

# THE PAGRYBIS BURIAL GROUND

## SUMMARY

**INTRODUCTION.** The burial ground is located in the Pagrybis village, Šilalė region, its area taking the southern slope of the Žemaičių Upland (Fig. 1, 2, 4). It represents a small hill. The hill is ruined as a result of various earthworks. Since long ago local people have been discovering various old things, strange stone circle-foundations (zomatai), human and horse bones. Because of this village dwellers named the hill Kapkalis (grave mount), Zomas. In scientific literature the Pagrybis burial ground was mentioned for the first time in 1928. It was investigated in 1980-1982. The Pagrybis burial ground was excavated by a "Žemaitija" expedition of the Institute of Lithuanian History (headed by the author). An area of 1192 sq m was excavated (Fig. 8), 82 isolated artifacts found, 217 graves investigated containing about 550 burial items. The documentation of excavations represents 13 quires of text, 340 drawings and drafts, 413 negatives. All this is deposited in the archive of the Department of Archeology at the Institute of Lithuanian History, whereas the artifacts are kept in the fonds of Lithuanian national Museum (No Ar 552:71-628). The present study is constituted of three parts. Appendix No 1 contains the list of references (results of diagenostication of the age and sex of the dead according to osteological data).

**SOURCES.** A short description of every investigated grave in the Pagrybis burial ground is given: osteological material (state of skeleton or its remains) and position of furnishings in graves are defined. Besides, the position of sacrificed horses (head and legs) in 38 men's and boys' graves is described. The descriptions are supplied with plans-drafts of better preserved burials and pictures of grave goods.

**ANALYSIS OF SOURCES.** It contains two chapters. The first chapter is devoted to **burying rituals**. It was determined that mature adults and children were buried in grave pits of different size. E.g., grave pits of children measure 130-150 cm in length and about 50-60 cm in width, whereas, grave pits of adults measure correspondingly 180-215 cm and 60-90 cm. Wider and longer grave pits were dug only for male individuals whose graves were enriched with ritual parts of body of sacrificed horses - heads or legs.

In most cases skeletons were found at the depth of 25-60 cm from the recent earth surface. In some cases they were lying deeper, sometimes as deep as 135-145 cm. Grave fillings contained charred wood particles. Sometimes they were found under the head of the dead under the horse sacrifice. The dead, most probably, were

buried in coffins because under the brass decorations fragments of wood, i.e. traces of coffin, were discovered. Though local people maintained that during earthworks in the burial ground area they used to find constructions from piled-up stones archeologists traced somewhat more distinctive stone constructions only in the eastern edge of excavated area (Fig. 5). E.g., in trench No 37 three stone circles, or rather their remains, were uncovered at the depth of 30-35 cm (Fig. 77). It was determined that the considered stone circles were no less than 200-210 cm in diameter. The stones themselves were about 37x21x11-20x16x9 cm in size. In the circles skeletons were still preserved (grave 217) (Fig. 78). They were 30 cm below the bottom of the circle. Small stone groups or isolated stones were uncovered also in trenches No 27, 28, 31, 35, 37. They, presumably, represent the remains of ruined constructions. The existence of stone constructions is also proved by two rather large stone piles in the eastern edge of the burial ground. They emerged in the course of years as piling places of stones which impeded earthworks.

According to osteological data the investigated graves comprise three groups. The first group includes 52 graves in which skeletons are intact or ruined but little. The second group includes 92 graves in which only some skeletons are found in their initial position. The third group includes 73 graves containing completely ruined skeletons. In some of them only isolated bones, often mixed with soil and burial items, were found. The dead were buried in a straight posture on their backs with stretched, rarely crossed, legs (g. 76A, 152, 216). Some children were laid on the right (g. 55, 129, 130, 165D) or left (g. 57, 168) side, i.e. in a sleeping position. One woman was also laid on her side (g. 182). The positing of the arms of the dead was rather diverse: 13 positions were determined (Fig. 91).

Only one grave contained cremated remains (g. 200) of the dead. It was an inhumated grave of a man. Between his thigh-bones a small heap of bones of cremated child and childish brass decorations (brooch, neck-ring, pin, ring) were found (Fig. 93). Besides, there was a childish spearhead shifted from its former position. The less destroyed skeletal remains (found in 191 grave) made it possible to determine orientation of the dead according to parts of the world. In this respect 2 grave groups are distinguished. The first group includes the absolute majority - 170 of graves. Their pits were directed NE and SW. Some individuals in them (75 graves) are buried with their heads directed NE, i.e. N or E



depending on the season. Other individuals (56 graves) are buried in quite the opposite direction, i.e. their heads directed SW with seasonal deviations S or W. The remaining 39 graves contained destroyed skeletons which prevented from determining the orientation of the dead. The second group includes 17 graves. Their pits are orientated NW and SE. 8 dead individuals were laid with their heads directed NW, 6 ones in the opposite direction, i.e. head directed SE. In three graves the orientation of the dead could not be reconstructed. Besides, in four other graves the orientation was still different because the contours of grave pits were directed either N-S (2 graves) or W-E (2 graves) (Fig. 96, 97). The remaining 26 graves were strongly destroyed. The data are missing which would help to determine the orientation of the dead.

Most graves are single ones. Though, some double burials were also found: a man and a woman (g. 62, 77, 78; Fig. 30:1), two men (g. 76; Fig. 95), a man and a child (g. 89, 90, 200; Fig. 93), two children (g. 177; Fig. 94), or even three men and a child (g. 165). Buried in 217 investigated graves there were 224 individuals: 99 men, 50 women and 75 of undefined sex due to the lack of data. The rite of orientation of the dead reflects the opposition between sexes. Men were buried with heads directed NE, women - SW. Only some dead make an exception. On the ground of analysis of osteological material the age of 41 man, 29 women and 22 children were determined (Appendix). The men were mostly 30-35 years old, women - 20-25. The age of children was very different - from infants to youths aged 18-20 years.

While burying men or children (boys) belonging to nobility there was a custom to sacrifice a horse. The ritual parts of a horse - head and legs - were placed near the dead in the grave. On the ground of the data obtained while investigating less disturbed graves six variants of horse sacrifices' position were determined (Fig. 98). Attention should be paid that in child grave 191 the buried head and legs belonged to a foal not a horse. In some graves (g. 55, 85, 157, 193) near the remains of horse skull fragments of bridle items were found (iron riding bit, fragments of brass plates, iron buckle). There is a table at the end of this chapter which contains the summary data on burial posture (Table 13).

The second chapter of this part is devoted to the analysis of **burial items**. Both men, women and children were buried with burial furniture. The inventories of intact graves include 7-14 items. Over 10 burial items were found **only** in some graves of men (g. 85, 92, 184, 193, 215). In **strongly** destroyed graves sometimes only 1-3 items were found, sometimes none altogether (Table 14).

**Tools and weapons.** The burial ground yielded a collection of 52 **knives**. 41 items were found in graves, the remaining **ones** represented isolated artifacts. The

knives are made of iron, straight, socketed, about 12, 5-47 cm long with blades being 8-41 cm long and 1-3,3 cm wide (Fig. 130). According to the exterior 6 groups of knives are distinguished. A tendency has taken root in archeological literature to attribute knives to the class of working tools adding that larger items with blades not shorter than 20-25 cm could have been weapons. The author assumes that every knife could have been used for general purposes, either as a working tool or, if necessary, as a weapon. Archeological data are presented that supports the opinion that short knives were handy both for self-defence and attacking an enemy. This is, probably, the reason, that knives are typical burial items of male graves. They were usually placed in graves together with belts at the head, arm or, in rare cases, near legs (Fig. 112). In some graves there were two knives one of them always being larger (g. 56, 135, 184). The largest and most massive knives (group IV) are prototypes of single-edged swords (Fig. 130:6). This proves that single-edged knife-like swords found in the burial ground are of local origin. In female graves a knife is a rarity. E. g. only 3 women (g. 14, 62A, 194) and one girl (g. 48) were buried with knives. Women's knives were with blades 11-11,5 cm long and 1,2-2,2 cm wide. In graves they were placed at the head or along the left arm (Fig. 14:4).

The investigated graves yielded 31 iron, stocked axes 21 of which were found in graves, the remaining ones - as random finds. They represent 14-21,5 cm long items with 4-8 cm wide blades and 3,8-4,5 cm in diameter hafts (Fig. 135). According to their exterior the axes comprise three groups. Lithuanian archeologists stick to the opinion that axes were working tools. The author presents archeological data making it possible to assume that axes served for general purposes. They were used both as working tools and weapons. An axe is a characteristic burial item of adult men. An exception was made only for one 10-10,5 years old boy belonging to nobility (g. 55; Fig. 25). The position of axes in graves is not stable. They can be found at the head, by the side or near the legs of a man (Fig. 109).

2 iron scythes were found, one in a man's grave (Fig. 113), the other as an isolated item. The better preserved item is 31,5 cm long (measuring straightly from the tang to the tip) and 3 cm wide (Fig. 136:2). There are no doubts about the purpose of scythes. They represent working tools of men used for mowing hay. Attention was played to the fact that a scythe was put in a grave where a man was buried with a sword. In other burial grounds graves were also found were warriors horsemen were buried with scythes and abundant expensive burial items (including silver adornments).

Only 1 sickle was found (Fig. 224:1). It is made of iron, socketed, with a narrowing towards the tip 1,6 cm wide and 16 cm long blade. In the socketed the remains



of wooden haft were found. It was found in a female grave (g. 197) placed at the head of the dead together with other items (Fig. 137).

18 awls were found including 13 in graves and the remaining - as random finds. The socketed part is 3-7 cm long with remains of wooden handles. Awls were found only in graves of adult women more often near legs, in rare cases at the head (Fig. 9:2,3).

14 spinning-whorls were found - 5 in graves and the remaining ones as random finds. They represent items 3-6 cm in width and 1-2,4 cm in height. One of them was carved from amber (Fig. 139:1), the remaining made of sand stone (Fig. 139:2-4). Spinning-whorls represent burial furniture of adult of women. Their place in graves is unstable: found at the head, legs and on shoulder (Fig. 122).

Only one chisel (g. 170) was found. It represents a 10,5 cm long iron socketed item with remains of wooden handle preserved in the 3 cm long socketed part. It served for rather general purposes: it was handy for wood works and could also be used by jewellers. The item was found in a male grave near the head of the dead together with a knife (Fig. 104:4).

One fish-hook was found. It is about 5,7 cm long, made of brass wire with triangular cross-section. The fish-hook was placed on the chest of the head. It represents a burial item of a boy's (aged 12-14) grave (g. 177B; Fig. 141:3).

A whetstone was found in a male grave (g. 126). It is oblong, of irregular shape, about 15 cm long and 3,5 cm thick, made of stone (Fig. 142). This burial item was placed on the legs of the dead.

78 iron socketed spearheads were found - 43 in mens' and boys' graves, the remaining - as random finds. According to their exterior these finds are divided into 6 groups: 1) with lozenge-shaped blade, 2) scalloped-edged blade, 3) lanceolate blade, 4) small narrow blade and long socket, 5) willow-leaf shaped blade, 6) small spearheads with blades narrower than sockets. Spearheads are very different in size (Fig. 143-145). Their length ranges from 10,3 cm to 34,5 cm. But one of them was hardly 9,3 cm long, still other as long as 40 cm. The place of spearheads in graves is stable: 1-2 spearheads are usually placed at the left or right side of the head. Only in one male grave (g. 200) 2 spears on the right side of the dead are placed so that both spearheads are at the foot of the grave pit. Sometimes spears with short shafts were placed in graves. In such cases spearheads are found near the pelvis bones (Fig. 60:1). If two spears are placed in a grave their spearheads, as a rule, differ in shape or one of them is by far smaller than the other one (Fig. 147, 149:8,9).

11 men were buried with single-bladed iron swords. Their form reminds sharp-tipped knives (Fig. 150). These weapons are 60-72 cm long. Their blades are 50-

60,5 long and 3,8-4,1 cm wide. A somewhat wider back of blades has two shapes in cross-section (Fig. 151). Swords had wooden hilts and were carried in wooden hilts and were carried in wooden sheaths which were covered with U-shaped iron plates (Fig. 54:5). Around the mouth sheaths were decorated with metal plates, whereas the bottoms had sometimes brass bindings (Fig. 152). Sometimes they were placed in graves together with abundantly decorated shoulder-belts which were covered with brass plates (Fig. 153). The position of swords in graves is rather different (Fig. 104). Swords are characteristic burial items of graves where men aged 30-55 years are buried. The data obtained in the Pagrybis burial ground prove that single-bladed knife-shaped swords found in the mentioned burial ground were of local origin and had been spread in Lithuania since the 5th century.

*Elements of clothing and adornments.* 20 women were buried with headbands. There are two types of them. One of them includes woven of woolen threads band with terminals passed through a brass spiral. The latter, metal part of headbands, most often was 2,6-4 cm long and 1,5-2,4 cm in diameter. However, in some cases the items reached 7,5- 16 cm length one being as long as 28,5 cm (Fig. 154). The headbands were worn in such a way that the brass spiral was on the back of the head. Whittled sticks with sharp terminals usually can be found preserved among threads in spirals. They served as pins fastening the terminals of the bands for it to hold better on the head. The second type of headbands is represented by bands made of brass, 7-8 cm and 0,5-0,6 cm in diameter spirals threaded into 6 parallel lines partitioned periodically with T-shaped brass shafts (Fig. 157). The terminals of such brass bands are joined with brass 6x9 cm oblong quadrangle plate. These bands were worn in such a way that the plate was on the back of the head. Headbands of type I were characteristic of young (20-25 years) women and, in rare cases, girls (g. 48, 172). A headbands of type II was found on the head of a woman aged 45-50 years (g. 35). Besides, at the head of this woman as an additional burial item a headband of type I was placed together with a "spare" brass spiral of the same headband.

In male graves remains of head-dress are missing. Only the head of one boy (g. 34) was griddled with a brass chain (Fig. 158).

8 neck-rings were found - 5 in graves, the remaining ones randomly. Three of them are made of silver, 5 - of brass. Neck-rings comprise 4 types. Type I includes one accidentally found brass neck-ring with conical ends (deformed) (Fig. 159:3). It belongs to Klaipėda type neck-rings were spread in Lithuania in the 3rd-beginning of the 4th century. Type II includes 3 neck-rings with ribbed bow and loop-and nook clasp at the ends (Fig. 160). Two of them are made of silver, the third - of



brass. The neck-rings are about 14-17 cm in diameter. Type II includes 2 neck-rings (1 silver and 1 brass) with twisted bow and loop-and nook clasp at the ends (Fig. 118:3). The 1 cm thick bows are twisted of three wires. The adornments are 20 cm in diameter. Type IV includes one brass neck-ring with thickened ends. It is deformed (Fig. 159:2), the bow has a pulled up brass spiral. This neck-ring was found by accident and is dated later than neck-rings of types II and III found in graves. It belongs to that variant of type IV of neck-rings which was spread in Lithuania in the end of the 8th-beginning of 9th century. Neck-ring from the Pagrybis were found on buried men and boys. None of the women had an adornment. Bead necklaces represent a rare find in Pagrybis. Only three graves yielded their remains. One of them was represented by stringed silver and brass spirals 0,6 cm in diameter and barrel shaped beads of red enamel. They are braided around with thin silver wire (g. 43; Fig. 162). The remaining two necklaces are represented by stringed little amber beads and brass spirals. Both were found in children's graves (g. 48, 115).

Isolated amber beads are more commonly found. They are mostly represented by truncated biconical beads 0,5-1,2 cm high and 1-1,5 cm in diameter (Fig. 120). Only 3 beads were barrel-shaped. They were about 0,7-1,1 cm in height and 0,8-0,9 cm in diameter. Men, women and children wore 1-2 beads of amber of both types together with other chest adornments (brooches, pins). In rarer cases a bead was placed at the head of the dead (g. 163) or thrown into a grave while filling up the pit. One child (g. 177A) had an asymmetrical piece of amber. Instead of amber sometimes a piece of flint was placed in a grave. E. g. in g. 183 a woman was buried with a small piece of flint. It was placed on her left shoulder (Fig. 203:8). In badly destroyed graves 1 multiangular brass bead (g. 182) and 1 blue glass ribbed bead were found (g. 43).

42 brooches were found - 26 in graves and the rest accidentally. All of them are made of brass with only 2 of them made of silver and 2 - of iron. They are of 6 types. Type I includes 3 crossbow decorated with ringlets brooches which are 7-8,5 cm in height and 8,5 cm in diameter (Fig. 164:1,3). They are analogous to the third variant of crossbow decorated with ringlets brooches which was spread in Lithuania in the 5th-6th centuries. Type II includes 1 crossbow brooch with triangular foot which is 10 cm high. This is a very typical adornment of Balts spread in the 5th-6th centuries: in some burial grounds as many as several tens of them were found. However, in the Pagrybis burial ground it is the only one. It adorned a 10-10,5 years old boy who was buried as a prominent warrior horseman (with a silver neck-ring and with horse sacrifice (Fig. 165:7). Type II is represented by cross-bow brooches with long feet which numbered 13. All of them were made of brass except

two of them which were made of iron. The brooches were of different size: ranged from 3,6 cm to 10,5 cm in height and from 4,5 cm to 8,5 cm in diameter (Fig. 164:2; 166:1; 167:1,2). They belong to most widely spread brooches worn in Lithuania in the 5th-6th centuries. Two brooches stand out. One of them has a stylized 0,9 cm long and 0,7 cm high horse-head (Fig. 168), the other - a stylized 0,6 cm high and 0,35 cm wide bird-head on their feet (Fig. 169). Type IV is represented by brass cross-bow brooches with cross-shaped feet which were 6 in number. They are similar to the brooches with long feet. The only difference is a cross-piece (1,8-2,9 cm long and 0,4-0,9 cm wide) at the foot-end. A similar detail only somewhat smaller (1,2-2 cm long and 0,3-0,5 cm wide) emphasizes the juncture between the stem and foot (Fig. 171:1-3). The considered brooches are 6-10 cm high and 5,2-11,3 cm in diameter. Type V is represented by 6 brass cross-bow ladder brooches which can serve as samples of further development of brooches with cross-piece foot. The only difference is that they are more flat. Besides, cross-ladders at the beginning and the end of brooch foot are larger (Fig. 171:4,6) and some brooches have 2 extra steps which shelter the axis (Fig. 171:5). They are 4,4-10,3 cm high and about 3,2-11,3 cm in diameter. Type V is represented by 2 brass penanular brooches which were found by accident. One of them has cylindrical the other angular ends (Fig. 173). Both adornments are dated later than brooches found in graves: in Lithuania penanular brooches came into vogue in the 8th-9th centuries and have been worn during the whole Late Iron Age. Brooches were typical adornments of men and boys: the garment of the dead was fastened on the chest with only one brooch.

103 pins were found - 85 in graves and the rest - as accident finds. There are 4 groups of pins. Group I is represented by 55 crook-like pins. Except 8 brass pins all the rest are made of iron. Better preserved are 3-13,5 cm long and 1,4-2,3 cm in diameter pins with loop-shaped head (Fig. 175:5). The garments of men and children were fastened on the chest with only one pin. Women had two pins often joined together with a brass chain. Group II is represented by 23 pins with flask-shaped head. Except two iron pins the remaining ones are made of brass. Some pins have trumpet-shaped heads (Fig. 24, 176:1,2), other ones - semicircle heads (Fig. 178:3,4). The adornments are 12-17,5 cm long. This was a popular adornment among women and worn in pairs. Group III is represented by 14 openwork cruciform pins (Fig. 179:1,2). They are 10,5-16,2 cm in length; the diameter of heads - 4,2-5,5 cm. In undisturbed female burials usually 2 such pins were found. One pin had a brass crescent-shaped pendant attached to it and decorated with silver plate. Group IV includes 2 brass cruciform pins found by an accident. The head of the better preserved pin is covered with a silver deco-



rated plate (Fig. 159:1). Both finds date later than pins yielded by graves. One of them is dated the 7th-8th centuries, the other one - the 9th or, probably, 10th century. A pair of pins joined with a brass chain is a characteristic burial item in female graves. This chest adornment was placed into a grave as an extra item: 2 pins put close together were found placed on the hand of the dead, at the head, across or slantwise on the chest or waist.

The investigated graves yielded 28 brass bracelets and still 17 were found accidentally. They represent 8 types: with thickened terminals (14 items; Fig. 181:1,2; 182:1,2), with a medial angular moulding (14 items; Fig. 183:3,4; 184:1,2), armband (6 items; Fig. 185:1), spiral (5 items; Fig. 186:3), sash-like (2 items; Fig. 187:2), with hoof-shaped terminals (2 items; Fig. 188:1; 189:5), with zoomorphic ends (1 item; Fig. 190:1), with round in cross-section bow (1 item; Fig. 190:2). There was a custom to put a bracelet on both hands of a dead woman. However, two women had only 1 bracelet on the right hand each and one woman was decorated with 3 bracelets. Most women with bracelets were young (aged 20-25 years). Only one woman was of older age - 50 years old (g.183). There were some children decorated with 1-2 bracelets. Among them - one male infant (Fig. 189). Adult men were not decorated with bracelets. The chronology of bracelets is diverse. The bracelets found in graves belong to the 5th-6th centuries, whereas, accidentally found bracelets are from earlier or later ages. E.g., bracelet with round in cross-section bow have analogues in archeological material of the 2nd-3rd centuries, armband bracelets are dated the 7th-8th centuries, whereas, bracelets with zoomorphic ends have analogues in archeological materials of the 10th-12th centuries.

96 brass finger-rings were found - 80 of them in graves, the remaining ones by an accident. With the exception of two rings all of them are spiral, made of 0,2-0,4 cm wide brass triangular, semicircle or circle in cross-section wire. One of the rings had a wider (about 1,2 cm wide) medial winding which was decorated with a geometrical ornament (Fig. 149:5). Two rings had another shape. One of them, sash-like, made of 1,1 cm wide brass sash with meeting ends (Fig. 192:2). The other one was made of 0,3 cm thick round in cross-section brass wire. The sides of the ring are closely wound up with a thin brass wire which is twisted in the front part into a small snail (Fig. 192:1). Rings were more characteristic of men than of women. In most cases 1 ring was put on the hand of the dead. But some individuals had 2-3 or even 4-5 rings on their hands. It was determined that not a single investigated grave of a young girl had any rings. Whereas, boys, even new borns (g. 116) had rings on them (Fig. 189:6).

In 29 male burials belt buckles and mountings were found. Still two buckles were found accidentally. Iron

and brass buckles comprise 3 types - with oval, profiled and D-shaped (Fig. 193, 194) frames. They are 2-3,5 cm in height and about 1,5-4 cm in diameter. Brass and iron buckles differ in their shape. Some of them had tonqueshaped profiled edges 3,8-7,2 cm in length (Fig. 195:3,4). 1 brass mounting with silver plated surface and embossed 2 horse heads orientated in opposite directions should be mentioned (Fig. 197). Some brass mountings were cruciform 1,5x1,5-2,5x2,5 cm in size, some quadrangle 0,7-1,8 cm and 2,2-5,5 cm long (Fig. 196). Mountings of both shapes alternately decorated the shoulder-belt of the better preserved sword (g. 85; Fig. 153). An accidentally found brass three-part belt shaft with mountings should be mentioned dated the 7th-8th centuries (Fig. 195:1). Belts decorated with metal were found in the graves of men of different age. There was a custom to place belts (often with knives) as burial items near the head of the dead, on his chest, near the side, at or on the legs.

*Items of horsemen and horse clothing.* 13 spurs were found. 11 of them were found in male burials and 2 - accidentally. There are 4 groups of them. Group I includes brass sash-like (about 1 cm wide) spurs, with semi-round in cross-section bow, with round plates at the terminals, with profiled spike (Fig. 198:1). Group II includes iron spurs with a narrowing towards the ends bow unbent terminals (Fig. 198:2). Group III includes an iron, about 1,8 cm wide spur-sash with a spike in the centre (Fig. 198:4). Group IV includes a brass spur with semi-round in cross-section bow and round plates at the terminals, with 3 cm long profiled cross-piece one end of which has a shape of hade (Fig. 198:3). In better preserved burials (g. 47, 85) remains of sling were found which helped to attach spurs to footwear. In some graves brass oval small were found in some father graves - brass or silverplated mounting fragments (Fig. 23; 118:8). Spurs were placed in the burials of men aged 35-50 years. Spurs were worn 1 on the right foot. Near the left foot a spur was found only in 1 male (g. 73).

Details of bridle (riding bits, clasps) were found in 14 graves of adult men and 3 graves of boys. One riding bit was found accidentally. All of them are made of iron with chains (3-9 cm in diameter) at the terminals. Some of them are with jointed mouthpiece, some - with three - or four - jointed mouthpieces (Fig. 199:1,2). In most cases riding bits were found at the feet of the dead (Fig. 116) where the ritual sacrificed parts of horse are placed. In some burials details of bridles (riding bits, clasps, rein mountings) were found among the fragments of horse skull. Fragments of bridles were found in burials of men aged 35-55 years. Riding bits were also placed in boys' graves.

*Other artifacts.* Brass bindings of 4 drinking horns were found. Three of them are represented by a narrow brass sash which was bound around the mouth of a



drinking horn (Fig. 118:6). The brass bindings at the terminal of drinking horns were represented by 5 cm high candle-stick-shaped or cup-like artifacts (Fig. 195:2). Bindings of two drinking horns were found in male burials, the remaining two - accidentally. In one grave a drinking horn was placed near the head of the dead (g. 85), in the other grave - near the feet (g. 184).

Besides, two iron eye-glass-shaped (Fig. 199:3,4) and 1 iron 8-shaped (Fig. 134:5) pendants were found.

Earthenware were also placed in burials near the dead. 2 clay hand-made cups were found. One of them is better preserved. It is 4,5 cm high, the diameter of the bottom is 5,5 cm, the diameter of the mouth - 5 cm (Fig. 217). This cup was found accidentally. The other one was found in a female grave (g. 14) placed near the head of dead (Fig. 129). In some graves (g. 194, 200, 202) isolated fragments of pottery with rough surface were found. Trench No 33 yielded an accumulation of fragments. It was spread in 27x36 cm area. The mentioned area contained 37 fragments represented by parts of pots with rough surface (Fig. 210).

The remains of bark box belong to rare finds. They were found in g. 62A at the head of the dead woman together with other burial goods.

Part II is supplied at the end with a summary table of grave inventory (No 14).

**HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL.** The subject of investigation - community of farmers which left the Pagrybis burial ground.

**Questions of ethnic history.** It was determined that the investigated burial ground belongs to the archeological culture which since the 5th century through to the 12th century was spread in Samogitia (West Lithuania) and included the territory in the west from the Jūra and Varduva rivers to the Dubysa and Šušvė rivers in the east (Fig. 204). Since 1968 a tradition has taken root in archeological literature to consider east Balt tribes representatives of that culture and relate those tribes with Samogitians which since the 13th century have been mentioned in written historical sources. However, these sources indicate that Samogitians had lived in a by far larger territory, i.e. not only in the Jūra and Dubysa basins but on both sides of Nevėžis as well (Fig. 205). New archeological finds supplied new data but still yet archeologists haven't come to a common conclusion with regard to the rise of Samogitian culture, its substrate, limits of the area inhabited by Samogitians. On the ground of new archeological data collected by the "Žemaitija" expedition a conclusion is drawn that the Jūra basin was ancient times inhabited by Western Balts but in the 5th century by a military force it was incorporated into Samogitian union. It was led by Eastern balts living in the Nevėžis basin. There exists an assumption that the Samogitian union was not

an ethnical formation but rather a territorial political-administrative unit (joined Eastern and Western Balts). As a result of different substrate the Samogitian culture was heterogeneous from the beginning. It is represented by no less than 3 local variants of culture: 1) the culture of Western Samogitians in the Jūra basin, 2) the culture of Eastern Samogitians in the Nevėžis basin and 3) the culture of Northern Samogitians in the Šiauliai and Radviliškis environs.

The most archaic (dated 6th-7th centuries) Western Samogitian cultural layer is most exhaustively represented by excavation materials from the Pagrybis burial ground. This archeological monument is still the only object of the 6th-7th centuries in the whole Jūra basin which has been so thoroughly investigated. It was determined that the community which left behind the Pagrybis burial ground kept to some rites which had been spread in the region before the 3rd-4th centuries i. e. before the Samogitian union. Since 1968 in archeological literature an assertion has been popular that the Barrow culture was spread in the Jūra basin in the 1st-4th centuries and it severed as a substrate for the Samogitian culture. The "Žemaitija" expedition obtained new data. They allow to assume that in the eve of the Samogitian union (3rd-4th centuries) the Jūra basin cradled not the Barrow culture (heritage of Eastern Balts) but the culture of flat burial grounds with graves inside a stone circle (heritage of Western Balts). It has been a common assumption for a long time that such monuments were spread only in the Lithuanian coastal zone, on both sides of Minija. Today in the Jūra basin 14 flat burial grounds with stone constructions are also known (Fig. 215). Transmission of the territory and tradition from generation to generation was established on the ground of archeological data obtained during excavations of burial grounds dated 3rd-4th centuries (the end of the Old Iron Age), 5th-6th centuries (beginning of the Middle Iron Age) in the Jūra basin. A continuous link between the earlier and later cultures is vividly revealed by indices of ritual character (graves circled with stones, orientation of the dead according to cardinal points, rites with fire, custom of horse sacrifice during funerals) and peculiarities of burial furniture, i.e. material data (elements of clothing, adornments, tools, weapons, amulets, pottery). As a result of integration into Samogitian union some inherited local traditions gradually vanished and some gained root in the Samogitian culture supplying it with distinct regional features. The latter distinguished it from other (Eastern and Northern) variants of Samogitian culture. This is the reason why the continuation of Western Samogitian culture and succession of the territory can be reconstructed till the 13th century, i.e. till the period of written history when the Jūra basin as one of Lithuanian political-administrative pre-feodal areas



constituting the Karšuva land. It is emphasized that the genesis of the Western Samogitian culture was not related either with tribes migration into the Jūra basin from the neighbouring regions, or with newcomers who participated in the Great Migration of Nations. The ethnocultural situation which was characteristic of Samogitia in the 6th-7th centuries was predetermined in the first place by internal (economical, political, social) factors. They were typical of the Lithuanian society which was gradually passing from the primitive community to tribal system. There are no doubts that such transition was followed by intertribal contacts and armed conflicts: political-administrative units of more powerful were expanded by occupied land as, for instance, the Jūra basin which was torn off from the territory of Western Balts and included into the Samogitian - Eastern Balts - union.

**Questions of social history. The status of man and woman in farmers' community.** The data of burying rites and grave furniture revealed a wide system of opposition of sexes. Men and women were buried orientated in different directions: men - head directed NE, women - SW (Fig. 97). The custom to decorate men's and women's clothing with different adornments was strictly observed. A typical detail of men's clothing - a brooch (Fig. 172), women's - 2 pins joined with a chain into a pair (Fig. 175:5). Only women were adorned with bracelets and headbands but none of them had a neck-ring. The latter adornment represented a component of men's and boys' clothing. Burial goods made of precious metals (brooches, neck-rings, belt details) were characteristic only of male burials. A set of adornments (bracelets, chest adornment, headband) was characteristic of the clothing of young (until 30 years of age) women (Fig. 220). In burials of elderly woman brass burial items are rare. Both brass and silver components of clothing are found in different age male burials. The opposition between men and women is especially distinctive with regard to those burial items which are related with practical activity. Some men were seen-off to the after world (48,8 per cent) as warriors horsemen (notwithstanding their age). Others (51,2 per cent) were buried either without a single weapon or with a spear and an axe. Their graves yield neither horse gear nor elements of horseman's clothing. It is assumed that the 2nd group of men were involved in economic activity (farm, food, clothing, etc.). The main occupation of women included domestic activity. Awls, spinning-whorls, sickles represent burial items which were found in different age women's graves (Fig. 224). In author's opinion the unequal treatment of men and women in farming community could have been regulated by division of labour. Such division was predetermined by the development of economic and social life which preconditioned the predominance of men in a community.

**Question of soldiery.** Archeological data from earlier times (3rd-4th centuries) reveal that weapons could be carried by all men of the region notwithstanding their age. However, only some of them were buried as warriors horsemen. The materials (5th-6th centuries) obtained during the excavations of Pagrybis burial ground show that some men of the farming community were seen off to the after-world without a single weapon or with only an axe or spear. This is worth attention due to the fact in the 5th-6th centuries territorial political-administrative units had already been formed, i.e. existed unions of tribes which were often involved in military conflicts for power, territory, pastures and other valuable things. To put it in other words the military activity of inhabitants was rather high. But the role of ordinary members of the community in that activity was small. This, in author's opinion, can be accounted for by emerging of soldiery: the chief of the community had in his disposition a team of friends warriors-horsemen. There was a strict gradation among the members of community. It is proved by graves in which warriors-horsemen were buried with a silver neck-ring, sword and horse sacrifice (Fig. 225, 226). Some men were buried with human sacrifice (g. 62, 200). These men were representatives of military and tribal nobility.

**Reflection of family relations.** Investigations of double and multiple burials led to a conclusion that an individual family was based on the predominance of man. This phenomenon is illustrated by graves where men were buried with children. One man was buried with a sacrificed child (g. 200). The child was cremated and a bundle with the fragments of his bones and brass adornments was placed on the dead man's legs (Fig. 211). Judging from the burial goods the child was a boy. In a multiple grave of three men an infant in sleeping was placed on the stretched arm of one of the three (g. 165). A man in grave 89 was also buried with a child (g. 90). The tendency to bury children (sons?) with men (fathers?) probably means that farming community acknowledged as heirs only those children whose origin on the side of father was undoubtful. Perhaps for this reason some boys were buried as adults. Interesting in this respect is grave 55. An adolescent of 10-10,5 years was buried with silver neck-ring and horse sacrifice (Fig. 25). Besides, it was observed that in the Pagrybis burial ground children were more frequently buried near men's graves than women's.

The predominance of men in the community of farmers is proved by the fact that sometimes men were buried with sacrificed women. E. g. in somewhat disturbed grave 62 a man was buried with a silver neck-ring sword and a woman-slave by his side who was killed (Fig. 30:1).

**Some aspects of mental culture.** Data of the studies of artistic artifacts and analysis of burial rites helped to perceive the mythological way of thinking, religious im-



images and principles of the world outlook. A special role of horse in beliefs and rites of farmers in the 5th-6th centuries is discussed related with the image of the after-world. There is no doubt that the same motifs and symbols were transferred from the field of beliefs into art and *vice versa*. Here follows a characteristic example. When a noble man was buried there was a ritual to place at his side horse head and hoofs (Fig. 98, 213).

The decorations of various artifacts abound in horse symbols: a brooch with a horse head on its foot (Fig. 228, 229), bracelets with hoofs at the terminals (Fig. 188:1). There is no doubt that attributes of these animals on artifacts represented not merely the details of decorations but (what is most important) had a magic meaning. It reflected mythological-religious images about the unnatural power of horses - mythological personages - to defeat unfavourable and dangerous forces for man, ensure success in all spheres of human activity.

Similar function most likely was attributed to bird's symbol in metal works. A bird's head on the foot of a brooch (Fig. 230, 231) presumably portrayed a water bird which was rather frequent in the ornaments of the 5th-6th centuries. A water-bird in a mythological way of thinking was perceived as a mediator among three mythological worlds (heaven, earth, underground). This bird is the only one among the representatives of Earth's fauna which is able to move in all three elements of universe - dive in the water, fly in the air, walk on the

land. Therefore, a water bird served also as a symbol of universe.

The image of world structure is originally perpetuated in the ornaments of a metalwork-pendant (Fig. 232). Its creator matched horse head with geometrical elements - circles, rhombus points. A semantical characteristics of the ornament is given. It is emphasized that the whole form of the artifact expresses the dominant of artistic composition, i.e. the vertical. On its both sides decorations are arranged symmetrically: image of ritual objects (sacrificed animals), solar signs (circles), land sign (rhombus), twin plot (a pair of horse heads orientated in opposite directions). Such compositions emphasizes not the concept of height but width, expresses the idea of binarity. Thus, the world is projected not on the vertical but horizontal line. Such projection gives sense to horizontal structure of the world, 4 cardinal points. According to the symbols of artistic composition the artifact should be attributed to amulets or talismans being not only a specimen of decorative art.

It was determined that artifacts sacralized with images of animals - mythological personages - were possessed by nobility as peculiar attributes of their social status. This accounts for comparatively rare artifacts of zoomorphic style in archeological materials about Lithuania of the 5th-6th centuries.

Translated into English by *Ada Jurkonytė*