

The People of *Vod'* and its Culture in Novgorod State

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Abstract

Russian chronicles know two Finnic peoples at the north-western outskirts of Rus – the Ests or Estii (*Chud'*) and the Vods (*Votes – Vod'*). The *Chud'* are mentioned as early as in the undated part of the Russian Primary Chronicle (*Povest' Vremennykh Let*), while the name of *Vod'* has been known since 1069. Telling about the events of the 13th century, the chronicler clearly distinguishes between these two Finnic ethnic groups.

The language of the Vods was relatively close to the northern dialect of the Estonian language. Beginning from the 19th century, scholars tried to identify the borders of the region occupied by the Vods. Many scholars supposed that this tribe settled vast territories in the north-west of Russia. Such conclusions were based on the fact that the so-called *Vodskaya Pyatina* (*pyatinas* were administrative districts of Novgorod the Great in the 15th and 16th centuries) was located in the same vast territory.

During the last decades, new material has come to light that enables us to speak more accurately about the region settled by the *Vod'* in the Middle Ages. The study of written, ethnographical, and archaeological sources allows us to draw the conclusion that the territory of *Vod'* stretched from north-eastern Estonia along the Gulf of Finland to as far as the fortress of Koporye and its surroundings. Ancient stone cemeteries dated to the beginning of the 1st millennium AD have been found here. According to their burial rite and grave goods, they look like the so-called *tarand* grave cemeteries of north-eastern Estonia. Sometimes such cemeteries included graves dated from the 12th–13th centuries to the 18th century. Some elements of the dress of Vodian women found in these graves are very typical: a headdress with ornaments of seed-beads, cowrie shells and bronze mounts, and specific breast decorations (the so-called *müätsi* and *rissiko*). In 2009, in the region of the Vodian cemeteries near the village of Val'ya, a bronze cauldron was found containing parts of an ethnographic woman's dress dated to the 17th century. A characteristic cloth apron was preserved best.

The study presented here shows that from ancient times, the southern shore of the Gulf of Finland was settled by Finnic tribes that we know in the late medieval period under the names of the Ests and Vods. In terms of material culture, the populations living to the east and west of the Narva River resembled each other. Afterwards, the differences between their material cultures gradually increased. The people to the east of the Narva River acquired special features in their material culture and language and came to call themselves *Vatjalaset* or *Waddjalaiset* (the *Vod'* of Russian chronicles).

Russian chronicles know two Finnish peoples at the north-western outskirts of Rus – the Ests or Estii (*Chud'*) and the Vods (Vodes – *Vod'*). The *Chud'* are mentioned as early as in the undated part of the Russian Primary Chronicle (*Povest' Vremennykh Let*), while the name of *Vod'* has been known since 1069. Telling about the events of the 13th century, the chronicler clearly distinguishes between these two Finnic ethnic groups.

Everywhere in the Novgorod and Pskov annals, the name *Chud'* implies the Ests, who in the chronicles are distinguished from the *Vod'*, *Izhora*, *Ves'*, *Yem'*, and *Korela*. The problem of the use of the term *Chud'* and its derivatives has many aspects. In her study from 1990, R. A. Ageyeva, who had devoted many years to this problem, came to the conclusion that the latter can be looked at in two ways deriving from quite differing sources. On the one hand, there is an annalistic block of information where primarily the Ests were mentioned as the *Chud'*. Beginning from the 11th century, the Ests are named *Chud'* in Russian chronicles, and moreover, Estonia was called the *Chudian Land* (Ageyeva 1990: 89–90). The second group of sources consists of miscellaneous mentions of the *Chud'* in folklore and in popular vocabulary beginning from the 18th century and concerned with various Finno-Ugric peoples and numerous toponyms, which cannot be dated exactly (Ageyeva 1970: 194–203). While the first block of information is fairly precise, the second one is a collective term for 'foreign' non-Slavic peoples, mostly Finnic (e.g. the *Chud' Zavolochskaya* or the People beyond the Portages).

It is now clear where and how the medieval material culture of the Ests had been formed. Consolidation of tribes is traced since the mid-1st millennium AD in the territory that is now Estonia, including the islands of Saaremaa and Muhu. In the material culture, this fact has been reflected in the development of peculiar funerary sites – different types of stone cemeteries, which, having evolved from the mid-1st millennium BC, by the beginning of the 2nd millennium AD retained the continuity of a single culture (Lang 2007).

The second Finnic tribe settled to the east of the Ests was that of the Vods. Its language is considered to be the closest cognate of Estonian. The well-known Estonian linguist Paul A. Ariste, who studied the Vodian language in particular, has considered it even to be a dialect of the northern Estonian language. Thus, the northern Ests and Vods were closely related peoples who had no linguistic barrier and understood each other without difficulty (Ariste 1956: 21).

Since the 19th century, researchers have used information based on written sources and ethnographical materials in attempts to define the area of settlement of the Vods and its centre. The Vods seemed to be a tribe occupying a huge territory beginning from the low reaches of the Luga River in the west to as far as the Volkhov River in the east. This was the opinion of A. Ch. Lehrberg and Andreas Johan Sjögren, while Ya. Starovskiy also considered the regions to the south of the Ilmen as Vodian territory (Khvoshchinskaya 2009: 302). It is clearly evident that their supposition was based on the boundaries of the southern area of the Vodskaya Pyatina of Veliky Novgorod (*pyatina* was a region in the administrative division of the Novgorod state in the 15th century), which diverged at an angle from Novgorod to the north along the Volkhov River and to the north-west via the Luga River as far as the Gulf of Finland. The very name of *Vodskaya Pyatina* weighed upon the scholars as an indication of a region settled by the Vods.

None of those concerned with the problem of settling of the Vods in the 20th century was able to review this opinion. This situation was greatly promoted by an article by H. A. Moora and A. H. Moora, who in 1965 discussed the question of the territory occupied by the Vods on the basis of the present-day linguistic data (Moora & Moora 1965: 63–90). In the beginning of their paper, the authors noted that, in the 11th century,

Most of the Vodians occupied the area between the lower reaches of the Luga River and what is now the town of Gatchina on the Izhora Plateau

(the latter thus would be more justifiably called the Vodian Plateau). However, in the 1st millennium, the territory of settlement of the Vodian tribes was much more expansive, comprising, in addition, the eastern shore of Lake Chudskoye (Peipus), at least as far as 30 kilometres to the south of what is now the town of Gdov. We still do not know how far to the east of Lake Chudskoye (Peipus) the area occupied by the Vods had expanded (Moora & Moora 1965: 63).

The authors distinguished three Vodian tribes to the east of the Narva River: the north-eastern people on the Izhora Plateau, the north-western tribe between the Luga and Narva Rivers, and the southern one in the region of Gdov. The Vods, in accordance to these views, occupied a huge territory in antiquity: this seemed in no way contrary to the opinion of the first researchers of this people.

The distinguishing of the Vods into different tribes was undoubtedly suggested to Estonian scholars by the existence of different dialect groups in the present-day Vodian language. According to data presented by Enn Ernits, in 1848, the Vodian language was subdivided into three dialects: the eastern (32% of the population) and western (65%) dialects and the dialect of Kurovitsa (3% – one village) (Ernits 1996: 193–206). In turn, the western dialect is separated into three groups (*vaipooli*, *orko*, *mäci*). All these dialect differences have been recorded among the populations of a number of villages situated between the lower Luga River and Koporye (Heinsoo 1995: 173–176, 178–179). In this way, the language of a small group of the old Vods became the basis for suppositions about the existence of considerable tribal unions over vast territories in antiquity. These views became axioms of a kind in scientific literature.

Valentin V. Sedov supposed that,

prior to the settlement of the Slavs, the Vodian and tribes kindred to them occupied not only the Izhora Plateau, but also considerable north-western areas contiguous with the Ests in the re-

gions of Lakes Chudskoye and Pskov and with the *Ves'* at the watershed of the Ilmen and Volga basins in the east (Sedov 1984: 160).

The area of the Izhora Plateau is included in the area of settlement of the *Vod'* also by E. A. Ryabinin, who noted that the nucleus of the Vodian tribal territory identified after the written documents of the 15th–16th centuries (with some correctives from earlier sources) comprised mostly the Izhora heights. This opinion is found also in the later works of this researcher (Ryabinin 1997: 20).

What was really the basis of H. A. Moora and A. H. Moora's conclusions concerning the division of the Vods into different tribes besides the supposition that present-day dialect groups reflect the existence of ancient tribal formations? Paradoxical as it is, these authors propose no arguments at all in favour of the presence of Vodian populaces (1st millennium AD) in the eastern Chud region (the Southern *Vod'*) in antiquity. They write frankly that there is no information about this in written sources, whereas in the ethnographic map of Peter Köppen and its appendices, no Vods are found on the eastern banks of Lake Chudskoye. Hence 'this tribe had dissolved among the Slavs prior to the Northern Vods' (Moora & Moora 1965: 71). But what, in fact, induced H. A. Moora and A. H. Moora to place the Vods at the eastern shore of Lake Chudskoye? Their main reason was that, in 1815, when travelling from Narva to Pskov, K. I. Schlegel found 'semi-Russified Finns' some dozen versts to the south of Gdov – in the surroundings of the village of Zamogilye (Moora & Moora 1965: 71). Since K. I. Schlegel had lived a few years in Estonia and mastered the Estonian language, according to the opinion of the authors, he recognised some other local Finns, probably Vods. This argument is beyond any critique, all the more so considering that the beginning of the 19th century is concerned here. P. Köppen, when collecting information for his ethnographic map, found no Vodians in this region in the 1830s, that is, 15 years after K. I. Schlegel's activities. From historical sources,

many facts are well known about migrations of the Estonian population to the eastern shore of Lake Chudskoye. In the opinion of Aliise Moora, 'the mixed Russian-Estonian population, since the old times, was retained, in particular, on the Remed (Remdov) Peninsula' (A. Moora 1964: 289). Here the banks of the lake are separated via a narrow strait. Considerable movement of the Estonian people to the neighbouring eastern territory was recorded in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Many Estonians settled in the Seredkinskaya volost' to the south of Gdov (*volost'* was a local administrative district in the 18th–19th centuries; A. Moora 1964: 108). Thus, it is unclear what Russified Finns were actually found in 1815 by K. I. Schlegel on the eastern bank of Lake Chudskoye. At least no arguments are given here in favour of the existence of any separate old Vodian people occupying the area to the south of Gdov. Thus, the existence of the southern tribe of the Vods becomes quite uncertain and only the poorly founded hypothesis of Estonian scholars remains.

Most researchers, independently of their ethnic interpretation of the numerous kurgan-zhalnik (graves bordered with stones) burial grounds of the 12th–14th centuries, agree that the Izhora Plateau was the main settling region of the Vods. H. A. Moora, V. I. Ravdonikas, I. P. Shaskol'skiy and P. Ligi view the kurgans and zhalniks as monuments of the Slavified Vods, whereas some other researchers (A. A. Spitsyn, V. V. Sedov, E. A. Ryabinin) view them as relics of the Old-Russian population with elements of the Vodian culture.

Meanwhile, there are no sites on the Izhora Plateau that could be reliably attributed to the Vodian population of the 1st millennium AD. There are no settlement sites of the Early Metal Age on the plateau, no people of the Culture of Long Barrows nor Sopki had penetrated it, no stray finds dating prior to the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries (beginning of the Old-Russian colonisation) have been found here. Before the period mentioned, traces of any permanent population had simply been absent on the plateau. The later occupation of this lo-

cality was due to its physical and geographical features. It is elevated 150 m above sea level and consists of Silurian limestones covered with loams with large numbers of boulders. These lands are fertile but hard to cultivate if a sufficiently high level of agrarian techniques is lacking. This situation was also complicated by the absence of water on the plateau. The surface waters soak rapidly through the soil, so that there are neither rivers nor creeks here. Until present days, water was procured on the plateau from artesian bores, while the remaining old wells are 15–22 m deep. All these facts suggest that prior to the appearance of the Old-Russian population who left the kurgan-zhalnik cemeteries on the plateau, the area of the Izhora Heights was uninhabited (Kol'chatov 1982: 61–65). Only at the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries, the first people appeared here, although, according to counts made by Yu. M. Lesman, only nine of the known burial grounds are datable to that period, that is, less than four percent of the total number of sites, and moreover, they are situated mostly 'in the western part of the plateau, only sometimes extending to its centre' (Lesman 1982: 69).

Summing up, there are no grounds to place any Vodian tribes here. It remains to discuss the Vodian population that from time immemorial lived within the compact area along the coast of the Gulf of Finland, to the east of the Estii. The southern boundary of the Vodian settlement was at the edge of the Izhora Heights (the map of the archaeological monuments related to the Finnic population on the western borders of the Izhora Plateau is presented in the article of M. Yushkova in this volume). It is exactly this region in which the Vods are recorded by documentary and ethnographic sources, and most importantly, according to F. Tumanskiy, the Vods themselves defined this area as the land of their ancestors (Öpik 1970: 85). In the annals, the Vods are often mentioned as a people, but the territory of their settlement is not precisely defined. Describing the events of the 13th century concerned with the struggle between the Novgorod state and the Livonian Order, as well as the history of the 15th–16th centuries, both the

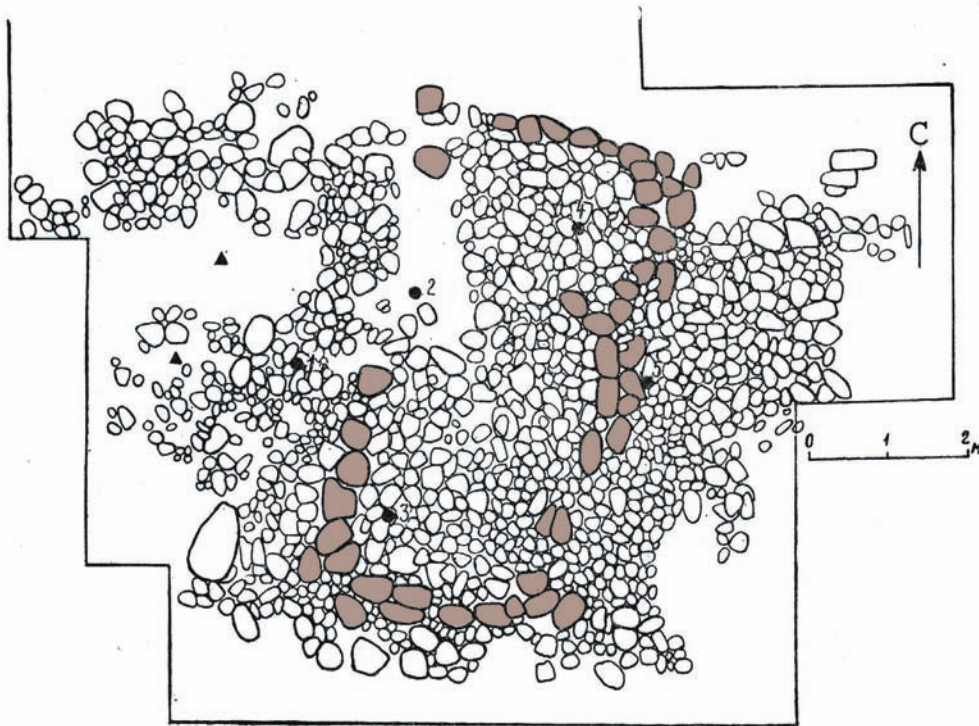


Figure 1. Stone-grave cemetery near the village of Valgovitsy. According to E. A. Ryabinin; the stone fences are marked by N. V. Khvoshchinskaya. ▲ – pieces of ceramics; ● – finds: 1 – socketed axe; 2, 3 – iron bracelets; 4 – whetstone; 5 – bronze bracelet.

Russian and West-European documents fairly confidently name the Vods among the dwellers of Narva, Ivangorod, Koporye, and their surroundings. According to the ethnographers of the 19th century, Vods (*Vatjalaset*, *Waddjalaiset*) occupied a fairly compact area from the surroundings of Koporye in the east and the basins of the Sista and Suma Rivers in the west to as far as the lower reaches of the Luga River. In medieval written sources, supplementary names are found among peasants from different parts of Estonia indicating their Vodian origin (Ligi 1986: 157; A. Moora 1964: 42).

To summarise, we are able to define the Vodian zone of settlement as expanding from the Narva River, including the regions of north-eastern Estonia (Alutaguse) to as far as Koporye and its surroundings. The centres of the ethnographic region occupied by the Vods included the fortress of Koporye and the vil-

lage of Kotly (the old parish of Kattila). In the mid-19th century, there were 37 villages settled by the Vods in the surroundings of Kotly and Koporye (Keppen 1851).¹

According to information by ethnographers, about two dozen elderly persons knew the Vodian language in the 1970s in seven villages near Krakolye and Kotly (Shlygina 1977: 124–125). Now, in the 21st century, residents of three villages, Krakolye, Luzhitsy, and Peski, consider themselves as descendants of the Vods. The concentration of this population exactly in this region is not fortuitous. As F. Tumanskiy wrote, the soils in ‘Kotly are the best, the most fertile over the entire province’ (Öpik 1970: 85–86). It is exactly within the limits of the specified region in which archaeological sites have been found that may be related to the Vods.

E. A. Ryabinin’s find of a stone cemetery a few kilometres to the north-east of Lake

Khabolovo, on the sand hills near the villages of Velikino and Valgovitsy, came to be an important discovery. These cemeteries date from the first half of the 1st millennium AD (Ryabinin 1987: 408–411; 1994: 23–29) (Fig. 1). Monuments of this type were revealed by chance during extensive excavations of late medieval flat-grave inhumation cemeteries. In their centre, there were stone works, and in their character and structure they were similar to the stone-grave *tarand* cemeteries of Estonia of the first half of the 1st millennium AD. They consisted of rectangular stone works (in Valgovitsy, the fences were destroyed at the edge), in which the edge stones were the largest, while those of the fill were smaller. In Velikino, calcined bones, like at Estonian cemeteries, were spilled between the stones. Among the bones, an iron pin and a hooked scythe were found. E. A. Ryabinin dated the Velikino finds to the 3rd–4th centuries AD. Valgovitsy, judging by the sets of grave goods (whetstone, sleeved iron socketed axe with an ear at the top, two iron bracelets, and one bronze bracelet), dates from an earlier period – the 1st–2nd centuries AD. No remains of cremations were discovered here. The director of the excavations supposed that the interments in Valgovitsy were made according to the rite of inhumation, but the burials are not preserved, because they were placed practically on the surface. Sherds of striated pottery from the Valgovitsy cemetery enabled M. A. Yushkova to reconstruct a slightly profiled jar with a pitted decoration on the shoulder, which is similar to Estonian patterns.

The open stone cemeteries similar to the Estonian ones are not the only sites of this type in the region under consideration. H. A. Moora, with a reference to P. P. Efimenko, noted that one stone cemetery was found in the reaches of the lower Luga River (H. Moora 1938: 18). In 2006, stray finds of five bronze arbalest-shaped fibulae, the head of a penannular brooch with email *champlevé* decoration, and four crook-like pins were made 15 km to the south-west of Koporye, near the village of Udolovo, in an arable field. The examination



Figure 2. Reconstruction of Vodian female costume, 13th century, by N. V. Khvoshchinskaya. Cemetery of Valgovitsy, grave 61.

of this locality by P. E. Sorokin showed that here, on a hill slope, are the remains of still another stone burial ground (Sorokin & Sharov 2008: 171). Beginning in the 2nd century AD, arbalest-shaped brooches constitute a considerable part of grave goods at Estonian stone cemeteries with fenced graves (Laul 2001: 90–108).

In terms of typology, the brooches discovered near the village of Udolovo ‘could not have been imports from more western regions, but rather their skilled imitations or local derivatives with new morphological features’ (Sorokin & Sharov 2008: 179), while chronologically they date the cemetery under consideration to the first centuries of this era. A detailed consideration of the region situated along the southern coast



Figure 3. Vodian female costume. According to F. Trefurt; after N. V. Shlygina 1986: 211 Fig. 80.

of the Gulf of Finland allowed M. A. Yushkova and I. V. Stasyuk to identify an entire series of sites and single findspots dating from the 1st millennium AD, which, in terms of the features of their material culture, are close to the stone-grave cemeteries in Estonia (Kyorstovo, Malli, Ratchino, Dyadlitsy etc.; Stasyuk 2011: 224–232; Yushkova 2010: 317–329). At present it is clear that further purposeful research should increase the number of known sites of pre-Russian populaces. To summarise, in the 1st millennium AD, Finnic people close to the Ests occupied the coast of the Gulf of Finland to the east of Narva. These were the ancestors of the Vods.

In addition, E. A. Ryabinin found, within the same area, late medieval cemeteries of Vods near the six villages of Valgovitsy, Velikino, Verdiya, Rassiya, Pondelovo, and Mattiya. He investigated three of these burial grounds (100 burials in Valgovitsy, 46 in Velikino, and 43 in Verdiya). These were burials according to the inhumation rite, often in shallow pits, occasionally marked by stones on the surface, predominantly with the western, more rarely eastern, orientation of the interred bodies. As

suggested by the uniform burial rite and the character of the grave goods, all three of the burial grounds were left by a single cultural and historical group of people (Ryabinin 1997: 32–41).

The cemeteries mentioned above are dated to a time span from the 12th–13th centuries to the 18th century (most of the interments date from the 12th–13th centuries to the 16th century). In Valgovitsy and Velikino, the oldest burials immediately adjoined stone structures of the Roman period. In terms of the funerary rite, archaic traditions are traceable at the stone cemeteries (burials of the 12th–13th centuries almost on the surface, ritual damage of tools). It is notable that in the Vodian graves, no brooches, bead necklaces, or bracelets are found; seal rings are extremely rare, but over 70 percent of female graves with grave goods contain sets of breast ornaments with one or two pins and a small chain. Single parts of the costume were decorated with bronze and tin ornaments (Fig. 2). The fact that these cemeteries were undoubtedly left by the Vodian population is indicated by specific breast ornaments consisting of two pieces of red cloth in the form of a sickle or a crescent, found by E. A. Ryabinin in nine of the female burials. Among the Baltic-Finnic peoples, only the Vods used this kind of ornaments, which were probably of semantic significance. These ornaments are well discernible in an engraved picture from 1785 by a pastor from Narva, Friedrich Ludolph Trefurt (Fig. 3). One of these decorations – the larger one – is *miüätsi*, which was fixed on the breast, while the narrower one – *rissiko* – was worn closer to the neck (Öpik 1970: 91, 96, 101, 103; Shlygina 1986: 215).

In a field next to the village of Val'ya in the zone of distribution of Vodian cemeteries, a unique ethnographic find was made in 2009 in the Kingissep district of Leningrad oblast (Khvoshchinskaya 2010: 96–100). In a bronze cauldron covered with clay on the top, parts of an ethnographic Vodian costume wrapped in canvas were found.

Unfortunately, this hoard was discovered by a non-professional local resident, so that no



Figure 4. Ornaments on the upper apron of a Vodian female costume. Detail, 17th century. Photo: N. V. Khvoshchinskaya.

careful taking apart with primary conservation of separate parts of the garment was conducted. The contents of the cauldron were simply dumped onto a polyethylene sheet in such a way that many details of the clothing were irreparably damaged. Anyway, this find is especially notable for researchers, primarily ethnographers. The cauldron contained parts of a Vodian female costume dated to the 17th century, as indicated by the Swedish coins decorating them.

Firstly, it is worth noting a cloth apron stored in the cauldron, which was preserved better than other parts of the garment. It was a piece of blue linen cloth interwoven with

decorative lines of small coins and bronze spirals (Fig. 4). Married Vodian women wore two aprons – an upper and a lower one. The upper apron consisted of two pieces of cloth decorated with embroidery, while the lower one was of smooth woollen cloth embroidered with seed beads and bronze mounts. This find is a lower apron. The embroidery of the apron with spirals seems very archaic, resembling the ornaments on the clothing of Finnic peoples of the 12th and 13th centuries (Laul & Valk 2007: 60, 66; Zariņa 1988: 33, 35, 37, 52).

Among the other details of the costume, noteworthy are fragments of two epigonations

(thigh cloths) consisting of two rather narrow pieces of fabric that hung from the belt on the sides. They were woven from red wool with multi-coloured stripes and decorated with coins, seed beads, cowrie shells, and little bells. Thigh-cloths are a characteristic element of the costume of Finnic peoples. Also parts of woven belts were preserved. The costume of a Vodian woman may have included several belts. According to Finnish ethnographers of the late 19th century, a bride wore nine belts, while a total of 10 types of belts were in use. In addition, pieces of red broadcloth were preserved from breast ornaments of the *müätsi* and *rissiko* mentioned above. All the Vodian women, independently of age, wore *rissivirka* – a cross pendant on a braided cord or a double strand of beads. This part of dress was also observed among the parts of clothing put into the cauldron.

The headdress was also preserved, although in a damaged state. The features of its individual fragments allow us to reconstruct both the remains of the cone-shaped cap, *pääsiä*, embroidered over its entire surface with opaque seed-beads on a linen base. This is the headdress of a married woman having a baby. Below the cap, ribbons decorated with seed-beads and cowrie shells descended along the back, thus enabling the cap to be fixed on the head. The headdress included temple rings with numerous beads – both spherical and faceted. Silk laces with tassels were usually attached to the temple rings. These also were found in the set under consideration. The find from the vicinity of the village of Valya is to be interpreted as a hoard buried during an uneasy political situation.

In summary, through a comparison of archaeological and ethnographic evidence with information from documentary sources, we can localise the original territory occupied by the Vods, which extends as a narrow belt along the southern coast of the Gulf of Finland. It is within this zone that the reliably identified burial sites of the Vod' have been preserved. It was exactly here that the Vodian population had formed as a recognisable ethnic communi-

ty and retained its culture until the 20th century. Meanwhile, all the barrows of the north-eastern Chudskoye region and the Izhora Plateau appeared in the period of Old-Russian rural colonisation in the 11th–12th centuries, but in no way as a result of a transformation of the ritual practices among the local Finnic population.

It must be noted that before the 19th century, the Vods were subjected not as much to the Russian assimilation as to that of other Finnic peoples – primarily on the part of the Izhora groups penetrating into this area from the east and the Ingermanlanders resettled here in the Swedish period.

Beginning in the 11th century and during the entire 12th century, Novgorod built tribute relations with the Baltic-Finnic peoples, first and foremost with the Ests (*Chud'*). There are no Vods among this number. Raids of the princes against the *Chud'* started from Pskov and Izborsk, that is, from the southern area of the Pskov-Chudskoye basin. In 1030, Yaroslav founded Yuryev as the strong point of the Novgorodians (The First Novgorod Chronicle, p. 183). Notwithstanding the opposition of the Ests, in the course of a series of successful raids, a considerable part of mainland Estonia came to be included in the sphere of influence of Novgorod until 1061.

The Vods lived far from the regions where these events took place. The name *Vod'* came to be found in the pages of a chronicle first in 1069, when they participated in a raid on Novgorod jointly with the Polotsk prince Vseslav. This fact does not seem to be accidental. The date of this raid coincides remarkably with the period of the appearance of the first barrows in the north-eastern Chudskoye region. It seems that in this period the Old-Russian colonisation also reached the aboriginal areas of settlement of the Vods and the Novgorodian authorities began to impose different requisitions and tributes on them. This naturally stimulated discontent and induced the Vodian population to struggle against Novgorod.

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Note

- 1 The atlas of European Russia was compiled in 1848 by Peotr Kerpen (Peter Köppen). The two existing copies of the manuscript of the atlas are kept in St Petersburg. One is in the archives of the Russian Geographical Society, the other is housed in the Library of the Academy of Sciences. A historical note, commentaries and numerical data related to the atlas were published later (the first edition in 1851, the second in 1853; in 1867, a German edition saw light).

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