

THE BOG OFFERINGS OF THE BALTS: 'I GIVE IN ORDER TO GET BACK'

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Abstract

The bog offerings of the Balts dating back to the period from the first century to the first half of the eighth century, and found in the Nemunas-Daugava interfluvia, are studied as part of the panhuman experience, and as a result of the influence of the Germanic culture of a period covering the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period. In the lands of the Balts, however, offerings in water turned into a self-contained phenomenon known until historic times. This article discusses the links between bog offering sites and sacred waters. It discusses the position of bog offerings in the archaeological complex, the composition of offerings and changes in them, and the main intentions of the offerings, which can be characterised as offerings of war booty (to the god of war, as proof of a warrior's honour), the transfer of valuables into the transcendental space (give to get back), and communication with the gods and with ancestors (requests and tokens of gratitude).

Key words: Balts, wetlands, sacrifices, war booty/triumph, communication, transfer of valuables.

Offerings into water: from the very outset

It is quite difficult, and sometimes even impossible, to conclude whether offering sites at a time of sacrifice were valleys of rivers or shores of lakes, ponds or meadows, or if the sites were rather overgrown or not. In one way or another, offerings were related to water, and, by their essence, they were offerings into water as a universal mediator in the journey to the afterworld or the eventual realm of the dead. Without doubt, a portion of these votive offerings were intended for the gods. Water is one of the principal components of the world's structure, from which, according to myths about the creation of the world, the Earth was created (Greimas 1990, p.133). Slack water, water flowing westwards or eastwards, a spring gushing from the ground, or the source of a river, or water falling from the sky: all these were given the role of a mediator in various situations (Vaitkevičius 2008a, p.77). Therefore, water in all its states could act as a mediator with gods and ancestors. Water was also an ideal medium for the transfer of desired valuables into the transcendental space; through this substance, as time went on, the owner would follow the valuables he had sacrificed. Water not only gives an opportunity to transfer desired objects into the afterworld, it also gives the person who performed the rites the right to use the objects after his death. More than one author has noticed this phenomenon, on the basis of written sources and archaeological material (Larsson 1998, p.70ff, Fig. 7; Žulkus 1989, p.110; 1993, p.33). On the other hand, hoards deposited in the ground also carry a similar meaning (Riekstiņš 1930, p.477; Quast 2009). Consequently, in principle, the

ground, too, could serve as a mediator between different spaces of the world.

In Lithuania, the formation of bogs occurred predominantly in the Holocene, during the Allerød climatic warming period. As lakes became clogged up, the process became more rapid in the Pre-Boreal period, i.e. the Mesolithic (Kabailienė 2006, pp.416, 422ff, Table 12). Although the majority of bogs formed through the silting-up of lakes, dry land can become boggy in the springy slopes along river banks and in river valleys; and due to excessive moisture, bogs and wetlands can form in forests and fields. Although the information on the present-day marshiness of Lithuania that is contained in scientific literature is contradictory, the usual claim is that the level of marshiness of Lithuania in Prehistoric times ranged from 9% to 6.5% (Sakalauskas, Zelionka 1966, p.5; Bareika 2010, p.7ff; Barakauskas 2008, p.18). In the first millennium, bogs and wetlands might have covered approximately two thirds of present-day Lithuania.¹ The number of boggy areas decreased considerably, due to extensive land reclamation, which was still going on in the late 20th century, because in some small river basins one third to two thirds of streams were straightened, drained or otherwise anthropogenically modified beds of small rivers (Žikulinas, Česnulevičius 2009, p.62ff).

Similar bog formation processes were taking place in Scandinavia, too, where some lakes underwent a process of transformation into bogs in the Pre-Boreal and during Atlantic times (Larsson 1998, p.65ff). As the experience of studies of Germanic water offering sites

¹ Dr Julius Taminskas' and Jevgenijus Žikulinas' communication to the author (Nature Research Centre, Institute of Geology and Geography)..



Fig. 1. The distribution of offerings in bogs and wetlands between the River Nemunas and the River Daugava. For a list of sites, see the appendix and table. Booty sacrifices in Scandinavia during the Roman Period and Migration Period, after Ilkjær 2007, p.17; Estonian sites after T. Tamla 1995, p.103ff, Fig. 1.

shows, offerings were made into lakes, the bog formation process of which had already started; whereas in the case of Illerup, offerings were made in the Illerup Ådal river valley (Ilkjær 2007, p.25). In the Nemunas-Daugava interfluvia, however, it was river banks or boggy river valleys that were predominantly chosen as water offering sites (Fig. 1; Appendix 1).

In Europe, offerings of various compositions into water, bogs or marshlands have been known since the Late Palaeolithic (Meiendorf-pond near Hamburg; Burdukiewicz 1999, p.102ff, Fig. 4). It is self-evident that with the passage of time the composition and intentions of the offerings changed; however, a bog, river bank or lake shore, a spring or just a marshy place, always remained an important offering site. According to Richard Bradley, mankind's offerings into water were 'a mirage but permanent'; in other words, it was a long-running tradition (1990, pp.9-16). This 'permanent mirage' as a particular phenomenon characteristic of a specific time and space has been ascribed by many authors who divide bog finds into different categories: familial and tribal sacrifices of a village, great tribal sacrifices at central sites, boat sacrifices as an act of cult-worship in order to obtain a greater *esprit de corps*, and special sacrifices and human sacrifices (Hagberg 1967b, p.67ff, with further literature).

Consequently, water was always important as a transcendental space and a contact zone intended for communication with the gods and with ancestors in prehistoric times. In the Neolithic, offerings into water became extremely widespread. Furthermore, the attitude towards offerings in bogs changed. Offerings into water became a site of contact with the spiritual world, whereas a votive offering became the basis of community rites (Larsson 1998, p.68ff, Fig. 6). In the Jutland Peninsula, and in some Baltic Sea coastal areas rich in amber, offerings of raw amber and amber artefacts became extremely widespread in the Neolithic and the Bronze Age (Jensen 2000, pp.37-38; Griesa 1999, pp.128-129, Pl. 81; Bukowski 2002, Fig. 86). Apparently, it was not by chance that Juodkrantė (formerly Schwarzort) became the main Neolithic sacred place (*alkas*) of the entire spit and the surrounding region, where amber artefacts were sacrificed (Rimantienė 1989, p.85; Bliujienė 2007, pp.85-86, 171), and possibly food or other artefacts. Judging by the composition of the 'Juodkrantė Hoard', offerings might have been made there in the Early Bronze Age too.

In the Bronze Age, the number of offerings in the bogs of Central and northern Europe increased again; however, the composition, and apparently the main intentions of the offerings, changed. At that time, the ambition of people who enjoyed a high social status

to become divine tribal chiefs or ancestors worshipped by future generations attributed more importance to the rites of offerings in water, and revealed the principal wish of those making the offerings: 'I give in order to get back' (Hänsel 1997, p.13ff). Therefore, exclusive regalia, weapons, work tools, ornaments and other valuables² became a component of such offerings. Bronze Age offerings into water became widespread in the east Baltic region (V. Urtāns 1977, p.129; Grigalavichene 1980, pp.66-88; Čivilytė 2004, p.227ff; Bliujienė 2007, p.252ff).

Some water offering sites were long-term ones, because at certain intervals of time offerings were made at the same site for several hundred years (such as the village of Šernai in the Minija valley). People would come to make an offering at a certain lake shore or river bank for several hundred or even a thousand years or more (at Gdynia-Wielki Kack in the Bay of Gdansk, amber was offered in a coastal bog in the Neolithic and the Late Roman Period) (La Baume 1920, Plate I; Reszcyńska 1998, p.93, map 21; Bliujienė 2007, Fig. 91.3.). Generally, offerings of amber were made into water until the beginning of the Migration Period (Eogan 1999, p.75ff; Bliujienė 2007, p.253ff, Fig. 154; Negroni Catacchio 2009, Plate I.1). Offerings of amber into water are attested to by the Basonia beads treasure, which was found, albeit in unclear circumstances, undoubtedly in a boggy valley of the Vistula (Wielowiejski 1990, p.101ff).

Mythological data from many nations indicates that the realm of the dead is imagined as being located beyond water, or in water; or water was the sphere through which one could arrive in the world of the dead (Žulkus 1989, p.110; 1993, p.29ff; Beresnevičius 2004, p.245; Larsson 1998, p.68). Therefore, there is nothing strange about the fact that most of Lithuania's burial sites are separated from their settlement by at least a small nameless rivulet or a ravine, whereas burial sites, more often than not, are on river banks or lake shores. However, boggy offering sites are known only in small areas surrounding dwelling sites and burial grounds, the most prominent archaeological objects.

There is no doubt about the fact that during the Roman Period and at the beginning of the Migration Period, the Balts, as well as the Finno-Ugric people, adopted a custom of making offerings in bogs and wetlands from Germanic peoples; therefore, the intentions of the offering must have been very similar (V. Urtāns 1977;

Tamla 1995, p.103ff, Figs. 1-5; Lang 2007, p.257; Kazanski 2010, p.59). In the east Baltic region, we know all aspects of sacrifices in the wetlands used by Germans (Hagberg 1967b; Geisslinger 1967, pp.98-107, maps 8, 9, 16), except boat sacrifices to be a part of cult-worship. The importance of local customs which create the essential conditions for originating votive offerings in wetlands and bogs should be stressed.

Most east Baltic region votive offerings in water, especially during the Migration Period, should be ascribed to war booty sacrifices. However, the question arises whether offerings were the booty from attacking or defending armies? And this is not an issue that is easily solved. In other words, the question of the intentions of these offerings arises. It has been suggested that war booty might have been brought home from victories abroad to be sacrificed, perhaps copying the Roman Triumph, and that these sacrifices would be psychologically bizarre to risk for life, honour and property (Ilkjær 2003, pp.44-65). One more suggestion has begun to circulate in archaeological literature that the sacrifices represented warriors returning from battles around the *limes*, where they might have fought on either side, or that war booty offerings bear witness to migrations from the continent to Scandinavia. Seeking land as they returned, they engaged in fighting with the local tribes of southern Scandinavia (Hagberg 1967b, p.65; Lund Hansen 2003, p.84ff). Of course, it is possible that a votive offering is performed in the area of a battle between two or more tribes, and the defeated tribe would lose its treasury to the victor (Grane 2007, pp.242-259, for an overview). At the same time, it is possible that votive offerings were made by the inhabitants of surrounding regions to their dead during a certain period as great tribal sacrifices.

In the Lithuanian historiographical tradition, it is also claimed that these are bog offerings dedicated to warriors killed in foreign lands (Zabiela, Ribokas 1994, p.28). Or, it is assumed that 'the real meaning of offerings might have been slightly different: through offerings, the deities of the underworld were asked to show benevolence and patronage to a killed person who never returned home, i.e. to a person whose relatives could not prepare him for the journey to the world of the deceased' (Vaitkevičius 1994, p.107; literature pertaining to this issue is given).

However, artefacts in the bog offerings of the Balts are not of Scandinavian origin. This fact has been noticed by all researchers who have analysed the offerings of the Early Migration Period (Tamla 1995, p.105, with literature). On the other hand, offered ornaments bear some features typical of the Baltic Sea region of the Early Migration Period, and some artefacts, such as

² The famous Trundholm sun chariot that was made in the Early Bronze Age around 1400 BC and was found in the Trundholm bog at Sjælland (Denmark). The second most famous object of antiquity, the Gundestrup Cauldron, which was produced around the second to the first century BC, was also found in a peat bog in Denmark.

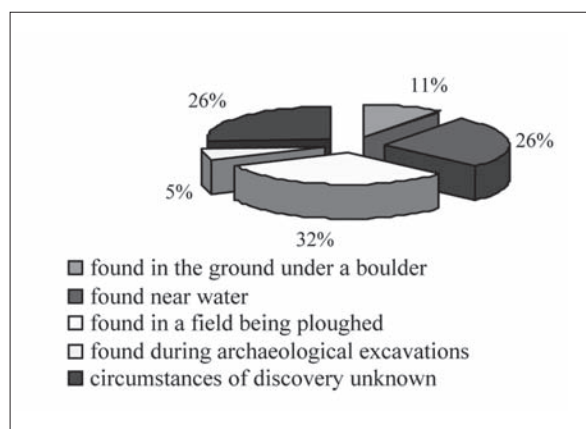


Fig. 2. Details of discoveries of 11th to 14th-century hoards of silver ornaments (according to J. Bliujūtė, Fig. 12).

oval belt buckles with a thicker fore part (Group H), were widespread in most of Europe (Madyda-Legutko 1986, Plates 19-20). The collected material indicates (see Appendix 1) that the Balts and the entire east Baltic region during the Late Roman Period and the Early Migration Period did not lag behind Germanic lands, where war booty was offered in especially large quantities. However, the east Baltic region differs, in that offerings into water continued during the Late Migration Period too; these offerings continued during Viking times and in the Early Middle Ages. On Gotland, offerings in bogs and wetlands survived even into the Viking Age, while in other parts of Sweden and Scandinavia such offerings were abandoned and forgotten (Hagberg 1967b, pp.70, 72-73; Thumark-Nyleń 2006, pp.462, 466-467). Bearing in mind the particular long-lasting Gotlandic tradition in the design and wearing of bracteates, fashionable sets of beads, fibulae and so on, it is no wonder that offerings in bogs were still practised. Furthermore, we can retrace active communication between communities of the east Baltic region and Gotland, and argue that the common lifestyle and view of the world support the general custom of offerings on both sides of the Baltic Sea.

Hoard from the Early Middle Ages consisting of exclusively silver ornaments were typical of the Balts; they would bear not only an economic, but also a symbolic and possibly a cult meaning. Such hoards are usually found in boggy areas (Bogucki 2003, pp.184, 201). Undoubtedly, approximately a quarter (26%) of 11th to 14th-century hoards of silver ornaments are related to water (Bliujūtė 2004, p.38) (Fig. 2). Nevertheless, at least some of the late ornaments, such as ones that did not match the new ideological and artistic realities, became offerings entrusted to the eternal custody of the ancestors. Consequently, the ancient offering into water might have acquired a different meaning, a kind of reverent farewell by aristocratic

ladies of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to ornaments that were old-fashioned and represented old culture. Silver ornaments with rare decoration and a substantial weight had a high material value; therefore, such an offering was valuable. Single offerings into water might be known from as late as the early 18th century (at Oniūnai in the Kupiškis district, in 1986, during the excavation of a land reclamation ditch, 23 coins from different countries dating back to the early 18th century were found; Ivanauskas 1995, p.257ff). However, we should bear in mind all kinds of everyday life situations, accidents, and other factors due to which a deposit might have ended up in water.

Sacrifices by the Balts in bogs and wetlands on the basis of the archaeological and mythological context, and data from written sources

In Lithuania and Latvia, just as in other lands of the Balts³ and the Finno-Ugric part of the Baltic region, weapons, work tools, household objects, ornaments, Roman coins, parts of a warrior's accoutrements and other artefacts dating back to the period from the first century to the first half of the 13th century are found during the reclamation of boggy areas, peat cutting and ploughing of drained swamps, as well as on swampy river banks or lake shores and in wet meadows (Figs. 1; 3; 4; Appendix 1).⁴ Regarding the entire period being discussed, which covers nearly 1,300 years, 33 bog offering sites have been registered in western Lithuania and southwest Latvia, in western Samogitia, western Semigalia, and central and northeast Lithuania (Appendix 1), although, according to the archives of the State Board of Archaeology, there might be more offering sites. The largest number of offerings have

³ This article discusses only bog offerings found between the River Nemunas (Memel, Neman) and the River Daugava (Western Dvina).

⁴ It should be pointed out that in far from all instances are the circumstances of the finding of the offerings into water discussed in this article absolutely clear. The list of offerings into water has been compiled by including in it only those sites which present no doubt as to the circumstances of their finding, or where the circumstances of their finding indicate that the deposit found was in one way or another related to water (e.g. Dandāle Vecsvirlaukas and the hoard in the vicinities of Daugavpils). The list of the findspots of bog offerings does not include single artefacts or groups of artefacts where the circumstances of the finding cannot be verified by any other sources (a silver neck-ring was found in Lyduvėnai on the bank of the River Dubysa; cf. LLM 1958, p. 330, Fig. 293). Latvian deposits intended for various purposes have been studied in great detail by Vladislavs Urtāns; however, the circumstances of the finding of some deposits given in the publications of 1964 and 1977 differ.



Fig. 3. 1930, Kokmuiža II (Līgotņu, Vītiņi parish, Auce district, Latvia): excavations of the edges of a land reclamation ditch in the boggy valley of the River Avīkne (LNM photograph No. 30785) (photograph by Jānis Jaunzems).



Fig. 4. An excavation plot during archaeological investigations in 1930 at Kokmuiža II (Līgotņu, Vītiņi parish, Auce district, Latvia) (LNM photograph No. 30768) (photograph by Jānis Jaunzems).

been found in western Lithuania, southwest Latvia and western Semigalia, and in central and northeastern parts of Estonia, that is, in regions, where communication by sea and the main rivers used to predetermine the evolution of the mode of life of individual communities, which manifested itself not only through the rapid development of economic and social models, but also through dynamic changes in cultural ideas, ideology and world outlook. All the bog offering finds were found during the reclamation of boggy areas, peat cutting, the ploughing of drained swamps, the straightening of clogged-up river beds, or other agricultural activities. Therefore, quite often the exact findspot and the stratigraphy of the arrangement of such finds is unclear. More often than not, weapons (spear points) and some ornaments (penannular brooches, bracelets with tapered terminals, cylindrical mountings of drinking horns) found in the offering deposits do not provide data for a more accurate dating of the offering, due to wear over a long period of time. However, on the basis of the chronology of crossbow brooches with a bent or star-like foot, neck-rings (with a box-shaped clasp, with faceted terminals, with saddle-shaped terminals, with profoundly faceted terminals, with a widened frontal part and tapered terminals) and other ornaments, we can presume that it was only in a small part of the water offering sites that offerings were made intermittently or for a longer period of time (Barstyčiai, Bernsteinbruch and Užpelkiai and the Late Migration Period and even earliest Estonian bog war booty sacrifices at Kunda, Rikassaare, Alulinna and Igavere; for

this, see Tamla 1995, p.103ff, Fig. 1). More often than not, this uncertainty is exacerbated by the fact that no offering sites were found during archaeological excavations. Normally, archaeologists learn of offering sites, visit them, and, in the best cases, study them after some time has passed. Usually, only some of the finds are taken to museums, or, in general, only stories about such offerings are known (Riekstiņš 1930, pp.473-478, Plates I-II; V. Urtāns 1964, p.41ff; 1977, Figs. 16, 17; Tautavičius 1971; 1975, pp.84-85). In the region under discussion, only the Kokmuiža II and Šliktinė⁵ offerings sites were studied by archaeologists, albeit after some time had passed (Figs. 3-4). Consequently, in most cases we possess no knowledge of the detailed arrangement and stratigraphy of the deposit. In view of the lack of data of the arrangement of the deposit *in situ* and links between artefacts or groups of them, it is difficult to conjecture not only the chronological aspects and rites of the offering(s), but also to extrapolate how many people made contributions to the offering, if the offering was simultaneous. Nevertheless, in spite of the wide chronological framework of most bog offerings, an analysis of the very deposits would make it possible to claim that a larger or smaller offering for exceptionally important intentions was made simultaneously, or within a definite period of time covering 100 years or more. People would come back to make offerings only to some sites (Appendix 1; Table 1). The situation is similar in Germanic bog offering sites, too (at Illerup Ådal, large offerings were made in approximately the years 200, 230 and 375, whereas small offerings were made from the early third century to the late fourth century; offerings were made at the Porskjær offering site within several periods) (Ilkjær 2007, pp.34-35; Nøgaard Jørgensen 2008, p.204).

It is not clear why only a certain section of a river, lake shore or part of a wetland was chosen as a site for offering into water, over areas located nearby and also seemingly suitable for offerings in many ways (Tautavičius 1971, pp.1-9; 1972, p.84ff). The common speculation concerning the choice of actual sites for offerings into water is as follows: if finds have been found in a boggy area, it indicates that the site is sacred as such (Pretorius 2006, p.133; Tautavičius 1972, p.84ff; Zabiela, Ribokas 1994, p.28; J. Urtāns 2004, p.95; 2008, p.84).

Sacred sites of the Balts are known under a common name, *alka*, -s (*elk*, *olk*), which means a sacred offering site. There is quite a large number of bogs called *alka* (*os*)/*aukos* (cf. Vaitkevičius 1998, p.338ff, Figs. 11-22; 2003a, pp.21, 155). Therefore, it would seem self-explanatory that offering sites should coincide with sa-

cred waters: sacred offering sites (*alkos*), sacred rivers (*alkupiai*), sacred islets (*alkos salos*) and meadows, as well as holy rivers and springs considered to be sacred, in other words, with former sacred sites. However, on one hand, there are far fewer known offering sites into water than there are locations considered to be sacred waters. On the other hand, there is no clear-cut connection between offerings found on the banks and shores of clogged-up rivers, lakes, marshy meadows or quagmires, and sites that were considered to be sacred waters and are known from stories or which exist as mere place names (Vaitkevičius 1998a, p.338ff, Figs. 11-22; 1998b, pp.16-23; 2003a, pp.154-175, maps 23-28; 2006; J. Urtāns 2004, p.94; 2008, pp.76-90, 179-207). Nearly 200 names of bogs, marshes or swamps known in Lithuania and Semigalia (11 out of 15) contain the roots *vel*, *pikt*-; therefore, it is believed that the name indicates that the bog used to be the abode of a devil (*velinas* or *velnias*); we cannot deny the possibility that offerings might have been made to him there (Presents from witches/Laumių dovanos, 1979, pp.70-71; Vėlius 1987; Vaitkevičius 1994, p.107; J. Urtāns 2004, p.94). However, neither the well-known offerings from Kokmuiža I and II nor the offerings from Šliktinė are directly related to the sacred waters of bogs bearing a sacred name. There is no data that attests to the fact that some place names, such as Auksūdys (in the Kretlinga district), the name of which consists of the word *auka* (offering) or *aukoti* (to make an offering) and the component *sūd* (*sūduva*, a quagmire in a marsh; the opening of a quagmire; Vaitkevičius 2003a, p.153), are related to offerings into water. Even the Well of Prayers or Offerings located on the east slope of Mikytai Offering Hill (*aukos kalnas*, in the Skuodas district), just like the Devil's Boulder found on the north slope of this offering hill, are not directly related to Šliktinė I and II offerings into water. However, in this particular case, other opinions exist in Lithuanian historiography too (Vaitkevičius 1994, p.104ff).

In southern Scandinavia, almost 50 war booty sacrifices have been located at more than 20 sites ranging from the fourth century BC to the fifth century AD (Grane 2007, p.220, Fig. 87) (Fig. 1). An indirect link between Germanic war booty and trophy offerings and offerings by the Balts is Thor, whose functions and importance in the Germanic mythological system were similar to that of the Balts' Perkūnas. One of the most famous bog offering sites is Thorsberg (in the vicinity of Schleswig), where offerings were made between the years 220 and 240, and in circa 300 (von Carnap-Bornheim, Ilkjær 1997; Ilkjær 2007, p.68ff). However, in Lithuanian archaeological material, there are no convincing links between place names related to Perkūnas (such as Perkūnkiemiai) and offerings into

⁵ No finds were found during the excavations of the Šliktinė offering site (Tautavičius 1971).

water, or burying in water.⁶ Certainly in Scandinavia, it is possible to associate valuable *militaria* with the cult of Odin, connecting offerings with gifts for the dead warrior and with their property in Valhalla (Hagberg 1967b, p.65). This means that, in general, water was a space through which own property went to Valhalla.

In the 13th century, Romuva is localised in the confluence of the River Auksinė/Austkė/Aukštė⁷ and the River Pregolia; the main religious centre and the main sacred site of the Balts were situated not far from Mezhdureche⁸ (Pėteraitis 1992, p.69; Vaitkevičius 2003b, pp.16-17, Figs. 11, 12). The fact that a stretch of the River Auksinė was considered sacred, and that no one but Vaidevutis was allowed to approach it, was mentioned by Jonas Bretkūnas (1536–1602) at the end of the 16th century, and, following Bretkūnas, by Matas Pretorijus (Matthäus Prätorius, 1635–1707) (Pretorijus 2006, p.131ff; Beresnevičius 2004, p.241). However, Bretkūnas does not mention any offerings. Pretorijus mentions that in the River Auksinė, not far from Narkyčiai, naturally washed-out amber is now and then found (Pretorijus 2006, p.131ff). Nevertheless, it is quite possible that some kind of offerings might have been made in the stretch of the River Auksinė that ran past Romuva and was considered to be sacred. The amber that Pretorijus mentions might have been abundant washed-out offerings made by amber gatherers a long time ago. There is no doubt that war booty and thanksgiving offerings were made at the main shrine of the Balts at Romuva. Peter of Dusburg mentions that a third of the war booty would be offered at Romuva (Dusburgietis III.5). Written sources mention that the Celts (Gauls) and the Germanic tribes would make war booty offerings into water (Caesar, II book, § 17, VI book; Hagberg 1967b, p.65ff, with a detailed overview of antique sources).

Offerings by the Balts into water are in some respects similar to burying in water and offerings made by sinking various artefacts in water basins or seasonally wet areas around burial grounds. Certain stretches of lake shores or river banks were selected for burying in water (Obeliai, in the Anykščiai district; Bajorai, in the Kaišiadorys district; Lake Vilkmuiža, not far from Talsi hill-fort; in the 14th and 15th centuries people were buried in Lake Laizde Kalni [in the Talsi district]; during the drainage of the River Mazroja, artefacts from cremation graves were found; finds dating back to the 12th and 13th centuries were found in Lake Kaķīši next to Ēdole) (Urbanavičius, Urbanavičienė 1988, pp.35-46; Asaris *et al.* 2008, p.64ff; Grinkevičiūtė, Vaitkevičius 2006; Vaitkevičius, Grinkevičiūtė 2008; Vaitkevičius 2009).⁹ It is difficult to tell whether there might have been water in natural terrain depressions located in Marvelė burial ground, or if the water appeared there periodically. It is not clear whether the layer of cremated bones and abundant fragments of artefacts formed at this point in Marvelė burial ground during Viking times due to a unique manner of burying the deceased, or whether the layer formed due to offerings made (Bertašius 1994, p.56; 2009, pp.108ff).¹⁰ However, the very fact of burying in water does not eliminate the possibility that offerings were made in the same place, too, for the simple reason that no cremated bones are found in water (Lake Vilkmuiža) (Šturms 1936, pp.85-86).¹¹ On the other hand, a certain amount of cremated bones and charcoal does not eliminate the fact that sacrificial offerings were made into the water (Kokmuiža II; for this see: Riekstiņš 1930, p.437ff, Figs. 1-2). Herewith, it will be observed that none of the Balt communities in the surrounding regions used cremation as a burial custom. In the case of Obeliai, the connection between cremated bones found in the water and artefacts originating from cremation graves, as well as weapons and ornaments, is not sufficiently clear (Urbanavičius, Urbanavičienė 1988, pp.35-46). Also, due to the fixation of earlier excavations, it is difficult to find a connection between accumulations of cremated human bones found in water and definite artefacts, or to determine the exact number of buried people. However, the example of the Ba-

⁶ On the basis of historical and folkloric data, and, to some extent, the archaeological context, Vaitkevičius assumes that there is a possible connection between the barrows of Alinka (Raistinė) and artefacts found by fishermen in a presumed offering site in Lake Puikinas, as well as at Perkūnkiemis a few kilometres away, and allegedly the sacred forest of Gojus (Vaitkevičius 2008b, pp.54-61). However, a dam was built on the River Strėva in 1961, during the construction of the Elektrėnai Thermal Power Plant. For this reason, the contours of the shores of Lake Puikinas changed considerably, and the ancient islets were flooded. Around the lake, other islets formed on the basis of former hills. Due to the elevated level, the water apparently flooded some of the barrows or former burial grounds; this is why archaeological finds are found in the lake.

⁷ The right tributary of the Pregolia, now the River Golubaya in the Kaliningrad region, meaning: shining.

⁸ Norkitten; in Lithuanian, Narkyčiai; Kaliningrad region (Russia).

⁹ Signs of burying in water were found in the Pajauta valley at Kernavė in 2010.

¹⁰ In the southwest part of Marvelė burial ground, among cremation graves dating from the tenth to 12th centuries, a pit of 11 by three metres and up to 0.7 metres in depth was found, in which more than 1,500 artefacts, fragments of artefacts, and cremated bones were found.

¹¹ At the eastern end of the lake, in a stretch of the shore around 12 to 15 metres in length and at a depth of three to five metres, around 3,500 artefacts dating from the 12th to 14th centuries were found: they were mostly ornaments, weapons, parts of belts, sickles and parts of horse armour.

jorai burial ground, at least at the initial stage of the excavations, might indicate that the intended purpose of this islet in Lake Briauņas underwent changes, and offerings were made there before a burial ground was established (Grinkevičiūtė, Vaitkevičius 2006, pp.151-152; Vaitkevičius, Grinkevičiūtė 2008, pp.195-197; Vaitkevičius 2009, p.139).

It is not clear today how many natural water basins there were near burial grounds, or how they were used or might have been used for making offerings. So far, water offering sites near burial grounds can be related to the Palanga and possibly Siraičiai burial grounds (Tautavičius 1977, p.132). However, in Siraičiai, not far from the bog situated between the hill-fort and the burial ground, scrap metal was hidden in a wet area, judging by the composition of the finds and other peculiarities; among the scrap metal, there are even artefacts dating from the late second and early third centuries (Brensztejn 1903, p.44ff; Bliujienė 2009, p.173). The site was marked with a sword driven into the ground, and this circumstance might indicate a wish to entrust ancestors with the protection of wealth, temporarily or for a long period of time. On the other hand, neither the composition of the Siraičiai deposit nor the site eliminates the possibility of the wish to transfer the accumulated wealth to the afterworld by using water as a medium between different spaces. Finally, this deposit might have been an offering to the gods (Kazakevičius, Malonaitis 2006, p.75, Table 1; Bliujienė 2008, p.173; and see Appendix 1).¹²

Authors who have studied the boundaries of different lands indicate wastelands that separated tribes, and point out that, more often than not, cult sites are concentrated in land boundary areas. It is believed that these areas were considered to be places where the gods lived, and where the abodes of ancestors were; or that the land boundary areas were sacred, because they denoted a boundary between one's own people and strangers, the boundary between *sacrum* and *profanum* (Žulkus 1989, p.108ff, Fig. 2; 1993, p.30ff; Fabech 1996, p.135; Altenberg 2001; J. Urtāns 2008, p.86). It is probable that when crossing the boundary of an alien territory (such as a river) or an important crossroads, or at an important intersection of different terrains, people would make offerings. In Latvia, this assumption is based on the fact that six findspots are known to be situated in the boundary areas of rivers separating lands where tenth to 13th-century brooches have been found (J. Urtāns 2008, p.86). To some extent, these conclu-

sions are also supported by the arrangement of bog offerings. It is evident that some of the bog offering sites were situated in land boundary areas. In the 12th and 13th centuries, Šluostikiai was situated in a boundary wasteland area separating Semigalian Sidabrė and the lands of Žagarė (Vasiliauskas 2009, p.255ff). Šliktinė and Barstyčiai (the distance between the monuments is about five kilometres; the exact location of the Barstyčiai findspot is not clear) were situated not only on the northeast edge of the Curonian land of Ceklis, on the boundary with Semigalian land, but also on the watershed of the upper reaches of the rivers Bartuva, Šata and Varduva. Some people envisage that the land of the dead was situated in the upper reaches of rivers, or was related to water in general (Žulkus 1989, p.110). Visitation reports dating back to the 16th century mention that 'there is a large number of worshippers of nature' by the River Varduva (cf. Vaitkevičius 1994, p.109), although it is difficult to explain more precisely what exactly that means. From our knowledge of the fact that most bog offering sites between the River Nemunas and the River Daugava were situated in river valleys, it is highly probable that the Barstyčiai offering site originates from the Varduva running nearby. On the other hand, there are boulders and hills that are considered sacred in the vicinity of Barstyčiai in the boundary area of the lands of former Balt tribes and in the natural watershed (Vaitkevičius 1994, pp.102-109; 1998b, p.113ff, p.222ff). It is difficult to tell whether the Barstyčiai boulder, the largest boulder in Lithuania, situated in a boggy area in the village of Pukiai at a distance of a mere four kilometres from Barstyčiai, is related to sacred sites in the vicinity of Barstyčiai. In recent years, however, stories have appeared telling us that Perkūnas rolled the boulder on to the sacred site in order to punish the priestess (Karklelienė 2010). Nevertheless, it seems that the Barstyčiai bog offering was an integral part of the former system of sacred sites.

The large offerings of Šliktinė (Mikytai) I-II were found at a distance of a mere 300 metres north of Mikytai hill-fort, on the boggy bank of the Šata rivulet. The above-mentioned sacred site of Mikytai also belongs to this archaeological complex; it is apparently not by chance that this complex has no burial monuments. A similar situation can be observed in Užpelkiai, situated at the northern end of bogged-up Lake Platečiai, in the Tyreliai bog, at a distance of a mere few hundred metres north of the Užpelkiai hill-fort called Pilalė. Consequently, there is little doubt about the fact that the chronologically different offering sites of Šliktinė, Barstyčiai, Užpelkiai and Dargišiai must have been interrelated, and make up a certain system, which seems to form a circle around a small wasteland

¹² The hiding of hoards in the areas of burial grounds and settlements as a phenomenon characteristic of the areas of the Baltic Sea region and areas located further east, was noticed by Laima Vaitkunskienė as early as 1981 (1981, p.28ff).



Fig. 5. The offering site of Kokmuiža (Vītiņi parish, Auce district, Latvia) in the valley of the River Avīkne. On the left, Incēni hill-fort; on the right Forest Hillock hill-fort; 2010 (photograph by A. Bliujienē).

area, a sacred space, and one of the main sacred sites of the coastal region. In a sense, Siraičiai belongs to this space, which is sacred for the coastal region.

Between two hill-forts, Incēni and Forest Hillock, in the bogged-up bed of the Avīkne, Kokmuiža I and II, the largest war booty offerings of the region were found, along with a separate offering of a smith's tools (including tools used for making jewellery) and raw material more than seven kilograms in weight (Fig. 5). No other smith's tools have been found in bog offering sites in the east Baltic region. On the Jutland Peninsula, jeweller's tools have been found at Illerup (von Carnap-Bornheim 2001, p.265, Fig. 1). The offering sites of Kokmuiža I and II are a part of a huge archaeological complex, consisting of two hill-forts, a hill-fort settlement and the burial grounds of Grīnerti situated nearby (J. Urtāns 2008, p.55ff, Figs. 18–21). Consequently, at least some of the most important bog offering sites of the Balt area under discussion are integral parts of archaeological complexes.

In Germanic lands, the number of bog offering sites dating back to the Roman and the Migration periods is much larger. On the Jutland Peninsula, bog offering sites form an uninterrupted chain along the east

coast of Jutland, starting with Schleswig (Thorsberg) and nearly reaching the northern part of the peninsula (Trinnemose), and then further, to the islands of Sjøælland, Fyn, the Baltic Sea and southern Scandinavia. On the island of Öland, Skedemosse, the largest bog offering site, is situated in the middle of the island (Hagberg 1967a; 1967b; Ilkjær 2007, p.17). Although the bog offerings in the land of the Balts differ from Germanic ones in their size and the variety of offerings, nevertheless the offering intentions and the very notion of an offering were identical throughout the entire Baltic Sea region (Fig. 1).

Bog offerings of the Balts: communications with gods and ancestors

With reference to the Roman Period, seven sites (for this, see footnote 4) can be attributed to bog and wetland offering sites in the interfluvia of the River Nemunas and the River Daugava; five of them are situated in Lithuania. The findspots of offerings into water dating back to the Roman Period are distributed in a wide area between Klaipėda (Bernsteinbruch) and the middle reaches of the River Lielupe in the west, and the

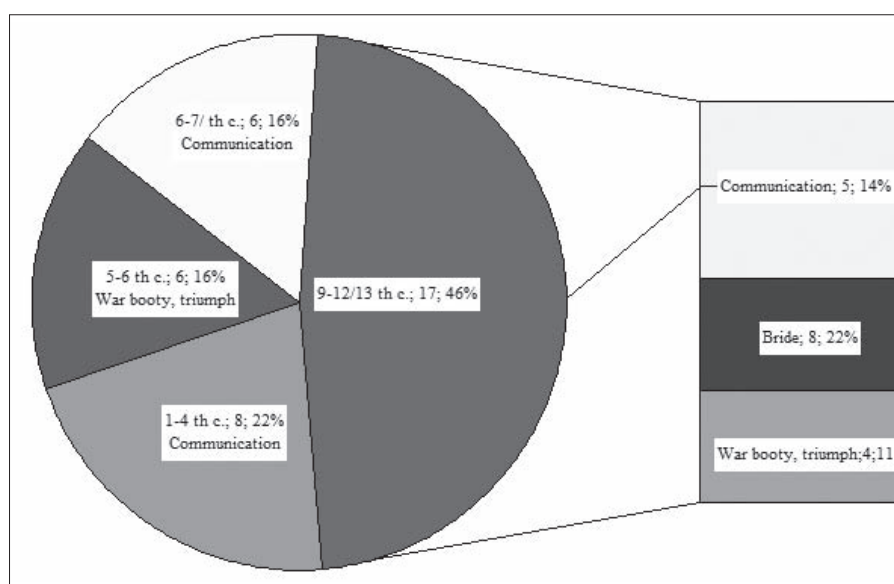


Fig. 6. The distribution of first to 13th-century bog offerings of the Balts between the Nemunas and the Daugava in terms of intentions.

vicinity of Daugavpils in the east. The distribution of bog offerings reflects the directions of the main trade routes, because the main offerings in the east Baltic region at that time were coins.¹³ Among the offerings related to water, there are single ornaments, or exotic imported items, such as a figurine of a naked man found in Dandāle Vecsvirlauka, similar to items known from the islands of Gotland and Fyn. It is believed that these figurines of humans were made according to Roman prototypes (Roman Reflections 1996, catalogues Nos. 621, 624, 627).

There are 17 hoards dating back to the Roman Period known in Lithuania (Michelbertas 2007, p.12). Consequently, bog offerings account for 35% of the total deposits found dating from the period. Among the bog offerings from the period, the prevailing offerings are ones which were intended as offerings to gods and the deceased; in other words, communication between the living and the gods, and between the living and the ancestors. In essence, such offerings were signs of thanksgiving and requests. It is evident that this communication was also a means of transferring accumulated wealth to the afterworld (Fig. 6; Table 1).

There are mentions dating back to the 16th and 17th centuries of a large fishing village on the shore of the Curonian Lagoon bearing the rare name Bernsteinbruch, or Amber Bay (Demerckas 2005, p.95ff). Vast bogs extended right behind the village. Part of the bog, just like the village, was called Bernsteinbruch. In the

¹³ Several places with Roman coins found in wetlands are mentioned by W. Gaerte (1929, pp.254, 256). In recent years, offerings into water consisting of Roman coins have been found on the Semba Peninsula (personal communication from K. Skvortsov).

early 18th century, three Roman coins, along with ornaments dating from later times, the tenth and 11th centuries, were found in this village 'by the water' (see Appendix 1). It is believed that a burial ground existed there (Žulkus 1972, pp.2, 10-11, Fig. 2). In 1979, archaeological survey excavations were carried out in the site of the village of Bernsteinbruch; however, neither the remains of a burial ground nor any cultural layer or finds were found (Genys 1979, p.9ff). Therefore, it is probable that the name of the bog and the village originate from alluvial amber or offerings made. We know little of bog offerings by the Balts consisting of amber or artefacts made from it. The northern boundary of bog offerings among which offerings of amber prevail coincides with the River Pasłęka/Passarge, that is, with the traditional boundary between the cultures of the Germanic tribes and the Balts. Closest to this boundary is the findspot of Dönhöfen (Kr. Elbing, now Przybyłowo, Warmińsko-Mazurskie voivodship in Poland), where pieces of amber were found in a bog (Gaerte 1929, p.254). Therefore, the amber bog offerings found in the coastal area near Klaipėda might constitute a significant link between the Aestii and amber. On the other hand, bog offerings containing Roman coins and other artefacts, as well as beads made from amber and glass, might link the cultures of the Aestii area to the Germanic Central European *barbaricum* part, southern Scandinavia, and islands in the Baltic Sea (Kokowski 1993, pp.87-95; Raddatz 1994, p.279 and 280; Reszczyńska 1998, p.93, map 21; Hagberg 1967, p.63; 1967a, p.64ff, 102ff; Ilkjær 2007, p.17).

Germanic deposits of gold in land and bog offerings disappear between the years 536 and 600 (Axboe 2001, p.129ff; Ilkjær 2008, p.151). Only on Gotland did vo-

Table 1. Bog offerings of the Balts in the first to the 13th centuries discovered in the interfluvia of the River Nemunas and the River Daugava

Site name	1-4 th c.	5-6 th c.	6-7/8 th c.	9-12/13 th c.	Intention of the offering	Purpose of the offering
1*Alsungas Almāle	C ₃ -D ₁				Communication/ transfer	Own property, gods
2•Barstyčiai			7th-8th c.	10th-11th c.	War booty/triumph	Gods
3*Baubliai-Indriūnai			7th-8th c.		Communication/ transfer	Own property, gods
4*Bernsteinbruch	A ₃ -C _{1a}				Communication/ transfer	Gods, ancestors, property
4a♦Bernsteinbruch				10th-11th c.	Bridal offerings (?)	Gods
5*Brendiķu Bog				10th-11th c.	Communication	Message to gods and ancestors
6♦ Celmiņi				10th-11th c.	Bridal offerings	Gods
7* Dandāle	C ₂ -C ₃				Communication/ transfer	Gods, ancestors, property
8* Dargiškē	C ₂ -C ₃				Communication/ transfer	Gods, ancestors, property
9♦Daugalaičiai				10th-11th c.	Bridal offerings	Gods, ancestors
10* Draustiniai			6th-7th c.		Communication/ transfer	Own property, gods
11♦ Dumblynė				11th-12th c.	Bridal offerings	Gods, ancestors
12• Gudėniškės		D ₂ -E ₁			War booty/triumph	Gods
13♦ Jucaičiai				10th-11th c.	Bridal offerings	Gods, ancestors
14♦Kaupi				12th c.	Bride offerings	Gods, ancestors
15• Kalnamuiža		D ₁ / D ₂ -E ₂			War booty/triumph	Gods
16• Kokmuiža I		D ₁ -D ₂ / E ₁			War booty/triumph	Gods
17• Kokmuiža II		D ₁ -D ₂ / E ₁			War booty/triumph	Gods
18* Lileikiai	B ₂ /C ₁ - C _{1b}				Communication/ transfer	Gods, ancestors, property
19* Palanga			7th-9th c.	8th-9th c.	Communication	Ancestors
20* Minija valey	C _{1b} -C ₂				Communication/ transfer	Gods, ancestors, property
21* Padievaitis	C _{1b}				Communication/ transfer	Communication/transfer
22• Palipšė				12th-13th c.	War booty/triumph	Gods
23* Piltene		D ₂ -E ₁			Communication/ transfer	Own property, gods
24♦ Pudžas				10/11th c.	Bridal offerings	Gods, ancestors
25* Salacas Bog				11-12 th	Communication/ transfer	Own property, gods
26* Saulītes			7th c.		Communication/ transfer	Own property, gods
27* Siraičiai				10th-11th c.; B ₂ /C ₁ -C ₂	Communication/ transfer	Own property, ancestors, votive sacrifice
28• Šliktinė I				9th-12th c.	War booty/triumph	Gods
29• Šliktinė II				9-12 th c.	War booty/triumph	Gods
30• Šluostikiai			6th-9th c.		War booty/triumph	Gods
31* Tīras Bog				mid 9th c.	Communication	Gods
32• Užpelkiai	C _{1b} -C ₂	D ₂ -D ₃			Communication/ transfer	Own property, gods
33♦ Vaineikiai				8th-12th c.	Bridal offerings	Gods, ancestors
Total	8	6	6	17		



Fig. 7. Spear points from the Kokmuiža I (Vītiņi parish, Auce district, Latvia) bog offering. The finds are kept at the Courland Provincial Museum (Kurzemes provinces muzejs) in Jelgava (LNVm photograph No. 6538) (photograph by Raul Šnore).

tive offerings in water or wetlands last during the Viking Age, as has been mentioned above. Germanic weapons and the equipment of the defeated (war booty offerings) were sacrificed by the victors in sacred lakes and bogs, in thanks to a helpful deity (von Carnap-Bornheim, Ilkjær 1997; von Carnap-Bornheim, Matešić 2007, p.133ff). During the Roman Period, Germanic peoples sometimes sacrificed humans (the victims were both men and women, young and old, some of them might have been prisoners of war), horses (quite often only their heads, legs or tail vertebrae) and armour in wetlands (Nydam, Skedemosse, Illerup Ådal *et al.*) (Hagberg 1967b, pp.58, 64, 79-84, p.102ff; Fabech 1996, p.135ff; Ilkjær 1997, p.56ff; Bemmman and Bemmman 1998, p.210ff; Monikander 2006, p.143ff).¹⁴ Sometimes there were boar among other sacrificed animals (cattle, sheep, birds, dogs, etc). Boar, like horse, was one of the most important sacrificial animals to Celtic and Germanic peoples (Hagberg 1967, pp.64, 70, 102ff; Birkhan, 1999, pp.88, 192, 222, 274, 385).

As far as the interfluvia of the River Nemunas and the River Daugava is concerned, we do not yet have reliable data pertaining to sacrifices of animals (horses) and humans into water during that period. In deposits in

burial grounds of the Migration Period, such as Rubas Rūsīši-Debeši (in the Saldus district), 33 ornaments (a brooch, a ring and bracelets), weapons (spear points and combat knives), warriors' accoutrements (spurs) and horse armour (a bit), as well as several sickles and knives, and slag were found in a fire pit (V. Urtāns 1977, p.148, Fig. 52.13–17). Bog offerings of later times also contain spurs, stirrups, bridle mountings and spirals used to adorn a horse's tail and mane (Zabiela, Ribokas 1994, p.26; Vaitkevičius 2009, p.198).

In the interfluvia of the River Nemunas and the River Daugava, there are more hoards of silver ornaments found in land and bog offerings that date from the Migration Period. Besides, far more silver artefacts are found in burials (Latvijas 1974, p.151; V. Urtāns 1977; Vaitkunskienė 1981, p.28ff, Table 1). It is clear that this dynamic period of 300 years saw dramatic changes that affected the way of life of the region, and the regional centres of power and authority, and ideology. Therefore, processes that took place during the initial stages of the Migration Period, which in the east Baltic Sea region coincided with the late fourth to the mid-fifth centuries (phases D₁–D₃/E₁), were marked with offerings of war booty, weapons taken from defeated enemies, that is, triumphal offerings (Annex 1; Table 1). Of course, it might be that not only the weapons of the defeated were sacrificed. There are few known bog offerings, only six, dating from the first half of the fifth century to the first half of the sixth century; however, among them are the largest offerings ever found in a bog in the east Baltic region, Kokmuiža I and II war

¹⁴ In 2009, in Illerup Ådal, a large number of human remains were found, which were associated with a defeated army that was sacrificed to the lake (for this, see http://adrianmurdoch.typepad.com/my_weblog/2009/07/new-finds-at-illerup-%C3%A5dal.html [accessed 18 July 2010]). At Illerup, the horses were sacrificed together with their saddles; this might indicate that they were horses that took part in combat (Ilkjær 2007, p.107ff).



Fig. 8. Stone strike-a-lights found at the Kokmuiža I and Kokmuiža II offering sites (photograph by Jānis Ciglis).



Fig. 9. A bronze crossbow brooch with a star-like foot and a bronze crossbow brooch with a bent foot from the bog offering at Kokmuiža I (Vītiņi parish, Auce district, Latvia). The finds are kept at the Courland Provincial Museum (Kurzemes provinces muzejs) in Jelgava (LNVM photograph No. 6544) (photograph by Raul Šnore).

booty and triumphal offerings; as has been mentioned earlier, the offering of a smith's tools apparently dates from the same time (V. Urtāns 1977; see also Appendix 1 and Figs. 1; 3-5; 7-9). In the region under discussion, there are also smaller offerings that consist of only a few, but exclusive, silver or bronze ornaments, such as a crossbow brooch decorated with notched rings and golden plates¹⁵ found in Užpelkiai (Fig. 10.1, see Plate V). The brooch of the Užpelkiai offering closely resembles the brooch of Pļavniekkalns, burial No. 1 (Griciuvienė 2005, p.81). This brooch is similar to the annular brooch from the first half of the fifth century found in one of the richest burials of the Plinkaigalis (in the Kēdainiai district) burial ground, burial No. 50. In this burial of a warrior belonging to the community's elite, two brooches were found along with weapons (a combat knife, an axe), a drinking horn, a warrior's accoutrements (two spurs with straps), a shoulder-belt, a belt with a Leibgurt-type belt-tongue, a silver neck-ring and a bronze bracelet; one of the brooches was a silver crossbow annular brooch (Kazakevičius 1993, p.82ff, Fig. 137; Madyda-Legutko 2006, p.144ff, Figs. 1-2). Silver annular brooches, including brooches decorated with golden plates, apparently made in Semigalia, along with silver neck-rings and bracelets from the fifth to sixth centuries, have been found in deposits in Estonian burial grounds (Kardla, Paali I and Paali II) and hoards hidden in land (Villvere) (Aun 1992, p.138, Fig. 3; 5; Tamla, Kiudsoo 2005, p.20ff).

¹⁵ The plate has not been studied.

However, the absolute majority of bog offerings from the Migration Period found in the interfluvia of the Nemunas and the Daugava are weapons. The Kokmuiža I deposit contains 1,263¹⁶ artefacts 120 kilograms in weight; the prevailing artefacts are spear points (as many as 472 items) and spearheads¹⁷, 186 broken spear point sockets, 131 socketed axes, 40 blunt-ended axes with narrow blades, six fragments of sword blades, and 49 strike-a-lights and whetstones (Figs. 7-8; for a description of the sacrifice, see Appendix 1.16). Orna-

¹⁶ The most detailed description of the hoards was published by V. Urtāns (1977). However, the number of artefacts and the composition of the deposit are given differently in various publications.

¹⁷ Spearheads are mentioned in the Kalnamuiža and Kokmuiža I and II offerings. They are rare finds in the east Baltic region; therefore, the author of this article, together with Jānis Ciglis, the head of the Archaeological Department at LNVM, reviewed the material from Kokmuiža once again. In our opinion, there is no 100% probability that spearheads were found, because the artefacts were conserved in the late 19th and early 20th century; due to this circumstance, and due to the fact that, according to the custom of Germanic peoples, weapons were intentionally damaged during an offering, there is a large number of barely identifiable fragments. However, there is no doubt that spearheads were missing in these offerings. Spearheads are known in later Latvian hoards, such as ninth-century Sauleskalna II (in the Krāslava district), where 20 hafted spearheads were found (V. Urtāns 1977, p. 164, Fig. 73). As is known, the material from burials of the Balts contains no spears or bows (with the exception of the well-known burials of deceased who died a violent death, in the Plinkaigalis burial ground, collective burial 162, and hill-fort material; for this, see Kazakevičius 2004, p.31ff, Figs. 14-18).

III

WETLAND
ARCHAEOLOGY

ments account for a small part of this offering: the only items found were a piece of a neck-ring, nine crossbow brooches (brooches belonging to the Schönwarling/Skowarcz type, a Dollkeim/Kovrovo type intermediate variant, a star-footed brooch, and a brooch of A162 type), 14 bronze, silver and iron bracelets with thickened terminals, a spiral ring, and pieces of other small ornaments (Riekstiņš 1930, p.473ff, Plates I-II; V. Urtāns 1977, pp.138-142, Figs. 16; 29; 45-47) (Fig. 9).

In 1929, at a distance of 50 metres from the first site, and next to the excavated Zvardes Grīnerti (in the Dobeļe district) burial grounds, the bog offering of Kokmuiža II was found. The second offering was smaller; it numbered a total of around 138 burnt or broken objects, 16 kilograms in weight (V. Urtāns, 1977, pp.142-145, Figs. 16; 48; 49). There were fewer weapons in it; nevertheless, they prevail (41 spear points). Other objects found were nine oval stone strike-a-lights,¹⁸ nine whetstones,¹⁹ bronze and iron brooches (25 pieces) and other artefacts (for a description, see Appendix 1.18). The Kokmuiža II offering contains few ornaments; however, there is a piece of a silver neck-ring with a box-shaped clasp, and a bronze bracelet with thickened terminals among them.

The large number of weapons (mainly socketed and hafted spear points) and the small total number of ornaments, and especially the very rare women's ornaments, as well as occasional work tools, might link the offerings of the east Baltic region to Germanic war booty and triumphal offerings, such as Nydam, Thorsberg, Illerup Ådal, and others. If we could claim without any doubt that the bog offerings of the Balts of the Migration Period contained spears (for this, see Footnote 17), this fact would bring close together both the offerings of the Balts and the Germanic peoples, and the intentions of making offerings. In Germanic bog offerings, spears, bows and quivers are found (Hagberg 1967a, p.71; 1967b, p.49; Rau 2007, p.143ff). In the east Baltic region, the ornaments contained in bog offerings, like the weapons, are intentionally broken, and often only half or less of a strike-a-light or an ornament is sacrificed. At the same time, in terms of numbers, shield bosses constitute the second largest group of weaponry sacrificed abundantly by the Germanic peoples (Ilkjær 2001a; 2001b). However, contrary to the Germanic world, shields or only metal parts of them, shield bosses, are found exceptionally rarely in the western part of the interfluvia of the Nemunas and the Daugava (with the exception of the

Kalnamuiža²⁰ and Tiras Bog offerings). During the Migration Period, the main concentration of shield boss findspots is in the area of East Lithuanian Barrow culture (Tautavičius 1996, p.148ff). Therefore, it is possible to assume that the burial custom of enclosing shield bosses in graves only in particular areas fits the distribution of offerings in bogs and wetlands (Fig. 1). Therefore, the Kalnamuiža offering, dating from the fifth to the first half of the sixth century, which might also be linked to a bog offering, is a unique deposit in the interfluvia of the Nemunas and the Daugava, and certainly reflects military activities, and is attributed to the class of war-booty offerings. It is claimed that ten shield bosses (hemispherical and cone-shaped), 54 socketed spear points, one sword blade fragment, eight socketed spearheads, four knives and nine buckles were found at Kalnamuiža (Riekstiņš 1930, p.477; V. Urtāns, 1977, p.149, Fig. 37). The hemispherical shield bosses of Kalnamuiža have parallels in the Germanic material. Consequently, the war offerings of the Balts of the Migration Period and later times might in principle correspond to the main elements of their weaponry, that is, javelins and spears used for close combat. We have such an image of the weaponry of the Balts from the burial material, too.

Bog offerings of the Balts of the Migration Period contain very few ornaments or work tools typical exclusively of women (Kokmuiža II: a bone bead, a small clay spindle-whorl). There are very few women's ornaments from the sixth to the seventh century, too. It should be pointed out that in the interfluvia of the River Mūša and the River Lielupe, crossbow brooches and bracelets with thickened terminals from the first half of the fifth century are found in male burials only (Griciuvienė 2005, p.30ff, 80ff). Consequently, bog offerings are typically men's offerings, and this phenomenon links the Balts to their neighbours, the Germanic peoples.

There are quite a few important similarities between the bog offerings of the east Baltic Sea region and those found in Germany, Denmark, southern Scandinavia and the islands of the Baltic Sea. One similarity is the signs attesting to the higher or lower rank of the warriors making the offerings, swords and spears. In both areas, there are shield bosses and parts of a warrior's accoutrements, that is, belts, among the parts of the weaponry being sacrificed. An important part of the Kokmuiža I and II bog offerings were belts (only the buckles have survived), and stone strike-a-lights and whetstones carried on the belt. When comparing the material in burials and offerings of the Roman and Migration periods, it is evident that stone strike-a-lights

²⁰ This offering has not been preserved; only photographs of two shield bosses are known to exist.

¹⁸ One iron strike-a-light might date from the tenth to the 12th century (V. Urtāns 1977, Fig. 49.22).

¹⁹ Strike-a-lights, as quite a large group of artefacts sacrificed into water, continued to exist in the tenth to 12th century, too (Zabiela, Ribokas 1994, p.27).

are found more often in bog offerings. Furthermore, stone strike-a-lights are found in sacrificial deposits inside burial grounds (for example, in the Pļavniekkalnā burial ground, in a pit filled up with charred logs, three strike-a-lights and a whetstone were found; cf. Jākobsons 1999, p.24, Fig. 5). Judging by the buckles, the Balts' belts were not very decorated. However, a belt as a sacrificial element with a stone strike-a-light or a whetstone attached to it once again clearly links the war booty or war trophy offerings of the Balts and the Germanic people. Germanic bog offerings indicate clearly that one very decorative belt used to be worn on the outer clothing, with a knife and the sharpening steel part of a set of strike-a-light equipment attached to the belt. There used to be another belt with a leather bag attached to it, and intended for carrying personal belongings: a stone strike-a-light, toothpicks or wound-sticks, a horn comb, sometimes Roman coins, hackmetal, awls, razors, small household knives, and metal pendants, glass beads and single amber beads or gaming pieces and dice (Ørsnes, Ilkjær 1993, p.216; Ilkjær 1993, pp.15-115, 254ff; 2007, pp.54-67; Fabech 1996, p.136; Grane 2007, pp.217, 229ff, Fig. 90; Iversen 2008, pp.188-189). At the same time, on the basis of the bog offerings of the Balts, we can claim that a belt with a metal buckle and a stone strike-a-light would be sacrificed. In the offerings of the Balts, just as in the burials, the second part of a strike-a-light, the metal part that helps to strike fire (the sharpening steel), is missing. The stone strike-a-lights of the Balts have close parallels across the Baltic Sea (Hagberg 1967b, p.62ff, Plate 7; Ilkjær 1993, p.236ff, Figs. 89, 92, 92). It should be underlined that most of the stone strike-a-lights found among the Kokmuižas offerings did not have grooves, which appear after making fire (Fig. 8). It should be pointed out that among the objects of the Kokmuiža II offering, four fragments of a horn comb were found (V. Urtāns 1964, p.55ff, Fig. 28). A comb is another artefact that links the bog offerings of the Balts and the Germanic peoples of the Migration Period.

Most of the objects sacrificed in bogs in the lands of the Balts lacked spear sockets, which had been broken off intentionally, or had broken spearheads, broken-off butts or blades; strike-a-lights and whetstones had been broken off intentionally, and ornaments (neck-rings, brooches and bracelets) had been broken or damaged intentionally (Figs. 7-10, for Fig. 10 see Plate V). Some of the artefacts of the Kokmuiža II deposit were burnt; this leads us to the assumption that the sacrificial rite included ceremonies with fire. In the east Baltic region, ritual damage to weapons sacrificed in water continued to exist in later times, too. Among the weapons of the Kokmuiža I and II offerings, only spear point sockets were found (186 pieces) (V. Urtāns

1977, Table). The assumption that axes were damaged for ritual purposes is supported by the fact that many of the axes kept in museums are damaged in one way or another (the butt and part of the body are broken off, or the blade is broken). The circumstances of the finding of some of these axes are not known, or are not clear (Malonaitis 2010, p.78ff). The intentional breaking of part of a stone strike-a-light and the absence of a metal sharpening steel among the offerings might indicate that there was no need to make fire on the way to the afterworld. On the other hand, the intentional breaking of strike-a-lights also indicates indirectly that water is not a threat, and that it is not the final destination, but a mere means of reaching a goal.

Intentional damage to weapons links the sacrificial rites of the Balts to known Germanic rites, where weapons, parts of weaponry (belts) and horse armour taken from enemies were broken and cut with axes during the rites (Ørsnes, Ilkjær 1993, p.217; Ilkjær 2007, pp.33, 38ff; Lau 2008, p.210ff; Radtke 2001, p.10). Even the skulls of sacrificed horses would be smashed, and cut marks are found on the bones (Bemmann, Bemmann 1998, p.201ff; Monikander 2006, pp.143-156). However, it is probable that weapons would be repaired after a battle by joining broken-off parts of a weapon with a weak lead/tin solder;²¹ it is probable that spears damaged in battle would be remade into lighter javelins, and only the spear sockets would be sacrificed (Radtke 2001, p.10; Ilkjær 2007, p.46ff). However, weapons repaired this way would break again in a while, and would be sacrificed. Consequently, instances of damage to weapons might not only have had a ritual meaning, but could also serve as evidence of practical life experience: lower-quality objects would be consigned as offerings. However, it is most likely that weapons, weaponry and horse armour were intentionally 'put to death'. Similar rites of offering into water after a battle at Arausio in 105 BC, in the early fifth century are described by Paulius Orosius in his *Historiarum adversus paganos libri septem* (Seven Books of History against the Pagans). Orosius describes the victory of the Cimbri and the Teutons over the Romans: 'The enemy, who had seized both camps and a huge amount of war booty, destroyed all that had fallen into their hands in an unheard-of and hitherto unknown maledictory ritual; clothing was torn apart and thrown away, gold and silver were thrown in the river, the men's armour was cut to pieces, the breastplates of the horses were destroyed, the horses themselves were sunk in the water, the people were hanged from trees with rope around their necks, such that there was neither any booty for the visitors, nor mercy for the vanquished' (Orosius

²¹ For more about the soldering process, see Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė, R., Jankauskas, K., 1992, p.139ff.

V, 16.5-6). This and other passages from Greek and Roman writers like Caesar, Strabo and Tacitus, cover similar religious or battle-related rituals of Celtic or Germanic origin (Hagberg 1967b, p.65ff; Grane 2007, pp.215-249).

The site and the surroundings of the Kokmuiža offerings were studied by archaeologists only some time after the discovery; therefore, no links between individual groups of finds were traced (Figs. 3, 4). However, when characterising the weaponry of Kokmuiža, we can assume that if the combined offering was made simultaneously, it might belong to around 150 to 200 defeated warriors. There might have been around 40 to 50 more senior military commanders among them, who, on the basis of material from Lithuania's burial grounds, might have had three spears, and some of them might have had a sword and a combat knife; probably stone strike-a-light equipment and small silt-stone whetstones belonged to them too.

Researchers are trying to find mutual links between the number of warriors who made offerings in northern Germany, Denmark, southern Scandinavia and the islands of the Baltic Sea, the weapons and weaponry discovered, and the number of warriors in the troops. As far as this issue is concerned, different opinions and examples of calculation can be found in literature (cf. Radtke 2001, p.23; Iversen 2008, pp.189-190). On the other hand, we can only date the Kokmuiža offerings to the period D_1-D_3/E_1 ; therefore, we can neither confirm nor deny whether the offering was simultaneous, or whether it reflects generally several victims of regional conflicts of the turbulent times of the first half of the fifth century to the first quarter of the sixth century. While attempting to estimate the number of warriors making offerings, yet another question arises: was it only enemies' weapons and weaponry that was sacrificed? The available data allows us to assume that bog offerings are typical war booty offerings, just as in the Germanic world, put together to mark an important victory. However, due to the fact that the composition of bog offerings is typical of the east Baltic region, it is evident that some of the offerings might be the very victors' thanks to the gods. However, if regional groups were involved in the conflicts, it might be that offerings included booty from the defeated in the clash. Vladislavs Urtāns, a Latvian archaeologist, was of a similar opinion. He considered that these offerings were sacral, and reflected the complicated situation of that period, that is, frequent internal wars, whereas the forms of artefacts typical of the region made the author assume that it was the Semigalians' thanks to the gods for their victory against aggressors from eastern Latvia (V. Urtāns 1977, pp.79-80). Francis Balodis was of the opinion that the military offerings of Kokmuiža were

a consequence of a military conflict between Balts and Gotlanders (Balodis 1938, pp.116-117). However, the finds of offerings are typical of the Balts. Therefore, in an attempt to identify the participants in conflicts, we have to bear in mind the axe, a typical weapon and tool of the Balts. Some axes of the Kokmuiža offering are socketed (131 pieces; besides Semigalia, such axes were widespread in Samogitia, western and central Lithuania), others were blunt-ended axes with a narrow blade (40 pieces; besides Semigalia, they were widespread in central eastern Lithuania and Užnemunė (the Trans-Nemunas region). It should be pointed out that the interfluvia of the River Mūša and the River Lielupe is a contact zone, in which both groups of axes were used (Mulevičienė, Tautavičius 1978, p.109ff, Maps 62-63). The types of axes used allow us to assume that people from the neighbouring regions might have taken part in the conflicts. Furthermore, the composition of the offering and its size make it possible not only to guess the number of warriors, but also the internal structure of the forces. However, bearing in mind that a third of the offering was offered, the number of people making the offering might only be very approximate. Conflicts might have broken out because of the control over trade routes, that is, the Mūša–Lielupe water route and access to the Baltic Sea in the Gulf of Riga and the lower reaches of the River Daugava. Consequently, the region was solving an important geopolitical issue, fighting for control over a crossroads of regional importance. The concentration of bog offering findspots in the interfluvia of the Mūša and the Lielupe is a reflection of this struggle for leadership. Consequently, large-scale intertribal conflicts once again demonstrate that the leaders of Semigalian communities were trying to gain control over this important crossroads, which ensured power. It was necessary to form wider inter-regional alliances in order to amass larger detachments of armed men. The abundance of silver ornaments in bog offering findspots, and deposits in land and in burials, indicates the consolidation of power and authority in the hands of a small group of people, whereas the alliances that were formed to maintain power were most likely not long-lasting; again, this is attested to by the large number of bog offerings.

Consequently, the Balts took from Germanic peoples the custom of making war booty or triumphal offerings in bogs. On the other hand, wetland offerings comprise universal, panhuman aspects. Therefore, this custom, as a cultural influence of the Baltic region, spread in the Early Migration Period, especially in the east Baltic region. However, such acts of offering were not practised to an equal extent in all parts of the east Baltic region. It should also be pointed out that the custom

of bog offerings developed locally, and gradually acquired features typical of the Balts.

The Lithuanian historiographical tradition characterises the custom of making war offerings and intentions in several ways, first and foremost as offerings to the gods after a victory in a battle (Tautavičius 1972, p.85). Indeed, the concentration of power in the hands of the nobility, and the rise of military power, created conditions for the rise of chieftains of one level or another (simple chiefdom and complex chiefdom of different levels) (Kurila 2009, pp.137-153). The development of a strong leader required a religious basis; therefore, Perkūnas, the main god, rises to the level of the official ideology and religion, with an ever-increasing invasion into the sphere of the protection of the deceased (warriors), until finally he becomes 'the guide to the beyond', whereas his links to war cause no doubts whatsoever (Vėlius 1983, p.231; Beresnevičius 2004, p.257ff; Vaitkevičius 2008b, p.55ff). At the level of the mythological mentality, an offering into water could be said to belong to the sphere of the god of the underworld, Patulas, Velas, Velinas. However, although this space was often related to Velinas, it performs solely the function of a mediator transferring the offering in the required direction and to the desired space, that is, to its guardian, Perkūnas. As analogies in the Baltic Sea region indicate, the message carried by a victory offering must have been individual, and reflected the merits of every individual warrior in the battle and the wish to make a good show of himself in advance in the domain of the future guardian.

Both the Kokmuiža bog offerings have chronological, regional (brooches of Schönwarling/Skowarcz type, brooches of Dolkeim/Kovrovo type intermediate variant, variants of A162 type brooches and belt buckles with thickened frame), and associative links with the Frombork Hoard (formerly Frauenburg, in the Braniewo district, in Poland) (Peiser, Kemke 1914, p.58ff). This hoard was found during the construction of a road. Links between the above-mentioned bog offerings and the Frombork Hoard might be supported by intentionally broken brooches and the fact that intentionally damaged, cut and burnt objects were found in both the offering and the hoard. The latter circumstances link the Frombork find with a deposit of scrap metal which belonged to a silversmith of Wielbark culture and was hidden in land in the traditional boundary area between the Aestii and the Germanic people; as is mentioned above, the River Pasłęka/Passargė served as the boundary (Ciołek, 2001, p.50ff, map; Bitner-Wróblewska 2001, p.38).

Not for wear: only for property and glory

In the sixth and seventh centuries, in the interfluvia of the Nemunas and the Daugava, the amounts of silver in burials, hoards and bog offerings increased rapidly, as a manifestation of ideology and power, due to the fact that the regional and local nobility were getting stronger thanks to the support of standardised soldiery, as well as the concentration of power in the hands of people enjoying the highest status, and their competitive struggle. Six bog offering findspots should be attributed to this period (Table 1). In the sixth and seventh centuries, the composition and the value of offerings, and the distribution of the offerings, underwent essential changes. In the first quarter of the sixth century, before bog offerings were discontinued in southern Scandinavia, their composition changed, as the symbols of personal power and authority (a sword with a highly decorated scabbard) became more and more emphasised, and more significance was attributed to the rites; on the other hand, making offerings into land began (Fabech 1996, p.136; Nørgård Jørgensen 2008, pp.204-205). In the east Baltic region, the change in the composition of offerings took place at a slightly later time, but it is evident that during this change, a silver neck-ring of a substantial weight and a new form typical solely of the interfluvia of the Nemunas and the Daugava, which was a symbol of authority and power, was given more emphasis and more significance (Fig. 11). It is evident that the people making offerings had various purposes: to secure the benevolence of the gods and perhaps the ancestors, and to serve as mediators between the gods, the ancestors and the community, and thus secure the legitimacy of their rule (Kristiansen 1991, p.31ff). Consequently, offerings from the Late Migration Period (the sixth to seventh centuries) might be characterised as offerings of massive silver ornaments (Annex 1; Table 1). These are offerings of accumulated wealth, which were both communicative (between the gods and the ancestors of the people making the offerings) and manifestational, that is, offerings to the gods and the ancestors with the aim of securing their assistance in this world and in the next. However, the principal intention of such offerings was a belief in the power of water as a mediator in the process of the transfer of accumulated wealth to the afterworld.

Sixth and seventh-century bog offerings are concentrated in central Lithuania, the interfluvia of the Lielupe and the Mūša, and in northeast Lithuania. Most likely, the main flows of silver would reach present-day Lithuania by the River Daugava, because silver ornaments from the Daugava just spread in the direction of southern Semigalia and Samogitia. Such an advancement of

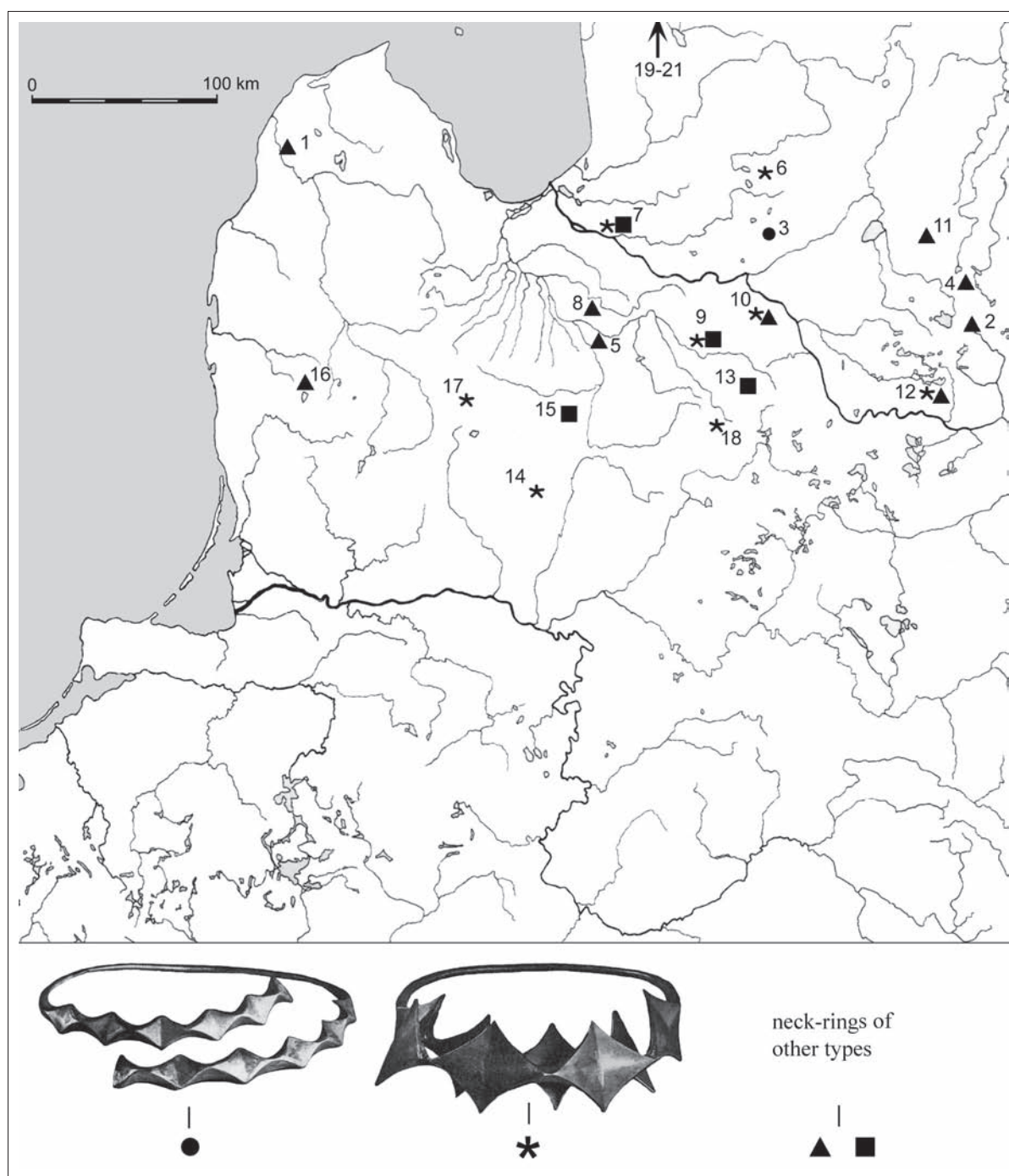


Fig. 11. Distributions of fifth to seventh-century silver neck-rings found in bog offerings and hidden in hoards in land (*interfitted ends; •facetted ends; ■saddle-shaped terminals; ▲other types): 1–12 in Latvia; 13–18 in Lithuania; 19–21 in Estonia.

1 ▲ Piltene (Ventspils district); 2 ▲ Mišķņeva (Ludza district); 3 • Lejaslepju (Madona district); 4 ▲ Kīšukalns (Ludza district); 5 ▲ Podžu (Bauska district); 6* Lejaslepji (Madona district); 7* ■ Ikšķiles apkārtnē (Ogre district); 8 ▲ Dumpji (and a fragment of crossbow fibula; Bauska district); 9* ■ Mūrnieki (Stučka district); 10* ▲ Saulīte (Jēkabpils district); 11 ▲ Baltinava (Balvi district); 12* ▲ Sauleskalna I (Krāslava district); 13 ■ Baubļi (Indriūnai, Rokiškis district); 14* Draustiniai (Kėdainiai district); 15 ■ Migoniai (Pasvalys district); 16 ▲ Užpelkiai (and crossbow fibula embellished with ringlets; Plungė district); 17* Velžiai (Radviliškis district); 18* near Rokiškis; 19 • ▲ Kardla (and two crossbow fibulae embellished with ringlets; six bracelets; Tartu district); 20 ▲ Viira (Tartu district); 21 • ▲ Villevere (Tartu district) and crossbow fibula embellished with ringlets, and bracelet (after V. Urtāns 1977, Fig. 124; LAA 1977, Map 5; Tamla, Kiudsoo 2005 with author's additions).

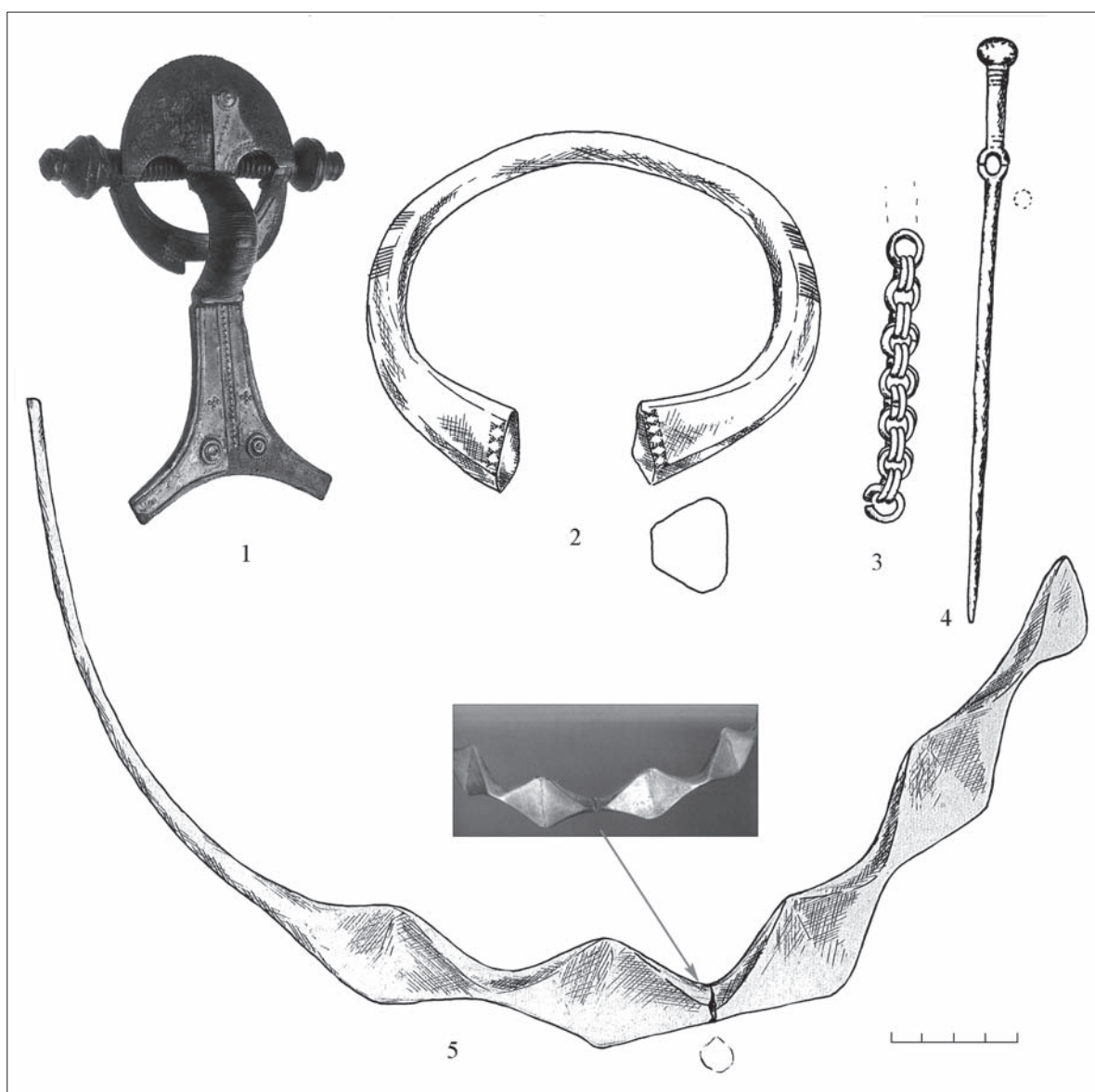


Fig. 12. Jauneikiai (Joniškis district, Lithuania); grave-goods from male burial No. 422: 1 bronze, silver plates, blue glass inlays; 2–4 bronze; 5 silver. The arrow shows a crack in the neck-ring (LNM AR 537 card catalogue; drawing by A. Ruzienė).

hoards consisting of silver ornaments is reflected not only by bog offerings, but also by hoards hidden in land, and especially in Semigalian male burials rich in silver neck-rings (Jākobsons 1999, p.23, Fig. 1; Graudonis 2003, p.54). In the sixth and seventh-centuries, massive offerings of silver ornaments (neck-rings with profoundly faceted or saddle-shaped terminals) started to prevail (V. Urtāns 1977, p.81; Vaitkunskienė 1981, p.28ff; for this, see Appendix 1). The weight of these neck-rings ranges between 250 grams and 860 grams (V. Urtāns 1977, p.19; Tautavičius 1996, p.181). It is evident that huge wealth was accumulated in these hoards; it is difficult, however, to assess the value of this wealth.²² It should be pointed out that these mas-

sive silver neck-rings are of local forms found solely in central and northeastern parts of the region under discussion. Unlike the ornaments of the Early Migration Period, these neck-rings were not broken. Furthermore, the sacrificed neck-rings had not even been worn. Consequently, judging by the burial material of the region and by Scandinavian mythology, the neck-ring became an insignia of the highest social status (Vaitkunskienė 1996, p.10ff; Fabech 2001, p.190; Bogucki 2003, p.201ff). These neck-rings might have been intended solely for various ceremonies. As a wealth of known

ingots, 20 long ingots, a silver neck-ring with saddle-shaped terminals and several spiral bracelets). On the basis of written sources and the weight of the Russian grivna (51.19 grams of silver), this hoard could buy 56 horses or 141 cows, or 2,246 sheep, or the same number of pigs (V. Urtāns 1977, p.248).

²² The 11th-century hoard from Rijniki, in the Jelgava district, was found while ploughing a field; the total weight of this silver hoard is 5,749 grams (four forged

value, they might have been exchanged as presents among the elite of the region. Heavy silver neck-rings, or parts of them, might have served as the equivalent of various payments (a tribute, payment for support while forming alliances, or a means of payment between a military chief and his retinue). Accumulated wealth would be sacrificed into water with the intention of transferring it to the afterworld. In the early fifth century, only Germans in the province of Gelderland in the Netherlands would behave in a similar manner, where fashionable heavy neck-rings of the Velp type, produced of gold, are known exclusively from some hoards (hidden in land) from the Lower Rhine area. From the Late Roman Iron Age to the Early Migration Period, gold neck-rings, as insignia of the highest social status, are quite often known from north Germanic male burials, or are found as single finds, or as sacrificial votive offerings in the case of Thorsberg (cf. Abegg-Wigg 2008, pp.31-37, Figs. 3-5). It should be pointed out that the said Germanic neck-rings are of a certain weight, and correspond to one or another system of units of weight. The weights of the golden neck-rings from Młoteczno (Warmińsko-Mazurskie voivodship, in Poland, formerly Hammersdorf) that are widely known in historiography correspond to a certain quantity of *solidii* (Kulakov 2007, p.368). The metrology of gold chain rings and ingots from the Vitene and Trinboholm hoards in southern Scandinavia at first indicates that these objects originated in southeast Europe, and were perhaps related to the Roman *uncia* and Scandinavian *mark*, whereas the weight of the golden neck-rings in the hoard from Velp in the Netherlands corresponds to the Roman ounce (Herschend 2001, pp.103-115; Quast 2009, p.215, Figs. 10-11). The reasons for the deposition of these hoards cannot be ascertained with certainty, but hoards with neck-rings of the Velp type are only known from areas without contemporary richly furnished male burials from the Migration Period. Members of the male elite apparently displayed their wealth by votive offerings during their lifetime (Quast 2009, pp.207-217, Figs. 5, 7).

Neck-rings with profoundly faceted terminals from the sixth and seventh centuries are known nearly exclusively from wetland offerings, or hoards hidden in land (Fig. 11), with the exception of the partly destroyed Jauneikiai (Joniškis district) male burial No. 422 (half a neck-ring found) and Kakužėni (Jelgava district) female burial No. 6 and male burial No. 54, in which silver neck-rings of this type were found (Vaškevičiūtė 1978, p.45, Fig. 10.14; Graudonis 2001, p.56ff, Figs. 5, 13; 2003, pp.28-29, Figs. 19-20, 43-44, Figs. 36-37) (Fig. 12). Both the Kakužėni burials might date from the first half of the sixth century, and Jauneikiai burial No. 422 might date from the first half of the seventh

century. It is probable that the neck-ring found in the Jauneikiai burial ground was broken when the burial was being destroyed. The front part of the neck-rings, with profoundly faceted terminals, is divided into rhombs; therefore, this made it easy to know the weight of a rhomb, as well as the weight of whole neck-ring or part of it. Therefore, it might not be by chance that one half of a neck-ring was put into the grave intentionally. Consequently, we can assume that it was a person who had received remuneration from his tribal or military chief who was buried in grave No. 422 in the Jauneikiai burial ground.

Novelties of the times: bridal offerings

In the ninth to the first half of the 13th century, in the region under discussion in this article, the number of bog offerings increased to 17 (Fig. 6; Appendix 1, Table 1). The range of sacrificial intentions also became wider. First appeared offerings of women's ornaments, bridal offerings, a phenomenon that was not encountered before. These offerings consist of ornaments that can undoubtedly be attributed to women (diadems, pins and beads), or ornaments worn by women: neck-rings, penannular brooches and bracelets (Appendix 1). The intentions of these women's offerings must have been related to symbolic rites, such as the washing of the bride and further communication with the gods and the ancestors. 'Bridal offerings' might have been related to requests of various kinds. Such offerings account for less than 45% of the total offerings dating from this period.

Communicative offerings account for nearly a third of bog offerings; their composition, however, is far more varied compared to those dating from the sixth and seventh centuries (Fig. 6, Appendix 1). As the number of silver artefacts became smaller among burial finds and hoards (Vaitkunsienė 1981, Table 1), no silver artefacts are found in bog offerings either (Appendix 1). Although the number of war booty offerings and single weapon offerings became smaller, the offerings from Šliktinė I and II, Barstyčiai and Palipšė indicate that weapons (spear points), axes, swords, belt parts and iron strike-a-lights were still being sacrificed in large numbers. Individual parts of horse armour and a warrior's accoutrements (spurs) have also been discovered.

In terms of the diversity of the composition and apparent intentions, the offering from Tīras Bog in Rucava, dating from the mid-ninth century, is unique. The offering was recovered accidentally in 1936 during peat cutting (for the composition of the offering, see catalogue,

Pos. 32). The chronology of this offering is very close to the events mentioned in the chronicle *Vita Sancti Anschari* by Rimber, the Archbishop of Bremen, dating from 853/54, that is, the burning of Seeburg and the siege of Apuolė (LIŠ 1955, p.31). Therefore, we can assume that this single and exclusive offering, perhaps put together by only one person, was in some way related to the Swedes' march on Kurzeme. This offering and exclusive rite might have served as gratitude to the gods and the ancestors, or as a request for assistance. The fact that the bog offerings of the time might have been single ones is supported by the Palipše deposit; it is believed that 50 warriors made an offering there at the same time (Zabiela, Ribokas 1994, p.28).

Conclusions

Offerings made into water are a panhuman experience known from the Late Palaeolithic. In the region between the River Nemunas and the River Daugava, the number of bog offerings increased during the Roman Period, due to intensive cooperation around the Baltic Sea. The offerings of those times were a form of communication with the gods and ancestors, as well as a form of transfer of wealth to the afterworld. During the Early Migration Period, war booty or triumphal offerings in wetlands spread on the Germanic model. The importance of local customs, which create essential conditions for originating votive offerings in wetlands and bogs, should be stressed. In the region under discussion, the intentions of bog offerings changed during the Late Migration Period. Bog offerings became dualistic, and can best be characterised by the principle 'I give in order to get back.' On the other hand, the bog offerings of that period are dedicated to the gods. During Viking times, a new form of bog offering emerged, that is, 'bridal offerings', which account for as many as 22% of the total late offerings. During that period, the percentages of war booty offerings and offerings intended for communication with the gods and ancestors, as well as for the transfer of wealth, were more or less equal.

Translated by Vidmantas Štilius

Annex 1: Artefacts from the first to the 12th/13th centuries discovered on boggy river banks and in bogs (the interfluvia of the River Nemunas and the River Daugava)

1. Alsungas Almāle (Kuldīga district, Latvia)

Half a bronze neck-ring with wire wound terminals and a small loop discovered in 1885/1886 in a bog during peat-cutting.

Chronology: C₃–D₁.

Lit. V. Urtāns 1964, p.48, Fig. 14.

Kept in the Doma Cathedral Museum in Riga.

2. Barstyčiai, Skuodas district, Lithuania.

The circumstances of the discovery are not clear. The offering might have been discovered in a bog situated at the northern end of Barstyčiai forest; there is a small lake in Barstyčiai, as well as Lake Laumės to the north-west of the village. Objects discovered: six socketed spear points, four hafted spear points, a blunt-ended axe with a broken-off blunt end, a piece of the blade of a combat knife (?) or a single-edged sword and a brass mounting of the scabbard top, and a bronze quadrangular belt buckle with a mounting.

Chronology: seventh to eighth centuries and tenth to 11th centuries.

ŠAM

3. Baubliai-Indriūnai, Rokiškis district, Lithuania.

three silver saddle-shaped brooches discovered in 1935 when ploughing a peat-bog; the total weight of two of them was 400 grams.

Chronology: seventh to eighth centuries.

Lit. Michelbertas, 2007, p.13.

VDKM 1090: 1–2; RK170.

4. Bernsteinbruch (Amber bog), Klaipėda²³ city, Lithuania.

A hoard of Roman coins discovered in the early 17th century (the number of coins is not clear). Three coins are known: of emperors Augustus (27 BC–14 AD) and Hadrian (117–138), and one unidentified Roman coin. Unidentified artefacts dating back to the tenth and 11th centuries were discovered.

Chronology: A₃–C_{1a}; tenth and 11th centuries.

Lit. Michelbertas 2001, p. 39.

The fate is not clear, until 1945 it was kept at PM.

5. Brendiķu Bog, Valmiera district, Latvia.²⁴

Two miniature wooden boats (length 630mm, width 158mm, depth 95mm).

²³ It is probable that the hoard of Roman coins (one denarius of Galba (68–69) and two coins of Traianus (98–117) of an unknown denomination discovered near Klaipėda in 1906 originates from this bog, which had been bogged up by the time of discovery. The details of the finding of the hoard are not quite reliable.

²⁴ The details of the finding of the hoard are not quite reliable. A hoard of a similar composition was discovered on the left bank of the River Lielupe in the locality of Īslīces Bornsmīnde.

Chronology: tenth to 11th centuries.

Lit. V. Urtāns 1977, p.180, Fig. 89.

LVNM A 8088.

6. Celmiņi Kuldīga district, Latvia.

Discovered in 1936 when ploughing a peat-bog, at a depth of 20 to 30 centimetres. The deposit consists solely of ornaments: three neck-rings, a pin with a cruciform head, a pin with a triangular head, two horse-shoe fibulae, seven bracelets (massive ribbon-like bracelets with tapered-off terminals and animal-shaped terminals), four amber beads.

Chronology: tenth to 11th centuries.

Lit. V. Urtāns 1977, p.196ff, Fig. 101.

LVNM.

7. Dandāle Vecsvirlauka, Jelgava district, Latvia.²⁵

Roman coins discovered in 1914 and 1918 on the left bank of the River Lielupe: two coins of Galien (253–268) and 42 coins of Claudius II (268–270), and a bronze 7.5-centimetre-high figurine of a naked human.

Chronology C₂–C₃.

Lit. Kropotkin 1961, p.101; V. Urtāns 1977, p.134ff, Fig. 41.

LVNM 120193: 1–27, A 8172.

8. Dargiškė, Telšiai district, Viešvėnai parish, Lithuania.

Discovered in 1934 in a field north of the former village cemetery, on a hill next to a peat-bog. Two kilograms of Roman coins are mentioned; a bullion Antoninian of Gordian III (238–244) minted in Nikea (Asia Minor) and two third to fourth-century bronze ribbon-like bracelets have survived.

Chronology: C₂–C₃.

Lit. LAA 1977, p.31; Michelbertas 2001, p.56.

ŽAM 518, 519.

9. Daugalaičiai, Joniškis district, Stupurai parish, Lithuania.

Discovered in 1959, when a former marshland was put under the plough. A birch bark bag (?) contained six bronze spiral bracelets and 11 neck-rings.

Chronology: tenth to 11th centuries.

Lit. Tautavičius 1977, p.31; Banytė-Rowell, Buža 2005, p.172.

ŠAM 1-A 220: 1–17.

10. Draustiniai, Kėdainiai district, Gudžiūnai parish, Lithuania.

Discovered in 1935 when ploughing a peat-bog; items that reached the museum: three neck-rings with profoundly faceted terminals, a neck-ring with a small loop and a hooklet (the weight of the neck-rings is 838.7g) and a bronze bracelet with thickened terminals.

Chronology: sixth to seventh centuries.

Lit. Tautavičius 1977, p.131; LLM 1958, Fig. 284.

VDKM 721: 1–3, 5–6.

11. Dumblynė, on the shore of an island in Lake Sartai, Rokiškis district, Lithuania.

Contains bronze parts of a female temple ornament, bells, twisted wires and bronze, glass and amber beads (about 90 artefacts). A typical bride's hoard, also interpreted as a craftsman's hoard.

Chronology: 11th to 12th centuries.

Lit. Grižas 1998, p.194ff, 2000, p.24ff.

LNM AR: 590: 1–53.

12. Gudėniškės, Utena district, Lithuania.

A quagmire, a pond; specialists in land reclamation drained water and installed a water collector there in 1977. Finds were discovered from time to time at the southern end of the quagmire. A blunt-ended axe with a narrow blade (the blade was broken off) reached UKM. We cannot eliminate the possibility that the finds belong to the tumuli of Gudėniškiai situated 0.2 kilometres away.

Chronology: D₂–Ea.

Lit. Vaitkevičius 2006, p.402, Fig. 672.

UKM.

13. Jucaičiai, Šilalė district, Lithuania.

A clay pot containing ornaments (?) was discovered in 1910; the deposit has not survived. In 1972, at a distance of about 200 metres from the Ilgotis rivulet, three bronze neck-rings with loop-shaped terminals, three pins with cruciform heads, and three spiral bracelets were discovered during bog draining works.

Chronology: tenth to 11th century.

Lit. Tautavičius 1977, p.131.

LNM.

14. Ķaupi, Liepāja district, Latvia.

Ten ribbon-like bracelets and a twisted neck-ring with a loop were discovered in 1920.

Chronology: 12th century.

²⁵ The details of the finding of the hoard are not quite clear.

Lit. V. Urtāns 1977, p.203, Fig. 105.

LVNM 7019: 1–12.

15. Kalnamuiža, Dobeles district, Latvia.

Discovered in 1888 on the bank of the Tervete rivulet at a distance of one mile from a hill-fort, under a large granite boulder; studied by R. Hausmanis and A. Bīlenšteins in 1892. Ten shield bosses, 54 socketed spear points, one fragment of a sword blade, eight socketed spearheads, four knives, nine buckles, one stirrup (?) (apparently dating from later times) were discovered.

Chronology: D₂–E₂.

Lit. Riekstiņš 1930, p.477; V. Urtāns, 1977, p.149, Fig. 37.

Has not survived.

16. Kokmuiža I, Vītiņi parish, Auce district, Latvia.

Discovered in 1869 between two hill-forts, Incēni and Forest Hillock, during the drainage of the boggy bed of the Avīkne. The finds were discovered in an area of 120 square centimetres, in a pit 0.45 metres deep. In 1869, the findspot of the hoard was studied by A. Bīlenšteins. According to the inventory of 1870, a total of 1,263 artefacts were found; their weight is 120 kilograms: 472 spear points, 186 broken spear point sockets, 131 hafted axes, 40 blunt-ended axes with narrow blades, six fragments of sword blades, 40 oval stone strike-a-lights, pieces of nine stone strike-a-lights, two whetstones, two hammers, eight chisels, 13 picks, a sickle, three knives, nine bronze crossbow brooches, one brooch with a star-like foot, a bronze neck-ring, bronze and iron bracelets, a silver bracelet, a spiral ring, a piece of silver wire and other small artefacts. Smith's tools discovered: three anvils, two hammers, files, chisels, five pieces of raw iron, and an iron spade. Their weight is around seven kilograms.

Chronology: D₁–D₂/ E₁.

Lit. Riekstiņš 1930, p.477; V. Urtāns 1977, p.138ff, Figs. 45–47; J. Urtāns 2008, p.55ff and p.84, Figs. 18–51.

The artefacts reached LVNM and museums in Jelgava, Tallinn, Copenhagen and Moscow.

17. Kokmuiža (Līgotņu) II, Vītiņi parish, Auce district, Latvia.

Found in 1929 at the foot of Forest Hillock hill-fort, in the boggy valley of the River Avīkne, at a depth of 45 to 60 centimetres, at a distance of 50 metres from offering site I; the site was studied in 1930 and 1931. Objects discovered: 138 artefacts, most of them intentionally broken off and burnt (a piece of a silver neck-

ring, a bronze bracelet with thickened terminals, a drinking horn mounting, two bronze and 23 iron buckles, two iron rings, a nail, a strike-a-light, nine knives, 41 socketed spear points, a socketed axe, iron and bone artefacts that have not been identified more precisely, a small iron chain link, nine oval stone strike-a-lights, nine whetstones, a small sandstone spindle, four bone beads, pieces of four combs, a piece of a bone weaving die, a small plate, and 12 annealed dice). The total weight of the finds was about 16 kilograms. Cremated bones and charcoal are mentioned in this deposit.

Chronology: D₁–D₂/ E₁.

Lit. Riekstiņš 1930, p.473ff, Fig. 1–2, Plates I–II; V. Urtāns 1977, p.142ff, Figs. 48–49; J. Urtāns 2008, p.55ff, p.84, Figs. 18–51; Banytė-Rowell *et al.* 2003, pp.72–73.

LVNM 7027: 1–138.

18. Lileikiai, Šilutė district, Lithuania.

In around 1912, some coins were discovered on the bank of the River Jūra not far from Lileikiai hill-fort: five or six Roman coins, two bronze coins, the rest were silver coins. One copper coin of Antoninus Pius (138–161). The hoard did not reach museums.

Chronology: B₂/C₁–C_{1b}.

Lit. Michelbertas 1972, p.115.

19. Palanga, in the town of Palanga, Lithuania.

In 1936, when ploughing a drained bog, bronze ornaments were discovered to the east of the town. A neck-ring with a tongued bow, a small loop and a hooklet, and a pin with a cruciform head were found. The bog where the ornaments were found might have been situated near Palanga burial grounds where there were two small and nearly bogged-up lakes.

Chronology: seventh to ninth centuries.

Lit. Tautavičius 1977, p.131; Žulkus 2004, Fig. 29.

VDKM 784: 1–2.

20. The valley of the River Minija, Klaipėda district, Lithuania.

In 1866, a copper Gordian III (238–244) was discovered in the valley of the River Minija next to the village of Šernai.²⁶

²⁶ A bronze foundry mould for moulding hafted axes (1600–1400 BC) was discovered on the bank of the River Minija in the village of Dovilai (in the Klaipėda district) not far from the village of Šernai, whereas on the other bank of the river, in the village of Gedminai, a hoard of bronze artefacts (1400–1200 BC) was discovered (Čivilytė 2004, p.226, Figs. 5, 6; Bliujienė 2007, p.51). It seems that this stretch of the middle reaches of the River Minija might have served as an offering site from the Bronze Age.

Chronology: C_{1b}–C₂.

Lit. Michelbertas 1972, p.115.

21. Padievaitis,²⁷ Šilalė district, Lithuania.

In around 1894, a sestertius of Commodus (180–192) was discovered on the shore of Lake Dievytis.

Chronology: C_{1b}.

Lit. Michelbertas 1972, p.116.

22. Palipšė (formerly Černiai, Černaučyzna), Anykščiai district, Debeikiai parish, Lithuania.

Discovered in 1928 in a marshy field called 'Gudės field'; 43 burnt artefacts discovered under a boulder are known: five socketed and hafted spear points, four knives, three awls, two razors, ten strike-a-lights, a belt buckle and mountings, four blunt-ended axes with wide blades, one spur, two stirrups, a two-edged sword with an inscription, the key of a cylindrical lock, four fragments of pottery and several artefacts, the intended purpose of which has not been determined. Only some of the finds reached a museum; the fate of the rest is not known. The tip of one hafted spear point was broken off.

Chronology: middle to the second half of the 13th century.

Lit. Ribokas, Zabiela 1994, p.24ff, Figs. 1-2.

UKM A71–77, F-1663.

23. Piltene, Ventspils district, Latvia.

In 1870, a silver gilded neck-ring with a widening bow and profiled overlapping terminals (593.64g in weight) was discovered in a boggy area at a depth of 1.2 metres.

Chronology: D₂–E₁.

Lit. V. Urtāns 1977, p.137ff, Fig. 44.

LVNM 58201.

24. Pudžas (Salgales Pudžas), Jelgava district, Latvia.

Found in 1882 on the right bank of the River Lielupe, not far from the bank at a depth of 0.2 metres. The Vecpudzes cemetery is close to the find site. The present weight of the hoard is 1,781.325 grams. It consists of two neck-rings and two pieces of neck-rings, one crossbow brooch, three spiral bracelets and two forged ingots.

Chronology: turn of the tenth to the 11th century.

Lit. V. Urtāns 1977, pp.20ff, 37ff, p. 180, Fig. 87.

²⁷ The archaeological complex of Padievaitis consists of a hill-fort, a lower ward, a burial ground and a boulder, which on the basis of its form is regarded as a chair or the Devil's throne (Vaitkevičius 2003, p.73ff, p.205).

LVNM KPM 799-803, 869, 1002, 2054.

25. Salacas Bog, Limbaži district, Latvia.

Six silver elongated bar ingots (965.35g in weight) were bought from a collector in 1923; a deposit.

Chronology: 11th to 12th century.

Lit. V. Urtāns 1977, p.200, Fig. 105.

LVNM 93098: 1–6.

26. S26. aulītes, Jēkabpils district, Latvia.

Found in 1882. A silver neck-ring with a small loop and a hooklet (305.95g in weight) and two silver neck-rings with profoundly faceted terminals (702.65g and 430.2g in weight). The total weight of the silver artefacts is 1,438.8 grams.

Chronology: around 700 AD.

Lit. V. Urtāns 1977, p.157ff, Fig. 66.1-3.

LVNM 58211–58213.

27. Siraičiai, Telšiai district, Lithuania.

In 1901, when ploughing a field, a hoard of metal scrap was discovered between the hill-fort and the burial ground, not far from a bog; the hoard consisted of 44 chronologically different archaeological artefacts. The place of the hoard was marked with a sword driven into the ground.

Chronology: B₂/C₁ – C₂; tenth to 12th century.

Lit. Brensztej 1903, p.44ff, Plates XV–XVII.

LVNM AR 17: 1–44.

28. Šliktinė (Mikytai) I, Skuodas district, Notėnai parish, Lithuania.

Discovered in 1936 or 1938 in the boggy valley of the River Šata at a distance of 0.3 kilometres from Mikytai hill-fort, at a depth of 0.6 metres. A total of 192 artefacts were found: 113 hafted and harpoon spear points, some ten to 20 knives, four axes with wide blades, several bronze mountings of combat knives, a brass spur, and two bronze horseshoe fibulae. These artefacts were found in a single spot pressed down with an oak log.

Chronology: ninth to 12th century.

Lit. Tautavičius 1972, p.84; Tautavičius 1977, p.132; Vaitkevičius 2003, p.154.

VDKM: 1523: 1–192, 2021.

29. Šliktinė (Mikytai) II, Skuodas district, Notėnai parish, Lithuania.

In 1970, at a distance of 50 metres north of the first findspot, not far from Mikytai hill-fort, approximately two kilograms of objects were discovered, which

are now missing. In 1971, another approximately 47 horseshoe fibulae, nine bracelets, two spurs, 15 socketed and hafted spear points, an axe, five fragments of combat axes, seven belt buckles and belt mountings nevertheless reached KM. These objects were collected within a radius of 30 to 40 metres in the ground cast out when digging a canal in a boggy area, at a depth of 50 to 60 centimetres. The available data makes it possible to claim that 200 to 300 objects might have been sunk at this spot. The bog covers a stretch of land 50 to 60 metres in width. In 1971, ten survey pits were dug at the findspot in the bog; two horseshoe fibulae were discovered. However, no finds were found in most of the survey pits.

Chronology: tenth to 11th century.

KMA 50: 184.

Lit. Tautavičius 1971, pp.1-9; Tautavičius 1972, p.84ff.

30. Šluostikiai, Joniškis district, Lithuania.

Since 1956 and 1958, several finds from Šluostikiai have been kept at ŽMA: a small cylinder-shaped stone spindle, three badly deteriorated iron socketed spear points (one of them has a long socket and a short rhomb-shaped blade). They were found in the Vešėtinis rivulet during ditch-deepening works, under a flat boulder.

Chronology: sixth to ninth century.

Lit. Vasiliauskas, 2009, p.255ff.

ŽMA.

31. Tīras Bog in Rucava, Latvia.

The offering was recovered in 1936, accidentally during peat cutting. Objects discovered: two wooden shields and a shield boss, a bow (fragment), 31 small sticks, ten buckles, nine rings, textiles of various kinds (a cape, leg bindings and different textile fragments, a yarn ball), a horseshoe fibula with cylindrical terminals, a massive bracelet, two spirals, a chisel, two mountings, the mounting of the mouth of a drinking horn, and an awl with a wooden handle (?). The offering was probably wrapped in a cloak and pressed down with a pole, and the offering site might have been marked: there were a number of stakes with burnt tips driven into the ground around the site.

Chronology: around 800 to 850 AD.

Lit. V. Urtāns 1964, p.71, Figs. 17-18; 1977, p.76, p.124ff, 163ff, Fig.71; Žeire 2008, p.129ff.

LVNMA 9170: 1-28.

32. Užpelkiai, Plungė district, Plateliai parish, Lithuania.

Around 1909-1910 in the Tyreliai peat-bog, at a depth of 1.5 metres, pieces of two bronze neck-rings with a box-shaped clasp, a silver crossbow brooch decorated with notched rings (the clearances between the ringlets are decorated with gold [?] plates), and a bronze brooch with a star-like foot but without the spiral part and the bow were discovered.

Chronology: C_{1b}-C₂; D₂-D₃.

Lit. Tautavičius 1977, p.133; Vaitkunskienė 1981, p.29, Fig. XV.

VDKM 662: 1-4.

33. Vaineikiai, Rokiškis district, Kamajai parish, Lithuania.

In 1943, when ploughing a drained peat-bog, three corded neck-rings were found. They reached a private collection, and their further fate is not known.

Chronology: eighth to 12th century.

Lit. Tautavičius 1977, p.133.

Abbreviations

AB – Archaeologia Baltica

Aktuelle Forschungen – Aktuelle Forschungen zu Kriegsbeuteopfern und Fürstengräbern im Barbaricum. A. Abegg-Wigg, A. Rau, eds, Schriften Archäologischen Landesmuseums, 4, Neumünster, 2008

ATL – Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvos. Vilnius (from 1967)

CSA – Current Swedish Archaeology. Stockholm, a publication of the Swedish Archaeological Society

LA – Lietuvos archeologija. Vilnius (from 1975).

LLM – R. Kulikauskienė, R. Rimantienė. Senovės lietuvių papuošalai, Vol. I. Vilnius, 1958.

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Museums

KKM – Kaišiadoriai Land Museum

KM – Kretinga Museum

LNM – Lithuanian National Museum, Vilnius

LVNM – Latvian National Historical Museum, Rīga

RK – Rokiškis Land Museum

ŠAM – Aušra Museum, Šiauliai

UKM – Utena Museum

VDKM – Vytautas the Great War Museum, Kaunas

ŽMA – Alka Samogitian Museum, Telšiai

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BALTŲ PELKIŲ AUKOS – DUODU, KAD ATGAUČIAU

AUDRONĖ BLIUJIENĖ

Santrauka

Aukojimas vandenyje yra žinoma nuo vėlyvojo paleolito. Regione aplink Baltijos jūrą, tarp Nemuno ir Dauguvos, romėniškuoju laikotarpiu pagausėjo pelkių aukų (4 pav.; 1 lentelė). To priežastis – intensyvus regiono gyventojų bendravimas tarpusavyje, siekis dievų ir protėvių paramos bei užtarimo, noras anapilin perkelti ir turtą. Ankstyvaisiais tautų kraustymosi laikais, įgaudami lokalių bruožų, germanų pavyzdžiu išplinta karo grobio ar triumfo aukojimai šlapiose vietose. Nagrinėjame regione vėlyvaisiais tautų kraustymosi laikais vėl keičiasi pelkių aukų motyvacija. Tokios aukos tampa dvejopo pobūdžio, išreikšto pagrindiniu principu: duodu, kad atgaučiau. Vikingų laikais atsiranda nauja aukojimo vandenyje forma – „jaunamarčių aukos“, kurios sudaro net 22 procentus visų vėlyvųjų aukų. Karo grobio ir bendravimo su dievais ir protėviais bei turto perkėlimo aukos procentiškai sudaro apylyges dalis (2–12 pav., V įklia).

III

WETLAND
ARCHAEOLOGY