

# Some notes on the chronology of Latgallian and Selonian artefacts in the Middle Iron Age

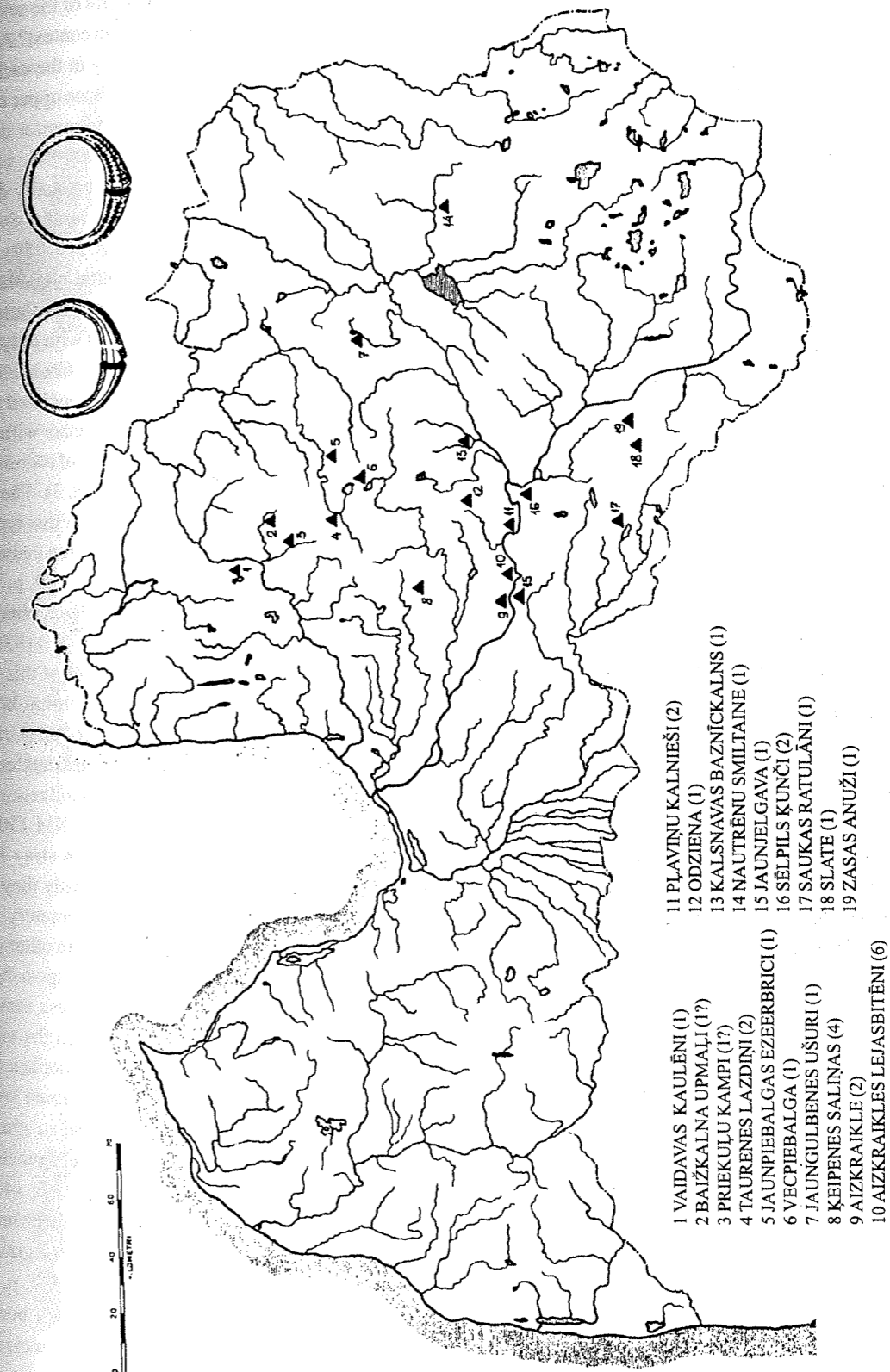
Jānis Ciglis

In her monograph on Kiviti cemetery, E.Šnore distinguished an earlier phase, phase I, which was summarily dated to the period 700 to 800 AD, i.e. to the second half of period F according to the division applied in northern Europe, or the end of the Middle Iron Age (E. Šnore, 1987, p. 29–30). The characteristic grave goods in male graves of the early I phase are a narrow-bladed axe, two tanged spear-heads and a scramasax. Of the fibulae, owl fibulae have been found, but more commonly cross-bow fibulae with poppy-head ends; among arm-bands there is the solid or hollow profiled arm-band. The female graves have crowns, neck-rings with saddle-and-hook ends or flattened ends, breast ornaments wound with bronze and with chains, and cuff-shaped and spiral arm-bands and hollow arm-bands with tapered ends (E. Šnore, 1987, p. 32).

Also dating to this same period is the Kalnieši II cemetery near the River Daugava at the town of Pļaviņas, excavated by V.Urtāns (Urtāns, 1962 p. 50–51). The Kalnieši II cemetery has several artefact forms not found with the contemporaneous burials of phase I at Kiviti cemetery. In particular these are arm-bands with circular or polyhedral club-shaped ends, iron crutch-shaped dress-pins without bronze wire binding, cruciform pins; early forms of cuff-shaped arm-bands with a solid mid-rib and ribbon-like arm-bands with slightly broadened ends. On the other hand, Kalnieši II cemetery lacks the solid and hollow profiled arm-bands characteristic of the burials of phase I at Kiviti cemetery. Also, there is a row of artefact forms common to both cemeteries: hollow, arm-bands with perpendicular grooving and narrowed ends, cuff-shaped arm-bands with a hollow mid-rib, crutch-shaped pins wound with bronze wire, cross-bow fibulae with poppy-head ends etc. If the burials with grave goods characteristic of phase I at Kiviti cemetery and Kalnieši II cemetery are dated to the eighth century, as in both of the publications, then there is an extremely large number of eighth century burials. The number of graves from the ninth century is approximately similar or slightly smaller, but there are comparatively few graves datable to the sixth and seventh centuries. Some researchers explain the rise in the number of cemeteries

and burials in eastern Latvia in terms of an influx of people in the second half of the Middle Iron Age and the earlier part of the Late Iron Age (Urtāns, 1970, p. 68; Mūgurēvičs, 1998, p. 23). Without denying the importance of this factor, it seems to the present author that this problem should also be discussed from the point of view of chronology. Clearly a proportion of the burials traditionally dated to the eighth century are earlier, and a proportion are probably later.

Secondly, the idea has become established in Latvian archaeology that the eastern branch of the Early Iron Age Collective Barrow Culture with a stone circle at the foot is to be associated with the Selonians, this view being based on the approximate correspondence of the distribution of the present-day Selonian ascending intonation and that of the above-mentioned barrows (Šturms, 1939, lines 38062–38062; LA, p. 129–130; Vasks, 1998, p. 11). If so, then this area (Augšzeme and the River Aiviekste basin) should have been inhabited by a comparatively large population of descendants of the people of the Collective Barrow Culture who maintained the distinctive features of their language over the centuries until the time when written sources mention the Selonians and then up to the present day. This inheritance should also be reflected in the material culture, which should be identifiable through archaeological methods. There should be a string of artefact forms that link the Barrow Culture with the flat cemeteries that supersede it. Traditionally the transition to flat cemeteries in Augšzeme and south-eastern Vidzeme is dated to the sixth and seventh centuries (LA, p. 149; Urtāns, 1970, p. 68; Vasks, 1998, p. 17). Thus there should be a considerable number of sixth and seventh century burials. Analysis of the grave inventories of the earliest flat cemeteries and the latest barrows shows that such artefact forms common to both really do exist. Refining the chronology and distribution of these artefact forms would be a significant contribution to the resolution of the much disputed problem of Latgallian and Selonian ethnic origins. Particularly significant are those artefact forms which make it possible to link Latgallian and Selonian artefacts chronologically with forms found



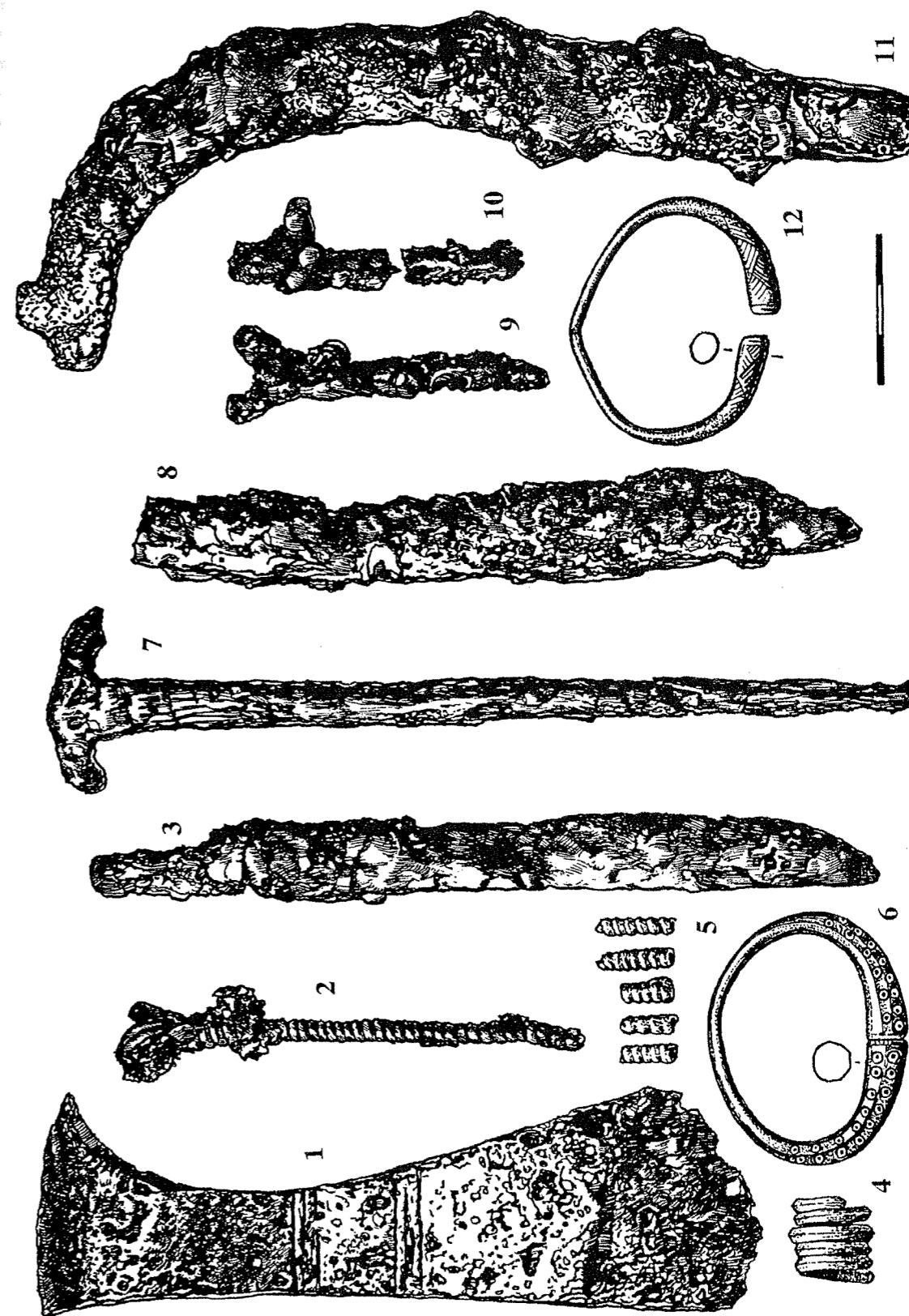
1. Distribution map of arm-bands with faceted club-shaped ends in eastern Latvia.

in other Baltic lands, especially since they make it possible to examine the chronology of Latgallian and Selonian artefacts in a European context.

At least 31 arm-bands with polyhedral club-shaped ends have been found in Latgallian and Selonian cemeteries. Their distribution in eastern Latvia is shown on the map (Fig. 1). Only a few examples of these arm-bands have been found in flat cemeteries outside of the area of distribution of Early and Middle Iron Age barrows. These include the northernmost find-spot at Jaungulbenes Ušuri (Excavations by A. Nore in 1922, burial no. 1. Collections of the Madona Museum of Regional History) and the easternmost find at Nautrēnu Smiltaine (Collections of the History Museum of Latvia, A 8085:6.). Only six examples of such arm-bands are known from Augšzeme. One of these (A 5464) comes from a sealed grave inventory, grave P, barrow 6, group I, together with an iron crutch-shaped dress-pin with a flattened top (A5463), an iron spear-head (A 5467), a curved knife (A 5466) and a narrow-bladed axe with a circular shaft-hole (A5465) (E. Šnore, 1933, p. 11; Fig. XXIII:8; XXVI:3; XXVIII:4). On the basis of analogy with the Zvārdes Kokmuiža I hoard (Urtāns, 1977, p. 138–142), the burial can be dated to the fifth century. We are more concerned here with the upper chronological boundary of these arm-bands. Arm-bands with polyhedral club-shaped ends have been found at Lejasbitēni cemetery together with iron weapons (Burials 45, 56, 68, 133 and 197), which are difficult to date. Only the arm-band (A 11822:257) in grave 68 (Fig 2:1–6) is found together with an iron crutch-shaped pin wound with bronze wire (A 11822:256.). At Kalnieši II cemetery this arm-band type has been found together with a cross-bow fibula with a flattened foot and a ribbed chord (Urtāns, 1962, p. 78; Fig. XXIV:1). On the basis of analogy with the fibula (Collections of the History Museum of Latvia, RDM I 377a) found with burial 1 in Ķeipenes Saliņas cemetery (Katalog, 1896, Fig. 6:6), V. Urtāns dates this grave to the first half of the eighth century (Urtāns, 1962, p. 40). In Lithuania this type of brooch is dated to the seventh and eighth centuries (Tautavičius, 1966, p. 200–201). Since the fibula from grave 28 at Kalnieši II cemetery and a similar one from grave 16 (Urtāns, 1962, p. 76; Fig. XX:3) represent an early form of this type of fibula, then on the basis of the numerically larger Lithuanian material these may be dated to the seventh century, to the second half of this century at the latest. The inventory from grave 2 at Ķeipenes Saliņas, which also includes an arm-band with polyhedral club-shaped ends (RDM I 378a) is clearly mixed and represents artefacts from various graves. It includes both the women's cuff-shaped arm-bands, crutch-shaped dress-pins and a sickle, and the men's owl fibula and narrow-bladed axe.

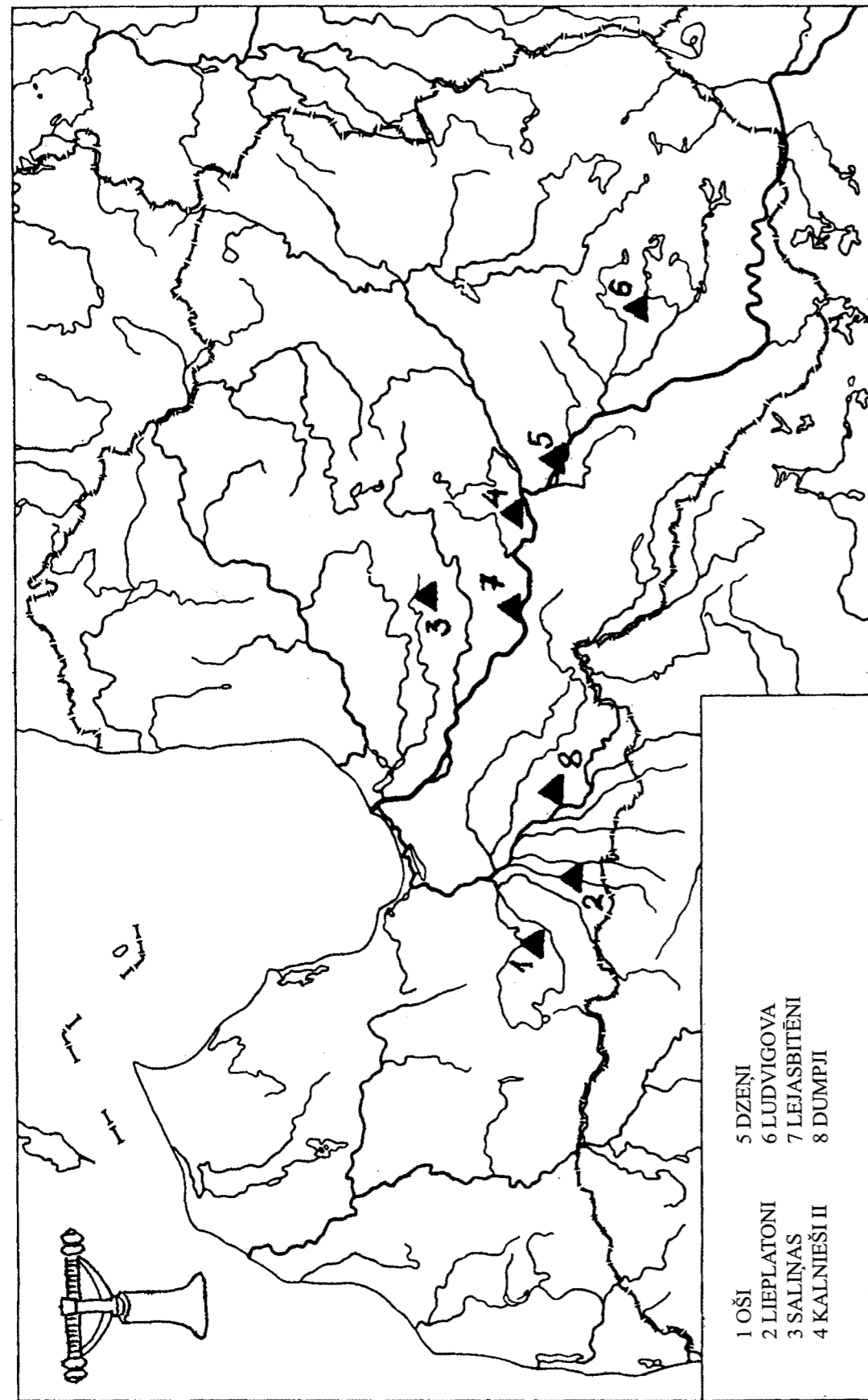
All in all it can be concluded that we do not have at our disposal secure material to date arm-bands with polyhedral club-shaped ends to a time later than the end of the seventh century. How does this appear in a European context? Along the middle Dnieper these are found mainly in the earliest, I, group of the so-called Antian hoards, whose upper chronological boundary is generally the second quarter of the seventh century (Гавритухин, Обломский, 1996, с. 55, 128). Also in Lithuania such arm-bands are usually dated to the fifth and sixth centuries, or later at certain sites in western Lithuania (Kazakevičius, 1993, p. 118–119).

In discussing arm-bands with polyhedral club-shaped ends we have already touched on fibulae with a flattened foot and a ribbed chord. Like the arm-bands with polyhedral club-shaped ends, this type of cross-bow fibula allows Latgallian artefacts to be chronologically associated with those found in Semigallia and Lithuania. Together with those from the Kalnieši II cemetery, six examples of such cross-bow fibulae are known in eastern Latvia (Fig. 3). The author is aware of one more cross-bow fibula of this type in Latvia (in Semigallia): one (A 3185) from the cemetery of Oši, grave 22 (LA, tab. 41:21; R. Šnore, 1929, p. 179; Tab. 2, Fig. 2:6) and another example, of silver, obtained as a stray find from Lielplatone cemetery (A 11831:1). Fragments of another silver cross-bow fibula of this type have been found in Zemgale in Mežotnes Dumpji hoard. V. Urtāns dates this hoard to around the year 700 (Urtāns, 1977, p. 157; fig. 64:3). The fibulae from Aizkraukles Lejasbitēni (A 11847:530); Krustpils Dzeņi (Collections of the Jēkabpils Museum of Regional History, JNM 1501:1) and Aizkalnes Ludvigova (A 12007:52) are stray finds and so their dating is problematic. Typologically they closely resemble the fibulae from Kalnieši II cemetery. The fibula from Lielplatone was found together with other stray finds, such as a socketed axe, two socketed spear-heads and a narrow, early single-bladed sword. These serve to bring the fibula closer to the sixth, rather than the eighth century. It is slightly more robust than the brooches from Kalnieši. At Ķeipenes Saliņas a cross-bow fibula with a flattened foot and a ribbed chord was found in grave 1 together with a belt buckle with attached carved piece and belt fittings of bronze plate (Katalog, 1896, Fig. 14:15). Such ornamental motifs from this period have been analysed in more detail by V. Ģinters, who dated this grave to the first half of the eighth century (Ģinters, 1937, p. 42). However, the typology of Middle Iron Age belt buckles has not been worked out in detail, and so the precise dating of the buckle in grave 1 at Saliņas is not known. The motif in the corners of the fitting, in the form of small pyramids in relief arranged in a net design, is known from the lateral parts of belt buckle pins from the Danube and north-



2. Grave goods of Lejasbitēni grave 68:

1 – axe (A 11822:254); 2 – crutch-shaped pin (A 11822:256); 3 – knife (A 11822:260); 4 – spiral ring (A 11822:259); 5 – spirals (A 11822:255); 6 – arm-band (A 11822:257); Grave equipment of Boķi barrow VIII, grave 5: 7 – awl (A 11777:363); 8 – knife (A 11822:362); 9 – crutch-shaped pin (A 11777:362); 10 – fragments of a buckle or dress-pin (A 11777:365); 11 – sickle (A 11777:361); 12 – arm-band (A 11777:359).

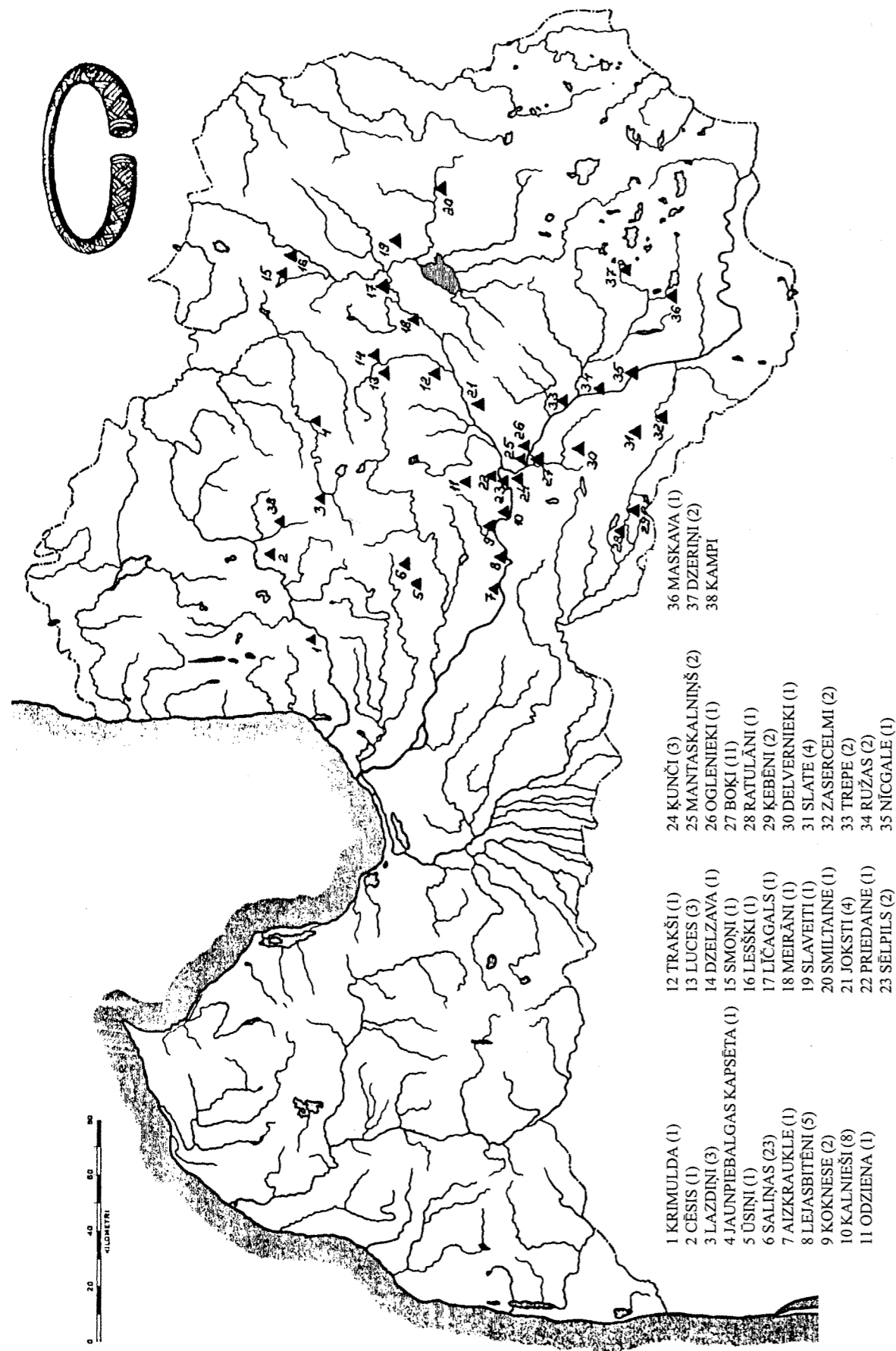


3. Distribution map of cross-bow fibulae with a flattened foot in Latvia.

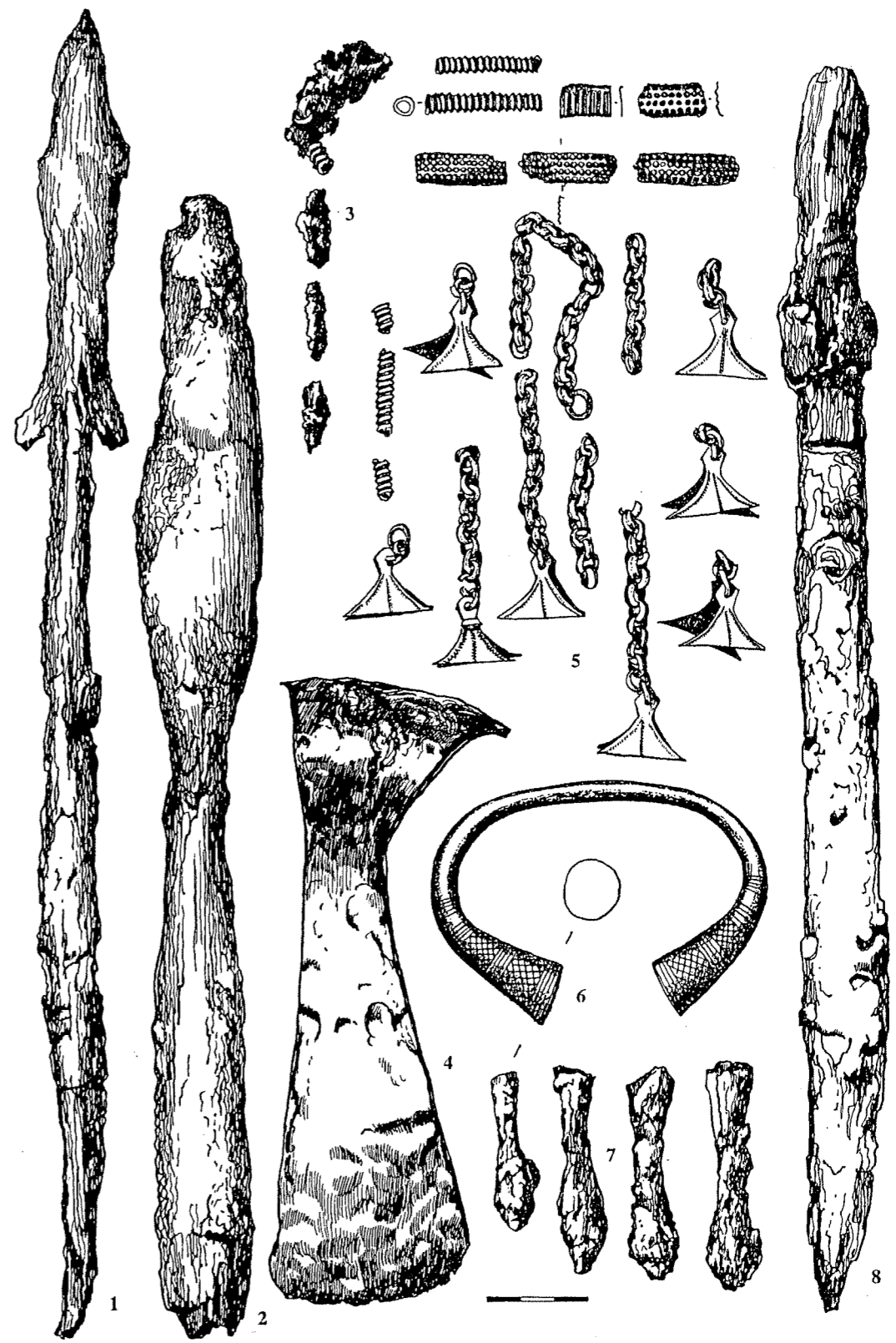
hern Italy already in the D3 phase. According to a study by A. Ambroz these continued in use later on Gepidian and Merovingian artefacts and are found in the Dnieper area in the sixth and seventh centuries (Амброз, 1970, с. 72–73), so it can be thought that the belt buckle from Saliņas grave 1 can be attributed to the seventh century. At Saliņas cemetery this fibula is more robust, and so is typologically slightly later than the fibulae from Kalnieši II cemetery, and resembles the brooch from grave 22 at Oši, but both are less robust than the largest Lithuanian examples. On the basis of the inventory of grave 22 (A 3176–3193) at Oši cemetery, which includes a scythe, two socketed spear-heads, an ice-pick, a moderately massive battle-knife with a slightly broadened tip, a neck-ring with a faceted bow and saddle-and-hook ends (R. Šnore, 1929, Tab. II; Fig. 2:2) a second neck-ring with button-and-loop ends (bent as an arm-band) (R. Šnore, 1929, Table II; Fig. 2:1), a belt buckle with a metal end-piece and buttons (R. Šnore, 1929, Table II; Fig. 2:7) and a crutch-shaped dress-pin with a large head wound with bronze wire, the fibula can be dated to the second half of the seventh century at the latest, or the early eighth century. All in all, the datings of the cross-bow fibulae with flattened foot and ribbed chord are in general accordance with the views of Lithuanian colleagues.

Arm-bands with circular club-shaped ends represent one of the most typical ornaments from eastern Latvia in the Middle Iron Age. 144 such arm-bands are known from 40 find-spots (Fig. 4) (This figure does not include some arm-bands with no recorded find-spot). The distribution is seen in the following map. In general the distribution of arm-bands with circular club-shaped ends in flat Latgalian cemeteries does not extend significantly beyond the distribution of the Collective Barrow Grave Culture. As a separate group we may distinguish arm-bands, between which there is sometimes a net-like design. There are not many arm-bands in this group. Such arm-bands have been found in the cemetery of Boķi in a series of graves. Thus, in grave 24 of barrow 3 (a cremation grave!) the arm-band was found together with a type A barbed and tanged spear, which according to the classification by M. Atgāzis dates to the sixth century (Atgāzis, 1974, p. 156–157); a leaf-shaped socketed spear-head; a narrow-bladed iron axe; a short, narrow, single-bladed battle-knife and a head-dress consisting of bronze plates and triangular pendants on chains of wire of triangular section (Fig. 5). Speaking in favour of such a dating is the fact that it is overlain by a later inhumation (grave 6) where the only grave good is an iron crutch-shaped dress-pin wound with bronze. Iron crutch-shaped pins wound with bronze are widely distributed in seventh to eighth century Selonian and Latgalian

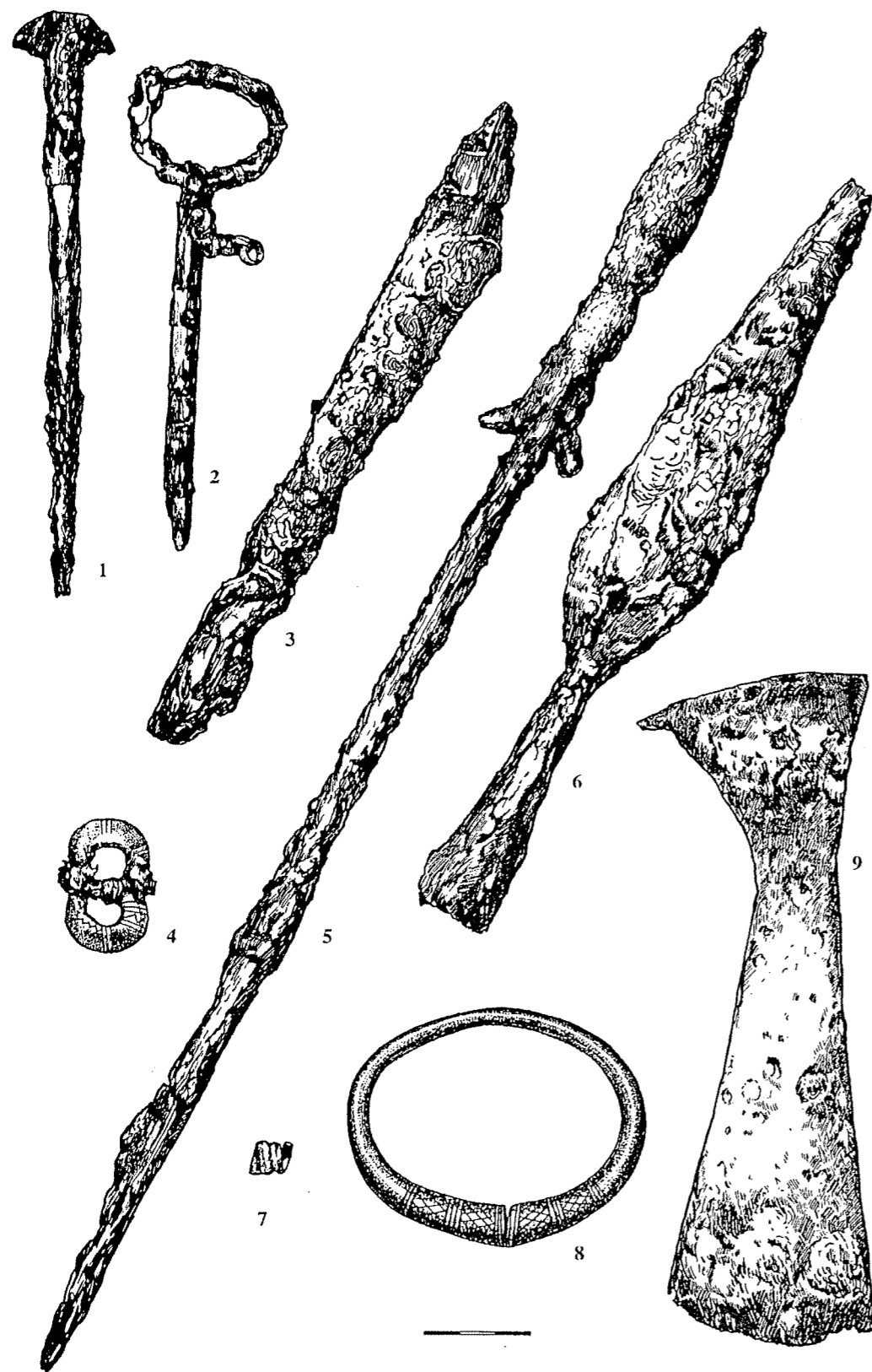
cemeteries and are found in grave inventories together with the iron crutch-shaped pins not wound with bronze wire, generally of earlier date, to be discussed below. An analogous arm-band has been found in grave 19 of the same barrow. A type A2 barbed and tanged spear (Atgāzis, 1974, p. 157), a socketed spear-head, an iron awl with a segment-shaped handle, a small, short, broad, single-bladed battle-knife broadened at the tip, a narrow-bladed axe, a crutch-shaped pin with a large head and an oval bronze buckle with a constriction (Fig. 6). Outside of Latvia, an arm-band with circular club-shaped ends with analogous ornamentation has been found in the Koziyevska hoard, which can on the basis of a general analysis be dated to the second and third quarters of the seventh century (Гавритухин, Обломский, 1996, с. 89–95). This hoard includes bow fibulae, one example of which has been found at Boķi in grave 23 of the same barrow together with a similar arm-band without the net design. Also there is a narrow-bladed axe, a short, narrow battle-knife, iron pincers and two bronze buckles (Fig. 7). V. Urtāns in his article on the contacts between the inhabitants of Latvia and the Slavs dated the bow fibula from Boķi to the sixth century (Urtāns, 1968, p. 74–75). This is the only fibula of Dnieper type in the area of present-day Latvia and has seemingly been obtained in an undisturbed grave, and thus allows the Selonian artefacts to be synchronised with southern Europe. These fibulae have been analysed in more detail by J. Verner in his paper on Slav bow fibulae (Werner, 1950, p. 150–172; Werner, 1960, p. 114–120; Вернер, 1972, с. 103–108), and he dates this type to the end of the six and the seventh century. Such fibulae are very widely distributed along the middle Dnieper and are found mainly in inventories of the second and third quarters of the seventh century (Гавритухин, Обломский, 1996, с. 126; Приходнюк, Падин, Тихонов, 1996, с. 79–83.). Closer to the region under study, they have been found in the Masurian area, in Kosewo, Mragowa region (former Alt-Kosewo in the region of Zensburg) (Gaerte, 1929, p. 280; Fig. 211c; Okulicz, 1973, p. 479; fig. 245a) and the hillfort of Jelala in Estonia (Jaani, Laul, Lõugas, Tõnisson, 1982, p. 231–232; Fig. 158:1). We have no reason to doubt the dating of these fibulae to the seventh century. Such relatively earlier arm-bands with circular club-shaped ends ornamented with bands of diagonal lines have also been found in Rites Ķebēni cemetery, barrow I, grave 19 (E. Šnore, 1993, p. 15) these being the only arm-bands among the grave goods from this grave. A barbed and tanged spear has been found in grave 10 of the barrow, type B2 according to the typology proposed by M. Atgāzis, dating to the seventh century (Atgāzis, 1974, p. 168). Both of these graves mark the upper chronological boundary of the cemetery. Such an



4. Distribution map of arm-bands with round club-shaped ends and plaited ornamentation in Latvia.



5. Grave goods of Boķi barrow III, grave 24:  
 1 - tanged, barbed spear (A 11777:100); 2 - socketed spear-head (A 11777:103); 3 - fragments of an iron crutch-shaped pin (A 11777:107); 4 - axe (A 11777:101); 5 - head-dress (A 11777:108); 6 - arm-band (A 11777:102); 7 - fragments of iron fittings (A 11777:106); 8 - battle knife (A 11777:105).



6. Grave goods of Boķi barrow III, grave 19:

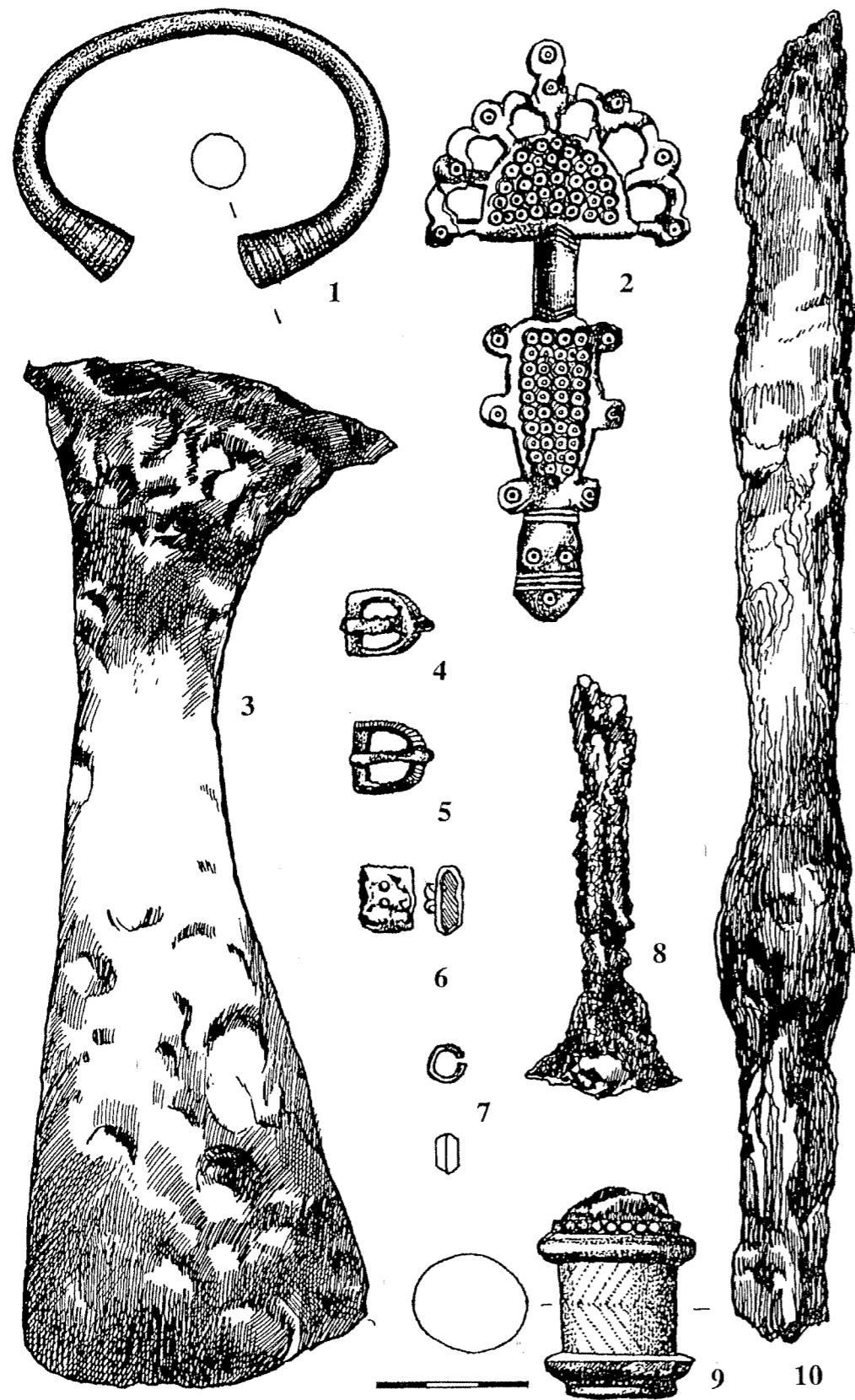
- 1 – awl (A 11777:83); 2 – crook-shaped pin (A 11777:81); 3 – knife (A 11777:84); 4 – belt buckle (A 11777:80);  
5 – tanged, barbed spear-head (A 11777:86); 6 – socketed spear-head (A 11777:85); 7 – spiral (A 11777:82);  
8 – arm-band (A 11777:79); 9 – axe (A 11777:78).

arm-band has been obtained as a stray find in barrow 2, group III at Slates Sils cemetery (E. Šnore, 1933, p. 20–21; fig. XXV:2). Other artefacts found in the same barrow such as iron crutch-shaped pins without winding of bronze wire, triangular bronze pendants and thin ribbon-like brooches with slightly broadened ends make it possible to generally date the barrow to the seventh century. Not found here were the slightly later iron crutch-shaped pins wound with bronze wire and early forms of cuff-shaped arm-bands which would suggest a later date - the late seventh or early eighth century. Similar arm-bands with circular club-shaped ends have been found at Aizkraukle (RDM I 1651), Jersikas Ruķi (Collections of the Latvian History Institute of the University of Latvia VI 298:1) and Krustpils market garden (JNM 1567:1). The examples mentioned, particularly the material from Boķi, makes it possible to generally date the group 1 arm-bands with circular club-shaped ends with a characteristic ornament of perpendicular lines to the mid-seventh century, or the second half of the seventh century at the latest. Arm-bands with circular club-shaped ends covered with a plaited design can be seen to be synchronous or slightly later. This is shown by analysis of the inventories of graves at Lejasbitēni and Boķi cemeteries which contain such arm-bands. Arm-bands with circular club-shaped ends and a plaited design have been obtained from 19 graves at Lejasbitēni cemetery and seven graves at Boķi. Of most interest to us are those grave inventories where they have been found together with other ornaments. In grave 64 at Lejasbitēni such two arm-bands (A 11822:242;243) have been found together with a crutch-shaped pin without bronze wire and a bronze neck-ring with a very narrow, almost triangular bow. The arm-band has been found together with this early form of pin in grave 5, barrow VIII at Boķi (Fig.2: ). In graves 23, 27 and 36 at Lejasbitēni and graves 3 and 16, barrow III at Boķi they have been found together with crutch-shaped pins wound with bronze wire. Also, the inventories of graves 23, 27 and 73 at Lejasbitēni also included neck-rings with saddle-and-hook ends wound with bronze wire of triangular section. In graves 48 and 84 at Lejasbitēni and grave 16, barrow III at Boķi such arm-bands were found together with group B barbed and tanged spears according to M. Atgāzis classification (Atgāzis, 1974, p. 158–159). In the inventory of grave 71 at Lejasbitēni arm-bands with club-shaped ends (A 11822:268) and a plaited design were found together with a fine toreutic neck-ring, rhombic at the back, with a bent back end (11822:265). These artefact forms generally relate to the seventh century. One of the latest is Lejasbitēni grave 211 (11823:384-297), where arm-bands with club-shaped ends and a plaited design have been found together with a neck-ring with flattened ends, whose broad ends place it among eighth century forms. The grave inven-

tory also included two iron crutch-shaped pins wound with bronze wire, spiral rings of triangular wire, and necklaces of spirals and ornamented rings of bronze plate, as well as a sickle-shaped knife. All in all these arm-bands from Latgallian and Selonian monuments can be dated to the second half of the seventh century, or, exceptionally, to the eighth century at the latest.

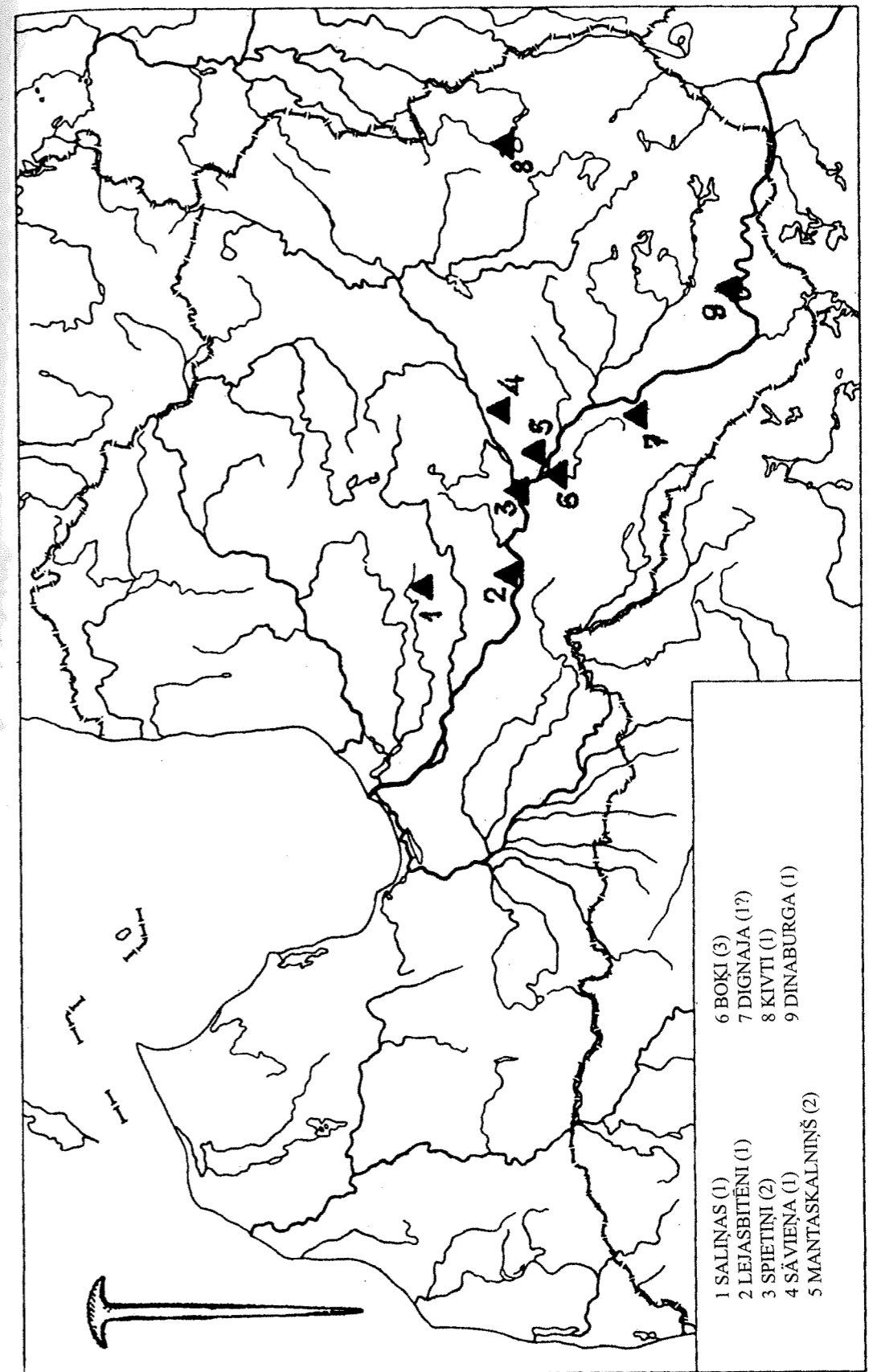
Iron awls with a segment-shaped handle are dated to the sixth and seventh centuries. Thirteen examples of such awls are known in Latvia. The distribution is shown in Fig. 9. Examples have been found in grave 19 of Boķi III barrow, already mentioned (Fig. 6) and in grave 5 of Barrow VIII (Fig. 2:7-12 ). A similar awl (E. Šnore, 1933, p. 65; fig. 19:55) has been found at the Kivti settlement which pre-dates the cemetery, allowing us to date its appearance to a time earlier than the graves of phase I at Kivti cemetery, which ended in the sixth century. The grave equipment from Lejasbitēni grave 17 (A 11822:25-33) can be dated to the seventh century on the basis of the unusual cross-bow fibula with poppy-head ends and dot-like projections on the foot (A 11822:25); the arm-band with round club-shaped ends and plaited ornamentation (A 11822:26); the end-fitting of a belt (A 11822:33). Important for the dating of this type of awl is grave 10 at Krustpils Mantas Kalniņš, containing an awl (JNM 1459:4), which, judging by the fibula with a cruciform foot found in the grave, is slightly earlier, dating from the late sixth century. The fibula with a cruciform foot have been dated by earlier researchers such as Åberg (Åberg, 1919, p. 122) and Gaerte (Gaerte, 1929, p. 269) to the sixth or seventh century, while more recently V. Kazakevičius (Kazakevičius, 1993, p. 111–112) and J. Okulicz (Okulicz, 1973, p. 484) have dated them to the fifth and sixth centuries.

During the period under study triangular pendants are characteristic of Latgallian and Selonian cemeteries. Triangular pendants have been used together with bells as components of head-dresses, for example at Nautrēnu Smiltaine, grave 16 (Fig. 10), grave 21 (Urtāns, 1972, p. 71; Fig. 10), Ābeļu Boķi barrow III, grave 7 (Urtāns, 1972, p. 68; Fig. 3) and 24 (Fig. 5). Tie have also been used on necklaces and breast ornaments, for example at Lejasbitēni, graves 33, 84 (Urtāns, 1972, p. 69, 72). Their area of distribution is shown in the map (Fig. 10). As can be seen, the distribution coincides with the distribution of the artefacts also discussed which date from the seventh century, which already serves as evidence that they generally belong to the seventh century. Important for the dating of triangular pendants is the inventory of grave 27, Ratulāni cemetery, which E. Šnore dates after Åberg to around the year 600 (E. Šnore, 1993, p. 19, 56–57). In addition to the pendants, which were found near the head, probably rep-

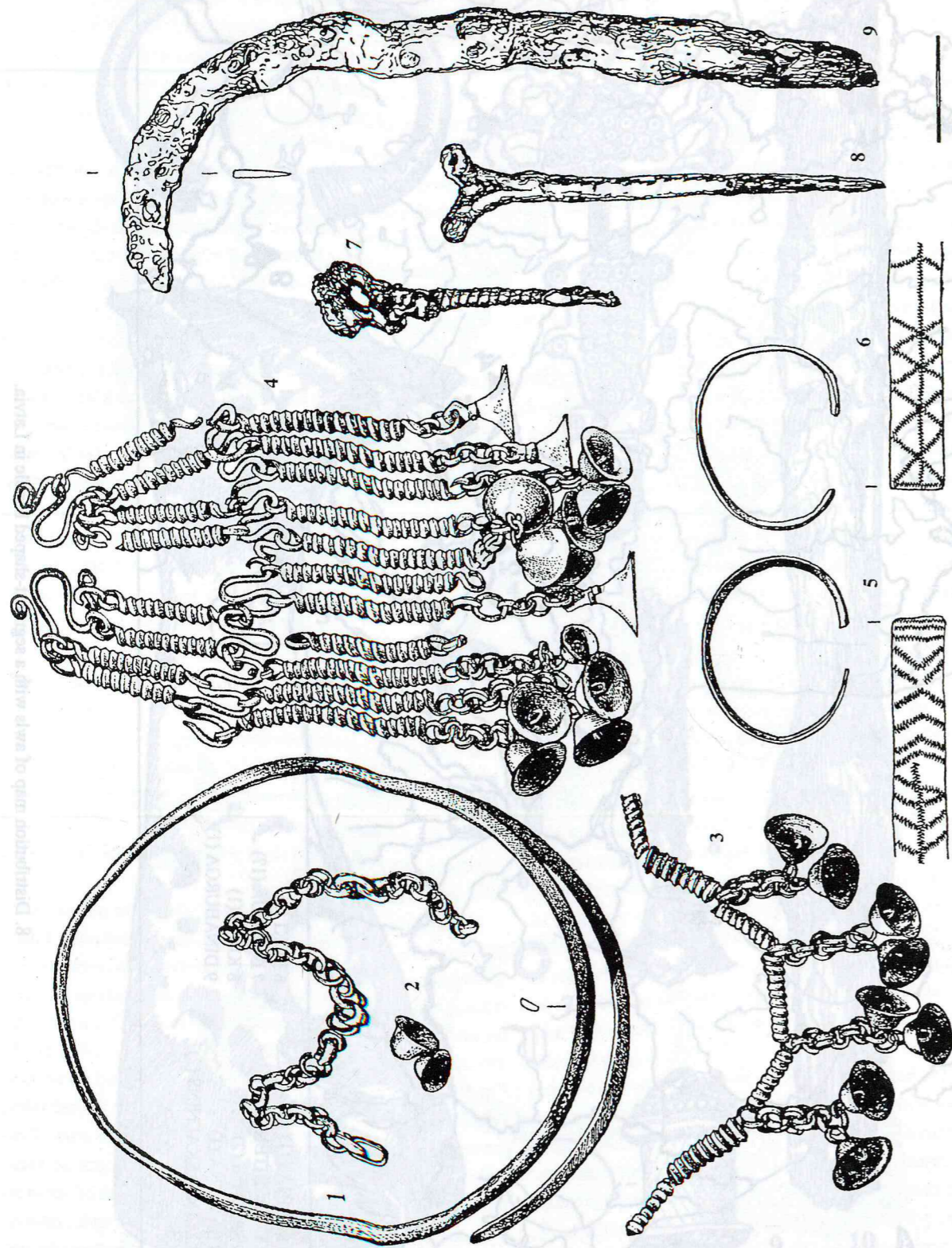


7. Grave goods of Boķi barrow III, grave 23:

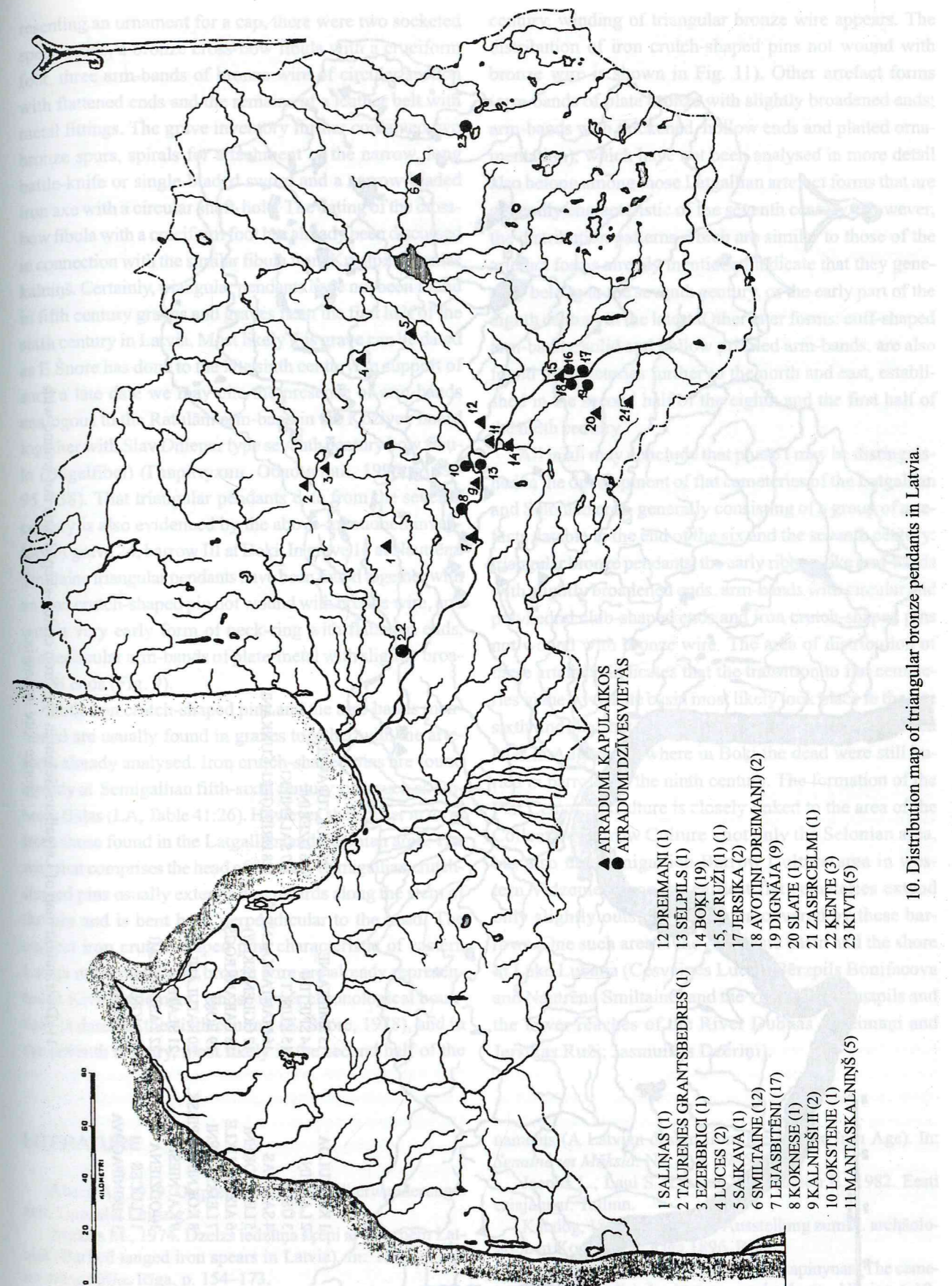
1 – arm-band (A 11777:94); 2 – bow fibula (A 11777:95); 3 – axe (A 11777:98); 4–5 – buckles (A 11777:96); 6 – binding (A 11777:97); 7 – plate metal ring (A 11777:97); 8 – pincers (A 11777:100); 9 – binding for handle of a battle knife (A 11777:99); 10 – battle knife (A 11777:99).



8. Distribution map of awls with a segment-shaped handle in Latvia.

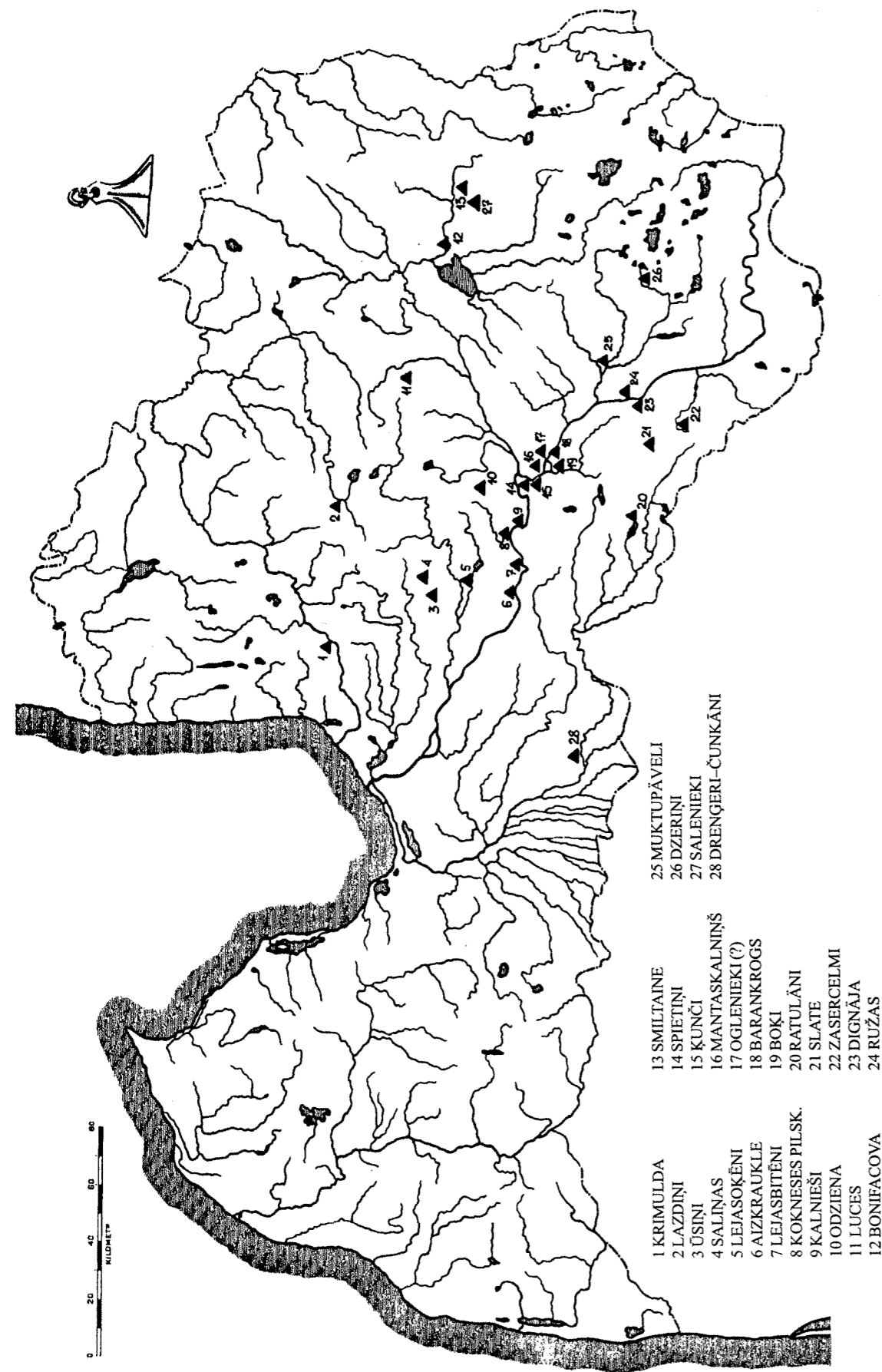


9. Grave goods of Nautrēnu Smiltaine grave 116:  
 1 - neck-ring with flattened ends (A 9524:1); 2 - chain with bells (A 9524:4); 3 - necklace (A 9524:2);  
 4 - breast ornament (9524:3); 5, 6 - arm-bands (A 9524:5,6); 7 - crook-shaped pin (A 9524:7);  
 8 - notch-shaped pin (9524:8); 9 - sickle (A 9524:9).



- ▲ ATRADUMI KAPULAİKOS
- ATRADUMI DZĪVESVIETĀS
- 1 SALIŅAS (1)
- 2 TAURENES GRANTSBEDRES (1)
- 3 EZERBĪCI (1)
- 4 LUCES (2)
- 5 SAIKAVA (1)
- 6 SMILTAINĒ (12)
- 7 LEJASBĪTENI (17)
- 8 KOKNESE (1)
- 9 KALNIEŠI II (2)
- 10 LOKSTENE (1)
- 11 MANTASKALNIŠS (5)
- 12 DREIMANI (1)
- 13 SĒLPĪLS (1)
- 14 BOĶI (19)
- 15, 16 RUŽI (1) (1)
- 17 JERSIKA (2)
- 18 AVOTIŅI (DREIMANI) (2)
- 19 DIGNĀJA (9)
- 20 SLĀTE (1)
- 21 ZASERCĒLMI (1)
- 22 ĶENTE (3)
- 23 KĪVTI (5)

10. Distribution map of triangular bronze pendants in Latvia.



11. Distribution map of Latgallian-Selonian type iron crutch-shaped pins not wound with bronze wire in Latvia.

representing an ornament for a cap, there were two socketed spear-heads, a bronze cross-bow fibula with a cruciform foot, three arm-bands of bronze wire of circular section with flattened ends and the remains of a leather belt with metal fittings. The grave inventory further contained two bronze spurs, spirals for attachment of the narrow, long battle-knife or single-bladed sword and a narrow-bladed iron axe with a circular shaft-hole. The dating of the cross-bow fibula with a cruciform foot has already been discussed in connection with the similar fibula from Krustpils Mantaskalniņš. Certainly, triangular pendants have not been found in fifth century graves and graves from the first half of the sixth century in Latvia. Most likely this grave can be dated as E.Šnore has done to the late sixth century. In support of such a late date we may cite the presence of arm-bands analogous to the Ratulāni arm-band in the Koziyev hoard together with Slav Dnieper type seventh century bow fibula (Bügelfibel) (Гавритухин, Обломский, 1996, с. 89–95, 238). That triangular pendants date from the seventh century is also evidenced by the above-mentioned inventory of grave 24, barrow III at Boķi. In grave 16 at Nautrēnu Smiltaine triangular pendants have been found together with an iron crutch-shaped pin not wound with bronze wire, and with a very early form of neck-ring with flattened ends, and lenticular arm-bands of plate-metal with slightly broadened ends (Fig. 9).

Both iron crutch-shaped pins and the arm-bands mentioned are usually found in graves together with the artefacts already analysed. Iron crutch-shaped pins are found already at Semigallian fifth-sixth century sites such as Dobeles Bājas (LA, Table 41:26). However, they differ in form from those found in the Latgallian and Selonian area. The wire that comprises the head of the early Semigallian crutch-shaped pins usually extends downwards along the stem of the pin and is bent back perpendicular to the head. The earliest iron crutch-shaped pins characteristic of eastern Latvia not wound with bronze wire are already represented at Kivti settlement, whose upper chronological boundary is dated to the sixth century (E. Šnore, 1978), and in the seventh century, most likely in the second half of the

century, winding of triangular bronze wire appears. The distribution of iron crutch-shaped pins not wound with bronze wire is shown in Fig. 11). Other artefact forms (arm-bands of plate bronze with slightly broadened ends; arm-bands with thickened, hollow ends and plaited ornamentation), which have not been analysed in more detail also belong among those Latgallian artefact forms that are generally characteristic of the seventh century. However, the distribution patterns which are similar to those of the artefact forms already mentioned indicate that they generally belong to the seventh century, or the early part of the eighth century at the latest. Other later forms: cuff-shaped arm-bands, solid and hollow profiled arm-bands, are also found in cemeteries further to the north and east, established in the second half of the eighth and the first half of the ninth century.

All in all may conclude that phase I may be distinguished in the development of flat cemeteries of the Latgallian and Selonian area, generally consisting of a group of artefacts datable to the end of the sixth and the seventh century: triangular bronze pendants, the early ribbon-like arm-bands with slightly broadened ends, arm-bands with circular and polyhedral club-shaped ends and iron crutch-shaped pins not wound with bronze wire. The area of distribution of these artefacts indicates that the transition to flat cemeteries in the Aiviekste basin most likely took place in the late sixth and the first half of the seventh century, and even later in Augšzeme, where in Boķi the dead were still buried in barrows in the ninth century. The formation of the Flat Cemetery Culture is closely linked to the area of the Collective Barrow Culture - not only the Selonian area, but also the Semigallian Barrow Culture area in western Vidzeme, since the earliest flat cemeteries extend only slightly outside of the area covered by these barrows. One such area is the Aiviekste basin and the shore of Lake Lubāna (Cesvaines Lucas; Bērzpils Bonifacova and Nautrēnu Smiltaine) and the vicinity of Krustpils and the lower reaches of the River Dubnas (Dreimaņi and Jersikas Ruži; Jasmuižas Dzeriņi).

## LITERATURE

- Åberg A., 1919. Ostpreussen in der Völkerwanderungszeit. Uppsala; Leipzig.  
 Atgāzis M., 1974. Dzelzs iedzītņa šķēpi ar atkarpēm Latvijā (Barbed tanged iron spears in Latvia). In: *Arheoloģija un etnogrāfija*. Rīga, p. 154–173.  
 Gaerte W., 1929. Urgeschichte Ostpreussens. Königsberg.  
 Ģinters V., 1937. Kāds vidējā dzelzs laikmeta latviešu or-

naments (A Latvian design from the Middle Iron Age). In: *Senatne un Māksla*, No. 2, p. 39–56.

Jaanits L., Laul S., Lōugas V., Tõnisson E., 1982. Eesti esiajalugu. Tallinn.

Katalog, 1896. Katalog der Ausstellung zum X. archäologischen Kongress in Riga 1896. Riga.

Kazakevičius V., 1993. Plinkaigalio kapinynas (The cemetery of Plinkaigalis). In: *Lietuvos archeologija*. Vilnius, t. 10.

LA, 1974. Latvijas PSR arheoloģija (Archaeology of the Latvian SSR). Rīga.



Mugurēvičs Ē., 1998. Etniskie procesi baltu apdzīvotajā teritorijā un latviešu tautas veidošanās 6. - 16. gs. (Ethnic processes in the area inhabited by the Balts and the formation of the Latvian people in the sixth to sixteenth century). In: *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls*, No. 2, p. 19-32.

Okulicz J., 1973. Pradzieje ziem pruskich od późnego paleolitu do VII w. n. e. Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków.

Šnore E., 1933. Izrakumi Slatēs sila uzkalniņu kapos 1927. gadā (Excavations at Slatēs Sila barrow cemetery in 1927). Rīga.

Šnore E., 1978. Celtniecības liecības Kivtu apmetnē (Building remains from Kivtu settlement site). In: *Arheoloģija un Etnogrāfija*. XII. Rīga.

Šnore E., 1987. Kivtu kapulauks (Kivtu cemetery). Rīga.

Šnore E., 1993. Agrā dzelzs laikmeta uzkalniņi Latvijas austrumu daļā (Early Iron Age barrows in eastern Latvia). Rīga.

Šnore R., 1929. Izrakumi Dobeles pagasta Ošu senkapos 1926. g. (Excavations at Oši cemetery in Dobeles District in 1926). In: *Rīgas Latviešu biedrības Zinību komisijas rakstu krājums*. 19. Rīga, p. 169-179.

Šnore R., 1930. Dzelzs laikmeta latviešu rotas adatas (Iron Age Latvian dress-pins). In: *Latvijas aizvēstures materiāli I*. Rīga, p. 39-107 + XXXI tab.

Šturms E., 1939. Sēļi (The Selonians). In: *Latviešu konversācijas vārdnīca*. Rīga, vol. 19, lines 38062-38065.

Tautavičius A., 1996. Vidurinis geležies amžius Lietuvoje (V-IX a.) (The Middle Iron Age in Lithuania (fifth to ninth centuries)). Vilnius.

Urtāns V., 1962. Kalniešu otrais kapulauks (The second Kalnieši cemetery). In: *Latvijas Vēstures muzeja raksti. Arheoloģija*. Rīga, p. 37-82.

Urtāns V., 1968. Latvijas iedzīvotāju sakari ar slāviem I g.t. otrajā pusē (Contacts between the inhabitants of Latvia

and the Slavs in the second half of the first millennium). In: *Arheoloģija un etnogrāfija*. Rīga, VIII, p. 65-85.

Urtāns V., 1970. Etniskās atšķirības apbedīšanas tradīcijās un kapu inventārā Latvijā 5. - 9. gs. (Ethnic differences in mortuary practices and grave inventories in fifth to ninth century Latvia). In: *Arheoloģija un etnogrāfija*. Rīga, IX, p. 61-85.

Urtāns V., 1972. Bronzas zvaniņu rotas VII-XI gs. (Ornaments of bronze bells, 7th - 11th centuries). In: *Latvijas ZA Vēstis*, No. 8, p. 64-75.

Urtāns V., 1977. Senākie depoziāti Latvijā (The earliest hoards in Latvia). Rīga.

Vasks A., 1998. Kultūretniskā situācija agrajā un vidējā dzelzs laikmetā Latvijas teritorijā (1. - 8. gs.) (The ethno-cultural situation in the Early and Middle Iron Ages in the area of present-day Latvia (first to eighth century)). In: *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls*, No. 1, p. 7-27.

Werner J., 1950. Slawische Bügelfibeln des VII. Jahrhunderts. In: *Reineke Festschrift*. Mainz, s. 150-172.

Werner J., 1960. Neues zur Frage der slawische Bügelfibeln aus südosteuropäischen Länder. In: *Germania*. Berlin, Jg. 38, H. 1-2, S. 114-120.

Амброз А. К., 1970. Южные художественные связи населения Верхнего Поднепровья в VI в. In: *Древние славяне и их соседи*. Москва, с. 70-74.

Вернер И.Б. 1972. К происхождению и распространению антов и склавен. In: *Советская Археология*. No. 2, с. 102-15.

Гавриутхин И. О., Обломский А. М., 1996. Гапоновский клад и его культурно-исторический контекст. Москва.

Приходнюк О.М., Падин В. А., Тихонов Н. Г. Трубчевский клад антского времени. In: *Материалы I тыс. н. э. по археологии и истории Украины и Венгрии*. Киев, с. 79-102.

## KAI KURIE LATGALIŲ IR SĒLIŲ VIDURINIOJO GELEŽIES AMŽIAUS DIRBINIŲ CHRONOLOGIJS KLAUSIMAI

Jānis Ciglis

Santrauka

Straipsnyje apžvelgti kai kurie latgalių ir sėlių dirbinių chronologijos klausimai, nes iki šiol nemažai įvairių dirbinių formų Latvijos archeologinėje literatūroje yra datuojamos VIII a. Taip yra datuoti Kivtu kapinyno I fazės, Kalniešų II kapinyno kapai, nors akivaizdu, kad dalis Kalniešų II kapinyno kapų yra ankstesni nei Kivtu I fazės kapai. Kita problema yra ta, kad Lietuvos archeologai daug viduriniojo geležies amžiaus dirbinių datuoja kiek ankstesniu laikotarpiu nei latvių archeologai. Todėl autorius, išanalizavęs viduriniojo geležies amžiaus latgalių ir sėlių kapinynų dirbinių formas, priėjo išvadą, kad dalis dirbinių datuoti kiek ankstesniu laikotarpiu, nei yra tradiciškai priimta – VII–VIII a. Tikslinant dirbinių chronologiją, latgalių kapinynų raidoje išskirtina ankstesnė – VII a. datuojama fazė. Ši, šiek tiek ankstyvesnė chronologija sutampa su Lietuvos archeologijos duomenimis.

Įteikta 2000 m. gegužės mėn.

Kartografuodamas chronologiškai ankstyvų dirbinių radimvietes, autorius priėjo išvadą, kad ankstyvų latgalių plokštinių kapinynų ir šioje teritorijoje ankstesniu periodu datuojamų pilkapių, arjuostų akmenų vainikais ir su kolektyviniais kapais, paplitimo arealai sutampa. Tai leidžia manyti buvus etninį ryšį. Šią galimybę patvirtina tokie dirbiniai, kaip apyrankės storėjančiais daugiakampiais galais, juostinės apyrankės kiek paplatintais galais, geležiniai ramentiniai smeigtukai, trikampio formos pakabučiai, kurie buvo rasti tiek pilkapių, tiek latgalių plokštinių kapinynų kapų kompleksuose ir susieja ankstyvesnių pilkapių palaidojimus su plokštiniais latgalių kapinynais. Tai dar kartą įrodo pilkapių kultūros, kaip vieno iš komponentų, buvimą latgalių etnogenezeje.

Iš latvių kalbos vertė  
E. Vasiliauskas

## Погребальный обряд и инвентарь латгальских захоронений 10–13 веков

Арнис Радиньш

Латгалы были одной из тех этнических единиц балтов, которая принимала существенное участие в процессе формирования латышского народа. Без всеохватывающего представления об этом упомянутом объединении племён, позже народностей, невозможно понимание многих проблем древней истории балтов и их соседей.

Название латгалы – „летгола“ впервые упомянуто в письменных источниках на рубеже 11 и 12 веков в Древнерусской хронике „Повесть временных лет“, при написании которой была использована „Начальная летопись“ и другие более ранние источники. В составленных на территории современной Латвии хрониках и документах 13 века их называют „Lethigalli“, „Letti“, „Letten“. Возможно, что эти этнонимы не имели одинакового значения и отражали какие-то сложные этнические события.

В 10–13 веках населённая латгалами территория, которая в Восточной Латвии занимала нынешнюю восточную часть Видземе и Латгале, не была объединена политически и, думается, также этнически не была однородна. Как свидетельствуют материалы археологических исследований и письменные источники, в упомянутом периоде здесь происходили качественные перемены – постепенно формировалось феодальное общество.

Памятники населённой латгалами территории одни из наиболее хорошо изученных археологических объектов Латвии. Всё же, несмотря на большой объём и значение полученного материала, обобщающих работ немного. Многие вопросы – как, например, происхождение и распространение латгалов, влияние материальной культуры латгалов на другие этнические группы, общее и различное между латгалами и селами – ещё не решены до конца и требуют уточнения. Большое значение при поиске необходимых ответов принадлежит именно анализу погребальных памятников.

Количество известных латгальских грунтовых могильников превышает 200 (LA, 1974, p. 222). Археологические исследования проходили на 80 из них, при этом было вскрыто около 2000 захоронений (рис. 1). В

западном направлении эти могильники достигают Айзкраукле, Цесис, в северном – Триката, Алуksне, в восточном Зилупе, а их южную границу намечает река Даугава.

Каждый отдельный памятник занимает довольно большую площадь и часто содержит несколько сотен погребений. Так в могильнике Лудзас Одукалнс на площади в 4700 м<sup>2</sup> было обнаружено около 400 захоронений (Спицын, 1893, с. 3), в могильнике Пилдас Нукшас соответственно – 3000, 218 (Шноре, 1957, с. 13], в могильнике Аглонас Кристапини – 2000, 302 (Briede, 1978, p. 20-22; 1979, p. 17-19; 1980, p. 29-31; 1982, p. 52-54; Kuniga, 1986, p. 80-83; 1988, p. 89-92], в могильнике Звиргзденес Кивти – 3500, 175 (Šnore, 1987, p. 10), в могильнике Драбешу Лиепиняс – 4770, 168 (Apals, 1986, p. 80).

Встречаются три вида погребений – труположения, трупосождения и символические захоронения. Среди них доминируют первые. Количество труположений обычно превышает 90% от общего числа погребений, вскрытых на одном памятнике. Умершие в них захоронены в могильных ямах прямоугольной, реже овальной формы. Их контуры почти всегда хорошо выделяются в материке более тёмной, зачастую перемешанной с золой и углём землёй. Могильные ямы достигают 3 м в длину, 1,5 м в ширину, 1 м в глубину. Обычно их длина – 1,9–2,2 м, ширина – 0,6–0,8 м, глубина – 0,3–0,6 м. Разница между мужскими, женскими и детскими могильными ямами констатирована только в их длине. Это связано с различием в росте умерших.

Большое значение в погребальных традициях имели огненные ритуалы. Об этом свидетельствует не только смешанная с углями земля в заполнении могильных ям, угли и пепел, обгоревшие камни на дне могильных ям, но также места кострищ, которые констатированы как у отдельных захоронений, так и их концентрация в определённых местах на периферии могильника.

В труположениях умершие положены на кору, дощатую подстилку, в колоде, а иногда в дощатый гроб. Умершие обычно расположены на спине в вытянутом