THREE OBJECTS OF ART FROM AN IRON AGE SETTLEMENT SITE IN SOUTH SWEDEN

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Introduction

During the last few decades investigations with the aid of metal detectors have contributed to a new situation for research into the Iron Age in South Scandinavia. Traditionally, the mapping of Iron Age settlements has been a major obstacle as they are difficult to trace. Surveys have usually given just some sherds of ceramics and perhaps some burnt stones, objects difficult to date and evaluate. However, surveying with the aid of metal detectors has changed the picture fundamentally. In the last two decades a new type of settlements has appeared, primarily in Denmark but, as we shall see, also in South Sweden. The objects which are found with metal detectors are ornaments, coins, mountings, tools and remnants of metalworking. As several settlement sites show abundant finds and often objects of prestige character, together with indications of trade and crafts, a new term – central place – is often used. By central place is meant a settlement that in some respects has assembled functions of central importance to a region of varying size (Gronnegård 1997; Paulsson 1999).

It might be appropriate here to make some comments on the use of metal detectors in archaeological research. First, their use is strictly regulated in Swedish law. It is absolutely forbidden to use them on ancient monuments or settlements without permission from the National Heritage Board. The investigation must be carried out with great responsibility. This means that the location of every single object must be measured and mapped and the objects registered according to current museum standards. It is worth noticing that metal detecting usually only affects the plough layer, within 10 to 20 cm of the surface. Thus, no undamaged underlying structures in an occupation layer are disturbed. The accurate measurement of the position of every single object found by metal detector may be of great value in the event of later excavation (Paulsson 1999).

Uppåkra, a village some five kilometres south of the university town of Lund, has for some decades been known as an unusually big settlement from the Iron Age. A limited
excavation was carried out there in the 1930s, indicating an agrarian settlement from the Roman Iron Age. During the following decades it was found that the extent of the settlement was about 1500 x 600 metres. However, very little was known about the functions of this extensive settlement, nor was its chronological time-span known. In 1996 the Institute of Archaeology, Lund University, started new investigations at the site. The investigations, excavations, geophysical measurements, drilling and searching with metal detectors, has been carried out at the place during the last four years (Larsson 1998). The geophysical measurements together with the auger probes have confirmed the extent of the occupation layer and made it possible to evaluate variations in its thickness (Larsson 1998 and in press). The excavations have so far been limited, but some interesting results and spectacular finds have been made, for example, large quantities of debris from a comb workshop from early Iron Age or a big, glazed relief-brooch from the Migration Period. The most spectacular part of the investigations, however, has been the detector search. The results are overwhelming: by now over 7,000 finds have been registered. The finds show that the Upplåka played a central part in society from the time around the Birth of Christ till the end of the 10th century. The finds indicate a variety of functions such as trade, long-distance contacts, crafts of various kinds as well as religious activities. Objects of prestige character make it probable that persons from the highest social levels were present or lived at the place (Härdfeldt 1998; various articles in Nyfönd 1999, Härdfel in press). Of course it is impossible to give a survey of the impressive record. Instead I will present three objects, through which it is possible to tell three stories, which together will give a glimpse of a very special South Swedish settlement from the Iron Age.

A pendant with snake decoration

As the objects found by metal detector in a certain sense are without context, the only way to interpret them is to work with parallels from well-known contexts. Sometimes, however, the objects found are unique, with no clear parallels. Then we have to analyse details of the object and work with combinations of elements. In 1996 a pendant was found, which at first glance seemed to be unparalleled. It is 49 mm wide and 48 mm high and has remnants of a loop with parallel grooves. The pendant is made of silver with gilded decoration. The front side shows two snakes cast in low relief. The bodies of the snakes are rather broad and their heads, seen from above, have long noses and elliptical eyes. Along the middle of the bodies there is a stamped decoration of concentric bows in two rows along two parallel, grooved lines. The snakes are gilded (Härdfeldt 1999a). On the back there are some graffiti, engraved lines which delineate snake figures, a head of the same type as on the front and a snake head seen from the side (Bergqvist 1999, fig. 2).

In order to find parallels to the pendant we may look at some well-known sacrificial finds from central Scania, i.e. the Södola and Fullroha finds. Both finds consist of horse equipment of extraordinary quality, including gilded and decorated mountings (Forsander 1937:183 ff.; Fabech 1991). They have also been intentionally destroyed. They were both deposited on the top of eskers in the interior of the province. According to Fabech, the mountings show connections to Central and Eastern Europe. She believes that the finds reflect religious activities in connection with funeral ceremonies (Fabech 19:130 ff.; Fabech 1993:234 ff). They probably indicate the presence of an upper class with international connections and the ability to combine foreign and indigenous rituals (Fabech 1993:224).

The objects are decorated with stamps in geometrical shapes. The decoration is usually referred to as the Södola style. This style is characterised by stamped, geometric ornamentation, often applied to silver thin plate. It has been defined on technical grounds rather than stylistic ones (Karlsson 1983:163). Roth, as well as Forsander, emphasise the parallels between the South Scandinavian objects and some East European finds (Ferran 1937:313ff; Roth 1979:55). According to Aarhus, the style was developed through the encounter of Roman and Germanic traditions at the Roman border. It is based on Late Roman patterns and occurs in a vast area from the Baltic coast and the Elbe region down to the Danube area, but with a particularly strong concentration in South Sweden. It clearly shows the contacts between Scandinavia and Central and Eastern Europe in the 5th century (Aarhus 1987; Arhenius 1994:190 ff.). Among the mountings in the deposit from Södola and Fullroha there are a couple of pendants which show the same mixture of gold and silver as our pendant and also a stamped ornamentation of the same type. Moreover, these pendants, which are of so-called pebble shape, have impressed heads with snake heads or other types of animal heads on them. The finds referred to belong to the beginning of the 5th century, and there are other examples of metalwork in the same style, for instance brooches, dated to the same period (Forsander 1937:183; Karlsson 1983, figs. 8-9; Härdfeldt 1999a).

It is possible to find parallels to the animal decoration of the pendant also in wood carving from the same time. In bog finds, also interpreted as sacrifice finds, mainly from the Danish area, there are wooden objects, spear shafts and a sword scabbard with carved ornaments which in type and outline closely resemble the snakes on our pendant (Härdfeldt 1999a with references). There thus seems to be a connection between this kind of pendants, sacrifices and weapons. Also the wood carvings belong to the 5th century and thus strengthen the chronological reference.

The next question is, what is our pendant? Is it an ornament for an important person or is some other interpretation more appropriate? The best parallels for our pendant are, as mentioned above, some pebble- or lamula-shaped pendants from a series of sacrificial finds consisting of horse equipment. Hagberg has studied the group and points out several East and Central European parallels, but the actual shape comes from the Mediterranean. Here we can find pictures showing horses decorated with lamula-shaped pendants (Hagberg 1957, figs. 2, 4 and 5). Arhenius discusses a pendant from Vennebo, Västergöt land and states that it belongs to the first half of the 5th century. She refers to it and similar items as“Pferde- nahtringe”, i.e. horse-headless pendants (Arhenius 1987). Although the Upplåka pendant deviates slightly in shape from this group, I think it is quite possible to interpret it in the same way because of its decoration.

The Upplåka pendant, just like most of the objects from the place, was found by metal detector and without any connection to constructions or occupation layers, but it is not totally wondrous how. In the same area some thirty spear-, lance- and arrowheads of iron were found, some of them violently damaged. Deliberate destruction of weapons and other objects is a recurrent feature in the sacrificial finds and thus it might be possible to see a connection between the pendant and the weapons. The pendant is clearly a prestige object. The snake representations have been cautiously interpreted as an expression of the protecting and victorious god Odin, who also is connected to warriors (Bergqvist 1999:116, Härdfeldt 1999 with references). The graffiti on the back strengthens the interpretation of the pendant as an amulet. They are, according to Bergqvist, probably an expression of a wish to strengthen and renew the power of the amulet. Repeating an invocation is a fundamental act in religious practice (Bergqvist 1999:116).

So, the Upplåka pendant can be put into an early 5th century context. We can state that it has connections to other objects, which were part of prestige horse equipment. These objects have been found several times in sacrificial finds, often with weapons. The pendant can be connected to exquisite horse equipment but may also have functioned as an amulet. It is possible that it was deposited as a part of some religious activities.

Beak-shaped brooches

In contrast to the pendant, the beak-shaped brooches really are a kind of everyday item. We encounter them on almost every settlement site and cemetery used in the late 6th and early 7th centuries in South Scandinavia. However, in this respect too the site of Upplåka is extraordinary. Here roughly 180 brooches of the type have been found. This is far more than any other place has contributed. Some of the really rich sites on the island of Bornholm have yielded 30 or so. I am quite convinced that brooches of this type were made at Upplåka, as moulds for them have been found (Härdfeldt 1999, Härdfeldt 2000 in press). Now, the important thing here is that they are abundant, although regionally restricted. They are a South Scandinavian phenomenon, their distribution restricted to Denmark and southernmost Sweden (omnes 166:228 ff). Therefore it is appropriate to analyse their details in order to be able to discuss the conditions of the local craft. The brooches have been analysed according to size, shape, decoration and technical elements. I have tried to understand something about the factors that are decisive for the shaping of various elements. It is probable that technical elements, such as needle attachment and needle keeper, belong to the technical tradition into which the craftsman was trained. Moreover, these elements belong to the back of the brooch and thus are not visible when the brooch is worn. As the brooches are cast, the shape and size depend on the models that the craftsman possessed. Their shape, in turn, may have varied according to chronologically or regionally determined fashions. Perhaps the craftsman had several models, so the customer was able to choose. Then the size
of the brooch might depend on how much bronze there was available or how much the customer was willing to pay. The cast brooch was sometimes decorated with stamped ornaments or gilded. It is likely that the customer could decide these matters on his/her own. So, the final shape of the brooch is due to a series of decisions by various persons and in varying circumstances (Hråd 1999b).

However homogenous their shape, the South Scandinavian bead-shaped brooches, of which a few hundred are known, show a great deal of variations and very close parallels are not as common as one might at first believe. Let us first look at some technical details. The brooch is cast in bronze, but the needle is usually made of iron. There are three different ways to attach the needle: (1) with two tubes or tunnels through which a bar of iron runs, the needle is attached to the bar with a spiral construction, (2) with two perforated pegs or (3) with one perforated peg to which the iron needle with spiral is attached. The construction of the needle attachment gives the clearest regional variation.

In the east, South Sweden and the island of Bornholm, the tunnel construction is dominant, which seems to have been developed locally out of small equal-armed brooches, perhaps equipped with loose spiral plates. The tunnel construction is maintained, by tradition, even on the youngest brooches, although the construction with peg(s) must have been easier to produce. Attaching the needle with one, sometimes two, pegs is predominant in the rest of Denmark, the western part of the distribution area of the type. This may indicate that the bead-shaped brooch was a foreign type in the west and was adapted to the current craft tradition here. The single peg dominates in the west and the tunnel construction is in the east, irrespective of the general shape of the brooch. A double attachment peg is most prominent on the Danish islands, mainly on Zealand. The first type is dominant in the eastern parts of the area of distribution, the second in the centre and the third one in the west (Hråd 1999b).

Thus, within the general South Scandinavian tradition we can distinguish three regions which are defined through technical qualities. Typical of cast brooches is that they may be copied far away from their original production area. Molds can be made from old brooches or prototypes can be transmitted over vast areas. The result is that brooches found far away from each other, and even made according to different technical traditions may be very similar in size and shape. When we come to the stamped decoration the individual workshop or craftsman is visible again. We may assume that the craftsman had a certain set of stamps at hand and so we can again see locally limited distributions of traits, which also probably shows the extent of a certain workshop’s products.

The production of this period was obviously de centralized. There are moulds found at smaller agrarian sites as well. The large number of the brooches indicates that production was carried out rather extensively. Around a third of the brooches found at the Uppåkra site are fragments. It has been stated that at least some of them were deliberately fragmented probably to be reeled. Recycling of metals was a common practice and a large share of the objects found may be regarded as scrap metal. It has even been suggested that a central place like Uppland might have had some kind of monopoly over the supply of important raw material (Hråd 1999b:159 f. with references).

A gilded animal head

A small item, 34 x 22 x 12 mm, of silver with a gilded upper surface, pictures an animal head. It has a pointed nose, oval, vaulted eyes and upright, rounded ears. The mouth is wide open. The neck is ribbed and it is demarcated by ribbons with a decoration of a row of small beads, probably imitating filigree. The execution is decidedly plastic. The back is plain and slightly concave. A portion of its middle part its broken and missing. The object belongs to an exclusive family of similar art products, most of them from prestige contexts.

First of all we have four pairs of harness bows from Denmark with gilded bronze decorations showing animal and animal heads, from Mammen in Jutland, Metlemosegår and Søllefsted on Funen and from Elstrup, Als (Müller-Wille 1975, figs. 1–6; Graham-Campbell & Kidd 1980, figs. 28, 89; Graham-Campbell 1980:143; Nøssøn 1991, figs. 1–2). These harness bows are all very similar although there are variations in details. Typical is that at both ends there are plastic animal heads, cast of bronze and gilded, lion-like and with protruding round ears. The heads are plastic with features in strong relief. The eyes are big, round or oval. The heads from Søllefsted and especially Møllerøseggår show clear similarities to our head, both having oval eyes and proportionally bigger ears than Mammen. Typical of all of them, however, are the beaded ribbons around the animals’ necks. There has been a lengthy debate on the style and dating of the harness bows. Some scholars have referred them to the Jelling style and some to the Mammen style (see below). Concerning chronology, the first half, the middle or the second half of the 10th century have been suggested (Nøssøn 1991:234). Horn Fuglesang refers the Søllefsted as well as the
Møllermoesgård bow to the Mammen style, and dates the style to the second half of the 10th century (Horn Fuglesang 1991:92, 163). Nøssman points out that the harness bows from Mammen and Elstrup are stylistically earlier than Søllested and Møllermoesgård (Nøssman 1991:234).

A series of smaller heads of the same type have been mountings for caskets, the best-known of which are the famous caskets from Bamberg and Kamięń. The two caskets have been treated in an extensive article by Muhl, who refers both to them to the Mammen style (Muhl 1990:272, 321; see also Horn Fuglesang 1991:90 and Wilson 1995:127). The two caskets are well known for their exquisite decoration with animals depicted in carved relief on bone plates and bronze mountings with plastic animal heads, birds and mammals. The mammals' heads from the Bamberg casket have closed mouths and rounded eyes. The heads of the Kamięń casket have wide-open mouths and oval eyes. The ears of the animals from both caskets are rounded and upright. Muhl sees the Bamberg casket and the Kamięń casket as expressions of developed Mammen style. As there also are some elements from the Ringerike style in the decoration of the Kamięń casket, according to Muhl, the latter is possibly somewhat younger than the Bamberg one. Muhl refers the Bamberg casket to the second half of the 10th century and dates the Kamięń casket from the late 10th century to the beginning of the 11th (Muhl 1990:293, 321, 335).

From the tomb in the church of Jelling, two magnificent pieces are known: two mountings from a belt, one with two animal heads and one with one head (Krogh 1983, figs. 22, 23, 24; Vierck 1984, fig. 198:3). The mountings are gilded silver and constitute, as a matter of fact, the best parallels to our head. Similar features are the high relief, the oval eyes, the beaded and grooved ridges as well as the rifling on the necks. Also the use might have been the same. The back of the Uppåkra head is damaged and the neck is broken, so an unambiguous interpretation of its function is not possible. The size speaks in favour of a casket mounting, but a belt mounting is likewise possible.

The harness bows from Søllested are put forward by Graham-Campbell as an example of a superb work in the Jelling style (Graham-Campbell 1980:143). Horn Fuglesang puts them in the Mammen style (Horn Fuglesang 1991) and Wilson maintains that the Søllested bows evidently show an overlap between the Jelling and the Mammen styles (Wilson 1995:121). According to Nøssman, the heads of the harness bows from Mammen show several elements, which are typical of the Jelling style, whereas he refers the bows from Møllermoesgård and Søllested to the Mammen style (Nøssman 1991:234 ff.). Jansson discusses the chronology of the middle and late Viking Age on the basis of recent discoveries, above all dendrochronological datings of some of the central monuments. The eponymous objects or monuments in Jelling or Mammen style seem to belong to a rather restricted period, a third of a century or so. He asks whether it really is appropriate to divide objects into various styles such as the Jelling or Mammen style (Jansson 1991:271 ff.). He concludes by stating that the kings in Jelling had a much larger repertoire of patterns than indicated by traditional style division. The period also seems to have been a period of transition, when the elements of Scandinavian animal art were being developed in various directions (Jansson 1991:270).

The Mammen depot is a scrap metal depot. It contained, besides the harness bows, a series of decorated mountings together with fragments of metal bowls and a patric. The contents of the hoard mirrors the wealth at a Danish manor in the middle of the 10th century and gives an impression of the highest social level in 10th-century Denmark, probably in close connection to the royal court at Jelling (Nøssman 1991:252 ff.).

The mounts from Jelling are referred to by Gabriel as royal precious metal products in the style of the court workshop (Gabriel 1988:227). Vierck discusses them in connection with the Mammen style. He shows the well-known coronation picture of King Canute the Great from New Minster, where the mantle of the king is fastened with mounted straps, and suggests that the Jelling mounts may be interpreted as some kind of regalia (Vierck 1984:415 ff.). Vierck here makes a distinction between objects in the Jelling style and the Mammen style. He maintains that, as only a few objects of the Mammen style are known and these are mainly of exquisite character, they might represent an exclusive court art in contrast to the more widespread Jelling-style objects, which then might represent objects belonging to broader groups of the population (Vierck 1984:416).

The objects presented here are all considered to be South Scandinavian products. The first one, the pendant, is an example of early Germanic animal art, in its first stages of development, in close contact with traditions on the European continent, particularly of Late Roman origin. It might be connected to manifestations of religious art. Because of its quality, uniqueness and the material it must also be connected to the uppermost strata in society of that...
Some notes on design studies in Latvia

Research on geometric design in Latvia began in the 1920s and 30s when the basic ideas characterising ethnographic design became established. Several well-known ethnographers (A. Dzēržītis, J. Sudmalis and others) were engaged in serious work in this field, but it was Ernest Brastiņš, also the founder of a religious movement based on Latvian folklore, the dievdarījums, who was most closely identified with such research. By profession an artist, he is quite a controversial figure, who made important contributions both to Latvian archaeology (by his fieldwork surveys) and to the study of design (Brastiņš E. 1923; Brastiņš E. 1925). Already in 1925 Brastiņš pointed out that specifically Latvian design motifs are not be found. Usually such motifs relate to a wider cultural area, and the characteristic features are to be sought in their selection and composition (Brastiņš E. 1925, 14). As leader of the dievdarījums, he was unacceptable to the Communist government. Along with a large number of Latvian intellectuals, he was murdered in 1940 and his works were forbidden.

During the Soviet period, both archaeology and ethnography, along with study of the associated design, were viewed to some extent as part of a passive opposition movement. Research on design was in reality forbidden. This brought about a very sensitive and exaggerated attitude to design, and attempts to discover in it a deep sacred meaning and cosmic messages of national significance. This was particularly characteristic when the National Awakening began in the late 1980s. One example is the film “The Lievdāre Bell” directed by Ansis Eppers. The need today is to step back from this approach and get back to scientific study of design.

The names of design motifs have become established in Latvia thanks to the Brastiņš’ activities. He tried to discover the symbolic meaning of designs by using folklore material and relevant works by contemporary European researchers. This approach survived and continued among Latvians in exile. At the present day in Latvia the archaeologist Gints Zemitīšs is continuing work on the symbolic content of design. Although the religious experiments by Brastiņš have somewhat discredited his research, the names of the design motifs that he introduced have become firmly established terms used in Latvian archaeological literature too. All are familiar with the cross and swastika. Also used in Latvia are the names sun sign (saules) designating concentric circles (called an “eye” in Lithuanian); the Jumsis sign (Jumzis zīme)—a diagonal cross with upper ends both outwards; and the God sign (Dieva zīme)—a triangle without a base tipped by a circle.

Aspects of design studies

Design is somewhat ambiguous: it can be purely decorative, as characteristic of professional art, and it can also appear in the form of symbols and signs, particularly among primitive and peasant cultures, at the same time without loss of its decorative function. Thus, research can be aimed in different directions in analysis of design structure, as well as attempts to derive a typology and establish the time and place where it
was used. For archaeological material, elementary statistical analysis has an important role. Statistics can establish which modes of composition or motifs are the determinant ones and which are only incidental. Research can seek the history of origin of particular motifs and their former meaning in the cultures where they occur. It must be said that from the archaeological material it is hard to determine the meaning of each design motif—this can be established only from an oral tradition or written sources. Such information is unavailable for archaeological material from Latvia.

Design is often complicated in character. A single system can be brought together geometric, floral and zoomorphic design, as well as human masks and figures. Often, particularly on metal artefacts, graphic representations are combined with raised design. This complicates the formulation and use of all-encompassing terms, so the following discussion gives a brief account of the terms element > motif > block > figure > system.

A **element** can be defined following two different approaches. The first is purely graphical, an element being a simple geometric figure: a dot, a circle or a straight or curved line. The second approach is technological, where one stamp impression is considered an element. The latter approach is used in analysing designs on Neolithic pottery. The present study makes use of the former approach.

A **motif** is a more complicated creation. It can usually be divided into several elements, but occurs repeatedly, usually over large areas or long time periods, possibly with a semantic idea (for example the eowitsis). A **block** is a combination of motifs and elements, not as constant as a motif, but possibly repeated on a single artefact. A **figure** is a combination of various motifs and elements, even larger and more flexible than a block and usually not repeated on an artefact.

A **system** is the combination of all of these components in a definitive composition, characteristic of a whole artefact group.

Components of a design larger than an element, but not clearly definable, are described.

The author agrees with Lithuanian design researcher A. Bluijene that a design cannot be considered in isolation from the artefacts that it adorns [Bluijene A. 1999, p. 261]. Since insufficient space does not permit discussion of all Latgalian arm-bands, men's arm-bands have been chosen, because it is these in particular that are most richly ornamented during this period. It should be mentioned that the ornamentation of men's arm-bands differs from that of women's arm-bands. Only at the very end of the period of study does the ornamentation overlap (on arm-bands with animal-head ends).

**The possibility of dating design**

In principle this is an archaeological question, but cannot be ignored if the development of design is to be understood. In the first place, design never exists on its own, but is always linked to the surface that has been ornamented, and so it is always associated with a particular object. In each particular case the date for the artefact automatically becomes the date of the design. However, certain forms of design, although directly linked to the artefacts on which they occur, are nevertheless found over much wider areas and for a much longer period of time than the particular artefacts. And although there are certain motifs connected with a specific group of artefacts—pottery, textiles or metal jewellery, it is usually the case that the same motifs occur during one particular time period on several groups of artefacts. It is often the details of a motif or combinations thereof that prove more useful for dating purposes.

Now let us turn exclusively to the designs found on arm-bands.

**The place of arm-bands in ancient Latgalian culture of the 9th-12th centuries**

The main forms of arm-bands worn during this period are:

1. warriors' arm-bands;
2. solid arm-bands of segmental section;
3. animal-headed arm-bands.

Around the 7th century the neck-ring, considered one of the most important status indicators, disappears from male graves. Fibulae are dominant in the 8th century: the owl fibula and the crossbow fibula with poppy-head ends. In the early 8th century both men and women wore claw-ended arm-bands with a hatched rhomboid plait design. But already at this time a process was beginning whereby men's arm-bands came to be of radically different form from women's arm-bands, although very sparsely ornamented (bollow and solid profiled arm-bands). This means that the arm-band was coming to be a gender-specific artefact in graves (Fig. 1).

From the 9th century men began to wear warriors' arm-bands, which featured not only as ethnic and gender indicators, but also as rank insignia. For example at Nukš cemetery, for which archaeologist Elviša Šmite has produced a social classification, it is found in burials of the first and second category, but only in two cases in third category burials [Žiaukne E., Žiūris T. 1957, p. 41]. It is also found in child (boys') graves, showing that status in the social hierarchy was inherited. Armis radioj [1999, p. 132] does not, however, support this view at least with regard to Nukš cemetery, where arm-bands have been found in 70% of male graves.

In the 9th century only warriors' arm-bands were worn, supplemented in the 10th and 11th centuries by solid arm-bands of semi-circular section, which in the 11th century the warrior's arm-band commonly occurs together with the animal-headed arm-band. In certain cases the solid arm-band with segmental section is also found together with the animal-headed arm-band. Although the arm-bands commonly occur together, the warrior's arm-band was also worn alone during the whole of this period. There is even one burial (Abējs Priednieki cemetery) with all three arm-band forms.

Thus we may consider that the arm-band had come to be one of the components of a complex of signs showing the individual's place in society.

In the 11th century we already see a decline in the value of the arm-band as a social indicator. Animal-headed arm-bands are found also with women, and women continued to wear them even when they had fallen out of use among men. Animal-headed arm-bands are one of the last forms of arm-band to be worn by males. All the other men's arm-band forms from this time are rare and exhibit evident influences from neighbouring groups, or even represent imports.

During the 9th-12th centuries when men's arm-bands had the highest social status, they were also most richly decorated. Unfortunately, comparison of designs on Latgalians women's and men's arm-bands is complicated by the fact that in the 8th and early 9th century, when women wore richly ornamented cuff-shaped arm-bands, the profiled arm-bands of the men were practically unadorned.
while during the time when warriors’ arm-bands were in use, women’s arm-bands were represented by the spiral arm-band, which, although very distinctive, did not have much space for decoration. Thus, although we may conclude that during the 9th–11th centuries designs on women’s and men’s arm-bands were significantly different, we have no definite chronological proof.

It should be mentioned that similar designs also occur on penannular brooches from this time.

**Designs on warriors’ arm-bands**

Warriors’ arm-bands have been subject to the most exhaustive archaeological study. Typology, chronology and distribution have all been investigated (Daiga J. 1974, p. 174–197). This has greatly aided the study of designs on this form of arm-band. It has turned out that, although a particular type of design often corresponds to a particular arm-band type, this is not always the case. This study treats 164 of the 200 arm-bands published by Daiga. Not subject to study are child arm-bands, damaged pieces and pieces on which the design is unclear.

**Design composition**

The ornamentation of warriors’ arm-bands is divided into three compositional sections:

1) ornamentation of the ends of the arm-band;
2) ornamentation of the central part of the bow of the arm-band;
3) ornamentation of bands along the edges.

Since the ornament along the edges has been analysed in some detail by Daiga and is one of the components used for arm-band typology, it is not discussed separately here. The main part of the ornament, and the most ancient one, is that of the ends of the arm-bands. This is based on one particular motif, consisting of a caret topped by a tower-like extension. Since this motif has no generally accepted name and is complicated to describe, it is henceforth described as the warrior’s arm-band motif. Arranged in a row, these motifs are to be found on the very earliest and the very latest arm-bands. Over the course of time the number of such motifs changes (from one up to five, although the largest proportion of arm-bands have three), as do the details of the motif itself. The same cannot be said of the ornamentation of the central part of the arm-band, which is entirely lacking on the earliest arm-bands and which obtains its final, unvarying character only at the very end of the process in design type C on type IV arm-bands.

Only a few early arm-bands have been found (Fig. 2:1), and in fact these come from outside of the Latgalian area, from Semigallia (Akgazi M. 1990, p. 37, Fig. 8:3) and Samogitia in Lithuania (Häkkenoja K. 1988, p. 73, Fig. 8:4; Väätäinen K. 1990, p. 39, Fig. 4; Väätäinen K. 1990a).

**Design types**

Arm-band types, as well as particular design types, are connected with particular territories within the Latgalian area, and also differ chronologically.

**Design type A1. Arm-bands of type I (Fig. 2:2)**

Early 9th century. 17 arm-bands. Connected with the area along the River Daugava (Fig. 3) around Aizkraukle hillfort (Lējasbērzi cemetery).

End design: 1 warrior’s arm-band motif surmounted by a block of three faceted squares. Central part of the bow of the arm-band: brackets delimiting the edge design, connected by a horizontal line.

**Design type A2. Arm-bands of type II (Fig. 2:3)**

Second half of the 9th century. 26 arm-bands. A wider area of distribution, compared with the previous arm-band type—mainly the Vidzeme region, as well as Latgale (Fig. 3).
End design: 3 motifs surmounted by a single faceted square.

Central part of the bow of the arm-band: crosses or triangles arranged on both sides of the horizontal line. No two arm-bands have exactly the same arrangement of this design.

**Design type B. Arm-bands of type III (Fig. 2-4)**

10th century. 58 arm-bands.

Characteristics of Latgalie (Fig. 3). Manufacturing centre at Ludza (Odu kalns, Kivī, Nukī). It was here that design type A2 developed into type B.

End design: three warrior’s arm-band motifs, but without the faceted square characteristic of the previous period.

**Design type B1. (31 arm-bands).** On the central part of the bow of the arm-band, on both sides of the horizontal double line, there are two double-outlined triangles. The number of triangles also varies somewhat: three arm-bands with one triangle and three with three triangles.

**Design type B2. (14 arm-bands).** The line between the triangles has disappeared, and there is a quite unusual combination, difficult to describe, consisting of two rhombuses and horizontal lines. This variant also developed within the frame of type A (Fig. 4:12-14). A slightly similar design is known on Estonian arm-bands [Mägi-Lõugas M. 1995, p. 321, Fig. 23] and Lithuanian neck-sings [Kulikauskiene R., Rimantienė R. 1958, Fig. 294].

Also, 13 arm-bands have variants with a single line in the whole of the figure, or else just in the triangles or between them (Fig. 5).

**Design type C. Arm-bands of type IV (Fig. 2-5)**

11th century. 44 arm-bands.

Although arm-bands with this design type have also been found in Ludza, and it seems that they developed here, design type C is connected mainly with the Vidzeme region (Fig. 3).

End design: three warrior’s arm-band motifs surmounted by a block consisting of three circles with a dot in the centre (so-called suns).

In the design of the central part of the arm-band on both sides of the double line there are 4-8 triangles drawn with a single line, so-called God signs. At the ends of the line there is a triangular block consisting of three circles. The ornamental band along the edges of the arm-band consists of fine rhombuses with a dot at the centre.

**Processes in design**

In the warrior’s arm-band motif the double line not always found on early arm-bands, has already stabilised in type A1, and this remains up to the end of use of the arm-bands. The situation with the termination of the upper end of the motif is more complicated. On the early arm-bands this is different in almost every case (usually a circle or block of three circles), but later it consistently ends with one square, although at the beginning of type A1 a block of three faceted squares occurs. In type B the terminal part disappears entirely, returning in type C as a block of three circles, already seen on the earlier arm-bands (Fig. 5). Much more interesting is the design on the central part of the arm-band, which attained its final form only in the 11th century on arm-bands of design type C (Fig. 6). A similarly arranged ornament, on both sides of a horizontal axis in the form of a double line, can be found on Curonian arm-bands with animal-head ends [Bičiute-A. 1999, Fig. 7:2: b, c, d], although it seems that a Curonian influence cannot be seen here.

**Designs on solid 10th-11th century arm-bands of segmental section (Fig. 7)**

Arm-bands with a segmental (hemispherical) section can be divided into two types: one with horseshoe-shaped ends in relief, and the usual form, which differs from Curonian arm-bands only in being more massive. Both of these types were in use contemporaneously during the whole period of existence of arm-bands, and they have the same sort of ornamentation. Dating of these arm-bands is possible thanks to the warrior’s arm bands with which they co-occur.

Although Elvira Šnure wrote already in 1935 that arm-bands with a loop design are earlier than those with a design of fine rhombuses and dated them to the 10th and 11th centuries, no further studies followed [Šnure E. 1935, p. 62–71].

These arm-bands are also found among the Estonians, where they date from the 9th and 10th centuries [Bičiute-A. 1999, p. 169, Fig. 7:2: b, c, d], but the Latgalian examples are more massive. Estonian arm-bands with a similar ornamentation, but much thinner, are dated to the same time as the Latgalian pieces [Mägi-Lõugas M. 1995, p. 319, Figs. 5-9]. Arm-bands with a wave design arranged in groups are characteristic of Viking Age Scandinavia [Nerem B. 1958, S. 3]. These raised vertical waves occur in combination with rows of fine pearls along the edges. Such an arm-band has also been found at Grobiņa, dated to the 9th century [Nerem B. 1958, Plate 17, Fig. 87] and in Riga, where the dating is unclear [Rīgas vīstures un bara užliekšanas muzejs 1973, Fig. 43]. The Latgalian and Curonian arm-bands have thickened ends, which is exactly the opposite of the Scandinavian examples, and the wave motif has changed into engraved loops, but on certain arm-bands we still see the motif of rows of pearls, which serves to connect them to Scandinavian arm-bands. On Latgalian arm-bands these loops are markedly elongate, but on a Curonian arm-band from Palanga the length corresponds to the undulations on the Scandinavian arm-bands.

**Design composition**

Only the ends of the arm-bands are decorated. A division into vertical zones, or an all-over design, or else a combination of both of these arrangements is dominant.

The design can be divided into three types: A, B and C, the third being the latest type, dating from the 11th century.

**Type A (Fig. 7:1)**

10th and early 11th century. 20 arm-bands.

The design of this type is characterised by a loop motif, found also among the Curonians and Estonians. It forms part of an unusual cell design and terminates in a dot sign, a zigzag or warrior’s arm-band motif. The loops are engraved with a solid line and are rounded at the ends, while the cell motif has sharp corners and is expressed as
Scandinavian all-over plaiting motif and loop motif while the second consists of all-over plaiting and fine rhombuses. Two arm-bands only with a plait motif have also been found, and on one arm-band there is a knot characteristic of the Estonians.

All arm-bands with design type B have been found together with type III warriors' arm-bands. Elvira Šnore has dated such an arm-band from Kivi cemetery to the 10th century (Šnore E. 1987, p. 241).

In two cases the decorated area of arm-bands with this type of design terminates in a rhombic block of five circles, and in one case in a zigzag, which can be considered a row of God signs (Fig. 7).

**Type C (Fig. 7.3)**

11th century. 16 arm-bands.

This type is characterised by an all-over rhombus design. Three have been found together with type III warriors' arm-bands, one with a type III/IV warrior's arm-band, four with type IV warriors' arm-bands and one with an animal-head-ended arm-band. Three separately occurring arm-bands are dated to the 11th century, i.e. they are relatively later than arm-bands with design types A and B. Although the rhombuses with central dots are also found in the edge ornamentation of type IV warriors' arm-bands with design type C, a similar design of fine rhombuses in a diagonal net arrangement is also be found on Curonian arm-bands from an earlier date (Blujiene A. 1999, Figs. 94-3,5). On arm-bands with this design type in three cases the decorated area terminates in a warrior's arm-band motif, and in five cases in a God sign. There are no two identical motifs (Fig. 7).

**Designs on men's animal-head-ended arm-bands** (Fig. 8)

11th and 12th centuries. 32 arm-bands.

Animal-head-ended arm-bands also belong to the range of artefacts linking the Latgalians and Curonians. Among the Curonians these arm-bands occur earlier than among the Latgalians, but these are somewhat different. It may be suggested that the Latgalians adopted not the arm-band as such, but rather the idea of the animal-head end.

Since during this period Latgalian animal-head-ended arm-bands were only developing, they were quite varied and obtained their final form as women's ornaments quite late. The study of designs on these arm-bands is hindered by the fact that a generally accepted typology has not yet been established. These arm-bands are divided into groups on the basis of the cross-section of the bow and the form of the animal head. The numbers given to the groups do not correspond to those published previously (Ndaba B., 1928).
segmental section. 24 arm-bands from male graves have been used. It is possible that these developed from arm-bands of segmental section and design type C [Budhop A, 1999, p. 99]. The all-over rhombus design terminates in a warrior’s arm-band motif or God sign.

2nd Group (Fig. 8.2)
11th century. 3 arm-bands.
Arm-bands with a rectangular cross-section. Only three such arm-bands have been found in Latvia, but they are significant in having both rows of three-droplet triangles and sun signs and the bands of rhombuses and triangles that characterise the edge ornamentation of warriors’ arm-bands.

3rd Group (Fig. 8.3)
11th and 12th centuries. 5 arm-bands.
Arm-bands with a triangular cross-section and rows of three-droplet triangles along the edges of the facets, which leave the middle of the bow of the arm-band undecorated.

Comparison of the form of the animal head shows a resemblance to the arm-bands of the 1st group, so it might be thought that men wore these arm-bands at the beginning of the time of their use. On slightly later arm-bands these triangles already form an uninterrupted row. Both the composition and the design represent a significant innovation in Latgalian design and serve to link it with the Baltic-Finnish area.

The arm-bands of each group have their own characteristic design. But whereas the design of the 1st group of arm-bands resembles that of arm-bands of segmental section and has the same motifs as are found on warriors’ arm-bands, the arm-bands of the 2nd group show a new motif, and in the 3rd group the composition has also changed.

General character of the design
Main motifs
The warrior’s arm-band motif is found in the 6th century in the ornamentation of the Baltic tribes on silver neck-rings with thickened ends. One such example has been found in Lithuania (Kullioniskienë R., rimantas R. 1958, Fig. 294), a second in Latvia in Pedzi board [Urslav A. 1977, Fig. 60]. After this time it is found on arm-bands, as well as on other artefacts both in Latvia and in Lithuania and Estonia. It occurs on warriors’ arm-bands starting with the 7th century. From the 9th century the variant with a double line, typical of the Latgalians, developed, and this remained in use until the 11th century. In the 9th century faceted terminal squares were added, disappearing in the 10th century, only to reappear in the 11th century in the form of a block of three circles. In Latgalian culture it was no longer widespread after the end of the 11th century, and disappeared in the 12th century. The earliest example known to the author occurs on a bronze axe from the Bronze Age of Hungary (Fig. 9.2) [Kovacs T. 1977, p. 37 Fig. 161]. This motif does not occur among the design motifs discussed in the works of M. Gimbatas. The warrior’s arm-band motif may be phallic in character, but equally it could be a very schematised human representation (Fig. 9:1).

The God sign. Individual examples of this motif are found in the Baltic region already in the Roman Iron Age.
Composition
In all cases the ends of the arm-bands are decorated, and the closer to the edge of the arm-band, the heavier the ornamentation. The most common arrangement is linear, although all-over design is also found, usually consisting of a rhombic (diagonal) net. Symmetry was important. Also observed is a contrast between quite densely ornamented bands and empty areas of the ornament. Vertical ornamental triangles are also used on arm-bands. Such are to be found mainly on arm-bands of segmental section and can possibly be regarded as a Curonian influence, particularly with regard to the raised, striated bands. Horizontal bands of ornamentation also occur, particularly on animal-head-ended arm-bands.

The dominant number of motifs on arm-bands is three. Usually, tripping of motifs or elements is observed, and the reverse process also occurs.

However, the concept behind the composition of the warrior's arm-band design differs from that of other arm-bands. In addition to the ornamentation of the ends of the arm-band, ornamentation is also found in the middle of the bow of the arm-band as a closed, separate composition. In contrast to the comparatively constant decoration of the ends, the central part of the arm-band displays an uninterrupted process of development, ending only in the final period of use of the arm-bands. This composition, arranged around the horizontal axis of symmetry, was improved and augmented, and its role in the system of ornamentation of the arm-band increased (Fig. 6).

The all-over design arrangement in the form of phasing of hatched rhombuses in Latgalian culture is characteristic of arm-bands with conical club-shaped ends of the 7th and 8th centuries and later modifications thereof, which are, however, female arm-bands. However, the characteristic details of the phasing design found on arm-bands of segmental section are too distinctive to permit the idea of an uninterrupted tradition and the local origin of the motif. Even if we assume that this Scandinavian rhombic phasing design with fine diagonal hatching and impressed dots has been obtained through the intermediate influence of the Curonians or Livs (Livonians), direct Scandinavian influence is most likely, because the Danzig route from the Varangians to the Greeks was in existence from the 10th century. It should be said that in general its influence on Latgalian culture was little felt. It is hard to explain the origin of the bow ornamentation of the tofio arm-bands of segmental section covered in fine rhombuses and those of the 1st group of animal-head-ended arm-bands. Previously such stamped squares are found in the band of decoration along the edge of the warriors' arm-bands.

A very interesting feature is the combination of two modes of arrangement in the ornamentation of the 3rd group of animal-head-ended arm-bands. Stamped rows of vertical ornamental triangles arranged along the edges of the bow of the arm-band take up about two thirds of the bow of the earlier arm-bands, with the remaining third in the centre of the bow left undecorated. However, on slightly later arm-bands these rows of triangles are to be found along the whole length of the bow, and on 13th and 14th century shield-shaped arm-bands they are found only in the central part of the bow. This too is also to be found among the Slavonic Novgorod [Sedova M. 1968, p. 103 Fig. 39]. In general, starting with the 10th century, a tendency can be observed for ornamentation to become universal in the circum-Baltic countries. The use of common motifs and techniques increases. Although some researchers disagree, a growing number of motifs are developed through the creative re-working of a Scandinavian tradition.

The school and individual craftsman, characteristics occurring en masse and unique features, the system and departures from it
It is generally accepted that professional crafts were already in existence during the period under study. Unfortunately, none of known craft structures and organisation. It is interesting that there are no unique artefacts at this time. There was strict standardisation, although each arm-band is in reality the work of a particular craftsman. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to establish criteria for distinguishing several pieces made by a single person. Only in one case does Jolanta Daiga write in her notes that one and the same instrument—a stamp of a thumbs with a dot in the middle—has been used on both of the arm-bands in a grave at Andu Priedeiski cemetery (a warrior's arm-band and a group II animal-head-ended arm-band of square section). The most interesting is the warriors' arm-bands, since they display a course of development, and the changes are clearly unidirectional: they become thinner and broader, even though the manufacturing centres change. Changes in the ornamentation are not so smooth: each manufacturing centre included characteristic details in the warrior's arm-band motif, but the design of the central part of the bow of the arm-band shows development which is in general unidirectional, although with some departures from this. The least interesting is from more flexible to more strictly defined composition. Of course, exceptions occur, but as a rule these are not on the finest ones but usually on less confidently crafted pieces.

Most interesting of all, course, is the mechanism of formation of variants on the central part of the bow of the warrior's arm-band. Although, as mentioned above, development is in principle unidirectional, departures from this are always occurring. Very interesting is the fact that at a certain moment such a departures provides an entirely unexpected basis for the beginning of a new direction, which happens at the transition from design type B to C (Fig. 6).

When discussing designs on Latgalian men's arm-bands, we may conclude that during the period of study significant changes occur. New motifs appear, while the old ones are forgotten. New modes of composition appear. When the difference between the forms of arm-bands worn by men and women disappears, the differences in ornamentation also disappear. Motifs common to a large circumbalctic cultural area come into use, common features with Curonian, Estonian and Liv design make their appearance. Re-worked Scandinavian design motifs and techniques become popular.

Looking at designs on Latgalian male arm-bands generally, we may conclude that the most important line in the composition of the design is the concentration of the design at the ends of the arm-band, which distinguishes them from 8th century women's arm-bands, where the ornamentation is distributed equally over the whole of the bow of the arm-band, and from the Scandinavian and Baltic Finnish tradition of grouping the ornamentation in the central part of the arm-band.

We are forced to reassess once again the truth-claim as it may be that Latvian design and that of the Baltic tribes is geometric and two-dimensional, because new studies and additional material for study shows that this direction was persistently carried through. The face of the warrior's arm-band becomes broader and the contrast between the graphic, geometric ornamentation and the unadorned surface increases. Raised wave ornamentation changes into engraved loops and, at the end of the period on 11th century arm-bands of segmental section it is replaced with an all-over design consisting of fine rhombuses. The animal heads become flattened and reduced, turning into geometric forms that are recognisable only with difficulty. In the end, at the time when the Romano-Saxon style flourished in Europe, the development was into applied art corresponding to the style of the Halslawtian style. All of this takes place very consistently and, although it is tempting to link this pragmatically to inferior craftsmanship, it unavoidably leads me to consider entirely irrational features based on ethnicity and on deep cultural roots.

Although the assumption that exceptionally rich geometric design was most characteristic of the Baltic tribes has proven to be a myth, it must be admitted that, although
The origin of the animal style in Europe. In search of the origin of the animal style in Europe, researchers point out complexity and multiple aspects of the problem; they also indicate several factors responsible for the formation of this style (Salin B, 1904; Åberg N, 1923, 1926; Schetelig H, 1906; Holmquist W, 1938, 1950). Of these no longer doubted parentage lines of the German animal style is realistic art of the Roman Empire and its provinces. The first encounter of the Germanic tribes which spilled all over Europe was with the culture of the Roman Empire and its provinces, or repercussions of this culture (Schetelig H, 1906, p. 32). However, the Antique naturalistic art was only one of a diverse of cultural forces (Salin B, 1904), which fermented Germanic art. Over the migration period, the Germanic tribes, which found themselves in Central and Western Europe, and even to a larger degree those who settled in England, fell under the influence of Celtic art, rather symbolical in nature but also abounding in zoomorphic elements (Cunliffe B, 1997). The Goths and Gepids, in the second c., the initiators of the big migration process in Europe, by the year 235 had already reached the coast of the Black Sea to find there realistic Sarmato-Scythian art under strong influence by classical Greek culture at that time (Brown K.R., 1996, p.226-234). In the second half of the fourth c., the nomadic tribes of Hunes and Avars also joined the wave of migration to add something to emerging animal style. European animal style was a cultural product of all these tribes (Brown K.R., 1996, p.225-236; Wilson E, 1994, p.67-75). Due to all these influences and obvious efforts by the Germanic tribes to create and elaborate animal motifs, Europe of the second half of the fifth c. saw the rise of the animal style I. In the sixth c., the art of European tribes had developed into style II, later, it was transformed into style III. The latter completed the Mervogian or Vendel period (Salin B, 1906, Schetelig H, 1906, 1946). In Germanic art, animal was a symbolical representation of Germanic gods combined and multiplied to enlarge their magic and healing power. The Early Christian art incorporated the animal motifs created by the Germanic peoples, in Western Europe, since the sixth or seventh c., Christianity impacted the Germanic animal style (Wilson E, 1994, p.67-75). This accounts for presence of Biblical iconography and philosophy in some of figurative subjects featured on personal ornaments, bracteates and household items of the sixth–seventh c. Some of the most popular of such subjects are Daniel in the lions' den, Entry into Jerusalem and Michael the Archangel fighting the dragon (Rameniene, 1997, p.58, 93, 205).

Animal style in the north-Germanic lands. Animal style originated in Germanic lands in the north of Europe. About the mid-fourth – early fifth c., the Germanic peoples created and rapidly elaborated zoomorphic motifs and the style as a vehicle for their sensibility. The art, which originated as an amalgam of diverse influences, was soon transformed significantly and molded into characteristic Germanic style. The mainland Germanic artists were responsible for this process too. The formation of the Germanic animal style took place under the influence of Sövöala and Sjöö styles, typical...
in the mid-fourth and the mid-fifth c. of a small area of southern Scandinavia (Skåne province, Scandinavia) and Nynäshamn style (after past - bog finds from Nynäshamn in Rattvik Peninsula, Schleswig - Holstein region). These styles evolved from a merger of the art of the Late Roman Empire and its provinces with north-Germanic artistic traditions. The animal motifs of the Södala, Sjörup and Nynäshamn styles were the key elements in the formation of the Style I (Salin B, 1904, p 182). These styles are characterized by designs of chased geometric ornaments, e.g. "S" and "C" shaped motifs which form a pattern bearing resemblance of a spiral, a "star" motif and a variety of semicircles and triangles, and other, as well as animal motifs like four-leg animals, bird heads. Both types of designs were featured on brooches, belt buckle-plates and belt-mounts, horse trappings-mounts and other artifacts (Salin B, 1904, p 310, 383-393; Forssander J.E, 1937, p 183-272; Fasch 1990, p 121-136; 1996, p 135-142; Bitten-Wołbiewska A, 1992. Vol 2. plate X). Even though these styles evolved in small areas, the migrating tribes, trade contacts, exchanges of gifts, marriages alliances disseminated them rapidly across Central and Western Europe, in some instances their influence reached the coast of the Black Sea.

From Lithuanian archaeological findings dated by the early sixth c., a silver-gilt crossbow fibula with a zoomorphic foot coming from Plankaigalis (Kėdainiai district) cemetery, grave No 106, is attributed to Sjörup style (Fig. 1-1a; Kazakevičius V. 1983, p. 189-190). Two other crossbow fibulas with zoomorphic foot found in Vidgirių (Šilutė district) graves No 2 and 30 are dated to the late fifth or early sixth c. (Fig. 2) The crossbow fibula from the grave No 2 is decorated in spirals that were familiar to the Södala style (Fig. 2.1). However, it is difficult to establish the style of the brooch coming from the grave No 30.

In Western Europe (Lower Austria) around the middle of the fourth and fifth c. saw diverse cultural forces result in the Untersiebenbrunn style. In Germany, in the first half of the fifth c., emerged the Wiesbaden style. Brooches of the Wiesbaden style were found not only in Central and Western Europe, but on Öland in Sweden, and in Norway, likewise (Åberg N, 1923, Fig. 236; Werner J. 1981, p. 233). Southern England gave rise to the Jutish A ornamentation style indebted to the Södala and Sjörup styles. Both geometric and animal motifs in the Wiesbaden, Unter- siebenbrunn and Jutish A styles are very close or even intermingled with the north-Germanic animal art around the mid-fourth and the mid-fifth c. This might account for the fact of personal ornaments and all household metalwork found in Europe and Scandinavia from the mid-fourth and the first half of the fifth c., being unique artifacts. This especially applies to those found in Lithuania and dating from the second half of the fifth and sixth c. Archeologists almost never come across analogous artifacts. At least it is true of all the ornaments. Brooches or fibulas, which are found in Lithuania from the second half of the fifth and the sixth c. display only the key elements borrowed from one or another of these styles (Fig. 1-3).

Likewise other European tribes, the Germanic peoples were universal to all Europe type of brooch inherited from the Roman period, which represented a crossbow so called cruciform brooches (Almgren O. 1897; Salin B, 1904, fig 67-69; Åberg N, 1956, p. 115-130, Fig. 144-148). In the late fourth and early fifth c., Germanic artists started "zoomorphizing" these brooches (Fig. 4). To elaborate this crossbow type ever more, they transformed the foot of the brooch into an animal head, which was given eyes, "eyebrow", nostrils, and a "forehead" (Fig. 3: 1-3, 8, 10; 4). Two or four wings or bony protrusions also adorned animal heads. Sometimes animal head on the foot was almost turned into a tiny independent sculpture piece (Fig. 5: 1). Of Lithuanian archeological examples dated to the second half of the fifth and sixth c., such crossbow fibulas with sculpturally articulated animal heads come from Pagrybias (Šilalė district) and Lazdininkai (Kretina district, excavations of 1998) grave No 39 (Fig. 3: 11; 5:2).

As early as the second half of the fifth and the early sixth c. such brooches acquired more decorative elements characteristic of the Style I. Having originated in the north of Europe, the animal art was further elaborated on the Continent (Salin B, 1904, p. 355; Eri-Esko A, 1956, p. 25-26; Gaimster M, 1998, p. 200). "Zoomorphic" brooches from the Baltic lands of this period represent a long-foot crossbow type with a cast catch (Fig. 5: 2-6). Therefore, no matter that the Baltic and Germanic jewellers of the fifth and sixth c. picked out distinct fibula type to explore the possibilities of animal art, Germanic parentage of the Baltic artists' "zoomorphic" imagery is beyond dispute. On the other hand, it is obvious, that the Baltic jewellers...
Baltic animal style of the seventh-eighth c. The second encounter with the animal style which now made a deeper impact on Baltic j e w e l l e r s was in the second half of the seventh-eighth c. (Fig. 3: 4, 5, 7). At that time animal motifs reached them from Scandinavia. However, the Baltic peoples, Caronians including, inherited only the idea of “zoomorphic” style with some ornamental elements (sprouts) and the possibilities provided by high-relief versus surface and a well perfected casting technique. Caronian crossbow brooches of the period display a variety of types, which share some of their features with their Norman models. However, from the sixth century onwards, the development of the Baltic and Germanic animal styles takes irreversibly different routes: the Baltic jewelers geometrize animals, while Germanic artists fully embrace animal motifs.

It was not easy to integrate elements of the animal style into the Baltic geometric ornament program and into each piece of jewelry, but local craftsmen had coped with this task well. The Baltic jewelers picked out a reptile, a snake, as the main image for their animal patterns, obviously, due to the importance assigned to this animal in the ancient Baltic world and its outlook. In the Baltic mythological universe, reptiles were related with the Tree of Life, as they lived at the roots of that tree (Dandufienné P., 1979, p. 69). The image of a sea- or she-snake as an abstract geometric symbol is also present in Lithuanian ornamental material from the Roman Iron Age (Michelbertas M., 1986, p. 147, 150, Fig. 59: 1, 4, 41; 61; Stankus J., 1995, Fig. 4: 5). In the tenth-eleventh c., penannular brooches and bracelets with zoomorphized reptiles sometimes were combined with Baltic brooches. Both groups differ in their opinion what these terminals of the ornaments
represent: some consider they are heads of a horse (Kuklauskiene R., 1983, p. 33; Vaitkuskiene L., 1986, p. 37-50), others assert it is a snake (Varnau A., 1984, p. 109; Vaska B., 1994. P. 116-119) treated in an abstract manner. Having in mind the origins of the Baltic animal art, it seems correct to consider that the image of still more geometrized snake continues into later periods.

The image of a crawling animal was established in animal art of Scandinavia and the whole of northern Europe since the Roman Iron Age. Realistic reptile heads decorate Italian spiral bracelets from the Roman period. Such bracelets were found in Roman provinces. Realistic animal motifs are related with realistic traditions of Hellenistic art and the art of the Roman Empire (Giove T., 1996, p. 189, plate XX). More abstract reptiles are characteristic of Germanic ornamentation found on spiral bracelets, breastplates and other pieces from the Roman and Vendel periods (Andersson K., 1995, p. 28-29; 1996 p. 189, plate XXI; Gaimster M., 1998). In establishing the Germanic animal style, the animal art of Rome and its empire was just one of cultural influences (Salin B., 1904). It seems that Germanic, including Norman artists, chose a four-leg animal or bird for developing their animal motifs of the Style I-III. Besides a four-leg animal a bird, a snake is the third component of the germanic animal imagery. The head of a bird or a snake is encountered on Frankish and Scandinavian sword-chapes (Gaimster, 1998, p. 78-79). The image of a reptile with expressive "almond"-shape eyes is a part of decoration scheme of Scandinavian bracelets from the eleventh c. (Thillin Bergman L., 1934, p. 71). This leads to conclusion that a coiled reptile, which bears resemblance a spiral, should be attributed to universal human symbols together with a swastika or equal-lateral cross. The way it is interpreted, in a naturalistic or abstract and geometrized manner, is the matter of individual sensitivity of each tribe. It is beyond dispute however; that these symbols were integrated into the world outlook system of each tribe.

Over the Viking period, when the relationship of the Curonians with Scandinavia, and especially so, with Gotland, became closer, the early styles of this period gave rise to the Baltic animal style to develop. These early coves were the Reka/Osberg (800-850), Borne (the second half of the ninth – late tenth c.) and Jellinge (mid-tenth – early eleventh c.) styles.

Curonian animal style. In the eighth-twelfth c., the Curonian artists developed a distinct local animal style, though largely based on geometric motifs. This style was much indebted to European animal art tradition and started evolving in the late seventh c. The most beautiful metalwork in animal style comes from the eighth – ninth c. However, the tenth – thirteenth c. were marked notably by the further abstraction of ornamentation patterns, but also by consequent decline of the style. The repertoire of the Curonian artists’ imagery included heads and sometimes tails of reptiles. Likewise other Baltic artists, Curonians assimilated animal and geometric motifs. It has to be noted too, that only a part of Curonian jewelry finds dated to the eighth-thirteenth c. are decorated in geometrized animal designs. Moreover, male and female ornaments of the period display some stylistic variations. There is much more abstraction in animal motifs featured by female pieces.

The most common Curonian male ornament of the eighth – ninth c. is crossbow animal brooch (Fig. 8-11).
Fig. 9. Crookbow zoonorphic fibula from Gūtėiai I (Kėdainiai district) cemetery, grave No 236 (photo by M. Ežeršiaus)

Fig. 10. Detail of the crookbow zoonorphic fibula from Gūtėiai I (Kėdainiai district) cemetery, grave No 236 (photo by M. Ežeršiaus)

Fig. 11. Crookbow zoonorphic fibulas from Lūžiai (Kėdainiai district) cemetery: 1 – grave No 27; 2 – grave No 103 (both exc. 1976) (drawings of Vytautas Trakai)

Fig. 12. Crookbow fibulas with pogooned – shaped terminals from Gūtėiai I (Kėdainiai district) cemetery, array find grave No 185 (photo by A. Baltušas)

Fig. 13. Crookbow fibulas with pogooned – shaped terminals from Pavilniškis cemetery: 1 – grave No 18; 2 – grave No 135 (drawings by T. Trakai; Rūta, LSM 68 K)
or the leg of the fibulae are abstract and often, only two or, sometimes, four warts adorn their heads (Fig. 12). Crossbow–poppy seed fibulae were popular with Curonian men in the eighth–eleventh c. These differ from crossbow animal type in their construction and decoration. The distinct construction type of crossbow fibulae (the way of joining chord, spring, knobs and axle together) partially determines Baltic craftmen’s tendency to abstract and geometrize their animal imagery. Crossbow poppy-seed type is the most interesting of brooches decorated in animal motifs in the period of the second half of the seventh – the ninth century (Type I. Bliujienė A., 1999, p. 107–108). Such pieces feature three reptile heads with tapered noses. Yet another completely geometrized head decorates the foot of this type of a brooch (Fig. 12).

Crossbow poppy-seed brooches of type II feature just one a little bit more naturalistic head, which terminates the bow of a brooch. Another characteristic feature of this type of fibula is that eight “warts” distributed on the chord and the foot. These are former images of reptiles rendered abstract (Fig. 13). One distinctive feature of the crossbow poppy seed type is that their horizontally incised surface.

In the late eighth – ninth c. Curonian men and women started wearing all types of flat brooches. Round-shaped flat brooches sometimes feature a swastika, the terminals of which are often decorated by reptile heads, these are stylized, but also display some naturalistic features. The jewellers provided these heads with an articulate forefoot, nose and ears. The head itself was either sculpturally modeled as separate from the body or at least identified by an ornamental pattern. The eyes of the reptiles were of almond shape, as of these from Gotland. Again, the reptile heads often have small warts. Sometimes the eyes were accentuated by a geometric pattern, most frequently “eyes” pattern was used. “S”-shaped flat brooches were also decorated in animal motifs. In the tenth – eleventh c., penannular fibulae with zoomorphized terminals became common in the area inhabited by Caronians and other Baltic tribes. One type of these penannular fibulae feature tiny and graceful sculptural pieces on their terminals, which look like natural reptile heads. The other type of these fibulae terminate in stylized shapes, which sometimes are transformed into tulip or lily buds, and, in some instances, reduced to geometrical shapes (Fig. 15). In the tenth-thirteenth c. Curonian men, sometimes women too, used to wear animal style bracelets. Geometric patterns or stylized zoomorphic motifs adorned the bracelets of this type (Fig. 16). Bracelets of a spiral type were most loved by Curonian women. The terminals of these bracelets often bore resemblance to stylized reptile heads (Fig. 17). The reptiles of spiral bracelets, in contrast to
those on fibulas and "zoomorhized" bracelets, have no war on their heads. The heads on spiral bracelets were decorated in geometric patterns, such like "eyes", circles, and notches. Usually one bracelet featured two reptiles, which most probably, represent dynamic dualistic force. A zig-zag line was the most common geometric pattern to decorate such bracelets. This zig-zag line, which combined into a plait of diamonds, or, alternatively, X plait seved to imitate characteristic patterns of reptile skin. The bracelets, likewise finger rings, were decorated by the "method of spiral", e.g. a complete decorative pattern was distributed across the lengths and width of two turns of the bracelet.

The burial sites of Curonian women in the lands of Māgava yielded massive pins from the eighth-ninths centuries, this being the only location where such type of metalwork was found. The heads on pins feature ornamental patterns in reversed relief, while elongated knobs of the base resemble of a schematic reptile head (Type V; Kunsčiūnė 1978, p. 80). On these pins, reptile heads were often given small warth (Fig. 18). Spiral finger rings was a popular hand ornament with the Curonians of the period. Most often the terminals of such rings are tapered, sometimes one terminal is tapering and beet upwards while the other terminal is wound into a spiral. This way a ring takes a shape of a coiled reptile. The spiral shape lends movements to the design and imitates a crawling animal. One finger ring features one reptile (Bliužiūnienė A., 1999 fig. 85). Spacer plates of Curonian women also bear resemblance to crawling or coilig animals. Such spacer plates feature one or two, sometimes even three reptiles.

Translated by Irena Jomančiūnienė
WHERE ARE YOU COME FROM? AN ENAMELLED TRIANGULAR BROOCH FROM GRUNAJKI, MAZURIAN LAKELAND, POLAND

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Abstract

Investigations of the stylistic influences remain one of the most interesting subject in studying the past. They offer insight into the sources of artefacts origin and routes of transmission of the pattern, but first of all into the relationships among people. It could be especially fascinating when it concerns specimens found in a region relatively distant from the source of stylistic inspiration and production.

An enamelled triangular brooch from Grunajki, Mazurian Lakeland may be a good example of this phenomenon. It belongs in the significant category of enamelled jewellery produced in the workshops in the middle Dneiper River basin as well as upper Oka River basin. The question of origin of Grunajki fibula is quite difficult to answer, because this ornament features its own unique design. It needs very careful stylistic analysis based on the particular elements of the specimen. Apart from the question of the producer it is also a question of the owner of this brooch – brooch being so extravagant in the Baltic environment.

Mazurian Lakeland belonged to the huge territory of central and eastern Europe where the local workshops producing the enamelled ornaments were flourishing starting from the decline of 2nd and 3rd c. AD up to the 5th c. There were a number of different categories of artefacts decorated with enamel, as brooches, pendants, breast-plates, bracelets, necklaces, elements of belt sets. Their distribution may be a confirmation of the direct contacts among workshops as well as the specialisation of workshops. Such find as Grunajki fibula has opened a new field of research in the phenomenon of eastern enamel.
Gilded items are among the most beautiful and luxurious ones in the archaeological materials of Lithuania. Unfortunately, they haven't attracted too much attention of explorers. The gilded items are important sources in finding out cultural relations, revealing technical and artistic skills of jewellers, contributing to cogestion of evolution of social relations.

Gilding is a complicated procedure requiring a lot of know-how and skills. Heating of gold and silver produces a gold amalgam used to slip the gilded surface. Later on the ware is heated by charcoal, what results in evaporation of mercury. A thin golden film is formed on the ware and tightly coheres to the surface of the ware. Since gold shows the best cohesion with silver, merely all gilded items used to be made of silver. Wares are sometimes called gilded when ornamented with a thin golden plate fixed with rivets or otherwise. Such ware could be also made from other metals. Of course, selection of different metals was also determined by colours of Nobilis: White (metal) silver and yellow gold looked extremely beautiful and contrasting, therefore gilding was not designated to cover the entire surface of the ware. These methods used to give the ware refinement and play on colours.

In literature such items are usually reviewed in combination with silver items or in the entire context of ornaments or their groups. In Baltic territories gilded items are scarce. Today the final number of such items is not yet determined. Not long ago just a few items of this kind were known. However, recent explorations of new monuments gave grounds for significant increase of the number of such items. Findings of golden items or items from gold and silver bimetal amalgam - electrum are even more scarce in Lithuania, e.g., fragments of a golden neck-ring were found in the Sudatė IV Barrow Cemetery (E. Šatavičius, 1998, p. 47), a belt-buckle made from a gold and silver amalgam was found in the Užpelkiai (Kėtingiai district) cemetery. A question of origin of gilded items in Lithuania is not clear. A brooch found in the Norušiūnai (Kėmė district) Barrow could be mentioned as one of the most archaic brooches. It is a round plate-type brooch. The middle part of the brooch is decorated with an ornamented golden plate, which is mechanically fixed. It is presumed to be of Lithuanian origin and, most likely, could have come to Lithuania from the Elbe Germanic territories (M. Mitchell, 1986, p. 219). From the point of view of other explorers, it came from the Panonia province of the Roman Empire (LAB, 1961, p. 225 – 226). It is dated to 4th century (L. Varžiauskė, 1981, p. 47).

The Middle Iron Age might be called the age of gilded items in Lithuania, and in particular as regards the early Middle Iron Age (5th-6th cent.). This period coincides with migration of nations in Middle Europe. By this time quite a number of gilded items appeared in Western Lithuania. They are also found in middle and eastern Lithuania.

In West Lithuania – at the seacoast and the Lower Nemunas - there are several places where gilded items have been found. One of them is in Užpelkiai (Plungė district), where in the ravine of a marsh a ringed brooch, dated 6th cent. was found. This brooch had a golden plate decorated with cellular ornament, placed instead of ringlets (L.
that two bigger brooches belonged to the sword belt. The edges of the sword scabbards were decorated with silver plates. A round gilded plate, decorated with a massive gilded plate, had a deep relief ornament made of a line broken in a right angle on the outside. Below the opening, the outside of the scabbard was decorated with two gilded linear plates of a double cross. On the same level there were two silver plate which was covered with a massive gilded plate for the bent-line ornament was fixed on the outside of the scabbards. The chape was reinforced with a U-shape silver mounting. A gilded plate decorated in a waving wave ornament was joined to the top terminals of the chaps. The mounting terminal was also decorated with a gilded tinplatelet in axis ornaments (A. Tautavičius, 1981, p. 22 – 24). Underneath the sword blade there was a pendant amulet decorated in a relief ornament. Triply swirly trioquats are depicted on the sides of the amulet. The buckles are in massive mountings of a fish shape. They are decorated in a symmetric ornament from deep “D”-shape figures, while the small buckle and the tongue have thin notches. The upper side of the buckles and mountings are gilded. The scabbards, buckles of the sword and the amulet have many ornamental and stylistic features in common. This could indicate that all these items were made by one and the same handcrafters. Similar items are also found in the lands of the Danube basin. The third silver-gilded buckle found is quite massive, decorated with a deep relief ornament of small triangles. The shape and ornament of the buckle are characteristic to the Balkans, Crimea (A. Tautavičius, 1981, p. 25). The grave goods in grave No 5 are dated by A. Tautavičius to the end of 6th – beginning of the 7th cent.

Two more gilded items have recently been found in the cultural territory of barrows in East Lithuania. One of them is a buckle with a mounting found in the Zibolkiškiai III (Švenčionys district) barrow cemetery (V. Kliaugušius, 2000, p. 185). The mounting is decorated with a deep relief ornament: the edges – in a line broken in a right angle, the middle – in two linear letters “S” separated with a notch. It looks like the buckle is decorated in the nielloed method as was the buckle in the Vidižgiriai, grave No 2. The bow of the buckle is oval, decorated in small circles with a dot in the middle. The tongue of the buckle has flaring, bent terminals. The author noticed a number details similar to items in Taurapilis, Plinkaigalyis and Vidižgiriai, and dated the buckle to the middle and 2nd semester of 5th cent.

The second item was found in barrow No 30 in the Sudaitė I (Švenčionys district) barrow cemetery. It is a mounting similar to the foot of a finger-shaped brooch (V. Semenas, 2000, p. 198). The front of the mounting is decorated in spiral composition. The author dates the item to the 6th – 7th century. Taking into consideration that fragments of a golden neck-ring were found in the adjacent Sudaitė IV barrow cemetery, one should guess that somewhere near this place there was an important tribal centre of the Middle Iron Age.

Review and collation of all silver gilded items it becomes clear that all of them are unique. They do not duplicate each other: they are similar just in shape, stylistics and ornaments, while compositions are often different. These items are a perfect example of creativity of jewellers, their skills to manage the material and shape. What is not quite clear is whether these items have been made by foreign handcrafters on site, or brought from other places.

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CONTENTS

PREFACE / 5

HUMAN FIGURINES IN EASTERN-BALTIC PREHISTORIC ART
Adomas Barčiūnas / 7

EXPRESSIONS OF ART IN THE MESOLITHIC SOCIETY OF SCANDINAVIA
Lars Larson / 31

LATE NEOLITHIC AMBER FROM THE LUIJĀNA WETLANDS
Rie Loze / 63

THE ART FROM ZVEJNIEKI BURIAL GROUND, LATVIA
 Ilga Zagorska / 79

ELK FIGURINES IN THE STONE AGE ART OF THE BALTIC AREA
Martus Irēnas / 93

THREE OBJECTS OF ART FROM AN IRON AGE SETTLEMENT SITE IN SOUTH SWEDEN
Birgitta Hästad / 107

DESIGNS ON ANCIENT LATGALLIAN MEN’S ARM-BANDS 9TH–12TH CENTURIES
Balbina Všaka / 113

THE ORIGIN AND THE MAIN ORNAMENTATION FEATURES OF THE CURONIAN ANIMAL STYLE
Audronė Bliaužienė / 127

WHERE ARE YOU COME FROM?
AN ENAMELLED TRIANGULAR BROOCH FROM GRUNAIKI, MAZURIAN LAKELAND, POLAND
Anna Börner-Weblewska / 141

GILDED ITEMS IN THE MIDDLE IRON AGE IN LITHUANIA
Valdemaras Šimėnas / 143

RIMUTES RIMANTIENĖS BIBLIOGRAFIJA
1938 – 2000 / 147

CONTENS / 167
DAILE

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