Vėlyvojo neolito laidojimo papročiai ir tikėjimai Latvijoje

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Santrauka


Paaiškėja 6 skirtingos šių palaidojimų pozicijos (Pav. 2). Vyrų galvos buvo orientuotos į šiaurę, moterų - į vakarus. Kapų radiniai - amfora, laurelis, pokabaliai, pagaminti iš gyvulių dantų ir gintaro, gintaro sagutės su vaidmale sklypute ir šaulio riešo skydeliais. Pastarieji pasižymi originaliu savo ornamentų stiliumi (Pav. 3).

Religinių tikėjimų atsispindėjo vėlyvojo neolito kaulo ir rago figūrėlėse - žalčio, šermuo, meškų ir paukščių. Šių figūrėlių temos gali būti palygintos su ankstyvųjų indoeuropiečių tautosakos subjektais, ypač senovės išlietu ir prūsų.
and a few other species (Girininkas 1990a). Settlements in west Lithuania, such as Daktariškės 5 and Šventosios 4, show different frequencies of bones of wild animal species: red deer (35%), wild pig (32%), elk (13%), roe deer (9%), as well as aurochs (Bos primigenius) and beaver (Daugnora and Girininkas, in press).

**Middle Neolithic**

The Middle Neolithic period in the south-east Baltic is dated to 2900/2700 - 2300/2100 B.C., and constitutes the first half of the Subboreal climatic period. Evidence of mixed farming begins to appear at the following Middle Neolithic Narva ceramic culture sites: Šventosios, west Lithuania (Rimantienė 1979); Kretuonas, east Lithuania (Girininkas 1990a, 1994; Daugnora 1992e; Daugnora and Girininkas 1995); Zvidžė, east Latvia (Loze 1988); Usviati, Russia (Dolukhanov and Mikijev 1985); Krivina, north Belarus (Chernjavsky 1986). It is clear, however, that throughout the Early and Middle Neolithic the principal mode of subsistence in the southeast Baltic was hunting and gathering.

Preference for different species of game animals appears to correlate to some extent with ecological environment. In general, the red deer is found in high open forest, while the elk prefers a damp, mixed conifer - broad leaf forest (Paaver 1965: 235-80). In the south-east, for example, the primary game species were the red deer, evidenced by osteological remains from such settlements as Zemaitiškiškės 3B and Kretuonas IB in east Lithuania; and in Russia: Usviati IV, Naumov, Serteja I and II, Dziedzica, and Dubokraya (Dolukhanov and Mikijev 1985). To the north, around the Lublina Lake Depression, eastern Latvia, and the southern Gulf of Finland, the principal game animals were aurochs and elk (Loze 1988). In the western coastal zone, preferred game included seals (Phocaenidae) (50%), wild pig (30%), beaver, elk, aurochs, red deer and other species (Daugnora and Girininkas, in press).

In the eastern and northern areas of the Narva ceramic culture, bone fragments of sheep (Ovis aries) and goats (Capra hircus) first appear during the Middle Neolithic (Rimantienė 1979: 45-47). At this time, there is also an increase in the number of flint microolith blades that were set into scythes, and used for hay production (Girininkas 1990a,b). The initial development of agriculture in this region therefore appears to be linked to stock breeding.

A different regional trend is evident in the western and south-western areas of the Narva ceramic tradition. Here, the origin of agriculture takes the form of mixed farming, i.e. grain cultivation in conjunction with stock breeding. By the end of the Middle Neolithic, for example, an oak and is known from Šventosios 6; a small-scale model (perhaps serving a ritual function?) of an ox yoke from Šventosios 4; grains of hemp (Cannabis sativa) from Šventosios 2B and 3B; and millet seeds (Panicum milicen) from Šventosios 6 (Rimantienė 1979, 1986). This mixed agricultural complex in the western region appears to be directly influenced by, or borrowed from, the neighboring Funnel Beaker and Globular Amphora ceramic cultures located to the south and south-west.

In our opinion, the two regional agricultural traditions – mixed farming in the west-southwest, and stock breeding in the east-northeast – assume their different trajectories almost from the very beginning, i.e. the Middle Neolithic. Regional environmental factors, e.g. arable soils, composition of flora, and differential access to trade networks had a strong influence in the formation of the two traditions.

On the whole, the cultivation of domesticated plants and animals (cattle, sheep, goats) in the traditional Baltic culture-area began quite slowly. In the south-west region, bones of domesticated animals make up only 9.0% of all identified animals bones, and of this number dog remains represent 6.84%. In the north-east region, domesticated animal bones represent 7.56% of all faunal remains at Kretuonas IB; 1.1% at sites in the Usviati region (Pskov, Russia); and 9.8% at Zvidžė, east Latvia (Loze 1988). The presence of spindle whorls during the Middle Neolithic at Kretunonas IB - their earliest appearance in the entire east Baltic area - indicates the first use of domesticated plants at the site (Girininkas 1990a). We believe influence from the neighboring Funnel Beaker ceramic culture stimulated the development of agriculture in this area.

In sum, agriculture appears to have developed more rapidly in the south-western region of the Baltic culture-area, than in its north-eastern and eastern regions. The explanation of this process should be sought in the regional subsistence potential of hunting and fishing activities, climatic conditions and other natural environmental factors (Kabašiš is 1990), as well as the influence of neighboring cultures (Girininkas 1989).

**Late Neolithic**

The Late Neolithic period in the traditional Baltic culture-area is dated to 2300/ 2100 - 1800/1600 B.C., and constitutes the middle of the Subboreal climatic period. In the western Baltic culture-region, major advances in agriculture took place during the Late Neolithic. In the north-east Baltic region, however, traditional subsistence activities such as hunting, gathering, and fishing were maintained, and no advances in agriculture are noted. In the opinion of many archaeologists (Loze 1988; Chernjavsky 1979; Mikijev and Dolukhanov 1986) the influence of the Corded Ware ceramic culture stimulated the development of agriculture in the traditional Baltic culture-area. Our osteological data, however, indicate that this was not the case in the north-east Baltic region. Figure 1 shows that sites in east Lithuania (Žemaitiškiškės 1, Žemaitiškiškės 2, Žemaitiškiškės 3A, Kretuonas 1A and 1D) had an average 6.9% of bones of domesticated species within the total faunal collection. Contemporary sites in neighbouring areas indicate similar quantities: in east Latvia (Loze 1979) the corresponding percentage is 3%, while in the southern Pskov district it is 14% (Mikijev and Dolukhanov 1986). Throughout the Late Neolithic, hunting and fishing continued to be the primary modes of subsistence in the eastern Baltic region. Principal game animals were red deer, elk, wild pig, roe deer, aurochs, bear, and beaver. The size of fish bones indicates the
catch of very large weels (Silurus glanis), northern pike (Esox lucius), perch (Perca fluviatilis), roach (Rutilus rutilus) and others.

Figure 1 clearly demonstrates that domesticated animals at Late Neolithic settlements in west Lithuania were more numerous than those in east Lithuania. For example, at the Daktariškės 5 settlement the quantity of domesticated animal bones is 13.7%, and at Šarnelė it reaches 17% (Girininkas 1977). There is other evidence of agriculture at settlements in the Baltic western region. Seeds of hemp and millet plants are among those from the Šventosios 1A and 9 sites, as well as at Šarnelė. Pollen profiles show evidence of different types of wheat in the region, and agricultural implements such as hoes and plowing implements have been found in archaeological excavations (Rimantienė 1979: 45-47). Here, the Corded Ware ceramic culture played a more prominent role in the development of farming in the western Baltic region, than it did in other Baltic regions.

The Late Neolithic introduction of long houses - used for human residence, as well as the stabilizing to of farm animals and storage of food and tools - sheds light on the nature of agriculture in the Baltic culture area. Long houses measured 14-16m in length and some 3-4m in width. Remains of such structures are known from the settlement of Žemaitiškės 2 in east Lithuania (Girininkas 1990a: 89-90, Fig. 112), as well as at Abora, Lagaža, and Eini in Latvia (Loze 1979: 55-60). The Late Neolithic tool inventory (e.g. stone hoes, wooden ards and yokes) also provides evidence of stock breeding and agriculture. At the same time, however, wild animals continued to be exploited: antler of elk and red deer were fashioned into tools used to soften hides, and to manufacture leather belts.

Bronze Age

Agriculture in the Baltic area changes significantly during the Old Bronze Age (1800-1600 - 1100 B.C.), a period which corresponds to the ending of the Subboreal climatic interval. The first evidence of metallurgy appears, in the form of bronze tools and ornaments, as well as casting moulds and small casting crucibles (Loze 1978; Girininkas 1990a). It is important to note that bronze technology is more widespread in the western Baltic region than in the eastern area. Raw metal for local bronze production was probably brought in from central Europe (although finished tools were also being imported). It is clear that by the end of the Old Bronze Age, agriculture is being practised more extensively than hunting and gathering, as the principal mode of subsistence in the eastern Baltic region. This is observed in Figure 2, which shows that in east Lithuania the percentage of pigs and cattle, in terms of all identified animal bones, steadily increases throughout the Old Bronze Age, from about 18% to 60%.

This trend is supported by data from other eastern Baltic hill-fort settlements in east Latvia (Loze 1979: 55-60) and the southern Pskov district (Dolukhanov and Miljajev 1985: 55). They indicate that bones of domesticated animals constitute 25%, and more, of all identified animal bone. The increasing importance of animal husbandry is also indicated here by the three-fold
Domesticates are slightly less numerous in east Lithuania (Luchtanis 1986) and substantially fewer in the Smolensk region, Russia (Schmidt 1992) This supports our contention that mixed farming developed at a more intensive pace in the western Baltic area.

In the bottom-most layers of the Narkūnai hill-fort in east Lithuania - dated to the end of the second millennium B.C. and the beginning of the first millennium B.C. - bones of domesticated animals represent from 74.7% to 85.3% of all identified animal bones (Luchtanis 1986). Similarly, in contemporary hill-fort settlements located along the upper and middle Daugava (northern Belarus and southern Pskov district), bones of animal domesticates represent 40% to 80% of the total faunal remains. About a third of the domesticates are pigs, followed by cattle, goats and sheep, and horses (Dolukhanov and Miklajev 1985). Hunting of wild animals in this region, however, continued to play a supplementary role in subsistence during the New Bronze Age. They represent 14.7% to 25.3% of identified faunal remains in various layers.

Data from east Lithuania indicate that during the Neolithic and Old Bronze Age the bones, horns and antlers of wild animals were used as raw material for the manufacture of utilitarian tools, as well as hunting and fishing equipment. The hunters of the time recognized and optimally exploited the anatomical structural features of the antlers of red deer and elk (the two species represent 33.5% of the identified worked osteological remains), in addition to their ossa antelarum, metacarpus, metatarsus which represent 23.3% of the identified worked osteological remains (Daugnora 1992a; Daugnora and Girininkas 1994; Daugnora and Girininkas, 1995). This pattern of use continues into the New Bronze Age. With, however, an increase in stock breeding, and a concomitant decrease in hunting, the bones of sheep and goat began to be utilized as raw material for the production of tools and implements. At this time, there is also an increase in the utilized number of bones of horse and roe deer, evidenced by the artefacts recovered from hill-fort sites at Narkūnai, Nevieriški, Sokiškiai, Juodony, all in eastern Lithuania, and Mūkukalns, Latvia (Daugnora and Girininkas, in press).

Osteological material recovered in western Latvia from the bottom stratigraphic layers (Nos. 7-9) of hill-forts at Kivulkals and Vinalkals provide useful information about the development of stock breeding and agriculture among the west Balts during the New Bronze Age (Graudonis 1989). At these sites, the quantity of bones from domesticated animals shows an increase of 10%-15% over the previous period, and represents 95%-97% of all identified animal bone. Subsistence based on hunting and fishing has now virtually disappeared, at least in this region.

Conclusions

The development of stock breeding and agriculture in the traditional Baltic culture-area began during the Middle Neolithic period. Their evolution represents a slow and gradual process, which extended throughout the Late
Neolithic and the Old Bronze Age. By the beginning of the New Bronze Age, stock breeding and agriculture were firmly established in the Baltic culture-area, and at this point there is clear evidence of regional specialization. That is, mixed farming was practised in the western sphere of the Baltic culture-area, while stock breeding predominated in the eastern region. Associated with this regional division are several factors - including distribution of arable soil, local flora, and the technological and economic influence of neighbouring cultures - which have not yet been fully investigated. They represent important areas for future research.

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Žemdirbystė ir gyvulininkystė istorinėse baltų kultūros teritorijose neolito ir bronzos amžiuje

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Santrauka

Baltų žemėse gaminybės ūkis pradėjo formuotis vidurinįjame neolite. Šis procesas vyko laipsniškai ir tęsėsi vėlyvajame neoleito bei senająame bronzos amžiuje. Galutiniai gaminybės ūkis įsitvirtino naupajame bronzos amžiuje. Tačiau laikotarpiai baltų teritorijoje, gaminybės ūkis vystėsi nevienodai. Vakarų baltų kambarių ūkis sudarė žemdirbystę ir gyvulininkystę, o rytinėse baltų žemėse pagrindine ūkio šaka buvo gyvulininkystė. Šie skirtumai tampriausiai susiję su dirvozemio, flora, kaimyninio krašto šaka ir prekyba.