
Marika Mägi

THE ORIGIN OF RUS' AND THE QUESTION OF BALTO-FINNIC ROLE IN THIS PROCESS

Abstract: The article evolves on the role of people called Chud' in the multiple formation processes of the medieval Kiev-Rus' state, as it is indicated by the latest archaeological finds and interpretations, as well as according to early written sources.

Archaeological evidence in the area of present-day Estonia indicated two different culture spheres, sometimes called Coastal Estonia and Inland Estonia. The north-eastern coast of the country — the district of Virumaa — was a kind of transformation area that culturally, however, seems to have had closer links with the inland districts. Coastal and Inland Estonia differed not only archaeologically, but also linguistically and anthropologically, and were very likely treated as regions with different ethnic groups in the Viking Age.

Archaeological evidence in certain areas in the eastern and especially north-eastern coasts of the Baltic Sea demonstrated close cultural contacts with Eastern Sweden as early as in the eighth century. This system of shared culture values characterised mainly a warrior sphere and mainly coastal districts, while inland districts possessed different material culture. The evaluation of archaeological situation around the northern part of the Baltic is hindered by Balto-Finnic burial customs in the sixth — mid-tenth centuries, which did not foresee grave goods or even archaeologically traceable graves. However, some parts of this region were marked with abundant dirham finds and complexes consisting of hill-forts and adjacent settlements. Several of them, particularly the ones situated along Estonian coasts, were probably directly connected with internationally relevant communication routes, called Austrvegr in Old Norse sagas. In the second half of the tenth century, when artefacts, again, appeared in graves, it became clear that the grave goods of Coastal-Estonian warriors were hardly possible to distinguish from Gotlandic or Central Swedish ones.

According to Russian chronicles, a people called Chud' was among the ones who in the ninth century paid tribute to the Varangians, and later invited Rus' to rule over their country. In the parts of Russian chronicles depicting the time up to the late tenth century, Chud' seem to occupy a special place, often creating a kind of parallelism with Rus'. The existence of coastal and inland culture spheres in present-day Estonia enables us to suggest that the ethnonym Chud' was only used for the inhabitants of Inland Estonia and Virumaa, which might have been considered as belonging to the Garðaríki dominion in the ninth and tenth centuries.

The situation changed around 1000 AD when the Chud', who had earlier been considered allies in Russian chronicles, now appeared as enemies. This change coincided with major alterations in Baltic Sea communication and cultural landscape, but also with an abrupt cessation of Scandinavian influence in Kiev-Rus'.

Keywords: Viking Age communication, Finnic peoples, Austrvegr, Chud', Rus'

Although scholars discussing Scandinavian expansion into present-day Russia never entirely overlook the ethnic factors in these processes, the problem is nearly always reduced to a question about the relationship between the Scandinavians and the Slavs. Large areas once inhabited by Balto-Finnic- and Baltic-speaking peoples in the northern half of the European part of present-day Russia have normally been mentioned in all writings, but without particular interest or wish to examine their existence more closely, or to look at how their linguistic and cultural unity might have influenced communications over long distances. In the Viking Age as well as in the centuries preceding it, however, the situation probably differed markedly from that in the later periods.

Theories by Johan Callmer and Priit Ligi

Here it is relevant to refer to Swedish-German archaeologist J. Callmer's writings on the early stages of Rus', that is, during the period 500–900 AD¹. Callmer, who expressed a special interest in the ethnic situation in northern Europe at this time, discussed the topics of migration, assimilation, and acculturation. He argued against the Scandinavian archaeologists T. Arne² and H. Arbman³, who had suggested that the Scandinavian colonization in certain parts of present-day Russia, primarily in the south-eastern Ladoga region, was predominantly an agrarian colonization, although initially driven by trade. Callmer found no archaeological evidence for this presumption and suggested instead that these were initially some few

¹ E. g. *Callmer J.* The archaeology of the early Rus' c. A. D. 500–900 // *Medieval Scandinavia*. 2000. Vol. 13. P. 7–63.

² *Arne T.I.* La Suède et l'Orient. Uppsala, 1914.

³ *Arbman H.* Svear i österviking. Stockholm, 1955.

Scandinavian hunters and traders, who in the pre-Viking and early Viking Period were active in the Eastern European areas⁴.

Callmer surmised that a leading role in Scandinavians' eastern expansion was played by the mixed Scandinavian-Finnish population that inhabited the Finnish and Estonian coastal areas, and particularly the Åland archipelago, centuries before the Viking Age. This population displayed a Scandinavian cultural identity and attitudes, but consisted ethnically of different components. The evolving Rus' identity was already bilingual from its beginning. Skills in speaking Finnic languages helped to create contacts with Finno-Ugric-speaking peoples, and thus contributed considerably to the process of extending the communication network eastwards.

Callmer also took into consideration problems connected with the Slavic expansion towards the North and East of present-day Russia, that is, questions which have traditionally been very closely linked with political preferences. He supported the ideas presented by e. g. G. Lebedev, E. Melnikova and V. Petrukhin, that the numbers of Slavic aristocracy, much less the common Slavic population, could not have been considerable in North-West Rus' or in certain areas along the Volga route until the end of the ninth century. The Eastern Slavs, Callmer concluded, became the central contributors to the later development of Russian princedoms, but they were not part of the initial stage of the (northern) Rus' state, where the dominant role was played by local Finnic and Baltic speaking peoples.

A somewhat similar theory had already been put forward in 1993 by Estonian archaeologist P. Ligi. He argued that sixth- to tenth-century archaeological evidence in present-day North-West Russia indicated consistency. Slavic colonisation in these areas was very modest, he believed, until the eleventh century, and consisted only of members of the higher social strata in the early centres of Rus'. Large-scale Slavic immigration never took place in these areas, but the local Finno-Ugric population accepted Russian as a common language, and integrated into the Russian state in the course of the following centuries⁵. Ligi's theories were, however, immediately

⁴ *Callmer J.* The archaeology of the early Rus'.

⁵ *Ligi P.* National romanticism in archaeology: the paradigm of Slavonic colonization in North-West Russia // *Fennoscandia Archaeologica*. 1993. Vol. X. P. 31–39. *Idem.* “Active Slavs” and “passive Finns”: a reply // *Fennoscandia Archaeologica*. 1994. Vol. XI. P. 104–112.

associated with politics, called “national extremism” and political incorrectness⁶.

Several other archaeologists have also emphasized in their writings that the Viking Age eastern trade through the areas of Rus’ was making use of an earlier transaction network, relying on the linguistic and cultural similarity between people speaking Balto-Finnic and eastern Finno-Ugrian languages⁷. Scandinavians were thus actually just profiting on an already existing communication network, threading their way through potential logistic obstacles, when it became economically profitable in the middle of the Viking Age. Callmer’s theories, however, have not been developed much further.

Common culture sphere in the coasts around the northern part of the Baltic Sea

The Eastern Baltic was 1000 years ago — and still is — divided between different cultures talking Finnic and Baltic languages. Researchers from outside this region have been reluctant to differentiate between the areas archaeological cultures, although the variability from one area to another is obvious. Similarly different were the ways, how different parts of the Eastern Baltic communicated with Scandinavia in the West, and later Old Rus’ in the East.

The evaluation of archaeological cultures in the eighth to the mid-tenth-century northern half of the Eastern Baltic is hindered by this-time burial customs of the local Finnic-speaking peoples that left so very few, if any, archaeological traces⁸. The same areas were,

⁶ *Klejn L.S.* Overcoming national romanticism in archaeology // *Fennoscandia Archaeologica*. 1994. T. XI. L. 87–88; *Lebedev G.* Slavs and Finns in Northwest Russia revisited // *Fennoscandia Archaeologica*. 1994. Vol. XI. P. 89–95; *Panchenko A., Petrov N., Selin A.* “Language replacement” by Priit Ligi // *Fennoscandia Archaeologica*. 1994. Vol. XI. P. 96–99; *Trigger B.G.* Ethnicity: an appropriate concept for archaeology? // *Fennoscandia archaeologica*. 1994. Vol. XI. P. 100–103.

⁷ E. g. *Jansson I.* Östersjöländerna och vikingatiden // *Att förstå det mänskliga. Humanistisk forskning vid Stockholms universitet* / K. Dahlbäck. Stockholm, 2000. S. 109–137; *Sindbæk S.* Ruter og rutinisering. Vikingetidens fjernhandel i Nordeuropa. København, 2005. S. 240–244; *Ambrosiani B., Bäck M.* ‘Our man in Pskov’ — Birka’s Baltic connection in the ninth and tenth centuries // *Cultural Interaction Between East and West. Archaeology, artefacts and human contacts in northern Europe* / U. Fransson, M. Svedin, S. Bergerbrant, F. Androshchuk (Stockholm Studies in Archaeology 44.) Stockholm, 2007. P. 180–184.

⁸ *Mägi M.* Late prehistoric societies and burials in the Eastern Baltic // *Archaeologia Baltica*. 2013. Vol. 19. P. 177–194.

however, at the same time marked by other archaeological sites and, starting from the ninth century, by numerous dirham finds. Especially noteworthy are several hill-forts with adjacent settlements along the North-Estonian coast and the south-eastern coast of the Saaremaa Island, both marking the main communicational routes in early Viking Age (Figure 1)⁹.



Figure 1. Distribution of silver hoards and hill-forts in the northern half of the Eastern Baltic.

1 — archaeologically dated hill-forts from the ninth-tenth-century;

2 — dirham hoards buried in the ninth-tenth century;

3 — most relevant international trade routes (see: [Mägi 2011]).

The distribution of hill-forts is mainly based on: [Apals et al 1974, fig. 59]; [Apals & Mugurēvičs 2001, 378-413]; [Zabiela 2003]; [Tõnisson et al 2008]

⁹ Mägi M. Viking Age and early mediaeval Eastern Baltic between the West and the East // Taxes, tributes and tributary lands in the making of the Scandinavian kingdoms in the Middle Ages / S. Imesen ("Norgesveldet", Occasional papers. No. 2). Trondheim, 2011. P. 189–233.

While ethnic Baltic cultures in the southern half of the Eastern Baltic stayed very distinctive in their artefactual material, the coastal regions of the present-day Estonia and Finland, as well as parts of Latvia demonstrated a common artefactual culture for warriors in these coasts, in Eastern Sweden and in Gotland. The general rule seems to be that a widespread cultural impact from eastern Scandinavia to the eastern regions became less intensive and more topographically isolated towards the south; in the south-eastern coast of the Baltic, where Scandinavian colonies seem to have existed at some nodal points on the international routes (e. g. Grobiņa and Kaup-Wiskiauten), the cultural impact hardly reached further away than the colonies themselves.

C. Gosden has classified communication such as it seems characteristic for the southern half of the Eastern Baltic, as “the middle ground”, describing it as a culture colonialism with some certain colonies and only a small impact outside a restricted area of the colonists. As typical for such type of colonialism, the colonists normally formed complex social groups, consisting of both men and women from different strata¹⁰.

Another type of cultural colonialism has been categorised “shared culture values” by Gosden. This category is particularly difficult to be distinguished from cultural contacts, and has sometimes pointedly been called “colonialism without colonies”. In this system, new forms of social and cultural capital could be seen as novel sets of resources by the local elite, the non-elite, on the other hand, being excluded from the new cultural network. Acculturation processes from both sides played an essential role, and the system was characterized by the polyglot and hybrid nature of cultures¹¹.

Global comparison of other cultures has demonstrated that systems of shared culture values often relied on long-distance communication and existing patterns of exchange. In the Eastern Baltic, it mainly seems to have characterised the areas where numerous dirham finds also indicate intensive international communication: the coastal areas of North-Estonia and the islands, as well as the south-western part of Finland.

¹⁰ *Gosden C. Archaeology of Colonialism. Cultural contact from 5000 BC to the present. Cambridge, 2004. P. 26–32; see also Callmer J. The archaeology of the early Rus’. P. 8–9.*

¹¹ *Gosden C. Archaeology of Colonialism. P. 26, 39–81.*

Vikings warriors in all coasts of the northern Baltic Sea?

Clear signs of developing communication between the West and the East appeared in Finnish and Estonian material as early as in the fifth to sixth centuries. In the southern coast of the Gulf of Finland, artefacts uncovered in a stone grave at Proosa near the present-day Tallinn are most noteworthy¹². It was a stone grave without formal structure, where cremations of different individuals were totally intermingled. Remarkably abundant Migration Period find material, a number of luxury items, probably imported from Scandinavia, were found there, while the majority of finds, as well as the burial custom, were entirely of local origin¹³. In addition to the Scandinavian artefacts, numerous weapons were uncovered in the same grave, and several belt mounts originating from the Perm area in the basin of the Kama River in present-day Russia indicate that the elite group buried at Proosa had connections both in East and West.

Perm belt decorations were also recorded in an abundantly equipped seventh-century male burial at Eura Pappilanmäki in Finland¹⁴, where they formed a complex together with some other artefacts, including a luxurious sword of the same type as known from Proosa, too. Eastern belt mounts have been recorded in several other finds in Finland, and in some selected places in Estonia. They date mainly to the seventh or early eighth centuries and suggest intensified communication with the Perm areas in the Volga River Basin during the pre-Viking Period.

The time right before the Viking Age, the seventh to eighth centuries, was rich in weapon graves in Finland. Weapons in these consisted of a great number of international types that were also widespread in Middle Sweden, where the Svearike was gradually taking shape. Most scholars have considered the warrior culture in the Merovingian period or early Viking Age Finland as defined through vassalage, where the Svearike played the superior role¹⁵.

¹² *Deemant K.* Neue Funde aus dem Steingraberfeld von Proosa // ENSV Teaduste Akadeemia Toimetised. Ühiskonnateaduste seeria. 1977. T. 26: 1. S. 62–63; *Idem.* Funde der mittleren Eisenzeit aus Proosa // ENSV Teaduste Akadeemia Toimetised. Ühiskonnateaduste seeria. 1978. T. 27: 4. S. 337–338.

¹³ *Selirand J., Deemant K.* Völkerwanderungszeitliche Gegenstände mit ostskandinavischen Ornamenten von Proosa (Nordestland) // Fornvännen. 1985. B. 80. S. 243–253.

¹⁴ *Salmo H.* Merovinkiaikaisen ratsusotilaan hautakalusto Euran pitäjän Pappilanmästä // Suomen Museo. 1941. Vol. XLVII (1940). P. 11–39.

¹⁵ *Schauman-Lönnqvist M.* The Vainionmäki society // Vainionmäki — a Merovingian Period Cemetery in Laitila, Finland / P. Purhonen. Helsinki, 1996. P. 134; *Raninen S.*

The archaeological evidence on Åland was conspicuously Scandinavian. In the middle Iron Age, a great number of the dead were buried cremated and in individual graves, covered with stone heaps. The grave type did not resemble collective stone graves without formal structures, which were widespread in most parts of Finland and Estonia; on the other hand, graves on Åland were similar to burials in Middle Sweden, and the same applied to the majority of finds uncovered in these graves. Many of them were international weapon types and some other items that actually were widespread on the coastal areas of Finland and Estonia as well. A smaller part of the artefacts in these graves belonged to types that characterized Finland or Estonia¹⁶.

In Estonia, much less was known about weapons in the eighth — early tenth centuries, due to the lacking evidence of graves. The situation has started to change during the last years. First, two eighth-century boat graves with Eastern Scandinavian warriors, buried according to mixed Scandinavian and local traditions were uncovered at Salme in Saaremaa¹⁷. Recent finds from an offering place at Viidumäe, at the distance of only 20 km from Salme, indicated that the same “Scandinavian” weapon types as at Salme were used together with local jewellery, and accordingly by locals, as early as in the eighth century¹⁸. It was the beginning of the common warrior culture sphere that characterised Estonian and Finnish coastal areas in the Viking Age,

Big men on the river banks. Some thoughts on the middle Merovingian Period weapon burials in Finland // *Rituals and Relations. Studies on the Society and Material Culture of the Baltic Finns (Suomalaisen Tiedeakademian Toimituksia. Humaniora. 336.)* Saarijärvi, 2005. P. 224–245.

¹⁶ *Kivikoski E.* Kvarnbacken. Ein Gräberfeld der jüngeren Eisenzeit auf Åland. Helsinki, 1963, especially p. 127–133; *Gustavsson R., Tomtlund J-E., Kennebjörk J., Storå J.* Identities in transition in Viking Age Åland? // *The Viking Age in Åland. Insights into Identity and Remnants of Culture / Ahola J., Frog , Lucenius J. (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Humaniora 372).* Helsinki, 2014. P. 159–186.

¹⁷ *Konsa M., Allmäe R., Maldre L., Vassiljev J.* Rescue excavations of a Vendel era boat-grave in Salme, Saaremaa // *Archaeological fieldwork in Estonia, 2008.* Tartu; Tallinn, 2009. P. 53–64; *Peets J., Allmäe R., Maldre L.* Archaeological investigations of Pre-Viking Age burial boat in Salme village at Saaremaa // *Archaeological fieldwork in Estonia, 2010.* Tartu; Tallinn, 2011. P. 29–48; *Peets J., Allmäe R., Maldre L., Saage R., Tomek T., Lõugas L.* Research results of the Salme ship burials in 2011–2012 // *Archaeological fieldwork in Estonia, 2012.* Tartu; Tallinn, 2013. P. 43–60.

¹⁸ *Jets I., Mägi M.* Local shape, foreign decoration. Shared culture values in pre-Viking Period Baltic Rim as indicated in the decoration of triangular-headed pins // *Fornvännen.* 2015 (in press); *Mägi M., Jets I., Riitel R., Allmäe R., Limbo-Simovart J.* Pre-Viking and early Viking Age sacrificial place at Viidumäe, eastern Saaremaa // *Archaeological fieldwork in Estonia 2014.* Tartu; Tallinn, 2015 (in press).

and became particularly obvious in the second half of the tenth century, when artefacts, again, appeared in graves. Tenth or eleventh century grave goods of Saaremaa or Coastal Estonian warriors were hardly possible to distinguish from Gotlandic or Central Swedish ones¹⁹. Not only weapons and other warrior attributes, but also the Nordic Animal Styles were taken over as early as in the eighth century, adapted to the local culture and developed locally (Figure 2)²⁰.

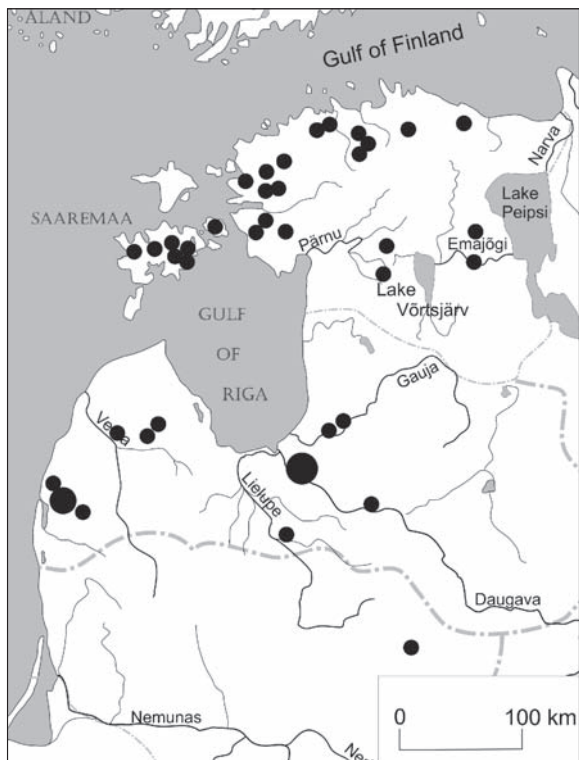


Figure 2. Distribution of ninth-tenth century artefacts decorated in Nordic animal styles in the Eastern Baltic. Weapons and other artefacts decorated with Urnes Style are not shown on the map, since most of them belong to the following period. Mainly based on [Jets 2012].

¹⁹ Examples see e.g. *Mägi M.* At the Crossroads of Space and Time. Graves, Changing Society and Ideology on Saaremaa (Ösel), 9th–13th centuries AD (CCC papers. 6). Tallinn, 2002.

²⁰ *Jets I.* Lahingu maod. Skandinaavia 9.–11. sajandi sajandi kunstistiilid Eesti arheoloogilistel leidudel. Tallinn, 2013.

The archaeologically evident unity of Viking Age warrior culture, which embraced all coastal areas around the northern half of the Baltic Sea, could hardly have developed without some kind of lingua franca. The generally Scandinavian artefact culture that expressed the cultural unity suggests that it might have been some Eastern Scandinavian dialect, or perhaps a sort of pidgin Scandinavian supplemented with Balto-Finnic. Bilingualism in certain social spheres, notably in the military sphere, was probably commonplace in the areas around the Gulf of Finland.

Although the system of shared culture values is mainly based on the adaptation of material culture and styles, it may also have included the movement of some particular groups, e. g. warriors or merchants²¹. Similarly, the possibility that some Scandinavians from present-day Sweden migrated to the Eastern Baltic areas or vice versa is a probability, even without forming clear colonies or clusters of foreign settlement.

Coastal and inland peoples in Estonia

The culture sphere shared with Eastern Scandinavia, as it was described above, was, however, true mainly for the part of Estonia that is called Coastal Estonia. Throughout prehistory, Estonia can be divided into two big cultural regions, separated from each other by a broad zone of forests and infertile lands that is running diagonally from the central northern coasts to the south-western corner of the present-day country. Virumaa, the north-eastern region of Estonia, is sometimes counted as Coastal Estonia²², sometimes as a transitional area²³. It is topographically mainly united with the areas of Inland Estonia, while its access to the sea has caused several cultural similarities with the other coastal regions of the country, too. As such, Virumaa includes culture traditions from both major regions of the present-day Estonia.

Coastal and Inland Estonia were characterised by different burial customs and artefact types as early as in the Bronze Age. The same differentiation continued up to historical times; it was, in addition to the archaeological evidence, traceable in ethnographic, linguistic

²¹ *Gosden C.* Archaeology of Colonialism. P. 53–71.

²² *Tvaari A.* The Migration Period, Pre-Viking Age, and Viking Age in Estonia (Estonian Archaeology. 4). Tartu, 2012. P. 321–325.

²³ *Mägi M.* Mortuary houses in Iron Age Estonia // Estonian Journal of Archaeology. 2005. Vol. 9: 2, footnote 2.

and even bio-anthropological material. These were assumably predominantly the different substantial conditions and cultural interaction that patterned the various cultures in these regions. Linguistic variability might have only reinforced that inhabitants in the two regions probably perceived each other as clearly different, and were presumably treated as such by foreigners as well.

Scandinavian influences that characterised Coastal Estonia were considerably less visible in Inland Estonia. Since the shortage of grave goods up to the late tenth century characterised both of these areas, ninth- and tenth-century ceramics found at hill-forts and settlements can be pointed out as an example of the cultural differences. Some of the highest quality tableware produced inside the common culture sphere of the northern coasts of the Baltic Sea was the so-called Balto-Finnic pottery: small and thin-walled, often carinated bowls, frequently decorated with lines, zigzag or some other modest patterns. This pottery²⁴ dominated in West- and North-Estonia, on the island of Saaremaa and in South-West Finland. Outside these areas, quite numerous finds of this ceramics are known from the Mälars area, particularly Birka, but also from Åland, as well as from Couronia and the lower reaches of the Daugava River in Latvia, and from the present-day North-West Russia, e. g. from the Rurikovo Gorodishche, Staraja Ladoga, and the southern coast of the Ladoga Lake²⁵. The distribution of such ceramics thus coincided with the area of shared cultural values in martial sphere, as it was pointed out before, and probably indicated intensive contacts between these regions. B. Ambrosiani and M. Bäck have assumed that ceramics in East Scandinavia, North-West Russia and the Eastern Baltic (coastal areas?) is frequently not possible to distinguish from each other and was probably a widespread phenomenon, although it frequently is labelled as Scandinavian pottery when found in towns of North-Eastern Russia²⁶.

²⁴ In Estonia it is called Iru pottery, but in Scandinavian countries it is often simply called Finnish ceramics.

²⁵ *Kivikoski E.* Kvarnbacken. Pls. 12: 8, 19: 1, 39: 9–10; *Cimernane I.* Spodrinātā keramika Latvijā // *Arheoloģija un etnogrāfija*. 1974. T. XI. L. 99–110; *Lang V.* Muistne Rävåla. Muistised, kronoloogia ja maaviiljelusliku asustuse kujunemine Loode-Eestis, eriti Pirita jõe alamjooksu piirkonnas. 1–2 (Muinasaja teadus. 4). Tallinn, 1996. L. 73–93; *Tvauri A.* The Migration Period. P. 70–76; *Lehtosalo-Hilander P.-L.* Luistari I. The Graves (Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja. 82:1). Helsinki, 1982. P. 76–84; *Ambrosiani B., Bäck M.* ‘Our man in Pskov’.

²⁶ *Ambrosiani B., Bäck M.* ‘Our man in Pskov’.

Inland Estonian Viking Age ceramics²⁷ was also widespread in Izborsk and Pskov, as well as in the district of Pskov²⁸, where it obviously reflected another common culture sphere²⁹. Although some common traits with the coastal pottery described above can be followed, it indicated another cultural tradition. These were regions that had close mutual contacts and resembled each other. Scandinavian influences were in this region concentrated in certain areas, e. g. Pskov³⁰, where they can be categorised as “middle ground” colonies.

Who were the *Chud'* people?

The legend of Varangian brothers becoming the leaders of the Russian state describes events in the ninth century, that is, in the period when the coastal regions in the northern Baltic were characterised by the shared culture in the martial sphere. However, chronicles describing the beginning of the Rus' state were written down in the early twelfth century³¹ and patterned by the realities and attitudes of this time (Figure 3).

The “Povest' Vremennykh Let” announced that in the year 859 the Varangians “from beyond the sea” took tribute from the Chud', the Slovens, the Merians, and the Krivichians³². The first of these ethnonyms — Chud' — is usually believed to have embraced the Balto-Finnic-speaking inhabitants in present-day Estonia, but perhaps also in the present-day North-West Russia³³. After having driven the Scandinavians out soon after that — which, as we could see from other sources, happened quite often in the unstable political

²⁷ Called Rõuge-type pottery in Estonia.

²⁸ *Tvauri A.* The Migration Period. P. 76–78.

²⁹ See also *Ambrosiani B., Bäck M.* ‘Our man in Pskov’.

³⁰ *Beletzki S.* Viikingiaegne Pihkva // *Setomaa 2. Vanem ajalugu muinasajast kuni 1920. aastani* / Valk H., Selart A., Lillak A. Tartu, 2009. L. 406–412.

³¹ *Melnikova E.* The Baltic policy of Jaroslav the Wise // *Cultural Interaction Between East and West. Archaeology, artefacts and human contacts in northern Europe* / U. Fransson, M. Svedin, S. Bergerbrant, F. Androshchuk (Stockholm Studies in Archaeology. 44). Stockholm, 2007. P. 73–77, and references.

³² ПВЛ. С. 12, s. a. 859 (6367).

³³ *Аеева P.A.* Страны и народы: происхождение названий. М., 1990. С. 86–115; *Melnikova Elena A., Petrukhin Vladimir J.* The origin and evolution of the name Rus'. The Scandinavians in Eastern-European ethno-political processes before the eleventh century // *Tor*. 1991. Vol. 23. P. 203–234.



Figure 3. Place names and most important Viking Age centres around the northern half of the Baltic Sea.

circumstances of the Viking Age — they had to ask them back soon afterwards, according to the chronicler, in order to stop fighting between themselves. Whatever the real situation was, some Swedish supremacy was thereupon established in the territory of the later state of Novgorod.

The subsequent notification in the chronicles, that two years later Rurik of Novgorod had taken over the estates of his brothers, and become ruler of the whole Rus' state, probably indicates the gradual concentration of power in one centre — Gorodishche³⁴. The list of

³⁴ Novgorod mentioned in the chronicle must actually have been Rurikovo Gorodishche, since Novgorod did not exist before the late tenth century (Носов Е.Н., Горюнова В.М., Плохов А.В. Городище под Новгородом и поселения Северного Приильмья (Новые материалы и исследования). СПб., 2005. С. 31–32).

ethnicities and their centres that followed is also of special interest — here were mentioned all the same ethnic groups as before, except the Chud'. Neither was Izborsk, their probable "centre", named³⁵. The Chud' were accordingly in the ninth-century context not among those who paid tribute to the Varangians. The Chud', however, appeared in numerous places later in the chronicle.

The ethnonym Chud' is generally believed to be linked with early Slavic *tjudjo* ("alien") and Germanic *piuða* — *peudo* ("people"). Thiudi were listed among northern peoples by the sixth-century writer Jordanes³⁶. In the parts of Russian chronicles depicting the time up to the late tenth century, Chud' seem to occupy a special place, often creating a kind of parallelism with Rus'. Already in the cosmographic introduction of the "Russian Primary Chronicle", Rus' and Chud' were listed together, in apparent distinction from other ethnicities mentioned.

In the share of Japheth lies Rus', Chud', and all the gentiles: Merya, Muroma, Ves', Mordva, Chud' beyond the portages, Perm', Pechera, Yam' (Finns. — M.M.), Ugra, Litva, Zimegola (Semigallians. — M.M.), Kors' (Couronians. — M.M.), Let'gola (Latgallians. — M.M.), and Liv'. The Lyakhs (Poles. — M.M.), the Prussians, and Chud' border on the Varangian Sea (the Baltic Sea. — M.M.)³⁷.

E. Melnikova and V. Petrukhin believe that the list of ethnicities, seen through the eyes of an early-twelfth-century writer, probably indicated a memory of some inner connection between Rus' and Chud', the difference between these two and the rest of the "peoples"³⁸. The Chud' "border on the Varangian Sea" together with Prussians and Poles; however, the Couronians, Finns and Livs listed together with the other, inland people, actually inhabited coastal areas as well.

In connection with the problem of the Chud' it has been suggested that the term Rus' when first used might have embraced not only "proper" Scandinavians but also the very Scandinavianised, perhaps mixed population in North-Estonia³⁹. The overview of archaeologically detectable shared culture in military sphere, as it characterised not

³⁵ ПВЛ. С. 12, s. a. 859 (6367).

³⁶ Агеева Р.А. Страны и народы. С. 93.

³⁷ ПВЛ. С. 7–8; Russian Primary Chronicle / Trans. S.H. Cross and O.P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor. Cambridge, Mass., 1953. P. 52.

³⁸ Melnikova Elena A., Petrukhin Vladimir J. The origin and evolution of the name Rus'.

³⁹ Ibidem, and references.

only North-Estonia, but also some other coastal areas around the northern half of the Baltic Sea, seems to support this suggestion. Since the coastal culture was different, it is also possible that the ethnonym Chud' was used only or predominantly for the part of Estonia that might have belonged to the earliest Garðaríki — the people living in the inland districts and in Virumaa. The problematic of the appearance of this ethnonym is thus intermingled with the discussion around the earliest meaning of Rus'.

Garðaríki and Rus' in their initial stages

Rus', as it appears in several Viking Age narratives seems to be very closely connected with maritime culture and activities, or simply is described in connections which in the Viking Age context suited better to some Eastern Baltic coastal areas than to Old Rus' like it existed after the turn of the first millennium. Outlet from the eleventh-twelfth-century Kiev-Rus' states to the Baltic Sea was quite complicated, and actually only possible along rivers that, on the other hand, were very difficult to navigate with sea-going vessels, demanding frequent re-loading and sliding, if not the change of ship type. It is important to keep in mind that the south-eastern coast of the Gulf of Finland between present-day Estonia and the Karelian Isthmus was, and still is, a big wetland area that in the Viking Age more or less lacked population. Therefore, outlet to the sea from Novgorod was mainly through the water route along the Lake Ladoga and the River Neva, while Staraja Ladoga was probably the furthest place to sail directly with sea-faring ships. It was not much easier to reach Pskov through the rivers and lakes between present Estonia and Russia. More than hundred impassable rapids stopped the direct way to Polotsk along the River Daugava. Especially plundering raids to what is Russia in its later meaning must have been very difficult to carry on in these conditions, although Scandinavian sources comparatively often mention such Viking-style ravaging expeditions to Rus'.

The twelfth century writers of sagas and chronicles, in what Viking Age narratives are re-cited, probably simply translated the old Scandinavian name Garðaríki as Rus', according to the lines how this place-name was used in their time. The old names Garðar and Garðaríki, meaning approximately “the fortifications/towns” and “the kingdom of fortifications/towns”, need not necessarily

refer only to the region of Rurikovo Gorodishche near Novgorod. It also expresses perfectly the Viking Age reality — sailing from Scandinavia, where such early fortifications were rare, the most striking peculiarity on the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea was the abundance of fortifications, and especially the phenomenon that trade-related settlements in most cases were adjacent with hill-forts. In the beginning of the Viking Age these hill-forts were generally not particularly strongly fortified, in most cases more like manors or small “towns” on top of some hill, surrounded by a wooden fence. Scandinavian *garðr* was probably the best term describing them. As for sagas that probably reflect some stories before the end of the tenth century, e. g. the mythological sagas, activities in *Garðaríki* or, for instance, in Bjarmaland, quite often took place around, or were somehow connected with, strongholds.

Viking Age *Garðaríki* did probably not cover directly the area of eleventh-twelfth-century Russia, but perhaps also some coastal districts in present-day Baltic States. It can especially be true for these regions that paid taxes to the Novgorodian Princes or princes residing in the Rurikovo Gorodishche, first of all the North Estonian coast and eastern Inland Estonia⁴⁰, but also some districts along the River Daugava. It is also likely that in early Viking Age circumstances the name *Garðaríki* was defined not purely politically, but just indicated the area in the east, thus overlapping with other place-names used.

A good example of how *Garðaríki* appeared in earlier Scandinavian sources as an area associated with maritime culture is given by Snorri Sturluson in “*Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*” (ch. 90), who has mediated us a story of Jarl Eiríkr’s ravaging raids in the East.

Jarl Eiríkr sailed in the autumn back to *Svíþjóð* and stayed there a second winter. And in the spring the jarl fitted out his army and after that sailed to the eastern Baltic (*í Austrveg*). And when he came into the realm of King *Valdamarr*, he began to make raids and kill the people and burn everything wherever he went, and laid waste the land. He got to *Aldeigjuborg* and besieged it until he took the place, killing many people there, and destroyed and burned all the fortifications, and after that he travelled widely making raids over *Garðaríki*. So it says in *Bandadrápa*... Jarl Eiríkr spent altogether five summers on this raiding expedition. And when he left *Garðaríki* he went making raids over all *Aðalsýsla* and

⁴⁰ See also *Ibidem*.

Eysýsla, and there he took four viking warships from Danes and slew everyone on them. So it says in *Bandadrápa*...⁴¹.

One can presume that the areas plundered by the Scandinavian Vikings did not situate very far from coasts, in a zone where they could reach with their own ships. It is therefore likely that the Jarl actually plundered, perhaps in addition to the south-eastern coasts of the Ladoga Lake, and the western coasts of the Peipus Lake, densely populated areas of present North or North-East Estonian coast. Indirectly it is also supported subsequently in the narrative, where Jarl Eiríkr, after having been finished with Garðaríki, ravaged all Aðalsýsla and Eysýsla, that is, probably West-Estonia and Saaremaa⁴².

That some part of Estonia was subject to taxation by the Princedom of Novgorod in the 990s, is obvious from “Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar” (ch. 7), where Óláfr’s uncle came into Eistland to collect taxes and rents, met there the young enslaved Óláfr and bought him free⁴². In which part of the country it was, unfortunately remained unspecified, but the market where he arrived was plausibly situated somewhere in the coast, perhaps Virumaa, or in some other easily accessible place, for instance in Tartu.

The aforementioned written sources accordingly referred to parts of present-day Estonia, as well as perhaps some other areas in the Eastern Baltic, paying taxes to the leaders of the northern Russian princedoms in the second half of the tenth century, thus in the time when these leaders were predominantly still of Scandinavian origin. Also the ones in charge of exacting the taxes at places seem to have been Scandinavians. These tributary areas might have covered mainly Estonian coastal regions, both the coast in Virumaa and the bank of the big Peipus Lake in the eastern part of the country.

Western and insular areas of Estonia stayed in the common culture and perhaps political sphere with Svearíke in Eastern Scandinavia. In “Óláfs saga Helga” (ch. 80) the Swedish king Olaf Skötkonung (Óláfr

⁴¹ *Snorri Sturluson*. *Heimskringla*. Vol. I: The Beginnings to Óláfr Tryggvason / Trans. by A. Finlay and A. Faulkes. L., 2011. P. 212; cf. *Джаксон Т.Н.* Исландские королевские саги о Восточной Европе. Издание второе, в одной книге, исправленное и дополненное. М., 2012. С. 164–165, 169; 223–224.

⁴² *Snorri Sturluson*. *Heimskringla*. Vol. I. P. 140; cp. *A History of Norway and The Passion and Miracles of the Blessed Óláfr* / Trans. by D. Kunin, ed. by C. Phelpstead. L., 2001. P. 19; cf. *Джаксон Т.Н.* Исландские королевские саги. С. 126, 127; 133, 140; 149, 153; 161, 165; 172, 180; 548, 550; 196–198.

Sviakonungr) was accused in an assembly (þing) at Uppsala in early eleventh century as having lost control over ancient Swedish “tributary lands”, among the others Eistland⁴³. Adam of Bremen considered in the late eleventh century the islands of Courland (Churland) and Estland (Aestland) as “subject to the authority of the Swedes”⁴⁴. In addition, a source from the first half of the twelfth century, known as “the Florence document”, named Findia (Finland) and Hestia (Estonia) among the “islands”, that is, provinces of Sweden⁴⁵.

Changing attitudes towards the *Chud'*

The major trade route from Scandinavia to the Volga River lost its international importance around 1000 AD. The inflow of new dirhams stopped in most Scandinavian areas around 960, although in the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea some of Kufic coins still arrived in the early eleventh century⁴⁶. Around the year 975, the trade centre at Birka ceased to function. A number of other trading places were also abandoned or lost their international importance around the same time — e. g. Staraja Ladoga, Hedeby, Truso and Wolin. In Estonia, several Viking Age complexes consisting of a hill-fort and an adjacent settlement, fell out of use around 1000 AD, too, which possibly indicates that they were connected with the trade along the Eastern Way as well⁴⁷.

The Scandinavian impact in the territory of the present-day Russia was most intensive in the tenth century, that is, in the time when the Austrvegr (the Eastern Way) towards the Volga River was in its heyday as well. The route was in use earlier and after this century, but the most extensive trade along it took undoubtedly place in the tenth century. The Scandinavian colonies in Russia lasted until the turn of the tenth and eleventh century. Starting from around 1000 AD the archaeological

⁴³ *Snorri Sturluson*. Heimskringla. Vol. II: Óláfr Haraldsson (the Saint) / Trans. by A. Finlay and A. Faulkes. L., 2014. P. 73–75; cf. *Джаксон Т.Н.* Исландские королевские саги. С. 264–265, 275; 331–332,.

⁴⁴ *Adam of Bremen*. History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen / Trans. with an introduction and notes by F.J. Tschan. N.Y., 1959. P. 197–198 (Book IV, 16, 17).

⁴⁵ *Blomkvist N.* East Baltic Vikings — with particular consideration to the Couronians // *Praeities Puslapiai: archeologija, kultūra, visuomenė.* Klaipėdos universiteto Baltijos regiono istorijos ir archeologijos institutas. Klaipėda, 2005. P. 71–93.

⁴⁶ *Leimus I.* Millenniumi murrang. North goes West // *Tuna*. 2007. Vol. 1. P. 27–53, and references.

⁴⁷ *Mägi M.* Rafala. Idateest ja Tallinna agusest. Tallinn, 2015. L. 20–30.

evidence demonstrated much less Nordic influences, compared with the previous century, although the Scandinavians in Kiev-Rus' still were mentioned in written documents⁴⁸. Most people with Scandinavian origin probably Slavonized in course of this century, and the number of newcomers from Nordic countries was too small for leaving clear archaeological traces⁴⁹.

It is hardly a coincidence that the status of the Chud' in the Rus' state also seems to have changed abruptly in the last decades of the tenth century, during the rule of Vladimir Svjatoslavich (987–1015), or Konungr Valdamarr, as he appears in Scandinavian sources⁵⁰. In addition to having been present in the foundation of Rus', Chud' participated in the military campaigns arranged by the Russian Princes until the 980s. In 980 they helped the then-current Novgorodian Prince Vladimir to subjugate Polotsk⁵¹. After that, they were probably helping Vladimir to gain power over the whole of Kiev-Rus', at least “the best men” of the Chud', together with the Slavs, were the ones who manned the newly-founded towns after Vladimir's campaign to the South⁵².

The first attacks by the Russian Princes on the territory of present-day Estonia, according to the “Povest' Vremennykh Let”, were undertaken not earlier than in the 1030s⁵³. The first raid was followed by several other against the eastern part of Estonia, mainly during the first half of the eleventh century. The Estonian historian H. Ligi has suggested the Conversion of Prince Vladimir in 988 as the main reason, accordingly considering the campaigns as a sort of crusade against the still pagan Chud'⁵⁴. In addition to this, the change in the

⁴⁸ Е. г. Рыбина Е.А., Хвоцинская Н.В. Еще раз о скандинавских находках из раскопок Новгорода // Диалог культур и народов средневековой Европы. К 60-летию со дня рождения Евгения Николаевича Носова / А.Е. Мусин, Н.В. Хвоцинская. СПб., 2010. С. 66–78.

⁴⁹ Мельникова Е.А. Древняя Русь и Скандинавия: Избранные труды. М., 2011. С. 257–268.

⁵⁰ Ligi H. Talupoegade koormised Eestis 13. sajandist 19. sajandi alguseni. Tallinn, 1968. L. 38–46; Агеева Р.А. Страны и народы. С. 89.

⁵¹ Ligi H. Talupoegade koormised Eestis. L. 40 and references.

⁵² ПВЛ. С. 54, s. a. 988 (6496).

⁵³ Still, according to Vasilij Tatishchev, Prince Vladimir Svjatoslavich the Holy arranged a campaign against the Chud' in 997 (Татищев В.Н. История Российская. Ч. 2 // Татищев В.Н. Собрание сочинений в 8-ми томах. М., 1995. Т. 2–3. С. 67: “Владимир, не уповая от печенег нападения, умыслил идти на чудь и оных покорить”). However, the accuracy of Tatishchev's data is questioned by many scholars.

⁵⁴ Ligi H. Talupoegade koormised Eestis. L. 38–46.

relationship with the Chud' coincides remarkably with the generally diminishing Scandinavian impact in Rus'. The beginning of the eleventh century is the time when the political system in Old Rus' was already firmly established and the now Christian elite of the princedoms was Slavonized.

The change in Scandinavian-Russian relations during the reign of Vladimir Svjatoslavich has also been pointed out by Russian historians. Before the eleventh century the connections between these areas were arbitrary, and Scandinavians appeared as an entity, without differentiating by their country of origin. From the last decade of the tenth century until late 1010s Scandinavians did not figure in Russian chronicles (which were altogether very laconic in the period between 998 and 1013), and this was generally also the time when their influence in archaeological evidence ceased. The next and last intense period of Scandinavian relationships appeared during the reign of Jaroslav the Wise (1016–1018, 1019–1054), but then the character of the relations had already changed: from now on they could be described as political connections between consolidated states⁵⁵.

Chud' in the eleventh century

Attacks from the East against the areas in present-day Estonia differed in certain extent from those described in Scandinavian sources. First of all, the Russian princes assaulted mainly inland areas, not the coasts which were preferred by Scandinavians. The campaigns were frequently carried out in winter-time, when it was easier to move over frozen wetlands and along frozen rivers. In 1030 the Novgorodian and Kievan Prince Jaroslav attacked Tartu⁵⁶, the most important nodal point on the River Emajõgi-route in eastern Estonia, and made it his own tax collection centre for the following three decades⁵⁷. The next larger-scale campaign was led by his son Izjaslav in the late 1050s, again to eastern Estonia⁵⁸.

The attempts of Russian princedoms to conquer the area of the present-day Estonia intensified in the middle of the eleventh

⁵⁵ *Melnikova E.* The Baltic policy of Jaroslav the Wise.

⁵⁶ ПБЛ. С. 65, с. а. 6538 (1030).

⁵⁷ Cf. *Tvauri A.* Muinas-Tartu (Muinasaja teadus. 10). Tartu; Tallinn, 2001. L. 218–219.

⁵⁸ Cf. *Ligi H.* Talupoegade koormised Eestis. L. 42–43 and references.

century. Izjaslav, the new Prince of Kiev and Novgorod, undertook two campaigns to Estonia, the first of them unsuccessful for the Novgorodians, but the next one apparently victorious. In 1060, the same Prince attacked the Sossols (Sosoly) and forced them to pay 2000 grivnas per year as tribute. The Sossols are generally believed to have been inhabitants of some Estonian district, which, taking into account the amount of the tribute, must have been a big and wealthy one. They must have been military powerful as well, since already in 1061 the Sossols counterattacked, burnt down the centre of Russian princes in eastern Estonia — the hill-fort and settlement at Tartu, — laid waste the lands around it and attacked thereafter Pskov⁵⁹. United forces of Pskov and Novgorod could however avoid the Sossols to burn down Pskov as well⁶⁰.

Several historians believe that Sossols was a Russian name for the Osilians, derived from the Scandinavian Sýsla⁶¹. However, this term embraced not only the inhabitants of Saaremaa (Eysýsla), but also the inhabitants of Harjumaa and Rävåla, that is, the western or north-western coastal Estonians (Aðalsýsla)⁶². That the Sossols apparently inhabited quite large area, presumably with a maritime culture, seems to be indicated not only by the size of the tribute or their military success, but also by the seasons of the expeditions. Izjaslav attacked in winter, as it would be expected. The Sossols, on the contrary, counterattacked in spring, which suggests that they used ships. In any case, the mentioning of the Sossols seems to support the theory that not all inhabitants in the present-day Estonia were called Chud' in the Russian chronicles.

The rest of the eleventh century was characterized by internal fights between the Princedoms of Polotsk and Novgorod-Kiev. No more campaigns against the Eastern Baltic areas are known, at least according to the chronicles.

⁵⁹ The Pskov 3rd Chronicle / Ed., transl. and annotated by D. Savignac. Crofton, 2015. Available at URL: <<https://sites.google.com/site/pskovrelease3/home/Translation>> (visited on 11.09.2015), s. a. 1060 (6568 AM); HPLJ. C. 183.

⁶⁰ *Bonnell E.* Russisch-Liwländische Chronographie von der Mitte des neunten Jahrhunderts bis zum Jahre 1410. St. Petersburg, 1862. S. 5; *Ligi H.* Talupoegade koormised Eestis. L. 42–43; *Tvauri A.* Muinas-Tartu. L. 226–227.

⁶¹ E. g. *Ligi H.* Talupoegade koormised Eestis. L. 42–43.

⁶² See also *Tvauri A.* Muinas-Tartu. L. 227–229.

Conclusions

The early network of eastern trade, mainly for obtaining fur but also other commodities, was based on relationships between local Balto-Finnic and Finno-Ugrian groups, which had the advantage of language similarity. It may have been a system built on barter between neighbours, forming a network that could reach far towards the East. Trading places, connected with these networks, appeared in the densely populated North-Estonian coast, most of them supported by hill-forts. Some of them, at least, were residences of the local elite, and thus also functioned as political centres.

In Estonia, a political change may be assumed by the turn of the tenth and the eleventh centuries. The Chud' had previously acted, according to the Russian chronicles, as close allies to the Scandinavian Kiev-Rus' princes up to the 980s. There are indications that they, or part of them, also paid taxes to the prince residing in Staraja Ladoga or Rurikovo Gorodishche, and thus probably formed a part of the early political structures of Garðaríki. It was the same time as Vikings from Scandinavia, or perhaps from other areas around the northern part of the Baltic Sea, still dominated in the area. Relations between the Princedom of Novgorod and the Chud' became aggravated in the following decades, when the Chud' also seem to have stopped to pay taxes.

Starting from around 1000 AD, the Chud' in present-day Estonia seem to have turned hostile against Novgorod, which brought along plundering raids from the East⁶³. Since that time, Garðaríki clearly embraced only the areas of present-day Russia, where the power was consolidating in Kiev-Rus' princedoms. The phenomenon coincides with the Conversion of Prince Vladimir in 988, and with the sudden decrease of Scandinavian influence in Kiev-Rus' starting from the beginning of the eleventh century. In the same time took place quick Slavonization of the Kiev-Rus' elite, that now also encompassed the North-West Russia. Whatever the "Russian Primary Chronicle" stated, the princes from Kiev seem to have taken over the Novgorod area, and not the other way round. All these alterations caused that Chud', at least those Chud' who lived in the territory of present-day Estonia, now appeared in Russian chronicles as enemies.

⁶³ Ibidem. L. 38–46; *Агеева П.А.* Страны и народы. С. 89.

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Мари́ка Мяги

НАЧАЛО РУСИ И ВОПРОС О РОЛИ ПРИБАЛТИЙСКИХ ФИННОВ В ЭТОМ ПРОЦЕССЕ

Аннотация: Статья посвящена роли народа чудь в разносторонних процессах, сопутствовавших образованию средневекового государства Киевская Русь, какими они предстают на основе последних археологических находок и толкований, а также на основе древних письменных источников.

Результаты археологических раскопок на территории современной Эстонии свидетельствуют о существовании двух культурных регионов; иногда их называют «прибрежная Эстония» и «центральная Эстония». Северо-восточное побережье страны (район Вирумаа) был, так сказать, переходной областью, но, кажется, в культурном плане она больше тяготела к центральным территориям. Судя по археологическим данным, прибрежная и центральная Эстонии отличались друг от друга, но также имелись лингвистические и антропологические отличия, и, вероятно, в эпоху викингов они считались районами, населенными разными этническими группами.

Археологические находки на отдельных территориях восточного и особенно северо-восточного побережья Балтийского моря, относящиеся к VIII в., свидетельствуют о тесных культурных контактах с восточной Швецией. Такая система общих культурных ценностей была типична в основном для воинской среды преимущественно в прибрежных районах, тогда как материальная культура центральных районов была иной. Археологам трудно судить о северной части Прибалтики, поскольку прибалтийские финны в VI — середине X в. не помещали в могилы предметы погребального инвентаря; не обнаружены при раскопках и сами могилы. Однако в некоторых частях этого региона нередко встречаются клады с дирхемами и комплексы, образованные городищами и примыкавшими к ним поселениями. Несколько таких комплексов, в частности, расположенных вдоль береговой линии, вероятно, находились на пути, имевшем международное значение, — в древнескандинавских сагах он называется «Восточный путь». Артефакты, найденные в захоронениях второй половины X в., свидетельствуют о том, что предметы погребального инвентаря воинов прибрежной Эстонии почти не отличались от тех же предметов воинов Готланда или центральной Швеции.

Согласно древнерусским летописям, чудь относилась к тем народам, которые в IX в. платили дань варягам, а впоследствии пригласили русь править своей страной. Во фрагментах древнерусских летописей, описывающих события до конца X в., чудь занимает особое место, зачастую выступая параллелью к руси. Существование в современной Эстонии двух культурных областей (прибрежной и центральной) наводит на мысль, что этноним чудь распространялся на население центральной Эстонии и Вирумаа, которые в IX–X вв., возможно, мыслились частью земель Гардарики.

Ситуация изменилась около 1000 г., когда чудь, до тех пор представлявшая в древнерусских летописях как союзник Руси, превратилась в ее врага. Это изменение совпало с большими переменами на путях и в культурной сфере Прибалтики, а также с внезапным прекращением скандинавского влияния в Киевской Руси.

Ключевые слова: пути в эпоху викингов, финны, Аустрвег, чудь, русь