The Rise of Novgorod Revisited

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Abstract: This article deals with the problem of the cultural, political and ethnic characteristics of the first settlers of Novgorod. The previous historiography is critically reviewed. The reappraisal of the archaeological reports and collections of 1950s-2000s years significantly increases the number and categories of Scandinavian objects, while the Slavonic component of early Novgorod remains unclear. The Scandinavians should be counted among the founders and first settlers of Novgorod as early as 930-950 A.D. The pattern of the distribution of Scandinavian and Scandinavian-like objects suggests a free resettlement of Norsemen in the town. They arrived there directly form the North, and not from the Middle Dnieper area inhabited by the Rus'-Rhôs, an ethno-social group which was a result of the acculturation of the Scandinavians in the East-European milieu. The tradition of Russian historiography to deny the participation of Scandinavians in the early development of Novgorod takes its origin from the "auto-censorship" of the Soviet period, it later continued thanks to "scientific inertial resistance", and finds today a new inspiration in the "neo-conservatism" of Russian society.

Keywords: archaeology, written sources, Scandinavian and Scandinavian-like items, early urbanization, Slavonic-Scandinavian interaction, Viking period, Novgorod.

The scientific legacy of Professor Władysław Łosiński in medieval archaeology is associated with the history of the rise of early towns and the formation of the urban culture in the Baltic realm. His perception of the past continues to inspire modern research. This inspiration especially concerns the importance of the hinterlands in the process of urbanization that has been stressed in the project „Wczesnośredniowieczna aglomeracja miejska w Szczecinie. Suburbium" and the impact of Scandinavians on the process of the consolidation of Central-Eastern Europe (Łosiński 1997; 1999). In the present article, dedicated to his memory, it

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would be reasonable to combine both topics in order to shed new light on the rise of the most well-known mediaeval Russian town – Novgorod the Great and re-evaluate the role of the Norsemen in the primitive urban community of the mid-10th century.

The beginning of Novgorod coincides with the formation of the social and political organisation of Early Rus' and the first stage of the Scandinavian-Slavonic interaction. On its soil the archaeology and written sources had the unique possibility to be brought together. This fact explains why archaeologists as well as historians are drawn by the information of the Primary Rus' Chronicle[1]. The magic of narrative turned the study of the history of Eastern Europe into an interpretation of the text and reinterpretation of its comments. The reading of the Chronicle deeply influenced the study of excavated materials. As a result, Russian archaeologists, who regarded their activity as "history armed with shovel" (an expression of Artemij Artsikovskij [1902-1978], head of the archaeological expedition in Novgorod in 1930s-1970s) tried always to find full concordance between historical texts and material culture.

The literal non-critical reading of medieval texts and abuses in historical archaeology led the academic community to other extremes when the information of medieval chronicles began to be regarded as false. Consequently, any search for coincidences between written sources and archaeology began to be taken as *mauvais ton*. However, consistent application of the methodology of "*regressive purification*" which comprises the separate analysis of the various kinds of evidence in accordance with the methodology proper to each special discipline followed by comparison and integration of the results obtained (cf. Hachmann, Kossack, Kühn 1962; Hachmann 1970; Périn, Kazanski 2011, p. 302-303) can lead to reliable conclusions. Based on such updated "mixed-source" I intend to revise the first decades of the history of the settlement.

First of all, I will briefly summarise all the information about the beginning of Novgorod that is known from the early chronicles. At present researchers have two main versions of the history at their disposal. The author of the Primary Rus' Chronicle in the beginning of the 12th century stated sub anno 6370 (862 A.D[2].) that Rurik who had been invited to be a Prince by the coalition of local Slavonic and Finno-Ugrian tribes with his Rus' (according to him kin, a family or a tribe among the Varangians) firstly came to the Slavs and founded the city of Ladoga on the lower reaches of the Volkhov river. Two years later Rurik came to lake Ilmen and founded Novgorod (Ipat'evskaya letopis 2001, p. 14). This version

[1] See the reprinted publications: Lavrent'evskaya letopis 2001; Ipat'evskaya letopis 2001. For the English translation which should be recognized as inexact, see: Russian primary chronicle 1930; 2nd ed., 1953. For the Polish edition see: Powieść 1968.

[2] Evidently, this date is conventional and issued from the artificially constructed chronology of the initial part of the Chronicle (Shakhmatov 2003, p. 15, 225-226). However, the events described definitely happened in the second half of the 9th century.

should be recognized as more authentic. It is preserved in the Hypatian Codex. The statement of the English edition of the Laurentian Codex that Rurik from the beginning "located himself in Novgorod" is based on an incorrect interpolation. Similar information of the late medieval Commission Codex of the Novgorod First Chronicle is also not reliable (Lavrent'evskaya letopis 2001, p. 20; Russian primary chronicle 1930, p. 59; Novgorodskaya letopis 1950, p. 106*;* for discussion see Machinskij 2002; Gippius 2007; Vilkul 2008). In the same time, the medieval chronicler argued that the first settlers and founders of Novgorod were Slavs, and Varangians were only colonists there. Additionally, the Laurentian and Commission Codex state that on account of these Varangians who came with Prince Rurik, the Middle Dnieper area with the centre in Kyiv became known as the land of Rus' (*Ruskaya zemlya*), and in the beginning of the 12th century the inhabitants of Novgorod, prevoiously – Slavs, were regarded as descended from the "Varangian kin". The "Varangian kin" might be interpreted as a social and political system established in the town within the pact between the local Slavs, ancestors of the Novgorodians, and invited Scandinavians (on this interpretation see Musin 2016a, p. 15-16).

It should be also noted that the Novgorod First chronicle according to its Synodal Codex not only argued that Novgorod already existed by the time of the arrival of Prince Rurik in 862 A.D., but also stated that in 1044 A.D. Prince Vladimir, son of Yaroslav the Wise "founded Novgorod and finished it" (Novgorodskaya letopis 1950, p. 181 [6552]). In fact, it does not tell of the foundation of the town. The chronicler of the 15th century only wished to give information about the construction of a new earth-and-timber defense (novyi gorod), the Kremlin of Novgorod[3].

The Russian Humanities never tried to reconcile two contradictory statements in the chronicles. The question of who the first settlers of the town were, Slavs or Scandinavians, was definitely answered in favor of the first hypothesis. The main discussion concerned only supposed transurbanization. *Nomen est omen*, and the magic of names captivated researchers who had always searched for an "Old town" as predecessor of Novgorod (literally "New town") (see the bibliography in Khoroshev 1983). Among its "ancestors" were Rurikovo Gorodishche (*gorodishche* – site of ancient settlement, old abandoned town; Karger 1947, p. 148; Voronin 1945, p. 35), an agglomeration of settlements at the headwaters of the Volkohov river and around lake Ilmen (*Poozerie*; Nosov 1984; 1992), Staraya Ladoga (Ravdonikas 1949, p. 6; Artsikhovskiy 1956, p. 43; Orlov 1960, p. 26; Mavrodin 1971, p. 54-55),

[3] Recently, Yurii Dyba (Lviv, Ukraine) advanced a hypothesis that Novgorod as a settlement on the Volkhov river did not exist until 1044 A.D. According to him all early mentions of Novgorod in the Primary chronicle concern the town of Vladimir in Volhynia which in the 10th century was initially called "New town" and only later was rebaptized as Vladimir (see, for example: Dyba 2013; 2014, p. 208-305). In fact, these conclusions could only be reached by a violation against the methodology of historical research. A similar hypothesis on the identification of mentioned Novgorod of the 10th century in the written sources and trade center Gnezdovo near Smolensk see: Voytovich 2015.

Staraya Russa (Tatishchev 1964, p. 77; Shakhmatov 1919, p. 58; 2002, p. 219; Platonov 1920; Medvedev 1967) and even Kyiv (Rybakov 1982, p. 527, 530; Kuza 1975, p. 173). However, none of these suggestions have sufficient supporting evidence.

Today, the broadly accepted hypothesis on the beginning of Novgorod is proposed by Valentin Yanin, constant head of the archaeological expedition to Novgorod since the 1970s. Based on the retrospective analysis and a superficial study of excavated materials he stated, that Novgorod emerged as a result of the growing together of the three initial nucleus-settlements at the places of the future Lyudin and Nerevskij Ends (*konets*, district) of the town on the left bank of the Volkhov river, and at the place of Slavenskij End on its right bank (Fig. 1). These settlements must have arisen at the turn of the 9th to the 10th century whereas their transformation into an urban structure took place around 950 AD[4]. Firstly he argued that each of them corresponded to a tribe included in the invitation of Rurik (Yanin, Aleshkovkij 1971; Yanin 1982). However, archaeological investigation did not yield any ethnic significant differences in early material cultures of urban nucleuses of the 10th-11th century (Pokrovskaya 2014). The next hypothesis supposed that the early settlements were initiated by representatives of the aristocracy of Slavonic tribes settled in the area, later – medieval boyars of Novgorod. The majority of the population of Novgorod was Slavic with additional and unclear Baltic and Finno-Ugric elements. The Scandinavian component was regarded as insignificant, and the objects of Scandinavian origin are considered as indications of occasional contacts between the local population and the Baltic realm (*cf.* Jansson 1999, p. 18; Rybina, Khvoshchinskaya 2010). Generally, the early aristocratic towns opposed to the princely dynasty established in Kiev, which had a residence at Gorodishche (Yanin 2004, p. 127-129). In the beginning of the 11th century the princely residence was transferred by Yaroslav the Wise from Gorodishche to the Slavenskij End where the princely court and retinue settled in the no man's lands. This act turned Novgorod into a princely town while the future Kremlin (*Detinets*) located between Lyudin and Nerevskij Ends remained the Episcopal residence (Dejevski 1977; Nosov 1990, p. 208; Yanin 1992, p. 85-87; 2001, p. 91-92). Evidently, this hypothesis might not be able to be established to everyone's satisfaction (for criticism, see Alekseev 1979). In he modern historiography Novgorod is mainly regarded from its beginning as a princely town, and skepticism dominates the questions of who founded the town and when and who its earliest citizens were (Lukin 2014, p. 58-59).

Against this background of historiography the weaknesses of the Scandinavian study in the history of early Novgorod is clearly visible. The researchers usually stressed the scarcity of the finds and tried to demonstrate the common Baltic

[4] It is quite probable that this hypothesis originates in the ideas expressed by H. Łowmiański (1966).

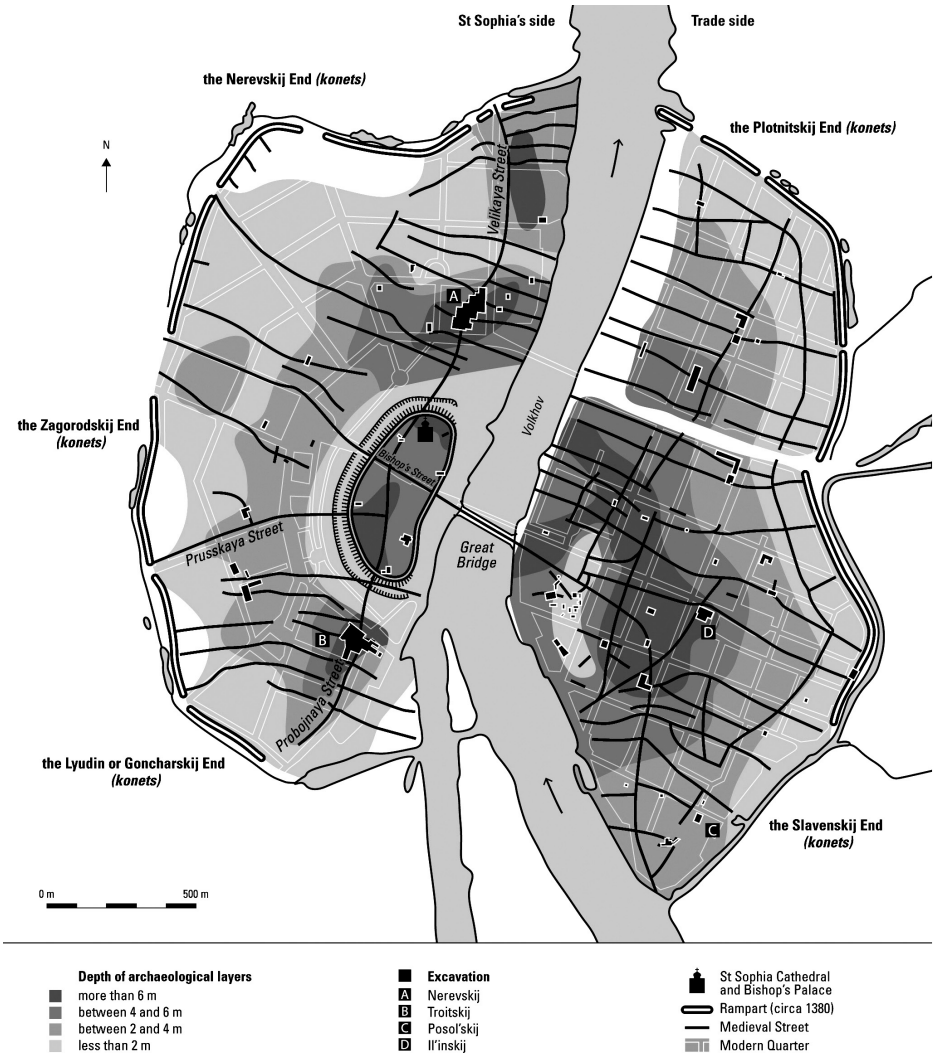

Fig. 1. Plan of Novgorod showing modern and medieval objects. Drawn by J.-Cl. Fossey. CRAH AM

character of the main categories of the artefacts. It is very strange to read, for example, that the Scandinavian objects form only 0,001% of the collection of items excavated during 70 years of archaeological investigation of Novgorod (Rybina, Khvoshchinskaya 2010, p. 76). This calculation comprises the chronological period of the mid-10th – mid-15th century while it would be reasonable to limit it to the Viking period.

Additionally, the research is characterised by selectiveness. The main focus was directed to dress accessories and metal objects, runic inscriptions and other rare

artifacts (Khvoshchinskaya, Rybina 2014) (Fig. 2). The Scandinavian finds are considered exclusively according to the categories of objects. Mainly the trade connections to Scandinavia were accentuated in the study rather than the probable dwelling of the Scandinavians in Novgorod. Moreover, the chronology of the finds was never well defined, the artefacts being summarily dated to the second half of the 10th to first – second half of the 11th century. It should be also added that the initial chronology of Novgorod normally based on dendrochronological investigation should be revisited (for this new approach, see Tarabardina 2009; Gaydukov et al. 2014). The settlements at the places of the future Nerevskij and Lyudin Ends arose simultaneously in 930-950 A.D., whereas no layers of an earlier occupation have been revealed. These dates identified by Boris Kolchin were still mentioned in studies and publications of 1970-1980 concerning the dendrochronology of the Troitskij and Nerevskij excavations (Ur'eva 1989, p. 214-227; Ur'eva, Chernykh 1995, p. 106-114). However later this chronology was rejected since the archaeological evidence did not match with information of the chronicle mentioning the political activity of the Princess Olga in North-Western Russia in 947 AD.

The Scandinavian collection from Novgorod is usually compared to the Northern assemblage of Rurikovo Gorodishche where ring-headed pins of male costume and elements of horse equipment are relatively numerous and regarded as a sign of presence of the Varangian guard. This observation is involved as an argument for the lack of the Scandinavians among the population of Novgorod. The funny thing is that this distinction is stressed in the same time as observation of differences in social functions between two settlements. According to researchers Gorodishche played the role of princely residence and local administrative centre, while Novgorod is interpreted as trade and craft settlement with a civil population. It would be logical to accept that difference in social roles is normally manifested in differences in material cultures.

As a result, a very incomplete picture of the presence of the Scandinavians in early Novgorod arises, and the academic community does not yet have access to any well-grounded archaeological synthesis on the origin of the town. This situation redirected us towards museums which have kept excavated materials since the beginning of excavations in 1932 – the Novgorod State Museum (Novgorod the Great), the State Historical Museum (Moscow), and the Hermitage (St Petersburg), as well as to archaeological reports in the archives of the Institute of Archaeology, Moscow. In addition, it forces us to revise the methods of studies of early urban material culture.

The re-examination of the Novgorod collection succeeded in identifying at least 40 new Scandinavian and Scandinavian-like objects in at least 10 functional categories, which had not been considered in prior research or were only recently excavated. The important elements of the Scandinavian culture in early Novgorod were attested from the beginning of the excavations at the Nerevskij site (1951-1962) (Fig. 8). They are more numerous at the Troitskij excavations (1973 – to the pres-

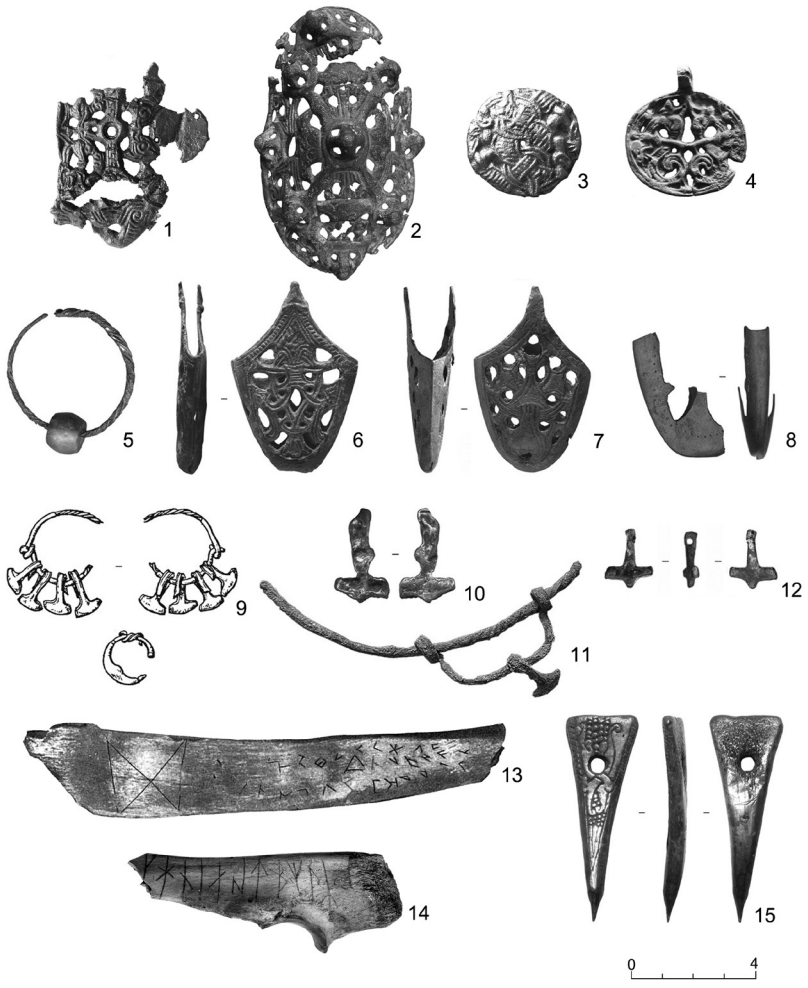

Fig. 2. Scandinavian objects from Novgorod previously involved into researches:

1, 2 – fragments of oval brooch; 3 – round brooch; 4 – round pendant of the Ellinge style; 5 – amulet with bead; 6-8 – sword scabbard chaps; 9 – set of miniature torques-shaped and "Thor's hammer" pendants; 10, 12 – "Thor's hammer" pendants; 11 – fragment of the twisted neck ring with "Thor's hammer" pendant; 13-14 – fragmentary bones with runic inscriptions; 15 – bodkin in Ringerike style (Excavation sites: 1, 5, 6-12 – Troitskij; 2, 13-15 – Nerevskij site; 3 – Posol'skij; 4 – Il'inskij; 1-4, 6-8 – cooper alloy; 5, 10 – lead; 9, 11, 12 – iron; 13-15 – bone)

ent) on the same Saint Sophia side (Fig. 9) and nearly absent on the Trade side which is regarded by several researchers as a principal residence area of the Norsemen in Novgorod. The new investigation also makes it possible to analyse the chronology and topography of several finds under question in a more precise fashion.

First of all, among the objects of Northern origins should be counted clay round weights for warp weighted vertical looms of the Northern tradition. They are well known in Scandinavia and on the British Islands as well as at the East European sites, especially at Rurikovo Gorodishche, where they are regarded as clear indicators of Scandinavian presence (*cf*. Shtakelberg 1962; Hoffmann 1964; Dubov, Sedykh 1984; Staermose Nielsen 2005, p. 130; Nosov, Plokhov, Khvoshchinskaya 2017, p. 63-64) (Fig. 3). The excavations in Novgorod yielded only separate fragmentary round discs (up to 10 from different parcels) while one complete set of loom weights usually consisted of 20-30 items. It is worth noting that in the early 1960s Adam Nahlik managed to identify among archaeological textiles from Nerevskij site several fragment of clothes made at warp weighted vertical loom with very characterized twill structure of "in four threads" with so-called "third selvage" (Nahlik 1963, p. 256-257, Fig. 19).

A very interesting category is presented by the symbols of Scandinavian paganism on domestic objects in the form of *triquetra* and *trisquel* symbols (Fig. 4) (Musin et al. 2015-2016, p. 63, fig. 6) also known on the objects from Rurikovo Gorodishche and presented among 11th century graffiti on the walls of the Saint Sophia cathedral (*cf*. Dorofeeva 2016a, Fig. 4: 10; 2016b, p. 107, 109, Fig. 1, 3: 4) (Fig. 4: 3). In addition research includes metallic and wooden idols belonging to the German pagan iconographic tradition (Fig. 5; 6) (Musin 2014, p. 314, 322) and hemispherical gaming-pieces of walrus ivory (Fig. 7).

At the same time we must take into consideration the results recently obtained by colleagues. For example, the 252 single-side composite combs and 118 comb cases of the Northern tradition, from the 10th – 11th century with the peak in the late 10th century, were attested in the archaeological materials excavated in 1951-2000 by Lyubov Smirnova. She also demonstrated that this chronological distribution of combs can be traced everywhere on the periphery of the Scandinavian world (Smirnova 2005, p. 17-18, 55, 99, 102, 189; *cf*. Ambrosiani 1981; MacGregor et al. 1999). The very representative assemblage of padlocks with a cubical lock body of the Northern tradition and their flat keys of the mid-10th –11th century was attested among excavated materials by Andrej Kudryavtsev (Kudryavtsev 2014, p. 80-82; *cf*. Tomtlund 1989, p. 133-134; Ottoway, Rogers 2002, p. 2861-2879).

The most interesting result may be obtained if the focus of research is shifted from the study of separate functional categories of artifacts to the assemblages of finds yielded in the framework of an urban parcel. At the Nerevskij site, mid of the 10th – first quarter of 11th century, the concentration of Scandinavian objects was detected at parcel «И» (Fig. 8). Among them are two fragments of clay weights for warp weighted loom (Fig. 3: 1-2)[5], fragmentary bones with runic inscriptions or bone motif-pieces (Melnikova 1977, p. 156-158, no 141, 142, Fig. 85;

[5] Field no Ner -XXIV-XXV, 1958, 27-1620-20/21; inv. no NSM NV 20944 / A78: 867/868, the first half of the 11th century.

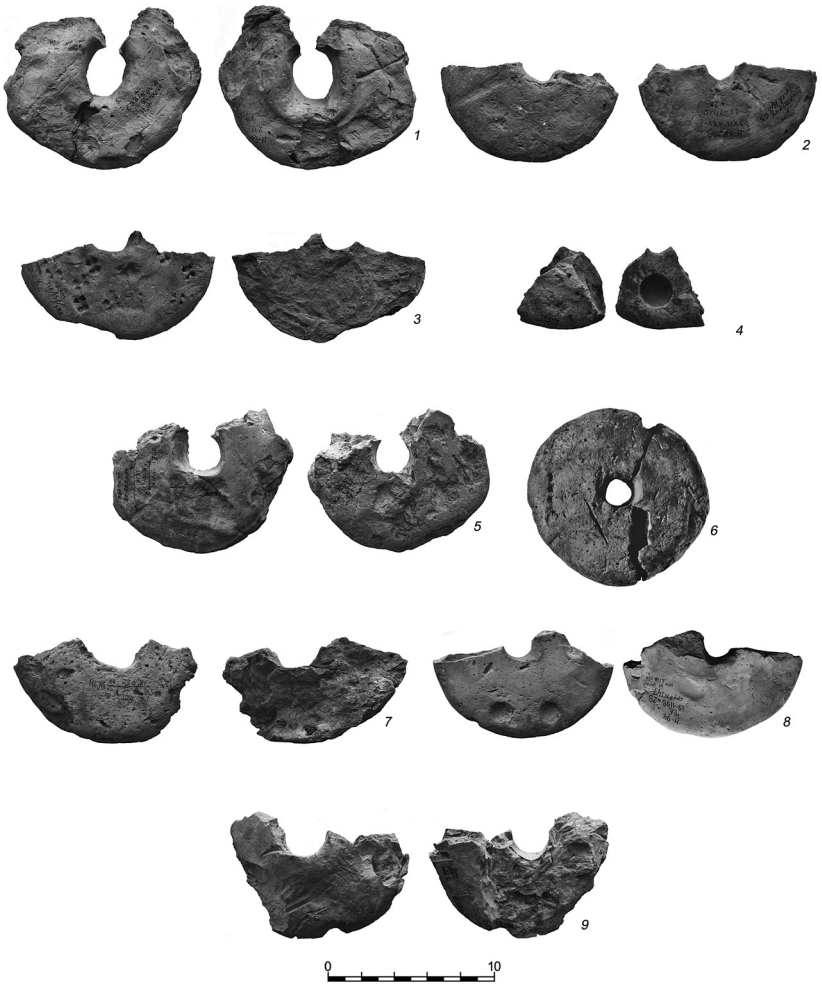

Fig. 3. Weights for warp weighted vertical loom of the Northern tradition, clay. Nerevskij site: 1-2 – parcel "И" (27-1620-20/21); Troitskij site: 3-4 – parcel "А" (27-28/ 23-217, 23-235), 5-8 – parcel "З" (21-709-34, 22-716-14; 19-1198-28), 9 – parcel "Е" (18-1405-35). Fot. A. Musin

2001, p. 251, 451, no 7.3, Fig. 84) (Fig. 2: 13, 14)[6], wooden figurines of idols which have parallels in the German pagan tradition, one of them in the position of adoration (Kolchin 1989a, p. 193-194; 1989b, p. 451, 452, pl. 205: 2, 206: 7; this gesture is well known at locations definitely known as Scandinavian cultic

[6] Field no Ner-XVI, 1956, 25/28-1180-4, inv. no NSM KP 39560-6/A6-35; Ner-XXVIII, 1958, 25-1650, inv. no NSM KP 39560-1/A6-30; first quarter of the 11th century. Elena Melnikova excluded the second inscription from the new edition of catalogue as doubtful.

places, for example, mid-10th century Ladoga, see: Kirpichnikov 2014, p. 226-227, Fig. 9: 4) (Fig. 6: 1, 3)[7], and padlocks with cubical lock body as well as their flat key[8]. The excavations of the parcel "E" yielded a fragment of a twisted iron neck-ring (Sedova 1981, p. 11, 23, Fig. 1: 7)[9] and a copper alloy handle with phallic seating idol (sub-parcel "E1"; *cf*. Konovalov et al. 2008, p. 63, no 668; *cf*. Meinander, Lehtosalo 1961, Fig.127)[10] (Fig. 5). A fragmentary oval brooch, type JP 51 was found on the pavement of Velikaya street closer to the fence of the parcel "E" (Fig. 2: 2)[11]. Among the material from the parcel "K" a hobble for horses of the Northern tradition (Grinev 2017)[12] and a round pendant with "Y" reminiscent designs sometimes regarded as stylized versions of "Thor's hammer" (sub-parcel "K1"; Sedova 1981, p. 37, 39, Fig.13: 5; Rybina, Khvoshchinskaya 2010, p. 68, 69, Fig. 2: 3)[13] might be distinguished. Another round pendant with "Y" designs comes from the parcel "Д"[14] as does as a bone bodkin with carved pattern in Ringeriki style (sub-parcel "Д2"; Fig. 2: 15) [15]. At the last parcel a hoard of dirchams and weights (t.p.q. 974/975 AD) was found in 1956 in the layer of 970s AD (Yanina 1963)[16]. Unfortunately, the information published by A. Nahlik does not make it possible to indentify exactly the distribution of textile finds; however, most probably they were concentrated at the already known parcels "И", "Д" and "E". On the other hand, the distribution of single-side composite combs of the class "A" of the North-European tradition from the earliest deposits of Novgorod established by L. Smirnova is closely linked to that of other Scandinavian finds; their concentration is attested at the same parcels "И" (at least 16 items), "K" (9), "Д" (19) and "E" (21) for the period from mid-10th to the mid-11th century (Smirnova 2005, p. 95–97). In addition, the observation that the main part of the Scandinavian objects of the Nerevskij excavation site was yielded at the parcel "K" (*cf*. Rybina, Khvoshchinskaya 2010, p. 76) is not based on archaeological materials.

The analysis of the parcels excavated to the north of the Nerevskij End show a slightly different picture without any clear ethnic indicators. At the parcel "Б"

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[7] Field no Ner-XVI, 1956, 23-28-1166, end of the 10th century; Ner-XXVIII, 1959, 25-27-1520; beginning of the 11th century.

[8] Field no Ner-XXIII, 1958, 25 -26-1543; Ner-XXVIII, 1959, 24-27-1780; first half of the 11th century.

[9] Field no Ner-XIX, 1957, 27/34-1375, inv. no SHM 100497. Op. 1965/1994; 930-950 AD.

[10] Field no Ner-XX, 1957, 33/26 (25)-1402-1, inv. no NSM KP 25293/A5-120; end of the 10th-beginning of the 11th century (Cu-94,9%, Zn – 4%, Pb – 0,7%, Sn – 0,2%, Bi – 0,02%, Ag – 0,02%, Sb - 0,06%, As – 0,04%, Fe – 0,03%, Ni – 0,006%, Mn – 0,02%, Au – 0,0001%).

[11] Field no Ner-XIX, 1957, 25-640; inv. no SHM,100497/ОП. 1965/1994; 1006-1026 A.D.

[12] Field no Ner-XVII, 1956, 31-1253; inv. no NSM KP 26507/A40-185.

[13] Field no Ner-XX, 28-32-1281; inv. no SHM 100497. Op. 1965/1984; 930-950 AD.

[14] Field no Ner-XX, 25-27-1476.

[15] Field no Ner- XXXIII, 1962, 29-2161-8, inv. no NSM KP 19300/A2-2.

[16] Field no Ner-XV, 1956, 27-31-1132.

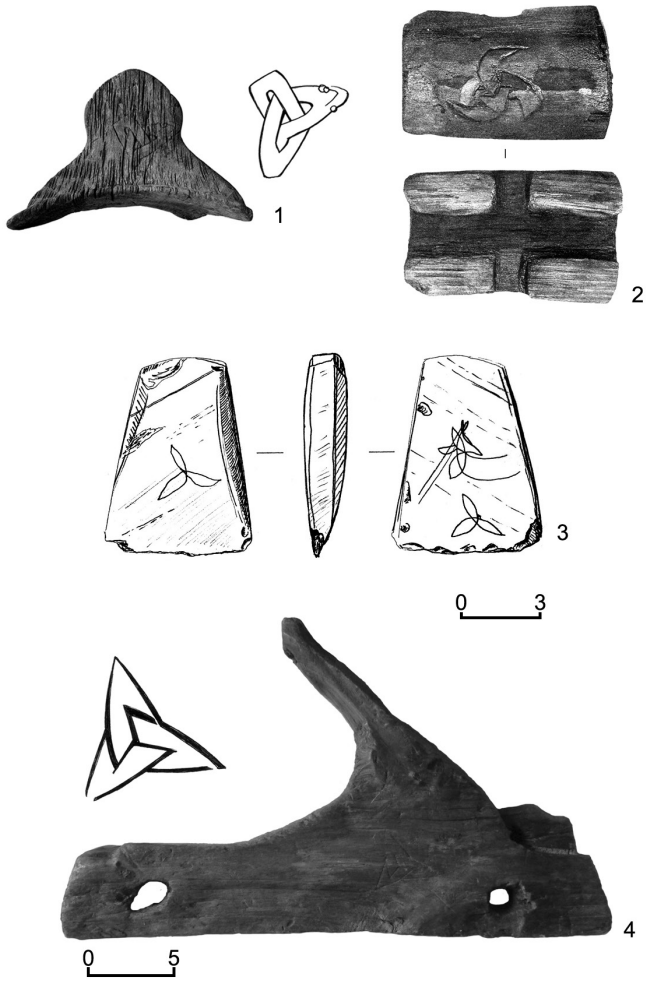

Fig. 4. Wooden and stone objects with *triquetra* symbols. Troitskij site:
1– coop handle, parcel "И", *Acer*,; 2 – cylindrical lock, wood, parcel "Ж"; 4 – boat rowlock, wood, parcel "Г"; Riurikovo Gorodishche: 3– neolitic tool as thunderbolt (1, 4 – photo by S. Toropov; 2 – after: Yanin et al. 2014: fig. 9: 2; 3 – after: Dorofeeva 2016: fig. 4: 10)

where a hoard of dirchams (t.p.q. 971/972 AD) was found in 1956 in the layer from the 970s AD (Yanina 1956)[17], only a copper alloy oval cover plat with open-work interlaced design in Mammen style of the 12th century (Sedova 1981, p. 39, 163, Fig.13: 7; Egorov 1996, p. 44, no 76; Rybina, Khvoshchinskaya 2010, p. 69, p. Fig. 2: 1; in a paradoxical manner the authors of the last publication refused to

[17] Field no Ner-III, 1953, 27-30-312.

recognize its Scandinavian origins)[18] and a series of flat keys of the turn of the 10th-11th century[19] together with 25 single-side composite combs were detected. The opposite parcel "B" yielded a 10th century clay loom weight (not preserved today) and a flat key from the first half of the 11th century[20] as well as 4 single-side combs. It is logical to assume that the material culture of local inhabitants presents the result of the introduction of technological innovations into everyday life due to previous contacts with Scandinavians.

Nevertheless, the most important collection of Scandinavian artifacts comes from the Troitskij excavation site in the Lyudin End to the south of the Kremlin. The topography of the primary deposition of the objects is similar to the pattern known at the Nerevskij End, however they were deposited slightly earlier (Fig. 9). At the parcel "A", mid-10th – 11th century, yielded fragments of clay loom weights with four dot ornamentation (Fig. 3: 3-4)[21], an open-work sword scabbard chape (for the analysis and description see Kainov, Avdeenko 2012, p. 148, Fig. 1: 3) (Fig. 2: 6)[22], one hemispherical gaming peace of walrus ivory (Fig. 7: 2)[23], and a flat key found on the pavement of the street close to the parcel[24]. At the parcel "E" the excavations attested since 930-950 AD a fragment of the twisted iron neck ring with "Thor's hammer" pendant (Fig. 2: 11), another "Thor's hammer" pendant of lead, probably an unfinished item (Fig. 2: 10)[25], fragment of clay loom-weight (Fig. 3: 9)[26], a wooden idol of the Northern tradition in the position of the adoration (Fig. 6: 2)[27] and a padlock with cubical lock body[28]. Another fragment of an iron twisted neck-ring with broken ends (Yanin et al. 2001, p. 107; Fig. 53: 1; Pokrovskaya 2007, p. 281; Rybina, Khvoshchinskaya 2010, p. 74) was detected at the parcel "C"[29]; and from the next parcel "У" came one "Thor's hammer" pendant of lead (Fig. 2: 12)[30].

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[18] Field no Ner-XIV, 1955, 17-20-1008; inv. no SHM 100497. Op. 1965/1969.

[19] Field nos Ner-VII, 1954, 26/27-26-501, Ner-XIV, 1955, 25/26-28-1022, 25-26-1015.

[20] Ner-V, 1953 25-26-402.

[21] Field no Tr-IV, 1977, 27-28/ 23-217, 23-235 inv. no NSM NV 19492 / A57: 584/585; 930-950 AD.

[22] Field no Tr-IV, 1977, 21-208-5, inv. no NSM KP 28080/A57-581; 980-1000 AD.

[23] Field no Tr-VI, 1982, 19/16-400-31; inv. no NSM KP 33560/A96-403, beginning of the 12th century.

[24] Field no Tr-VI, 1983, 27-426.

[25] Field no Tr-XII, 2000, 23-1440-105, inv. no NSM KP 43677/A197-1011, 1017; Tr-XII, 2000, B V – 1526 (pit B4-no 13); 940-960 AD.

[26] Field no Tr-XII, 2000, 18-1405-35, inv. no NSM NV 23292 / A 197-236; 1000-1020 AD.

[27] Field no Tp-XII, 2001, 15-1466-17, t.a.q. 1080-1090 A.D.

[28] Field no Tr-XII, 2000, 20-1416.

[29] Field no Tp-XII, 2000, 23-1560-23.

[30] Field no Tr-XIII, 2009, 0-1674-2, 930-950 AD.

Fig. 5. Phallic idol, Nerevskij excavation site, parcel "E", cooper alloy, photo by S. Toropov

The parcel "Г" (930s AD – second half of the 11th century) is also rich with Scandinavian artifacts. The first occupation layers, as in parcel "E", rendered a pendant-amulet of twisted iron rings with four iron examples of "Thor's hammer" and miniature iron torque-shaped pendants (Fig. 2: 9)[31], a lead twisted amulet with an amber bead (Fig. 2: 5)[32], rowlocks with the *triquetra* symbol (Fig. 4: 4)[33], hemispherical gaming peaces of walrus ivory (Fig. 7: 1)[34] as well as a flat key[35]. Close to this parcel, at the parcel "P" one sword scabbard chape (Kainov, Avdeenko 2012, p. 146-147, Fig. 1: 1) (Fig. 2: 8)[36] was found. At the next parcel "И" an open-work sword scabbard chape was detected (Kainov 2009; Kainov, Avdeenko 2012, p. 146-147, Fig. 1: 2) (Fig. 2: 7) [37] as were a fragment of a wooden ladle (coop

[31] Field no Tr-VIII, 1987, 23-654/656, 930-950 AD.

[32] Field no Tr-VIII, 1986, 13-703-36; inv. no NSM KP 36697/A109-372, 1080-1100 AD.

[33] Field no Tp-VIII, 1987, 19-688-32; inv. no NSM KP 44/655, 990-1010 AD.

[34] Field no Tr -V, 1980, 16-317, inv. no NSM KP 31490/A71-75, *cf.* Smirnova 2005, p. 104, Fig. 3.78.

[35] Field no Tr-VIII, 1986, 14-670, second half of the 11th century.

[36] Field no Tr-XII, 1998, 1240-9, inv. no NSM KP 43204/A190 - 384, 930-950 AD.

[37] Field no Tr-XI , 1998, 19 (27) – 1252-33, inv. no NSM KP 43204/A190-372, 930-950 AD.

handle, *Acer*) with a *triquetra* representation (Fig. 4: 1)[38], an amulet ring with a glass bead and padlock with a cubical lock body[39]. To the west, at the parcel "П" a very interesting assemblage of Scandinavian and Scandinavian like items of the mid-10th-beginning of the 11th century was attested, including anthropomorphic wooden idols (Pokrovskaya 2007b, p. 411, 412, Fig. 24.7: 4) which have their closest parallel among the finds at Schleswig harbor (end of the 11th century [?], Radtke 2010, in the publication the idol of obviously Nordic tradition in a paradoxical manner has been explained by the influence of a "home ghost" of Novgorod) (Fig. 6: 4, 5)[40], another idol figurine[41] and series of flat keys[42]. The origins of wooden scabbards or cases with avimorphic motif (Rybina 2001, p. 200, 204, Fig. 5: 1) are debatable[43]. To the south, at the parcel "З" even 3 fragments of lay loom weights with semispherical imprint of fingers (Fig. 3: 5-8)[44] and one flat key[45] were yielded.

The assemblage of finds of Scandinavian origins excavated at the parcel "Ж" at two times, in 1986 and 2014 are very important. Firstly a fragment of an oval brooch, JP 52[46] had been detected there (Fig. 2: 1) which was wrongly attributed to the parcel "Е". After 19 years passed the southern part of the parcel "Ж" was exhaustively investigated and other two fragments of the same brooch was found (Yanin et al. 2015, p. 61, Fig. 9: 1, 2)[47]. In addition a special assemblage of Scandinavian objects was discovered at the same parcel which is chronologically divided into two parts. The first set is dated to the 930-960 AD: cover plates in Borre style (Yanin et al. 2015, p. 59, Fig. 7: 3-4)[48], two iron torque-shaped pendants on a ring (Yanin et al. 2015: 61, Fig. 9 : 4)[49], the head of a bone ornamented pin (Yanin et al. 2015, p. 61, Fig. 9 : 3)[50], a fishtail shaped pendant (Yanin et al. 2015, p. 61, Fig. 9 : 5)[51] imitating in cooper alloy similar pieces from the hoards of Hallinge, Grötlingbo sn (SHM 19882), and Krasse, Guldrupe sn (SHM 6387),

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[38] Field no Tr-XI, 1998, 18-1237-4, inv. no NSM KP 43204 / A13-1518, 970-990 AD.

[39] Field no Tr-X, 1994, 16-1093, first half of the 11th century.

[40] Field no Tr-X, 1994, 30-1092-15, inv. no NSM KP 41170 / A170-602, 930-950 AD.

[41] Field no Tr-X, 1994, 18-1157-61, inv. no NSM KP 41170/A170-601, 930-950-e AD.

[42] Field no Tr-IX, 1994, 16-809; Tr-X, 1994, 16-1086.

[43] Field no Tr-X, 1994, 29-18-1128, 940-960 AD.

[44] Field no Tr-VIII, 1987, 21-709-34, 22-716-14; Tr-X, 1990, 19-1198-28; inv. no NSM, KP 41170/A170-54, KP 36697/A109-1708, NV 22081/ A109-195; 930-950 A.D.

[45] Field no Tr-VIII, 1987, 16-696.

[46] Field no Tr-VII, 1986, 26-19-602, inv. no NSM KP 35697/A107-92, 930-950 AD.

[47] Field nos Tr-XIII, 2015, 1839-1, 17-1851-146.

[48] Field no Tr-XIII, 2015, 18-1803-64, 16-1845-28.

[49] Field no Tr-XIII, 2015, 17-1848-140.

[50] Field no Tr-XIII, 2015, 16/17-1861-4.

[51] Field no Tr-XIII, 2015, 16-1860-44.

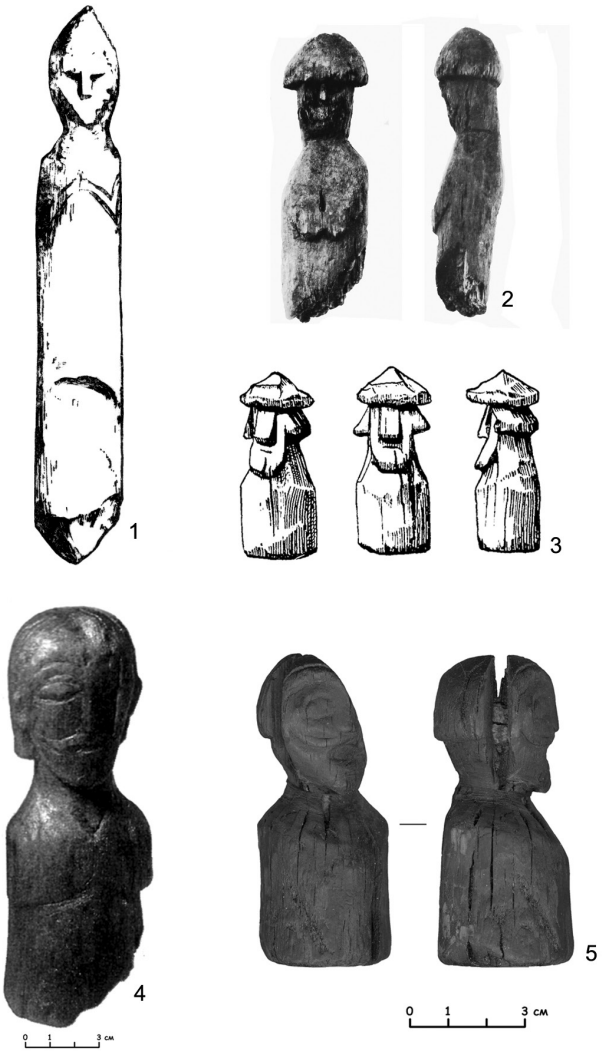

Fig. 6. Idols figurines, wood. Nerevskij excavation site:
1, 3 – parcel "И"; Troitskij excavation site: 2 – parcel "E", 5 – parcel "P", *Alnus*; 4 – Schleswig harbor (1, 3 – after: Kolcin 1989b, pl. 205: 2, 206: 7; 2 – photo by S. Orlov; 4 – after: Radtke 2010, fig. 1; 5 – photo by S. Toropov)

Gotland, Sweden (*cf.* Thunmark-Nylén 1998, tab. 162). The second belongs to the turn of 10th –11th century, a slate whetstone amulet and its fragments (Yanin et al. 2015, p. 61, 62, Fig. 9 : 6; on this cult practice see Lamm 1987; Musin 2012, p. 584)[52], a round pendant with a volute design (Yanin et al. 2015, p. 59, Fig. 7:

[52] Field no Tr-XIII, 2015, 15-1856-120.

8)[53] as well as a bracelet with strapped ends known in the Baltic cultural realm in the 10th – 12th century (for the examples from Novgorod see Sedova 1981, p. 110, fig. 38: 5, 11), hemispherical gaming peaces of walrus ivory and series of flat keys[54]. The assemblage is accompanied by fragments of Viking age type two-armed balances (Yanin et al. 2015, p. 60, fig. 8), bronze weights, Arabic dirchams, and single-side composite combs that show the trade activity and Northern connections of the local settlers. Additionally in 2013 excavations yielded small commercial lead seals of local tradition and wooden lock with *triquetra* symbols (Fig. 4: 2) (Yanin et al. 2014, p. 30 31-32, Fig. 9: 2; *cf*. Yanin 2007) in the same parcel. The opinion that the majority of the Scandinavian items at the Troitskij excavations site was attested at the parcel "E" is not exact (Rybina, Khvoshchinskaya 2010, p. 76; Pokrovskaya 2007a, p. 281).

Additionally, separate finds at different excavations of the St Sophia Side to the south of Troitskij excavations site should be mentioned. From the Vlasievskij site – there was a matrix for the fabrication of sword scabbard chapes in Scandinavian style probably executed in the Middle Dnieper area (Kainov, Oleynikov 2015, p. 223, Fig. 6, 7: 1); from the first occupation layers of Vozdvizenskij site (2017), from the 11th century (head of the excavation Oleg Oleynikov) – a ring-pendant with a set of miniature so called "staffs of Völva" (*cf*. Price 2002, p. 203-204; similar amulets are known at Rurikovo Gorodishche, *cf*. Toropov 2014, p. 263-265, Fig. 6: 1; Dorofeeva 2016b, p. 235-236, Fig. 4: 4, 5); from excavations in 2017 outside the city rampart, headed by Oleynikov – a round pendant with volute-shaped pattern (*cf*. Egorov 1996, p. 61, no 387; Toropov 2014, p. 264-265, Fig. 6: 4) comparable to the items found at parcel "K" and Д" of the Nerevskij End.

The Trade side on the right bank of the Volkhov river presents only a small number of Northern items without any hope for significant change in the future. Nearly all of them are dated back to the 11th-12th century. So, one disc brooch type IJ II A 4 (II B ?) is known at the Posol'skij site (Fig. 2: 3)[55]. The Il'inskij site at the parcel "A" yielded a round pendant derived from an open-work of the Ellinge style (Fig. 2: 4)[56] with close parallels in two pendants from the 10th century Gnezdovo hoard of 1867 (Gushchin 1936, p. 55, pl. III: 2, 4) as well as pendant of Vårby (Huddinge sn, Södermanland, Sweden, SHM 4516) and that of the Museum of University of Bergen (Norway); a similar representation of pair of monsters can be seen on the mount of the silver-bound "big" drinking horn from the burial mound Chorna mohyla in Chernihiv, Ukraine (Hildebrand, Hildebrand 1878, pl. 2; Korzukhina 2017, p. 624-625, Fig. 7). The researchers often miss an extraordinary find from the parcel "E" of the Fedorovskij excavations site (head of the

[53] Field no Tr-XIII, 2015, 15-1857-9.

[54] Field no Tr-VII, 1986, 18-599; Tr-XIII, 2014, 16-1840-93, 17-1845-108, 18-1809-75.

[55] Field no Posol'skij-2008, 9-8-8, end of the 10th-11th century.

[56] Field no Il'inskij -1964, 25-4, inv. no NSM KP 18203/A99-78, 1110-1130 AD.

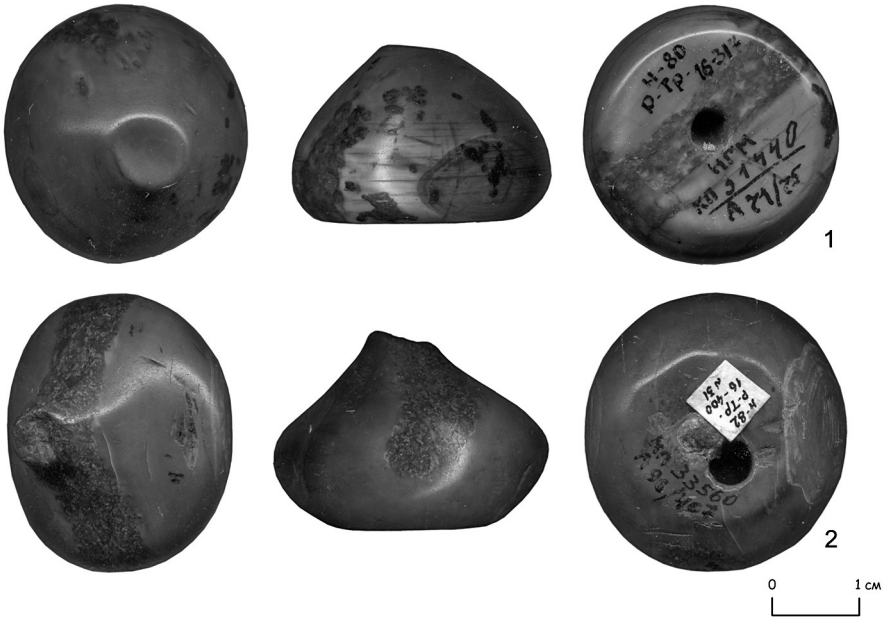

Fig. 7. Gaming peaces, walrus ivory. Troitskij excavation site:
1 – parcel "Г"; 2 – parcel "А"; photo by S. Toropov

excavation Gennadij Dubrovin), a round hollow set mounting (the pommel of a staff ?) with interlaced open-work design close to the Urnes style, end of the 11th – first third of the 12th century[57]. Finally, in 2016, at the Nutnyj site, head of excavations Michael Petrov, the first half of the 11th century a bone horse bridle cheek-piece (?) with carved anthropomorphic mustached masque in purely Scandinavian style reminiscent the masque-pendant from Gnezdovo hoard of 1867 (Gushchin 1936, p. 56, pl. III: 6) was found in parcel "А"[58].

Therefore, the Scandinavian objects were characteristic of the material culture of the local population of Novgorod from the beginning of the town – in 930-950 AD. In Nerevskij End the residents of six of the eight parcels that existed in the second half of the 10th – 11th century used them. In Lyudin End, where 15 parcels were detected archaeologically, the inhabitants of ten parcels demonstrated their ties with the Northern culture. In the same time the Troitskij excavation site yielded more Scandinavian artefacts dated to the earlier period of 930-950. In Nerevskij End the

[57] Field no Fed-V, 1993, $12/13_5$-18-389-21, inv. no NSM BX 1976.

[58] See the Internet publication: http://novgorodmuseum.ru/novosti/1394-priblizhayutsya-k-zaversheniyu-raboty-na-raskope-nutnyj-iv.html (accessed April 4, 2018).

elements of the Northern culture are concentrated in the layers of the late 10th and the turn of the 10th–11th centuries.

The parcels where Scandinavian material culture was in use occupied key positions in the city's topography at the crossroads of Velikaya and Kozmodemyanskaya and Proboynaya and Chernitsyna streets. Those parcels were close to the citadel and form the nucleus of the future town quarter. On the one hand, such observation makes it possible to posit chronologically distinct migrant waves or groups of Scandinavians; on the other hand, their resettlement in the town demonstrates the privileged position of Northern newcomers in the social hierarchy.

Groups of Scandinavians, men and women, were evidently amongst the first people who settled in the years 930-950 AD on the left bank of the Volkhov river. Religious artefacts, first of all, Thor's hammers, neck-rings with pendants and torque-shaped pendants concentrated in the first deposits of 930-950 AD at the Troitskij excavation site are of special note in system analysis. They can not have been trade goods and undoubtedly indicate as well as *triquetra* representation on domestic objects that the Northern pagan cult was practiced among the first settlers of Novgorod. The religious amulets were found in the pits and occupation layers which preceded the construction of dwellings. They may be interpreted as intentional cultural deposits and a special kind of sacrifice that should magically protect the living space of future parcel. Similar practices are known in Scandinavia during the Viking age at different settlements (*cf*. Carlie 2004, p. 176, 179-181, 251-252). The boar tooth pendant amulets found in early Novgorod can also be regarded as objects of the Scandinavian pagan cult, and the decrease of their number in the 11th century may be explained not only by the Christianization of citizens but also by the change in ethnic background of the town (Tyanina 2011, p. 165; *cf*. Musin 2016b, p. 430).

The bones with runic inscriptions or motif-pieces must also be also regarded as reliable indicators of the presence of the Norsemen in Novgorod. This is explained by several researchers as having Anglo-Saxon connections and originating from the British Isles (*cf*. Roesdahl 2007, p. 276-277, Fig. 2: b). However, the recent find of bones with Glagolitic and Cyrillic letters at the Troitskij excavations (see Mikheev, Singkh 2016, p. 102, Fig. 4)[59] put these items in a larger context of cultural transfers and "peer tuition" of the Old Norse and Slavonic languages among local population. Both processes are supported by urbanization as a unifying framework. As a result, in the case of Novgorod we can observe the evidences of routine Scandinavian presence anywhere in the Baltic and Northern Sea realms. Usually it was marked by the signs of long-distance trade and by the distribution of prestigious patterns of the Northern material aesthetic. From this point of view Novgorod did not present any cultural specificity.

[59] Tr-XIII, 2013, 16-13-1823-59.

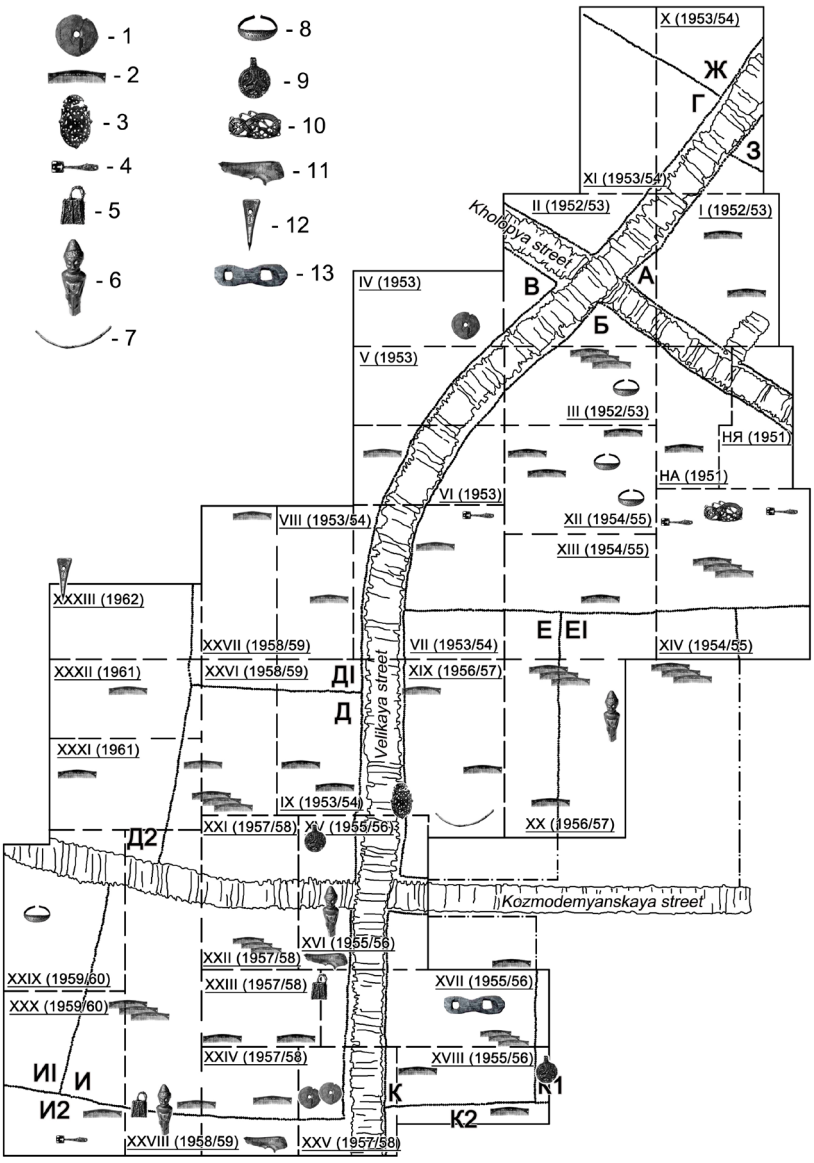

Fig. 8. Distribution pattern of the Scandinavian object at urban parcels at Nerevskij excavation site, 1951-1962:

1 – loom weight; 2 – single-side composite comb; 3 – oval brooch; 4 – flat key; 5 – padlocks with cubical body; 6 – idol figurine; 7 – twisted neck-ring; 8 – bracelet with strapped ends; 9 – round pendant with "Y" design; 10 – cover plate designed in Mammen style; 11 – bone with runic inscription; 12 – bodkin designed in Ringeriki style; 13 – hobble of horses

The Scandinavian artifacts presented in the material culture of early Novgorod in great numbers should be considered as social markers. They are impressive enough against a background of an ethnically neutral culture of the local population yielded at other parcels. Here, Slavonic markers such as temple rings with rhombic flattened elements (rhomboid-plate temple rings), casting moulds for trapezoidal pendants or clay biconic spindle whorls with burnished surface are extremely rare and dated to the end of the 10th-11th century (Sedova 1981, p. 9-10, Fig. 1: 1, 2, 4; Yanin et al. 2006, p. 13; Pokrovskaya 2014, p.105, 109-110, Fig. 2: 2; Toropov 2014, p. 259, Fig. 2). This makes it impossible to use the term "Northern/ Scandinavian veil" here although it is very much in fashion in the Russian Humanities *(cf.* Nosov 2012, p. 114; 2014, p. 237; Sedykh 2015, p. 178) as euphemism for the light Scandinavian influence on the local non-Scandinavian population. The early Novgorod and Rurikovo Gorodishche present the original culture of migrating Scandinavians which can almost never be regarded as a "Northern veil" over the every day life of the local indigenous population.

Consequently, the model presented here of the Scandinavians in early Novgorod properly reflects neither the narrative of the medieval chronicle, nor speculations of modern historiography; it corresponds rather to the real history. Scandinavians were present among the founders of the city as early as 930-950 until the 1050s AD, while the hypothesis of its foundation exclusively by Slavic tribal élites seems less likely. Evidently, Scandinavians came there directly from the North, and not from the Middle Dnieper area inhabited in the mid-10th century by the Rus'-Rhôs, headed by the Ruirikides and often regarded as a purely Northern community. In fact by that time the Rus' presented an ethno-social group (for the concept see Melnikova, Petrukhin 1991) which, according my hypothesis, must be considered as being a result of the acculturation of Scandinavians in the East-European milieu. The Varangians, mentioned in the Chronicle, might present the next waves of Scandinavian migrants. Most probably the special names were given to different groups of Norsemen by Rus' society in 11th century Kiev in order to distinguish them in cultural memory. Evidently, several Varangian new-comers could be associated to the Rus' as members of princely garrisons organized in different points of Eastern Europe. However, they could also be free citizens, craftsmen, traders or farmers, who settled near the centers of power in hopes of receiving protection.

A similar situation can be observed in early Novgorod. The formation of the town in the 930-950s was a part of a more global process of shifting settlement topography in North-Western Russia that involved Scandinavian immigrants of different generations. As has been previously demonstrated by colleagues, the first third of the 10th century saw the end of several political and economic centres such as Gorodok-on-the-Mayata, south of Lake Ilmen (Eremeev, Dzyuba 2010, p. 417), settlements at the confluence of the Belaya and Msta rivers, east of Novgorod (Nosov, Konetskiy 1995), Peredolskiy *pogost* to the west of the town (Platonova et al. 2007) and Gorodishche-on-the-Syas' River in the area south-east of Lake

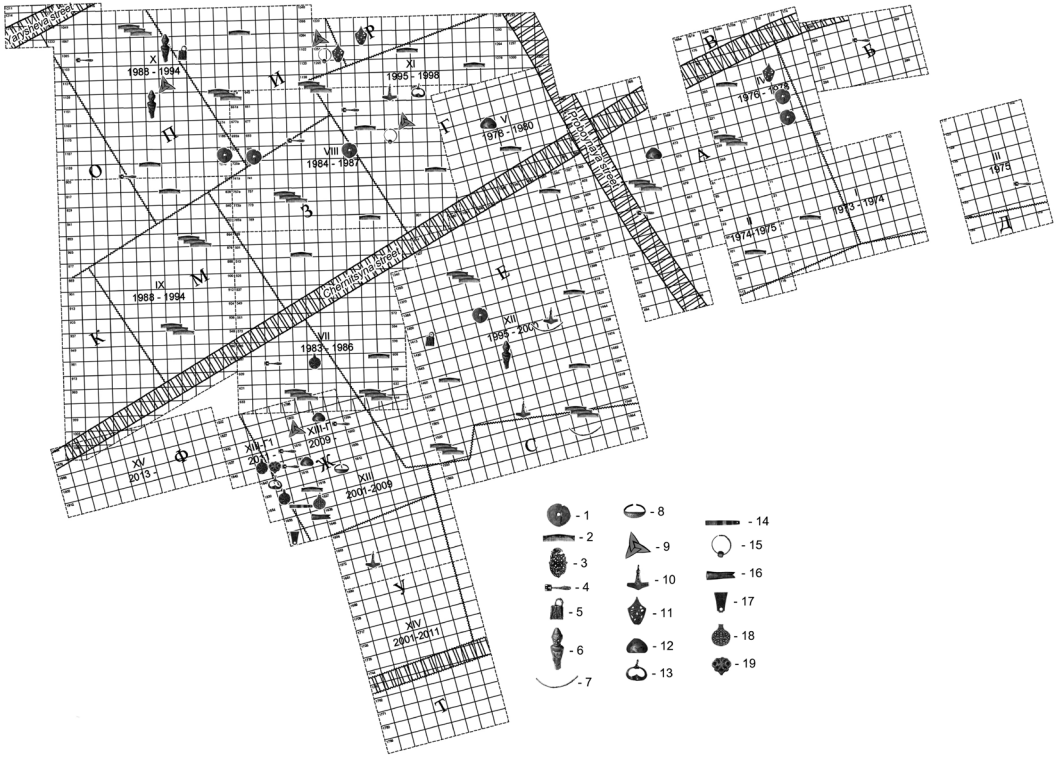

Fig. 9. Distribution pattern of the Scandinavian object at urban parcels at Troitskij excavation site, since 1973:

1 – loom weight; 2 – single-side composite comb; 3 – oval brooch; 4 – flat key; 5 – padlocks with cubical body; 6 – idol figurine; 7 – twisted neck-ring; 8 – bracelet with strapped ends; 9 – *triquetra* symbol on domestic objects; 10 – "Thor's hammer" pendant; 11 – sword scabbard chape; 12 – gaming peace of walrus ivory; 13 – torques-shaped pendant; 14 – *whetstone* amulet; 15 – amulet with bead; 16 – fishtail shaped pendant; 17 – pin with ornamentation; 18 – round pendant with volute design; 19 – cover plate designed in Borre style

Ladoga (*Priladozhie*) (Boguslavskiy 2003/2004; 2014). Exactly at this time in the middle of the second half of the 10th century life revived at Rurik Gorodishche and new settlements with a distinct Scandinavian component in their culture arose in the Lake Ilmen area such as Gorodok-on-the-Shelon River (Plokhov, Toropov 2013, p. 251-277) and Novgorod itself. Simultaneously numerous Scandinavian objects appeared here known from hoards and as stray finds (Toropov 2014, p. 257-279). This 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.

The material culture of newly raised parcels at the place of the future Novgorod does not make any impression of the first settlers of the town being aristocratic. There are no sign of their opposition against the princely power from Kiev presented at Gorodische as a military garrison. On the contrary, the two settlements seem to complement each other and demonstrate a kind of social, political and economic symbiosis with a specialization of the functions of bellatores at Gorodishche, laboratores from urban Ends and, later, *oratores* in Detsinets-Kremlin.

Against this background the social markers in the material culture of Novgorod or their absence may have a special explanation. While the Scandinavians, typical Varangians of the Chronicle, had to stress in the new ethnic milieu their permanent cultural, religious and social status in material culture, the Slavs who had already acculturated in the area did not need to demonstrate their identity in a similar manner. In general, this corresponded to the imagination of the chronicler about the Slavs who were first settlers there where the Varangians were only colonists. As has been noted above, progressive urbanization resulted in the formation of an urban community of *virorum Novgorodiensibus* with a relatively homogeneous every day culture. However this did not preclude conflicts in the community which claimed legislative measures for their resolution; so, *Pravda Ruskaya* (Ruthenian Justice or Rus' Truth [Law]) adopted by Prince Yaroslav the Wise around 1016 gave equal rights to representatives of two different social groups, to a Rus (*Rusin*) as princely man and to a Slav (*Slovianin*) as man of Novgorod[60].

A special question arises within the resettlement of Scandinavians in the town. Several researchers supposed that the Norsemen lived on the Trade Side, while other argued that their residences were concentrated in the Lyudin End (Smirnova 2005, p. 35, 37, 78, 89, 95-97, 105, 317, 332). A key point in the discussion may be the location and interpretation of the "courtyard of *Poromon*" mentioned in the Chronicle. At this yard in 1015 the men of Novgorod killed the Varangians in the retinue of Prince Yaroslav because they had offered violence to the inhabitants of the town and to their wives (Russian primary chronicle 1930, p. 130, 252). The

[60] Cf. Laws of Rus' 1992, p. 20-34: "If a man kills a man: then a brother avenges a brother, or a son avenges a father, or a cousin, or a nephew; if no one takes revenge, then 80 *grivnas* for the murdered; if he is a knyaz's man or knyaz's official, if he is a *rusin*, or a grid', or a merchant, or a boyar's official, or a *mechnik* (swordsman), or an exile, or a *slovenin*, then 40 grivnas for the murdered".

proper name of the courtyard was identified by several scholars as a corruption of the Old Norse name *Farmaðr*, "wayfarer" or "traveler" (Mikkola 1907), and interpreted as the court of overseas merchants, market place or corporate center of the Scandinavians. Another interpretation was based on the parallel to the Greek *παραμοναί*, princely "guards" (Ekblom 1952, p. 21). Both hypotheses are largely accepted in the Russian Humanities (see for example, Melnikova 2011, p. 373). In fact the archaeological record demonstrates the free resettlements of the Scandinavians in the town which nearly excludes the existence of any Northern corporate residence here. Therefore, the "courtyard of *Poromon*" was only the urban parcel belonging to the unknown Paramon (*cf*. Shakhmatov 2002, p. 133) and hypotheses existed that it should be recognized as *falsche Deutung*[61].

This massacre did not put an end to the Scandinavian community in Novgorod. That was caused by the political and economic reorganization of East European society in the middle of the second half of the 11th century. This fact was reflected both in written sources and in archaeological materials. The Primary chronicle informs us *sub anno* 882, that Prince Oleg imposed tribute on the Slavs, the Krivichians, and the Merians and commanded that Novgorod should pay the Varangians tribute in the amount of 3000 *grivny* [300 according another version – A.M.] a year for the preservation of peace. During one hundred years all princely lieutenants (*posadniki*) of Novgorod had always paid "two thousand *grivny* a year as tribute to Kiev, and another thousand was given to his garrison in Novgorod". The chronicler also indicated that this tribute was paid to the Varangians until the death of Yaroslav (Russian primary chronicle 1930, p. 61, 124; *cf*. Ipat'evskaya letopis 2001, p. 17, 114-115; Novgorodskaya letopis 1950, p. 107, 168). The note that the *tributum pacis*[62] to the Varangians ceased to be paid after 1054 AD may be put placed in relation to the nearly complete disappearance of Scandinavian items from the material culture of Novgorod in the second half of the 11th century. The separate Nordic artifacts are mostly known from the periphery of the towns and might reflect individual adventures of Norsemen or the reception of technological innovation and prestigious design from Western and Northern Europe by the local population. The attractiveness of Scandinavian material culture for the population of the Novgorodian Land was probably caused by collective memory which gave the Varangians a special place in the local history. In turn, the Scandinavian components conserved in the Novgorodian material culture and assured its archaic character (*cf*. Lesman 2002; 2014). Against this background at the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century the representatives of the Scandinavian clan of Rogvoldovichi from Ladoga could be incorporated into the local urban

[61] In similar manner the toponymy of Normandy linked to the name Farmann could reflect only the secondary Anglo-Scandinavian influence in this region (cf. Beaurepaire1986, p. 117; cf. Adigard des Gautries 1954, p. 200-202, 361). I wish to thank Dr. Élisabeth Ridel-Granger, University of Caen, France, for her kind consultations.

[62] For a comparison see Třeštík 2006, p. 17; for discussion see in Stefanovich 2010.

aristocracy (*cf*. Gippius 2014) and later formed the powerful clans of boyar élites in the Lyudin and Slavenskij Ends.

In conclusion one question should be answered, namely the causes for ignoring the Scandinavian materials in the study of Novgorod. The published memoirs of Daniil Avdusin (1918-1994) demonstrate that the first investigator of Novgorod, Artemij Artsikovskij, under the conditions of ideological dictates and self-censorship, feared the emergence of a large number of Scandinavian items in the early deposits as an indication of an important role played by the Varangians in the history of Eastern Europe. Even though he half-heartedly accepted the Scandinavian origins of the interlaced design of some objects, he always insisted that no purely Scandinavian objects had been detected there (Avdusin 1994, p. 30). The next generation was inevitably submitted to "scientific inertial resistance". Today these ideas find new inspiration in the "neo-conservatism" of Russian society. This tendency is reflected in the archaeological record as a searching for arguments for an earlier date of Slavic colonization of the future Novgorodian Land already in 6th-7th century (Eremeev, Dzyuba 2010, p. 434-438; Platonova 2016) while the traditional approach and well grounded conclusions suppose the almost simultaneous appearance of Slavs and Scandinavians in North-Western Russia in the 8th to 9th century. At the junction of these two expansions Novgorod the Great, the most known Russian city, arose.

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