THE SLAVS

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Preface

THE BIRTH OF this book dates back to 1958 when Professor Roman Jakobson of Harvard University invited me to talk on the prehistory of the Slavs in the course entitled 'Slavic Peoples and Cultures'. This volume covers the period of the Proto- (prehistoric) and Early Slavs before the formation of the Slavic States in the ninth and tenth centuries AD. Now that it is finished, I dedicate *The Slavs* to Roman Jakobson in commemoration of his seventy-fifth birthday in October, 1971.

The story of how the original Slavs erupted from a small nuclear territory to spread over large tracts of Europe is one of the most remarkable in the early history of peoples, and provides a particularly challenging topic for the archaeologist. Our knowledge of the Slavic migration is based on a combination of historic record and archaeological and linguistic evidence. This provides good indirect proof for many other prehistoric Indo-European migrations for which no written records exist.

The challenge of evaluating the tremendous amount of literature in the numerous Slavic languages, containing conflicting views on the problem of the Slavic homeland, was akin to a long trip through a jungle. Whether or not I have succeeded in locating it with the aid of the available archaeological and linguistic data, future scholars will judge.

It was a further challenge to attempt to trace Slavic cultural elements throughout the Iron Age when their lands were disturbed or occupied by Iranian-speaking peoples and Goths and to identify the formation of Slavic material culture after their widespread migrations.

For comments on the text of the unpublished manuscript I wish to express my most sincere thanks to professors Henrik Birnbaum, Pavel Ivić and Roman Jakobson. For assisting me in many ways, collecting of materials and editing, I am deeply indebted to Berenice Boehme and Katherine Kircher-Talev. For the invaluable information on various phases or monuments of Slavic prehistory and for the illustrations for this book the author is grateful to many colleagues in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Ukraine, Russia, and Yugoslavia, and particularly to Drs J. Poulík in Brno, D. Bialekova, B. Chropovský, Z. Čilinská and A. Točík in Nitra, Z. Vinski in Zagreb, Á. Sós in Budapest, D. T. Berezovets in Kiev, I. K. Svëshnikov in Lvov, M. Comşa in Bucharest, Ju. V. Kukharenko, I. I. Ljapushkin (†) and I. P. Rusanova in Moscow, M. A. Tikhanova in Leningrad, as well as to the Institutes of Archaeology of Brno, Bucharest, Kiev, Moscow and Nitra and the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad. The preparation of the manuscript was supported by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies in 1963.

M. G.

Introduction

THE STORY of the Slavs as deciphered from archaeological, historical, linguistic and folkloristic sources reveals the vital ingredient of tenacity as the attribute that kindled the Slavic phenomenon. Initially an insignificant, repeatedly subjugated Indo-European group living north of the Carpathian mountains and the middle Dnieper river area, the Slavic farmers through their persistence managed to survive and ultimately succeeded in occupying a vast territory in Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkan Peninsula. Their expansion was not episodic like that of the Huns and Avars, it was a colonization. Scholars have brilliantly deduced the existence of a Proto-Slavic parent language from the linguistic evidence.

Today there are about 200 million Slavonic-speaking peoples in the world. Their thirteen separate languages, grouped into western, southern and eastern blocs, emerged from what appears to have been a single language until the ninth century AD. The languages within the respective blocs show close affinities and transitional dialects connecting them can be observed; but there are also countless differences, just as there are between those of one bloc and another. The contemporary Poles, Kashubians, Sorbs (Lusatians), Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Macedonians, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Russians and Byelorussians possess individual languages and diverse cultural patterns which evolved during the last ten centuries. The Slavs are not a blood group; there is no Slavic race, as there is no Germanic or Romance race.

The Slavic dispersion from a small nuclear area into large tracts of Europe and Asia provides a convenient basis for evaluating Slavic chronology. The period of their residence in the nuclear area fits into a framework of their prehistory; their migra-

Fig. 1
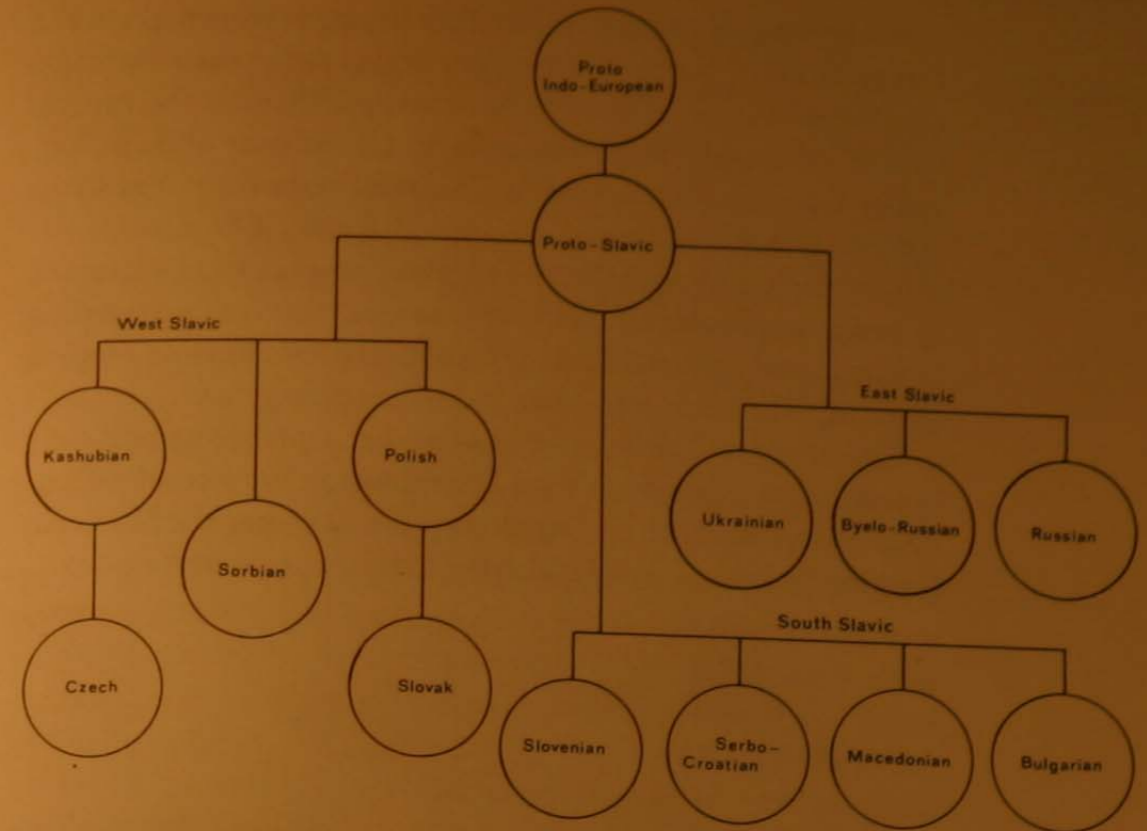
Fig. 1 Diagram to show the relationship between Slavic languages

tion-expansion period can be delineated as early history. We shall call the Slavs of the prehistoric period 'Proto-Slavs' and the Slavs of the migration-expansion period 'Early Slavs'.

The formation of the Slavic states during the ninth and tenth centuries is beyond the scope of this book; however, the diversities of modern Slavic nations are directly attributable to the varied cultural encounters the Slavs met with during their expansion period. Each Slavic group underwent social and economic changes as a result of exposure to differing ethnic environments. By the tenth century, the western and southern Slavic dialects had separated into entities which resemble contemporary linguistic divisions.

An enormous amount of literature has been written about the medieval Slavs, but the Slavic story begins earlier than the tenth-century formation of the Slavic states, earlier than the historic records of the Slavic introduction to Christianity and, in fact, earlier than the accounts of the 'Sclavini' written by the sixth-century historians, Procopius and Jordanes. The Slavs, constituting a branch of the Indo-European peoples, can be assumed to have needed as long a period of time for the development of their language and culture as did the Greeks, Balts, Germanic peoples, Illyrians, Thracians and other Indo-European groups.

This book will endeavour to construct a prehistory and early history of the Slavs from their beginnings in the second millennium BC to the ninth and tenth centuries AD when the Moravian Empire, and the Kievan and other Slavic states were founded.

Origins

THE CRADLE of the Slavs has been sought in an area ranging from the Oder river basin of Central Europe in the west, to the Urals or even Central Asia in the east. Most widely accepted as the geographical location of the Slavic homeland is either 1) Central Europe which includes the Oder-Vistula area of Germany and Poland, or 2) the western Ukraine or the whole Ukraine area north of the Black Sea. In the opinion of some scholars this homeland was a large area comprising both the Central European and North Pontic areas; others believe it to have been confined to Polesie in present Byelorussia, or to Podolia in the western Ukraine or perhaps to the area of eastern Germany and western Poland which coincides with the distribution of the Lusatian culture of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. Some of the hypotheses were built upon tendentious evidence varying according to the political climate or the status of archaeological and linguistic research.[1] In the period preceding the accumulation of large quantities of archaeological material and the refinement of dating methods, stable views on the homeland area of all Indo-Europeans or of separate Indo-European branches, such as the Slavic, were not possible.

Recent research has made it clear that 'proto'-Indo-Europeans embarked on an enormous expansion into Europe and the Near East from the steppes of Eurasia. The differentiation of the more or less homogeneous proto-culture and proto-language proceeded gradually as the tribes dispersed and distances between their areas of settlement increased. The first movement from South Russia to the Ukraine and the Lower Danube basin occurred some time before 4000 BC and the repeated migrations and devastation of the Aegean, Mediterranean and Anatolian lands took place in the period around 2300 BC.[2]

The 'Proto'-Indo-Europeans were semi-nomadic pastoralists having a patrilinear and patriarchal social system. They were horse breeders and possibly used horses as mounts and possessed vehicles as early as the third millennium BC. This explains their mobility. It took them less than a millennium to conquer and/or assimilate a number of Balkan and Central European food-producing cultures as well as convert some North European hunters and fishers to their way of life. Wherever the Indo-European groups spread, Central or Northern Europe, the Balkan Peninsula or the Near East, they brought with them specifically Indo-European elements recognizable archaeologically in different social, economic and habitation patterns, religious symbols, burial rites and art traditions.

The infiltration of Europe by the Indo-Europeans initiated a new era. Great civilizations of the fifth and fourth millennia in the Balkan Peninsula, the Black Sea coasts and the Aegean area disintegrated. The North Pontic culture was the first to be assimilated by the husbandmen from the east. Next, the highly civilized cultures of the Balkans and eastern Central Europe succumbed: Cucuteni-Tripolye in the western Ukraine and Moldavia, Gumelnitsa in southern Romania, Bulgaria and eastern Macedonia, Vinča in the central Balkans, Butmir in Bosnia, Bodrogkeresztúr in the Tisza region and Lengyel in the Middle Danube basin. All of these great Neolithic-Chalcolithic and Copper Age cultures gradually disintegrated. The Funnel-necked Beaker culture of north-western Europe, with its collective burials in passage graves, suffered the same fate. Even the east Baltic area and southern Scandinavia underwent thorough cultural change.

The cultural groups of Indo-European character which formed during the course of several centuries usually occupied territories whose limits of distribution no longer coincided with those of the pre-Indo-European groups. The environmental conditions the Indo-European tribes sought differed from those of the peaceful farmers of the pre-Indo-European era. They needed grazing

Fig. 2
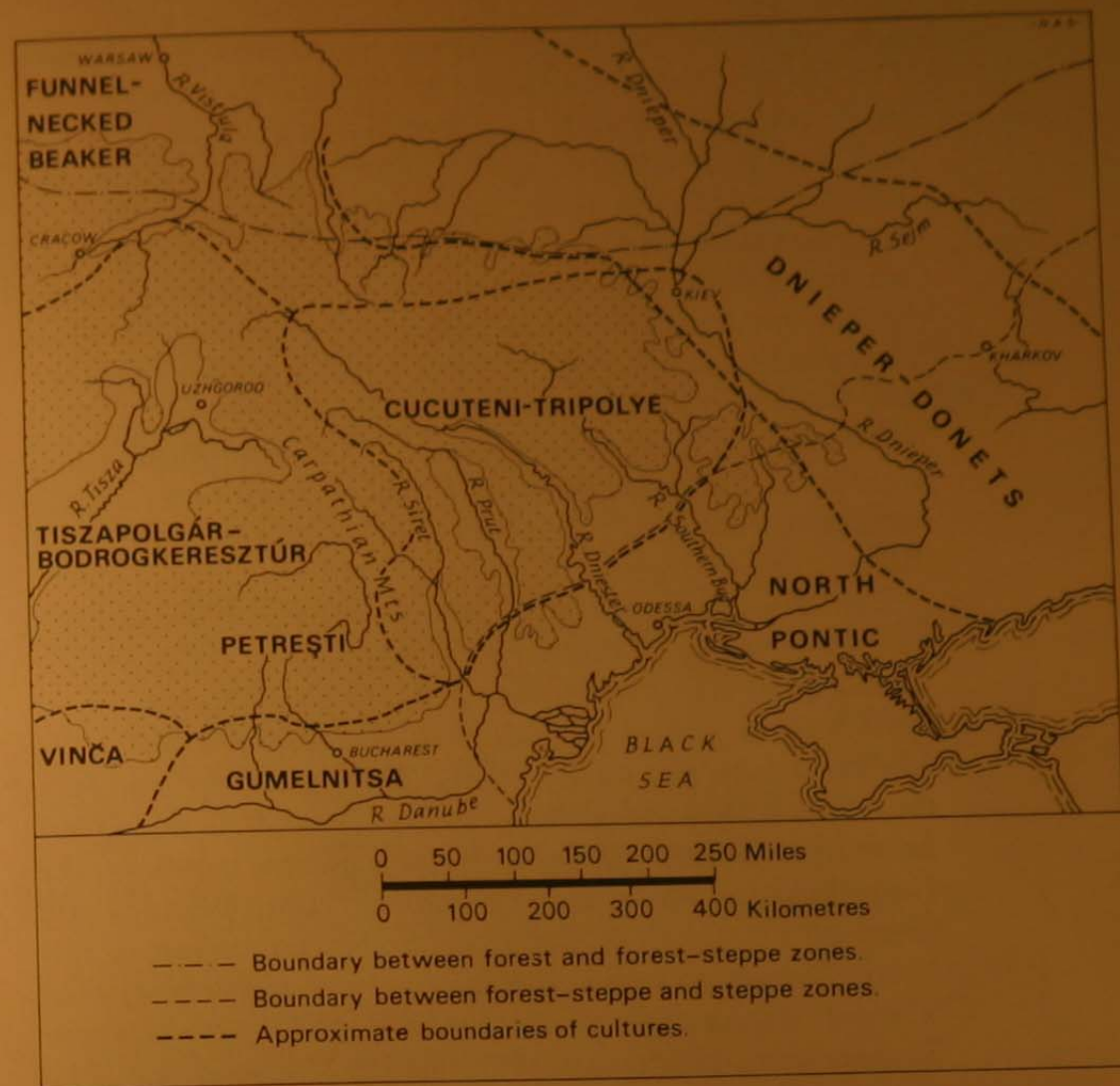
Fig. 2   *Cultural groups in east central Europe during the fourth millennium BC before the massive infiltration of 'Kurgan' (Proto-Indo-European) elements*

grounds for their stock; their chieftains and warriors sought naturally protected hills or promontories above rivers where there was a wide view over a large area. These locations they fortified with high ramparts.

In the area north of the Carpathian mountains and the Middle Dnieper region, where the Slavic peoples are believed to have first lived, cultural continuity can be traced from the incidence of Indo-European tumuli (kurgans) to the time of the Sarmatian and East Germanic migrations. Typical Indo-European (Kurgan) elements that derived from the steppes include: pastoralism with some agriculture, hill-forts, small villages with small rectangular houses, specific burial rites including burial in house-like structures usually built of timber covered by a low mound (tumulus) and simple unpainted pottery decorated with cord impressions, stabbing or incisions. Their economy, habitation pattern, social structure, architecture, and lack of interest in art were in sharp contrast to the local Cucuteni-Tripolye and Funnel-necked Beaker cultural elements.

Tumuli with very similar artifacts are found in eastern Slovakia as far west as the Ondava and Laborets river valleys, in the south-eastern corner of Poland, in Galicia and Podolia in the north-western Ukraine, in Bucovina and Moldavia and in the Middle Dnieper area south of Kiev.[3] Most of this area belongs to the eastern Beskid and Volyno-Podolian uplands. The region is naturally delineated by the steppe belt on the south-east, the Carpathians on the south-west and the Pripet lowlands and forests on the north. A variant of the Kurgan culture in this North Carpathian region was closely related to the Kurgan or 'Corded Pottery' groups existing in Central and Northern Europe during the latter part of the third and the beginning of the second millennium BC. Because a Bronze Age culture of the second millennium BC continued in the same geographical area, we may regard the North Carpathian Kurgan region as a nuclear zone of the Proto-Slavic culture.

Fig. 3

An unquestionable cultural continuity throughout the Bronze and Early Iron Ages in this area is indicated by archaeological research, and this is supported by the linguistic evidence. As early as 1837 the Slovak philologist, Šafařík, placed the original Slavic
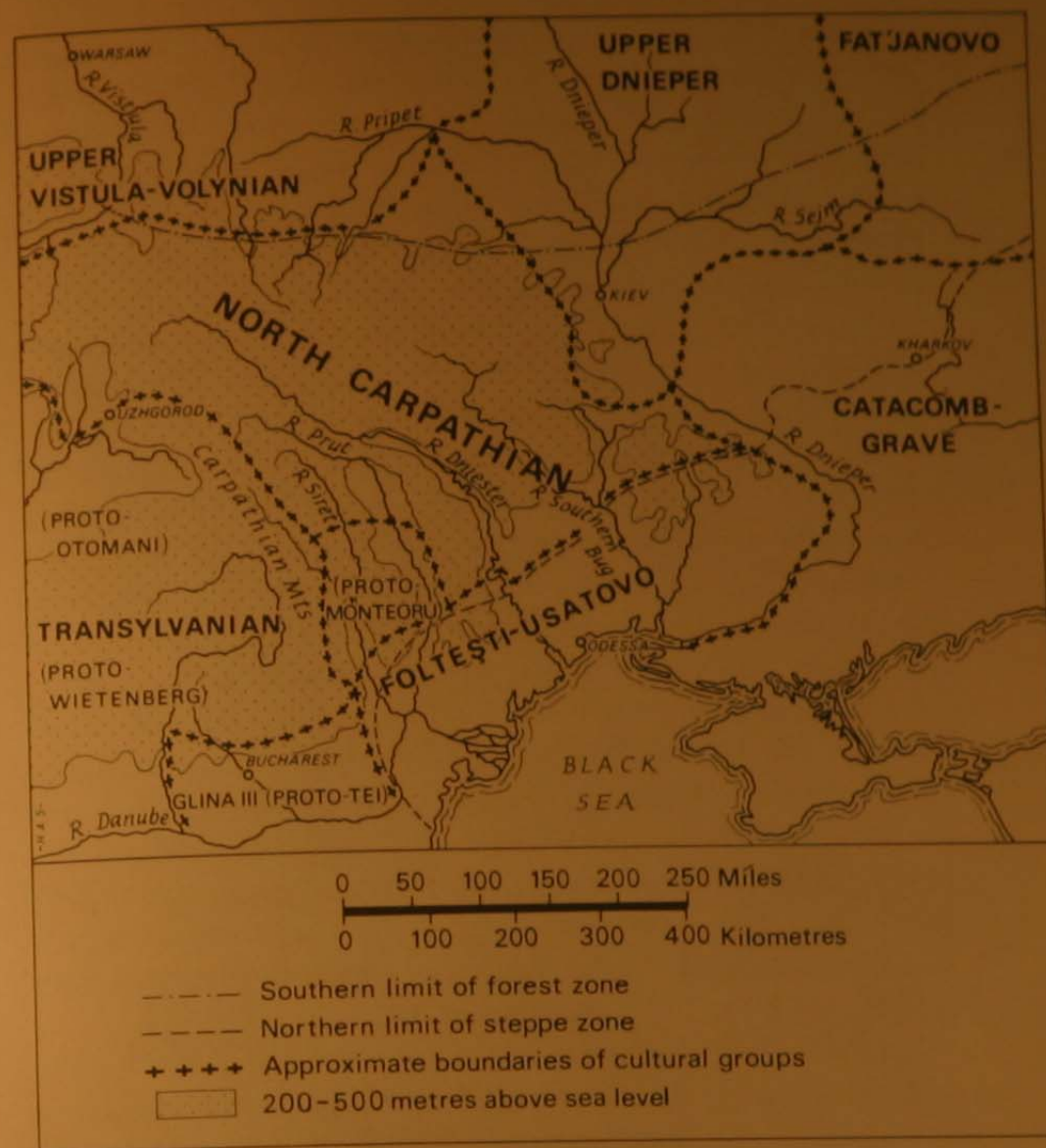
Fig. 3 Area of distribution of North Carpathian tumuli and neighbouring Late Kurgan/Corded Pottery groups during the second half of the third millennium BC

homeland north of the Carpathians including Galicia, Volynia and Podolia.[4] Lubor Niederle, the author of *Slavic Antiquities* (1902),[5] placed the Proto-Slavs in the Middle and Upper Dnieper basin. However, Niederle's inclusion of the Upper

Dnieper basin as a Slavic homeland has since been discounted; both river-name studies and archaeological reconstruction lend support to a long continuous development of the Baltic culture here.[6] Max Vasmer, another distinguished Slavicist, came to similar conclusions through independent research on river names in Russia: he located the early Slavs in Galicia, Volynia, Podolia and the Middle Dnieper region.[7]

Studies of river-names have shown that Slavic examples are to be found along the Middle Dnieper and among the southern tributaries of the Pripet. They are located in the triangle between the River Pripet, the southern course of the Middle Dnieper and the area east of the Middle Dnieper.[8] The area of old Slavic river names approximately coincides with the spread of the Bronze and Early Iron Age cultures to the north and north-east of the Carpathian mountains and the Middle Dnieper region. The study of these river names is most significant because they constitute permanent evidence of ethnic conditions. However, the names Dnieper and Dniester are not of Slavic origin. Linguists judge them to be borrowed from Thracian (Dacian). Don and Donets are unanimously accepted by linguists as Iranian names. We find a number of other river names of Iranian origin north of the Black Sea.[9] This is not surprising since Iranian tribes, Scythians and Sarmatians, in the North Pontic region were present from around 700 BC to the fourth century AD.

Common Indo-European names for trees such as birch, oak, ash, alder, aspen, elm, maple and hornbeam, were retained in Proto-Slavic: all Slavic languages share them. This supports the view that the Slavic homeland must have been located in a climatic zone where natural conditions did not differ much from those of the Indo-European homeland. The above-mentioned deciduous trees grow in the forest steppe and steppe belts. The ancient or Common Slavic plant terminology is in agreement with the archaeological reconstruction of the environment of the prehistoric Slavic culture north and northeast of the Carpathian

Fig. 8

mountains and the Middle Dnieper region. It reflects neither the North European coniferous nor the evergreen Mediterranean zone, but the temperate zone.

The Slavs' original unfamiliarity with certain trees is noticeable in the names which they borrowed from their western and south-western neighbours. The name for 'beech', Slavic *buk*, is presumed to have been borrowed from the Germanic language some time after the first centuries AD. In Caesar's *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* VI, 10, it appears as *bāca* in the expression 'Silva bācenis'. 'Larch', Latin *larix*, which in Polish is *modrzew*, could have been borrowed from Gothic *madra-triu*. The name for 'yew', Latin *taxus*, Slavic **tis*, probably derives from the root **tog-*, meaning 'thick', 'fat' in Celtic and Germanic.[10] From the fact that early Slavs did not have their own names for beech, larch, yew and several other trees, it can be deduced that the Proto-Slavic area was outside the zone where these trees grow.[11] In fact, beech, larch and yew grow to the west and south-west of the territory we have postulated as the Slavic homeland.

In our search for the land of origin of the Slavs a further clue is provided by studying the location of Indo-European peoples who speak languages closely akin to Slavic in grammatical structure and vocabulary. Those concerned with linguistics have long ago come to the conclusion that the early Slavs were surrounded by the following Indo-European groups: the Balts in the north, the Iranians (or 'Indo-Iranians') in the south-east, the Thracians (Dacians and Getae) in the south, the Illyrians in the south-west and the Germanic-speakers in the west. It is not, then, in the territories of these peoples that the Proto-Slavic homeland is to be sought. To be more specific, the non-Proto-Slavic lands include: 1) the Proto-Baltic area between Pomerania on the Baltic Sea to central Russia including northern and eastern Poland, the east Baltic lands, Byelorussia and western central Russia; 2) South Russia and the eastern Ukraine north of the Black Sea occupied by the prehistoric Cimmerians, Proto-Scythians, Scythians and

Fig. 4

Fig. 4 *Diagram to show the place of Proto-Slavic among the other Indo-European language families*

Sarmatians; 4) the middle Danube basin and the upper Elbe and Oder basins which belonged to the Proto-Illyrians and/or other groups of Indo-European speakers during the Bronze and Early Iron Ages; and 5) a Proto-Germanic territory in north-western Europe including Denmark, Holland, southern Sweden and north-western Germany. The North Carpathian region was not incorporated in any of these Indo-European territories.

The Carpathian mountains separated the Slavs from the Dacians, yet close relationships were maintained throughout the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. Slavic neighbours in the east were constantly changing. If the Cimmerians who inhabited the northern shores of the Black Sea belonged to the Iranian group of Indo-European languages, as the few surviving names tend to show, then the earliest Iranian-speakers on the Slav's southeastern borders were Cimmerians. At the end of the eighth century BC, the Cimmerians were conquered by the Scythians, who in turn, some five hundred years later, were

replaced by another Iranian group: the Sarmatians. Both Scythians and Sarmatians exerted a great influence on the culture and language of the Slavs.

During most of the prehistoric period, the Slavic territory was contiguous with that of Germanic tribes. During the Bronze Age they were separated from them by the Indo-European-speakers of Central Europe. Contacts started with the appearance of Germanic tribes in the Vistula basin and subsequently in the Ukraine in the third century AD.

The closest links are those between the Slavic and Baltic groups, represented today by the Lithuanian and Latvian languages and in antiquity also by ancient Prussian and several eastern Baltic languages now extinct. In prehistoric times, the Balts occupied a considerable tract of land between Pomerania on the Baltic Sea and the Moscow-Upper Oka-River Sejm area in central Russia. Their southern borders, as the river names and the distribution of archaeological complexes indicate, coincided with the southern limit of the forested zone including the Upper Dnieper basin, the area south of the River Pripet and south of Kiev.[12] During most of the Bronze Age the western Baltic area included the eastern part of present-day Poland. Throughout the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, the Slavic and Baltic realms extending over many hundreds of kilometres had relatively stable borders. Common origins and a related rhythm of cultural progress resulting in a linguistic affinity have led some scholars to assume a Balto-Slavic linguistic unity.[13] According to this hypothesis, the unity must have existed when the ancestors of the present Slavs and Balts, already differentiated from the rest of the Indo-European groups, still spoke a common language or dialect. Other linguists oppose these views.[14] Unfortunately, archaeological methods cannot measure the pace of linguistic differentiation, and there are no early literary sources. The question of unity or parallelism (two closely related dialects before the differentiation) is mainly a matter of terminology and chronology.

Judging from archaeological evidence, the period of convergence must have ended in the first half of the second millennium BC, and in the long history of relationships between the Baltic and Slavic languages there were periods of complete independence and parallelism. Baltic lands covered an enormous territory of forested Europe. Whilst there is evidence of early archaeological and linguistic differentiation in the Baltic area, the Proto-Slavs settled more compactly and the pace of their cultural and linguistic differentiation was considerably slower. The Slavic languages remained much closer to each other than did those of the Baltic, in spite of vast migrations during the sixth-seventh centuries AD.

Early historic sources are in agreement with linguistic and archaeological data in placing the Slavic homeland territory between the upper Vistula and the Middle Dnieper basins. Unfortunately, it is just in this region that archaeological research lags behind that of most areas of Europe. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century archaeologists were interested either in the glamorous Scythian animal art objects, sometimes made of gold and found north of the Black Sea, or in central European Lusatian urnfields thought to be proto-Slavic. The drab archaeological remains of migrating farmers and stock-breeders who did not build houses or temples of stone or clay and did not create any outstanding and individualistic art style have not attracted the interest of archaeologists and have not stimulated national pride. The scientific reconstruction of the prehistoric Slavic culture still awaits a meticulous modern archaeologist. The general picture of the North Carpathian culture during the Bronze and Early Iron Ages as outlined in the next chapter is a patchwork based on meagre archaeological data. Nevertheless, it is necessary to utilize every scrap of evidence in order to draw all possible conclusions. Without the archaeological materials the ancient Slavic material culture, its developmental phases, chronology and cultural relations cannot be reconstructed.

The North Carpathian Culture during the Bronze and Early Iron Ages

THE GENERAL RHYTHM of cultural growth in the North Carpathian area was much the same as that in the entire north European plain. Until 1200 BC this region was under the influence of Central European culture based on metallurgy. Around 1200 BC, the steppe people moved west from the Lower Volga region. With their coming to the Lower Dnieper and the Lower Dniester basins a new era began north of the Black Sea. From that time on, the North Carpathian culture absorbed more influences from the east. In spite of these fluctuations the way of life of the North Carpathian peoples changed little. They were not great metallurgists and traders like the central European people. For almost two millennia we can trace a cultural continuity, evident in their burial rites, farming, economy, habitation pattern, architecture and artifacts.

CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE

This long period of development can be roughly divided into the following five phases (cf. Table on p. 29):

1 *Early second millennium to* c. *1500 BC – Early Bronze Age*
The North Carpathian Tumulus culture characterized by corded pottery continued.

2 c.*1500 to* c. *1200 BC—Middle Bronze Age*
This phase is known as 'Komarov', named after a barrow cemetery on the Upper Dniester. Central European influences increased, but at the same time local metallurgy developed.

3   c. 1200 to c. 750 BC—Late Bronze Age
The Proto-Slav element is known as 'Bilogrudivka' after a
settlement on the Upper Ingulets river; it is also called 'culture
of ash accumulations', the large accumulation of deposits
indicating the settled nature of the population. Central European
influences have now diminished.

4   c. 750 to c. 500 BC—Early Iron Age
This culture, known as 'Chernoles', is contemporary with the
Early Scythian period. Scythian sites of the seventh and sixth
centuries BC are found east of the Middle Dnieper, in the Sula,
Psël and Vorksla basins.

5   c. 500 to c. 200 BC
The same culture, contemporary with and influenced by the
Scythians, continued until the arrival of the Sarmatians from
beyond the Volga.

These phases, in relation to the Table, will now be examined
in greater detail:

1   *Early second millennium to c. 1500 BC – Early Bronze Age*
Barrows and isolated finds provide the only information about
this group during the first half of the second millennium BC.[1]
Large-scale excavation of settlement sites has not yet been carried
out. From preliminary surveys of Early Bronze Age villages it is
known that they were small, occupying no more than 3,000–3,500
square metres, and usually were located on a bank of a river.
Traces of houses indicate that they measured about 4 × 5 m. In the
Upper Dniester basin a number of well-preserved barrows were
excavated fifty or more years ago. The tumuli of Kochanovka and
Ostapie near Skalat in the district of Tarnopol are of interest.[2]
The barrows were 1–2 m. high and over 20 m. in diameter sur-
rounded by stone rings. The dead were buried in a contracted
position, lying on their sides, within a cist-like structure of stones.

Fig. 5

28

DATES BC	CENTRAL EUROPE (PROTO-ILLYRIANS AND PROTO-CELTS)	EAST BALTIC, EAST POLAND, BYELORUSSIA, WESTERN CENTRAL RUSSIA (PROTO-BALTS)	NORTH CARPATHIAN-MIDDLE DNIEPER (PROTO-SLAVS)	NORTH PONTIC (INDO-IRANIANS)
	KURGAN AND BELL BEAKER	LATE KURGAN VARIANT	LATE KURGAN VARIANT	LATE KURGAN CATACOMB GRAVES
2000				
	ÚNĚTICE			RIDGED POTTERY PHASE (CIMMERIANS)
1750		BALTIC EARLY BRONZE AGE IWNO (POLAND)		
1500				TIMBER GRAVES (PROTO-SCYTHIANS)
	TUMULUS → TRZCINIEC-SOSNITSA → KOMAROV			
1250	URNFIELD → → →		VYSOCKOE, BILOGRUDIVKA	
1000		BALTIC LATE BRONZE AGE		
750	HALLSTATT		CHERNOLES ← EARLY SCYTHIANS	
		BRUSHED POTTERY, MILOGRAD, JUKHNOVO		
500			HERODOTUS' 'SCYTHIAN FARMERS' ← SCYTHIANS	
	LA TÈNE			
250		ZARUBINETS → SARMATIANS ← SARMATIANS		
0				

NORTH CARPATHIAN-MIDDLE DNIEPER CULTURE IN RELATION TO
CULTURAL COMPLEXES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, THE BALTIC AREA,
SOUTH RUSSIA AND THE BLACK SEA REGION

→ CULTURAL CONTINUITY
---- → INFLUENCES

Fig. 5 Early Bronze Age tumulus, plan and cross-section, from the area north of the Carpathian mountains (Kochanovka near Tarnapol)

In each grave there was either a pot, a battle-axe or a flint celt or scraper. Occasionally copper ornaments, usually spiral ear-rings, were found. The grave goods resembled those found during the earlier period of the Kurgan ('Corded Pottery') culture.

Some time before the middle of the second millennium BC, a cultural variant developed. It was named the 'Bilopotok culture', after a cemetery discovered near Chortkiv in the district of Tarnopol, in the Upper Dniester valley.[3] The artifacts associated with this culture complex come from about twenty barrow cemeteries in Podolia and northern Moldavia. To this group belongs the large hill-fort of Costişa located on the bank of the River Bistriţa.[4] Inhumation burials in stone cists were equipped with corded pots, usually double-handled, stone battle-axes, flint knives and other items typical of a culture of Kurgan derivation. From the middle of the second millennium BC the Bilopotok group in Moldavia was replaced by another Indo-European (Kurgan) enclave, Monteoru of north-eastern Romania. In the Upper Dniester region this cultural group continued into the Middle Bronze Age.

Fig. 6 Bronze ornaments from c. 1500–1300 BC. a–d: arm-rings and pendant from a tumulus at Kustovtsi, district of Polonnoe, Volynia; e–h: pins with rhomboid heads (e, f, Gulaj Gorod cemetery near Smela, district of Kiev; g, Medgidia cemetery in Dobrudja, Komarov cemetery, Podolia). Approx. 1:2
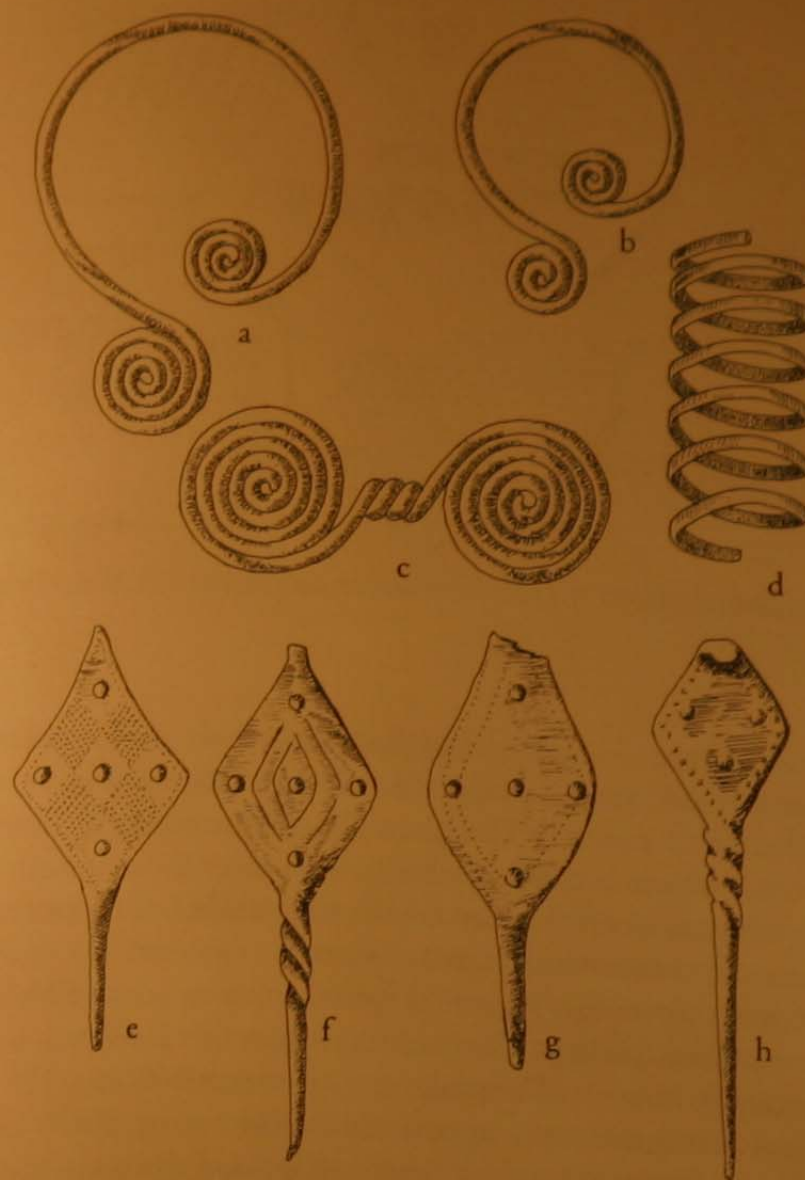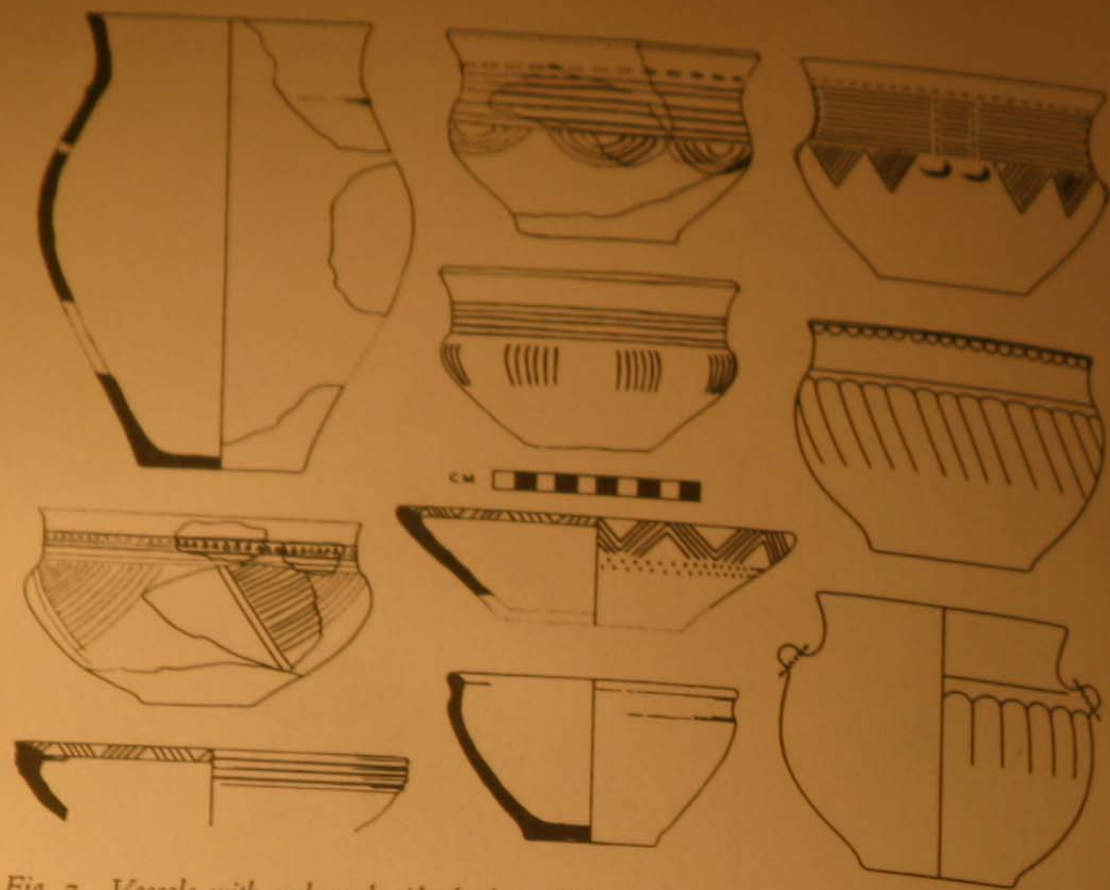
Fig. 7 Vessels with embossed, ridged, channelled and incised designs from the Komarov phase, c. 1500–1300 BC, *from Komarov and other sites in the Upper Dniester basin*

2 c. 1500 to c. 1200 BC—Middle Bronze Age

From around 1500–1400 BC the Upper Dniester basin was flooded with Central European 'Tumulus culture' bronzes. Material culture became markedly enriched. Bronze tools partially replaced stone and bone tools; the number of bronze ornaments and weapons increased. Around 1400 BC the Central Europeans from the region of present-day western Slovakia, Moravia and perhaps Bavaria moved south-eastward across Hungary to northern Yugoslavia and western Romania. The Central Europeans were apparently not interested in the forest-steppe and forested region; it remained beyond the main route of migrations. Except for a number of bronze hoards of Central European 'Tumulus' type in the Upper Dniester basin, there are no traces of penetration of Central Europeans north of the Carpathian mountains. However, Central European influences can be discerned through the marked intensification of metallurgical activities and trade. A series of bronze ornaments that are typical of the North Carpathian-Middle Dnieper region appeared. We find pins with rhomboid-plate heads and several variants of long pins with circular convex-plate or conical heads. A number of spiral arm-rings and neck-rings and arm- and ankle-rings ending in spiral plates were probably locally produced. Gold

Plate 1

spiral ear-rings occur occasionally in rich graves as they did in the Early Bronze Age along with bronze- or wood-hilted daggers with a midrib.

Traces of settlements have been discovered on sand dunes, river banks or promontories. Pits containing habitation remains show that most houses had been of a small subterranean type, about 3 by 5 m.,[5] but that some houses were above ground.[6] Evidence for agriculture and animal domestication comes from impressions of barley and two types of wheat (*Triticum monococcum* and *dicoccum*), flint sickles, grind- and quern-stones, bones of cattle, horse, sheep and pig.

One of the largest cemeteries, containing 56 barrows, was excavated at Komarov, in the district of Stanislav on the Upper Dniester. The cemetery of low barrows, usually about 1 m. high and about 20 m. in diameter, extended over a distance of some 2.5 km. along the ridge of a Carpathian foothill.[7] Graves in this cemetery date from various periods of the Bronze and Early Iron Age, but the richest ones belong to the Middle Bronze Age, synchronous with the 'Tumulus' period of Central Europe. Therefore, we apply the name 'Komarov' to the North Carpathian complex which existed between the fifteenth and twelfth centuries BC. Burials in Komarov and other cemeteries were lying in a contracted or an extended position in timber-roofed or stone-covered graves. Occasionally flat and cremation graves appeared.

Fig. 7

Komarov pottery was in no way outstanding: rough tulip-shaped pots, sometimes with a ridge decoration around the neck. There were also barrel-shaped or globular pots, bowls, dishes and fine ware. The finer ware, made for funeral purposes, included double-handled vases some of which were decorated with embossings, closely resembling those on Central European 'Tumulus' and Transylvanian 'Otomani' vases, though the Carpathian mountains separated these people from the 'Tumulus' and 'Otomani' peoples. Decoration by cord impressions disappeared.

Fig. 8
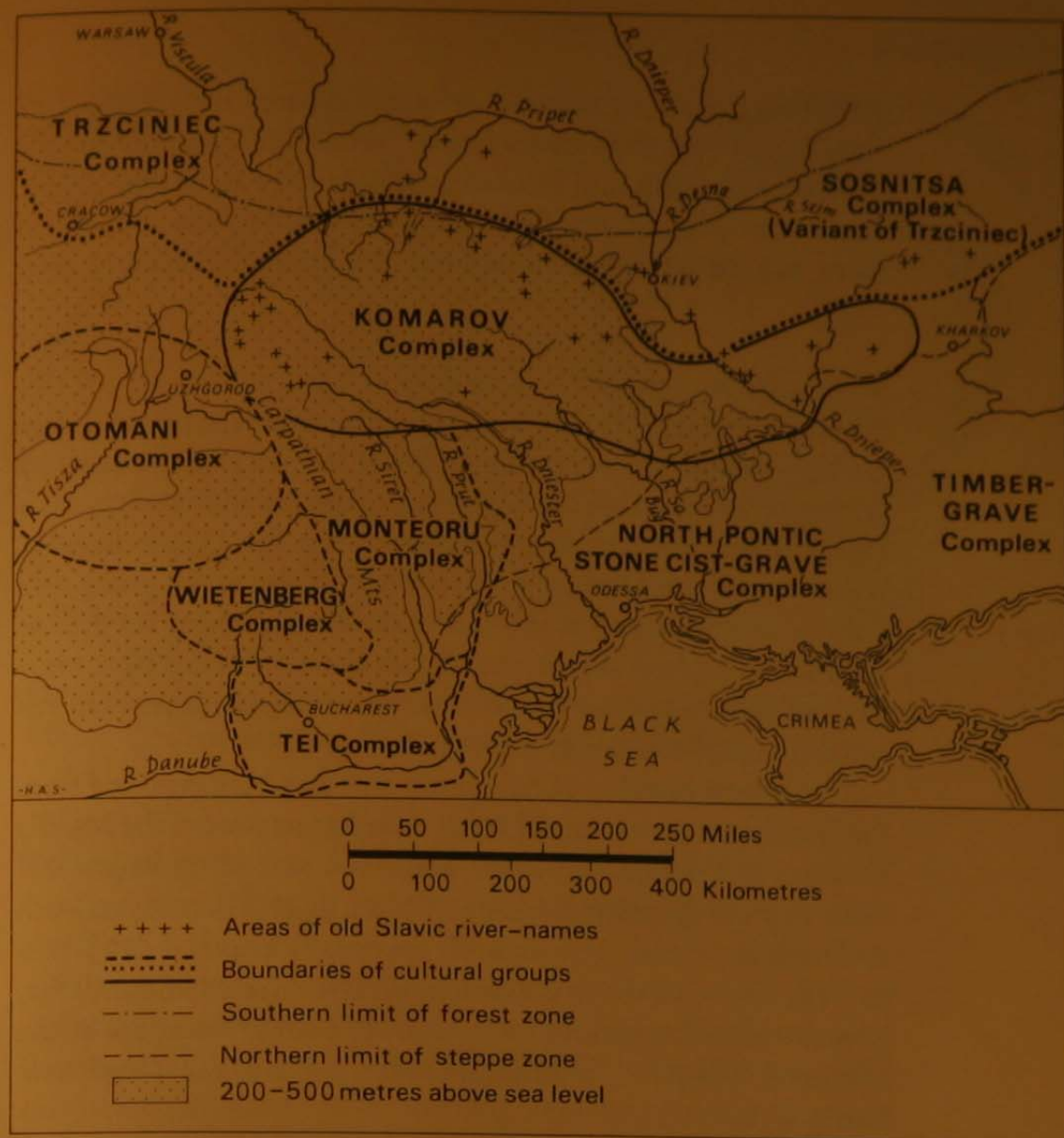
Fig. 8 Distribution of the Komarov and neighbouring cultural complexes in the period c. 1500–1200 BC

Burial rites and pottery place the Komarov complex typologically between its north-eastern neighbours, the 'Trzciniec complex' and the 'Monteoru complex' in Moldavia. The Trzciniec and Komarov complexes were indeed related, but each

possessed individual ceramic styles and types of metalwork, and their burial rites were somewhat different. The Trzciniec people inhabited flatlands and forested areas while the Komarov people lived in the plateau area. In both regions parallel lines of development can be observed throughout the Bronze and Early Iron Ages.

3   c. 1200 to c. 750 BC—Late Bronze Age

Sites with remarkably uniform material from the Late Bronze Age are known from all over the forest-steppe belt. In Podolia a culture which existed towards the beginning of the first millennium BC is called 'Bilogrudivka' after a settlement on the Upper Ingulets river west of the Dnieper.[8] 'Vysotskoe' is the name given to a culture which existed at the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age in the Upper Dniester basin. Its name is derived from a cemetery near Brody in Volynia where 141 inhumation and cremation graves were found.[9]

The largest number of habitation sites has been reported from the Ingulets, Tjasmin and Uman river basins west of the Middle Dnieper in Podolia. Here low mounds 1 to 2 m. in height and 20 to 30 m. in diameter made up of ashes, animal bones, potsherds and tools are found. The mounds are usually disposed in a line, a circle or a semi-circle on a river terrace. It is these ash mounds that gave the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age culture its name of 'the culture of ash-pits', 'kultura zol'nikov' in Russian (from *zola*, 'ash').

The basis of the economy was agriculture and stock-breeding. Bones of cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, and dogs have been identified. Horse meat and pork were evidently used for funeral feasts and as offerings to the dead, for in pots from the cemetery of Vysotskoe traces of fat and the bones of horses and pigs were found. In addition to pots of meat, there were loaves of bread, some of which were charred. There was no salt in the bread, and the kind of grain used is unidentifiable. In one of the graves of the cemetery at
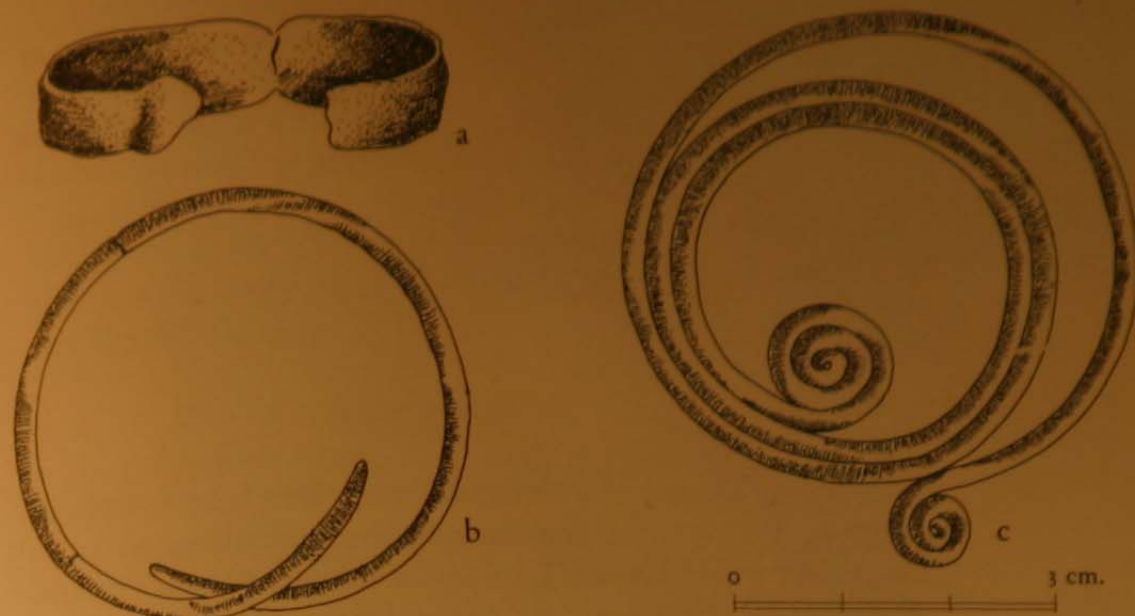
Fig. 9   *Late Bronze Age ornaments from the habitation site at Sobkivka near Uman, western Ukraine.* a, b, *bracelets*; c, *spiral ornament worn at the temples*

Zolochev, a pot was filled with millet grain. Sickles were still made of flint although bronze sickles of the Central European type appear in hoards.

Bronze hoards, indicating Western contacts, included the current types of South Carpathian metallurgy: socketed celts, knives, sickles, bracelets, neck-rings, and fibulae. Occasionally, razors with lunulate blades and ring handles appeared in graves. A helmet, probably of Villanovan origin, was found in Podolia.[10] However, the majority of metal types were of local character. In almost every grave of the Vysotskoe and other cemeteries there were one or more bronze ornaments; it might be a straight pin ending in a rolled-up head, an ear-ring, a bracelet with overlapping ends, a finger-ring, or a head ornament with spiral ends worn at the temples. It is interesting that the graves contained no weapons; indeed, this characterizes the whole cultural complex,

Fig. 9

Fig. 10 Late Bronze Age pots from the cemetery of Goncharivka, near Zolochev in the western Ukraine

few weapons being known from the succeeding Iron Age phases either. It illustrates the contrast between the militarized Indo-European tribes of Central Europe, the Proto-Scythian horsemen of the Pontic steppe and the peaceful farmers of Volynia and Podolia.

Ceramic forms became only a little more elaborate than they had been in the Middle Bronze Age. Kitchen ware consisted of large tulip-shaped pots ornamented around the shoulders with finger-tip impressions or with an applied ridge having two parallel downward-running ends. The latter decoration finds parallels in the Proto-Scythian 'Timber-grave culture' in the lower Volga area of southern Russia. There were also large dishes and bowls with curved rims. The better pottery—high-handled cups and squat biconical vessels—were grey, black and yellow burnished. Their ornamental motifs were incised, impressed by a dentate stamp, or consisted of white incrusted triangles.

A series of fortified hill settlements along the Tjasmin and Upper Ingulets rivers in the district of Kirovograd have been excavated. Their earliest materials can be attributed to the Late Bronze Age 'Bilogrudivka phase' but most of the finds have later affiliations.

About 1200–1100 BC the Proto-Scythian culture of the Russian steppe became a dominant power north of the Black Sea. Its

Fig. 10

continuous westward expansion resulted in the occupation of the Lower Dnieper and Dniester steppe region. At the end of the eighth century BC the horsemen from the east continued this westward expansion, and their traces are known all over eastern Central Europe. The Bronze Age then came to an end and the subsequent Orientalizing period coincided with the introduction of iron as a material for tools and weapons in almost every part of east Central Europe.

4 c. 750 BC to c. 500 BC—Early Iron Age

That the transition from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age was gradual cannot be doubted. The culture in the Volyno-Podolian uplands during the period which is synchronous with Hallstatt C in Central Europe and the 'Thraco-Cimmerian' (early Scythian) period in eastern Central Europe is known as 'Chernoles' culture in Russian literature. The name is derived from a hill-fort at the bend of the River Chernoles, a tributary of the Ingulets, in the district of Kirovograd.[11] This culture falls into the 'kultura zol'nikov' class (see p. 36) because of the unfortified settlements typified by ash mounds with habitation remains similar to those of the late Bronze phase.[12]

The exploration of villages has shown that they occupied an area of about 10 hectares (24 acres). The village of Machukhi in the district of Poltava consisted of 22 dwellings disposed in a circle 250 to 300 m. in diameter, indicating a circular village plan.[13] However, other 'zol'niki' stretched in a line for more than half a kilometre along river banks.[14] Barrow cemeteries or urnfields were located next to settlements. Tumuli were ranged along the rivers as had been customary for more than a millennium for all tribes of Kurgan derivation. During this phase changes in burial rites occurred: inhumation was replaced by cremation, and barrows above graves disappeared in many provinces. In some cemeteries inhumation and cremation graves appeared side by side.

Fig. 11

Small hill-forts situated in naturally protected spots, on high banks, usually within the bend of a small river or at the confluence of two rivers, characterize the eastern distribution and expansion of the Chernoles, at the expense of the Proto-Scythian culture. A concentration of hill-forts was found in the Tjasmin river valley. Most of these were round forts about 40 to 100 m. in diameter encircled by an earthen rampart topped by a defensive timber wall and surrounded from the outside by a ditch. A classical example is the hill-fort of Tjasmin. Its rampart, 12 m. wide and 1 m. high, was built of earth and clay. Wooden fortifications were found to have been burnt; remains of beams and planks lay at the foot of the rampart. From these remains it is apparent that they originally formed square boxes between vertical posts. The ditch was 9 m. wide and 3·75 m. deep. On the southern part of the slope facing away from the river the approach was fortified by another rampart and ditch. Originally the hill-fort of Chernoles was a small round fort within an area of about 100×70 m., but gradually it was enlarged and might have served as a tribal centre. A few semi-subterranean rectangular dwellings, about 6×10 m. in size with clay floors and hearths in the centre were discovered. On the hill-fort of Subbotov near Chigirin, seven semi-subterranean dwellings came to light. As there were villages in the vicinity, the hill-forts must have been used for the purely military purpose of protecting these and serving as refuges for the whole population in time of danger from enemy invasion, as well as seats for the chieftains.

Habitation sites and hill-forts have revealed good evidence for agricultural occupation: saddle-querns, grind-stones, hoes of bronze, antler and iron, and flint sickles. Though plough-shares were probably used, none have been found. Wheat, barley and millet were cultivated. The great quantities of domestic animal bones, mainly pig but also cattle, sheep and goat, collected at hill-forts and other sites emphasize the importance of stock-raising. That the horse was used for riding is shown by a considerable

Fig. 12

Fig. 13
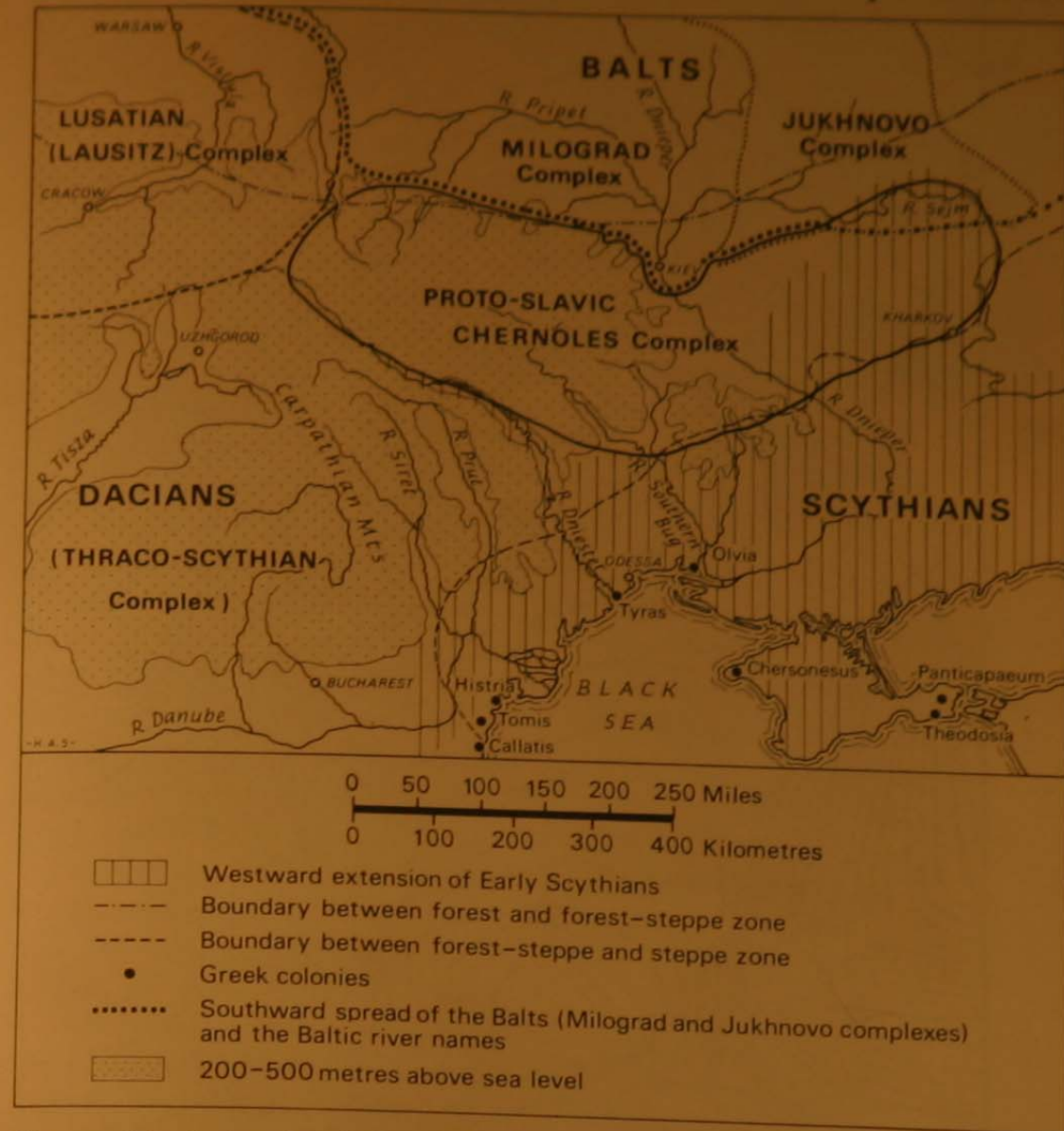
Fig. 11 Distribution of the 'Chernoles' and neighbouring cultural complexes during the Early Iron Age, c. 750–500 BC
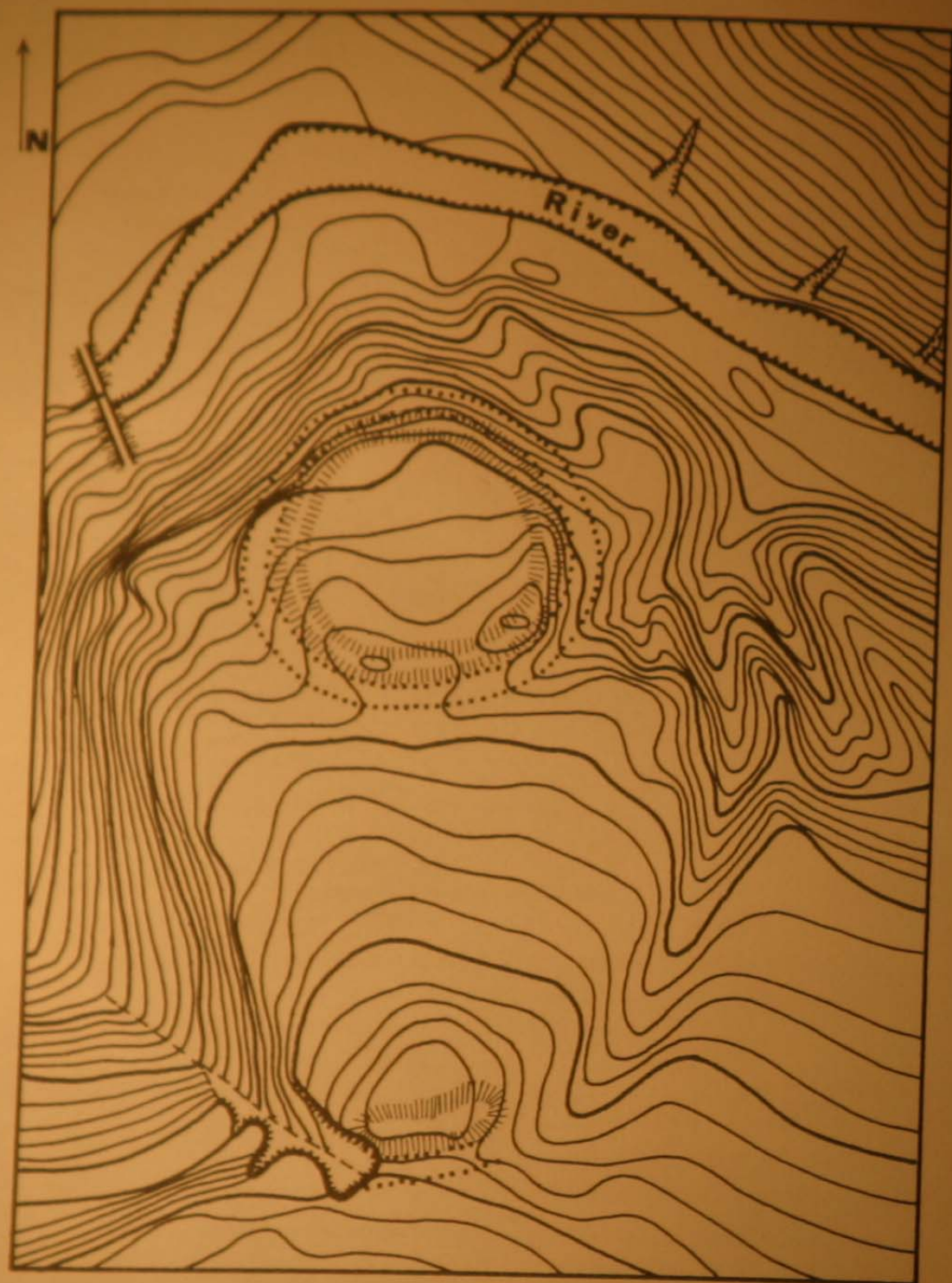
Fig. 12 *Plan of the hill-fort at Tjasmin, South of Kiev. Chernoles group, seventh century BC. Ramparts are shown by hatching, ditches by dotted lines*

0   20 m.
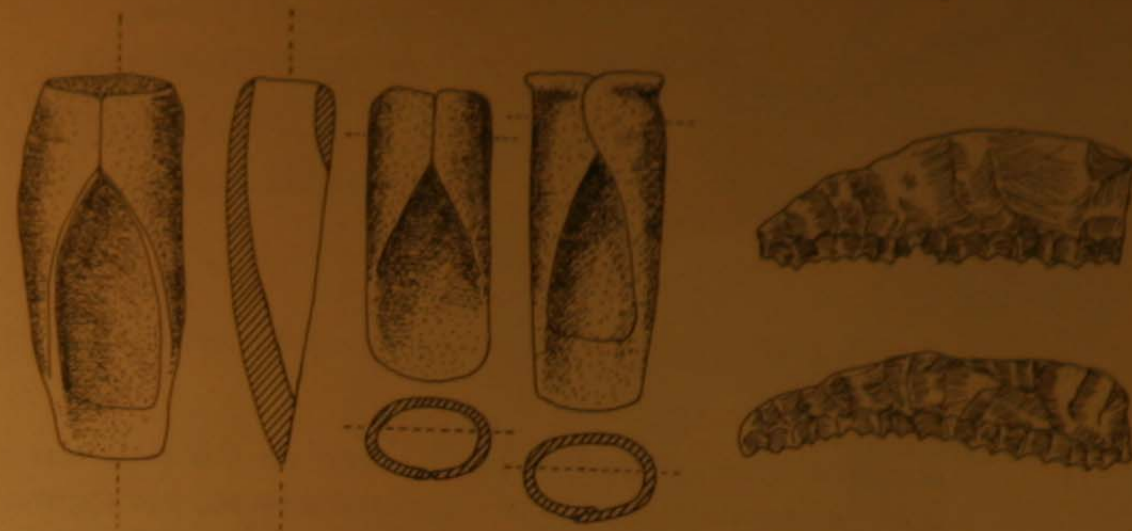
Fig. 13 *Iron hoes and flint sickles from Chernoles sites*

Fig. 14a

number of bronze bridle-bits and cheek-pieces made of bone or antler. That it also played a ritual role is inferred from the presence of both clay figurines of horses and horse bones in graves and sacrificial areas. Skeletons of dogs have also been found in cult places, suggesting that this animal too was sacrificed. Hunting, like fishing, was a secondary branch of the economy. Only about 8 per cent of all bones found in these settlements belonged to wild animals. These were forest animals and included elk, deer, bison, boar, bear, wolf, fox, hare, beaver, marten and otter. The Chernoles people used bronze harpoons and hooks for fishing.

Metallurgical crafts progressed steadily. Bronze objects at Chernoles sites either have a purely local character or are influenced by or imported from the early Scythians. Workshops with hundreds of clay moulds for celts, mace-heads, bracelets and other ornaments have been found on some of the Chernoles hill-forts. The hill-fort of Subbotov alone yielded more than two hundred clay moulds for bracelets, pins and celts. Ornaments were usually of copper. Tin was imported and tin ingots were

Fig. 14 a, clay figurine of a horse. Chernoles hill-fort. b, bracelet from the Kiev area. Chernoles complex. Approx. same size

Fig. 14b placed in graves. The bracelet illustrated on this page was a frequent ornament during the seventh century BC, and together with spiral-headed pins and ear-rings or ornaments for the temples it constituted the jewellery of a Chernoles woman.

In addition to metal products adhering to clearly local tradition, the Middle Dnieper and Upper Dniester areas contain bridle parts and bronze vessels of Kobanian (Caucasian) and Assyrian type dating from around the end of the eighth century BC. These must have been brought by the Scythians, after they had con-quered the Cimmerians on the Black Sea coasts, established themselves as overlords of the whole Pontic steppe region, and expanded westward to eastern Central Europe. Scythian elements definitively entered parts of the forest-steppe zone; their remains are found east of the Middle Dnieper in the Sula, Psēl, Sejm and Northern Donets basins[15] in the same region where river names of Iranian origin are encountered. It is believed by linguists that these date from Scythian times.[16] Contacts between the Baltic and Iranian languages, for which there is firm linguistic evidence, may also date from the period when Scythians occupied the eastern corner of the Chernoles territory and became immediate neigh-bours of the eastern Baltic Jukhnovo group.[17]

Fig. 11

Pottery was the most conservative element: the tulip-shaped or biconical pots with an attached ridge between neck and shoulders, the dishes and the handled cups did not differ much from those of

Fig. 15 Pottery of Vysockoe type in Volynia (Chernoles period, 750–500 BC) from the cemetery at Czechy near Brody
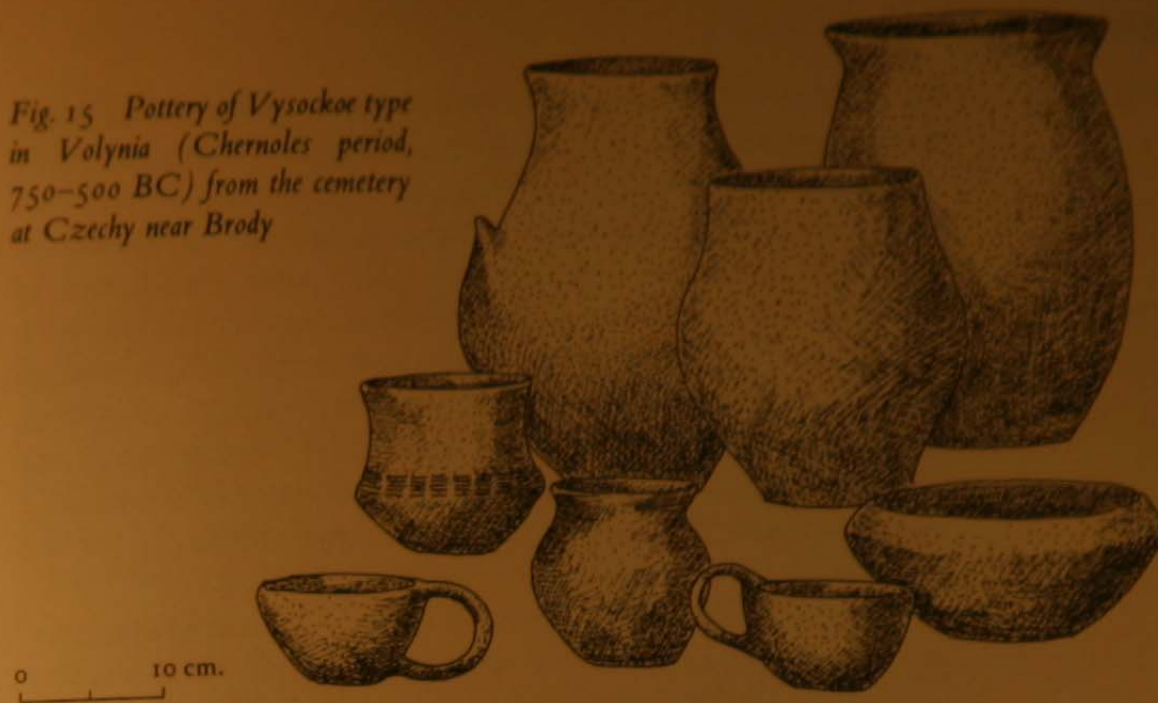
Fig. 16 Pottery of Chernoles type of the seventh-sixth centuries BC. The big vase on the right is from the hill-fort of Chernoles; the others from that of Subbotov near Chigirin, district of Cherkassy

Fig. 15

the Bronze Age. Kitchen ware was roughly made, unburnished and tempered with crushed quartz. However, occasional well-made pear-shaped vases with high neck and narrow base, well burnished and decorated by channelling, incrustation, incision or mammiform bosses, were found. These were reminiscent of

Fig. 16

Thracian Basarabi ware. Burnished pots were black, yellow or red in colour. When compared to the pottery of the preceding phase, the Chernoles ware was more varied in shape and decoration. Fragments of Greek vases of the Rhodes-Miletus type dating from the seventh and sixth centuries BC were discovered in a number of sites; they serve to establish the chronology of the settlements.

There were sharp distinctions between the culture of the forest-steppe and steppe regions throughout the seventh, sixth and later centuries BC. What Herodotus has to say about the people north of Scythia and their culture is instructive. In Book IV of his *History*, he describes an expedition which the Persian king Darius undertook against the Scythians in the year 515 BC. In his day, 'Scythia' was a large country and ethnically heterogeneous. Out of Herodotus' list of Scythian subject peoples, the only ones I would identify as Slavic are the so-called 'Scythian husbandmen or ploughmen'. These he locates along the River Dnieper:

Beginning from the part of the Borysthenites [at the mouth of the Dnieper], which is in the middle of the whole sea coast of Scythia, the Callipidae, who are half Greek and half Scythian, are the first inhabitants. Beyond them dwell another people, who are called Alizones. . . . But beyond the Alizones dwell the Scythian husbandmen, who sow corn not for food but for sale. And above them dwell the Neuri. . . . (IV, 17)

Across the Borysthenes [the Dnieper], starting from the sea [Black Sea], the first place is Hylae; and above this dwell the Scythian farmers. These Scythian farmers inhabit the land for

three days' journey towards the north. And the land beyond them is desert for a great space, but after the desert dwell the Androphagi, who are a separate people and in nowise Scythian. (IV, 18)

From this description it appears that the land of the 'Scythian farmers' was a large area occupying a part of the Dnieper basin, and probably also the Upper Dniester basin. The Neuri, their northern neighbours, very probably were eastern Balts, whose dissemination in present Byelorussia and central Russia, in the Pripet, Upper Dnieper and lower Desna basins, is shown by river-names and by the Brushed Pottery, Milograd and Jukhnovo sequence of archaeological complexes. The Androphagi were Mordvinians, the eastern Finno-Ugrian branch, as was deciphered by Tomashek in the beginning of this century.[18] Physical anthropology also supports the view that the Scythian ploughmen were Proto-Slavs. Physical measurements of the forest-steppe people indicate that they were different from the nomadic Scythians and that they were closely related to the medieval eastern Slavs.[19]

5   c. 500 to c. 200 BC

From the second half of the fifth through the fourth and third centuries BC the forest-steppe culture had strong ties with the Scythian steppe culture and with the Greek cities of the North Pontic area. But even in this period the forest-steppe culture was distinguished by its individual pattern of habitation, economy, and social and religious customs stemming from its own previous history.

Many hundreds of sites, including open settlements, hill-forts and cemeteries (tumuli and flat graves), are recorded in the forest-steppe zone where Chernoles expanded during the previous phase. A large number of sites in the basins of the Tjasmin, Ros', Ingulets, Upper Southern Bug, Sula, Psël, Vorksla, Upper Sejm

Fig. 17 Pottery from the Scythian period, c. 500–300 BC. Ornamented pot (left) from the settlement at Novotroitskoe, district of Sumy near Lebedin; the others from the hill-fort of Basovka in the Sula river valley

and Severnyj Donets rivers were systematically excavated.[20] Some hill-forts yielded good stratigraphy where layers dating from the seventh and sixth centuries were overlaid by those of the fifth to the third century BC. One such stratified hill-fort is that of Belsk in the district of Poltava, excavated by Gorodtsov in 1906.[21] This very large hill-fort could have served as a tribal centre for many centuries. Both stratigraphy and typology indicate a single cultural continuum with signs of gradual impoverishment as time went on.

Now the forest-steppe people seem to be just 'Scythian farmers' overshadowed by Scythians and flourishing Greek colonies along the northern coasts of the Black Sea. From archaeological remains it can be seen that Scythians and Proto-Slavs did not mix. Their respective ways of life were worlds apart: the semi-nomadic horse-riding lords of the Pontic steppes enjoyed their mounting strength and influence over large portions of Europe, and their renowned style of animal art vividly reflects their dynamic character, while the earth-bound Proto-Slavs were concerned with tilling the soil and breeding animals. The Scythians were probably interested in their northern neighbours only as a source of plentiful agricultural products; their attention was directed towards the Lower Danube region, the Thracian territory in present-day Romania and Bulgaria.

The conservativism of the farming culture is striking. Except for some Scythian mirrors, glass beads, so-called Scythian button ear-rings, and a considerable number of fragments of Greek amphorae made on a potter's wheel, forest-steppe sites show few signs of foreign influence. Pottery became more crude: burnishing and techniques of decoration, such as incrustation and application of a ridge around the shoulders, disappeared. Beaker-shaped and globular vessels and bowls decorated with finger-tip or nail impressions, rows of incisions or pit impressions predominated. Symbolic signs, such as incised snakes, can be found occasionally among the decorative motifs. In spite of the fact that in many excavated settlements Greek vases are found dating from the sixth (from Olvia) to the fourth–third (from Bosporus) centuries BC, they have not influenced either the shape or the finish of local pottery.

Villages of open-settlement type are found on high and flat river terraces. An increase of population is indicated by the number and size of villages. These often comprised as many as sixty 'zol'niki' in an area of about 90,000 square metres. Examples of such settlements are Peresechnoe and Ostroverkhovka in the district of Kharkov.[22] The remains of dwellings found in the village of Ostroverkhovka showed that they were divided into five groups, each comprising more than ten dwellings which may reflect a system of large patriarchal families. So far better preserved houses have not been discovered but traces of semi-subterranean dwellings sunk from 30 to 70 cm. into the ground, with one hearth inside and another outside, have been found. Houses on ground level with clay floors also occur.[23]

Fig. 17

Many more hill-forts date from this phase than from the previous one. Their basic requirements of a strategic location on a steep hill overlooking a river and offering a good bird's-eye view remained the same. Some hill-forts were now situated at the forest's edge or in the forest. Their sizes ranged from one to fifty hectares (2½ to 123 acres), but there were some exceptionally large hill-forts, such as those of Belsk in the Vorksla river valley (4400 hectares, or 17 sq. miles), Matronin in the Tjasmin river valley (200 hectares or 494 acres), or Basovka in the Sula river valley (119 hectares, or 294 acres). Apparently the seat of power was concentrated in these large hill-forts: smaller hill-forts probably belonged to subordinate chieftains. Whole complexes of archaeological monuments dating from the same period are usually found around large hill-forts. In the Upper Donets basin, on the bank of the river Odrinka, the huge hill-fort of Gorodishche has been excavated. Its fortified area was about half a kilometre across, and on the side facing away from the river it was protected by a triple ring of ramparts. Three to four km. away there was a much smaller hill-fort occupying only 4·5 hectares. Three open settlements were discovered in the vicinity of these two hill-forts.[24] At Karavan in the district of Kharkov there were three villages and a large barrow cemetery near the hill-fort, all dating from the fifth and fourth centuries BC.[25]

Fortifications consisted of impressive ramparts, some extending for several kilometres and as much as 10 m. high. Ditches bordering the ramparts were often 4 m. deep. Since the terrain used for hill-forts varied considerably, their shapes and defensive systems differed. No two hill-forts were alike. Houses within the fortified area were small, rectangular, above ground or slightly sunk in the ground. In many hill-forts clay daub with impressions of branches has been discovered.

Of the large amount of animal bone found in both open settlements and fortresses, more than 90 per cent belonged to domesticated animals. Those of pig and cattle predominated, followed by

Fig. 18
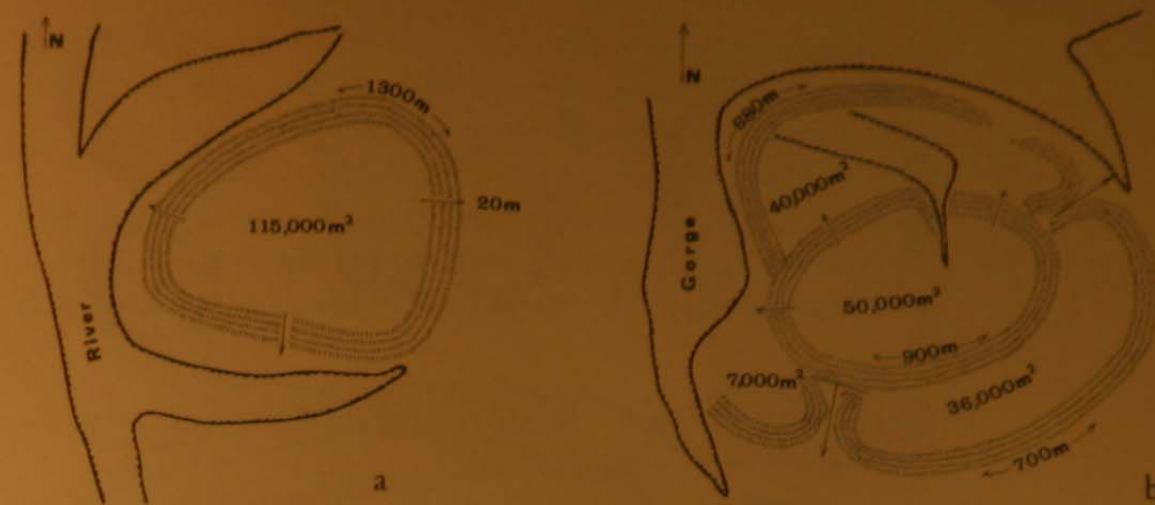
Fig. 18 Schematic plans of hill-forts. Scythian period, c. 500–300 BC. a, Zakazarovka, district of Kharkov ; b, Kamenka, district of Sumy on the bank of the River Vorskla

horse, sheep, goat and dog.[26] Impressions of wheat, barley and millet and actual grains of wheat bear witness to agricultural activities. Herodotus, where he says that the Scythian farmers sow corn not for food but for sale, refers to the surplus products. Although they grew grain for home consumption, they probably managed to have enough for export or tribute payments.

A unique discovery was made in the hill-fort of Karavan in the district of Kharkov. At its topmost point there were what would seem to be a sacrificial basin of clay and three oval pits. In and around the basin and in the pits were found potsherds, weights, spindle whorls, iron knives, a silver pendant and a bronze arrowhead. But accompanying these were miniature pots, a miniature crucible and miniature bread loaves all made of specially prepared clay. The clay used for the pots was fine and very clean, with no admixture of sand; that used for making the little loaves was tempered with grain, chaff and leaves. Some of the loaves show impressions of straw. The most exciting finds were clay imitations

Fig. 19

Shramko assumes it to be Scythian.[31] The plough was made of a single piece of wood. One end of it was broken and perhaps for this reason it was thrown into the bog. The rectangular perforation in the upper part was probably for the insertion of an iron share (although this was missing). Close parallels exist in Northern Europe: the wooden plough from Dabergotz in Germany was very similar, the coulter being preserved. From graves of the

Fig. 20b

Fig. 19 *Votive miniature loaves and a miniature crucible from an offering place in the hill-fort of Karavan, district of Kharkov*

of grains. They were so well made that botanists could easily identify the species, namely: wheat, barley, rye, pea, chick pea, cow pea, and millet.[27] A find of a similar nature was made on the hill-fort of Pasterskoe in the district of Kirovograd, where miniature loaves made of real millet grains and flour were found.[28] In a number of large hill-forts[29] baked clay altars with burnt grains and acorns nearby were discovered.

More information on agricultural tools now becomes available. A wooden plough was found in a peat bog at the village of Tokari, district of Sumy, in 1921.[30] Since there is a settlement dating from this period near the peat bog and since there are many parallels from Early Iron Age peat bogs in North-west Europe,

Fig. 20a

Fig. 20 *Wooden ploughs, presumably Early Iron Age, above from Tokari near Sumy, Russia; below from Dabergotz, northern Germany*
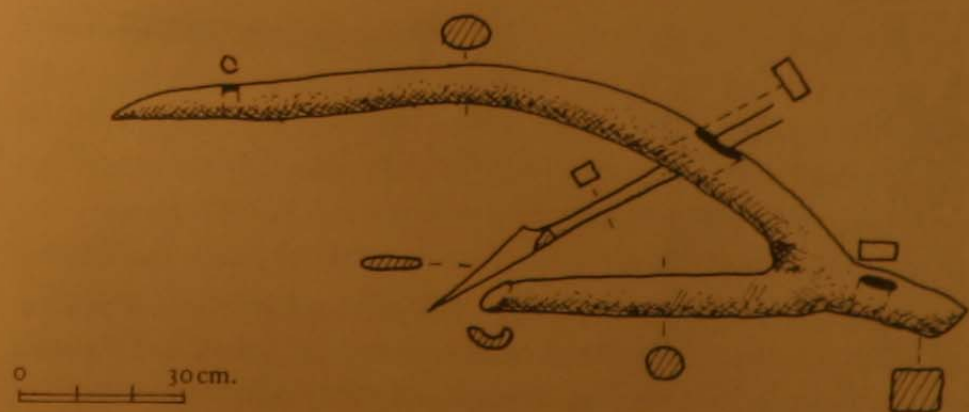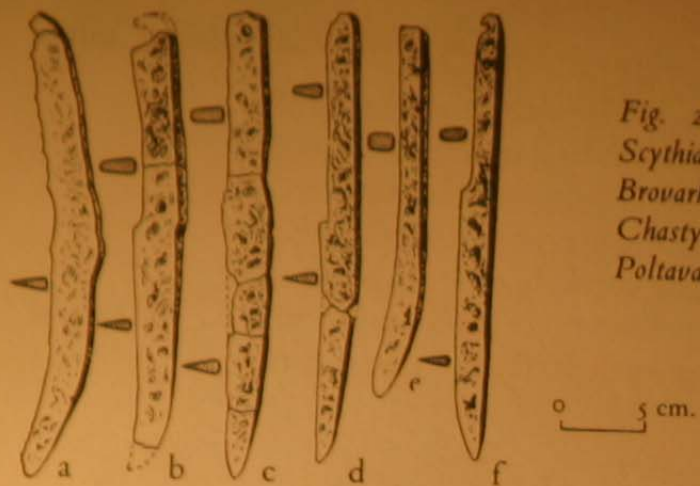
Fig. 21 Iron coulters from graves of the Scythian period in the forest-steppe zone. a, Brovarki; b, c, Aksjutintsy; d, Blazhki; e, Chastye kurgany; f, Volkovtsy, district of Poltava

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

forest-steppe region so-called iron 'knives' are reported, some of which had hooks or holes in the handles. Shramko considers them to be coulters. After ploughing with a primitive plough, it was necessary to go over the ground with a hoe. Iron hoes were already used during this period in addition to hoes of antler or bone. The same method was used in Greece, as depicted in scenes of husbandry on black-figure vases.

The forest-steppe belt yielded very good conditions for agriculture. In many areas there were still large patches of forest which prevented the land from becoming too dry, and there was enough unforested land for ploughing. Climatic conditions were also favourable.
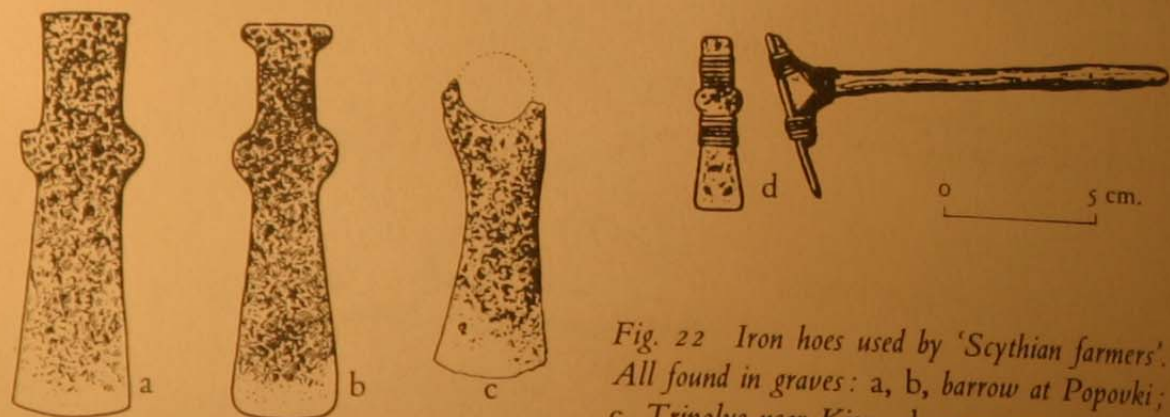
Fig. 22 Iron hoes used by 'Scythian farmers'. All found in graves: a, b, barrow at Popovki; c, Tripolye near Kiev; d, a reconstruction

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Crafts were still in the hands of farmers. Hundreds of spindle whorls in each settlement indicate the presence of a textile industry. Thread impressions on the bottom of pottery also point to the presence of textiles. Metallurgy steadily progressed, as the presence of such objects as clay moulds, slag, crucibles, nozzles, in villages and in hill-forts shows. Many more iron objects appeared during this phase: axes, sickles, needles, and cheek-pieces for horse bridles. Distinctive forms of ornaments were produced: bronze or iron pins with disc or shepherd's-crook heads, bracelets, necklaces, ear-rings. The ornaments were usually found in graves.

Cremation and inhumation burial within barrows persisted. Grave pits were lined with timber and in some cases roofs, or even the whole grave chamber, were preserved.[32] Ornaments were placed in the women's graves, but, with the exception of warrior graves in which bridles and parts of weapons were found, male burials were usually poor. In most cases graves are single, though some double (man and woman, two men) or triple (man and two women) burials occur.[33]

By way of a summary, a few items of archaeological evidence can be used to underline the conclusions arrived at for this chronological period and to describe general Proto-Slav cultural characteristics.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Unfortunately there have been no large-scale systematic excavations of settlement sites from the first half of the Bronze Age and therefore any attempt to describe them and the type of social structure they represent would be premature. Where later periods are concerned, there is evidence to show that settlements were placed on river terraces, that houses were chiefly of a semi-subterranean nature, and that villages were usually circular in plan or ranged along a river bank. Strategically placed hill-forts with timber walls, earthen ramparts and defence ditches feature

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prominently throughout the periods under discussion. In a few cases dwellings inside the fortifications are found, but usually several habitation villages are situated in the vicinity of a single hill-fort. This suggests that hill-forts were used primarily for military purposes and as tribal headquarters. Remains of village dwellings indicate that these were arranged in groups, reflecting a patriarchal family structure. The fact that the Proto-Slavs were primarily an agricultural society suggests one reason why we find here a culture of conservative nature and slow technological development. There was a marked population increase at the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age. The Proto-Slavs moved east and settled in the Sula, Upper Sejm, Psël and Vorksla basins shortly before the invasion of the early Scythians around 700 BC. For many centuries, Proto-Slavs lived under Scythian influence and perhaps under their rule, and became the 'Scythian ploughmen' to which Herodotus refers.

METALLURGY

During the Early Bronze Age, metallurgy did not develop on a local level and was subject to Central European influence, especially as a result of the increasing trade. The slow replacement of stone and bone and a proliferation of ornamental objects in metal started around the middle of the second millennium BC. It is interesting to note that the Proto-Slavs throughout the entire period of their metallurgical advances made very few weapons; this fact differentiates them from their Indo-European neighbours in Central Europe and in South Russia. Iron was not introduced to Proto-Slav metallurgy until the arrival and dominance of the Scythians.

POTTERY

Changes in metal artifact types provide a basis for assessing cultural developments during the period in question, but hand-made pottery styles furnish the clearest indication of cultural continuity.

The North Carpathian Culture

The Corded Ware of the Kurgans continued into the Early Bronze Age. The cord impressions disappeared and were replaced by incised or ridge decoration on the necks of tulip- and barrel-shaped pots and fine ware. The tulip- or beaker-shaped pottery continued throughout the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, revealing a development in decoration that included finger-nail impressions and incised motifs. Fine burnished ware, which became varied and plentiful in the Bronze Age was displaced by finger-nail impression and incised decoration in the Scythian period. By and large, the Proto-Slavs, like most Indo-Europeans, were not much interested in ceramic art.

FUNERAL PRACTICES

Funeral practices provide another indication of cultural continuity. They reflect religious beliefs and are not highly susceptible to influences from outside cultures. During the Bronze Age, inhumation in low round barrows circled by stone rings was practised. Within the barrow the contracted or extended body was buried in a cist-like stone structure, or in a timber house, or in a grave pit covered with a timber roof. Throughout these periods the barrow cemeteries were located next to settlements. Barrows were ranged along river banks. The Late Bronze Age introduced cremation and flat cemeteries. The change from one burial rite to the other was not abrupt, as in some cemeteries cremation and inhumation graves in barrows appeared side by side. Barrows with inhumation graves persisted in the eastern Proto-Slav area.

CHAPTER III

Slavic Tribal Names in Historic Records of the First Centuries AD

HISTORIC RECORDS do not mention names of Slavic origin or of Slavic tribes prior to the first centuries AD. When names identifiable with the Slavs first appeared, Slavic lands had already been invaded by Sarmatians and Germanic tribes. None of the records locate the Slavic tribes precisely.

SLOVENE Ptolemy (*c.* AD 100–178) in his *Geography*, is the first to mention the Slavic name *Slověne*, which he wrote 'Soubēnoi'. Moszyński explains that the *l*, being hard, would have sounded much like a short *u*, while in Greek *ou* stood for u and *b* was pronounced v.[1] Ptolemy says very little about the *Slověne*, but the fact that he mentions them at all is of importance. According to him, the whole northern part of Scythia near the unknown lands and before the Imaos (Ural) mountains, was inhabited by Scythian (Sarmatian) Alans, Souveni and Alanorsi.[2] This is a vague location, for the Scythia of ancient times was the region north of the Black Sea.

The name *Slověne* disappears from historical records for almost four hundred years after Ptolemy. Then, in the sixth century it reappears in the form *Sklavenoi*, used by the Byzantine historian Procopius (d. 562) in his account of the Gothic wars of 536–37. It is now applied to Slavs in the Lower Danube region, where they were not autochthonous but invaders. This makes the Sklavenoi the earliest South Slavs known to history. Procopius' contemporary, the Roman historian Jordanes, discusses the *Sclavini* in his opus *De Origine Actibusque Getarum* (AD 551): he located them between the Carpathian mountains and the Vistula,

and as far east as the Dniester.[3] To these two historians we owe most of our information about the migrations of the Slavs, their appearance and character.

The records of the second and sixth centuries mentioning peoples bearing the name *Slověne*, *Sclavini*, are sufficient evidence for the antiquity of the name, which, as preserved in later history, is now used to designate all Slavs. The name was carried west, south and north-east by many tribes as they dispersed from their original Slavic homeland: *Slověnians* in north-western Yugoslavia, *Slovaks* in Slovakia, *Slovincians* in Pomerania, *Slověne* in the Russian area of Novgorod and Pskov.

Many linguists and historians have tried to unravel the meaning of the word *Slav*. Some have looked only at the *Sclavini* and *Sklavenoi* of Jordanes and Procopius, seeing Latin *sclavi*, 'slaves'. This is one possible explanation for the replacement of sl- by skl- in these sources, but certainly not the derivation of the name *Slověne*. Other scholars have pointed to the Slavic *slava*, 'glory'. Some have argued for *slovo*, 'word', 'speech', since the Slavs among themselves spoke a mutually understandable language, as opposed to their Germanic neighbours to the west, the *Nemcy* (literally 'mute, dumb'), who spoke an unintelligible language. A hypothetical *slova, supposed to mean 'marsh', has also been suggested.

The existing Slavic toponyms should not be forgotten, especially river names, which are derived from ancient Slavic religious practices and social conditions. An etymology that can be taken seriously is that of Moszyński, one of the greatest authorities on ancient Slavic culture. It is his contention that *Slověne* is the only name possible for the entire Proto-Slavic community before its dispersion. He connects the name with the word for 'flax': Polish, *słowien, słowian*; Slovak, *slovien*; Ukrainian, *slovin*. He suggests that as the ancient Greeks attributed purification and healing qualities to flax, it would have been natural enough to give rivers a name related to it. The relevant

Indo-European root is *k'leu-, *k'lou-, 'to be clean, pure'. There is a river Slavuta, one of the tributaries of the Lower Pripet, and there are Ukrainian songs which tell of the Slavut, Slavuta, Slavutyča, as the purifying, holy rivers. Similar names are frequent among place names of the Dnieper area, Podolia and the Ukraine. The tribes living along such rivers in the homeland would have adopted the name and they would have applied it to new rivers as well as to an entire region when they migrated.

SERBOI AND XOROATHOS Ptolemy may have known another branch of the Slavs, whose name seems undoubtedly related to that of the present-day Serbs. Describing Sarmatia (*Geography* V, 8), Ptolemy enumerates thirteen tribes, among them the *Serboi*, as follows: '. . . between the Keraunian mountains [identified with the north-eastern foot-hills of the Caucasus] and the river Ra [Volga] live Orineoi, Valoi, Serboi . . .' Moszyński sees the name derived from the Indo-European root *ser-, *serv-, 'guard, protect', making it cognate with Latin *servus*; the v being interchangeable with b in pronunciation.[4] The original meaning of *Serboi* was probably 'shepherds', 'guardians of animals'.

In their contact with Slavic peoples the Sarmatians probably used a related name to refer to Slavs. Iranian linguistic changes indicate that the Slavic *serv- would become *xarv- in Sarmatian. With the addition of the suffix -at, it appears to be very similar to *Hrvat*, the name of the present-day Croatians. This name appears north-east of the Black Sea and in the Lower Don basin and it is also cited as 'Xoroathos' and 'Xorouathos' in two Greek-alphabet inscriptions at Tanais from the second and third centuries AD. They were deciphered by Pogodin in 1901.[5]

ANTES, ANTI Pliny the Elder, in his *Natural History* (VI, 35), mentions the Anti among peoples living between the Sea of Azov and the Caspian. At that time the area was ruled by Sarmatians. Ptolemy in the second century and Greek inscriptions (such as 'antas' on

the Kerch Peninsula) in the third century, located them in the Crimea and at the mouth of the Don. The records give no evidence whatsoever as to the nationality of the Antes in the first centuries AD; their name alone is mentioned.

Jordanes names the *Antes* and *Sclavini* as the two main components of the populous *Veneti*, and stresses that both spoke the same language. He locates the *Antes* to the east of the *Sclavini*, between the rivers Dniester and Dnieper. Procopius, who was acquainted with Slavic troops in the Byzantine army, writes, 'The Sklavini and Antes do not differ in appearance: all of them are tall and very strong, their skin and hair are neither very light nor dark, but all are ruddy of face. They live a hard life of the lowest grade just like the Messagetae, and are just as dirty as they.'[6]

Many scholars base their classification of the Antes as a Slavic tribe on linguistic grounds. Some see a cognate of *Anti* in the East Slavic tribal name of historical times: *Vjatici* (*Vętici*), which became the borrowed Finnish word *venät(j)ä*, and the town name *Vjatka*. The tribal name would mean 'belonging to the land of Vent-', and it can be linked with *Ven(e)t- Veneti*. Arabic and Persian geographers and historians, such as Džajhānī, Gerdēzī and Ibn Rustā, know the name in the form *Wantit*, though the spelling varies widely. The Indo-European root *vent- is not uncommon in the Slavic languages. It means 'great', a Germanic reflex being *enta* 'giant' in *Beowulf*. Old Church Slavonic forms an irregular comparative of *velii* 'great': and *vęšti* 'greater', using this root, and it appears in Slavic personal names: Venčiteslav, Venceslav, Vjačeslav. Polish *więcej* means 'more'.

The *Antes* living in what is now the Ukraine were annihilated by the Avars. From the beginning of the seventh century the name *Antes* disappears from history, but the possibility that these people were the ancestors of the historical Vjatici cannot be discounted. Russian historians and archaeologists, notably Ver-

nadsky and Rybakov, speak of the *Antes* as the direct ancestors of the Russians.

VENEDI, VENETI

Jordanes recounts that a populous race of *Venethi* living on the northern slopes of the Carpathian mountains, at the source of the Vistula, were defeated by the Gothic King Ermanaric (Ermenrich). In another passage the name of *Veneti* appears together with those of *Sclavini* and *Antes*.[7] He says that all of them are related, 'of one blood'. The *Veneti* can be regarded as Slavs on this evidence; yet, not all *Veneti* mentioned by the earlier historic records (Herodotus, Tacitus, Pliny the Elder and Ptolemy) can be easily identified with the Slavs.[8]

Tacitus' *Venedi* (first century AD) were robber-like vagabonds who carried out raids ('latrociniis pererrant') in the forests and mountains located between Peucini (Germanic Bastarnae) in the area of the East Carpathians and Fenni in present-day eastern Russia. He says that, in contrast to nomadic horse-riding Sarmatian tribes, the *Veneti* built houses and fought on foot, equipped with shields (Tacitus: *Germania*, 46).

In spite of the fragmentary nature of the earliest historic records on Slavic tribes, their value is fundamental for a period concerning which there is not much archaeological data available for reconstructing a Slavic culture.

The Proto-Slavs during the Sarmatian and Gotho-Gepid Expansions

c. 200 BC – c. AD 400

AFTER A LONG and continuous cultural development in a fixed territory the Proto-Slavic civilization lost its identity as a result of foreign invasions and occupations. The Iranian-speaking Sarmatians entered from the east, broke the Scythian power and infiltrated even the forest-steppe zone; successive waves of Germanic tribes, Bastarnae, Sciri and Taifals, Goths and Gepids, came from the north-west through the territory of present-day Poland into the Pripet basin, Volynia, Podolia, Moldavia and the Dnieper-Don region. The archaeological picture of the Pontic steppe and the forest steppe belts changes considerably. The North Pontic area was now a melting-pot of elements derived successively from survivals of the Scythian epoch and the Greek cities, the influence of the Roman provinces of Dacia and Moesia, the newly infiltrated Sarmatians, and the Germanic tribes. The Proto-Slavic material culture was all but submerged beneath the avalanche of foreign elements, yet historic records and linguistic evidence show that Slavic tribes were still extant.

THE WESTWARD EXPANSION OF THE SARMATIANS

The Sarmatians, another group of steppe nomads, infiltrated the North Pontic lands at the end of the Scythian era around 200 BC. Before their massive expansion to the west in the second century BC, the Sarmatians lived beyond the Don. However, they had managed to cross it at some time during the fourth century BC.

Their sites are known on both sides of this river. Pliny (VI, 15) already speaks of many Sarmatian tribes west of the Don, and in the first century BC, Agrippa's map shows Sarmatians and not Scythians north of the Black Sea and east of the Dnieper. Archaeological remains indicate that they must have reached the bend of the Dnieper around 200 BC. Their early sites are concentrated in the region of the Dnieper rapids, north of the Sea of Azov, and in the Upper Donets basin, where they left more than 50 kurgans of the pure trans-Volga type.

The bulk of Sarmatian archaeological evidence pertains to the period from the first century BC to the first century AD. In the north-west, Sarmatian tribes appeared west of the Dnieper, south of Kiev, along the rivers Ros', Rosava, Tjasmin, Turja and Vysa. Strabo (63 BC–AD 23) knew of a number of Sarmatian tribes: Iazygians, Roxolani, Aorsians, Siraces and Alans. During the second century AD they reached Moldavia, the lands of the Lower Danube, the Hungarian grasslands and even Poland. Most of the Sarmatian sites in Romania and eastern Central Europe date from the third century AD.

Fig. 23
The map on the opposite page shows the extent of the Sarmatian invasion of Slavic territory, particularly west of the Middle Dnieper. The physical presence of the Sarmatians naturally influenced Slavic culture. Linguists and mythologists speak of strong Iranian influences and similarities in the Slavic religious vocabulary.[2] It was during this era that Slavs borrowed from the Iranians the words *bogŭ* 'god', *raji* 'paradise' and *svętŭ* 'holy'.

The coming of the Sarmatians put an entirely different complexion on archaeology north of the Black Sea, including the forest-steppe belt. They had close relations with the cities on the Black Sea coasts and with the Lower Danube region. The contact with the Greek cities resulted in considerable Greek influence on Sarmatian culture and art; Sarmatian elements can be traced in the Bosporus kingdom, and Sarmatian names are known from Bosporan inscriptions. It is believed that a part of the
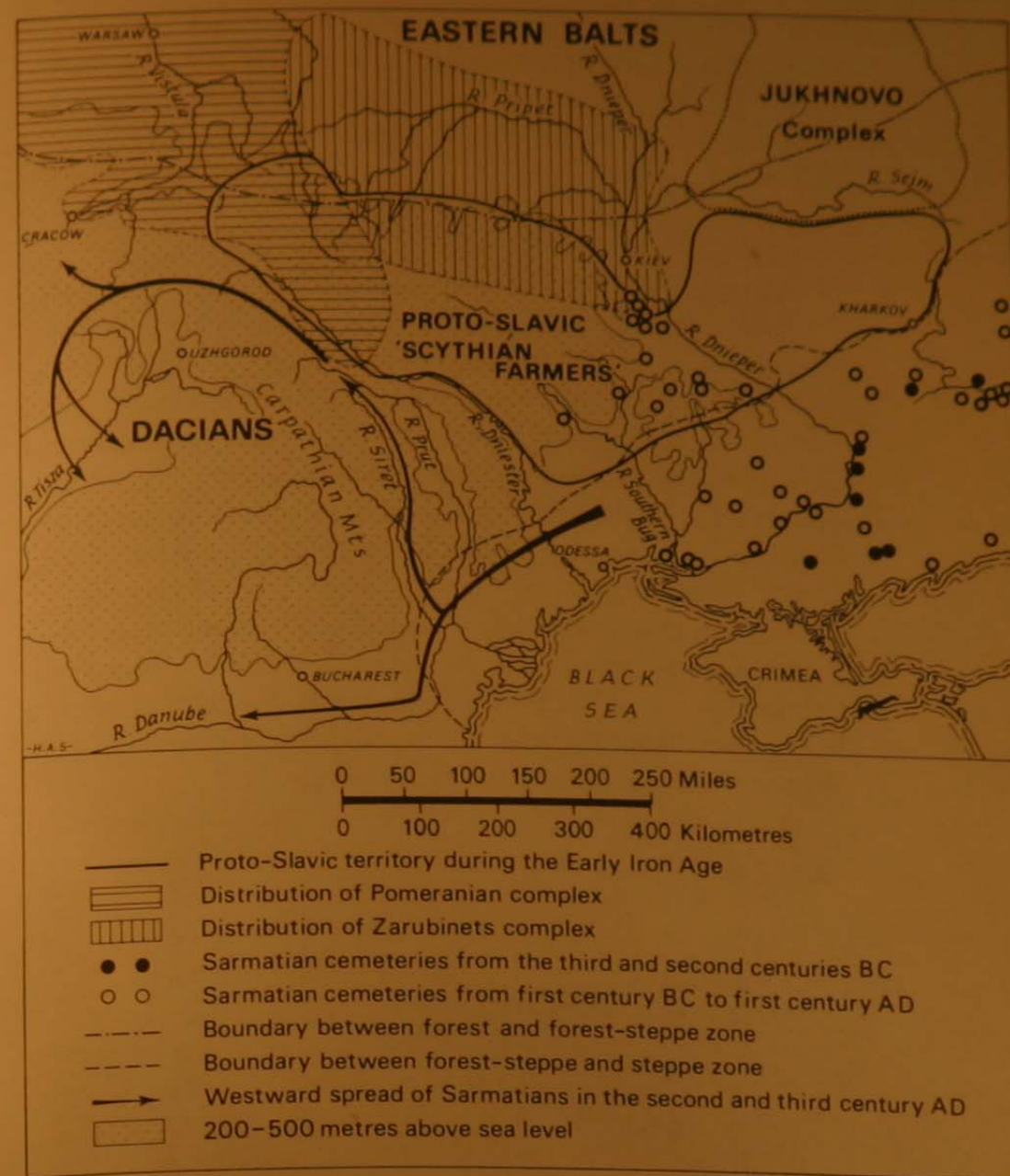

Fig. 23 Distribution of Pomeranian-Zarubinets complex, Sarmatian sites and the Proto-Slavic area

Sarmatian nation settled permanently in Greek cities. This element might have been a factor in the process of their barbarization.[3] In time, Sarmatian civilization lost its distinctive traits, and the whole North Pontic region became uniform in its material culture.

THE ZARUBINETS COMPLEX, 200 BC—AD 100

The name 'Zarubinets' comes from the site of that name near Perejeslav Khmelnitskij. It represents a new cultural complex that appeared in the Pripet and Middle and Upper Dnieper basins around 200 BC. Zarubinets sites are recognizable by the custom of cremating the dead and by the presence of bronze fibulae of late La Tène style. Their articulated and predominantly polished pottery differed from the local Volyno-Podolian variety. Their sites spread as far north as the Upper Dnieper and the Lower Desna basin.

Fig. 24a

The Zarubinets complex is related to the Pomeranian 'Bell-shaped Grave' (also called 'Pot-covered Urn') complex of the fifth century BC. This Pomeranian group, probably of western Baltic stock, dispersed over almost all of Poland and along the Western Bug river during the fourth century BC.

Fig. 24b
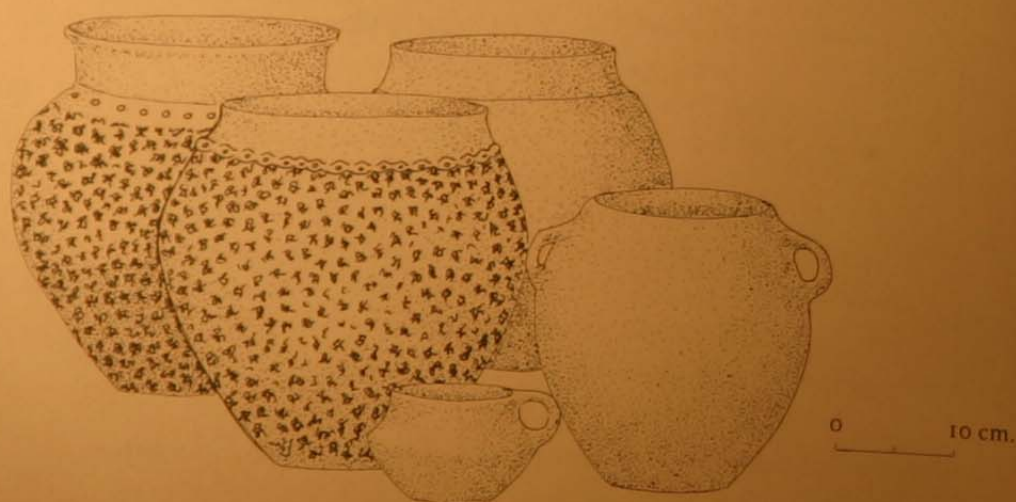
Originally it was believed that the Zarubinets complex must have been Slavic. However, Kukharenko has shown more or less conclusively that the Zarubinets complex bears no relation at all to the preceding culture in this region during the Scythian or pre-Scythian era, i.e with the culture of the 'Scythian farmers' and Chernoles. Genetically it can be affiliated only with the Pomeranian group.[4] The 'Zarubinets' occupied some Slavic lands but for the most part they inhabited the lands of the eastern Balts and hardly penetrated the territory east of the Middle Dnieper. The majority of Zarubinets sites date from the period first century BC—first century AD. In the Dnieper area they were probably assimilated by the eastern Baltic tribes (Baltic material appears again in sites of the third and fourth centuries AD).

THE GOTHS NORTH OF THE BLACK SEA AND THE CHERNJAKHOVO COMPLEX

The Goths, according to the historians, carried out their great migration after AD 166. Their eastern branch, the Ostrogoths, reached the northern shores of the Black Sea and conquered Olvia, Tyras and Panticapaeum. In the mid third century they reached the Don. About AD 214 the Goths clashed with the

0   10 cm.

0   10 cm.

Fig. 24 Pottery from Polesie and the Vistula basin. Left, Zarubinets; above, Pomeranian type

Romans at the Dacian frontier and soon thereafter conquered Dacia. The Gothic state flourished for nearly 200 years until the Huns invaded in AD 375.

Archaeological studies have shown that the Gotho-Gepid culture spread from the Lower Vistula basin south-eastwards via eastern Poland up the Western Bug valley to Volynia and Podolia in the second century AD. The direction of migration is indicated by a chain of cemeteries, isolated graves and finds of a type known as 'Trišin' after a cemetery near Brest-Litovsk containing finds of undoubtedly Germanic character.[5] Gotho-Gepids forced their way through an area between the southern Baltic tribes and the Przewor (Vandal?) group in Poland. In the south they met Dacians and Sarmatians. Jordanes tells us that before the Goths reached the Black Sea they conquered the *Spali*, probably a Sarmatian tribe, with whom the ancient Slavs must have been in close contact. *Spolin* became a Slavic word meaning 'giant'. After about AD 200, Sarmatian monuments disappeared and gave way to a hybrid cultural complex called 'Chernjakhovo'.

Chernjakhovo sites of the third and fourth centuries AD are found between the Lower Danube in the south, the forested zone in the north and the River Don in the east.

These sites show much uniformity over a large area, but they cannot be ascribed to Gothic domination alone. It is unthinkable that the north-western invaders would have exterminated local inhabitants on their arrival, or that they would have rapidly assimilated them. The density of Chernjakhovo sites bespeaks a constant increase in population. In the whole territory, i.e. eastern Romania and western and eastern Ukraine, Slavs, Sarmatians, Hellenized remnants of Scythians, Romanized Greeks, Dacians, and Getae must have lived alongside the new Germanic occupants. A copy of the fourth-century Roman road map known as *Tabula Peutingeriana* shows Dacians, Getae, Venedi and others in the territory between the Dniester and
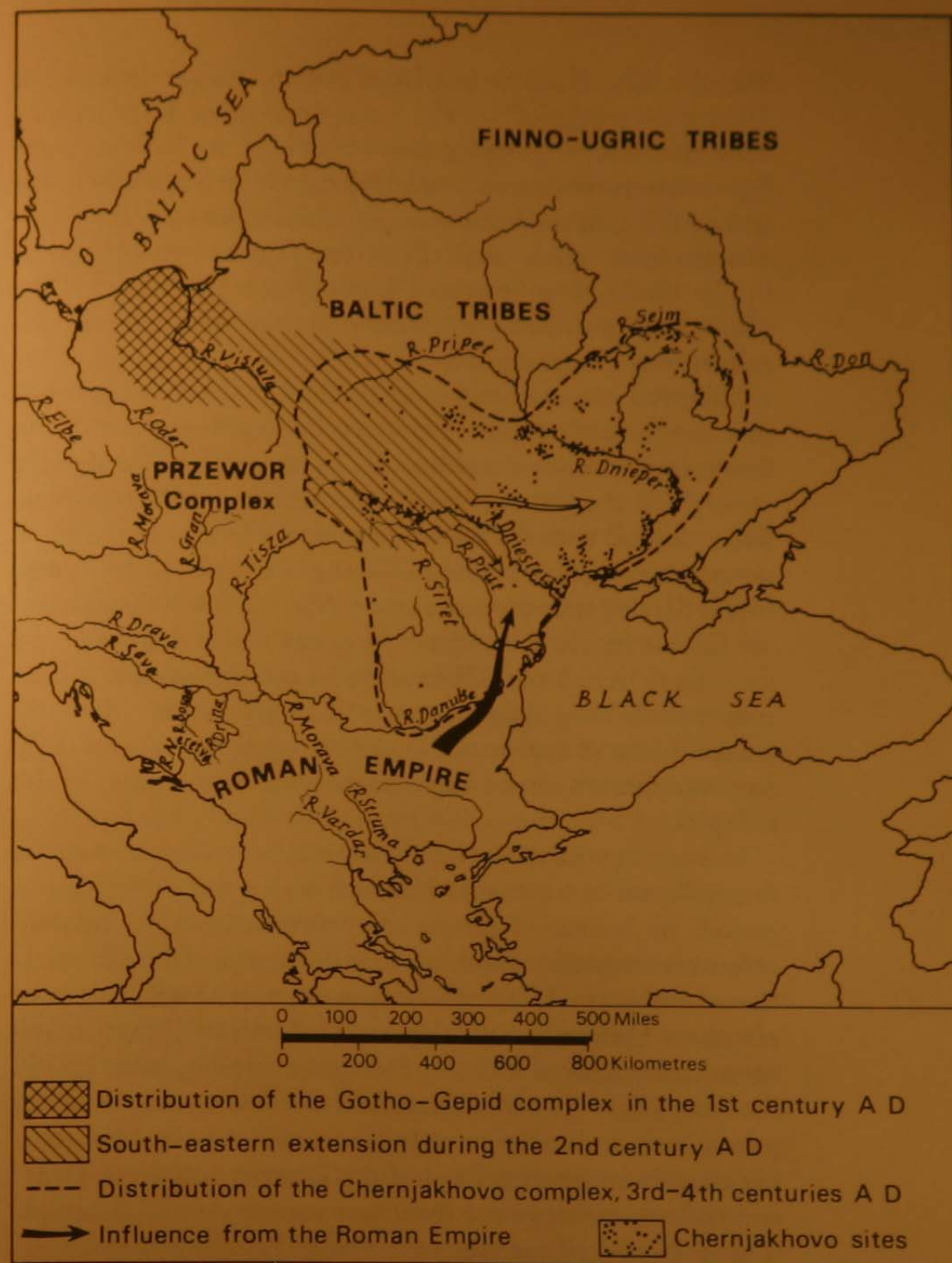
Fig. 25

Fig. 25 *Advance of the Gotho-Gepid culture to the Pontic region and the distribution of the Chernjakhovo complex*

Danube. The Dacians and Getae were native inhabitants; the Venedi ('Venadi Sarmatae'), living north of the Dacians, may have been Slavs. Judging from cemeteries in Moldavia, the Sarmatians were merged with the local Getan population, and had by this time made the transition from a nomadic life to one of agriculture. These ethnically diverse peoples were subjugated by the Goths, who instituted a centralized government. This could have provided the impetus for the unification of the culture over a large territory.

Historical sources provide some clues to the Chernjakhovo sites and their inhabitants. However, during the last decades on the basis of the wide distribution of highly uniform wheel-made pottery and the fact that the northern limits of Chernjakhovo finds coincide with the border between the forest and the forest-steppe zones, some archaeologists have proclaimed Chernjakhovo sites as Slavic (more precisely, eastern Slavic). It was thought that the Gothic invasion could not be traced archaeologically.[6] To date, more than 1,000 Chernjakhovo sites are known and an enormous bibliography on excavated sites exists.[7] With the accumulation of systematically explored settlements much light has been thrown on the basic features and relationships of this complex.

Scarcely any of the cultural elements we associate with the first millennium BC can be observed during the Chernjakhovo period: no habitation pattern of open settlements, no hill-forts or barrow cemeteries could be found in any area of the Chernjak-hovo distribution. Unfortified settlements were now located (even east of the Dnieper) on the slopes of the first level of river terraces or on sandy terraces far away from good farming land. Unlike the Early Iron Age with its hundreds of hill-forts, this period has provided no evidence of a single hill-fort with signs of habitation, not even from the region east of the Dnieper where one would expect the least change in habitation pattern and social structure.[8] The excavated village sites in Volynia, Podolia and Moldavia

revealed architecture of a type which cannot be related to the Slavic traditions of the medieval period. Villages were remark-able for their size, the largest extending for several kilometres on a river terrace and consisting of as many as seventy houses.[9] Villages in Volynia and Moldavia comprised farmsteads each having from two or three to ten or more buildings designed for different economic purposes: granaries, barns, stables, etc.

The rectangular houses were set above ground and had solidly built walls of wattle and daub. They had perfectly tamped clay floors and some had wooden platforms above the floor. Many of the houses consisted of two rooms; one, for people, fitted with a hearth (sometimes two), the other for animals—a typical Germanic *Stallhaus*. The length of these houses reached 12 m. or more.[10] In the Lower Dnieper and the Lower Southern Bug area, fortified settlements including multi-room masonry struc-tures occurred in the same period. These apparently had been left by 'Sarmatized' Greeks.[11] This type of architecture has no affinities either with the architecture in Volynia and Podolia or with that near the Dnieper rapids and in the Middle Dnieper area. The area of the Dnieper rapids contained settlements with semi-subterranean dwellings having twig-woven walls supported on posts, and sometimes with houses built on ground level.[12] The settlement of Kantemirovka in the Middle Dnieper area con-tained above-ground houses and Sarmatian-type barrows with inhumation burials in deep pits.[12]

The days of individual slow pottery production were past. Specially trained potters produced pots in large ovens and perhaps sold these vessels in a market. Indeed, pottery is remark-ably uniform all over the Ukraine, Moldavia, in the Lower Danube region and Transylvania. The potter's craft must have infiltrated northern regions from the south, from the Roman provinces of Moesia and Dacia as well as from the cities on the Black Sea littoral. Scarcely any hand-made pottery was found at the Chernjakhovo sites of Romania.[14] In the preceding Scythian-

Fig. 26

Sarmatian era wheel-thrown pottery entered the forest-steppe zone as an import, but now the craft itself penetrated eastern Europe as far as the northern forests.

For the most part, the pots were grey in colour, being made of clay tempered with crude sand, and had slightly globular bodies, pronounced shoulders, shallow necks, and out-turned rims. Pithos-type pots were made of a cleaner, finer clay. The better pottery, red, orange or yellow in colour, occurred in a great variety of shapes: profiled dishes, bowls without handles, bowls with three handles, cups, beakers and elegant jugs. There were also amphorae of Roman type. The most sophisticated types have analogies in the products of the coastal cities and the Roman provinces. In Volynia, the Upper Dniester basin and the area of the Dnieper rapids, the globular types sometimes had a slip of clay tempered with rough sand. This technique again points to north-western influence since it was wide-spread in the Vistula area. The Chernjakhovo ceramic art was a peculiar merger of elements from many sources. The wheel-made pottery can no longer serve the archaeologist as a key artifact having a diagnostic value in helping to establish tribal limits.

The inventories of grave goods show a uniform character in most of the large cemeteries excavated. In rich women's graves there were usually no ear-rings or pins, but the graves contained one or two fibulae, glass, amber or precious stone beads and a comb. In men's graves the items might include a belt clasp, one or two fibulae and a knife. There was an enormous quantity of pots in richer graves. An exceptionally well endowed grave, which was probably that of a Gothic chieftain of the fourth century AD, was discovered in 1935 at Rudki near Krzemieniec in the Tarnopol district of the Upper Dniester area.[15] In a pit more than two metres deep lay an extended skeleton equipped with two silver spurs, a silver knife, several bronze vessels of Roman type, a silver bow fibula, a Roman glass cup, wheel-made dishes and vases and dice of glass paste.

This complex derives its name from the cemetery at Chernjak-hovo, Kiev district, 12 km. south of Tripolye. Khvojko discovered the cemetery, excavated it in 1900–01 and dated its 247 graves to the period between the second and fifth centuries AD. Not until 1964 was a detailed excavation report published by Petrov.[16] The cemetery contained both cremation and inhumation burials in more or less equal proportions. In the case of only twenty-four were the furnishings especially rich. Sixty-nine had no grave goods at all. Cremations were either in urns or in pits. All the graves were in a continuous row regardless of whether they were of cremation or inhumation type. The excavators were unable to make any deductions regarding the social or ethnic background from the different burial practices.

Fig. 27
Fig. 28

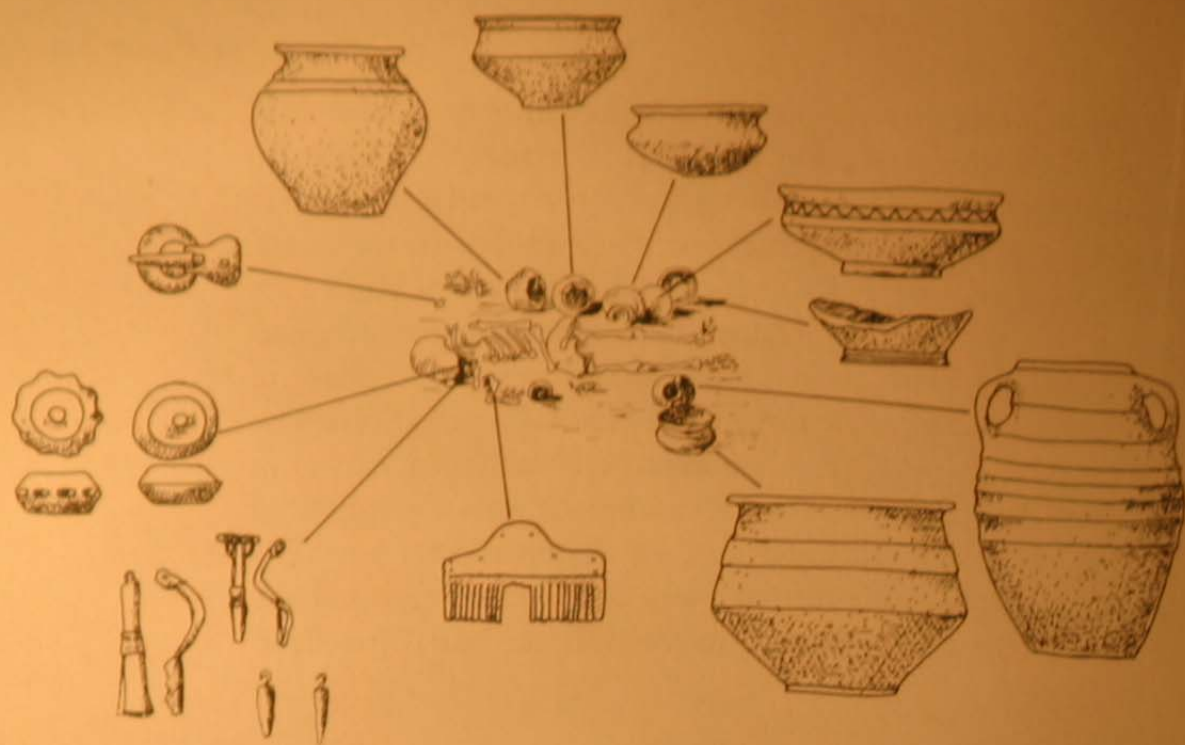Fig. 26 Potter's oven. Settlement of Kryngash, Soviet Moldavia
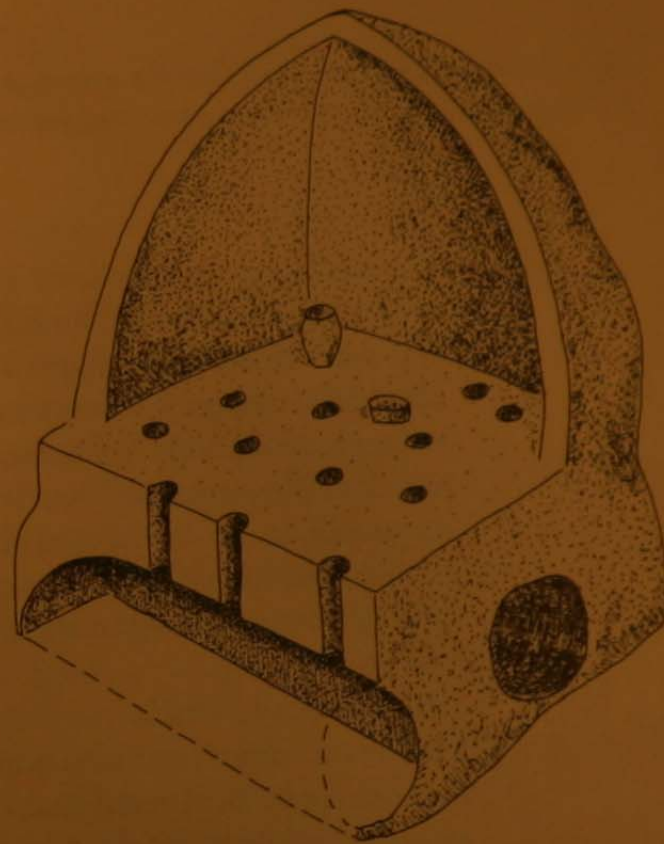
Fig. 27 A wealthy man's grave from the cemetery of Chernjakhovo. The grave goods include a belt clasp, glass beads, bronze fibulae, a bone comb and several vases. Not to scale

Fig. 28 Urn burial (top left) from the cemetery of Chernjakhovo. The urn (shown below it) contained the handled cup and glass beads. Not to scale

During Roman times, in many parts of Europe, bi-ritual cemeteries are known. In Chernjakhovo cemeteries cremation was more common in the earlier, than in the later phases. By AD 300 both rites were observed to the same extent. In the fourth century, inhumation predominated in the Chernjakhovo cemeteries of Romania and finally superseded cremation. There is no continuity of burial rites during post-Chernjakhovo times. Early Slavic cemeteries of the sixth and seventh centuries AD were cremation cemeteries and the cremated remains were usually in pits.

Towards the end of the fourth century AD Chernjakhovo settlements and cemeteries quite abruptly disappeared.[17] The rapid change and cultural deterioration of the area was caused by a stormy invasion by the Huns, Turkic nomads from central

Asia. In AD 375 they conquered the Goths between the Don and Danube, and pushed them toward the Roman borders. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, when the Goths were first defeated by the Huns, they retreated to the Dniester and built a fortified camp near the wall of Greutungi. There again they lost to the Huns and fled to the Danube.[18] Destruction layers have been identified in settlements of the Dnieper region, the steppe and part of the southern forest-steppe area. Marcellinus tells us that this 'unknown race of people from the far end of the earth moved like an avalanche and crushed everything they encountered on the way'. Trade relations with the south were cut off and production centres were destroyed. Some tribes must have been entirely wiped out. Others, like the Goths, migrated to the west or sought refuge in the Crimean Peninsula. Tribes

in the forest-steppe area may have saved themselves by hiding in forests. From the end of the fourth and throughout the fifth century AD the ethnic picture north of the Black Sea entirely changed. It was after this turmoil that Slavs appeared in the former Chernjakhovo territory, introducing their own cultural elements which continued into later centuries and spread to the west, south and north.

The contrast in topography, settlement pattern, architecture and burial rites was too great to allow of a continuity of Chernjakhovo culture proper during the period of Slavic migrations.[19] The Chernjakhovo culture was a phenomenon *per se*, a result of broad cultural relationships, flourishing trade, increase of production, fertilization by elements coming from the Roman Empire, fusion of southern, western, northern and eastern cultural elements, and consolidation of political power. The very modest Slavic cultural remains which emerged out of the ruins cannot have been derived from the classical Chernjakhovo complex. We see in these remains a persistence of Early Iron Age traditions which apparently lingered on in isolated areas throughout the Sarmatian, 'Zarubinets' (West Baltic) and Gothic occupations. There are a few habitation sites and cemeteries dating from the period between the third and fifth centuries AD which may prove, as the amount of available material increases, to have belonged to the true predecessors of the Slavic residue of the fifth to the seventh centuries AD.[20] Only a meticulous study of habitation pattern, economy and burial rites, as well as the study of the micro-evolution of physical types, can shed more light on the problem of what happened to the Proto-Slavs during the Gothic domination. That Slavic tribes did not perish under the Goths is evidenced by historical records. Jordanes recounts that the Goth King Vinitar, soon after his defeat by the Huns, fell upon the Antes and crucified their King Bož along with his son and seventy of his men.[21] This document is of utmost importance since it verifies the presence of numerous Slavs with their tribal

organization intact in the territory of Goth domination. Close Germanic and Slavic relations are also illuminated by old Germanic loan-words in Slavic languages.

OLD GERMANIC LOAN WORDS IN SLAVIC

The earliest contacts between the Slavic and Germanic peoples date from Chernjakhovo times, but are not restricted to the Chernjakhovo culture area. The Soviet Slavist S. Bernštejn cites as the earliest Germanic borrowings in Slavic two groups of words. Those in the first group were borrowed from the Goths in the Dnieper-Dniester-Baltic area, between the second and fifth centuries (roughly corresponding to Chernjakhovo), those in the second group from Old West Germanic languages in present-day north Germany and Bohemia, in the third and fourth centuries.[22]

The early Gothic group includes a number of domestic terms: *xyža*—'house'; *xlěvŭ*—'stall, stable', perhaps properly a semi-subterranean one, since Gothic *hlaiv* means 'grave'; *xlěbŭ*—'bread, loaf'; *bljudo*—'dish', from Gothic *biuþs*; *kotilŭ*—'(copper) kettle'. Also economic terms: *dŭlgŭ*—'debt', and *lixva*—'interest, profit, usury', from Gothic *leihva*—'loan'; a verb *xyniti*—'to deceive', which may have come from the Gothic for 'Hun'. Military words were: *xǫsa*—'raid' from Gothic *hansa*—'warrior band'; *meči*—'sword' from *mēkeis*; and *šelmŭ* (Old Church Slavonic *šlěmŭ*, Old Russian *šelomŭ*)—'helmet' from Gothic *helm*, perhaps related to another borrowing of this group, *xŭlmŭ*—'hill, holm'. The exotic animal names *osilŭ*—'ass' and *velbodŭ*—'camel', ultimately from Latin.

The early West Germanic group has the domestic words *tynŭ*—'wall', preserved in such modern place names as Polish *Tyniec* and Czech *Karlův Tyn*, from Germanic *tūna*—'firm fence', and cognate with English 'town'; and *pila*—'saw' (cutting instrument with teeth; cf. English 'file', German 'Feile'). Economic terms are: *pěnędzi*—'money, silver or copper coin',

from German *pennings*—'piece of metal used as money', cognate with English 'penny'; and *myto*—'duty, tribute, toll', from old Germanic *mûta*. Military words: *vitędzi*—'knight, hero' from Germanic *víking* or *hvétingr*; and *trǫba*—'trumpet'. Two religious words, of Greek origin, seem to have entered Slavic in this group, via early contacts with German missionaries: *cirky*—'church', via Old Bavarian *kirkó* from Greek *kyrialkón*; and *popŭ*—'priest', probably via Old High German *pfaffo* from Greek *papàs*.

According to Bernštejn, Gothic contributed another group of loan words to Slavic in the sixth and seventh centuries; but this was the language of the Moesian Goths, living along the Danube in what is now Bulgaria, while their Slavic neighbours were new arrivals in the Balkan area. This group includes: *vino*—'wine' and *vinogradŭ*—'vineyard'; *smoky*—'fig', from Gothic *smakka*; *userędzi*—'ear-ring', from Gothic, *ausihriggs*; *skutŭ*—'lap' from Gothic *skauts*—'hem of garment'; and *buky*—'letter, writing' from Gothic *bōka*—'book'. The first Gothic bishop, Ulfila, had invented the Gothic alphabet and made their first translation of the Bible in the middle of the fourth century. So it is possible that 'writing', 'priest', 'church' and other religious terms could have entered Slavic from the fourth and fifth centuries from the Goths as well as from the Western Germanic peoples.

Other early Germanic loan words in Slavic, which might have come from east or west, are: *pŭlkŭ*—'military formation' from Common Germanic *fulkaz*—'armed troop'; *želdŭ*—'fine, penalty', corresponding to Gothic *gild*—'tax', Common Germanic *yeldan*—'to pay tax'; *kupiti*—'to buy' via Gothic *kaupōn*; *skotŭ*—'horned cattle, property, money' from Common Germanic *skattaz*—'property, possession, wealth'; *nuta*—'oxen, horned cattle' from Common Germanic 'cattle-property'.

Germanic loan words in Slavic are evidence that the occupiers of Slavic lands acted as donors in a cultural field. The number of Slavic loan words in Germanic languages is insignificant in comparison with the number of Germanic loan words in Slavic.

Having political and cultural supremacy over the Slavs, the Goths exercised a strong influence on the material and spiritual culture of their subjects.

To summarise: historic, archaeological and linguistic sources speak of a Slavic element in the old Proto-Slavic area. This corresponds in time with the period of the Roman Empire's maximal power. However, political suppression and strong influences from the south and north-west made it impossible for Slavic culture to grow and assert itself. Slavs survived physically and their dormant powers became manifest during the next centuries, the period of the Slavic migrations.

The Recovery. Early Slavic Settlement in the Ukraine and Russia

Fifth–ninth centuries

FROM AROUND AD 500 we are free to use the term 'Slavs', 'Slavic settlement' and 'Slavic cemetery'. Archaeologists are able to demonstrate an incontestable continuity of Slavic settlement from the end of the fifth century AD to the time when the historical records mention names and locations of Slavic tribes. Sites which contain small square semi-subterranean houses and hand-made pottery from the end of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries AD are labelled 'Early Slavic'. The distribution of Early Slavic sites is limited to the forest-steppe zone in the western Ukraine. The steppe area was clearly avoided. The Slavs settled lands which could be cultivated by a plough made for light soil. The steppe and black soil region was not suitable for them. Their sites usually lie in formerly forested areas.

The earliest Slavic materials have been subdivided into western and eastern groups, the 'Zhitomir' and the 'Pen'kovka'. The Zhitomir sites are located west of the Dnieper in the basin of the River Teterev around the town of Zhitomir in Volynia, and they extend westwards to south-eastern Poland. The Pen'kovka sites cluster in the area of the Dnieper rapids and are scattered between the Dnieper and the Middle Prut in Moldavia. From these nuclear territories the Slavs spread north, south and west.

THE ZHITOMIR GROUP

The Zhitomir group is known from settlements located on river terraces or slopes of sandy dunes some distance from the rivers. Villages are associated with small hill-forts built for defence

purposes. The barely noticeable cultural layer at these habitation sites indicates a short period of occupation. Houses were very small and lightly constructed.

Let us take as an example the settlement of Korchak, located on a terrace of the River Teterev. This site consisted of semi-subterranean square houses randomly scattered in an area about 100 m. long and 30 to 50 m. wide. Twelve houses were ex-

Fig. 29

Fig. 29 Plan of an Early Slavic village at Korchak on a terrace of the River Teterev near Zhitomir, western Ukraine

0   15 m.

semi-subterranean dwellings

pits

stones

•• post holes   oven
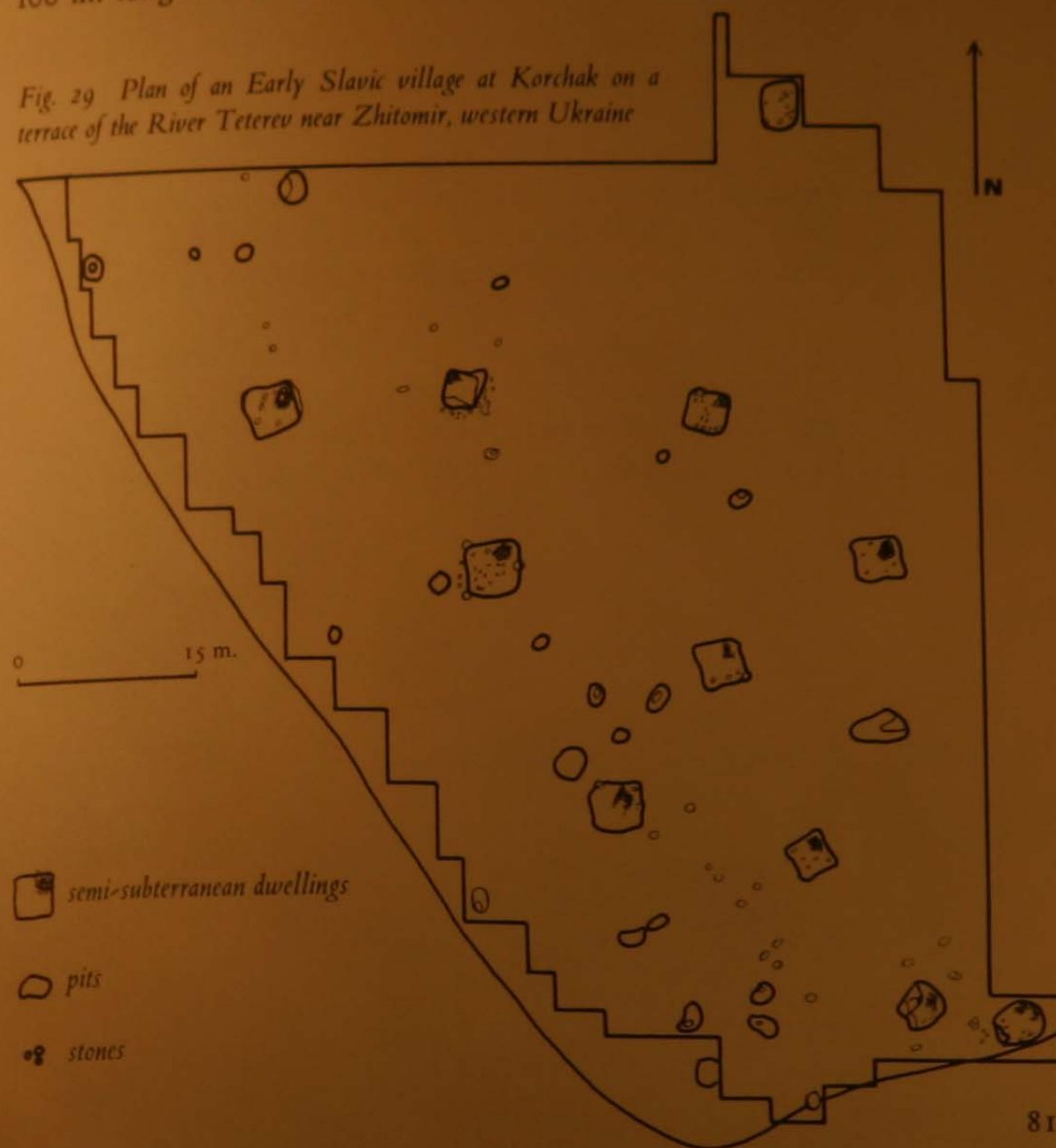
Fig. 30   Plan and cross-section of a semi-subterranean Early Slavic dwelling in the village of Korchak, district of Zhitomir

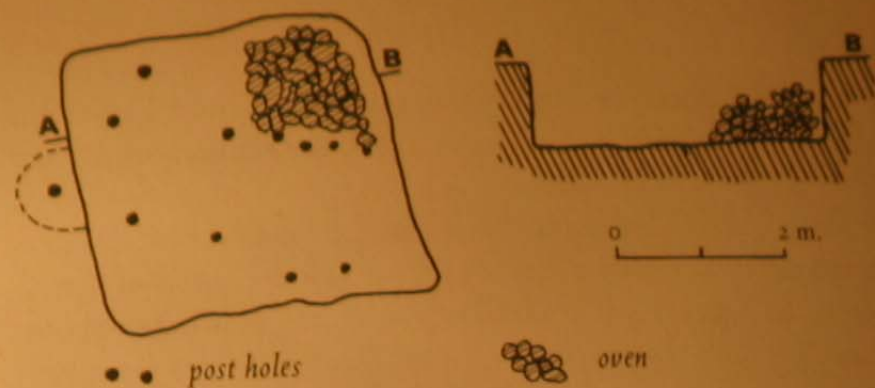cavated. They were placed 10 to 15 m. apart and had been dug one metre or more into the ground. An oven built of large stones stood in the north-eastern corner of each hut. In one dwelling there were traces of post holes forming two rows for the support of a pitched roof (see plan). Other dwellings had post holes at the corners or along the walls. Some huts had a stepped entrance.

Cemeteries with cremation graves were located near settlement sites. Among them were flat cemeteries which are presumed to be earlier than the barrow cemeteries extending along the river

0   10 cm.

banks. The latter were arranged in groups of ten to thirty low barrows not more than one metre high. Both village sites and cemeteries yield hand-made pottery tempered with sand and crushed sherds. It included pots widening towards the top, with rounded shoulders and vertical or out-turned rims, and up to 20 cm. high. This type of pottery is known variously as 'Zhitomir', 'Korchak' or 'Prague'.[1]

Villages of the Zhitomir area have very close parallels in the Upper Dniester and Western Bug basins in Volynia and south-eastern Poland. Good examples are the systematically excavated villages of Ripnev in the district of Lvov on the Western Bug[2] and Nezvisko on the Upper Dniester.[3] At both sites small semi-subterranean square dwellings with clay or stone ovens, and containing hand-made pottery, were found. Parallels also abound in Moldavia, Czechoslovakia and even in central Germany (as will be seen in the next chapter, on Slavic migrations).

Several dwellings in the settlement of Ripnev had been erected on a cultural layer of late Chernjakhovo type dated by fibulae as belonging to the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. Hence, the Slavic cemetery is reckoned to have been in use for part of the fifth and most of the sixth century AD. One of the

Fig. 31   Hand-made pottery of Zhitomir type from the settlement of Korchak on the River Teterev

Fig. 32   Hand-made pottery from the sixth-century AD village at Ripnev, district of Lvov

0   10 cm.

better dated monuments in the Early Slavic series is the small hill-fort at Zimno in the district of Volyn. In it a Byzantine coin from the reign of Justin I (518–527) or Justinian (527–565) appeared along with round bronze plates, belt clasps, bracelets, and other finds.[4]

A slightly later complex dated in the eighth and ninth centuries, is named 'Luka Rajkovetska' (after several open settlements and a hill-fort in the Zhitomir district).[5] In the eighth century heavily fortified hills made their appearance and continued into the historic times of the Slavic states. The same series of developments can be followed in the Balkans and central Europe ('hill-fort period'). This phase is marked by the appearance of wheel-turned pottery, which was used alongside the hand-made ware. Pottery was ornamented with incised parallel or wavy lines through the use of a comb-like instrument. Hand-made pots were usually taller. Either pinching on the rim or a row of pits impressed in the neck area was the sole decoration of the hand-made pots. The rims of eighth- and ninth-century pots were more out-turned than those of the sixth and seventh centuries.

Hill-forts were situated on high river banks in relatively inaccessible places, and covered an area of from 1,000 to 3,000 sq. m. These were probably seats of tribal leaders and were always associated with open settlements. One of the richest and best-excavated hill-forts is that of Khotomel' in the valley of the River Goryn' in the Brest district.[6] It was circular and fortified with double ramparts and ditches on the side facing away from the river.

From its nuclear area the Zhitomir complex spread south, west and north, allowing us to consider this as original Sclavini territory. After some groups had branched off, there remained or gathered together in this area the Poljane, Drevljane, and Dregovichi tribes known to history. The latter pushed north of the River Pripet in the ninth–tenth centuries into the Baltic lands

Fig. 33

Fig. 34
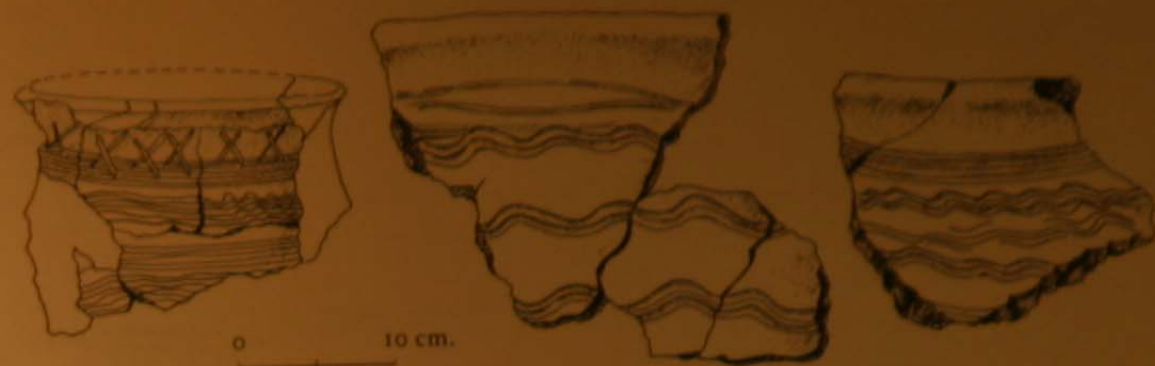
Fig. 33 Ornamented sherds from Luka-Rajkovetska, district of Zhitomir

and spread as far north as the western reaches of the Dvina (Daugava).

From fragmentary notes of Jordanes, Procopius, Pseudo-Mauricius and Menander, dating from the sixth century, some aspects of the living conditions, habits and appearance of the Sclavini can be reconstructed. According to Jordanes their land stretched 'per immensa spatia' toward the north; it was hardly penetrable because of the dense forests, the numbers of wild

Fig. 34 Wheel-turned ornamented pot (left) and hand-made pots from Luka-Rajkovetska, district of Zhitomir, eighth-ninth centuries AD
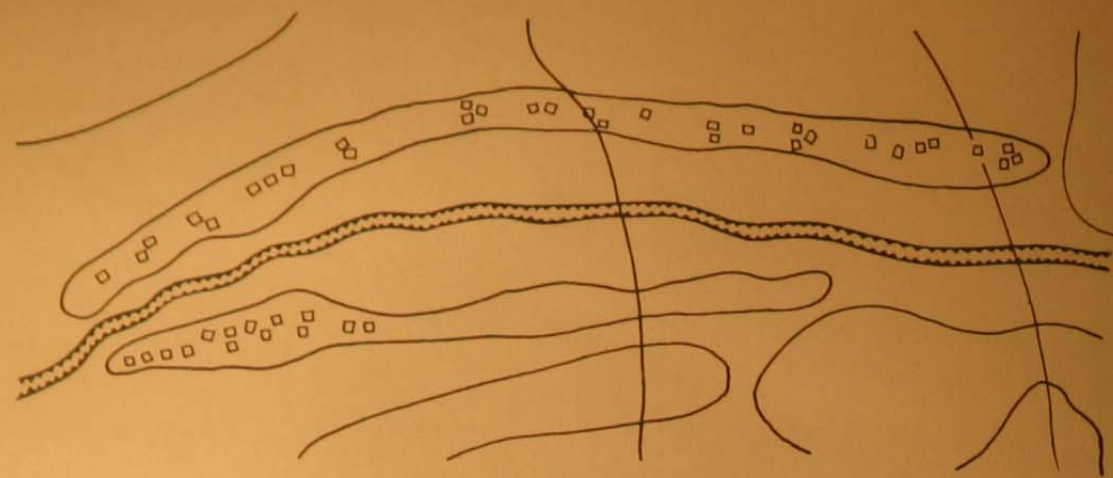
☐ *semi-subterranean houses*   ⌇⌇⌇ *former Tjasmin river*

Fig. 35 Two early Slavic villages at Pen'kovka, called Lug I and II

animals and the many rivers. Villages were situated mostly along rivers and not far from one another. Houses were poor, being little more than scattered huts, the location of which was often changed. In times of attack everyone fled to forests and swamps, thus luring the enemy into the treacherous forest as into a trap. From the *Strategicon* of Pseudo-Mauricius we know that the Sclavini possessed large numbers of cattle and that their houses were full of grain, particularly wheat and millet. Various authors remark that the Sclavini were sturdy people: they were not bothered by heat, cold weather or rain, and were able to withstand the various insufficiencies of life better than Franks, Langobards and other blond peoples.

THE
PEN'KOVKA
GROUP

The sites of the Pen'kovka group are well documented in the Dnieper region: around Cherkassy north-west of Kremenchug between Dnepropetrovsk and Zaporozh'e,[7] and around the middle course of the Southern Bug.[8] The name is taken from the village of Pen'kovka in the district of Kirovograd, west of the

Dnieper. At this village D. T. Berezovets excavated five habitation sites in the 'fifties. Since then more than sixty sites of Pen'kovka type have been identified. Settlements were always situated at a low level, on first terraces of rivers or low banks. Here, as in the Zhitomir area, the short duration of settlements can be inferred from the thin cultural layer. At one site not more than ten semi-subterranean dwellings were found and of these probably only five or six existed contemporaneously. At Pen'kovka the small houses, rarely wider than three metres, usually contained a stone oven in one corner. Some houses revealed remains of

Fig. 35
Fig. 36

Fig. 37
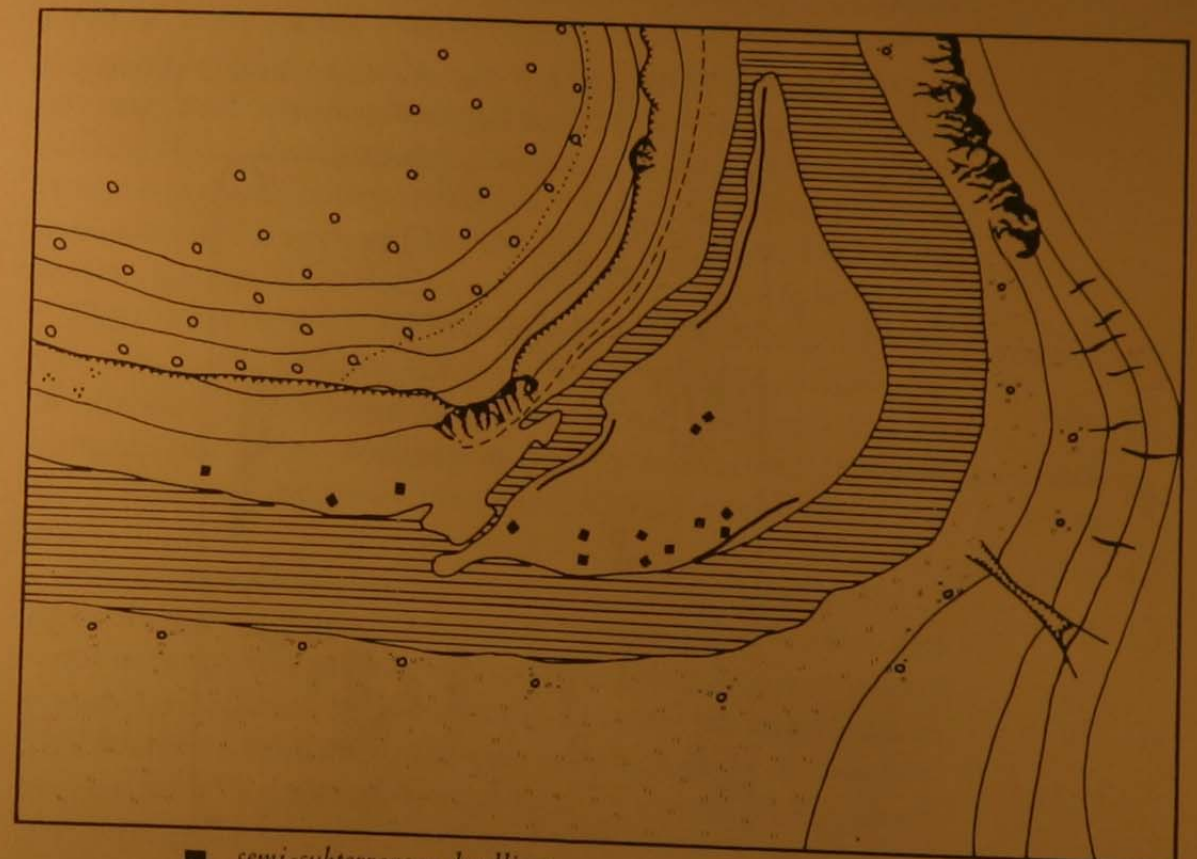
■ *semi-subterranean dwellings*

Fig. 36 Topographic plan of an Early Slavic village at Samchintsy, on the Southern Bug, south of Vinnitsa
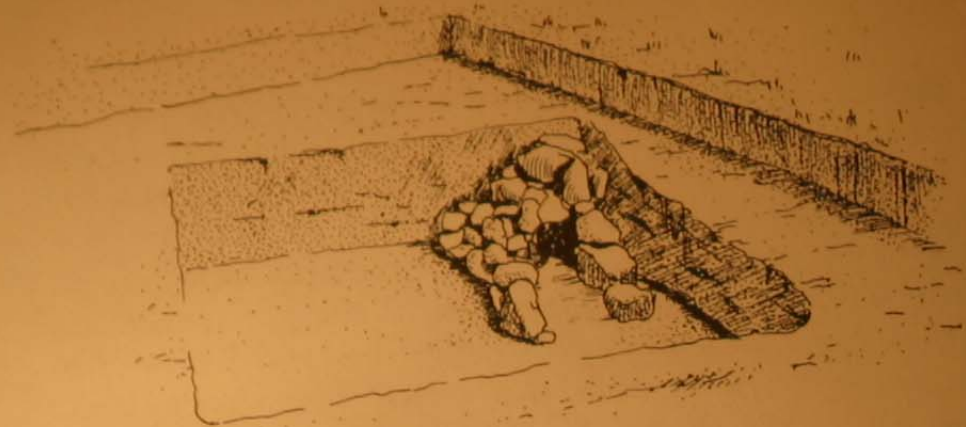
Fig. 37 Plan of Early Slavic semi-subterranean dwelling. Lug I site at Pen'kovka, house 22 (2.8 × 2.8 m.)

Fig. 38 Plan and cross-section of a semi-subterranean house in the village of Semenki, on the bank of the Southern Bug, south of Vinnitsa
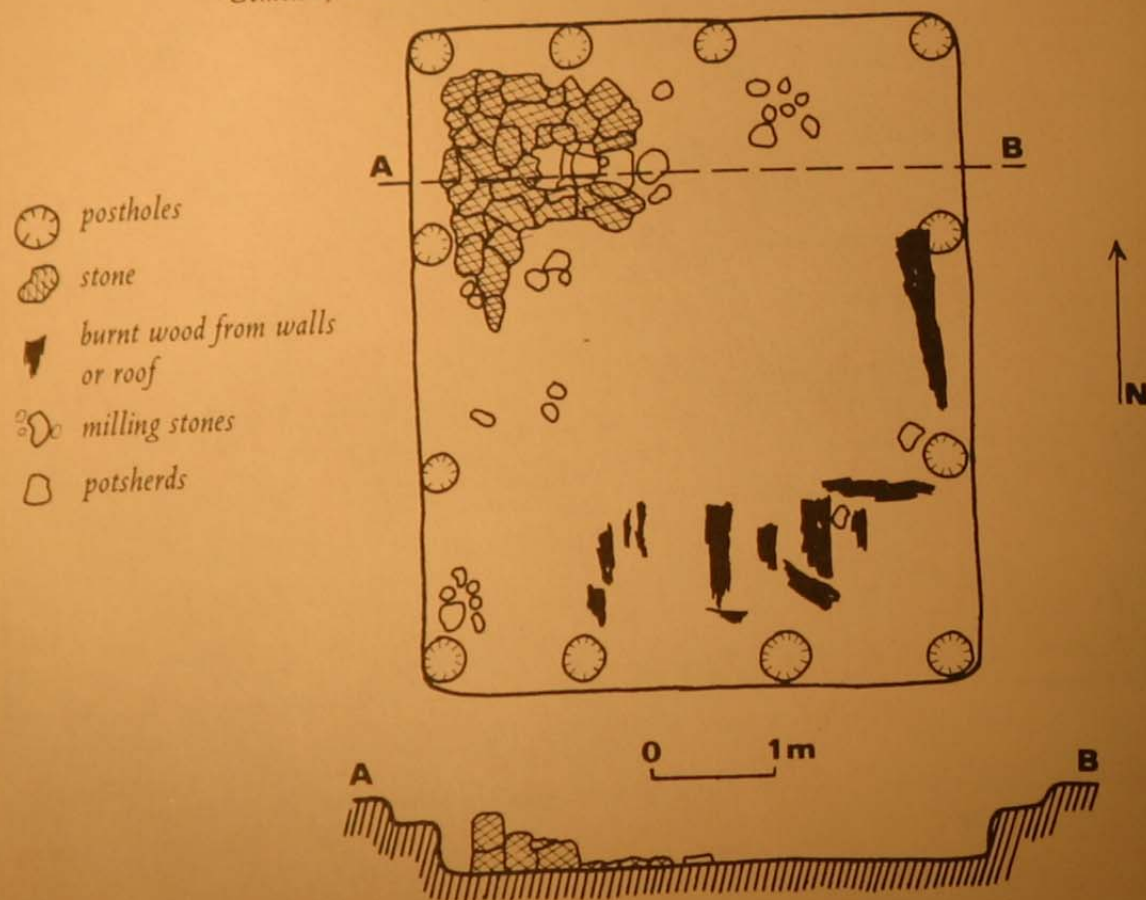

○ postholes

stone

burnt wood from walls or roof

milling stones

potsherds

A ———————— B

N

A ———————— B

0   1m

Fig. 39 Biconical vases of Pen'kovka type, from the region of Dniepropetrousk, and from Semenki, Southern Bug

0   10 cm.

wooden planks which had been used for lining the earthen walls. Vertical posts were also used for wall construction. A special study of Early Slavic semi-subterranean dwellings as well as those still being built in the Ukraine has shown that they do not last long. Berezovets has demonstrated through his reconstruction of Early Slavic dwellings that they are good for only six or seven years without major repair; they could not have been used for more than fifteen to twenty years. Each dwelling could house six or seven people; as families increased, a new one had to be built.

Fig. 38

There are only a few cemeteries known to be associated with these Pen'kovka villages. Cremation was practised exclusively, and cremated remains were placed either in urns or in pits covered by pots. The largest cemetery in the Pen'kovka area consisted of 37 urns and 14 pits.[9] No barrows were found above the graves.

The Zhitomir and Pen'kovka groups should be regarded as regional variants of a rather uniform culture. The economic and social structure was practically the same. The Pen'kovka pottery assemblage includes large biconical vases which are absent in the Zhitomir area. Other pots were simple globular or biconical beakers with slightly out-turned rims or conical forms. Some pots were pinched around the rim.

Fig. 39

The most celebrated find of the Pen'kovka group is the hoard of iron tools and weapons discovered by Berezovets in 1956 in one of the houses at Makarov Ostrov. Made up of iron coulters,

sickles, chisels, axes, spear-heads, and handles for wooden buckets, it tells us something of the everyday equipment of farmers in the eighth-ninth centuries AD. This site is somewhat later than the others near the village in Pen'kovka, its later date being confirmed by the appearance of wheel-turned pottery. The forms of some of the tools, among them of sickles and plough shares, continued into the period of Kievan Russia, and similar forms are known from the southern and western Slavic area.

Plates 3–9

The Pen'kovka sites may represent the core of the eastern Slavs, perhaps Antes. In this territory history records the Ulichi and Tivertsi tribes.

VOLYNTSEVO AND ROMNY SITES

An extension of the Pen'kovka cultural pattern in the area east of the Dnieper is evidenced by sites of the Volyntsevo type of the sixth-seventh centuries and by the Romny hill-fort group of the eighth-ninth centuries in the territory ascribed in early historic times to the Severjane tribe.

The Volyntsevo site in the valley of the River Sejm near Putivl' in the district of Sumy[10] has produced the basic information relating to the Early Slavic culture in this area. The habitation site was in the valley, located on a sloping bank of the river. The village was naturally protected by almost impenetrable bogs surrounding it on three sides. Semi-subterranean houses, some six metres square, stood in three rows. There was a large structure with three ovens in the centre of the area, probably a workshop. The houses were of two kinds: either built of horizontal logs, or constructed of vertical posts interspersed with wattle-and-daub walls. One house of this village was burnt and, therefore, parts of it were quite well preserved. Log walls were still standing and fragments of a pitched roof built of round beams were found. As a first step in its construction a pit considerably larger than the log cabin itself had been dug, though digging had stopped as soon as sand was reached. The floor was of clay. In the north-eastern corner stood an oven built of porous local clay. The

house had a flat roof and no chimney. The oven area within the house was separated by a partition wall built of evenly prepared boards. Cone- or pear-shaped storage pits had clay-daubed walls. Some of the pits had wooden covers. Workshops and barns were located in separate buildings, some workshops having three ovens. Iron coulters, sickles and grindstones were found in the village.

A cemetery occupying an area of 1·6 hectares (about 4 acres) was located near the village. Graves were flat and all cremations were in urns. Most of the graves contained accessory vases. Grave goods included glass and paste beads, bracelets, iron knives and rings. Cremation took place outside the cemetery. The cemetery of Sosnitsa in the district of Chernigov had two crematoria with a cremation area of 1·2 × 1·85 metres. This area was fenced with thick wooden logs strengthened by vertical posts in the corners. Within was a layer of charcoal and ashes interspersed with fragments of burned grave goods.[11]

Plate 10

The early ninth century witnessed the beginnings of protected communal villages located on steep promontories and fortified with ditches and ramparts. The architecture and economy of the Volyntsevo phase persisted. Such sites are found along the rivers Desna, Sejm, Psël, Sula, and Vorksla, and are called 'Romny' type after a fortified settlement near the town of Romny excavated in 1901.[12] Their occupants must have belonged to the Severjane tribe since the Primary Russian Chronicle says: 'Those who moved northwards settled on the banks of Desna, Sejm and Sula.' Another group of fortified villages was found on the Upper Don around the town of Voronezh. They are jointly referred to as 'Borshevo' after a fortified village and a cemetery near Bolshoe Borshevo.[13] The continuity of settlement into historic times in this region allows us to ascribe the Borshevo sites to the Vjatichi tribe.

The inhabitants of the Volyntsevo and Romny sites raised cattle, horses, goats, sheep and pigs, and fished in near-by rivers.

Honey and wax were obtained from wild bees. In one of the fortified villages, Vishneva Gora, a large beaker containing a wooden cup filled with a yellowish substance was found in one of the houses. Chemical analysis has shown that it was honey and wax.

Crafts improved. Iron production did not differ much from that of Kievan Russia, but copper, silver and gold were also worked. Hoards included jewellery of remarkable workmanship and variety. A number of hoards discovered in the territory of the eastern Slavs contained jewellery and other objects which have their origin in Gotho-Gepid art, in the Caucasus, in Iran (Sasanian art), or in Byzantium. Some types became widely diffused owing to the influence of the neighbouring Saltovo culture and the movements of Bulgar hordes. Such famous treasures as those from Martinovka, Khatski and Malyj Rzhavets contained silver fibulae having prototypes in Gotho-Gepid art. There were massive bracelets with thickened ends; anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines; ornamental plaques for belt decoration, having analogies in the south-east; star- or bean-shaped ear-rings; diadems; pendants made of silver wire for which prototypes can be found in Byzantine art; Byzantine dishes and silver spoons;[14] and other exquisite objects. Gold jewellery, silver vessels, harness and weapons were found in a cremated chieftain's burial on the bank of the Sukhoj Tashtlyk, a tributary of the Southern Bug.[15] Most of the finds from this grave are widely disseminated international types and cannot be regarded as Slavic. However, certain objects were imitated and reshaped locally by the Severjane and other tribes. For instance, a hoard from Kharivka near Putivl' in the district of Sumy, found in an urn of Volyntsevo type, contained gold and silver articles, fibulae, bracelets, ear-rings, pendants, necklaces, belt ornaments, and other things made by hand. They differ from imported jewellery, which was cast. Ear-rings imitating Byzantine types became extremely popular ornaments in the Slavic

Plate 15

Plates 11–14

Plates 16–21

territories and they continued so for centuries. Star-shaped ear-rings and those with a vertical bar have prototypes in the Byzantine Mediterranean area, but they were reproduced in the Danube and Ukraine regions as well. With the Slavic migrations south, west, and north, some of the jewellery types, notably ear-rings, pendants, and bow fibulae, attained a large distribution in Central Europe and the Balkan Peninsula.

The marked change that occurred in eastern Slavic culture was mainly the result of a strong influence from the Saltovo culture, composed of Khazars, Bulgars, and Alans. This group, located north of the Black Sea in the Don and Donets basins and in the northern Caucasus, was remarkable for its growing cities, flourishing trade and an established feudal system. It seems that the constant aggression of the Khazar khaganate caused the Slavs to fortify their villages. From the *Primary Russian Chronicle* we know that eastern Slavic tribes paid tribute to the Khazars. Therefore, it is not surprising that Saltovo influence infiltrated Slavic territory. Huge fortified settlements could have served as administrative units of the Khazars in order to collect the tribute from the Severjane and Poljane tribes.[16] These large settlements contained large amounts of wheel-turned pottery and jewellery which have analogies in the Saltovo realm.

The interference of the Khazars may have caused the Slavic push northward into the Baltic territories. Early historical records locate the Radimichi tribe on the lower part of the River Sozh' and along the Iput' and Beseda rivers. In this area there is no Slavic archaeological material earlier than the ninth century AD and an absence of ancient Slavic onomastics.[17] The Dregovichi are shown by archaeological material not to have spread north of the Pripet swamps into the Baltic lands before the ninth or tenth centuries.[18]

Other historic tribes such as the Krivichi and Slovene in the territory of modern Byelorussia and northern Great Russia may have diffused from the western Slavic block. In the eleventh-
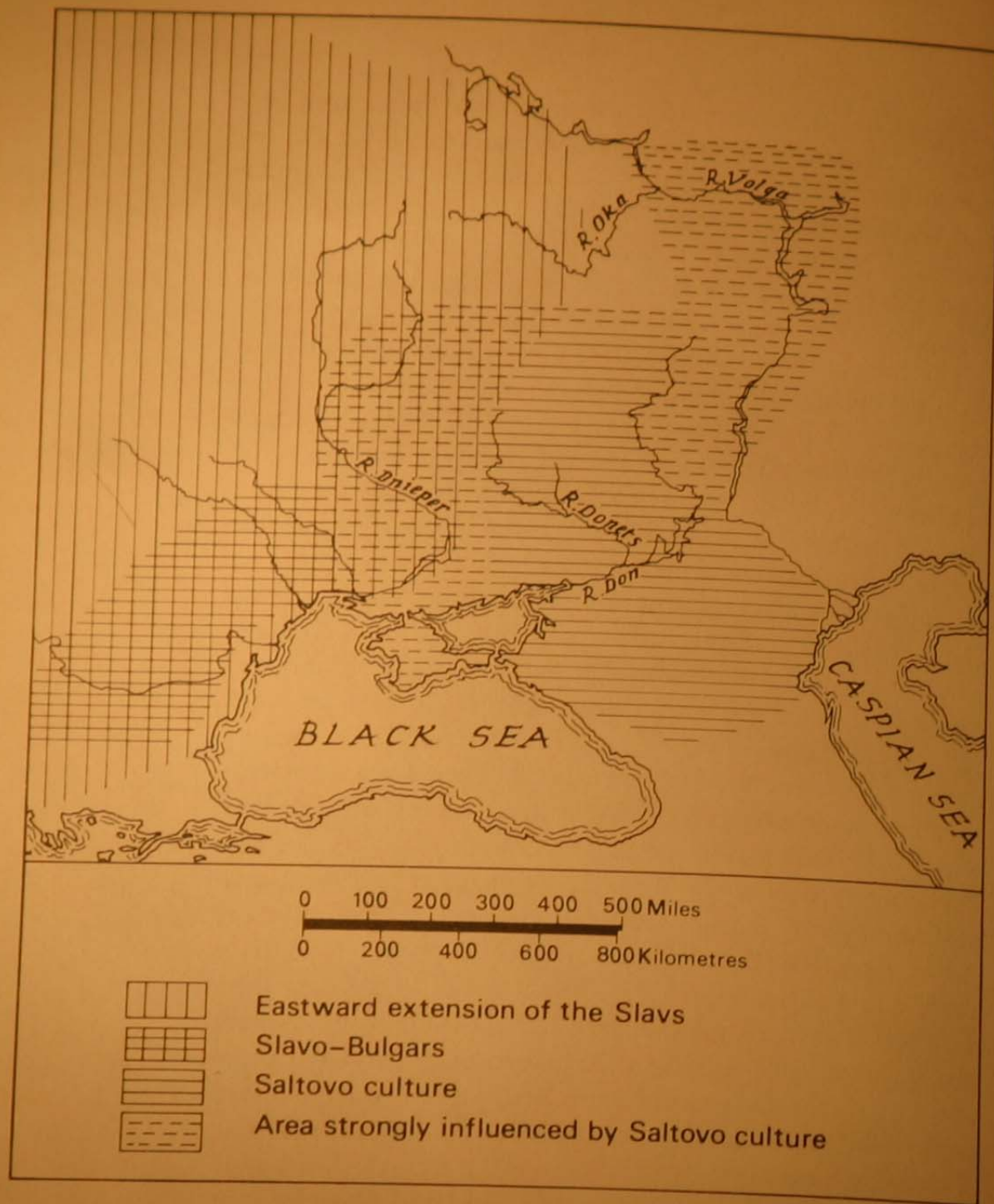
Fig. 40

Fig. 40 *Eastward extension of Slavic tribes during the seventh-ninth centuries AD and area of the Saltovo culture*

Legend:
Eastward extension of the Slavs
Slavo–Bulgars
Saltovo culture
Area strongly influenced by Saltovo culture

Legend:
Boundary of Byelorussia
Area of Baltic river-names
Area of Finno-Ugric river-names
Limits of Upper Dnieper-Valdaj physical type (dolicocephalic with medium-sized face) in medieval times, according to T.I. Alekseeva
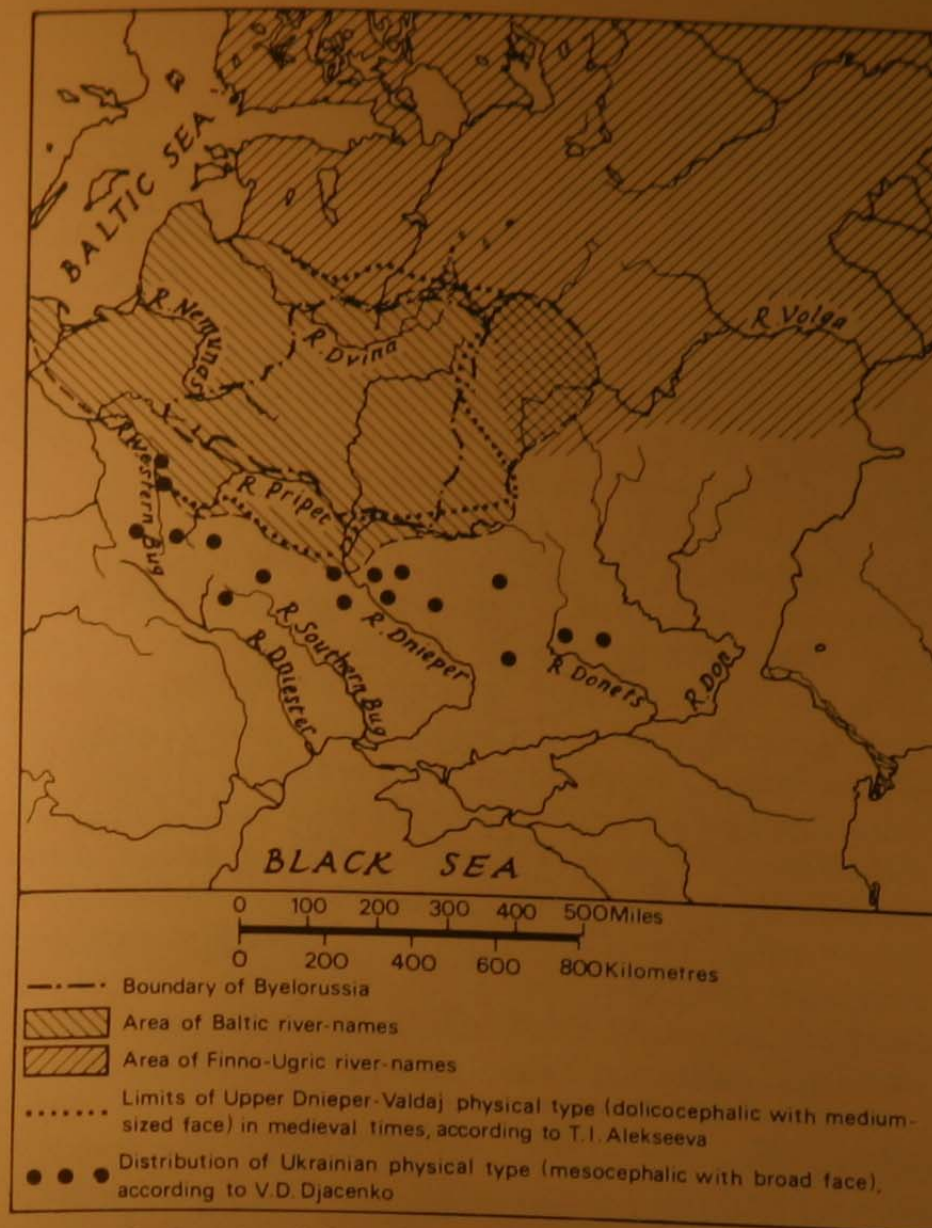Distribution of Ukrainian physical type (mesocephalic with broad face), according to V.D. Djacenko

Fig. 41 *Byelorussia and the Baltic substratum*

twelfth centuries, the Krivichi spread between the Upper Nemunas river in the west to the Kostroma region on the Upper Volga in the east, and from Lake Pskov in the north to the Upper Sozh' and the River Desna in the south. The earliest archaeological monuments of the Krivichi are long barrows,
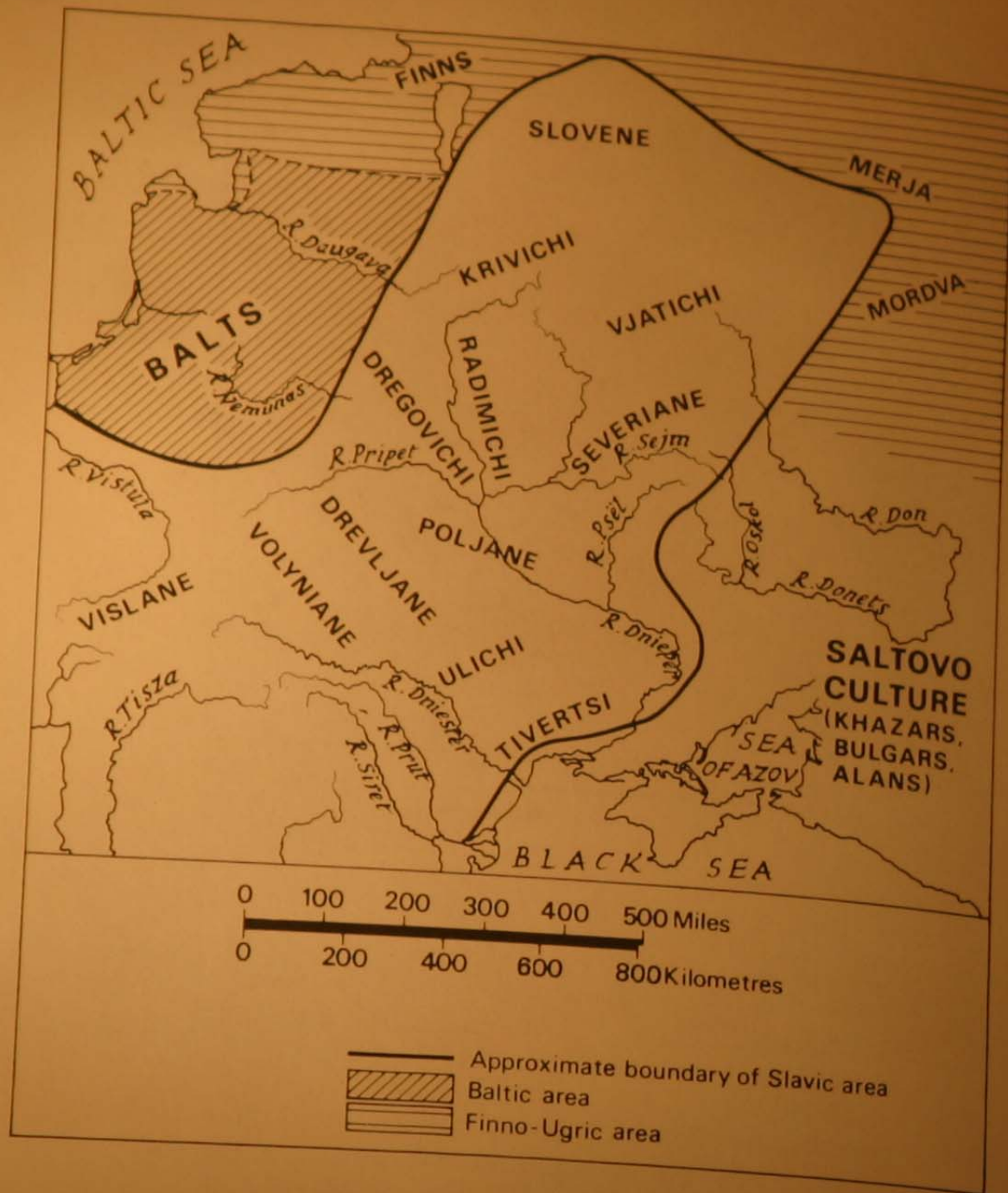
BALTIC SEA

FINNS

SLOVENE

MERJA

R. Daugava

KRIVICHI

VJATICHI

MORDVA

BALTS

DREGOVICHI

RADIMICHI

SEVERIANE

R. Nemunas

R. Pripet

R. Sejm

R. Psel

R. Don

R. Vistula

DREVLJANE

POLJANE

R. Oskol

R. Donets

VISLANE

VOLYNIANE

ULICHI

R. Dnieper

SALTOVO
CULTURE
(KHAZARS,
BULGARS,
ALANS)

R. Tisza

TIVERTSI

SEA
OF AZOV

R. Prut

R. Dniester

R. Siret

BLACK SEA

| 0 | 100 | 200 | 300 | 400 | 500 Miles |

| 0 | 200 | 400 | 600 | 800 Kilometres |

——— Approximate boundary of Slavic area

///// Baltic area

≡≡≡ Finno-Ugric area

Fig. 42 *Area occupied by Slavic tribes in Russia c. AD 900*

sometimes 60–80 m. in length, with cremation graves, and can be dated somewhere between the sixth and ninth centuries. In the district of Smolensk, where later Krivichi sites abound, no finds of Slavic character can be identified before the eighth century. A decisive role was played by the Baltic and Finno-Ugric substratum in the formation of the Krivichi cultural entity.

Modern Byelorussia, an area where one of the eastern Slavic languages is being spoken today, was inhabited by the eastern Balts (ancestors of Lithuanians and Latvians) up to the tenth century AD and the Baltic ethnic component persisted even after the Slavic expansion was established. A Baltic tribe, 'Goliad' (Galindians), mentioned in the *Primary Russian Chronicle*, lived in the Upper Oka basin south-west of Moscow until the twelfth century. Archaeological and physical anthropological data reveal that the Balts did not retreat but were slowly assimilated by the infiltrating Slavic tribes. Baltic burial customs, dress fashions and jewellery persisted in the Upper Dnieper basin to the tenth or even early eleventh century.[20] The Byelorussian physical type is similar to that of the Balts: dolichocephalic with medium-high facial structure,[21] unlike the predominantly mesocephalic broad-faced types of the people in the western Ukraine.[22] Assimilation of the local inhabitants must have occurred here. The distribution of Baltic river-names, the graves and the physical type coincide with the boundaries of Byelorussia.

How the Slavic tribes diffused so far north has not yet been clarified. Linguistic studies suggest that they may have come via eastern Poland and the Upper Nemunas basin because the language of the Pskov and Novgorod area contains western Slavic, Common Lechitic, elements.[19]

The Slavic expansion into Russia was not completed before the ninth century AD. The map on the opposite page, indicating the Slavic tribes of Russia, does not apply to the period prior to the ninth-tenth centuries AD.

Fig. 41

Fig. 42

CHAPTER VI

Slavic Migrations to Central Europe and the Balkan Peninsula

THE DEVASTATION of Europe by Huns, Bulgars, and Avars prepared the ground for a wide Slavic dissemination. But the invaders, having camped wherever there was good grazing ground for horses, returned to their plains after every campaign, no matter how successful. Thus neither Bulgars nor Avars colonized the Balkan Peninsula in the fifth and sixth centuries; after storming Thrace, Illyria and Greece they went back to their territory north of the Danube. It was the Slavs who did the colonizing; travelling on foot in vast numbers, entire families or even whole tribes infiltrated the devastated lands. As an agricultural people, they constantly sought an outlet for their population surplus. Suppressed for over a millennium by the foreign rule of Scythians, Sarmatians, and Goths, they had been restricted to a small territory; now the barriers were down and they poured out.

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

Scholars generally agree that the 'Slavic problem' started with the Huns in the first half of the fifth century, although there is no firm historic or archaeological support for this hypothesis. It is also possible that some Slavs arrived in the Hungarian Plain as pressed auxiliaries to the Sarmatians a century earlier.[1] After the devastation of the Pontic region, Hunnic hordes kept to the Danube Plain, reaching the puszta on the River Tisza where they found ideal conditions for their nomadic life. In the area where, in the words of the rhetor Priscus, 'there is no stone or tree' Attila had his residence, a village of many round tent-shaped timber houses. From there the Huns plundered the whole Danube basin and Illyria. In 452 they invaded Italy, but their ascendancy ended with the death of Attila in 453.

Jordanes mentions that Attila's funeral was the occasion for a feast called *strava*, a word of Slavic origin and still used today.[2] If the Huns had borrowed a Slavic word for a funeral feast, then Slavs must have made up part of their number. There is also another allusion to the possible presence of Slavs. Priscus, who passed through the Banat and Bačka in 448 as one of a Byzantine delegation to the court of Attila, called the people of the area 'Scythians', a name he used also for the Huns. These people lived in villages, used monoxyles (boats made from hollowed tree trunks), drank *medos* (mead) and a barley drink called *kamon*. They spoke their own barbaric language, and also Hunnic, Gothic, or Latin.[3] Some of these traits are characteristic of the Slavs. Sources from the seventh century onward frequently refer to the Slavs using *monoxyles* in their homeland area. *Medos* and *kamon*, drinks made of honey and barley, were favoured by the Slavs throughout their history. It is therefore presumed that some Slavs participated in the campaigns of the Huns as allies or as pressed auxiliaries.

After the death of Attila, Hunnic tribes (having names ending with -*guroi*, -*giroi*) roamed between the Dnieper and the Ural mountains. They formed the nucleus of Bulgarian groups. Under two tribal names, Kutrigurs and Utigurs, Bulgars appear in Byzantine historic records covering the reigns of Zeno (474–491) and Anastos (491–518). Their incursions in Thrace are recorded in the years 493, 499, and 502. In 517 'barbars' raided Macedonia and Thessaly, penetrating as far as Thermopylae. It is presumed that these 'barbars' were Bulgars joined by Sclavini and perhaps Antes. Nomadic invasions into the Byzantine Empire at the end of the fifth and early sixth centuries were controlled, but during the reign of Justinian (527–565) the Slavic menace increased considerably. Justinian was heavily preoccupied in the west and

the northern borders could no longer be secured against the ever-increasing pressure of the invaders.[4]

The Sclavini poured westward and southward from Slavinia, as their lands north of the Danube were called.[5] They carried heavy shields, spears, bows and poisoned arrows, but according to Procopius they had no armour. Several sources mention that the Sclavini did not like to fight in the open plain but preferred undulating forest land and narrow passes near rocks and trees. They specialized in surprise attacks especially at night. They were good swimmers and were able to hide under water by breathing through long reeds. From their homeland they brought a knowledge of river navigation.[6] During the earlier period of invasions the Sclavini, like the Bulgars and Avars, were not able to conquer fortified towns. Soon, however, they learned how to storm castles and to attack city walls by using ladders and machines. Procopius describes the cruelty of the Sclavinians during their campaigns in Roman lands. If they did not want to be saddled with prisoners of war they burnt them together with oxen and sheep. Some Romans were impaled with sharp stakes or fastened between four posts and killed with maces. In Illyria and Thrace, after one of their incursions, the roads were full of unburied bodies.[7] In Byzantine sources the Sclavini were usually categorized as 'barbars' and 'wild people'.

Thrace, Illyria, and Greece continued to be pillaged by Bulgars and Sclavini almost incessantly through most of Justinian's reign. They appeared in Thrace in 528 and in the following years continued their pressure; yet Chilbudius, the *magister militum* of Thrace, was able to contain them successfully until 533, when he was killed. From 540 onwards, Bulgars and Sclavini were constantly raiding Thrace, Illyria and Thessaly. For the best part of a year from 550 to 551, the Sclavini ravaged the Balkans, menacing Constantinople and Thessaloniki, and in 558–59 there was a great invasion of Kutrigurs aided by the Sclavini. They crossed the Danube and then split in various directions: across Macedonia and Greece as far as Thermopylae, toward Chersonessus in Thrace, and toward Constantinople.[8] Various fortifications throughout Greece are assignable to this period; and it is assumed that they were built in order to counter this menace.[9] All these campaigns were characterized by pillaging, destruction and the taking of war booty to the raiders' lands north of the Danube.

The Byzantine world lived in fear and insecurity for a century. Yearly campaigns resulted in the impoverishment and depopulation of the country. There was no end to nomadic and Slavic incursions. The Avars, a strong and well-organized group of nomad horsemen, arrived after the middle of the sixth century. Their advent initiated the most important phase of Slavic migration and colonization.

Around 550 the Avars appeared in the Caucasus and came in contact with the Romans. Before long the Roman Emperor was inciting them against the barbarians living north of the Black Sea and in the Caucasus. First they conquered the Utigurs and next the Slavic Antes. We learn from Menander that after their defeat the Antes sent envoys to the Avars asking for the release of their war prisoners. The mission was led by Mežamir, son of Idarizi and brother of Kelagastes. Mežamir, being hot-tempered, provoked an angry reaction. He was killed by the Avars who promptly began to devastate the Antes' land, not stopping to take prisoners or to pillage.[10]

After conquering the Antes, who lived north of the Black Sea between the Dnieper and the Danube, the Avars spread beyond the Carpathian mountains to Central Europe. In 561, led by Khagan Baian, they approached the Danube, demanding land south of that river from the Byzantine Empire. In 567, Longobards aided by Avars conquered the Gepids and completely demolished their state. As a result, the Avars now controlled the Tisza basin in eastern Hungary, western Romania and northern Yugoslavia (Banat and Bačka). It is believed that at

the same time the Slavs occupied a part of Gepid territory between Orşova on the Danube and the River Olt in Romania.[11] The departure of the Langobards for Italy permitted the Avars to spread along the Middle Danube plain into Pannonia, Moravia, Bohemia and Germany as far as the Elbe basin.

By the time the Persian War commenced, the Byzantine Empire was being threatened from all sides. Menander recounts that the emperor Tiberius (578–582) persuaded Khagan Baian to wage war against the Sclavini in order to push them out of Roman lands. Avar troops travelled through Roman territory and down the Danube by boat. About 600,000 heavily equipped cavalry-men were transported from Illyria to Scythia (Dobrudja) in this manner. There they crossed the Danube and Baian demolished entire settlements of Sclavini, pillaging and destroying everything on the way. The Sclavini escaped to the dense and hilly forests. Menander notes that Baian had good reason to hate the Sclavini. At one time he had sent envoys to them and had advised them to come willingly under Avar rule and to pay tribute to him. The Sclavini reply was: 'Can there be a man in this whole world under the sun who could dare to subdue and yoke so powerful a people as we are? We are accustomed to conquer other peoples but not to be overcome by them. We shall not allow ourselves to be touched as long as there are wars and swords in this world.' They ended this boast by killing Baian's envoys. The Sclavini had grown rich by frequent plundering of Roman lands, and their territory had never previously been sacked. Baian hoped therefore both to avenge this insult and to enrich himself by looting their settlements.

The above episode illustrates how self-confident the Sclavini had become by the second half of the sixth century. In spite of the severe blow dealt them by the Avars, their menace steadily grew. Menander mentions that Slavs, independently of the Avars, pillaged 'Hellas'. It was only a matter of time before Avars and Sclavini became allies in their many Balkan campaigns. Later

sources even identify Slavs with Avars, referring to 'Slaveni or Avari', 'Slaveni called Avari'.

Baian captured Sirmium (the present Sremska Mitrovica on the River Sava) in 582. Avars and Sclavini now poured into the whole of the Balkan Peninsula, east to the Black Sea and south to Greece. John of Ephesus in his *History of the Church* (584) records that the Slavs attacked and devastated Byzantine territory from Constantinople through Thrace, Thessaly and Hellas. They remained there for four years before recrossing the Danube. This was the longest sojourn of the Sclavini in the Balkan Peninsula. Devastation in the area of the ancient market place at Athens, assignable to the end of the sixth century, reflects the passage of the invaders, although Athens itself appears to have remained under Byzantine control.[13] When the emperor Maurice (582–602) won the Persian War in 591, he was able to concentrate his attention on the Avaro-Slavs. During his reign the Danube continued to be the northern limit of the Empire, controlled by treaties and maintained by high tributes to the Avars. Maurice was assassinated in 602 and soon the whole Peninsula was over-run by the invaders, Macedonia and Thrace suffering particularly.

In Book II of *Miracula S. Demetrii* there is a description of how Thessaloniki was sacked and how all of Greece and the Aegean islands were attacked in the period between 610 and 626.[14] An immense number of Sclavini, composed of Draguvites, Sagu-dates, Velegezites, Vaiunites, Berzites and others, participated in these campaigns, which they waged on foot. They ravaged the whole of Thessaly and with their *monoxyles* they reached the Greek islands, including the Cyclades, as well as Achaia, Epirus, almost all of Illyria and part of Asia Minor, leaving in their wake deserted cities and villages. They failed to take Thessaloniki because of a sudden storm which destroyed their boats. With the aid of the Avars they launched another siege which lasted for 33 days and ended in a compromise: all of Illyria except Thes-saloniki became subject to the Sclavini. The Avars in combina-

tion with Sclavini, Bulgars, Gepids and Persians (on the Asiatic side) were the losers in the battle for Constantinople in 626. As the Avars' power weakened, the autonomy of the Sclavini increased and their infiltration into the Balkan Peninsula made steady progress. In the west, the Bohemian, Moravian, and other Slavic tribes, led by a Frank named Samo, revolted successfully against the Avars in 623. Samo was recognized as king of the liberated territories. However, their independence was of short duration, for after Samo's death in 658 the kingdom disintegrated.

According to Bishop Isidore of Seville, the Slavs 'took Greece from the Romans' (*Sclavi Graeciam Romanis tulerunt*) in the early years of Heraclius' reign (610–641) at the time when the Persians occupied Syria and Egypt (611–619).[15] The *Chronicle of Monemvasia* describes how the Byzantine population scattered before the incoming Slavs.[16] The inhabitants of the Peloponnese retreated into the mountain fastness of Taygetus, east of Sparta, or sailed away. Some refugees from the Sparta region founded Monemvasia on a rocky promontory on the east coast of Laconia. The island sites in the bays of Pera and Porto Rafti near Athens and the site of Pilos in Navarino Bay on the western side of the Peloponnese, have shown traces of occupation in the sixth and seventh centuries. That these sites were occupied by Byzantine Greeks has been confirmed by excavated Byzantine pottery.[17]

Most historical sources record the Sclavinian and Avar invasions in the southern and eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula. There is no evidence of the Adriatic coast having been seriously affected during the time when the Sclavini were destroying towns and devastating lands while infiltrating the peninsula; almost to the end of the sixth century the people there lived relatively peacefully. Nomadic hordes did not attempt to cross the mountains separating the Adriatic Sea from the Danubian plain. However, a mass of Slavs from Pannonia moved towards the eastern Alpine area of Istria and thence to Dalmatia toward

the end of the sixth century, according to the correspondence of Pope Gregory I (590–604). Istria was raided by Langobards, Avars and Sclavini around 600. In the same year Archbishop Maximus of Salona wrote to the Pope of the great danger coming *de Sclavorum gente*.[18] From Paulus Diaconus we hear that the Avars sent Slavs from Carinthia and Pannonia to help the Langobardian King Agilulf take Cremona, Mantua and other towns of Italy in 603.[19] In 611, Slavs defeated Roman troops in Istria and severely devastated the country. About a year later they were already at the city walls of Salona (near Split), the largest Roman city on the Adriatic coast; by 614 it was wholly destroyed, never to be rebuilt. Other important places such as Scardona, Narona, Risinium, Doclea, Epidaurum were also left in ruins. After this destruction new towns were founded by the refugees; among them were Ragusium (Dubrovnik) and Cattaro (Kotor).[20]

The Slavic invasions ended before the middle of the seventh century. A brief comment on the scope of Slavic colonization is found in an Armenian geography compiled 670–680, and assigned to Moses of Chorene. It states that twenty-five Slavic tribes lived in Dacia (i.e., north of the Danube). Later on they crossed the Danube, conquered lands in Thrace and Macedonia and spread south to Achaia and east to Dalmatia.[21] In 679, Theophanes and Nicephorus mention seven Slavic tribes between the Danube and the Balkan mountains. 'Seven' does not necessarily signify the precise number. It was a magic number in classical Greece and Rome, and also among the Jews, whence it became known to medieval Christians. It probably was symbolic of 'many'.

The colonization and foundation of a Slavonic culture in Romania and Bulgaria was interrupted by the appearance of Bulgar hordes from north of the Black Sea, the result of a disintegration of tribal unity after the death of Kubrat. The exodus from their abodes between the rivers Don and Donets was caused

by the pressure of Khazars. Led by Asparuch, the Bulgars moved south-westward to the Balkans. For some time they lingered in Bessarabia, then conquered all Dobrudja and reached the area of Varna in Bulgaria around AD 670. The Slavs met the Bulgars south of Odessa in the district of Kherson and in eastern Romania and Bulgaria. In Moesia, before the Bulgar penetration, there had existed an alliance of several Slavic tribes, the germ of a Balkan Slavic state. The birth of Slavo-Bulgar culture occurred at this time as a result of the conquest of the Slavs by Bulgars and a merging of their cultures. With the consent of Byzantium they attacked towns and villages and succeeded in signing a treaty with Constantine IV in 681 after which the Byzantines paid them an annual tribute. Furthermore, their independence was recognized within the limits of the Empire. From these beginnings the Bulgar-Slav state expanded rapidly. Between 803 and 814 it conquered Slavic lands north of the Danube as far as the Hungarian lowlands and subsequently, all of Macedonia to Lake Ohrid in the west. Prior to the eighth century Byzantine sources made a distinction between Slavs and Bulgars but thereafter Bulgaria was recognized as a country of Slavonic culture built on Byzantine foundations.

The main stream of Slavic colonization traversed northern and central Yugoslavia and Macedonia on its way to Greece and Laconia. Constantin Porphyrogenitus in his *De Administrando Imperio* (mid-tenth century) mentions two Slavic tribes in the southern part of the Peloponnese, Milingi and Ezerites ('Milenci' and 'Ezerci' in Bulgarian sources).

Another vigorous stream of Slavic colonization travelled up the Danube from western Slovakia, lower Austria, Moravia and Bohemia to the Elbe-Saale region in Germany. By the early part of the seventh century AD the Slavs had already settled along the western coast of the Baltic Sea. In the first half of the seventh century, Theophilactus Simokattes makes mention of three Sclavini wandering in Roman territory carrying cithers (musical
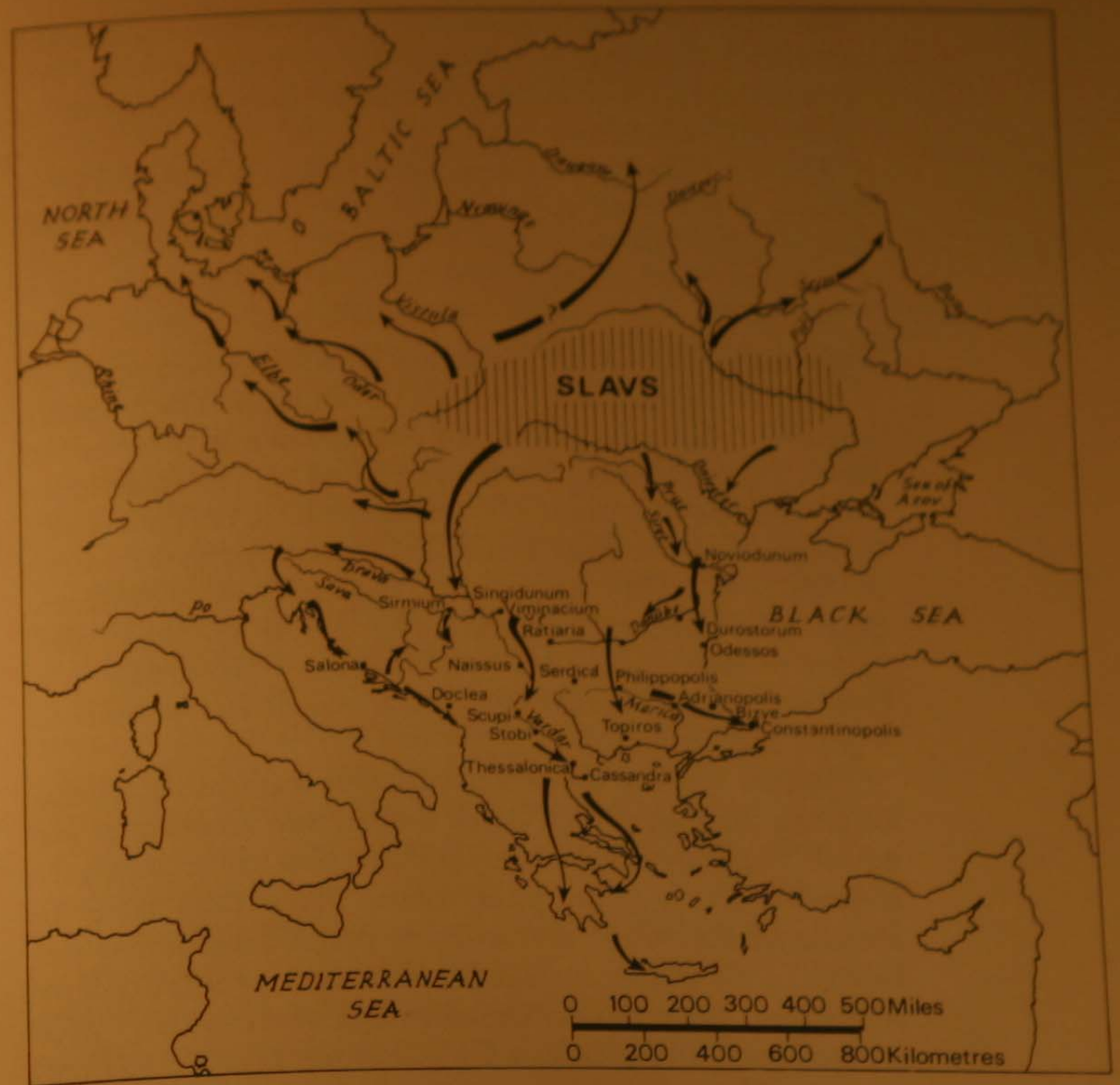

Fig. 43 *Slavic expansion to and colonization of the Balkan Peninsula, central and northern Europe, during the sixth and seventh centuries AD. The Slavic homeland area is shown by vertical hatching; the towns are those of the Byzantine Empire*

instruments common to Slavs in early historic times) and having no iron or weapons. When asked by the Emperor where they were from, they said they were Sclavini from the coast of the Western Ocean (Baltic Sea).

The third Slavic route went from Pannonia along the rivers Sava and Drava toward their sources in the eastern Alps and thence to the Adriatic coast.

Fig. 43

LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

Early Slavic place and river names provide eloquent testimony of the Slavic infiltration of the Balkan Peninsula. The Bulgarian linguist V. Georgiev produced a distribution map of the earliest Slavic toponyms using names mentioned by Procopius in the first half of the sixth century.[22] The names are to be found mainly in the region of the rivers Timok and Morava and in the territory of Niš-Sofia. They appear less frequently in north-eastern Bulgaria, including Dobrudja. The density of Slavic place names in these regions and the presence of Slavic dialects in Greece are both indicative of the infiltration of the Peninsula via Vardar and Struma.

There are very few Slavic names in the eastern part of Thrace; all along the coastal area Greek and Roman names were preserved. The distribution pattern of Slavic river names in Bulgaria is similar to that of the place names: Slavic river names are frequent in western and north-western Bulgaria, but almost non-existent in the eastern and south-eastern sections of the country. A statistical count has demonstrated that where the large rivers are concerned 70 per cent of the names are Thracian and only 7 per cent Slavic, but that 56 per cent of the medium-sized rivers have Slavic names and only 15 per cent names, Thracian.

In ninth-, tenth-, and eleventh-century sources, toponyms and ethnic names of Croatian character are known from eastern Galicia, the Upper Vistula area around Kraków (ancient White Croatia), Saxony, the Saale river valley, the Upper Elbe, the

vicinity of Olomouc in Bohemia, Styria and Carinthia, as well as from the territories inhabited at the present time by Croatians. These names testify to the wide diffusion of the early Croats before they settled in present Croatia. Place names such as *Sarbia*, encountered in the area between Little Poland and Pomerania, are presumed to be connected with the early spread of Serbian tribes. The name *Zeruiani* applied by the Geographer of Bavaria in the mid-ninth century to peoples living between Czarnków and Żnin in western Poland would appear to be a corruption of the same.[23] This shows that during the early stages of expansion original Slavic tribal names were very widely dispersed. The same names repeat in many different areas.

A large area between the source of the Sava and the Black Sea became Slavic through a slow assimilation of Illyrian, Daco-Moesian, Thracian and Roman populations. In Greece the Slavs did not survive; yet until the fifteenth century Slavic was still being spoken by some tribes. Southern Slavic dialects between the Alps and the Black Sea are closely related to each other. This linguistic evidence reaffirms the picture of Slavic migrations arrived at by correlating historical records. Before their great diffusion the Slavs apparently spoke a language no more differentiated than one of closely interrelated dialects. Even as late as the ninth century, the Slavs still spoke what was virtually a common language, as evidenced by Old Church Slavonic, based on early Bulgarian and Macedonian dialects but devised for missionary work in Great Moravia. The process of increased differentiation into what is now called separate Slavic languages must have taken place during the post-migration period.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Archaeological research has produced a body of solid information on Slavic settlement in the Balkan Peninsula and Central Europe. Slavic sites have been excavated in regions where Slavic toponymy is known and where historical records have docu-

mented the presence of Slavs since the sixth and seventh centuries.
The earliest Slavic material manifestations south and west of the
homeland area, between the Elbe and the Saale in the west and
the Black Sea in the south-east, are relatively uniform. This
uniformity, which led archaeologists to introduce the term 'Slavic
cultural unity',[24] continued with little change throughout several
successive centuries. Early Slavic settlements in the Balkan
Peninsula and Central Europe are recognized by the presence of
cremation graves in pits or urns, small semi-subterranean square
dwellings, villages situated on river terraces and simple hand-
made pottery. The pottery, brown or grey in colour, had a rough
surface and was undecorated. The vessels mostly had rounded
shoulders and slightly out-turned rims or a widening mouth.
Archaeological material deriving from Slavs entrenched in
Germanic, Illyrian, Greek, Thracian and Dacian territories
shows that they went on leading their own way of life.

Borkovský published a monograph (1940) on pottery found
in sites in the city and vicinity of Prague[25] and called the simple
unornamented pots from cremation graves 'Prague type' pottery.
This term is still being used to designate early Slavic pottery
wherever it appears in Central Europe, the Ukraine, or the Balkan
Peninsula. Pottery alone has little significance in plotting the
patterns of Slavic colonization. Such unsophisticated, carelessly
made ware could appear anywhere and in a wide range of
periods. However, its temper of rough sand and crushed sherds
identify it as typically Slavic. Most important is its association
with cremation and with semi-subterranean, small, square
houses having a stone or clay oven or a hearth surrounded by
stones in one corner. The term 'Prague type' should be applied
to the whole cultural complex.

Small villages consisting of semi-subterranean square dwellings
and cremation cemeteries containing cremated remains in pits or
in urns have been discovered in the Moldavian SSR, Romania,
Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and

central Germany. They are called 'early Slavic' and are dated
between AD 500 and 700. The majority belong to the seventh
century. Early Slavic villages and graves in all the countries
mentioned have yielded coarse, hand-made pottery but very little
other material (millstones, clay spindle whorls, a few iron tools
like knives, sickles, axes, and awls, iron or bronze belt clasps,
domestic animal bones and clay figurines). Few of these articles
tell us anything about their age; for dating purposes it is the By-
zantine coins, jewellery, and several kinds of fibulae that are
invaluable.

A number of early Slavic settlements and cemeteries have been
systematically excavated in the ancient Dacian and Getan
territories. Villages, house types and burial rites in the Moldavian
SSR, Romanian Moldavia, Muntenia and Oltenia and in
Bulgaria are virtually the same as those in the Ukraine. Settle-
ments on low river terraces, occasionally extending for a kilo-
metre along the river, consist of square semi-subterranean dwell-
ings with stone or clay ovens and pots of Zhitomir or Pen'kovka
type and are well documented from the Middle Dniester basin,[26]
from the Prut and Siret basins in Romanian Moldavia,[27] from
the Lower Danube plain in Romania[28] and from north-eastern
Bulgaria.[29] Some of these settlements date from the sixth and
seventh centuries. Others date from the eighth and ninth cen-
turies. One of the earliest villages excavated, at Suceava-Şipot in
northern Moldavia, consisted of square dwellings (23 were
uncovered) sunk 1·30 metres into the ground and having a row
of posts in the middle for supporting the roof. Ovens were
usually of stone.[30] Pottery was exclusively hand-made and un-
decorated, clay tempered with rough sand and crushed sherds
being used. Among the few other finds there was a fragment of a
bow-fibula. An analogous settlement was discovered at Botoşana
also in the district of Suceava, where it overlay a village of the
fifth and very early sixth centuries presumed to have belonged
to a local Dacian population. The Slavic village yielded Byzan-

tine glass beads and a coin from Justinian's reign (527–565), from which we may assume that the site dates from the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century AD.[11] Finds from the Şipot and Botoşana settlements have close analogies in the site of Nezvisko on the Upper Dniester,[32] an area from which Sclavini tribes could have spread into Moldavia.

Sărăta-Monteoru in eastern Muntenia, at the edge of the Carpathian mountains, is a very large cemetery (nearly 2,000 graves) excavated by I. Nestor and E. Zaharia, who regard it as 'Romano-Slavic', i.e., of mixed population.[33] Cremation graves were in plain pits, measuring about 40 cm. by 20 cm. Some graves contained one or more funerary urns, while others were urn graves with pits beside them. Pottery was mostly hand-made, but some vessels had been made on a primitive wheel. Grave equipment, which was meagre, included bow-fibulae with a mask-foot, glass beads and bronze or silver ear-rings decorated with granulation found in women's graves; bronze or iron buckles, iron knives and strike-a-lights in men's graves. Except for a few three-barbed arrowheads there were no other weapons in the graves. The excavators dated the majority of the graves to the sixth and the early seventh century on the basis of Byzantine jewellery and thirteen bow-fibulae with a mask-foot. The radiate-headed fibulae are adorned with geometric designs derived from Gotho-Gepid fibulae of the fifth and sixth centuries. They spread over a wide area in Europe between the Ukraine, the Peloponnese and the Baltic Sea.[34] Many of these fibulae were found in the eastern Ukraine between the Crimea and the River Oka and in the western Ukraine in the Ros' river valley west of the Dnieper. In Romania, they are known from Moldavia, Muntenia, Oltenia and Transylvania. Many fibulae came from finds in northern Yugoslavia. In the south, examples have come to light in Sparta and Nea Anchialos near Volos in Greece. Grave finds and associations show that it was women who wore them.

Plate 29

Plate 30
Plate 31
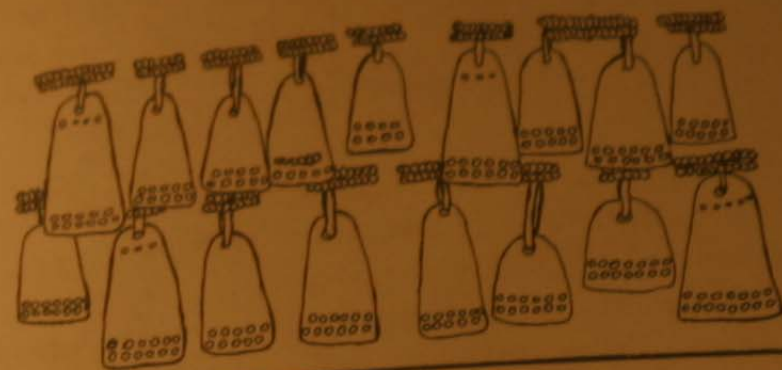
Fig. 44 *Pendants from a grave at the Oroslany cemetery, district of Komárom, Hungary. Seventh century AD. The pendants, hanging from spirals, were probably sewn on cloth to make a decorative hair band, securing the hair at the nape of the neck above the braids*

Nine copies of bow-fibulae were discovered in Hungary, some in graves, presumed to be Slavic. In Hungary, where Avar cultural remains abound, contemporary (seventh century) Slavic cemeteries are distinguishable by their cremation rites (Avars inhumed their dead) and also by their specifically Slavic type of ornaments. In addition to bow-fibulae with a mask-foot, typically Slavic are trapezoidal, lozenge-shaped and heart-shaped ornaments with pointillé decoration around the edges. Double-spiral pendants belong to this grouping, which also has analogies in the Ukraine. Wooden buckets serving as grave goods were covered with bronze plates which were decorated by a pointillé technique very similar to that of the pendants.

Fig. 44

Fig. 45 Hand-made pottery from the village at Popin, north-eastern Bulgaria About eighth century AD

In Yugoslavia, early Slavic finds are known from the ruins of Roman and Byzantine towns, from cremation graves and a series of isolated finds now housed in various museums.[36] In the ruins of the fifth/sixth-century basilica at Nerezi near Čaplina in the Neretva valley (Hercegovina), pottery of the Prague type was discovered.[37] These finds may indicate that the Slavs moved inland along the River Neretva from the Adriatic Sea; this evidence supports the historic records which refer to destroyed Roman cities along the Adriatic. Unfortunately, owing to the paucity of systematic research, Slavic colonization in Yugoslavia cannot be properly reconstructed by archaeological means. Macedonia, where finds of the same period and character are to be expected, is as yet a blank. South of Macedonia, in the western Peloponnese, at Olympia, German excavations (1959) disclosed a cemetery with 12 to 15 cremation graves in pits analogous to seventh-century Slavic graves in Romania and in Central Europe.[38]

A habitation site consisting of 63 semi-subterranean huts scattered over an area of 3,700 sq. m. and a near-by cemetery, containing urn graves, were uncovered at Popin, south of the Danube in north-eastern Bulgaria.[39] The village site at Popin was apparently inhabited from the eighth to the eleventh century.

Pottery, both hand-made and wheel-made, and other materials from this habitation site show close parallels with the Moldavian sites, especially with the Hlincea types near Iaşi[40] and the Luka-Rajkovetska complex in the western Ukraine. In all these early Slavic villages in the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula, houses were partially sunk into the ground and were usually 3 to 4 metres square. The oven, made of stones or earth and with a horseshoe-shaped base, stood in one corner.

In Central Europe hundreds of Prague type sites are reported from various regions of Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Poland. In Czechoslovakia sites are concentrated in the Middle Danube plain and in Bohemia around Prague. The archaeological documentation of the Slavic expansion and colonization in these areas will now be considered in rather more detail.

The earliest allegedly Slavic traces dating from Roman times come from the area of Košice in eastern Slovakia where, in the first centuries AD, there spread a cultural facies called 'Puchov' showing many Celtic elements. In the second century, Dacian elements or the Dacians themselves arrived from the south.

Fig. 46 Wheel-turned pottery from the settlement at Popin, north-eastern Bulgaria. Eighth-ninth centuries AD
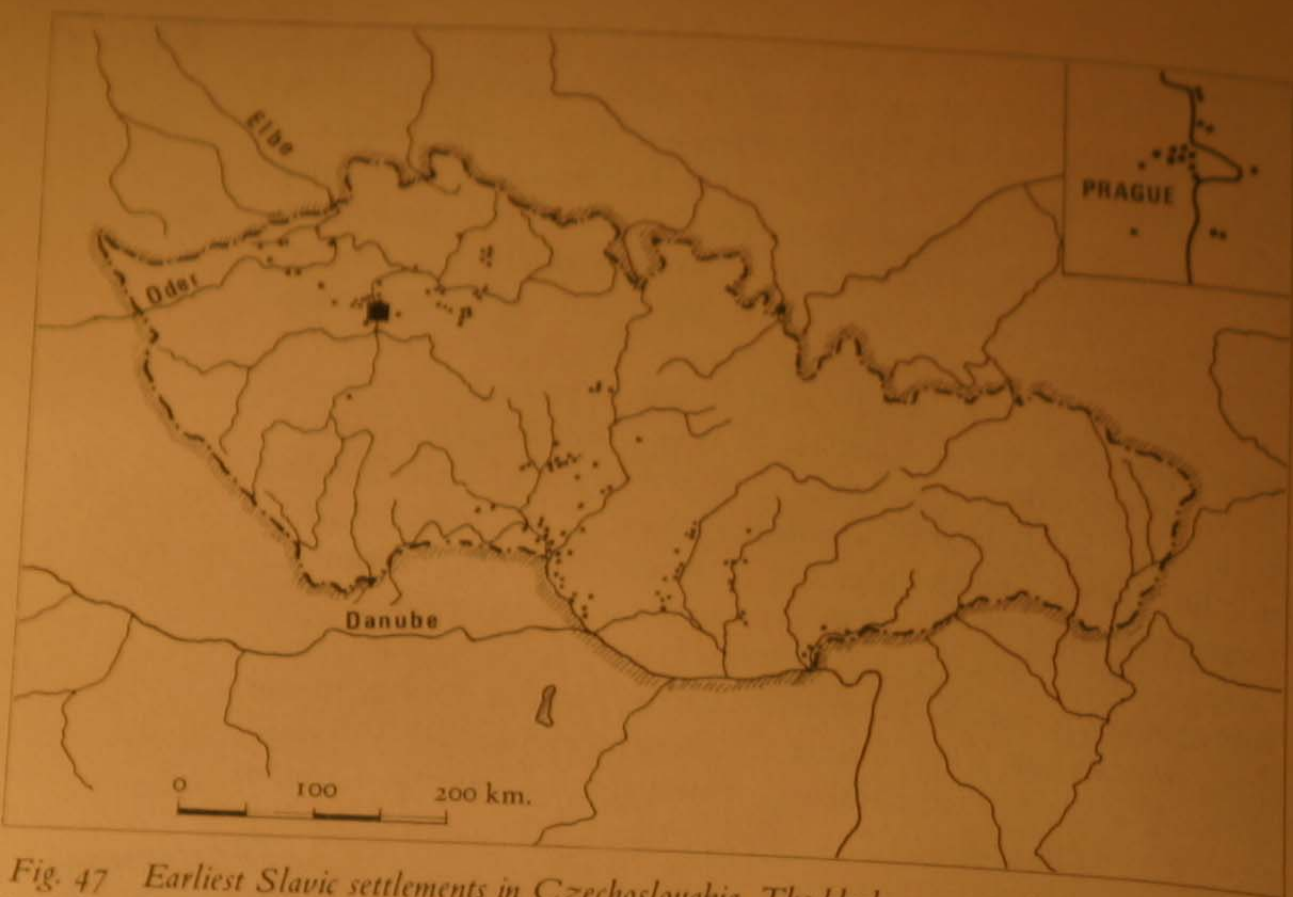
Fig. 47 Earliest Slavic settlements in Czechoslovakia. The black square is shown in detail in the inset, top right

In the third century, probably as a result of movements of Vandals and Goths through the territory of present-day Poland, northern cultural elements of 'Przeworsk type' having close analogies in southern Poland appeared in eastern Slovakia. This archaeological complex apparently covers several ethnic groups both Germanic (Vandal) and Slavic. East of Košice, at Prešov, settlements from the third to fifth centuries AD, which possibly represent the earliest Slavic occupation in this area were excavated.[40] The main body of material obtained from these sites is related to the Polish Przeworsk type, but it characteristically includes a rough hand-made pottery similar to that known from the Ukraine and Romanian Moldavia and thought to be the

same Prague type which continued in the sixth and seventh centuries. This hand-made pottery slowly supplanted the wheel-turned grey pottery of Romanized Celtic tradition current in Slovakia in the period between AD 200 and 400. Its production centre was in Pannonia, but it was traded north and east and was also apparently imported by potters who actually migrated as far as eastern Slovakia (a potter's workshop for wheel-made grey ware of Pannonian type was discovered at Blažice, east of Košice, on the terrace of the Olšava River).[40] The settlements of Prešov type have yielded evidence for animal husbandry and agriculture. Millstones, fragments of iron sickles, storage pits and many bones of domesticated animals including those of cattle (the majority), sheep, goat, pig and horse were found. The archaeological materials indicate that the Prešov population was of settled character and did not belong to a migrating warrior group. Budinský-Krička, the excavator of the Prešov settlements, concludes that the material of these sites, although not sufficient for firm conclusions about ethnic characteristics, is indicative of a definite continuity of one ethnic group. From the seventh century onward, the habitation sites and barrow cemeteries with cremation graves in the same area are indubitably Slavic.[40]

In western Slovakia about thirty cemeteries and twenty settlements have been assigned to the early Slavic period.[41] Settlements were concentrated along the rivers Morava, Váh, (Waag), Dudváh, Nitra, Gran and Eipel on loess terraces and sand dunes. Some settlements were found immediately above deserted villages from Roman times. Slavic villages were unfortified and consisted of small semi-subterranean houses standing some distance from each other, as at Korchak. The semi-subterranean huts uncovered at Nitriansky Hrádok near Nitra were very small, measuring from 2 × 2.5 to 5.5 × 3.8 metres. They did have the stone hearth in the corner, but no traces of the wooden posts were found. Only hand-made pottery was present. Rounded silo pits were found in the vicinity of the houses. At a well-excavated
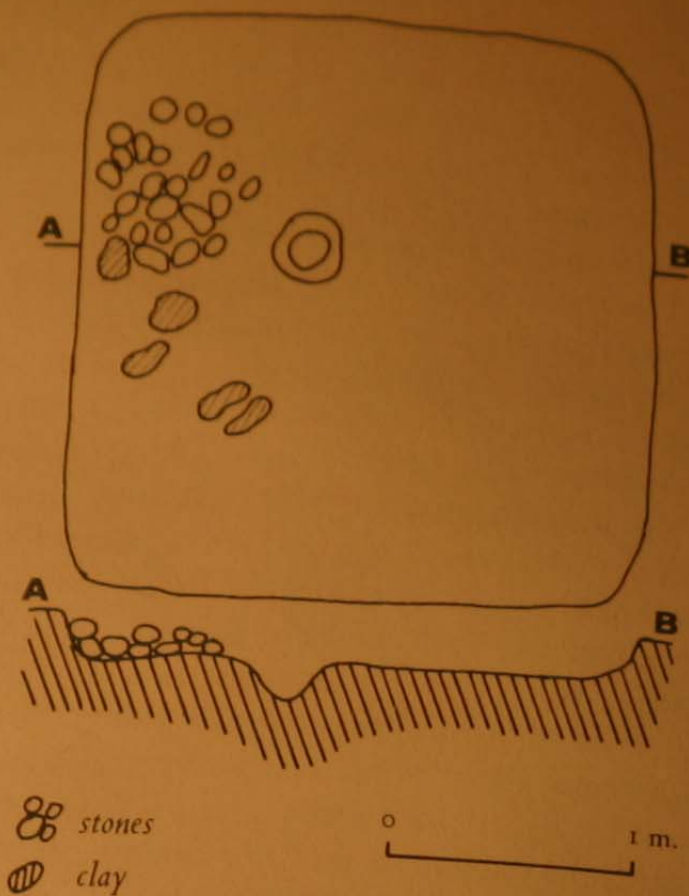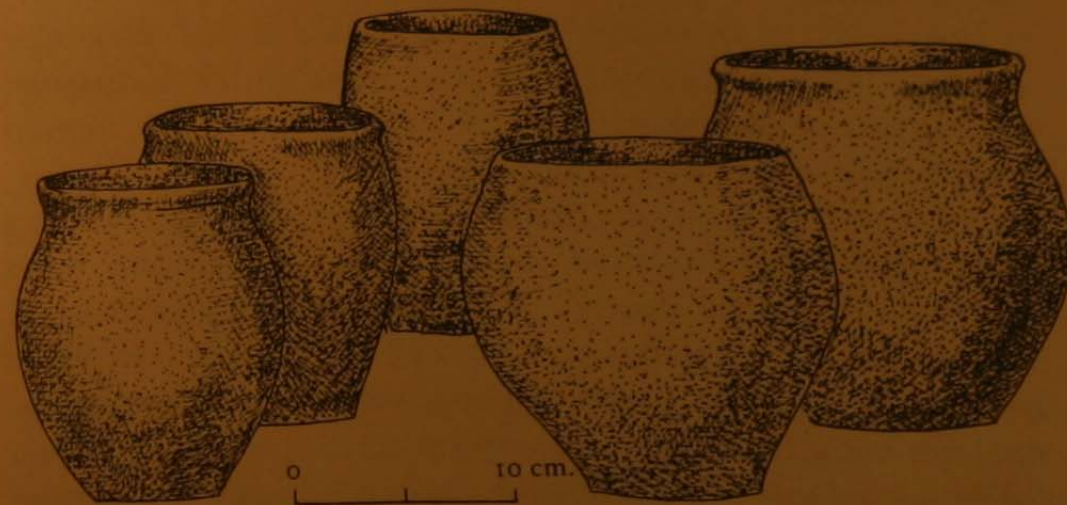
Fig. 48

Fig. 49

art incorporated Avar elements, and it is from Avar times that Plates 32, 37 large cemeteries are known.

The largest of these cemeteries, at Devinská Nova Ves on the lower Morava north-west of Bratislava, was excavated by Eisner.[44] It had nearly 1,000 graves dated by the excavator to the period from c. AD 625 to c. 800. There were 27 cremation graves, the others were inhumations, some of which may have belonged to the Avars. The cemetery was located on the western edge of Avar territory and Avar influence can be inferred from such finds as bridle-bits with S-shaped cheek-pieces, stirrups, sabre-daggers, spears with narrow points, and three-barbed arrowheads in the men's graves. Other Devinská graves were equipped with Slavic artifacts of a non-nomadic type, i.e., iron knives and sickles, axes, bows and arrows, iron or bronze buckles. Women's graves were characterized by ear-rings ending in an S-curve, and glass beads. The earliest pottery in Devinská was of the Prague type, undecorated and hand-made; but there was also wheel-made ware with inverted rims and ornamented with comb-like impressions. This Eisner calls 'Danube type' and it is typical of the Avar culture in Austria, Pannonia, and the Tisza basin.

Fig. 48 *Semi-subterranean dwelling from Nitriansky Hrádok near Nitra*

&& stones
⊚ clay

site at Sidalice on the River Váh four houses were uncovered. They had similar dimensions, and the stone hearths were placed in the north-eastern or north-western corner.[42] A number of small cemeteries from the same valleys have yielded Prague type pottery which demonstrates the whole range of typological development up to the phase when wheel-made and decorated pottery appeared. Bialekova (1962) dates the earliest Slavic graves in western Slovakia to the end of the fifth and the sixth century AD.[43] A new wave of Slavs could have infiltrated this area in the wake of the Avar advance. Early Slavic ornamental

Fig. 49 *Hand-made pottery from Nitriansky Hrádok*

Meat was laid in graves; the bones of sheep and horses and some-
times of pigs and stags were found. Egg shells and hen bones also
appeared. These burial customs are well known from medieval
and later Slavic cemeteries. The pottery of the ninth century in
Slovakia was hand- and wheel-made and ornamented with
wavy and horizontal lines.

In addition to the cemetery of Devínska Nová Ves and one at
Žitavská Tôň in eastern Slovakia, excavated in the 1940's,
seven large cemeteries were excavated in Slovakia during the last
two decades: Holiare, Štúrovo, Prša, Dvory nad Žitavou, Šala,
Želovce and Nové Zámky.[44] Similar cemeteries are known in
the Hungarian territory of the Middle Danube plain.[44b] Some
of these cemeteries contained from five hundred to one thousand
graves, in most cases encompassing a period of *c.* 150 years. From
a typology of finds, particularly ear-rings and ornamental belt
plates, graves can be subdivided into three phases: (*a*) end of the
sixth to the mid seventh century, characterized by star-shaped
ear-rings and in the Ukraine by embossed silver plates of Marti-
novka type (cf. plates 11–14); (*b*) mid seventh to early eighth
century, typified by an embossing and casting technique for
ornamental plates; (*c*) early eighth to early ninth century AD
when only cast ornamental plates decorated with plant, animal
and geometric motifs appear.[44c]

In all of the above-mentioned cemeteries burial rites were
relatively uniform: inhumation predominated and skeletons were
placed in structures imitating timber huts. They were covered
with boards, or lay within timber cists; and in some cases only
traces of timber posts were found. The dead lay with the head
facing NW or SW and very rarely were placed in any other
direction. Cremation graves appear as exceptions after the mid
seventh century. The change in burial rites together with the
increase of population and of objects having oriental and Byzan-
tine analogies, indicates a complex development of Slavic
settlement in the Middle Danube region. Strong Avar and

Byzantine art influence is clear: griffin and plant motifs on
ornamental plates which decorated belts of Asiatic nomad type
have analogies as far east as Altai and Samarkand. Horse
burials and stirrups, reflex bows and several types of jewellery
are of oriental, nomadic origin. Ornamental plaques and a series
of ear-rings (including the star-shaped and bean-shaped types)
point to late Archaic workshops. Archaeological finds reflect
great movements of peoples and mixtures of stylistic elements.

The people buried in the Middle Danubian cemeteries will
never be identified with complete certainty. It would be un-
reasonable to assume that the hundreds and even thousands of
graves belonged to Slavic-speaking people only. Archaeologists
generally agree that they represent mixed populations consisting
of Slavs, Avars and perhaps Germanic-speaking peoples who
stayed on during the Avar domination. The agricultural tools
indicate that the population was settled in character and probably
a large proportion of the people in the course of a hundred years
or so became Slavonicised. This assumption is supported by the
fact that there is no break in cultural development, nor even in
grave types, between archaeological remains from the 'Avar
period' and those of the Moravian Empire in the ninth century.

The complexity of the ethnic problem revealed by the investiga-
tion of the numerous cemeteries in the Middle Danube region
of the seventh and eighth centuries[44] has led to a great deal of
discussion and division between Czech and Hungarian scholars.
The Czech scholars support the 'Slav theory', the Hungarian
basically the 'Avar theory'. The truth may well lie between the
two since neither pure Slavs nor pure Avars were buried in most
of these cemeteries. Only a few Mongoloid skeleton types have
been identified, and from historic records it is known that Avar
hordes comprised various ethnic groups and only their leaders
were Asiatic horsemen. Very rich graves with oriental jewellery
and weapons appear in seventh-century cemeteries but are absent
from those of a later date. The decline of weapons and belt

Plates 33, 34

Plate 37

plates of nomadic character in these later cemeteries is also conspicuous. Among burial customs evidenced by the cemeteries dating from the seventh to ninth centuries was the furnishing of the dead with food. Sheep, goat, horse, cattle, pig, stag and hen bones as well as egg shells were quite frequently found in graves. In some cases there were from five to eight eggs to a grave. Meat and eggs were laid in graves by the Slavs throughout the Middle Ages and later historic periods, indeed almost up to the present time. Very probably they indicate the Slavic ethnic element in the 'Avaro-Slavic' cemeteries. In sum, there is a great deal of evidence speaking for the presence of Slavs in the Middle Danube region between the sixth and ninth centuries AD. If Slavs were in fact buried in these cemeteries, however, their culture must have been highly Avarized; in addition to which they were exposed to Byzantine and Germanic influences. All these elements moulded the Slavic material culture which was later to become that of the Moravian Empire.

A similar picture emerges from archaeological research into Slavic settlement in Moravia[45] and in Bohemia. One settlement uncovered in Bohemia at Březno, north-west of Prague, deserves special mention.[46] The excavated area contained 32 houses. In contrast to other early Slavic villages in which square semi-subterranean houses were all of the same type, 22 of the 32 houses in Březno were typically Slavic, the others were long and rectangular, having three post holes at each end (the northern-most hut in the plan on this page is of the latter type). Pottery was also of two types, Slavic and Germanic. The majority of houses yielded Prague type pottery, possibly covering several phases. The last of these continued into the hill-fort period and was distinguished by decoration and wheel-turning. Grey-black sherds of biconical pots decorated with a row of incisions of Germanic Migration period type were found in Slavic huts in association with the Prague type pottery. The settlement is presumed to have had a separate Germanic phase during which the Slavic element

Fig. 50
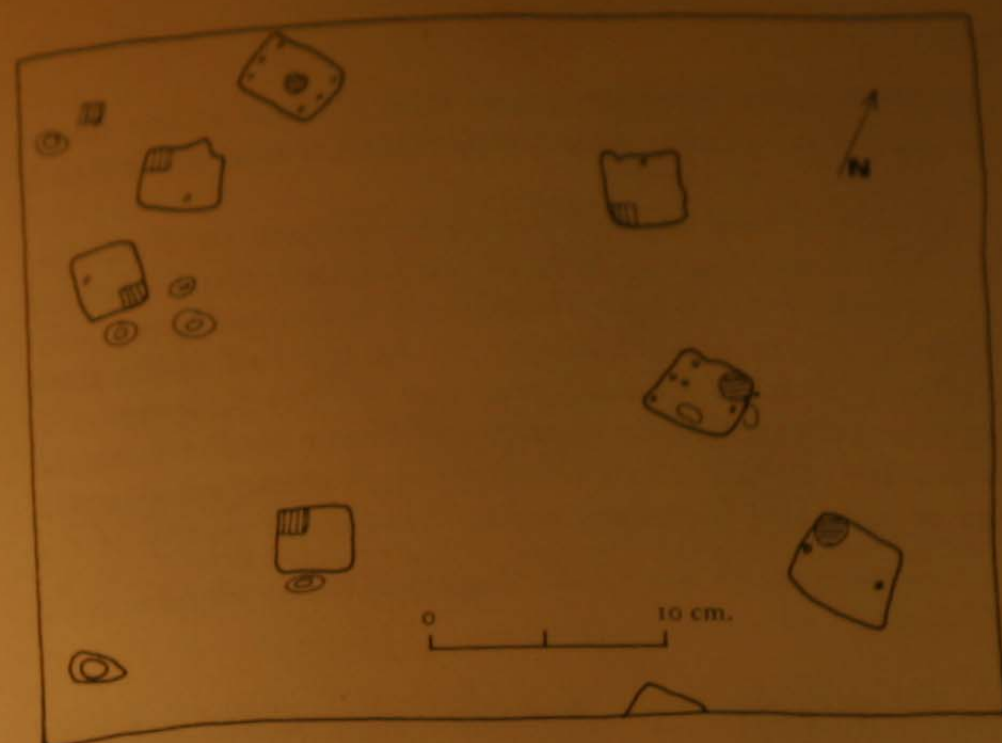
	houses		hearths surrounded by stones
	pits		hearths with only burnt clay remains
	post holes		

Fig. 50 Schematic plan of one part of the excavated village area at Březno, district of Louny, Czechoslovakia

was absent. By comparing Germanic sherds of the Migration period with such sherds in other Germanic settlements in central Germany, Pleinerová places the early Slavic settlement at Březno in the first half of the sixth century. The meeting of Germanic and Slavic elements in one habitation area may indicate that the residue of a Germanic population was still extant when the first Slavic settlers appeared. Both were farming communities and most probably lived together for some time until the Slavs absorbed the former. Excavations clearly show the continuation of early Slavic culture into the hill-fort period.

Square, semi-subterranean houses with a hearth in one corner continued to be built within fortified hill-fort areas of the eighth century.[47]

Slavs must have migrated to central Germany via the Upper and Middle Elbe valley, probably not long after they had settled in Bohemia, judging from the similarity of archaeological finds. Whether it was around AD 500, in the first half of the sixth century, or after the Avar incursion into the Elbe-Saale region in AD 565-566 remains to be determined by more datable materials.

Figs. 51, 52   A number of small cemeteries consisting of cremation graves in pits or urns and including coarse, hand-made pottery of the

Fig. 51   *Early Slavic cremation graves in urns and pits. Cemetery at Dessau-Mosigkau, middle Elbe region, central Germany*
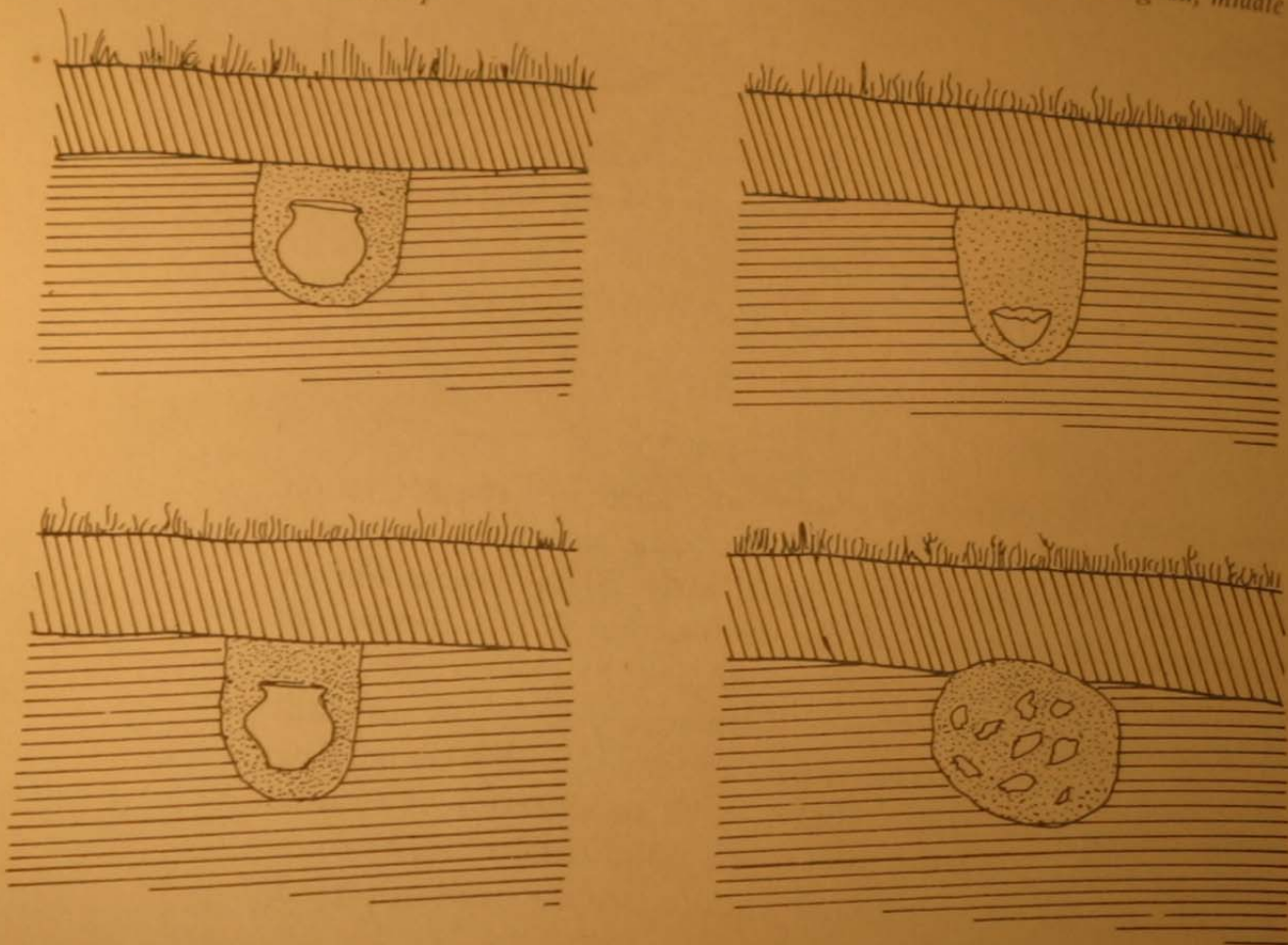
Fig. 52   *Coarse, hand-made pottery of 'Prague type' from cremation graves in the cemetery at Dessau-Mosigkau, central Germany*

Prague type have been excavated in the Middle Elbe-Lower Saale valleys.[48] The largest cemetery, at Dessau-Mosigkau, contained 45 graves.[49] Other sites were concentrated in the districts of Wittenberg, Zerbst, Bitterfeld, Köthen and Tanger-hütte in central Germany. The excavated habitation site of Dessau-Mosigkau, located on a diluvial terrace of the Elbe, consisted of 44 square houses of early Slavic type arranged in a circle. Each had a hearth surrounded by stones in the north-western corner and an entrance in front of the house. Analysis of one carbon sample from this settlement supplied the date AD 590 ± 80.[50] The northernmost point in central Germany where a habitation site having small square houses in association with Prague type pottery was found is at Grieben in the district of Tangerhütte on the River Elbe.[51]

Fig. 53

The early Slavic complex in central Germany appeared as a totally foreign element; it cannot be confused with, nor does it derive from, late Merovingian materials. The Christianized Franks inhumed their dead and their grave inventories were different. There are no prototypes for Prague type ware in central

deep post holes   ○ shallow post holes

stones   hearth   charcoal
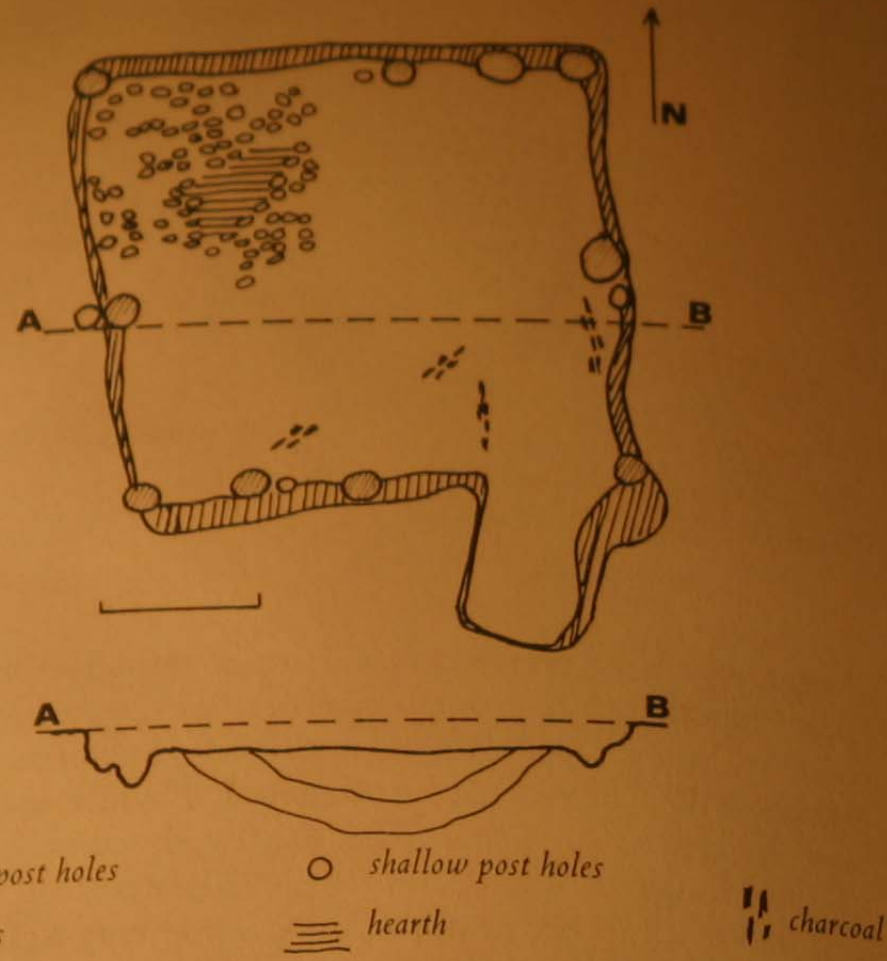
Fig. 53 Semi-subterranean dwelling from an Early Slavic settlement at Dessau-Mosigkau, central Germany

Germany. Historical sources mention Sorb (this name is inseparable from Serb) colonization of the Elbe valley and the area between the Elbe and Saale rivers. In 630, Sorbs were mentioned by Fredegar as living east of the Thuringians, *i.e.*, in the Elbe-Mulde region. Einhard in *Annales Regni Francorum* mentioned 'Sorabi' in the years 782 and 806: 'qui campos inter Albim et Salam interiacentes incolunt', or again, 'qui sedent super Albim fluvium . . .'⁵² The study of Slavic toponymy has

Large hill-forts with 'Feldberg' pottery
Small hill-forts
Small hill-forts and settlements with 'Tornow' pottery
Settlements with 'Prague' type pottery
Isolated finds
Western limit of Slavic toponymy
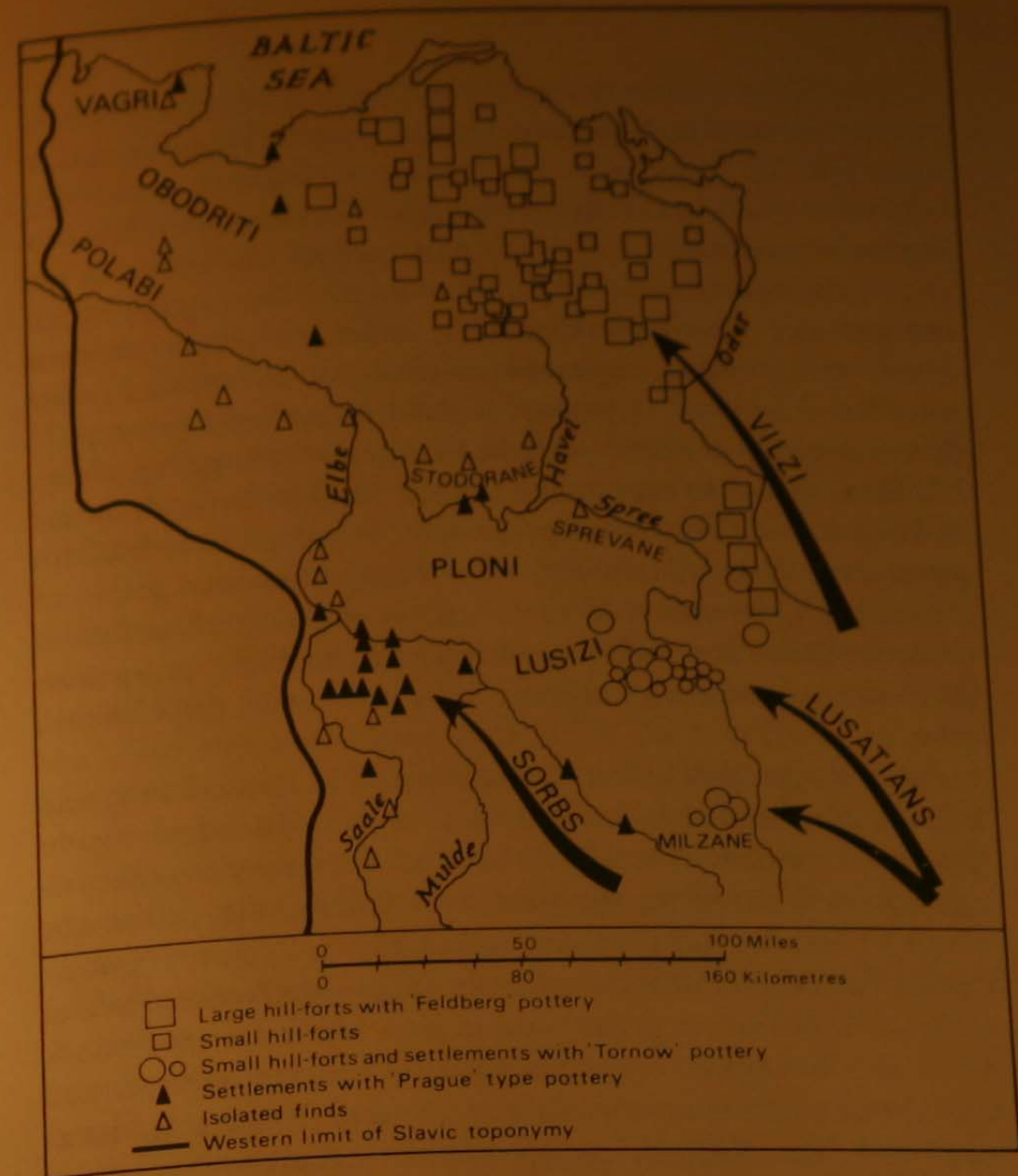
Fig. 54 Early Slavs in Germany

shown that Slavic settlement extended no farther west of the Saale and Elbe than the area of Erfurt, Arnstadt and Weimar. In Hanover, Slavic names reached Ilmenau.⁵³ During the reign of Charlemagne the western limit of Slavic toponymy became the eastern limit of the Frankish Empire (cf. the *limes Sorabicus*).

Early Slavic pottery related to the Prague type is known from open settlements and hill-forts in the Lower Elbe region and in Mecklenburg. In several instances it was found underlying cultural deposits of the eighth century.[54] The arrival of the Slavs in north-western Germany may date back to the sixth century, as was the case in the Middle Elbe basin.[55] During the eighth century AD, Slavic settlement in eastern Holstein, western Mecklenburg and the Spree-Havel river area was typified by the so-called 'Menkendorf pottery' derived from the Prague type.[56] Another group of Slavic settlements, known by large high-lying hill-forts, spread in eastern and middle Mecklenburg. A feature of this area is its 'Feldberg type' pottery. Typological study of this pottery reveals its relationship to late Migration period pottery of the Upper Oder area.[57] Written sources of the eighth and ninth centuries make it possible to identify the Feldberg group with the Vilzi, and the Lower Elbe settlements with the Obodriti tribe.

Another group of colonists made up of Milzane, Lusizi and Selpoli tribes settled in Lusatia and southern Brandenburg. In this area a number of small lowland hill-forts were recorded. A type site is Tornow in the district of Calau, after which the whole archaeological complex is named the 'Tornow group'. Pottery from these hill-forts and open settlements is related to that of the Vilzi (Feldberg group) and to early Slavic sites in Poland. These sites have their origins in the sixth-seventh centuries and a continuity of habitation to the eleventh century is documented.[58] The Tornow group pottery included wheel-made types which derive probably from late Roman ceramic production centres in southern Poland. That the Slavs began to settle between the Elbe and the Oder during the course of the fifth-sixth centuries AD in this area may well be the reason why corresponding archaeological material of Germanic character drastically diminished.[59] In western Poland, some early Slavic sites may date back to the same period.[60] They contain crude hand-made and wheel-turned pottery obtained from ceramic workshops in southern Poland where Roman pottery traditions continued.

The migration led to the formation of five larger Slavic groups in Germany and western Poland: (1) Sorbian in the Saale-Elbe region (the Prague type pottery group); (2) Obodritian in western Mecklenburg and eastern Holstein related to Sorbian, to which group belong several tribes such as Polabian and Vagrian; (3) Vilzian in Mecklenburg (the Feldberg pottery group) consisting of numerous smaller tribes; (4) the group in the Havel and Spree river region including the Stodorane (Havel), Sprevane and Ploni (south of the Havel) tribes; and (5) Lusatian (Lausitz) and River Oder group with its relatives in western Poland including such tribes as Lusizi, Selpoli, Milzane, Dodošane, Slenzani, Opolini and others. The latter constitutes the Tornow pottery group (not to be confused with the Lausitz culture of the Bronze Age). Centuries of Slavic migration resulted in colonization of an area eight times larger than the homeland territory. The phenomenon of Slavic expansion was the beginning of an entirely new era in Slavic history. The Slavs were no longer an insignificant group of farmers, but a continually increasing population spreading their language and culture through aggressive migration and assimilation of native elements.

Their wide dispersal placed various Slavic groups in different natural environments and cultural milieux which led to the crystallization of languages, new tribal groupings and states, and formed the essential character of the Slavic people. Today, the psyche and physical types of a Croat, Slovenian and Czech are distinct from those of a Ukrainian and Russian. The former were moulded by the Adriatic and Alpine environment and the Italian and Central European culture; the latter by the steppes and plains of Russia and Asiatic influences. A Croat from the area of Split or Dubrovnik on the Adriatic coast prefers to be called 'Illyrian' to 'Slav' since his many cultural traditions go back to the Illyrians who lived in western Yugoslavia during the

Bronze Age and Early Iron Age and survived until the Roman occupation. A Slovenian in north-western Yugoslavia is also proud of his Illyrian heritage and feels himself more closely related to non-Slavic Central Europeans than to Serbs, Macedonians and Bulgarians. These last, situated in the south-eastern area of the Slavic realm, represent another combination of cultural traditions and influences; their national character and language was highly influenced by the Thracian, Roman and Byzantine substratum with an admixture of the Mongol (Bulgar) elements. Further separation of Bulgarians, Macedonians and Serbs from their northern neighbours was caused by the strong imprint of four hundred years of Turkish culture. Yugoslavia even to this day is divided into north-western and south-eastern cultural areas by this Turkish influence.

Although in the early post-expansion period there were close physical ties between the widely dispersed Slavic groups, there was subsequently a gradual process of physical differentiation. Skeletal analyses are known from a number of medieval Slav cemeteries. A Slovenian necropolis of over 200 graves situated at Bled and dated between the end of the eighth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries, for instance, showed that ancient Slovenes who lived at least 1,000 years ago were of medium size and had large heads and strong bones and muscles.[61] The Slavs imposed their language in the Balkan Peninsula and central and north-western Europe through colonization and assimilation. The Slavonic language survives to this day in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Poland. In Greece, Slavonic is still spoken in some villages of Macedonia. In Romania, the Romance element proved to be stronger than the Slavic. Even after the Slavic migration in the sixth century, the local population in Romania persisted and the 'Dridu' culture of the ninth to tenth centuries is ascribed to Romance speakers, not to the Slavs.[62] However, traces of the sojourn of Slavic peoples in Romania are easily recognizable in the Romanian language: it

Fig. 55 *Distribution of spoken Slavic languages in Europe; 1 Kashubian; 2 Lusatian; 3 Polish; 4 Czech.; 5 Slovakian; 6 Slovenian; 7 Croatian; 8 Serbian; 9 Macedonian; 10 Bulgarian; 11 Ukrainian; 12 Byelorussian; 13 Russian*

includes more Slavic than Romance words, but structure and morphology is Romance. The Magyars replaced the Slavs in Hungary in the ninth and tenth centuries, but the Hungarian language too has many traces of Slavic. Slavic influence is also found in Albania. Due to the process of Germanization, the Slavic language disappeared from northern Germany and remains in central Germany only in small pockets.

The Polabian and Pomeranian languages which, together with Polish, formed a large unit of western Slavic Lekhitic languages are now almost extinct. The last remnant of Polabian languages on the Lower Elbe died out toward the middle of the eighteenth century and this language is known only through a few vocabulary lists and short texts recorded around 1700. The Pomeranian group which in the early Middle Ages extended from the Lower Oder to the Lower Vistula survives now in a small territory of north-western Poland: Kashubian is spoken by some 200,000 people west of the Lower Vistula. To the north-west, in the district of Stolp, some families still know Slovincian, an archaic variant of Kashubian. The Kashubians and Slovincians, remnants of the Pomeranian group, were alternately under Polish and German rule and thus were subjected both to a heavy Germanization and to a strong influence of the closely related Polish language. The Sorbian language on the Upper Spree in central Germany is still spoken by some 150,000 people. Surrounded by German speakers, the Sorbian forms two linguistic islets, the northern one in Lower Lusatia in Prussia and Saxony with its centre at Kottbus, and the southern one in Upper Lusatia in Saxony with its centre at Bautzen. In the medieval period Sorbian bordered Polabian on the north, Polish on the east, and Czech on the south.

Fig. 55
The accompanying map shows the spread of Slavic languages in modern times.

Social Structure

ARCHETYPAL ELEMENTS of family and clan life preserved in many prehistoric nooks of present-day Slav territory, coupled with Common Slavic kinship terminology, furnish the basic information on ancient Slavic social structure. Archaeological evidence serves only as supporting documentation for certain periods; it is never complete.

THE JOINT FAMILY

A valuable insight into the home life and kinship system of the Proto-Slavic community is offered by a phenomenon still marginally existing or only recently extinct in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Byelorussia: the joint family.[1] In Serbo-Croatian, where *kuća* means 'house' or 'home', a distinction is made between *inokoština* or *kuća inokosna*—'nuclear family, single-family home', and *kuća zadružna*—'joint family, home of several brothers and their families'.

Another Serbo-Croatian name for the zadruga is *družina*—'community': its members individually are called *drug*—'comrade', and all together they are *zadružni*—'communal'. On the Dalmatian coast, the zadruga is called 'united brothers' or 'undivided brothers'. In parts of Bulgaria, the word *čeljad*—'household' was applied both to the zadruga and to its members collectively. The Russians distinguish between 'large, generic family', and 'small, paternal family'.

The centre of the zadruga is the *ognjište* ('hearth'), the house in which the head of the household lives with his immediate family. In this place the members of the zadruga congregate in their leisure time, and take one or all of their meals together. It generally consists of one large room with a hearth sunk in the ground. The other houses are grouped round one side of it, often forming a

semi-circle; they are not actually houses, but sleeping quarters. Among the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes the *ognjište* is called *kuća, kajža, izba,* or *hiža* (*iža*); the others are called *soba, klet, komora,* which mean 'room' or 'cabin'. In old Great Russia, the communal oven was located in the *ognjište,* which was on that account called *istopka* (from the verb *topit'*, 'to heat'), a folk etymological reinterpretation of the Common Slavic *istūba* (itself a Germanic loan word; cf. Germ. *stube*), whence also *izba*. In the Arkhangel'sk area until not long ago the prosperous joint families would assign each nuclear family a room of its own, called *otdel*—'share', as opposed to *razdel*—'division', a settlement upon separating from the zadruga. In 1897, Dovnar-Zapol'skij reported that in the Minsk area of Byelorussia, '. . . the father builds his sons separate huts in his yard, one for each new family, but the land, stock, tools—all is owned collectively, they eat together, work together. Each family owns separately only clothes and other small items, money earned privately, etc.'

The whole zadruga has one patronymic name, which is given to each new member at baptism. This is the name of the founder of the zadruga. If the zadruga becomes too large, it is divided into several parts, but all retain the same patronymic. A single zadruga scarcely ever forms more than part of a village.

The zadruga is an extended nuclear family. The father is the head, but he cannot administer the family belongings without the counsel and consent of the adult members of the family. Usually he must discuss the more important problems with his sons.

The father or grandfather is at the top of this hierarchy; his counterpart among the women is the 'house mother', who supervises the women's work. She has charge of the kitchen, the food, the cows and pigs, clothing, weaving and spinning. She designates tasks for the other women in the family, and preserves good relations among the women. Although there are places in Serbia where the women elect the woman of their choice, the

house mother is generally the wife of the father or grandfather, deriving her power from him and relinquishing her office when he dies or is replaced. If she becomes too old, weak, or disabled, the eldest daughter-in-law takes her place. The house mother is a mediator between the 'house father' and the rest of the family, but she herself never becomes head of a zadruga. The head himself chooses his heir: either the eldest or the ablest son; if he has no sons he may designate his brother or his brother's son. If the father suddenly dies leaving no heir apparent, the older men of the zadruga elect a man whose age, capabilities, and diligence meet the requirements. The house father is master of the zadruga, responsible for both its economic and its moral welfare. It is his duty to maintain good relations between his zadruga and the whole village, the Church and State. At home he is a judge, seeing that all the duties of the family members are fulfilled, settling problems and quarrels. What he says is right. Even in his old age, the grandfather's counsel is very much respected. The house father also acts as family priest, going back to the pre-Christian era. Bound up with this is the ancestor cult, for he continues to be a protector of the family even after his death. Ancestor worship was practised most assiduously in Russia, where the zadruga was cruelly patriarchal.

Next in the hierarchy come the sons, who form the family council, and after them, all the others—women and children.

The position of women was lowly, and most menial of all in Russia, where the house father was allowed to beat his own wife and children, and even to commit incest with his sons' wives. The Russian Primary Chronicle (*Laurentius Letopis*) mentions that the men of Drevljane, Radimichi, Vjatichi and Severjane had two and three wives. At the wedding and later in the house, the bride was the 'youngest' (*mlada*), which means she had the least rights of all.

After her husband's death she had no right to his property. She was merely allowed to remain in the house, and was provided

with food, clothes, and burial. If she left her husband's house, she lost everything.

The children of the zadruga work as shepherds from the age of 10; at 16, they begin work in the fields, and at 20 become adults.

The zadruga is communal on three levels:

1 The personal, in that all live jointly under the rule of the house father. This means, for example, that boys and girls, once out of the exclusive care of their mothers and the other women, are disciplined not by their own father, but by the house father and house mother respectively.

2 The territorial, since even in cases where the personal communality has been abandoned in favour of separate domiciles and private property, the land often continues to be held in common.

3 The economic, in that all the members take part in farming and whatever other activities are engaged in, for the benefit of the zadruga as a whole.

Figs. 29, 35, 36 The prehistoric Slavic zadrugas seem to have occupied a complex of small separate buildings in the manner of those in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Russia, and other Slavic countries during the last century; but the archaeological evidence is insufficient to establish whether or not zadrugas existed in all prehistoric periods of Proto-Slavic and Early Slavic history.

The form of the patriarchal joint family is most faithfully preserved on Slavic territory, but it has close parallels among the Balts, the Iranians (especially the Ossetians of the Caucasus), and the Armenians. The joint family disappeared early in almost all the western Into-European groups, and the west Slavic zadruga followed suit; in the east and south Slavic areas, by contrast, Byzantine, Tartar and Turkish influence served not only to strengthen the zadruga but to make it more patriarchal than ever.

It appears that the patriarchal, patrilineal joint family with women having greatly inferior status, the clan and tribe organization with exogamy and blood vengeance, the cults of hearth and ancestors, are all characteristic features of central Asian pastoral cultures, whether Indo-European, Finno-Ugric, or Turco-Mongol.[3] The farther from the steppe and the nomadic life, or from their influence, a people moved, the more of these cultural elements they lost.

P. Friedrich has concluded from a study of the Indo-European kinship terminology, that residence was patrilocal (terms for wife's family being absent); and that the kinship system was of Omaha (patriarchal) Type III. That is to say, a man's sister's children were on a par with his own grandchildren, while his mother's brother stood in the same relationship to him as a grandfather.[4] In this may lie the explanation of the provision for avenging the death of the sister's son, in *Russkaja Pravda*. Because of the presence of separate terms for 'son-in-law' and 'nephew', Friedrich does not think that cross-cousin marriage was favoured. From a study of early codes, he lists as typical of Indo-European marriage: bride-capture, bride-wealth, polygyny (mostly restricted to the upper classes), strong rights of husband over wife, and concubinage; as typical of the family as a whole, that the duties of the son toward his father outweighed the obligations of father to son; and as typical of the larger units, that both wergeld payments and blood vengeance were imposed as penalties for crime.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Common Slavic terms of Indo-European origin are *plemę*— 'tribe', *rodŭ*—'clan', *ǫžika*—'consanguineous', lit. 'bound', and *blizoka*—'affine' lit. 'close'. *Sěmija*—'nuclear family', though derived from Common Slavic *sěmę*—'seed', is not found in all modern Slavic languages. The chart of personal kinship terms below is based on Isačenko, 1953, and Friedrich, 1965:

Consanguines	Old Church Slavonic unless otherwise specified	Indo-European form and etymology
grandfather	dědŭ	Slavic innovations Both from nursery speech (babble words). Cf. dětę 'child'.
grandmother	baba	
father	otĭcĭ	Slavic innovation from nursery speech atta/tata pHtrwos, related to 'father'
father's brother	stryjĭ	
mother	matĭ, Gen. matere nana	maHte:r nan-/nana/less formal awyos
mother's brother	ujĭ	
brother	bratrŭ, bratŭ	bhraHte:r, prob. originally 'clan brother' like Hom. *phra:te:r* and Osset. *ærvad*
sister	sestra	swe-so:r 'own woman', like Osset. *xo xwœræ* 'woman of my clan'
child	dětę (doiti—to suckle, milk)	dheH- to suckle, be capable of bearing children
son	synŭ	swH-/ sew-/sw- to give birth
daughter	dŭšti, Gen. dŭštere	dhwgHte:r
grandchild	vŭnŏkŭ	(h)an/en grandchild or grandparent; or (Kuryłowicz) Slav vŭn-+-ŏ/ukŭ down+ link
child's (daughter's) son	netijĭ (Old Russian) nĕćak (Serb)	nepo:t-

Affines	Old Church Slavonic unless otherwise specified	Indo-European form and etymology
husband	mǫži	IdE men/mon-g- 'man; member of preferred group for husbands'
husband's father	svekrŭ	swék'rwros 'own power' plus appropriate gender suffixes
husband's mother	svekry, Gen. svekrŭve	swek'rwHs
husband's brother	děverĭ (OR)	daHywe:r
husband's brother's wife	jętry, Gen.	ynHte:r (a reciprocal term used by wives of brothers)
husband's sister	zŭly/zely, Gen. -ŭve	g'lows
wife	žena	gwena: 'woman; member of preferred group for wives'
wife's brother	šurĭ	syVHr, related to 'to sew', because he is the link between two clans
brother's wife	nevěsta: this now means 'bride' while *nevestka* means daughter- or sister-in-law	newistha 'newest, youngest female', influenced by *nevoidta* 'unknown'
sister's husband	same as daughter's husband	
son's wife	snŭxa	snwsos, probably related to 'link, tie'
daughter's husband	zętĭ	g'enHr, etymology in doubt

Common Slavic has a number of additional kinship terms coined from those just mentioned, notably for female relatives and relatives on the woman's side.

Affines	Old Church Slavonic *unless otherwise specified*	Indo-European form *and etymology*
stepmother (father's wife)	maštexa (mačexa)	from *mati*
father's sister	stryja/strynja	from *stryjĭ*
brother's son	bratiščĭ bratanŭ	
brother's daughter	bratičina	from *bratrŭ*
cousin	brat(r)anŭ	
sister's son	sestričištĭ	from *sestra*
sister's husband (for a woman, as against *zęti* for a man)	svojakŭ	from *svoj* 'one's own'
nephew	synovici/synovica	from *synŭ*
niece	dŭsteriši	from *dŭšti*
aunt (father's or mother's sister)	teta	innovation; babble word
wife's father	tĭstĭ	} innovation
wife's mother	tĭšta, tĭšča	}
wife's sister	svĕstĭ/svĭstĭ	} probably all from the reflexive pronoun
son's wife's sister	svašča	}
father of husband with respect to father of wife, and vice versa	svatŭ	}
bridegroom, fiancé (corresponding to *nevesta* in its new meaning)	ženixŭ	from *ženiti*, to take a wife

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Otto Schrader (1901) identified the Proto-Indo-European social structure with that of his own time in Hercegovina and Montenegro.[5] The basic element of this structure is the zadruga, which was kept to a small size in these mountainous regions where stock-breeding was the main occupation; zadrugas combined to form exogamous clans, called *rodŭ*, which were units for the ownership of forests and pastures, and whose members pledged blood vengeance in defence of one another. These were in turn united into tribes, *plemę*, whose territory was called *župa*, and whose leader was *župan* or *staršina*. The social organization of the primitive Slavs was probably very much like that of the Germanic peoples before the migration, as described by Tacitus: many families organized into clans (*familiae et propinquitates*), with kings and dukes possessing little personal power but dependent on their councils.

The tradition of blood revenge still survives in Montenegro and Kosovo-Metohija in southern Yugoslavia. *Russkaja Pravda*, the Common Law of Kievan Rus', known from manuscripts the oldest of which dates back to the thirteenth century but doubtless formulated very much earlier, provides that a man may avenge the death of his own son, or of either his brother's or his sister's son.

The Slavs' over-all social structure was typically Indo-European, close to that outlined by Herodotus in the fifth century BC for the Thracians and by Tacitus in the first-second centuries AD for the Germanic peoples, these latter consisting of 'kings, nobles, the free-born, freedmen, and slaves'.

The earliest historical record of the Slavic social structure was the account of Jordanes (sixth century), telling how in the fourth century AD the king of the Antes was executed by the Ostrogoths, together with his sons and seventy 'primates' (prominent men). Latin sources on the Slavs between the sixth and the ninth centuries use the words *rex*—'king', *dux*, *princeps*—'leader', *primi*, *primores*, *priores*—'prominent people'. In Slavic languages the word for duke or king—*knez* (Serbo-Croatian), *kn'jaz'* (Russian) derives from Germanic *kuningas*, but there were also Slavic names for a ruler, such as Serbian *vladika* (< vladyka), (from *vlad-*, *vlasti*). The Polabian and Pomeranian Slavs had a class of people called *vitiezi* (< *vitęzi*), who appear as a kind of petty military

aristocracy, performing their military service on horseback. The word *vitiez* has been shown to have derived from the Germanic word 'Viking' or 'Hvítingr'. The riding-horse with all its trappings represents an innovation introduced by the Scythian overlords, and as such is associated with the upper classes of Slavic society.[6] The Slavic *družina* (council of noblemen) known to early history certainly goes back to Scythian times if not to the Bronze Age. Warriors' graves containing both riders and horses do not appear in the Slavic area as frequently as in the Scythian, Sarmatian and Baltic, but they are known from the Avar period and later. Stirrups were introduced in the Avar period. Some portrayals of horse riders and falconers from the Moravian Empire show very rich horse trappings. Gilded spurs from Mikulčice have human masks as decoration. Men of substance were sometimes buried with a sword, an insignia of rank.

Among the Polabian Slavs and the East Slavs, the free tillers of the soil were called *smerdy*, from Common Slavic **smir'dz*, which is cognate with Lithuanian *smirdas* and perhaps with Iranian *mard*—'man'. After the binding of peasants in Russia to the soil, the word survived in the sense of 'serf', but this was not at all the original meaning.

In addition to free-born common people, primitive Slavic society also had its slaves: **xolpǔ* (Russ. *xolop*), of unclear etymology, and **orbǔ* (Old Church Slavonic *rabǔ*, *robǔ*), cognate with German *Arb-eit* (in Slavic languages *rab-ota*). They were chiefly members of some conquered people, or prisoners of war. Historical records indicate that the slaves were generally well treated, and were regarded as members of the family, albeit with certain restrictions on their rights. Arab sources of the ninth and tenth centuries mention that slaves and wives were cremated with the dead man.

Distinctions based on property are indicated by the Common Slavic adjectives **bogatǔ*—'wealthy', **ubogǔ*—'poor', and **nebogǔ* —'unfortunate' (cf. also Polish *nieboszczyk* and *niebožczyk*—

'late, deceased'), all derived from the Indo-European root **bhag* —'share, property'. Rich and poor graves are known throughout pre-history and early Slavic history. The distinction between the two became more apparent with the general enrichment of the Slavic culture after the expansion. From the Bronze Age to the early historical period, rich women's graves contained necklaces, rings for the temples, or ear-rings, bracelets and rings; rich men's graves, a belt, a dagger or sword, a knife, a spear or an arrow, and a bracelet or a ring.

According to Procopius, the Slavs were not ruled by a single individual, but enjoyed a democracy. Slavic retention of the ancient Indo-European system of rule by a tribal chief and a council is indicated here.

Some scholars believe that the Slavs were greatly influenced by the Sarmatians from whom they derived a more efficient political structure.[7] The necessity to consolidate power in the hands of a strong ruler arose already during Scythian times (700–200 BC), as archaeological excavations indicate, but the primitive clan and tribal system continued into the eighth or even the ninth century AD.

Hill-fort and settlement studies of the early Slavs in Germany, Poland and Russia have shown that small agricultural communities without a system of territorial organization existed up to the latter part of the eighth century. These early settlements of scattered buildings were either unfortified, fortified with earthen ramparts and ditches, or located in naturally protected areas usually on promontories having steep slopes surrounded by rivers.

The hill-top village at Novotroitskoe east of the Middle Dnieper, fully excavated by I. I. Ljapushkin in the fifties exemplifies the naturally protected type. The fortification of villages enabled these communities to consolidate. The late eighth and early ninth century saw not only stronger fortification as such but also the appearance of the heavily fortified settlement

Plate 35

Plates 36, 38
Plates 39, 40

Plates 41, 44

Plates 47, 48

Plates 42, 45, 46

Figs 56, 57

Plate 49

on a steep hill—the *castrum*, surrounded by open settlements. The latter were of various sizes situated close one to another. These are the smallest units of territorial and social organization. In the Upper and Middle Oder basin these units usually occupied from 20 to 70 sq. km. but sometimes they occupied an area of up to 150 sq. km.[8] Hill-forts were fortified with massive earthen ramparts containing built-in wooden grate or box constructions (known from the excavations in the hill-forts of Bonikowo and

Bruszczewo in western Poland). The core of both the inner and the face wall of the rampart was constructed of many stones. Hill-forts were inhabited by a powerful nobility in whose hands were concentrated wealth and public offices.

The union of several small units into one castle-district repre-sented the next phase of territorial and social organization. Federations of tribes brought about through the subordination of several units was a natural consequence.

Fig. 56   The hill-top village of the eighth-ninth centuries AD at Novotroitskoe,

district of Sumy near Lebedin, Russia. Reconstruction

Fig. 57 Semi-subterranean house from the village of Novotroitskoe, interior and exterior. Reconstruction

States developed whenever efficient, strong chieftains subdued other tribal leaders, consolidated power over many tribes and became 'grand dukes' of large territories, called 'zemlja' ('land').

During the period between the seventh and ninth centuries there was a trend towards greater concentration of population in specific centres; this led to intense specialization, and to increased wealth and an elaboration of administrative machinery to control the new elements. Ore-smelting, iron-working and blacksmiths crafts were practised. Large pottery kilns were regularly used from about AD 800. Jewellers made spectacular progress between the seventh and ninth centuries. This is especially evident in Moravia. Moravia and western Slovakia enjoyed the greatest concentration of population. As a result of intensive post-World War II archaeological research hundreds of sites in the basins of the Morava, Hran, Ipel' and other rivers north of the Middle Danube were identified. The hill-fort settlements of Staré Mesto, Pohansko and Mikulčice in Moravia had as many as five thousand inhabitants in the ninth century. Staré Mesto covered

Plate 50
Plate 43

Plates 52–66

Fig. 58

an area of 250 hectares (620 acres)! The large Russian towns of Kiev, Staraja Ladoga, Pskov and Novgorod, comparable in structure to those of Moravia, arose at this time.

Although tribal life continued in most Slavic territories throughout the ninth century AD, a powerful Slavonic state called *Great Moravia* or *Great Moravian Empire* arose in the early ninth century in Moravia and parts of Slovakia. It was the first Slavic state to come into existence. The archaeological evidence points to a gradual cultural enrichment in this area during the post-Avar times which inevitably led to the strengthening of the power of the individual tribal princes and to inter-tribal wars during the eighth century. The *Moravljane*, who lived on the banks of the River Morava emerged victorious. In the year 822 envoys from united Moravia attended the Imperial Assembly at Frankfurt-a. M. Thereafter the state steadily expanded, first to the Nitra region in Slovakia and later, in the period 874–884, to Bohemia, Silesia, Lusatia, the Cracow area of present Poland and the area of Lake Balaton (Slavic 'Blatno') in western Hungary.

Excavations from 1954 to the present in the area of the River Morava vividly detail the early history of Mikulčice and the beginnings of the Moravian state in the seventh century or earlier. During the seventh and eighth centuries it covered an area of more than 50 hectares (124 acres). Built in the centre of this area was a castle fortified with wooden palisades. Traces of workshops for the fashioning of gold, bronze, iron and glass have been found on the castle site. Characteristic of this settlement are finds of iron and bronze spurs with hooks, affording proof of the existence of military units. It can be presumed that it was the seat of one of the Moravian tribal princes.[9] Before the consolidation of the Moravian Empire, the early Mikulčice castle was surrounded with fortifications of stone outer walls and a moat. They guarded an area of six hectares (15 acres). At the highest part of the castle the foundations of a rectangular building presumed to have been a princely palace have been found. Within the fortified area the foundations of five churches have been discovered.

Research carried out in Mikulčice, Staré Město near Uherske Hradiště, Pohansko near Breclav, Staré Zámky near Líšen at Brno, and Nitra in Slovakia has produced remarkable results. Fortifications, stone and wood constructions and foundations of churches and houses were discovered. Various workshops where skilled craftsmen must have wrought gold and silver ornaments were located. Cemeteries where members of the ruling class were buried contained these rich grave goods, thus confirming the existence of skilled artisans. Although many elements in their art still reflected Byzantine, oriental or Germanic origins, the Moravian craftsmen transformed their products to such a degree that one must regard them as individual Moravian Slavic creations.

Iron workshops produced ploughshares, sickles, knives, axes, swords and other tools in great quantities and attested a developed blacksmith's trade. At Žabokrky in the Upper Nitra valley a hoard of agricultural tools was found. Specialization in leather-

Plate 51
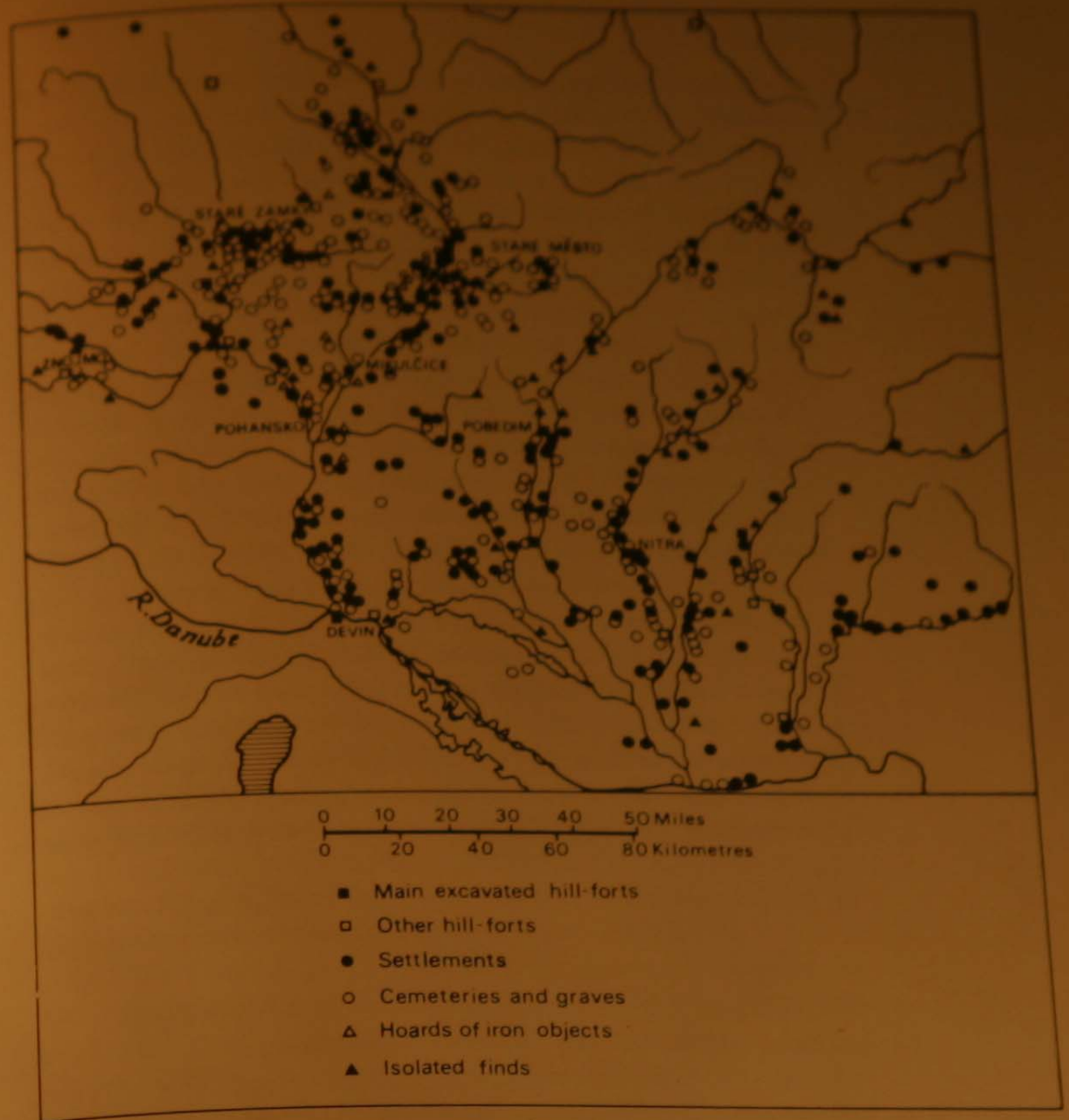
Fig. 58 *Distribution of archeological sites of the seventh to ninth centuries AD (the time of the Great Moravian Empire) in present-day Moravia and western Slovakia*

working, weaving, stone-cutting, bone- and wood-working was represented. Workshops with complicated furnaces, such as the one at the site of Lupka in Slovakia, signify great progress in ceramic art. From the second half of the eighth century various signs begin to appear on the bases of pots. In Lupka about 250 pots were marked with crosses, wheels, swastikas, concentric wheels, rectangles and other signs which were probably property symbols. Many peculiar iron bars of an elongated axe shape have been found in the territory of Moravia; these have analogies in Scandinavia and are considered to have been used as currency.

Moravia in the eighth and ninth centuries has been described as an organized unlimited monarchy of basically nomadic (oriental) type.[10] The country was ruled by a prince and professional warriors, the *družina*, mostly armoured horsemen encamped in various strongholds. From these locations they controlled the surrounding settlements whose population was compelled to pay tribute and taxes and to render various services, including military service in case of war. Great Moravia, indeed, provides a classical example of transition from a tribal society to a centralized monarchy, and one of the earliest. Analogous developments with a shorter or longer evolution took place in Russia, Bulgaria and Poland: the creation of these states too was accompanied by a remarkable growth of towns, crafts and trade.

Religion

LITERACY CAME to the Slavs as the instrument of a missionary campaign against paganism waged by the eastern and western branches of Christianity. Moravia was definitely Christianized in 863, Bulgaria in 885, Poland in 966, and Russia in 988. Slavic paganism had no opportunity to develop a literature. Direct sources being scarce, Slavic prehistoric religion must be reconstructed largely by postulating the existence of a god resembling a known one from the Indo-European or the Indo-Iranian or Baltic pantheon, and then seeking evidence and modifications among the written records and in surviving folk-lore: oral epics, songs, tales, enduring customs and superstitions.

TEMPLES

Temples and idols were described in writing by the very people who destroyed them. Thus Otto, a twelfth-century bishop of Bamberg, whose war with the pagan gods of the Slavs in northern Germany was recorded by his three biographers, Ebo, Herbord, and Monachus Prieflingensis, and Thietmar, bishop of Merseburg, whose early eleventh-century writings, informed by first-hand accounts of a Wendish paganism not yet even nominally conquered by Christianity, are the most reliable sources of information concerning the religion of the West Slavs.

The most precise description of a Slavic temple is given by Saxo Grammaticus in his *Gesta Danorum*, XIV (1208). The castle of Arkona was situated on the island of Rügen, the last bastion of West Slavic paganism against the forces of Christianity. The castle, which stood inside a rampart on the eastern end of a mound,[1] contained the temple of the god *Svantevit* (Svętovit), whose huge idol occupied a sunken base in an inner room consisting of a roof supported by four columns and hung with purple

Fig. 59

Fig. 59 Temple of Arkona at the northern end of the island of Rügen. The rectangular temple is at the summit of the fortified hill. The area marked by broken hatching was occupied by houses, the blank area is where festivities took place

rugs in lieu of walls. The temple building had one door, a red roof, and strong walls ornamented in relief with all kinds of motifs roughly painted. On the inside were ornaments, purple stuffs, and animal horns. Schuchhardt's excavations (1921) showed the outer walls to be made of vertical posts, enclosing an area more than 20 m. square. The temple was destroyed by the Danish king Waldemar in 1168; while the idol was being chopped off at the base, it fell and became wedged against the wall, which had to be broken through in order to remove it.

Svantevit's statue held in its right hand a drinking-horn into which wine was poured at his harvest festival to prophesy the next year's crop—the higher the level reached, the better the prospects. One of the effigies of the famous four-sided statue from Zbrucz near Husiatyn in Galicia, found in the river in 1848, also holds a drinking-horn.[2]

After conquering Arkona, the Danish armies took Garz (Karentia), also on the island of Rügen, which Saxo describes as a castle hill with swamps on all sides. Of its three temples, the largest had an inner room consisting of roof, posts, and purple hangings. In the middle of this was the oak wood statue of *Rugievit*—whose name, according to Saxo, meant 'God of Rügen (Rugia)'—having seven heads, with seven swords hanging from his girdle and an eighth sword in his hand. Saxo says that the other temples belonged to *Porevit* and *Porenut* respectively.

The earliest source, Thietmar (1014) describes a similar temple on the castle hill of Riedegost (Rethra). It was made of timber, and the outside was adorned with sculptures to which animal-horns were attached. It contained flags and several hand-carved idols dressed in helmets and armour and each dedicated to a god, the most important being that of *Zuarasici* (Svarozhich). Schuchhardt, who excavated Rethra in 1922, concluded that the temple, presumably built around AD 1000, was destroyed by fire about 1068, but that its floor plan had been square. Thietmar

Fig. 60

said that Riedegost was the most important of all the local temples. People paid homage there before going to war, and made offerings on their return. The priests determined what form these offerings should take by means of dice and horse oracles. It was apparently the sanctuary for the entire Ljutici confederation, to which the Retharii belonged.[3]

Bishop Otto of Bamberg went twice to Stettin, where there were several temples, the most important of which stood upon one of the three hills, and was dedicated to *Triglav*, the three-headed 'Summus Deus'.[4] It had rich sculptures both inside and out, and its interior was decorated with war booty. On his first trip there (about 1124) Otto cut off the idol's three heads and sent them to Pope Callixtus II. Stettin also had a horse oracle. Another *Triglav* idol was destroyed in Brandenburg, probably by Albrecht the Bear sometime between 1150 and 1157. Statues of polycephalic gods are also known from southern and eastern Slavic areas. A sculpture of a Triglav, called 'Troglav', was discovered north of Šibenik at Skradin near the Adriatic coast and is now housed in the Slavic Antiquities Museum in Split.

At Wollin, Otto found a temple with a sacred spear. There was also an outdoor cult place with idols, which became the site of the new Adalbert church. Otto's mission of 1128 destroyed the temple at Wolgast. When his men entered it in search of idols, they found only a gigantic shield which hung on the wall. Fearing the crowd that had gathered outside, they carried the shield out with them for protection, whereupon the crowd fell on the ground before them, thinking that it was the war god *Gerovit* (Jarovit) who had appeared. One of Otto's biographers, Herbord, describes the shield as covered with gold leaf; and he equates Gerovit with Mars.

Helmold, writing of the pagan revival among the Wends in 1134, refers to 'Prove deus Aldenburgensis terrae'. And on his trip with bishop Gerald to Oldenburg and to the interior between that city and Lübeck in 1156, he saw a grove containing an

Fig. 60   The Zbrucz (Zbruch) idol, Galicia, south-eastern Poland

oak tree in a court fenced with stakes; it was dedicated to the god of that land, *Proven* (perhaps a distorted name of Perun, the Thunder god), of whom there was no idol present. The monk Herbertus[5] describes a sacred grove where a large tar-covered idol stood leaning against a tree.

In the East Slavic area, the only Slavic pantheon to find its way into the written records is the one set up about 980 by Prince Vladimir, who eight years later cast down those same gods and forcibly baptized the population of Kiev in the River Dnieper. The Primary Russian Chronicle, compiled about 1111, says: 'And Vladimir began to rule Kiev alone, and he set up idols on a hill outside the palace court—a wooden figure of *Perun*, and his head was of silver and his mouth was of gold; *Khors*, and *Dažbog*, and *Stribog*, and *Simargl*, and *Mokosh*—and he and his people made sacrifice to the idols.' Simultaneously, 'Vladimir also placed Dobrynya, his uncle, in Novgorod, and after Dobrynya came to Novgorod, he set up an idol of Perun above the river Volkhov, and the people of Novgorod revered him as a god.' The Primary Chronicle goes on to tell how the people of Kiev cried when Vladimir caused the idol of Perun to be cast into the Dnieper.

A ruined temple, presumably that of Perun, was discovered in 1951 near a place called Peryn, 4 km. south of Novgorod. It stood on a hill, surrounded by the River Volkhov, its tributary the Verjazhja, and a swamp. The wooden structure had decayed, but the floor plan showed an octagonal rosette shape. In the centre was a circular mound enclosed by a ditch containing charcoal, probably a base for an idol and a place for the ceremonial fire. Near by were traces of a field-stone hearth, and beneath these a flat stone which was probably part of an altar.

During the excavation of Staraja Ladoga in 1958, a wooden idol was found, within a small timber structure considered to have served cult purposes, in the lower cultural horizon dating to the ninth-tenth centuries; 23 cm. high and 2·5 cm. wide, it was the effigy of a god with moustache and beard, wearing a conical helmet. The hands were lacking, and it had only one leg.[6]

The Primary Chronicle gives the texts of the peace treaties with Byzantium made by Igor (945) and Svjatoslav (971). The 945 treaty was ratified by the Byzantines in the Cathedral of

St Sophia; Igor and his men went out to the hill where the idol of Perun stood (at Kiev; either this antedates the Perun of Vladimir or it is an anachronism on the part of the author), and laying down their shields, weapons, and gold, ratified it on oath. The 971 treaty records their oath: that he who would not respect the treaty should be cursed by *Perun* and by *Volos*, the god of flocks; and that he should become yellow as the gold of his ornaments and be destroyed by his own weapons.

Slavic temples and statues of gods of early historic times are well documented. Even in the later Christian era, sculptures or reliefs portraying the figure of Christ, or a nobleman, continued

Plates 69–73

Fig. 61   *Stone idols from Stavchany in the Upper Dniester basin*

Plate 67

pre-Christian stylistic traditions. Were they epigones of pre-historic sanctuaries and idols or a phenomenon of the late pagan era? For a long time the Zbrucz idol was held to be the only one of its kind, but the number of statues (some of them undated, some from excavated sites) has by now considerably increased. Very probably the carved images of gods produced throughout all Pre- and Proto-Slavic periods stem directly from the Proto-Indo-European stone stelae of the third and early second millennia BC. They are strikingly similar in style to those of the later Slavic period. A series of stone statues representing one-, three-, or four-headed gods, usually holding a drinking horn, wearing a conical cap, and bearing incised horse figures or sun symbols, have been unearthed in the upper Dniester region; they are dated through association with the Chernjakhovo pottery to about the fourth century AD. Such stone idols were clearly located within the boundaries of a cult precinct, surrounded by hearths and offering places. In most Slavic areas idols were built of wood; traces of massive posts standing in the centre of a round clay plastered area—the floor of a wooden temple—bear this out. Such have been attested in the River Tjasmin basin in association with Pen'kovka finds of the sixth-seventh centuries AD and in the Don basin in the hill-fort of Borshevo type belonging to the Severjane tribe.

Fig. 61

Temples are often found at the topmost point of a hill-fort, as evidenced in both early- and proto-Slavic periods, and showing a continuous tradition up to the early second millennium AD when the temples were destroyed. Around cult places in the hill-forts of Scythian and later times offerings of acorns, grains, clay imitations of grains and bread, miniature and normal-sized pots, iron ornaments and other objects have been found. The practice of offering-up grain continued among the Slavs in the nineteenth century and is not unknown in the twentieth.

Plate 74

Burials of dogs and of horses' skulls together with leg bones dating from various prehistoric and early historic periods are

Fig. 62 The 'Chernaja Mogila' royal tomb in Chernigov, western Russia. 1, Platform carrying a timber mortuary house; 2, barrow made of earth from the surrounding ditch, on top of which were remains of a funerary feast and grave offerings; 3, barrow of clay topped by a stele

found in association with temples or sacrificial places. Such burials were discovered for instance in the settlement of Poz-harnaja Balka in the district of Poltava on the bank of the River Vorksla, dating back to the seventh-sixth centuries BC. The same site yielded extremely interesting representations of birds, mostly swans, measuring from 1·5 to 2·5 m., which had been made by cutting away the earth around the outlines, leaving them in relief; they had been covered with ashes.

Plate 75

A strong belief in life after death is indicated by the burial rites. Slavic royal tombs are as eloquent as other Indo-European royal tombs, be they Hittite, Phrygian, Thracian, Greek or Germanic. A classic example is the magnificent burial known as Chernaja Mogila discovered in the town of Chernigov, which dates from the mid tenth century. Three members of a royal family, husband, wife and son, had been placed in a timber mortuary house and equipped with everything—horses, weapons, sickles, buckets, pots—that was believed to be necessary for the after-life.

Figs 62, 63

GODS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

Saxo, Helmold, and the Old Icelandic Knytlingasaga all mention *Svętovit*, the patron god of Rügen; Saxo, Helmold, and

Fig. 63 *'Chernaja Mogila'. Left, Royal family within the rectangular timber structure; right, grave goods including two horses and their trappings, helmets, swords, a shield, corselets, spurs, stirrups, arrow-heads, knives, sickles, buckets, pots, keys and locks, drinking horns, an anthropomorphic figurine, sacrificed animals, etc.*

Herbord also mention *Jarovit*, *Porovit*, and *Ruevit* on the same island, and Helmold says that some of these idols had two, three, or even more heads. At least two of these names had calendarial significance: *Jaro*, connected with *jaru* 'young, ardent, bright, rash' means 'spring', and *Jarovit*'s priest proclaims in his name: 'I am your god who covers the plains with grass and the forests with leaves. The produce of fields and woods, the young of the cattle and all things that serve man's needs, are in my power'. *Ruenŭ* is the autumnal month named for the mating calls of the newly matured animals: Old Church Slavonic *ruinŭ*, *ruenŭ*—'September'; Czech *řijen*—'October'; Serbian *rujan*—'September'. *Pora* means 'midsummer'. These three aspects of *Triglav* encompass the spring-to-autumn growing season for plants and the maturing season for animals.

The root *svęt-*, like *jar-*, has an original meaning of 'strong'. *Svętovit* was both war-god and protector of fields; his feast was a harvest festival. He had his own white horse, which only the high priest might ride, and was believed to accompany those going to war seated upon it. Before a war began, the horse was made to walk down a row of crossed spears; if he did so without catching his hooves on the spears, the future augured well. Hence the Russian phrase *veshchij kon'*—'prophetic horse', which has an exact parallel in the Avesta and among the Balts. The Common-Slavic word for 'time', **vermę*, interprets it as a wheel-track (Old Indic *vartman*). This word was apparently connected with ritual chariot races (*vartanna*, known in this connection among the Mitanni from 1380 BC). It is worth noting that both the Russians and the Kirghizians imagined the Polar Star as a post around which an ox, reindeer or horse is forever walking. The horse draws the wheel of the seasons. When war or winter is approaching, that is the time for prophecy: for the cult of the horse and of Boundless Time. Seeing that the Iranians regarded the Persian *Vṛthragna* and *Zurvan* (who had three epithets: 'virile', 'mature' and 'feeble') as two separate deities, there is reason to believe that their Slavic equivalents likewise coexisted. In the north-west we know *Triglav* and his four aspects, some of which, it would appear, gave their own particular name to the polycephalic deity for which 'Triglav' was perhaps only a

generic or a taboo name. We also know *Svarozhich* 'Svarog's son' (a diminutive of *Svarog*), and in Russia we have the well attested figure of *Jarilo*.

St Tikhon Zadonskij, an eighteenth-century Orthodox bishop of Voronezh, proscribed the pagan festivals and 'satanic games' centred on an old idol called *Jarilo*, which traditionally took place from Wednesday or Friday until Sunday in the week following Whitsuntide. Until 1673 the Voronezh 'games' featured a man adorned with flowers and carrying jingle-bells, with his face painted red and white.[12] Byelorussian folklore preserves the image of *Jarilo* riding upon a white horse: he wears a white cloak, is crowned with wild-flowers, carries a bunch of wheat-ears in his left hand, and goes bare-foot.

Svarog, though not included in Vladimir's pantheon, is identified in the Russian translation of the Malalas Chronicle with the Greek metalsmith-god *Hephaistos*. According to Old Russian records, Svarog is said to have generated the sun, *Khors Dazhbog*; and tradition called both the celestial and the hearth fire Svarog's son. The worship of the hearth fire, preserved among the Ukrainians and Byelorussians, must once have been as strong among the Slavs as among the Balts: guarded by priests in the sanctuaries and by mothers in the home, the fire never went out except on the eve of the summer solstice festival, when it was symbolically extinguished and then rekindled. The north-west Slavic 'Zuarasic'—Latin transliterations of Slavic at the time being quite haphazard—may have been identical with *Svarozhich* (Svarog's son), the early Russians' personification of the solar fire. Svarog's name is probably related to the Indic *svargas* 'radiant sky' and *svarati* 'gleams, shines'. The suffix -*og* shows his name to be of Scythian, i.e. Iranian, origin.[13] He survives in the Romanian adjective *sfarog* 'torrid, sunburnt', and in names of hills and towns along the Slavic-German borderline in Poland.

As generator of the sun, *Svarog* rates comparison with Vedic *Indra* and Iranian *Vṛtragna*. Indra's great feat is the slaying of the

vṛitra, 'obstruction', an evil serpent who has imprisoned the waters behind the 'mountain' (i.e., the sky). The Iranian warrior-god *Vṛtragna*, as his name shows, also overcomes obstructions, though there is no record of him as a dragon-fighter. He is also a smith, associated with fire and with generative power, particularly of a sexual nature. A master craftsman, he can change his own form into that of the wind, the gold-horned aurochs, the boar, the horse, or the falcon *Varagna*, the last-named being his main incarnation. This suggests the Russian *bylina* of the *bogatyr' Volkh* (*volkhv* 'priest', 'sorceror') who could turn himself into a grey wolf, a white bull with golden horns, or a bright falcon. It also suggests the creature in folklore, a super-natural falcon or hawk or a fiery dwarf who turns into a whirl-wind, called *rarog* in Polish, *jarog* or *rarich* in Ukrainian, *rarach* in Czech. The whole character of Svarog is probably com-plicated by borrowings from the tradition of *Vṛtragna*.[14]

From Lusatia to the Urals it was customary to toss a knife or other sharp instrument into the whirlwind for protection. Only a few decades ago in Pomerania, the West Beskids, and Bulgaria, people would cast themselves face down before a whirlwind, to ward off the misfortune and illness which it brought. Russians, while doing so, would cry, 'A belt around your neck!', so that the whirlwind should be strangled. A whirlwind was feared because it contained a demon, who was often called *rarog*. It appears likely that Svarog once was the shining hero who stirred up a whirlwind by fighting with the evil serpent. St George, who was primarily a dragon-killer in Christian mythology, became a popular Slavic folklore figure, perhaps by identification with some dragon-killing Slavic god; if such a god did exist, it was surely *Svarog*. This George was also thought to be ruler of the wolves. There is a very ancient Slavic belief that the white wolf is a divine being; in Byelorussia he is called the king of all animals. So possibly George has a wolf-incarnation like the *bogatyr' Volkh*, which would certainly reflect his connection with *Svarog*.

Associated with Svarog's functions are maidens called *vila*, known among the Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, and Bulgarians, who laid offerings for them under trees, at springs, caves, and stones, as attested in records since the thirteenth century. They take the form of beautiful, very strong, naked girls equipped with arrow-heads, but can also appear as swans or snakes, as well as falcons, horses, wolves, and whirlwinds. In these last four incarnations they parallel the incarnations of *Svarog*. They are battle-maidens like the Germanic *Valkyries*, and friends of heroes. When they are dancing on mountain tops or meadows they shoot at anyone who approaches, or blind him or pull him into the ring and dance him to death.

Simargl, mentioned as a separate god in Vladimir's pantheon, is best explained, as Roman Jakobson has suggested, as Simourg, a winged griffin, a divine bird of the Persians. The Slavs probably borrowed him in the last centuries BC from their Sarmatian overlords, whose name for him was *Simarg*. He may have been connected with the warrior-god's functions, and perhaps merged in Slavic folklore with the eagle. In Bulgaria, Macedonia, Bosnia, and Serbia, the eagle was believed to rule over hail-storms, and to cause fire, illness, or other misfortune if harmed. *Khors* is an obvious borrowing of the Iranian name for the personified sun—'Khursīd'. 'Dazhbog' means in Slavic 'the Giver (< *dati*—'to give') of Wealth' (*bogu*—'wealth'; also 'god', i.e., the source of wealth). One of the clues to *Stribog* is that in the Igor Tale it is stated that the winds are his grandchildren; his name is probably connected with the Slavic root **srei*—'to flow' or to Iranian *srira*—'beautiful', a common epithet for the wind, which also suggests the sublimity of the sun. Another possibility is that *Stribog* is the relic of an old Father God: **patribhagos*.

There is no doubt that the Slavs were sun-worshippers, as indeed the tenth-century Arab traveller Al-Masudi reported them to be. According to him, they even had a temple with an opening in the dome and special architectural arrangements for

observing the sunrise.[16] The dead were buried with their heads to the east or with their eyes or face oriented eastward. Custom prescribed sleeping with one's head turned toward the east. Greetings and prayers to the rising or setting sun are recorded from southern Poland, Byelorussia, and the Ukraine. The personified sun fused with the Christian God, as among the Lusatian Slavs of eastern Germany, where it is the custom, upon entering a church, to turn around and greet the rising sun.[17]

Perun is the god best preserved in popular tradition and in toponymy. The name's Indo-European root **per-*, **perk-* or **perg-* meaning 'to strike' links most of the Indo-European language families to a common conception of the thunder-god. He is definitely a very old god and common to all the Slavs.

Perun's anthropomorphic features were presumably much like those of Lithuanian *Perkūnas*—a vigorous man with a copper beard, riding in a chariot drawn by a he-goat and holding in one hand an axe or hammer, which he throws at bad people and evil spirits, and which afterwards returns to his hand. The axe, a fetish known among the European peoples since Neolithic times, was subsequently identified with the thunderbolt. The Slavs in their Common Period called axes by the name **strěla* ('arrow' i.e., 'bolt'). It was widely believed that Perun's bolts pass through the earth, penetrate it to a certain depth, and after a certain period (usually 7 years and 40 days) gradually return to the surface. The *strěly* were used to protect a house from an oncoming storm, to restore milk to cows who were without, to protect crops, to ease a difficult labour, and guarantee good fortune to new-born babies and newlyweds. Perun's fiery purifications chastise the forces of death and barrenness. There is a widespread belief among the Slavs and Balts that the first thunder in spring moves the earth to action: the grass begins to grow rapidly, trees turn green, the land is safe for sowing and planting. A person or tree struck by lightning was regarded as being filled with health-giving powers.

Big trees, especially the oak, were sacred to the thunder god all over Europe. In eighteenth-century Russia, Feofan Prokopovich issued a regulation forbidding people 'to sing prayers before the oak tree'. The Vita of At. Adrian Pozhechonskij, written in 1612, tells of a deacon who worshipped an icon of St Elias (the Christianized *Perun*) which was fastened to an ash tree. The groves of *Proven*, mentioned by Helmold, where the god's sacred oak was fenced about, illustrate an important principle: repositories of such awful power as that imparted by the impact of a thunderbolt must be shielded.

It is no mere coincidence that those same 'high places'—trees and mountains—which the thunder-god selects for his coming, are almost universal symbols for the centre of the world—the navel from which it developed outward. This is a logical consequence of the belief that all life is generated by the union of the male and female principles—of earth and sky, which are joined at some 'high place' in a burst of thunder and lightning.

As we learn from Procopius, the Slavs sacrificed animals to *Perun*. The cock was a frequent victim; the bull, bear, or he-goat was slaughtered only on great occasions. The animal is slain in order to be eaten, for he is filled with the holy manna of his patron god, made manifest in his whole living body. He is killed and eaten communally so that the group as a whole will be strengthened. As late as 1907, Schrader witnessed this sort of ceremony in north-east Russia, combined with Christian hymns and blessings. It took place on St Elias' day (20 July), when the meat, prepared entirely by men, was taken into the church and divided among the villagers.[18]

After the Conversion, Perun became fused with the old, white-bearded St Elias, who travels across the sky in a fiery chariot. But he also lived on in the *byliny* of the Elder Heroes cycle, as the *bogatyr* ('hero') Il'ja (Elias) of Murom, who rides on his horse 'above the motionless forest and a little below the clouds scudding across the sky', bringing bandits to justice and

shooting arrows which bring down church cupolas and split robust oaks into thin slivers. The word *perun* came simply to mean a thunderbolt or a flash of lightning, although surviving curses such as 'May *perun* kill you!' (Ukrainian), 'May *perun* take you!' (Russian and Slovenian), and 'May *perun's* bolt strike you!' retain shades of the older meaning. An old Slavic prayer when thunder is heard goes: 'Sitting in the thunder, commanding the lightning, outpouring rain water on earth's face, O frightful ruler! Judge over devils, satans and sinners . . . Amen.'

Volos, god of horned animals, mentioned with Perun in the treaties of 945 and 971, and his alternate name *Veles* known from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Czech demonology and preserved in toponymy (Veles, south-east of Skopje in Yugoslavia) has recently been proved through an ingenious linguistic study by Roman Jakobson to be an old Slavic god derived from the common Indo-European pantheon.[19] Close parallels exist in Baltic and Old Irish. In Lithuanian, *velinas* now means 'devil' and *vėlė* 'shade of the deceased'. Latvians in their mythological songs have preserved *vels*, god of the underworld and guardian of cattle. Tacitus mentions Celtic *Veleda* 'prophetess', while Old Irish *felmac* (from the record of 880) is a musician and poet, 'a son of musico-poetical power'. In the Russian epic *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, Boian, a musician and poet, is called 'grandchild of Veles'.

The above etymologies lead to a parallelism of Slavic *Veles* with the Vedic thousand-eyed magician-god Varuṇa, who upholds the cosmic order and binds his adversaries by spells. In the Rigveda he has a double name Varuṇa Asura. The Slavic Veles is a compound name: *Vel-es*. The second part relates to *Asura* as well as to the Old Celtic god *Esus*, portrayed with a bull's head, and to old Norse *ásir*. The cult of Volos was strong around Novgorod and Rostov, and his name became a common one for churches and monasteries. In Christian times Volos/Veles

was replaced by the Byzantine Saint Blasius (*Vlas* or *Vlah* in Slavic), who continued to be the guardian of cattle until the present time.

The last figure in Vladimir's pantheon is the goddess *Mokosh*. Sixteenth-century church chronicles contain the question, addressed to women, 'Did you not go to Mokosh?' Peasant women believed that if Mokosh was pleased with their offerings she would help them with their laundry. The Czechs prayed to *Mokosh* in time of drought. In northern Russia she survived as a female house spirit called *Mokusha* or *Mokysha*. In the Novgorod area she is indentifiable by her large head and long arms, and she spins flax at night. In the Olonets area she spins wool or walks abroad at night, and if the sheep lose hair, the proverb says 'Mokosh has sheared the sheep.'[20] Place names of the fifteenth century include *Makushi, Makushina, Makushovo*, etc., from Pskov, Novgorod, Kostroma, Chernigov areas.

In Iranian mythology *Ardvī Surā Anāhita*, literally the 'wet, strong, spotless one', is the source of the celestial waters, goddess of prosperity and fertility. *Mokosh*, whose name brings to mind Slavic *mokru*—'wet', might be an analogous figure. Unquestionably ancient is the worship of 'female' stones—the *kamennye baby*. Some of them had female breasts. Paralytics, the deaf and the blind came from great distances to offer grain, flax, wool, pigs, calves, sheep, and money to such stones. When in the nineteenth century archaeologists in the Ukraine removed stones from the Scythian barrow where they stood, the people blamed this action for the start of a drought.[21]

The god *Rod*, known from medieval Orthodox denunciations, is connected with the Slavic word *roditi*—'to give birth'. In a Russian translation of a fifteenth-century saint's life, *rodŭ* stands for the Latin *fatum* (fate). Birth fairies (Russian *rozhenitsa* or Slovenian *rojenica*) or 'determiners' (Czech *sudiča*, Serbo-Croatian *sudjenica*), analogous to Scandinavian Norns and Greek Moirae exist in the folklore to this day.

A truly archaic female divinity is the *Moist Mother Earth* (*Mati syra zemlja*). The peasants of Volynia and the Byelorussian woodlands believed that in spring it was a very grave sin to strike the earth with anything before 25 March—because during that time the earth is pregnant. The Russians, similarly, forbad ploughing and digging on various holidays including Memorial Day and Assumption Day—for these were the Earth's name-day—and demanded that if a person spat on the ground he must beg the Earth's pardon.[22] For centuries, Slav peasants settled disputes over landed property by calling the Earth to witness the justice of their claims. Marriages were confirmed by swallowing a lump of earth (nineteenth century, Pskov area). Oaths were taken by swallowing a lump of earth (c. 1870, Orel area), or by putting it on one's head. Crop predictions were made in certain parts of Russia by digging a small hole in the ground and listening to what the Earth said: a sound like a full sleigh meant a good crop; that of an empty sleigh, a poor one.

The festival of *Moist Mother Earth* was *Kupala*; it took its name from the mass bathing (*kupati* 'to bathe') which, along with prayers at springs, marked the observance. But it was primarily a celebration of the summer solstice, and featured great bonfires. The straw idol of *Kupala* was attired like a woman. During the festival, it was placed under a tree which had been cut down and stuck into the ground. Among the Baltic Slavs the sacred tree was the birch, cut and prepared by women only, with all the branches stripped off; the crown alone was left, and that was hung with garlands and flowers. Sacrifices took place by it. This was a representation of the Tree linking Heaven and Earth.

Christianity, introduced in the ninth century in Czechoslovakia and in the tenth century in Poland and Russia, determined the trend of Slavic culture for centuries. This would not have been decisive in the rapid development of Slavonic culture and its Byzantinization but for an event which caused an epochal

upheaval. Constantinus (later called St Cyril) and his brother Methodius, two Byzantine missionaries brought up in Thessaloniki, Macedonia, came to Moravia in 863 and organized a national church with services in Slavic. For this purpose they translated the Bible, liturgic and other ecclesiastical texts into the Slavic dialect spoken in the Thessaloniki region, and adapted it to the language of the Great Moravian Empire, and first literary language, called Old Church Slavonic. This almost all Slavic lands during the ninth-eleventh centuries. In the beginning the Glagolithic alphabet, invented by Cyril who adapted and modified certain Greek, Samaritan and oriental letters, was used. The Cyrillic alphabet was created in Bulgaria at the beginning of the tenth century so that Slavic writing would be more closely allied with Greek. It is still used in the Greek Orthodox Slavic countries. Before the arrival of Cyril and Methodius in Moravia, the Slavs in central Europe and elsewhere had no script. As a consequence of the mission, the Old Church Slavonic language developed into the common Slavic literary language. Thus, Slavic culture was enriched and a new era in Slavic history was inaugurated.

Notes on the Text

Abbreviations

MIA	*Materialy i Issledovanija po Arkheologii SSSR*
KSIIMK	*Kratkie Soobshchenija Instituta Istorii Material'noj Kul'tury* (now *Kratkie Soobshchenija Instituta Arkheologii*)
SA	*Sovetskaja Arkheologija*
SE	*Sovetskaja Etnografija*

CHAPTER I

1 In Poland, an enormous literature was produced in an attempt to show that the Slavic homelands were in the territory of present-day Poland and eastern Germany: J. Czekanowski, *Wstęp do historii Słowian* (An introduction to the history of the Slavs), Lwów 1927, 326 pp.; *Ibid.* 'The ancient home of the Slavs', *The Slavonic and Eastern European Review*, 1947; J. Kostrzewski, *Prasłowiańszczyzna* (The homelands of the Slavs), Poznań 1946; T. Lehr-Spławiński, *O pochodzeniu i pra-ojczyznie Słowian* (On the origin and homelands of the Slavs), Poznań 1946; *Ibid.* 'The origin and ancestral home of the Slavs', in *Poland's place in Europe*, Poznań 1947, pp. 63–83; K. Jażdżewski, *Atlas to the pre-history of the Slavs*, Łódź 1948 (text) and 1949 (maps).

2 M. Gimbutas, 'The Proto-Indo European culture. The Kurgan culture in the fifth and fourth millennia BC'. in *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, Proceedings of the Conference in Philadelphia, Penn., April 1966, Philadelphia 1970.

3 W. Budinský-Krička, *Slovenska v mladšej dobe kamennej*. 'Slovenske dijiny' I, Bratislava 1957, pp. 55–67; J. Machnik, 'Ze studiów nad kulturą ceramiki sznurowej w Karpatach Polskich', *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica*, Tom. II, FAsc. 1–2, pp. 55–85.

4 P. J. Šafařik, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, Prague 1837.

5 L. Niederle, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, Vol. I, Prague (1902–24).

6 V. N. Toporov and O. N. Trubachev, *Lingvisticheskij analiz gidronimov verkhnego Podneprovja*, Moscow 1962.

7 Vasmer (17). Cf. also F. P. Filin, *Obrazovanie jazyka vostochnykh slavjan*, Moscow-Leningrad 1962.

8 Moszyński (13), p. 202; Trubachev (16).

9 Vasmer (18); Moszyński (13), pp. 147 ff.; Trubachev (16), pp. 45-47.

10 Moszyński, *ibid.*, pp. 23 ff.

11 The first to notice this was a Polish botanist Józef Rostafiński in 1887 in his article 'Polska z czasów przedhistorycznych pod względem fizjograficznym i gospodarskim', repeated in 1908 in Polish and French. Cf. also J. Rozwadowski, 'Remarques critiques sur la patrie dite primitive des peuples slaves', *Conférence des historiens des états de l'Europe Orientale et du monde slave*, Warsaw 1928, pp. 157 ff.

12 V. N. Toporov and O. N. Trubachev, *ibid.*; M. Gimbutas, *The Balts*, London and New York 1963 (*see* maps).

13 I. Endzelin, J. Rozwadowski, R. Trautmann, J. Kuryłowicz, T. Lehr-Spławiński, O. Szemerenyi and others. The more recent study is that by O. Szemerenyi, 'The problem of Balto-Slav unity. A critical survey', *Kratylos*, vol. II (1957), pp. 97-122.

14 A. Senn, 'The relationships of Baltic and Slavic', *Ancient Indo-European Dialects*, ed. H. Birnbaum and J. Puhvel, Los Angeles 1966, pp. 139-151; cf. a popular article by A. Klimas, 'Balto-Slavic or Baltic and Slavic? The relationship of Baltic and Slavic languages', *Lituanus* 1967, No. 2, pp. 5-37, followed by extensive bibliography on the problem prepared by G. A. Hood, pp. 38-46. There is a comprehensive survey of relationships between the Baltic and Slavic languages by S. Karaliūnas, 'Kai kurie baltų ir slavų seniausiųjų santykių klausimai', *Lietuvių Kalbotyros Klausimai*, vol. 10 (Vilnius 1968), pp. 7-100, with résumés in Russian and German ('Zu den ältesten Beziehungen zwischen den baltischen und slawischen Sprachen').

CHAPTER II

1 Gimbutas (25), pp. 451-476: survey (including bibliography) of the North Carpathian culture up to *c.* 1960.

2 J. Bryk, 'Neolityczne kurhany ze szkieletami skurczonemi w Kaczanowce, w pow. skałackim, woj. tarnopolskim', *Biblioteka Prehistoryczna*, tom I, pp. 135-151.

3 J. Kostrzewski, 'Przyczynki do epoki brązowej na Wołyniu', *Przegląd Archeologiczny*, tom III, pp. 111-115.

4 A. Vulpe and Zamosteanu, 'Săpăturile de la Costişa, reg. Bacău', *Materiale şi Cercetari Arheologice*, vol. VIII (1962), pp. 309-316.

5 Discovered in a settlement of Kostjanets, district of Rovno: I. K. Svěshnikov, 'Rozkopki v s. Kostjantsi na poli Listvenshchina', *Arkh. Pam'jatki*, tom VI (Kiev 1952), p. 138.

6 E. K. Chernysh, 'Mnogoslojnoe poselenie u s. Nezvisko na Dnestre', *KSIIMK*, vyp. 63 (1956), p. 49.

7 Sulimirski (27); id., 'Barrow-grave 6 at Komarov', *Bulletin No. 4 of The Institute of Archaeology, University of London* (1964), pp. 171-188. On the other large cemetery of the Middle Bronze Age, No. 13 of Bukivna (Bukówna in Polish), district of Ivano-Frankovskaja: R. Rogozińska, 'Cmentarzysko kultury komarowskiej w Bukównie', *Materiały Archeologiczne*, tom. I (1959, Kraków). A general survey on the Komarov complex: Svěshnikov (29).

8 A. I. Terenozhkin, 'Poselennja Bilogrudivsskogo tipu bilja Umani', *Arkheololgija*, tom V (1951), pp. 173-182; S. S. Berezanskaja and G. T. Titenko 'Poselenie predskifskogo vremeni u s. Sobkovka', *Kratkie Soobshenija Instituta Arkheologii*, No. 1 (Kiev 1952), pp. 78-85; *ibid.*, 'Novi rozkopki pamjatok bilogrudivskogo tipu', *Arkheologija*, tom IX (Kiev 1954), pp. 119-132.

9 T. Sulimirski, *Kultura Wysocka*. Prace Prehistoryczne, No. 1 (Cracow 1931), 203 pp., 29 pls.; L. I. Krushelnitska 'Mogilnik Visots'koj kul'turi u m. Zolochevi', *Arkheologija*, tom XIX (Kiev 1965), pp. 122-135.

10 Gimbutas (25), fig. 316.

11 A. I. Terenozhkin, 'K voprosu ob etnicheskoj prinadlezhnosti lesostepnykh plemen severnogo prichernomor'ja v skifskoe vremja', *SA*, XXIV (1955), pp. 7-28; *ibid.* (30); id. 'Pam'jatki skifiv-orachiv v pivdennomu Polissi', *Arkheologija*, tom XIX (Kiev 1965), pp. 22-35.

12 I. I. Ljapushkin (26), pp. 29-37.

13 M. Rudinskij, 'Machukhs'ka ékspeditsija Institutu Arkheologiji v 1946 g'. *Arkheologichni Pam'jatki*, tom II (Kiev), pp. 53-79.

14 As in the settlement of Pozharnaja Balka II, district of Poltava: Ljapushkin, *ibid.*, pp. 99 ff.

15 In Zhabotin, Smela and Tagancha: A. A. Iessen, *Grecheskaja kolon-*

izatsija severnogo Prichernomor'ja, Leningrad 1947, pp. 42–44; *ibid.* 'K voprosu o pamjatnikakh VIII–VII vv. do n.e. na juge Evropejskoj chasti SSSR', *SA*, XVIII (1953), pp. 47 ff.; V. A. Illins'ka, 'Pro pokhodzhennja ta etnichni zv'jazki plemen skifskoj kul'turi posul's'do' donets'kogo lisostepu', *Arkheologija*, tom XX (1966), pp. 61 ff.; G. T. Kovpanenko, 'Nosachivskij kurgan VIII–VII st. n.e.', *Arkheologija*, tom XX (Kiev 1966), pp. 174–179.

16 Vasmer (18); V. N. Toporov and O. N. Trubachev, *Lingvisticheskij analiz gidronimov Verkhnego Podneprovja*, Moscow 1962.

17 V. V. Sedov, 'Balto-iranskij kontakt v dneprovskom levoberezh'e', *SA*, 1965, No. 5, pp. 52–62.

18 A. A. Shakhmatov, *Russkaja istoricheskaja dialektologija*, S. Peterburg 1910/11, 144 pp.; M. Gimbutas, *The Balts*, London and New York 1963, p. 99.

19 M. S. Velikanova, 'K etnicheskoj antropologii Prutsko-Dnestrovskogo mezhdurech'ja v I tisjacheletii n.e.', *KSIIMK*, vyp. 105, p. 64, tabl. I.

20 Ljapushkin (26), pp. 37 ff. Includes bibliography for each excavated open settlement and hill-fort east of the Dnieper; V. G. Petrenko, 'Kul'tura plemen pravoberezhnogo pridneprov'ja', *MIA*, 96 (1961), pp. 53–102; P. D. Liberov, 'Pamjatniki skifskogo vremeni bassejna severnogo Dontsa', *MIA*, 113 (1962), pp. 5–86.

21 V. A. Gorodtsov, 'Dnevnik arkheologicheskikh issledovaniji v Zen'kovskom uezde, Poltavskoj gubernii v 1906 g'. *Trudy XIV Arkheol. Sjezda*, tom III, pp. 93–211.

22 Ljapushkin, *ibid.*, p. 94; B. A. Shramko, 'Novye poselenija i zhilishcha skifskogo vremeni v bassejne Severnogo Dontsa', *KSIIMK*, vyp. 54 (1965), pp. 105–115.

23 House remains of semi-subterranean type were found in the settlement of Ostroverkhovka, district of Kharkov, of an oval form, measuring 8 by 5 metres: Shramko, *ibid.*; in the hill-fort of Gorodishche, in the Upper Donets basin: Liberov, *ibid.*, pp. 67, 78. On remains of above-ground houses in Shmarovka district of Kharkov: B. A. Shramko, 'Novye poselenija i zhilishcha skifskogo vremeni v bassejne Severnogo Dontsa', *KSIIMK*, vyp. 54 (1965), pp. 112–115.

24 Liberov, *ibid.*, p. 63.

25 B. A. Shramko, 'Sledy zemledel'cheskogo kulta u lesostepnykh plemen', *SA* 1957, No. 1, p. 178.

26 In some hill-forts more than 25 per cent of bones belonged to pigs and about 20 per cent to cattle; followed by horse, sheep, goat (hill-forts of Basovka, district of Sumy near Smela, and Starye Gonchary near Putivl). In open settlements there were more cattle bones than pig (for example, settlement of Ostroverkhovka): Ljapushkin (26), p. 42.

27 Shramko, *ibid.*, pp. 178–198.

28 V. Petrov, 'Kharchovi reshtki z Pastirskogo gorodishcha', *Arkheologija*, II (Kiev 1948), p. 79.

29 Altars were discovered in hill-forts of Pastirskoe district of Kirovagrad, Matronin in R. Tjasmin Basin, and others: E. V. Jakovenko, 'Nove pro rozkopki V. V. Khvojki bilja s. Pastirs'kogo', *Arkheologija*, tom XX (Kiev 1966), pp. 182–3.

30 D. T. Berezovets, 'Plug z tokarivskogo torfovishcha', *Arkheologija*, VII (Kiev 1952), pp. 174–5.

31 B. A. Shramko, 'K voprosu o tekhnike zemledelija u plemen skifskogo vremeni v vostochnoj Evrope', *SA*, 1961 No. 1, pp. 75–83.

32 Liberov, *ibid.*, pp. 18–20.

33 E. F. Pokrovska, 'Kurgani bilja s. Sen'kivki', *Arkheologija*, XVIII (Kiev 1965), pp. 139 ff.

CHAPTER III

1 K. Moszyński, 'Przyczynek do tzw. etnogenezy Słowian', *Slavia Antiqua*, tom VIII, 1961, p. 32.

2 Ptolemy's *Geography* VI, 14, 9; Plezia (21), Part I, 1952, p. 46.

3 *Ibid.* Procopius' and Jordanes' texts in reference to *Sclavini* are given in this volume.

4 K. Moszyński, *ibid.*, p. 33.

5 A. Pogodin, 'Epigraphische Spuren des Slaventums', *Russkij filolog. vestnik*, Warsaw 1901.

6 Plezia (21).

7 Jordanes, XXIII, 119.

8 *Enetoi, Venedi, Veneti* known to Herodotus, Tacitus, Pliny the Elder and Ptolemy, as living on the Vistula, east of Germanic peoples are not all to be identified as Slavs; some may have been Proto-Illyrians or related to them. The name *Veneti* is also known in different regions of the Old Celtic world. There were *Veneti* north-east of the Adriatic who, linguistically, are placed between the Italic and Illyrian groups,

and they certainly were not Slavs. *Veneti* is perhaps one of the most frequent tribal names among the Indo-European-speaking peoples. Moszyński (*Ibid.*, p. 36), contrary to other Polish scholars, has raised serious doubts about the early *Veneti* being Slavs.

CHAPTER IV

1 M. P. Abramova, 'Sarmatskie pogrebenija Dona i Ukrainy. II v. do n.e. – I v. n.e.' *SA* 1961-1, pp. 91–110.

2 Moszyński (13), p. 82; J. Rozwadowski, 'Stosunki leksykalne między językami słowiańskiemi i irańskiemi', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, I (1914-15), p. 95.

3 V. D. Blavatskij, 'Severo-pontijskie goroda u kontse II–I v. do n.e.', *Vestnik Moskovskogo Gos. Universiteta*, 7 (1949), p. 68.

4 Ju. V. Kukharenko, 'Zarubinetskaja kul'tura', *Svod Arkheologicheskikh Istochinikov*, 1964, vyp. D1-19; P. N. Tret'jakov, ed., 'Pam'jatniki zarubinetskoj kul'tury', *MIA*, vyp. 70 (1959), 190 pp., ills.

5 Sites of Velichkovichi, Skorbichi, Trishin, Velemichi and others excavated by Kukharenko (31).

6 Chief representatives of the Slavic theory: M. Ju. Brajchevskij 'K istorii lesostepnoj polosy Vostochnoj Europy v I tys. n.e.', *SA*, 1957, No. 3, p. 124; E. V. Makhno, 'Jagnjatinskaja arkheologichna ékspeditsija', *Arkheologichni Pam'jatki*, tom III (1952), p. 159; E. A. Symonovich in the volume 116 of the *MIA* (1964). The volume is entitled 'Archaeological finds from the period of the formation of the eastern Slav culture' although it is dedicated entirely to the finds of Chernjakhovo character.

7 The bibliography before 1957 is given in the study by Tikhanova (33). An extensive survey of Chernjakhovo materials between the rivers Prut and Dniester: Fedorov (36). A list and characterization of Chernjakhovo sites east of the Middle Dnieper: Ljapushkin (26), pp. 146–180. A survey of the Chernjakhovo sites in the northern part of the distribution area: E. A. Symonovich, 'Severnaja granitsa pamjatnikov Chernjakhovskoj kul'tury', *MIA*, No. 116, 1964, pp. 7–43. This issue includes a study by the same author on ornamentation of Chernjakhovo pottery. It also contains a number of reports of new excavations of Chernjakhovo sites in the Upper Donets and Psël basin, the Lower Danube area, Volynia, Bukovina, Podolia, Moldavia and in the Western Bug area. Also included are extensive reports of earlier excavations of the Chernjakhovo and Maslovo cemeteries by V. P. Petrov. *Istorija i Arkheologija Jugo-zapadnykh Oblastej SSSR Nachala Nashej Éry*, ed. B. A. Rybakov and E. A. Symonovich, Moscow, 1967, is dedicated to excavation reports.

8 Ljapushkin (26).

9 E. V. Makhno, 'Poselennja kul'tury polie pokhovan' na pivnichno – zakhidnomu Pravoberezhi', *Arkheologichni Pam'jatki* (Kiev), tom. I, 1949, pp. 154 ff.; M. Ju. Brajchevskij, 'Pogrebenie v Gorke-Polonke na Volyni', *MIA*, Vol. 116, 1964, pp. 173–175.

10 M. Smishko, 'Zvit pro doslidzhennja selishcha periodu poliv pokhovan' v Neslukhovi v 1946 g.', *Arkheologichni Pam'jatki*, tom I, 1949 (Kiev); M. A. Tikhanova, 'Dneprovsko – Volynskaja 'ékspeditsija 1960-61 gg.', *KSIIMK*, vyp. 102, 1964, pp. 48–56 (the Lepesovka settlement near Belogorsk, Khmel'nitskij district, in which four houses were excavated, one with a stable nearly 16 m. long and 7 m. wide); A. T. Smilenko and M. Ju. Brajchevskij, 'Chernjakhovskoe poselenie v sele Les'ki bliz goroda Cherkassy', *Istorija i Arkheologija Jugo-zapadnykh Oblastej SSSR Nachala Nashej Éry*, 1967, pp. 35–61. (A settlement consisting of individual farmsteads, living quarters, structures for cattle, sheep and for other purposes; one farmstead contained nine separate buildings, each having its own function); E. A. Rikman, 'Zhilishcha budeshtskogo selishcha', *MIA*, No. 82, 1960, pp. 305–311 (a settlement in Moldavia with megaron-type houses covering an area of nearly 100 sq. m. having analogies in Silesia); *Id.* 'Chernjakhovskoe selishche Delakeu (Moldavia)', *Istorija i Arkheologija* 1967, pp. 165–196 (a settlement which yielded a layer 1·6 m. thick of Chernjakhovo material with large two-room houses and tamped clay floors); 'K voprosu o bol'shikh domakh na selishchakh Chernjakhovskogo tipa', *SE*, 1962, No. 3, pp. 121–138; I. S. Vinokur, 'Pam'jatniki volynskoj grupy kul'tury polej pogrebeniji u sel Markushi i Ivankovtsy', *MIA*, Vol. 116, 1964, pp. 176–185 (refers to above-ground houses with well-prepared floors, also including one megaron house); E. V. Makhno, 'Pam'jatki chernjakhivs'koj kul'turi v zlatopil's'komu rajoni na cherkashchini', *Arkheologija*, Vol. XX (Kiev, 1966), pp. 107–122 (mentions a series of settlements in the district of Cherkassy with above-ground houses forming farmsteads).

11 E. A. Symonovich, 'O nekotorykh tipakh poselenii pervykh vekov

nashej éry v severnom Prichernomor'e', *KSIIMK*, No. 65, 1956, pp. 131–135.

12 Tikhanova, *ibid.*, pp. 174–5; Ljapushkin, *ibid.*, pp. 149 ff.

13 M. Rudinskij, 'Kantamirivs'ki mogili rimskoj dobi', *Zapiski Vseukrainskogo Arkheologicheskogo Komiteta*, I, 1931.

14 Rikman and Rafalovich (32). Table 2 shows the percentage of wheel-turned and hand-made pottery in the Chernjakhovo settlements between the rivers Dniester and Prut. Only 0·5 to 3·8 per cent of the pottery was hand-made.

15 A. Cynkałowski, 'Grób gocki z epoki cesarstwa rzymskiego ze wsi Rudka, pow. krzemienieckiego', *Życie Krzemienieckie*, Rok V, 1936, pp. 349 ff. The illustration is also given by Tikhanova in *SA*, 1957.

16 V. P. Petrov, 'Chernjakhovskij mogil'nik', *MIA*, No. 116, 1964, pp. 53–117. This report contains all previous bibliography on this cemetery. Repeated excavations at the Chernjakhovo cemetery and settlement were carried out in 1959, 1961 and 1962; E. A. Symonovich, 'Novye raboty v sele Chernjakhove', *Istorija i Arkheologija Jugo-zapadnykh Oblastej SSSR Nachala Nashej Éry*, 1957, pp. 5–27.

17 On the chronology of the Chernjakhovo complex *see*: D. T. Berezovets, 'O datirovke chernjakhovskoj kul'tury', *SA*, 1963, No. 3, pp. 97–111.

18 Ammianus Marcellinus XXX, 3, 1.

19 Rikman and Rafalovich (32), pp. 42–58.

20 Among the probable Slavic sites from the Chernjakhovo period a settlement and cemetery of Novye Bezradichi in the Kiev area may be mentioned. Small, square and semi-subterranean dwellings plus cremation graves in pits and urns have been discovered there. Pottery was closely related to the Early Slavic type of the sixth century. Chronology of the site is indicated by artifacts of Chernjakhovo type: V. N. Danilenko, 'Slavjanskie pamjatniki I tysjacheletija n. e. v bassejne Dnepra', *Kratkie Soobshchenija Instituta Arkheologii*, IV (Kiev, 1955), pp. 27–29. Another semi-subterranean dwelling dated by a bow-fibula of the fifth century AD is reported from Khodosovka, 20 km. south of Kiev. The pottery of Pen'kovka type which was found there and continues in the sixth and seventh centuries AD is regarded as eastern Slavic. Analogical material comes from both sides of the Dnieper. Information from V. N. Danilenko, Kiev, 1968. In 1967, a barrow 28 m. in diameter and 0·38 m. high including an urn grave was excavated

by A. T. Smilenko, Kiev, in the area of the Dnieper rapids at Vashmachka. Such burial type has parallels north of the Carpathian mountains.

21 Jordanes, *De Origine Actibusque Getarum* (AD 551), edited by Mommsen, p. 121.

22 S. Bernštejn, *Očerk sravnitel'noj grammatiki slavjanskix jazykov* (A sketch of the comparative grammar of Slavic languages). Moscow 1961. Also, cf. earlier studies: A. Stender-Petersen, *Slawisch-germanische Lehnwortkunde*, Göteborg, 1927; V. Kiparsky, 'Die gemeinslavischen Lehnwörter aus dem Germanischen', *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, Vol. XXXIIb, Helsinki, 1934; R. Smal Stocki, *Slavs and Teutons. The oldest Germanic-Slavic relations*, Milwaukee, 1950.

23 V. V. Kropotkin, 'Klady rimskikh monet na territorii SSSR', *Svod Arkheologicheskikh Istochnikov*, G-4-4, 1961; M. Ju. Brajchevskij, 'Stosunki ekonomiczne w odrębie południowej grupy plemion wschodniosłowiańskich w pierwszej połowie i połowie pierwszego tysiąclecia n.e.', *Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego*, Seria Archeologiczna, No. 13, 1966, pp. 5–38. (English summary pp. 38–41).

24 Stender-Petersen, *ibid.*

CHAPTER V

1 Ju. V. Kukharenko, 'Slavjanskie drevnosti V-IX vv. na terrotorii Pripjatskogo Polesja', *KSIIMK*, vyp. 57 (1955), pp. 33–38; V. P. Petrov, 'Pamjatniki korchakskogo tipa', *MIA*, No. 108 (1963), pp. 16–38; I. P. Rusanova 'Poselenie u s. Korchaka na r. Tetereve', *ibid.*, pp. 39–50.

2 V. D. Baran, 'Ranneslavjanskoe poselenie u s. Ripneva (Ripnev II) na Zapadnom Buge', *MIA*, No. 108, pp. 351–65.

3 G. I. Smirnova, 'Ranneslavjanskoe poselenie u s. Nezvisko na Dnestre', *Památky Archeologické*, Ročník LI (1960), c. 1, pp. 222–38.

4 V. V. Aulikh, 'Materiali z verkhn'ogo gorizontu gorodishcha bilja s. Zimne, Volinskoj oblasti', *Materiali i Doslidzhennja z Arkheologii Prikarpattja i Volini*, vyp. 3 (Kiev 1961), p. 139.

5 V. K. Goncharov, *Rajkovetskoe gorodishche*, Kiev; *ibid.* 'Luka Rajkovetska', *MIA*, No. 108 (1963), pp. 283–316.

6 Kukharenko (63).

7   D. T. Berezovets, 'Poselenija Ulichej na R. Tjasmine', *MIA*, No. 108 (1961), pp. 145–208.

8   D. I. Khavljuk, 'Ranneslavjanskie poselenija Semenki i Samchintsy v srednem techenii Juzhnogo Buga', *MIA*, No. 108 (1963), pp. 320–351.

9   D. T. Berezovets, 'Mogilniki Ulichej', *Slavjanskie starožytnosti*, Kiev 1969.

10 Excavated by Berezovets in 1954: D. T. Berezovets 'Doslidzhennja na teritoriji putivl's'kogo rajonu, Sumskoj oblasti', *Arkheologichni Pam'jatki* tom III (1952), pp. 242–269; *Id.* 'Do pytannja pro litopysnykh sivet- jan', *Arkheologija*, tom VIII (1953), pp. 28–44: *Id.*, 'Doslidzhennja slov'janskikh pam'jatok na Sejmi v 1949–1950 gg'. *Arkheologichni Pam'jatki URSU*, tom V (1955), pp. 49–69.

11 *Ibid.*, 1953, pp. 36 ff.

12 Excavations by M. O. Makarenko, *ibid.*

13 I. I. Ljapushkin, 'Mesto romensko-borshevkikh pam'jatnikov sredi slavjanskikh drevnostej', *Vestnik Leningradskogo Universiteta*, 20.

14 B. A. Rybakov, 'Drevne Rusi', *SA*, XVII (1957), pp. 23–104.

15 A. T. Smilenko, *Glodos'ki skarbi*, Kiev, 1965.

16 D. T. Berezovets, 'Slov'jani i plemena saltivskoj kul'turi', *Arkheologija*, XIX, pp. 47–67.

17–19 Sedov (68).

20 *Id.* 'K proiskhozhdeniju belorusov', *SE*, 1967-2, pp. 112–129; E. A. Shmidt, 'Baltijskaja kul'tura v verkhov'jakh Dnepra vo vtoroj polovine l-go tysjacheletija n.e.', *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, vol. 6 (Białystok 1969), pp. 129–144; P. N. Tret'jakov and E. A. Shmidt, *Drevnie gorodishcha Smolenshchiny* (Moscow-Leningrad 1963), pp. 9–41. A concise survey of the history of research and archaeological materials pertaining to the Baltic culture in present Byelorussia is given by V. V. Sedov in his review of L. D. Pobal' and A. G. Mitrofanau 'Problema rassjalennja slavjan na terytoryi Belarusi u I tysjachagoddzi n. e.' (*Vestsi Akademii Navuk Belaruskaj SSR*, 1966, No. 2, pp. 43–53) in *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, vol. 6 (Białystok 1969), pp. 263–269.

21 G. Debets, 'Proiskhozhdenie i étnicheskaja istorija russkogo naroda po anropologicheskim dannym', *Trudy Instituta Étnografi ANSSSR*, 88 (Moscow 1961), p. 252.

22 T. I. Alekseeva, 'Antropologicheskie materialy k étnogenezu vostoch- nykh slavjan', *SA*, 1964-3, pp. 88–98.

CHAPTER VI

1   Ammianus Marcellinus and other Roman sources mention the Hun- garian Sarmatians, divided into two groups: *Sarmatae Ardaragantes (domini, Sarmatae liberi)*; and *Sarmatae Limigates (servi Sarmatorum)* who in 334 rebelled against the first group. The second group could be Slavs. *See* B. Zásterová, 'Les débuts de l'établissement définitif des Slaves en Europe méridionale', *Origine et débuts des Slaves*, VII (Prague 1966), pp. 33 ff.

2   Jordanes, 'De origine actibusque Getarum', Ed. Mommsen, *MGH Auctorum Antiquissimorum*, V, 1 (1882), p. 124, 258.

3   E. V. Ivánka (ed.) 'Byzantinische Diplomaten und östliche Barbaren', *Byzantinische Geschichtschreiber*, IV.

4   Lemerle (38).

5   Theophylaktos Simokkates, edited by De Boor, VIII, cap. 5, 10.

6   *Ibid.* Also, Johannes of Ephesos, *History of the Church*, 576–583/4; Theophanes, edited by De Boor, I, 316.

7   Procopius, edited by Haury, VII, 38.

8   Lemerle (38).

9   M. S. F. Hood, 'An aspect of the Slav invasions of Greece in the early Byzantine period', *Sbornik Narodniho Muzea v Praze*, XX, No. 1/2, pp. 165–66.

10 Menander, 6M, edited by E. V. Ivánka, *ibid.*

11 M. Barada, 'Hrvatska dijaspora i Avari', *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, III, 2 (1952), p. 15.

12 Menander, 48M; *see Byzantinische Diplomaten*, ed. E. V. Ivánka.

13 H. Thompson, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 49 (1959), p. 70; Hood, *ibid.*

14 Lemerle, *ibid.*, p. 293; P. Lemerle, 'La composition et la chronologie des deux premiers livres des Miracula S. Demetrii', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 46 (1953), pp. 349–61.

15 Isidorus Hispalensis: Migne, *Patrologie Latina* LXXXIII, Co., 1056 A. *Graeciam* could have been used here for Illyria.

16 *Chronicle of Monemvasia*, compiled probably soon after 806: P. Charanis, 'The Chronicle of Monemvasia and the question of the Slavonic Settlement in Greece', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, V (1950), pp. 136–66. *Byzantis* I (1909), pp. 55 ff.; Hood, *ibid.*, p. 168.

17 Hood, *ibid.*, pp. 168 ff.

18 F. Bulić, 'S. Gregorius Magno pap nelle sue relazioni colhe Dalmasia (590–640)', *Bulletino Dalmatiae*, Vol. 27 (1904), p. 47.

19 Paulus Diaconus IV, 28.

20 F. Bulić, 'Sull' anno della distruzione di Salona', *Bulletino Dalmatiae*, Vol. 29 (1906), pp. 268–304; *ibid.*, *Bulletino Dalmatiae*, Vol. 25 (1902), pp. 197–212; Jiřeček (5). p. 91 ff.

21 Jiřeček (5), p. 103.

22 Georgiev (37), p. 295.

23 Barada, *ibid.*; T. Lewicki, 'Litzike Konstantego Porfirogenety i Biali Serbowie w pólnocnej Polsce', *Roczniki Historyczne*, t. 22 (1956). pp. 9–34.

24 J. Eisner, 'Archeologie o kulturní jednotě slovanské', *Památky Archeologické*, 1961, 2, pp. 459–64, with an extensive bibliography on the question.

25 I. Borkovský, *Staroslovanská keramika ve stredni Evrope. Studie k počátkům slovanské kultury.* Prague 1940. 113 pp., 4 pls.

26 Alchedar, Lopatna, Braneshty habitation sites: Fedorov (36), 'Naselenie prutsko-dnestrovskogo mezhdurech'ja', *MIA*, No. 89 (1960), pp. 173 ff., 281 ff. Khucha, Khanska, Recha and other sites between the rivers Prut and Dniester: I. A. Rafalovich, 'Ranneslavjanskoe selishche Khucha VI-VII vv.', *KSIIMK*, vyp. 105 (1965), pp. 123–128 and personal information in Kishenev, 1968. There are on the whole 30 sites from the sixth-seventh centuries AD.

27 Suceava habitation site of several phases on the upper Siret: M. D. Matej, 'Slavjanski poselenija v Suchave', *Dacia*, vol. IV (1960), pp. 375–395. *Ibid.*, 'Die slawischen Siedlungen von Suceava (Nordmoldau, Rumänien)', *Slovenská Archeológia*, X-1 (1962), pp. 149–74; Dan Gh. Teodor 'Contributions archéologiques concernant la culture matérielle slave du début, sur le territoire compris entre les Carpates Orientaux et le Pruth', *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale delle Scienze Preistoriche e Protostoriche*, Sezioni V-VIII, 1966, pp. 167–172; Dan Gh. Teodor and I. Mitrea, 'Recherches archéologiques dans l'établissement préféodal de Lozna-Dorohoi', *Arheologia Moldovei*, IV (1966), pp. 279–91.

28 Sites of Popina, Monastirea, Lişcoteanca, Bucureşti, Balta Verde, district of Craiova: M. Comşa, *ibid.*

29 Važarova (40).

30 Excavated by M. D. Matei in 1959 and D. Gh. Teodor in 1960–63.

31 Information by D. Gh. Teodor, Iaşi, 1968.

32 G. I. Smirnova, 'Ranneslavjanskoe poselenie v s. Nezvisko na Dnestr', *Památky Archeologické*, Ročnik LI, 1 (1960), pp. 222–18.

33 Excavations of 1955, 1956, and 1958: I. Nestor, 'nécropole slave d'époque ancienne de Sărăta Monteoru', *Dacia* N.S. 1957, pp. 289–95; I. Nestor and Eug. Zaharia, 'Sapaturile de la Sărăta-Monteoru', *Materiale şi Cercetări Arheologice*, vol. VII (1961), pp. 513–18.

34 J. Werner, 'Slawische Bügelfibeln des 7. Jahrhunderts', *Reinecke Festschrift*, Mainz 1950, pp. 150–72; *ibid.*, 'Neues zur Frage der slawischen Bügelfibeln südosteuropäischer Länder', *Germania*, Jg. 18, H. 1/2, pp. 114–20; B. A. Rybakov, 'Drevnie rusy', *SA*, tom XVII (1952), pp. 23–104. The fibulae mentioned by the above authors were not all necessarily worn by Slavic women.

35 In the cemetery of Szigetszentmiklos-Haros, county of Pest, fibular appeared together with ear-rings, glass beads, and a bracelet: Sós (56), p. 315, Abb. 6.

36 Slavic finds are reported from Caričin grad (Justiniana Prima), from the ruins of the town of Justinian I (527–565) south-east of Leskovac in Serbia and from Gamzigrad, near Ćuprija, east of the River Morava: Mano-Zisi, *Starinar* 1956, p. 168, fig. 38; *Starinar* 1958, fig. 39; J. Kovačević, *Varvarska kolonizanja južnoslovenski oblasti*, Novi Sad 1960; Z. Vinski, 'Gibt es frühslavische Keramik aus der Zeit der südslavischen Landnahme?', *Archaeologia Iugoslavica*, I, pp. 71–83. Cremation graves of early Slavic character were excavated at Dvorovi near Bijeljina, south of the River Sava by Irma Čremošnik, Zemaljski Muzej, Sarajevo. The same excavator in 1966 uncovered several 'zemljanki' with early Slavic pottery types above the ruins of Roman villas at Musići-Višegrad in the Upper Drina valley in Bosnia (excavation report in *Glasnik Zemalskogo Muzeja*, 1969).

37 Excavations by D. Sergejevski: P. Andjelić, 'Slavenska keramika sa Crkvine u Nerezima kod Čapljine', *Glasnik Zemalskogo Muzeja* N.S. XIV (1959), pp. 175–78.

38 J. Werner, *Germania* 38 (1960), p. 118, based on information by E. Kunze, Athens.

39 Važarova (40).

40 M. Chişvaşi-Comşa, 'Slavii pe teritoriul R.P.R. in sec. VI-IX in lumina cercetărilor arheologice', *SCIV*, X, 1 (1959), pp. 65 ff.

40a V. Budinský-Krička, 'Sídlisko z doby rímskej a zo začiatkov staho-
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Figure 7 after T. Sulimirski, 'Corded Ware and Globular Amphorae Northeast of the Carpathians', London 1968; Figs. 12, 13, 14, 16 after A. I. Terenozhkin (30); Fig. 15 after T. Sulimirski (27); Figs. 17, 18

after I. I. Ljapushkin (26); Fig. 19 after B. A. Shramko, 'Sledy zemledel' cheskogo kul'ta lesostepnykh plemen', *SA* 1957, 1; Figs. 20, 22 after B. A. Shramko, 'K voprosu o tekhnike zemledelija u plemen skifskogo vremeni v vostochnoj Evrope', *SA*, 1961, 1; Fig. 23 after M. P. Abramova, 'Sarmatskie pogrebenija Donai Ukrainy', *SA*, 1961, 1, and Ju. V. Kukharenko, 'Zarubinetskaja kul'tura, *Svod Arkheologicheskikh Istochnikov*, 1964, vyp. D 1–19; Fig. 24 after Kukharenko, 1964, *ibid.*; Fig. 25 after Kukharenko and Symonovich, 'Severnaja granitsa pam'jatnikov Chernjakhovskoj kul'tury', *MIA*, No. 116 (1964); Figs. 27, 28 after V. P. Petrov, 'Chernjakhovskij mogil'nik' *MIA*, No. 116 (1964); Fig. 26 after Fedorov (36); Figs. 29, 31 after V. P. Petrov, 'Pam'jatniki Korchakskogo tipa', *MIA*, No. 108 (1963); Fig. 30 after I. P. Rusanova, 'Poselenie u s. Korchaka na r. Tetereve', *MIA*, No. 108 (1963); Fig. 32 after V. D. Baran, 'Ranneslavjanskoe poselenie u s. Ripneve (Ripnev II) na Zapadnom Buge', *MIA*, No. 108 (1963); Fig. 33 after V. K. Goncharov, 'Luka Rajkovetska', *MIA*, No. 108 (1963); Fig. 35 courtesy D. T. Berezovets, Kiev, Archaeological Institute; Figs. 36, 38, 39, c after D. I. Khavljuk, Ranneslavjanskie poselenija Semenki i Samchintsy v srednem techenii Juzhnogo Buga, *MIA*, No. 108 (1963); Figs. 37, 39, b, c, courtesy D. T. Berezovets; Fig. 44 after A. Sós; Figs. 45, 46 after Z. Važarova; Fig. 47 after J. Zeman (60); Fig. 48 after D. Bialekova (42); Fig. 50 after I. Pleinerova (54); Fig. 51 after W. Hoffmann, 'Die frühslawischen Brandgräberfelder im mittleren Elbgebiet', *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, vol. 37, (1959), p. 168; Fig. 52 after Hermann (47); Fig. 53 after Krüger, 'Eine altslawische Siedlung in Dessau-Mosigkau', *Ausgrabungen und Funde*, Bd. 9 (1964); Figs. 56, 57 after I. I. Ljapushkin (65); Fig. 59 after H. Schubart, 'Die Tempelburg Arkona', *Ausgrabungen und Funde*, Bd. 3, H. 4–5, 1958, p. 306; Fig. 60 courtesy of Cracow Museum. Reproduced from *Istorija Russkogo Iskusstva*, Moscow 1953, ed. by I. E. Grabar; Fig. 61 after I. S. Vinokur, 'Jazycheskie izvajanija srednego podnestrovja', *Istorija i Arkeologija jugo-zapadnykh oblastej SSSR nachala nashej ëry*, 1967. Figs. 5, 6, 9, 10 after the author, 'Bronze Age Cultures in Central and Eastern Europe', 1965.

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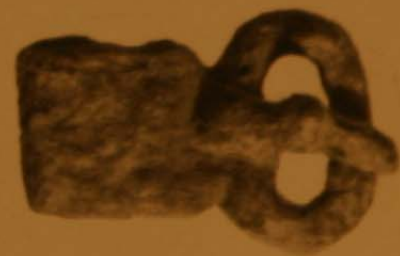
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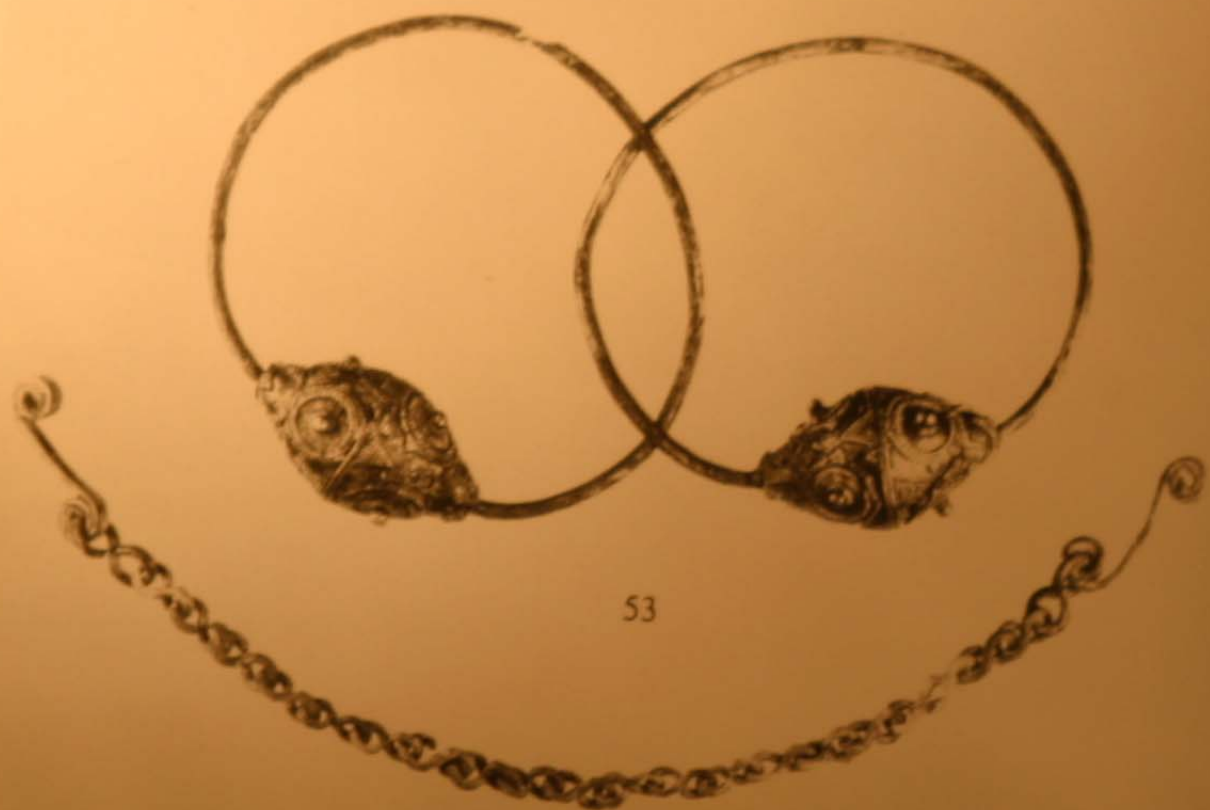
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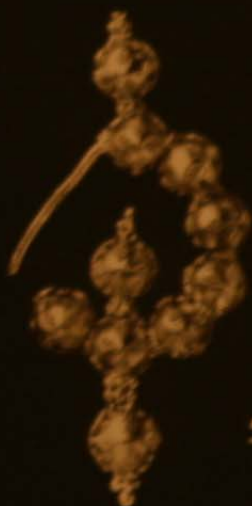
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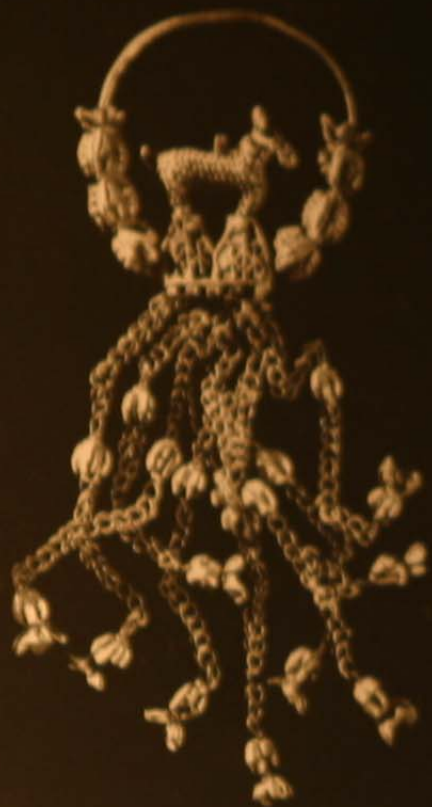
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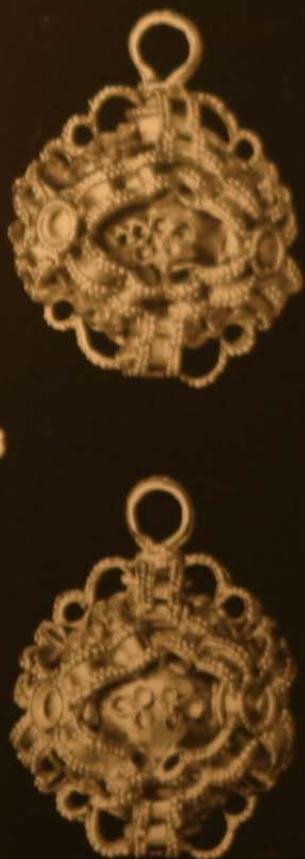
1 Grave goods of Komarov type, mid-second millennium, BC: bronze dagger, length 26 cm.; flint arrow-head; bronze hair-ring; pots, 11 and 18 cm. high. Cemetery of Ivanie near Dubno, district of Rovno, Volynia. Kurgan II, grave nos. 4 and 5.

2 Armlets, spiral arm-ring, pin and pot from grave no. 1 in the same cemetery. Maximum diameter of armlets 13.5 and 11.5 cm.; spiral arm-ring 7 cm. across; length of pin 29 cm.; pot 28 cm. high.

3 Iron axe, plough-share and coulter from a hoard of agricultural tools made in an iron tool production centre at Žabokrky in the Upper Nitra Valley, western Slovakia, C. AD 800.

4–9 Tools and weapons from the hill-fort of Novotroitskoe, district of Sumy, Russia. Ninth century AD. 4, iron arrow-heads, maximum length 10 cm.; 5, iron knives, maximum length 16 cm.; 6, sickles maximum length 34 cm.; 7, scythe, 29 cm. long; 8, hoes, 13 cm. long; 9, plough-share, 13.5 cm.

10 Early Slavic urns during the excavation of the cemetery at Volyntsevo near Putivl' in the valley of the River Sejm.

11–14 Silver ornaments from the hoard of Kharivka. 11, part of a neck-ring, length 19 cm.; 12, neck-ring, diameter 20 cm.; and bracelets, diameter 8 cm.; 13, fibula, length 16 cm.; 14, ear-rings, approx. 5 cm. long.

15 Part of a metal-beater's silver hoard from Zemiansky Vrbovok, Slovakia. Seventh century.

16 Gold ear-rings and a tongue-piece of the sixth—seventh century AD from the cemetery of Holiare, district of Komarno, Slovakia.

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17 Pendant ending in a horse's head, 4 cm. long, and bronze ear-rings, 5.5 and 6.5 cm. long. Settlement of Semenki, district of Vinitsa, western Ukraine. Sixth—seventh century AD.

18, 19 Byzantine goldwork from a Croatian princess' grave of the late eighth century AD at Trilj near Sinj, Dalmatia. 18, bead necklace, 25 cm. long, and three pairs of ear-rings; 19, ring with a purple paste inlay, two buttons and a solidus from the reign of Constantine V (741–775), all actual size.

20 Silver ear-rings of the ninth century AD from southwestern Slovakia.

21 Ear-rings, a glass bead necklace and large beads from the cemetery of Nitra Lupka, western Slovakia. Ninth century.

22–27 Pottery of 'Prague type'; 22, showing repair holes, and 23, from the cemetery of Matuškovo, western Slovakia; 24, from Vyčapy-Opatovce, district of Topolčany, western Slovakia; 25–27, from an Early Slavic cremation grave in the cemetery of Přítluky, southern Moravia. Average height, 19–24 cm.

28 Pottery and a bow fibula from an Early Slavic village at Suceava—Şipot in northern Moldavia. Sixth century AD.

29 Bow fibulae with a mask foot, an iron knife and iron and bronze buckles, from the cemetery of Sarata Monteoru, Muntenia, eastern Romania. Sixth—early seventh century AD. Fibulae, 7.5 and 4 cm., largest buckle 5.5 cm.

30 Two bow fibulae, and a pot of 'Zhitomir—Prague' type, from the settlement of Crucea lui Ferentz near Iaşi, Moldavia. Second half of sixth century AD. Pot approx. 18 cm. high.

31 Bow fibula from a grave at Zagreb-Sterejevac, northern Yugoslavia. Late sixth—early seventh century AD. Length 4.5 cm.

32 Contents of a grave from the cemetery of Szigetszentmiklos-Haros, Hungary. Approx. actual size.

33 Decorated hand-made pottery from an Early Slavic cemetery at Krasňany, district of Žilina, Slovakia. Height 18–20 cm.

34 Decorated wheel-made pottery from the ninth century cemetery at Ipel'ski Sokolec, district of Levice, Slovakia.

35 Warrior grave from the eighth century. Cemetery of Holiare, western Slovakia.

36 Silver plaque depicting a falconer, from a grave in the narthex of the Church of Stare Mesto, Moravia.

37 Gilt bronze girdle mountings, eighth—early ninth century AD. Mountings with embossed human faces from Žitavská Tôň on the Danube, Slovakia; tongue piece from an Avaro—Slavic cemetery at Nové Zámky, Slovakia; length 12 cm.

38 Antler plaque from a grave near the third church at Mikulčice near Hodonin, Moravia. Ninth century. Note the figure of a crocodile on the reverse side, representing exotic motifs in art.

39, 40 Gilt bronze spurs decorated with human masks. Grave no. 64 near the second church at Mikulčice, Moravia. 39, spurs and a girdle clasp in situ.

41 Sword with plated hilt and girdle mountings from a 'chieftain' grave at Turcianska Blatnica, Slovakia. Early ninth century.

42 Excavated semi-subterranean houses on the hill-fort of Novotroitskoe, Russia. View from the north-east. Excavations of 1953 by I. I. Ljapushkin.

43 Pottery kiln, ninth century. Nitra-Lupka, Slovakia.

44 Grave of a Great Moravian chieftain equipped with a sword, an insignia of rank. Pohansko near Břeclav, Slovakia. Ninth century.

45-46 Hill-fort of Novotroitskoe. 45, before excavation, view from the north-west; 46, after excavation, seen from the north.

47-48 Women's ornaments: 47, bronze rings for the temples, bracelets, finger rings and glass bead necklaces. Barrow cemetery of Kalikhnovsčina, district of Leningrad; 48, head-gear and glass beads, from graves of the Krivichi tribe.

49 Fortifications of Staraja Ladoga (reconstruction), ninth-twelfth century. In front: a wooden oar, fragment of a boat, an iron anchor, fish-hook and weights.

50 Iron and wooden buckets from Stare Mesto, Moravia.

51 Foundations of the palace at Mikulčice, Moravia. Ninth century.

52 Silver ornaments from a hoard found in the settlement of Novotroitskoe. Maximum diameter of neck-ring, 17 cm.

53 Gold ear-rings with filigree ornament and a chain from Mogorjelo, Bosnia.

54-59 Silver and gold ear-rings from ninth-century 'princesses' graves of Great Moravia. 54 from Stare Mesto, Na Valach cemetery; 55-58 from Mikulčice. 59 from Pohansko, Břeclav.

60 Silver ear-rings from Pohansko.

61 Silver ear-ring surmounted by a lamb. A Moravian jeweller's master-piece of the ninth-tenth century AD.

62, 63 Gilt buttons or pendants with filigree decoration from Mikulčice, Moravia. Ninth century.

64 Detail of a ninth-century grave at Mikulčice, with buttons or pendants *in situ*.

65 Gilt globular button or pendant from Pohansko.

66 Globular buttons or pendants from Mikulčice. Above, silver; below, gilt. Ninth century.

67 Wooden sculpture of a male god, probably Perun, discovered within a small timber structure at Staraja Ladoga. Plan and reconstruction of the structure.

68 Triglav (three-headed god) found at Skradin near Šibenik, Dalmatia.

69, 70 Gilt bronze tongue-pieces from grave no. 240, Mikulčice. 69 ornamented with a figure of a man holding an axe and a horn, representing a pagan god in already christianized Moravia. 70, with the figure of a chieftain or pagan divinity. Ninth-tenth century.

71 Tongue-piece and clasp of a leather belt *in situ* in a grave at the second church at Mikulčice.

72 Silver tongue-piece from a ninth century grave at Mikulčice.

73 Bronze crucifix with a bearded face of Christ. Mikulčice, ninth century.

74 Votive miniature clay heads of bulls and horses found in a sacrificial offering place at Mikulčice. Probably fifth-sixth century.

75 Figures of water-fowl (? swans) cut out of earth and covered with ashes, from a sacred area in the settlement of Pozharnaja Balka in the district of Poltava, Russia. The figures are from 1.5 to 2.5 metres long. Seventh-sixth century BC. Excavation by I. I. Ljapushkin.

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