

THE ARMAMENT, HORSEMEN'S ACCOUTREMENTS, AND RIDING GEAR OF LONG BARROW CULTURE (FIFTH TO SEVENTH CENTURIES)

MICHEL KAZANSKI

Abstract

Several different cultural traditions stand out in Long Barrow Culture. Some of them are characteristic of the Baltic Finno-Ugrians, others of the Balts and Slavs. The aim of this work is to distinguish all these mentioned traditions that are manifested in warrior horseman's accoutrements and riding gear of the fifth to seventh centuries. From the armament point of view, both Slavic tribes and the inhabitants of the Byelorussian and west Russian forest belt, whose ethnocultural affiliation remains disputed (Balts, Slavs, Balto-Slavs, Finno-Balts, Finno-Ugrians?), comprise an integral continuum from the River Danube to Lake Ladoga. The work also discusses the migrational processes that affected the people in the forest belt in the fifth and sixth centuries.

Key words: long barrows, forest belt, weapons, riding gear, Balts, Slavs, migration.

The main characteristics of Long Barrow Culture

Long Barrow Culture encompasses a huge territory in Eastern Europe's forest belt, starting from southeastern Estonia and ending with the upper River Volga basin (Fig. 1) (Sedov 1995, Fig. 60). Its formation is associated with the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries. The chronological Lindora-Polibino horizon (Kargopol'tsev 1994, 1996), with its characteristic non-fortified settlements, barrows and flat burial grounds, is distinguished during this time period. Long Barrow Culture sites comprise several territorial groups: 1 southwestern Estonia, west of Lake Pskov/Peipus (Fig. 2A); 2 east of Lake Chudskoe/Pskov/Peipus, up to the River Luga basin (Fig. 2B); 3 the upper reaches of the Velikaya, Western Dvina/Daugava and Lovat Rivers (Fig. 2C); 4 from the Lovat to the Msta and Mologa river basins (Fig. 2D) (Sedov 1974, Table 1, 1995, Fig. 60).

It is generally acknowledged that Long Barrow Culture, with its essentially heterogeneous origin, is a synthesis of local and foreign elements (Sedov 1995, p.216; Beletskii 1996, pp.37-43; Burov 1996; 1996a; Konetskii 1997; Kazanski 1999c, p.130; Lopatin 2006). It is possible that the local inhabitants of the Roman Period who left the Zaozer'e type sites (*Verkhnee Podneprovie* 2002) were the main shaping component of Long Barrow Culture. South of Long Barrow Culture territory, in the upper reaches of the Dnieper and the Western Dvina/Daugava basin, the very similar Tushemlya-Bantserovshchina Culture appeared at the same

time (Lopatin, Furas'ev 1995; Lopatin 2006; Shchukin *et al.* 2006, pp.55-60).

Researchers distinguish several different cultural traditions in Long Barrow Culture: Baltic Finno-Ugric, especially distinct in southeastern Estonia (Aun 1980, 1992; Kazanski 1999c, p.135), Baltic (Sedov 1995, p. 216; Kazanski 1999b; Kazanski 1999c, p.133ff.), and Slavic (Sedov 1980; Kazanski 1999c, p.133). The aim of this work is to distinguish all these Long Barrow Culture traditions that are manifested in the warrior horseman's accoutrements and riding gear in the fifth to seventh centuries¹.

Armaments of Long Barrow Culture

Weapons are rarely found in long barrows (Fig. 3; Appendix) and we cannot be certain that the artefacts we have at this time objectively reflect this culture's true armaments. Usually large armament counts find their way into the hands of archaeologists when the weap-

¹ Unfortunately, the available research does not allow us to establish the chronology of certain finds. Because of the general chronology, it is not possible to accurately date the horse bridles from the Ust'-Smolka barrow field's barrow 3 and Grishin-2 barrow field's barrow 2 (Lopatin 2004, Figs. 3.1, 4), nor the narrow-bladed, blunt-ended or so-called Central Russian-type axes (Kazakevičius 1988, pp. 78-81) found in the Long Barrow Culture zone, the Ust'-Belaya, Koloda and Kriukov settlements, as well as the Pleso and Stepanov barrows (Elena Mikhailova, personal communication). I take this opportunity to thank my colleagues Elena Mikhailova, Sergej Kargopol'tsev, and Yuri Lesman for their information and the opportunity to get acquainted with their yet unpublished works.

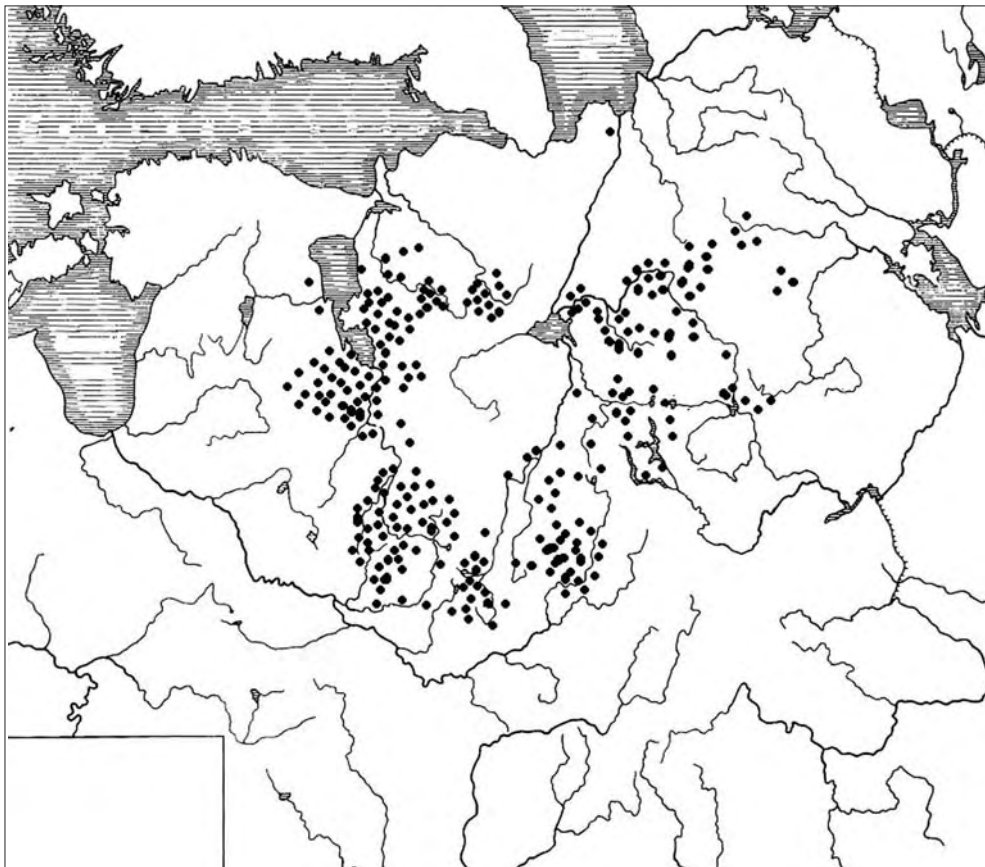


Fig. 1. Long Barrow Culture territory, fifth to seventh centuries (after Sedov 1995).

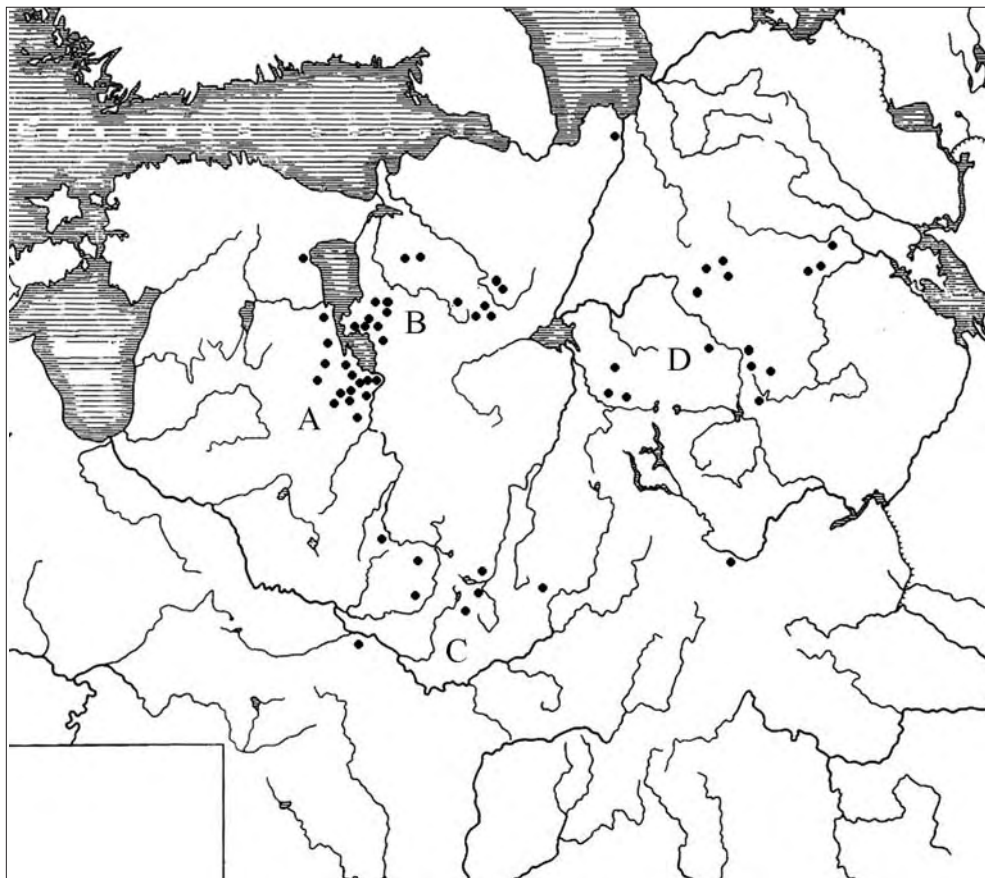


Fig. 2. Diffusion of early sites of Long Barrow Culture (Lindora-Polibino horizon) (after Kargopo'tsev 1994, supplemented by the author).

V

THE ROLE OF WEAPONS AND WEAPONRY IN POLITICAL AND MILITARY LEADERSHIP

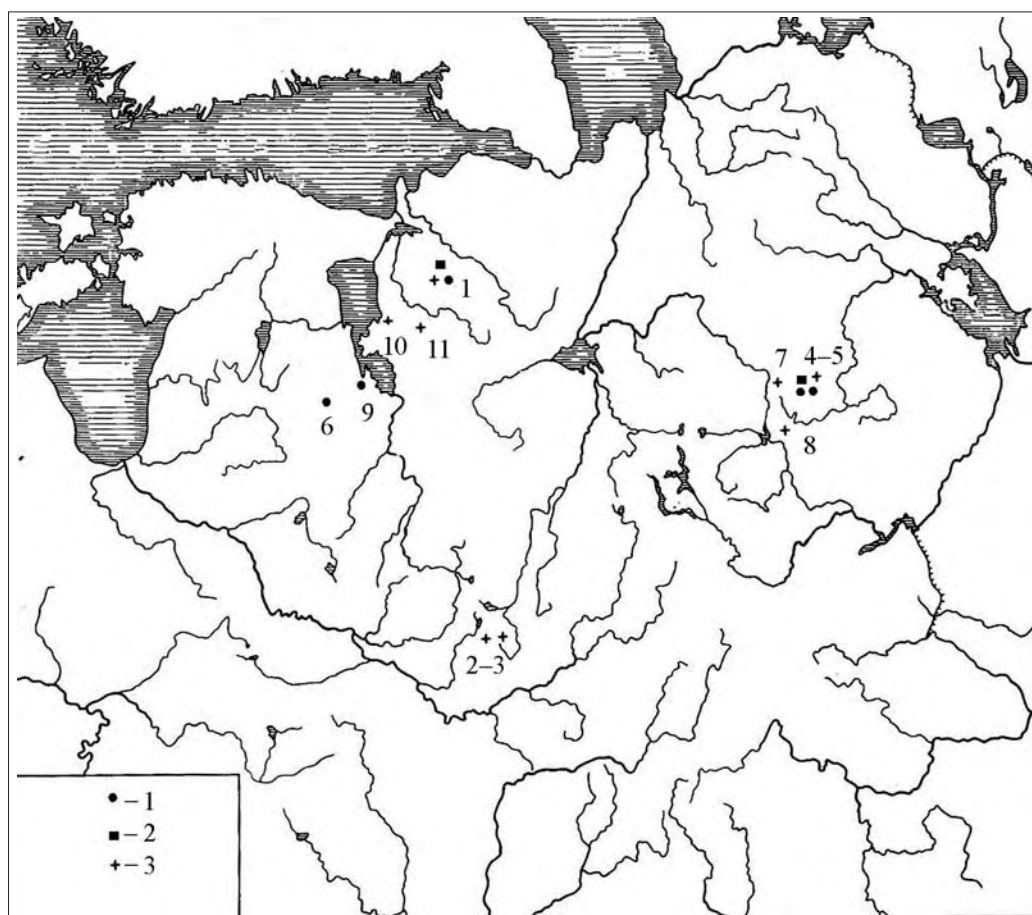


Fig. 3. Diffusion of elements of weapons, horseman's accoutrements, and riding girths found in Long Barrow Culture territory (site list noted in the Appendix): ● 1 attack weapons; ■ 2 defence weapons; + 3 elements of horsemen's accoutrements and riding gear.

ons are widely distributed as a grave good or sacrificial element (ie the Scandinavian bog finds, the mighty shrines of the La Tène epoch). However, neither one nor the other element occurs in Long Barrow Culture. Moreover, published material on Long Barrow Culture is very fragmentary, since the main focus in Russian archaeology during Soviet times was placed on synthesis-based publications, on works that generalized research results, and not the publication of the actual research material.

Nonetheless, we can now draw several general conclusions concerning Long Barrow Culture. The main armament complex of this culture was comprised of a spear, a javelin, arrows, and axes. The horseman's accoutrements consisted of spurs, and the horse's gear of girth buckles, bridle bits and bridle mountings. Shields with metal shield bosses and maille (*chainmail*) fragments are infrequently encountered. Such a collection of armaments is very reminiscent of the neighbouring forest belt cultures such as Tushemlya-Bantserovshchina, D'iakovo, and Moshchinskaya, as well as of the Slavic Prague, Kolochin, and Penkovka cultures' armaments of the fifth to seventh centuries (Kazanski 1999).

Unlike their western neighbours, ie, the East and West Balts, as well as the Baltic area's and Finland's Finno-Ugrians, the "forest belt" tribes in Russia and Byelorussia did not have swords, shields with metal shield bosses, or battle daggers (*seax*). At the same time, Long Barrow Culture armament is distinguished from that of the Finno-Ugrians and from the world of the Volga and Urals further east in that it had spurs, but did not have socketed axes. Essentially, from the viewpoint of armaments, both the Slavic tribes and the inhabitants of Byelorussia's and western Russia's forest belt, whose ethnocultural affiliation is disputed (Balts, Slavs, Balto-Slavs, Finno-Balts, Finno-Ugrians?), comprised an integral area between the River Danube and Lake Ladoga in the fifth to seventh centuries.

In speaking of Long Barrow Culture, it can be asserted that in the armaments and horse riding gear of its members, as in other elements of its culture, several heterogeneous components stand out. The first of these is characteristic of all of Eastern Europe's forest belt cultures. These are the characteristic socketed spearheads with barbs (Fig. 4), found in the flat burial ground of Iur'evskaya Gorka (Fig. 4.2; Appendix, 4) and barrow 9 of the Suure-Rysna barrow field (Fig. 4.1; Appendix,

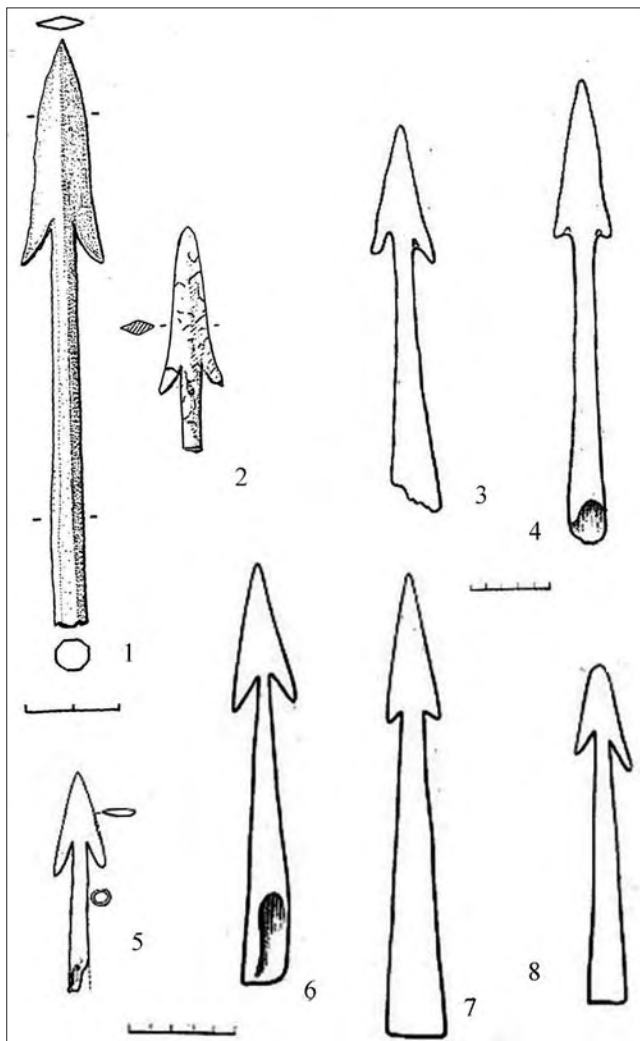


Fig. 4. Socketed spearheads with barbs found in Long Barrow Culture sites (1, 2) and their parallels in Eastern Europe's Finno-Ugric sites (3–8): 1 Suure-Rysna, barrow 9 (Appendix, 9); 2 Iur'evskaya Gorka, grave 5 (Appendix, 4); 3, 4 Bezdvodnoe; 5 Troitskoe; 6, 7 Shatrishchi; 8 Kurman (3–8 after Rozenfel'd 1982).

9). Javelins with this type of spearhead spread among the Finno-Ugrians living in the forest belt, and in a rather broad territory extending from the middle of the Volga up to Finland and Estonia in the period of Roman influence and the beginning of the Middle Ages (ie, in the fifth to seventh centuries) (Rozenfel'd 1982, pp.128-134; Kargopol'tsev 1999, Fig. 1). Javelins with socketed and barbed spearheads are found in D'iakovo Culture sites (Fig. 4.5), known in Finno-Ugric sites of the Volga and Oka basin (Fig. 4.3, 4, 6-8), and found in the stone grave cemeteries in Estonia (*tarand* type sites), for example in Lihula (Mandel 1976), and in the stone-covered barrows in Finland (Kivikoski 1973, Abb. 304, 548).

Socketed spearheads with barbs are found in Lithuania, especially in East Lithuania, at the beginning of the Middle Ages, but are found much less frequently in

Latvia and in the territories in which the West Balts lived (Kazakevičius 1988, p.55ff). This weapon is well known in Scandinavia in the period of Roman influence, where it held out at least until the D period, ie, until the Migration period. This provision is confirmed by the Evedø or Kvasheim finds (Ilkjaer 1990, pp.183-255, 308, Abb. 195). Such spears also occur in Tushemlya Culture, related to Long Barrow Culture, in the upper reaches of the Dnieper River basin (Shmidt 1995, Fig. 1.3). Occasionally, socketed spearheads with barbs are found in the Slavic Prague and Kolochin cultures (Kazanski 1999, Fig. 1.7, 8). Still, these javelins with socketed, barbed spearheads are more characteristic of the northern part of Europe.

Another type of armament very characteristic of the forest belt is the socketed spearhead with a pronounced midrib (type 1G according to Kazakevičius). One such spearhead was found in the Long Barrow Culture zone in the River Luga basin near Lake Samro in the Dolozhskii pogost barrow field, in barrow 45 (Fig. 5.1; Appendix, 1). Kazakevičius noted that such spearheads were widespread in East Prussia, Lithuania, Latvia and Finland, as well as among the middle Volga Finno-Ugrians (Kazakevičius 1988, p.29ff.). Socketed spearheads with pronounced midribs are also encountered in northeast Estonia, as well as in the Oka river basin (Kazanski 2000a, p.204), and in the region between the Oka and the Volga, where they are found in the fortified Sarskoe settlement (Leont'ev 1996, Fig. 34.8). It should be noted that similar spearheads with pronounced midribs are not found among the Slavic site material of the fifth to seventh centuries, where lanceolate spearheads dominate.

Hafted lanceolate arrowheads similar to the one found at the Iur'evskaya Gorka settlement (Fig. 6.8; Appendix, 5) are known practically throughout all of Europe in the fifth to seventh centuries, including among the Balts (Kazakevičius 2004, p.51ff.) and the Slavs (Kazanski 1999, p.201).

Rectangular iron girth buckles comprise yet another type of gear that is widespread throughout the entire forest belt. Judging from the inventory of the grave found in Puiga, rectangular buckles in the Long Barrow Culture context are encountered in the fifth to seventh centuries (Fig. 6.6; Appendix, 7)². Numerous

² The same kind of buckles were encountered in the following Long Barrow Culture cemeteries: Vargany barrow 2 (Shtykhau 1992, Fig. 23.3), Gurki barrow 2 (Sedov 1974, Table 24.25), Pagadzitsa barrow 2 (Shtykhau 1992, Fig. 24.3), Lipetsy barrow 7 (Aleksandrov 1982, Fig. 3.3), Ust'-Belaya barrow 1 (Kargopol'tsev 1994, Figs. 9.5, 12, 14).

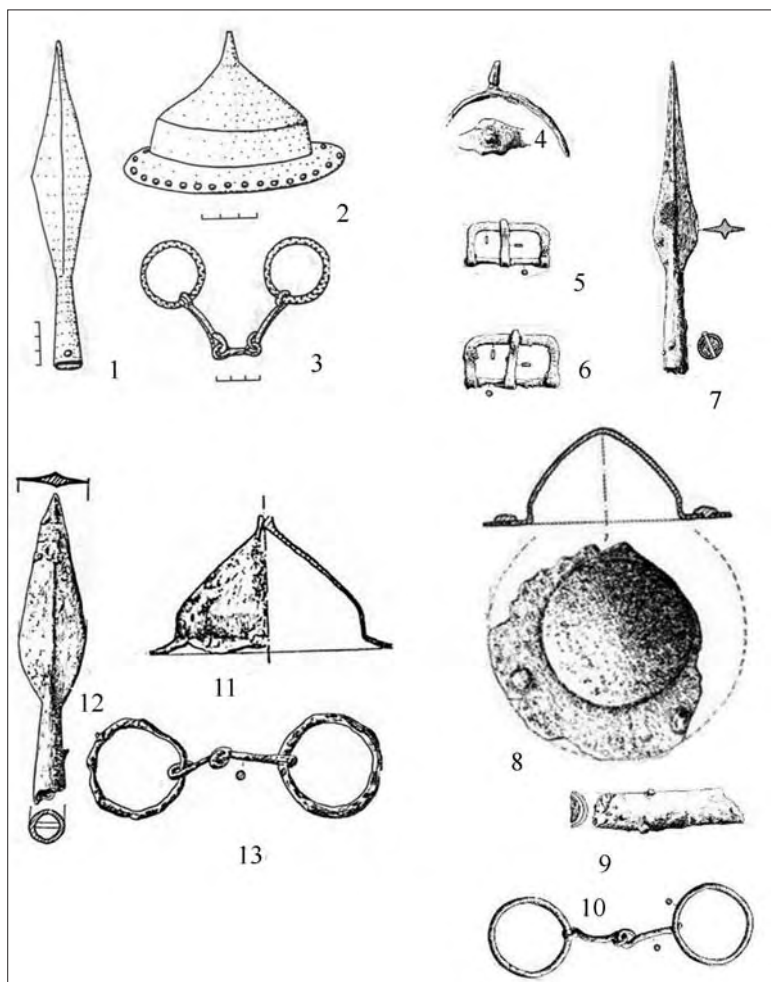


Fig. 5. Armament found in Dolozhskii pogost barrow 45 and Baltic armament parallels: 1–3 Dolozhskii pogost, barrow 45 (Appendix, 1); 4–10 Osowa, barrow 41; 11–13 Osowa, barrow 71 (after Kazanski 1991 [1–3]; Jaskanis 1961 [4–10], 1961a [11–13]).

parallels of these buckles are known in the entire forest belt, including among central Russia's Finno-Ugrians (Fig. 6.4, 5), the West Balts (Kulakov 2003, Fig. 132.3k), and further south, among the Slavs (Kazanski 1999, p.203).

Horsemen's accoutrements and riding gear

The same can be said about iron snaffles with ringed terminals. Such bridle bits were found in Zherebitino (Fig. 6.2; Appendix, 11); Dorohi-1 barrow field, barrow 1 (Appendix, 2; Fig. 6.3); Zalakhtov'e cemetery barrow 154/10 (Fig. 6.1; Appendix, 10), and the Iur'evskaya Gorka settlement (Appendix, 5; Fig. 7.4).

However, the chronology of these graves is unclear, since the general Long Barrow Culture chronology also includes the eighth-tenth centuries. One rectangular girth buckle also was found in the Severik cemetery's barrow 1, grave 18 (Sedov 1974, Table 24.11, 15, 17). An Estonian Ryugetype vessel, dated to the eighth-ninth centuries, additionally was found in this barrow (Beletski 1996, pp.45-52).

This type of bridle bit spread everywhere in Europe, including among the Volga (Fig. 6.11) (Rozenfel'd 1982, Fig. 35.15; Voronina et al 2005, Fig. 15.4, 18.1, 30.4) and Baltic Finno-Ugrians (Stubavs 1976, Table 11.5), the Balts (Figs. 5.10, 13) (Kulakov 1989, Fig. 57.2; Kulakov 2003, Fig. 136.9-8, 148.25; Kulakov 2005, Fig. 56.17), and the Slavs (Kazanski 1999, p.203). Sometimes the segments of these bridle bits are widened and bent into small rings (Fig. 6.1, 3). Similar bridle bits are known from Tushemlya Culture's Demidovka (Shmidt 1989, Fig. 6) and Bliznaki hill-forts (Shmidt 1976, Fig. 44.18), the Katkuškės barrows in Lithuania (Kulikauskas, Kulikauskienė, Tautavičius 1961, Fig. 204.1), and the early Slav sites of Kolochin and Pen'kovka cultures (Kazanski 1999, Figs. 3.7, 17).

Similar bridle bits are also encountered in Western Europe in Merovingian times, for example, in Aldingen cemetery grave 14 (Schach-Döriges 2004, Abb. 43.6), in the riding horse's burial in the Bruchsal cemetery, discovered in 1913 (Oexle 1992, Taf. 7.22.1), in the riding horse's burial in the Pleidelsheim cemetery discovered in 1964 (Koch 2001, Taf. 2B), and in the Runde-Berg-Urach hill-fort (Quast

2006, Taf. 11.28).

Judging by the mentioned Alemannic analogues, such broadened and bent bridle bit segment terminals were allotted for inserting straight curbs. Bridle bits with straight curbs spread in Europe due to Roman influence (Kazanski 1999a, p.302). In the same way, bridle bits with broadened, looped ends and ringed terminals (Fig. 6.11), for example, are known from the Slavic Semenki settlement in the southern Bug (Kazanski 1999, Fig. 3.17).

Axes are also common finds in all the forest belt cultures of the fifth to seventh centuries. Unfortunately, axes in Long Barrow Culture sites that truly belong to the fifth to seventh centuries (Iur'evskaya Gorka, Loozi, Fig. 6.12, 13; Appendix, 5, 6) are preserved only very fragmentarily and their typology is unclear. It is possible that they are narrow-bladed axes, widespread in Eastern Europe (Moora 1938, pp.485-498; Kazakevičius 1988, pp.76ff.; Kazanski 1994, p.456ff.; Malonaitis 2005).

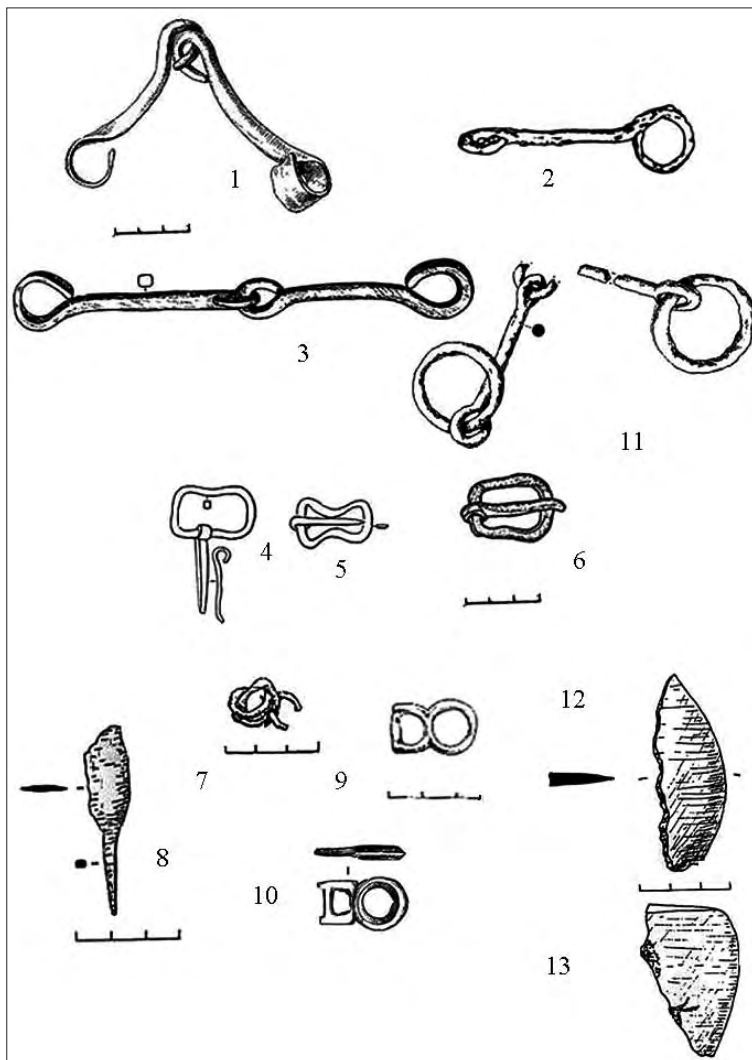


Fig. 6. Bridle bits, girth buckles, axe fragments, arrow, and maille fragment from Long Barrow Culture (1–3, 6–9), their parallels (4, 5 and 10): 1, 9 Zalakhtov'e, barrow 154/10 (Appendix, 10); 2 Zherebiatino, barrow 1 (Appendix, 11); 3 Dorohi-1, barrow 1 (Appendix, 2); 4, 5 Kuntsevo (after Rozenfel'd 1982); 6 Puiga, barrow 20 (Appendix, 7); 7, 8, 12, 13 Iur'evskaya Gorka settlement (Appendix, 5); 10 Zdvizhenskoe (after Zasetzkaya 1994); 11 Nikitino (after Voronina *et al.* 2005).

A “southern” component is clearly distinguished in the Long Barrow Culture warrior's accoutrements and horseman's riding gear. Its appearance is most likely associated with the movement of some kind of Slavic groups into Eastern Europe's forest belt. Actually, the Slavs are the only East European “forest belt” ethnic group that undoubtedly actively participated in the military operations of the late Migration Period in southern Europe, in the lower Danube region, the Balkans, and Italy. They were also the only forest belt people whose contacts with nomads of the steppes were recorded in sixth-century written sources. These contacts were reflected, for example, in Slavic armaments (Kazanski 1999).

The existence of Slavs in the sites of the Long Barrow Culture belt is clearly shown in the material of

the Iur'evskaya Gorka settlement in the Msta river basin (Islanova 1997, pp.21-55). This rather short-lived settlement (there are no traces of “layered” structures, the functioning time period of the middle semisubterranean dwelling does not exceed 20 years: see Berzovets 1963, p.187) is dated to the first half of the sixth and the middle of the sixth century according to the “spotted” beads discovered here, attributed to the second quarter of the fifth century to the middle of the sixth century (Ivanišević *et al.* 2006, p.76), and the clasp from Western or Central Europe attributed to the second quarter of the sixth century (Kazanski 2000b, p.24; Koch 2001, pp.85, 86, 296 and 297, Abb. 23: M54; Tejral 2005, Abb. 13.D1, Tabelle 3).

The Iur'evskaya Gorka settlement is distinguished for its abundant modelled pottery (31%), very reminiscent of the Prague type, and its semisubterranean dwellings with an oven (Islanova's Type 4 dwellings, Islanova 1997, p.42), and that is also a characteristic feature of Slavic cultures. A flat burial ground with cremation graves alongside the settlement was also investigated, and these, too, were characteristic of the Slavs (Islanova 1997, pp.21-55). It must be stressed that “purely” Slavic finds in forest belt sites have not been encountered; they are found in sites where local forest belt culture artefacts are encountered in abundance. Ceramics characteristic of Long Barrow Culture dominate in the mentioned Iur'evskaya

Gorka settlement, while things typical of Finno-Ugrians and Balts occur among the ornaments. In general, the site reflects both autochthonic local forest belt inhabitant features (Long Barrow Culture) as well as the heritage of some kind of foreign groups, most likely of Slavs (Islanova 1997, p.55; Kazanski 2000b, p.24).

Aside from the modelled ceramics resembling the Prague type in the Iur'evskaya Gorka settlement, pottery was also found in the Mikhailovskoe, Volodi, Zherebiatino long barrows (Sedov 1980, p.7). Moreover, researchers treat the cremation tradition of cleaning out the cremated bones from the burial fire's remnants as typical of the Slavs (Sedov 1980, p.6f.). Finally, certain female Long Barrow Culture ornaments could also be of Slavic origin. For example, triangular metal plates (*appliqué*), known by the small stone moulds

V

THE ROLE
OF WEAPONS
AND
WEAPONRY
IN POLITICAL
AND
MILITARY
LEADERSHIP

used in their production, have been found in southeastern Estonia, one such mould being from the Loosi barrow field's barrows (Sedov 1974, Table 27.2). Judging from the stone moulds found here, similar metal plates were produced in the Prague Culture's Bernashevka settlement near the Dniester (Vinokur 1977, Figs. 22, 23 and 45).

The "southern" influence on riding horse gear is also evidenced by the snaffle harness buckle found on the eastern shores of Lake Chudskoe/Peipus, in the Zalakhtov'e barrow field long barrow 154/10 (Fig. 6.9; Appendix, 10) (Khvoshchinskaya 2004, Table 3.3). Similar buckles have parallels with those in Hun burials in Zdvizhenskoe (Vozdvizhenskaya) Stavropol country (Fig. 6.10), and somewhat less correlations with those in the lower Kurnaevka Volga (Zasetskaya 1994, Tables 11.8, 30.3). In both cases, only separate burials were found. Similar snaffle buckles additionally were encountered in Kabarda-Balkaria, in the Zaragizh cemetery grave 118, dated to the fifth century (*Or des princes barbares* 2000: N° 26, 11), and in the central Danube, in the famous Untersiebenbrunn grave of the first half of the fifth century (*Or des princes barbares* 2000, 9 N° 9, 24). As shown by the mould used for the production of snaffle buckles found in the Berhashevka settlement in the upper Dniester, very similar buckles existed among the Prague Culture Slavs (Vinokur 1997, Fig. 16). As Khvoshchinskaya indicated, analogues for such buckles also existed later in the steppe cultures, in the eighth and ninth centuries (Khvoshchinskaya 2004, p.26). Archaic modelled ceramics from the Zalakhtov'e cemetery's mould (Khvoshchinskaya 2004, Table 3.5, 6) speak of an earlier date. On the other hand, a reliable Long Barrow Culture modelled ceramics chronology has not yet been prepared.

A maille fragment (Fig. 6.7; Appendix, 5) found in the Iur'evskaya Gorka settlement can also be ascribed to the "southern" origin of things (Islanova 1997, Fig. 78.2). Maille remains have been found in the fifth to seventh-centuries Penkovka and Kolochin Culture material (Igren'-Podkova 1 settlement; Lebiazh'e cemetery) (Kazanski 1999, p.204). Maille fragments were encountered among the Volga Finno-Ugrians in Armievo-type cemeteries (Polesskikh 1968, p. 206, 207). Further east, maille has been recorded in armaments and gear near the River Kama (Gening 1995, Abb. 28.1; Ostanina 1997, Figs. 31.12; 78.18). Maille is also found among the steppe Huns (grave of Voskhod: Zasetskaya 1994, pp. 39 and 40). During the Migration Period and in the Early Middle Ages, (helmet) maille was encountered in the central Danube in the graves of Gepidic chiefs (Bona 1976, Fig. 22), while small fragments were found in soldiers' graves (Bona, Nagy 2002, Taf. 32. Grab 24.4, Taf. 35. Grab 49.2; Nagy,

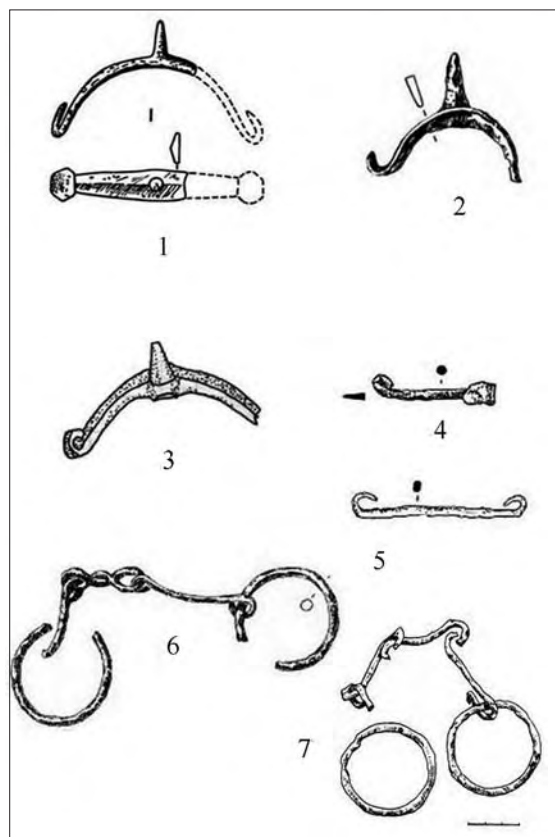


Fig. 7. Baltic-type spurs and riding bits found in the Long Barrow Culture zone (1, 4, 5) and their Baltic analogues (2, 3, 6, 7): 1 Dorohi-4, barrow 1 (Appendix, 3); 2, 6 Saukas muiža (after *Latvijas PSR Arheoloģija*, 1974); 3 Sauginiai (after Merkevičius 1984); 4, 5 Iur'evskaya Gorka settlement (Appendix, 5); 7 Jauneikiai (after Vaškevičiūtė 1987).

Szöreg-Téglagyár 2005, Taf. 60. Grab 74.3, Taf. 61. Grab 79.4).

Maille is well known in the Scandinavian world. As an example, we present the maille found among the bog artefacts in Scandinavia (Arwidsson 1939, Fig. 2; Raddatz 1987, Taf. 94) or the armour and helmet maille from the Vendel Period (Arwidsson 1939, Plates 3 and 4; 1954, Taf. 1, 6). In Merovingian Culture, maille fragments are found in both men's and women's graves. The finds from Planig (Kessler 1940, Abb. 9.2), Straubing-Bajuvarenstrasse I grave 470 (Geisler 1998, Taf. 161.8, 9), Pleidelsheim grave 115 (Koch 2001, Taf. 46.3), Breny grave 614 (Kazanski 2002, Plate 5.7), Donzdorf grave 79 (Neuffer 1972, Taf. 25B. 9-13) and Deersheim grave 29 (Schneider 1983, Abb. 97.12) must be mentioned. Maille has not been found among the Balts nor the Baltic Finno-Ugrians, thus we cannot as yet claim that this element of armament from the West could have reached Eastern Europe's forest belt sites.

Other elements of the warrior and horseman's accoutrements of the fifth to seventh centuries, as well as riding horse gear found in Long Barrow Culture zone,

are undoubtedly of “western” origin; they are primarily found in the material of the East and West Balts.

The spurs discovered in Long Barrow Culture belt sites are clearly of Baltic origin. I remind the reader that in the Early Middle Ages, spurs are characteristic of Western and Eastern Europe. In Eastern Europe, the Baltic and Slavic cultures comprised the eastern diffusion territory’s periphery of this element of a horseman’s accoutrements. There are barely any spurs among the Central Russian Finno-Ugric peoples and the steppe nomads. The most widespread spurs with two fastener hooks are characteristic of the world of the Balts and Slavs (Perkhavko 1978). Spurs are also well known in the Roman-Germanic West (Rettner 1997; Schlemmer 2004). Spurs with hooks in the eastern part of the *barbaricum* already existed in Roman times. At that time they were known both in Eastern Europe’s forest belt and more to the south, in Chernyakhov Culture (Perkhavko 1978, p.122; Kazanski 1994, pp.434 and 435).

A spur with a flat cross-section base and the ends bent outward was discovered in the Dorohi barrow field, in barrow 4, grave 1 (Fig. 7.1; Appendix, 3). This spur belongs to the Perkhavo V-a type with a slightly curved base. Parallels with this type are known in Baltic cultures, of which can be mentioned Minghen grave 1 (Gaerte 1929, Abb. 243:d), the isolated spur found in Sauginiai (Fig. 7.3) (Merkevičius 1984, p.21, Fig. 2), and the spur found in the Saukas muiža cemetery (Fig. 7.2) (Moora 1929, Taf. 32.6; Latvijas PSR Arheoloģija 1974, Plate 31.3). The kind of spur found in the Kentskalns fortified settlement (Stubavs 1976, Table 11.11) also speaks of their diffusion among certain Baltic Finno-Ugric groups³. On the other hand, similar spurs are found further east in Tushmelya culture sites, for example Nikodimovo (Sedin 1992, Fig. 2.3, 4), Nekasetsk (Perkhavko 1978, p.122), and Gorodishche (Mitrofanov 1978, Fig. 54.6; Zviaruga 2005, Fig. 61.18).

Among the Slavs, spurs with ends bent outward spread in Kolochin Culture, ie, in the northern Slavic diffusion periphery: Taimanova, Chaplin (Perkhavko 1978, p.122; Kazanski 1999, II.14). Among representatives of both the Slavs and Tushmelya Culture, whose ethnic affiliation is unclear (Balts? Slavs? Balto-Slavs?)

³ This site is ascribed to the Lyvs. All the same, the popular association among colleagues of archaeological sites dated to the period of Roman influence and Early Middle Ages with historical Baltic and Finno-Ugric tribes like the Lyvs, Lettigallians, Semigallians, Samogitians, Upland Lithuanians, Prussians, and others, known only from tenth-eleventh century sources, I think, is unsubstantiated. That is equivalent to reasoning about Middle Age ethnic groups as French, Polish or Russian in the first-seventh centuries.

(Kazanski 1999c, p.125ff.; Shchukin *et al.* 2006, p.57), most likely these spurs spread as a consequence of contact with West and East Balts. I know of two indisputable metal shield bosses belonging to the Migration Period in the forest belt east of the Baltic. One of them was found in the Dolozhskii pogost barrow field in barrow 45, in Long Barrow Culture territory (Fig. 5.2; Appendix, 1), the other near the River Moskva in the Djakovo-type Lukovnia hill-fort (Akhmedov, Kazanski 2004, Fig. 5.8).

The shield boss from Dolozhskii pogost has narrow edges and a cylindrical rise ending in a conical top with an expressive protuberance. By these features, it can be ascribed to the Liebenau-type (Zieling E2) (Kazanski 1994, pp.445, 446). In the Migration Period, this shield boss type was widely used both by Germanic and the Roman armies. The Liebenau-type shield boss is found along the southern and eastern shores of the Baltic rather rarely (Kazanski 1987, Annexe 4). The finds from Glowiss/Glowczyce in Pomerania (Machaeowski 1992, Fig. 3.8), Stragnus in West Lithuania (Kazakevičius 1988, Fig. 48.4), and Lääne-Nigula Kirimäe in West Estonia (Tallgren 1925, Abb. 20; 21) can be mentioned. Slightly more shield bosses are in southwest Finland, where they appeared in the fifth century (Pihlman 1990, pp.296 and 297, Bild. 21.6, 25; Kazanski 1987, Annexe 4, n°, 32-40). Several Liebenau-type shield bosses ascribed to the Migration Period were recently discovered in the central Danube (Ivanišević *et al.* 2006, p.42).

As previously mentioned (Kazanski 1991), the “pearl” decor on the edge of the Dolozhskii pogost shield boss (Fig. 5.2) has analogues with almost exclusively Baltic shield bosses from Lithuania and Byelorussia. The shield bosses from Tchernaya Luzha, Grigiškės, Krikštonys, Taurapilis, Pamūšis, Versekėlė, Vyžiai barrow cemeteries (Kazanski 1991, Figs. 4-6; 1999, p.409; 2000a, p.204; Kargopol’tsev, Shchukin 2002, Fig. 6; 2006, Fig. 8), Zaslavir’, and Karobki (Zviaruga 2005, Figs. 30.2 and 44.2) can be mentioned as examples. Thus, the mentioned shield boss from Dolozhskii pogost has long been ascribed as Baltic (Kazanski 1991). The decor mentioned is of visibly Germanic origin, since its “prototypes” from the period of Roman influence are affixed on shield bosses of Scandinavian bog finds (Raddatz 1987, Taf. 22.5, 79). Nonetheless, this decor did not visibly become established in Scandinavia, at least I know nothing of them during the Migration Period.

In speaking of “western” riding horse bridle elements, it is imperative to mention riding bits with a three-jointed mouthpiece. They were discovered in the Iur’evskaya Gorka settlement (Appendix 5) and Dolozhskii pogost

V

THE ROLE
OF WEAPONS
AND
WEAPONRY
IN POLITICAL
AND
MILITARY
LEADERSHIP

hill-fort 45 (Fig. 5.3; Appendix 1). Similar bridle bits were also discovered in the Tushemlya-type hill-forts in Bliznaki in the upper Dnieper, in the Smolensk region (Shmidt 1995, Fig. 1.22), and at Demidovka (Shmidt 1989, Fig. 6). This riding bit is treated as a Baltic one (Kargopo'tsev 1994, p.76). The Balts already truly knew of riding bits with a three-jointed mouthpiece in the period of Roman influence; such riding bits were widespread in the Migration Period (Kazanski 1999, p.410)⁴. Bridle bits reached Gotland, Sweden (northern Sweden), and Finland in the fifth to sixth centuries. Bridle bits with a three-jointed mouthpiece have been discovered in several graves of the Migration Period in Finland (eg, Maalahti-Junkaisbrännan, Kaaria-Ristimäki; Hackman 1905, Abb. 15.2; Kivikoski 1973, Taf. 42.387, 70.632). Nevertheless, their chronology could be broader than the Migration Period, since such bridle bits are associated with the last quarter of the sixth century in the Alemannic Klepsau burial site (Koch 1999, pp.189-191, Abb. 11a). In Karelia, riding bits with a three-jointed mouthpiece are found even later, in Viking times (Kazanski 1999, p.410). Cruciform bridle mountings were discovered in barrow 25 of the Shikhino cemetery (Fig. 8.7; Appendix, 8) and by the upper River Mologa (Mal'm, Fekhner 1969, Fig. 6.6). Similar mountings are also known from the period of Roman influence as well as the Migration Period in the Baltic material of Prussia, Lithuania and the Suwałki region (Fig. 8.5). Examples are the finds from the Sz wajcaria barrow field barrows 2 and 32 (Antoniewicz *et al.* 1958, pl. 9.a; Antoniewicz 1963, Fig.1.i), Althof-Insterburg cemetery grave 135 (Gronau 1939, Taf. 7; Nowakowski 1996, Taf. 104), Greibau cemetery grave 207 (Nowakowski 1996, Taf. 60.4), Adlig Heydekrug cemetery (Nowakowski, Banytė-Rowell 2001, Fig. 3a,b), and Žviliai cemetery grave 47 (Vaitkunskienė 1989, Fig. 7).

Cruciform mountings are less frequently found among the Baltic Finno-Ugrians in Latvian and Estonian territory. They are known to me from Mantas-Kalns (Mantas-Kalniņš, Jēkabpils district) (Aspelin 1884, p.344, Fig. 1872) and from Kohtla-Jarve, *tarand* 2 (Shmidekhel'm 1955, Fig. 33.4). Discussion in this case would probably concern the Baltic elements' penetration into Finno-Ugric culture.

In the mentioned barrow 25 of the Shikhino barrow field, a horse comb (Fig. 8.4; Appendix, 8), or, in the opinion of Lithuanian colleagues, an instrument to work wood (Kazakevičius 1993, pp.71 and 72, fig. 126) was found. Such accessories are known in Russia's forest belt (Kliuchnikova, Matveeva 1985, Fig. 14); how-

⁴ The riding bits found in the Prudniki settlement (Shadyro 2001, Fig. 8.1) must be added to the list published in 1999.

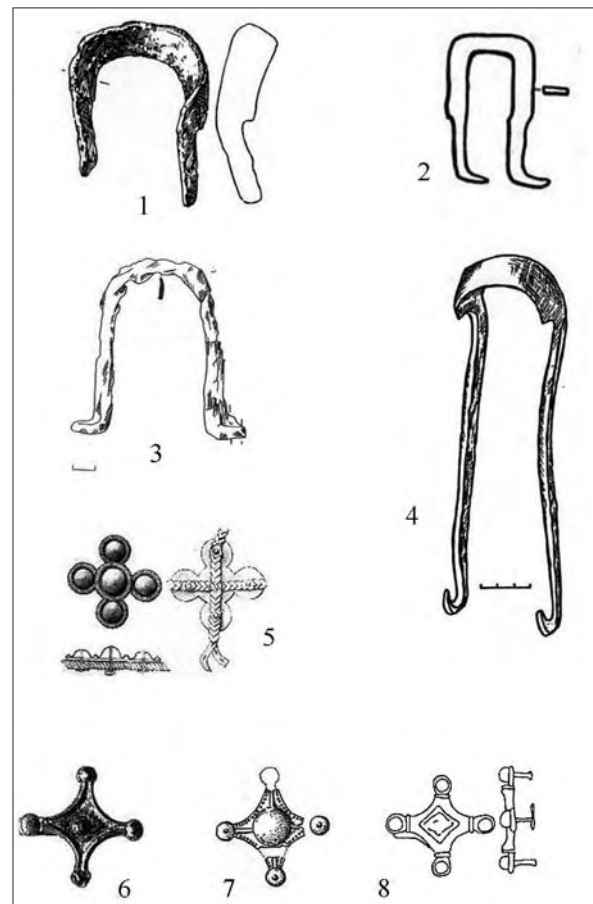


Fig. 8. Baltic-type riding horse girth parts found in the Long Barrow Culture zone (4, 7) and their Baltic analogues (1–3, 5, 6, 8): 1 Mazkatuži Rucava (after *Latvijas PSR Arheoloģija*, 1974); 2 Veršvai (after Rozenfel'd 1982); 3 Hünenberg/Gora Velikanov (after Tiurin 2006); 4, 7 Shikhino, barrow 25 (Appendix, 8); 5 Sz wajcaria (after W. Antoniewicz *et al.* 1958); 6 Althof-Insterburg (after W. Nowakowski 1996); 8 Adlig-Heydekrug (after Nowakowski, Banytė-Rowell 2001).

ever, in my opinion, they could not occur in a burial context. Nevertheless, these “combs” have analogues with Baltic graves in the period of Roman influence and the Migration Period (Fig. 7.1–3). For example, they were discovered in Prussia, in the Eisliethen cemetery, grave 17 (Nowakowski 1996, Taf. 53.13); in the Hünenberg/Gora Velikanov cemetery, grave 11 (Tiurin 2006, Fig. 2.5), grave 144 (Kulakov 1994, Fig. 2.C.3), and grave 260 (Kulakov, Tiurin 2005, Fig. 9.10); in Kleinhede in grave 8c (Kulakov, Skvortsov 2000, Fig. 2.4); in Lithuania in the Lazdijai region in Rudamina (Antoniewicz 1920, Table 6.4); Plinkaigalis grave 232 (Kazakevičius 1993, p.57, Fig. 4.), and Veršvai (Rozenfel'd 1982, Fig. 35.14); and in Latvia in Mazkatuži/Rucava (*Latvijas PSR Arheoloģija* 1974, Plate 27.9). Not counting Russian forest belt sites, beyond the boundaries of the Baltic world, such an artefact is also known to me from Finland (Köyliö-Kjuloholm; Kivikoski 1973, Taf. 69.622).

It is probable that a considerable part of “Western” armament reached the Russian forest belt together with émigrés from western and Eastern Baltic territory (Kazanski 1999). The artefacts from the Dolozhskii pogost (Fig. 5.1-3) and Shikhino (Fig. 8.4, 7) burials are informative in this regard. The armament collection from Dolozhskii pogost’s barrow 45 – a spearhead, shield boss with characteristic “Baltic” decor (a pearl decor on the umbo’s border), and a bridle bit – is identical to the ones found in Suwałki group barrows in the period of Roman influence (Osowa’s barrows 41 and 71, Szwajcaria’s barrow 2). Such burial complexes are also rarely found beyond the borders of the Baltic world (Kazanski 1999, p.411; 2000a, p.205).

The riding horse gear found in barrow 25 in the Shikhino barrow field is characteristic of the western Balts from the Sambian peninsula and Suwałki region. It could be said that these two burials are most likely associated with émigrés from a Western Baltic environment. It should be noted that warrior elite burials clearly begin to distinguish themselves in the Western and Eastern Baltic burial traditions precisely during the Migration Period (Vaitkunskienė 1995; 2003; Kulakov 2003, p.204f.; 2005, p.54, 63 and 64).

The relationship of Long Barrow Culture with the Baltic circle cultures

Long Barrow Culture’s relation with Baltic material, ie, with the East Lithuanian Barrow Culture, has been accented more than once. In both cases, a lengthened form of the barrow’s mound is seen, and remains from the cremation’s fire at the base of the barrow are observed (Tautavičius 1959, pp.144 and 145; 1980; Konetskii 1997, p.221). Sedov also drew attention to the similarity of certain long barrows to the burials of the Suwałki group. Stone constructions have been discovered in the long barrows of Severik, Lositsy, Loozi, Verepkovo and Vybuty (Sedov 1995, p.216). Similar stone constructions have also been discovered in barrows with cremations in Suwałki Culture (Jaskanis, Okulicz 1981, p.241; Sedov 1987, p.415). Finally, Sedov discovered the remains of cremated humans and riding horse bones in the Lindora, Zherebiatino and Shikhino barrows. In his opinion, the burial of the riding horse is also a Baltic custom, well known in Lithuania and the Suwałki region (Sedov 1974, p.25).

There are also Baltic elements in Long Barrow Culture’s women’s apparel. The spiral temple ornaments found in the Kazikha, Lezgi and Rep’i barrows are traced to East Lithuania (Sedov 1995, pp.218-229). Beads strung into spiral temple ornaments were discovered in the Berezno, Rysna-Saare II and Bereztsy

VI cemeteries (Aun 1992, Fig. 51.8, .9; Kuz’min 2003, Figs. 1.14, 2.1, 7). These ornaments are of eastern Germanic origin, since temple ornaments dated to the period of Roman influence were discovered in abundance in Wielbark and Chernyakhov Culture sites (Kazanski, Mastykova 2003, p.166). Such temple ornaments could have reached Long Barrow Culture representatives while making contact with the Western Balts, since such finds also occur in the Suwałki group’s Netta cemetery barrow 7 (Okulicz 1955, Table 38.1).

Baltic neck-rings with a saddle-shaped clasp were found in the Iur’evskaya Gorka settlement (Islanova 1997, Fig. 76.22) and in the Shikhino barrow field, in barrow 30 (Mal’m, Fekhner 1969, Fig. 4.2; Islanova 2006, fig. 101.B.3). Such neck-rings are rarely discovered in territories east of the Baltic. The neck-ring from Viazov-enka, Tushemlya Culture (Shmidt 1994, Fig. 5.5), and the cache from Uz’mina-Gorka, Gdov district, could be mentioned (Tallgren 1938, p.12, Abb. 15; Korzuhina 1954, Table 3). However, neck-rings with a saddle-shaped clasp are well known in territories inhabited by the Balts and Baltic Finno-Ugrians. This type of neck-ring, as evidenced by the one found in Plinkaigalis cemetery grave 45 in Lithuania (Kazakevičius 1993, pp.97 and 145; Figs. 1, 3), just as the Dollkeim-Kovrovo type Lithuanian variant pair of fibulae [in Lithuanian historiography, these fibulae are called crossbow fibulae with a cruciform foot – editor’s note], already existed in the sixth century (Kazakevičius 1993, p.111ff., Fig. 179; Bitner-Wróblewska 2001, p.48ff.). In the southeastern Baltic, these fibulae are dated to the E period, ie, the sixth and seventh centuries. However, in Alt-Kossewen/Kosewo⁵, in a cemetery of the Olsztyn group, such a fibula was discovered in burial 308 together with a buckle in the shape of an eagle’s head, characteristic of the second quarter of the sixth century and typical of the Gepids (Kulakov 1989, Fig. 20.3). Other similar neck-rings found are usually dated to the seventh or eighth centuries, although a substantiated argumentation is lacking for such dating, as, for example, for the neck-ring from Seredžius (Urbanavičius 1987) or the caches in Latvian territory (Urtāns 1977, N° 30, Fig. 62.3; N° 33, Fig. 65.1; N° 34, Fig. 66.3; N° 35, att. 67.1,2,4,5). The neck-ring with a saddle-shaped clasp found in the Sudata-1 barrow field, in barrow 5 (Kaczyński 1963, Fig. 9), belonging to the Suwałki

⁵ This site is currently in Polish territory. In Polish and Russian archaeology, two names are used for sites from Prussian territory that fell into Russia’s composition: the old German name and the new Russian name, since this greatly eases work with prewar publications. However, for reasons I cannot understand, in some Polish works only Polish names are used for Prussian sites in Polish territory. In this work, when it is possible, I shall try to present both the German and the Polish names of sites in Polish territory.

Culture group (Sudovian Culture variant), also needs to be mentioned; a shield boss from a rather early period was also discovered here.

Small bells [bells from a bronze sheet, a decorative element of east Baltic women, usually terminated with variously ornamented chains – editor's Note] with broad edges were found in the Arniko barrow (Sedov 1974, Table 23.35) and in the Rysna-Saare barrow field's barrow 1 (Aun 1992, Fig. 51.1-6), as well as in Zapol'e-1 (Platonova 1996, p.11). Such little bells are well known in the Baltic Early Middle Ages context (Zasvir': Zviaruga 2005, Fig. 31.11; Laizānu: Latvijas PSR Arheoloģija 1974, 84 Fig.; Sedov 1987, Table 106.20; Kiviti: Latvijas PSR Arheoloģija 1974, Plate 42.22; Grīgiškės barrow 4: Kuncienė 1983, Fig. 10; Sudata first barrowfield barrow 10: Kaciński 1963, Fig.18). Little bells are more rarely found among the Finno-Ugrians (Kentskalns: Stubavs 1976, tab. 4.9; D'iakovo: Krenke 1983; Uskela-Palomäki: Kivikoski 1973, Taf. 33.273) and in Tushemlya Culture (Mikol'tsy: Zviaruga 2005, Fig. 69.3).

Headbands characteristic of East Baltic women's head ornaments, comprised of metal plates and spirals, are well known in Long Barrow Culture burials: in Volodi, Gorodnia, Berežno, Rep'i, Polibino, Kvasil'nikovo, Liubakhin, Podol-1, Iur'evskaya Gorka. Metal headbands have analogues with East Lithuania and the nearby Byelorussian regions (Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė 1986, p.158; eg, the Pamūšis barrows: Kuncienė 1973, Fig. 5.4, 5; Lyntupy: Pokrovskii 1897, Table 9.5, 6). At the same time, we need to remember that the diffusion territory of headbands is wider than the Baltic geographical range and also includes sites in the Finno-Ugric forest belt (Tallgren 1925, Abb. 16; Tamla, Janits 1977, Abb. 1.12; Rozenfel'd 1982, Fig. 1.7; Voronina *et al.* 2005, Fig. 33.9; Myts *et al.* 2006, pp.156 and 157)⁶.

Baltic pins with similar terminals as neck-rings with a saddle-shaped clasp also are known in Long Barrow Culture. Such pins were discovered in Laossina, in barrow 11 (Aun 1992, Fig. 51.16) and in the Koloda settlement (Elena Michailova, personal communication). The same kind of pins are known from the Velikuškės hill-fort in Lithuania (Sedov 1987, Table 125.2) and from the Skērstaini cemetery in Latvia (Latvijas PSR Arheoloģija 1974, Plate 41.26). Such pins also reached the Baltic Finno-Ugrians, for example, Kentskalns (Stubavs 1976, Table 5.37-43), Ojaveski (Shmidekhel'm 1955, Fig. 36.3), and Kokemäki-Köönikänümüki

(Hackman 1905, N° 29. Abb. 5, 9; Kivikoski 1973, Taf. 36.249; Pernyö-Päärvis: Kivikoski 1973, Taf. 47.439). However, such pins there are considered East Baltic finds, or, more precisely, a type of ornament that arrived from Latvia (Kivikoski 1973, p.66).

Several remarks on the formation of Long Barrow Culture

Thus, alongside the Slavs and Finno-Ugrians, Baltic input in the formation of Long Barrow Culture is, to my mind, obvious. Apparently, "Western" armament reached Russia's forest belt with some Western or Eastern Baltic groups. In my opinion, the material analyzed verifies the assumption made earlier that in the Migration Period, in the fifth to seventh centuries, some kind of militarized groups of people from the Germanic surroundings of the central Danube, as well as Slavic and Baltic groups penetrated Eastern Europe's forest belt (Kazanski 1999b; 2000, 2000a; Akhmedov, Kazanski 2004). This movement was summoned by the destabilization of the military-political situation in the central Danube, during the establishment, and, somewhat later, the fall, of the Hun state, as well as the eastern Germanic kingdoms' formation in this region.

The comparatively not numerous, but strictly very militarily organized groups of various tribes left the region of the central Danube and began migrating in various directions to the very southern part of Scandinavia, as is evidenced by the famous reference of Procopius of Caesarea about the Heruls and their migration into southwest Sweden, the *Gautoi/Gauthigothi* (Procopie, *Bel.Got.*, II.15; *Gauthigothi* localization: Svennung 1967, pp.65-78, Figs. 4; 5) tribe's territory. Other groups probably advanced northeast, since the Danube elements in Prussia's and Lithuania's archaeological material are accented in the works of various researchers more than once (Werner 1977; Kulakov 1989, p.174; Kazakevičius 1993, pp.113 and 114; Nowakowski 2000). From here, along the rivers of the East Baltic basin, Central Europe's warriors, together with Baltic groups going in the same direction, could have reached Russia's and Byelorussia's forest belt.

The beginning of the Slavic expansion from along the Dnieper and along the Dniester to the south towards the Danube is recorded at practically the same time, but not later than the boundary of the fifth and sixth centuries. The culmination of the early period of this expansion was the horrible assaults of the *Sclaveni* in the Balkans in 540–550 (Kazanski 1999c, p.67). It is logical to assume that Slavic migration could have affected not only the Balkans and central Danube, but also the more northern territories inhabited by related

⁶ Currently such headbands have even been found very far from the forest belt sites, in the Late Period of Roman influence in the Germanic barrow field Chatyr-Dag, along the southern Crimean shore (Myts *et al.* 2006, Fig. 13.1, 2, 6, 7, 11, 12).

Slavic and Balto-Slavic tribes. By the way, fifth-century crossbow fibulae found in Lithuania are similar to Slavic fibulae from Prague Culture (east of the Carpathians) (Gavritukhin 1989, pp.78-85). The appearance of militarized “southern” and “western” groups of people aggravated the military situation in Eastern Europe’s forest belt sites, but in the end, due to rather few migrants, their influence is insignificantly reflected in the forest inhabitants’ ethnocultural history.

Translated by Indrė Antanaitis-Jacobs

Appendix

Armament, elements of horsemen’s accoutrements, and riding gear components of the fifth to seventh centuries discovered in Long Barrow Culture sites

1. Dolozhskii pogost, barrow 45: spearhead with pronounced midrib (Fig. 5.1); Liebenau-type shield boss (Fig. 5.2), bridle bit with three-jointed mouthpiece (Fig. 5.3).

Reference: Spitsyn 1896, pp.5 and 109, Tables 18.7, 16, 28.

2. Dorohi-1, barrow 1: snaffle with looped segments (Fig. 6.3).

Reference: Shtykhau 1992, Fig. 17.1.

3. Dorohi-4, barrow 1: spur (Fig. 7.1).

Reference: Shtykhau 1992, Fig. 17.6.

4. Iur’evskaya Gorka, grave 5: socketed spearhead with barbs (Fig. 4.2).

Reference: Islanova 1997, Fig. 84.2.

5. Iur’evskaya Gorka, settlement: hafted lanceolate arrowhead (Fig. 6.8); segments of two riding bits (Fig. 7.4, 5); small maille fragment (Fig. 6.7); two axe fragments (Fig. 6.12, .13).

Reference: Islanova 1997, Figs. 77.21; 78.2; 79.8, 9, 11, 14.

6. Loozi, barrow 6: axe fragment.

Reference: Sedov 1974, Table 27.14 (first identified by Michailova).

7. Puiga, barrow 20: rectangular girth buckle (Fig. 6.6).

Reference: Mal’m, Fekner 1969, Fig. 5.2.

8. Shikhino, barrow 25: cruciform bridle mounting (Fig. 8.7); horse comb (?) (Fig. 8.4).

Reference: Mal’m, Fekner 1969, Figs. 5.6, 6.4; Islanova 2006, Fig. 100. 7, 8.

9. Suure-Rysna, barrow 9: socketed spearhead with barbs (Fig. 4.1).

Reference: Aun 1992, Fig. 53.

10. Zalakhtov’e, barrow 154/10: snaffle with looped terminals (Fig. 6.1); jointed girth buckle (Fig. 6.9).

Reference: Khvoshchinskaya 2004, Table 3.1, 3.

11. Zherebiatino, barrow 1: bridle bit segment (Fig. 6.2).

Reference: Sedov 1974, Table 28.4.

References

- AKHMEDOV, I.R., KAZANSKII, M.M., 2004. *Posle Attily. Kievskii klad i ego kul’turno-istoricheskii kontekst. Kul’turnye transformatsii i vzaimovlianiia v Dneprovskom regione na ishode rimskogo vremeni i v ran-nem srednevekov’e.* Sankt-Petersburg, 168-202.
- ALEKSANDROV, A.A., 1982. *Polusfericheskie kurgany s sozhzheniiami na Pskovshchine. Kratkie Soobshcheniia Instituta Arkheologii*, 171, 21-28.
- ANTONIEWICZ, W., 1920. Wykopaliska z kurhanu późno-rzymskiego we wsi Urdomin w pow. kalwaryjskim. *Prze-gład Archeologiczny*, 1/3-4, 141, 142.
- ANTONIEWICZ, J., 1963. Wyniki badań przeprowadzonych w latach 1958–1960 na cmentarzysku w miejscowości Szwajcaria, pow. Suwałki. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne*, 29, 166-192.
- ANTONIEWICZ, J., KACZYNSKI, M., OKULICZ, J., 1958. Wyniki badań przeprowadzonych w 1956 na cmentarzysku kurhanowym w miejscowości Szwajcaria, pow. Suwałki. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne*, 25, 22-57.
- ARWIDSSON, G., 1939. Armour of the Vendel Period. *Acta Archaeologica* 10, 31-59.
- ARWIDSSON, G., 1954. *Valsgårde 8. Die Gräberfunde von Valsgårde II* (Acta Musei Antiquitatum Septentrionalium Regiae Universitatis Upsaliensis IV). Uppsala-Stockholm-København.
- ASPELIN, J.R., 1884. *Antiquités du Nord finno-ougrien. V. L’Age du Fer. Antiquités des provinces baltiques.* Helsinki-Saint-Petersbourg-Paris.
- AUN, M., 1980. *Kurgannye mogil’niki Vostochnoi Estonii vo vtoroi polovine I tysiacheletii nashei ery.* Tallinn: Olion.
- AUN, M., 1992. *Arkheologicheskie pamiatniki vtoroi poloviny Igo tysiacheletii v Iugo-Vostochnoi Estonii.*Tallinn: Valgus.
- BELETSKII, S.V., 1996. *Nachalo Pskova* (Arkheologicheskie izyskaniya 30). Sankt-Petersbourg.
- BEREZOVETS, D.T., 1963. *Poselenija ulichei na r. Tiasmine. Slaviane nakanune obrazovaniia Kievskoi Rusi. Materialy i Issledovaniia po Arkheologii SSSR*, 108, Moskva, 145-208.
- BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA, A., 2001. *From Samland to Rogaland. East-West connections in the Baltic basin during the Early Migration Period.* Warszawa: Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne.
- BÓNA, I., 1976. *A l’aube du Moyen Age. Gépides et Lombards dans le bassin des Carpates.* Budapest: Corvina.
- BÓNA, I., NAGY, M., 2002. *Gepidische Gräberfelder am Theissgebiet I* (Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae 1). Budapest.

- BUROV, V.A., 1996. K probleme etnicheskoi prinadlezhnosti dlennykh kurganov. *Rossiiskaia Arheologija*, 1, 122-131.
- BUROV, V.A., 1996. K probleme etnicheskoi prinadlezhnosti nositelei kul'tury dlennykh kurganov (pskovsko-novgorodskaja grupa). *Tver'*, In: *Tverskaia zemlia i sopredelnye territorii v epohu srednevek'ia* 1, 6-10.
- GAERTE, W., 1929. *Urgeschichte Ostpreussens*. Königsberg i. Pr: Gräfe und Unzer.
- GAVRITUKHIN, I.O., 1989. Kodynskie fibuly (typy i nekotorye problemy interpretatsii). In: *Vakaru Baltu archeologija ir istorija*. Klaipėda, 78-85.
- GEISSLER, H., 1998. *Das frühbairische Gräberfeld Straubing-Bajuwarenstrasse I. Rahden/Westf.*
- GENING, V.F., 1995. Völkerwanderungszeitliche Kreigergräber aus Turaevo im Uralvorland. *Eurasia Antiqua*, 1, 265-325.
- GRONAU, W., 1939. Nadrauer Grabungen. *Zeitschrift der Altertumsgesellschaft Insterburg*, 22, 38-40.
- HACKMAN, A., 1905. *Die ältere Eisenzeit in Finnland*. Helsingfors.
- KHVOSHCHINSKAIA, N.V., 2004. *Finny na zapade Novgorodskoi zemli (po materialam mogil'nika Zalakhtov'e)* (Institut Istorii Materialnoi Kultury, Trudy 6). Sankt-Petersbourg.
- ILKJAER, J., 1990. *Illerup Ådal. 1. Die Lanzen und Speere*. Jutland Archaeological Society Publications 25. Aarhus.
- ISLANOVA, I.V., 1997. *Udomel'skoe Poozer'e v epohu zheleza i rannem srednevek'ie*. Moskva: Editorial URSS.
- ISLANOVA, I.V., 2006. *Verkhnee Pomost'e v rannem srednevek'ie*. Moskva: Institut Arheologii RAN.
- IVANIŠEVIĆ, V., KAZANSKI, M., MASTYKOVA, A., 2006. *Les nécropoles de Viminacium à l'époque des Grandes Migrations*. Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 22. Paris.
- JASKANIS, D., JASKANIS, J., 1961. *Sprawozdanie z badań w 1957 r. na cmentarzysku kurhanowym w miejsc. Osowa, pow. Suwałki*. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne*, 27, 27-48.
- JASKANIS, J., 1961. Wyniki badań przeprowadzonych na cmentarzysku kurhanowym w miejscowości Osowa, pow. Suwałki, w latach 1958-1959. *Rocznik Białostocki*, 1, 131-191.
- JASKANIS, J., OKULICZ, J., 1981. Kultura zachodniobałtyjska. *Prahistoria ziem polskich. V. Późny okres lateński i okres rzymski*. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk, 216-247.
- KACZYŃSKI, M., 1963. Materiały z cmentarzyska kurhanowego badanego w 1934 r. w miejscowości Sudata, pow. Święciany na Wileńszczyźnie. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne*, 29, 138-156.
- KARGOPOL'TSEV, S.IU., 1994. *Severo-Zapad Vostochnoi Evropy v sisteme obshcheevropeiskikh drevnostei III-VI vv.* Sankt-Petersbourg (PhD thesis, Sankt-Peterburg University).
- KARGOPOL'TSEV, S.IU., 1996. O nizhnei date pamiatnikov tipa Lindora-Polibino. In: *Ladoga i Severnaia Evropa*. Sankt-Petersbourg, 6-9.
- KARGOPOL'TSEV, S.IU., 1997. Severo-Zapad Vostochnoi Evropy III-VI vv. V kontekste obshcheevropeiskikh drevnostei (nekotorye problemy hronologii i vzaimosviazi). In: *Trudy VI Mezhdunarodnogo Kongressa slavianskoi arheologii. Tom 3. Etnogenez i etnukul'turnye kontakty slavian*. Moskva, 88-97.
- KARGOPOL'TSEV, S.IU., 1999. Dvushipnye nakonechniki drotikov kak indikator sinkhronizatsii drevnostei rimskogo i rannesrednevekovogo vremeni (k probleme hronologii Severo-Zapada-Vostochnoi Evropy). In: *Skandinavskie chteniia 1998 goda*. Sankt-Petersbourg, 29-35.
- KARGOPOL'TSEV, S.IU., SHCHUKIN, M.B., 2002. Novaia nahodka oruzhiia pozdnerimskogo vremeni na zapade Leningradskoi oblasti. *Staraiia Ladoga i problemy arheologii Severnoi Rusi*. Sankt-Petersbourg, 76-90.
- KARGOPOL'TSEV, S., SHCHUKIN, M., 2006. Nouvelles découvertes d'armes occidentales de l'époque romaine tardive en Russie du Nord-Ouest. *De l'Age du fer au haut Moyen Age. Archéologie funéraire, princes et élites guerrières*. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 288-294.
- KAZAKEVIČIUS, V., 1988. *Oruzhie baltiskih plemen II-VIII vv. na teritorii Litvy*. Vilnius: Mokslas.
- KAZAKEVIČIUS, V., 1993. Plinkaigalio kapinytas. *Lietuvos Archeologija*, f. 10, 3-181.
- KAZAKEVIČIUS, V., 2004. *Geležies amžiaus strėlės Lietuvoje (II-XII-XIII amžius)*. Vilnius: Lietuvos Istorijos Institutas.
- KAZANSKI, M., 1987. Quelques parallèles entre l'armement en Occident et à Byzance (IVe-VIIe s.). In: *Gaule mérovingienne et monde méditerranéen. Les derniers Romains en Septimanie, IVe-VIIIe siècles*. Lattes, 75-87.
- KAZANSKI, M., 1991. Quelques objets baltes trouvés en Gaule datés entre la fin du IVe siècle et le VIIIe siècle. A propos des contacts entre l'Occident et le rivage oriental de la mer Baltique. *Archéologie Médiévale*, 21, 1-20.
- KAZANSKI, M., 1994. Les éperons, les umbo, les manipules de boucliers et les haches de l'époque romaine tardive dans la région pontique: origine et diffusion. In: C. von CARNAP-BORNHEIM, ed. *Beiträge zur römischer und barbarischer Bewaffnung in der ersten vier nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten*. Lublin-Marburg, 429-485.
- KAZANSKI, M., 1999. L'armement slave du haut Moyen-Age (Ve-VIIe siècles). A propos des chefs militaires et des guerriers professionnels chez les anciens Slaves. *Přehled vyzkumu*. Brno, 39, 197-236.
- KAZANSKI, M., 1999a. Les tombes des chefs militaires de l'époque hunnique. In: *Germanen beiderseits des spätantiken Limes*. Brno-Cologne, 293-316.
- KAZANSKI, M.M., 1999b. O baltakh v lesnoi zone Rossii v epohu Velikogo pereseleniia narodov. *Arkheologicheskoe Vesti*, 6, 404-419.
- KAZANSKI, M., 1999c. *Les Slaves. Les origines, Ier-VIIIe siècle après J.-C.* Paris: Errance.
- KAZANSKI, M., 2000. Les Slaves dans la zone forestière d'Europe orientale au début du Moyen Age. In: *Les Centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient*. Paris, 17-44.
- KAZANSKI, M., 2000a. Les armes baltes et occidentales dans la zone forestière de l'Europe orientale à l'époque des Grandes Migrations. *Archaeologia Baltica*, 4, 199-212.
- KAZANSKI, M., 2000b. La zone forestière de la Russie et l'Europe centrale à la fin de l'époque des Grandes Migrations. In: *Die spätrömische Kaiserzeit und die frühe Völkerwanderungszeit in Mittel- und Osteuropa*. Łódź, 406-459.
- KAZANSKI, M., 2002. *La nécropole gallo-romaine et mérovingienne de Breny (Aisne). D'après les collections et les archives du Musée des Antiquités Nationales* (Europe médiévale 4). Montagnac.
- KAZANSKI, M., MASTYKOVA, A., 2003. Les éléments germaniques dans la civilisation de la population du Caucase du Nord à l'époque des grandes migrations. In: C. von CARNAP-BORNHEIM, ed. *Kontakt-Kooperation-Konflikt. Germanen und Sarmaten zwischen dem 1. und 4. Jahrhundert nach Christus*. Neumünster, 135-176.

- KESSLER, A., 1940. Merowingisches Fürstengrab von Plänig im Rheinhessen. *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, 35, 1-12.
- KIVIKOSKI, E., 1973. *Die Eisenzeit Finnlands. Bildwerk und Text*. Helsinki: Oy Wellin + GööS AB.
- KLIUCHNIKOVA, R., MATVEEVA, G., 1985. Selishche Osh-Pando-Ner'. *Drevnosti Srednego Povoilzh'ia*. Kuibyshev, 131-155.
- KOCH, U., 1999. Nordeuropäisches Fundmaterial in Gräbern Süddeutschlands rechts des Rheins. In: *Völker an Nord- und Ostsee und die Franken*. Bonn, 175-194.
- KOCH, U., 2001. *Das alamannisch-fränkische Gräberfeld bei Pleidelsheim (Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 60)*. Stuttgart.
- KONETSKII, V.I.A., 1997. K voprosu o formirovanii kul'tury dlinnykh kurganov. *Novgorod i Novgorodskaia zemlia. Istoriia i Arheologija*, 11, 213-225.
- KORZUKHINA, G.F., 1954. *Russkie klady IX-XIII vv.* Moskva-Leningrad.
- KRENKE, N.A., 1983. *Raboty na territorii okhrannoi zony zapovednika «Kolomenskoe»*. In: *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiya 1981 goda*. Moskva, 65-66.
- KULAKOV, V.I., 1989. Mogil'niki zapadnoi chasti Mazurskogo Poozer'ia konca V-VIII vv. (po materialam raskopok 1878-1938 gg.). *Barbaricum*, 1, 148-275.
- KULAKOV, V.I., 1994. «Gora Velikanov». *Raskopki 1992 g. Barbaricum*, 3, 47-61.
- KULAKOV, V.I., 2003. *Istoriia Prussii do 1283 goda* (Prussia Antiqua 1). Moskva.
- KULAKOV, V.I., 2005. *The Amber Lands in the Time of the Roman Empire*. BAR International Series, 1354. Oxford.
- KULAKOV, V.I., SKVORTSOV, K.N., 2000. Boevye klinki iz Kleinheide. *Gistarychna-Arhealagichny Zbornik*, 15, 40-52.
- KULAKOV, V.I., TIURIN, E.A., 2005. *Kompleksy V veka n.e. s mogil'nika «Gora Velikanov»*. *Rossiiskaia Arheologija*, 2, 115-131.
- KULIKAUSKAS, P., KULIKAUSKENE, R., TAUTAVIČUS, A., 1961. *Lietuvos archeologijos bruožai*. Vilnius: Valstybinė politinės ir mokslinės literatūros leidykla.
- KUNCIENĖ, O., 1973. *Pamuisio (Vārēnos raj.) pilkapijai (2. Radiniai)*. *Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademijos darbai. A serija*, 2(43), 103-123.
- KUNCIENĖ, O., 1983. *Grigiškių (Neravų, Traku raj.) pilkapyno radiniai 2. Papuošalai*. *Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademijos darbai. A serija*, 1(82), 49-60.
- KUZ'MIN, S.L., 2003. Nekotorye itogi izucheniia kul'tury pskovskih dlinnykh kurganov (po materialam pamiatnikov v basseine Lugi i Pliussy). In: *Drevnosti Podvin'ja: istoricheskii aspekt*. St Petersburg, 220-232.
- Latvijas PSR Arheoloģija*. 1974. Rīga: Zinātne.
- LEONT'EV, A.E., 1996. *Arheologija meri*. *Arheologija epohi velikogo pereseleniya narodov I rannego srednevekoviya 4*. Moskva.
- LOPATIN, N.V., 2004. *Novye dannye o predistorii Izborska*. In: *Vostochnaia Evropa v srednevekov'e*. Moskva, 200-206.
- LOPATIN, N.V., 2006. Osnovnye koncepcii zaselenija slavianami Severo-Zapada Russkoi ravniny. In: *Arheologija Pskova i Pskovskoi zemli. Materialy seminar, posviashchennogo pamiati akademika V.V. Sedova*. Pskov, 333-341.
- LOPATIN, N.V., FURAS'EV, A.G., 1995. O roli pamiatnikov III-V vv. n.e. v formirovanii kultur pskovskih dlinnykh kurganov i Tushemli-Bantserovshchiny. *Peterburgskii Arkheologicheskii Vestnik*, 9, 136-141.
- MACHAJEWSKI, H., 1992. Skandynawskie elementy kulturowe na Pomorzu zachodnim z okresu wędrówek ludów (2 połowa IV w. – początek VI w.). *Przegląd Archeologiczny*, 40, 71-96.
- MAL'M, V.A., FEKHNER, M.V., 1969. Ob etnicheskom sostave naseleniia Verhnego Povolzh'ia vo 2oi polovine I tysiacheletii n.e. In: *Ekspedicii Gosudarstvennogo Isotricheskogo Muzeia*. Moskva, 159-192.
- MALONAITIS, A., 2005. Geležiniai pleišto pavidalo kirviai Lietuvoje. *Lietuvos Archeologija*, 27, 23-28.
- MANDEL, M., 1976. *Ausgrabungen einer Steinsetzung in Lihula*. *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Estonskoi SSR*, 25/1, 56-58.
- MERKEVIČIUS, A., 1984. Sauginių plokštinių kapinynas. *Lietuvos Archeologija*, 3, 41-63.
- MITROFANOV, A.G., 1978. *Zheleznyi vek Srednei Belorusii*. Minsk: Nauka i tehnika.
- MOORA, H., 1929. *Die Eisenzeit in Lettland bis etwa 500 N. Chr. I Teil: Die Funde* (Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi Toimetused XXV). Tartu-Dorpat.
- MOORA, H., 1938. *Die Eisenzeit in Lettland bis etwa 500 N. Chr. II. Teil: Analyse* (Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi Toimetused XXIX). Tartu.
- MYTS, V.L., LYSENKO, A.V., SHCHUKIN, M.B., SHAROV, O.V., 2006. *Chatyr-Dag – nekropol' rimskoi epohi v Krymu*. Sankt-Petersburg: Nestor-Istoriya.
- NAGY, M., SZÖREG-TÉGLAGYÁR., 2005. *Gepidische Gräberfelder am Theissgebiet II* (Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae 2). Budapest, 120-202.
- NEUFFER, E.M., 1972. *Der Reihengräberfriedhof von Donzdorf (Kreis Göppingen)* (Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 2). Stuttgart.
- NOWAKOWSKI, W., 1996. *Das Samland in der römischen Kaiserzeit und seine Verbindungen mit dem römischen Reich und der barbarischen Welt* (Veröffentlichung des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars Marburg Sonderband 10). Marburg-Warszawa.
- NOWAKOWSKI, W., 2000. Die Olsztyn-Gruppe (Masurgermanische Kultur) in der Völkerwanderungszeit. Das Problem ihrer chronologischen und territorialen Grenzen. *Die spätrömische Kaiserzeit und die frühe Völkerwanderungszeit in Mittel- und Osteuropa*. Łódź, 168-180.
- NOWAKOWSKI, W., BANYTĖ-ROWELL, R., 2001. Ein kaiserzeitliches Grab mit einer Brustkette aus Aldigheydekrug (Šilutės Dvaras) im Lichte der Archivalien aus dem Nachlass von Herbert Jankuhn. *Lietuvos Archeologija* 21, 121-128.
- OEXLE, J., 1992. *Studien zu merowingerzeitlichen Pferdgeschirr am Beispiel der Trensen*. Mainz.
- OKULICZ, J., 1955. Cmentarzysko z III-V w. nasoj ery z miejscowości Netta pow. Augustów. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne*, 22, 284-303.
- L'Or des princes barbares. Du Caucase à la Gaule, Ve siècle après J.-C.*, 2000. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux.
- OSTANINA, T.I., 1997. *Naselenie Srednego Prikam'ia v III-V vv.* Izhevsk: Udmurtskii Institut Istorii, Yazyka i Literatury.
- PERKHAVKO, V.B., 1978. Poiavlenie i rasprostranenie shpor na territorii Vostochnoi Evropy. *Sovetskaya Arheologiya*, 3, 113-126.
- PIHLMAN, S., 1990. *Kansainvellus- ja varhaismerovinkiajan aseet suomessa (Iskos 10)*. Helsinki.
- PLATONOVA, N.I., 1996. O «belykh piatnakh» na arkheologicheskoi karte i novom tipe pamiatnikov tretiei chetverti I tys.n.e. na Severo-Zapade. In: *Ladoga i Severnaia Rus'*. St Petersburg, 9-12.

- POKROVSKII, V.F., 1897, K issledovaniu kurganov i gorodish na vostochnoi okraine sovremennoi Litvy. In: *Trudy IX Arkheologicheskogo s'ezda*, t. 2. Moskva, 138-196.
- POLESSKIKH, M.R., 1968. Boevoe oruzhie i snariazhenie iz mogil'nikov armievskogo tipa. *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, 3, 198-207.
- QUAST, D., 2006. *Die frühalamannische und merowingerzeitliche Besiedlung im Umland des Runden Berges bei Urach* (Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 84). Stuttgart.
- RADDATZ, K., 1987. *Der Thorsberg Moorfund Katalog* (Offa-Bücher 65). Neumünster.
- RETTNER, A., 1997. Sporen der Älteren Merowingerzeit. *Germania*, 75/1, 133-157.
- ROZENFEL'D, I.G., 1982. *Drevnosti Volgo-Okskogo mezhdurech'ia v VI-IX vv.* Moskva: Nauka.
- SHADYRO, V.I., 2001. *Gorodishche i selishche Prudniki. Lietuvos Archeologija*, 21, 267-274.
- SCHACH-DÖRGES, H., 2004. *Das frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld bei Aldingen am mittleren Neckar* (Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 74). Stuttgart.
- SCHLEMMER, P., 2004. Der Bügelsporn der jüngeren Merowingerzeit. Überlegungen zu seiner Herkunft und zur Sitte der Sporenbeigabe auf alamannischem und bajuwarischem Stammesgebiet. *Hüben und drüben – Räume und Grenzen in der Archäologie des Frühmittelalters. Festschrift für Prof. Max Martin*. Liestal, 91-109.
- SCHNEIDER, J., 1983. Deersheim. Ein völkerwanderungszeitliches Gräberfeld im Nordharzvorland. *Jahresschrift für Mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte*, 66, 75-358.
- SEDIN, A.A., 1992. Rezul'taty issledovaniia gorodishcha Nikodimovo v vostochnoi Belorusi. In: *Nesel'nictva Belarusi i sumezhnyh teritorii u epohu zhalezha*. Minsk, 97-100.
- SEDOV, V.V., 1974. *Dlinnye kurgany krivichei* (Svod Arkheologicheskikh Istochnikov E1-8). Moskva.
- SEDOV, V.V., 1980. Ob etnicheskoi prinadlezhnosti pskovskih dlinnykh kurganov. *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Arheologii*, 166, 5-11.
- SEDOV, V.V., 1987. *Balty. Finno-ugry i balty v epohu srednevekov'ia*. Moskva, 353-456.
- SEDOV, V.V., 1995. *Slaviane v rannem srednevekov'ie*. Moskva: Institut Arheologii RAN.
- SHCHUKIN, M., KAZANSKI, M., SHAROV, O., 2006. *Des Goths aux Huns: Le Nord de la mer Noire au Bas-Empire et à l'époque des Grandes Migrations*. BAR International Series 1535. Oxford.
- SHMIDKHEL'M, M.X., 1955. *Arkheologicheskie pamiatniki perioda razlozheniia rodovogo stroia na Severo-Vostoke Estonii*. Tallinn: Estonskoe gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo.
- SHMIDT, E.A., 1976. *Arkheologicheskie pamiatniki Smolenskoj oblasti (s drevneishikh vremen do VIII veka n.e.* Smolensk: Smolenskoe Otdelenie Vserossiiskogo Obshchestva Ohrany Pamiatnikov Istorii i Kultury.
- SHMIDT, E.A., 1989. O zemledelii v verkhov'iax Dnepra vo vtoroi polovine I tys. n.e. In: *Drenvie slaviane i Kievskaja Rus'*. Kiev, 70-74.
- SHMIDT, E.A., 1995. Vooruzhenie i snariazhenie voinovsadnikov tushemlinskikh plemen Podneprov'ia. *Gistarichna-Arkealagichny Zbornik*, 6, 105-117.
- SPITSYN, A.A., 1896. Kurgany Sankt-Petersburgskoi gubernii v raskopkakh L.K. Ivanovskogo. In: *Materialy po Arheologii Rossii 20*. Sankt-Petersbourg.
- STUBAVS, A., 1976. *Ķentes pilskalns unapmetne*. Rīga: Zinātne.
- SHTYKHAU, G.B., 1992. *Kryvichi*. Minsk.
- SVENNUNG, J., 1967. Jordanes und Scandia. Kritisch-exegetische Studien. *Acta Societatis Litterarum Humaniorum Regiae Upsaliensis*, 44: 2A. Stockholm.
- TALLGREN, A.M., 1925. Zur Archäologie Eestis II. Von 500 bis etwa 1250 n. Chr. *Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Dorpatensis VIII. B.* Dorpat: C. Mattiesen.
- TALLGREN, A., 1938. The Prehistoria of Ingria. *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, 12, 79-108.
- TAMLA, T., JANITS, K., 1977. Das Gräberfeld und spätneolithische Siedlungsplatz von Paju. *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Estonskoi SSR*, 26/1, 64-76.
- TAUTAVICHIVS, A.Z., 1959. Vostochnolitovskie kurgany. In: *Voprosy etnicheskoi istorii narodov Pribaltiki po danym arkheologii, etnografii i antropologii*. Moskva, 128-153.
- TAUTAVICHIVS, A.Z., 1980. Baltskie plemena na territorii Litvy v I tysiacheletii n.e. In: *Iz drevneishei istorii baltских narodov*. Riga, 80-88.
- TEJRAL, J., 2005. Zur Unterscheidung des vorlangobardischen und elbgermanisch-lanogbardischen Nachlasses. *Die Langobarden. Herrschaft und Identität*. Wien, 103-200.
- TIURIN, E.A., 2006. Pogrebeniia V v. n.e. s koniami mogil'nika «Gora Velikanov» (Hünenberg). *Rossiiskaia Arheologija*, 1, 148-156.
- URBANAVICHIVS, V., 1987. Novye pamiatniki u pos. Serezhkus. In: *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1985 goda*. Moskva, 487, 488.
- URTANS, V., 1977. *Senākie depoziiti Latvija*. Riga.
- VAŠKEVIČIŪTĒ, I., 1987. Jauneikių (Joniškio raj.) V-XIa. Kapinynas (5. Rankų papuošalai, kiti radiniai). *Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademijos darbai. A serija*, 4(101), 71-81.
- VAITKUNSKIENĒ, L., 1989. **IVa. Lietuvos karys raitelis.** *Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademijos darbai. A serija*, 3(108), 55-68.
- VAITKUNSKIENĒ, L., 1995. The formation of a warrior elite during the Middle Iron Age in Lithuania. *Archaeologia Baltica*, 1, 94-106.
- Verkhnee Podenprovie i Podvinie v III-V vekah n.e. Materialy* (Ranneslavianskii mir 4). 2002. Moskva.
- VINOKUR, I., 1997. *Slov'ianski iuveliry Podnistorv'ia. Kam'ianec'-Podil'skii: Oium*.
- VOLKAITĒ-KULIKAUSKENĒ, R., 1986. Odezhdā litovtsev s drevneishikh vremen do XVII v. In: *Drevniaia odezhda narodov Vostochnoi Evropy*. Moskva, 146-171.
- VORONINA, R.F., ZELENTOVA, O.V., ENGOVATOVA, A.V., 2005. *Nikitinskii mogil'nik. Publikaciia materialov raskopok 1977-78 gg. Institut Arheologii RAN, Trudy Otdela Ohrannyh Raskopok*, 3. Moskva.
- WERNER, J., 1997. Der Grabfund von Taurapilis, Rayon Utna (Litauen) und die Verbindung der Balten zum Riech Theoderichs. *Archäologische Beiträge zur Chronologie der Völkerwanderungszeit*. Bonn, 87-92.
- ZASETSKAIA, I.P., 1994. *Kul'tura kochevnikov iuzhnorusskikh stepei v gunnskuu epohu (konec IV-V vv.)*. Sankt-Petersbourg: Ellips.
- ZVIARUGA, IA.G., 2005. Belaruskae Poville u zhaleznyh veku i rannim siaredneviakoui. *Materialy pa Arheologii Belarusi*, 10. Minsk.

Received: 16 November 2006; Revised: 7 June 2007

GINKLUOTĖ, RAITELIO EKIPUOTĖ IR ŽIRGO APRANGA ILGUJŲ PILKAPIŲ KULTŪROJE (V–VII A.)

Michel Kazanski

Santrauka

Šis darbas skirtas V–VII a. ginkluotei, raitelio ekipuotei ir žirgo aprangai ilgujų pilkapių kultūroje aptarti. Pagrindinį kovinių priemonių kompleksą šioje kultūroje sudaro ietys, įmoviniai ietigaliai su užbarzdomis (svaidomosios ietys), strėlės ir kirviai. Raitelio ekipuotės elementas yra pentinai, o žirgo aprangą sudaro: pakinktų sagtys, kamanos (žąslai ir kamanų apkalai). Taip pat randama pavienių ginkluotės elementų: skydų su metaliniu antskydžiu, apsauginių šarvinių dirbinių fragmentų. Toks ginkluotės rinkinys labai primena tiek gretimų miškų juostos, Tušėmlios-Bantcerovo, Djakovo ir Moščino kultūrų ginkluotę, tiek slavų V–VII a. kultūrų, tokių kaip Praha, Koločino ir Penkovka, ginkluotę. Nuo vakarinių kaimynų, t. y. nuo rytinių ir vakarinių baltų bei nuo Pabaltijo finougrų Estijoje bei Suomijoje, miškų juostos gentis skiria kalavijų, skydų su metaliniais antskydžiais, kovos peilių-durklų (*скрамасаксов*) nenaudojimas. Skirtingai nuo finougrų ar dar labiau į rytus nutolusio pasaulio, ilguosius pilkapius palikę žmonės turėjo pentinus, bet nenaudojo įmovinių kirvių. Ginkluotės požiūriu, tiek slavų gentys, tiek Baltarusijos ir vakarinės Rusijos miškų juostos gyventojai, kurių etnokultūrinė priklausomybė tebėra ginčytina (baltai, slavai, baltai-slavai, finai-baltai, finougrai), V–VII a. sudaro vientisą erdvę nuo Dunojaus iki Ladogos.

Kalbant apie ilgujų pilkapių kultūrą, galima teigti, kad jos ginkluotėje ir žirgo aprangoje, kaip ir kituose kultūros elementuose, išsiskiria keletas komponentų. Pirmasis yra tipiškas visoms Rytų Europos miškų juostos kultūroms (baltų, baltų-slavų, finougrų). Pirmiausia tai įmoviniai ietigaliai su užbarzdomis, įtveriamieji ietigaliai su rombo formos plunksnomis, siauraašmeniai kirviai, strėlių antgaliai su lapo formos plunksna, stačiakampės pakinktų sagtys, dvinariai žąslai.

Ilgujų pilkapių kultūros kario ir raitelio ginkluotėje bei ekipuotėje ir žirgo aprangoje gana ryškiai išsiskiria „pietinis“ komponentas. Tai „stepių“ tipo dvinarės pakinktų sagtys ir įvairios paskirties apsauginiai šarviniai dirbiniai. Jų atsiradimas miškų juostos paminkluose tikriausiai yra susijęs su kažkokių slavų genčių grupių pasirodymu. Slavų kultūros bruožų pastebima ir lai-

dojimo papročiuose, lipdytojoje keramikoje bei ilgujų pilkapių kultūros būstų tipuose.

Kiti V–VII a. kario ir raitelio ginkluotės bei ekipuotės ir žirgo aprangos elementai, aptikti ilgujų pilkapių kultūros zonoje, yra „vakarietiškos“ kilmės. Pirmiausia tai rytinių ir vakarinių baltų teritorijų radiniai. Jiems priskiriami pentinai su užriestomis ienelėmis, antskydžiai „perliniu“ dekoru puoštais pakraščiais, trinariai žąslai, kryžiniai kamanų apkalai ir arkliams šukuoti skirtos šukos (?).

Tikėtina, kad didelė dalis „vakarietiškos“ ginkluotės į Rusijos miškų juostą pateko kartu su išeiviais iš vakarinių ir rytinių baltų teritorijų. Šia prasme įdomi radinių iš Dolozhskii pogost ir Shchikhino pilkapių sudėtis. Kario ir raitelio ginkluotės bei ekipuotės ir žirgo aprangos elementų rinkinys, aptiktas šiuose pilkapiuose, turi analogų su baltų iš Suvalkų regiono ir Sembos pusiasalio medžiaga. Be to, baltiški elementai yra akivaizdžiai pastebimi ilgujų pilkapių kultūros laidojimo papročiuose bei moterų aprangoje.

Ištirta medžiaga patvirtina prielaidą, kad tautų kraustymosi laikotarpiu, V–VI a., kažkokios militarizutos Dunojaus germanų, taip pat slavų ir baltų kilmės žmonių grupės pasiekė Rytų Europos miškų juostą. Šis judėjimas buvo sąlygotas karinės-politinės padėties destabilizacijos Dunojaus vidurupyje, kuriantis ir netrukus sužlugus hunų valstybei bei formuojantis rytų germanų karalystėms Dunojaus vidurupio regione. Praktiškai vienu metu, V–VI a. sandūroje, yra fiksuojama slavų ekspansijos iš Padnėprės ir Padnestrės į pietus, link Dunojaus, pradžia. Logiška manyti, kad slavų išplitimas galėjo kliudyti ne tik Balkanų ir Dunojaus žemes, bet ir šiauresnes teritorijas, apgyvendintas giminingų slavų ir baltų-slavų genčių. Karingų „pietinių“ ir „vakarinių“ grupių atsiradimas paaštrino karinę padėtį visoje Rytų Europos miškų juostoje, bet vis dėlto dėl gana negausių migrantų darė tik nereikšmingą įtaką miškų juostos genčių etnokultūrinei istorijai.