

**THE RURAL VIKING**  
**IN RUSSIA AND SWEDEN**

**CONFERENCE 19-20 OCTOBER 1996**  
**IN THE MANOR OF KARLSLUND,**  
**ÖREBRO, SWEDEN**

**LECTURES**

**EDITED BY PÄR HANSSON**

**ÖREBRO BILDNINGSFÖRVALTNING**

*Myrman*

# ***The Rural Viking in Russia and Sweden***

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## ***Lectures***

*Edited by Pär Hansson*

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Örebro 1997*

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## THE VIKING AGE MONUMENTS IN THE JAROSLAVL' REGION ON THE UPPER VOLGA

The three large and thoroughly studied archaeological complexes Bol'šoe Timerëvo, Petrovskoe and Michajlovskoe are situated near the city of Jaroslavl' (about 10–12 km from its outskirts) in the immediate vicinity of the greatest Russian river, Volga (Fig. 1). All three archaeological monuments are dated between the 9th and the early 11th century, that is, corresponding to the Viking Age of Northern Europe.

The Volga river in the 9th–11th centuries is known as one of the greatest trans-European routes, being part of a long road connecting Northern Europe with the East (the Khazar Empire, Volga Bulgaria, the Arabic Caliphate).

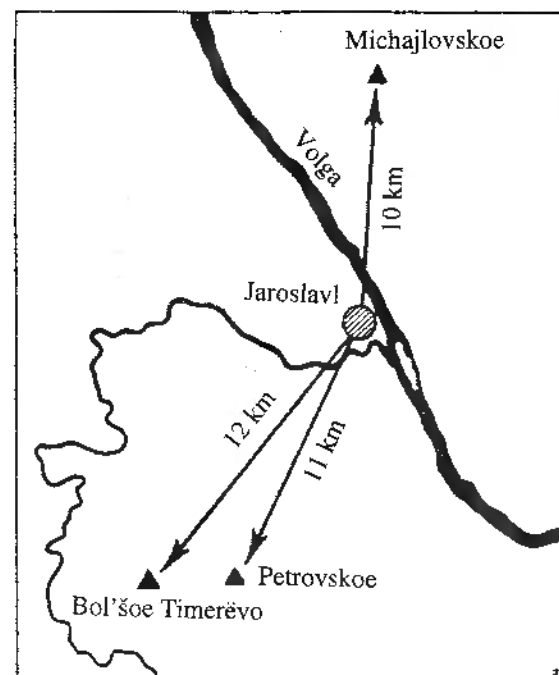


Fig. 1.

Ture Arne, at the beginning of the 20th century, advanced the hypothesis that the Volga route was found and put into use by Scandinavians in the 9th century. This idea was based on the interpretation of a number of finds from the two extremes of the Volga route, namely Scandinavia and the Khazar Empire. Thus according to Arne, the Scandinavians had travelled the road from the Volga region to the Baltic Sea (Arne 1914, p. 122).

The present state of the problem in question prevents complete agreement with such conclusions. Now it is evident that the Volga route was discovered and taken into use by the representatives of a number of ethnic groups. The direct transit trade on the Volga route from the Caspian to the Baltic Sea did not exist in the 9th century, as could be demonstrated by an analysis of the sources. Oriental merchants travelled their routes across the Khazar Empire without passing the Lower Volga region. The main trade route to the Slavic regions extended along the Don to the river Oka (Leont'ev 1989, p. 82).

The use of the Volga-Baltic route as a constant trade road should be predominantly dated to the second half of the 10th century. Presumably this was associated with the development of Volga Bulgaria as the main centre of international trade in the Volga region, and with the corresponding degradation of the Khazar Empire. As to the 9th century, only separate parts of the future Volga route could have been used (Leont'ev 1989, pp. 81-82). The Scandinavians supposedly could have played a role in the use of the northern part of the route - from the Baltic Sea up to Jaroslavl' region on the Upper Volga.

All monuments considered in this lecture are evidently related to some extent to different periods in the history of the Volga route. The ethnically mixed set of artefacts peculiar to our monuments could be interpreted as an indication of complicated ethnic and cultural processes in the region. A great part of the material is dated to the Viking Age and of Scandinavian origin. All monuments could on formal criteria be interpreted as rural sites, thus they fit the topic of our seminar.

The most extensive archaeological complex is Bol'šoe Timerëvo, about 12 km from Jaroslavl' city. The complex consists of a settlement covering an area of about 5-6 hectares, as well as a large group of mounds, the latter estimated to be about 1 000 in the 19th century (Nedošivina & Fechner 1985, p. 101). An investigation of the mounds was undertaken already in the 1870's, but the most effective investigations are those of the late 1950's and up to 1970's. The latter were carried out by an expedition of the State Historical Museum, headed by Maja V. Fechner. The excavations of the

settlement were undertaken by an expedition of Leningrad University in the 1970's.

About 500 mounds have been studied up to our time. 404 of them contained burial remains (83,5%). Thirty (6%) were empty, and 45 (9,5%) lack information as documental data have not been preserved. Six mounds (1%) contain only a thin layer of ashes and charcoal, a few burned wooden logs, potsherds, single ornaments and bones of sacrificed animals but no human skeletal remains. Such sepulchral barrows could be considered as cenotaphs (Nedošivina & Fechner 1985, pp. 101-102).

A mound as a rule involves only one burial, but sometimes 2-4 burials could be found within one barrow. In all, 464 burials were found, comprising 71% cremations and 29% inhumations (Nedošivina & Fechner 1985, p. 102).

On the basis of the skeletal remains and grave-goods, the burials were classified as follows: 93 male graves, 79 female graves, 39 children's graves and 34 mixed graves (male/female or adult/child burials; Nedošivina & Fechner 1985, p. 103).

Two types of cremation were found in Timerëvo just as in other Eastern European and Fenno-Scandian necropolises of the 8th-10th centuries: 1) cremations performed on the place where the mound was built; and 2) cremations performed on another place and the ashes subsequently transported to the place of the barrow. The latter are always less common than in situ cremations. For instance, in Timerëvo they comprise only about 30% of the cremations.

A comparative study of these two cremation types was carried out by Maja V. Fechner and Natalija G. Nedošivina (Nedošivina & Fechner 1985, pp. 103-108). They concluded that the grave-goods of the two burial groups are similar. The grave goods include clay vessels, bronze ornaments, iron and bone objects, and clay paws. They could not be correlated with ethnic, sex or age differences. The mounds with cremations performed on another place are as a rule rather poor in grave-goods in relation to the mounds with in situ cremations. This could presumably be explained by the following: the burned and greatly damaged grave-goods were not completely concealed in burial vessels before the latter were buried in the mound. However, sometimes the mounds with cremations performed on another place also contain rich grave-goods.

Mounds with both cremation types include burned sacrificed animal bones, predominantly of horses, dogs, pigs and cattle. Other similarities between the two cremation types can be observed in the finds of stones and stone con-

structions, which probably had a ritual meaning. We should also emphasize that in 25 Timerëvo mounds two cremations were found, one of each type.

It was concluded that the application of one or another cremation type was dependent only on climatic or seasonal conditions and not on ethnic or social factors, or the sex or age of the buried individual. We can assume that in winter, when the construction of barrows was very troublesome, the cremated remains were preserved and then transported to the cemetery in the spring (Nedošivina & Fechner 1985, pp. 107–108). This conclusion is in agreement with that of the Swedish archaeologist Ann-Sofie Gräslund reported in her study of the burial rites in Birka (Gräslund 1980, pp. 61, 75).

One hundred thirty-two mounds in the Timerëvo cemetery include inhumation burials. These could be classified as belonging to three types: a) burials on the old ground level; b) burials in pits; c) burials in the fill of the mound. Two mounds are of special interest as they contain chamber-graves with rich and varied grave-goods. Mound No. 348 is a pit burial with objects of Scandinavian origin (Fig. 2). The female in this burial was in a sitting position, a feature characteristic of Scandinavian burials.

The burials have a western or south-western orientation of the head in those cases where it is determinable. Only in six cases is a southern or northern orientation established (Nedošivina & Fechner 1985, p. 109).

Certain details of the burial rite are peculiar to both cremations and inhumations, indicating close connections between both burial types. As an example, animal bones were present in 31 inhumations. The stones and stone constructions, which were important attributes of cremations, are connected with inhumations as well. Stone accumulations are sometimes found in mounds, and separate stones are situated near or above the skeletons. Charcoal and charcoal layers in inhumations on the old ground level are interpreted as relic features of the cremation rite (Nedošivina & Fechner 1985, pp. 109–110).

The majority of the inhumation burials are located in the south-eastern part of the cemetery, whereas the western part of it is completely occupied by cremations. The southern part of the cemetery is characterised by a mixture of inhumations and cremations.

The settlement near Bol'soe Timerëvo village occupies an area of 5–6 hectares, and is located at the high bank of the Sečka river. The thickness of the cultural layer is estimated to be between 20 and 50 cm. In the excavations undertaken by Leningrad State University numerous pits were discovered, which were thought to be connected with the remains of living and household

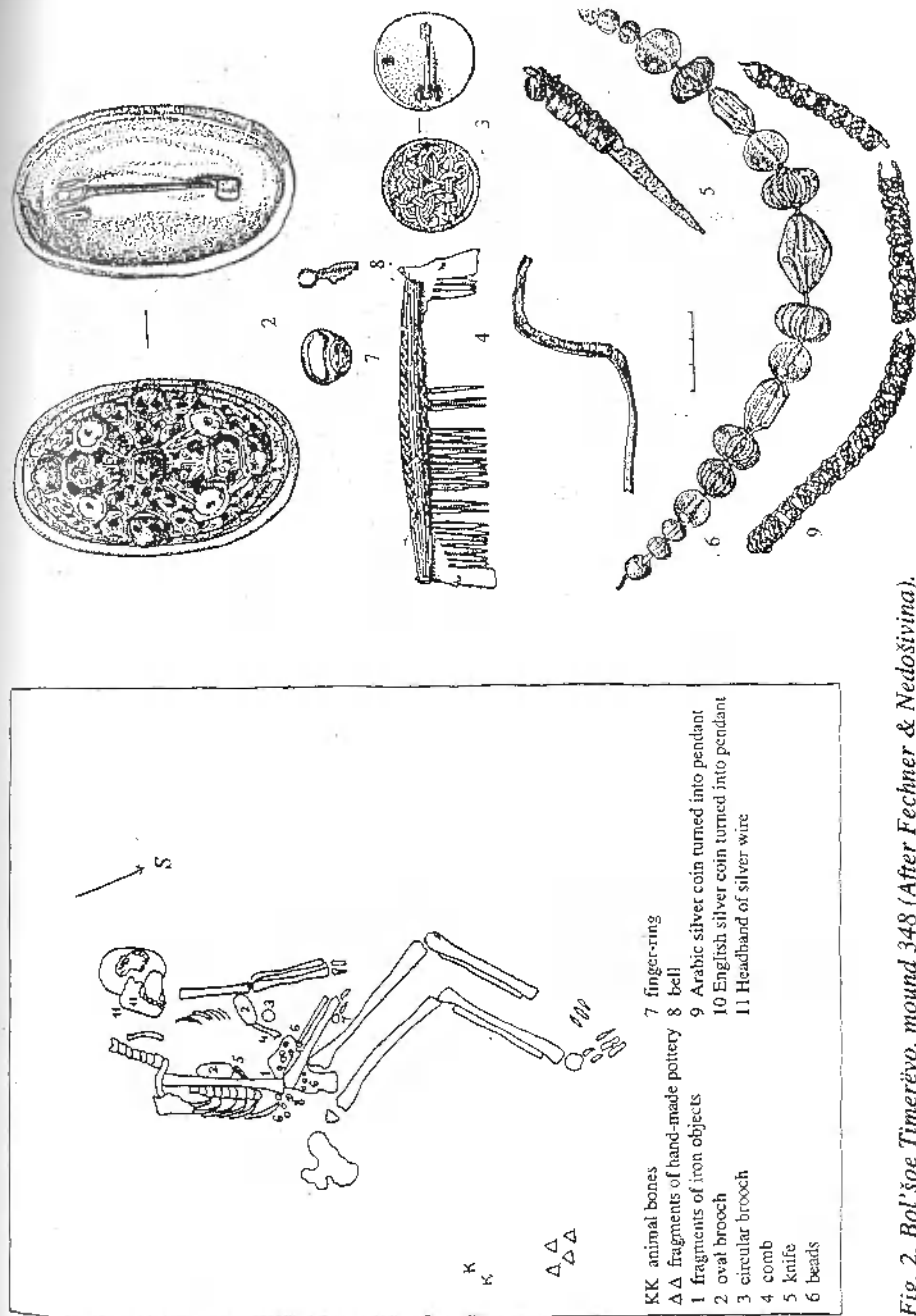


Fig. 2. Bol'soe Timerëvo, mound 348 (After Fechner & Nedošivina).

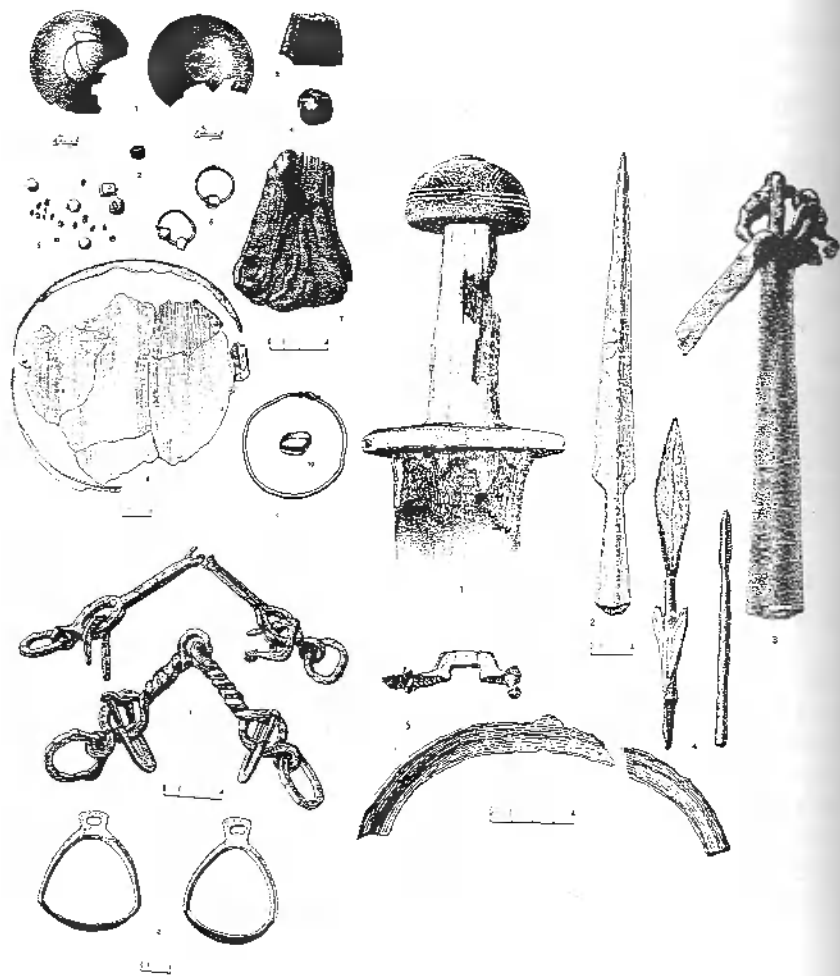


Fig. 3. Bol'shoe Timerëvo, mound 100 (After Fechner & Nedošivina).

buildings and open hearths. Remains of about 50 different buildings were excavated at this settlement (Dubov 1985, pp. 94–95).

The houses in the Timerëvo settlement were mainly built on the ground and the walls and roof supported by means of posts. The floors were slightly sunken into the subsoil clay. In some cases they bear a resemblance to half-sunken dwellings. The buildings had different shapes.

Hearths built of stones were often found inside the buildings. They usually had an oval contour and rested on a special base of burned clay. Open hearths filled with stones and with burnt traces were often located near the buildings. Such hearths are usually associated with dwelling-houses and, perhaps, used as summer kitchens (Tomsinskij 1982, pp. 188–191).

All buildings of the Timerëvo settlement are located in a form of agglomerations. Their disposition can be described as chaotic. The agglomerations consist of living- and work-houses, household pits and open hearths. In several cases post holes were reported to be the remains of fences around or between the agglomerations (Dubov 1985, p. 96).

A large hoard of Arabic coins was found at the Timerëvo settlement in 1973. The hoard includes 2 685 dirhams. The youngest coin is dated to 864/865, and the date when the hoard was hidden is estimated to the 870's. 11 coins of the hoard have graffiti: two coins have imitations of Arabic writing; four graffiti, including on longer inscription, are attributed to runic writing (Dubov 1982, pp. 144–146).

One more hoard was found outside the settlement on the opposite bank of the river Sečka. It comprised about 1 500 coins and is also dated to 9th century (Darkevič 1976, pp. 156–157).

The archaeological complex near Petrovskoe village is located 11 km southwest of Jaroslavl' city. It comprises a group of mounds and the remains of two adjacent settlements of the same age as the mounds. Potsherds, slag and crucibles were found as a result of digging pits at the settlement. There are data indicating that at the end of 19th century the number of mounds was comparable to Timerëvo, but only 141 of them were preserved up to the 1960's. Only 115 mounds are provided with archaeological information, however (Fechner 1963a, p. 20).

Cremation remains were discovered in 52% of the Petrovskoe mounds. Inhumation mounds comprise 37%, whereas other mounds were empty. Cremations performed on another place than the mound correspond to about 25% of all cremation graves. Seven mounds contain traces of two cremations,

one of them performed on another place and the other of the in situ type (Fechner 1963a, pp. 20–21).

The archaeological complex near Michajlovskoe village is located 10 km north of Jaroslavl' city, and the earliest investigations there took place at the end of the 19th century. The complex comprises a settlement and a mound group, which consisted of about 400 barrows in the 1930's. By the 1960's, however, only 219 were preserved (Nedošivina 1963a, pp. 26–27). 163 burials were revealed in the Michajlovskoe mounds (63% cremations, 34% inhumations). 40% of the cremations are interpreted as cremations performed on another place than the mound.

The mounds with inhumations are located more densely than the mounds with cremations and are located primarily in the northern and north-western parts of the cemetery. Their dimensions are on the average smaller than that of the mounds with cremations. Inhumation on the old ground level are predominant. Only one burial is classified as a grave pit burial.

Certain peculiarities of the burial rite which were observed at Timerëvo – e.g. animal bones, stones and fragment of stone constructions, traces of burning in the mounds with inhumations – have parallels at Petrovskoe and Michajlovskoe (Nedošivina 1963a, pp. 27–29).

Unfortunately the settlement of Michajlovskoe is practically uninvestigated. Its approximate area covers about 6 hectares, and it lies adjacent to the mound group in the north. The north-western part of the cemetery partly overlies the cultural layer (Dubov 1985, p. 84). Some finds of handmade and wheel-thrown vessels indicate that the settlement was contemporaneous with the mounds.

After having described the archaeological monuments in terms of their composition and the interrelation of different burial types against the background of the burial rite, we can begin a review of the artefact finds. We believe that the weapons and all the items of Scandinavian origin from the Jaroslavl' mounds can be suitable for the aim of our seminar on the problem of the rural Viking in Rus' and Sweden. It is evident that a complete review of all items found in the mounds is impossible.

## WEAPONS

The sword is considered as the most effective weapon of the Iron Age and Middle Ages. It is known as the most informative source among all weapons,

and thus we would like to consider the swords in detail. Other weapons will be described in more general terms.

Swords are rather unusual finds in the Jaroslavl' mounds. Only one pommel of an unidentified type was found in Petrovskoe. Its identification is impossible because of the poor preservation. The Michajlovskoe mounds contained a number of swords belonging to four different types according to Petersen's classification. They are mainly dated to the 10th century. Their dating is based on Jan Petersen's classical work (Petersen 1919) but supported by the accompanying grave-goods.

A sword of type D was found in a single mound. This type is generally referred to the end of the 9th or the 10th century, but in this case it is more closely dated to the end of the 10th century by means of details of the grave-goods.

A sword of type E was discovered in a mound containing some brooches, allowing closer dating to the second half of the 10th century. This is in contrast to the general dating, which ranges from the 9th to the 10th century.

Swords of type V are dated to the 10th century and are found in three cases.

All sword finds from Michajlovskoe were made in mounds containing cremations, which were the highest in the whole mound group. The height ranges from 1 m to 1,6 m, in contrast to the average height of 0,5–0,6 m. Two of the mounds containing swords were pair burials (man and woman). Two other mounds contained a horse and a warrior (Nedošivina 1963a, pp. 55, 61).

Four swords were found in the Timerëvo mounds. One of them is fairly well preserved and has a C inlaid on the blade. It was found in a chamber-grave and is attributed to Petersen's type W, dated to the first half of the 10th century (Fig. 3). Dirhams found in this burial allow a closer dating to the 970's–980's. The second sword was found in an inhumation on the old ground level, but the upper part of its pommel is absent. Thus it is approximately classified as Petersen's type U, and is preliminarily dated to the middle of the 10th century (Nedošivina 1991, pp. 166–167).

Two swords are associated with cremations. One of them is almost completely preserved and has an *Ulfberht* inscription inlaid on the blade. It is classified as Petersen's type E and dated to the second half of the 10th century (Dubov 1982, p. 129). Only one pommel was preserved from the sword in the other cremation. It is badly damaged by fire, so the classification of it is not very certain. It is close to Petersen's type U and dated to the 10th century, based on the brooches in the grave (Nedošivina 1991, p. 166).

The number of burials containing arrows is far greater than those with swords. Thirteen burials with arrows are known in Michajlovskoe, four of which also contained a sword. In one burial they were in an assemblage with a spear-head, and in another burial with a battle-axe. Arrows were found in 22 mounds in Timerëvo. In the majority of cases the arrows were present in 1-2 examples, only in two cases were there found 5 and 8 arrows, respectively.

The mounds with 1-2 arrows usually do not contain any other weapons. This fact is in agreement with the assumption that a single arrow had a symbolic meaning, indicating the hierarchic rank of the warrior. The arrows belong to a number of different types (Nedošivina 1963a, c. 56-57; Nedošivina 1991, pp. 168-169).

Special attention should be given to the finds of lanceolate arrow-heads because of their North European origin. Fourteen examples of such arrows were revealed in the mounds (eight in Timerëvo, five in Michajlovskoe, one in Petrovskoe).

Spear-heads were discovered in only a few barrows. For example, in Timerëvo the only find was made in the chamber-grave of the 970's-980's (Fig. 3), together with the sword of Petersen's type W. The spear-head has an elongated triangular shape peculiar to spear-heads abundant in Old Russia. In Petrovskoe there are no finds of spear-heads, whereas in the Michajlovskoe mounds eight finds were found representing three different types (Nedošivina 1963a, pp. 58-59).

Seventeen battle-axes were found in the Jaroslavl' mounds in the following proportions: 13 axes in Timerëvo, three in Michajlovskoe and one in Petrovskoe. It is interesting to note that only five axes were associated with cremation burials (all three finds from Michajlovskoe and two from Timerëvo), whereas all others were revealed in inhumations. The set of grave-goods in the inhumations with battle-axes is rather uniform. These sets were composed of knives, belt-sets containing buckles and belt-rings (in one case a complete decorated belt, Fig. 4). It is assumed that the majority of these burials belong to the final period of the cemeteries, namely, to the end of the 10th and the first half of the 11th century, when the rites were significantly standardized possibly by the influence of the Christianisation (Nedošivina 1963b, c. 59-61; Nedošivina 1991, pp. 170-171).

#### JEWELLERY

Women's jewellery is traditionally considered the most effective criterion of Scandinavian burials. A number of such criteria were proposed for the deter-

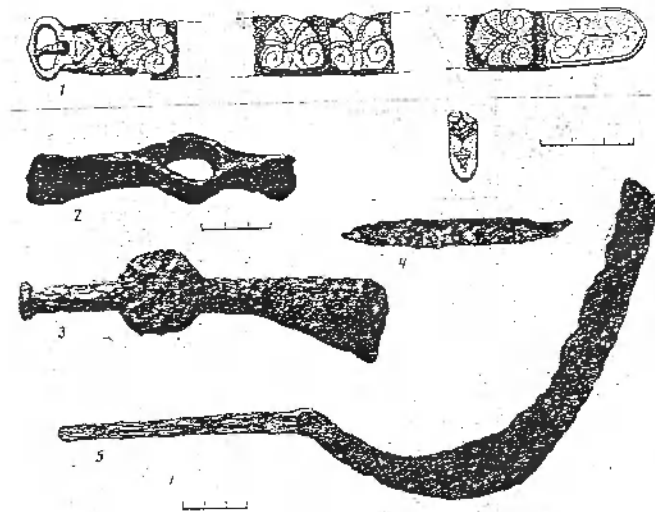


Fig. 4. Bol'shoje Timerëvo, mound 450 (After Fechner & Nedošivina).

mination of an archaeological complex as Scandinavian. Some researchers believe that only characteristic Scandinavian items in combination with such details of the burial rite as cremation in a boat, damaged weapons, etc., should be satisfactory for an unambiguous attribution (Avdusin 1975, p. 150). The Norwegian archaeologists Anne Stalsberg (1987, p. 75) has suggested that the presence of at least two oval brooches should be sufficient to establish the Scandinavian origin of burials in the Slavonic territory. We believe that the viewpoint of the Russian scholar Juryj Žarnov, in his comparison of Gnezdovo and Birka, is most convincing (Zarnov 1991, pp. 213-216). He came to the conclusion that a single oval brooch found in a grave in a Slavonic territory should be quite sufficient for establishing the Scandinavian origin of such a burial. Dr Žarnov assumed that the principal difference in the fashion of Slavonic and Scandinavian women's clothing, as well as the specific ethnic and social role of the costume, prevented the use of the Scandinavian women's jewellery as an international trade object.

So let us consider the Scandinavian women's jewellery from the Jaroslavl' mounds. Six oval and circular brooches were found in Petrovskoe (Fechner



1963b, pp. 82–83). One of them is classified as type 37:3 according to Petersen's classification (Petersen 1928); it is dated to the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century. All the other finds are later objects. Thus we can conclude that at least 5% of the burials should be determined as female graves of Scandinavian origin. If we presume an approximately equal sex ratio in the sepulchral mounds, we could estimate that at least 10% of the inhabitants were Varangians.

All brooches discovered in the Michajlovskoe mounds are dated to the 10th century or later; no brooches of the 9th century are known. In eight mounds the oval brooches are ascribed to type 51, while one mound contains brooches of type 52; two circular brooches have also been found (Fechner 1963b, pp. 82–83). 7% of the barrows in Michajlovskoe contain brooches, and thus the newcomers from Scandinavian may have amounted to at least 14% of the inhabitants.

Forty-four brooches peculiar to the Scandinavian national costume were found in 29 burials at Timerëvo, being present in 27 cremations and two inhumations. Five burials contained two oval brooches each. In six burials one oval brooch was found together with a trefoil brooch as well as with some equal-armed and pennanular brooches. Single-shelled brooches were discovered in three mounds (Fechner & Nedošivina 1987, p. 79). These were dated to the 9th–beginning of the 10th century. All the other brooches are dated to the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century.

Ingmar Jansson has conducted a comparative analysis of the Timerëvo and Birka finds and drawn some paradoxical conclusions (Jansson 1987, pp. 789–790). Inhumation graves in the Birka cemetery have very rich material, whereas the cremation graves are rather poor and found to be in close correlation with the finds of neighbouring regions. Oval brooches were discovered in 26 cremation burials out of a total of 570. Thus the frequency of brooch finds in Timerëvo and Birka is approximately equal. Dr Jansson did not conclude that all the buried inhabitants of Timerëvo were Scandinavians, as the Finno-Ugrian and Slavonic elements were very distinctive.

#### CLAY PAWS

Another category of grave-goods from the Jaroslavl' mounds is very interesting. These are the clay paws (Fig. 5), which evidently could be attributed to magical items. The most ancient find of a clay paw belongs to the 6th–7th centuries and reported in Sweden. Similar clay paws were discovered in the Åland Isles in archaeological monuments of the 7th–10th centuries (Jansson

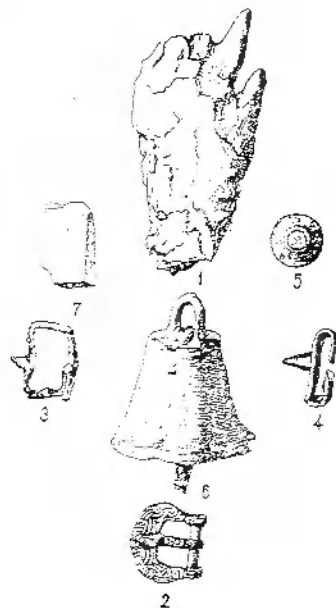


Fig. 5. Bol'shoie Timerëvo, mound 365 (After Jaroslavskoe Povolž'e).

1987, pp. 782–784) as well as in Russia (the Jaroslavl' and Vladimir regions).

This problem is a subject of discussion. Some researchers believe that these paws can be considered as bear paw imitations; in other words, they manifest the bear cult (Voronin 1941, pp. 149–190; Dubov 1984, pp. 95–99).

Maja Fechner (Russia) thought that these items could be interpreted as beaver paw imitations. Amulets made of beaver bones are also found in the Jaroslavl' mounds, so the inhabitants of this region could have been followers of the beaver cult, which is known among some Finno-Ugrian tribes (Fechner 1963c, pp. 86–89).

There are several viewpoints as to the origin of the clay paws, but the most ancient finds from Sweden and the Åland Isles can be considered as a strong argument of their North European origin. The Jaroslavl' region is

known as the region of maximal frequency with regard to clay paw finds: more than 100 such objects have been found (Golubeva 1987, p. 78) in contrast to 67 from the Åland Isles. Besides the clay paws, other cult items were discovered in the Jaroslavl' mounds. These are crude clay rings which are sometimes interpreted as solar symbols. All the above-mentioned cult items were found in cremation burials. 40% of the clay paws belong to burials with weaponry. Nine male burials with paws contain several weights, and one male burial included scales. Arrowheads were found in three such burials. It is evident that all these burials should be regarded as the graves of members of the princely guard (Golubeva 1987, p. 77).

## CONCLUSION

1. The archaeological complexes of the Jaroslavl' Upper Volga region were in use from the end of the 9th up to the first half of the 11th century. The Michajlovskoe settlement can perhaps be dated within a more narrow interval, to the 10th–beginning of the 11th centuries, as no archaeological complexes of the 9th century were found.

Estimates of the number of inhabitants in Timerëvo yielded a range between 113 and 130 people, as opposed to the 500–600 in Birka and the 1000 people in Hedeby (Nedošivina & Fechner 1985, p. 114).

2. It can be argued that the population of Michajlovskoe, Petrovskoe and Timerëvo had a polyethnic structure. The archaeological sources can not give an accurate quantitative evaluation of the Varangian presence, but it is evident that the Scandinavian immigrants composed a considerable part of the local population.

The Scandinavians were presumably among the first inhabitants of the settlements in question. Evidence for this is above all the finds of oval brooches dated to the 9th century, and also, the coins with engraved runes in the hoard from the 860–870's. The Volga route began to serve as a road for international trade not earlier than the 10th century but it could be assumed that the Rostov and Jaroslavl' regions were involved in communications with the Baltic from the beginning of the 9th century. The Arabic silver coins with runic graffiti reached the Jaroslavl' region from the north-west along with the Varangians.

How should we understand the considerable presence of Scandinavians in the Volga region in terms of modern historical categories? Can it perhaps be regarded as colonisation? Let us try to answer this question in the light of the historical development.

An evident unification of the burial rites can be observed at the transition between the 10th and 11th centuries. A number of burials unanimously interpreted as Slavonic belong to this time interval (inhumations in grave pits with western orientation). The changes in rites are apparently connected with the Christianisation. These ideological phenomena in the Old Russian State affected the mentality of the inhabitants especially with respect to the ethnic consciousness.

At the beginning of the 11th century Prince Jaroslav the Wise founded a town with his name, which became the administrative centre of this region. According to the opinion of Andrej Leont'ev (Russia), this territory was already inhabited by an Old Russian population, the basis of which was Slavonic (Leont'ev 1991, p. 44). Thus a considerable part of the Scandinavians among the Upper Volga inhabitants can be interpreted as immigrants in modern sense of the word.

3. Let us now discuss the problem of "rural Vikings" in Sweden and Russia, which is the main theme of our seminar.

The term *viking* in Scandinavia had a certain social aspect and denoted men temporarily engaged in military or merchant adventures searching for glory and wealth. Vikings were recruited both among *bönder* (farmers) and the tribal elite. Being a Viking changed a person's social status, and his new status had only a temporary character.

A "rural Viking" could belong to the community of *bönder* and live in agreement with the laws of this social group, for instance, take part in *ledung* expeditions. Such people may have come to Old Russia as immigrants or legionnaires, and they may have been active under very different social and political conditions. Thus their new name, as *Varangians* (not *Vikings*), could possess a symbolic meaning.

A majority of researchers believe that the archaeological monuments of the Jaroslavl' region may have served as centres for tribute-collecting and military outposts (*pogost* in Russian; Fechner & Nedošivina 1987, pp. 87–88); Leont'ev 1989, p. 84). *Pogosts* are known also as disposition centres of the retinue (*družina*) and are known to have existed from the middle of the 10th century. Thus, certain archaeological complexes containing Scandinavian items and weaponry of the second half of the 10th century could be related to the *družina* or Rus'. We have already mentioned that certain complexes of such type can be dated to an earlier period. Evidently the Scandinavian element of these complexes may belong to Vikings who took part in the colonisation of the Volga region. Certainly they may have been engaged in

agriculture, so we can call them "rural Vikings". But in this case they had already abandoned the customs of their social environment – for example, the ledung service – because their former social environment did not exist in the Slavonic territories. The finds of national costume elements and oval brooches can perhaps be interpreted as an indication of long-surviving remains of ethnic consciousness, which is the most conservative element of the mentality.

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