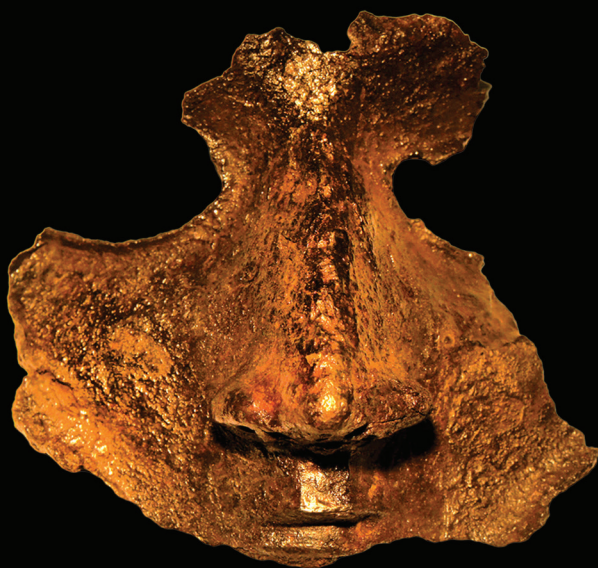


ЛЕТОПИСНЫЙ
«ИЗЯСЛАВЪ»

БОЛЬШОЕ ШЕПЕТОВСКОЕ ГОРОДИЩЕ

В СВЕТЕ
АРХЕОЛОГИИ



Том 1

МАТЕРИАЛЫ РАСКОПОК
М. К. КАРГЕРА
1957–1964 ГОДОВ
В ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯХ
1960–1980-Х ГОДОВ

RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
Institute for the History of Material Culture
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Medieval “Izyaslavl ”
The Large Fortified Settlement
near Shepetovka,
in the light of archaeology

Volume I

Materials from the archaeological excavations
of Mikhail Karger 1957–1964
investigated in the 1960s–1980s



Nestor-Historia
St. Petersburg
2020

РОССИЙСКАЯ АКАДЕМИЯ НАУК
Институт истории материальной культуры
Труды. Т. LV

Летописный «Изяславль»

Большое Шепетовское городище в свете археологии

Том I

**Материалы раскопок М. К. Каргера 1957–1964 годов
в исследованиях 1960–1980-х годов**



Нестор-История
Санкт-Петербург
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Настоящее издание представляет собой I том материалов и исследований из раскопок Большого Шепетовского городища, широко известного специалистам как летописный «Изяславль» (1957–1964 гг., рук. М. К. Каргер). В нем собраны результаты изучения трех массовых категорий археологических находок — исследования А. Н. Кирпичникова, посвященные предметам вооружения, О. В. Овсянникова о керамике и В. И. Цалкина о фауне, проведенные в 1960-е гг. и не утратившие актуальности сегодня, которые вводят в научный оборот многотысячные археологические материалы, отражающие хозяйственный уклад и социально-культурный облик древнерусского города конца XII — первой половины XIII в. Публикуется также выполненный Г. А. Романовой краткий обзор материалов позднеантичного времени, относящихся к поселению, предшествовавшему на этом месте средневековому городу. Для археологов, историков, музейных работников, всех интересующихся историей Древней Руси и специалистов по истории Восточной Европы в позднеантичное время.

This publication presents readers with the results of the study of three mass-scale categories of archaeological finds from the excavations undertaken at the Bolshoye Shepetovka fortified settlement (1957–1964, led by Mikhail Karger), which is widely known among specialists as medieval “Izyaslavl”, referred to in the chronicles. Anatolii Kirpichnikov’s research was devoted to weaponry, that of Oleg Ovsyannikov to the pottery and that of Venyamin Tsalkin to the faunal remains — all in the 1960s, but they remain just as relevant and topical today. The publication introduces into the academic literature thousands of archaeological finds reflecting the working environment and socio-cultural character of an Early-Rus’ town at the end of the 12th century and during the first half of the 13th. It also includes a short survey, carried out by Galina Romanova, of materials dating from the Late Roman period and relating to the settlement which pre-dated the fortified settlement at this site. The book is intended for archaeologists, historians, museum staff and all those who are interested in the history of Early Rus’ and who specialize in the history of Eastern Europe during the Late Roman era.

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Summary¹

The history of research into the fortified settlement at the village of Gorodishche in the Shepetovka District of the Khmelnytsky Region of Ukraine (A. A. Peskova)

The fortified settlement near the village of Gorodishche (in the Shepetovka District of the Khmelnytsky Region, Ukraine), which has been familiar on the archaeological map of the Volhynia Province since as long ago as the end of the 19th century, was the subject of wide-scale excavations undertaken in 1957–1964 by the Galicia-Volhynia Architectural and Archaeological Expedition of the Leningrad Department of the Institute for the History of Material Culture affiliated to the USSR Academy of Sciences and Leningrad State University, led by Mikhail Karger (Fig. 1). The tragic fate of the Early Rus' small fortified town, devastated and burnt to the ground as a result of Tartar-Mongol incursions in the mid-13th century, led to the emergence at that location of a unique cultural layer complete with numerous artefacts. Almost half the area of the fortified settlement was investigated over the course of eight years and a collection of archaeological and anthropological materials was assembled totalling many thousands of items (Fig. 2–6, 9).

During the first year of excavation work, M. Karger identified the fortified settlement with the town of Izyaslavl' mentioned in the chronicles, which had perished when stormed by the troops of Khan Baty in the winter of 1240–1241. That was the name under which the site was recorded in the archaeological literature over many years. At the present time that hypothesis is being called into doubt. Since new versions of the name have not been adequately substantiated, in this volume we have used the name in inverted commas — “Izyaslavl”.

The area of the fortified settlement, which has been fully investigated, consisted of two parts, referred to by M. Karger as the *Detinets* (or citadel) and the *Posad* (the suburb surrounding it). Last name did not quite correctly, so, in the future, we will quote the word “*Posad*”. Together they occupy an area of approximately 3.6 hectares (Fig. 8). It had been enclosed within a multi-row system of ramparts and ditches. Under the inner rampart surrounding the fortified settlement remains were found of burnt storerooms made of logs.

The researchers were confronted by a picture of the destruction of a small fortified town. Side by side with human remains lay not only household objects, numerous agricultural implements, blacksmiths' and jewellers' tools, but also fragments of bells, expensive weapons and hurriedly hidden silver jewellery. Using a range of techniques, the researchers dated these remains to the second half of the 12th and first half of the 13th century.

The archaeologists were not able to trace a precise plan of the dwellings and outbuildings and therefore of the structure of the settlement as a whole. It sometimes proved possible to restore parts of the plan on the basis of the distribution of household objects and human skeletons,

¹ Перевод на английский язык Катрин Юдельсон.

which had been found near the remains of stoves (Fig. 10–14). Starting out from observations of this kind M. Karger drew a conclusion — open to debate — to the effect that the dwellings in this settlement were standing structures of a mud-hut type without vertical posts dug into the ground for support.

M. Karger regarded the fortified settlement he and his team were investigating as for the most part, a single-level site, but he accepted that long before the Early Rus' population had appeared in that location, an earlier settlement had existed there, dating from the first centuries AD. He was of the opinion that the earlier cultural layer had been badly damaged by the Early Rus' buildings.

The archaeological materials collected during field work, which consisted of thousands of items, were divided up into groups so that they could be studied by specialists and stored in several different academic institutions. The bulk of the archaeological finds was transferred to the State Hermitage Museum in 1971–1976. A small range of finds was made over to the repositories of the Artillery Museum in Leningrad and to the Museum of the Local History of the Khmel'nitsky Region (in the town of Khmel'nitsky, Ukraine). Field-reports with identical contents are kept in academic archives in Moscow (covering the period 1957–1959), in Kiev (covering the period 1957–1963) and in Saint-Petersburg (covering 1964). Copies of the reports for all the above-mentioned years of excavation work also survived in M. Karger's personal archive in the Department for Slavonic and Finnish Archaeology.

The anthropological materials collected at the fortified settlement were transferred for research purposes during the first two years of the expedition's work to the First Leningrad Medical Institute and then moved to the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (*Kunstkamera*, Saint-Petersburg, Russia). Materials collected during the first two years were investigated by a group of scholars led by Dmitrii Rokhlin: these were published in summary form in 1965. A large amount of the anthropological materials is still awaiting its researchers in the repositories of the Museum. Faunal and plant remains were transferred for analysis to the Moscow Laboratory of the Institute for the History of Material Culture affiliated to the USSR Academy of Sciences (since 1959 the Institute of Archaeology), where they are being analysed and identified by Veniamin Tsalkin (archaeo-zoologist) and Aleksei Kiryanov (archaeo-botanist). The results of their investigations have as yet not been published.

A final report on the excavations carried out at the fortified settlement was delivered by Mikhail Karger at the I International Congress of Slavonic Archaeology in Warsaw in 1965. He gave a general account of the site and briefly described the main categories of finds, focusing attention on the unique importance of the fortified settlement for the history of Early Rus'. On the basis of the conclusions published in the abstracts pertaining to this report, this site was then included in virtually all general archaeological and historical works treating Early Rus' fortified urban settlements in general. The discovery of the Late Roman settlement was hardly remarked upon at all.

Accounts of these developments by his contemporaries make it clear that Mikhail Karger had been planning to publish a monograph by a team of authors dedicated to the town and the various categories of finds. These plans, however, did not reach fruition, although certain categories of finds were soon investigated and introduced into the academic literature by other members of the expedition. Objects connected with weaponry were studied by Anatolii Kirpichnikov (Fig. 4e, 5b, 6b, 16), Leningrad Department of the Institute of Archaeology affiliated to the USSR Academy of Sciences, and published in general both in summaries of archaeological sources and also in separate articles, but a large section of A. Kirpichnikov's work written up in 1966–1967 nevertheless remained unpublished. The research carried out by Oleg Ovsyannikov (Fig. 15) in 1962–1967, Leningrad Department of the Institute of Archaeology

affiliated to the USSR Academy of Sciences, devoted to the pottery finds was also not published. Later on Mark Mirolyubov, State Hermitage Museum, published a survey of the collection of agricultural implements and also of the items made by blacksmiths for various purposes and the tools of their trade.

After the abstracts published by M. Karger in 1965, the next attempt to analyse the materials and bring together the research findings which had been assembled by the end of the 1980s was the dissertation written by Anna Peskova in the Leningrad Department of the Institute of Archaeology affiliated to the USSR Academy of Sciences for her Candidate's Degree, which was entitled *The Early Rus' town of Izyaslavl' in the 12th and 13th centuries (based on materials from the fortified settlement at the village of Gorodishche near Shepetovka)* and was also not published. In it the fortified settlement excavated by M. Karger was interpreted as a military-cum-feudal fortified centre with a distinctly urban culture. It had been built in keeping with a single overall plan as an outpost to consolidate the power of the Volhynian prince, Roman Mstislavovich, at the eastern edge of Volhynia in the 1190s and was in existence until the middle of the 13th century.

Yet, in the course of the subsequent study of the collection a few objects were identified as dating from the mid-13th to the late-13th or 14th centuries and some finds even to the 14th–16th centuries: as a result it was suggested that the annihilation of the settlement could have been bound up not only with the attack by Baty's troops in 1241, but also, perhaps, with that of Burundai's troops in 1259.

The historical destiny of the "Izyaslavl'" region was determined to a large extent by its position on the border where the Kievan, Volhynian, Galician and Bolokhov Lands met and by its dangerous proximity to the steppes. At least two traditional communication routes passed through this territory, leading from Kiev to the West via Vladimir and via Galich. More often than not these routes can be traced with the help of information found in the chronicles concerning the military detachments of princes fighting amongst themselves. Yet there is no doubt that these routes were also used for trade and by pilgrims. The building of fortified centres in the region was the result of — among other things — the need to ensure the safety of those extremely important communication routes. It was along those routes that Baty's troops moved westwards in the winter of 1240/1241 via Kolodyzhin, Kamenets, Izyaslavl', Kremenets and Danilov.

At the present time several researchers include "Izyaslavl'" in the orbit of towns in the Bolokhov Land mentioned in the chronicles and they even consider it to have been the main administrative centre in the Bolokhov Land. The reason given for this is the unusual multi-row system of fortifications of the Bolokhov type and the town's geographical location in the immediate vicinity of the Bolokhov Lands but not actually inside them. Modern researchers are inclined to extend considerably the hypothetical borders of the Bolokhov Lands in the first half of the 13th century: from Dorogobuzh and Vozvyagl' in the North to Mezhibozhye and Buzhsk in the South and to Kotelnich and the Raikovetskoye fortified settlement in the East. On such a map the Shepetovka fortified settlement appears at the western border of the territory. Archaeologists, meanwhile, note the existence within the outlined territory at the same time of other fortified settlements some with an arrangement of their fortifications which is not typical (fortified settlements of the Bolokhov type) and others with the usual arrangement found all over Russia. The appearance in this region of unusual fortified settlements is explained by scholars in various ways: one explanation implies that inhabitants of the steppes possibly left their homes to participate in the construction work. If there had been diverse ethnic groups making up the population, then this should have been reflected not only in the nature of the fortifications duly erected, but also in other elements of the local material culture. Certain "steppe" elements are to be observed in the

materials from the Shepetovka fortified settlement, but the degree to which the former steppe-dwellers had found their way into the population of the small town still needs to be ascertained.

Specialists have turned their attention on several occasions to the materials excavated in the fortified settlement. Some categories of finds, such as small stone icons for example, silver icons with niello decoration, bell fragments, bronze portable censers and reliquary-crosses were still being studied by experts and appearing in separate publications and summaries. Seventeen hoards of silver jewellery were published and also an assemblage of pilgrimage objects and lead seals unique for an Early Rus' town. Publications appeared devoted to defensive installations at the fortified settlement. Specialists in Kiev investigated techniques involved in the production of certain groups of items made of ferrous metal (knives, scissors, scythes and sickles).

Today the list of articles referring to the publication and analysis of the materials obtained through the excavations described above already exceeds 100 and these are to be found in the appendix with the bibliography. Yet the scattered nature of the published materials, and the haphazard and incomplete selection of their contents mean that they cannot provide an integrated picture of this site: this is also bound to give rise to a situation in which the interpretations of the town's history will be highly contradictory.

To this day a significant proportion of the materials from the excavations of the fortified settlement remains unknown even to specialists. These include some of the most important and mass-scale categories of finds from the fortified settlement: pottery vessels, items of weaponry and bone materials, which had been studied in detail as long ago as the 1960s. It is these studies which make up the core of this book. They are supplemented here by an article about items of fishing tackle which O. Ovsyannikov also wrote originally all those decades ago.

The results of the work carried out in those early years, despite the time gap, are of considerable interest for modern researchers working on medieval towns in general and, in particular, on the site of "Izyaslavl" and the surrounding region. These writings broaden the source base for our understanding of the economic, social and cultural life of the fortified settlement and provide the core of this book.

In addition to the investigations of medieval materials, the book also includes a short but very important survey article by Galina Romanova written in the 1980s and providing an idea of the revealing finds dating from the Late Roman period. Those finds bear witness to a very different era. Yet they also deserve the attention of specialists, since they constitute an integral part of the archaeological site in question.

The preparation of this book for publication proved possible thanks to the involvement of the authors, who have provided manuscripts and materials from their personal archives — A. Kirpichnikov, O. Ovsyannikov and G. Romanova. Work on this book was carried out with support of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research, Project № 18-09-00753 aimed at facilitating the broadest possible introduction of material from the excavations of the medieval fortified settlement near the village of Gorodishche not far from Shepetovka into the academic literature.

The preparation of the various texts for publication and commentaries on these were the work of Anna Peskova with the assistance of Kirill Mikhailov (working on the manuscripts of A. Kirpichnikov and O. Ovsyannikov) and Olga Shcheglova (working on the manuscript of G. Romanova), Institute for the History of Material Culture Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint-Petersburg. Most of the drawings of the finds were the work of the authors themselves and they were prepared for printing by Ekaterina Kononovich, while the plans were prepared for publication by Evgenia Nikitina. Wide use was made of photographs from the Photographic Department of the Academic Archive of the Institute for the History of Material Culture affiliated to the Russian Academy of Sciences: those of us preparing this publication should like to express

our gratitude to the staff of the above photographic department for their help in our work. Photographs were also made available from the personal archives of A. Kirpichnikov and M. Karger.

Late Roman layer of a medieval fortified settlement near the village of Gorodishche (G. A. Romanova)

While the medieval materials from the fortified settlement immediately attracted interest from the academic community, traces of an earlier settlement were almost lost in the mountain of medieval finds. The Late Roman part of the collection, however, is of major interest for researchers. After looking through the illustrations from the Mikhail Karger archive and the albums accompanying the annual reports about the excavations, on the basis of the inventories of materials from the fortified settlement and also the collection itself Galina Romanova attempted to reconstruct the types of dwellings in the early site (Fig. 1, 3: 1, 6), the territory they occupied and the arrangement of buildings within it. Finds of weapons, spurs and certain types of amphorae have not been examined in this article.

The bulk of the finds from the Late Roman period do not differ from the Early Rus' materials with regard to their stratigraphy and were recorded as having been found at a depth of between 20 and 60 cms below the modern ground surface. The clusters of pottery and other items from the Late Roman period within the territory of the fortified settlement make it possible to single out several assemblages from that time. One of them consists of three hand-moulded reconstructed vessels (Fig. 2). In another spot a fibula (Fig. 7: 4; Fig. 8: 3) was found with the pottery. A third assemblage consisted of collapsed material from the plaster covering of a dwelling (Fig. 3: 1), of which the north-western corner had survived, and more than 30 weights from a vertical loom and fragments of same (a total of 73 specimens) (Fig. 3: 2; 4).

In situations when a detailed inventory of finds has been compiled, it has proved possible to differentiate between the hand-moulded and wheel-made pottery (Fig. 2, 5). Within the *Detinets* (citadel) the pottery was concentrated in the southern and south-eastern parts of the area. The range of hand-moulded pottery included burnished fragments, some with a rough, uneven surface and others with indentations made using finger-nails. Within the territory of the suburban area ("Posad"), in its northern part, hand-moulded pottery from an early layer was found at all levels and throughout the river-bank zone of the settlement. Towards the South and West only isolated early finds were encountered. In the central part of the "Posad" clusters of pottery were recorded: one of these had been situated near the north-western part of the collapsed plaster from a mud structure over 24 metres long (Fig. 6).

The collection of artefacts and pottery from the early level of the settlement was clearly different from sites of the Chernyakhov culture in this area, in that there were distinctive vessel shapes in the assemblage of hand-moulded pottery. There are parallels for these shapes of hand-moulded pottery to be found in vessels of the Lubowidz and Cecele phases of the Wielbark Culture. Five hand-moulded and three wheel-turned vessels have been reconstructed (Fig. 2, 5). The fragments of wheel-turned burnished pottery and hand-moulded burnished pottery with indented geometric decoration — some of it consisting of indentations formed by finger-nails — and with the rough, uneven surface make it possible to classify the settlement at the village of Gorodishche as a site of the Wielbark Culture.

Ten specimens of fibulae (1 iron and 9 bronze items) were found in the fortified settlement (Fig. 7; 8; color photo 4: 1).

The earliest stage in the life of the settlement has been indicated by the find of a bronze fibula (A.126), which has lost its spring and pin (*Fig. 12: 3; Colour plate 4: 1*): it has been classified as belonging to the type of comb fibulae (period B2/C1 according to the Kazimierz Godłowski classification system, 1974). Another bronze fibula (A.178 — *Fig. 12: 2*) is of the same age or slightly more recent: it dates from the period C1a in general European chronology. Both items belong to the range of North-European fibulae. An iron hinged fibula with an arched back and a slightly widened foot of the Black-Sea/Danube region type (*Fig. 7: 1; 8: 1*) also dates, broadly speaking, from the C1 period. A bronze fibula decorated with rings of flat wire is also of North-European origin, but the period from which it might stem is of wider extent — from C1 to the end of C3 (*Fig. 7: 2; 8: 2*).

The spread of fibulae decorated with coils of notched wire and with a catch-plate that is triangular or rhomboid in section and has punched decoration on the back (4 bronze specimens) took place in the period C2 and C3 (*Fig. 7: 3–6; 8: 3–5, 7*) and they are associated with the Wielbark Culture.

Two bronze fibulae with facets on the back (*Fig. 7: 7; 8: 6, 12: 1*) are the latest types in the assemblage dating from Period C3. One of these measures over 8 cms in length (*Fig. 12: 1*) and possibly originated from the Baltic region: if so it could be assigned a date in Period C1. Starting out from the chronology of the fibulae found at the site, it would be possible to date the ancient settlement to a period from the end of the 2nd to the 4th century AD. In view of the fact that it has proved possible to date certain fibula types more accurately in recent years, it has now become clear that there were possibly two layers of antiquities in the materials at the fortified settlement near Shepetovka from the Late Roman period: an early one linked to the phase of European chronology classified as B2/C1 (end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd century) and a later one — disappearing by the 4th century — associated with the phase C2. The lack of reliable assemblages of materials, however, means that all that researchers can offer in this respect are suggestions.

Bone combs confirm the proposed date for the site: a one-part comb from the period B2/C1, Type 1 (*Fig. 9: 6*) and a triple-layered comb from the period C1/C3, Type I (according Thompson) (type I”B” according Nikitina) (*Fig. 9: 7*). As in the situation with the fibulae and taking recent research into account, it can be said that the two combs from the collection under discussion represent both the earliest and the latest types of Velbar combs.

Two Roman denarii were discovered in the early level of the fortified settlement: a Titus denarius (79–82 AD) and a Marcus Aurelius one (minted in 145–160 AD) (*Fig. 10*). Among the fragments of glass vessels there are a few of Late Roman glass. A fragment from a phiale has survived which is decorated with polished ovals, circles, and indented lines (*Fig. 12: 4*). The phiale originated from the Cologne workshops, but it differs from other vessels of a similar kind manufactured in the Pontic region because of the better quality turning and the more complex decoration. It dates from the period C1/C2.

Parallels for the finds dating from the Late Roman period discovered during excavations of the fortified settlement are to be found, first and foremost, among German antiquities in Northern Europe. The type of buildings discovered within the territory of the suburb surrounding the citadel — the *Posad* — was widespread in settlements of the Chernyakhov culture. It is, however, the first time that such a long building of this type has been found — 24/26 metres. Parallels for dwellings of this kind have only been found in Northern Europe — at sites in Pomerania and the Jutland peninsula. Many features of the ancient settlement at the village of Gorodishche are to be found in sites already recorded in the literature: next to the village of Viknine (Cherkassy Region, Ukraine) and Lepesivka (Khmelnitsky Region, Ukraine). A distinguishing feature of

these settlements is the presence amongst vessels of Wielbark hand-moulded pottery, of items originating from Northern Europe and also items typical for the German tradition of long houses. All three of these settlements appeared no later than the beginning of the 3rd century AD and existed until the middle of the 4th century AD: in the late stage of their existence they were completely transformed into settlements of the Chernyakhov Culture.

Weaponry from medieval “Izyaslavl” (A. N. Kirpichnikov)

The author of this account Anatolii Kirpichnikov was a participant in the excavations of the fortified settlement near the village of Gorodishche (Shepetovka District, Khmelnytsky Region, Ukraine) — the “Izyaslavl” according to M. Karger, who headed the excavations during all the field seasons (1957–1964). Items found during the excavations of 1957–1962, were used, with the permission of M. Karger, in the doctoral thesis “Russian close-combat weapons of the 10th–13th centuries” (Kirpichnikov 1963). In that work some “Izyaslavl” items (but by no means all of them) were taken into account only statistically and therefore it cannot be considered as an investigation of the issue under discussion. All these items were subsequently included in the collected archaeological sources on Early Rus’ weapons (Kirpichnikov 1966; 1966a; 1971; 1973). A comprehensive and complete study of the weapons from the Early Rus’ site “Izyaslavl”, written in 1966–1967 but not published at that time for reasons beyond the author’s control, is today being presented to readers for the first time. The drawings for this section were made by A. Kirpichnikov and their digital processing was carried out by E. Kononovich. Photographs: Photographic Department in the Scientific Archive of the Institute for the History of Material Culture.

Introduction

The collection of military antiquities discovered during the excavations of the fortified settlement occupies a special place among the materials relating to the history of Early Rus’ weapons on account of its size and completeness. The relatively short duration of the town’s existence, its catastrophic destruction and the archaeological clearing of the entire area of the settlement — taken together — created special conditions for the comprehensive study of the material culture of medieval “Izyaslavl”, including its military significance. A total of 1,500 metal objects relating to military activity were discovered: they make up one of the most significant and striking categories of finds from the settlement. As far as we know, the number of weapons from the 12th and 13th centuries make medieval “Izyaslavl” the outstanding phenomenon among similar sites in Early Rus’ and Central and Western Europe of that period. The horsemen’s weapons and equipment found in the fortified settlement can be expressed in the following figures: spearheads — 2, battle-axes — 12, sword blades, some with handles — 4, sword pommels — 3, cross-guards from swords — 4, terminals from sword sheaths — 14, part of a sabre blade with a handle — 1, sabre blades (fragments) — 3, sabre pommels — 4, cross-guards from sabres — 13, cuffs for fastening the upper part of a blade to a cross-guard — 3, rings from sabre sheaths — 3, rods for fixing rings to sheaths — 9, terminals from sabre sheaths — 3, dagger — 1, maces (bronze and iron) — 22, bronze, iron, bone and stone bludgeons — 9, iron arrowheads 977, arrowheads from bone arrows — 17, bone facing for a bow handle — 1, bone loop from a quiver — 1, ring for drawing a bowstring — 1, terminals of crossbow bolts — 17, hook for tightening/tensioning a crossbow — 1, helmets — 2, face-shield mask — 1, shirt of mail — 1, chain mail pieces — 10, spurs — 280, stirrups — 44, bone and bronze pommels for whips — 3.

The above list shows that most of the military finds were not single items. They happened to be scattered randomly throughout the whole area of the settlement. Neither the central *Detinets* (citadel) nor the adjoining territory (“*Posad*”) stood out sharply, as regards the range of types of weapons found. It was not, as a rule, possible to associate the military finds with specific dwellings, warehouses or production premises, with the exception of the storerooms. All the whole swords, terminals of sword sheaths as well as spears, crossbow bolts, pairs of spurs, some maces, bludgeons and many arrows were found in the area of defensive installations.

The items found do not — and did not — constitute a complete urban arsenal and this can be explained by the circumstances of a military catastrophe. Some of the weapons remaining after the battle could have become trophies for the attackers and some could have been used by those who later cleared the surface of the town area. For the most part, archaeologists obtained broken items or those, which had accidentally survived in the ruins and rubble of the buildings. Some objects were damaged at the time of the battle and the fire. Some of the scrap metal and the fighting can, perhaps, be dated not to the time of the destruction of the town and fighting in subsequent centuries, but to the period of peaceful life before 1241. These items show signs of having been well-used, worn or damaged and sometimes they were whole parts of objects or production waste. Many of them were no longer being used at the time of the siege and we should exclude them when determining the number of the military personnel locally available in 1241. Taking into account the reservations outlined above, it would have been possible to arm about 35–40 people with the close-combat weapons (spears, swords, maces, bludgeons and axes) which have come down to us. Judging by the number of intact spurs, the number of professional mounted warriors could have been 100–150, which in relation to the total population is 3–5 %. Due to the emergency situation, along with mounted members of the town’s militia, it is most likely that ordinary infantrymen and citizen soldiers, who had no spurs, also participated in the defence of “Izyaslavl”. Whatever the strength of the townspeople, they numbered at most a few hundred and would have been unable to resist the large Mongol horde for long. Let us now proceed directly to the survey of the archaeological material.

Weapons from the late Roman period

A distant predecessor of “Izyaslavl” was the settlement dating from the first centuries AD located in the same area. Among the weapons of the large fortified settlement, a number of weapon forms from that period have been identified (*Fig. 1*). All of them were found re-deposited in the same layer as objects of the 12th–13th centuries. The weapons of the Roman period number among rare finds in Eastern Europe. The closest parallels to these finds were discovered in the distribution area of the Pshevor Culture and they relate to the Late Roman period — more precisely to the 3rd century AD. There is, of course, no direct link between them and the history of Russian technical advances.

Medieval weapons

Spears

Spearheads (40 specimens) are near the top of the list with regard to quantity (Table I). Spears were, apparently, the most popular and widespread weapons used for close combat, which met most adequately the requirements of military practice in the 12th–13th centuries. Among the spears the lightest and most manoeuvrable ones were pikes (Type I, 29 specimens) (*Fig. 2*; 3: 2–3, 5–6, 9). They served as a specialized weapon for cavalry combat and were designed to pierce armour. Pikes were widely used in Early Rus’, especially in the 12th and early-13th centuries

in areas close to the steppes peopled by nomads. In the towns of Southern Rus' pikes invariably outnumbered spearheads of other shapes. Spears of elongated triangular shape could serve both for combat and hunting. They are divided into three varieties: Type II, four specimens; Type IIA, two specimens; Type IIB, one specimen (*Fig. 2; 3: 1, 4, 7–8*). While the first two varieties are found in towns and villages, the third is typical for castles, residences of feudal lords and burials of warriors. Consequently, we are talking here about military weapons adapted from universal weapons. The heavy bear-spear with a spearhead in the shape of a bay-leaf and with a faceted sleeve (Type III, one specimen, bent in a fire) stands out among the finds from the Gorodishche site (*Fig. 2; 3: 1*). The bear-spear was an innovation of the 12th century and the only type of spear mentioned in the chronicles as a weapon of war, but it was also used for hunting large beasts. Thus, the entire range of piercing weapons indicates the presence of horsemen in the settlement, primarily warriors and then hunters.

Battle-axes

The twelve battle-axes found at the site should be classified mainly as infantry weapons (Table II). Only one of the items — a mint-hatchet — specially designed for combat, could be used for equestrian warfare (Type I) (*Fig. 4; 5: 4*). Axes with a “beard-shaped” or elongated blade, widening slightly towards the edge, were a universal field and combat weapon (Type II — 6 specimens and Type III — 5 specimens) (*Fig. 4; 5: 1–3*). The axes of both the above-mentioned types repeated completely the shapes of working axes, which are widely represented among the finds from the Gorodishche site but are smaller and lighter than the latter and have a hole in the blade intended for attaching their cover. The fact that the universal and production axes from the Gorodishche site have been fashioned identically would indicate that they had both been made locally. In general the battle-axes found at “Izyaslavl” represent the three main forms of this weapon, associated typologically to some extent with working examples (for Types II and III), which were widespread in the 12th and 13th centuries throughout the territory of Early Rus'.

Swords

The number of sabres, judging by the fragments of blades and cross-guards found separately, the minimum number of swords that existed beyond doubt in “Izyaslavl” was eight. If we take into account the sheath terminals numbering at least 14 (9 of which are fragmentary), then the possible number of blades corresponding to those terminals could be increased to 10 or 12. The fragmentary nature of the material and its incompleteness oblige us to discuss not only whole specimens, but also their parts: blades, pommels, cross-guards and also sheath terminals (Table III; *Figs. 8, 9*). The four surviving blades had been exposed to fire and they are bent and broken, but they are perfectly adequate for study and can be compared with each other. Three of the blades still have a handle or their handles can be reconstructed on the basis of their remains (*Fig. 6: 1, 3; 7: 1, 3*). The handle of the fourth sword is either completely missing or it must have been made of organic material (bone, wood or leather) and not have survived for that reason. Examination of the swords from the Gorodishche site revealed the existence of two sets of sword parts different in shape and origin. What is relevant here is not where specific objects were manufactured but the areas in which the types themselves came into being. In addition to blades, knights' swords (*Fig. 6: 2, 3; 7: 2, 3*) throughout Europe also included: disk-shaped pommels (Type III, 3 specimens) (*Fig. 8*), cross-guards (Types II and III, 5 specimens) (*Fig. 8*), U-shaped iron sheath terminals (Type II, at least 14 specimens) (*Fig. 8; 9: 5–6*). On one of the

blades after mechanical cleaning of the surface, there appeared on one of its sides the Latin inscription SNEX NEX. NEX. NS inlaid with yellow metal and, on the other side, what seemed to be a depiction of a sphere and a cross (Fig. 6: 2; 7: 2). In the groove along the blade of another sword from “Izyaslavl” the remains of a gold inlaid figure – apparently a cross (Fig. 6: 3) – were found. Swords of the 12th–13th centuries, the distribution of which is confined to Eastern Europe, include, in addition to a sword with a three-part pommel — Type II (Fig. 6: 1; 7: 1), two bronze five-part pommels of Type I (Fig. 8; 9: 1–2), a bronze slightly curved cross-guard of Type I and also two decorated bronze sheath terminals of Type I (Fig. 8; 9: 5, 6).

Sabres

The number of sabres, judging by the fragments of blades and cross-guards, was approaching 14, i.e. almost twice as many as the firmly established number of swords found at the Gorodishche site. The general predominance of sabres over swords is evidently typical of “Izyaslavl” as a town of Southern Rus’, close to the steppes. There were probably more than 8 swords in “Izyaslavl”, as mentioned above, and also sabre cross-guards (13 specimens), which were mainly used for counting purposes and did not always match their blades. All the sabre *полосы* (4 specimens) came down to us in a broken state (Fig. 10). One blade had survived with its pommel, one bracket from which it could be suspended and the terminal of its sheath (Fig. 10: 2; 11).

Also relating to sabre blades were three cuffs, attached to the ephesus and providing supports for the cross-guards (Fig. 12, bottom row, central depiction). “Izyaslavl” is to date the only place where all cross-guard shapes have been found which have been recorded in Rus’ of the 12th and 13th centuries (Fig. 12, middle row, Table IV). Cross-guards were the most flexible element in the structure of a sabre. All the other parts were far more stable. This would apply to the five pommels (Type I) (Fig. 12, top row) and the three sheath terminals (Fig. 12, bottom row, right depiction). Decoration was confined only to copper-plating of the surface (there are also indications that there could have been similar decoration on some of the cross-guards) or figured carving of edges. The rings (3 specimens) found at the site related to the sheaths, as did the special rods with ends bent at right angles (9 specimens) making possible the fixed fastening of the rings to the wooden base of the sheath (Fig. 12, bottom row, middle depiction). The final item in the gallery of cold weapons from “Izyaslavl” is a rare double-bladed dagger (Fig. 13) not typical for the period.

Maces

Impact weapons are represented by specimens of almost all of the types which had existed in Early Rus’ of the 12th and 13th centuries. The most widespread category of finds is that of iron maces in the shape of a cube with truncated corners (Type I — 14 specimens) (Fig. 14; 15: 1–2) and there is one iron pommel with eight smoothly protruding convex facets (Type IV) (Fig. 14; 15: 6). There is no doubt that they belong to the category of weapons used by the common people. Wealthy men-at-arms probably preferred more elegant and finely decorated bronze pommels with eight or twelve pyramid-shaped spikes (Type II — 2 specimens; Type III — 3 specimens) (Fig. 14; 15: 4). All the castings which have been found differed in their details, which means that they must have been made using different moulds and perhaps in different workshops. Regardless of where the “Izyaslavl” bronze maces were made, whether they were imported items or copies of the latter, they reflect the influence of Kievan craftsmen and characterize Russian serial casting and the distribution of its finished products.

Bludgeons

All the bludgeons found at the site can be divided into three types, between which there is not always a clear-cut difference (Fig. 14; 15: 7–12, Table V). The most numerous are bronze and iron weights round in shape (Type I — 5 specimens) (Fig. 14; 15: 7–9). They have a number of approximate parallels among Early Rus' objects, but the bronze and iron flattened weights of angular outline and with elongated loops (Type II — 2 specimens) have not so far been found anywhere else and were evidently made locally (Fig. 14; 15: 10–11). Isolated finds are the decorated bone and slate ovoid bludgeons (Type III) (Fig. 14; 15: 12). In general, the local character of many of the bludgeons from the Gorodishche site, particularly those with the elongated loop rare among 13th century finds, is difficult to deny.

Bows and arrows

When turning to weapons for long-range combat, it should be noted that bone objects were found at “Izyaslavl” which were typical parts of an East-European complex bow: a medial overlay from a bow handle, a loop for the quiver and a ring for pulling back the string. These items match up well with the shapes widespread in Early Rus'. The Mongols either did not leave their weapons behind in “Izyaslavl” or we are unable to identify them as they are so similar to those of Early Rus'. Arrowheads, however, are an exception to this rule. Approximately two thirds of all the arrowheads found were concentrated near the gate-tower of the “Posad”. In view of the fact that the arrows — judging by their distribution within the cultural layer — had not constituted some kind of stockpile for the defenders of the town and had not come from abandoned quivers, but had been lying in the upper part of the layer together with remnants of burnt wood, charcoal and stoves, were burnt and, in some cases, bent and had been found where the medieval entrance had been, against which the Mongols would usually focus their attack when seizing a Russian town, it can be assumed that they had been shot by the enemy towards the walls of the town, in other words that they were Tatar arrows. Arrowheads similar to those found by the gate were also discovered inside the territory of the town, including the *Detinets* (citadel). A reliable criterion for deciding whether arrows found at Gorodishche had been Mongol ones (apart from the topography of the finds) can be gleaned from their repeated distortion and its position, which indicate how far the arrows were able to penetrate into the structure of the wall. Of the 977 arrows found at the site 157 were bent (all incidentally in the gate area) and 144 of the arrowheads had a blade bent in one and the same place and frequent traces of burning (Figs. 16–17). The damaged arrows at Gorodishche are of types which account for 748 of the arrowheads and virtually all the assault arrows discovered (Figs. 16–17, Table VI). Yet, it is important to remember that one and the same types of arrowheads were used by both the Russians and the Tatar-Mongols: differences, if they existed, were only to be observed in minor structural details. Among the arrowheads found at “Izyaslavl” there were Russian ones as well. An example of these is provided by some arrows from one and the same quiver which had all been burned into a single mass (Fig. 18). It proved possible to separate out these arrows and it emerged that, although they were similar to those, which we should like to refer to as Mongol, they differed from the latter both in their proportions and in the outlines of their plumage. The total numbers of arrow-heads found at “Izyaslavl” were 977 made of iron and 17 bone ones. On the basis of their shape and other features they have been divided up into ten main types (I–X, including variants) and four rare ones (XI–XIV): finally there are two types (A and B) which take into account the bone arrowheads (Fig. 19, Table VII). According to their ethno-geographic characteristics, arrowheads of types IA, II, IIB, XII — possibly Type A — and some arrowheads of Types I, IIA, III, IV, V, VI and VIII

(Table VIII) have been classified as specifically Mongol or Asian. All the listed shapes have either been borrowed unchanged from Asia (sometimes in Eastern Europe as well) or were modified somewhat for specific military tasks (Types I, II, IV). Types IB, VI and VII have been classified as Russian and some arrowheads of Types I, IIA, III, IV, V, VA, VB, VIII, IX, XI and B. Many of the arrows concerned are ones typically used by hunters (Types V–IX, XI and B) and would have been commonplace for the settled farming population. Attention should also be drawn to arrows of a type which would have been unfamiliar to the Tatar-Mongols as they originated from western parts of Early Rus' and Western Europe (Types X, XIII and XIV).

Most of the arrowheads found at the site were obviously those designed for combat (in "Izyaslavl" Types I–IV, X and A — a total of at least 775 specimens), which can cause great damage and penetrate deeply. Precisely these combat types of arrow are those constituting the largest series of identical shapes. This was an example of mass-produced arrows which — to judge from the available evidence — were manufactured over a short period of time by professional armourers. The arrows from Gorodishche demonstrate an impressive range of shapes and functions. For the production of arrows there obviously existed well-developed specialization. Archer warriors and huntsmen would have had in their quivers and would have used a range of different arrows. The range of arrow shapes would have been typical for the 13th century (Types IA, II, IIB, VA, X, A and to a lesser extent Types I, VI and IX). A sign of the 13th century is the widespread use of armour-piercing arrows, narrow-blade cutters, arrows with chisel-heads and lance-shaped arrowheads. In short, the wide range of arrows used at "Izyaslavl" was in step with the technical experiments and innovations of those times.

Crossbows

Among the mass of arrows found at the Gorodishche site there were 17 crossbow bolts of three different types (Type I — 11 specimens; Type II — 5 specimens; Type III — 1 specimen) (Fig. 21; Table IX). Another pointer to the presence of the crossbow is an iron belt-hook for drawing the bow-string (Fig. 21, right; 22). The "Izyaslavl" belt-hook is a technical innovation dating approximately from the first half of the 13th century and the earliest drawing device for use with a cross-bow which has come down to us from the medieval period in Europe. The "Izyaslavl" drawing hook is unique among European, including Russian, antiquities from the Early Medieval period.

Chain-mail armour and helmets

Defensive armour is represented by ten pieces of chain mail and one complete suit of chain mail (albeit in a fragmentary state), two helmets and a face-shield mask (also in a fragmentary state). The chain mail 'woven together' from flat rings consists of fragments damaged in the flames of battle and melted together forming a hard mass incorporating earth, bones etc. (Fig. 23). Both the helmets have come down to us in pieces as well: one of them is complete with a half-mask and a beak-shaped nose-guard (Figs. 24, 25), while only random plates have survived from the other. Both helmets originally belonged to dome-shaped combat head-covers, which were invented and used in Early Rus' during the last century prior to the Mongol invasion. A particularly interesting find is the face-shield used in conjunction with a helmet — a mask that served as a visor (Fig. 26). The question as to its origin remains controversial. In general the range of defensive armour found at Gorodishche testifies to the fact that there were prosperous heavily-armed warriors in the town equipped for the specific conditions pertaining to military combat in the 13th century, a time when armour protected the bodies of those wearing it more thoroughly and reliably.

Bits and horse-shoes

Both individual items of weaponry and everything that is associated with the equipment of a war horse bear witness to the existence of a detachment of armed cavalry in “Izyaslavl” — bits, horse-shoes, currycombs, girth buckles which were used for both peace-time and military activities. We shall confine ourselves here to short comments relating to bits and horse-shoes. A total of 193 intact (15 specimens) and broken bits were found — all of the same type — common for the whole of the Early Medieval period, 32 horse-shoes (only one was intact) and many horse-shoe nails. The horse-shoes varied in size but were of the same type: a laminar semi-circle with spikes at the ends, a wavy outside edge and six (less frequently eight) holes punched through it for nails (*Fig. 27: 1–7*). The military purpose of these Early Medieval horse-shoes is open to debate.

Spurs

Medieval spurs indicated the presence of mounted warriors organized along feudal lines: they were a sign of knightly rank and status. At no other medieval site in Europe have so many spurs dating from more or less the same period been found as in “Izyaslavl” (270 specimens). The identified types of spurs from Gorodishche (*Fig. 28; 29, Table X*) bear witness to the fact that their owners were acquainted with the most up-to-date European technical innovations. Moreover, a number of spur shapes were even recorded in “Izyaslavl” earlier than in West-European castles (Types III, V, and to some extent IVA). The diverse range of spurs indicates well-developed specialization and adaptation for a lightly or heavily armed horseman (Types II and III). The collection of “Izyaslavl” spurs indicates the high degree of military culture achieved by urban mounted militias.

Whips

In “Izyaslavl” one bronze and two bone whip terminals have been found (*Fig. 30*). Similar items have been found occasionally in other Russian towns, such as Novgorod, and in nomads’ burial mounds of the 12th–13th centuries. The whips in question here are used to control a horse “eastern style” without resorting to spurs. This method of riding “eastern style” was introduced into Early Rus’ by neighbours from the steppes and became particularly widespread in the post-Mongol period. In places it has survived to this day.

Stirrups

Like spurs, stirrups were an essential prerequisite for a mounted warrior. Like spurs again, they varied in their structure according to the various tactical purposes for which they were designed and so for a particular group within a military force (*Fig. 31; 32, Table XI*). Heavily-armed warriors would most probably have used stirrups with a straight or slightly concave tread and an arched frame with a rectangular and trapezoid ridge for the loop (Type I — 15 specimens). Stirrups of the type under consideration can be traced back to shapes dating from the 10th–11th centuries but in the 12th and early-13th century they were a characteristic and distinct feature of East-European and Russian antiquities. Closely related to those shapes were stirrups with a straight tread and a frame in the shape of a rounded triangle (Type IA — 2 specimens), which were fairly widespread and easy to manufacture, making them popular in Europe for at least 200 years. Ring-shaped stirrups, which were lighter than all other forms (Type II — 26 specimens) date from the late-12th and early-13th century. The fact that a combination of different types was found at the Gorodishche site indicates that the different shapes were not just

the result of passing fashions but linked to tactical requirements, which brought local Russian features into line with international ones.

Conclusions

The “Izyaslavl” arsenal, despite its incomplete and somewhat random nature, can be assessed as typical for a town of Early Rus’ and for its times. It enables us to form a general picture of the state and evolution of weaponry in the 12th–13th centuries. It sheds light on the rapid advance of technical innovations and their active introduction. Many of the objects found were relatively new and linked to the evolution of European and Asian weapons in the period 1150–1250. Examples of these advances were the bear-spears (12th and early-13th century), disk-shaped sword pommels with carved edges (post 1180), cross-guards of Romanesque swords (mainly between 1200 and 1270), a series of sabre guards (early-13th century), maces with a short protruding beak-shaped bar (‘trunk’), which has fan-shaped facets on its knob terminal (early-13th century), certain bludgeons with a long loop (early-13th century), arrows with an elongated triangular blade and rectangular ridges forming their ‘shoulders’ and armour-piercing tanged arrow-heads (neither of these can be assigned a date earlier than the 13th century), pike-shaped crossbow bolts (evidently of a date no earlier than the 1230s), a belt hook for tightening the string of a crossbow (early-13th century), a helmet with a half-mask (1150–1250), a mask attached to a helmet and wide flat chain-mail rings (early-13th century), spurs in the shape of a letter Z in profile and a wide laminar cuff (1200–1250), wheel spurs (1230s), ring-shaped stirrups, ring-shaped stirrups with a keel-shaped arch (1150–1250). Almost all the identified technical innovations date from the first half of the 13th century. In “Izyaslavl” innovatory weapons were found which would be important throughout Rus’ and Europe: the tightener hook for crossbows, maces with a beak-shaped hook, pike-shaped crossbow bolts, Z-shaped spurs with a laminar cuff and a small wheel. Some of these innovations were recorded in “Izyaslavl” earlier than anywhere else. The town was the place where, in the wake of an attack, Asian-Mongol, Russian and West-European arrows were found mixed up together. The proximity of the steppe serves to explain the popularity of the sabre and the presence of certain forms of equipment for the mounted warrior – stirrups and whips. Yet, in the main, “Izyaslavl” represents not eastern traditions of weaponry or those of nomads, but European ones. In general, the finds from Gorodishche constitute an original technical ‘beacon’ in the history of Russian and Romanesque weaponry, setting standards from the chronological, typological and tactical points of view. The weapons found at Gorodishche fall into one of two groups as regards their form, structure and weight. The light pike and the massive bear spear, the mint-hatchet and the heavier infantry axe, the lighter East-European sword and the heavier Romanesque one, light and heavy sabres, arrows and bolts, light and heavier spurs and stirrups — such is the gallery of the contrasting weapons. This combination of items of so many different kinds, although all with a combat purpose, can be explained by the very different demands made on Russian fighting men, who were up against both galloping steppe-dwellers and also European knights weighed down by heavy armour. The various types of weapon found testify to the different tactics required of Russians in combat and the distinct groups of fighting men needing different varieties of equipment ranging from that of lightly armed bowmen and heavily-armed warriors wielding lances.

In “Izyaslavl” weapons were discovered which had clearly belonged to a well-organized militia: pikes, mint-hatchets, sabres, swords, bludgeons, spurs, stirrups, remains of chain mail and helmets. At the same time some of the spears, axes, maces and crossbow bolts tell us about the

equipment used by the infantry and members of the citizens' militia. The predominant force was that of the mounted warriors — archers and men armed with lances. Among the finds from Gorodishche there were some which must have been intended for children given their smaller than normal size (1 pike, 2 sabre cross-guards, 3 arrows, 7 spurs, 1 stirrup). This indicates that in "Izyaslavl" there must have been an establishment providing military training for the children of the men from the militia.

In short the combat equipment used by the men of "Izyaslavl" indicates that its population constituted an advanced feudal society with a fighting force of men with specialist skills for the use of a range of weapons and with experience in training horses for combat. To judge by the weapons found, the various strata and groups to be expected within a well-developed early-medieval militia defending a well-established feudal society were all represented in "Izyaslavl". It would seem to us that this is a key element which needs to be borne in mind when the type of the "Izyaslavl" settlement is being defined together with the socio-economic nature of its population.

Pottery from medieval "Izyaslavl" (An attempt to classify the clay vessels from a medieval Rus' town) (O. V. Ovsyannikov)

The section was written by Oleg Ovsyannikov, who took part in the 1957 excavations as a student and again in 1962–1964, as a laboratory assistant in the Slavonic and Finnish Archaeology Group at the Leningrad Department of the Institute of Archaeology affiliated to the USSR Academy of Sciences. The pottery from "Izyaslavl" was his main preoccupation in 1962–1967. This section of the publication is an extended essay on the unique pottery collection, which includes approximately 300 whole vessels — a collection from a town in which archaeological investigations have been completed (*Fig. 1*). The dramatic and sudden end of the settlement meant that researchers had the chance to identify and analyse the complete range of clay vessels from the mid-13th century found at this site, thus shedding light on the culture of its everyday life.

The pottery items found in medieval "Izyaslavl" were examined in the following groups.

Pots make up the majority of the pottery artefacts (over 90 %), which total 19,500 fragments. Complete vessels were the subject of detailed analysis, as were the more intact of the fragments. They were subdivided into two groups: pots, which can be classified as "ordinary" ones from the pre-Mongol era with a sloping, straight or oval neck and an out-turned rim (Group 1) and pots with a cylindrical neck, which either narrows or, on the contrary, widens out (Group 2). The rim was the basic feature taken into consideration for the classification of Group 1 pots: Type I — 12.9 %, Type II — 8.8 %, Type III — 15.4 %, Type IV — 29 %, Type V — 3.7 % and Type VI — 23.8 % (*Fig. 7–15*). The first two types (I–II) were general East-European or Early Rus' types. Most of the parallels for Types IV, V and VI came from the Galicia-Volhynia Lands.

Group 2 was made up of pot-like vessels with a cylindrical neck, clearly marked off from the body (184 rim fragments). Within the territory of Early Rus' they are not encountered in large quantities. They have a good deal in common with vessels from Group I: the composition of the clay used, the nature of the firing, the decoration and profile of the body. What separates the two groups is only the way their upper part is fashioned. Four types of rims can be distinguished among the vessels of Group II (*Fig. 17–18*). The first three rim types account for most of the

vessels. The vessels of this appearance occupy a transitional possession between pots and various varieties of jug-shaped vessels.

Ceramic containers are represented by vessels designated for the storage of various liquid and loose products and for their transportation. Jugs make up a small group of the “Izyaslavl” pottery articles: three hand-moulded jugs and 50 neck fragments (Color photo 1, fig. 19). Approximately a third of these vessels was found in the citadel and two thirds in the settlement around it.

All the jugs stood out from the rest of the pottery from medieval “Izyaslavl”, because they had been more carefully finished and were richly decorated. Four different types of jugs stood out from each other and most of them had been made by local potters.

The vessels with a cylindrical neck and a ridge on the neck formed a distinct group (9 complete vessels and 545 fragments (Fig. 20; 21). These precisely fashioned jug-shaped vessels with a carefully worked surface were in most cases covered with a pale slip and richly decorated. Sometimes the ridge was decorated as well. Despite the varying sizes of the vessel, traces of standardization were clearly visible. On the basis of the neck shape, certain variants could be singled out: vessels with a vertical neck, with a neck sloping slightly inwards (slightly conical) and a neck widening out towards the top. There were four types of rims found in conjunction with various neck types. This pottery was produced locally and it was typical for the Galicia-Volhynia Lands.

The vessels with a cylindrical neck and loops were few in number (7 complete vessels, 8 large fragment and 37 loops). Most of the specimens were covered with slip which, as a rule, was white. All the vessels were decorated (Fig. 22; 23). Two variants could be identified on the basis of the body shape. They were widespread in the Kiev Lands and to the west of Kiev.

Small jug-shaped vessels with a narrow neck and a wide flaring rim (“lahen” or “bottle-shaped”) were represented by 23 complete vessels and 32 fragments (Fig. 24–27). Among these it was possible to single out sub-types or variants, but the similar overall shape, method of manufacture and functional purpose make it possible to examine them together as a single group. A special feature of their shape is their narrow neck with a wide out-turned rim (the diameter of the neck was almost always half that of the widest part of the body), thick walls and an asymmetrical body. The lower part of these vessels was usually large and heavy. The group can be sub-divided into two: Subgroup I — vessels with cup-like rims; Subgroup II — vessels with a funnel-shaped rim. They too were typical for the western lands of Early Rus’.

Large pithos-shaped vessels for storage (*korchagi*) with a fairly narrow neck and a high conical body were represented by 238 fragments. It proved possible to restore completely only two of these vessels (Fig. 28–29). The upper part of the vessel would be covered with decoration — sometimes a large part of the body and the ridge — and a considerable proportion of the fragments was covered with slip. Large vessels of this kind would appear to have been made from three large strips of clay. The ridge on the body of some of these vessels covered the lower join and served as a kind of clay hoop.

A total of 750 amphora fragments, similar to those from the Byzantine range, were found, one complete amphora and a large part of another amphora (Fig. 30–31; color photo 2; 4: 4). It was possible to identify five types of these vessels and on some of the specimens there were graffiti and dipinti.

Type I (5 fragments) (Fig. 30: 4). The clay was of a light-red shade and the quality of the clay and the firing were good. The clay was homogenous and without any conspicuous admixtures. The main features were the following: a clearly defined neck which rose up to the level where the upper end of the handles and the small rim join together to form a flattened ridge. The handles are

small, flattened and in the shape of brackets. They could have a small degree of relief work in section. The body of the vessel, to judge from the available wall fragments, was covered with fluting.

Type II (135 fragments) was represented by pear-shaped, slightly elongated vessels with large handles, which were oval or almost circular in section and raised high above the neck (Fig. 30: 3). At the top of the neck there was a not very prominent rim, which was slightly out-turned. The walls of the amphorae were thick large and covered with deep fluting. The surface of the amphorae was often covered with a pale slip. The clay of the vessels was red, sometimes with a raspberry tinge, and it contained visible organic admixtures: sometimes these would be complete with a whitish mineral admixture — that of lime.

Type III (597 fragments and one complete vessel) consisted of vessels with a pear-shaped body and sides which widened out towards the top (Fig. 31; *color photo 2 (?)*). The composition of the clay was of good quality and the vessel was evenly fired. A large proportion of the fragments was covered with slip. The walls were thinner than those of Type II vessels. The handles — oval or slightly flattened in section — were raised high above the neck. In this group there were more fragments with graffiti and three fragments bore markings — *dipinti*.

Type IV (11 fragments) differs from the rest of the amphora material as regards the quality of the clay (the clay contains a significant share of limestone by way of admixture, used as a thickener), its uneven firing (the clay was red along the edges and dark-grey in the middle) and the shape of the handles, which had a rather intricate figured profile in section (Fig. 30: 1).

Type V (2 fragments) is represented by small amphoriskoi approximately 14 cms high with a maximum body diameter of 10 cms. These small vessels are pear-shaped and elongated. They are covered with fluting. Of all the amphorae found within the fortified town and then duly examined they stand out as having been manufactured from low-quality clay (inside breaks in the sherds the clay is grey-red in colour and porous: there is a large amount of quartz and limestone admixtures and the firing is uneven) (Fig. 30: 2).

A large proportion of the amphora material at this site is from amphorae of Type III and the next largest group is that of Type II vessels. Types I and IV are only represented by isolated fragments. In the citadel only two types of vessels have been recorded — Types II and III, while in the surrounding suburb all amphora types are represented. These finds reflect the intensive economic links which the town enjoyed.

Clay lids also make up quite a significant proportion of the pottery items — 185 complete specimens and fragments. Typologically they can be divided into three groups: flat cylindrical lids (89 specimens), conical and semi-spherical lids (92 fragments) and lids resembling up-turned bowls (3 fragments) (Fig. 32; 33).

Six complete small scoops were found in “Izyaslavl” and also 26 wall fragments with handles and 108 handle fragments (Fig. 34). These are small vessels of a squat shape and, as a rule, with one handle. They were made of grey or reddish clay. As thickeners, quartz and lime were added to the clay and, less frequently, mica. A large quantity of the scoops had been covered in slip, which was usually white but only rarely decorated. It is possible to single out variants of these items.

Miniature bowls resemble the main variants of scoops and have similar rim variants. There are 32 complete vessels of this kind, including large fragments amounting to more than half an original vessel (Fig. 34). There are few decorated vessels among them.

The collection of stamps on vessel bases is large — 292 stamps all together. As at other sites, the percentage of stamped vessels is very small, which makes the hypothesis that stamps reflected

who owned or manufactured vessels far from likely. The stamps can be divided into 19 groups (Fig. 35). Quite a large number of the stamps (68 specimens) turned out to be difficult to define, so they could not be allocated to any of the groups. Almost half of the stamps consisted of the drawing of a circle, or a circle with certain additions (a cross inside a circle, a 'sun' and so on). As regards other drawings, crosses of various kinds were the ones which predominated. Various signs associated with the dynasty of Rurikids were only found on 9 occasions. Stamps with drawings of a circle and a cross are to be observed in territories of the Western Slavs, which makes it possible to talk of a local group of Galician-Volhynian stamps. Territorial features of stamped vessels mainly manifest themselves not in the drawings but in the numerical correlations between the stamp types.

There was little glazed pottery: it was represented by 8 complete vessels and 17 fragments with monochrome glaze — green, yellow or brown in colour (Fig. 37; *color photo 3*). Glazed table-ware was to be found in the form of miniature jars and jugs (21 examples — both complete vessels and fragments) and it was usually made of red clay — sometimes with the addition of sand — and evenly fired. It is possible that the items had been designed to hold cosmetics or as children's toys. The fragments of the larger vessels designed as tableware were not numerous. Miniature glazed vessels could have been of local production, while the tableware consisting of glazed pottery could have been made in Kievan workshops.

Painted pottery is only represented by two shreds from a single vessel. The clay has been fired unevenly and quartz and lime admixtures have been used as thickeners. The overall background of the front surface of the sherds is white, consisting of a slip, and has been thoroughly burnished. Against this background a stripe of plant (?) pattern has been applied in thick brown paint (*color photo 4: 2–3*).

Local vessels were manufactured on various kinds of potter's wheels with an axis that was sometimes fixed and sometimes moveable, sometimes using flat or convex discs and sometimes with stamps already cut out. The diverse nature of the traces on the bases of the vessels indicates the variety of technical methods used by the potters. The poor quality of the clay was the result of its brief and not very thorough preparation. Elutriation was only used for certain groups of "Izyaslavl" vessels.

Decorative patterns were applied carelessly. Slip was often applied: it was usually white and used for 65–70 % of all the vessels produced. The outer surface of the vessels bore slip applied over their whole surface. There are no data making it possible to mention craftsmen or pottery workshops with a style all of their own, yet we can speak of standardization for this pottery production as a whole.

The unusual character of the pottery assemblage from medieval "Izyaslavl" can to a large extent be explained by its geographical position. This small town situated almost on the border between the Volhynian and the Kievan lands, must undoubtedly have experienced the influence of the cultural traditions of both Kiev — on account of the glazed and painted pottery items it imported which would have been manufactured using complex techniques — and also those of the Galician and Volhynian lands and the western world beyond.

General East-European or Early Rus' traditions come to the fore most clearly in the mass-scale production — pots with rims of Types I and II (21.7 %), but pots of the Galician-Volhynian types (together accounting for 52.8 %), which exhibit some parallels with production of the Western Slavs, predominate. The jug-shaped vessels which have a cylindrical neck with a ridge on it are also typical for Galicia-Volhynia. Western traditions found expression in the production of vessels such as the small jugs with a narrow neck and a wide out-turned rim and also in the wide distribution of pottery lids.

Fishing Equipment from the medieval fortified settlement of “Izyaslavl” (O. V. Ovsyannikov)

This section was also written by Oleg Ovsyannikov. Among the numerous items found in the fortified settlement of medieval “Izyaslavl” used by the inhabitants to ply their trades, the fishing equipment items form quite an interesting collection. The range of these tools is the same as at the other medieval Rus’ sites from that period which have been investigated — fishing spears or harpoons, fishing hooks, spoon baits, pottery and lead sinkers — and they provide an idea of certain fishing techniques in medieval “Izyaslavl”. It is possible to gain an idea of the kinds of fish caught by the “Izyaslavl” fishermen from the fish bones, of which there are, however, only a small number. The fish bones, which have been identified, are from sturgeon or carp species. Fish bones were identified by junior researcher, N. Yermolova, from the Leningrad Department of the Institute of Archaeology affiliated to the USSR Academy of Sciences. The items of fishing equipment found in medieval “Izyaslavl” were found both within the citadel or settlement (*Detinets*) and within fortified settlement around it (“*Posad*”).

Only three fishing hooks were found at the site: one in the citadel (*Detinets*) and one in the fortified settlement around it (“*Posad*”). They are of two different types. Type 1. An iron hook with a shank oval or rectangular in section, a sharp point and a barb projecting backwards. The spot where the hook is attached to the line is slightly flatter. Two of the hooks are of this type: one is small, only 3.5 cms long and oval in section, while the other is 7.2 cms long and rectangular in section (*Fig. 1: 4–5*). Type 2. The larger hook is 9.5 cms long and its shank is roughly rectangular in section: it has a sharp point, a barb projecting backwards and a top part in the shape of a loop (*Fig. 1: 6*). Large fishing hooks were used by professional fishermen to catch larger fish.

Only one spoon bait was found in the fortified settlement. It was a large iron plate 12.2 cms long with a slightly curved back: the barb on the hook was clearly visible, although its upper end had broken off (*Fig. 1: 7*). This spoon bait is most likely to have been used by fishermen in a boat or a canoe. The medieval fishermen could have used the spoon bait to attract pike, cat-fish and various kinds of perch.

The harpoon spears found in the urban settlement (7 specimens) are single-spike or double-spike harpoons: they are oval or roughly triangular in section with a sharp point and a barb projecting backwards. The end of the foot is usually bent backwards at right angles. The lengths of the single-spike harpoons were 13.5 cms and 10.2 cms respectively (*Fig. 1: 8–9*) and the third single-spike harpoon did not survive intact. The double-spike fishing harpoons were, as a rule, large and longer than the single-spike ones, ranging from 16.1 cms to 19.8 cms in length (*Fig. 1: 10–13*). The spikes were oval or roughly rectangular in section: sometimes one spike would be oval in section and the other roughly rectangular. No harpoon spear with three spikes was found at the site.

Not many sinkers were found at the site. One was made of pottery and cylindrical in shape with oval edges (*Fig. 1: 3*). Another sinker was made of lead. It was small and had a hole in the centre (*Fig. 1: 2*).

Examination of this collection of fishing tackle indicates that the medieval fishermen from “Izyaslavl” were acquainted with the main methods then used to ply this trade. Fishing, however, only played a modest, subsidiary role in the economy of the small town in comparison with agriculture and animal husbandry.

Fauna from the excavations at the medieval settlement of “Izyaslavl” (V. I. Tsalkin)

This section was written by Veniamin Tsalkin (1903–1970). Excavations carried out for a number of years at the medieval settlement of “Izyaslavl” revealed a cultural layer at this site with a large number of faunal remains. The material collected over the years consisted of more than 35.000 animal bones in a good state of preservation: these included bones of cattle, sheep/goat and pigs, the meat of which was used for food. The percentage of well-preserved long bones, which in such cases would usually be fragmented artificially, was much higher at “Izyaslavl” than in the materials from excavations at other archaeological sites of Early Rus’.

The identified mammal bones totalled 26.699 and they originated from at least 2.042 individuals. The individuals belonged to 18 species, of which 8 were domestic and 10 wild (Table I). As the figures in the table show, the faunal remains were distributed unevenly among the represented species. While some species (this applies to most of the wild animals and the camel and cat among the domestic ones) were represented only by single specimens, others, on the contrary by many thousands of bones.

The amount of wild animal remains in the total material from the excavations at “Izyaslavl” is very limited: they comprise only 1.8 % of the total number of bones and 3.9 % of the total number of individuals (Table V). In these figures it is possible to see quite a clear indication of the extremely limited significance that hunting had not only for food, but also in the economic life of the population of “Izyaslavl” in general.

Materials from the excavations at “Izyaslavl” also provide a useful basis for studying the composition of the herd of farm animals in the population of Southern Rus’. When determining the correlations for the species of farm animals based on numbers of individuals, we find that in “Izyaslavl” almost half of them were pigs. Cattle and sheep/goat are represented by a slightly smaller but comparable percentage of individuals. Finally, the last place in the number of individuals is that of horses, which account for only a little more than 5 %.

We find exactly the same species composition of farm animals at all archaeological sites of Early Rus’ without exception. Differences between the sites are only revealed through study of quantitative correlations between individual species of animals, which are far from consistent. For example, the figure for cattle is 24.9 % (“Izyaslavl”) to 45.9 % (Kiev, near Desyatinnaya Church — “Church of the Tithes”) of the total number of farm animals, sheep/goat from 20.4 % (Voin) to 33.7 % (settlement on Kiselyovka Hill in Kiev), pigs from 128.5 % (near the “Church of the Tithes”) to 48.6 % (“Izyaslavl”) and horses from 4.9 % (settlement on Kiselyovka Hill) to 20.1 % (Raikovetskoye settlement). The percentage of pig individuals and especially that of horse individuals fluctuate most, as is clear from the figures.

Usually the first place, regarding the number of individuals in the remains from excavations at Southern Rus’ sites, is that of cattle, which goes down to second place, however, in “Izyaslavl”. Sheep/goat is usually in third place. Pigs, like sheep/goat, are in second or third place. Horses are most often represented by a very low percentage of individuals: they have consistently occupied the last place among agricultural animals.

In “Izyaslavl”, the first place belongs to pigs, which account for almost 50 % of the remains of farm animals. We do not know of any other site in Southern Rus’, where pigs would occupy a similar place in the faunal remains. This, of course should be regarded as an indication of the high development of pig-breeding among the population of “Izyaslavl”. The second

characteristic feature of the composition of faunal remains is a very lower number of cattle, accounting for only about a quarter of the individuals. At most of the sites known to us in Southern Rus' the amount of cattle is much higher. The relative amount of sheep/goat at "Izyaslavl" is almost indistinguishable from that at many other Southern Rus' sites. Very few horse bones were found in the remains from "Izyaslavl". According to this indicator, it numbers among the poorest, in horse bones, of the Early Rus' sites.

A very high percentage of pigs alongside a small number of cattle and horses should be considered a characteristic feature of the composition of the agricultural animal range from the "Izyaslavl" excavations. On the basis of all these features, "Izyaslavl" resembles most closely the settlement on Kiselyovka Hill in Kiev and differs greatly from such settlements as Voin (previously Poltava Region, Ukraine, now flooded by the Kremenchuk Reservoir of Dnieper River) and Raikovetskoye settlements, Zhytomir Region, Ukraine.