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## BRIDES FOR THE AFTERLIFE? SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON FEMALE BURIALS FROM WEST LITHUANIA IN THE THIRD CENTURY CE

NARZECZONE NA WIECZNOŚĆ?

UWAGI NA TEMAT POCHÓWKÓW KOBIECYCH Z LITWY ZACHODNIEJ Z III WIEKU N.E.

**Abstract:** *The article is devoted to a discussion of elements of female outfit which were typical for the 3<sup>rd</sup> century ce in West Lithuania. Special attention is paid to a head dress decorated with Bronzebuckelchen of Blumbergs group IIID and flat spirals-pendants, tutulus-shaped ornaments, bracelets and strings of beads, and bell-shaped pendants. Consideration focuses on the graves of young females of infans II and age iuvenis from Šernai and Baitai cemeteries. Recently the modest remains of skeletons from Baitai graves were investigated anthropologically. This allows us to suppose that the type of female dress under discussion here was of ceremonial importance and was prepared to be worn during wedding rites. A theoretical background for the thesis that young females were initiated into bridal status for the afterlife is discussed in this paper.*

**Słowa kluczowe:** zachodnia Litwa, III wiek n.e., pochówki kobiet, strój kobiecy, rytuały przejścia

**Keywords:** West Lithuania, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. CE, female burials, female outfit, rites of passage

### INTRODUCTION

Investigations of burial sites provide us with information about the personhood of deceased individuals which was constructed by a living community during burials rites. The outfit provided for the dead may reflect not only the real role of the deceased in the family and in the community but also expectations of what social role a buried individual might perform during his/her foreseen but not realised life-time. Such expectations mainly were related to young individuals. This article was inspired by the old researches of Adalbert Bezenberger conducted in 1891 in Šernai cemetery (former *Schernen, Kr. Memel*) (Fig. 1). This burial site once belonged to the northern part of Eastern Prussia – the *Memel/Klaipėda*

region (nowadays Klaipėda rajonas, Lithuania). Our professor from Königsberg University, and head of the *Alttertumsgesellschaft Prussia* society<sup>1</sup>, published results of his excavations at Šernai very soon after completing his dig<sup>2</sup>. It is relatively well illustrated despite it is lacking the sketches of burials *in situ*. Nevertheless, the description of finds based on measurements from two lines which were used as measurement axis from the West and the South by A. Bezenberger allows us to reconstruct the primary layout of grave goods<sup>3</sup>. Two burials in Šernai which were

<sup>1</sup> W.D. WAGNER 2019, 168–189.

<sup>2</sup> A. BEZZENBERGER 1892.

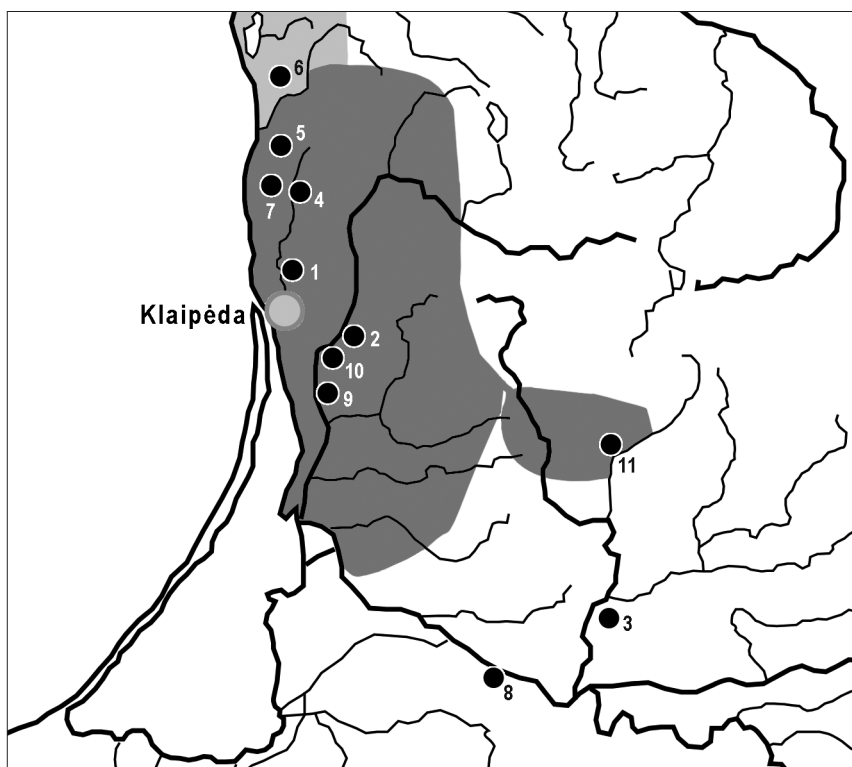
<sup>3</sup> See the attempted reconstruction for *Fundstellen* (graves) 22-23 and 60-61 – R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2007a, 10–16, fig. 1–3.

Fig. 1. Distribution of sites in West Lithuania and South-West Latvia, and Lower Nemunas region mentioned in the article.

Grey colour marks an area of distribution of West Lithuanian cemeteries with stone enclosures, greyish colour marks a peripheral area in South-West Latvia.

Ryc. 1. Stanowiska w zachodniej Litwie, południowo-zachodniej Łotwie i nad dolnym Niemnem wymienione w artykule, na tle zasięgu zachodniolitewskich cmentarzysk z obudowami kamiennymi (szary) z jego peryferiami w południowo-zachodniej Łotwie (jasnoszary).

- 1 – Aukštkiemiai, 2 – Baitai,  
3 – Dauglaukis, 4 – Kurmaičiai,  
5 – Lazdininkai, 6 – Mazkatuži,  
7 – Rūdaičiai, 8 – Sovetsk (*Tilsit*),  
9 – Stragnai, 10 – Šernai, 11 – Žviliai.



described as *Fundstellen* 10 and 22 represent exceptionally rich female burials. The remains of skeletons were identified as belonging to the individuals of young age (rather, to girls). Similar female burials were unearthed in Baitai (former *Baiten*, *Kr. Memel*, now Baičiai, Klaipėda rajonas) cemetery which is located in the close vicinity of Šernai (in a distance of ca 4–4.5 km). Both cemeteries lay on the left bank of the Minija River which flows to the south towards the Curonian Lagoon. The communities which buried their dead in these burial sites might have been related to the same centre of power or economic-trading settlement<sup>4</sup>. Both cemeteries belong to the cultural region of West Lithuanian cemeteries with stone enclosures which stretches from coastal areas of South-Western Latvia to the Lower Nemunas region<sup>5</sup>. Inhumations are typical of this cultural area but unfortunately the soil in the Lithuanian Coastland does not favour the preservation of osteological material. Sometimes a single human tooth or the remains of hand bones are preserved next to bronze artefacts. Such modest osteological remains were investigated from several burials in Baitai (graves 2, 8, 18, and 24). The research of the tooth remains was performed by Ass. Professor

Žydrūnė Miliauskienė and remains of bones – by Justina Kozakaitė PhD (Department of Anatomy, Histology and Anthropology, Institute of Biomedical Science, Vilnius University)<sup>6</sup>. The results provided an opportunity to discuss rich female burials from Šernai and Baitai cemeteries not only based on the similarities of the types of artefacts but also by comparing these graves as burials which belonged to young individuals.

The rich female graves from Šernai and Baitai cemeteries which will be discussed below belong to the same chronological horizon (the second half of interregional phase C1b – phase C2, i.e. ca mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century – second half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE). The aim of this article is to discuss the features of outfit for richly-equipped female burials of that time in West Lithuanian area, stressing that their ceremonial dress was related not only to the higher status of their families but also to the age of deceased individuals. Most probably special rules existed regarding how to dress a deceased girl for burial. Some supposition as to what reasons stood behind such behaviour will be presented below and theoretical background will be provided for my thesis. This approach may offer inspiration

<sup>4</sup> On this microregion see: R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2012a, 278–287, fig. 11.

<sup>5</sup> M. MICHELBERTAS 1986, 28–41; W. NOWAKOWSKI 1996, 83–85; R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2016; 2019, 13–14, fig. 20; A. BLIUIENĖ, R. BRAČIULIENĖ 2018, fig. 156.

<sup>6</sup> This research was carried out within the framework of the Project *The Late Roman-Period Baitai cemetery as a source for interpreting cultural processes in the Baltic Region* (The State Lithuanian Studies and Dissemination Programme for 2016–2024, No. S-LIP-18-23) sponsored by the Research Council of Lithuania (*Lietuvos mokslo taryba*).

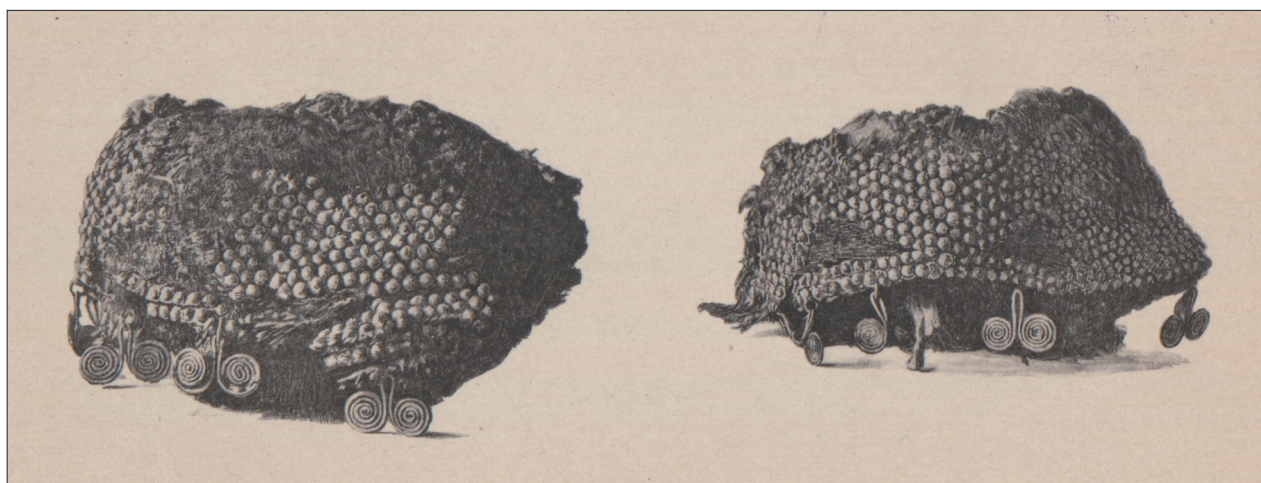


Fig. 2. Šernai grave 10: a hood decorated with bronze details. Not to scale. After: A. BEZZENBERGER 1892.

Ryc. 2. Šernai, grób 10: nakrycie głowy zdobione brązowymi aplikacjami. Bez skali. Wg: A. BEZZENBERGER 1892.

to provide an overview of young female burials in other Balt regions and those belonging to other periods. The thesis presented here probably may serve as a stimulus for further discussions on the meaning and purpose of burial customs.

#### GRAVE-SETS OF BURIALS FROM ŠERNAI GRAVES (*FUNDSTELLEN*)<sup>7</sup> 10 AND 22

Šernai *Fundstelle* 10 which is discussed here as grave 10 belonged to the burial of a girl. Her age was described by A. Bezenberger so: *Teile des Schädels eines jugentlichen, vielleicht noch im Kindesalter verstorbenen Individuums* (parts of the skull of a juvenile probably still of child's age)<sup>8</sup>. The skull and part of the skin and hair of the deceased survived because they were covered by a head dress, which Bezenberger termed a hood (*Haube*) (Fig. 2). The hood was also covered with textile remains of other dress elements. Some pieces of the cloth were fringed. The hood was decorated with compositions of tiny bronze details and flat double spiral-pendants. These tiny details were some sort of bronze studs designed to decorate the textile. They were attributed by Z. Blumbergs to her group IIID of *Bronzebuckelchen*<sup>9</sup>. Such studs with hemispherical heads and prongs were inserted into the textile and afterwards the prongs were bent. This way of fastening was described precisely by A. Bezenberger who noted also that the *Haube* was made of woollen. The main pattern of decoration was composition of triangles made

of *Bronzebuckelchen*<sup>10</sup>. Šernai grave 10 contained also two bronze neck rings with coiled wire terminals (one with a loop-and-hook clasp, another – with two round flat plates (one containing a loop, another – a hook), two rosette tutuli pins of iron and bronze decorated with silver, a string of various amber and glass beads strung with iron bell-shaped pendants and bronze spirals, one bronze crossbow brooch with returned foot decorated with tired coils of notched wire (type Almgren 167) and one crossbow brooch with returned foot (similar to type Almgren 161), one bronze spiral bracelet of type *Klaipėda*<sup>11</sup>, one sash-like bracelet with concave cross-section, three bronze spiral finger rings, one bronze finger ring type Beckmann 22c<sup>12</sup> and one silver spiral finger ring with broadened side triangular spirals (a version of snake-head finger ring), one unidentified Roman coin with a hole for wearing as pendant, a fragment of iron knife<sup>13</sup> (Fig. 4:1–10). The beads of necklace which may also be used as a string joining two tutuli pins were identified as types TM 42a, 126, 245, 252, 255b, 294c, 302, 338b, 339a, 350e, 362h (glass), and TM 388, 395a, 397, 400, 417 (?), 438 (?) (amber)<sup>14</sup> (Fig. 3). Šernai grave 10 contained not only a rich set of ornaments but also objects of Roman import – glass beads and a coin. A Roman coin, despite being unidentified, indicates that this grave is not later than 260–270 CE. This thesis is supported by the approximate time of the complete disappearance of coins from West Lithuanian burials. M. Michelbertas pointed

<sup>7</sup> Bezenberger described *Fundstellen* as concentrations of finds or single finds. In most cases, however, the *Fundstelle* corresponds to a single burial, but some may be contiguous parts of a single burial, while others are actually single finds or clusters of them.

<sup>8</sup> A. BEZZENBERGER 1892, 147.

<sup>9</sup> Z. BLUMBERGS 1982, 19, fig. 19.

<sup>10</sup> A. BEZZENBERGER 1892, 147–148.

<sup>11</sup> M. MICHELBERTAS 1986, 147–148, fig. 59:1.

<sup>12</sup> B. Beckmann 1969, 39, pl. 1.

<sup>13</sup> A. BEZZENBERGER 1892, 147–150, pl. VII:1–29, VIII (left):1.2.12.13, IX:1, X:1, XIII.

<sup>14</sup> M. TEMPELMANN-MĄCZYŃSKA 1985a, 337.



Fig. 3. Šernai grave 10: beads and bell-shaped pendants (1–29, II). Scanned in 1:1.  
After: A. BEZENBERGER 1892.

Ryc. 3. Šernai, grób 10:  
paciorki i wisiorki dzwoneczkowate (1–29, II). Skan w skali 1:1. Wg: A. BEZENBERGER 1892.

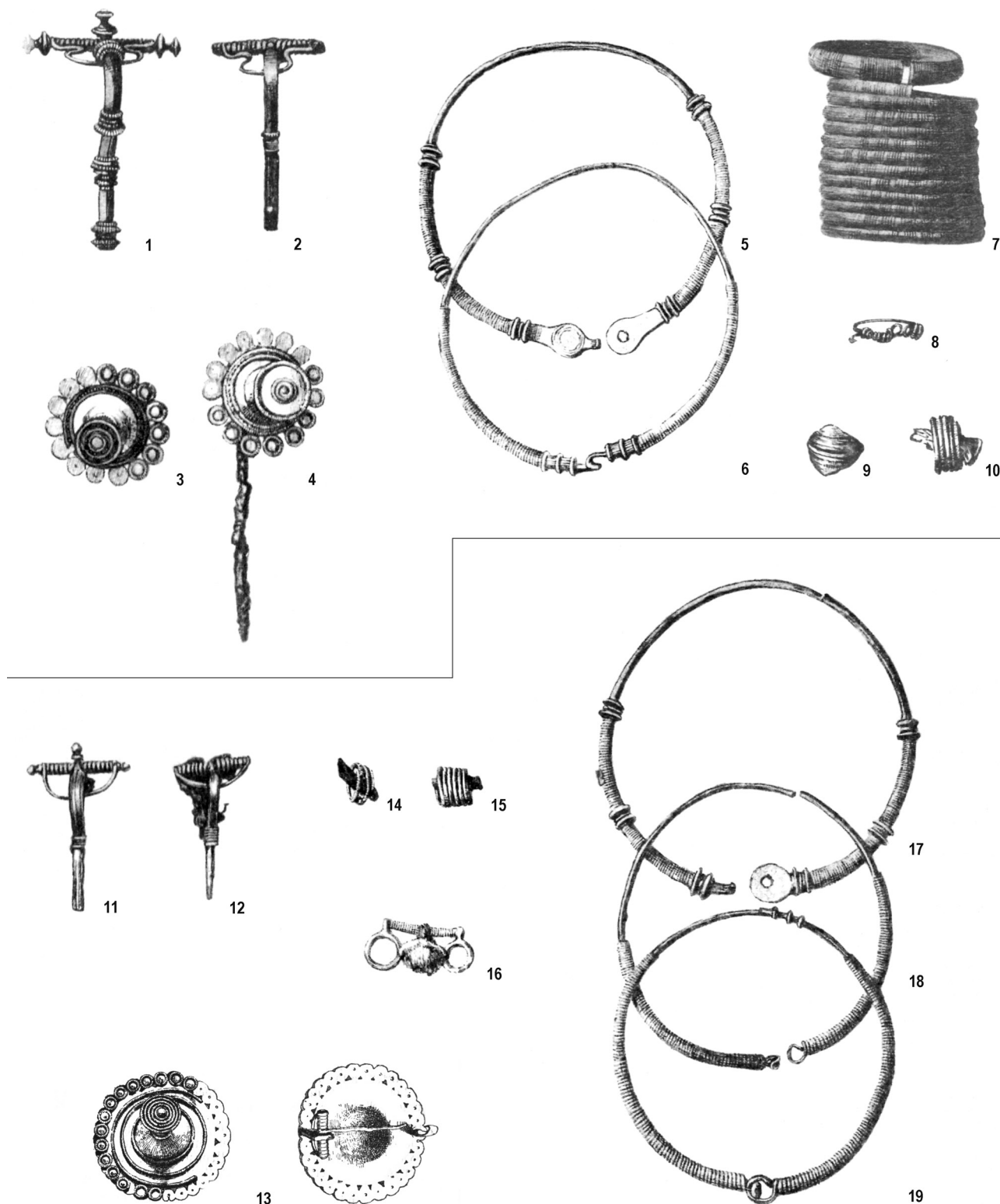


Fig. 4. Šernai graves 10 (1–10) and 22 (11–19): crossbow brooches (1, 2, 11, 12), tutuli pins (3, 4) and plate tutulus brooch (13), neck rings (5, 6, 17–19), bracelets (7; smaller one also in grave 22), finger rings (8–10, 14, 15), and part of a string of ring- and bell-shaped pendants (16). Scale ca 4:10. After: A. BEZZENBERGER 1892.

Ryc. 4. Šernai, groby 10 (1–10) i 22 (11–19): zapinki kuszowate (1, 2, 11, 12), szpile tutulusowe (3, 4) i tarczowata zapinka tutulusowa (13), naszyjniki (5, 6, 17–19), bransolety (7; mniejsza także w grobie 22), pierścienki (8–10, 14, 15) i fragment sznura wisiorów pierścieniowatych i dzwoneczkowatych (16). Skala ok. 4:10. Wg: A. BEZZENBERGER 1892.

out that a tradition of placing Roman coins in burials disappeared ca 260–270 AD<sup>15</sup>. Therefore, Šernai grave 10 may be associated with the second half of interregional phase C1b, that is to the decades around the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century CE. The set of ornaments found in Šernai grave 10 supports such dating (especially rosette tutuli pins and iron bell-shaped pendants).

Šernai *Fundstellen* 22–23 are discussed here as grave 22. *Fundstelle* 22 was recorded as main concentration of grave-goods and *Fundstelle* 23 was a place where a single small ceramic vessel was found; the latter find most probably was related to *Fundstelle* 22<sup>16</sup>. The hood decorated with bronze studs with two prongs and bronze flat double spiral pendants was partly covered with the remains of leather<sup>17</sup>. It was parallel to the head dress from Šernai grave 10, but perhaps leather was used for its lining. The ornaments from grave 22 were stylistically similar to those from grave 10: three bronze neck rings with coiled wire terminals (two with a loop-and-hook clasp and one with a hook and round flat plate for a clasp), three bronze crossbow brooches with returned foot similar to type Almgren 161, one round tutulus brooch plated with silver “white metal”<sup>18</sup> (its shape resembles heads of tutuli pins from Šernai grave 10), a short necklace of two amber beads and bronze spiral, a string of iron bell-shaped pendants, bronze ring-pendants and small spirals, two spiral bracelets of type *Klaipėda*, and two bronze spiral finger rings (Fig. 4:11–19). The female buried in Šernai grave 22 also had a head dress decorated with bronze details similar to the one from grave 10<sup>19</sup>. This burial also contained two ceramic sherds and a round bronze plate with a hole (perhaps a fragment of some kind of ornament). Like grave 10, Šernai grave 22 may be dated to the second half of phase C1b. A. Bezenberger left a remark concerning the age of deceased individual of *Fundstelle* 22: (...) *Teile des Oberkiefers und den ganzen Unterkiefer eines etwa achtjährigen Kindes*<sup>20</sup> (... parts of the upper jaw and the entire lower jaw of a child about eight years old). It is unknown whether such an identification of age was made by Bezenberger himself or whether he consulted an anthropologist Richard Zander<sup>21</sup>. The pre-adult age

of the deceased also was confirmed by the smaller size of spiral bracelets which were described by Bezenberger as miniature copies of the bracelets found in Šernai grave 10.

Both Šernai burials under discussion here, judging on the basis of grave-goods, may be females. The age of the deceased belongs to the category of *infans* II (7–15 years) for grave 22 or *iuvenis* (15–20 years) for grave 10<sup>22</sup>.

Dorothea Waetzhold remarked that Šernai cemetery provided more graves which contained details of hoods – bronze studs with two prongs and flat spiral pendants<sup>23</sup>. *Schernen Fundstelle* 54 joined two burials – of a male and of a child. This grave produced the remains of a head dress of the type in discussion and a spiral bracelet of small size. Bezenberger recorded the osteological remains as *ein Hals- und Lendewirbel eines erwachsenen Kindes*<sup>24</sup>. The latter remark allows us to associate the deceased with age of *infans* II – early *iuvenis* category. Šernai *Fundstelle* 67 most probably was disturbed and robbed in the past. It contained details of the same type of head dress, and three bronze lunula pendants with chains. Bezenberger supposed that once this ornament was attached to bronze rosette tutuli pins. Another grave good of high fashion is a silver finger ring of with broadened terminals (a version of snake head type). Some ceramic sherds, a piece of iron scythe or sickle (?), simple bronze spiral finger ring and the fragment of another ring also were found there along with five bronze Roman coins<sup>25</sup> identified as two of Gordianus III (238–244; one minted in 242 AD), one each of Marcia Otacilia Severa, Decius (249–251) and Trebonianus Gallus (251–252)<sup>26</sup>. Roman coins are very precise indicators that Šernai grave 67 is not older than the youngest stage of phase C1b – beginning of phase C2.

#### GRAVE ASSEMBLAGES FROM RICH FEMALE BURIALS IN BAITAI CEMETERY

*Baiten*/Baitai cemetery was also visited by Adalbert Bezenberger and excavated briefly in 1896<sup>27</sup>. Some excavations in Baitai were also carried out by an amateur archaeologist, Erich Scheu from Šilutė (former *Heydekrug, Kr. Heydekrug*) between 1893 and 1895 but the extent of his activity is unclear<sup>28</sup>. In 1989–1991, 1993, 1995, 1997, 2001–2003, and 2006–2007 investigation of the central area of the cemetery and its outskirts took place and 49

<sup>15</sup> M. MICHELBERTAS 1986, 82–83.

<sup>16</sup> See spatial reconstruction of finds *in situ*: R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2007a, 12–14, fig. 2.

<sup>17</sup> A. BEZZENBERGER 1892, 152.

<sup>18</sup> Acc. to A. BEZZENBERGER (1892, 152) – *versilberte*.

<sup>19</sup> A. BEZZENBERGER 1892, 151–152, fig. 10–12, pl. VIII (left):3.4, IX:2.8.9.14.

<sup>20</sup> A. BEZZENBERGER 1892, 152.

<sup>21</sup> In his description of grave 10 Bezenberger mentions *Dr Zander* (A. BEZZENBERGER 1892, 148) – most probably it was Richard Zander (1855–1918), professor of anatomy in the Königsberg University (see [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard\\_Zander\\_\(anatomist\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_Zander_(anatomist)); accessed 01.04.2022).

<sup>22</sup> The categories of age acc. to K. CZARNECKA (1990, 70) and K. SKÓRA (2015, 31; 2020, 40).

<sup>23</sup> D. WAETZOLD 1939, 118.

<sup>24</sup> A. BEZZENBERGER 1892, 158.

<sup>25</sup> A. BEZZENBERGER 1892, 160, pl. IX:11, XVI.

<sup>26</sup> F. RÜHL 1892, 170; M. MICHELBERTAS 2001, 38.

<sup>27</sup> A. BEZZENBERGER 1900, 133–135, pl. XV:3.

<sup>28</sup> L. TAMULYNAS 1998, 268–269.



Fig. 5. Baitai grave 18: reconstruction of a headdress with bronze ornaments (1), bronze heads of two rosette tutuli pins coated with “white metal”, possibly silver (2, 3), bronze spiral bracelet of *Klaipėda* type (4), and silver neck ring (5). Not to scale. Photo: P. Makuškas (reconstruction of headdress by J. Mažeikaitė).

Ryc. 5. Baitai, grób 18: rekonstrukcja nakrycia głowy z brązowymi aplikacjami (1), brązowe główki dwóch szpil tutulusowych pokryte „białym metalem”, prawdopodobnie srebrem (2, 3), brązowa bransoleta spiralna typu kłajpedzkiego (4), srebrny naszyjnik (5). Bez skali. Fot.: P. Makuškas (rekonstrukcja nakrycia głowy – J. Mažeikaitė).

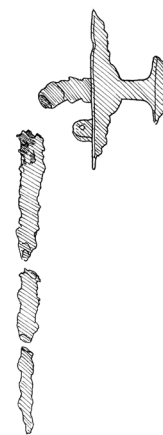
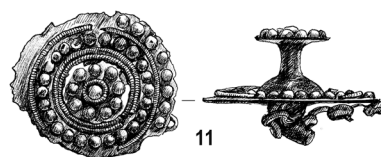
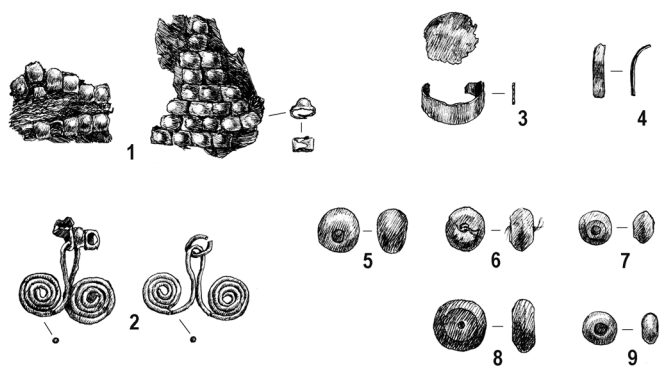
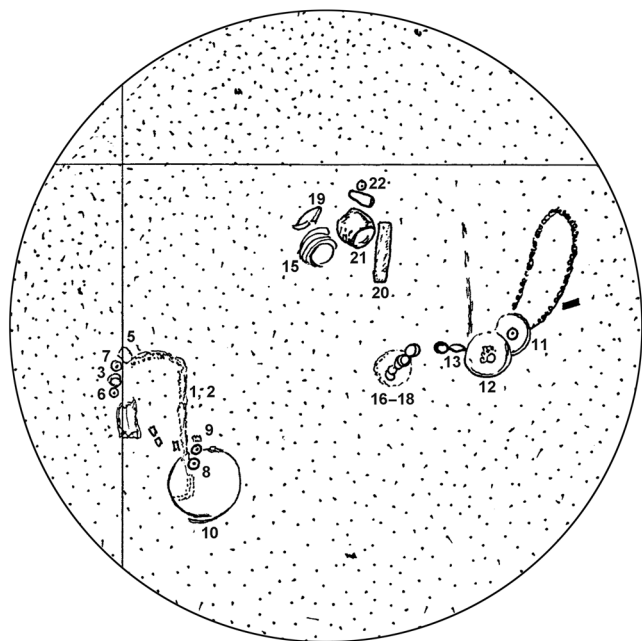
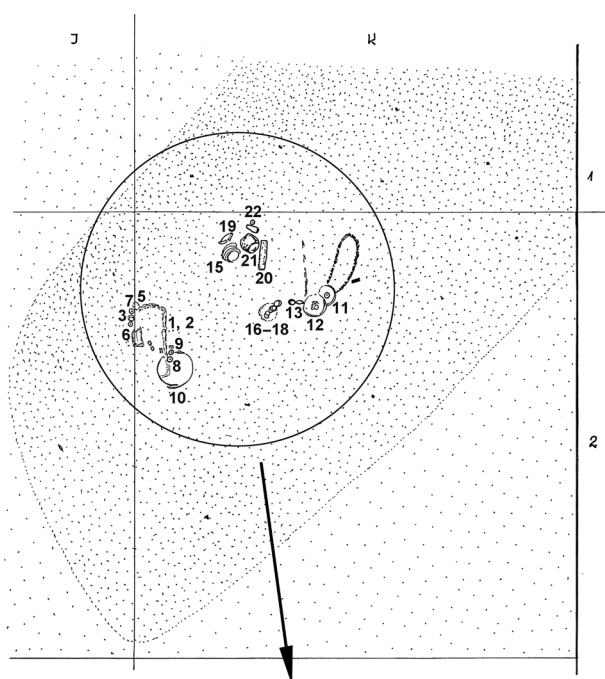
burials were unearthed<sup>29</sup>. Baitai graves 8 and 18 are most important for comparison with Šernai graves 10 and 22. These grave assemblages were published in fully several times<sup>30</sup> but their dating has not been clearly established. Content of Baitai graves 8 and 18 and the age of the buried persons need some closer comments.

Baitai grave 18 contained such elements of outfit as a head dress decorated with *Bronzebuckelchen* and bronze double flat spiral pendants (Fig. 5:1, 6:1.2), a silver neck

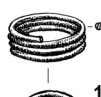
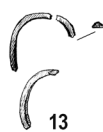
ring with coiled wire terminals and with a loop-and-hook clasp (Fig. 5:5, 6:10), five amber beads (types TM 388/392, 389, and 395) (Fig. 6:5–8, 22), one blue glass bead (type TM 30a) (Fig. 6:9), two bronze rosette tutuli pins coated with “white metal” and joined with bronze chain (Fig. 5:2.3, 6:11–13), a bronze spiral bracelet of type *Klaipėda* (Fig. 5:4, 6:15), fragments of a bronze finger ring with a round plate (Fig. 6:3), bronze finger ring with overlapping terminals (Fig. 6:16), fragments of two bronze spiral finger rings made of wire (Fig. 6:17.18). A spindle whorl made of sandstone (Fig. 6:19), an iron awl (Fig. 6:20), and a small ceramic vessel (Fig. 6:21) complete the grave assemblage. The bronze details for the head dress are of the same type as those used for the hoods of Šernai graves 10

<sup>29</sup> A short overview of results: R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2012b.

<sup>30</sup> R. BANYTĖ 1999, 64–69, fig. 1, 2; R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL, A. BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA, CH. REICH 2012, fig. 11; R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2019, fig. 143.



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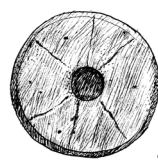


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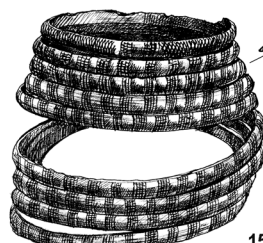
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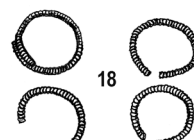
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and 22, except that their number is smaller. It seems that the pattern of bronze *Buckelchen* fastened to the woollen cloth also comprised triangles. Such decoration was applied mainly to the front part of the head dress. The neck ring, tutuli pins, and spiral bracelet from Baitai grave 18 belong to the same types as those found in Šernai graves 10 and 22. Baitai grave 18 should be dated to the decline of stage C1b or to the turn of stage C1b and phase C2. AMS radiocarbon dating of human teeth from grave 18 was performed. It provided a dating of 1882±43 BP which does not help for chronological precision. The upper date of after calibration is ca 240 CE<sup>31</sup> (widest frames 127–380 CE). The remains of teeth from the deceased of Baitai grave 18 were examined by Ass. Prof. Ž. Miliuskienė and it was concluded that they belong to an adolescent individual, aged between 15 and 19 years. The tiny remains of the skull (examined by J. Kozakaitė PhD) did not provide additional information on the age of deceased. Thus, the deceased girl/young woman may be associated with the group of *iuvenis* (15–20 years).

Baitai grave 8 also contained two rosette tutuli pins decorated with silver notched wire; one of them was decorated with blue glass inlay (Fig. 7:1.4). Tutulus pins were joined with elaborate string of amber (types TM389/396a, 389/393, 389/392, 392, 395) and glass (types TM 40, 42–43, 182, Olldag 1216, TM 158–159, 187a, 243a, 259, 363b) beads, and iron bell-shaped pendants (Fig. 7:5–40). Even if elements of this string are not identical to the strings of Šernai graves 10 and 22, they do have common features and represent the same style. Hand ornaments found in Baitai grave 8 was represented by two bronze brace-

lets with slightly thickened terminals (Fig. 7:41.42), and three finger rings (one with rosette-shaped plate with blue glass inlay, one with overlapping terminals, one spiral ring with semi-circular cross-section; Fig. 7:43–45). A spindle whorl made of sandstone and a piece of iron knife were also found in the grave (Fig. 7:2.3). The bracelets with slightly thickened terminals represent the earliest version of so-called *Kolbenarmringe* which appear in *Barbaricum* in the horizon *Zakrzów-Hassleben-Leuna* of elite graves<sup>32</sup>. Baitai grave 18 and Stragnai, Klaipėda rajonas, grave 4, also containing tutuli pins, was attributed to phase 4 of the *Memelkultur*<sup>33</sup> area which is synchronized with interregional phase C2 – turn of phases C2 and C3<sup>34</sup>. Baitai grave 8 is slightly later than Baitai grave 18. Anthropological examination of finger bones preserved in Baitai grave 8 performed by J. Kozakaitė PhD led us to the conclusion that a child under the age of 16 years was buried there. The deceased belongs therefore to the age category of *infans* II (7–15 years) or *iuvenis* (15–20 years).

Most of the burials in Baitai cemetery were reopened or robbed in prehistory and also damaged by pits dug out in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning two other graves which contained tiny bronze details of cloth ornaments such as bronze studs with two prongs (*Bronzebuckelchen*) and bronze flat spirals-pendants. They were found in graves 2 and 24<sup>35</sup>. The remains of grave-goods in these graves were represented

<sup>31</sup> AMS analyse was performed in Laboratory of Mass Spectrometry (Vilnius Radiocarbon) – a part of the Centre for Physical Sciences and Technology (FTMC) – by a team led by Ž. Ežerinskis PhD. Results were obtained on 4.12.2019.

<sup>32</sup> W. NOWAKOWSKI 1999, 111–112.

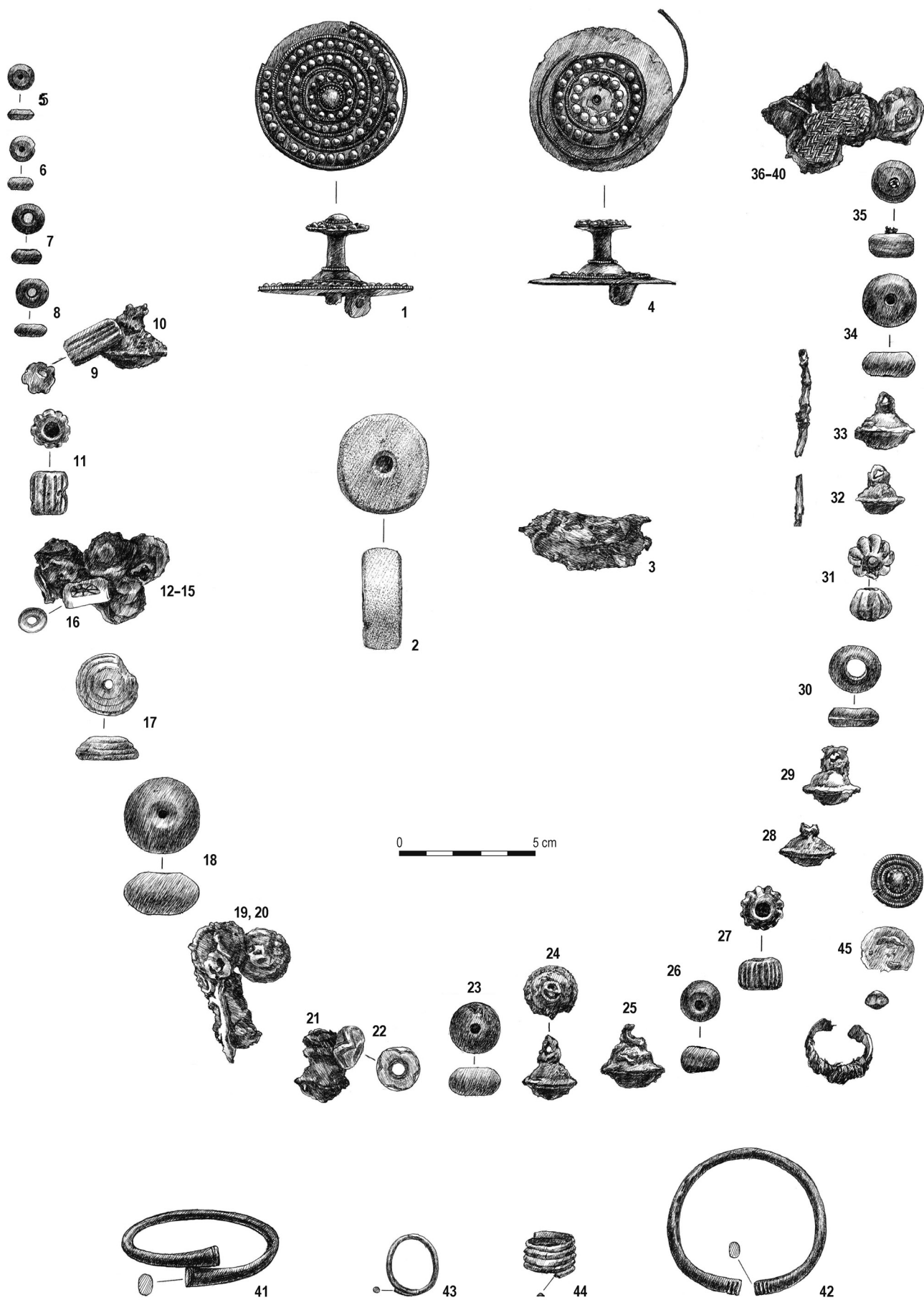
<sup>33</sup> The term *Memelkultur*/Memel Culture was precised by CARL ENGEL (1931, 31–32, fig.5:a; 1933, 271–273; see also R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2019, 3–12, fig. 1, 4). This cultural area was interpreted as joint phenomenon of West Lithuanian and South-Western Latvian cemeteries and burial sites of the Lower Nemunas Region.

<sup>34</sup> R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2019, 189–195, 392–395, fig. 75, 144, Annex; see also R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2020, 554–557, fig. 8–11.

<sup>35</sup> See R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2000, fig. 3; 2008, fig. 2, 3.

Fig. 6. Finds from Baitai grave 18 and their location *in situ*: remains of the headdress decorated with *Bronzebuckelchen* of Blumbergs group III (1) and with eight bronze double-spiral pendants at its rim (2), two fragments of the bronze finger ring (3), fragment of a bronze strip (4), amber beads (5–8), dark blue glass bead TM30a (9), silver neck ring with coiled wire terminals and a loop-and-hook clasp (10), two iron rosette tutuli pins with heads of bronze and “white metal”, possibly silver (11, 12) joined *in situ* with disintegrated bronze chain (remains of the chain attached to the head of pin No. 11), possibly fragments of the bronze chain (13), piece of a woollen cloth (14), bronze spiral bracelet (15), bronze finger ring with overlapping terminals (16), two bronze spiral finger rings (17, 18), sandstone spindle whorl (19), iron awl with remains of a wooden handle (20), small hand-modelled ceramic vessel (21), amber bead (22). Numbering of grave goods fits with numbers on the grave plan. Collection of MLIM. Drawing: J. Mažeikaitė.

Ryc. 6. Wyposażenie grobu 18 z Baitai i jego rozmieszczenie *in situ*: pozostałości nakrycia głowy zdobionego guzkami grupy III wg Blumbergs (1) oraz – na brzegu – ośmioma brązowymi zawieszkami binoklowatymi (2), dwa fragmenty brązowego pierścienia (3), fragment taśmy brązowej (4), paciorki bursztynowe (5–8), ciemnoniebieski paciorek szklany typu TM30a (9), srebrny naszyjnik z owiniętymi końcami i z zaczepem pętlcowym (10), dwie żelazne szpile z brązowymi tarczokowatymi główkami tutulusowymi zdobionymi „białym metalem” (11, 12), pierwotnie połączone brązowym łańcuszkiem (resztki zachowane przy szpili nr 11), prawdopodobnie fragmenty brązowego łańcuszka (13), fragment tkaniny wełnianej (14), brązowa bransoleta spiralna (15), brązowy pierścień z nachodzącymi na siebie końcami (16), dwa brązowe pierścienie spiralne (17, 18), przęślik z piaskowca (19), żelazne sztydo z resztkami drewnianej oprawki (20), małe lepiące ręcznie naczynie gliniane (21), paciorek bursztynowy (22). Numery zabytków odpowiadają numeracji na planie grobu. Zbiory MLIM. Rys.: J. Mažeikaitė.



mainly by tiny details of dress-decoration, beads. Silver small cylinders, tiny notched bronze wires, fragments of bronze chain were also found in both Baitai graves in discussion. Five glass beads (two of burgundy colour of TM group I/II, two greyish-sandy of TM group III and one blue type TM30a) and eight-shaped amber pendant type TM471a found in grave 2 are relatively rare in Baitai cemetery. The circular and bent fragments of notched and plated wires found in Baitai grave 24 indicate that such details might belong to rosette tutuli pins once joined with a bronze chain. Fragments of bracelets were also found in the latter grave. They belonged to a sash-like bracelet with concave cross-section and to a spiral bracelet of *Klaipėda* type. Bracelets of the latter type were found in Šernai graves 10 and 22, and in Baitai grave 18. Thus, Baitai grave 24 should belong to the same chronological horizon. Baitai grave 2 also may be associated with the horizon of tutuli pins of C1b/C2–C2. According to Ass. Prof. Ž. Miliauskienė remains of the teeth of the deceased from grave 2 belonged to an individual of age 18–25 years. Such an age conforms to categories of *iuvenis* (15–20 years) and *adultus* (20–30 years). Baitai grave 24 contained the remains of one tooth only which was recognised as a permanent molar. It does not help to provide a precise age for the deceased. Baitai graves 2 and 24 provided remains of ornaments of female category and therefore they may be treated as burials of girls or young women which once contained textile dress decorated with metal details.

The female burials in Šernai and Baitai cemeteries discussed above shared many features such as remains of head dresses with bronze decoration, rosette tutuli pins or similar brooches with tutulus, necklaces with iron bell-shaped pendants, sash-like bracelets with concave cross-section and spiral bracelets of *Klaipėda* type. It is worth examining several other female graves from the

*Memelkultur* area which contained similar sets of ornaments and outfit.

#### SIMILAR ELEMENTS OF OUTFIT FROM OTHER CEMETERIES OF WEST LITHUANIA AND THE LOWER NEMUNAS REGION

Hoods and headbands ornamented with *Buckelchen* of groups IA and III of the Early Roman Period in the Eastern Baltic region was a phenomenon of the fashion, which was widespread in Gotland around 50–150 CE. A fashion for similar head dresses in the *Memelkultur* area most probably was adopted from Gotland<sup>36</sup>. Tiny bronze details for head dress ornamentation were known from various burials site of West Balts of the Early Roman Period, although these are not very frequent finds<sup>37</sup>. The West Lithuanian preferences for head dresses – hoods – during the Early Roman Period is represented in Kurmaičiai grave 22/1951 (1951) and Rūdaičiai grave 14<sup>38</sup> (both Kretinga rajonas). It seems that this style was acknowledged at this time in various parts of what is nowadays Lithuania – Central Lithuania, Žemaitija, and Northern Lithuania<sup>39</sup>. Harri Moora remarked that in his times headbands of this style were unknown in Latvia, while various head dresses with metal ornamentation became common there in the Middle Iron Age<sup>40</sup>. The stray finds from cemetery at Mazkatuži, Rucavas pagasts (Latvia) – bronze flat spirals-pendants – indicate the possibility, that this burial site

<sup>36</sup> Z. BLUMBERGS 1982, 99, 101, 103, 105–109; also see V. ŽULKUS 1995.

<sup>37</sup> O. TISCHLER, H. KEMKE 1902, pl. X:6–8; W. NOWAKOWSKI 1996, 17, 55, pl. 6:14, 9:9, 97:10; I. SZTER 2010, 234–235, pl. V/30:4, VI/35:5a.b, VI/54:1a.b.

<sup>38</sup> R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2019, 398–399, fig. 55:1, 146, 147:1.

<sup>39</sup> R. KAČKUTĖ 1995a, fig. 1; 1995b, 15, fig. 2; L. SAWICKA, G. GRIŽAS 2007, 189, fig. 6:a; M. MICHELBERTAS 2004, 29, 31, fig. 29; E. SVETIKAS 2019, fig. 43.

<sup>40</sup> H. MOORA 1938, 471–472.

Fig. 7. Baitai grave 8: iron rosette tutuli pins with heads of bronze and silver (4), and with blue glass inlay on the top of tutulus (1), sandstone spindle whorl (2), fragment of an iron knife (3); 5–40: string of beads of and bell-shaped pendants (5–40) which joined tutuli pins (5, 6, 18, 26, 34, 35: amber beads; 7, 8: black glass beads TM40; 9: greenish glass bead TM182; 11, 27: dark blue glass beads TM181; 16: white glass beads with red and yellow decoration TM363b; 17: greenish glass bead TM187a; 22: greenish glass bead with brownish and yellowish lines similar to TM255; 23: greenish/bluish glass bead TM42–43; 30: greenish glass bead with yellowish line similar to TM243a; 31: greenish glass bead TM 158–159; 10, 12–15, 19–21, 24, 25, 28, 29, 32,33, 36–40: iron pendants), bronze bracelets with slightly thickened terminals (41, 42), bronze finger rings (43, 44), parts of a bronze finger ring with blue glass inlay (45). Collection of MLIM. Drawing: J. Mažeikaitė.

Ryc. 7. Baitai, grób 8: 1, 4: żelazne szpile (1, 4) z brązowymi tarczkatowatymi główkami tutulusowymi zdobionymi srebrem (4) i wkładką niebieskiego szkła na szczycie tutulusa (1), przęślik z piaskowca (2), fragment żelaznego noża (3); naszyjnik z paciorków i wisiorków dzwoneczkowatych (5–40) łączący szpile tutulusowe (5, 6, 18, 26, 34, 35: paciorki bursztynowe; 7, 8: czarne paciorki szklane typu TM40; 9: zielonkawy paciorek szklany typu TM182; 11, 27: ciemnoniebieskie paciorki szklane typu TM181; 16: biały paciorek szklany z czerwono-żółtym wzorem, typu TM363b; 17: zielonkawy paciorek szklany typu TM187a; 22: zielonkawy paciorek szklany z brązowawo-żółtawym wzorem, zbliżony do typu TM255; 23: zielonkawy/niebieskawy paciorek szklany typu TM42–43; 30: zielonkawy paciorek szklany z żółtawym pasmem, zbliżony do typu TM243a; 31: zielonkawy paciorek szklany typu TM 158–159; 10, 12–15, 19–21, 24, 25, 28, 29, 32,33, 36–40: wisiorki żelazne), brązowe bransolety z lekko pogrubionymi końcami (41, 42), brązowe pierścienie (43, 44), fragmenty brązowego pierścienia z wkładką z niebieskiego szkła (45). Zbiory MLIM. Rys.: J. Mažeikaitė.

might contain graves with decorated head dresses<sup>41</sup>. Appliques (*Bronzebuckelchen*) of groups IA and III are known from Jäbara B (Ida-Viru county), Pada (Lääne-Viru County), Kohtla-Järve I and II (Kohtla-Järve municipality) cemeteries of Tarand type in north-eastern Estonia<sup>42</sup>. Stylistic prolongation of the tradition of the Early Roman Iron Age in Lithuania for *Buckelchen* of groups IIIC and IIID is witnessed by the hood from Dauglaukis grave 66 (Tauragė rajonas) in Lower Nemunas Region. Dauglaukis grave 66 contained such jewellery as neck ring with cone-shaped terminals of Michelbertas group III, bracelets with triangular cross-section of Michelbertas group I, and bracelet with semi-circular cross-section of Michelbertas group VII. E. Jovaiša attributed this grave to stage C1b<sup>43</sup>. Most probably this dating might be narrowed to the decline of stage C1a – the beginning of stage C1b<sup>44</sup>. The same chronological stage is represented by female grave 39 from Dauglaukis cemetery, which contained a headband decorated with bronze studs with bent prongs (Blumbergs group IIID) and with flat spirals-pendants. Such chronological indicators like neck rings with cone-shaped terminals and with openwork pendants, bronze pin of Beckmann group I joined with openwork pendant-chain distributors, bronze oblongish pendants (derivates of bucket-shaped pendants) were found in the latter burial<sup>45</sup>. D. Waetzold mentioned another occurrence of the hood in Lower Nemunas Region – a find from grave 96 in *Tilsit* cemetery (now Sovetsk, Kaliningradskaya oblast')<sup>46</sup>. Excavated in 1940 graves 5 and 8 from Kurmaičiai in West Lithuania contained the remains of headbands made of leather straps. Bronze studs with bent prongs were fastened in rows of these straps in the front part of the headband<sup>47</sup>. It seems that both Kurmaičiai graves should be attributed to phase C1b. Grave 5 produced such chronological indicators as neck ring with coiled wire terminals (derivate of type with a box-shaped clasp), two bronze spiral bracelets of *Klaipėda* type, one bracelet with triangular cross-section of Michelbertas group I, and two sestertii of Antoninus Pius (138–161). In grave 8 set of important chronological indicators consist of: glass bead type TM57, openwork lunula pendants, bronze neck ring with cone-shaped terminals of Michelbertas group II, two bracelets with a concave cross-section, and two Roman sestertii – of

Faustina II (†175) and of Severus Alexander (222–235)<sup>48</sup>. The Kurmaičiai finds confirm the diversity of ways in which *Buckelchen* were fastened to the hoods and headbands of leather or textile. Unfortunately the remains of human bones from Kurmaičiai were not investigated anthropologically. It is possible only to rely on the note of P. Kulikauskas that graves 5 and 8 should be associated with grown up female individuals<sup>49</sup>. E. Jovaiša remarked that Dauglaukis graves 39 and 66 belonged to females of uncertain age<sup>50</sup>.

The set of ornaments from Lazdininkai, Kretinga rajonas, grave 23 (from 1996) has many similar features to the Šernai and Baitai burials discussed above. This grave contained a bronze neck ring with coiled wire terminals and a clasp made of two round decorated plates with blue glass inlays, two tutuli pins which were joined with a string of glass and amber beads, amber eight-shaped pendants and iron bell-shaped pendants, and two spiral bracelets of *Klaipėda* type; two glass beads (TM30 and 303) were composed with amber beads<sup>51</sup>. The investigation of remains of teeth of the deceased from Lazdininkai grave 23 proved that they belonged to an *adultus* individual aged 20–30<sup>52</sup>.

Another female burial from Lazdininkai (grave 63 excavated in 2000) contained the remains of a head dress decorated with bronze details. The excavation report of D. Butkus<sup>53</sup> and publications of A. Bliujienė<sup>54</sup> allow us to give a precise account of the grave goods from this female burial. The head dress was ornamented with small bronze spirals, *Bronzebuckelchen* of uncertain type and double flat bronze spiral pendants. Other grave-goods from this grave were comprised by a small fragment of a bronze neck ring (type unclear), the necklace of two oblongish polygonal amber pendants and one glass bead type TM30b, a local version of bronze crossbow brooch with returned foot (similar to type Almgren 161), a piece of another similar brooch, flat round brooch decorated with notched wires and blue glass inlay (acc. to A. Bliujienė it comprises a local imitation of type Thomas AI), remains of iron pins type Beckmann B, a fragment of spiral bracelet of *Klaipėda* type, six spiral finger rings, pieces of iron knife and four Roman sestertii: one of Hadrian (117–138), two of Antoninus (96–192) and one

<sup>41</sup> E. WAHLE 1928, pl. 18:1018.

<sup>42</sup> M. SHMIDDEHEL'M 1955, 81, 83, 121, 138, fig. 19:1.7, 29:1.2, 34:7.8; see also R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2008b, 108–109.

<sup>43</sup> E. JOVAIŠA 1998; 2012, fig. on page 143, fig. 11:26.

<sup>44</sup> See BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2019, Annex.

<sup>45</sup> E. JOVAIŠA 1998.

<sup>46</sup> D. WAETZOLD 1939, 118.

<sup>47</sup> For the reconstruction see: R. KAČKUTĖ 1995b, 15, fig. 2; cf. P. KULIKAUSKAS 1951, 324–325.

<sup>48</sup> P. KULIKAUSKAS 1951, 316–318, 341, 345, fig. 1, 3; see also M. MICHELBERTAS 2001, 40.

<sup>49</sup> P. KULIKAUSKAS 1951, 350.

<sup>50</sup> E. JOVAIŠA 1998.

<sup>51</sup> D. BUTKUS 1998, 193; K. DEMERECKAS 2005, fig. 50; A. BLIUIJENĖ 2007, fig. 175; 2011, 152, 368, fig. 47:2, table 1; 2014, fig. 11.

<sup>52</sup> A. BLIUIJENĖ, R. BRAČIULIENĖ 2018, table 25.

<sup>53</sup> D. BUTKUS 2001, 25, fig. 4.

<sup>54</sup> A. BLIUIJENĖ 2007, 305; 2011, 132, 191, 367, fig. 40:14; A. BLIUIJENĖ, R. BRAČIULIENĖ 2018, fig. 17.

unidentified. The style of brooch decoration is close to the rosette brooches and tutuli pins. A. Bliujienė attributed Lazdininkai grave 63 to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE<sup>55</sup>. The grave-set seems to belong to the interregional stage C1b. Anthropological investigation of teeth from this grave concluded that the deceased belonged to the category of age *iuvenis/adultus* (15–25 years)<sup>56</sup>.

There are more examples of female graves from West Lithuania belonging to the horizon of rosette tutuli pins, iron bell-shaped pendants, spiral bracelets of *Klaipėda* type and sash-like bracelets with concave cross-section. This material confirms the uniformity of rich female graves belonging to phases C1b–C2 (ca 220–300 CE). The possible background of such uniformity will be presented below.

## DISCUSSION

The female<sup>57</sup> burials discussed above represent categories of age between *infans* II, *iuvenis/adultus*, and *adultus*. Composition of ornaments reflects a certain uniformity and the age of deceased seems to be under the age of *maturus*. The richness of grave-sets may be related to the higher status of families which buried their daughters and wives (?). For example tutuli pins and brooches might be the ornaments which were provided the important information about their owner not only for people of Coastal Lithuania in 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE but also for the neighbours in various regions of the *Barbaricum*. Tutuli brooches found in Lower Saxony and in Northern Gaul were elements of traditional costume of high-ranking Germanic women<sup>58</sup>. Lithuanian finds of tutuli from the Late Roman Period show stylistic similarities with tutuli ornaments typical for Elbian areas<sup>59</sup>. M. Tempelmann-Mączyńska pointed out three main regions of tutuli brooches – in Hassleben Group, so called Alemanni Region, and in nowadays Holland<sup>60</sup>. Tutuli brooches served also as status symbols in Southern Scandinavia<sup>61</sup>. Tutuli pins and brooches in the West Lithuanian female outfit undoubtedly also bore information for the observer of such costume. These information comprised several layers. Tutuli ornaments were local jewellery of West Balts of coastal

areas. Their shape was results of intertwining of local, Roman and Germanic stylistic ideas. It may be supposed that tutuli pins found in Northern Lithuania and Southern Latvia travelled from West Lithuania along with the bride's costume. M.J. Przybyła analysed the elements of outfits from Southern Scandinavia and their impact/parallels from the Continent and *vice versa* as a possible outcome of exchange of brides between elite of various regions of the Baltic Sea<sup>62</sup>. The exchange of stylistic ideas between coastal regions of West Lithuania and Northern Lithuania and Southern Latvia is also credible<sup>63</sup>. Tutuli ornaments of the Late Roman Period in West Lithuania and neighbouring areas may be regarded as a declaration of femininity in a rather uniform way. Such ornaments occurred in graves during decades around mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century – beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE. They were found in almost every burial site of *Memelkultur* where this chronological horizon was detected<sup>64</sup>.

Thus, tutuli ornaments mainly belonged to the richest level of female burials but probably almost every local community could afford such offerings during burial rites. This indicates that not only richness of family was stressed by such actions but also the status of a female, indicating her value as of future bride or the actual position of such. The elements of outfit in discussion belonged to ceremonial dress. R. Kačkutė remarked that adolescents and young women buried with head dress/hood or headband decorated with bronze details were valued as brides and future mothers. She presupposed that splendid chest ornaments (two pins joined with chains) might indicate not only the social position but also the marriage and motherhood<sup>65</sup>. Šernai graves 10, 22, and Baitai grave 8 belonged to the girls of age *infans* II or *infans* II/*iuvenis* – they were too young for marriage and motherhood but their rich outfit probably was prepared according to the rules governing the preparation of brides for wedding ceremonies. The girls during burial rites were equipped with dress and ornaments as if they were prepared to be brides. The outfit of girls (*infans* II) did not differ considerably from young females of *iuvenis* or early *adultus*. In the case of death, girls (at least those who was treated as important for family and community) were provided with a set of ornament which could consist a part of her dowry.

Such actions may provide an explanation as to why burials of girls and young women were very rich in West Lithuania. Of course, this thesis is supported only with rare cases of anthropological investigations, as was re-

<sup>55</sup> A. BLIUJIENĖ 2007, 304–305, fig. 179:12; 2011, 191.

<sup>56</sup> A. BLIUJIENĖ, R. BRAČIULIENĖ 2018, table 25.

<sup>57</sup> These burials were described as “female” on the basis of archaeological data – that is, based on the sets of grave-goods typical for female gender.

<sup>58</sup> H.W. BÖHME 2009, 134–135, fig. 3, 4.

<sup>59</sup> C. VON CARNAP-BORNHEIM 2000, 45–61.

<sup>60</sup> M. TEMPELMANN-MĄCZYŃSKA 1985b, 104; 1989, 20, 29, 96–97, 121–123.

<sup>61</sup> M.J. PRZYBYŁA 2018, 286–306.

<sup>62</sup> M.J. PRZYBYŁA 2011.

<sup>63</sup> R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2004, 17–19, fig. 4; 2019, 189–195, fig. 74, 75.

<sup>64</sup> R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2008a, 29–34.

<sup>65</sup> R. KAČKUTĖ 2014, 51.

marked above. K. Czarnecka pointed out that in many cases differences exist between burials of unmarried and married females. Such traditions may be still observed in the contemporary ethnographic material<sup>66</sup>. For example, it is supposed that amulets were placed for individuals who died before their time (*mors immatura*). Children, unmarried females or women before giving their first birth were associated with this category<sup>67</sup>. Z. Blumbergs also remarked upon the importance of head dress as an indicator of pre-matrimonial or matrimonial status. She wrote: *Im ethnographischen Material des Baltikums kommen sowohl Stirnbänder als auch Kappen und Kopftücher vor. Das Stirnband wird von dem unverheirateten Mädchen getragen, während die Kappe und das Kopftuch die verheiratete Frau bezeichnete. In einem tieferen Sinne symbolisiert das Stirnband die Unschuld in lettischen und litauischen Volksliedern mehrfach besungen*<sup>68</sup> [Headbands, caps and headscarves occur in the ethnographic material of the Eastern Baltic Region. Headbands were worn by unmarried girls, while the cap and headscarf identified a married woman. In a deeper sense, the headband symbolises innocence glorified in Latvian and Lithuanian folk songs]. The shape and style of head dresses have changed through the centuries but their purpose to give information to the spectator about the status of a given female remained important. Burial rites are the last rites of passage after birth, initiation and marriage<sup>69</sup>. Providing a child with the symbols of later transformation which could not take place because of early death during burial rites might be a compensatory act. If initiation for adolescent boys was related to the rites of handling over weaponry, girls most probably entered the world of adults through their marriage or childbirth<sup>70</sup>. It is important to note that the age for marriage for girls was not arranged very early. The material of Wielbark Culture indicates that death caused by giving birth were most typical to the age of *adultus* (20–30 years)<sup>71</sup>.

The rich female burials from West Lithuania discussed above most probably bear remains of ceremonial costume. Elements of ritual outfit was a system of information for the social surroundings of a particular period of time and of particular cultural area where the elements of dress as symbols were recognizable for the spectators of ritual<sup>72</sup>. The material shape of such symbols constantly

changed because of fashion and the place, and the role of microregion in a wider area also because of changes in community identity. Therefore it is worth analysing ceremonial dress over a shorter chronological interval and for particular geographical-cultural units.

Some symbols of femininity may be similar through various areas of the *Barbaricum*, although types of jewellery are different. The attributes for females of Wielbark Culture were the number of brooches (more than one), bracelets, necklaces of glass and amber beads together with pendants<sup>73</sup>. It seems that pairs of pins were symbols of female style in West Lithuania. This tendency is clearly represented in Žviliai cemetery (Šilalė rajonas) of Upper Jūra Region<sup>74</sup>, but the same rule is detectable also in other female burials of West Lithuania. The composition of necklaces and strings might be also completed with some meaning. U. Lund Hansen concluded that beads for a female's first necklace began to be collected when a girl was still small. The second necklace was acquired in adulthood, probably after marriage. Both these necklaces of glass and amber beads accompanied the life of females until death. This tendency was noticed in South Scandinavia during the Late Roman Period<sup>75</sup>. Some remarks on elements of strings will be also proposed for the finds from West Lithuanian cemeteries in discussion.

Even such simple details of outfit like double flat spirals-pendants (Fig. 2, 5:1, 6:2) which decorated the rim of a head dress might have symbolic meaning. Such pendants were distributed from the Bronze Age onwards in various regions distant one from another – from the Caucasus to the Baltic Region. The fashion for them emerged and died and it is difficult to find the primary source of inspiration. These pendant represent an archaic shape. W. Hensel pointed out that double flat spirals-pendants were closely related to the cults of fertility<sup>76</sup>. Such ornamentation was suitable to the head dress worn during wedding ceremony. The meaning of flat spiral which may be associated with the worship of snakes – a symbol of rebirth and fertility – was pointed out by R. Kačkutė. She also noted that flat spiral also might be the symbol of the Sun. The symbolic meaning was actual for the young females wearing a head dress of the *Šernai* type<sup>77</sup>.

All burials of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE discussed in this paper belong to the category of rich burials. It is noticeable that richest among them were burials of two girls (of *infans* II age?) from *Šernai* graves 10 and 22. P.K. Wason stressed: *An adult of high rank may have attained that status by ascension or by some activity which is an approved pathway*

<sup>66</sup> K. CZARNECKA 1990, 88–89.

<sup>67</sup> K. CZARNECKA 1990, 67; see also L. PAULI 1975, 151.

<sup>68</sup> Z. BLUMBERGS 1982, 34. Unfortunately Z. Blumbergs did not precise the time of her ethnographic data. Somehow she gives an idea that this was still actual at least till 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>69</sup> K. CZARNECKA 1990, 86.

<sup>70</sup> K. CZARNECKA 1990, 104–105; K. SKÓRA 2015, 25; 2020, 33–34.

<sup>71</sup> K. SKÓRA 2015, 45; 2020, 54–55.

<sup>72</sup> K. SKÓRA 2015, 151; 2020, 169.

<sup>73</sup> K. SKÓRA 2015, 89; 2020, 102.

<sup>74</sup> R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2014, 129.

<sup>75</sup> U. LUND HANSEN 2010, 91, 94.

<sup>76</sup> W. HENSEL 1960; see also A.A. EGOREYCHENKO 1991.

<sup>77</sup> R. KAČKUTĖ 1995b, 17–18, 23–24.

to achieving status. But a child cannot possibly, in its short life, have done enough to affect its status greatly. If some children are accorded higher status than most adults, the basis for determining this status must be other than personal achievement<sup>78</sup>. The grave-sets and efforts devoted during the burial process depended on the scale of their family's expectations when these children were alive<sup>79</sup>. It is possible to presuppose that girls of Šernai graves 10 and 22, and similar burials of *iuvenis* category of age from Baitai were expected to be brides who would bring important relations through marriage for the socially important families of local community. The rich sets of ornaments found in the burials discussed here may also indicate the association with role of the bride – M. Parker Pearson draw an attention that *brides also used to wear some of the bride-wealth valuables*<sup>80</sup>. The family of deceased most probably adorned with ceremonial attire their daughters – placed all values which were personally closely related to the individual. M. Parker Pearson argued that grave-sets are not entirely *just elements of an identity kit but are the culmination of a series of actions by the mourners to express something of their relationship to the deceased as well as to portray the identity of the deceased*. The elements of outfit prepared for the marriage ceremonies might belong to the category of items which were not appropriate to inherit for other members of the family<sup>81</sup>. The set of ornaments and splendid costume was made for the wedding ceremony and closely associated with a particular person. This transition has not taken part in the life of girls and ceremonial outfit was offered for every girl who met premature death. Such traditional way of thinking may be supported by ethnographic data which will be presented below, but at first it is necessary to draw attention to some male burials from West Lithuania dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE which contained some special grave-goods.

Ch. Reich discussed the male burials in *Oberhof/Aukštkiemiai* cemetery of West Lithuania which contained additional grave-sets usually placed in a birch-bark container. Such grave-sets were composed of bracelets and Roman coins. Bracelets were typical for female graves. The coins and types of bracelets allow us to date the horizon of this custom to the first half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century – decades around the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE. Ch. Reich interpreted female types of bracelets found in male burials as “a gift for the bride” taken for the Afterlife. She supposed that male deceased were still not married and therefore they were provided with gifts for the

bride to get married in the Other World<sup>82</sup>. Sometimes the jewellery placed in the birch bark container/box for the male deceased contained a full set of female ornamentation. Excavated in 2000 male grave 65 from Lazdininkai cemetery was provided with two boxes. The bigger one was filled with jewellery and a wooden stick plus a wooden comb. Three neck rings with cone shaped terminals, a round openwork brooch, two openwork pins joined by an openwork pendant-chain distributors and chains, one crossbow brooch with returned foot and one ladder brooch of *Klaipėda* type, two bracelets with a concave cross-section and one bracelet with flat cross-section undoubtedly were designed to wear for female. Five Roman coins – among them three identified as of Hadrian (117–138), Marcus Aurelius (161–180), and Septimius Severus (193–211) – placed in a smaller container allow to date precisely this burial to stage C1b (ca 220–260 CE)<sup>83</sup>. Female ornaments – two openwork pendants-chain distributors joined by chains and two spiral bracelets of *Klaipėda* type were also placed in the richest male burial of Šernai cemetery – *Fundstelle* 50 – excavated by A. Bezenberger. This grave was equipped with two neck rings with coiled wire terminals with a loop-and-hook clasps (one silver and one bronze), two crossbow brooches with a returned foot decorated with ringlets, two plane bronze crossbow brooches with a returned foot, one iron crossbow brooch with returned foot, two bronze openwork pendants-chain distributors joined with chains, two spiral bracelets of *Klaipėda* type, two bronze spiral finger rings, one silver finger ring type Beckmann 22d, two bronze buckles with remains of studded leather belt, a piece of the third bronze buckle, two bronze strap endings, other small parts of belt (?) decoration (one with blue glass inlay), an amber bead and small ceramic vessel with a piece of raw amber inside, a ceramic sherd, and some fragments of bronze spiral. The male collection of weaponry and tools were constituted by iron spearhead, iron socketed axe, iron battle knife, iron shield boss, iron bridle bit with jointed mouthpiece and a piece of second bridle bit, iron barking knife-gouge, a fragment of an iron knife and whetstone. Šernai grave 50 also contained two Roman coins (sestertius) – one minted under Hadrianus (117–138) and another under Severus Alexander (222–235)<sup>84</sup>. This grave belongs to the group of several male burials of higher rank in West Lithuania dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE<sup>85</sup>.

Another rich male burial of the same time – grave 13 (excavated in 1985) from Stragnai cemetery – also reflect the tendency to offer female ornaments. This was the

<sup>78</sup> P.K. WASON 1994, 99–100.

<sup>79</sup> K. SKÓRA 2015, 200–202; 2020, 238–239.

<sup>80</sup> M. PARKER PEARSON 1999, 99.

<sup>81</sup> M. PARKER PEARSON 1999, 84–85.

<sup>82</sup> CH. REICH 2013, 144–145, fig. 9.

<sup>83</sup> A. BLIUJENĖ, D. BUTKUS 2017, fig. 5, 6.

<sup>84</sup> A. BEZZENBERGER 1892, 155–157, pl. XIV, VIII (right):8, XV:7.

<sup>85</sup> R. BANYTĖ-ROWELL, A. BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA, CH. REICH 2012, 211, 213, fig. 10.

burial with a horse offering like grave 50 from Schernen/Šernai. It contained riding gear: two iron spurs, remains of iron bridle bit with rings and bronze openwork pendant with blue glass inlay which was probably the ornament of the horse's forehead. The set of weaponry and working tools contained two iron spearheads, socketed axe, iron barking knife-gouge, iron scythe, iron knife and a whetstone. Elements of dress were represented by an iron crossbow brooch with returned foot decorated with silver wires-ringlets, bronze crossbow brooch with a returned foot close to Almgren 161, two iron buckles, one amber bead, two iron bell-shaped pendants, and two bronze bracelets with a concave cross-section. A sestertius of Severus Alexander (222–235) was also placed in this burial<sup>86</sup>. It is interesting that the deceased was provided not only with two bracelets of female type but also with two iron bell-shaped pendants. Many such pendants were strung among beads in the female burials described above – Šernai graves 10 and 22, Baitai grave 8, Lazdininkai grave 23. Most probably iron bell-shaped pendants had a special meaning as the element of ceremonial dress. It is necessary to note that term “bell-shaped pendant” reflects the old German descriptions such as *glockenförmig Berlock*, or *Schellenförmig Eisenstück*, or *Eisenschelle*, or *Schellenberlock*. These pendants were not tested regarding the sound they could produce. M. Woźniak supports the idea that such pendants had apotropaic significance or another magical function. He also remarked that iron bell-shaped pendants in numbers around 10 items were typical of female burials of Dollkeim-Kovrovo Culture but as a single finds or a few also were found in male weapon graves of this culture<sup>87</sup>. The context of these pendants in Dollkeim-Kovrovo Culture shows that two pendants from Stragnai grave 13 were not accidental finds in the grave-set of male character. Sash-like bracelets with a concave or flat cross-section also were found in the area of Dollkeim-Kovrovo Culture. O. Khomyakova stressed out that they were typical of female grave-sets with one exception when such bracelets were found in the male burial with weaponry<sup>88</sup>. Most probably the female bracelets placed for male deceased had also similar ritual background like in West Lithuania.

The head dress decorated with tiny bronze details and rosette tutuli pins or brooch of the same time were ornaments which were recorded by the observer as most important information about the wearer. P.S. Wells stressed out that *the neck, chest and belt regions are sites where people in most societies display ornament that they use to*

*communicate information (...) the region around the face is the ideal place to situate objects that are intended to attract visual attention, such as neck rings or earrings*<sup>89</sup>. The costumes of girls and young women from Šernai, Baitai, and Lazdininkai cemeteries contained splendid head dress, neck rings and tutulus-shaped ornaments which have been giving the first impression for observer. It is important that visibility was strengthened by the three-dimensionality of tutuli ornaments<sup>90</sup>. Tutulus ornaments with the rich set of other types of jewellery placed for girls in Šernai graves 10 and 22 seem to be unpractical for wearing through everyday life. Some types of jewellery were produced specially for ceremonies including burial rites<sup>91</sup>. The wedding costume also should be a mean to stress extraordinarily formed image. In the latter case the counting the numbers of grave-goods or their value as artefacts for determining social status has relative meaning. The status of young girls as brides might be stressed by their families collecting the valuable jewellery set which was a means to demonstrate the social position the girl sought to achieve but did not necessarily acquire in fact. K.R. Dark pointed out that *objects in the grave might also be, for instance, gift to the dead representing debts, or burial dues, or sacrifices to a deity, or expressions of social status or economic wealth (which may not be the same thing), or representations of the role of the dead in life*<sup>92</sup>. The preparation of a deceased girl for burial as a bride is related to the debt of her family to prepare her properly for the transition into a married woman. The rich sets of jewellery were personally tied to the particular girl therefore placed into her grave. “Giving” and “accepting” during burial rites were main motifs connected with meaning of “*доля/dolia*” in cultures of Eastern and Southern Slavs. One of the archaic meanings of “*dolia*” was connected with “strength of vitality”, *vis vitalis*, which is given to every human for use until his/her death. Premature death was an unnatural break of exploitation of “*dolia*” – *vis vitalis* – and the deceased became transformed into the category of “dangerous”. Such reception of living community was directed especially towards dead children, because they left the world at the beginning of the utilisation of their *vis vitalis* which included also material belongings. The dowry of girls was distributed among their female friends<sup>93</sup>. The preparation the deceased girl to be buried as a bride could have reasons to give her a transformation of status which should be acquired as a natural part of her *vis vitalis*, despite her unfortunate fate. It is no-

<sup>86</sup> A. VARNAS 1985, 15–17, 41–43, fig. 16; 1986, 80–82; BANYTĖ-ROWELL 2007b, 332–335, fig. 3, 4.

<sup>87</sup> M. WOŹNIAK 2013, 52.

<sup>88</sup> O.A. KHOMYAKOVA 2010, 278.

<sup>89</sup> P. WELLS 2008, 67–68.

<sup>90</sup> About the importance of this feature for the image see P. WELLS 2008, 70.

<sup>91</sup> P. WELLS 2008, 66.

<sup>92</sup> K.R. DARK 1995, 92.

<sup>93</sup> O.A. SEDAKOVA 1990, 54–55, 57.



ticeable that Lithuanian mythology also contains similar concept – “dalia” – which is distributed to the humans by the female goddess Laima and not necessary evenly for every individual<sup>94</sup>.

A. Bezenberger provided short information about the age of individuals buried in Šernai graves 10 and 22 which allows us to associate the deceased with the age category of *infans* II (7–15 years)<sup>95</sup>. Šernai girls seems to be too young for the marriage. However, it is necessary to remember that “growing up” was not purely biological process but related to the changes in social status; age is not a “natural” category but a constructed one<sup>96</sup>. The different societies had different expectations of how a person should behave, dress and function in particular stage of life and this social image was related to the gender, status, religion and ethnicity<sup>97</sup>. S. Lucy noted that *social contracts such as marriage especially among the elite, could be contracted at very early age, as they were linked more to dynastic interests than sexual relations*<sup>98</sup>. C. Fowler stressed that *death replaces one state of personhood with another, which may be at odds with the personhood of the living*<sup>99</sup>. The girl of eight years old from Šernai grave 22 was too young to be married during her lifetime but she might easily change her status into matrimonial condition after becoming a member of the Afterworld-community where perception of time is supposed to be different.

Why was it so important to prepare a girl or young woman with a rich costume for the burial? A. van Gennep studied the rites of passage in various cultures and of various times and concluded that in many beliefs the Other World is a reflection of world where we live but a more pleasant version of it. The deceased are expected to fulfil the same role as among the living society. Children who have not been incorporated/initiated into the living world of “grown-ups” may not be accepted properly into the world of dead<sup>100</sup>. Most probably girls and young females buried in the graves of Šernai, Baitai, and Lazdininkai cemeteries were prepared to be recognised and accepted into the society of the Other World. It is very interesting that according traditions of the Kol people of India only persons who have been married may enter the home of ancestors – the land of the dead. The rites of burial ceremonies includes elements of the weddings – the marriage songs are song with dancing; a marriage retinue with music visits the village from which the

deceased and his ancestors have originated<sup>101</sup>. The similarities of wedding ceremonies and those of rites of passage are recorded in various regions and cultures. A. van Gennep pointed out widespread tradition in Africa where the struggles for corpse took place during burial ceremonies which correspond to bridal abduction<sup>102</sup>. The traditions of the Eastern Slavs also have many parallels between the rituals of wedding and the stages of funeral and intersections of actions and texts<sup>103</sup>. The burial rites of unmarried young females and males in Eastern Slavonic ethnographical culture included a ritual of marriage which was reduced but expressed clearly<sup>104</sup>.

In this context it is necessary to point out the valuable work of A. Fischer on burial customs in Poland as recorded by ethnographers. He devoted a separate chapter to the burial traditions of unmarried deceased. A. Fischer also stressed that rites of marriage in such cases were clearly expressed in customs and rituals of various Slavonic regions. The special behaviour applied during the dressing of unmarried and young deceased. Girls would be buried in wedding gowns or with ribbons typical of wedding ceremonies, and head decorations with a wreath made of flowers, rue or myrtle were especially important. Fischer remarked that wedding rituals for young deceased of both genders were applied in various cultures (he mentioned Indian traditions in particular) and those rites were important to provide marital status for the Afterlife<sup>105</sup>. Another study on Polish burial traditions by H. Biegeleisen also supports the latter thesis. This author referred to the ethnographic records of various regions in Europe – from Brittany to Žemaitija (Samogitia), showing how traditions of using wedding outfits as clothing for the deceased was widespread. This rule was applied especially for young unmarried girls who also were adorned frequently with a bridal chaplet<sup>106</sup>. M. Alseikaitė-Gimbutienė remarked that an unmarried deceased was dangerous for the living community similarly like persons whose death was premature. Therefore burial customs included rituals of wedding ceremonies and lamenting was replaced during the funeral by merry wedding songs. Such traditions were known in Lithuania, Eastern Prussia, and Latvia<sup>107</sup>. The archetypes are well rooted even in contemporary society. On the turn of 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries the deceased young girls were buried dressed in white garments of the bride in Lithuania. The motifs of wedding and of the First Communion are intertwined in such Catholic

<sup>94</sup> A.J. GREIMAS 1985, 150.

<sup>95</sup> See footnote 21.

<sup>96</sup> S. LUCY 2005, 55, 58.

<sup>97</sup> S. LUCY 2005, 66; see also K.R. DARK 1995, 110.

<sup>98</sup> S. LUCY 2005, 56.

<sup>99</sup> CH. FOWLER 2004, 98.

<sup>100</sup> A. VAN GENNEP 2004, 215–216.

<sup>101</sup> A. VAN GENNEP 2004, 215.

<sup>102</sup> A. VAN GENNEP 2004, 220.

<sup>103</sup> A.K. BAYBURIN, G.A. LEVINTON 1990.

<sup>104</sup> A.K. BAYBURIN, G.A. LEVINTON 1990, 88.

<sup>105</sup> A. FISCHER 1921, 92–93, 95, 97–98, 296–300.

<sup>106</sup> H. BIEGELEISEN 1930, 149–150, 154.

<sup>107</sup> M. ALSEIKAITĖ-GIMBUTIENĖ 1946, 144–145.

burial traditions<sup>108</sup>. It may be also seen as contemporary ceremonies of initiation of young females.

## CONCLUSIONS

The reconstruction of the meaning of burial rites on the basis of archaeological data is not an easy process. It is most difficult to conclude about the reasons of some actions during rites of passage. The material means (as grave-goods) were in constant transformations during centuries. It may be that elements of costume changed through centuries but the information invested in them was the same for the spectators. On the contrary, the symbolic meaning of some ornaments such as neck rings could transform over time becoming the signs of particular gender, rank or age. Therefore, the analysis of this article was concentrated on female burials and their elements of outfit belonging to a relatively short period of time (phases C1b–C2, i.e. ca 220–300 CE). Such elements of female costume like the head dress (hoods or headbands) decorated with tiny bronze details and flat spirals-pendants, neck rings with a loop-and-hook clasp or with a box-shaped clasp, rosette tutuli pins or brooches, splendid strings of beads composed with iron bell-shaped pendants, spiral bracelets or sash-like bracelets with a concave cross-section are elements of female dress which represent some sort of uniform for rich female burials of the time in discussion. The description of Šernai graves 10 and 22 by A. Bezenberger allows to attribute deceased girls to the category of *infans* II. The recent anthropological investigation of remains of teeth and hand bones from Baitai graves 2, 8, 18, and 24, and from Lazdininkai grave 23 showed that this style of outfit with splendid ornaments was typical for the girls and young women of the age between categories of *infans* II and young *adultus*. The rich dress decorated with rich set of jewellery most probably should be associated with a ceremonial outfit. The idea which is presented in this article – such ceremonial costume was prepared for the wedding ceremony – may be further discussed by other researchers. This hypothesis might be supported by the finds of female ornaments in the contemporary male graves of warriors of West Lithuania. These female sets of jewellery was interpreted by Ch. Reich<sup>109</sup> as a gift for the future bride in the Afterworld. The need to dress the deceased daughter as a bride for her living family might

be caused by the debt to prepare her/initiate her in such status during her life-time. Providing the bride's outfit during burial rites probably was a means to ensure her-successful entry into the world of her ancestors because a girl through rites of passage acquired new status/was initialised into the world of "grown-ups". The wedding rites and burial customs have many common features in various cultures. Several parallels given in this paper allow to suppose that two most important human transformations – wedding and death – as processes of passage were interpreted similarly. Therefore the importance of marriage had the impact also on the burial customs. This is testified by ethnographic and even contemporary data of Eastern Baltic and Eastern European regions. Such archaic traditions are not related specifically to ethnic inheritance but most probably represent archetypes of human thinking.

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<sup>108</sup> R. GARNEVIČIŪTĖ 2014, 49.

<sup>109</sup> CH. REICH 2013.

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NARZECZONE NA WIECZNOŚĆ? UWAGI NA TEMAT POCHÓWKÓW KOBIECYCH Z LITWY ZACHODNIEJ Z III WIEKU N.E.

#### STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł poświęcony jest kobiecemu strojowi grobowemu z fazy C1b–C2, tj. ok. 220–300 n.e., z cmentarzysk z obudowami kamiennymi (północna część tzw. *Memelkultur* w ujęciu C. Engla) z dzisiejszej Litwy Zachodniej (Ryc. 1). Szczególną uwagę zwracają dwa inhumacyjne pochówki – groby 10 i 22 – z cmentarzyska w Šernai (dawn. *Schernien*) w rej. klajpedzkim, rozkopanego przez A. Bezenbergera w 1891 roku i opublikowanego przezeń rok później. Szczątki szkieletów z obu grobów Bezenberger opisał jako należące do dzieci w wieku *infans* II (7–15 lat). Groby te są dobrze znane przede wszystkim z uwagi na wspaniałe nakrycia głowy zdobione drobnymi aplikacjami z brązu – guzkami z dwoma zaczepami (tzw. *Bronzebuckelchen*) grupy IIID (wg Z. Blumbergs 1982) oraz płaskimi brązowymi zawieszkami binoklowatymi (Ryc. 2). Oba groby z Šernai zawierały też bogate zestawy ozdób i części stroju – naszyjniki, zapinki kuszowate, rozetowe szpile tutulusowe i zapinkę tutulusową, sznury paciorków z żelaznymi zawieszkami dzwoneczkowatymi, spiralne bransolety typu klajpedzkiego (wg M. Michelbertasa 1986) oraz bransolety mankietowe i pierścienie (Ryc. 3, 4). Podobne pochówki kobiece odkryto na cmentarzysku w Baitai (dziś. Baičiai, dawn. *Baiten*) położonym na tym samym lewym brzegu rzeki Minij, ok. czterech kilometrów na północny wschód od Šernai. Do kobiecego stroju z grobu 18 z Baitai również należało nakrycie głowy (opaska lub kaptur) zdobione tak samo, jak czepek z grobów 10 i 22 z Šernai (Ryc. 5:1, 6:1.2). Podobny, choć mniej liczny był też zestaw biżuterii: srebrny naszyjnik, para rozetowych szpil tutulusowych połączonych łańcuszkiem, paciorki szklane i burszty-

nowe, spiralna bransoleta typu klajpedzkiego i brązowe pierścienie (Ryc. 5:2–4, 6:3–13.14–18). Badania pozostałości zębów odkrytych w grobie 18 w Baitai wykazały, że należały one do osoby młodocianej w wieku *iuvenis*. Dziewczyna pochowana w grobie 8 w Baitai nie miała okazałego nakrycia głowy, ale była wyposażona w podobny zestaw ozdób jak omówione wyżej: dwie rozetowe szpile tutulusowe połączone sznurem szklanych i bursztynowych paciorków z żelaznymi zawieszkami dzwoneczkowatymi, dwie brązowe bransolety z lekko pogrubionymi zakończeniami, trzy brązowe pierścienki (jeden z oczkiem z niebieskiego szkła) (Ryc. 7:1.4–45). Analiza antropologiczna kości palców zachowanych w tym grobie pozwoliła stwierdzić, że należały one do osoby poniżej 16 roku życia – a więc dziecka w wieku *infans* II lub przejściowym do wieku *iuvenis*.

Wszystkie omawiane tu pochówki były bogato wyposażone w biżuterię, niemniej, na tle innych pochówków z połowy i drugiej połowy III wieku n.e. z Litwy Zachodniej nie są wyjątkami. Podobne nakrycia głowy znane z innych nekropoli tzw. *Memelkultur* (m.in. z Kurmaičiai, Dauglaukis i Tylży). Niemal na każdym cmentarzysku z tego okresu występowały też szpile tutulusowe czy sznury paciorków z żelaznymi zawieszkami dzwoneczkowatymi. Bogactwo wyposażenia omawianych pochówków nie musi więc być wyłącznie skutkiem wyższego statusu rodzin zmarłych. Możliwe, że odzwierciedlało ono status kobiet wynikający z ich młodego wieku. Omawiane tu elementy stroju należy łączyć z ceremonialnym strojem, który mógł być stosowany podczas ceremonii ślubnych. Prezentacja zmarłej młodej kobiety jako panny

młodej mogła wynikać z konieczności zapewnienia jej odpowiedniego statusu podczas przejścia w zaświaty. Motyw zaślubin czytelny jest również w męskich grobach z tego okresu, zawierających pojemniki/pudełka z typowo kobiecą biżuterią – Ch. Reich (2013) zinterpretowała ją jako „dary dla narzeczonych” z zaświatów. Zestaw biżuterii i strój ceremonialny przygotowany do obrzędów ślubnych był osobistą własnością konkretnej dziewczyny i w wypadku jej przedwczesnej śmierci nie mógł być dziedziczone przez innych członków rodziny. Pochówek dziewczyny lub młodej kobiety w stroju takim, jak tutaj omawiane, byłby zatem formą przekazania jej na życie pozagrobowe

własności, której nie mogła wykorzystać za życia. Obrzędy takie zapewniały dziewczynie status kobiety zamężnej, a tym samym uzyskać stosownej pozycji wśród przodków w zaświatach.

W różnych kulturach elementy zwyczajów pogrzebowych i ceremonii ślubnych splatają się ze sobą, a motyw pożegnania i rozstania z ukochaną osobą jest w nich szczególnie wyraźny. Te archaiczne tradycje nie są związane z konkretnymi etnosami, ale najprawdopodobniej odzwierciedlają pewne ogólnoludzkie archetypy kulturowe.

*Tłumaczenie: Jacek Andrzejowski*