

ABOUT THE PEOPLE BURIED IN THE CEMETERY OF BAITAI: THEIR CULTURAL INTEGRATION THROUGHOUT THE BALTIC SEA REGION AND THE EUROPEAN BARBARICUM IN THE 3RD CENTURY AD

We might well ask how the material from a burial site may testify to processes that took place in a living society. In this short study, we will do not discuss the context of the grave goods in the *sacrum* sphere but will take a closer look at some forms of jewellery which indicate long-distance contacts of the Western Balts dwelling on the coastland that is now Lithuania during the Late Roman Period. The ornaments found as grave goods once were used in the *profanum* sphere. They were worn seeking to follow the trends of a particular time and to express the originality/ordinariness/communality of the owner and at the same time to stress his/her place and role in the community. These artefacts are our main basis for detecting the movement of goods and ideas through various regions for various reasons (Quast 2009a, 1-26 fig. 10). Without a doubt, the first attempt to evaluate the material from the Baitai Cemetery (Klaipėda rajonas/LT) made by the author of this article (Banytė-Rowell 2000) requires an update. Important inspiration to look for the overseas contacts of the people in the Western Lithuanian coastland, especially during the 3rd century came from C. von Carnap-Bornheim (2000, 45-61). M. Michelbertas (2000, 63-68) stressed that the most intensive contacts between Scandinavia and the inhabitants of the areas in what is now Lithuania during the Roman Period took place during Phases C1a and C2. This short paper is an attempt to take a closer look at several types of jewellery from the Baitai Cemetery originating around the time of Phase C2, and to detect their role as indicators of far-flung contacts with the Germanic areas in the Baltic Sea region of the European Barbaricum¹.

The Baitai Cemetery lies in the coastal area of Lithuania, on the left bank of the River Minija (fig. 1). It has been known since the end of the 19th century as the site »Baiten« situated on the northern border of Eastern Prussia. This cemetery was visited and excavated briefly by Professor Adalbert Bezenberger of the University of Königsberg (Bezenberger 1900, 133-135 pl. XV.3). In 1989-1991, 1993, 1995, 1997, 2001-2003 and 2006-2007 the investigation of the central area of the cemetery and its outskirts took place and 49 burials were unearthed². The Baitai Cemetery belongs to the cultural area of the Western Lithuanian cemeteries with stone enclosures that were detected as a phenomenon of the Roman Iron Age and Early Migration Period. The latter area was a part of the so-called *Memelkultur* which was distinguished among other groups of Balt origin by the East Prussian scholar Carl Engel (1933, 271-273 fig. 1). This cultural area includes the Western Lithuanian cemeteries in the coastland and in the Lower Nemunas region. Recently, the cultural development which took place in the Early Roman Iron Age in the latter regions was presented when analysing the archival legacy of H. Jankuhn (Banytė-Rowell 2019a). The biggest part of graves investigated in Baitai hitherto belongs to the Late Roman Period (C1b2/C2 and later). Here a discussion of finds from the central area of the cemetery will be presented. The chronological attribution of this part of the cemetery was recently supported by statistical means – Baitai grave sets have been included in a seriated database of the *Memelkultur* material (Banytė-Rowell 2019a, 396 figs 141-144 addendum).



Fig. 1 The location of the cemeteries of Western Lithuania mentioned in the article. – (Courtesy and mapping of the Centre for Baltic and Scandinavian Archaeology [ZBSA], GIS-Department).

SILVER DETAIL OF THE ROSETTE BROOCH FROM BAITAI GRAVE 31

Sometimes in archaeology, a tiny object tells a great story. A small silver-gilt detail from a rosette brooch (typical of A216-217 brooches) which was found in Baitai Cemetery Grave 31 belongs to this group of artefacts. It is a broken piece of a round silver foil that is slightly convex and its pressed ornamentation is represented by a motif of radius/rays. Most probably, the silver circle made of a flat wire and the fragments of a silver notched wire belonged to the same object, that is to say the rosette brooch (figs 2, 1; 3, 2; 4). These brooches created in Zealand (Denmark) and spread in the middle parts of the Baltic shores and further via southern routes towards Pontus are signs of their owners' higher status. The recently published outstanding study of M. J. Przybyła sheds new light on the typology of rosette brooches, their chronology, distribution and significance as status symbols (Przybyła 2018; the primary basic investigations and conclusions were published in: Lund Hansen/Przybyła 2010, 241-286). Although Baitai Cemetery Grave 31³ was robbed in prehistory, its grave set still testifies that the buried person enjoyed outstanding status among the other members of his community and also in the context of all known material from Western Lithuanian cemeteries with stone enclosures (Banytė-Rowell/Bitner-Wróblewska/Reich 2012, 212. 217 figs 10. 12). The round

convex plate as a detail of a brooch was associated with rosette brooches of Group 6 (Przybyła 2018, 136-137 fig. 3, 93; Lund Hansen/Przybyła 2010, fig. 34, 5). Of course, this attribution may not be entirely proved, as M. J. Przybyła notes, but it is a detail of a rosette brooch which may be associated with the *Monströse* types 216-217 of the Almgren classification (Almgren 1923, 96 pl. IX, 216-217). The presupposition that the rosette detail from Baitai Grave 31 might be most likely associated with Przybyła's Group 6 of rosette brooches may be supported not only by the shape of the detail but also by the occurrence of one brooch of this type in Lithuania. This is preserved in the Kaunas Museum (VDKM – Vytautas the Great War Museum) and the origin of the item is maybe associated with Lithuania (most probably its western regions) (Michelbertas 2000, 65 fig. 2; here references to the earlier publications of this brooch are given. This brooch also has been published and discussed in: Przybyła 2018, 112 fig. 3, 81, 5; see also Lund Hansen/Przybyła 2010, fig. 34, 5). The brooches of Group 6 which mostly are known from the south-eastern areas of the Baltic – the Wielbark culture in the region of the lower reaches of the Vistula and Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture with centres on the Samland Peninsula – represent the version created following brooches of Group 3, variant 4. The latter is a type produced in Zealand (Lund Hansen/Przybyła 2010, 270 fig. 34, 5; Przybyła 2018, 112 fig. 3, 93). The origin of the production of Group 6 brooches is associated mainly with the Wielbark culture and the region of *Frisches Haff*. The distribution (and possible further production) in the Cherniakhov culture testifies to the vivid circulation of ideas and goods between the southern-south-eastern Baltic and the Dniepr/Dniestr areas on the communication axis towards Pontic areas (Lund Hansen/Przybyła 2010, 270 fig. 34, 5). Rosette brooches of Group 6 in the Western Balt areas are one of the many indicators of the close communication between the Wielbark culture and their neighbours to the North-East and the ability of the Western Balts to act as partners on a more or less equal level. The finds of brooches of Group 6 in Bornholm (DK), Gotland (S) and Västergötland (S) show the closest neighbourhood by the Baltic Sea towards North-North-West for the Germanic people of the Wielbark culture and for the Western Balts dwelling on the coastal areas. According to M. J. Przybyła, the rosette brooches of Group 6 appeared in Phase C1b2 or Phase C2a and circulated in use until Phase C2b (Przybyła 2018, 143). Therefore, the rosette detail from Baitai Grave 31 indicates very precisely the period when the intensive communication of the elite of various regions of the Baltic Sea took place.

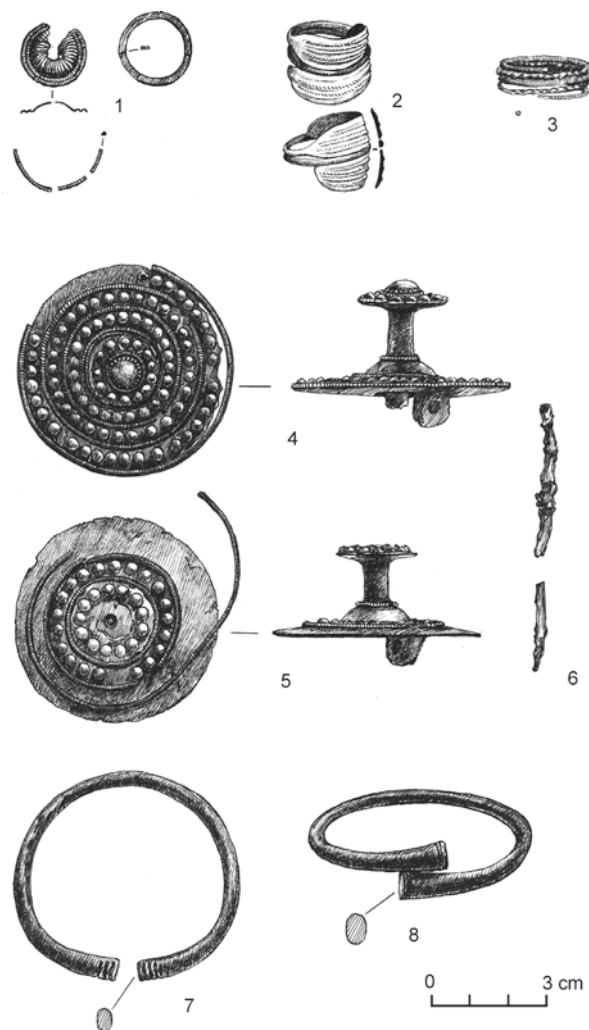


Fig. 2 Types of jewellery found in Baitai Cemetery which indicate far-flung contacts with Germanic peoples: **1** silver-gilt and silver details of the rosette brooch from Baitai Grave 31. – **2** silver spiral finger ring from Baitai Grave 31. – **3** silver spiral finger ring from Baitai Grave 22. – **4-5** bronze heads of tutulus pins (4 with blue glass inlay on the top, the notched wires are made of silver) from Baitai Grave 8. – **6** the remains of an iron pin fastening of the tutulus from Baitai Grave 8. – **7-8** bronze bracelets with slightly thickened terminals from Baitai Grave 8. – (Illustration J. Mažeikaitė). – Scale 1:2.

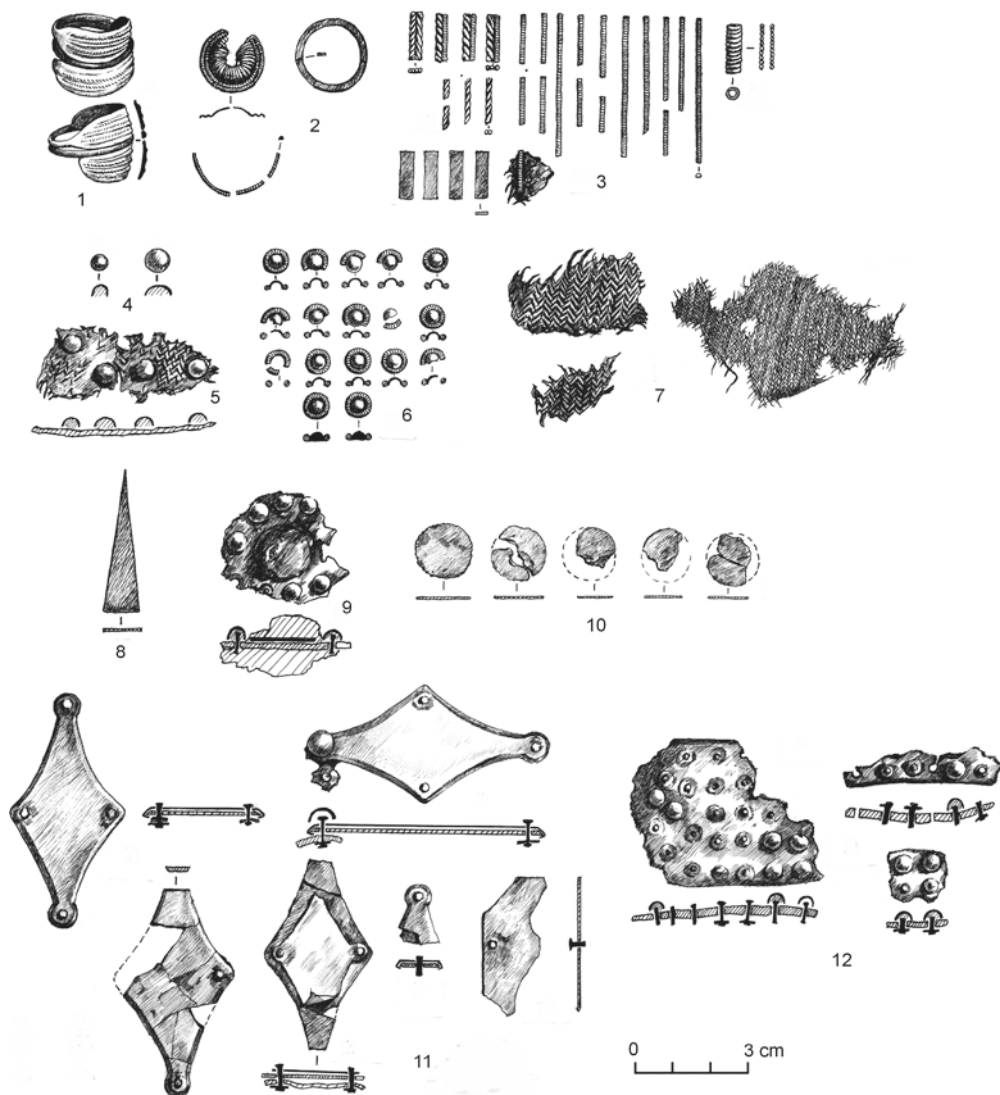


Fig. 3 Ornamentation made of silver or plated with silver from Baitai Grave 31: **1** snakehead finger ring. – **2** fragments of a *Rosettenfibel*. – **3** silver wires and spiral for dress decoration. – **4** silver stud heads to decorate leather and silver studs to decorate cloth (more than 100 exemplars found *in situ*). – **5** fragment of cloth with silver studs. – **6** rosette-shaped details for clothing decoration (2 of them with a blue glass inlay). – **7** fragments of woollen cloth. – **8** silver ornamentation plate for the belt (?). – **9** fragment of leather decoration for shoes (?). – **10** plate decorations from footgear (?). – **11** bronze fittings for harness plated with silver. – **12** fragments of a leather belt decorated with silver/bronze studs. – 1. 3-4. 8. 10 silver; 2 silver and gold; 5 silver and cloth; 7 cloth; 9. 12 silver, bronze and leather; 11 bronze and silver. – (Illustration J. Mažeikaitė). – Scale 1:2.

The detail of the rosette brooch from Baitai Grave 31 was recently investigated to detect what elements are predominant in its alloy. This analysis of elements was carried out by the X-Ray Spectrometry method⁴. The results brought important data. The upper side of the detail contained the following main elements of metals: Ag (70.53 %), Au (12.11 %), Sn (9.77 %), Pb (1.2 %), Cu (0.37 %), Fe (0.29 %). The other side of the detail gave different results: Ag (93.06 %), Au (0.44 %), Sn (4.53 %), Pb (0.24 %), Cu (0.46 %), Fe (0.26 %). This research confirmed that the detail in the discussion was made of silver and gilt on the front part. Therefore, this small find indicates that the deceased in Baitai Grave 31 was buried with a high-quality and expensive ornament which might be used as a declaration of his exceptional role within the relations of a community which took a wider role in far-reaching interregional contacts. The Group 6 rosette brooch find which is kept in the Kaunas Museum (VDKM) indicates that the Baitai find under discussion is not accidental but maybe a natural outcome of the communication between various inhabitants around the Baltic Sea.

Fig. 4 A silver-gilt element of a *Rosettenfibel* from Baitai Grave 31. – (Photo J. Mažeikaitė). – No scale.



The human skeleton in Baitai Grave 31 was completely disintegrated because of the quality of the local soil. Only 21 teeth, that were scattered unsystematically (the result of robbery?), were unearthed. The analysis of them showed that they may belong to one individual aged 18-30 years. However, the bad condition of the remains of the teeth does not let to exclude the possibility that the teeth belonged to two individuals⁵. The gender of the dead was not investigated genetically (if it is possible on the basis of the disintegrated tooth enamel); therefore, considerations about the gender of the dead might be based only on the character of the grave goods. The fragment of a scythe, a battle knife, parts of a bridle and offerings of two horses indicate the male gender. This contradicts the common rule of occurrences of Group 6 rosette brooches in other regions, where they are associated with burials of females (Przybyła 2018, 136-137). Some female characteristics of the grave goods in Baitai Grave 31 are represented by small silver details for dress ornamentation (fig. 3, 3-6). Similar tiny fragments (convex studs, circular decoration details) occurred in several female graves of Baitai but this fashion might be connected with a common style of the outfit rather than gender (Banytė-Rowell 2008a).

The find of a detail from a rosette brooch in Baitai Grave 31 leads to the question of whether the person buried there was of local origin. Most probably, he/she was the local leader with interests in interregional connections. The most prominent declaration of his Western Balt origin are the rhombic-shaped mountings most probably for a bridle, made of bronze and covered with silver plates (Banytė-Rowell 2007, fig. 3b:10-15; Banytė-Rowell/Bitner-Wróblewska/Reich 2012, fig. 12, 11; Bliujienė et al. 2018, 335 no. 32.1; Banytė-Rowell 2019a, fig. 141, 10-15) (fig. 3, 11). Their shape is slightly prolonged but bears similarities with so-called cross-shaped fittings that were an original Western Balt shape for riding gear during the Late Roman Period (Reich 2009, 207-209 fig. 3). The silver finger ring with broadened terminals as a Western Balt product deserves separate attention and is discussed below.

SILVER SNAKEHEAD RING FROM BAITAI GRAVE 31 – IMITATION OF ELITE FINGER RINGS KNOWN IN SCANDINAVIA

The silver finger ring from Baitai Grave 31 (figs 2, 2; 3, 1; 5) represents a local Western Balt creation, but the idea for this form was taken from the contemporary Germanic production. Already in the first stage of analysis of the Baitai material, it was noted that two flattened spiral terminals of the ring with a narrow middle twist may be a distant echo of Scandinavian luxury snakehead bracelets or the spiral bracelet with flattened ends (Banytė-Rowell 2000, 39; see also Brøndsted 1963, 194; Stenberger 1977, 292 fig. 186).



Fig. 5 A silver snakehead finger ring from Baitai Grave 31. – (Photo J. Mažeikaitė). – No scale.

This presupposition was confirmed on the basis of the later analysis of the Scandinavian *Schlängenkopffingerringe* which should be seen as prototypes for Western Balt finger rings with flat broadened terminals which are mostly associated with Beckmann types 39a-40 (Beckmann 1969, 47-49 fig. 21, 293. 839 pl. 2; Andersson 1993a, 27. 30. 44. 102. 104. 141. 149. 163. 182. 196. 200. 202. 221. 224. 239. 245 fig. 13; 1993b, 82-83. 85-87; Lund Hansen 1995, 208-211 fig. 8, 2; Ethelberg 2000, 73. 172). The local Eastern Baltic imitations of Scandinavian snakehead finger rings took place in two regions: one was populated by the Western Balts from Samland (Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture) and Masuria (Bogaczewo culture) extending towards the Western Lithuanian areas (the coastland and the Lower Nemunas region), and the second one on the North-Eastern coast of the Baltic was populated by Finnic people (Estonian areas). The seeking to imitate similar Scandinavian prototypes was interpreted as one of the signs of mutual connections across the Baltic (Banyté-Rowell/Bitner-Wróblewska 2005, 113-114 fig. 7). At the same time, the German scholar D. Quast wrote a study on the relations between the Scandinavian and Estonian regions during the Late Roman and Migration Period. He analysed the shapes of imitations and gave a much fuller list and drawings of the Estonian finger rings. D. Quast stressed that the Estonian imitations represent several stages of following the shape of Beckmann type 40 but it is difficult to order them chronologically (Quast 2004, 256-258. 276 figs 10-11). It seems that the Estonian finger rings which represented imitations of Beckmann type 40 were mostly made of bronze. Western Balt versions of snake rings usually had three twists which made them closer to the mixture of Beckmann 39a and 40 types. Another important feature of Balt rings is their function as signs of status. Although no gold example is known, many such rings were produced from silver. Their flattened terminals in the front as snakehead imitations stand out more than in Scandinavian originals but on the other hand reflect the local creativity of the inhabitants of the south-eastern regions of the Baltic. If we look at the map of the distribution of original snakehead finger rings and their imitations – the eastern side of the Baltic Sea may be treated as a mirror for the fashion of snakehead rings typical of Denmark, Scandinavia and the islands of the Baltic Sea (Banyté-Rowell 2007, 17-24 figs 4-6). Taking as an important additional source, archaeological archives such as the M. Schmiedehelm card catalogue in Tallinn (Tallinna Üllikooli Ajaloo Instituut / Institute of History of Tallinn University) and K. Voigtmann's card catalogue in Berlin (Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz), provide an important opportunity to offer a more precise chronology of imitations of snake rings

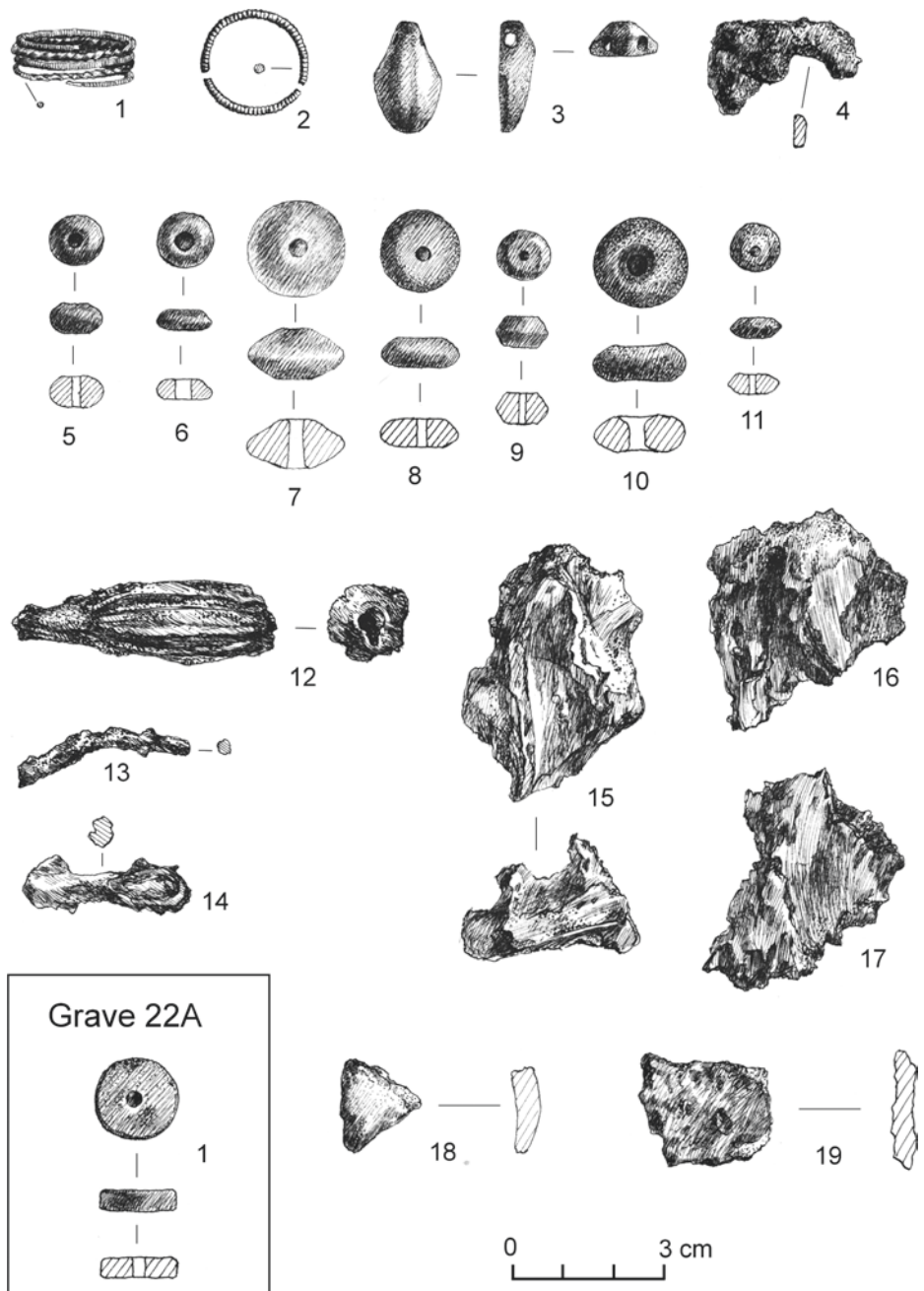


Fig. 6 Finds from Baitai Graves 22 and 22A. – Grave 22: **1** silver spiral finger ring made of wire which is partly twisted and partly notched with narrowed terminals; **2** bronze ring made of notched wire with a circular cross-section; **3** amber insect-shaped pendant; **4** fragment of an iron buckle or fragment of a chain ring of other function; **5-6** glass beads, dark blue, TM type 30a; **7** glass bead, yellowish greenish, similar to TM types 62/65; **8-11** amber beads; **12** fragment of an iron bridle crossbar (?). The wider part is empty, decorated with longitudinal grooves; **13-14** iron rods of uncertain function; **15-17** shapeless pieces with iron corrosions (and more than ten other fragments without ill.); **18-19** sherds of hand modelled ceramic vessels. – Grave 22A: **1** amber bead. – (Illustration J. Mažeikaitė). – Scale 2:3.

in the Western Balt areas where these ornaments concentrated in the Masurian areas (nowadays Poland), the Samland Peninsula and its outskirts (nowadays Kaliningradskaja obl./RUS) and the Western Lithuanian areas (the so-called *Memelkultur* area). The analysis of grave sets showed that Balt-made snakehead finger rings appeared in C1a and continued to appear until the end of the Late Roman Period. They were spread most widely in Phases C1b-C2 (Banytė-Rowell 2013a, 169-172 fig. 7). This period of use is synchronic with that of Scandinavian finger rings of Beckmann type 40 which appeared in Phase C1 and continued in use in Phase C2 (Andersson 1993b, 86). Thus, the silver snake ring from Baitai Grave 31 is a local status symbol of Phases C1b-C2 which was found together with a silver-gilt piece of a Germanic style rosette brooch of the same chronology. The occurrences of such rare examples as rosette brooches are very important indicators of the communication through the space of the Baltic Sea but proof that such artefacts did not appear in



Fig. 7 A silver spiral finger ring from Baitai Grave 22. – (Photo J. Mažeikaitė). – No scale.

the Eastern Baltic by accident and proof is given by such local shapes as silver snake rings produced by the Western Balts. It is necessary to have a constant mutual communication which influenced the need on the local Balt communities to produce their stylized local variation of snakehead finger rings. In most cases, they also were the signs of higher status of the owners.

SILVER RING FROM BAITAI GRAVE 22 MADE BY THE TECHNIQUE OF NOTCHED AND TWISTED (*TORDIERTE*) WIRES

The importance of finger rings for expressing status is reflected by another silver find of this category from Baitai Grave 22⁶ (figs 2, 3; 6, 1; 7). This spiral finger ring was made partly of twisted and partly of notched silver wire (*teils aus tordiertem und teils aus gekerbtem Draht*). These features have no direct equivalent in the typology of Ch. Beckmann, but may be compared with her type 36 (*Ringe aus tordiertem Draht*). It seems that the technique of twisting wire for finger rings was associated with precious metals. All three rings of Beckmann type 36 were made of gold. However, two of them (Stilling Mark from Jutland [DK] and Rörbaek from Lolland [DK]) were dated to Phases B1 and B2 and the ring from Heiligenhafen (Kr. Ostholstein/D) to Phase C2 (Beckmann 1969, 45 pl. 2). The technique of *Tordierung* is not typical for the Early Roman Period in the Western Lithuanian areas. The ring from Heiligenhafen may be compared with a finger ring from Baitai Grave 22. K. Andersson added two sites where golden rings of type 36 were found: Hyllestad (Vestland) in Southern Norway and Skamstrup in Zealand (DK). Only the Skamstrup find has a context and was attributed to Phase C1b (Andersson 1993a, 26. 149 fig. 17). Both Heiligenhafen and Skamstrup finger rings are suitable for the chronological comparison with the find from Baitai Grave 22. The latter finger ring might be also attributed to Beckmann type 38 which is described as *Individuelle Spiralfingerlinge*. A golden ring from Sakrau/Zakrzów (woj. opolskie/PL) which was made partly from notched and partly from plain wire (*aus spiralig gekerbtem und teils glattem Draht*) may be compared with the Baitai finger ring under discussion. Ch. Beckmann attributed the Sakrau/Zakrzów ring to Phase C2 (Beckmann 1969, 45 fig. 17)⁷. The Baitai finger ring from Grave 22 most probably was made locally – the technique of notched and twisted wires was used widely from Phase C1b in the areas of coastal Lithuania. Small silver notched and twisted (*tordierte*) wires as elements for dress ornamentation (?) were found in Baitai Grave 31 (see publications of this grave above; fig. 3, 3). It is possible to compare this technique for silver wires in



Fig. 8 A head of a tutulus pin with a blue glass inlay from Baitai Grave 8. – (Photo P. Makuškas). – No scale.

the two Baitai Graves (22 and 31). Most probably, Baitai Grave 22 also was robbed in prehistory – other grave goods such as an amber beetle-shaped pendant, amber beads and glass beads of TM types 30a and 62/65⁸ indicate the mature Late Roman Period. It seems that the silver ring under discussion was a local creation seeking to imitate prestigious items from the European Barbaricum on the basis of the local understanding of luxury. Confirmation of the local production of twisted spiral finger rings comes from a find from the Žviliai Cemetery (Šilalė rajonas/LT) (the periphery of the Western Lithuanian cemeteries with stone enclosures). Žviliai Grave 97 was a male burial equipped with two spearheads and an iron socketed axe. The outfit elements include a bronze buckle of Madyda-Legutko type AH 39, two large crossbow brooches with a bent foot ornamented with ringlets, a glass bead of TM Group IV and a bronze spiral finger ring made from twisted (*tordierte*) bronze wire (Vaitkunskienė 1999, 40. 182 fig. 183, 4-5). The finger ring from Žviliai Grave 97 may be attributed to the bronze version of Beckmann type 36. This Žviliai grave should be associated rather with Phase C3 than with C2 (or with the transitional phase C2/C3) (Banytė-Rowell 2011, 65 fig. 2). Large crossbow brooches with a bent foot correlate Žviliai finds with a similar horizon of C2-C3 in the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture (Samland) (Nowakowski 1996, pl. 107). The technique of twisted wire was used for producing a silver ring with overlapping terminals from Žviliai Grave 87 (another silver ring with overlapping terminals from this grave was plain)⁹. One end of the first ring was twisted and another terminal was plane with a round cross-section. This grave among other local ornaments contained the necklace of bucket-shaped pendants and seems to belong to Phase C2 (Banytė-Rowell 2011, 59 fig. 10, left). The latter pendants were attributed to the variant Pâtrovičy-Žviliai by V. Belâvec and A. Bitner-Wróblewska and dated to Phases C1b-C2 stressing the interregional meaning of these pendants marking the route between Zealand via Western and Central Lithuania and further through the Przeworsk and Wielbark cultures towards the South-East direction of the Gothic expansion (Belâvec/Bitner-Wróblewska 2010, 169-172. 175 fig. 1)¹⁰. The Žviliai finger rings from Graves 97 and 87 support the supposition that the silver ring from Baitai Grave 22 was made by local Western Balt jewellers. It seems that the Western Balts were keen to wear finger rings. According to statistical research by M. Stankevičius based on the material from the Roman Iron Age on the territory of what is now Lithuania, an average female grave was equipped with 1.29 finger rings and an average male grave contained 0.91 finger ring. Usually, one grave contained one to six ornaments of this category (Stankevičius 2007, 75). Baitai Grave 22 also contained the second ring made of bronze notched wire. In their fondness for finger rings, the Western Balts sought not only to have many simple versions but also to imitate golden rings of neighbours dwelling on the other side of the Baltic Sea.



Fig. 9 Parts of a bronze finger ring with a blue glass inlay from Baitai Grave 8. – (Photo R. Banytė-Rowell). – No scale.

The silver finger ring from Baitai Grave 22 is also a reflection of common interregional trends like in the case of the silver snakehead ring from Baitai Grave 31.

TUTULUS PINS FROM BAITAI GRAVE 8 – AS CONTINUATION OF FASHION OF PHASE C1B

Pins with round tutulus heads (not openwork type) and similar brooches in the *Memelkultur* area were locally created ornaments from Phase C1 (figs 2, 3-4; 8-9; 11, 17-18). The most frequent occurrences in graves are associated with Phases C1b and C2, decades around the transition from C2 to C3. Several later versions from the Migration Period represent the prolongation of the tutulus fashion albeit not in numerous occurrences. Recently, an updated map of the tutulus in the Eastern Baltic region has been presented. The map testifies that the main generators of the tutulus fashion dating to the Late Roman Iron Age were the inhabitants of the so-called *Memelkultur* area (Banytė-Rowell 2019a, 189-195. 392-395 figs 75. 144 addendum)¹¹. The origin of the shape of the tutulus might not be related to one single source of inspiration. One of them is a local tutulus of the Early Roman Period and Roman tutulus brooches which influenced the creation of local types throughout the European Barbaricum. The article of C. von Carnap-Bornheim devoted to the relations between the outfits of the Balts and Germanians during the Late Roman Period has an extraordinary significance. Such features of the Balt jewellery as the use of blue glass eyes for the ornamentation of neck rings, tutulus pins and brooches and other items were discussed in the context of processes of fashion which took place in various distant areas of Germania Libera. This comparison led to a more precise chronology for the Balt jewellery (von Carnap-Bornheim 2000, 45-61). It is important that the fashion for round jewellery with circular small plates which was spread through the Roman provinces in the European Barbaricum around AD 200 and later is synchronic with the evolution of openwork and non-openwork tutulus pins and brooches in the Western Lithuanian area and the Lower Nemunas region (von Carnap-Bornheim 2000, 50; cf. Michelbertas 1986, 122. 132-133 figs 41. 48; 1998, 430) (fig. 9). Statistical approaches proved that openwork tutulus pins and brooches in the latter areas were a relatively short fashion and it did not last longer than Phase C1b-beginning of Phase C2. The openwork examples were pushed out by a fondness for non-openwork pieces with tutulus during Phase C1b (Banytė-Rowell 2019a, 392-393 addendum)¹². The above-discussed article of C. von Carnap-Bornheim inspires us to look more closely once again at the similarities between the Western Balt and Germanic tutulus jewellery. The tutulus head of one of the two pins from Baitai Grave 8¹³ which has a blue glass inlay might be a suitably graphic example (figs 2, 4; 8). The main features of its ornamentation are concentric circles of convex half-globules and notched wires which were fastened to the upper part of the tutulus surrounding the blue eye and the lower main surface of the pin. The concentric motif of ornamentation was also applied to Germanic tutulus

brooches but mostly using pressed silver or silver-gilt foil. The technique of pressing silver sheets was not common among the Balts at that time and in the case of tutulus pins, the similar effects were sought by using »barbarian filigree« details such as notched and twisted wires. Meanwhile, the technique of pressed silver or gold foil was mastered by Germanic jewellers from Phase C1b (von Carnap-Bornheim 1994, 99-107). A style similar to that of the Baitai tutulus is depicted by the luxury brooches from Dienstedt (Ilmkreis/D) (Elbe area of Central Germany), the surface of which was constructed from pressed silver foil (also gilt), silver studs and silver notched wires (Eichhorn 1908, 903-906 fig. 2A-D; Thomas 1967, 36 fig. 10, 1 map 5).



Fig. 10 Two bronze bracelets with slightly thickened terminals from Baitai Grave 8. – (Photo R. Banytė-Rowell). – No scale.

The brooches of Dienstedt type were predecessors of the Frankish tutuli which were typical between the Elbe and the Loire and in Northern Gaul during the 4th century-beginning of the 5th century (Böhme 1974, 1-24 fig. 6). The fondness for tutuli moved around various regions of the European Barbaricum during Phases C2-D. M. Tempelmann-Mączyńska indicated three main concentration areas in Continental Europe: the Hassleben Group in Central Germany, the Alamanni region near the Main and Germanic areas in what is now Holland (Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1989, 20. 29. 96-97. 121-123). The tutulus brooches found in Jutland and on the Danish islands are interpreted mainly as influences of ideas or as a direct import from the Elbe areas (Przybyła 2018, 286-306). Therefore, it is possible to presuppose that the Elbe ideas for local fashion in the *Memelkultur* area might have been transferred via contacts between the Balts and Southern Scandinavia.

Two tutulus pins from Baitai Grave 8 were found together with bronze bracelets with slightly broadened terminals. It seems that this composition for female fashion in Western Lithuania became common in Phase C2. It is worth taking a closer look at this type of ornament which also indicates the interregional fashion of the European and Northern Barbaricum.

BRACELETS WITH SLIGHTLY THICKENED TERMINALS FROM BAITAI GRAVE 8 – A DISTANT ECHO OF LUXURY FASHION

Bracelets with slightly thickened terminals as a primary version of *Kolbenarmringe* were found together with tutulus pins in Baitai Grave 8 (figs 2, 7-8; 10). This grave together with Stragnai (Klaipėda rajonas/LT) Grave 4 (also containing tutulus pins) was attributed to Phase 4 of the *Memelkultur* area which is associated with interregional Phase C2-transition from C2 to C3 (Banytė-Rowell 2019a, 189-195. 392-395 figs 75. 144 addendum) (fig. 11). Stragnai Grave 4 in the same *Memelkultur* region also contained a silver neck ring with coiled wired terminals with a loop-and-hook clasp which was undoubtedly of local production but also might be seen as a reflection of interregional style (Varnas 1986, 7-9. 37-39 figs 7-8; Bliujienė 2007, fig. 171). Other chronological indicators in Stragnai Grave 4 were blue glass beads of TM type 18 and a Balt-style brooch similar to Almgren 161 but slightly bigger. The occurrence of an earlier type of *Kolbenarmringe* in such graves of the Late Roman Period like Baitai Grave 8 and Stragnai Grave 4 is an important indication that this type of bracelet originated in the Late Roman Period. Quite long bracelets with thickened terminals

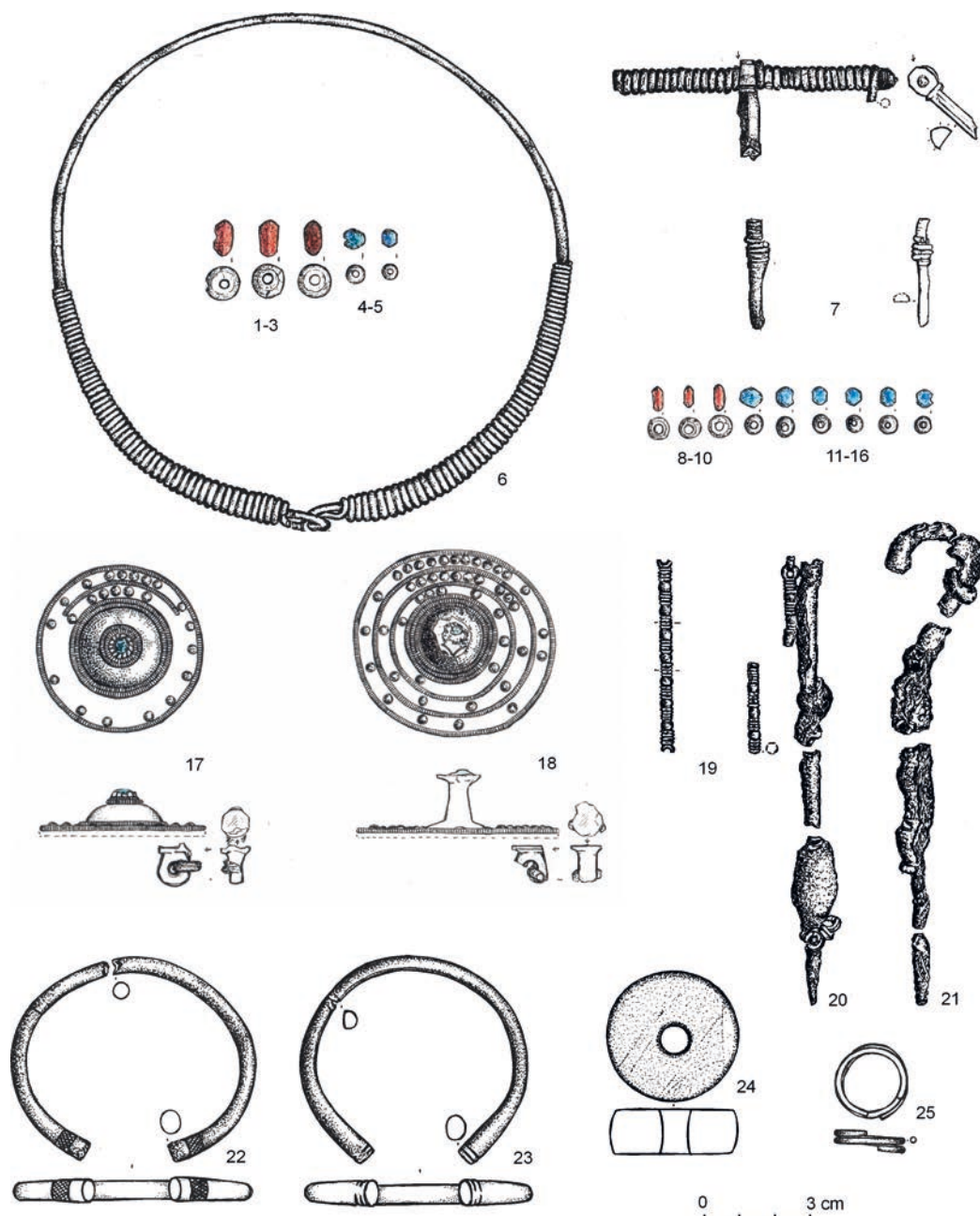


Fig. 11 Finds from Stragnai Grave 4: **1-3** amber beads. – **4-5** blue glass beads of TM type 18 (1-6 beads were found in the area of the neckring). – **6** silver neck ring with coiled wire terminals with a loop-and-hook clasp. – **7** remains of a bronze crossbow brooch with a bent foot. – **8-10** amber beads. – **11-16** blue glass beads of TM type 18. – **17-18** the heads of rosette tutulus pins made of bronze and silver and decorated with notched wires and semi-spherical bubbles with an inlay of blue glass eye. – **19** bronze sticks-chain distributors semi-attached to iron pins (**20-21**). – **20-21** iron pins with remains of bronze chain and textile (most probably iron pins for tutuli). – **22-23** bronze bracelets with slightly thickened terminals. – **24** spindle whorl made of sandstone. – **25** silver spiral finger ring. – (Illustration A. Ruzienė, card catalogue of National Museum of Lithuania, Archaeological Department). – Scale 1:2.

were associated only with the Migration Period (from the 5th century) in Lithuanian archaeology. The first new insights on this problem were given by L. Vaitkunsienė who based her point of view on the spatial distribution of types in the Žviliai Cemetery (a peripheral cemetery of the Western Lithuanian group). She emphasised that the graves of the area where sets of grave goods had mixed features of the Late Roman Period and Phase D should be regarded as burials of the 4th century, if not earlier (Vaitkunsienė 1999, 179-180 fig. 45). At the same time, the author of this article tried to compare the Baitai female graves with tutulus

(nos 8 and 18) with similar grave sets in other cemeteries of the *Memelkultur* (Bandužiai [Klaipėda city/LT], Schernen/Šernai [Klaipėda rajonas/LT], Lumpöhnen/Lumpėnai [Pagėgiai savivaldybė/LT]) and has concluded that these Baitai graves should be not later than Phase C3 (Banytė 1999, 63-71)¹⁴. The breaking point in the question was presented by W. Nowakowski at the same time. He analysed statistically the database of the Oberhof/Aukštkiemiai Cemetery (Klaipėda rajonas/LT) (area of the Western Lithuanian cemeteries with stone enclosures) and presented the important conclusion that the Balt version of *Kolbenarmringe* appeared in Oberhof during interregional Phases C2-C3 and these ornaments represented the influences from the Hassleben-Leuna-Zakrzów horizon (Nowakowski 1999, 111-112). Silver and golden bracelets found in princely graves of C1b-C2 in the Northern and European Barbaricum were symbols of extraordinary status (Raddatz 1957, 117-119; Werner 1980, 9-23; Ethelberg 2000, 161; Lund Hansen 2001, 158-163; Quast 2009b, 46 fig. 67). The Western Lithuanian versions of the earliest *Kolbenarmringe* were found both in female and male burials and those of children. They are made of bronze. The silver version began to appear more frequently in Phase D in male warrior graves (Šimėnas 2006, 61 fig. 23; Bliujienė/Bračiulienė 2018, 140-141)¹⁵. The earliest bronze bracelets with slightly thickened terminals appear in the Western Lithuanian areas during Phases C2-C3. At the same time, the simple bronze version of *Kolbenarmringe* appeared also in cemeteries in Germania. An example might be the Alamannian cemetery at Schleithem-Hebsack (Kt. Schaffhausen) in Switzerland (see graves 40 and 41: Guyan 1965, 11 pl. VI, 40a. 41a) or at Neuburg an der Donau (Lkr. Neuburg-Schrobenhausen) in Germany (see grave 13: Keller 1979, 118 pl. 2, 8. 13-14).

The origin of *Kolbenarmringe* is associated with Sarmatian prototypes which are dated to the Early Roman Period (Phases B1/B2) (von Carnap-Bornheim/Ilkjær 1996, 360-365; cf. Skripkin 2003, 14 pl. 2). It seems that at that time this Sarmatian fashion reached the western neighbourhood of the Balts – Germanic females of the Wielbark and Przeworsk cultures wore bracelets with slightly thickened terminals. These ornaments occurred in graves attributed to Phases B1-B2 (Dąbrowska 1997, 84-85; Andrzejowski 1998, 61; Ziemińska-Odojowa 1999, 113-114). It seems that this wave of fashion was passed over by the Western Balts. Bracelets with slightly thickened terminals like in the case of Baitai Grave 8 appeared in the context of tutulus pins which might correlate with the Germanic fashion of Phases C1b-C2. It seems that the Balt bronze *Kolbenarmringe* represent another attempt by them to imitate »the higher fashion« of Germanic people and to become less old-fashioned exotic people of the Eastern Baltic as they were during Phases B2/C1-C1a.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The types of artefacts discussed above represent the varied background of the communication in the Baltic Sea region and the European Barbaricum. A small silver-gilt detail from Baitai Grave 31 which once belonged to a rosette brooch has most direct ties with Southern Scandinavia. Even if this detail belonged to a brooch produced in the region of *Frisches Haff*, such types of ornament directly imitated rosette brooches from Zealand. Direct contacts with the Southern Scandinavian region and Jutland are indicated by an exclusive find from the Jogučiai-Spirkiai Cemetery (Klaipėda rajonas/LT) where a bronze/silver-gilt buckle of the omega type (analogous to Thorsberg [Kr. Schleswig-Flensburg/D] and Illerup [DK] finds) was discovered in the grave of a local male (Tamulynas 2005, 86-87 fig. 1, 3)¹⁶. L. Tamulynas stressed that the Jogučiai-Spirkiai find should be regarded as a direct sign of communication between the inhabitants of the Lithuanian coastal region and Scandinavia, although it is difficult to be precise about the character of these contacts (war, exchange, migration) (Tamulynas 2005, 89). Baitai Grave 31 is a burial where a »true Scandinavian« or »Germanic« type from the Southern Baltic coast (detail of a rosette brooch) was placed along with an ornament produced locally but following the Scandinavian elite indicators – a golden and silver snakehead

rings. The silver finger ring from Baitai Grave 31 is not unique in the Western Balt territories and therefore this shape testifies to the constant overseas contacts with the Scandinavian Baltic littoral. It sought to imitate the luxury of richer neighbours who controlled in many ways the communication via the Baltic Sea¹⁷. It is difficult to say whether the inhabitants of what is now the Lithuanian coastland were subordinate in this communication or just poorer partners. They also used the sea for their needs because it is possible to detect that they were mediators for exchange/trade overseas for other Balt groups living deeper in the hinterland and may be represented some rivalry for the main partner of »international trade« in the Western Balt coastland – for people of the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture in Samland (Banytė-Rowell/Bitner-Wróblewska/Reich 2016, 140-151; cf. Nowakowski 1996, 65-80. 102-106; Skvortsov 2012).

The type of round tutulus pins from Baitai Grave 8 is a local creation of the Late Roman Period which was based on several sources of inspiration – on rare tutulus brooches from the Early Roman Period known from distant sites of the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture and the Eastern Baltic and on examples of Roman tutulus brooches. Nevertheless, the style of ornamentation of the Western Lithuanian tutulus with notched wires and half-round convex »bubbles« depicts the same concentric patterns as was typical for some rosette tutulus brooches in the Elbe areas and Southern Scandinavia. Western Balt jewellers could not master the technique of pressed silver foil which was common in Germanic workshops but they did follow the same pattern of style. The use of blue glass inlays in the Balt areas of that time also was not a direct imitation but some local interpretation of interregional fashion (von Carnap-Bornheim 2000, 45-61). It is noticeable that in the same horizon of the later version of tutulus of Phase C2 bronze bracelets with slightly thickened terminals (early versions of *Kolbenarmringe*) appeared in the Western Lithuanian areas (in broader meaning – in the *Memelkultur*). Most probably, they are modest parallels to the fashion of luxury golden and silver *Kolbenarmringe* known in various regions of Germania Libera.

The several examples of ornaments found in the Baitai Cemetery and discussed here testify that communities of the Western Lithuanian coastland were open to the cultural processes which took place during the Late Roman Period in the European and Northern Barbaricum. They undoubtedly used the advantage of living on the coast of the Baltic Sea which opened up to them further regions, thereby avoiding the intermediary role of neighbours and other tribes in continental areas. Of course, the space of the sea was also not entirely safe and could be controlled by enemies but it was an opportunity which was lacked by people living in the hinterland. It is difficult to state whether the Western Lithuanian inhabitants had direct contact with Germanic people of the Elbe area or whether this communication went through Southern Scandinavian intermediation. Most probably, the relations with Germanic people had a changing character and sometimes meetings were warlike. B. Kontny has shown examples of the Balt weaponry found in sacrificial bog sites and the forms of Balt weapons which imitated Scandinavian types. This researcher proved the possibility that the Balts took part in multi-ethnic retinues (Kontny 2019). Most probably, sometimes the friends and foes might be subject to the constant change in such companies but nevertheless, the main ideas of how to express the upper ranks in society influenced also the choice for outfits in the region of the so-called *Memelkultur*. Moving through the areas of Germania Libera (probably not always based on war-like communication) brought new »cosmopolitan trends« of costume which merged into the local fashion of the Western Balts during the 3rd century.

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Notes

- 1) Recently, the main theses on the contacts of the Western Balts during the Roman Period have been summarised in: Nowakowski 2019, 147-154; Banytė-Rowell 2019b, 11-19.
- 2) A short overview is presented in: Banytė-Rowell 2012. The finds discussed in this paper were published with the full context of grave sets. These works are available online in the Lituianistika database: www.lituanistika.lt/en.
- 3) The full grave set and some grave goods of Baitai Grave 31 have been published: Banytė-Rowell 2000, 37 ff. fig. 7; 2007, 11-17. 33-34 fig. 3a-c; 2008a, 107 figs 4, 4-5; 5, 1. 6. 10; 2019a, fig. 141.
- 4) The analyses were performed in the Coastal Environment and Biochemistry Laboratory of the Marine Research Institute (Klaipėda University) by Dr Sergej Suzdalev (26.-28.12.2019). Method and equipment: X-ray Fluorescence Spectrometry, Standard Operating Procedure for the SPEPRO Analytical Instruments GmbH (Kleve, Germany) Calibration Module »FP alloy F (A)« by XEPOS HE.
- 5) The anthropological research of the teeth was performed by Dr Žydrūnė Miliuskienė (Department of Anatomy, Histology and Anthropology, Institute of Biomedical Science, Vilnius University) (22.10.2019).
- 6) The grave set of Baitai Grave 22 was published in drawings: Banytė-Rowell 2000, fig. 6.
- 7) It seems that this ring was part of the grave set of Sakrau/ Zakrzów Grave III – Kramarkowa 1990, 150.
- 8) Blue beads of TM type 30 are common throughout the Roman Period, but the biggest part of them is associated with Phases C1b-C2 – Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1985, tab. 8 beginning.
- 9) Finger rings from Žviliai Grave 87 made of silver were described by M. Stankevičius (2007, 81).
- 10) Recent researches of this type of pendants see: Bliujienė/ Bračiulienė 2018, 119-121 fig. 14.
- 11) An earlier publication devoted to tutulus pins and brooches: Banytė-Rowell 2008b.
- 12) See also examples of openwork round ornaments – Banytė-Rowell 2013b, figs 9, 6-7; 14.
- 13) Baitai Grave 8 was fully published in drawings in several publications: Banytė 1999, fig. 1; Banytė-Rowell 2000, fig. 5; 2019a, fig. 143.
- 14) Today's dating of Baitai Grave 8 is owed to the contribution of important remarks from C. von Carnap-Bornheim, W. Nowakowski and the statistical approach to the material of the *Memelkultur* may be moved to Phase C2 (see von Carnap-Bornheim 2000; Nowakowski 1999; Banytė-Rowell 2019a, 371-400).
- 15) This tendency also was typical in the Plinkaigalis Cemetery of Central Lithuania (Kėdainiai rajonas/LT), see Kazakevičius 1993, 118.
- 16) The drawing of this buckle with colour photos was reprinted: Banytė-Rowell 2018, fig. 5.
- 17) The main controllers in Jutland and Southern Scandinavia evidently stand out after research into Roman imports in the Northern Barbaricum, see: Lund Hansen 1987.

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Über die auf dem Gräberfeld von Baitai begrabenen Menschen: ihre kulturelle Einordnung im gesamten Ostseeraum und europäischen Barbaricum im 3. Jahrhundert

Ziel dieses Artikels ist es, verschiedene Arten von Schmuckstücken von dem Gräberfeld von Baitai in West-Litauen vorzustellen, die etwa aus der Zeit der Phase C2 stammen. Diese Beispiele wurden ausgewählt, um ihre Rolle als Indikatoren für weitreichende Kontakte mit den germanischen Gebieten in der Ostseeregion des europäischen Barbaricums zu bestimmen. Die Westbalten, die in der spätrömischen Zeit an der heutigen litauischen Küste lebten, waren kulturell nicht nur mit benachbarten Stämmen, insbesondere den in Samland und Masuren lebenden, verbunden, sondern unterhielten auch wichtige Kontakte zu den Germanen im Ostseeraum. Von der von der Baitai-Elite favorisierten germanischen Mode zeugt ein kleines silbervergoldetes Detail an einer Rosettenfibel der Gruppe 6 nach der Typologie von Przybyła aus Grab 31. Der Ursprung der Herstellung von Fibeln der Gruppe 6 wird hauptsächlich mit der Wielbark-Kultur (Polen) und der Region um das Frische Haff in Verbindung gebracht. Die Funde dieser Fibeln auf Bornholm, Gotland und in Västergötland deuten darauf hin, dass für das germanische Volk der Wielbark-Kultur und für die Westbalten, welche die Küste bewohnten, die engsten Verbindungen über die Ostsee in Richtung Nord-Nordwest bestanden. Bei dem auch in Grab 31 geborgenen silbernen Spiralring mit verbreiterten Endstücken handelt es sich um lokal hergestellten Schmuck, der nach dem Vorbild skandinavischer Schlangenkopffingerringe geschaffen wurde. Ein weiterer spiralförmiger Fingerring aus Grab 22 wurde teilweise aus gedrehtem und teilweise aus gekerbtem Silberdraht gefertigt, der dem Stil der Ornamente nahekommt, die für die Elite in verschiedenen Regionen des europäischen Barbaricums hergestellt wurden. Der Typus der runden Tutuli-Nadeln aus Grab 8 von Baitai ist eine lokale Schöpfung der spätrömischen Periode und basiert auf mehreren Inspirationsquellen. Eine davon ist ein Rosetten-Tutulus, der in Fibeln in Gebieten entlang der Elbe und in Südschweden zu sehen ist. Es fällt auf, dass im gleichen Horizont der späteren Version des Tutulus der Phase C2 in den westlitauischen Gebieten Bronzearmbänder mit leicht verdickten Enden (frühe Versionen von Kolbenarmringen) auftauchten. Höchstwahrscheinlich handelt es sich dabei um bescheidene Parallelen zu der in verschiedenen Regionen der Germania Libera bekannten Mode der luxuriösen goldenen und silbernen Kolbenarmringe. Intensive, weitreichende Kontakte der Bewohner des heutigen litauischen Küstenlandes über die Ostsee hatten neue »kosmopolitische Trends« der Tracht zugeführt, die sich während des 3. Jahrhunderts in die lokale Mode der Westbalten einfügten. Die Funde des Baitaier Gräberfeldes sind eine der wichtigen Quellen für die intensive Kommunikation zwischen Germanen und Balten.

About the People Buried in the Cemetery of Baitai: their Cultural Integration throughout the Baltic Sea Region and the European Barbaricum in the 3rd Century AD

The aim of this article is to present several types of jewellery dating to around the time of Phase C2 from the Baitai Cemetery in Western Lithuania. These examples have been chosen to detect their role as indicators of far-flung contacts with Germanic areas in the Baltic Sea region of the European Barbaricum. The Western Balts dwelling on what nowadays is the Lithuanian coastland during the Late Roman Period were connected culturally not only with neighbouring kin-tribes, especially those living in Samland and Masuria, but also kept vital contacts with Germanic peoples in the Baltic Sea region. The Germanic fashion favoured by the Baitai elite is testified by a small silver-gilt detail on a rosette brooch of Group 6 according to the typology of Przybyła found in Grave 31. The origin of the production of Group 6 brooches is associated mainly with the Wielbark culture (Poland) and the region of *Frisches Haff*. The findings of these brooches on Bornholm, Gotland and in Västergötland indicate that for the Germanic people of the Wielbark culture and for the Western Balts inhabiting the coast the closest ties via the Baltic Sea were towards the north-northwest. The silver spiral ring with broadened terminals found in the same Baitai Grave 31 represents locally made jewellery, created following the examples of Scandinavian snakehead rings (*Schlangenkopffingerringe*). Another spiral finger ring from Baitai Grave 22 was made partly of twisted and partly of notched silver wire, close to the style of ornaments produced for the elite in various regions of the European Barbaricum. The type of round tutuli pins from Baitai Grave 8 is a local creation of the Late Roman Period and based on several sources of inspiration. One of these is a rosette tutulus seen in brooches in areas along the River Elbe and in Southern Scandinavia. It is noticeable that in the same horizon of the later version of tutulus of Phase C2 bronze bracelets with slightly thickened terminals (early versions of club-headed arm rings [*Kolbenarmringe*]) appeared in the Western Lithuanian areas. Most probably, they are modest parallels to the fashion of luxury gold and silver *Kolbenarmringe* known in various regions of the Germania Libera. Intensive, far-flung contacts of the inhabitants of what is now the Lithuanian coastland via the Baltic Sea brought new »cosmopolitan trends« of costume which merged into the local fashion of the Western Balts during the 3rd century. The Baitai cemetery finds are one of the important sources for intensive communication between the Germanic and Balt people.

A propos des gens enterrés dans la nécropole de Baitai: leur intégration culturelle dans la région balte et à travers le Barbaricum au 3^e siècle ap. J.-C.

Cet article vise à présenter quelques types de bijoux datant environ de la phase C2 de la nécropole de Baitai en Lituanie occidentale. On a choisi ces exemples pour déterminer leur rôle d'indicateurs de contacts éloignés avec les territoires germaniques de la mer Baltique du Barbaricum. Les Baltes occidentaux, habitant la côte lituanienne actuelle au Bas-Empire, étaient liés culturellement non seulement aux tribus parentes et voisines établies dans le Samland et les Masures, mais entretenaient aussi des contacts avec les peuples germaniques de la mer Baltique. Le détail doré d'une fibule à rosettes du Groupe 6 (typologie de Przybyła) trouvé dans la tombe 31 témoigne de la mode germanique appréciée par l'élite de Baitai. L'origine de la production des fibules du Groupe 6 est associée essentiellement à culture de Wielbark (Pologne) et à la région du *Frisches Haff*. Ce type de fibule trouvé à Bornholm, Gotland et au Västergötland désigne les voisins les plus proches en direction du nord-nord-ouest des peuplades germaniques de la culture de Wielbark et des Baltes occidentaux occupant le littoral. L'anneau spiralé en argent trouvé dans la même tombe est un exemple de bijoux exécutés localement d'après des anneaux à tête de serpent scandinaves (*Schlängenkopffingerringe*). Un autre anneau spiralé de la tombe 22 de Baitai était fait en partie d'un fil torsadé et en partie d'un fil portant des encoches, proche du style des parures fabriquées pour les élites des différentes régions du Barbaricum. Le type d'épingle à tutulus rond de la tombe 8 de Baitai est une création locale du Bas-Empire puisant à différentes sources d'inspiration. L'une d'elle est le tutulus à rosettes que l'on peut observer sur des fibules le long de l'Elbe et en Scandinavie méridionale. Il faut relever que les bracelets en bronze à extrémités légèrement épaissies (version précoce des *Kolbenarmringe*) apparaissent en Lituanie occidentale dans le même horizon que les tutuli plus récents de la phase C2. Ce sont fort probablement de modestes imitations des *Kolbenarmringe* en or et en argent connus dans différentes régions de la Germania libera. D'étroits contacts à grande distance entretenus par les habitants des zones côtières de la Lituanie à travers la mer Baltique introduisirent de «nouvelles tendances cosmopolites» dans l'habillement, débouchant sur le style local des Baltes occidentaux du 3^e siècle ap. J.-C.

Traduction: Y. Gautier

Schlüsselwörter / Keywords / Mots clés

West-Litauen / europäisches Barbaricum / Westbalten / germanische Völker / Kommunikation / Schmuck
Western Lithuania / European Barbaricum / Western Balts / Germanic people / communication / jewellery
Lituanie occidentale / Barbaricum / Baltes occidentaux / peuples germaniques / communication / bijoux

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