

## STONE AGE AMBER FIGURINES FROM THE BALTIC AREA

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### Introduction

The first amber figurines in the Baltic area were found in the second half of the 19th century in the Curonian Spit (Klebs 1882) and today's northern Poland (Matthes & Schulenburg 1881; Virchow 1884). Later they were also found in Denmark (Müller 1918; Mathiasen 1952), Sweden (Almgren 1907: 117, Abb. 9), Finland (Äyräpää 1945: 11, Abb. 2). These were stray finds that on account of various reasons were attributed by historical scholarship to the Stone Age.

In the second half of the 20th century a number of amber figurines were found in the course of archaeological excavations, so they are rather precisely dated.

The aim of this paper is to discuss the circumstances in which amber figurines were found, their stylistic features, dating and cultural identity. The scope of the investigation is confined to the Baltic area. The figurines found at archaeological excavations and by chance are treated separately. I bring under consideration the figurines that can be qualified as anthropomorphic, zoomorphic or combined i.e. anthropo-zoomorphic.

### Artefacts found at archaeological excavations

In the second half of the 20th century a considerable number of amber figurines were found in the course of archaeological excavations carried out in the Stone Age sites:

*settlements* – Zvidze (Loze 1988: 47, табл. XLIII: 4; Loze 2000: 74, Fig. 15: 3), Nainiekste (Loze 1988:

96, табл. LXXV: 29, 31), Sulka (Loze 1969: 126, рис. 2: 11; Loze 1988: 96, табл. LXV: 9), Sarnate (Ванкина 1970: 111, табл. LV: 1, 2, 4-6, рис. 144), Abora II, (Loze 1969: 126, рис. 2: 10), Abora I (Loze 1975: 63, fig. 7: 4), Eini, (И. А. Лозе 1979: 31, 42, 116), Šventoji 23 (Rimantienė 1979: 106, pav.87:1), Konsa (Akali) (Indreko 1948: 302, Abb. 8: 2);

*graves in settlements* – Valma (Jaanits 1965: 18, Abb. 6; 7: 2), Tamula (Jaanits 1957: 85, Abb. 2, 4: 19), Abora I (Loze 1975: 64, Fig. 7: 2-3, 8; Лозе. 1979: 49, 116, Табл. 5; LVIII: 36), as well as in the *burial ground* of Kukarkoski (Torvinen 1978: 42, 80, kuva 11).

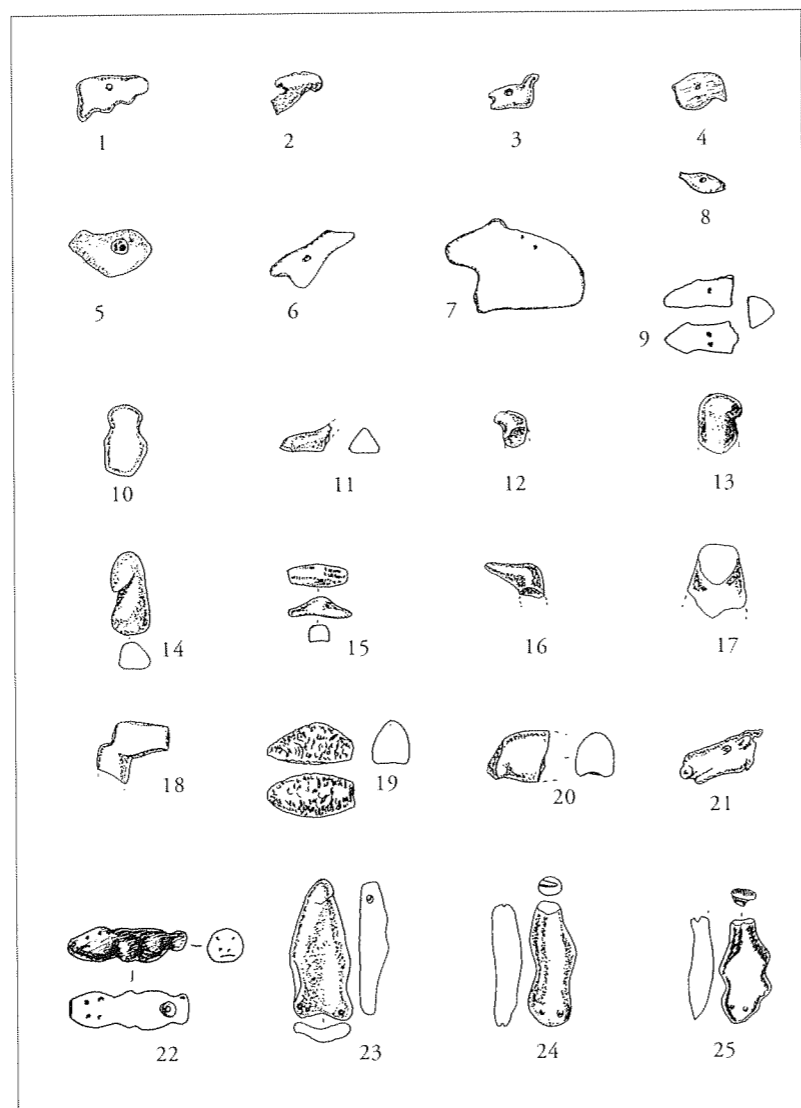
### Stylistic shape and the subject matter

In respect of shape the figurines may be separated into two groups: 1. *fully rounded* and *fully three-dimensional* figurines that are intended to be viewed from all sides; 2. *flat* figurines that are intended to be viewed from one and opposite sides. In reality, however, not all the figurines can be neatly ascribed to one of the two groups. There are specimens that are not flat and cannot be viewed from every side. So there is a degree of overlapping and uncertainty in this division.

According to subject-matter the figurines can be zoomorphic, anthropomorphic and anthropo-zoomorphic ones.

These criteria allow to distinguish a group of *flat zoomorphic* figurines. They have been found in the sites of Nainiekste (Loze 1988: 96, табл. LXXV: 29), Zvidze (Loze 1988: 47, табл. XLIII: 4; Loze 2000: 74, Fig. 15:

Fig. 1. Amber figurines from: 1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 17 - Zvidze, after Лозе 1988: табл. XLIII: 4; Лозе 2000: Fig. 15: 2; 3, 11 - Nainiekste after Лозе 1988: табл. LXXV: 29, 31; 6 - Dziedziste after Лозе 1975: Pl. I: 2; 7 - Tamula after Jaanits 1957: Abb. 4: 19; 8 - Ica after Ванкина, Урманс: 1967: puc. 7: 7; 9 - Šventoji 23 after Rimantienė 1979: pav.87:1; 12, 13 - Sulka after Лозе 1969: puc. 2: 11; Лозе 1988: табл. LXV: 9; 14, 15, 19-21 - Sarnate after Ванкина 1970: табл. LV:1, 2, 4-6; 16 - Konsa (Akali) after Indreko 1948: Abb. 8: 2; 18 - Abora II after Лозе 1969: puc. 2: 10; 22 - Valma after Jaanits 1965: Abb. 7: 2; 23-25 - Abora I after Лозе 1975: Fig. 7: 2-4.



3), Eini, И. А. Лозе 1979: 31, 42, 116), Tamula (Jaanits 1957: 85, Abb. 2, 4: 19). These figurines convey a general, stream-lined, unspecified, devoid of graphic incisions silhouette of the bird (Zvidze, Eini) (Fig. 1: 2, 4, 5), waterfowl (Nainiekste) (Fig. 1: 3) or mammal (Zvidze, Tamula) (Fig. 1: 1, 7) as seen from the side. A very high level of generalisation typifies all these figurines and some of them (Zvidze) may even be classified as abstract. The width and length of these figurines varies from 1 to 3 cm. The figurine of the bear from Tamula is accomplished in a laconic but precise form.

All these figurines have in common one or even two perforated holes (Tamula, Nainiekste) rendering them suitable to be hanged or sewn up. The figurine of the waterfowl from Nainiekste has a hole which is broken at its rear. If the intact hole in the middle is per-

forated some time later (after the first had been damaged), it means that at first this figurine was carried "upside down" and later in a "normal" position (fig.1:3). It would allow us to suppose that the spatial orientation of the figurine did not matter very much to its owner or owners.

Another group includes the rounded zoomorphic figurines. The excavations at Sarnate settlement site brought to light five figurines. One of them presents only a fragment, which bears resemblance to the posterior part of the stream-lined figurine (of bear?) (Fig. 1: 20); a cross-section allows to discern the rounded back and a small cavity makes it possible to see the hind legs (ВАНКИНА 1970: 111, табл. LV:1). The shape of the second figurine is the rounded triangle which has a cross-section like that of the first. It is presumably only a semimanufactured artefact with a coarse surface (Fig.

1: 19). Two further rounded figurines from Sarnate resemble the rounded, unspecified heads (of birds?) (Fig. 1: 14, 15) (ВАНКИНА 1970: 111, табл. LV: 4-6). Similar, hardly identifiable and fragmental zoomorphic heads were found in the sites of Abora II (Fig. 1: 18) (Лозе 1969: 126, рис. 2: 10), Sulka (Fig. 1: 12, 13) (Лозе 1969: 126, рис. 2: 11; Лозе 1988: 96, табл. LXV: 9), Zvidze (Fig. 1: 17) (Лозе 1988: 47, табл. XLIII: 4), Šventoji 23 (Fig. 1: 9) (Rimantienė 1979: 106, pav.87:1), Konsa (Akali) (Fig. 1: 16) (Indreko 1948: 302, Abb. 8: 2).

A special attention should be devoted to a figurine that was found in the settlement-site of Sarnate within the house No. 3 (ВАНКИНА 1970: 111, табл. LV: 2, рис. 144). It represents almost a "naturalistic" depiction of the head of the elk (Fig. 1: 21). The figurine was modelled from either side by making graphic projections and incisions. It is a little crumbled near the neck, but it is still possible to distinguish the traces of the hole. So it looks likely that this figurine was used as a pendant.

Another figurine of distinction is that modelled from either side, which was found on the woman's cranium in the grave of Valma site (Fig.1: 22). Its head, hind legs and tail were produced by hollowing-out. The linear incisions reproduce the mouth. Nostrils, eyes and ears (?) are represented by the pit-like cavities that were made by boring. The hole, drilled at the tail, could be used for hanging. Maybe this figurine was intended to represent the beaver. The figurine is 5 cm in length and 1-1,5 cm thick. It is worth observing that other two figurines of bone were laid down on the cranium of a man who was buried nearby. One of them was strongly stylised and fragmentary. Another resembles the beaver and this representation is more naturalistic (Jaanits 1965: 18, Abb. 6; 7: 2). So we come across in this grave the entire range of representations from almost abstract to almost naturalistic, which existed at one time in the same settlement.

Another small group (neither rounded, nor flat) is made up of three figurines found at the site of Abora I (Loze 1975: 64, Fig. 7: 2-4). Two of them may be identified as representing the slug or reptile (Fig. 1: 24, 25), the third one is too abstract (Fig. 1: 23), but regarding the context of the other two it may also be attributed to the zoomorphic type. They display a wavy silhouette, the rounded edges, and eyes represented by shallow small pits that were bored. The mouth and limbs of one figurine are represented by means of a fissure. The tapering holes for hanging are situated at the rear of all these figurines. The figurines are 0,5-1,5 cm thick and 5-7 cm in length.

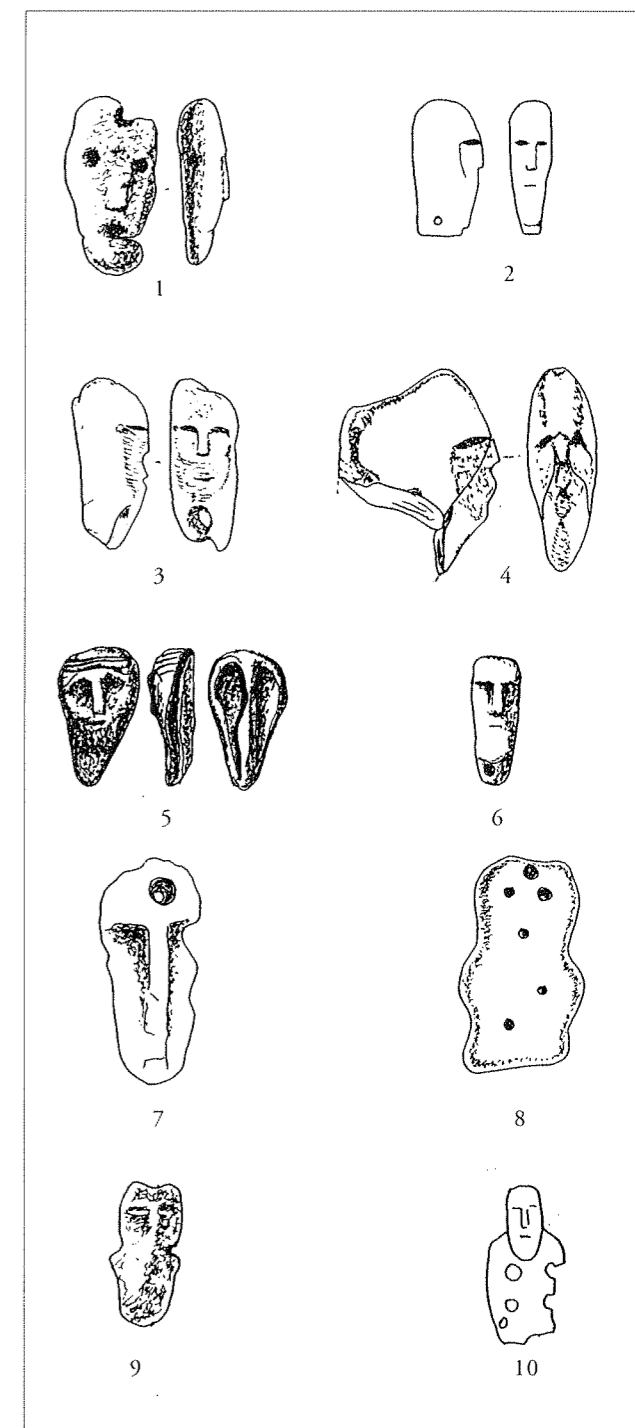


Fig. 2. Amber figurines from: 1 - Kukkarkoski after Torvinen 1978: kuva 11; 2-4 - Astuvansalmi after Grönhagen 1994: Kuva 1-3; 5 - Vestergötland after Almgren 1907: Abb. 9; 6 - Meisäpirtti after Äyräpää, 1945: Abb. 2; 7 - Romi-Kalnini after Ванкина 1983: puc. 1; 8 - Lapmežciems after Ванкина 1983: puc. 2; 9 - Kiikoinen after Grönhagen 1994: Kuva 5; 10 - Nida after Klebs 1882: 35-36, Taf. X: 6.



*The anthropomorphic figurines.* Their number is very limited. They are a human head-like pendant found at Kukarkoski (Fig. 2: 1) in the double burial 1-1a, in the vicinity of grave No. 1a and the unspecified silhouette resembling the human body with the head from the settlement of Zvidze (Fig. 1: 10) (Loze 1988: 47, табл. XLIII: 4).

At first sight the pendant from the burial ground of Kukarkoski seems flat, but on account of rather deep removals at both sides of the nose and the cavity sloping down towards the chin and mouth, it may be observed from the side. It is 1 cm thick, 4 cm in length and 2 cm in width. The eyes and mouth are represented by sloping rounded cavities. The nose is rectangular. The hole for hanging is drilled on top, in the area of the forehead (Torvinen 1978: 42, 80, kuva 11).

### The provenience of the finds

The major part of these figurines were found in the settlements together with other usual finds: ceramics, artefacts of flint etc. The figurines (the elk's head and a fragmentary one) from Sarnate settlement were found within the house No. 3 (Ванкина 1970: 111).

Two figurines from the grave of a child in Arbora I site, but their position in respect of the skeleton cannot be established for the skeletal remains did not survive. Two amber pear-shaped pendants were found in this place too (Loze 1975: 63; Loze 1979: 49, 116).

Skeletal remains are extinct in the double burial 1-1a of Kukarkoski burial ground, where the anthropomorphic pendant was found. 125 amber ornaments were found in the vicinity of this burial (Torvinen 1978: 79-80). They included many pendants, whose form slightly differed from that of the anthropomorphic pendant.

More information is provided by the circumstances of finding the figurines in the graves of Valma and Tamula. The figurine of the bear was found in the double burial of a man and a child No. XI-XII, under the child's cranium (Jaanits 1957: 85, Abb. 2). At the site of Valma the figurine was found in the double grave of a woman and a man, on the woman's skull (Jaanits 1965: 18, Abb. 6).

These data allow to surmise that the figurines were worn hanging from the head-dress or band. The head used to be decorated with other ornaments of amber. The two graves of women and the two graves of children at the site of Tamula contained the artefacts of amber at the skull, most frequently near the temporal bone, or under the skull, though the artefacts of am-

ber were also found under the woman's backbone and on the breast of the children's skeletons (Jaanits 1957: 93). It is doubtful if such a position of the figurines would be characteristic only of the burial.

The available data allow to attribute these figurines of amber to the burials of women and children only, though the lack of evidence cannot provide grounds for more significant conclusions.

### Dating\*

Most sites or layers, where the figurines were found, date to the Middle Neolithic period, the 3rd mil. bc. Some sites within this period is dated more precisely. For instance, Šventoji 23 - 2240±80 bc (Vib 1 - 4190±80 bp.) (Rimantienė 1979: 12), Nainiekste - 2200 bc. (Le 648 - 4170±130 bp.), Zvidze - 2800-2420 bc. (Ta 1801 - 4750±60 bp.; Ta 675 - 4370±80 bp.), Sulka - 2110 B.C (Le 752 - 4060±60 bp.) (Loze 1988: 101, Табл. 16), Kukarkoski - 2940±150 bc. (Hel 832 - 4890±150 bp.) (Torvinen 1978: 80). The two figurines from Sarnate found in house No. 3, which is related to the Typical Comb Ware culture, (Ванкина 1970: 111, табл. LV:1, 2, рис. 144). The Typical Comb Ware culture is now dated to ca. 5230 - 4440 bp. (Torvinen 2000: 17). The figurines from Konsa (Indreko 1948) and Valma (Jaanits 1965) sites are also attributed to the Typical Comb Ware culture.

Only five figurines from sites Abora I - 1895±70 - 1795±60 bc. (Le 749 - 3860±100 BP.; Ta 394 - 3770±60 BP.), Eini - 2030±60 bc. (Le 751 - 4000±60 bp.) (Loze 1979: 31, 42, 49) and Tamula (Jaanits 1957) are to be related to the late Neolithic period, i. e. the turn of 3rd-2nd mil. - the 1st half of the 2nd mil.

### Cultural identity

The Middle Neolithic figurines belong to several cultures.

The typical Comb Ware Culture or its second phase includes the sites of Kukarkoski, Konsa, Valma, Sulka, Abora II, Sarnate. The grave from Tamula is related to the Late Comb Ware ceramics.

The layers of Zvidze and Nainiekste revealed the Comb Ware and Piestia-type ceramics.

The layers of site Abora I revealed a mixed sample of ceramics of the Porous, the Corded Ware culture and Luban-type. The individuals were buried extended or crouched (the latter case is characteristic of the Corded Ware culture).

\*All the dates in this paper are uncalibrated

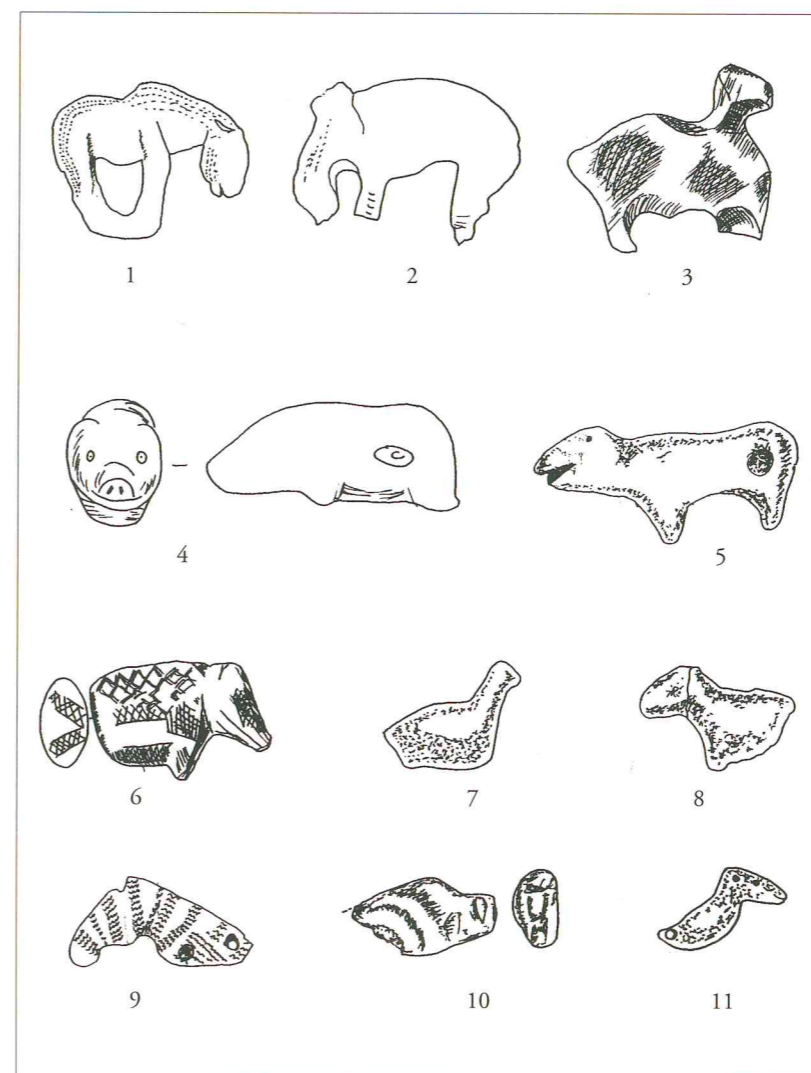


Fig. 3. Amber figurines from: 1 - Dobięgniewo (Woldenberg) after Šturms 1952: Abb. 1: 6; 2 - Gdansk after Šturms 1952: Abb. 1:5; 3 - Polczyn Zdroj after Richtofen 1930: 16-18; 4 - Stolp after Virchow 1887: fig. 1; 5 - Denmark (?) after Brønsted 1957: 88-89; 6 - Resen after Müller, 1918, fig. 24; 7 - Engesvang after Brønsted 1957: 79, fig. g; 8 - Bølling after Brønsted 1934: 147, fig. 3; 9 - Egemark after Mathiassen 1952: 167, Fig. 1; 10 - Astuvansalmi after Grönhagen 1994: Kuva 4; 11 - Juodkrantė (Schwarzort) after Klebs 1882: Taf. VIII: 21.

The porous ceramics was found in the site of Eini (И.А. Лозе 1979: 31, 42, 116).

### Stray finds

Part of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines from the Baltic are were found by chance, not in the course of archaeological excavations. Despite such indefinite circumstances there still exist some landmarks for dating.

We should mention three anthropomorphic and one zoomorphic figurines (Fig. 2: 2-4; Fig. 3: 10) that were not found by chance, but during underwater excavations in Saimaa lake, at Astuvansalmi Rock-Painting Site, Finland. These depictions by means of geology and archaeology are approximately dated to the Stone and Bronze Age. However, the relationship be-

tween the Rock-Painting and the amber figurines failed to be grasped (Grönhagen 1991; Grönhagen 1994).

Indirect evidence of possible attribution to the Stone Age is also provided by the circumstances of finding the other figurines.

T. Mathiasen attributes the zoomorphic figurine (Fig. 3: 8), found in 1926 while digging peat in a drained lake of Bølling (Brønsted 1934: 147, fig. 3), to the Gudena culture (a continuation of the Maglemose culture up to the Neolithic) by reason of their discovery in Jutland, especially at Bølling Lake, which is one of the richest findspots of the Gudena culture (Mathiassen 1952: 168).

According to R. Klebs the anthropomorphic figurine, found south of Nida (Fig. 2: 10), in the Curonian Spit, was discovered in a prehistorical settlement site together with a stone axe and ornamented plates of the Stone Age (Klebs 1882: 35-36, Taf. X: 6).



The anthropomorphic figurine (Fig. 2: 7) from Romi-Kalnini locality, Latvia, lay on the surface soil, above the settlement site of the Early and Middle Neolithic. According to L. Vankina, this figurine may be related to a later layer and dated to the end of the 3rd mil. BC. (Ванкина 1983, рис. 1).

The additional source of information is the very artefact: its features, surface ornamentation, technology of its execution.

The surface of the figurines found at Resen (Fig. 3: 6) and Egemark (Fig. 3: 9) localities, Denmark, is engraved with geometric motifs characteristic of the Maglemose culture (Müller 1918: fig. 24; Mathiassen 1952).

The surface of the figurines from Dobięgniew (Woldenburg) (Fig. 3: 1), Western Pomerania, and from Gdansk (Fig. 3: 2), has the rows of the perforations that are related by E. Šturms to the Globular Amphora culture (Šturms 1953: 174). But the new finds from Weitsche site, near Lüchow-Dannenberg in Lower Saxony, Germany, which were found in a ploughing horizon of the Federmesser culture can redate the figurine from Dobięgniew to as early as the Late Palaeolithic. The forelegs and hind legs of Weitsche figurine were connected as in the figurine from Dobięgniew. Both figurines are shaped in very similar fashion, but their ornamentation is different (Burdukiewicz 1999: 106-107, Fig. 12, 1).

R. Klebs has attributed the figurines from Juodkrantė to the Stone Age on account of traces left by flint tools and patina that are seen on their surface (Klebs 1882).

The features of the figurines are not very useful in dating, for their means of expression are characteristic of all the primitive art, which existed at all times and still exists (Rhodes 1994).

Nevertheless, I would like to compare the form of the stray finds with that of the figurines found at the archaeological excavations.

The anthropomorphic pendants representing the head, which were found in Astuvansalmi (Fig. 2: 2-4) (Grönhagen 1994: 8, 18, Kuva 1-3), Metsäpirtti (Fig. 2: 6) (Äyräpää 1945: 11, Abb. 2), Västergötland (Fig. 2: 5) (Almgren 1907: 117, Abb. 9), Romi-Kalnini (Fig. 2: 7) (Ванкина 1983, рис. 1), the Curonian Spit (Klebs 1882: 28-31, 35-36, Taf. IX, X: 6) sites represent a simple rendering of main details of the face (eyes, nose, mouth). The surface was hollowed out on both sides of the nose, straight down from direct or slightly-curved eye-brows. The mouth is represented by the incised or deepened fissure. The same principle of modelling the face had been applied in wooden sculp-

tures that were found in the mid-Neolithic sites of Šventoji (Rimantienė 1979: 111-112, pav. 90) and Sarnatė (Ванкина 1970: 24, 102-103, табл. XXXVII). The same may be said in regard of a fragment of the bone plate found in the Late Neolithic site of Abora I (Ло́зе 1979: табл. LI: 3).

The similar pattern of the face is seen in the anthropomorphic figurines representing the whole human figure of man or its part that were found near Juodkrantė and Nida (Klebs 1882: 28-30, 34-35, Taf. IX: 1, 2, 4, 5; X: 6).

The pendants from Astuvansalmi and those from the Late Neolithic burial ground of Zvejnieki, grave No. 228, have the same pattern of the human head. The first represent the human heads on the two surfaces of the semimanufactured artefact whose cross-section is triangular. The latter represent the human heads, one made of horn, the other of the bone of a sturgeon (Zagorski 1983: 138-139, ris. 1:2-3).

The same generalisation of form, the absence of details are characteristic both of the figurines found in Danish territory, the sites of Engesvang (Fig. 3: 7) (Brøndsted 1938: fig. 38), Resen (Müller 1918: fig. 24), Bølling (Brøndsted 1934: 147, fig. 3), and of the fragments of the rounded figurines from Zvidze, Sulka, Abora II, Sarnate and Konsa sites.

The wavy silhouette and the shallow small rounded pits of the figurine from the site of Lapmežciems (Fig. 2: 8) (Ванкина 1983, рис. 1) resemble the figurines from Abora I site. The figurines of bone or horn from the sites of Varanger (Schanche 1989: 61-62, Fig. 9), Tamula (Jaani 1965: 27, Abb. 15: 4), Abora I (Ло́зе 1979: табл. LI: 1, 5), Usviaty IV (Микляев 1967: 287-291, рис. 1) resemble the "upside down" figurine from Juodkrantė. The first represent the hands much in the same way as it is done in the case of the figurine of Juodkrantė. The later distinguishes the limbs from the body by perforations.

The stray flat figurines from Dziedziekste (Fig. 1: 6) (Loze 1975: 61, Pl. I: 2) and Iča (Ванкина, Уртанс 1967: рис. 7: 7) sites can undoubtedly be related to the other flat zoomorphic figurines from Nainekste, Zvidze sites.

Owing to absolutely unknown circumstances of finding it is difficult to interpret the zoomorphic figurine of angular silhouette from Polczyn Zdroj locality (Fig. 3: 3), Poland (Richthofen 1930: 16-18), or the rounded zoomorphic figurine from the old Royal Cabinet of Curiosities, Copenhagen (Fig. 3: 5) (Brøgger. 1909: fig. 212), or the zoomorphic-anthropomorphic figurine from Kiikoinen site (Fig. 2: 9), Finland (Grönhagen 1994: 10, 16, 18, Kuva 5), or the figurine representing the bear from Stolp locality (Fig. 3: 4), Poland, which, moreover, was "improved" after its discovery (Kunkel 1926: 292, Taf. 39; Šturms 1952: 377-379, Abb. 1: 1).

## Conclusions

Most of the figurines found at archaeological excavations should be dated to the Middle Neolithic. Only five figurines from Abora I, Eini and Tamula sites are possibly to be attributed to the Late Neolithic.

A small number of the figurines from the Late Neolithic sites do not allow to draw vast conclusions as to the change of the style in the course of time. We may note, however, that the figurines from Abora I site constitute a distinctive group. A separate group is made up of the flat figurines coming from the Middle Neolithic sites of Lake Luban (though one flat figurine, representing the bird, is found in the Late Neolithic site of Eini).

Except Abora I figurines, the rounded figurines and their fragments are found in the Middle Neolithic sites. At some sites the rounded and the flat figurines were found together. It is obvious that the rounded figurines as well as the flat ones were produced and functioned simultaneously in the same sites during the whole of the Middle Neolithic. If we could rely on the dating of the stray figurines from Resen, Egemark, Denmark, the same notice would be valid for the Mesolithic as well. The new find near Weitsche site would probably redate the beginning of using the amber for making the figurines to as early as the Late Neolithic.

The "naturalistic" representation of the head of the elk from Sarnate site distinguishes it from the rest. In regard of its style its analogues might only be found in the big staffs of antler representing the elk's head from Šventoji 3 site (Rimantienė 1979: 106, pav. 85, 86) and the burial ground of Olenij Ostrov (Гурина 1956: 113-220).

The burial posture allows to surmise that some figurines had been worn hanging on the head-dress or the band.

All the extant and the better-preserved rounded figurines have or had the holes for hanging.

They were found near the skeletons of the children (Tamula, Abora I) and of the woman (Valma).

The size of the figurines found in the sites varies from 1 to 7 cm, but the stray figurines, such as those from the Curonian Spit, can even amount to 10-14,5 cm in height.

Most of the figurines from the Middle Neolithic are related to the Comb Ware culture.

The circumstances of finding the stray figurines, their surface ornamentation, features of shape would allow to attribute some of them to the Neolithic, some to Mesolithic or even to the Late Palaeolithic. Part of them could also have been produced in the Bronze Age.

The stray figurines and those found at the sites

alike, illustrate fairly well the skill of the prehistoric man to transform the image into the sign, symbol and his craftsmanship in representing the natural features.

*Translated by Darius Baronas*

## The list of amber figurines from archaeological sites

Abora I, grave 18, Lubana lowland, east Latvia. Zoomorphic (?) figurine. Loze 1975: 64, Fig. 7: 2.

Abora I, grave 18, Lubana lowland, east Latvia. Zoomorphic figurine. Loze 1975: 64, Fig. 7: 3.

Abora I, Lubana lowland, east Latvia. Zoomorphic figurine (?). Loze: 1975: 63, Fig. 7: 4.

Abora II, Lubana lowland, east Latvia. Zoomorphic figurine (fragment). Ло́зе 1969: 126, рис. 2: 10.

Eini, Lubana lowland, east Latvia. Zoomorphic figurine (?). Ло́зе 1979: 116.

Konsa (Akali) site, east Estonia. Zoomorphic figurine (fragment). Indreko 1948: 302, Abb. 8: 2.

Kukkarkoski, grave 1a, Lieto parish, southwest Finland. Anthropomorphic figurine. Torvinen 1978: 42, 80, kuva 11.

Nainekste, Lubana lowland, east Latvia. Zoomorphic figurine. Ло́зе 1988: 96, табл. LXXV: 29.

Nainekste, Lubana lowland, east Latvia. Zoomorphic (?) figurine (fragment). Ло́зе 1988: 96, табл. LXXV: 31.

Sarnate, dwelling 3, west Latvia. Zoomorphic figurine (fragment). Ванкина 1970: 111, табл. LV: 1.

Sarnate, dwelling 3, west Latvia. Zoomorphic figurine. Ванкина 1970: 111, рис. 144, табл. LV: 2.

Sarnate, west Latvia. Three zoomorphic (?) figurines (fragments). Ванкина 1970: 111, табл. LV: 4 -6.

Sulka, Lubana lowland, east Latvia. Zoomorphic figurine (fragment). Ло́зе 1969: 126, рис. 2: 11.

Sulka, Lubana lowland, east Latvia. Zoomorphic figurine (fragment). Ло́зе 1988: 96, табл. LXV: 9.

Šventoji 23, west Lithuania. Zoomorphic figurine, Rimantienė 1979: 106, pav. 87: 1.

Tamula, grave XII, south Estonia. Zoomorphic figurine. Jaani 1957: 85, Abb. 2: 4: 19.

Valma, grave, middle Estonia. Zoomorphic figurine. Jaani 1965: 18, Abb. 6: 7: 2.

Zvidze, Lubana lowland, east Latvia. Three zoomorphic (?) figurines. Ло́зе 1988: 47, табл. XLIII: 4.

Zvidze, Lubana lowland, east Latvia. Zoomorphic figurine. Loze 2000: 74, Fig. 15: 2.

Zvidze, Lubana lowland, east Latvia. Zoomorphic figurine (fragment). Ло́зе 1988: 47, табл. XLIII: 4.

Zvidze, Lubana lowland, east Latvia. Anthropomorphic figurine (?). Loze 1975: Pl. I: 4.

## The list of amber figurines (stray finds)

- Astuvansalmi, south Savo, Finland. Anthropomorphic figurine. Grönhagen. 1991; Grönhagen 1994: 8, 18, Kuva 1.
- Astuvansalmi, south Savo, Finland. Anthropomorphic figurine. Grönhagen. 1991; Grönhagen 1994: 8, 18, Kuva 2.
- Astuvansalmi, south Savo, Finland. Anthropomorphic figurine. Grönhagen 1994: 8, 18, Kuva 3.
- Astuvansalmi, south Savo, Finland. Zoomorphic (?) figurine (fragment). Grönhagen 1994: 8, 18, Kuva 4.
- Bølling, Central Jutland, Denmark. Zoomorphic figurine. Brønsted 1934: 147, fig. 3.
- Denmark (?), from the old Royal Cabinet of Curiosities, Copenhagen. Zoomorphic figurine. Mathiassen, 1952: 168; Brønsted 1957: 88-89.
- Dobiegniewo (Woldenberg), Wloclawsk district, Poland. Zoomorphic figurine. Šturms 1952: 21, Abb. 1:6.
- Dzedzkiezte, Lubana lowland, east Latvia. Zoomorphic figurine (fragment). Loze 1975: 61, Pl. I: 2.
- Egemarke, Saerslev parish, Holbaek district, Zealand, Denmark. Zoomorphic figurine. Mathiassen 1952: 167-189, Fig. 1.
- Engesvang, Denmark. Zoomorphic figurine. Brønsted 1957: 79, fig. g.
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