

Watershed between Eastern and Western Lithuania during the Early and Late Migration Period

Audronė Bliujienė

SEVERAL NOTES ON THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPING OF EAST LITHUANIAN BARROW CULTURE DURING THE LATE ROMAN IRON AGE

Formation of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture goes in the territory between the river Šventoji in the west and the lakes Sviri and Narach (in Belarus) in the east. However, resettlement and assimilation of this territory starts in the basin of the river Žeimena and its confluence with the river Neris (Vaitkevičius, 2005a, p. 50–51, Fig. 1). It should be noted that the eastern border of the culture is not marked well enough, even in the Late Viking Age and Early Medieval Times (Kurila, 2005, p. 78). There are no mound-covered burials dated to the Late Roman Iron Age and belonging to the East Lithuanian Barrow Culture in Belarus (Michelbertas, 1986, p. 69; Звяруга, 2005, c. 48–52).

East Lithuania during the Late Roman Iron Age wasn't densely populated (Michelbertas, 1986, p. 68–69, 194, Figs. 84–87; Tautavičius, 1996, p. 46; Vaitkevičius, 2005, Fig. 2; Лухтанас, 2002, c. 25–27; Звяруга, 2005, c. 48). However, hill-fort cultural layers show that people were living in this territory during the first two centuries (Лухтанас, 2001, c. 22–25). A developed system of the hill-forts and open settlements was in function on the banks of midstream of the river Neris at Grabijolai (Žemaitiškės), Karmazinai (both sites in Vilnius district) and Kernavė (Širvintai district) during the second–fourth centuries (Kraujalis, 2002, p. 34–35; Luchtanas, 2002, p. 35–36; 2005, p. 44). The process of the formation of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture was synchronised with vanishing of Striated Pottery Culture during the late second – early third century. Perhaps the process of vanishing of Striated Pottery Culture and changes following this process held sway after certain military attacks, beyond which some burned down buildings were found du-

ring archaeological excavations (Luchtanas, 1994, p. 52; 2002, p. 22; Лухтанас, 2001, c. 24). Excavation of the hill-forts and settlements of Lithuania allowed arguing that for the formation of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture the role of Striated Ware Culture was not decisive (Zabiela, 1995, p. 47–48; Лухтанас, 2001, c. 24).

Formation of East Lithuania Barrow Culture begins in the late second – early third century (the first stage: phases B2–C1/C1a – till phase D1). The process was provoked and directly influenced by migration of west Baltic people from the south-western territories, first of all from Sudovian Culture in the Suvałki region, Bogaczew and Wielbark Cultures, as well as Poles'ye (Nowakowski, 1995, p. 77–78; Tautavičius, 1996, p. 46; Astrauskas, 1998, p. 109; Bitner-Wróblewska, 1998, p. 308; Vaitkevičius, 2004, p. 54–58; 2005, p. 73–74, Fig. 3; Медведев, 1989, c. 56–59). At the same time, even in the Late Roman Iron Age, relationships with south-eastern territories are noticeable. Potsherds of wheel-made pottery, most likely imported from the territory of Cherniakhov Culture (Alcai 27 type), were dispersed in the barrow-mound-7 at Karmazinai (Vilnius district). A female cremation burial dated to the sixth–seventh centuries was found in the mentioned barrow (Cehak-Hońubowiczowa, 1955, p. 328–329, Fig. 14:2, 3, 5; LNM AR, 121:32, 34). However, imported wheel-made potsherds dispersed in the barrow mound might belong to the late second or third century (Cehak-Hońubowiczowa, 1955, p. 328–329; Щукин, 1999, c. 72–73, рис. 4).

The grave complexes and single artefacts, which are known in the territory of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture in the late second and third century are the same in types as those known from the western Lithuanian sites, Dollkeim/Kovrovo, Sudovian and Przeworsk Cultures as well as from other territories of Central *Barbaricum* (fibulae of Almgren types 59, fibulae with ladders (A96, A128), necklaces with trumpeted and conical terminals,

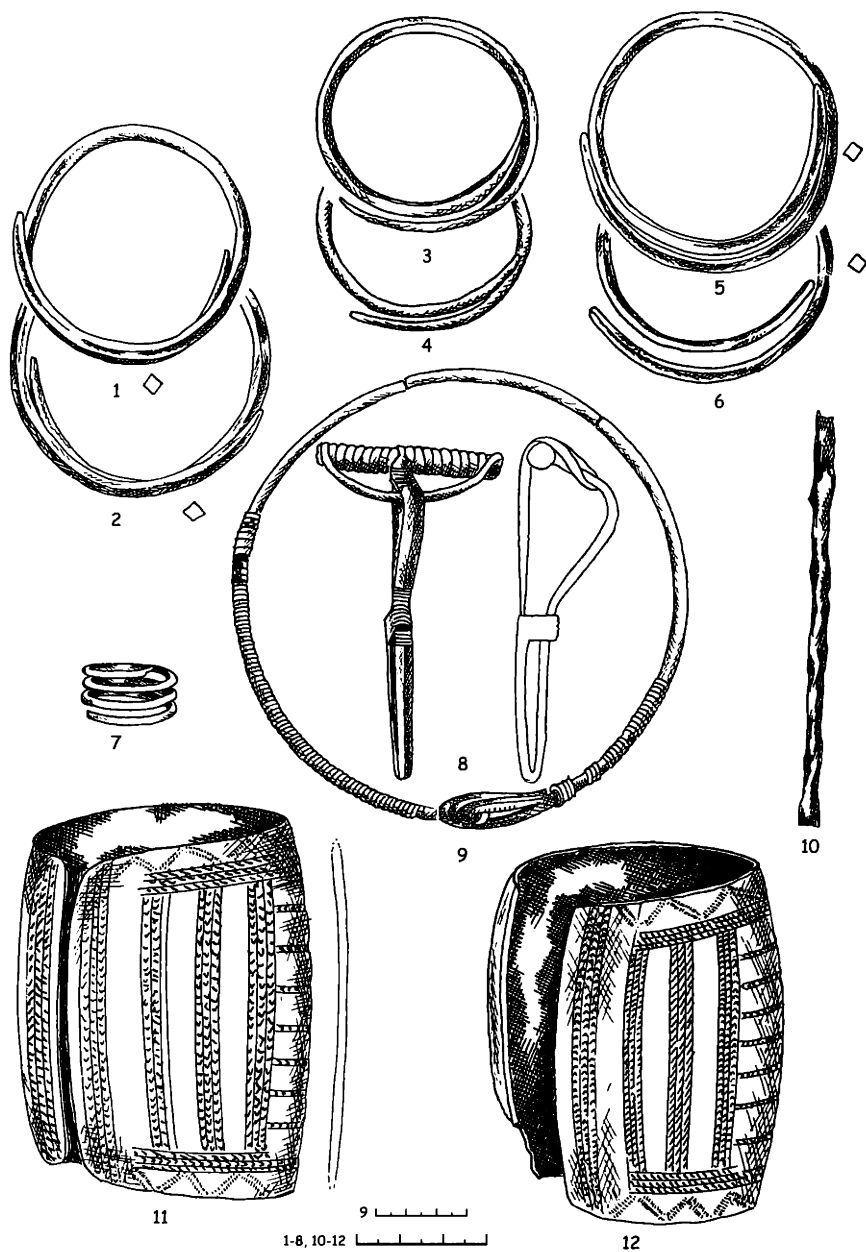


Fig. 1. Pakrauglė barrow site (Vilnius district), barrow 1, female inhumation grave (1–9, 11–12 – bronze, 10 – iron; LNM AR, 97:6–18; drawings by A. Ruzienė).

1 pav. Pakrauglės (Vilniaus r.) pilkapynas, pilkapis 1, griautinio moters kapo radiniai (1–9, 11–12 – žalvaris, 10 – geležis; LNM AR, 97:6–18; piešė A. Ruzienė)

differently shaped pendants such as bucket- and wheel-shaped with a swastika motif, sash-like bracelets decorated with a row of “eye” and dots¹, etc.) (Antoniewicz, 1930, p. 114, Fig. 14; Michelbertas, 1978, 10–11, map 5: 2–3; Bitner-Wróblewska, 2002, p. 72–73, Figs. 2–3; Vaitkevičius, 2004, p. 54–58, Figs. 13, 15; Bliujūtė, 2006, Fig. 3). Single Roman coins, pieces of a glass beaker (E 230 type) and even bronze human figures found in East Lithuania indicate a relationship with the south-western and south-eastern territories (Antoniewicz, 1930, p. 112, Fig. 10:1; Luchtanas, Vėlius, 2002, p. 113; Лухтанас, 2001, с. 26, рис. 3:1; Михельбертас, 2002, с. 78). There not visible contacts of an East Lithuanian Barrow Culture with the north of Latvia in the Late Roman Iron Age (Zabiela, 1995, Fig. 35) and relationships westwards during and Migration Period (Vaitkevičius, 2005a, p. 53).

Ornaments of the Late Rome Iron Age found in female inhumation graves vary rather widely in character and are dispersed in large territories of the Baltic Lands (spiral temple ornaments, wristband bracelets, enamelled penannular brooches, certain pin types, necklaces with a spoon-shaped clasp, different pendants, etc.) (Bliujus, 1983, p. 38–39, Fig. 9; Michelbertas, 1986, p. 107, Fig. 30:3; 1996, p. 19–24, Fig. 1; Lenarczyk, 1991, tab. XVI:3–5; Лухтан, 2001, рис. 3:2; Покровский, 1893, с. 170–171, таб. XI:18–20; Шимански, 2003, с. 85, рис. 2:13–14).

The first wave of people migration, mostly from the south-western territories, gradually resettled the basin of the river Žeimena and the midstream of the river Neris (Zabiela, 1995, p. 47–48, Fig. 35; Michelbertas, Jovaiša, 1997; Vaitkevičius, 2005, Fig. 2; Лухтанас, Ушиньскас, 1988, с. 92–94, рис. 1). The main territory occupied by East Lithuanian Barrow Culture covered the basin of the river Žeimena and its confluence with the river Neris as well as both banks of the river Neris approximately up to the environs of Vilnius during the late second – first half of the fourth century.

Barrows constructed from earth and surrounded by stone circles, pits and ditches were characteristic of mounds of East Lithuania at the end of the late second century till the early sixth century. Stone circles characteristic of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture appeared in Central Lithuanian cemeteries (Marvelė) simultaneously (Bertašius, 2005, Tafel: LXVI; LXXXVIII; CV; Abb. 4b).

Stone constructions in Central Lithuanian cemeteries might be part of the connections with Sudovian Culture and might have no relation with East Lithuanian Barrow Culture. Inhumation graves beneath the barrow foundation were a characteristic feature of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture in the Late Roman Iron Age.

The watershed in material and perhaps spiritual culture was not so inconsiderable between East and West Lithuania in the Late Roman Iron Age, because resettlement of East Lithuania follows the inconsiderable help of the western Baltic communities. However, one of the most important distinctive features of the both territories might be the different level of resettlement and of course the limited range of bronze artefacts of the eastern part of Lithuania. These features give a general impression that East Lithuania was a rather peripheral zone of the Baltic lands.

Already in those times the river Žeimena started to be the main western and west-northern border for the spread of barrows to Central Lithuania (Michelbertas, Jovaiša, 1997; Vaitkevičius, 2005, Fig. 2; Vaitkevičius, 2005a, Fig. 1). The range of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture and its extension was naturally connected with the main direction of resettlement, which according to the archaeological data ran not always peacefully during the Late Roman Iron Age (Лухтан, 2001, с. 27). However, from the perspective of the 21st century it seems that the resettlement of East Lithuania and West Belarus, as well as the development of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture ran as a replenishment of an empty vessel. On the other hand, the number of the sites and population was rising constantly from the beginning of the third century (Žulkus, 2005, p. 21, Fig. 3:5). The end of the first stage of the development of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture might be the synchronised phase D1 (360/370–400/410), which is defined as the process of vanishing of Wielbark, Przeworsk and Cherniakhov Cultures.

EAST LITHUANIAN BARROW CULTURE DURING THE EARLY MIGRATION PERIOD

The second stage of the formation of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture covers the end of the fourth – middle of the fifth century (this stage was synchronised with phase D1 (360/370–400/410) and phase D2 (380/400–440/450), the so-called Untersiebendrunn horizon (Tejral, 1992, p. 227–246). The process of the vanishing of Wielbark, Przeworsk and Cherniakhov Cultures brought hu-

¹ Juostininkai, Anykščiai district; LNM AR:545:1–6.

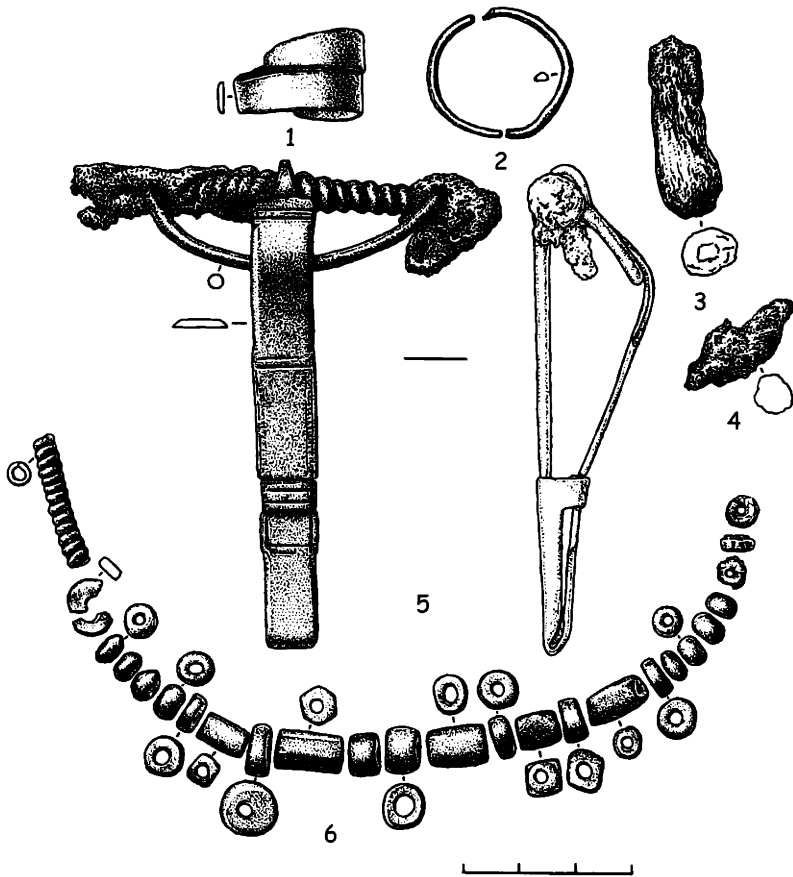


Fig. 2. Baliuliai barrow site (Švenčionys district), barrow 8, female inhumation grave 1. 1–2 – silver, 3–4 – iron, 5 – bronze, 6 – glass, enamel, bronze, after V. Kliaugaitė, 2000; drawing by I. Maciukaitė).

2 pav. Baliulių (Švenčionių r.) pilkapynas, pilkapis 8, griautinis moters kapas 1. 1–2 – sidabras, 3–4 – geležis, 5 – žalvaris, 6 – stiklas, emalis, bronzos; pagal Kliaugaitė, 2000; piešė I. Maciukaitė)

ge new impulses to the development of the north eastern part of Europe as well as to the formation of the next stage of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture (Kazanski, 1992, Fig. 17; Шукин, 2005, с. 207–219, рис. 82). Cherniakhov Culture made the main impact on the development of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture in this period, especially in the first quarter of the fifth century. Cherniakhov Culture was vanishing during the two first decades or even in the middle of the fifth century (Шукин, Шаров, 2000, с. 378–381, рис. 1:1–3; 2). During the first half of the fifth century the interregional processes touched East

Lithuania, because endless disturbances in Central Europe during the reign of Attila (died in 453) again and again stimulated new waves of migration (Шукин, 2005, с. 287–296, 389–394).

On the level of the presently available data it is possible to argue that external reasons prevailed in the formation of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture in the Early Migration Period. The processes of the Great Migration in East Lithuania were more significant than in the western Lithuanian lands. The question how many people whose ancestors erected the first barrows in East Lithua-

nia survived and were not moved by the waves of the Great Migration Period is still open. The burned fortification system of Kernavė and other sites, triangular arrowheads, cicada-shaped belt bindings characteristic of the Hunnish times² clearly indicate that development of settlements and hill-forts came to an end in the middle of the fifth century (Zabiela, 1995, p. 49; Luchtanas, 2005, p. 44). At the same time also the second stage of the development of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture expired.

The number of sites occupied by East Lithuanian Barrow Culture increased from the beginning of the fifth till the middle of the fifth century (Tautavičius, 1996, p. 46–47; Vaitkevičius, 2005, p. 75–77, Fig. 2; Appendix; Лухтанас, 2001, с. 26–27; Лухтанас, Ушинскас, 1988, с. 95, рис. 2). The western border of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture moved within a measurable distance to the river Šventoji. The first barrows with inhumation graves appeared in western Belarus in the first half of the fifth century (Гуревич, 1962, с. 57–58, рис. 28; Лухтанас, Ушинскас, 1988, рис. 2)³. The first cremation burials appeared in the most south-western part of the territory of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture (Bliujus, 1983, p. 31–40; Tautavičius, 1996, p. 46–47; Лухтанас, Ушинскас, 1988, с. 95, рис. 1). Inhumation as burial practice was more common in the first two decades of the fifth century (Untersiebenbrunn horizon). However, it should be noted that first cremation burials appeared and were contemporaneous with East Lithuanian Barrow Culture in the first decades of the fifth century (Antoniewicz, 1930, p. 112; Tautavičius, 1996, p. 48–52).

On the contrary, in the territory westwards from the river Šventoji and especially in the western part of Lithuania, the number of the sites decreased (Michelbertas, 1989, p. 17, Fig. 2:2; Žulkus, 2005, p. 21, Fig. 3:2, 4). At the same time there were some concentrations of sites (cemeteries) with material of the Early Migration in several regions of the former West Lithuanian Stone Circle Grave Culture⁴. Sites at the lower reaches of the river Nemunas were desolated at the end of the fourth century,

however, single sites were still in use (Šimėnas, 1992, p. 31). The new sites, which in the fifth century and beginning of the sixth century appeared in the region of the lower reaches of the river Nemunas, are not connected with the sites of the Roman Iron Age (Šimėnas, 1992, p. 26–30). It should be noted that the small-scale depopulation in the western part of Lithuania and resettlement in its eastern part were not connected directly, because they were distinct elements of Early Migration Period.

Inhumation graves of the first decade of the fifth century, especially those of women, are much more impressive than men's graves of the same period (Figs. 1, 2). Rich children's and even infants' inhumation graves in the same barrow with women's burials are another important and distinctive feature of the second stage of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture (Vaitkevičius, 2005, p. 80). These impressive rich women possibly had a high social status and belonged to the elite of the society.

There are no clear indicators for the definition of male elite graves of the phases D1–D2. High-rank male graves appeared in the second half of the fifth – beginning of the sixth century (Degsnė, Labotiškės, Molėtai district, Papiškės, Varėna district, Taurapolis, Utena district, Krikštonys, Lazdijai district, Borava, Šilinė, Švenčionys district) (Tautavičius, 1981, p. 31; 1996, p. 50; Kliaugaitė, 2000; 2000a, p. 175; Semėnas, 2000, p. 198; Покровский, 1897, с. 155–156, таб. X:11–12) (Fig. 3).

Judging from the women's inhumation graves, the east Lithuanian people groups who came to this patch of the land were a rather stratified society in the first decade and first half of the fifth century. Female's inhumation graves allow to distinguish women of different social position. Some of females' graves contained bronze ornaments of the Baltic character (Fig. 1; 6). Rather numerous women's inhumation graves had bronze crossbow fibulae of the same or similar construction as those made of silver (Figs. 1:8; 6:1).

Meanwhile other females, or "silver ladies", were buried with different amounts of fashionable silver ornaments and various impressive necklaces of apparently foreign provenance (Fig. 2) (Merkevičius, 1990, p. 55; Kliaugaitė, 2002a, p. 67; Semėnas, 1998, p. 151–152)⁵.

² See to the article of A. Bitner-Wróblewska and M. Kontny "Controversy about tree-leaf shaped arrowheads from Lithuania" in this volume.

³ Andrejevcy, Chiornaja Luzha, Gel'janovo, Vilkeny, Zheliad', Ponizje, Smorgon', Zasyvriai, etc. (all sites in western Belarus).

⁴ Aukštikiemiai (former Oberhof), Bandužiai, Slengiai, Rūdaičiai I, Užpelkiai, Lazdininkai (Kalnalaukis) and others.

⁵ Polianki (Ostrovce district Belarus), Baliuliai, barrows; Cegelnia (Pavajūnis, Ignalina dist.), barrow 2, grave 1 (Zabiela, 1996, p. 46; Kliaugaitė, 2000a, p. 177; Semėnas, 1998, p. 150–152; Bliujienė, 2002, p. 149–150, Fig. 4:1–2).

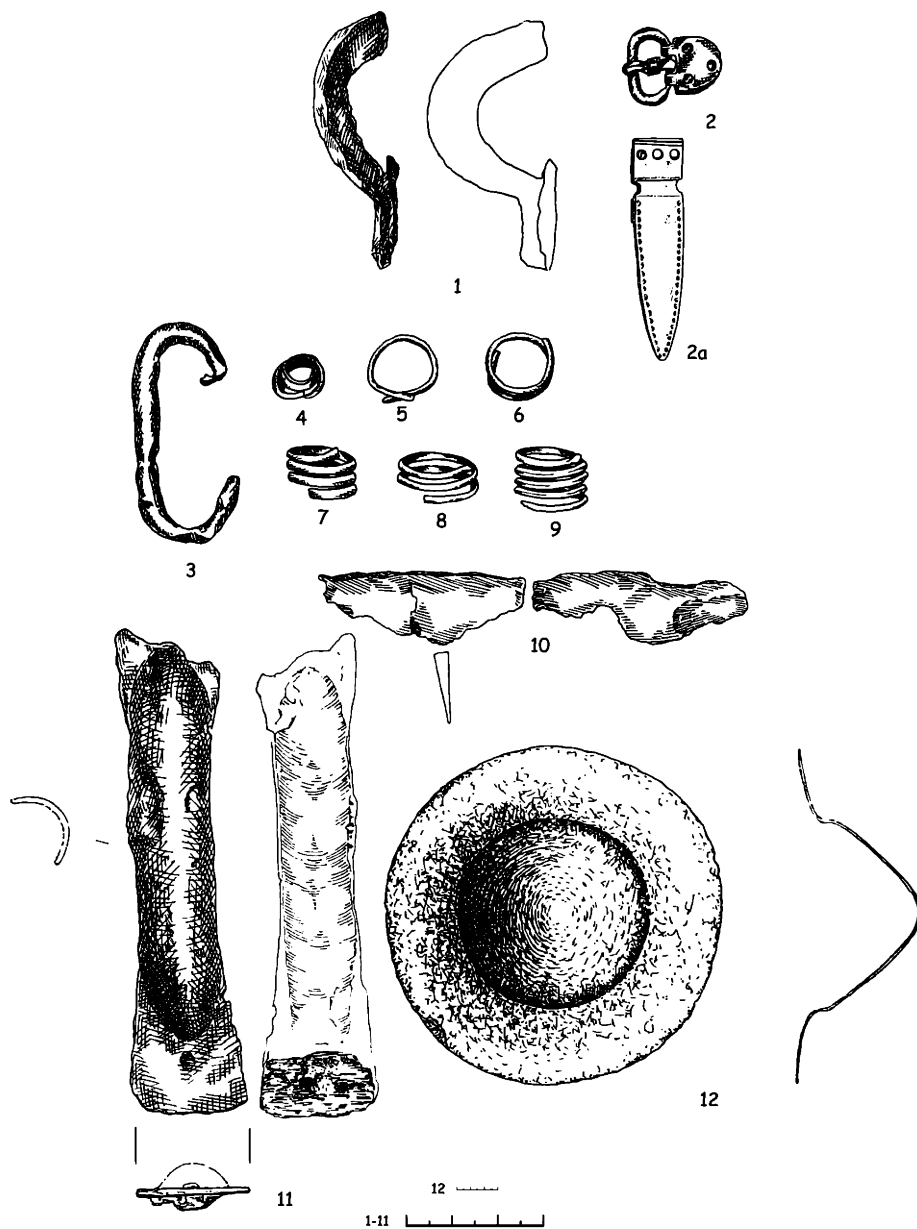


Fig. 3. Degsnė barrow site (Labotiškės, Molėtai district), barrow VI, male inhumation grave 1. (1, 3, 10–12 – iron, 2, 2a, 4–9 – bronze; LNM AR, 549:10–21; drawing by A. Ruzienė).

3 pav. Degsnės (Labotiškių, Molėtų r.) pilkapynas, pilkapis VI, griautinis vyro kapas 1. (1, 3, 10–12 – geležis, 2, 2a, 4–9 – žalvaris; LNM AR, 549:10–21; piešė A. Ruzienė)

Women demonstrating their highest rank are an unusual phenomenon to East Lithuania. Fibulae as well as bracelets and neck rings disappeared from women's graves during the second half of the fifth century or even in the middle of the fifth century.

Fashionable silver neck rings, necklace strings of different beads including amber and even corals⁶, silver crossbow fibulae with a bent foot, finger rings and bracelets with thickened terminals generally made from silver are known from the high rank women's inhumation graves. Approximately 161.12 g is the weight of all silver ornaments enclosed into a "silver lady" grave from the Pavajuonyis-Rėkučiai barrow 11 inhumation grave 2. Silver ornaments were found in a three-year-old child's grave at the Pavajuonyis-Rėkučiai barrow 11, grave 1; the total weight of those ornaments is 177.11 g (Fig. 4).

The most characteristic ornaments found in female graves of the first half of the fifth century are crossbow fibulae (Figs. 1: 8; 2: 5; 5; 6: 1). The big silver crossbow fibulae found in those graves might originate in Cherniakhov Culture circle or even somewhere in the Pontic area and Crimean Peninsula during the fourth – beginning of the fifth century (Fig. 5; Appendix 1:34–38) (Амброз, 1966, p. 66, таб. 11:16; 24:3; Щукін, 2005, рис. 78, 79:1–11). Similar crossbow fibulae are characteristic of the cremation burials of heterogeneous Cherniakhov Culture from the lower reaches of the rivers Dniester and Dnepr in the south till the Volyn'ja and the upper reaches of the river Western Bug in the north (Гуревич, 1962, рис. 49:6; Терпиловский, 2000, с. 306–308, рис. 5:18; Петраускас, 2002, с. 48–49, 52–56; рис. 2, 5, 6; Щукін, 2005, рис. 78, 79:1–11). The vanishing of Cherniakhov Culture might be connected with appearance of high-rank female inhumations in East Lithuanian Barrow Culture in the first decade of the fifth century.

Fashionable necklaces strung of different beads including amber, enamel, glass and even corals as grave goods accompany "silver ladies" to the afterlife in the first quarter of the fifth century or somewhat latter (Fig. 2). From several tens to more than 200 beads were threaded

together to make one necklace. Beads are of well known types in the spanless territory of *Barbaricum* in the Late Roman Iron Age and Migration Period (Tempelmann-Maczyńska, 1985, p. 65–70, Taf. 15, 59, 60, 64, 65; Алексеева, 1972, таб. 23–24). Similar fashionable necklaces as well as large silver crossbow fibulae indicate the same connections with Cherniakhov Culture (Сымонович, 1979, рис. 8:1–2, 10–16; 12:1, 3–14).

The "silver lady" from the Pavajuonyis-Rėkučiai barrow 11 was buried with two silver bracelets with thickened terminals and permanently closed ends. A silver bracelet with thickened terminals and open ends was found on the left arm in the child's inhumation grave 1 in the same barrow 11 at Pavajuonyis-Rėkučiai (Fig. 4:10) (Semėnas, 1998, p. 151). This child's grave is dated to the first half of the fifth century. The origin of bracelets with thickened terminals is the Sarmatian area, Late Roman environment or even Byzantine Empire (Arrhenius, 1990, p. 129–134, Fig. 6.10; Lund Hansen, 2001, p. 163, 176, Figs. 1, 4). These bracelets are allied to so-called golden or silver "Kolben" armlets denoted as *military armillae*, *dona militaria* or *tristis dominica*. In the Germanic society, "Kolben" armlets are connected with the highest social and military rank and are a kind of symbols of loyalty, fidelity and oath given to the leader (for men) or indicate a specific woman's position in society (Arrhenius, 1990, p. 129–134, Fig. 6.10; Lund Hansen, 2001, p. 158–165). Silver "Kolben" armlets might have the same destination in Baltic society. For instance, one of the knight retinues from Taurapolis buried in barrow 4 inhumation grave 1 has such silver armlet (Tautavičius, 1981, p. 34, Fig. 38:1).

The first golden or bronze (covered with gilded silver) bracelets of this type appeared in graves, hoards and offering places of *Barbaricum* during the period C1b (Lund Hansen, 2001, p. 158–163, Figs. 2–3). Golden "Kolben" armlets everywhere in Europe during the Late Roman Period were worn both by men and women nearly always on the right arm, while starting from the Early Migration Period those silver armlets were worn mostly on the left arm (Arrhenius, 1990, p. 129–130; Lund Hansen, 2001, p. 179). Golden and silver "Kolben" armlets, both by men and women, were worn more extensively by Germanic people, Huns and Sarmatians during the Migration Period and in Early Merovingian Times (Kyhllberg, 1986, p. 73, Fig. 20; Arrhenius, 1990, p. 129–134, Fig. 6.10; Lund Hansen, 2001, p. 177–179).

Bracelets with thickened terminals in women's graves are unusual to the Baltic environment of the fifth and

⁶ Circa 30 small coral beads were strung into the necklace found in grave 2 at Pavajuonyis-Rėkučiai (Semėnas, 1997). IR spectroscopy analyses were made researching corals found at Pavajuonyis-Rėkučiai (researched by J. Bagdzevičienė; LDM RC and Dr. A. Kleišmontas (Institute of Chemistry).

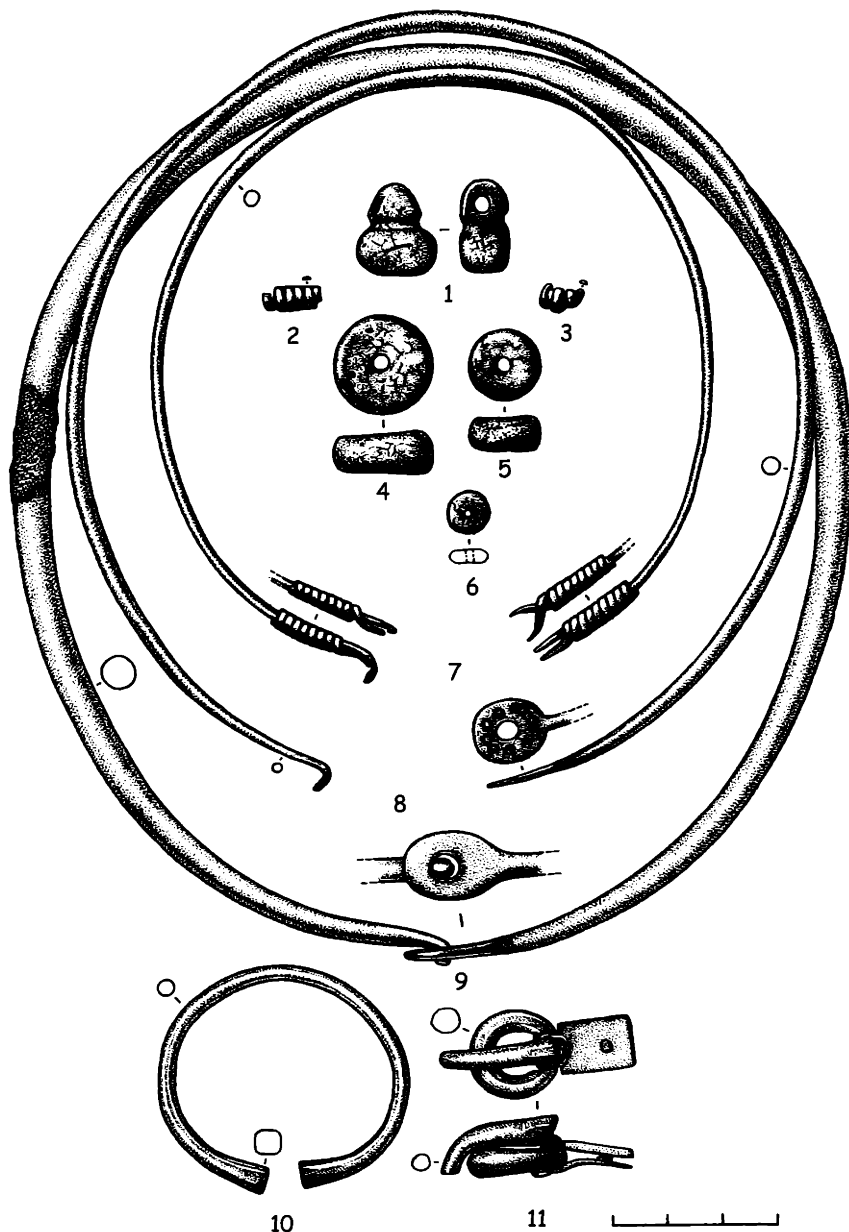


Fig. 4. Pavajuonys-Rėkučiai barrow site (Ignalina district), barrow 11, child inhumation grave 1. (1, 4-6 – amber, 2 – bronze, 3, 7-11 – silver; after Semėnas, 1998; Museum of Švenčionys; drawing by I. Maciukaitė).

4 pav. Pavajuonio-Rėkučių (Ignalinos r.) pilkapynas, pilkapis 11, griautinis vaiko kapas 1. (1, 4-6 – gintaras, 2 – žalvaris; 3, 7-11 – sidabras; pagal Semėnas, 1998; Švenčionių muziejus; piešė I. Maciukaitė)

beginning of the sixth century. Only local types of these ornaments were worn by women and children starting from the sixth century (Kazakevičius, 1993, p. 118–119; Vaitkunskienė, 1995, p. 127, Figs 181:1–2, 182:1–2; Bertasius, 2005, Tafel CXXX:3–4, CXXXI:5). Westwards from the river Šventoji, silver and bronze bracelets with thickened terminals usually are found in warriors' graves, mostly on the right arm (sword arm) in the middle and the second half of the fifth century (Valatka, 1984, p. 22, Fig. 15:15; Šimėnas, 1986, Fig. 13; Kazakevičius, 1993, p. 118; Bertasius, 2005, Tafel CXIV, Grabfunde 268:3, Tafel CXXVI:3–4, CXXXV:3–4). Two silver or bronze bracelets are known from women's graves only in the sites such as Vidgiriai (Šilutė district) which also appeared in the Migration Period (Šimėnas, 1987, Fig. 19).

Till now antler or bone combs in graves are found only in the sites of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture (Cegelnia, Ignalina district, in an inhumation male (?) grave; Kretuonas, Švenčionys district, barrow 44, cremation burial 1 (Tautavičius, 1996, p. 50, 275, Fig. 134:3; Butėnienė, Tautavičienė, 1980, p. 2). Antler and bone combs are usual items in Cherniakhov and Wielbark Cultures (Шукін, 2005, с. 173–174, рис. 59).

It should be mentioned that sickles started to appear in women's graves during the first half of the fifth century, and "silver ladies" burials are not an exception in such custom (Fig. 6:10). Sickles started to be a constant element of women cremation graves during the Late Migration Period. However, the custom of enclosing a sickle into women cremation burials vanish in the eighth century (Tautavičius, 1996, p. 50, 56, 114).

Some unusual and exceptional burial customs are known from East Lithuanian Barrow Culture in the first half of the fifth century. One of such burial customs is additional goods (finger rings, silver cross bow fibulae and fashionable bead sets) enclosed into a wooden casket and put near the head of a deceased woman in rich inhumation graves (Semėnas, 1997; 1998, p. 152; Grižas, Steponaitis, 2005, p. 61). One more unfamiliar burial custom is known from the Cegelnia barrow 4, where a woman⁷ was buried seated together with an infant on the underlay made from birch bark and adorned with 300 bronze rhombic lamellae (Zabiela, 1996, p. 45–46; from V. Kaschirski excavations of 1906). A teenage girl was buried beneath the barrow base at Sudota barrow 1. Un-

der this burial, a warrior's inhumation grave with a narrow-blade axe and two spearheads was found (Merkevičius, 1990, p. 55). There are known quite old customs when deceased persons (men) were buried on the left side (Antasarė, Švenčionys district, barrows 2 and 5; Borava, Švenčionys district, barrow 1 (Покровский, 1897, с. 155–156). Graves with a deceased buried lying on the left side and collective graves are known from Cherniakhov Culture (Сымонович, Кравченко, 1983, с. 32–33, таб. 10).

Assemblages of grave goods, traces of wooden caskets and unusual burial customs (Сымонович, Кравченко, 1983), such as position of a deceased in the grave, indicate influences from the south eastern direction, mostly from Cherniakhov Culture and southernmost its territory. People migration and cultural influences might reach East Lithuania during the vanishing of Cherniakhov Culture, but not earlier than the first quarter of the fifth century. High-rank women inhumations, which appeared during the first decade of the fifth century, disappeared in the middle of the fifth century. Nevertheless, the majority of inhumation graves disappeared during the third decade of the fifth century – middle of the fifth century. From the middle of the fifth century cremation burial customs were prevailing (Vaitkevičius, 2005a, p. 50–54). It can be presumed that with appearance and development of cremation burial rites, a transition from the prevalent individual graves in the barrows to the collective cremation burial took place.

EAST LITHUANIAN BARROW CULTURE IN THE LATE MIGRATION PERIOD

The next stage of the development of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture is the middle of the fifth – first quarter of the sixth century (phase D2/D3 430/440–470/480 – horizon of the Smolin and Kosino; D3 450–480/490 horizon of Karavukovo-Gava and beginning of the phase E 470–500/510–520 and somewhat later). In the second half of the fifth and first quarter of the sixth century the new waves of migration and resettlement of new people gave new impulses to the formation of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture (Zabiela, 1995, p. 49–50, Fig. 35). The main influences that reached East Lithuania were connected with the middle reaches of the river Danube and the territories connected with midstream of the rivers Southern Bug and Dniestr in those times (Figs. 5; 7–8). The grave assemblages from Taurapilis and Sudota 4th site include

⁷ Grave goods include a silver bracelet, a finger ring and a spindle whorl made of stone (Zabiela, 1996, p. 46).

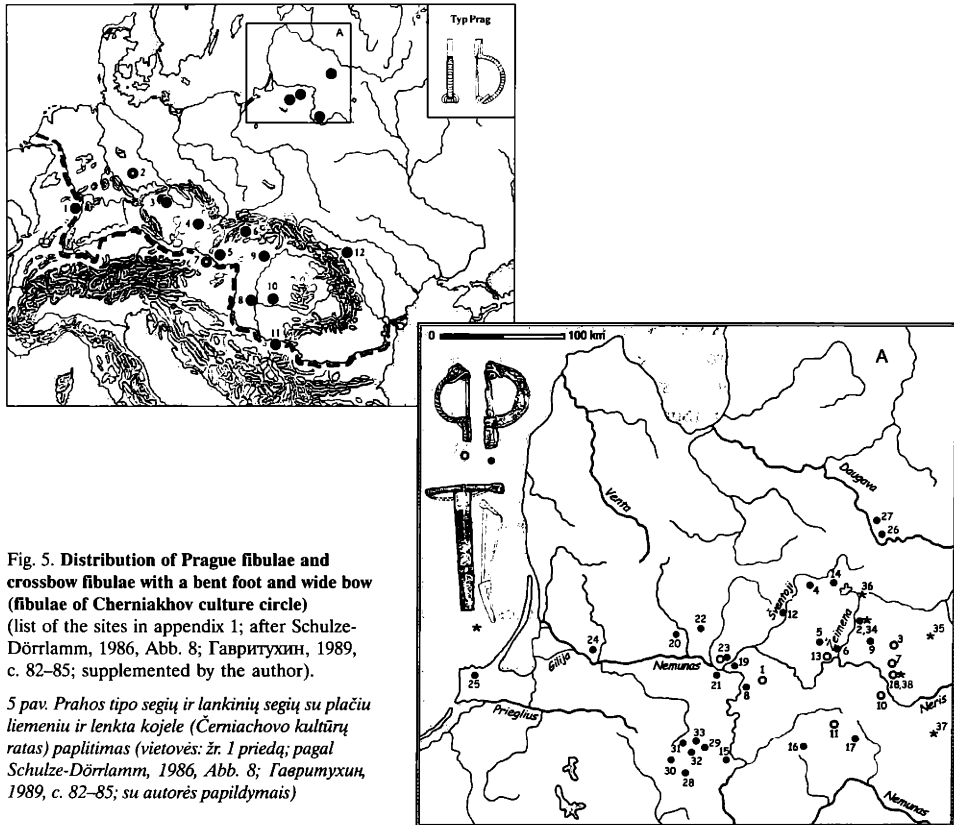


Fig. 5. Distribution of Prague fibulae and crossbow fibulae with a bent foot and wide bow (fibulae of Cherniakhov culture circle) (list of the sites in appendix 1; after Schulze-Dörflamm, 1986, Abb. 8; Гавритухин, 1989, c. 82–85; supplemented by the author).

5 pav. Prahos tipo segių ir lankinių segių su plačiu liemeniu ir lenkta kojele (Černiachovo kultūrų ratas) paplitimas (vietovės: žr. 1 priedą; pagal Schulze-Dörflamm, 1986, Abb. 8; Гавритухин, 1989, c. 82–85; su autorės papildymais)

single artefacts (silver drinking-horn mouth binding and gold neck rings) of Scandinavian origin (Bliujiene, 2000, p. 105–106, Fig. 5; Šatavičius, 1997, p. 11–13, Figs. 74–78; 2004, p. 13–14, Figs. 64–68). These artefacts might have reached East Lithuania via the Middle Danube together with their owners.

In this period, the territory of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture occupied by barrows was marginally enlarged and the river Šventoji started to be the main watershed between East Lithuanian Barrow Culture and Central Lithuania. The watershed in those times even fractionally moved west from the river Šventoji to the river Strėva (Alinka / Raistinė, Trakai district; Maisiejūnai, Kaišiadorys district). New long-term barrow sites, with several cremation burials in one mound, were erected in the whole territory of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture in the middle of the fifth – beginning of the sixth century. Crema-

tion burial rites prevailing in this period, inhumation graves were an exception in the middle of the fifth – beginning of the sixth century (Vaitkevičius, 2005a, p. 50). Single men's inhumation graves and cremation burials of this period look as typical warrior's graves (Figs. 3; 7). Male graves are rather uniform and indicate a strong leading position of weapons in their assemblages. One or two fibulae of Prague type, crossbow fibulae with a lofty bow and straight foot and fibulae with lofty bow and small triangular foot appeared in the warrior's graves in the middle of the fifth century or somewhat earlier (Figs. 3; 5; 7) (Tautavičius, 1970, p. 33, 36). All these fibulae are of interregional character and most of them are produced from iron. Conical or spherical shield bosses, B-shaped buckles⁸ with distinct bindings, a narrow-blade axe, two

⁸ Types H23, H24 according to Madyda-Legutko (Madyda-Legutko, 1986, p. 67, Tafel 19).

spearheads, knives of different length and even swords are characteristic grave goods of this period (Figs. 7–9) (Tautavičius, 1996, p. 47–56; Kontny, 2004, p. 251–256, Figs. 1, 3–4; Vaitkevičius, 2005, p. 78, Fig. 6; 2005a, p. 50; Бажан, Каргапольцев, 1989, с. 29–30).

East Lithuanian Barrow Culture is a large northern concentration of Prague fibulae in the territory of north-eastern part of *Barbaricum* (Fig. 5; Appendix 1:1–18) (Schulze-Dörrlamm, 1986, p. 600–605, 712; Tautavičius, 1970, p. 33, 36; Bliujienė, 2002, p. 148–149, Fig. 3; Bitner-Wróblewska, 2005, p. 40; Гавригунин, 1989, с. 78–80, рис. 1–2; Баран, Приходнюк, 1990, с. 248–249, рис. 51). Another concentration of Prague fibulae is found in Central Lithuanian and Sudovian area (Fig. 5; Appendix 1:19–24, 28–33) (Schulze-Dörrlamm, 1986, p. 712, Abb. 8). Single Prague fibulae are known from the Late Wielbark and Dollkeim / Kovrovo Cultures (Jaskanis, 1996, p. 50, 161; Гавригунин, 1989, с. 84). Fibulae of Prague type in the Baltic lands should be dated to the middle of the fifth – third quarter of the fifth / beginning of the sixth century. In the basin of the rivers Dniestr and Danube, Prague type fibulae appeared early in the fifth century (Teodor, 1988, p. 207, 220–221, Fig. 9:1, 3; tab. 3). Prague fibulae found in the Eastern Baltic region might be divided into two subtypes, such as Pilviny (fibulae with a torque or twisted bow) and Vilkonys (fibulae with a plane high lofty bow) (Fig. 5; Appendix 1:1–33).

Prague fibulae were worn by women and men in Central *Barbaricum* and in Sudovian culture⁹ (Figs. 3; 7) (Jaskanis, 1961, p. 184, Table III:6; Kaczyński, 1966, p. 204–205, Table X:6; Fig. 14; Schulze-Dörrlamm, 1986, p. 600–605, 712, Figs. 7–11; Teodor, 1988, p. 207, 220–221; Tejral, 1992, p. 239). In burials of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture, Prague fibulae are found only in warrior's cremation graves, with the leading position of weapons in their assemblages (Figs. 3; 7).

It should be noted that all fibulae connected with Migration Period have no visible traces in the later material of East Barrow Culture. No derivatives to have prolongation to the second half of the sixth century were created. Nobody took a try to adjust and improve these fibulae. Fibulae of all types disappeared from male's cremation burials in the first decade of the sixth century.

⁹ Prague fibula found in cremation burial 2 at Wołowni belongs to a female 50–60 years old (Dzierżykray-Rogalski, Promińska, 1966, p. 218). Prague fibula was found in the female cremation burial 3, after the grave goods at Osowa, barrow 50 (Jaskanis, 1961, p. 184, Table II:4).

An opposite phenomenon was observed in the western part of Lithuania in the end of the fifth – first half of the sixth century, where imported items and new cultural ideas gave a lot of new images for originating various types of different artefacts. Foreign animal design inspired west Baltic craftspeople to create and produce artefacts modelled on Germanic prototypes (Bitner-Wróblewska, 2001; Bliujienė, 2002, p. 153–156, Figs. 8–12). Baltic handicraftsmen tried to adopt realistically depicted animals of provincial Roman origin to different artefact types: fibulae, garment pins and even belt strap-ends (Bliujienė, 2002, p. 153–156, Figs. 8–12; 2000, p. 102–107, Fig. 4).

Single knights' graves and graves of the highest rank chieftains warriors appeared in the territory of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture in the Late Migration Period (Fig. 8). One of them is the well known burial from Taurapilis barrow 5. This inhumation grave is dated to the second half of the fifth – beginning of the sixth century (Tautavičius, 1981, p. 31). Burials of knights and highest rank chieftains as well as members of their family recently have been found at the Sudota 1st and 4th barrow sites (Figs. 8, 9) (Šatavičius, 1997, p. 11–13, Figs. 74–78; 1998, p. 47–48; 2004, p. 13–14; Semėnas, 1999; p. 198; Bliujienė, 2002, p. 150, Fig. 5). Pieces of melted gold¹⁰, silver and bronze necklaces and a narrow-blade battle axe were found in the plundered cremation burial at the Sudota 4th barrow site (Šatavičius, 1997, p. 11–13, Figs. 74–78; 1998, p. 47–48). Furthermore, small pieces of melted golden torque necklaces and small gold drops were found in the cremation burial of a two-year-old child (2) at Sudota 4th barrow site (Šatavičius, 2004, p. 13–14, 22–23, Figs. 64–68). Judging by a B-shaped iron belt buckle and narrow-blade axe (Tautavičius, p. 145; Бажан, Каргапольцев, 1989, с. 33, рис. 3), this grave might be dated to the second half of the fifth – first quarter of the sixth century or a somewhat latter. These pieces of melted golden ornaments are unique items not only in East Lithuanian Barrow Culture, but also in the whole eastern Baltic region.

One more unique grave complex was found at the Sudota 1st site in barrow 30, male cremation burial 4¹¹.

¹⁰ Analysis of the metal was not made.

¹¹ Grave goods of this warrior cremation burial include two knives (length 14.5 and 25.4 cm), two spearheads, narrow-blade battle axes, conical shield boss and iron handle, two iron crossbow fibulae (one with a long narrow foot and lofty bow), fragment of silver necklace, fragment of silver bracelet, fragments of seven spiral bronze finger rings, several fragments of melted down bronze artefacts (Semėnas, 1999, p. 11–12, Figs. 16–18; Bliujienė, 2002, p. 150, Fig. 5).

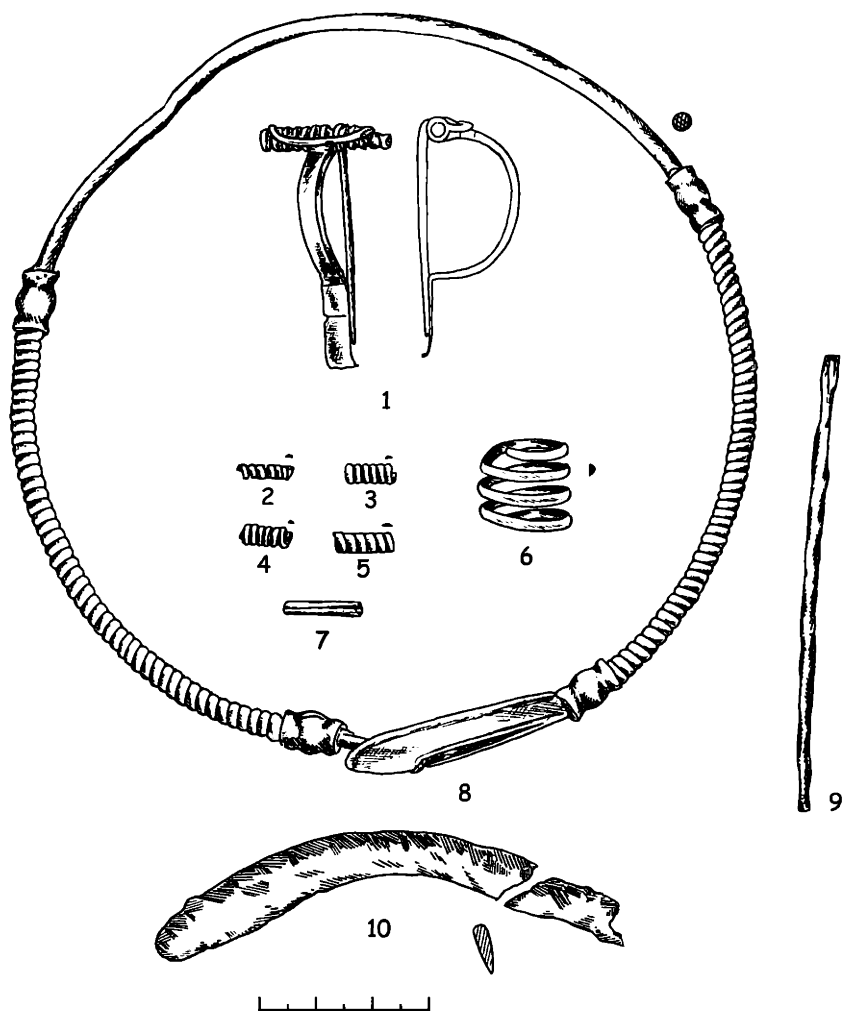


Fig. 6. Diktarai (Utena district) cemetery, female inhumation grave 26. (1–8 – bronze, 9–10 – iron; LNM AR, 655:8–15; drawings by A. Ruzienė).

6 pav. Diktarių (Utenos r.) kapinynas, griautinis moters kapas 26 (1–8 – žalvaris; 9–10 – geležis; LNM AR, 655:8–15; piešė A. Ruzienė)

The most impressive gilded bronze artefact found in this high rank chieftain burial is a fragment of a bow fibula used as a belt mount (Fig. 9). However, this is a recycled artefact, which initially was manufactured for a bow fibula. This is clear from the pair of stylized bird heads at

both sides of the bow (now broken) and the animal-head terminal at the opposite side of the artefact. These two features remind the so-called “Slavic” bow fibulae of Werner’s class I D, but no fibula of that class has a footplate similar to that of the Sudota chieftain burial. The mount

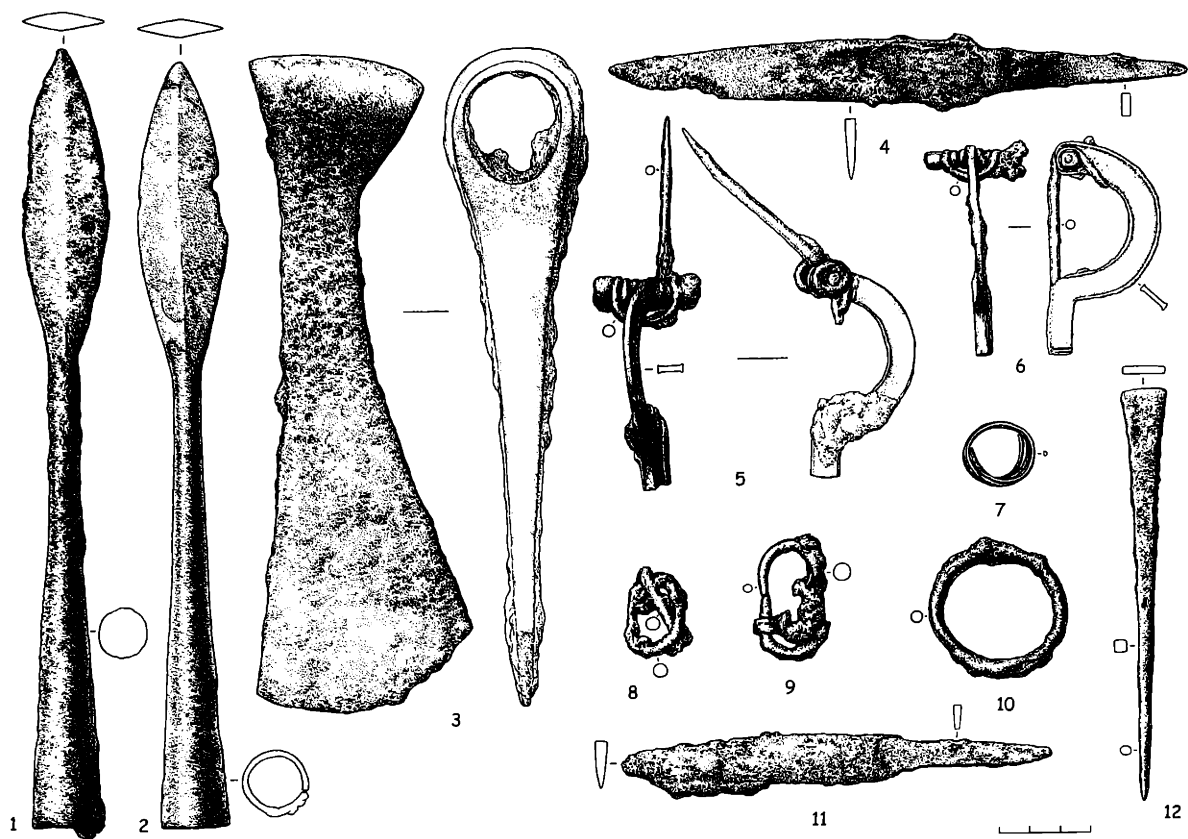
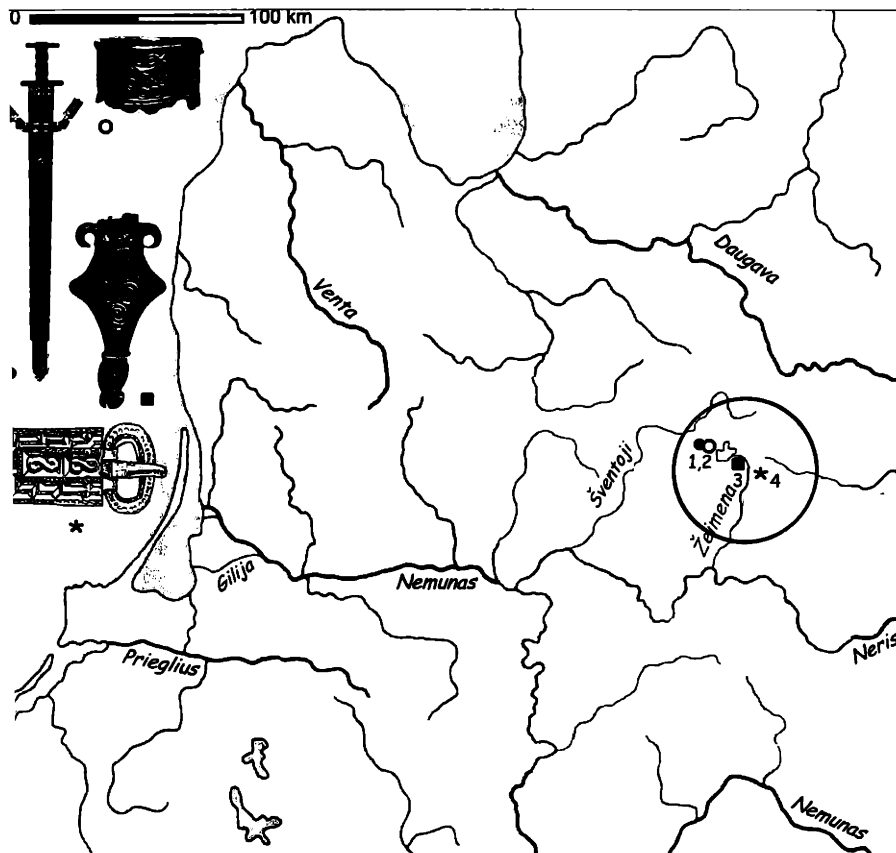


Fig. 7. Baliuliai barrow site (Švenčionys district), barrow 5, male cremation burial 3. (1–12 – iron; after Kliaugaitė, 2000, drawing by I. Maciukaitė).
 7 pav. Baliulių (Švenčionių r.) pilkapytas, pilkapis 5, degintinis vyro kapas 3. (1–12 – geležis; pagal Kliaugaitė, 2000, piešė I. Maciukaitė)



Artefacts of Middle Danube provenance and the concentration of the rich complexes. The end of the fifth – first quarter sixth century.

Dunojaus vidurupio kilmės radiniai ir turingų kapų koncentracija Rytų Lietuvos pilkapiuose. V a. pabaiga – pirmasis VI a. is

the Sudota 1st site is very similar to a pair of brooches from a late fifth or early sixth-century female burial arge cemetery at Basel-Kleinhüningen in Switzerland (Bierbrauer, 1974, Fig. 5). The Basel-Kleinhüningen brooches have a different decoration of the footplate (o scrollwork), but they are very similar in all other aspects. The motif of scrollwork was widely used in the region of bow fibulae, belt buckle plates and other items belonging to the Karavukovo-Gava horizon (Шукин, таб. VII). The burial assemblage in which they were found was dated between 490 and 520, and this early date does not contradict what is known about the chron-

ology of scrollwork decoration of brooches and belt buckles in the Middle Danube region. In the opinion of Dr. Florin Curta¹², the bow fibula from the Sudota 1st site was produced in the Middle Danube region, somewhere in Hungary, ca. 500/530, and then re-adapted, perhaps in Lithuania, before being deposited in a burial.

Consequently, most men of this period look as typical infantryman warriors. The standard assemblages of their burials are a conical shield boss, B-shaped buckle, nar-

¹² Personal information from Assoc. Prof. Dr. Florin Curta, University of Florida, Department of History.

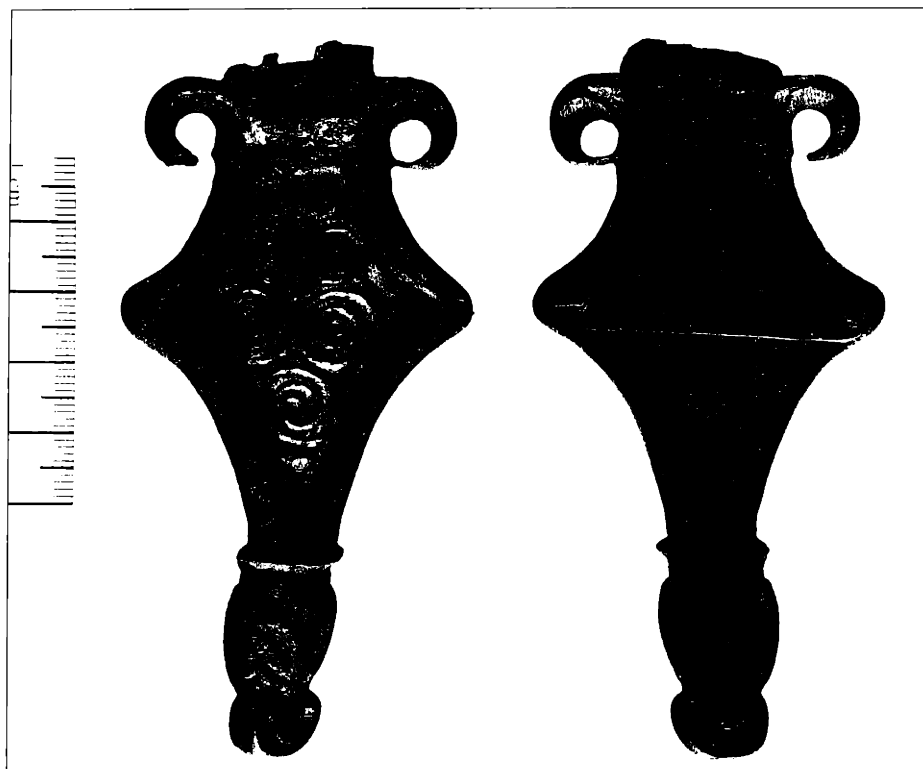


Fig. 9. Foot of bow fibulae used as mount from Sudota 1st barrow site (Švenčionys district), barrow 30, male cremation burial 4 (gilded bronze; photo by D. Rudinskas).

9 pav. Pirštuotosios segės kojėlė, naudota kaip apkalas. Sudotos I (Švenčionių r.) pilkapynas, degintinis vyro kapas 4 (auksuota bronzą; D. Rudinsko fotonuotrauka)

row-blade axe, two spearheads, and battle dagger or knives in the middle of the fifth – beginning of the sixth century (Fig. 7). Ornaments disappeared from male's cremation burials in the first decade of the sixth century. Fibulae include only several graves of chieftains or their retainers from Taurapilis and the Sudota 1st site.

Female cremation burials are not only poorly equipped but also standard during the second half of the fifth – beginning of the sixth century. The main grave goods of female graves are one to four clay spindle whorls, an awl, a knife and a sickle. Very rare bracelets are found in female cremation burials. Nevertheless, graves only of exceptional by rich female of the late fifth or early sixth century are known. A unique burial of a 25-35-years-old cremated woman is recorded at the Ziboliškė 3rd site,

where an exclusive gilded silver belt buckle with a quadrangular belt plate was found (cremation bones researched by R. Jankauskas; Kliaugaitė, 1999a, p. 9, 23; 2000b, p. 182–183). This fine workmanship is of Middle Danubian origin. An analogous item is known from the Bratei cemetery in Transylvania, similar specimens were found in Frankish female graves at Frénouville (Schulze-Dörrlam, 1986, p. 688, Abb. 105; Bärzu, 1991, p. 211–213).

Barrow sites with particularly rich graves concentrate in a small micro-region between the lakes Tauragnai, Žeimenis and Vajuonis and the upper reaches of the river Žeimena. Generally those graves are dated to the fifth – first quarter of the sixth century (Baliuliai, Švenčionys district; Borava (Šilinė, Švenčionys district); Cegelnia, Ignalina district; Pavajuonyų-Rėkučiai, Ignalina

district; Sudota 1st site and 4th sites, Švenčionys district; Taurapilis, Utena district; Ziboliškės 3rd site, Švenčionys district) (Fig. 8). This rather small territory looks like a huge military camp in which someone had an intention, in all senses, to manifest power and wealth in the early fifth – first quarter of the sixth century. Barrow mounds themselves and their concentration, the system of the hill-forts and settlements as well as a defensive wall at Rėkučiai¹³, which has resemblance to the defensive system of Danewerke (close to Schleswig, Germany) perfectly served this purpose. A system of lakes, small rivulets and a hill and hill-fort in the vicinity of the Taurapilis barrow site as a natural defensive system goes eastwards and eventually join the Rėkučiai defensive wall (Girininkas, Semėnas, 1995, p. 32–33, Fig. 6). Nearby another defensive wall at Pastoviai (Pastoviai district, Belarus) is located (Kviklys, 1989, p. 704; Girininkas, Semėnas, 1995, p. 33). On the other hand, this small micro-region with the mentioned sites could control the main land and water routes that were going to the river Daugava in the north and to the river Dnepr in the south-east. Highest rank warrior chieftains and their poorly equipped professional warriors as a retinue army once again indicate a social differentiation of the society and imply that the political elite formed a power structure and was controlling the territory. At the same time it seems that the people who settled in East Lithuania were escaping from their homeland with their property from something very dangerous and trying to hide in deep woods during the Early and Late Migration Times.

¹³ The Rėkučiai defensive wall is located between the lakes Žeimenis and Vajuonys (Girininkas, Semėnas, 1995, Fig. 1). The length of this defensive wall is 830 m and height circa 1.1 m. The Rėkučiai defensive wall was dated to the 12–13th centuries after a small-scale investigation in this site (Girininkas, Semėnas, 1995, p. 28–34).

CONCLUSIONS

1. East Lithuanian Barrow Culture was formed on the basis of Striated Pottery Culture and resettlement of East Lithuania and West Belarus by the new people. For the formation of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture, the role of Striated Pottery Culture was not decisive.

2. Formation of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture went in three main stages during the Late Roman Iron Age – Late Migration Period.

3. At the end of the second through the fourth century, the formation of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture was influenced mainly by Sudovian Culture.

4. The vanishing of Wielbark, Przeworsk and Cherniakhov Cultures brought huge new impulses to the development of the northeastern part of Europe as well as to the formation of the next stage of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture during phases D1–D2. Late Cherniakhov Culture had the main impact on the development of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture in this stage.

5. During the Late Migration Period (phases D2/D3–E), development of East Lithuanian Barrow Culture was connected with the Middle Danubian area.

6. The development of East Lithuania (East Lithuanian Barrow Culture) and the residual part of Lithuania went independently. From the Migration Period, the river Šventoji was the main watershed between these regions.

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Fibulae of Prague type (subtypes Pilviny and Vilkonys) found in the eastern and southeastern Baltic region in the second quarter of the 5th – third quarter of the 5th century / beginning of the 6th century

East Lithuanian Barrow Culture

1. Aukštadvaris (Trakai district), hill-fort, two specimens (subtype Pilviny)
2. Baliuliai (Švenčionys district), barrow 5, cremation burial 3 (subtype Vilkonys)
3. Chiornaja Luzha (Medial'ski district, Belarus), barrow 2, cremation burial (subtype Pilviny) and barrow 3, burial 3 (subtype Vilkonys)
4. Diktarai (Anykščiai district), inhumation grave 1 (subtype Vilkonys)
5. Degsnė-Labotiškės (Molėtai district), inhumation graves in barrows 6 and 7 (subtype Vilkonys)
6. Dvyliškiai (Paraisčiai), Vilnius district, barrow 1(11), inhumation grave 3 (subtype Vilkonys)
7. Gury (Medial'ski district, Belarus), settlement (subtype Vilkonys)
8. Maisiejūnai (Kaišiadorys district), barrow 14(17), cremation burial 1 (subtype Vilkonys)
9. Peršaukščiai-Kasčiukai (Švenčionys district), barrow 9 (subtype Vilkonys)
10. Pilviny barrows (Medial'ski district, Belarus), barrow 2, cremation burial (subtype Pilviny)
11. Poškai (Šalčininkai district), barrow 2, cremation burial (subtype Pilviny)
12. Riklikai (Anykščiai district), barrows (subtype Vilkonys)
13. Skersabalai (Trakai district) (subtype Pilviny)
14. Taurapolis (Utena district) barrow 5, grave 1 (subtype Pilviny)
15. Vilkiutinis (Aukštoji, Varėna district)
16. Vilkonys (Šalčininkai district) barrow 6 (subtype Vilkonys)
17. Zabieliškės (Šalčininkai district), barrow 3, cremation burial 2 (subtype Vilkonys)
18. Zheliad' (Medial'ski district, Belarus), barrows, 7, 10, 11 cremation burials burial (subtype Pilviny)

Cemeteries of Central Lithuania and the lower reaches of the river Nemunas

19. Eiguliai (Kaunas city) (subtype Vilkonys)
20. Kalniškiai (Raseiniai district), inhumation grave 191 and a loose find (subtype Vilkonys).
21. Marvelė (Kaunas city), known 15 fibulae
22. Plinkaigalis (Kėdainiai district), inhumation grave 358 (and graves 97, 197) (subtype Vilkonys)
23. Veršvai (Kaunas city), graves 29, 74, 113–114 (known 8 fibulae of Vilkonys and Pilviny subtypes)
24. Vidgiriai (Šilutė district), grave, inhumation 38 (corroded)

Dollkeim/Kovrovo culture

25. Dobroje (former Rantau Hünenberg, Zelenogradsk district, Kaliningrad region, Russia)

The eastern Latvian sites

26. Dinaburg hill-fort (Daugavpils district)
27. Madalāni hill-fort (Preiļu district)

Sudovian culture (Poland)

28. Kutowa (Hajnówka district)
29. Mojtny (Mragovo district) (subtype Vilkonys)
30. Osowa (Suwałki district), barrow 5, grave 2 (subtype Pilviny) barrow 50, grave 1 and barrow 66, grave 3 (subtype Vilkonys)
31. Szurpiły (Suwałki district), barrows 15, 18 (subtype Vilkonys)
32. Sz wajcaria (Suwałki district), barrows 18, grave 3 and barrow 22, grave 3 (subtype Vilkonys)
33. Wołownia (Suwałki district), barrow 5, cremation burial 2 (subtype Pilviny)

Appendix 1:a

Silver and bronze cross bow fibulae with wide bent foot and wide bow (fibulae belong to Cherniakhov culture circle). The first quarter of the 5th century

34. Baliuliai (Švenčionys district)
35. Polianki (Laukininkai, Ostrovec district Belarus)
36. Pavajuonyys-Rėkučiai (Ignalina district)
37. Velemičy 1st site (Stolinskij district Belarus; last phase of the Zarubinec Culture)
38. Zheliad' (Medial'ski district, Belarus)

ABBREVIATIONS

- ATL – Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje... Vilnius.
 Katalog wystawy – Kernavė – litewska Troja. Katalog wystawy ze zbiorów Państwowego Museum-Rezerwatu Archeologii i Historii w Kernawė, Litwa (ed. A. Bitner-Wróblewska). Warszawa, 2002.
- KP – Kultūros paminklai, Vilnius.
 LA – Lietuvos archeologija, Vilnius.
 LII R – Institute of Lithuanian History, Archyve, Vilnius.
 LNM AR – Lithuanian National Museum, Department of Archaeology, Vilnius.
 RB – Rocznik Białostocki, Białystok.

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TAKOSKYRA TARP RYTINĖS IR VAKARINĖS LIETUVOS ANKSTYVAISIAIS IR VĒLYVAISIAIS TAUTŲ KRAUSTYMOŠI LAIKAIS

Audronė Bliujienė

Santrauka

Ankstyvųjų ir vėlyvųjų tautų kraustymosi laikų Lietuvos archeologinė medžiaga rodo įvairiapusiškai skirtingą Vakarų (šiame straipsnyje terminas vartojamas apibrėžti teritoriją, esančią į vakarus nuo Šventosios upės) ir Rytų Lietuvos raidą. Tačiau straipsnis koncentruojasi į Rytų Lietuvos pilkapių kultūros užuomazgas romėniškajame laikotarpyje ir tolesnius jos raidos etapus tautų kraustymosi laikais.

Rytų Lietuvos pilkapių kultūros pradžia ar pirmasis jos etapas siejamas su brūkšniuotosios keramikos kultūros pabaiga II a. pab. – III a. pradžioje ir žmonių migracija iš Sūduvių regiono. Brūkšniuotosios keramikos kultūros įtaka regiono raidai nebuvo vyraujanti. Matyt todėl šio laikotarpio rytinės Lietuvos materialinė kultūra atspindi bendrą Rytų Baltijos jūros regiono ir vakarų baltų kultūros horizontą, nors palyginti negausus atskirų dirbinių tipų paplitimas rodytų tam tikrą šios teritorijos periferiškumą. Kita vertus, jau romėniškajame laikotarpyje Rytų Lietuvos pilkapių kultūros teritorijoje randama išskirtinių visam Rytų Baltijos jūros regionui dirbinių.

Vielbarko, Pševorsko ir Černiachovo kultūrų užgesimas ankstyvaisiais tautų kraustymosi laikais įžiebė naują Rytų Lietuvos pilkapių kultūros raidos etapą (periodai D1–D2

(360/370–400/410) ir D2 (380/400–440/450), skiriama Untersiebenbrunn horizontui). Didžiausią įtaką šiuo metu padarė žmonės, migravę iš Černiachovo kultūros srities ir jai artimų regionų. Taigi ankstyvajame tautų kraustymosi laikotarpyje Rytų Lietuvos pilkapių kultūros formavimuisi lemiamą įtaką padarė pietrytinės kultūrinės įtakos ir žmonės, atkeliavę iš šių regionų. V a. pirmajame ketvirtyje Rytų Lietuvos pilkapių kultūros palaidojimuose atsiranda moterų („sidabrinės moterys“) turtingų griautinių kapų ir griautinių vaikų kapų, kurių svarbią įkapių dalį sudaro sidabrinės lankinės dvinarės segės, turinčios analogų Černiachovo kultūros areale, sidabrinės storagalės „Kolben“ tipo apyrankės, diržų sagtys ir įspūdingai prašmatnūs karolių vėriniai (2; 4 pav.). Taip pat išskiriami moterų kapai, kurių kompleksai yra vietinės kilmės, bet kai kurie dirbiniai, ypač žalvarinės lankinės segės, gamintos remiantis bendrosiomis šio laikotarpio kultūrinėmis įtakomis (1 pav.). Taip pat išsiskiria ne tik turtingų moterų kapai, bet ir jų kapai drauge su vaikais, dvigubi palaidojimai, žmonių palaidojimai ant šono. Moterų kapuose randama papildomų įkapių, kurios, matyt, buvo sudėtos į dėžutes. Tik Rytų Lietuvos pilkapių kultūros palaidojimuose randama kaulinių šukų. Taigi Rytų Lietuvos

pilkapių kapuose randami papuošalai, taip pat laidosenos elementai rodo buvus gana artimus ryšius su Černiachovo kultūra ir jos aplinka.

Vėlyvaisiais tautų kraustymosi laikais (periodai D2/D3–E 430/440–470/480 – Smolino ir Kosino horizontai; D3 450–480/490 Karavukovo–Gavos horizontas; periodas E 470–500/510–520 ir truputį vėliau) pasikeitė migracijos į Rytų Lietuvos pilkapių kultūrą kryptys ir, savaime surantama, kultūrinių įtakų kryptys. Šiuo laiku reikšmingiausi Rytų Lietuvos pilkapių kultūros ryšiai buvo su Dunojaus vidurupio regionu ir teritorija tarp vakarų Bugo ir Dniestro. Ir šiuo laikotarpiu Rytų Lietuvos pilkapių kultūra išlaiko tradicinius ryšius su sūduvių kultūra. Kaip vienas tokių ryšių atspindys yra Prahos tipo segių paplitimas (5 pav.). Pažymėtina, kad Rytų Lietuvos pilkapių kultūra yra šiauriausias masinis šio tipo segių paplitimas Štaurės rytų Europos miškų juostos paminkluose (7 pav.).

Rytų Lietuvos pilkapių kultūros teritorija išsiplėčia ir rytuose pasiekia Šventąją. Šis Rytų Lietuvos pilkapių raidos etapas gerai atsispindi regiono materialinėje kultūroje

(3–9 pav.). Vėlyvaisiais tautų kraustymosi laikais išsiskiria kunigaikščių ir turtingų karo vadų kapai, taip pat standartinės ekipuotės gerai ginkluotų karių palaidojimai (pav. 3, 7–9). Karių kapuose randama Prahos ir kitų tipų segių (pav. 3, 7–8). Šie kapai yra ir griautiniai, ir degintiniai. Šiame Rytų Lietuvos pilkapių raidos etape išnyksta turtingų moterų ar „sidabrinių moterų“ palaidojimai. Kol kas žinomi tik keli turtingi degintiniai moterų kapai. Degintiniai turtingų moterų kapai (Ziboliškės), kaip ir vyrų kapai rodo ryšius su Dunojaus vidurupiu.

Tautų kraustymosi laikų Rytų Lietuvos pilkapių raidos etapai rodytų didžiulę ginklų ir turto koncentraciją santykinai nedidelėje teritorijoje, kuri prasideda ties Tauragnų ežeru apimdama Žeimenos žiotis ir atsiremia į Vajuonio ir Žeimenio ežerus. Tai leidžia manyti, jog šiame mikroregione susikūrė tam tikra politinė struktūra, galėjusi kontroliuoti regioną (8 pav.). Tautų kraustymosi laikais rytinės ir vakarinės Lietuvos raida nebuvo tiesiogiai susijusi. Tuo metu Šventoji tampa takoskyra tarp rytinės ir vakarinės Lietuvos.

Įteikta 2006 m. gegužės mėn.