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THE CULTURE OF INHABITANTS OF MEDIAEVAL SETTLEMENTS IN LATVIA IN LIVONIAN PERIOD (THE END OF THE 12th – THE HALF OF THE 16th CENTURY)

In each historical period the life of the society is connected with the particular type of settlements in which people used to live. To achieve the proper imagination about the level of development of the given society is hardly possible without the knowledge about the type of the settlement.

Russian archeologists always focused their attention on investigations upon mediaeval settlement since it gives the whole picture of people's life and jobs and also informs about the function of the living quarters, farm and fortified buildings. Such information is of great value particularly for the period where little written evidence is known and especially when the existing evidence is formed with a bias by foreigners as it is in case of mediaeval reports on native settlements in Livonia. The interests in investigations on mediaeval settlements in Livonia have increased recently due to the scientific achievements performed on castles and settlements of early Russia on one hand, and of Western Europe, on the other. Without inquiry on mediaeval Baltic settlements, it is highly impossible to compare mutual relations of neighbouring regions at the Baltic coast. Thus, it is essential, on the basis of the new archeological material and critically examined written sources to verify the version well-known in the Western historiography according to which material and spiritual life of Livonian people on the turn of the 12th century was influenced only by the German culture.

For the last decades, Latvian archeologists have undertaken thorough studies on mediaeval settlements. Whole microregions were examined with the special concern for strengthenings of earthworks and castles and peasant's settlements. A very rich archeological material was obtained both about early castles and native settlements and also about first fortifications of German invaders. Conducted investigations on the basis of the archeological material (specimens) and the evidence included in the written sources, are the first attempt of historical comparison of the native culture with the level of the life in first castles of Teutonic Knights situated down the Dvina.

Studies upon the large archeological material of the 12th – 16th century, obtained by the author during the latest excavations (Lokstone, Mārtaņšala, Sabile) are the main subject of the present paper. Mārtaņšala excavations were of particular importance. The local castle, an important defensive point of Teutonic Knights, existed simultaneously with Livian settlement and therefore there is a possibility of comparing economic structures of those mediaeval settlements for at least two centuries. The transition from early-feudal economic structure developing under influence of Russia (11th – 13th c.) to the Western structure imposed by Teutonic Knights in Livian period was stressed here.

Considering the fact that archeological material in comparison with written sources supplies wider range of characterization of living conditions at the end of Livonian period (15th c. – and the first half of the 16th c.), the author devoted less attention to the analysis of phenomena of this period than to the period from the 12th to the 14th c. The knowledge included in written sources from the 15th – 16th century was mostly used for retrospective purposes. While analysing the archeological reports of this period, mainly these trends which influenced the material and spiritual culture of mediaeval Livonia were considered.

The culture and customs of castles and villages inhabitants in Livonia were already reflected in chronicles from the 13th – 16th centuries. The ideology of Teutonic Knights during their conquest in Latvia at the end of the 12th – 13th century can be found in Henry of Livonia Chronicle¹ and in Older Rhymed,² the authors of which were typical apologists of the conquest theory.³ The aggression directed towards the natives was excused as a fight with pagans or apostates.

¹ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae Editio altera*, Recognoverunt L. Arbusow, A. Bauer, Hannoverae 1955.

² *Livländische Reimchronik*, Ed. Leo Meyer, Paderborn 1876.

³ Я. Я. З у т и с, *Очерки историографии Латвии. ч. I Прибалтийско-немецкая историография*, Рига 1949.

Since the chronicles mentioned above possess extremely poor knowledge about settlements and local culture, the hypothesis about the low level of their development and about the special role of Teutonic Knights in culture creating must have originated in Baltic-German historiography. Following footsteps of their predecessors, Baltazar Russow⁴ and Iochan Renner⁵ characterize Livonia till the conquest of Teutonic Knights as barbaric country with no towns, no castles, no temples which only appeared as a result of German activities.

Till the October Revolution, Baltic-German historians took the lead in creating the image about the Livonian period. Main tendencies in their historiography i.e. the glorification of the conquest and the creative role of the Germans in culture development were spread already by the first annalists of Livonia. The theory about the creative cultural role of the Germans in various types was represented by most Baltic-German historians till the twenties of our century; the only exceptions were radical representatives of the Enlightenment at the end of the 18th century (G. Merkel⁶ and others). Still, in early twenties⁷ the level of the local culture was said to be very low although at those times there was a sufficient number of archeological evidence denying this statement.

The historiography of bourgeois Latvia adopted romantic trends of the first historians of Latvian origin and idealized Old-Latvian society developing till the conquest of Teutonic Knights.⁸ The open struggle undertaken against the conceptions of Baltic-German historians can be mentioned here as a positive factor. As the relics from the 13th–14th century were very little known in those times, the criticism of “kulturträgen” was very often only formal and sometimes it almost negated the real values of material and spiritual culture from the 13th–14th century.

Still, in Western bourgeois historiography of the post-war period, there are some historians⁹ who maintain the ideas of Baltic-German historiography

and support the statement about the cultural-creative role of the Germans. However, the literature of the seventies and the eighties of our century tends to change this point of view. It can be observed that new discoveries and convincing arguments of Russian archeologists made some historians¹⁰ change the previous opinions popularized earlier according to the Baltic-German historiography.

Historians of Soviet Latvia¹¹ reasonably criticizing the theory about the cultural-creative role of the Germans, attempt to stress the importance of the socio-economic changes in Livonian period. They demonstrate that these two various and contradict cultures i.e. the culture of German feudals and the middle class and the culture of Latvia developed in totally uncomperable conditions of social and national discrepancies. This can be proved by the vast archeological material not fully popularized yet.¹²

The author of this paper has published several works¹³ with the detailed analysis of the sites investigated archeologically, coming from the 13th–14th century. A new classification of mediaeval castles and settlements has been elaborated. The problem of mutual relations between the inhabitants of castles and settlements in the Middle Ages which so far has not been worked up on the basis of the archeological material, was investigated thoroughly. An examination of these materials allows to conclude from the tools, objects of every day use, ornamentation and cult relics and also from the habitation places that the tradition of the local material and spiritual culture was continued in Livonia in the 13th–14th century. Considering the archeological data, the conclusion arises that local inhabitants could have exerted an influence upon the origin of some German castles.

Among written sources mediaeval chronicles are cited which supply very valuable about the names of

⁴ B. Russow, *Chronica der Provintz Lyfflandt*, „Scriptores rerum Livonicarum”, vol. 2, 1846, Riga–Leipzig.

⁵ J. Renner, *Livländische Historien*, Ed. R. Hausmann, K. Höhlbaum, Göttingen 1876.

⁶ G. Merkel, *Die Letten, vorzüglich in Liffland am Ende des philosophischen Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1797.

⁷ A. Transehe-Roseneck, *Die Entstehung der Schollenpflichtigkeit in Livland*, „Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands”, vol. 23, p. 485–577.

⁸ F. Balodis, *Latviešu vēsture*, I sēj, Rīga 1938.

⁹ W. Hubatsch, *Die deutsche Siedlung in Livland im Mittelalter*, „Studien zum Deutschtum im Osten”, 1971, fasc. 8, Köln–Wien, p. 107–129.

¹⁰ M. Hellmann, *Burgen und Adels herrschaft bei den Völkern des Ostbaltikums*, „Giessener Abhandlungen zur Agrar – und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens”, 1980, vol. 100, Berlin, p. 30–50.

¹¹ T. Zeids, *Feodālisms Livonijā*, Riga 1951.

¹² Э. Шноре, *Астское городище. Материалы и исследование по археологии Латвийской ССР*, vol. 11., Рига 1961, p. 5–168. E. Mugurevičs, *Oliņkalna un Lokstenes pilsnovadi. 3–15. gs. arheoloģiskie pieminekļi*. Rīga 1977; E. Šnore, A. Zariņa, *Senā Sēlpis*, Rīga 1980.

¹³ Э. Мугуревич, *Исследование последний, городищ и замков на территории Латвийской ССР*, 1967. „Acta Baltica Slavica”, vol. V Bialystock, p. 159–201; *Latvijas PSR arheoloģija*, Rīga 1974, p. 177–204, 267–272, 285–295, 300–315; Mugurevičs, *Latvijas viduslaiku piļu klāsificācijas un arheoloģiskās izpētes jautājumi*. „Arheoloģija un etnografija”, vol. XIV, Rīga, s. 3–13.

settlements and first German castles. In Henry of Livonia Chronicle over 30 settlements of different types (castles and villages) are mentioned; in Older Rhymed over 40 settlements. Annals called Newer Rhymed and Wartberg's Chronicle¹⁴ supply information about erecting many German monastic and bishops' fortresses which were completed with the help of local peasants who were compelled to do this work. As it results from the list of castles (Russow's and Renner's chronicles) only 53–55 castles in Latvia exerted an influence upon the life of the country at the beginning of the 14th century. The knowledge about some Livonian castles is also included in Russian chronicles and files.¹⁵ More detailed list of Livonian castles and villages was found in documents from the 13th–14th century (26 volumes¹⁶). Official records from the survey of monastic castles are of special importance. Frank de Moliano's¹⁷ record written at the beginning of the 14th century reveals the methods of German authorities to subordinate the natives. It informs also about castles of local Latvian feudals on the turn of the 13th century and it gives the evidence of their attempt to regain their castles. Polish survey¹⁸ of the castles at the end of the 16th century can be used for Livonian period as the retrospective source containing important knowledge not only about castles themselves but also about their settlers' base which in the Middle Ages had relatively stabilized borders.

Linguistics, with the special role of toponymics, also helps to investigate mediaeval settlements. One third of names of castles from Livonian period in Latvia was borrowed from the names of native villages what indirectly indicates on the heritage of cultural traditions. The literature¹⁹ dealing with mutual inf-

luences of Latvian and German terminology of weapons, ornamentation, tools and others is of great value for the problems investigated by the author. The research results of cartography, antropology and ethnography are of great help for explaining some problems of the Middle Ages.

In Latvia there are more than 400 castles²⁰ one tenth of which was archeologically researched. Studies proved that till the conquest of Teutonic Knights only two third of examined castles were populated while the remaining part appeared to be much earlier relics what would lead to the conclusion that about 200–250 castles in Latvia could have been inhabited by the local people on the turn of the 12th century. On the basis of the archeological data dealing with the distribution of relics in the 13th–14th century, it was stated that the role of the fortresses was performed by the following types of earthworks:

1) isolated earthworks in shape of extended eminences with the main rampart built on flat surface;

2) earthworks situated on steep edges of the eminence with strengthening system of semi-circle or horse-shoe, shapes and with their back sides protected by natural environs;

3) sickle-shaped strengthening of eminences protected by the rampart from the side of "open" land.

More than 100 mediaeval stone castles from the Livonian period can be found in Latvia. Most of them are not well preserved or they remain in forms of ruins therefore the best methods of their examination are excavations. In generalized works of Pre-Soviet historiography²¹ castles were regarded, first of all, as the centres of the territory ruled by Teutonic Knights and Bishops with the special concern only for stone architecture. Soviet Government created proper conditions for thorough archeological inquiry of these castles which enabled to trace their development and reconstruction.

Moreover, the excavated archeological material explains and throws light upon problems of wooden architecture, every day jobs, life conditions, culture and the ethnical survey of the castle inhabitants. At present, after the examination of 40 castles, there is a possibility of their new classification²² on the basis of mutual relations of mediaeval castles with settlements of the previous period. So, the castles can be divided into four groups:

¹⁴ K. Höhlbaum, *Die jüngere livländische Reimchronik des Bartholmäus Hoeneke, 1315–1348*, Leipzig 1872. Hermannide Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*, Ed. E. Strehlke, *Scriptores rerum Prusicarum*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1863.

¹⁵ *Новгородская первая летопись Старшего и Младшего изводов*, Москва – Ленинград 1950; *Псковские летописи*, fasc. 1–2, 1941, 1955; Москва – Ленинград; *Полоцкие грамоты XIII – нач. XVI вв.*, Москва 1977.

¹⁶ „Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch”, I, vol. 1–12, II, vol. 1–3, Riga – Reval – Moskau 1853–1914; „Livländische Güterurkunden”, vol. 1–2, Riga 1908, 1923, *Kurländische Güterchroniken*, Mitau 1894–1900.

¹⁷ A. Seraphim, *Das Zeugenverhör des Franciscus de Moliano (1312)*, Königsberg 1912.

¹⁸ J. Jakubowski, J. Kordzikowski, *Polska w XVI wieku*, vol. 13, *Inflanty*, Warszawa 1915.

¹⁹ J. Sehwers, *Sprachlich-kulturhistorische Untersuchungen vornehmlich über den deutschen Einfluss im Lettischen*, Veröffentlichungen des Abteilung für slawischen Sprachen und Literaturen des Osteuropas”, vol. 4, 1953, Berlin.

²⁰ E. Brastiņš, *Latvijas pilskalni I–IV*, Rīga 1923–1930.

²¹ C. Löwis of Menar, *Burgenlexicon für Alt-Livland*, Riga 1922; A. Tuulse, *Die Burgen in Estland und Lettland*, Dorpat 1942.

²² M. Mugurevičs, *Latvijas viduslaiku piļu klasifikācija un arheoloģiska izpēte*, „Technikas apskats” 1980, No 89, 90, (Montreal).

I. Castles in which after Teutonic Knights invasion, the natives still lived for the 13th – 14th century (Talsi, Asote, Cesvaine). Some of them were temporarily captured by the invaders in the 13th century but they were regained (Tēwete, Dobele).

II. Castles built within strengthenings of the local settlements (Rēzekne, Sēlpils, Mežotne etc.). According to the period of construction they can be divided into a) castles erected immediately after the conquest (Koknese, Turaida), b) castles erected within the deserted strengthenings (Lokstene).

III. Castles constructed in place of the villages a) castles erected in places of existing settlements (Mārtiņšala, Ikšķile, Vecdole), b) castles erected in place of deserted villages (Altene).

IV. Castles built in uninhabited areas where the population rate of the earlier period was not estimated by the archeological research (Dundaga, Piltene).

More frequently than in other places such castles are seen in the Western part of Latvia. It is very symptomatic that so far archeologically not examined mediaeval castles of Kurons were situated in a given distance from the old Kuronian earthworks. It may indirectly indicate that those earthworks were inhabited by the natives in the 13th century what seems to be proved by the research works in Northern Kuronia (Talsi, Sabile, Matkule).

If we consider the building material, castle can be divided into wooden and of stone. The local inhabitants as it appears from the numerous excavations of earthworks used only wooden constructions. At the beginning of the Livonian period the Germans also built wooden castles (Diunaburga, Marienburga). Stone fortifications were erected immediately after the conquest of Teutonic Knights. The natives, on the turn of the 12th – 13th century and later also constructed stone castles but cooperating with the Germans.

The transition from wooden fortifications to the complex habitation surrounded by stone walls was the process undergoing not only in Livonia but also in Central and Western Europe²³ from the 11th to the 13th – 14th century.

Archeological investigations sponsored by the Soviet Government, conducted in mediaeval castles, some of them were thoroughly searched (Mārtiņšala, Ikšķile), proved that these castles are not only architectural relics but also the relics of the history. Besides, the

above mentioned research reveals the creation of castles as the gradual process in which among numerous adopted ideas from the West the local building traditions played a specific role.

Organised by the Soviet Government investigations on the habitation complexes enabled to trace the economic and cultural development of mediaeval settlements. Apart from many earthworks more than 50 sites which in written sources were called villages or suburbs (villa, dorp, civitas, urbs, locus) were recorded. In order to obtain more detailed picture of rural settlements, the areas down the Dvina are being thoroughly researched.

Agriculture played a very important role in the structure of those settlements however, some traces of handicraft and trade were found at each of examined sites what seems to be characteristic for early urban settlements. Concentration of population down the river Dvina where separate groups of settlements joined in agglomerations (Daugmale – Lankskola, Kabele – Lipiši, Martynsaloo-Dole, Riga) can be regarded as the transition process from the village to the town.²⁴ Especially it is convincing in cases where in the neighbourhood of some villages and cemeteries there was a fortified object – the castle. The similar process observed down the Dvina in the 11th and the 12th century underwent also in Old Russia and in the countries on the Western Baltic coast where some villages lying in the close neighbourhood turned into much larger settlements – an early town.²⁵

The examination of settlements (earthworks, suburbs, villages) from the Late Iron Epoch showed that each group of sites has its own characteristic building features. In earthworks, houses were grouped along the strengthenings erected at the rim of the eminence (Talsi, Mežotne) and only in the 12th and the 13th century the centre of the eminence was built over as well (Jersika, Asote). The second specific feature is the density of the houses dependent upon the dimensions of the fortified land comprising on an average about 0,5 ha. In open suburbs and villages (Mārtiņšala, Sabile) covering an area of some hectares, the buildings were detached but situated in groups in the distance of 8 – 10 m. Synchronized houses were localized in the 2nd – 3rd neighbouring groups. Ancillary buildings were grouped round houses what can be demonstrated by the farming burrows.

²³ W. J a n s s e n, *Burg und Territorium am Niederrhein im Späten Mittelalter*, [in:] *Die Burgen im deutschen Sprachraum, Sigmaringen*, vol. 1, 1976; A. C z e m i c z k y - S o s, *Neue Angaben zur Frage der Kontinuität der mittelalterlichen Festungssysteme in Mosaburg – Zalavár*, „*Archeologia Polski*”, 1971, vol. 16, fasc. 1/2, Warszawa, p. 356, 357.

²⁴ M u g u r e v i č s, *Mittelalterliche Siedlungen und Veränderungen der Siedlungsstruktur am Unterlauf der Daugava im 12 bis 13 Jahrhundert*, „*Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte*”, 1983, vol. 7, Bonn, p. 171 – 178.

²⁵ H. J a n k u h n, *Schlusswort*, „*Acta Visbyensia I*”, 1965, Uppsala, p. 253 – 257. Д. А. А в д у с и н, *Происхождение древнерусских городов*, „*Вопросы истории*” 1980, No 12, p. 24 – 72.

Habitation places of mediaeval settlements were divided into above-ground and underground parts what is very characteristic for Livian territory.²⁶ Beginning with the 14th century above-ground houses outnumbered buildings with underground parts which gradually vanished as it was proved by the investigations (Mārtiņšala, Salaspilsa, Ikšķile). In architecture of the mediaeval settlements above-ground buildings erected both in shell and pillar constructions dominated. Shell construction is characteristic for Latvian earthworks and suburbs of the Late Iron Epoch. The archeological inquiry in Koknese and Riga where mediaeval wooden constructions are well preserved, supplied valuable material for studies on the wooden buildings. Both habitation and farming houses were of shell construction although the latter were seldom erected in pillar constructions. The size of the building was small: 4,4 × 4,6; 4,9 × 5 m (Koknese). In Old Riga in layers from the 12th – 13th century during excavating works a lot of shell constructions was found. However, one could meet also some buildings with logs with hewn tips and fixed in pillars and houses with smoothly hewn walls as well. Dolomite slabs or stone cleats were put under the corner pillars of habitation houses. Such groups of stones with other traces indicate on the places of shell constructions where wood was not preserved. The concentration of stone heaps giving evidence for shell construction was discovered in Mārtiņšala (the 13th – 14th century) and other places.

In Riga under the influence of German settlers²⁷ the houses of skeletal construction were erected beginning with the 13th century. During the 15th – 16th century more and more stone building were constructed in castles and towns while in villages wooden houses were still dominating apart from settlements which were the centres of vast manors (Ikšķile).

As regard heating the quarters, both ovens and fireplaces were used. Some types of ovens known already in the previous period were found after the 13th century. Stone hearths were commonly used in the Livonian period and some of them were discovered in deep burrows (Mārtiņšala, Lankškola) although they were also found in some castles (Forburg, Tērvete, Koknese). The most ordinary were clay ovens known in Latvia since the 9th century. Those ovens were constructed of solid stone foundations, few hearths and surrounding stone lining and clay vault. Such ovens

were used in castles till the 15th century (Lokstone) and in villages for the Middle Ages. Clay ovens, brick faced appeared in Latvian earthworks where the Germans had stayed temporarily since the end of the 13th century (Tērvete, Mežotne). Those ovens were more often met in stone castles from the 13th – 16th century (Koknese, Depilo). Totally new system of heating – ovens with the inflow of warm air – was introduced in some German castles²⁸ (Altene, Koknese etc.) and in some manors (Ikšķile). In the 15th – 16th century tiles came into use for building ovens in castles (Valmiera, Piltene, Rēzekne and others).

In the Middle Ages, however, open fireplaces were very common what can be observed both in castles and villages. In the initial period of organising the castle in Mārtiņšala (the end of the 12th and half of the 13th century) only open fires were used there based on the same construction as in Livonian settlements. Fire heating (equally with oven heating) appeared in castles in much later period (Mārtiņšala, Salaspils). The above mentioned archeological material is not in opposition to the analogies in Central and Western Europe²⁹ where in the Middle Ages fireplaces were of the same use as ovens.

The survey of mediaeval buildings and heating systems reports that they developed significantly in the Middle Ages. Although in some villages the old traditions of the Iron Epoch were still continued but in castles beginning with the 14th century the warm-air heating was applied followed by ovens of bricks and tiles. In few earthworks of native inhabitants it was possible to find some innovatory elements (bricks).

The activities of Teutonic Knights had clearly proved that it was not their mission to preach Christianity. This can be confirmed by the fact that Orthodox Churches were destroyed the same as the political centres (Ersika). In spite of the terror and under duress conversion to Catholicism, still in the 14th and in the 15th century the symbols of Orthodoxy (crosses) were kept in Latvia. For many centuries peasants cultivated pagan traditions what can be confirmed by the worshipped hills, trees and stones for sacrifice. Churches and chapels built by Teutonic Knights in the Dvina valley (Ikšķile, Mārtiņšala, Riga, Duinamīde) became the first centres of the Catholic region. It is worth examining the results of the archeological inquiry of one of these relics. The church on Mārtiņšala Island is mentioned in written reports from the 12th – 14th

²⁶ E. M u g u r e v i č s, *Wechselbeziehungen der livischen und der Kurischen Kultur im Licht des Siedlungsmaterials Nordkurlands (10–16 Jh.)*, Congressus Quintus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum Turku 20–27 VIII 1980, Paris VIII Turku, 1981, p. 395–400.

²⁷ А. В. Ц а у н е, *Жилища Риги XII – XIV вв. по данным археологических раскопок*, Рига 1984, p. 83–114.

²⁸ J. G r a u d o n i s, *Altene*, „Arheologija un etnogrāfija”, 1983, XIV, Rīga, p. 40–85.

²⁹ M. D a b r o w s k a, *Ogrzewanie i oświetlenie wnętrz mieszkalnych na ziemiach polskich w VI–XIII w.* „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej”, 1971, No 3, p. 369–398.

century as one of the first German Catholic churches in Livonia. At the beginning it was made of wood later, in the first part of the 13th century, a new object was erected of chipped stones on the area of the consecrated cemetery in 1197 what can be deduced from the Christian burials found under stone fundamentals. In following years the church was enlarged (a tower) and reconstructed (pilasters, the brick door openings) and as a result it became the object of one nave (28,5 × 10,5 m) with three spans of groined vaults. The importance of Mārtiņšala church as the parish centre (parochialis ecclesia) was not limited only to the island itself but it comprised also the castle area and therefore it explains the existence of a big cemetery near the church. The previous name of the island "Golm" was later changed into "Kirchgolm" – "Church island" and at last into "Mārtiņšala" – in connection with St. Martin church. During excavations of 1967 – 71 the church was investigated thoroughly.

The architecture of the first parish churches constructed in the neighbourhood of the castles in the Dvina valley (Ikškile, Mārtiņšala, Aizkraukle) followed the examples of West European temples of the 12th – 13th century. They resembled little churches common in Holy Roman Empire.³⁰

Nowadays, more than 350 mediaeval Latvian cemeteries are reported of which 190 were archeologically researched with the finding of 4500 graves. Among them there are cemeteries with the old traditional burials (30%) and new ones with burials according to the church ceremony (70%). The present paper considers both the sites of burials of village and castle inhabitants however, this division seems to be only partly in agreement with the reality since some cemeteries could have been used by the castle and village people (Mārtiņšala). Cemeteries localized nearby and chronologically corresponding to the times of "castle existence" are regarded as castle cemeteries. As the excavated material shows, the majority of mediaeval burials sites consists of village cemeteries and only 10% of them are expected to serve for castle inhabitants.

The cemetery in Mārtiņšala will be the subject of the detailed discussion here. It comprises ca. the area of 0,3 ha. round the church. While examining 2/3 of the cemetery territory 1803 burials from the end of the 12th to the 17th century were discovered. It appeared that all 54 graves found inside the church were West – East orientated as it was customary in churches and monasteries of Western Europe. Whereas, the graves outside the church were often exempt from this rule. Among

burials from the 13th – 15th century besides West – East orientation some graves were localized in Northern – West, Southern – East direction and the burials from the 16th – 17th century were orientated South – West – North – East. Among graves discovered inside the church only 16,5% is equipped while outside graves are furnished in 60%.

The 13th – 15th century burials in Latvia were characterized by traditional rites specific for each nationality. Beginning with the 15th – 16th century the Christian cemeteries were in majority. The grave equipment disappeared in practice from those cemeteries during the 16th – 17th century. However, in areas distant from the main centres the dead were still buried according to the traditional burial rites.

For better comprehension of living conditions in mediaeval Latvia, the archeological material discovered in castles and villages was analysed in details.

Among tools used for cultivation there were iron fittings of listers, some of them of Baltic origin, ploughs and plough-shares.³¹ Lister fittings dating back to the 13th – 14th century are of specific length (to 23,5 cm.) and breadth (9 – 10 cm.) and differ from the fittings coming from earlier periods. They are bigger and more massive but genetically bound with their predecessors. During archeological works about 40 complete tools and 10 fragments which can be treated as plough-shares were found. Most of them has poorly developed unsymmetrical blade what suggests that they were used in double, notched primitive ploughs. Plough-shares can be divided into 3 types due to the shape and the ratio of the complete length of the tool to the length of the funnel and according to chronological data as well. Plough-shares of the first type are 14 – 17 cm. long with working part of 5 – 6 cm in breadth and a massive funnel comprising 2/3 of the complete length of the tool. Plough-shares of the second type are generally very long (to 20 cm.) with the funnel comprising 1/2 of the complete length. In Eastern Europe findings of the described above plough shares date back to the 9th century while Latvian plough-shares corresponding to the European come from the 11th – 13th century. The third type of plough-shares is represented by fittings whose length is of 30 cm. and breadth of 5 – 7 cm. As compared to the previously mentioned plough-shares, their working part is much longer comprising 1/2 – 2/3 of the complete length. The cross-section of the fitting is oval but it remains more the quadrangle than in case of other two types. Primitive ploughs with shares of the third type dating back to the 14th and the 16th century

³⁰ G. Binding, *Burg und Stift Elften am Niederrhein*, „Rheinische Ausgrabungen“, 1970, vol. 8, Düsseldorf, p. 68 – 70.

³¹ Э. Мугуревич, *Находки железных частей пахотных орудий X – XVII вв. в Восточной Прибалтике* (in the press).

were used for the tillage turning the ridge. Ploughs has a wooden mount with the iron fitting 15–21,5 cm. in length which tended to extend in times. The ploughs gathered during excavations are said to come from the 14th–17th century.

In the Late Iron Epos few types of sickles; straight, crooked and straight with twisted tips were known in Latvia. The straight sickle dominated till the 12th–13th century (Pasilciems) but it was gradually replaced by the sickle whose bend of the blade began immediately after a handle (Aizkraukle). Bended sickles are more effective than sickles with bended tips because their cutting angle is much wider and moreover, the whole blade is involved in working and not only the tip as it is in case of the straight sickles. The transition from the bended sickle to the crooked one can be traced following the example of the sickle found in Koknese eartwork (the 10th–11th century). The analysis of crooked sickles was performed according to W. P. Lewaszowa's method.³² The developed form of the crooked sickle in the Dvina basin, was known already in the 9th–12th century (Kentoskals, Pauszi, Koknese). Comparing these sickles among themselves it is possible to conclude that the older is the sickle the bigger is the arch of the blade. As to the cutting angle it can be observed that the 10th–12th century sickles had not reached yet the ideal 50° characteristic for later mediaeval ones (Mārtiņšala). Considering the effectiveness one may draw the conclusion that crooked sickle is more effective than bended one or with bended tips.³³ Mediaeval sickles (Mārtiņšala, Lokstone) have the maximal hight of the blade arch situated near the handle what enables for achieving the highest efficiency. Summing up, Latvian mediaeval sickles corresponded to the forms known in those times in Eastern and Central Europe.³⁴ In Kuronian territory (Pasilciems) the inhabitants used tools with wide foot characteristic for scythes but with bended blade resembling sickles. Similar tools used for reaping, Scandinavian archeologists³⁵ call sickles whereas Russian scientists consider them to be scythes with a ridge. Because of the function of this tool used for mowing corn in Western Latvia it should be called "a sickled scythe".

Scythes appearing in mediaeval archeological material can be divided into several types. Two types i.e. slender scythes with a ridge and scythes with a massive tang are genetically connected with corresponding local scythes from the Late Iron Epos. The third type consists of the tools whose tang is square with the blade. The question when scythes of the given type appeared in Latvia and whether they are of local origin remains still open. Due to ethnographic data³⁶ those scythes were of long helves. In Central Europe such scythes were reported to come from the first half of the 14th century and in Latvia they appeared in the 14th century (Mārtiņšala).

Excavated mediaeval knives, according to their form, can be grouped in three main types; knives with helves with rivets, knives with non-riveted helves and clasp-knives. The first type of knives seems to be the continuation of traditions from the Late Iron Epos with the exception to their blades which are wider as compared to the previous period. The earliest riveted knives appeared already in the 13th century (Tērvete) but they should be regarded as an import from Germany. Local production of such knives may have started in the 14th–15th century (Salaspils, Altene). Clasp-knives, although known in the Late Iron Epos, only in the 16th–17th century were commonly used. Typological analysis of mediaeval knives indicates that in the 13th–14th century they differed only a little from the knives produced locally in the earlier periods. It is worth stressing that their form changed together with the introduction of riveted and clasp-knives which first of all were used by inhabitants of castles while nonriveted knives were in possession of village people.

Two sorts of shears i.e. hinge and spring were known in mediaeval Latvia.³⁷ As it is confirmed by the findings in cemeteries (Aizkraukle, Laukskola) and in settlements (Pausz, Mārtiņšala) spring shears originated in the 12th century but they were also known in other periods of the Middle Ages. They had a characteristic hoop (15–22 mm.) and the length of blades comprised 1/2 of the total length. In the following centuries hoops gradually became shorter (Mārtiņšala, Lokstene, Koknese). Spring shears of smaller size (100–110 mm in length) were applied for toilet whereas those of double length were used for sheep-shearing and cloth-cutting. Hinge shears were an innovation for the Latvians (Mārtiņšala) and they could be found only in castles and urban settlements.

³² В. Л. Левашева, *Сельское хозяйство*. Труды ГИМ, 1956, fasc. 49, p. 207–252.

³³ Э. Мугуревич, *Из истории земледелия в Прибалтике*, (in the press).

³⁴ М. Веранова, *Zemedska výroba v 11–14. století na území Československa*, „Studie archeologickeho ustavu Československe akademie Ved v Brne”, Ann. III, 1975, Praha.

³⁵ J. Petersen, *Vikingetidens redskaper*, „Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps s-Akademi i Oslo”, II Hist.-Filos Klasse, 1951, No 4, Oslo, p. 82–84.

³⁶ L. Dumpe, *Ražas novākšanas veidu attīstība Latvijā*, [in:] *Latvijas PSR Vēstures muzeja raksti. Etnogrāfija*, Rīga 1964.

³⁷ Э. Мугуревич, *Olinkalna un Lokstenes pilsnovadi...*, p. 77, Tab. XXI, XXIII.

Among mediaeval relics of Latvia there are bronze and iron needles (Mārtiņšala) resembling the needles of the Iron Epos. The needle and thread are often met in women's burials (Vinakalns – the 14th century) together with needle-cases in form of extended, cylindrical iron or bronze pipes (the 12th – 14th century). Later, bone needle-cases were known beside metal ones (Valgales Vegi, Piltene, Sēlpils). Thimbles belong to this sort of findings which appeared only in the Middle Ages (Altene the 15th century) and they must have been imported from the West (in Germany thimbles were known since the 14th century).

Mediaeval flints can be differentiated into two main sorts; bow-shaped and link-shaped and both types were already spread in the Late Iron Epos. In the Middle Ages the basic form of flints was represented by an oval with neatly cut tips. At the beginning of that period flints were in form of the extended oval with tapering tips (Mārtiņšala) but in the 15th – 16th century oval flints reached nearly the form of cuboid (Altene Lokstene). Latvian flints resemble those found in old Russian boroughs (Novogrod).

Mediaeval archeological material of Latvia is rich in findings of iron locks and keys e.g. in Mārtiņšala 108 locks and 113 keys (the 12th – 15th century) were excavated. Locks can be divided into two groups: hanging (padlocks) and stationary. Considering their construction, Latvian locks and padlocks look like old Russian ones since they were brought from Russia or based on these models. Bearing this in mind, the classification done by B. A. Kolczyn³⁸ was used while analysing Latvian locks and keys. The majority of cylinder mediaeval locks and keys refers to B, W, D, E types. Much less in number are locks of type A. Generally, the chronology of Russian and Latvian locks (the 12th – 15th century) is the same, apart from some types (W with variants) which in Latvia were preserved for a longer time than in Russia. In the 16th – 17th century besides the mentioned above, there were other types of padlock such as triangular, pyramidal, quadrangular and round. In Middle Europe³⁹ padlocks of the triangle and quadrangle shape appeared earlier (the 13th – 15th century) than in Livonia. Excavated keys and iron details of locks give evidence for the use of locks with notches in the 13th – 18th century. Iron keys and locks were, first of all, found in castles and seldom in villages.

³⁸ Б. А. Колчин, *Железообрабатывающее ремесло Новгорода Великого*, МИА, 1959, fasc. 65, p. 78 – 93.

³⁹ I. Hrubec, *Výskum zaniknutej dediny Dolny Poltur*, „Archeologicke rozhledy”, 1971, No 1, p. 69 – 79.

In mediaeval Livonia vessels for liquid were made of clay, wood or metal. Taking into consideration the number of found postherds (in Mārtiņšala – 30 000) it can be concluded that the most popular in the 12th – 16th century were clay vessels made potter's wheel (only 0,05% hand made earthenware). The presence of soot on facets of vessels indicates that they served mostly for cooking. As in previous periods, clay pots were in form of so called “soup bowls” – small vessels of 12 – 21 cm in brim diameter sometimes decorated with the pattern of parallel lines mixed with sinuous lines. In total, pottery of Mārtiņšala according to its form and clay composition continues the bowl-like vessels from the Late Iron Epos. Pottery discovered in castles and urban settlements from the 14th – 16th century is characteristic for the West (territory of the river Rhine). In Mārtiņšala castle, as compared to the village, the inhabitants used four times more vessels than the peasants.

During excavations, in circumstances permitting for the upkeep of wood (Koknese, Riga, Selpis) wooden vessels (pottles made of wood stripes, made of birch bark etc.) which were undoubtedly products of the local craftsmen, were found in archeological sites. Metal vessels, discovered mostly in castles or in hoards were of wide use. Findings of bronze vessels, especially so called Hanzeatic bowls,⁴⁰ are the evidence for the progressing relations with the West.

Among elements of weapons, arrow-heads are massive findings since in mediaeval settlements they were discovered in a great number, several thousands of specimens. At the end of the 12th – 14th century arrow-heads characteristic for the local settlements (awl-shaped, sharp-leaf-shaped, lanceolate) were still in use. However, at the same time, arrows for cross-bows became gradually more popular and commonly applied. The image of their quantitative ratio is given by Mārtiņšala findings among which for 155 specimens of arrow-heads only 1/5 of them was used for bows.

In group of arrow-heads with funnel the most numerous are arrow-head with funnel and pyramidal spike in quadrangle or rhomboid cross-section. Arrow-heads with the maximal width of the spike near the tips are chronologically much later.⁴¹ Arrow-heads with a tang of a rhomboid or pyramidal spike appeared among other types but they reached the common

⁴⁰ T. Pāvels, *Latvijas 11. – 13. gs. bronzas bļodas*, „Arheoloģija un etnografija”, 1964, vol. VI, p. 127 – 134.

⁴¹ Mugurevičs, *Oliņkalna un Lokstenes...*, p. 80, Tab. XXXI, 3.

popularity (Lokstene) only in the 14th–15th century. The described types of arrow-heads are often met among the relics of Central and Eastern Europe.

At the beginning of the discussed period the inhabitants of Livonia used arrow-heads of spears which were known in the 12th century i.e. with a funnel or a tang. As it results from the archeological inquiry performed in cremation cemetery of Kurons, the mutual percentage ratio of these two types is 1:1. In Mārtiņšala 55 arrow-heads were excavated among which only 1/3 belonged to the funnel type what means that the demand for these arrow-heads diminished since the 13th century. In Europe, these arrow-heads equipped with lanceolate leaf were common during the 11th–14th century.⁴² In Latvia arrow-heads of this type preserved till the 15th century.

In the 13th–14th century swords with pommels with devotional inscriptions⁴³ produced in Western Europe were in Latvia in common use. However, their hilts together with bronze ferrules of sheaths⁴⁴ decorated with crosses and palmettes are of local character (Kurzeme).

Similar to those worn in Russia, coats of mail made of iron chains were common till the 15th century in Latvia. At the end of the 12th century the Latvians began to wear armours of sheet which having appeared because of German aggression gradually replaced chain mails. Helmets of the local inhabitants have been excavated so far in Kuron territory. They differ in details from Old Russian or Scandinavian ones. Since the 14th century, German bell-shaped helmets became popular in Latvia (Altene).

Few bronze pommels of maces dated back to the 12th–13th century were discovered during archeological works. Five of them are of Russian origin,⁴⁵ one represents Scandinavian form typical for Gotland island.

One of the most frequently found objects indicating on the horse-breeding are iron calks. Their number increased in the 11th–12th century (Asote) and since the 13th century they were very widespread. The forms of calks resemble those found in mediaeval sites of Central and Eastern Europe.⁴⁶ Horseshoes were

known in Latvia from the 11th–12th century. Earlier specimens (the 11th–13th century) are of semicircular shape with one spike at the front part and 4–6 holes for nails. Horseshoes were popular in Latvia due to the relations with Russia and they are not met after the 13th century. Beginning with the 12th–13th century, a new type of horseshoes in oval form with two back hooks and 4–8 holes for nails dominated in Latvia till the close of the Middle Ages. Such horseshoes were also widespread in mediaeval Europe.⁴⁷

Spurs in the Middle Ages were inherent in the horseman's equipment. As it is reported by the Latvian archeological material various spurs widespread in the 11th–13th century were still in use in the 14th century and even at the beginning of the 15th century. For example, spurs of U-shape with long, sharp goad (Pasilciene, Lokstene) in the light of Russian material,⁴⁸ testify the long survival of the light horse cavalry. Therefore, till the 14th–15th century spurs with the pyramidal spike which were the elements of heavy horse cavalry equipment were still in use. However, typical for the Late Middle Ages there were spurs with starshaped ring known in Latvia from the 13th–14th century.⁴⁹

In the Late Mediaeval Period, horse bits of simple construction consisting of 2–3 smooth chains (Lokstene), known from the earlier phase, were still applied. Parts of horse bits with round or straight arms were excavated in layers from the 13th century. Those parts incrustated or ornamentated, originated under the influence of the Southern neighbours (Lituania) and found in the main centres (Tērvete) should be associated with the horseman's equipment of knight-members of the body guard.

In Baltic countries, older iron stirrups may have appeared owing to the Eastern Slavs having close relations with the inhabitants of steppes. The archeologists found 40 specimens of stirrups in Kuronian cremation cemeteries. According to A. N. Kirpicznikov's typology,⁵⁰ Latvian stirrups can be classified into several types (VII, VIII, IX, IXa). A stiff fastening of the stirrup with a help of a rivet is a specific feature differentiating Kuronian specimens from those found in Russia and Lituania. Stirrups of the VIIth and IXth

⁴² А. Н. Кирпичников, *Древнерусское оружие*. Ч.2, „Свод археологических источников“ (asc. EI-36. 1966, Москва – Ленинград, p. 14.

⁴³ A. Anteiņš, *Melnais metāls Latvijā*, Rīga 1976, p. 68.

⁴⁴ *Latvijas PSR arheoloģija...*, p. 304, Tab. 79:6,7.

⁴⁵ Э. Мугуревич, *Восточная Латвия и соседние земли в X – XIII вв.*, Рига 1965, p. 54.

⁴⁶ J. Петерзен, *Vikingetidens redskaper...*, p. 62., А. Н. Кирпичников, *Снаряжение всадника и верхового коня на Руси IX – XIII вв.* „Свод археологических источников“, 1973, fasc. EI–36, p. 81.

⁴⁷ А. Нейна, *Soubor nalezu z hradku Bolkova v severovychodnich Cechach*, „Pamatky archeologicke“, 1962, vol. 43, fasc. 2, ris. 3, G. Neumann, *Burg Camburg an der Saale historisch und archäologisch*. Siedlung, Burg und Stadt, Barlin 1969, fig. 5.

⁴⁸ А. Н. Кирпичников, *Снаряжение всадника и верхового коня на Руси*, p. 64.

⁴⁹ Z. Hilczegówna, *Ostrogi polskie z X – XIII wieku*, Poznań 1965, p. 65.

⁵⁰ Кирпичников, *Снаряжение всадника...*, p. 43–55.

type were common in Latvia still in the 13th – 14th century. From the 14th – 15th century earlier forms of stirrups disappeared from Latvian territory thoroughly. Massive, iron stirrups⁵¹ (Lokstene, Vecdole, Salaspils) of European type began to dominate because of the increasing influence of heavy horse cavalry.

Among ornamentation and relics, preserved in large quantity, predominated those worn round the neck or on breasts. In the 13th – 14th century ornamented necklaces were still common in Western Latvia. Necklaces braided of 9 wires were found not only in graves but also in castles (Mārtiņšala, Vecdole, Dundaga). However, in those times necklaces were almost out of fashion, replaced by beads, kauri shells and various pendants. Ornaments made of kauri shells were predominant throughout the Middle Ages what can be explained by the cult of the viper.⁵² Beads were also a massive ornamentation widespread in that period. Only in Mārtiņšala 10 000 glass beads from the 12th – 16th century were excavated 2/3 of which were colourful and small. It can account for the fact that the local production of beads started in Riga⁵³ in the 14th century at the latest. A vast number of glass beads (of chemical composition of glass: K – Pb – Si and Pb – Si) was produced according to the formula used in Old Russia. Beads of dark, opaque glass (K – Ca – Mg – Si) have very much in common with the products of mediaeval German towns.

Almost all types of pendants were known in the 13th – 14th century. Mārtiņšala material from the 13th – 16th century reflects the great variety of pendants (980 specimens). If we attempted to compare the relations between inhabitants of Mārtiņšala castle and the settlement nearby on the basis of this material, it would be obvious that none other but the natives were wearing those pendants (70%). Zoomorphic pendants presenting stylized horses and birds were produced locally what can be proved by findings of casting forms with zoomorphic images and sometimes even half-finished products. In beliefs of Ugro-Finnish nations⁵⁴ the workshop of the swimming bird, especially a duck, is connected with images of the Universe and the cult of the horse reflects the workshop of the Sun and abun-

dance. Pendants made of animals' teeth and claws are also the evidence for animal worship. The claws refer only to one animal – a bear which in beliefs of Latvian nation was regarded as the king of woods. Among metal beads, the largest group is composed of rhomboid and trapezoid bells which were believed to serve as the protection against Evils. Many excavated pendants (round, circular, axe-shaped, moon-shaped) can be treated as symbols of nature forces and heavenly bodies. As the written reports from the 16th century claim⁵⁵ the workshop of heavenly bodies and nature forces was widespread among the native inhabitants of Livonia. Most of the 13th – 15th century crosses were made by the local people and their findings among women's ornaments together with other pendants show that they were worn as ornaments or amulets as it was observed in the Eastern Slavs territory and in Germany. From the remote past the cross was regarded as the symbol of the Sun – Fire in beliefs of many nations

Together with the domination of Christianity a cross became its symbol but not always it had only that meaning.⁵⁶ As amulets, one can consider also miniatures of objects of every day use like spoons, combs, keys, knives typical for the Livonians who wore them as symbols of safety and blessing. A special attention among pendants from the 12th century claim stylized images of Rurykovicz's emblem (25 specimens from 12 sites) which were the local Livonian articles.⁵⁷ In times, those pendants lost their previous meaning having only the decorative function.

With the beginnings of the Middle Ages the use of bronze largely decreased what was manifested by the lower number of bronze ornamentation used for burials and for decorating stripes for clothes. For instance, in Mārtiņšala cemetery from the 13th – 16th century only in 2% of burials the clothes decorated with bronze rings and spirals were discovered. Since the 13th century decorative clasps used for clothes and ornamentation gradually went out of fashion replaced by various types of fibulas. Ring-shaped fibulas and especially horse-shoe-shaped fibulas were in massive use in the discussed period. In Mārtiņšala about 500 fibulas from the 12th – 17th century (56% of horse-shoe-shaped, 38% of ring-shaped and 6% of various

⁵¹ Mugurevičs, *Oliņkalna un Lokstenes pilsnovadi...*, p. 81.

⁵² Mugurevičs, *Восточная Латвия и соседние земли...*, p. 58.

⁵³ А. В. Цауне, И. Я. Гросвалд, *Новые данные о начале стеклоделия в Прибалтике*, „Из истории естествознания и техники Прибалтики”, 1976, fasc. 5, Рига, p. 276 – 279.

⁵⁴ Е. А. Рябинин, *Зооморфные украшения древней Руси X – XIV вв.*, 1981, „Свод археологических источников”, 1981, fasc. вып. EI-60, p. 55.

⁵⁵ Henning Salomon, *Warhafftiger und bestendiger Bericht...*, anno 1578, „Scriptores rerum Livonicarum”, vol. 2, 1846, p. 295.

⁵⁶ Mugurevičs, *Krustiņveida piekariņi Latvijā no 11. gs. līdz 15. gs.*, „Arheologija un etnogrāfija”, vol. XI, 1974, Rīga, p. 200 – 239.

⁵⁷ Mugurevičs, *Восточная Латвия и соседние земли...*, p. 887.

fibulas) were excavated. While, ring-shaped fibulas widespread in the 11th–13th century are treated as products of Western fashion,⁵⁸ the other types of fibulas, especially horse-shoe-shaped, became the next step in the process of developing local people ornamentation. It is clearly seen in Mārtiņšala excavating inquiry where ring-shaped fibulas of earlier type were discovered in the castle, whereas in settlements and in much earlier burials in the local cemetery these fibulas were rarely observed. Although, in the following centuries, ring-shaped fibulas were more frequently found they were only the imitation of imports.

The beginnings of the 13th century brought the decline of bracelets. Still in the 13th–14th century, bracelets (ribbon, glass, with animals' heads, with narrowing ends, spiral with cut ends) were used but in the 15th century they disappeared from Latvia totally. Some variety of rings was noted in the 13th–14th century with still developing forms of the earlier period but since the 15th century smooth or notched close rings and signets outnumbered the other types.

Mediaeval 13th–14th century ornamentation changed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The value of excavated objects was lower since they were made from base metals of low title. Silver ornaments belonged to rarity.

Agriculture and cattle-breeding in the 13th–14th century and also in previous periods were the main jobs of the village inhabitants of Livonia. Double-teethed primitive plough served as the tool for tillage. The lengthening of plough-shares allowed for deeper ploughing. The improvement of the primitive plough since the 14th century brought about the higher efficiency in the field-work i.e. the ploughed ridge was turned over so that manure could soak into the soil. The data achieved by A. P. Rasinsz,⁵⁹ the botanist, report about lots of weed growing in under crop land (rye, wheat, oat, barley etc.) what may be treated as traces of the developed three-field system. Earlier findings of iron plough-shares in Latvia can be explained by the contacts of local inhabitants with people of Russia. Similar shares were widely used in Eastern Europe and their find-places are situated down the river Dvina and in the Eastern part of Latvian territory. There is no evidence to treat them as imports because they are the local imitation of foreign examples. The earlier point of view, regarding shares as

imports from German area should be rejected since primitive ploughs were unknown there replaced by a wheeled plough.⁶⁰ As it was confirmed by investigations on the shape of the scythe and the sickle, the basic tool for cutting corn in the Middle Ages was a sickle with a blade bend towards a helve what made it more efficient in reaping. In Western Latvia where the curved sickle was unknown, corn was mowed with use of sickle-like scythes.

Water mills, according to the written sources, appeared in Latvia in the 13th century but the excavated querns both in castles and villages are the evidence of hand-grinding of corn as it had been done by the predecessors.

The osteologic material throws light on the view about the species of domestic and wild animals, their quantitative ratio and their consumption level (Mārtiņšala, Sabile, Piltene). The data presented by the author on 7 tables, claim that food intake of castle and village inhabitants differed not only before the 13th century but in Livonian period as well. The role of products coming from breeding increased in comparison with those achieved during hunting. While in the 10th–11th century in Latvian boroughs the percentage ratio of domestic and wild animals' bones was 69,8% to 30,2% respectively but in the Middle Ages it changed into 87% to 13% respectively. In places characteristic for the local culture (Mārtiņšala, Lokstene) the first place, as to breeding and consumption, is occupied by pigs followed by cattle, sheep, goats and horses. This scheme is specific for the village settlements whereas, in main big centres (Koknese, Piltene, Sēlpils) big and small cattle was consumed in higher number than pigs. Some reports from those castles correspond to the analyses of animal bone composition from Northern-Western Germany.⁶¹

As compared to breeding, hunting was of minor importance. The role of hunted animals in mediaeval consumption depended both on socio-economic and geographic conditions. In the 13th–15th century products coming from hunting consumed by the peasants outnumbered those eaten by the castle inhabitants of the same period (Sabile, Mārtiņšala). Apart from osteologic analyses, the lack of reports about stores of venison⁶² in castle stock-books gives eviden-

⁵⁸ C. Redlich, *Deutsches Kulturgut in der lettischen und estnischen Volkskunst*, „Quellen und Forschungen zur Baltischen Geschichte“ 1942, fasc. 2., Posen, p. 61–72.

⁵⁹ A. Rasiņš, M. Tauriņa, *Pārskats par Latvijas PSR arheoloģiskajos izrakumos konstatētām kultūragu un nezaļu sēklām*, „Arheoloģija un etnografija“ vol. XIV, Rīga 1983, p. 152.

⁶⁰ A. Steensberg, *Northwest European plough types of prehistoric times and the Middle Ages*, „Acta archeologica“, 1936, vol. 7, No 2–3, p. 244–280.

⁶¹ A. Pauli, *Untersuchungen am Tierknochen aus dem mittelalterlichen Lübeck*. „Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte“, vol. 2. Frankfurt am Main 1980, p. 63.

⁶² „Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch“, I, vol. 9, No 160.

ce for it that in food intake of mediaeval castle inhabitants, products coming from hunting (wilde animals) did not play the main role. The number of hunting for wilde hoofed animals, especially among village dwellers, increased in comparison with the period before the 13th century. After the 14th century, the drop of consumption of those species was observed what can be explained by frequent wars in the 13th – 14th century during which the cattle was stolen by Teutonic Knights. The deficit of meat produces was compensated by the large quantity of the elk meat obtained during hunting (70–90% of hoofed animals).

Among fur-bearing animals, beavers enjoyed the highest popularity among hunters since their bones comprised 50% of all remains of this category of animals. Latvian inhabitants hunted for birds (black grouse, partridge, hazel grouse) and also fished. Big choice of fish (sturgeon, pike, salmon, reachin general 17 species) was found in castles (Mārīņsala) while only 4 species were noted in villages. Due to findings of fishing tools, it can be concluded that castle inhabitants casted nets (85% of lead sinkers were found in castles) and also trolled whereas peasants most often used simple iron hooks and fishing spears.

Mediaeval written reports claim that bee-keeping in Latvia was of great importance since its products (honey and wax) were highly appreciated. This can be proved by findings of iron chandeliers in castles (Tērrete, Koknese, Lokstene). The significant tool used for exploitation of forest beehives was a special rope for a bee-keeper to climb the trees. This rope was found in mediaeval settlements.

The 13th–16th century handicraft differed from the production of the earlier periods because of its progressing concentration in castles and urban settlements and much higher level of the specialization. Handicraft from the 13th–14th century in respect to the choice of tools and specialization (an axe, a hammer, a chisel, a draw-knife) presents many common features with the production of the earlier periods.

Iron melting in the 13th–15th century was performed by the help of old traditional methods i.e. in overground smelting stove (Lokstene, Altene and others). Metalographic analyses conducted by A. K. Antein⁶³ showed that ironwares from that period were of the same chemical composition as the products from the Late Iron Epos.

In settlements of the 13th–14th century the traces of jeweller's workshops (Mārīņsala, Aizkraukle) were

found. In Livonia till the end of the 16th century, bronze was melted in special melting pots and next the alloy was poured into moulds which were also known in earlier periods. The inquiry of bronze products⁶⁴ indicates that zinc bronze characteristic for Eastern Baltic countries in the Iron Epos was mostly used for producing ornamentation.

To achieve more detailed data about changes in handicraft from the 13th–16th century, the archeological material from Mārīņsala and Sabile appeared to be of great help. In Mārīņsala in the 12th and in the first half of the 13th century handicraft (according to stock-books of blacksmith's, jeweller's, carpenter's and other products and also semi-finished articles, iron slag, bronze waste etc.) was concentrated in the settlements near the castle (58% of working tools, 73,5% of production waste) than in the castle itself. Beginning with the second half of the 13th century i.e. the times of German ruling over the castles, 61,7% of tools was used by the castle dwellers and what is more 58% of production waste was also excavated there. Thus, the village inhabitants gradually yielded precedence in smithing, jeweller's and other crafts. However, the role of the natives increased in such branches of handicraft as: shoes and clothes making, pottery, wood and bones tooling.

Trade in the 13th–16th century as compared to the earlier period underwent enormous changes and as a result in the 13th century the Germans took it over from the local inhabitants. Still, in the 13th–14th century few old traditions dating back to the 11th–12th century existed like the use of previous means of trade (balances, weights, means of payment). Money ingots of silver, specific for the local people were in some places still applied until the 16th century. Sectionally notched ingots are similar to ingots from the earlier periods⁶⁵ (the length of 119–124 mm, breadth of 9–15 mm, weight of about 100 g). More than 100 ingots were excavated in 25 find-places (the 13th–16th century). Mārīņsala findings may supply the evidence (hoard of 20 coins) that the mint in Riga could have been working at the beginnings of the 13th century.⁶⁶

West European coins minted on Gotland island and in Northern German towns gradually grew important. Comparing coins excavated in Mārīņsala (250

⁶⁴ Е. Н. Черных, Д. Б. Хоферте, Т. Б. Барцев а, *Металургические группы цветного металла I тысяч.л.э. из Прибалтики*, КСИА, 1969, fasc. 119, p. 109–120.

⁶⁵ Мугуревич, *Восточная Латвия и соседние земли...*, p. 30.

⁶⁶ К. Р. Пелда, *Датировка и определение некоторых спорных монет Латвии XIII – перв. половины XVI вв.* Изв. АН Латв. ССР, 1978, № II, p. 46–52.

⁶³ A. Anteins, *Mārīņsalas melno metālu izstrādājumu struktūras, īpašības un tīzgatavošanas tehnoloģija*, „Rīgas politehniskā institūta zinātniskie raksti”, I.sej., Rīga 1959, p. 207–218.

specimens) one may notice that coins coming from the castle (62 specimens) were almost all minted abroad while in the church and cemetery, most of coins, remodelled into pendants, were of local, Livonian origin (Riga, Tallin, Tartu).

In Latvia 114 folding balances and their fragments were excavated in 60 sites and 370 weights in 68 sites; majority of them dates back to the times before the 13th century but they were also in use in the Middle Ages. Mārīņsala weights from the 12th – 14th century, most frequently, are of weight of 16–24 g with denomination of 3–4 g which belonged both to Russian and Scandinavian weight system.⁶⁷ The increasing influence of Northern German towns introduced in Riga and its environs a new weight system typical for those towns, with the denomination of 3,24 g. A steelyard (Mārīņsala) known in Latvia since the 11th century was used for weighing heavy objects.

In the Middle Ages two controversial cultures, Latvian and German developed in Latvia. The former, as it results from the archeological material was the folk culture (rustic) continuing the traditions of the Late Iron Epos. The representatives of the latter were German feudals, clergy, the middle class, inhabitants of castles, urban settlements and manors. Clearly pronounced social and national discrepancies differentiated both cultures and due to them, Latvian culture originating on fundamentals of the heritage of local people preserved its own autonomy during the Middle Ages. Folk culture was obviously expressed in ornaments (lineal notches, spotted line, holes, rhombs, triangles) but as compared to the 11th – 12th century it declined significantly in later periods. Peasants still continued old cult customs (crematory rites, free orientation of graves, grave equipments). The custom of wearing pendants-amulets by the natives till the end of the Middle Ages is the best example.⁶⁸ Natives of Livonia worshipped the Sun and the Moon and also some trees and stones as it is confirmed by the written sources.⁶⁹ As in Russia⁷⁰ so in other neighbouring nations, paganism was the main basis of the peasants' life outlook. The attachment of the natives to their forefathers' pagan gods was one of the forms of ideological struggle against German oppressors.

⁶⁷ V. U r t ā n s, *Sanākie depozīti Latvijā*, (līdz 1200.g.), Rīga 1977, p.113.

⁶⁸ *Reise durch die Nordschen Länder im Jahre 1592 Bericht der Augustin Freiherr zu Mörsberg*, Neumünster 1980, p. 138, 199.

⁶⁹ A. S p e k k e, *Latvieši un Livonija 16.gs.* Rīga 1935, p. 236–238.

⁷⁰ Б. А. Р ы б а к о в, *Язычество древних славян*, Москва 1981, p. 605.

Specimens characteristic for the German feudals (dice, sun-dial etc.) were excavated in castles. The invasion of Teutonic Knights exerted a significant influence upon ethnically differentiated inhabitants living in Latvia. Compulsory removal and voluntary emigration of population dislocated the tribes. Cemeteries from the 13th – 15th century are characterized by the lack of consistency in orientation of burials what undoubtedly results from the decay of ethnic differences caused by the invasion of the Germans. In Latvia already in the 14th – 15th century the Southern-West and Northern-Cast orientation began to appear but only in the 16th century it was dominating together with West-East orientation. Such orientation was characteristic for women's burials of Letgals and Sels in the 10th – 13th century which allows to assume that those two tribes played very crucial roles in the process of forming Latvian nationality. This point of view does not seem to be in opposition to other archeological observations as, for example, appearing of Letgal elements in graves of other ethnic groups.

A stabilization of funeral rites increasing together with the rising influence of Christian Church upon the principle of burial orientation, indicates that the process of forming Latvian nationality came to an end.⁷¹ In contrast to village peoples, inhabitants of castles and urban settlements were strongly germanized.

In Soviet Russia, investigations of mediaeval sites supplied such a rich archeological material whose analysis changed literally the point of view upon the colonization of those days and its influence in the history of Latvian nation. In the light of archeological data the following categories of settlements in Latvian territory can be classified: villages, round earthwork settlements, earthworks and urban settlements. In consequence of German aggression the majority of settlements was destroyed. However, as it results from the archeological inquiry some earthworks still existed until the beginnings of the 14th century and round earthwork settlements even till the 17th century. This may prove that some native feudals preserved their privileges in several areas of Livonia.

Local people, till the end of the 12th century, erected only wooden strengthenings whereas stone castles were built mostly by foreigners after Teutonic Knights conquest and some of those castles replaced earlier settlements. From time to time the natives also constructed stone castles but always with the help of

⁷¹ M u g u r e v i č s, *Probleme der Herausbildung der lettischen Völkerschaft im Mittelalter (nach archäologischen Befunden)* „Journal of Baltic Studies”, Summer 1983, Long Beach 1984.

the Germans. In the 13th–15th century, in many castles of knights, bishops' vassals, only retrenchments were of stones while other buildings constructed of wood and equipped with clay ovens reflected features characteristic for material culture of local inhabitants. Built in the 14th–15th century by the Inflan Order, castles-fortresses were typically German. In the 15th century, owing to the development of villein service and introduction of fire-arms, the farther enlargement of many castles was stopped. According to new requirements, only castles of big mediaeval centres were reinforced. Most native people still lived in settlements.

The analysis of mediaeval working tools and objects of every day use indicates that the majority of them is the continuation of local material cultural traditions from the 10th–12th century and moreover, they are very much similar to those tools used in that period in Eastern Europe. Numerous tools and weapons of those times resembled European forms. Ornamentation in the Middle Ages were produced in vast number but many of them were of bad quality. The variety of fibulas and rings from the 10th–12th century was limited to few types. Amulets functioning as a protection against Evils dominated among pendants. Without respect to the compulsory Catholicism, until the 15th–16th century the workshop of the Sun and the Noon and the cult of Thunder related with the tillage played very important role in beliefs of native inhabitants of Latvia.

In opposition to opinions spread by the German historiography stressing the importance of German mission in development of Latvian culture, it is ob-

vious that this culture was created on the basis of cultural traditions of local tribes. It was the rustic culture which managed to preserve its autonomy throughout the Middle Ages, accepting only few elements of German culture. Ethnical processes in Mediaeval Period proceeded into two directions – consolidation of the Latvian nation and germanization of castles and urban settlements and their inhabitants. In the 16th–17th century, nations within the Latvian territory, living in villages, began to treat themselves as representatives of one Latvian nation continuing traditional rituals e.g. burials rites.

The economic evaluation of mediaeval Latvian settlements on the basis of the preserved relics shows that in the 13th–14th century the culture of the village people differed but not significantly from the culture of castle inhabitants. Discrepancies between them were clearly pronounced only in the 15th century. As novelty was of great interest mainly for people living in castles and urban settlements, among whom foreigners dominated, it is very unlikely that Teutonic Knights could have exerted the influence upon the natives dwelling mostly in villages. Similarly to the Mongolian invasion from the 13th century which destroyed many Russian towns and villages inhibiting their development, the Teutonic Knights conquest brought about the destruction of many native villages in Baltic countries, exerting the significant influence upon the economic and social development of the society, annihilating material goods and forces of labour.

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Translated by Elżbieta Lubińska