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INTRODUCTION

Formulation of the Problem

During the period of the 11th–12th/13th centuries in various spheres of Semigallian, as well as of the other Baltic tribes, life have occurred quite a lot of crucial changes – economical, ethnical, social, political and spiritual.

Innovations in economical sphere, in the 10th–11th century firstly have reached the most important economical centres of Semigallia, during the 12th–13th century gradually spread in the entire region and influenced the further development of Semigallia. In the middle of the 11th–the middle of the 12th century economical relations with Scandinavians became weaker; later, in the 12th–13th century the movements of Russians and Germans have become more active in the lower basin of Daugava. Their main interests, firstly have been economical, became military-political. Thus in 1202 the Order of the Brothers of the Sword (*Frares Militiae Christi*) made their abode in the basin of Daugava.

In ethnical sphere the culture of Balts unified; meanwhile in spiritual sphere the concerns with Christianity became active.

According to some researchers, in the 12th–13th centuries the climate has changed – the temperature significantly fell, it became more humid. According to the opinion of other scientists, climate got worse round 1300 AD. All these changes are recorded in then sourcebooks and excavated archaeological objects.

The chosen chronological commencement – the end of the 12th century – coincides with a new stage of Semigallia's history: the end of the late Iron Age and the beginning of Crusades (as well as with the epoch of Middle Ages in the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea).

Hereupon, on the end of the 12th–the beginning of 13th century, geopolitical situation has changed as in the lower basin of Daugava, as in the entire eastern coast of the Baltic Sea. In 1184 the crusades settled in Iķšķile; and the Order of the Brothers of the Sword has been established in 1202, which since 1237 got the name of the Livonian Order. In the same time in Lithuania the processes of creation of statehood have been quite active: in the end of the 12th century the confederation of Lithuanian lands has been created; in the mid-4th decade of the 13th century the state of Lithuania has been founded. All that influenced the neighbouring Semigallian lands. Semigallia has also played an important role in the

course of the Crusades. Up to 1290 Semigallia contrived to withstand a far stronger opponent – the Order, thus saving a new born state of Lithuania from the north. This proclaims about the creation of confederation of Semigallian lands, which, if to compare to Lithuania, lacked behind, but in comparison with other Balts was preponderant. In order to analyse those processes, the need to answer certain questions about the development of Semigallian historical region in the 12th–13th centuries and later is essential.

The other chronological margin – the 1st half of the 16th century – is concerned with a new historical period of the region: the end of the Middle Ages and the rise of the Modern Times. A strict coherence with some certain date is not mightily probable, because the land has belonged to two formations, which were different in political, economical, ethnical, demographical, and cultural spheres. Otherwise, Semigallia belonged to periphery; accordingly, various processes signally lingered up to the end of the 16th–the beginning of the 17th century. Several historical events can be named as the main points of reference: the incipiency of the Reformation in Livonia in the 3rd decade of the 16th century and in the Great Duchy of Lithuania in the 4th decade; agricultural reform (*Volochnaya pomera*) in the Great Duchy of Lithuania, which completed the population of southern Semigallia; the War of Livonia (1560–1583); the formation of the Duchy of Curonia and Semigallia in 1561; and the Union of Lublin in 1569. Thus at provisory boulder of the middle of the 16th century a stage of cultural and demographical development in the 14th–15th centuries in both parts of historical region of Semigallia ended.

The topic period can be divided into two parts, each having particular characteristics:

1. The end of the 12th century – 1290. The period of Crusades in Semigallia.
2. The 14th–the early 16th century. So called “the Dark Ages”. This date is subdivided in such stages:
 - 2.1. The 14th–the middle of the 15th century. Military confrontations in frontier areas of Livonia and Great Duchy of Lithuania. Two diverse models of region development can be depicted.
 - 2.2. The middle of the 15th–the early 16th century. Consummation of military confrontations (1426–1435) and intensive population of the region. Inhabited localities were numerous noted in the end of the 15th–the early 16th century.

The goal. This period of Semigallian history has been ignored by researchers for rather a long time; only several allegations, such like that there are very few sources on Lithuanian part of Semigallia in the 12th–13th century, that after Crusades this area became an uninhabited desert, and similar ones were suggested. Another issue is the inaccurate dating of archaeological finds and their complexes, which complicates interpretation of these sources. Archaeological sources have not yet been analysed en masse; in Latvia main attention was paid to Latvian data, in Lithuania – to Lithuanian one.

Unanswered remain quite a lot of questions; that is because of the lack of the 14th–the middle of the 16th century data, both historical and archaeological.

Objectives of this dissertation are the following:

1. To carry out the analysis of cultural dynamics (processes) in the historical region of Semigallia, i.e. to determine cycles of progress and regress;
2. To analyse the differences of development processes in both parts of Semigallia, its centres and periphery;
3. To determine the lands and other administrative units and their centres;
4. To designate migrations of Semigallians as in directions, as in extent;
5. To find out the differences of development and population Semigallia of in the 14th–the early 16th century.

In order to achieve the determined objectives, the following **tasks** are held:

1. To analyse all scientific data, available on the region of Semigallia in the 12th–16th centuries;
2. To carry out the typological analysis and determine the development of archaeological finds, dated to the 12th–13th century, as well as some of the finds, dated to the 14th century;
3. To relate and interpret archaeological, historical and linguistic data on Semigallia.

Novelty and Relevancy

In this study a period of the least cognizance – the later 12th–the early 16th century – is examined.

A great number (several thousands) of archaeological finds, both excavated and occasional ones, being kept in various museums of Lithuania

and Latvia (national, regional museums, private collections), were analysed. Tens of excavation reports, photographs, negatives, being kept in archives of Lithuanian and Latvian institutions, were also viewed. A lot of given material has not been published yet.

Due to employing the typological method the finds and sets of the finds were dated as narrowly as possible. New material was analysed; some statements, having become even encyclopaedic ones, have been corrected. Also some outdated propositions on Semigallian lands and their structure, as well as on migrations in the later 13th century, the spread of Christianity, and population development after the Crusades in the 14th–15th century, were interpreted anew.

This study contains a great number of illustrations. In the appendices are given 17 tables with statistical and graphical data, depicting burial customs, grave goods and certain groups of archaeological finds.

The social point of view remained untouched in this study; this topic requires a particular research.

Structure

The study is composed in several parts. In introduction the characteristics of chosen period, the used methods and theories are reviewed. In historiography archaeological and historical sources, as well as studies, are surveyed individually. In separate part the territory of the region, lands, their structure and centres are defined. The biggest part of the study is given to the classification and typological analysis of material culture objects; jewellery and its development are thoroughly analysed. In the left chapters the Semigallian migrations, the spread of Christianity in Semigallia in the 13th–16th century, and population of this region in the 14th–16th century are discussed. Given information is generalized in the last part, dedicated to the determination of cultural processes and their stages in Semigallia. Conclusion remarks introduce the inferences of the study.

Methods and Theories

On purpose to date the archaeological finds to the utmost accuracy, and on the base of it to interpret the collected data, a **typological method** was used.

The typological analysis, its theoretical and methodical basis, and the research history of penannular fibulas and theoretical works of Eastern

and Western European scientists has been widely reviewed by Latvian archaeologist A. Vījups.

Two stages of the method are defined:

1. An ordinary classification, i.e. material is grouped according to certain features in order to exhibit the variety of it. However, the purposes, such like to reveal the development of the items, to answer the problem or to formulate the reasons of the changes in material, are not answered.
2. A typological method.

The typological method allows revealing historical processes, which reflect in archaeological material. The processes are defined according to the purposes and criteria determined by the researcher.

In this study the typological method is used for dating the finds as accurate as possible on base of revealed development and contextual information. Changes in material culture of the 12th–14th century Semigallia, as well as in spiritual, also ethnic ones, are sought to be revealed. Substantially, this method is one of most informative when collecting additional data about Semigallia.

Answering the objectives traditional scientific methods, such as **cartography**, **interdisciplinary**, **comparative** (especially on Semigallian lands and migrations in the late 13th century) and **statistics**, are used as well.

Theories

Nowadays in the science of archaeology in Lithuania various theoretical models, created in the West and especially in Northern Europe, are started to be used.

The theoretical models of centre/periphery and cultural dynamics have been used in this study.

The substance of *the centre/periphery structure* is as follows: the main analysed topics are the connection among centres and peripheries, uneven intensivity and way of economics, uneven density of the settlements and its structure, and burial monuments of various types. This method analyses the appearance of economical, cultural and political centres. Two stages can be defined. This method is useful in analysis of the development of certain items, i.e. their manufacture centres, spreading in space and form. The question of no less importance is to allocate the

lands and their centres, as well as their connections with periphery; there the methods of cartography and interdisciplinary-comparative are useful.

The *cyclic (cultural dynamics)* theory is useful in analysis of cultural development of the region. The substantial ideas of this theory are such: the culture develops in stages of expansion (progress), stabilisation and regress. The trends of migration theory and inner development theory are actual. For analysis of cultural processes the typological method should be used, for the development of the finds mirrors cultural changes.

I. WRITTEN AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA OF THE 12TH–16TH CENTURY ABOUT SEMIGALLIA

Few **written sources**, depicting the 12th–13th century Semigallia, describing military and political events, and inhabited places exist. Mentionable are the unsuccessful Russian raid to Semigallia in 1109, the Act of Division of Semigallia of 1254, various acts of division of Semigallian places in the 13th–14th century, the Chronicle of Henricus de Lettis, the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle, The Herman Wartberge's Livonian Chronicle and other historical documents of the 13th–the 1st quarter of the 14th century and of the middle of the 14th century, describing the raid to the territory of contemporary northern Lithuania.

Since the 15th century, when the Crusades ended, more sourcebooks appeared; the quantity of sourcebooks especially increases in the beginning of the 16th century, when rather active population of the region, emptied during the Crusades, proceeded.

Archaeological data gives relatively more information about Semigallia in the determined period. According to the review of excavations, there can be stated a proposition that archaeological objects, dated to the 12th–16th centuries, located in Lithuanian and Latvian parts of Semigallia, were excavated in unequal numbers. In both parts of Semigallia quantity of excavated burial objects is almost equal; hence in Lithuanian part of Semigallia were excavated less hillforts and serving settlements and cemeteries of the 14th–15th century.

However, it can be predicated on satisfying quantity of data: at present 83 archaeological objects, dated to the 12th–13th century and excavated either partly or fully are known (Fig. 1).

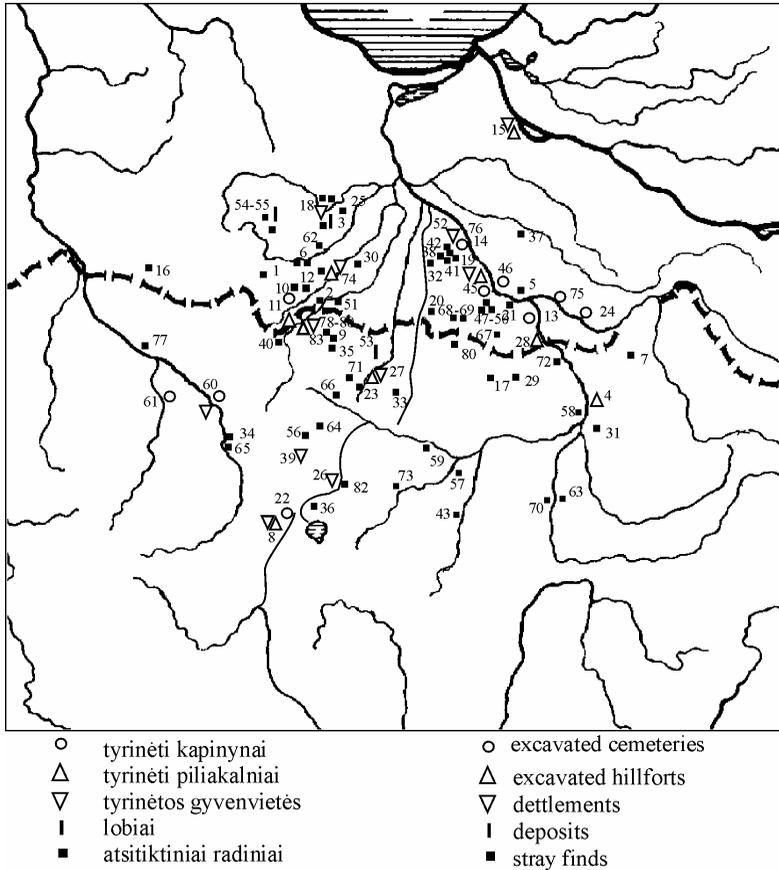


Fig. 1. Archaeological objects of Semigallia in the 12th–13th century

Historiographical Overview of Researches

Historical Sources

Since the later 19th century, historical sources have been analysed by a great number of historians. Firstly should be mentioned works of Baltic Germans (K. F. Watson, J. Döring, A. Bielenstein etc.). In these studies on base of chronicles mostly the Semigallian castles, lands, inhabited territory were tried to be allocated. To conclusions of these scholars referred the researchers of interwar Lithuania, and those of Latvia in later times.

Later on, since the early 20th century, the history of 13th century Semigallia has been started to study. This work was done by scholars of interwar and Soviet Latvia (V. Biļķins, R. Ērglis). Meanwhile, in Lithuania the Semigallian history attracted attention only since 1950s. Such are the studies of J. Jurginis, R. Varakauskas.

However, as the authors of the most important works should be named Lithuanian historian E. Gudavičius and Latvian I. Šterns. In these works the history of Semigallia is studied not only individually, but in the whole context of history of the Eastern Baltics region as well.

As it can be seen from this short review of history studies, the history of Semigallia is studied rather deeply. Collected information is useful for analysing problems held in this study; also it can be compared with archaeological data.

Works about Semigallian language, later Latvian and Lithuanian languages, as well as their dialects, have been written by J. Endzelīns, M. Rudzīte, K. Būga, Z. Zinkevičius, K. Garšva.

Archaeological Researches

History of studying archaeological material of the 12th–16th century Semigallia is divided in such stages:

Stage No. 1 (the late 19th century–1918):

For studying archaeology a great influence was done by the Society of Fanciers of History (*Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Kunst*), which was established in 1817 in Mitau (contemporary Jelgava). Since the 9th decade of the 19th century members of this society carried out active researches: allocated the castles of the 13th century, described some of the hillforts. Some members published excavations of archaeological objects (C. Boy published excavations in Ciemalde (*Zeemalden*) burial in 1896).

The researchers of Livonian archaeology were all Germans; their works contain the theory of *Kulturträger*, which proposes that the Germans, in the 13th century moved to the Eastern Baltics, found the primitive local tribes, thus were the first to civilise this region.

The number of works about archaeological material of the Lithuanian part of Semigallia in the 12th–16th century is few. The only noticeable work is a study by F. Pokrowski of archaeological monuments of Kaunas government, in which some monuments of Lithuanian Semigallia have been included.

Stage No. 2 (1918–1940)

During this stage especially increased the number of publications, in which the material of archaeological excavations has been published. Such are the publications by V. Ģinters, describing excavations in Mežotne hillfort and burial. Data from Latvian part of Semigallia was used in resumptive works of Fr. Balodis – “Archaeology of Latvia” (*Latvijas archailoģija*) and “History of Latvia” (*Latviešu vēsture*).

This stage is characterised by excavation reports’ style studies, review of historical themes avoiding wider context, low number of studies in typology and chronology. However, the themes of ethnics and population had notice. Substantially, the main feature of archaeological studies, written during this period, is a great influence of national romanticism.

Meanwhile, in Lithuania number of such studies was few. Works by P. Tarasenka (1928) and J. Puzinas (1938) should be mentioned.

Stage No. 3 (1940–1945)

On circumstances of World War II no works were published.

Stage No. 4 (1945–1990)

As well as in therefore stage, a tendency of publishing material of separate excavations of archaeological objects can be named as proceeding. Such are works by E. Brīvkalne, describing excavations in Tērvete and Mežotne, and A. Caune about excavations in Jaunsaules Siliņi burial.

Archaeological material of the 12th–13th century Semigallia has been used in resumptive publications by Lithuanian archaeologists in 1960 and 1970, as well as by group of Latvian archaeologists in 1974.

Archaeological data of the 12th–13th century Semigallia has also been used for analysis of more narrow topics, such like trade, crafts, typology of certain groups of items or objects etc.

In 1970s in Lithuania there were edited and published “Archaeological Atlases of Lithuanian SSR” (*Lietuvos TSR archeologijos atlasai*), which contain data about hillforts, burials and some groups of archaeological finds of Lithuanian part of Semigallia as well.

Not only social and manufacture history have been attracting most attention; ethnic questions were also analysed.

Stage No. 5 (since 1990)

During this stage contacts, broken since 1940, were renewed.

Also some works on Semigallia were published. Lithuanian archaeologist I. Vaškevičiūtė defended a doctoral dissertation “Spiritual Culture and Material Existence of Semigallians in the 5th–12th centuries”

(*Žiemgalių dvasinė kultūra ir materialinė būtis V–XII a.*), on basis of which a book “Semigallians in the 5th–12th centuries” and some resumptive publications on various themes appeared.

Works by other Lithuanian archaeologist R. Jarockis are dedicated to population of Semigallia, urbanization processes in cultural landscape, and analysis of centres according to centre/periphery and power theories. All this was summed up in doctoral dissertation “Urbanization Development in Semigallia in the 11th–16th century. Centre, periphery and power” (*Urbanizacijos raida Žiemgaloje 11–16 a. Centras, periferija ir valdžia*), defended in 2002.

Publishing of excavations of Semigallian archaeological objects is proceeding. In 2005 a three-volume “The Atlas of Hillforts of Lithuania” (*Lietuvos piliakalnių atlasas*) was published. Information about Latvian hillforts was sketched in. Wooden and masonry castles of the Order were rather often analysed.

In works by archaeologists of Latvia E. Mugarēvičs, A. Vijups, B. Vaska, T. Berga, and Lithuania – V. Kazakevičius, the typology of some the 12th–16th century finds found in Latvia (some of them – in the territory of Semigallia) and the boundaries of tribes in Latvian territory are analysed; some new data were published.

As important ones should be mentioned resumptive works about old sacred places of Lithuania, written by archaeologists V. Vaitkevičius and J. Urtāns.

Not of less importance for this study are regional researches; most often analysed were objects in the interwar small rural districts (in Lithuanian *valsčiai*) (Daugyvenė, Gruzdžiai, Raguva, Viduklė, Kuršėnai, Stačiūnai–Lygumai, Papilė).

Semigallian trade-routes and trade centres in the 8th–12th century, burial customs in the 12th–13th century, some groups of archaeological finds, Semigallian lands and archaeological objects, some microregions (Pašvitinys, Žagarė) has been studied by the author of this dissertation as well.

So, there is not a single study dedicated to Semigallia in the 12th–16th century. However, this theme has been analysed in the works on other topics, which summarise data from excavations of Semigallian archaeological objects, researches various themes in Lithuanian or Latvian context. In these researches a leading position is taken by Latvia: both the amount of archaeological material and the depth of analysis of such material are significantly preponderant.

Data on this topic is given by the 13th–14th century and the 16th–18th century historical sources, as well as by sources of archaeology, mythology, linguistics, and natural sciences.

In the 13th century the Order divided the territory of Semigallians into two parts: Eastern Semigallia was usually called Upmale, while Western – Semigallia. Each of those two parts was parted into three individually by the Livonian Order, Archbishop of Riga and Riga Chapter. This action is perfectly illustrated by the Act of Division of Semigallian lands, signed in 1254.

After mapping of archaeological and mythological objects, and after comparing them with historical sources and linguistic data of later times (the 16th–18th century), it can be maintained, that the old boulder between Eastern and Western Semigallia was at Virčiuvis (in Latvian – *Vircava*) river and part of its basin.

Hence Semigallian in the 12th–13th century was composed of about 14 more or less inhabited lands, having centres in well fortified hillforts and serving settlements (Fig. 2). 10 of them are mentioned in written sources of the 13th–14th century: Silene, Žagarē, Dobene, Spārnene, Tērvete, Dobele, Upmale, Nogailena, Mežotne and Sidabrē. The left nameless 4, located in the south from Mūša River, in this study were named relatively according to river names: *Venta*, *Kūra–Kulpē*, *Kruoja–Daugyvenē*, *Lēvuo–Pyvesa*. The latter lands were not noted in written sources due to certain processes in the late 12th century–the early 13th century. The most proposing relation should be with the directions of expansion of Lithuanians and Samogitians.

The lands were composed of castle-counties or, when due to relief a lack of hillforts was felt, just counties with central villages and dependent fields.

III. BURIAL CUSTOMS IN THE 12TH–13TH CENTURY SEMIGALLIA

On the base of collected data it can be proposed that in Latvian part of Semigallia around 1200 burials, dated to the 5th–13th century, have been excavated; however, only 35 of them can be dated to the 12th–13th century. Burials of Lithuanian part of Semigallia have also been rather numerously excavated. Up to the very recent around 1200 burials have been excavated and dated to 5th–11th century; 46 burials are dated to 12th–

13th century. Occasional finds were found in a great number of other burials as well (Fig. 1).

Additional data about burial customs of Semigallian migrant is given by Jakštaičiai–Meškiai burial, located around 10–12 kilometres in the south from Šiauliai, in Šiauliai district.

Thus, if to compare the number of excavated Semigallian burials of the 12th–13th century with those of earlier times, a number is few – 68. Due to this, only archaeological material undoubtedly dated to the 12th–13th century was subjectively chosen. Obviously, this number does not reflect to the real situation. These burials contain a great number of luxurious grave-goods, so they at first reflect the burial customs and social status of the nobility of Semigallian lands and counties.

Most of the burials, containing graves of the 12th–13th century (around 30 per cent), are not big: the number of excavated graves counts from 10 (Jaunsaules Siliņi) to 30–35 (Ciemalde, Mežotne; except Pavirvytė–Gudai). In excavated large burials of Jauneikiai (476 graves) and Čunkāni–Dreņģeri (697 graves) graves of 12th–13th centuries were not found at all. This offers a propose that in mentioned burials only noblemen of castle-districts and districts with their families were buried.

In excavated the 12th–13th century Semigallian burials two types of graves were noticed: inhumated and cremated ones. Two cremated graves were found in Jaunsaules Siliņi, 32 – in Pavirvytė–Gudai, Kuršēnai (?), 6 – in Lepšiai, and 12 – in Jakštaičiai–Meškiai burials.

Men and women were laid in opposite directions; this custom continued from earlier times. In some burials the direction of burying in the 12th–13th century did not change (Ceraukstes Podiņi, Jakštaičiai–Meškiai), while in others it did.

Burial customs were determined by the world-view of the people. Therefore since the Stone Age up to the establishment of Christianity in the 14th–17th century graves contained working tools, weapons, jewellery, household items, sometimes even things with magic features.

The researchers traditionally maintained that Semigallians during all period of the 5th–13th century held for inhumation. Hence the analysis of archaeological data proposes another view: in Semigallia custom of cremation appeared in the end of the 12th–the 13th century. Cremated graves have been found in previously mentioned Jaunsaules Siliņi, Pavirvytė–Gudai, Kuršēnai (?) burials, as well as in the burials of Semigallian migrants: Jakštaičiai–Meškiai, Lepšiai, Barinē, Ruseiniai, containing Semi-

gallian grave-goods. Occasional bent, burned finds and their fragments with patina of burning were found in Auce, Rūsīši–Debeši, Vēcsaules Čapāni and other burials. In Šukioniai burial were found remains of half-melted bronze artifacts. The elements (?) of cremation were also noticed in Žagarē burial.

Number of such burials could be bigger. However, these graves were rather shallow and farming could damage them, such making these burials not easily noticeable.

Spread of cremation in Semigallia is indirectly mentioned in the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle, which tells about attempt to take Heiligberg (Saint Mountain) castle at Tērvete in 1284–1285 by assault, committed by Samogitians and Semigallians. The chronicler tells that after the lost battle attackers cremated their dead. This episode does not explain which of the dead were cremated: Samogitians, which started cremating in the 12th–13th century or Semigallians as well. This version, published by the author of the dissertation already in 2000–2001, so far got more support than disagreement.

Probably this custom spread together with expansion of Lithuanians in the end of the 12th–the beginning of the 13th century; firstly the expansion took direction to Semigallian (southern, south-eastern, and south-western) and other neighbouring lands. In Henricus de Lettis' Chronicle a great dissension between the Duke of Western Semigallia Viestards and the Duke of Eastern Semigallia and Lithuania Žvelgaitis is described. The historians maintain that in the end of the 12th century the Confederation of Lithuanian Lands has been forming, and since the 4th decade of the 13th century the state has been established (according to historian T. Baranauskas, this date definitely should be placed at circa 1183). These processes were confirmed by activated expansion of Lithuanians. Thus a young state of Lithuania started increasing dominance to neighbouring lands including Semigallia in the end of 12th–the early 13th century. The expansion brought a new ideology, which reflected in change of burial customs. Cremation probably spread till 1225–1250, when Lithuanians weakened expansion to Semigallia. In 1205–1208 by joined endeavour of Viestards and the Livonian Brothers of the Sword the Lithuanian expansion to Western Semigallia has been stopped; however, in 1219–1220, when residents of Mežotne asked help for the Brothers against Lithuanians, the Brothers have entrenched in Mežotne. The spread of Christianity in 1219–1250 also influenced these processes.

According to summing up archaeological material, it can be proposed that cremation firstly was spreading in southern lands of Semigallia: Nogailena, Plonē (?), Dobene, Žagarē (?) and anonymous *Kruoja–Daugyvenē* and *Venta* lands, i.e. in those, which were the first to feel Lithuanian expansion or other types of influence.

After review of sparse archaeological data of Semigallia a reasonable question asks to be answered: why in such number of rather fully excavated burials so few of the 12th–13th century's Semigallian graves were found, especially when relating them with numerous amount of earlier period? Moreover, even those few ones should be ascribed to noblemen: in those graves the dignitors of the lands and districts and their families have been buried.

Firstly, this could be caused by difficulties of accurate dating of the burials. Thus a possibility, that number of the 12th–13th century graves could significantly increase, seems credible.

Secondly, the southern part of Semigallia, covering almost half of the territory inhabited by Semigallians, was a peripheral zone, therefore the identification of the 12th–13th century graves is almost impossible.

Thirdly, the changes of burial customs are related with social and ideological changes; in the end of the 12th century–the 13th century a consolidation of Semigallian tribes was active. This was also significant in the territory of Lithuanians in the later 11th–the 12th century; there centenarian burial traditions in the barrows crucially changed; almost none of newly founded big burial places and sites were explored. Cremation became the main burial custom among the Balts. This shows the closing of the Baltic tribes.

Fourthly, all these processes can be concerned with influence of new social and ideological phenomena. A possibility, that an obscure burying of cremated, almost invisible in archaeological objects, could also exist, should not be denied.

These problems require further studies of the 13th–17th century written sources, monographs of folklore, as well as further archaeological explorations of riversides.

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Recently the number of studies, devoted to prehistoric culture of certain Baltic tribes, has significantly increased. Semigallians were not excluded. However, the lack of Semigallian material culture in the 12th–

13th centuries is still felt. One of the reasons is an insufficient and inaccurate research of Semigallian finds' complexes, dated to the 12–13th centuries. Latterly, this gap is being tried to fill. In some cases, when dating certain groups of finds, as a chronological point the graves of Semigallian migrants were chosen. Accurate dating of finds is also a clue for solving other problems of Semigallian prehistory.

After the analysis of Semigallian finds (mostly jewellery), being found in both contemporary Latvia and Lithuania, and applying of the typological method, such statements were held:

1. In the 12th–13th century Semigallia a custom of wearing neck-rings, pins and some other ornaments was declining. This period is the last stage of the development of these ornaments.
2. In the 12th–14th century as one of the most popular ornaments remained penannular fibulas. The form's continuity was significant; however, a slight change in shape of arcs and terminals was noticed. The types of the fibulas are the following: with cylindrical, polygonal, thickened, poppyseed-shaped and zoomorphic terminals; crossbow ladder fibulas were worn as well. During determined period a development of fibulas' forms has been noticed: nub-shaped, zoomorphic and other shapes of terminals took place.
3. In the 12th–13th centuries a new type of ornaments appeared: the strings of beads, in which bronze spirals, glass beads, cowry shells were stringed together; also new were various flat and ring-shaped fibulas, complex breast ornaments of chains, spacer plates, wire spirals and pendants of various shapes (zoomorphic, quadrangular, round) etc. The new types of ornaments mirror influential connections with Livs from Daugava basin and with the Order, established in the same place.
4. The old Semigallian types of jewellery remained until the middle/end of the 14th century. Appearance of new forms from Western Europe is noticed in Semigallia (especially in Livonian part of this region) since the middle of the 14th century–the 15th century rapidly overtook the old cultural heritage.
5. According to data, got by usage of the typological method, it can be maintained that jewellery spread through main centres of trade, lands and castle-counties. The latter were important trade and craft centres of Semigallian microregions.

V. SEMIGALLIAN MIGRATIONS IN THE LATE 13TH CENTURY

In the end of the 12th century–the 13th century in Eastern Baltics the Crusades were active. The Livonian Order gradually conquered and firmly entrenched in Baltic and Fino-Ugrian lands. Due to active political-military processes internal and external migrations were energised. These processes did not exclude Semigallia.

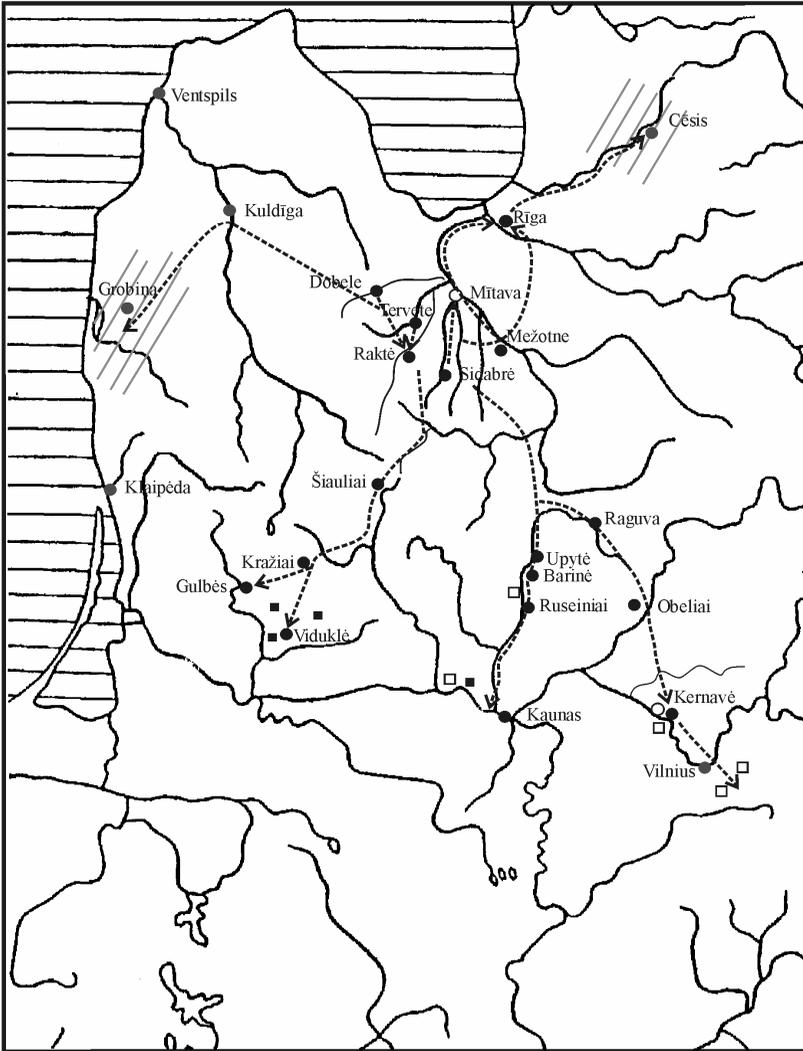
Data on Semigallian migrations are given by historical, toponymy, archaeological and linguistics material of the end of 13th century–the beginning of the 15th century.

The analysis of the 12th–14th century material culture, the features of material culture, characteristic to Semigallians, decayed already in the middle of the 14th century. However, some remains survived until the early 15th century. It is obvious, that the Order policy of coercive moving of inhabitants, which was achieving of quicker loyalty, accelerated the decay of Semigallian material culture.

In all previously mentioned burials the characteristic Semigallian material culture remained only for a quarter of the century, i.e. for one generation.

According to archaeological, historical and toponymy data, 5 migration directions of Semigallians to Lithuania can be determined (Fig. 3). At first, circa 1284–1285 and later, in 1289–1290, Semigallians migrated into two directions in neighbouring lands of Šiauliai and Upytė. The third direction went from Upytė land through the tracks by the Nevėžis River towards the surroundings of contemporary city of Kaunas. The fourth direction went through Šiauliai land to the heart of Samogitia, i.e. to Viduklė, Nemakščiai, Skaudvilė, Kražiai, Medininkai and Ariogala environs. The fifth direction took its way to Eastern Lithuania – to the environs of Kernavė and Vilnius.

Judging by the course of Crusades, the mostly depopulated were the lands of Western Semigallia: Tērvete, Dobele, Žagarė, Silene (?), Sidabrė; a little less suffered Dobene and Eastern Semigallia, i.e. Upmale; the least depopulated was the land of Plonė (part of Upmale). Thus, on the base of extent of Semigallian migrations, the statement of by historian A. Dubonis that Semigallian immigration to Lithuania was relatively insignificant should be corrected.



- - toponyms with *Žemgal-*
- - other Semigallian (?) place-names
- - historical data
- - archaeological data
- //// - Semigallian-speaking places in the early 15th century (by Gillebert de Lannoy)

Fig. 3. The direction of Semigallian migrations in the end of the 13th century

The researchers propose that in the 11th–12th century the population of Semigallia was about 17,000–24,000 of people. Determinating the number and percentage of moved inhabitants is difficult. It may be concerned, that in some lands more than half of habitants have moved.

According to the historians A. Nikžentaitis and A. Dubonis, the migrants were populated in frontier regions and wastelands. This statement is confirmed by mentioned settlements of Semigallian migrants in then frontier of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: the settlements in Šiauliai and Upytė lands neighboured on Livonia, while the settlements by Medininkai and Karšuva lands, as well as in Kaunas environs, neighboured on the Teutonic Order.

Semigallian integration has been superficially studied by historians E. Gudavičius and A. Dubonis. Almost all mentions in the chronicles show, that Semigallian migrants, in this case – the elite (noblemen, warriors, craftsmen) – got special rights, usually military ones, and they were settled in then important defensive centres of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Semigallian elite easily integrated to the social, economical and political structures of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The relatively high social organisation of Semigallians made this integration more effective than Lithuania's weak connections with Sudovians, Nadruvians and Scalvians. The position of Semigallian duke Nameisis depicted that feudalising elite of Semigallia got satisfactory conditions for assimilation to the class of Lithuanian feudals up to the very summit. In some places the migrants rapidly lost all Semigallian characteristics (the lands of Vilkija, Šiauliai, Upytė already for a long time belonged to the Grand Duke); meanwhile, relying on the names of the immigrants' settlements, in other places they could have some administrative autonomy, which allowed continuity of traditions, usage of native language for longer or shorter time (the lands of Viduklė and Ariogala remained autonomic, Samogitian). On the other hand, in the chapter "The Christianizing of Semigallians" it is maintained that in the 13th century Christianity penetrated to the summit of Semigallian society, what could handicap integration to pagan and un-Christian society of Lithuanians. However, assimilation has been demonstrated by cremating of the dead (Jakštaičiai–Meškiai, Marvelė, Barinė, Ruseiniai, Obeliai burials etc.); this custom was just spreading in the late 12th–the early 13th century Semigallia.

VI. CONTACTS WITH CHRISTIANITY

Lately archaeological researches of the spread of Christianity in Eastern Baltics increased in quantity.

Archaeological data and scarce written sources of the 13th century allow proposing, that in the 13th century Christianity has been spreading in Semigallia as well.

Latvian researchers Ē. Mugarēvičs, A. Vilcāne, A. Rādiņš guess that little cross-pendants, placed in the graves (especially in Latgale), the change of burial customs (changes of burying directions, the hands' placement on the girdle, disappearance of cremation) show the spreading Christianity in the Baltics.

Bronze cross-pendants were found in 13 Semigallian sites (10 – in contemporary Latvian part, 3 – in Lithuanian). These ornaments were excavated in hillforts, the 13th century's women graves; the only exception is man's grave No. 4 in Bukaišu Atvases cemetery. To Christian symbols should be ascribed the fragment of enamelled Easter egg from Kiev, which was found in Mežotne, and some quadrangular bronze pendants, in which a cross motif is dominating. Actually, in mentioned graves the women breast ornaments were composed not only of crosses, but of zoomorphic bird-shaped pendants (for instance, subgroup No. 3 – dove-shaped) as well. However, the bird motif (most often dove, eagle, phoenix, rooster, pelican, raven) was also important in Christian symbolics as in the times of early Christianity it symbolised the souls acquitted in the Judgement; such motif has been usually used for this symbol. The inlay of this motif into the ornamentation of Balts refers to the spiritual syncretism of the two religions.

However, some of the circumstances propose doubt on counting the graves with enclosed cross-pendants as signs of spreading Christianity.

Notwithstanding, several written sources of the 13th century (the Chronicle of Henricus de Lettis, the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle, the Epistles of Legate Wilhelm of Modena) mention propagating Christianity in Semigallia: the conquering and christening of Semigallians, establishment of diocese (1226–1251). But more information on Christians Semigallians is given by the 14th century sources, which mirror situation of the 13th century.

Thus, relying of written sources, the spread of Christianity in Semigallia was related with conquering of this region. Due to this the cloth

together with *Vogts* and garrisons, which resided in Semigallian castles and laid Semigallians under tribute, could make their abode there after conquest of Eastern Semigallia in 1219–1220, of whole Semigallia in circa 1250–1254 and 1272.

The conclusions from written sources of the 13th–14th century and mentioned archaeological data propose that Christianity firstly spread in Eastern Semigallia since 1219–1220, while in all Semigallia since 1250–1272. To this statement the discovering circumstances of items with Christian motifs do not contradict: these finds laid in luxury graves of women (i.e. belonging to the elite) and in hillforts, in which the dignitors resided; so, people wearing them were the dignitors of lands or castle-counties. In such way they demonstrated their loyalty to the Order's *Vogts* and their dominion over local communities.

However, a broader range of Semigallia's Christening can be determined only after the period of Crusades, i.e. since 1290, when the last Semigallian castle – Sidabrė – has been taken (in the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle rather a lot of verses was dedicated to this event).

Gradually spreading Christianity (in the 14th–15th century – in northern Semigallia, since the 16th century – in southern Semigallia) is confirmed by appearance of inhumation, other changes in burial customs, popularity of certain types of jewellery (fibulas, coins etc.).

In most burials the dead were buried during the Iron Age and, after a break, in the 16th–17th centuries. In some cases this break was shorter – the new graves appeared in the 14th–15th century. The number of burials especially increased since the 16th century in whole Semigallia. This allowed the researchers to maintain that the intensive population of the region started at the 16th century. But the sudden increase of burials in Semigallia should be related with changes in burial customs, which were influenced by the spread of Christianity since the late 14th century–the early 16th century. The appearance of inhumated cemeteries coincides with establishment of parishes.

Christianity strictly determined burial customs: the dead had to be buried not cremated, on one's back, with the heads directed to the West (for facing the East), with hands placed on girdle or by, with very few grave-goods (most often these were coins, items with Christian symbolics, utilitarian items, working tools). A gradual acceptance of these customs is depicted by Dobele cemetery: since the end of the 14th century the dominating burying direction is the West (260° – 270° with slight errors). Very

few dead were buried directing to the opposite East; the South or the North were chosen even rarely. So the dead were buried in well excavated cemeteries of Šapnagai, Mažeikiai and Pavirvytė–Gudai, located in southern Semigallia and dating to the 16th–17th century. Thus up to entrenchment of Christianity the dead in whole Semigallia had to be buried in some other, alternative ways, which cannot be detected by archaeology.

The information on the spread of Christianity in Livonian part of Semigallia is supplemented by data, got from previously mentioned Dobele cemetery. In the southern part of Dobele's castle (built in 1335, rebuilt in 1345–1359) was a chapel; in Dobele cemetery were found quite a lot of artefacts, having connection with Christianity: the late 14th century–the early 15th century bronze fibulas of Gothic rosette type, ring-shaped ones with narrow and flat ring, having inscriptions *AVE MARIA* or its imitation, as well as motifs of cross or rose.

Nevertheless, the pagan burial customs remained tenacious; in the later 14th century–the early 15th century the dead were buried with numerous grave-goods; some of the grave-goods were undoubtedly pagan amulets, for instance, cased bear claws, found in Tērvete sanatorium, Dobele, Skāre cemeteries.

Meanwhile in southern part of Semigallia, belonging to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, due to certain circumstances, i.e. late christening of Lithuania (in 1387) and Samogitia (in 1418) and prolonged military confrontation with the Livonian Order (up to the middle of the 15th century), the Christianity started spreading very late: in the end of the 15th century–the early 16th century. The first mentions of the settlements in written sources often relate with establishment of parishes (Pasvalys in 1497, Saločiai in 1514, Joniškis in 1536, Senoji Žagarė in 1523, Naujoji Žagarė in 1526 (?), Lygumai in 1476, Pašvitinys in 1495 (?), Linkuva in 1500, and Žeimelis in 1540).

The coins, found in Medieval and Early Modern graves, now by some researchers are related with the spread of Christianity. The fact that early coins have a vivid motif of the cross (such were almost all Order's coins) does not contradict this theory.

The earliest coins of northern Semigallia's cemeteries (Dobele) are dated to the late 14th century. However, most of the found coins are dated to the 16th century. The oldest coins from southern Semigallia were excavated in Žagarė cemetery and dated to the 13th century. Coins of later

times are dated to the times of rule of Jagiellons Casimir (1440–1492), Alexander (1492–1506) and John Albrecht (1492–1501); such coins were found in Rukuižiai (graves No. 5, 6, 7, 9) and Kurmaičiai–Linksmėnai (grave No. 23) cemeteries, located in contemporary Joniškis district. But it must be mentioned, that these coins were found in complexes with other coins of the 16th century.

A bronze openwork ring-shape fibula, occasionally found in Rukuižiai cemetery, should be related with the Benedictines of Old Trakai, which propagated the cult of St. Catherine and were active with their work in Vilnius diocese. In the same cemetery of Rukuižiai, dated to the 16th century, another find, related with Christianity, has been found; it was the head of worn-out cruciform pin – a pendant with a hole. The alike finds were excavated in Jakštaičiai cemetery (graves No. 119, 190, the 15th century), Šiauliai cemetery (in Gluosniai St. 89, former Komunarai St.; double grave No. 4–5) and occasionally in Norvaišiai cemetery (?), i.e. in the territory of then Šiauliai district.

Summing up historical, archaeological and art data, it can be stated that in Semigallia Christianity started brokenly spreading since the second quarter–the middle of the 13th century. After the period of Crusades this religion gradually entrenched at first in northern Semigallia (the late 14th century–the 15th century), later – in southern Semigallia as well (since the end of 15th century–3rd/4th decades of the 16th century).

Some items of the 13th–14th century (bronze zoomorphic pendants, quadrangular pendants, little cross-pendants etc.), having been for a long time used as both pagan and Christian symbols, mention the syncretism of religions.

When in Germany in 1525 the Reformation started (in Livonia – since the 3rd decade of the 16th century, in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – since the 4th decade of the 16th century, in Lithuanian part of Semigallia – since 1540–1561, especially since the end of the 16th–the early 17th century) and the religious fights took the region over, the Christianity got a new acceleration and character; however, this question requires a separate study.

VI. THE POPULATION OF THE REGION IN THE 14TH– THE EARLY 16TH CENTURY: CONTINUITY OR A BREAK?

The discussion on the two versions of Semigallia's population after the Crusades is still active: some researchers maintain that Semigallia

became a desert (I. Vaškevičiūtė), the others determine that it was populated (R. Jarockis).

The population of both Livonian and Lithuanian parts of Semigallia during Crusades (in the middle of the 14th century–the early 15th century) and afterwards was not even. This question is also complicated by the possibility of alternative and not significant in archaeological material burial customs, probably practised till the final entrenchment of Christianity in the 14th–15th century. Otherwise the rapid population of this region during a short period of 25–50 years is scarcely explicable.

In northern part of Semigallia the population was rather stable. For the Order the most urgent task was military strategy, i.e. forming of both defensive and offensive line for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; so the castles of Dobele (1335), Tērvete (1339–1345), Mežotne (1321–1346) and Bauske (1443) were built. By these castles the settlements of serving peasantry and craftsmen emerged. The toponymy data and historical sources point that the Order, wanting to entrench the Christianity as soon as possible, coercively moved the local tribes from one place to another for their break with cultural and ethnic traditions. Thus sites and granges with the names containing *lyv-*, *lyb-* are mapped in the historical region of Semigallia. The same is with Semigallian toponyms: *zemgaļi*, *zemgalieši*, *zeimji*, *zaimji* are mapped in contemporary Latvia. Such names of old granges are located in contemporary Liepāja and Aizpute environs, Northern Curonia, Daugavpils and Jēkabpils districts. The new places have such elements in all territory of contemporary Latvia, except Latgale region. The forced moving of local habitants in Livonia is well illustrated by written sources of later times, i.e. the 15th century. In 1445 the prisoners of war from north-western Russia (lands of Pskov and Novgorod) were moved to Bauske environs; by local inhabitants they were called *krieviņi*.

In southern part of Semigallia the Dobele cemetery has been most widely excavated (1340 graves). The researches date it to the later 14th–the 17th century. But the analysis of finds (penannular fibulas with poppyseed-shaped, nub-shaped and zoomorphic terminals, spiral rings with ornamentation of points and impressed dots, zoomorphic pendant etc.) propose, that the burying started since the middle of the 14th century and part of the buried were local inhabitants. The increase of number of cemeteries in both Livonian and Lithuanian parts of Semigallia is dated to the 16th–17th centuries. In some of the cemeteries number of excavated

graves was from several to several tens (Rūsīši–Debeši, Vilces Kalnplātēri, Lielplatone selection station etc.).

The continuity of population, i.e. the remaining of some inhabitants, in Livonian part of Semigallia can be noticed till the middle of the 14th century. Since the end of the 14th century–the 15th century culture became alike in all Livonia, so regional differences could hardly be determined; in the forms of jewellery a strong influence from Western Europe was obvious.

Using linguistics for determination of ethnic groups in northern Semigallia is complicated; this region is ascribed to middle Latvian dialect, in which it is also spoken in Vidzeme. The linguists, judging by the features of the dialect and the spread of toponyms *latvieši*, maintain that after Crusades Semigallia was gradually inhabited by the tribes of Latgians and Selonians.

The excavation data of Dobele cemetery allows proposing that into the region some Lithuanians had moved in the end of the 14th–the 16th century. This is depicted by Lithuanian jewellery, found in women graves: hammered fibulas from bronze tin, characteristic to the very end of the Middle Ages (in Eastern Baltics). In Latvian archaeological studies such fibulas are named “Lithuanian fibulas”. In mentioned cemetery has also been found a single pair of earrings, typical to Lithuanians (grave No. 890). The bear claws, cased with bronze, are also related with Lithuanians; such finds are often found in the former frontier of Livonia and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (the cemeteries of Tērvete sanatorium, Dobele (graves No. 307, 815, 911 and occasional finds) and Skāre). Because of the location of these cemeteries in former western Semigallia it may be concerned that the buried habitants have come from neighbouring Samogitia. Samogitian interests in this part of Semigallia in the late 13th century are also confirmed by written sources. It is also probable that Samogitians migrated to the lands of Dobele and Tērvete. In the mentioned cemeteries could be buried Samogitian women – the prisoners of war or brides. Latvian researchers maintain that internal population of Northern Semigallia ended around the early 16th century.

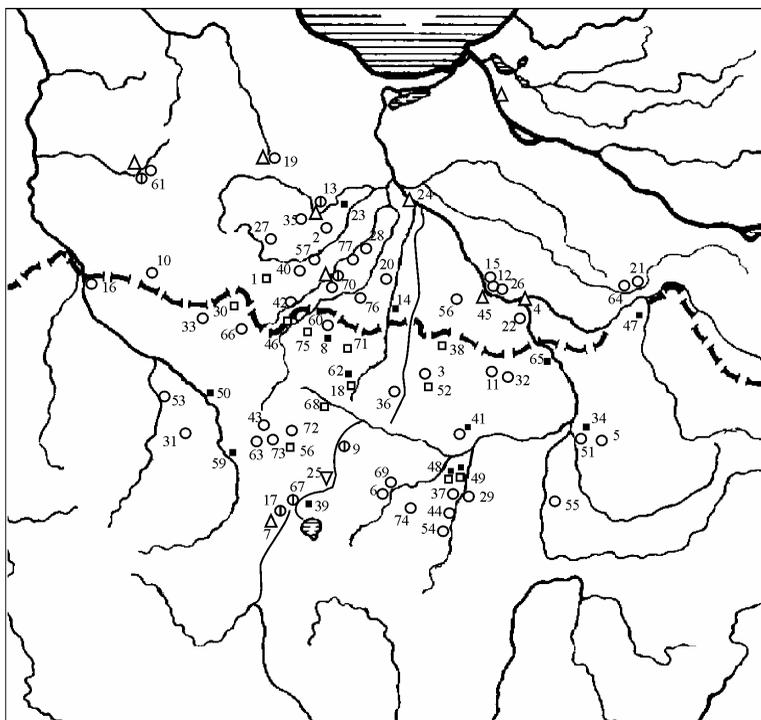
In southern Semigallia, belonging to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, population in the 14th–16th centuries got a little bit different. The number of the 12th–16th century’s archaeological monuments is few. On the basis of previously presented analysis of material culture and the theory of the centre/periphery structure it can be proposed, that the reason of such

tightness of archaeological remains was the position of southern Semigallia as a periphery, except several centres – the middle basin of the Venta River, Sidabrė and Kurmaičiai–Linksmėnai complexes. In this region it is hardly credible to find new archaeological monuments containing luxury and representative material.

In southern Semigallia there is not a single fully excavated site of the 14th–15th century; very few were explored. The population is confirmed only by occasional finds from various places. The number of finds should be bigger. However, scarce written sources of the middle of the 14th century–the early 15th century give some data about population of southern Semigallia; in 1339–1348 was mentioned Papilė and some castles of Šiauliai land (*Businne, Bussike, Basyne, Basin*); in the Act of Setting of Border of Livonia and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, signed in 1426, in the section of 40 kilometres (in contemporary districts of Joniškis and Akmenė) mentions 4 settlements with cemeteries. The greatest numbers of settlements were noted since the end of the 15th century and especially since the first quarter of the 16th century. These notes are most often related with establishment of parishes.

For solving the problem of the population of Semigallia the usage of linguistics data is crucial. In some subdialects the relics of Semigallian language are noticed. The lisping articulation (of apical-retroflex consonants, in Lithuanian *šlekiavimas*) in the West Aukštaitian subdialects of northern Šiauliškiai of Žagarė (Skaistgirys–Žagarė environs) and the East Aukštaitian subdialect of North Panevėžiškiai contain features characteristic to Latvian part of Semigallia, i.e. anaptyxis and movement of accent to the first syllable of the word (especially in the region of contemporary *pantininkai*). This linguistic feature and the fact that the southern part of Eastern Semigallia – the land of Plonė – from the Crusades has suffered least, assume that a great part of inhabitants did not move.

According to the increased number of burials, it may be assumed that in the 16th century, especially in the late 16th–the 17th century southern Semigallia was densely populated. Some of the cemeteries (Šapnagiai in Akmenė district, Pavirvytė–Gudai in Mažeikiai district, Plaučiškiai in Pakruojis district) were well excavated (Fig. 4). Rather a lot of information is given by recent excavations of towns and manors (Joniškis, Žeimelis, Žagarė, Linkuva).



- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| ⊙ tyrinēti XIV-XV a. senkapiai | ⊙ excavated cemeteries of the 14th-15th centuries |
| ○ tyrinēti XVI-XVII a. senkapiai | ○ excavated cemeteries of the 16th-17th centuries |
| △ tyrinētos pils | △ excavated castles |
| ■ atsitiktiniai XIV-XV a. radiniai | ■ stray finds of the 14th-15th centuries |
| □ atsitiktiniai XVI-XVII a. radiniai | □ stray finds of the 16th-17th centuries |

Fig. 4. Archaeological objects of the 14th–16th century Semigallia

The population of southern Semigallia actively started only since the middle of the 15th century due to several reasons. In 1435 the army of the Grand Duke of Lithuania Žygimantas Kęstutaitis in Pabaiskas won against the Livonian Order. So life in northern Lithuania became calmer, what had to accelerate the population of this region.

On the other hand, the population has been accelerated by economical factors as well. In the 15th–18th centuries northern Lithuania, as well as a great number of other parts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, belonged to the Riga Hinterland. Then actual goods were wood and its

products (pitch, ashes). About the extents of this trade tells the fact that the state forests of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, rented out in the 16th–17th centuries, were deforested. Due to this the Grand Duchy of Lithuania since the 16th century started to protect state forests and since the 18th century started protecting private forests as well. The extents of wood production are noted in written sources of the early 17th century. The deforesting accelerated the setting of new agricultural lands, because the wood production was less profitable than agriculture (such agricultural goods as flax, hemp and cereal were very marketable in Riga). The deforesting accelerated the inner population of the region, especially of unpopulated sections; woodcutters often settled in the deforested places and became tillers.

Due to the lack of archaeological material of the 14th–the early 16th century it is difficult to solve the problem of nationality of habitants of the southern Semigallia. Some data is given by review of Semigallian lands in the 12th–13th century and linguistics. In the part “Semigallian lands in the 12th-13th century” it was mentioned, that in southern Semigallia the borders of the lands are coincident with those of the dialects, defined in the 19th–20th centuries. This reports not only the stay of some inhabitants, but also the joining the parts of the region into the various administrative structures of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; Eastern Semigallia belonged to then Upytė *Powiat* (administrative-territorial unit) of Trakai voivodship, while Western Semigallia went to the districts of Šiauliai and Beržėnai of the Duchy of Samogitia. According to linguistics data, southern Semigallia was populated by various ethnic groups. The former *Venta* land and southern part of Dobene land were populated by Samogitians (*Žemaičiai* in Lithuanian); the lands of Sidabrė and Žagarė were populated by Western Aukštaitians (the territory matches that of the Western Aukštaitian subdialect of Šiauliškiai); meanwhile, the lands of Plonė and Nogailena were populated by Eastern Aukštaičiai from Upytė district (the territory matches that of the East Aukštaitian subdialect of North Panevėžiškiai). The population processes may be mirrored by range of toponyms with the ending *-aičiai*, which is characteristic to the dialects of Samogitians and Middle Aukštaitians. Such toponyms in historical region of southern Semigallia are rather frequent (in the western part the percentage is 22–26) up to the Lygumai environs in contemporary Pakruojis district, i.e. up to the frontier of Upytė and Šiauliai *Powiats*.

According to the review of scarce archaeological material and comparison with historical data, it may be maintained that in both southern and northern Semigallia the processes of inner population reached the end in the early 16th century.

VII. CULTURAL DYNAMICS IN SEMIGALLIA IN THE 12TH–THE BEGINNING OF THE 16TH CENTURY

According to the previously presented typological analysis of archaeological finds (mostly jewellery), the identification of cultural, religious and ethnic changes, and the allocation of the lands, castle-counties, counties and their centres, the processes of cultural dynamics can be defined.

The researchers in the theory of social cyclism determine the stages of progress, stabilisation and regress. Some researchers accentuate the importance of inner and outer development to cultural processes.

Due to the changing geopolitical situation the cultural development of Semigallia was not even. Due to the decrement of Scandinavian activity, in the 12th century Semigallia suffered the regress together with all the Eastern Baltics. The former important interregional trade centres like Daugmale lost their significance. This 90-year regress ended in the late 12th century. Instead of Scandinavians the Curonians started their activities in eastern part of the Baltic Sea. In Semigallia also active were Finno-Ugrians of Saaremaa and Daugava basin. Such activity was caused by the stable importance of the Daugava River as a trade artery. Since the beginning of the 12th century holding sway over this trade rout became an important (both economical and political) task for Ruthenian duchies, being located in the middle basin of Daugava. This is mirrored in Semigallian archaeological finds. During this period some types of jewellery, characteristic to Finno-Ugrians, appeared: bronze zoomorphic pendants, trefoil-shaped spacer plates, complex breast ornaments (especially characteristic to the Livs of Daugava basin) etc.

On the basis of the analysis of material culture, the statement, held by Latvian archaeologists, researching trade and cultural connections, which maintains that during the period of the 10th–13th centuries the Balts were more active in trading with the Finno-Ugrians than the latter. But the Semigallian archaeological material of the 12th–13th century proposes a completely opposite tendency. In Semigallian material culture a cultural

influence of neighbouring Finno-Ugrians can be noticed. The connections with the Livs are confirmed not only by zoomorphic pendants, but by some of cruciform pendants, crescent-shaped spacer plates etc. as well. The first such items came to Semigallia as imports; later some of these items were produced according to import examples. Jewellery of Semigallian origin, found in Finno-Ugrian lands, also proclaims about active trade and cultural connections.

As well as in the beginning of the 12th century, the situation crucially changed in the end of this century—the beginning of the 13th century, when the Order of the Brothers of the Sword (since 1237 – the Livonian Order) moved and rapidly entrenched in the territories by the Daugava River and the Crusades began. Paradoxical, but in material culture instead of probable regress a progress can be noted, i.e. Semigallian culture effloresced. The important trade centres like Mežotne and Tērvete flowered anew. The new types of jewellery appeared (bronze and silver tin fibulas, both cast and hammered; bronze cylinder-shaped fibulas, characteristic to the culture of Western Europe; silver and bronze rings with a thickened and flared plate frontal part, with torque frontal part etc.). Some of slowly changing jewellery got new, especially ornate forms; the ornaments became very small, almost miniature. Out of this jewellery penannular fibulas with nub-shaped terminals (developed from penannular fibulas with poppyseed-shaped terminals) and zoomorphic terminals, zoomorphic pendants, spiral rings with frontal part ornamented with “eyes”, complex breast ornamentation etc. can be highlighted. Relatively with new ideology of Christianity the little bronze cross-pendants, quadrangular pendants etc. were spreading. The culture felt the syncretism of religions and traditions. All these changes should be related with the establishment of new centre – Riga, which significantly influenced material culture of all the tribes of the region.

Such process continued till the very end of the 13th century, when the Crusades in Semigallia ended. On that time, due both almost century-long wars and thus caused emigrations Semigallia suffered a great depopulation (except some southern lands of Semigallia).

When comparing together southern and northern parts of Semigallia, the boundary of which matches the state border of contemporary Latvia and Lithuania, and using a *centre/periphery structure* theory and the *typological method*, there comes out a conclusion, that the previously mentioned cultural progress was not even and the southern part of Semigallia

lacked behind. Firstly, this part was a *periphery*, located rather far from trade routs of Daugava and Lielupe, so the active cultural processes came later and were not as rapid as in the *centres* of northern part of Semigallia. Of course, some exceptions existed; so can be named the lands of Western Semigallia – Venta, Žagarė and Sidabrė.

The regress in the northern part of Semigallia lasted until the end of the 14th century; meanwhile in southern part it ended even at the end of the 15th—the beginning of the 16th century. On this time the Order began building a system of defensive castles (Dobele, Tērvete, Mežotne, and Bauske) for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, i.e. changing the geopolitical situation of the region. By these castles new serving settlements with churches (chapels) emerged. In turn, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania started arranging the system of defensive castles in the lands of Šiauliai and Upytė; unfortunately, the historical sources are extremely scarce on this theme. In Semigallia the military confrontation lasted up to the early 15th century, i.e. the battles of Žalgiris in 1410 and Pabaiskas in 1435.

There are very few excavated or explored archaeological monuments, dating to the late 13th—middle of the 14th century. The data of Dobele cemetery allows proposing that some features of Semigallian culture remained till the end of the 14th century. However, the jewellery forms (bronze penannular fibulas with poppyseed-shaped terminals and nub-shaped terminals, spiral rings with ornamentation of points and “eyes”, zoomorphic and crescent-shaped pendants etc.) can be defined as degraded: in comparison with earlier period they became rude. Yet in the end of the 14th century new forms, related with Catholic culture of Western Europe, appeared (bronze rosette-shaped, ring-shaped fibulas with inscriptions *AVE MARIA*). So, the end of the 14th century can be named as a new stage of cultural progress in northern part of Semigallia. Meanwhile southern Semigallia remained a periphery.

In 1529 the border of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Livonia became determined. In northern part of Semigallia the *centres* started forming anew; central complexes most often contained a masonry castle, a town, a marketplace and a church). Only Dobele revived in the same place (1335), while the others moved to new places (Bauske in 1443, Mitau (Jelgava) in 1265). In the later 15th—the early 16th century the centres of the same structure formed in southern Semigallia as well. But, in contrast to the northern part, most of the centres established in old places or by (Kalnelis – Joniškis, Žagarė, Plonė – Plonėnai, Šiurpė – Pašvitinys,

Guostagalīs – Linkuva, Šimoniai – Pasvalys etc.). Also new settlements appeared in various places of the region (the area of Linkuva ridge from Martynišķiai in contemporary Joniškis district to Joniškėlis–Pasvalys). The population of the region reached its peak.

Population and developing of the centres lasted till the middle of the 17th century. A special acceleration was felt in the late 16th–the early 17th century. The capital of the Duchy of Curonia and Semigallia was moved to Mītau (Jelgava) in 1617; this town got Magdeburgian privileges in 1573, Biržai – in 1586, Bauske in 1615, and Joniškis in 1616. However, this period of Semigallia history requires a separate study.

CONCLUSIONS

From the previously presented review of researches it can be concluded, that northern, i.e. contemporary Latvian part of Semigallia has been widely investigated, while various studies of southern, i.e. Lithuanian Semigallia have started only in these latter years.

The analysis using interdisciplinary methods allows maintaining that in the 12th–13th century Semigallia there were 14 more or less populated lands with the centres in well fortified hillforts and serving settlements. The lands were composed of castle-counties or simple counties with central villages and dependent fields.

The oldest line, separating Western and Eastern Semigallia since the 12th–13th century and earlier was the Virčiuvīs River. Later, in the 16th–the 19th centuries, it separated *Powiats* of Šiauliai and Upytė.

The non-mentioning of 4 southern lands of Semigallia with positive Semigallian material culture in written sources of the 13th–14th century may be questioned. That could happen because of their weak dependence of Aukštaitian Upytė, Samogitian Šiauliai lands and the lands of Samogitian Duke Vyķintas, thus becoming not noticeable. This statement helps not only studying the expansion directions of Lithuanians to the northern Balts in the period of early statehood, but the course and organisation of the Crusades in the 13th century. It should be noted, that the small lands of Dobele, Tėrvete, Źagarė and Sidabrė resisted the Order at longest, while much bigger ones of Dobene, Sparnene, Plonė, and Nogailene as battle objects were mentioned only a couple of times or not noted at all.

The detailed mapping of the 12th–13th century Semigallian and other Baltic tribes' lands gives information not only on former administrative regions and their territories, but also helps solving some questions of social archaeology like tribal population (in quantity and territory), its inner organisation etc. The mentioned also helps analysing the processes of population and ethnics and culture.

The continuity of separative bounders and lifestyle can longest be noted in the Lithuanian part of Semigallia. It may be maintained, that the dialects and subdialects of the northern part of contemporary Lithuania as well as the administrative structures of the northern part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th–the 18th century (the northern *Powiaty* of Samogitian Duchy and Trakai voivodship) formed according to the former administrative units of Semigallia of the 12th–13th century. This also contributes in determining the development of incorporation of southern Semigallian lands into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and population in the 15–16th century; it is crucial at the lack of archaeological and historical data. In this part of Semigallia the frequent continuity of the old centres is noticed (Žagarė, Sidabrė – to Joniškis, Plonė – to Didieji Plonėnai, Šiurpė – to Pašvitinys, Guostagalis – to Linkuva, Paliečiai – to Pakruojis, Šimoniai – to Pasvalys etc.).

A completely different situation formed in Latvian part of Semigallia, then belonging to the Livonian Order. In this region the politics of the Order was a bit different: in order to entrench Christianity and increase loyalty local inhabitants were often coercively moved to new and new places. This is confirmed by location of Semigallian toponyms (*zemgaļi, zemgalieši, zeimji, zaimji*) in Latvia and absence of distinctive differences in dialects. The administrative structure of the 16th–18th century differed from the old one, as well as location of new centres. Most of them declined (Dobene, Sparnene, Tērvete, Silene, Mežotne etc.); only single cases of continuity may be noticed (Dobele). Due to geographical and military-political circumstances new centres appeared (Jelgava, Bauske).

The Crusades, started in the end of the 12th–the beginning of the 13th century, significantly influenced the cultural development of Semigallia. But various types of influence came from the forming and newly-born state of Lithuania as well.

In this period both material and spiritual cultures changed: since the late 12th–the early 13th century a custom of cremation spread; this custom may be concerned with mentioned expansion of Lithuanians. How-

ever, the custom of inhumation was still active. After a while, since the 3rd–8th decades of the 13th century, when the Order entrenched in Mežotne in Eastern Semigallia, Christianity started rapidly spreading. This is confirmed by Christian items – cross-pendants, changing burial customs etc. The entrenchment of Christianity in northern Semigallia was active in the 14th–the early 16th century, while in southern Semigallia it took place in the late 15th–the 17th century.

Small number of the graves of the 12th–13th centuries and of the 14th–15th centuries may be explained by alternative burial customs, which do not remain in archaeological monuments. Thus, when studying the population of the region, the usage of data of the cemeteries should be cautious.

Long-lasting Crusades in Eastern Baltics influenced migration processes of the late 13th century. Since 1272–1290 by this Semigallia was especially affected. A great part of Semigallians was forced to migrate to Lithuania (5 directions were defined); some of Semigallians were forcibly moved by the Order to the other regions of Livonia – Curonia and Vidzeme.

The population of Semigallia in the 14th–16th centuries was not even; northern Semigallia was populated by tribes, conquered by the Livonian Order. The military strategy, i.e. defensive lines of the castles for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, influenced migration as well. In Lithuanian, i.e. southern Semigallia population accelerated since the late 15th century.

After the period of Crusades, on the circumstances of changed political, religious and cultural situation, the development of Semigallia took two separate directions; northern part of Semigallia developed according to the Livonian, i.e. Western European model, while the southern one took the model of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, i.e. Middle European. A long and complicated stage of development of Semigallia ended in the 14th–15th century, when a new epoch of Europe – the Modern Times – came. However, this period requires a separate study.

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ŽIEMGALA XII A. PABAIGOJE – XVI A. PRADŽIOJE. KULTŪRINIAI PROCESAI

Santrauka

Darbo chronologijos pradžia – XII a. pabaiga – sutampa su nauju Žiemgalos istorijos etapu – Vėlyvojo geležies amžiaus pabaiga ir Kryžiaus karų (kartu ir Viduramžių) pradžia.

Nagrinėjamą laikotarpį galima suskirstyti į 2 dalis su joms būdingais bruožais:

1. XII a. pabaiga – 1290 m. – Kryžiaus karų Žiemgaloje laikotarpis;
2. XIV a. – XVI a. pirmoji pusė – „Tamsieji amžiai“. Šis laikotarpis skirstomas į šiuos etapus:
 2. 1. XIV a. – XV a. vidurys. Karinė konfrontacija Livonijos ir LDK pasienio regionuose. 2 skirtingi nagrinėjamo regiono raidos modeliai, krašto apgyvendinimas;
 2. 2. XV a. vidurys – XVI a. pirmoji pusė. Karinės konfrontacijos pabaiga (1426–1435 m.) ir intensyvus krašto apgyvendinimo etapas. Gausus gyvenamų vietovių paminėjimas XV a. pabaigoje – XVI a. pirmojoje pusėje.

Darbo chronologijos pabaiga – XVI a. pirmoji pusė – susijusi su nauju tyrinėjamo regiono istorijos laikotarpiu: Viduramžių pabaiga – Naujųjų amžių pradžia.

Tikslas. Istoriniai ir archeologiniai duomenys apie XII–XVI a. Žiemgalą, kaip ir ankstesnius laikotarpius, pradėti kaupti ir nagrinėti jau nuo XIX a. Tačiau šį laikotarpį tyrinėtojai ilgą laiką beveik ignoravo, apsiribodami vien keletu teiginių, pavyzdžiui, kad XII–XIII a. medžiagos iš lietuviškosios Žiemgalos beveik nėra, po Kryžiaus žygių regionas liko neapgyvendinta dykra ir panašiai.

Kita kliūtis, su kuria susidurta nagrinėjant šią problemą – netikslus dirbinių ar jų komplektų datavimas, apsunkinantis sukauptos archeologinės medžiagos interpretavimą. Viso regiono medžiaga iki šiol nebuvo nagrinėta apibendrintai, tik atskirai – Latvijoje apsiribota vien latviška medžiaga, o Lietuvoje – lietuviška.

Darbe keliami šie tikslai:

- 1) atlikti istorinio Žiemgalos regiono kultūrinės dinamikos (procesų) analizę – nustatyti progreso ir regreso ciklus;

- 2) išnagrinėti, kaip skyrėsi raidos procesai, vykę abiejose tiriamo regiono dalyse – centruose ir periferijose;
- 3) išskirti žemes bei jas sudariusius smulkesnius vienetus bei centrus;
- 4) nustatyti žiemgalių migracijas ir jos mastus;
- 5) nustatyti tiriamo regiono vystymosi ir apgyvendinimo raidos skirtumus XIV a. – XVI a. pradžioje.

Naujumas ir aktualumas

Darbe nagrinėjamas mažiausiai pažįstamas XII a. pabaigos – XVI a. pirmosios pusės laikotarpis.

Peržiūrėtas ir panaudotas nemažas tyrinėjimų metu ir atsitiktinai rastų dirbinių kiekis (keletas tūkstančių), saugomas įvairiuose Lietuvos ir Latvijos muziejuose. Peržiūrėtos ir dešimtys tyrinėjimų ataskaitų, nuotraukų, negatyvų, saugomų įvairiuose minėtų šalių institucijų archyvuose.

Taikant tipologinį metodą kiek įmanoma tiksliau sudatuoti dirbiniai bei jų komplektai. Interpretuota naujai „atrasta“ medžiaga, pakoreguoti kai kurie enciklopediniai tapę teiginiai. Taip pat naujai interpretuoti seni teiginiai apie žiemgalių žemes ir jų struktūrą, migracijas XIII a. antrojoje pusėje, krikščionybės plitimą, apgyvendinimo raidą po Kryžiaus karų XIV–XV a.

Nagrinėjant iškeltus tikslus, taikomi tradiciniai moksliniai **metodai** – tipologinis, kartografinis, tarpdalykinis, palyginamasis (ypač kalbant apie žiemgalių žemes, migracijas XIII a. antrojoje pusėje), statistinis.

Pastaruojų metu Lietuvos archeologijos moksle pradėti taikyti įvairūs iš Vakarų ir ypač iš Šiaurės Europos perimtos **teorijos** – centro-periferijos, kultūrinės dinamikos (cikliškumo).

Išvados

Apžvelgus tyrinėjimų istoriją matyti, kad iki šiol daugiausiai buvo tyrinėta šiaurinė Žiemgalos dalis, pietinė plačiau pradėta tyrinėti tik pastaruojų metu.

Pritaikius tarpdalykinių mokslų palyginamąją analizę nustatyta, kad Žiemgaloje XII–XIII a. buvo apie 14 tankiau ar rečiau gyvenamų žemių su centrais gerai įtvirtintuose piliakalniuose bei papėdės gyvenvietėmis. Jas sudarė pilių apygardos arba tiesiog apygardos su centriniais kaimais bei jiems priklausančiomis laukų teritorijomis.

Seniausia riba XII–XIII a. tarp Vakarų ir Rytų Žiemgalos buvo Virčiuvio upė. Ji kaip skiriamoji riba tarnavo ne tik nagrinėjamu laikotarpiu, bet ir anksčiau. Skiriamąja riba Virčiuvis išliko ir vėliau: XVI–XIX a. skyrė Šiaulių bei Upytės pavietus.

Gali kilti klausimas, kodėl 4 pietinės žiemgalių žemės, kurių materialinė kultūra yra visiškai žiemgališka, nėra minimos rašytiniuose XIII–XIV a. šaltiniuose. Tai galėjo atsitikti dėl tos priežasties, kad jos XII a. pabaigoje – XIII a. daugiau ar mažiau buvo priklausomos nuo aukštaičių Upytės ir žemaičių Šiaulių bei žemaičių kunigaikščio Vykinto žemių, todėl nepateko į istorinių šaltinių akiratį. Tai padeda nagrinėti ne tik lietuvių ekspansijos kryptis į šiaurines baltų žemes ankstyvuju valstybės laikotarpiu, bet ir Kryžiaus žygių eigą bei organizavimą XIII a. Pastebėta, kad Ordinui ilgiausiai priešinosi mažas teritorijas užimančios Duobės, Tervetės, Žagarės, Sidabrės žemės, tuo tarpu didesnės (Duobenė, Sparnenė, Plonė, Nuogailena) vykusiose kovose yra minimos vos kelis kartus arba visai nėra kalbama apie jose vykusius karo veiksmus.

Detalus XII–XIII a. žiemgalių bei kitų baltų žemių kartografavimas ne tik suteikia duomenų apie buvusių teritorinių junginių ribas ir jų dydžius, bet padeda nagrinėti ir kai kuriuos socialinės archeologijos klausimus – gentinės teritorinės bendruomenės dydį, jos vidinę organizaciją ir panašiai. Taip pat – apgyvendinimo raidą ir vykusius etnokultūrinius procesus.

Ilgiausiai skiriamųjų ribų ir gyvenamosios teritorijos galima atsekti lietuviškoje Žiemgalos dalyje. Galima teigti, kad dabartinės Šiaurės Lietuvos tarmės, patarmės bei šnektos, XVI–XVIII a. administraciniai junginiai šiaurinėje LDK dalyje (Žemaitijos kunigaikštystės, Trakų vaivadijos šiauriniai pavietai) formavosi XII–XIII a. buvusių žiemgalių administracinių vienetų pagrindu. Kita vertus, kalbiniai duomenys padeda nustatyti (ypač kai trūksta archeologinių ir istorinių duomenų) pietinių žiemgalių žemių palaipsnio prijungimo prie LDK ir krašto apgyvendinimo XV–XVI a. raidą. Šioje Žiemgalos dalyje daugeliu atvejų pastebimas buvusių centrų tęstinumas (Žagarė, Sidabrė – Joniškis, Plonė – Didieji Plonėnai, Šiurpė – Pašvitinys, Guostagalys – Linkuva, Paliečiai – Pakruojis, Šimonai – Pasvalys ir kt.).

Visai kitokia padėtis susiklostė latviškoje Žiemgalos dalyje, kuri tuo metu priklausė Livonijos ordinui. Čia Ordinas laikėsi kiek kitokios politikos: siekdamas greičiau įtvirtinti krikščionybę bei padaryti gyventojus lojaliais, dažnai juos kilnodavo iš vienos vietos į kitą. Tai patvirtintų ir toponimų, sietinų su žiemgalių etnosu (*zemgaļi*, *zemgalieši*, *zeimji*, *zaim-*

ji), išsidėstymas Latvijoje. Šioje Latvijos dalyje nėra ir ryškių tarminių skirtumų. O administracinis suskirstymas XVI–XVIII a. nesutapo su senuoju, kaip ir beveik nepastebimas buvusių centrų tęstinumas. Didžioji dalis buvusių centrų sunyko – Duobė, Sparnenė, Tervetė, Silenė, Mežuotnė ir kt., tik pavieniais atvejais galima konstatuoti jų tęstinumą (Duobelė). Šioje Žiemgalos dalyje dėl geografinės padėties ir susiklosčiusių karinių bei politinių aplinkybių atsirado naujų centrų (Jelgava, Bauskė).

XII a. pabaigoje – XIII a. pradžioje prasidėję Kryžiaus žygiai pakeitė tyrinėjamo regiono kultūrinę raidą. Kita vertus, šiuo laikotarpiu pietiniai, pietryčių žiemgaliai taip pat patyrė įvairių įtakų iš lietuvių – besiformuojančios ir XIII a. 4 dešimtmetyje susikūrusios Lietuvos valstybės.

Šiuo laikotarpiu kito ne tik materialinė, bet ir dvasinė kultūra: Žiemgaloje nuo XII a. pabaigos – XIII a. pradžios pradeda plisti mirusiųjų deginimo paprotys, sietinas su minėta lietuvių ekspansija. Tačiau vis dar išlieka griautinis laidojimo būdas. Netrukus nuo XIII a. 3–8 dešimtmečių pradžios (Ordinui iš pradžių įsitvirtinus Rytų Žiemgaloje – Mežuotnėje) pradeda sparčiai plisti krikščionybė. Tai patvirtina su krikščionyste susiję dirbiniai – kryželiai bei kiti, kintantis laidojimo būdas. Šiaurinėje Žiemgaloje krikščionybės įsitvirtinimo procesas tęsėsi XIV a. – XVI a. pradžioje, o pietinėje Žiemgaloje – XV a. pabaigoje – XVI a. Dėl XVI–XVII a. vykusios Reformacijos ir po jos sekusios Kontrreformacijos krikščionybės plitimas įgavo visai kitą pagreitį ir pobūdį.

XII–XIII a., taip pat ir XIV–XV a. mažas kapų kiekis gali būti aiškiamas alternatyvių, archeologijos metodais neaptinkamų laidojimo papročių atsiradimu. Todėl, nagrinėjant regiono apgyvendinimo raidą, senkapių medžiagą naudoti reikėtų atsargiai.

Ilgalaikiai Kryžiaus karai Rytiniame Pabaltijyje įtakojo migracinius procesus XIII a. antrojoje pusėje. Šie procesai nuo 1272–1290 m. ypač paveikė ir Žiemgalą. Nemaža žiemgalių dalis buvo priversti migruoti į Lietuvą (atsekamos 5 migracijos kryptys), likę Ordino iškeldinti į kitus Livonijos regionus – Kuršą, Vidžemę.

XIV–XVI a. Žiemgala buvo apgyvendinta netolygiai; šiaurinė dalis apgyvendinta Livonijos ordino nukariautomis gentimis. Iš pradžių procesus įtakojo karinė strategija: suformuota gynybinė pilių linija prieš LDK. Lietuviškoje (pietinėje) dalyje apgyvendinimo procesai suaktyvėjo nuo XV a. antrosios pusės.

Pasibaigus Kryžiaus žygiams, pakitus politinei, religinei, kultūrinei situacijoms, Žiemgalos raida pasuko dviem skirtingais keliais: šiaurinė

vystėsi pagal Livonijos (Vakarų Europos) modelį, o pietinė – pagal LDK (Vidurio Europos). Ilgas ir sudėtingas raidos etapas XIV–XV a. baigėsi naujos Europos istorinės epochos pradžia – Naujaisiais laikais. Tai jau atskiro tyrinėjimo užduotis.

Išskiriami šie kultūrinės dinamikos procesai:

- 1) XII a. dėl sumenkusių skandinavų Žiemgala, kaip ir visas Rytų Pabaltijys, patyrė regresą. Dalis iki tol tarpregioninėje prekyboje svarbių centrų prarado savo reikšmę (pvz., Daugmalė). Šis regresas, trukęs apie 90 metų, baigėsi XII a.
- 2) Situacija kardinaliai pasikeitė XII a. pabaigoje – XIII a. pirmajame ketvirtyje, kai į Padauguvį atsikėlė ir greitai įsitvirtino Kalavijuočių ordinas (nuo 1237 m. – Livonijos) ir prasidėjo Kryžiaus karai. Paradoksalu, tačiau vietoje tikėtino regresio materialinėje kultūroje pastebimas progresas – žiemgalių kultūra suklestėjo. Šis klestėjimas tęsėsi iki pat Kryžiaus karų pabaigos XIII a. Karams baigiantis, regionas (išskyrus kai kurias pietines Upmālės žemes) tiek dėl beveik 100 metų užtrukusių karų, tiek dėl jų sukeltų išorinių migracijų patyrė didelę depopuliaciją. Dalis senųjų centrų (Mežuotnė, Tervetė) iš naujo suklestėjo. Dirbiniai įgavo naujų formų, būdingų Vakarų Europos kultūrai. Kai kurie senieji dirbiniai, iki tol kitę lėtai, tapo ypač puošnūs; papuošalai itin sumažėjo – liko bemaž miniatiūriniai.
- 3) Regresas šiaurinėje tiriamo regiono dalyje tęsėsi iki XIV a. pabaigos, o pietinėje net iki XV a. pabaigos – XVI a. pradžios.

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