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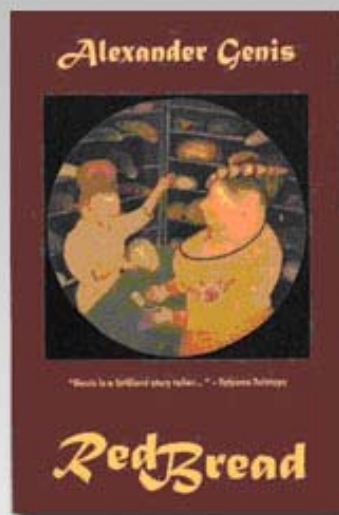
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GENDER ROLES IN THE PREHISTORIC COMMUNITIES OF WEST LITHUANIA'S MICRO-AREAS BETWEEN THE LATE ROMAN IRON AGE AND THE LATE MIGRATION PERIOD: CONTINUITY OR CHANGE?

RASA BANYTĖ-ROWELL

This article surveys grave goods found in Žviliai and Pagrybis Cemeteries in the Upper Jūra region (West Lithuania) as symbols of gender. Using the WinBASP software seriation tool, male and female types of grave goods were distinguished as well as types common to both genders. The author seeks to detect changes and continuity in the burial traditions for males and females in respect to the tradition of placing specific types of grave goods in burials from the three periods (Late Roman Iron Age, Early Migration Period, Late Migration Period). If grave goods are regarded as gender symbols, their choice for males and females probably reflects areas of 'masculinity' and 'femininity' in real life. This phenomenon can be confirmed with the help of Baltic, Germanic, and Slavonic mythology sources in which the domains of the gods and humans are intertwined.

Keywords: Žviliai and Pagrybis cemeteries, grave goods, gender, seriation, symbols of 'masculinity' and 'femininity'.

Straipsnyje apžvelgiamos įkapės kaip lyties (kultūrine prasme, angl. gender) simboliai, užfiksuoti Jūros aukštupio Žvilių ir Pagrybio kapinyuose (Vakarų Lietuva). Naudojant WinBASP programos seriacijos įrankį buvo išskirti vyriškieji ir moteriškieji įkapių tipai, taip pat tipai, bendri abiem lytims. Autorė siekia nustatyti vyrų ir moterų laidojimo tradicijų pokyčius bei tęstinumą, susijusį su tradicija dėti tam tikrą įkapę į trijų laikotarpių (Vėlyvojo romėniškojo, Ankstyvojo tautų kraustymosi ir Vėlyvojo tautų kraustymosi periodų) kapus. Jei įkapes vertiname kaip lyties simbolius, jų parinkimas vyrams ir moterims greičiausiai atspindi vyriškumo ir moteriškumo sritis tikrovėje. Šis fenomenas gali būti patikrintas su baltų, germanų ir slavų mitologijos šaltinių, kuriuose dievų ir žmonių veiklos sferos yra persipynusios, pagalba.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: Žvilių ir Pagrybio kapinytai, įkapės, lyties giminiškumas, vyriškumo ir moteriškumo simboliai.

INTRODUCTION¹

Assessing the social and gender relations in prehistoric societies on the basis of the data obtained from burial sites is undoubtedly a risky method but in many cases this is the only possible way of understanding the complex nature of the symbols (such as grave goods) which were

used by a living society to stress the real or supposed *ideal* position of a dead person in a living or a *transcendental* community. Statistics revealing the quantity and quality of the grave goods provide a more or less strained interpretation of prehistoric reality but from this it is possible to see at least some silhouettes in 'a faded picture of the past'.

¹ The first version of this paper was presented in the 23–27 May 2007 symposium 'Rank, Gender and Society around the Baltic 400–1400 AD', which was held in Kuressaare, Estonia, and was organised by Prof. Marika Mägi of the Institute of History, Tallinn University.

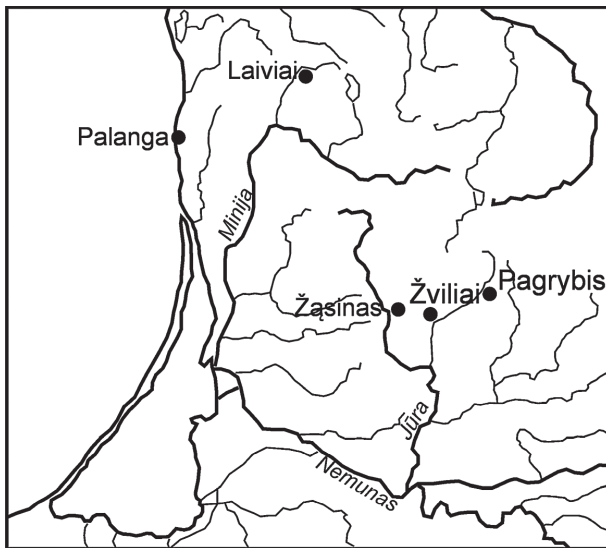


Fig. 1. A map showing the West Lithuanian cemeteries discussed in the text. Map by R. Banytė-Rowell.

Gender is a cultural phenomenon formed by an individual's self-identification and his or her identification by others with a specific gender category on the basis of a culturally perceived sexual difference. It results in the categorisation of individuals, artefacts, spaces, and bodies. Gender and sex may coincide, but not in every case (Gilchrist 1999, p.XV; Díaz-Andreu 2005, p.14). Gender studies are relatively new in Baltic archaeology, but even so during the past decade gender has been an important theme for several researchers and still is today. Andris Šnē's (2002, pp.178–201, 451–453) monograph devoted to social relationships in what is now East Latvia in the 7th–12th centuries has a separate chapter that discusses gender relations in East Latvian societies on the basis of cemetery data. Laurynas Kurila's doctoral dissertation presents a varied and full analysis of the mortuary record in reconstructing the social organization of East Lithuania in the 3rd–12th centuries. The status of the deceased was analysed according to sex/gender and age (Kurila 2009). Kurila's article on the status of children is also very important in respect to gender identity (Ku-

řila 2007). Andra Simniškytė (2007) has drawn attention to a phenomenon known from various cultural areas and periods, namely female burials with weapons (where sex was determined anthropologically). She gives several interpretations as to the reasons for females 'being armed' while also presenting interesting examples from various written sources. Simniškytė's insights pointed in several directions and are therefore very helpful for understanding the tradition of female burials with male attributes. This issue is not dealt with in detail here since Simniškytė's interpretations are deep and based soundly on evidence. Simniškytė's very recently published study devoted to Iron Age Selonia has several chapters covering social aspects of the burial traditions including questions of sex and gender (Simniškytė 2013, pp.69, 124–128, 157–158, 165–170). All of the studies cited here are supported by a theoretical discussion which is very useful for the reader. These works were written on the basis of data from the East parts of modern Latvia and Lithuania. This article deals with a small microregion in West Lithuania, namely the SW part of Žemaitija (Samogitia).

If one accepts the view that a change occurred in women's roles in prehistoric Scandinavian societies during the Iron Age, a view, which is based on a decline of the fertility cults and the rising importance of warriors (Dommasnes 1991, p.72) and which seeks to show martial values in the cultural sphere, it is interesting to see whether signs of similar processes, or vice versa, can be seen in the East Baltic, especially in West Lithuanian areas. When discussing the balance of a literal or more symbolic expression of 'femininity' and 'masculinity' in burial customs based on cemetery data, it is worth looking for some consistent patterns over a longer period of time. This article presents an analysis of data from two geographically close cemeteries in West Lithuania, which were in use between the Late Roman Period and the Late Migration Period (3rd–8th centuries AD) (Žvilijai and Pagrybis) (Fig. 1). A closer inspection

of grave good assemblages with 'a gender-related function' from cemeteries used by neighbouring communities should allow the detection of very local burial traditions that affect the deposition of a particular set of items in the burials. These local traditions can vary even in the space of so-called 'culturally uniform' areas within a given period. According to Bożena Werbart (1995, pp.126–128), the labels 'male', 'female', and 'genderless' for object types such as grave goods can be readjusted in light of the sources of several archaeological sites and more or less distant geographical areas. Gender is not universal; its definition and variation in each society differs within and between regions, in specific cemeteries, and over time (Gilchrist 1999, p.94; Díaz-Andreu 2005, pp.16–17). Therefore generalisations about the similarities of burial features in a broader regional context are probably more effective with the understanding that multi-local traditional features also existed. An analysis of the latter is meaningful if one believes that the exception proves the rule. 'Gender, like most organizational and structural phenomena, is a conceptual category: the members of a group share a core identity and set of attributes, but the boundaries of the category are 'fuzzy', not only across time and space but within any one society at any given point in time' (Lynne Costin 1996, p.120). Therefore it is interesting to observe the burial rite traditions in a chosen community so as to try to perceive what types of grave goods were symbols of the 'core identity' and what items represent the boundaries and a twisting of male and female gender identity, which in some cases can be signs of a so-called 'third gender'. This article mostly used statistical methods² to test the supposition that grave goods, as such, reflect the dead person's former individuality, which can now be treated as *real* or *supposed* by the mem-

bers of his community. Burial customs for arranging the dead in the grave pit should be a matter of routine as well. According to Margarita Díaz-Andreu (2005, pp.22–23), 'objects provide meanings that are inserted into a net of identities linked together by codes'. Using the seriation of burials as units and grave goods as types, which coincide with these units, the article tries to see how much the composition of male and female grave goods differ, what they have in common, and where child burials lie in this scheme. Every type in the database was included as a general type of a specific grave good distinguishable by its function, but not as an archaeological type set among other items with the same function. Some types are represented by jewellery or a decorative clothing element (e.g. neck-rings, necklaces or single beads-amulets, pins, brooches, bracelets, rings, and the remains of belts or headdresses). The pin group usually contains items of several typologically different shapes, but the first database, for example, included cruciform and crook-shaped pins in a single type labelled 'pins'. Other types include weaponry (e.g. spearheads, swords), tools (e.g. awls, spindle whorls), riding gear, and items with 'clear' ritual functions such as drinking horns and potsherds. In order to have the largest possible number of burial assemblages for comparison, it was decided to include less distinctive item fragments such as spirals, mounting fragments, and bronze chain fragments among the types. For successful seriation, each burial needed to contain at least two types. Therefore the tables do not include any burials with only one grave good or none at all. The article's main aim is to discuss areas of 'femininity' and 'masculinity' and their borders according to the burial assemblages while ignoring the question of gender status because establishing the latter would require various quan-

² The seriation of the grave good types found in Žviliai and Pagrybis cemeteries was made using the WinBASP software (The Bonn Archaeological Software Package version 5.43).

titative and qualitative analyses of the burial data. Gender roles were, of course, closely related to gender status; it would be impossible to avoid this subject completely here, but it is discussed only in specific cases.

The burial assemblages from Žviliai and Pagrybis cemeteries (Šilalė District), which are in the neighbourhood of the upper basin of the River Jūra (Fig. 1), were chosen as the main sources. These burial sites were investigated by Laima Vaitkunskienė, who published the results and finds of her excavations in separate volumes of *Lietuvos archeologija* (Pagrybis cemetery – Vaitkunskienė 1995b; Žviliai cemetery – Vaitkunskienė 1999). She was very sensitive to detail during her investigations, which is very important for understanding the full context of the burial finds. Her published work presents not only professional descriptions of the burials *in situ*, but also valuable interpretations of the material in respect to the chronology of the finds and the ethnic identity, social structure, and belief system of the cemeteries' communities. The present article uses Late Roman Iron Age and Late Migration Period burials in Žviliai cemetery. Pagrybis cemetery belongs exclusively to the 5th–6th centuries³, so this material was used to seriate the burials and grave good types dating to the Early Migration Period. Of course, it would be better if a group of 5th–6th-century burials had been found among those investigated at Žviliai, but with the exception of several burials from the first half of 5th century, this chronological stratum was missing and so the Pagrybis burials were able to fill this gap in the database. The geographically close communities which used Žviliai and Pagrybis cemeteries should have had very similar

'internal conditions' for their economy due to the similar landscape and geographical location. Over time, local life was also influenced by various 'external conditions', which made the local culture's features more or less volatile/changeable. This was the reason for splitting the data from these burials into three chronological groups: Late Roman Iron Age, Early Migration Period, and Late Migration Period. It should be noted that the computer rejected the many disturbed burials at Žviliai and Pagrybis cemeteries and the many burials at Pagrybis with no grave goods or with only one grave good type.

Vaitkunskienė (1995b, pp.141–145, Table 14; 1999, pp.195–205, Table 17) published tables containing data about the furnishing of the Žviliai and Pagrybis burials, presenting the burial units as rows in numerical order with the grave good types as columns in numerical order. One main aim in entering the data from Žviliai and Pagrybis cemeteries into the WinBASP dataset was to see how much the grave good combinations differed in the male and female burials and what they have in common. Statistical methods were used to separate the data into groups of units that were connected by the types which they contained. A round marker appears at every point where a type is thus present in a unit. Out of curiosity about the prospective seriation results, no marks were initially made about the gender of the individuals when entering the units in the dataset. After later comparing the seriation matrixes and gender symbols with the burial rows, the computer's ability to detect 'an archaeological gender' and even to give some suggestions when the gender is uncertain was astonishing.

³ The finds from Pagrybis cemetery have not yet been fully examined in the framework of the inter-regional periodisation of Central Europe and the chronology of the Western Balts, but judging from the brooch types, the Pagrybis burials can be dated to the middle of Phase D, Phases D/E–E2 (early 5th – late 6th centuries) (c.f. Vaitkunskienė 1995a, pp.117–122, Fig. 164–171; Kowalski 2000, Table 39; Bitner-Wróblewska 2001, pp.41–52, 179, Plate LIX; 2007, pp.71–85, Fig. 1–4, Table 3–4).

GRAVE GOODS AS GENDER ATTRIBUTES ACCORDING TO THE SERIATION MATRIXES OF THE ŽVILIAI AND PAGRYBIS BURIALS

Žviliai cemetery burials from the Late Roman Iron Age

The grave goods and burials from Žviliai cemetery date mostly to the 3rd–4th centuries (Phases C1b–C3), a much smaller number of burials (32, 47, 48, 58, 82, 112, 113, 130, 137, 140, 143A, 143B, 159, 277, 278, 282, 284) dating to the turn of the 5th century and the first half of the 5th century (i.e. Phases C3/D, D)⁴. The burials from the Late Roman Iron Age and the turn of the Early Migration Period (3rd – the first half of the 5th centuries) comprise 60% of all the burials investigated so far in Žviliai (182 burials, 185 individuals), other burials, according to Vaitkunskienė (1999, p.99, Table 3), should be attributed to the second half of the Middle Iron Age (7th–8th centuries: 99 burials, 101 individuals) and the Late Iron Age (10th–12th centuries: 22 burials, 23 individuals). These West Lithuanian burials are inhumations, but the soil has destroyed most of the skeletons in Žviliai cemetery. As a consequence, Vaitkunskienė determined the gender using the archaeological indications.

All of the burial assemblages (so-called units) of 185 individuals from the Late Roman Iron Age and Phase D were first entered in the dataset. Because seriation requires a unit have at least two types and a type occur at least twice, some burials were removed from the matrix and some types such as shield bosses (bur. 48), tweezers (bur.152), fishhooks (bur. 85), and fire strikers (bur. 58) were omitted from the seriation (Table 1).

Two ‘wings’ can be seen in the table, a male ‘wing’ and a female ‘wing’ with a mixed group, comprised mostly of the burials of children of various ages and a few burials of adults of inde-

terminate gender, between them (Table 1). Some male and female child burials and some ‘sexless’ gender burials also ended up in the extremes of the male and female ‘wings’. The male side displays a wider spectrum of grave good types. The custom of placing weapons, riding or equestrian gear, and tools (spearheads, axes, knives, whetstones, spurs, and bridle pieces) in male burials naturally expands the choice of implements able to emphasise the social-economic and martial character of the male role. Vaitkunskienė (1995b, p.95; 1999, p.138) stressed the possibility that some knives (especially the larger ones) represented a weapon type in male burials, despite the fact that the knives of this period lacked the obvious features of so-called ‘fighting knives’. Meanwhile, only two tool types, namely spindle whorls and awls, can be deemed symbols of ‘femininity’ and its role in the everyday life. Despite the fact that knives represented one of the most popular items in (adult and subadult) male burials, the placing of knives in female burials was not entirely prohibited. Three cases of small knives occur in female burials from the 3rd – early 5th centuries (bur. 108, 144, 291).

The seriation matrix shows that some jewellery types represent a ‘unisex’ line while others have strictly divided areas of male and female styles of dressing. The most common type of jewellery for both genders, including children, was the pin. Rings were also worn by both sexes. The distribution of bracelets among the burials shows that it is uniform for the female burial assemblages and also typical for child/adolescent burials, but quite rare in male burials. Neck-rings were placed more frequently in female burials than in male ones. Amber beads – amulets protected both males and females, but were the most important for children, while bead necklaces were more frequent in female burials. Headdresses with metal decoration were rare and occur only in female burials. Belts (their remnants in the form of metal parts, mostly buckles)

⁴ For a more detailed chronological analysis of the Late Roman Iron Age burials in Žviliai cemetery, see Banytė-Rowell 2011.

Continuation of Table 1

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
	267	×									•	•		•											
♀ ch	271								•			•		•	•										
♀	276						•					•		•	•										
ch	263	×					•					•		•	•										
♂ ch	268						•	•	•			•				•	•								
ch	133										•	•			•										
♀ ch	121										•	•		•	•										
♂	275	×							•		•					•									
♂ ch	111								•		•	•						•							
♀	100											•		•	•										
	155										•	•			•										
♀ ch	105						•					•		•		•									
ch	90											•			•										
ch	106											•			•										
ch	135											•			•										
♂	301						•					•						•							
♂ ch	261						•	•	•		•	•				•	•	•				•			
♂ ch	32						•									•	•								
	36					•						•		•	•			•							
	127											•	•	•	•										
♀	144					•								•				•							
♂	92											•		•			•								
♂ ch	88						•		•			•	•		•	•	•	•							
♂ ch	130						•		•		•	•		•	•	•	•	•				•			
♂ ch	86						•					•			•	•		•							
♂	260						•	•	•			•		•	•	•	•	•				•	•		
♂	283	×									•			•				•							
♂ ch	110						•					•			•		•	•							
♂	91	×									•	•		•								•	•		
♂	82						•					•					•	•							
♂ ch	295						•		•		•	•				•	•	•				•			
♂	102										•	•			•		•						•		
♂ ch	140						•							•	•	•	•								
♂	113						•	•			•	•		•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•			
♂	282	×						•				•					•					•			
♂	80						•					•						•					•		
♂ ch	278						•		•		•					•	•	•					•		
♂	294	×								•		•				•									•
♂ ch	85						•		•			•			•	•	•	•				•			
♂	70											•					•								
	79	×										•						•							
	279	×										•						•							

Continuation of Table 1

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
♂	292	×										•						•							
♂	159								•		•	•			•		•	•				•	•		
♂	145											•		•	•			•				•	•		
♂	39										•	•		•	•	•	•	•				•	•	•	
♂	148										•	•										•			
♂	40						•				•			•	•	•	•	•				•	•		
♂	137						•					•			•	•	•	•				•	•		
♂	290											•										•			
♂ ch	76B	×										•										•			
♂	74							•				•							•			•	•		
♂	69											•											•		
♂	71											•											•		
♂	35					•						•		•		•	•	•	•			•	•		
♂	259	×									•	•											•		•
♂	93											•		•	•		•	•				•	•		
♂	302	×										•												•	
♂	270	×					•	•	•						•	•	•	•				•	•	•	•
	25													•			•								
♂	296										•	•					•	•					•		
♂	68							•				•		•			•	•				•	•		
♂	112						•				•				•	•	•	•				•	•		
♂	126A											•		•	•		•					•			
♂	56						•				•	•			•	•	•	•				•	•		•
♂	99										•	•			•		•	•				•	•		
♂	151	×										•			•			•				•	•		
♂	142	×													•			•							
♂	103							•							•	•	•	•				•	•		
♂	300	×										•			•			•				•		•	
♂	48										•	•				•	•	•				•	•	•	
♂	143B											•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•		
♂	95											•						•				•			
♂	58											•			•	•	•	•				•	•		
♂	299	×										•						•					•		
♂	107													•	•		•	•				•			
♂	45											•		•			•	•				•	•		
♂	97										•			•	•	•	•	•				•	•		
♂	147											•					•	•				•			
♂	277											•				•	•	•				•			
♂	75	×										•											•		
♂	284	×									•			•			•	•				•	•		
♂ ch	154										•							•				•	•		
♂	141											•						•				•	•		

Continuation of Table 1

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
♂	47						•					•				•	•	•			•	•	•	•	
♂ ch	132															•		•							
♂	26											•					•	•				•	•		
♂ ch	153											•			•		•	•		•		•	•		•
♂	30	×														•	•	•				•			
♂	33															•	•	•				•	•		
♂	94											•						•				•	•		•
♂	28												•			•		•				•	•	•	•
♂	59																•	•				•	•		
♂ ch	76A	×																•				•			
♂	77	×																•				•	•		
♂	285	×																					•	•	•

and brooches were the most uniform and declarative stylistic element of male clothing. Only one brooch can be seen in the female 'wing' (bur. 27), but its circular openwork form is 'feminine' (see Vaitkunskienė 1999, p.17, Figs. 15, 181:2) and very distant in form from the crossbow brooches of the Žviliai males from the Late Roman Iron Age.

Also it is worth noting that in the Late Roman Iron Age the placing of pottery (usually sherds) in graves was common for both genders and individuals of various ages. Drinking horns with bronze decorations, however, were only placed in the two rich burials, those of male individuals: bur. 35 belonged to the earliest burial group (from the second half of 3rd century) and bur. 143B to the latest group (from the first half of 5th century). Wooden 'boxes', i.e. small containers or caskets, are typical for the West Lithuanian area, although they were fairly infrequent burial gifts among the 3rd – early 5th-century Žviliai burials (Vaitkunskienė 1999, p.191, Figs. 45:2, 57:1, 222:1). These boxes contained additional grave gifts, usually ornaments and sometimes small tools such as an awl. The six instances of the remnants of small wooden 'boxes' are distributed evenly among the Žviliai burials showing that no taboo existed for this tradition in respect to sex or age: one each was found in bur. 28, that of a male, bur. 266, that of a female, bur. 143A, that of a girl, bur. 88, that of a boy, bur.

126B, that of an infant, and bur. 127, that of an adult of uncertain sex.

In an effort to make the male and female areas more distinct in the matrix, all of the disturbed burials, a few grave good types such as pottery, which were common to most burial assemblages, heterogeneous metal pieces that Vaitkunskienė called 'mountings', and the small wooden 'boxes' or caskets were removed from the database. Following a remark Marika Mägi made during a discussion at the 2007 Kuressaare symposium suggesting the possibility that some jewellery types (i.e. the broader categories of 'pins', 'bracelets', etc.), which are shared by both genders, might be divisible into 'male' and 'female' sub-types, it appeared worthwhile to look for such order among the diversity of the pins. Therefore, the common 'pin' category was replaced in the database by more precise descriptions: iron crook-shaped pins (cases of single and paired pins being distinguished), bronze pins with a ring head (mostly found in pairs with the exception of the lone pin in bur. 34), and ornate pins with cruciform heads composed of 'rosettes' with silver/tin decoration (for the third type, see Vaitkunskienė 1999, pp.175–176, Fig. 193). The Late Roman Iron Age dataset from Žviliai cemetery was then seriated once more (Table 2), creating more compact male and female 'wings' in the table. It is seen that the

Continuation of Table 2

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
♂	71					•						•		•											
♂	290						•					•		•											
♂	148						•					•		•	•										
♂	70								•			•		•											
♂ ch	92								•			•		•											
♂	159					•	•		•	•		•	•	•	•			•							
♂	85*						•		•	•	•	•	•	•				•	•						
♂ ch	140								•		•		•						•						
♂	80					•				•		•		•					•						
♂	113					•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•						
♂	82								•	•		•		•											
♂ ch	295						•		•	•	•	•		•	•			•	•						
♂ ch	110								•	•		•	•	•											
♂	102					•			•			•	•	•	•										
♂	260					•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•			•	•	•						
♂ ch	86								•	•	•	•	•	•											
♂ ch	88								•	•	•	•	•	•				•	•						
♂ ch	130					•			•	•	•	•	•	•	•			•	•						
	127											•	•	•											
ch	90											•	•	•											
ch	106											•	•	•											
ch	135											•	•	•											
♂	301									•		•		•											
♂ ch	32								•		•														
	36									•		•	•	•											
♂ ch	261						•		•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•	•							
	31											•		•											
	38											•		•											
	64											•		•											
ch	120											•		•											
	124											•		•											
♂ ch	105									•		•		•											
♀	144									•															
	155											•	•	•	•										
♂ ch	111									•		•		•	•	•		•							
ch	133											•	•	•	•										
♂ ch	268								•		•	•		•			•	•	•						
ch	83											•	•	•											
	37											•		•	•										
♀ ch	52											•	•	•											
	67											•		•			•								
♀ ch	72											•		•			•								
ch	126B											•		•				•							
ch	104											•		•											
ch	122											•	•	•											
♀ ch	109											•	•	•	•			•	•						

* A fish-hook was also found in the grave.

Continuation of Table 2

l	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
♀ ch	121												•	•	•					•					
	73											•		•				•							
♀	115											•		•	•		•		•						
♀	119											•		•	•		•		•						
♀	100												•	•						•					
♀	118											•		•			•	•							
♀	266												•		•		•		•						
♀	265											•	•	•	•	•	•	•					•		
♀ ch	98												•	•						•			•		
♀	108									•			•	•	•		•	•	•	•					
♀ ch	271												•	•			•			•					
♀	96											•	•	•		•		•	•						
♀ ch	27										•					•		•					•		
♀	276												•	•				•				•			
♀	291									•				•			•		•	•		•			
ch	156													•			•								
♀	34													•		•	•								
♀	44												•	•	•	•		•			•				
♀	50												•	•	•	•		•		•					
♀	42													•	•	•	•			•					
♀	272												•	•			•		•	•	•				
♀ ch	289													•	•			•		•					
♀	54											•		•	•	•	•	•				•			
♀	158													•					•						
♀	101													•				•		•					
♀	157													•				•		•					
♀	136													•		•	•								
♀	87												•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•		•	
♀ ch	114													•	•		•	•	•	•		•			
♀	116													•	•		•	•	•	•					
♀	293													•			•	•		•					
♀	57													•					•	•					
♀	23													•	•	•		•					•		•
♀	22													•		•	•	•		•					
♀	125													•	•		•	•	•	•		•			
♀	89													•		•	•	•		•					
♀	41													•				•		•					
♀ ch	53													•	•		•	•		•		•			
♀ ch	274														•		•	•							
♀	55													•	•		•	•	•		•				
♀ ch	131													•	•					•		•		•	
♀	149												•	•			•	•		•		•	•	•	
♀	139													•		•	•	•	•	•		•			
♀ ch	143A													•			•		•		•		•		
♀	24													•		•		•	•			•			•
♀	138													•	•		•	•	•	•		•		•	
♀	134													•	•				•	•		•	•	•	
♀	43																•	•							

main concentration of rich male burials is shared by the adult and subadult male groups (with similar incidences in each of them). The boys were usually buried with a few more ornament types than the men, but types such as spurs, bridle parts, and drinking horn parts did not occur in the burial assemblages of the male subadults in Žviliai. An analysis of the richest male burials showed that only burials where an axe or spear was missing in the assemblage were connected with rich subadult burials (bur. 88, 130, 261, 295) (Banytė-Rowell *et al.* 2012, p.196, Fig. 2). An additional division of the pin subgroups showed a very strict separation between the ‘female’ and ‘male’ pin fashions. It appeared that deceased males (both adults and subadults) were generally given only one iron crook-shaped pin. This one pin rule is also seen in some infant and female burials but not as uniformly as in the male burials. Pairs of such pins as well as of bronze pins with a ring head and cruciform pins were found only in female burials. Thus differences can be seen not only in ‘male’ and ‘female’ styles (wearing one or two pins) but also in ‘male’ and ‘female’ pin shapes. Girls and women were not allowed to wear crossbow brooches, but they could wear much more expensive and impressive pins than the males. The broader spectrum of grave goods due to the variable types of weapons, tools, and equestrian gear in male burials contrasts with the greater variety and special quality of the female ornaments (see Banytė-Rowell *et al.* 2012, pp.198–199, Fig. 2,5). For example, bracelets were worn as ornaments by both genders, but not in equal quantities: three being the maximum in a male burial, eight in a female burial. Seriation showed that the ‘feminine’ elements among the grave goods in 3rd – early 5th-century Žviliai burials (Phases C1b–C3/D) included spindle whorls and awls, bronze-decorated headdresses, pairs of pins, and bronze chains joining some pins. One exception is bur. 35, that of a male, where an awl was found along with an axe, spearhead, knife, drinking horn, iron buckle, bronze crossbow

brooch, iron pin, and pottery sherds. It is interesting that bur. 35 was connected with bur. 34, that of a female: the latter individual having been buried 30 cm higher and directly above bur. 35.

Pagrybis cemetery burials from the Early Migration Period

Pagrybis cemetery, which dates to the 5th–6th centuries, offers an opportunity to track the degree to which the male and female burial customs were maintained in the Upper reaches of the Jūra during the Early Migration Period. Because parts of a horse’s body were placed in a grave pit as an offering to the dead during this period, horse sacrifice was included as an additional type among the grave goods in the database for the Pagrybis burials. A total of 224 individuals in 217 burials were entered, but many of them (114) were removed as unsuitable because many of the grave pits had been disturbed and the burials contained only one grave good type or no grave goods at all. The seriation of the Pagrybis database should completely prove whether a computer’s statistical ‘brain’ can really distinguish between male and female possessions in burials. This test was possible because the osteological material is well preserved at Pagrybis. Anthropological analyses of 88 skeletons provided data about the individuals’ sex and age at death (see the appendix in Vaitkunskienė 1995b, pp.192–192). Therefore proven data about the sex, which is marked beside the burials in the matrix-table, were used, while the archaeological suggestions about the possible gender were disregarded. The burials that were not analysed anthropologically were left unmarked (Table 3).

In Pagrybis cemetery, like in Žviliai, there are two distinct male and female ‘wings’ connected by child burials and some more distinct and more ‘unisexual’ adult burials. ‘Femininity’ is emphasized in female burials not only by such grave goods as awls and spindle whorls, but also the typical combination of jewellery types: bracelet plus chaplet

Continuation of Table 3

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
	75								•					•											
	36									•				•											
	47			•		•									•	•									
♂	169				•		•		•		•									•					
♂	62B	+						•	•		•	•			•										
	134	+							•	•	•				•			•							
♂	76A				•					•	•				•			•							
♂	156				•	•	•		•	•	•				•	•		•							
	108										•					•									
	136										•					•									
♂	193	+		•	•	•	•	•		•	•				•	•		•							
♂ ch	99				•	•									•				•						
	184	+		•		•			•	•	•			•	•		•	•		•					
	59						•		•						•				•						
♂	186				•						•				•						•				
♂	213	+							•		•				•	•		•							
ch	200B									•	•	•			•						•				
	10*	+						•	•						•						•				
♀	163	+					•		•		•				•			•			•				
	2														•	•									
♂ ch	41														•	•									
♂	165A						•								•	•		•							
	9										•				•			•							
	56										•				•						•				
♂ ch	116	+							•	•	•				•	•					•		•		
	65				•																•				
	170	+									•				•						•				
♀	62A	+													•	•					•				
	200A										•				•							•			
♂ ch	168	+							•												•				
♂ ch	160	+													•	•					•				
♂	61	+								•					•						•				
♂	196	+													•						•				
♂ ch	34									•					•								•		
♂	174	+													•						•				
♂	185														•						•				
	124															•					•				
	164															•					•				
ch	147														•			•			•				
	43																•			•					
	149															•			•						
ch	66	+													•	•		•			•				
♀	183	+													•		•				•		•		
♀	39	+													•						•		•		
♀	194	+													•						•	•			
♀	33															•					•				•

* A scythe was also found in the grave.

Continuation of Table 3

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
ch	151	+												•						•		•			
♀ ch	48	+												•		•			•			•	•		
	154																•	•		•					
ch	177A	+															•			•					
♂ ch	177B*	+															•			•					
	19																•	•		•					
	7														•					•					•
	64	+														•				•		•			
	14	+												•						•	•				•
♀	143	+													•		•			•			•	•	
♀	70	+													•					•		•	•		
♀	182																•			•		•	•		
	102																•			•					•
♀	175	+															•			•		•	•		
♀ ch	57	+															•			•		•			
♀	11	+															•	•		•		•	•		•
♀	35	+													•					•			•		•
	162																•	•					•		•
♀	202	+																		•	•	•			
♀	79	+															•	•		•		•	•		•
	112																			•			•		
♀ ch	172	+																		•			•		
♀	88	+																		•		•	•		
♀	197																			•				•	•
♀	100	+																		•		•			•
	210																		•					•	•

plus pin. 'Masculinity' is shown by horse sacrifices, spurs, bridle parts, weapons (swords, spears, axes), and belts. A clearer division of male and female ornaments can be seen than in the previous Late Roman Period. The Pagrybis cemetery data illustrate that during the Early Migration Period neck-rings became a type of male ornament, bracelets a female type. Brooches remain the sign of male adults or subadults. Rings were common to both genders, though they are found more in male burial assemblages. Pins became more typical for female and child burial assemblages and very rare in male burials. Amulets – amber beads occurred in male and female adult and subadult burials. Knives of common 'household' shape and size were also common. Pottery in the form of

sherds was seldom found and occurred in female burials, with the exception of bur. 200, where an individual with spears was buried together with a richly equipped male (?) infant. Drinking horns were placed alongside males in rich burials.

Bracelets were found in adult and subadult female burials with the exception of bur. 116 where a bracelet was part of a 7-year-old boy's ornaments. It is seen that some boys, who had weapons (spearheads) and a belt, also had a pin, brooch, and ring. Thus this group of burials was placed in the matrix 'on the border' between 'femininity' and 'masculinity'. The grave good types placed in child burials were not special and were of an even wider range than in adult burials. It can be suggested that under a certain age

* A fish-hook was also found in the grave.

children's clothing could be decorated with jewellery types more common for adults of the opposite sex. This tradition can be explained as an expression of the special ties between mother and child in cases where a female type was placed in a boy's burial, but it could also have more complicated origins. In his study devoted to the status of children in Iron Age East Lithuania, Kurila (2007, pp.113, 116; 2009, p.24) concluded that children comprised a sort of 'third gender', which was closer to the female gender. It was probably taboo to place a sword, a new type of weaponry, in subadult male burials, even though every other weapon type occurred in them. Perhaps the Pagrybis tradition did not allow a sword to be placed in the burial of a boy who had not passed through male initiation rituals, which separated boys from their mothers and developed male solidarity and aggression (Gilchrist 1999, p.97). It is interesting that in those Pagrybis burials, where the individual's age has been determined, swords occur only with males between the ages of 30 and 55 (bur. 62B, 85, 193, 215) (Table 4). This may show a rule that masculinity was stressed with a sword symbol only for individuals of a higher status or rank that had been achieved later in life.

Pagrybis cemetery bur. 163, that of a 30–35 year-old female, should be noted. This female, who was buried with four male types (spearhead, axe, knife, belt) and two 'unisex' types (an iron pin and an amber bead) is found in the pure male neighbourhood of the matrix (Vaitkunsienė 1995b, pp.45, 193, Fig. 60:1). Mägi (2002, pp.77–81) presented an example of Pagrybis female burials with weaponry or a horse sacrifice in analysing 'male attributes' in female burials on the E coast of the Baltic. This tradition in the prehistory of what is now Lithuania was discussed by Simniškytė (2007) who presented cross-dressing in light of military and cultural considerations in the context of similar phenomena in Europe.

After removing the most disturbed burials from the matrix and splitting the common pin

types into subtypes according to shape and noting the number of pins, i.e. single or paired, the results of the further seriation were examined (Table 4). It was quickly seen that the pin pairs migrated to the 'female' side of the matrix while single pins remained in the table's central area among the grave goods shared by both genders and various aged individuals. Vaitkunsienė (1995b, pp.122–126) noted and discussed the Pagrybis female fashion of wearing a pair of pins joined by a chain, but it is interesting how it was clearly confirmed statistically. If the contents of undisturbed male burials with pins are examined more closely, it is possible to speculate about some regularity as well (Table 5). In most cases the presence of pins among the male ornaments coincides with an absence of 'proper male' ornaments, i.e. brooches. The richest males wore a brooch more often than the other males. Pagrybis bur. 10, where a male was buried with a bronze pin along with a sword, belt, ring and scythe, is a rare contrary example (Vaitkunsienė 1995b, Fig. 136). The scythe, which was the only item of this type found in a Pagrybis burial (a second being a chance find), together with the sword, probably emphasized the owner's special status. A more unusual burial assemblage was found in bur. 61, that of 20–25 year-old male. He had no weapons or tools, only jewellery, i.e. a bronze crossbow brooch, a pair of bronze pins, and three coil rings (Vaitkunsienė 1995b, Fig. 166). This diversity of gender symbols (brooch – male, pair of pins – female, ring – common) place bur. 61 in the area between the male and female 'wings' on the matrix. The presence of female jewellery types in the burials of anthropologically proven males is known in some percentage of Anglo-Saxon burials as is the opposite phenomenon of weaponry in female burials (Gilchrist 1999, p.69). The diversity of Baltic female pins continued to flourish in the later period (Bliujienė 1999, pp.136–159; Vaškevičiūtė 2004, pp.70–76) and this Baltic female preference for pins might be seen as an archaic feature. A serious alternative explanation posits that the size of

Continuation of Table 4

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
		9												•	•			•												
	ch	200B								•			•	•	•				•			•								
		10*	+				•				•					•	•						•							
30–35	♀	163	+						•		•			•	•			•		•		•								
0	♂ ch	116	+							•	•			•	•	•				•		•					•			
25–30	♀	62A	+												•	•	•						•							
		200A												•		•								•						
		56												•	•						•		•							
6.5–7	♂ ch	34								•						•										•				
<55	♂	170												•	•				•				•							
12–13	♂ ch	160	+												•	•					•		•							
<55	♂	196	+													•					•		•							
20–25	♂	61	+							•						•							•		•					
6.5–7	♂ ch	168	+								•										•		•							
	ch	147													•				•		•		•							
30–35	♂	174	+												•						•		•							
		149														•						•								
50–55	♀	33														•											•			
		27															•						•							
0	ch	66	+													•					•	•	•							
50–55	♀	183	+													•		•				•				•		•		
	ch	151	+												•						•		•				•			
25–30	♀	39	+													•						•		•			•			
	ch	177A	+															•		•		•								
12–14	♂ ch	177B**	+															•		•		•		•						
		19																•	•	•	•	•								
		7															•				•		•							•
9–9.5	♀ ch	48	+												•										•	•				
20–25	♀	70	+													•						•			•	•	•			
		167C																			•		•							
		171																			•		•							
40–45	♀	143	+												•		•					•			•		•			•
40–45	♀	194	+												•							•	•					•		
4–4.5	♀ ch	57	+															•		•		•				•				
3–6 months	♀ ch	172	+																•			•			•					
		14	+												•							•	•					•		•
30–35	♀	182														•						•			•	•		•		

* A scythe was also found in the grave.

** A fish-hook was also found in the grave.

Continuation of Table 5

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
4-4.5	♀ ch	57					•				•	•												
		64					•					•												
20-25	♀	70					•	•						•										
40-45	♀	143				•		•			•			•										
50-55	♀	183			•		•				•			•										
25-30	♀	39					•		•					•										
	ch	151					•					•	•											
	ch	177A									•	•												
12-14	♂ ch	177B*									•	•												
6.5-7	♂ ch	34						•						•	•									
30-35	♂	174										•	•											
20-25	♂	61							•					•	•									
		170								•			•				•							
0	♂ ch	116					•					•	•	•	•	•		•						
0	ch	66										•	•	•										
12-13	♂ ch	160										•	•	•										
6.5-7	♂ ch	41											•	•										
<55	♂	196										•	•	•										
45-50	♂	213									•	•	•			•		•						
30-35	♀	163									•	•	•			•		•	•	•				
6.5-7	♂ ch	168										•						•						
		134									•	•			•	•		•						
		184									•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•				
25-30	♀	62A											•	•									•	
35-40	♂	193									•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•		•	
50-55	♂	215									•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	
10-10,5	♂ ch	55											•	•	•			•	•	•	•			•
30-35	♂	62B												•		•		•					•	•
		10**												•				•					•	•

some pin types could make them suitable as a defensive weapon, as has been suggested in a study devoted to the pins known from the Hasanlu IVB period (ca 1100–800 BC) in the ancient Near East (Marcus 1994).

The anthropologically determined sex and age at death in part of the Pagrybis burials allow an examination of the relationship between gender roles and age. Nevertheless, the database for Pagrybis cemetery is insufficient for precise conclusions. It is only possible to look for gender/age rule similarities that can be applied in

other cemeteries. For example, in contemporary Germanic cemeteries from the Migration Period (so-called *Reihengräber*), the most valuable jewellery was placed in the burials of 18–50 year-old females. Weapons were also the most common for the burials of mature males, belt decorations for males over 40. Mature and elderly male burials in *Reihengräber* were equipped more richly than the purer burial assemblages of older females. As a rule, elderly individuals, like children, were given far fewer grave goods than adults and mature individuals (Brather 2008, pp.264–266, 270,

* A fish-hook was also found in the grave.

** A fish-hook was also found in the grave.

Abb. 10). Male burial assemblages (with an individual of determined age) in Pagrybis cemetery bear some similarities: richest sets of weaponry and ornaments were found in the burials of adults and mature individuals (30–55 years old). Burials of individuals over 55 contained fewer grave goods (bur. 97, 170), but the burial of one 50–55 year-old male (bur. 156) contained ten types (and possibly more as this burial was disturbed) (Table 4). Perhaps because few early adult (18–25 years) individuals were identified with certainty in Pagrybis (bur. 61, 165A, 169), it is notable that such burials had more modest selections of masculine grave goods types (Tables 4, 5). On the other hand, some boys (bur. 55) and even infants (bur. 116) were buried with a considerable number of types. The use of belts in the burial rites at Pagrybis differs from the Germanic *Reihengräber*: belt parts were found in infant (bur. 116) and male child (6.5–10.5 years old) burials (bur. 55, 168), but in all of the adult and mature (up to 50–55) male burials. The respect shown during the burial of mature males in Pagrybis was not characteristic for the roughly contemporary male burials in East Lithuania. According to Kurila (2009, pp.33, 40), around the mid-1st millennium a distinct sharp drop is noticeable in the richness of the grave goods of older males, which marks the growth of the importance of warrior attributes. By contrast, in the 3rd–5th centuries the burials of older males in East Lithuania were richer than those of young adults. The supposition can be made that some mature males in Pagrybis community managed to keep their high status during a turbulent period when the demonstration of martial virtues (in practice more accessible for young males) became common. The traditions for the respect paid a deceased individual of a specific age could have changed not only due to the individual's personality but also over space and time. It must be stressed here that only the richest burial assemblages in Pagrybis cemetery are being discussed: 51.2% of male burials contained only one spear

or an axe and some contained no weaponry at all. Vaitkunskienė (1995b, pp.163–166) interpreted males buried with weaponry, riding gear, and horse sacrifices (48.8%) as warriors-horsemen/retinue members closely associated with the warrior elite.

The rules for placing of grave goods were more uniform for females in Pagrybis cemetery. Most burials contained 3–4 types, not including small bronze spirals (Table 5). Infants and girls up to the age of 10 were given 2–4 types of grave goods (The full set of types found in bur. 48 are shown in Table 3). 5–6 types were found in the burials of 20–25 year-old females (bur. 11, 79) but the difference with other burials of the same age group was not that great. It is difficult to say whether the discovery of a symbolic type such as a spindle whorl only in the burials of mature (40–55 year-old) females (Pagrybis bur. 33, 143, 197) is a coincidence (Table 4). A spindle whorl ‘...that may have symbolised an adult female textile worker in one social context may represent an adult female head of household in another’ (Arnold 1997, p.198). Unfortunately knowledge of the context is usually very poor, but it is possible to say that not just the burials of young women attest to the diversity of the burial assemblages in Pagrybis cemetery. In separate East Lithuanian burial sites from the 3rd–12th centuries, the connections between a female's age and the richness of the grave goods vary despite the main observed tendency for the grave goods of young adult females to be on average richer and more diverse than those of older females. Kurila (2009, pp.35, 40) has assumed that the grave good assemblages were perhaps determined more by a woman's marital status and the family's general wealth than her age. The absence of some grave goods – symbols in an adult burial may indicate that the individual somehow failed to achieve ‘proper adulthood’ as witnessed by marital status, fertility, parenthood, and warriorhood (Arnold 1997, pp.183–184).

Žviliai cemetery burials from the Late Migration Period

The Late Migration Period (7th–8th-century)⁵ burials investigated in Žviliai cemetery contain grave good types similar to those found in Pagrybis (Table 6). It can be stressed that more grave good types in the Late Migration Period were shared by both genders. Neck-rings were rare in the burials of both genders, but once more these ornaments, like in the Roman Iron Age, became ‘available’ for women. Metal-decorated headdresses (mostly chaplets) were common in female burials, but also occurred in rich adult male burials (a different style of headdress) and in male child burials. Necklaces were a female ornament that occurred only rarely in male child burials. Both genders wore rings and amulets – beads. Bracelets were infrequent in the Late Migration Period Žviliai burials, but occurred in all gender and age groups. Nevertheless, the only item found in bur. 160, that of a male, has a distinct massive shape, for which the term ‘warrior bracelet’ was created in archaeological literature (Vaitkunskienė 1995b, pp.170, 181, Fig. 185:1). These so-called ‘warrior bracelets’ were also known in East Latvia and Lithuanian Selonia as typical martial (earlier forms) / prestige (later forms) jewellery in male burials (Šnė 2002, pp.315–316, 460; Simniškytė 2013, p.128). Brooches remained a male ornament. Pins were common for all gender and age groups, but more frequently found in adult and subadult female burials. Adult males used a single iron crook-shaped pin while females wore each type of iron and bronze pin in pairs and singly (Table 7). Vaitkunskienė (1999, p.177, Figs. 74, 195) noted

that single cruciform pins with chains had been placed in the rich female child burials (bur. 183, 184), which is probably no coincidence as it allowed the mother to share the ornament (one pin of a pair joined with chains) with her dead child. A more extravagant pin-wearing fashion is seen in Žviliai bur. 225 where the male, who was well equipped with weapons (two spears, sword), also had two amber beads, a bronze ring, and a bronze crook-shaped pin rather than an iron one. Meanwhile pairs of more exclusive bronze pins (such as cruciform pins and pins with a ring or a flask-shaped head) seem to be an expression of ‘proper femininity’. The most striking change in the burial customs was the tradition of placing a drinking horn not only alongside males, as in previous periods, but also in female burials. Fifteen drinking horns were found, with as many as ten in female burials.

ATTRIBUTES OF GENDER: STABILITY AND CHANGES THROUGH CENTURIES

Table 8 shows how the gender attributes were distributed among the male and female burials in Žviliai and Pagrybis cemeteries during the periods under discussion. These data could be interpreted playfully by stressing how they show a woman’s true place in Early Migration Period society. Fairly clearly divided female and male attributes are known from the burials. Vaitkunskienė (1995b, pp.115–116, 155, 164) stressed that the most obvious changes in the tradition of wearing jewellery occurred in the case of neck-rings: during the Late Roman Period they were also placed

⁵ Vaitkunskienė (1999, pp.207–208) argued for dating some Žviliai burials to the 7th–8th centuries on the grounds of spatial stratigraphy and the distribution of specific grave good types. These two centuries coincide with Bezenberger’s Phase E (600–800) (Engel 1931, p.31). However, a recent analysis of burial assemblages from Anduliai cemetery has allowed researchers to establish an earlier chronology for Phase F in West Lithuania that starts around the mid-7th century (Bitner-Wróblewska 2007, pp.83–84). In this case the Žviliai burials from the 7th–8th centuries should be connected with the end of Phase E – beginning of Phase F according to the interregional chronological periodisation of the West Balts.

Table 7. Second seriation of the Late Migration Period Žviliai burials (excluding all disturbed burials from the database, but including pin subtypes)

Gender	Burial	spindle	a pair of bronze pins	awl	headress with metal ornamentation	necklace	neckring	bronze pin	pin	bracelet	drinking horn	ring	amulet-bead	iron crook-like pin	a pair of iron crook-like pins	knife	parts of belt	horse sacrifice	spear	brooch	sword	bridle
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
♀	239	•		•		•																
♀	233		•	•					•													
♀	221	•	•	•	•				•				•									
♀	166	•						•	•													
♀	189			•	•	•		•	•	•												
♀	171				•	•					•											
♀	196	•		•	•						•					•						
♀	172	•		•	•	•	•		•		•	•										
♀	197	•	•	•	•	•			•	•	•	•										
♀	174	•	•	•	•				•		•		•									
♀ ch	184			•	•	•		•	•	•		•										
♀	242				•	•						•										
♀	224	•		•	•				•			•	•	•								
♀	235	•	•		•	•			•			•	•									
♀	231	•							•					•								
♀	213	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•	•									
♀	214			•								•										
♀ ch	198				•			•	•	•		•										
♀ ch	183					•	•	•	•	•		•	•									
♀	258			•					•					•		•						
♀	176								•		•	•	•		•							
ch	168								•					•								
	226								•					•								
	336								•					•								
	195								•			•		•								
♀ ch	178							•	•	•		•	•			•						
ch	248								•				•	•								
	238B								•				•	•								
♂	164						•					•					•					
♂ ch	223								•			•		•			•					
♂ ch	180								•	•		•		•		•	•					

Continuation of Table 7

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
♂ ch	251					•			•	•		•		•				•				•
♂ ch	167				•	•				•	•	•	•				•	•	•	•		
♂ ch	237								•			•			•	•	•					
ch	227											•				•						
♂	253											•					•					
♂	225							•	•			•	•						•		•	
♂	162								•					•		•	•		•			
♂	238A								•					•		•	•		•			
♂	222								•			•		•		•			•	•		
♂	160									•	•		•				•		•	•	•	
♂	228											•	•						•	•	•	
♂	206										•	•	•				•	•	•	•	•	•
♂	161															•		•				•

Table 8. Incidence of jewellery types, drinking horns, and potsherds in male and female burials from the three periods according to the Žviliai and Pagrybis cemetery database

Types	Late Roman Iron Age	Early Migration Period	Late Migration Period
Neckrings	female+male	male	female+male
Bracelets	female+male (occurrences in male burials were more typical for male children)	female (random occurrences in the burials of male children)	female+male
Pins	female+male	female+male	female+male
Brooches (types of crossbow group)	male	male	male
Rings	female+male	female+male	female+male
Headdress with metal ornamentation	female	female (1 occurrence in a male child burial)	female+male
Drinking horns	male	male	female+male
Pottery	female+male	female	1 occurrence in a male burial

in female burials, but during the Early Migration Period this tradition vanished. The Pagrybis cemetery burials show that neck-rings were placed in rich adult male burials (bur. 62B, 85), male child burials (bur. 55, 86), and even a cremated infant burial (bur. 200B), which also contained a small spear. The adult males in bur. 62B, 85 and the boy in bur. 55 were provided with silver neck-rings. Silver stresses even more the importance of the neck-ring as a male status symbol, which was probably closely connected with the martial do-

main and male hierarchy in the community. On the other hand, female burials are known in Pagrybis cemetery where the grave goods more or less represented the martial values of the male society (the aforementioned bur. 163, also disturbed bur. 91, 187, 191, 205 which contained single finds: an axe, a bridle bit, or the remains of a horse sacrifice). Thus women had some social possibilities to participate in the life of the community's 'male side'. The ties between females and horses, as reflected in the burial customs, are represented

as exceptions in the Pagrybis context, but the reasons for a society to bury a woman with parts of a horse or its bridle were probably not seen as very extreme or uncommon. Later Osilian female burials which were often equipped with a horse gear, according to Mägi (2002, pp.95–96, 124), could belong to individuals who had power and higher social status. In Europe, riding/driving equipment has been important as a symbol of masculinity since the Bronze Age (Gilchrist 1999, pp.66, 70) and so it can be assumed that the Pagrybis females buried with bridle bits or a horse sacrifice may have had influence in 'masculine' affairs and powers.

During the Early Migration Period another break in the tradition of wearing ornaments occurred in the Upper Jūra region. Bracelets became exclusively female ornaments but were sometimes given to boys (Pagrybis bur. 116). The Late Migration Period Žviliai burials show that bracelets were once more worn by both males and females. The wearing of bracelets with thickened terminals by only women and girls in the Pagrybis community may have been a local custom. By contrast, this type of bracelet was found only in male burials in Maudžiorai cemetery in Central Žemaitija or in the burials of both genders and various ages in Kairėnėliai and Plinkaigalis cemeteries in Central Lithuania (Vaitkuskienė 1995b, p.127).

A striking stability in the manner of wearing pins and brooches can be observed during the 3rd–8th centuries in the Upper Jūra region, judging from the data from Žviliai and Pagrybis cemeteries. Pins were the most popular ornaments for both genders and all age groups, but differed in how they were worn. Single pins mostly occurred in male burials and child burials of both sexes, while pairs of pins were typical for female burials. According to the data from Pagrybis cemetery, where sex was sometimes determined anthropologically, pin pairs were found in the burials of 20–55 year-old females (see Table 4). A pair of pins sometimes joined by a chain could be an attribute of adult or married females. The various

types of crossbow brooches remained a masculine symbol during these periods in the prehistoric Žviliai and Pagrybis communities. This tradition reflects a certain conservatism which was not necessarily characteristic of other contemporary communities. For example pairs of pins occurred only randomly in the 5th–6th century female burials in Plinkaigalis cemetery, where women 'were allowed' various types of crossbow brooches (Vaitkuskienė 1995b, p.124). On the other hand, Žviliai bur. 27, dated to the 3rd century, yielded a brooch with a 'female' shape, i.e. a circular open-work brooch (Vaitkuskienė 1999, pp.17, Figs. 15, 181:2). The tradition of attributing specific types of brooches to females was also noticed in the early barrow cemetery stage in East Lithuania, where enamel penannular brooches are among the attributes with a 'slightly female' character (Kurila 2009, p.20).

It must be said that results of the seriation of the Late Roman Period Žviliai burials did not reflect the 'unisex' usage of drinking horns seen in the data from other contemporary West Lithuanian cemeteries. As was shown in a broad study by Simniškytė (1998) devoted to drinking horn finds in what is now Lithuania, drinking horns with mountings were rare in 3rd–4th-century burials (9 finds according to Simniškytė), but typical to the both genders. Two occurrences of drinking horns in cemeteries from the West Lithuanian coastland (Palanga bur. 16, Užpelkiai bur. 24) were in female burials. Simniškytė (1998, pp.188, 193, 211–213) gave her insights into the symbolic meaning of drinking horns in Late Roman Iron Age female burials, stressing the importance of goddesses and fertility cults. In the Early Migration Period, drinking horns 'were seized' by the males as a symbol of the warrior class and martial values, a tendency shown by the Pagrybis burials. The renaissance of the tradition of placing drinking horns in female burials, which occurred during the Late Migration Period and is shown here by example from Žviliai cemetery, can be interpreted

as a symbol related to beliefs about the Other World and as an item reflecting possible changes in the role of women in a given society. The Norse god Odin feasted his heroes in Valhalla from the hand of women (Valkyries) offering a horn (as shown on stones in Gotland), but this image goes back earlier than the Viking Age, since a woman carrying a horn appears on one of the 5th-century AD gold drinking horns from Gallehus (North Schleswig, Germany). It seems that the latter image probably depicts horse sacrifices because a horse is shown pierced by an arrow next to the female figure. Germanic tribesmen drank from horns on ceremonial occasions; according to Julius Caesar (*Gallic War*, VI.28)⁶, the most adorned items were used at their most lavish feasts (Ellis Davidson 1988, pp.41–43, 45, Fig. 4; Simniškytė 1998, p.186). The Gallehus find also offers an opportunity to speculate about a female role or a female symbol in the horse sacrifice rituals. So one could assume that the Žviliai women, buried with drinking horns during the Late Migration Period, had probably used them in ceremonies that were important to the whole community. At the same time the tradition of using an ornamented drinking horn could have become more common and been used in a single household's formal traditional life. Various Anglo-Saxon data attest to the association of serving ale with feminine work. In *Beowulf* the lady of the house (the queen) offers drinks to her husband and his guests (see Part IX lines 612–630)⁷. This ritual was echoed in every Anglo-Saxon house and farm. According to a 7th-century law issued by Æthelbert, every free farmer, even the lowest-ranking, was expected to employ the special services of a female 'cup-bearer' (probably a slave or servant) to formally discharge this duty in his household (Fell 1987, pp.49–50;

Gilchrist 1999, p.66). Skaldic poetry also reflects the female gender roles in Norse society, one of which focuses on offering beer or mead (and food): '*a woman shall be referred to by all female adornment, gold and jewels, ale or wine or other drink she serves or gives, also by ale-vessels and by all those things that it is proper for her to do or provide*' (Hedeager 2011, pp.122–123). Unfortunately there are no contemporary Balt sources reflecting the use of drinking horns in prehistory; Lithuanian mythology, mostly compiled from very late ethnographic sources, is also quiet on this issue. Simniškytė (1998, pp.186–187) has pointed out that only a few written Lithuanian sources depict the use of drinking horns in the late 14th – early 16th centuries. There were cases of ceremonies involving drinking horns in the court of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the broader social use of drinking horns in daily Žemaitian life. The long traditions of using drinking horns as ceremonial vessels is probably attested to by the Lithuanian word '*taurė*' (chalice) which is connected with the word '*tauras*' (*Taurus*, *Bos primigenius*), the name of the wild bull, whose horns were adorned to make drinking vessels (Vaitkevičius 2007, p.155).

THE GENDER SPECIFICITY AND GRAVE GOODS AS SYMBOLS

In analysing grave good assemblages, scientists are expected to more or less determine their meaning or function in everyday life and the symbolism of their placement in a grave. Grete Lillehammer (1996, pp.120, 123) discussed the complexity of this task in analysing burial rituals in Norway's Kvasheim cemetery, proposing various analyses of the archaeological data in order to

⁶ '(5) *amplitudo cornuum et figura et species multum a nostrorum boum cornibus differt. (6) haec studiose conquisita ab labris argento circumcludunt atque in amplissimis epulis pro poculis utuntur*' (Goetz, Welwei 1995, pp.78–79).

⁷ Various editions of *Beowulf* are now available online (e.g. <http://www.heorot.dk/beo-intro-rede.html>; <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16328/16328-h/16328-h.htm#X>).

distinguish the two main interests in a death as a social event, i.e. those of the living and those of the dead. She concluded that: *'if graves are considered symbols of past attitudes towards life and death, it must be assumed that these symbols correspond culturally with material as well as spiritual functions'*. This attitude towards grave goods as symbols encourages the exploration of whether the supposed spiritual context of particular grave goods reflects gender aspects in burial customs.

The Roman Iron Age female burials in West Lithuania are richly equipped with jewellery. According to Klavs Randsborg (1995, pp.81, 87–89, 207–209), the jewellery hoards belonged to the area of fertility cults which were connected with the Earth. If the ornaments in the burials are interpreted as some sort of votive offering, it can be assumed that the periods when females were buried with more richly ornamented clothing are when the power of female deities in the belief system was stronger. Since women played an important part in fertility cults, they might have had more power and influence in the public life of their community. Expensive metal jewellery emphasised a connection with the image of a female important in fertility rituals (Dommasnes 1991, p.72; Ringstedt 1992, p.59). The meaning of death was connected with ideas of rebirth in many ancient cultures of the Near East and Mediterranean, where written sources witnessed the link of death and fertility in various systems of cults and faiths. The death/fertility concept is evident in the burial customs of many European cultures (Jaczynowska 1990, pp.71, 229; Taylor 2001, pp.18–19). In light of the latter connection, it is possible to assume that fertility symbols were also relevant when burying a male. A horse, like a boar or bull, was the mediator between the gods and humans, between life and death, and carried heroes/warriors to the realm of the dead. It was an important symbol for both fertility/welfare and warfare (Hagberg 1967, pp.60–62; Vaitkunsienė 1981, pp.71–75; Ellis Davidson 1988, p.53; Banytė-Rowell 2003,

pp.28–32; Bertašius 2009, pp.309–312; Bliujienė, Butkus 2009, p.160; Brūzis, Spirgīs 2009, pp.289–292; Šukytė 2009, p.361; Vilcāne 2009, pp.264–266). Therefore a male burial, which was richly equipped with weaponry or had a horse offering next to it, reflected not only the importance of martial values to the living society but also the interrelated meaning of the ideas of 'death/fertility/warfare'.

The tendency of adorning females (at least the adults) with pairs of pins in Žviliai and Pagrybis cemeteries has been discussed above. This, of course, reflects the female fashion of wearing clothing that differs from that worn by males. But was this rule of a purely functional and aesthetic character? Another tendency can also be seen among the Late Roman Age burials in Žviliai where, almost exclusively, all females were given bracelets in pairs, often just one pair, but also two, three, or four pairs. Males usually had only one bracelet, but in very rare cases, two or three. This bracelet rule disappears in the Early and Late Migration Periods (Pagrybis, Žviliai) along with a decline in the number of bracelets placed in burials. Thus pairs or even numbers of jewellery items were perhaps symbols of femininity or fertility. Randsborg (1995, p.205) points out that *'incidentally, in hoards of the latest Bronze Age, neck-rings often occur in pairs and as the only type of artefact on the sacrifice'*.

One confirmation of the hypothesis about specific pin types being signs of femininity and brooch types being symbols of masculinity is the cruciform-shaped brooches in rich Žviliai male burials from the Late Migration Period (bur. 206, brooch fragments in bur. 202, 215) (Vaitkunsienė 1999, pp.66, 68–69, 71, 172, Figs. 80, 189:2) (Fig. 2). Pins with cruciform heads occurred in contemporary adult and subadult female burials in Žviliai cemetery. Very elaborate ornamented pins of this type were found in bur. 213, a rich female burial (Vaitkunsienė 1999, pp.68, 70–71, 177, Figs. 196) (Fig. 3). Bur. 206, that of a male, and

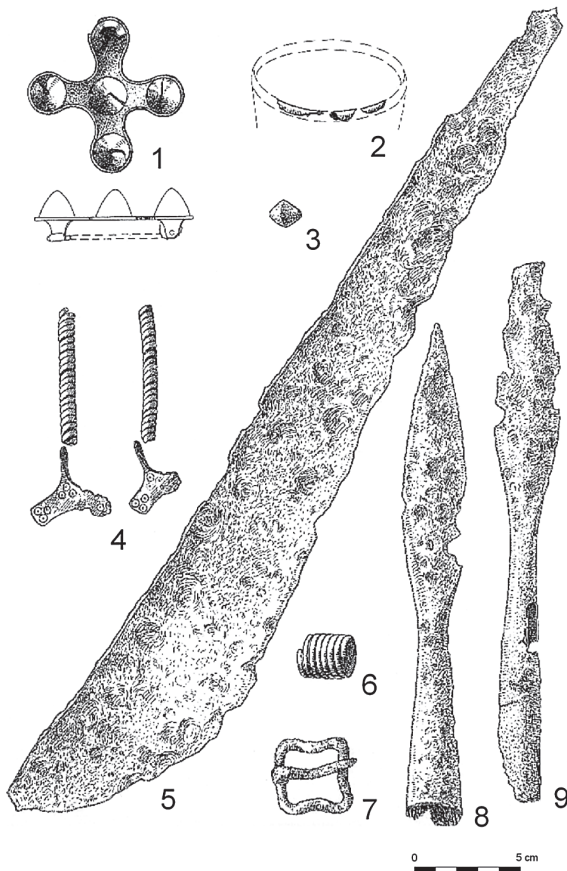


Fig. 2. Finds from Žviliai cemetery bur. 206, that of a male: 1 – a cruciform brooch, 2 – a metal rim from a drinking horn, 3 – an amber bead, 4 – bridle pendants – decorations, 5 – a sword, 6 – a ring, 7 – a belt buckle, 8, 9 – spearheads (1, 2, 4, 6 – bronze, 3 – amber, 5, 7, 9 – iron). Drawing by I. Keršulytė.

bur. 213, that of a female, are in the same area of the cemetery. Both probably belonged to the same family/kinship group. By their shape, cruciform ornaments could be status symbols for both genders, but only in conjunction with the appropriate functional opposite, i.e. brooches for males and pins for females.

The spindle whorls found in female burials belong to the tool category. They attest to the direct connection between women and spinning/weaving, a vital occupation for sustaining a household. Making clothes, however, was important not only

for everyday use, but also as means of creating higher quality textiles for special purposes such as ceremonial and celebratory garments, the exchanging of ritual gifts, and offerings to the deities (Costin 1996, p.124; Wright 1996, pp.80, 85–88). The symbolic meaning of handmade clothing for girls' dowries was important in Lithuanian villages until the mid-20th century. One opinion is that the Old English word *wif* ('wife' or 'woman') is etymologically connected with 'weaving'. Another interesting connection is shown by the Old English word for the maternal line, *spinelhealf*. *Spinel* [mod. Eng. spindle] can be associated with spinning. (The modern English spinning term 'distaff' can also be used in a similar manner.) Meanwhile the paternal line was *wæpnedhealf* or *sperhealf*, which are connected with the words 'weapon' and 'spear' (Fell 1987, pp.39–40). Examples from various cultures and times show that it was risky for males to participate in the female sphere of spinning/weaving. In early Mesopotamian society during the Ur III Period, the male children of female weavers were separated from their mothers and their workshops at the certain age. Boys who stayed in those surroundings longer were in danger of being castrated (Wright 1996, pp.92–93). Cloth production in the Late Inca Empire (c.1400–1533) was the task of both females and males, but working apart from one another. While female specialists were of all ages, their male counterparts were those unable to fulfil other 'masculine' roles such as warriors or mine workers due to age, health, injury, etc. (Costin 1996, pp.124–132). Some ritual spinning and weaving of cloth as a symbolic or sacral object was probably allowed for only by certain females. A recent, geographically close example of this phenomenon might be the spinning and weaving of a towel in the Belorussian countryside for the rite called *Абыдзённік* ('Abydzennik') which was practiced until the 20th century. The magic towel (*ручнік* – 'ruchnik') was thought to help fight evil forces and save villages from disaster. It

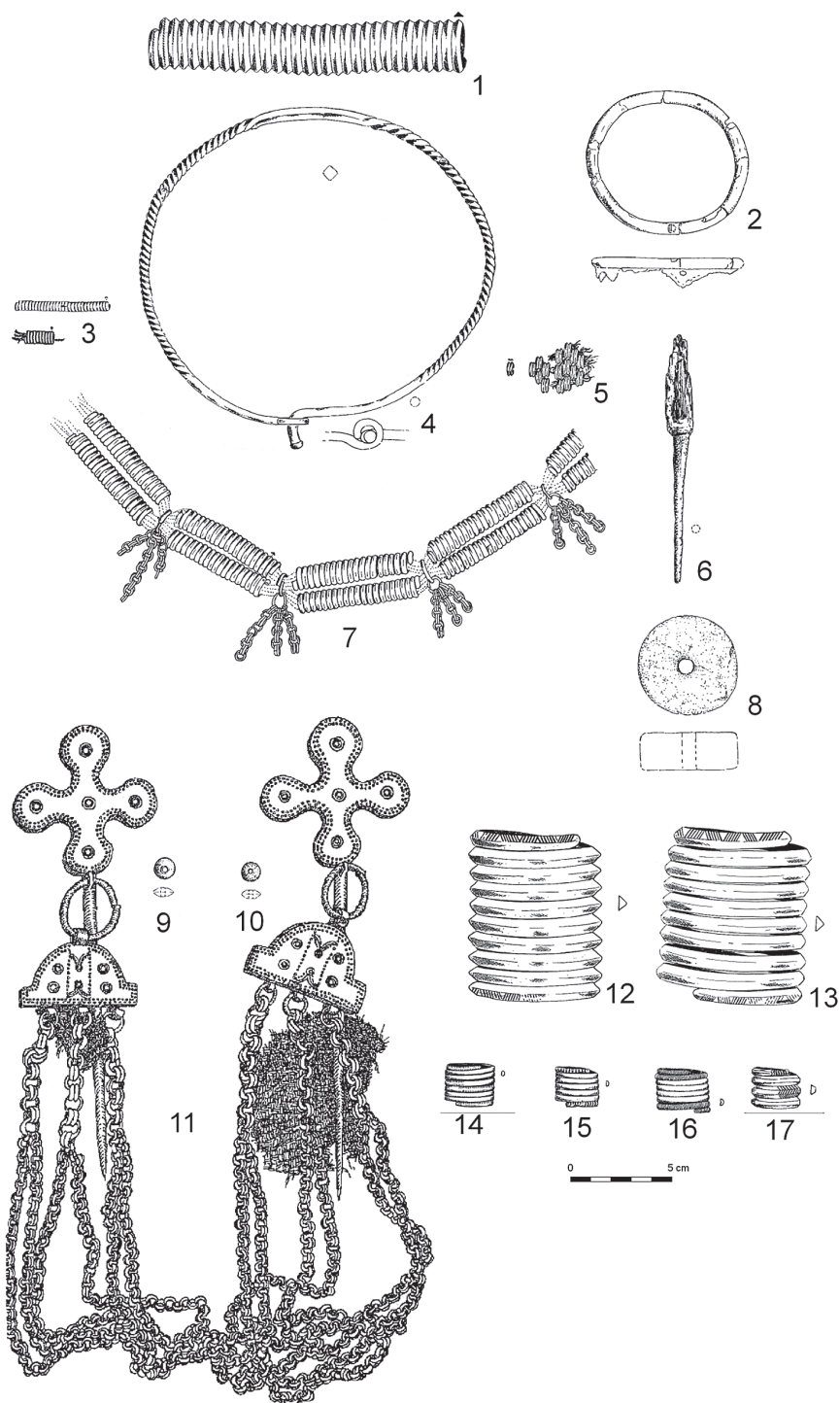


Fig. 3. Finds from Žviliai cemetery bur. 213, that of a female: 1, 3, 5 – bronze headdress decorations, 2 – a metal rim from a drinking horn, 4 – a neck ring, 6 – an awl, 7 – a necklace, 8 – a spindle whorl, 9, 10 – amber beads – amulets, 11 – a pair of cruciform pins joined by chains, 12, 13 – bracelets, 14–17 – rings (1, 2, 4, 7, 12–17 – bronze, 3, 5 – bronze and textile, 6 – iron and wood, 8 – sandstone, 9, 10 – amber, 11 – bronze, silver, and textile). 1–10, 12–17 – drawings by A. Ruzienė (Card Catalogue of the Archaeology Department of the National Museum of Lithuania), 11 – after Vaitkunskienė 1999, Fig. 196).

was made on one farm in the course of one day or one night. The procedure included spinning and weaving performed by a group of women or girls. It is seen that specific rules sometimes exist about which women were allowed to participate, i.e. only the elderly, widows, or so-called 'chaste' women (*чыстыя* – 'chystye') (Беларуская 2006, pp.14, 505). The femininity of spinning and weaving and the allegorical character of this occupation can also be confirmed by the various cultures' beliefs about female deities who spin the fate of humans. These deities are usually found in earth and water areas, are responsible for fertility, and are also associated with the underworld/land of dead (Harvey 1951, p.174; Gimbutas 1963, pp.197–198, 286–287; Greimas 1985, pp.139–140, 222–223; 1990, pp.177–179, 228–230, 286; Ellis Davidson 1988, pp.164, 180; Dundulienė 1989, pp.13–26; Vėlius 1989, pp.94–95; Balsys 2006, p.18; Laurinkienė 2007, pp.16–17). In Anglo-Saxon society one of the female roles was that of 'peace-weaver' where a tribe or family gave a daughter in marriage to a man of a hostile tribe or family (Fell 1987, p.37). In Norse society one of the features of womanhood was the ability to perform sorcery and/or foretell the future (Hedeager 2011, p.123).

The female weaver role and the male warrior or 'outdoor' worker role help to explain the reasons for the appearance of two 'wings' in the seriation tables for Žviliai and Pagrybis grave goods. The basis for stressing gender differences through different burial attributes probably emerged from the reality of the living society as well as from its beliefs and customs. The placement of a spindle whorl in a male burial should have been required by the extreme needs of the individual or his family/kinship. Such occasions represent exceptions just like female burials with weaponry. Žviliai bur. 163, which dates to the 7th–8th centuries, provides an example of unusual grave good assemblages: a horse offering (part of its skull), fragments of bridle ornaments, and a broken stone

spindle whorl (Vaitkunskienė 1999, p.56). Bur. 163 was badly disturbed and therefore it is difficult to make a final conclusion about the incidence of a spindle whorl in a male burial, but the possibility of its occurrence is attested to by bur. 249, an 8th century inhumation in Laiviai cemetery which is in the Curonian tribal area to the NW of Žviliai (Gintautaitė-Butėnienė, Butėnas 2002, p.104) (see Fig. 1). The grave goods from Laiviai bur. 249 consisted of a spear, axe, scythe, whetstone, miniature ceramic pot, and stone spindle whorl. No osteological material proving the hypothesis that Laiviai bur. 249 belonged to a male exists, but the finds are very 'masculine' in character with the exception of the spindle whorl. The placement of a spindle whorl in a male burial along with weaponry and a horse sacrifice are also known from bur. 148B, a 10th–12th-century cremation in Žašinas cemetery, which is in the same Upper Jūra area as Žviliai and Pagrybis cemeteries. Vaitkunskienė interprets this custom as additional offerings which served as a gift for a female, who was already awaiting him in the Other World. According to Vaitkunskienė, a pair of bronze pins in Pagrybis bur. 61, that of a male, may have been placed there for the same purpose, i.e. as a female ornament assemblage (a pair of pins) (Vaitkunskienė 1995a, pp.33–35; 1999, p.220; for more about cases of 'female attributes' in Late Iron Age male burials in the East Baltic Region, see Mägi 2002, pp.81–83 and in Roman Iron Age male burials in coastal Lithuania, see Reich 2012, pp.144–145). In Scandinavian mythology, the twining of 'male' and 'female' symbols such like 'spear=war' and 'spindle whorl=weaving' can be seen. The Icelandic epic *Njáls Saga* contains the 'Song of the Spear' which depicts twelve women with Valkyrie features who weave and determine the fate of Vikings and the outcome of their battles. When the weaving has been completed, these women depart on horseback (Ellis Davidson 1988, pp.94–95).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the absence of anthropological data for determining sex, archaeologists usually try to determine it using assumptions about which grave goods have a feminine character and which a masculine one. A statistical method of seriation was used to detect whether a 'cold computer brain' could suggest what burial find types are 'male', 'female', and 'unisex'. The seriation tables illustrate that grave good assemblages can be distinguished as more or less opposite and that these differences reflect an individual's gender role, which can differ from the biological sex (as seen Pagrybis bur. 163, that of a female).

The narrower spectrum of grave good types in female burials than in male burials is not evidence that a burial was pure, while a greater frequency of one grave good type is usually found in female burials. The seriation tables presented in this article do not reflect the quality of the jewellery placed in the burials. For example, female burials in Žviliai typically contain two bronze pins of a special type, male burials only a single iron one. The quantity and frequently better quality of the jewellery in female burials form a counterpoise to the larger number of different artefact types in male burials.

Statistics and tables can supply some data about gender roles which were shared not only during the mysterious burial rites but also in everyday life. The data from Žviliai and Pagrybis cemeteries attest that the traditionally static prehistoric Balt societies that existed on the periphery of modern-day West Lithuania experienced several breaks in the local customs. These changes may have occurred during social structure transformations and so may have also effected gender relations. The manner of dressing and the choice of ornaments as a means of demonstrating social/gender status changed over time due to the influence of a mixture of local and interregional fashion. In the Late Roman Iron Age, the people

dwelling in the Upper Jūra region (which includes Žviliai and Pagrybis cemeteries) shared many cultural traditions with the inhabitants of Lithuania's coastland (which later belonged to the Curonians). The Migration Period burials reflect changes in the traditions: elements of the burial customs and the grave good assemblages are obviously connected with the culture to the E and N of the River Jūra, i.e. Žemaitian and Semigallian areas (For more on the latter region's cultural stasis and the changes in its cultural orientation, see Vaitkunsienė 1999, pp.212–214, 230–231). Perhaps not just the changes in the traditions over time but also new directions in the cultural ties between the communities and transformations in the social structure and the belief system prompted some of the differences in the burial rites and gender roles reflected in the burial assemblages in the Upper Jūra region from the Late Roman Iron Age to the Late Migration Period. Nevertheless the continuity in wearing of some apparel elements such as pins and rings by both genders shows that some local traditions were preserved through the ages. Such traditions can be specific to one microregion, making it difficult to generalise about the gender roles in the broader West Lithuanian area and to compare it to other 'Lithuanian' regions only on the basis of the data from these two cemeteries. Nevertheless, it is obvious that during the 5th–6th centuries, martial values became exceptionally important in maintaining the status of males in the Upper Jūra region. Male status was also emphasised by allowing some types of jewellery or other grave goods to be given only to males (neck-rings, drinking horns). A similar process can be seen in the material from the East Lithuanian barrows. Kurila (2009, p.40) concluded that *'the differences in male and female funeral rites that began to emerge in the second half of the 1st millennium show the increasing dependency of status on sex. The position of adult females in society became lower and closer to the position of children'*. On the other hand, the relatively large number of

male burials without weapons in Pagrybis cemetery suggests that part of the male community belonged to the area outside the field of male martial rivals and somehow outside the main male gender role. 'Transformational areas' between the groups of gender attributes (especially in the case of child burials) can be seen among the burials from every period in Žviliai and Pagrybis cemeteries.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB – Archaeologia Baltica

LA – Lietuvos archeologija

LYČIŲ VAIDMENYS VAKARŲ LIETUVOS MIKROAREALŲ PRIEŠISTORINĖSE BENDRUOMENĖSE NUO VĖLYVOJO ROMĖNIŠKOJO IKI VĖLYVOJO TAUTŲ KRAUSTYMOŠI LAIKOTARPIO: TĘSTINUMAS AR POKYČIAI?

Rasa Banytė-Rowell

Santrauka

Straipsnyje analizuojamos Žvilių ir Pagrybio kapinynų (Vakarų Lietuva, Jūros aukštupys; 1 pav.) kapų įkapės kaip lyčių [kultūrinė-socialinė prasme, angl. *gender*] vaidmenis atspindintys simboliai bei jų kaita bėgant laikui. Žvilių ir Pagrybio kapinynus tyrinėjo Laima Vaitkuskienė, kurių medžiagą paskelbė atskiromis monografijomis. Nuodugnus medžiagos pateikimas suteikia galimybę kitiems tyrinėtojams ją naudoti tolesnėms analizėms, o svarbios L. Vaitkuskienės išvalgos laidosenos, radinių chronologijos, senovinių tikėjimų, etninės tapatybės

ir kitais klausimais yra inspiracija kitiems mokslininkams archeologinę medžiagą vertinti kuo įvairiapusiškiau.

Statistiniai metodai šiame straipsnyje („WinBasp“ programa) naudoti siekiant patikrinti prielaidą, kad įkapių rinkinys atspindi ne tik mirusiojo individualybę (tikros ar siektinos bendruomenės nario vaidmenį), bet yra ir tam tikrų nusistovėjusių taisyklių atspindys. Tyrimų metu buvo sudarytos trys duomenų bazės: Žvilių kapinyno III a. – V a. pradžios, Pagrybio kapinyno V–VI a. ir Žvilių kapinyno VI–VII a. kapai.

Pagrybio ir Žvilių kapinynai yra netoli vienas kito, todėl tikėtina, kad ir laidojimo papročiai šiame Jūros aukštupio regione buvo panašūs, todėl galima juos lyginti. Naudojant statistinį seriacijos metodą patikrinta, kuo skiriasi moterų ir vyrų įkapės, kokią vietą lentelėje užima vaikų kapai. Į duomenų bazę buvo įtraukti įkapių tipai, kurie pagal savo funkcinę paskirtį suskirstyti labai bendrai (pvz., segė, apyrankė, ietigalis, verpstukas). Pirmose seriacijose smeigtukai pateikiami kaip vienas tipas (1, 3, 6 lent.), o vėliau, pastebėjus, kad jų formos ir nešiojimo (poromis/po vieną) būdai moteriškos ir vyriškos lyties mirusiųjų kapuose skiriasi, į duomenų bazę įtraukiami jų potipiai (2, 4, 5, 7 lent.). Kapų „lytiškumas“, kuris Žvilių kapinyno atveju buvo spėjamas pagal įkapių pobūdį, o Pagrybio – iš dalies nustatytas antropologiniais griaučių tyrimais, kaip požymis į statistinę duomenų bazę nebuvo įtrauktas. Būtent „šaltas kompiuterio protas“ seriacijos lentelėse moterų ir vyrų kapus suskirstė į du priešingus „sparnus“. Juos jungiančią ašį sudaro abiem lytims būdingų įkapių pasitaikymą žymintys taškai.

Analizuojant įkapes kaip moteriškumo ir vyriškumo atributus arba kaip bendrus abiem lytims radingus laikotarpiu nuo Vėlyvojo romėniškojo laikotarpio iki Vėlyvųjų tautų kraustymosi laikų pastebimi tam tikri laidosenos tradicijų pokyčiai. Pvz., antkaklės, kurios Vėlyvuojū romėniškuoju laikotarpiu buvo abiejų lyčių papuošalas, V–VI a. Pagrybio kapinyne pasitaikė tik vyrų kapuose; geriamieji ragai į III–VI a. kapus buvo dėti tik vyrams, o VII–VIII a. (Žviliai) tapo tiek vyriška, tiek moteriška įkape (8 lent.). Tokius tradicijos pokyčius galėjo lemti ne tik socialinių moterų ir vyrų pozicijų pokyčiai, bet ir įkapių kaip simbolio reikšmės kitimas. Tarkim, gali būti, kad VII–VIII a. plinta moters, nešančios kariams ritualinį gėrimą, įvaizdis, kuris gerai žinomas šio laikotarpio ir vėlesnėje žodinėje anglosaksų ir skandinavų tradicijoje. Vyro ir moters vaidmens atributika kito ir per asmens gyvenimą. Tai liudija Pagrybio kapinyno kapai, kurių dalies mirusiųjų biologinė lytis ir amžius buvo nustatyti. Pvz., turtingiems vyriškos lyties vaikų kapams Pagrybyje buvo būdingi įvairūs gink-

lai, išskyrus kalavijus, kurie pasitaikė tik suaugusių vyrų kapuose. Tokia moteriška įkape kaip verpstukas Pagrybio kapinyne buvo rasta 40–55 m. amžiaus moterų kapuose. Gal tai atsitiktinumas (mirusiųjų amžius tiksliai žinomas tik pagal dalį Pagrybio kapinyne rastų griaučių), o gal tam tikro laikotarpio ir arealo tradicija verpstuku pabrėžti moters statusą. Straipsnyje aptariamos galimos verpstuko, taip pat ir kitų įkapių kaip simbolių interpretacijos baltų, germanų, slavų mitologijos kontekste. Aptariamuose Jūros aukštupio kapinyuose laidojimo rituale atsispindi ir lyties, kaip kultūrinės sąvokos, socialinio vaidmens sąlygiškumas bei transformacijų galimybė, nepriklausomai nuo biologinės lyties. Pavyzdžiai – Pagrybio moters k. 163 su keturiomis vyriškomis įkapėmis (ietigaliu, kirviu, peiliu, diržu); Pagrybio jaunuolio k. 61, kuriame rasta tik papuošalų, o tarp jų moteriškas derinys – smeigtukų pora; Žvilių VII–VIII a. k. 163, kur rastas vyriškų ir moteriškų atributų derinys – žirgo auka, kamanų puošybos detalės ir sulaužytas verpstukas bei kt. Kartais moterų ir vyrų papuošalams būdingas tas pats ornamentinis/pavidalo motyvas, bet jis įtvirtinamas skirtingos paskirties aprangos elementuose (VII–VIII a. Žvilių vyrų kryžinės segės ir moterų kryžiniai smeigtukai, 2, 3 pav.). Arba atvirkščiai – tos pačios paskirties papuošaluose išsiskiria tik tam tikros lyties aprangai būdingi pavidalai, pvz., vadinamosios „kario apyrankės“ (Vėlyvojo tautų kraustymosi laikotarpio vyro k. 160 Žviluose), pasitaikančios rečiau nei žymiai daugiau kitų formų moteriškų apyrankių.

Matyt, ne tik tradicijų kaita laikui bėgant, bet ir kintančios kultūrinių sąsajų kryptys bei socialinės struktūros transformacijos, kaip ir tikėjimų sanklodos pokyčiai, lėmė skirtumus, atsiradusius Jūros upės aukštupio žmonių laidojimo papročiuose bei juose atsispindėjusiuose lyčių vaidmenyse nuo Vėlyvojo romėniškojo iki Vėlyvojo tautų kraustymosi laikotarpio. Vis dėlto tam tikrų aprangos elementų, skirtų abiem lytims, tokių kaip smeigtukai ir žiedai, nešiosenos tęstinumas liudija, kad tam tikros vietinės tradicijos amžiams bėgant išliko.

LENTELIŲ SĄRAŠAS

1 lentelė. Žvilių kapų, datuojamų Vėlyvuojų romėniškuoju laikotarpiu, pirmoji seriacija. Lytis pažymėtos remiantis L. Vaitkunskienės archeologinėmis prielaidomis (ch – kūdikių/vaikų/paauglių kapai; nepažymėta – neiški lytis).

2 lentelė. Žvilių kapų, datuojamų Vėlyvuojų romėniškuoju laikotarpiu, antroji seriacija (iš duomenų bazės pašalinus visus apardytus kapus ir tokius tipus kaip „medinė dėžutė“, apkalai bei į duomenų bazę įvedus smeigtukų potipius).

3 lentelė. Pagrybio kapų, datuojamų Ankstyvuojų tautų kraustymosi laikotarpiu, pirmoji seriacija. Lytis pažymėta tik prie tų kapų, kurių osteologinė medžiaga analizuota.

4 lentelė. Pagrybio kapų, datuojamų Ankstyvuojų tautų kraustymosi laikotarpiu, antroji seriacija (iš duomenų bazės pašalinus labiausiai apardytus kapus ir tipą „grandinėlė“ bei į duomenų bazę įvedus smeigtukų potipius).

5 lentelė. Pagrybio kapų, datuojamų Ankstyvuojų tautų kraustymosi laikotarpiu, trečioji seriacija (iš duomenų bazės pašalinus visus apardytus kapus ir tokį tipą kaip „įvijos“ bei bendrą tipą „smeigtukas“).

6 lentelė. Žvilių kapų, datuojamų Vėlyvuojų tautų kraustymosi laikotarpiu, pirmoji seriacija (iš duomenų bazės pašalinus tokius įvairialypius tipus kaip „apkalai“, „grandinėlės“, „įvijos“; atmetus retus tipus „kirvis“, „keramika“). Lytis pažymėta remiantis L. Vaitkunskienės archeologinėmis prielaidomis.

7 lentelė. Žvilių kapų, datuojamų Vėlyvuojų tautų kraustymosi laikotarpiu, antroji seriacija (iš duomenų bazės pašalinus visus apardytus kapus bei duomenų bazėje įvedus smeigtukų potipius).

8 lentelė. Papuošalų tipų, geriamųjų ragų ir keramikos šukių pasitaikymas trijų laikotarpių vyrų ir moterų kapuose pagal Žvilių ir Pagrybio kapinynų duomenis.

ILIUSTRACIJŲ SĄRAŠAS

1 pav. Žemėlapis su tekste aptartais Vakarų Lietuvos kapinynais. *R. Banytės-Rowell brėž.*

2 pav. Radiniai iš Žvilių kapinyno vyro k. 206: 1 – kryžinė segė, 2 – metalinis geriamojo rago pakraščio apkalas, 3 – gintarinis karolis, 4 – kabučiai – kamanų puošmenos, 5 – kalavijas, 6 – žiedas, 7 – diržo sagtis, 8, 9 – ietigaliai (1, 2, 4, 6 – žalvaris, 3 – gintaras, 5, 7–9 – geležis). *I. Keršulytės pieš.*

3 pav. Radiniai iš Žvilių kapinyno moters k. 213: 1, 3, 5 – žalvarinės apgalvio puošmenos, 2 – metalinis geriamojo rago pakraščio apkalas, 4 – antkaklė, 6 – yla, 7 – vėrinys, 8 – verpstukas, 9, 10 – gintariniai karoliai – amuletai, 11 – kryžinių smeigtukų, sujungtų grandinėlėmis, pora, 12, 13 – apyrankės, 14–17 – žiedai (1, 2, 4, 7, 12–17 – žalvaris, 3, 5 – žalvaris ir tekstilė, 6 – geležis ir mediena, 8 – smiltainis, 9, 10 – gintaras, 11 – žalvaris, sidabras ir tekstilė), 1–10, 12–17 – *A. Ruzienės pieš.* (Lietuvos nacionalinio muziejaus Archeologijos skyriaus kartoteka), 11 – pagal: Vaitkunskienė 1999, pav. 196).