KODAVERE PARISH BY LAKE PEIPUS: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE DURING THE IRON AGE

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Abstract

This article concentrates on an analysis of an ancient lakeside landscape: how a big inland lake in Estonia (Lake Peipus in eastern Estonia) has affected the development of the settlement on its shores (the example of Kodavere parish). The lake is part of a landscape with different layers, some of them are mental, some are physical. The article tries to define the landscape and its layers, and to use the most suitable layer to describe a prehistoric lakeside landscape in Estonia.

Key words: Lake Peipus, lakeside landscape, landing place, harbour site, settlement district, settlement area, settlement unit.

Introduction

This article deals with an Iron Age landscape of a lakeside area. The main question is the possibility of comparing it with a maritime landscape: the similarities and differences in natural and cultural processes of a coastal area and coastline. The basis of this analysis are the studies by Marika Mägi in Estonian maritime landscapes (Mägi 2002a; 2004; 2007), which rely on the earlier research of Scandinavian archaeologists (see, for example, Carlsson 1991).

Areas by large lakes have not been discussed separately in Estonian archaeology. Some articles have been written with a phenomenological approach on the ancient settlement around Lake Kahala in northern Estonia (Vedru 1997a; 1997b; 1999), but Kahala is a small lake, and this gives it an entirely different role in the ancient landscape connected to it. Some studies (Veski, Lang 1996; Saarse *et al*. 1996) have been written on the prehistoric settlement in the Lake Maardu area, but this is also a small lake compared to Lake Peipus. More has been written about maritime landscapes (Vedru 2001; Mägi 2002a; 2004; 2007).

Kodavere parish has not been studied from the point of view of landscape archaeology before (except the author's research, in Karro 2008; 2010). The coastal areas of Lake Peipus have not been observed from such a point of view before either. Therefore, this article is the first attempt to see the Kodavere parish area as a settlement district connected to Lake Peipus, thus forming an ancient lakeside landscape.

Layers of landscape

Firstly, let us explain what is meant in this article by landscape, and what part of it has been used in the discussion. Archaeologists have a tendency to consider landscape to be a stage on which people have made changes over the course of time. They usually categorise a landscape by dividing it into burial places, settlement sites, hill-forts, etc. For ancient people, a landscape was not just an assemblage of static objects; it was connected with natural conditions, social relations and religious symbols (Gosden, Lock 1998). Therefore, a landscape is not merely a stage for human activity, but a much larger system, consisting of different parts, or layers. It is not only natural and cultural, but a system where natural, cognitive and temporal components are connected (Palang 2001). Landscape does not exist in such a form outside the human mind (Vedru 2002). So a landscape is a system created by the people living in it, consisting of places connected by paths, roads and stories (Tilley 1994).

Some of these layers of the system are only present in the minds of the people inhabiting a certain area. They can be discussed separately, but must be bound in a unified system in order to analyse a certain geographical area.

First is the natural layer of a landscape. This consists of the morphological and geological features of the landscape (negative and positive land forms, soils) (Arold *et al*. 1987; Arold 2005), and also climatic conditions. The natural layer influences land use systems and types of economic activity (Aston 1985; Lang 2000).

A landscape has cultural layers that consist of different physical features on a landscape created by people. All archaeological remains, objects and artefacts, are parts of this cultural layer. All physical changes to a natural landscape that are made by people can therefore be called cultural: the erection of dams on rivers and the formation of new lakes, changing the course of rivers, piling up hills for different purposes, etc. So cultural layers are closely connected with the natural layer described above, because the natural features of the landscape affect the settlement logic (Aston 1985).

A landscape has mental layers, which also influence the cultural layer and bring about changes in both the cultural and natural layers. Mental layers are basically the cognition of a landscape by the people living in it. As has been said, in practice it is difficult to see this apart from the formerly described natural and cultural layers; but in theory it can be taken as a different aspect of the landscape's formation.

Important features of the mental layer are place names, which turn something physical and geographical into something historical and social (Tilley 1994). This is the way people can give cognitive meanings to physical locations, and change them into places. In time, these places will be connected by paths and stories. So a very important part of a mental layer is the identity of place, which forms when people live in one place for several years and generations (Hernandés *et al*. 2007).

Religious symbolism is also a vital part of the mental layer of a landscape. Together with social relations, it helps to form a part of the cultural layer, physical sacred places in the landscape. It can also result in special meanings being given to important natural places. This might lead to altering a place physically, by building, painting or carving something there. This is how a place can be given new meanings and functions (Bradley 2000).

The most relevant layer of a landscape for this article is the spatial layer. This is closely connected to all the other layers described above. We might consider the spatial layer as a part of the cultural layer, because it is formed by the human mind, or as a part of the natural layer, because it depends on the morphological and geological features of the landscape. For the sake of clarity, the spatial layer is considered to be a separate aspect of a landscape, because it represents the differentiation of geographical areas. The basis of this differentiation can be geographical or geological (Arold 2005), but also cultural (for example, hill-fort districts in Lang 2002), or even both (Lang 1996; 2002). Such a differentiation is in people's minds; therefore, it cannot totally be considered a part of the natural or the cultural layer. As it involves a great deal of geography and geology, it cannot be taken as wholly cultural or mental either.

Finally, a landscape has a temporal dimension that comprises all the above-mentioned layers. Natural, cultural and mental layers change in time, by forming a unity at a certain moment (Vedru 2009, p.22).

Case study: Kodavere parish as an ancient lakeside landscape

A lakeside landscape can be defined as a landscape that is connected with a nearby lake at the level of all the above-mentioned layers. This article focuses on the spatial layer of the Kodavere parish's Iron Age landscape (in this article, periodisation system proposed by Lang & Kriiska 2001 is used) [1].

A parish as a territory, with its name(s) and geographical span, either ancient or medieval (for the ancient and historic name, and the territorial belonging of an area, see Tarvel 1968; Roslavlev 1970; Lang 2007a, p.275; Roslavlev, Salo 2007), is part of the spatial layer of an area.[2] Lang (2002) has defined an ancient parish as a geographically separated larger settlement unit that is isolated from neighbouring settlement units by uninhabitable areas, and inhabited by people who share a common tribal origin. The author of this article has no reason not to agree with this definition. The ancient Kodavere parish can be considered as a separate settlement district that has been divided into settlement areas and settlement units, which are connected with the large lake nearby. Settlement units are a historical form of people's living together, established as a result of the social and economic development of the society (farms and villages). Settlement units form settlement areas, which are parts of a geographical area, which, being suitable for agricultural activity, are culturalised by people. Settlement districts are defined the same way as settlement areas, but they are geographically larger (Lang 1996, p.604). It is likely, though, that settlement units and settlement areas are not only geographical constructions, but are formed in local people's minds. Therefore, it can also be said that a settlement area is an area of the cognitive span of the local people, a cluster of villages with inhabitants who have closer relations with each other, and who may, for example, use the same sacred place for rituals. The borders of a

[1] Early Iron Age: Pre-Roman (500 BC to 50 AD) and Roman (50–450 AD) periods; Middle Iron Age: Migration (450–600 AD) and Pre-Viking (600–800 AD) periods; Late Iron Age: Viking period (800–1050 AD) and the Latest Iron Age (1050– 208).

[2] From the point of view of another layer, a parish can be part of a mental and a cultural layer, but this is a topic for another discussion.

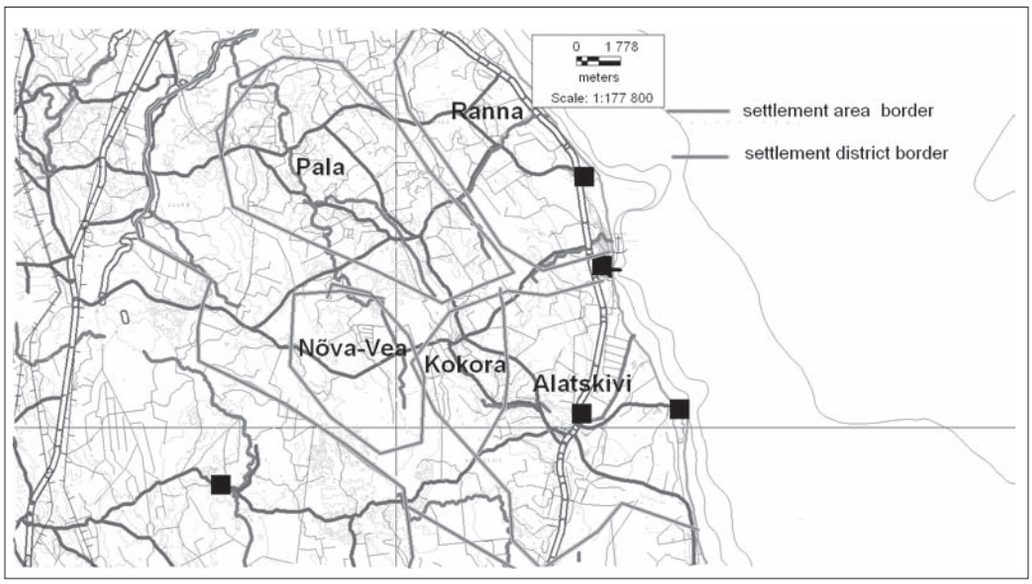

Fig. 1. Kodavere parish (base map by the Estonian Land Board, drawn by K. Karro).

settlement area form in inhabitants' minds as the furthest places they still 'know'. This is why a settlement area cannot be considered wholly geographical, or the spatial layer entirely physical (see above).

Natural features of the landscape in the Kodavere settlement district

The Kodavere parish (Figs. 1; 2) lies geographically in a landscape region called the Ugandi plateau. It reaches from Omedu to Kallaste in the north, and has been cut in two by the basin of the River Emajõgi in the south. The plateau area continues in southeast Estonia. The Alatskivi settlement area has the greatest absolute heights of the settlement district (45 to 69 m above sea level). The natural landscape formed there through the drumlinisation process during the regression of the glaciers (Karukäpp, Raukas 1999; Hang 2001; Karukäpp 2008).

The agricultural land in the Kodavere parish consists of heavy clayey podzols (for the character of the land by Lake Peipus, see Karukäpp 2008). Palynological investigations have been carried out in southeast Estonia, where the soils are of the same type (for example, in Ala-Pika; Kihno, Valk 1999). Investigations have not been carried out in the Kodavere parish area, but due to other cultural similarities (Ligi, Valk 1993; Lavi 1999; 2002; Leimus, Kiudsoo 2004; Kiudsoo 2005; Laul 2009), it can be assumed that the development of agriculture might be comparable. Climatic analyses among others from the Männikjärve bog and lakes Prossa and Raigastvere in eastern Estonia relate to the formerly presented results from Ala-Pika (Sillasoo *et al*. 2009).

The soils differ from the lowland soils north and south of Kodavere parish, and are classified as moderately cultivatable soils in Estonia (Karukäpp, Raukas 1999; Maa-Amet 2001). Drainage was carried out in the Kodavere parish during the Soviet era; therefore, the soils and the face of the natural landscape have changed quite a lot. The best soils for agriculture seem to lie in the Alatskivi settlement area (Fig. 3), but quite suitable soils for cultivation reach quite close to Lake Peipus in the Ranna settlement area too (Fig. 4).

There are many small inland water bodies (lakes and creeks) belonging to the Peipus basin in the Kodavere parish as well. Prehistoric settlement areas and settlement units were probably connected with them. As the ancient settlement units have not shifted compared to villages on the 17th-century map or the contemporary map, it can be said that settlement has continued on islets of suitable agricultural land. The continuity is probably a result of the fact that the Kodavere parish area has been a periphery area of Estonia throughout historical times. The most radical natural changes in the landscape probably took place during the Soviet period.

The coastline of the west shore of Lake Peipus (Fig. 2) is quite straight, although it has some suitable places for landing. The bottom of Lake Peipus is the steepest by the Kodavere settlement unit, but the best landing place is probably in Lake Lahepera, which is a former bay of Lake Peipus (Mäemets 1977). The water is quite shallow in the estuary of the River Lahe, connecting contemporary Lake Lahepera to Lake Peipus. The water level of Lake Peipus has been rising since the beginning of the Holocene (for the changes to the water level, see Rosentau 2006, p.32), but it is still very

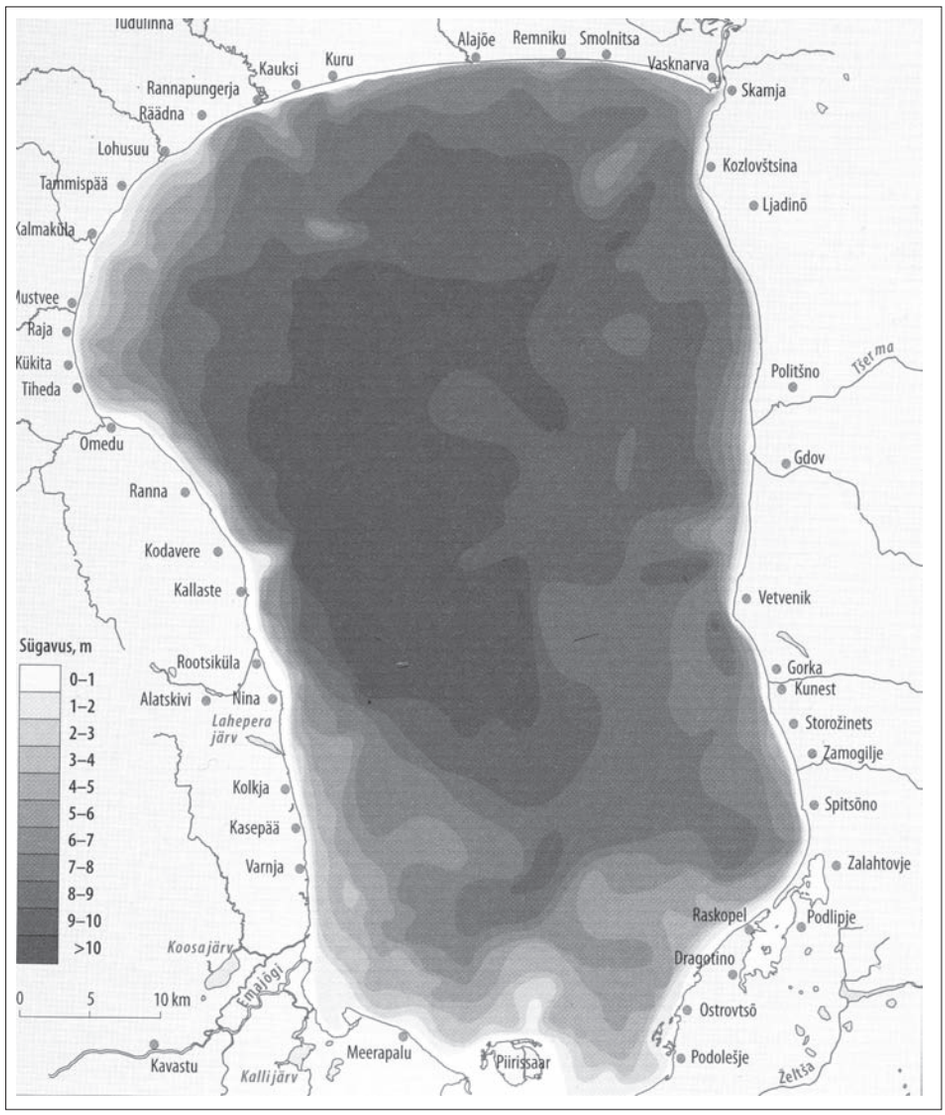

Fig. 2. The shoreline and bottom relief of Lake Peipus (Raukas 2008, p.95).

changeable, and can fluctuate by up to three metres a year (Tavast 2008). Therefore, the coastal villages have been affected by it over time, and this gives us reason to believe the same for the prehistoric period. According to contemporary inhabitants, the lake has been a great source of food and an easy way to travel, but its unpredictability can make the lives of the people on its shores quite difficult.

The clash of cultures by Lake Peipus

Kodavere parish is an area where both the cultures of barrows and stone graves spread during different periods of the Iron Age. Influences from the coastal and central areas of Estonia (stone grave culture) reached the west shore of Lake Peipus, and influences from southeast Estonia and the eastern shore of Lake Peipus (barrow culture) reached the parts of Kodavere parish furthest from Lake Peipus. There are archaeological remains of these different cultural groups in the Kodavere parish area. The distinctive remains of the two archaeological cultures have clustered in different parts of the Kodavere parish area, according to the natural landscape type that these kinds of burial places are more characteristic of (see below).

Massive and distinguishable constructions of stones were erected in Estonia not only in the Iron Age, but already in the second half of the Bronze Age (for the stone graves of Estonia, see Lõugas 1975; Lang 1993; 1996; 2007a; 2007b; Laul 2001; Mägi 2005; for Bronze Age burial sites in Estonia, see Lang 1996, p.290ff; 2007b). Neither Bronze Age nor Pre-Roman Iron Age stone graves have been found in Kodavere parish or inland Estonia; therefore, it is believed (Lang 1999)

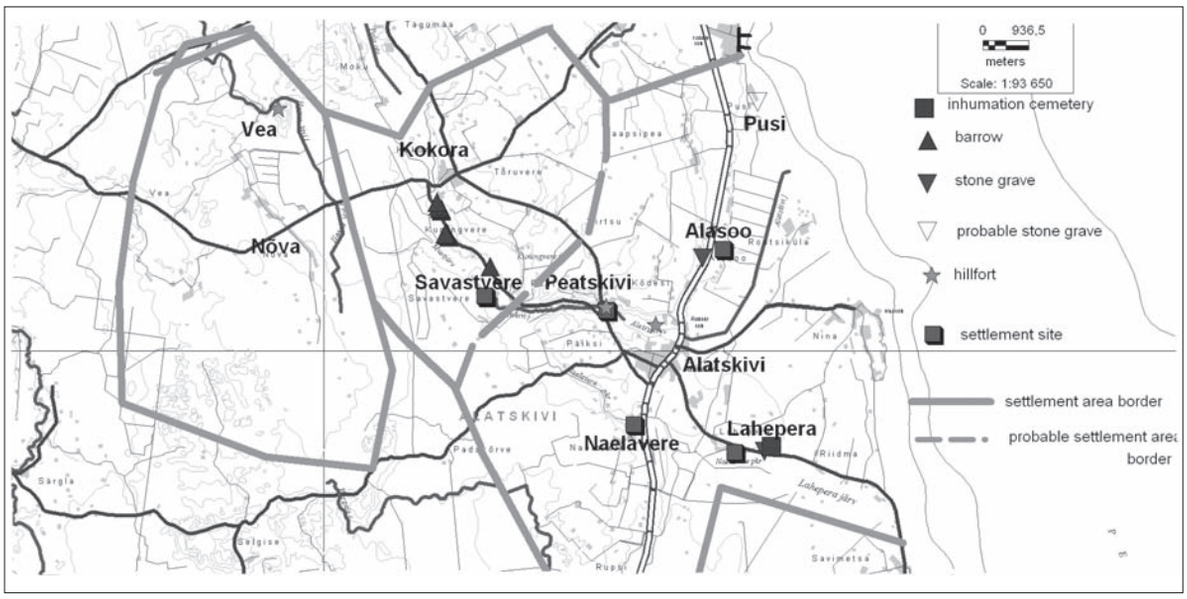

Fig. 3. The Alatskivi, Kokora and Nõva-Vea settlement areas (base map by the Estonian Land Board, drawn by K. Karro).

that stone graves, as well as being noticeable landscape markers, were built to establish the ownership of agricultural land. Therefore, according to palynological evidence from inland lakes (for the example of Ala-Pika, see Kihno, Valk 1999) and the absence of early stone graves in inland Estonia, it has been stated that agriculture spread more widely (when the establishment of agricultural land had become necessary) in inland Estonia from the Early Iron Age (Kihno, Valk 1999; Lang 1999). It is probable, though, that monumental stone graves were not only built for the establishment of agricultural land, but for the establishment of power over roads and nodal points, especially waterways (Mägi 2004; 2007). Therefore, the stone graves and Late Iron Age cemeteries of Kodavere could be considered parts of a settlement pattern influenced by a waterway of Lake Peipus. Lake Peipus was probably a waterway connecting the Kodavere settlement district with nearer areas (southeast Estonia, northeast Estonia, the eastern coast of Lake Peipus), and maybe even with some more distant areas (Scandinavia?).

Two stone graves in Kodavere parish have been more thoroughly studied: Alasoo and Lahepera (AI 4584, 4976, 4977).[3] They are not traditional *tarand*-graves as can be found in the northern part of Estonia (Lõugas 1975; Lang 1996, p.148ff; 2007a, pp.126-148; Mägi 2005), or in southeast Estonia (Laul 2001, pp.31-86). According to the artefacts, they were both erected in the second or third century AD. The Lahepera grave was put to use again in the Late Iron Age (for the results of the excavations of the Lahepera grave, see Lavi 1977; 1978; Karro 2008), but it is probable that the grave at Alasoo was not used any more after the Middle Iron Age. The Alasoo grave has not been well enough preserved to make any definite assumptions: only a small part of it has been excavated in the course of rescue excavations, and the grave had been spoilt before already (for the results of the Alasoo grave excavations, see Aun 1972; Karro 2008).

There were probably more stone graves along the west coast of Lake Peipus, but they have not officially been discovered or preserved. Some can be assumed according to oral folk tradition and the landscape situation.

In the Late Iron Age, the burial tradition changed: the tradition of inhumation burials was used from the 11th century onwards (Mägi-Lõugas 1995). Such cemeteries have been discovered in the Kodavere parish area in Lahepera (AI 4978), around the earlier stone grave, and Raatvere (AI 4717, 4858, 5087, 5295), close to an iron smelting site (AI 4717, 4858). The dead started to be buried here from the 11th century (Lavi 1983; 1999; Lavi, Peets 1985). Earlier cemeteries of such a character have been found at Zalahtovye on the east coast of Lake Peipus (Hvoshtshinskaia 2009) and the north coast of Estonia (Mägi-Lõugas 1995).

The east coast of Lake Peipus provides an entirely different archaeological picture. The culture of barrows (long and round barrows, and the *sopka*) spread in this area from the Middle Iron Age (Popov 2009c). Mostly settlement sites and hill-forts of the Early Iron Age have been studied on the eastern shore of Lake Peipus, and no burial places have been discovered from that period (Popov 2009b). The culture of long barrows also reached southeast Estonia and some parts of

[3] Artefacts from this and other archaeological objects mentioned in the article are stored at Tallinn Institute of History, under the numbers in brackets.

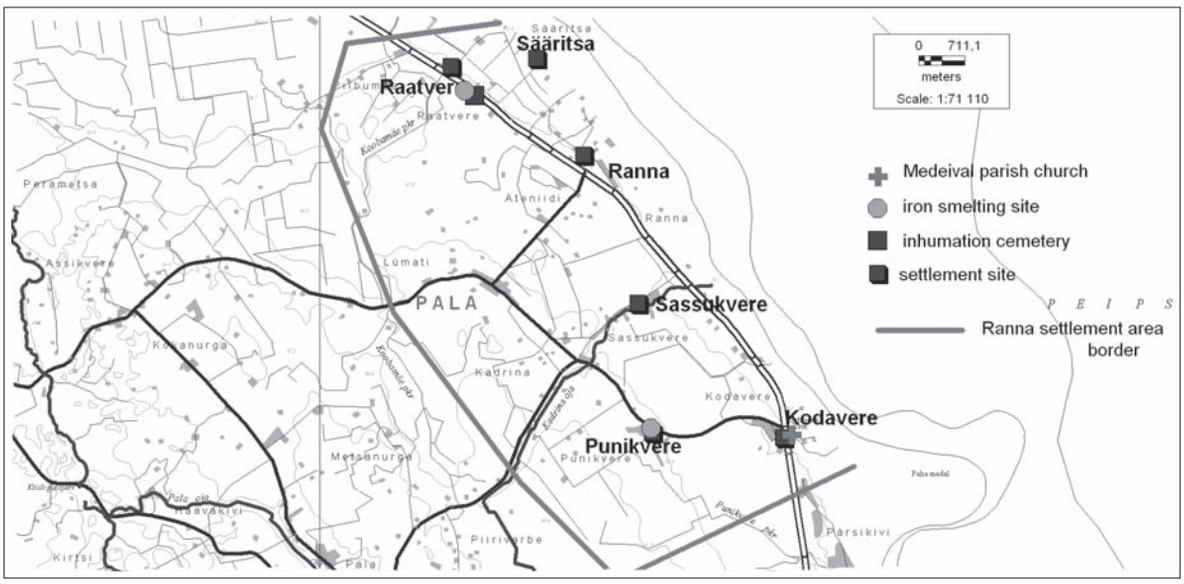

Fig. 4. The Ranna settlement area (base map by the Estonian Land Board, drawn by K. Karro).

eastern Estonia (the west edge of the Kodavere parish area) (for long and round barrows in Estonia, see Aun 2002; 2009). Late Iron Age barrows spread mostly on the north coast of Lake Peipus (Ligi 1993).

It is not certain which period the barrows of Kodavere parish originate from. They could have been erected in the Middle Iron Age, but also later. The small-scale excavations in the 1930s, 1950s and 1960s do not provide enough information on the dating of the Kodavere barrows, because the amount of grave goods was too scarce and undatable, and no bones were found, other than some probable inhumation burials from the Christian period (for the results, see Selirand 1993; Vassar 1936; 1937). It has also been said that the barrows and the stone graves of southeast and eastern Estonia do not have many differences (Aun 2002).

A unifying cultural characteristic on the eastern and western coasts of Lake Peipus and in southeast Estonia is the type of pottery: textile ceramics. This is a distinctive ceramics type of the inland cultural area, which had probably already started to spread at the end of the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, from the East European forest zone to Häme in Finland, Estonia and northern Latvia (Laul 2009). This type of ceramics has been found at some settlement sites and at the Kalevipoja säng hill-fort in the Kodavere parish area, too. There is evidence of brushed pottery at these settlement sites as well (Lang 1996, p.140ff; 2007a, p.96ff, p.153ff).

The spatial division of the Kodavere settlement district

According to Lang's theory and the natural and cultural features of the landscape, the Kodavere settlement district can be divided into four or five settlement areas: the Alatskivi-(Kokora), Ranna, Pala and Nõva-Vea settlement areas (Figs. 1; 2). The physical and cognitive border between the Alatskivi and Kokora settlement districts seems to be unclear, but the cultural features of some periods are too different to consider them to be one settlement area. It is possible that they were separate settlement areas during some periods of the Iron Age.

The settlement areas of Alatskivi-(Kokora) and Ranna are important from the point of view of the ancient lakeside landscape; therefore, only these two (or three) will be described and discussed below.

The earliest map of the area dates from the 17th century (Anon. 1684). Comparing this with later maps (from the 19th century, the beginning of the 20th century, and the present day) reveals the changes in the natural landscape that have taken place over the last four centuries. In order to ascertain the possible general appearance of the ancient landscape of the Kodavere parish, cultural characteristics were combined with available information on the probable natural conditions in inland Estonia during the Iron Age. Archaeological data from the Kodavere parish area and neighbouring areas, and formerly made assumptions about changes in the natural landscape, have been used to describe the possible settlement of the area.

The Alatskivi and Kokora settlement areas

The Alatskivi settlement area was probably the most important settlement area in the Kodavere parish. The earliest estate in the Kodavere parish was situated in Alatskivi, by the River Alatskivi. The River Alatskivi is probably one of the most important features of the natural landscape in the Alatskivi settlement area, and probably played an important role in the formation of the area's lakeside landscape. The lakes in the later mansion park were created by the realignment of the River Alatskivi and the riverbed was straightened after the 19th century, hence the river and the natural riverside landscape looked different during the prehistoric period. The new estuary lies about 200 m north from the old estuary. According to local people, the estuary of the River Alatskivi (north of the village of Rootsiküla) has never been a suitable place for living, or as a landing place. The small bay about one kilometre north along the bank is a much more appropriate place for a landing place.

There are several settlement units on the banks of the River Alatskivi, starting from Lake Peipus[4]: Pusi and Rootsiküla on the shore of Lake Peipus, Alasoo about two kilometres away, Alatskivi as the oldest estate centre, and Peatskivi as the prehistoric centre.

Other settlement units in the Alatskivi settlement district are in Lahepera, Naelavare, and Rupsi, south of Naelavere. Late Iron Age settlement sites have been discovered at Lahepera and Naelavere.

The Kokora settlement area lies on a different type of soil compared to the Alatskivi and Ranna settlement areas. Pine forests grow on sandy soils, which are less suitable for agricultural activities than the soils in the Alatskivi and Ranna settlement areas. Barrows, connected with an inland burial custom, were widespread in such natural landscape conditions from the Middle Iron Age (Aun 2009). As has been said above, it is not clear which period the barrows in the Kokora settlement area are from (either from the Middle Iron Age or the Late Iron Age); but it is clear that a different kind of burial tradition was used there. The burial methods seem to be similar to the barrows and stone graves in the Kodavere settlement district (Aun 2002). Therefore, it is not clear whether we are dealing with two different kinds of societies. That is why considering Kokora to be a separate settlement unit is arguable. According to the place cognition of the local people, it seems that the Alatskivi and Kokora settlement areas used to be connected.

The settlement area comprises the Savastvere, Kuningvere and Kokora settlement units, which are connected with small lakes in the settlement area, lakes Kuningvere and Mustjärv. A Late Iron Age settlement site has been found at Savastvere. Long barrows have been discovered by the road running between the abovementioned small lakes.

The Ranna settlement area

The Ranna settlement area (Fig. 1, 4) reaches closest to the coast of Lake Peipus. The shore is drier, and soil suitable for cultivation reaches to about 500 metres from the lake. The ground of the Ranna settlement area is plain, and there are not so many drumlins as in the Alatskivi settlement area. The even ground is broken by the valleys of the Torila and Kadrina streams, and the main road runs along the coast of Lake Peipus, passing all of the settlement units.

The settlement area comprises the settlement units of Raatvere-Sääritsa, Ranna, Sassukvere, Kodavere and later Kallaste, and probably also Punikvere. Ancient (Late Iron Age and Medieval) settlement sites have been discovered at all of them, except for Kallaste, which is now the centre of Kodavere parish.

Discussion

The River Alatskivi seems to have been an important stretch of water and a landmark, because most of the settlement units have grown up on its banks. The Alatskivi cannot be compared with large rivers in neighbouring settlement districts, for example the rivers Omedu or Emajõgi. Therefore, we cannot consider it to be a waterway of that scale; but it is clear that it played an important role as a source of fresh water. It is arguable whether it also served as a small-scale waterway. In fact, river and lake boats did not need very deep water at all: 50 to 70 centimetres, or 80 to 90 centimetres for bigger boats (Teigelake 2003). Therefore, it is possible that the Alatskivi was suitable for use as a waterway from Lake Peipus to the centre of the Alatskivi settlement area in Peatskivi.

The prehistoric centre was situated on a natural drumlin in Peatskivi (AI 4067, 4473). Its first stage of inhabitation was in the Pre-Roman Iron Age. The earliest buildings were destroyed some time in the fourth or third century BC. This period is represented by characteristic pottery and some artefacts. The wooden defensive structures were rebuilt, and destroyed by fire at the beginning of the Middle Iron Age (the fifth to sixth centuries AD), and no artefacts were found from that period. Concavities filled with stones and earth were

[4] Contemporary place names are used in this article.

discovered at the edge of the yard; they were probably domestic holes or the remains of defensive structures. The result of C^{14} dating from one of these concavities identified it as mid-fifth century. The last stage of inhabitation lasted from the end of the first millennium AD to the beginning of the second millennium AD. Artefacts from that period consisted of pottery similar to the Rõuge ceramics discovered at southeast Estonian hill-forts (though it had some unconventional features). Iron knives, spearheads and a northeast type of thrown pottery from the 11th and 12th centuries were found. Defensive embankments at both ends of the hill-fort were probably established during the last stage of inhabitation too (Aun 1969; 1974). A settlement site (AI 5385, 5493) dating from the beginning of the first century AD to the 16th or 17th century AD has been discovered at the bottom of the hill-fort (Kriiska & Lavi 1989; Kriiska 1986-87). The Peatskivi settlement unit has the oldest remains of inhabitation in the whole Kodavere settlement district. Other settlement sites have not been excavated so thoroughly. This might be the reason why no inhabitation earlier than the Late Iron Age has been discovered from other settlement sites in the Kodavere parish, if any existed at all.

The hill-fort was established on a natural drumlin, with the ground descending and then ascending again in every direction. The river forms a natural defence on the north side of the hill-fort. The hill-fort is clearly noticeable from the Lahepera direction (southeast), but hidden from other directions (from the Kokora settlement area) by other drumlins around it. Lahepera was another settlement unit in the Alatskivi settlement area. In a way, it can be considered a border area of the Alatskivi settlement area, because in prehistoric times the soils closer to Lake Peipus were probably not suitable for agriculture. The Lahepera settlement unit lies by Lake Lahepera, a former bay of Lake Peipus. It is a lake with quite steep shores and lots of fish nowadays, so it could have been a source of fish in ancient times too. A settlement site from the end of the Iron Age has been discovered on the west shore of Lake Lahepera (AI 5010, 5498). The shores of the west coast of Lake Lahepera are the most gentle, although at present the shore often floods in springtime. A road leading to Peatskivi passes the lake and the settlement site. The above-mentioned Roman Iron Age stone grave and the later inhumation cemetery were established to the north of Lake Lahepera, on higher ground.

It is possible that the settlement site beside Lake Lahepera used to be an ancient landing place on the shore of Lake Peipus. The hill-fort and the settlement site in Peatskivi might then be considered as a prehistoric trading place (for maritime trading centres, see Carlsson 1991; Mägi 2002a; 2004; 2007). But further excavations in the Lahepera settlement site are necessary to give more credence to this hypothesis.

As has been mentioned above, another stone grave was established in the Alasoo settlement unit. The small Lake Vilajärv nearby can be seen as an important landmark during the period of use of the grave. A settlement site dated to the end of prehistory and the Middle Ages has been discovered on the shore of the Lake Vilajärv (Kriiska 1990).[5] It is possible that there used to be a bigger connection between the River Alatskivi and Lake Vilajärv, but as the ground around these water bodies probably changed over time, the landing stage on the shore of Lake Vilajärv became unusable. There is a later inhumation cemetery right on the shore of Lake Peipus in Pusi (Tiitsmaa 1921; conversations with local people 2010). This might have been a later landing stage. The road leading from Alatskivi to the shore of Lake Peipus comes closest to the lake just at the peninsula where the cemetery lies. The shore of Lake Peipus is steepest in the whole settlement area of Alatskivi at that place.

It is possible, though, that the Roman Iron Age stone grave in Alasoo is connected to the road leading from the Alatskivi to the Ranna settlement area. As has been said, the mainland roads in the Kodavere settlement district run through all the Iron Age settlement and burial sites; therefore, it is possible that they started to form already at the beginning of the period of agricultural settlement in the area.

This road proceeds to the Ranna settlement area up to the north and further south through Naelavere (where a Late Iron Age settlement site has also been discovered, AI 5337) and Rupsi. The area with suitable soil ends with the Rupsi settlement unit. The ground is damp to the south of Rupsi. The road runs between bogs, and leads finally to Tartu, a larger settlement centre and a crossing place on the River Emajõgi. Lang has stated that Virumaa became the cultural core of Estonia in the Roman Iron Age, and communication was the most regular with the areas in the lower reaches of the River Visla (Lang 2007b, p.200). Therefore, it is possible that the waterway along Lake Peipus down to southern areas of Europe was already being used in the Roman Iron Age, and it affected the development of the settlement on the west coast of Lake Peipus (for the waterway passing Lake Peipus, see Mägi 2011). The above-mentioned road up to the north from Kodavere parish could have been a mainland road to the core area of Estonia in the Roman Iron Age.

The shore of Lake Peipus is today steepest at Kallaste, where the sandstone bank reaches a height of 9.5 metres above the lake (Tavast 2008). The present centre

[5] The location of the artefacts is unknown to the author.

of Kodavere parish has developed in Kallaste, at the mouth of the Torila stream. As no signs of prehistoric settlement have been discovered around this settlement unit, it is possible that the high bank could have been too uncomfortable for an Iron Age landing stage. It is also possible that the ancient cultural layer has been destroyed in Kallaste, and the ancient landing stage is now unidentifiable.

There is another settlement unit worth mentioning in the Ranna settlement area: Sassukvere on the banks of the Kadrina stream. The present mouth of the stream has been adapted to create a yacht harbour, and a road dam has been built over the stream about 500 metres off Lake Peipus. These works could have changed the character of the stream, as the stream bed with terraces is at present about ten metres wide about 50 metres off the lake, and the water body is today about a metre deep.[6] According to Aasa Kuusik, a local inhabitant, there used to be a water mill right beside the road dam at the beginning of the 20th century (personal communication, 19 April 2010). It is not clear how wide the river could have been during the Iron Age, but it is possible that is used to be wider, and maybe also deeper. As has been mentioned before, river boats do not even need very deep water (Teigelake 2003). The character of the possible landing stage is not clear: probably it was a local fishing harbour. There is a peninsula about 800 metres up the shore of Lake Peipus from the mouth of the Kadrina stream that could have served as protection from the wind. There is a Late Iron Age settlement site in Sassukvere (AI 5217), and there is folkloric information about a destroyed stone grave about one kilometre off the coast of Lake Peipus (Tiitsmaa 1921). If the stone grave really existed, it might refer to a rather more important landing stage than just a local fishing harbour, but that is already in the Late Iron Age. The landing stage could have started as the fishing harbour of minor importance of a village or a farm.

The shore of Lake Peipus is steepest by the Ranna settlement unit where a Late Iron Age settlement site has been found, too (AI 5334). There is an oak tree by the road that is the source of many folk tales about 17th-century Swedish kings, but there was probably a stone grave in that place (personal communication, 15 February 2008). It is not clear which period it belonged to: according to some spearheads, swords and bronze jewellery that were presumably found there and which have now been lost (Tiitsmaa 1921), it could have been a Late Iron Age stone grave, or even an inhumation cemetery. This does not exclude the possibility of it having been used as a burial place even earlier in the Iron Age. According to its location about 500 metres from the shore by the road that runs closest to the shore at that place, it is possible that a landing stage could have been somewhere nearby. This needs further research, however.

Another settlement unit worth mentioning was probably Raatvere-Sääritsa, at least during the Late Iron Age. A Late Iron Age inhumation cemetery has been discovered and excavated at Raatvere, about one kilometre from the shore by the main road. The cemetery is comparable with the Lahepera inhumation cemetery, although the finds from the Raatvere cemetery seem to be older. Two blacksmith burials, among others, have been found there (Lavi, Peets 1985; Lavi 1998c; Lavi 1999). There is also a settlement site and an iron smelting site nearby (Lavi 1981; 1998c; 1998d; AI 5169, 5497). Ancient and medieval iron smelting has been studied according to information from this site, but also a site in Punikvere a few kilometres south of Sassukvere (Lavi, Peets 1985; Lavi 1998a; 1998d; 1999; Peets 2003).

A probable prehistoric and later settlement site, and presumed shore defensive constructions of large stones, have been found in Sääritsa, about 1.5 kilometres to the east of Raatvere and to the northwest of the Ranna ancient settlement site. C^{14} dating among the stones gave a result of 12th or 13th century (Lavi 1998b; AI 5274).[7] The site lies right on the present shoreline. The Sääritsa coast is open to the wind and plain, with a few large piles of stones. The soil suitable for cultivation ends basically with the present line of the main road, and the coastal area is used for pasture. It is possible that the limit of cultivated land might have been somewhere around the Raatvere cemetery and iron smelting site, especially as iron smelting was usually carried out on the edges of settlement units (Lavi 1999; Peets 2003).

The barrows were established along the road running between lakes Kuningvere and Mustjärv. As no artefacts pointing to the Middle Iron Age were found at the Kalevipoja säng hill-fort in Peatskivi, it might be possible that the presumable trading centre moved somewhere else. According to the opinion that living on the sea coast became dangerous in the Middle Iron Age (Mägi 2009), it is possible that the centre in Peatskivi might have been too accessible from Lake Peipus. It might also be that we are dealing with different kinds of societies which had different centres.

A church was established in the Kodavere settlement unit, which lies on the borders of the Alatskivi, Ranna and Pala settlement areas. The shore has the best features for a landing stage in Kodavere, and it seems that an ancient landing stage could have been somewhere

[6] The measurements were made by the author.

[7] Lavi considers it an inhumation cemetery according to folk tales, although no bones or artefacts were found during the excavations.

nearby (the mouth of the Kadrina stream?). It was quite common that a medieval church (along with the centre of a medieval parish) was built on the borders of prehistoric settlement districts of equal political importance (Mägi 2002b). This might have been the case in the Kodavere settlement district as well.

Conclusions

According to the discussion based on a theoretical and factual overview, it can be said that maritime landscapes and lakeside landscapes are comparable, although there are some differences. One significant difference is the stability of the water level and the coastline. It is possible to fix the coastlines of different periods in maritime landscapes, thanks to the elevation of the land. It is harder in the lakeside landscape described above, because the water level of Lake Peipus changes and is much more unstable over the year than the sea. It still seems that the coast line of the lake is regressing due to glacioisostatic movement. Therefore, in the search for prehistoric landing stages, the possible flood area of the lake must also be considered in addition to the presumable coast line of the Iron Age.

As Lake Peipus is thought to have been part of a trading route, it is likely that such nodal points and landing stages must have existed on the western shore of Lake Peipus. Therefore, other characteristics of nodal points and landing stages (Mägi 2004) have been used to identify the most probable places for them in the Kodavere settlement district.

From the point of view of settlement archaeology, the study area can be considered a settlement district, divided into settlement areas and settlement units. This is the spatial layer of a landscape, which is the main standpoint for analysing the landscape of the Kodavere settlement district. The settlement areas of Ranna and Alatskivi-Kokora are areas directly connected to the lake, and consisting of the necessary natural and cultural features to locate sites, concerning the lakeside aspect of the landscape. It is clear, though, that a landscape has many other layers, too, and this article is only the first piece in much broader research into the area. Future research will include further archaeological fieldwork, in the form of excavations and inspections.

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Abbreviations

Estonian Journal of Archaeology – Eesti Arheoloogia Ajakiri / Estonian Journal of Archaeology (Published since 1997).
PACT, 57 – U . MILLER, T. HACKENS, V. LANG, A. RAUKAS, A. HICKS, eds. *PACT*, 57 (III.If). Rixensart, 1999.
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KODAVERE ALYLINKĖS PRIE PEIPUS EŽERO: KULTŪRINIO KRAŠTOVAIZDŽIO KAITA GELEŽIES AMŽIUJE

KRISTA KARRO

Santrauka

Peipus ežeras yra labai svarbus gamtinis vandens telkinys, turėjęs didelę įtaką jo pakrančių žmonių gyvensenai. Tai, matyt, darė poveikį jo priešistorės kraštovaizdžio formavimuisi (ežeras kaip vandens kelias ir centrinė kelių susikirtimo vieta). Šiame straipsnyje mėginama nustatyti galimą Peipus ežero reikšmę to meto žmonių gyvenimui, taip pat apžvelgti ežero krantų linijų raidą, turėjusią įtakos kraštovaizdžiui, įvertinti mažesnių vandens baseinų poveikį didžiajam ežerui.

Kodavere apylinkės apima Rytų Estijos teritoriją ir yra žemyninė šalies dalis. Kodavere gyvenvietės aplinka yra veikiama Peipus ežero, ketvirto pagal dydį Europoje (pagal Hang, 2001; Rosentau, 2006; ir kt.)

Kodavere gyvenvietės apylinkės – puikus gamtinis objektas, kurį galima tyrinėti kultūrinio kraštovaizdžio pagrindu. Kodavere parapija buvo viduramžių centras. Pelkių ir miškų ji izoliuota nuo kaimyninių teritorijų, ilgą laiką formavosi kaip atskira sritis. Kodavere apylinkė buvo skirstoma į smulkesnius arealus ir gyvenvietes: Alatskivi, Kokora, Ranna, Pala, Nõva-Vea. Gyvenvietėse buvo istoriškai susiklosčiusi kartu gyvenančių žmonių socialinės ir ekonominės gyvensenos forma (kaimai ir ūkiai). Gyvenvietės, kaip geografinis arealas, tinkamos žemdirbystei ir yra glaudžiai susijusios su kultūriniu kraštovaizdžiu. Regionas charakterizuoja kiekvienos gyvenvietės struktūrą ir geografiniu atžvilgiu yra didesnis (gyvenvietės vieneto, arealo ir regionavimo apibrėžimas pagal Lang, 1996, p. 604). Nõva-Vea gyvenvietės apylinkėse nesama geležies amžiaus paminklų, todėl ji neįtraukta į mūsų tyrimus. Seniausi archeologiniai radiniai yra žinomi iš Alatskivi gyvenvietės arealo, kuriame yra piliakalnio gyvenvietė, vadinama Kalevipoja säng (arba Peatskivi piliakalnis – pagal gyvenvietės pavadinimą), kuri ir buvo tyrinėta. Šios gyvenvietės apgyvendinimo laikas apima nuo ikiromėniškųjų laikų iki XII a. (Aun, 1974). Piliakalnis buvo administracinis ir prekybos centras visą geležies amžiaus laikotarpį.

Kodavere parapijos gyventojai tikriausiai palaikė ryšius su kaimyniniais arealais, esančiais Pietryčių Estijos teritorijoje, kur ikiromėniškojo ir geležies amžiaus piliakalniai bei gyvenvietės, kaip ir Peatskivi vietovėje, tuo metu buvo gyvenami. Šiuo atveju Peipus ežeras vienijo šio regiono priešistorės gyventojus – jame yra paplitę vienodi dirbiniai, nustatyti panašūs gyvensenos papročiai. Kodavere apylinkes kaimyninės įtakos pasiekė Peipus ežeru. Kitas svarbus prekybos kelias ėjo Pärnu, Emajõgi upėmis, o tai įgalino formuotis Pärnu, Viljandi ir Tartu miestus (Mägi, 2010).

Vertė Algirdas Girininkas