SEMIGALLIAN WARRIOR WEAPONRY AND ITS REFLECTION IN BURIAL RITES IN THE FIFTH TO THE 12TH CENTURY AD

ILONA VAŠKEVIČIŪTĖ

Abstracts

Weapons and warfare played an important role in Baltic society. The aim of this article is to examine the weapons and weaponry of the Semigallians, to look at what weapons-related burial customs existed in Semigallia, and to compare them with those of the other Baltic tribes. The geopolitical situation of the Semigallians determined that weapons had a special importance. Certainly not all weapons were placed in graves. We do not find any arrowheads. Although we have found many weapons, nevertheless the weaponry itself was not very diverse. Only spears and close combat weapons, battle-knives, were placed in graves. Spearheads of several types were used. The battle-knives used in Semigallia had a very unique form, and, most importantly, they were placed in a grave in an order characteristic only of Semigallians.

Key words: Semigallia, burial rites, spears, battle knives, broad battle-knives-swords.

Introduction

Weapons and warfare played an important role in Baltic society. According to Vytautas Kazakevičius, “We find few tribes and nations in Europe which would have been as militarised as the Balts. Over a thousand years ago, the tribes of our ancestors fought furiously for their survival and freedom” (Kazakevičius 1998, p.62). After the formation of separate tribes in the fifth and sixth centuries, this role was presumably even further strengthened, since wars, armed conflicts, or just plain marauding became companions of everyday life. The possibility of a greater threat from elsewhere also grew at that time. The role of the hill-fort, which changed during this period and became necessary not just for everyday life but also for the protection of the community and the preservation of property, and especially the food stocks, allows us to draw these conclusions. Some customs, especially burial customs, also speak about the importance of weapons in life at that time. Weapons were one of the most frequent burial items in almost all the Baltic tribes.

The aim of this article is to examine the weapons and weaponry possessed by the Semigallians, to look at what weapons-related burial customs existed in Semigallia, and to compare them with those of the other Baltic tribes.

The geopolitical situation of the Semigallians (Semigallia is in the northern part of the Baltic lands) determined that weapons had a special importance. More weapons than tools are often found in Semigallian cemeteries. At the Jauneikiai burial ground, weapons comprise 23% of all the finds, and tools 20%; at Stungai 18% and 16%; and at Šukioniai 23% and 12% respectively. Similar numbers also exist at other burial grounds (Vaškevičiūtė 2004, pp.40 and 48). Certainly not all weapons were placed in graves. For example, we do not find any arrowheads. There are also none in the burial sites of the other Baltic tribes. Although we have found many weapons, nevertheless the weaponry itself was not very diverse. Only spears and close combat weapons, battle-knives, were placed in graves. The weaponry, and especially the weapons themselves (their form), definitely changed over the centuries. Some of the customs for the placement of weapons in a grave also changed together with them. Weapons are exclusively male burial items. Only several instances are known in Semigallia where females were buried with weapons. But the weapons placed in the grave for them were placed in a different order, and presumably these burial items also played a different role. Incidentally, we first encounter a weapon placed in a female grave only in the Late Iron Age.

Spears

The Semigallians buried individuals supine with their feet extended and their hands folded on the chest. One or two spears were placed to one or the other side of a male. From the eighth century, the number of spears in graves increased. We have found three, four, even five or six spears placed in them. They were placed in the grave so that their blade lay beside the head and the wooden shaft must have reached the feet. It has been established that the majority, 70%, of the spears
were placed to the right of the head. It is difficult to say whether such a custom should be connected to something. Some archaeologists treat it as the handedness of the individual (Atgāzis, 1974, p.163), others deny this (Kazakevičius, 1988, p.20) and consider it pure chance. Knowing the strict burial customs, it is hard to suspect that anything was done accidentally. The great majority of the spearheads that have been found are socketed. Socketed spearheads comprise 93% of all the spearheads found at the Jauneikiai burial ground, 90% at Pavirvytė, 88% at Pamiškiai, 84% at Stungiai, and 98.5% at Šukioniai. Thus we see clearly that socketed spearheads were the most popular spearhead form in Semigallian weaponry. Spearheads of several types were used: narrow leaf-shaped blades, broad leaf-shaped blades, diamond-shaped blades with a short socket and a long blade as well as with a long socket and a short blade, blades with pronounced shoulders, long, narrow blades, and Petersen type E blades. Tanged spears with narrow or broad leaf-shaped blades have also been found.

All the spearheads found in Semigallian territory, regardless of the blade shape, had one common feature: their blades are very flat (with an elongated rhomboid-shaped cross section) and there is no clear transition from the blade to the socket. In this way, Semigallian spearheads differed from those used by other tribes.

Spearheads with a narrow leaf-shaped blade, according to Kazakevičius type IV (Kazakevičius 1979, p.61) were overall the most frequently used spearheads (Fig. 1). Their numbers range from 33% (Jauneikiai) to 48% (Šukioniai) at individual sites. This is a purely Baltic spearhead form. It was common from the upper reaches of the Dnieper to the Baltic Sea, but was most frequently used by the ancestors of the Lithuanians and Latvians in the seventh to the 12th centuries.

Spearheads with a broad leaf-shaped blade of Kazakevičius type VI (1979, p.60) were the second most frequent at Semigallian sites (Fig. 2). They comprise from 27% to 44% of all the spearheads. Besides the Semigallians, the Samogitians, Curonians and Lettigallians also used such weapons. Such spearheads are found at their sites from the seventh to eighth centuries. In Semigalia, these spearheads were used as late as the 11th century. For example, at the Jauneikiai burial ground they are found together with crossbow brooches with poppyseed-shaped terminals, pins with ring heads, and massive and spiral bracelets. These graves date from the eighth to the 11th centuries. But later examples differ somewhat from the earlier classic ones, their blades being narrower and their sockets longer.
We find only two subtypes of diamond-shaped blade spearheads in Semigallia, ie spearheads with a short blade and long socket of Kazakevičius type I subtype 3 (1979, p.55, Pl. III. 1) and spearheads with a long blade and a short socket (Kazakevičius type 1 subtype 1) (1979, p.54). Spearheads with a short blade were used during the sixth and seventh centuries, and the other subtype until the ninth century.

During the sixth and seventh centuries, spearheads with pronounced shoulders on the blade were used in Semigallia, but only Kazakevičius type II subtype 5 spearheads are found here (1979, p.59, Fig. 3). Such spearheads were common throughout the Baltic region in the sixth century. In Latvian Semigallia, they date from a somewhat earlier, fifth to sixth century, period (Latvijas 1974, p.157). In Lithuanian Semigallia, they are found only at Jauneikiai and date from the sixth and seventh centuries, because they were found with crossbow animal-headed and owl-shaped crossbow fibulae, pins with flask-shaped heads, and band-like bracelets (Plate III. 1).

At the Jauneikiai burial ground, spearheads with a long narrow blade are found only in graves dated to the tenth century. Such spearheads are more characteristic of west Lithuania, where they are found from the fifth to 11th centuries, as well as Latvia and Scandinavia, where they are more characteristic of the 11th to 12th centuries (Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė 1981, p.14).

Petersen type E spearheads were invented by more than just Baltic armourers. They are characteristic of Western Europe, and especially Scandinavia (Petersen 1919, p.26ff). They are found in Semigallian territory, but only singly. Examples are known from Jauneikiai, Linksmučiai, Stungiai and Čunkāni-Dreņģeri, and date from the sixth and 11th centuries. Some of them are especially ornate and have fancy sockets.

Tanged spearheads, as has already been mentioned, are a rarer find. All of them have narrow or broad leaf-shaped blades belonging to Kazakevičius type VIII (1988, p.57). The earliest spearheads of this type date from the sixth and seventh centuries, and the latest from the tenth and 11th centuries.

As has already been mentioned, the majority, ie about 80%, of all the males were buried with spears. This weapon was the most common and democratic. All of the community’s males, including the children, had spearheads. Presumably it is not the presence of spears, but rather their number that enables us to speak about a male’s social status in the community. It would, incidentally, be appropriate to note here that if more than one spear is present, the spearhead blades can be diverse, ie of different sizes and shapes. There are also cases where spearheads of identical form and size were placed in a grave. They lie in the grave side by side and on top of each other, but always in one pile, ie all on the same side of the head. The number of spears in a grave varies. Five or six spears are found in the wealthiest Semigallian graves. Males were buried with five spears at the Čunkāni-Dreņģeri burial ground in graves 79, 209 and 241 (Atgāzis 1994, pp.29-40), in Jauneikiai grave 123, and with six spears in Šukioniai grave 69 (Vaškevičiūtė 1985, p.51; 2000, p.196, Fig. 1). The order which was followed in placing spearheads in graves varied. At Šukioniai and Jauneikiai, all the finds were socketed with narrow leaf-shaped blades, and at Čunkāni-Dreņģeri all of them in grave 241 were also socketed, but in graves 79 and 209, three socketed and two tanged were placed in each grave. The sizes of the spearheads also differed. In comparing these graves, it is apparent that wealthy individuals were buried in all the graves. All of them had neck-rings (except at Šukioniai, where the grave had been disturbed and no bronze burial items remained). This alone shows that these males occupied a higher position in the community, the heads of some of them having been adorned with bands or caps decorated with bronze loops and spirals. They were buried with ornate brooches. In Čunkāni-Dreņģeri grave 79, the brooch was silver-plated, the male at Jauneikiai had a small buckle on his left foot, probably from a shoe, and at Čunkāni-Dreņģeri (grave 209), a drinking horn. The Šukioniai warrior was buried with a bit, which was especially rare in Semigallia, and even two shoe buckles. These were clearly war-
riors, probably professionals, who even lived by their profession in peace time. As a point of interest, we could recall when warrior guards first appeared in the Baltic regions and what in general it is accepted to call a warrior guard. In this respect, we will find no single answer. For example, E. Jovaiša speaks of the existence of warrior guards in the first and second centuries (Jovaiša 2003, p.183), or in Samogitian lands as early as the fifth or sixth century (Vaitkunskienė 1987). Others put the existence of warrior guards at the turn of the eighth century (Kulakov 1987), and V. Žulkus speaks of the existence of warrior guards only from the 11th century (Žulkus, Urbanavičius 1995, p.5). A. Tautavičius envisages this process from the turn of the 11th century (Tautavičius 1996, p.284) and believes that it is not possible to identify male warriors who were buried with weapons as members of a warrior guard, since not only the warriors of a warrior guard but also the community’s free farmers, only one of whose duties was defending the family, property and land from enemies, could both be buried with weapons. But there probably were warrior guards, even guards composed of professionals, ie male warriors of more than one ethnic origin, who were maintained by and subject to a duke. The duty of a warrior guard is not just the defence of a family or some property but the entire land. Thus, even in the same tribe, one community, where the head of the tribe lived, was established at the centre of the lands, while other communities were more remote from the “political” centre. The wealthy males we have named perhaps occupied a higher position in the community, and could even have been professional warriors, but it is unlikely that they can be linked to a warrior guard.

Spearheads found in female graves are a rarity. As has already been mentioned, their placement in a female grave had a completely different meaning than in male graves. In fact, such burials are encountered only in the Pavirvytė cemetery. In grave 6, a large 36-centimetre-long tanged spearhead, the blade pointing towards her feet, was placed to the left of the female near her pelvic bone, the femur (Fig. 4). In the Baltic world such graves are rare, but such a custom is known in other lands, for example among the Ugro-Finns (Golubeva 1984, pp.75-89). Such graves are ascribed there to the category of especially wealthy females, and the weapons in them speak of the female’s exceptional status in the community. The Pavirvytė female was also distinguished by her wealth. She was buried with a neck-ring, which itself speaks of belonging to a higher stratum, two cruciform pins, two spiral bracelets, an amber bead (amulet), an awl, and a drinking horn. Fragments of a bronze-decorated head covering survive on her head.

In speaking about spearheads found in Semigallian graves, those graves where spears are found stuck into the grave pit should also be mentioned. Three such graves were discovered at the Pavirvytė cemetery (graves 63, 65 and 117). In all fairness, it should be mentioned that two of them, 63 and 65, were cremations and should be attributed to Curonians who were buried there rather than to Semigallians. In the third, grave
117, a male was buried in accordance with Semigallian customs. But this grave has survived incomplete. Only the head area survived in a more complete state. A spearhead had been stuck into the northeast side of the pit, and another two spearheads were found placed to the left of the head. Another three spearheads stuck vertically into a grave have been found in Latvian Semigallia, at the pyre location of the Bāļas-Šķerstaini burial ground. Here four spearheads were actually stuck into a grave. It is thought that this was a symbolic grave intended for a warrior who died elsewhere. Another two graves were found at the Įles Cibēni and Rūšiši-Debeši cemeteries. At the latter, a spearhead was found stuck into it to the left of the individual’s head (Kazakevičius, Malonaitis 2004, pp.3-12). Such graves with spearheads stuck into the earth of a grave are rare not just in Semigallia, and archaeologists treat them as cases of magic, charms, an assurance of the favour of the gods, and the warding off of evil forces.

**Battle-knives**

The close combat weapons used by the Semigallians, ie battle-knives, are more informative in every respect than other weapons. Battle knives had a very unique form, and, most importantly, they were placed in a grave in an order characteristic only of Semigallians.

During the fifth to the seventh centuries, we find long, narrow battle knives, some of which still have iron hoops on the tangs, in the graves of Semigallian males (Fig. 5). Such battle knives had blades 17 to 47 centimetres long and 2.6 to three centimetres wide, while the hoops were cylindrical, 2.4 to three centimetres wide, and about 1.5 centimetres in diameter. The hoop was presumably necessary for binding the wooden hilts. The latter weapons are rare. In Lithuanian Semigallia, we only have examples from Jauneikiai. There they were actually found in 11 graves. Besides these Semigallians, males buried at Plinkaigalis, Pagrybis and Lieporiai, as well as at the Ziedopskola, Zvārdes Grīnerti, Keipenes Saliņas, and Miklas kalns burial grounds located in Latvia, were armed with such battle-knives. They were placed beside the individual, with the handle pointing towards the head and the blade towards the middle of the grave. They are found without scabbards.

Long, narrow battle-knives without hoops on the tangs are common throughout the broader territory and were used for a somewhat longer period. Researchers call them the prototype of single-edged swords. They were widespread in the lands of the Curonians, Samogitians and Prussians, and rarer with but also used by the Semigallians. Graves with such battle knives date from the sixth and seventh centuries, as well as the tenth century. In the tenth century they are already found inserted in leather scabbards bound with metal.

Battle-knives with straight backs and 24 to 29-centimetre blades are scarce, but were used by the Semigallians. We find such weapons from the sixth to the 12th century, but there are only individual finds in Semigallia. Sometimes they were carried in especially ornate
scabbards, and were always placed in graves alongside the individual’s skeleton.

The most common battle knives were broad battle knives. Such broad battle knives-swords were 27 to 53 centimetres long, had a wide blade, up to eight centimetres wide at the widest point, with a straight back, a strong reverse profile taper and a chisel point (Fig. 6). Sometimes battle knives-swords of the same form but smaller, being barely 13 to 24 centimetres in length, are found in the graves of children (boys). There are cases where we even find two such weapons in a grave (Jauneikiai grave 218). There is also a reasoning that miniature broad battle knives-swords are symbolic burial items (Kazakevičius 1988, p.114). These broad battle knives-swords began to be used in the sixth century. At Jauneikiai they have been found together with a spearhead with pronounced shoulders on the blade. But from the eighth century, they became predominant in Semigallia and were used until the 11th or 12th century, pushing out all other battle knives (Fig. 7). As the use of swords had not been established, they were not affected. The Semigallians had a custom, characteristic only of them, of placing these weapons in a grave. They were always placed diagonally across the hip bones (Fig. 8). The Samogitians and Lettigallians also used the same battle knives-swords. In Samogitia the broad battle knives-swords that they used were somewhat shorter, and were replaced by swords with guards in the ninth century. In addition, the Samogitians placed such battle knives-swords in the grave by the individual’s head, shoulder, or, more rarely, side, but always alongside the individual. The Lettigallians used such battle knives-swords for a longer period, but placed them in the grave alongside the skeleton, usually on top of it, but never diagonally across it.

Although swords, both single-edged and double-edged, were not very popular in Semigallia, nevertheless individual examples are known. The earliest were single-
edged swords without a guard that were found at the Jauneikiai cemetery (graves 377 and 455). They were about 71.5 centimetres long with a blade three to four centimetres wide and found in a grave dated to the seventh century. Single-edged swords without a guard are rare. The wealthier had swords at the Pavirvytė burial grounds. Eight swords were actually found there, two single-edged and the rest double-edged Petersen type T, M and Y swords (Kazakevičius 1998, p.47f.). But all of the ones from cremations had been bent, had been in a fire, and should be attributed to the Curonians buried there. The Semigallians very rarely armed themselves with swords. One single-edged type M sword is known from Lieporai (Joniškis district). In addition, one other single-edged sword with a guard, which is also type M, was found at the Kurmaičiai-Linksmėnai burial ground in grave 12. Another two such swords were found in Latvian Semigallia. Although we know that the Semigallians carried their broad battle knives-swords without a sheath, just as they placed their long narrow ones in the grave also without a sheath, nevertheless swords with guards, which were not characteristic of Semigallians, were frequently placed in the grave with a scabbard. Such a sword with signs of a wooden scabbard was also found at the Kurmaičiai-Linksmėnai burial ground. But only the wooden remains of a scabbard with an ornate chape were found in Linkuva grave 5. This latter scabbard was decorated in the Borre style, i.e. with a very stylised bird-like ornament. The belt plate was produced by a local artisan after a Viking example. Incidentally, no ordinary community member but rather its leader was buried in this grave. This opinion was expressed by V. Kazakevičius (2001, p.2ff.). Presumably, “foreign” weapons were placed in graves in accordance with foreign customs. From northern warriors with swords sheathed in scabbards, we also do not find graves containing leather belts decorated with bronze belt plates that had metal buckles. Did this custom perhaps not exist there, or were individuals perhaps just buried without a belt? The Semigallians did not bury a warrior together with his horse as the Lithuanians, Aukštaitians, Samogitians and Lamatians did. Perhaps that is why we rarely find a grave containing pieces of horse and riding gear, e.g. bits and spurs. Stirrups are not found at all, just like shields or their metal parts. In these respects, the Semigallians are closer to the Lettigallians. In fact, presumably under Aukštaitian influence, somewhat more bits (four in graves and two chance finds) have been found in the Šukioniai burial ground, located in the very south of Semigallia. All the bits that have been found are made of iron and date from the eighth to the 11th centuries. Somewhat more bits are discovered than spurs, which, as is known, were a sign of nobility and wealth. They have been found at Jauneikiai, Šukioniai, Linkuva, Diržiai and Valdomai. It should be noted that individuals were buried with just one spur on the left foot. In fact, graves have been found which contained individuals wearing a leather belt with a buckle on the left leg, and sometimes on both legs. Perhaps these were also from spurs, which either did not survive or were not placed in the grave for the individual. We must nevertheless recall that we are investigating only those weapons and that weaponry which were placed in the grave for the buried individual. Because arrowheads and shield bosses have been found in Semigallia, I think that the burial customs do not always accurately reflect the weapons available. It is always necessary to remember that we have also found the custom of placing weapons in a grave differed among all the tribes,
while only some elements remained the same in all the tribes, for example, the absence of arrows, bows, and quivers in graves, etc.

Conclusions

After surveying the weapons found, we see that the weaponry itself changed little throughout the period of the fifth to the 12th centuries: the very same weapons were used, ie broad battle-knives and spears. In the eighth century the number of spears placed in the graves increased, new spearhead forms appeared, and broad battle-knives-swords became more pervasive.

Semigallian weaponry shared many common features with Samogitian and Lettigallian weaponry, although it differed from the latter. During the ninth to the 12th centuries the Lettigallians also frequently placed battle-axes in graves and used more tanged spearheads, while the Samogitians no longer used broad battle knives-swords after the eighth century. Semigallian warriors also differed from their Curonian counterparts: swords were very rarely placed in a Semigallian grave, and there were no barbed tanged spearheads.

The unique Semigallian weaponry allows us to more accurately establish ethnic Semigallian territory and to follow the changes in its borders and the influence of its neighbours. This can be said especially of the broad battle-knives-swords. The map of their range almost precisely corresponds to Semigallian territory (Fig. 9).

References


Received: 22 December 2006; Revised: 18 May 2007

Translated by Jeffrey Arthur Bakanauskas

Ilona Vaškevičiūtė

Santrauka

Ginklai ir karyba vaidino svarbų vaidmenį baltų vi-

\[ \text{suomēne} \]. Pasak Vytauto Kazakevičiaus, „nedaug

 Europeans rašime genčių ir tautų, kurių būtų taip milita-

rizuotos kaip baltai“. V–VI a. susiformavo atskirioms

gentims, šis vaidmuo, matyt, dar labiau sustiprėja. Apie

ginklų svarbą to meto gyvenime mums kalba ir laidoji- 

mo papročiai. Žiemgaloje ginklai buvo ypatingos svar-

bos. Kapinynuose ginklai sudaro 12–23% visų radinių.

ŽEMGALIŲ GINKLUOTĖ IR JOS ATSPINDŽIAI LAIDOJIMO 

PAPROČIUIOSE

Žiemgalių ginkluotė ir jos atspindžiai laidojimo 

papročiuose

Ilona Vaškevičiūtė

Santrauka

Ginklai ir karyba vaidino svarbų vaidmenį baltų vi-

suomēne. Pasak Vytauto Kazakevičiaus, „nedaug 

Europose rašime genčių ir tautų, kurių būtų taip milita-

rizuotos kaip baltai“. V–VI a. susiformavo atskirioms 

gentims, šis vaidmuo, matyt, dar labiau sustiprėja. Apie 
ginklų svarbą to meto gyvenime mums kalba ir laidojimo 
papročiai. Žiemgaloje ginklai buvo ypatingos svarbos. 

Kapinynuose ginklai sudaro 12–23% visų radinių. Į 

kapus, be abejo, buvo dedami ne visi ginklai, o tik 
pats bendras. Ginklų rámame daug, tačiau pati ginkluotė 

nebuvo įvairi, dėtos tik išties ar artimosios kovos 

ginklas – kovos peilis (1–8 pav.; III. 1 iliustr.). Žiemgalių savo mirusiuosius laisdomo paguldę ant 

nugaros, ištiestomis kojomis, kūrinės šrityje sudėto- 

archeologia Baltica 8

warriors and armaments from the vistula to the daugava

221


Su ietimis palaidota dauguma, t. y. apie 80%, visų mirusų vyrų. Ieti galius turėjo visi bendruomenės vyrai, taip pat ir vaikai. Matyt, ne ietys, o tik iecių skaičius įgalina kalbėti apie socialinį vyro statusą. Palaidoti su daugiau ielių turi daugiau ir kitų įkapčių. Tokie kapai galėtų būti traktuojami kaip karių profesionalų.


Žiemgalų naudoti kovos peiliai visai pūtiniai yra iškalbingi. Ėja egzistavo labai savitos formos ginklai, kurie į kapą būdavo dedami tik jiems būdinga tvarka. V–VII a. Žiemgalų kapuose randame siaurų ilgų kovos peilių, kurių dalis dar turi geležinius žiedus ant įkotės (5 pav.). Siaurų ilgų peilių be žiedų ant įkotės platės platas įkotęs peilių kovos peilii kalavijai (6 pav.). Jų rasta kartu su VI a. Įtigaliais, o nuo VIII a. Žiemgalose šie peiliai pradeda vyrauti (7 pav.). Naudoti iki pat XI a. Žiemgalai turėjo tik jiems būdingą paprotį dėti šiuos ginklus į kapą – jie dėti ištrįžiai dubens kau-