kurila 2016, p. 198).

Different assumptions lead to some confusion, as the Eitulionys, Migoniai, Slabadėlė, Verseka, and other similar burial sites are sometimes assigned to the East Lithua-

nian area of the barrow distribution (M. Michelbertas 1986, p. 68–73, fig. 11; V. Vaitkevičius 2005b, p. 54–55; L. Kurila 2009a, p. 20, table 1, fig. 11; 2016, p. 196) or, on the contrary, the same sites are named among the stone barrows of southeastern Lithuania (A. Astrauskas 1996, p. 7; A. Tautavičius 1996, p. 46–47; A. Bliujienė 2013b, p. 152–154, fig. 3). However, the stone barrows and the East Lithuanian barrows are distributed in different territories. In the Roman Period and the first half of the Migration Period, Eastern Lithuanian barrows spread no further than the right bank of the Neris. Moreover, different barrow groups were separated by certain uninhibited areas (Fig. 1–3). In other words, the Neris served as an obvious boundary between the barrows of different origin. Located on the right bank of the Neris, Pučkalaukis is the only known barrow cemetery which overpassed this watershed (Fig. 1–3)[6]. However, one more group of barrows of the Late Roman and Early Migration Periods can be found on the left bank of the Neris and at its confluence with the Žeimena, including cemetery with stone pavements (Pilviškės[7]) and earliest barrow cemeteries of

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[6] A stone construction were found in Pučkalaukis, barrow 18 (A. Jankevičienė 1958 p. 39–42, fig. 2–5).

[7] In Pilviškės cemetery, the mound of the excavated barrow 1(8) was built solely of stones (the 'pavement' of about 70 middle-size stones and a stone circle survived). It is likely that also the other barrows were stone constructed (V. Vaitkevičius 2000, p. 3, 6).

Fig. 8. Stone construction under inhumation grave 3
in E i t u l i o n y s barrow III, in 1981. Photo: A. Bliujus.
Ryc. 8. Konstrukcja kamienna pod grobem inhumacyjnym 3
w kurhanie III w E i t u l i o n y s, w 1981 roku. Fot.: A. Bliujus.

the East Lithuanian Barrows Culture (Pakalniai, Santaka, Varapniškės, and Puntuzai) with sand mounds encircled by stones (J. Puzinas 1938, fig. 40:3; R. Kulikauskienė, R. Rimantienė 1958, fig. 251, 259, 264; V. Kliaugaitė 2000, p. 181–182; V. Vaitkevičius 2004, p. 60–70) (Fig. 3). The proximity of those different barrow groups may have come from the desire to live in a convenient area in terms of communication and to make use of both Neris and Žeimena Rivers. The Žeimena, as witnessed by the distribution of sites, served as an important route of internal contacts in the area where the Eastern Lithuanian Barrow Culture born.

In the Nemunas-Neris-Merkys interfluve region the excavated barrows dated to the Roman and Migration Periods prove that their construction, certain aspects of the funeral rites, and some traits of the material culture are close to those of the burial sites excavated in Suwałki, and Gołdap regions, and partially also in Augustów region (J. Jaskanis 1974, p. 68–87; 2013, p. 234, fig. 37–43; A. Bliujus 1983, p. 31–40; A. Astrauskas 1996, p. 7; A. Tautavičius 1996, p. 46–47; A. Bitner-Wróblews-

ka 2007, p. 103–104; P. Szymański 2013, p. 75, fig. 32; A. Bliujienė 2013b, p. 152–154, fig. 3).

Nature of the rather abrupt and, in terms of time, rapid changes, in the result of which Brushed Pottery Culture ceased to exist in a large area can be accounted for by the appearance of the Bogaczewo Culture people in the Trans-Nemunas region. Then the several waves of migration of the Sudovian Culture groups, which replaced settlement of the former culture on both sides of the middle reaches of the Nemunas. Besides, it could be mentioned that the process of formation of the Balt societies in the northeastern Poland and on both sides of the middle reaches of the Nemunas could have been disturbed by the movement of the Goths from the lower Vistula towards the southeastern Europe (V. Vaitkevičius 2005a, p. 71–75, fig. 3; L. Kurila 2016, p. 198; also A. Cieśliński 2014). Therefore, these territories became heterogeneous archaeological cultural units, which from the Late Roman Period have interregional features in burial grounds, burials rites and artefacts (cf. Fig. 11:1.2). Those peoples must have brought the barrow building tradition with the abundant use of stones, as well as cremation (the Bogaczewo Culture people) and inhumation, and again cremation (people of the Sudovian origin) as funeral rites with them (A. Tautavičius 1987, p. 139; 1996, p. 47; A. Bliujienė 2013a, p. 475–480, 531, fig. 326, 328, 329). Based on the expansion of burial sites and their arrangement, as well as the changes in the settlement pattern and in the archaeological evidence, the processes were best noticeable in B2/C1–C1a. Moreover, similar development took place in the overall area of Western Balt Cultures. Therefore, the movements of people within this area of the Western Balts cultures can partially account for a sharp increase in the number of people in the Balt world in the late 2nd and the early 3rd cent. in the area of contemporary Lithuania and in northeastern Poland (M. Engel *et alii* 2006, pl. XI; P. Iwanicki 2007, fig. 3–6; P. Szymański 2013, p. 10, fig. 1; A. Bliujienė 2013a, map III–V). However, there are also different views that the people may have migrated to the Gołdap environs from the Samland Peninsula, Nadruva, or even Lithuania (cf. M. Engel 2006, p. 175; P. Szymański 2013, p. 75).

The Sudovian Culture was not homogeneous. According to the settlement patterns, three fairly separate groups in areas around Suwałki, Augustów, and Gołdap might be distinguished (M. Kaczyński 1976, p. 253–272; A. Bitner-Wróblewska 1994, p. 224–230; P. Szymański 2009, p. 79; 2013, p. 9–14, fig. 1). Groups of the Sudovian Culture were separated by certain distances. The distance between the Gołdap and the Suwałki groups is 45 km, while between the Suwałki and Augustów groups, 28 km. The distance between the current city of Gołdap and Vištytis Lake is merely 33 km, the distance between Suwałki and Lazdijai is only 41 km, and between Suwałki and Elektrėnai,

the northernmost border of the stone barrow distribution, is 137 km (Fig. 2). It is only about 58 to 60 km between the clusters of sites of the northern and southeastern groups. Thus, the distances between the closest Sudovian groups in northeastern Poland and the groups of Sudovian origin in the Trans-Nemunas Region and Southeastern Lithuania were not very big.

The burial sites in the Trans-Nemunas Region and southeastern Lithuania, in which stones were abundantly used, are distributed in the landscape in three groups[8]. In Southeastern Lithuania, one can identify the northern (Group 1) and the southeastern (Group 2) groups of stone barrows, while in the Trans-Nemunas Region (Group 3) – the southwestern group of burial sites. The burial sites of the northern group cover the Dzūkai Highlands and the Aukštadvaris Upland area with the highest Gedanoniai Hill of 257.4 m. In the South, the large group of sites is delimited by the Verknė River, and in the North, a small wasteland comes between the Southeastern and Eastern Lithuanian barrows (Fig. 1, 2).

As mentioned above, the differences between the Eastern Lithuanian barrows, present in the middle reaches of the Neris and north of it, and the stone barrows, 'standing' in the environs of Trakai-Elektrėnai-Aukštadvaris, are not substantial. They reflect two areas of the Western Balt cultural communities formed on the former Brushed Pottery Culture substratum. The available materials suggest that, on one hand, some of the stone barrows appeared in the Brushed Pottery Culture settlements, e.g., at Eitulionys (Fig. 1, 2:1; cf. A. Bliujus 1982, p. 7, fig. 22). On the other hand, one can find open settlements of the people who built these barrows, as well as production sites and, apparently, isolated farmsteads in the immediate vicinity of stone barrows (Moša, Naujasodai, Migonys, Pilviškės; R. Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė 1958; G. Abaravičius 1995; 1996; E. Remecas 1998; V. Vaitkevičius 2000). Rusticated pottery prevails in the settlements, but black pots with burnished smooth and polished surfaces are found as well (cf. Fig. 13, 18–20).

Another group of southeastern Lithuanian barrows is located on the Eišiškės Plateau, between the Ūla and Verseka Rivers (Fig. 1, 2:2). It is possible that burials in urns were found in the Verseka and Versekėlė barrows (W. Szukiewicz 1910, fig. XVIII, XIX). Moreover, distribution of stone barrows reaches beyond the borders of current Lithuania, as barrows with stone structures in mounds were found in the Nočia (Нача), Zubiškė (Зубишки), Čepelūnai (Чепелуны), and Rudnia (Рудня) barrow cemeteries in northwestern Belarus (A. M. Medvedev 2011, p. 153–154, fig. 3.43).

The northern (Group 1) and the southeastern burial sites of the stone barrow group account for densely populated compact groups; however, the third group of burial sites of the Sudovian origin is scattered between the Šešupė in the north and the middle course of the Nemunas, as well as between the Sudovian Highlands and the southeastern Dainava Plain (Fig. 1, 2:3). Both sides of the middle reaches of the Nemunas were rather densely inhabited, and therefore it is not clear whether some barrow cemeteries, such as Viečiūnai and Slabadėlė that are already on the right bank of the Nemunas, prove the continuation of the Trans-Nemunas Region (Group 3) burial sites or whether they emerged due to the expansion of the northern stone barrow cemeteries group.

In any case, in the Late Roman and the Migration Periods, the Trans-Nemunas Region and Southeastern Lithuania are to be considered as a peripheral area of the Sudovian Culture (Suwałki, Gołdap, and partially Augustów Groups), or even a split-off separate Sudovian groups in Lithuania. The Trans-Nemunas Region and Southeastern Lithuania were definitely drawn closer, and for some periods, the Nemunas ceased to be a borderline, as the distribution of sites with similar archaeological materials and burial customs witness that the biggest river of our country used to be a transport backbone (Fig. 1, 2).

Yet the distribution of sites in groups separated by natural barriers, even though comparatively compact, could be another reason of their cultural heterogeneity. The Sudovian Culture could have been affected by the heritage of the Bogaczewo Culture, known from some Sudovian sites in the Trans-Nemunas Region. The impact of the Sudovian Culture is clearly visible in the material of the burial sites of Southeastern Lithuania, while the impact of the Bogaczewo Culture can be seen in several types of ornaments as well (Fig. 9:1–3.7.8). It is therefore not surprising that the Sudovian cultural heritage occurs in the Trans-Nemunas Region and in Southeastern Lithuania in similar but not identical aspects.

Due to the fast expansion of the people who built Eastern Lithuanian barrows in the southeastern direction, the northernmost and north-easternmost stone barrows between Strėva and Elektrėnai-Aukštadvaris environs were already abandoned by the late 6th cent. Something similar happened to the communities of the Sudovian origin in the Eišiškės Plateau in the period of the 8th to the 9th/10th cent. The Eastern Lithuanian Barrows Culture people started to use the abandoned stone barrow cemeteries, since structural changes were recorded in them. Either people were buried in old barrows or new barrows were built in the old barrow cemeteries. Such cases were recorded in the barrow cemeteries in Alinka (Raistinė), barrows 9 and 17, Pučkalaukis, barrow 18, and Maisiejūnai, barrow 9(14) (A. Jankevičienė 1958, p. 39–42, fig. 2–5; A. Bliujienė 1992, p. 109–110,

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[8] The barrows with stone pavements on the border with Belarus (A. M. M e d v e d e v 2001, p. 154–155, 163–168) will not be analysed in the paper.

fig. 5, 6; E. Butėnas 1998, p. 176, fig. 12, 13, 31). In the 11th–12th cent., the barrows of Lithuanians, i.e. the people who built Eastern Lithuanians barrows, spread up to the middle reaches of the Nemunas (A. Tautavičius 1996, p. 99; L. Kurila 2009b, fig. 12, 13).

The Sudovian Culture in the Trans-Nemunas Region came to end in the late 6th – early 7th cent. The process may have been related to the formation of the Prudziszki Group of the Sudovian Culture (A. Bitner-Wróblewska 1994, p. 229; M. Engel 2006, p. 175–179, fig. 1; W. Nowakowski 2006, p. 276–280, fig. 1:C). The inhabiting process of the Trans-Nemunas Region and cultural relations of the area become unclear due to a small number of presently known and excavated burial sites (A. Astrauskas 1989, p. 75, fig. 3; R. Tučas 2012, p. 201–211, 322, fig. 44, 45; A. Bliujienė 2013a, appendix 2.1, map I–VII), although
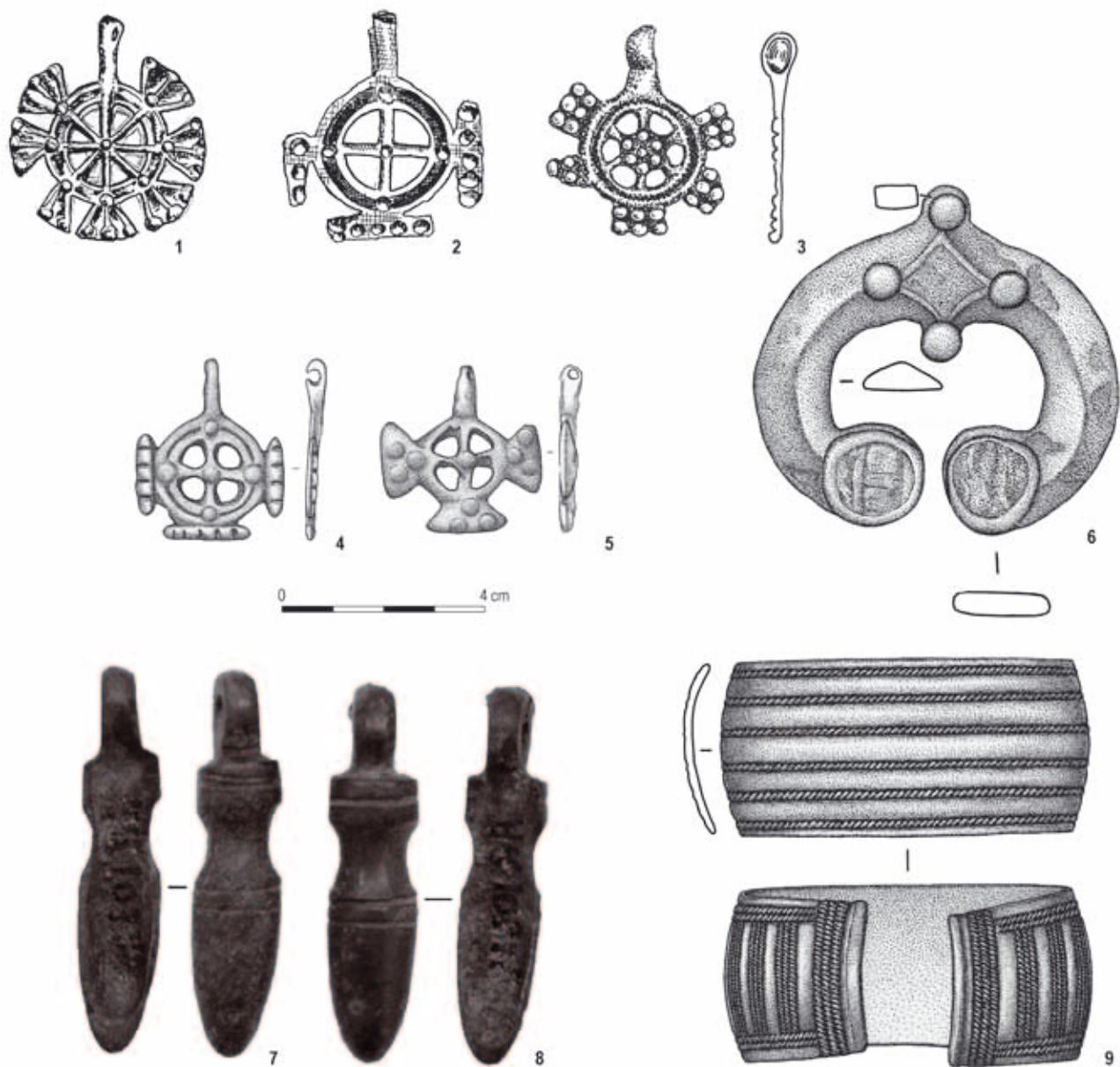
Fig. 9. The Late Roman Period bronze ornaments found in the Southeastern and Central Lithuania. 1, 2 – open-work round pendants from unknown locations in Central Lithuania; 3 – open-work round pendant from A u k š t a d v a r i s hillfort; 4–6, 9 – open-work round pendants, penannular enamelled fibula and wrist-band bracelet from B a k š i a i; 7, 8 – eight-shaped pendants from S l a b a d ė l ė. After: LNM AR Card catalogue 383:34.35 (1, 2) and 235:454 (3), M. Michelbertas 2011 (4–6, 9). Photo: A. Bliujienė (7, 8).

Ryc. 9. Późnorzymskie ozdoby brązowe z Litwy Południowo-Wschodniej i Centralnej. 1, 2 – ażurowe zawieszki koliste z nieznanych miejscowości z Litwy Centralnej; 3 – ażurowa zawieszka kolista z grodziska w A u k š t a d v a r i s; 4–6, 9 – ażurowe zawieszki koliste, emaliowana zapinka podkowiasta i bransoleta mankietowa z B a k š i a i; 7, 8 – wisiorki ósemkowate ze S l a b a d ė l ė. Wg: LNM AR, katalog nr 383:34.35 (1, 2) i nr 235:454 (3), M. Michelbertas 2011 (4–6, 9). Fot.: A. Bliujienė (7, 8).

the finds from the hillforts, i.e. abundantly found arrowheads, spearheads with long and narrow blades and sockets decorated with vaulted ornaments (Petersen type E), fragments of chain mails, wheel-thrown pottery, scrap metal deposits[9], and ornaments prove that the land was inhabited in the 9th to the 12th cent. and did not lack external contacts (P. Kulikauskas 1982, p. 58–62, fig. 24, 40, 74, 72, 146–152; V. Kazakevičius 1999, fig. 3, 5; G. Zabiela 1995, p. 9, fig. 5–7). The same situation was in the Sudovian-inhabited areas in Poland: just several burial sites of mid-7th to the 10th cent. are known, even though the settlement materials indicate that the region was inhabited (W. Nowakowski 2003, p. 9; A. Bitner-Wróblewska 2010, p. 154; M. Engel *et alii* 2006, p. 26, fig. 18, 19; W. Wróblewski 2006, p. 289–395, fig. 2:D; W. Wróblewski *et alii* 2003, p. 161–162). Due to the shortage of data, it is impossible to justify the genetic relationship between *Sudinoi,* mentioned by Ptolemy, and the *Sudovitae* or *jatviagi, jatviazi, dainowe,* etc., mentioned in the Chronicles of the Teutonic Order, as well as those of Ruthenia and Poland, and in other documents (for more details, see P. Kulikauskas 1982, p. 92–93; A. Astrauskas 1990, p. 3; A. Tautavičius 1994, p. 4–5; W. Nowakowski 2003, p. 9).

Burial sites and funeral rites: Trans-Nemunas Region
The diversity of the sites from the Late Roman and the Migration Periods in the Trans-Nemunas Region has been known for a long time as burials took place there in barrows with earth mounds, encircled by stones; moreover, stone pavements were discovered in the earth mounds of such barrows (Mankūnai and Pažarstis, barrows 28, 50, and 54; M. Michelbertas 1989; D. Kontrimas 2014, 131–133, fig. 2, 3). Around 300 stones were used to build the Dirmiškė/Dzirmiškė barrow; a stone kerb of more than 80 stones encircled the Mankūnai barrow (E. Svetikas 1989, p. 3; D. Kontrimas 2014, p. 132, fig. 1, 2). Furthermore, burials took place in barrows with mounds constructed of stones, encircled by stones, and even surrounded by stone enlargements (Rudamina and Dirmiškės). Besides, inhumation and cremation burials were found in some cemeteries with flat graves with stones put around them (Delnica, Radastai-Aleknonys, and Zapsė). Finally, flat burial grounds are known, with stones used for their settings, while the cremated bodies were buried in urns and pits (A. Merkevičius 1990, p. 83–85; M. Michelbertas 1986, p. 73–77; G. Grižas 1998, p. 197; R. Banytė-Rowell 2007, p. 53–55). In Pažarstis, Stanaičiai, and Zapsė buri-

al sites of the late 2nd and the 3rd cent., cremations in typical Bogaczewo Culture urns were discovered (G. Grižas 1998; G. Grižas, A. Bitner-Wróblewska 2007, p. 261–277, fig. 16). Although in the Roman Period the dead were buried without cremation, excavations of the recent decades convincingly confirmed biritual burial customs (W. Antoniewicz 1920, p. 141–142, table 6; G. Grižas 1998, p. 197; G. Grižas, A. Bitner-Wróblewska 2007, p. 261–276; M. Engel *et alii* 2006, fig. 18, 19). In Zapsė cemetery, a cremation was discovered in an urn of rusticated pottery, dating back to the 2nd or the early 3rd cent. (phases B2–C1a) (G. Grižas 1998, p. 197). Today, it is impossible to say whether the potsherds of the Bogaczewo Culture pottery or even intact pots discovered in Nendriniai came from graves or from the cultural layer of the settlement (Fig. 5:6). In the Zubriai settlement investigated in recent years, typical pottery of the Bogaczewo Culture was discovered (Fig. 5:2–4).

However, the cultural situation in the Trans-Nemunas Region changed during the Late Roman and Early Migration Periods: the presence of the Sudovian Culture became increasingly obvious (Rudamina and Mankūnai) (W. Antoniewicz 1920, p. 141–142, fig. 6; D. Kontrimas 2014, p. 131–133, fig. 4). In the early 20th cent., a cremation burial in an urn was discovered (only the lower part of the urn survived) during the excavation of the Rudamina barrow. Based on the other finds (a miniature cup, a conical shield boss with a handle, a D-shaped belt buckle, a strap end of the *Samland* type, a crossbow brooch decorated with ringlets, and an iron drawing-knife; see Fig. 10), the grave dates back to C3/D1–D2 periods, i.e. the late 4th or the early 5th cent. (cf. W. Antoniewicz 1920, p. 141–142). In the Nendriniai cemetery, cremated bones in a grave were put in a small (height of 14 cm) pinched-impressed urn with no grave goods. Following the analysis of pinched-impressed pots discovered in Lithuanian cemeteries, grave 3 in Nendriniai could date back to the 5th or 6th cent. (V. Kazakevičius 2004, p. 10–25, fig. 9).

Burial sites and burial rites: Southeastern Lithuania
In the Late Roman and the Migration Periods, burials in Southeastern Lithuania were placed in barrows built of stones and encircled with stones (Fig. 6–8). Already at that time, both inhumation and cremation were practised (Fig. 11; see: Alinka [Raistinė], Eitulionys, Maisiejūnai, Migonys, Musteniai [Bauboniai], Lavoriškės, and Pilviškės; R. Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė 1958; D. Andrašiūnaitė 1970; A. Bliujus 1978; 1979; 1980; 1981; E. Butėnas 1998; A. Bliujienė 1992, p. 109–111, fig. 5–8; V. Vaitkevičius 2000, p. 4–7, fig. 5–7).

The cremation burial custom appeared in Southeastern Lithuania at least a hundred years earlier than in Eastern Lithuania, even though both groups of barrows were close both in terms of time and culture. Early appearance

[9] About 250 burned down, broken (hacked) and intact bronze ornaments and other artefacts were found in the lower cultural layer (80 cm depth) in Paverkniai (Birštonas municipality) hillfort. This deposit weights 1.005 kg (G. Z a b i e l a 1995, p. 9, fig. 5–7). It might be that bronze artefacts were metal scrap deposit, which may be recast for producing new items.
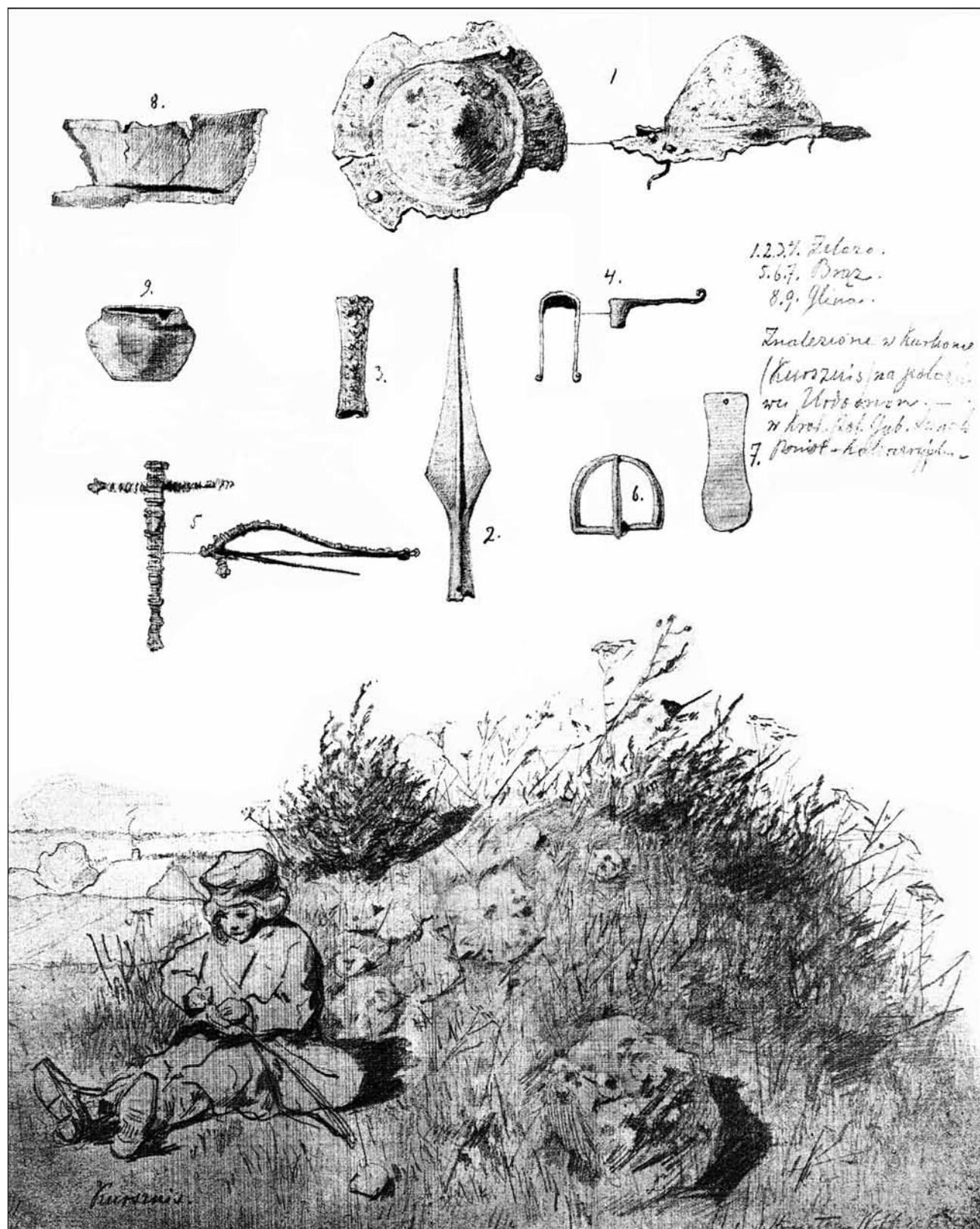
Fig. 10. R u d a m i n a barrow and the grave goods dated to the of the 4th – the beginning of the 5th cent. AD. 1 – shield boss;
2 – spearhead; 3 – fragment of a spearhead ferrule; 4 – drawing-knife; 5 – crossbow fibula with wire-coiled rings; 6 – belt buckle;
7 – belt-end fitting; 8 – part of an urn; 9 – miniature cup. 1–4 – iron; 5–7 – bronze; 8, 9 – clay. After: W. Antoniewicz 1920.
Ryc. 10. R u d a m i n a, kurhan i wyposażenie grobu z końca IV – początku V wieku n.e. 1 – umbo; 2 – grot włóczni; 3 – fragment tulejki
grotu; 4 – ośnik; 5 – zapinka kuszowata z pierścieniami z nacinanego drutu; 6 – sprzączka; 7 – okucie końca pasa; 8 – fragment popielnicy;
9 – kubek miniaturowy. 1–4 – żelazo; 5–7 – brąz; 8, 9 – glina. Wg: W. Antoniewicz 1920.

of the cremation custom in Southeastern Lithuania was confirmed by the cremation grave of a woman of the second quarter of the 3rd or the early 4th cent. (phases C1b–C2), discovered in barrow 2 of the Eitulionys barrow cemetery (A. Bliujus 1985, p. 39–40, fig. 7, 9; A. Bliujienė 2013a, p. 470–471, fig. 321, 322). Meanwhile, the investigation carried out over the recent years indicates that the cremation custom in Eastern Lithuania was established as late as in the second quarter of the 5th cent., or even in its middle (V. Vaitkevičius 2005, p. 50–54; A. Bliujienė 2006, p. 131–138). In Southeastern Lithuania, cremated bones were put in pits of different sizes under the basis of barrow mounds, or in the mounds, and the graves were often encircled by stone kerbs, or stones were used to set their grave pits (W. Szukiewicz 1910a, p. 67–69, pl. XVIII, XIX; W. Antoniewicz 1930, p. 111, fig. 8:3, 9:4–10; A. Bliujus 1985, p. 34–35; M. Michelbertas 1986, p. 72; A. Bliujienė 1992, fig. 8; G. Abaravičius 1994, p. 102). Most of the cremations in southeastern Lithuania held no grave goods (cf. barrows 3, 5, 6, and 14 at Eitulionys, barrow 3 at Moša [Naujasodai], barrow 18 at Alinka [Raistinė], barrow 1 at Lavoriškės). The graves without any goods are difficult to date. Part of the cremations, especially dug in earth piles, may belong specifically to the Migration Period. However, indirect assumptions, such as the equipment of graves, would allow us to associate the beginning of the cremation custom with the second half of the 3rd and the early 4th cent. Still, it is clear that the cremation custom widely spread in southeastern Lithuania at the beginning of the Migration Period. In accordance with the summarised data from Southeastern and Eastern Lithuania, when comparing inhumation and cremations, the total amount of grave goods and the number of artefact types in the latter tends to decrease (L. Kurila 2009a, p. 96, fig. 133, 134). The absence of grave goods in cremations in the Southeastern Lithuanian barrow cemeteries connect the said burials to the cremation graves of the Suwałki Group of the Migration Period with their less rich sets of finds (A. Bitner-Wróblewska 1994, p. 224). Therefore, the decline in the finds in cremations may have been a regional phenomenon.

Horse burials and human graves with horses
Since the Early Roman Period (phase B1), and especially since its turn with the Late Roman Period (phase B2/C1), as well as in the Migration Period, human graves with horses and single horse graves have been a significant characteristic to the Dollkeim-Kovrovo, West Lithuanian Stone Circle Graves, and the Bogaczewo and Sudovian cultural groups, or in other words, of the Western Balt cultural area (J. Jaskanis 1966, fig. 1; J. Piątkowska-Małecka 2000, fig. 1; T. Ibsen, K. Skvorzov 2004, p. 402–405, fig. 13, 14; P. Szymański 2005, 96–99, table 1; V. Kulakov 2005, fig. 71, 72; W. Nowakowski 2004, p. 214, pl. XII; 2009, p. 116–126, fig. 1; A. Bitner-Wróblewska 2007, p. 105–106; A. Bliujienė, D. Butkus 2007, p. 96–105, fig. 1; M. Karczewska et alii 2009). Nonetheless, the burial rites in the area featured different relations of humans and horses in graves. Moreover, in the burial sites, horse graves (sacrifice) are found unrelated to specific graves. A man and a horse were buried in the same or in different grave pits, and ultimately, horses are known to have been consciously buried separately from people. The custom to bury horses, or people and horses, was brought to the Trans-Nemunas Region and Southeastern Lithuania by peoples of the Bogaczewo and Sudovian cultural groups that appeared in the region in the Roman Period.

In 1938 in Liepynai barrow cemetery, Pranas Kulikauskas investigated four human graves dating back to the 3rd–4th cent. (sometimes the grave was assigned to the 7th or 8th cent.) and one single horse grave (P. Kulikauskas 1938; A. Alseikaitė-Gimbutienė 1946, p. 80–81, pl. 22). The relations between the human and the horse remained unclear. In Stanaičiai cemetery a decayed horse skeleton was discovered, among the Bogaczewo Culture cremations in urns and pits (A. Merkevičius 1990, p. 84)[10]. In Stanaičiai cemetery, like in other sites of the Bogaczewo Culture, horses may have been buried (sacrificed) in certain places of the cemetery, and such burials were not related to human burials (M. Karczewska et alii 2009, p. 56–58, fig. 1).

In Moša (Naujasodai) barrow cemetery in Southeastern Lithuania, in barrow 2[11], an inhumation grave of a man and a horse in separate pits was discovered. Based on the position of the skeleton (Fig. 12), the horse must have been placed with its head to the north, on its left side, and with outstretched legs (the head and the shoulder-blade were missing, and individual teeth of the horse were found over the human grave pit) (G. Abaravičius 1995, p. 12–15). The horse was buried without any grave goods under a stone pile. Meanwhile, the man's grave (the bones were decayed) was covered with a stone pile at the level of the barrow base; some potsherds of black polished pottery (Fig. 13:1) were discovered among the stones. Over one hundred bronze rivets with studs were discovered in the pit under the base of the barrow, within the grave of a man buried with his head to the north. Those rivets must have decorated a bridle and a belt, as well as the upper part of a wooden spear shaft. An iron pin with a cylindrical head (of Beckmann B type), temple rings and a smaller ring with tapered terminals, and

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[10] Horse bones did not survive.

[11] Barrow 2 with its diameter of 11.2 m and height of 0.6 m was the largest in the group. In the northern part of the of the mound, remains of a cultural layer were found.
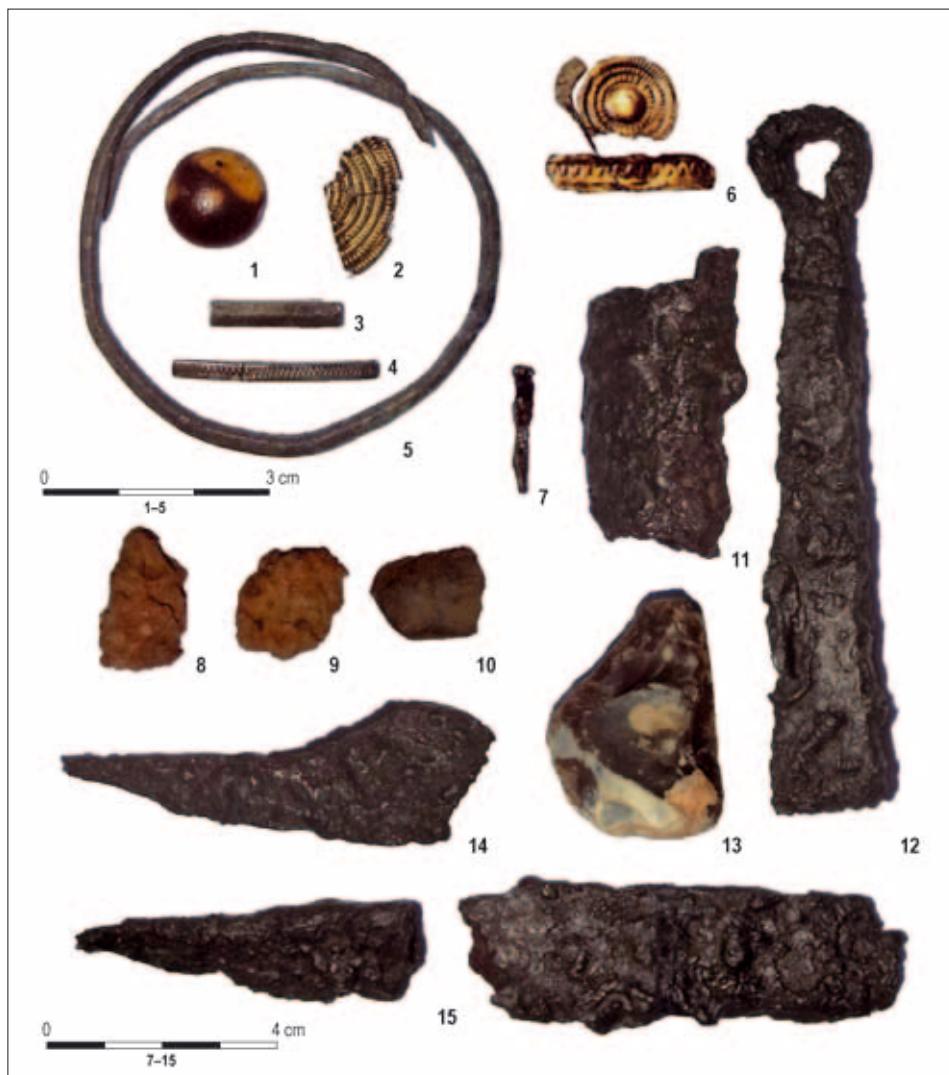
Fig. 11. Selected graves goods found at P i l v i š k ė s barrow cemetery, barrow 1(8), in an inhumation burial of over 40-year-old man, robbed in antiquity (1–5, 7–15), and plates (6) found in barrow 4 at G r o c h y S t a r e (Białystok County, eastern Poland). Second quarter – mid-3rd cent. AD. 1 – counter; 2 – plate fragment; 3, 4 – neck-ring (?) fragments; 5 – ring temple; 6 – plates; 7 – fragment of a needle shaft; 8–10 – potsherds of hand-made household pots; 11 – fragment of a spearhead ferrule; 12 – fire steel; 13 – piece of flint; 14 – sickle fragment (?); 15 – knife (?) fragment. 1 – amber; 2, 6 – gilded silver; 3, 4 – silver; 5 – bronze; 7, 11, 12, 14, 15 – iron; 8–10 – clay; 13 – flint. Photo: A. Bliujienė (1–5, 7–15; cf. V. Vaitkevičius 2000). After: A. Cieśliński 2014 (6).

Ryc. 11. Wybór zabytków z kurhanu 1(8) z cmentarzyska kurhanowego w P i l v i š k ė s, z grobu inhumacyjnego (mężczyzna, powyżej 40 lat), obrabowanego w starożytności (1–5, 7–15), oraz tarczki (6) z kurhanu 4 z G r o c h ó w S t a r y c h (pow. białostocki). Druga ćw. – poł. III wieku n.e. 1 – żeton do gry; 2 – fragment tarczki; 3, 4 – fragmenty naszyjnika (?); 5 – kabłaczek skroniowy; 6 – tarczki; 7 – fragment trzonu szpili; 8–10 – fragmenty ręcznie lepionej ceramiki; 11 – fragment tulejki grotu; 12 – krzesiwo; 13 – krzemień; 14 – fragment sierpa (?); 15 – fragment noża (?). 1 – bursztyn; 2, 6 – pozłacane srebro; 3, 4 – srebro; 5 – brąz; 7, 11, 12, 14, 15 – żelazo; 8–10 – glina; 13 – krzemień. Fot.: A. Bliujienė (1–5, 7–15; por. V. Vaitkevičius 2000). Wg: A. Cieśliński 2014 (6).

fragments of wooden artefacts were found among the man's grave goods. The profiled bindings of a rare form may have belonged to the belt or the bridle (Fig. 14:8. 12.14).

In that grave, parts of the bridle stand out: rivets with studs and a crescent-shaped nose-piece that decorated the horse's forehead (G. Abaravičius 1996a p. 12–15) (Fig. 14:7). The grave goods discovered in man's grave in barrow 2 of Moša (Naujasodai) are similar to those discovered in Szwajcaria and Netta burial sites (A. Bitner-Wrób-

lewska 2007, p. 105–106; J. Jaskanis 2013, p. 253–255). The set of the grave finds and the funeral rite indicate that the man and horse grave should be assigned to the second quarter of the 3rd or the mid-3rd cent. Burials of horses and humans in separate pits of a common barrow, as well as unrelated graves of humans and horses, were found in all the burial sites of the Sudovian cultural groups. That is why a human and horse grave discovered in Southeastern Lithuania with some rider's equipment, i.e. spurs (Fig. 15:4), is similar to those in the Sudovian cultural groups
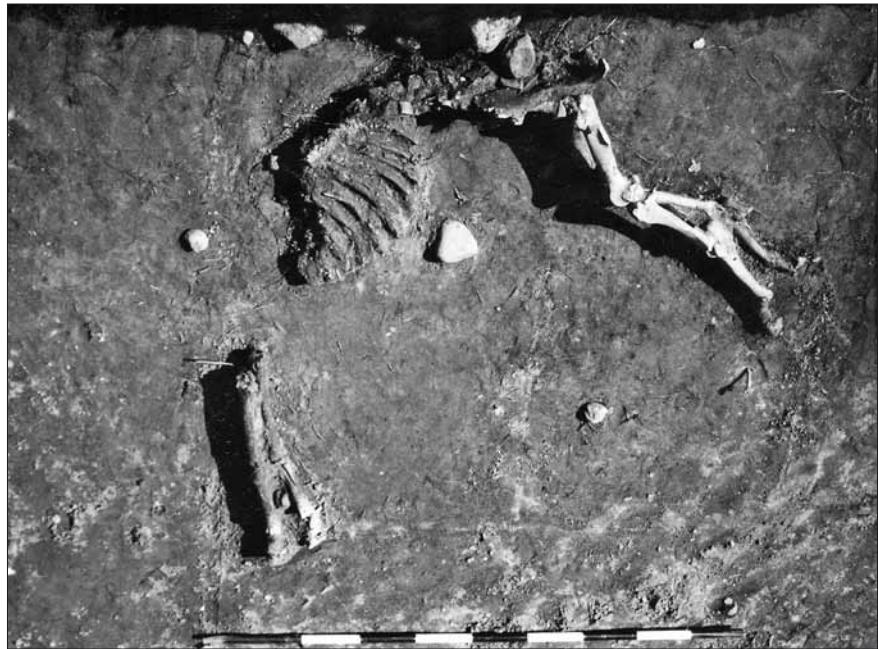
Fig. 12. View *in situ* (from W) of the C1b-phase horse burial in barrow 2 of M o š a (Naujasodai) cemetery. Photo: G. Abaravičius.

Ryc. 12. Widok *in situ* (od zachodu) na pochówek koński z fazy C1b w kurhanie 2 na cmentarzysku w M o š a (Naujasodai). Photo: G. Abaravičius.

(A. Bliujienė, D. Butkus 2007, p. 105, fig. 9; A. P. Piorun 2011, p. 13–26; B. Kontny 2013, p. 132–138, fig. 1, 3).

The most obvious reflections of cross-cultural contacts

In the late 1st and early 3rd cent., during the stage of the greatest development of the Bogaczewo Culture (phases B1b–B2–B2/C1), its contacts reached the Trans-Nemunas Region, Southeastern, Eastern, and Central Lithuania (A. Luchtanas 2001, fig. 3:1; M. Bertašius 2007, p. 252–254, fig. 5; G. Grižas, A. Bitner-Wróblewska 2007, fig. 16; A. Bliujienė 2013a, fig. 121). Therefore, such ornaments as neck-rings with trumpet-shaped terminals, the so-called eye brooches (Almgren type 60/61), and Almgren type 72 and 133 brooches, wheel-shaped and figure-of-eight-shaped pendants, and pins of Beckmann A, B and H types reached the areas on both sides of the Nemunas (Fig. 9:1–5.7–8, 16:6; O. Almgren 1897, pl. III:60.61; M. Kaczyński 1963, p. 121–122, fig. 6:c.d; B. Beckmann 1969, fig. 1; M. Michelbertas 1989, p. 18–20, fig. 8:4.5;

2011, p. 72, fig. 4:1.8, 5:2–4; W. Nowakowski 2007, p. 13–17, 25, 47–51, fig. 1, 2, 5, 12, pl. I:5.7.15.19.49, II:8, IV:1–6, V:2–4.14–17; P. Szymański 2006, fig. 4:3.4.14.20; A. Juga-Szymańska 2014, p. 139–140, 144, 193–195, fig. 88, 93). On one hand, the ornaments confirm sufficiently close contacts of the Western Balt cultural area. On the other hand, they prove fast changes in the Trans-Nemunas Region and Southeastern Lithuania, and simultaneously Eastern Lithuania, after the decline of the Brushed Pottery Culture. In the Late Roman Period, new ornaments such as neck-rings with spoon-shaped clasp, different types of crossbow brooches[12], penannular enamelled brooches,

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[12] Brooches type Almgren 161, crossbow brooches with wire-coiled rings (Almgren 167), brooches with long foot and small, massive crosspiece at the end of the foot (*Schlusskreuzfibeln*), crossbow brooches with closed catch-plate or *Dollkeim-Kovrovo* type as well as *Prague* and *Skorbiči* (*Скорбичи*) fibulae types (Fig. 15:1.3; see: A. B i t n e r -W r ó b l e w s k a 2001, p. 43–47, fig. 7, 8; A. B l i u j i e n ė 2006, p. 132–133, fig. 5; 2013a, p. 172, fig. 92:2; V. G. B e l â v e c 2007, p. 304, fig. 1.B:8).

Fig. 13. Pottery with smooth and polished surfaces found in Southeastern Lithuania, dated from the first quarter of the 3rd to mid-5th cent. AD (1–3, 7–9), and similar Sudovian pottery (4–6, 10–12): 1 – M o š a (Naujasodai), barrow 2, male burial (type C1); 2 – A l i n k a (Raistinė), barrow XVIII (type C2); 3 – E i t u l i o n y s, barrow XX (type C3); 4 – N e t t a, grave 43 (type C2); 5 – N e t t a, grave 3B (type C3); 6 – O s o w a, barrow 64, grave (type C2); 7 – E i t u l i o n y s, barrow IV (type E1); 8 – Z a p s ė, burial 7 (type E2); 9 – E i t u l i o n y s, barrow II (type E2); 10 – O s i n k i, settlement, area I (type E1), 11 – N e t t a, grave 57 (type E2); 12 – O s o w a, barrow 80, grave 1. After: A. Bitner-Wróblewska 2007 (4, 5), D. Jaskanis & J. Jaskanis 1966 (6, 10, 11), G. Grižas 1998 (8) and J. Okulicz 1963 (12). Photo: A. Bliujienė (1–3, 7, 9). Pottery typology after: A. Bitner-Wróblewska 2007.

Ryc. 13. Ceramika o gładkich i wyświecanych powierzchniach z Litwy Południowo-Wschodniej, z okresu od pierwszej ćw. III do poł. V wieku n.e. (1–3, 7–9), i podobna ceramika kultury sudowskiej (4–6, 10–12): 1 – M o š a (Naujasodai), kurhan 2, pochówek męski (typ C1); 2 – A l i n k a (Raistinė), kurhan XVIII (typ C2); 3 – E i t u l i o n y s, kurhan XX (typ C3); 4 – N e t t a, grób 43 (typ C2); 5 – N e t t a, grób 3B (typ C3); 6 – O s o w a, kurhan 64, grób (typ C2); 7 – E i t u l i o n y s, barrow IV (typ E1); 8 – Z a p s ė, pochówek 7 (typ E2); 9 – E i t u l i o n y s, kurhan II (type E2); 10 – O s i n k i, osada, strefa I (type E1), 11 – N e t t a, grób 57 (typ E2); 12 – O s o w a, kurhan 80, grób 1. Wg: A. Bitner-Wróblewska 2007 (4, 5), D. Jaskanis i J. Jaskanis 1966 (6, 10, 11), G. Grižas 1998 (8) oraz J. Okulicz 1963 (12). Fot.: A. Bliujienė (1–3, 7, 9). Typologia ceramiki wg: A. Bitner-Wróblewska 2007.

C.1   C.2   C.3

1

2

3

4

5

6

E.1   E.2

7

8

9

0   12 cm
4.5.10.11

0   4 cm
1-3.7-9

0   4 cm
6.12

10

11

12
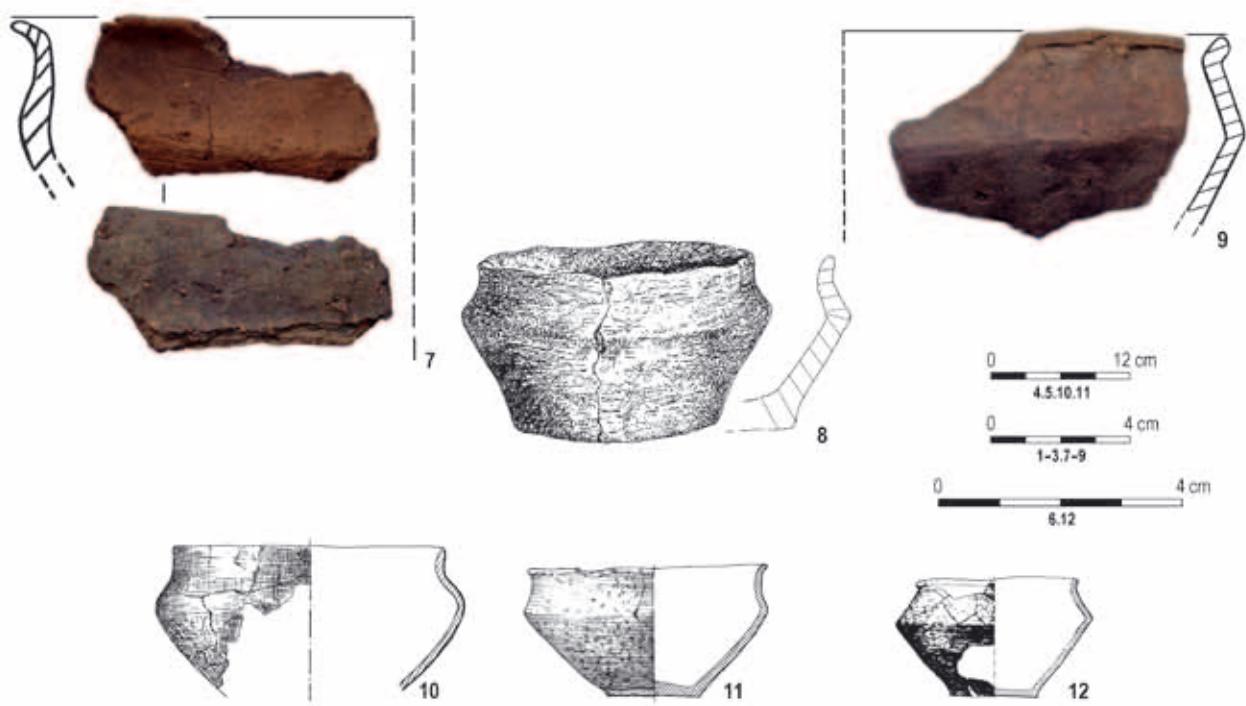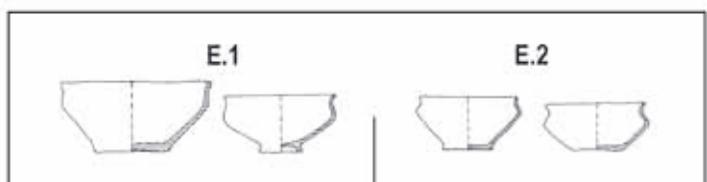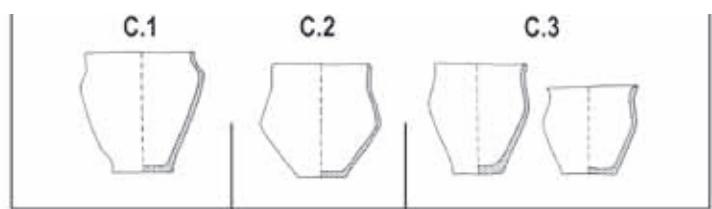
Fig. 14. Finds of the C1b-phase male grave in barrow 2 of M o š a (Naujasodai): 1 – some of almost 100 bronze rivets; 2 – fragment of a bone plate with textile fragments; 3, 4 – fragments of bronze ring temple ornaments; 5 – iron pin type B; 6 – fragments of a wooden artefact (?); 7 – bronze pendant; 8, 11–14 – bronze fittings and rivets; 9, 10 – bronze belt buckle and strap end; 15 – fragment of a wooden spear shaft with a row of bronze rivets; 16 – iron spearhead. After: A. Bliujienė 2016.

Ryc. 14. Zabytki z grobu męskiego z fazy C1b z kurhanu 2 w M o š a (Naujasodai): 1 – wybór spośród niemal 100 nitów brązowych; 2 – fragment płytki kościanej z resztkami tkaniny; 3, 4 – fragmenty brązowych kabłączków skroniowych; 5 – żelazna szpila typu B; 6 – fragmenty przedmiotu drewnianego (?); 7 – zawieszka brązowa; 8, 11–14 – brązowe okucia i nity; 9, 10 – brązowa sprzączka i okucie końca pasa; 15 – fragment drzewca włóczni z rzędem nitów brązowych; 16 – żelazny grot włóczni. Wg: A. Bliujienė 2016.

wrist-band bracelet, bronze and iron pins of Beckmann B and L types and *Szwajcaria* type, appear in areas in question (Fig. 9:6.9, 10:5, 15:1, 16:1–5.7.9; O. Almgren 1897, pl. VII:161.167; S. Krukowski 1913, p. 11–13, pl.I:5.6.10; W. Antoniewicz 1920; B. Beckmann 1969, p. 108, 111, fig. 1, pl. 20, 22; A. Bitner-Wróblewska 2001, p. 43–47, fig. 7; A. Bliujienė 2006, p. 139; M. Engel *et alii* 2006, pl. XI; M. Rudnicki 2008, fig. 12, 13; M. Michelbertas 2011, p. 70–90, fig. 2, 4–10; P. Szymański 2006, fig. 1:2, 2:2.3, 3; W. Nowakowski 2011, fig. 8, 9; A. Juga-Szymańska 2014, p. 161–162, 165–166, fig. 93, 95). Some of the ornaments, such as wheel-shaped pendants and neck-rings with a spoon-shaped clasp, are also found in cemeteries of Central Lithuania. However, the majority of the wheel-shaped pendants discovered in the graves of Eastern Lithuanian barrows and in settlements had already acquired local traits and lost the original stylistics; thus, they can be considered only distant reflections of the former contacts (Fig. 9:1.2).

Simultaneously, in the Trans-Nemunas Region (Bakšiai, Pažarstis, and Seiliūnai), in Southeastern (Kairėnai) and Eastern Lithuania (Miežionys and Pašekščiai) unique ornaments are found, including long cylinders (length from 2.5 to 5.2 cm, diam. from 0.5 to 0.9 cm) made of thin sheet of tin (Fig. 16:10; R. Kulikauskienė, R. Rimantienė 1954, fig. 261, 262; I. Sadauskaitė 1959, p. 65–66, fig. 7; M. Michelbertas 1989, p. 18, fig. 6:3–6; 2011, p. 71, fig. 5:1; V. Vaitkevičius 2004, fig. 13, 15; V. Steponaitis 2002, p. 5–
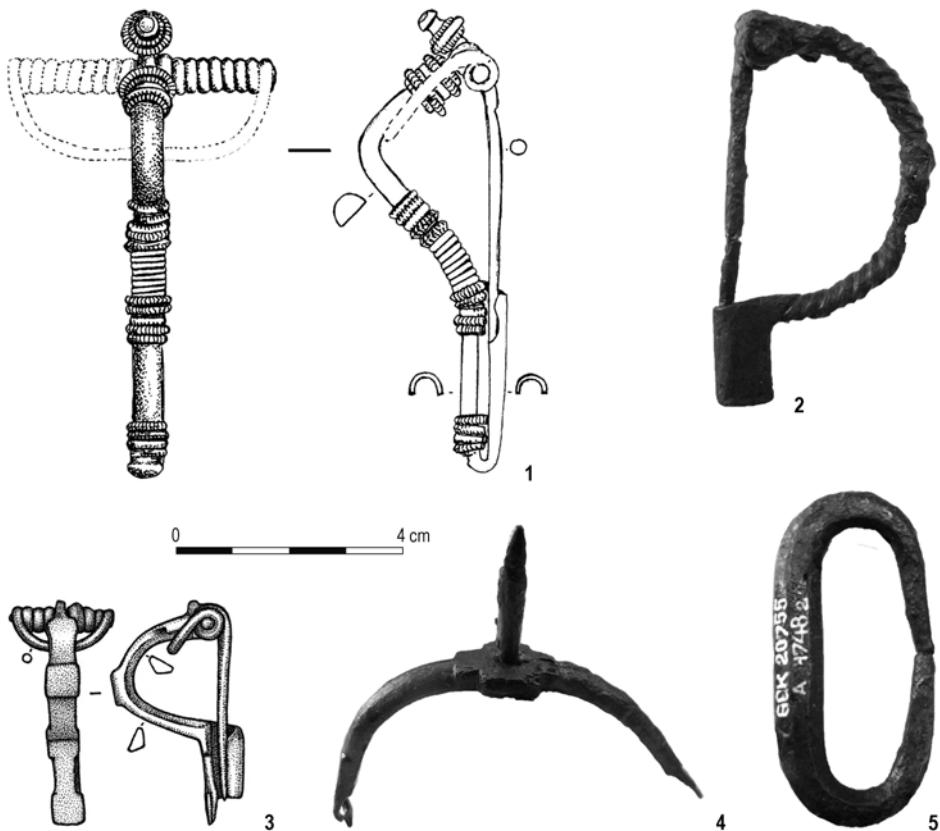
Fig. 15. Artefacts found in the Southeastern Lithuanian barrows: 1 – crossbow fibula with wire-coiled rings from K a i r ė n a i;
2, 4, 5 – *Pilvyny* type fibula, spur with high prick and belt buckle with thickened frame from a barrow at S k e r s a b a l ė;
3 – *Skorbicze* type fibula from a hillfort foot settlement at L e p e l i o n y s. 1 – bronze and silver; 2, 4, 5 – iron; 3 – bronze. After: LNM AR Card catalogue 96:5 (1), G. Abaravičius 1991 (2, 4, 5) and A. Bliujienė 2013a (3).
Ryc. 15. Zabytki z kurhanów z Litwy Południowo-Wschodniej: 1 – zapinka kuszowata z pierścieniami z nacinanego drutu z K a i r ė n a i;
2, 4, 5 – zapinka typu *Pilvyny*, ostroga z wysokim bodźcem i sprzączka z pogrubioną ramą z kurhanu w S k e r s a b a l ė; 3 – zapinka typu *Skorbicze* z osady przy grodzisku w L e p e l i o n y s. 1 – brąz i srebro; 2, 4, 5 – żelazo; 3 – brąz. Wg: LNM AR, katalog nr 96:5 (1), G. Abaravičius 1991 (2, 4, 5) oraz A. Bliujienė 2013a (3).

9, fig. 16, 17). In graves, such cylinders were discovered in the amount from a dozen to 70. Sometimes, some seams can be seen inside them, therefore, one can assume they were either pieces of necklaces, or they adorned clothes, or served both purposes.

Ring temple ornaments with tapered and overlapping terminals, made of wire of diamond-shaped cross-section and of a smaller spiral with overlapping terminals, are more frequent in the Trans-Nemunas Region and Southeastern Lithuanian burial sites than in sites of Eastern Lithuania. Ring temple ornaments manufactured from wire of round cross-section with overlapping terminals are more characteristic of the Eastern Lithuanian Barrows Culture. Both types of such ornaments belong to the female headwear, but also occur in typical male grave assemblages (Fig. 11:5, 14:4) and male graves that were determined anthropologically (for this see: V. Vaitkevičius 2000, p. 46). However, none of these ring temple ornaments of female headwear are typical of Sudovians who lived in northeastern Poland.

In the Trans-Nemunas Region and Southeastern Lithuania, bronze belt buckles are discovered (types D26, D29, D30, and H11), as well as strap ends (types II.3 and tongue shaped strap ends of subtype of type VI.12) (Fig. 10:6, 14:9; cf. R. Madyda-Legutko 1987, pl. 9:26, 10:29.30, 19:11, map 23; 2011, pl. XI, XLII, map 9, 23). Most of these buckles are known from the sites of Bogaczewo and Sudovian Cultures in northeastern Poland. Oblong strap ends of type 3 are characteristic of the Przeworsk Culture, while outside that culture they are known from the Bogaczewo Culture cemeteries at Paprotki Kolonia and Gąsior (R. Madyda-Legutko 2011, p. 42, 136, map 9). An oblong strap end was discovered in a human grave in barrow 2 at Moša (Naujasodai) (Fig. 14:10). The tongue-shaped strap ends are characteristic of the Dollkeim-Kovrovo, Bogaczewo, and Sudovian Cultures; such belt fittings were also found in the Trans-Nemunas Region, in Rudamina and Krikštonys (Fig. 17:5.6; W. Antoniewicz 1920; P. Kulikauskas 1959; R. Madyda-Legutko 2011, p. 94–97, 99, 161–162, map 23, 24).
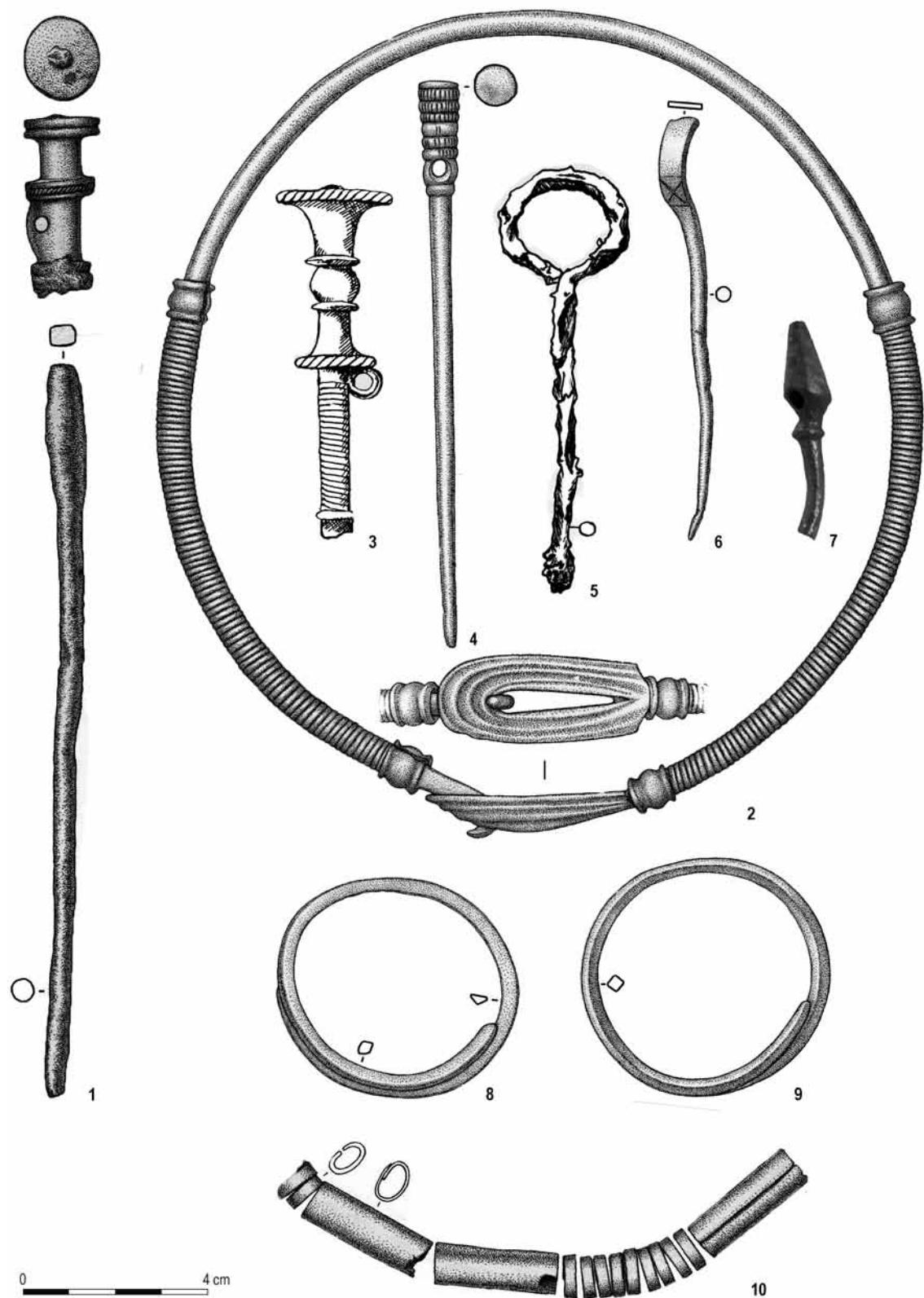
Fig. 16. The Late Roman Period bronze ornaments found in the Trans-Nemunas Region: 1, 3 – pins of type H; 2 – neck-ring with a spoon-shaped clasp; 4 – pin of type *Szwajcaria*; 5 – pin of type B; 6 – pin of type A; 7 – pin of type L; 8, 9 – ring temples; 10 – cylinders and spirals. 1, 2, 4, 6, 8–10 – B a k š i a i; 3 – P a ž a r s t i s, barrow 32, grave 1; 5 – V i s g i n a i, barrow, stray find; 7 – M a n k ū n a i, barrow, grave 1. After: M. Michelbertas 2011 (1, 2, 4, 6, 8–10), A. Bliujienė 2013a (3, 5) and D. Kontrimas 2014 (7).

Ryc. 16. Późnorzymskie ozdoby brązowe z Litwy Zaniemeńskiej: 1, 3 – szpile typu H; 2 – naszyjnik z zapięciem łyżeczkowatym; 4 – szpila typu *Szwajcaria*; 5 – szpila typu B; 6 – szpila typu A; 7 – szpila typu L; 8, 9 – kabłączki skroniowe; 10 – spiralki i paciorki rurkowate. 1, 2, 4, 6, 8–10 – B a k š i a i; 3 – P a ž a r s t i s, kurhan 32, grób 1; 5 – V i s g i n a i, kurhan, znal. luźne; 7 – M a n k ū n a i, kurhan, grób 1. Wg: M. Michelbertas 2011 (1, 2, 4, 6, 8–10), A. Bliujienė 2013a (3, 5) oraz D. Kontrimas 2014 (7).

The graves of high-status individuals found in Moša (Naujasodai) and Krikštonys barrow cemeteries serve as good examples to prove the relations of Sudovian Culture groups not only with the Przeworsk Culture, but also with the southern Scandinavia and the Baltic islands already in phase C1b (Fig. 10, 17; see: B. Kontny 2013, p. 135–140). The relations of Sudovian cultural groups with Scandinavia became even more intensive in the Migration Period (A. Bitner-Wróblewska 1992, p. 259–260; 2001, p. 123–127; A. Bliujienė 2000, p. 101–107; 2013, p. 456–457, fig. 316, 317). A particular indirect influence and certain contacts with the Wielbark Culture people during their movement towards the Black Sea region are visible in the Southeastern Lithuania in phase C1. Some similarities in the barrow construction and funeral rites, as well as in the artefact types between the Wielbark Culture cemeteries in Pomerania and Greater Poland and the barrow cemeteries of the northern and eastern Poland are evident (for this see: A. Cieśliński 2014; N. Lau 2012). Therefore, appearance of rich graves in the Southeastern Lithuanian barrows indicates far-reaching contacts not only with southern Scandinavia and the Baltic islands, but also with the Wielbark Culture. Similar round, ornamented gilded silver plates were found in the elite graves of the Pilviškės (fragment, diam. 2.7–2.9 cm) and the Grochy Stare (Białystok County, eastern Poland) barrow cemeteries (Fig. 11:2.6). Most likely these plates were used to adorn belts (J. Ilkjær 2007, p. 124). Besides, perhaps a small (diam. 1.4 cm) amber counter[13] (Fig. 11:1), enclosed together with a bronze temple ring ornament into a small (10×12 cm) wooden casket, were found in the male grave in barrow 1(8) in Pilviškės (V. Vaitkevičius 2000, p. 7–10, fig. 6, 7). An iron fire steel from Pilviškės male grave (Fig. 11:12) resembles fire steels from the Wielbark Culture (J. Ilkjær 1993, p. 246–248, fig. 97–99).

In the Trans-Nemunas Region and Southeastern Lithuanian burial sites number of weapon from the Roman and Early Migration Periods are not abundant, nevertheless, some spearheads, knives, shield bosses, and even double-egged sword are known (Fig. 10:1–3, 11:11.15, 14:15.16, 17:2.7; M. Michelbertas 1986, p. 72; A. Tautavičius 1996, p. 98, fig. 26; A. Bliujienė 2006; 2013a, p. 479, 531, fig. 328, 329, 366). Weapons are also found in some inhumation graves of the Suwałki Group (J. Jaskanis, 2013, p. 169–202, fig. 20, 21, 28). It is also noteworthy that most of the investigated inhumation graves in Southeastern Lithuania (Eitulionys, Maisiejūnai, Moša [Naujasodai], Mustenys [Bauboniai], Pilviškės, Punios Šilas, and Visginai) were robbed, and, judging by secondary data, they must have been rich in grave goods (D. Andrašiūnaitė 1972; A. Bliujus 1983, p. 34; E. Butėnas 1998, p. 165–166, fig. 14:2.3,

15; L. Kurila 2009b, p. 44–49). In the Late Roman Period, weapons almost totally disappeared from the graves of the Gołdap Group of the Sudovian Culture and the latest phase of the Bogaczewo Culture (P. Szymański 2006, p. 375–376; B. Kontny 2008, p. 100–101). Weapons also disappeared from the cremation graves of the Suwałki Group of the Sudovian Culture from the Migration Period. Exceptionally, weapons are found in the Netta cemetery in the southern outskirts of the Augustów Group (A. Bitner-Wróblewska 2005, p. 37–40; 2007, p. 78–81). Therefore, the disappearance of weapons in the graves of the Bogaczewo and the Sudovian Cultures is a much more complex process and, so far, cannot be explain as a direct result of the Wielbark Culture influence.

To define the contacts of people of the both sides of the middle reaches of the Nemunas in the Roman and Migration Periods and to highlight their cultural background, one can use pottery only, as the most common find providing the biggest amount of data and obviously prove the common nature of these areas (Fig. 5, 13, 18–20). In the excavated hillforts, pottery with rusticated surface prevail; brushed pottery is less frequent, but there is also pottery with smooth and polished surface, as well as pinched-impressed pottery (P. Kulikauskas 1982, p. 77–89, fig. 50–52; Z. Baubonis, G. Zabiela 2005). Vessels with a smooth and polished surface differ from other types of pottery by their forms, composition of the clay mass (it contains little or no crushed stone), and thinner or thicker walls. Similar pots, bowls, and miniature vessels with smooth or polished surface were found in the hillforts, settlements, and burial sites of the Suwałki Group of the Sudovian Culture (Fig. 13:4–6.10–12; J. Okulicz 1963, p. 205–208, fig. 14, 17; D. Jaskanis, J. Jaskanis 1966, p. 127–129, fig. 11, pl. VI; A. Bitner-Wróblewska 1994, p. 220–224, fig. 1–6; J. Jaskanis 2013, p. 223–233). Vessels of the Bogaczewo Culture were found in the Trans-Nemunas Region; however, it would be difficult to state whether they existed in Southeastern Lithuania. In recent years, in the excavation of Zubriai settlement (Kalvarija municipality), typical Bogaczewo and Sudovian Culture pottery (pinched-impressed and polished) were found, as well as pots with a rough surface (Fig. 5:1–4; Z. Baubonis *et alii* 2012, p. 59–74; 2013, p. 52–60). In Lithuania, pottery with a smooth or polished surface have not been analysed in terms of chronology or typology. Although the amount of such pottery varies in different hillforts and settlements (P. Kulikauskas 1982, p. 79–81, fig. 49), based on the preliminary data vessels with a polished surface make 3 to 5% of all pottery finds in the Trans-Nemunas Region.

In Southeastern Lithuania, i.e. in the barrow cemeteries of Alinka (Raistinė), Eitulionys, Migoniai, Musteniai (Bauboniai), and apparently Verseka, potsherds with smooth and polished surface were discovered (Fig. 13:1–3.7.9; R. Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė 1958, p. 61; A. Bliujus

[13] For gaming pieces see: N. L a u 2012, p. 60–61, 151; R. B l a n k e n -f e l d t 2015, p. 250–252, fig. 150.

1978; 1979; 1980; G. Abaravičius 1995; 1996a). In these cemeteries such potsherds were found in different places of barrow mounds: between stones of the pavements, at the level of graves, frequently inside the stone piles that covered graves, as well as around and within the graves.

In all of the Southeastern Lithuanian barrow mounds, merely larger or smaller parts of pots or even very small sherds were found. Moreover, as proved by the potsherd fractures, the pots were broken when they got into the barrow mounds. In other words, we are dealing with
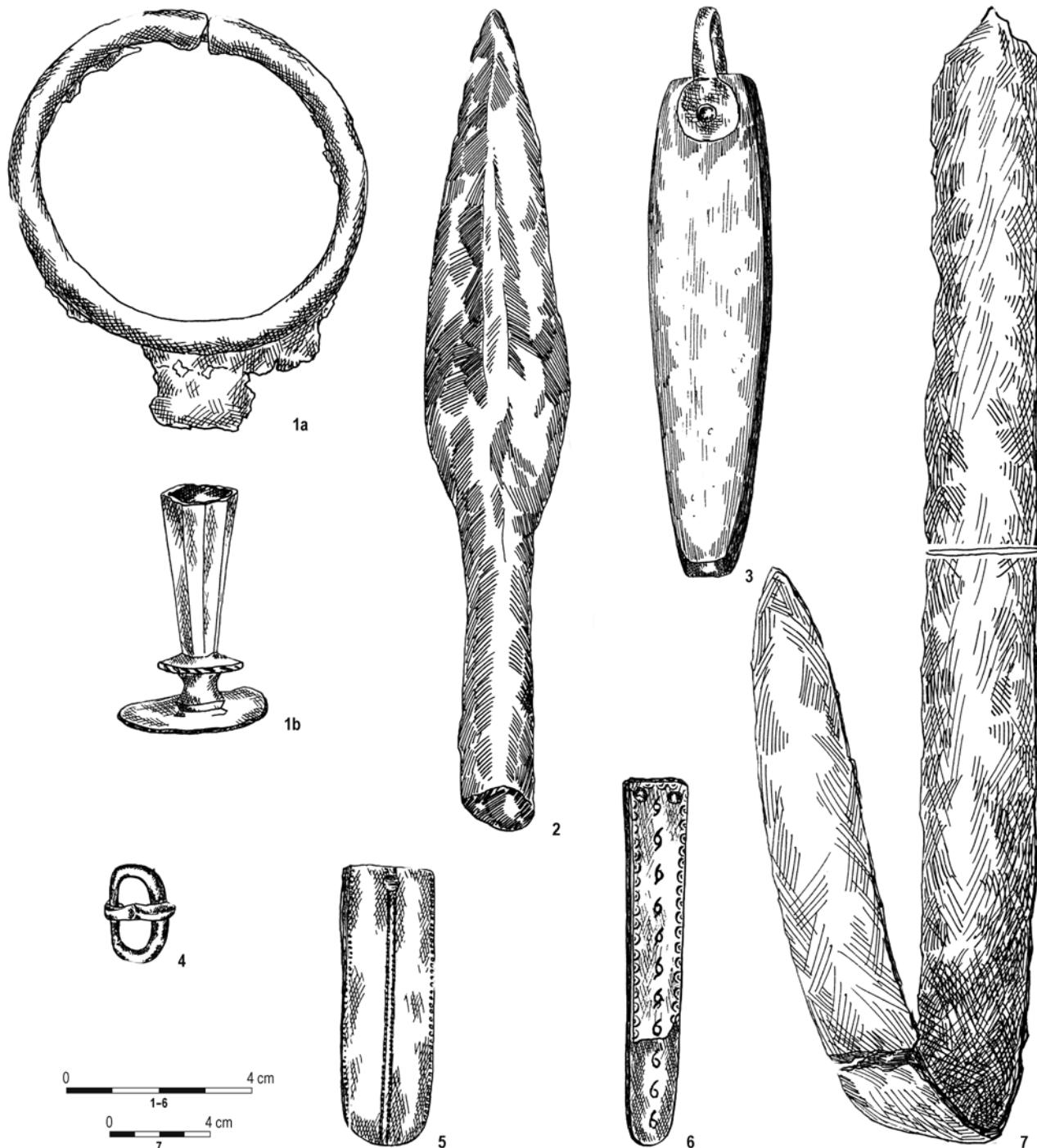
Fig. 17. Grave goods washed up from a male grave in K r i k š t o n y s barrow by the Nemunas overflow (LNM AR). 1a.b – drinking horn mountings; 2 – spearhead; 3 – belt buckle; 4, 5 – belt-end fittings; 6 – whetstone; 7 – double edged sword. 1, 4, 5 – bronze; 3 – stone and bronze; 2, 7 – iron; 6 – bronze, silvered. After: LNM AR Card catalogue 74:1–8 (1–7).
Ryc. 17. Zabytki wypłukane z męskiego grobu w kurhanie w K r i k š t o n y s podczas wylewu Niemna (LNM AR). 1a.b – okucia rogu do picia; 2 – grot włóczni; 3 – sprzączka; 4, 5 – okucia końca pasa; 6 – osełka; 7 – miecz obosieczny. 1, 4, 5 – brąz; 3 – kamień i brąz; 2, 7 – żelazo; 6 – brąz posrebrzany. Wg: LNM AR katalog nr 74:1–8 (1–7).

the specific burial rite. In the burial traditions of all the Sudovian groups, vessels served several functions: they were urns, their lids were used to transfer the bones of the dead from the cremation place to the cemetery, as well as to put out some food for the dead, for the food of the funeral repast, and for other purposes (A. Bitner-Wróblewska 2007, p. 107; J. Jaskanis 2013, p. 223). Evidently, it was the function of the vessels that caused the number of them found in the graves, their shapes and sizes (pots, bowls, jugs, and miniature cups).

However, over 620 different potsherds were discovered in the settlement layer survived below the mound of barrow 2 of Moša (Naujasodai), in which a human inhumation burial and a horse grave were dug into this layer (Fig. 12, 14). Those potsherds with polished surfaces belonged to the settlement, but some of potsherds with black polished surfaces were discovered in a human grave (Fig. 13:1, 18, 19; cf. G. Abaravičius 1996b, p. 78; E. Remecas 1998). In Pilviškiai barrow 1, an inhumation grave was dug into a settlement cultural layer with place of production of non-ferrous metal and potsherds of different pottery, which was registered in the barrow mound (Fig. 20; cf. V. Vaitkevičius 2000, p. 11).

A preliminary analysis of the potsherds from the barrow mounds of the Southeastern Lithuanian barrow cemeteries suggests that the discovered potsherds belong to pots (group C) and bowls (group E) used by the communities of the Suwałki and Augustów Groups of the Sudovian Culture (Fig. 13:4–6.10–12). Such vessels were used in the period between the second quarter of the 3rd and mid-5th cent. (A. Bitner-Wróblewska 2007, p. 90–95, 110–114, fig. 6, pl. XCVI, XCVII). Meanwhile, the pinched-impressed pottery found in Sudovian sites are dated to the period from the second half of the 4th to the 6th/7th cent. (A. Bitner-Wróblewska 1994, p. 222–223, fig. 1–5). The pots and bowls with pinched-impressed surface found in Lithuanian sites could have been used from the mid-5th to the 5th/mid-6th cent. or somewhat longer (V. Kazakevičius 2004, p. 10–25, fig. 9). Shapes of the pottery of the Suwałki, Augustów, and Gołdap Groups of the Sudovian Culture significantly differ (A. Bitner-Wróblewska 1994, p. 224–230; P. Szymański 2009, p. 79). Moreover, small (miniature) cups of different shapes are found in the burial sites and settlements of the Trans-Nemunas Region; these artefacts were undoubtedly made under the influence of the Sudovian Culture (Fig. 5:8, 10:9; W. Antoniewicz 1920, fig. 6:9; P. Kulikauskas 1982, p. 77–89, fig. 50; E. Svetikas 1989, p. 5, fig. 10:1; V. Steponaitis 1995, p. 15, fig. 32; A. Bliujienė 2013a, p. 400, fig. 104: 5).

In the Trans-Nemunas Region, single Roman coins and a hoard of denarii found at Kalesninkai proves the significance of the southern and southeastern contacts (A. Bliujienė 2013a, p. 436–437, fig. 296). Recently, two
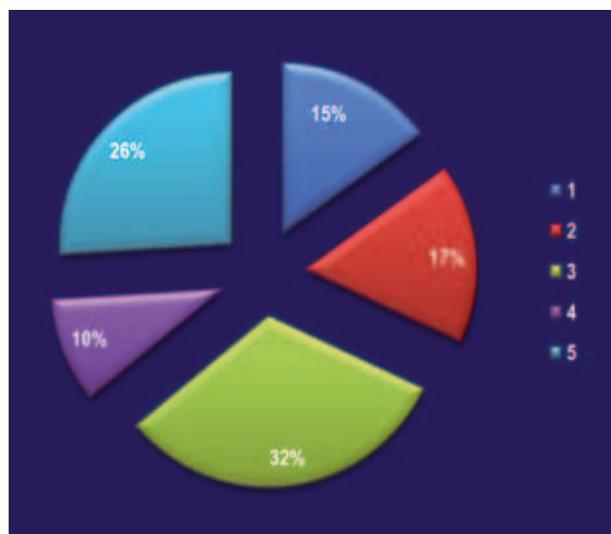

Fig. 18. Distribution of pottery found in M o š a (Naujasodai) barrow 2: 1 – brushed pottery; 2 – brushed pottery with traces of roughness; 3 – pottery with rough surface; 4 – pottery with smooth and polished surface; 5 – small, indeterminate potsherds. Diagram based on the data published by G. Abaravičius (1995a). Ryc. 18. Struktura ceramiki odkrytej w kurhanie 2 z M o š a (Naujasodai): 1 – ceramika kreskowana; 2 – ceramika kreskowana ze śladami chropowacenia; 3 – ceramika chropowacona; 4 – ceramika gładka, wyświecana; 5 – drobne, niecharakterystyczne ułamki ceramiki. Wg danych opublikowanych przez G. Abaravičiusa (1995a).
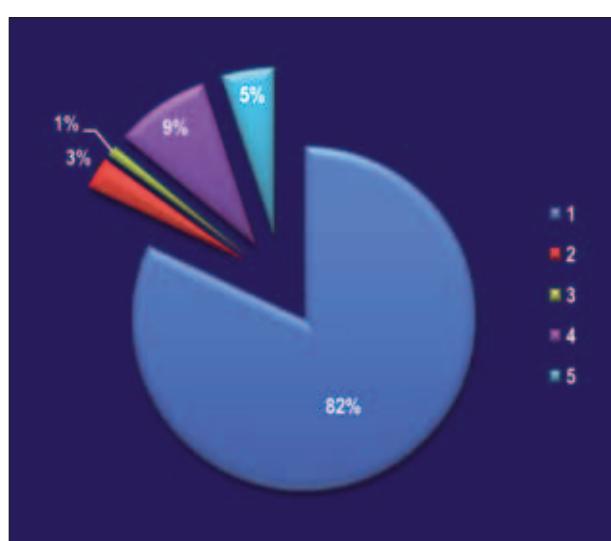
Fig. 19. Distribution of pottery found in M o š a (Naujasodai) settlement cultural layer: 1 – brushed pottery; 2 – brushed pottery with traces of roughness; 3 – pottery with rough surface; 4 – pottery with smooth surface; 5 – pottery with polished surface. Diagram based on the data published by E. Remecas (1998). Ryc. 19. Struktura ceramiki odkrytej w warstwie kulturowej osady z M o š a (Naujasodai): 1 – ceramika kreskowana; 2 – ceramika kreskowana ze śladami chropowacenia; 3 – ceramika chropowacona; 4 – ceramika gładka; 5 – ceramika wyświecana. Wg danych opublikowanych przez E. Remecasa (1998).
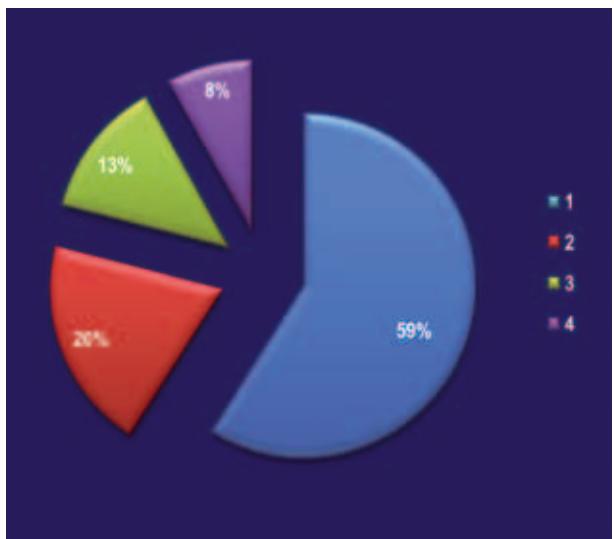
Fig. 20. Distribution of pottery found in mound of P i l v i š k ė s barrow 1 in cultural layer: 1 – brushed pottery; 2 – pottery with smooth surface; 3 – pottery with polished surface; 4 – pottery with rough surface. Data from V. Vaitkevičius (2000) excavations report.
Data from V. Vaitkevičius (2000) excavations report.
Ryc. 20. Struktura ceramiki odkrytej w warstwie kulturowej z nasypu kurhanu 1 z M o š a (Naujasodai): 1 – ceramika kreskowana; 2 – ceramika z powierzchnią gładką; 3 – ceramika z powierzchnią wyświecaną; 4 – ceramika chropowacona.
Wg danych ze sprawozdania z badań wykopaliskowych
V. Vaitkevičiusa (2000)

Roman coins (sestertii) were discovered in Suodžiai village (Šakiai District), in a meadow Pjauniai ("drained grassland")[14]. Moreover, in wetlands of the Trans-Nemunas Region, there could have been a place of sacrifice. That was in the village of Daukšiai (Marijampolė District, 2 km south from Amalvas Lake), in the so-called Amalvas swamps, a 15 cm-high human figurine sitting with his legs tucked under him and wearing a crown was discovered in winter of 1873 (A. Budzinskij 1877, p. 24). It would be too bold to assume the cultural background and dating of the figurine; still, its short description serves as a kind of reference to the Roman Period, when some bronze human figurines occurred in the coin hoards from the Eastern Baltic territories (e.g., close to the Lielupe River, near Vecsvirlaukas Dandāles village, Jelgava District in Latvia; K. Ducmane, A. Ozoliņa 2009, p. 72, fig. 1). Sacrifice in wetland is one of the phenomena common to all the cultural groups of the Western Balt area (A. Bliujienė 2010; E. Oras 2010; T. Nowakiewicz,

A. Rzeszotarska-Nowakiewicz 2012, p. 33–137). Naturally, such human figurines, just like in southern Scandinavia or in other Germanic lands, may have belonged to metal scrap deposits (e.g. Slipshavn on Funen island in Denmark), and they could have been found accidentally (cf. M. B. Henriksen 2010, p. 417, 421, fig. 30, 35).

Conclusions

In the Trans-Nemunas Region and in Southeastern Lithuania, the burial sites in which stones were use abundantly, are distributed in the landscape in three groups. In Southeastern Lithuania, one can distinguish the northern (Group 1) and southeastern (Group 2) groups of stone barrows, and in the Trans-Nemunas Region, the southwestern group of burial sites (Group 3). The grave equipments, the burial customs, and the finds of the Late Roman and the Migration Periods allow to consider the Trans-Nemunas Region and Southeastern Lithuania as peripheral areas of Suwałki, and partially Gołdap and Augustów Groups of the Sudovian Culture, or even as separate groups of the Sudovian Culture. However, the question whether the Trans-Nemunas Region and Southeastern Lithuania formed a coherent unit or represented three individual peripheral areas of the Sudovian Culture remains open, as that requires additional archaeological studies and analysis of the available material.

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Abbreviations

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PO OBU STRONACH ŚRODKOWEGO NIEMNA. NOWE SPOJRZENIE NA DAWNE PROBLEMY

STRESZCZENIE

Rozwój i zmiany kulturowe, które zachodziły po obu stronach środkowego biegu Niemna, na terenach znanych jako Litwa Zaniemieńska (lit. Užnemunė) oraz Litwa Południowo-Wschodnia, są w dalszym ciągu słabo poznane (Ryc. 1–3). W niniejszym artykule omawiam przemiany kulturowe tego regionu między końcem I a przełomem VI i VII wieku n.e., opierając się na analizie obrządku pogrzebowego i zabytków pochodzących ze stanowisk sepulkralnych.

W litewskiej historiografii archeologicznej, w której przeplatają się dane historyczne, lingwistyczne i archeologiczne, kwestia genezy i rozwój kulturowego regionu Litwy Zaniemieńskiej i Litwy Południowo-Wschodniej jest dość złożona. Autorzy piszący o Litwie Zaniemieńskiej zazwyczaj uznają ten obszar za zamieszkany przez społeczności praktykujące zróżnicowane zwyczaje pogrzebowe, które to ludy później weszły w skład plemion kultury sudowskiej – Sudowów *vel* Jaćwięgów. Dyskusyjna jest jednak kwestia spójności kulturowej terenów południowo-wschodniej i wschodniej Litwy, a zwłaszcza pytanie, czy kurhany z południowo-wschodniej Litwy, z kopcami kamiennymi, oraz wschodniolitewskie kurhany z kopcami otaczanymi przez wieńce kamienne, są zespołami kulturowo odmiennymi (Ryc. 3). W historiografii litewskiej dominuje pogląd, zgodnie z którym obie te grupy tworzą spójną całość.

Kurhany z nasypami oraz konstrukcjami grobowymi, do których budowy używano kamieni, spotykane są po obu stronach środkowego biegu Niemna, stanowiąc miejsca grzebalne typowe dla okresu późnorzymskiego i okresu wędrówek ludów (Ryc. 6–8). Kamienne kurhany i groby rozpowszechnione są w różnych częściach wysoczyzn nadbałtyckich – w Litwie Zaniemieńskiej i Litwie Południowo-Wschodniej tworzą one trzy główne grupy: północną (grupa 1), południowo-wschodnią (grupa 2) i południowo-zachodnią (grupa 3). Cmentarzyska grupy północnej zajmują teren Wzniesień Dzukijskich. Na północy kurhany z południowo-wschodniej i wschodniej Litwy rozdzielone są niewielką strefą niezasiedloną (Ryc. 2, 3). Zespół kurhanów z południowo-wschodniej Litwy (grupa II) skupia się na równinie w rejonie Ejszyszek (lit. Eišiškės), pomiędzy rzekami Ūla i Verseka. Kilka cmentarzysk, które mogłyby należeć do tej grupy, znanych jest z północno-zachodniej Białorusi (Rys. 2:2). Stanowiska grupy północnej (1) i południowo-wschodniej (2) tworzą małe, wyraźnie widoczne zgrupowania (Ryc. 4). Grupa 3, południowo-zachodnia, obejmuje duże terytorium na Litwie Zaniemieńskiej, a jej cmentarzyska są rozproszone pomiędzy Szeszupą a środkowym biegiem Niemna. Północny skraj tego obszaru, na granicy Równiny Środkowolitewskiej i rozległych lasów w rejonie dzisiejszej Kozłowej Rudy (lit. Kazlų Rūda), pozostawał jednak niezasiedlony praktycznie aż do połowy XIII wieku.

Na terenach rozciągających się po obu stronach środkowego biegu Niemna w okresie wpływów rzymskich i okresie wędrówek ludów w obrządku pogrzebowym dominowała inhumacja. Groby ciałopalne, popielnicowe i bezpopielnicowe, na Litwie Zaniemieńskiej mogą być datowane na II i początki III wieku (fazy B_2–C_{1a}). Na południowo-wschodniej Litwie pierwsze ciałopalne groby jamowe pojawiają się w fazie C_{1b}, natomiast liczba grobów ciałopalnych zwiększa się w fazie C_2. Większość tych pochówków była jednak niewyposażona, dlatego trudno ustalić ich datowanie. Na południowo-wschodniej Litwie ciałopalenia zsypywano do różnej wielkości jam, wkopywanych bądź to pod podstawą kurhanu, bądź w jego nasyp. Groby były często otaczane kamiennymi wieńcami, kamieni używano też do budowy samych grobów. Większość grobów ciałopalnych z południowo-wschodniej Litwy nie zawierała żadnego wyposażenia.

Od końca okresu wczesnorzymskiego, a zwłaszcza fazy przejściowej do okresu późnorzymskiego (faza B_2/C_1), oraz w okresie wędrówek ludów, wyrazistą cechą obrządku pogrzebowego ludów bałtyjskich są

WYKAZ SKRÓTÓW TYTUŁÓW CZASOPISM I WYDAWNICTW WIELOTOMOWYCH

ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICALS' AND SERIAL PUBLICATIONS' TITLES

AAC	– „Acta Archaeologica Carpathica", Kraków
AAHung.	– „Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae", Budapest
AFB	– „Arbeits- und Forschungsberichte zur sächsischen Bodendenkmalpflege", Berlin (Stuttgart)
Amtl. Ber.	– „Amtlicher Bericht über die Verwaltung der naturgeschichtlichen, vorgeschichtlichen und volkskundlichen Sammlungen des Westpreußischen Provinzial-Museums für das Jahr...", (później: „Amtlicher Bericht über die Verwaltung der naturhistorischen, archaeologischen und ethnologischen Sammlungen des Westpreußischen Provinzial-Museums für das Jahr..." oraz „Amtlicher Bericht über die Verwaltung der naturgeschichtlichen, vorgeschichtlichen und volkskundlichen Sammlungen des Westpreußischen Provinzial-Museums für das Jahr..."), Danzig
APolski	– „Archeologia Polski", Warszawa
APS	– „Archeologia Polski Środkowowschodniej", Lublin (wcześniej: Lublin-Chełm-Zamość)
AR	– „Archeologické rozhledy", Praha
B.A.R. Int. Series	– British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Oxford
BerRGK	– „Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission", Frankfurt a.M.-Berlin
BJahr.	– „Bonner Jahbücher", Köln/Bonn
BMJ	– „Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern", Lübstorf (wcześniej: „Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg. Jahrbuch ...", Schwerin/Rostock/Berlin)
CRFB	– Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum
FAP	– „Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses" (wcześniej: „Fontes Praehistorici"), Poznań
Inf.Arch.	– „Informator Archeologiczny. Badania rok ...", Warszawa
InvArch.	– „Inventaria Archaeologica, Pologne", Warszawa-Łódź
JmV	– „Jahresschrift für mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte", Halle/Saale
JRGZM	– „Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz", Mainz
KHKM	– „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", Warszawa
KSIA	– Kratkie soobŝeniâ Instituta arheologii Akademii nauk SSSR (Краткие сообщения Института археологии Академии наук СССР), Moskva
MIA	– Materialy i issledovaniâ po arheologii SSSR (Материалы и исседования по археологии СССР), Moskva
MatArch.	– „Materiały Archeologiczne", Kraków
MS	– „Materiały Starożytne", Warszawa
MSiW	– „Materiały Starożytne i Wczesnośredniowieczne", Warszawa
MSROA	– „Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego", Rzeszów-Krosno-Sandomierz-Tarnów (-Przemyśl/Tarnobrzeg)
MZP	– „Materiały Zachodniopomorskie", Szczecin
PA	– „Památky archeologické" (wcześniej: „Památky archeologické a místopisné"), Praha
PArch.	– „Przegląd Archeologiczny", Poznań
PMMAE	– „Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi. Seria Archeologiczna", Łódź
PomAnt	– „Pomorania Antiqua", Gdańsk
Prahistoria ziem polskich	– *Prahistoria ziem polskich*, tom I: *Paleolit i mezolit* (red. W. Chmielewski, W. Hensel), Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1975; tom II: *Neolit* (red. W. Hensel, T. Wiślański), Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1979; tom III: *Wczesna epoka brązu* (red. A. Gardawski, J. Kowalczyk), Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1978; tom IV: *Od środkowej epoki brązu do środkowego okresu lateńskiego* (red. J. Dąbrowski, Z. Rajewski), Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1979; tom V: *Późny okres lateński i okres rzymski* (red. J. Wielowiejski), Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1981
Prussia	– „Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia" (później: „Prussia. Zeitschrift für Heimatkunde"), Königsberg.
PZ	– „Praehistorische Zeitschrift", Berlin-New York
RArch.	– „Recherches Archéologiques", Kraków
RB	– „Rocznik Białostocki", Białystok
RGA	– Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde: 1. wyd.: J. Hoops (wyd.), tomy 1–4 (K. J. Trübner, Straßburg 1911–1919), 2. wyd.: H. Jankuhn, H. Beck i in. (wyd.), tomy 1–35 (de Gruyter, Berlin-New York 1973–2007).
RO	– „Rocznik Olsztyński", Olsztyn
RosArh.	– „Rossijskaâ arheologiâ" (Российская археология), Moskva
SJahr.	– „Saalburg Jahrbuch", Berlin-New York
SlA	– „Slovenská archeológia", Bratislava
SovArh.	– „Sovetskaâ arheologiâ" (Советская археология), Moskva
SprArch.	– „Sprawozdania Archeologiczne", Kraków
SprPMA	– „Sprawozdania P.M.A.", Warszawa
WA	– „Wiadomości Archeologiczne", Warszawa
ZfE	– „Zeitschrift für Ethnologie", Berlin
ZNUJ	– „Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego", Kraków
ZOW	– „Z otchłani wieków", Warszawa

groby ludzkie z końmi lub pochówki końskie nie związane z żadnym konkretnym pochówkiem ludzkim. Pojedyncze groby koni, które są powszechne w kulturze bogaczewskiej, zarejestrowano na cmentarzyskach w Liepynai i Stanaičiai na Litwie Zaniemeńskiej. W południowo-wschodniej Litwie grób człowieka i konia odkryto na kurhanowej nekropoli w Moša-Naujasodai (Ryc. 12).

Wspólne dla kultur bogaczewskiej i sudowskiej są brązowe ozdoby – naszyjniki z trąbkowatymi zakończeniami i łyżeczkowatymi zapięciami, tzw. zapinki oczkowate (typu Almgren 60–61), podkowiaste zapinki emaliowane, kuszowate zapinki różnych typów, zawieszki ósemkowate i w kształcie szprychowego koła, szpile typu Beckmann A, B, H, L i typu *Szwajcaria* oraz bransolety mankietowe (Ryc. 9, 11, 15, 16).

Podstaw dla atrybucji kulturowej materiałów z okresu wpływów rzymskich i okresu wędrówek ludów oraz rozpoznania kontaktów, jakie utrzymywała ludność zamieszkująca Litwę Zaniemeńską i Litwę Południowo-Wschodnią dostarczają znaleziska masowe, a mianowicie ceramika. Bliskie podobieństwo ceramiki z Litwy Zaniemeńskiej do ceramiki kultur wyraźnie świadczy o wspólnocie kulturowej tych obszarów (Ryc. 5, 13, 17–20).

W Litwie Południowo-Wschodniej można wyróżnić północne (grupa 1) i południowo-wschodnie (grupa 2) skupienie stanowisk z kurhanami kamiennymi, natomiast w Litwie Zaniemeńskiej południowo-zachodnie (grupa 3) skupienie stanowisk sepulkralnych. Konstrukcje grobowe, obrządek pogrzebowy oraz materiały zabytkowe z okresu wpływów rzymskich i okresu wędrówek ludów pozwalają uznać je za peryferia grup suwalskiej, a częściowo gołdapskiej i augustowskiej, kultury sudowskiej, bądź przyjąć, że stanowią one odrębne grupy tej kultury.

Tłumaczenie: Jacek Andrzejowski