

BURIALS WITH WEAPONRY IN THE OSTRIV BALTIC GRAVEYARD IN THE MIDDLE DNIEPER AREA (EXCAVATED IN 2017 AND 2018)

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Abstract

This article is devoted to an analysis of burials with weaponry from the Ostriv graveyard near the River Ros', about 100 kilometres to the south of Kyiv in the Middle Dnieper area, excavated during 2017 and 2018. Weapons (axes, pila, sword pommels) were discovered in 11 burials, representing approximately 20% of the total number of burials, and about 60% of all male burials investigated in the graveyard. An analysis of the material from the graveyard (weapons and jewellery) refers burials to West Balt migrants: Old Prussians, Curonians and Skalvians. They probably protected hill-forts of Kyivan Rus' in the Ros' region. The archaeological finds were supported by historical sources: chronicles of Kyivan Rus'. They evidence about the activities of Yaroslav the Wise aimed at reinforcing the southern borders of Kyivan Rus'. But it is hard to say exactly when Yaroslav relocated West Balts to the region of the River Ros'. Nevertheless, according to written sources and archaeological material, it could be dated from 1030 to the middle of the 11th century.

KEY WORDS: Ostriv graveyard, weapon, Kyivan Rus', West Balts, Yaroslav the Wise.

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Anotacija

Straipsnis skirtas kapų su ginklais tyrinėjimams, vykdytiems 2017–2018 m. Vidurio Dniepro baseino Ostrivo kapinyne, prie Rosos upės, apie 100 km nuo Kijevo, aptarti. Ginklų (kirvių, ietigalių, kalavijo buožė) buvo rasta vienuolikoje kapų, kas sudarė 20 proc. visų tirtų kapų ir 60 proc. visų nustatytų vyrų kapų kapinyne. Kapinyno medžiagos analizė rodo, kad kapai priskirtini vakarų baltų migrantams: seniesiems prūsams, kuršiams, skalviams. Gali būti, kad jie saugojo Kijevo Rusios piliakalnius Rosos upės regione. Archeologinius duomenis patvirtina rašytiniai šaltiniai – Kijevo Rusios metraščiai. Juose pasirodo informacija apie Jaroslavo Išmintingojo veiklą, įtvirtinant pietines Kijevo Rusios žemes. Tačiau sunku pasakyti, kada Jaroslavas perkėlė vakarų baltų žmones į Rosos upės regioną. Nepaisant to, remiantis rašytiniais šaltiniais ir archeologine medžiaga, šį perkėlimą galima datuoti 1030 m. – XI a. viduriu.

PAGRINDINIAI ŽODŽIAI: Ostrivo kapinynas, ginkluotė, Kijevo Rusia, vakarų baltai, Jaroslavas Išmintingasis.

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Introductory remarks

In October 2017, a Medieval graveyard from the 11th and 12th centuries AD (Fig. 1) was found on an architectural-archaeological expedition by researchers from the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, between the settlements of Ostriv and Pugachivka in the Rokytno district of the Kyiv region on the right bank of the River Ros'. The materials discovered are unique and unusual for Ukraine. They are markedly different from synchronous antiquities of Kyivan Rus' and should be associated with the Baltic tribes of the southeast shore of the Baltic Sea. A total of 53 burials, tentatively dated to the 11th century, in an area of about 1,100 square metres, were studied in 2017 and 2018.¹ This article is an analysis of the burials with weaponry, which constitute a sizeable number of all the burials in the graveyard.

The graveyard is on a large terrace of approximately 65 hectares, above a floodplain, separated from the other part of the bank by a small ravine, gradually declining towards the River Ros'. The Sukholisy Old Rus' hill-fort is situated 500 metres from the graveyard, on the opposite bank, in the flood plain of the Ros' (Figs. 2–4).

However, it cannot be said that the graveyard had formerly escaped the attention of archaeologists. In 1973, during large-scale field investigations in the area of the River Ros', Oleg Prykhodniuk explored two settlements of Cherniakhiv culture here, and a small mound up to 0.7 metres high, and 20 to 25 metres in diameter, now totally destroyed.² The Fasos amphora (fourth century BC), found in 2018, was probably connected specifically with this mound. Furthermore, a Bronze Age layer and Early Slavic Prague and Pen'kivka cultures were identified in the cemetery.

The multiple layers considerably complicate research into the Medieval funereal constructions, which are situated in almost homogenous layers of black soil. In addition, the graveyard has been ploughed up for many years. Moreover, the burial complexes were partially destroyed by grave robbers, which have been systematically plundered since at least 2011.

¹ ІВАКІН, Всеволод; БАРАНОВ, В`ячеслав; БІБІКОВ, Дмитро; ГНЕРА, Володимир. Нововиявлений балтський могильник XI ст. на Поросці. In *Тези доповідей учасників міжнародної наукової конференції «Міграції та інновації: у пошуках первинності ідей, речей і людей»*, 8–11 листопада 2017 р. Львів-Винники, 2017, с. 5–7; ІВАКІН, Всеволод; БАРАНОВ, В`ячеслав; БІБІКОВ, Дмитро; ЗОЦЕНКО, Іван; СОРОКУН, Андрій. Середньовічний балтський могильник на Поросці (за результатами археологічних досліджень 2017–2018 рр.). In *І Всеукраїнський археологічний з'їзд: Програма роботи та анотації доповідей (Ніжин, 23–25 листопада 2018 р.)*. Ред. Віктор ЧАБАЙ. Київ, 2018, с. 196; ІВАКІН, Всеволод; БАРАНОВ, В`ячеслав. Археологічні дослідження західно-балтського могильника Острів-1 у Поросці. In *Per aspera ad astra: до 100-літнього ювілею відомого археолога Бориса Тимощука: Тези доповідей Міжнародної наукової конференції (м. Чернівці, 8 квітня 2019 р.)*. Чернівці, 2019, с. 54–55.

² ПРИХОДНЮК, Олег. Археологічні розвідки на Поросці. *Археологія*, 1979, № 31, с. 94.

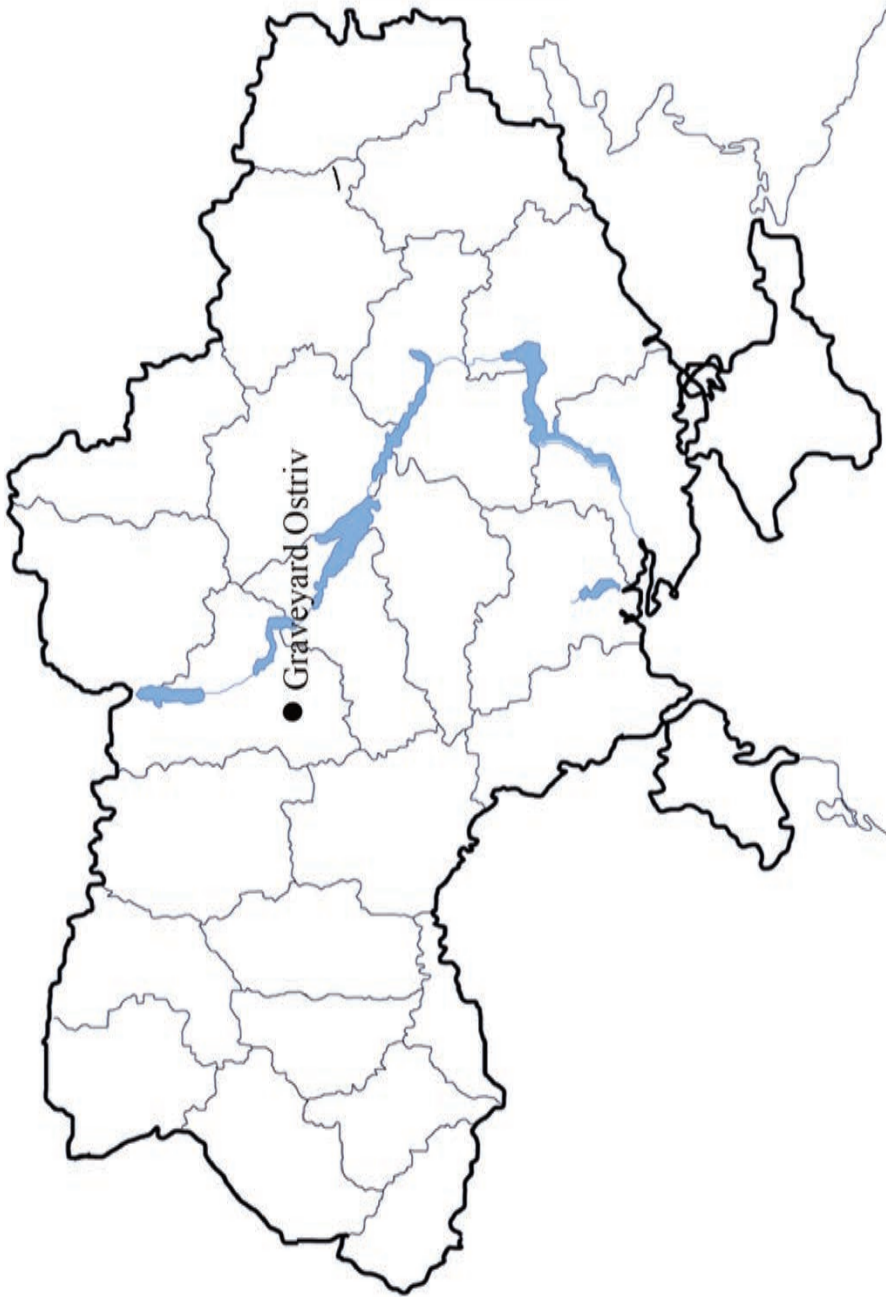


Fig. 1. Location of the graveyard on the map of Ukraine.



Fig. 2. Graveyard and hillfort. Tacheometric measurements by Olga Manigda.



Fig. 3. Hillfort Sukholisy and graveyard Ostriv. Satellite view.



Fig. 4. Hillfort Sukholisy and graveyard Ostriv. Drone picture from East by Volodimir Gnera.

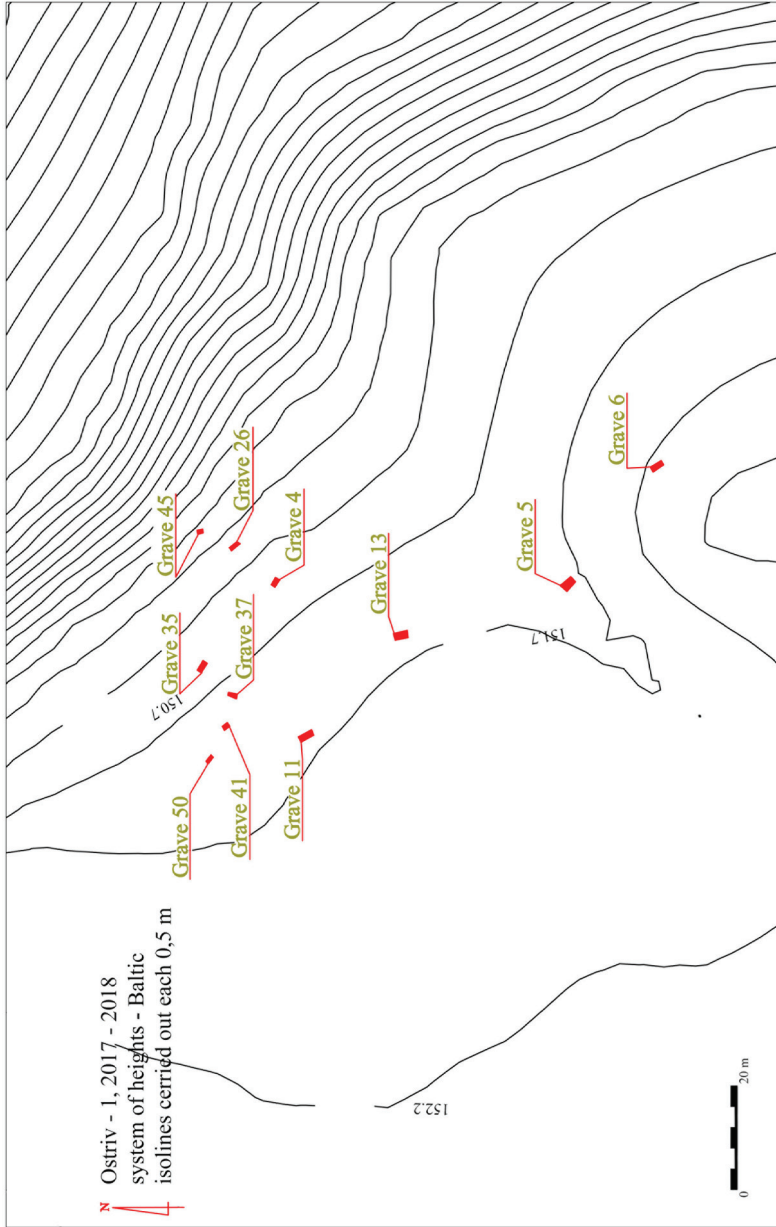


Fig. 5. Site plan of the graveyard.

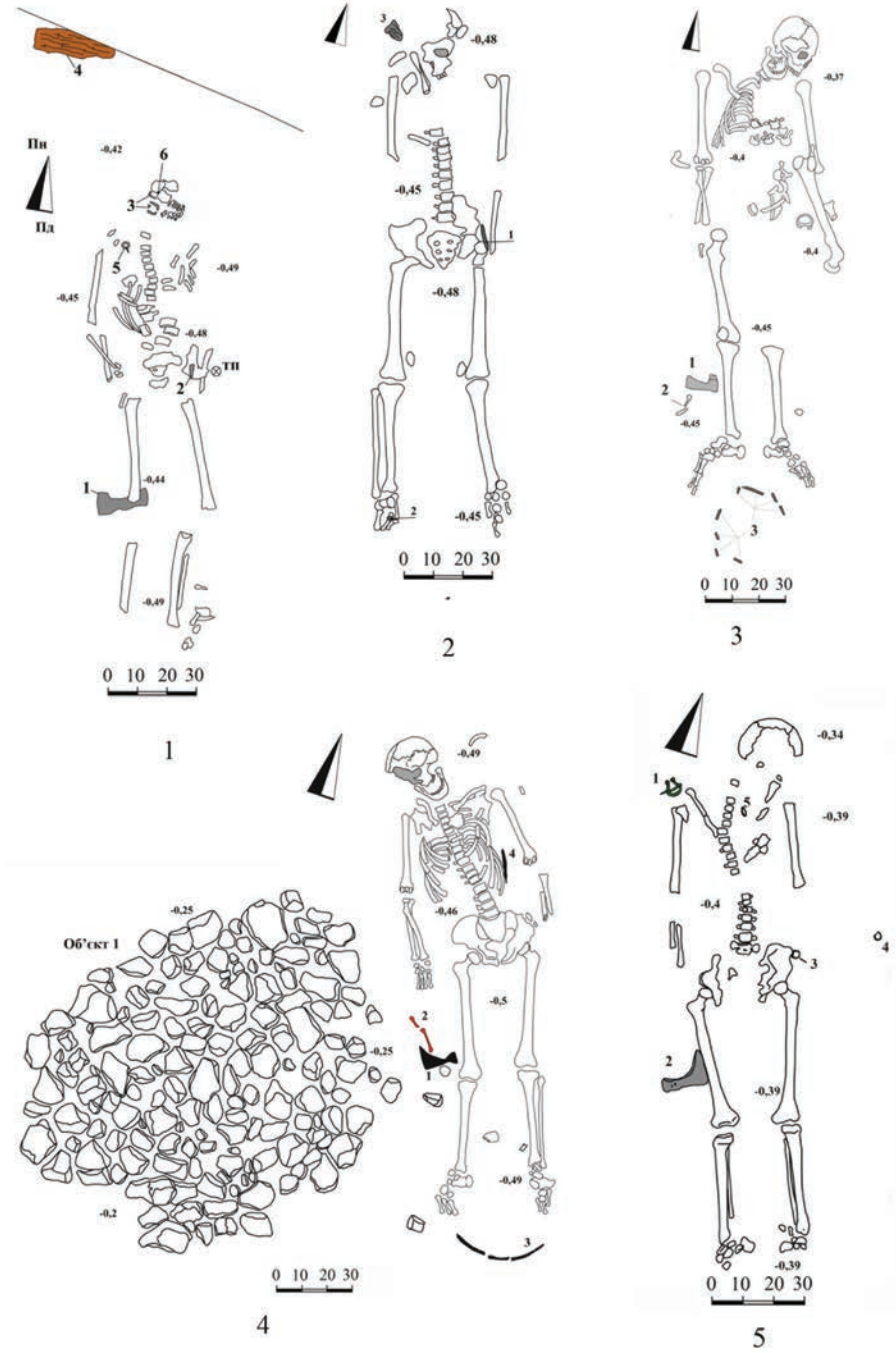


Fig. 6. Plans of the burials. 1 - grave 4; 2 - grave 5; 3 - grave 11; 4 - grave 6; 5 - grave 13.

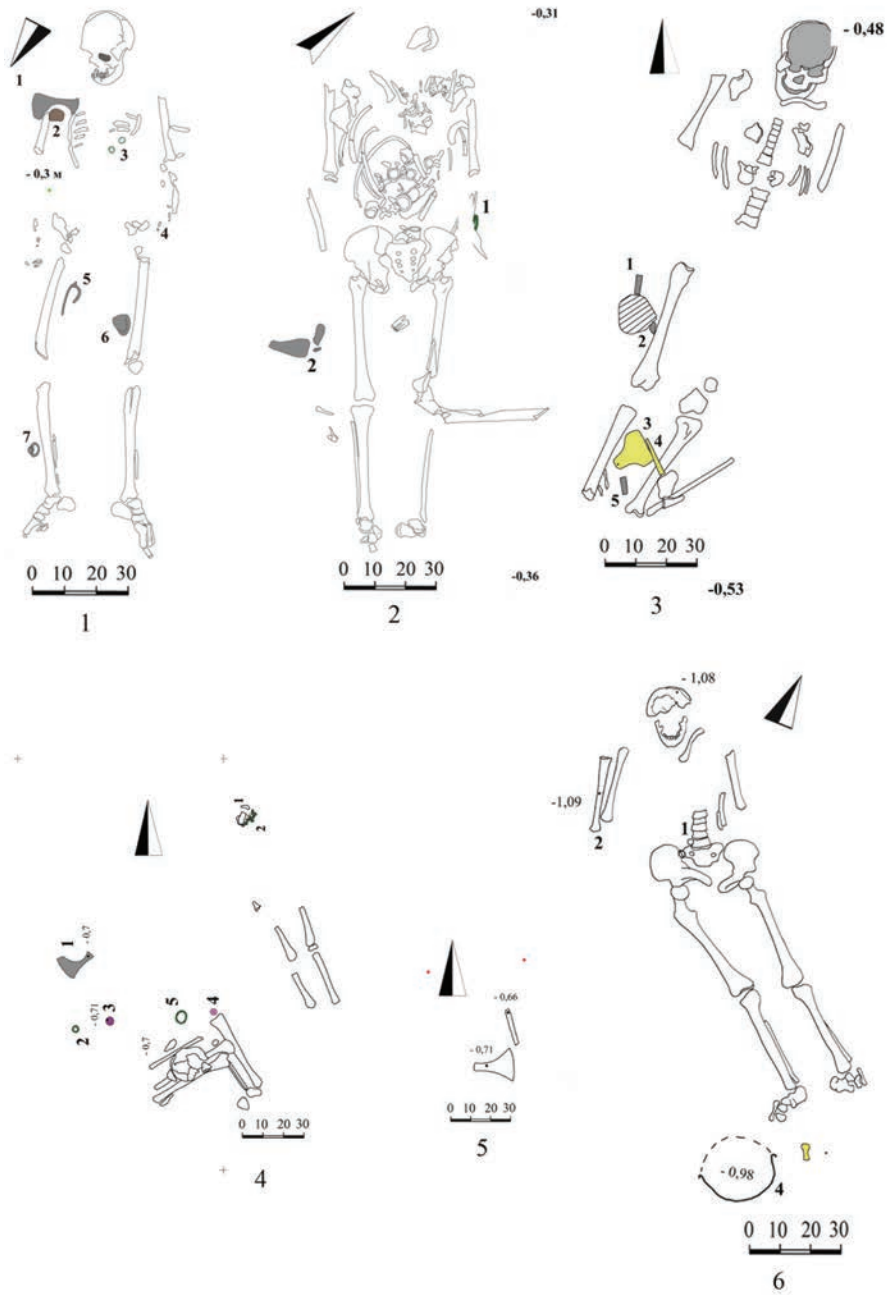


Fig. 7. Plans of the burials. 1 – grave 26; 2 – grave 35; 3 – grave 37; 4 – grave 41; 5 – grave 45; 6 – grave 50.



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2

Fig. 8. Grave 6. Photo. 1 – View from drone. Photo by Volodimir Gnera; 2 – axe. Photo by Dmitro Bibikov.



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Fig. 9. 1. Grave 13. Photo of penannular brooches with poppy-head terminals by Dmitro Bibikov. 2. Grave 26. Photo of axe by Ivan Zotsenko.



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2

Fig. 10. 1. Grave 35. Photo of penannular brooches with widening terminals.
2. Grave 37. Item made from horn. Photos by Ivan Zotsenko.



1



2

*Fig. 11. 1. Grave 35. Type M axe in situ.
2. Grave 50. Bucket. Photos by Ivan Zotsenko.*

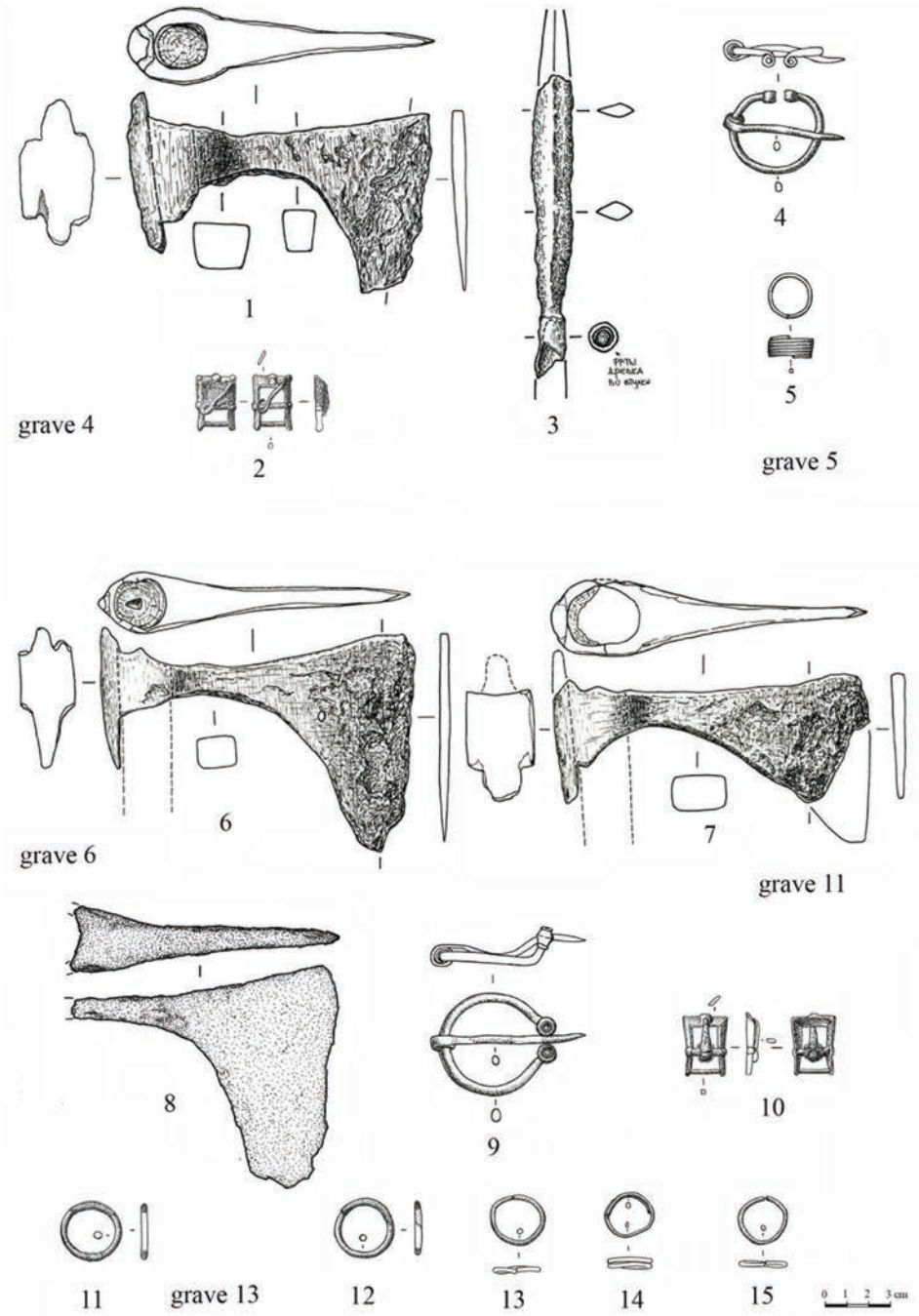


Fig. 12. Funeral goods. 1-2 - Grave 4; 3-5 - grave 5; 6 - grave 6; 7 - grave 11; 8-15 - grave 13.

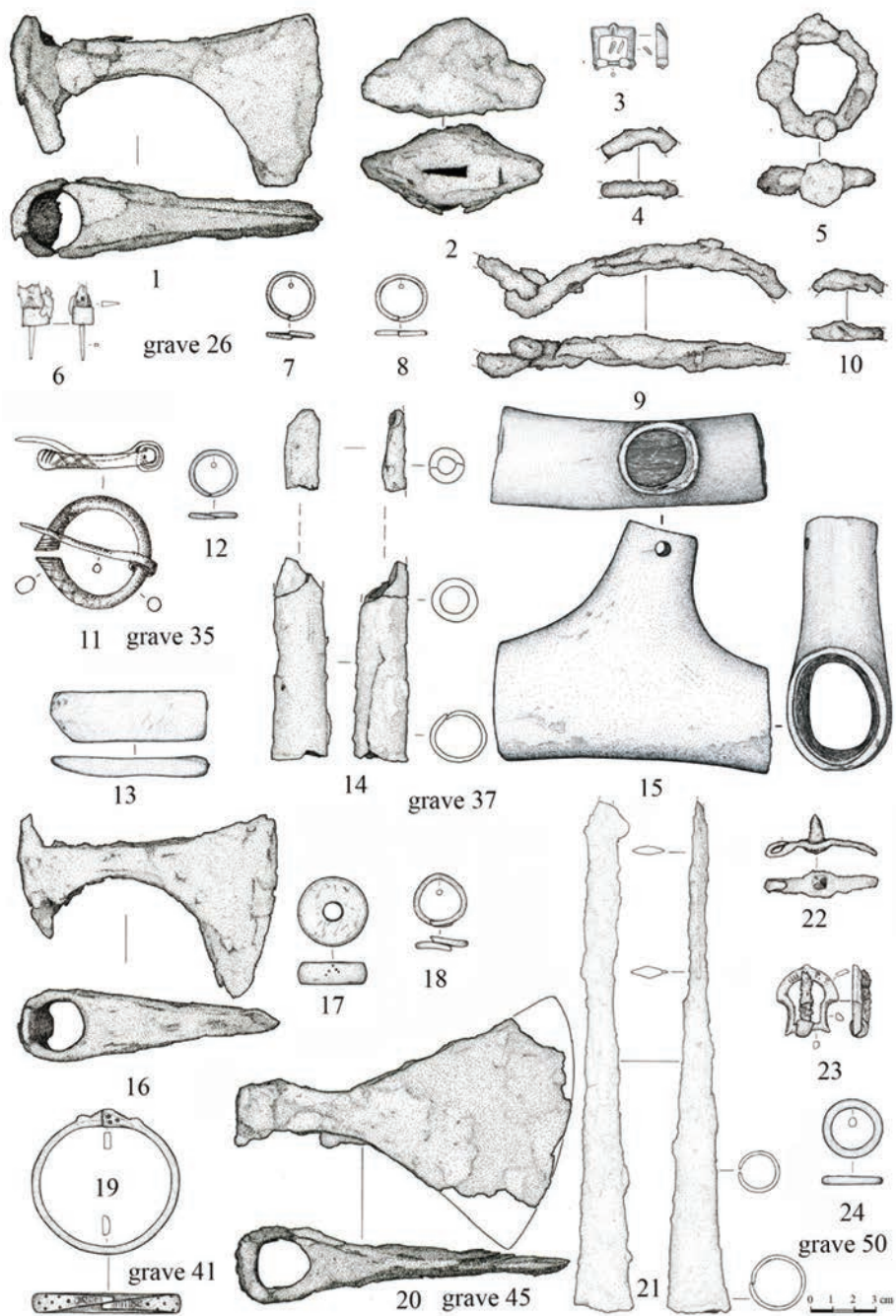


Fig. 13. Funeral goods. 1-10 – grave 26; 11-12 – grave 35; 13-15 – grave 37; 16-19 – grave 41; 20 – grave 45; 21-24 – grave 50.

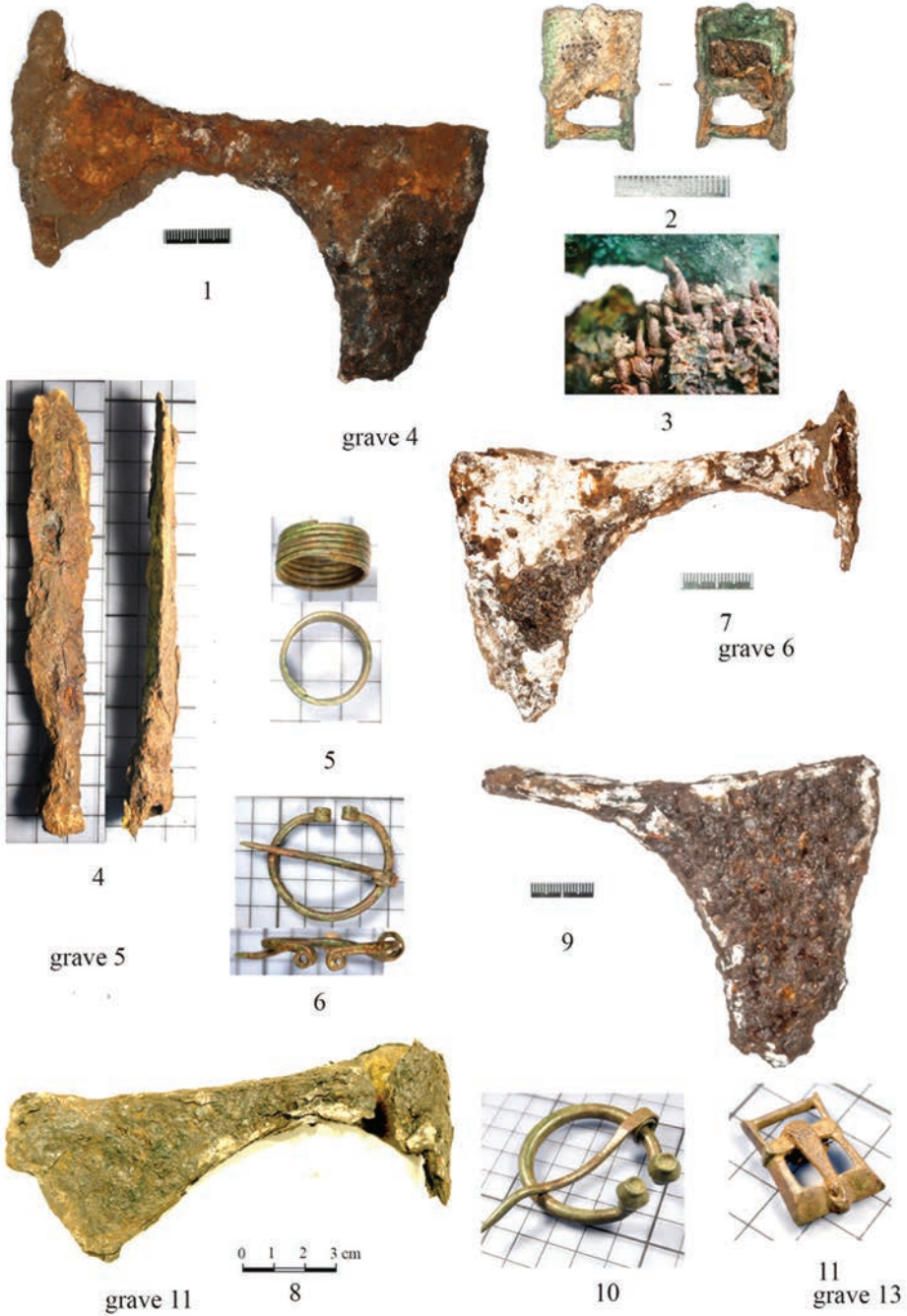


Fig 14. Funeral goods. Photo. 1-3 – grave 4; 4-6 – grave 5; 7 – grave 6; 8 – grave 11; 9-11 – grave 13.

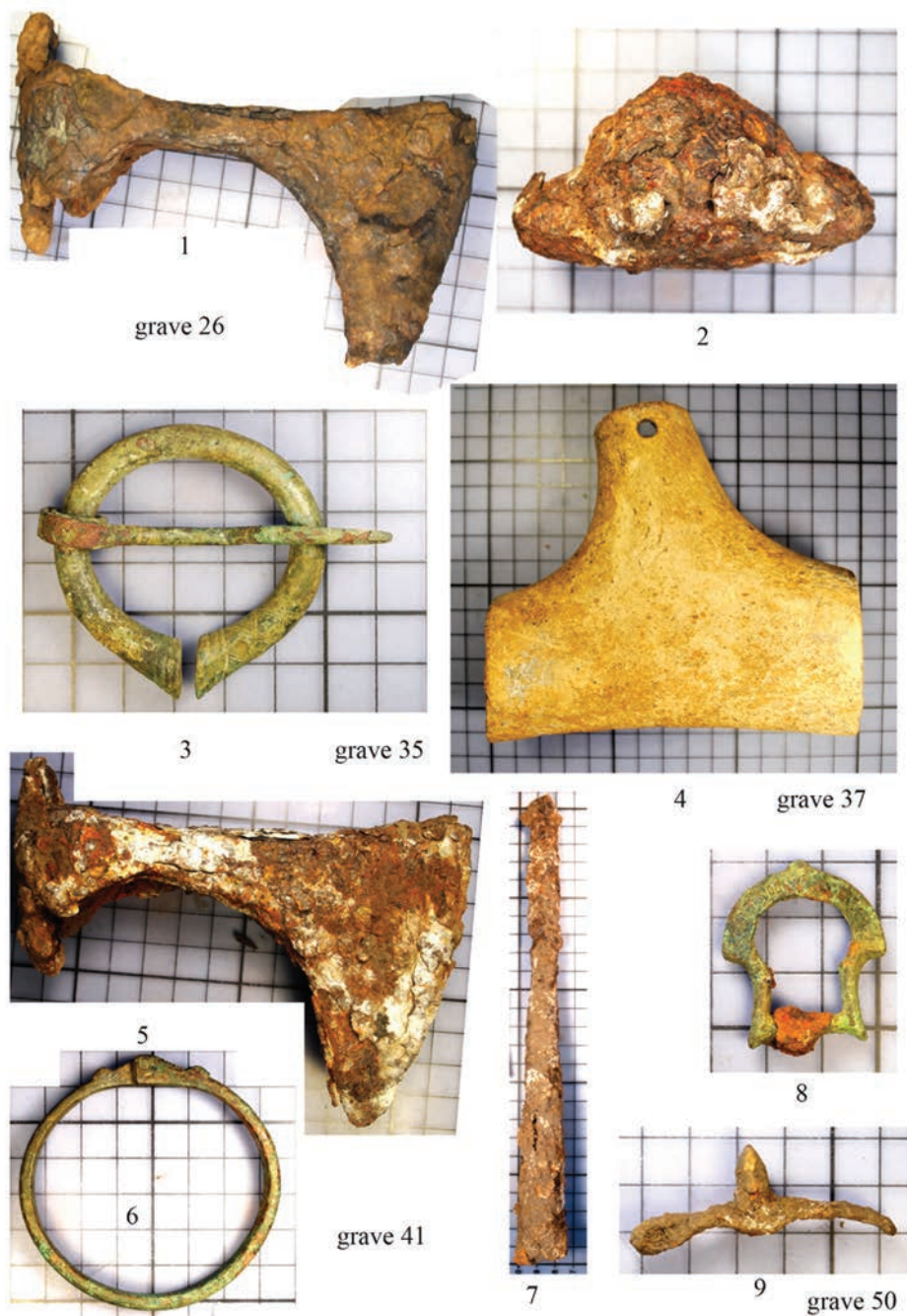


Fig 15. Funeral goods. Photo. 1-2 - grave 26; 3 - grave 35; 4 - grave 37; 5-6 - grave 41; 7-9 - grave 50.

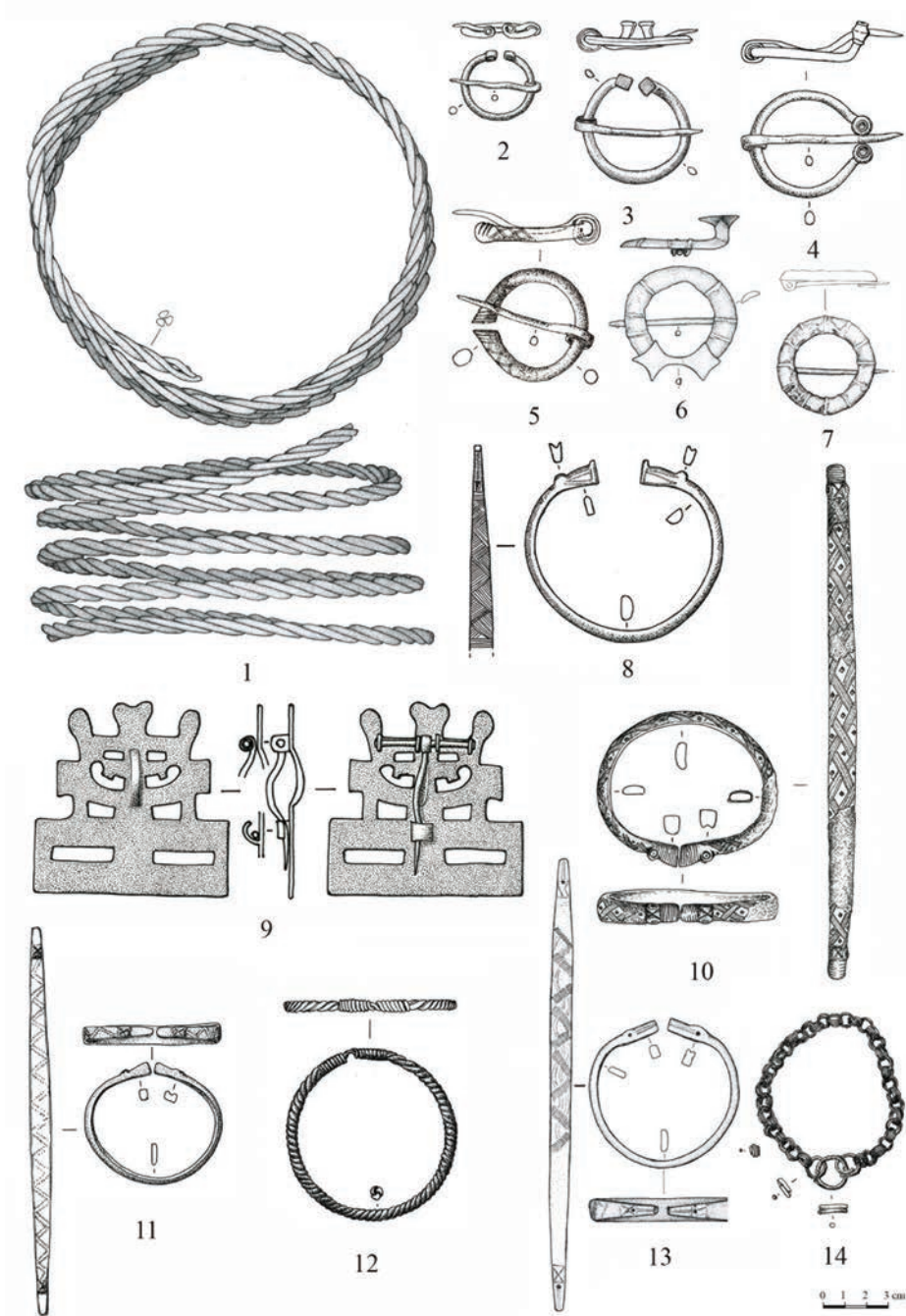


Fig. 16. Artefacts from graveyard Ostriv. 1, 13 - grave 53; 2, 11, 14 - grave 2; 3 - grave 23; 4 - grave 13; 5 - grave 35; 6 - grave 41; 7 - grave 51; 8-9 - grave 1; 12 - grave 12.

Overall, 53 inhumation burials in different degrees of preservation were investigated during 2017 and 2018. Among them, items of weaponry were revealed in 11 burials (Fig. 5), representing approximately 20% of the total number of burials, and about 60 % of all the male burials, of which 17 were investigated (the anthropological research was done by Oleksandra Kozak).

Weaponry material from the Ostriv graveyard

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Grave 4 was investigated at a depth of 0.4 to 0.5 metres from modern daylight (Fig. 6,1). The deceased was buried in a wooden coffin; the remains of a smoldered wooden half beam and iron nails were discovered. There was a male skeleton of age 14 to 16 lying on its back, the head oriented to the north, and with a small deviation to the west. The arms were by the side. The skull and the other bones were very injured, some bones had been moved, others were missing. A bronze rectangular buckle was found under the skull (Figs. 12,2; 14,2). A piece of ironwork of unknown purpose was detected near the missing right collarbone. A battle-axe with lowered blade was found under the right knee (Figs. 12,1; 14,1). The handle was apparently placed in the hand. The remains of fabric were found on the surface of the buckle and the ironwork (Fig. 14,3).

Grave 5 was excavated at a depth of about 0.5 metres, badly damaged by modern grave robbers (Fig. 6,2). It was likely to have been buried in a coffin, as the remains of wood appeared in the pit's filling, and wood was discovered in the area of the skull as well. A male skeleton of age 25 to 30 lay on its back, the head oriented to the north, with a small deviation to the west. The arms were by the side. The upper body of the burial was almost completely destroyed by robbers. Near the left ulna, an elongated piece of iron, probably a knife, was dug up. There was a small bronze object, likely to be a plaque, on the right foot. Many fragments of ironwork, including a spear (Figs. 12,3; 14,4) and multi-spiral ring (Fig. 14,5), were found in the layer disturbed by robbers. A penannular fibula with rolled terminals (Figs. 12,4; 14,6) was found in a hole.

Grave 6 was found at a depth of approximately 0.5 metres from modern daylight (Figs. 6,4; 8,1). Irregular oval-shaped, elongated stonework running west-east and measuring 1.5 by 1.25 metres was detected 0.2 metres to the west of the skeleton. Fragments of a bucket's metal banding hoop were found under the stonework, confirming a date referring to the times of Old Rus'. A male skeleton 25 to 30 years of age lay on its back, the head to the north, with a small deviation to the west. The arms were by the side. The upper body was intentionally facing a little to the right, as if extending around the stonework. An iron battle-axe with a lowered blade (Figs. 8,2; 12,6; 14,7) and the handle up was excavated near the right knee,

and also small chicken bones as sacrificial food (osteological research was done by Leonid Horobets). There was an iron knife under the left elbow, and the remains of a bucket at the feet were represented by fragments of two iron hoops.

Grave 11 was excavated at a depth of 0.4 metres from modern daylight (Fig. 6,3), and was partly damaged by robbers' digging. There were no traces of a burial pit or a coffin. The male skeleton of age 30 to 40 lay on its back, with the head to the north and a small deviation to the west. The arms were by the side. The feet were stretched and turned sideways, as if extending around a bucket. An iron axe placed handle up was excavated a little lower than the right knee (Figs. 12,7; 14,8). Chicken bones were found near the axe. The iron hoops of a bucket approximately 0.3 metres in diameter were discovered in the southern part of the burial. Research into the muscle and tendon loading, and injuries, suggest that the man used a two-handed axe (suggested by Oleksandra Kozak).

Grave 13 was excavated at a depth of 0.4 metres from modern daylight, damaged by robbers' digging (Fig. 6,5). There were no traces of a burial pit or a coffin. A male skeleton 45 to 55 years of age lay on its back, with the head to the north and a small deviation to the west. The arms were by the side. A penannular brooch with a poppy-head terminal was excavated near the right collar-bone (Figs. 9,1; 12,9; 14,10). A bronze ring was found nearby on the sternum (Fig. 12,11-12). Another bronze ring was on the left side near the pelvis (two similar rings were found in the robbers' digging) (Fig. 12,13,15). There was a bronze square-headed brooch under the pelvis (Figs. 12,10; 14,11). A bronze spiral ring, obviously in the place of the decomposed left wrist, was excavated 0.3 metres to the east of the pelvis (Fig. 12,14). An iron battle-axe with the blade lowered was discovered near the right knee (Fig. 12,8;14,9). In addition, a piece of fabric was found in the grave.

Grave 26 was excavated at a depth of 0.35 metres from modern daylight, partly damaged by robbers, possibly dating from Medieval times (Fig. 7,1). There were no traces of a burial pit or a coffin. A male skeleton of age of 20 to 25 lay on its back, the head to the southeast. The arms at the side. An iron battle-axe with a lowered blade (Fig. 9,2; 13,1; 15,1) and the handle down (perhaps the handle was placed next to the deceased's right hand), was found on the right shoulder. There was a sharpening stone near the axe. A badly corroded knife was excavated near the left hand (Fig. 13,6). A spur was discovered near the right tibia, and corroded horse bits were found under the right knee (Figs. 13,4-5; 9-10). A sword pommel type S was excavated near the left femur in the knee area (Figs. 13,2; 15,2).

Grave 35 was detected at 0.3 metres from modern daylight, and was badly damaged by ploughing and rodents (Fig. 7,2). There were no traces of a burial pit or a coffin. An adult male skeleton lay on its back with the head to the northwest. The

arms were by the side. An iron battle-axe with lowered blade was excavated in the knee area 0.15 metres from the right femur. A penannular brooch with widening terminals (Figs. 13,11; 15,3) was revealed in the pelvis area on the left side beneath the replaced bones of the left hand. Chicken bones were found near the right knee. Also, a bronze ring was excavated in the burial filling (Fig. 13,12).

Grave 37 was excavated at a depth of 0.35 metres from modern daylight, partly damaged by ploughing and modern plundering (Fig. 7,3). There were no traces of a burial pit or a coffin. An adult male skeleton lay on the back, the head to the north, with a deviation to the east. A few fragments of pilum or spear (Fig. 13,14) broken by plundering were discovered near the right femur. Among them, a fragment of a socket was found with a hole at the top that most likely confirms the assumption about the pilum. Below, an item made from horn was excavated between the tibias (Figs. 13,15; 15,4). A fragment of black metal with a piece of fabric was identified in the filling of the hollow part of the horn. The remains of sacrificed food, literally a bird's tibia, was found near the item made from horn. An elongated rectangular sharpening stone of pink sandstone (Fig. 13,13) was excavated five centimetres below the product made of horn.

Grave 41 was detected at a depth of 0.55 to 0.6 metres from modern daylight, badly damaged as late as Medieval times, when the bones were carefully moved aside during a child's burial 38 (Fig. 7,4). There were no traces of a burial pit or a coffin. Features of the funeral rite could not be determined. Separate bones preserved in the anatomical area belonging to a woman of 25 to 35 years of age allow us to suggest that the head was oriented towards the north, with a deviation to the west. Two spinning wheels made of Ovruch pyrophyllite slate (Fig. 13,17) were discovered in the burial layer near the left leg. A bronze multi-spiral ring (Fig. 13,18) and an iron battle-axe with the blade lowered (Fig. 13,16; 15,5) were excavated in the same place. A decorated bronze bracelet with zoomorphic terminals (Figs. 13,19; 15,6) was revealed 0.2 metres below the skeleton at a depth of 0.8 metres. Perhaps the axe belonged to a grave which was totally destroyed, taking into account the fact that the bones identified belonged to woman, as did some of the equipment.

Grave 45 was excavated at a depth of 0.75 metres from modern daylight, and was almost totally destroyed by rodents (Fig. 7,5). There were no traces of a burial pit or a coffin. The deceased was probably a boy of four to seven, laid with the head to the north, and with a deviation to the west. An axe with a wide symmetrical blade was identified among mixed bones (Fig. 13,20).

Grave 50 was excavated at a depth of one to 1.1 metres from modern daylight. The grave was buried in an Early Slavonic pit-house with a stone oven (sixth to seventh century) (Fig. 7,6). There were no traces of a burial pit or a coffin. An adult male skeleton lay on its back with the head to the northwest. The upper body was facing

slightly north. The arms were by the side. A fragment of pilum or spear was detected near the right shoulder, with the socket facing towards the skull (Figs. 13,21; 15,7). A lyre-shaped buckle was found in the sacrum area (Figs. 13,23; 15,8). The handle of a bucket with two handle mounts and a few fragments of a metal top band were excavated close to the right foot. A piece of an iron horse spur was found in a mole hole under the burial (Figs. 13,22; 15,9).

Thus, as was noted above, weapons were excavated in 11 graves, representing about 60% of all the male burials. In general, graves with rich burial goods and weapons are not typical of synchronous Old Rus' findings in the mid-sub-Dnieper area. This fact points to the high level of militarisation of the community in the Ostriv graveyard, and their ethnic difference as well, which is not of local origin.

It should be noted that the weaponry excavated in the Ostriv graveyard is quite standardised. It consists basically of axes with a lowered blade, a pair of spurs, and a long-form butt, discovered in six burials out of 11: graves 4, 6, 13, 26, 35 and 41. The axes are type IV according to Anatoliy Kirpichnikov³ (Figs. 12,1, 6, 8; 13,1, 16). According to Kirpichnikov, axes of this type are the most widespread in Eastern Europe, dating from the 11th to the 13th centuries. Mark Aleshkovsky classified such axes as type D, recognised them as the most common in Old Rus' antiquities, and dated them to the end of the tenth to the 12th centuries.⁴ Mikalay Plavinski, on the Belorussian materials, dated the type IV axes to the second half of the tenth century. He noted that this type appears in more than half the findings from the tenth century in Belarus. In the 11th century, it constitutes an absolute majority, and in the 12th century they gradually disappear.⁵ Similar axes are well known in a number of Old Rus' sites in Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Scandinavia, Russia, Poland and Bulgaria.⁶ It should be noted that the lack of axes of type IVA in the Ostriv graveyard is typical of

³ КИРПИЧНИКОВ, Анатолий. *Древнерусское оружие*. Вып. II: *Копья, сулицы, боевые топоры, булавы, кистени IX–XIII вв.* (Археология СССР. Свод археологических источников, вып. E1–36). Москва, Ленинград, 1966, с. 37, рис. 6.

⁴ АЛЕШКОВСКИЙ, Марк. Курганы русских дружинников XI–XII вв. *Советская археология*, 1960, № 1, с. 73, рис. 1, 21.

⁵ ПЛАВИНСКИЙ, Миколай. *Узбраенне Беларускіх земляў X–XIII стагоддзяў*. Мінск, 2013, с. 29; ПЛАВИНСКИЙ, Николай. Вооружение западных земель Руси X – первой половины XI в.: становление древнерусской традиции и формирование региональных особенностей (по материалам с территории Беларуси). In *Русь в IX–XII веках. Общество, государство, культура*. Ред. Николай МАКАРОВ, Андрей ЛЕОНТЬЕВ. Москва, Вологда, 2014, с. 68, рис. 6.

⁶ ВОЗНЫЙ, Игорь. Ударное вооружение Северной Буковины XII – первой половины XIII вв. *Stratum plus*, 2014, № 6, с. 59, рис. 1,8; 2,10; ПЛАВИНСКИЙ, М. *Узбраенне...*, с. 29; ШЕКУН, Олександр; ВЕРЕМЕЙЧИК, Олена. Поселення Ліскове у верхів'ях р. Білоус. In *Південно-руське село IX–XIII ст. (нові пам'ятки матеріальної культури)*. Ред. Олександр МОЦЯ, Володимир КОВАЛЕНКО, Валентина ПЕТРАШЕНКО. Київ, 1997, с. 80, рис. 33, 19; МАКАРОВ, Николай; ЗАЙЦЕВА, Ирина; КРАСНИКОВА Анна. Парадный топорик с княжескими знаками из Суздальского ополья. In *Фундаментальные проблемы археологии, антропологии и этнографии Евразии. К 70-летию академика А. П. Деревянко*. Новосибирск, 2013, с. 437–439, рис. 1; FREI, Karin Margarita; MAKAROV, Nikolaj; NOSCH, Maria-Luisa; SKALS, Irene; VANDEN BERGHE, Ina; ZAYTSEVA, Irina. An 11th-Century 2/2 Twill from a Burial in

the Balts, as is stated by Plavinski.⁷ Axes of type IV could be connected to the weaponry tradition of Kyivan Rus'. The widespread use of this type of weapon is probably related to its high efficiency output, which is close to 1, as stated by Kirpichnikov.

An axe of another type with a narrow blade, spurs and a long-form butt was found in grave 11 (Figs. 12,7; 14,8). Kirpichnikov classified such axes as type III, and dated them to the tenth to the 12th centuries. Mainly this type was employed in Kyivan Rus', but it also appeared beyond, in the Perm region, the Bulgar state, Finland, Gotland, Poland and Serbia.⁸ M. Aleshkovsky identified such axes as type G, and dated them to the tenth and 11th centuries.⁹ M. Plavinski stated that narrow-blade axes of type III were used by the '*druzhyna*' (armed forces) of Kyivan princes in the epoch of the development of Kyivan Rus'. He dated them to the second half of the tenth to the 12th centuries.¹⁰

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One more type revealed in the Ostriv graveyard is the axe discovered in grave 45 (Fig. 13,20). It is an axe with a wide symmetrical thin blade, obliquely cut at the cutting edge. The form of the axe discovered is close to Peterson type M¹¹ and Kirpichnikov type VII.¹² Kirpichnikov believes that these axes have a northern (Scandinavian) origin. Yury Lesman suggests that this type of axe spread in Rus' in the second half of the 12th century, the main area of its distribution was the northern lands of Rus'.¹³ A similar shape of axe is known from the Proklyate Pole 11th-century burial mound near the Kyivan Rus' hill-fort of Lukoml in Belarus.¹⁴ Axes of type M are well known among Baltic tribes.¹⁵ The axe from grave 45 differs from axes of type M by its small size, as well as the lack of spurs. However, in our opinion, there are no doubts that the axe has a northern origin.

Another widespread type of military equipment excavated in the Ostriv graveyard was pilum. The place of the artefacts in graves 37 and 50 proves exactly a pilum or '*sulitsa*'. In grave 37, the hole of the socket is situated on the higher side near the right femur, which allows us to reconstruct the length of the handle at approximately 0.9 to one metre. This is shorter than the pilum handles found during the excavations by

Shekshovo in Russia. *Archaeological Textiles Review*, 2016, № 58, p. 34, Fig. 3; ATGAZIS, Māris. Avās cirvji Latvija. *Arheologija un etnogrāfija*, 1997, nr. XIX., att. 4,27.

⁷ ПЛАВИНСКИЙ, Н. Вооружение..., с. 69.

⁸ КИРПИЧНИКОВ, А. *Древнерусское оружие*, вып. II, с. 35–36, рис. 6.

⁹ АЛЕШКОВСКИЙ, М. *Op. cit.*, с. 73, рис. 1, 19–20.

¹⁰ ПЛАВИНСКИЙ, Николай. Узколезвийные топоры с профилированным обухом с территории Беларуси: вопросы происхождения и хронологии типа. In *Воинские традиции в археологическом контексте: от позднего латена до позднего средневековья*. Тула, 2014, с. 74–75.

¹¹ ПЕТЕРСЕН, Ян. *Норвежские мечи эпохи викингов*. Санкт-Петербург, 2005, с. 78, рис. 44.

¹² КИРПИЧНИКОВ, А. *Древнерусское оружие*, вып. II, с. 38, рис. 6, VII.

¹³ ЛЕСМАН, Юрий. Скандинавский компонент древнерусской культуры. *Stratum plus*, 2014, № 5, с. 64.

¹⁴ ПЛАВИНСКИЙ, Микалай. Элітнае узбраенне X–XIII стагоддзяў на тэрыторыі Беларусі. *Беларускі гістарычны часопіс*, 2012, вып. 4, с. 15, рис. 10.

¹⁵ ATGAZIS, M. *Op. cit.*, 55.–58. lp., att. 2–3.

Lev Ivanovsky, being 1.2 to 1.5 metres high.¹⁶ In grave 50, likewise, the cutting edge was placed with the hole on the upside, but near the right shoulder, i.e., the length of the handle is 0.3 to 0.4 metres, which is not enough even for a pilum. The handle was probably broken before, and placed next to the dead man in such a way. It is harder to classify the length of the handle in grave 5, as the cutting edge was detected in a plundered pit, but the small size of the cutting edge and the diameter of the socket are specific to a pilum, not a spear.

The shape of the cutting edge is preserved only in two graves; the pilum head from grave 37 was almost totally damaged when plundered (Fig. 13,14). The pilum head excavated in grave 5 has a leaf-shaped blade, narrowed to fit, and smoothly turned to the socket (Figs. 12,3; 14,4). The blade is two centimetres wide and 16 centimetres long, and the socket is 1.5 centimetres wide. It has a visible centre line, the blade has an elliptical cross-section, and could be classified as type I by Kirpichnikov,¹⁷ dated to the tenth or the mid-11th century, and related to Central and northern Europe. It also mostly corresponds with Peterson type E.¹⁸ Plavinski defines similar finds from Belarus to variant 2 of type I, and dates them to the second half of the tenth and the first half of the 11th century. He considers them to be local derivatives of Frankish and Scandinavian prototypes.¹⁹ In general, leaf-shaped blades are widely represented in antiquities of Old Rus', but mostly with other Scandinavian, Finnish or Baltic components.²⁰

The pilum head from grave 50 had another shape (Figs. 13,21; 15,7). It had a long socket, gradually moving to a blade rhombus-shape in cross-section, ending with two spikes splitting like a harpoon tip. The blade is 24 centimetres in length; the socket is about three centimetres in diameter. Such blades could be classified as type VII in Kirpichnikov's typology; they were used predominantly in hunting.²¹ Taking into account the too short handle, the hunting pilum was probably replaced by a battle one.

As Kirpichnikov suggested, pila were not widely used in Rus' in the tenth to the 12th centuries. Only in the 12th century did their usage gradually increase, associated with the change in the conduct of battle.²² Plavinski states the use of pila as a feature of Baltic military customs.²³

¹⁶ КИРПИЧНИКОВ, А. *Древнерусское оружие*, вып. II, с. 22.

¹⁷ Ibid., с. 9, рис. 1, I.

¹⁸ ПЕТЕРСЕН, Я. *Op. cit.*, с. 59–61, рис. 12–13.

¹⁹ ПЛАВИНСКИ, Микалай. Ланцэтападобныя наканечнікі коп'яў на тэрыторыі Беларусі: храналогія і тапаграфія знаходак. *Матэрыялы па археалогіі Беларусі*, 2007, вып. 14, с. 161; ПЛАВИНСКИ, М. *Узбраенне...*, с. 45–48.

²⁰ ЛЕСМАН, Ю. *Op. cit.*, с. 66–67.

²¹ КИРПИЧНИКОВ, А. *Древнерусское оружие*, вып. II, с. 17, рис. 1, VII.

²² Ibid., с. 25.

²³ ПЛАВИНСКИ, М. *Узбраенне...*, с. 56.

Swords in the Ostriv graveyard are represented by only the sword head from grave 26 (Figs. 13,2; 15,2). The head is badly corroded, but seems to be Peterson type S.²⁴ Kirpichnikov stated that this type of weapon was widespread throughout Old Rus', and dates from the tenth to the first half of the 11th century. The sword head, axe and horse equipment in grave 26 prove social status more than ways of using weaponry.

Interpretation of the material

The weaponry excavated in the Ostriv cemetery shows the deceased mostly as infantry. Axes were used predominantly by warriors, they were designed as striking and smashing weapons, used by infantry in close combat. The pilum was used in the same fashion, particularly as a combat weapon for throwing and stabbing. Equestrian equipment, like spurs and bits, in grave 26, and spurs in grave 50, is a social indicator more than proof of cavalry buried there.

A spiral neck torc (Fig. 16,1), crossbow ladder fibulae of Audronė Bliujienė type V (Fig. 16,9), penannular brooches with rolled terminals (Figs. 12,4; 14,6; 16,2), penannular brooches with funnel-shaped terminals (Fig. 16,3), penannular brooches with poppy-head terminals (Figs. 12,9; 14,10; 16,4), penannular brooches with widening terminals (Figs. 13,11; 15,3; 16,5), penannular brooches with star-shaped terminals (Fig. 16,6), circular brooches (Fig. 16,7), bracelets with zoomorphic terminals (Figs. 13,19; 15,6; 16,8, 10–11, 13), chains (Fig. 16,14), rings (Figs. 12,5; 14,5), and temple rings, all grave goods discovered during excavations of the Ostriv graveyard, are typical of West Balt tribes (Old Prussians, Curonians, Skalvians), and date mostly from the first half of the 11th century.²⁵ This is also evidenced by pila, widely found in the Ostriv graveyard, which are distinctive features of the Baltic military tradition, as is stated by Plavinski.²⁶

From a historical point of view, archaeological finds are depicted and proven by chronicles. They appear in writings about the activities of Yaroslav the Wise, aiming to reinforce the southern borders of Kyivan Rus'.

The lands along the River Ros' were historically borderlands. The river played a role as a convenient natural defensive frontier between agricultural (Slavic) and nomadic (Turkic) peoples. Kyivan princes usually stationed special forces here to defend the capital of Rus' from attacks by nomads. Thus, in the middle of the 11th century, Tur-

²⁴ ПЕТЕРСЕН, Я. Ор. cit., с. 173–178, рис. 118; КИРПИЧНИКОВ, Анатолий. *Древнерусское оружие*. Вып. I: *Мечи и сабли* (Археология СССР. Свод археологических источников, вып. Е1–36). Москва, Ленинград, 1966, с. 27, рис. 1; KAZAKEVIČIUS, Vytautas. *IX–XIII a. baltų kalavijai*. Vilnius, 1996, p. 42–44, pav. 40.

²⁵ ИВАКИН, В.; БАРАНОВ, В.; БІБІКОВ, Д.; ГНЕРА, В. Ор. cit., с. 5–7; ИВАКИН, В.; БАРАНОВ, В.; БІБІКОВ, Д.; ЗОЦЕНКО, І.; СОРОКУН, А. Ор. cit., с. 196; ИВАКИН, В.; БАРАНОВ, В. Ор. cit., с. 54–55.

²⁶ ПЛАВИНСКИЙ, Н. Вооружение..., с. 69.

tic nomads settled in the region of the River Ros' ('our pagans', the Torks, Berendeys, Kovuys and others in written sources), representing a mounted corps with a centre in Torchesk (near the village of Sharkiv, in the Rokytniansky district), which was a part of the state of Old Rus' directly ruled by the Grand Prince of Kyiv.

A 1032 chronicle states '*Ярославъ поча ставити городы по Рси*', referring to the building of a new defensive line along the left bank of the River Ros'.²⁷ The year before, the Grand Prince of Kyiv, Yaroslav the Wise, and Prince Mstyslav of Chernihiv, launched a campaign against Liakhy (Poland), and captured Cherven Grods. 'Poles', as prisoners, were settled along the River Ros', and lived there at the time of writing of the Primary Chronicle (*и посади Ярослав своя по Рси, и суть и до сего дни*).²⁸ Chronicles and other written sources say nothing about the relocation of West Balt tribes to the region of the River Ros', but we can clearly determine '*terminus post quem*' of this event, as they could not have appeared there earlier than the defensive line near the River Ros' was developed. At the same time, there were numerous campaigns by Yaroslav the Wise to the Baltic lands, noted in a chronicle in the 1030s and 1040s. After taking Belz from the Poles in 1030, Yaroslav went to Chud, defeated them, and founded the hill-fort of Yuriyev, modern-day Tartu: '*уде Ярослав на Чудь; и победи я, и постави город Юрьев*'.²⁹ We also know about campaigns against the Yotvingians (1038), the Lithuanians (1040), Yam (1042) and Mazovia (1047).³⁰ In this connection, the Novgorod first chronicle (commission scroll) presents interesting data about the campaign by Yaroslav to Mazovia in 1047. This source gives wider information than the Hypatian Codex. Thus, it is said in the chronicle that Kazymyr I, an ally of Yaroslav, handed 800 prisoners over to him.³¹ Perhaps, prisoners were one of the aims of Yaroslav's other campaigns to the southeast Baltic region as well, because the development of the border of Ros' required great human resources. It is hard to say exactly when Yaroslav relocated the West Balts to the region of the River Ros'. Nevertheless, according to written sources and archaeological evidence, it could be dated to the mid-11th century. Considering the combat weaponry excavated in the Ostriv graveyard, the migrants who settled there played a defensive role. They were supposed to protect the hill-forts of the Ros' region, mentioned in chronicles.

There is a large Old Rus' hill-fort situated approximately 500 metres across the River Ros', opposite the graveyard (Fig. 2–4). The hill-fort is oval in shape, and stretches from north to south. Its total area alongside the fortifications is 1.75 hectares, the area inside the fortifications is 0.85 hectares (tacheometric measurements by Olga

²⁷ *Повесть временных лет*. Ч. I: *Текст и перевод*. Ред. Варвара АДРИАНОВА-ПЕРЕЦ. Москва, Ленинград, 1950, с. 101; *Полное собрание русских летописей*. Т. 2: *Ипатьевская летопись*. Вып. I. Изд. 3-е (hereafter, *ИЛ*). Ред. Алексѣй ШАХМАТОВЪ. Петроградъ, 1923, стб. 136.

²⁸ *Повесть...*, с. 101; *ИЛ*, стб. 136.

²⁹ *Повесть...*, с. 101; *ИЛ*, стб. 136.

³⁰ *Повесть...*, с. 103; *ИЛ*, стб. 136; *Новгородская первая летопись старшего и младшего извода*. Ред. Арсений НАСОНОВ. Москва, Ленинград, 1950, с. 181.

³¹ *Новгородская первая летопись...*, с. 181.

Manigda). The entrance was on the river side from the west. A gap in the fortifications and a topographic drop can be seen here. Nowadays, the distance from the entrance to the line of the river is on average 55 metres.

The hill-fort has been known since the first half of the 19th century. The first descriptions were carried out by Ivan Fundukley in 1848³² and some time later by Lavrentiy Pokhlyevych³³ and Vladimir Antonovych.³⁴ The first archaeological investigations were undertaken by Mikhailo Braichevsky in 1947. He carried out visual observations and occasional artefact analysis, and revealed the settlements outside the hill-fort.³⁵ Mikhail Kuchera undertook new visual observations of the Sukholisy hill-fort in 1972. Later, in 1980, he excavated two stratigraphic test pits, measuring one by 0.5, and 0.5 by 0.5 metres.³⁶ He stated that the hill-fort was used as a shelter, and was not settled continuously. It was employed during the 11th to the 13th centuries. Kuchera classified the Sukholisy hill-fort as a 'lowland hill-fort', not characteristic of the mid-sub-Dnieper lands. In 1985, Ruslan Orlov and Boris Magomedov investigated the hill-fort and its surroundings, and clarified the location and the borders of the settlement outside the hill-fort.³⁷ Despite continued research interest in the Sukholisy hill-fort, it still remains little known, and needs further investigation. But we think that the West Balt warriors buried in the Ostriv graveyard could have defended this hill-fort in the 11th century.

Conclusion

In summing up, it should be noted that the analysis of burial complexes with weaponry in the Ostriv graveyard showed that armour differs from synchronous sites in the mid-Dnieper region from the 11th century. But they have many analogies in West Balt antiquities from the southeast coast of the Baltic Sea. The results of a survey of the graveyard in 2017 and 2018 not only expanded our knowledge about the defence of the southern frontier of the state of Kyivan Rus', but opened a new page in the shared history of the ancient peoples of Ukraine and the Baltic countries in the Middle Ages.

³² ФУНДУКЛЕЙ, Иванъ. *Обозрѣніе могиль, валовъ и городищъ Кіевской Губерніи*. Кіевъ, 1848, с. 145.

³³ ПОХИЛЕВИЧЪ, Лаврентій. *Сказанія о населенныхъ мѣстностяхъ Кіевской Губерніи*. Кіевъ, 1864, с. 518.

³⁴ АНТОНОВИЧЪ, Владиміръ. *Археологическая карта Кіевской Губерніи*. Москва, 1895, с. 54.

³⁵ БРАЙЧЕВСЬКИЙ, Михайло. *Дневник разведки экспедиции «Большой Киев» Средне-Росский отряд, 1947. Науковий архів інституту археології Національної Академії наук України (Research Archives of the Institute of Archaeology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, hereafter, HAIА), ф. 64, оп. 1947, сп. 27 (1947/27), № 593, с. 16–17.*

³⁶ КУЧЕРА, Михаил. *Звіт про роботу розвідзагону по обстеженню городищ Київщини в 1972 р., 1972. HAIА, ф. 64, оп. 1972, сп. 24-А (1972/24а), с. 37–39; КУЧЕРА, Михаил. Отчет о работе экспедиции Змиевые валы в 1980 г., 1980. HAIА, ф. 64, оп. 1980, сп. 34 (1980/34), с. 39–40.*

³⁷ ОРЛОВ, Руслан; МАГОМЕДОВ, Борис. *Отчет о разведках в Белоцерковском и Таращанском районах Киевской области в 1985 году, 1985. HAIА, ф. 64, оп. 1985, сп. 1 А (1985/1а), № 2175, с. 6–7.*

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KAPAI SU GINKLAIS IŠ BALTŲ KAPINYNŲ OSTRIVE VIDURIO DNIepro REGIONE (2017–2018 METŲ KASINĖJIMAI)

Vyacheslav Baranov, Vsevolod Ivakin

Santrauka

2017 m. Rokitniansko rajone, Kijevo srityje, dešiniajame Rosos upės krante, buvo rastas ir ištyrinėtas unikalus XI a. kapinynas (nekropolis) Ostrive (žr. 1 pav.). Ostrivo kapinynas užima Rosos upės dešinę aukštutinę terasą, o kitoje pusėje buvo Senosios Rusios Sucholiso gyvenvietė (žr. 2–4 pav.). Teritorijoje, kurioje išsidėstęs kapinynas, dar XX a. antrojoje pusėje vykdytų kasinėjimų metu taip pat buvo aptikta bronzos amžiaus, Tautų kraustymosi laikotarpio (vadinamosios Černiachovskio kultūros, datuotinos apie III a.) ir ankstyvųjų slavų kultūros (Prahos ir Penkovsko kultūros, datuojamos apie VI–VII a.) sluoksnių, kuriuose matyti ir skitų, gyvenusių iki minėtų kultūrų, įtaka. Archeologų rasta medžiaga rodo, kad ji skiriasi nuo to paties laikotarpio Kijevo Rusios kapinynų radinių, ir Ostrivo kapinynas sietinas su pietrytinės Baltijos jūros pakrantės gyventojais.

2017–2018 m. archeologinių kasinėjimų metu buvo iširtas apie 1 100 m² plotas, kuriame rasti XI a. priskirtini 53 inhumaciniai kapai. Iš šio skaičiaus ginklų buvo rasta vienuolikoje kapaviečių, o tai sudaro 20 proc. visų tirtų kapų ir 60 proc. visų nustatytų vyriškų laidojimų. Šiuo straipsniu siekta pristatyti kapų, kuriuose rasta ginklų, medžiagą, nurodant ginklų tipus, panašumą su kitais to paties laikotarpio ginklais.

Ostrivo kapinyno ginkluotės komplekso pagrindą sudaro IV tipo kirviai (pagal Anatolijaus Kirpičnikovo tipologiją), rasti šešiuose iš 11 kapų. Šių kirvių ypatybė ta, kad platėjanti ašmenų dalis yra nuleista žemyn (12.1, 6, 8; 13.1; 16 pav.). Vienuolikoje kapavietėje buvo rastas III tipo kirvis (pagal A. Kirpičnikovo tipologiją), t. y. analogiškai siaurėjančiais ašmenimis (12.7; 14.8 pav.). Abu kirvių tipai mokslininkų siejami su Senosios Rusios valstybės

formavimosi laikotarpiu. Tiesa, kapavietėje nr. 45 buvo rastas ir kitokio tipo kirvis su plačiais simetriškais ašmenimis (žr. 13.20 pav.), artimas M kirvių tipui pagal Jano Petersono tipologiją, tradiciškai sietinas su skandinavų kariauninkais ir Senojoje Rusijoje labai retai aptinkamas.

Kita didesnė ginklų grupė, aptikta Ostrivo nekropolyje, buvo ietigaliai, rasti trijuose kapuose. Antai kape nr. 5 buvo rastas pailgas siaurėjantis ietigalis (12.3; 14.4 pav.). Panašūs ietigaliai pagal A. Kirpičnikovo tipologiją priskiriami I tipui, jie sietini su skandinavų ginkluote. Kitoks ietigalis buvo rastas 50-ame kape, jis primena ištsusį rombą ir artimas VII tipui (pagal A. Kirpičnikovo tipologiją) (žr. 13.21; 15.7 pav.). Paprastai manoma, kad tokie ietigaliai buvo naudojami ne karybai, o medžioklei. Mokslininkai konstatuoja, kad daugelis Ostrive aptiktų ietigalių būdingi būtent baltų kariauninkams, ir šie ietigaliai sietini su baltų karybos tradicijomis.

Dar viena ginklų grupė, aptinkama Ostrivo kapinyne, – tai kalavijai. 26-ame kape buvo rasta kalavijo rankenos buoželė, priklausanti S tipui (pagal J. Petersono tipologiją), kas, matyt, rodo mirusiojo socialinį išskirtinumą, nors, atrodo, nepakanka tvirtų argumentų teigti, jog čia buvo palaidotas kariauninkų vadas. Vis dėlto, be ginklų, žirgų ekipuotės likučiai kapuose nr. 26 ir 50 rodo aukštą čia palaidotų mirusiųjų socialinį statusą.

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Apskritai visas Ostrivo kapinyno ginklų rinkinys priskirtinas pėstininkams, kariams, kurie tikriausiai ir sudarė didžiąją dalį bendruomenės, palikusios šį kapinyną. Senosios Rusios Sucholiso gyvenvietės išsidėstymas priešingame Rosos upės krante leidžia manyti, kad kapinyną palikusi bendruomenė atliko gynybinę funkciją. Rasti archeologiniai artefaktai – įvjinės apyrankės, segės su zoomorfiniais antgaliais, žiedai, kaklo papuošalai (žr. 16 pav.) – būdingi vakarų baltų žmonėms (prūsams, kuršiams ar skalviams) ir datuoti XI a. pirmąja puse bei viduriu. Rašytiniai šaltiniai papildė ir patvirtina archeologinius duomenis. Ties 1032 m. data Senosios Rusios metraštininkas informuoja, kad Kijevo kunigaikštis Jaroslavas Išmintingasis pradėjo naujų įtvirtinimų statybas kairiajame Rosos krante, norėdamas pietines savo valdas apsaugoti nuo besiveržiančių klajoklių (pirmiausia – pečenegų). Rosos upė atliko natūralios gamtinės gynybos sienos funkciją ir jos pakrantėse išdygo įtvirtinimų eilė. Būtent čia Jaroslavas 1031 m. apgyvendino po karo su Lenkijos valdovu dėl Červenės žemės miestų parsivarytus lenkus belaisvius. Metraštininkas nieko nekalba apie vakarų baltų perkėlimą į šią teritoriją, bet užsimena apie karo žygius į Baltijos regioną – prieš čiudus 1030 m., jotvingius 1038 m., Lietuvą 1040 m., jamius 1042 m. ir mazovius 1047 m. Greičiausiai vieno iš šių žygių metu vakarų baltų gyventojai ir buvo perkelti į Vidurio Dniepro regioną, jiems pavedant Kijevo Rusios pietinių žemių apsaugą.

Aptarti archeologiniai duomenys iš Ostrivo kapinyno leidžia naujai pažvelgti į baltų ir slavų santykius viduramžiais.