

The place of Dereva and Volhynia in Norse–Slav relations

in the 9th to 11th centuries

Fedir Androshchuk

Abstract. This paper deals with two Ukrainian regions mentioned in historical sources as ‘Dereva’ and ‘Volhynia’ which were highly involved in contacts between Slavs and Norsemen. Rich and exclusive finds of Byzantine, Slavonic and Scandinavian origins are examined in connection with the social and economical background of both regions.

Any Swedish archaeologist dealing with the archaeology of Sigtuna is familiar with a very particular and numerous artefact namely spindle-whorls of a light-red stone (*fig. 1*). This kind of stone is sometimes called ‘Volhynian schist’, however, this is not entirely correct. It is known from the written sources that in medieval time term ‘Volhynia’ was applied to the large region between the Bug and the Goryn rivers in the Ukraine (Stryzhak 1985:34; *fig. 2*). Before the 11th century, when the term ‘Volhynia’ was established, the names of two groups of Slavonic people, namely the Dulebians and Buzhians, were used. The people who inhabited the area situated to the east of the Bug River were known as the Derevlians, who according to the Laurentian Chronicle

‘lived in the forest like any wild beast’. To the east, the land of ‘Derevlians’ bordered the land of Kiev. From the end of the 10th century, the area settled by the Derevlians was incorporated into the land of Kiev, which then had its western border along the Goryn River. The two main cities in the land of the Derevlians mentioned by the Chronicles were Iskorosten and Vruchij (which are the modern towns of Korosten and Ovruch in Zhytomyr oblast of Ukraine). It is the area around Vruchij which is famous for the quarrying and working of the above-mentioned light-red schist, which has been discovered at Sigtuna and other sites across Northern Europe. In the following article I will try to show that the cultural contacts between Sweden and the above-mentioned regions of Ukraine have a long history and stretch back to the time before Sigtuna was established.

Written sources about the history of Iskorosten

According to the Novgorod Chronicle, Prince Igor brought Derevlians under Kiev’s authority in 883, while in the



Fig. 1. Spindle-whorls made of Ovruch schist found in Sigtuna (Humlegården 3 site, 2006). Photo by Sigtuna Museum.

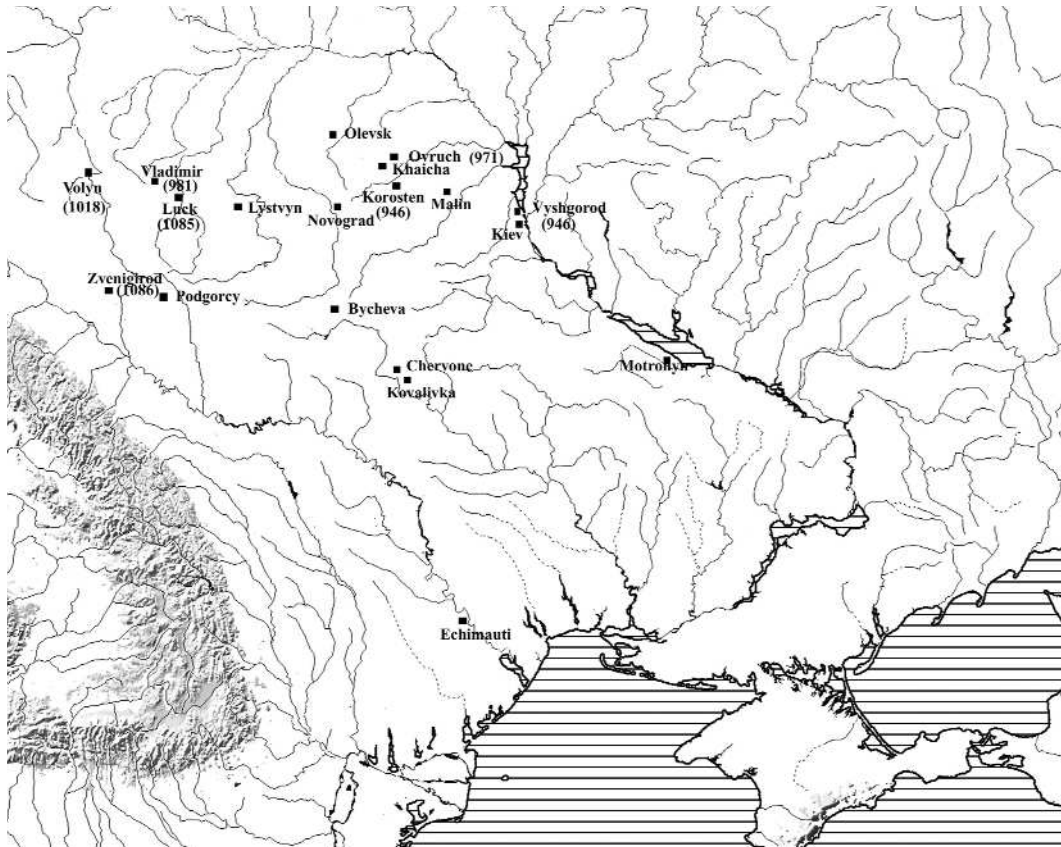


Fig. 2. Map of the area of Southern Rus' with places mentioned in the article. Drawing by the author.

Lavrentian Chronicle, this is attributed to Prince Oleg (PSRL I:24). Besides the tribute paid by Derevlians, tribute was also paid to Kiev by the Ulichians who 'inhabited the banks of the Dniester, and extended as far as the Danube' (Cross 1953:56). Prince Igor granted the tribute paid by the Derevlians and Ulichians to his voevoda (troop commander) Sveneld. The mentioned tribute was 'chernaja kuna', that is to say 'black marten'. The Primary Russian Chronicle describes how Sveneld's tribute made Igor's retinue envious, complaining that 'the servants of Sveneld are adorned with weapons and fine raiment, but we are naked'. According to this source Prince Igor went twice to demand tribute from the Derevlians. He increased the amount to be paid, and collected it by force. On his home way to Kiev it is told that he decided to turn back and demand even more tribute. When he came to the Derevlians' city of Iskorosten the indignant Derevlians came out from the city and killed Prince Igor. After this, according to the Chronicle, the Derevlians decided to marry their Prince Mal to Igor's widow Olga.

The Chronicle describes the attack on the city in a very dramatic way. How much was true in this legendary story was not clear until 2001 when an archaeological excavation was started.

The Archaeology of Iskorosten

The archaeological monuments of Iskorosten, which might be chronologically related to the historical account told by The Primary Russian Chronicle, consist of three hill-forts and four cemeteries. One cemetery (No. 2) containing 68 barrows, is situated on the left bank of Uzh River in the vicinity of a large hill-fort dated to the ear-

ly Iron Age (Zvizdeckyj 2004). Inhumations have been discovered in five barrows. Among the finds was a knife, a bucket, a silver finger ring, silver and bronze temple rings, a lyre-shaped buckle and beads of glass, amber and corneal. Another cemetery (No. 1), also located on the left bank of the river, comprised 60 barrows which contained both inhumation and cremation graves. This cemetery contained the largest barrow, measuring 4.9 m high and 18.2 m in diameter, and surrounded by a ditch. Three layers of stones were recorded in the mound of the barrow, as well as a wooden chamber; 3.5 x 2.4 m large. The chamber contained a double grave. Among the finds associated with the buried individual, were the remains of a basket, a small iron axe, a knife, a whetstone, a 'schist brooch', a brooch of bronze, a silver finger ring and a vessel. A row of other items such as ceramics, five S-shaped silver temple-rings, four barrel-shaped silver beads decorated with granulation, and a number of beads of corneal, some of coloured glass, a silver finger ring, a knife and a little silver bell were associated with the other individual in the chamber (Vyezhev 1954:145–153; Zvizdeckij et al 2004:54–55). Another large barrow (No. 16; 3.4 m high and 15 m in diameter) has been excavated and contained a female with two massive ear-rings of the so-called 'Kiev-type', as well as five temple-rings of gold, two knives and a fragmented basket. These graves are interpreted as burials of the Derevlian elite (Zvizdeckij et al 2004: 54–55).

On the opposite, right bank of the river, were situated three hill-forts and two cemeteries (cemetery No. 3 consisting of 18 barrows; No. 4 of 30 barrows). One hill-fort (No. 1) was located on a high rocky hill and



Fig. 3. Gold ear-rings of 'Nitra-type' from Iskorosten. After Zvizdeckyj et al 2004.



Fig. 4. Scandinavian pendants decorated in Borre style from Iskorosten. After Zvizdeckyj et al 2004.



Fig. 5. A spearhead of Petersen's type E found in the vicinity of the Motronin monastery in the region of Cherkasy. Photo by M. Levada.

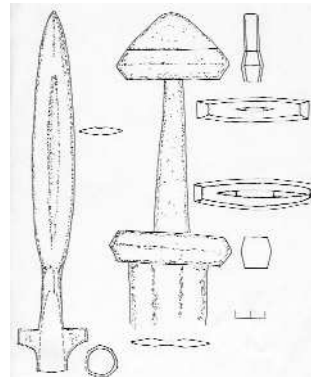


Fig. 6. Weapons of Carolingian origin found in Listven (left) and Bycheva (right). Drawing by the author.



Fig. 8. Scandinavian brooch from the village of Kovalivka, in the area of Nemyrov, Vinnytsa region. Photo by M. Potupchuk.



Fig. 7. Finds from the Chervone hill-fort. Photo by M. Potupchuk.

was bordered to the west and southwest by a small stream. The fortification structure itself was destroyed by a quarry in the 1920s and 1930s. An unfortified settlement 350 x 300 x 100 x 150 m large is situated below the northeast side of the hill-fort. Here, a small sunken floored building, as well as an own build of stone and a pit with pottery from 6th and 7th centuries were investigated. Ten other buildings belong to the later period, dating to the 9th–10th centuries, in one of which (No. 1), were found two gold lunula-shaped ear-rings. This find is similar to the so-called Nitra-type earrings found in Moravia (*fig. 3*). A fragmentary crucible was also found in the same building. Two more earrings were found in another building (No. 7), and also a pin of a Scandinavian oval brooch (Zvizdeckij et al 2004:78). Another object of Scandinavian origin which has been found in the settlement is a cross-shaped pendant of silver (Zocenko and Zvizdeckyj 2006:76, *fig. 7*). The fortification structure consisted of a 6 m wide and 2 m deep ditch, along with an escarpment with a 10 m wide terrace and remains of a wall with stone and wooden constructions which were destroyed by a fire. As well as a quantity of ceramics, a spearhead and two silver ear-rings were found in the lower part of the ditch fill. During the excavation of the terrace and wall a number of different items were excavated. Among them a silver ear-ring and an Arabic coin, dated to 882–907 AD, which had been made into a pendant. Silver and bronze buttons and mounts were also found, as well as belt fittings, little bells, beads, arrowheads of different types including lancet-shaped forms and two Scandinavian silver pendants decorated in the Borre style (Zvizdeckij et al 2004:85, *fig. 18:110, 19:15, 21:59; Zo-*

cenko & Zvizdeckyj 2006:74, 84, fig. 3; fig. 4). A nearby barrow has been investigated and contained one cremation grave with four Arabic coins. At present, this is the only evidence of a possible larger cemetery associated with the settlement and the hill-fort (Zvizdeckij et al 2004:78).

The dating and character of the second hill-fort, situated c. 120 m southwest from the above-mentioned hill-fort, is not clear. Early investigations have revealed a ‘pit house’ with a central fire-place which dates broadly to the 10th to 12th centuries (Zvizdeckij et al 2004:58).

The third hill-fort is located c. 750 m southwest from hill-fort No. 2. It is situated on a high cliff-embankment of the river (40 m high above the river). Hill-fort No. 2 covers c. 1 hectare in area and is oval-shaped. Remains of the ramparts as well as cultural layers from the 9th to the 18th century have been recorded here. Most important perhaps is the evidence for the production and working of iron, including weaponry and other objects dated to the 11th–13th century (Zvizdeckij et al 2004:65pp).

Mention should also be made of a large barrow known today as ‘Igor’s grave’. This is situated 7–8 km northeast from the city, on the right bank of the river. The barrow was destroyed during World War I and the only dating evidence known is a bronze scabbard-chape decorated in Borre style (group II:3 according to Paulsen 1955:48pp; Fechner 1982; Zocenko 2004:88, *fig. 2*).

To sum up, it is apparent that at least three hill-forts situated on the right bank of Uzh River existed in 10th century. The function of the hill-forts is not clear, but judging from their small size, it is possible that they were used only in exceptional cas-

es as places of refuge and defence. The permanent settlement close to the hill-fort No. 1 dates from the 7th century. It is apparent that a Slavic settlement established at that time was inhabited until it was destroyed, which judging from the coins and other finds took place in the middle of the 10th century (Zvizdeckij 2004). Finds of silver and gold discovered both in graves and the settlement are noteworthy for their quality and richness, which in some aspects are of much better quality than those we know from graves in Kiev. What were the economic sources of the Derevlians' wealth, and why it was so important for Kiev to have power over the 'Derevlians land'?

The very limited archaeological excavations do not allow definitive conclusions to be made regarding the occupation of local population. For this we need to turn to the historical, Medieval sources.

Sources and resources of Dereva

The landscape is flat and low, dipping slightly towards the Pripyat River. Only along the Noryn River does the landscape rise and form a chain of hills. This is exactly the place where deposits of the so-called 'Ovruch' or 'Volhynian' light-red schist are concentrated and this has also been the most populated area. Deposits of rock crystal in the area of Olvesk should also be mentioned. Chains of hills of different geological character are also known along the Zhereva and Uzh rivers as well as part of the Sluch River. In other places hills occur very sporadically which meant that as late as the 19th century the people in this region lived relatively isolated from each other. Communication between settlements would have been very difficult as the roads and

went through both marsh and woodlands and were very dangerous for strangers. In the Ovruch area, there are a number of good rivers, but only one of them – the Sluch – was navigable. The others, like the Ubert, the Slavechna, the Uzh, the Noryn, the Zhereva and the Stviga were only seasonally navigable (Pochilevich 2007:178). The forest, which is dominated by pine, fir and birch was a main source of livelihood in this area. The characteristic fauna of the region include: deer, elk, bear, trout, otter, beaver and black marten. Historical sources of 14–16th century tell us that a regular tribute taken from this area consisted of honey, beavers and black martens. Further to these, rich depositions of iron ore should be mentioned. This is basically what is known about the economical resources of the region from later periods which, I believe, provide a good basis for evaluating the economical potential of the land of the Dereva in the preceding 9th–12th century. Before we return to discuss the reasons for the military conflict between the Derevlians and Kiev Princes, some words about possible political structure of the Derevlians should first be made.

Territorial structure of the Derevlian principality

From both The Primary Russian Chronicle and The Novgorodian Chronicles we learn that apart from the Prince Mal, there were a number of other princes 'who had made the land of Dereva prosperous' (PSRL I, stb 56; NPL 1950:112). In the reconstructed territory of the Dereva there are c. 20 hill-forts which are interpreted as possible small tribal centres (Zvizdeckij 2004:41). Up until now, no attempt has been made to reconstruct the territorial structures of these small

‘principalities’. To this end, I propose that it is possible to employ the administrative and territorial structures of this region known from 14–16th centuries (Klepatskij 2007), as a model for what might have existed in earlier centuries. Comparing the locations of hill-forts that date to the 8–10th century, with the centres of certain territorial units – so called ‘volost’ (the verb ‘volodeti’ meant ‘to possess’) shows interesting correlation.

Plotting the hill-forts on to a map with the reconstructed borders of the 14th–16th century ‘volost’, shows that in some such units there is only one hill-fort (Olevsk) while in others, there are several. The reason of such differences is the complicated history that has shaped the territory of some of the units, and of particular interest in this respect is Ovruchskaja volost.

As mentioned above Iskorosten is the only city mentioned in the Chronicles in connection with Dereva. This was the residence of their Prince Mal who might also have possessed a territory which is mentioned in medieval sources as ‘Malinskaja volost’. The Malinskaja volost was situated south-east from Iskorosten and included settlements along the Irsha River. So it is possible that this region was the southern border of his ‘principality’, while to the west it bordered with Zvyagolskaya and Olevskaya volost. The northern borders of his territory stretched up to the Pripjat River. Most problematic is the eastern border, where there is not any known ‘volost’. Before Kiev princes established their authority over the land of Derevlians, this northern territory was most probably the subject of numbers of disputes with the population of Kiev.

Bearing in mind the number of volosts mentioned by the Primary Russian Chroni-

cle, as well as the mentioning of a number of Derevlian Princes, it is possible to suggest that the volost structure was very archaic and originated from a time when a number of the Derevlian principalities existed. A volost consisted of a main settlement and in most cases a hill-fort and a number of surrounding villages. Neither a village nor a volost itself could be sold or purchased. Their rulers could change, but the structure was always the same – a main settlement / hill-fort-town and villages which ‘gravitated’ towards it. The volost never was a compact territorial area. One volost could have some settlements situated within the area of other volosts. In later periods, volosts were headed by voevodas, that is to say ‘troop commanders’ responsible for organising the warriors, and chief supervisors and governors over their territories. A voevoda was also responsible for the collecting of tribute; except the honey tribute which was a responsibility of a certain official known as the ‘kluchnik’ (meaning ‘a person with the key’) (Klepatskij 2007:92pp, 98). From the written sources we know that in the 11–13th centuries, a volost could be granted for short-term military service. A volost could not belong to a certain prince, but to the throne (‘stol’ in old Russian). Every new prince who became a possessor of a throne became also a possessor of a particular, or a number of, volost. Losing the throne had the consequence of also losing the volost (Tolochko 1992: 157–160).

Possessors and governors of the land of Dereva

Before its subjugation to Kiev authority, the Derevlian land consisted of a number of petty ‘principalities’ which we know as

‘volosts’ ruled by princes responsible for all military business and also the so-called ‘starcy’ or ‘stareishiny’, that is to say the ‘elders’ who were responsible for collecting and sorting the tribute and were also the adjudicators for the ‘volost’ population (Cross 1953:58; Klepatskij 2007:396).

Because of decentralized character of the political power of this territory it is most probable that the tribute in form of honey, beavers, black martens and iron would have been paid irregularly. Looking for external markets was necessary for the Derevlians and probably was a reason for their conflicts with the Polyanians who dwelt along the Dnieper, which was an important trade route. In their search for external markets, Derevlians found a number of good counterparts, in particular the Norsemen who in the 9th–10th centuries were searching for wealth and power in Eastern Europe. In this respect, some items of weaponry should be brought to our consideration.

The most southerly found object of Scandinavian origin in the area of the “Russian land” is a spearhead of Petersen’s type E (*Fig. 5*) that was discovered by accident in the vicinity of the Motronin monastery close to the Tiasmin River (modern Cherkasy oblast). This find may be considered evidence that the Norsemen were even exploring resources as far as the southern tributaries of Dnieper. Two other stray finds have a direct connection to the area under consideration (Zocenko 2004:91, *fig. 5*, 96, *fig. 6*; *fig. 6ab*). A sword of Petersen’s type B dated to the Early Viking Period has been found in the vicinity of the village Bycheva (formerly known as Podoljen). It is a classical specimen with a pattern-welded blade, with examples known

both in the territory of the Carolingian Empire and Scandinavia (Androshchuk 2007).

A winged spearhead from Listven (modern Dubno rajon, Rovenska oblast) should also be mentioned. Winged spearheads are known in Scandinavia and usually considered Carolingian weaponry, particularly specimens with pattern-welded blades (Solberg 1991:241–257). This particular spearhead is without pattern-welding and judging from the shape of the blade (Westphal 2002) might date to the late 8th century, or the early 9th century, and similar to that of the above-mentioned sword from Bycheva.

Until now we have not any clear evidence on direct contacts between the Carolingian Empire and this Slavonic area during the 9th century. None of the swords found at sites that could be interpreted as trade centres were Type B (the only exception is a single find of a lower guard of such sword from the Gnezdovo settlement in Russia). To my mind these Ukrainian finds could be interpreted as evidence for first contacts between Norsemen and local Slavonic population. It highly probable that a demand for local economical resources was the primary reason for Scandinavian visitors to this area.

Some philologists explain the place-name ‘Iskorosten’ as derived from Old Norse *i skarpstaini* that is ‘on the steep rock’ (Schramm 2001:257). Nevertheless, neither the character of the city, nor the context of the Scandinavian finds supports an interpretation that the city was founded by Scandinavians. All the above-mentioned artefacts can only provide evidence that the local population had contacts with Scandinavians and some of them lived in the town before the attack.

After returning from the campaign against the Greeks, Igor started war with the Derevlians and the Ulichians. Sveneld was a troop commander in these wars and received the Derevlian tribute as a reward for his victory over the Ulichians (NPL 1950:110). The Derevlians paid him black martens per hearth as a tribute, just like the people of this region did 500 years later to their 'voevoda' (compare the term 'podymshchina' recorded in 15th–16th century). Sveneld did not reside in the Derevlian land permanently. At the time of Igor's attack he was in Kiev which means that his mission was short-term (Artamonov 1966:31). After the burning and capturing of the city, Olga imposed upon the Derevlians a heavy tribute, distributed between Kiev and city of Vyshgorod. According to the Chronicle, Olga passed through the land of Dereva accompanied by her son and her retinue, establishing laws and tribute. The Chronicle tells us that Olga's hunting grounds, boundary-posts, towns, and trading-posts were established throughout the country. Particularly interesting in this respect are the 'boundary-posts' or 'znamjanija'. In the documents from 14th–16th centuries 'znamjanija' means a particular signs of property cut on the honey-trees (Klepatskij 2007:371). Beekeeping has been an important aspect of economy in the Kiev region during many centuries. Furthermore, it is probable that a particular person – 'kluchnica' Malusha – had responsibility for collecting honey for Olga; Malusha was also the mother to Prince Vladimir.

It seems that the territory, which had belonged earlier to the Derevlian Prince Mal, was laid under Kiev authority. This territory probably included those lands, which we

know from the medieval period: the Malska volost along the Irsha River, the Zavshskaja volost between the Uzh and Irsha rivers, and the Kamenovaja volost between the Ubort and Slavechnaya River. After the establishment of Kiev authority, the political and administrative centre was moved from the destroyed Iskorosten to Vrushchij/Ovruch.

The question of why the centre of Dereva was moved to Vrushchij is interesting to consider. The reason might lie in an area of the local economy never mentioned by written sources, but very well known thanks to archaeological records; the above-mentioned Ovruch schist. More than 15 special manufacturing-settlements (c. 10–16 ha square) as well as mines situated c. 6–8 km away, have been documented in this area (Pavlenko 2005; Tomashevsky et al 2003: 133–134).

There is a discussion as to when both production and export of the schist began. Some scholars suggest that its industrial manufacture started in 940s–970s after the incorporation of 'Dereva' into the sphere of Kiev authority. Other scholars propose that small-scale production of Ovruch schist might be dated as early as 7th–8th century (Tomashevskiy et al 2003:134). The important fact is that spindle-whorls and whetstones made of the Ovruch schist found in cultural layer and objects in Iskorosten date from AD 700 to 950 (buildings 2, 4, 6), which means that production of the schist was controlled by Iskorosten during this period. It is highly probably that during the course of the 10th century, spindle-whorls made of the Ovruch schist were sold or were exchanged to people living at Shestovica (Blifeld 1977:155), and at Chodosovka, a number of settlements of the Romenskaya

Culture, and also at Novgorod (Rybina 1978:25–26), Gorodishche and Beloozero. During 10th–11th centuries a number of imported spindle-whorls reached Chersonesos (Kolesnikova 2006:129), as well as main centres along Danube (Perhavko 1999), and in Poland, the Baltic lands, and at Hedeby, Lund and Sigtuna (Gabriel 1989:201, Liste 1), as well as Volga-Bulgaria (Jakimov 1992). It needs to be mentioned that spindle-whorls of a light-red stone are known in Russian hoards from 11th–12th century (Korzuhina 1954:137, nr 149; Dadicenko 2002). The red schist was used for jewellery, as well as in the construction of palaces, churches and sarcophagus of Kiev Princes. It was evidently the red colour itself, which was also associated with colour of the Byzantine Emperors, that gave it value, and through which wider associations and relationships were displayed.

Conclusions

As it was mentioned above, there are other objects, which indicate another important geographical sphere of interaction of which the residents of Iskorosten were part. Apart from two gold ear-rings, which have their most close parallels in graves of the Great Moravia (Chropovsky 1993:76, fig. 5) there are several ear-rings of so called ‘Volhynian type’ which have been discussed recently by different scholars (Pushkina 1996; Zoll-Adamikowa et al 1999; Rabinovich & Ryabtseva 2006; Zhylina 2007). There are several variants of similar ear-rings and other objects decorated with filigree and granulation finds, large numbers of which are concentrated mainly in the territory between the Danube and the Dnieper and specifically in Volhynia. This concentration along with the famous grave of a goldsmith

in Peresopnica on the Stubla River in western Volhynia containing jewellery making tools, matrices for the manufacture of such ear-rings and a scale and weights, all provide good evidence for the suggestion there existed a gold-smithing centre of Byzantine character (Duczko 1983:214pp; Zoll-Adamikowa et al 1999:114). There were probably several artistic centres in the territory between Dnepr and Dniester and Western Bug rivers where the Slavic art of granulation was produced.

I would like to draw attention to a particular type of site closely associated with such finds, namely circle-shaped hill-forts like Echimauti on the Dniester and Chervone in the Southern Bug River basin. The hill-fort at Chervone has been briefly mentioned in publications (Chavljuk 1969), but the artefacts in the Vinnitsa historical museum provide a good assemblage of jewellery (*Fig. 7*), parallels of which we know from both barrows and hoards of 10th century, particularly in the recently found hoard from Gnezdovo in Russia (Pushkina 1996). Scales along with bronze ingots, silver Arabic coins, fragmented objects and unfinished granulation work on lunula- and bell-shaped pendants indicate that large scale silver- and bronze-smithing was practiced here.

For further discussion and interpretation of the finds from Chervone, it is important to bear in mind the completely excavated hill-fort of Echimauti in Moldova (Rabinovich & Ryabtseva 2006). This was a small 86 x 60 m hill-fort with a wooden rampart filled with stones, soil and covered with clay. A number of items of jewellery including bronze necklaces and bracelets made of twisted wires and also earrings, lunula- and circular pendants, bow beads

decorated with granulation as well as tools for their manufacturing were discovered. It has been suggested that in 10th century, silver Arabic coins provided the raw material for local jewellers, while local ironwork was totally dependent upon imported iron ore. Among possible areas providing iron ore are the Carpathians and the upper Dniester regions. To my mind, another source area for iron ore might have been Dereva. In the second part of 10th century the Pripjat–Styr waterway played an important role in the communication between Dereva, Volhynia and the Dniester River basin. In the Styr River basin, barrows containing beads and earrings with granulation of the same type as those found in the Southern Bug river basin have been recorded (Gupalo 2006:61, fig. 48:6, 49:95).

There are at least two finds indicating Scandinavian interest in the Volhynian region. One of them is the find from Uppland, which includes a large circular brooch in Borre style, glass beads, Arabic coins and a bow bead decorated in granulation style. These finds have been discussed in detail by Wladyslaw Duczko (1982). Another find is a circular brooch, decorated in Borre style, which came to light accidentally in the village of Kovalivka, Nemyrov rajon, Vinnitca oblast (Jansson et al. 2006, *fig. 8*). There are other, mainly single, finds providing ev-

idence on the contacts between Dereva, Volhynian and Scandinavia even in the 11th–12th century. Among these is a hoard in Chaicha, Ovruch area, containing an arm ring and necklace of silver (Korzuhina 1954:91, Table. XII:1, fig. 7; for further details see Androshchuk 2008).

Thus, both written sources and archaeological data provide evidence that the lands of Dereva and Volhynia had a good economical potential for their local social and economic development. The search for trading markets and trade communications is the most plausible reason for not only the local richness and prosperity but also the emerging conflicts with the new clan of Rurikids established in Kiev. The Rurikids settled down in the centre controlling a trade route that connected a large part of the Eastern Europe with the Greeks. The establishment of political control by Kiev Princes over the lands located along the Pripjat River and its tributaries by marriage-alliances with local princes or/and by force strengthened the economical power of Kiev. Under these circumstances, the value of light-red schist was also changed. Having been restricted mainly by the local economic necessity of the Derevlans it turned into an important marker of large-scaled territorial property and the social relationships of the Kiev Princes.

References

- Androshchuk F. 2007. The Rural Vikings and Viking Helgö. *Cultural interaction between east and west. Archaeology, artefacts and human contacts in northern Europe*. Eds. U. Fransson et al. Stockholm.
- Androshchuk F. 2008. K istorii kontaktov mezhdru Shveciej i Juzhnoj Rusju v XI–XII vv. *Dneslovo*. Zbirka prac na poshanu dijsnogo chlena nacionalnoji akademiji nauk Ukrainy P. P. Tolochka. Kiev.
- Artamonov M.I. 1966. Voevoda Sveneld. *Kultura Drevnej Rusi*. Ed. A. L. Mongajt. Moscow.
- Blifeld D.I. 1977. *Davnjoruski pamjatky Shestovyci*. Kiev.
- Chavljuk P.I. 1969. Davnjoruski gorodyshcha na Pivdennomu Buzi. *Slovjano-ruski starozhytnosti*. Kiev.
- Chropovskij B. 1993. Slozhenie i formorovanie slavjanskoj materialnoj kultury na territorii Checho-Slovakii i ejo vlijanie na evropejskoe razvitie. *Slavjanskaja archeologija. Etnogenez, rasselenie i duhovnaja kultura slavjan*. Eds. V. V. Sedov & A. V. Chernecov. Moscow.
- Cross 1953 = *The Russian Primary Chronicle, Laurentian Text*. Eds. S.H. Cross & O.P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor. Cambridge, Mass. 1953.
- Dadichenko A.V. 2002. Shifernye prjaslica v kladovom materiale Drevnej Rusi (IX–XIII vv.) v svete analiza tovaro-deneg. Klady: sostav, chronologija, industrija. *Materialy tematiceskoi nauchnoj konferencii*. Eds. D. G. Savinov et al. St. Petersburg.
- Duczko W. 1982. En slavisk pärla från Uppland. Några problem kring den vikingatida granulationskonsten. *Tor* XIX.
- Fechner M. V. 1982. Nakonechnik nozhen mecha iz kurgana bliz Korostenja. *Sovetska-ja archeologija* 4.
- Gabriel I. 1989. Hof- und Sakralkultur sowie Gebrauchs- und Handelsgut im Spiegel der Kleinfunde von Starigard/Oldenburger Land. *Oldenburg–Wolin–Staraja Ladoga–Novgorod–Kiev. Handel und Handelsverbindungen im südlichen und östlichen Ostseeraum während des frühen Mittelalters*. Mainz.
- Gupalo V. 2006. *Berestjanski kurganni mogyl-nyky kincja X–XXII st.* Lviv.
- Jakimov I. V. 1992. Izdelija iz rozovogo shyfera na territorii Volzhskoj Bulgarii. *Put iz Bulgara v Kiev*. Eds. P.P. Tolochko et al. Kazan.
- Jansson I., Potupchik M. V. & Androshchuk F. A. 2006. Skandinavskaja fibula iz Vinickoj oblasti. *Slavjano-russkoe juvelirnoe delo i ego istoki*. Eds. A. A. Peskova & O. A. Shcheglova. St. Petersburg.
- Klepatskij P. 2007. *Ocherki po istorii Kievskoj Zemli. Litovskij period*. Bila Cerkva.
- Korzhuhina G.F. 1954. *Russkie klady IXXIII vv.* Moscow–Leningrad.
- Kolesnikova L. G. 2006. Svjazi Chersonesa-Korsunja s plemenami Vostochnoj Evropy v domongolskij period. *Chersonesskij sbornik*. Vyp. XV.
- Pavlenko S. V. 2005. Issledovanie proizvodstvennyh kompleksov ovručkoj srednevekovoju industriju pirofilitovogo slanca v 2002 godu. *Naukovi zapysky z ukrajinskoi istoriji*. Vyp. 16. Perejaslav.
- Perhavko V. B. 1999. Drevnerusskie kupcy v Podunavje (po archeologicheskim dannym). *Vostochnaja Evropa v istoricheskoj perspektive: k 80-letiju V. T. Pashuto*. Eds. T. N. Djakson & E. A. Melnikova. Moscow.
- Petersen J. P. 1919. *De norske vikingesverd. En typologisk-kronologisk studie over vikingetidens vaapen*. Kristiania.
- Pohilevich L. 2000. *Kraeznavchi praci*. Bila Cerkva.
- PSRL I– *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisej. Tom I. Lavrentjevskaja letopis*. Moscow 2001.
- PSRL II– *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisej. Tom II. Ipatjevskaja letopis*. Moscow 1998.
- Pushkina T. A. 1996. Novyj Gnezdovskij klad. *Drevnejshie gosudarstva Vostochnoj Evropy* 1994. Moscow.

- Rabinovich R. A. & Ryabtseva S. S. 2006. Ob istochnnikach syrja dlja remeslennogo proizvodstva na srednevekovom gorodishche Echimaui v Moldove. *Proizvodstvennye centry, istochniki, "dorigi", areal rasprostraneniya*. Ed. D. G. Savinov. St. Petersburg.
- Rybina E. A. 1978. *Archeologicheskie ocherki istorii novgorodskoj trgovli*. Moscow.
- Schramm G. 2001. Rol goroda Korostenja v ranej istorii Rusi. Etimologicheskie podhody k istoricheskim problemam. *Drevnejšie gosudarstva Vostochnoj Evropy* 1999. Moscow.
- Solberg B. 1991. Weapon Export from the Continent to the Nordic Countries in the Carolingian Period. *Studien zur Sachsenforschung*. Hildesheim.
- Stryzhak O.S. (Ed.). 1985. *Etymologichnyj slovnyk litopysnych geografichnyh nazv Pivdennoji Rusi*. Kiev.
- Tolochko A. P. 1992. *Knjaz v Drevnej Rusi: vlast, sobstvennost, ideologija*. Kiev.
- Tomashevskiy A.P. 2004. Archeologichni doslidzhennja litopysnogo Vruchoho v Ovruckomu proekti. *Starodavnij Korosten i slovjanski grady VIII st.* Ed. O. P. Mocja. Kiev.
- Tomashevskiy A. P., Pavlenko S. V. & Petrauskas A. V. 2003. Ovrucka pirofilitova industrija. *Selo Kyivskoj Rusi*. Eds. O. P. Mocja et al. Kiev.
- Zocenko V.M. 2004. Skandynavski artefakty pivdenno-zachidnoji Rusi. *Starodavnij Korosten i slovjanski grady VIII-X st.* Ed. O.P. Mocja. Kiev.
- Zocenko V. & Zvizdeckyj B. 2006. Typologija ta hronologija artefaktiv „skandynavskogo“ typu iz rozkopok starodavnjogo Iskorostenja. *Rus' na perechresti svitiv (mizhnarodni vplyvy na formuvannja Davnjoruskoji derzhavy IX-XI st)*. Ed. P. P. Tolochko. Cernihiv.
- Zoll-Adamikowa H, Dekowna M. & Nosek E. M. 1999. *The Early Medieval Hoard from Zawada Lanckoronska (Upper Vistula River)*. Warsaw.
- Zvizdeckyj B. A. 2004. Pro dejaki osoblyvosti drevljanskyh gorodyshch VIII-X st. *Starodavnij Korosten i slovjanski grady VIII-X st.* Ed. O.P. Mocja. Kiev.
- Zvizdeckyj B. A., Petrauskas A. V. & Polguy V. I. 2004. Novi doslidzhennja starodavnjogo Iskorostenja. *Starodavnij Korosten i slovjanski grady VIII-X st.* Ed. O.P. Mocja. Kiev.
- Zvizdeckyj B. A. & Polguy V. I. 1998. Istorychna topografija starodavnjogo Iskorostenja (za materialamy rozvidky 1994 r.). *Istorija Rusi-Ukrainy (istoryko-archeologichnyj zbirnyk)*. Kiev.
- Zvizdeckyj B. A. 2005. Pro dejaki pidsumky ta perspektyvy doslidzhen ukriplenyh poselen drevljanskoji zemli VIII-XVII st. *Naukovi zapysky z ukrajinskoji istoriji*. Vypusk 16. Perejaslav.
- Zhylyna N.V. 2007. *Visochnye ukrasheniya slavjano-russkogo ubora: vizantijskoe vlijanie i sobstvennye tradicii. Muzejni chytannja*. Eds. L. V. Strokova et al. Kiev.
- Vyezhev R.I. 1954. Rozkopky kurganiv u Korosteni ta poblyzu Ovrucha v 1911 r. *Archeologija*, t.IX.