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В настоящем томе представлены работы по балтистике и балто-славистике, охватывающие широкий круг проблем: взаимодействие балтийских и славянских языков в синхронии и диахронии; типология и сравнительное языкознание; этимология и ономастика; духовная и материальная культура балтов и славян. В разделе «Разное» помещены рецензии на новейшие издания по балтистике, хроника, а также приводится библиография всех статей, вышедших в серии «Балто-славянские исследования» с момента ее основания.

Balto-Slavic Studies. XVI.

The volume presents contributions on Baltic and Balto-Slavic studies, which embrace a wide range of issues: interaction of Baltic and Slavic languages in synchrony and diachrony; typology and contrastive linguistics, etymology and onomastics; spiritual and material culture of the Balts and the Slavs. Included in Miscellanea are the chronicle and the reviews of the newest books on Baltic studies. The annual offers a detailed bibliography of all the articles, published in the series «Balto-Slavic Studies» since the establishment.

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V. VAITKEVIČIUS

THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE STATE RELIGION IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY LITHUANIA

1. Introduction

Hitherto there has been much talk about the formation of the Lithuanian State of the late 12th — early 13th centuries (Fig. 1). A more thorough study has included the issues on the period concerning the state foundation and its strengthening, on the personalities of the Grand Dukes, on the mode of the policy etc. Historical studies have commonly presented the image of the state through the realia of «military culture», with the research on its ideology and religion lacking behind except for some solitary notes and indirect polemics on the issues of different kind. Only some researchers have assumed that during the reign of the first Lithuanian ruler — King Mindaugas (ca. 1240–1263) the attempts were made to unite different religious systems of the Baltic tribes. Investigators of Lithuanian mythology (A. J. Greimas, V. N. Toporov) argue that during the foundation of the state the instances of the reform of the religion emerged, though these assumptions have been based exceptionally upon the analysis of mythological sources. This article provides a concise set of the results of the research on the religion of the Lithuanian State in the light of the written evidence, the myths and archaeological material. Some conclusions as well as an extensive analysis on mythological data have been published in the Lithuanian press (Vaitkevičienė, Vaitkevičius 2001).

2. Burial rites in thirteenth-century Lithuania

The mode of burial known throughout Lithuania's early years reflect regional varieties in terms of the burial tradition and also illustrate the distinctions in the religious systems of the Baltic tribes (Fig. 2). In the 9th–11th centuries the dead used to be burned and buried in the ground by Aukštaitians (in the central part of Lithuania), Scalowians (in the southwest) and Curonians (in the northwest). Meanwhile, a Lithuanian tribe (in the east) usually burned the dead and mounded over their graves. The uncremated dead used to be buried in the ground by Samogitians (in the west), Semigallians (in the north) and Selonians (in the northeast). Whereas in the 12th century the custom of burying the dead

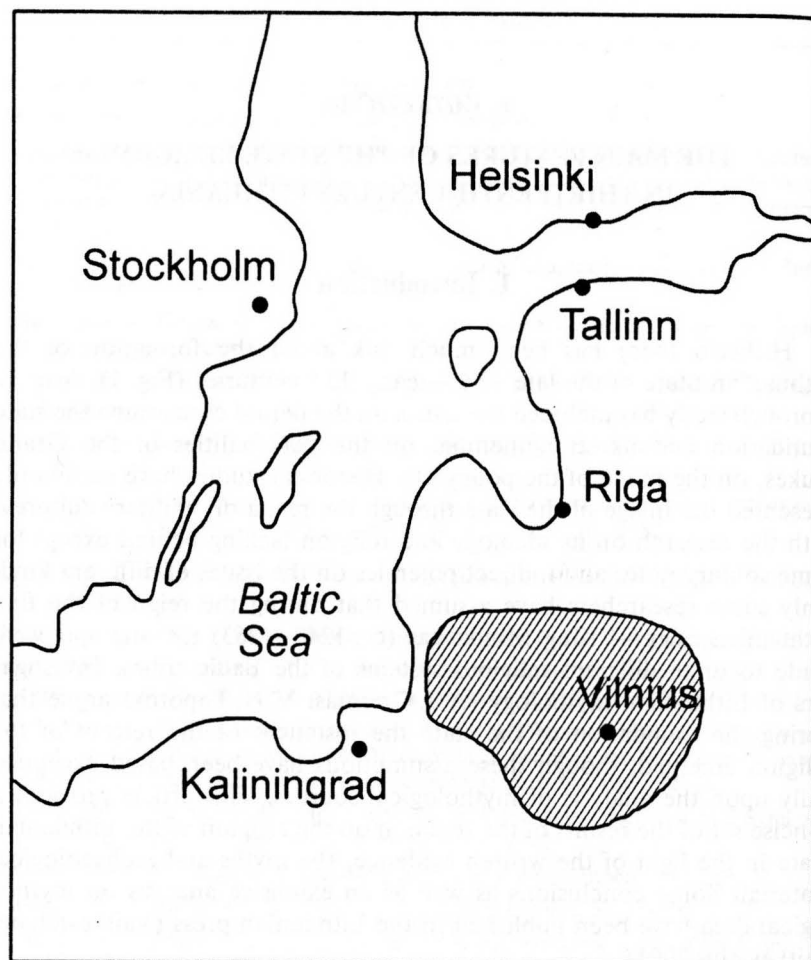


Fig. 1. Area of research — Lithuanian State in the early 13th century.

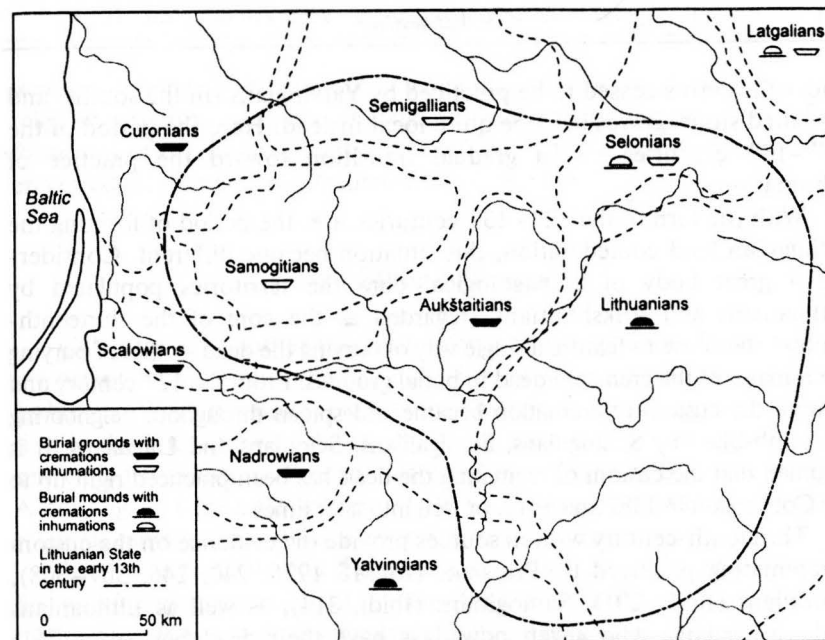


Fig. 2. Burial rites of the Baltic tribes in the 9th–11th centuries. Drawn according to G. Zabiela and E. Gudavičius.

under the cairns ceased to be practiced by Yatvingians (in the south), and so-called stone-graves became quite local instead. Here the period of the 10th–13th centuries saw a gradual transition toward the practice of inhumation¹.

With the turn of the 12th–13th centuries, i. e. the period of forming the Lithuanian land confederation, this situation became different. Considering a great body of archaeological data the territories populated by Lithuanians and Aukštaitians (regarded as the core of the thirteenth-century state) use to feature a single way of burying the dead — that of burying the remains of the cremated dead in burial grounds. From the 12th century and onward the custom of cremation became widespread throughout neighboring areas inhabited by Samogitians, Semigallians, Selonians and Latgalians. It is assumed that the custom of cremating the dead has been practiced right up to the Conversion in 1387 and 1413, or well into later times.

Thirteenth-century written sources provide the evidence on the custom of cremating practiced by Prussians (BRMŠ 1996, 240, 246, 307–308), Curonians (Ibid., 291), Samogitians (Ibid., 314), as well as Lithuanians and Yatvingians, who «even nowadays have their dead burned» (1261) (Ibid., 266). The fact that King Mindaugas himself «is making sacrifices to gods and is cremating the bodies» a Chronicle by Ipatius (*Ипатьевская летопись*) says (1252)² (Ibid., 260). Fourteenth-century written sources present the factual material on the cremation of the remains of the dead Lithuanian dukes (Ibid., 421, 453, 469).

As it can be seen from an integrated study by G. Zabiela during the period of the formation of the state different Lithuania's regions had already been linked by a general trait — cremation (Zabiela 1998, 368). The remains of cremated bodies used to be buried in shallow and small pits. The groups of such graves cover not large areas within cemeteries of different periods or they are to be found in any other separate burial grounds (Ibid., 355–367). Some regional (tribal) peculiarities had been retained in burial rites, however, the «new, state realia» had found their expression, too (Ibid., 368).

Hence, even though the available archaeological data reflecting historical processes have not provided an absolute chronology of events, they show that all what had distinguished the Baltic tribes in course of time in the 13th century emerged as a phenomenon unifying the state. Considering the

¹ The cemeteries of the 12th–13th centuries of the Selonians and Yatvingians are to be found mostly beyond the borders of the earliest Lithuanian State and beyond the boundaries of the present Lithuania.

² In 1251 Mindaugas became baptized, and for this reason a year later the Ipatius Chronicle expressed an astonishment on the fact that the King was still engaged in the rite of the ancient faith. Later Christianity was really rejected by Mindaugas.

sensitive respondent reaction of the burial rites towards the changes inside the religious system the assumption could be made that during the period of the formation of the Lithuanian state the reform of the religion emerged which enhanced the introduction of a united burial tradition.

3. State cult sites

Cult sites are another expression-form of the religion. Therefore it is important to ascertain whether cult sites of state stature are known in Lithuania. Written sources, regrettably, have not made any direct contribution to the knowledge of the status of cult sites, with the exception of the one called Romuva, in Prussia, described in 1326 (BRMŠ 1996, 344–345). According to Chronicle written by Petri de Dusburg it was an intertribal religious centre but not the one possessing the state stature.

Bearing in mind that the Conversion of Lithuania in 1387 and 1413 was, first and foremost, an action of implementing political objectives the attention ought to be drawn to the course and peculiarities of these actions.

As the 1388 bull by Pope Urban VI reads with the Conversion in 1387 Grand Duke Jogaila destroyed a pagan sanctuary on the site of the would-be Vilnius Arch-cathedral (Ibid., 447–448). This sanctuary satisfies the requirements of the state cult site, because in the early 14th century Vilnius actually was a residential place of Grand Dukes and this sanctuary was in operation in the territory of the whole complex of castles.

During the Conversion of Samogitia in 1413³ Grand Duke Jogaila demolished two sanctuaries (Ibid., 559). The first one being sited «beyond the Nevėžis River» on reasonable grounds could be related to the locality of Romainiai covering the area at the lower reaches of the Nevėžis River by Kaunas. According to Petri de Dusburg there the village of *Romene* regarded as a sacred one was burnt down by Crusaders as early as 1294–1300 (Ibid., 339, 350). The same place, the area of the confluence of the Nemunas and Nevėžis Rivers, is mentioned in the Salynas treaty of 1398 admitting the sacred forest (*Heiligenwald*) (LPG 1936, 127).

«Going up along the Dubysa; on having reached Samogitia» Grand Duke Jogaila approached the second sanctuary. According to the abundance of the accepted historiographical data it has been situated in the middle reaches of the Dubysa River in the environs of Betygala (Raseiniai distr.). A characteristic feature of the religious centre has the Dvarviečiai Šventaragis site (i. e. 'sacred horn'). An impressive cape-«horn» is sited between the Dubysa and Luknė Rivers and stretches right up to the

³ That is an official date of the Conversion of Samogitia.

confluence of the first-mentioned rivers for several kilometers. On the opposite side of the Dubysa River, by Padubysis there is a hill-fort characteristic of the period of the 13th–14th centuries. Nearby Kengiai there is Alka River and Alka field (<alka 'sacred site'), as well as the village and the forest both having the name of Perkūniškis (<Perkūnas 'Thunder').

The two sanctuaries situated by Romainiai and Betygala seem to have been of no less significance than the Vilnius sanctuary. Both by the destruction of the sanctuaries and the Conversion of Samogitia the willingness of Samogitians to be baptized were illustrated in the council of Constance in 1415–1416. Both sanctuaries demolished in 1413 have been in operation on the eastern ethnic and administrative borders of Samogitia. Supposedly, they were linked to the power of the Grand Duke rather than to that of Samogitians.

As far as the Vilnius sanctuary and the two ones in Samogitia are concerned historical records testify that holy fire was burning and sacred woods were stretching throughout them. Both the sanctuary in Vilnius and that in Romainiai contained cult buildings. Jet the fact that two sanctuaries in Romainiai and Betygala were sited relatively not far one from the other (at the distance of 60 km) might indicate the differences of their status and significance.

In historiography the opinion is prevalent that the Romuva intertribal religious centre may have been removed from Prussia to Romainiai in Lithuania (Łowmiański 1983, 319–320; Gudavičius 1983, 63). In the mid-13th century the environs of Betygala and those of the neighbouring Raseiniai and Ariogala were in the disposition of the Grand Duke⁴ — in 1254 King Mindaugas gave half of the Raseiniai, Laukuva and Betygala lands as a present to Bishop Christian on account of his own deed (Dubonis 1998, 85). Besides, Romainiai links the name of Romuva to and the Dvarviečiai Šventaragis is related by its name to the Šventaragis sanctuary of state stature in Vilnius.

3.1. Šventaragai: toponymy and onomastics

Several Lithuanian localities containing sacred sites, villages and surnames under the name Šventaragis ('sacred horn') have been recorded (Fig. 3).

The area of the confluence of the Neris and Vilnelė, or the woods, which was situated there, is called the Vilnius Šventaragis (Fig. 4). It was first mentioned in narratives on both the foundation of Vilnius and the custom of cremating the dead nobility (ПСРЛ 1975, 31) (see below) inserted into the Annals of Lithuania (*Литовская летопись*, *Хроника Быховца*) in the early 16th century and in the Chronicle of M. Strykowski (1582). In the latter these narratives were presented in greater detail. According to

⁴The fact that state cult sites were in operation in the lands subject to the Grand Duke occurs as characteristic feature (cf. Sørensen 1992, 234–235).

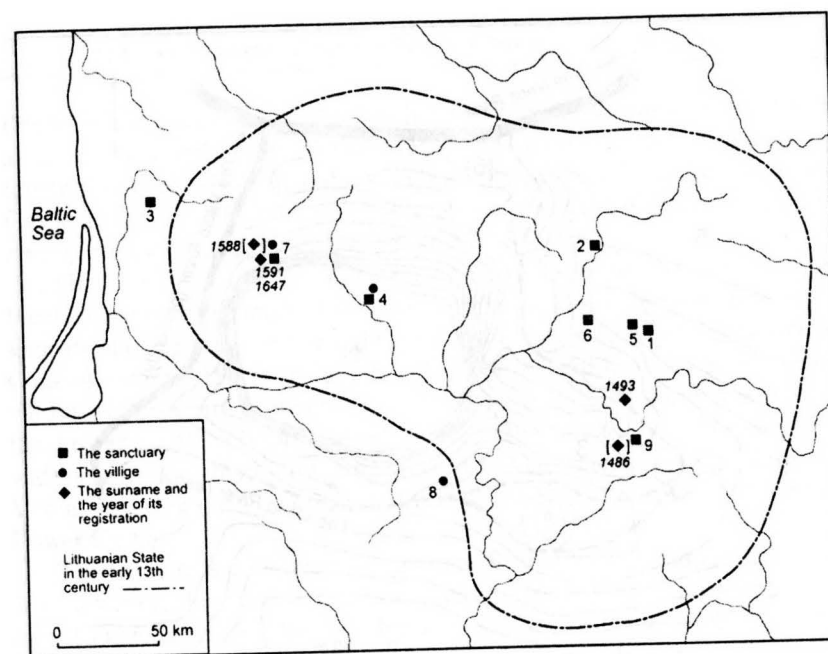


Fig. 3. The distribution of the Šventaragis name according to V. Vaitkevičius. 1 — Aigėlai (Molėtai distr.); 2 — Anykščiai (Anykščiai distr.); 3 — Čiuželiai (Plungė distr.); 4 — Dvarviečiai (Raseiniai distr.); 5 — Girsteitiškis (Molėtai distr.); 6 — Paprėniškiai (Ukmergė distr.); 7 — Šventragiai (Kelmė distr.); 8 — Šventragis (Marijampolė distr.); 9 — Vilnius.

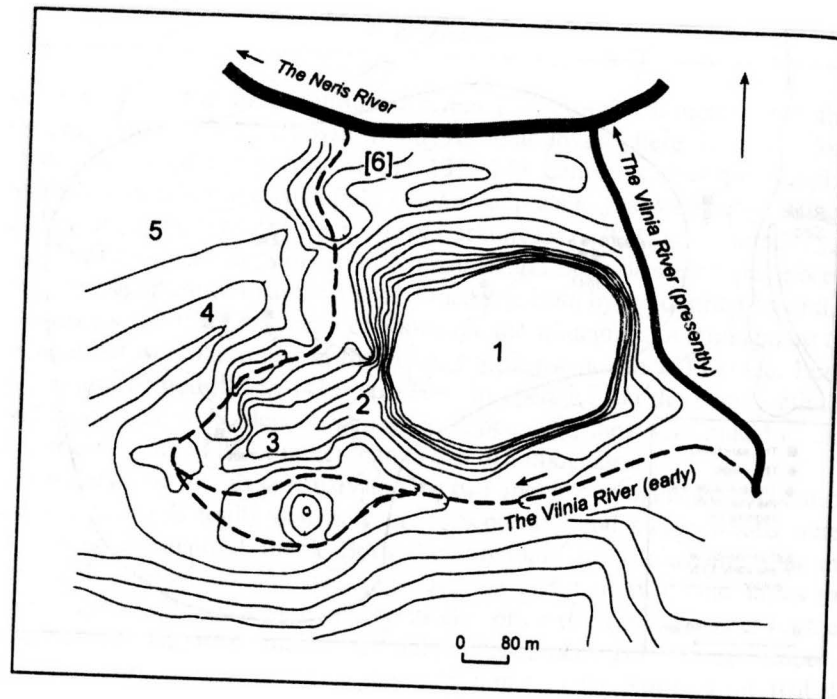


Fig. 4. The area of the Vilnius Šventaragis according to V. Vaitkevičius. The horizontals are drawn in 1 m interval according to N. Kitkauskas and S. Lasavickas. 1 — The Upper Castle; 2 — The Lower Castle (Grand Duke's Palace); 3 — The place of the Perkūnas sanctuary; 4 — Puškarnia, the centre of the iron manufacture; 5 — Lukiškės, the place of the sacred grove; 6 — the hypothetical place of the Šventaragis grassland mentioned in 1738.

the source the location of the Vilnius Šventaragis is considered to be the area at the confluence of the Neris and Vilnia Rivers including the territories where the gun mill as well as the royal stables and the Lower Castle lie (*gdzie rzeka Wilna do Wiliey wpada... gdzie dziś puszkarnia, stajnie i niższy zamek*) (Strykowski 1846, 369–370, 373).

There exist a variety of opinions in relation to the issue on the localization of Šventaragis. The lower Vilnia, however, contains two capes-«horns»: 1) The cape on the right side of the Vilnia River exposing dimensions of around 250 m in length, 30–40 m in width and 3 m in height, whose western part is occupied by Arch-cathedral and eastern part — by the Lower Castle (Grand Dukes' Palace); 2) The cape 300 m long, 40 m wide and 1–2 m high stretching toward the confluence of the Neris and Vilnia, covering the area on the left side of the Vilnia, in the opposite of the Lower Castle.

The first site is commonly regarded as Šventaragis (Топоров 1980, 32–33), however, the opinion as to the second site rests on good grounds, too (see Tautavičius 1960, 10–12). Presumably, both sites separated by Vilnia River belonged to the same sacral space, which may have been subdivided in some other ways⁵.

Considering the oral tradition the presently drained «boggy swamp» with the average area of two hectares was the Paprėniškiai Šventaragis (Ukmergė distr.). The right spot of Šventaragis seems to be forgotten, whereas the place-name has remained as the name of boggy lowland. The name of Šventaragis may have been attributed to a larger territory as, for example, to the woods. The Paprėniškiai village cover the upper site of the Šventoji River (< *šventas* 'sacred; holy'), which is situated 5 km southwest of the Ukmergė hill-fort of the 13th–14th centuries (on the far side of the Šventoji River). 2 km to the west of the Paprėniškiai Šventaragis there is the Vaisgėliškis boggy lowland called Alkai (< *alka* 'sacred site') (Fig. 5).

0,65 km northwest of the confluence of the Šventoji and Valaukis Rivers the Anykščiai Šventaragis (Anykščiai distr.) is located. Presently it is a slightly destroyed hill around 100×150 m, with its slopes of the height of 5 meters. As the saying goes both the «altar» and the holy fireplace were in use there.

The name of the meadow of Alka was recorded 0,5 km further southward. 2 km north-west, on the far side of the Šventoji River there is the Šeimyniškėliai hill-fort — the site on which in the 13th century one of Mindaugas' castles called Voruta stood (Fig. 6).

The Aigėlai Šventaragis (Molėtai distr.) (Fig. 7) distinguishes itself as a northern long-sloped cape of Lake Malkėstas with its dimensions around

⁵ In addition, some sacred sites called Šventaragis in relation to the dwelling (defensive) places have been sited beyond the river, in particular (cf. Anykščiai, Dvarviečiai).

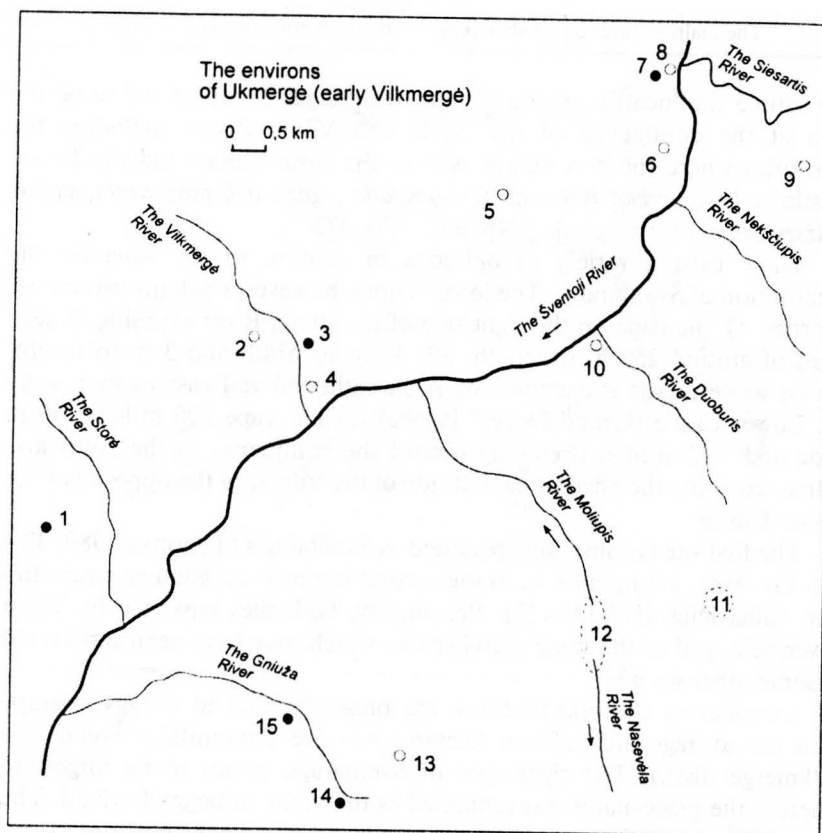


Fig. 5. The environs of Ukmergė according to V. Vaitkevičius and G. Zabiela. 1 — The Pagojė village (< *pa* 'nearby' + *gaj* 'sacred grove') the hypothetical place of the sacred grove; 2 — The place of the Ukmergė burial mound group dated to the middle of 1st millennium; 3 — The sacrificed findings dated to the 10th — early 11th c.; 4 — The Ukmergė hill-fort dated to the 13th–14th c.; 5 — The Dukstyna burial mound group dated to the 2nd half of the 1st millennium — early 2nd millennium; 6 — The Zujai burial mound group dated to the middle of 1st millennium; 7 — The Zujai sacred field called Alka; 8 — The Zujai hill-fort dated to the 13th–14th c.; 9 — The Vaisgėliškis burial mound group dated to the 2nd half of the 1st millennium — early 2nd millennium; 10 — The place of the Juodausiai hill-fort dated to the 1st millennium — early 2nd millennium; 11 — The Paprėniškiai Šventaragis; 12 — The Vaisgėliškis boggy lowland called Alka; 13 — The Vaitkuškis hill-fort dated to the middle of 1st millennium — early 2nd millennium; 14 — The Deltuvėlė sacred field called Alka; 15 — The Burtkaimis village (< *burti* 'to divine' + *kaimas* 'village').

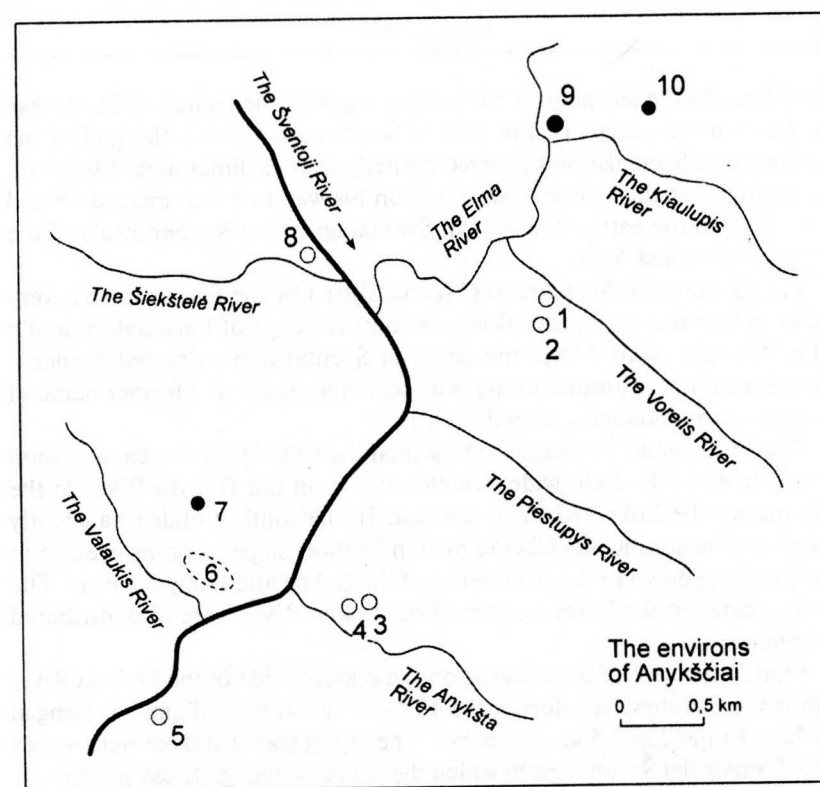


Fig. 6. The environs of Anykščiai according to V. Vaitkevičius and G. Zabiela. 1 — The Šeimyniškėliai hill-fort dated to the 13th — early 15th c.; 2 — The Šeimyniškėliai cemetery dated to the 13th–18th c.; 3 — The place of the Anykščiai royal estate (since the early 15th c.); 4 — The place of the Anykščiai settlement dated to the 2nd half of 1st millennium; 5 — The Anykščiai church (since the early 15th c.); 6 — The Anykščiai sacred field called Alka; 7 — The Anykščiai Šventaragis; 8 — The place of the Šiekštelėiai cemetery dated back to the 12th–13th c.; 9 — The place of the Paelmis sacred stone with Devils 'footprint'; 10 — The Gojus village (< *gaj* 'sacred grove') the hypothetical place of the sacred grove.

100×150 m. As the legend goes a big city along with the church of St. George was sited on this place. To the west of Šventaragis there is the gulf of the lake known as Šventakampis ('sacred corner') with its dimensions 40×100 m. The saying goes that a priest, who was on his way to a sick man, drowned there. 3 km to the east of the Aigėlai Šventaragis there is a peninsula of the Stirniai Lake called Alka.

The Girsteitiškis Šventaragis (Molėtai distr.) by the Salotis Lake is very similar to that one in Aigėlai. Both the southern cape of Lake Salotis and a gulf of the lake nearby have the name of Šventakampis ('sacred corner'). There is a sufficient ground to make an assumption that the former name of the cape was Šventaragis ('sacred horn').

The Dvarviečiai Šventaragis (Raseiniai distr.) (Fig. 8) is a cape around 3 km long and 0,8–1 km wide, which borders on the Dubysa River in the west and on the Luknė River in the east. In the south it ends in a slightly curved «horn» around 30–60×250 m with its sheer slopes topping even 35 m and stretching down to the confluence of the Luknė and Dubysa Rivers. The woods located in the lower reaches of the Luknė River were also attributed to Šventaragis.

1 km to the west of Šventaragis, on the opposite side of the Dubysa River there is the Padubysis hill-fort of the 13th–14th centuries. Alkapis of Kengiai and the Alka Field lie 2,5 km south-east. The saying goes that there were woods in the Dvarviečiai Šventaragis to which the people would go to say prayers.

The Čiuželiai Šventaragis (Plungė distr.) is situated on the plateau bordering upon the valleys of the Alantas River and the Žvalginis River in the west and in the east respectively. Here an arable rising ground around 100×160 m distinguishes itself, which is somewhat higher than the fields surrounding it.

There is also a mention of 1624 about the Šventragis hill (*kołwa Szwentrogiska*) in the village of Šventragiai (Kelmė distr.) (Jablonskis 1941, 104).

Written evidence of the 16th–17th centuries present the facts about people under the surname of Šventragis. They lived in the above-mentioned village of Šventragiai — the 1591 book of law in Raseiniai displays the name Agnieška Šventragaitė (*Ягнешка Швенрогисъ*) — the owner of the estate in Šventragiai (Опись 1904, 5; also Спрогис 1888, 330). The 1649 document provides the information according to which the estate (*imienicze*) of Šventragiai along with its arable lands, fields, gardens, livestock and woods was owned by Jonas ir Vaitiekus Šventragiai (*Jan a Woyciech Stanisławowiczi Swętrogi*). At the time one of the parts of the Kolainiai district (*włosc*) was a territorial unit — field (*pole*) of Šventragiai (*na tym imieniczu leżącym... we włosci Korklanskiey w polu nazwanym Swętrogi* — LVIA № 14671 pp. 600–603).

There is a mention of 1486 about the Grand Duke's coachman Šventaragis (*возница королевский Швинъторог*) (РИБ 27, 202). Another hint

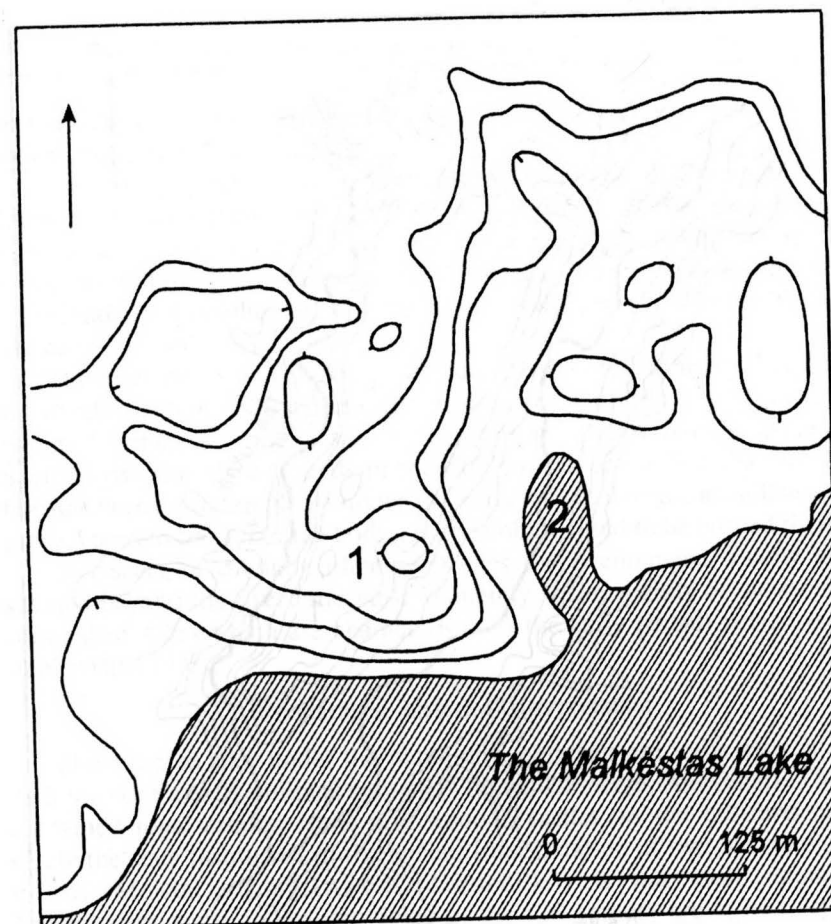


Fig. 7. The Aigėlai Šventaragis (Molėtai distr.) according to V. Vaitkevičius. The horizontals are drawn in 2 m interval. 1 — The Šventaragis peninsula; 2 — The Šventakampis gulf.

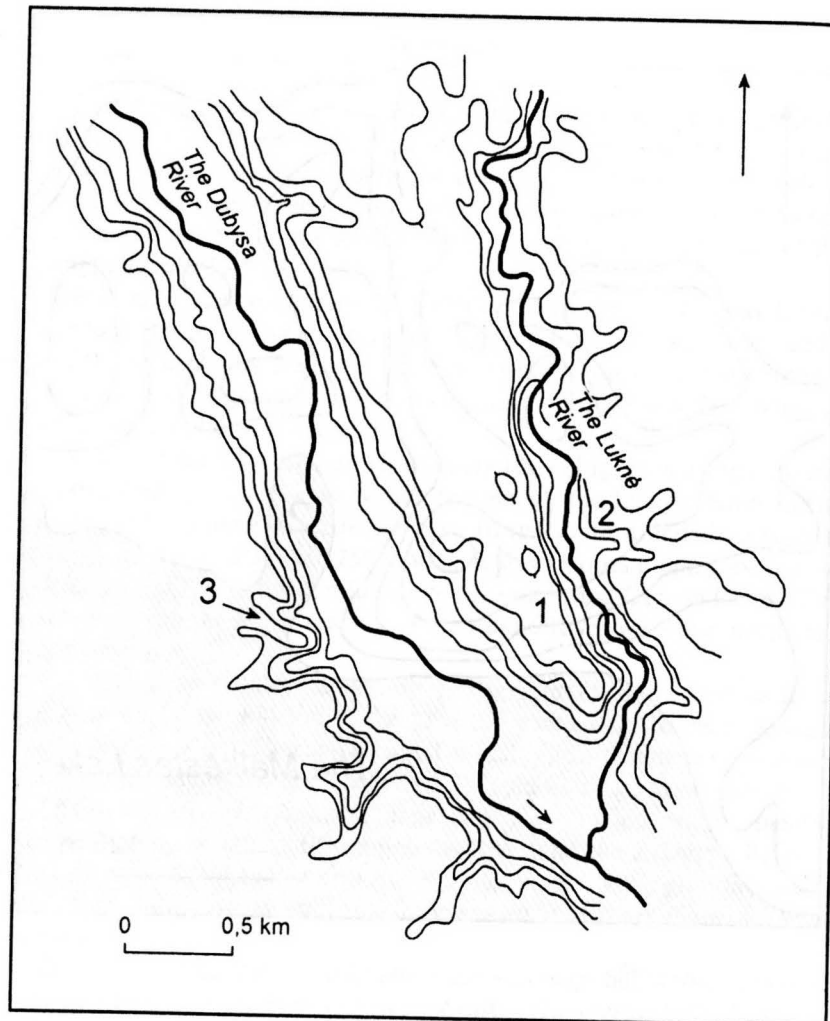


Fig. 8. The Dvarviečiai Šventaragis (Raseiniai distr.) according to V. Vaitkevičius. The horizontals are drawn in 10 m interval. 1 — The Šventaragis hill; 2 — The place of the Šventaragis wood; 3 — The Padubysis hill-fort.

in 1493 about the nobleman Vaitiekus Šventaragis (*Швенѣтороз Воутѣко*) exists, too (LM 3, 73).

The name of the village of Šventaragis (Marijampolė distr.) ought to be linked with the surname of Šventaragis as well. In the 16th–17th centuries after the invasion of Teutonic Order the abandoned region of Užnemunė (in southwestern Lithuania) was colonized. Presumably, a person, most probably a descendant of nobility bearing the name Šventaragis was linked with the above-mentioned village.

The brief survey on toponymy provides the data featuring the fact that highlands or hills situated on the confluence's of rivers and in the peninsulas of lakes including the woods, fens and swamps have the name of Šventaragis. The place-legends in their turn speak of the fact that a holy fire was burning in the places under the name of Šventaragis, as well as the prayers used to be said or the bodies of the nobility used to be burned there.

In respect of dwelling (defensive) sites the Šventaragai usually are situated beyond the rivers and most frequently in the vicinity of the sacred sites called Alkas which are characteristic to the early (tribal) period (see Vaitkevičius 1998).

3.2. Šventaragai: historical interpretation

Three sacred sites under the name of Šventaragis are to be associated with the state's early political centers (Vilnius, Ukmergė, Anykščiai). They contained royal estates, stone and wooden castles on the hill-forts and surely the state institution of the leičiai. Interpretation of two Šventaragai in the Molėtai region (Aigėlai, Girsteitiškis) is not clear enough. Nevertheless, some Lithuanian dukes of the 13th century are to be related to this region. Girsteitiškis is to be linked with King Mindaugas' son Girstukas or Girsteikis (Gudavičius 1984, 70–71). There is also the village of Laičiai (<*Leičiai) 5 km northward.

The Dvarviečiai Šventaragis is situated in that part of Samogitia that was already in the disposition of the Grand Duke of Lithuania in the mid-13th century. For part of it was given to Bishop Christian as a present by him, and in the late 13th century refugees from Semigallia were settled there. Kražiai nearby the village of Šventaragai, like some other lands in Samogitia, became subject to the Grand Duke's power in the mid-13th century after the Duke Vykintas of Samogitia was defeated (Gudavičius 1989, 103–106; 1998, 172–174). The leičiai in the environs of Kražiai have been known from historical records of 16th century.

With the description of the historical context of the Čiuželiai Šventaragis a difficulty has emerged. In the mid-13th century there existed the districts Gondinga and Kartena in this region. The attention was drawn to the fact that the 1237 document, according to which the borders of the

diocese of Curonia were established, reads that the southern border of the diocese extends to Lithuania (usque ad Litoviam) (Łowmiański 1931, 76). Maybe it is an indication of the political and geographical dependence of Godinga and Kartena upon the Lithuania.

The fact that the spread of Šventaragis sacred sites correlate with the distribution of the early political centers in both the core of the state and the periphery leads towards the emphasizing of the development of the institution of the leičiai rather than the state's policy concentrated by Grand Duke. With the advent of central power the leičiai institution may have served as a set of different services rendered to the ruler. The leičiai belonged to the political organization led by the Grand Duke and existed as an executive part of it. This organization was strengthened and developed by the leičiai through the royal estates both throughout the Lithuanian tribe and the ones in the vicinity. These estates (i. e. domain) were commonly named *Leičiai*, *Lietuva* (also recorded as *Litewskie*, *Литва*). They were a peculiar mechanism of the development of both the central power and the ideology of the state. Through their participation in the process of the formation of the state the leičiai became the vassals of the ruler, that is to say, the sign of the emerging Lithuanian feudal society. With respect to the royal estates they were the very first officers of the local authorities (Dubonis 1998, 85–99).

The north-west line of demarcation of the Lithuanian state along with its natural checks, ramparts and castles (including those in Ukmergė and Anykščiai) under the supervision of the leičiai was established around 1230–1235. In Samogitia (including the environs of Betygala and Kražiai) the Grand Duke became powerful enough to consolidate his rule after his victory at the 1248–1252 internal war⁶. All that would testify to the fact that sacred sites named Šventaragis might have been established over a short period of time in the first half and the mid-13th century. As it has already been mentioned two of them, those in Vilnius and Dvarviečiai, with their state stature were in operation up to the Conversion of Lithuania and Samogitia in 1387 and 1413.

4. The model of state gods

The general structure of the Lithuanian State's religion the 13th century has been disclosed by the myth of Sovius, which was included in the Chronicle of Joannes Malala in 1261.

⁶ Political alliances between the Samogitians and Lithuanian dukes seem to have existed somewhat earlier as well.

«Sovius (*Совиу*) was a man. He shot a wild boar, took nine spleens out of its body and gave them to his children. They had to fry them. Instead, the children ate them, and their father got very angry. He attempted to descend to hell. He was unable [to make this way] through eight gateways, however, his wish was satisfied after he got through the ninth gateway with the assistance of his son. The brothers got furious with the latter, and [he] requested the permission so that he could go and find their father, and thereby he arrived at hell. After his father had supper with him he made bed for him and buried him in the ground. As they both got up in the morning he asked him if he had had a good rest. The latter's moan was: „Oh! Lots of worms and slugs were eating me“. The following day he prepared the supper for him and took him into the tree and laid him to sleep there. Again, in the morning when asked about his rest at night the latter replied: „Plenty of bees and gnats were stinging me, I had a very bad sleep“. Similarly, on the third day [the son] made a big pyre and flung him into the flame. In the morning he asked him if he had had a good rest. And the latter answered: „Like a baby in a cradle, I was in a very good sleep“».

Oh, the most devilish misfortune of error that was introduced into the community of Lithuanians, Yatvingians, Prussians, and Hāme, and Livs, and of plenty of others that are called sovika (*совица*) and [who] consider Sovius to be a guide of their souls leading to hell, who lived in the times of Abimelech and [who] up to this day would burn their bodies in pyres, like Achilles and Ajax, and all the Greeks. This error was propagated by Sovius so that they should make sacrifices to the mischievous gods Andaius and Perkūnas (in other words to the Thunder) and Žvorūna, so to say, to the bitch, and to the blacksmith Teliavelis, who forged the sun for them, which shines on the earth, and who threw the sun into sky...» (BRMŠ 1996, 266–268).

From the mythological point of view Sovius is the leader of souls under the guardianship of whose the fire must be gone through on the path from life to death. Thus in the 13th century this myth of the introduction of the rite of cremating the dead became a peculiar religious program of the state during the period of its political and territorial formation — with the purpose to develop and consolidate a uniform ideology. The myth of Sovius declares the casual relationship between burial rites and the new reformed religion («error was propagated by Sovius so that they should make sacrifices to the mischievous gods Andaius, Perkūnas, Žvorūna and Teliavelis»).

As it is indicated by the analysis of mythological sources (see Vaitkevičienė, Vaitkevičius 2001, 232–328), this model of the gods of the state⁷

⁷ The list of the gods from the Ipatius Chronicle (*Ипатьевская летопись*) (1252) worshiped by King Mindaugas is almost identical. The problem is raised merely to the

is complex. The semantic structure is made up by three gods: Andaius (< *vanduo* 'water') and Teliavelis or Kalvelis (< *kalvelis* 'smith; son of the smith') by acting into two opposite directions (water/fire, life/death) partly express the functions of Perkūnas (< *perkūnas* 'thunder'). The goddess Žvorūna (< *žvėris* 'beast'), or otherwise Medeina (< *medis* 'tree; forest') represents hunting. Andaius', Teliavelis' (Kalvelis') and Žvorūna's (Medeina's) sacral spheres correlating with military themes would indicate that the ideology of military stratum was represented by the gods. Perkūnas might have been a central figure of this pantheon. Other gods, in one way or another, were also related to him. Thereby the assumption could be made in relation to a particular religious «expansion» of Perkūnas to the sacral spheres of other gods.

In comparing the structure of trinomial model of the male gods (the function of Andojas being contractual, that of Perkūnas — military, and that of Teliavelis (Kalvelis) — magic)⁸ with the model of gods worshiped in the intertribal Romuva religious center of the Balts (Perkūnas, Patrimpas, Patulas) (see Puhvel 1974) the replacement of the chthonic god of the dead (the god Patulas (**Patols* < **pa*- 'under' + **tula*- 'earth') of Prussians, the god Velinas (< *velnias* 'devil') of Lithuanians) by fiery Teliavelis (Kalvelis) is the basic innovation of the model of the Lithuanian state gods. Its promotion to the sphere of gods-sovereigns is linked both with the legitimization of the uniform rite of cremating the dead and the need to represent the sacrality of Perkūnas in the sphere of burial rites which was not under his supervision earlier (Kalvelis removes the souls from the underground to heaven).

The emergence of the female goddess Žvorūna among gods-sovereigns is also a characteristic feature of the Lithuanian religion (Greimas 1990, 395). It seems to have been predestined by this goddess' militant character disclosed by mythological sources (a hunt : a war). Presumably the goddess also might have had an exceptional status in the religious tradition with respect to the setting of King Mindaugas.

The development of the state religion after the reign of King Mindaugas (ca. 1236–1263) is in demand for special research. However, in the «History of Poland» written in the second half of the 15th century by

god Andojas. The god *Нѣндаевус* ('Home god' according to Greimas 1990, 395) is mentioned instead him.

⁸ Seemingly, the model of the gods representing the ideology of the ruling militant stratum in the society didn't contain the gods representing the sphere of economy (according to Greimas 1990, 383). However as the opposition to A. J. Greimas N. Vėlius' opinion was of different kind. The third function by him was ascribed to the goddess Žvorūna (Vėlius 1993, 67–68).

Jan Długosz Roman equivalents of Lithuanian gods are indicated: Volcano (~ Kalvelis), Jupiter (~ Perkūnas), Diana (~ Žvorūna) and Aesculapius (~ Andaius) (BRMŠ 1996, 557, 578; Greimas 1990, 395) could possibly testify to the fact that characteristic features of the Lithuanian religion of the 13th century remained unchanged up to the Conversion in 1387. This assumption could partly be verified by the map of the sanctuaries that were in operation in Vilnius, the capital of the state.

The castle with its settlement and royal estate in Vilnius may have existed as early as the 13th century; however, their significance and the role in terms of political and administrative organization of the time have currently been under discussion. Undoubtedly, with the advent of Grand Duke Gediminas (1316–1341) Vilnius became the Lithuanian capital. The map of the sanctuaries in Vilnius (Fig. 9) has long been attracting the attention of investigators. Against the background of the state religion of the 13th century the sanctuaries of the four gods are recognized in Vilnius: Grand Duke Jogaila has demolished the Perkūnas sanctuary in the territory of the Lower Castle with the commencement of Lithuania's Conversion in 1387. To Andaius is related the Tauras hill (*Turza góra*) (< *tauras* 'aurochs')⁹ otherwise the Upper Castle hill on which, as sixteenth-century records say, Grand Duke Gediminas shot (~ made a sacrifice) a huge aurochs before he founded Vilnius. The area of the Šventaragis valley nearby the old centre of the iron manufacture is related to Kalvelis¹⁰. The part of Vilnius called Vilkpėdė ('a foot of a wolf'), in which there was a stone with wolf's footprint, is linked with Žvorūna.

4.1. Religious tradition of Šventaragis

The uniform tradition of cremation has been treated as the most important reality of the reform of the religion in Lithuania in thirteenth-century. The state cult sites in this article have been identified as sanctuaries called Šventaragai. The significant narrative of the mythological Duke Šventaragis has verified the fact that these two realities are interrelated. The above-mentioned text was inserted into the Annals of Lithuania (*Литовская летопись*) written in Vilnius in the early 16th century (Jučas 1968, 98).

«Grand Duke Šventaragis found a very beautiful place in the forest nearby the Neris River, where the Vilnia falls into the Neris, and requested his son Skirmantas to set up fireplace where he himself could be burnt after death. He also gave his son the order declaring the cremation of dukes and

⁹ *Bos primigenius*.

¹⁰ We have nominated the smiths as the performers of the rite of cremation, for the same is verified by the name of the god Kalvelis (< *kalvis* 'smith'), who is responsible for a successful transition into the other world (Vaitkevičienė, Vaitkevičius 2001, 319).

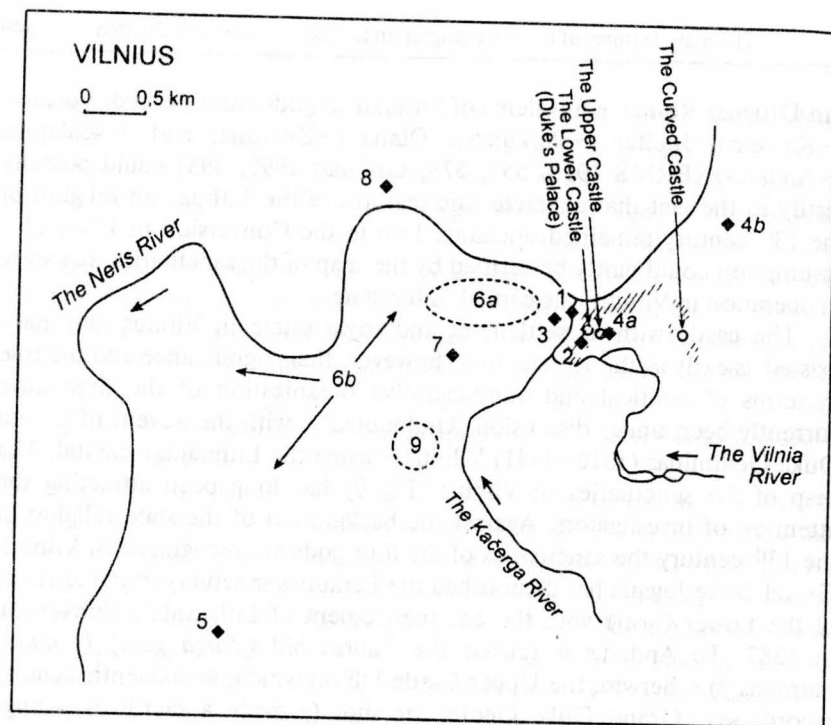


Fig. 9. The hypothetical plan of Vilnius during the reign of Grand Duke Gediminas (1316–1341) according to V. Vaitkevičius. The distribution of cultural layer dated to the early 14th century according to G. Vaitkevičius and K. Katalynas. 1 — The Šventaragis valley area according to the Annals of Lithuania (early 16th c.); 2 — The Perkūnas sanctuary place according to the bull of Pope Urban VI (1388); 3 — Puškarnia, the centre of the iron manufacture, the place of the pyres for nobility according to the Chronicle of M. Strykowski (1582); 4a — The Tauras hill (otherwise the Upper Castle) according to M. Strykowski (1582); 4b — The Tauras hill according to the historical document (1668); 5 — Vilpėdė, the place of the stone with wolf's footprint; 6a — Lukiškės, the place of the sacred grove according to M. Strykowski (1582); 6b — The area of Lukiškės according to the Vilnius map (1646); 7 — The Pamėnkalnis hill (< pamėnas 'spook' >) (1602) otherwise the Devil's hill (< zarthowahora >) (1441); 8 — The place of sacred stone circle according to A. H. Kirkor (1859); 9 — The hypothetical place of burial mound group situated nearby the Kurganai Street (< kurgan 'burial mound' >) (early 20th c.).

the most eminent noblemen of Lithuania on the same site after their death. On giving these commands to his son Skirmantas, Šventaragis died...

And upon his father's will on that site where the Vilnia River falls into the Neris Skirmantas established a fireplace. The body of his father was burnt there, as well as his riding horse, and his clothes, and his beloved slave to whom he had given lots of mercies, and his falcon, and his greyhound — all of them were burnt, too. From the time and onward the bodies of Lithuanian Grand Dukes used to be cremated on that site, and that is why this place has been called Šventaragis since then...» (PCPJ 1975, 30–31).

Šventaragis has the role of the founder of the new funeral rite in the narrative. By the example of the site of the Vilnius Šventaragis it is shown in what setting and how the bodies of the nobility should be cremated (Топоров 1980, 27–29, 33; 1987, 104–106). Hence, this story is a particular «supplement» to the myth of Sovius that declares a specific religious tradition and nominates the dukes and «the most eminent noblemen» as its objects or may be even its subjects¹¹. The accepted data both on the state cult sites and on the Grand Duke's servitors and noblemen under the surname Šventaragis have showed that this religious tradition has been one of the most vivid expression-forms of the state religion in the 13th century.

The character of the religious tradition of Šventaragis is mostly characterized by its name cryptogram. There is no problem as far as the first component of the name *šventas* 'sacred; holly' is concerned. The sacredness is emphasized by it. The second component *ragas* ('horn') implies: 1) a sprout; a cape (LKŽ 11, 22–24); 2) fire; the pyre (?) (Жайрусас 1998, 71–73). These two meanings are interrelated on account of both the same visual shape (an animal's horn: a spire of the flame) and the mythological meaning, for a horn contains a cavity in which the flame is concealed. Cf. riddles: «A short and wide horn of an ox, and the sun rises in the horn. — Fire» (LT 5, № 5570), «Let crack the gate of the castle. Don, don the horn of an ox. The sun rises in the horn. — The stove being heated» (Ibid., № 6677). Besides, the horn is of utmost importance with respect to political and religious sovereignty.

The written evidences lead to an assumption that on some occasions particularly the Šventaragis religious tradition would allow Lithuanian Dukes to perform the rituals. During the rituals the cattle used to be sacrificed. For example, in 1351 Grand Duke Kęstutis confirmed his treaty with King of Hungary by sacrifice of a rufous ox (BRMŠ 1996, 402–403). In 1365 Grand

¹¹ Supposedly the surname of Šventaragis may serve as a reflection of the direct relationship between a person and the state cult (Топоров 1980, 28, 33; 1988, 25–26; see also Sørensen 1992, 236). As mentioned above this surname has been recorded in relation to the eventual leičiai — the servants and the nobles of the Grand Duke.

Duke Kęstutis along with three other dukes during their feat of arms, apart from anything else, «sacrificed the blood of the auroch¹²» (Ibid., 467).

As 16th-century legends go on the particular occasions (the rites ?) the Grand Dukes used to drink out of the vessels made of the horns of the auroch which was hunted down (~ sacrificed) by the Grand Duke Gediminas (1316–1341) on the site of Vilnius, the future capital¹³. Alone the Grand Duke Vytautas (1392–1430) during his preparatory time for becoming the Christian King in the Lutsk convention in 1429 has given one of these drinking horns along with other valuable presents to the emperor of St. Rome (Strykowski 1846, 369–373).

As mentioned above the mythological Duke Šventaragis established the funeral rite of the Grand Dukes and noblemen¹⁴. However, the written evidence on the verification of the observances of this rite on particular occasions is scanty.

The funeral of the Grand Duke Algirdas (1345–1377), as Jan Długosz's «History of Poland» written in the second half of the 15th century says, took place in the sacred Kukovaitis (Kokiveithus) forest (BRMŠ 1996, 556). It was situated in the vicinity of the Algirdas' patrimonial estate in Maišiagala. In 1382 the Grand Duke Kęstutis was slaughtered in the castle of Krevo, nevertheless, he was cremated in Vilnius (Ibid., 469). The narrative of 1389 doesn't provide the information of the place of the cremation in connection with the funeral of an unidentified Lithuanian duke (Ibid., 451–453).

Scanty information has been provided by Lithuanian archaeological sources, too. The available data suggest that during the excavations of the cremations of 13th–14th centuries the remains of the human bodies along with the bones of a horse, a hound and a bird were found (cf. the Ruseiniai cemetery, Kėdainiai distr.). However the difficulty in discussing the problem has emerged because of an imperfect methodic of investigating cremations as well as because of the information testifying to the fact that the cremated material found in Lithuania up to the modern time have not been under the protection nor under the study.

As far as the question is concerned only the experience of other countries could be taken into account. For example, the graves of the wealthy warriors on the territory of Sweden both in the Vendel period and

¹² *Bos primigenius*.

¹³ By the early 13th century, the time when the ferruled horns of aurochs (*Bos primigenius*) and oxen were put into the graves throughout of the Baltic tribes, they corresponded to the attributes of militant nobility (Simniškytė 1998, 213).

¹⁴ Considering the content of the Annals of Lithuania (*Литовская летопись, Хроника Быховца*) the Duke Šventaragis begins the new dynasty of Lithuanian dukes, too.

the Viking Age frequently expose the combination of the buried human body with a horse, a hound and a bird along side (Müller-Wille 1968, 65, 99)¹⁵.

Here are some examples illustrating both the correlation of the Šventaragis religious tradition with the general program of the state religion and the forms by which it was expressed.

1. The naming of the religious tradition by the Šventaragis cryptogram has been regarded as a motivated one following the facts that the addressees of this tradition are the Grand Duke and nobleman and that the main characteristic feature of the state religion is fire: Perkūnas — the central figure among the gods of the pantheon; the bodies are to be cremated; the god Kalvelis initiating and sanctioning this ritual represents Perkūnas¹⁶.

2. The components of the sacred sites under the name of Šventragis (a hill, water, the woods, and fire) are linked with sacral spheres of all the gods of the pantheon: the hill — with that of Perkūnas, water — with that of Andaius, the woods — with that of Žvorūna (otherwise — Medeina). The funeral pyre, on which the bodies used to be burned, is to be related to the sacral sphere of Kalvelis.

3. The structure of the state religion has been disclosed by the elements of the funeral rite, too. Together with the dead dukes and nobleman a horse, a hound and a falcon representing the sacral spheres of respectively: Andaius, Žvorūna and Perkūnas¹⁷ have been cremated. The forged iron arms given to the deceased in this case represent Kalvelis, the fourth one.

Conclusions

During the formation and in the early period of the Lithuanian state the uniform funeral rite was in evolution. The bodies used to be cremated, their remains along with the grave-goods used to be buried in the ground. Thus the funeral rite of Baltic tribes that always evidently distinguished themselves emerged in the 13th century both as a phenomenon unifying the state and distinct manifestation of the state religion.

¹⁵ The recent accurate investigations on the survived bones of the animals found in the cremations allow to present the fact that among the birds one or several of them are to be identified as falcons and hawks (Vretemark 1983, 48; Sten, Vretemark 1992, 97).

¹⁶ According to V. Toporov the parallels exist between the Thor and the Tjelf as well as between Perkūnas and Teliavelis (Tonopov 1970, 537).

¹⁷ V. Toporov was the first who gave the attention to the Šventaragis rite on similar point of view (Tonopov 1980, 33).

By the way, the fact that the cemetery of the leičiai used to be called Leitkapiai ('the cemeteries of the leičiai', Dubonis 1998, 49–50) could possibly be linked with a peculiar mode of burying the militant nobility.

The tie between the funeral rite unifying the state and the gods-sovereigns of the state are indicated by the myth of Sovius (1261) — the «program» of the state religion. The myth says that the cremation rite was introduced in order to make sacrifices to gods: Andaius, Perkūnas, Žvorūna and Teliavelis.

The model of the state gods is complex. The ideology of the ruling militant is represented by it. In the centre of pantheon is Perkūnas. Andaius and Teliavelis (Kalvelis) operating through two opposite directions: water/fire, life/death partly express the functions of Perkūnas. The goddess Žvorūna (Medeina) representing the hunt is distinguished by its militant nature.

The Šventaragis religious tradition pointed towards the Grand Duke and noblemen is one of the most vivid manifestations of the state religion of the 13th century. The narrative of the Duke Šventaragis allows us to speak of that. This narrative one more important tie discloses, i. e. connection between the funerary ritual of the nobility and the state cult sites, that are identified with sacred sites called Šventaragiai. The sacral spheres of all the four gods are represented by the components of Šventaragiai: hills, water, the woods, fire. These sanctuaries were established in the early and mid-13th century — at the time the central power both in the core of the state and in the periphery was being developed by the leičiai.

The cryptogram of Šventaragis ('sacred horn') indicates that the most characteristic feature of this tradition in terms of its function was fire (one of the meanings of *ragas* 'horn' implies 'fire; pyre (?)', too). It is manifested as: 1) a divine attribute belonging mainly to the sacral sphere of Perkūnas¹⁸; 2) one of the elements of the state cult sites; 3) the mainly component of the funeral ritual.

Research on the development of the state religion in Lithuania after the reign of the first eminent ruler King Mindaugas (ca. 1236–1263) is the task of peculiar investigations. Though the assumptions could possibly be made that the most important features of the state religion of the 13th century remained right up to the Conversion in 1387.

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¹⁸The direct connection between Šventaragis and Perkūnas is emphasized (cf. Топоров 1980, 32–33), however, it is not under a thorough study in this article.

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Translated by Sigita Jurkuvienė

К семидесятипятилетию В. Н. Топорова

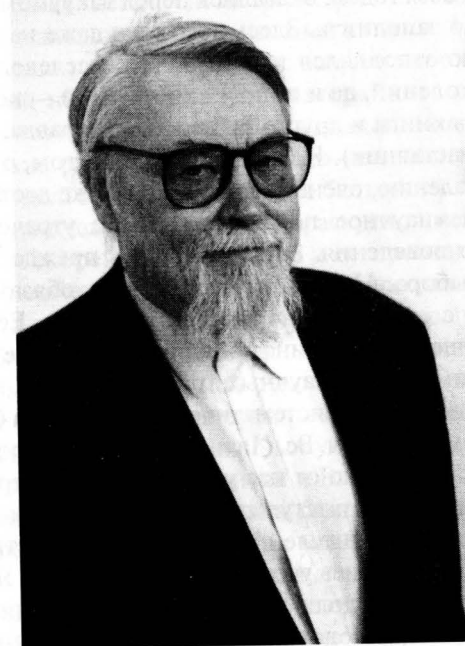


Фото Юозаса Будraitиса

5 июля 2003 г. Владимиру Николаевичу Топорову исполнилось 75 лет.

Три четверти века — это не та дата, когда оцениваются научные достижения ученого. Особенно ученого такого масштаба, как В. Н. Топоров. Первичные оценки уже сделаны в массе откликов, рецензий, статей и книг. Дальнейшее углубление этих оценок, расширение, обобщение, переоценки в свете новых результатов науки — это дело уже истории, истории науки. Но есть некоторые моменты, лишь опосредованно относящиеся к научным успехам, о которых необходимо сказать именно сейчас.

В течение почти пятидесяти лет я с изумлением наблюдаю некое чудо, чудо возрождения российской историко-филологической науки. Потери, которые претерпела наука в предшествующий период, во многом невозможны. Об этом уже имеется масса публикаций, издано несколько книг. Какое-то, пусть весьма неполное и приблизительное, восстановление утраченного (речь, конечно, идет не о лю-