

LITHUANIAN INSTITUTE OF HISTORY

FROM PAGANISM TO CHRISTIANITY

BURIAL RITES DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD

Edited by Rytis Jonaitis, Irma Kaplūnaitė

Lietuvos istorijos institutas
Vilnius, 2024



Research Council of Lithuania

This project has received funding from the Research Council of Lithuania (LMTLT), agreement No S-LIP-24-12

Reviewers:

Prof. Dr. Albinas Kuncevičius (Vilnius University)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gintautas Žabiela (Klaipėda University)

Habil. Dr. Tomasz Nowakiewicz (University of Warsaw)

Each article was peer-reviewed by two individual reviewers.

Bibliographical information about this book/publication is available at the Lithuanian Integrated Library Information System (LIBIS) portal ibiblioteka.lt

© Lithuanian Institute of History, 2024

© Authors, 2024

ISBN 978-609-8314-47-2

Contents

- 7 Preface
- 10 Pratarinė

I. BETWEEN PAGANISM AND CHRISTIANITY

Rytis Jonaitis

- 17 Christians in a Pagan Environment. Medieval Urban Cemeteries in Lithuania in the 13th and Early 15th Centuries
- 39 Krikščionys pagoniškoje aplinkoje. XIII–XV a. pr. miestietiški Viduramžių kapinynai Lietuvoje

Irma Kaplūnaitė

- 41 The Earliest Catholic Burial Sites in Medieval Vilnius
- 65 Ankstyviausios katalikų laidojimo vietos Viduramžių Vilniuje

Dmytro Bibikov

- 67 Between Paganism and Christianity: The Rite of Partial Cremation in the South of Old Rus'
- 87 Tarp pagonybės ir krikščionybės: dalinė mirusiųjų kremacija pietų Rusijoje

Marius Ščavinskas

- 89 Pagan Customs in Christian Burial Grounds? Written Sources from the 12th to the 16th Century and their Possible Interpretation
- 101 Pagoniški papročiai krikščioniškuose senkapiuose? XII–XVI a. rašytiniai šaltiniai ir jų galima interpretacija

II. BURIAL RITES

Mikalai Plavinski

- 105 The Main Phases in the Development of the Burial Rites of the Late First Millennium to Early Second Millennium Slavic Population of the Upper Viliya (Neris) Region
- 129 Pagrindiniai Neries aukštupio slavų populiacijos laidojimo papročių vystymosi etapai vėlyvajame I m. e. tūkstantmetyje – pirmuosiuose II tūkstantmečio amžiuose

Sławomir Wadył, Elżbieta Jaskulska

- 131 Living with the Dead: Unique Burial Rituals of Early Medieval Society in Pasyń (Northeast Poland)
- 143 Gyventi su mirusiais: išskirtiniai laidojimo papročiai Ankstyvųjų viduramžių Pasyńo (šiaurės rytų Lenkija) bendruomenėje

**Bartłomiej Bartecki, Beata Borowska, Tomasz Dzieńkowski,
Irka Hajdas, Anna Hyrchała, Marcin Wołoszyn**

- 145 Early medieval inhumation cemeteries in Gródek-Volyn'. Research status and future perspectives
- 171 Ankstyvųjų viduramžių inhumacijos kapinynai Grudeke–Voluinėje. Tyrimų būklė ir perspektyvos

III. GRAVE GOODS

Roberts Spirģis

- 175 Materials from Children's Burials from the Ogresgala Čabas Cemetery in the Context of the Spread of Christianity to the Lower Daugava Area in the 11th to 13th Centuries
- 201 Ogresgalos Čabo kapinyno vaikų kapų medžiaga krikščionybės plėtros Dauguvos žemupio XI–XIII a. kontekste

Viktoryia Makouskaya

- 203 Some Features of Children's Grave Goods from the Polack Land from the End of the Tenth to the 12th Century
- 223 Kai kurie X a. pabaigos – XII a. vaikų įkapių Polocko žemėje bruožai

IV. CEMETERY INVESTIGATIONS

Ludwika Jończyk

- 227 The Last Yotvingian Pagans. The Case of the Mosiężysko Cemetery in Northeast Poland
- 251 Paskutiniai jotvingių pagonys. Šiaurės rytų Lenkijos Mosiężysko kapinyno atvejis

Justinas Račas

- 253 The Excavations of the 15th to 17th-Century Punžionys Burial Site in 2017 and 2018
- 273 XV–XVII a. Punžionių kapinyno tyrinėjimai 2017–2018 metais

Roman Shiroukhov, Vyacheslav Baranov, Vsevolod Ivakin,

Ben Krause-Kyora, John Meadows, Khurram Saleem, Ulrich Schuermann

- 275 Baltic Migrants in Ukraine? A Comparative Laboratory Study of the Late Viking Age Ostriv Cemetery
- 299 Baltų migrantai Ukrainoje? Lyginamasis laboratorinis vėlyvojo vikingų laikotarpio Ostrivo kapinyno tyrimas

Oleksandra Kozak

- 301 The Anthropology of the 11th-Century Ostriv Cemetery on the River Ros' in Ukraine: The Effects of Migration
- 323 Antropologiniai XI a. Ostrivo kapinyno prie Rosės (Ukraina) duomenys: migracijos poveikis

Some Features of Children's Grave Goods from the Polack Land from the End of the Tenth to the 12th Century

Viktoryia Makouskaya

Faculty of Archaeology, University of Warsaw
Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28, 00-927
Warsaw, Poland
v.makouskaya@uw.edu.pl

The article presents an attempt to determine some features of children's grave goods in inhumation burials in barrow cemeteries in the Polack land at the end of the tenth to the 12th century. The study is based on a comparison of the grave goods of children and adults in individual cemeteries, geographic micro-regions and the whole of the Polack land, as well as the detection of a correlation between changes in grave goods and the age of the buried individual.

In this paper, the results of an analysis of 78 children's burials (up to 14 years old) from 35 barrow cemeteries are presented. As a result of the study, some types of grave goods were identified that can mark the 'children's' status of the buried individual. Such grave goods include miniature jewellery, jewellery of 'secondary' use, and inaccurately made temple rings of indefinable types. These objects are most often found in the burials of children under seven years of age (group infans I) and are absent in the burials of children over 12 years old. Also, some items were identified that may indicate the transition of the buried child to the status of an adult. Usually, such items are found in the graves of adolescents. For male burials these are weapons, for females headbands and neck-rings. It was determined that the age of about 12 years old could most likely be a stage in the maturation of a person, which was reflected in the burials.

Keywords: burials, barrow cemeteries, inhumations, grave goods, archaeology of childhood, Old Rus', Polack land.

Introduction

Grave goods were an essential part of the burial rite in some cultures. The presence or the absence of them, the set of items that were buried with a person, were usually declared by the cultural traditions of the society. And the set of grave goods could also show the place of the buried person in

society. It has been noticed many times that the set of grave goods usually correlates with the sex and the age of the buried person.^{1,2} Selected by the society, it can give information about the attitude of the local society towards the person and their role in society.

1 V. Alëkshin, Pogrebal'nyi obriad kak arkhelogicheskii istochnik, *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta arkhologii* 167, 1981, p. 4.

2 H. Härke, Grave goods in early medieval burials: messages and meanings, *Mortality* 19:1, 2014, p. 42.

In this paper, I would like to define some common features of children's grave goods from the Polack land, and also some categories of artefacts that are found only or mostly in children's burials, which have cultural meaning and may be 'markers' of burials of children. The area of research is the territory of the principality of Polack in the Old Rus' period of its existence.

Written sources from this period do not have information about children: until what age a person was perceived by the community as a child, what the attitude was towards the child, and what the difference in society was towards boys and girls. Also, an important question is: can we define some stages of childhood, or some stages of becoming an adult, according to archaeological materials? In my opinion, a detailed analysis of the burial rite and grave goods can shed a light on some of these questions. For example, finds of specific artefacts like miniature amulets-axes,^{3,4} astragalus bones, that were used for play,⁵ and glazed clay eggs with a ceramic ball inside, also known as 'pisanki' or 'easter eggs' or 'egg-shape rattles', were noted as occurring more often in Old Rus' burials of children than adults.^{6,7}

Examples of previous research on the topic

The most productive attempts to determine the age up to which a person was considered a child in Early Medieval societies on the basis of archaeological material were made in relation to Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian and Baltic-Finnish territories. In these territories, the tradition of rich grave furnishings was an essential part of the burial culture, so their analysis gives more obvious results.

About Anglo-Saxon territories, it is important to mention the work of Sally Crawford, such as 'Children, Grave Goods and Social Status in Early Anglo-Saxon England' (2000).⁸ Papers by Christine Cave and Marc Oxenham⁹ and Christina Lee¹⁰ also analyse children's grave goods, and determine some features of different age groups. There is a PhD study by Emma Chapman¹¹ where she devotes a separate section to the furnishing of children's graves, children's grave goods, and their features and meaning. It is clear that there are a lot of papers that are not specially devoted to children, but in which some particular features of children's grave goods are also described, such as H. Härke's 'Changing Symbols in a Changing Society: The Anglo-Saxon Weapon Burial Rite in the Seventh Century' (1992).¹²

Concerning Scandinavian territories, the first and a very important paper until now is 'Barn i Birka'

3 N. Makarov, Drevnerusskii amulety-toporiki, *Rossiiskaia arkeologiya* 2, 1992, p. 49.

4 I. Lesman, Skandinavskii component drevnerusskoï kul'tury, *Stratum plus* 5, 2014, p. 77.

5 K. Mikhailov, Detskie pogrebeniia v nekropole pervykh drevnerusskikh gorodov, *Arkheologicheskie vesti* 16, 2009, p. 154.

6 N. Makarov, I. Zaitseva, Srednevekovye mogil'niki na territorii Drevnei Rusi: novye issledovaniia na Kubenskom ozere, *Arkheologia, ètnografiia i antropologiia Evrazii* 14, no. 2, 2003, p. 120.

7 J. Wawrzeniuk, Symbolika jajka w grobie dziecka w okresie wczesnośredniowiecznym, *Funeralia Lednickie* 6, 2004, p. 147.

8 S. Crawford, Children, grave goods and social status in Early Anglo-Saxon England, *Children and Material Culture*, ed. J. S. Derevenski, London, 2000.

9 Ch. Cave, M. Oxenham, Out of the Cradle and into the Grave: The Children of Anglo-Saxon Great Chesterford, Essex, England, *Children, Death and Burial*, ed. E. Murphy, M. Le Roy, Oxford & Philadelphia, 2017, pp. 179–196.

10 Ch. Lee, Forever Young: Child Burial in Anglo-Saxon England, *Youth and Age in the Medieval North*, ed. Sh. Lewis-Simpson, Leiden & Boston, 2008, pp. 17–36.

11 E. Rosamund Chapman, Children and child burial in medieval England, PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2015.

12 H. Härke, Changing symbols in a changing society: the Anglo-Saxon weapon burial rite in the seventh century, *The age of Sutton Hoo. The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe*, ed. M. Carver, Woodbridge, 1992, pp. 149–166.

by Anne-Sofie Gräslund (1973).¹³ She was the first archaeologist to study the burials of children. Based on the materials from Birka cemetery, she determined the types of artefacts that most likely occurred in children's burials. Also, I should note a summarising paper by Cris Callow.¹⁴ The author devoted a section to children's burials, where, apart from everything else, he analysed children's grave goods of certain age groups. There is research on the youngest children by Lotta Mejsholm, who noticed specific features of burials of infants and young children at Fjälkinge cemetery in Sweden.¹⁵

For the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea, it is vital to note the paper by Laurynas Kurila ('Vaiko statusas Rytų Lietuvoje geležies amžiuje', 2007),¹⁶ devoted to burials of children in eastern Lithuania, and also by Aija Vilka ('Some Aspects of Child Burials in the Middle and Late Iron Age [5th–12th c.] in the Territory of Latvia', 2013),¹⁷ who described features of children's burials among Baltic and Ugro-Finnish (Liv) tribes on the territory of modern Latvia. Both are based on statistical analyses of a significant number

of graves, determining the age groups based on the burial data (including the grave goods).

Differences between children's and adult burials are not so obvious in Early Medieval Christian cemeteries in Central and Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, there are many studies devoted to this topic in Poland. They are represented by studies of children's burials from certain cemeteries, where the authors also analysed specific features of grave goods and their correlation with the age, like, for example, the papers by Zawadzka-Antosic (1982),¹⁸ A. and J. Wrzesiński (2000),¹⁹ and Kurasiński, Skóra (2015);²⁰ but also the comparative or general studies like Curta and Koval, 'Children in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Hungary and Poland' (2018)²¹ and Koval 'Childhood in Medieval Poland (1050–1300)' (2021).²² There are also some papers that are devoted to specific types of artefacts in children's burials, such as weapons²³ and buckets.²⁴

Speaking of important studies about children's social status from Central Europe based on burial material, it is also vital to note the papers by N. Profantová^{25, 26} and M. Hanuliak.²⁷

13 A-S. Gräslund, Barn i Birka, *TOR* 15, 1972–1973, pp. 161–179.

14 Ch. Callow, First Steps Towards Archaeology of Childhood in Iceland, *Archaeologia Islandica* 5, 2006, pp. 55–96.

15 L. Mejsholm, Constructions of Early Childhood at the Sincretic Cemetery of Fjälkinge – a case study, *Youth and Age in the Medieval North*, ed. Sh. Lewis-Simpson, Leiden & Boston, 2008, pp. 37–56.

16 L. Kurila, Vaiko statusas Rytų Lietuvoje geležies amžiuje, *Archaeologia Lituana* 8, 2007, pp. 97–116.

17 A. Vilka, Some aspects of child burials in the Middle and Late Iron Age (5th–12th c.) in the territory of Latvia, *Child and Childhood in the Light of Archaeology*, ed. P. Romanowicz, Wrocław, 2013, pp. 113–136.

18 B. Zawadzka-Antosik, Z problematyki pochówków dziecięcych odkrytych na cmentarzysku w Czekanowie, woj. Siedleckie, *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 48, no 1, 1982, pp. 25–56.

19 A. Wrzesińska, J. Wrzesiński, Pochówki dzieci we Wczesnym Średniowieczu na przykładzie cmentarzyska w Dziekanowicach, *Studia Lednickie* 6, 2000, pp. 141–160.

20 T. Kurasiński, K. Skóra, Children's burials from the early medieval inhumation cemetery in Radom, Site 4, *Fasciculi Archaeologiae Historicae* 28, 2015, pp. 41–52.

21 F. Curta, M. Koval, Children in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Hungary and Poland, *The Medieval Networks in East Central Europe*, ed. B. Nagy, A. Vadas, F. Schmieder, London, 2018, pp. 87–122.

22 M. Koval, *Childhood in Medieval Poland (1050–1300): Constructions and Realities in a European Context*, Leiden & Boston, 2021, pp. 139–175.

23 T. Kurasiński, Militaria jako element wyposażenia wczesnośredniowiecznych pochówków dziecięcych – próba interpretacji na przykładzie znalezisk z ziem Polskich, *Archeologia Polski* 34, 2009, pp. 209–248.

24 T. Kurasiński, A child with a bucket. A study of grave goods in children's graves in the Polish lands in the Early Middle Ages, *Archaeologia Polona* 51–52, 2016, pp. 97–117.

25 N. Profantová, Die Elite im Spiegel der Kindergräber aus dem 9. und 10. Jahrhundert in Böhmen, *Die Frühmittelalterliche Elite bei den Völkern des östlichen Mitteleuropas (mit einem speziellen Blick auf die großmährische Problematik)*, ed. P. Kouřil, Brno, 2005, pp. 169–181.

26 N. Profantová, Social inequality in the Early Middle Ages in Bohemia: written sources and archaeological record, *Tagungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte Halle* 20, 2016, pp. 1–15.

27 M. Hanuliak, Sociálna pozícia detských jedincov petrifikovaná v pohrebiskovom materiáli z 9.–10. Storočia, *Archaeologia historica* 35, 2010, pp. 169–181.

There are not so many studies on this topic from Slavic Eastern Europe. But for this research it is important to note the paper by K. Mikhaïlov,²⁸ where the author describes features of elite children's burials, and grave goods that distinguish children's burials from adults.

Materials and methodology

In this paper, the results of the archaeological analysis of 78 children's burials (up to 14 years old) from 35 barrow cemeteries are presented²⁹ (Fig. 1). I should note that the majority of children's burials are concentrated in the western part of the Polack land. This situation can be explained by the state of archaeological exploration of this territory, and also by the state of the documentation of excavations, and by the lack of anthropological definitions.

The sources for the study were publications and archaeological reports. It is important to note that not all results of excavations (publications and reports) provided detailed anthropological analyses of skeletons that give the age and sex determination. Also, there are only a few anthropological determinations for cremation burials, so that is why the current study covers only inhumation burials. Where it was possible, conclusions about the sex of buried children were given on the basis of grave goods.

The research methodology is based on a comparison between children's and adults' grave goods in certain cemeteries, geographical micro-regions, and the whole territory of the Polack land. That is why it is important to say that the study covered only barrow cemeteries where inhumation children's burials were found.

General characteristics of children's grave goods

First of all, I should note that children's grave goods in the Polack land have no significant differences from the grave goods of adults. There are no toys, game pieces, miniature household items, or other objects that could be associated exclusively with children's material culture. So a direct and obvious emphasis on a 'children's' social status, or belonging to the world of children, was not shown in the sphere of sacrum. Only one find of a miniature household item in this territory (except for amulets in the burials of adult people), a clay copy of a bucket, was found in a cremation burial of an adult (Zamosha barrow cemetery, Talachyn district).³⁰ So we will focus on small differences in grave goods which nevertheless may indicate some social distinctions between groups of children and adults. Also, I should note that the identification of age characteristics of children's grave goods is often difficult because of the lack of information about anthropological age in this territory.

In terms of some common features of children's grave goods, it is important to say that we can often identify it for single cemeteries, but it is not true of other cemeteries. But there are some features that are true of the whole Polack land, and it is most likely that they are also true of the whole territory of Old Rus' and territories that are close to it culturally and chronologically. We can say that the majority of burials of children have poorer or fewer grave goods than burials of adults. First of all, this is visible in burials with female grave goods: there is a smaller number of beads in necklaces, and hand ornaments are rarer. Local communities probably had their own

28 K. Mikhailov, *Detskie pogrebeniia v nekropole pervykh drevnerusskikh gorodov*, *Arkheologicheskie vesti* 16, 2009, pp. 151–159.

29 For today, 86 burials of children from 37 cemeteries are known from the territory of Polack land. Only burials from well-documented excavations were selected for consideration in the article.

30 O. Levko, A. Voïtekhovich, *Mogil'niki Drutska i Drutskikh volokov v 9–11 vv.*, *Drevneishie goroda Belarusi: Drutsk*, ed. A. Kovalenia, Minsk, 2014, p. 52.

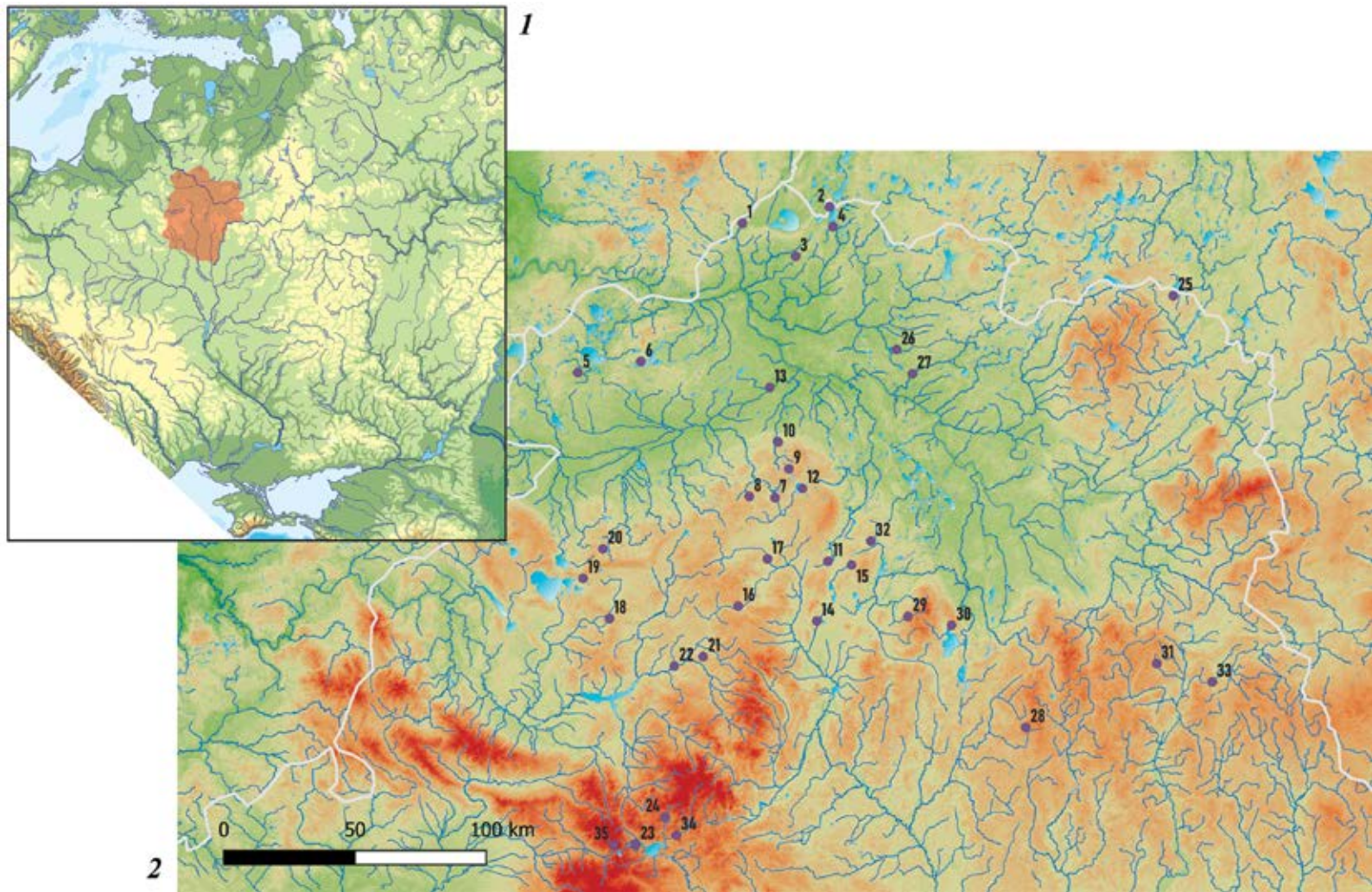


Fig. 1. 1 – The Polack land. Map by M. Plavinski;

2 – barrow cemeteries with children's burials in the Polack land. Illustration by V. Makouskaya:

1 – Zashchyryna	10 – Charnievichy	19 – Navasiolki	28 – Navinka
2 – Dzianisienki	11 – Putsilkavichy	20 – Nahaŭki	29 – Novyya Valosavichy
3 – Abramava	12 – Sho	21 – Izbishcha	30 – Slabodka
4 – Lisna	13 – Kazloŭtsy	22 – Kamiena 1	31 – Charkasava
5 – Pahoshcha	14 – Domzharytsy	23 – Zaslauye	32 – Voran'
6 – Uklia	15 – Zviazda	24 – Hatovina	33 – Krapiuŭna
7 – Pieravoz 4	16 – Niabyshyna	25 – Darachi 5	34 – Nialidavichy
8 – Skrabanets	17 – Biruli	26 – Dzmitraŭshchyna	35 – Vialikaya Borzdyn'
9 – Ziabki-Doŭhaye	18 – Naŭry 1	27 – Zacharnichy	

features and specifics in traditional child burial customs. But in the present-day Polack land, we can see it only in the most studied micro-region where the majority of identified children's burials are located, in the Upper Viliya region. So, for example, in the Izbishcha cemetery (Lahojsk district), there was no neck jewellery (neck-rings and pendants) found in the burials of adults.³¹

About boys' burials, it is important to say that it is more difficult to identify them, because boys' burials, probably more often than burials of girls, did not contain grave goods at all. Until the teenage years, the grave goods of boys, with rare exceptions, were poorer, or did not have significant differences from burials of adult males.

It is difficult to speak about the grave goods traditions of infants and small children (conditionally, up to three years old). Burials of infants³² were not found in the Polack land (or have not been found yet), and we can only say about four burials that they belong to small children (up to three years old). They were found in the Izbishcha (Vilieyka district), Darachi 5 (Haradok district), Dzianisienki (Vierchniadzinsk district) and Krapüna (Orsha district) barrow cemeteries. We know the anthropological age from only one burial (about two years),³³ but it is possible to assume the ages of another three based on the size

of the grave pits, which had a length of 80 centimetres or the same size of the skeleton. In comparison with other burials from this barrow cemetery, the grave goods of small children seem rather poor. So, in the child burial at the Izbishcha cemetery there was only a fragment of a bracelet and a clay pot,^{34, 35} at the Dzianisienki there was a four-bead necklace and a cross pendant,³⁶ and the burials at Darachi and Krapüna did not contain any grave goods.^{37, 38}

It is also noticeable that burials of small children did not contain household items. They were found only in graves of children starting from an age of about seven years (*infans II*).³⁹ Spindle whorls, knives, and less often steels or stone hones, are household items that can be found in children's graves. The absence of household items in small children's burials is explained in historiography by the reason that small children did not use them in their lives.⁴⁰

Specific features of children's grave goods. Children's status markers?

During the study of children's burials in the Polack land, it became possible to identify some categories of grave goods that can be found mostly in burials

31 V. Makoŭskaya, *Dziciachyia pakhavanni ŭ slavianskikh kurgannykh mogil'nikakh Verkhniaga Pavilla ėpokhi Siarėdnievechcha, Slavianskiia pakhaval'nyia pomniki Verkhniaga Pavilla ėpokhi Siarėdnievechcha: matėryialy i dasledavanni*, ed. M. Plavinski, Minsk, 2022, p. 109.

32 In this paper by 'infant burial' I mean the burial of born and then dead infant. The burials of pregnant women are not discussed here.

33 G. Shtykhaŭ, *Kryvichy: pa matėryialakh raskopak kurganoŭ u Paŭnochnai Belarusi*, Minsk, 1992, p. 22.

34 G. Shtykhaŭ, *Kurganny mogil'nik Izbishcha-Dzvinasa*, in *Matėryialy pa arkhealogii Belarusi* 16, 2008, p. 22.

35 It is important to note that we don't know the initial set of grave goods of this burial, because the mound was damaged by illegal excavations.

36 Z. Sergeeva, *Kurgany Severo-Zapada Polotskoj Zemli*, Moskva, 1996, p. 47.

37 G. Shtykhaŭ, *Kryvichy: pa matėryialakh raskopak kurganoŭ u Paŭnochnai Belarusi*, Minsk, 1992), p. 134.

38 O. Levko, *Otchėt ob arkheologicheskikh issledovaniakh 1990 goda na territorii severo-zapadnoj Belorussii*, Tsentral'naga navukovaga arkhiva Natsiianal'naĭ Akademii Navuk Belarusi, Fond arkhealogichnai navukovai dokumentatsii, File 1204, Vopis 1, 31.

39 The exception is the burial of 3–5 years old child from Navasiolki cemetery where the knife was found (barrow 24/12). But the knife (with a ring and miniature bracelet) was wrapped in birch and was placed in burial as a grave gift.

40 M. Khoruzhaia, *Detskie pogrebeniia iz katakomb Verkhne-Saltovskogo arkheologicheskogo kompleksa (popytka polovozrastnoj i sotsial'noj interpretatsii)*, *Drevnosti* 13, 2015, p. 257.

of children, or vice versa, not typical of children, and which could mark the special status of the buried child.

An important feature of children's burials is the presence of miniature child-size ornaments. Bracelets are the easiest to identify. The diameter of such bracelets varies from 3.3 to five centimetres. They are of several types: with open ends, round in section, false twisted with open ends, flat triangle or lens-shaped in section, flat with tapering ends, or twisted with knotted ends (Fig. 2). There are ten children's burials with miniature bracelets (Table 1) from barrow cemeteries that are mostly located in the western part of the Polack land (Fig. 3). Miniature bracelets are mostly found in children's burials accompanied by female grave goods (temple rings or some types of finger-rings). Often the grave goods in such children's burials are gender neutral, and very rarely is it possible to assume the male sex of the buried child based on the set of grave goods. The total amount of children's burials with bracelets (including child-size) in this territory is 17. With the exception of four finds, most of them fit into a chronological framework of the 11th century. They were found in cemeteries with a tradition of accompanying the dead with rich grave goods. Some of these cemeteries are

interpreted by archaeologists as the necropolises of local administrative centres.^{41,42, 43} Child-size bracelets were found at the Zaslauye (Minsk district),⁴⁴ Biruli (Dokshytsy district),^{45, 46} Pieravoz 4⁴⁷ and Skrabi-anets (Hlybokaye district),⁴⁸ Navasiolki and Nahaŭki (Miadziel district),⁴⁹ Novyya Valosavichy 2 (Lepiel district),⁵⁰ and Dzmitraŭshchyna (Polack district)⁵¹ barrow cemeteries.

Finds of such bracelets are evidence of the existence of ornaments that were made especially for children. However, child-size bracelets occurred only in administrative or large rural centres, or not far from them. It seems that there was no demand in remote rural regions for ornaments for children, or no tradition of such jewellery making existed. It is also possible that hand ornaments were not made specially for children, in order to save metal. It is vital to note that child-size bracelets are short-lived, because small children grow up quickly and bracelets become too small for them. So perhaps not every family could afford them, or maybe most communities saw no sense in such expensive children's ornaments.

Finds of metal ornaments and costume elements that are 'secondary used' may have another meaning in children's graves. Under 'secondary used', I mean items that had belonged to adults and were

- 41 M. Plavinski, *Slavianskiia pakhaval'nyia pomniki Verkhniaga Pavilla epokhi Siarėdnievchcha: matėryialy i dasledavanni*, Minsk, 2022, p. 91.
- 42 I. Zaiats, Sotsial'nye gruppy naseleniia Iziaslavlia na stadii formirovaniia i razvitiia goroda (10–11 vv.): po materialam Zaslavskogo kurgannogo mogil'nika, *Gistarychna-arkhealagichny zbornik* 8, 1996, p. 141.
- 43 G. Shtykhaŭ, *Kurganny mogil'nik Izbishcha-Dzvinasa*, in *Matėryialy pa arkhealogii Belarusi* 16, 2008, p. 53.
- 44 A. Liaŭdanski, Arkheolėgichnyia raskopki ŭ m. Zaslaui, Menskaŭi akrugŭ, *Zapiski addzelu gumanitarnykh navuk*, 5, *Pracy katėdry arkheolėgii*, 1, 1928, p. 58.
- 45 A. Vaŭtsiakhovich, Asablivastsi pakhaval'naga abrada kurgannaga mogil'nika Biruli (Parėchcha), *Matėryialy pa arkhealogii Belarusi*, 15, 2008, p. 219.
- 46 A. Vaŭtsiakhovich, Spravazdacha pra arkhealagicznyia dasledavanni kurgannykh mogil'nikaŭ u Minskaŭi i Vitsebskaŭi ablastsiakh u 2012 g., Tsentral'naga navukovaga arkhiva Natsiianal'naŭi Akadėmii Navuk Belarusi, Fond arkhealagichnaŭi navukovaŭi dakumentatsii, File 2974, Vopis 1, p. 36.
- 47 L. Duchyts, A. Kviatkoŭskaia, Pakhaval'nyia pomniki navakolits Padsvillia, *Gistarychna-arkhealagichny zbornik* 4, 1994, p. 64.
- 48 Excavations at Skrabi-anets were held by the author in 2022.
- 49 M. Plavinski, *Slavianskiia pakhaval'nyia pomniki Verkhniaga Pavilla epokhi Siarėdnievchcha: matėryialy i dasledavanni*, Minsk, 2022, pp. 31, 72, 76.
- 50 A. Voŭtekhovich, *Pogrebal'nyŭi obriad naseleniia Polotskoŭi zemli v 10–12 vv*, Minsk, 2019, p. 164.
- 51 M. Klimaŭ, S. Tarasaŭ, Novyya dadzenyia ab kurgannym mogil'niku kalia v. Dzmitraŭshchyna, *Gistarychna-arkhealagichny zbornik* 12, 1997, p. 126.

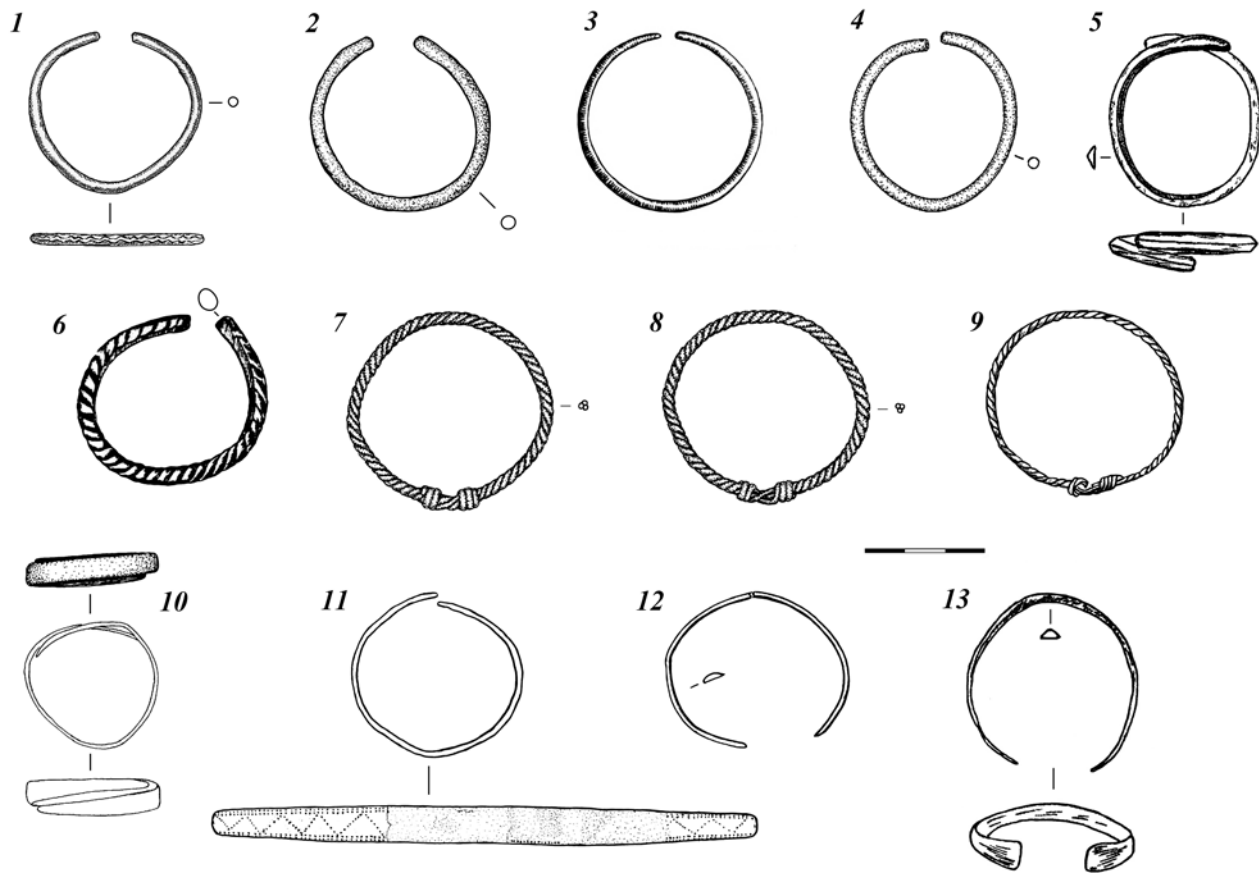


Fig. 2. Miniature bracelets from children's burials in the Polack land. Illustration by V. Makouskaya:

1 – Biruli barrow 20 (A. Vaïtsiakhovich); 2, 11 – Skrabianets barrow 9 (V. Makouskaya);
 3 – Zaslauye 4 barrow 5 (A. Liaūdanski); 4 – Navasiolki barrow 24/12 (M. Plavinski);
 5 – Navasiolki barrow 29/17 (M. Plavinski); 6 – Pieravoz 4 barrow 6 (L. Duchyts); 7, 8 – Nahaūki
 barrow 10 (M. Plavinski); 9, 12 – Novyya Valosavichy 2 barrow 27 (A. Vaïtsiakhovich); 10 – Biruli
 barrow 44 (A. Vaïtsiakhovich); 13 – Dzmitraūshchyna barrow 5 (M. Klimaū and S. Tarasaū).

'adult-size', but after breakage they were resized for children. As in the previous case, this is most obvious in the case of bracelets, and also fibulas. There are round in section and flat secondary used bracelets with tapering ends, and also flat with zoomorphic ends, that were found in children's burials (Fig. 4:

A (1–3)). As in the previous case, these burials were furnished with more likely a female, or sometimes male, set of grave goods. The only find of a secondary used fibula is horseshoe-shaped with a 14-sided end (Fig. 4: A (5)). It was found in the burial of a boy.⁵² Also, a find of a ring-shaped two-bead temporal ring

52 N. Plavinskiĭ, Kurgannyĭ mogil'nik Navry v verkhov'iakh Vilii (po materialam raskopok 2012 i 2015 godov), *Arkheologia i istoria Pskova i Pskovskoi zemli*, 32, 2017, p. 257.

with a scroll at the end may be considered with certain probability secondary used (Fig. 4: A (4)).⁵³

Finds of broken ornaments then resized for a child are known from four burials in the Naŭry (Miadziel district),^{54, 55} Biruli,⁵⁶ Zviazda (Lepiel' district)⁵⁷ (Table 1). Such objects were found only in the western part of the Polack land (Fig. 3). However, it should be associated with the current state of the archaeological exploration of the territory of Polack land rather than with a cultural feature. Burials with secondary used ornaments mostly have a wider or later chronology than burials with miniature ornaments. But in some cases they can both be found in one burial complex. The earliest grave with secondary used grave goods dates from the middle of the 11th century, while the latest date of some complexes may go back to the early 13th century. However, it is difficult to define some chronological features based on such a small number of artefacts.

It is important to note that the secondary use of ornaments is probably not only a feature of children's graves. For example, a secondary artefact was also found in the burial of a young woman 15 to 20 years old at the Pieravoz 4 barrow cemetery. It was a twisted ring with chopped overlapping ends.⁵⁸ This ring was possibly remade from a twisted bracelet

(M.V. Sedova mentions such finds from Novgorod).⁵⁹ In comparison with other rings from the burial complex, this artefact has a significantly smaller diameter, and also a sloppy uneven shape. I can also mention the finds of twisted bracelets in the burial of an adult woman at Navinka cemetery (Talachyn district) that were most likely remade from a broken neck-ring.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, most secondary use jewellery comes from children's burials.

Primitive ornaments of indeterminate type are also specific grave goods that occur in children's burials. Today they are represented only by temple rings. These temple rings look like ring-size items of individual shape that are inaccurately twisted from thin wire and have a 0.55 to three centimetre diameter (Fig. 4: B). Sometimes they could be the result of attempts at primitive inaccurate imitations of existing types of temple ring (for example, rings from Naŭry and Skrabianets [Fig. 4: B (1, 4, 5)]). Such temple rings can be a 'markering' type of grave goods for burials of girls. They are known from five children's burials that date from the end of the tenth to the third quarter of the 13th century in the Skrabianets, Naŭry,^{61, 62} Nahaŭki⁶³ and Niabyshyna (Dokshytsy district)⁶⁴ barrow cemeteries (Table 1; Fig. 3).

53 A. Voïtekhovich, *Pogrebal'nyĭ obriad naseleniia Polotskoĭ zemli v 10–12 vv*, Minsk, 2019, pp. 152, 196.

54 N. Plavinskiĭ, Raskopki kurgannogo nekropolia Navry I v 2017 godu, *Arkheologia i istoria Pskova i Pskovskoi zemli*, 34, 2019, p. 257.

55 N. Plavinskiĭ, Kurgannyĭ mogil'nik Navry v verkhov'iakh Vilii (po materialam raskopok 2012 i 2015 godov), *Arkheologia i istoria Pskova i Pskovskoi zemli*, 32, 2017, p. 334.

56 A. Vaitsiakhovich, Asablivastsĭ pakhaval'naga abrada kurgannaga mogil'nika Biruli (Parėchcha), *Materyialy pa arkheologii Belarusi*, 15, 2008, p. 219.

57 A. Voïtekhovich, *Pogrebal'nyĭ obriad naseleniia Polotskoĭ zemli v 10–12 vv*, Minsk, 2019, pp. 152, 196.

58 L. Duchyts, Spravazdacha ab arkhealagichnykh raskopkakh u Glybockim i Lepel'skim raėnakh Vitsebskaĭ voblastsi ū 1991 godze, File 1353, Tsentral'naga navukovaga arkhiva Natsiianal'naĭ Akadėmii Navuk Belarusi, Fond arkhealagichnaĭ navukovaiĭ dokumentatsii, Vopis 1, 3.

59 M. Sedova, *Juvelirnye izdeliia drevnego Novgoroda (10–15 vv.)*, Moskva, 1981, p. 125.

60 O. Levko, A. Voïtekhovich, Mogil'niki Drutskia i Drutskikh volokov v 9–11 vv., *Drevneishie goroda Belarusi: Drutsk*, ed. A. Kovalenia, Minsk, 2014, p. 85.

61 H. Cėhak-Hoĭubowiczowa, Materiaĭ i zagadnienia cmentarzyska kurhanowego koĭo wsi Nawry w powiecie Postawskim, *Rocznik archeologiczny* 1, 1957, p. 26.

62 N. Plavinskiĭ, Kurgannyĭ mogil'nik Navry v verkhov'iakh Vilii (po materialam raskopok 2012 i 2015 godov), *Arkheologia i istoria Pskova i Pskovskoi zemli*, 32, 2017, p. 334.

63 M. Plavinski, *Slavianskiia pakhaval'nyia pomniki Verkhniaga Pavilla ėpokhi Siarėdniavechcha: materyialy i dasledavanni*, Minsk, 2022, p. 31.

64 A. Voïtekhovich, *Pogrebal'nyĭ obriad naseleniia Polotskoĭ zemli v 10–12 vv*, Minsk, 2019, pp. 179, 252.

Table 1. Children's burials with specific 'children's' grave goods

Barrow cemetery	Barrow No	Age of child/ length of skeleton	Miniature child-size bracelets	Secondary used ornaments			Primitive temple rings
				bracelet	fibula	temple ring	
Biruli	20	100–110 centimetres (<i>infans I?</i>)	+				
Biruli	44	About 70 centimetres (<i>infans I?</i>)	+	+			
Dzmitraŭshchyna	5	5–8	+				
Zaslaŭye 4	5	About 100 centimetres (<i>infans I?</i>)	+				
Zviazda	7	Small child (<i>infans I</i>)				+	
Naŭry 1	20	Small child (<i>infans I</i>)					+
Naŭry 1	77	About 7		+			+
Naŭry 1	113	Destroyed		+	+		
Navasiolki	24/12	3–5 (<i>infans I</i>)	+				
Navasiolki	29/17	Adolescent (<i>infans II</i>)	+				
Nahaŭki	10	6–7	+				+
Novyya Valosavichy 2	27	Not preserved	+				
Niabyshyna	13	Small child (<i>infans I</i>)					+
Pieravoz 4	6	10–12 (<i>infans II</i>)	+				
Skrabianets	9	5–6 (<i>infans I</i>)	+				+

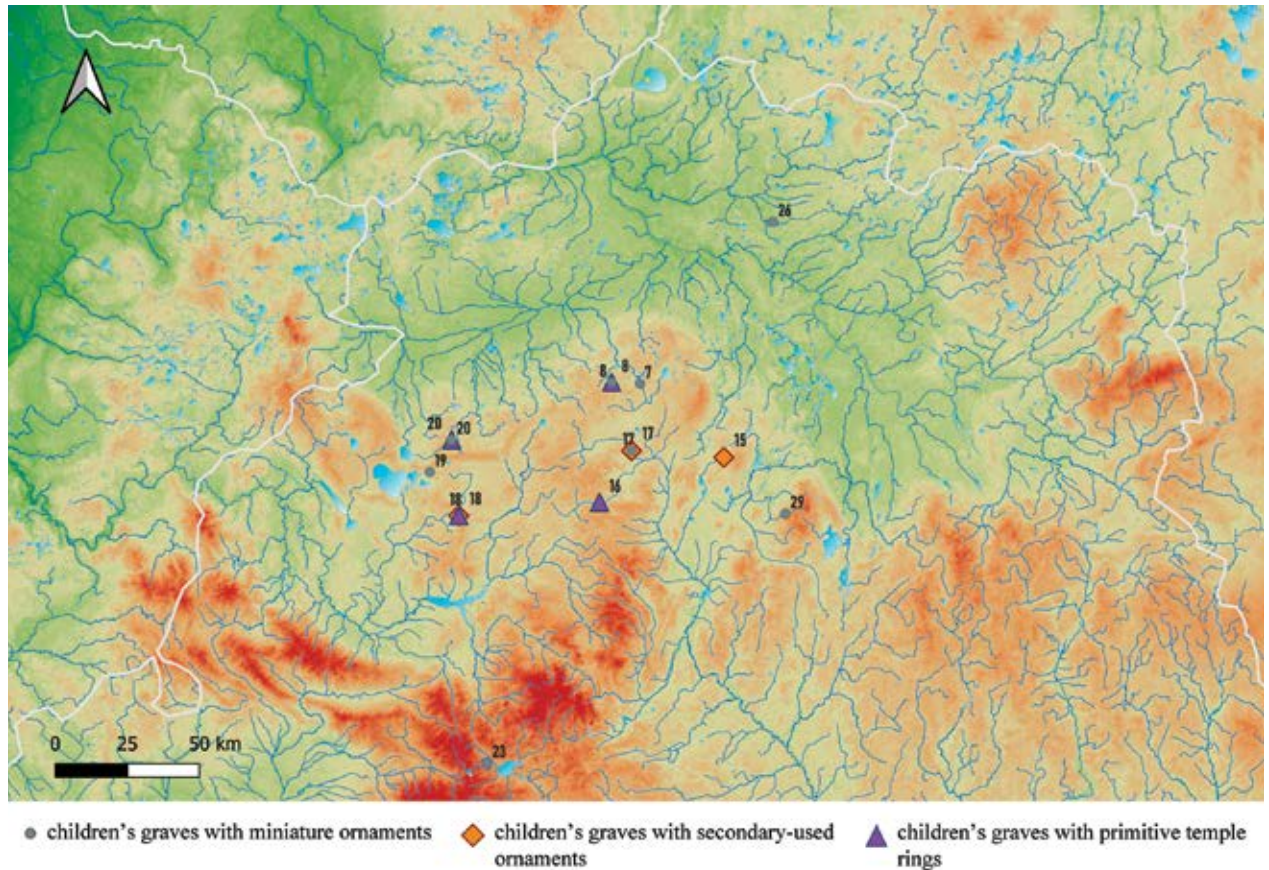


Fig. 3. A map of children's burials with specific 'children's' grave goods from the Polack land. Map by V. Makouskaya.

It is vital to note that the majority of children's skeletons with specific grave goods, noted above, were in a rather poor state of preservation, and not all of them have anthropological age determinations (Table 1). In some cases, only information about the length of the skeleton makes it possible to hypothetically and very approximately determine the age group (*infans I*, *infans II*).

Analysing the correlation between the presence of specific grave goods and the anthropological age of buried children, we can see that burials with an age determination of about ten to 12 or 12 to 13 years old did not have secondary used ornaments in the grave goods. Miniature child-size ornaments were

not found in burials of children older than 12 years. Based on this data, it is possible to assume that miniature and secondary-used ornaments were a specific feature of burials of children younger than an age of about 12 years old.

Children with 'adult' grave goods

Besides grave goods that indicate the specific 'children's' status of a child, it is also possible to identify some items that can be indicators of the high status of buried children, or their belonging to the 'adult world'. We know some types of this kind of

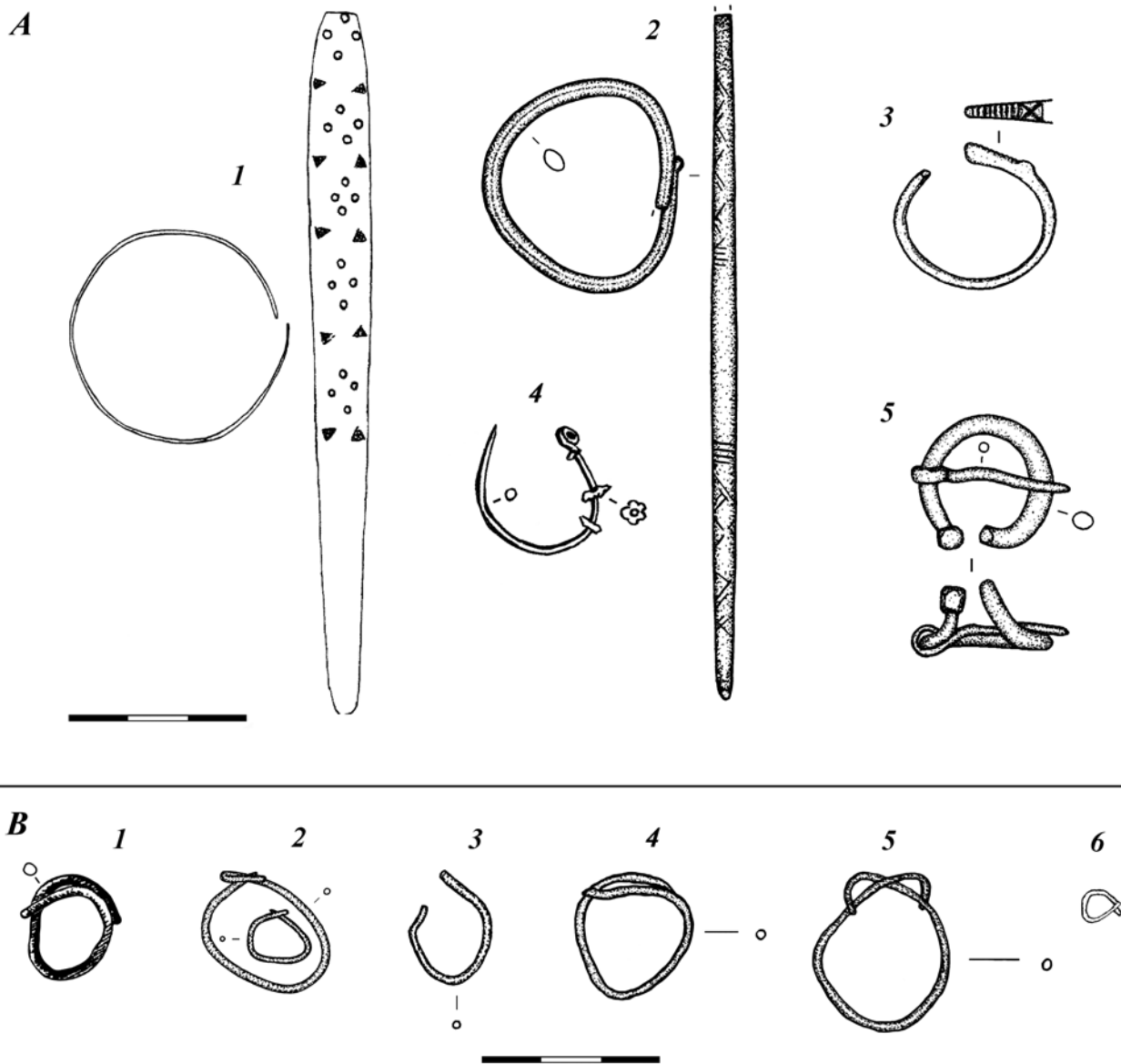


Fig. 4. **A:** 'secondary used' ornaments from children's burials in the Polack land. Illustration by V. Makouskaya:
 1 – Biruli barrow 44 (A. Vaitsikhovich); 2 – Naŭry 1 barrow 77 (M. Plavinski); 3, 5 – Naŭry 1 barrow 113 (M. Plavinski); 4 – Zviazda barrow 7 (A. Vaitsikhovich).
B: primitive temple rings from children's burials in the Polack land:
 1 – Naŭry 1 barrow 20 (H. Cehak-Hoľubowiczowa); 2 – Naŭry 1 barrow 77 (M. Plavinski); 3 – Nahaŭki barrow 10 (M. Plavinski); 4, 5 – Skrabianets barrow 9 (V. Makouskaya); 6 – Niabyshyna barrow 13 (A. Vaitsikhovich).

female grave goods from Baltic-Finnish territories. In female Latgalian burials, archaeologists note the metal headbands in this capacity. They are sometimes found in children's burials of nine to twelve year olds, but they occur more often in burials with age determinations starting from 14 or 15 years old, which is considered the threshold between a child and an adult. In Liv burials, chain jewellery had the role of 'grave goods of adults'.⁶⁵

Both metal headbands and chain ornaments are rarely found in burials in the Polack land, especially in terms of children's burials. Headbands of *vainaga* type were found in only two burials at Pahoshcha and Uklia (Braslaŭ district) barrow cemeteries, which are located very close to Latgalian territories (figure 5: B). Both these burials have rich grave goods. In the burial of a teenage girl⁶⁶ from Pahoshcha, four lines of tubules made of lead-tin alloy were found near the skull⁶⁷ (Fig. 5: C [5]). A headband of an 11 to 12-year-old girl from Uklia consisted of two lines of bronze spiral tubules⁶⁸ (Fig. 5: A). There can be one more metal headband in a child burial: the burial of a teenage girl⁶⁹ at Niabyshyna 2 (Dokshytsy district).⁷⁰ The wreath looks like a tin alloy hollow headband with small trapezoid pendants⁷¹ (Fig. 5: C [4]). It is possible to say that all metal headbands in children's burials in the Polack land were found in burials of adolescents. We cannot assert that the grave goods had only one specific meaning, and it looks as if in the northwest

part of the Polack land these ornaments could also denote belonging to the 'adult world', and indicate the threshold from a child to an adult, or the high social status of the buried children.

It is most likely that in the Polack land neck-rings could also have been ornaments that marked a high status and belonging to the adult world. There are only three finds in children's burials. They came from burials at Uklia and Pahoshcha, which were mentioned above, and also from Navinka barrow cemetery (Talachyn district) (Fig. 5: B), from a burial of an eight or nine-year-old girl.⁷² Neck-rings from burials of girls at Pahoshcha and Uklia are twisted with loop-shaped conical and flattened ends^{73, 74} (Fig. 5: C [1, 3]). An artefact from the burial at Navinka is twisted and, more likely, has chopped ends⁷⁵ (Fig. 5: C [2]).

So we know four children's burials with high status female grave goods from the Polack land which in total are within the chronological framework from the end of the tenth century to the beginning of the 12th century. Three burials belong to adolescents, and one to an eight or nine-year-old girl. In the case of adolescent burials, we can be more or less confident about the threshold age between a child and an adult. The burial of a girl at Navinka had grave goods as rich as adult woman graves in that cemetery: there were bronze spiral tubules with trapezoid pendants, a neck-ring, two crescent-shaped pendants, necklaces with glass beads and bell pendants, and two

65 A. Vilka, Some aspects of child burials in the Middle and Late Iron Age (5th–12th c.) in the territory of Latvia, *Child and Childhood in the Light of Archaeology*, ed. P. Romanowicz, Wrocław, 2013, p. 124.

66 More accurate age determination was impossible because of the poor state of preservation of the skeleton.

67 M. Plavinski, *Kurganny mogil'nik Pahoshcha: u kantéktse sinkhronnykh starazhytnastsiä Braslaŭskaga Paazeria*, Minsk, 2017, p. 63.

68 L. Duchyts, *Kurganny mogil'nik kalia v. Uklia Braslaŭskaga raëna, Gistarychna-arkhealagichny zbornik 8*, 1996, p. 112.

69 As in the case with Niabyshyna burial the preservation of skeleton was really poor. The author of this excavations characterized the burial as 'girl' and as 'young women'. So, it is possible to assume that it is a burial of an adolescent.

70 A. Voïtekhovich, *Pogrebal'nyĭ obriad naseleniia Polotskoĭ zemli v 10–12 vv*, Minsk, 2019, p. 179, 254.

71 A. Voïtekhovich, *Pogrebal'nyĭ obriad naseleniia Polotskoĭ zemli v 10–12 vv*, Minsk, 2019, p. 57.

72 O. Levko, A. Voïtekhovich, *Mogil'niki Drutska i Drutskikh volokov v 9–11 vv.*, *Drevneishie goroda Belarusi: Drutsk*, ed. A. Kovalenia, Minsk, 2014, p. 53.

73 M. Plavinski, *Kurganny mogil'nik Pahoshcha: u kantéktse sinkhronnykh starazhytnastsiä Braslaŭskaga Paazeria*, Minsk, 2017, p. 64.

74 L. Duchyts, *Kurganny mogil'nik kalia v. Uklia Braslaŭskaga raëna, Gistarychna-arkhealagichny zbornik 8*, 1996, p. 112.

75 O. Levko, A. Voïtekhovich, *Mogil'niki Drutska i Drutskikh volokov v 9–11 vv.*, *Drevneishie goroda Belarusi: Drutsk*, ed. A. Kovalenia, Minsk, 2014, p. 85.

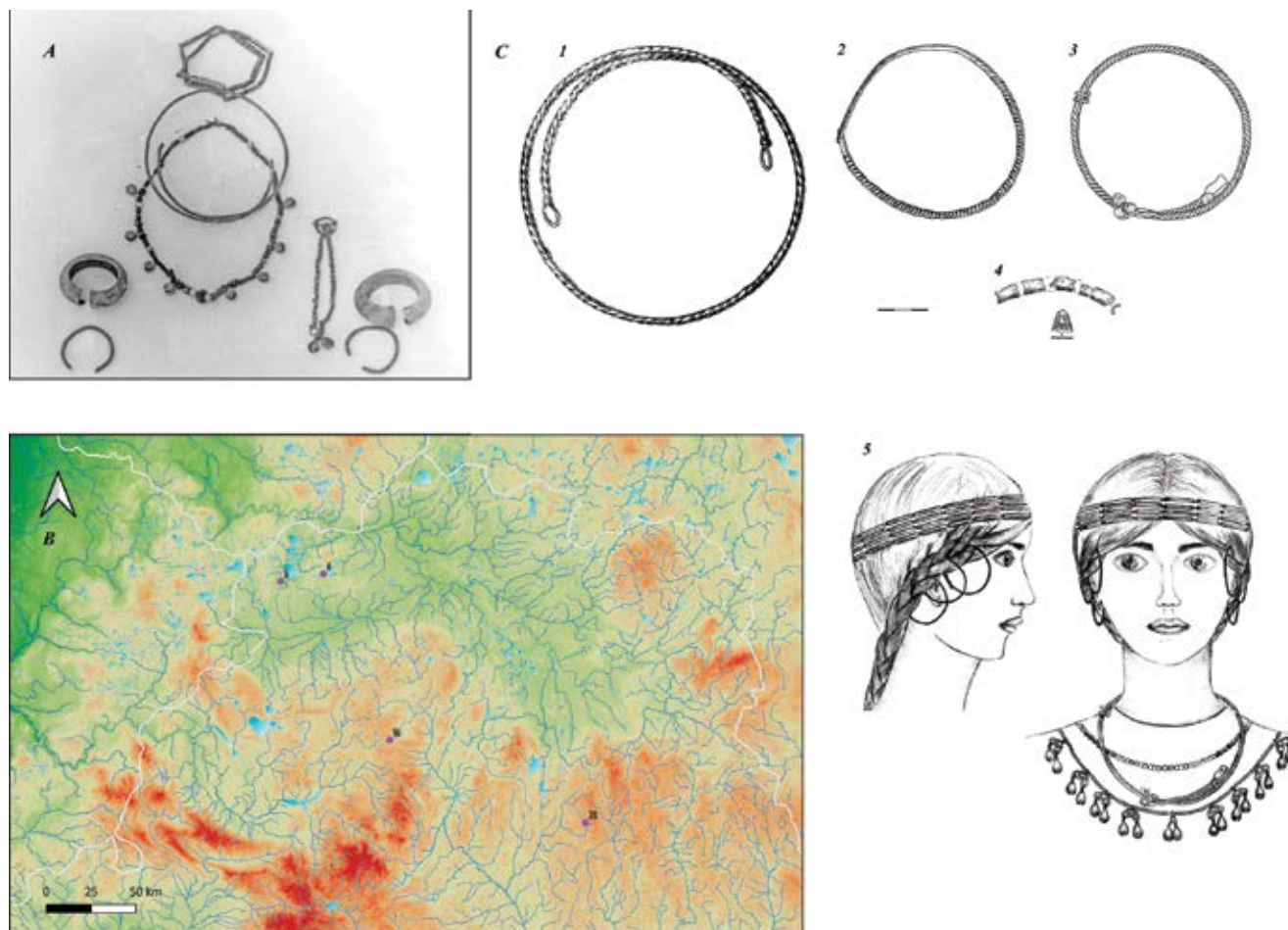


Fig. 5. **A:** a photograph of the grave goods complex from Ukliia barrow cemetery barrow 13. Photo by L. Duchyts.
B: a map of children's burials with metal headbands and neck-rings in the Polack land. Map by V. Makouskaya.
C: finds of metal headbands and neck-rings from children's burials from the Polack land: 1 – Ukliia barrow 13 (L. Duchyts); 2 – Navinka barrow 6 (V. Liaūko); 3 – Pahoshcha barrow 7 (M. Plavinski); 4 – Niabyshyna barrow 20 (A. Vaītsiakhovich); 5 – a reconstruction of the burial costume of the girl from Pahoshcha barrow cemetery barrow 7 (M. Plavinski). Drawing by V. Tarasievich. Illustration by V. Makouskaya.

bracelets.⁷⁶ In this case, the large number of grave goods containing high-status items may also indicate the status of the family of the buried child. The difference between this burial and adult burials is that the neck-ring was 'secondary used', with one broken end. After breaking, the neck-ring turned out to be child-sized, about ten to 12 centimetres in diameter.

For children's burials with male grave goods, the presence of weapons was first of all a symbol of status. But it is vital to note that weapons are rather rare finds in barrow cemeteries in the Polack land. Axes, spearheads and arrowheads are known from burials in this territory, but axes are most common. Axes are the only type of weapon found in children's graves. The most common types of axes that had a universal function (types IV and IVA according to A.N. Kirpichnikov) were found in four children's graves at Izbishcha⁷⁷, Naŭry⁷⁸, Zaslaŭye⁷⁹ and Sho (Hlybokaye district)⁸⁰ (Fig. 6; Table 2). The ages of the buried children were about 12, ten to 12, or seven to nine years old. The burial at Izbishcha did not have an accurate age determination and was characterised as an 'adolescent'.⁸¹ It is important to note that the children's burials with axes are located in rather militarised cemeteries on the western border of the Polack land, where axes were found in most male

burials.⁸² We can say that axes in children's burials can be a marking artefact of male gender, as well as a transition from childhood to adulthood. It is also vital to note that children's burials with axes do not contain any 'childish' artefacts, like secondary-used ornaments, etc.

The seven to nine-year-old child from Sho is the youngest buried with an axe. This burial stands out from others by its grave goods. Except for an axe, there is also a stacked belt with metal overlays with embossed stamped ornamentation,⁸³ which is an exclusive find for children's burials in the Polack land. As in the case of the girl from Navinka, it is possible to assume the high status of the family of this child, and the early transition into adulthood.

An interesting fact is that there may be one more child burial with a weapon, with a javelin. This find came from the burial of five to six-year-old child at the Kamiŭna 1 barrow cemetery (Vilieyka district).⁸⁴ It could be the first find of a javelin in children's burials in the Polack land, and it could also be the youngest child buried with a weapon. But before the archaeological excavations the barrow mound and the burial had already been destroyed by digging, so it is impossible to say with certainty whether the javelin belonged to the grave goods of this particular burial.

76 O. Levko, A. Voïtekhovich, *Mogil'niki Drutska i Drutskikh volokov v 9–11 vv.*, in *Drevneishie goroda Belarusi: Drutsk*, ed. A. Kovalenia, Minsk, 2014, p. 53.

77 G. Shtykhaŭ, *Kurganny mogil'nik Izbishcha-Dzvinasa*, in *Materyialy pa arkhologii Belarusi* 16, 2008, p. 12.

78 M. Plavinski, *Spravazdacha ab arkhialagichnykh raskopkakh kurgannaga mogil'nika Kastyki Vileiskaga raëna, kurgannaga mogil'nika Naŭry Miadzel'skaga raëna i razvedkakh na terytoryi Miadzel'skaga raëna Minskaï voblastsi ũ 2016 godze*, *Tsentral'naga navukovaga arkhiva Natsiional'naï Akadëmii Navuk Belarusi, Fond arkhialagichnaï navukovai dokumentatsii*, File 3450, Vopis 1, p. 16.

79 A. Liaŭdanski, *Arkhëolëgichnyia raskopki ũ m. Zaslaŭi, Menskaï akrugï*, *Zapiski addzela gumanitarnykh navuk*, 5, *Pracy katëdry arkhëolëgii*, 1, 1928, p. 14.

80 E. Golubovich, V. Golubovich, *Slavianskie poseleniia pravoberezhnoï Disny v Vileiskom okruge BSSR*, *Kratkie soobshcheniia o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniakh Instituta istorii material'noi kultury* 11, 1945, p. 135.

81 G. Shtykhaŭ, *Kurganny mogil'nik Izbishcha-Dzvinasa*, in *Materyialy pa arkhologii Belarusi* 16, 2008, p. 12.

82 M. Plavinski, *Problema vyznachennia zakhodnikh mezhaŭ Polatskaga kniastva ũ 10–12 stst. pa dadzenykh arkhialagichnaga zbroyaznaŭstva*, *Lepel'skiia chytanni: materyialy 6 navukova-praktychnai kanferentsyi*, Minsk, 2011, p. 51.

83 E. Golubovich, V. Golubovich, *Slavianskie poseleniia pravoberezhnoï Disny v Vileiskom okruge BSSR*, *Kratkie soobshcheniia o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniakh Instituta istorii material'noi kultury* 11, 1945, p. 135.

84 V. Makovskaia, *Kurgannyi mogil'nik Kameno-1 v svete novykh issledovaniï*, *Aktual'naiia arkhëologiia 6: materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi kanferentsii molodykh uchënykh*, 2022, p. 232.

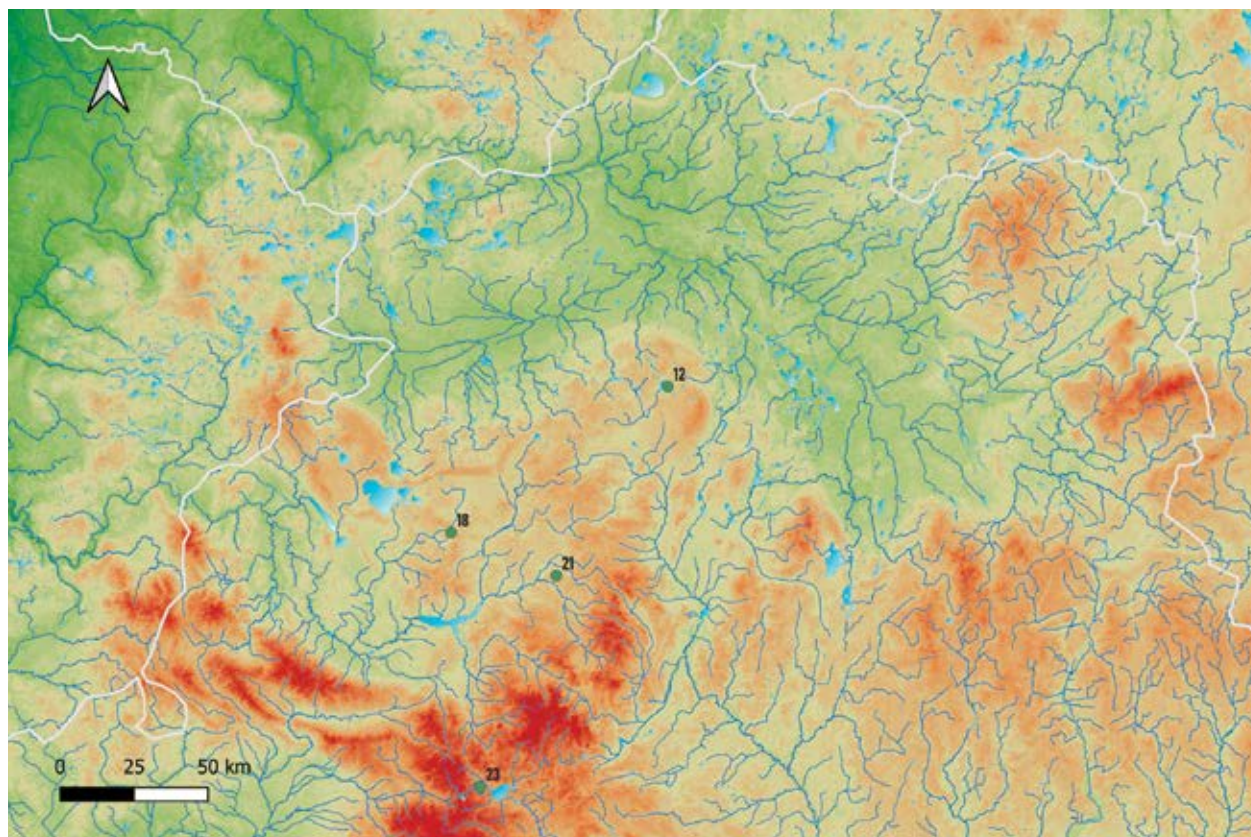


Fig. 6. A map of children's burials with weapons from the Polack land. Map by V. Makouskaya.

Table 2. Children's burials with weapons

Barrow cemetery	Barrow No	Age	Type of weapon	Place in the burial	Other grave goods
Zaslaūye 1	1	10–12	Axe	On the right side of the pelvis	Knife, fibula, ceramic pot
Izbishcha	22	Adolescent (<i>infans II</i>)	Axe	To the left of the feet	Knife, bracelet, ceramic pot
Naūry 1	70	About 12	Axe	To the left of the feet	Knife, 2 finger rings, fibula, ceramic pot
Šo	32	7–9	Axe	Near the feet	Knife, fibula, stacked belt, finger rings, bracelets, ceramic pot, skull of a ram

Conclusion

In the results of the analysis of 78 children's burials from 35 barrow cemeteries in the Polack land, some features of children's grave goods can be noted. It is noticeable that at the age of about 12 years old there are some changes in children's grave goods: miniature, secondary-used and primitive ornaments disappear. At the same age in some children's graves with female grave goods items marking the status of the buried child are found. And in cemeteries with a tradition of accompanying male burials with weapons, axes start to occur in burials of adolescent boys. It is impossible to say unambiguously whether 12 years old was the age when a child began to be perceived as an adult, maybe there were other age thresholds. It is important to note that girls usually mature more quickly than boys, so their transformation into adult

women may have been different, and leave (or do not leave) a different archaeological trail. We should also bear in mind that in families with a high social status, the threshold from childhood to adulthood could be earlier. But we can assume that the age of about 12 years old had some social meaning in the process of becoming an adult.

Based on the grave goods of children's burials, it is also possible to assume the existence of social differences between small children and older children. This can be proven by finds of primitive temple rings in burials of the first, and the occurrence of household items in burials of the second. This age boundary could be between the age groups *infans I* and *infans II*, about seven years old.

Bibliography

- Alëkshin, Vadim. "Pogrebal'nyĭ obriad kak arkheologicheskii istochnik". *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta arkheologii* 167 (1981), pp. 3–9.
- Callow, Chris. "First Steps Towards Archaeology of Childhood in Iceland". *Archaeologia Islandica* 5 (2006), pp. 55–96.
- Cave, Christine, Oxenham, Marc. "Out of the Cradle and into the Grave: The Children of Anglo-Saxon Great Chesterford, Essex, England". *Children, Death and Burial* ed. Eileen Murphy, Mélie Le Roy. Oxford & Philadelphia: OXBOW BOOKS, 2017, pp. 179–196.
- Cehak-Hołubowiczowa, Helena. "Materiał i zagadnienia cmentarzyska kurhanowego koło wsi Nawry w powiecie Postawskim". *Rocznik archeologiczny* 1 (1937), pp. 5–31.
- Chapman, Emma Rosamund. "Children and child burial in medieval England". PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2015.
- Crawford, Sally. "Children, grave goods and social status in Early Anglo-Saxon England". *Children and Material Culture*, ed. Joanna Sofaer Derevenski. London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 169–179.
- Curta, Florin; Koval, Matthew. "Children in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Hungary and Poland". *The Medieval Networks in East Central Europe*, eds. Balazs Nagy, András Vadas, Felicitas Schmieder. London: Routledge, 2018, pp., 87–122.
- Duchyts, Liudmila; Kviatkoŭskaia, Alla. "Pakhaval'nyia pomniki navakolits Padsvillia". *Gistarychna-arkhealagichny zbornik* 4 (1994), pp. 58–70.
- Duchyts, Liudmila. "Kurganny mogil'nik kalia v. Uklia Braslaŭskaga raëna". *Gistarychna-arkhealagichny zbornik* 8 (1996), pp. 111–120.
- Duchyts, Liudmila. "Spravzdacha ab arkhealagichnykh raskopkakh u Glybockim i Lepel'skim raënakh Vitsebskaï voblastsi ŭ 1991 godze". File 1353, Tsentral'naga navukovaga arkhiva Natsiianal'naï Akadëmii Navuk Belarusi, Fond arkhealagichnaï navukovai dokumentatsii, Vopis 1.
- Golubovich, Elena, Golubovich, Vladimir. "Slavianskie poseleniia pravoberezhnoi Disny v Vileïskom okruge BSSR". *Kratkie soobshcheniia o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniakh Instituta istorii material'noi kultury* 11 (1945), pp. 126–137.
- Gräslund, Anne-Sofie. "Barn i Birka". *TOR* 15 (1972–1973), pp. 161–179.
- Hanuliak, Milan. "Sociálna pozícia detských jedincov petrifikovaná v pohrebiskovom materiáli z 9.–10. Storočia". *Archaeologia historica* 35 (2010), pp. 169–181.
- Härke, Heinrich. "Changing symbols in a changing society: the Anglo-Saxon weapon burial rite in the seventh century". *The age of Sutton Hoo. The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe* ed. Martin Carver. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992, pp. 149–166.
- Härke, Heinrich. "Grave goods in early medieval burials: messages and meanings". *Mortality* 19:1 (2014), pp. 41–60, <<https://doi.org/10.1080/13576275.2013.870544>>
- Khoruzhaia, Maia. "Detskie pogrebeniia iz katakomb Verkhne-Saltovskogo arkheologicheskogo kompleksa (popytka polovozrastnoi i sotsial'noi interpretatsii)". *Drevnosti* 13 (2015), pp. 257–275.
- Klimaŭ, Marat; Tarasaŭ, Siargei. "Novyia dadzenyia ab kurgannym mogil'niku kalia v. Dzmitraŭshchyna". *Gistarychna-arkhealagichny zbornik* 12 (1997), pp. 126–134.
- Koval, Matthew. *Childhood in Medieval Poland (1050–1300): Constructions and Realities in a European Context*. Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2021.
- Kurasiński, Tomasz; Skóra Kalina. "Children's burials from the early medieval inhumation cemetery in Radom, Site 4". *Fasciculi Archaeologiae Historicae* 28 (2015), pp. 41–52.
- Kurasiński, Tomasz. "A child with a bucket. A study of grave goods in children's graves in the Polish lands in the Early Middle Ages". *Archaeologia Polona* 51–52 (2016), pp. 97–117.
- Kurasiński, Tomasz. "Militaria jako element wyposażenia wcześnieśredniowiecznych pochówków dziecięcych — próba interpretacji na przykładzie znalezisk z ziem Polskich". *Archeologia Polski* 34 (2009), pp. 209–248.
- Kurila, Laurynas. "Vaiko statusas Rytų Lietuvoje geležies amžiuje". *Archaeologia Lituana* 8 (2007), pp. 97–116.
- Lee, Christina. "Forever Young: Child Burial in Anglo-Saxon

- England". *Youth and Age in the Medieval North* ed. Shannon Lewis-Simpson. Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2008, pp. 17–36.
- Lesman, Iurii. "Skandinavskii komponent drevnerusskoi kul'tury". *Stratum plus* 5 (2014), pp. 43–87.
- Levko, Ol'ga; Voitechovich, Andrei. "Mogil'niki Drutska i Drutskikh volokov v 9–11 vv.". *Drevneishie goroda Belarusi: Drutsk*, ed. Aleksandr Kovalenia. Minsk: Belaruskaia navuka, 2014, pp. 46–56.
- Levko, Ol'ga. "Otchet ob arkeologicheskikh issledovaniiah 1990 goda na territorii severo-zapadnoi Belorussii". File 1204, Tsentral'naga navukovaga arkhiva Natsiianal'noi Akademii Navuk Belarusi, Fond arkealogichnaï navukovai dokumentatsii, Vopis 1.
- Liaūdanski, Aliaksandr. "Arkhéolögichnyia raskopki ū m. Zaslaiū, Menskaï akrugī". *Zapiski addzeliu gumanitarnykh nauk*, 5, *Pracy katėdry arkeolėgii*, 1 (1928), pp. 1–92.
- Makarov, Nikolai; Zaitseva, Irina. "Srednevekoveye mogil'niki na territorii Drevnei Rusi: novye issledovaniia na Kubenskom ozere". *Arkheologia, etnografiia i antropologiia Evrazii* 14, no. 2 (2003), pp. 106–122.
- Makarov, Nikolai. "Drevnerusskie amulety-toporiki". *Rossiiskaia arkeologiia* 2 (1992), pp. 41–56.
- Makoŭskaya, Viktoryia. "Dziciachyia pakhavanni ū slavianskikh kurgannykh mogil'nikakh Verkhniaga Pavilla ěpokhi Siarėdniavechcha". *Slavianskiia pakhaval'nyia pomniki Verkhniaga Pavilla ěpokhi Siarėdniavechcha: matėryialy i dasledavanni* ed. Mikalai Plavinski. Minsk: Belaruskaia navuka, 2022, pp. 103–110.
- Makovskaia, Viktoriia. "Kurgannyi mogil'nik Kameno-1 v svete novykh issledovaniï". *Aktual'nayia arkeologiia 6: materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii molodykh uchėnykh*. SPb: IIMK RAN, 2022, pp. 231–234.
- Mejsholm, Lotta. "Constructions of Early Childhood at the Sincretic Cemetery of Fjälkinge – a case study". *Youth and Age in the Medieval North* ed. Shannon Lewis-Simpson. Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2008, pp. 37–56.
- Mikhailov, Kirill. "Detskie pogrebeniia v nekropole pervykh drevnerusskikh gorodov". *Arkheologicheskie vesti* 16 (2009), pp. 151–159.
- Plavinski, Mikalai. "Prablema vyznachennia zakhodnikh mezhai Polatskaga kniastva ū 10–12 stst. pa dadzenykh arkealogichnaga zbroyaznaŭstva". *Lepel'skiia chytanni: matėryialy 6 navukova-praktychnai kanferentsyi*. Minsk: Medysont, 2011, pp. 48–53.
- Plavinski, Mikalai. "Spravzdacha ab arkealogichnykh raskopkakh kurgannaga mogil'nika Kastyki Vileiskaga raėna, kurgannaga mogil'nika Naŭry Miadzel'skaga raėna i razvedkakh na tėrytoryi Miadzel'skaga raėna Minskaï voblastsi ū 2016 godze". File 3450, Tsentral'naga navukovaga arkhiva Natsiianal'noi Akademii Navuk Belarusi, Fond arkealogichnaï navukovai dokumentatsii, Vopis 1.
- Plavinski, Mikalai. *Kurgannyi mogil'nik Pahoshcha: u kantėkstse sinkhronnykh starazhytnastsiaŭ Braslaŭskaga Paazeria*. Minsk: A.M. Ianushkevich, 2017.
- Plavinski, Mikalai. *Slavianskiia pakhaval'nyia pomniki Verkhniaga Pavilla ěpokhi Siarėdniavechcha: matėryialy i dasledavanni*. Minsk: Belaruskaia navuka, 2022.
- Plavinskii, Nikolai. "Kurgannyi mogil'nik Navry v verkhov'iakh Vilii (po materialam raskopok 2012 i 2015 godov)". *Arkheologia i istoria Pskova i Pskovskoi zemli*, 32 (2017), pp. 320–340.
- Plavinskii, Nikolai. "Raskopki kurgannogo nekropolia Navry I v 2017 godu". *Arkheologia i istoria Pskova i Pskovskoi zemli*, 34 (2019), pp. 286–299.
- Profantová, Nad'a. "Die Elite im Spiegel der Kindergräber aus dem 9 : und 10. Jahrhundert in Böhmen". *Die Frühmittelalterliche Elite bei den Völkern des östlichen Mitteleuropas (mit einem speziellen Blick auf die großmährische Problematik)* ed. Pavel Kouřil. Brno: Archäologisches Institut der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Tschechischen Republik, 2005, pp. 313–334.
- Profantová, Nad'a. "Social inequality in the Early Middle Ages in Bohemia: written sources and archaeological record". *Tagungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte Halle 20* (2016), pp. 1–15.
- Sedova, Mariia. *Iuvelirnye izdeliia drevnego Novgoroda (10–15 vv.)*. Moskva: Nauka, 1981.
- Sergeeva, Zoia. *Kurgany Severo-Zapada Polotskoi Zemli*. Moskva: Academia, 1996.

- Shtykhaŭ, Georgii. *Kryvichy: pa materyialakh raskopak kurganoŭ u Paŭnochnaŭ Belarusi*. Minsk: Navuka i teckhnica, 1992.
- Shtykhaŭ, Georgii. *Kurganny mogil'nik Izbishcha-Dzvinasa*. In *Materyialy pa arkheologii Belarusi* 16 (2008).
- Vaitsiakhovich, Andrei. "Asablivastsi pakhaval'naga abrada kurgannaga mogil'nika Biruli (Paréchcha)". *Materyialy pa arkheologii Belarusi*, 15 (2008), pp. 218–235.
- Vaitsiakhovich, Andrei. "Spravazdacha pra arkhealagicznyia dasledavanni kurgannykh mogil'nikaŭ u Minskaŭ i Vitsebskaŭ ablastsiakh u 2012 g.". File 2974, Tsentral'naga navukovaga arkhiva Natsiianal'naŭ Akadēmii Navuk Belarusi, Fond arkhealagichnaŭ navukovai dakumentatsii, Vopis 1.
- Vilka, Aija. "Some aspects of child burials in the Middle and Late Iron Age (5th–12th c.) in the territory of Latvia". *Child and Childhood in the Light of Archaeology* ed. Paulina Romanowicz. Wrocław: Chronicon, 2013, pp. , 113–136.
- Voitekovich, Andrei. *Pogrebal'nyŭ obriad naseleniia Polotskoŭ zemli v 10–12 vv*. Minsk: Belaruskaia navuka, 2019.
- Wawrzenuk, Joanna. "Symbolika jajka w grobie dziecka w okresie wczesnośredniowiecznym". *Funeralia Lednickie* 6 (2004), pp. 143–154.
- Wrzesińska, Anna; Wrzesiński Jacek. "Pochówki dzieci we Wczesnym Średniowieczu na przykładzie cmentarzyska w Dziekanowicach". *Studia Lednickie* 6 (2000), pp. 141–160.
- Zaiats, Iurii. "Sotsial'nye grupy naseleniia Iziaslavlia na stadii formirovaniia i razvitiia goroda (10–11 vv.): po materialam Zaslavskogo kurgannogo mogil'nika". *Gistarychna-arkhealagichny zbornik* 8 (1996), pp. 129–147.
- Zawadska-Antosik, Barbara. "Z problematyki pochówków dziecięcych odkrytych na cmentarzysku w Czekanowie, woj. Siedleckie". *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 48, no 1 (1982), pp. 25–56.

Kai kurie X a. pabaigos – XII a. vaikų įkapių Polocko žemėje bruožai

Viktoryia Makouskaya

Įkapės dažnai leidžia atskleisti visuomenės požiūrį į mirusį asmenį ir jo svarbą visuomenėje. Straipsnyje siekiama išsiaiškinti tam tikrus įkapių, rastų vaikų griautiniuose kapuose, aspektus X–XII a. Polocko žemės pilkapynuose. Taip pat, remiantis įkapėmis, bandoma nustatyti vaikystės ir brendimo tarpsnius.

Ankstyvųjų viduramžių visuomenės narių amžiaus nustatymo tyrimų istorijos kontekste iki šiol buvo vaisingiausi anglosaksų, skandinavų ir baltų-suomių regionai. Visokiausios šių regionų kapų įrengimo tradicijos atliko lemiamą vaidmenį, padėjusį tyrimuose išgauti tikslesnius rezultatus.

Pažymėtina, kad Polocko žemėje vaikų ir suaugusiųjų kapuose rastos įkapės nepasižymi dideliais skirtumais, tačiau nėra žaislų ar vaikų materialinei kultūrai būdingų daiktų. Nedidelių skirtumų, bylojančių apie galimus socialinius skirtumus tarp vaikų ir suaugusiųjų, vis dėlto yra.

Daugumoje vaikų kapų, palyginti su suaugusiųjų, įkapių skaičius yra mažesnis arba jų kokybė yra prastesnė.

Tai ypač aiškiai matyti kapuose su moteriškomis įkapėmis: vėrinuose mažiau karoliukų, rečiau pasitaiko rankų papuošalų. Tikėtina, kad vietos bendruomenės turėjo savitų vaikų laidosenos bruožų ir ypatumų. Dabartiniais duomenimis, tai pirmiausia matyti išsamiausiai tyrinėtame Neries aukštupio regione, kuriame identifiukuota daugiausia vaikų kapų. Iki pat paauglystės berniukų įkapės paprastai skurdesnės arba pasižymi minimaliais skirtumais palyginti su suaugusių vyrų. Mažų vaikų (*infans I*) kapuose maža namų apyvokos daiktų.

Specifinės įkapės, identifiukuojamos kaip rodančios „vaiko“ statusą, yra šios: mažyčiai, antrinio naudojimo papuošalai ir nekokybiškai pagaminti neaiškaus tipo antsmilkiniai. Šių dirbinių daugiausia randama jaunesnių nei 7 m. vaikų kapuose (*infans I*), o vyresnių nei 12 m. jų neaptinkama. Be to, tam tikri dirbiniai rodo vaiko virsmą suaugusiuoju, pavyzdžiui: vyrams dedami ginklai, moterims – apgalviai ir antkaklės. Maždaug 12 m. amžius laikytinas viena iš brendimo stadijų, kurią patvirtina kapų radiniai.