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5

6 THE FIRST DIETARY STABLE ISOTOPE DATA FROM THE ČUNKĀNI-
7 DREŅĢERI IRON AGE POPULATION (SEVENTH – ELEVENTH CENTURIES
8 CE) FROM LATVIA

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15 KEYWORDS: Carbon and nitrogen isotope analysis, Semigallian culture, Viking Age,
16 Gender, Baltic region

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18

19 ABSTRACT

20

21 The main aim of this research was to study diet and possible social stratification in the
22 Iron Age population of Čunkāni-Dreņģeri from Latvia through burial practice and
23 dietary isotope analysis. This research also used previously published comparative
24 dietary isotope data from archaeological populations in Latvia of various periods of
25 time, not only Iron Age, to see if and how Iron Age populations were different.

26

27 Carbon and nitrogen dietary isotope analysis showed that the diet for all groups and
28 individuals (N=29) at Čunkāni-Dreņģeri was largely homogenous, regardless of their
29 gender, or social status as expressed by grave goods. Archaeological evidence for
30 increased social stratification in this population occurs from the 10th – 11th centuries
31 CE, probably in response to changes in trade. Isotopically the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri
32 population was different than the contemporary comparative population from Latvia,
33 indicative of differential subsistence strategies. The mean $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ value in the Čunkāni-
34 Dreņģeri population was the lowest yet observed in Latvia, and the lowest among other
35 archaeological populations from the wider region used in this study, which might be
36 indicative of reliance on animal protein sources with lower $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values, or lower local
37 $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ baseline compared to other regions.

38

39 1. INTRODUCTION

40

41 This research is based on the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri Iron Age cemetery population from
42 Latvia (7th – 11th centuries CE, latitude: 56.4192(56° 25' 09"), longitude: 24.2132(24°
43 12' 47"), Fig. 1). The main aim was to study diet in this population and establish if there
44 were differences between gender groups.

45

46 In this study, although biological sex will be estimated for adult individuals using
47 established osteological methods, gender (male and female, as estimated from grave
48 goods) will be used in all discussions in order to include both adults and non-adults.
49 This strategy does not suggest that there were only two gender categories in the
50 Čunkāni-Dreņģeri population, as gender might have been a more complex concept
51 (Arnold 2006: 138–140; Moen 2019). Likewise, gender as expressed by grave goods

52 might not always correspond to biological sex, although a high degree of correlation
53 has been reported from Danish Iron Age burials (Sellevold et al. 1984). A recent pilot
54 study comparing gender and biological sex as determined by ancient DNA and
55 amelogenin peptide analyses in non-adult individuals from Iron Age cemeteries in
56 Latvia (N=17) also showed complete correlation and demonstrated potential for future
57 research on a larger scale (Kimsis et al. 2023). Gender differences in the Čunkāni-
58 Dreņģeri cemetery might have been expressed through particular grave goods. Grave
59 goods associated with male gender burials in the Semigallian culture were dominated
60 by weapons and included spearheads, battle knives, narrow bladed axes, sometimes
61 horse-riding equipment, drinking horns, and very rarely, a sword. Female gender
62 burials often included tools such as a hoe, a sickle, and an awl. Individuals of both
63 genders were given jewellery items including bronze neck rings, decorative pins,
64 bracelets, brooches, belts, and clothing with bronze decorations (Atgāzis 1994a, 25).
65 For non-adults, the jewellery items were similar, but smaller in size, and no battle
66 weaponry was given, except on rare occasions, miniature versions of battle knives and
67 axes (Atgāzis 1994a, 24 – 26).

68

69 It was also possible to explore dietary differences between people of differential social
70 status, as expressed by grave goods, but only on an individual, rather than population,
71 level. The second half of the Middle Iron Age (7th – 9th century CE), and the Late Iron
72 Age in Latvia (9th – 12th centuries CE) (Vasks, 2018: 28 - 38), partly coincide with the
73 Merovingian period in western and central Europe (550-800 CE), and Viking Age in
74 Northern Europe (CE 750 - 1050, Brink and Price 2008). Archaeological evidence
75 suggests that Baltic ethnic groups who lived in the territory of modern-day Latvia, had

76 access to international trade links during the Viking Age (Vasks 2018), which could
77 have also introduced cultural influence from the wider region.

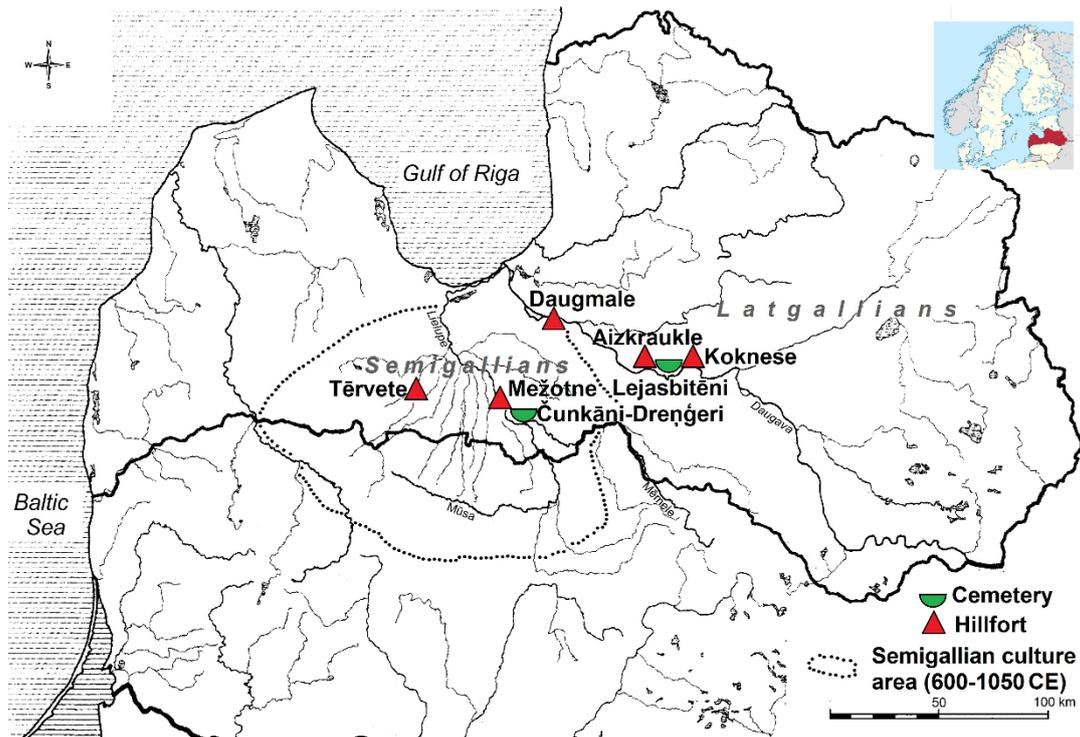
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79 So far, Iron Age populations in Latvia have not been studied in detail, although a
80 number have been excavated in the last 150 years (Vasks 2016). The Čunkāni-Dreņģeri
81 population is only the second from Iron Age Latvia to be subjected to dietary isotope
82 (carbon and nitrogen) analysis, the first being the Latgallian Lejasbitēni population
83 (Fig. 1). Dietary analysis of the Lejasbitēni population revealed significant differences
84 in terms of the proportion and/or source of animal protein in childhood diet between
85 people of male and female gender (Fig. 4). These differences were consistent with
86 changes in burial ritual with the advance of the Viking Age from the 9th century CE
87 onwards (Pētersone-Gordina et al. 2022). Considering that the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri
88 cemetery is largely contemporaneous with Lejasbitēni, our hypothesis was that
89 archaeological and dietary analysis of the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri population would reveal
90 similar trends.

91

92 We also hypothesised that individuals with higher social status had diet richer in animal
93 protein, although no correlation was found between childhood diet and adult status in
94 the Lejasbitēni population, probably due to a small sample size (Pētersone-Gordina et
95 al. 2022).

96



97

98

99 **Fig. 1** Map of Latvia showing the Semigallian cultural area during the Iron Age (CE
 100 600-1050) (Vaškevičiūtė 2004, Fig. 1), the Iron Age cemeteries of Čunkāni-Dreņģeri
 101 and Lejasbitēni, and the sites with comparative faunal data used in this study. The map
 102 in the upper right corner shows the geographic location of Latvia.

103

104 In the study of Iron Age populations from Latvia, grave goods have also traditionally
 105 been used to interpret the social status of an individual, applying qualitative and
 106 quantitative methods of analysis (Šnē 2002, 247 – 274; Radiņš 1999, 131 – 133). In
 107 Semigallian male gender burials from the 8th – 9th centuries CE, the number of
 108 spearheads might have been linked to their social status. It is common to find two
 109 spearheads, while one is less common, but three to five are very rare. One spearhead
 110 might have been linked to young or old age or point to low social status of the
 111 individual. In contrast, the presence of five spearheads might have represented high
 112 social status, material wealth, or military success (Atgāzis 1994a, 25). Three and more

113 spearheads have been found in several 7th – 9th century Semigallian cemeteries,
114 including in the territory of modern Lithuania (Atgāzis 1994b, 36). In the Čunkāni-
115 Dreņģeri cemetery, 66.3% of male gender burials (N=57) had one spearhead, while
116 24.4% of burials (N=21) had two, 5.8% (N=5) had three, but five spearheads were only
117 present in 3.6% of male gender burials (N=3).

118

119 1.1 The use of carbon and nitrogen isotope analysis in studying the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri 120 cemetery population

121

122 A small proportion of the burials from this cemetery were subjected to carbon and
123 nitrogen stable isotope analysis. The main objective of dietary isotope analysis in this
124 population was to find out if there were intra-cemetery differences between people of
125 different age, gender, and social status, as expressed by grave goods, and if this
126 population was isotopically different from other cemetery populations in Latvia. The
127 basic principles of this analysis are explained below. This research will also provide
128 much needed comparative Baltic Iron Age dietary isotope data, because to date, few
129 such data have been published (Bliujienė et al. 2020, Coccozza et al. 2022, Etu-Sihvola
130 et al. 2019, Simčienka et al. 2022), resulting in a regional gap in knowledge.

131

132 Carbon stable isotope ($\delta^{13}\text{C}$) analysis is mainly used in archaeological studies to
133 distinguish between C₃ plant-based terrestrial diets, C₄ plant-based terrestrial, or marine
134 diets, or a mix of these (Ambrose and Norr 1993). For fully terrestrial human diets with
135 the inclusion of animal protein the main signature is provided by the fauna (Fernandes
136 et al. 2012) and will depend on whether the animals feed on plants with different
137 photosynthetic pathways (C₃ and C₄), rather than from humans directly consuming

138 these plant resources. $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values of marine resources overlap with those of C_4 plants,
139 which are between -5.0‰ and -17.0‰ (Ambrose and Norr 1993). One type of C_4 crop,
140 millet, was widely grown in Eastern Europe since the 2nd millennium BCE (Filipović
141 et al. 2020), where it has yielded $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values between -11‰ and -9‰ (Antanaitis and
142 Ogrinc 2000; Filipović et al. 2020; Mueller-Bieniek et al. 2019). In Latvia, the oldest
143 site with evidence for millet found so far is the late Bronze Age - early Iron Age
144 Ķivutkalns hillfort (Fig. 7), and its possible use in diet has been reported from two
145 Bronze Age and early Iron Age cemetery populations in Latvia (Vasks and Zariņa 2014,
146 Legzdiņa et al. 2020). Most archaeological evidence for millet from Latvian sites was
147 found in the late Iron Age layers in the Tērvete and Koknese hillforts (Rasiņš and
148 Tauriņa 1983, 154, Fig. 1).

149

150 In the brackish waters of the Baltic Sea, $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values can be lower than in the ocean,
151 resulting in lower values for the animals and humans consuming these resources. For
152 example, at the Neolithic Västerbjers site on the island of Gotland, Sweden, the mean
153 value of the human population, which was highly dependent on Baltic Sea seals, was -
154 $14.8 \pm 0.6\text{‰}$ (Eriksson 2004), while in Later Viking Age and Early Christian
155 populations from the island, with an estimated 50% marine dietary contribution, the
156 mean $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ value was $-17.3 \pm 1.2\text{‰}$ (Kosiba et al. 2007).

157

158 The detection of freshwater resources using carbon stable isotope analysis can be
159 challenging. The global average $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ value of freshwater resources has traditionally
160 been accepted to be close to those of C_3 plants, around -27.0‰ (Dufour et al. 1999;
161 Katzenberg and Weber 1999). Recent research has shown, however, that isotopic
162 compositions in freshwater environments can be extremely variable (up to 30‰ , Guiry

163 2019), and in support of this, much higher values have been reported from freshwater
164 fish in Finland (Etu-Sihvola et al. 2022), Lithuania (Simčenka et al. 2022), and Latvia
165 (Gunnarsone et al. 2020). Accordingly, if the diet of a population included a variety of
166 terrestrial and freshwater resources, an overlap is expected (Webb et al. 2015).

167

168 Stable nitrogen isotope analysis reflects dietary protein. Protein can be obtained from
169 plants, animals, and secondary animal products such as milk (Chisholm et al. 1982;
170 Hedges et al. 2004). $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values of different organisms generally reflect their trophic
171 level, from primary producers (plants) to apex predators; in human archaeological
172 remains, stable nitrogen analysis is used to gain information about the consumption of
173 ^{15}N -enriched or depleted food sources (Hedges and Reynard 2007). The offset between
174 the source and the consumer (for example, fauna-human) has been calculated to be
175 between 2–6 ‰, based on previous studies (Hedges and Reynard 2007, Fernandes
176 2016). The presence of marine and freshwater resources in a diet will be expressed in
177 higher $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values in human bone collagen samples, as fish can have substantially
178 higher $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values compared to terrestrial resources (Katzenberg 1989; 2008, 426).

179

180 Apart from diet, a significant rise in $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values can also be caused by physiological
181 factors such as breastfeeding, whereby the child's $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values rise one trophic level
182 above the person breastfeeding them (Fogel et al. 1989); nutritional stress (Steele and
183 Daniel 1978, Fuller et al. 2005, Beaumont and Montgomery 2016), and possible
184 physiological stress *in utero* (Beaumont et al. 2015).

185

186 1.2 Subsistence strategies at Čunkāni-Dreņģeri, based on archaeological evidence, and
187 previously obtained isotope data from contemporary faunal remains

188

189 The main mode of subsistence of the Iron Age Semigallians, as well as other cultures
190 in the region, was farming, as suggested by the fact that 80 - 90% of all faunal remains
191 found in the known settlement sites, mainly hillforts, are from domestic livestock
192 (Apals and Mugurēvičš 2001; Atgāzis 2001). Regional differences in farming strategies
193 were expressed in the preferred domestic livestock species. For example,
194 archaeological data from the hillforts of Tērvete and Mežotne suggest that during the
195 9th – 12th centuries CE cattle was the dominant species in these Semigallian settlements.
196 From smaller animals, pigs were preferred to sheep and goats (Atgāzis 2001). This is
197 in contrast to Latgallian hillforts near Daugava, where pigs were the dominant species,
198 followed by sheep and goats, and to a lesser extent, cattle (Mugurēvičš 1977, 89 – 90).

199

200 With regard to the crops grown in the fields, archaeological evidence has been found
201 for barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), wheat (*Triticum sp.*), oats (*Avena sativa*), rye (*Secale*
202 *cereale*), broad beans (*Faba bona*), peas (*Pisum sativum*), flax (*Linium usitatissimum*),
203 millet (*Panicum millacuem*), and turnips (*Brassica campestris*) (Rasiņš and Tauriņa
204 1983).

205

206 The location of the cemetery close to the river Mēmele suggests that the people from
207 the Čunkāni – Dreņģeri population also had access to freshwater resources. Fish bones
208 have been analysed from the Semigallian hillfort of Tērvete, obtained during
209 archaeological excavations in 1954-55. These relate to the late Iron Age, which is
210 slightly more recent than the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri cemetery and include 17 species in
211 total. Most fish are believed to have been caught in the nearby Tērvete river, such as
212 bream (*Abramis brama*) and pike (*Esox lucius*), but there was also evidence for

213 migratory fish such as salmon (*Salmo salar*) and common whitefish (*Coregonus*
214 *lavaretus*), which mainly live in the sea, but migrate into the rivers to spawn in the
215 autumn. Two species of marine fish were also found, Atlantic herring (*Clupea*
216 *harengus*), and Atlantic cod (*Gadus morhua*). These fish were most likely caught in the
217 North Sea and preserved in salt or dried, which allowed their transportation to inland
218 locations via trade routes (Sloka 1986, 131 – 134). These two species of marine fish
219 have also been found in settlements and hillforts in the lower reaches of River Daugava
220 (Sloka 1979). It is worth mentioning that the date of these fish in Tērvete coincides with
221 the so-called “fish event horizon” in Europe in the 11th – 12th centuries CE, whereby
222 cured Atlantic cod and herring rapidly began to dominate the growing long-distance
223 fish trade (Barrett et al. 2004).

224

225 Based on archaeological evidence, it is likely that diet in the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri
226 population will include terrestrial resources comprising both, C₃ and C₄ plants,
227 domestic livestock, and probably also freshwater and marine resources, although the
228 proportions of these food sources are currently unclear.

229

230 There is no comparative archaeological faunal carbon and nitrogen isotope data from
231 the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri cemetery, or indeed from the Semigallian cultural area, which
232 partly extended into the present-day territory of Lithuania (Fig. 1), and it is therefore
233 difficult to establish an isotopic baseline in the human population. This lack of samples
234 has two main reasons, poor preservation, and the practice of discarding all faunal
235 remains obtained during past excavations after the identification of species. Instead,
236 previously acquired mean faunal isotope values from two contemporary hillforts in
237 other regions, Daugmale, and Aizkraukle (Gunnarsone et al. 2020, Fig. 1), and the

238 Latgallian Lejasbitēni human population (Pētersone-Gordina et al. 2022, Fig. 1), will
239 be used for comparison.

240

241 As a part of this study, previously published comparative isotope data were also
242 gathered from most other cemetery populations of Latvia which have been subject to
243 dietary isotope analysis from various periods, from Stone Age to post-medieval period.
244 This was done to investigate if and how diet in Iron Age populations was different than
245 in other prehistoric and historical populations.

246

247 2. MATERIAL

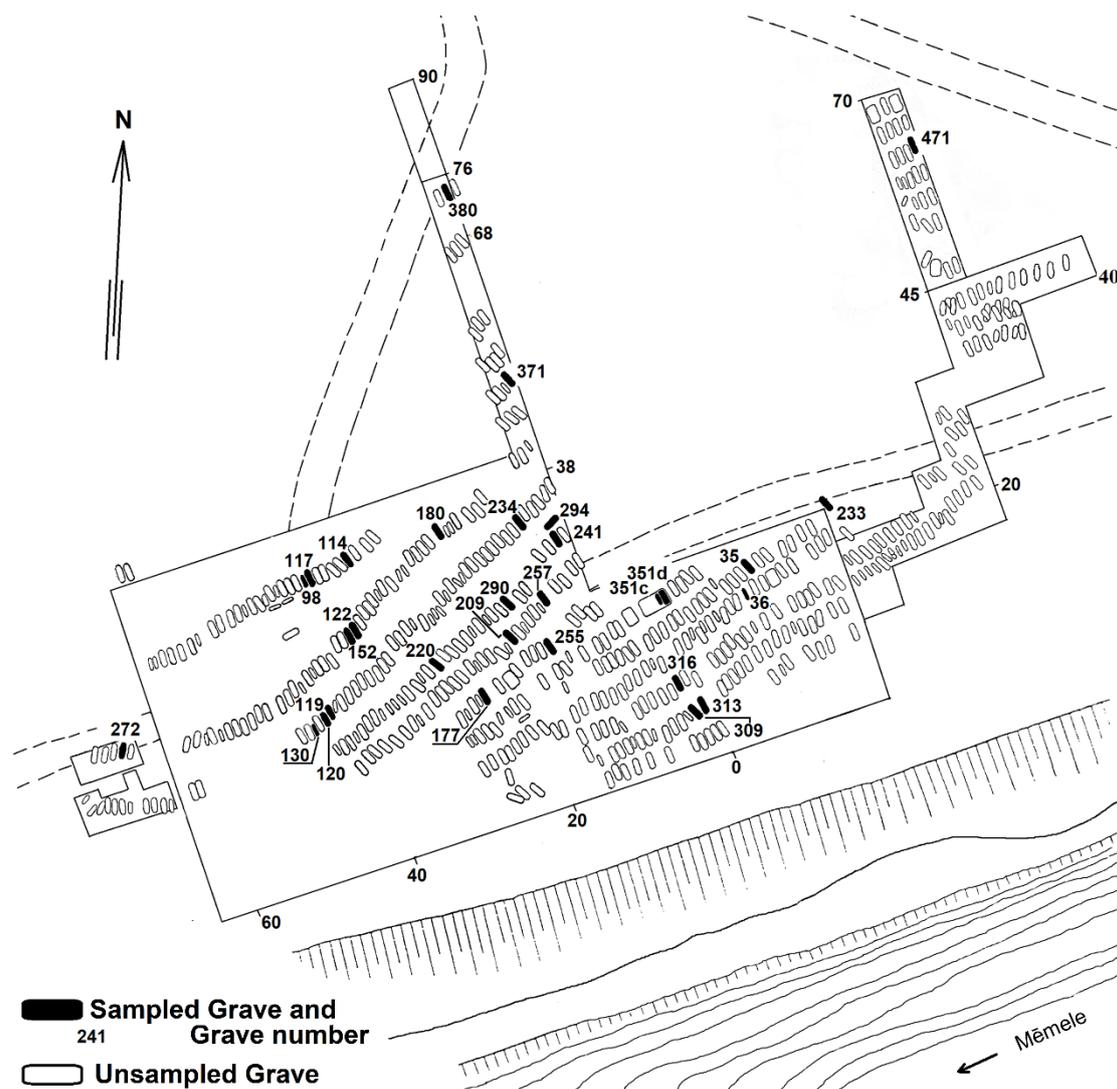
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249 The Čunkāni-Dreņģeri Iron Age cemetery was located on the right bank of River
250 Mēmele, approximately 2 km from the merging of Mēmele and Mūsa, which at that
251 point form one of the biggest rivers in Latvia, River Lielupe (Fig. 1). The burials were
252 located in fluvial Terraces II and III of the river and cover approximately 9 ha in total.
253 Since 1924, 743 burials have been uncovered during archaeological excavations
254 (Atgāzis 1994a; Lūsēns 2012) and these date from the Iron Age of the Semigallian
255 culture (7th – 11th centuries CE) according to grave goods and radiocarbon dates (Table
256 1S, Supplementary Information A). The cemetery has not been fully excavated, and its
257 area has been considerably disturbed by modern agricultural activity. Likewise, many
258 burials were looted in antiquity.

259

260 The burials were in dense rows, which was common in Semigallian cemeteries from
261 the same period. Burial depth was between 30 and 90 cm, and the distance between
262 burials in the same row was from 10 to 15 cm. The rows were gradually filled with

263 burials from the central part of the cemetery towards the outside edges. There were 18
264 rows of burials in Terrace II (Fig. 2), which were organised parallel to each other in an
265 elliptical form, but in Terrace III there were 11 rows organised in a half circle (Atgāzis
266 1994a, 29). This suggests that there was no particular orientation of the burials either
267 in general, or between male and female individuals, in contrast to Latgallian cemeteries
268 dating from the 8th – 9th centuries CE, where opposite burial orientation was observed
269 for male and female gender individuals (Atgāzis 1994a, 30). Archaeologists have
270 suggested that each row may have contained members of the same family (Atgāzis
271 2001, 281), but this possibility has not yet been explored by scientific analysis such as
272 aDNA.
273



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Fig. 2 Plan of Terrace II burials at the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri cemetery, showing burials sampled for isotope analysis (filled in black), redrawn and supplemented by A. Vilcāne from Atgāzis (2001, 273; Figure 194)

The skeletal remains from burials located in the fluvial Terrace III of Mēmele had been practically completely eroded by the clay soil. Human bone had survived well in Terrace II burials thanks to gravel and dolomite which dominate the soil there. In total, 533 burials were recovered from Terrace II, and the preservation of bones allowed for bioarchaeological and biochemical (stable isotope analysis and radiocarbon dating)

284 analyses. Of these, 35 burials could not be assigned an age (adult or non-adult) or
285 gender, therefore these were not included in the current research.

286

287 Regardless of the considerable damage to the cemetery a wide range of grave goods
288 have been obtained, providing a valuable tool for studying the Semigallian culture. This
289 material has not yet been studied in detail and published, but it is curated at the National
290 History Museum of Latvia. The documentation and the skeletal material from the
291 excavations is stored at the Repository of Archaeological Material, and the Repository
292 of Bioarchaeological Material, Institute of Latvian History, University of Latvia,
293 respectively.

294

295 The number of burials selected for dietary analysis (N=29) was dependent on the
296 allocated funding within this project, therefore the sampling strategy targeted burials
297 representing different age (adult and non-adult) and gender groups from various areas
298 of the cemetery, giving preference to those with good bone preservation and with no,
299 or minimal, evidence for disturbance. Although rib was the preferred sample type
300 (N=18), it was not possible for all burials due to differential preservation, and other
301 bones had to be selected, including skull (N=6), scapula (N=2), and one each a maxilla,
302 a hand phalanx, and a clavicle. Mixing of samples might skew individual isotope values
303 due to differential rates of bone remodelling, especially between the skull and other
304 bones of the skeleton, but it is unlikely to be significant on a population level (Fahy et
305 al. 2017). All sampled burials are shown in Fig. 2.

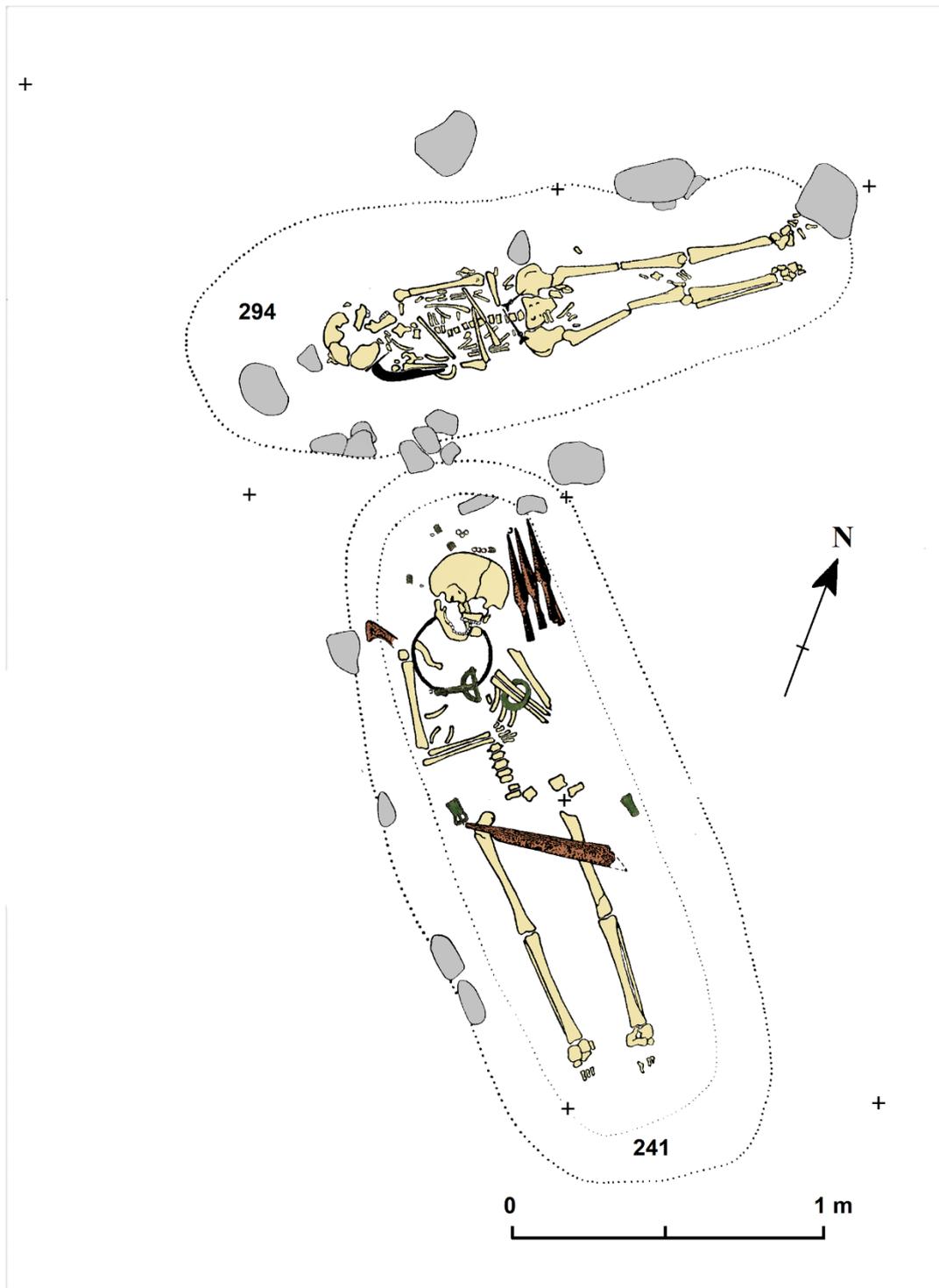
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307 To study if social status was related to diet, samples were also taken from burials of
308 differential social status, as expressed by grave goods. As discussed above, for male

309 gender burials, higher status might have been expressed by more spearheads in the
310 grave. For this reason, four male individuals with three and more spearheads were
311 selected for dietary isotope analysis (Burials 117 and 220 with three spearheads and
312 burials 209 and 241 with five spearheads). With regard to female individuals, the
313 selection of burials with potentially higher social status was difficult because many
314 had been disturbed by grave robbers, who likely had removed any artefacts regarded
315 as valuable. Despite these limitations, female gender Burial 316 was one of the most
316 richly decorated in the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri cemetery and was selected as potentially
317 representative of high social status.

318

319 Three archaeological outliers were also selected to see if the differences in terms of
320 burial ritual, and/or the grave goods given, were expressed in differential diets during
321 lifetime. Female gender Burial 294 (aged 30-35 years) contained few artefacts and was
322 buried perpendicularly to the richly decorated Burial 241 of a male gender individual
323 with five spearheads, mentioned above (aged over 40 years, Fig. 3). Burial 471, a non-
324 adult individual was regarded as an archaeological outlier because their grave inventory
325 contained a heavy narrow-bladed axe, which is a rare item among Semigallian non-
326 adult burials dating from the 7th – 9th centuries CE, but more common in contemporary
327 Latgallian burials, including in the Lejasbitēni cemetery (Atgāzis 2019, 133).



328

329 **Fig. 3** The plan of Burials 241 and 294 from the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri cemetery, redrawn
 330 by A. Vilcāne from Atgāzis (1994b, 31; Figure 2)

331

332 3. METHODS

333

334 3.1 Estimation of sex, gender, and age

335

336 Gender was estimated in adult and non-adult individuals based on grave inventory
337 (weapons, tools, jewellery, etc.). Despite the large number of disturbed burials, most
338 adult individuals could also have their biological sex estimated based on the
339 morphology of the pelvis and skull, and their skeletal age estimated based on age-
340 related changes in the pelvis and other skeletal elements (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994,
341 16-26). Age in non-adult individuals was based on tooth development stages
342 (AlQahtani et al. 2010), or long bone length, where dentition was not observable
343 (Fazekas and Kósa 1978; Maresh 1970).

344

345 The chronology of the burials was determined based on grave goods, as well as
346 radiocarbon dating (^{14}C), carried out at the Poznan Radiocarbon Laboratory
347 (Supplementary Information A). Most burials which had been selected for isotope
348 analysis had been archaeologically dated to the 7th – 9th centuries CE (N=21), five dated
349 from the 9th – 10th centuries CE, and just three were from the 10th – 11th centuries CE
350 (Table 4). Sample selection for radiocarbon dating was carried out simultaneously with
351 sample selection for isotope analysis (see below), and was based on the allocated
352 budget, the location of burials, and archaeological information, so as to obtain a wide
353 range of dates.

354

355 3.2 Assessment of social status

356

357 Identifying social status in life through grave goods in the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri cemetery
358 was difficult because of the high number of disturbed and robbed burials, and therefore

359 studying any differences between people of varying social status was only possible on
360 an individual level. To achieve this, grave goods were used as an indicator of social
361 status, with an understanding that these items might not have necessarily belonged to
362 the deceased during their lifetime but were instead given to them as a part of the burial
363 ritual. Moreover, it is possible that only particular types of grave goods can be regarded
364 as representative of an individual's social status (Carr 1995), and this might have been
365 true for the number of spearheads in Semigallian male burials, as mentioned in Section
366 1.

367

368 3.3 Carbon and nitrogen stable isotope analysis

369

370 Details of sample preparation and analysis are provided in Supplementary Information
371 B. Calibration using internal reference samples (e.g., Glutamic Acid, Glycine, SPAR
372 and Urea) and international reference standards (e.g., USGS 24, USGS 40, IAEA 600,
373 IAEA N1, IAEA N2) determined a standard deviation of $\pm 0.1\%$ (1σ) for collagen
374 carbon and nitrogen isotopes.

375

376 4. RESULTS

377

378 4.1 Results of osteological and archaeological analysis

379

380 Out of 533 burials, 498 could be used for osteological and archaeological analysis.
381 There were 355 adults (71.29%) and 143 non-adults (28.71%), but no children aged
382 younger than 1.5 – 2 years. The lack of very young children in this cemetery is likely
383 to be the result of burial traditions in Iron Age cemeteries, whereby not all individuals

384 were buried in cemeteries (Gerhards 2002), rather than mortality patterns in this age
 385 group (osteological paradox, DeWitte and Stojanowski 2015). Biological sex could be
 386 estimated in about 70% of adult individuals. The results for gender and age estimation
 387 are summarised in Table 1. Non-adult age groups are summarised in Table 2. For a
 388 number of adult and non-adult burials, gender could not be determined due to a lack of
 389 grave goods, either because of grave robbing, or simply because few grave goods were
 390 given at burial. This was particularly the case for non-adults, who, unlike adults, were
 391 less frequently buried with tools (for female gender burials), and were very rarely given
 392 weapons, or their miniature forms (for male gender burials). For this reason, the real
 393 differences in the proportion of male and female gender non-adult burials might not
 394 have been as considerable as shown in Table 1.

395

396 Table 1 Distribution of male and female gender groups by age (adult and non-adult), in
 397 the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri cemetery

Adults	N	%
Male gender	155	31.12
Female gender	138	27.71
Unknown gender	62	12.45
Non-adults	N	%
Male gender	37	7.43
Female gender	62	12.45
Unknown	44	8.84
Total	533	100

398

399

400 Table 2 Non-adult age groups in the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri cemetery

Age group (years)	Male gender	Female gender	Unknown gender	Total
0 - 1	0	0	0	0
1 - 4	11	14	15	40
5 - 9	10	17	11	38
10 - 14	9	10	8	27

15 - 19	6	11	6	23
Unknown age	1	10	4	15
Total	37	62	44	137

401

402 Radiocarbon dates of the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri cemetery are in agreement with the
403 typology of artefacts and generally support the chronology of the site, suggesting that
404 the cemetery was used from the middle of the 7th century until the middle of the 11th
405 century cal. CE (Table S1, Supplementary Information A).

406

407 4.2 Dietary isotope results

408

409 Quality control parameters for the collagen analysed were all good, with %C, %N and
410 C:N ratio all falling within the ranges suggested by van Klinken (1999) and Guiry and
411 Szpak (2021).

412

413 In this population, the range of $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values within two standard deviations of the mean
414 was between 7.4 ‰ and 10.1 ‰, and $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values between -21.4 ‰ and -20.4 ‰ (Table
415 3, Fig. 4). Four outliers were determined, based on their $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ or $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values exceeding
416 two standard deviations of the mean, and these were Burials 98 ($\delta^{13}\text{C}$ value -19.96),
417 and 177, 233, and 471 ($\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values 10.87, 11.20, and 12.15, respectively, Fig. 4 and
418 Supplementary Fig. 1S). All isotopic outliers were of male gender. The minimum,
419 maximum, and mean values are summarised in Table 4, and the distribution is shown
420 in Fig. 1S.

421

422 Table 3 Sampled individuals from the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri cemetery (N=29), sample
423 types, and results of carbon and nitrogen stable isotope analysis

Burial #	Gender	Sex	Age	Sample type	%N	$\delta^{15}\text{N}$	%C	$\delta^{13}\text{C}$	C:N atomic	Chronology centuries CE
----------	--------	-----	-----	-------------	----	-----------------------	----	-----------------------	------------	-------------------------

180	F	?	>20	Rib	16.08	7.43	43.84	-21.00	3.2	8th
234	F	F	20-25	Rib	16.32	8.40	45.20	-20.92	3.2	7th – 8th
255	F	F	>30	Rib	16.94	8.82	46.87	-20.68	3.2	9th
272	F	?	>30	Scapula	16.34	8.85	45.31	-21.28	3.2	8th – 9th
290	F	F	20-25	Rib	16.80	8.64	45.84	-20.54	3.2	8th
294	F	F	30-35	Rib	15.76	8.30	43.77	-20.69	3.2	7th – 8th*
316	F	F	40-50	Rib	16.27	9.70	45.42	-20.99	3.3	9th – 10th*
371	F	F	25-30	Rib	16.21	7.95	45.93	-21.04	3.3	7th – 8th
36	F	?	10-12	Rib	16.42	8.68	45.23	-20.99	3.2	10th – 11th
114	F?	?	12-13	Rib	16.44	8.35	44.68	-20.59	3.2	7th – 8th
120	F	?	6-7	Maxilla	16.31	7.94	44.56	-20.81	3.2	8th – 9th
152	F	?	12-15	Rib	16.38	8.48	45.12	-21.27	3.2	8th
117	M	M	40-50	Skull	14.37	7.68	39.70	-20.84	3.2	8th
122	M	M	45-55	Rib	16.46	8.50	45.39	-21.21	3.2	8th
177	M	M	50-60	Skull	16.51	10.87	45.54	-21.26	3.2	8th – 9th
209	M	M	35-40	Rib	16.75	8.27	44.77	-20.82	3.1	8th – 9th
220	M	M	>30	Hand phalanx	16.34	9.12	44.76	-20.79	3.2	8th – 9th
233	M	M	45-50	Rib	16.47	11.20	43.76	-20.63	3.1	9th – 10th
241	M	M	>40	Rib	16.14	8.37	45.52	-20.94	3.3	7th – 8th*
309	M	M	35-45	Scapula	16.92	9.13	46.51	-20.91	3.2	10th – 11th
313	M	M	>30	Clavicle	17.02	8.78	47.08	-21.37	3.2	10th – 11th
351c	M	M	45-55	Rib	16.27	9.06	44.96	-20.88	3.2	9th – 10th
380	M	M	>30	Skull	16.83	8.93	46.44	-20.70	3.2	7th*
35	M	?	13-14	Rib	15.58	7.62	42.49	-21.13	3.2	9th – 10th
98	M	?	5-6	Skull	16.17	10.14	44.23	-19.96	3.2	8th
119	M	?	7-8	Rib	16.66	8.21	45.92	-20.56	3.2	8th – 9th
130	M	?	5-6	Rib	16.54	9.46	45.12	-20.43	3.2	8th – 9th
351d	M	?	13-14	Skull	15.88	8.80	43.68	-21.09	3.2	9th – 10th*
471	M	?	7-9	Skull	16.49	12.15	45.65	-20.63	3.2	8th – 9th

424 M-male, F-female; *dated by ¹⁴C

425

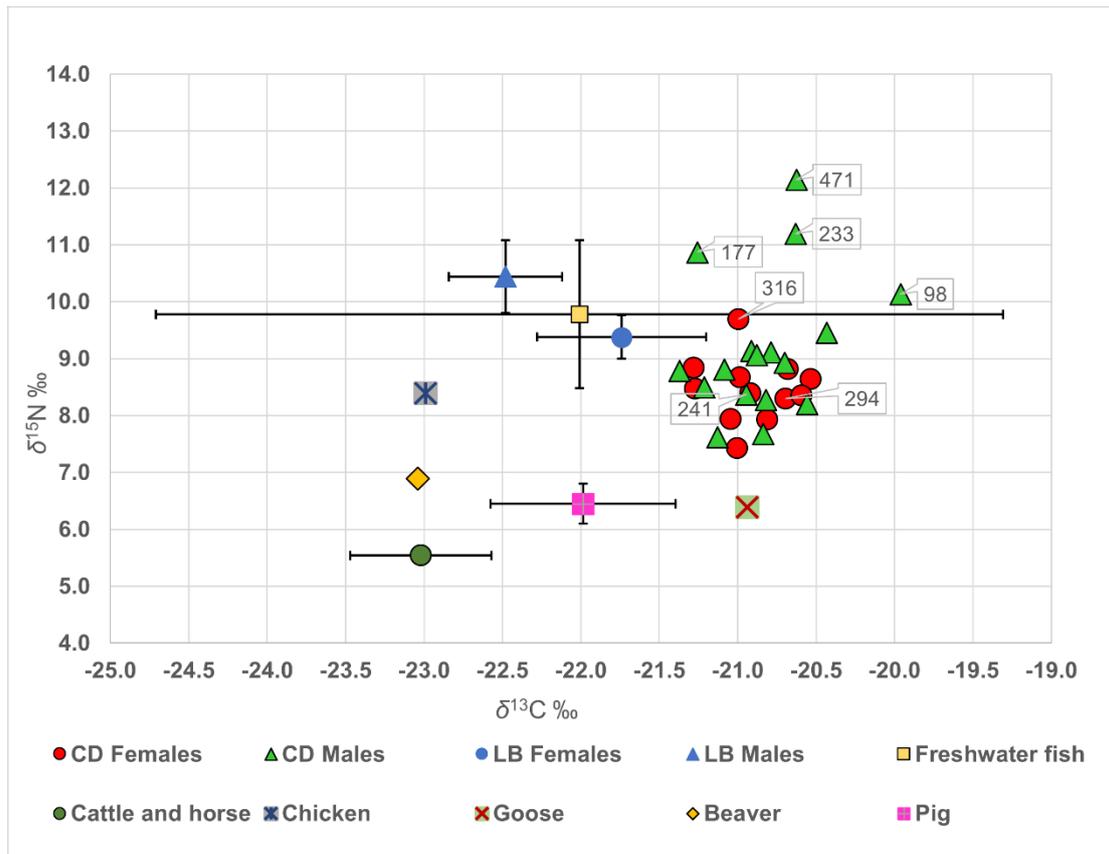
426 Table 4 Summary of minimum and maximum $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ and $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values in males and

427 females from the Ćunkāni-Dreņģeri cemetery, by gender

Gender	$\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values ‰				$\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values ‰			
	Min (burial)	Max (burial)	Mean	SD	Min (burial)	Max (burial)	Mean	SD
F	7.43 (180)	9.70 (316)	8.46	0.57	-21.28 (272)	-20.54 (290)	-20.90	0.24
M	7.62 (35)	12.15 (471)	9.19	1.24	-21.37 (313)	-19.96 (98)	-20.83	0.34
Overall	7.43 (180)	12.15 (471)	8.89	1.07	-21.37 (313)	-19.96 (98)	-20.86	0.30

428

429



430

431 **Fig. 4** $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ and $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values in the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri male (N=17) and female (N=12)
432 gender individuals, showing the four male gender outliers with their burial numbers,
433 the richly decorated female burial 316, as well as the perpendicular male and female
434 burials discussed above (241 and 294), against mean Lejasbitēni human values (LB
435 males, N=14, LB females, N=15, from Pētersone-Gordina et al. 2022), and faunal
436 values, showing 1SD of the mean for human values, and faunal values with more than
437 one sample (cattle and horse, N=2, respectively; domestic pig, N=2; freshwater fish,
438 N=13, from Gunnarsone et al. 2020)

439

440 Due to the small sample sizes, statistical analysis of the isotope results was performed
441 with the non-parametric Mann-Whitney test, using Vassar stats Website for Statistical

442 Computation ([Lowry 1998-2023](#)). This tests a null hypothesis of no difference in
443 median values between two samples.

444

445 $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values were not significantly different between male (N=17) and female (N=12)
446 gender individuals (U=63, z=1.7, p=0.0891, difference in medians 0.5 ‰, Fig. 4). There
447 were also no significant differences in $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values between adults (N=11) and non-
448 adults (N=6) of male gender (U=35, z=-0.15, p=0.8808, difference in medians 0.2 ‰)
449 or female gender (N=8 and N=4, respectively; U=13, lower limit 4, upper limit 26,
450 difference in medians 0.1 ‰). When analysed by age group, the higher $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values in
451 male gender children (N=6) were not significant compared to those in female gender
452 (N=4) children (U=7, lower limit 2, upper limit 22, difference in medians 0.7 ‰).
453 Likewise, there were no significant differences in $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values between the male and
454 female gender groups (U=91, z=0.46, p=0.6455, difference in medians 0.1 ‰), as well
455 as between female (U=16.5, lower limit 4, upper limit 28, difference in medians 0.1 ‰)
456 and male gender adults and children (U=49.5, z=-1.61, p=0.1074, difference in medians
457 0.2 ‰).

458

459 When compared to the Lejasbitēni Iron Age population (N=29, male gender N=14,
460 female gender N=15), it emerged that the population of Čunkāni-Dreņģeri was
461 isotopically significantly different by both, $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ and $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values (Fig. 4, overall $\delta^{15}\text{N}$
462 values U=145, z=4.28, p=<.0001, difference in medians 1.0 ‰; overall $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values
463 U=841, z=-6.53, p=<.0001, difference in medians 1.8 ‰). The differences in gender
464 groups between both populations were also statistically significant (female $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values
465 U=18, z=3.37, p=0.0004, difference in medians 0.9 ‰; $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values U=168, z=-4.29,
466 p=<.0001, difference in medians 0.9 ‰; male $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values U=196, z=-3.04, p=0.0012,

467 difference in medians 1.2 ‰, $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values $U=0$, $z=4.7$, $p<.0001$, difference in medians
468 1.6 ‰), indicative of overall higher $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and lower $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values at Čunkāni-Dreņģeri.

469

470 5. DISCUSSION

471

472 5.1 Subsistence strategies at Čunkāni-Dreņģeri

473

474 On a population level, subsistence strategies as expressed in dietary isotope values point
475 to a mainly terrestrial C_3 food-chain diet in this population, while the presence of
476 freshwater resources is currently unclear. The mean $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ value at Čunkāni-Dreņģeri (-
477 20.86 ‰) was comparable to other regional archaeological sites with mainly C_3 food-
478 chain diets, including Alytus in Lithuania (N=73, 14th – 18th centuries CE, -20.08 ‰
479 ± 0.26 , Whitmore et al. 2019) and western Lithuania (N=3, 3rd – 5th centuries CE, -20.6
480 ‰ ± 0.4 , Bliujienė et al. 2020). The mean $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values for these sites were higher than
481 at Čunkāni-Dreņģeri (8.89 ‰), indicating a more ^{15}N -rich animal protein source (10.29
482 ‰ and 11.0 ‰, respectively).

483

484 In archaeological sites from the wider region where either freshwater or marine, or both
485 sources were included in the diet, mean $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values were still indicative of mainly
486 terrestrial C_3 foodchain diets, and thus broadly comparable to Čunkāni-Dreņģeri, but
487 the mean $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values were all considerably higher, again indicating more ^{15}N -rich
488 animal protein sources. These sites included Estonian Kaberla (N=29, 12th – 16th
489 centuries CE, -19.8 ‰ ± 0.3 ; 10.4 ‰ ± 0.8), St Barbara (N=30, 12th – 16th centuries CE,
490 -20.0 ‰ ± 0.6 ; 11.2 ‰ ± 1.0 , both sites Agurauja-Lätti and Lõugas 2019), and Kukruse
491 (N=30, 12th -13th centuries CE, -20.83 ‰ ± 0.3 ; 10.45 ‰ ± 1.0 , Oras et al. 2018).

492 Although slightly further geographically, the same was true for the Finnish site of
493 Luistari (N=54, 7th – 11th centuries CE, -20.1 ‰ ±0.5; 13.2 ‰ ±0.9, Etu-Sihvola et al.
494 2022), and the Swedish Viking Age and medieval sites of Birka (N=19, 8th – 9th
495 centuries CE, -20.0 ‰ ±0.6; 13.6 ‰ ±1.1, Linderholm et al. 2008) and Sigtuna (N=76,
496 12th – 14th centuries CE, -21.06 ‰ ±0.4; 12.33 ‰ ±1.0, Kjellström et al. 2009).

497

498 On an individual level, diet at Čunkāni-Dreņģeri might have been different for the four
499 male gender isotopic outliers who had higher $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ and/or $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values (Fig. 4). The
500 differences might have included a different source of animal protein, aquatic resources
501 (including marine), and possibly, millet for Burial 98. A non-local origin for these
502 individuals is also possible. On the other hand, it has to be taken into account that the
503 statistical method used to identify isotopic outliers in this research ($\pm 2\text{SD}$) can result in
504 a higher proportion of outliers because of the small sample size (Lightfoot et al. 2016,
505 Seo 2006).

506

507

508 5.2 Access to resources between individuals of higher and lower social status, as
509 expressed by grave goods

510

511 Although the sample size was small, dietary isotope analysis shows that there were no
512 significant differences between gender groups, age groups, or individuals with
513 differential social status, rejecting the hypotheses of this study. This was especially true
514 when comparing the male gender burials with differences in the number of spearheads
515 given as grave goods. Indeed, individuals from Burials 209 and 241 (Fig. 5) with five
516 spearheads were within the range of both $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ and $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values (8.27 ‰ and -20.82 ‰,

517 and 8.37 ‰ and -20.82 ‰, respectively). The same was true for the two burials with
518 three spearheads, although they did show comparatively higher $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values (Burial 220,
519 9.12 ‰ and -20.79 ‰, and Burial 117, 7.68 ‰ and -20.84 ‰). The lack of significant
520 differences between these burial types is interpreted as a lack of social differentiation
521 in diet, based on the currently available evidence. This suggests that while the number
522 of spearheads in burials might have expressed differential social status in life, this
523 difference had no effect on diet in the tested individuals. Likewise, the $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ value of
524 the female individual from the richly furnished Burial 316 (an old middle adult, 9.70
525 ‰ and -20.99 ‰) was 0.77 ‰ higher than the second highest female value, 8.93 ‰,
526 but the difference was not big enough to make this burial an isotopic outlier.
527



528

529 **Fig. 5** Grave inventory of male gender Burial 241 from the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri cemetery.

530 Numbers 1, 6 – clothing decorations; 2-4 jewellery (bronze neck ring, cross-bow

531 brooch, arm band); 5,7- bronze belt buckle and fitting; 8-14 weapons (iron battle knife,

532 spearheads, narrow bladed axe). The artefacts are stored in the National History

533 Museum of Latvia (LNVM LVI 250: 67—80). Photograph by A. Vilcāne

534

535 Although this individual might have had access to a different animal protein source
536 compared to other females, the link between her diet and higher social status as
537 expressed in grave goods remains unclear, especially because Burial 316 is one of only
538 five from a slightly later period (10th century CE) than most other burials selected for
539 isotope analysis (Table 4). The higher $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ value in this individual might also have
540 occurred due to reasons other than diet, for example, physiological stress.

541

542 Due to the small number of burials which could be classed as high or low social status
543 based on grave goods, no statistical analysis was possible. Archaeological evidence
544 from the local region suggests that burials dating from the 8th and 9th centuries CE in
545 the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri cemetery can be regarded as characteristic for the time, pointing
546 to a high degree of homogeneity in the Semigallian society during this period
547 (Tautavičius 1996; Ligi 1995), which was also expressed in equal access to animal
548 protein, according to the currently available isotope data.

549

550 In terms of dietary differences for two of the archaeological outliers, the $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ value of
551 the richly furnished male gender Burial 241 (8.27 ‰ and -20.82 ‰, Figs. 3, 4 and 5)
552 was very similar to that of the perpendicular female gender Burial 294 (8.30 ‰ and -
553 20.69 ‰, Figs. 3, 4 and 6), thus pointing to no dietary differences between these
554 individuals.

555

556



557

558 **Fig. 6** Grave inventory of female gender Burial 294 from the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri
559 cemetery. Number 1- iron sickle; 2,3- bronze decorative pins. The artefacts are stored
560 in the National History Museum of Latvia (LNVM LVI 250: 296-298). Photograph by

561 A. Vilcāne

562

563 The only archaeological outlier who also turned out to be different isotopically was
564 Burial 471 (a male gender child with a rare item for a non-adult in grave inventory,
565 12.15 ‰ and -20.63 ‰). As mentioned above, it is possible that this individual, and the
566 other three male gender isotopic outliers (Burials 177, 10.87 ‰ and -21.26; 233, 11.20
567 ‰ and -20.63; and 98, 10.14 ‰ and -19.96 ‰) were not local to the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri
568 population. The local or non-local origin of all these individuals will be explored in the
569 future with strontium and oxygen isotope analysis.

570

571 With regard to the hypothesis that the two Latvian Iron Age populations would be
572 isotopically similar, especially in terms of differential diet for gender groups, it was
573 rejected. There were no statistically significant differences between males and females
574 at Čunkāni-Dreņģeri. There is evidence, however, for external cultural influence in both
575 populations, with the changes at Lejasbitēni taking place from the 9th century CE, and
576 at Čunkāni-Dreņģeri from the 10th century CE, which coincides with the Viking Age.
577 During the late Iron Age (10th – 12th centuries CE) in the Semigallian cultural area, the
578 scale of grain production allowed for accumulation of large amount of grain. For
579 example, a grain store with capacity of at least 18 tonnes, was uncovered at Tērvete
580 hillfort (Fig. 1) with evidence for storage of barley, wheat, rye, and peas (Banyté-
581 Rowell et al. 2003, 74). It is possible that during this period the Semigallian people
582 traded the surplus grain with Scandinavia (Atgāzis 2001, 266). At Čunkāni-
583 Dreņģeri, this possibility is supported by the change from uniformity in grave
584 goods in burials from the 7th – 9th centuries CE, to inclusion of more elaborate items
585 from the 10th century CE onwards. These included elaborate jewellery items (e.g.,
586 Burials 316 and 309), and weapons and accessories such as silver-encrusted sockets of
587 spearheads (Burials 396 and 412) and ornamented battle knife sheaths (Burial 320), all
588 probably imported from Viking Age Scandinavia (Atgāzis 1992, 1994a).

589

590 Around this time, inverted burial orientation for male and female gender individuals
591 also occur at Čunkāni-Dreņģeri. It is therefore possible that social stratification in this
592 population increased in the 10th – 11th centuries CE in response to changes in trade, but
593 this could only be traced through individual burials, rather than on a population level,
594 due to the disturbance of many graves from this period. The Viking Age is known to
595 have brought social stratification to other remote, previously homogenous populations,
596 for example, the Orkneys (Barrett and Richards 2004; Richards et al. 2006), and this
597 might have also been true for the Iron Age populations in Latvia. The differences in the
598 timing of changes in burial traditions between Lejasbitēni and Čunkāni-Dreņģeri
599 suggest that the advance of the Viking Age differed within this relatively small
600 geographical area, probably due to the distance of the sites from major international
601 trade routes used at the time, and inter-cultural relations. To explore the advance of the
602 Viking Age in Latgallian and Semigallian populations further, similar data from other
603 contemporary cemeteries are necessary.

604

605 Significantly different $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values between the two Iron Age populations
606 suggest that although both lived in the same time period, and close to rivers, their
607 subsistence strategies were different, perhaps particularly with regard to the
608 consumption of freshwater resources, according to the currently available data. It is
609 possible that arable and livestock farming provided the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri population
610 with sufficient food supplies throughout the year, while the practice of using resources
611 from the river remained important in the Lejasbitēni population. The differences might
612 have been partly caused by differential soil fertility in both sites. For example, the
613 Zemgale plateau, in which the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri cemetery is located, is dominated by

614 a web of rivers, and covered by carbon rich clay soils, which are among the most fertile
615 in the Eastern Baltic region and therefore particularly suitable for growing grains. In
616 contrast, the soils in the region where the Lejasbitēni cemetery is located are among the
617 poorest in Latvia (Eglīte 2016).

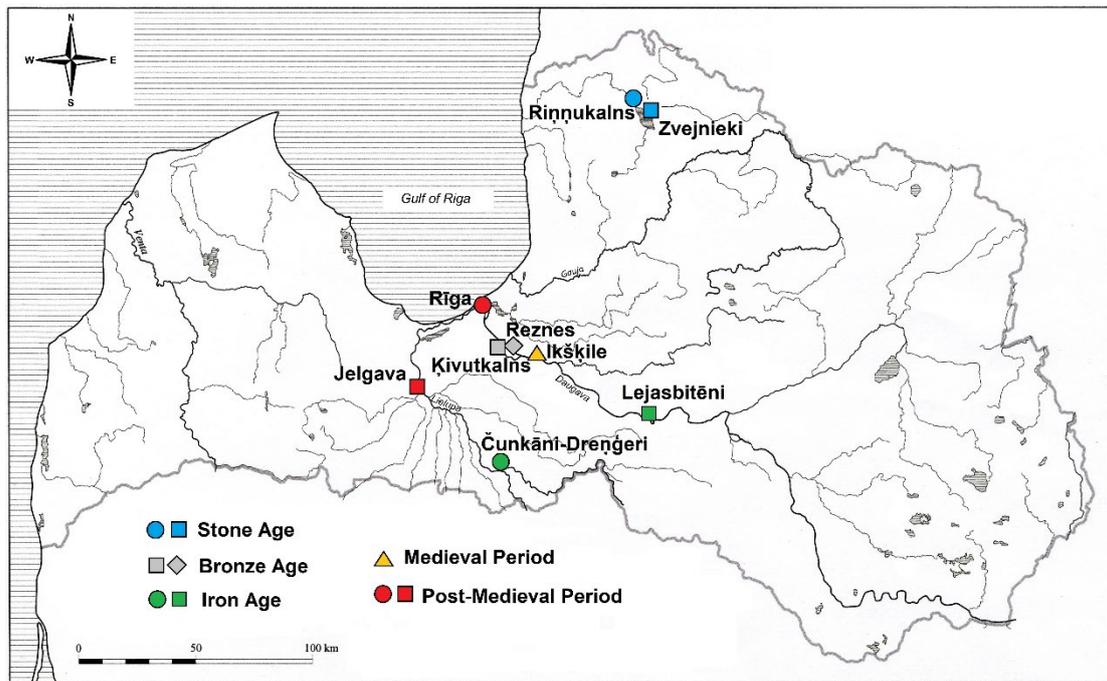
618

619 5.4 Multiperiod comparison of dietary isotope data

620

621 In order to see how dietary practices changed through time in Latvia, and how Iron Age
622 populations compare to other periods, previously published data from all archaeological
623 populations in Latvia which have been subject to dietary isotope analysis to date, were
624 gathered (Figs. 7 and 8). Data from the Stone Age hunter-gatherer populations were
625 available from the Zvejnieki population (7000 - 3200 cal BCE, N=37, Eriksson et al.
626 2003; Eriksson 2006; Meadows et al. 2018; Zagorska 2006), and the Riņņukalns
627 population (3960 - 3650 cal BCE, N=3, Lübke et al. 2016; Bērziņš et al. 2014), data
628 from the Bronze Age were available from the agricultural Ķivutkalns (800 - 342 cal.
629 BCE, N=8 for $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values, N=13 for $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values, Vasks and Zariņa 2014; Legzdiņa et
630 al. 2020) and Reznies populations (1226 - 545 cal. BCE, N=6, Legzdiņa et al. 2020),
631 while the medieval period was represented by the rural Ikšķile population (13th - 15th
632 centuries CE, N=7, Zariņa 2016), and the post-medieval period by the urban non-adult
633 population of Jelgava (17th - 18th centuries CE, N=7, Petersone-Gordina et al. 2018),
634 and suburban St Gertrude population from Riga (16th - 18th centuries CE, N=96,
635 Petersone-Gordina et al. 2018). The mean $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values and standard deviations
636 are summarised in Supplementary Information C, Table 2S.

637



638

639 **Fig. 7** Locations of the comparative Latvian archaeological sites with human isotope

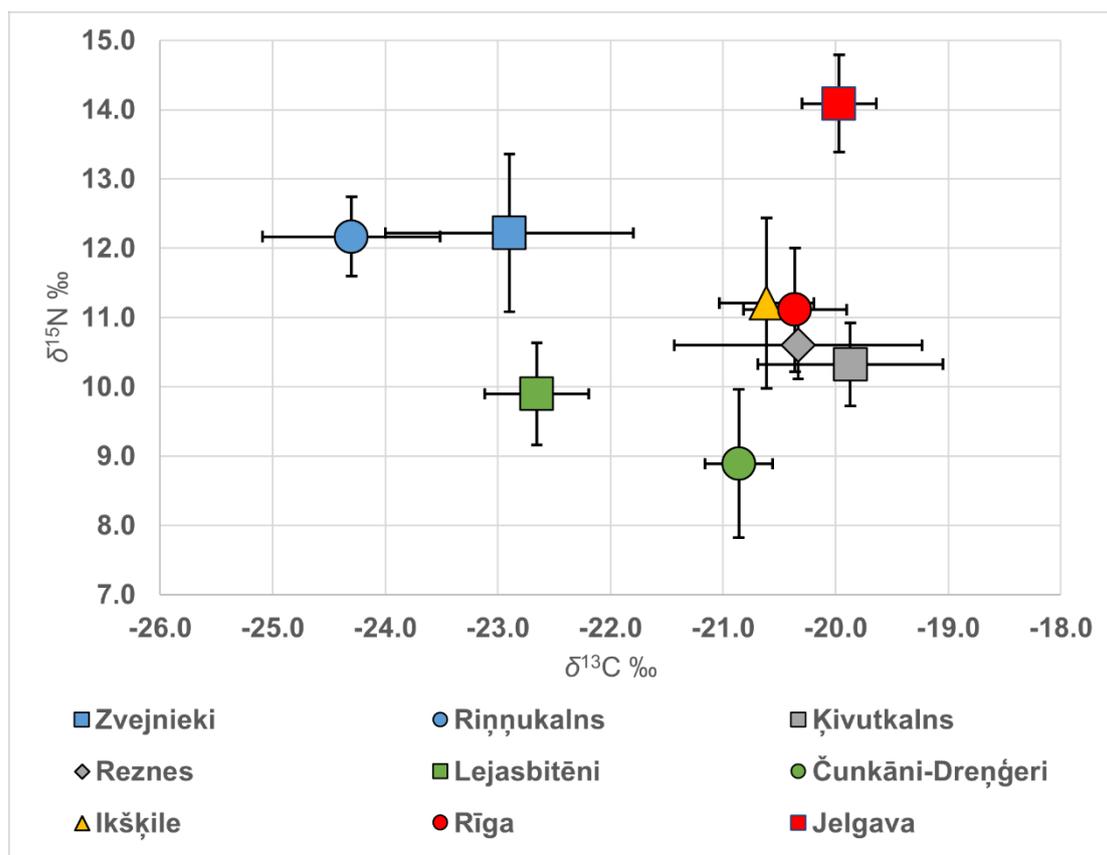
640 data

641

642 While detailed comparative analysis was beyond the scope of this study, some clear

643 patterns emerged with regard to the dietary practices of these populations.

644



646

647 **Fig. 8** Mean $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values and standard deviations (1) of Stone Age (Zvejnieki,
 648 $N=37$ and Riņņukalns, $N=3$; Eriksson et al. 2003; Eriksson 2006; Meadows et al. 2018;
 649 Lübke et al. 2016; Bērziņš et al. 2014; Zagorska 2006), Bronze Age (Ķivutkalns, $N=13$;
 650 Vasks and Zariņa 2014; and Reznēs, $N=6$; Legzdiņa et al. 2020), Iron Age (Lejasbitēni,
 651 $N=29$; Pētersone-Gordina et al. 2022, and Čunkāni-Dreņģeri, $N=29$) Medieval (Ikšķile,
 652 $N=7$; Zariņa 2016), and post-medieval (Jelgava, $N=7$; and Rīga, $N=96$; Petersone-
 653 Gordina et al. 2018) human populations

654

655 The comparison revealed that both Iron Age populations were different from all others,
 656 but each in a different way. By $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values, the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri population was much
 657 closer to Bronze Age, medieval, and post-medieval populations, albeit exhibiting a
 658 lower standard deviation than these populations (0.3 ‰, as shown in Table 4 and Fig.
 659 8). Likewise, there is no evidence for either freshwater or marine resources, or millet,

660 in the diet of most individuals analysed here. The population of Lejasbitēni, in contrast,
661 was closer in the mean $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ value to Stone Age populations, rather than Čunkāni-
662 Dreņģeri.

663

664 With regard to $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values, similarities emerged between the two Iron Age populations,
665 in that both had the lowest mean values among the populations compared in this study,
666 with Čunkāni-Dreņģeri the lowest of all (8.9 ‰). This might point to a lower local
667 faunal baseline than in the comparative populations, and/or reliance on ^{15}N depleted
668 protein sources, such as grazing animals.

669

670 6. CONCLUSIONS

671

672 This study has reached its main aim to study the diet and possible social stratification
673 in the Iron Age population of Čunkāni-Dreņģeri, generating the second dataset from an
674 Iron Age population in Latvia, and complementing the currently scarce dietary isotope
675 data from the Baltic region, in the process. On an individual level, any social
676 stratification as expressed in grave goods, was not supported by dietary isotope data.
677 No differential dietary patterns emerged between richly furnished burials, and/or male
678 gender burials with more spearheads in their grave inventories, and the rest of the
679 population.

680

681 One archaeological outlier had a different diet, expressed in an $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ value exceeding
682 2SD of the population mean (Burial 471). Apart from this individual, three other male
683 gender isotopic outliers were also identified. The possible non-local origin of these
684 individuals will be explored in future by strontium isotope analysis.

685

686 There was also dietary homogeneity between different gender and age groups during
687 the 7th – 9th centuries CE, with some evidence for social stratification from the 10th
688 century, when changes in trade reached this community. Both, archaeological and
689 isotopic evidence pointed to reliance on protein sources with low $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values in this
690 population, while the use of freshwater resources currently remains unclear. Obtaining
691 local faunal isotopic baseline is necessary for a more informed discussion about diet at
692 Čunkāni-Dreņģeri.

693

694 The comparison of dietary data from Stone Age, Bronze Age, medieval and post-
695 medieval populations from Latvia showed that the Iron Age populations had the lowest
696 mean $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values, suggesting reliance on ^{15}N depleted animal protein sources within
697 their diets. The $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values at Čunkāni-Dreņģeri were similar to those reported in most
698 other Latvian archaeological populations from Bronze Age onwards. Likewise, on a
699 larger regional scale, in terms of $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri population was
700 comparable to early Iron Age and early medieval cemetery populations from Estonia,
701 Lithuania, Finland, and Sweden, while the mean $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ value in this population remained
702 the lowest so far among the comparative populations. The reasons for this difference
703 and the consumption of freshwater resources at Čunkāni-Dreņģeri can only be
704 investigated further after obtaining local faunal values and values for local freshwater
705 resources, including molluscs.

706

707 ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

708

709 We would like to thank the National History Museum of Latvia for the permission to
710 use the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri cemetery grave goods for this study.

711

712 We are grateful to Dr Darren Gröcke (SIBL, Durham University) for technical support
713 processing the carbon and nitrogen isotopes.

714

715 We would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments.

716

717

718 AUTHOR DECLARATIONS

719

720 Funding

721 This research was funded by the Latvian Council of Science, project No. lzp-2018/1-
722 0395.

723

724 Conflicts of interest/Competing interests

725 The authors declare no financial or non-financial conflicts of interest or competing
726 interests related to this research

727

728 Ethics approval

729 Not applicable

730

731 Consent to participate

732 Not applicable

733

734 Consent for publication

735 Not applicable

736

737 Availability of data and material

738 All data generated during this research is presented in this paper and its

739 Supplementary Information.

740

741 Code availability

742 Not applicable

743

744 Authors' contributions

745 E.P.G., G.G. and A.V. prepared the main manuscript text, A.V. prepared the maps and

746 figures, J.M prepared samples for isotope analysis and provided the methods section

747 about isotope analysis, A.M. helped to prepare sections about isotope analysis and

748 statistical analysis. All authors reviewed the manuscript.

749

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1046 **Supplementary Information A**

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1048 **Table 1S** List of ¹⁴C dates of human bone samples from Čunkāni – Dreņģeri

1049 cemetery. All dates were obtained during the current research. The dates were

1050 calibrated by OxCal v4.4.2 (Bronk Ramsey 2009) using IntCal20 (Reimer et al. 2020)

1051 and are reported with ranges rounded out to the next 5 years (Millard 2014)

No	Burial*	Sample	Lab no.**	14C age (BP)	Cal CE (68.3%)	Cal CE (95.4%)
1	43	Bone	Poz-136709	1085 ± 30	895 (24.4%) 925 CE 950 (41.1%) 995 CE 1005 (2.8%) 1015 CE	890 (95.4%) 1025 CE
2	241	Bone	Poz-117809	1280 ± 30	675 (40.8%) 710 CE 720 (27.4%) 775 CE	660 (90.8%) 780 CE 790 (4.7%) 820 CE
3	294	Bone	Poz-136755	1310 ± 30	660 (29.2%) 690 CE 695 (3.2%) 705 CE 740 (35.9%) 775 CE	655 (95.4%) 775 CE
4	316	Bone	Poz-136757	1195 ± 30	775 (10.0%) 795 CE 800 (4.5%) 810 CE 820 (53.7%) 885 CE	705 (2.9%) 730 CE 770 (88.6%) 895 CE 920 (4.0%) 950 CE
5	351d	Bone	Poz-117609	1150 ± 30	775 (4.8%) 785 CE 830 (5.4%) 850 CE 875 (17.7%) 905 CE 915 (40.3%) 925 CE	770 (7.5%) 790 CE 820 (88.0%) 990 CE
6	380	Bone	Poz-117610	1370 ± 30	640 (68.3%) 675 CE	600 (88.6%) 685 CE 740 (5.7%) 760 CE 765 (1.2%) 775 CE

1052 *Archaeological context information given as it appears in primary documentation and/or publications

1053 **Laboratory code “Poz” = Poznan Radiocarbon Laboratory, Poland

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1083 **Supplementary Information B**

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1085 Initial sample preparation and collagen extraction was carried out in the Archaeological
1086 Isotope and Peptide Research Laboratory (AIPRL), Durham University where all
1087 samples were cleaned and abraded using a tungsten carbide dental drill to remove
1088 surface contamination. Collagen extraction was carried out following the procedure
1089 outlined in O'Connell and Hedges (1999). Approximately 300mg of cleaned bone was
1090 demineralised in 0.5M HCl at 4°C for several days then rinsed thoroughly in ultra-pure
1091 water (18.2MΩ·cm). Following this, samples were gelatinised in a pH 3 solution of
1092 HCl at 70°C for 48 hours, after which insoluble residues were removed using Ezee®
1093 filters. The filtered samples were then frozen at -18°C and freeze dried for 48 hours,
1094 the resultant collagen was then weighed into tin capsules. Stable isotope analysis was
1095 carried out in the Stable Isotope Biogeochemistry Laboratory (SIBL), Durham
1096 University using a Thermo Scientific Delta V Advantage isotope ratio mass
1097 spectrometer. Calibration using internal reference samples (e.g., Glutamic Acid,
1098 Glycine, SPAR and Urea) and international reference standards (e.g., USGS 24, USGS
1099 40, IAEA 600, IAEA N1, IAEA N2) determined a standard deviation of $\pm 0.1\%$ (1σ)
1100 for collagen carbon and nitrogen isotopes.

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1108 **Supplementary Information C**

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1110 **Table 2S** Mean $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ and $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values of comparative cemetery populations from

1111 Latvia

Site	N	$\delta^{15}\text{N}$	SD	$\delta^{13}\text{C}$	SD	Reference
Zvejnieki	37	12.22	1.14	-22.90	1.10	Eriksson et al. 2003; Eriksson 2006; Meadows et al. 2018; Lübke et al. 2016; Bērziņš et al. 2014; Zagorska 2006
Riņņukalns	3	12.17	0.57	-24.30	0.79	Lübke et al. 2016; Bērziņš et al. 2014
Ķivutkalns	13	10.33	0.60	-19.87	0.82	Vasks and Zariņa 2014
Reznēs	6	10.60	0.49	-20.33	1.10	Legzdīņa et al. 2020
Lejasbitēni	29	9.90	0.74	-22.66	0.46	Petersone-Gordina et al. 2022
Ikšķile	7	11.21	1.23	-20.61	0.42	Zariņa 2016
Rīga	96	11.11	0.89	-20.36	0.46	Petersone-Gordina et al. 2018
Jelgava	7	14.09	0.70	-19.97	0.33	

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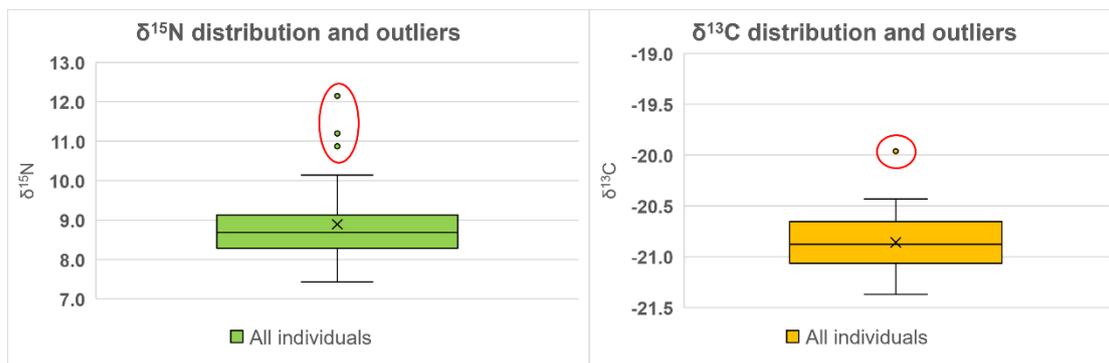
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1167 **Supplementary Figure**



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1169 **Fig. 1S** Box plots showing the distribution of $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values, and isotopic outliers
1170 in the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri population (N=29)

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Citation on deposit:

Pētersone-Gordina, E., Gerhards, G., Vilcāne, A., Millard, A., & Moore, J. (2023). The first dietary stable isotope data from the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri Iron Age population (seventh–eleventh centuries CE) from Latvia. *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences*, 15(12), Article 185. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12520-023-01880-8>

For final citation and metadata, visit Durham Research Online URL:

<https://durham-repository.worktribe.com/output/2024232>

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