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North-Western Russia in the 1st Millennium AD: New challenges for a traditional archaeological panorama

Aleksandr Musin

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und Frühmittelalter**

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Vorwort

Anlässlich der 9. Sitzung der AG Spätantike und Frühmittelalter auf dem 8. Deutschen Archäologiekongress in Berlin vom 6. bis 8. Oktober 2014 hat der Vorstand der Arbeitsgemeinschaft ein eher ungewöhnliches Thema gewählt: Unter dem Titel „Quo vadis, frühgeschichtliche Archäologie?“ stand nicht ein einzelnes archäologisches Thema oder ein einzelner Themenkomplex auf der Agenda, sondern nicht weniger als der Versuch einer Standortbestimmung für unsere Teildisziplin im größeren Rahmen des archäologischen und historischen Fächerkanon. Wo steht die frühgeschichtliche Archäologie heute? Welche Relevanz hat sie im engeren fachlichen und weiteren gesellschaftlichen Rahmen? Welche inhaltlichen, aber auch strukturellen Veränderungen hat sie in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten durchlaufen? In welchen Bereichen liegen zukünftige Fragestellungen? Diese Fragen standen im Mittelpunkt der Tagung, deren räumlicher Fokus nicht allein auf der mitteleuropäischen oder gar nur deutschsprachigen Forschung lag, sondern die eine pan-europäische Perspektive erschließen sollte. Zahlreiche Beiträge von Vortragenden aus dem In- und Ausland und das bisher zahlenmäßig größte Auditorium einer AG-Sitzung haben überdeutlich gemacht, dass das gewählte Thema am Puls der Zeit liegt. Die große Resonanz erfolgte trotz des Umstandes, dass die große Königsdisziplin der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie – die Gräberarchäologie – thematisch nur am Rande eine Rolle spielte. Diese „Lücke“ war programmatisch gewollt, denn zeitlich benachbart fand eine weitere „Grundsatztagung“ vom 17. bis 19. Februar 2015 in Mannheim statt, deren Fokus unter dem Titel „Reihengräber des frühen Mittelalters – nutzen wir doch die Quellenfülle!“ deutlich auf dem Bereich der Gräber lag. Beide Tagungen – die 9. Sitzung der AG Spätantike und Frühmittelalter in 2014 Berlin und das 104. Kolloquium der AG Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie des Mannheimer Altertumsvereins 2015 in Mannheim – sind inhaltlich und programmatisch miteinander verknüpft und als gemeinsame Veranstaltungen beider Arbeitsgemeinschaften durchgeführt worden.

Verschiedene Umstände haben die ursprünglich angedachte gemeinsame Publikation beider Tagungen leider verhindert, so dass die Beiträge

des Mannheimer Kolloquiums in einem separaten Buch nachzulesen sind¹. Der vorliegende Band 9 der Studien zu Spätantike und Frühmittelalter hingegen beinhaltet einen größeren Teil der Vortragsbeiträge aus Berlin und folgt in seinem Aufbau thematisch der Tagungsgliederung: Am Anfang stehen dabei drei Beiträge zur allgemeinen Standortbestimmung der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie (Die Situation an den deutschen Universitäten, das Potential der Reihengräberarchäologie, Perspektivänderungen der frühmittelalterlichen Archäologie), gefolgt von Standortbestimmungen zu einem einzelnen Teilbereich (Chronologie) und zur wichtigen Nachbardisziplin der Christlichen Archäologie, so dann Überblicke zur Situation in benachbarten Ländern und darüber hinaus (Schweiz, Österreich, Polen, Russland) und abschließend Vorstellungen einzelner Forschungsvorhaben (CARE, Steinplattengräber, aDNA in der Frühmittelalterarchäologie). Trotz der weiten Spanne der Beiträge fällt deutlich auf, dass im Vergleich zum ursprünglichen Tagungsprogramm in Berlin eine Reihe schmerzlicher Lücken klaffen – nur die Hälfte der Referenten war bereit, etwas für diesen Band beizutragen. Umso mehr gebührt der Dank der Herausgeber all jenen, die ihren Beitrag geleistet haben! Gemeinsam mit dem Mannheimer Kolloquiumsband wurde dadurch das angestrebte Ziel erreicht: Für das Ende der 2010er-Jahre liegt nun ein umfangreicher Fundus an Beiträgen vor, der den Ist-Zustand der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie Mitteleuropas und darüber hinaus dokumentiert und es ermöglicht, eine Standortbestimmung für unser Fach vorzunehmen.

Unser Dank gilt Jelena Radosavljević für Satz und Layout sowie dem Verlag Dr. Kovač, mit dessen bewährter Unterstützung auch der 9. Band der Reihe „Studien zu Spätantike und Frühmittelalter“ vorgelegt werden konnte.

Die Herausgeber, im Herbst 2019

1 U. Koch (Hrsg.), Reihengräber des frühen Mittelalters – nutzen wir doch die Quellenfülle! Mannheimer Geschichtsblätter Sonderveröffentlichung 8 (Mannheim 2016).

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ALEKSANDR MUSIN

North-Western Russia in the 1st Millennium AD: New challenges for a traditional archaeological panorama

Schlagworte: Nordwestrussland, Waldland, römischer Einfluß, Völkerwanderungszeit, Tarandgräberkultur, Pskov-Novgorod Grabhügel, Sopki-Kultur, frühe Slawen, Finno-Uiguren, Wikinger, Staraya Ladoga, Ursprünge Novgorods

Keywords: North-Western Russia, forest zone, Roman influence, Migration period, Tarandgräberkultur, Pskov-Novgorod long barrows, Sopki culture, early Slaves, Finno-Ugrians, Vikings, Staraya Ladoga, origins of Novgorod

Since the beginning of the Neolithic, North-Western Russia, that is the area from Lake Peipus¹ to the confluence of the Mologa and Volga rivers and from Lake Ladoga and the Gulf of Finland to the upper reaches of the Daugava (Western Dvina) and Volga, was traditionally considered by scholars as a contact zone between at least two stable ethno-cultural entities. The boundaries between these two have been drawn approximately along the lines of the Volkhov and Lovat rivers². In the second half and at the end of the first millennium AD (the end of the Early Iron Age according to local chronology) this cultural duality was represented in the archaeological record by the culture of long barrows (late 5th [?] / 6th–10th centuries) and the archaeological culture of *sopki* (8th–10th centuries) in the central part of the Land of Novgorod. In this dichotomy should be included the recently revealed sites of the pre-*sopki* culture (6th–8th centuries) in the Pomost'ye and Lake Udomlya regions at the eastern border of the area under consideration, now at the border between the Tver and Novgorod Oblasts³.

1 The transliteration of Russian toponyms, names, and titles is presented according to the system adopted by the Board on Geographic Names (BGN) of USA and by the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names (PCGN) of UK.

2 A. S. GERD/G. S. LEBEDEV (eds), *Ocherki istoricheskoy geografii. Severo-Zapad Rossii: slavyane i finny* (Essays on the historical geography of the North-West of Russia: the Slavs and the Finns) (St Petersburg 2001) 200–201.

3 V. YA. KONETSKIY, *Etnokulturnye protsessy vtoroy poloviny I tysyacheletiya nashey ery na Severo-Zapade: itogi i perspektivy izucheniya* (Ethno-cultural processes in

In an evaluation of the current state of the early medieval archaeology in Russia it must be taken into account, that Russian and Soviet archaeology has developed on the base of an ethnic approach. Its purpose was ethnic interpretation of archaeological sites. However, the identification of the early Slavic component in North-Western Russia faces certain difficulties while the Finno-Ugric and Baltic substrate, according to several scholars, may be clearly identified among archaeological materials⁴. The stable cultural duality in the region under consideration mentioned before led to the impression that during the first millennium AD no major historical changes occurred. This fact is reflected in the conservative hypothesis about the almost simultaneous appearance of Slavs and Scandinavians in the 8th to 9th century in North-Western Russia. Here again another example of the 'regularity of the dual nature' in the local history can be found. In the same period of time the Slavicisation of this region began prior to the formation of the medieval Land of Novgorod⁵. The appearance of artefacts of Central European and Danubian (Byzantine) types in the previous period (late 5th–7th century) is deemed in historiography as an echo of the Great Migration or perhaps as penetration of the Baltic ethnic groups into this region from Eastern

North-Western Russia, 500–1000 AD). In: E. N. Nosov/A. E. Musin (eds), *U istokov rossiyskoy gosudarstvennosti* (St Petersburg 2007) 256–267; I. V. ISLANOVA, *Kulturnaya situatsiya v areale pskovskikh dlinnykh kurganov* (Cultural situation in the area of the sites of Pskov long barrows). *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta arkheologii* 238, 2014, 327–341.

- 4 See on the subject: P. DOLUKHANOV, *The early Slavs: Eastern Europe from the initial settlement to the Kievan Rus* (London 1996); M. KAZANSKI, *Les Slaves. Les origines* (Ier-VIIe siècle après J.-C.) (Paris 1999); ID., *Les Slaves dans la zone forestière d'Europe orientale au début du Moyen Age*. In: M. Kazanski/A. Necessian/C. Zuckerman (eds), *Les Centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient. Réalités byzantines* 7 (Paris 2000) 17–44; M. KAZANSKI, *La zone forestière de la Russie et l'Europe centrale à la fin de l'époque des Grandes Migrations*. In: M. Maczynska/T. Grabarczyk (eds), *Die spätrömische Kaiserzeit und die frühe Völkerwanderungszeit in Mittel- und Osteuropa* (Lódz 2000) 406–459.
- 5 Such views can be observed in: I. I. LYAPUSHKIN, *Slavyane Vostochnoy Evropy nakunne obrazovaniya drevnerusskogo gosudarstva* (The Slaves of the Eastern Europe at the eve of the rise of the Early Rus' state) (Leningrad 1968); M. I. ARTAMONOV, *Pervye stranitsy russkoy istorii v arkheologicheskom osveshchenii* (The beginning of the Russian history in the light of archaeology). *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* 3, 1990, 271–290. For an overview of the modern discussion, see e. g. N. I. PLATONOVA, *Problems of early medieval Slavonic Archaeology in Russia* (a view from St. Petersburg). *European Journal of Postclassical Archaeologies* 6, 2016, 333–416.

Lithuania. The artefacts under consideration were judged as markers of the social development of the local population.

The opinion about the cultural inertness as characteristic of North-Western Russia was corroborated until recently by the absence of finds and sites dated to the 1st millennium AD throughout the area between the Narva and Volkhov rivers. This fact made this region a 'white spot' on the archaeological map of the Leningrad Oblast⁶. This impression was additionally intensified through the prolonged existence of archaic traditions of the Early Iron Age caused by the underdeveloped metallurgy until the Early Rus' period (9th–10th century), which now is called Middle Ages *per se* in the Russian historiography. Only recently, it became possible to identify reliable criteria for a differentiation between the Bronze and Early Iron Ages materials⁷. This historiographic situation presents a striking contrast to the active cultural shifts characteristic of Central and Western Europe by that time, related with the Great Migration and formation of the early states here. Additional difficulties in synchronisation of cultural and historical processes in Europe and North-Western Russia in the 1st millennium AD are engendered by the corresponding terminology applied to different periods in the local archaeology. Russian scholars actively employ the notions of the 'Roman period' and 'Merovingian time' for the area of North-Western Russia south from the Gulf of Finland⁸. Local archaeologists of Finland and Estonia introduced this qualification of synchronous materials in 1920–1930, inter alia as one of the cultural means of integration of the former borderlands of the Russian Empire into Europe.

The arbitrary character of these terms in the studies of artefacts and sites of Eastern Europe of the mid-1st millennium is recognized by the majority of

6 O. V. SHAROV/I. V. PALAGUTA/S. V. KHAVRIN, Nakhodki kladov rimskikh monet v rayone Kopor'ya (Hoards of Roman coins near Kopor'ye near St Petersburg). *Rossiyskiy arkhologicheskii ezhegodnik* 1, 2011, 335–359, here 336.

7 M. A. YUSHKOVA, *Epokha bronzy i ranniy zheleznyy vek na Severo-Zapade Rossii* (Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in North-Western Russia). PhD dissertation. Institute for the history of material culture (St Petersburg 2011).

8 O. V. SHAROV, Nakhodki rimskoy epokhi na Severo-Zapade Rossii (Finds of the Roman period in North-Western Russia). In: E. N. Nosov (ed.), *Arkheoloiya i istoriya Litvy i Severo-Zapada Rossii v rannem i pozdnem srednevekov'ye* (St Petersburg 2009) 7–20; M. KAZANSKI, Udila epokhi pereseleniya narodov iz pogrebeniya v Dolozhskom pogoste (Bits of Great Migration Period from Dolozhsky Pogost). *Stratum plus* 5, 2014, 119–127, esp. 119.

scholars. This arbitrariness sometimes verges on absurdity where artefacts of the 'Merovingian time' are denoted as 'Merovingian artefacts', notwithstanding the fact that North-Western Russia had never been a part of the Roman Empire or the Merovingian State. In the nature of a compromise, occasionally such terms as the 'period of Roman influence'⁹, 'Early Iron Age' as a long-term stage from the Final Neolithic Age up to the Early Rus' period or even the 'beginning of Middle Ages'¹⁰ or 'Early Middle Ages'¹¹ are used. However, these examples are rather an exception. Generally, the archaeological material of the period preceding the abrupt Slavication of North-Western Russia are called 'artefacts/antiquities of the third quarter of the 1st millennium AD'. The last term seems to be more neutral; however, the interpretation of the artefacts of that period provokes a serious discussion in contemporary Russian archaeology.

New finds from the period of Roman influences and Migration Period

Recently the archaeological map of finds and sites under consideration, as well as the mental map of their researchers, have been essentially changed (fig. 1). Due to building activity and illegal use of metal detectors, as well as re-examination of museum collections of the periods of Roman influence and the Migration Period from sites excavated in the 19th–20th century, the

-
- 9 S. V. KHAVRIN/M. A. YUSHKOVA/V. S. KULESHOV, Metall epokhi rimskikh vliyaniy na Izhorskoy vozvysheynosti (Chemical composition of metal finds of the Roman influence period on Izhora upland, Leningrad Oblast). In: D. A. Machinskiy (ed.), *Evropeyskaya Sarmatiya* (St Petersburg 2011) 208–224.
 - 10 E. R. MIKHAYLOVA, O kulturno-khronologicheskoy kharakteristike drevnostey rimskogo vremeni i nachala srednevekov'ya na yugo-vostochnom poberezh'ye Finskogo zaliva (On the cultural and chronological characteristic of artifacts of the Roman period and Early Middle Ages on the South-Eastern coast of the gulf of Finland). In: A. G. Sitdikov et al. (eds), *Trudy IV (XX) vserossiyskogo arkhelogicheskogo s'ezda 2* (Kazan' 2014) 363–367.
 - 11 I. V. ISLANOVA, Udomel'skoe poozer'ye v epokhu zheleza i rannego srednevekov'ya (The region of Lake Udomlya, Tver' province, in Iron Age and Early Middle Age) (Moscow 1997); Id., *Verkhneye Pomost'ye v rannem srednevekov'ye* (The Upper Msta river region, Tver' Oblast, in Early Middle Ages) (Moscow 2006). This terminological situation can be compared to the chronology of the French archaeology: I. CATTEDDU, *Archéologie médiévale en France: Le premier Moyen Âge (V–XI siècle)* (Paris 2009).

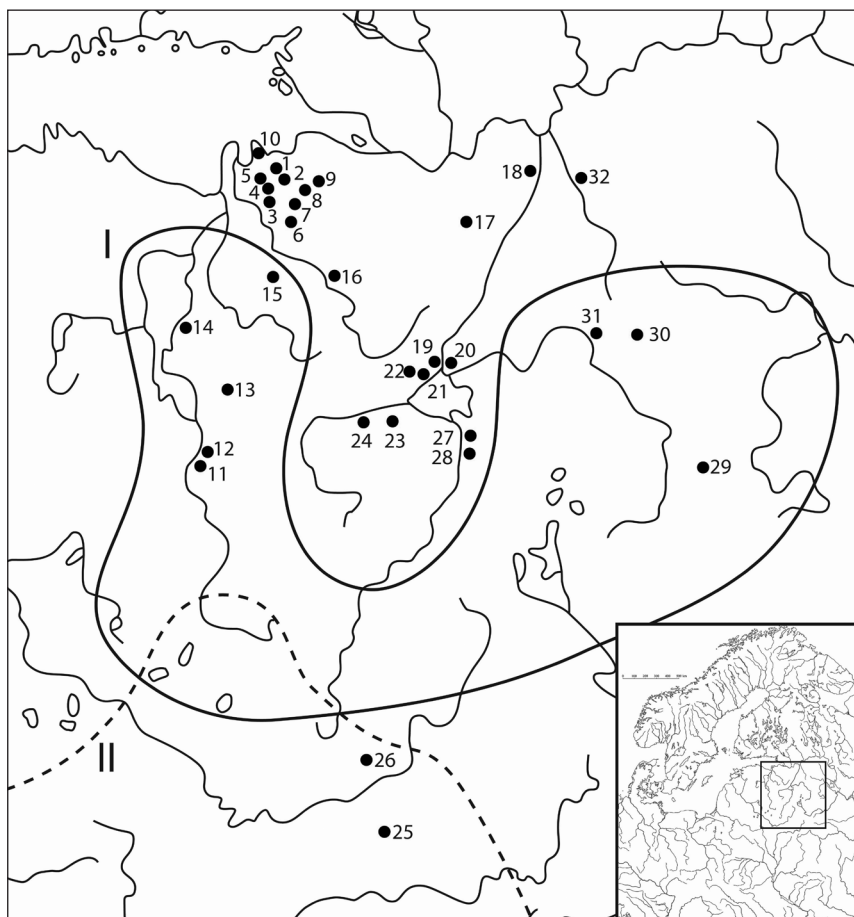


Fig. 1 Map of archaeological cultures, sites and stray finds of the 1st millennium AD in North-Western Russia mentioned in the article. I: Area of the long barrows culture, 5th–10th century; II: Area of Zaozerye-Uzmen' cultural circle, 3rd–5th century; 1: Valgovitsy; 2: Velikino; 3: Georgiyevskoye; 4: Voynosolovo; 5: Kotly; 6: Kerstovo; 7: Malli; 8: Udosolovo; 9: Koporye and Yuryevo hoards; 10: Kurgolovo; 11: Pskov; 12: Vybuty; 13: Gorodnya; 14: Zalakhtovye; 15: Dolozhsky pogost; 16: Luga; 17: Vas'kiny Nivy; 18: Staraya Ladoga; 19: Novgorod; 20: Ryurikovo Gorodishche; 21: Prost'; 22: Georgiy-on-the-Veryazha River; 23: Solonitsko; 24: Gorodok-on-the Shelon River; 25: Zaozerye; 26: Uzmen'; 27: Gorodok-on-the Mayata River; 28: Seltso; 29: Yuryevskaya Gorka; 30: Syezzheye; 31: agglomeration on the Belaya River; 32: Gorodishche-on-the Syas' River. – Map: Author, Layout: Svetlana Bocharova.

number of identified artefacts has considerably increased. This is especially true for the areas of the Izhora Plateau, Middle Luga River, Lake Ilmen area and the Volkhov River basin¹². Notable are coin finds from the vicinity of Koporye comprising amongst others a silver denarius of Antoninus Pius (coined 140–144) and two hoards containing 30 and 12 coins – *sestertii* and *dupondii* coined by emperors beginning with Titus (79–81) to Lucius Verus (161–169)¹³. Additionally there is information on an unidentified Roman coin from the Yury'evo hoard, Kingisepp region, Leningrad Oblast¹⁴. Before its discovery, only one find of a Roman silver coin of Philippus Arabus (244–249) from the Luga region, Leningrad Oblast was known¹⁵.

Moreover brooches from the late Roman period have been found: Some of them come from disturbed burial grounds, notably a large bronze eye fibula of the 'Livland-Estonian' sub-series of Almgren's type 55¹⁶, a fragment of a bronze ornamented bracelet and a neck ring with trumpet ends (*mit Trompetenende*)¹⁷ from a hoard found near Koporye, Kingisepp region (fig. 2,1)¹⁸, a crossbow two-part sagged tied-up brooch of the Chernyakhov culture series 'Б', variant '2б' after L. Gorokhovskiy, from the hillfort of Georgiy on the Veryazha River near Novgorod, Lake Ilmen region (fig. 2,8)¹⁹; two eye fibulae of Almgren's Gruppe III or imitations of Almgren's

12 P. E. SOROKIN/O. V. SHAROV, O novykh nakhodkakh rimskoy epokhi na Severo-Zapade (New finds of the Roman period in the North-Western Russia). In: P. E. Sorokin (ed.), *Arkheologicheskoye naslediyе Sankt-Peterburga 2* (St Petersburg 2008) 167–201.

13 SHAROV/PALAGUTA/KHAVRIN 2011 (note 6) fig. 2–4.

14 I. V. STASYUK, Naseleniye Izhorskoy vozvysheynosti v I – nachale II tysyacheletiya nashey ery (Population of the Izhora highland in 1st – early 2nd Millennium AD). *Stratum plus* 5, 2012, 63–88, here 82.

15 V. V. KROPOTKIN, Klady rimskikh monet na territorii SSSR (Hoards of Roman coins on the territory of USSR) (Moscow 1961) 45 no 173

16 O. ALMGREN, Studien über nordeuropäische Fibelformen der ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte mit Berücksichtigung der provinziärömischen und südrussischen Formen (Stockholm 1897) pl. 3,55; cf. W. NOWAKOWSKI, Die Fibeln Almgren 55 und 56 aus heutiger Sicht. In: J. Kunom (ed.), 100 Jahre Fibelformen nach Oskar Almgren. *Forsch. Arch. Land Brandenburg* 5 (Wünsdorf 1998) 119–122.

17 W. NOWAKOWSKI, Das Samland in der römischen Kaiserzeit und seine Verbindungen mit dem römischen Reich und der barbarischen Welt (Warszawa, Marburg 1996) pl. 107.

18 SHAROV/PALAGUTA/KHAVRIN 2011 (note 6) fig. 5.

19 E. N. NOSOV/V. I. GORYUNOVA/A. V. PLOKHOV, Gorodishche pod Novgorodom i posele-niya Severnogo Priil'men'ya (Hillfort near Novgorod and settlements of the Northern Lake Ilmen area) (St Petersburg 2005) 137–138 pl. 162,15; L. GOROKHOVSKIY, Khronologiya chernyakhovskikh mogil'nikov lesostepnoy Ukrainy (Chronology of cemeteries of



Fig. 2 Stray finds of the Roman period in North-Western Russia: 1: Torques with trumpet end, Koporye; 2-3: Eye fibulae, Georgiyevskoye; 4-5: Well-profiled fibulae, Udolosovo; 6-7: Eye fibulae, Voynosolovo; 8: Two-part sagged tied-up brooch, Georgiy-on-the-Veryazha River. – 1 after SHAROV/PALAGUTA/KHAVRIN 2011 (note 6) fig. 5. 2-3; 6-7 after SOROKIN/YUSHKOVA 2014 (note 23) fig. 2,1-2; 3,1-2. 4-5 after SHAROV/SOROKIN 2008 (note 41) fig 2,1-2. 8 after NOSOV/GORYUNOVA/PLOKHOV 2005 (note 19) pl. 162,15.

types 50–51, well-profiled fibula (*kräftig profilierte Fibel, Trompetenfibel*) of Gruppe IV, Almgren's type 80²⁰, and two Baltic shield-shaped brooches (*Kopfschildfibeln*)²¹, presumably from disturbed burials of a necropolis near the village of Udosołovo, Kingisepp District (fig. 2,4–5), and in addition beads and a fragment of a bronze vessel of the 1st millennium AD from an unidentified complex on the Kurgalskiy Peninsula (Kurgolovo), Leningrad Oblast²². Eye fibulae of Prussian sub-series of Almgren's types 57–61 were discovered in Georgiyevskoye, Kingisepp District (fig. 2,2–3)²³. These brooches are dated to the Roman periods B2–B2/C1–C1a²⁴. From the same place comes an item of iron pincers, a bronze belt tip and a later bronze two-piece brooch with a solid catchplate and a massive vertical stanchion for fixing of the spring. The latter piece resembles brooches with a shovel-shaped or star-shaped feet of types II, III, VI, VII after A. Bitner-Wroblewska²⁵. They are dated to the end of phase D of the Dolkeim-Kovrovo culture (in

Chernyakhov culture in the forest-steppe zone of Ukraine). In: P. Tolochko (ed.), *Trudy V kongressa arkeologov-slavistov 4* (Kiev 1988) 35; 44; NOWAKOWSKI 1996 (note 17) pl. 72; 103,6–7, map 15. Cf. I. O. GAVRITUKHIN/A. M. VORONTSOV, *Fibuly verkhneokskogo-donskogo vodorazdela: dvukhchlenne prognutye podvyaznye i so sploshnym priemnikom* (Migration period brooches of the region between the Voronezh and Don river). In: A. M. Naumov (ed.), *Lesnaya i lesostepnaya zony Vostochnoy Evropy v epokhi rimskikh vliyaniy i Velikogo pereseleniya narodov* (Forest and forest-steppe zone of Eastern Europe during the period of Roman influences and the Great Migrations) (Tula 2008) 28–89, here 34.

20 ALMGREN 1897 (note 16) pl. 80.

21 *Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte XIII* (1928), 7–9 s. v. *Südostbalticum C. Nachchristliche Eisenzeit*, pl. 7,h–i (A. FRIEDENTHAL).

22 S. YU. KARGOPOL'TSEV/V. N. SEDYKH, *Kompleks nakhodok na Kurgalskom poluostrove* (New finds on the Kurgalskiy peninsula, Leningrad Oblast). In: D. A. Machinskiy (ed.), *Ladoga i Severnaya Evraziya ot Baykala do La-Mansha* (St Petersburg 2002) 111–116.

23 P. E. SOROKIN/M. A. YUSHKOVA, *Novyye nakhodki drevnostey kul'tury kamennykh mogil'nikov s ogradkami na severo-zapade Izhorskoy vozvyshennosti* (New finds of artefacts of the cemeteries with stone fence in Izhora Plateau). In: N. V. Lopatin (ed.), *Archeologiya Pskova i Pskovskoy zemli 29* (Moscow, Pskov 2014) 312–322, here 313–315.

24 R. WOŁĄGIEWICZ, *Lubowidz: Ein birituelles Gräberfeld der Wielbark-Kultur aus der Zeit vom Ende des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. bis zum Anfang des 3. Jhs. n. Chr.* *Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica 1* (Krakow 1995) 43–44; NOWAKOWSKI 1996 (note 17) 49.

25 A. BITNER-WROBLEWSKA, *Zapinki z gwiazdzistą i łopatkowatą nożką z południowowschod nich wybrzeży Bałtyku*. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 51,1, 1986–1990, 49–90.

Sambia and Natangia)²⁶. In Voynosolovo, Kingisepp District, eye fibulae of Prussian sub-series, Almgren's type 57, and derivatives from brooches of Almgren's types 100 and 164²⁷ were found (fig. 2,6–7). From the Eastern Lake Peipus area, near Gorodnya, Dedovichi District, Pskov Oblast, comes a long known but only recently identified brooch with folded foot with a wire decoration (*Fibel mit umgeschlagenem Fuß und Ringgarnitur*)²⁸. In Pskov a brooch with a shovel-shaped foot was discovered. An assemblage of artefacts of the Roman period from the cemetery of Vybuty near Pskov includes bronze bracelets with small balls at the ends. The distribution of these pieces is contemporaneous with the eye fibulae²⁹. From the middle of the first millennium items of horse bridles are known: For example a three-piece horse bit with circular cheek-pieces with incisions from a burial excavated in the 19th century in Dolozhsky Pogost near Zaruchye, Slantsy District, Leningrad Oblast, (fig. 3,1–3)³⁰. This piece generally corresponds to form 1C2a after the typology by M. Ørsnes³¹ and existed from the late Roman period until the Viking Age. Its best parallels are known from the eastern area of the Land of Novgorod in Yuryevskaya Gorka in the basin of the Msta River³². From Dolozhsky Pogost come several umbones. Some

26 NOWAKOWSKI 1996 (note 17) tab. 16,d; pl. 107; map 9.

27 SOROKIN/YUSHKOVA 2014 (note 23) 315–316.

28 A. M. TALLGREN, *The Prehistory of Ingria. Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* 12 (Helsinki 1938) 79–108, here 96–97 fig. 14.

29 S. V. BELETSKIY, *Kul'turnaya stratigrafiya Pskova: arkheologicheskiye dannyye k probleme proiskhozhdeniya goroda* (Cultural stratigraphy of Pskov). *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta arkheologii* 160, 1980, 3–18, here 3; 11 fig. 6,5; A. V. YAKOVLEV, *Novye raskopki mogil'nika Vybuty bliz Pskova* (New excavation of Vybuty cemetery near Pskov). In: A. N. Kirpichnikov/S. V. Beletskiy (eds), *Pamyatniki stariny: Kontseptsii, otkrytiya, versii 2* (St Petersburg, Pskov 1997) 400–402; V. S. KULESHOV, *Pamyatniki kultury Tarandgräberkultur na severo-zapade yevropeyskoy chasti Rossii* (Sites of Tarandgräberkultur in North-Western Russia). In: I. L. Tikhonov (ed.), *Al'manakh molydykh arkheologov* (St Petersburg 2005) 183–198, here 189–190; cf. BITNER-WROBLEWSKA 1986–1990 (note 25) tab. 6,10, ryc. 6.

30 A. SPITSYN, *Kurgany Sankt-Peterburgskoy gubernii v raskopkakh L. K. Ivanovskogo* (Kurgans of Saint-Petersburg province by L. Ivanovskiy's Excavations) (St Petersburg 1896) 5; 109 tab. 18,16.

31 M. ØRSNES, *Zaumzeugfunde des 1.–8. Jahrh. nach Chr. in Mittel- und Nordeuropa*. *Acta Arch.* 64,2, 1993, 183–292, here 190–191.

32 M. KAZANSKI, *O baltakh v lesnoy zone Rossii v epokhu Velikogo pereseleniya narodov* (The Balts in the forest zone of Russia in the Migration period). *Arkheologicheskie Vesti* 6, 1999, 401–417, here 409–411; KAZANSKI 2014 (note 8) fig. 1.

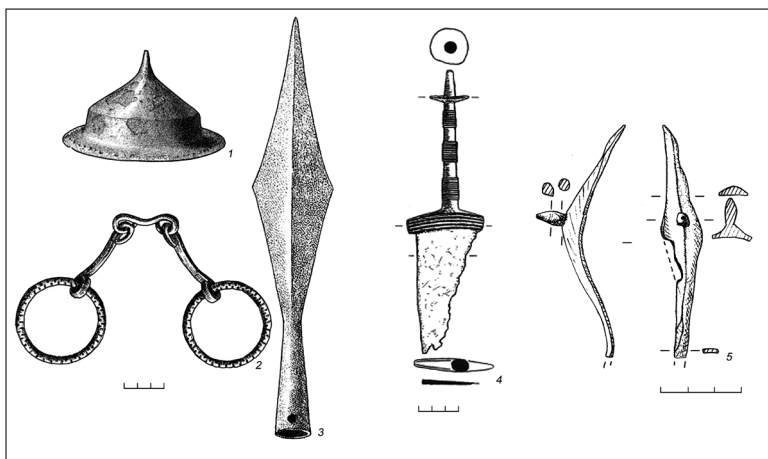


Fig. 3 Stray finds of the Roman and Migration period in North-Western Russia. 1–3: Military horsemen's set, Dolozhsky pogost; 4: Battle knife, Luga; 5: Bronze spur, Vas'kiny Nivy. – 1–3 after SPITSYN 1896 (note 30) pl. 18,16. 4 after PLATONOVA/SHCHUKIN 2000 (note 34) fig. 1. 5 after SOROKIN/YUSHKOVA 2014 (note 23) fig. 5.

other weaponry has also been found³³, including an item, which is supposed to be a throwing axe of the 'francisca' type, a fragment of a battle knife with a bronze hilt a two-edged iron pugio and a relatively thin bronze hilt (from the vicinity of the town of Luga). According to several scholars, counterparts of the latter are found in burials in Spain from the second half of the 4th/early 5th century AD (the region of North-Western Spain between Salamanca, Valladolid and Burgos) (fig. 3,4)³⁴. However, this battle knife may have belonged to bronze objects of the Ananyino culture of the 9th–3rd century BC in the Kama River area, and its interpretation as a weapon

33 I. V. STASYUK, *Novyye nakhodki oruzhiya rimskogo vremeni i epokhi merovingov na severo-zapade Rossii* (New Finds of Weapons of the Roman Age and the Merovingian Age in the North-West Russia). *Stratum plus* 4, 2013, 133–146; M. KAZANSKI, *Les armes baltes et occidentales dans la zone forestière de l'Europe orientale à l'époque des Grandes Migrations*. *Archaeologia Baltica* 4, 2000, 199–212.

34 S. KARGOPOLTSEV/M. SCHUKIN, *Les armes occidentales de l'époque de Grandes Migrations en Russie du Nord-Ouest*. In: X. Delestre/M. Kazanski/P. Perin (dir.), *De l'âge du fer au haut Moyen Age: Archéologie funéraire, princes et élites guerrières*. *Actes des tables rondes*, Longroy I, sept. 1998 et Longroy II, août 1999 (Saint-Germain-en-Laye 2006) 289–294; N. PLATONOVA/M. SCHUKIN, *Strannaya sluchaynaya nakhodka v okrestnostyakh Lugi* (Strange stray find from near Luga city, Leningrad Oblast). *Arkheologicheskie Vesti* 7, 2000, 178–188.

of Migration period may be brought into challenge³⁵. From Vaskiny Nivy, Tosno District, Leningrad Oblast, a bronze spur (fig. 3,5)³⁶, possibly belonging to type Kokowski 2 of the mid-1st millennium AD³⁷, from Zalakhtovye, Gdov region, Pskov Oblast three iron celts, two knives with a smoothly curved back and a bronze signet-ring, typical for stone burial grounds of the Roman period on the territory of Estonia³⁸.

The archaeological record clearly shows these objects from the late Roman provincial culture are not isolated imports, but traces of long-term cultural links between central- and north-eastern Europe. The eye fibula of the 'Livland-Estonian' sub-series and the North-Eastern Baltic three-crossbar fibulae indicate where the sources of cultural impulses into the region originated. Today it is obviously that the appearance of Central European artefacts in Baltic countries and in North-Western Russia can be synchronised to their distribution in Central Europe and Danube region, whereas earlier, in contrast, several scholars, Harri Moora, for example, dated them slightly later than in Europe³⁹.

The finds of eye fibulae on the whole are related with 'Estonian' stone burial grounds⁴⁰. However, some of the artefacts were found east of the main concentration of these sites – in the regions, where remains from the first centuries AD are practically unknown. Importation of goods to the inner

35 M. A. YUSHKOVA, *Metallicheskiye izdeliya epokhi bronzy na Severo-Zapade Rossii* (Metal artefacts of the Bronze Age in North-Western Russia). *Izv. Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra Rossiyskoy Akad. nauk* 12 (34), 2, 2010, 272–277.

36 SOROKIN/YUSHKOVA 2014 (note 23) 319 fig. 5.

37 STASYUK 2013 (note 33) 143–144; M. KAZANSKI, *Les éperons, les umbo, les manipules de boucliers et les haches de l'époque romaine tardive dans la région pontique: Origine et diffusion*. In: C. von Carnap-Bornheim (ed.), *Beiträge zu römischer und barbarischer Bewaffnung in den ersten vier nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten*. Veröff. Vorgeschichtl. Sem. Marburg Sonderbd. 8 (Marburg 1994) 429–485, here 431; 435.

38 KULESHOV 2005 (note 29) 188–189.

39 D. QUAST, *Ein skandinavisches Spathascheidenmundblech der Völkerwanderungszeit aus Pikkjärve (Pölvamaa, Estland)*. *Jahrb. RGZM* 51, 2004, 243–279; O. V. SHAROV, *Rimskaya fibula iz Staroy Ladogi* (Roman brooch from Staraya Ladoga). In: A. Urbaniak et al. (ed.), *Terra Barbarica: Studia ofiarowane Magdalenie Mączynskiej. Monumenta Archaeologica Barbarica, Ser. Gemina 2* (Łódź, Warszawa 2010) 607–626, here 624–625; O. V. SHAROV, *Problemy khronologii nakhodok rimskogo vremeni na Severo-Zapade Rossii* (On the chronology of finds of the Roman period in North-Western Russia). In: N. Makarov (ed.), *Arkheologiya baltiyskogo regiona* (Moscow, St Petersburg 2013) 60–73.

40 S. LAUL, *Die Entwicklungsetappen und Chronologie der Steingräber in Estland*. In: A. Loit/J. Selirand (eds), *Die Verbindungen zwischen Skandinavien und Ostbaltikum. Aufgrund der archäologischen Quellenmaterialien* (Stockholm 1985) 67–82.

regions of the Land of Novgorod can have taken place via the eastern area of Lake Peipus and the Luga River basin⁴¹. It seems that many answers to recent questions concerning the history and archaeology of North-Western Russia can be answered through studies of the culture of 'Estonian' stone burial grounds and related materials in these territories.

Necropolis of the Tarandgräberkultur in North-Western Russia and the recently investigated cemetery of Malli

The 'Estonian' burial grounds of the Tarandgräberkultur on the Izhora Plateau and in other areas of North-Western Russia were discovered during the 20th century. These are sites of Velikino (2nd century AD) and Valgovitsy (1st–2nd centuries AD)⁴², Kingisepp District, Leningrad Oblast, as well as possibly Solonitsko, Shimsk District, Novgorod Oblast, western part of the Lake Ilmen area, although the character of the latter site is disputable⁴³. Later this group was supplemented by the already mentioned sites of Udosolovo etc., including the recently investigated cemetery of Kotly, Kingisepp District⁴⁴. In total 15 sites and locations of this type have been registered until today. However, in 2008–2013, two cemeteries with stone fences were excavated at Kerstovo-1 (another variant of transliteration: Kyorstovo) and Malli, Kingisepp District⁴⁵, which permit more specific

41 O. V. SHAROV/P. E. SOROKIN, *Kompleks nakhodok rimskogo vremenu u derevni Udosolovo Leningradskoy oblasti* (The finds of the Roman period from Udosolovo, Leningrad Oblast). *Vestnik Sant-Peterburgskogo universiteta*, Ser. 2., 4,1, 2008, 162–169, here 168.

42 E. A. RYABININ, *New data on the ancient Vod culture*. In: E. Torsten (ed.), *Fenno-Ugri et Slavi 1988*. Papers presented by the participants in the Finnish-Soviet archaeological symposium. *Iskos 9* (Helsinki 1990) 93–97.

43 B. V. ALEKSANDROV/A. M. TALLGREN, *Funde aus der römischen Eisenzeit in Gouv. Novgorod*. *Eurasia Septentrionalis Ant.* 5, 1930, 100–108; cf. V. YA. KONETSKIY, *O "kamennykh krugakh" Yugo-Zapadnogo Priil'men'ya* (On so-called stone circles in the South-Western part of Lake Ilmen area). In: V. M. Masson (ed.), *Novoye v arkeologii Severo-Zapada SSSR* (Leningrad 1985) 37–44.

44 I. A. FEDOROV/D. N. MAZURENKOV, *Novyye issledovaniya na zapade Izhorskogo plato* (New investigation in the western part of the Izhora Plateau). In: O. A. Shcheglova/V. M. Goryunova (eds), *Slavyane Vostochnoy Evropy nakanune obrazovaniya Drevnerusskogo gosudarstva* (St Petersburg 2012) 242–243.

45 M. A. YUSHKOVA/V. S. KULEŠOV, *Kyorstovo 1: A new burial ground of the period of Roman influences in North-Western Russia*. *Arch. Lituana* 12, 2011, 99–121; I. G.

conclusions on this type of sites. While previously similar sites were dated to the period before the 4th century, the new researches have corroborated the continuous chronology of the development of the local culture until the third quarter of the first millennium AD. Due to these investigations, it became possible to characterize comprehensively burial rites and design of the graves. The stone fences and settings were oriented along a north-south axis with their longer sides. The grave goods were discovered on the surface and in the fill of the stone structures inside the fences and outside them. The bones were dispersed or in accumulations inside the structures. Artefacts of the 'Roman period' of the 2nd-3rd century AD are represented by bronze ornaments, weaponry, iron tools and pottery (fig. 4,I). In total 12 brooches, 3 needles and 15 spirals from brooches have been found. Among the brooches were examples cast as a 'well-profiled' or 'strongly moulded bow' around a bulb, a spring claw belt buckles and a brooch with an external rope and platelets, a walk terminated by a cast button (*kräftig profilierte Fibel*) of Almgren's type 68, eye fibulae of the 'Livland-Estonian' sub-series, shield-shaped brooches, a well-profiled crossbar brooch. This assemblage is supplemented by closed and spiral signet-rings, bracelets of different types, spiral spacer-beads, temple rings, and fragmentary neck-rings (?). The weapons and tools are represented by iron spear-heads, knives with a curved back and smooth transition from the back to the stem, awls and a miniature knife.

Artefacts of the 'Merovingian' Age (6th-7th century) include ornaments, weapons and objects of everyday use (fig. 4,II), among them large numbers of elements of belt-sets, i. e. buckles (35 items), plates and belt tips. There are belt buckles with B-shaped, round and D-shaped frame, including ribbed and smooth hollow B-shaped belt buckles. Among the weaponry are fragmentary umbones. Bronze ornaments include pins, pendants, fragments of chains

SHIROBOKOV/M. A. YUSHKOVA, Antropologicheskie materialy iz kolektivnykh zakhronenyi po obryadu krematsii i ingumatsii kamennogo mogil'nika s ogradkami Malli (po rezultatam raskopok 2010 goda) (Anthropological materials from cremation and inhumation graves of Malli cemeteries of Tarandgräberkultur, excavations of 2010). Vestnik Arkh., Antr. i Etnogr. 2,25, 2014, 71-79; M. A. YUSHKOVA, Novaya gruppa pamyatnikov I-VII vekov na Yugo-Zapade Leningradskoy oblasti (New burial sites of 100-600 AD in St. Petersburg Oblast). Arkheologicheskie Vesti 21, 2015, 187-198. I am grateful to my colleague Dr. Mariya Yushkova, the head of the excavations and author of publications for the opportunity to use her research materials and illustrations.

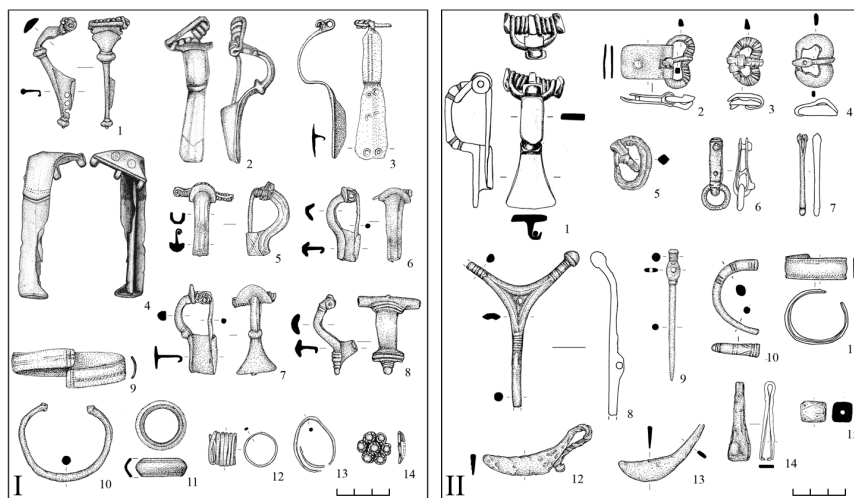


Fig. 4 Typical finds from the necropolis of Malli and related cemeteries of the "Tarandgräberkultur". I: Finds of the Roman time. 1–8: Bronze fibulae; 9–10: Bronze bracelets; 11–13: Bronze ring; 14: Bronze application (1, 5–8, 10, 12, 13: Malli; 2–4, 9, 11, 14: Kerstovo); II: finds of Merovingian Age. 1: Bronze fibula; 2–7: Belt-buckles (2–4, 6–7 bronze, 5 iron); 8: Bronze pin with a triangular head; 9: Bronze pin; 10–11: Bronze bracelets; 12–13: Iron razors; 14: Iron pincers; 15: Glass bead (1: Georgiyevskoye, 2–15: Malli). – Excavation and drawing by M. Yushkova. With kind permission of the author.

etc. Additionally iron razors with straight and reticulate handles, miniature pincers, awls, knives, and occasional sherds of pottery with rough or slightly polished surface, a fragment of an oval fire striker from quartz are known. Among the rare types of ornaments are a barrel-shaped bronze spacer-bead and a cast rectangular plaque with an indented ornamentation, which are typical for the Pyanobor archaeological culture of the Kama River region. The main features that distinguish this group of sites from the stone 'Estonian' cemeteries, especially in the period of the Roman influence, are the wide distribution of weaponry and the presence of imports from more eastern regions of the Finno-Ugric world. In the third quarter of the first millennium AD low-temperature cremation is replaced by high-temperature process; however the same cemeteries continued to exist as places for burials. It seems that the uninterrupted cultural tradition and the set of grave offerings noted primarily at the necropolis of Malli are a keystone for further studies of archaeological materials of the third quarter of the first millennium AD in the forest zone of

Eastern Europe. Here the 'culture' of Pskov-Novgorod long barrows is primarily concerned where similar artefacts are widely represented.

Long barrows of the forest zone: The problem of ethnic interpretation and the geography of cultural impulses

The chronology and regional division of the archaeological culture of long barrows, found both in the west of the Land of Pskov and in the east of the Land of Novgorod (fig. 1,1), has always been arguable. Even the common notion of a 'culture' concerning this fairly heterogeneous group of sites is doubted. Characteristic for this group are burial installations with a specific internal structure and different forms (rampart-like, square, round, combined, rectangular, oval mounds) and assemblages of imported artefacts. Pskov/Novgorod long barrows are recognized as differing from the Smolensk ones.⁴⁶

The first necropolis are notably situated in dry light pine forests with sandy or sandy-loam soils. The discussion on the ethnic affiliation of the people who left these long barrows is ever continuing. Some believe that they belonged to the tribe of Krivichs, or to the Finno-Ugric or Baltic population. Sometimes however these kurgans are considered as an evidence for the first wave of the Slavic colonization moving from the Dnieper and Daugava regions⁴⁷. The

46 See for such differentiation: E. A. SCHMIDT, *Arkheologicheskiye pamyatniki Smolenskoy oblasti s drevneyshikh vremen do 8 veka* (Archaeological sites of Smolensk Oblast) (Smolensk 1976).

47 S. LAUL, *Ob etnicheskoy prinadlezhnosti kurganov yugo-vostochnoy Estonii* (On the ethnicity of burial mounds in South-Eastern Estonia). *Izv. Akad. Nauk Estonskoy SSR* 20, 3, 1971, 319–329; V. V. SEDOV, *Slavyane v rannem srednevekov'ye* (The Slaves in the Early Middle Ages) (Moscow 1995); R. S. MINASYAN, *Chetyre gruppy nozhey Vostochnoy Yevropy epokhi rannego srednevekov'ya* (Knives in the Eastern Europe in the Early Middle Ages). *Arkheologicheskiy Sbornik Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* 21, 1980, 68–74; A. M. MIKLYAEV, *Kamennyy – zheleznyy vek v mezhdurech'ye Zapadnoy Dviny i Lovati* (Stone and Iron Ages in the area between Daugava and Lovat' rivers). *Peterburgskiy Arkheologicheskiy Vestnik* 9, 1995, 7–39; E. N. NOSOV, *Ein Herrschaftsgebiet entsteht. Die Vorgeschichte der nördlichen Rus' und Novgorods*. In: M. Müller-Wille/V. L. Janin/E. N. Nosov/E. A. Rybina (eds), *Novgorod. Das mittelalterliche Zentrum und sein Umland im Norden Russlands. Stud. Siedlungsgesch. u. Arch Ostseegebiete 1* (Neumünster 2001) 13–74, here 19–22; 26–27; V. YA. KONETSKIY, *K voprosu o formirovaniy kulturey dlennykh kurganov* (On the problem of the formation of the long barrow culture). *Novgorod i Novgorodskaya Zemlya: Istoriya i Arkheologiya* 11, 1997, 213–225.

new researches and publications⁴⁸ have neither stopped this discussion nor convinced the opponents⁴⁹. The distribution area of long barrows comprises various regions once subjected to different cultural impacts: The area of Lake Peipus influenced by Northern Europe, the region of the Msta River showing a Central European influence and the region of the Daugava River with southern bearings. In the most recent study mentioned above, E. Mikhaylova tries to avoid a hard discussion on the ethnical identification of the population that left long barrows but latently recognizes as non-Slavic on basis of the assumption, that it was later assimilated by the Slavs. In her work the long barrows culture is called only 'Pskov barrows culture' for uncertain reason. It provokes an incorrect perception of the origin of this burial tradition and geographical location of the kurgans. The most substantial part of the newest study cited here is devoted to the examination of the complex of artefacts on which the chronology is based on: Period I – the time of the formation of the archaeological culture under study (late 5th – second quarter or the middle of the 6th century), period II, the period of development, is constituted by two phases – IIA (second half of the 6th and the 7th century) and II B (8th century), period III 9th – early 11th century⁵⁰ (fig. 5). The end of the tradition of long barrows and their dating to the 10th–11th centuries are arguable since the archaeological material from the sites is rather poor differing practically in no way from the general material culture of the Early Rus'. The author supposed that topographical situation of several burials dated to the 10th–11th century within the necropolis of "classical" long borrows may prove their cultural identity; however, such observations seem not to be very convincing. The constructions of these kurgans are similar to early medieval kurgans erected by the Early Rus' population, and their association to the necropolis of previous period may be explained by social reasons. The most characteristic artefacts from phases I and IIA include B-shaped, D-shaped and round bronze

48 E. R. MIKHAYLOVA, *Kultura Pskovskikh dlinnykh kurganov: Problemy khronologii i razvitiya material'noy kultury* (The Pskov long barrow culture: problems of the chronology and development of material culture). PhD dissertation Institute for the History of Material Culture (St Petersburg 2009); Id., *Veshchevoy kompleks kultury Pskovsikh dlinnykh kurganov: tipologiya i khronologiya* (Assemblage of artifacts of the Pskov long barrow culture: typology and chronology) (Saarbrücken 2014).

49 S. YU. KARGOPOLTSEV, *Eshche raz o nizhney date dlinnykh kurganov* (A Contribution to the lower date of the long barrows). *Stratum plus* 4, 2013, 351–359.

50 MIKHAYLOVA 2014 (note 48) 203–220.

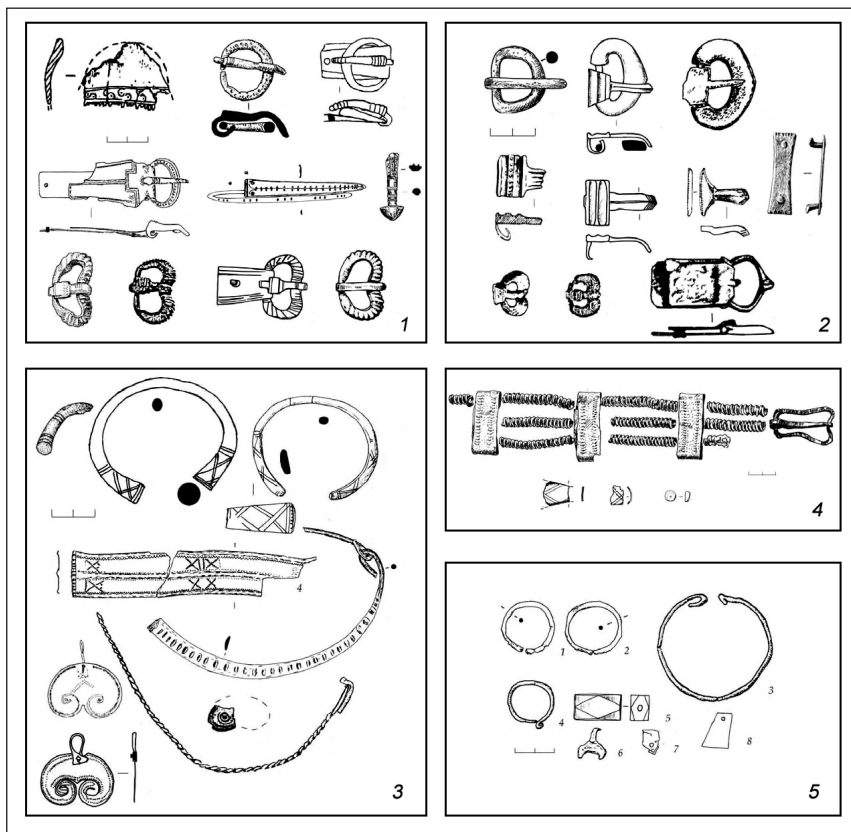


Fig. 5 Chronological indicators of the culture of long barrows as established by E. Mikhaylova. 1–2: Period I, formation of the culture, late 5th – second quarter/middle of the 6th century; 3: Period II, advanced culture, phase A, mid-6th – 7th century; 4: Period II, advanced culture, phase B, 8th century; 5: Period III, final phase of the culture, turn of the 8th/9th – early 11th century – After MIKHAYLOVA 2014 (note 48) fig. 52–56.

belt buckles related to the Danubian and Central-European traditions⁵¹, as well as eggshell plaques and square plaques-holders, trapezoid pendants, blue speckled glass beads, small head wreaths/vaynags and wire spirals. Until recently these complexes of artefacts have been considered to be linked to the East Lithuanian Barrow culture (Ostlitausische Hügelgräberkultur), which is concentrated in the basin of the Neman River and presents relatively similar forms of burial constructions. Scholars assumed that these artefacts penetrated the Baltic region from the Middle Danube via Central Europe. Their further spread eastward was possibly related with the movement of militarized groups of the Balts to the forest zone⁵². Subsequently these groups could have brought the kurgan burial rite to the forest zone where local communities adopted it.

Recently, new interpretations of this phenomenon appeared: The southern zone of the culture of 'Estonian' stone cemeteries borders with the area of the culture of long barrows. Until recently, it has been presumed that no marked cultural influence of the culture of stone cemeteries upon the culture of long barrows was traceable. Now the material from excavations of the cemetery of Malli from the third quarter of the first millennium AD enable us to revise the problem of the routes of penetration of belt buckles with the B-shaped and D-shaped belt-buckles into the area of the culture of long barrows. While among the material of this culture, 16 B-shaped belt buckles of various types and 5 D-shaped ones are known⁵³, only in a single necropolis of Malli, 6 examples of B-shaped belt buckles and at least 27 examples with D-shaped frame are represented. Via the region of Lake Peipus and the Luga River, from the area of the 'Estonian' stone cemeteries blue speckled beads may have penetrated the forest zone in the 6th

51 See the definition in French: 'boucle réniforme ou ovale en fer ou en bronze'. Cf. J. WERNER, *Bemerkungen zum nordwestlichen Siedlungsgebiet der Slawen im 4.–6. Jahrhundert*. Beitr. Ur- u. Frühgesch. 1 (Berlin 1981) 695–701; R. LEGOUX/P. PERIN/F. VALLET, *Chronologie normalisée du mobilier funéraire mérovingien entre Manche et Lorraine* (Saint-Germain-en-Laye 2006) 54, no 105; I. A. BAZHAN/S. YU. KARGOPOLTSEV, *B-obraznyye riflenyye pryazhki kak khronologicheskiy indikator sinkhronizatsii* (B-shaped ribbed belt buckles as chronological indicator of synchronization). *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii* 192, 1989, 28–35.

52 M. KAZANSKI, *Rannevizantiyskaya pryazhka iz mogil'nika Marvele v Sredney Litve* (Early Byzantine buckle from Marvele burial in central Lithuania). *Stratum plus* 5, 2013, 163–174; KAZANSKI 1999 (note 32) 404–417; KAZANSKI 2000 (note 4) 406–459.

53 MIKHAYLOVA 2014 (note 48) 31–34; 37–41.

century⁵⁴. These beads are known both in Estonia⁵⁵, and at Lake Ilmen and Lake Syezzheye in Khvoyninsky, District of Novgorod Oblast⁵⁶. Also oval quartz fire strikers dated to the period before 700 AD⁵⁷ travelled here via the same route, but in medieval Novgorod secondary use of these fire strikers as amulets of sacral character is notable (fig. 6).

All of the issues discussed above induce us to review the peculiarities of the cultural relations in this region and suggest more intensive meridional ties between the population of the culture of long barrows and the Finno-Ugrian world. The local material culture of the people who erected long barrows is very unspecific; the most remarkable and characteristic items are Central-European and Danubian importations which allow to identify and date its sites. The local population demonstrated its identity only by a specific funerary rite, which may have been a reaction to contacts with more developed neighbours and reflected reactions of 'social stress' rather than a borrowing. Although the Finno-Ugric belonging of the local population is very probable, several scholars express any doubts in it because, according to their position, the local material culture must show connections to the East-Finnic world. In fact, the absence of artefacts originating from the

54 V. IVANISEVIC/M. KAZANSKI/A. MASTYKOVA, Les nécropoles de Viminacium à l'époque des Grandes Migrations. Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monogr. 22 (Paris 2006) 73–76 fig. 58,4–5.29; 64,27.72.75. See the description in French: 'les perles en verre semi-translucide bleu ou bleu/violet; globulaire; portant un décor appliqué polychrome en verre opaque blanc, rouge et/ou jaune en forme de petites taches («tachetées classique»)».

55 K. DEEMANT, Das Steingraberfeld von Proosa bei Tallinn. *Izv. Akad. Nauk Estonskoy SSR* 24,1, 1975, 78–80. See also: A. TVAURI, The Migration Period, Pre-Viking Age, and Viking Age in Estonia (Tartu 2012).

56 A. V. MASTYKOVA/A. V. PLOKHOV, Datirovka i proiskhozhdeniye steklyannykh bus iz mogil'nika u ozera Syezzheye (Chronology and provenance of the glass beads from the cemetery near Lake Syezzhee). In: A. E. Musin/N. V. Khvoshchinskaya (eds), *Dialog kul'tur i narodov srednevekovoy Yevropy* (St Petersburg 2010) 337–357; E. N. Nosov/A. V. PLOKHOV, Poseleniye i mogil'nik na ozere Syezzhee (The settlement and the burial ground at Lake Syezzhee). In: I. Gavritukhin (ed.), *Ranneslavianskiy mir* 17 (Moscow 2016) 350–395.

57 A. HACKMAN, Die ältere Eisenzeit in Finnland I: Die Funde aus den fünf ersten Jahrhunderten n. Chr. (Helsingfors 1905) 241–252; I. GABRIEL, Hof- und Sakralkultur sowie Gebrauchs- und Handelsgut im Spiegel der Kleinfunde von Starigard/Oldenburger. *Ber. RGK* 69, 1988, 103–291, here 219; E. R. MIKHAYLOVA, Nakhodki kvartzytyovykh ogniv na territorii Severo-Zapada Vostochnoy Evropy (Quartz fire-steels on the territory the North-Western part of Eastern Europe). In: T. Schreder (ed.), *Skandinavskiy chteniya* 2010: *Etnograficheskiye i kulturnyye aspekty* (St Petersburg 2012) 13–24.

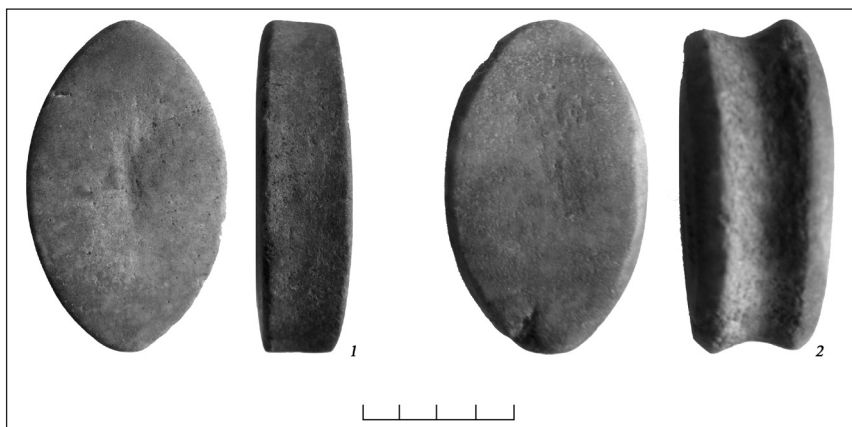


Fig. 6 Quartz fire striker from the medieval occupation layers of Novgorod. 1: Nerevsky Excavation 1956, turn of the 13th – 14th century, field no. 9-1437-8, Novgorod State Museum, KTI 34767/A78-85; 2: Nerevsky Excavation 1955, 11th century, field no. 28-941-6738, Novgorod State Museum, KTI 34767/A78-89. – Photo M. Zheltova.

East-Finnic world among the finds from the long barrows until now has not obtained its exhaustive explanation. Possibly this population was not ethnically homogeneous. Apparently, imported objects and, perhaps, the population groups, which brought them in this territory, created a cultural impulse to the development of diverse communities inhabiting the forest zone of Eastern Europe. The sites of the long barrows arose not due to an external migration, but rather based on the previous demographic and religious situation comprising a wide zone.

The south Ilmen region and the problem of the first wave of the Slavic colonization

Nowadays, adherents of Slavic interpretation of long barrows in Russian archaeology have expanded the arsenal of their hypotheses: At the border between the Pskov and Smolensk Oblasts of Russia and Vitebsk Oblast of Belorussia, as well as at the upper reaches of the rivers Daugava, Dnieper and Velikaya, sites of the so-called 'Zaozerye-Uzmen' cultural circle' of the 3rd–5th centuries have been identified (fig. 1,2). The eponymous sites are situated

respectively in Rudnyansky District of Smolensk Oblast and Usvyaty District of Pskov Oblast. A characteristic feature of this cultural circle is represented by a uniform set of handmade pottery including examples with combs patterns on the surface. This pottery is similar to the synchronous ceramics from sites of the Kievan 'cultural and historical community' (Kiewer Kultur) which is considered by its researchers as an early Slavic one. The authors believe that the development of the traditions of pottery of the Zaozerye-Uzmen' type resulted in the formation of the ceramic complex of the culture of Pskov long barrows in the 6th–8th century, as well as of those of Tushemlya and Bantserovshchina in Smolensk Oblast and Belorussia⁵⁸. According to this hypothesis, the 'missing link' between the early Slavic cultures of the middle and upper Dnieper and northern Slavic cultures, particularly that of the population which left the long barrows and sites of the pre-Sopki type in Pomost'ye and Lake Udomlya regions (Syezzheye, Yuryevskaya Gorka) at the border between Tver and Novgorod Oblasts⁵⁹ can be identified. Critics of this hypothesis have pointed out the geographically limited character and insignificant number of the group of population that lived at the sites of the Zaozerye-Uzmen' type. The small percentage of pottery with the combs ornamentation, even at the eponymous sites, is insufficient for making assumptions about the influence of the material culture of the Kievan circle upon the development of pottery sets from North-Western Russia. The sites of the Zaozerye-Uzmen type may have risen because of migration of the people of the Dnieper-Dvina culture to the forest zone. Meanwhile, the influence of the Kievan culture here, if it really existed, was of an indirect nature⁶⁰. In addition, the discussion about the Slavic origins of the Kievan culture continues and even its labelling varies strongly: sometimes the term 'Kievan culture' is negated with preference for the names such as 'sites of the Kievan type' or the 'Kievan cultural and historical community'. Moreover, the very name 'Kievan' is rather fortuitous for these sites, engendering incorrect connotations concerning the origin of the population of this group⁶¹. In general, the

58 N. V. LOPATIN/A. G. FURAS'HEV, *Severnye rubezhi ranneslavjanskogo mira v 3-5 vekakh* (Northern borders of the early Slavic world in 200–500 AD) (Moscow 2007).

59 ISLANOVA 1997 (note 11); ISLANOVA 2006 (note 11).

60 KONETSKIY 2007 (note 3) 266.

61 M. B. SHCHUKIN, *Replika po povodu Kievskoy kultury* (On the so-called Kievan archaeological culture). In: D. A. Machinskiy (ed.), *Yevropeyskaya Sarmatiya* (St Petersburg 2011) 239–244.

sites of the Kievan type evolved from a post-Zarubentsy population whose Slavic origin is highly hypothetical. This discussion obtained a new impulse after the investigation of the site of Gorodok-on-the-Mayata (Parfino District, Novgorod Oblast), where two occupation layers have been identified⁶²: The first period of settlement dated to the 5th(?)/6th–7th centuries and was directly connected, according to the excavator, with sites of the Kievan type, and the first wave of the Slavic colonisation of North-Western Russia (fig. 7I)⁶³. The second period is dated from the 9th to the beginning or first third of the 10th century and belongs to the Viking Age (fig. 7II). Its formation took place on the background of the presumed second wave of Slavic colonization of the region⁶⁴. It is linked to the Scandinavian penetration to Eastern Europe as attested by finds of artefacts in Northern tradition, e. g. an openwork tongue-shaped fire striker with parallels at the cemetery of Birka⁶⁵. The author of these studies considers Gorodok-on-the-Mayata, the settlement of Prost' near Novgorod⁶⁶ and Seltso (Parfino District, Novgorod Oblast)⁶⁷ as indicators for the first wave of the Slavic settlement. According to his assumptions, the new period of occupation on the site is characterized by humidification of the climate and water transgression, as well as by the decline of the cultures of the third quarter of the 1st millennium AD⁶⁸. However, the materials from the first occupation period in Gorodok are not correlated to artefacts and archaeological assemblages of the pre-sopki sites revealed to the east of the Land of Novgorod. The potteries of such assemblages are similar in some features

62 I. I. EREMEEV/O. F. DZYUBA, *Ocherki istoricheskoy geografii lesnoy chasti puti iz Varyag v Greki. Arkeologičeskie i paleogeograficheskie issledovaniya mezhdru Zapadnoy Dvinoj i ozerom Il'men* (Essays on the historical geography of the forest zone of the Route from the Varangians to the Greeks. Archaeological and paleogeographical studies between Daugava and Lake Ilmen) (St Petersburg 2010) 417; I. I. EREMEEV, The natural environment and settlement patterns of the Lake Ilmen Region in the last third of the first Millennium AD. In: M. A. Brisbane/N. Makarov/E. Nosov (eds), *The Archaeology of Medieval Novgorod in context: A study of centre/periphery relations* (Oxford 2012) 139–151.

63 EREMEEV/DZYUBA 2010 (note 62) 57 sqq.; 110–131 fig. 66–67; 69; 74; 75; 85; 104; 112.

64 EREMEEV/DZYUBA 2010 (note 62) 161–24, fig. 154; 158; 160; 163; 166; 172; 175; 177; 181–183.

65 H. ARBMAN, *Birka: Untersuchungen und Studien 1: Die Gräber, Tafeln* (Stockholm 1940) Taf. 145,6; B. HÄRDH, *Feuerstahle*. In: G. Arwidsson (ed.), *Birka: Untersuchungen und Studien 2,1: Systematische Analysen der Gräberfunde* (Stockholm 1984) 155–160, here 157.

66 NOSOV/GORYUNOVA/PLOKHOV 2005 (note 19) 142–144.

67 EREMEEV/DZYUBA 2010 (note 62) 484.

68 EREMEEV/DZYUBA 2010 (note 62) 434.

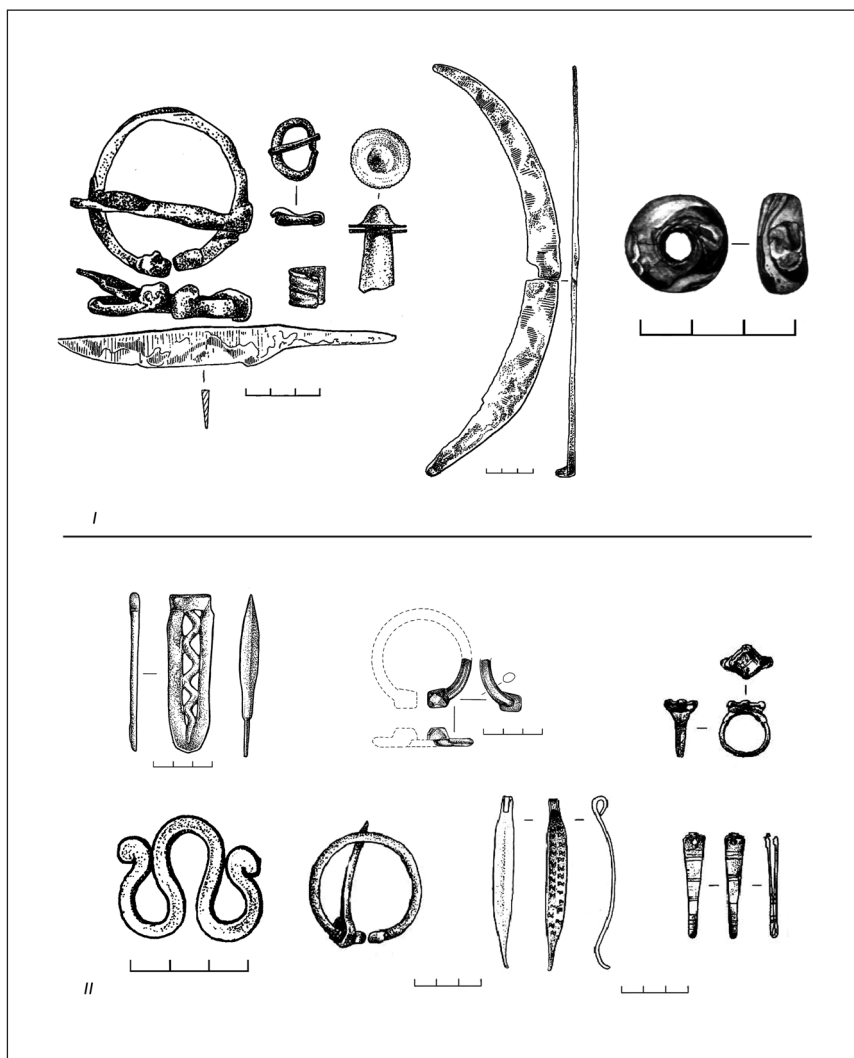


Fig. 7 Some finds from the excavation of Gorodok-on-the-Mayata River. I: Artefacts of the first occupation period, end of the 5th(?)/6th – 7th century; II: Artefacts of the second occupation period, 9th – beginning of the 10th century. – After EREMEEV/DZYUBA 2010 (note 62) fig. 75,4; 104,1–2.4–5.7–9; 158,1,3; 175,19; 181,1–2.5; 183,3).

to sites of the Prague type and partly inherited by Slavic culture of the age of sopki⁶⁹. In fact, the early chronology of the settlement is not attested by series of radiocarbon data, while the ceramic assemblage consisting of hardly identifiable forms does not support far-reaching conclusions. Thus the assumption about the early wave of Slavic colonization directly from the south part of Eastern Europe proposed on the basis of materials from Gorodok-on-the-Mayata remains a hypothesis. It is clear that the new population of the settlement might have come from other regions of the sub-continent and brought with them different cultural traditions including non-Slavic ones.

Ladoga and pre- and early Viking Age artefacts from the Lower Volkhov River

New finds slightly revise our knowledge about the early history of Ladoga, which is traditionally considered as the focal point of both Slavic and Scandinavian colonization in the mid-8th century with 753 AD as terminus ante quem for the foundation of the settlement. The latter date is dendrochronologically derived on the basis of analysis of one of the oldest wooden structures on site⁷⁰. Thus in Ladoga several finds dating from the Roman period and Vendel era were discovered. A very ancient object i. e. a brooch of the 3rd or 4th century (the type known among artefacts from the territory of Estonia) was recovered in 2004 from Zemlyanoye Gorodishche (Earthen Hillfort) in Ladoga in layer E2 of the 9th century (sic!) (fig. 8,1). It is comparable with three-crossbar fibulae (*Dreisprossenfibeln*) of Almgren's Gruppe V series 1, but cannot be attributed to a definite type⁷¹. It might belong to variants of local Baltic brooches widespread in Southern Estonia and dated to periods C1–C2a or even more narrowly to the 3rd century AD⁷². Presumably a bronze

69 See on the subject: ISLANOVA 2006 (note 11).

70 A. N. KIRPICHNIKOV, Staraja Ladoga: Alt-Ladoga und seine überregionalen Beziehungen im 8.–10. Jahrhundert. Ber. RGK 69, 1988, 307–337; N. B. CHERNYKH, Dendrokronologiya drevneyshikh gorizontov Staroy Ladogi (po materialam raskopok Zemlyanogo Gorodishcha) (Dendrochronology of Staraya Ladoga after materials from excavations of the Earthen Hillfort). In: V. V. Sedov (ed.), Srednevekovaya Ladoga (Leningrad 1985) 76–80.

71 ALMGREN 1897 (note 16) 50–51 Taf. V.

72 SHAROV 2010 (note 39) 607–626.

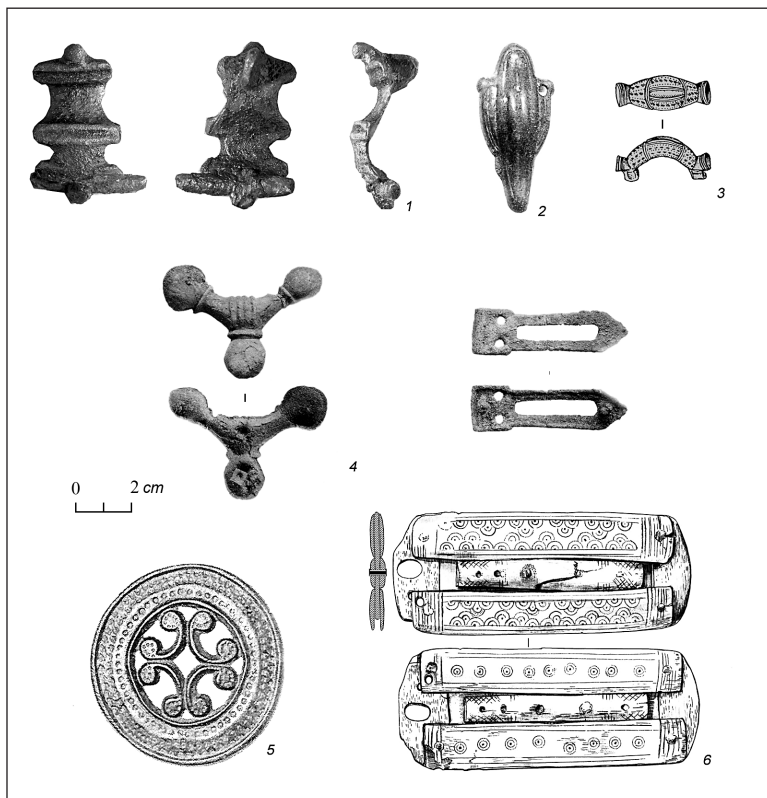


Fig. 8 Finds of the pre- and early Viking Age from Staraya Ladoga. 1: Three-crossbar fibula; 2: Beak-shaped brooch; 3: Arched fibula; 4: Belt fittings of Nevolino type; 5: Circular brooch of Carolingian period; 6: Double-side composite comb. – 1 after SHAROV 2010 (note 39) fig. 1. 2 after KIRPICHNIKOV 2014 (note 3) fig. 2,1. 3 after KIRPICHNIKOV 2014 (note 73) fig. 2,2. 4: Photo by the Imperial Archaeological Commission. 5 after KOROTKEVICH 2003 (note 76) no 135. 6 after KIRPICHNIKOV/KURBATOV 2014 (note 77) fig. 1,2.

beak-shaped brooch (fig. 8,2) also comes from Staraya Ladoga. Fibulae of this type are known throughout southern Scandinavia and Latvia for the Vendel period (mid-6th to 7th century), but possibly they were also used later (7th–early 9th centuries)⁷³. Furthermore Staraya Ladoga has yielded an arched symmetric fibula from the Vendel period belonging to type Ørsnes F1. It has parallels on Gotland and is dated to the period VII:1, i. e. 550–600 AD (fig. 8,3)⁷⁴. In 1884 a male cremation burial with a horse was excavated in one of the *sopki* (burial mound no 140) in the *urochishche* (isolated terrain) of *Pobedishche* in Ladoga. The excavators found a belt belonging to the archaeological culture of ‘Nevolino’ distributed throughout a vast area from Western Siberia to Finland and Sweden. Belts of this type appear particularly frequent in excavations in the Kama River region, and on the Upper Volga, indicating the early oriental links. These finds are dated mostly to the 8th century, but some of them come even from the second half of the 7th century (fig. 8,4)⁷⁵. Another round brooch pertaining to the Carolingian Age and dated to the 8th–9th century was found within the Stone Fortress of Old Ladoga situated on a promontory at the junction of the *Volkhov* and *Ladozhka* Rivers, i. e. where the oldest settlement layers have never been excavated (fig. 8,5)⁷⁶. In 2013 a two-sided bone comb with cases coating the

73 B. NERMAN, *Grobin-Seeburg. Ausgrabungen und Funde* (Stockholm 1958) Taf. 1,5.25.28; M. STRÖMBERG, *Untersuchungen zur jüngeren Eisenzeit in Schonen: Völkerwanderungzeit – Wikingerzeit 2: Katalog und Tafeln* (Bonn 1961) pl. 61; A. N. KIRPICHNIKOV, *Early Ladoga during the Viking Age in the light of the international cultural transfer*. In: P. Bauduin/A. Musin (dir.), *Vers l’Orient et vers l’Occident: Regards croisés sur dynamiques et les transferts culturels des Vikings à la Rous ancienne* (Caen 2014) 215–230, here 217 fig. 2,1.

74 B. NERMAN, *Gravfynden på Gotland under tiden 550–800 e. k.* *Ant. Tidskr.* 22,4, 1919, 22; E. KIVIKOSKI, *Die Eisenzeit Finnlands: Bilderatlas und Text* (Porvoo 1947) 44 Abb. 378–379; M. ØRSNES, *Form og Stil Sydskandinaviens yngre germanske jernalder*. *Natmus. Skr. Ark.-Hist. Række 11* (København 1966) 295–296; V. P. PETRENKO, *Finno-ugorskiye elementy v kulture rannesrednevekovoy Ladogi* (Finno-Ugric elements in the material culture of early medieval Ladoga). In: B. A. Rybakov (ed.), *Novoye v arkhologii SSSR i Finlyandii* (Leningrad 1984) 83–90 fig. 2,4; Quast 2004 (note 39) 243–279, here 255–256; Kirpichnikov 2014 (note 73) 217 fig. 2,2, in the last case the description of the fibula does not correspond to the figure.

75 A. G. IVANOV, *Nakladki-troychatki. K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii poyasov nevolinsko tipa* (On the origin of belts of the Nevolino type). In: D. Stashenkov (ed.), *Kulturny Evraziyskikh stepey vtoroy poloviny Igo tysyacheletiya nashey ery: iz istorii kostyuma 2* (Samara 2001) 87–102, here 90.

76 B. S. KOROTKEVICH (ed.), *Staraya Ladoga – drevnyaya stolitsa Rusi* (Old Ladoga – early capital of Russia). *Catalogue of exhibition* (St Petersburg 2003) 75 no 135.

prongs was found in a pit covered by layers of the second half of the 9th century (fig. 8,6) at Zemlyanoye Gorodishche⁷⁷. Combs of this type derive from a Roman tradition dating mostly from periods MA 1 – MR 1 (470/480–630/640) to the end of the 7th century⁷⁸. Similar finds are reported from continental Europe, in particular the Danube region, the Balkans and Slovakia. A close parallel to this object was found in Oława powiat, Silesia, Poland, and can be dated to the end of the 7th or perhaps 8th century⁷⁹. In association with this comb, fragments of handmade pottery of unknown origin were found.

This find, along with other artefacts of the Slavic character (e. g. earrings with S-shaped volutes), became the basis for attempts to date the penetration of the Slavs into the lower Volkhov River area in the 5th–6th century. This hypothesis considered also the results of palaeobotanic researches and the results of radiocarbon dating of first occupation layers and traces of agricultural activities on the subsoil surface⁸⁰. However, the single radiocarbon date which shows early living activity of the 5th–6th century does not fit to the main series of analysed samples. Additionally the interpretation of the identified traces as those of tilling remains arguable. The absence of phytoliths in the results of soil analysis makes the idea of early ploughing agriculture in the region of Ladoga rather doubtful. Notwithstanding the high probability of the existence of settlements in this region as early as in the third quarter of the 1st millennium AD, along a route connecting Scandinavia with

77 A. N. KIRPICHNIKOV/A. V. KURBATOV, *Novyye dannyye o proiskhozhdenii Ladozhskogo poseleniya i o poyavlenii slavyan v Povolkhov'ye* (New Evidence on the Origin of the Ladoga Settlement and Appearance of the Slavs on the Volkhov River). *Stratum plus* 5, 2014, 129–136, here 132 fig. 1,2.

78 LEGOUX/PÉRIN/VALLET 2006 (note 51) 21; 56 no 324.

79 R. SZWED, *Dendrochronological and radiocarbon dating of Early Medieval settlements on sites 4 and 5 at Polwica and Skrzybnik site 8, Oława powiat*. In: M. Dulnicz/S. Moździoch (eds), *The Early Slavic settlement of Central Europe in the light of new dating evidence*. *Interdisciplinary Medieval Stud.* 3 (Wrocław 2013) 111–132, here 127 fig. 16g.

80 KIRPICHNIKOV 2014 (note 73) 217; A. L. ALEKSANDROVSKIY/N. A. KRENKE/V. S. NEFEDOV, *Issledovaniya pochv i otlozheniy pod kulturnym sloyem Zemlyanogo Gorodishcha Staroy Ladogi* (Analysis of soil beneath the occupation layers of the Earthen Hillfort of Old Ladoga). In: E. N. Nosov/S. V. Beletskiy (eds), *Krayeugoľnyy kamen': Arkheologiya, istoriya, iskusstvo, kultura Rossii i sopredelnykh stran 1* (St Petersburg 2010) 43–61; A. L. ALEKSANDROVSKIY, *Radiouglerodnyy vozrast pakhotnogo gorizonta pod kulturnym sloyem Zemlyanogo Gorodishcha v Staroy Ladoge* (Radiocarbon dating of traces of agricultural activities on the subsoil surface beneath the occupation layers of the Earthen Hillfort of Old Ladoga). In: A. N. Kirpichnikov (ed.), *Ladoga i Ladozhskaya zemlya v epokhu srednevekov'ya 3* (St Petersburg 2012) 59–61.

the Ural region⁸¹ the hypothesis of a Slavic presence in this period needs an additional substantiation. Indeed, the known finds comprise a too wide dating period while soil analyses need exacter results.

At present, the model of Ladoga as a contact place of Slavs and Scandinavians in the 8th–9th century seems the most corresponding one to the archaeological reality. It is possible that the Slavs gradually penetrated North-Western Russia from the areas of southern Poland and the Polish coasts. The most recent finds of boat burials of the Vikings killed during raids to the island of Saaremaa, village of Salme, Estonia, 700–750 AD (excavations in 2008 and 2010–2012)⁸² demonstrate the gradual movement of Scandinavians from Grobin and the Gulf of Riga⁸³ towards the mouth of the Volkhov River in the 8th century. From the archaeological record the penetration of the Slavs into the region under consideration is dated to the 8th–9th century as the culture of *sopki* in the Land of Novgorod, agglomeration of settlements on the Veryazha river near Novgorod, and, possibly, the hillfort of Lyubsha on the right bank of the Volkhov in front of Old Ladoga emerge⁸⁴. The ceramic assemblage of this settlement similar and generally synchronous to Ladoga⁸⁵ and iron knives with a curved back⁸⁶ indicate an occupation of this site that predates the first archaeological layers of Ladoga. Notably the type of the fort is comparable with early Medieval

81 M. KAZANSKI, *Kurgany Staroy Upsaly i "Vostochnyy put"* (Burial mounds of Gamla Upsala and Austrovegr). *Novgorod i Novgorodskaya Zemlya. Istoriya i Arkheologiya* 21, 2007, 125–137.

82 M. KONSALA/R. ALLMÄEA/L. MALDRE/J. VASSILJEV, *Rescue excavations of a Vendel era boat-grave in Salme, Saaremaa*. *Archaeological Fieldwork in Estonia 2008 (2009)*, 53–64; R. ALLMÄEA/L. MALDRE/T. TOMEK, *The Salme I Ship Burial: An osteological view of a unique burial in Northern Europe*. *Interdisciplinaria Arch.* 2, 2011, 109–124; J. PEETS/R. ALLMÄEA/L. MALDRE/T. TOMEK/L. LÕUGAS, *Research results of the Salme ship burials in 2011–2012*. *Archaeological Fieldwork in Estonia 2012 (2013)*, 43–60.

83 V. P. PETRENKO/J. URTĀNS, *The archaeological monuments of Grobiņ* (Stockholm, Riga 1995).

84 E. A. RYABININ/A. DUBOSHINSKIY, *Lyubshanskoe gorodishche v nizhnem Povolkhov'ye* (Lyubsha Hillfort on the Volkhov River). In: A. N. Kirpichnikov (ed.), *Ladoga i yeye sosedi v epokhu srednevekov'ya* (St Petersburg 2002) 196–203.

85 For another opinion, see: KONETSKIY 2007 (note 3) 263.

86 L. S. ROZANOVA/N. N. TEREKHOVA/E. A. RYABININ/O. A. SHCHEGLOVA, *Metallograficheskoye issledovaniye zheleznykh izdeliy Lyubshanskogo gorodishcha* (Metallographic analysis of iron finds from Lyubsha Hillfort). In: A. N. Kirpichnikov (ed.), *Ladoga i Ladozhskaya zemlya v epokhu srednevekov'ya 2* (St Petersburg 2008) 13–48.

fortifications with frontal stone revetments well known in Central Europe in the 8th–10th century⁸⁷.

The rise of Novgorod and the Scandinavian elements in its early urban culture

The beginnings of Novgorod coincide with the formation of the Early Rus' State and the interaction between the Slavs and Scandinavians in North-Western Russia. Here archaeology and written sources can be brought together the first time. New data on the early history of Novgorod derive not so much from new archaeological finds but from re-examination of archaeological collections accumulated since the beginning of excavations in 1932, and a revision of methods of the studies of early urban material culture. The official conception proposed by Valentin Yanin, head of the archaeological investigations of Novgorod, states, that the settlements at the place of the future town must have arisen at the turn of the 9th to the 10th century whereas the transformation into an urban structure took place around 950 AD. According to this hypothesis, the settlement of this territory was initiated by representatives of the aristocracy of Slavic tribes opposed to the dynasty of the Rurikides established in Kiev⁸⁸. Notably settlements at the places of the future Nerevsky and Lyudin Ends (districts) arose only in 930–950, whereas no layers of an earlier occupation have been revealed. The latter date identified by Boris Kolchin is still mentioned in studies and publications of 1970–1980 concerning the Troitsky excavation, and simultaneously the chronology of the lower layers at the Nerevsky Excavation (1951–1962) were identified more exactly and definitely dated back to the same period⁸⁹. However later this chronology was rejected since the archaeological evidence did not match

87 L. Kos, Raně středověké fortiikace s čelni kamennou plentou ve středni Evropě. *Stud. Mediævalia Pragensia* 11, 2012, 117–176.

88 V. L. YANIN, *Srednevekovy Novgorod: Ocherki arkheologii i istorii (Medieval Novgorod: Essays on archaeology and history)* (Moscow 2004) 127–129.

89 A. F. UR'YEVA, *Dendrokronologiya mostovykh Troitskogo raskopa v Novgorode (Dendrochronology of street pavements at the Troitsky Excavation in Novgorod)*. In: E. N. Chernykh (ed.), *Yestestvenno-nauchnyye metody v arkheologii (Moscow 1989)* 214–227; A. F. UR'YEVA/N. B. CHERNYKH, *Dendroshkaly Novgoroda: Opyt komp'yuternoy obrabotki (Dendrochronology of Novgorod: Computer analysis)*. *Novgorod i Novgorodskaya Zemlya: Istoriya i Arkheologiya* 9, 1995, 106–114.

with information of the chronicle mentioning the governance measures of the Princess Olga in North-Western Russia in 947⁹⁰.

At that time, a very specific approach to Scandinavian objects found during the excavations in Novgorod was established in Soviet Russian historiography: The researchers stressed the scarcity of these finds and tried to demonstrate the common Baltic character of some categories of the artefacts. The main focus was directed to jewellery (e. g. five fragments of oval brooches found in 2016), a unique fragmentary bone with runic inscription and other rare artefacts⁹¹. The studies were characterised by selectiveness while objects of everyday use were excluded from consideration of the traditional set of Scandinavian artefacts from Novgorod. Mainly the trade connections were accentuated rather than the residence of the Scandinavians in the city⁹². These artefacts were considered exclusively according to the categories of objects and not to the rich and very spectacular assemblages of finds that came from well-stratified occupation layers. The chronology of the finds was never particularly defined, the artefacts being summarily dated from the second half of the 10th to first half of the 11th century. As a result, a very incomplete picture of the presence of the Scandinavians in the early Novgorod was styled. The re-examination of the Novgorod collection has succeeded to identify at least 20 new Scandinavian objects, which had not been considered in the studies before. Among them are clay loom-weights for vertical looms (fig. 9,1–2), religious symbols on domestic objects (fig. 10,1–3), idols (fig. 10,4; 11,1)⁹³ and hemispherical gaming-pieces of walrus ivory (fig. 9,3). Religious artefacts are of special note in system analysis since they cannot have been trade goods and undoubtedly indicate that among

90 YANIN 2004 (note 88) 127–129.

91 N. V. KHVOSHCHINSKAYA/E. A. RYBINA, Scandinavian objects from the excavations of Novgorod. In: P. Bauduin/A. Musin (dir.), *Vers l’Orient et vers l’Occident. Regards croisés sur les dynamiques et les transferts culturels des Vikings à la Rous ancienne* (Caen 2014) 245–256.

92 V. L. YANIN/E. A. RYBINA/L. V. POKROVSKAYA/V. K. SINGKH/A. M. STEPANOV/E. A. TYANINA, *Raboty v Lyudinom kontse velikogo Novgoroda v 2014 godu* (Excavations at Lyudin Konets in Novgorod in 2014). *Novgorod i Novgorodskaya Zemlya: Istoriya i Arkheologiya* 29, 2015, 51–65.

93 M. BRISBANE/J. HATHER (eds), *Wood use in Medieval Novgorod* (Oxford 2007); C. RADTKE, *Der Schleswig-Mann – ein „Hausgeist“ aus Novgorod?* *Arch. Nachr. Schleswig-Holstein* 16, 2010, 92–95, in the last publication the wooden idol figurine of obviously Nordic tradition in a paradox manner has been explained by influence of Novgorod.

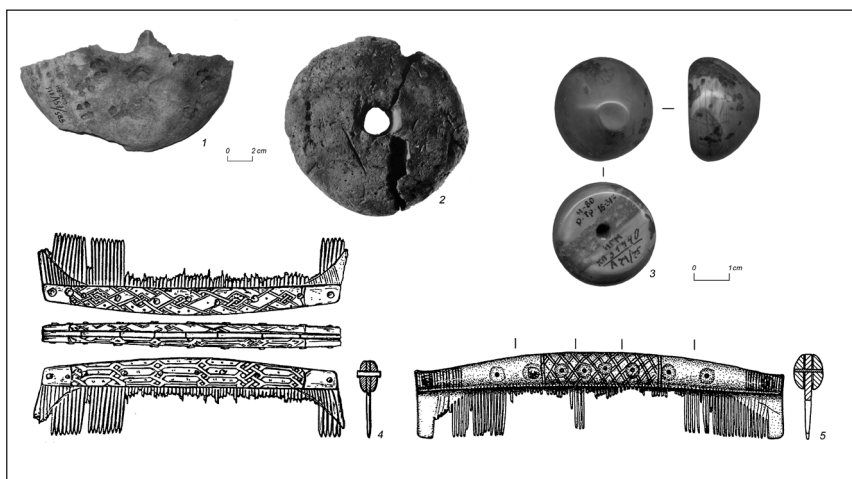


Fig. 9 Newly identified Scandinavian clay and bone objects from excavations in Novgorod. 1–2: Loom-weights for vertical loom of Northern type, clay (late 10th century); 3: Hemispherical gamingpiece, walrus ivory (11th century); 4–5: Single-sided composite riveted combs (second half of the 10th–11th century, without scale). – Troitsky Excavation. 1.3: Novgorod State Museum, photo by the author. w2: Photo by Novgorod Archaeological Expedition. 4–5 after SMIRNOVA 2005 (note 94) fig. 3.70 (A 115, A 357).

the city's residents there were bearers of the northern religion. It is of extreme importance that amulets – Thor's hammers and neck-rings with pendants of this form and other amulets, e. g. 'neck-ring'-shaped pendants – are concentrated in layers of 930–950 AD excavated by the Troitsky Excavation (fig. 11,2–6). These artefacts may be interpreted as evidence of practicing of Scandinavian religious rites by the first settlers. They preceded constructions of living structures and should be regarded as special kind of sacrifices that should magically protect the dwellings⁹⁴. Moreover, the majority of the finds is concentrated in the same urban areas at the crossroads of the Velikaya and Kozmodem'yanskaya streets at the Nerevsky Konets (End) and Proboynaya and Chernitsina streets at the Lyudin Konets (End). These plots occupied a

94 A. MUSIN, *Les Scandinaves en Rouss entre paganisme et christianisme*. In: P. Bauduin/A. Musin (dir.), *Vers l'Orient et vers l'Occident: Regards croisés sur dynamiques et les transferts culturels des Vikings à la Rouss ancienne* (Caen 2014) 311–326, here 313–314; cf. A. CARLIE, *Forntida byggnadskult: Tradition och regionalitet i södra Skandinavien*. *Riksantikvarieämbetet, Arkeologiska Undersökningar 57* (Stockholm 2004) 176; 179–181; 251–252.

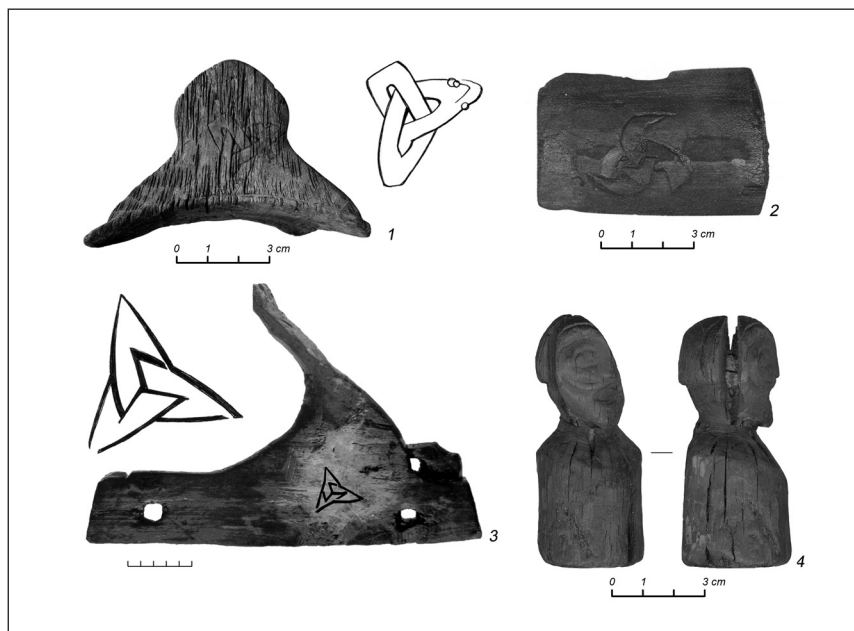


Abb. 10 Recently discovered and newly identified Scandinavian wooden objects from excavations in Novgorod. 1: Scoop handle with a triquetra image, maple (750–1000 AD); 2: Cylinder with a triquetra image, wood (11th century); 3: Boat rowlock with a triquetra image, wood (990–1000 AD); 4: Idol, alder (930–950 AD). – Troitsky Excavation; 1.3–4: Novgorod State Museum, photo by the author. 2: Photo by Novgorod Archaeological Expedition.

key positions in the city's topography. Since the distribution of single-side composite combs of the North-European tradition throughout the settlement is closely linked to that of other Scandinavian finds, the hypothesis about the presence of Scandinavians in the Lyudin Konets of Novgorod (fig. 9,4–5) as proposed by L. Smirnova is strengthened⁹⁵. It should be noted that the Troitsky Excavation yielded far more Scandinavian artefacts dated to the earlier period of 930–950 than the Nerevsky Excavation, that focused more on the layers of the late 10th and the turn between the 10th and 11th centuries.

In conclusion Scandinavians were present among the founders of the city as early as 930–950, while the hypothesis about a foundation by Slavic aristocrats alone seems less likely. The disregard of Scandinavian artefacts from

95 L. SMIRNOVA, *Comb-making in Medieval Novgorod (950–1450). An industry in transition*. BAR Internat. Ser. 1369 (Oxford 2005) 35; 37; 78; 89; 95–97; 105; 102; 317.



Abb. 11 Recently discovered and newly identified Scandinavian copper alloy, lead, and iron objects from excavations in Novgorod. 1: Phallic idol (Cu-Zn-Pb, end of the 10th century); 2: Fragment of a twisted neck-ring with a 'Thor's hammers' pendant, iron (930–950 AD); 3: 'Thor's hammers' pendant, lead (930–950 AD); 4: 'Thor's hammers' pendant, lead (930–950 AD); 5: Amulet with four 'Thor's hammers', iron (930–950 AD); 6: Miniature 'neck-ring'-shaped pendant, iron. – 1: Nerevsky Excavation; 2–6: Troitsky Excavation. 1–4: Novgorod State Museum, photo by the author. 5–6: Drawing by Novgorod Archaeological Expedition.

Novgorod and the tendency to underestimate their importance for understanding the early history of the city were determined by the historiographic tradition. Published memoirs of colleagues demonstrate that the first investigators of Novgorod, under the conditions of ideological dictate and self-censorship, were afraid to consider materials indicating a more important role of Scandinavians in the history of Eastern Europe⁹⁶. The formation of Novgorod in the 930–950s AD was part of a more global process of a shifting settlement topography in North-Western Russia that involved Scandinavian immigrants.

⁹⁶ D. A. AVDUSIN, Artemiy Vladimirovich Artsikhovkiy i Novgorod (Artsikhovskiy and Novgorod). In: V. L. Yanin/P. G. Gaydukov (eds), [1st] Novgorodskiy arkheologicheskiy chteniya (Novgorod 1994) 28–34, here 30.

As demonstrated already by the example of Gorodok-on-the-Mayata the first third of the 10th century saw the end of the system of settlements at the confluence of the Belaya and Msta rivers (Lyubytino District, Novgorod Oblast)⁹⁷, as well as Gorodishche-on-the-Syas' River⁹⁸. Exactly at this time in the second half of the 10th century, life revived at Ryurik Gorodishche and new settlements with a distinct Scandinavian component in their culture arose in the Lake Ilmen area. Gorodok-on-the-Shelon River was for a long time considered a site of the 13th century. However, re-investigation of its archaeological material has dated it to the second half of the 10th century⁹⁹. Simultaneously in the Lake Ilmen area, numerous Scandinavian objects appeared known from hoards and as stray finds¹⁰⁰. This fact indicates serious social, political and demographic transformations in this region related to the formation of Early Rus' and the role of the Scandinavians in this process.

Conclusions

The archaeological map of North-Western Russia has presently considerably changed. As a result it can be stated, that the region shows traces of southern and western influences already in the Roman period. It was open for imports from western and central Europe particularly from the

97 E. N. Nosov/V. YA. KONETSKIY/A. YU. IVANOV, Kompleks arkheologicheskikh pamyatnikov v doline reki Beloy v kontekste drevney istorii Severo-Zapada (Archaeological sites in the basin of the Belaya River and the early medieval history of North-Western Russia). In: V. L. Yanin (ed.), *U istokov Novgorodskoy zemli: Lyubytinskiy arkheologicheskiy sbornik* (Lyubytino 2002) 5–66.

98 O. I. BOGUSLAVSKIY, Kompleks pamyatnikov u derevni Gorodishche na reke Syas' (po rezultatom raskopok 1987–1999 godov) (A complex of sites at the Gorodishche village on the Syasi River [the results of excavations of 1987–1999]). *Stratum Plus* 5, 2003/2004, 171–243; ID., The region south of Lake Ladoga during the Viking Age (8th–11th centuries AD). In: P. Bauduin/A. Musin (dir.), *Vers l'Orient et vers l'Occident: Regards croisés sur dynamiques et les transferts culturels des Vikings à la Rous ancienne* (Caen 2014) 297–308.

99 A. V. PLOKHOV/S. E. TOROPOV, Gorodok na Sheloni – “zabytyy” pamyatnik epokhi rannego srednevekov'ya (Gorodok-on-the-Shelon' River as an early medieval settlement). *Novgorod i Novgorodskaya Zemlya: Istoriya i Arkheologiya* 27, 2013, 251–277.

100 S. E. TOROPOV, Stray finds of Scandinavian origin and Viking hoards in the Lake Ilmen' area near Novgorod the Great: Topography and composition. In: P. Bauduin/A. Musin (dir.), *Vers l'Orient et vers l'Occident: Regards croisés sur dynamiques et les transferts culturels des Vikings à la Rous ancienne* (Caen 2014) 257–279.

Baltic region, throughout the entire 1st millennium AD. The conception of a cultural inertness of this zone should be rejected: There was an active cultural exchange with the neighbouring regions. At the same time the use of certain chronological terms as 'finds of the Roman period' or 'finds of the Merovingian time' should be avoided. It is more apt to speak about the 'era of influence of provincial Roman cultures' or the 'Great Migration era', which in North-Western Russia is characterized by a longer chronology continuing up to the 9th century. The Slavic and Scandinavian migrations of the 8th and 9th centuries into this region, reliably identified through archaeological and written sources, were preceded by essential advance of exchange and resettling. Concerning the preceding period, imports of Central-European character are most present in materials of the 6th and 7th centuries. Their penetration to this region may have been due to the Finno-Ugric tribes occupying the territory of what are now Estonia and Izhora Upland and taking place to the west and east of Lake Peipus. These finds also show influences from the territory of future Lithuania realized via the upper reaches of the Daugava and Dnieper. Early Slavic material at the sites of the pre-*sopki* period are characterized not so much by these impulses, but through specific ceramic assemblages and well-defined lacustrine landscapes. The ongoing debate about these sites is linked with the traditional discussion between *autochtonists* and *migrationists*, that still continues in modern Russian archaeology. However, the surge of interest in sites and ceramics of the 'Kievan type', the desire to identify complexes of southern (Slavic) origin in the local material, as well as to propose a more ancient date for the Slavic colonization, i. e. the quasi-*autochtonistic* approach, to some extent reflect the increased conservative tendencies in Russian society. The same reason can explain the appearance of the *neoantinormanism* negating the Scandinavian origin of the Varangians, despite their mention in the Primary Rus' Chronicle and the presence of some undoubtedly Scandinavian artefacts. More generally, the difficulties in the present development of early Medieval archaeology can be traced back to the lack of interest in new scientific approaches and the poor motivation to publish materials of already excavated sites. True, such publications would require continuous re-examination of previously excavated archaeological materials. The difficulties also lie in the absence of mass application of physic anthropology and natural science methods for the interpretation

of the evidence obtained. In other words, while the ideas of the cultural inertness of North-Western Russia are successfully surmounted due to new finds and interpretations, at the same time, the general situation in archaeology of the region under study is determined by the historiographic inertia and following of old schemes and approaches established still in the Soviet period according to the “great narrative” of Russian history.

In conclusion, I am thankful to my colleague Mariya Yushkova, Natalya Grigoryeva, Alexey Plokhov, Michel Kazanski, Sergey Toropov, as well as Prof. Ch. Lübke and Prof. M. Hardt (GWZO, Leipzig) for their help in the work on this article and for the opportunity to take part in the 8. Deutscher Archäologiekongress in Berlin in 2014.

Zusammenfassung

Im Rahmen dieses Beitrages wird die archäologische Verbreitungskarte Nordwestrusslands im 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr. auf der Basis neuer Funde und der Neuauswertung alter Fundensembles überprüft. Als Fazit daraus kann festgehalten werden, dass das bisherige Modell einer kontinuierlichen und in sich geschlossenen Entwicklung der Region abgelehnt werden sollte. Bereits für die Römische Eisenzeit sind südliche und westliche Einflüsse auf die Region nachweisbar. Aus den Grabhügeln der Tarandgräberkultur des 6. und 7. Jahrhunderts, bei deren Träger es sich wohl um finno-ugurische Stämme handelte, die in der Gegend um den Peibussee siedelten, stammen eine größere Anzahl von Importen aus Mitteleuropa. Frühslawische Fundorte der Prä-Skopi-Periode hingegen sind gekennzeichnet von spezifischen Vergesellschaftungen von keramischem Fundmaterial und ihrer limnischen Lage. Somit geht den slawischen und skandinavischen Einwanderungen bereits eine Epoche voran, die von stark zunehmenden Kontakten zwischen Nordwestrussland und dem Westen bzw. dem Süden gekennzeichnet war. Die Neuauswertung der Fundmaterialien aus Nowgorod zeigt, dass skandinavische Bevölkerungselemente bereits zur Gründungszeit der Stadt um 930–950 anwesend waren und dass sich in dieser Zeit die Siedlungslandschaft veränderte. Die gegenwärtigen anti-migrationistischen und anti-normannistischen Ansätze in der Forschung spiegeln sowohl die konservativen und nationalistischen Tendenzen in der heutigen russischen Gesellschaft, als auch die Stagnation in der methodischen Fortentwicklung der russischen Archäologie wieder.

Summary

The article revises the traditional archaeological map of North-Western Russia for the 1st Millennium AD on the basis of new stray finds, excavation results and re-examination of archaeological material from museum collections. As a conclusion, the concept of a stable and uniform cultural development of this region should be rejected, since for North-Western Russia connections to Central and Southern Europe can be identified already in the period of Roman influences (Roman Iron Age). The Material from the long barrows and from the Tarandgräberkultur of the following 6th and 7th century AD contains imports from Central Europe, probably facilitated by the Finno-Ugric tribes occupying the territory to the west and east of Lake Peipus. The early Slavic sites of the pre-sopki period are characterized by specific ceramic assemblages and their positioning in well-defined limnic landscapes. The Slavic and Scandinavian migrations of the 8th and 9th centuries into this region were preceded by a period of essential advance of exchange and resettling. The re-examination of archaeological material from Novgorod demonstrates that Scandinavians were present among the founders of the city in 930–950 AD and shows a shifting settlement topography in the region. The present autochthonistic and neoantinormanistic approaches in the archaeological field of research reflect the increased conservative tendencies in Russian society and stagnation in methodological development in archaeology.

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