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THE PRESENCE OF FLAT GRAVES AT THE BURIAL MOUND CEMETERIES OF THE WIELBARK CULTURE IN NORTHERN AND EASTERN POLAND

ZAGADNIENIE WYSTĘPOWANIA POCHÓWKÓW PŁASKICH NA CMENTARZYSKACH KURHANOWYCH
KULTURY WIELBARKSKEJ W POLSCE PÓŁNOCNEJ I WSCHODNIEJ

Introduction

One of the distinctive features of the Wielbark Culture is its very varied funeral rite¹. It is visible in particular in the variety of grave forms, reflected by the contemporary presence of various types of cremation and inhumation graves in the majority of grave fields. Another important aspect of variety at Wielbark cemeteries is the presence or absence of grave markings as well as other overground funerary “architectural” elements (M. Mączyńska 2007; A. Kokowski 2010). Due to the damage to the top layers in the majority of archaeological sites from the Roman Period and due to the fact that the overground constructions made of organic material are unlikely to have survived until today, the quantitative and qualitative research on this topic may vary significantly from the historic reality. However, the older graves are rarely disturbed by younger graves at Wielbark cemeteries what is an indirect proof that at the time some visible overground grave markings there existed². They could

take the form of small mounds or constructions made of organic material³. At several Wielbark Culture cemeteries sizeable overground markings are present: burial mounds made of soil or stone and soil as well as constructions made of stones such as pavements, rings and stelae. In some cases the stone circles of spaced stones⁴ appear, which, according to the most convincing hypothesis, should be interpreted as the meeting locations for local communities, where the ritual practices took place⁵

M. Tempelmann - Mączyńska 1982; J. Andrzejowski *et alii* 2002; A. Żórawska 2007; J. Schuster 2010, p. 255–258). More numerous disturbing graves in the sites from northern Poland are registered sporadically, e.g. at Wekllice, Elbląg County (M. Natuniewicz - Sekuła, J. Okulicz - Kozaryn 2011, fig. 4).

³ The conjectures about the original markings of the Przeworsk Culture graves in the form of small mounds or constructions made of organic materials were presented by T. Dąbrowska (2007, p. 258).

⁴ The terminology of the stone constructions known from the cemeteries of Wielbark Culture is not unified until now (cf. N. Lau 2012, p. 12, note 1). I propose here to use the term “stone circle” (in Polish “krąg kamienny”, in German “Steinkreis”) for the round constructions made of big spaced stones (stelae) only. As “stone ring” (in Polish “wieniec kamienny”, in German “Steinkranz”) I mean any other circular construction made of smaller stones, usually placed close one to each other. In some cases stone rings form separate burial constructions with one or more graves inside. They could also make a structural part of more complicated constructions of stones and soil like barrows or stone circles, e.g. stone circles of types A.3 and A.4 (R. Wołągiewicz 1977b, p. 45, fig. 24), which are build of big stelae joined with small stones.

⁵ Recently, K. Walenta (2007, p. 150–152) confirms the ritual function of stone circles, and interprets the graves placed inside as sacrifices. On the other hand, he distances himself from the previous understanding the circles as the folk gathering sites, similar to things’ places known from later written sources.

¹ This paper was written at the Centre for Baltic and Scandinavian Archaeology in Schleswig on a scholarship granted by the Alexander von Humboldt-Foundation (2011–2013).

² Digging older graves into younger ones is known from the sites of Wielbark Culture dated to the Early Roman Period, e.g. Leśno, Chojnice County, graves 11 and 12 (K. Walenta 2009, p. 39–40, pl. LXXVII, LXXVIII), yet it seems to be more often in the Late Roman Period, in particular in the eastern zone of the Wielbark Culture, e.g. at the cemeteries at Cecele, Siemiatycze County (J. Jaskaniś 1996, p. 86, fig. 3), or at Jartypory, Węgrów County (J. Andrzejowski, K. Stanek 2007, p. 235–236, fig. 2). In some cases this occurrence could be intentional in nature, connected with the specific funeral observances, which was proven unambiguously in only single cases (see:

(see: R. Wołągiewicz 1977b, p. 71–72). Unfortunately, the sites with better retained overground parts have also suffered damage as a result of post-depositional processes, in particular modern human activity. In some cases it results in difficulties in clear determination of the presence or absence of overground markings, thus limiting our interpretation possibilities.

A good example illustrating this problem is the situation recorded in a vast and well-researched site at Kowalewko, Oborniki County. The graves are located evenly within the entire area of the necropolis, usually in large density (T. Skorupka 2001, fig. 3). Exceptions to this rule include three objects, recognized as inhumation graves, located in the central and western side of the site (No. 64, 100, 112), with an empty, unused space about 10 m in diameter (T. Skorupka 2001, p. 29, 37, 41, pl. 18, 29, 35). However, at the north-western edge of the cemetery, two inhumation graves No. 484 and 485 are located, isolated from the other graves. Next to them, there are two curved furrows 6.5 and 10.0 m in length, 1.0 to 1.6 m in width, up to 0.25 m deep. What is more, a row of small stones was found in the top-layer of one of the furrows. T. Skorupka (2001, p. 226–227) interprets all those four cases as burial mound graves with the mounds that did not survive until today (originally 10.0–12.0 m in diameter and 1.0 m in height), where graves No. 484 and 485 were to be located under one mound surrounded by a furrow and a stone ring. The idea that the said graves were covered by burial mounds should be taken into consideration, but other interpretations should not be dismissed. For example, graves No. 484 and 485 could only have been surrounded by a ditch and a ring of unspaced stones. Such flat grave structures are known i.e. from Grzybnica, Koszalin County, and Leśno, Chojnice County (see: K. Hahuła, R. Wołągiewicz 2001, p. 53–57; K. Walenta 2009, p. 6). Another argument supporting the hypothesis on the lack of the mound is the fact that the graves are not contemporaneous, while in the case of multi-grave burial mounds of the Wielbark Culture, the graves are contemporaneous. The grave No. 484, located more in the centre, was set in phase B_{1b}, while the grave No. 485, located closer to the western furrow, is dated in stage B_{2a}.

Unique nature exhibited also the other three graves from Kowalewko, each of them surrounded by empty space. Inside grave No. 64 there were no human bones registered, even though the condition of the surviving skeletons in the cemetery at Kowalewko is usually pretty good. In the northern section of the grave there is a pit filled with charcoal, possibly of a ritual nature (?). In the graves No. 100 and 112 no fittings were found as well, while in both cases non-anatomical layout of the skeletons were registered, which the author of the research interpreted as the result of robbery. Robbery digs were

also uncovered at Kowalewko in the case of 37 other graves (T. Skorupka 2001, p. 241), but contrary to the graves No. 100 and 112 covering only the central and northern sections of the graves. Such location of disturbances in robbed graves is known from other cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture (e.g. Grzybnica, grave No. 12 – K. Hahuła, R. Wołągiewicz 2001, p. 21, pl. XXVII; Nowy Łowicz, mound No. 34, grave No. 1 – K. Hahuła, A. Cieśliński 2003, p. 217–219, fig. 5–7; see also comments on grave robbing in cemetery from Babi Dół-Borcz – M. Mączyńska, A. Urbaniak 2007a, p. 38). Adopting the hypothesis about robbing the graves No. 100 and 112, what is surprising is the regularity of the alleged digs, corresponding the shape and the size of the grave pits perfectly, in particular if the robbery was to be made through the burial mound. The ceilings of both graves have surviving stone pavements what disprove the robbing hypothesis.

The aforementioned comments incline to present a different interpretation of the empty space around the graves No. 64, 100 and 112 from Kowalewko. It is possible that these round places were used for ritual practices. Such places sites at the cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture are mostly known from the Pomeranian cemeteries with stone circles (R. Wołągiewicz 1979, p. 65–67; T. Makiewicz 1988, p. 104; K. Walenta 2007, p. 150–152). Human remains found inside those “empty” spaces without any equipment are interpreted as sacrifices. It is important to recall here a territorially closer analogy from Słopanowo, Szamotuły County, where the round ritual place at the cemetery was separated using flat furrows (K. Przewoźna 1955, p. 73–76, fig. 14; cf. A. Gałęzowska 2007, p. 182–186, fig. 18). The alleged inhumation “grave” was also present in a space surrounded by furrows at Słopanowo (A. Gałęzowska 2007, p. 183). The graves No. 100 and 112 from Kowalewko should also possibly be interpreted as a result of ritual practices, which could be proven also by the atypical, non-anatomical layout of the skeletons (see note 2). Due to the lack of the remains of the skeleton it is more difficult to try and interpret the “grave” No. 64, it might have been of symbolic nature.

The presented paper intends to take a closer look into one category of sites with overground structures of the Wielbark Culture, that is the burial mound cemeteries. What is particularly interesting is the presence of the flat graves between the burial mounds; this topic was not raised in the previous studies at all or it was only raised marginally (see: J. Okulicz 1970, p. 479–486; J. Jaskanis 1976, p. 227–228; R. Wołągiewicz 1977b, p. 76–77; K. Walenta 1981, p. 50–58). The older literature also presents a belief about the isolated nature of burial mound cemeteries compared with flat grave-fields, which was emphasized the most in the case of a princely cemetery at Lubieszewo 3 *Tunnehult*, Gryfice County (R. Hachmann

1957, p. 17)⁶, or a “dual” nature of these sites, with distinct spatial separation of the flat and mound parts, such as at Gronowo, Drawsko Pomorskie County (former *Dranzig* [Drzeńsko] vel *Groß Grünow* [Gronowo], *Kr. Dramburg*) (R. Wołągiewicz 1979, p. 71–72, 81). A consequence of such assumption was the fact that it was common to leave space between the mounds unexcavated or to excavate it fragmentarily, through trial trenches.

Before the presence of flat graves between the barrows of the Wielbark Culture is discussed, it seems necessary to provide a brief introduction concerning the basic issues of burial mound cemeteries, including the analysis of their chronology and distribution. This need arises from the lack of a monographic study on the burial mound rites of the Wielbark Culture, despite the tradition of archaeological excavations at such facilities that is over one hundred years old. Currently, we only have a series of scanty contributions at our disposal – most often they discuss the topic we are interested in only fragmentarily, applying narrowed territorial or chronological framework (from earlier works, see: J. Jaskanis 1976; 2012; R. Wołągiewicz 1977b, p. 69–80, 97–98; K. Walenta 1981, p. 50–58; J. Schuster 2010, p. 237–240, 432–433, fig. 97–99; A. Cieśliński 2011).

⁶ The most recent research indicates that it is necessary to analyse the cultural conditions at the lower Oder in the Early Roman Period again (J. Schuster 1996; 2007; 2010, p. 211–214; H. Machajewski 1999, p. 243–244; 2003, p. 384–385 – earlier publications there). The site with the burial mound graves at Lubieszewo 3, was classified until now to the Gustow Group (see: R. Wołągiewicz 1981b, p. 205; 1986, p. 315, map 2). Next to the inter-regional features connected with their unique, princely character, they exhibit also local features, visible mainly in the form of the grave (earth mounds), attire elements and pottery. These local cultural elements clearly allude to the Wielbark Culture (H. Machajewski 1999, p. 243–244, 261, map 3; J. Schuster 2010, *passim*), whereas defining the distinctive features of the Gustow group from the later stage of phase B₂ seems not possible at all (J. Schuster 2010, p. 211–214). The appearance of influences of the Wielbark Culture in a widely-perceived zone of the mouth of Oder and in the Western Pomerania is interpreted in two ways: as a proof of migration of the people of the Wielbark Culture to the West (J. Schuster 1996, p. 402–404, 408; H. Machajewski 1999, p. 244), or as a proof of acculturation of a Gustow Group people (J. Schuster 2007, p. 434). At this stage of the research, without considering the nature of these changes, it needs to be emphasized that it is necessary to include the graves from Lubieszewo 3, in the issue of burial mound cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture.

A short note must also be made concerning the presence of over-ground markings at the second princely cemetery at Lubieszewo 2 *Sandberg*. Despite the fact that there was no explicit confirmation, the sources adopted that all three princely graves from this cemetery were covered by burial mounds (H. J. Eggers 1953, p. 80; R. Wołągiewicz 1997, p. 31–33). A most recent analysis of source material and grave forms from the Early Roman Period in the western area of the Baltic Sea by J. Schuster (2010, p. 230–233) showed quite convincingly that the graves at site 2 *Sandberg* were rather flat graves, covered by elaborate stone pavements.

Notes on chronology and distribution of burial mound cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture

Burial mound cemeteries, compared with flat grave-fields typical for the Wielbark Culture, are not numerous; they probably constitute only a fraction of a percentage of all funerary sites of this archaeological unit. Preliminary source survey showed that only 42 cemeteries (25 from Pomerania, 17 from Mazowsze and Podlasie), with about 300 barrows registered may be unambiguously counted among the burial mound sites (Fig. 1) – much less than it would arise from the previous studies⁷. The figures provided here will surely be corrected after the completion of the survey, yet the order of magnitude should remain similar. In the Early Roman Period, burial mound sites are present at Pobrzeże Słowińskie and in the lake zone: Pojezierze Kaszubskie, Krajeńskie, Drawskie and Wielkopolskie, that is in zones B and C of the settlement of the Wielbark Culture in the view expressed by R. Wołągiewicz (1981a, p. 84–85, fig. 3, table I)⁸.

In the Late Roman Period and the early phase of the Migration Period burial mounds of the Wielbark Culture focus in the northern Mazowsze and Podlasie. These mounds are known as “the Rostoły type”. This term was used for the first time by J. Kostrzewski (1948, p. 350). However, it was described and defined in detail by J. Jaskanis (1976). The distinguishing characteristics the Rostoły type included: large size of the burial mounds (20–60 m in diameter), stone layer covering the earth mound with the stone core and the central location of the grave (J. Jaskanis 1996, p. 228). Such selection of the criteria does not seem to reflect the burial mound funerary rites from the Roman Period and from the early

⁷ J. Jaskanis 1976; R. Wołągiewicz 1979, p. 97–98; K. Walenta 1981, p. 55; J. Schuster 2010, p. 237–240, 432–433, fig. 97–99. Presentation of incorrect terms present in the literature would require a detailed comment compared to each item separately, which would definitely exceed the scope of this text. However, it is essential to emphasize here the repetitive reasons for the most common errors: the cultural affinity as well as chronological position of burial mounds was assessed incorrectly, flat graves were recognized as mound graves, e.g. as a result of misunderstanding of the sources. Frequent errors include: errors in localising and determining the administrative affinity of the burial mounds, which usually resulted in one site functioning under at least two location names in the literature. A large group of sites was recognized as burial mound sites of the Wielbark Culture despite the lack of sufficient source confirmation, e.g. due to the size and shape of the mound or the vicinity of other sites of this culture. Future excavations may actually prove that some of these sites belong to the Wielbark Culture, yet it is not possible to resolve this issue at the current stage of the research.

⁸ The literature emphasizes the necessity of re-examination of the methodological backgrounds for the division of Wielbark Culture's territory into settlement zones and updating their scopes (see: A. Kokoński 1999a; 2007, p. 49–54, map 2; J. Andrzejowski 2007, p. 236–236; A. Cieśliński 2010, p. 173–174).

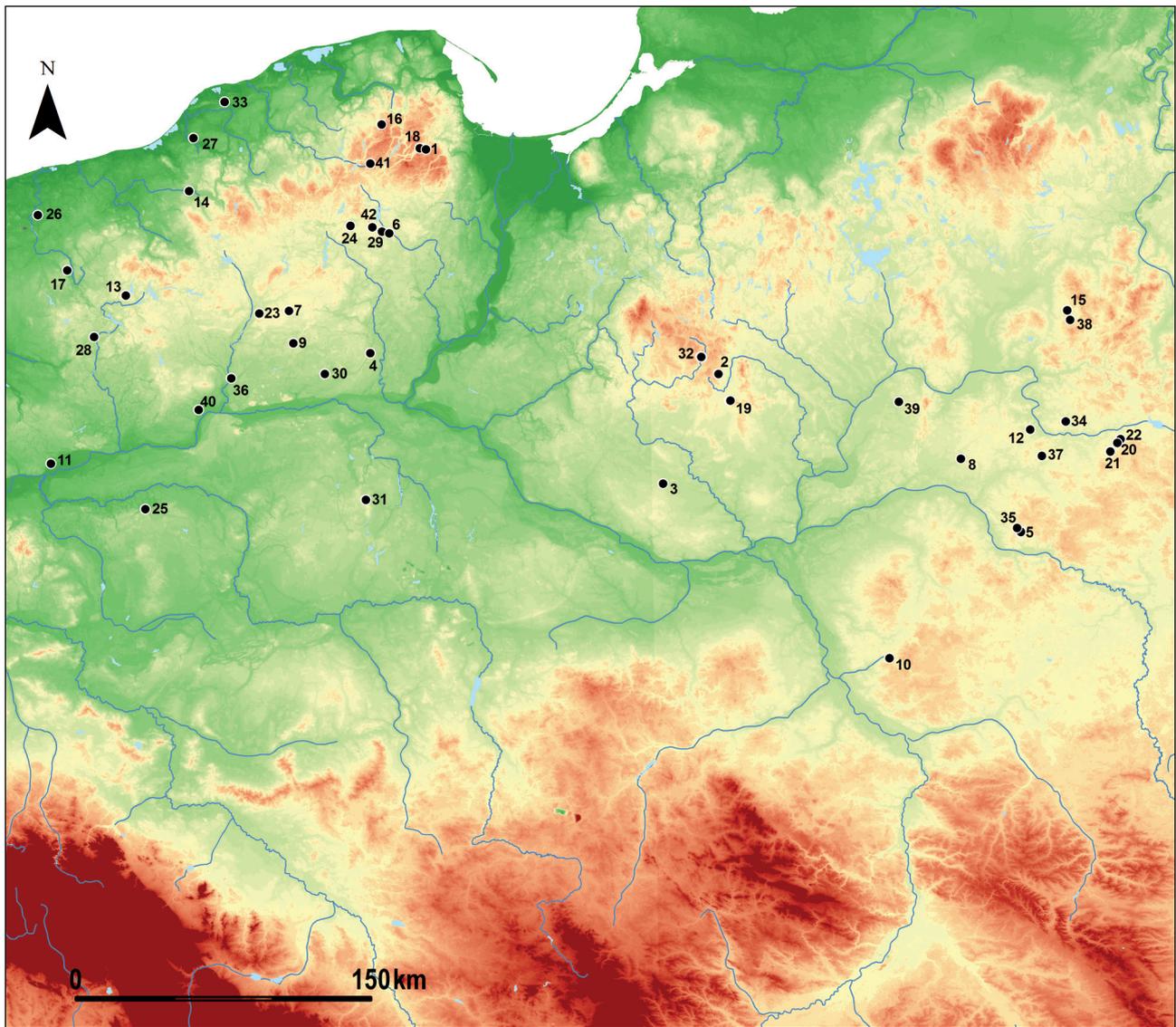


Fig. 1. Burial mound cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture (see: J. Jaskanis 1976; 2012; R. Wołągiewicz 1977b; K. Walenta 1981; J. Schuster 2010; with author's corrections and additions). Graphic arrangement A. Cieśliński.

Ryc. 1. Cmentarzyska kurhanowe kultury wielbarskiej (zob.: J. Jaskanis 1976; 2012; R. Wołągiewicz 1977b; K. Walenta 1981; J. Schuster 2010; z korektami i uzupełnieniami autora). Oprac. A. Cieśliński.

- 1 – Babi Dół-Borcz, pow./County Kartuszy; 2 – Bielawy, pow./County Nidzica; 3 – Bogucin, pow./County Płońsk;
 4 – Buszkowo, pow./County Bydgoszcz (*Buschkowo, Kr. Bromberg*); 5 – Cecele, pow./County Siemiatycze;
 6 – Cisewie, pow./County Kościerzyna (*Cisewie, Kr. Konitz*); 7 – Debrzno Wieś, pow./County Złotów (*Dobrin, Kr. Flatow*);
 8 – Dmochy-Rodzunki, pow./County Wysokie Mazowieckie; 9 – Dorotowo, pow./County Sępólno Krajeńskie (*Dorotheenhof, Kr. Flatow*);
 10 – Goździk, pow./County Garwolin; 11 – Gralewo, pow./County Gorzów Wielkopolski (*Gralow, Kr. Landsberg*);
 12 – Grochy Stare, pow./County Białystok; 13 – Gronowo, pow./County Drawsko Pomorskie (*Groß Grünow, Kr. Dramburg*);
 14 – Grzybnica, pow./County Koszalin; 15 – Jasionowa Dolina, pow./County Sokółka; 16 – Kamienica Królewska, pow./County Kartuszy;
 17 – Karwowo, pow./County Łobez (*Karow, Kr. Regenwalde*); 18 – Kiełpino, pow./County Kartuszy (*Kelpin, Kr. Karthaus*);
 19 – Kitki 1 „Żale”, pow./County Mława; 20 – Kotłówka, pow./County Hajnówka; 21 – Kuraszewo, pow./County Hajnówka;
 22 – Kutowa, pow./County Hajnówka; 23 – Łędyczek, pow./County Złotów; 24 – Leśno 2, pow./County Chojnice;
 25 – Łężce, pow./County Międzychód; 26 – Lubieszewo, pow./County Gryfice (*Lübsow, Kr. Greifenberg*);
 27 – Nowy Kraków, pow./County Sławno (*Neu-Krakow, Kr. Schlawe*); 28 – Nowy Łowicz, pow./County Drawsko Pomorskie
 (*Neu Lobbitz, Kr. Dramburg*); 29 – Odry, pow./County Chojnice (*Odry alias Odri, Kr. Konitz*); 30 – Orle, pow./County Nakło;
 31 – Pałędzie Kościelne, pow./County Mogilno; 32 – Pielgrzymowo, pow./County Nidzica (*Pilgramsdorf, Kr. Neidenburg*);
 33 – Pieńkowo, pow./County Sławno (*Pennekow, Kr. Schlawe*); 34 – Rostołty, pow./County Białystok;
 35 – Skiwy Małe, pow./County Siemiatycze; 36 – Skórka-Zelgniewo, pow./County Złotów (*Selgenau, Kr. Kolmar*);
 37 – Szpaki, pow./County Bielsk Podlaski; 38 – Teolin, pow./County Sokółka; 39 – Uśnik Kolonia, pow./County Łomża;
 40 – Wapniarnia-Biała, pow./County Czarnków/Trzcianka (*Behle, Kr. Czarnikau*); 41 – Węsiory, pow./County Kartuszy;
 42 – Wiele, pow./County Kościerzyna (*Wielle, Kr. Konitz*)

phase of Migration Period in the eastern Poland, which calls into question the legitimacy of distinguishing the Rostołty type. Simplifying this complex topic, I would like to describe three main features comprising the basis of the Rostołty type definition.

Referring to the size of the burial mounds in the eastern Poland, it needs to be emphasized that their sizes vary a lot. Next to the monumental mounds up to 60 m in diameter and about 4 m high (e.g. Dmochy-Rodzunki, Wysokie Mazowieckie County – J. Jaskanis 1975), we know numerous small or medium mounds between only 10–15 m in diameter and about 1.0–1.5 m high, such as all barrows from Cecele (J. Jaskanis 1996, p. 77–82, pl. LXXXI–LXXXV), or some from Jasionowa Dolina (R. Jakimowicz 1923, p. 211–212, fig. 9; D. Jaskanis 1958, p. 153; J. Jaskanis 2012, p. 68–103). There are also doubts as regards the “obligatory” presence of the stone layer on the earth mound according to the definition of the Rostołty type. In some cases, very well preserved stone layers are present, such as at Jasionowa Dolina, mound 12 (J. Jaskanis 1976, p. 228, fig. 6, 19). However, it was not rare that their remnants were not confirmed unambiguously during archaeological works – this fact was usually explained by poor condition of the barrows (see: D. Jaskanis 1958, p. 154; J. Jaskanis 1973, p. 174). Similarly, irregular groups of stones, sometimes discovered on the surface of the mound, usually at its base, were interpreted as the remnants of the damaged stone layer (see: J. Jaskanis 1973, p. 174; K. Rusin 1999, p. 224). Here one possibility needs to be emphasized: the stones could have been moved to the surface of the mound later, as a consequence of digging in the central part of the mound, usually with a stone core. The practice of breaching the central sections of the burial mounds, both in the ancient period as well as in the modern times, was confirmed in the majority of the graves being of interest to us (J. Jaskanis 1976, p. 228; see: N. Lau 2012, p. 27–30). The central location of the grave seems to be the most regularly present feature of burial mounds from the eastern Poland, yet there are deviations noted. It is proven by the presence of a cremation grave (object 5) from the burial mound 1 at Szpaki, Bielsk Podlaski County, located 2 m to the west from the geometric centre of the burial mound (K. Rusin 2008, p. 296, fig. 3). Similar situation applies probably to Kutowa, Hajnówka County, burial mound 1 (K. Jazdzewski 1939, p. 16, fig. 46). It is essential to note here that the observations concerning the location of the graves are very difficult due to the aforementioned damage of the central parts of the burial mounds.

Apart from the serious doubts as to the criteria of distinguishing the Rostołty type, attention must be drawn to lack of consequence in their internal division into four types A–D (J. Jaskanis 1976, p. 231–242). This classification is based on the analysis of structural features

of the burial mounds as well as the funerary rites, giving them a larger or smaller significance interchangeably. As R. Wołągiewicz noted (1977b, p. 71), in classifying burial mounds, priority must be assigned to the structure of the burial mounds, as we do not register a clear connection between the structure of the barrows and the funerary rite.

A consequence of distinguishing the Rostołty type was too strict treatment of the burial mounds from the eastern Poland as a clearly distinguished, limited by location phenomenon (J. Jaskanis 1976; 1996, p. 90–92). It seems that, according to R. Wołągiewicz (1977b, p. 70–75, fig. 40; 1986, p. 67–68, fig. 6–9), the research on the Rostołty type should be combined with the issue of burial mounds of the Wielbark Culture in Pomerania more than before. In the most recent publication concerning the Rostołty type by J. Jaskanis neither discusses its definition and possible internal classification nor refers to his earlier comments (cf. J. Jaskanis 2012, p. 7–11, 195–216, 245–250).

In a certain distance from the other Wielbark burial mound cemeteries, in the southern Mazowsze, at a minor tributary of Vistula, Wilga, there is a site at Goździk, Garwolin County (A. Niewęglowski 1983).

Until now, no mound objects were recorded, which could be unambiguously connected to the Wielbark Culture, at the lower Vistula, in Warmia⁹ and in Lublin region¹⁰, that is in the A, D and F settlement zones. Also,

⁹ There are two certain and one alleged cases of re-use burial mounds from the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in Warmia (Ermland) by the peoples of the Wielbark Culture: Stolno and Warkalki Surajny, both Ostróda County, and Pomielin, Hława County (see: A. Cieśliński 2010, p. 274, 282, 293, pl. 22:B, 23, 38:A – earlier literature there).

¹⁰ At Łukawica, Lubaczów County, two barrows (A and B) with earth mound, extensive cremation layer at the base of the mound and individual cremation graves were researched in 1956 and 1958 (J. Machnik, J. Potocki 1958; R. Rogozińska, J. Potocki 1960; J. Potocki 1960). Determination of the chronology and cultural affinity of those burial mounds is very difficult (see: K. Godłowski 1985, p. 107). In the earlier literature, these barrows were recognized as belonging to both Przeworsk (H. Janiczak 1990, p. 143) and Wielbark Cultures (A. Talar, Z. Woźniak 1970, p. 402; J. Jaskanis 1976, p. 267, note 54; R. Wołągiewicz 1993, p. 179; L. Vakulenko 2009, p. 202–203); they were also connected with the Carpathian Burial Mounds Culture (A. Kokowski 1988; 2005, p. 442–446; see: V. Mihailescu-Birliba 1999, p. 323–327, fig. 1; B. Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska 2009, p. 199, fig. 12:1.2).

During road construction at Łukawica in 1967, another cremation grave was discovered. It was located less than one kilometre away to south-east from mounds A and B (A. Talar, Z. Woźniak 1970). Due to the continuation of the numbering of burial mounds within the place where a row of neolithic mounds were recorded, it was named “mound L”. In this grave, hand-made clay vessels were found, which may easily be classified as types XaA and XVIIA in the classification of the pottery of Wielbark Culture according to R. Wołągiewicz (1993, p. 172). The attribution of the material to the Wielbark Culture was commonly accepted (see: A. Talar, Z. Woźniak 1970, p. 402; A. Kokowski 1988, p. 177–179; B. Niezabitowska-Wiś-

it is not possible to point out any territory within the scope of the Wielbark Culture, where cemeteries with burial mounds would predominate flat cemeteries. It seems that reliable is the case of a well-researched settlement micro-region at the Leśno Lake, where burial mound cemetery at site 2 was accompanied by simultaneous flat grave-fields (K. Walenta 2009, pl. 1). Selected regional maps of northern Great Poland (A. Gałęzowska 2007, p. 222, fig. 1, 2), Western and Central Pomerania (R. Wołągiewicz 1979, p. 88–91, fig. 2.13; H. Machajewski 1999, maps 2–4) and the right-bank Mazowsze and Podlasie (J. Andrzejowski 2007, p. 244–245, fig. 1) also confirm the presence of burial mound sites at a distance from each other compared with much more numerous flat cemeteries. We are able to indicate only a few settlement sites, where burial mound sites are relatively close to each other. There are two distinct concentrations in Pomerania: the first one comprises of the sites at Kiełpin (*Kelpin, Kr. Karthaus*; R. Schindler 1940, p. 123, 146; R. Wołągiewicz 1993, p. 108) and Babi Dół-Borc (M. Mączyńska, A. Urbaniak 2007a – earlier literature there), both Kartuszy County, the second covers the sites at Odry, Chojnice County¹¹, Cisewie (*Cisewie, Kr. Konitz*)¹² and Wiele (I. Brutzer 1942, p. 58, table 21b), both Kościerzyna County, and from Leśno, located a little further to the West (K. Walenta 2009). In the eastern Poland, there are two burial mound cemeteries in the Sokółka district: one at Jasionowa Dolina¹³ and the second one at Teolin (R. Jakimowicz 1923, p. 212–213; J. Jaskanis 1976, p. 221–222); these are the Wielbark Culture sites located the furthest to northern Podlasie. In their closest vicinity, no other Wielbark Culture sites has been registered so far (see: J. Andrzejowski 2007, p. 244–245, fig. 1), yet it may be due to unsatisfactory

niewska 2009, p. 199), yet in my opinion the context of discovering them raises doubts. Let me recall that the grave was dug up by the construction workers before the archaeologists arrived, therefore all the data concerning the circumstances of the discovery are second-hand. According to the information received, the grave was discovered during digging out a “small mound” – therefore that must have been the reason for classifying it in the group of burial mound graves. Serious doubts are raised by the mention about the size of the alleged mound (A. Talar, Z. Woźniak 1970, p. 399) – 1.5 m in diameter (!), because such small burial mounds of Wielbark Culture are not known, in particular in its Cecele phase (see: A. Cieśliński 2011, p. 179). A more credible explanation seems to be that the grave from “burial mound L” is a flat grave placed on the surface of a natural elevation of land.

¹¹ J. Kostrzewski 1928; J. Kmiecinski *et alii* 1968; T. Grabarczyk 1997, p. 211–212; 2007; M. Mączyńska 2002 – complete earlier literature there.

¹² E. Blume 1912, p. 140; 1915, p. 144; M. Ebert 1923, p. 146; I. Brutzer 1942, p. 58; H. J. Eggers 1951, p. 150.

¹³ R. Jakimowicz 1923, p. 211–212, fig. 9; D. Jaskanis 1958; J. Jaskanis 1976, p. 221, 229–230, 241–242, fig. 3, 6, 7, 18, 19, 20:a,b,d; 2012, p. 68–103).

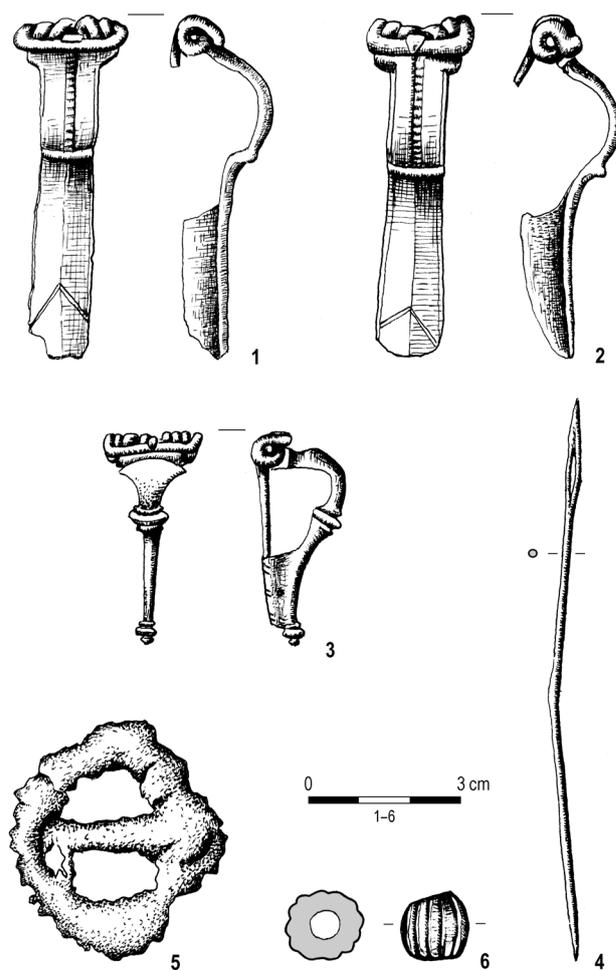


Fig. 2A. Inventory of grave in barrow 28 from the cemetery at Gronowo, Drawsko Pom. County (after H. Machajewski 2013)
Ryc. 2A. Inwentarz grobu z kurhanu 28 z cmentarzyska w Gronowie, pow. drawski (wg H. Machajewskiego 2013)

status of the research in this area. Another distinct concentration of burial mound cemeteries is located in the basin of upper Narew river and it consists of three cemeteries from Hajnówka district: Kutowa (K. Jażdżewski 1939, p. 16–22, fig. 44–62; J. Jaskanis 1976, p. 220; 2012, p. 126–194), Kotłówka (K. Jażdżewski 1939, p. 16–18; J. Jaskanis 1976, p. 220; 2012, p. 106–123) and Kuraszewo (J. Jaskanis 1963). Further to the South, in the basin of Bug river, there is a cemetery with burial mounds at Cecele, probably the best examined Wielbark Culture site in eastern Poland. Only 900 m away in straight line from that cemetery, two other barrows from the same period were found: at Skiwy Małe, Siemiatycze County (J. Jaskanis 1968; 1973; 1974).

The functioning period of the burial mound cemeteries largely corresponds with the chronology of the Wielbark Culture, and the main difference comprises in their later appearance compared with the earliest sites of Wielbark nature in Pomerania. The oldest graves under mounds come from Gronowo: mound No. 27 is dated

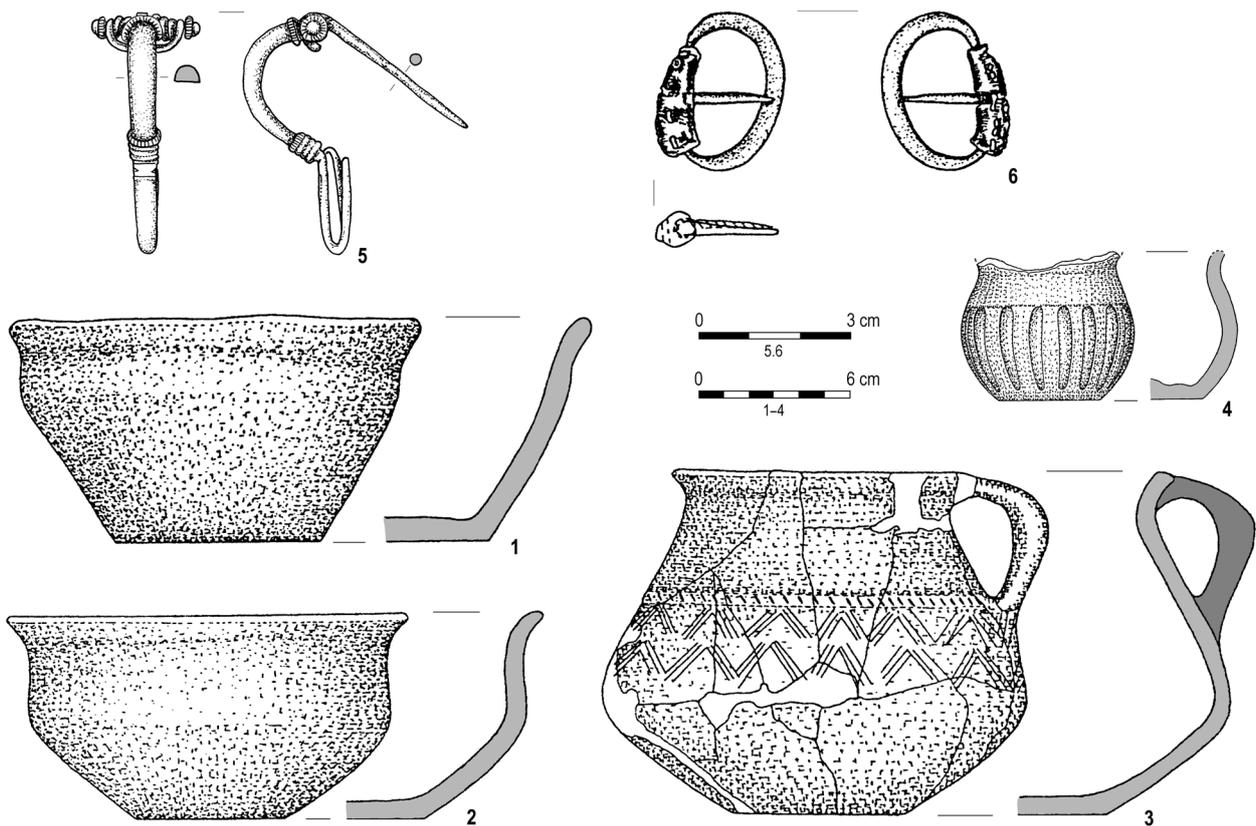


Fig. 2B. Inventory of grave in barrow 62 from the cemetery at Nowy Łowicz, Drawsko Pomorskie County (after K. Hahuła 1998)
 Ryc. 2B. Inwentarz grobu z kurhanu 62 z cmentarzyska w Nowym Łowiczu, pow. drawski (wg K. Hahuły 1998)

by brooch A.71 (see: J. Schuster 2010, p. 410), while barrow No. 28 by a pair of brooches A.68 and a specimen of A.53 type (R. Wołagiewicz 1979, p. 81, fig. 2.9) to the later stage of phase B₁ or the beginning of phase B₂ (Fig. 2A). Similarly, the chronological position of the grave from mound No. 17 from Węsiory, County Kartuszy, where three eye brooches of main series were found, probably of type A.53 (J. Kmiecinski *et alii* 1966, table Ia)¹⁴. In Pomerania, barrows were built until this area was abandoned by the Wielbark Culture people, until the later stage of phase C₁, proven by the inventories of graves from the mounds No. 29 and 62 from Nowy Łowicz, Drawsko Pomorskie County (*Neu Lobitz, Kr. Dramburg*) containing brooches with returned foot types A.161–162 and A.167 (K. Hahuła 1998; A. Cieśliński, A. Kasprzak 2006) (Fig. 2B). In the Wielbark Culture expansion zone in Mazowsze and Podlasie, the earliest burial mounds may clearly be connected with the later stage of phase C₁, e.g. Rostoły, Białystok County, burial

mound IV, grave 2 (J. Jaskanis 1976, p. 236–237, fig. 11:c, 13:a–d, 14, 20:c; 2012, p. 23–25, fig. 19, 20)¹⁵. Individual graves, containing less precise chronological indicators, may come from phase B₂/C₁–C_{1a}, e.g. burial mound No. 1 from Kutowa dated by a comb type Thomas AI (K. Jażdżewski 1939, p. 16, fig. 51) (Fig. 2C) and burial mound No. 3 from Pielgrzymowo, Nidzica County, with a piece of comb type BI (D. Bohnsack 1939, p. 293–294, fig. 1; cf. N. Lau 2012, p. 72–73)¹⁶. The custom of burying the dead under burial mounds was continued until the decline of Wielbark Culture settlements, that is phase C₃–D, which is confirmed e.g. by the belt fittings from the barrows from Jasionowa Dolina, burial mound No. 10 (D. Jaskanis 1958; J. Jaskanis 2012, p. 74–76, fig. 44) (Fig.

¹⁴ The eye brooch recognized by T. Grabarczyk (1997, p. 73, pl. LXI:1) as type A.53 found at Odry, barrow 28, grave 3, that was to date the beginnings of this cemetery to phase B₁, or its turnover with subphase B_{2a}, is in fact type A.60 (no head arms, band coil, remnants of at least one eye at the end of the foot). The specimens of this type are to be dated at the earliest to later section of stage B_{2a}, or rather at stage B_{2b} (see: A. Cieśliński 2010, p. 55).

¹⁵ The grave pit disturbed the pit of inhumation (?) grave No. 1, destroyed also by a robbery trench (J. Jaskanis 2012, p. 23, pl. 18:1). A brooch type Babięta recovered from its fill is to be dated as early as phase B₂/C₁–C_{1a} (cf. I. Sztet 2010, p. 220–221, fig. 15, 16). However, the brooch comes from a secondary context, therefore it cannot be included into the grave equipment without reservations. In a first publication the brooch was mistakenly described as a stray find from a mound of barrow 4, what was repeated in later literature (cf. J. Andrzejowski, A. Cieśliński 2007, p. 304, note 64, fig. 24:b; I. Sztet 2010, p. 218, fig. 15:5).

¹⁶ Classification of combs according to S. Thomas (1960). As regards chronology of combs types AI and BI in the Wielbark Culture, see: A. Cieśliński 2010, p. 93.

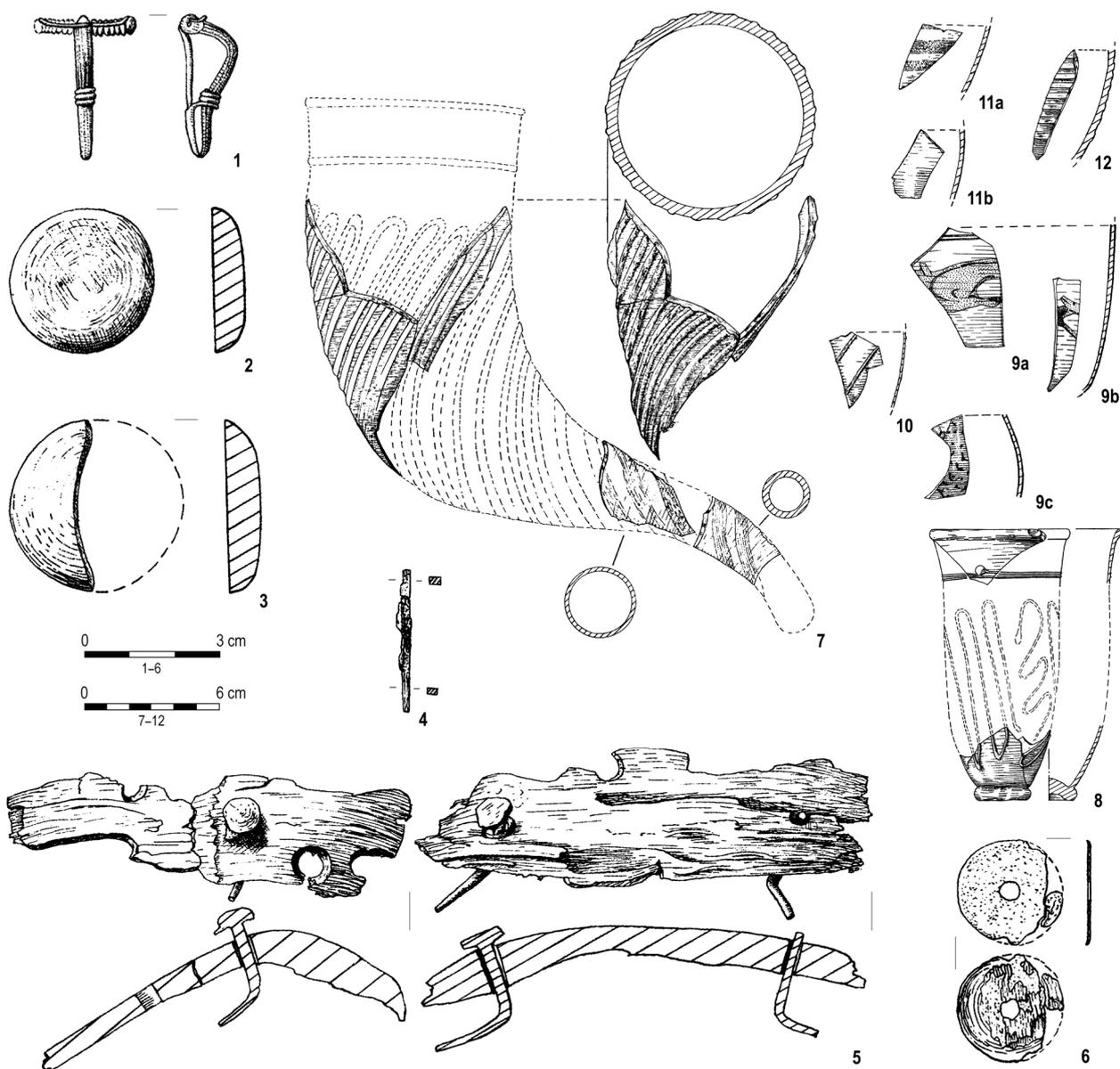


Fig. 2C. Inventory of grave 2 in barrow 4 from the cemetery at Rostółty, Białystok County (after J. Jaskanis 2012)
 Ryc. 2C. Inwentarz grobu 2 z kurhanu 4 z cmentarzyska w Rostółtach, pow. białostocki (wg J. Jaskanisa 2012)

2D) and Pielgrzymowo, burial mound No. 2 (W. Hülle 1942; cf. N. Lau 2012, p. 69–71).

Flat graves in the burial mound cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture

Burial mound cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture constitute a very varied group of archaeological sites. They differ among themselves as regards the following, but not limited to: location within the landscape, number of burial mounds, number of graves, presence or lack of additional stone constructions, such as circles, rings or pavements. Comparative analysis of such sites are very difficult due to their uneven recognition. Moreover, none of the cemeteries that are of interest to us were analysed

completely. Out of the group of 43 cemeteries with burial mounds, only 6 of them were excavated and published in a way that enables more detailed research. Therefore, we are going to focus on the better known sites from Cecele, Gronowo, Leśno, site 2, Nowy Łowicz, Odry and Węsiory, but the other, less thoroughly examined and published barrow cemeteries will be analysed as regards the presence of graves in their flat sections. The key topic during the analysis of the instant matter is the determination of a pretty evident relationship between the recognition status of the particular sites and the number of the graves, both in the burial mounds as well as in the space between them. Therefore it seems necessary to systematize our knowledge as regards the size of the particular sites and to determine the estimated ratio between the area of burial

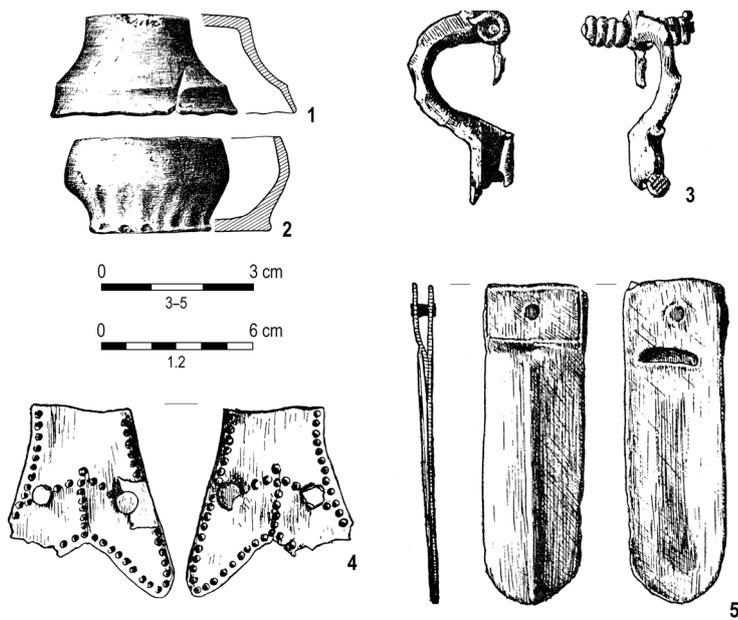


Fig. 2D. Inventory of grave in barrow 10 from the cemetery at Jasionowa Dolina, Sokółka County (after D. Jaskanis 1958)
Ryc. 2D. Inwentarz grobu z kurhanu 10 z cmentarzyska w Jasionowej Dolinie, pow. sokólski (wg D. Jaskanis 1958)

mound and flat sections, considering the stone circles and rings present at some sites in Pomerania. The listing of the data on the area excavated and comparing them with the area of the cemeteries determined by estimation will make it possible to perform an archaeological analysis of particular sites. Estimation of the space occupied by particular cemeteries is usually difficult. Only in individual cases one is able to determine their natural edges through landscape analysis. Natural edges of cemeteries include distinctive terrain slopes, such as around the cemetery at Lešno (K. Walenta 2009, pl. XXII), or in the southern and eastern section of the cemetery at Nowy Łowicz (A. Cieśliński, A. Kasprzak 2010, fig. 1)¹⁷. Other examples of natural barriers constitute rivers, and thus, the cemetery at Odry is limited from the north by the river Wda (J. Kmiecinski 1968, fig. 12), while the eastern edge of the cemetery at Dmochy-Rodzonki is limited by the river Brok (J. Jaskanis 1975, fig. 2). In the case of the majority of the sites, the limits are not determined by the shape of the terrain, and they were also not determined in the course of archaeological works. The only way to determine the size of the particular cemeteries at least by estimation seems to be to measure their area marking the biggest scope of the burial mounds, and in the case of some sites in Pomerania – marking the biggest scope of burial mounds and stone circles¹⁸. The excavations at

the better investigated cemeteries at Cecele (J. Jaskanis 1996, fig. 3) and at Nowy Łowicz (see: K. Hahula 1998, fig. 1) seem to show that the concentrations of flat graves are present between the burial mounds, whereas there are hardly any flat graves beyond the biggest scope of burial mounds or none at all. Perhaps this rule does not come into play at small cemeteries which produce a few barrows only, as in the case of Babi Dół-Borczy burial ground. Burial mounds and stone circles at this cemetery are located closely one to another, what limits a space accessible for flat graves to set between them. As a result several dozen graves had been placed beyond the reach of overground constructions. It is difficult to state to which extent this provisional observation also refers to other worse examined barrow cemeteries analysed in this paper.

Northern Poland

I would like to start the review of burial mound cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture from the cemetery at Odry¹⁹ (J. Kostrzewski 1928; J. Kmiecinski 1968; T. Grabarczyk 1997, p. 211–212; 2007; M. Mączyńska 2002 – earlier literature there), that stands out among other sites in terms of its size, estimated to be about 5 ha, and the largest area

¹⁷ We also know cemeteries from the Wielbark Culture area where the graves were placed on terrain slopes, e.g. at Wekllice (M. Natuniewicz-Sekuła, J. Okulicz-Kozaryn 2011, p. 11) and at Węsiory, in particular in the vicinity of circle IV (J. Kmiecinski *et alii* 1966, p. 47–48, map 1). However, such location of the graves is very rare and constitutes an exception, not a rule.

¹⁸ The measurements of the area presented in the Tables A and B based on the published general plans of cemeteries using GIS software. These

calculations, due to a relatively very large scale of individual plans, may be encumbered with errors, yet they do not have a significant impact on the presented comparative analyses.

¹⁹ The Odry site played an important part in the history of research on the topic that is of our interest. It was at Odry that in 1926 the first professional excavation at a burial mound cemetery of the Wielbark Culture was performed on a larger scale, even though the works were originally limited only to the burial mounds and circles (J. Kostrzewski 1928).

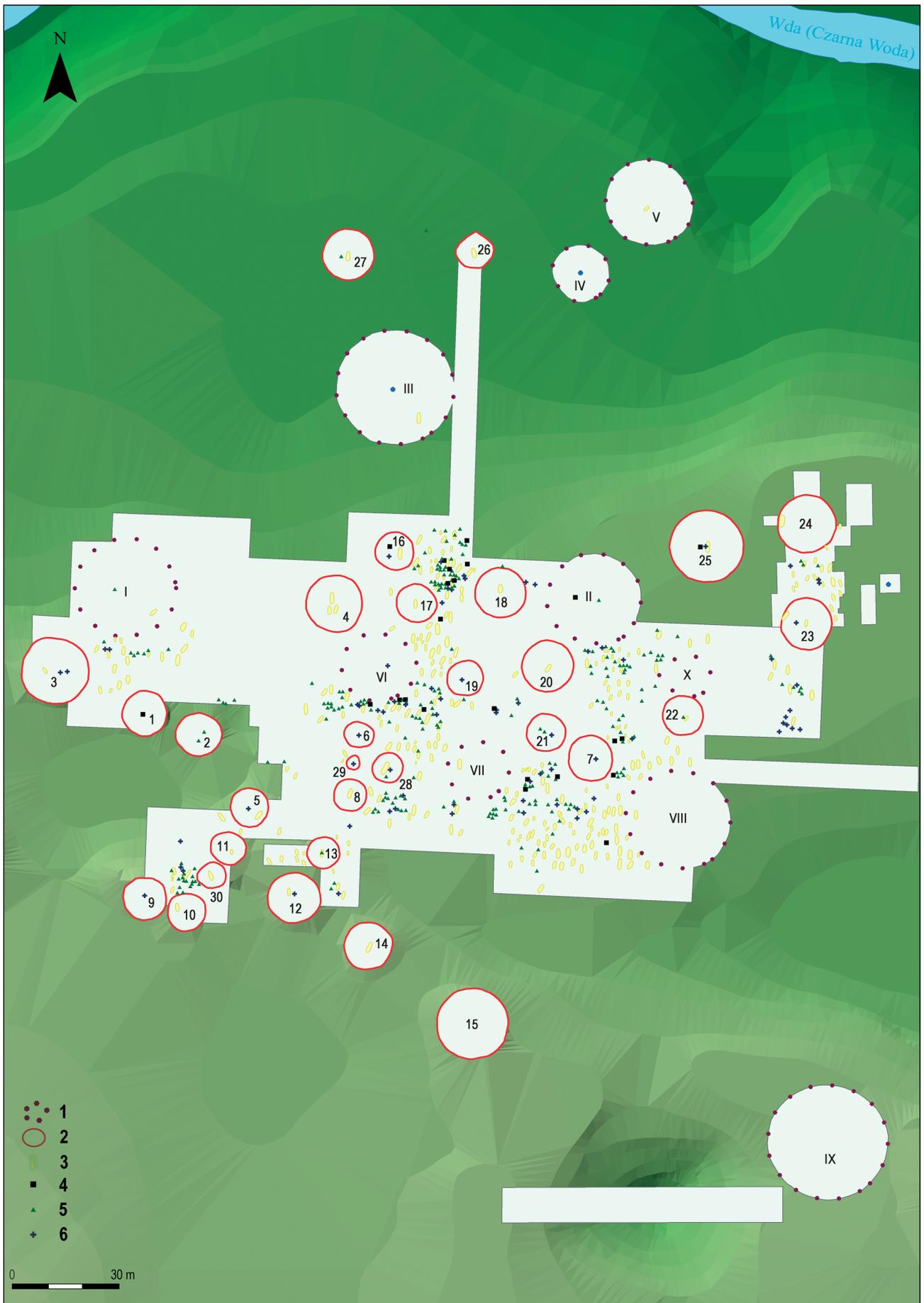


Fig. 3. Plan of the investigated area of the cemetery at O d r y, Chojnice County: 1 – stone circles, 2 – barrows, 3 – inhumation graves, 4 – cremation pit graves with remains of the pyre, 5 – cremation pit graves without remains of the pyre, 6 – urn graves.

Graphic arrangement A. Cieśliński (after T. Grabarczyk 1997)

Ryc. 3. Plan cmentarzyska w O d r a c h, pow. chojnicki: 1 – kręgi kamienne, 2 – kurhany, 3 – groby szkieletowe, 4 – groby jamowe z resztkami stosu, 5 – groby jamowe bez szczątków stosu, 6 – groby popielnicowe. Rys. A. Cieśliński (na podstawie T. Grabarczyka 1997)

Cemetery	Estimated area of site	Area of barrows		Area of stone circles and/or rings		Estimated area of flat section	
	m ²	m ²	%	m ²	%	m ²	%
Cecele	5000	950	19	–	–	4050	81
Gronowo	30500	6800	22	200	>1	23500	77
Leśno 2	20000	2750	14	770	4	16480	82
Nowy Łowicz	15600	8470	54	–	–	7130	46
Odry	50000	3950	8	4900	10	41150	82
Węsiory	9500	1030	11	970	10	7500	79

Table 1. Estimated surface area of selected barrow cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture considering the ratio between the area of burial mounds, stone constructions and flat section

Tabela 1. Szacowana wielkość wybranych cmentarzysk kurhanowych kultury wielbarskiej z uwzględnieniem procentowego udziału przestrzeni zajętej przez kurhany, kręgi/wieńce kamienne oraz część płaską

Cemetery	Investigated area		Barrows		Stone circles and/or rings		Flat section	
	m ²	%	m ²	%	m ²	%	m ²	%
Cecele	4720	94	950	100	-	-	3770	93
Gronowo	11500	38	5030	74	200	100	6270	27
Leśno 2	7170	36	1700	62	770	100	4700	27
Nowy Łowicz	14800	95	7840	93	-	-	6960	98
Odry	23470	47	3950	100	4900	100	14620	36
Węsiory	6770	71	1030	100	970	100	4770	64

Table 2. Extend of the recognition of selected barrow cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture considering the division of the area of burial mounds, stone constructions and flat section

Tabela 2. Stopień rozpoznania archeologicznego powierzchni wybranych cmentarzysk kurhanowych kultury wielbarskiej z uwzględnieniem podziału na kurhany, kręgi/wieńce kamienne oraz część płaską

that was excavated²⁰ (Fig. 3; Table 1 & 2; Diagram 1 & 2). The area occupied by the burial mounds (8% of the site area) and stone circles (10%) is relatively small in comparison with a vast flat section, occupying over 4 ha (82%).

²⁰ Information about the site area being about 16 ha is a mistake (M. Mączyńska 2002, p. 576). The area of this site is occupied by an archaeological and nature park called *Kręgi kamienne* ("Stone Circles") that was established in 1958, encompassing the nearest vicinity of the cemetery (see: J. Kmiecinski *et alii* 1968, p. 9). The area of about 1.8 ha excavated at Odry quoted by K. Walenta (2007, p. 130) is understated – (see Table 1; Diagram 1).

As a result of the excavations that have been conducted systematically since 1962, almost half of the cemetery area was examined. The works encompassed 29 burial mounds and 10 stone circles, that is all overground constructions on this site (Table 3)²¹. Despite the large scale

²¹ The number of burial mounds at Odry is not clear in the light of the available publications. Contradictory information is presented in the key publication for this site by T. Grabarczyk (1997). The text mentions 29 barrows, while the plans and captions contain 30 barrows (see: T. Grabarczyk 1997, p. 17, fig. 6). M. Mączyńska (2002, p. 576) reports the number of barrows to be 29. 30 barrows are listed

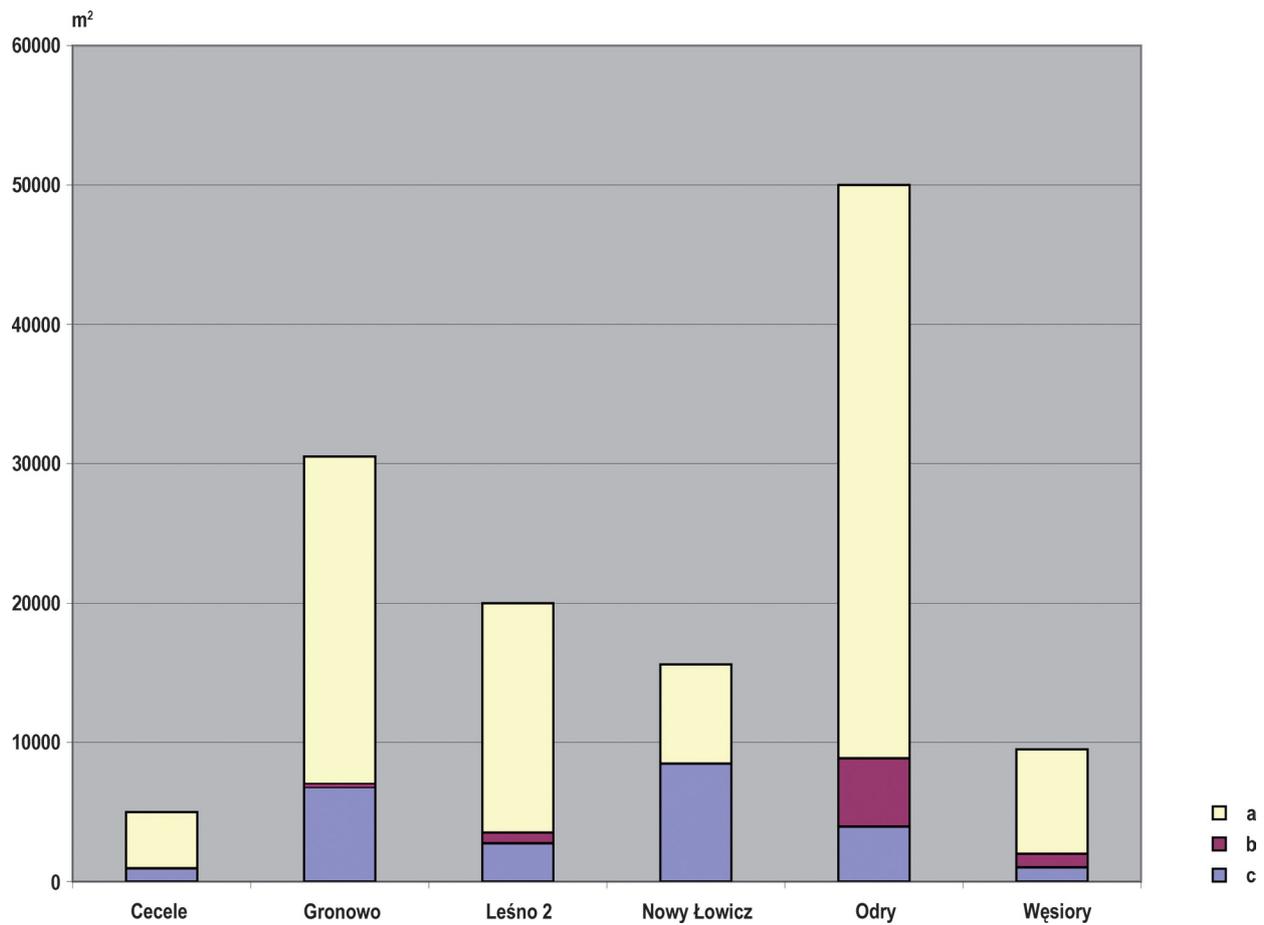
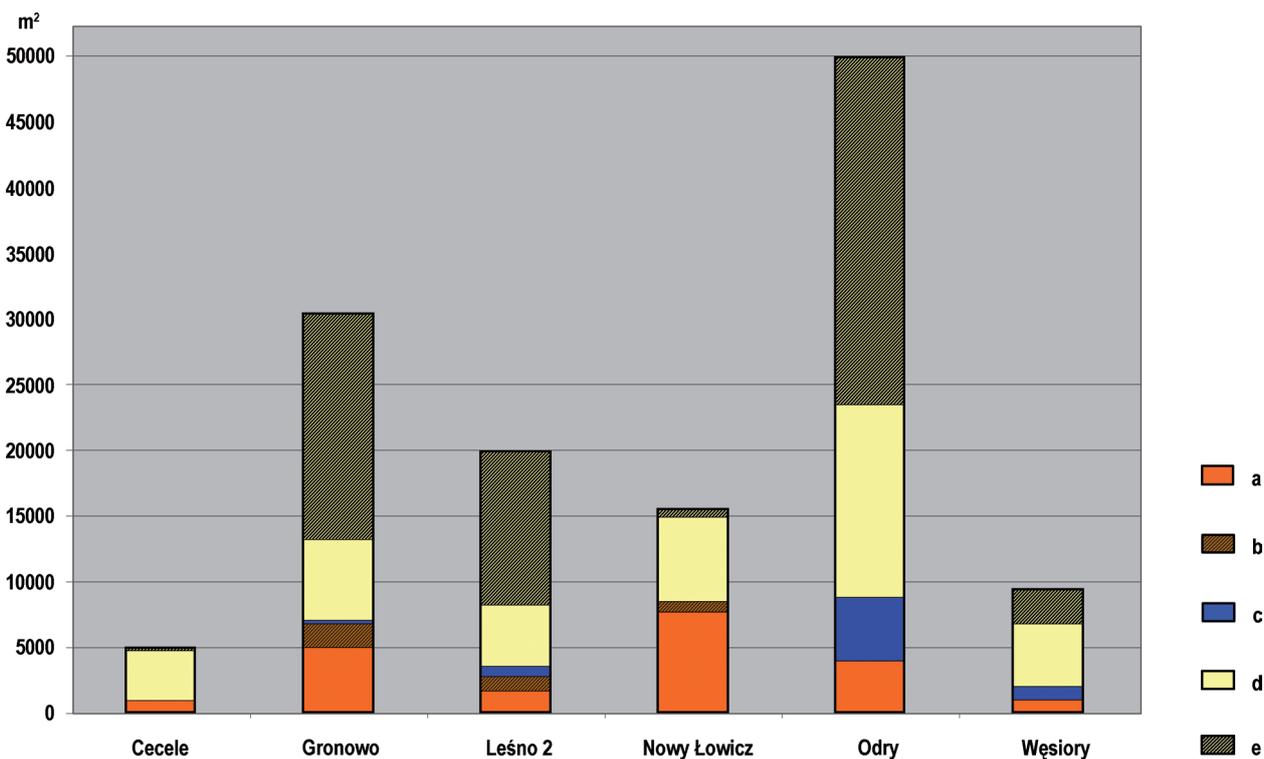


Diagram 1. Estimated surface area of selected barrow cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture considering the ratio between the area of burial mounds (a), stone constructions (b) and flat section (c)

Diagram 1. Szacowana wielkość wybranych cmentarzysk kurhanowych kultury wielbarskiej z uwzględnieniem procentowego udziału przestrzeni zajętej przez kurhany (a), kręgi/wieńce kamienne (b) oraz część płaską (c)



research, only one third of its total area (36%) was examined, registering a staggering number of 592 graves²². The total number of graves located within the flat section at Odry is difficult to estimate at this time. A larger number of them may be expected both in the southern section as well as in the northern section of the site, located at the river. This hypothesis is proven by a cremation grave No. 361 marked with a boulder located between the burial mounds No. 26 and 27; there were no further excavations around that grave (E. Grzelakowska 1991, p. 83, fig. 18; cf. T. Grabarczyk 1997, fig. 6, map 1).

Another, relatively well-examined site containing 20 burial mounds and 4 stone circles, is a cemetery at Węsiory (J. Kmiecinski *et alii* 1966; T. Grabarczyk 2001). In comparison to Odry, it is significantly smaller, with only 1 ha of area (Fig. 4; Table 1; Diagram 1). The ratio of the area occupied by the burial mounds (11%) and stone circles (10%) to the estimated area of the flat sec-

tion (79%) is surprisingly similar. In the years 1955–1963 and 1997 as well as 1999, there were archaeological works conducted at Węsiory, as a result of which all burial mounds and circles were examined, while the flat section was recognized in about two-thirds of the area, bringing up the total number of graves to 128²³ (Table 2 & 3; Diagram 2 & 3).

The cemetery at Grzybica is a little different from the ones discussed above, having only few burial mounds, 5 stone circles and numerous other grave constructions (rings, pavements, stelae; K. Hahuła, R. Wołagiewicz 2001). The excavation conducted in 1974–1986 registered only one certain (burial mound A) and one suspected barrow (grave No. 18) as well as one natural hill cobbled with stones used for funerary purposes (so-called burial mound B). At Grzybica, the research concerned the area a little over 3 ha, revealing 101 inhumation and cremation graves in total. It is certain that not all area of the cemetery was excavated. We see that there is particular research potential in the northern section of the site, at the lower terrace of the river Radew, where stone circle No. V was located.

by K. Walenta (2007, p. 130), the same information was repeated in my publication (A. Cieśliński 2011, p. 175). As regards the cemetery at Odry that has been analysed for a few decades, not all obtained sources were published, which makes it seriously difficult to make attempts at interpreting the said site, which is of key significance for the research on the Wielbark Culture.

²² I also reported the incorrect number of flat graves in my own paper (A. Cieśliński 2011, p. 175).

²³ The excavation at Węsiory were certainly a breakthrough in the methodology of analysing sites with burial mounds and stone circles – it was there, on that site, that the first research of the flat section was made on a larger scale in the 1950s.

Cemetery	Number of barrows	Excavated barrows		Barrow section	Flat section	Ratio barrow/flat section
		Number	%			
Babi Dół-Borc	5	5	100	7 + 1 symbolic? + 2 secondary graves	93	1:13 (only primary graves)
Cecce	8	8	100	6? primary + 3 secondary graves	576	1:96? (only primary graves)
Leśno 2	15	11	73	13	61 + 16 inside of stone rings	1:5,9
Nowy Łowicz	66	62	95	113	186	1:1,6
Odry	29	29	100	43	592	1:13,8
Węsiory	20	20	100	20	128	1:6,4

Table 3. Number of graves in the barrow and flat section on selected barrow cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture
Tabela 3. Liczba grobów kurhanowych i płaskich zarejestrowanych na wybranych cmentarzyskach kurhanowych kultury wielbarskiej

Diagram 2. Extend of the recognition of selected barrow cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture considering the division of the area of burial mounds (a – investigated area, b – not investigated area), stone constructions (c – investigated area) and flat section (d – investigated area, e – not investigated area)

Diagram 2. Stopień rozpoznania archeologicznego powierzchni wybranych cmentarzysk kurhanowych kultury wielbarskiej z uwzględnieniem podziału na kurhany (a – obszar przebadany, b – obszar nieprzebadany), kręgi/wieńce kamienne (c – obszar przebadany) oraz część płaską (d – obszar przebadany, e – obszar nieprzebadany)

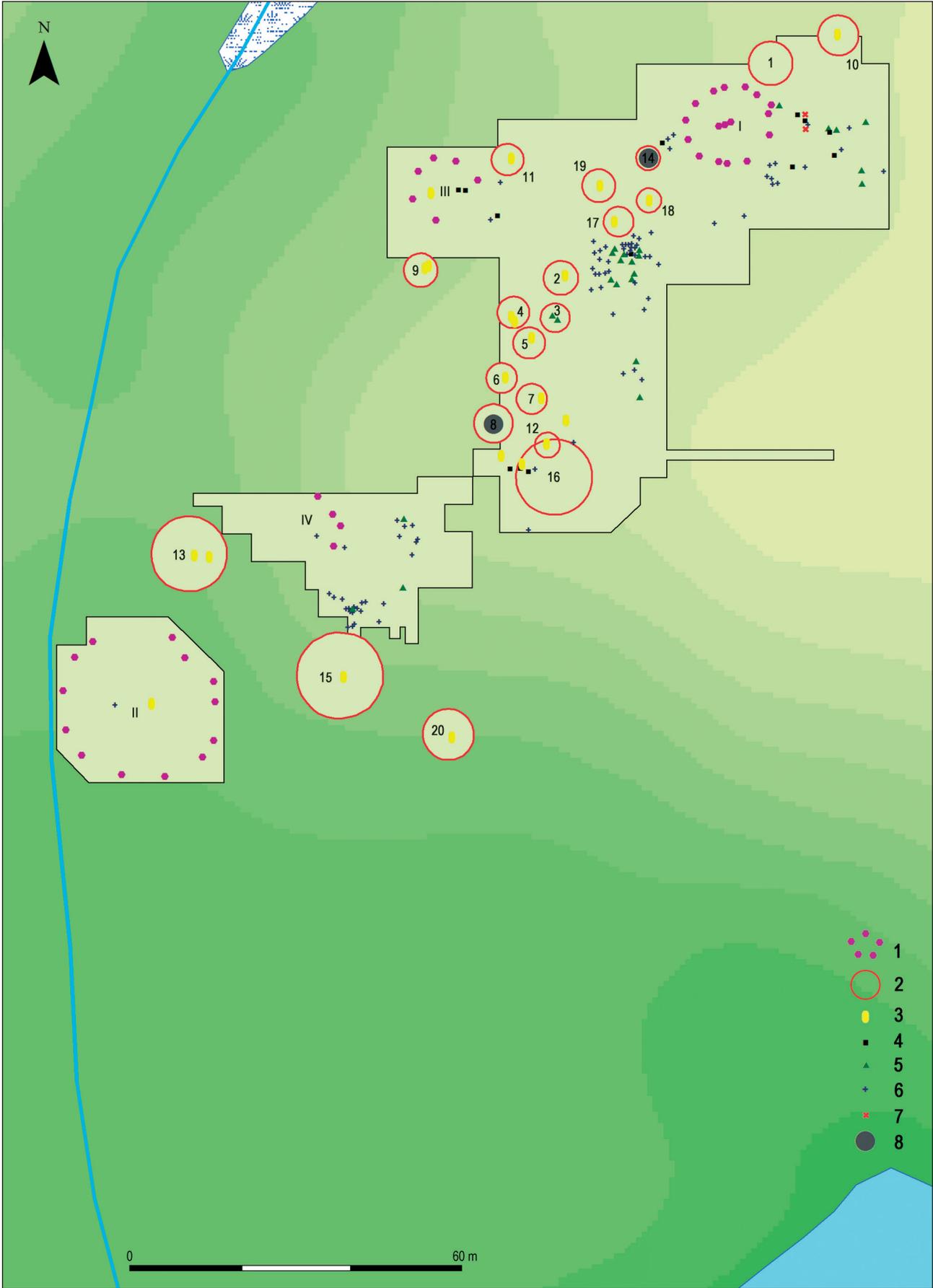


Fig. 4. Węsiory, Kartuzy County. Plan of the investigated area of the cemetery: 1 – stone circles, 2 – barrows, 3 – inhumation graves, 4 – cremation pit graves with remains of the pyre, 5 – cremation pit graves without remains of the pyre, 6 – urn graves without remains of the pyre, 7 – urn graves with remains of the pyre, 8 – layer with remains of the pyre. Graphic arrangement A. Cieśliński & J. Nowotny (after J. Kmiecinski *et alii* 1966)

Ryc. 4. Plan cmentarzyska w Węsiorych, pow. kartuski: 1 – kręgi kamienne, 2 – kurhany, 3 – groby szkieletowe, 4 – groby jamowe z resztkami stosu, 5 – groby jamowe bez szczątków stosu, 6 – groby popielnicowe bez szczątków stosu, 7 – groby popielnicowe z resztkami stosu, 8 – warstwa rozsypanych szczątków stosu. Rys. A. Cieśliński i J. Nowotny (na podstawie J. Kmiecinskiego *et alii* 1966)

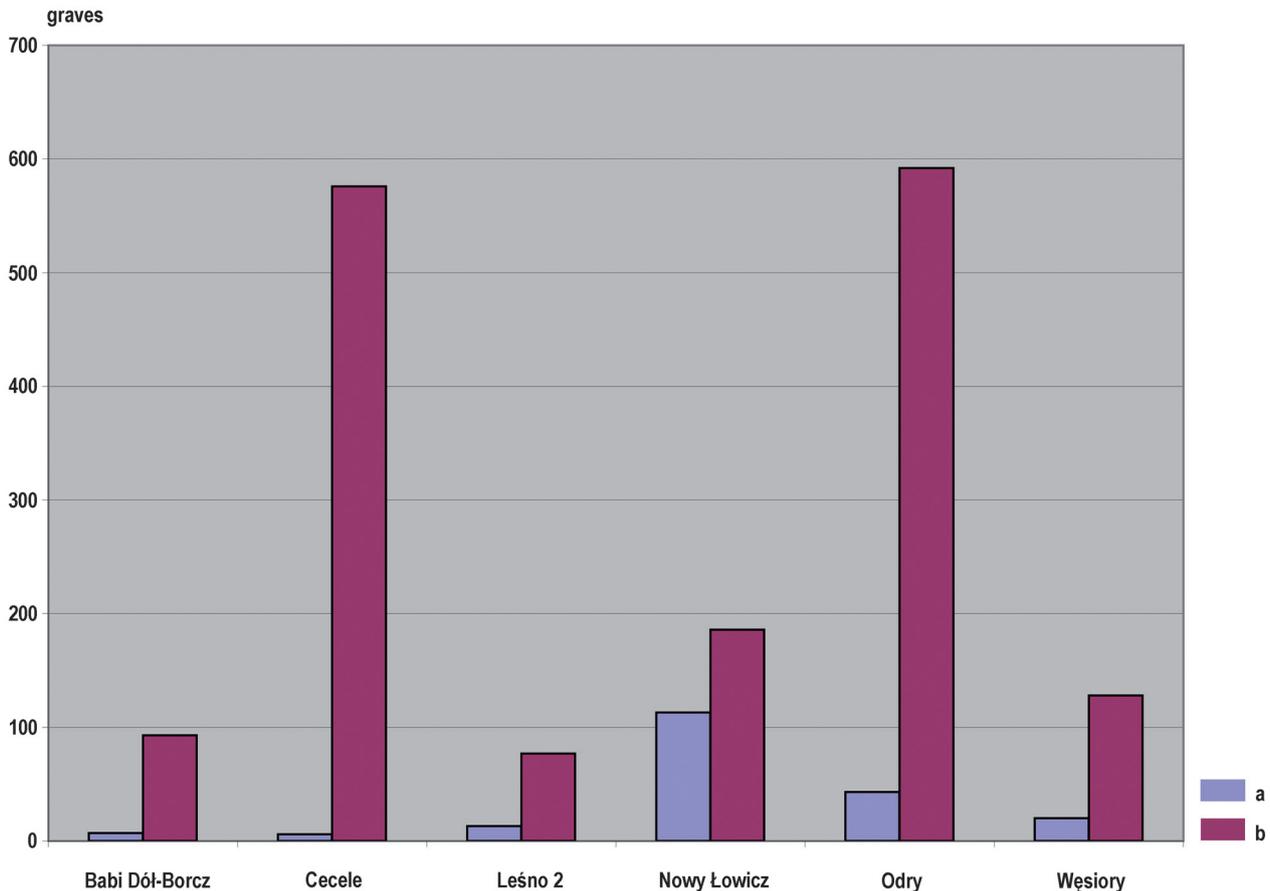


Diagram 3. Number of graves in the barrow and flat section on selected barrow cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture (only primary graves): a – barrows section; b – flat section

Diagram 3. Liczba grobów kurhanowych i płaskich zarejestrowanych na wybranych cmentarzyskach kurhanowych kultury wielbarskiej (bez grobów wkopanych wtórnie): a – część kurhanowa; b – część płaska

A fairly well-recognized site is a relatively small cemetery (ca. 0.4 ha) with 5 burial mounds and 3 stone circles at Babi Dół-Borcz (M. Mączyńska, A. Urbaniak 2007a – earlier literature there). As a result of the excavation that have been conducted systematically since 1978 (Table 3; Diagram 3), all the five burial mounds, with 10 graves (including two secondary graves and one possibly symbolic grave), all the stone circles, a large flat section of the cemetery as well as two swamps of ritual nature were studied (M. Mączyńska 2000; 2001; M. Mączyńska, A. Urbaniak 2009, p. 158). The research at this site is still continued, therefore there is no monograph concerning the said site available. However, a series of short reports were published, confirming the presence of inhumation and cre-

mation graves in the flat section (M. Mączyńska, A. Urbaniak 2009, p. 158). Until 2013 93 graves of the Wielbark Culture²⁴ were registered around barrows, as well as next several dozen of burials of so-called Wielka Wieś Phase from the Hallstatt Period (see: A. Wiśniewska 2001; 2005).

The cemetery at Leśno 2, where 17 stone rings were registered next to 15 burial mounds²⁵ (K. Walenta 2009) is

²⁴ I would like to kindly thank Professor Magdalena Mączyńska (Łódź) for detailed information about this cemetery.

²⁵ At Leśno, a burial mound which combines the features of a barrow and a stone circle was registered (Burial mound 1; K. Walenta 2009, p. 21–22, pl. XXVII–XXIX, CIV, CV). The scope of the earthwork was limited by a partially damaged circle made of spaced bigger stones stabilized and connected using small stones, which corresponds

similar to cemeteries with burial mounds and stone constructions, in particular to Grzybnica. The grave-field is located on a distinctive plateau of about 2 ha, surrounded by explicit terrain slopes (Fig. 5; Table 1; Diagram 1).

to type A.3 of stone circles of the Wielbark Culture according to R. Wołągiewicz (1977b, p. 45, fig. 24).

Burial mounds occupy about 14% of the plateau area, while stone rings 4%. Estimated ratio of the flat section is therefore similar to the ones at Odry and at Węsiory (82%). The research, conducted in intervals from 1976 to 2001, encompassed a little over one third of the site. The research encompassed 62% of the burial mound section (11 barrows), all stone rings and 27% of the flat section

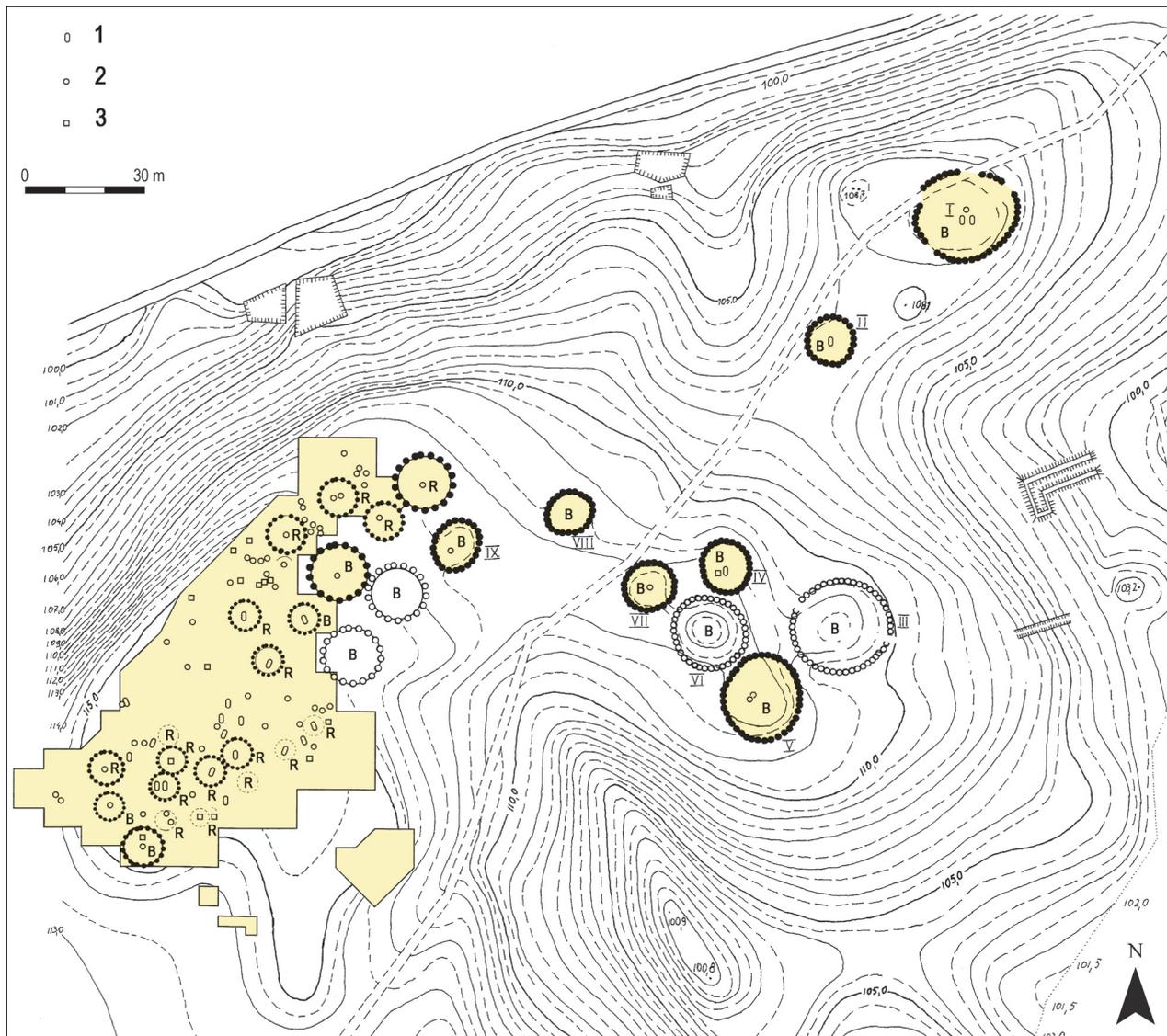
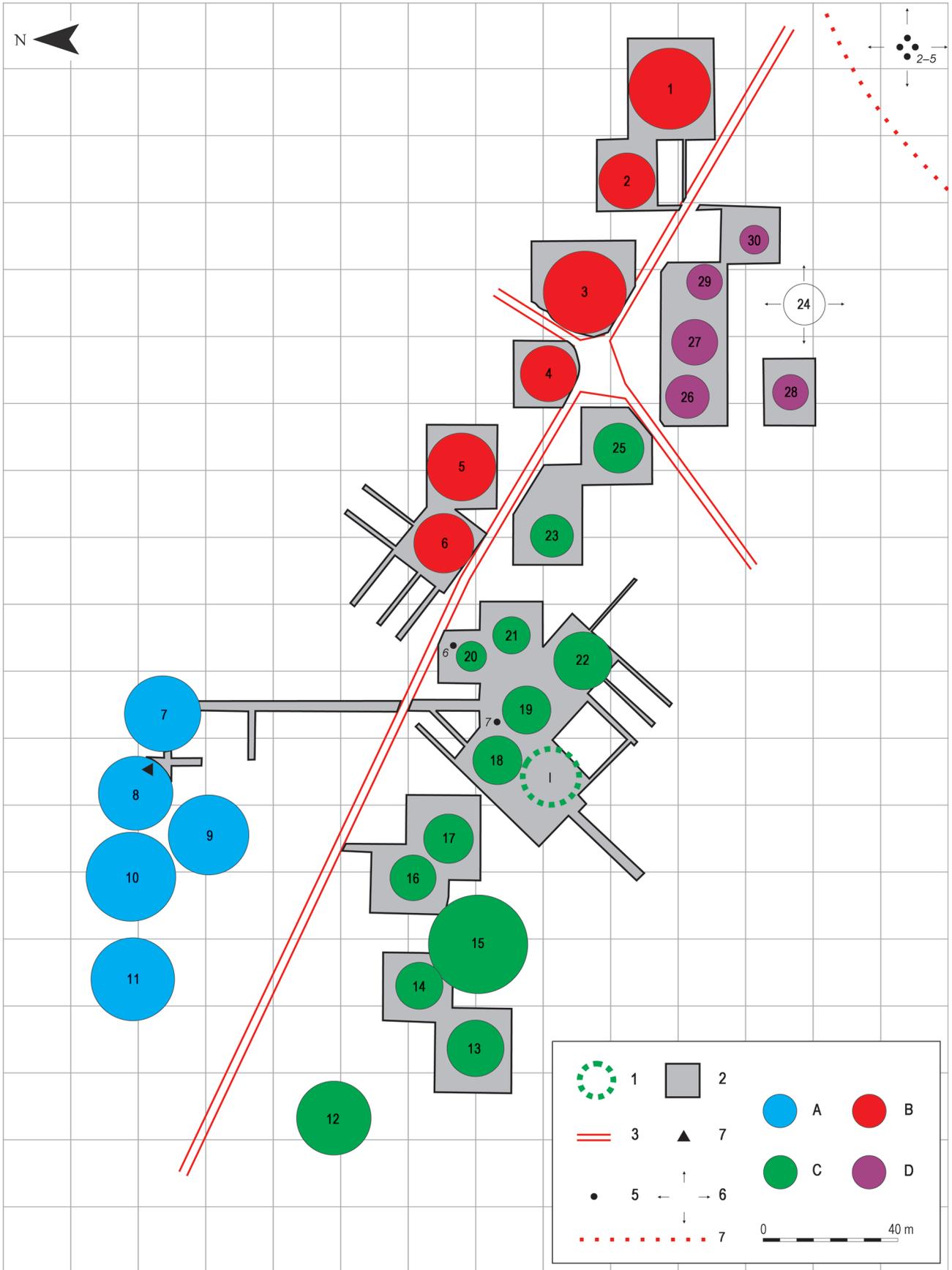


Fig. 5. Plan of the cemetery at Leśno, Chojnice County, site 2 (yellow – investigated area): 1 – inhumation graves, 2 – cremation pit graves, 3 – cremation urn graves, B – barrows, R – stone rings. Graphic arrangement A. Cieśliński (after K. Walenta 2009)

Ryc. 5. Plan cmentarzyska w Leśnie, pow. chojnicki, stan. 2 (teren przebadany zaznaczono na żółto): 1 – groby szkieletowe, 2 – groby ciepłopalne jamowe, 3 – groby popielnicowe, B – kurhany, R – wieńce kamienne. Rys. A. Cieśliński (na podstawie K. Walenty 2009)

Fig. 6. Plan of the cemetery at Gronowo, Drawsko Pomorskie County: 1 – stone ring, 2 – investigated area, 3 – forest path, 4 – stove, 5 – flat graves, 6 – without being in the exact location, 7 – the alleged border between flat and barrow parts of the cemetery, A–D – the groups of barrows after H. G. Plato (after H. Machajewski 2013)

Ryc. 6. Plan cmentarzyska w Gronowie, pow. drawski: 1 – wieńiec kamienny, 2 – zbadany obszar, 3 – droga leśna, 4 – piec, 5 – groby płaskie, 6 – bez dokładnej lokalizacji, 7 – rzekoma granica między częścią płaską i kurhanową cmentarzyska, A–D – grupy kurhanów w ujęciu H. G. Plato (wg H. Machajewskiego 2013)



of the cemetery. The works revealed 61 graves, which is surely only a fraction of all graves located in this section of the cemetery (Table 2 & 3; Diagram 2 & 3).

Certain deviations from the aforementioned two sites with overground stone constructions are present in the case of two large cemeteries with burial mounds with earthworks at Gronowo and at Nowy Łowicz. The cemetery at Gronowo with its 30 burial mounds (Fig. 6), along with the cemetery at Odry, belongs to the biggest as regards the area among the group of analysed cemeteries (R. Wołągiewicz 1979 – earlier literature there). Its size may be estimated to be at least 3 ha, 22% of which is occupied by burial mounds (Table 1; Diagram 1). Also, one atypical circular stone construction similar to a stone ring, but without a grave inside; its area (<1%) does not actually change the ratio between the burial mound section and the estimated flat section measured along the line of the biggest scope of the burial mounds (77%).

The history of the research at Gronowo is relatively complicated and requires more extensive discussion. In the years 1881–1890, a dozen or so burial mounds were partially dug up by amateurs, including H. G. Plato, a preacher from *Falkenburg, Kr. Dramburg* (nowadays *Złocieniec*)²⁶. In 1926, during the construction of the road *Groß Grünow–Falkenburg* (nowadays Gronowo–Złotów) an inhumation grave was found, equipped with Roman bronze and *terra sigillata* vessels (O. Kunkel 1927, p. 123), which was later connected with the burial mound cemetery without any reservations (R. Wołągiewicz 1976, p. 130, 136–137). In the context of the repeated analysis of the information published in the literature and archives stored in the National Museum in Szczecin²⁷ it seems more likely that the grave was in fact placed in a certain distance from the burial mounds²⁸.

²⁶ H. G. P l a t o 1882; 1889; 1894; “Baltische Studien” 41, 1891, p. 292; 44, 1894, p. 365; E. B l u m e 1912, p. 46, 57, 95, 119, 176; 1915, p. 181–182.

²⁷ I would like to extend by gratitude to Bartłomiej Rogalski PhD, for the information on the archives concerning Gronowo from the collection of the National Museum in Szczecin.

²⁸ The road *Groß Grünow–Falkenburg* runs at least 750 m to the west from the group of burial mounds. The post-war literature without any grounds connects the information regarding the works at this road with the construction of the highway *Berlin–Königsberg* conducted in the years 1939–1940 in the vicinity of the burial mounds, during which further flat graves were encountered (R. Wołągiewicz 1976, p. 129–130). Surely, these were two independent construction projects, on two completely different scales. Moreover, the first works at the route *Reichsautobahn Berlin–Königsberg* commenced as late as in 1934. It is no accident that the grave from 1926 was described in the publications by both O. K u n k e l (1927, p. 123–124, pl. XVI; 1931, p. 84, fig. 39, 40, pl. 84), and H. J. E g g e r s (1940, p. 12, 14, 23, fig. 36, pl. 4:b) – researchers that had a pretty good insight into the archaeology in Pomerania – under the local name of *Groß Grünow* (Gronowo), while the burial mounds studied by Plato are attributed by the same researchers to *Dranzig* (Drzeńsko) forester’s lodge.

In the fall of 1939, four cremation flat graves were found at the 224.9 kilometre of the highway *Berlin–Königsberg*, located a few dozen metres to the south from the burial mounds. Precise location of those graves on site in the context of the available sources is not clear²⁹, nonetheless these graves were connected with the burial mound cemetery, according to R. Wołągiewicz (1979, p. 71–72, 81) to be exact, to the spatially separated flat section of the site, located to the south-east from the barrows.

Systematic excavation has been conducted there in the years 1973–1977, registering 29 mounds as a result³⁰. Seven relatively large barrows (No. 7–12 and 15) have been examined only partially, most often using the trench in the middle of the burial mound that was 4 m wide. Due to this fact, the size of the analysed burial mound area, despite the works conducted in all burial mounds, is only 74% (Table 2; Diagram 2). In the case of other burial mounds, their direct vicinity was also examined, maintaining the margin between 1 to 5 m from the edges of individual barrows. There were also a few trial excavations in the flat section, most often 1–2 m wide and up to 20 m long. The biggest excavation was 3 m wide and over 80 m long. The analysis level for the flat section, measured along the line of the biggest scope of the burial mounds, is to be estimated at 27%. As a result of the works, only two cremation graves were found at the edges of barrows No. 19 and 20, then published under numbers 5 and 6 (R. Wołągiewicz 1977a, p. 23).

The two graves registered in the space between the burial mounds at Gronowo contrast with the image known from the better studied cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture. In fact, the number of flat graves on that site was probably higher. The notes of H. G. Plato (1894, p. 5) indicate that, saying that in the south-eastern section of the cemetery, in the vicinity of one of the burial mounds studied by him (current number 24), “traces of flat graves” were found³¹. Therefore it seems that it is the insufficient level of recognition of the flat section (27%) may be responsible for failing to register a higher

²⁹ Exact location of the cremation graves may be established by calculating the distance between the places, where the graves were found and the planned road nod *Falkenburg* (Złocieniec) at the 226 km of the highway. This issue is not unambiguous in the light of the available road documentation and will require further research. In the light of the preliminary calculations it cannot be excluded that the flat graves were located as far as 500 m to the east from the burial mounds. If the said hypothesis were to be confirmed, we would have two cemeteries, not one.

³⁰ One of the burial mounds was dug out completely by H. G. P l a t o (1894, p. 5–7) and it cannot be located precisely on site. According to numbering by R. Wołągiewicz, it was mound 24 (R. Wołągiewicz 1976, p. 71–72, note 2).

³¹ *In diesem Theile sind nur zwei und zwar sehr niedrige Hügel, während außerhalb dieser dort nur Spuren von Flachgräbern gefunden worden sind* (H. G. P l a t o 1894, p. 5).

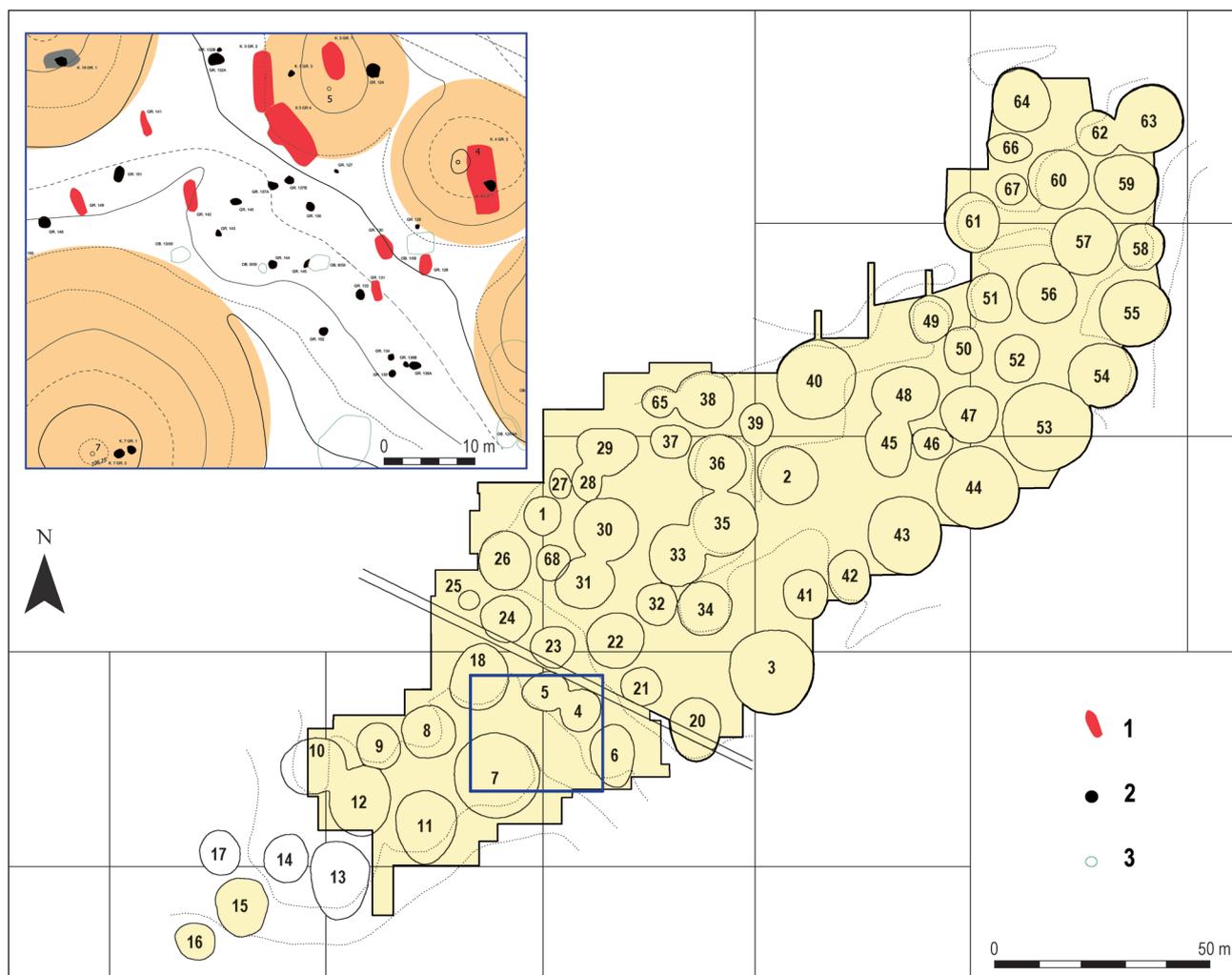


Fig. 7. Nowy Łowicz, Drawsko Pomorskie County. Plan of the investigated (yellow) area of the cemetery and a segment of its flat part: 1 – inhumation graves, 2 – cremation graves, 3 – other features. Graphic arrangement A. Cieśliński

Ryc. 7. Plan przebadanej części cmentarzyska w Nowym Łowiczu, pow. drawski (zaznaczony na żółto), z wycinkiem części płaskiej: 1 – groby szkieletowe, 2 – groby ciałopalne, 3 – inne obiekty. Oprac. A. Cieśliński

number of graves between the burial mounds. Moreover, in some of the cemeteries that have been more extensively excavated, such as Odry and Węsiory, the graves in the flat sections are located in distinct concentrations, separated by empty spaces. In the case of Gronowo we cannot exclude that what was lacking was the archaeological luck and the trial excavations missed the concentrations of flat graves, or possibly some of them were destroyed in the 19th century.

However, the attribution of the rich inhumation grave discovered at Gronowo in 1926 to the burial mound cemetery requires verification. Also, further studies are necessary as to the issue of spatial ratio between the burial mounds and flat graves discovered during the construction of the highway in 1939, which is, as of now, unclear.

Particular significance in the research on the burial mounds of the Wielbark Culture is attributed to the cemetery with the highest number of burial mounds (66) from

Nowy Łowicz³² (Fig. 7). Compared to the number of burrows, this site occupies a relatively small space, only a little over 1.5 ha. The burial mounds at Nowy Łowicz are present in unique density, unparalleled anywhere else. It is the only site, where the burial mounds occupy a larger space (54%) than the estimated calculations of the flat section (46%) (Table 1; Diagram 1). Due to the excavations that has been conducted since 1988, Nowy Łowicz belongs to one of the best studied burial mound cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture. As of today, about 95% of the burial mound area (62 burial mounds) is studied, as well as the similar percentage of the flat section (93%),

³² A varied number of burial mounds was reported in the papers concerning Nowy Łowicz – ranging from 66 to 68 (see: K. Hahała 1990, p. 37; A. Cieśliński, A. Kasprzak 2006, p. 107; A. Cieśliński *et alii* 2011, p. 229). The estimates were based on fieldwalking research; as the years went by, they have been verified through excavation works.

where 186 graves were discovered (Table 2 & 3; Diagram 2 & 3). The works are still on-going, therefore we do not have a monograph of this site. There is only a series of reports and papers published (cf. A. Cieśliński, A. Kasprzak 2010, p. 365; A. Cieśliński *et alii* 2011, p. 229 – earlier literature there).

More extensive excavations has not been conducted at the other burial mound sites of the Wielbark Culture in northern Poland. A large portion of those cemeteries was examined as early as in 19th century and in the first decades of 20th century. Both during the works conducted by the amateurs as well as by professional archaeologists³³, no excavations were made in flat sections. Despite this fact, we will find some information on accidental discoveries of flat graves at burial mound cemeteries or in their vicinity in the literature before 1945. A large portion of the information is very vague, which often makes definite interpretation very difficult. Also, in the post-war period, trial works were carried out in some sites, which did not cover flat sections³⁴, or no publications are available as of now.

Such sites include, for example, a cemetery at Pałędzie Kościelne, Mogilno County, where two out of a group of three stone-soil barrows were examined (Inf. Arch. 1986 [1987], p. 101; A. Gałęzowska 2007, p. 197). A primary inhumation grave was covered by the first barrow, along with two secondary graves dug into the mound, containing the remnants of a cremation pyre, while two cremation pit graves without a pyre remains were found below the other mound. What is most interesting for us is the information about three cremation graves, two urn graves and one pit grave, containing the remnants of a cremation pyre, which were registered in the flat section of the site. To the group of less examined sites belongs the cemetery at Gralew, Gorzów Wielkopolski County (*Gralow, Kr. Landsberg*) that was only examined

³³ Examples of amateur works, in the case of which only limited and dispersed information is available, include: excavation at Cisewie (see note 13; E. Blume 1912, p. 140; 1915, p. 144; M. Ebert 1923, p. 146; I. Brutzer 1942, p. 58; H. J. Eggers 1951, p. 150), Debrzno Wieś, Złotów County (*Dobrin, Kr. Flatow*; "Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für den Regierungsbezirk Marienwerder" 6, 1882, p. 127; A. Lissauer 1887, p. 154; E. Blume 1912, p. 119, 159, fig. 147; 1915, p. 145; W. La Baume 1920, p. 70, pl. 13:8; 1934, fig. 56:1.2) and at Pieńkowo, Sławno County (*Pennekow, Kr. Schlawe*; "Jahresbericht der Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Alterthums-kunde" 3, 1828, p. 25; Katalog 1880, p. 328; A. Lissauer 1887, p. 162; D. von Kleist 1955, p. 16, 32, pl. 24:1). Professional works include the works conducted by A. Götze (1905) at Skórka Zelgniewo, Złotów County (*Selgenau, Kr. Kolmar*) and excavations by H. J. Eggers (1953) at Lubieszewo.

³⁴ E.g.: Kamienica Królewska, Kartuzy County (J. Okulicz 1970, p. 436; R. Wołągiewicz 1993, p. 83, 176), Łęzce, Międzychód County (T. Makiewicz 1991), Wapniarnia Biała, Czarnków/Trzcianka County (Cz. Strzyżewski, Z. Żurowski 1979, p. 82–83, fig. 1, 6, pl. 1).

by trial excavations (J. Schuster 2007, p. 438 – earlier literature there). Two burial mounds and at least one flat urn grave (grave 3) were registered there, located 14 m to the north-east from the burial mound, marked as *Grab I*³⁵. One metre from grave No. 3 another grave was probably found: it was a vessel filled with black soil (*schwarze Erde*). Pieces of a bronze ring were also found inside. Both at Gralew and at Pałędzie Kościelne, the presence of flat graves next to the burial mounds of the Wielbark Culture raises no doubts.

In contrast, there are doubts as regards the grave-fields at Dorotowo, Sępólno Krajeńskie County (*Dorotheenhof, Kr. Flatow*) that was examined by amateurs in the second half of the 19th century. Out of the group of seven barrows, one of them, with a stone-soil mound, was dug out. An inhumation grave without equipment, situated along W-E axis, with the head to the west was found (F. Wilckens 1879). Such placement of the dead is not typical for the Wielbark Culture (see: M. Mączyńska 2007, p. 2–3), even though it was registered in a few sites in Pomerania (see: M. Natuniewicz-Sekuła 2007). Attribution of the burial mounds from Dorotowo to the Wielbark Culture is indirectly indicated by the stone circle that is located in its direct vicinity³⁶. Then, we would have a typical cemetery with burial mounds and stone circles such as at Odry, Węsiory and Grzybica. The most interesting find from Dorotowo is a cremation grave discovered to the north from the burial mounds and the stone circle, placed in an obliquely grooved bronze kettle, with a unique golden necklace and a set of glass counters³⁷. The grave was covered by a layer of large stones, with one of them protruding over the earth surface. In the literature, the grave was classified as a burial mound grave (see: K. Walenta 1981, p. 54, 58; A. Kokowski 1987, p. 75), but in the reality it should rather be classified as a flat grave with extended stone pavement, which are often present in Pomerania (see: J. Schuster 2010, p. 229–233). In the light of the available sources, it is extremely difficult to resolve the mutual relationship between the burial mounds and the grave in the Roman vessel. The distance of 250 m and lack of information about other archaeological objects located between them seems to indicate that these two are in fact two separate cemeteries. On the other hand, the biggest

³⁵ I would like to extend my gratitude to Professor Jan Schuster (Łódź) for providing me with more detailed information about this site. Source data concerning a cemetery from Gralew comes from an unsigned excavation report from 12.09.1944, at present housed in the archive of Brandenburgisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologisches Landesmuseum in Wünsdorf.

³⁶ Vague information in the sources make it impossible to locate this site in the area. Also, the attempts to find the burial mounds and the stone circle in the 1980s failed (A. Kokowski 1987, p. 67).

³⁷ W. Schwartz 1879; E. Blume 1912, p. 88, 139, 201, fig. 105; 1915, p. 145; W. La Baume 1934, p. 132, fig. 64.

cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture in Pomerania stretch over much bigger distances. At Gronowo, the distance between the outermost burial mounds is 350 m, while at Leśno, Nowy Łowicz and Odry – about 300 m (cf. Fig. 3, 5–7). However, contrary to Dorotowo, barrows and stone constructions are evenly spread over the area of each of them.

The spatial ratio between the burial mounds at Lubieszewo *Tunnehult* and the flat urn grave found in 1936 in the vicinity is unknown (H. J. Eggers 1953, p. 74). According to the vague note, a vessel described as *rugische Terrine* was used as an urn, with pieces of one or two swords and elements of riding gear (*Zaumzeug u.s.w.*) found inside. Due to the aforementioned equipment and the chronology of the grave determined by Eggers to be in the 1st century BC, it should be classified as an Oksywie Culture grave. The majority of the better studied cemeteries of the Oksywie Culture from the Early Roman Period had been used without any interruptions and without significant change of the population in the Early Roman Period (R. Wołągiewicz 1981a, p. 80–88, table I; 1986, p. 70–71, fig. 13; V. Bierbrauer 1994, p. 75–87, fig. 10). Due to the fundamental changes in the material and spiritual culture that took place at around the turn of the eras, these cemeteries are classified in the Roman Period as newly-established archaeological units: mostly as Wielbark Culture, but also to the Gustow Group, as in the case of a flat cemetery from another site at Lubieszewo – *Sandberg* (R. Wołągiewicz 1997). The question whether the urn grave found at Lubieszewo *Tunnehult* was an element of a smaller or a bigger flat cemetery remains unanswered. If bigger – was it in use until B_{2b} stage, when the burial mounds started to be built at the *Tunnehult* site? Our doubts may only be alleviated through future archaeological works at this site³⁸.

Similarly unclear situation applies to the cemetery in Straduń Żabowo³⁹, Czarnków/Trzcianka County (*Nie-*

³⁸ In the discussions on the Lubieszewo *Tunnehult* site, a short reference must be made to the hypothesis raised earlier on the separate nature of the so-called princely grave-field compared with egalitarian family cemeteries (R. H a c h m a n n 1957, p. 17). This concept was raised at the early stage of research, when the examination level of the nearest vicinity of the extraordinarily equipped graves was often rather unsatisfactory. Later excavations in the selected princely grave-fields confirmed the lack of clear separation from typical family cemeteries (J. S c h u s t e r 2010, p. 204), such as at Łęg Piekarski, Turek County (K. J a ż d ż e w s k i, G. R y c e l 1981; K. C z a r n e c k a 2001).

³⁹ This site was included in the post-war publications under an incorrect name “Żakowo” (see: R. Wołągiewicz 1977b, p. 97; 1993, p. 89, 92, 156, 189; H. M a c h a j e w s k i 1980, p. 57, fig. 9), “Straduń Żakowo” (A. G a ł ę z o w s k a 2007, p. 220–221), or “Straduń” (A. G a ł ę z o w s k a 1996, p. 171–173, fig. 8:2–18). J. S c h u s t e r (2010, p. 344, fig. 98) mentioned this site twice: on the list of the burial mound cemeteries from the area between Recknitz and Vistula it is present both as Straduń, as well as under the incorrect local name Żakowo, County Kartuszy – in reality, these two places are 160 km apart.

werder, Kr. Czarnikau vel Netzekreis). Information about archaeological finds in the vicinity of the no longer existing forester’s lodge *Niewerder* are pretty vague and dispersed in the literature⁴⁰. According to the most detailed description by R. Heßler (1925, p. 908), about 12 burial mounds of at least 10 m in diameter were registered. The excavations were carried out in the case of only one. As a result of these works a secondary urn grave of the Wielbark Culture was found, which was dug into the a stone-earth mound of the barrow (see: A. Gałęzowska 1996, p. 173, fig. 8:16–18). The primary grave was not registered. In the earlier literature the mounds from Straduń Żabowo have been explicitly connected with the Roman Period and Wielbark Culture⁴¹, yet in the context of the information presented above on the secondary nature of the only registered grave, the cultural affinity and chronology of the whole group of burial mounds remain open. Any attempts to interpret this site are even more difficult, as the peoples of the Wielbark Culture used both burial mounds from the earlier epochs in as well as contemporary barrows secondarily for funerary purposes (A. Cieśliński, A. Kasprzak 2009, p. 184–186; K. Skóra 2010, p. 28–33, 42), which was confirmed in the case of almost all well-examined burial mound cemeteries, including Nowy Łowicz, Leśno, Odry, Węsiory, Babi Dół-Borcz and Cecele. An indication supporting the hypothesis that the burial mounds at Straduń Żabowo belong to the Wielbark Culture presented in the earlier literature was the belief that there are contemporary flat graves at the same site (see: R. Wołągiewicz 1977b, p. 97; A. Gałęzowska 1996, 171–173). Five cremation graves without overground markings discovered forester’s lodge *Niewerder* were mentioned several times, yet their connection to the burial mounds, in the light of the new analysis of the source information, seems doubtful. According to R. Heßler (1925, p. 908), the burial mounds were located “a few hundred metres” away from the flat graves⁴². In another paper, in the inventory of the collection of the newly established *Heimatmuseum des Netzekreises* in Trzcianka (*Schönlanke*), the same author clearly differentiates the finds from the flat cemetery, called *Niewerder I*, and the burial mound cemetery, called *Niewerder II* (R. Heßler 1926, p. 62). Naming of the sites within one place is not unambiguous, as in the latest reference to the finds from the barrow cemetery, F. Holter (1929, p. 115) describes the site as *Niewerder I*, contrary to Heßler. To sum up our

⁴⁰ J. R i c h t e r 1914, p. 428; R. H e ß l e r 1922, p. 67–68, fig. 1:2; 1925, p. 907–908, fig. 13; 1926, p. 56, 62; H. C i c h o s z e w s k a 1923, p. 133; F. H o l t e r 1929, p. 115; cf. A. G a ł ę z o w s k a 1996, p. 171–173, fig. 8:2–18.

⁴¹ See note 39.

⁴² *Ein paar hundert Meter von dem Gräberfeld [Flachgräberfeld – A.C.] befinden sich in dichter Schonung etwa ein Dutzend große Hügelgräber (...)* (R. H e ß l e r 1925, p. 908).

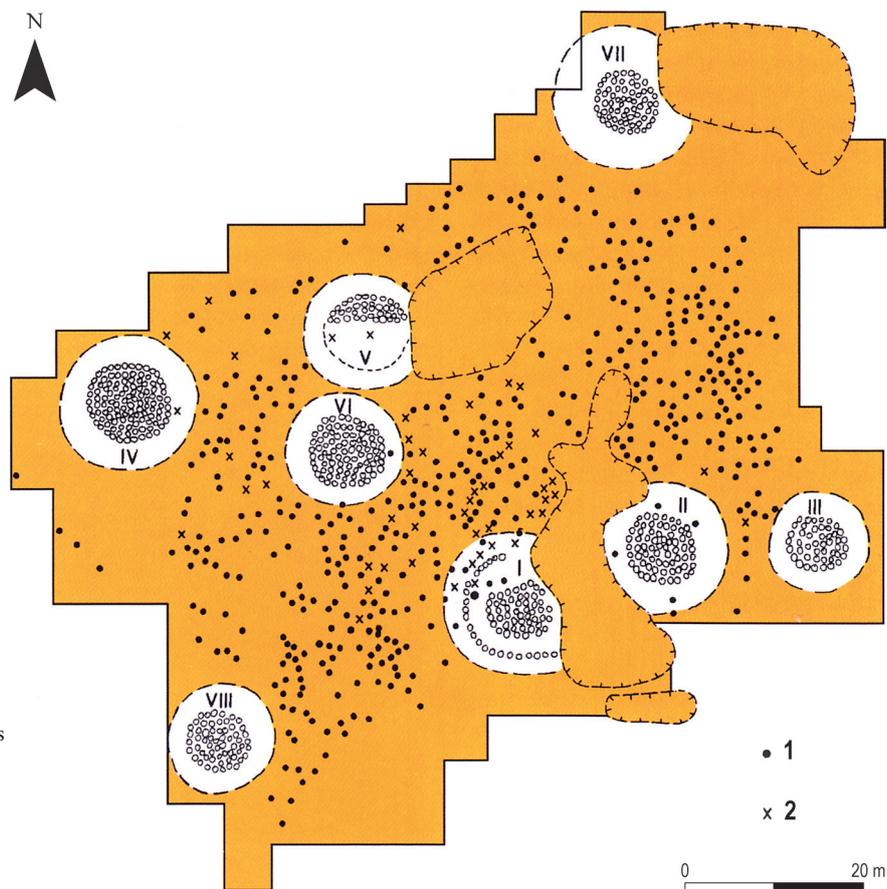


Fig. 8. Cęciele, Siemiatycze County. Plan of the investigated area of the cemetery: 1 – cremation graves, 2 – inhumation graves (after A. Kokowski 1999b)
 Ryc. 8. Plan zbadanej części cmentarzyska w Cęcielach, pow. siemiatycki: 1 – groby ciałopalne, 2 – groby szkieletowe (wg A. Kokowskiego 1999b)

incomplete knowledge about the finds from the area of the *Niewerder* forester's lodge, it seems to me that what we have there are two contemporary grave-fields, located "a few hundred metres" away from each other. While the classification of the graves from the flat cemetery and the grave dug into the mound as belonging to the Wielbark Culture raises no doubts, the chronology and cultural affinity of the burial mounds themselves remains unclear.

Eastern Poland

After the presentation of the burial mound sites of the Wielbark Culture located in Pomerania and northern Great Poland, let us look at their second concentration in eastern of Poland. The cemeteries in this zone are even less studied in comparison to northern Poland⁴³, moreo-

ver, they have been hardly published until recently when a monography by J. Jaskanis (2012)⁴⁴ appeared. Besides, the nature of the burial mound cemeteries changes in the Late Roman Period. In Mazowsze and Podlasie, we register mostly cemeteries with a small number of burial mounds, which is exemplified by the grave-fields at Kitki, Mława County (A. Kempisty, J. Okulicz 1965, pl. 94, 95), Skiwy Małe (J. Jaskanis 1968; 1973; 1974) and Kuraszewo (J. Jaskanis 1963), where only two burial mounds on each site were registered. The largest burial mound sites

⁴³ R. Wołągiewicz (1977b, p. 93) published a list of burial mound cemeteries belonging to the Wielbark Culture, located in right-bank Mazowsze and Podlasie, along with the information on the presence of flat graves. However, the list also contains burial mounds, as to which we cannot be certain whether they actually belong to the Roman Period, e.g.: "100" barrows from Bogucin, Płońsk County (J. Pyrgała 1972, p. 118–121, fig. 26), or a singular burial mound discovered next to a flat cemetery of Wielbark Culture at Kozłówko, Nidzica County (*Klein Koslau, Kr. Neidenburg*; J. Heydeck 1892, p. 171; cf. M. Woźniak 2011, p. 197–198; J. Okulicz 1970, p. 479, incorrectly connected with this barrow the furnishing of the flat [?] grave A). Moreover, the list included graves, which cannot be confirmed as barrow

graves unambiguously in the context of the available knowledge, e.g. from Drozdowo, Płońsk County (J. Pyrgała 1972, p. 244; see also: J. Okulicz 1970, p. 481; J. Jaskanis 1976, p. 226), and Dzierżążnia, Płońsk County (J. Jaskanis, J. Okulicz 1981, fig. 69; see also: J. Okulicz 1970, p. 481). In the case of the cemetery at Pielgrzymowo, there were only hearths found in the flat section, and the only grave found outside the burial mounds, inside the so-called stone circle, belonged to the Przeworsk Culture (N. Lau 2012, p. 87–88, 97, pl. 46–50, 52). The reference to flat graves at Dmochy-Rodzunki is also incorrect; it is not confirmed by source publications (J. Jaskanis 1975; 1976, p. 224).

⁴⁴ The book was published after this paper went to print. Thanks to the courtesy of the editorial team, I had the opportunity to supplement the manuscript with the analysis of some of the newly published sources. A more detailed commentary to the complex topic discussed by J. Jaskanis would exceed the limits of this paper and will be presented elsewhere.

in Podlasie are located at Grochy Stare, Białystok County (K. Rusin 1998; 1999; 2005), and at Jasionowa Dolina (J. Jaskanis 1976, p. 221; 2012, p. 68–103), where 12 burial mounds were present in each case, whereas it was at Szpaki, where the highest number of 13 barrows was registered (K. Rusin 2008). Due to the insufficient studies

concerning individual sites, it is difficult to attempt any reliable comparative studies concerning the size of individual cemeteries. Based on the published plans of the cemeteries, their size seems to be quite varied; they reach the size of the large cemeteries from Pomerania only in a few cases. Along the line marking the largest scope of

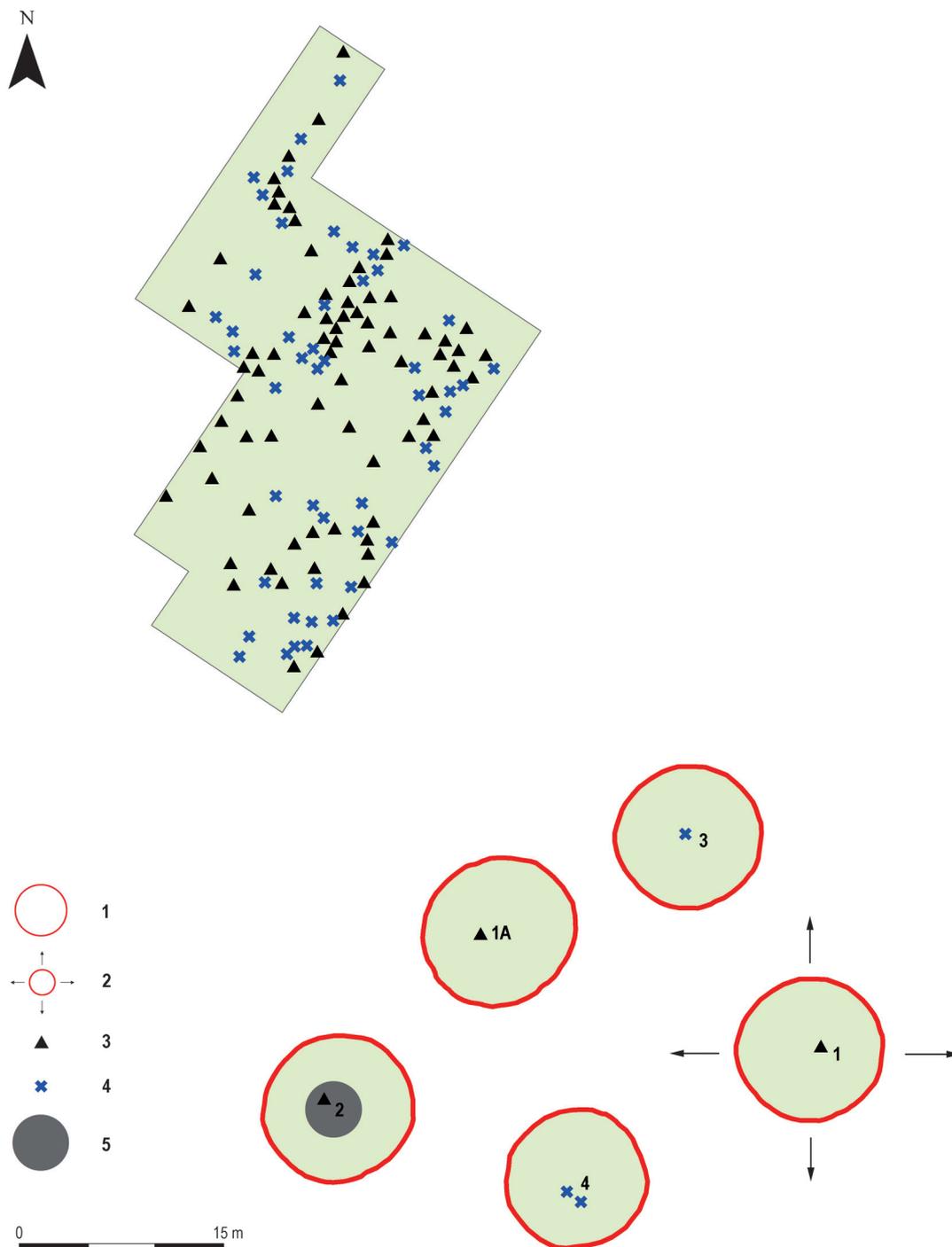


Fig. 9. Kutów, Hajnówka County. Plan of the investigated area of the cemetery: 1 – barrows, 2 – barrow without being in the exact location, 3 – cremation pit graves, 4 – concentrations of burnt human bones occasionally with artefacts (destroyed pit graves?), 5 – layer of burnt soil. Graphic arrangement A. Cieśliński (after J. Jaskanis 2012)

Ryc. 9. Plan przebadanej części cmentarzyska w Kutów, pow. hajnowski: 1 – kurhany, 2 – kurhan bez dokładnej lokalizacji, 3 – groby ciałałpalne jamowe, 4 – koncentracje przepalonych kości ludzkich, sporadycznie z zabytkami (zniszczone groby jamowe?), 5 – warstwa tzw. przepalonej ziemi. Rys. A. Cieśliński (wg J. Jaskanisa 2012)

the burial mounds, the area of the cemetery at Cecele is about 0.5 ha (J. Jaskanis 1996, fig. 3), of the cemetery at Jasionowa Dolina 0.8 ha (R. Jakimowicz 1923, fig. 9; J. Jaskanis 1976, fig. 3; 2012, pl. 29), cemetery at Grochy Stare 2 ha (K. Rusin 2005, fig. 1:b), and the biggest in size cemetery at Dmochy-Rodzonki reaches 2.5 ha, even though only six big barrows has been registered there (J. Jaskanis 1975, fig. 2).

The relatively small cemetery at Cecele, occupying only 0.5 ha, as mentioned above, is the best studied burial mound cemetery in eastern Poland (J. Jaskanis 1996). Eight burial mounds registered there occupy 19% of the total area of the grave-field, which as a rule corresponds to the relations in Pomerania (Fig. 8; Table 1; Diagram 1). The cemetery has been excavated almost entirely (94% of the area): all burial mounds were examined as well as the 90% of the estimated flat section. Despite being relatively small, the flat section revealed as many as 576 graves, a certain number of flat graves was also destroyed during gravel mining. The size of the damaged area of the cemetery may be estimated at about 440 m² – based on the density of the graves, even a few dozen further graves could have been destroyed (Table 2 & 3; Diagram 2 & 3). The analysis of the general plan of the cemetery shows the largest concentrations of flat graves between the mounds and indicates their rare presence outside the largest scope of the burial mounds.

As regards the other burial mound sites of the Wielbark Culture in eastern Poland, there were hardly any extensive works on their flat sections. The cemetery at Kutowa constitutes an exemption from this rule – there were 5 burial mounds excavated (site 1), alongside 122 flat graves (site 2) located in direct vicinity of the mounds (K. Jażdżewski 1939, p. 16–22, fig. 44–62; J. Jaskanis 1963, p. 334, note 8; 1965, p. 114–117, note 116; 1976, p. 220; 2012, p. 126–194). According to the general plan of the cemetery published recently (J. Jaskanis 2012, p. 160, pl. 60), only a portion of ca. 700 m² of its flat section located less than 10 m to the north-west from one of the barrows has been excavated there (Fig. 9).

There were graves registered between burial mounds at other cemeteries in Mazowsze and Podlasie, too. At Goździk, out of a group of “a few” burial mounds, one was studied. Excavations were also made in the flat section of the site, over the area of about 500 m². In total, there were about 27 flat graves found in the direct vicinity of the burial mound, both cremation and inhumation graves⁴⁵ (A. Niewęglowski 1983). At the cemetery at Kitki, partial documentation discusses 2 burial mounds, and the ex-

cavations in their nearest vicinity encompasses the area of about 1000 m². There were 10 or 11 cremation graves found (J. Okulicz 1965, p. 117–126, pl. LIV–LX, LXIX; 1970, p. 481, fig. 8, pl. III:4, IV:2; A. Kempisty, J. Okulicz 1965, pl. 94, 95). J. Jaskanis (1976, p. 221) also mentioned that there were “probably flat graves between the burial mounds” at Jasionowa Dolina, however, this information has not been repeated in a monography of the site (J. Jaskanis 2012, p. 68–83). As regards the other burial mound cemeteries in the eastern Poland, the excavations in the flat sections were carried out only in unique cases. At Grochy Stare, the excavations covered an area of mere 62 m² (K. Rusin 1999, p. 221). At Pielgrzymowo, in the partially examined flat section of the site, only hearths were found, some of which are attributed to the Przeworsk Culture (N. Lau 2012, p. 87–88, pl. 2).

Flat and burial mound sections in the light of selected studies

The comparison of the information on the presence of the graves in the flat sections of burial mound cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture could constitute a basis for carrying out numerous analysis, also using statistical methods. However, a closer look at the topic clearly showed that the extent, to which individual necropolises are studied is uneven, and only some of them were studied to a satisfactory degree. Therefore I discuss here only three selected aspects from a potentially longer list of comparative analyses, i.e. the spatial organisation of the cemetery area will be discussed, the quantitative ratio between the graves in the burial mounds and graves placed in the flat section and the issues connected with funerary rites. The presented studies are of preliminary nature; the relations between the graves in the burial mound sections and flat sections will be discussed in a more detailed manner in other paper, i.a. including chronological analysis, showing how the studied phenomena changed in time.

Spatial organisation of the flat sections at the burial mound cemeteries

Analyses of the plans of the better studied burial mound cemeteries seem to point out to two basic models of planning for flat sections. The first one is best exemplified by the grave-field at Węsiory (Fig. 4), where the flat graves formed a few concentrations, clearly separated by empty spaces without any graves (see: J. Kmiecński *et alii* 1966, plan 1; T. Grabarczyk 2001, pl. I). The cemetery at Odry is similar (Fig. 3). Despite the fact that concentrations of flat graves cover a much larger scope than at Węsiory, we also register areas deprived of any graves, e.g. between stone circle I and burial mound 4, between circle X and burial mound 23, or to the south of burial

⁴⁵ The pits described by A. Niewęglowski (1983, p. 151) as “1) pits, in which no bones were found” and “2) containing non-burnt (?) teeth and jaw pieces” may highly probably be classified as inhumation graves’ pits.

mound 18 (T. Grabarczyk 1997, fig. 6). Similarities may be seen in the layout of the graves in the flat section of the cemetery at Leśno 2 (Fig. 5). It is only partly examined (K. Walenta 2007, pl. XXIII), however, there are distinct concentrations of graves, areas, where the graves are rare, as well as completely empty spaces there. Another model of organising the cemetery space is exemplified by the cemetery at Cecele, where flat graves quite evenly fill the whole area limited by the line marking the biggest extent of the burial mounds (Fig. 8; J. Jaskanis 1996, fig. 3). Quite unusual situation is present at Nowy Łowicz (Fig. 7; K. Hahuła 1998, fig. 1; A. Cieśliński, A. Kasprzak 2010, fig. 1). As it was mentioned above, the burial mounds at this site are located in an unparalleled density. The layout of the burial mounds has a natural impact on the shape of the flat section, which at Nowy Łowicz takes the form of small “yards” surrounded by groups of barrows. There were flat graves in almost each of those “yards”, most often quite close to each other, but sometimes they were spaced out loosely. As it was stated above, a similar situation was observed at Babi Dół-Borc. This cemetery covers rather small area, on which a few burial mounds and stone circles are placed closely one to another. Such arrangement of overground constructions left an empty space for only a few flat graves to be set between them, and most of the flat graves was located beyond their reach.

Quantitative ratio between the graves in the burial mounds and the graves in the flat sections

One of the fundamental questions asked in the studies concerning burial mound cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture is the determination of the ratio between the graves in the burial mounds and the graves in the flat sections. The extent, to which individual cemeteries are studied, has a profound impact on the level of knowledge. Reliable results are only derived from the best examined cemeteries at Nowy Łowicz and at Cecele, where both burial mound and flat sections were unearthed relatively evenly in over 90%. Highly advanced (all the five barrows and over 90% of the estimated area of the flat section) is also an examination of the cemetery at Babi Dół-Borc, still unpublished as a monograph. A certain tendency as to the quantitative ratio between the graves in the burial mounds and the graves in the flat section is confirmed by the analysis of the less examined cemeteries. It applies in particular to the sites at Odry and at Węsiory, where all burial mounds were excavated, and the flat sections were examined to a representative extent. We may only use the excavations at Leśno, which are of a rather fragmentary nature, and materials from Babi Dół-Borc, which are only partly published, to a lesser extent.

Despite the limitations of the source materials, comparative analyses of the best studied sites form one con-

clusion, that is in all cases the number of flat graves exceed the number of graves from burial mounds (Table 3; Diagram 3). The domination of flat graves is least visible at the cemeteries with the highest number of burial mounds registered until now, that is at Nowy Łowicz. The ratio between the flat section graves and burial mound section graves is in this case only 1.6 to 1. As regards other cemeteries in Pomerania, the quantitative advantage of graves in the space between burial mounds is much higher. At Babi Dół-Borc, where only five barrows are present, this ratio is 13 to 1. In the case of the site with 29 burial mounds at Odry, it is almost 14 to 1. This ratio was probably even higher, because the area between the burial mounds was only excavated in about 36%. The excavations in the flat section were conducted on a larger scale in the case of the cemetery at Węsiory (ca. 64% of the area), where 20 burial mounds were examined as well. The results of these works include registration of a six-times as many flat graves as the burial mound graves, in fact, the number of graves between the burial mounds must have been higher originally also in this case. The group of partially studied sites includes the cemetery at Leśno. There were 15 burial mounds registered, out of which 11 were excavated, while the share of the excavated flat section might be estimated at about 27%. There were 13 graves discovered in the burial mounds, whereas in the flat section, there were 16 graves within the rings and further 61 graves without significant overground markings. The preliminary ratio between the flat graves and burial mound graves is about 6 to 1.

The ratios change visibly in the case of the best examined Wielbark Culture site in the eastern Poland at Cecele (Table 3; Diagram 3), unfortunately it is the only facility within the expansion zone, which was excavated to an extent that may be subject to analysis. As many as 576 flat graves were discovered, while there were six primary graves and three secondary graves in the eight burial mounds – their exact number is difficult to determine due to the damage of the barrows (J. Jaskanis 1996, p. 92). The ratio between flat graves to the burial mound graves is 96 to 1, considering secondary graves, too – 64 to 1. Distinct advantage of flat graves was also recorded in the cemetery at Kutowa, where in the destroyed barrows six graves were found, and in the flat section, there were as many as 122 further graves revealed (J. Jaskanis 1976, p. 220; 2012, p. 126–194).

The differences between the cemeteries from Pomerania and Podlasie may reflect the changes in the burial mound funerary rites in the Late Roman Period. As it was already noted above, the number of burial mounds registered within particular cemeteries in Podlasie is lesser than it was in the Pomeranian cemeteries dated to the Early Roman Period. One needs to look for the reasons of this phenomenon in the more distinct than

Cemetery	Number of barrows	Excavated barrows		Barrow section			Flat section		
		Number	%	Inhumation graves	Cremation graves	Ratio inhumations to cremations	Inhumation graves	Cremation graves	Ratio inhumations to cremations
Babi Dół-Borc	5	5	100	7	2 secondary graves	7:0 (only primary graves)	56	37	1,5:1
Cecele	8	8	100	6 + 3?	3 secondary graves	6?:0 (only primary graves)	61	515	1:8,4
Leśno 2	15	11	73	5	8	1:1,6	9 + 8 inside the stone rings	52 + 8 inside the stone rings	1:3,5
Nowy Łowicz	66	62	91	49	64	1:1,3	78	108	1:1,4
Węsiory	20	20	100	18	2	9:1	5	123	1:24,6

Table 4. Number of cremation and inhumation graves in the barrow and flat section on selected barrow cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture
Tabela 4. Liczba grobów ciałopalnych i szkieletowych w częściach kurhanowych i płaskich wybranych cmentarzysk kurhanowych kultury wielbarskiej

before social stratification of the Late Roman Period Wielbark population, resulting in more elite nature of burial mound burials than in the Early Roman Period. It is confirmed by the extraordinary equipment of some of the best survived graves⁴⁶.

Comments on the funerary rite

The studies on the funerary rite occupy an important place in analysing the issues of the burial mounds of the Wielbark Culture. Just as in the case of flat Wielbark cemeteries, in the case of burial mounds there is a wide range of funerary rites, which is exhibited mainly in the form of contemporary presence of inhumation and cremation graves of various types, exceptionally also under the same barrow. Interesting results offers even the basic analysis of the quantitative ratio between the inhumation and cremation graves in the barrow and flat sections at the better studied sites, but one needs to remember that the results of that analysis are partly distorted due to the uneven extent of the studies at the individual sites (Table 4; Diagram 4). At the cemetery at Nowy Łowicz, in the burial mound zone, this ratio is 1 to 1.3, with a slight advantage of the cremation rite, while in the flat section, the advantage of the cremation rite is hardly more evident, at about 1.4 to 1. Similar ratios are present at the extensive cemetery at Odry, even though it is difficult to draw unambiguous conclusions due to the fragmentary examination of this site only. The analysis

of relatively current general plans indicates almost even number of inhumation and cremation graves registered in the burial mounds and stone circles, while in the flat section, a visible, though smaller than at Nowy Łowicz, advantage of cremation takes place (T. Grabarczyk 1997, fig. 6, plan 1–3; 2007, fig. 1).

A different, kind of bi-polar image is presented by the grave-field from Węsiory, where the contrast between the burial mound and the flat sections is particularly visible (Table 4; Diagram 4). In the former, inhumation graves prevail in 9 to 1, while in the latter, cremation dominates, almost 25 to 1. The domination of inhumations in the barrow zone in 3 to 1 ratio was also registered in the barrows from Gronowo, while the flat section of this site was studied in insufficient detail, so it could not be analysed (R. Wołągiewicz 1979, p. 71–73, note 2). In the case of Babi Dół-Borc, in the four excavated barrows, inhumation graves dominate, and two certain cremation graves, No. 1 in barrow I and No. 2 in barrow V, were secondary in nature⁴⁷ (M. Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1980; 1982; 1987; 1990). The flat section of this site indicates both the cremation rite and inhumation rite; it is the only cemetery where inhumation graves prevail in 1.5 to 1 (see: M. Mączyńska, A. Dudek 2003, p. 271; M. Mączyńska, A. Urbaniak 2007a, p. 25–26; 2007b, p. 159; 2009, p. 157).

⁴⁷ The grave No. 2 in burial mound I is atypical. The pit was oriented and shaped as small inhumation graves, but it was filled with black soil, charcoal and human bones. Fire was also probably maintained in that pit, which is proven by the characteristic orange tint of the sandy soil (M. Tempelmann-Mączyńska 1987, p. 20–25, fig. 5).

⁴⁶ See: J. Okulicz 1970, p. 479–486; J. Jaskanis 1976, p. 247–249; 2012, p. 245; A. Cieśliński 2011, p. 178–182.

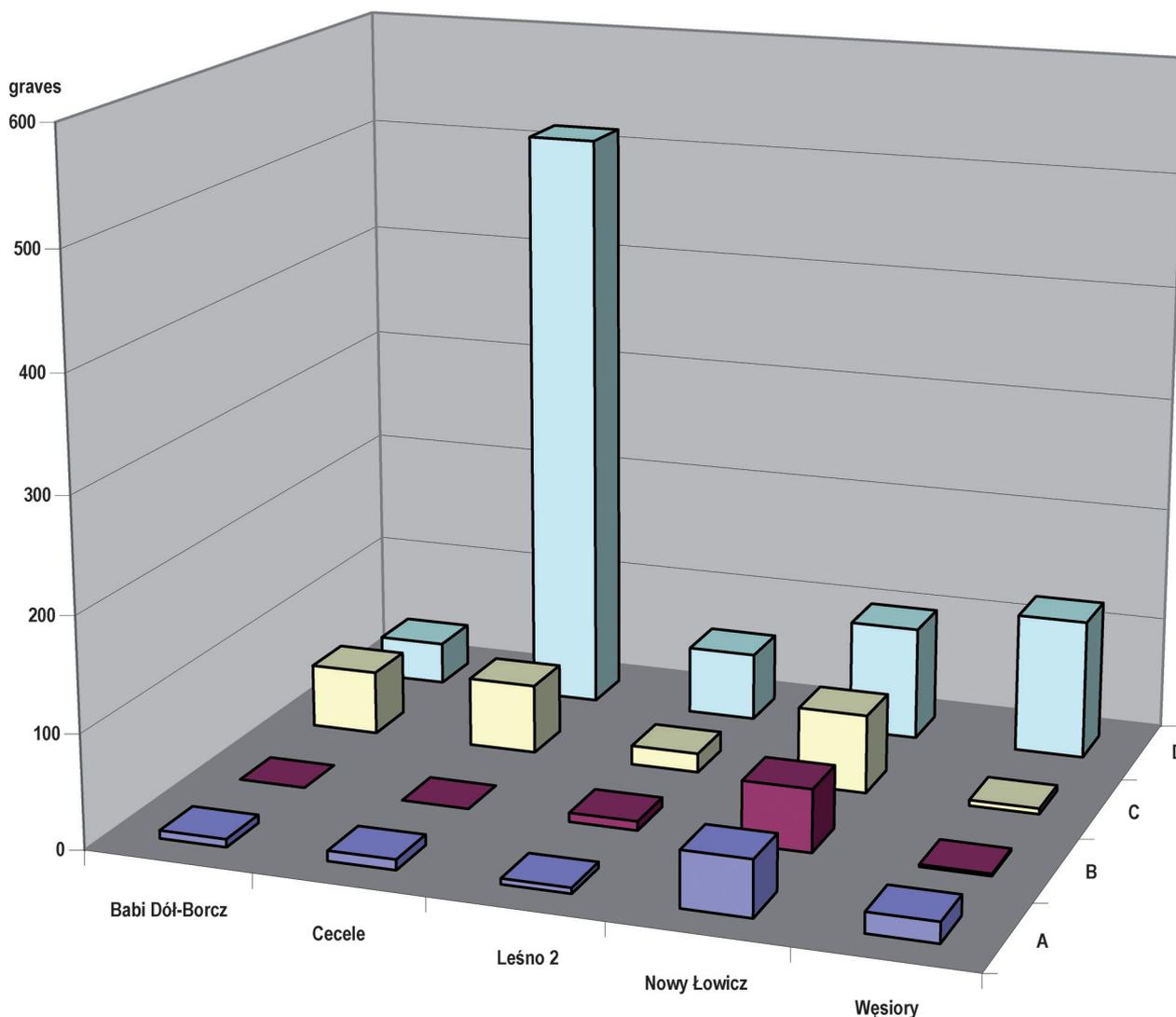


Diagram 4. Number of cremation and inhumation graves in the barrow and flat sections on selected barrow cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture (only primary graves): A – inhumation graves (barrow section), B – cremation graves (barrow section), C – inhumation graves (flat section), D – cremation graves (flat section)

Diagram 4. Liczba grobów ciałopalnych i szkieletowych w częściach kurhanowych i płaskich wybranych cmentarzysk kurhanowych kultury wielbarskiej (bez grobów wkopanych wtórnie): A – groby szkieletowe (część kurhanowa), B – groby ciałopalne (część kurhanowa), C – groby szkieletowe (część płaska), D – groby ciałopalne (część płaska)

A slight domination of cremation in the burial mound zone is only observed at Leśno (Table 4; Diagram 4), yet one needs to remember that out of the 15 registered barrows, only 11 were excavated. In the flat section of this cemetery over three times as many cremation graves were discovered than inhumation graves, including the graves surrounded by stone rings, which again proves the domination of cremation in the areas between the burial mounds.

At Cecele, the burial mounds were largely damaged, which makes it difficult to provide unambiguous interpretations. In the mounds, inhumation rite was prevalent, while all three cremation graves connected with the burial mounds were of secondary nature (Table 4; Diagram 4). In the area between the burial mounds, just

as in the other cemeteries, a higher number of cremation graves was recorded (8.4 to 1). Another better studied site in the eastern Poland is the cemetery at Kutowa, from which only cremation graves are known. There are 6 pit graves recovered from the badly damaged barrows, including one of probably secondary nature dug into the mound, while the flat section produced 53 pit graves and 68 concentrations of pottery and burnt bones, probably remnants of entirely damaged cremation graves (J. Jaskanis 2012, p. 160)⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ According to the earlier publication (J. Jaskanis 1976, p. 220), „over than 120 graves with cremation burials of an urn type [sic!], in general hardly survived” had been recovered from the flat section of the cemetery.

Preliminary comparison of the burial mound and flat sections at the cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture indicates a relatively high diversification of the funerary rites. Even though the ratio of cremation graves to inhumation graves within individual sites often varies significantly, we may observe certain patterns. In the better studied sites in Pomerania, we observe either a similar number of cremations and inhumations (Nowy Łowicz, Odry) or a domination of inhumations (Gronowo), in some cases very explicit (Węsiory, Babi Dół-Borc), in the burial mound sections; a slight domination of cremations at Leśno is exceptional. Another tendency reveals the flat sections of these cemeteries, where the cremation rite prevails nearly each time. The domination of cremations is in some cases not too explicit (Nowy Łowicz, Odry), while in other sites the number of cremation graves exceeds the number of inhumation graves a few times (Leśno, Węsiory). Babi Dół-Borc is the only cemetery, where the flat section produces more inhumations than cremations.

Presenting an outline of the funerary rite at the cemeteries from eastern Poland is much more difficult due to the limited scale of their archaeological examinations. Based on the excavations conducted so far at some sites from the Late Roman Period (phases C₁–C₂), both cremation and inhumation graves were registered below the burial mounds (Grochy Stare, Uśnik-Kolonia, Łomża County⁴⁹), just as it was the case earlier in Pomerania. There are cemeteries with better examined burial mound sections, where only inhumation graves (Cecele, if the secondary cremation graves are excluded, and Kitki) or only cremation graves are present (Kutowa). In the final stage of the Late Roman Period and in the early Migration Period (C₃–D) cremations seem to dominate. Moreover, next to the typical pit graves, a new type of cremation graves starts to appear at the time, ones that are placed directly on the surface of the ground (Pielgrzymowo, burial mound II, Jasionowa Dolina, burial mound 10, Skiwy Małe, burial mound 1)⁵⁰.

The most data concerning the graves from the flat sections of the cemeteries from eastern Poland comes from Cecele. The area between the burial mounds at this site

represents a model that has been known since the Early Roman Period, that is with a distinct domination of cremation. In the context of current state of research, the situation at Kutowa must be classified as atypical, where only cremation graves were discovered both under the burial mounds and in the flat section. Flat sections at the remaining sites in eastern Poland are not studied enough by excavation, so they could not be included in a reliable analysis. Let me recall that both cremations and inhumations were registered within the fragmentarily excavated area between the burial mounds at Goździk, while in the nearest vicinity of the burial mounds at Kitki only cremation graves were present.

The presented comments on the funerary rites within the group of burial mound grave-fields that is of our interest confirm a high diversification of funerary rituals among the population of the Wielbark Culture, that is the phenomenon confirmed at the flat grave-fields. Such heterogeneous funerary rites may prove that various traditions were cultivated among families using the same cemeteries, and indirectly indicates the heterogeneous nature of the population that lived within the extensive areas of the northern and eastern Poland in the Roman Period and in the early phase of the Migration Period.

Conclusions

Burial mound cemeteries comprise a very interesting group of cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture, which has not been the subject of a more detailed analysis. The research concerning those cemeteries face a series of limitations connected with the damage of overground parts of many sites, therefore it is difficult to confirm presence of the burial mounds there in some cases. The insufficient extent, to which the individual cemeteries are examined archaeologically, as well as the uneven degree of examination of burial mound and flat sections, constitute significant problems. Despite those limitations, the studies presented above showed quite a discernible rule: each and every cemetery, where excavations were conducted, produced flat graves. What is more, flat graves were also registered at the sites, which were studied to only slight extent, such as at Gralewo, Pałędzie Kościelne and Goździk. The presence of flat graves at the burial mound cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture seems to be a rule.

However, when analysing the excavation reports published so far, one might have the impression that the awareness of the necessity to conduct excavations also in the areas between the burial mounds was not common. The problem is less acute in the northern Poland, where systematic works in the flat sections has been taking place at five sites, since 1950s. In the eastern Poland, extensive excavations were carried out only at two burial mound cemeteries; in the areas between burial mounds – in the

⁴⁹ Unpublished research of M. Bienia M.A. I would like to extend my gratitude for making these materials available.

⁵⁰ Under many burial mounds in eastern Poland there were uncovered cremation graves without equipment or with very damaged equipment, which could not be used in chronological analysis, e.g.: at Kotłówka, Kutowa, Rostolty (burial mound 5) and Jasionowa Dolina. Some of those graves represent type D according to Jaskanis, that is graves placed on the surface of the ground. These graves are usually dated to the later phase of the Late Roman Period or to the Migration Period (J. Jaskanis 1976, p. 241–242). However, this opinion hardly bases on the archaeological sources and may be subjected to verification now, e.g. as a result of radio-carbon datings.

1960s for the last time! Failure to conduct any works within the flat sections of the cemeteries not only limits the potential to undertake more detailed scientific analyses, but it also has an impact on the maintenance of archaeological monuments. The example of the cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture shows that the maintenance protection, or rescue excavations should encompass not only the mounds themselves, but the area in their nearest vicinity as well.

The current demand – from both scientific and maintaining point of view – is determination of the scope of the flat sections at the burial mound sites. It may be achieved not only through excavations, but also within more extensive investigations using non-invasive methods, such as electrical resistivity imaging or magnetic resonance imaging. In order to study the nature of flat sections at the individual cemeteries in detail, it seems necessary to excavate at least a few key sites and to publish the materials obtained as a result of the works on site that have been conducted in the past decades. The coming years will surely see the conclusion of the works at the important for us and for this topic sites in Pomerania at Babi Dół-Borcz and at Nowy Łowicz, as well as the publication of a partly excavated cemetery at Gronowo. A necessary condition for undertaking more serious research on the burial mound cemeteries in eastern Poland is continuing of fieldworks, in particular within the flat sections of the cemeteries.

Better extent of the studies on the burial mound sites will make it possible to undertake more varied and detailed analyses, whose results will be more reliable as well. The studies presented above should be supplemented, i.e. by the analysis of the ratio of cremation and inhumation graves in the burial mound and flat sections within narrow chronological framework. It is also necessary to

present changes in the funerary rites in a more dynamic manner, including the differentiation of grave types in more detail than it is presented in this paper. In particular, the cremation graves seem to be very heterogeneous, which is shown by at least few basic types of urn and pit graves. Using the results of the chronological analysis, it will also be possible to provide a more detailed outline of spatial development of individual cemeteries and to state what was the impact of topography on their development. The list of potential comparative analyses of graves from burial mounds and graves from flat sections of particular cemeteries is of course much longer. For example, let me mention the possibility to determine the affinity of the persons buried in the burial mounds with the persons buried in its vicinity using aDNA tests, or to analyse the wealth of the equipment and workload on the construction of the mounds, to understand the social position of the dead buried in the mounds and in the flat sections.

This paper was intended to outline the topic of the presence of flat graves at the burial mound cemeteries of the Wielbark Culture. The current status of research in this topic and criticism of available sources was presented; a preliminary discussion of a few selected issues was also included. I hope that, along with the growing size of the source material, further studies will become more reliable and will present the funerary rites of the Wielbark Culture population in a more distinctive manner.

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ZAGADNIENIE WYSTĘPOWANIA POCHÓWKÓW PŁASKICH NA CMENTARZYSKACH KURHANOWYCH KULTURY WIELBARSKIEJ W POLSCE PÓLNOECNEJ I WSCHODNIEJ

STRESZCZENIE

Do ciekawszych problemów badawczych związanych z cmentarzyskami kultury wielbarskiej z konstrukcjami naziemnymi należy kwestia występowania pomiędzy kurhanami pochówków płaskich. Problematyka ta nie była podejmowana w dotychczasowych opracowaniach, bądź poruszano ją jedynie marginalnie. W starszej literaturze można także spotkać się z przekonaniem o odrębności nekropoli kurhanowych i płaskich, ewentualnie o „dwoistym” charakterze cmentarzysk, z wyraźnym przestrzennym rozdzielaniem części kurhanowej i płaskiej. Konsekwencją takiego założenia była częsta praktyka nie zakładania wykopów archeologicznych pomiędzy kurhanami, bądź badanie części płaskiej w sposób wycinkowy, jedynie za pomocą wykopów sondażowych.

Cmentarzyska kurhanowe w porównaniu z typowymi dla kultury wielbarskiej nekropolami płaskimi są niezbyt liczne, stanowiąc zapewne jedynie ułamek procenta wszystkich stanowisk sepulkralnych tej jednostki archeologicznej. Wstępna krytyczna kwerenda źródłowa wykazała, że do grupy stanowisk kurhanowych możemy jednoznacznie zaliczyć jedynie 42 cmentarzyska: 25 z Pomorza oraz 17 z Mazowsza i Podlasia, na których zarejestrowano około 300 mogił (Ryc. 1) – zdecydowanie mniej, niż wynikałoby to z dotychczasowych opracowań. We wczesnym okresie wpływów rzymskich stanowiska kurhanowe występują na Pobrzu Słowińskim oraz w strefie pojezierzy: Kaszubskiego, Krajeńskiego, Drawskiego i Wielkopolskiego, a więc w strefach B i C osadnictwa kultury wielbarskiej w ujęciu R. Wołągiewicza. W młodszym okresie wpływów rzymskich oraz we wczesnej fazie okresu wędrówek ludów koncentrują się one na północnym Mazowszu oraz Podlasiu. W zasięgu kultury wielbarskiej nie można wskazać żadnego rejonu, na którym obiekty kurhanowe przeważałyby nad nekropolami płaskimi.

Okres użytkowania nekropoli kurhanowych odpowiada w dużym stopniu czasowi trwania kultury wielbarskiej, a główna różnica polega na nieco późniejszym pojawieniu się ich w stosunku do najwcześniejszych stanowisk o cechach wielbarskich na Pomorzu. Najstarsze pochówki pod kurhanami pochodzą z fazy B₁ lub z początku fazy B₂ (Ryc. 2A). Na Pomorzu mogiły budowano aż do czasu opuszczenia tego terenu przez ludność kultury wielbarskiej, tj. do rozwiniętej fazy C₁ (Ryc. 2B). W strefie ekspansji wielbarskiej na Mazowszu i Podlasiu najwcześniejsze kurhany możemy jednoznacznie łączyć z rozwiniętym odcinkiem fazy C₁ (Ryc. 2C), pojedyncze zespoły grobowe, zawierające mniej precyzyjne wyznaczniki chronologiczne, mogą pochodzić jednak już z fazy B₂/C₁–C_{1a}. Zwyczaj składania zmarłych pod nasypami kurhanowymi kontynuowany był aż do schyłku osadnictwa wielbarskiego, a więc do fazy C₃–D (Ryc. 2D).

Cmentarzyska kurhanowe kultury wielbarskiej stanowią bardzo zróżnicowaną grupę. Różnią się one między sobą na przykład lokalizacją w krajobrazie, zajmowaną powierzchnią, liczbą kurhanów i grobów, występowaniem bądź brakiem dodatkowych konstrukcji kamiennych, takich jak kręgi, wieńce czy bruki. Wszelkie badania porównawcze tych stanowisk są mocno utrudnione z powodu ich nierównomiernego rozpoznania, ponadto żadnej z interesujących nas nekropoli nie przebadano w całości. Z grupy 43 cmentarzysk jedynie siedem zostało zbadanych wykopaliskowo i opublikowanych w sposób pozwalający na przeprowadzenie bardziej szczegółowych analiz. Z tych powodów w centrum rozważań znalazły się lepiej poznane stanowiska z Babiego Dołu-Borcza i Węsiorów w pow. kartuskim, Gronowa i Nowego Łowicza w pow. drawskim, Odrów, pow. chojnicki, i Cecel, pow. siemiatycki.

Kluczowym zagadnieniem przy analizie postawionego problemu badawczego było ustalenie dość oczywistej relacji pomiędzy stanem

rozpoznania konkretnych stanowisk a liczbą zarejestrowanych tam grobów, zarówno w i pod kurhanami jak i w przestrzeniach pomiędzy nimi. W tym celu konieczne było usystematyzowanie wiedzy na temat wielkości poszczególnych stanowisk i ustalenie przybliżonego stosunku powierzchni ich części kurhanowych i płaskich, także z uwzględnieniem kręgów i wieńców kamiennych, występujących na niektórych stanowiskach na Pomorzu. Zestawienie danych dotyczących powierzchni zbadanej wykopaliskowo i porównanie ich z szacunkowo określoną powierzchnią cmentarzysk umożliwiło orientacyjne określenie stopnia rozpoznania archeologicznego poszczególnych stanowisk (Tabela 1 i 2; Diagram 1 i 2). Tego typu zabiegi o charakterze wstępnym pozwoliły na przeprowadzenie dalszych, bardziej szczegółowych badań.

Analiza planów lepiej rozpoznanych nekropoli kurhanowych wydaje się wskazywać na istnienie dwóch podstawowych modeli rozplanowania części płaskich. Dla pierwszego z nich najbardziej reprezentatywna wydaje się być nekropola w Węsiorach (Ryc. 4), gdzie groby płaskie występują w kilku skupieniach, wyraźnie rozdzielonych pustymi przestrzeniami bez pochówków. Drugi model organizacji przestrzeni cmentarnej prezentuje nekropola w Cecelach (Ryc. 8), na której groby płaskie wypełniają dość równomiernie całą przestrzeń ograniczoną linią największego zasięgu kurhanów. Nietypową sytuację zarejestrowano w Babim Dole-Borczu. Stanowisko to charakteryzuje się zarówno niedużymi rozmiarami, jak i nielicznymi kurhanami i kręgami kamiennymi, dodatkowo położonymi bardzo blisko obok siebie. Przy takim rozplanowaniu założeń naziemnych tylko pojedyncze groby płaskie mogły zostać złożone pomiędzy nimi. Większość grobów płaskich znajduje się zatem – wyjątkowo – poza największym zasięgiem występowania kurhanów i kręgów.

Jednym z podstawowych pytań w studiach nad cmentarzyskami kurhanowymi kultury wielbarskiej jest ustalenie proporcji pomiędzy liczbą grobów złożonych w mogiłach a liczbą grobów w częściach płaskich. Mimo ograniczeń źródłowych wyniki analizy porównawczej najlepiej rozpoznanych stanowisk pokazują jeden obraz, a mianowicie we wszystkich przypadkach przewagę grobów płaskich nad grobami związanymi z kurhanami (Tabela 3; Diagram 3). Przewaga grobów płaskich jest najmniej wyraźna na nekropoli z największą zarejestrowaną dotychczas liczbą kurhanów (66) w Nowym Łowiczu, wynosi bowiem 1,6:1. Na pozostałych cmentarzyskach z Pomorza przewaga grobów złożonych w przestrzeniach międzykurhanowych jest już zdecydowanie wyższa i wyraża się w stosunku od 6:1 do 18:1. Proporcje zmieniają się bardzo wyraźnie na najlepiej rozpoznanym stanowisku wielbarskim we wschodniej Polsce, w Cecelach. Jest to, niestety, jedyny obiekt w strefie ekspansji tej kultury, który został rozpoznany w stopniu na tyle zadowalającym, by poddać go analizie. Stosunek liczby grobów płaskich do pierwotnie złożonych pod kurhanami wynosi aż 96:1, a przy uwzględnieniu grobów wtórnych 48:1. Różnice pomiędzy cmentarzyskami z Pomorza i Podlasia mogą być związane ze zmianami w kurhanowym obrządku pogrzebowym w młodszym okresie wpływów rzymskich. Zmniejsza się wówczas wyraźnie liczba kurhanów notowanych na poszczególnych cmentarzyskach. Przyczyny tego zjawiska należy szukać po części w wyraźniejszym niż wcześniej rozwarstwieniu społecznym ludności wielbarskiej, czego efektem był bardziej elitarny niż we wczesnym okresie rzymskim charakter pochówków podkurhanowych. Znajduje to potwierdzenie w ponadprzeciętnym wyposażeniu niektórych, lepiej zachowanych grobów.

Istotne miejsce w studiach nad kurhanami kultury wielbarskiej zajmują badania obrządku pogrzebowego. Podobnie jak na płaskich

nekropolach wielbarskich, tak i na cmentarzyskach kurhanowych notujemy bardzo duże zróżnicowanie zwyczajów pogrzebowych, co przejawia się przede wszystkim w równoczesnym występowaniu grobów szkieletowych i ciałopalnych różnych typów, w wyjątkowych przypadkach także pod nasypem jednego kurhanu.

Ciekawie wyniki przyniosła już podstawowa analiza stosunku ilościowego grobów szkieletowych i ciałopalnych w częściach kurhanowych i płaskich na lepiej przebadanych stanowiskach, choć należy pamiętać, że jej wyniki są częściowo zniekształcone ze względu na nierównomierny stopień rozpoznania poszczególnych stanowisk (Tabela 4; Diagram 4). Mimo, że stosunek grobów ciałopalnych do szkieletowych w obrębie poszczególnych stanowisk wykazuje dużą rozpiętość, to można jednak zaobserwować pewne powtarzające się wzorce.

Na lepiej rozpoznanych stanowiskach na Pomorzu w strefach kurhanowych notujemy albo zbliżoną liczbę grobów ciałopalnych i szkieletowych (Nowy Łowicz, Odry), wyjątkowo z niewielką przewagą ciałopalenia (Leśno), albo prymat inhumacji (Gronowo), w niektórych przypadkach bardzo czytelny (Węsiory, Babi Dół-Borc). Odmienna tendencja występuje natomiast w częściach płaskich, gdzie niemal zawsze góruje obrządek ciałopalny. Przewaga ciałopalenia jest na niektórych stanowiskach niezbyt wyraźna (Nowy Łowicz, Odry), na innych liczba grobów ciałopalnych kilkakrotnie przewyższa liczbę grobów szkieletowych (Leśno, Węsiory). Jedynym cmentarzyskiem, na którym w części płaskiej zanotowano większą liczbę grobów szkieletowych jest Babi Dół-Borc.

Przedstawienie tej kwestii w odniesieniu do cmentarzysk z Polski wschodniej jest zdecydowanie trudniejsze, ze względu na ograniczony stopień ich rozpoznania archeologicznego. Sądząc z wyników dotychczasowych badań, na niektórych stanowiskach przez cały młodszy okres wpływów rzymskich (fazy C₁–C₂) notujemy w kurhanach, podobnie jak wcześniej na Pomorzu, obrządek birtualny (Grochy Stare, pow. białostocki, Uśnik-Kolonia, pow. łomżyński). Znamy także nekropole o lepiej zbadanych partiach kurhanowych, gdzie występują wyłącznie groby szkieletowe (Cecele, o ile nie uwzględnimy grobów ciałopalnych wkopanych wtórnie, oraz Kitki, pow. mławski), bądź jedynie ciałopalne (Kutowa, pow. hajnowski). Wydaje się, że w późnym okresie wpływów rzymskich i we wczesnej fazie wędrówek ludów (C₃–D) dominowało ciałopalenie, ponadto obok typowych grobów jamowych pojawia się nowy typ pochówków ciałopalnych, złożonych bezpośrednio na powierzchni gruntu (Pielgrzymowo, pow.

nidzicki, kurhan II, Jasionowa Dolina, pow. sokólski, kurhan 10, Skiwie Małe, pow. siemiatycki, kurhan 1).

Podsumowując należy podkreślić, że mimo ograniczeń źródłowych przeprowadzone studia ujawniły dość czytelną zasadę: na wszystkich cmentarzyskach, na których w większym stopniu przebadano powierzchnię między kurhanami, natrafiano na groby płaskie. Co więcej, groby płaskie zarejestrowano także na stanowiskach zbadanych w niewielkim zakresie (np. Gralewo, pow. gorzowski, Pałędzie Kościelne, pow. mogileński, Goździk, pow. garwoliński). Obecność grobów płaskich na cmentarzyskach kurhanowych kultury wielbarskiej wydaje się być zatem regułą.

Analizując opublikowane dotychczas raporty z wykopalisk można odnieść wrażenie, że świadomość konieczności prowadzenia wykopalisk w przestrzeni pomiędzy kurhanami nie była powszechna. Problem w mniejszym stopniu dotyczy Polski północnej, gdzie systematyczne prace w częściach płaskich miały miejsce na pięciu stanowiskach, począwszy od lat 50. XX wieku. W Polsce wschodniej szerzej zakrojone wykopaliska prowadzono natomiast tylko na dwóch cmentarzyskach kurhanowych – przy tym strefę międzykurhanową badano po raz ostatni w latach 60. XX wieku! Niepodejmowanie prac w częściach płaskich wielu nekropoli nie tylko ogranicza możliwość podjęcia bardziej szczegółowych analiz naukowych, ale ma też swój wymiar w dziedzinie konserwacji zabytków archeologicznych. Przykład cmentarzysk kultury wielbarskiej pokazuje, że ochroną konserwatorską, ewentualnie wykopaliskami o charakterze ratunkowym, należy obejmować nie tylko same kopce, ale także przestrzeń w ich najbliższym otoczeniu.

Aktualnym postulatem o charakterze zarówno naukowym jak i konserwatorskim, jest określenie zasięgu płaskich części stanowisk kurhanowych. Można to osiągnąć nie tylko w wyniku wykopalisk, ale także w ramach szerzej zakrojonych prospekcji przy wykorzystaniu metod nieinwazyjnych. Aby jednak dokładnie rozpoznać charakter części płaskich poszczególnych nekropoli niezbędne wydaje się opublikowanie materiałów pozyskanych w efekcie prac terenowych prowadzonych w ostatnich dziesięcioleciach. Najbliższe lata przyniosą zapewne zakończenie prac na ważnych dla interesującej nas problematyki stanowiskach pomorskich w Babim Dole-Borczu i Nowym Łowiczu. Koniecznym warunkiem dla podjęcia poważniejszych studiów nad cmentarzyskami kurhanowymi w Polsce wschodniej jest natomiast podjęcie dalszych prac terenowych, przede wszystkim w strefach płaskich cmentarzysk.

WYKAZ SKRÓTÓW TYTUŁÓW CZASOPISM I WYDAWNICTW WIELOTOMOWYCH

ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICALS' AND SERIAL PUBLICATIONS' TITLES

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

